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THE CROZIER AND THE CROSS:
CRUSADING AND THE ENGLISH
EPISCOPATE, *c.*1170–1313

I. L. BASS

PHD 2019

**THE CROZIER AND THE CROSS:
CRUSADING AND THE ENGLISH
EPISCOPATE, c.1170–1313**

IAN LUKE BASS

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF
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FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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2019

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ABSTRACT

The historiography surrounding the English response to the crusades has thus far exclusively focussed on the experience and impact that secular kings, lords, and laymen had on these expeditions. In stark contrast, the medieval bishop has received scant attention in history of the promotion, promulgation, and participation of these campaigns. This thesis investigates the varied roles of the English episcopate in the recruitment, funding, and participation of the crusades between 1170 and 1313. The thesis builds on recent national studies of crusading movements to address an important scholarly lacuna by approaching crusading through the information contained within episcopal *acta*, registers, and other sources.

This thesis seeks to offer a more rounded and comprehensive view on the nature of episcopal involvement in the crusades, and addresses the issue of whether the English episcopate had a cohesive approach to the crusades throughout the period. In order to address this, the thesis will take several thematic strands as individual studies. There will be an examination of the posthumous cults of English bishop-saints, the influence they had on crusaders, and the benchmarks they set for episcopal behaviour regarding the crusades; the use of crusade as ecclesiastical censure; the process of episcopal inquiry into crusaders, their goods and bequests to the Holy Land subsidy; and finally, the bishop-led inquiry in the proceedings against the Knights Templar in Britain. It will argue that although the English episcopate was united in regards to politics, learning, and reform, it was less unified when confronted with the crusades.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As the wheel of academia turns it is inevitable that a work such as this will accrue debts of gratitude to many people and institutions. It is my happy duty to list here my thanks to those who have helped me over the last three years. My immediate thanks go to the Manchester Metropolitan University for the award of a Vice-Chancellor PhD scholarship for three years' doctoral research, without which this thesis would never have come to fruition. Thanks is also owed in this regard to the committees of the HLSS and HSSR funds within the university for their generous grants which covered the costs of attending several conferences.

Foremost among the people that I need to thank are my supervisors, Dr Kathryn Hurlock, who conceived of this project, and Dr Rosamund Oates. Their guidance, high standards (and expectations!), and expertise have enhanced this work from beginning to end. For their advice and kindness through internal assessment panels I also thank Dr Jason Crowley and Dr Tilman Frasc. So many others have offered help and advice over the last three years. Special thanks go to Professor Emeritus Nigel Saul, Professors Paul Brand, Janet Burton, Kurt Villads Jensen, Helen Nicholson, Paul Russell, and Christopher Tyerman, and to Drs Jessalynn Bird, Thomas W. Smith, and Beth Spacey variously for sharing research and articles, giving advice, or reading extracts of my work with interest and offering comments on it. Thanks must also go to Dr Adam Chapman who acted as a 'library gopher' (his chosen title for this acknowledgement!), copying pages of several editions which I had trouble getting hold of. I am also indebted to the archivists at the Borthwick Institute York, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, the College of Arms, Hereford Cathedral Archives, Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre, Lincolnshire Records Office, The National Archives, and Worcestershire Archives and Archaeology Services for providing access to many documents.

I was lucky enough to win the inaugural Bernard Hamilton Essay Prize held by the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East with an article based on the research in Chapter Five. It was published in *Crusades* journal 2018. My sincere thanks to Professors Benjamin Z. Kedar and Jonathan Phillips and Dr Nikolaus Chrissis as editors and to the judging panel of the SSCLE for validating my research at a crucial juncture when morale was low and the end seemed an impossible way off.

Thanks is owed to several friends for their support throughout this entire process, especially Drs Sophie Ambler and Melissa Julian-Jones who encouraged me

and helped greatly with the application and interview process—one could say that you two are to blame! Thanks also to the support of Josie Owen, Caroline Aston, and Sue Clarke for making the work environment at Hereford Cathedral productive and taking an interest in my work. Finally, thanks to the support of my friends Rosie Corrigan, Ben and Beth Pink, Daniel Streets, Paul Watkins, Therron Welstead, and the newly minted Dr Owen Rees who provided both stimulating discussion throughout researching and writing as well as needed distraction when I disappeared for too long.

I owe a supreme debt of gratitude to my parents, Keith and Margaret, who endured much conversation about medieval bishops and the crusades. My father, in particular, decided to take upon himself the onerous task of reading drafts of my chapters and the full draft of the thesis before submission. Following my move from Herefordshire to Lancashire, my parents have kindly acted as custodians of my books and, while I have been moving as many as I can, both have fielded many telephone calls and have followed specific directions to find pages in many books, even for just single words or names.

The person saved for last had undoubtedly had the largest impact on this thesis in every regard. My most heartfelt thanks to Lydia Prosser, to whom I owe the greatest debts for her love, patience, encouragement, and support which sustained me throughout the writing of this thesis. It is to her that the Anglo-Saxon runes dedicate this thesis with my love and thanks.

Finally, any mistakes that remain herein are the work of Titivillus, the patron demon of scribes, who over the last three years has certainly collected a bumper haul to report to his master and damn my soul at Judgement.

I. L. Bass, at Preston (Lancs.)

On the feast of St Magnus the Martyr (*c.*1080–1115)

(19 August 2019)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Works not included in this list of abbreviations are referred to in full upon first citation; subsequent references are given in shortened form in accordance with the conventions of MRHA. Full details of all works cited are given in the bibliography. Multi-volume works are identified by volume number, with the exception of chancery rolls volumes; these are referred to by chronological range (e.g. *CPR 1232–1247*).

The primary printer for many of the Rolls Series volumes and other medieval chronicles in the nineteenth and twentieth century was an imprint of the company now known as Pearson Longman. The imprint changed many times throughout the nineteenth century and included up to five different names (e.g. 1862–1865 Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, and 1865–1880 Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer). For the sake of expedience, this publisher is simply recorded as Longman throughout the footnotes and bibliography.

AM	<i>Annales Monastici</i> , ed. by Henry Richards Luard, 5 vols, RS 36 (London: Longman, 1864–69)
C&S	<i>Councils and Synods: with other documents relating to the English Church</i> , ed. by D. Whitelock and others, 2 vols in 4 parts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964–81)
	I: <i>1066–1204</i> , ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke (1981)
	II: <i>A.D. 1205–1313</i> , ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (1964)
C.Inq.P.M.	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents</i> , ed. by J. E. E. S. Sharp and others, 20 vols (London: HMSO, 1904–95)
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
CLI	<i>The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) concerning England and Wales: A Calendar with an Appendix of Texts</i> , ed. by C. R. Cheney and Mary G. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)

CM	Matthew Paris, <i>Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora</i> , ed. by Henry Richard Luard, 7 vols, RS 57 (London: Longman, 1872–83)
CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> <i>Henry III</i> , 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1901–13) <i>Edward I</i> , 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1893–98) <i>Edward II</i> , 5 vols (London: HMSO, 1893–1901)
CPR _{eg} .	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland</i> , ed. by W. H. Bliss and others, 16 vols (London: HMSO, 1893–1989)
Ecumenical Councils	<i>Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils</i> , ed. and trans. by Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols (Washington DC: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), I: <i>Nicaea I–Lateran V</i>
EEA	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i> , ed. by David M. Smith and others, 45 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980–)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
HARC	Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre
HCA	Hereford Cathedral Archives
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
LRO	Lincolnshire Record Office
Northern Regs.	<i>Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers</i> , ed. by James Raine, RS 61 (London: Longman, 1873)
PL	<i>Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1841–55)
Reg. Cantilupe	<i>The Register of Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (A.D. 1275–1282)</i> , ed. by R. G. Griffiths, Cantilupe Society 1 (Hereford: Wilson and Phillips, 1906)

- Reg. Epist. Peckham* *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. by C. T. Martin, 3 vols, RS 77 (London: Longman, 1882–85)
- Reg. Gandavo* *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo Diocesis Sarisberiensis, A.D. 1297–1315*, ed. by C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes, Canterbury and York Society 40 and 41 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934)
- Reg. Giffard of Worcester* *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester: Register of Godfrey Giffard, September 23rd 1268 to August 15th 1301*, ed. by J. W. Willis-Bund, 2 vols, Worcestershire Historical Society 15 (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1898–1902)
- Reg. Giffard of York* *The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266–1279*, ed. by William Brown, Surtees Society CIX (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1904)
- Reg. Halton* *The Register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle A.D. 1292–1324*, ed. by W. N. Thompson, Canterbury and York Society 12 and 13 (London: For the Canterbury and York Society, 1913)
- Reg. Pontissara* *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara, Episcopi Wintoniensis, A.D. MCCLXXXI–MCCCIV*, ed. by Cecil Deeds, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society 19 and 30 (London: For the Canterbury and York Society, 1915–24)
- Reg. Romeyn* *The Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1286–1296*, ed. by William Brown, 2 vols, Surtees Society CXXIII and CXXVIII (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1913–17)
- II, *The Registers of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1286–1296 and of Henry of Newark, Lord Archbishop of York, 1296–1299*, ed. by William Brown Surtees Society CXXVIII (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1917).
- Reg. Swinfield* *The Register of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford (A.D. 1283–1317)*, ed. by William W. Capes, Cantilupe Society 2 (Hereford: Wilson and Phillips, 1909)

<i>Reg. Wickwane</i>	<i>The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York, 1279–1285</i> , ed. by William Brown, Surtees Society CXIV (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1907)
<i>Reg. Winchelsey</i>	<i>Registrum Roberti Winchelsey Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi</i> , ed. by Rose Graham, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society 51 and 52 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952–56)
<i>Rolls and Reg. Sutton</i>	<i>The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280–1299</i> , ed. by Rosalind M. T. Hill, 8 vols, Lincoln Record Society 39, 43, 48, 52, 60, 64, 69 and 76 (Hereford; Lincoln; Woodbridge: Various Publishers, 1948–86)
RS	Rolls Series
<i>The Proceedings</i>	<i>The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles</i> , ed. and trans. by Helen J. Nicholson, 2 vols (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011)
YBI	York, Borthwick Institute for Archives

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

Throughout this thesis both original texts and translations have been used. Wherever possible the translations provided are my own, which sometimes differ to a greater or lesser degree to those in printed translation. Reference to modern published translations have been made for the reader's benefit.

The dates of the episcopates for the English bishops given throughout this thesis have been made in accordance with the details provided in the *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. by E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks No. 2, third edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; repr. 2003). Medieval dates have been converted into their modern equivalents for the reader's ease. This has been done in accordance with *A Handbook of Dates for students of British History*, ed. by C. R. Cheney, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 4, new edn., rev. by Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; repr. 2004).

It also is worth making a note on the currency, since differing denominations are used throughout this thesis. During the period under study here there was one coin in circulation in England, the silver penny or denier which is denoted by a *d*. Medieval pennies were made of high concentrations of silver making them malleable for folding as votive offerings to saints or for cutting to form smaller denominations. The reverse of these coins featured a cross (either voided short-cross or a long-cross pattée) which acted as a guideline for cutting them. A penny cut in half was a halfpenny and a quarter of a penny equated to a farthing. Quantities of pennies equated to pounds (*librae* usually denoted by an *l*. but will here be denoted with a pound (£) symbol), and shillings (*solidus* denoted by an *s*). There were 240 pennies in a pound and twelve pennies in a shilling, meaning that twenty shillings equated to one pound. The mark was a unit that existed purely for accounting purposes and was worth two-thirds of a pound (160 pennies) equating to 13*s*. 4*d*. Whenever marks have been used I have included the figures in pounds, shillings, and pence in brackets afterwards. Thus, a payment such as 1,000 marks equalled £666 13*s*. 14*d*., which would have been delivered to the royal chancery in barrels as 160,000 individual silver pennies.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In the same year [1058] Bishop Ealdred consecrated the minster of Gloucester which he himself completed in praise of God and St Peter, and so travelled to Jerusalem, with greater honour than any other did before him, and there commended himself to God, and also offered a worthy gift to our Lord's Sepulchre – that was a golden chalice worth five marks, and of very wonderful workmanship.¹

Thus, the anonymous D (Worcester) recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* recorded the first journey of an English bishop to the Holy Land in 1058 after consecrating his abbey foundation at Gloucester. This was not an unusual feat, even during the Anglo-Saxon period.² The bishops of Europe had, at different times, travelled to the Holy Land as pilgrims in order to visit the places associated with the passion of Christ. Other bishops had travelled to Jerusalem much earlier than Bishop Ealdred of Worcester (1044–1062) and Hereford (1056–1061), such as Arculf 'a bishop of Gaul' (*Galliarum Episcopus*) who had ended up shipwrecked off the shore of Iona (Scotland) on his homeward journey in the late 600s. Bishop Arculf's descriptions of the holy places were written up by Abbot Adomnán and eventually copied into the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.³ Bishop Ealdred, however, was the first bishop from England to travel to the Holy Land, going 'with greater honour than any other

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles: New Edition*, ed. and trans. by Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 189; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Worcester Chronicle, Cotton Tiberius B.iv*, available at: <<http://catalog.lambertvillelibrary.org/texts/OldEnglish/aschron/OE/d/>> [Accessed: 30 June 2019]. 'On þam ilcan gere Ealdred biscop halgode þæt mynster on Gleanwestre þe he sylf geforðode, Gode to lofe Sancte Petre, swa ferde to Hierusalem mid swilcan weorðscipe swa nan oðer ne dyde atforan him hine sylfne þar Gode betæhte, wurdlic lac eac geoffrode to ures Drihtenes byrgene, þæt was an gylden calic on fíf marcon, swiðe wundorlices geworces.'

² A. Grabois, 'Anglo-Norman England and the Holy Land', in *Anglo-Norman Studies VII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984*, ed. by R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1985), pp. 132–160 (esp. pp. 132–34).

³ Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969; repr. 1991), pp. 506–13 (quote pp. 506–07); *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land (About the Year A.D. 670)*, trans. by James Rose Macpherson, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London: 24 Hanover Square, 1895).

did before him', and, as the eleventh-century chronicle of Florence of Worcester reports, 'he crossed the sea and set out through Hungary for Jerusalem, which no English archbishop or bishop was known to have done up to then.'⁴ Following the call for what became the First Crusade (1095–1099) by Pope Urban II (1088–1099) at the Council of Clermont in November 1095, English bishops took up arms and aided in the recruitment, funding, and fighting in the Holy Land, with their participation being noticeable from the Second Crusade (1147–1149) onwards.

The central question that this thesis addresses is: was there a cohesive approach to the crusades taken by the English episcopate throughout the period 1170 to 1313? Some recent studies which have focussed on English bishops' participation in religious education and the political community of England have concluded that in these regards the bishops were united in their approach. Andrew Reeve's study of religious learning observed that while the character of English bishops varied greatly in the period 1215–1281 '[w]e can nevertheless follow a skein of interest in ecclesiastical reform throughout the period', even to the point of allowing comparison of English synodal statutes to those of the French episcopate in the *langue d'oïl*, finding degrees of commonality between episcopates.⁵ This work, and that of William Campbell on pastoral care in thirteenth-century England, have convincingly argued against the summary given by Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang some eight decades ago, that, in the aftermath of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, there was not a unified programme of reform followed by the English episcopate.⁶ Similarly, Sophie Ambler's examination

⁴ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. by Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995–98), II: *The Annals from 450–1066* (1995), pp. 584–85.

⁵ Andrew Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 27–29, 53.

⁶ William H. Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215–1272: With Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 130.

of the English episcopate's role in the politics of England claimed that '[b]y the 1250s, England's episcopate was distinguished by a formidable corporate solidarity, beaten into toughened shape by royal demands.'⁷ The same unity can also be seen in the French episcopate with regards to royal resistance and how episcopal networks brought bishops together.⁸

This thesis's central theme, therefore, is that of episcopal unity. It examines whether or not the English episcopate was as similarly united in its promotion, promulgation, and participation of the crusades as it was regarding learning, reform, and political involvement. The overarching question at the heart of this thesis is: was there a cohesive approach to the crusades taken by the English episcopate throughout the period 1170 to 1313? In answering this question, several further questions are raised, which this study will answer. Which bishops went on crusade in our period and who took the cross? Was there a model which English bishops could follow when formulating their approach to the crusades and crusading? What part did English bishops play in the bestowal of the crusader's cross and the enforcement of their vows? What methods were put in place for English bishops to account for crusaders and their obligations to the Holy Land? What role did the English episcopate take in the trial of the English order of the Knights Templar?

⁷ S. T. Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England, 1213–1272* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 82.

⁸ Walter Yesbaert, 'The Power of Personal Networks: Clerics as Political Actors in the Conflict between Capetian France and the County of Flanders during the last decade of the Twelfth Century', in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 165–83.

II. HISTORIOGRAPHY

II.1 BISHOPS

The historiography of medieval England, in general, is characterized primarily by its focus on secular state and royal governance. By no means is the English episcopate understudied, yet when compared to those works on secular rule there is a notable disparity. For instance, comparatively few biographies of bishops exist compared to their secular counterparts and their families. On the other hand, there are far more biographies of bishops for the period after 1272 since there is more information available. This is the point at which diocesan administration evolved with the development of registration.⁹ The primary focus of these studies are generally the contrasting demands of Church and State on the English episcopate and the role particularly prominent prelates took in this regard. Similarly, the difficulties faced by the English episcopate after King Edward I's (1272–1307) death in 1307 and during the rule of his son, Edward II (1307–1327), have provided several case studies of episcopal biography set amidst the backdrop of royal governmental turmoil.¹⁰ These

⁹ A selection of biographies for bishops included in this study: C. R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1967); G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset: A Biography of the Twelfth-Century Bishop of Durham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1928); *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death*, ed. by Daniel Angelo Philip Callus (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955); R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, second edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); C. H. Lawrence, *St Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (London: 1960); Richard Huscroft, 'The Political Career and Personal Life of Robert Burnell, Chancellor of Edward I' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Kings College in the University of London, 2000). For the origins and development of episcopal registration see: A. Daniel Frankforter, 'The Origin of Episcopal Registration Procedures in Medieval England', *Manuscripta*, xxvi (1982), 67–89; C. R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100–1250* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950), pp. 106–09.

¹⁰ *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton, c.1275–1345*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Third Series 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Jeffrey H. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294–1313: A study in the defence of ecclesiastical liberty*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Third Series 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University

studies have utilized the chronicles, histories, and episcopal documents of the period in order to establish what they can about particular bishop's identities and characters. At many times they attempt to explore the medieval characterization of particular bishops who were praised, such as St Thomas of Canterbury (1162–1170, canonized 1173), or to provide a balanced rehabilitation of those who were condemned by their contemporaries, like Bishop Peter des Roches of Winchester (1206–1238).¹¹

With the establishment of various learned societies dedicated to the production of medieval documents in the nineteenth century, there has been a sustained scholarly interest in episcopal registers which have received treatment, although Alison McHardy claims that episcopal registers are still a 'neglected resource' in modern scholarship outside of ecclesiastical history.¹² Similarly, recent shifts in historical scholarship have moved the study of bishops away from a biographical focus towards large general studies focussed on aspects of diocesan administration or other thematic strands, especially with the establishment of the Power of the Bishop conference

Press, 1980); C. M. Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, 1283–1311* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

¹¹ David Knowles, *Thomas Becket, Leaders of Religion* (California, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971); Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1990); Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket, Reputations* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004); John Guy, *Thomas Becket: Warrior, Priest, Rebel, Victim: A 900-Year-Old Story Retold* (London: Viking, 2012); Nicholas Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205–1238*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). See also D. Boyer-Gardner, 'La réputation face à la rumeur: Fama épiscopale et mémoires ecclésiales au XI–XII siècles', in *La rumeur au Moyen Âge: du mépris à la manipulation: Ve–Xve siècle*, ed. by Maïté Billoré and Myriam Soria (Rennes, 2011), pp. 63–82.

¹² Alison K. McHardy, 'Bishops' Registers and Political History: a Neglected Resource', in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Philippa M. Hoskin, C. N. L. Brooke and R. B. Dobson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 173–93; David M. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales: A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of the Episcopacy in 1646* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1981); *Idem*, *Supplement to the Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales: A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of the Episcopacy in 1646* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 2004).

series.¹³ Many of these studies have relied heavily on episcopal registers when examining the thirteenth century, but for the period before registration became commonplace the *English Episcopal Acta* project has shed new light on varying aspects of eleventh- and twelfth-century ecclesiastical governance and administration.¹⁴ This thesis sits neatly within this scholarly area of examination, addressing a ‘neglected area’, that of the crusades, which can utilize material drawn from episcopal *acta* and registers.

The historical record surrounding the English episcopate is therefore remarkably rich and the sources offer a wealth of information, though it needs to be treated carefully and critically. The registers were often not written by the bishops themselves, but by a registrar or a small team of registrars appointed by the bishop to ensure that important memoranda was not lost, and items of historical importance to the rights of a diocese could be found. One such example comes in the form of the episcopal register of Richard de Swinfield, bishop of Hereford (1283–1317), which

¹³ Power of the Bishop Conference, available at: <<http://powerofthebishop.blogspot.com/>> [Accessed: 05 July 2019].

¹⁴ *English Episcopal Acta*, ed. by David M. Smith and others, 45 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980–); Christopher N. L. Brooke, ‘English Episcopal *Acta* of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen*, ed. by M. J. Franklin and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), pp. 41–56; Henry Summerson, ‘Fear God, Honouring the King: The Episcopate of Robert de Chaury, Bishop of Carlisle, 1258–1278’, in *Thirteenth Century England X: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2003*, ed. by Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 147–54; Philippa M. Hoskin, ‘Continuing Service: the Episcopal Households of Thirteenth-Century Durham’, in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 124–38; *Idem*, ‘Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries through the Signification of Excommunication’, *Tabularia*, xi (2011), 35–47; Julia Barrow, ‘Why Forge Episcopal Acta? Preliminary Observations on the Forged Charters in the *English Episcopal Acta* Series’, in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 18–39; Michael Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance in Thirteenth-Century England: Reward and Punishment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); *Idem*, ‘*Officiales* and the *familiae* of the Bishops of Lincoln, 1258–99’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), 39–53; *Idem*, ‘Peter of Leicester, Bishop Godfrey Giffard of Worcester, and the Problem of Benefices in Thirteenth-Century England’, *Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 453–73; Thomas W. Smith, ‘English Episcopal Acta and Thirteenth-Century Petitions to the Pope’, *Archives*, 40 (2014), 16–22.

includes among its contents copies of the 1086 *Domesday Book* return for the manor of Leominster; the 1166 Constitutions of Clarendon and the letter written by Archbishop Thomas Becket announcing the excommunication of various English nobles; a 1217 charter of the forest; and a copy of the 1265 Magna Carta.¹⁵ Little personality can be gleaned from the information contained within episcopal registers, since the material generally concerns items which the bishop himself was involved in, and it is unclear how much it was the bishop's own input, or the registrar's, which influenced the selection of material for registration.¹⁶ These were moulded documents, produced by people with different agendas.¹⁷

The use of hagiographies and miracle collections is also an important source for this thesis. These were again produced by people who had a vested interest in the promotion of a particular person as a saint and were moulded for a particular audience. There has, however, been a surge of interest in medieval hagiographies of saints, as Patrick Geary put it, having 'moved from the periphery to the centre of the scholastic enterprise'.¹⁸ Studies by Ronald Finucane, Benedicta Ward, Michael Staunton, and Robert Bartlett have all showcased the uses hagiographies have for the modern historian.¹⁹ In these documents we can also gain glimpses of how people deposing or writing on that particular bishop's life saw their role in the promotion or participation

¹⁵ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 55, 108, 125, 313.

¹⁶ Burger, *Bishops, Clerks and Diocesan Governance*, p. 151.

¹⁷ For a comparative study of registration practices see: James Richardson, 'A Bishop and his Diocese: politics, government, and careers in Hereford and Winchester dioceses, 1282–1317' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2016).

¹⁸ Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 10.

¹⁹ Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995); Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, Event, 1000–1215* (London: Scholar Press, 1982); Michael Staunton, *Thomas Becket and his Biographers* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006); Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

of the crusades. Similarly, the miracles produced by the saints can afford us an insight into the minds of the people who departed on crusade, and how they might turn to English episcopal-saints in their hour of need.

This material has rarely been used in the study of the crusades. There is much untapped potential in episcopal registers and hagiographies for the study of the crusades throughout the late twelfth and the entire thirteenth century. It affords insights into how the English episcopate approached the matter of the crusades. Taken together, alongside the material produced regarding the crusades, these records can help paint a vivid picture of the English episcopate's role in the promotion, recruitment, and participation in these campaigns.

II.2 CRUSADES

A great deal of ink has been spilled over the crusades in terms of their political and military histories, to such an extent that summaries of the historiography have been produced.²⁰ Even though a recent study by Torben Neilsen has revealed that towards 2011 the production of crusade scholarship was falling, it is still a burgeoning field of study.²¹ It is not the intention here to cover the wider scholarship of the crusades, but that which is most pertinent to the geographical remit of this study: England.

²⁰ The most comprehensive account of the crusades is Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Group, 2006). For the historiography of the crusades see: *Idem*, *The Debate on the Crusades, 1099–2010* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Giles Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades', repr. in Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 3–32; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* fourth edn. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006).

²¹ Torben Kjaersgaard Neilsen, 'Research Output in Medieval and Crusade Studies 1981–2011: A Bibliometric Survey', *Crusades*, 16 (2017), 147–64. Some recent works on the crusades include: *Crusading Europe: Essays in Honour of Christopher Tyerman*, ed. by G. E. M. Lippiatt and Jessalynn Bird, *Outremer Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East* 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019); Christopher Tyerman, *The World*

In recent years the twists and turns of crusading scholarship have led to a more introspective examination of the effects and uses the crusades had on the home territory of those people who journeyed to the centre of the medieval Christian world. Large national studies—such as the British triumvirate of Alan MacQuarrie, Christopher Tyerman, and Kathryn Hurlock, who have written *Scotland and the Crusades*, *England and the Crusades*, and *Wales and the Crusades* respectively—have shed a great deal of light on the home situations of crusaders and the effects of the crusades in these localities, paving the way for examinations which are closer still in their scope.²² Even more introspective have been those regional case studies building on the frameworks of the above and examining crusaders from particular areas, such as Yorkshire, Cornwall, the Midlands—with an especial focus on Lincolnshire—and, most recently, Cheshire.²³ In turn, these have paved the way for examinations which are closer still,

of the Crusades (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019); Jonathan Phillips, *The Life and Legend of the Sultan Saladin* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019); Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader*, Sermo 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019); Jason T. Roach, *The Crusade of King Conrad III of Germany: Warfare and Diplomacy in Byzantium, Anatolia and Outremer, 1146–1149*, Outremer Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming in production). The publisher Boydell and Brewer has also just launched a new series, *Crusading in Context*, available online: <<https://boydellandbrewer.com/bb-authors-crusading-in-context>> [Accessed: 05 July 2019].

²² Alan MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1997); Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1988); Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c.1095–1291* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011). Further mention should be made of John France, ‘The Normans and Crusading’, in *The Normans and Their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. by Richard P. Abels and Bernard S. Bachrach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 87–101; Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1988); Kathryn Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades, c.1000–1300* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2013); *Idem*, ‘The Crusades to 1291 in the annals of Medieval Ireland’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 37 (2011), 517–34.

²³ Hugh M. Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire 1154–1215* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Nicholas Orme and O. J. Padel, ‘Cornwall and the Third Crusade’, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (2005), 70–77; Michael R. Evans, ‘Crusade and Society in the English Midlands, c.1160–1307’ (unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Nottingham, 1996), chapter 6 ‘Lincolnshire and the Crusades: A Local Study’, pp. 269–326; Kathryn Hurlock, ‘Cheshire and the Crusades’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 159 (2010), 1–18.

investigating the motivations of specific individuals and small groups of crusaders both pre- and post-campaign.²⁴

The sources available for use on the history of the crusades are multifaceted and come in the form of histories and chronicles as well as ecclesiastical and governmental memoranda. The crusades themselves attracted considerable attention from medieval chroniclers. For England the Third Crusade (1189–1192) is one of the best documented, having attracted treatment by Anglo-Norman chroniclers such as Roger of Howden, who narrated the events of the crusade in both of his works.²⁵ Several other chronicles also recorded information regarding the crusades and their impact on England, as well as who took the crusader's cross and went on these campaigns.²⁶ Other crusades often received cursory coverage in the chronicles as for

²⁴ Emma Mason, 'Fact and Fiction in the English Crusading Tradition: The Earls of Warwick in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 14 (1988), 81–95; Michael R. Evans, 'The Ferrers Earls of Derby and the Crusades', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 44 (2000), 69–91; Andrew Abram, 'The Pilgrimage and Crusading Activities of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, ed. by Kathryn Hurlock and Paul Oldfield (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 125–28; Kathryn Hurlock, 'A Transformed Life? Geoffrey of Dutton, the Fifth Crusade, and the Holy Cross of Norton', *Northern History*, 54 (2017), 15–27; Alan Forey, 'Otto of Grandson and the Holy Land, Cyprus and Armenia', *Crusades*, 16 (2017), 79–93.

²⁵ Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Howedene*, ed. by William Stubbs, 4 vols, RS 51 (London: Longman, 1868–71), II, pp. 8–186; [Roger of Howden], *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I A.D. 1169–1192*, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 49 (London: Longman, 1867), II, pp. 10–252. The *Gesta* was originally attributed by William Stubbs to the authorship of Benedict of Peterborough; however, Doris Stenton's examination and attribution to Roger of Howden is now the accepted view: Doris M. Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', *EHR*, 68 (1953), 574–82; John Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on the Crusade', in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. by David O. Morgan (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1982), pp. 60–75.

²⁶ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, RS 66 (London: Longman, 1875), pp. 1–208; Ralph of Diss, *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Landoniensis Opera Historica: The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 68 (London: Longman, 1876); Richard de Templo, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I: Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 38 (London: Longman, 1864–65); *Idem, Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. by Helen J. Nicholson, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 3 (Farnham: Ashgate, 1997); Richard of Devizes, *De rebus gestis Ricardi primi*, ed. by

the Fifth (1217–1221), Sixth (1228–1229), and Ninth Crusades (1271–1272) which, although they were primarily characterized by large English contingents, appeared to be far less fascinating to the medieval chronicler than the home political situations.

Again, one must be careful of the personal prejudices and antipathies that were carried far in medieval writing. The noted thirteenth-century polymath, Matthew Paris, for instance, recorded his own criticisms of the Roman Church in the face of the ‘Sicilian Business’ by stating in 1255 ‘Alas! For shame and grief! These and other detestable things emanated at this time from the sulphurous fountain of the Roman Church.’²⁷ It is, however, made clear in many of the chronicles from the Middle Ages that, even though their primary target audiences were the clergy and the literate, many chroniclers knew their place as historians. Again, Matthew Paris provides for us his own lamentation on the burdens of being an historian: ‘the lot of historians is a hard one, if one speaks the truth it offends man, and if they write falsely they offend God.’²⁸ In these cases medieval writers sometimes omitted information from their narratives in order to suit the author’s specific purpose. Knowing the reasons for writing and the audience these sources were written for matters, much like it does today in historical disciplines. As noted by Paul Cartledge, ‘all history [...] is contemporary history—in the profound sense that the historian is herself or himself a victim of contemporary

Richard Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols, RS 82 (London: Longman, 1884–89), III (1886), pp. 379–454; *Idem*, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. and trans. by John T. Appleby, Nelson’s Medieval Texts (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1963); William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. by Richard Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols, RS 82 (London: Longman, 1884–89), I–II (1885), pp. 409–500.

²⁷ *CM*, V, p. 124. ‘Haec et alia detestabilia a sulphureo fonte Romanae ecclesiae, prod pudor, immo et prob dolor, tunc temporis emanarunt.’

²⁸ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 469–70. ‘Dura enim est conditio historiographorum; quia si vera dicantur, homines provocantur; si falsa scripturis commendantur, Deus, qui verideos ab adulatoribus sequestrat, non acceptat.’

pressures, and is writing or composing for a contemporary audience in terms that must make some sense to that imagined readership.²⁹

II.3 BISHOPS AND THE CRUSADES

Few studies have undertaken a sustained study of the role and impact that bishops had on the crusades. This discrepancy is largely the result of both spheres of interest being relatively far removed from each other, with medieval Church historians focussing on aspects such as papal relations, diocesan reform, and methods of episcopal administration, whereas crusade historians have naturally focussed on the expeditions to the Holy Land and have recently backward engineered this to examine the impact the crusades had on the localities from which the armies originated.

The Church has received some attention with regards to the crusades, generally in the realm of the papal approach to the expeditions, though in wider terms than a regional, geographic study.³⁰ A similar approach has been taken in the realm of crusade preaching, with surveys conducted by Penny Cole and Christoph Maier.³¹ In many ways it is impossible to completely disentangle the crusade narrative from that of Church history, especially since it was the papacy which commissioned these holy wars and churchmen of varying secular and monastic orders who carried out their administration. These narratives, however, have always been subsumed into the larger

²⁹ Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 13.

³⁰ Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986); Rebecca Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011); Philip B. Baldwin, *Pope Gregory X and the Crusades* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014).

³¹ Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991); Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); *Idem, Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

studies of the crusades and thus the focus inevitably shifts away from the Church and on to the primarily secular leadership and make up of the crusading armies.

Very few studies, therefore, have ever married the concept of bishops and the crusades, though there are some exceptions. For the early period, surrounding the First Crusade in the eleventh century, studies which examine the role taken by Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy (c.1080–1098), in the leadership of the First Crusade abound.³² Similarly, some recent studies have acknowledged that the tale of Archbishop Turpin of Reims (d. c.794x800) forms the basis for the archetypal crusading bishop as described in *The Song of Roland*, especially since the poem underwent a revival, with manuscripts depicting him as a knight wearing a mitre on top of his great helm.³³ This image of the original crusading bishop appears to have influenced other crusading songs throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³⁴

For the period of our study, the long thirteenth century, some examinations do exist, although they focus on specific English bishops and their own mentality and attitude towards the crusades. For instance, the attitude and approach of Archbishop John Peckham of Canterbury (1279–1292) has been explored by William Chester Jordan, and Michael Sheehan showed that Archbishop John's academic writings had connections to the way he conducted his archiepiscopate.³⁵ The most important studies

³² James A. Brundage, 'Adhemar of Puy: The Bishop and His Critics', *Speculum*, 34 (1959), 201–12. Virtually all narratives of the First Crusade cover Adhemar's time as lead ecclesiastic.

³³ St Gallen (Switzerland), Stiftsbibliothek, MS Vad. 302 II, fol. 35v; *The Song of Roland*, trans. by Dorothy Leigh Sayers (London: Penguin, 1957); William J. Purkis, 'Rewriting the History Books: The First Crusade and the Past', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. by Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 139–54 (pp. 148–150); Hugh M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066–1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 213–14.

³⁴ Caroline Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 99–100.

³⁵ William Chester Jordan, 'John Pecham on the Crusade', *Crusades*, 9 (2010), 159–71; Michael M. Sheehan, 'Archbishop John Pecham's Perception of the Papacy', in *The Religious Rolls of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150–1330*, ed. by Christopher Ryan, *Papers in Medieval Studies* 8 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1989), pp. 229–45.

regarding English bishops on crusade, however, are the in-depth analyses of Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury (1189–1193) and later archbishop of Canterbury (1193–1205), and the crusade on which Bishops Peter des Roches of Winchester and William Brewer of Exeter (1223–1224) embarked between 1227 to 1231.³⁶ In these studies, it has been revealed that the bishops of England took a proactive role in the military organization and the pastoral care of the crusading armies before the arrival of the kings of France and England on the Third Crusade, and likewise that both the bishops of Winchester and Exeter took on leadership roles over the English crusaders on the Sixth Crusade since there were no lay magnates present.

Two studies comprise the closest comparisons to the work being undertaken for this thesis. The first study is that by Kurt Villads Jensen in his book chapter ‘Bishops on crusade’.³⁷ The second is David Spear’s book chapter ‘The Secular Clergy of Normandy and the Crusades’.³⁸ Jensen’s chapter analyses the development of the role of the medieval bishop in crusading, examining the theories, practice, and criticism which abounded throughout the Middle Ages. There is a heavy focus on the First Crusade, however, and examples supplementing the chapter are particularly focussed on crusading armies in Scandinavia, adding a new dimension to the historiographical debate regarding bishops and crusading.³⁹

³⁶ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, pp. 31–48; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 229–58; see also, K. R. Constable, ‘Two English Bishops in the Holy Land’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxi (1987), 46–57.

³⁷ Kurt Villads Jensen, ‘Bishops on crusade’, in *Dominus Episcopus: Medieval Bishops between Diocese and Court*, ed. by Antony John Lappin and Elena Balzamo (Kungl: Vitterhets Historie Och Antikvitets Akademien, 2018), pp. 83–99.

³⁸ David S. Spear, ‘The Secular Clergy of Normandy and the Crusades’, in *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, ed. by Kathryn Hurlock and Paul Oldfield (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 81–102.

³⁹ Jensen’s research expertise is crusades and crusading in Scandinavia: Kurt Villads Jensen, *Crusading at the Edge of Europe: Denmark and Portugal, c.1000–c.1250* (London: Routledge, 2016).

Spear's chapter on the secular clergy of Normandy and the crusades aimed to add to the scholarship surrounding regional studies of the crusades, by highlighting the place that the bishops and clergy of Normandy had in relation to the crusades for the period from the First through to the Ninth Crusade.⁴⁰ In it he chronicled the departure of Norman bishops and clergy, which can be traced in the historical record, on crusade to the Holy Land and the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). In his conclusions, he noted that parts of Normandy were weakly represented, such as Coutances, with no bishops fully participating in the crusades, arguing that the smaller geographic territory the diocese covered resulted in fewer people and resources, or that there is simply a gap in the historical record.⁴¹ On the other hand, the archbishops of Rouen were noted to have created an active centre for crusading, with many of the archbishops having links to the crusades and crusaders.⁴²

This study is therefore unique as it is the first of its kind to analyse the English episcopate's place in the historiography of Church and crusade history. By refocusing the history of the crusades away from the secular army to the bishops of England, it is hoped that new perspectives on the material available for the analysis of English crusading will be revealed.

III. METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

It remains to finalize the outline this thesis will take before moving on to the examination proper. First, however, some distinctions and definitions need to be made. This study is wholly concerned with the English episcopate and its role in the crusades in the period between 1170 and 1313. Throughout this period the king of

⁴⁰ Spear, 'The Secular Clergy', pp. 81–102.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

England held dominion over various continental fiefs—although much of the ‘Angevin Empire’s’ lands in northern France were lost by King John (1199–1216) in 1204. Thus there was a flow of highly skilled royal civil servants crossing both sides of the English Channel, with continental ecclesiastics such as Peter des Roches coming to the bishopric of Winchester, and English ecclesiastics like Walter of Coutances, who was born near Cornwall, becoming bishop of Lincoln (1183–1184) and then archbishop of Rouen (1184–1207).

After the Norman Conquest of 1066 the Normans assimilated with the Anglo-Saxon populace forming a genealogical development of Norman to Anglo-Norman, eventually to ‘English’ by the late thirteenth century with the loss of Continental possessions. As noted by Tyerman: ‘Any narrow definition of the term “English”, however, even in the sense of being “from England” distorts the nature of the cross-Channel Anglo-Norman aristocracy, especially at the highest levels.’⁴³ The inelegant ethnographic term ‘English’ in this thesis, therefore, does not refer to the geographical birth nationality of the person, but rather to England’s seventeen dioceses which were part of the provinces of Canterbury and York. The province of Canterbury in this period comprised the archdiocese of Canterbury itself and the dioceses of Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Chichester, Coventry and Lichfield, Ely, Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Rochester, Salisbury, Winchester and Worcester. The province of York was centred on the archdiocese of York and held jurisdiction over the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle. York also held jurisdiction over the Scottish diocese of Whithorn in Galloway, but that falls outside the scope of this study.⁴⁴

⁴³ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 15.

⁴⁴ The other Scottish dioceses became independent from the archdiocese of York sometime between c.1188 and 1192 with the issue of the papal bull *Cum universi Christi iugo subjecti*. A. D. M. Barrell noted that the bishops of Whithorn had sworn allegiance to the metropolitan at York and refused to attend the legatine council in Scotland in 1177 because the incumbent saw his diocese as part of the province of York. Barrell further highlights the reason for this allegiance in that the archbishop of York was likely

Considering that this thesis covers a period of 143 years with 183 bishops spread through seventeen dioceses in two provinces, the immediate question which must be raised is: is there enough common ground to be able to talk about ‘the English episcopate’ in any broad form? Reeves also had to ask a similar question at the start of his study, noting that ‘[t]he character of the various bishops between the years around Lateran IV and Pecham’s Lambeth constitutions varied immensely: saints, *magistri*, and a few monks jostled with *civirales*’.⁴⁵ Much like the works on religious education, pastoral care, and the political community into which the English episcopate integrated themselves in the thirteenth century, there is a skein of interest in the crusades which we can follow. This occurs from at least the time of the Second Crusade onwards when Bishop Roger de Clinton of Coventry (1129–1148) departed on the expedition and died outside Antioch in 1147.⁴⁶ English bishops thereafter went on crusade occasionally, and some others took the crusader’s cross at varying times before or during their episcopates. Bishops also took part as papally appointed collectors for the

the reason for the re-establishment of Whithorn as a diocese in c.1128. The see remained loyal to the northern archdiocese until the end of the fifteenth century. Whithorn is not mentioned in Tyerman’s *England and the Crusades*, and there is only one mention of crusading activity found by MacQuarrie in *Scotland and the Crusades*, with the Dominican friar, Ivo of Ayr, and his successors facing difficulty in extracting money lodged with the canons of Whithorn in 1261. See: R. K. Hannay, ‘The Date of the “*Filia Specialis*” Bull’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 23 (1926), 171–77; A. O. Anderson, ‘The Bull “*Cum Universi*”’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 25 (1928), 335–41; A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 46–47; Robert Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate (1279–1296)*, University of California Publications in History 58 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 94–96; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, *passim*; MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 55; also, Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 128. For a wider study of York’s metropolitan jurisdiction over the diocese of Whithorn, see Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, chap VI, pp. 94–108.

⁴⁵ Reeves, *Religious Education*, p. 28. On the background of some of the bishops in King Henry III’s reign see Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, pp. 185–99.

⁴⁶ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. by K. R. Potter, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976; originally printed London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1955), p. 157; *EEA 14: Coventry and Lichfield, 1072–1159*, ed. by M. J. Franklin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. xlvii–xlviii.

Holy Land subsidy, and some utilized the crusader's cross as a punishment in line with papal prerogative. In its most broad terms, even if the records do not survive, many of England's bishops likely took part in the periodic inquiries into crusader's extant vows, their goods, and their testaments.

The period being studied may also be seen as requiring some justification. The timeframe of 1170 to 1313 is a bastardization of the period colloquially termed 'the long thirteenth century' which is generally defined as the years between c.1180 to c.1330, with some studies beginning earlier and others ending later, and with some necessary overlap with other 'long centuries'.⁴⁷ Since this thesis examines the interactions of the English episcopate with the crusades, it is appropriate to define its chronological parameters within the deaths of two of England's medieval archbishops of Canterbury, the archdiocese with ecclesiastical primacy over most English dioceses.⁴⁸

The study begins in 1170 which marks the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket, on 29 December that year. This date usefully coincides with the period when English crusading was about to be popularized in earnest with the impending Third Crusade. The termination date for this thesis is similarly defined by the death of Archbishop Robert Winchelsey of Canterbury (1294–1313) on 11 May 1313. This is for two primary reasons. The first is that after King Edward II took the crusader's cross, the

⁴⁷ The Thirteenth Century Conference (formerly Thirteenth Century England Conference) defines 'the long thirteenth century' as the period c.1180 to c.1330. A similar bastardization occurred with Richard Huscroft's book, *Tales from the Long Twelfth Century: The Rise and Fall of the Angevin Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), which considered 'the long twelfth century' to comprise the period 1120 to 1216.

⁴⁸ For the longstanding dispute over the primacy of Canterbury and York see Roy Martin Haines, 'Canterbury versus York: fluctuating fortunes in a perennial conflict', in Roy Martin Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 69–105; also, Anne J. Duggan, 'Sicut ex scriptis vestris accepimus: Innocent II and the *insulae Britanniae et Hiberniae*', in *Pope Innocent II (1130–43): The World vs The City*, ed. by John Doran and Damian J. Smith (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 69–106 (pp. 81–86).

next English king to do so was King Henry IV (1399–1413) who went on crusade *before* becoming king.⁴⁹ The second is that, while a termination date of 1327 would also coincide with the death of Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury (1313–1327), this thesis focusses on the ‘traditional’ definition of crusades and crusading which effectively ends with the collapse of the Crusader States and the fall of Acre in 1291. By including Archbishop Robert’s archiepiscopate we can extend the remit of this study past 1291 and include the trial of the English Templars, which ended with the provincial Church councils of 1311. Archbishop Robert’s death, therefore, provides a perfect point at which to terminate this study.

The geographical focus of this investigation rests specifically on the crusades to the Holy Land, following the ‘traditional’ definition of crusading, that is a consideration of ‘only the expeditions launched for the recovery of Jerusalem or in its defence’.⁵⁰ This narrowing of focus is essential for several reasons. While the ‘pluralist’ and ‘generalist’ definitions may be the preferred stance for modern crusade historians, the scope of such an undertaking is far too broad for any significant case studies to be examined.⁵¹ Furthermore, many studies suggest that for English crusaders, the Holy Land and Egypt were the main theatres of war, especially with the Third, Fifth, and Ninth Crusades including sizeable English contingents, and many of those who participated in the ‘political’ crusades for Kings John, Henry III (1216–1272), and the Lord Edward (future King Edward I) felt that they needed to go on the Fifth and Ninth Crusades.⁵²

⁴⁹ For English crusading in the fourteenth century see, Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013).

⁵⁰ Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, p. xi.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xi–xii.

⁵² Evans, ‘Crusade and Society’, pp. 68–69.

There are issues with defining who exactly went on a crusade or what even constituted one. For much of the period the term *peregrinatio*, or pilgrimage, was used interchangeably to define the military expedition of a crusade to the Holy Land and it was not until the late twelfth century that the Latin term *cruisiatis*, which eventually turned into *crucesignatus*, meaning ‘cross-signed person’ began to appear to define crusaders themselves, although no term surfaced to define the expedition.⁵³ References to journeys to the Holy Land could be implied as either a pilgrimage or a crusade, even when outside of the traditional bounds of crusade dating; for instance, while he was dying from dysentery in 1183, Henry, the Young King (1170–1183), asked his erstwhile mentor, William Marshal, later earl of Pembroke (*d.* 1217) to carry his cloak which was emblazoned with a crusader’s cross to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁵⁴ ‘Marshal, Marshal’, declared the Young King in the thirteenth-century biographical poem, *The History of William Marshal*, ‘you have always been loyal to me, whole-hearted in your faithfulness. So I bequeath my cross to you, that you may bear it to the Holy Sepulchre on my behalf, to fulfil my vow to God.’⁵⁵

The two years spent in the Holy Land and what Marshal did there are unrecorded, although it appears that he spent time with the military order of the Knights Templar, deciding that before he died he would join the order. The question we must ask, then, is, was William Marshal a crusader himself? His journey to the Holy Land around 1183 does not conform to a general expedition, with the Third Crusade

⁵³ Christopher Tyerman, ‘Were there any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?’, in Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), pp. 8–29; originally published in *EHR*, 110 (1995), 553–77.

⁵⁴ Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155–1183* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 308; David Crouch, *William Marshal*, third edn. (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 64–68.

⁵⁵ *The History of William Marshal*, trans. by Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 99–103.

not occurring until 1189, and while he did take the Young King's cross, his journey was generally treated more as a pilgrimage than it was a crusade.⁵⁶

Thus the terminology is an impossible problem to solve. Therefore, 'crusader' has been used as a blanket term for anyone who either went to the Holy Land or was signed with the cross with some explanation of the person's circumstances or the period in which they made vows to go to the Holy Land wherever possible. For instance, Bishop Peter d'Aigueblanche of Hereford (1241–1268), left 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) in his will to the pope for the aid of the Holy Land, likely to fund someone to go there in his stead.⁵⁷ We cannot, however, be sure if this was its intended purpose, but it is probable especially since Bishop Peter had been signed with the cross and never made good on his own vow to go.⁵⁸ This is not just true for bishops, but for nobles and others as well. For instance, Roger de Clifford (*d.* 1284) was a crusader who went on the expedition to the Holy Land with the Lord Edward in the 1270s, and bequeathed in his will in 1284 50 marks (£33 6s. 8d.) for 'a certain man going to the Holy Land.'⁵⁹ The wording, however, is ambiguous and there is no indication whether the person was to go in the capacity of a pilgrim or as a fighter on crusade, but the latter is most probable since Roger himself had been a crusader.

Having now set out the adopted distinctions and definitions, this thesis will proceed thus. While a study which examines the crusades diocese by diocese is important, the constraints of space have curtailed this. The thesis therefore follows several thematic strands, each showcasing the attitude taken by English bishops

⁵⁶ For more on what can be uncovered of Marshal's time in the Holy Land see, Nicholas L. Paul, 'In search of the Marshal's lost crusade: the persistence of memory, the problems of history and the painful birth of crusading romance', *Journal of Medieval History*, 40 (2014), 292–310.

⁵⁷ 'The will of Peter de Aqua Blanca, bishop of Hereford, 1268', ed. by C. Eveleigh Woodruff, in *Camden Miscellany XIV*, Third series 37 (London: The Camden Society, 1926), pp. i–xi, 1–13 (p. 3)

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁵⁹ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, p. 283.

towards aspects or the administration of the crusades during the long thirteenth century.

Chapter Two gives a summary account of the bishops throughout our period of study who went on crusade as well as those who took the crusader's cross. It first explores the roles of bishops on the Third and Sixth Crusades. Afterwards a list of *episcopi cruce signati* and their interaction with the crusades is examined. Finally, a comparison is made between the role of the English episcopate on the crusades alongside the secular episcopate of Normandy. What is shown is that fewer English bishops than anticipated took the crusader's cross during our period of study, and gives crucial context for why the English episcopate seems to have been so disorganized with their approach to the crusades as a whole.

Chapter Three investigates the standards established by England's episcopal-saints with regards to how they approached the crusades in their lifetimes and the miracles they posthumously performed. It explores the fact that bishop-saints set the benchmarks for ecclesiastical behaviour towards pastoral care, asceticism, in life miracles, and learning based on a model established by the martyrdom and hagiographies of St Thomas Becket, yet the model did not do the same for episcopal attitudes towards the crusades. It sheds crucial light on the way in which other bishops later in the period would approach the crusades themselves and shows that there was no established model of behaviour or way to interact with the crusades, especially when we compare and contrast the interactions of those episcopal-saints, in their hagiographies and miracle collections, with those bishops who interacted with crusades yet did not achieve sainthood.

The fourth chapter turns to episcopal records in order to examine the use of the crusade as ecclesiastical censure by bishops throughout the period. The chapter is defined by a case study of a list of 283 crusaders in the archiepiscopal register of Walter

Giffard, archbishop of York (1266–1279). Comparison of the cases which received the sanction of the cross in the archdiocese of York with those from other contemporary cases in the dioceses of Lincoln and Worcester, and by Archbishop Walter's successors, William Wickwane (1279–1285) and John le Romeyn (1286–1296), are used to contextualize the lists. This case study is the first dedicated examination of these lists, breaking them down with an in-depth examination, and challenging the established historical scholarly opinion on their contents. Attention also turns to those bishops who utilized the crusader's cross in order to avoid ecclesiastical censure themselves.

Chapter Five, like Chapter Four, is centred on ecclesiastical records, especially those utilized in the collection of data regarding crusaders. It explores the periodic inquiries which occurred throughout English dioceses between 1196 and 1291 and the development of the inquisitorial processes which were established by members of the English episcopate. Two case studies are utilized in this chapter in order to see this development. The first focusses on a list of crusaders from Lincolnshire which has traditionally been dated to the inquiries of either 1196 or 1201. Through a thorough analysis of the list's contents and the contemporaneous events it describes, this thesis argues for an accurate dating of 1196 and provides a further examination of the list which has generally been accessed from an edition which contains errors and omissions. The second case study revolves around three lists of questions found in the episcopal and priory registers of the bishops of Hereford, Lincoln, and the dean and chapter of Canterbury Cathedral dated from 1283 to 1291. This study sheds light on the development of the processes of episcopal inquiry into English crusaders, how these lists operated, and how they were utilized by thirteenth-century diocesan administration. In doing this, it examines the processes which the English episcopate put in place in order to account for crusaders, their vows, the disbursement of money

to crusaders, and the obligations to the Holy Land subsidy if crusaders should fail to fulfil them.

The sixth chapter is constructed around the attitudes of the English bishops towards the trial of the Knights Templar between 1307 and 1311. This chapter utilizes material available to investigate the approach of the English episcopate towards the trial, particularly those prelates who were papally appointed members of the inquisitorial panel, and the wider approach by the episcopate as a whole. It is the first study to examine the trial of the Templars solely from the bishops' perspective, and how English bishops either interacted, or did not, with the trial.

This present study demonstrates the value of examining the English episcopate with regards to the crusades on a number of levels. By using the different types of sources available, the thesis adds a new view on the English episcopate and its role in the promotion, promulgation, and participation of these holy wars, and how the crusades themselves affected the impact and evolution of diocesan administration. It challenges the current picture of an English episcopate which was almost unanimously united in its approach to large problems, such as learning, pastoral care, and royal taxation, during the thirteenth century, arguing that in regards to the crusades English bishops did not follow a cohesive approach. It demonstrates that all bishops throughout the period adopted different approaches and uses for the crusade vow that were shaped by personal agendas and concerns, thereby altering the current understanding of the unity and role of the English episcopate as well as the relationship between bishops and the crusades.

CHAPTER TWO: *EPISCOPI CRUCESIGNATI*

I. INTRODUCTION

On 16 April 1148, Bishop Roger de Clinton of Coventry died at Antioch, having journeyed there as a member of the Second Crusade.¹ While Bishop Roger was not the first English bishop to have travelled to the Holy Land, he was the first to have gone in the capacity as a crusader on a holy war. Bishop Roger was not the last either. The last English bishop to go on crusade depends on the definition of crusading that we use. This thesis uses the ‘traditional’ definition—that is, only the expeditions launched for the recovery of Jerusalem or in its defence—resulting in Bishops Peter des Roches of Winchester and William Brewer of Exeter being the last true English crusading bishops. However, others who would become bishops later in their career went on other crusades, such as Antony Bek, who became bishop of Durham (1285–1311) and patriarch of Jerusalem (1306–1311). If we widen our definition of crusade to the ‘pluralist’ term—that is, any campaign in which the person took crusader’s vows and the crusader’s cross—then we find that the last English bishop to go on crusade was Henry le Despenser, bishop of Norwich (1370–1406), whose crusade against Antipope Clement VII (1378–1394) was so characterized by his involvement and leadership it is generally known as Despenser’s Crusade or the Bishop of Norwich’s Crusade (1382–1383).²

The closest comparative study which has occurred is Spear’s chapter on ‘The Secular Clergy of Normandy and the Crusades’, which charts the attitudes and approaches of the Norman clergy, with a primary focus on the Norman episcopate.³

¹ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. by Potter, p. 157; *EEA 14*, ed. by Franklin, pp. xlvi–xlvii.

² Richard Allington-Smith, *Henry Despenser: The Fighting Bishop* (Dereham: Larks Press, 2003), pp. 54–81; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 333–42.

³ Spear, ‘The Secular Clergy’, pp. 81–102.

Another study, by Jensen, focussed more on the theoretical concepts of bishops departing on crusade and utilized examples primarily from Scandinavia.⁴ Unfortunately, no other studies yet exist for other European episcopates, since the bishop is often subsumed into the general crusade narratives which focus primarily on the role of the secular leaders.

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a summary of the English bishops who went to the Holy Land as crusaders, and to also account for those who took the crusader's cross in the period 1170–1313. It provides a summary account of the campaigns some English bishops fought on, as well as the dates of when and the reasons why some of the English episcopate took the crusader's cross during our period. Studies abound on English crusaders and crusading practice; however, none have sought to specifically examine the role of the English episcopate, or the number of bishops who took the crusader's cross during the period in which these campaigns occurred.⁵ The general assumption is, as noted in Hurlock's words, that 'there were many bishops amongst the ranks of crusaders.'⁶ While this is true in a general sense when considering all crusading campaigns and their international nature, this chapter demonstrates that the general assumption of 'many' English bishops going on crusade or taking the crusader's cross is somewhat exaggerated. This chapter therefore fills a gap in the modern historiography of the crusades and the role of bishops on these campaigns by providing an account of English episcopal crusading and crusade vows.

⁴ Jensen, 'Bishops on crusade', pp. 83–99.

⁵ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*; Lloyd, *English Society*; Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*.

⁶ Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 77.

II. ENGLISH CRUSADING BISHOPS

Between 1170 and 1313 five of England's prelates departed on crusade, with four returning home to England alive. The Third Crusade featured three English prelates: Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury (1184–1190), Bishop Hubert Walter of Salisbury, and Bishop John of Norwich (1175–1200). Archbishop Baldwin and Bishop Hubert became preeminent in their participation on the Third Crusade, particularly in the Holy Land, and it was because of the reputation Bishop Hubert gained on crusade that he was elected to succeed Archbishop Baldwin at Canterbury.⁷ Furthermore, aside from Archbishop Baldwin, Bishop Hubert was the only English bishop to actually fulfil his crusader's vow and reach the Holy Land.

Bishop John of Norwich set out on the Third Crusade, seemingly with every intention of getting to the Holy Land. He departed England and travelled through Burgundy, where he was robbed of his crusading funds. Thus destitute, he journeyed the rest of the way to Rome and sought absolution from his votive obligations to the crusade, and the pope freely granted it.⁸ King Richard, however, was far less sympathetic and charged Bishop John a further 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) to grant a formal commutation of the crusader's vow, despite the pope having already absolved him from it.⁹

Archbishop Baldwin took the crusader's cross at London in March 1185, and became a diligent proponent of crusade promotion in England and Wales from the crusade's official inception at the Council of Geddington on 11 February 1188.¹⁰ In spring 1188 he travelled the length and breadth of Wales over the course of eight

⁷ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, p. 39.

⁸ Devizes, *Chronicle*, pp. 10–11.

⁹ [Howden], *Gesta*, II, p. 115.

¹⁰ Howden, *Chronica*, II, p. 302.

weeks, a journey which was recorded by the twelfth-century polymath, Gerald of Wales.¹¹ Archbishop Baldwin was noted for having utilized the tour as a training ground for his prospective crusaders, forcing them to dismount from their horses and climb up steep valleys in north Wales.¹² The archbishop's tour was also, apparently, a resounding success with Gerald claiming that he had signed about 3,000 men with the crusader's cross.¹³

In March 1190, five years after having originally taken the cross, Archbishop Baldwin departed for the Holy Land. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to definitively compile a list of household officials who accompanied him on the crusade, but we do know of three for certain.¹⁴ Two are known from the martyrology of the abbey of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon:

In the year of our Lord 1190, the fifth kalends of May, the Friday before the Ascension of the Lord [27 April], two monks of Canterbury came to our church and they gave to us some relics of the blessed Thomas, archbishop and martyr, that is, some leather from his bed, a piece of his cowl, a cloth stained with his blood, and a cloth stained with the liquid used to wash his body. The

¹¹ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. S. Brewer and others, 8 vols, RS 21 (London: Longman, 1861–91), VI: *Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*, ed. by James F. Dimmock (1868); translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Group, 1978; reissue 2004). For the most comprehensive examination of Archbishop Baldwin's preaching tour see Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, chap. 2 'Recruitment: Archbishop Baldwin's Preaching Tour', pp. 58–92.

¹² Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, pp. 124–25; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 184. '*Venientibus itaque nobis ad vallem via duce, tam in ascensu quam descensu valde praeruptam, cuncti ab equis dilapsi pedites perreximus, ex conducto, tanquam Ierosolimitanae peregrinationis sicut tunc credebatur jamjam instantis quaedam praeludia facientes.*'

¹³ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, p. 147; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 204. '*In hujus itaque legationis longo laudabilique labore, circiter tria virorum millia crucis signaculo sunt insignita, lanceis et sagittis expeditissima.*'

¹⁴ Helen J. Nicholson, 'The Crusade of Baldwin of Forde, Archbishop of Canterbury', talk delivered at 25th International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, session 1304: New Approaches to the Third Crusade II, Wednesday 4 July 2018.

names of these monks are William Azelin and Aimery, who have now departed for Jerusalem with their lord, the said archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁵

It is interesting that monks from Canterbury also attended the expedition with Baldwin, especially because his departure came at the height of the Hackington dispute between the priory of Christ Church Canterbury and the archbishop. Before departure, Archbishop Baldwin had come to a compromise with the monks, destroying the collegiate buildings at Hackington and moving the building materials to Lambeth.¹⁶ As noted by James Barnaby:

we can see that the monks were in Baldwin's entourage, suggesting that they had been reconciled. However, from the Canterbury letters we know that William Azelin was a supporter of Baldwin. Aimery is otherwise unmentioned, but he could be the Brother A. referred to in several of the [Canterbury] letters. If so then it was likely he who carried the relics as he supported the convent in the dispute [...] If this is the case, then there was clearly still some bad blood as the monks refused to trust their beloved Becket to an archiepiscopal supporter.¹⁷

It is, unfortunately, unclear who else Archbishop Baldwin took with him on crusade from the priory of Christ Church Canterbury, but we know he took his chaplain, since a letter from the chaplain to the priory of Canterbury survives. It informs the priory that Archbishop Baldwin arrived safely in Tyre on 16 September 1190. The letter also

¹⁵ Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 634 (379), fol. 61v; printed in H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'An Early Report at Dijon of the Export of Becket's Relics', *Historical Research*, 52 (1981), 251–53 (p. 253); translated in James Barnaby, 'A Church for Becket? The Canterbury Dispute and the Canterbury Letters 1184–1200', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2018), I, p. 113. '*Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oC^olxxx^o, 1^o kl. Maii proxima vi feria ante ascensionem Domini, venerunt duo monachi Cantuarienses in ecclesia nostra et dederunt nobis de reliquiis beati Thome archiepiscopi et martyris, id est, de corio lecti ipsius, de lecisternio, de cuculla, de panno sanguine suo intincto, et de panno intincto liquore corporis sui liquefacti. Sunt autem eorum monachorum nomina Willelmus Acelini et Aymericus, qui cum domno iam dicte Cantuarie archiepiscopo Iberosolimam tunc proficiscebantur*'.

My sincere thanks to Dr James Barnaby for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁶ Barnaby, 'A Church for Becket?', I, p. 112.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 113.

described that, upon arrival at the crusader camp outside Acre on 12 October 1190, Archbishop Baldwin found the crusader army in disarray and having fallen into lax morality.¹⁸

Archbishop Baldwin spent time rectifying the issues of the crusader's army and even took the lead according to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*:

Baldwin, venerable archbishop of Canterbury fought among the rest; but he outstripped them all. He was old and infirm, so that military action was difficult for him, yet his perfect virtue enabled him to transcend his natural weakness. He had a banner carried high in front of his troops on which was depicted the glorious martyr Thomas. He had procured for the martyr a seemly and worthy following: 200 knights and 300 men-at-arms followed his banner and fought in the holy man's pay [...] He also discharged the duties of the patriarch [Heraclius], who was then ill in bed, by absolving and blessing the whole army as it set out.¹⁹

Unfortunately, Archbishop Baldwin also fell ill on the crusade, dying outside Acre on 19 November 1190.²⁰

Bishop Hubert Walter of Salisbury was the only other English prelate to actually make it to the Holy Land on the Third Crusade. He was consecrated bishop of Salisbury on 22 October 1189, administering his see for only five months before leaving in March 1190 on the crusade.²¹ Archbishop Baldwin and Bishop Hubert sailed together, with Ranulf Glanvill, direct from Marseille to Tyre and arrived on 16 September 1190. Bishop Hubert is treated in similarly praiseworthy tones by the

¹⁸ *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, trans. by Peter W. Edbury, Crusade Texts in Translation 1 (Farnham: Ashgate, 1998), p. 171 no. 6c.

¹⁹ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, I, p. 116; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 118.

²⁰ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, I, pp. 123–24; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 126; Diss, *Opera Historica*, II, p. 88; Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 29.

²¹ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, p. 32.

Itinerarium Peregrinorum, being present while Archbishop Baldwin is leading the army and '[t]he heroic bishop of Salisbury [Hubert Walter] could not bear to be absent from the expedition. He played an honourable role in the war: his virtues made him a knight in battle, a leader in the camp, and a pastor in ecclesiastical matters.'²²

With the death of Ranulf Glanvill shortly after arriving in Acre in October 1190, and Archbishop Baldwin's own death in the November, it became apparent, as noted by Cheney, that '[i]n these circumstances, before King Richard's fleet arrived in June 1191, the bishop of Salisbury became the most prominent Englishman in the camp.'²³ Archbishop Baldwin had made provisions for his own testamentary bequests to the crusaders at Acre, and the execution of his last wishes were left to Bishop Hubert. He was to disburse salaries to twenty knights and fifty of their attendants.²⁴ Bishop Hubert also organized collections for the poor crusaders who were struggling to make ends meet on the campaign.²⁵ Bishop Hubert was also significant enough a figure that he even met with Saladin in September 1192.²⁶

It was Bishop Hubert's role as the preeminent ecclesiastic at the head of the English army which brought him to the fore of the English episcopate. He returned to England carrying letters from the captive King Richard I, ordering his election as

²² *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, I, p. 116; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 119.

²³ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, p. 34.

²⁴ Diss, *Opera Historica*, II, pp. 88–89; Roger of Wendover, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History Comprising the History of England from the descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris*, trans. by J. A. Giles, 2 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1949), II, p. 100.

²⁵ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, I, pp. 134–35; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, pp. 135–36.

²⁶ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, I, pp. 437–38; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, pp. 377–79; Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. and trans. by Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), II, p. 191; Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, pp. 36–37; Phillips, *The Life and Legend*, pp. 297–98.

the new archbishop of Canterbury.²⁷ It was Bishop Hubert's reputation, forged on the Third Crusade which warranted his promotion to the archiepiscopate. As the letter reads:

The whole world well knows to what pains and perils the venerable Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, exposed himself and his men in the land overseas, for the sake of God's name and the relief of the East, and how many services he performed pleasing to God and all Christendom and ourselves. And since we have ample experience of the bishop's discretion, loyalty, and constancy, and of the sincere love he bears us, we wish to promote him to the church of Canterbury.²⁸

Clearly, while on the Third Crusade, Bishop Hubert managed to distinguish himself as the successor to the only other English crusading prelate, Archbishop Baldwin. He earned the trust of King Richard and even the respect of Saladin. He was as vigorous in his skills as a military commander, as he was a leader of the people, and a pastor in ecclesiastical matters. Moreover, Bishop Hubert was the only other English prelate, aside from Archbishop Baldwin, to actually fulfil his crusader's vow.

The Fifth Crusade was the only other campaign to feature English bishops in their army. They were Bishops Peter des Roches of Winchester and William Brewer of Exeter.²⁹ Bishop Peter appears to have utilized the chance to go on crusade to remove himself from a politically volatile period in English politics, in which he was the main target for dissent.³⁰ He already had pedigree as a 'political crusader', having been present as the hero of the hour at the Battle of Lincoln in 1217, where the medieval soldiers were festooned with white crosses on their armour and Pandulph, the papal

²⁷ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, pp. 38–39, 44; Barnaby, 'A Church for Becket?', I, p. 48.

²⁸ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, p. 39.

²⁹ The main account is in: Giles, 'Two English Bishops', pp. 46–57; and Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 229–58.

³⁰ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 230.

legate, granted them a remission of all their sins for taking part akin to the crusade indulgence.³¹

Bishop William of Exeter was the nephew of King Richard I's governmental official, William Brewer. The king's man, William, had taken the cross before King Richard's departure on the Third Crusade, perhaps with the intention to go with him. At King Richard's command, however, 'Geoffrey son of Peter and William Briwere and Hugh Bardolf laid aside the cross and were permitted to remain at home. The treasurer transferred the trifling sums they had collected to the Exchequer.'³² These three veteran courtiers were perhaps of more use to the home government of an absentee crusader king. William Brewer did leave a personal donation with the Templars in London, a sum of 4,000 marks (£2,666 13s. 4d.), for his episcopal nephew to make the journey in his stead.³³

In the summer of 1227 Bishops Peter and William set out on the crusade.³⁴ There they joined Emperor Frederick II (1220–1250), and remained bosom companions for the duration of their time in the Holy Land. They assisted with the fortification of the crusader castles of Sidon, Ascalon, and Jaffa.³⁵ We know that Bishop Peter was one of the crusaders permitted to enter Jerusalem in March 1229, and it is feasible that Bishop William might have done so too.³⁶ Both prelates also

³¹ There have been extensive debates surrounding this topic of 'political crusades', see Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* and Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), especially pp. 216–46; S. D. Lloyd, "'Political Crusades" in England, c.1215–1217 and c.1263–5', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. by Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 113–120.

³² Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 6.

³³ *CPR*, I, p. 117.

³⁴ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 247.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

played an important part in the negotiations between the sultan of Damascus and the Holy Roman emperor.³⁷ For the most part, they sided with the emperor, and thus potentially earned their suspension by the pope once he learned that the emperor had imprisoned the patriarch of Jerusalem who posed a threat to the new peace agreement.³⁸ It was not until mid-1229 that the two bishops went their separate ways, Bishop Peter of Winchester departing to the papal court and Bishop William of Exeter home to England.³⁹

It is also important to note that Bishop Peter appears to have had a personal dedication to St Thomas of Canterbury, and was responsible for the re-founding of St Thomas's hospital in Southwark after the fire of 1212. Similarly, he re-founded the hospital of St Thomas of Acre while on crusade between 1227 to 1229.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Bishop Peter's influence over the young King Henry III may have led to his own dedication to St Thomas in the 1230s, with King Henry ordering that 300 tapers be burned at St Thomas's shrine in Canterbury at an expense of £7 16s. 6d. in 1238 and donating 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.) in 1239.⁴¹

The episcopal leadership of the English crusaders throughout the Sixth Crusade in 1228–1229 was something that was in sharp contrast to the previous campaigns which had been led by leading magnates of the realm and the king. It has been noted, by Vincent, that '[n]o Englishman of lay magnate status accompanied the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253; Giles, 'Two English Bishops', pp. 55–56.

³⁹ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 523.

⁴⁰ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 82; *EEA IX: Winchester 1205–1238*, ed. by Nicholas Vincent (Oxford: Oxford University Press, nos. 47–55, 138.

⁴¹ Nicholas Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154–1272', in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyon*, ed. by Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 12–45 (p. 26); *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Henry III, 1226–1240* (London: HMSO, 1917–64), pp. 357, 396.

crusade in 1227', and that '[t]he baronage may have been discouraged by the political uncertainty surrounding the termination of Henry's minority, or by the widespread antipathy to des Roches. In any event, the bishop was joined by only a mixed force of clerics, members of his own household and minor county landholders.'⁴² It is still no insignificant matter that the bishops were the leaders of the English contingent on the Sixth Crusade.

Overall, the bishops of England seem to have taken leading roles on the Third and Sixth Crusades. Both Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and Bishop Hubert Walter of Salisbury took the lead at Acre before the arrival of the royal armies, and despite a heavy secular leadership presence, their role and imposition of ecclesiastical discipline made an impact on the chroniclers. This, however, is most likely because the chroniclers themselves would have all been churchmen. Similarly, both Bishops Peter of Winchester and William of Exeter took a notable leading role over the English contingent of the Sixth Crusade, and were there at some of the major turning points, being able to visit Jerusalem and fulfil their vows. After Bishop Peter returned to his diocese in England in 1231, it would not be for another 250 years that an English bishop would actually depart on a crusade, albeit not one to the Holy Land.

III. ENGLISH BISHOPS WHO TOOK THE CRUSADER'S CROSS

It has been generalized that many English bishops took the cross.⁴³ However, as noted by Lloyd, there were often various restrictions put in place in order to deter bishops from doing so.⁴⁴ Bishops would have to seek both papal and royal licence to depart from their country and episcopal see, and ensure measures were put in place so that

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴³ For example, Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 77.

⁴⁴ Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 74–75.

their cure of souls did not suffer. Furthermore, they needed to be able to raise a body of fighting men. It is these restrictions which, as Lloyd notes, 'help to explain the very modest participation of ecclesiastics in the crusades of the thirteenth century.'⁴⁵ It is clear, however, that some took the crusader's cross seemingly because they had a genuine desire to go on crusade to the Holy Land; a number of prelates took the cross as a means to escape ecclesiastical censure or to protect their diocesan possessions from their metropolitan; and some had been signed with the cross before they even became bishop. This section, therefore, provides a summary of those English bishops who took the crusader's cross and attempts to correlate some of the reasons why they did so. It is often difficult, however, to pinpoint an exact campaign for which these bishops took their crusader's vows and so it will examine the bishops diocese by diocese.

In the archdiocese of Canterbury some later archbishops of Canterbury had an interest in the crusades, such as John Peckham, who supported the efforts of Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292) to launch a new crusade.⁴⁶ However, despite crusade support from various archbishops only one archbishop appears to have taken the crusader's cross after Archbishop Baldwin. In Matthew Paris's thirteenth-century *Historia Anglorum* we find that in 1250: 'In that time, under the same Lord King, he [Henry III] accepted the cross from the hand of the archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface, and afterwards the archbishop himself [...] and many other nobles and courtiers [...] were signed with the cross'.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴⁶ Jordan, 'John Pecham on the Crusade', pp. 159–71.

⁴⁷ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia minor*, ed. by Frederick Madden, 3 vols, RS 44 (London: Longman, 1886–89), III (1889), p. 71. '*Tempore quoque sub eodem dominus rex crucem accepit de manu archiepiscopi Cantuariensis B[onifacii] et postea ipse archiepiscopus [...] et multi alii nobiles et aulici [...] cruce signatus est.*'

Whether Archbishop Boniface (1245–1270) actually had any intention of fulfilling his crusade vow is unclear. It is likely, however, that it was used as a means to prevent disputes and gain papal protection. As a foreign alien, Archbishop Boniface had been subject to the typical anti-alien rhetoric in England at the time, and had become rather unpopular as archbishop because of his exactions in order to remove the archbishopric's debts.⁴⁸ Archbishop Boniface did, however, manage to persuade the clergy of England to grant a crusading tenth in return for the king's reissue of Magna Carta, with a sentence of excommunication being issued on 13 May 1253, and ratified by the pope on 28 September, for anyone who violated the clauses.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Archbishop Boniface did not spend much time in England, and therefore does not seem to have prepared for or departed on a crusade.

In the diocese of Bath and Wells, the first bishop to take cross was Bishop Savaric fitzGeldewin (1192–1205). It is unclear when he did so, but it is possible that it was in the period around 1201, when a papal mandate had been issued for the investigation into backsliding crusaders who, once identified, were compelled to depart in summer 1202.⁵⁰ In 1205, however, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) had to grant a concession to Bishop Savaric 'to put off his departure for the Holy Land', since his churches were burdened with debt.⁵¹ No other source accounts for Bishop Savaric's attempt to go on crusade. Bishop Savaric did venture to Italy before he died in August 1205; however, this was on business to support Peter des Roches' election to the see of Winchester rather than on crusade-related business.⁵²

⁴⁸ Clive H. Knowles, 'Savoy, Boniface of (1206/7–1270)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2844>> [Accessed: 14 July 2019].

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ For more on the inquiry see below p. 210.

⁵¹ *CPR*, I, p. 22.

⁵² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 52.

The other bishop of Bath and Wells to take the cross was Bishop Robert Burnell (1275–1292). Bishop Robert first took the cross in 1270, five years before he was elected to a bishopric, yet never departed on the Lord Edward's crusade.⁵³ However, this was not the end of Robert Burnell's interest in the crusades. In December 1289, while he was bishop of Bath and Wells, Pope Nicholas IV gave him permission to set out and fulfil his votive obligations as a crusader, since he proposed 'to set out with a fitting body of soldiers at the first general passage.' Bishop Robert was also allowed 'to receive for three years the first year's fruits of all dignities and benefices which become void in his diocese', on the proviso that the cure of souls in the diocese was not neglected.⁵⁴ Bishop Robert did not, however, depart on this expedition. As observed by Richard Huscroft, this move looks 'like the actions of an ageing man attempting to put his affairs and his conscience in order.'⁵⁵ There has also been the suggestion that his reasons for retaking the cross and planning to set out on crusade came with its own political benefits, which Bishop Robert was keen to take advantage of:

Reports were emerging in 1289 of [A]rchbishop Pecham's poor health: if Burnell wanted to make another attempt to secure the archbishopric on Pecham's death, then it made sense for him to try and limit the number of objections which could be made to his postulation, and to remove the obvious barriers to promotion which may have stood in his way in 1278 and 1280.⁵⁶

The objections and barriers which stood in his way likely related to the fact that before Robert Burnell's promotion to the episcopate, he had committed plurality, controlling more benefices than his dispensation allowed him to. The pope therefore allowed

⁵³ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 87; Richard Huscroft, 'The Political Career and Personal Life of Robert Burnell, Chancellor of Edward I' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Kings College in the University of London, 2000), pp. 24–32, 43–46.

⁵⁴ *CPR*, I, p. 510.

⁵⁵ Huscroft, 'The Political Career', p. 105.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

Bishop Robert to ease his conscience by paying 600 marks (£400) to the Holy Land subsidy ‘as satisfaction of fruits unlawfully received from the said benefices.’⁵⁷

While both Bishops Savaric and Robert seemed to be sincere in their intentions, their ambitions ultimately came to nothing. Pope Innocent’s suspension of Bishop Savaric’s crusade vow came just months before his death, whereas Bishop Robert’s moves to go on a crusade campaign in 1289 seems borne simply from political scheming aimed at attaining higher office. The other nine bishops of Bath and Wells from our period do not seem to have taken much interest in the crusades, with none of them taking the crusader’s cross.

In the diocese of Chichester, one bishop may have taken the cross. During the last three years of his episcopate, St Richard of Chichester (1244–1253, canonized 1262), was a prominent proponent of crusade preaching and collecting.⁵⁸ In his testament, written before his death in 1253, St Richard stipulated that

I also bequeath in aid of the Holy Land 50 marks [£33 6s. 8d.], to be paid and delivered to Robert Chaundos, my brother, in order that he may go there if he is willing, for me, and to be paid to another, if the said Robert should be unwilling to go.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *CPR*eg., p. 506.

⁵⁸ William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the papacy with England, to 1327*, Studies in Anglo-Papal Relations During the Middle Ages I (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939), pp. 614–15; *CPR*eg., I, pp. 263, 264; *CPR* 1247–1258, pp. 164, 168.

⁵⁹ W. H. Blaauw, ‘The will of Richard de la Wych, Bishop of Chichester, commonly called Saint Richard, who died A.D. 1253’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 1 (1848), 164–92; *EEA* 22: *Chichester 1215–1253*, ed. by Philippa M. Hoskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 158–60 no. 188; translated in *English Historical Documents 1189–1327*, ed. by Harry Rothwell (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1975), pp. 776–79; *Saint Richard of Chichester: the sources for his life*, ed. by D. Jones, Sussex Record Society 79 (1995), pp. 66–70. For further references of the probate process see C. M. Woolgar, *Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate, 1200–1413: Wills, Executors’ Accounts and Inventories, and the Probate Process*, Canterbury and York Society CII (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), p. 17.

Many of his other bequests concerned donations to the Mendicant friars, with much of his possessions bequeathed to various religious houses.⁶⁰ This donation to the Holy Land subsidy was one of his largest bequests, with other high amounts given to his household clerks not exceeding £20.⁶¹ Unfortunately it is unclear whether Robert Chaundos went on crusade; however, it seems that St Richard might have taken the crusader's cross and this payment was in order that someone else might fulfil his vow. St Richard's donation seems to have been borne out of his innate sense of duty, having been a collector and a preacher for the business of the cross in England at this time. It seems, however, that St Richard was the only bishop of Chichester who took such a view to the crusades, with no other bishops from this see taking the crusader's cross during our period.

In the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield we can trace one bishop who appears to have made arrangements to depart on crusade. Bishop William Cornhill (1215–1223), had been appointed by the pope in 1219 to investigate the reports of miracles of St Hugh of Lincoln, alongside the archbishop of Canterbury and the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Fountains (Yorkshire).⁶² According to one of the surviving *acta* of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (1207–1228), written in November 1219, Bishop William had actually departed on crusade. The *actum* records:

When this mandate had been received, as previously when the bishop of Coventry had set out for the relief of the Holy Land, I set a day on which I personally came to the [cathedral] church at Lincoln and diligently held an inquiry through my authority, as obliged.⁶³

⁶⁰ E. F. Jacob, 'St Richard of Chichester', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 7 (1956), 174–88 (pp. 187–88).

⁶¹ Burger, *Bishops, Clerks and Diocesan Governance*, p. 230.

⁶² *CPR*, I, p. 66.

⁶³ *Acta Stephani Langton, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, A.D. 1207–1228*, ed. by Kathleen Major, Canterbury and York Society 50 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 64–65 no. 49. '*Recepto hoc mandato cum*

Furthermore, as noted by Lloyd, Bishop William appointed his seneschal as his representative at the royal exchequer in a move to ensure the smooth running of his financial affairs while on crusade.⁶⁴ It is likely that Bishop William's attendance at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 had given him the resolve to at least begin the journey if not complete it, and it is probable, considering the dating, that he had joined the Fifth Crusade, if only for a little while. What actually occurred and whether he made it to the Holy Land is not recorded anywhere.

In the diocese of Hereford one bishop took the cross during his tenure, and another went to the Holy Land before he became bishop. Bishop William de Vere (1186–1198), journeyed to the Holy Land sometime between 1170 and 1186, prior to his election as bishop of Hereford.⁶⁵ As noted by Julia Barrow, this association with the Holy Land comes from a copy of the *Epistle* of Prester John, which was likely acquired by William on his return journey through Byzantium.⁶⁶ It is, however, difficult to distinguish William de Vere's purpose in his journey to the Holy Land. Again, as observed by Barrow:

All the modern scholars who have discussed the poem have leapt to the assumption that William was a knight on the Third Crusade, but Roau does not refer to him as such, and William's visit in any case seems to predate the Arab capture of Jerusalem, which Gilbert and William visited. Moreover they were welcomed by the king of England on their return, which would have been impossible just after the Third Crusade, because Richard I was imprisoned in Germany. William's meetings with the ruler and the higher clergy of the Holy Land would suggest that he had been sent as an envoy by Henry II. It is

antea profectus esset Coventrensis episcopus in subsidium Terre Sancte prefiximus diem certum quo personaliter ad Linc' ecclesiam accedentes inquisitionem nobis auctoritate vestra commissam cum debita diligentia faceremus.

⁶⁴ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 75.

⁶⁵ Julia Barrow, 'A Twelfth-Century Bishop and Literary Patron: William de Vere', *Viator*, xviii (1987), 175–89 (p. 179).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 180–81.

conceivable that William accompanied William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, on his mission to the Holy Land in September 1177.⁶⁷

It does not seem that William wished to return to the Holy Land when he was bishop. He was present at the royal council of Geddington in February 1188, where he was preoccupied with the reconciliation of Archbishop Baldwin to the monks of Canterbury.⁶⁸ Furthermore, while he did not take the cross, he allowed Archbishop Baldwin to utilize Hereford as the starting and end point of his eight week long preaching tour of Wales.⁶⁹ Gerald of Wales was also a canon at Hereford Cathedral at this time, having been employed to write a new Life of Saint Ethelbert.⁷⁰

Bishop William, while not *crucesignatus*, seems to have maintained an interest in the crusades. Work by Simon de Friene, another Hereford canon in the 1190s, especially his *Vie de saint Georges*, appears to have Bishop William's influence present within it. It has long been thought that this poem was utilized as propaganda in order to urge English knights to take the crusader's cross for the Third Crusade.⁷¹ As Barrow has convincingly argued, it is highly probable that Bishop William had brought back the materials to write the poem from his journey to the Holy Land in the 1170s or 1180s, and then got Simon to write it in 1188 or 1189, 'perhaps in the spring of 1188 when Archbishop Baldwin visited Hereford at the beginning and again at the end of his tour of Wales to preach the Crusade.'⁷² Similarly, Hurlock noted two potential people who might have been associated with Bishop William's crusading enthusiasm

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 181–82.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁶⁹ For an account of the tour see Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 58–91.

⁷⁰ M. R. James, 'Two Lives of St Ethelbert, King and Martyr', *EHR*, 32 (1917), 222–36; Robert Barlett, 'Re-writing the Saints' Lives: the case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum*, lviii (1983), 598–611, suggests that the work was written c.1195.

⁷¹ Barrow, 'A Twelfth-Century Bishop', p. 187.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

in ‘Roger Plowden and a member of the Walcot family [who] both allegedly built chapels at St Michael’s church, Lydbury North (Shropshire), in the mid-thirteenth century as a consequence of returning safely from the crusade; Eyton believed that they had gone on the Third Crusade as representatives of William de Vere of Hereford.’⁷³

The one bishop from diocese of Hereford that took the cross was Bishop Peter d’Aigueblanche. According to Matthew Paris, Bishop Peter took the cross alongside Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester (1237–1266) in 1250.⁷⁴ Bishop Peter made himself indispensable to Master Rostand’s collection campaign for King Henry III’s crusade to Sicily, much to the chagrin of the English episcopate and chroniclers.⁷⁵ By 1268, he still had not been on crusade as planned, and was dying. In his testament he bequeathed 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.), from a debt owed by the archbishop-elect of Lyon, to the pope for the Holy Land subsidy to fund someone to go in his stead.⁷⁶ It would seem that, despite his reviled status among the English episcopate as a foreign alien, Bishop Peter’s desire to go on crusade was true, with the bequest acting as a ‘sop to his conscience’ for his unfulfilled vow.⁷⁷

It seems, therefore, that at least two of the ten bishops of Hereford during this period took a proactive interest in the crusades, with at least one taking the crusader’s cross while bishop. It is difficult to disentangle Bishop William’s status as a pilgrim or crusader before he became bishop in 1186; after election, he took a proactive interest in the Third Crusade, turning the diocese of Hereford into a base of crusade

⁷³ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 130; R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, 12 vols (London: John Russell Smith, 1854–60), XI, p. 219.

⁷⁴ *CM*, V, p. 99. ‘*tram praelati quam milites, videlicet Wigorniensis et Herefordensis episcopi [...] et multi alii, quos longum esset enumerare. Innumerabiles quoque nolentes in propatulo signum crucis vel accipere*’.

⁷⁵ *CM*, V, pp. 524–27 (p. 525).

⁷⁶ ‘The Will of Peter de Aqua Blanca’, p. 3.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

propaganda and the staging post for Archbishop Baldwin's preaching tour. Bishop Peter also took a proactive interest in the crusades and took the cross himself in 1250 as bishop. Unfortunately, his position as a foreign alien who supported the unpopular 'Sicilian Business' of King Henry III left him with few episcopal friends in England. In this case, his crusade vow would not have been for travelling to the Holy Land, but to Sicily instead, and not on a traditional crusade campaign. His deathbed bequest to the pope and the Holy Land subsidy, perhaps for someone to go to the Holy Land in his stead, seems to have rectified this.

In the diocese of Lincoln, one bishop might have taken the cross. According to the twelfth-century chronicler, Gervase of Canterbury, St Hugh of Lincoln (1186–1200, canonized 1220), took the cross at the Council of Geddington on 3 February 1188 alongside Bishop John of Norwich.⁷⁸ No other contemporary chronicler corroborates this: Roger of Howden and William Newburgh fail to record St Hugh taking the cross at the council, although Howden does record St Hugh's presence at the Council of Pipewell in September 1189.⁷⁹ Similarly, the biography of St Hugh, the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, fails to make any reference to its subject's involvement with the crusade.⁸⁰ The editors of the *Magna Vita*, however, treated the claim with less scepticism merely saying that 'at the council of Geddington of February 1188 [...] on which occasion he [St Hugh] took the cross, but for some reason was prevented from fulfilling his vow.'⁸¹ It is therefore impossible to know whether St Hugh ever did take

⁷⁸ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 73 (London: Longman, 1879–80), I, p. 410. '*Sumpsit autem crucem Johannes episcopus Norwicensis et episcopus Lincolnensis et populus multus.*'

⁷⁹ Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 15; [Howden], *Gesta*, II, pp. 33, 85; Newburgh, *Historia Regum Anglicarum*, I, p. 275.

⁸⁰ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, ed. and trans. by D. L. Douie and H. Farmer, 2 vols, Nelson's Medieval Texts (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1961–62), *passim*.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. xlv.

the crusader's cross with the intention of departing on the Third Crusade, but considering the wider source base available it is highly unlikely.

While other bishops of Lincoln, such as Robert Grosseteste (1235–1253) and Oliver Sutton (1280–1299), became intrinsically linked with later collecting campaigns for the crusades in England, no other bishop is recorded as having taken the cross. This perhaps shows that even if the bishops were collectors or preachers, they might not necessarily take the cross themselves.

The diocese of Norwich produced two cross-signed bishops, one of whom departed on crusade (Bishop John, discussed above), the other did not. The second bishop of Norwich to take the cross was the former papal legate, Pandulph Verraccio (1215–1226). It seems that Bishop Pandulph took the cross sometime before 1224, and according to Vincent, '[i]t is not improbable that he contemplated accompanying des Roches' on his crusade in 1227.⁸² This, however, never came to pass as Bishop Pandulph died in September 1226, before Bishop Peter's crusade departed England.

In the diocese of Worcester three bishops out of the sixteen in our period took the cross. Bishop Sylvester of Evesham intended to depart on the Fifth Crusade in 1218.⁸³ He was granted the first fruits of the diocese for three years if he decided to set out on crusade and all of his possessions were under the special protection of the papacy and Crown since he was now a *crucesignatus*.⁸⁴ This was unfortunate timing,

⁸² Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 75 n. 25; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 230; Henry de Bracton, *A Collection of Cases decided in the King's Courts during the reign of Henry the Third, annotated by a lawyer of that time, seemingly by Henry of Bratton*, ed. by F. W. Maitland, 3 vols (London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1887), II, p. 719 no. 942. '*Et quia Episcopus [Pandulph] itur in seruicium Dom. Regis ad curiam Romanam et preterea crucesignatus est, remanet loquela sine die usque aduentum Dom. Episcopi uel ad aliam summonicionem.*'

⁸³ CPR 1216–1225, pp. 143–44.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

however, because in July 1218 Bishop Sylvester died, leaving his crusading vow unfulfilled.

The second bishop was Walter de Cantilupe. According to Matthew Paris, Bishop Walter first took the cross in 1247, alongside William Longspée and others.⁸⁵ It seems that he repeated his vow three years later in 1250, being listed alongside the bishop of Hereford and various English nobles who took the cross.⁸⁶ At a meeting in April 1250, Bishop Walter was appointed as the crusaders' principal leader and 24 June was secured as their departure date.⁸⁷ During this time, Bishop Walter also acted as a collector of the Holy Land subsidy alongside the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste.⁸⁸ However, this crusade did not come to fruition. Papal censures stipulated that the crusaders must depart with the king whose passage was not fixed until April 1252 and would not set out until June 1256. Following this, disputes arose over the destination of the crusade, with the goal shifted from Jerusalem to Sicily. It seems that Bishop Walter never departed on a crusade, but his desire to do so seems to have been true.⁸⁹

The third bishop of Worcester who took the cross was Bishop Godfrey Giffard (1268–1302). He hailed from the widespread Giffard family which had a pedigree as noted crusaders throughout the various thirteenth-century campaigns. Two

⁸⁵ CM, IV, p. 629. 'Eodem quoque anno, episcopus Wigorniae et Willelmus Longa-spata et Galfridus de Lucy, in episcopatu Wigorniensis, et multi alii nobiles de regno Angliae [...] cruce signabantur circa tempora Rogationum.'

⁸⁶ CM, V, pp. 98–99. 'tam praelati quam milites, videlicet Wigorniensis et Herefordensis episcopi [...] Innumerabiles quoque nolentes in propatulo signum crucis vel accipere.'

⁸⁷ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 84; for the meeting see: CM, V, p. 102; Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, III, p. 72. 'Hujus congregationis et concilii capitaneus constituebatur episcopus Wigornensis Walterus, cruce signatus.' (quote from *Historia Anglorum*, III, p. 72).

⁸⁸ CPR_{Reg}, I, pp. 234.

⁸⁹ It is telling, perhaps, of this desire to go on crusade that prior to the Battle of Lewes in 1264, Bishop Walter raised the baronial army to the rank of crusaders by signing them with the cross. For more on this, see Philippa Hoskin, 'Cantilupe's Crusade? Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester and the Baronial Rebellion', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, series 3, 23 (2012), 91–102.

Scottish members of the family, Hugh and Robert, joined a Scottish contingent on crusade in 1250.⁹⁰ Alexander Giffard was a prominent member of the retinue of William Longspée in Egypt at the same time.⁹¹ Other crusade vows taken by the family were more scandalous. Osbert Giffard abducted two nuns from the diocese of Worcester, and was signed with the crusader's cross as a penance, although it seems that he never fulfilled his votive obligations in this matter.⁹² Bishop Godfrey did not take the cross until he lay dying in January 1302. He had, actually, been an active proponent in crusade preaching in 1275, and according to Lloyd, this might have been when he had originally taken the cross.⁹³ In Bishop Godfrey's will, he bequeathed £50 in order to send a knight to the Holy Land on his behalf to fulfil his vow.⁹⁴

The three bishops of Worcester who took the cross do not seem to have attempted to use it as a political device in order to gain preferment or political leverage. Instead, it seems that for each of them the crusader was of genuine interest, with an honest desire to go to the Holy Land as part of a crusading expedition. For Bishop Sylvester, it was poor timing that curtailed his ability to go, dying only months after taking his vows. For Bishop Walter, it seems that the king's petty jealousy that the bishop had pre-empted his own crusade vow in 1250 was what prevented him from actually departing on crusade. Finally, Bishop Godfrey seems to have longed to send someone to the Holy Land to take part in the crusades, yet had never managed to make arrangements until his death.

⁹⁰ Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 49.

⁹¹ *CM*, V, pp. 156, 168; Simon Lloyd and Tony Hunt, 'William Longspee II: The Making of an English Crusading Hero (Part II)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, XXXVI (1992), 79–125 (pp. 91–99).

⁹² *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 278–80; *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, III, 916–17; *EEA 37: Salisbury 1263–1297*, ed. by Brian R. Kemp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), nos. 397–98, pp. 472–74.

⁹³ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 75.

⁹⁴ *The Register of Bishop William Giffard 1303 to 1307*, ed. and trans. by J. W. Willis-Bund, Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1907), Latin, pp. 48–54, translation pp. 54–60.

In the diocese of Durham, three bishops utilized the cross in different ways. Bishop Hugh le Puiset (1154–1195) took the cross, yet wished to gain political office at home in England during King Richard’s planned crusade. In return for the commutation of his crusader’s vow and for the justiciarship of England, Bishop Hugh paid the king £10,000.⁹⁵ During 1201–1202, the then bishop of Durham, Philip of Poitou (1197–1208), was engaged in a bitter dispute with Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York (1191–1212), and thus in 1203 took the cross to ensure that his possessions were under the protection of the papacy.⁹⁶ This allowed Bishop Philip to gain the upper hand in the dispute, and ensure that Archbishop Geoffrey could not use any remaining ecclesiastical censures in his arsenal against him.⁹⁷ Finally, Bishop Philip’s later successor, Richard Marsh (1217–1226), further utilized the crusader’s cross in order to avoid proceedings against him in a dispute over advowsons and land with the monastic chapter at Durham.⁹⁸ It appears that Bishop Richard originally took the cross before becoming bishop of Durham in 1217, and was allowed to commute that vow in 1219 providing he sent a number of soldiers to fulfil his obligation.⁹⁹ Bishop Richard took a further vow sometime in 1220 or 1221 and gave 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) to the Holy Land subsidy in order to redeem this second one.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 13–15; Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 6; Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, I, pp. 305–07. See also, John Gillingham, *Richard I*, Yale English Monarchs (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 121–24.

⁹⁶ *CLI*, p. 75 no. 455. On the general benefits of papal protection, though focussed on France, see Danielle E. A. Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusader: Flanders, Champagne, and the Kingdom of France, 1095–1222* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018).

⁹⁷ Christopher R. Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, *Päpste und Papsttum* 9 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1976), p. 254.

⁹⁸ See *EEA 24: Durham 1153–1195*, ed. by M. G. Snape (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

⁹⁹ *CPR*, I, p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 78.

One other bishop of Durham also took the cross. Before he became bishop of Durham in 1284, Antony Bek had travelled with the Lord Edward on his crusade in 1270. In 1272, he was a firm member of the Lord Edward's household, being keeper of the wardrobe, and one of the executors of his will.¹⁰¹ In 1304 Bishop Antony took the cross for a second time, intending to set out when possible.¹⁰² In addition, he promised the papacy that he would bankroll 300 knights to serve in the Holy Land for three years.¹⁰³ In 1306 he was elected as titular patriarch of Jerusalem, still hoping to go to the Holy Land. When he died in 1311, the papacy had to account for 6,000 marks (£4000) worth of money owed from the diocese of Durham to the Holy Land subsidy.¹⁰⁴ 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) was from Bishop-Patriarch Antony's own bequest, but he also had control of John de Vesci's crusading legacy of 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.), and a further 4,000 marks (2,666 13s. 4d.) of other crusading funds which the pope had given him for his planned expedition.¹⁰⁵

What is clear here is that the bishops of Durham often used the crusader's cross in order to gain preferential treatment or political leverage. Three of the bishops likely did not intend to fulfil their crusade vow, whereas it is probable that as a former crusader, Bishop Antony did. Bishop Hugh might have originally intended to depart on the Third Crusade, but the chance of political preferment as the justiciar of England was too good to let pass. Bishops Philip and Richard both utilized the crusade vow to

¹⁰¹ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 76; Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, pp. 10–11.

¹⁰² CPReg., I, p. 616; II, pp. 5, 10; Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, pp. 163–65, 201.

¹⁰³ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 234; see also *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, previously edited as the chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, ed. by Harry Rothwell, Camden Third Series 89 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1957), pp. 348, 362; Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, p. 207.

¹⁰⁴ *Northern Regs.*, pp. 263–64.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 263; see also, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 234. 'Cum bonae memoriae dominus Antonius, quondam Dunolmensis episcopus ac patriarcha Jerosolimitanus, receperit mille marcas sterlingorum, legatas per nobilem virum dominum Johannem de Vescy militem, quondam relictas subsidio Terrae Sanctae: item in suo testamento legaverit mille marcas sterlingorum subsidio Terrae Sanctae; et ex alia parte teneretur in quatuor millibus marcam et ultra pro his quae sibi assignata erant per sedem Apostolicam pro dictae Terrae Sanctae subsidio'.

try and gain political preferment at the papal curia, enabling them to avoid proceedings by their metropolitan and monastic chapter respectively. Bishop-Patriarch Antony Bek's enthusiasm for the crusade, however, seems to have stemmed from his role as one of the Lord Edward's clerks on the Ninth Crusade, and gave him an enduring wish to return once he had the funds available to do so. As bishop of Durham and patriarch of Jerusalem, Antony was in a fortuitous place where he could easily do so and had access to vast amounts of money; however, ultimately, his preparations and wishes to go on another crusade came to nothing, with the fall of the crusader states in 1291 and the trial of the Knights Templar between 1308–1311.

The bishops of the diocese of Carlisle are remarkably difficult to trace since much of the information related to the see has been lost. There is, however, one bishop that we can trace taking the crusader's cross. Bishop Walter Mauclerc (1223–1246) had his crusader's vow commuted 'by reason of old age and debility', in 1238. In order for this commutation to take effect he was to provide a number of soldiers according to his means.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, nothing survives in the episcopal *acta* of the bishops of Carlisle to suggest that this was ever carried out.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, there seems to be no record in contemporary chronicles detailing the time at which Bishop Walter took his vows. Considering the date of his commutation and the campaigns to the Holy Land that contained English bishops at this time, it might be possible that he took his crusader's vow alongside Bishops Peter of Winchester and William of Exeter before their departure on the Sixth Crusade. It seems possible, if this was the case, that his subsequent appointments as constable of Newcastle and treasurer of the king's

¹⁰⁶ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 430 n. 5.

¹⁰⁷ *EEA 30: Carlisle, 1133–1292*, ed. by David M. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), *passim*.

exchequer in 1228 would have then curtailed his abilities to depart with his fellow bishops.¹⁰⁸

Unfortunately not much can be said for why Bishop Walter took the crusader's cross since the records are not available to us. His prominent role in English politics does, perhaps, account for why he had the vow commuted by the pope. The claim that it was because of his old age is curious. Bishop Walter went on to serve in royal government throughout his life, and further served the diocese of Carlisle until 29 June 1246, when he received papal sanction to resign and join the convent of the Dominicans in Oxford. In this capacity as a former bishop, he was often appointed by Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln to perform various episcopal functions. It was not until October 1248 that he actually died.¹⁰⁹

It is extremely difficult to trace the crusading activities of the bishops of London. Lloyd noted that one of two bishops of London took the crusader's cross, either Henry of Wingham (1260–1262) or Henry of Sandwich (1263–1273).¹¹⁰ This is based on the fact that a papal letter from Pope Gregory X (1271–1276) noted that they should come to peace, 'or at least a truce during the council, so that he might be able to come to the help of the Holy Land', though there is some ambiguity in the *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers* which means that it is more likely that Pope Gregory was addressing King Edward I rather than the bishop of London.¹¹¹ No other bishops of London appear to have taken the crusader's cross. There are also at least four English dioceses which do not appear to have had a bishop who took the cross. The dioceses

¹⁰⁸ Nicholas Vincent, 'Mauclerk, Walter (*d.* 1248)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18355>> [Accessed: 13 July 2019].

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 75 n. 25. 'Either Henry of Wingham or Henry of Sandwich, successive bishops of London, apparently took the Cross, c.1260–1273'. Citing, *CPR*, I, Appendix, p. 620.

¹¹¹ *CPR*, I, Appendix, p. 620 ep. 300.

are: Ely, London, Rochester, and the archdiocese of York. The reasons for this absence of crusading bishops in the northern archdiocese and two southern dioceses are unclear and ultimately impossible to explain.

IV: ENGLISH EXCEPTIONALISM?

Since there is a study focussed on another episcopate and its crusading contributions, it is worth comparing them. Spear's study was written as a counter to John France's assertion that 'Normandy ceased to have any distinctive crusading role after the First Crusade', convincingly proving that the Norman contributions to the crusades lasted throughout the period and that 'without Norman clerical participation, the crusades would have looked very different indeed.'¹¹² Moreover, it throws down the gauntlet for more localized studies of episcopal and clerical participation in the crusades, noting that 'the judgement of Norman distinctiveness depends on what scholars will find in other regions'.¹¹³

There are, however, some differences between these two studies which must be addressed before we begin our comparison. First and foremost, all English dioceses have been included in the survey above. The contingents at the cathedrals around which the dioceses centred could either be monastic—comprising the cathedrals of Canterbury, Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Lichfield, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester—or secular—such as Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Salisbury,

¹¹² John France, 'The Normans and Crusading', in *The Normans and their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. by Richard P. Abels and Bernard S. Bachrach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 87–101 (p. 87); Spear, 'The Secular Clergy', pp. 81–102 (quote p. 102).

¹¹³ Spear, 'The Secular Clergy', p. 100.

Wells,¹¹⁴ and York. This chapter has also focussed exclusively on the bishops, rather than the approach taken by the entire English clergy. On the other hand, Spear's chapter focussed solely on the secular clergy of Normandy. Those in monastic cathedrals and dioceses were omitted since 'monks were discouraged from going on armed crusades, and examining what transpired at Norman monasteries, as the religious prayed about the Holy Land, would take this essay in a very different direction.'¹¹⁵ These factors, unfortunately, create some limitations in the amount of comparison we can make between England and Normandy, with both studies being incomplete in one way or another when set side by side.

In Spear's study, eleven Norman bishops were identified as having taken part in various crusading campaigns from the First Crusade to the Eighth Crusade (1270), and including the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathar heretics in southern France. Of this figure, nine participated in the 'traditional' numbered crusades, featuring specifically in the First, Third, Fifth, and Eighth. Reducing this to our period of study (of 1170 to 1313) for the comparison, the figure of Norman bishops who went on crusade falls to six. This figure corresponds directly with the figure for the bishops of England who set out on crusade campaigns. In fact, the English episcopate and the secular episcopate of Normandy contributed almost the same number of prelates on the Third Crusade. However, aside from the similarity in both episcopates not sending any bishops on the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), the episcopates differed when it came to the Fifth and Sixth Crusades, with two bishops from Normandy attending the former and two from England attending the latter.

¹¹⁴ Wells is peculiar in that the diocese centred on two seats. Bath was a monastic foundation and Wells was a college of secular canons. From 1090–1245 Bath was usually the central seat of the bishop, but after 1245 Wells gained pre-eminence.

¹¹⁵ Spear, 'The Secular Clergy', p. 82.

For the Third Crusade, the secular episcopate of Normandy was represented by two bishops. The first was Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, who was treated in a similarly harsh way as Bishop John of Norwich by the chronicler Richard of Devizes. This was because both bishops failed to fulfil their crusading vows. Bishop John made it as far as Burgundy before being robbed and seeking commutation of his vow from the pope, before also being required to pay 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) to King Richard I.¹¹⁶ Unlike Bishop John of Norwich, Archbishop Walter of Rouen reached Messina with King Richard and the main bulk of the crusader army. Yet, according to Devizes, 'having saluted Jerusalem from afar [... Archbishop Walter] laid aside the Cross.'¹¹⁷ The reason given by Devizes for Archbishop Walter's change of heart was that he thought bishops should be preachers rather than fighters, and that he would be better suited to increasing the size of the force by preaching at home, than taking part in any of the fighting.¹¹⁸ The actual reason was that the king had sent Archbishop Walter back with Queen Eleanor in order to try and quell the unrest which had arisen in England from the king's absence.¹¹⁹ In order to redeem his vow he granted 'the king, who was going to fight in his stead, everything he had brought with him for the expedition', expecting the king to fight as his proxy.¹²⁰ At this point, King Richard purged the crusader army, not allowing 'anyone to go with him unless he was well able and cheerfully willing to bear arms, nor did he allow those who turned back to take with them the money or arms they had brought thus far.'¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Devizes, *Chronicle*, pp. 10–11; [Howden], *Gesta*, II, p. 115.

¹¹⁷ Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 27.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹¹⁹ Spear, 'The Secular Clergy', pp. 94–95.

¹²⁰ Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 27.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Like Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and Bishop Hubert of Salisbury, one Norman prelate did make it to the Holy Land as part of the Third Crusade. This was John, son of Luke, bishop of Évreux (1182–1192). According to the twelfth-century Norman chronicler, Ambroise, Bishop John brought ‘good men who were his vassals’ on crusade with him.¹²² It is most likely that Bishop John attended the crusade at the behest of Archbishop Walter, since he had been one of the archbishop’s clerics. Bishop John was present at the siege of Acre, being noted for assisting the other bishops with rebuilding a chapel which had been destroyed there. Bishop John, much like Archbishop Baldwin never returned home from the crusade, dying at Joppa on 1 June 1192.¹²³

For the Fifth and Sixth Crusades it is difficult to build a comparative picture, primarily because no English bishops went on the Fifth Crusade, and no secular Norman bishops are recorded on the Sixth Crusade. Similarly, the respective roles in the crusades they took part in differed. Spear identified that Robert d’Ablèges, bishop of Bayeux (1206–1231), and Jordan du Homet, bishop of Lisieux (1202–1218), both of whom had been involved in the Albigensian Crusade in 1211, went on the Fifth Crusade.¹²⁴ Bishop Robert of Bayeux was listed by Matthew Paris among the bishops who were in the crusading army at Acre in 1217.¹²⁵ Bishop Jordan of Lisieux, however,

¹²² Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, ed. and trans. by Ailes and Barber, II, p. 96.

¹²³ Spear, ‘The Secular Clergy’, p. 95. One other Norman bishop is noted by Spear as appearing in the Holy Land around this time, though it seems that he was not associated with the Third Crusade. William Burel, bishop of Avranches (1183–1196), seems to have gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and his cathedral church obtained relics which were brought back from the East. Nothing more is said about this bishop and his pilgrimage: *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97–98; Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade: Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay’s Historia Albigensis*, ed. and trans. by W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), p. 112.

¹²⁵ *CM*, III, p. 9. ‘*Affuerunt et archiepiscopi Nichossiensis, Joriensis, Argiensis Hungariae, **Baiocensis**, Bavergensis, Cicenensis, Monastergensis, et Trajecensis.*’ [My emphasis].

as noted by Spear, seems to have focussed more on the crusade in Egypt than in the Holy Land.¹²⁶

From England, Bishops Peter des Roches of Winchester and William Brewer of Exeter departed on the same crusade together. They remained bosom companions for the duration of the crusade, only going their separate ways in mid-1229.¹²⁷ While they were on crusade Bishops Peter and William maintained a position of power near to the Emperor, strengthening crusader defences and acting as diplomats.

Finally, one bishop from the secular Norman episcopate attended the Eighth Crusade under the leadership of King and Saint Louis IX (1226–1270, canonized 1276). Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen (1248–1275), took the cross two months after King Louis. In 1268 Archbishop Eudes was a preacher for the new campaign, and in 1270 had joined the king on his crusade. According to Spear, Archbishop Eudes was even there while King Louis was on his deathbed, having been one of his close friends, and was an executor of his will.¹²⁸ Comparatively, the Ninth Crusade, which could be considered a continuation of the Eighth Crusade, which was led by the Lord Edward, featured no English bishops. It did, however, contain at least one future English bishop. Antony Bek was the future bishop of Durham and patriarch of Jerusalem from 1284 and 1306, respectively, until his death in 1311. He left with the Lord Edward on crusade in 1270, and by 1272, when the army reached Acre, Antony was keeper of the king's wardrobe and one of the executors of the future king's will.¹²⁹ It would appear, in many ways, that Antony Bek fulfilled the same role for the Lord

¹²⁶ Spear, 'The Secular Clergy', p. 98.

¹²⁷ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 253.

¹²⁸ Spear, 'The Secular Clergy', pp. 98–99; see also, Adam J. Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat: Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-Century Normandy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006) pp. 13, 30, 157–58, 166–69.

¹²⁹ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 76; Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, pp. 10–11.

Edward on the Ninth Crusade that Archbishop Eudes did for King Louis on the Eighth.

Overall, the picture of crusading for both the English episcopate and the secular Norman episcopate seems to have been almost the same for our period of study. For the Third Crusade one archbishop and two bishops departed from both episcopates. For the Fourth Crusade, no bishops can be traced from either episcopate. For the Fifth Crusade two secular Norman bishops can be found, whereas there were no English bishops present. Conversely, on the Sixth Crusade two English bishops departed and made themselves indispensable, whilst there seem to have been no secular Norman bishops on the crusade. Finally, the only major departure comes in the Eighth and Ninth Crusades, with the archbishop of Rouen being in attendance to King Louis and the future bishop of Durham in the retinue of the Lord Edward. This latter departure, however, is a matter of rank with both the prelate and the clerk performing much the same functions for their respective lords. It would therefore seem that both episcopates showcased a very similar approach to going on crusade, with neither distinguishing themselves as exceptional. Further case studies of other episcopates will probably show differences, but, for now, it seems that some episcopates generally had the same approach.

V. CONCLUSION

Crusading was an activity which received attention from the English episcopate for many different reasons; however, episcopal participation in the crusades was far more moderate than the typical generalization that ‘many’ English bishops found themselves among the ranks of crusaders. In total some twenty-one bishops took the crusader’s cross between 1170 and 1291, with only four fulfilling their crusader’s vow. This accounts for just 11.5% of the 183 members of the English episcopate for the period

taking the crusader's cross. Of these twenty-one cross-signed bishops, 19% completed their vow. Concrete figures for the number of people who took the crusader's cross generally are difficult to come by; however, in 1989 Jonathan Riley-Smith calculated that across Western Europe the uptake of the crusader's cross was possibly around 5% of the population.¹³⁰ If this was indeed the case, then the English episcopate as a study alone exhibited an interest in the crusades almost double that of the general population of Europe.

Whereas Spear was able to draw some general conclusions about why the dioceses of Lower Normandy were less well represented on the crusades than the archdiocese of Rouen, it seems almost impossible to take the same approach here.¹³¹ Various English dioceses produced different numbers of bishops who took the crusader's cross. There is no one English diocese which appears to have more crusading interest than another, primarily because different bishops took the cross at different times and for different reasons. The diocese of Durham, for example, produced four bishops who took the crusader's cross between 1170 and 1313. Three of these bishops took the cross as a means to gain some form of political preferment or to avoid ecclesiastical censure and proceedings against them. Only one bishop took the cross seemingly from actual devotion to the cause of the crusade. In Lincoln, on the other hand, one bishop is rumoured to have taken the cross in 1188, whereas two others acted as papally appointed collectors of the Holy Land subsidy, yet are not recorded as being *crucesignatus*. Therefore, taking the crusader's cross cannot solely be considered as an indication of crusading interest or representation. The vows taken by Bishops Philip of Poitou and Richard Marsh were for expedience and the privileges,

¹³⁰ J. Walker, *The Patronage of the Templars and the Order of St Lazarus in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1990), pp. 55–56, quoting the figure given in a lecture by Jonathan Riley-Smith (1989).

¹³¹ Spear, 'The Secular Clergy', pp. 101–02.

whereas the roles taken by Bishops Robert Grosseteste and Oliver Sutton were of more intrinsic value to the crusade movement by raising money.

Likewise, only four English bishoprics were represented on the actual crusades in the Holy Land, namely the archdiocese of Canterbury and the dioceses of Salisbury, Winchester, and Exeter. Out of these, Canterbury was the only one to produce more than one *crucesignatus* with Archbishop Boniface taking the cross in 1250; however, Archbishop Boniface never departed on the crusade. To claim that other English dioceses were less well represented on the crusading venture would, in some ways, be accurate, but would also diminish the fact that many such bishops from other dioceses did indeed take the crusader's cross and intended to reach the Holy Land, such as Bishop John of Norwich.

Overall, then, what is revealed is that many different factors came into play for why English bishops would take the crusader's cross throughout the period. While only four English bishops went on crusade, it would appear that more bishops had an actual interest in going on crusade and being signed with the crusader's cross. Others, however, utilized the crusade vow in a way which enabled them to escape ecclesiastical censure or to gain political preferment. This showcases the different approaches to the crusade that even the bishops themselves could exhibit throughout the period in question.

CHAPTER THREE: ENGLISH EPISCOPAL-SAINTS AND THE CRUSADES

I. INTRODUCTION

From the last quarter of the twelfth century until the late fifteenth century, England's bishops underwent a revival of popular veneration. Episcopal sanctity was not a new phenomenon; in fact, it was embedded within Western Christian tradition. Across Europe bishops had, when required, risen to defend the people both physically and spiritually, and their cultic centres often became shared spaces for the reconciliation of disparate factions.¹ The popularity of episcopal sanctity rose and fell in the countries around Europe over the centuries, often superseded by an alternative model of sainthood. Yet, in England, the revival of the bishop-saint had been catalysed by the martyrdom of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury, who was murdered in his cathedral church on 29 December 1170 and subsequently canonized in February 1173. Writing at the mid-point of this revival in 1250, Matthew Paris marvelled that in the years since St Thomas of Canterbury's martyrdom there 'seemed therefore to be a time of renewal, in which everyone was made full of the spirit of all the saints.'² Of the seven English canonizations which occurred during the period covered by Paris, six belonged to bishops, with two more additions by 1320.

The bishop-saint was often canonized for a whole host of reasons, but one main factor was that they set a benchmark for behaviour intended to be followed by succeeding generations of prelates. St Thomas of Canterbury's martyrdom

¹ Peter Brown, *The Cults of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1981); Howard Clarke Kee, *Miracles in the Early Christian World: A Study in Socio-Historical Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. by Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 17.

² CM, V, p. 191. '*videbatur igitur tempus innovari de quo plenus spiritu sanctorum omnium factus.*'

fundamentally changed the ‘models’ of sanctity which English bishops needed to follow, and their hagiographers needed to emphasize from one of miracle working in life to that of royal resistance and pastoral care. This was subsequently moulded over the thirteenth century by hagiographers and other bishops into royal cooperation, asceticism, and pastoral care.³ Since these bishops were seen as exemplars *par excellence* of the English episcopate, it stands to reason in an examination of English bishops to see to what extent the saints from the English episcopate’s ranks supported the crusades in both their lifetime as bishops, and posthumously in their miracle collections. Was there a particular approach English bishop-saints had towards crusades and crusaders in their dioceses? Are there any hagiographical or miraculous tropes relating to the crusades present in their hagiographies and miracle collections? In answering these questions, we gain an insight into the precedents set for English bishops regarding the crusades and an understanding for general behaviours identified in the following chapters.

In André Vauchez’s monumental work, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, he calculated that between 1198 and 1431 some forty per cent of saints who were subjected to a process of canonization and were subsequently canonized came from the ranks of the European episcopate. More specifically, of the bishops to undergo a process of canonization—that is, a comprehensive investigation into their life, death

³ On models of sanctity see Josiah Cox Russell, ‘The Canonization of the Opposition in Angevin England’, in *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History*, ed. by Charles Holt Taylor (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), pp. 279–90; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp. 292–310. The ‘Becket Model’ as described by Russell, however, is ‘distorted’ and Nicholas Vincent noted that his thesis ‘cries out for revision’ in one article: Richard Eales, ‘The Political Setting of the Becket Translation of 1220’, in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. by Diana Wood, Ecclesiastical History Society Studies in Church History 30 (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 127–39 (p. 139); Vincent, ‘The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings’, p. 42. For a comparison of St Thomas Becket and St Thomas de Cantilupe see, Ian L. Bass, ‘England’s Two Thomases: Episcopal Models of Sanctity Embodied in Thomas Becket and Thomas de Cantilupe’, in *Episcopal Power and Personality in Medieval Europe, c.900–c.1480*, ed. by Peter Coss, Chris Dennis, Melissa Julian-Jones, and Angelo Silvestri, Studies in Church History 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming 2020).

public reputation, and miracles—the English episcopate accounted for 32.2 per cent. This translates into nine out of fourteen canonization processes held in England being for bishops. In total, of the European bishops who were canonized the English episcopal-saints account for 61.5 per cent, giving eight out of eleven English saints canonized during this period as being a bishop.⁴

More generally, work on miracles and marvels within crusade narratives has, until recently, not been satisfactorily explored by crusade historians. Some studies have examined the topic of the miraculous, looking at particular aspects, such as miracles being used as a justification and legitimization for holy war, or as a window onto the motivations of the first crusaders.⁵ Similarly, some contemporary stories have been analysed, such as the visions and discovery of the Holy Lance and the apparition of the saints at the siege of Antioch.⁶ Most recently, the use of miracles and marvels in

⁴ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp. 258–59.

⁵ Bernard Hamilton, “‘God Wills It’: Sights of Divine Approval in the Crusade Movement’, in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. by Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, Ecclesiastical History Society Studies in Church History 41 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 88–98; Marcus Bull, ‘Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000–c.1200: Reflections on the Study of the First Crusaders’ Motivations’, in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. by Marcus Bull and others, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), I: Western Approaches, ed. by Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, pp. 13–38; Jay Rubenstein, ‘Miracles and the Crusading Mind: Monastic Meditations on Jerusalem’s Conquest’, in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG*, ed. by Santha Bhattacharji, Rowan Williams, and Dominic Mattos (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), pp. 197–210; Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in Chronicles of the First Crusade* (Pennsylvania, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

⁶ Colin Morris, ‘Policy and Visions: The Case of the Holy Lance of Antioch’, in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. by John Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984), pp. 33–45; John France, ‘Two Types of Vision on First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew’, *Crusades*, 5 (2006), 1–20; Thomas Asbridge, ‘The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory on the First Crusade’, *Reading Medieval Studies*, 33 (2007), 3–36; Elizabeth Lapina, ‘The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch’, in *Dying for the Faith: Killing for the Faith: Old Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspectives*, ed. by G. Signori (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 147–59; Nicholas Morton, ‘The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), 275–93.

Latin narrative histories of the First to Fourth Crusades has been studied at length by Beth Catherine Spacey. In Spacey's doctoral thesis (2017), she utilized many of the available chronicles and accounts to write about the experience of the miraculous and stories present in medieval narrative history. Notably, since the chronicle base is so rich and intact, there is a heavy focus on England and the Third Crusade.⁷ Ultimately, the conclusions from these previous studies were summarized by Spacey thus:

When saints are involved, they are often employed on account of their attributes [...] rather than being intended for use in canonization proceedings or in the support of a particular shrine, the miraculous of crusade narratives represents a vital ingredient in the construction of a theologically sensitive history of divinely orchestrated events.⁸

However, she also noted the exception to the rule in Jean de Joinville's writings about Saint and King Louis IX of France.⁹ Yet, these studies are all primarily concerned with the First Crusade, which falls outside the remit of our period of investigation, and terminate around c.1200 in their extent.

Another line of inquiry of particular note for this study comes from an article by Bernard Hamilton who investigated why the Crusader States produced so few saints. The article ultimately concluded that there was already a well-defined group of saints present in the Holy Land, and that between 1192 and 1289 the insuperable problems of the Crown of Jerusalem being held by women in 1229, and thereafter by non-resident kings, made it impossible for the papacy to institute canonization

⁷ Beth Catherine Spacey, 'Miracles and Marvels in Latin Narrative Histories of the Crusades, 1095–1204' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017). My sincere thanks to Dr Spacey for giving me access to her thesis. Dr Spacey has informed me that it should be noted that a revised monographic version is forthcoming as *The Miraculous and the Writing of Crusade History* with Boydell & Brewer in 2019/2020.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

proceedings.¹⁰ Conversely, these difficulties did not impact the ability of pilgrims who died *en-route* to the Holy Land from achieving an aura of sanctity which was capitalized on in canonization proceedings. Of those English bishops who went to the Holy Land, none became saints; however, as observed by Vauchez, there seems to have been a common trope where Englishmen who died in Italy while heading to the Holy Land were venerated as saints in the area, such as St Gerard and St Bernard.¹¹ Some of these narratives were also necessarily embellished to make vague figures into persons of stature, like St Pellegrino who was reputedly the son of a king of Scotland who renounced his claim to the Scottish throne in order to depart on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹² Similarly, St Godric of Finchale (c.1065–1170) went on many pilgrimages and survived the trip to Jerusalem twice which added to his sanctity.¹³ Perhaps the most famous of all of them is John de Montfort who was a member of St Louis's crusade, and died in 1249 at Nicosia in Cyprus where the army was overwintering in preparation for getting to Egypt. By the fifteenth century he was revered as a miracle-working confessor.¹⁴ These English crusader-saints bring forward the question of why was Archbishop Baldwin, who died at Acre on the Third Crusade, not canonized a

¹⁰ Bernard Hamilton, 'Why did the Crusader States produce so few Saints?', in *Saints and Sanctity*, ed. by Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, Ecclesiastical History Society Studies in Church History 47 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), pp. 103–11.

¹¹ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp. 198–99.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹³ On Godric in general see, Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, *passim*; Victoria M. Tudor, 'Reginald of Durham and St. Godric of Finchale: a study of a twelfth-century hagiographer and his subject' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Reading, 1979); Susan J. Ridyard, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse Revisited: The Case of Godric of Finchale', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr Harting*, ed. by Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 236–50.

¹⁴ N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Farnham: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 197, 206; for the wider context see: Peter W. Edbury, 'The De Montforts in the Latin East', in *Thirteenth Century England VIII: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1999*, ed. by Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 23–32.

saint after having followed the model established by St Thomas of Canterbury and these other saints?

While each of these studies has examined crusaders' endorsement of miracles as justification for holy war and the concept of the miraculous in narrative writings of the crusades, the saints themselves, along with their *Lives* and miracle collections, have yet to be given treatment. Since the rate of episcopal canonization was so high in England there is a strong case here for examining this topic through extant material relating to them. While the majority of this chapter will predominantly be focussed on England's bishop-saints who were canonized in our period, there is one particular exception and therefore a need to define the remit for inclusion. Also, consideration will turn to accounts of miracles related to other English bishops in the context of the crusades. The exception which needs to be noted and has therefore provided the definition of the scope, is St Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford (1275–1282), who was canonized seven years after the chronological limit of our study in 1320. He is an important bishop, precisely because his cult produced the second highest number of miraculous cures when compared to his namesake, St Thomas of Canterbury, and because his cult operated between 1287 and 1312 which falls within the chronological remit of our wider study. The definition for inclusion in this chapter, then, is for the bishop in question to have undergone a process of canonization between 1170 and 1313. This definition has therefore broadened the scope of our inquiry to include several bishops who lived outside our period, notably St Osmund, bishop of Salisbury (1078–1099), and St William, archbishop of York (1141–1154). St Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (1062–1095), could also be included; however, since he died on 20 January 1095 and the launch of the First Crusade did not occur until the Council of Clermont in November 1095, he has been omitted here.

II. ENGLAND'S EPISCOPAL-SAINTS

It seems appropriate to give here an overview of the English bishops who underwent a process of canonization in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These bishops are noted below in Table One.

Table One: List of English bishops who underwent a process of canonization in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Name	Episcopate	Year of Process	Date of Canonization
Thomas Becket	1162–1170	1173	1173
Wulfstan of Worcester	1062–1095	1202	1203
Hugh of Lincoln	1186–1200	1219	1220
William of York	1141–1154	1223	1226
Osmund of Salisbury	1078–1099	1228	1457
Edmund of Abingdon	1233–1240	1244/1245	1247
Richard of Chichester	1244–1253	1256	1262
Thomas de Cantilupe	1275–1287	1307	1320

St Thomas Becket was archbishop of Canterbury from 1162–1170.¹⁵ A close companion of King Henry II throughout his formative years, he became a keen

¹⁵ There are four major biographies on St Thomas of Canterbury: Knowles, *Thomas Becket*; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*; Duggan, *Thomas Becket*; Guy, *Thomas Becket*. Much material also survives in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (Canonized by Pope Alexander III, A.D. 1173)*, ed. by James Craigie Robertson and J. Brigstock Sheppard, 7 vols, RS 67 (London: Longman, 1875–85). Some

administrator and even Chancellor of England. As noted by Frank Barlow, Thomas Becket did not exactly exhibit saintly qualities prior to his election to the see of Canterbury, as ‘with powerful military forces he had wiped out towns and fortresses; without mercy he had burned down farms and properties; resolutely he had been an enemy to all enemies of the king, in whatever quarter they had arisen’.¹⁶

In 1162 the king sought to unite the Church and State in one cause, and with the death of Archbishop Theobald of Bec (1138–1161), he appointed his close friend, Thomas. Archbishop Thomas was far from a close ally of King Henry, and became a constant thorn in the king’s side, earning a self-imposed exile to the Cistercian cloisters of Pontigny after the Council of Clarendon in 1164. Archbishop Thomas and King Henry finally came to terms in the summer of 1170, allowing the archbishop to return to England, immediately continuing his provocations of the king. Archbishop Thomas returned to England in December 1170.

Sometime around Christmas Day 1170, King Henry, ‘maudlin with anger’, uttered the fateful words: ‘What miserable drones and traitors have I nourished and promoted in my household, who let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low-born clerk!’¹⁷ Four of his knights and a clerk hatched a plot to then arrest the meddlesome archbishop for the king. They arrived in England on 28 December, and progressed to Canterbury. The plot turned from one of arrest into an assassination and on 29 December 1170, at the steps leading to the quire of Canterbury Cathedral, the knights struck the archbishop, cutting off the crown of his skull. Archbishop Thomas’s martyrdom sent shockwaves throughout Europe, and the event was used by the pope

elements have been translated in *The Lives of Thomas Becket: Selected sources translated and annotated*, trans. by Michael Staunton, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, p. 62.

¹⁷ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Sheppard and Roberston, II, p. 429 (Edward Grim); translated in Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, p. 235. ‘*Inertes ac miseros homines enutrivi et erexi in regno meo, qui nec fidem ferunt domino suo, quem a plebo quodam clerico tam probrose patiuntur illudi.*’

and the king of France to get leverage over King Henry of England. In February 1173, Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) canonized Archbishop Thomas as St Thomas of Canterbury, with an international reputation for performing miracles developing.¹⁸

St Hugh of Lincoln was bishop of Lincoln from 21 September 1186 until his death on 16 November 1200. St Hugh descended from the noble stock of Guillaume d'Avalon and Anne, daughter of the lord of Theys. He was first educated at the Augustinian house of Villarbenoît, before becoming a Carthusian monk at Grande Chartreuse at age twenty-three. On 21 September 1186 he was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, having been elected unanimously by the chapter at Lincoln. After his death in November 1200 miracles were reported at his tomb in Lincoln Cathedral, and Adam of Eynsham wrote the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*.¹⁹ On 27 April 1219, Archbishop Stephen Langton of Canterbury, Bishop William Cornhill of Coventry, and the abbot of Fountains were appointed by Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) to investigate St Hugh's sanctity.²⁰ Archbishop Stephen later wrote to the pope in November 1219 detailing that he and the abbot of Fountains had been to Lincoln to inquire into the miracles; the bishop of Coventry having apparently departed on crusade.²¹ St Hugh was subsequently canonized on 17 February 1220.²²

¹⁸ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, VII, pp. 545–56. See E. W. Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (1945), 13–28. For more on St Thomas of Canterbury's posthumous reputation see: *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c.1170–c.1220*, ed. by Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016).

¹⁹ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, ed. and trans. by Douie and Farmer.

²⁰ *CPR*, I, p. 66.

²¹ *Acta Stephani Langton*, ed. by Major, pp. 64–65 no. 49.

²² For more on St Hugh see, Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Hugh of Lincoln [St Hugh of Lincoln, Hugh of Avalon] (1140?–1200)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14060>> [Accessed: 16 July 2019].

St William of York was archbishop of York from 26 September 1143 until his deprivation in 1147, and resumed a second archiepiscopate in October 1153 until his death on 8 June 1154; rumoured to have been poisoned at the altar while performing mass by his longstanding rival, Osbert of Bayeux, archdeacon of Richmond.²³ St William had been born and educated in Winchester, eventually receiving preferment with the appointment to treasurer of York Minster.²⁴ It was not for another sixteen years after his death that St William would become the centre of a local cult, performing miracles and having a *vita* written about him.²⁵ On 5 April 1223 a commission of the bishop of Ely, the abbot of Fountains, and the abbot of Rivelaux was appointed by the pope. The first report to the papacy contained no details of St William's life, only his miracles, so Pope Honorius III wrote back that a further inquiry needed to happen; however, two of the commissioners had died by the time of his reply on 11 April 1124. We do not know what further response was elicited from the surviving commissioner, but on 18 March 1226 the pope enrolled St William as a saint.²⁶

St Osmund of Salisbury was bishop of Salisbury from 3 June 1078 until his death on 3–4 December 1099. He seems to have come from Norman stock and is credited with establishing a new community of canons at Salisbury, removing the see from Old Sarum. St Osmund had been one of William the Conqueror's (1066–1087) chaplains, and from 1070 to 1078 was royal chancellor. St Osmund died after a long illness, being buried first at Old Sarum before his remains were translated to Salisbury Cathedral in 1226. The clergy of Salisbury first petitioned the pope for a canonization

²³ Christopher Norton, *St William of York* (York: York Medieval Press, 2006), pp. 144–47.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5–75.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 149–201; *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine, 3 vols, RS 71 (London: Longman, 1879–94), II (1886), pp. 270–91.

²⁶ See Norton, *St William of York*, pp. 198–99.

process in 1228, citing his miracles and his virtuous reforming life. The commission appointed by Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) unfortunately did not uncover enough evidence to warrant his sainthood at the time. Further petitions occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the last, in 1452, being successful. The commission appointed this time found enough evidence and on 1 January 1457 Pope Calixtus III (1455–1458) announced his official canonization as St Osmund of Salisbury.²⁷

St Edmund of Abingdon was archbishop of Canterbury from 2 April 1234 until 16 November 1240.²⁸ He was born in Abingdon, England, educated at Oxford, and appointed to the treasurership of Salisbury in 1222. On 20 September 1233 he was elected by the monks of Christ Church Canterbury to become archbishop, the archiepiscopal see having lain vacant since August 1231. The king's assent was granted in the October, and the pallium was collected by a contingent from Canterbury on 3 February 1234, with a subsequent consecration on 2 April. St Edmund was an archbishop keen concerning pastoral care and Church reform, being noted for his role in these regards. However, St Edmund died at the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, while in dispute with the monks of Canterbury, and was buried there. The Cistercian general chapter decided to put St Edmund forward to the pope for canonization in 1241, spending the next year collecting letters of postulation. An inquiry was commissioned by Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254) on 23 April 1244, and enough evidence was provided to canonize St Edmund on 16 December 1246.²⁹

²⁷ Teresa Webber, 'Osmund [St Osmund] (*d. 1099*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20902>> [Accessed: 16 July 2019].

²⁸ The standard reference work on St Edmund of Abingdon is, C. H. Lawrence, *St Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960)

²⁹ C. H. Lawrence, 'Edmund of Abingdon [St Edmund of Abingdon, Edmund Rich] (*c.1174–1240*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at:

St Richard of Chichester was bishop of Chichester from 21 July 1246 until his death on 2 or 3 April 1253. He was born in Droitwich, England, from an aristocratic family and had links to the Herefordshire Chandos family. St Richard was educated at Oxford and became chancellor of the university. Both St Edmund of Abingdon and Bishop Robert Grosseteste tried to appoint St Richard as their episcopal chancellor, eventually entering St Edmund's service in the 1230s. St Richard had travelled with St Edmund's household, remaining with the group when the archbishop died at Pontigny. When St Richard returned to England, he found himself at odds with King Henry III. The vacancy at Chichester had been manipulated by the king to put a number of his men into the prebendal stalls and St Richard found himself out of favour. The king confiscated the see of Chichester because he was not allowed to have his man enter as bishop. Eventually in July 1246 the king finally gave the see to St Richard who was installed as bishop. St Richard spent his time as a bishop devoted to pastoral care and Church reform. After his death a cult with miracles sprang up almost immediately at his tomb. Pope Alexander IV (1254–1261) set up a canonization inquiry in June 1256, headed by Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester. The commission found enough evidence that on 22 January 1262 St Richard was canonized by Pope Urban IV (1261–1264).³⁰

Finally, St Thomas de Cantilupe had been bishop of Hereford from 1275 until his death on 25 August 1282.³¹ He was descended from the Norman Cantilupe family who had found prominence in the household of Count John of Mortain (future King

<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8503?docPos=1>> [Accessed: 16 July 2019].

³⁰ C. H. Lawrence, 'Wyche, Richard of [St Richard of Chichester] (d. 1253)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23522>> [Accessed: 16 July 2019].

³¹ The standard reference work on St Thomas remains, *St Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. by Meryl Jancey (Hereford: The Friends of Hereford Cathedral Publications, 1982).

John of England).³² St Thomas, while young, had been raised in the household of his uncle, Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester. He turned to the Church and attended the universities of Paris, Orl  ans, and Oxford, becoming chancellor of Oxford University twice. He was also chancellor of the realm from 25 February to early May 1265. In 1274 he was appointed to the prebendal stall of Preston in Hereford Cathedral, and soon became Bishop John le Breton's (1269–1275) chosen candidate to succeed him, being allowed to preach in the cathedral.³³ St Thomas was elected to the see on 14 June 1275, received the temporalities on 26 June, and was consecrated as bishop of Hereford on 8 September the same year. He prosecuted his duties as bishop diligently, seemingly bringing the process of diocesan registration with him to the see. In early 1282 he was excommunicated by Archbishop John Peckham of Canterbury over an issue of diocesan rights and for failing to excommunicate his official. He travelled to Orvieto to meet with Pope Martin IV (1281–1285) who absolved him of the excommunication, and he died at the papal court which had moved to Montefiasconi in August 1282.³⁴ Four years after his burial in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral his successor as bishop, Richard de Swinfield, translated his remains to a new bespoke tomb in the north transept where miracles began to be reported.³⁵ In 1306, Pope Clement V (1305–1314) ordered a commission consisting of the bishops of London and Mende, and the papal collector of the Holy Land subsidy

³² For more on the family see: Melissa Julian-Jones, 'The land of the raven and the wolf: family power and strategy in the Welsh March, 1199–c.1300, Corbets and Cantilupes' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cardiff University, 2015).

³³ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Cod. Lat. 4015, fol. 23^r. *'Item respondit interrogavit fuerat concorditer electus in Episcopum Herefordensem [...] dominus Johannes le Bretoun predecessor immediatus dicti domini Thome predixerat pluries et publice dicto domino Thome et aliis quod dictus dominus Thomas succederet sibi in Episcopatu Herefordense.'*

³⁴ The household roll for this journey survives in HCA, R745A. An edition of this document is being proposed for publication by the author to the Pipe Roll Society.

³⁵ They were recorded in Oxford, Exeter College, MS 158.

to investigate into St Thomas's life, death, and miracles. The first stage of the inquiry opened in London in 1307 and proved that he had been absolved of his excommunication by the pope before he died in 1282.³⁶ The second half of the inquiry occurred between London and Hereford in July to November 1307.³⁷ With the trial of the Knights Templar occurring throughout Europe from 1307 onwards progress for the canonization of St Thomas was frustrated at the papal curia. In 1318 the case was examined by the cardinals with a report being written on the twenty-six miracles for which witnesses had been interrogated.³⁸ The report was positive and on 17 April 1320 Pope John XXII (1316–1334) canonized St Thomas de Cantilupe a saint.³⁹

III. CASE STUDY: CLOSE TO SAINTHOOD

In our period many bishops were considered for canonization and some managed to achieve the mantle of sainthood. Others, however, had their processes frustrated by intransigent chapters or politics at the papal courts. For many, the crusades did not feature in their hagiographical *Vitae* (Lives) or even in their miracle collections; however, we have one bishop who is exceptional in this regard, Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, who was put forward for canonization three times, in 1254, 1285–1289, and 1307.⁴⁰ Two other prelates involved in the crusades had some

³⁶ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Cod. Lat. 4016.

³⁷ HCA, 1441; *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 247–52; *Annales Londoniensis*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 76 (London: Longman, 1882–83), I, p. 150; the proceedings were recorded in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Cod. Lat. 4015. Pope Clement's papal bull was also copied on fols 2r–3r.

³⁸ Exeter 158, fols 48r–59v; transcribed in Vauchez, *Sainthood*, Appendix I, pp. 540–54 from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5373A, fols 66r–69v, with a detailed examination in Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp. 481–98. See also, Stefan Dragulinescu, 'Thomas of Hereford's Miracles – between Aquinas and Augustine', *Journal of Medieval History*, 44 (2018), 543–68.

³⁹ HCA, 1445.

⁴⁰ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p. 72.

reputation as saints either during their lifetime or posthumously, namely Archbishop Baldwin of Forde and Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester. Since this chapter deals primarily with bishops who had a role in the preaching, recruitment, and collections for the crusades Archbishop Robert Winchelsey, who was only involved in the trial of the English Templars, has been omitted, even though requests for his canonization appeared in 1318–1320 and 1326–1328.⁴¹

In 1188, Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury undertook an eight-week long preaching tour of Wales in order to draw up support for the Third Crusade at the behest of King Henry II. Starting at Hereford he travelled through Wales to Chester, and back to Hereford again. On this preaching tour, Archbishop Baldwin was accompanied by Gerald of Wales, who used this opportunity to write his *Itinerarium Cambriae* (*The Journey Through Wales*).⁴² Spacey has recently provided an analysis of Archbishop Baldwin's 'miraculous' nature depicted in the writing, but it is worth dwelling here for a moment on the archbishop.⁴³ Here we have the archbishop of Canterbury taking a proactive interest in the Third Crusade, preaching in Wales to summon as much support as possible. During this time Archbishop Baldwin is said to have performed at least one miracle, whereby a young man took some of the earth upon which the archbishop had stood when preaching one day. He took it home to his mother who had been blind for three years, and placed it on her mouth and eyes. At once her sight was restored to her, apparently through Archbishop Baldwin's

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴² Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI; translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe. For the most comprehensive examination of Archbishop Baldwin's preaching tour see Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, chap. 2 'Recruitment: Archbishop Baldwin's Preaching Tour', pp. 58–92. See also, Cole, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 71–79; P. W. Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. by A. Haverkamp and H. Volrath (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 221–33.

⁴³ Spacey, 'Miracles and Marvels', p. 117.

merits.⁴⁴ Spacey is correct in identifying that ‘the earth appears to have acted as a contact relic; itself has become charged with the divine potentiality through contact with Baldwin, who is by extension represented in saint-like terms.’⁴⁵ Just before this event, Gerald had described how, when both he and Archbishop Baldwin delivered sermons at Haverfordwest the crowd looked on and ‘thought it little short of miraculous [...] rushing forward in equal numbers to receive the sign of the cross.’⁴⁶ Archbishop Baldwin did make it to the Holy Land and ended up dying outside the gates of Acre while the city was besieged.⁴⁷ However, he never achieved sainthood, nor a proposal for canonization.

What appears to have played against any chance of his canonization was a major dispute between the archbishop and the monastic chapter of Canterbury over Hackington, where Archbishop Baldwin diverted funds and property from the monastery of Christ Church to build a new collegiate church of secular canons in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury.⁴⁸ In one papal letter recorded by Gerald of Wales he is reported to have been addressed by Pope Urban III (1185–1187) as: ‘the most

⁴⁴ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, p. 83; translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 141.

⁴⁵ Spacey, ‘Miracles and Marvels’, p. 117.

⁴⁶ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, p. 83; translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 141. ‘Ubi et pro mirando, et quasi pro miraculo ducebatur a multis, quod ad verbum Domini ab archidiacono prolatum, cum tamen lingua Latina et Gallica loqueretur, non minus illi qui neutram linguam noverunt, quam alii, tam ad lacrimarum affluentiam moti fuerunt, quam etiam ad crucis signaculum cateravim accurrerunt.’

⁴⁷ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, I, pp. 123–24; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 126; Diss, *Opera Historica*, II, p. 88; Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 29.

⁴⁸ David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*, second edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 319–22; Barnaby, ‘A Church for Becket?’, *Idem*, ‘Becket Vult: The Appropriation of St Thomas Becket’s Image during the Canterbury Dispute, 1184–1200’, in *Anglo-Norman Studies XL: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2017*, ed. by Elizabeth Van Houts (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), pp. 63–76.

fervent monk, warm abbot, lukewarm bishop, negligent archbishop.⁴⁹ Thus, despite his participation in the Third Crusade, Archbishop Baldwin seems never to have achieved recognition as a saintly person.

Unlike Archbishop Baldwin, Bishop Walter de Cantilupe enjoyed a posthumous reputation as someone of saintly virtues. These were, however, besmirched by the fact that Bishop Walter had been an active proponent in the Second Barons' Wars as a supporter of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester (*d.* 1265). Indeed, the Augustinian chronicler Thomas Wykes considered Bishop Walter as 'eminent in sanctity' (*eminentia caeteris*) throughout his life, only mired by the fact of his association with Montfort.⁵⁰ Bishop Walter seems to have had an enduring interest in planning a crusade while he was bishop of Worcester. He was appointed as a collector for the Holy Land subsidy alongside Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln around 1247, and seems to have applied himself to the task.⁵¹ Accordingly, Bishop Walter took the cross sometime in 1247 and appears to have repeated his vow in 1250.⁵² Ultimately, however, this appears to have come to nothing. King Henry III prevented the bishops of Norwich and Chichester, who ended up as collectors of the crusading tenth, from giving any more money to Bishop Walter.⁵³ In fact, the closest that Bishop Walter of

⁴⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, p. 149; also in I, p. 124; and IV, p. 76; translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 206 'Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, monacho ferventissimo, abbati calido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso, salutem'.

⁵⁰ *AM*, IV, p. 180. For more on Bishop Walter's role during the Second Barons' War see: Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community*, *passim*. For the most recent account of Simon de Montfort's rebellion see: Sophie Thérèse Ambler, *The Song of Simon de Montfort* (London: Picador, 2019). 'Circa idem tempus obiit pia recordationis Walterus de Cantalupo Wygorniensis episcopus; raptis, ut sane credi poterit, ne videret dies malos, qui tanta sanctitatis eminentia caeteris praeepolebat episcopis; quod nisi iuramentum quod domino regi de fidelitate [fecerat], imo etiam contra inhibitionem sedis Apostolicae, comiti Leycestriae tam familiariter et fortiter adhaesisset, in catalogo sanctorum non immerito fuerat ascribendus.'

⁵¹ *CPR*, I, pp. 234.

⁵² *CM*, IV, p. 629; V, pp. 98–99.

⁵³ *CM*, IV, p. 629; V, pp. 98–99; *AM*, I (Burton), p. 350; *CPR*, I, p. 263.

Worcester got to being in a crusading army was when he blessed the baronial army at the Battle of Lewes in 1264 festooning the baronial forces with crosses and absolving them of their sins.⁵⁴ Before battle, in the skies above the battlefield, St George and St Thomas Becket appeared, a good omen for the baronial forces. As observed by Ambler, '[t]heir appearance was the mark of the highest divine favour, for St George was the protector of embattled crusaders' and that 'for those looking on to link St George with Simon's victory spoke of the status of the Montfortian army, and of Simon himself: crusaders, yes, but more than this – fit to be compared to the legendary heroes of the First Crusade.'⁵⁵

Bishop Walter died somewhat in disgrace. In 1265 the baronial force was beaten at the Battle at Evesham, and the papal legate, Ottobuono, suspended the bishop from his episcopal duties. Bishop Walter waited at his manor of Blockley (Gloucestershire), and died there in 1266.⁵⁶ It was because of this association with the rebellious forces of Simon de Montfort that Bishop Walter de Cantilupe never became St Walter de Cantilupe, even though he afterwards experienced a period of popular devotion. So it was again that another English bishop with an interest in the crusades and good crusading credentials if the time had been right, was not canonized to provide the English episcopate with an exemplar to take as their role model.

Finally, Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln needs to be considered. Between Bishop Robert's death, in 1253, and 1307, there were three separate appeals to the papacy to have him canonized a saint. Bishop Robert seemed to exude all the qualities needed to become one according to the Becket model and its subsequent

⁵⁴ William Rishanger, *Willelmi Rishanger, Quondam Monachi S. Albani et quorundam anonymorum, Chronica et Annales, Regantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley (London: Longman, 1865), p. 30.

⁵⁵ Ambler, *The Song*, pp. 277–78.

⁵⁶ *AM*, IV, pp. 180, 453.

moulding throughout the thirteenth century, but apparently fell short of the papal expectations as an exemplar. However, Bishop Robert is a highly interesting character to study in regards to bishops and the crusades since he was an administrator and conducted an inquiry into errant crusaders in his diocese, laying the framework for future episcopal inquiries.⁵⁷ Bishop Robert was also one of the foremost thinkers and reformers of the thirteenth century, and it is unsurprising to find him battling hard against the king. Like Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester, Bishop Robert of Lincoln was a close friend and confidant of Simon de Montfort.⁵⁸

What is surprising, however, is that, given his duties as a collector and the approach that he took towards crusaders in the diocese of Lincoln, he had a dispute with the king over the ecclesiastical tenth to be paid. Upon Bishop Robert's return to England from the papal curia in 1250, he led the episcopal opposition to the king's crusading tenth. King Henry III had planned to leave England for the Holy Land in 1256, six years after accepting the crusader's cross in 1250. The new crusade had been preached vigorously in the 1250s and the bishops of Lincoln and Worcester had been the ones to account for the money owed to King Henry from the Holy Land subsidy.⁵⁹ The main difficulty faced by the king, however, was that he needed the permission of the episcopate in order to levy an ecclesiastical tax, which was not forthcoming. Bishop Robert was at the head of a small royal resistance which resulted in many English bishops withholding their consent for the tenth to be levied in 1251 and 1252.⁶⁰ It seems that the resistance stemmed from the papacy changing the terms from a tenth on the clergy from two years to three.⁶¹ A sequence of articles of complaint were issued

⁵⁷ See below pp. 239–40.

⁵⁸ Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community*, *passim*.

⁵⁹ *CPR*eg., I, p. 263.

⁶⁰ *CM*, V, pp. 324–28; *AM*, I, pp. 139–40; F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), p. 368.

⁶¹ *C&S*, II.1, pp. 448–51, 467.

at the provincial Church council held in London in 1253, which are ascribed to Bishop Robert.⁶² The great council at Westminster in May 1253 settled the matter of the crusading tenth, finally granting it to the king.⁶³

Moreover, Bishop Robert's reputation was developed into one of anti-papal sentiment in the thirteenth century.⁶⁴ Stories and rumours had circulated throughout England and were recorded by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Majora*.⁶⁵ Reportedly, shortly before his death in 1253, Bishop Robert wrote to the papal commissioners refusing to institute Pope Innocent IV's nephew to a canonry at Lincoln.⁶⁶ The letter was apparently passed to the pope who was angry. Pope Innocent questioned whether he should have the king imprison the bishop of Lincoln, because otherwise the situation would 'precipitate him into such an abyss of confusion and shame, that he should be a subject of talk, and an object of amazement and horror to the whole world.'⁶⁷ To prevent him from doing this his cardinals restrained him.⁶⁸ A later story by Paris in 1255 recounts the letter again, and how he imagined the pope's reaction to Bishop Robert's death in 1253. In the story, the pope writes a letter to the king, describing the bishop as 'a heathen and a disobedient rebel', ordering him to physically throw Bishop Robert's dead body out of Lincoln Cathedral.⁶⁹ The bishop later

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 467–72.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 474–79; *CM*, V, pp. 373–74, 377.

⁶⁴ James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 31–50.

⁶⁵ *CM*, V, pp. 491–93.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 389–92.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, V, p. 393. 'Per Petrum et Paulum, nisi moveret nos innata ingenuitas, ipsum in tantam confusionem praecipitarem, ut toti mundo fabula foret, stupor, exemplum, et prodigium. Nonne rex Anglorum noster est vassallus et, ut plus dicam, mancipium, qui potest eum nutu nostro incarcerare et ignominiae mancipare?'

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, V, p. 393. 'Et cum haec inter fratres cardinales recitarentur?'

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 429–30. 'Hoc etiam anno, dominus Papa, dum una dierum iratus supra modum vellet malo grato omnium fratrum cardinalium ossa corporis episcopi Lincolniensis extra ecclesiam proicere, et ipsum in tantam infamiam

appeared to the pope in a dream, rebuking him and ‘at the same time poking him in the side with the point of a crozier’ (*pungens ipsum in latere ictu impetuso cuspide baculi, quem bajulabat, pastorali[s]*).⁷⁰ Later anti-papal sentiment in England was often quick to draw on this image of Bishop Robert, such as a fourteenth-century letter ascribed to his authorship.⁷¹ Modern historians have since claimed that it was because of Bishop Robert’s attack on the pope that he never achieved canonization.⁷²

Thus, the bishop who had the best chance, with three promotional attempts at the papal curia, was subsequently ignored and overlooked for two primary reasons. The first was his antagonism against the papacy and curia during his life, which resulted in an enduring memory of petty bitterness with the cardinals and pope. The second was likely that which had prevented Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester from obtaining canonization, that is, his support of Simon de Montfort against King Henry III.

No other bishops in England who had been involved in crusade administration or a crusade itself received posthumous veneration. Archbishop Baldwin and Bishops Walter and Robert were the best candidates for canonization, with only Bishop Robert having enthusiastic enough support for the cathedral chapter at Lincoln to pursue it throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, all three fell short of

praecipitare, ut ethnicus, rebellis, et inobediens per totum mundum acclamaretur, jussit talem literam scribi domino regi Angliae transmittendam, sciens quod ipse rex libenter desaeviret in ipsum et in ecclesiam depraedandam.’ (quote p. 429).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, V, p. 429. ‘*Sed nocte sequente apparuit ei idem episcopus Lincolnensis pontificalibus redimitus, vultuque severo intuituque austero ac voce terribili ipsum Papam in lecto sine quiete quiescentem aggreditur et affatur, pungens ipsum in latere ictu impetuso cuspide baculi, quem bajulabat, pastorali[s].*’

⁷¹ For example, F. A. C. Mantello, ‘Letter 131 Ascribed to Robert Grosseteste: A New Edition of the Text’, *Franciscan Studies*, 39 (1979), 164–79.

⁷² Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p. 71 n. 34; E. W. Kemp, ‘Appendix: The Attempted Canonization of Robert Grosseteste’, in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of His Death*, ed. by Daniel Angelo Philip Callus (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 241–46 (pp. 245–46); R. E. G. Cole, ‘Proceedings Relative to the Canonization of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln’, *Associated Architectural Societies’ Reports and Papers*, 33 (1915), 1–34 (p. 33).

exemplar saints and were thus not considered for canonization. In this case, with the crusade having featured so prominently in the careers of Archbishop Baldwin and Bishop Walter, at least, England lost the ability to have a bishop who had been signed with the crusader's cross become a saint. If one of them had been enrolled as a saint, it is possible that the English episcopate might have been more united in regard to the crusades and crusading.

IV. THE ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND'S EPISCOPAL-SAINTS TO THE CRUSADES

It is important to examine the interactions which English bishop-saints had with the crusades and crusaders in their dioceses. In doing so we gain some insight into the general approaches laid down by these exemplars and how following generations of English bishops approached the matter. From a cursory glance at the bishop-saints' lives it would appear that over half of them had no real association with the crusades in their lifetime, while some others took interest; the most notable interactions occurring with St Edmund of Abingdon and St Richard of Chichester. The saints also acted as direct intermediaries between the people on earth and God in heaven. As such, those bishops who underwent a process of canonization in our period, and were subsequently canonized, often interceded for people, producing many miracles. St Thomas of Canterbury, for instance, is said to have produced around 650 miracles, followed by St Thomas of Hereford with c.450–500. This section will look at the bishops individually by the date of their process of canonization (as outlined in Table One above), to ascertain their interactions with the crusades and crusaders in both their lifetimes and miracle collections. As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, the distinction between someone just going to the Holy Land on pilgrimage versus someone going on crusade is a difficult problem to disentangle. In this instance, then,

the miracles considered here are all those performed for people mentioned as going to the Holy Land or those who went to the Holy Land after receiving their cure. This latter distinction is also important, because many people felt that after a cure at one of England's many shrines that they should travel to Jerusalem to give thanks to God for their healing.⁷³ Similarly, the kings who departed on crusade in our period generally seem to have visited some of these shrines before leaving England on their expedition, as if attempting to gain the saint's patronage for the army. Nowhere is this clearer than at Canterbury where the tomb of the holy martyr St Thomas was enshrined. King Richard I, for instance, held a council and visited the shrine at Canterbury on the eve before his departure on the Third Crusade on 27 November 1189, and similarly when he returned to England after his captivity by Duke Leopold V of Austria (*d.* 1194) he visited St Thomas of Canterbury's shrine to give thanks for his deliverance.⁷⁴

IV.1 ST THOMAS OF CANTERBURY

St Thomas Becket was the model saint from whom all English bishops took their framework for holiness and it was moulded throughout the thirteenth century. However, when looking at St Thomas of Canterbury's life there is a distinct lack of interaction with the crusades and, in fact, in one instance we find some criticism. A letter, dated to 1169 claimed that the Second Crusade had failed because 'gifts offered from theft and wrong-doing are not pleasing to God', and denounced Kings Henry II

⁷³ Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, Event, 1000–1215* (London: Scolar Press, 1982), pp. 123–25.

⁷⁴ [Howden], *Gesta*, II, pp. 97–99, 102; Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 23–27; Diceto, *Opera Historica*, II, pp. 72; Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, I, pp. 474, 524; Anne J. Duggan, 'Becket is Dead! Long Live St Thomas', in *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c.1170–c.1220*, ed. by Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 25–52 (p. 41); John Gillingham, *Richard I*, Yale English Monarchs (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 135, 251.

of England and Louis VII of France as profitless in their plans to venture on crusade.⁷⁵ As Christopher Tyerman put it, '[a]rguably, the demythologising of crusading was inevitable', especially since the failure of the Second Crusade was believed to have been caused by 'the treachery of the Latin settlers, the so-called *pullani*, whose luxury and greed became notorious.'⁷⁶ This is important though. St Thomas of Canterbury's cult became a touchstone of the English episcopate and the defence of the rights of the English Church. The fact that members of his entourage in life so openly sent letters criticizing the planning of a crusade plays into the fact that bishops throughout the thirteenth century did not know how precisely to deal with crusades and crusading. St Thomas's lack of interest in the crusades is a difficult thing to explore, but it is most likely because there were no sincere plans in England for a crusade to occur. Similarly, this letter was written at the time that St Thomas was in exile at Pontigny, and it is probable that the letter denouncing a new crusade was just a pointed remark to antagonize the king.

While little more can be said for what occurred regarding the crusades during St Thomas of Canterbury's lifetime, some of the aftermath of his martyrdom is worth recounting here. The crime of his murder was met with swift punishment, part of which was intended to benefit the Holy Land.⁷⁷ King Henry II faced heavy penances and needed to fund 200 knights to fight with the Templars in the Holy Land. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* also claimed that every year after St Thomas's martyrdom that King

⁷⁵ John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. by W. J. Miller, H. I. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979–81), II, p. 632 no. 287.

⁷⁶ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 38.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 54–56; A. J. Duggan, "'Ne in Dubium': The Official Record of Henry II's Reconciliation at Avranches, 21 May 1172", *EHR*, 115 (2000), 643–58; Alan J. Forey, 'Henry II's Crusading Penances for Becket's Murder', *Crusades*, 7 (2008), 153–62; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter / Murder of Bishops*, ed. by Natalie Fryde and Dirk Reitz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 211–72.

Henry sent treasure, which was stockpiled ready for his crusade but was eventually lost.⁷⁸ St Thomas's murderers were also sent to fight in the Holy Land to atone for their sins for at least fourteen years.⁷⁹

It seems that it was because of St Thomas's enduring popularity as an English saint, despite his lack of interest in the crusades, that he was appropriated as a patron for many crusaders during the Third Crusade. That he became such a touchstone for English crusaders as a saint who would intervene on their behalf is made evident from the foundation of the hospital of St Thomas of Acre, which transformed into a military order, by a group of crusaders from St Thomas's home city of London after he saved them from severe storms at sea.⁸⁰ As recorded by Roger of Howden, the men sailed to Spain and during the storm the men prayed to the saints for deliverance. St Nicholas, St Edmund of Bury, and St Thomas of Canterbury appeared, with St Thomas assuring the sailors that they were under his protection and subsequently the saints calmed the storm and reached Spain, where they fought for the ruler there.⁸¹ As noted by Tyerman, '[t]he vision of Becket may be connected with the story of William, chaplain of the dean of St Paul's (i.e., the chronicler Ralph of Diss). He vowed to dedicate a chapel to St. Thomas if he reached Acre in one piece on the 1189 journey'.⁸² St Thomas of Canterbury quickly became patron saint of London after his martyrdom, because it

⁷⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 55; Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 229; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. by Stubbs, p. 26; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 42

⁷⁹ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, IV, pp. 158–64.

⁸⁰ A. J. Forey, 'The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre', *EHR*, 92 (1977), 481–503.

⁸¹ [Howden], *Gesta*, II, pp. 89–90, 116–18. '*Dum vero tempestas saeviret, et omnes clamarent ad Dominum cum tribularentur, beatus Thomas Cantuariensis, martyr gloriosus, per tres vices visibiliter apparuit tribus personis qui erant in navi Landoniens?*'

⁸² Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 73.

was his home city, and it is likely that London crusaders in particular would appeal to their own patron saint.

Moreover, it is interesting to consider some of the aftermath of this miraculous story of the ships in a storm. On the Londoner's ship heading for Jerusalem was William fitzOsbert, also known as William Longbeard.⁸³ On return from the crusade, William became one of the magistrates of the city of London, and seemed to try to effect change by rallying against the rich on behalf of the poor of the city. William visited King Richard overseas at some point and returned emboldened with what he thought was the king's support, becoming more aggressive in his approach. This warranted the intervention of former fellow crusader Archbishop Hubert Walter, who was also now justiciar of England. One day Archbishop Hubert sent a group of men to seize William. William managed to escape to the sanctuary of the church of St Mary-le-Bow, after killing one of the archbishop's men and wounding another. Eventually he was extracted from the church and summarily executed. William was soon after treated as a martyr.⁸⁴ St Thomas of Canterbury did not intervene in this case of archiepiscopal and judicial justice meted out on William fitzOsbern. There is no mention of William's crusading past in the chronicler's accounts, nor to Archbishop Hubert's either. Their status as crusaders together does not seem to have warranted any sympathy. Their crusader's vows had been completed and were therefore not of any interest anymore.

St Thomas of Canterbury's cult captivated Europe following his martyrdom on 29 November 1170. A miraculous cult was immediately developed and performed

⁸³ [Howden], *Gesta*, p. 116. '*in qua erant Willelmus filius Osberti*'.

⁸⁴ Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, pp. 466–73; Diss, *Ymagines historiarum*, II, pp. 143–44; Howden, *Chronica*, IV, pp. 5–6; Wendover, *Flowers of History*, I, p. 244; *CM*, II, pp. 418–19. For an overall account see, Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (Hambledon and London: The Hambledon Press, 2000), pp. 159–62.

miracles on a remarkable scale. Considering the timing of the high point of the cult in the 1170s through to the 1190s, it is not surprising there is mention of pilgrims going to Jerusalem within the miracle accounts with the advent of the Third Crusade. In one miracle, for instance, ‘a German, a former Canterbury pilgrim, voyaging in the Mediterranean on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, died, and was thrown overboard.’ Later that evening ‘the steersman was horrified at seeing the dead man approaching him alive: “St Thomas,” he said, “has restored me to life and to your ship: and you must restore the berth I paid for, and my clothes, too, for I am chilled with cold.”’⁸⁵

This story was not told by the German to the registrars at St Thomas’s shrine in Canterbury, but, in fact, by the steersman and a man from the same town.⁸⁶ What became of the German is unknown, though it is possible that after making port in the Holy Land the ship, loaded with returning pilgrims, returned soon after to England and left the man to the remainder of his journey. Unfortunately, the miracles of St Thomas of Canterbury do not generally record the dates on which they occur, so we cannot tell whether this man was departing on the Third Crusade.

In another miracle account, an English Templar who was living in Lilleshall (Shropshire) in the diocese of Chester in July 1174 had visions of the Virgin Mary, St Edmund of Bury, and St Leonard scraping out his bowels to cure him of his illness. St Thomas of Canterbury, however, later visited the man and saw that their combined saintly powers had somehow still not removed the full extent of the illness. The man watched, paralyzed, as St Thomas, “as though in anger, plunged both his feet into my intestines, and ejected the remnant of my disease.” After these visions he was in such

⁸⁵ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, I: (1875), p. 362; translated in *St Thomas of Canterbury, His Death and Miracles*, trans. by Edwin A. Abbot, 2 vols (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1898), II, p. 36. ‘*Teutonicus quidam peregrinus martyris hujus, dum orationis gratia Jerosolymam proficisceretur, infirmatus et mortuus est in Mediterraneo mari [...]* “*Ego ipse sum quem mortuum in mare misistis; beatus Thomas vitae et navi restituit me; et vos restituite locum quem conduxi et panniculos meos mihi, qui coarctor nimio figure.*”’.

⁸⁶ *St Thomas of Canterbury*, trans. by Abbot, II, p. 36.

a terrible condition that he spent one night so still and lifeless that all around believed him to be dead. However, after invocations to St Thomas the man recovered. This story was not, however, related by the man at the shrine, but ‘heard from Brother Robert, minister of the Temple at Jerusalem.’⁸⁷

Two miracles concern people who dedicated themselves to St Thomas of Canterbury’s care and subsequently swore to travel to Jerusalem. As noted above, some people felt that they should travel to the Holy Land after receiving a miraculous cure in order to give thanks to God for healing them through one of the saints.⁸⁸ It may also be that since St Thomas of Canterbury was a saint utilized by crusaders, that they felt they had St Thomas’s approval and protection to embark on the journey to Jerusalem. Eilward of Westoning in Bedfordshire was captured after committing theft. While in prison, he requested a priest to hear his confession. After confession, he swore that if he escaped the prison he would go to Jerusalem and begged the priest to sign him with the crusader’s cross. The priest signed him with the cross, while also suggesting that he should seek the patronage of the saints, especially St Thomas of Canterbury. The man was measured, in order that he might make a candle to take as an offering for St Thomas’s help.⁸⁹ The man was subsequently tried through an ordeal

⁸⁷ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, I, p. 440; translated in *St Thomas of Canterbury*, trans. by Abbot, II, p. 50. ‘*Audiat caritas fratrum quid a fratre Roberto, sacri templi Jerosolymitani ministro, rex Anglorum peregrinus ad tumbam martyris audierit. “Ego, inquit, domine mi rex, in episcopatu Cestrensi, villa Beleshale, gravi correptus infirmitate decubi. Post aliquot dies visionem vidi, et ecce beata Maria, martyr Eadmundus, et confessor Leonardus compatientes astiterunt mihi, doloremque quem patiebar de meis praecordis abraserunt. Videns autem beatus Thomas quia molestiam penitus non auferrent, tanquam succensens, duobus articulis pedis sui visceribus meis immissis, quod residuum erat infirmitatis amovit. Et subsequuta est angustia tanta ut quae mittuntur in secessum cum vita pariter ejicerentur. Mortuus itaque per spatium noctis unius apparui. Mane vero, qui martyrem Thomam saepius vocaveram, ad huc habens circa collum liciu[m] quo me in peregrinationem obligaveram, oculos aperui et revixi.*’

⁸⁸ Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, pp. 123–25.

⁸⁹ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, I, pp. 155–58; II, pp. 173–82; translated in *St Thomas of Canterbury*, trans. by Abbot, II, pp. 80–84. ‘*Sed et de corporis sui liberatione spem suam divinae miserationi committens, “Domini,” inquit, “carissime, terram quam Dei Filius, Dominus noster Jesus, et*

by water, found guilty, and had his eyes gouged out as well as being mutilated as punishment.⁹⁰ After a while, St Thomas appeared to him and intervened on his behalf, restoring him to health over a few days. Eilward then travelled to Canterbury to give thanks for the miraculous cure he received. Unfortunately, the miracle does not record whether he made good on his vow to travel to the Holy Land; however, what is clear is that in this matter both the cross-signing and the dedication to St Thomas were important factors in this man's restoration to health.

Edmund of Canterbury, on the other hand, is more typical of the type of pilgrim expected to go to Jerusalem following miraculous intervention. He was blind in one eye and for two years had been ailed with immense pain in his left side. After some of St Thomas of Canterbury's blood was placed on his eye and he drank the remainder, he spent some time convulsing before falling asleep. He woke up feeling the

thing that had caused him so much internal torture was being driven to the lower part of his throat. To save himself from suffocation he reached his hand down to touch and see what it was. Suddenly, as though a bladder had burst, the thing was driven out of his mouth by some power of God, and he felt a taste like gall.⁹¹

vita temporali sanctificavit et morte, pedes adibo, si necessitatis instantis articulum evasero. Under et humero meo dextro candenti ferro signum crucis precor inuri, quod mihi, licet vestes auferantur, auferre nemo praevaleat. Fecit ille ut fuerat rogatus, commonens ut ad sanctorum suffragia devotus confugeret, maxime vero gloriosi martyris Thomae, quem Dominus tanta signorum gloria mirificavit. Filo praeterea longitudinem latitudinemque corporis ejus mensus est, unde factam candelam sancto martyri liberatus offeret.' (quote II, p. 175).

⁹⁰ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, II, p. 177. 'Tractus itaque ad locum supplicii, orbatu oculis, genitalibus mutilatur.'

⁹¹ *St Thomas of Canterbury*, trans. by Abbot, II, pp. 261–62; *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, II, pp. 62–63. 'At ille statim evigilans, volubile illud, interius torquebatur, usque ad partem gutturis inferiorem sensit impelli. Pene praefocatus, manu ad guttur conjecta, tactu voluit probare quid esset. Tunc subito, quasi rupto interius folliculo, virtute quadam divina per os ejus expulsum est. Amaritudinem videbatur habere felleam.'

He went to St Thomas of Canterbury's shrine where he took the cross and departed for the Holy Land.⁹² As for whether Edmund of Canterbury was a crusader, it is not known. Certainly, he seems to have taken the crusader's cross at the shrine in Canterbury, and thus departed, so it may well be the case that he left at some point during the Third Crusade.

Another miracle recipient faced a far worse fate for tempting the martyr's wrath by reneging on his oath to the saint to travel to Jerusalem, though whether he was a *crucesignatus* the account does not say. Randulf de Langton, who was a leper, visited St Thomas's tomb at Canterbury. He prayed and made vows to go to Jerusalem, to undergo severe fasts, and to pay 4*d.* annually to the shrine in Canterbury. He spent nine days in Canterbury where his health improved and he thus departed, 'as if for the purpose of setting out for Jerusalem.' On his return 'he appeared with all the signs of leprosy so manifest on him that never was a leper fouler.'⁹³ It appears that the man had neglected to carry out his vow to go to Jerusalem and therefore St Thomas of Canterbury struck him down again as a lesson that he should complete his vows. It would appear that the breaking of the vow was also doubly punishable, since he had broken the vow both to the saint and the aid of the Holy Land. Returning to the shrine,

⁹² *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, II, p. 63. '*Et continuo surrexit, pallioque projecto usque ad martyris tumbam gratias acturus processit, perfectaue tam oculi quam totius corporis sanitate recepta, crucem e vestigio Jerosolymam iturus pro martyris amore suscepit.*'

⁹³ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, II, pp. 182–83; translated in *St Thomas of Canterbury*, trans. by Abbot, II, pp. 307–08. '*A Pentecoste igitur fere usque ad Adventum Domini nobiscum integerrimus, sanissimus, speciosus, et absque macula, commorans, tandem, quasi Jerosolymam profecturus, a nobis recessit, domumque reversus (nescio quo occulto Dei iudicio) adeo leprosus apparuit, quod nemo unquam exstiterit contagio leprae sordidior.*' (quote II, p. 183).

Edmund had a vision and was healed again by St Thomas who said, ‘sin no more, lest a worse thing befall you!’⁹⁴

What becomes clear from this examination of St Thomas of Canterbury’s interactions with the crusade, both in his lifetime and after his death, is that he did not particularly take much interest in them. In doing so, there was no easy way for later hagiographers to reconcile crusading enthusiasm with holiness. While there were no major crusades while St Thomas was archbishop of Canterbury, there were plans for one. Yet these plans were met with criticism from the archbishop’s entourage aimed at the kings involved, perhaps in a fit of impotent rage while in exile in France. In death, however, he became an international saint with a Christendom-wide reputation.⁹⁵ St Thomas’s position as the new premier saint of Canterbury, and the patron saint of his home city of London, meant that many crusaders from the south of England would have utilized him as their chosen intercessor. This is obvious from the fact that St Thomas’s intercession was recorded as performing a miracle for a boat of Londoners on their way to the Holy Land via Spain. This was a miracle which was held in popular memory throughout the Middle Ages and was included in items such as the fifteenth-century *St Alban’s Chronicle*.⁹⁶ St Thomas of Canterbury also seems to have performed a total of five officially recorded miracles for crusaders or potential crusaders out of his total of 655. This is an overwhelmingly small sample of miracles,

⁹⁴ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, II, p. 183; translated in *St Thomas of Canterbury*, trans. by Abbot, II, p. 308. ‘*Causam deteriorationis ejus Ille novit, qui ei quem sanaverat dixit, “Ecce jam sanus factus es: jam noli peccare, ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat.”*’

⁹⁵ For more on St Thomas’s reputation throughout Europe, see: *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c.1170–c.1220*, ed. by Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016).

⁹⁶ Lambeth, Lambeth Palace Library, MS6, fol. 142r. For an image of the folio see: Lambeth Palace Library, *Luna Database*, available at:

<<http://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/luna/servlet/detail/LPLIBLPL~17~17~378~100221?sort=creator%2Ctype%2Cdate%2Ctitle&qvq=q:MS6;sort:creator%2Ctype%2Cdate%2Ctitle;lc:LPLIBLPL~17~17&mi=14&trs=26>> [Accessed: 12 July 2017].

indicating no particular interest in the crusades, even while he was saint. Furthermore, for many of these people, their status as crusaders is not clear, and it may well be that this small number should be reduced further.

Overall, then, if St Thomas of Canterbury was the model from which all bishops took their inspiration throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, then it is no surprise why there is no framework for how they should interact with the crusades. While St Thomas was an active proponent of royal resistance, pastoral care, and reform, he did not exhibit any interest in or positive approach towards the crusades. This, therefore, left a gap for bishops to fill however they wanted to, thus exhibiting no unified approach.

IV.2 ST HUGH OF LINCOLN

St Hugh of Lincoln's interactions with the Third Crusade are rather difficult to ascertain. Unfortunately, the first episcopal register for the diocese of Lincoln only appears from 1209 onwards, some nine years after St Hugh's death, and there are no surviving episcopal *acta* recording any interactions with the crusades or crusaders.⁹⁷ A few things, however, can be inferred and there is one claim which needs to be explored. The twelfth-century chronicler, Gervase of Canterbury, is the only contemporary to record that at the Council of Geddington on 3 February 1188, 'Bishop John of Norwich and the bishop of Lincoln, and many others took the cross'.⁹⁸ However, the accounts of Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh, who also record the Council of Geddington, neglect to mention St Hugh in their record of the event.⁹⁹ Similarly, only Howden records St Hugh's attendance at the crusading council at Pipewell in

⁹⁷ *EEA I: Lincoln 1067–1185*, ed. by David M. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), *passim*.

⁹⁸ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, I, p. 410. '*Sumpsit autem crucem Johannes episcopus Norwicensis et episcopus Lincolnensis et populus multus.*'

⁹⁹ [Howden], *Gesta*, II, p. 33; Newburgh, *Historia Regum Anglicarum*, I, p. 275.

September 1189.¹⁰⁰ As Beatrice Siedschlag observed, considering the coverage of the council in Anglo-Norman chronicles, ‘it is hardly conceivable that anyone so generally revered as Bishop Hugh should have taken the cross and only one chronicler has mentioned it.’¹⁰¹ It is probably right to treat Gervase of Canterbury’s statement with scepticism as the biography of St Hugh, the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, fails to make any reference to its subject’s involvement with the crusade.¹⁰² The editors of the *Magna Vita*, however, treated the claim with less scepticism merely saying that ‘at the council of Geddington of February 1188 [...] on which occasion he [St Hugh] took the cross, but for some reason was prevented from fulfilling his vow.’¹⁰³ It is therefore impossible to know whether St Hugh ever did take the crusader’s cross with the intention of departing on the Third Crusade, but considering the wider source base available it is highly unlikely.

St Hugh did, however, know the value of the crusade vow. The *Magna Vita* relates a story of how St Hugh would often cite the exemplary virtues of various people who he believed had lived perfect lives. Adam of Eynsham recorded four particular cases he believed noteworthy, including two crusaders. The first was described as Gerard, count of Nevers:

When King Louis was about to set out for Jerusalem, on the advice of his magnates, he wanted to make him [Gerard] guardian of his kingdom, but he [Gerard] cleverly avoided accepting this burdensome office, by declaring that he had for some time been under a vow to take the cross and go to Jerusalem. This news delighted the king who was greatly pleased at the prospect of having

¹⁰⁰ Howden, *Chronica*, III p. 15; [Howden], *Gesta*, II, p. 85.

¹⁰¹ Beatrice Siedschlag, ‘English Participation in the Crusades, 1150–1200’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bryn Mawr; privately printed Menasha: The Collegiate Press, 1939), p. 14 n. 3.

¹⁰² Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, ed. and trans. by Douie and Farmer, *passim*.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, I, p. xlv.

such a man as his companion on his pilgrimage. He ordered him to make immediate preparations to fulfil his vow.¹⁰⁴

Gerard, however, did not join the king and did not complete his crusader's vow. Instead, he departed his lands and took up the habit of a lay brother at the Carthusian monastery of Chartreuse: 'There, like a true pilgrim in this world, he took up the cross of the Lord daily'.¹⁰⁵ St Hugh had been a Carthusian monk himself prior to becoming bishop of Lincoln, and it is likely that this tale, apocryphal or not, served as a reminder that his calling as a monk was of equal or greater value than the crusade vow. Like Gerard, St Hugh technically took up the Lord's cross daily, therefore not needing to go on crusade, thus casting further doubt on Gervase of Canterbury's statement.

The second crusader which St Hugh mentioned in this story was from Maurienne in Savoy. The man 'left his wife and children for the land where God redeemed mankind, in order to fight against the enemies of the cross of salvation, where, being a knight of great valour, he often slaughtered large numbers of pagan Saracens'.¹⁰⁶ This man was eventually captured and imprisoned. The leader who had captured him decided to put him and the other prisoners to the sword. This did not work, however, as he evaded the executioner's blade and was permitted to return home.¹⁰⁷ Once home, he was involved in an incident in a tournament and was taken to a nearby Cistercian monastery to convalesce. Afterwards, he started a practice of visiting Chartreuse every summer, living as a hermit.¹⁰⁸ Again, the story was likely related because of St Hugh's own sympathies to his former monastic home. What becomes clear is that, although these men are crusaders, it was not the crusade which was preminent in life, but monastic life would supersede any redemption found as a

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 55–58 (quote p. 57).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 58–61 (quote p. 58).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 59–60.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 61.

crusader. This is the likely reason why St Hugh never made good on his crusader's vow, if indeed he ever did take the cross, because as a former monk who still practised his old habits, it was the monastic life that was worth more at death than going on crusade.

The only real interaction with something crusade related that the *Magna Vita* does mention, is St Hugh's intervention in the persecution of the Jews in Lincolnshire. In the 1190s there were outbreaks of violence towards the Jewish communities in Lynn, Norwich, Lincoln, Bury St Edmunds, and, most infamously, York.¹⁰⁹ Of particular note, the *Magna Vita* records that St Hugh spent time in the deanery of Holland quelling the anti-Semitic riots. This did not come without personal, bodily risk to St Hugh. The *Magna Vita* records that at Holland, the bishop's kinsman, William of Avalon, had to intervene and protect the bishop from an armed man who 'had drawn up his sword and was recklessly preparing to strike a deadly blow at the bishop.'¹¹⁰ However, this, in itself, is not any indication of St Hugh taking an interest in the matters of the crusade or crusading. These riots were the direct result of anti-Semitic feeling in the wake of the preaching for the new crusade and St Hugh was merely performing his episcopal duty in intervening.

IV.3 ST WILLIAM OF YORK

St William of York's interactions in light of the crusades are interesting to observe, particularly in the realm of ecclesiastical politics. Though St William of York was not

¹⁰⁹ Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 136; Joe Hillaby, 'Prelude and Postscript to the York Massacre: Attacks in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, 1190', in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts*, ed. by Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina Watson (York: York Medieval Press, 2013), pp. 43–56; R. B. Dobson, *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of 1190*, Borthwick Papers 45 (York: St Anthony's Press, 1974)

¹¹⁰ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, ed. and trans. by Douie and Farmer, II, pp. 17–18.

involved in the crusade movement, his episcopate was impacted by the interference of St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153, canonized 1174), the principal preacher for the Second Crusade. St Bernard, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux, accused St William of multiple wrongdoings in his archdiocese. The beleaguered St William spent his first archiepiscopate attempting to stand fast in the face of severe opposition. The charges levelled against him were manifold and included simony, unchastity, and intrusion into the archiepiscopate. The prosecution against St William on these charges worsened in the mid-1140s with strong Cistercian opposition to his archiepiscopate, and was exacerbated with the election of a Cistercian pope in Eugenius III (1145–1153) who was in constant contact with his former mentor, St Bernard.¹¹¹ In 1146, St William was officially suspended. When news of this reached Yorkshire, a band of local soldiers loyal to the archbishop retaliated by attacking Fountains Abbey.¹¹² This resulted in St Bernard furiously writing more letters demanding action against St William.¹¹³ As Christopher Norton reports, however, the ending of the dispute is rather obscure, although what is certain is that Pope Eugenius's 'proximity to Bernard at this time and his indebtedness to him in the matter of the crusade did not bode well for William', resulting in St William's official deposition as archbishop in 1147.¹¹⁴

During the previous year, however, St William had been at the papal court to plead his case and then travelled to the kingdom of Sicily, where he spent time at the court of his cousin, King Roger II (1130–1154).¹¹⁵ King Roger had made a seven-year truce with the papacy and had agreed in 1146 to secure the Mediterranean Sea for the

¹¹¹ Norton, *St William of York*, pp. 114–23.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–22.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

passage of crusaders' ships.¹¹⁶ It may well be from this trip that an artefact, now lodged in the modern undercroft museum of York Minster, was procured. This artefact is worth mentioning purely for its speculative history since it offers the only real tangible evidence of St William's interest in the crusades. The object is an ivory casket of a distinctive Siculo-Arabic design, similar to others found throughout Europe.¹¹⁷ In the undercroft of York Minster, the modern caption next to the ivory casket simply describes it as:

Casket 1148.

Believed to be the personal reliquary of St William of York, this casket probably held the heart of a crusader. Many people draw strength from touching sacred objects.

While there is no historical evidence that St William did indeed gift this casket to York Minster, the proposed dating of its manufacture coincides with the time of St William's visit to Sicily in 1147. The modern popular history of the casket refers to it generally as the 'heart casket'. This has resulted in the theory that the casket may have been used to bring home the heart of an English crusader.¹¹⁸ It might be possible, especially since the practice of heart burials began in earnest sometime around 1117.¹¹⁹ The expedition

¹¹⁶ On King Roger II see, Paul Oldfield, 'The Use and Abuse of Pilgrims in Norman Italy', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage*, ed. by Hurlock and Oldfield, pp. 139–58 (pp. 142–49). For the truce see p. 148.

¹¹⁷ R. H. Pinder-Wilson and C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Reliquary of St Petroc and the Ivories of Norman Sicily', *Archaeologia*, 104 (1973), 261–305; A. Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Treasuries of the Latin West* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996), esp. pp. 110–13, 259–85.

¹¹⁸ A. A. R. Gills, 'Heart Burials', *Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society*, 1, no. 4 (1936), 3–9; Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 122.

¹¹⁹ Sarah Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 119; Estella Weiss-Krejci, 'Heart burial in medieval and early post-medieval Central Europe', in *Body Parts and Bodies Whole: Changing Relations and Meanings*, ed. by Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, and Jessica Hughes (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), pp. 119–34 (p. 122). One Yorkshire legend places the practice even earlier. William de Percy died outside the walls of Jerusalem in July 1099. His body was buried in the Holy Land, but it is said that his heart was removed and brought back to England, eventually being buried in Whitby abbey. See: *Cartularium Abbathiae de*

to Lisbon (Portugal) in 1147 featured significant English participation, and it may well be that one of the crusaders visited the Roman see in Italy and died on their way back through Sicily.¹²⁰ The process of excarnation—the separating of the body’s viscera from the bones—was generally chosen by high ranking members of crusading armies who had the financial ability to do so.¹²¹ One other connection to Sicily has been observed in the coinage of King Stephen (1135–1140) minted at York. The coins feature ‘two standing figures and may have been inspired by a ducalis of Roger II of Sicily issued in 1140.’¹²²

Unfortunately, there is no concrete evidence to connect St William of York to the casket, and most of what has been written on it is from traditional association. As noted by Norton, ‘[t]here is no historical evidence linking this casket with William fitzHerbert, nor is it properly dated. The association depends solely on the style of the object and the documented fact of William’s visit to Sicily. The casket could, however, have been acquired elsewhere and by someone else.’¹²³ Therefore we must ask the unanswerable question of whether this casket and the other Sicilian links in York are just a coincidence?

Moving to the miracle collection for St William of York we are faced with a remarkable dearth of information. St William performed very few miracles in total. Many of the cures concern local matters and contain information on general healings

Whiteby, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Fundatae Anno MLXXVIII, ed. by J. C. Atkinson, 2 vols, Surtees Society LXIX and LXXII (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1879–81), I, p. 2 n. 1.

¹²⁰ Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 301–10.

¹²¹ Weiss-Krejci, ‘Heart burial’, p. 123; *Idem*, ‘Unusual Life, Unusual Death and the Fate of the Corpse: A Case Study from Dynastic Europe’, in *Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record*, ed. by Eileen M. Murphy (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008), pp. 169–90 (p. 178); Corliss K. Slack, *Historical Dictionary of the Crusades*, second edn. (Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 2013), pp. 138–39.

¹²² Norton, *St William of York*, p. 120; Mark Blackburn, ‘Coinage and Currency’, in *The Anarchy of King Stephen’s Reign*, ed. by Edmund King (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 145–205 (pp. 183–87).

¹²³ Norton, *St William of York*, p. 120 n. 146.

associated with St William's intercession. None of those who received a cure, however, are reported as having been in the Holy Land at the time of the cure or going to the Holy Land afterwards.¹²⁴ Overall, then, it becomes rather clear that St William did not take a proactive interest in the crusades while he was archbishop of York. This might well account for why no archbishops of York appear to have taken the crusader's cross during our period, since their saintly predecessor had no active participation in crusade preaching, promotion, or participation.

IV.4 ST OSMUND OF SALISBURY

St Osmund of Salisbury is another outlier in this study, having been bishop of Salisbury from 1078–1099; however, there is a small interaction with the crusades which calls for consideration here. In 1095, following the call for the First Crusade by Pope Urban II, Archbishop St Anselm of Canterbury (1093–1109) wrote to St Osmund, exhorting him to prevent Abbot Hamo and the monks of Cerne Abbey (Dorset) from departing England and venturing on crusade to Jerusalem. This also came with mention of the archbishop's concern regarding various abuses enacted at the abbey in the name of them going on this expedition as well as lax observances of monastic rule. It was said that Abbot Hamo had set about pawning the possessions of the abbey in order to afford the costs of the crusade and had bought a ship for 30*s.* (£1 10*s.*), the child oblates of the abbey were allowed to roam throughout the religious house as they pleased, and the monks had been reported playing dice with female company.¹²⁵ Therefore the letter is, perhaps, less concerned with the fact that an abbot and his

¹²⁴ *The Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, pp. 270–91.

¹²⁵ *Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia, Vol. IV: continens epistolarum libri secundi primam partem*, ed. by Francis S. Schmitt (Stuttgart: Bad Cannstatt, 1968), p. 76 no. 185.

monks wished to depart their monastic house and go to the Holy Land on crusade, than it is with the lax observance of monastic rule.

Furthermore, it should be noted that St Anselm of Canterbury was not an enthusiastic proponent of the crusade.¹²⁶ The call for the Council at Clermont, which was held in November 1095, came at a time when England's primate believed that he was in charge of the kingdom, while the king was off on a campaign in Scotland.¹²⁷ As Hurlock observed '[h]is [Anselm's] lack of support may have been an intentional echo of the dearth of interest shown by William Rufus for the crusade'.¹²⁸ Indeed, at the Council of Clermont the English episcopate and clergy was severely under represented, with Norman Cantor noting that 'the whole English Church was represented among the three hundred ecclesiastics present by a solitary monk', St Anselm's close monastic disciple, Boso.¹²⁹ Boso fell ill on the return journey, staying at Bec, before returning to England, and therefore it would not have been until 1096 that St Anselm would have known about the plans for the First Crusade.

In order to have the matters listed in the letter from St Anselm to St Osmund addressed, a panel of bishops was assembled. This featured St Osmund as well as the bishops of Bath, Exeter, and Winchester.¹³⁰ What actually happened with regards to this dispute is not known, since little is known of St Osmund's episcopate and his *acta*

¹²⁶ Samu Niskanen, 'St Anselm's Views on Crusade', in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kurt Villads Jensen, Studia Fennica, Historica 9 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005), pp. 64–70 (p. 65).

¹²⁷ Kathryn Hurlock, 'The Norman Influence on Crusading from England and Wales', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage*, ed. by Hurlock and Oldfield, pp. 65–80 (p. 73).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹²⁹ Norman Frank Cantor, *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England, 1089–1135* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).

¹³⁰ *Anselmi Cantuariensis, Vol. IV*, ed. by Schmitt, pp. 85–86 no. 190.

are few, with none recording this outcome.¹³¹ This issue, however, is nothing out of the ordinary when it comes to normal diocesan administration.

IV.5 ST EDMUND OF ABINGDON

St Edmund of Abingdon's engagement with the crusade is frustrating in the context of this study. There is no doubt that he was appointed at least in 1231 or 1232 to preach the new crusade in England, and had also possibly been appointed to preach in 1226–1227 for the Sixth Crusade.¹³² St Edmund at this time was still in the schools, and had just been given his first preferment to the treasurership of Salisbury Cathedral.¹³³ It is unknown why Pope Honorius III selected him as a crusade preacher, but according to Clifford Lawrence, '[h]e [St Edmund] was evidently assigned a circuit that included Oxford and the west of England. The hagiographers report the miraculous forbearance of the rain clouds that allowed him to preach in the open air at Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Leominster, and Hereford.'¹³⁴ Little else is known about St Edmund's preaching of the crusade in England. Furthermore, this period of

¹³¹ *EEA 19: Salisbury 1078–1215*, ed. by B. R. Kemp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), *passim*.

¹³² Bertrand of Pontigny, 'Vita B. Edmundi', in *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, 5 vols (Paris: Florentini Delaulne and others, 1717), III, col. 1779; C. H. Lawrence, *St Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 123, 129; *Idem*, 'Edmund of Abingdon [St Edmund of Abingdon, Edmund Rich] (c. 1174–1240)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8503?docPos=1>> [Accessed: 14 July 2019]; Nicholas Trivet, *Annales sex Regum Angliae, qui a comitibus Andegavensibus originem traxerunt* (A.D. M.C.XXXVI.–M.CCC.VII.) *ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum recensuit*, ed. by Thomas Hog (1845), pp. 218–19. 'Clarebat his temporibus in Anglia magister Eadmundus de Abdonia, cancellarius Saresberiensis, vir sapientia et sanctitate insignis, cui dominus papa, ob famam sapientiae et doctrinae ejus, praedicationem crucis commisit; concedens ei, ut procuraciones de ecclesiis, in quibus praedicaret, posset accipere.'

¹³³ Lawrence, 'Edmund of Abingdon'.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

preaching came years before he was advanced to the archiepiscopate of Canterbury in 1234.

Nothing is known of St Edmund's attitude towards the crusades as archbishop of Canterbury, and it seems that he did not take the cross while he was metropolitan. No other miracles are recorded regarding the crusades or crusaders either. Thus, while St Edmund seems to have had some interaction in the crusades before he became archbishop, his archiepiscopal duties and devotion to pastoral care and Church reform came before any new planned crusades. Furthermore, his archiepiscopate came at a time when England was in a period of political crisis, following the fall of justiciar Hubert de Burgh. Towards the end of his life, in 1238, he faced a dispute with the monks of Canterbury over the age old problem of a foundation of secular canons.¹³⁵ It may well be that these things were more pressing and essential to deal with than the plans for a new crusade.

IV.6 ST RICHARD OF CHICHESTER

In the last three years of his episcopate, St Richard of Chichester became involved in the crusade movement. In 1244 Jerusalem fell back into Muslim hands, which resulted in the call for a new crusade. King Henry III subsequently took the crusader's cross in 1250 with an expedition scheduled to leave England in 1256. At the same time that King Henry took the cross, St Richard, in his capacity as bishop of Chichester, was appointed as the collector of the Holy Land subsidy, which was intended to support the king's crusade, along with the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of Exeter and St Davids.¹³⁶ By October 1250, St Richard's mandate was

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 614.

expanded and he officially superseded the bishops of Worcester and Lincoln as the collector of redemptions, legacies, and offerings for the Holy Land subsidy which had arisen between 1242 and 1250.¹³⁷ In 1251, however, he was to receive assistance from the archbishops of York and Canterbury and the bishop of Hereford in collecting these donations.¹³⁸ Matthew Paris records that in April 1252, St Richard, Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester, and the abbot of Westminster, at the behest of the king, preached the cross to the people of London.¹³⁹

On 13 November 1252 St Richard was appointed by the king and the royal council to preach the crusade in England. The royal order, enrolled in the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, also stipulated that St Richard could sign people with the cross and also commute the vows. The usual benefits of relief from tax and preferential treatment in the king's courts were also reiterated. A further mandate was also issued which stipulated that the archbishops were

to do all in their power to assist the bishop of Chichester who at the instance of the king and by his counsel has by apostolic authority taken up the charge and office of the preaching of the crusade throughout the realm both by himself and other deputed by him, and also the collection of the tenth of benefices granted to the king by the pope in aid of the Holy Land.¹⁴⁰

On 26 December 1252 the king also granted St Richard a fee of 2½ marks (£1 13s. 4d.) a day for preaching the crusade around the country.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 614; *CPR* Reg., I, pp. 263, 264; *CPR 1247–1258*, p. 370.

¹³⁸ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 615.

¹³⁹ David Jones, *Saint Richard of Chichester: the sources for his life*, Sussex Record Society 79 (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1995), p. 21.

¹⁴⁰ *CPR 1247–1258*, p. 164.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

Both of St Richard's hagiographers, Ralph Bocking and John Capgrave, noted St Richard's preaching tour before his death in 1253.¹⁴² Lloyd observed that their accounts are made 'with tantalizing brevity.'¹⁴³ Indeed, the hagiographers merely record that St Richard's preaching tour covered the area from Chichester to Canterbury, 'passing along the sea' (*per loca maritima transiens*), mentioning only that he preached in Chichester, Canterbury, and Dover.¹⁴⁴ St Richard reportedly recruited numbers of crusaders in Sussex and Kent, especially among unemployed sailors, and seemingly signed people with the cross when they came and confessed their sins to him.¹⁴⁵

St Richard of Chichester died on 3 April 1253, while still on his preaching tour. Before he died he had made a final testament to bequeath his goods. It may well have been St Richard's time as collector of the obventions and legacies bequeathed to the Holy Land subsidy which prompted him to make his own contribution in this format. In the testamentary document, St Richard stated:

¹⁴² *Acta Sanctorum: Aprilis Tomus Primus*, ed. by J. Bolland and others (Paris and Rome: Victorem Palmé, 1866; originally printed 1675), 'De S. Richardo Episcopo Cicestriae in Anglia', pp. 276–316 (Ralph Bocking: pp. 294, 305; John Capgrave: p. 281). John Capgrave: '*Pro subsidio Terrae sanctae Crucis praedicationem suscepit, a Papa delegatam: ideo a Cicestrensi sanctuario incipiens, per loca maritima transiens, ad civitatem Cantuariensem usque pervenit.*' (p. 281). Ralph Bocking: '*Hinc et auctoritate Apostolicae commissionis, Crucis praedicationem per Cantuariensem dioecesim et Cicestrensem, sibi creditam salubriter et fructose complevit.*' (p. 294). '*Igitur a Cicestrensi sanctuario incipiens, per loca maritima transiens, ac per Metropolitanae Sedis dioecesim et civitatem, Cantuariam loquor nostram quodammodo Jerusalem, propter gloriosorum Martyrum ac Pontificum Thomae nec non Elphegi aliorumque pretiosa ignora Sanctorum, feralia nautarum colla iugo Crucis studuit submittere ostensisque peccatorum abominationibus poenisque in eorum vindictam insequentibus, dolorem et luctum incutere satagebat auditoribus, et sic poenae crucem tamquam Thau signum ipsis salubriter impressit.*' (p. 305).

¹⁴³ Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 50. See also, C. H. Lawrence, 'Wyce, Richard of [St Richard of Chichester], (d. 1253)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at:

<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23522>> [Accessed: 14 July 2019].

¹⁴⁴ *Acta Sanctorum: Aprilis Tomus Primus*, ed. by Bolland *et al.*, pp. 281, 305.

¹⁴⁵ David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, fifth edn. revised (Oxford: Oxford University Press,), p. 379.

I also bequeath in aid of the Holy Land 50 marks [£33 6s. 8d.], to be paid and delivered to Robert Chaundos, my brother, in order that he may go there if he is willing, for me, and to be paid to another, if the said Robert should be unwilling to go.¹⁴⁶

This donation to the Holy Land subsidy was the highest such bequest in St Richard's testament, with the highest amounts given to his clerks not exceeding £20.¹⁴⁷ Robert Chandos at this time held the Herefordshire honour of Snodhill, and was a moderately powerful ally in the March.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately, it is unclear whether Robert Chandos ever did go on crusade in St Richard's stead as the chroniclers are silent on the matter.

IV.7 ST THOMAS OF HEREFORD

While St Thomas of Hereford did not take the cross or depart for the Holy Land himself, he did have some important connections with crusaders during his lifetime and in his miracle collection there are some examples concerning people going to the Holy Land. There is, also, a modern mythical association which needs to be dealt with here before we begin the actual discussion of St Thomas of Hereford's crusader connections. St Thomas of Hereford's remains were translated from the Lady Chapel at the east end to the north transept of Hereford Cathedral on 3 April 1287, where a miraculous cult began. As part of this translation at the high point of the Christian year, Bishop Richard de Swinfield commissioned a bespoke tomb, which survived the ravages of the Reformation and is still extant. There are fourteen weepers of knights on the tomb base, which have often been associated with the Knights Templar, giving

¹⁴⁶ Blaauw, 'The will of Richard de la Wych', pp. 164–92; *EEA* 22, ed. by Hoskin, pp. 158–60 no. 188; translated in *English Historical Documents 1189–1327*, ed. by Rothwell, pp. 776–79; *Saint Richard of Chichester*, ed. by Jones, pp. 66–70. For further references of the probate process see Woolgar, *Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁷ Burger, *Bishops, Clerks and Diocesan Governance*, p. 230.

¹⁴⁸ M. J. Kitch, *Studies in Sussex Church History* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 1981), p. 39.

rise to the subsequent claim that St Thomas of Hereford was ‘Grand Provincial Master’ of the order.¹⁴⁹ The myth appears to have gripped hold of popular imagination, especially with the establishment of the Cantilupe Lodge of Freemasons by Dean Reginald Waterfield (1919–1947) and Bishop Hubert Henley Henson (1918–1920) in 1920, taking St Thomas of Hereford as their patron.¹⁵⁰ In actual fact, however, St Thomas had very little contact with either of the crusading orders of the Knights Templar or Hospitaller outside of routine diocesan administration.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, upon commencement of St Thomas of Hereford’s posthumous career of miracle working, he performed only twelve miracles for people associated with religious orders, none of which include a Templar or a Hospitaller, of which the Augustinians were the principal beneficiaries.¹⁵² Moreover, none of the testimonies within the extant manuscript of the process of canonization mention any prior association with the Knights Templar. This is, perhaps, the most important factor in condemning this mythical association. It was not until October 1307 that the Templars in France were arrested on charges of heresy, and thus those deposing on St Thomas’s life as a scholar, politician, bishop of Hereford, and saint, would not have known to keep such an association secret if indeed there had been one.

¹⁴⁹ James Sargant Storer and Henry Sargeant Storer, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Great Britain*, 4 vols (London: Rivingtons and others, 1814–19), II (1816), no page numbers [p. 89]. From then on it has become a standard misinterpretation, for example: G. Hartwell-Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* (London: Honorary Society of Cymmrodorion, 1912), p. 143 n. 2. Even modern popular histories still propagate it: George F. Tull, *Traces of the Templars* (Rotherham: King’s England Press, 2000), pp. 89–90; Simon Brighton, *In Search of the Knights Templar: A Guide to the Sites of Britain* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2008), pp. 208–09; Michael Hagg, *The Templars History & Myth: From Solomon’s Temple to the Freemasons, a guide to Templar History, Culture and Locations* (London: Profile Books, 2009), p. 318.

¹⁵⁰ ‘The Masonic Province of Herefordshire: Cantilupe Lodge – No 4083’, available at: <<http://www.herefordshiremasons.org.uk/cantilupe.html>> [Accessed 29 April 2018].

¹⁵¹ Reg. *Cantilupe*, pp. 192, 240, 304, 208; Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 143 n. 39.

¹⁵² Ian L. Bass, ‘Communities of Remembrance: Religious Orders and the Cult of Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford 1275–82’, *The Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 7 (2018), 237–74.

Outside of the mythical, modern association of St Thomas of Hereford and the Templars, while he was bishop of Hereford he appears to have had little to do with the crusades or crusading. Like many others, his path in life did intersect with those who had crusading reputations or who held office as collectors of the Holy Land subsidy. Notably, when St Thomas was studying in Paris, before attending the 1245 Council of Lyons, he entertained King Louis IX of France, who later became a crusader and a saint.¹⁵³ This was not the last time that St Thomas's path would cross with the king, saint, and crusader, being appointed in 1264 as the head of the delegation sent to gain King Louis's arbitration on the Mise of Amiens.¹⁵⁴ Another important connection that St Thomas had was with his uncle, Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester, who, with Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, had been appointed as a collector of the Holy Land subsidy.¹⁵⁵ Bishop Walter took the cross in 1247 and was given money from the Holy Land subsidy to fund his expedition, although King Henry III prevented it from occurring.¹⁵⁶

Yet, despite these associations and the influence of his uncle on his life, St Thomas of Hereford, as a bishop, does not seem to have taken a proactive interest in the preaching or promotion of the crusades. There is only a single instance in his episcopal register, dated to 1277, when St Thomas intervened on a crusader's behalf, warning a canon of St Pancras in Florence that the person requested for a court case was a crusader and therefore unable to face a legal suit outside of the diocese of

¹⁵³ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Cod. Lat. 4015, fol. 93^r (hereafter VL 4015). '*ut dixit quod beatus Lodonicus tunc Rex Francorum visitauerat eos in hospicio eorum.*'

¹⁵⁴ *AM*, IV, p. 139; Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, II, p. 232; William de Rishanger, *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars: The Miracles of Simon de Montfort*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell, Camden Society (London: For the Camden Society, 1840), p. 122. *CPR 1264-1268*, p. 331 (4 July 1264). See also, Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community*, pp. 147–69.

¹⁵⁵ *CPR*, I, pp. 234.

¹⁵⁶ *CM*, IV, p. 629; *AM*, I (Burton), p. 350; *CPR*, I, p. 263.

Hereford because of crusader privilege.¹⁵⁷ Also, in 1276, St Thomas had to petition the papacy in order to excuse the late payment of the arrears of the ecclesiastical tenth to the Holy Land subsidy since the death of his predecessor to the see of Hereford, Peter d'Aigueblanche in 1268.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, while St Thomas of Hereford may have many connections to the crusades and to some crusaders, it did not influence him strongly enough to warrant any substantial interaction as a collector or preacher, unlike his uncle. It was an issue far removed from safeguarding the rights of his diocese and reclaiming the lands and rights which had been encroached on in the lax episcopates of his predecessors, leading to several disputes with noblemen, the prince of Wales, and several other bishops.¹⁵⁹

It may well be that this neglect of crusading issues actually stemmed from the timings of the recent crusades. The Lord Edward had been on crusade from 1270–1272, several years before St Thomas's episcopate as bishop of Hereford. Similarly, the next campaign would not be planned until 1283 when Edward, as King Edward I, re-took the crusader's cross. During the eleven years between 1272 and 1283, there was no real need to go on preaching tours of dioceses or to arrange collection for the Holy Land subsidy, simply because there was no impending crusade. Unfortunately, none of St Thomas's scholastic writings from the universities he attended survive, meaning that we cannot be sure whether or not he ever wrote on the crusades. His later nemesis, Archbishop John Peckham of Canterbury, did, however, produce writing surrounding the crusades, and it may be possible that since St Thomas and

¹⁵⁷ *Reg. Cantilupe*, pp. 74–75.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 9–11, 23, 29–32, 34, 42, 59–62, 67–73, 84, 103–04, 104–05, 197, 209–10, 214–15, 227–28, 229–30, 232–33, 236–37, 255–56, 281–82, 286, 289; *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 58–61, 67–68, 204–12, 219–20.

Magister John were at the same institutions at similar times there may have been some writings, now lost.¹⁶⁰

Having explored the connections that St Thomas of Hereford held with the crusades and crusaders during his lifetime, it is worth turning to his miracle collection. St Thomas's miracle collection is one of the most useful for the observation of daily life in later medieval England and has been utilized to a great degree in recent historiography, undergoing a resurgence of interest in recent years.¹⁶¹ The miracle collection is important since it provides a full chronologically arranged list with dates for when different pilgrims came to the shrine to report the miracles that they had received.

There are only two miracles which specifically account for people who had travelled to the Holy Land and one for which their status as a *crucesignatus* is known. This latter case is recorded in the proceedings of the canonization inquiry held in 1307. A young boy, named John de Burton, who came from Burton near to Bishop's Castle (Shropshire), had spent most of his life begging on the streets in Ludlow (Shropshire). The reason for this was that he had apparently been born without a tongue. John, under the direction of the local Franciscans in Hereford, was sent to St Thomas's tomb

¹⁶⁰ For John Peckham's writings and approach to the crusade see: Jordan, 'John Peckham on the Crusade', pp. 159–71; Sheehan, 'Archbishop John Peckham's Perception of the Papacy', pp. 229–45.

¹⁶¹ Oxford, Exeter College, MS 158 (hereafter Exeter 158); VL 4015, fols. 265^v–308^v. For an examination of the manuscript evidence see: Harriett Webster, 'Mediating Memory: Recalling and Recording the Miracles of St Thomas de Cantilupe', in *Power, Identity and Miracles on a Medieval Frontier*, ed. by Catherine A. M. Clarke (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 44–60, originally printed in *Journal of Medieval History*, 41 (2015), 292–308. A selection of publications include: Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); S. M. Butler, *Forensic Medicine and Death Investigation in Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 2015); V. J. Flint, 'The Saint and the Operation of the Law: Reflections Upon the Miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. by Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 342–357; Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 173–88; Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

in Hereford to pray for a miracle. St Thomas answered his prayers, giving him ‘a large and perfect tongue’ (*nova lingua magna et perfecta*) which allowed him to speak in fluent English and Welsh.¹⁶² The deposition by the guardian of the local Franciscan house, Hugh de Brompton, seemingly embellished his account when compared to the other testimonies, claiming that the local Franciscans had even stayed the night at St Thomas’s shrine with John seeking his cure.¹⁶³ Upon being cured, John apparently ran to the nearby Franciscan house to show them all what had happened.¹⁶⁴ The guardian, Hugh, publicized John’s miracle publicly in Herefordshire according to a local tailor.¹⁶⁵ After this, it was said that Hugh de Brompton and the local Franciscans persuaded John to take the crusader’s cross and travel to the Holy Land. The last anyone saw of John was with ‘cross in hand and with a satchel slung about his neck’ (*Vidit ipsum portantem crucem in humero et peram pendentem ad collum*) as he departed for the Holy Land.¹⁶⁶

Another witness described

that on the day on which the aforementioned miracle occurred, the aforementioned John, by his own witness, received the cross from the

¹⁶² VL 4015, fol. 188^r; Exeter 158, fol. 7^v; Michael Richter, ‘Collecting miracles along the Anglo-Welsh border in the early fourteenth century’, in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. by D. A. Trotter (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 53–62 (pp. 54–58). See also, Ronald Finucane, ‘Pilgrimage in daily life: aspects of medieval communication reflected in the newly established cult of St Thomas Cantilupe (d. 1282), its dissemination and effects upon outlying Herefordshire villagers’, in *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz and Barbara Schuh (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), pp. 165–218 (pp. 184–85); Susan J. Ridyard, ‘Thomas Cantilupe in Franciscan memory: the evidence of the canonization inquiry’, in Michael J. P. Robson (ed.), *The English Province of the Franciscans* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 357–79. ‘linguam quam nunque habuerat adeo miraculose recepit. et cum lingua loquendi peritiam in dupplici ydiomate videlicet Anglico et Walensi quorum statim habuit etiam liberam expressionam.’ (Exeter 158, fol. 7^r).

¹⁶³ VL 4015, fol. 208^r. ‘Ipso teste et ab aliis fratribus quod illam nocte vigilaret prope tumulum dicti sancti Thome horans [*sic*] pro meliori lingua danda’.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 208^r. ‘Item dixit quo post premissam in crastinum circa horam primam ut estimat dictus Johannes remensus ad conventum predictorum fratrum de Herefordensis ipsi testi et dicto fratri Hugo et omnibus aliis videre volentibus se habere lingua magnam pulchram et longam.’

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 206^v. ‘Frater Hugo de Brompton tunc gardinarius conventus fratrum minorum de Herefordensis publicavit tunc dictum miraculum in ecclesia supradicta’.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 205^v. Another testimony also describes this, fol. 204^v, see n. below.

aforementioned Brother Hugh at the tomb of the aforementioned St Thomas [...] and [John] said that he desired to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and it was openly said that pilgrims may go by such a walk to the Holy Land aforementioned and from then on he [the witness] did not see them nor know what was done concerning them.¹⁶⁷

In this case we have a clear appropriation of the cult by the Franciscans in order to legitimize the cross-signing that John de Brompton underwent. How many more were signed with the crusader's cross in Hereford at this time, or at St Thomas's shrine, remains unclear; however, it is perhaps no coincidence that this cross-signing also occurred around the same time as King Edward I took the crusader's cross again in 1287.¹⁶⁸

Two other miracle accounts relate to people and events in the Holy Land. In these miracles none of the recipients are reported as crusaders and therefore may have just been pilgrims, although the miracles feel similar to those for pilgrims to St Thomas of Canterbury's shrine when crusaders and pilgrims were saved en-route to Jerusalem. The specific miracles here are recorded within a short space of time of each other, namely within the year 1290, a year before the fall of the Crusader States to the Mamluk Sultan, Baybars. Furthermore, the difficulty in disentangling their crusader or pilgrim status remains such that they should be noted for their accounts of the ways people made their journeys to the Holy Land.

The first account records that a man called William of Woolhope, from the diocese of Hereford, had been travelling to the Holy Land with fourteen others. The

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 204v. Fol. 204v. 'item dixit quod die qua contigit miraculum supra dictum predictus Johannes indente ipso teste accepit crucem a fratre Hugone predicto apud tumulum dicti sancti Thome dicens quod volebat peregrinari ad terram sanctam [...] et dicebatur publice quo ambulo ibant peregrini ad terram sanctam predictam et ex tunc non vidit eos nec scit quod actum fuerit de eisdem.'

¹⁶⁸ The sources on this are discussed by Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 338 n. 9. See also, Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, Yale English Monarchs Series (Bury St Edmunds: St Edmundsbury Press for Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 327–29.

group stopped part way through their journey at the city of Rieti, in the Lazio region of Italy. There, the fifteen companions ate some pulses or vegetables related to rice and they fell mortally ill because of the plant's poisonous content (*in legumine de Ris' facto venenum seu toxicum*), needing care in the local hospital. Six of them—and we are given their names, 'the said W., Hugh the Baker (*Pistor*), Roger the Chamberlain (*Camerarius*), Henry of Newark (Nottinghamshire), Simon the Chaplain (*Capellanus*), and John of Ravenshill (Worcestershire)—measured themselves to St Thomas of Hereford. The act of measuring a person with a piece of string dedicated them to a particular saint. Should a miracle be performed, the thread would then form the wick of a votive candle to be taken to the chosen saint's shrine.¹⁶⁹ A miraculous cure subsequently occurred for the six men, when they were immediately freed from the poison and completely cured. The other eight companions, however, did not measure themselves to St Thomas and died within three days.¹⁷⁰ Despite knowing the places which are referred to in the toponymic associations for some of these pilgrims it is difficult to know exactly where they originated from. This is because, after the name of John of Ravenshill there is the inclusion of 'of the diocese of Hereford' (*Herefordensis diocesis*). The Latin here is ambiguous as to whether or not it refers specifically to John of Ravenshill in this context or the wider contingent of men going to the Holy Land. It could well be that all of these men lived in the bounds of the diocese of Hereford, and that they might have moved or been located there sometime during their lives.

¹⁶⁹ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 95.

¹⁷⁰ Exeter 158, fol. 14^r. 'Circa idem tempus venit ad tumulum uiri dei. Iuuenis quidam Willelmus nomine de Wulput Heforden' diocesis iurans quod ipse cum tresdecim sociis suis secum a terra sancta reuertentibus in Ciuitate Reatina que ab urbe Roma' distare dicitur miliaria quadraginta a quodam qui ipsos ibidem hospitio suscepit in legumine de Ris' facto venenum seu toxicum sumpsit tam forte: quod ipse et sui socii uniuersi priusque a prandio surrexissent se tam graues et sompnolentos sentireno quod nullus ex ipsis alterum iuuare potuit uel se ipsum. Sex' tam' ex eis uidelicet dictus . W. Hugo Pistor. Rogerus Camerarius. Henricus de Newerk Simon Capellanus. Iohannes de Rauenshill' Herefordensis diocesis timentes sibi mortem protinus imminere se seruo dei Thome pontifici mensurarunt. Et isti solummodo sunt protinus a toxico liberati et per merita serui dei curati. ceteris octo sociis qui non fuerant ut premititur mensurati: toxico memorato infra tres dies a tempore gustacionis illius extinctis.'

Similarly, it is as likely that these men might have begun their journey in Hereford, or it was simply a way to indicate that Ravenshill was within the bounds of the diocese.

The miracle is dated to the time that William of Woolhope appeared in Hereford Cathedral on 12 January 1290. This is not without significance. Although we cannot be sure when exactly they left the diocese of Hereford and departed for the Holy Land, it is likely that these men began their journey in 1288 or 1289. While none of the men are referred to as *crucesignatus* in the miracle, they may well have taken the cross, following Edward I retaking it at Pentecost 1287.¹⁷¹

The location of the miracle, Rieti, also has further significance. First, considering its landlocked nature it is entirely plausible that these men were travelling over land, rather than sea, possibly according to their own means. Secondly, and more importantly, Rieti was a papal residence where Pope Nicholas IV spent the summer of 1288 and was located in the spring of 1289.¹⁷² It was here that on 29 May 1289 Pope Nicholas crowned Charles II of Naples (1285–1309) as king of Naples, Apulia, and titular king of Jerusalem.¹⁷³ It is possible that these men had been in Rieti at the time of this event, but unfortunately the miracle collection neglects to give us any details outside this miracle account. Furthermore, the composition of this group echoes the lists of crusaders periodically found throughout the thirteenth century, comprising those with trades, such as Hugh the Baker, as well as those who would have acted as religious support on the campaign such as Simon the Chaplain. Unfortunately, without

¹⁷¹ The sources on this are discussed by Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 338 n. 9. See also, Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 327–29.

¹⁷² Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Annie Hamilton, 8 vols in 13 (London: G. Bell, 1894–1902; reissue Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), V.2, p. 510.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, V.2, p. 510; J. N. D. Kelly and Michael J. Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, second edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 207. For more on Charles II and the Kingdom of Jerusalem see, Norman Housley, 'Charles II of Naples and the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Byzantion*, 54 (1984), 527–35.

the descriptor of '*crucesignatus*' it is impossible for us to conclude whether these men were crusaders or simply pilgrims.

The second miracle concerns a small group of men from Ireland who had departed to the Holy Land. On 19 April 1290 three of these men appeared at the shrine in Hereford, namely Nicholas Mon, son of Philip mon of Direwood, Nicholas Harpe of Drogheda, and Geoffrey called Palmer. Their story told of how when they were in the Greek part of the Mediterranean Sea (*mari greco*), near to the Holy Land, Nicholas Mon lost his sight for fifteen days. His friends promised an offering to St Thomas of Hereford in return for his sight, and followed the English custom of bending a silver penny over his eyes. Soon afterwards, Nicholas received his sight back.¹⁷⁴ Again, it is unclear when exactly this miracle occurred, and it is possible that it could have happened earlier than 1290. Similarly, what they were doing in the Holy Land is unknown; however, from the comment that they were travelling for fifty days after Nicholas Mon was struck down with blindness perhaps indicates that the men had finished their business in the Holy Land and were thus returning to Ireland. In what capacity these men had gone to the Holy Land is similarly not revealed and none of them are listed as *crucesignatus*. It is possible, on the other hand, that Geoffrey Palmer had already been to Jerusalem, since Palmer was a surname given to those who had bought a palm frond there.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Exeter 158, fol. 15^r. 'Item . xiiij . kalendas Maii venit vir quidam nomine Nicholas dictus Mon . scilicet . filius Phillipi Mon de Direwode in Hibnia' et cum eo Nicholas Harpe de Droghada et Galfridus dictus Palmere De Neweton' ad tumulum viri dei iurantes: quod dictus Nicholas Mon in mari greco versus terram sanctam cum aliis nauigando per quindecim dies visum amiserat oculorum. Et cum ipsi sotii peregrinacionis eiusdem oblacionem seruo dei vouissent pro ceco: et vnum sterlingum super eius oculos excecatos plicassent continuo visum recepit per merita serui dei predicti.'

¹⁷⁵ Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 70–71; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1999), p. 8. This could also be displayed in other ways such as seals, for example: see, Hurlock, 'A Transformed Life?', p. 21.

The general indication from the Irish annals, as analysed by Hurlock, is one of ambivalence towards the crusades, especially during the later period just before the collapse of the crusader states in 1291.¹⁷⁶ Thus, it is again impossible to truly know whether these men had been caught up with enthusiasm after King Edward I retook the cross in 1287, or had simply been travelling as pilgrims to the Holy Land to visit the holy sites. These miracles are significant, however, for showing the ways that crusaders and pilgrims could travel to the Holy Land, and it certainly shows that personal allegiances to St Thomas of Hereford were carried to the Holy Land.

V. CONCLUSION

The English episcopal-saint is an important case study when examining the attitude of the English episcopate as a whole in our period of study. Much of what the saints did, the succeeding generations of prelates attempted to replicate and mould to their own models. While only eight English bishops were canonized in this period, these saints subsequently changed the framework of ecclesiastical example to be followed. Successfully, the episcopal-saints united the English episcopate behind the ideas of royal resistance, reform, and pastoral care; however, they failed to galvanize any realistic unity around the crusades. The spread of actions and interactions with the crusades and crusaders perhaps made it difficult for the hagiographers and English bishops to incorporate the crusades themselves into the models of sanctity which followed. For instance, only two English episcopal-saints had any direct interaction with the crusades in their lifetime by going on preaching tours. All of the other English bishop-saints seemingly did not express any strong views on the matter outside of routine diocesan administration.

¹⁷⁶ Kathryn Hurlock, 'The Crusades to 1291 in the annals of medieval Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, 148 (2011), 517–34.

Nothing in the lives of the English episcopal-saints established a framework for penance or how the bishops of England should approach specific matters of the crusade itself. It therefore left a blank canvass, with no episcopal unity or guidance from the saintly exemplars. This contrasts directly with Ambler's thesis that in the face of royal taxation, especially surrounding the 'Sicilian Business' of King Henry III, the English episcopate stood as a united front.¹⁷⁷ While the English episcopate might have been beaten into a cohesive form by royal resistance over the twelfth century and finally formed in the mid-thirteenth, there was no such hammer and anvil when it came to forging the episcopal attitude towards the crusades. This, however, seems to have been a direct impact of the lack of interest in the crusades exhibited by St Thomas of Canterbury. He was taken as a model of sanctity throughout this period and it is likely that because he had no such interactions with crusades or crusading that the other bishops following his example had no reference point on which they could act, unlike his attitudes in the resistance of royal power, reform, and pastoral care.

This, ultimately, can account for why the English episcopate seems to be in such disarray when it comes to their attitude to crusades and crusading. Whereas virtually all of England's episcopal-saints at one time or another had a dispute with the king, went into voluntary exile, were ascetic, and held an innate pastoral care for their cure of souls, there was no unified way to approach the crusades.

In terms of miraculous cures there is a remarkably small pool from which to draw analysis. The miracles presented are but a miniscule fraction of those actually performed for and believed by the faithful, and so it is difficult to come to any real conclusion about how this affected the miracles expected of a saint. With the scant evidence from English episcopal-saints, it is clear that there was no clear type of

¹⁷⁷ Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community*, p. 82. Chapter Four is titled 'Episcopal Unity and Royal Power', pp. 82–104. On the Sicilian Business see: Björn Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire, 1216–1272*, chap. 7, pp. 147–71.

miracle expected. The majority of English bishop-saints did not perform miracles for crusaders, leaving the entirety of the cures for potential pilgrims and crusaders to the Holy Land to be bestowed by England's two Thomases. The cures represent the generality of medieval pilgrims and their ailments. People who had gone to both shrines eventually departed to Jerusalem in thanks for their miracle or were encouraged by the local religious orders. Others who fell ill on their journey to the Holy Land or into peril, sought divine aid from their chosen saint.

The one bishop who interacted with the crusades and perhaps merited canonization but never achieved it was Archbishop Baldwin. He had actually preached the crusade and performed a miracle in his lifetime while preaching—a feat only otherwise associated with St Edmund of Abingdon. Archbishop Baldwin even went and died on crusade. However, he did not achieve canonization. Yet, in not canonizing Archbishop Baldwin there was no new model for a cohesive approach taken by an English episcopal-saint towards the crusades for the successive prelates of England to follow. They had to guide their own way without the framework of St Thomas of Canterbury's model or any subsequent change in favour of the crusades. The crusades were therefore of lesser importance than exhibiting royal resistance and fighting for the rights of the Church. Perhaps this is why there is such disunity and no clear, cohesive attitude displayed by the English episcopate towards the crusades and crusading in our period when compared to reform, learning, and royal resistance.

CHAPTER FOUR: EPISCOPAL CENSURE AND THE REDEMPTION OF ENGLISH CRUSADERS

I. INTRODUCTION

The necessities of space unfortunately preclude the ability for a comprehensive examination of the entirety of the English episcopate's varied interactions with the crusading vow for the entire period of our study to be conducted. As such, this chapter shall instead focus on crusading vows imposed as involuntary penance in order for a parishioner to atone for transgressions committed against diocesan power. The question of whether there was any cohesive policy followed and acted on in regard to ecclesiastical censure, penitent crusaders, or the use of crusade as a pecuniary levy is a pertinent one which needs answering. When examining this question others arise, such as, did English bishops use the crusader's cross in this way in pursuance of papal mandate, or were there other factors which affected the diocesan's decision to impose the cross as a penitential sanction? And was there a cohesive view towards the imposition of the cross by the English episcopate in this period? In answering these questions, a clear picture can be drawn regarding the nature of penitential crusade vows and the reasons why some English dioceses have a higher yield of penitent crusaders and others a complete dearth.

The papal, canonical, and fiscal policies surrounding the crusade vow have been studied at length by James Brundage, Maureen Purcell, and William Lunt, and touched on by Lloyd and Tyerman for England.¹ Yet, the English episcopate's role in

¹ James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), esp. chap. 2 and 3, pp. 30–144; Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the final loss of Jerusalem to the fall of Acre, 1244–1291* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), esp. chap. 5, pp. 9–134; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, chap. 8, pp. 419–58; Lloyd, *English Society*, *passim*; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, *passim*. Michael Evans has also examined some elements of the crusade vow in the English Midlands: Evans, 'Crusade and Society', chap. 3, pp. 135–

the imposition and enforcement of crusading vows and obligations has not yet been covered adequately. This chapter will use a case study focussing on several lists of crusaders in the archiepiscopal register of Archbishop Walter Giffard of York, to answer the questions outlined above. Contextualized alongside similar cases in other English dioceses, it will demonstrate how the crusading vow was utilized by the English episcopate in the late thirteenth century.

II. THE NATURE OF ECCLESIASTICAL CENSURE AND VOW REDEMPTION

During the thirteenth century the use of the crusader's cross as penance and the submission of money to the Holy Land subsidy in place of travelling to the Middle East emerged as integral features of crusading policy.² Under this practice a person could commit a transgression and become a crusader. This crusader could then redeem their vow in exchange for a cash payment which would vary according to their moveable goods and the severity of their crime. The practice was widely utilized, with all being able to gain crusade indulgence for donating money to the Holy Land subsidy in place of going. This afforded the papacy and the episcopate with a wide resource pool from which to draw funds for crusading, with every soul in Christendom theoretically able to gain indulgence and remission of their sins through donation

77. This latter section has been published twice: *Idem*, "'A far from Aristocratic Affair': Poor and Non-Combatant Crusaders from the Midlands, c.1160–1330", *Midland History*, 21 (1996), 23–36; *Idem*, 'Commutation of Crusade Vows, some examples from the English Midlands', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Society, 1095–1500*, ed. by Alan V. Murray, International Medieval Research 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 219–28.

² It appears that the first case of monetary redemption from a crusade vow in Britain occurred in 1188 when the cunning Welshman, Cadur, redeemed his crusader's vow for a twentieth of his worldly goods: Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, pp. 73–74; translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, pp. 132–33. See below p. 236.

according to their financial means. The practice of submitting money in order that someone might go to the Holy Land in your place was fully implemented by Pope Innocent III in the 1213 papal bull, *Quia Maior*, and the 1215 decretal, *Ad Liberandum*.³ The policy was later expanded on by Pope Gregory IX whose 1234 bull, *Rachel Suum Videns*, granted indulgence to all ‘those who will have gone to the Holy Land not in their own person, but simply through their expenses’ according to ‘the quantity of their aid and the state of their devotion, also to all who have suitably given from their possessions in aid of the same land.’⁴ As such, the cross became a penance utilized especially when someone had committed a crime judged by the Church, with the papacy under Pope Clement III (1187–1191) counselling Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury to impose the cross as penance during confession.⁵ Using the crusade to Jerusalem made sense because crusading was the ultimate extension of a penitential pilgrimage; a journey to the centre of the medieval world, as depicted on surviving *mappaemundi*, where all sins are forgiven.⁶

In the course of preaching the Second Crusade, St Bernard of Clairvaux penned his *Letter to the English People*. In the letter St Bernard highlighted the criminals

³ *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. by Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), *Quia Maior*, pp. 107–11, *Ad Liberandum*, pp. 124–29; *Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 267–71.

⁴ *CM*, III, pp. 280–87; see also Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 19–21. ‘*veniam indulgemus, et in retributione iustorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum. Eis autem qui non personis propriis illuc accesserint, sed in suis duntaxat expensis juxta facultatem et quantitatem suam viros idoneos destinaverint, et illis similiter, qui licet in alienis expensis in propriis tamen personis accesserint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Hujus quoque remissionis volumus et concedimus esse participes, juxta quantitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum, omnes qui ad subventionem ipsius terrae de bonis suis congrue ministrabunt.*’ *CM*, III, p. 283.

⁵ *PL*, CCXIV (1890), p. 1135; CCXV (1891), pp. 745–46, 1085, 1136–37; CCXVI (1855), p. 493.

⁶ See, *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. by Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai and Hanna Vorholt, *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity in the Middle Ages 18* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), especially the ‘Maps of the Holy Land’ and ‘*Mappae Mundi*’ sections, pp. 295–368.

who took the cross were able to redeem themselves of their sins by fighting for the holy cause of the crusade:

Almighty God so treats murderers, thieves, adulterers, perjurers, and such like as able to find righteousness in his own service [...] God is good, and were he intent on your punishment he would not have asked you this present service or indeed have accepted it even if you had offered it.⁷

As well as acting as the formal absolution of sins, crusading was also seen as a form of conversion back to the true Christian faith for criminals and penitents. A similar scene to St Bernard's exhortation occurred while Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury was preaching the Third Crusade in Wales in 1188. Gerald of Wales noted in his account of the preaching tour that in Usk (Monmouthshire), 'to the great astonishment of everyone present [...] some of the most notorious criminals of those parts were among those converted, robbers, highwaymen, and murderers.'⁸ Similarly, the crusader's cross was utilized as a punishment on twelve archers from St Clears (Carmarthenshire). When Archbishop Baldwin and his entourage were travelling to Whitland (Carmarthenshire) from Carmarthen they heard that a young Welsh boy 'who was coming to meet him' had been murdered. Archbishop Baldwin's group happened upon the boy's body and covered it with his almoner's cloak and blessed it. We are told that '[t]he next day twelve archers from the near-by castle of St Clears, who had killed the young man, were signed with the Cross in Whitland as a punishment for their crime.'⁹

⁷ *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. by Bruno Scott James (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998), pp. 460–63 no. 391 (quote p. 461).

⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, p. 55; translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 114. '*Ubi et hoc praecipue notabile occurrit, quod famosissimi partium illarum malefactores, homicidae, praedones, et fures, non absque multorum admiratione sunt conversi.*'

⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, p. 82 translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 140. '*Igitur in crastino, sagittariis duodecim de Sancti Clari castello satis propinquo, qui juvenem praedictum jugularverant, apud Albam domum in poenam criminis cruce signati.*'

The first enforced cross-signing of a penitential crusader to be applied in England had occurred in 1172. During the royal and papal meeting at Avranches—which was held to reconcile King Henry II officially to the Church after the martyrdom of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury on 29 December 1170—King Henry took the crusader's cross and was personally to fund 200 knights associated with the Templars.¹⁰ King Henry had, in fact, utilized the crusade and took the cross for his own political gains multiple times, taking it in the 1160s, 1172, 1177, and 1187.¹¹ A similar case occurred in 1202 when King John was urged 'to attend the counsel of the archbishop of Canterbury', Hubert Walter, by sending 100 soldiers to the Holy Land and to build a monastery after having confessed his sins.¹²

With the English episcopate granted the right to impose crusading as a form of penance, and successfully doing so on the Crown in 1202 with papal backing, it was only a matter of time until this form of penance was used on the rest of the populace. The earliest case in our period dates to 1203 with one 'W. [...] who, having married a wife, committed incest and adultery with her sister, and says that he is too poor to go

¹⁰ This event is remarkably well recorded. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, p. 174; VII: *Epistles, DXXXL–DCCCVIII* (1885), pp. 516–18 (p. 517) no. 772; Howden, *Chronica*, I, pp. 36–37; Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VIII: *De Principis Instructione Liber*, ed. by George F. Warner (1891), pp. 169–72; Diss, *Opera Historica*, I, pp. 351–52. For a modern account of the evidence see: Anne Duggan, "'Ne in Dubium': The official record of Henry II's reconciliation at Avranches, 21 May 1172", *EHR*, 115 (2000), 643–58.

¹¹ *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester (1139–48), Bishop of Hereford (1148–63), and London (1163–87): an edition projected by the late Z. N. Brooke and completed by Dom Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke*, ed. by Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 229–43 (p. 241) no. 170; John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. by Miller, Butler and Brooke, II: *The Later Letters (1163–1180)* (1979), pp. 632–35; *C&S*, I.2, pp. 942–51; Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, I, pp. 371–72. For a modern examination of King Henry II's crusade policy see: Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land', *EHR*, 97 (1982), 721–39; Anne Duggan, 'Henry II, The English Church and the Papacy, 1154–76', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 154–83 (pp. 176–79).

¹² *CPR*, I, p. 10; *CLI*, p. 65 no. 398; *PL*, CCXIV (1890), pp. 972–73.

to Jerusalem.¹³ Unfortunately, like many cases throughout the period, we cannot be sure that this W. was actually *crucesignatus* and expected to go to Jerusalem in the capacity of a crusader; he is simply listed in the papal register as ‘very poor, and he asserts that he is unable to visit the province of Jerusalem.’¹⁴ Pope Innocent III sent him to the abbot of the Augustinian house of Oseney (Oxfordshire) ordering for a suitable penance to be enjoined on him.¹⁵ It is likely that the original penance to journey to Jerusalem had been enjoined on him by his diocesan bishop and it might well have been the intention that he was to join the crusading expedition that was scheduled to leave England in early 1202, detouring to Rome to appeal his sentence on account of his poverty.¹⁶ Clearly this W. had the means and wherewithal to reach the Roman pontiff and explain his case. What the suitable penance bestowed by the abbot of Oseney was, the record does not reveal.

The policy of signing people with the cross and sending them to Jerusalem as a penance developed swiftly over the thirteenth century, particularly for those who assaulted members in Church orders. In 1218, Pandulph, bishop-elect of Norwich and papal nuncio, was granted the power to absolve poor and infirm laymen and clerks from their crusading obligations. He was also to absolve ‘those who by violent laying on of hands have brought themselves within the canon [...] on condition that they give according to their means some contribution to the Holy Land.’¹⁷ In 1255 Pope Alexander IV (1254–1261) set the price of this penance at the rate of the cost of the

¹³ *CPR*eg., I, p. 13; *CLL*, p. 76 no. 466; *PL*, CCXV, pp. 10–11.

¹⁴ *PL*, CCXV, p. 10. ‘*Pauperitatem nimiam allegavit, asserens quod non posset Jerosolymitanam provinciam visitare.*’

¹⁵ I have opted to follow the convention for naming the heads of the house of Oseney as in *Heads of Religious Houses: England & Wales, 940–1216*, ed. by Dom David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and Vera London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 179–80.

¹⁶ The pope had expected the English contingent to leave with the French in the summer of 1202, but Archbishop Hubert Walter had subverted this mandate, requiring the English to leave by Candlemas (2 February) to pre-empt the French contingent. *CLL*, p. 52 no. 318; Howden, *Chronica*, VI, pp. 165–67, 173. For a further discussion of this order amidst the episcopal inquiry of the time see below pp. 210.

¹⁷ *CPR*eg., I, p. 58.

penitent's journey to Rome.¹⁸ Furthermore, in 1304, Pope Benedict XI (1303–1304) expanded the order once again so that those who assaulted ecclesiastical clerks would only be absolved 'on condition that they take the cross and contribute to the Holy Land subsidy', the votive obligations of the cross-signing only being redeemed for further financial contribution.¹⁹

As well as assaulting clerics, many other crimes could also be redeemed by taking the crusader's cross. These were extensively listed in a papal bull of Pope Innocent IV in 1250, having been built on by previous popes and papal mandates, instructing the English episcopate to impose the cross as penance for various crimes.²⁰ The manifold crimes included: those who assaulted secular and religious clerics; those who committed arson; those who had disturbed the peace of the realm, believers, or the business of the Holy Land; excommunicates and those guilty of sacrilege; clerics who had concubines; and those clerics who were irregular in their practice who celebrated divine service.²¹ Arson had actually been punished in this way since 1139 when Canon 18 of the Second Lateran Council (1139) decreed:

We completely detest and forbid [...] that most dreadful, devastating and malicious crime of incendiarism [...] If anyone, [...] starts a fire or causes it to be started, or knowingly provides counsel or help to those starting one, let him be excommunicated [...] Moreover, let him be given the penance of remaining a whole year in Jerusalem or Spain in the service of God.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 327–28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 617.

²⁰ *Foedera Conventiones, Litterae, et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica inter Rees Angliae*, ed. by Thomas Rymer, 20 vols (London: John Neulme, 1704–35), I (third edn., 1745), pp. 159–61.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 160. 'Ut autem nichil omnino desit ad commissum vobis officium exquendum, absolvendi, juxta formam Ecclesiae, manuum injectores in Clericos seculares et personas religiosas, ac incendiarios, et excommunicatos pro decima vel vicesima deputata pacis et fidei ac ejusdem terrae negotio, non saluta; necnon sacrilegos, fortilegos, et eos, qui contra prohibitionem Apostolicae sedis, vel Legatorum ipsius, sepulchrum Domini visitarunt [...] Nec non Clericos, qui excommunicationis sententias incurrerunt, per Legatos sedis Apostolicae in concubenarios promulgates'.

²² *Ecumenical Councils*, I, p. 201.

The far more serious crimes of murder, kidnap, rape, and defamation also rendered the same punishment in both ecclesiastical and secular courts, and in 1274 Pope Gregory X added blasphemy to the list of crimes that invoked the crusader's cross as penance.²³

This form of penance, however, appears to have only been applied in times of great crusading fervour, and even then, on a rather *ad hoc* basis with no cohesive approach taken by the English episcopate when it came to issuing the crusader's cross as a penance. It is likely that this conclusion is primarily borne from the source base which remains from the English episcopate and we can never truly know the full scale of the use of the cross as penance. However, as will be shown in the case study below, it seems that the prelate's own personal preferences and how they wanted to punish their parishioners was a central factor which informed their decision on whether or not to impose this penance. Similarly, the privileges gained by crusaders in this regard was a problem. Jessalynn Bird has neatly summarised this problem in the question: '[h]ow could crusaders' rights be enforced if the penalty of excommunication levied to enforce them was ignored by the malefactors or challenged based on their own immunity as crusaders?'²⁴ It was far easier for a prelate to excommunicate or imprison

²³ The murder of William de Lay in Bristol Castle met with the imposition of the Cross on the murderers by Bishop Godfrey Giffard of Worcester in 1279: *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 110–13. The kidnap and rape of two nuns from the priory of Wilton (Worcestershire) by Osbert Giffard caused a national scandal (*scandalum in Anglia*) in 1286: *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 278–80; *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, III, pp. 916–17; *EEA* 37, ed. by Kemp, pp. 472–74 nos. 397, 398. Defamation was punished by William Hoo in c.1290: *The Letter Book of William Hoo Sacrist of Bury St. Edmunds, 1280–1294*, ed. by Antonia Gransden, Suffolk Records Society V (Ipswich: W. S. Cowell Limited, 1963), pp. 109–11 no. 208. Blasphemy see, *Ecumenical Councils*, I, p. 310. For secular courts, for example, *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, preserved in the Public Record Office, A.D. 1227–1231* (London: HMSO, 1902), p. 565; *CPR 1258–1266*, pp. 426–27; *CPR 1272–1281*, p. 169.

²⁴ Jessalynn Lea Bird, 'How to Implement a Crusade Plan: Saint-Victor and Saint-Jean-des-Vignes of Soissons and the Defence of Crusaders' Rights', in *Crusading Europe: Essays in Honour of Christopher Tyerman*, ed. by G. E. M. Lippiatt and Jessalynn L. Bird, Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East (Outremer 8) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 147–80 (pp. 175–76).

a penitent until their fine was extracted, than it was for them to impose the crusader's cross and risk a backlash against their own episcopal primacy.

III. CASE STUDY: 'IGNOBLE PILGRIMS'? THE LISTS OF *CRUCESIGNATI* IN ARCHBISHOP WALTER GIFFARD OF YORK'S ARCHIEPISCOPAL REGISTER, 1274 TO 1275

The lists of *crucesignati* in the archiepiscopal register of Walter Giffard of York for 1274 to 1275 have attracted little attention from historians.²⁵ They contain a lot of information about the form and function of the use of crusading as penance and the conduct of recruitment campaigns in the late thirteenth century. The lists are also significant because they were compiled in the nebulous period of crusading history, after the Ninth Crusade—that of the Lord Edward in 1270—yet before the collapse of the Christian East in 1291.²⁶ The edited editions of the lists by William Brown and James Raine have led historians to assume that they form one comprehensive entry of 200 to 300 redemptions from the votive obligations of the crusader's cross imposed as penance, since they collated the entries together. Jean Richard and Palmer Throop saw these lists as the clearest evidence to corroborate the practice that was condemned by the contemporary *Collectio de scandalis Ecclesiae*, while Michael Evans argued that they could have been the result of a 'calling in' of vows extant from the parishioners of Yorkshire, related to the periodic episcopal inquiries into the non-fulfilment of crusade

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²⁵ YBI, Abp Reg 2, Walter Giffard (1266–1270 [sic]), fols 122^v, 129^r–130^v, 131^v, 134^v–135^r, 140^v. They have been transcribed: *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 277–82; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 46–58.

²⁶ For a detailed analysis of the late period of crusading in general see, Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

vows which date back to at least 1196.²⁷ This interpretation has seen them earning the title of ‘Ignoble Pilgrims’.²⁸ Another assumption about the lists is that they were part of a last-ditch effort by the English episcopate to ‘fan the flickering flames of crusading fire into renewed life’ by extracting money to bolster the coffers of the Holy Land subsidy, through exploiting ‘technical or other offences, granting them absolution on becoming Crusaders to the extent of at least subscribing to the war chest.’²⁹

The truth of the matter concerning the lists is far more complex as there were a variety of reasons for their compilation and the contribution of the listed *crucesignati* towards the Holy Land subsidy. A detailed study of these *crucesignati* and the period in which their names were recorded is therefore long overdue and well worthwhile to show the diverse ways in which the business of the cross was encouraged by the English episcopate during this late period. It highlights the way in which diocesan administration was utilized to keep track of crusaders and the money flowing into the Holy Land subsidy, as well as showing how such a system might have operated in other English dioceses. The purpose of this case study is to re-examine these lists and the context in which they were compiled, providing an alternate interpretation in contrast to the established historiography. The lists also clearly highlight the way in which the archbishop of York prosecuted his duties towards the crusading movement in the late thirteenth century. It will first examine the contents of the lists, then the period in

²⁷ ‘200 laymen and clerks’ was the figure given by Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 449. 300 is given by others such as G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918), pp. 287–88; Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Philadelphia, PA: Porcupine Press, 1975), pp. 95–96; Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c.1071–c.1291*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 435; Evans, ‘Crusade and Society’, pp. 166–69; *Idem*, ‘Commutation of Crusade Vows’, pp. 225–27; *Idem*, “‘A far from Aristocratic Affair’”, pp. 32–33.

²⁸ *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, pp. 445–47.

²⁹ *The Victoria History of the County of Nottingham*, ed. by William Page, 2 vols, Victoria County History (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1906–10), II (1910), pp. 45–46.

which they were compiled, before finally providing comparisons to entries in other episcopal records that occurred contemporaneously.

The lists cover the five archdeaconries of the archdiocese of York—York, Cleveland, East Riding, Nottingham, and Richmond—and their individual deaneries for the period 1274 to 1275.³⁰ They account for 283 named individuals offering varying payments towards the Holy Land subsidy, of which only sixty-four are specifically described as ‘*crucesignatus*’ and only fifty are listed as committing any formal transgression against archiepiscopal power. The two conditions, however, were not mutually exclusive: thirty-seven of the fifty transgressors were signed with the cross, leaving twenty-seven to be signed for other reasons and not under compulsion, not just eleven as observed by Richard.³¹ Eight of the 283 are listed as giving money ‘*pro devotione*’ or ‘*ex devotione*’ to the cause (with one listed simply as *eius*), with five giving a monetary value in excess of 20*s.* (£1), yet none of these people were termed ‘*crucesignatus*’.³² Two men took the cross of their own volition, one listed as ‘*sponte crucesignatus*’ and the other ‘on the depth of his devotion’ (*pro solo devotionis*), giving 20*s.* and £20 respectively.³³ A total of six women are present in the lists: one giving money ‘*pro devotione*’, two in association with their husbands only referred to as ‘*et uxore*’, two to commute their vow to visit Santiago de Compostella (Spain), and one in a

³⁰ York archdeaconry contained six deaneries: the Christianity of York, Ainsty, Pontefract, Craven, Doncaster, and Rotherham. Cleveland contained four: Cleveland, Bulmer, Ryedale, and Whitby Strand as well as the liberty of Selby Abbey. East Riding contained four: Buckrose, Dickering, Harthill, and Holderness. Nottingham contained four: Nottingham, Bingham, Newark, and Retford. Richmond contained seven: Richmond, Catterick, Boroughbridge, Amounderness, Lancaster, and those termed *ultra moras* (over the moors) in Cumbria: Cartmel and Furness, Coupland, and Kendal.

³¹ Richard, *The Crusades*, p. 435.

³² *Pro devotione*: Roger Tempest (40*s.*); Henry de Bracewell (half a mark: 6*s.* 8*d.*); William de Rymington (half a mark: 6*s.* 8*d.*); Beatrice de Blackburn (20*s.*); Ralph Mitton and his wife (100*s.* this equates to £5). *Ex devotione*: Henry, priest of Burton Pidsea (2*s.*); Henry, vicar of Paull (5*s.*). *Eius*: Hugo de Setesfeld and his wife ‘for the same’ (2*s.*). The figure of eight includes the two noted below.

³³ William, son of Martin de Grimeston (20*s.*); Nicholas de Cnoville, canon of Suthwell Minster (£20).

metronymic association to a penitent who had assaulted a priest.³⁴ The other 278 names listed are all men from various stations in life as shown in Table Two.

Table Two: A breakdown of the lists based on archdeaconry showing the number of people and their listed station in life.

Archdeaconry	York	Cleveland	East Riding	Nottingham	Richmond	No Location	Total
Churchman	15	50	26	13	26	—	130
Knight	1	—	1	1	—	1	4
Layman	1	—	1	1	—	—	3
No Status	51	28	25	29	13	—	146
Total People	68	78	53	44	39	1	283

As shown by Table Two, many of the 283 named individuals are listed with their standing in society or profession. Of these, 130 were churchmen—this includes two clerks, the *custos* of the hospital of St Giles in Beverley, and a man called Brother William the Hermit (*Heremita*)—the 126 others were all recorded as *presbiter* (priest).³⁵ Four are listed as being *miles* (knight), and only three are officially recorded as ‘*laicus*’ (layman), yet it is to be understood that the 146 others named in the lists with no status afforded to them should also be ‘*laicus*’ primarily because they are not recorded with the other titles of ‘*presbiter*’, ‘*clericus*’, or ‘*miles*’.

³⁴ Ralph Mitton ‘*et uxore*’ and ‘*pro devotione*’; Hugone de Setesfeld ‘*et uxore eius*’; Beatrice de Blackburn ‘*pro devotione*’; commutation from the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella Helewysae and Isabella Palmer; metronymic association John, son of Matilda de Aeston.

³⁵ The *custos* of the hospital is listed merely as W., but earlier in the register we find Walter de Scrapetoft who was installed as *custos* by the archbishop: *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 259–60.

Table Three: A breakdown of the lists based on archdeaconry showing the recorded reasons for donations.

Archdeaconry	York	Cleveland	East Riding	Nottingham	Richmond	No Location	Total
<i>Crucesignatus</i>	5	14	22	11	12	—	64
Transgression	7	13	13	7	9	1	50
Free Will/For Devotion	6	—	3	1	—	—	10
Other Reasons	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Total	18	27	40	19	21	1	126

All but one of the named individuals appear alongside a monetary value which has traditionally been associated with them committing a crime or a significant reason for such a donation to the Holy Land subsidy, generally ranging between 2–5*s*. However, as demonstrated by Table Three, this is not an accurate assessment. Only 126 entries in the lists account for the reasons why money was being given to the Holy Land subsidy. The other 157 names are merely listed alongside a single monetary value, giving no particular reason for the donation. In a few cases the price paid to the Holy Land subsidy was clearly set in association with the persons' standing in society, from as low as 12*d*. to providing a bond of £100 sterling. Some faced even harsher sanctions, two having to give a third part of all their goods (*tertium partum omnium bonorum suorum*) and two others having to give half of all their goods (*mediatatem omnium bonorum suorum*).³⁶ For the fifty penitents the punishment was set on an *ad hoc* basis, but the

³⁶ John, son of Matilda de Aeston, third part of all goods for assaulting William, priest of Gargrave, YBI Abp Reg 2, fol. 122^v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 278; *Northern Regs.*, p. 47; translated in William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, Records of Civilization XIX, 2 vols (New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1965), II, p. 516 no. 561. William de Driffeld, half of all goods for assaulting Simon Orre and Robert de Langtoft, clerics, YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 129^r; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 280; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 49–50;

price was scaled to the status and potential wealth of the penitent. At the bottom end of the financial scale was Fulk de Alverstan of Pickering, from the deanery of Dickering, a layman who had been signed with the cross for his transgression of assaulting a priest. Fulk was expected to pay 12*d.* for this, the lowest such payment recorded for that particular crime.³⁷ Two others in the next deanery over (Holderness)—Robert de Craven and William de la Tayllerye—were cited by the archdeacon as being obliged to pay a half portion and a third portion of their goods to the Holy Land subsidy respectively for having assaulted priests. Robert was signed with the cross for his transgression (*crucesignatus*) and William was to go to the Holy Land if his chose to (*vel adeat Terram Sanctam si hoc duxerit eligendum*).

William de la Tayllerye from Wawne might have also been in trouble with the archbishop earlier in 1275. In the surviving series of significations of excommunication—short documents sent by bishops and archbishops to the king requesting secular pressure on people who had been excommunicated and remained obdurate for longer than forty days—one ‘William de Waghen’ appears on 15 April 1275. Whether or not this is the same William, is impossible to tell; however, it is clear that this is not related to his further penance for assaulting a priest, as the list for the archdeaconry of the East Riding of the archdiocese of York was compiled on 5 August 1275.³⁸ None of the other people named in the lists, even those recorded as excommunicated, are recorded in the significations of excommunication between

translated in *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, pp. 446–47. Robert de Craven, half of all goods for assaulting Walter de Beverley, priest, YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 129^v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 81; omitted from *Northern Regs.* (p. 52). William de la Tayllerye de Wawne, third part of goods for assaulting the vicar of Wawne, YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 129^v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 281; *Northern Regs.*, p. 52.

³⁷ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 134^v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 281; *Northern Regs.*, p. 52.

³⁸ Kew, The National Archives, C85/170.

1275–1276, so it would appear that this monetary contribution or the taking of the crusader's cross acted as the redemption.

While the monetary values that people were to pay for various transgressions or in relief of the Holy Land subsidy varied widely, the collection campaign in the northern archdiocese must have certainly been considered a success. As shown in Table Four, below, over the two year period in which the lists were compiled, the archbishop and his agents extracted a total of £204 10s. 4d. for crusading funds in bonds and promises, including the bond of £100 from an adulterous knight. It should be noted, however, that this figure was likely to be higher as the variable values from people paying a half portion and third portion of their goods have not been included in the calculations.

What we also find with the calculations in Table Four, however, are remarkably high average values of income being deposited for the Holy Land subsidy. This average was calculated by taking the total values deposited by the people and dividing it by the number of them listed with that station, for example, the 12,696d. (£52 18s.) donated by priests was divided by 130 (the number of identified priests), giving an average of 98d. (8s. 2d.). As already noted, the values can vary widely, with, for example, three knights giving a combined total of £12 13s. 4d. before adding the bond of £100 by an adulterous knight. The value for the priests is similarly inflated by the donation of £20 from Canon Nicholas de Cnoville of Southwell Minster. The total priestly contribution without it falls to £39 18s., or an average contribution of 61d. (5s. 1d.) which is at the lower end of many contributions listed by the other 129 priests. Again, the average values given for the laymen and those of no recorded status also seem inflated, coming in at 3s. 3d. and 5s. 2d. respectively. It is, however, impossible to know accurately the average income of a medieval layman in this period and what this could mean in real terms. Some studies have calculated that the average wage per day for unskilled male labourers, men, and workers alike was around 1½d. in Oxfordshire for the period

1260–1330.³⁹ The average figure of 5*s.* 3*d.* (or 63*d.*) would have taken around forty-two days' worth of wages, whereas the figure of 3*s.* 3*d.* (or 39*d.*) would have comprised twenty-six days'. Moreover, as with the knights, the values could vary from 12*d.* on the lowest scale up to £100. Therefore, extreme care must be taken when utilizing these average figures, otherwise the general picture of crusade donation is skewed. If, however, we calculate the modal value (that is, the highest recurring number in the lists), the mode equates to 60*d.* (5*s.*) for both the priests and all of the assumed laymen.

Table Four: A breakdown of the status of those named in the lists and their total and average contributions to the Holy Land subsidy.

	<i>Presbiter</i> (Priest)	<i>Miles</i> (Knight)	<i>Laicus</i> (Layman)	No Status	Totals
Total	12,696	27,040	116 (9 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>)	9,232 (£38	49,084 (£204
Contribution for the Campaign in <i>d.</i>	(£52 18 <i>s.</i>)	(£112 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>)		9 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	10 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>)
Average Contribution per Person in <i>d.</i>	98 (8 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>)	6,760 (£28 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>)	39 (3 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>)	63 (5 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>)	173 (14 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>)

Turning now to those convicted of transgressions which involved crimes concerning the erosion or contradiction of episcopal power, we find a counter to the argument that the lists contain only penitents paying for absolution. Table Five below outlines this argument, showing the numbers of those listed as *crucesignatus* and having

³⁹ John Langdon, 'Minimum Wages and Unemployment Rates in Medieval England: The Case of Old Woodstock, Oxfordshire, 1256–1357', in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Ben Dodds and Christian D. Liddy (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 25–44 (pp. 33–34).

committed a transgression in the lists, and Table Six provides a breakdown of the transgressions listed. Of the 130 churchmen listed, twelve priests were explicitly recorded as having been guilty of being ordained by alien bishops (*ordinari ab alienis episcopis*) without the permission of their *de facto* diocesan—including the dean of Nottingham, Henry de Thiversold. These men were absolved of the imposed excommunication upon taking the cross. A further seventeen churchmen were absolved of a crime and signed with the cross for reasons '*ut supra*' (as above)—with an eighteenth listed for the same reason, but not signed with the cross—seemingly referring to the twelve alien ordinations that were written out in full. There was no excuse for the priests to commit this transgression. Licences had been routinely granted in this respect for the clergy of York to find a suffragan bishop to ordain them, or giving permission to a suffragan bishop to ordain within parts of the diocese. In 1274 or 1275, at the time these lists were being compiled, for instance, Archbishop Walter granted licence to the clerks of the dean of York to be ordained by a suffragan bishop.⁴⁰ In 1293, another licence was granted to the bishop of Carlisle to ordain monks and canons of Furness, Cartmel and Coningshead, areas in the archdeaconry of Richmond over the moors.⁴¹

Other transgressions are also found. One priest—Richard de Bosall—paid 5*s.* for committing assault on one of his parishioners, yet escaped being signed with the cross; one John de Withington paid half a mark (6*s.* 8*d.*) for irregular practice; and one Nicholas the Clerk was cited for imprisoning several of the archbishop's clerks.⁴² Of the thirty-three penitent priests, twenty-nine were signed with the cross, all for having been ordained without licence by alien bishops. One priest, William de Mysen, so provoked the ire of Archbishop Walter for his alien ordination that he was either to

⁴⁰ *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 290–91.

⁴¹ *Reg. Romeyn*, I, p. 351 no. 1003.

⁴² *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 281, 284.

give 20s. to the subsidy, 'or he must personally go to the Holy Land' (*vel Terram Sanctam debet personaliter adire*).⁴³

Table Five: A breakdown of those listed with signifiers of their condition.

	<i>Presbiter</i>	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Laicus</i>	No Status	Total
<i>Crucesignatus</i>	51	1	2	10	64
Transgression	33	2	3	12	50
Absolved from the Cross	—	—	—	1	1
Passage enforced	—	—	—	1	1
<i>Crucesignatus</i> AND Transgression	29	1	2	5	37
Free Will (donation)	4	1	—	4	9
Free Will (<i>crucesignatus</i>)	1	—	—	1	2

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

Table Six: A breakdown of penitents and transgressions committed.

Transgression	<i>Presbiter</i>	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Laicus</i>	<i>No Status</i>	<i>Crucesignatus</i>
Alien Ordination	30	—	—	—	29
Irregularity	1	—	—	4	0
Assault	1	1	3	7	7
Illegal Imprisonment	1	—	—	1	0
Adultery	—	1	—	—	1
Totals	33	2	3	12	37

Two of the knights in the Yorkshire lists also paid as penance. Thomas, called Baudewin, had assaulted a priest and paid 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.), and, whilst he was not *crucesignatus*, he was ‘to set out in his own person if he so chooses’ (*pro persona profesciri*).⁴⁴ Simon Constable, on the other hand, faced far graver sanctions for committing adultery with Katherine, the wife of fellow knight, John Danthorpe. He came before Archbishop Walter in 1275 and ‘confessed with a humble and contrite spirit that he had sinned carnally [...] and while touching holy things he renounced her and their partnership and all implicated places.’⁴⁵ Simon then paid a bond of £100 to be forfeited to the Holy Land subsidy, promising to submit himself to Archbishop Walter’s judgement should he relapse and

[...] pondering the contrition of his heart with *mitigating the severity [of the punishment]* on account of his strengths, we bestowed the sign of the cross on the same individual in that place, so that he might go himself to the Holy Land, or send

⁴⁴ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 122v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 279; *Northern Regs.*, p. 49.

⁴⁵ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 131v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 282; *Northern Regs.*, p. 55; alternative translation in *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, p. 447. ‘*carnaliter deliquisse humili et contrito spiritu confitebatur, ipsam et consortium ipsius, ac omnia loca suspecta, tactis Sacrosanctis penitus abjurando.*’

there a suitable fighter from those selected by him on account of that crime.⁴⁶

[My emphasis].

It would appear that this humble and contrite renunciation of Katherine was just a formality, and the release of £100 to the Holy Land subsidy was to soothe his conscience because he did not give her up. In 1280, Archbishop Walter's successor, William Wickwane, weighed in on the matter of Simon's adultery. On 15 April 1280, Archbishop William mandated the dean of Holderness to publish the excommunication of both Simon and Katherine for contumacy, likely for continuing their illicit union, although Katherine was now a widow (*relictam J. de Danthorpe, defuncti*) under suspicious circumstances.⁴⁷

As an aside it is worth recording what happened to Simon and Katherine a few years later. It transpires that in 1293, Simon was brought before the justices of York on several charges, including having forcibly abducted Katherine and all of her goods when her husband, John, was still alive.⁴⁸ He faced *fort et dure* and died in prison.⁴⁹ On 20 June, 1294, Katherine was tried before the justices in York 'for having, as it is said prepared a poison (*intoxicacom*) for John Danthorpe, sometime her husband, Joan sometime wife of the said Simon, and Henry de Thorleye'.⁵⁰ The justices pardoned her of this crime and instead declared that Beatrice de Vere was guilty of murdering Joan and she was burned.⁵¹ For the last six years of the thirteenth century, Katherine was

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 'nosque contritionem suam corditer ponderantes, et rigorem pro viribus mitigantes, eidem signaculum crucis ibidem tradidimus, ita ut in propria persona adeat Terram Sanctam, vel suis sumptibus ibi mittat pro isto commisso ydoneum bellatorem.'

⁴⁷ *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 93–94 no. 312.

⁴⁸ Kew, The National Archives, JUST 1/1098, part II, m. 80d (Holderness).

My sincere thanks to Professor Paul Brand for the references to the proceedings held in The National Archives, and the kind use of his notes on the cases and subsequent case of dower with a third wife in 1297. It is believed that they will eventually appear in a volume by the Selden Society.

⁴⁹ *AM*, III, p. 377.

⁵⁰ *CPR 1292–1301*, p. 76.

⁵¹ Kew, The National Archives, JUST 1/1098, part II, m. 95.

involved in several court cases over dower, and there even emerged a third wife who had been married to Simon for ten years!⁵²

Returning to the lists, it seems that Simon evaded his penance of travelling to the Holy Land. There is no record of Simon seeking permission from the king to leave the country. Moreover, as his patrimony he held extensive lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and his absence would have been keenly felt in the locality.⁵³ Katherine also brought land and a manor worth a total of £10 together, which fell to her and her daughter (with John), on John's death.⁵⁴ It is possible that he sent someone in his stead, but again, lamentably, no record survives. Two days after Archbishop William had the mandate for excommunication issued, he sent another to the dean of Holderness instructing the dean not to publish the sentence of excommunication against Simon because he had been absolved.⁵⁵ The dean was, however, ordered in November 1280 to summon Katherine to stand before the archbishop and answer at an inquiry into several of the charges against her.⁵⁶ It seems that after this inquiry, Katherine had assuaged the archbishop's suspicions and in 1282 Simon and Katherine finally received

⁵² Sue Sheridan Walker, 'Litigation as Personal Quest: Suing for Dower in the Royal Courts, circa 1272–1350', in *Wife and Widow in Medieval England*, ed. by Sue Sheridan Walker (Michigan, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), pp. 81–109 (pp. 93–95).

⁵³ *C.Inq.P.M.*, III, *Edward I* (1912), pp. 114–16 no. 193. See also C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 4 vols, The Harleian Society 80–84 (Leeds: John Whitehead and Son Ltd for the Harleian Society, 1929–35), I: *A to E* (1929), p. 233.

⁵⁴ Beverley, East Riding of Yorkshire Archives and Local Studies Service, DDCC/135/51, 'Records and Deeds mentioned in the large Pedigree of the Constables', no. 16. A small catalogue entry is available at: Kew, The National Archives Database, available at: <<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/9b0cda97-54e0-4f32-9c8b-49e9731e6cb7>> [Accessed: 22 June 2019]. Katherine was also involved in a quitclaim with Simon's son, Robert, in 1314: East Riding of Yorkshire Archives and Local Studies Service, DDCC/135/51, no. 23; with a catalogue entry available at the link above.

⁵⁵ *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 94 no. 312.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 105–06 no. 340.

a favourable verdict from Archbishop William regarding their wish for a licence to marry.⁵⁷

This case indicates that Maier's interpretation of the lists in Archbishop Walter's register, that '[i]n these cases the entry of the redemption [in the register] served as proof that the satisfaction for the crime had been done', is perhaps over simplistic.⁵⁸ It was no certain thing that those who had committed a transgression against archiepiscopal authority actually served satisfaction. The entry in the register was merely the expected outcome from the penitent facing ecclesiastical sanctions, allowing for a record to be made and consulted on relapse or default of the terms of agreement. The difficulties facing the episcopate in keeping track of errant crusaders must have made it impossible to ensure that everyone completed the terms of their penance, yet the indication from the lists here is that the archiepiscopal authorities were trying their best to keep track of the matter.

Moving back to the Yorkshire lists, only fifteen laymen were recorded as committing a transgression. One, Richard de Barton, was involved with Nicholas the Clerk, bailiff of Hedon (Yorkshire), in unjustly imprisoning several of the archbishop of York's clerks. Richard and Nicholas were not signed with the cross for their transgression against archiepiscopal power, but they were expected to pay 2*s.* and 5*s.* respectively.⁵⁹ A similar occurrence happened to Archbishop John le Romeyn's clerks who were sent to the bishop of Durham in 1291. The bishop's agents imprisoned archiepiscopal clerks, and instead of a fine to the Holy Land subsidy, incurred the sentence of greater excommunication.⁶⁰ Four laymen were charged with irregularity, paying between 2*s.* and 5*s.* each.⁶¹ Another ten laymen are listed as committing assault,

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 282–83 no. 707.

⁵⁸ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 159 and n. 110.

⁵⁹ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 129^v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 281; *Northern Regs.*, p. 52.

⁶⁰ *Reg. Romeyn*, II, pp. 100–01; Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, pp. 165–68.

⁶¹ Richard Botte, 5*s.*; John de Reddermershille, 4*s.*; Nicholas de Rungeton, 2*s.*; Henry de Secroft, 3*s.*

with seven having assaulted one or more priests, and one which is implied from the use of '*ut supra*' (as above), with the laymen paying between 12*d.* and half of all their goods for absolution.⁶² Seemingly, it was not too uncommon a situation for members of the clergy to provoke the ire of their parishioners.

Considering the numbers of people listed without the note of a formal transgression against archiepiscopal power, there is the possibility that these people had, in fact, committed a transgression as a private sin and were donating for that reason, therefore leaving no listed transgression. Penance developed considerably throughout the Middle Ages and the use of crusade fitted easily into the established frameworks of penitential exile.⁶³ The essential difference between 'public' sins and 'private' was that the former involved excommunication and a solemn, formal reconciliation with the Church performed by the local diocesan. Those sins that were private meant that the individual had the penance privately imposed by their local priest, and their reconciliation to the Church was also performed in the same private manner.⁶⁴ As Ane Bysted wrote: '[w]ith a simplistic expression, the system comprised public penance for public sins and private penance for private sins. In reality the forms were often mixed, however.'⁶⁵

⁶² John de Ellerby, assaulted Roger of Newton, priest, 5*s.*; John, son of Matilda of Aston, assault on William, priest of Gargrave, third part of all goods; Henry de Rillington, assault on Robert, priest of Rillington, 2*s.*; William de Driffeld, assaulted two priests, half of all goods; Fulk de Alverstan, layman, assaulted a priest, 12*d.*; Robert de Craven, assaulted Walter of Beverly, priest, half of all goods; William de la Tayllerye, assaulted the priest of Wawne, third part of all goods; Henry de Rotherham, as above (*ut supra*), 5*s.*; Richard de Harewood, layman, assault, 2*s.*; John de Neumarche, layman, assault, half of all goods.

⁶³ Ane L. Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c.1095–1216*, History of Warfare 103 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 82–85; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 3–29.

⁶⁴ For the distinctions see, Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence*, pp. 82–83.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

There are fifty transgressors who had clearly performed public sins for them to be enrolled explicitly in Archbishop Walter's register. The possibility that the other 233 named individuals listed without a transgression all performed private sins and private penance is unlikely, but it is possible that some of them might have done. Archbishop Walter had, in 1267, granted licence to the Friars Minors to hear confession within the province of York, yet this was restricted to private sins and it is possible that some penitents could have donated privately, directly to the friars.⁶⁶ This would conform to papal mandate as outlined in the canon *Zelus Fidei*, where Pope Gregory X commanded that 'confessors who hear confessions by ordinary jurisdiction or by privilege are to prompt and enjoin on their penitents to give the said money to the [H]oly Land in full satisfaction for their sins'.⁶⁷ It is, however, impossible to know whether or not the 233 named individuals without a transgression performed a private sin for which they were paying, or were simply paying the expected tenth of their goods to the Holy Land subsidy.

Only sixty-four of the 283 individuals listed in Archbishop Walter's register were specifically recorded as *crucesignatus*, and only one was actually absolved from his vow. It is worth quoting the pertinent parts of the entry here:

John de Ellerby [...] who had set aside the fear of God and laid rash and violent hands upon Roger de Newton, a priest, had afterwards competently satisfied the priest for that injury [...] And seeing that this John has merited thus to be signed with the cross by us, and that the assault was slight and small, by the apostolic authority granted to us in this matter of the crusade we have thought fit to absolve him in due form of the law [...] and the said John must give succour of the Holy Land from his own goods, namely the sum of five shillings sterling, whensoever this be demanded of him.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Reg. *Giffard of York*, p. 209; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 9–10.

⁶⁷ *Ecumenical Councils*, p. 310.

⁶⁸ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 122v; Reg. *Giffard of York*, pp. 277–78; *Northern Regs.*, p. 49; for alternative translation see, Coulton, *Social Life*, pp. 287–88. '*Johannes de Elveredby [...] cum, Dei timore postposito, in*

While John de Ellerby managed to come to an amicable agreement with his victim, allowing for his absolution, for many others this was not the case. Being marked with the cross came with the formal absolution of that crime, with many being ‘*crucesignatus, et absolutus pro...*’ (signed with the cross and absolved for) their crime. William de Drifffield, for example, was absolved of the sentence of greater excommunication after having assaulted two priests by being signed with the cross, yet was not formally absolved of his votive obligation. Instead, he was either to go on the next general passage himself, or to offer half of all his goods to the Holy Land subsidy.⁶⁹ The record here detailed the expected outcome of this arrangement, rather than the satisfaction and punishment of the crime being served. The sentence thus pronounced in the ecclesiastical court was absolved and evaded, and by taking the cross William de Drifffield and others were granted impunity from another case being brought against them. Similar cases of evading the sentence of excommunication exist in the diocese of Worcester. In 1289, Bishop Godfrey of Worcester intervened in a dispute in which ‘the bishop absolved Walter and Simon [...] from the sentence of excommunication which they had incurred for an offence committed in the churchyard of the church of St Oswald in Worcester, so that they should visit the Holy Land, and in that manner they took the cross.’⁷⁰

The policy of replacing excommunication with taking the cross was something which had increasingly occurred over the thirteenth century and, as Brundage

Rogerum de Neuton, presbiterum, manus inieciisset temere violentas, super illa injuria dicto presbitero satisfecit postea competenter. [...] Et, quia idem Johannes a nobis crucis signaculo mervit insigniri, et levis fuisset seu modica injuria irrogata, eundem, auctoritate Apostolica nobis in crucis negotio attributa, in forma juris duximus absolvendum [...] et idem de bonis suis propriis impendere debet [in] subsidium Terrae Sanctae; videlicet, quinque solidos sterlingorum, cum super hoc ex parte papae fuerit requisitus.

⁶⁹ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 129r; Reg. *Giffard of York*, p. 280; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 49–50; translated in *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 446–47. ‘*et eidem injunximus quod in generli passagio adeat personaliter Terram Sanctam, vel quod omnium bonorum suorum mediatatem in dictae Terrae subsidium subministret, si hoc duxerit eligendum.*’

⁷⁰ Reg. *Giffard of Worcester*, II, p. 329.

observed, ‘during the last third of the century, this privilege, like the indulgence, was routinely granted to anyone who made the crusade vow in return for a monetary and comparatively casual commutation of the vow.’⁷¹ Another facet of the cases written in full in Archbishop Walter’s register highlights that it was absolution of the crime, not the crusading vow which the archbishop had granted, contrary to the traditional historiographical interpretation of the lists. That this is the case comes from a clause in some cases which states that many ‘deserved to be signed by us with the character of the cross, by apostolic authority specifically attributed to us’ or were beholden to some other similar qualifying clause (*a nobis crucis caractere meruit insigniri*).⁷² It is highly unlikely that the archdeacons would have been given the powers of absolution which would have dampened the episcopal primacy over crusaders and their privileges.

Two other entries elsewhere in the archiepiscopal register of Archbishop Walter of York highlight the use of crusading privileges to avoid court proceedings. In 1269, John de Stonegrave came before the archbishop for having forcibly entered the local parish church of Stonegrave (North Yorkshire) while excommunicated. He gave a bond for good behaviour and consigned himself and all of his goods, as well as those of his bailors, to the ‘jurisdiction and constraint’ (*jurisdictioni et cohercioni*) of the archbishop and his official. In doing so, he and his bailors claimed to ‘revoke, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, royal obstruction, crusader privilege or indulgence that has been granted [...] and every concession of justice whether canon or civilian’.⁷³ Similarly, in 1275, John de Evesham gave a bond of 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) to Archbishop Walter ‘for any transgressions or even injuries which I wrongly attempted against Master

⁷¹ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 155.

⁷² Reg. Giffard of York, pp. 277–80, 282; Northern Regs., pp. 46–50, 55; translations in *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, pp. 446–47; Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, pp. 516–17.

⁷³ Reg. Giffard of York, pp. 161–62. ‘Renunciamus insuper, tam ego Johannes quam fidejussores predicti, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, regiae prohibitioni, privilegio cruce signatis indulto vel indulgendo [...] et omni juris remedio tam canonici quam civilis’.

Alexander de Cave, the dean of Beverley, offering insult by this to the aforementioned father and thoughtlessly disturbing his peace'.⁷⁴ Should John transgress again, the money would be paid to the bailiff of the deanery and John would submit himself to any arrangements the archbishop saw fit to make. Again, at the end of the settlement it was written 'I [John de Evsham] also revoke among those things already mentioned, every objection, every royal obstruction, every crusader privilege or even indulgence that has been granted, and every concession of justice with which I might defend or protect myself.'⁷⁵

Had these men been crusaders and given up any and all privileges they might have held? Or could they simply have been exempting themselves from taking the cross during the period that the preaching tours in the north of England were occurring? In neither case was the bond specifically described as a donation to the Holy Land subsidy, unlike that of Simon Constable, and thus it seems that both Johns were swearing against any form of crusader privilege should they take the cross during the period in order to escape from or to commute the ecclesiastical justice bestowed on them. This is emphasized in John de Evesham's letter, which was almost certainly written under Archbishop Walter's guidance, sent to the dean of Beverley against whom he had transgressed, since 'eventually the aforementioned dispute was completely resolved through amicable arrangements; namely that I [John de Evesham] should restore to the same master one mark [13s. 4d.] for the damage I had caused him.'⁷⁶ John de Evesham had an added caveat to his agreement with the archbishop and dean of Beverley. This stated that if the bond of 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) ever needed to be paid because John had defaulted on the arrangement, then he would also be

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 273–74. '*temere presumpsissem et ei injuriam irrogassem, cumque super hoc coram domino Ebor. inter nos contentio esset mota, tandem per amicabiles compositiones dicta contentio taliter conquievit.*'

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 273. '*renunciens insuper in premissis omni cavillationi, regiae prohibitioni, omni privilegio cruce signatis indulto et etiam indulgendo, et omni juris remedio per quod me possem defendere vel tueri.*'

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274. '*videlicet, quod pro dampnis datis eidem magistro restituam unam marcam.*'

excommunicated by the archbishop or his official. After this, the revocation of royal obstruction in court cases and the use of crusader privileges was repeated. Unlike William de Driffeld, who had assaulted two priests, John de Evesham would not be able to escape his excommunication by taking the crusader's cross.

It was exactly these privileges of protection that other people went to expense to secure in other dioceses. To become a crusader meant obtaining an *essoir*—that is, a right of non-appearance in secular courts for up to three years if travelling to Jerusalem—and immunity from facing ecclesiastical court proceedings outside the home diocese.⁷⁷ This was a privilege jealously guarded by crusaders and diocesans alike. In c.1270 Archbishop Walter Giffard of York issued a general mandate pronouncing greater excommunication on anyone who impeded crusaders.⁷⁸ The bishops of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe and Richard de Swinfield, for instance, stopped proceedings against local crusaders a number of times. In 1277, Bishop Thomas wrote a letter to Master C., canon of St Pancras in Florence, explaining that William de Loges was exempted from proceedings in court outside his own diocese as he was a crusader, a privilege which Bishop Thomas claimed had been reinforced at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.⁷⁹ Bishop Richard intervened in action taken against the rector of Goodrich in 1284 and the vicar of St Martin's Church in 1292, both of whom were crusaders, seemingly having taken the cross during the preaching and episcopal inquiry campaigns ongoing during those years.⁸⁰ In these cases the priory of Sulby (Lincolnshire) and the archdeacon of Westminster, who were trying to bring the cases against the rector and vicar, thought them guilty of some crime worth pursuing, yet

⁷⁷ Ranulf Glanville, *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill*, ed. and trans. by G. D. G. Hall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), chap. 29, pp. 16–17.

⁷⁸ Reg. *Giffard of York*, pp. 228–29.

⁷⁹ Reg. *Cantilupe*, pp. 74–75. ‘*in Concilio Lugdunensi, ne cruce signati extra suam diocesim auctoritate litterarum Apostolicarum*’.

⁸⁰ Reg. *Swinfield*, pp. 61–62, 172–73.

were frustrated by diocesan jurisdiction. The actual charges brought against these crusaders from the diocese of Hereford, unfortunately were not recorded in the episcopal letters sent to the prosecutors.

The use and abuse of crusader privilege in these cases is most clearly demonstrated in the diocese of Worcester. On 4 July 1275, Bishop Godfrey served an inhibition to Ralph de Waltham, canon of St Paul's Cathedral, London, to continue proceedings against Hugh Agulun, who was a crusader.⁸¹ Ralph was styled 'conservator of the privileges, and commissary and judge of the master and brethren of the Knights Templar', and was seemingly proceeding at the behest of William Pickeril, one of Bishop Godfrey's clerks.⁸² A day later, on 5 July 1275, Bishop Godfrey issued a further letter, this time to his clerk, ordering William Pickeril 'not to trouble Hugh Agulun, a crusader.'⁸³ In another entry, dated to 16 April 1286, a man, James called Aubyn, requested that 'in consideration of half a mark promised towards the subsidy for the Holy Land he shall have the privileges of a crusader.'⁸⁴ Considering the number of people donating similar amounts of money in the archiepiscopal lists of Walter Giffard, could it be that those not listed as *crucesignatus* were granted the crusader's privilege just for donating to the Holy Land subsidy?

A further example from the diocese of Worcester also arises, which showcases the abuse of crusader privilege. On 21 June 1275 one J. de Methinge appointed two proctors in his case against Robert le Granger and was described as a crusader.⁸⁵ Just two days later, on 23 June 1275, Bishop Godfrey's register records that J. de Methinge received the 'sign of the Holy Cross' at Wyk, near Worcester.⁸⁶ The reason why J. de

⁸¹ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, p. 78.

⁸² *Ibid.*, II, p. 78.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 80.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 284.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 80.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 80.

Methinge was described as a crusader two days before he took the cross is unclear. It may be that he was taking it for a second time or as a way to reinforce his privileges as a crusader ahead of this court suit. This J. de Methinge is likely the same John de Methinges who was also an executor of the will of Walter Marshal, the same John de Mething who appears giving the bishop money in 1270, and in 1292 as one of the bishop's men who owes his service.⁸⁷ This last entry, in fact, also suggests that this John was someone with deep connections to the Giffard family as a whole, being bound into Bishop Godfrey's service by his bonds with 'Walter, the bishop's brother, and Sibilla, the bishop's mother.'⁸⁸

The privilege of ecclesiastical protection, however, was a moot point here since Robert le Granger was a servant of the rector of the church of Kempsey which lay within the bounds of the diocese of Worcester, but there may have been some confusion.⁸⁹ As noted by Canon William Capes in his introduction to Bishop Thomas of Hereford's episcopal register, 'Hampton Episcopi in the diocese of Worcester was a gift almost certainly of his uncle Walter, like the churches of Rippel and Kempsey, which were also manors of the See'.⁹⁰ Whatever Kempsey's status as a manor and church of the bishop of Hereford, it would appear that the bishops of Worcester kept their rights of appointment over it. Although Robert le Granger was cited to answer J. de Methinge's charges before the prior of Gloucester and the rector of Blockley at St Peter's Abbey Gloucester, Bishop Godfrey's register, frustratingly, does not record the rest of the events. It was the privileges of defence in court and protection of the diocesan in cases outside the diocese which John de Stonegrave and John de Evesham,

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 45; II, p. 410.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 410. Unfortunately, none of the variant spellings of Mething, Methinge, and Methinges are present in Archbishop Walter's register, *Reg. Giffard of York*, *passim*.

⁸⁹ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, p. 80.

⁹⁰ *Reg. Cantilupe*, p. xix.

in the archdiocese of York, were wilfully giving away by agreeing to Archbishop Walter's terms.

At times, however, only the threat of the imposition of the crusader's cross and possible enforced pilgrimage was needed for someone to comply with the ecclesiastical authorities. Only eight out of a total of sixty-four *crucesignati* in Archbishop Walter's register were specifically mandated to go on crusade or to send a proxy in their stead, suggesting that even the punishment of the crusade was not to be enforced. This may be for several reasons, such as the person's station in life and profession or their ability to support themselves on the campaign, so it is probable that the other fifty-six *crucesignati* commuted their crusader's vow. Eight of the nine people were given the chance to offer a monetary value of up to half of all their worldly goods instead of going to the Holy Land, generally under the term '*vel adeat Terram Sanctam si hoc duxerit eligendum*' (or go to the Holy Land, if it is deemed desirable).⁹¹ Only one man, Philip de Giggleswick, was sentenced to go personally to the Holy Land.⁹² There is no monetary value listed alongside his name for a donation to the Holy Land subsidy, so it is possible that Philip had enough money to be able to afford the journey to the Holy Land, thus deciding not to pay for commutation of his vow.

Moreover, Philip is not recorded as having committed a transgression against archiepiscopal power, yet, his entry is curiously interlined between entries for a layman and a priest, both crusaders, the former of which had committed assault.⁹³ To what degree Philip of Giggleswick's crusade vow to go to the Holy Land relates to these entries is unclear. It should also be noted that his entry is actually out of place, since

⁹¹ John, son of Matilda de Weston; William de Mysen; John de Eddingleye; William de Driffeld; Robert de Craven; William de la Tayllerye of Wawne; Walter le Graunt; Gilbert de Mora of Worksop. This figure does not include Simon Constable or the knight Thomas, called Baudewin.

⁹² Philip de Giggleswick '*adeat Terram Sanctam personaliter*, YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 129^v, interlined; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 284; *Northern Regs.*, omitted (p. 56).

⁹³ *Ibid.*

the folios here are concerned with the archdeaconry of the East Riding, rather than that of York where the deanery of Craven and the parish of Giggleswick are located. It is possible that Philip was in the archdeaconry when the lists were taking place and had been recorded there, instead of in his home deanery. There is one other person, Robert, who is identified with the same toponym, yet he is listed as paying 5s. and not being *crucesignatus* or with any other transgression against him. Throughout the register, then, it appears that the registrar clearly distinguished between those that were *crucesignatus* and those who were not, likewise those who had committed a transgression, with all other donations going to the Holy Land subsidy as a routine collection.

The crusader's cross was also used to commute the pilgrimage vows of Helewysae Palmer and her daughter Isabella from Preston (Lancashire). They were absolved of their vow to visit Santiago de Compostela for reason of their poverty. It seems that Helewysae and Isabella personally petitioned Archbishop Walter to commute their pilgrimage vow into the crusader's cross so they could pay a monetary sum rather than depart on the journey since the entry reads: 'at your request we [Archbishop Walter] are led to convert that vow by apostolic authority to aid for the Holy Land by conferring the sign of the cross upon you. We enjoin that you pay two shillings sterling in subsidy to the aforementioned Holy Land'.⁹⁴ A similar absolution was offered to John de Brompton in 1293 who had apparently made a vow some thirty-six years previously to visit Santiago. Archbishop John le Romeyn did not commute the vow into taking the cross and donating money to the Holy Land subsidy, but rather requested a payment of 100s. (£5) for absolution from the vow.⁹⁵ It is possible that

⁹⁴ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 129v; Reg. *Giffard of York*, pp. 281–82; for a translation see *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, p. 447. '*ad instantiam vestram ipsum votum auctoritate Apostolica in Terrae Sanctae subsidium duximus convertendum, vobiscrucis caraterem tribuentis; injungentes quod duos solidos sterlingorum solvatis in Terrae subsidium memoratae*'.

⁹⁵ Reg. *Romeyn*, I. pp. 229–30 no. 656.

Helewysae and Isabella Palmer had already been to the Holy Land from their shared surname. The surname 'Palmer' indicated one who had journeyed to the Holy Land and had brought back a palm frond from Jericho, a feat noted in 1180 by Archbishop William of Tyre (1175–1186) that was 'the formal sign that the pilgrim's vow had been fulfilled'.⁹⁶ By the thirteenth century it became the case that pilgrims could obtain palm fronds from Jerusalem itself, circumventing the need to travel to Jericho to end their pilgrimage.⁹⁷ These examples show how pilgrimage could be commuted into an alternative venture. Helewysae and Isabella became *crucesignati* and thus took the crusader's vow in order that they might pay money to the Holy Land subsidy and redeem their vow rather than have to travel to Santiago. This redemption essentially amounted to 1s. each. John de Brompton, on the other hand, redeemed his vow for what was likely a lower sum of money than he would have spent on going, staying, and coming back from Santiago. The cases above highlight the distinct flexibility the English episcopate had concerning the redemption of pilgrimage vows.

Table Seven below shows the percentile breakdown of the lists' totals which also contrasts sharply with the established historiography surrounding their contents. It had previously been thought that the lists were wholly concerned with penitent redemptions and commutations of the crusader's vow imposed as penance; however, this does not appear to be the case. *Crucesignati* only make up 22.6% of those named in the lists, sixty-four individuals in total. Of these people one was a knight, twelve were laymen, and fifty-one were priests. As shown in Table Eight below which breaks down these figures further, the priests accounted for 79.68% of the number out of the sixty-four crusaders in Yorkshire between 1274 to 1275. Similarly, those listed as penitents

⁹⁶ Quoted in Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah: Hidden Spring, 2003; original edition as *Pilgrimage*, London: Faber and Faber, 1975), pp. 247–48.

⁹⁷ Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, pp. 70–71; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 8. This could also be displayed in other ways such as seals, for example: see, Hurlock, 'A Transformed Life?', p. 21.

who had committed transgressions against archiepiscopal power account for only 17.66% of those named in the lists, fifty individuals in total. Of these people, two were knights, fifteen were laymen, and thirty-three were priests.

Table Seven: A percentile breakdown of the lists in Archbishop Walter's register. The raw figures are entered first, with the percentage makeup of the lists entered below.

	Priests	Knights	Laymen	No Status	Total
Number named in the lists	130	4	3	146	283
Percentage makeup of the lists	45.93%	1.41%	1.06%	51.6%	100%
Number listed as ' <i>crucesignatus</i> ' out of 283	51	1	2	10	64
Percentage makeup of the lists	18.02%	0.35%	0.7%	3.53%	22.6%
Number listed with a transgression out of 283	33	2	3	12	50
Percentage makeup of the lists	11.66%	0.7%	1.06%	4.24%	17.66%

Again, in Table Eight it is shown that priests equate for 66% of the total of those people cited for committing a transgression against archiepiscopal power. In fact, of those who were listed both as '*crucesignatus*' and with a transgression, priests make up 78.38% of the total, twenty-nine out of the thirty-seven individuals listed with both descriptors. The fact that overall not even a quarter of the people recorded in the lists are afforded the title of *crucesignatus*, or are listed as committing a transgression against

archiepiscopal authority, provides a direct challenge to the established scholarly opinion on the lists' purpose and demonstrates the need for revision.

Table Eight: A percentile breakdown by descriptor in the lists.

	<i>Presbiter</i>	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Laicus</i>	No Status	Total
Number listed as ' <i>crucesignatus</i> '	51	1	2	10	64
Percentage listed as ' <i>crucesignatus</i> '	79.68%	1.56%	3.13%	15.63%	100%
Number listed with a transgression	33	2	3	12	50
Percentage listed with a transgression	66%	4%	6%	24%	100%
Number listed as both ' <i>crucesignatus</i> ' and with a transgression	29	1	2	5	37
Percentage listed as both ' <i>crucesignatus</i> ' and with a transgression	78.38%	2.7%	5.41%	13.51%	100%

The breakdowns in Tables Seven and Eight make for some interesting further reading. Laymen and those of no status—who are also presumed to be laymen—make up a total of 51.6% of the lists, a total of 149 individuals. Only twelve of them were signed with the cross, accounting for only 3.6%. Of the sixty-four listed as '*crucesignatus*' in total, this accounts for 18.76% signed with the cross. Fifteen laymen were cited with transgressions against archiepiscopal power, equating to 5.3% of the lists' totals or 30% of the total number of transgressions. And of those laymen who had both descriptors

of *crucesignatus* and a transgression they accounted for a total of seven individuals out of a total of thirty-seven, or 18.92%. This is a far cry from the interpretation that they were all penitents or all crusaders.

The values for the knights are lower still, comprising just four of the 283 individuals, or just 1.41%. Only one was *crucesignatus* out of sixty-four, accounting for a paltry 1.56% of that total, or 0.35% of the lists' entire total. Two knights out of fifty people had committed transgressions, comprising 4% of that figure, or simply 0.7% of the lists' total. Finally, the one knight who was *crucesignatus* was also a transgressor against archiepiscopal power out of thirty-seven, a total of 2.7% of that figure.

Overall, then, when one breaks down the contents of the lists and the descriptors afforded to people, the majority must have been donating money to the Holy Land subsidy under no duress from the archbishop or his agents. To put the breakdowns in Tables Six and Seven another way, 77.4% of the people named in the lists are not recorded as *crucesignatus* and were likely, therefore, donating money to the Holy Land subsidy as part of the routine collection, rather than commuting vows. Similarly, 82.34% of the people were not bound by the terms of any penitential fine or being ordered to submit money to the Holy Land subsidy as reparation for their transgressions against archiepiscopal authority. What these breakdowns of the lists show us is the normal, routine operation of a collection campaign, rather than the recording of '200 to 300' redemptions and commutations.

Considering these findings, the remarkably high numbers of priests taking the cross and committing transgressions need examining. The 130 priests comprise 45.93% of the total people named in the lists, almost half. Of these, fifty-one (or 39.23%) of those named were signed with the cross. Over half of these priests who were signed with the cross, a total of twenty-nine (56.86%), had also committed a transgression against archiepiscopal power. The primary crime being ordination by

alien bishops without licence from the *de facto* diocesan. There is the possibility that the remaining twenty-two priests signed with the cross were trying to set an example to their flock, getting caught up in the zealous enthusiasm of the preaching tour of the friars occurring at this time, but not actually intending to go on crusade and eventually commuting or redeeming their vows for a monetary contribution. Since none of these priests likewise appear requesting licence for absence to go on crusade, it is likely that they commuted their crusader's vows. Whether this was because they regretted their original enthusiasm, or because Archbishop Walter did not want absenteeism in the diocese and ordered them to commute their vows is unclear and has not been recorded.

This was a ploy that had always been used to great effect during crusading promotions, such as when the bishop of St Davids, Peter de Leia (1176–1198), rushed forward to take the cross at Archbishop Baldwin's first sermon in Radnor in 1188.⁹⁸ As noted by Hurlock, this appears to have been a relatively well-managed and staged affair. Gerald of Wales had been the first to rush forward at this sermon to take the cross, prompting Bishop Peter to follow since he did not want to be upstaged by the man posturing as his successor. Gerald himself wrote in his *De Rebus a se Gestis* that at the time he took the cross in Radnor he was already *crucesignatus*, actually having taken the cross at the request of the king sometime before.⁹⁹ Moreover, Bishop Peter had actually organized the replanning and rebuilding of St Davids Cathedral in the early 1180s, and likely would have been unable to have departed on such a long journey without this work being completed. He was even granted the money from the

⁹⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VI, p. 14; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey*, trans. by Thorpe, pp. 75–76. '*Quem illico Petrus Menevensis episcopus, et Cluniacensis monachus, tam imitatus est quam secutus.*'

⁹⁹ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 76 and n. 80.

commutation of Welshmen's unfulfilled crusading vows for the programme of works.¹⁰⁰

The question of to what extent the clergy were expected to take the cross or go on crusade themselves is, therefore, a pertinent one and brings with it the issue of non-residence and the neglect of a cure of souls. The ecumenical councils held by the papacy from 1215 onwards decreed that the clergy would be allowed to keep their benefices for three years if they decided to go on crusade.¹⁰¹ Throughout our period, priests from around the country petitioned their diocesan for licence to leave and farm out their benefices in order to go to the Holy Land with varying duties bestowed upon them. In the diocese of Lincoln in the 1220s Eudo de Melles was appointed to the perpetual vicarage of Wing to serve there personally unless he set out in the Fifth Crusade.¹⁰² In the diocese of Hereford in 1275, Canturmus, rector of Eastnor, was granted licence of non-residence for five years so he could join the crusade, and in 1281 a licence of three years was granted to Reginald, vicar of Lydney, who intended to go to the Holy Land as a crusader.¹⁰³ In the diocese of Worcester in 1286, Hugh, the rector of Newton, had to appoint a fit substitute during his absence 'to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land', and in 1291 the rector of Whatcote (Warwickshire) was granted dispensation for three years to travel to the Holy Land, on condition that he distribute 20s. (£1) to his poor parishioners every year.¹⁰⁴ One further example include a dispensation of the bishop of Carlisle in 1309 to the rector of Craglin to go on crusade

¹⁰⁰ *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, ed. by James Conway Davies, 2 vols (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1946–48), I (1948), p. 326 no. 3; Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 121.

¹⁰¹ *Ecumenical Councils*, p. 267; *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, p. 125.

¹⁰² *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, episcopi Lincolnensis, A.D. MCCIX–MCCXXXV*, ed. by W. P. W. Phillimore, 3 vols, Lincoln Records Society 3, 6, 9 (Lincoln: Morton for the Lincoln Records Society, 1912–14), I (1912), p. 100.

¹⁰³ *Reg. Cantilupe*, pp. 6–7, 290. Both entries feature the phrase 'zelo fidei ac devocionis accensus, signo vivifice crucis assumpto, proposuerit in terre sancte subsidium proficisci' with minor variations between them.

¹⁰⁴ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 285, 384.

for three years.¹⁰⁵ Clerics, therefore, could go on crusade if they made provision for their parishes in some way and sought permission and agreement from their bishop.

Returning to the archdiocese of York we find John de Selleston, vicar of Rothwell (near Leeds), granted licence of absence for five years in 1270 to travel to the Holy Land, with the proviso that his church would not be deprived of services. This negated the loss of the parish priest.¹⁰⁶ In 1281 Edmund de Everley, the rector of Treswell (Yorkshire)—he also held the church of Soulbury (Buckinghamshire) in plurality for which he was absolved by Archbishop William in 1280—was granted licence for three years leave in the Holy Land, presumably as a crusader considering the preaching campaign which had just occurred.¹⁰⁷ Papal candidates also enjoyed the ability to be installed to benefices. Master Stephen de Maulay, papal chaplain, was granted the fruits of the archdeaconry of Cleveland and his other benefices for five years for proposing to set out to the Holy Land with the king.¹⁰⁸ He already held several benefices by request of the king, without papal dispensation, and the archbishops of York had complied fully.¹⁰⁹ This privilege was not restricted only to churchmen and papal delegates. In May 1290 Archbishop John le Romeyn permitted the lay knight, Otto de Grandison, to siphon off the first fruits of the entire archdeaconry of

¹⁰⁵ *Reg. Halton*, I, p. 322. Simon Lloyd also created a comprehensive appendix of crusaders in 1270 which included not an insignificant number of clerics, Lloyd, *English Society*, Appendix 4, pp. 262–80.

¹⁰⁶ *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 64–65. ‘*ut in subsidium Terrae Sanctae pio peregrinationis proposito valeas proficisci [...] Proviso quod in dicta ecclesia de Rowelle fiat officium divinum, scilicet quod ad te pretextu vicariae antedictae dinoscitur pertinere, ac alia ejusdem honora, prout consuevit, agnoscere facias competenter.*’

¹⁰⁷ Edmund received leave from Archbishop William Wickwane in 1281 ‘*commorari in profectione Terre Sancte*’ for three years, *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 85 no. 294; also *Reg. Romeyn*, I, pp. 246–47 no. 713 for his appointment. In 1290 Edmund was granted licence for three years’ study and to let his rectory for that duration by Archbishop John: *Reg. Romeyn*, I, p. 207 no. 838. Edmund was presented to the church of Syston in the diocese of Lincoln in 1289, *CPR 1281–1292*, p. 317. For the absolution of plurality see, *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 67 no. 213.

¹⁰⁸ *CPR*, I, p. 537.

¹⁰⁹ *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 55; *Reg. Romeyn*, I, pp. 378–79.

Richmond ‘for the subsidy of the aforementioned Holy Land’ (*in dicte Terre [Sancte] subsidium*).¹¹⁰

Where the archbishops of York had been positive in the promotion of John de Selleston and Edmund de Everley’s wishes to go on crusade to the Holy Land, the same cannot be said for what happened to Adam de Hucknall, vicar of Hucknall Torkard (Nottinghamshire). In 1292 Adam ventured to the Holy Land, perhaps inspired by the preaching tour Archbishop John had organized in 1291, yet had neglected to obtain permission and licence from the archbishop.¹¹¹ Thus Adam was guilty of both perjury (*perjurii noscitur incurisse*) and the neglect of his cure of souls. Subsequently the fruits of his benefice were sequestrated, depriving him of an income with which to fund himself in the Holy Land. Similar to Brundage’s sweeping conclusion based on the Lincolnshire and Cornish lists of crusaders that ‘obviously the crusade in Lancashire [*sic*] and Cornwall was a rather aristocratic affair’, the Yorkshire lists could easily lead us to conclude that, obviously the crusade in thirteenth-century Yorkshire was a highly ecclesiastical affair. This seems to be especially true when examining the numbers of priests who were *crucesignati* in the lists.

Clearly, instead of being a simple pricelist, list of vows extant in the archdiocese, or a catalogue of criminals and their penances as previously assumed, the lists in Archbishop Walter’s register are varied and show how people interacted with taking the crusader’s cross or listening to the preaching campaigns in different ways. While the discussion thus far has focussed on the contents of the lists themselves, the period in which they were compiled and the attitudes of Archbishop Walter towards the crusade also need to be explored in order to explain why they might have been recorded. At the same time as the compilation of the lists there was a promotional

¹¹⁰ *Reg. Romeyn*, I, pp. 334–35 no. 987; see also Forey, ‘Otto of Grandson’, p. 82.

¹¹¹ *Reg. Romeyn*, I, p. 306 no. 870. For the preaching tour: *Reg. Romeyn*, I, p. 113 no. 309; II, pp. 8–9 no. 1133, p. 13 no. 1140; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 93, 96.

campaign running for the crusade. Plans for this had started just before the lists' entry in the archiepiscopal register, with an order issued by Archbishop Walter for the archdeacons of the archdiocese to assist the Franciscans on their preaching tour of Yorkshire in 1275/1276.¹¹² The preaching tour must have been in mind from at least 11 August 1275, if not before, when a mandate noting the archbishop's intention to entertain the friars at his own expense on 8 September 1275 was issued.¹¹³

The compilation of the Yorkshire lists also coincide with the issuing of another mandate by Archbishop Walter, on 16 February 1275, to the archdeacon of Cleveland. This document ordered the archdeacon to have boxes with three keys placed in every parish church within the archdeaconry which would be used for the collection towards the Holy Land subsidy.¹¹⁴ Mandates of this kind, regarding the establishment of a common chest for the Holy Land subsidy in parish churches, had occurred periodically throughout the period. The first occurrence in England was in 1166 when King Henry II ordered chests to be placed in every church in every city and village.¹¹⁵ A similar papal mandate was also issued by Pope Innocent III in 1213, and some crusading chests still survive in English parish churches.¹¹⁶ This particular order came in pursuance of two papal directives. The first was issued at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 ordering that:

We [Pope Gregory X] direct also that in each church there should be placed a box fitted with three keys, the first to be kept in possession of the bishop, the second in that of the priest of the church, and the third in that of some

¹¹² YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 116v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 264; *Northern Regs.*, p. 46.

¹¹³ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 120r; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 271.

¹¹⁴ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 122r; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 277.

¹¹⁵ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, I, pp. 198–99. 'Et erit truncus in omnibus civitatibus, et in ecclesia episcopali et per singulas villas in ecclesiis'.

¹¹⁶ *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, pp. 107–12 no. 11 (esp. p. 112); also see, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. by Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; reissue, 2001), p. 58.

conscientious lay person. The faithful are to be instructed to place their alms, as the Lord inspires them, in this box for the remission of their sins.¹¹⁷

Archbishop Walter had personally attended the council at Lyons, having been granted royal letter of protection for absence from 28 February until 1 August 1274.¹¹⁸

The second was issued 1 February 1275 by the papal collectors, Master Raymond de Nogaret and Brother John of Darlington, containing the bull of Pope Gregory X which ordered the collection of a tenth from ecclesiastical benefices for the Holy Land subsidy as agreed at the Second Council of Lyons.¹¹⁹ Both of these entries immediately precede the first list of monetary contributions in the register. Undoubtedly a letter like that issued to the archdeacon of Cleveland would have been sent to every archdeaconry in the archdiocese of York and if the rest of the English episcopate were also following the mandates, a similar letter would have been sent to their archdeaconries too. That the one for Cleveland is the only one extant in Archbishop Walter's register perhaps indicates that it was the exemplar he used to instruct those other archdeacons in his archdiocese to set up this common chest. The chests that Archbishop Walter had set up in the archdiocese retained their use into the fourteenth century when they were also used for the collection towards the Hospitaller's Crusade in 1311.¹²⁰

It is likely that many of the penances for transgressions against archiepiscopal power included in the lists stemmed from the inquiries that W. de Pottho and H. de St Oswald were ordered or make through some articles of inquiry which the archbishop had specified on 8 April 1275. The inquisitors were presented with a long list of questions under the title of 'The Articles of the Lord Archbishop in the Diocese of

¹¹⁷ *Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 310–11.

¹¹⁸ *CPR, 1272–1287*, p. 44.

¹¹⁹ *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 274–76.

¹²⁰ *Northern Regs.*, pp. 200–01.

York' (*Artic(u)li d(omi)ni Archiepi(scopi) in Dioc(esis) Ebo(racensis)*). The questions included in the archbishop's articles looked into transgressions that eroded archiepiscopal authority. Among them included offences which occur as transgressions in the lists of people donating to the Holy Land subsidy. Notes were made regarding absent clergy and those licensed for study; regulars' behaviour; irregular and excommunicated clerics; clergy being ordained elsewhere; violators of Church privileges; archdeacons' duties; incorrigible clerks and laymen; defamers of prelates; and immoral clergy.¹²¹

The report on the findings from this inquiry had to be presented to the archbishop by 16 June 1275. It is very likely that many of those sentenced in the lists for irregularity in their practice and the violators of Church privileges had been discovered during this campaign. In fact, from the transgressions listed in the Yorkshire lists, those priests who were ordained by alien bishops, those laymen who had assaulted priests, the clerk and layman who had imprisoned the archbishop's clerks, and the knight having the affair, all match to offences listed in this inquiry. With the inquiry occurring alongside the preparations for a crusade preaching tour of the Friars Minor, there was a perfect storm for penitent fines and popular support to pay into the Holy Land subsidy, likely through the chests that Archbishop Walter had set up throughout the archdiocese of York's archdeaconries.

¹²¹ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 118v; Reg. *Giffard of York*, pp. 266–68. '*Item absentia rectorum et vicariorum, et ex qua causa. Item vicariis licentiatas ad studium recovandis non obstante tali licentia [...] Item si religiosi convenienter observaverint statuta legati in hiis quae regulam ipsorum contingunt. Item de irregularibus rectoribus et vicariis, et qui et qualiter. [...] Item de alibi ordinatis absque diocesani sui licentia, cujus auctoritate moram faciunt in diocesi, et quis cum eis dispensaverit. Item de violatoribus ecclesiasticae immunitatis, et qui et ubi, et qualiter et quando, et per quem, sint correcti vel adhuc maneant incorrecti. [...] Item de incorrigibilibus clericis et laicis, qui per archidiaconos vel alios jurisdictionem habentes non possunt emendari. Item de detractoribus prelatorum suorum et diffamatoribus eorumdem, et quorum et qualiter. Item de rectoribus et vicariis peccantibus cum filiabus suis spiritualibus.*' There had also been an undated earlier inquiry, perhaps giving this one added impetus, into benefices held in plurality, Reg. *Giffard of York*, pp. 241–42.

It is possible that throughout the course of this inquiry, Archbishop Walter's archdeacons and other clergy recorded the names of everyone who submitted money to the subsidy, making a note of those who had committed a transgression or who had been signed with the cross when the need arose. That this could be the case is indicated by the entries for several people who all granted money '*pro devotione*' or '*ex devotione*' to the cause which was of a higher value than the other monetary contributions recorded in the lists. Ralph Mitton, a knight, and his wife granted 100s. (£5), Roger Tempest donated 40s. (£2), Beatrice de Blackburn granted 20s. (£1), and one William, son of Martin de Grimeston, granted 20s. (£1) and was willingly signed with the crusader's cross (*sponte cruce signatus*).¹²² Six of the ten devotional offerings to the Holy Land subsidy came from the archdeaconry of York, as outlined above in Table Two, notably the deanery of Craven. Perhaps the archbishop had personally inspired them to donate these vast sums while preaching. Crusaders also gained partial indulgences for donating gifts of money in support of a crusade, so a record of the donation was useful for the archbishop to keep in order to ensure all who had donated received the due indulgence.

One other person listed as *crucesignatus* actually wished to go of his own accord and gave £20 to the cause in 1275, which was substantiated with the archbishop's seal. The *actum* was copied into the register and is worth quoting here:

Lord Nicholas de Cnovile, canon of Southwell, with permission from me, Walter, deserved to be signed with the mark of the cross, on account of the depth of his devotion alone; he promised £20 sterling from his goods to be counted as expenses to aid the passage of a suitable man, who himself wishes to go on the general passage in his place; yet it may be his decision whether he wishes to send any man in this way or go there himself. In witness of this thing I have attached my seal to this writing.¹²³

¹²² YBI, Abp Reg 2, fols 129v, 134r; *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 280, 284; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 52, 56.

¹²³ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 135v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 285–86; *Northern Regs.*, p. 58. '*dominus Nicholaus de Cnovile, canonicus Sunwellensis, a nobis W., permissione, etc., crucis caractere pro solo devotionis affectu meruit insigniri, et de bonis suis ad arbitrium nostrum viginti libras sterlingorum promisit numerandas viro ydoneo ad expensas, quem*

The reasons are unknown as for why Nicholas de Cnovile donated such a substantial amount of money to the Holy Land subsidy. It is, however, likely that he is the same person as Nicholas de Knovile who was a member of both Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe's and Bishop Richard de Swinfield's *familia* in Hereford, undertaking administrative duties for the bishops of Hereford, and who was presented to the prebend of Putson in 1281.¹²⁴ It seems that he returned to Yorkshire sometime in the early 1300s, facing accusations and charges of usury and homicide in 1306 and dying sometime between 1310 and 1311.¹²⁵

Nicholas de Cnoville does not appear in the register of Archbishop William Wickwane, nor does he appear again in Archbishop Walter's register, providing a significant gap in his clerical career that can not be traced. Similarly, Nicholas is only mentioned in the *Liber Albus* of Southwell Minster as a witness in a suit, on 21 May 1299, between the chapter and Archbishop Henry Newark (1298–1299) over problems at Dunham (Cheshire).¹²⁶ The gap between 1275 and 1280 would have provided ample time for him to journey on crusade. On the other hand, the wording of the *actum* quoted above suggests that the primary purpose for the £20 donation was for someone to be sent to the Holy Land in Nicholas's stead. Therefore, without confirmation from contemporary primary sources Nicholas's departure on crusade can only remain conjecture.

ipse met pro sua voluntate duxerit eligendum, ad eundum pro ipso in Terrae Sanctae succursum, in passagio generali; ita tamen quod in optione sua sit, utrum velit aliquem virum transmittere tali modo, vel illuc personaliter proficisci. In cuius rei test. sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus huic scripto.'

¹²⁴ Reg. Cantilupe, pp. 259, 268; Reg. Swinfield, p. 334; Reg. Winchelsey, I, pp. 407–08; John le Neve and Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 8, Hereford*, second edn. compiled by Julia Barrow (London: University of London, 2002), pp. 57–59.

¹²⁵ Reg. Greenfield, I, p. 44; IV, pp. 7–8; Reg. Swinfield, p. 540.

¹²⁶ *The White Book (Liber Albus) of Southwell*, ed. by Michael Jones, Julia Barrow, David Crook and Trever Foulds, Pipe Roll Society 99, New Series 61, 2 vols (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), I, pp. lxvii; II, p. 637 no. B45; Reg. Romeyn, II, p. 284 no. 268.

Several other people gave money to the cause of the cross while elsewhere in the country and were still recorded in the archiepiscopal register. Those recorded as donating elsewhere all came from Yorkshire, with two donating in another diocese while two donated in different parts of the northern province. It is likely that they were recorded in the archiepiscopal register because they all came from the archdiocese of York in order to ensure that they would not be ordered to pay again upon their return to their home diocese. Adam de Halifax ‘while in the diocese of Lichfield’ (*manens in episcopatu Lichfeldiensi*) had given one mark (13s. 4d.) and Peter de Brochton (the toponym likely refers to Broughton in the deanery of Craven), who was in the diocese of Lichfield at the same time gave 2s.¹²⁷ Both men are listed among names from the deanery of Craven in the archdeaconry of York, which is likely to be where they originally came from and is probably why they were recorded in the archiepiscopal register. Unfortunately, we cannot trace whether or not these men also made payments in the diocese of Lichfield, or if indeed a collection campaign was occurring in the southern diocese, since the register of Bishop Roger Meuland or Longspée (1258–1295) disappeared sometime in the fourteenth century.¹²⁸

Two donated elsewhere in the northern province, with Walter de Calverley, a priest, giving 4s. while in Glendale (Northumberland) in the deanery of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and John de Wodeburg’ (it is unclear where this toponym refers to) giving 2s. while at Calverton (Nottinghamshire) in the deanery of Southwell.¹²⁹ Whether Walter was the priest of Glendale or John de Wodeburg’ was a resident of Calverton is unclear, but the use of ‘*manentes apud Glendale*’ and ‘*manet apud Calverton*’ in their entries appears to differentiate them along similar lines to Adam de Halifax and Peter de Brochton. The possible reason for this is that the deanery of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

¹²⁷ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 134r; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 284; *Northern Regs.*, p. 56.

¹²⁸ Smith, *Guide to Bishops’ Registers*, p. 53 and n. 2.

¹²⁹ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fols. 134v, 140v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 285, 286; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 57, 58.

was likely administered by the bishop of Durham and the archdeacon of Northumberland, and the deanery of Southwell was a peculiar which was exempt from archiepiscopal jurisdiction. It is likely, then, that Walter de Calverley and John de Wodeburg' were travelling elsewhere within the northern province and were away from their home deaneries when the preaching and collection campaigns began. The record of them donating elsewhere in the province could then be examined at a later point in time in order to verify that they had indeed already paid and were not expected to pay more on return to their home deaneries.

What becomes clear, then, is that the lists in Archbishop Walter's register do not just record the redemption of vows or the absolution of those who transgressed against episcopal power. They instead record all those who donated money to the Holy Land subsidy. This record was made during the same period in which chests were set up in every parish church for the collection of money and at the time an inquiry into transgressions against archiepiscopal power was conducted, perhaps collating the two enterprises to ensure that more money was raised for the crusading cause. The lists also highlight how the archbishop and his administration were intimately tied to the recording of the crusaders and accounting for the money flowing into the Holy Land subsidy chests from the archdiocese of York and its archdeaconries. This type of accounting utilized the entire fabric of diocesan administration from parish priest through to episcopal authority in a similar vein to how Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln conducted an inquiry into and accounted for crusaders and their goods in the mid-thirteenth century in the diocese of Lincoln.¹³⁰

Bishop Robert, after receiving several papal mandates, tasked his archdeacons and a trustworthy crusader to conduct a comprehensive inquiry into those crusaders who still had vows extant, or were dead or dying, before they set out, and who their

¹³⁰ See chap. 5 below, pp. 198–66.

executors were.¹³¹ The inquisitive party recorded the names of all such people and submitted their findings to the rural deans who collated the lists of parishioners in their deanery, submitting these accounts to the Mendicant Order who had preached the cross in the archdeaconry. Unlike the archdiocese of York, once the lists had been compiled and submitted to the Mendicants, the bishop of Lincoln relinquished control over the proceedings. It was not the bishop's prerogative to account for the money owed thereafter. The Mendicant friars collected the money and deposited it until the executors of the cross accessed it when needed. Again, like in the archdiocese of York, we see the impressive administration of the diocese of Lincoln being brought to bear on the matter of crusading, with the bishop delegating to every level that he could.

Attention also needs to be given to the attitudes of Archbishop Walter and the financial situation of the archdiocese of York in order to understand why the archbishop was so rigorous in ensuring that his agents accounted for the money and its provenance flowing from the northern province and into the Holy Land subsidy. In the 1270s Archbishop Walter had been appointed as one of the Lord Edward's crusade attorneys and the archdiocese was riddled with debt. Entries in the archiepiscopal register show that Archbishop Walter lamented the expenses of his proctors at Rome as akin to falling into 'whirlpools of usury' (*ut usuararum voraginem*), the parliaments of the 1270s were '[n]ot without weariness and expense', and by 1274 the archbishop owed £648 to the merchants of Lucca alone.¹³²

¹³¹ CM, VI, pp. 134–38 (p. 137), '*Item, deputentur per vos in singulis parochiis archidiaconatuum vestrorum aliqui fide digni cruce signati una cum sacerdote, qui conscribant nomina cruce signatorum decedentium, qui jam decesserunt, vel qui in futurum decedent; et quantum promiserint vel legaverint in subsidium Terrae Sanctae, et qui fuerint executores.*' Translated in: *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, trans. by F. A. C. Mantello and Joseph Goering (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), no. 132, pp. 454–58 (p. 457).

¹³² As crusade attorney and collector in the north: *Reg. Walter Giffard*, pp. 144–45, 161, 163; *Northern Reg.*, p. 39; *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols, Rolls Series 82 (London: Longman & Co., 1884–89), II: 'A Continuation of William of Newburgh's History to A.D. 1298' (1885), p. 558, '*ac reliquit custodes sui regni Walterum Giffard archiepiscopum Eboracensem, et regem*

In 1271 Archbishop Walter sent a letter to the cardinal of St Angelo complaining of the expenses incurred by the Lord Edward's departure and the commitments bestowed on him.¹³³ In this letter Archbishop Walter specified the great burdens placed on his pocket by having to fund nobles and blood relations to go on crusade.¹³⁴ Despite the financial difficulties faced by the archbishop and archdiocese, however, it seems that Archbishop Walter's own pockets ran deep. During this period, he donated a not insignificant grant of £46 13s. 4d. '*de dono nostro*' to the Lord Edward himself for his crusade.¹³⁵ Part of this grant must surely have been spurred by a mandate of Pope Gregory X sent to all English bishops. In it, the pope reminded the English prelates of their collective debts to the ancestors and nobles of the kings of England. The logic behind this was that these ancestors had originally founded and patronized the churches and cathedrals as benefactors, and now it was time for the clergy to repay them by funding a crusade in their honour.¹³⁶

Alemanniae Ricardum avunculum suum, Robertum Burnell cancellarium suum'. The chirograph Edward issued on 2 August 1270 appointing Archbishop Walter as one of his deputies survives in two halves: London: The National Archives, E30/11; E30/1664. Both are listed in *List of Diplomatic Documents, Scottish Documents and Papal Bulls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, Public Record Office Lists and Indexes no. XLIX, second edition (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), p. 2. One half was copied into Rymer, *Foedera*, I.ii, pp. 114–15. For the nature of Edward I's preparations see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 72–73, and for the home government from the perspective of one of the deputies see: Richard Huscroft, 'The Political Career and Personal Life of Robert Burnell, Chancellor of Edward I' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Kings College in the University of London, 2000), especially Chapter 3, pp. 41–77; *Idem*, 'Robert Burnell and the Government of England, 1270–1274', in *Thirteenth Century England VIII: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1999*, ed. by Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), 59–70. For the debt of the archdiocese see: *Reg. Walter Giffard*, pp. 113, 115, 245, 247; J. R. Maddicott, 'The Crusade Taxation of 1268–1270 and the Development of Parliament', in *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1987*, ed. by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1988), 93–118 (p. 93).

¹³³ *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 244–45.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 245. '*Et preter donaria quae sibi ac aliis nobilibus consanguineis, ac aliis cum eo transeuntibus oportuit exhibere, propriis militamus impendiis, et ea per hoc facimus graviora*'.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 123–24; see also, Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 177.

¹³⁶ *Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 39–41 (p. 41).

Of impact too was Archbishop Walter's own close household connections and familial affiliations with some crusaders. Richard de Glen who was a crusader specifically received 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) as 'our esteemed familiar' (*dilecto et familiari nostro*).¹³⁷ The widespread Giffard family, from which Archbishop Walter descended, also had a pedigree as crusaders. Scottish Giffards, Hugh and Robert, as well as the English member Alexander Giffard went on crusade in 1250.¹³⁸ Osbert Giffard was signed with the cross as penance for causing '*scandalum in Anglia*' after abducting two nuns from Wilton Abbey.¹³⁹ Finally, Archbishop Walter's episcopal brother, Bishop Godfrey of Worcester, took the cross on his deathbed and left £50 in his will in order to cover the costs of a knight in the Holy Land.¹⁴⁰

The picture of the archdiocese in arrears had not improved by 1280. Archbishop William Wickwane, Walter Giffard's successor, ordered a meeting with his archdeacons in order to discuss the levying of the next crusading tenth, as well as the impact and extent of the arrears already owed to the Holy Land subsidy from the archdiocese. Archbishop William also ordered an inquiry into those places that had paid too little during the last tenth.¹⁴¹ In 1281 Bishop Godfrey of Worcester released the sequestrated goods from the will of his archiepiscopal brother in order for Archbishop William to pay off the arrears of the tenth, since the bishops of Norwich,

¹³⁷ Donation: *Ibid.*, p. 124. Glen had been a witness to one *actum*, pp. 140–42 (p. 142). Crusader status: CPR 1266–1272, p. 589. It is possible that he was the same Richard de Glen recorded in 1292 as having been 'tenant in chief of the royal dignity of Scotland', *Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I A.D. 1272–1307* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), p. 316. See also, Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 60.

¹³⁸ Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 49; CM, V, pp. 156, 168; Lloyd and Hunt, 'William Longspee II', pp. 91–99.

¹³⁹ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 278–80; *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, III, 916–17; EEA 37, ed. by Kemp, nos. 397–98, pp. 472–74.

¹⁴⁰ *Register of Bishop William Ginsborough*, ed. and trans. by Willis-Bund, Latin pp. 48–54, English, pp. 54–60, for taking the Cross and the bequest see pp. 50 and 56.

¹⁴¹ *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 53–54 no. 182, 243 no. 599.

Bath, and St Davids as well as the king were pressing him for their collection.¹⁴² The next year, ecclesiastical censure was threatened to those neglecting to pay the tenth, although the collector was apparently negligent in prosecuting his duty and lethargic in his enthusiasm to do so (*tarditate(m) et negligencia(m)*).¹⁴³ That same year the papal collectors accused Archbishop William of impeding their work in the collection of the tenth, a charge he vigorously denied.¹⁴⁴ Whether or not this money was ever finally collected and paid in full is unknown, but it demonstrates why Archbishop Walter might have been keen in 1274–1275 to have a full account of money being paid from the archdiocese of York into the Holy Land subsidy for future reference.

York was by no means that only diocese which faced financial problems or harassment by the collectors of the various taxes for the Holy Land subsidy. In the diocese of Hereford, Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe petitioned the papacy in 1276 to excuse the delay in paying the arrears of the tenth which had dragged on since the death of Bishop Peter d'Aigueblanche in 1268.¹⁴⁵ In 1286, Bishop Godfrey of Worcester faced constant calls for money with many religious houses in his diocese defaulting on the tenth.¹⁴⁶ Even York's metropolitan equal, Archbishop John Peckham of Canterbury, at one point asked for a loan of 5,000 marks (£3,333 6s. 8d.) from crusading funds in order to pay his debts, painting a pathetic picture of a destitute metropolitan needing to abandon his church if the money was not paid.¹⁴⁷

Having now considered the lists themselves and the context in which they were written it is worth turning to other contemporary episcopal registers to see what

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 250, no. 612, 280–81 no. 701; *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, p. 138.

¹⁴³ YBI, Abp Reg 3, fol. 71r; *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 283 no. 709.

¹⁴⁴ *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 337–38 no. 928.

¹⁴⁵ *Reg. Cantilupe*, p. 107. Bishop Peter had taken the cross and on his deathbed bequeathed money to the pope for the crusade from a debt owed to him by the archbishop-elect of Lyon to a tune of 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.): *CM*, V, p. 98; 'The will of Peter de Aqua Blanca', ed. by Woodruff, p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, p. 143.

¹⁴⁷ *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, I, pp. 17–20.

comparisons can be drawn. Unfortunately, few contemporary comparative cases survive in other episcopal registers, the richest being that of Bishop Oliver Sutton of Lincoln (1280–1299). The register covers the last nine years of Bishop Oliver's episcopate and accounts over 100 excommunications and threats of excommunication, but only ten cross-signings within the period.¹⁴⁸

Twenty years after Richard de Bossall from the archdiocese of York committed assault and paid 5s., Richard, rector of Woodford in Lincolnshire, was compelled by Bishop Oliver to give 40s. (£2) to the Holy Land subsidy as penance for wounding one of his parishioners. In his defence, Richard claimed that he had mistaken his victim's identity in the dark.¹⁴⁹ This was the highest fine extracted by Bishop Oliver of Lincoln from those sentenced to take the cross.¹⁵⁰

Similarly, in Lincolnshire clerks assaulted other clerks. Hugh Bunting was absolved of his excommunication for assaulting William Bunting. Hugh was to take the cross, was compelled to give a candle to the church of All Saints, Stamford, and thereafter stand in a surplice, bareheaded, and sing three psalms on Sundays.¹⁵¹ A comparison can be made here to two other clerks who had a squabble on holy ground; however, neither were signed with the cross for their transgression highlighting that there was no set policy to be followed in this regard. The two clerks involved in this

¹⁴⁸ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, pp. 6–9, 11, 21–23, 26, 32, 36–37, 59–60, 77, 82, 85, 98, 101–02, 105, 107, 120, 125, 125–26, 127, 132–33, 137, 140–41, 149–50, 151, 154, 168–69, 172–75, 177–78, 188–90, 200–01; VI, pp. 3–4, 8–9, 12–17, 21–22, 25, 33, 35–37, 40–41, 47, 75, 78–79, 88, 95, 99, 101, 110–12, 120–21, 128, 144, 148–49, 154–55, 158, 163, 165, 167, 172, 174, 178, 182–83, 187–88; V, pp. 1–2, 4, 9, 15, 17, 19, 21–22, 24, 27, 30–32, 37, 44, 45, 47–50, 55, 58–63, 71, 81–82, 89–92, 94, 102–05, 111–14, 116–17, 126–28, 135, 137, 140–43, 146–49, 154, 156, 159–60, 163, 166–67, 175, 179–80, 183, 190, 197–98, 200, 204, 209, 216–17; VI, pp. 1, 9, 23, 24–28, 33–35, 39, 49, 76, 78, 81–83, 85–86, 88, 90–91, 96, 98–99, 109–10, 113–14, 119–20, 124–27, 129–30, 132–33, 138–39, 145, 148–49, 158, 163–64, 169–71, 176, 180, 183–84, 189–92, 198–203. See also, Burger, *Bishops, Clerks and Diocesan Governance*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁹ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, IV, p. 13.

¹⁵⁰ Rosalind Hill, 'Public Penance: Some Problems of a Thirteenth-Century Bishop', *History*, 36 (1951), 213–26 (p. 218).

¹⁵¹ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 22.

affair were ordered to come to the parish church and stand either side of the chancel steps and chant the psalter to one another during mass instead.¹⁵²

Comparatively, we also find three examples of laymen in the diocese of Lincoln in the 1290s committing similar transgressions to our laymen from Yorkshire. William de Hanred of Brampton assaulted his parish priest and was compelled to donate a candle to the church, give half a mark (6s. 8d.) to the Holy Land subsidy, another half a mark (6s. 8d.) to the poor of the parish, and to take the cross.¹⁵³ Henry Vinter from the diocese of Lincoln was sentenced to take the cross and appear as a penitent in the local church of Branston, offering candles on three consecutive Sundays, for desecrating the church by bloodshed on 7 July 1290. He had struck Adam the Chaplain on the nose, making it bleed, and was absolved at Newark on 10 July 1290.¹⁵⁴ In 1294 Peter de Mileham was signed with the cross and given the option either to send a substitute on crusade or pay '2 shillings or more if he can afford it' to support the Holy Land for having struck a chaplain in the face with a candle.¹⁵⁵ The latter value, like the 12d. expected of the *crucesignatus* Fulk de Alverstan of Yorkshire, was, as Rosalind Hill observed, 'a sum which would not have taken a crusader very far on his journey.'¹⁵⁶ The penitential sum offered, then, was a token payment for redemption. Clearly, in the diocese of Lincoln in the 1290s it was the penitential nature of taking the cross that was emphasized, whereas in the archdiocese of York in the 1270s only a monetary payment was required.

When further comparisons are made with other dioceses, such as Worcester, or with different times in our period, we find a striking inconsistency in the way in which the episcopate of England approached these matters. If someone assaulted a

¹⁵² Hill, 'Public Penance', p. 218.

¹⁵³ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 12.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 19–20.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, V, p. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Hill, 'Public Penance', p. 218.

priest, Archbishop Walter of York demanded up to a third part or half of all their goods as penance if they could afford it, and ordered them to take the cross, whereas Bishop Oliver of Lincoln compelled others to take the cross and donate candles to the parish churches from whence the penitent had originated. Later, in the archdiocese of York itself, Archbishop William Wickwane ordered Master Thomas de Wakefield to absolve youths and others liable for excommunication for assaulting clerks; in 1287 his successor, Archbishop John le Romeyn, mandated the excommunication of a clerk for assault on a priest; and in 1289/1290 the Friars Preachers of Pontefract were granted licence to absolve laymen of minor assaults on clerks.¹⁵⁷

Bishop Godfrey of Worcester seems to have followed a different policy. On 21 April 1275 he mandated the deans of Westbury and Bristol ‘to excommunicate those persons who, unmindful of ecclesiastical respect’, had assaulted the priests Robert and Richard on a public thoroughfare.¹⁵⁸ Whilst excommunication for such an act was an established penance, it is still curious why Bishop Godfrey neglected to act in a manner similar to his archiepiscopal brother, William, or those bishops who previously set the precedent on papal mandate by insisting that the penitent take the crusader’s cross. Similar entries are found in the *Sede Vacante* register of Worcester, where agents were to ‘inquire and excommunicate all those who had laid violent hands on Thomas de Bendevile, clerk’ and other letters were sent around the diocese by the prior of Worcester, acting in his capacity as bishop until the next prelate was elected, such as the one to the dean of Tredington to inquire into anyone laying violent hands on clerks.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 281–82 no. 703; *Reg. Romeyn*, pp. 68 no. 161, 96 no. 246.

¹⁵⁸ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, p. 71.

¹⁵⁹ *The Register of the Diocese of Worcester during the Vacancy of the See, usually called “Registrum Sede Vacante”*, ed. by J. W. Willis-Bund, Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1893), *Part I: From the Death of Bishop Giffard, Feb. 1301, to the Enthronization of Bishop Ginsborough, June 1303*, pp. 10, 62, see also, p. 89.

Another case which would have certainly been a crusade-worthy matter for Archbishop Walter of York or Bishop Oliver of Lincoln was recorded in 1283. Bishop Godfrey of Worcester wrote a letter to the prior of Llanthony Secunda detailing that John of Worcester had made an assault upon the prior, 'and put the prior's finger into his open mouth, and like a dog, bit it with his teeth, drawing blood, and afterwards remained obstinate and rebellious'. The bishop commanded that John remain in the episcopal prison, bound in iron chains, and that he was to content himself with 'bread, indifferent ale, pottage, and a pittance of meat or fish (which on the sixth day he shall go without), until he is penitent.'¹⁶⁰ Earlier in Bishop Godfrey's episcopate, in 1269, he issued a writ to release Walter de Beninton, a clerk, from his episcopal prison on condition that Walter swear an oath on the Gospel to travel to Jerusalem in remission of his sins.¹⁶¹ It is unclear what exactly Walter de Beninton's crime actually was, the entry merely being calendared, stating that the recipient of the writ was 'to deliver Walter de Beninton, clerk, who in the time of the bishop's predecessor was imprisoned at Worcester on suspicion'.¹⁶² Utilization of the crusade as punishment, then, was on a case by case basis according to the sympathies and outlook of the diocesan at the time, using their own judgement to fit the punishment to the crime.

Tyerman's assessment of ecclesiastical censure and royal prerogative in these matters is that 'it is difficult to determine in most cases how, if at all the punishment fitted the crime, or whether it merely fitted the criminal.'¹⁶³ What is clear, however, is that for the English episcopate the utilization of the crusader's cross as punishment occurred on a case by case basis, diocese by diocese, fitting the punishment to both the crime and to the penitent as befitted that prelate's personal preference. The main

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 182.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 32.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, I, p. 32.

¹⁶³ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 221.

thrust of this policy was to prevent the erosion of episcopal and archiepiscopal power. Fulk de Alverstan and Peter de Mileham clearly would not have gotten very far as crusaders based on the monetary amounts they were expected to contribute to the Holy Land subsidy, nor would they likely be able to get to Rome to appeal an excommunication. In being signed with the cross their transgression was redeemed, or their excommunication revoked, negating an expensive journey to Rome, and the crusader's cross served as a sign of how serious their crime against archiepiscopal and episcopal authority was. The same is true of the twenty-nine priests in Yorkshire who were signed with the cross for being ordained by alien bishops which was a severe blow to the authority of the archbishop, yet it cannot be expected that so many priests would abandon their livings and the cure of souls with which they had been entrusted. It is likely, then, that the crusader's cross also acted as a threat of sorts. If these men decided not to make peace with the ecclesiastical authorities and remained obstinate, instead of being able to commute their vow, they might have found themselves having their departure enforced as a penitential pilgrimage.

That the crusader's cross was used as a veiled threat of enforced removal from the diocese for a number of years is made evident in a choice given to some penitents. In 1269 Walter de Beninton had a choice of languishing in the bishop of Worcester's episcopal prison, merely being imprisoned on the grounds of 'suspicion' by Nicholas of Ely, bishop of Worcester (1266–1268), or go to the Holy Land.¹⁶⁴ There is, however, a more significant case from Bishop Godfrey of Worcester's register which highlights this. On 21 August 1279 Bishop Godfrey heard witness testimonies regarding the forcible extraction and subsequent murder of William de Lay, who had sought sanctuary in the churchyard of St Philip and St James in Bristol.

¹⁶⁴ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, I, p. 32.

Bishop Godfrey's judgement on the case resulted in substantial penances being enjoined on the custodian of Bristol Castle, Peter de la Mare, and his accomplices. The five principal men and the executioner, who had forcibly extracted William de Lay from the sanctuary of the church, were first ordered to exhume his body and severed head and reinter it in the churchyard. Four of the men and the executioner faced public penances, having to walk along the four main roads of Bristol on four market days for four weeks, wearing nothing but their breeches and shirts, receiving punishment from the priests at each church along the way. The custodian of the castle, Peter, was ordered to do one of these penances and attend the penances of all of the others. Bishop Godfrey also ordered Peter to endow a priest to celebrate divine service forever, erect a stone cross with a minimum value of 100*s.* (£5), and every year on the anniversary of the event feed and give 1*d.* to 100 paupers of the city. However, Bishop Godfrey also stipulated that if the men took the cross, he would mitigate the punishments, requiring them to come to Worcester Cathedral in their breeches and shirts to receive discipline at only his hands. The very next day the bishop reduced this caveat to their penance further, notifying them that if they only send one of their number or fund someone in their stead to attend the Holy Land nothing else would be extracted from them for the crusade.¹⁶⁵

Peter de la Mare and his accomplices had a clear choice to make. Either enact several lengthy penances of great personal humiliation and cost, just send one of their number to the Holy Land, or put forward enough money to send someone in their stead. Frustratingly, Bishop Godfrey did not record the final verdict on the matter, although from the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* it is clear that Peter de la Mare remained in England and in favour with the Crown. In fact, it transpires that Peter sought a pardon from the king rather than Bishop Godfrey for this event. Six years after the

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 110–13.

murder, King Edward I granted ‘pardon to Peter de la Mare, constable of the castle of Bristol for the death of William de Lay, prisoner there whom he caused to be beheaded for breaking prison, and for the said escape.’¹⁶⁶ The sanctions that were immediately imposed by Bishop Godfrey were necessarily harsh in the face of how serious the breach of ecclesiastical privilege was. It also made the potential of sending someone suited to warfare on crusade, or to at least extract a sizeable monetary contribution to send someone in their stead, more attractive than having themselves humiliated in the presence of the populace they presided over.

This particular case also has a comparison with one that occurred in the archdiocese of Sens (France) in around 1217. After committing murder, a merchant from Arras (France) had sought sanctuary in the church of Saint-Ayoul in Provins. He was forcibly extracted by the mob, angry at his crime, and was subsequently lynched. Peter of Corbeil, archbishop of Sens (1200–1222), summarily excommunicated the mob and even interdicted the town. A monetary contribution of £54 was expected from the clergy and men of the town, as well as further restitution to the priests for what they lost during the interdict. Furthermore, much like the penances bestowed on Peter de la Mare and his accomplices in the murder of William de Lay, the identified members of the mob were ordered to take the body of the merchant on a processional tour of the cathedrals of the province of Sens, visiting Chartres, Auxerre, Meaux, Paris, Orléans, Nevers, and Troyes. Finally, once they reached Troyes Cathedral, they would face Archbishop Peter for penance, having the option of either going to Santiago de Compostela or to serve on the Albigensian Crusade for forty days.¹⁶⁷ In many ways Archbishop Peter was sympathetic to the idea of crusade, having been a *crucesignatus* himself.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ CPR 1281–1292, p. 152.

¹⁶⁷ For a fuller account see Bird, ‘How to Implement a Crusade Plan’, pp. 176–78.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 174

In Jessalynn Bird's recent examination of the case it was shown that the penances bestowed on those involved in the murder, as well as the interdict itself, were challenged by Blanche of Champagne who was still under papal protection as the widow of a crusader.¹⁶⁹ As noted by Bird, Blanche's legal advisors were assiduous in the creation of their defence, petitioning Pope Honorius III and citing that Archbishop Peter had misused excommunication for his own financial gain. Another concern was 'that if certain *crucesignati* were caught committing a crime, these prelates claimed jurisdiction over them as over clerics even if they had taken the cross while in prison seeking to escape secular justice.'¹⁷⁰ In this case, the use of excommunication and the crusader's cross was seen as an encroachment of ecclesiastical privilege over what was ostensibly a secular matter of murder. Pope Honorius noted the matter and wrote to Archbishop Peter ordering that the penance was too harsh and needed to be moderated, otherwise he would appoint appropriate officials to adjust it to the crime.¹⁷¹ Could this be why Bishop Godfrey of Worcester almost immediately reduced the harsh penances to one of the malefactors who had murdered William de Lay having to go on crusade?

There is one further comparison which is worth noting since it directly relates to Yorkshire. In the Pipe Rolls for the ninth and tenth years of the reign of King John, that is 1207 and 1208, there are two extant lists of crusaders being fined money (amerced) by the English Crown, with the collection headed by Robert de Vieuxpont.¹⁷² These two lists offer us the closest comparison to the lists in the

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168–70, 175. Danielle Park has argued against this, however: Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusader*, pp. 196–203.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

¹⁷² *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the ninth year of the reign of King John, Michaelmas 1207 (Pipe Roll 53)*, ed. by A. M. Kirkus, Pipe Roll Society Publications 60, New Series 22 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1946), pp. 72–73; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the tenth year of the reign of King John, Michaelmas 1208 (Pipe Roll 54)*, ed. by

archiepiscopal register of Archbishop Walter of York. The Pipe Roll lists were noted by Tyerman in *England and the Crusades*, since the individuals in the Pipe Roll records comprise a similar makeup to the Lincolnshire and Cornish lists, discussed in Chapter Five below, featuring two dyers, a butcher, as well as two provosts, a deacon, a chaplain, a serjeant or servant (the meaning of *seruiens* is ambiguous), and a crossbowman. It is possible that there were further lists, now lost, as the 1207 Pipe Roll has a note at its head stating ‘of the crusaders in the preceding rolls’ (*de cruisiatis in rotulis precedentibus*).¹⁷³

During the two years, these lists record a total of ninety-four named individuals, as well as the vill of Beningborough near York, who paid varying sums from 20*d.* (1*s.* 8*d.*) to 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*); the vill itself being fined only half a mark (6*s.* 8*d.*).¹⁷⁴ On the 1208 roll the precedent for recording these *cruisiati* and the values they owed to the Crown or the Holy Land subsidy (it is unclear why the Crown is recording the money paid) is shown, with twenty-seven of the fifty-three people recorded in 1207 appearing against further values they paid into the royal treasury.¹⁷⁵ The values in the two Pipe Rolls, however, slightly exceed the ones included seventy years later in Archbishop Walter’s register, with the modal fine (that is, the most commonly recurring denominator) being half a mark (6*s.* 8*d.*) rather than the 5*s.* paid later in the period. This, as Tyerman notes, ‘at the earlier date carried a far greater value than at the end of the century.’¹⁷⁶

Doris M. Stenton, Pipe Roll Society Publications 61, New Series 23 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1947), pp. 150–51.

¹⁷³ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the ninth*, ed. by Kirkus, p. 72; also noted by Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 169.

¹⁷⁴ Tyerman provides a summary in *England and the Crusades*, pp. 168–70; however, he only noted eighty names and the vill.

¹⁷⁵ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the tenth*, ed. by Stenton, p. 150.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Since these rolls have only ever received cursory treatment as part of a wider study, and because they offer us the closest comparison as a pricelist focussed on contributions from crusaders, it stands to reason to spend some time conducting similar calculations and breakdowns on the Pipe Roll lists as with the archiepiscopal lists above. Necessarily, it should be noted again that the figures used in Tables Eight, Nine, and Ten below are only cursory, since the averages are inflated by much larger donations. Each list will be examined separately, before being brought together for some general conclusions.

Starting with the 1207 Pipe Roll of crusaders from Yorkshire we find fifty-three names. All fifty-three are made and are recorded with the usual surnames of either the place they came from, their profession, their familial relation, or a nickname or surname. Eight of the names refer to professions, with a dyer (*tinctor*), a squire (*armiger*), a chaplain (*capellanus*), a deacon (*diaconus*), two provosts (*prepositus*), a crossbowman (*balistarius*), and a servant or serjeant (*serviens*). One man might have been of noble origin, recorded as *Ricardus Nobil* in 1207 and *Ricardus Nobilis* in 1208. Twelve names refer to familial connections, being recorded as ‘son of’ (*filius*), with only one being in metronymic association with their mother, John son of Beatrice. Twenty-one relate to place-names, with many coming from places in Yorkshire. Ten names are surnames or nicknames, such as Walter Niger, Peter Ward, and William Powe. Only one man is listed with no second name and is simply recorded as ‘Galopin’.

The 1207 list records its information in four stages. It lists the name of the person, the money they owe ‘of mercy’ (*de misericordia*), how much they have paid into the treasury (*in thes.*), and how much they still owe (*et debet*). Eleven of the men appear to have paid the monetary values they were fined to the treasury in full (simply recorded as *In thes. lib.* which expands to *In thesauro liberavit*, ‘has paid into the treasury’) and do not appear on the 1208 list. Similarly, fifteen names feature a cross (+) next to them, indicating the person’s death. The other twenty-seven men who owed money

are recorded on the 1208 list. As shown in Table Nine below, the total amount of money expected from the amercements for 1207 was £169 4s. 10d. The amount of money paid into the treasury was £40 5s. 6d. with £128 19s. 4d. still outstanding. The value of money being fined in total is remarkably high with the inflation from the fines of Peter Ward and Gerard de Stockeld who were expected to pay 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), William the deacon being fined fifteen marks (£10), and Ralph son of Simon paying five marks (£3 6s. 8d.). A couple of other values also exceeded one mark (13s. 4d.), namely those of William Powe fined 20s. (£1), Geoffrey son of Remigius fined 2 marks (£1 6s. 8d.), William son of Siward fined 25s. 6d. (£1 5s. 6d.), and Robert the crossbowman fined 60s. (£3). The other forty-five amercements range in value from 20d. (1s. 8d.) to one mark (13s. 4d.). The modal value is half a mark (6s. 8d.), which is of a higher value than the modal value of 5s. in Archbishop Walter's register.

Table Nine: A breakdown of the monetary values from fined *cruisiati* in Yorkshire in 1207–1208.

	Money Expected	Money Paid	Money Owed
1207 Total Contribution (d.)	40,618 (£169 4s. 10d.)	9,666 (£40 5s. 6d.)	30,952 (£128 19s. 4d.)
1207 Average Contribution (d.)	766 (£3 3s. 10d.)	182 (15s. 2d.)	584 (£2 8s. 8d.)
1207 Mode Contribution (d.)	80 (6s. 8d.)	40 (3s. 4d.)	40 (3s. 4d.)
1208 Total Contribution (d.)	4,120 (£17 3s. 4d.)	3,292 (£13 14s. 4d.)	828 (£3 9s.)
1208 Average Contribution (d.)	100 (8s. 4d.)	80 (6s. 8d.)	20 (1s. 8d.)
1208 Mode Contribution (d.)	80 (6s. 8d.)	80 (6s. 8d.)	40 (3s. 4d.)

In fact, when we compare the figures with the total contribution expected and the average contribution expected for each individual we find that the Pipe Roll lists

are generally far higher per person, as demonstrated in Table Ten below. There are, however, limitations to the table because of the need for consistency. The total and average figures given in Table Ten below for the 1207 Pipe Roll accounts are taken from those figures expected from the fifty-three individuals by the royal collector. Similarly, the values from Archbishop Walter of York's register are taken from the calculated values expected of the 283 individuals in the archdiocese of York. Since the archiepiscopal lists neglect to mention if the payments have been fully or partially made, the value must be treated as the expected outcome meaning that for accuracy's sake we should only tabulate those figures.

Table Ten: Comparison of the total and average figures of money in the lists of *cruisati* in the 1207 Pipe Roll against the lists of *crucesignati* in the archiepiscopal register of Walter Giffard of York, 1274–1275.

	Pipe Roll 1207 (figures taken from money expected)	<i>Reg. Giffard of York</i> 1274–1275
Total Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	40,618 (£169 4s. 10 <i>d.</i>)	49,084 (£204 10s. 4 <i>d.</i>)
Average Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	766 (£3 3s. 10 <i>d.</i>)	182 (15s. 2 <i>d.</i>)
Modal Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	80 (6s. 8 <i>d.</i>)	60 (5s.)

What we find with this regard, however, are heavily skewed figures. This is likely because the archiepiscopal lists' values are split between 283 individuals, whereas the 1207 Pipe Roll is divided by only fifty-three. This results in the markedly different values of averages, with the total average amercement expected per person being £3 3s. 10*d.* in 1207 and only 15s. 2*d.* in 1274–1275. If, however, we compare the average of the archiepiscopal lists with the actual average paid by the Yorkshire *cruisati* in 1207

(from Table Nine), the figures are almost the same: 15*s.* 2*d.* in the Pipe Roll, 14*s.* 5*d.* in 1274–1275. Since we do not know why the *cruisiati* in 1207 were being fined, we cannot actually say that the average value for donating to the Holy Land subsidy did not change for the period. Even more startling, however, is the comparison of the total values in each list. The Yorkshire campaign by the collectors towards the Holy Land subsidy in 1274–1275 raised £204 10*s.* 4*d.* from 283 people, including a bond of £100 from a single knight, whereas in the Yorkshire Pipe Roll entry for 1207 the total to be paid to the treasury was £169 4*s.* 10*d.* Just fifty-three people in 1207 were expected to pay 82.75% of the total paid by 283 some seventy years later! Even more remarkable is that by the time of the archiepiscopal lists, currency was at a much lower value, having inflated rapidly throughout the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁷

Focusing now on the 1208 Pipe Roll list we can conduct similar calculations and observations. Under the heading ‘*ammerciamenta per R. de Veteri Ponte*’ we find a number of personal names.¹⁷⁸ Included here are the names of twenty-seven of the fifty-three people still alive and who still owed money to the treasury from the 1207 list of *cruisiati* fines. Twenty of these men paid in full by this time, the record of which was made on the tally sticks of the exchequer (*In thes. lib. in xx taleis*).¹⁷⁹ Seven men still owed money. Peter Ward, for example, owed 62½ marks (£41 13*s.* 4*d.*) of the hundred he was originally cited for, paying only 10 marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) in this instance and leaving 52½ marks (£35) outstanding. Geoffrey son of Remigius is the only one who owed money but was marked with a cross, having paid 8*s.* 4*d.* this year and still owing

¹⁷⁷ P. D. A. Harvey, ‘The English Inflation of 1180–1220’, *Past & Present*, 61 (1973), 3–30; Paul Latimer, ‘The English Inflation of 1180–1220 Reconsidered’, *Past & Present*, 171 (2001), 3–29; A. R. Bridbury, ‘Thirteenth-Century Prices and the Money Supply’, *The Agricultural History Review*, 33 (1985), 1–21.

¹⁷⁸ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the tenth*, ed. by Stenton, p. 150.

¹⁷⁹ For an explanation of the medieval tally sticks of the exchequer see: Dialogus de Scaccario: *The Dialogue of the Exchequer*; Constitutio Domus Regis: *The Disposition of the King’s Household*, ed. and trans. by Emilie Amt and S. D. Church, Oxford Medieval Texts Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 34–36.

2s. 2d. to the crown. The *cruisiati* accounts had been collated with other fines in this instance.

Below these entries is another set of amercements for crusaders, under the heading '*de cruisiatis*'. Here we find a further forty-one names to add to the fifty-three from the 1207 list of *cruisiati*, taking the total to ninety-four, fourteen more than Tyerman's observation of eighty.¹⁸⁰ Three others are also listed at the bottom, within the same section '*de crusiatīs*', including Simon de Len, William de Wrotham (*de Wroteham*) and the prior of Whitby. Simon de Len is recorded with the reason for his fine, having sold wine without permission (*pro uino uendito contra assisam*). William of Wrotham might be the same man as the William de Wroteham who, in 1205 was one of King John's collectors.¹⁸¹ And the prior of Whitby was paying 'for confirmation just as it was agreed there' (*pro confirmatione sicut continentur ibidem*). The monetary values associated with them seem not to be the same as the *cruisiati*, with Simon de Len owing 13s. 10d. to a person named R. 'for the wine he had taken' (*pro [uino capto]*) and a further 26s. 2d., William de Wrotham paying 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) to the tallage of Whitby, and the prior of Whitby owing three horses (*debet iij palefridos*). Included between the entries for William of Wrotham and the prior of Whitby is an entry recording that William de Wrotham (*Idem Vic.*) had already accounted for 9s. 8d. for the right of jurisdiction of Pickering and 100s. for the village of Scarborough on two tally sticks at the exchequer.¹⁸² Even though they are listed in the *cruisiati* section of the Pipe Roll, it is because of the unclear nature of how their debts to the treasury relate to the *cruisiati* above them, that they have been omitted here. Of the forty-one we are counting,

¹⁸⁰ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the tenth*, ed. by Stenton, pp. 150–51; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 169.

¹⁸¹ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the seventh year of the reign of King John, Michaelmas 1205 (Pipe Roll 51)*, ed. by Sidney Smith, Pipe Roll Society 57, New Series 19 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1941), pp. 10, 11, 22, 27, 61, 116, 129, 130, 138, 144, 145, 196, 265.

¹⁸² *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the tenth*, ed. by Stenton, p. 151. '*Idem Vic. r.c. de ix s. et viij d. de soca de Pikeringe. Et de c s. de nullata de Scardeburc. In thes. lib. in ij taleis.*'

twenty-seven had paid their fines in full at the treasury as well as the collective fine for the vill of Beningborough, recorded on equivalent tally sticks. The other fourteen men all owed further money to the treasury. Eight of the men were recorded with crosses (+) next to their names, indicating their deaths.

Again, the names conform to the typical types of the period. Among them are two with professions, Gubert the butcher (*Guberto carnifex*) and the deceased Eberhard the dyer (*Ebrardus tinctor*). Six had familial names, with two perhaps being brothers: William son of Orm and Hugh son of Orm, both of whom had died and owed half a mark (6s. 8d.) each. Twenty-six had the toponym of where they came from, and included one William the Gascon (*Willelmus le Gascun*). Finally, all the others had either surnames or nicknames. Interestingly, among the names we also find some landholders from early thirteenth-century Yorkshire such as William de Denby, Warin de Vescy and Drogo de Harum.¹⁸³ It is also probable that the Ralph de Sourdeval, listed among these Yorkshire *cruisiati*, was a member of the crusading Sourdeval dynasty which held extensive lands in Yorkshire before the family became major figures in the Holy Land under Robert of Sourdeval.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ *Early Yorkshire Charters: Volume 1*, ed. by William Farrer, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1914; reissued Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 298 no. 381, 305–06 no. 390; *Early Yorkshire Charters: Volume 2*, ed. by William Farrer, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1915; reissue Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 361 no. 1049, 411 no. 1116; *Early Yorkshire Charters: Volume 7: The Honour of Skipton*, ed. by William Farrer and Charles Travis Clay, Extra Series 5 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1947; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 177 no. 110; *Early Yorkshire Charters: Volume 9: The Stuteville Fee*, ed. by William Farrer and Charles Travis Clay, Extra Series 7 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1952; reissue Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 229 no. 147; *Early Yorkshire Charters: Volume 10: The Trussebut Fee* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1955; reissue Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 155 no. 100; *Early Yorkshire Families*, ed. by Charles Travis Clay and Diana E. Greenway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1973; reissue Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 100, 112 no. 8.

¹⁸⁴ For the Yorkshire family and the establishment of a dynasty in the Holy Land by Robert see Andrew D. Buck, 'Dynasty and diaspora in the Latin East: the case of the Sourdevals', *Journal of Medieval History*, 44 (2018), 151–69.

As shown above in Table Nine the money expected from these forty-one *cruisiati* was £17 3s. 4d., a marked reduction on the money expected from the *cruisiati* in the previous year. This is because no sum of money exceeded £1 in the list from 1208. The total money paid by the forty-one men was £13 14s. 4d. leaving only £3 9s. to be paid to the treasury the next year. Having established that some of our second lot of *cruisiati* in 1208 were actually prominent Yorkshire landowners and appear to have paid far lower sums than two men in 1207—one of whom is impossible to trace, the other of which might have been one of the king's men—it can be said that these values do not seem to delineate relative wealth, a thesis with which Tyerman was rightfully cautious.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, Tyerman had noted several others from 1207–1208 who held knights fees of the king, yet their sums were still rather low comparatively.¹⁸⁶

Table Eleven: Comparison of the total and average figures of money in the lists of *cruisiati* in the 1208 Pipe Roll against the lists of *crucesignati* in the archiepiscopal register of Walter Giffard of York, 1274–1275.

	Pipe Roll 1208 (figures taken from money expected)	<i>Reg. Giffard of York</i> 1274–1275
Total Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	4,120 (£17 3s. 4d.)	49,084 (£204 10s. 4d.)
Average Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	100 (8s. 4d.)	182 (15s. 2d.)
Modal Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	80 (6s. 8d.)	60 (5s.)

¹⁸⁵ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 169.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 169; see also, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the eight year of the reign of King John, Michaelmas 1206* (Pipe Roll 52), ed. by Doris M. Stenton, Pipe Roll Society 58, New Series 20 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1942), pp. 74, 99, 123, 164, 200, 203.

Like with Table Ten, Table Eleven shows the total and average contributions in comparison to the entries in Archbishop Walter's register. Of note here is the average contribution paid (Table Nine) which in 1208 was only 82*d.* (6*s.* 10*d.*) lower than that expected from those listed in the archiepiscopal record seventy years later. This, however, is still very significant when we are reminded that only forty-one people paid in 1208, compared to the 283 people in 1274–1275. The modal value remained the same as in 1207 at 80*d.* (6*s.* 8*d.*), which is still higher than the modal value in the later register. Again, since it is unclear whether the people in the Pipe Roll records were commuting their crusader's cross, paying a fine for backsliding on their vow, or had missed an ecclesiastical tax, thus we must take care when interpreting these results.

Table Twelve: Total money expected from the Pipe Roll lists of 1207–1208, and combined average contribution compared to the lists of Archbishop Walter Giffard, 1274–1275.

	Pipe Roll 1207–1208 (figures taken from money expected)	<i>Reg. Giffard of York</i> 1274–1275
Total Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	44,738 (£186 8 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>)	49,084 (£204 10 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>)
Average Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	475 (£1 19 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>)	182 (15 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>)
Modal Contribution (<i>d.</i>)	80 (6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>)	60 (5 <i>s.</i>)

Table Twelve shows the final comparisons with the figures from the Pipe Rolls contrasted against the archiepiscopal register. In 1207–1208 the scheme of fines or collection was so severe that it resulted in the royal treasury accounting for the equivalent of 91.14% of the money collected in comparison to the total of 1274–1275. The result was that the ninety-six people listed in the Pipe Rolls paid an average value

that was 260.99% higher than the 283 listed seventy years later. The main conclusion, then, to take from this comparison is that the lists in Archbishop Walter of York's register cannot simply be penitents being fined or crusaders redeeming their cross. They have to be the monetary contributions that people set aside for the Holy Land subsidy, and those listed as '*pro*' or '*ex devotione*' were just larger sums paid than the average. It is possible that both sets of lists delineate relative wealth; however, it is difficult to believe that a layman, skilled labourer, or priest would be fined half a mark (6s. 8d.) in 1207–1208 for an unknown transgression, when in 1274–1275 only ten of the forty people who paid the same price did so as fine for a transgression against archiepiscopal power.

Finally, while the Pipe Roll for 1209 does not have a section which mentions crusaders, those men who still had debts outstanding from the 1207 and 1208 rolls were recorded. Under the amercements collected by Robert de Vieuxpont in Yorkshire in 1209, twelve of the men from the previous rolls are recorded with no outstanding debts. Five are listed immediately, with a debt from Alan de Molsanebi (it is unclear where this toponym refers to) placed before the final seven are recorded with their amounts. One still owed money to the royal treasury, Peter Ward, paying 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) of the 52½ marks he still owed (£35), with the note that henceforward he would pay 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) annually to the treasury for his debt.¹⁸⁷

While the lists of these '*cruisiat*' in the 1207–1208 Pipe Rolls are the closest comparison we have of prices associated with people who have taken the cross to those of the archiepiscopal lists of Walter Giffard of York in 1274–1275, we cannot be entirely sure of their origin. Certainly, Robert de Vieuxpont was appointed to collect moneys believed to be owed to the Crown from these crusaders; however, if it was for

¹⁸⁷ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the eleventh year of the reign of King John, Michaelmas 1209 (Pipe Roll 55)*, ed. by Doris M. Stenton, Pipe Roll Society 62, New Series 24 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1946), pp. 133–34.

the redemption of their cross, for tax which was still owed to them, or for backsliding on their vows, we cannot know because the cause for their fines have lamentably not been recorded. Because the values for the 1207–1208 Pipe Rolls are so much higher in monetary terms than those in 1274–1275 it may be apt to conclude that these were for transgressions against the Crown in one capacity or another and are not indicative of a collection campaign for the Holy Land subsidy.

Unfortunately, we are unable to say categorically whether or not the lists in the archiepiscopal register of Walter Giffard of York are indicative of the uptake of the cross, or the donation of money to the Holy Land subsidy, in other dioceses, simply because similar lists are not forthcoming. Comparisons have been made to some similar cases in other dioceses regarding the conversion of excommunication into the penance of taking the cross, or clergy venturing on crusade. Yet, there seems to have been no set way in which the English episcopate executed their approach to recording or managing those taking the crusader's cross as penance. In the archdiocese of York, at least, those that would have been excommunicated for their transgressions against archiepiscopal power were resigned to the archbishop's justice rather than the archdeacons, and it was ultimately the archbishop who had the final say over the price for and the way in which the crusader's cross would be redeemed.

The intensive examination and breakdown of the archiepiscopal lists, in both their manuscript form and printed editions, has provided a challenge to the established historiographical perspective that all of the people listed were paying into the Holy Land subsidy as either penance or commutation, or a combination of both. In fact, the lists seem to show the routine course of a collection campaign during which people and the amounts of money they donated were recorded. Whether those who were *crucesignatus* submitted money to commute their vows, or those who had committed a transgression against archiepiscopal power were paying to absolve them as part of a penance is unclear.

What the lists do show, however, is the operation of the archiepiscopate and diocesan administration in conjunction. The inquiry held by the archbishop into varying transgressions that touched upon his metropolitan primacy in all things allowed for maximum interaction with the cause of the Holy Land and the means by which records could be made of those donating money to the subsidy. The fact that the preaching tour of the Friars Minors, the installation of the chests for the Holy Land subsidy, and the inquiries into various malpractices around the archdiocese of York all occurred concurrently with one another created the perfect storm for prosecuting penitents with the cross and driving popular support, resulting in the compilation of these lists.

The close examination of these lists shows that they are far more complex than previously thought. Many took the cross as penance, but others commuted pilgrimage vows and some took the cross of their own volition. The absolution of those wishing to escape the call to arms was enacted through the archbishop himself, rather than any other member of diocesan hierarchy. Finally, it shows that actually, many of those assumed to have been crusaders were likely not so, especially since they are not recorded as committing a transgression or taking the cross.

VI. CENSURED BISHOPS

With the populace of England able to commute their vows, escape excommunication, and gain privileges in court cases, it is unsurprising that we find bishops also doing the same. Some English bishops took the cross during the period, but few actually went on crusade.¹⁸⁸ Instead, many used it as a way to win political leverage in disputes or to displace their rivals. Archbishop John Peckham of Canterbury, for example,

¹⁸⁸ See chap. 2 above, pp. 25–59.

excommunicated and imposed crusade to the Holy Land on Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe of Hereford's official, Robert of Gloucester, once Bishop Thomas died.¹⁸⁹ Archbishop John and Bishop Thomas had had an acrimonious dispute over diocesan and metropolitan jurisdiction concerning the administration of a parishioner's testament which left property in more than one diocese.¹⁹⁰ Robert of Gloucester was acting in his capacity as Bishop Thomas's official since the bishop was overseas in Normandy at the time. On Bishop Thomas's return Archbishop John requested that he excommunicate his official, which he refused. Bishop Thomas was excommunicated in March 1282 and shortly afterwards departed for the papal court in Orvieto.¹⁹¹ He died at Montefiascone on 25 August 1282, but had been absolved by Pope Martin IV shortly before.¹⁹² Richard of Gloucester was punished by the archbishop, seemingly in a fit of revenge on 1 October 1282. As well as departing to the Holy Land, Richard was expected to donate £20 worth of wax at the shrines of the Canterbury saints, write a formal note of obedience and place it on St Thomas Becket's shrine, and on his return from the Holy Land walk through London proclaiming his guilt.¹⁹³ All this was expected to be completed by 25 November 1282.

The penance bestowed here seems to have been borne from an innate sense of damaged archiepiscopal pride. Not only had an episcopal official refused to obey

¹⁸⁹ R. C. Finucane, 'The Cantilupe-Pecham Controversy', in *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. by Meryl Jancey (Hereford: The Friends of Hereford Cathedral Publications, 1982), pp. 103–124 (p. 120).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁹¹ *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, I, pp. 315–16; *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279–1292*, ed. by F. N. Davis and D. L. Douie, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society 64 and 65 (Torquay: For the Canterbury and York Society, 1968–69), pp. 142–43; Finucane, 'The Cantilupe-Pecham Controversy', p. 113.

¹⁹² An inquiry was established in 1307 to discover whether he had died excommunicate before canonization proceedings could occur. It was found that the pope had indeed absolved him and proceedings continued. He was finally canonized in 1320. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Cod. Lat. 4016, fol. 141^r–142^v, 144^r.

¹⁹³ Finucane, 'The Cantilupe-Pecham Controversy', p. 120; Vat. Cod. Lat. 4016, fols 53^r, 57^r–58^v.

the metropolitan primate over his own diocesan, but a bishop had appeared contumacious in not excommunicating the official. The only avenue left was to excommunicate the bishop, which was then overturned by papal authority. At every move Archbishop John had likely felt humiliated and beaten. The only way he could regain some semblance of his own inflated archiepiscopal pride was to extract a fitting humiliating penance on the one person alive who had apparently caused this friction, since the penance appears to have been nothing more than an antagonistic move. It is likely that the timescales set for Robert's penance was also set impossibly short in order to add to the humiliation for failing to complete it. The use of the Holy Land as a punishment was, in this case, clearly used in order to settle personal antipathies and to displace a perceived rival.

Archbishop John utilized the crusade in a similar way in 1282 in order to remove the Welsh prince, Dafydd ap Gruffydd. As Hurlock noted, '[i]f Baldwin's attempts to remove troublesome Welshmen, by sending them on crusade, were hidden by his more general requests for aid, Pecham's was far more direct.'¹⁹⁴ Dafydd's response was not one Archbishop John would have received well, stating that '[w]hen he [Dafydd] will wish to go to the Holy Land, this he will do voluntarily after taking a vow for God, and not for men. Induced against his will, he will not be sent to foreign lands for God, for which forced slavery God will be further displeased.'¹⁹⁵ Archbishop John directly told Dafydd to go on crusade, in a bid to remove him from Wales at which point the archbishop could take more control over the Welsh episcopate. In removing Dafydd, his ability to do this would be uninhibited, but it was clearly nothing more than a politically motivated move.

¹⁹⁴ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 193.

¹⁹⁵ *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, II, p. 471; for the translation see Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 194.

English bishops also used the crusade in order to gain political leverage over their episcopal rivals. During 1201–1202 a bitter dispute ensued between the bishop of Durham, Philip of Poitou, his chapter, and the archbishop of York, Geoffrey Plantagenet, regarding the archbishop's delays in appointing men to livings and thus siphoning off the fruits while benefices lay vacant.¹⁹⁶ In January 1203, however, Bishop Philip took the crusader's cross and his possessions were taken under the protection of the papacy.¹⁹⁷ As Christopher Cheney noted, Bishop Philip is not known to have left the country and the protection sought 'suggests that he intended the vow to stop his metropolitan from using ecclesiastical censures to confuse and delay proceedings in the Curia.'¹⁹⁸

Bishop Philip's later successor, Richard Marsh, also utilized the crusade vow to great effect to delay proceedings against him and influence positive papal judgement during a lengthy and protracted dispute over advowsons, land, and liberties of the chapter of Durham.¹⁹⁹ Bishop Richard seems to have had all the bearings of a noble lay lord suited for war, rather than a spiritual, ecclesiastical bishop. He followed a remarkably dogged and brutal style of conflict resolution, appearing pugnacious in his litigious affairs and wielding an even more unyielding temper, made all the worse with a penchant for heavy drinking.²⁰⁰ Bishop Richard thus built a fearsome reputation for ruthlessness without scruples, earning it through King John's reign as one of his 'evil counsellors', and receiving condemnation by contemporary chroniclers. The *Annals of Stanley* castigated him as an 'impious and hostile' clerk, who the king 'did not fear to

¹⁹⁶ *CLI*, pp. 58 no. 353, 73 no. 447, 74 no. 454; *PL*, CXIV, pp. 1134, 1140–41, 1160.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75 no. 455. On the general benefits of papal protection, though focussed on France, see Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusader*.

¹⁹⁸ Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, p. 254.

¹⁹⁹ See *EEA* 24, ed. by Snape, pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

²⁰⁰ For the comment on heavy drinking see, R. C. Stacey, 'Marsh, Richard [Richard de Marisco] (d. 1226), administrator and bishop of Durham', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18061?docPos=1>> [Accessed: 08 May 2017].

nominate as his God before men of religion and secular men.’²⁰¹ In 1219, Bishop Richard appealed to Pope Honorius III for commutation of his crusading vow and obligations, and on 22 February it was granted on the basis that he had taken the crusading vow before he became bishop and on the condition of ‘a certain number of soldiers to be sent to the Holy Land.’²⁰²

A year later, on 2 June 1220, Pope Honorius mandated the bishops of Salisbury and Ely to investigate, enquire, and report on a lengthy list of crimes against the Durham chapter unbefitting a bishop, which is worth quoting in full here:

For a glaring accusation had been made against him, that since his elevation to the pontifical dignity, he has been guilty of bloodshed, simony, adultery, sacrilege, robbery, perjury, and manifold offences, of audaciously oppressing clerks, orphans, and religious men, of obstructing the testaments of dying people, of defending the rights of the king in opposition of our beloved son, Pandulph, bishop elect of Norwich, and, although under the ban of excommunication, of interfering in the performance of divine services. Also according to the appeals laid before us he does not pay deference to the Church of Rome, he does not observe the statutes of the general council, he never preaches the word of God to his people, and in his discourse and by the practice of his life, he sets a bad example to those under him. In the presence of a great many people he had sworn that the Church of Durham shall have no peace during his life. When a certain monk of Durham complained to him that he had been dragged from a church by his, the bishop’s, servants, and beaten till his blood was shed, he replied that it would have been better if his servants had killed the monk.²⁰³

²⁰¹ *Annals of Stanley in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols, RS 82 (London: Longman, 1884–89), II (1885), pp. 501–83 (p. 512). ‘*clerici impii et iniqui [...] quem etiam deum suum nominare ante viros religiosos et seculares non timuit.*’

²⁰² *CPrege*, I, p. 62.

²⁰³ *CM*, III, pp. 62–63; translated in Wendover, *Roger of Wendover’s Flowers of History*, trans. by Giles, II, pp. 430–31. ‘*de quo insinuat clamosa processit, quod postquam fuit ad officium pontificale promotus, reus sanguinis, simoniae, adulterii, sacrilegii, rapinae, perjurii, ac dilapidationis multiplicis, est effectus; non formidans clericos, orphanos, ac viros religiosos opprimere, testamenta decedentium impedire, regia jura contra scientiam dilecti filii nostri Pandulfi Norwicensis electi munire, ac excommunicatione ligatus ingerere se divinis. Item etiam appellationibus non defert ad*

The most likely course of events is that Bishop Richard had commuted his crusading vow in 1219 on Pope Honorius's notification and sent a number of soldiers to the Holy Land. Upon doing so, a litigious dispute with the monks of Durham began, with Bishop Richard no longer protected by his crusading status. In the face of an inquiry by his fellow bishops on the above charges, he resumed his crusader's cross, redeeming it a year later on 28 January 1221 'in consideration of his age and infirmities', having set aside 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) for the Holy Land.²⁰⁴ This gift of money seems to have also stunned Pope Honorius into exempting Bishop Richard from the ecclesiastical twentieth levied at the time, because he had been absolved from his vow and contributed a substantial amount to the Holy Land subsidy.²⁰⁵ It is possible, though, that his original vow was never fully redeemed, although it is improbable that the monks of Durham could have brought their case against him if he was indeed *crucesignatus*. In the February of 1221 the bishops of Salisbury and Ely were mandated to proceed no further with their enquiry. Bishop Richard and the archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton—a surprising ally considering Bishop Richard had been the one sent to Rome by King John to obtain Archbishop Stephen's suspension after Magna Carta—journeyed together to Rome, albeit with Bishop Richard in ill health, to rally against these accusations and deliver letters from the archbishop of York and other prelates of England emphasizing the falsehood of the accusations against him. The papacy then revoked the case.

Rommanam ecclesiam interpositis; statuta generalis concilii non observat; nunquam proponit populo verbum Dei; lingua et exemplo vitae pravum subditis praebet exemplum. Coram multis iuravit, quod pacem ipso vivente Dunelmensis ecclesia non habebit. Conquerente sibi quodam monacho Dunelmensi, se a servientibus suis ab ecclesia quadam fuisse extractum et usque ad sanguinis effusionem pulsatum; respondit ei, quod melius factum fuisset, si servientes episcopi monachum peremissent.'

²⁰⁴ For the inquiry: *CM*, III, pp. 63–64; *Roger of Wendover's Flowers*, trans. by Giles, pp. 431–32. Cross: *CPrege*, I, p. 78.

²⁰⁵ *CPrege*, I, p. 78.

After this second vow redemption and journey to Rome, the case against Bishop Richard was dragged back into public view. A year later, the bishops of Salisbury and Ely were mandated to enquire yet again into the bishop of Durham's excesses of personality, and Bishop Richard was ordered to appear before the bishops either in person or by proctor. On 21 July 1223, the bishops of Bath and Rochester were mandated to assist the bishops of Ely and Salisbury with their enquiry, the dispute seemingly having become entrenched and remarkably bitter, and in 1225 they were mandated to attain proofs of the bishop of Durham's episcopal goods to assess if anything had been taken from the priory.²⁰⁶ Bishop Richard was not only harassed in the canonical legal system, but in the king's court too from 1219 onwards.²⁰⁷ It is perhaps telling that the final letter in this dispute came shortly after Bishop Richard's death in 1226. Pope Honorius wrote on 4 March 1227 that the archbishop of York was to intervene as metropolitan

and cause the see of Durham to be filled by a fit person within a month, that church having been long void and burdened with debt. But if by malice of the inhabitants this cannot be done, the archbishop is to collect the revenues of the see and keep them

paying them to Rome for its citizens.²⁰⁸ Clearly, Bishop Richard utilized the crusade to his own ends to earn respites from the harassment of the monastic chapter at Durham, yet it eventually came to no avail, dying disgraced, with a fit person being found in the form of one of Archbishop Stephen of Canterbury's protégée pupils, Richard le Poer, to replace the disgraced Bishop Richard.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 93, 101, 104.

²⁰⁷ *EEA 24: Durham*, ed. by Snape, p. xxxv; *CM*, III, pp. 111–13; *Roger of Wendover's Flowers*, trans. by Giles, pp. 476–78.

²⁰⁸ *CPR*, I, p. 117.

Another bishop who utilized the crusade for his own ends was Bishop Peter des Roches of Winchester.²⁰⁹ Bishop Peter was a polarizing force within the English political spectrum during the early thirteenth century; a foreign alien intruded into a diocese, he was reviled in both baronial and ecclesiastical spheres as a foreigner and secularist, held in the same contempt as King John's foreign mercenary captain, Fawkes de Breauté.²¹⁰ At King Henry III's consecration, Bishop Peter had made himself indispensable, perhaps eagerly awaiting promotion to high office within the king's household or government, placing himself centre stage and dominating the events of the next few years. In particular, Bishop Peter acted as the hero of the hour at the Battle of Lincoln in 1217, having discovered the rubble-filled gate through which the royalist army eventually flooded.²¹¹ Historians in recent years have considered this event as a 'political crusade', since the medieval soldiers were festooned with white crosses on their armour and Pandulph granted them a remission of all their sins for taking part.²¹² It is telling that Bishop Peter's praise as a warrior comes from two of his harshest critics in the context of this battle.²¹³

Ten years later, Bishop Peter readied himself to go on crusade to the Holy Land, a plan that had been in preparation for many years, seemingly, according to Vincent's modern biography of the prelate, to escape the 'anti-alien rhetoric of the new regime', and to remove himself from witnessing the ascendancy of his main rival,

²⁰⁹ For an in-depth assessment of the life of Peter des Roches see, Vincent, *Peter des Roches*.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 246–47.

²¹¹ *The History of William Marshal*, trans. by Bryant, pp. 198–99.

²¹² There have been extensive debates surrounding this topic, see Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* and Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades*, especially pp. 216–46; Lloyd, "Political Crusades" in England, pp. 113–20.

²¹³ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 131–141, 197–199; Thomas Wright's *Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward I*, ed. P. Coss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 23; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum: The Flowers of History, from the year of our Lord 1154, and the first year of Henry the Second, King of the English*, 3 vols., ed. H. G. Hewlett, Rolls Series (London: Longman & Co., 1886–1889), IV, p. 327; *AM*, II, p. 287; Lloyd, *English Society and Crusade*, pp. 208–209.

Hubert de Burgh.²¹⁴ It is possible that support had been canvassed, since Bishop Richard of Durham took the cross during the same period, and the papal legate Pandulph took the cross in 1214, potentially planning to go on crusade with Bishop Peter.²¹⁵ The only prelate to actually join Bishop Peter on this crusade, however, was Bishop William Brewer of Exeter, who was granted the 4,000 marks (£2,666 13s. 4d.) that his uncle and namesake, a veteran of the king's court, had deposited with the Templars in London for his nephew to make the journey to the Holy Land.²¹⁶ A few years later Bishops Peter and William found themselves received with honour when they returned from a successful crusade; however, Bishop Peter then found 'himself charged with every crime that could be laid against his late sovereign [...] extortion, profligacy, the loss of Normandy, the Interdict, and the deterioration of relations with the native baronage.'²¹⁷ Like Bishop Richard Marsh, the crusader's cross had offered Bishop Peter protection from the law, but as soon as it was used—either redeemed or performed—that protection disappeared leaving them to face the full force of their legal battles.

V. CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of the twelfth and thirteenth century, the idea of crusade and journeying to the Holy Land engendered a lasting appeal that was cultivated by the English episcopate. Yet the English episcopate often failed to fully galvanize the public into any form of cohesive, meaningful action. The extensive preaching campaigns which occurred over the century left the episcopate dealing with the redemption of

²¹⁴ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 230.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 230; Lloyd, *English Society and Crusade*, p. 75.

²¹⁶ CPR*eg.*, I, p. 117; CPR 1225–1232, pp. 89–90.

²¹⁷ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 133; CM, III, pp. 269–71; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 101.

crusading vows, creating its own problems that the episcopate needed to take control of, as we shall see in the next chapter below.

For the English episcopate, there was no cohesive view towards the imposition and redemption of the crusader's cross. The great difficulty in setting the value of the redemptions for various transgressions against episcopal power caused the episcopate as a whole to take a rather *ad hoc* approach to imposing the cross as penance, regardless of papal mandate or the instruction on how to apply and enforce it. Contemporary attitudes differed from diocese to diocese. The imposition of the cross as penance was entirely the prerogative of the particular bishop or archbishop and how they wanted to punish their parishioners. In other dioceses, there is a total dearth of evidence that anyone faced similar sanctions and the conclusion that we are forced to come to is that those bishops at the time felt that imprisonment and excommunication were the better punishments to impose rather than the crusader's cross. By the end of the thirteenth century, the crusade vow and inevitable monetary contribution allowed many to avail themselves of the privileges of papal and episcopal protection, without the arduous journey and risk of attending the expedition, whilst for the episcopate and the papacy it was a lucrative source of income in order to support those actually fighting in the Holy Land. The one cohesive view that the English episcopate took was to protect their privileges. The privileges of the *crucesignati* resembled their own episcopal primacy, and any such erosion could not be tolerated.

The dioceses with the highest correlation of penitents taking the crusader's cross were those where the diocesan took a proactive interest in the affairs of the cross. Bishop Godfrey and Archbishop Walter Giffard had both been heavily involved in the promotional campaign for the crusade of the Lord Edward in the 1270s, and Bishop Oliver Sutton of Lincoln was appointed, along with the bishop of Winchester, John de Pontiose, as one of the investigators into the bequests and legacies left by crusaders and a collector of the crusading tenth; curiously though, Bishop John's register

contains no records of any criminous crusaders or the crusader's cross bestowed as penance.²¹⁸ Thus, there were many other factors other than the pursuance of papal mandate that affected the diocesan's choice to impose the crusader's cross as a sanction. Some bishops throughout our period took the crusader's cross, but seldom ventured out on the expedition they had signed up for, often paying for someone to go in their stead. Some, however, took the cross in order to commit a range of Machiavellian manoeuvres against some political foe, or, like the laity, to avoid court cases and proceedings against them.

²¹⁸ *Reg. Pontissara, passim; Reg. Giffard of York*, pp. 161–63, 273–74.

CHAPTER FIVE: EPISCOPAL INQUIRY INTO ENGLISH

CRUSADERS

I. INTRODUCTION

With the continual changes in the conditions of crusaders' votive obligations throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the ways in which these vows could be redeemed, it is unsurprising that the papacy and the episcopate of Western Christendom needed to find ways to account for crusaders and their goods. Lengthy crusade preparations meant that there was a likelihood that peoples' circumstances could change before an expedition departed. This chapter will address two questions. The first is 'what measures were put in place by the English episcopate in order to keep track of errant crusaders?' The second question is 'how was crusader property administered if the crusader died before undertaking the journey east, or while in the Holy Land?' This chapter examines the processes put in place by the English episcopate in order to account for crusaders, their votive obligations, and goods. A detailed examination of the periodic inquiries into English crusaders that took place throughout the thirteenth century highlights the progressive way in which English bishops changed and adapted the inquiries.

The papal and episcopal policies regarding bequests and legacies to the Holy Land has been studied at length by Lunt, who focussed on the financial aspects of crusading redemptions and legacies for the papacy, English Crown, and individual crusaders.¹ This is the most authoritative work and has not been surpassed since it was published in 1939. Tyerman has also touched on the use of legacies and bequests by individual crusaders.² However, specific examination of the role of the English

¹ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, Chapter 8, pp. 419–60.

² Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 193–95.

episcopate in these inquiries has yet to occur. The questions asked in this chapter will use two particular case studies, one focussing on an early list of crusaders from the diocese of Lincoln—where dating the list to 1196 will also be argued—and three lists of questions that survive in the episcopal and priory registers of Bishop Richard de Swinfield of Hereford, Bishop Oliver Sutton of Lincoln, and the dean and chapter of Canterbury Cathedral.³ The lists of questions are termed the ‘Articles of inquiry concerning those signed with the cross and the goods appointed in subsidy of the Holy Land.’⁴ Inquiries using these lists took place in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and they asked questions regarding crusaders’ votive obligations, goods, debts, and legacies. The way these lists were used by the collectors of the Holy Land subsidy utilized every strata of thirteenth-century diocesan administration to great effect, allowing accounts to be made for all who had taken the crusader’s cross or donated money to the Holy Land subsidy.

³ HARC, AL19/2, fol. 23^r; LRO, Bishop’s Reg. I (Oliver Sutton), fols 38^v–39^v; CCA, CCA-DCc/Reg/I, fols 167^v–168^r. The Hereford and Lincoln articles have been transcribed and printed: *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 78–79; *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, pp. 157–59. The Hereford articles of inquiry were translated in Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, pp. 491–92. The Canterbury articles of inquiry were noted in the *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Report and Appendix—(Part I)*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London: HMSO, 1881), p. 345.

⁴ CCA, CCA-DCc/Reg/I, fol. 167^v, ‘*Articuli Inquisitionis de cruce signatis et de bonis legatis in subsidium terre sancte.*’ The headings in the episcopal registers differ from this and from each other slightly. HARC, AL19/2, fol. 23^r, ‘*Isti sunt articuli super quibus inquirendum est omnibus que debentur terre sancte.*’ (These are articles among all of which what is owed to the Holy Land is to be enquired). LRO, Bishop’s Reg. I, fol. 38^v, ‘*Isti sunt articuli super quibus est inquirendum et procedendum super negociis terre sancte.*’ (These are articles among which that which concerns the Holy Land is to be enquired and progressed).

II. THE HOLY LAND IN BEQUESTS

On 19 November 1190, the archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin of Forde, died outside the walls of Acre.⁵ The bishop of Salisbury and later successor to the metropolitan see, Hubert Walter, was tasked with the administration of Archbishop Baldwin's testament and bequests, having to disburse salaries for several days to twenty knights and fifty of their attendants, as per the archbishop's final wishes.⁶ Archbishop Baldwin's testament is one of the earliest English testaments, and perhaps the earliest English episcopal testament, to provide money for the Holy Land and Christian troops on crusade. Making bequests in aid of the Holy Land and the crusades there was later endorsed, and whole heartedly encouraged, by the English episcopate and the papacy, becoming a commonplace occurrence in the thirteenth century. Many of those who took crusader vows granted money in their wills to the Holy Land or to the military orders of the Knights Templar and Hospitaller.⁷ Yet, for this first bequest there was no real structure in place for its administration, other than Archbishop Baldwin ensuring that his executor was a brother bishop.

The medieval will must have been ubiquitous in England since royal promulgations, such as the coronation charter of King Henry I (1100–1135), ordered that all men should 'give away or bequeath his moveable property', and that if any died intestate then 'his widow or children or his relatives or one of his true men shall make

⁵ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, I, pp. 123–24; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 126; Diss, *Opera Historica*, II, p. 88; Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 29.

⁶ Diss, *Opera Historica*, II, p. 88; Wendover, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History*, trans. by Giles, II, p. 100.

⁷ Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 83. For examples and the earliest English testaments that include bequests to the Holy Land see, S. D. Church, 'King John's Testament and the Last Days of his Reign', *EHR*, 125 (2010), 505–28. The granting of money to the Holy Land or to a crusader became part of papal policy, *Ecumenical Councils*, p. 310.

such division, for the sake of his soul, as may seem best to them.”⁸ Few English wills from the twelfth century survive, but a number from the thirteenth century do.⁹

This also coincided with the development of the articles of inquiry which will be examined below. The long turn around time between the call to crusade and the crusade itself departing must have meant that many would-be crusaders went to their graves or their circumstances changed. In 1288, for instance, Master Goffredo di Vezzano had to ask the official of the bishop of Worcester, clearly with Bishop Godfrey Giffard’s disapproval, to collect the arrears of the tenth from the executors of the recently deceased archdeacon of Gloucester for his outstanding crusader’s vow.¹⁰ By the end of our period of study, many examples of wills providing money for a man to go as a proxy to the Holy Land start to surface in episcopal registers, especially in many instances with the wish being fulfilled after death. Could this be why, in 1284, amidst the inquiries into crusader legacies, Bishop Godfrey of Worcester bound the vicar of Donamen for 100s. (£5) ‘for the arrears of proxies due from the said church for six years’, of which 12 marks (£8) was given to the Holy Land subsidy?¹¹

The idea of sending a proxy to the Holy Land in your stead had been around for the greater part of the period of crusading fervour, exploited by the archbishop of Rouen on the Third Crusade, and used throughout the period by others such as Henry,

⁸ *English Historical Documents, 1042–1189*, ed. by David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway, second edn. (London and New York: Routledge, 1981), pp. 425–27, clause 7 p. 426; for a transcription see Richard Sharpe, ‘Henry I’s Coronation Charter’, *Early English Laws*, available at: <<http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/hn-cor/view/#edition/translation>> [Accessed: 29 June 2019].

⁹ Many of these English wills were recorded by Michael Sheehan before he died. See, Michael M. Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies*, ed. by James K. Farge (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1996; reprinted 1997), ‘A List of Thirteenth-Century English Wills’, pp. 8–17.

¹⁰ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, p. 320.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 222.

the young king, William Marshal, or Ranulf, earl of Chester.¹² This became the primary way for many to assist with the crusading venture, gaining all of the privileges of a crusader, yet not having to suffer any personal risk.

In Bishop Godfrey's register alone we have five different examples of testaments with a bequest to the Holy Land subsidy. In 1269, William de Beauchamp, former sheriff of Worcester, left 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.) in his will to his son, Walter, 'a crusader, in aid of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land for me and his mother' as well as several bequests of varying values to the Minorites to assist their preaching.¹³ In 1287, the rector of Wythingdon (it is unclear where this toponym refers to in Worcestershire), left 40s. (£2) for the Holy Land subsidy as well as other bequests for the mendicant friars.¹⁴ It is also interesting to note that one of his executors was J. de Methinge, a 'crusader' who took the cross after claiming privileges in a court case in 1275, clearly showing the interconnected nature of local crusaders.¹⁵

Furthermore, in 1291, Sir Nicholas de Mitton died and left 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) to Henry de Bonden for the subsidy of the Holy Land, legacies to the Minorites and Preachers and other churches, and further 'moneys coming from certain debts to the subsidy of the Holy Land.'¹⁶ Whether those 10 marks were supposed to fund Henry de Bonden's pilgrimage to the Holy Land like the bequest of William de Beauchamp to his son, we cannot know, though it is a possible outcome with the preaching tours that occurred in 1291.¹⁷ It was this practice of leaving a bequest from debts which led

¹² Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 27; *The History of William Marshal*, trans. by Bryant, pp. 103–04; Hurlock, 'A Transformed Life?', p. 16.

¹³ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, I, pp. 7–9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 312–13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 80; see above pp. 145–46.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 388–90.

¹⁷ *Reg. Romeyn*, I, p. 113 no. 309; II, pp. 8–9, no. 1133, 13 no. 1140; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 93, 96. Archbishop John was to preach in York Minster and the friars and other theologians in other parts of the archdiocese on the feast day of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) 1291. See also, Maier, *Preaching the*

to the development of a question in the later articles of inquiry. The question centred around bequests made by creditors, where if a creditor bequeathed money owed to them by a debtor as a donation to the Holy Land subsidy and did not specify the amount owed, it should be ascertained how much is owed, but the grant was not to be recovered by fraudulent means.¹⁸

Bishops left money to the Holy Land subsidy in their wills too, some having taken the cross. The first was Archbishop Baldwin in 1190 while on the Third Crusade, but thereafter several other bishops took the cross, yet never went to the Holy Land. Many managed to send proxies in their stead, such as Bishop William de Vere of Hereford.¹⁹ Some other bishops, for example the Savoyard bishop of Hereford, Peter d'Aigueblanche, left money in their wills for the same purpose. Bishop Peter left 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) to the pope for the aid of the Holy Land, which was to be extracted from a loan he had given to the archbishop-elect of Lyon.²⁰ Again, we have here a case of money for the crusades being extracted from a debtor by an executor in order for it to be submitted to the Holy Land subsidy. Considering Bishop Peter's reviled status—Mathew Paris once took a particularly dim view to his actions regarding the 'Sicilian Business' and described him as 'bishop of Hereford, Peter d'Aigueblanche, whose memory exhales that most offensive sulphurous stench'—the will's modern editor proffered the idea that 'this legacy was a sop to his conscience, since Peter had

Crusades, pp. 95, 106; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, pp. 55–56. According to the thirteenth-century chronicler, Bartholomew Cotton, the archbishop of Canterbury had also started a recruitment campaign in 1290: Bartholomew Cotton, *Bartholomaei de Cotton Monachi Norwicensis Historia Anglicana (AD 449–1298)*, ed. by Henry Richard Luard, RS 16 (London: Longman & Co., 1859; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 177–78. A tour also commenced in Durham: Durham, Durham Cathedral Archives Special Collections, 1.14.Pont.1; 1.14.Pont.2; *CPL*, I, p. 553; calendared in *Records of Antony Bek, Bishop and Patriarch, 1283–1311*, ed. by C. M. Fraser, Surtees Society 162 (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1953), pp. 26–28.

¹⁸ See Appendix B below, no. 18.

¹⁹ See chap. 2 above, pp. 25–59.

²⁰ 'The Will of Peter de Aqua Blanca', ed. by Woodrough, p. 3.

taken the cross but never fulfilled his vow.²¹ Later, in 1293–1294, the will of the bishop of Whithorn was administered by the archbishop of York, since the dead man was both a bishop and crusader, seemingly never having fulfilled his vow to the Holy Land.²² In 1302, Bishop Godfrey of Worcester himself left a sizeable amount of money to the Holy Land subsidy, since he had taken the cross in an act of deathbed piety:

Because I have received the sign of the Holy cross, and it has long been in my mind to send one warrior knight in aid of the Holy Land at the general expedition of the English, I desire that there shall be given to any good man out of my goods who shall make the said expedition for me £50.²³

Familial relations surely account in part for Bishop Godfrey's wishes, since the Giffard family had pedigree as crusaders.²⁴

The burdens that this form of bequest left on the rest of the English episcopate that had to administer these wills and render the proper accounts perhaps weighed heavily on the shoulders of many bishops, especially those who were appointed as collectors. In June 1296, Master Goffredo di Vezzano returned to England to take over the collection of the tenth and bequests again, relieving Bishop Oliver of Lincoln of his duties since he was 'aged and over-burdened by the care of his diocese.'²⁵

III. CASE STUDY: THE FIRST LISTS OF CRUSADERS

At the time of the Third Crusade no cohesive measures appear to have been put in place to furnish the English episcopate with accurate numbers of those who had

²¹ *CM*, V, pp. 510–11. '*episcopus Herefordensis Petrus de Egeblancke, cuius memoria sulphureum faectorem exhalat ac teterrimum*.' See also, 'The Will of Peter de Aqua Blanca', ed. by Woodruff, p. x.

²² *Reg. Romeyn*, II, p. 125 no. 1395.

²³ *The Register of Bishop William Ginsborough*, ed. and trans. by Willis-Bund, Latin, pp. 48–54, translation pp. 54–60.

²⁴ See above pp. 46–47.

²⁵ *CPR*, I, pp. 565.

committed themselves to taking the crusader's cross. In later years, however, the papacy and the English episcopate embarked on wide-ranging inquiries, determined to discover defaulting crusaders who could be compelled to resume their vows or pay for redemption.²⁶ The first episcopal inquiry was held in spring 1196 following a mandate from Pope Celestine III (1191–1198).²⁷ The second occurred in 1201, after a similar mandate issued by Pope Innocent III.²⁸ From these inquiries two documents survive in Canterbury Cathedral Archives. The first is a list of forty-four names, recording 'those signed with the cross in the archdeaconry of Cornwall.'²⁹ The second is a list of thirty-three names from Lincolnshire: the recto of the document records twenty-nine names from seventeen parishes in the rural deanery of Holland (south-east Lincolnshire); the verso lists four further names, 'the names of those signed with the cross of the city of Lincoln.'³⁰

²⁶ The first inquiry into English crusaders occurred in 1194, headed by royal itinerant justices. The justices were to investigate regarding the goods of dead or dying crusaders: Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 263–64.

²⁷ Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 317–19; translated in *The Annals of Roger of Hoveden comprising the History of England and of Other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to 1201*, trans. by Henry T. Riley, 2 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), II, pp. 384–86; calendared in *EEA III: Canterbury 1193–1205*, ed. by C. R. Cheney and E. Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986; repr. 1991), p. 90 no. 426.

²⁸ Howden, *Chronica*, IV, pp. 165–67; *CLL*, p. 52 no. 318.

²⁹ CCA, CCA-DCc/MSSB/A/7. A modern transcription is provided by Nicholas Orme and O. J. Padel, 'Cornwall and the Third Crusade', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 9 (2005), 71–77 (p. 75).

³⁰ CCA, CCA-DCc/ChChLet/II/227. There are three editions and one part translation, all of which are unreliable: *Report of the Royal Commission on Manuscripts in Various Collections: Part I. Report and Appendix*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London: HMSO, 1901), pp. 235–36; W. D. Sweeting, 'Crusaders in Lincolnshire', *Fenland Notes and Queries*, VI (1904), no. 1058 (this is a copy of the Historical Manuscripts Commission edition); Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire V (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1971), pp. 124–25 (partial translation of some entries); Barbara Bombi, 'Papal Legates and their Preaching of the Crusades in England between the 12th and 13th Centuries', in *Legati, delegati e l'impresa d'Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII) / Papal Legates, Delegates and the Crusades (12th–13th Century)*, ed. by M. P. Alberzoni and P. Montaubin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 211–61 (pp. 259–61).

This case study focusses on the crusaders from Lincolnshire, providing a reassessment of the document, especially its dating, by placing the accounts of the crusaders into their wider contemporary context of episcopal inquiry. The Lincolnshire document has been noticed by many historians and is generally used alongside the contemporary list from Cornwall to highlight the personal and financial circumstances of poor and non-combatant crusaders on the Third Crusade, generally dating the documents to between 1196 and 1201.³¹ By analysing the Lincolnshire list in close comparison with contemporary sources it can be convincingly argued that the list was compiled during the 1196 inquiry. Establishing an accurate date matters: precisely because the Lincolnshire document is so important a source for the examination of lower class crusaders and the methods put in place to keep track of them during this early period of English crusading and episcopal inquiry. Crusade studies often undergoes changes in research direction; however, one question has always remained central: who went on crusade?³² This line of inquiry is a prominent facet in crusade studies, to the extent that some examinations incorporate appendices of positively identified and ‘possible’ crusaders built from medieval records.³³ It is from building

³¹ A selection in order of publication: *A History of the County of Lincoln*, ed. by William Page, Victoria County History (London: Archibald Constable and Company Limited, 1906), II, pp. 256–57; Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, pp. 131–32; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 125–26, 130–31; Owen, *Church and Society*, pp. 123–25; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 170–72; Evans, ‘Crusade and Society’, pp. 149–54; *Idem*, “‘A far from Aristocratic Affair’”, pp. 26–28; *Idem*, ‘Commutation of Crusade Vows’, pp. 223–24; Orme and Padel, ‘Cornwall’, pp. 71–77; Tyerman, *God’s War*, pp. 483–84; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, p. 70; Alan Cooper, ‘1190, William Longbeard and the Crisis of Angevin England’, in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts*, ed. by Sarah R. Jones and Sethina Watson (York: York Medieval Press, 2013), pp. 91–105 (pp. 95–96); Bombi, ‘Papal Legates’, pp. 237–41.

³² See Christopher Tyerman, ‘Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land?’, in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Hafra, 2–6 July 1987*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), pp. 13–26; *Idem*, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious Warfare in the High Middle Ages* (London: Penguin Group, 2015), pp. 150–77.

³³ James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 207–58; Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 262–80; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–*

these pictures that we can begin to understand the planning and logistics put in place in order to administer to the large number of people who took the cross. These examinations also tell us about the type of people who went on crusade and small social cross-sections of society can be examined in some depth; for example, the crusaders recorded in the Lincolnshire and Cornish lists showcase the involvement of artisans who could use their trades as a means to fund their journey to Jerusalem.

Before attempting an examination of the Lincolnshire document, it is important to explore the expected timings and objectives of the inquiries. In 1196 and 1201, the English episcopate was charged by the papacy with investigating the status of everyone who had taken the cross since the 1180s. Those who had put aside their vow, or had failed to complete their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, were compelled to resume their cross and to depart on the next expedition if they had the means to do so. Those who were unable to fulfil their obligations because of poverty or illness would be given a suitable penance, bestowed by the archbishop, and were expected to complete their journey when their financial situation improved or their health returned. Finally, those whose infirmity rendered it impossible for them ever to complete their vow were expected either to send someone in their place, or to contribute to the costs of a person serving in their stead for a year.

The first episcopal inquiry started in spring 1196. Sometime around mid- to late February 1196, archbishop and papal legate, Hubert Walter, sent a letter to the officials of his counterpart at York, ordering them to search all of the parish churches in the northern archdiocese (*per singulas parochias ecclesias archiepiscopatus Eboraci*) for those who had not yet fulfilled their crusader vows.³⁴ We cannot be sure whether this implies

1131 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 196–246; Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 214–32.

³⁴ Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 317–19; *EEA III*, ed. by Cheney and Johns, p. 90 no. 426, suggest a date of February to March 1196. Considering the archbishop's stipulated deadlines it must have been issued by mid- to late February. Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet of York was at this time deprived of his

the existence of local written records or lists of crusaders, but it is more likely that it showed the remit of the agents to inquire into every parish congregation. They were instructed to record ‘diligently and carefully’ (*diligenter et sollicite*) the names of the backsliders discovered through their inquiries in writing and to submit these to the archbishop via a ‘faithful nuncio’ (*fidelem nuncium*).³⁵ The deadline for the submission of the names to Archbishop Hubert was *Laetare* Sunday (31 March).³⁶ Those found would be encouraged to resume their cross before Palm Sunday (14 April). Any who refused faced formal excommunication at Easter (21 April). Unfortunately, we cannot trace if anyone was excommunicated and remained obdurate since the sequence of significations of excommunication begin much too late, with Canterbury starting in 1245 and Lincoln in 1240.³⁷ It is possible that similar letters from the archbishop were sent to the other bishops in England; if so, no other copies have survived.

Included in this letter was Pope Celestine’s mandate for the inquiry, dated to 12 January 1196.³⁸ Archbishop Hubert, therefore, must have acted remarkably swiftly on receipt of the papal mandate, especially given that the journey from Rome to England took around six weeks.³⁹ Considering the quick turn around time, it is possible that the governmental and ecclesiastical machinery of the twelfth-century English diocese had been prepared for a large-scale investigation into crusaders and their vows. This 1196 inquiry had been preceded in 1194 when Archbishop Hubert applied the minds and resources of the itinerant justices of England to ask ‘[l]ikewise concerning those tormented by illness before their journey has crept towards Jerusalem, and which

temporalities by the king and suspended by the pope: *EEA III*, ed. by Cheney and Johns, p. 90 n. 1; *EEA 28: York 1189–1212*, ed. by Marie Lovatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. xlviii–ix.

³⁵ Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 318.

³⁶ From the start of the Mass, *Laetare Jerusalem*, sung on the fourth Sunday in Lent.

³⁷ London, The National Archives, C85/1; C85/97.

³⁸ Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 318. ‘Datum Laterani, secundo idus Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno quinto’.

³⁹ Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, C.A.: University of California, 1988), p. 44.

of them had capital, as well as how much.’⁴⁰ It is also possible that the archbishop expected the impending inquiry; the events of the previous year, in part, seem to have presaged it. On 25 July 1195 Pope Celestine issued a bull to the English episcopate instructing them to preach a new crusade and tasked the archbishop with petitioning King Richard I to send knights and foot soldiers (*milites et pedites*) to the East.⁴¹ This followed the start of a preaching campaign in the Holy Roman Empire after Emperor Henry VI (1191–1197) took the cross in March 1195.⁴² In addition to the petition for soldiers and the mandate for the inquiry into crusaders’ vows, Archbishop Hubert was instructed to impose the cross as penance during confession.⁴³ There was also some urgency for a new army in the Holy Land since King Richard’s three year truce with Saladin—as part of the Treaty of Jaffa in September 1192—was set to expire in spring 1196. Whilst Pope Celestine’s preaching bull and mandate for the inquiry do not mention the proposed ‘German’ crusade or the impending expiry of the truce, it is likely that the backsliders identified in the archbishop’s inquiries were intended to be among the new expedition’s participants. Viewing the inquiry as an extension of, or a response to, the recruitment bull of 1195, enhances previous suggestions that the English involvement was an attempt to moderate the heavy German influence of the expedition, even though this failed to coalesce.⁴⁴

Pope Innocent’s mandate (5 May 1201) was of a similar nature. Following the mandate’s issue, Archbishop Hubert ordered an inquiry to be held at Westminster on

⁴⁰ Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 263–264, ‘Item de cruciatīs mortuīs ante iter suū arreptum versus Jerusalem, et quīs eorū catalla habuerit, et quae, et quanta.’ (p. 264).

⁴¹ Diss, *Opera Historica*, II, pp. 132–35.

⁴² Peter W. Edbury, ‘Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East’, in *Pope Celestine III (1191–1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, ed. by John Doran and Damian A. Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 129–44 (pp. 132–33); for more on the ‘German’ Crusade see, G. A. Loud, ‘The German Crusade of 1197–1198’, *Crusades*, 13 (2014), 143–71; Tyerman, *God’s War*, pp. 488–94.

⁴³ *PL*, CCXIV, p. 1135. This was subsequently repeated in other papal mandates: *PL*, CCXV, pp. 745–46, 1136–37; CCXVI, p. 493.

⁴⁴ Edbury, ‘Celestine III’, p. 133 and n. 21.

24 August.⁴⁵ The intention was again to find anyone who had not yet fulfilled their crusaders' vow. The papal mandate stated that backsliders found during this inquiry should be compelled to join the next expedition to the Holy Land with the French contingent expected to depart in summer 1202, or they would face varying ecclesiastical censures for non-compliance. As noted by Cheney, however, Archbishop Hubert intentionally ignored the papal mandate for the crusaders to join the French.⁴⁶ The English crusaders were to resume their crosses by Martinmas (11 November 1201), and their departure was accelerated to Candlemas (2 February 1202), in order to pre-empt the French expedition which did not move until June 1202. What the makeup of this English force was, if indeed there was one, has unfortunately left no trace in the records, leaving modern historians, such as Donald Queller and Thomas Madden, to surmise that 'there were few or no English' present during the Fourth Crusade.⁴⁷

Of the two lists that grew out of these inquiries that relating to Cornwall has received scholarly attention, but that pertaining to Lincolnshire has not.⁴⁸ The Lincolnshire document is a small, uneven piece of parchment measuring 143mm top, 175mm right-hand side, 121mm bottom, and 180mm left-hand side. The document remains mounted in the second volume of the Christ Church Letters series of scrapbooks in Canterbury Cathedral Archives. The scrapbooks were compiled by Joseph Brigstock Sheppard sometime after 1877.⁴⁹ Below the document is the modern

⁴⁵ Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 137; IV, pp. 165–67; *CLI*, p. 52 no. 318.

⁴⁶ Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 241–42.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 242; Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, second edn. (Philadelphia, P: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 42–43.

⁴⁸ Orme and Padel, 'Cornwall', pp. 70–77.

⁴⁹ 'ChChLet – Scrapbooks', Canterbury Cathedral Archives Online Database, available at: <<http://archives.canterbury-cathedral.org/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=CCA-DCc%2fChChLet%2fII&pos=1>> [Accessed: 01 Feb. 2017].

pencilled caption: 'List of prospective Crusaders "crucesignati" at places in Lincolnshire.' Only the recto of the document is visible, containing the bulk of the written text. The text is written over thirty-two lines recording the extant vows of twenty-nine crusaders from seventeen parishes in the deanery of Holland. The Latin heading and four other names are located on the dorse, and can be viewed when lifting the bottom half of the document and carefully folding it back.⁵⁰

Palaeographical dating of the script is consistent with a date of the turn of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, that is, the late 1190s or early 1200s. Comparison of the handwriting suggests that the names on the dorse were written by a different scribe, using a more secretarial hand than the semi-formal hand for the testimonial accounts on the recto.⁵¹ Comparison of particular letterforms, most notably 'L / l' which contains a small dash halfway up its stem in forms on the dorse, as well as differences in others, such as 'a', 'h' and 's', further indicate a different scribe. It is possible that the testimony of the crusaders from the deanery of Holland was written first, as a formal account, with the secretarial notes on the four crusaders from the city of Lincoln on the dorse added later.

It is likely that the process of this early inquiry followed a similar practice to the one conducted by Bishop Robert Grosseteste in the diocese of Lincoln in 1247. During this later inquiry, Bishop Robert ordered his archdeacons and some trustworthy crusaders to inquire into other crusaders' extant vows and their bequests to the Holy Land. In turn, local parish priests were ordered to record the names of crusaders with extant vows known to them or which had been discovered by the agents of the inquiry, and submit these to their rural dean. The rural dean then collated the

⁵⁰ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, p. 131 n. 2, noted that the dorse of the document was 'now obscured' to modern historians.

⁵¹ My thanks to Professor Richard Sharpe and Dr Teresa Webber for their advice on the palaeographical style of the document.

accounts together and deposited them with the mendicant order responsible for preaching the cross in that deanery.⁵²

The evidence for a similar approach in the earlier inquiry is clear from two observations. First, the names in the list are arranged under seventeen parishes of the medieval deanery of Holland; however, the route it follows through the parishes does not cover all thirty-one parishes in the deanery, nor does it conform to an expected clockwise or contiguous pattern: the route, in fact, doubles back on itself twice. Secondly, there are differences in the list regarding what information was recorded. Specific familial status is given only for nineteen of the twenty-nine men from the parishes; moreover, at Boston it is simply noted that men such as Eudo son of Aslac ‘went’ (*ivit*). These differences are indicative of different agents searching for different information, and support the suggestion that the list was a consolidated return compiled from several individual reports given independently to the archiepiscopal or episcopal agents conducting the inquiry.

⁵² *CM*, VI, pp. 134–38; for a translation see, *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. by Mantello and Goering, pp. 454–58 no. 132.



Figure One: Map of the Route of the Inquiry, 1196.

Map designed by Therron Welstead.

The identity of who compiled the initial reports and consolidated the returns for submission to Archbishop Hubert is uncertain. The account given for Roger Haranc of Pinchbeck, for example, suggests that it was not the parish priest who conducted the inquiry since he was a witness. Therefore it must have been some other archiepiscopal or episcopal agent. The fact that the document is a consolidated return would explain the use of two hands in its construction, since, if the secretarial notes are indeed a later addition, the document could have been sent to the bishop of Lincoln's chancery for transmission to the archbishop of Canterbury, at which point the four extra crusaders discovered in the city may have been added, much like Nicholas Orme and Oliver Padel posited for the composition of the Cornish list.⁵³ There is, however, an absence of evidence in the archiepiscopal records and chronicle sources regarding what further action Archbishop Hubert took on receipt of the list,

⁵³ Orme and Padel, 'Cornwall', p. 72.

regardless of which inquiry it came from. Indeed, no contingent of English penitents resuming their crusade vows appears to have joined either the German or Fourth crusades, and, in a period where episcopal registers were yet to become commonplace in diocesan administration, there are no episcopal records dealing with any of the men named in the inquiry.⁵⁴ Aside from the copy of the bull in Roger of Howden's twelfth-century *Chronica* and the survival of the Lincolnshire and Cornish lists at Canterbury, then, we cannot know precisely what happened to those who were still able enough to go on crusade.

Furthermore, from the figures the lists provide it is difficult to discern an accurate indication of the wider uptake of the cross by poorer crusaders for the whole of England. Based on the figures of the Lincolnshire list there was an average of two crusaders per parish in the deanery of Holland who were identified in the inquiry. With thirty-one parishes in total for the deanery there could have been up to sixty-two backsliding crusaders identified in this deanery alone.⁵⁵ With twenty-two deaneries in the archdeaconry of Lincoln this average could produce 1,320 crusaders within this single archdeaconry. Comparatively, the list for the entirety of the archdeaconry of Cornwall covered seven of the eight rural deaneries, giving a total of forty-four names. This averages to six crusaders per accounted deanery, a tenth of that for the deanery of Holland. Such a disparity comes from the varying sizes of the deaneries and archdeaconries in all bishoprics. The average from both totals account for thirty-three crusaders per English diocesan deanery. There were around 312 deaneries in England, giving a possible total of 10,296 errant crusaders based on this average.⁵⁶ There are,

⁵⁴ What does survive from this period has been collated and printed by the English Episcopal Acta project: *EEA IV: Lincoln 1186–1206*, ed. by David M. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 1–143.

⁵⁵ The actual average is 1.7 per parish. This has been rounded up for general ease. This average multiplied by 31 parishes gives a lower total of 52.7 (53 rounded up) crusaders.

⁵⁶ Based on cumulative counting of deaneries recorded in the 1291 *Taxatio*. 'Taxatio: Containing the Valuation, plus related details of the English Welsh parish churches and prebends listed in the

however, enormous difficulties and constraints with this calculation and this final figure is likely an exaggeration given that the data is skewed by the large numbers from the deanery of Holland. Furthermore, this figure is highly speculative since it is near the high numbers of crusaders proffered by chronicles such as that of Richard of Devizes and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*.⁵⁷

In order to suggest a revised date for the list attention should be given to the historiography concerning the list's date of compilation. No firm dating has previously been proven for either the Lincolnshire or Cornish lists; however, they are believed to come from the inquiries into unfulfilled crusading vows outstanding from 1187–1188 held between 1196 and 1201. It is worth noting that W. D. Sweeting considered that 'the statement that some had not sufficient means to defray their expenses looks as though the list had been prepared before they left.'⁵⁸ This theory seems to have commanded little agreement, and some of the accounts—such as that of John Burchart or Andrew of Gosberton—explicitly state that the person in question had actually departed on crusade. Historians such as Cheney, Nicholas Orme, Oliver Padel, and Tyerman have generally erred on the side of caution because of the nature of the lists, suggesting the dating to be either the 1196 or 1201 inquiries.⁵⁹ Cheney, in particular, tended towards the 1201 date since he noted that 'most of the records [at Canterbury] belong to the last years of Hubert's pontificate.'⁶⁰ Brundage and Evans, however,

ecclesiastical taxation assessment of 1291–92', available at: <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/>> [Accessed: 01 February 2017].

⁵⁷ For a survey of the figures see, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 66–67.

⁵⁸ Sweeting, 'Crusaders in Lincolnshire', no. 1058.

⁵⁹ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, p. 131; Orme and Padel, 'Cornwall', p. 72; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 170–71; *Idem*, 'Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land?', pp. 17–18; *Idem*, *How to Plan a Crusade*, pp. 158–59. Although Tyerman's notation and bibliography reference only the Historical Manuscripts Commission edition, it is clear from this mention of Ralph Haranc that he had used the manuscript document.

⁶⁰ Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, p. 131.

dismissed the later date. Both cited ‘c.1197’ following the dating given by the Historical Manuscripts Commission edition.⁶¹

Recently, Barbara Bombi has claimed 1196 as the definite date; however, her argument is based on two largely unsubstantiated claims.⁶² First, she relies on the testimony of John Bucharth who was in Sicily sometime before King William II died in 1189.⁶³ John’s testimony, however, neglects to mention when or how many years it has been since he took the cross—diminishing Bombi’s assertion that he ‘had taken the cross in about 1186’—and thus giving no point of reference from which to date the inquiry.⁶⁴ Secondly, Bombi writes that ‘six crusaders further declare that they took the cross between 1186 and 1194.’⁶⁵ There is, however, no occasion within the list where the crusaders explicitly declare the year in which they took the cross; the year has to be implied from the dating of the inquiry and counting back the number of years since they were signed with the cross. Some claims are also difficult to validate because of the lack of evidence, such as the assertions that Andrew of Gosberton had gone on crusade previously as a proxy for someone else and that the Lincolnshire commissioners had ‘asked each crusader to provide written and/or verbal evidence of their circumstances’, bringing into question the reliability of Bombi’s observations regarding the list.⁶⁶

Establishing an accurate dating for the compilation of the Lincolnshire list is, therefore, important in order to place its contents within both the scope of the papal

⁶¹ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 125–26, 130–31; Evans, ‘Crusade’, pp. 149–54; *Idem*, ‘Commutation’, pp. 26–28; *Idem*, “‘A far from Aristocratic Affair’”, pp. 223–24. *Various Collections*, p. 235, the entry is titled: ‘Schedule of Lincolnshire Crusaders (c.1197)’.

⁶² Bombi, ‘Papal Legates’, p. 238, states: ‘Three references in this document give definitive evidence for the date of its compilation’, yet only two are given.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 247.

and episcopal inquiries, as well as the wider European context of either the aftermath of the Third Crusade or the English response to the Fourth Crusade. The one particular testimony which allows us to establish a more secure dating has not previously been explored in detail: that from the cleric, Andrew of Gosberton. What exactly his status as cleric or clerk entailed in Gosberton is unclear. It is possible that he may have been in minor holy orders and assisted the local dean or priest as a scribe. It is also equally likely that Andrew was the incumbent priest of Gosberton, although there is no extant episcopal *actum* or register to confirm this hypothesis.⁶⁷ This was a time when the Church had not fully succeeded in imposing clerical celibacy over its personnel, and it may be possible that Andrew had been married before the bishop of Lincoln began to crack down on clerical marriages.⁶⁸ Andrew was one of three crusaders who claimed to have been ‘signed with the cross ten years ago’, yet he was the only one out of the three to embark on the journey towards the Holy Land.⁶⁹ Andrew’s account states that he ‘undertook a journey but returned having not completed his mission as at that time the land of Jerusalem had been laid to waste and the crossing was prohibited.’ If Andrew had given his testimony in 1196, then he must have tried to reach the Holy Land sometime in late 1186 or 1187. However, we are not told where he got to before turning back. If, like John Burchard, he had arrived in Sicily, there would have still been an embargo in place on pilgrim ships into and out of Sicilian harbours.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ The earliest incumbent we know of is Richard de Atteberge who was collated in c.1208x1209: *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, ed. by Phillimore, I, p. 123; W. J. Kaye, *A Brief History of the Church and Parish of Gosberton in the County of Lincoln* (London: 1898), pp. 27–28, 34.

⁶⁸ For a recent study of English clerical celibacy see, Hugh M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066–1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 154–86, for examples from the late twelfth century, see esp. pp. 164–77, 183–86.

⁶⁹ The three are Andrew the cleric of Gosberton, Hugo the son of Guy, and Ulf Poucer.

⁷⁰ *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. by Margaret Ruth Morgan, *Documents relatifs à l’histoire des Croisades* 14 (Paris: Geuthner, 1982), chap. 79, p. 82; *The Old French Continuation of William*

A more convincing theory can be suggested. On 4 July 1187, Saladin had defeated the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the Battle of Hattin, and, as Thomas Asbridge put it, '[a]s it was, through that summer, Frankish Palestine collapsed with barely a whimper.'⁷¹ Between July and September 1187, many of Frankish Outremer's coastal settlements either capitulated or were conquered by Saladin's army. The fighting certainly left the land laid waste and made pilgrim crossings problematical. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* reported that, after the capture of Acre on 9 July 1187, ships carrying western pilgrims who did not know of the defeat at Hattin were captured and made an example of by Saladin's forces.⁷² After this point, pilgrimage to the Holy Land was curtailed. On 20 September 1187, Saladin laid siege to Jerusalem, and, on 2 October, the Holy City was surrendered, rendering the route for Christian pilgrims impassable. If Andrew had begun but then abandoned an attempt to make a passage to the Holy Land in 1186 or 1187, it would be entirely understandable.

If Andrew had given his testimony to the 1201 enquiry, however, it is likely that he would have attempted his journey in the far more favourable circumstances of 1191 or 1192. This period represented the high point of the Third Crusade. The crusader army made good progress with the arrival of the kings of England and France, and on 12 July 1191 the garrison at Acre surrendered to the crusader forces. Just a year later, on 17 June 1192, negotiations began for the Treaty of Jaffa. On 2 September 1192 the crusade came to an end when King Richard I and Saladin agreed to the terms

of Tyre, trans. by Peter W. Edbury, in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, ed. by Peter W. Edbury, Crusade Texts in Translation 1 (Farnham: Ashgate, 1996), pp. 11–145 (p. 74).

⁷¹ Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2012), p. 354. For a general account of the Battle of Hattin and the aftermath for the kingdom of Jerusalem see: B. Z. Kedar, 'The Battle of Hattin Revisited', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. by Kedar, pp. 190–207; Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 366–74.

⁷² *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, I, p. 18; translated in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 35. For Saladin's progress down the coast: Asbridge, *The Crusades*, p. 354; Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 372.

of the treaty. One of the guarantees of the treaty was the same conduct of Christian and Muslim pilgrims throughout the Holy Land.⁷³ This agreement would have certainly caused the agents conducting the inquiry to question what had left the Holy Land desolate and passage prohibited at that time, considering pilgrims' safety was agreed. Thus, the most convincing conclusion to be drawn from the evidence of Andrew's testimony is that he had taken the cross in 1186 and had attempted his journey sometime after 9 July but before 2 October 1187. This testimony, therefore, dates the inquiry to before 31 March 1196 and to the first of Archbishop Hubert's inquiries.

In light of the new dating, and addressing the omission of two crusaders in the Historical Manuscripts Commission edition, it is worth attempting a new appraisal of the list's contents. More specifically, it is worth exploring the contents of the accounts to see what sort of man took the cross.⁷⁴ The testimonies of several other crusaders in the Lincolnshire list call for attention because of the content of their accounts. For many of those listed we are afforded details of their crusader status, as well as their familial and financial situations. All thirty-three named on both sides of the document are men. Most of the forenames are typical Norman names which were popular after the Conquest; however, two names, Ulf Poucer and Huskarl Gouc, are distinctly Scandinavian. All have surnames which fall into the four main categories of such names: twelve state a relationship ('son of'); ten are nicknames; eight are occupations; and three relate to places, all of which are in Lincolnshire. One nickname is related to a place, *Dultremer* ('from overseas'). It is possible, in this crusading context, that Alured could have come from Frankish Outremer, Outremer being a term which was used at times to denote the Latin states founded in the Levant.⁷⁵ Only one of the relationships

⁷³ *La Continuation*, ed. by Morgan, chap. 79 p. 83; *The Old French Continuation*, ed. and trans. by Edbury, p. 74.

⁷⁴ For previous examinations see, Evans, "A far from Aristocratic Affair", pp. 26–28; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 171–72.

⁷⁵ My thanks to Dr Darron Burrows for this etymology and suggestion.

is metronymic rather than patronymic; Lambert the son of ‘Eltruth’, which represents the Latinized form of the Old English name *Ælbelthryth* or *Ælfthryth*.⁷⁶ From the occupational names we find a skinner, potter, butcher, smith, clerk, wine merchant, ditch-digger, and baker. These are likely to indicate real occupations, like those in the Cornish list, ‘since such surnames had not yet become hereditary.’⁷⁷ Moreover, as Evans observed, these occupations indicate that several of those who had been signed with the cross were part of a skilled but poor artisan class.⁷⁸

Information regarding family situations is provided for the majority of those listed. Nineteen of the men were married, and fourteen of them had children. William the ditch-digger from Holbeach was recorded as having ‘no wife and children’. However, Walter the smith from Kirton, Thomas of Hoffleet Stow, and Hugh son of Gaimer married after taking the cross. Whilst Walter the smith was apparently in the fortunate position of being able to go on crusade, Thomas and Hugh were not. Both Thomas and Hugh had five children each, so maybe they were hoping that their familial duties would excuse them from fulfilling their vow. There is also the possibility that their wives had declined to consent to their departure. Until the pontificate of Pope Innocent III, canon law regarding marriage and a crusader’s vow generally sided with the wife’s rights; that is, the husband was required to obtain his wife’s consent before going on crusade.⁷⁹ Could it be that Thomas and Hugh’s crusader vows had been superseded by their marriage vows and their respective wife’s veto?

⁷⁶ My thanks to Professor Richard Coates who identified this.

⁷⁷ Orme and Padel, ‘Cornwall’, p. 73.

⁷⁸ Evans, “A far from Aristocratic Affair”, p. 27.

⁷⁹ James Muldoon, ‘Crusading and Canon Law’, in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. by Helen J. Nicholson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 37–57 (p. 48); see further, James A. Brundage, ‘The Crusader’s Wife: a Canonistic Quandary’, *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967), 425–441 (p. 435); *Idem*, ‘The Crusader’s Wife Revisited’, *Studia Gratiana*, 14 (1967), 241–51.

Three of the men were recorded as having no children; one had one child; four had two children; one had four; three had five; and two had seven. Three accounts give no quantification, saying instead with ‘many children’, ‘young sons’, and ‘has children’. The approximate ages of ten of the men are given, with five listed as young, three as middle-aged, and two as old. Finally, the financial situations of fourteen of the men are given, ten of whom are ‘very poor’, three are just ‘poor’, and Elias son of Harvey is described as being a ‘pauper and almost a beggar.’ The added description for Lambert, son of Eltruth, is also rather revealing. In the account he is described as ‘very poor, providing sustenance by his own hand’, suggesting that for the rest of the crusaders recorded in the list their incomes did not come from direct labour. Similarly, Hubert, son of Guy, from Surfleet is ‘unemployed’ and ‘serves his brother’, who may well be Hugo, son of Guy, from Pinchbeck.

Considering that the Lincolnshire document is supposed to have arisen as a direct result of Archbishop Hubert’s inquiry into crusaders, it is curious to note that only fifteen of the thirty-three men are explicitly recorded as being ‘*crucesignatus*’. This reinforces the idea that the document is a compiled return from several independent agents. If the dating of the document to the inquiry of 1196 is accepted, then we find that Huskarl Gouc took the cross as late as 1194, highlighting, perhaps, that for many the crusade had not ended with the Treaty of Jaffa, nor the capture and incarceration of King Richard by Duke Leopold V of Austria. It may well be the case that the inquiry by royal itinerant justices into dead or dying crusaders in 1194 spurred Huskarl into action.⁸⁰ Furthermore, to take the cross in this period was to take a vow to visit the Holy Land as a pilgrim, not necessarily to engage in holy war.⁸¹ Others had taken the

⁸⁰ Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 263–64.

⁸¹ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 118–22. These terms were used by the writer of the *Itinerarium* to discuss the groups that took the cross before the Third Crusade, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. by Stubbs, pp. 33, 139; *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, pp. 48, 142.

cross five, eight, and ten years prior to the inquiry—thus in 1191, 1188, and 1186—with Robert and Lambert from Skirbeck having taken the cross at an indeterminate time, but contemporary to one another.

Of interest to the agents of the inquiry were the accounts of those who had actually attempted the journey to Jerusalem. At least eight of those signed with the cross had departed on crusade. Two, Robert and Lambert from Skirbeck, began their journey but turned back at some point, perhaps because of insufficient funds. John Bucharth and Andrew of Gosberton departed with all intention of getting to Jerusalem, but found their way blocked. Both men managed to secure a papal pardon from their respective vows until such a time as they could undertake the journey fully. Andrew, in particular, had taken the cross sometime before 1186 and had already completed one pilgrimage to the Holy Land of his own volition. Bombi claims that Andrew ‘had been to the Holy Land on behalf of another crusader who had been commuted of his vow’.⁸² However, Andrew’s account makes no mention that he had gone as a proxy on behalf of a commuted crusader. His account simply states: ‘however, before the already-mentioned devastation of the aforesaid land, signed with the cross on another occasion, he had undertaken that journey and completed it well.’ It is plausible that Andrew had attended the Second Crusade.⁸³ If he was aged twenty and departed in 1147, then he would have been fifty-nine when he took the cross in 1186 and sixty-nine when questioned in 1196. However, since the record of the inquiry neglected to record him as an old man, citing only that ‘he is not able to make this journey’, it is

⁸² Bombi, ‘Papal Legates’, p. 240,

⁸³ For the English contribution to the Second Crusade see, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 32–36.

more probable that he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land outside of a crusading expedition, that is post-1149 but pre-1186.⁸⁴

Two others, Richard son of Thurstan and William son of Swift, asserted that they had made it to Jerusalem, yet had no witnesses to the fact; neither account gives the number of years since they took the cross, so it cannot be determined if they might have completed their pilgrimage after the Treaty of Jaffa in 1192. Eudo son of Aslac from Boston is recorded as having gone, and the Latin implies that the six names which follow had also done the same. Finally, Hubert, the son of Guy, had departed on crusade in 1191 but was robbed in Lombardy, a similar fate to that suffered by Bishop John of Norwich, on his journey through Burgundy in 1190.⁸⁵ In fact, only one man, Roger Stoile of Moulton, was described in the inquiry as ‘young and ready for the journey’.

There are three testimonies which cover more than the basic information which the agents were collecting. The first, which allowed us to date the document, is that of Andrew of Gosberton. Second, and of particular note, is the story of John Bucharth. Whilst the latter’s account does not give the number of years since he took the cross, we can identify that his pilgrimage towards the Holy Land took place within a two-year window, specifically, between 1185 to 1187.⁸⁶ John’s account records that he ‘had travelled towards Jerusalem in the time of William, the king of Apulia, by whom passage across the Mediterranean had been prohibited.’ This is King William II of Sicily (1166–1189), awarded the sobriquet ‘the Good’. In 1185, with strained relations

⁸⁴ In recent years the ‘Independent Crusaders Project’ at Fordham University has attempted to build up accounts and records relating to those who can be identified as having travelled to the Holy Land outside of a crusading expedition, available at:

<<https://medievalomeka.ace.fordham.edu/exhibits/show/independent-crusaders-project-/profile-pages>> [Accessed: 07 January 2017].

⁸⁵ Devizes, *Chronicle*, pp. 10–11.

⁸⁶ *Contra*, Bombi, ‘Papal Legates’, pp. 237–41.

between Sicily and the Byzantine Empire, William detained ‘the pilgrims from other lands who were passing through his kingdom’.⁸⁷ According to the *L’Estoire de Eracles*—the Old French continuation of the twelfth-century chronicle of Archbishop William of Tyre—the result was that ‘for two years he [William II] held up the passage so that no one could cross to the land of Outremer’.⁸⁸ The continuator added that upon hearing of the defeat of the Jerusalemite army at Hattin and the subsequent conquests by Saladin, King William afterwards blamed himself for the collapse of Frankish Outremer, believing it was a result of this embargo.⁸⁹ Clearly, for John Burchard to reach Sicily and find passage across the Mediterranean prohibited, he must have travelled there sometime between 1185 and 1187, perhaps before Andrew of Gosberton’s attempted journey.

The third and final long account is that of Roger Haranc. This reminds us that not everyone saw taking the cross as an important action. According to the priest who had signed Roger and Roger’s neighbours, he had taken the cross eight years before the inquiry, that is, in 1188. Roger, however, denied that he had ever received the cross. Perhaps, as Tyerman suggests, Roger had taken the cross in a frenzied moment, caught up with mob enthusiasm for the new crusading venture, only to delay and put it aside,

⁸⁷ *La continuation*, ed. by Morgan, chap. 79 p. 82; *The Old French Continuation*, ed. by Edbury, p. 74. For more on the history of the continuation see: Peter W. Edbury, ‘The Lyon *Eracles* and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre’, in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (Farnham: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 139–53; *Idem*, ‘The French Translation of William of Tyre’s *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition’, *Crusades*, 6 (2007), 69–105; *Idem*, ‘New Perspectives on the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre’, *Crusades*, 9 (2010), 107–14. See also, Paul Oldfield, ‘The Use and Abuse of Pilgrims in Norman Italy’, in *Crusading and Pilgrimage*, ed. by Hurlock and Oldfield, pp. 139–56 (pp. 149–50).

⁸⁸ *La continuation*, ed. by Morgan, chap. 79 p. 82; *The Old French Continuation*, ed. by Edbury, p. 74.

⁸⁹ *La continuation*, ed. by Morgan, chap. 79 p. 82; *The Old French Continuation*, ed. by Edbury, p. 74. For the wider implications of this see: Oldfield, ‘The Use and Abuse of Pilgrims’, pp. 149–51. For William II of Sicily’s crusading endeavours: Helene Wieruzowski, ‘The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Crusades’, in *A History of the Crusades Volume II: The Later Crusaders 1189–1311*, ed. by Robert Lee Wolff and Harry W. Hazzard (Madison, MI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 3–44 (pp. 38–41).

forgetting all about it ‘until the long arm of Archbishop-Justiciar Hubert Walter reached out’.⁹⁰ Or, he could have intended to use the vow in order to gain the privileges of a crusader and avoid taxation. Furthermore, this particular submission highlights that, as in later episcopal inquiries, the testimony provided by those who had taken the cross was substantiated by a panel of witnesses, including the priest who had conducted the rite of cross signing.⁹¹ This is also echoed in the statements given for three other crusaders—John Buchart, John le Borne, and Walter the smith—whose testimonies were corroborated by their neighbours or other witnesses. Unfortunately for the agents of the inquiry, Andrew, John, and Roger were in no way able to resume their crosses and undertake the journey to Jerusalem.

In many ways the accounts given above reinforce the conclusions drawn by Brundage in his examination of the Lincolnshire and Cornish lists. Brundage concluded that ‘[o]bviously the crusade in twelfth-century Lancashire [*sic*] and Cornwall was a far from aristocratic affair.’⁹² Considering that many of those listed were too poor or of unsuitable age to go on crusade and it would seem that he is right. We do, however, need to note that it is highly unlikely that the Lincolnshire list represents all those who took the cross in the deanery of Holland since 1186, and that it was part of a wider set of returns for the diocese of Lincoln, now lost. In all, there must have been many more defaulters of similar standing to those in the surviving list. It must also be noted that the names recorded here are those of people who had defaulted on their vows to reach the Holy Land. Though it appears to afford us a unique insight into the lower-ranking participants, what it actually does tell us about are those who were left behind and the reasons why. Moreover, doubt is thrown on Brundage’s suggestion by Roger of Howden’s list of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire

⁹⁰ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 171.

⁹¹ *CM*, VI, pp. 134–38.

⁹² Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 131.

casualties at Acre, which records many evidently high-status victims who held land and commanded influence.⁹³ Clearly, those of local prominence or in the service of some local lord were more able to go on crusade than middle-aged, poor men with large families to support. The data given to us in the lists, therefore, skews the sample, and only further documentary research could provide fuller lists of English crusaders who made it to the Holy Land and their backgrounds.

Yet, what might have influenced those from the deanery of Holland and city of Lincoln? Unfortunately, we are given no explicit information on why the twenty-nine crusaders from the deanery of Holland or the four from the city of Lincoln chose to take the cross. However, for the former we can infer at least two primary influences on them, regardless of their financial or familial situations. The first is the leadership of an influential secular lord, Guy II of Craon (*d. c.1205*). The second is the preaching of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln—later known as St Hugh.

Guy II de Craon was descended from the Norman magnate Guy I de Craon (*d. c.1121*), who had obtained extensive lands in Lincolnshire by 1086.⁹⁴ The Craon barony was centred around Freiston (Lincolnshire), near Boston, and included lands in Boston, Wyberton, Kirton, Swineshead, Bicker, Pinchbeck, Spalding and Moulton, all places named on the Lincolnshire list.⁹⁵ Moreover, at the time of the 1196 inquiry,

⁹³ Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 89; [Howden], *Gesta*, II, p. 149; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 170.

⁹⁴ *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, ed. by A. Williams and G. H. Martin (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp. 949–51; G. Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire Volume IV (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1985), p. 22.

⁹⁵ *Domesday Book*, ed. by Williams and Martin, pp. 949–51; *The Red Book of the Exchequer* entry for 1211–1212 lists the ‘*Honor de Croum*’ as over sixteen knights’ fees: *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. by H. Hall, 3 vols, (London: HMSO, 1869), II, pp. 610–11; see also, Evans, ‘Crusade and Society’, p. 285. The *Cartae Baronum* of 1166 gives a total of 22½ knights’ fees for the lands of Maurice de Craon in Lincolnshire: *Cartae Baronum*, ed. by Neil Stacey, Pipe Roll Society New Series 62 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), pp. 220–21.

Guy II was still on crusade.⁹⁶ In addition, Guy had ties to the Knights Templar, having gifted them lands in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire.⁹⁷ The tenurial ties to the lands from which many of those named on the list originated, therefore, must have exerted a remarkable pressure to join the crusade, as Evans observed: 'It is far from implausible to suppose that Guy de Craon was lord of many of these would-be crusaders, or at the very least his influence may have been behind the number of people taking the cross in south-east Lincolnshire.'⁹⁸

Of further consideration in the secular sphere is the important nature of Boston as one of the most prosperous English ports by c.1200, which may well have given cause for it to produce the single highest number of crusaders from the deanery (a total of seven).⁹⁹ It is in this context of lordship and landowning that we find one Eudo son of Aslac, who is documented as having gone on crusade, as a witness to a grant of land in Boston in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Could Eudo's reasons for going have been tied up with Guy II de Craon as his secular lord?

On the ecclesiastical side we need to consider the role of St Hugh of Lincoln. Gervase of Canterbury is the only contemporary chronicler to record that, at the Council of Geddington on 3 February 1188, 'Bishop John of Norwich and the bishop

⁹⁶ *Curia Regis Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office (Richard I and John)* (London: HMSO, 1923), II, pp. 13–14; *The Itinerary of King Richard I, with studies of certain matters of interest connected with his reign*, ed. by Lionel Landon, Pipe Roll Society 51 also as Pipe Roll Society New Series 3 (London: Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, 1935), no. 342; Evans, 'Crusade and Society', p. 338.

⁹⁷ *The Red Book*, II, p. 551; *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees commonly called the Testa de Nevill*, 2 vols (London: HMSO, 1920–23), I, p. 179; II, p. 1049; Evans, 'Crusade and Society', p. 285.

⁹⁸ Evans, 'Crusade and Society', p. 286.

⁹⁹ E. Carus-Wilson, 'The Medieval Trade Ports of the Wash', *Medieval Archaeology*, 6–7 (1962–63), 182–201 (p. 182).

¹⁰⁰ Lincoln, LRO, 3-ANC/2/1, fol. 27^r, no. 115. There is no mention of Eudo holding land in Boston as Evans claimed: Evans, 'Crusade and Society', p. 151. A transcribed catalogue entry is available at: <<https://www.lincstothePast.com/Huntingfield-Cartulary/892426.record?pt=S>> [Accessed: 17 February 2017].

of Lincoln, and many others took the cross'.¹⁰¹ However, the accounts of Howden and William of Newburgh, who also recorded the Council of Geddington, neglect to mention this event.¹⁰² Similarly, only Howden records St Hugh's attendance at the crusading council at Pipewell in September 1188.¹⁰³ As Beatrice Siedschlag mentions, considering the coverage of the council 'it is hardly conceivable that anyone so generally revered as Bishop Hugh could have taken the cross and only one chronicler has mentioned it.'¹⁰⁴ It is probably right to treat Gervase's statement with scepticism as Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* fails to make any reference to its subject's involvement with the crusade.¹⁰⁵ Considering St Hugh's inaction when it came to the crusade, it stands to reason that secular forces, such as Guy II de Craon, played a larger role in the recruitment of these Lincolnshire crusaders than the bishop did.

Re-dating the Lincolnshire list to the archiepiscopal inquiry into crusaders in 1196 on the basis of the crusaders' accounts provided illuminates the document's place in relation to other contemporary sources for the Third Crusade. The accounts of John Burchart, Andrew of Gosberton, and Hubert son of Guy, in particular, allow historians to see the difficulties faced by crusaders through their own perspective of the journey and the process by which some managed to obtain relaxation of their vows for a time. For historians of the crusades, the Lincolnshire list provides an incomparable glimpse into the familial and financial states of the lower ranking participants caught up in the

¹⁰¹ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, I, p. 410. '*Sumpsit autem crucem Johannes episcopus Norwicensis et episcopus Lincolnensis et populus multus.*'

¹⁰² [Howden], *Gesta*, II, p. 33; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, I, p. 275.

¹⁰³ Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ Siedschlag, 'English Participation in the Crusades', p. 14, n. 3.

¹⁰⁵ Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, ed. and trans. by Douie and Farmer, II, pp. 17–18; see also, Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 136; Cooper, 'William Longbeard', pp. 95–96. For a background see, Joe Hillaby, 'Prelude and Postscript to the York Massacre: Attacks in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, 1190', in *Christians and Jews*, ed. by Jones and Watson, pp. 43–56; R. B. Dobson, *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of 1190*, Borthwick Papers 45 (York: St Anthony's Press, 1974).

enthusiasm of the Third Crusade. However, in contrast to Brundage's sweeping conclusions that the crusade 'was a far from aristocratic affair', we need to note that the list offers but a fragmentary view specifically of the people who had not managed to fulfil their vows and the arguments they adduced for failing to fulfil them. The testimony provided from the investigations of the archiepiscopal agents, like the list of names from the archdeaconry of Cornwall, reveals that enthusiasm for the Third Crusade was not limited to wealthy knights and clergy, but included all strata of society. It is also likely that many others from all over the British Isles who faced similar familial and financial situations had departed on crusade, with only a few perhaps making it to the Holy Land. No other contemporary sources for the Third Crusade illustrate the situations of the crusaders in such terms. This unique perspective in itself emphasizes the importance of locating the Lincolnshire list, and by extension the Cornish list, as precisely as possible in its proper context.

The list affords an insight into the first of a type of ecclesiastical inquiry which would take place regularly throughout the rest of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As it survives, the document was certainly the product of a comprehensive inquiry by several episcopal or archiepiscopal agents before being compiled into one list. This method became the standard *modus operandi* for these inquiries into the late thirteenth century. Considering the similarities in title, content, and scribal hand, it may well be the case that the Cornish list also dates from the same inquiry on 1196. The inquiry of 1196 was therefore a significant moment in the history of English episcopal inquiry into errant crusaders, and provided the framework for all subsequent inquiries which came into their apogee in the late thirteenth century with the formulation and use of extensive 'articles of inquiry'.

IV. EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY INQUIRIES

From the very start of the thirteenth century, Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury was in continual contact with Pope Innocent III, questioning the terms for the redemption of crusaders' vows.¹⁰⁶ Pope Innocent offered lengthy replies.¹⁰⁷ Much of the correspondence between 1200 to 1201 offers an insight into how the commutation of crusade vows was interpreted by the English episcopate. Archbishop Hubert's first questions concerned who he should compel to resume the cross out of those backsliding crusaders identified during an inquiry, and what extenuating circumstances would enable these backsliders to commute their vows. Pope Innocent's reply was comprehensive in highlighting cases where the archbishop and episcopate were to coerce people into resuming their vows. Those who were poor or weak and unfit to fight in the crusades could redeem their vow, rather than incur the expenses of the journey to the Holy Land, although those who had a trade were expected to have ample means to support themselves on the venture. This may be one of the reasons why the lists of crusaders from Cornwall and Lincolnshire feature some occupational surnames. The Cornish list gives the occupations of a shoemaker, a marshal, a merchant, a miller, a smith, two skinnners, and two chaplains, and the Lincolnshire list gives those of a baker, a ditcher, a mason, a potter, a skinner, a smith, a clerk, and a vintner, all of whom were unlikely candidates to support themselves and take part in combat during a crusade expedition.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ For an examination of how the crusade vow developed under Pope Innocent III, see Jessalynn Bird, 'Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath', in *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis, Atti del Congresso Internazionale (Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998)*, ed. by Andrea Sommerlechner, 2 vols (Rome, 2002), I, pp. 503–24.

¹⁰⁷ Translations of these letters are found in Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, pp. 126–30; *Idem, Innocent III and England*, pp. 248–53; *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, pp. 47–52.

¹⁰⁸ Orme and Padel, 'Cornwall', p. 73; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 130–31. Hubert, son of Guy, was described as '*vacans est*' perhaps indicating that he was unemployed.

There also needed to be a distinction between those who had a temporary impediment to journeying to the Holy Land, and those for whom it was permanent. John Buchar of Wyberton (Lincolnshire), had tried and failed to complete his journey to the Holy Land but managed to secure papal dispensation authorizing him to defer the completion of his journey until a more expedient time. As Brundage noted: '[t]hat he would do so seemed unlikely, as the document added that he was middle-aged, married, had many children and was very poor.'¹⁰⁹ What actually happened and whether John Buchar took up his crusader's cross after the 1196 inquiry is, unfortunately, not recorded. Some English bishops also faced temporary impediments to their ability to go on crusade which led to the relaxation of their own crusade vows. One such example is Bishop Savaric fitzGeldewin of Bath and Glastonbury. In 1205, Pope Innocent III granted a concession for Bishop Savaric 'to put off his departure for the Holy Land, ordering him to return to his churches and free them of debt.'¹¹⁰ Bishop Savaric was granted the concession only because his impediment, a diocese burdened with some debt, was temporary. He was expected to go on crusade as soon as his churches were free from their debts, at which point he could personally bankroll a fighting force on his venture. No source, however, accounts for him attempting to journey to the Holy Land at this time. He died in Italy in August 1205; however, this was on business to support Peter des Roches' election as bishop of Winchester, rather than on crusade related business.¹¹¹

An exemption was also made for some of the clergy and other prelates of England. Archbishop Hubert questioned the ambiguity of redeeming 'religious men', whether they were lower clergy, like Andrew of Gosberton who had taken minor orders, or 'the bishops, who, as they excel others in dignity ought to be pre-eminently

¹⁰⁹ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 130.

¹¹⁰ *CPR*, I, p. 22.

¹¹¹ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 52.

religious'.¹¹² Pope Innocent's reply was that it was 'the concern of neither unless it has been delegated to them by the Apostolic See'.¹¹³ Hence, in 1205, Pope Innocent mandated his papal judge-delegate, Bishop Eustace of Ely (1198–1215), to absolve Henry de Whiston (Wiceton), subdeacon of Lincoln, from his crusader's vow once he had made a contribution to the Holy Land subsidy.¹¹⁴ The redemption came for the reason of his old age, but he was still required to pay 25 marks (£16 13s. 4d.) into the New Temple at London on the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June) 1205, and £25 every Easter thereafter.¹¹⁵ This is a remarkably large sum of money for the period, and it is difficult to know exact how much Henry de Whiston would have been paid annually. The closest value we have comes from the end of the thirteenth century in the *Taxatio* of 1297. In this record the subdean (*subdiaconatus*) of Lincoln earned an annual figure of £40, meaning that if Henry de Whiston was paid the same amount he would have to pay 62.5% of his annual income to the Holy Land subsidy.¹¹⁶ There is, however, some question over Henry's actual place in Lincoln Cathedral's hierarchy. He does not appear in the lists of subdeans (subdeacons) of Lincoln Cathedral, although it might have been an interim appointment.¹¹⁷ In 1205, William de Bramfield was murdered and there appears to have been confusion in the appointment of his successor between Gilbert and Philip who appear interchangeably.¹¹⁸ Henry of

¹¹² *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, p. 51.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹¹⁴ *CPrege*, I, p. 27; *CLI*, p. 122 no. 737; for Bishop Eustace's position as papal judge-delegate see D. M. Owen, 'Eustace (d. 1215), *administrator and bishop of Ely*', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article.8935?docPos=3>> [Accessed: 19 September 2017].

¹¹⁵ *PL*, CCXV, p. 1085; Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, pp. 252–53; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 64.

¹¹⁶ '*Taxatio*: Containing the Valuation, plus related details of the English Welsh parish churches and prebends listed in the ecclesiastical taxation assessment of 1291–92', 'Benefice of SUBDEANSHIP OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL, L.I.L.K.DI.04, available at: <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=L.I.L.K.DI.04>> [Accessed: 29 June 2019].

¹¹⁷ John le Neve and Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 3, Lincoln*, ed. by Diana E. Greenway (London: University of London, 1977), pp. 21–24.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 21–24; *AM*, I Tewkesbury, p. 57; II, Waverley, p. 257.

Whiston only appears in a single episcopal *actum* of the bishops of Lincoln, without any ecclesiastical rank associated with his name. The *actum* is one from Bishop Robert Chesney of Lincoln's (1148–1166) episcopate, dated between 19 December 1148 to 27 December 1166 confirming the churches of the deanery of Preston and Quinton, given by Gilbert of Preston and Philip and David of Quinton, to the monks of St Andrew's, Northampton.¹¹⁹ Henry does not appear in any other episcopal *acta* of the bishops of Lincoln for the period.¹²⁰ Whatever his placement, it was a significant grant to pay to the Holy Land subsidy in order to redeem his crusader's cross.

Clearly, in this early period, the redemption of English crusaders was entrusted to specific papal agents rather than the episcopate as a whole. In the case of Henry de Whiston, it was the bishop of Ely who was papal judge-delegate who was chosen to act, not the bishop of Lincoln. This is perhaps why Bishop William de Blois of Lincoln (1203–1206), was busy assisting the Crown to arrange an amicable agreement with the papacy for the redemption of Geoffrey fitzPeter's crusading vow, rather than just redeeming him himself.¹²¹ Geoffrey had been among the trusted *curiales* that King Richard I had absolved of their crusader vows.¹²² Bishop Eustace also had a hand in attempting to arrange this, having written to the pope alongside King John requesting that Geoffrey be allowed a stay of five years on his vow, which was granted.¹²³

In 1213, Pope Innocent III fundamentally changed the operation of the crusade vow and its redemptive indulgence. Modern interpretation of Pope Innocent's

¹¹⁹ *EEA I: Lincoln 1167–1185*, ed. by David M. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 117 no. 188.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, *passim*; *EEA IV: Lincoln 1186–1206*, ed. by David M. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), *passim*.

¹²¹ *CPR*, I, p. 27.

¹²² Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 6.

¹²³ *CLI*, pp. 105 no. 633, 110 no. 660; *PL*, CCXV, pp. 745–46; *Foedera*, ed. by Rymer, p. 44; Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, trans. by Diana E. Greenway and Jane E. Sayers, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 135.

bulls have described them as ‘the most extensive and ambitious catalogue of crusader rights and privileges promulgated by the papacy up to that time’, and they formed the central tenet of all crusading propaganda until the end of the thirteenth century.¹²⁴ In April and May 1213, two papal bulls were sent to the prelates of Western Christendom. The first summoned the prelates to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The second bull, *Quia Maior*, which launched the Fifth Crusade, offered that all who took the cross, whatever their status or condition, would receive the same spiritual and temporal privileges if they were to make a monetary donation as those who journeyed to the Holy Land and personally fulfilled their vows.¹²⁵

The shift was revolutionary. There was no specific reference to Jerusalem or the Holy Sepulchre. Instead, Pope Innocent clearly characterized this campaign as a military event, not a pilgrimage. This, therefore, shifted the aim of the subsequent preaching tours from an encouragement of the faithful to take up arms and fight for Christendom into the organized assembly of an armed force, not constrained by those physically unsuited to battle. This was made all the more explicit when Pope Innocent stated ‘we hope that persons will not be lacking if there is sufficient funding’ and

to those who do not make the journey in person, but send suitable men at their expense according to their ability and income, and to those who even at the expense of another, make the journey personally, we grant the full pardon of their sins.¹²⁶

This bull was enshrined in canon law as *Ad Liberandum*, canon 71 of the Fourth Lateran Council.¹²⁷ This fundamental change to the granting of the crusading vow, agreed by the many bishops and prelates present at this council—including two English

¹²⁴ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*.

¹²⁵ *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, p. 110. For an in-depth analysis of the bull see, Thomas W. Smith, ‘How to Craft a Crusade Call: Pope Innocent III and *Quia Maior* (1213)’, *Historical Research*, 92 (2019), 2–23.

¹²⁶ *Crusade and Christendom*, ed. by Bird, Peters and Powell, p. 109.

¹²⁷ *Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 267–71.

metropolitans, five bishops, and two bishops-elect—endorsed a system whereby the spiritual privilege of having one's sins removed was, as Brundage observed, 'routinely granted to anyone who made the crusade vow in return for a monetary and comparatively casual commutation of the vow.'¹²⁸ Pope Innocent's policy of only allowing the redemption, substitution, or commutation of the vow in cases where the crusader was unsuited to participate personally was confirmed by his successors, Popes Honorius III and Gregory IX.¹²⁹ Pope Gregory went one step further in 1240, changing the power of crusade redemption from those with papal privilege and legatine power to all those recruiting for the crusade.¹³⁰

The policy enshrined in *Quia Maior* and *Ad Liberandum* became the canonical basis of all later practice concerning vow redemption. It was, however, possibly based on an early system which had been utilized in England on the command of Pope Celestine III. According to the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman chroniclers Richard of Devizes and Roger of Howden, King Richard I was granted the papal privilege of redemption in 1189. King Richard was allowed to redeem the vows of those *curiales* he wished to remain and govern the realm in his absence.¹³¹ In return for the redemption of the vow and conferral of the justiciarship of England, Bishop Hugh le Puiset of Durham offered the king £10,000 on top of the £6,000 he had already paid for the earldom of Northumbria and the wapentake of Sadburge.¹³² King Richard also redeemed Bishop John of Norwich of his crusader's vow after the bishop had been

¹²⁸ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 155.

¹²⁹ *C&S*, II.1, p. 196; *CM*, III, pp. 283–87; Lloyd, *English Society*, p. 19; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 135.

¹³⁰ *CM*, IV, pp. 6–7. After the 1240s papal policy is the subject of detailed treatment in: Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades, the Papal-Angvin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay-Powers* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986); Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*.

¹³¹ Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 17; Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 6.

¹³² Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 13–15; Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 6; Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, pp. 305–07.

robbed in Burgundy, charging him 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) even though he had already redeemed his vow with the pope.¹³³ Similarly, Archbishop Walter of Rouen, ‘having saluted Jerusalem from afar [...] laid aside the Cross.’ As a way to redeem his vow he granted ‘the king, who was going to fight in his stead, everything he had brought with him for the expedition’.¹³⁴

Prior to the king’s ability to redeem vows, Gerald of Wales recorded that Archbishop Baldwin had been granted this papal privilege. The papal directive of Pope Clement III in 1188 allowed Archbishop Baldwin to grant crusade indulgences and remissions of sins based on a sliding scale of aid offered to the Holy Land subsidy when compared with a crusader’s standing in life:

Indeed whoever truly repenting, went there [i.e. the Holy Land] personally, he will have remission of all his sins. They who, indeed, agreeing with these things, left a subsidy for those same parts, or sent someone in their stead to tarry there in defence of the Christian people, we allow by our judgement a remission of sins; it must be conceded that, as they have truly repented, *the consideration is as much the quality of the person as the quantity of the subsidy*.¹³⁵ [My emphasis].

One Welshman utilized this to great effect. Cadur approached the archbishop and threw himself on Archbishop Baldwin’s mercy: ‘If in my infirmity I am too weak to win merit in full measure, let me still, by making a donation of one tenth of all that I possess, gain of that grace at least a moiety.’ Upon placing a tenth part of his worldly goods into Archbishop Baldwin’s hands, Cadur was granted half of the redemptive value of the crusade indulgence. Cadur approached again later the same day and gave the archbishop another tenth, doubling his price and thus his remission. Happily,

¹³³ [Howden], *Gesta*, II, p. 115.

¹³⁴ Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 27.

¹³⁵ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis, Opera*, VIII, pp. 236–39. ‘Sane quicumque vere poenitens in persona propria illuc iverit remissionem habebit omnium peccatorum. Qui vero de rebus suis competens subsidium direxerint ad partes easdem, sive pro se aliquem miserint qui ibi pro Christiani populi defensione debeant immorari, arbitrio vestro committimus de remissione peccatorum considerata tam qualitate personae quam subventionis quantitate, ipsis vere poenitentibus concedenda.’

Archbishop Baldwin granted it to him, and '[h]e put his arms around Cador, for he could not but admire both his devoutness and his ingenuity.'¹³⁶

This sliding scale of redemption was utilized by English prelates throughout the period. Especially at this early point, as Lunt highlights:

The amount of the penance remitted depended upon the size of the gift in relation to the wealth of the contributor. An earl who gave a shilling was not intended to receive as large a remission as a villein who gave the same amount. The extent of the remission awarded was left to the discretion of the local prelates.¹³⁷

However, as noted by that last sentence, it was the prelate's discretion which allowed for this sliding scale to be applied. We can see this in action from the case study in Chapter Four regarding the lists of donations to the Holy Land subsidy in the archiepiscopal register of Walter Giffard for 1274–1275.¹³⁸ Fulk de Alverstan, the crusader and transgressor against archiepiscopal power in the archdiocese of York in 1274–1275, was one such man the scale would have applied to. For Fulk's redemption he paid 12*d.*, whereas others, who were deemed able to afford it, paid up to a half of all their goods.¹³⁹ Fulk's redemption was no less valid than others charged more, he just paid a lower price according to his means. Similarly, the knight Thomas, called Baudewin, in the same lists, had also assaulted a priest and had to pay 10 marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) for his redemption and was also given the option to go to the Holy Land if he wished to.¹⁴⁰ Fulk's 12*d.* would not have got him far if he had decided to fulfil his crusading vow, whereas the knight Thomas's 10 marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) would have likely sustained a good portion of his journey. Evidently, some people could pay more than

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 73–74; translated in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, trans. by Thorpe, pp. 132–33.

¹³⁷ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 422.

¹³⁸ See above, pp. 125–87.

¹³⁹ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 134^v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 281; *Northern Regs.*, p. 52.

¹⁴⁰ YBI, Abp Reg 2, fol. 122^v; *Reg. Giffard of York*, p. 279; *Northern Regs.*, p. 49.

others because of their relative wealth and so the prelates used their best judgement to decide who paid what and what for.

All of this had long-term consequences on the substance of crusade vows. Men and women of any status could continue taking the cross, but it was no longer a necessity for them to fulfil their obligations in person. If they were of sufficient status they could pay for someone to complete a journey for them, and if not, they could be redeemed of their vow. This is why crusaders often made agreements with the king or the episcopate in order to commute their vow for an equivalent monetary value which could vary widely.¹⁴¹ With the need to raise money for other expeditions to the Holy Land, and with such a poor return on previous inquiries, a much more comprehensive approach was needed for wealth assessment and vow redemption. It became the episcopate's job to come up with ways in which these inquiries could be conducted, since, for the most part, it was the bishops of England who were appointed as the primary papal collectors for the Holy Land subsidy in the thirteenth century.¹⁴²

The next inquiry we can trace with any accuracy and detail was held in 1247, five years after Richard of Cornwall had returned from his crusade.¹⁴³ In 1244, Pope Innocent IV wrote to the bishops of England ordering them to pay the money owed to Richard from vow redemptions, obventions and legacies, as well as the twentieth which had been levied on ecclesiastical belongings.¹⁴⁴ Though crusade preaching was the responsibility of the friars, the assembly and disbursement of the money from the collection campaign lay with the bishops of England. It was to the chosen episcopal

¹⁴¹ For two examples with the king see: *Calendar of the Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, 1227–72*, 14 vols (London: HMSO, 1902–38), 1251–1253, pp. 231, 436.

¹⁴² Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 610–24, gives an appendix of papal collectors between 1173–1306.

¹⁴³ *CM*, IV, p. 180.

¹⁴⁴ Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, pp. 488–90.

collectors that the other bishops of England had to report and account for the money owed from their dioceses to Richard of Cornwall.¹⁴⁵

Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, in his capacity as collector of the Holy Land subsidy, provided a lengthy letter to his brother bishops, explaining that he had received the mandates of the previous collectors and would heed them, as well as Pope Innocent IV's letter.¹⁴⁶ Bishop Robert then outlined his programme for conducting an inquiry in local parishes in order that the correct amounts could be collected by the relevant authorities. He tasked his archdeacons and several worthy crusaders to conduct the comprehensive inquiry into crusaders whose vows were still extant, or who had died before setting out, as well as who their executors were.¹⁴⁷ The names of all these people were recorded by the local parish priest and then submitted to the rural deans of the archdeaconries, who then collated the reports and submitted them to the Franciscan or Dominican house that had been responsible for preaching the cross in that respective deanery. At this point, the collection of the money owed was handed from the episcopate over to the mendicants who then deposited the money ready for when the bishops of Worcester or Lincoln, in their capacity as executors of the cross, wanted to access it.

What we see here is the impressive administration of the thirteenth-century English diocese being brought to bear on the issue of crusading money. The bishop delegated to every level that he could. The parish clergy, accompanied by a reputable man who was a crusader, looked for those that were signed with the cross, alive or

¹⁴⁵ CPR 1247–1258, p. 250; *Foedera*, p. 241.

¹⁴⁶ CM, VI, pp. 134–38; translated in, *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. by Mantello and Goering, pp. 454–58 letter 132.

¹⁴⁷ CM, VI, pp. 134–38 (p. 137), '*Item, deputentur per vos in singulis parochiis archidiaconatum vestrorum aliqui fide digni cruce signati una cum sacerdote, qui conscribant nomina cruce signatorum decedentium, qui jam decesserunt, vel qui in futurum decedent; et quantum promiserint vel legaverint in subsidium Terrae Sanctae, et qui fuerint executores.*' Translated in: *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. by Mantello and Goering, no. 132, pp. 454–58 (p. 457).

dead, amongst their parishioners; the rural deans sealed and corroborated the reports made, and then it was in the hands of the mendicant orders. The bishops probably kept a close eye on this collection to ensure that everything in the diocese was submitted to the collectors. It is possible that the comprehensive outlined proffered by Bishop Robert was intended as an advisory guide for other bishops to use in their respective dioceses, taking some of the expected burden off them and placing it elsewhere; however, it is impossible to know if similar inquiries took place elsewhere in English dioceses simply because no records of this occurring survive.

Importantly, Bishop Robert's inquiry also investigated crusaders' testaments.

The agents had to:

note down the names of crusaders who are dying, who have already died, or who will die, how much they promised or bequeathed in support of the Holy Land, and who were their testamentary executors. These executors are to be directed to have this money ready for collection when demanded [...] Moreover, with regard to the portion that concerns them of the property of the crusaders who die intestate, the friends of the dead and the friars appointed there to preach the crusade are to fix as large an amount as possible, without causing scandal, as a subsidy for the Holy Land.¹⁴⁸

Chaplains also had to urge their parishioners who were ill to donate to the Holy Land subsidy in their wills to the full extent of their resources, otherwise they would receive only a portion of the redemption they would otherwise be granted.

Of the receipts that survive from the money granted to Richard of Cornwall by the English episcopate, it is unfortunate that none differentiate between testamentary bequests and vow redemptions. Furthermore, the picture that historians can draw from these records falls far short of Matthew Paris and Gervase of Canterbury's claims that 'infinite' money was collected from vow redemptions.¹⁴⁹ What

¹⁴⁸ *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. by Mantello and Goering, p. 457.

¹⁴⁹ *CM*, IV, p. 635; Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, II, p. 302.

can be inferred, however, is that the response to the cross could vary widely between geographical areas. In 1244, the ‘dignities and prebends’ of the diocese of Salisbury rendered £89 10s., the diocese of Chichester £227 6s., in 1246 the archdeaconry of St Albans transferred £25 to the earl, totalling £391 16s. that we can verify with some relative accuracy. In 1247 Matthew Paris also chronicled the rumour that another anonymous archdeaconry had paid £600, taking the total to £991 16s.¹⁵⁰ Michael Lower, in his study of the Barons’ Crusade (1234–1241), commented that while the figures from Salisbury, Chichester, and St Albans ‘show that [the] response could vary widely from one diocese to another (Chichester raised three times as much money as Salisbury), they do not provide a reliable statistical sample of redemption revenue from which an estimate of the total amount raised in England might be extrapolated.’¹⁵¹ Lower also identified other limitations which bring Matthew Paris’s claims into question, noting that while Paris seems to have obtained his information from Richard of Cornwall, the final figure he gives of 20,000 marks (£13,333 6s. 8d.) came at a time he was ‘discussing the evils of vow redemption and Richard’s exploitation of the mechanism to satisfy his greed’ and thus inflated the estimates.¹⁵² While Lower does not mention the random £600 mentioned by Paris, it is likely that this figure may have been intended as an aid for inflating the money gathered by Richard in order to demonstrate his greed.

For the next few years, the bishops of Worcester and Lincoln were mandated ‘to collect moneys promised for the Holy land, and appoint fit persons to expend the same in pay of native knights and soldiers, and other business of the crusade.’¹⁵³ In

¹⁵⁰ CM, IV, p. 635; VI, p. 138; Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, p. 489; *Report of the Royal Commission on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, p. 1290; see also Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 434.

¹⁵¹ Michael Lower, *The Barons’ Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 56.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁵³ CPrege, I, pp. 234.

1247, the mandate expanded to ‘collect legacies, sums promised, and redemptions of vows for the Holy Land, and to distribute them among the crusaders’.¹⁵⁴ This mandate was repeated again in 1248 with the need to disburse 2,000 marks (£1,333 6s. 8d.) to William Longspée and a further £1,000 lodged with the bishop of London and dean of Lincoln.¹⁵⁵ It also seems that the diocese of Hereford was outside the remit of the collectors periodically throughout the thirteenth century. That this is the case is evidenced by the papal mandate in 1246 to Bishop Peter d’Aigueblanche, who was tasked to ‘receive and keep redemptions of crusaders’ vows in his diocese, and the twentieth.’¹⁵⁶ There is little to account for Hereford’s seemingly unique situation aside from its placement on the periphery of the English limits of the province of Canterbury. As is clear from this example, bishops sometimes acted in an *ad hoc* manner and there was no cohesive policy for why some dioceses lay outside the remit of the collectors.

V. THE ENGLISH EPISCOPATE UNITED?

On 26 April 1250, King Henry III took the cross, heralding the start of a new collection campaign in England.¹⁵⁷ 1252 seems to mark a watershed where some, such as Sophie Ambler, have considered that the English episcopate was united in the face of royal taxation for the crusade. In a response to the king summoning the provinces of York and Canterbury to separate councils, the archbishop of York, Walter de Grey (1215–1255), replied:

since the aforesaid business *touches the whole English Church, and in such common matters it is customary to hold discussion between the clergy of both provinces, namely of York*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 234.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 242.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 229.

¹⁵⁷ *Foedera*, ed. by Rymer, pp. 272–73.

and Canterbury, before a certain response is given, they [the clergy] do not believe that it is right or fitting to cease doing things in this way; and therefore with such a discussion omitted they delay their response; when such a discussion has been held, they will answer, as they assert, according to what God has given to them, with the utility of the Church, yourself, and our kingdom *having been considered communally*.¹⁵⁸ [My emphasis].

This was seen by Ambler as ‘a proud declaration of English ecclesiastical unity’, which concealed the uneasy friction between the archbishops of York and Canterbury over the status of primate of the English Church especially highlighted by one archbishop being absent when the other was listed in royal charter witness lists.¹⁵⁹ It may indeed show the English episcopate united in the face of royal taxation and opposing the king with an unusual show of ecclesiastical solidarity; however, when viewed under the lens of the proposed crusade, the English episcopate was not united.

It was the perceived unity which perhaps prompted Pope Innocent IV on 26 April 1250 to appoint the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of Chichester, Exeter, and St Davids as collectors and promoters of the new campaign.¹⁶⁰ Four days later another group of bishops were established to collect moneys from bequests and vow redemptions comprised of the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of Hereford, Ely, and Durham.¹⁶¹ During this time the ability to collect the moneys owed to the king’s enterprise changed hands several times, with the bishops of Norwich and Chichester taking control of the entire enterprise, including the collection of legacies by 1254.¹⁶² In 1255, another inquiry into English crusaders and their wills was planned, but this responsibility was taken out of the hands of the bishops and put into those of the papal nuncio, Master Rostand Masson. The reason

¹⁵⁸ *C&S*, II.2, p. 450.

¹⁵⁹ Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community*, p. 82 and n. 3.

¹⁶⁰ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 440.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

¹⁶² *CPR*, 1247–58, pp. 164, 168, 370, 377.

for the change was that he was responsible for everything relating to what is known as ‘the Sicilian Business’.¹⁶³ Rostand immediately appointed his own collector in order to extract what was owed to the new crusade to Sicily.¹⁶⁴

In 1256 the new collector and his agents bypassed the English bishops and directly approached the archdeacons and rural deans in all dioceses, much to the dismay of the prelates. In one meeting, the bishop of London claimed that, under Rostand, his church suffered ‘intolerable oppression.’ The episcopate came together and defied Rostand and Bishop Peter d’Aigueblanche of Hereford, who ‘so very strenuously exerted themselves to raise schism and division.’¹⁶⁵ It is at this time that the *Song of the Church* was written against Rostand, lamenting the English episcopate’s problems in the face of royal and ecclesiastical taxation for a crusade which they did not endorse:

That is holy church very evidently, / who is now disgraced and all put to sale;
/ and truly she is in ill case, we see how. / She laments and weeps, / there is
one who helps here / out of her desolation. Formerly clergy was / free and
uppermost, / loved and cherished, / nothing could be more so. / Now it is
enslaved, / and too much debased, / and trodden down. / By those it is
disgraced, / from whom it ought to have help; / I dare not say more. / The
king and pope think of nothing else, / but who they may take from the clergy
their gold and silver.¹⁶⁶

In the subsequent inquiries that occurred throughout England, Rostand’s deputies tasked the rural deans of all dioceses to examine everyone ‘signed with the cross, for whatever condition and sex’ from the time Richard of Cornwall had gone on crusade in the 1240s. They also looked for those who were dead and whether or not their vows

¹⁶³ *AM*, I, pp. 350–60; *CM*, V, pp. 519–22, VI, pp. 312–14.

¹⁶⁴ *CPR 1247–1258*, pp. 461, 470.

¹⁶⁵ *CM*, V, pp. 524–27 (p. 525).

¹⁶⁶ *Thomas Wright’s Political Songs of England*, ed. by Coss, pp. 42–43.

had been redeemed, thus re-treading the ground that had already been comprehensively covered in the inquiries of Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln.¹⁶⁷ The names of those still alive, and the executors of the dead who had taken the cross, were written down and if anything had not yet been paid, it was to be paid now under penalty of excommunication. One other point to rise from these questions was that anyone who wished to redeem their vow had to find one of Rostand's agents to redeem it, and that 'what writing there are about redemption of vows [should] be published on each festival day throughout each deanery.'¹⁶⁸ This indicates that the commutation and the redemption of crusading vows, by the mid-thirteenth century, was an affair concerned wholly with monetary gain at the parish level where the populace would mostly be comprised of poor and non-combatant *crucesignati* who could be exploited to give what little they had. This ensured that for those who went on crusade, it could be a well-structured military retinue and not a ragtag rabble. It was no use for a crusading army to have people like those in the Lincolnshire and Cornish lists who could not support themselves in a fight. Those people who were non-combatant crusaders could just pay what little money they had from their moveable goods, gain the privileges of a crusader, and not need to prove to anyone that they had been to the Holy Land. The papacy needed knights, barons, magnates, and kings to take the cross and for the expedition to consist of fighting men.

The next major inquiry to take place in England alongside the levying of the tenth for the Holy Land occurred in 1273. This followed the news that the Lord Edward was returning from his crusade. The two papal nuncios who undertook this inquiry were met with much better results than Rostand faced in 1255. Varying items were investigated by the papal nuncios through a set of fifty-one questions, listing

¹⁶⁷ *CM*, VI, pp. 313–14; translated in Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, pp. 490–91.

¹⁶⁸ *CM*, VI, p. 314; translated in Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, p. 491.

various issues regarding the Church and some crusading items. Five questions specifically related to the crusade. The papal nuncios were to ask questions ‘concerning the laws in the Holy Land’ (*De legatis in Terram Sanctam*); ‘concerning vows made to the Holy Land’ (*De votis Terrae Sanctae factis*); ‘concerning promises to go to the Holy Land unfulfilled’ (*De promissis Terrae Sanctae retentis*); ‘concerning the goods of dead crusaders’ (*De bonis cruce signatorum defunctorum*); and ‘concerning the reasons of the crusaders [for departing on crusade]’ (*De causi[s] cruce signatorum*). Several other questions related to the administration of bequests and testaments, and the executors of these wills, as well as clerical behaviour.¹⁶⁹ There was a clear and present need to ensure that accounts were still being made in order for the money owed to the Lord Edward to be rendered on his return, unlike what occurred for Richard of Cornwall in 1247.

The thirteenth century has clearly demonstrated the ways in which the English episcopate could investigate and obtain the names of, and expected money from, crusaders who had reneged on their vows. There was a definitive evolution of the inquisitorial campaigns which had first occurred under Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1196 into a more defined inquiry into peoples’ lives, deaths, goods, bequests, and intestate property. The role of the episcopate outside of those members appointed as collectors is certainly unclear, and from the existing records it appears that only the collectors took a proactive approach towards creating the systems which could be used to make these accounts. Whether any other English bishops actually followed these procedures is not offered in the ecclesiastical records of the time, and thus it is actually unclear how united the English episcopate was, even in the thirteenth century when they seemed to be showing solidarity against royal taxation for a crusade they did not endorse, a papal collector they disliked, and unity for a different crusade which they did support instead.

¹⁶⁹ *AM*, II, (Winchester) pp. 113–15, (Waverley) 379–81.

VI. CASE STUDY: THE APOGEE OF EPISCOPAL INQUIRY, 1282–1302

The apogee of episcopal inquiry into the bequests and legacies of dead or dying crusaders and their goods occurred in the last quarter of the thirteenth century in England.¹⁷⁰ The development of the crusade over the prior century and the need for the English episcopate to conduct periodic inquiries into crusaders, their vows, redemptions, and legacies, meant that the process had evolved into a strategic, penetrating inquiry. These inquiries took place during the years King Edward I was planning to lead another crusade to the Holy Land. King Edward had tried to obtain crusading money in the early 1280s to send his brother, Edmund, in his place; however, he had no success. In 1287, King Edward himself finally took the cross, although the departure of the expedition kept being delayed.¹⁷¹

It is in this context that the three surviving lists of questions to be asked by agents assigned to redeem vows and collect the Holy Land subsidy in England need to be seen. They survive in the registers of Bishop Richard de Swinfield of Hereford, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, and Bishop Oliver Sutton of Lincoln, and demonstrate a utilization of diocesan administration, allowing accounts to be made for all who took the cross and needed either redemption of their vows or the disbursement of funds to cover their expenses.¹⁷² The articles of inquiry have attracted scant attention from historians of the crusades; this has furthermore resulted in misinterpretation and

¹⁷⁰ Ian L. Bass, “‘Articuli Inquisitionis de cruce signatis’: Late Thirteenth-Century Inquiry into English Crusaders’, *Crusades*, 17 (2019 for 2018), 171–94.

¹⁷¹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 327–29.

¹⁷² HARC, AL19/2, fol. 23r; LRO, Bishop’s Reg. I (Oliver Sutton), fols 38v–39v; CCA, CCA-DCc/Register/I, fols 167v–168r. The Hereford and Lincoln articles have been transcribed and printed: Reg. *Swinfield*, pp. 78–79; *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, pp. 157–59. The Hereford articles of inquiry were translated in Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, pp. 491–92. The Canterbury articles of inquiry were noted in the *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 345.

confusion over their authorship and compilation, and how the lists were used by the papal and episcopal agents in English dioceses. This case study examines the importance of these inquiries in our understanding of the practice and handling of crusader indulgences and vow redemptions.

Lunt was the first to notice the three recensions of the articles of inquiry.¹⁷³ He observed that inquiries occurred in 1282 and 1291, listing a precis of the questions in the Hereford and Lincoln registers. Lunt also highlighted that, between 1286 and 1287, the collectors working under Master Goffredo di Vezzano rendered £2,629 8s. 7½d. in new money and £26 2s. in old money to monastic communities and Italian merchants.¹⁷⁴ It was presumed that the money rendered came from the inquiries held in England from 1282 onwards. The existence of the Canterbury articles was noted, but only in a footnote and limited to folio 167v.¹⁷⁵ This reference was made in connection with the Lincoln articles, implicitly dating the Canterbury list to 1291 and noting no difference between the two recensions. James Brundage was the next to notice the articles of inquiry, focusing on those preserved in the Lincoln register. Brundage observed that the articles of inquiry held a twofold purpose:

first and foremost, to identify those who had taken the cross and to discover which of them had satisfied the obligations arising therefrom: second, to pinpoint those who had failed to discharge these obligations, so that they might either be coerced into personally fulfilling their vows or cajoled into securing a formal release by redemption or commutation of their obligations.¹⁷⁶

In Brundage's interpretation, these articles of inquiry would be asked during episcopal visitations to parishes around a bishop's diocese. This gave the impression that it was the bishop who would ask every crusader these questions. In the notes, Brundage

¹⁷³ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 451, 453.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 451; W. E. Lunt, 'A Papal Tenth Levied in the British Isles from 1274 to 1280', *EHR*, 32 (1917), 49–89 (p. 57).

¹⁷⁵ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 453 n. 1.

¹⁷⁶ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 131.

referenced the Hereford articles and the account of Canterbury, Register I in the *Eighth Report* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.¹⁷⁷

In Lloyd's interpretation, the articles of inquiry were an example of how the papacy had turned taking the cross into a pecuniary levy in return for indulgences. This began with the development of a process of inquiry in 1196 under Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury, and culminated with the inquiries held in the last quarter of the thirteenth century in 1273, 1282–1283, and 1291.¹⁷⁸ Lloyd noted the articles preserved in the Hereford and Lincoln registers, but not those in Canterbury.¹⁷⁹ At the same time, Tyerman focused on the fact that, after the 1194 inquiry into dead or dying crusaders run by English royal itinerant justices, the responsibility for conducting inquiries and accounting for crusaders and their goods was protected jealously by the Church and not the Crown.¹⁸⁰ Tyerman referenced the printed editions of the articles of inquiry, but did not analyse them beyond that.¹⁸¹

The doctoral theses of Bruce Beebe (1971) and Evans (1996) also mentioned the articles of inquiry. These authors saw the construction of the articles as the work of the respective episcopal authorities in whose registers they feature, yet neither noticed the Canterbury lists. Beebe believed that Bishop Oliver of Lincoln had given the lists to each of the agents he sent out on the preaching tour that occurred in the diocese of Lincoln in 1291. He viewed the articles as 'designed to aid these delegates in assessing the amount of money applicable in individual cases of commutation.'¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131 n. 63.

¹⁷⁸ Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 22–23.

¹⁷⁹ Lincoln: *Ibid.*, p. 21 n. 52. Based on the revised number in Appendix B below, Lloyd's comment regarding Article 16 should actually be Article 17. For the inquiries from 1273 see, *AM*, II, pp. 113–15, 379–81.

¹⁸⁰ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 224.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 224 n. 171 (at p. 420).

¹⁸² Bruce Beebe, 'Edward I and the Crusades' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1971), pp. 318–19. For the Lincolnshire preaching tour: *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 195.

Furthermore, by this time there was a standard format for the immediate redemption of crusading vows.¹⁸³ Beebe also argued that it was the duty of the preachers of the cross to account for individual crusaders and their obligations to the local bishop. Evans, however, saw the questions in Bishop Richard's register as created by the bishop of Hereford, 'to be asked in the course of inquiries into the response of preaching the cross.'¹⁸⁴ Evans did recognize that the articles of inquiry in Bishop Oliver's episcopal register were similar in scope to those in Bishop Richard's, but saw these as another, later construction of the bishop of Lincoln in response to a papal mandate in 1291. Moreover, Evans accounted only twelve articles in the Hereford list and dated the Lincoln articles of inquiry erroneously to 1292.¹⁸⁵

Finally, Maier referenced the articles of inquiry to show how '[t]he business of crusading vow redemption remained alive and popular during the latter half of the thirteenth century.'¹⁸⁶ Maier held the same view as Brundage, stating that '[t]hese lists must have been used to screen crusaders with the intention to establish under what circumstances and at what price a vow might be redeemed.'¹⁸⁷ The impression given again is that it was the local diocesan who acted on this, interviewing all crusaders. Although Maier referred to Brundage, he did not mention the Canterbury articles in the same context as those in Hereford and Lincoln, even though they are similar in scope and style.¹⁸⁸

No known exemplar of the articles of inquiry has survived from the Middle Ages; however, we are fortunate to have three distinct copies. Their composition can

¹⁸³ William Hoo, *The Letter Book of William Hoo, Sacrist of Bury St Edmunds, 1280–1294*, ed. by Antonia Gransden, Suffolk Record Society V (Ipswich: W. S. Cowell Ltd, 1963), p. 57 no. 71; translated in Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, p. 517.

¹⁸⁴ Evans, 'Crusade and Society', p. 188.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 188–89.

¹⁸⁶ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 159.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 159 n. 111.

be dated to within a decade of each other with some accuracy. Those in Bishop Richard of Hereford's register can be dated to 1283 and seem to be the earliest recension of the articles of inquiry. The articles in Bishop Oliver of Lincoln's register date to 1291, located between entries dated 24 and 25 October 1291 respectively.¹⁸⁹ The entry dating to 24 October 1291 is a copy of the papal bull of Pope Martin IV which appointed Master Groffredo di Vezzano as papal collector in 1282, followed by an extended edition of the questions of 1283.¹⁹⁰ Since the publication of the Hereford and Lincoln registers in the twentieth century, historians have generally only referred to or used the two recensions preserved within them.

Lunt is the only historian to have previously identified the third recension of the articles of inquiry, but no comparison has ever been made between the three, and no one has ever properly researched the Canterbury articles. The comparison of the three lists make it clear that the Canterbury articles constitute a third, different recension. The observable differences allow us to reasonably surmise that the Hereford and Lincoln articles of inquiry act as a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* in order to date those in Canterbury. For example, in Canterbury, articles 2, 4, 15, 17, 18, and 20 all bear differences in structure to the two episcopal recensions. In some of these articles clauses have been added, such as in articles 2 and 4.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, the entirety of article 15 is omitted in Canterbury, and this features only in the two episcopal registers; however, this was also omitted in the twentieth-century editions of the printed registers.¹⁹² The most substantial differences come in the comparison of articles 17, 18, and 20 in Canterbury to the Lincoln articles. The Hereford articles omit questions 4 and 5, and terminate at question 16, indicating that it is the earliest of the

¹⁸⁹ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, pp. 156–59.

¹⁹⁰ For the bull, *Ibid.*, III, p. 156; for the articles of inquiry, *Ibid.*, III, pp. 157–59.

¹⁹¹ Articles 2 and 4 in Appendix B below.

¹⁹² Article 15 in Appendix B below; *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79; *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 158.

recensions. Whereas the Lincoln articles, being the latest, are the most extensive and require more information from crusaders and their executors, such as ‘for what reason people say they are going on crusade.’¹⁹³ Canterbury, however, is less extensive in scope than Lincoln and article 19 is omitted.

Hereford, Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre, AL19/2 is the surviving episcopal register of Bishop Richard de Swinfield and is the second earliest register extant for the diocese.¹⁹⁴ It is composed of 209 folios and measures 27.3cm x 18.41cm, covering the memoranda, *acta*, and institutions to benefices by the bishop of Hereford between 1283 and 1317. The articles of inquiry are located on folio 23r, taking up twenty-three lines of text written as a single block with no pilcrows (¶) to denote the individual questions to be asked. Based on the present edition in Appendix B, they comprise fourteen points of inquiry (although articles 9 and 10 are combined), and constitute the earliest example of the articles from the inquiries that took place in England from 1282 onwards. Canon William Capes’s transcribed edition of the register for the Cantilupe Society in 1909—also republished as volume six for the Canterbury and York Society—is, however, highly inaccurate. This becomes evident when examining the articles of inquiry, as Canon Capes has inserted words in places in order to adapt the meaning to his readings of the register. He has also omitted the endings to several of the articles of inquiry.¹⁹⁵ However, Canon Capes’s dating of the entry to 1283 is plausible on the basis of comparison to the hands of contemporaneous entries and the extent of the articles compared to Lincoln and Canterbury.

Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA-DCc/Register/I comprises the register for the priory of Christ Church Canterbury—better known as Canterbury Cathedral—between 1275 and 1325. It is composed of 473 parchment folios

¹⁹³ Article 17 in Appendix B below.

¹⁹⁴ For an overview see Smith, *A Guide to Bishop’s Registers*, p. 96.

¹⁹⁵ Articles 11 and 12 in Appendix B below.

measuring 25.2cm x 18cm. These articles, on folios 167v–168r, were first noticed in 1881 by the Historical Manuscripts Commission who described it as a list of eighteen articles relating to the Holy land subsidy and the commutation of crusaders' vows.¹⁹⁶ The identification of eighteen articles is correct; however, it should be noted that the Canterbury scribe has combined articles 11 and 12 together, and divided article 14 in two.¹⁹⁷ It seems that the scribe noticed his mistake in combining articles 11 and 12 together, inserting a pilcrow to denote them as separate articles of inquiry. As a result, the total is technically nineteen.

The articles of inquiry in Register I, which is currently only the third known recension of the articles of inquiry, have hitherto been overlooked by scholars of the crusades for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Historical Manuscripts Commission, whilst cataloguing the register, failed to provide any locative information such as folio numbers. Secondly, there is no printed edition of the priory registers of Christ Church Canterbury, leaving the Historical Manuscripts Commission's *Eighth Report* as the only reference for many historians.¹⁹⁸ Finally, Lunt merely cited it alongside the Lincoln articles in a footnote, which could have resulted in many historians either missing the reference, or thinking that the degree of similarity to the Lincoln articles means Canterbury is not worth pursuing.¹⁹⁹

It is clear that the Canterbury articles of inquiry have been developed since the original inquiry in 1283, as illustrated by the differences between the Canterbury and Hereford articles; however, they were not as developed as those in the Lincoln register of 1291. Dating for the Canterbury articles is further confused, since entries within this section of the priory register are not in chronological sequence. This specific entry

¹⁹⁶ *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 345.

¹⁹⁷ Articles 11, 12, 14 in Appendix B below.

¹⁹⁸ As seen above, Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 131 n. 63; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 224 n. 171 (at p. 420).

¹⁹⁹ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 453 n. 1.

comes after several papal bulls regarding the collection of the tenth in England, the appointment of the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester as collectors in 1291, the instructions of Pope Gregory X concerning the collection of 1274, and subsequent reissue of this set of instructions by Pope Nicholas IV.²⁰⁰ Placement in the register could therefore indicate a date in the 1290s as suggested by Lunt; however, comparison with the Lincoln copy, suggests an early date pre-1291, and comparison with the Hereford copy suggests post-1283. It is probable, then, that the money collected by the papal collectors in 1286 and 1287 could have been the result of a third, previously unknown inquiry. If this is the case, the dating of the Canterbury articles could also coincide with King Edward I taking the cross at Pentecost 1287.²⁰¹

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Records Office, Bishop's Reg. I (Oliver Sutton), comprises 413 folios measuring 30.48cm x 20.32cm.²⁰² The register contains the memoranda and institutions to benefices in the diocese of Lincoln for the last nine years of the episcopate of Bishop Oliver Sutton, between May 1290 and September 1299. The articles of inquiry preserved on folios 38v–39v can be dated to 1291 with some accuracy since the entries before and after date to 24 and 25 October 1291.²⁰³ Also, it was in 1291 that the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were appointed as collectors of the tenth and other moneys for the Holy Land subsidy, mandated to 'make an exact return of the persons paying and the sums paid without fear or favour.' The mandate further ordered that 'for money assigned to the king, the said bishops are to take a full receipt.'²⁰⁴ Likewise the bishops of Carlisle and Caithness were appointed as collectors in Scotland, and the bishop of Meath and dean of Dublin for

²⁰⁰ *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 345.

²⁰¹ The sources on this are discussed by Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 338 n. 9. See also, Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 327–29.

²⁰² For an overview see, Smith, *A Guide to Bishop's Registers*, pp. 108–09.

²⁰³ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, pp. 156–59.

²⁰⁴ *CPR*, I, pp. 552–54 (quote at p. 554).

Ireland.²⁰⁵ On 5 November 1290, Pope Clement V issued a list of names of trustworthy merchants for the episcopal collectors to deposit the subsidy with, and the register of Bishop John de Pontissara (1282–1304) contains a further two paragraphs of instructions for the collection.²⁰⁶ Similarly, on 25 May 1295, Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), appears to have cased the bishop of Carlisle for 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.) which had been collected in a similar manner in Scotland.²⁰⁷ It seems that the articles of inquiry were part of this receipt-keeping process, with King Edward's planned crusade impending in 1293.²⁰⁸ It is also likely that the other episcopal collectors of the tenth were issued with similar instructions and articles of inquiry to utilize in the collections in Scotland and Ireland.

Beebe was not wrong to associate the later articles of inquiry in Bishop Oliver's register with the start of a preaching tour in the diocese of Lincoln in 1291–1292, when Bishop Oliver commissioned Walter de Langele, the provincial master of the Franciscans to preach in the archdeaconries of Oxford and Buckingham.²⁰⁹ According to the thirteenth-century chronicler, Bartholomew Cotton, the archbishop of Canterbury had also started a preaching campaign in 1290.²¹⁰ Further tours seem to have occurred in the north of England, when, on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) 1291, Archbishop John le Romeyn mandated an extensive preaching tour, where on the day Archbishop John preached in York Minster and the friars and other theologians in other parts of the archdiocese.²¹¹ Another tour occurred

²⁰⁵ *CPrege*, I, p. 555.

²⁰⁶ *Reg. Pontissara*, II, pp. 501–03, 783–85.

²⁰⁷ *CPrege*, I, pp. 564–65.

²⁰⁸ Forey, 'Otto of Grandson', p. 83.

²⁰⁹ Beebe, 'Edward I and the Crusades', pp. 318–19; *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 195.

²¹⁰ Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, pp. 177–78.

²¹¹ *Reg. Romeyn*, I, p. 113 no. 309; II, pp. 8–9 no. 113, 13 no. 1140; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 93, 96; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 95, 106; Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 55–56.

at the same time in the diocese of Durham.²¹² It is likely that these tours also resulted in inquiries taking place in the northern dioceses so that accurate accounts could be rendered to the papal agents.

The Lincoln articles of inquiry are the longest of the three recensions, with twenty items of inquiry, including a unique clause. This unique clause is article 18, which is set to investigate money owed to the Holy Land subsidy expected from debts and loans. If someone has lent money to someone else as a creditor and has then listed that money owed by the debtor to the Holy Land subsidy, the terms of the debt and its value need to be queried and ascertained. It does, however, mention that no grant is to be received by fraudulent means.²¹³ There are a couple of cases of this form of donation occurring; for example, in one contemporary testamentary bequest in 1291, Sir Nicholas de Mitton of the diocese of Worcester left 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) to Henry de Bonden for the Holy Land subsidy and further ‘moneys coming from certain debts to the subsidy of the Holy Land.’²¹⁴ Another example comes from the testament of Bishop Peter d’Aigueblanche of Hereford, left 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) to the pope for the aid of the Holy Land from a loan which he had given to the archbishop-elect of Lyon.²¹⁵ Moreover, it is important to note that this is the only set of the 1291 articles to survive, as, unfortunately, no copy of the articles is found in the episcopal register of Bishop John de Pontissara of Winchester, Bishop Oliver’s fellow papal collector.²¹⁶ The register does, however, contain six bulls of Pope Clement V relating to the appointment of the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester and their duties as collectors of the tenth.

²¹² Durham, Durham Cathedral Archives Special Collections, 1.14.Pont.1; 1.14.Pont.2; *CPR*, I, p. 553; calendared in *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 26–28.

²¹³ Article 18 in Appendix B below.

²¹⁴ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 388–90.

²¹⁵ ‘The Will of Peter de Aqua Blanca’, ed. by Wooduff, p. 3.

²¹⁶ *Reg. Pontissara*, *passim*.

Inquiry into the bequests and legacies of dying or dead crusaders and their goods peaked in England in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. In 1282, Pope Martin IV appointed Master Goffredo di Vezzano, canon of Cambrai in France, camerl clerk, papal nuncio, and later bishop of Parma (1299–1300), as the principal collector of Peter's Pence in Britain and Ireland, and sent a letter to the ecclesiastical dignitaries in England to inform them of his appointment and impending arrival.²¹⁷ He was also appointed as collector of 'moneys promised to the Holy Land, redemptions of crusader vows, legacies, or any other sums, except tenths, designated for the Holy Land, with the powers to compel debtors and detainers, and faculty to apply ecclesiastical censures.'²¹⁸ Master Goffredo sought from each bishop in England a list of debtors who would come under his jurisdiction and from whom he could extract suitable recompense.²¹⁹ He also commissioned an inquiry for all things related to the Holy Land and requested that the archdeacons in all dioceses to instruct their men, both religious and secular, to answer regarding the Holy Land subsidy.²²⁰

It is at this time that the first recension of the articles of inquiry must have been circulated to the episcopal authorities in the seventeen English dioceses. Of this early issue, only that copied into Bishop Richard of Hereford's episcopal register seem

²¹⁷ *CPR*, I, p. 475. For his biography see Giovanna Petti Balbi, *I signori di Vezzano in Lunigiana (secoli XI–XIII)* (Lunigiana, 1982).

²¹⁸ *CPR*, I, p. 476.

²¹⁹ *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 153–54. Willis-Bund, however, has not fully translated these letters but merely calendared them with little information. Worcester, Worcester Archive and Archaeology Services, Rf.x716.093 BA 2648/I (i), fols 144^v–145^r. 'Unde cu[m] temeam[ur] diligenti sollicitudine q[uo]d a d[ic]ta sed[et] vob[is] inimi[gitur] [et] co[m]mittit[ur] exquiren[er]ent[ur] [...] sup[er] hiis que debent[ur] t[er]re s[an]c[t]e in Civitate [et] dioc[esis] vest[ra], p[ro]ut a duos rec[us]atis p[er]venit temp[or]ib[us] sive h[ab]endo in exquirendo sollicitudine p[ro]ut d[ic]tam sed[et] vos deceat, ac d[ic]te t[er]re s[an]c[t]e respiciat co[m]modu[m] p[er]venire pot[er]it in fut[uru]m, sic vos instru[er]e ac c[er]tificare debitores quoque ad satisfaciend[o] [et] .. Offic[ialis] ac Archid[iaconis] v[er]os [et] alias p[er]sonas Ecc[les]iasticas religiosos [et] sec[ul]ares ad p[ro]mouend[o], h[ui]us, t[er]re s[an]c[t]e negocia, [et] ad impendend[um] vob[is] in co[m]missis negociis': fol. 144^v.

²²⁰ Worcester Archive and Archaeology Services, Rf.x716.063, fol. 144^v.

to have survived. It appears from *The Letter Book of William Hoo* that the articles of inquiry were distributed by the papal agents to the various localities. This was so that the officials who needed to summon men to the meetings would be able to begin preparing their accounts. The same letter also gives us a further guide to how the articles of inquiry might have been acted on in monastic peculiars individual dioceses:

William de Hoo [...] sends greetings in the Lord to the distinguished man, the dean of C.²²¹ Because I intend to inquire (*inquirere intendimis*) on such a day after such a feast in the aforementioned deanery concerning those things that have been left, bequeathed, or are in any other way owed in relief of the Holy Land [...], you will summon peremptorily all of the chaplains of the aforementioned deanery and also two legal men from whatever place to appear before me in the parish church of C. on the aforementioned day to state the truth through their judgement on the articles dealing with the Holy Land or its state (*super articulis terram sanctam vel eius statum contingentibus*). And what you had done concerning the things sent before, you will inform me separately and openly through your letters patent.²²²

A similar method was used in 1247 when Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, as papal collector of the tenth, vow redemptions, obventions and legacies for the Holy Land, had outlined how he expected inquiries into crusaders to occur.²²³ Furthermore,

²²¹ This was the dean of Christianity of Bury St Edmunds. For more on this see, Jane Sayers, 'Monastic Archdeacons', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C. R. Cheney on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by C. N. L. Brooke and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 177–203, Bury St Edmunds at pp. 179–81; reprinted in Jane E. Sayers, *Law and Records in Medieval England: Studies on the Medieval Papacy, Monasteries and Records*, Collected Studies Series Cs278 (London: Variorum, 1982), ch. 6.

²²² William Hoo, *Letter Book*, 48–49 no. 41. 'N. de H. [...] discreto viro decano de C. salutem in domino. Quia in decanatu predicto super legatis in subsidium terre sancte assignatis seu alio modo debitis die tali post festum talem inquirere intendimis [...] quatinus peremptorie citetis omnes capellanos predicti decanatus necnon de qualibet villa duos legaliores homines quod compareant coram nobis in ecclesia parochiali de C. die supradicto per iuramentum suum super articulis terram sanctam vel eius statum contingentibus veritatem dicturi. Et quid super premissis feceritis per litteras vestras patentes harum seriem continentes nos ad dictos diem et locum distincte et aperte certificetis.'

²²³ *CM*, VI, pp. 134–38; *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, trans. by Mantello and Goering, pp. 454–58 no. 132.

this letter highlights how the process of inquiry would operate in areas controlled by monastic institutions. It seems that the '*decano de C.*' in the letter is the same person as the '*decano de C.*' who was ordered to summon two people to answer further questions relating to the Holy Land, and as the '*decanus christianitatis*' who wrote a letter to William de Morborne.²²⁴ As noted by Antonia Gransden, William de Morborne could have been confused with William de Muriden or Miriden, who had previous experience as a collector in the diocese of Norwich between 1266 to 1269.²²⁵ Morborne had intended to fulfil William Hoo's mandate, likely relating to the inquiry into crusaders, and summoned the dean of Christianity 'to respond to those things relating to the Holy Land' (*super contingentibus terram sanctam responsurus*).²²⁶ It could be that in dioceses with monastic institutions the bishop did not have to render reports to the collectors, whereas in secular dioceses he did. Hence the survival of the articles of inquiry in the episcopal registers of two secular bishops and the priory register of Canterbury.

Gransden's dating of letters 37 and 41 to 'c.1282' coincides with the first round of inquiries; however, the dating of letter 176 to '? *Temp.* Henry III, (late)' is curious.²²⁷ It is highly likely that these three letters specifically refer to one of the collection campaigns under Master Goffredo. A further letter, number 205, regarding a debt owed to the abbot of Bury St Edmunds by the abbot of Walden, is dated to 1286.²²⁸ This debt stemmed from 1,000 marks the abbey was to donate for the king's planned crusade.²²⁹ It is probable, then, that the inquiries in the deanery of Christianity of Bury

²²⁴ William Hoo, *Letter Book*, pp. 47 no. 37; 92 no. 176.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 92 n. 1; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 626, 628.

²²⁶ William Hoo, *Letter Book*, p. 92 no. 176.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 47 no. 37, 48–49 no. 41, 92 no. 176.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 107–08 no. 205.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107–08 no. 205; *CPR 1281–1292*, pp. 231, 244.

St Edmunds occurred sometime between 1283 and 1287, although, unfortunately, copies of the inquiry do not seem to have been copied into the abbey's registers.²³⁰

Inquiries using the articles probable continued to take place throughout England during the last decades of the thirteenth century. In the archdiocese of York, no set of the articles of inquiry survive; however, an entry in Archbishop John le Romeyn of York's register records an inquiry taking place in 1293.²³¹ Master Adam de Coupeland was mandated to write to the official of Churchdown (Gloucestershire) and 'make an inquiry about the aforementioned articles relating to the Holy Land' (*inquirat de dictis articulis Terram Sanctam contingentibus*).²³² The barony of Churchdown and the Augustinian priory of St Oswald, both near Gloucester, were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York until 1536.²³³ This archiepiscopal mandate came in response to Hugo Tankes, conducting the inquiry in the diocese of Worcester 'about certain articles relating to the same land' (*super certis articulis ipsam Terram contingentibus*), having summoned the official of Churchdown to render accounts to the Worcester inquiry.²³⁴ Archbishop John had, in fact, ordered an inquiry into testaments and their administration in his archdiocese in 1287, alongside penances for carnal offences; however, it is unclear if these were solely concerned with crusaders.²³⁵ It is possible that further inquiries took place in the north. In 1294, the bishop of Carlisle was

²³⁰ *The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. by Rodney M. Thomson, Suffolk Records Society XXI (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1980).

²³¹ *Reg. Romeyn*, II, pp. 73–74 no. 1313.

²³² *Ibid.*, II, p. 73.

²³³ 'Houses of the Augustinian canons: The priory of St Oswald, Gloucester', in *A History of the County of Gloucester*, ed. by William Page and others, 14 vols, Victoria County History of England (London: Various Publishers, 1907–), II, pp. 84–87.

²³⁴ *Reg. Romeyn*, II, p. 73.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 68–69 no. 162.

commissioned to receive gifts and bequests for the proposed crusade from dioceses in Scotland which would have required an inquiry.²³⁶

We can also find the names of those appointed to assist the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester in their inquiries, showing that inquiries using the articles took place in the dioceses of Worcester, Lichfield, Canterbury, Rochester and Chichester at this time.²³⁷ Moreover, it seems that the collectors reported to the diocesan collectors each year regarding the status of the inquiries and moneys collected.²³⁸ By 1302, inquiries regarding crusaders and their bequests seem to have come to an end, with the dean of St Paul's (now papal collector), summoning the executors and examiners to London to render their final accounts.²³⁹

The articles of inquiry cover a diverse range of topics which were asked of crusaders in order to ascertain whether their vow should be redeemed, and if so, for how much. We find questions concerning whether anyone deposited any money or anything for the Holy Land subsidy; whether anyone was signed with the cross but has not yet departed; or if they have taken the cross, missed their passage, but managed to cross the sea at the next available opportunity.²⁴⁰ Other matters included if any crusaders had died intestate with inquiries into their estate and debts, and what

²³⁶ *Reg. Halton*, I, pp. 28–29.

²³⁷ Worcester and Lichfield: Hugo Tankes, the prior of Worcester, and William le Archer. Canterbury, Rochester and Chichester: J. de Monyngeliam. See *Reg. Romeyn*, II, pp. 73–74; *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 427–28, 432; Worcester Archive and Archaeology Services, Rf.x716.093, fols 369^r, 371^r; *AM*, IV, p. 507; CCA, CCA-DCc/Register/Q, fol. 173^r. Lunt noticed that Robert Bernard was commissioned to conduct an inquiry in the diocese of Lincoln in Lent 1294 after the collection of obventions and legacies had passed from the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester: Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 453 n. 3.

²³⁸ This is evidenced in *Reg. Giffard of Worcester*, II, pp. 427–28, 432; Worcester Archive and Archaeology Services, Rf.x716.093, fols. 369^r, 371^r, where letters are dated to June 1292 and July 1293. The contents of both letters concern the collection and accounts of the collectors in the dioceses of Worcester for these years.

²³⁹ *The Register of the Diocese of Worcester during the Vacancy of the See*, ed. by Willis-Bund, p. 7.

²⁴⁰ Articles 1, 2, 7 in Appendix B below.

satisfaction was to be made, or if any dispensations or commutations of the vow to other people were made.²⁴¹

The questions cover all of society, examining ‘any secular or religious prelate, or any religious or secular cleric, or any layman of whatever order, status or position.’²⁴² It is also worth noting that in the late thirteenth century it was still possible that women would join crusades, since article 14 investigates ‘if any, whether male or female (*aliqui vel aliquae*), of the crusaders’ had died without making a will or were in debt in order to uphold and redeem their vow.’²⁴³ Crusading in late thirteenth-century England was still, therefore, an all-encompassing event, and its appeal to people in every stratum of society seems to have had an enduring strength.

Penitents who had been excommunicated and not been absolved of their excommunication before taking the cross were dissuaded from making the trip to the Holy land. First, they had to redeem themselves:

Moreover, if anyone had been suspended, excommunicated, or irregular [in their practice], as befitting those who reach the Holy Land it is required that he should make amends, and after much compensation, he may be absolved; and he may be dealt with according to the tradition of apostolic authority.²⁴⁴

Seemingly, this was to ensure that, although they were criminals atoning for sins, the cross was not bestowed upon someone outside of the Christian faithful.

²⁴¹ Article 13. Articles 5, 8, 11, and 12 also deal with bequests and legacies, in Appendix B below.

²⁴² Article 1 in Appendix B below.

²⁴³ Article 14 in Appendix B below. In 1291 Eva, the wife of Robert de Tibetot, was absolved of her crusader vow by the bishop of Norwich: *CPrege*, I, p. 528. For more on female crusaders see: Michael R. Evans, “‘Unfit to Bear Arms’: The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade”, in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), pp. 45–58; Keren Caspi-Reisfeld, ‘Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095–1254’, in *Gendering the Crusades*, pp. 94–107; Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007); Helen J. Nicholson, ‘Women’s Involvement in the Crusades’, in *The Crusader World*, ed. by Adrian J. Boas (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 54–67.

²⁴⁴ Article 16 in Appendix B below.

Through these articles of inquiry, the episcopal and papal authorities could also gauge public opinion. The Lincoln articles state that '[i]t is to be enquired from every crusader for what reason they received the cross.'²⁴⁵ The same article also outlines part of the process for reimbursement after having gone on crusade: 'if they personally went [to the Holy Land], they should also have relief for the expenses that were encountered in going, staying, and coming back.'²⁴⁶ For those who had not yet discharged their obligation, these questions were to establish what they had already given towards the Holy Land subsidy and to assess the value at which they could commute their vow and receive their indulgence.

The nature of these questions highlights the pecuniary nature of crusading for those at local parish level. Inquiries that occurred a century earlier in England in 1196 seem to have provided disappointing results for the English episcopate.²⁴⁷ Many of those listed in the Cornish and Lincolnshire lists were poor or infirm and utterly unsuited for the expected hardships and financial burdens of the journey to Jerusalem. Examinations of the returns led Brundage to conclude that 'Obviously the crusade in twelfth-century Lancashire [*sic*] and Cornwall was a far from aristocratic affair.'²⁴⁸ It was precisely this situation that the English episcopate and papal collectors of the late thirteenth century went to great length to avoid.

The study of the articles of inquiry adds to our understanding of how the episcopal and papal authorities acted on the various ways in which crusaders could redeem their vows in late thirteenth-century England. They also give historians a valuable glimpse of how crusader redemptions and indulgences were handled in

²⁴⁵ Article 17 in Appendix B below.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Many crusaders ended up with great debts which would be reimbursed at a later date; for example, Forey, 'Otto of Grandson', p. 84.

²⁴⁷ See above, pp. 198–266.

²⁴⁸ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 131. This phrase was used by Evans for the title of his article on poor and non-combatant crusaders: Evans, "A far from Aristocratic Affair", pp. 23–36.

practice, how many was collected from various revenue streams, and how this money was eventually disbursed to those that went to the Holy Land. The evidence provided from contemporary accounts dispels the misinterpretation that has been prevalent in recent years. First, it showed that it was not the local diocesan who went around the diocese with the lists of questions to ask the parishioners, but one of a number of inquisitors picked by the bishop or the collectors of crusading revenue. Secondly, it demonstrated that the articles of inquiry were compiled and edited over a ten-year period, with an ever-expanding remit. Finally, it established that the Canterbury articles are worth noting and could indicate a hitherto-unknown inquiry in 1287. Moreover, a study of the article and how they were utilized allows for a more accurate picture of diocesan and parochial administration regarding crusaders' vows and the Holy Land subsidy.

England, thus far, is the only country with an extensive list of questions for the episcopal and papal authorities to ask in parishes. It also seems to be the only country with accounts of the methods put in place for the conduct of these inquiries. Although we only have three recensions of the articles of inquiry, there were certainly many more copies, now lost. There may well be other, similar copies in English diocesan record offices or cathedral archives, and we may even find that similar processes of inquiry were present on the Continent. Until then, these three copies of the articles of inquiry remain a source of paramount interest regarding vow redemption.

VII. CONCLUSION

By the late thirteenth century, the English episcopate had put in place comprehensive and impressive methods in order to manage and account for bequests and legacies that were owed to the Holy Land subsidy, and to keep track of crusaders and their votive obligations. It is certainly possible that whatever framework was developed by

Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury, for the inquiries of 1196 and 1201, were utilized and developed on by later bishops. Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln has perhaps the best claim to being the one who standardized the *modus operandi* of the inquiry process which later established itself with the articles of inquiry to be asked by papal and ecclesiastical agents collecting the tenth and investigating bequests and legacies to the Holy Land subsidy.

The need for the articles of inquiry by the end of the thirteenth century was paramount in order for some members of the English episcopate to render accurate accounts to the papal collectors of the Holy Land subsidy. If the records of testaments in the register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard of Worcester offer any indication of the national scale of bequests and the uptake of the cross during this century, then the English episcopate would have had a remarkable job to keep track of everything.²⁴⁹ What role bishops at the diocesan level actually took in the conduct and process of these inquiries is unclear from the records that we have available. Certainly, the articles of inquiry were important enough for three registers to include them; however, Bishop Richard of Hereford's *acta* and the documentation from Hereford Cathedral Archives neglect to give any lists which can be associated with any campaign to follow these inquiries, the register in Canterbury Cathedral Archives was not that kept by the archbishop of Canterbury himself, but in Christ Church Priory, and that in Bishop Oliver Sutton of Lincoln's register can be explained by the fact that he was one of the papal collectors of this money. What is clear, however, is that this process evolved and stringent measures were put in place.

²⁴⁹ For more on medieval testaments and bequests see Michael M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England: From the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century*, Studies and Texts 6 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1963). Sheehan also published a list of thirteenth-century testaments which he had intended to publish as an edition, unfortunately this never came to fruition: Michael M. Sheehan, 'A List of Thirteenth-Century English Wills', *Marriage, Family, and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies*, ed. by James K. Farge (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. 8–15.

Despite the need for appearances in the 1250s, the English episcopate seems to have still had its differences in its approach to the crusades and their administration. The only thing they really united on was their distrust and hatred of King Henry III's campaign to Sicily and Master Rostand's approach to the collection campaign. It appears from the episcopal *acta* and registers available that the collection campaigns did not actually have that much of an effect on routine diocesan business, and for an interested few, some pieces of information were written down as an *aide memoir*, rather than an action the bishop actually undertook themselves.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ENGLISH EPISCOPATE AND THE TRIAL OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

I. INTRODUCTION

The arrest of the crusading Military Order of the Knights Templar on Friday 13 October 1307 is one of the most infamous events in medieval European history.¹ The subsequent trials that occurred through Western Christendom systematically dismantled the order. In August 1308 Pope Clement V (1305–1314) published and distributed his bull *Faciens misericordiam* outlining the procedural setting the trial of the Templars should take throughout the rest of Europe after the confession of heresy by the leading officials of the Templars in France.²

A total of 108 Templars and 170 non-Templars were interrogated throughout the course of the proceedings in the British Isles between 1309 and 1311. The proceedings against the English Templars survive in two primary manuscripts.³ The summary manuscript used by the Provincial Church Council, held in London between 27 June to 13 July 1311, to decide the fate of the British Templars also survives.⁴ The

¹ Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, second edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), is the standard reference work focussing on the events in France. For a survey of the available bibliographical material on the trial, see Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 362–65. The proceedings against the Templars in several countries, as well as numerous studies for other places, have also been published. For an overview see, *The Proceedings*, II, p. i n. 1. See also the various contributions to *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, ed. by Jochen Burgtorf, Paul F. Crawford and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

² *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 2–11; II, pp. 3–11. See also *The Proceedings*, II, pp. xi–xii. Regarding the dating of the bull see, *The Proceedings*, II, p. xi n. 7; Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 125–26, 332 n. 34.

³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 454; London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius B xii. The materials relating to the trial contained in these manuscripts were transcribed in 1737; however, this edition is now superseded by Helen Nicholson's efforts: *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. by David Wilkins, 4 vols (London: Sumptibus R. Gosling, 1737), II, pp. 329–401.

⁴ Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Armarium XXXV*, 147, fols 1^r–12^v, edited in *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 379–409 (translated in II, pp. 433–70).

manuscripts have recently received comprehensive modern treatment at the hands of Helen Nicholson, with one volume containing the full Latin text in a diplomatic edition, with marginalia, and the other a full translation, both containing comprehensive historical notes.⁵ Following the publication of *The Proceedings* a burgeoning scholarly field of studies focussed around the trial against the British Templars has emerged, with Nicholson leading this field in recent years.⁶ However,

⁵ *The Proceedings*.

⁶ Helen J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308–1311* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009); *Idem*, 'Relations between Houses of the Order of the Templars in Britain and their local Communities, as indicated during the trial of the Templars, 1307–1312', in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. by Norman Housley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 195–207; *Idem*, 'Myths and Reality: The Crusades and the Latin East as Presented during the Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308–1311', in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. by Helen J. Nicholson, Crusades Subsidia 4 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 89–100; *Idem*, 'The Templars' Estates in the west of Britain in the early fourteenth century', in *The Military Orders, volume 6.2: Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe*, ed. by Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 132–42; *Idem*, 'How secret were the Templars' ceremonies? Evidence from the proceedings in the British Isles', in *Committitones Christi: Miscellanea di studi per il Centro Italiano di Documentazione sull'Ordine de Tempio, MMXI–MMXVI*, ed. by S. Sammarco (Rome: Lisanti, 2016), pp. 85–98; *Idem* and Philip Salvin, "'The Real Da Vinci Code': The Accounts of Templars' Estates in England and Wales during the Suppression of the Order", in *The Templars and their Sources*, ed. by Karl Borchardt, Karoline Döring, Philippe Josserand and Helen J. Nicholson, Crusades Subsidia 10 (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 237–47; Helen J. Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars: The Knights Templar at Home* (London: Fonthill Media, 2017); *Idem*, 'The Trial of the Templars in Britain and Ireland', in *The Templars: The Rise and Fall, and Legacy of a Military Religious Order*, ed. by Jochen Burgtorf, Shlomo Loatan, and Enric Mallorqui-Ruscalleda (London: Routledge, forthcoming 2020); *Idem*, 'Negotiation and Conflict: The Templars' and Hospitallers' Relations with Diocesan Bishops in Britain and Ireland', in *Structures and Concepts of Ecclesiastical Authority, c.1100–c.1500*, ed. by Matthew Ross and Thomas W. Smith, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West Series (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

My thanks to Professor Nicholson for giving me access to these final two articles ahead of their publication.

Also of importance on the trial of the English Templars are: Clarence Perkins, 'The Trial of the Knights Templars in England', *EHR*, 24 (1909), 432–37; Alan J. Forey, 'Ex-Templars in England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 18–37; Philip Salvin, 'The Fate of the Former Templar Estates in England, 1308–1337', *Crusades*, 14 (2015), 209–36; Jochen Schenk, 'Aspects and Problems of the Templars' religious presence in Medieval Europe from the twelfth to early fourteenth century', *Traditio*, 71 (2016), 273–302.

examinations of the trial and the evidence brought forward has generally only been considered through what information it can tell us regarding the state of the Order and its public reception in fourteenth-century England, and little consideration has been given to how the English episcopate, individually or as a whole, approached the matter.

Much of Nicholson's work involves descriptions of how the English episcopate approached their duties in the matter of the trial of the English Templars, but this is always within the framework of the trial, with the Templars firmly foregrounded as the main subject. Nicholson's forthcoming piece on 'Negotiation and Conflict' between both the Templars and Hospitallers and the English episcopate, on the other hand, is the only piece in the historiography of the trial to specifically consider the role of the English episcopate in the trial of the Templars and only consists of two pages; the rest of the article taken up with case studies on the relations of the English episcopate with the Hospitallers.⁷ In the forthcoming piece, the entirety of the British episcopate's role in the trial of the Templars is considered, noting that in Ireland the trial did not involve any members of the Irish episcopate, and that in Scotland only involved William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews (1297–1328).⁸ This, therefore, means that compared to the trial in the rest of Britain, the English proceedings were unusually dominated by English episcopal influence, with Nicholson concluding that:

The bishops' determination to ensure that the matter was investigated may have reflected their concern to ensure the spiritual well-being of their flocks—many of whom were served by parish priests appointed by the Templars—or might reflect a wish to be seen to co-operate with papal instructions, which the king had initially opposed.⁹

⁷ Nicholson, 'Negotiation and Conflict', author's copy, 22pp. (pp. 11–12).

⁸ *Ibid.*, author's copy, p. 11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, author's copy, p. 12.

Similarly, in Nicholson's summary forthcoming article on the trial of the Templars in Britain, the primary focus shifting in some ways away from the Templars at the centre of the inquiry and being placed more evenly on the socio-political state of England, the role of royal government, and situating the trial within a politico-cultural context.¹⁰ In her examination, Nicholson looks at the Templars' estates and how the English treasury took possession of them and siphoned off their money, never truly handing many of the estates over to the Hospitallers, the Templars' imprisonment and treatment, the interrogation of the Templars, and the end of the trial in 1311, concluding that '[t]he Order of the Temple in Britain and Ireland was not dissolved because of events in these islands but because the Church and the English royal government were unable, or did not wish, to stand apart from events in France.'¹¹

The one exception to this rule, however, is Clifford Clubley's 1965 doctoral thesis. Clubley's thesis centred on the episcopate of Bishop John de Dalderby of Lincoln (1300–1320), and provided a short examination of Bishop John's interactions with the trial of the Templars and the subsequent penance Templars in his diocese endured.¹² While much of this material has been re-examined by Alan Forey in his article on 'Ex-Templars' and the penances which were bestowed in England, Clubley's examination portrays a diocesan bishop with little interaction during the inquiry itself, despite his appointment as one of the papal commissioners, but astute in recording the presence and penance of Templars in his diocese later on.

This chapter, then, is the first study to reverse the scholarly focus placed on the trial of the English Templars, by placing the English episcopate at the forefront of the proceedings. The question of 'to what extent was the English episcopate involved

¹⁰ Nicholson, 'The Trial of the Templars in Britain and Ireland', author's copy, 34pp.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, author's copy, p. 24.

¹² Clifford Clubley, 'John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, 1300–1320' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 1965), pp. 156–76.

in the trial of the English Templars?’ will be asked, with a view to examining it as a part of English episcopal cohesion towards the crusades, crusaders, and crusading orders. In order to answer this question, this chapter examines the role that the papally appointed commission, primarily comprised of English bishops, had in the trial of the English Templars. It then turns its attention to bishops outside of the inquiry and the role that some of them took in its proceedings. Finally it explores the aftermath of the trial as detailed in episcopal registers.

II. THE CALL FOR THE TRIAL

The Templars in Britain held generally favourable relationships with English monarchs throughout the Middle Ages.¹³ The same was also generally true for the English episcopate, with many bishops giving the Templars lands and possession of the advowsons of various churches in their dioceses.¹⁴ Jochen Schenk, primarily focussing on France, and Nicholson, on England, have both outlined that this relationship between diocesan bishop and exempted religious order did, more often than not, cause tension within the diocese.¹⁵

On 22 November 1307, following the arrest of the French Templars a month earlier, Pope Clement V issued the bull *Pastoralis praeeminentiae* ordering the arrest of the Knights Templar throughout Western Christendom.¹⁶ King Edward II of England capitulated to the papal demand and ordered the arrest of the Templars throughout

¹³ See Irina Gatti, ‘The Relationship between the Knights Templars and the Kings of England. From the Order’s Foundation to the Reign of Edward I’ (unpublished doctoral thesis: The University of Reading, 2005), pp. 209–13.

¹⁴ See Schenk, ‘Aspects and Problems’, pp. 282–86.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 273–302; Nicholson, ‘Negotiation and Conflict’, author’s copy, pp. 1–22.

¹⁶ Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 2, 89–91; Sophia Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 216–17.

the British Isles in mid-December 1307.¹⁷ It was not until 20 October 1309, though, that the trial in England began in earnest.¹⁸ The committee to oversee the inquiry in England had been selected by Pope Clement back in August 1308. This was stipulated in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury following the orders of *Faciens misericordiam* and was read out at the start of the English proceedings against the Templars on 27 September 1309. The inquiry committee for England consisted of Archbishop Robert Winchelsey of Canterbury; bishop of Durham and patriarch of Jerusalem, Antony Bek (bishop of Durham 1283–1311; patriarch of Jerusalem 1306–1311); Archbishop William Greenfield of York (1306–1315); Bishop John Langton of Chichester (1305–1337); and Bishop John Dalderby of Lincoln. In addition, the committee was supplemented by Bishop Roul of Orléans (1308–1311), two papal inquisitors, and Guy of Wych.¹⁹ A similar letter was also issued for the northern province, addressed to Archbishop William.²⁰

III. THE APPROACH OF THE INQUISITORIAL PANEL

In terms of English bishops set to oversee the trial of the English Templars, the committee that was appointed by Pope Clement V in August 1308 comprised of Bishop-Patriarch Antony Bek, Archbishop Robert Winchelsey of Canterbury, Archbishop William Greenfield of York, Bishop John Langton of Chichester, and Bishop John Dalderby of Lincoln. This section of the chapter will explore the individual roles that were taken by this episcopal inquisitorial commission. Through

¹⁷ For a timeline see, *The Proceedings*, II, pp. xiv–xv. For a step by step account see, Nicholson, *Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 19–90.

¹⁸ *The Proceedings*, I, p. 1 (translated in II, p. 1).

¹⁹ *Reg. Winchelsey*, I, pp. 1005–09; *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 10–11 (translated in II, pp. 10–11). For Bishop Raoul see, *The Proceedings*, II, p. 3 n. 14.

²⁰ *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 292–94 no. 2273.

an examination of the episcopal registers and the proceedings themselves a picture of ecclesiastical involvement in the trial of the Templars can be built and the ways in which the ecclesiastics approached the matter examined. Although Nicholson has already provided cursory coverage of the bishops who comprised the panel, it is worth examining the appointed bishops and their roles.²¹

On 26 February 1306, Antony Bek, bishop of Durham, was appointed as titular Patriarch of Jerusalem, apparently because of 'his generosity and magnificence of heart' (*propter dapsilitatem, et cordis, magnificentiam*).²² As part of this promotion, the now Patriarch Antony was granted papal exemption from personal obedience to Archbishop William Greenfield of York, his metropolitan superior.²³ Bishop Antony already had an established pedigree as a crusader, having served on the crusade of the Lord Edward (future King Edward I) between 1270 and 1272, being so close to the Lord Edward that Antony was appointed as keeper of the prince's wardrobe, and acted as one of the executors to the Lord Edward's will when it was drawn up at Acre.²⁴ He was just as committed to the Holy Land and a future crusade that in June 1304 he took the crusader's cross for a second time.²⁵ His appointment to the patriarchate has been seen by some, such as Tyerman, as a result of his famed wealth, as well as his ambitious offer to bankroll 300 knights to serve in the Holy Land for three years.²⁶

As patriarch of Jerusalem, Bishop Antony became the *de facto* leader of the inquiry into the Templars, especially in Britain, for the entirety of the patriarchate.²⁷

²¹ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 60, 91–92.

²² William Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. by Riley, p. 228; *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, p. 118 no. 111.

²³ *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, p. 121 no. 115.

²⁴ Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, p. 76; Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, pp. 10–12.

²⁵ *CPR*, I, p. 616; II, pp. 5, 10; Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, pp. 163–65, 201.

²⁶ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 234; see also *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. by Rothwell, pp. 348, 362; Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, p. 207.

²⁷ *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 130–31 no. 128; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 91.

His powers as patriarch made him the preeminent ecclesiastic in England, allowing him to act on the same level as the archbishops of Canterbury and York in the inquiry.²⁸ Further orders were issued stating that Patriarch-Bishop Antony was to act in person or by deputy in Lund in Denmark, in the inquiry in the Irish provinces and the bishopric of Cashel, Trondheim (Norway), and in Scotland.²⁹ Patriarch-Bishop Antony's task was therefore an unenviable one, wherein he needed to monitor the entire proceedings against the Templars in several countries. Unfortunately, since no episcopal register now survives for Bishop Antony's episcopate, we cannot be sure how much of a role Patriarch-Bishop Antony or his episcopal official had in the processes of the inquiries outside England, or what correspondence was sent between them.³⁰

A single letter, dated to 23 September 1309, records that Patriarch-Bishop Antony, and those conducting the inquiry in the north of England, deputed the matter of the Scottish Templars to a committee comprised of William de Yetham, dean of Dunblane, Hugh de Selkirk, archdeacon of Brechin, and John de Solerio, canon of St Radegund's (Poitiers) to join under the episcopal leadership of Bishop William Lamberton of St Andrews to make the inquiries on behalf of the English bishops, 'since they are prevented from going personally to Scotland.'³¹ At this time England had been at war with Scotland since 1296 and the trial of the Templars came in the middle of the conflict, with the First Scottish War for Independence finally ending in 1328.³² No such letters appear to have survived or have since surfaced for the

²⁸ *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, p. 130 no. 128.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 130–31 no. 128.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. vii see also n. 3 for Fraser's dismissal of James Raine's comment regarding the possible mistaking of London, British Library, Harleian MS 3720 (the memoranda book of Antony Bek, bishop of Norwich 1337–1343) for that of Patriarch-Bishop Antony of Durham.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155 no. 144. For an examination of the Scottish Inquiry see, Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, chap. 5, pp. 132–44.

³² Barrell, *Medieval Scotland*, pp. 92–137.

proceedings in the Irish provinces and Cashel, nor for Norway and Denmark. The lack of letters for Norway and Denmark, however, is likely explained by the fact that public knowledge established that there were no Templars in either country, although the Hospitaller and Teutonic Orders were present.³³

A few other letters do, however, survive. On 29 September 1309, just before the inquiry in England began, the Patriarch-Bishop and his fellow commissaries summoned the Templars of England and Wales to London in order to begin their inquiry.³⁴ An attempt was made on 26 November 1309 to get Archbishop William of York to come to London to participate in the inquiry.³⁵ There had been some difficulties in getting Archbishop William to participate in the trial of the Templars in the southern province, especially because of the dispute between him and Archbishop Robert Winchelsey over the right of the York metropolitan to carry his cross erect in the province of Canterbury. In fact, Archbishop William had been excommunicated by Archbishop Robert in a fit of archiepiscopal rage for carrying his cross before him at the London Parliament in 1309 without Archbishop Robert's approval.³⁶ This inability of the prelates of York and Canterbury to tolerate each other was probably a hangover from the longstanding dispute over primacy.³⁷ The report delivered to the pope on 5 April 1310 took a dim view to this petty issue of archiepiscopal pride, noting the 'delays caused by local preoccupations of the archbp. of York'.³⁸

The mandate also included instructions that the bishops were to assist in the expenses of the papal envoys sent to investigate the Templars in the British Isles as

³³ *The Proceedings*, I, p. 377 (translated in II, p. 433), see also II, pp. xxi, 433 n.1. '+ partib[us] in p[re]dictis Norweye + Dacye Regnis Templarii no[n] h[abe]nt[ur] p[ro]ut patet p[er] publica mi[n]imenta'.

³⁴ *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 155–56 no. 145.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157 no. 147; *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 302–06 no. 2279.

³⁶ Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, pp. 94–95.

³⁷ For the dispute see Roy Martin Haines, 'Canterbury versus York: *Ibid.*, pp. 69–105; also, Duggan, 'Sicut ex scriptis', pp. 81–86.

³⁸ *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 158–59 no. 148; *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 322–25.

well as in Norway and Denmark.³⁹ Furthermore, Patriarch-Bishop Antony stood bail for William de la More, grand commander of the English Templars.⁴⁰ Patriarch-Bishop Antony likewise seems to have formed the bridge between the king and the inquisitors throughout the course of the trial, acting as a mediator for the problems that cropped up.⁴¹ Patriarch-Bishop Antony died on 3 March 1311, before the final dissolution of the Templars in England.

Finally, a letter known as *Lamentacio quedam pro Templariis* which defended the Templars arrived in England sometime in 1308. Since its publication in full in 1965 by Christopher Cheney, several historians, including Nicholson, have suggested that it was likely sent to Durham at this time for the attention of the patriarch.⁴² The letter's reasoned argument outlined how the pressures of torture were being used to force the Templars to confess to crimes they did not even commit and the inquisitors were thus using this evidence to mislead King Philip IV (le Bel or the Fair) of France (1285–1314).⁴³ It may well be, as Nicholson and Larissa Tracy suggest, that this letter's convincing and well considered argument could have influenced Patriarch-Bishop

³⁹ *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, p. 157 no. 147; *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 302–06.

⁴⁰ Fraser, *History of Antony Bek*, pp. 165, 172–73, 219; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 91; *Idem*, 'The Trial of the Templars in Britain and Ireland', author's copy, p. 10.

⁴¹ Perkins, 'Trial of the Templars', pp. 492–93; *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 118 no. 111, 130–31 no. 128; Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek*, pp. 164–65, 172–73, 219, 223, 225; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 92.

⁴² '*Lamentacio quedam pro Templariis*', ed. by C. R. Cheney in, 'The Downfall of the Templars and a Letter in their Defence', in *Medieval Texts and Studies*, ed. by C. R. Cheney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 314–27; originally printed in *Medieval Miscellany presented to Eugène Vinaver by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*, ed. by F. Whitehead, A. H. Diverres and F. E. Sutcliffe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965), pp. 65–79 (the letter is transcribed pp. 71–76); for a summary of the scholarship on the letter see Nicholson, 'The Trial of the Templars in Britain and Ireland', author's copy, p. 10.

⁴³ Nicholson, 'The Trial of the Templars in Britain and Ireland', author's copy, p. 10.

Antony's lenient and almost lackadaisical approach to the inquiry and the Templar's guilt.⁴⁴

However, despite Patriarch-Bishop Antony's position as head of the inquiry, there is nothing in the proceedings showing his hand in their conduct.⁴⁵ In fact, as Nicholson observed, '[i]n August 1308 Pope Clement V had nominated him to oversee the trial in England, and under his oversight it had progressed slowly, with considerable leniency towards the Templars.'⁴⁶ Patriarch-Bishop Antony is mentioned, as most bishops are, in the first bulls which open the folios of the proceedings against the English Templars, but thereafter his interaction with the conduct of the trial is silent and not one single testimony of an English Templar records him as a witness or inquisitor.⁴⁷ Surviving records give us a view of indifference, a sense of almost not wanting to get his hands dirty. The patriarch of Jerusalem, chosen to take the lead by the pope, appears to have wanted no part in the inquiry. However, this is, perhaps, an unjust judgement to level at Patriarch-Bishop Antony. With the disappearance and absence of an extant episcopal register, we lose our major link to his episcopate, patriarchate and actions. For all we know, he could have taken an active interest in the inquiries he was appointed to oversee elsewhere in Britain and Europe, issuing much correspondence, now lost, and simply keeping a close eye on the proceedings in England, letting them continue along under the guidance of the metropolitans of York and Canterbury. However, until such a document is discovered and analysed this remains the primary assessment of Patriarch-Bishop Antony's attitude towards the Templars and his approach to his role in the proceedings against them.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10; Larissa Tracy, 'Wounded Bodies: Kingship, National Identity and Illegitimate Torture in the English Arthurian Tradition', in *Arthurian Literature XXXII*, ed. by Elizabeth Archibald and David F. Johnson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 1–31 (pp. 21–26).

⁴⁵ *The Proceedings*, I and II, *passim*; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 91.

⁴⁶ Nicholson, 'The Trial of the Templars in Britain and Ireland', author's copy, p. 10.

⁴⁷ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 2, 10 (translated in II, pp. 3, 11).

The appointment of Archbishop Robert Winchelsey as a member of the investigative committee in England appears to have been a mere formality. His position was superseded by Antony Bek on the basis that the Templars looked to both the pope and patriarch for guidance. His appointment, it would seem, was an obvious choice, much like that of Archbishop William Greenfield of York, on the principal basis that Archbishop Robert was primate over a province that covered the majority of English bishoprics, and therefore Templar houses within them.

Much like Bishop-Patriarch Antony, Archbishop Robert also appears to exhibit a lack of involvement in the proceedings against the English Templars. In fact, it seems that he was more occupied with the need to curtail King Edward II's encroachments on ecclesiastical privilege and to rectify the state of the realm, than he was with the trial of the Templars. From the outset of the inquiry, no individual inquisitions within the proceedings bear him as a witness to the events or interrogations of the English Templars or others. Nicholson claims that 'the Archbishop of Canterbury was too unwell to lead the trial in the province of Canterbury'; however, this does not seem to have affected his ability to politically manoeuvre against Edward II.⁴⁸ For instance, the provincial Church council held by Archbishop Robert from 24 November to 9 December 1309 was less concerned with Pope Clement's papal bulls and the need for the trial of the Templars, than it was with the development of a set of grievances which were presented to King Edward on 16 December 1309.⁴⁹ Similarly, the council held to decide the fate of the English Templars in the province of Canterbury between 27 June and 13 July 1311 focussed more on the formulation of the Ordinances of 1311 than the conclusions of the largest heresy trial yet to be held in England.

⁴⁸ Nicholson, 'Negotiation and Conflict', author's copy, p. 11; Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, pp. 247–68.

⁴⁹ The council was summoned by the bishop of London on the archbishop's behalf: *Reg. Winchelsey*, II, pp. 1010–12; *C&S*, II.2, pp. 1266–74; see specifically, Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, p. 254 and n. 308.

Archbishop Robert did in some instances, however, have an impact on the trial. Evidence from his archiepiscopal registers suggests that he did play a small role in the inquisition. In 1309, Archbishop Robert issued an edict to the bishops of the province of Canterbury listing the Christian names of fourteen Templars who had failed to appear for interrogation by the bishops of Chichester and London.⁵⁰ While no response from England's bishops is extant in the episcopal registers we have today, it would appear that all but five of these errant Templars were found by the English episcopate and royal officials.⁵¹ Moreover, it appears that Archbishop Robert deputized his chancellor to witness a number of interrogations in his stead, instead of the bishop of London, as noted by Nicholson.⁵²

Archbishop Robert was also appointed as part of the papal commission to collate an inventory of the goods of the English Templars. The rest of this panel was comprised of Bishop-Patriarch Antony, Archbishop William of York, and Bishop John of Lincoln. Letters were issued at some point in 1308 to 1309 from the Archbishop of Canterbury in order for them to meet to discuss this business, and the papal mandate of 12 August 1308 appointing these prelates with instructions of the inventory to be sent to the papal camera was attached.⁵³ This task was seemingly an impossible one to conduct for the episcopal commission, however. When the Templars were arrested the king had taken control of their property and lands, with the moneys generated by the estates flowing into the royal exchequer rather than the papal camera. Ironically,

⁵⁰ *Registrum Henrici Woodlock, diocesis Wintoniensis, A.D. 1305–1316*, ed. by A. W. Goodman, Canterbury and York Society 43 and 44 (Oxford: Canterbury and York Society, 1940–41), I, p. 403; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 51–52.

⁵¹ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 52.

⁵² *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 352, 354, 357, 359 (translated in II, pp. 400, 404, 409, 411); Nicholson, 'Negotiation and Conflict', author's copy, p. 11.

⁵³ *Reg. Winchelsey*, II, pp. 1083–84.

Edward II later sent letters and began an investigation into who had taken possession of the Templar property, even though it was in his hands.⁵⁴

Two other events call out for examination. The first likely occurred in c.1312 when Archbishop Robert ordered his commissary to conduct a 'secret' inquiry regarding the Templar commandery of Ewell (Kent).⁵⁵ The commissary was to take a public notary and compel the vicar and several men of standing in the village to inquire in the locality regarding the heresies of the Templars there before the provincial church council's imminent commencement.⁵⁶ What the findings of this secret inquiry were have, unfortunately, not come to light and it seems, as Menache notes, that 'Winchelsey's emissaries found it extremely difficult to elicit testimony from the laity against the Templars, a further indication of the relative support that the Order enjoyed in England.'⁵⁷

The second occurred at a provincial church council, which met on 23 September 1310, raising the question of torture. The frustrating failure of any of the English commissioners to extract a confession of heresy from the Templars was the cause of the need for this new method to be implemented.⁵⁸ Whereas the provincial council in the northern province of York declined to use torture, the southern bishops agreed to endorse the method, and several of the English Templars were tortured; however, this still amounted to nothing, with little damning evidence coming forth even through these violent means.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 80–81; *Idem*, 'The Trial of the Knights Templar', author's copy, p. 7.

⁵⁵ *Reg. Winchelsey*, II, p. 1241; Menache, *Clement V*, p. 232; *The Proceedings*, II, p. xxx.

⁵⁶ *Reg. Winchelsey*, II, p. 1241.

⁵⁷ Menache, *Clement V*, p. 232; also Perkins, 'The Knights Templar in the British Isles', pp. 224–29.

⁵⁸ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 122.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 177–82; *C&S*, II.2, pp. 1267–69.

On Saturday 3 July 1311, at the provincial church council in Canterbury, Archbishop Robert finally seems to have played some part in the proceedings. The council's first act was to listen to the testimony of Brother John of Stoke.⁶⁰ Afterwards it was claimed that William de la More, master of the Templars in England, 'personally sought with his own mouth to speak to the archbishop of Canterbury, [and] it was hoped by many that he wished to confess something'.⁶¹ However, the council apparently decreed that it should be the bishop of Chichester to talk to William and hear this possible confession. The next week, on the final few days of the trial between Friday, 9 July, and Monday, 12 July, several Templars appeared before the archbishop and council and abjured their heresy.⁶² At the end of the council, the archbishop ordered the bishops of Chichester, London, and Exeter to absolve the Templars, not even doing so himself.⁶³ That Archbishop Robert did this, perhaps best showcases his lethargy in taking part in the trial of the English Templars.

Archbishop William Greenfield of York was likewise appointed as a member of the papal commission concerning the proceedings against the Templars in England. This, again, was likely because of his status as an English metropolitan primate, as well as the need to ensure both provinces were treated equally. Archbishop William, however, appears to have also taken very little interest in the proceedings of the trial, even those in his own province. Nicholson has observed that 'he [Archbishop William] made repeated claims that he was too unwell to attend the proceedings, as if unwilling to be involved'.⁶⁴ Moreover, he also refused to participate in the proceedings against the Templars in the southern province on account of the dispute with the archbishop

⁶⁰ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 361–62 (translated in II, pp. 414–15).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 362 (translated in II, pp. 415). 'Frat[er] Will[el]m[us] de La More petierat p[er]sonalit[er] + orentus Loqui cu[m] d[omi]no Archie[pisco]po Cabt[uariensi], sperabat[ur] a multis q[uo]d vellet, sicuti isti tres f[rat]res sup[er]ius reconciliati, aliq[uo]d confiteri'.

⁶² *Ibid.*, I, pp. 362–71 (translated in II, pp. 416–25).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 369 (translated in II, p. 423).

⁶⁴ Nicholson, 'Negotiation and Conflict', author's copy, p. 11.

of Canterbury regarding his right to carry his primatial cross erect. This had actually resulted in Archbishop Robert of Canterbury excommunicating Archbishop William of York at the 1309 parliament held in London.⁶⁵ Archbishop William utilized this as an excuse when writing to Bishop John of Lincoln, stating that ‘we cannot proceed in the matter of the Templars alone. You cannot come into our diocese, nor can we go into yours by reason of the trouble about carrying the cross’.⁶⁶ This was met with an unapologetic response by the other commissioners who wrote a comment in the report sent to Pope Clement on 5 April 1310, regarding the ‘delays caused by local preoccupations of the archbp. of York’.⁶⁷

The inquiries in York began on 24 April 1310 and all depositions had been heard by 4 May.⁶⁸ The inquiry was undertaken between the archbishop’s chambers and the chapterhouse at York Minster and it is to be inferred from the testimonies that Archbishop William was present at them all in both his capacity as papal inquisitor and the king’s agent.⁶⁹ The proceedings moved swiftly following this set of interrogations, with summons issued for a provincial council which discussed the Templars’ testimonies on 20 to 21 May 1310; however, this was soon delayed to May 1311.⁷⁰ Orders were issued for bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Whithorn to attend the council in York.⁷¹ Thus the next council in the northern province was held between 24 May to 30 July 1311, with letters being sent to the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Whithorn requesting their presence, which finally decided the fate of the northern Templars and that they should go to monasteries to perform their penance.⁷²

⁶⁵ Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, pp. 94–95.

⁶⁶ *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 294–95 no. 2274.

⁶⁷ *Records of Antony Bek*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 158–59 no. 150; *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 322–25.

⁶⁸ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 261–83 (translated in II, pp. 291–318).

⁶⁹ For his royal appointment see, *Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1307–1313*, p. 230.

⁷⁰ *C&S*, II.2, pp. 1277–84; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 113–15.

⁷¹ *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 99–100 no. 1890.

⁷² *C&S*, II.2, pp. 1319–48; *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 99–100 no. 1890.

However, despite Archbishop William's attendance at the inquiry in York in his official capacity, he often sent excuses for non-attendance regarding the inquiry in the southern dioceses of Lincoln and London.⁷³ Similarly, excuses were made between 1309 and 1310, such as when Archbishop William wrote to the episcopal inquiry committee excusing himself for not having been in London on 18 December 1309, because he had only received the summons on 5 December, giving him only thirteen days to travel the c.240 miles down country in winter.⁷⁴ Further to this, the antagonistic dispute with the archbishop of Canterbury ended up delaying the proceedings. On 31 October 1309 Archbishop William issued the letter to the bishop of Lincoln stating that because the archbishop could not enter the diocese of Lincoln because of the matter of the primatial cross, he would not permit the bishop of Lincoln to likewise enter his archdiocese and province.⁷⁵

Despite the problems of primatial privilege and the ability to carry his cross erect in the southern province, Archbishop William did mandate the official of York to cite the Templars to appear in London on 16 February 1309.⁷⁶ However, because of the issues over primatial prominence, the papal commissioners sent the archbishop a letter dated to 9 November 1309 requesting that he summon the bishop of Lincoln to the northern province instead in order to assist with the inquiries in York.⁷⁷ This came in response to several missives from the Roman pontiff requesting that the business of the Templars be conducted and wrapped up as quickly as possible.⁷⁸

⁷³ *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 97–98 no. 1886.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 281–82 no. 2260, p. 349 no. 2324.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 294–95 no. 2274.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 300–01 no. 2277.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 301–02 no. 2278.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 297–98 no. 2276.

While Archbishop William's presence in the official documents of the proceedings against the English Templars is minimal, with virtually no interrogations mentioning his presence, his archiepiscopal register does contain a wealth of information on the trial of the northern Templars and the role that he played. Early on is a copy of a commission to the bishop of Whithorn in Scotland regarding the trial there, issued by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Lincoln.⁷⁹ At some point in 1310 the archbishop conferred with the bishop of Lincoln over apostate Templars in the northern province, requesting that they meet at Laneham (Nottinghamshire) on 2 July.⁸⁰ This was followed up with a mandate issued on 25 May 1310 to the official of the court of York to cite the apostate Templars to appear before the episcopal delegation on 2 July.⁸¹ There are also entries concerning the expenses of the other commissioners. They managed to rate their own expenses at around ten gold florins a day (c.200s. or £10 per day), which increased to twelve florins (c.£12) a day by 23 December 1310. To meet this demand they required the archbishop to levy a tax of one penny in the mark on the clergy, the first half of which was to be paid within two months of starting the tax.⁸²

Archbishop William's apparent negligence and constant belligerence with his archiepiscopal counterpart when considering the trial of the English Templars paints a view that archiepiscopal pride came before the biggest heresy trial England had ever seen. It is probable that this conditioned his responses to the largest extent. Coupled with this, the trial in the northern province seems to have happened slightly differently to that in the province of Canterbury, especially since the use of torture was never

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 94–95 no. 1878.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 283–84 no. 2268.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 285–86 no. 2261, 336–40.

⁸² *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 295–97 no. 2275, 348–49 no. 2322. For the currency conversion see: *The Towns of Italy in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. by Trevor Dean (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 144.

authorized in the northern province and so the Templars were allowed to abjure the heresy which they were accused of without confession.

The appointment of Bishop John Langton of Chichester, as one of the principal investigators into the heresies of the English Templars is one of the most curious appointments. A strong argument can be made for all of the other members of the panel, despite their apparent negligence and attempts to distance themselves from it, but the appointment of the bishop of Chichester over the official papal appointment of the bishop of London, or any other bishop with a larger see containing more Templar houses, is rather strange. As far as can be seen, however, it might have been Bishop John's career prior to the proceedings against the English Templars as an esteemed royal *familiaris* which was behind his appointment. In May 1286 Bishop John became the first person to be titled 'keeper of the rolls of chancery' and in 1292 he succeeded Bishop Robert Burnell (*d.* 1292) as chancellor of the realm. He was dismissed from this post in 1302, yet in 1305 he was elected to the bishopric of Chichester. In October 1305 he was a member of the English delegation sent to Pope Clement V at Lyons.⁸³ It is possible that Bishop John impressed the pope at this time. Upon King Edward II's accession to the throne in 1307 he was reinstated as chancellor, and it may have been in this capacity as King Edward's chief episcopal statesman that he was appointed as part of the episcopal commission; however, he was once again removed from this post in May 1310 when he was named among the five bishops elected as part of the Lords Ordainer—a council made up of senior laymen and ecclesiastics in order to keep the power of the king in check.⁸⁴ The decision to include him would thus appear to have stemmed from his governmental career and his

⁸³ M. C. Buck, 'Langton, John (*d.* 1337), *administrator and bishop of Chichester*', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16040>> [Accessed: 01 June 2018].

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

good relations with the pope, with the likely expectation that he would be as diligent in the Trial as he had been with his other administrative duties.

Bishop John of Chichester was the most active of the episcopal commission in the trial of the English Templars, being present for many of the interrogations.⁸⁵ It seems odd that a bishop from a rather insignificant bishopric was the main episcopal inquisitor among the episcopal commission delegated to lead the inquiry into the English Templars. However, nothing in the surviving record indicates why there is such perceived enthusiasm coming from the bishop of Chichester compared with the other members of the episcopal panel, particularly with the archbishops and patriarch seemingly attempting to distance themselves from the inquiry. It is likely that this issue is perhaps less concerned with the Templars, but with Bishop John of Chichester's own personality. He had been assiduous in his role as a royal administrator, a trait that he brought with him into his episcopate. Considering the excuses of infirmity often proffered by other members of the province of Canterbury for their non-attendance at various events, it is also likely that Bishop John was young or able enough to prosecute his duties in person, and was the most likely candidate to be relied on by the archbishops.

The final member of the papally appointed episcopal commission to investigate into the English Templars was Bishop John Dalderby of Lincoln. Clubley's thesis (1965) and Alan Forey's article on 'Ex-Templars in England', have already documented Bishop John of Lincoln's role in the inquiry and its aftermath extensively, and therefore only a precis of his role is needed here.⁸⁶ The most likely reason for Bishop John's appointment is that the diocese of Lincoln contained five Templar

⁸⁵ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 10, 123, 137, 142, 144, 150, 151, 152, 158, 165, 166, 169, 206, 214, 349, 352, 354, 366, 367 (translated in II, pp. 11, 117, 133, 139, 141, 147, 150, 157, 167, 169, 172, 227, 236, 238, 397, 404, 409, 411, 418, 421).

⁸⁶ Clubley, 'John de Dalderby', pp. 156–76; Forey, 'Ex-Templars in England'.

houses, one of the highest concentrations of Templar activity in England. Bishop John, however, does seem to have been similarly reluctant to become involved in the business of the Templars in England. Although it did not stop him from being active in the diocese of Lincoln, he issued a letter on 1 October 1309 to Bishop-Patriarch Antony, Bishop Ralph of London, and Bishop John of Chichester saying ‘we are greatly engaged with difficult business connected with our church and the inevitable necessary things concerned, and impeded by physical ill health, so that we are unable to carry out the apostolic mandates with the regular attention as we should wish.’⁸⁷ Bishop John also issued similar apologies and cited his ill health in letters dated to 7 May, 25 June, 20 July, and 19 October 1310.⁸⁸ He took no further part in the inquisition into the English Templars after this last letter complaining of ill health.

While Bishop John of Lincoln did complain about the burdens of his diocesan administrative duties, as well as his infirmity, he was an active agent his diocese. Since the other papal inquisitors who had been sent to England from France were unable to extract their expenses from the Templars’ lands as they lay in the king’s hands, they ordered the extraction of a tax on the clergy of one penny in the mark.⁸⁹ As Clublely noted, Bishop John and his episcopal administration were extremely efficient in this process, issuing letters to the prior and convent of St Katherine and the abbot and convent of Oseney to act as collectors in the diocese, with the collections rendering £200 from the diocese by 18 September 1312 for the commissioners’ expenses.⁹⁰ The register for the bishop of Salisbury also records the mandates for the collection of the

⁸⁷ Lincoln, LRO, Bishop’s Reg. III (John Dalderby), fol. 222^v. ‘Arduis ecclesie nostre negociis multiplici occupati eiusque ineuitabilibus necessitatibus ac valitudine proprii corporis impediti mandata applica in omnibus et per omnia assidus continuacione exequi non possumus ut optamus.’ Another letter, to the archbishop of Canterbury, notes Bishop John’s ‘Infirmite et delibitate corporis’.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, fols 215^v, 220^v, 222^v; also Clublely, ‘John Dalderby’, p. 164.

⁸⁹ *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 295–97 no. 2275, 348–49 no. 2322; *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 349–51.

⁹⁰ Clublely, ‘Bishop John Dalderby’, p. 158; LRO, Bishop’s Reg. III, fols. 255^v–256^r, 261^r.

French inquisitors' expenses and how the collections were to proceed in the diocese of Salisbury.⁹¹ However, it neglects to record any figures for the collection in the diocese. Therefore, Bishop John of Lincoln's register is the only one which seems to have recorded the amount of money collected from an English diocese for the inquisitors' expenses. Unfortunately, this means that we cannot accurately calculate the money which was paid from English dioceses for this period.

Furthermore, although Bishop John of Lincoln had little interaction with the trial of the English Templars in London, on the excuse of his infirm health, he was an active proponent of the inquiries in his own diocese of Lincoln and in the archdiocese of York. The proceedings against the Templars in Lincoln began on 31 March and ended on 1 June 1310.⁹² Another interrogation had to be opened in March 1311, after the Templars had been moved to Ludgate in London, because they had not confessed to anything.⁹³ Bishop John was present for the first set of the proceedings, but not for the second. The results were similar to the other inquisitions with no Templar's confessing their guilt, with Clubley surmising that: '[i]t would seem that as a result of his investigation he [Bishop John] was not convinced of their guilt, for from then onwards he took no further action on his own initiative.'⁹⁴

Despite the initial protestations of Archbishop William Greenfield of York that the bishop of Lincoln was not allowed to enter his diocese, it appears that there was a change of heart around 3 July 1310.⁹⁵ Bishop John of Lincoln joined Archbishop William at the archiepiscopal manor of Laneham (Nottinghamshire), with summons

⁹¹ *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 349–51, 351–53, 353–54, 354–55.

⁹² *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 215–38 (translated in II, pp. 239–65; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 109–13.

⁹³ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 239–60 (translated in II, pp. 266–90). Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 112–13.

⁹⁴ Clubley, 'Bishop John Dalderby', p. 162.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 162–63.

having been issued to several Templars who had failed to appear at the York inquiries. There they sat and waited. The names of the Templars who were cited to appear for this stage of the inquiry were called, and no one came forward. The archbishop and bishop waited another day. On the 4 July 1310, the archbishop of York and bishop of Lincoln then ordered a statement to be read out that the brothers, having failed to appear after being cited by the archbishop, were therefore excommunicated.⁹⁶ This non-hearing on 3 and 4 July 1310 is important because it shows that the archbishop of York eventually allowed the bishop of Lincoln to come and take part in the proceedings in his diocese, and two bishops from the episcopal commission working together. Furthermore, it is a neglected event. Since it was not recorded in the extant proceedings against the English Templars, further narrative accounts of the trial have not noted that the archbishop of York and the bishop of Lincoln finally came to cooperate together during the trial.⁹⁷

Overall, the examination of the papally appointed episcopal commission to undertake the investigation into and the trial of the English Templars was one which has produced interesting results. We have the patriarch of Jerusalem who is also bishop of Durham distancing himself from the inquiry in England and seemingly not bothering to act with any haste. In fact, the proceedings are rather slow, even with no evidence of Bishop-Patriarch Antony's participation in the inquiries. There is the archbishop of Canterbury who is more preoccupied with antagonizing the king. Archbishop Robert did take some action within his role as a papal inquisitor; however, it was a minor one, and he often delegated to other members of his household administration. The archbishop, much like the patriarch seems to have exhibited remarkable leniency towards the English Templars, even with the subsequent approval

⁹⁶ *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, pp. 336–40.

⁹⁷ For instance, there is no reference to this meeting at Laneham in Nicholson, *The Trial of the Knights Templar*.

by the provincial council of the use of torture to extract confession. Likewise, the archbishop of York was too preoccupied with his own antagonistic disputes with his metropolitan rival. Personal antipathies were carried far, and it seems accurate to say that some of Archbishop William of York's actions directly delayed the proceedings of the trial against the English Templars. While the papally appointed commission were supposed to act together in the inquisitions, it seems that these personal rivalries resulted in many of the bishops acting as lone agents, even with the supervisory eyes of the French inquisitors looming close. Bishop John of Lincoln was extraordinarily active when it came to the home administration of the trial of the Templars in his diocese and the collection of the French inquisitors' expenses; however, when it comes to the trial elsewhere in England his actions are lacking. His constant complaints of infirm health made him a less than ideal candidate for the papal commission, and yet he was such a member. His own role in the proceedings showed that he perhaps thought very little of the guilt of the Templars, and thus removed himself from the equation as best he could. Finally, the only bishop to have taken a proactive approach to the trial of the English Templars as a member of the papal commission was Bishop John of Chichester. His role as a royal governmental official had provided him with the tool to prosecute his office with remarkable administrative verve and efficiency, appearing at many of the interrogations of the English Templars.

In shifting the view away from the English Templars themselves and placing the spotlight on the members of the English episcopate chosen to act as inquisitors, we find that these bishops were far from sharing the same cohesive view when it came to their approach in this matter. Part of this is likely because the English episcopate had never had to deal with an extensive, nation-wide heresy trial before. The French episcopate, by comparison, already had more experience in this regard, having faced

the threats from the Waldensians and Cathars.⁹⁸ The English episcopate had never faced a threat like it and, as Barber noted, '[c]onsequently, inquisitors had never functioned in England and had no machinery or tradition upon which to rely.'⁹⁹ This was probably why it took over two years for the French inquisitors to get both the king and clergy to agree in the use of torture in the southern province of Canterbury. Their pleas, however, were not adhered to in the northern province of York. This, again, in itself showcases an English episcopate riven in two, with one branch of the English episcopate agreeing to one course of action and the other to another. What we find, therefore, is an English episcopate seemingly in disarray and marked by a characteristic disunity in the face of things regarding the crusade movement.

IV. THE ROLE OF OTHER BISHOPS AND THE PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLISH DIOCESES

In *Faciens misericordiam* Pope Clement made clear that all English bishops were to approach the matter of the trial of the Templars and either bring men from their dioceses to the trial's locations or to take part in the inquiry itself by interviewing Templars and those associated with them.¹⁰⁰ There is, however, a paucity of information concerning this and what role the English bishops outside of the papally appointed episcopal commission actually took. For many, it is likely that the running of the diocese and other important works came first, with little space in episcopal registers being devoted to the trial and its proceedings. On the other hand, there are two particular exemptions to this rule.

⁹⁸ Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 26–28, 221.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

¹⁰⁰ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 10–11 (translated in II, pp. 10–11).

The first English bishop to take an interest in the trial of the English Templars outside the papally appointed commission was Ralph Baldock, bishop of London (1306–1313). From the outset of the inquiry Bishop Ralph appears to have played a bigger part in the inquiry than it appears he would have liked to. The bishop of London always held a special relationship with the archbishop of Canterbury, often deputizing as ‘dean’—an honorific title bestowed when the bishop of London acted in this capacity.¹⁰¹ Nicholson recently noted that during the inquiry ‘the Archbishop of Canterbury was too unwell to lead the trial in the province of Canterbury and this task fell to the Bishop of London.’¹⁰² It may well be that he acted in this capacity from time to time for the archbishop of Canterbury who otherwise found himself indisposed. However, what becomes clear is that Bishop Ralph was more likely to be the king’s representative, since letters were sent to Archbishop William of York and Bishop John of Lincoln, and Bishop Ralph of London to be present at the trial when the proceedings occurred in their respective dioceses as the king’s representative.¹⁰³ Even though the bishop of Lincoln and the archbishop of York were appointed in a similar royal capacity, despite their appointment as papal inquisitors, this duty seems to have been an onerous one for Bishop Ralph and there are clear signs of reluctance from him to be present at the inquiries.

Despite this, Bishop Ralph ensured that he followed the papal mandate to inquire into the Templars of London since some of the opening folios of the proceedings copy in verbatim from the bishop to the inquisitors and the bishop of London’s archdeacon, stating that:

We, following the papal mandate and pastoral duty of our office, intend to proceed against and inquire into the brothers and individual persons of the

¹⁰¹ Irene J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, 2 vols (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1933), II, chap. vii, pp. 348–59 (pp. 355–59).

¹⁰² Nicholson, ‘Negotiation and Conflict’, author’s copy, p. 11.

¹⁰³ *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward II, Volume 1, 1307–1313* (London: HMSO, 1892), p. 230.

aforesaid Order of the City and diocese of London and others living there or throwing off their habit, as is fitting on the aforementioned grounds.¹⁰⁴

Bishop Ralph was present for several of the testimonies given by the London Templars throughout the inquiry.¹⁰⁵ However, in several of the testimonial accounts given, Bishop Ralph appears to have tried to distance himself from the inquiry, claiming that his participation was only a formality because either the inquisitors or the king had requested it of him, with lines included at the end of some testimonies such as:

The aforesaid bishop of London protested that he did not intend to be present at the aforesaid examinations insofar as they were done against the Master or against the Order in the role of examiner, but solely as a witness.¹⁰⁶

Similar notifications and protestations of merely being present in an observational capacity on behalf of the king occur a further four times in the proceedings against the English Templars.¹⁰⁷ Even at the provincial Church council of Canterbury, when Archbishop Robert ordered the bishop of London to assist the bishops of Chichester and Exeter, the latter of which had no part in the inquisitorial process, it was noted that '[o]n his part, the lord bishop of London received this under protest, as he had done elsewhere.'¹⁰⁸ It is this record of protest which could create some speculation as for whether or not Bishop Ralph was also well disposed towards the Templars, similar to the attitudes of Bishop-Patriarch Antony and the archbishops.

There is no evidence for Bishop Ralph's attitude towards the Templars prior to the trial and it is difficult to trace his familial links, with seemingly no prior association with the Templars outside of routine diocesan business. Therefore it is

¹⁰⁴ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 16–20 (translated in II, pp. 17–21).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 61, 73, 108, 118, 123, 134, 141, 148, 151–52, 156, 159, 163, 167, 170, 171–72, 224, 212–13 (translated in II, pp. 58, 68, 99, 112, 117, 130, 137, 145, 149–50, 155, 157, 163, 170, 173, 174–75, 224, 236–37).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 142 (translated in II, p. 139).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 159, 171, 364, 369 (translated in II, pp. 157–58, 174, 418, 423).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 369 (translated in II, p. 423).

most probable that he was just observing procedural fact. In Pope Clement's mandate the bishop of London had not been appointed as a primary proponent of the inquisitorial commission, and therefore he likely felt that he should be treated accordingly. The question we must ask, in the face of the letters appointing the bishop of Lincoln and the archbishop of York as the king's representative at the trial in their respective dioceses, why was Bishop Ralph chosen and not Archbishop Robert? Some factors may have precipitated this, such as Bishop Ralph's appointment as chancellor between 21 April and 2 August 1307, as well as his already role in the canonization inquiry into St Thomas of Hereford; however, the most likely answer is that the main bulk of the inquiry for the Templars in the southern province occurred in London itself, and therefore it was appropriate for the diocesan of the capital city to be present.

The second English bishop to take an interest in some form in the trial of the English Templars was Bishop Richard de Swinfield of Hereford. At first glance the proceedings against the Templars in England appears to have been of secondary importance for Bishop Richard of Hereford when compared to the running of his diocese, the promotion of his predecessor as a saint, and the remodelling of Hereford Cathedral. Virtually nothing from Pope Clement V survives in his episcopal register: the only exceptions are the cancellation of the constitution *clericis laicos*; the annulment of Piers Gaveston's exile; and a letter from Pope Clement to Walter Reynolds, archbishop-elect of Canterbury (bishop of Worcester, 1307–1313; archbishop of Canterbury, 1313–1327), giving him authority to enforce papal provisions.¹⁰⁹

For the Templars there is a similar smattering of information, all within the bounds of general diocesan administration: a copy of King Edward I's 1290 confirmation of a charter of King Henry III granted to the Templars regarding their special privileges; the 1303 *inspeximus* by the official of the archdeacon of London

¹⁰⁹ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 426–27, 427, 451–52, 519–20.

regarding an agreement made by Bishop William de Vere for the appropriation of Cardington church (Herefordshire) by the Templars; Bishop Richard's decision in a dispute over the mortuary charge to be rendered to the vicar of Bosbury on the death of a tenant of the Templars of Upleadon (since the Templars themselves would not interfere in this matter); as well as the usual installations to benefices generally promoted by William de la More, master of the Templars in England.¹¹⁰ None of the instructions copied into many of his brother bishops' episcopal registers relating to the trial of the Templars, nor the extractions of expenses for the inquisitors afterwards, are registered here. Indeed, as the editor of Bishop Richard's register observed 'the whole dark deed is ignored'.¹¹¹ The reasons for why items regarding the Templars were omitted from Bishop Richard's register are unclear. The register contains all of the usual documentation for the running of the diocese, and also includes an eclectic mix of documents of historical importance for the diocese and its ecclesiastical privileges which would have been useful at different times, such as a copy of the 1086 Domesday entry for Leominster, the 1166 Constitutions of Clarendon, and an almost full copy of the 1265 Magna Carta.¹¹²

Much could, perhaps, be made of Bishop Richard's rather sickly nature since after 1309 many of the dating clauses for registered items indicate that they were issued at Bishop Richard's episcopal manor of Bosbury (Herefordshire), providing evidence

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 235–38, 396–97, 401–02, 532, 533. The grant by Bishop William de Vere was copied in verbatim in the 1303 *inspeximus*, hence it also appears in *EEA VII: Hereford 1079–1234*, ed. by Julia Barrow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 174–175 no. 236. Barrow dates the original to somewhere in the 1190s from the presence of Reginald Foliot among the witnesses.

¹¹¹ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. xix.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 108, 313. For the discovery of the 1265 Magna Carta in Bishop Richard's register by the author see: David Carpenter, 'Simon de Montfort's Changes to Magna Carta in his 1265 Parliament: The reliefs of the earl and the baron', *Magna Carta Research Project*, available at: <http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/feature_of_the_month/Dec_2014> [Accessed 09 June 2018]; for the significance of the document see, S. T. Ambler, 'Magna Carta: Its Confirmation at Simon de Montfort's Parliament of 1265', *EHR*, 130 (2015), 801–30.

of some form of deteriorating health and reduced mobility.¹¹³ Even before 1309, Bishop Richard often complained about his ill health—in one apocryphal account of a miracle of Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop Richard's predecessor, it was said that the bishop suffered from gallstones which was alleviated when he drank wine into which his butler had placed a relic of the putative saint—and regularly excused himself through letters of apology for non-attendance at parliaments, Church councils, and consecrations of brother bishops, on occasion sending his nephew in his stead.¹¹⁴ Also occupying Bishop Richard's time was the conscientious attempt to have his predecessor, Thomas de Cantilupe, canonized, which occupied the best part of the last thirty years of his life and forcing heavy spending onto the Hereford diocesan treasury.¹¹⁵

Yet, despite Bishop Richard's obligations, constant infirm health, and excuses made to the king, archbishop, and various others for his absences, we do in fact find an entry from Bishop Richard within the proceedings against the English Templars. The entry contains the written testimony of the Augustinian brother, Adam of Smeton, who the bishop personally questioned in 1309.¹¹⁶ Brother Adam's deposition recorded a conversation that he had just over a year previous with a man who said that he had

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 444–523.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 124, 137, 332, 341, 365, 372, 383, 441, 477, 491, 503, 506, 515, 520; Richard Strange, *The Life and Gest of S. Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford and some time before L. Chancellor of England extracted out of the authentique records of his canonization as to the maine part, anonymus, Matt. Paris, Capgrave, Harpsfeld, and others* (Gant: Robert Walter, 1674), pp. 251–54. For the appointment of his nephew, John de Swinfield, to act in his stead see: Ian L. Bass, “‘What Lies Beneath?’ The Swinfields of Hereford Cathedral”, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, Herefordshire*, 65: 2017 (2018), 46–73 (p. 59).

¹¹⁵ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 68, 156, 234–35, 281–82, 358, 369–70, 420–21, 428–29, 430, 440–41, 459–60, 490–91. In addition to this many bishops issued indulgences and wrote letters of postulation to Pope Clement requesting Thomas's canonization. Indulgences: Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Archives, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427. Postulation letters: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Cod. Lat. 4015, fols 261^r–63^v.

¹¹⁶ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 197–98 (translated in II, pp. 214–15). The main gist of the interrogation is also repeated in the Vatican manuscript, edited in *The Proceedings*, I, p. 397 (translated in II, p. 454).

been a household servant of the Templars for twenty years at Sandford (Oxfordshire). This is not without significance for the bishops of Hereford. An *actum* of Bishop Robert Foliot (1174–1186) confirmed a grant of land at Warpsgrove to Richard Foliot sometime between 1180 and 1186.¹¹⁷ This same piece of land was later granted by Richard to the Templars of Sandford in the 1220s.¹¹⁸ It is possible that this historic grant of land to the Templars of Sandford might have been the reason for Bishop Richard to have taken an interest and acted as the interrogator of Brother Adam.

The conversation between Bishop Richard and Brother Adam of Smeton related the events of one morning when an old man had seen the Templars worshipping an altar stone which perhaps contained a relic.¹¹⁹ Brother Adam was also questioned regarding his travelling companion and brother, Stephen de Stapelrugge, commander of the Templar preceptory of Lydley (Shropshire), which was in the diocese of Hereford adding another element for Bishop Richard's interest in this testimony.¹²⁰ The testimony of Brother Adam of Smeton, recorded and forwarded to the inquiry committee by Bishop Richard, must have taken place at the bishop's episcopal manor of Bosbury, since all register entries for the year come from here, where Bishop Richard located himself at the start of his apparent reduced mobility.¹²¹ It is important to note here that no such other testimony recorded in an instance like this appears in the proceedings against the English Templars.

¹¹⁷ *EEA VII*, ed. by Barrow, pp. 122–23 no. 171.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 123 no. 171; *The Sandford Cartulary*, ed. by Agnes M. Leys, 2 vols, Oxford Record Series 19 and 22 (Oxford: Oxfordshire Record Society, 1938–41), I (1938), pp. 115–17, the grant is printed on p. 120 no. 170.

¹¹⁹ *The Proceedings*, II, p. 215 n. 173 and n. 174.

¹²⁰ For the accounts of the Templars' estates in Shropshire see: Helen Nicholson, 'The accounts for the Templars' estates in Shropshire and Staffordshire, 1308–9 and 1311–13', *Cardiff University Blogs: Knights Templars' Estates*, available at: <<http://blogs.cardiff.ac.uk/knightstemplarsestates/2015/11/03/the-accounts-for-the-templars-estates-in-shropshire-and-staffordshire-1308-9-and-1311-13/>> [Accessed 03 July 2019].

¹²¹ *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 444–54.

In the proceedings against the Templars themselves, there is one other interaction related to Bishop Richard. On 23 June 1311, Brother Stephen of Stapelbregge—the Templar brother inquired into in Brother Adam of Smeton’s questioning at Bosbury by Bishop Richard—was interrogated by the bishops of London and Chichester. Among the witnesses present at this interrogation was Bishop Richard’s episcopal official.¹²² This previously unidentified official, listed only as ‘Adam’ and posited by Nicholson either to be Adam of Fileby, Adam of Herewynton, or Adam of Murimuth was, in fact, Master Adam Carbonel. Master Adam had acted in the official’s stead since 2 August 1308, was appointed as the bishop’s commissary in 1309, and was subsequently appointed as Bishop Richard’s official on 3 August 1309.¹²³ There is nothing in the register to indicate why the bishop’s official was in London at this time, and given how detached Bishop Richard was from the inquiry it is hard to justify.

There are two possible explanations, however. The first is that since Bishop Richard had interviewed Brother Adam of Smeton and had asked questions regarding Brother Stephen, it might have been a formality for the bishop to attend this particular hearing in some capacity. The second is that there may have been some outstanding issues regarding the death of Bishop Richard’s nephew, John de Swinfield (d. 1311). John had been a prominent part of his uncle’s episcopal household and was promoted through the chapter hierarchy at Hereford Cathedral with his uncle’s patronage, becoming treasurer in 1293. Just over a year later, in 1294, Bishop Richard and the chapter promoted John to precentor. John also juggled his duties with his uncle and Hereford Cathedral with other appointments, having been appointed a canon of St Paul’s, London. It was a position which afforded him an audience with the king, when

¹²² *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 349–52 (translated in II, pp. 397–400).

¹²³ For Nicholson’s suggestions, *Ibid.*, II, p. 400 n. 12. For Adam Carbonel and his appointments, *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 442, 450, 453.

he gave him the news of the death of Bishop Richard Gravesend (1280–1303) and received letters of licence to elect a new bishop, Ralph Baldock. John kept his position until he died sometime around 29 April 1311.¹²⁴ It is possible that there may have been some outstanding issues regarding John's death and the administration of his will—if there was one, which is likely, it is now lost—with any lands or wealth held at London needing to be dealt with. These two reasons give the most likely explanation for Master Adam Carbonel's appearance at this testimony in 1311.

Returning to Bishop Richard's episcopal register, there is one final entry that calls out for consideration here. This entry concerns a writ from the king to Archbishop Robert of Canterbury concerning a court suit between the half-brothers Roger and Richard Loveday.¹²⁵ The suit seems to have been borne of the distribution of their father's—also called Roger Loveday—lands in Sproughton (Suffolk). One Roger Luveday, *alias* Loveday, is registered on 10 July 1287 in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* as having held the manor of Sproughton of Roger Bigod, fourth earl of Norfolk, for an annual rent of £5 17s. 1³/₄d. and service of one knight's fee.¹²⁶ Roger Loveday senior also held the manor of Elm in Cambridgeshire, and the Suffolk manors of Breste, Offton, and Somersham. Mention in the first entry is made of one of his sons, Richard, described as 'Richard his son, aged 5, is his heir.'¹²⁷ Roger Loveday senior appears to have acted as a lawyer for Earl Roger IV, acting on the earl's business in Loddon in 1282/1283, and was prominent enough for a record to have been made

¹²⁴ For John de Swinfield's ecclesiastical career see, Bass, "What Lies Beneath?", *passim*.

¹²⁵ HARC, AL19/2, fol. 174^v. The transcribed entry in *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 468–69 is not accurate in places.

¹²⁶ For more on the Bigod earls of Norfolk see, Marc Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015). Roger Loveday appears as a witness in one charter dated c.1283, *Ibid.*, pp. 222–23.

¹²⁷ *C.Inq.P.M.*, II: *Edward I* (1906), pp. 397–98 no. 643.

in 1287 of a payment to a boy who had carried the news of Roger senior's death to the earl.¹²⁸

Another Roger Loveday appears in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* in an entry dated to 28 January 1298. The inquisition is curious, since no Roger Loveday was named as heir to the first Roger's lands. It is highly likely that this was a new inquest into the original Roger Loveday's death for two reasons. First is that the lands mentioned in this second inquisition post mortem similarly concerned the manors of Bresete, Offton, and Sproughton, with the addition of Withersfield; this last manor returning to the Loveday patrimony in 1295 after the death of Gilbert de Clare, the 'red' earl of Gloucester, on 14 December that year, who held it as chief lord following the death of Roger senior.¹²⁹ Secondly, the included endorsement at the bottom of the entry states: 'Let the age of Richard, of whom the first inquisitions make mention, be proved, because the lands &c. by reason of his minority are in the king's hand, which cannot be removed before his (full) age.' This direct reference to the first inquisitions provide grounds for us to conclude that the second inquisition post mortem concerned the death of Roger senior some eleven years before. This second inquisition post mortem, however, added that 'Roger his son, aged 36 and more, is his next heir.'¹³⁰ In the addenda to volume four of the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* for King Edward I's reign, there is an entry regarding a writ to the escheator, Walter of Gloucester, on 23 September 1303 to ascertain proof of Richard's age: 'as [it] is said, and says he is of full age, and seeks the lands &c. of his inheritance'.¹³¹ This second ruling in 1298, and

¹²⁸ London, The National Archives, SC6.

My sincere thanks to Dr Marc Morris for this reference and his notes on Roger Loveday senior's service to Earl Roger IV Bigod.

¹²⁹ *C.Inq.P.M.*, III: *Edward I* (1912), pp. 234–51 no. 371 (for Withersfield see p. 241).

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p. 382 no. 486.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, IV: *Edward I* (1913), p. 340 no. 456.

Richard Loveday eventually coming into his majority in *c.*1303, seems to have been the catalyst for the dispute between the step-brothers.

The writ appears to have been issued by King Edward II from the inclusion of the clause '*in domini Edwardi, quondam regis Anglie, patris nostri*' (in the court of the Lord Edward, late king of England, our father). Even though the copy of the writ primarily concerns land in the county of Suffolk—specifically centred around the manor of Sproughton—the writ was important enough for Bishop Richard to have his registrar record it in his episcopal register. The only tangible link for the importance of this writ to the bishop of Hereford is the fact that one Roger Loveday was an itinerant justice of King Edward I in Gloucestershire in 1287, overseeing the quitclaim of Simon de Swindon against the bishop of Hereford and his successors, perhaps adding to the importance of the Loveday court suit in the bishop's mind.¹³²

Of even greater importance is the fact that this writ records that Roger Loveday had become a Templar at Temple Bruer (Lincolnshire) and therefore should not face the suit in the royal court.¹³³ This, however, calls Canon Capes's dating of the writ to 1312 into serious question, especially considering that the last half of the writ, which would have contained the dating clause, appears to have either been cut or torn out of the register, as noted by Canon Capes, or simply omitted in later rebinding.¹³⁴ This latter argument is the more likely one when one examines the register (Figure Two), noting that the entry would have continued on the next folio, now lost, and was not an insert like some other earlier entries. Furthermore, on 22 March 1312 Pope Clement published the constitution, *Vox in excelso*, abolishing the Order of the Temple.¹³⁵ Even at the height of the imprisonment and subsequent proceedings against the English

¹³² *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 146–47.

¹³³ HARC, AL19/2, fol. 174v; *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468. For the writ, see below Appendix C, pp. 368–70.

¹³⁴ HARC, AL19/2, fol. 174v; *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468.

¹³⁵ Menache, *Clement V*, p. 238.

Templars, it is likely that this case could not have occurred in the king's court. Therefore, the most plausible date for this writ must be before December 1309 since it appears that it was issued by King Edward II.

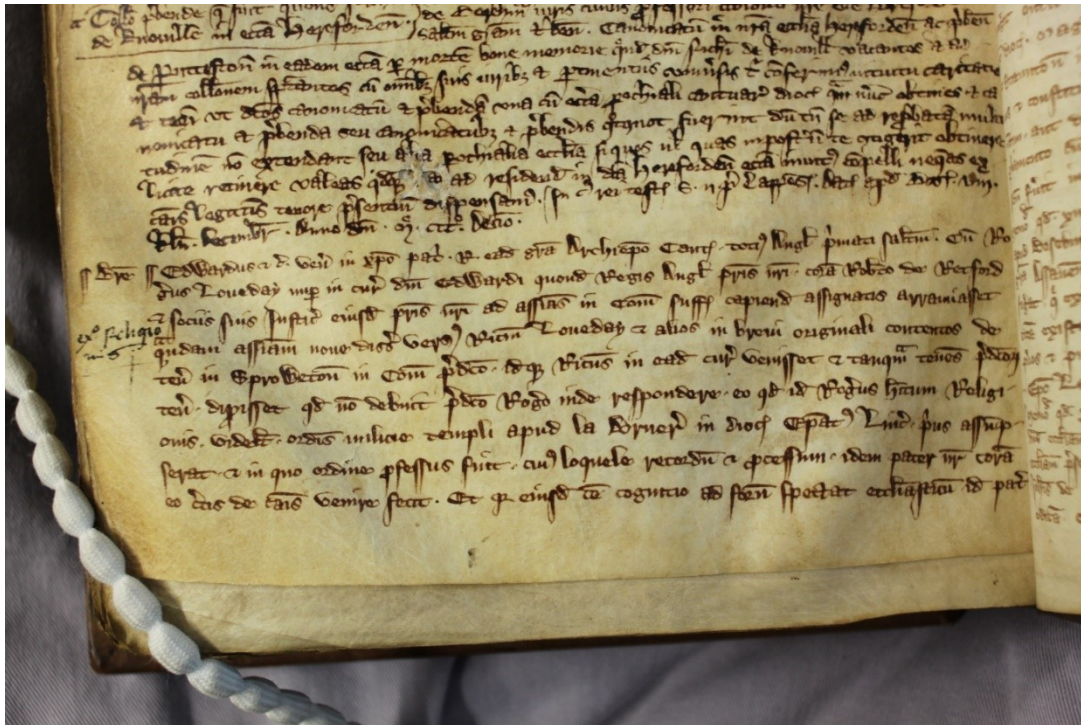


Figure Two: Writ concerning Roger Loveday, Templar, c.1309x1311, HARC, AL19/2 fol. 174v.

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The dating of this writ must remain speculative, however, as there is no entry in the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* for this early period of Edward II's reign recording any letters about a Roger or Richard Loveday. In fact, the only entry in the patent rolls regarding the Lovedays in Edward II's reign occurs in 1311, concerning the commission of oyer and terminer to John de Foxle and Richard de Windsor to examine a complaint that Ralph Loveday, Walter Loveday, Richard Loveday, and four others

‘carried away the goods of John de Heddesore, deceased.’¹³⁶ Similarly, the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* for Edward I’s reign remains similarly, and frustratingly, quiet on this matter. A Roger Loveday appears in an entry from 1296, when the king appointed Roger de Gilling to the church of Withersfield (Suffolk), ‘by reason of the minority of the heir of Roger Loveday, tenant in chief.’¹³⁷ This entry likely refers to Roger Loveday senior and his original heir, Richard. And in 1299 William Loveday is pardoned of a fine for receiving without licence a gift left by his father, Roger Loveday, which, again, is likely to be Roger senior.¹³⁸

The writ itself has been copied into Bishop Richard’s register between entries dated to 1309 and 1312, with the majority of the preceding items dating to 1311. It is indeed possible that it could date to 1311, but this is unlikely. Unfortunately the Templars’ officials did not keep written lists of members of the Order, so we cannot trace Roger in those terms; however, Nicholson has been able to build up an account of those Templars who went missing and were followed up on by ecclesiastical authorities, concluding that ‘only five Templars in the British Isles were never traced.’¹³⁹ Roger Loveday, however, was not one of the five. In fact, it seems he constitutes previously unknown errant Templar. It becomes suspect, however, when comparison is made to the names of the 109 Templars interviewed for the proceedings, in which there is no mention of a Roger Loveday as a brother of the Templars, having faced the episcopal inquiry, or being mentioned by a fellow brother.¹⁴⁰

Since we do not know the contents of the rest of the writ, it may well be the case that this could have been intended to notify Archbishop Robert of an errant

¹³⁶ *CPR 1307–1313*, p. 368.

¹³⁷ *CPR 1292–1301*, p. 192.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

¹³⁹ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 49–52 (quote p. 52).

¹⁴⁰ He is not included in *The Proceedings*, II, p. 646; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, Appendix 1 ‘Templar brothers in the British Isles in 1308–1311’, pp. 205–17; or Forey, ‘Ex-Templars’, pp. 18–37.

Templar apostate, or at least somebody who needed to be brought in for questioning. In late 1309 Archbishop Robert of Canterbury issued an order to all English bishops, giving the first names of fourteen Templars who had not yet appeared before the inquisitorial panel.¹⁴¹ Nicholson's examination of these names included the possible surnames of those mentioned, which included only one Roger, which she posited was likely Roger of Stowe who fled after 8 November 1309.¹⁴² Could it be that the Roger listed was actually referring to Roger Loveday?

Returning to Bishop Richard's register, it is curious that a case with such insignificance for his own diocese of Hereford—none of the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* entries regarding Roger Loveday senior concern any lands within the diocese of Hereford or held of the bishop—even made it into the register. It is plausible that because of this reason the rest of the entry was omitted, albeit with half of it already written. Or, its omission could have arisen from the fact that Roger Loveday the Templar simply disappears from all English records, the precedent this case set for cases of *novel disseisin* was no longer needed, and the parchment could be used as a palimpsest for another *actum*, memoranda, or page elsewhere in the register.

So what actually happened here and when? The two *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* accounts, placed eleven years apart, give some aid for working through the chronology.¹⁴³ In the first inquisition after Roger Loveday senior's death in 1287, Richard, age five, is named as heir to Roger's lands. In the second inquisition in 1298, the elder son and Richard's step-brother, age thirty-six or more, is instead named as the heir. Richard seems to have still been in his minority at this point, being the primary reason why the king appointed the vicar of Withersfield in 1299, not Richard.¹⁴⁴ The

¹⁴¹ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 51–52.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 50–52.

¹⁴³ *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, II, pp. 397–98 no. 643; *Cal.Inq.P.M.*, III, p. 382 no. 486.

¹⁴⁴ *CPR 1292–1301*, p. 192.

court case between Richard—age sixteen in 1298 if he is the same Richard as in 1287—and Roger cannot have occurred any earlier than 1298 with the second inquisition post mortem, or even possibly 1303 with Richard coming into his majority, and probably no later than 1309 with the arrest of the English Templars. As it transpires, the court case actually came to the 1300 assize of *novel disseisin*, and the subsequent plea was enrolled on the King's Bench plea roll for Michaelmas term 1303.¹⁴⁵

Richard Loveday claimed that his step-brother, Roger, had been a Templar for over seven years prior to their father's death and for two years more after that, placing Roger's original vows in 1280 and continuing to be a Templar into 1289. It was also claimed that it had been seven years since Roger had apostatized, abjured his religious vows and began to maintain the appearance of a secular layman again.¹⁴⁶ When asked where Roger had taken his vows, Richard replied that Roger had done so at Temple Bruer in Lincolnshire.¹⁴⁷ Others deposing on the case stated that Roger had taken the vows of the Temple in London and had spent three years overseas, indicating that he was a crusader.¹⁴⁸ However, Roger denied all counts of these accusations, stating that he was a 'secular man and of secular status' (*homo secularis et secularis status*), and had

¹⁴⁵ Kew, The National Archives, KB27/173, m. 69. The case has also received cursory attention in Donald F. Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c.1240–1540*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 23–24.

My sincere thanks to Professor Paul Brand for sharing his transcription of this enrolled plea. The quotes in subsequent footnotes come from his transcription of the roll with permission.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 'Dicit eciam quod predictus Rogerus qui modo queritur vivente predicto Rogero patre ipsius Ricardi, cujus heres ipse est, habitum suscepit religionis de ordine Templariorum, in qua quidem religione professus fuit per octo annos et amplius viventi predicto Rogero patre etc. et post ejus mortem per duos annos et postea predictam religionem reliquit et in habitu stetit seculari per septem annos et amplius'.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 'Qui quidem Ricardus dicit quod predictus Rogerus professus fuit in ordine predicto apud Templum de Bruera in comitatu Linc' etc. et hoc paratus est verificare etc.'

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 'Dicunt eciam quod predictus Rogerus filius Rogeri per assensum predicti Rogeri patris etc. habitum suscepit religionis apud Lond' de ordine Templariorum et postea per assensum fratrum suorum missus fuit ad partes transmarinas et ibidem continue stetit per tres annos in eodem habitu vivente predicto Rogero patre etc.'

never professed himself to the Templars or any other religious order.¹⁴⁹ A mandate was sent by the king's court to the bishop of Lincoln in order to verify this matter, but it seems to have never been verified which is perhaps why it was then forwarded to the archbishop of Canterbury by Edward II.¹⁵⁰ There is no clear account of what the outcome of the court suit was, nor is there any entry in Archbishop Robert of Canterbury's archiepiscopal register detailing this case coming to his attention. The account recorded in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* for Richard Loveday, who died on 12 June 1318, includes only the manor of Bresete (Suffolk).¹⁵¹ There is also the mention of another moiety that was delivered to Walter de Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield for a debt of £260 upon Richard's death.¹⁵²

The question we must ask, then, is: was Roger Loveday junior indeed an errant Templar apostate or was he the layman of secular status that he professed himself to be? It is now, unfortunately, impossible to tell with any accuracy the truth of this matter. His omission from all records concerning the trial of the English Templars and from the testimony of the Templar brothers, as well as his disappearance after this case was heard in 1303, appears to indicate that either he had died or abjured the realm. Furthermore the fact that the bishop of Lincoln, John Dalderby, does not appear to have looked into this matter, even though he was bishop from 1300–1320 covering the period of both the king's bench hearing and the trial of the Templars, may also indicate the fact that this claim was being utilized as a method of depreciating Roger

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 'Et predictus Rogerus dicit quod ipse est homo secularis et secularis status et non religionis nec in ordine aut aliquo alio processus etc.'

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 'Et quia huiusmodi cognicio spectat ad forum ⁱ<ecclesiasticum ideo mandatum est episcopo Linc'>ⁱ quod convocatis coram eo convocandis diligenter inquirat veritatem super professionem predictam.' AL19/2, fol. 174v; *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 468–69. No mention of Roger Loveday is made in Lincoln, LRO, Bishop's Reg. III (Bishop John Dalderby).

¹⁵¹ *C.Inq.P.M.*, IV, Edward II (1910), p. 85 no. 135.

¹⁵² *Records of the Trial of Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1307–1312*, ed. by Alice Beardwood, Camden Fourth Series Volume 6 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1969), p. 109 and n. 2.

junior's claims. Until a document appears to confirm Roger's Templar or secular status, we must handle the case with care and tentatively conclude that, since he is named nowhere in the proceedings against the English Templars, he was indeed a secular man.

Unfortunately, when it comes to the rest of the English episcopate the record is lamentably scant. The register of Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury (1297–1315), is, on the other hand, one of the best for the information which can be extrapolated regarding Templar penance and the extraction of the expenses from the English episcopate for the papal inquisitors.¹⁵³ Moreover, much of the correspondence from Pope Clement regarding the summons for the Council of Vienne, the collection for six years of a crusade tithe, and the bull dissolving the Templars is contained within the register.¹⁵⁴ However, when it comes to the actual proceedings against the Templars, we do not see Bishop Simon's hand at all. Bishop John de Halton of Carlisle's (1292–1324) episcopal register contains only two registered entries concerning the English Templars. The entries indicate that he was present at the provincial council at York in May 1310, called to consider the case of the Templars.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, his register also reveals that in 1311 he was able to absent himself from the north and attend the Council of Vienne to witness the Templars' condemnation.¹⁵⁶

One bishop for whom excuses can be made for his lack of involvement is Bishop Walter Langton of Coventry and Lichfield (1296–1321). In 1307, even before Prince Edward's coronation as King Edward II, the prince had ordered the arrest of bishop Walter; the arrest occurring while Bishop Walter was accompanying King

¹⁵³ In particular see Forey, 'Ex-Templars'; *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 349–51, 351–53, 353–54, 354–55, 408–09.

¹⁵⁴ *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 325–34, 385–86, 523–29, 530–31, 531–34, 534–39.

¹⁵⁵ *Reg. Halton*, II, pp. 38–41.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 72.

Edward I's funeral cortège to Westminster.¹⁵⁷ Bishop Walter had aggrieved many of the central, leading barons within the king's court and also so deeply offended Prince Edward when he had been the main proponent in both Edward's banishment from the royal court and the banishment of Edward's close favourite, Piers Gaveston too.¹⁵⁸ On 27 August 1307, Bishop Walter delivered the keys and other items of the office of treasurer into the hands of Walter Reginald, the king's clerk who was promoted to the treasurership in Bishop Walter's stead.¹⁵⁹ Between 1307 and 1312 Bishop Walter was imprisoned in Wallingford, Windsor, and York Castles; however, he did not spend all of his time incarcerated.¹⁶⁰ Even though from 1308 to 1311 he was free, he did not partake in the trial of the Templars. He was included in the general letter and announcement Archbishop Robert gave, dated 27 September 1309, but that appears to account for the sum total of his involvement.¹⁶¹ Bishop Walter also had to go to Rome as he was summoned to the papal curia in order to answer charges against him to the pope himself.¹⁶² It is no surprise, then, that the period after 9 November 1308 to 12 May 1312 in the surviving episcopal register for Bishop Walter is devoid of entries.¹⁶³ None of the surviving entries relate anything to do with the Templars or the extraction of expenses by the inquiry committee.

¹⁵⁷ *Records of the Trial of Walter Langton Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1307–1312*, ed. by Alice Beardwood, Camden Fourth Series 6 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1969), p. 1. For the most comprehensive treatment of the subject see: Alice Beardwood, 'The Trial of Walter Langton, Bishop of Lichfield, 1307–1312', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 54 (1964), 1–45.

¹⁵⁸ *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. by Rothwell, p. 382.

¹⁵⁹ *CPR 1307–1313*, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Beardwood, 'The Trial', pp. 11, 12, 14.

¹⁶¹ *The Proceedings*, I, p. 6 (translated in II, p. 7).

¹⁶² *Reg. Winchelsey*, pp. 1049–50. The complaint regarding the imprisonment of the bishops of St Andrews and Lichfield was also registered in *Reg. Halton*, I, pp. 309–13.

¹⁶³ *The Register of Walter Langton Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1296–1321*, ed. by J. B. Hughes, 2 vols (Canterbury and York Society 91 and 97 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001–07), I, p. 67.

Overall the proceedings against the English Templars seems to have left very little in the way of memoranda in episcopal registers, almost as if the bishops did not want to be involved. They certainly attended, or even sent proxies in their stead, the provincial councils to hear the summons for the inquiry and the penance that the English Templars would be subject to. Some simply followed the inquisitors' mandates, such as Henry Woodlock, bishop of Winchester (1305–1316), who had his clergy read out the papal letters condemning the Templars throughout his diocese each week.¹⁶⁴ Others took pains to record all of the papal mandates being issued to England at the time, with many residing in the episcopal register of Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury (1297–1315).¹⁶⁵ However, outside of the principal episcopal commission, nothing survives to indicate that any English bishop other than that of London, and in one case the bishop of Hereford, took a proactive interest in the conduct of the trial against the English Templars.

V. THE AFTERMATH OF THE TRIAL IN ENGLAND

While much of the material available does not give us much of an indication of the wider context of the trial of the Templars and the role that the entire English episcopate took in its conduct, there is slightly more information available when it comes to the aftermath of the trial and the fate of the English Templars. The majority of the information is contained within the registers of the bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Hereford, and the archiepiscopal register of the archbishop of York. Following the proceedings against English Templars and the conclusion of the

¹⁶⁴ *Registrum Henrici Woodlock, Diocesis Wintoniensis A.D. 1305–1316*, ed. by A. W. Goodman, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society 43 and 44 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940–41), I, pp. 468–69; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 121.

¹⁶⁵ *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 325–34, 349–51, 351–53, 353–54, 354–55, 385–86, 408–09, 523–29, 530–31, 531–34, 534–39.

inquiries in England in 1311, the provincial Church council's verdict was to place the Templars into monasteries, all separate from one another, in order to serve penance.¹⁶⁶ As the proceedings against the Templars record: 'On the same day it was ordained in Council that various monasteries and religious places should be nominated from various dioceses of the province of Canterbury by the diocesan bishops of each place then present in Council'.¹⁶⁷

The bishops of the dioceses, therefore, had the final say in where Templars were assigned for their penance. In both the southern and northern provinces of Canterbury and York we find Templars dispatched primarily to Benedictine houses, with some others being sent to the Cistercians and the Cluniacs. It is clear, then, that the English episcopate in general had an input into the monastic penances which the English Templars would be subject to; however, as for why the bishops chose particular monasteries and different monastic orders is unknown. As also noted by Forey:

The religious houses selected to accommodate former Templars do not appear to have been chosen on any clear basis of principle. Brothers were not allocated to one particular type of religious establishment. In the northern province those dispatched to Cistercian monasteries comprised the largest groups, while in the south the biggest group consisted of brothers assigned to houses of black monks; but this difference merely reflects the geographical distribution of black and white monks in England. In both provinces houses of regular canons were also utilised. The only significant feature of the allocations in this context was the exclusion of convents of friars from the list of hosts.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 367–70 (translated in II, pp. 421–24); *C&S*, II.2, pp. 1316–17, 1339; *Reg. Greenfield*, IV, p. 369 no. 2352; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, pp. 186–87, also Appendix I 'Templar brothers in the British Isles in 1308–1311', pp. 205–17; Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 20.

¹⁶⁷ *The Proceedings*, I, p. 370 (translated in II, p. 424).

¹⁶⁸ Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 22.

Whatever their reasoning, the bishops did so with their primate's approval from the list of appropriate houses in the province. In an appendix to *The Knights Templar on Trial* by Nicholson, it becomes clear that Templars would not necessarily be sent to a monastery within the same diocese where they had originally come from. Thomas de Woghope, for instance, had been commander of Bisham (Berkshire), found himself performing penance in Much Wenlock (Shropshire), and William de Pocklington, who had been a Templar at Garway (Herefordshire), found himself at St Andrew's, Northampton (Northamptonshire).¹⁶⁹ There seems, however, to have been no set policy in regards to dispatching the Templars to religious houses.¹⁷⁰ Not even the personal preferences of the prelates can be detected. Bishop Richard de Swinfield of Hereford, for instance, is said by both Thomas Frederick Tout and Philippa Hoskin to have patronized and held close ties with the Franciscans.¹⁷¹ Possible familial connections have been posited for an uncle, Peter de Swinfield, who was the seventh provincial minister of the Franciscans between 1264–1272, and a brother, Thomas de Swinfield, *custos* of the Franciscan house in Bristol, perhaps influencing Bishop Richard's patronage of the order.¹⁷² Considering that the bishops had an input into where the Templars were dispersed for penance, it is therefore curious that Bishop Richard did not utilize his close ties to place any Templars into Franciscan convents.

¹⁶⁹ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, Appendix I 'Templar brothers in the British Isles in 1308–1311', pp. 205–17.

¹⁷⁰ Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 22.

¹⁷¹ T. F. Tout, 'Swinfield, Richard de', *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900*, available at: <[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Swinfield,_Richard\(de\)\(DNB00\)>](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Swinfield,_Richard(de)(DNB00)>) [Accessed: 03 March 2017]; Philippa M. Hoskin, 'Swinfield, Richard de (*d.* 1317)', available at: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26843>> [Accessed: 03 March 2017]; H. D. Emanuel, 'The Will of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 5 (1948), 286–90 (p. 289); for the documents surviving regarding Bishop Richard's will and donations to religious orders of friars see: C. M. Woolgar, pp. 230–49 nos. 38/23, 38/39, 38/43.

¹⁷² Bass, "'What Lies Beneath?'"', pp. 48–49.

The episcopal register of Bishop Simon of Salisbury contains several entries concerning the aftermath of the trial, Templar penance, and the extraction of the expenses for the commissioners from the English episcopate.¹⁷³ Moreover, much of the correspondence from Pope Clement regarding the summons for the Council of Vienne, the collection for six years of a crusade tithe, and the bull dissolving the Templars is contained within the register.¹⁷⁴

Following the events of the Canterbury provincial council held in London between 27 June and 13 July 1311, Bishop Simon followed the decrees of the archbishop of Canterbury and provincial council with haste.¹⁷⁵ Just six days after the end of the council, on 19 July 1311, Bishop Simon wrote to the monasteries of his diocese—notably Malmesbury, Abingdon, and Wallingford—in pursuance of Archbishop Robert's mandates, informing them of the Templars they were to have care for.¹⁷⁶ In fact, at the council it was the bishop of Salisbury who had 'informed them [the Templars] more fully about their future way of life and how they ought to act from henceforth'.¹⁷⁷ The copies of the mandates from Archbishop Robert also included details of the penance, as noted by Forey.¹⁷⁸ Three of the five Templars brothers confined to the Salisbury monasteries were to endure the most severe of the penances bestowed. They were confined to quarters, only allowed to leave to go to the church or attend divine service, and once a week they were allowed to walk within the

¹⁷³ In particular see Forey, 'Ex-Templars'; *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 349–51, 351–53, 353–54, 354–55, 408–09.

¹⁷⁴ *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 325–34, 385–86, 523–29, 530–31, 531–34, 534–39.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 403–08.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 405–06.

¹⁷⁷ *The Proceedings*, I, p. 370 (translated in II, p. 424).

¹⁷⁸ Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 24.

monastic precincts to breathe the fresh air.¹⁷⁹ Literate Templars were to recite the psalter and litany daily, and illiterate Templars were to recite 200 *pater nosters* and *ave Marias*.¹⁸⁰ Little more comes from Salisbury regarding the Templars. Of the five confined to Wiltshire monasteries we learn that John de Mohun's annual wage amounted to some £10 for the year, or nearly 7*d.* per day—almost double the amount decreed appropriate at the trial.¹⁸¹

Bishop Simon appears to have been conscientious in his approach to the aftermath of the trial of the Templars, having reacted swiftly to the archbishop's commands. His desire to have much of the correspondence from the pope recorded in his episcopal registers shows at least something more than a passing interest in the events that were occurring in Europe at the time.

In regards to Bishop Richard of Hereford's register, it is not until 13 March 1313 that we get a glimpse of what was occurring in the diocese of Hereford, with the receipts for the allowance of a Templar. Thomas de 'Woghope', on the orders of Archbishop Robert, was placed into the Cluniac priory of Much Wenlock (Shropshire).¹⁸² In the two receipts copied into Bishop Richard's register, one accounts for £8 8*s.* and the other for £1 16*s.* handed to Richard de Harley, knight, and William de Wolnardele', both of whom were custodians of the lands and tenements of the

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24; Reg. Gandavo, I, p. 404. '*sic reclusi quod ab eidem cameris non exeant nisi ad ecclesiam vel ad clastrum horis debitis pro divinis officiis audiendis et semel in ebdomoda ad aliqua loca propinqua, infra tamen monasterii septa, per horas diei quatuor, si voluerint, pro puriori aere hauriendo.*'

¹⁸⁰ Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 24; Reg. Gandavo, I, p. 404. '*Insuper iidem fratres qui legendi litteras periciam optinent diebus singulis preter alias oraciones debitas complete cum Letania Psalterium dicent. Si autem periciam litteras legendi non optineant, preter alias oraciones debitas singulis diebus dicent duocencies Orationem Dominicam cum totidem Salutationibus Virginis Gloriose.*'

¹⁸¹ Reg. Gandavo, I, p. 509. On the amount see: Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 28; Reg. Gandavo, I, pp. 403–05.

¹⁸² Reg. Swinfield, p. 484; *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward II: Volume 1, 1307–1313* (London: HMSO, 1892), p. 365. For Thomas's accounts in the trial see: *The Proceedings*, I, pp. 64–66, 110, 156–57, 167, 177 (translated in II, pp. 61–62, 102, 155–56, 169–70, 181–82).

Templars in the county of Shropshire, for the upkeep of Brother Thomas.¹⁸³ No further payments were recorded in the register for the remainder of Bishop Richard's episcopate.

Lincoln, once again, has been covered comprehensively by both Clubley and Forey, but is worth noting here too.¹⁸⁴ Bishop John of Lincoln was meticulous in his approach to this piece of diocesan business and sent letters to the abbots and priors of Peterborough, Ramsey, Ormesby, Croxton, St Albans, Woburn, Croyland, Spalding, Sempringham, Kirkstead, Revesby, Leicester, Thornton, Barlings, St Andrew's (Northampton), Swineshead, Warden, and St Katherine's outside Lincoln.¹⁸⁵ Each of them received the same letter detailing instructions for the care of the Templars and the penances each individual would be subject to, as Clubley noted, 'his detailed instructions show how carefully he considered the individual cases.'¹⁸⁶ Some other monasteries, such as Swineshead and Warden received separate letters because of the age and infirmities of the Templars assigned to their care.¹⁸⁷

This set of orders, however, did not come without incident, with the prior and convent of St Andrew's, Northampton, refusing to receive William de Pocklington.¹⁸⁸ In the first instance, the bishop threatened them with ecclesiastical censure for refusing to obey the archiepiscopal letter and their contempt to the pope.¹⁸⁹ In the second, Bishop John had to excommunicate the prior, sub-prior, cellarer, precentor and

¹⁸³ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 484.

¹⁸⁴ Clubley, 'Bishop John Dalderby', pp. 164–76; Forey, 'Ex-Templars', *passim*.

¹⁸⁵ Clubley, 'Bishop John Dalderby', p. 165.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 165. For a translation of the letter see: *Ibid.*, pp. 165–68; LRO, Bishop's Reg. III, fol. 223^v.

¹⁸⁷ Clubley, 'Bishop John Dalderby', p. 169; LRO, Bishop's Reg. III, fols 223^v, 230^r; *Reg. Gandavo*, I, pp. 407–08; Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 21.

¹⁸⁸ Clubley, 'Bishop John Dalderby', pp. 168–69; LRO, Bishop's Reg. III, fols 224^{r–v}, 226^r; Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 23.

¹⁸⁹ LRO, Bishop's Reg. III, fol. 224^r.

sacristan.¹⁹⁰ This, still did not dissuade the contumacious abbey from denying to accept the ex-Templar William to their house. It was only when a third letter was issued, which forbade the excommunicated monks from being able to access and use the fruits of the monastery's appropriated churches, that the recalcitrant monks sued for absolution and accepted the ex-Templar, William.¹⁹¹ This, also, did not come without a substantial penance being enjoined on the prior and the other monastic officials who had been excommunicated.¹⁹²

The bishop of Lincoln was finally able to inform Archbishop Robert that all the Templars had finally been dispersed to the monasteries, except for the weak and infirm brothers destined for Swineshead and Wardon, with a further letter being issued to the pope on 17 September 1311. This second letter contained details of the Templar's penance in his monasteries and also further apologized for his absence in the trial of the English Templars because of ill health.¹⁹³ Archbishop Robert soon replied stating that the two Templars needed to be sent to the monasteries regardless of their age and infirmity, and on 14 October Bishop John reported back that they had died on 24 August at Boston. Bishop John had handed their bodies to the king, since Edward II held the lands of the Templars, and they were subsequently given to their families for burial in unconsecrated ground.¹⁹⁴ The reason why they were buried in unconsecrated ground was that they were still not absolved because they had not yet performed their penance.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, fol. 224^v.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 226^r.

¹⁹² Clubleby, 'Bishop John Dalderby', pp. 168–69; LRO, Bishop's Reg. III, fol. 227^r.

¹⁹³ Clubleby, 'Bishop John Dalderby', p. 169; LRO, Bishop's Reg. III, fol. 230^r.

¹⁹⁴ Clubleby, 'Bishop John Dalderby', p. 170; LRO, Bishop's Reg. III, fols 232^{r–v}.

¹⁹⁵ Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 35; LRO, Bishop's Reg. III, fols 232^{r–v}.

We also find information regarding Templars who wound up in northern monasteries in the archiepiscopal register of William Greenfield. On 1 March 1311 the archbishop cited and admonished, with the threat of punishment, the abbot and monastery of Rievaulx (Yorkshire). The issue was over their treatment and failure to maintain Brother Henry de Kirby as they had promised to.¹⁹⁶ As part of the same entry there are several lengthy letters to other various monasteries, such as Kirkstall and Fountains, naming the Templars to be placed into their care and the penances which were to be enacted by them to atone for their sins.¹⁹⁷ In 1312 Henry of Craven appears to have escaped from his penitential confines at Pontefract when he came to the attention of Archbishop William and was promptly sent back there in August 1312.¹⁹⁸ Similarly, Roger of Sheffield also escaped from Kirkstall, and when he returned he continued to make a nuisance of himself, offending the abbot and convent.¹⁹⁹ Others continued to wear the habit of the Templars, even while performing their penance in the monasteries.²⁰⁰ This, Donald Logan took to indicate that fifteen northern Templars had failed to go to their assigned monasteries.²⁰¹ Forey, however, has convincingly shown, with a close reading of the contents of this particular mandate from Archbishop William's register, that actually these Templars had been wearing their old habit, while in the monasteries they were performing penance.²⁰² While Archbishop William appears to have been sympathetic to the Templars in his time as one of the inquisitorial commission, he was forthright in making sure the northern Templars observed their penance.

¹⁹⁶ *Reg. Greenfield*, V, p. 1 no. 2354; *Northern Regs.*, pp. 208–09; Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 24.

¹⁹⁷ *Reg. Greenfield*, V, pp. 1–5 no. 2354, p. 9 no. 2368; Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 24.

¹⁹⁸ *Reg. Greenfield*, V, p. 8 no. 2364.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, V, p. 5 no. 2354; Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 27.

²⁰⁰ *Reg. Greenfield*, V, p. 8 no. 2364.

²⁰¹ Logan, *Runaway Religious*, pp. 27–28.

²⁰² Forey, 'Ex-Templars', p. 27.

There are also several entries in Archbishop William's register regarding payment and the support of the Templars in the monasteries through the funds of the Templars' confiscated lands.²⁰³ However, there does seem to have been some resistance from King Edward to loosen his grip on this valuable income, and letters had to be sent to the king requesting the payment of Templars' allowances.²⁰⁴ Finally, in 1313, one Templar at the Cistercian house of Meaux was reminded to pay for his keep.²⁰⁵ In other dioceses similar problems persisted, with many receipts outstanding or the accounts regarding the payments of Templars' pensions having to be accounted for within long periods of time.²⁰⁶ This arose, as Forey notes, from 'administrative confusion and inadequacy' of the royal keepers holding the lands.²⁰⁷ Difficulty must also have occurred with the fact that the money was collected by the royal keepers and the treasury, before being disbursed to the bishops, and then onto the monasteries in which the Templars were performing their penances. In the archdiocese of York, however, it was originally the case that a Templar brother was the one to whom the money was given to disburse to his brothers; however, after difficulties and complaints from the northern monasteries regarding the accounts, the archbishop commanded in 1313 that the money was to be paid by his receiver.²⁰⁸

VI. THE TRIAL OF THE TEMPLARS IN THE EUROPEAN EPISCOPATE

Having examined the interaction of the English episcopate with the trial of the Templars, their perceived negligence or unenthusiastic approach to the proceedings,

²⁰³ *Reg. Greenfield*, pp. 5–6 no. 2358, 9–10 no. 2369, 33–34 no. 2444.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 20–21 no. 2402, 29 no. 2429.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 214 no. 1592.

²⁰⁶ For a survey see Forey, 'Ex-Templars', pp. 29–30.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29; *Reg. Greenfield*, V, pp. 10 no. 2369, 29 no. 2429.

and the aftermath of the trial in English dioceses, it stands to reason to provide a brief comparison with other European episcopates in order to show the different approaches taken by other bishops.²⁰⁹ It would seem that for the most part the trial of the Templars was entrusted to various bishops from the different kingdoms which lay under the purview of the papacy.

In France, it was in the interests of the French episcopate to participate in the trial of the Templars. For the most part, the arrests and heresy trial were a politically motivated move on behalf of the king of France in order to raise funds to ensure fiscal stability, as well as to enable the king to depart on a new crusade.²¹⁰ In general, we find an episcopate far more united in the running of a heresy trial than the English episcopate was prepared for. The French episcopate's frameworks for heresy trials had been forged in the crises presented by the heretical sects of the Waldensians and the Cathars.²¹¹ More significant, however, was the fact that the interests of the French episcopate allied closely with that of the French monarchy, whereas they did not in England during King Edward II's reign. Similarly, as Barber notes, although the pope had called a halt to proceedings in order that ecclesiastics might be appointed to preside over the French heresy trials, 'the papal inquisitor in France, together with most of the north French episcopate, could be mobilised on behalf of the French government'.²¹²

²⁰⁹ Alongside Barber's magisterial study on the trial of the Templars in France, which did extend its remit to cover the trial in other countries, the proceedings against the Templars in Aragon, Cyprus, and north-west Italy have also been translated and examined. Barber, *The Trial*, chap. 8 'The Trial in Other Countries', pp. 217–58; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition*, ed. and trans. by Anne Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1998); Elena Bellomo, *The Templar Order in North-west Italy (1142–c.1330)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008); Alan Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001).

²¹⁰ Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 37–58, esp. pp. 56–58.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26–28, 221.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 116.

This was a situation markedly different than in England, where the English episcopate had managed to disentangle much of its functioning from that of royal governance.²¹³

Other episcopates, however seem to have had a similar approach to England. In Aragon two prelates were appointed as the episcopal commission: William of Rocabertí, archbishop of Tarragona, and Raymond Despont, bishop of Valencia. As with England there was similar lack of the use of torture to extract confessions from Templars.²¹⁴ Torture was eventually used on eight Templars; however, it did not produce any damning confessions.²¹⁵ In Mallorca, the episcopal inquiry was delegated to the suffragan bishop of Elne, Raymond Costa, who was ordered by his archbishop to assemble a panel consisting of two canons from his cathedral and two Dominicans and Franciscans. The Templars had been arrested in 1307; however, it was not until 1310 that the suffragan bishop began his inquiries, citing ill health. The inquiry closed in August 1310, with no more concrete evidence of the Templars' guilt than in England or Aragon.²¹⁶ In the Kingdom of Castile, on the other hand, the inquiry was handled by the archbishops of Toledo and Compostella as well as the bishop of Palencia, and in Portugal the bishop of Lisbon. Proceedings took place in 1310 too, and again the use of torture was not permitted. From the inquiries in the kingdom nothing damning was forthcoming.²¹⁷

With regards to the kingdoms in France, England, and Iberia it would seem that for the most part the relationships of the king affected the outcome with the proceedings of the trial. In England, as in Iberia, there was a generally positive

²¹³ For example, the role of the king in episcopal appointments, see: Katherine Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England, c.1214–1344: From Episcopal Election to Papal Provision*, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014)

²¹⁴ Forey, *The Fall of the Templars*, pp. 88–105; Barber, *The Trial*, p. 236.

²¹⁵ Barber, *The Trial*, p. 236.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 237–39.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 239–40.

relationship and it was for this reason that, with incredulity, King Edward II had written to his counterpart in Aragon stating his disbelief at the king of France's claims of Templar heresy.²¹⁸ Neither monarch in England or Aragon seems to be enthusiastic about the idea of the arrests nor the proceedings of the trials to take place. It may well be, then, that we can detect a similarity here with the approach of the episcopates of England and Aragon, with both forbidding torture until a papal directive changed the trial's direction.

The episcopate in Italy and the papal states seems to have produced similarly disappointing results for the papacy.²¹⁹ In Sicily, an inquiry was presided over by the archbishop, Bartholomew, which only managed to interview two Templars. In the papal states themselves, the only bishop to be involved in the proceedings was that of Sutri. Barber notes that while 'the actual proceedings were taken seriously, little effort was put into apprehending the more important Templars.'²²⁰ The dioceses of Lombardy, however, produced a more substantial episcopal panel consisting of the archbishops of Ravenna and Pisa and the bishops of Florence and Cremona.²²¹ Even though he was not part of the episcopal commission, the bishop of Fano also interrogated a Templar and nineteen witness, being far more active in his duties than Bishop Richard of Hereford was; however, no incriminating evidence was found.²²² The inquiries into the Templars in Lombardy was reopened in 1311, under the

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 229.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242–50.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

²²¹ For more on the bishops of Cremona and a comparison to the episcopal practices of the bishops of Lincoln, including Bishop John Dalderby, see Angelo Mario Silvestri, 'The Power of the Bishop in the Dioceses of Lincoln and Cremona (1067–1340): a study in comparative history' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cardiff University, 2012).

²²² Barber, *The Trial*, p. 247.

leadership of the archbishop of Pisa and bishop of Florence, this time finally finding some evidence and testimonies to claim that the Templars had committed heresy.²²³

Finally, in Germany the arrests of the Templars occurred in 1308 with the archbishop of Magdeburg imprisoning many of them. Moreover, like the dispute between the archbishops of York and Canterbury in England over the carrying of the primatial cross, the archbishop got into trouble with the bishop of Halberstadt. The bishop was fearful that his episcopal rights had been infringed upon by the archbishop with the arrest of Frederick of Alvensleben, preceptor of Germany, and he subsequently excommunicated his archbishop. Pope Clement later intervened in September 1310.²²⁴ In Germany inquiries took place, with the archbishop of Trier conducting one inquiry, and the archbishop of Mainz another; the latter being interrupted during his council hearings by the preceptor of Grumbach and twenty armed knights.²²⁵

Overall, it is difficult to compare the role of the episcopates in the trial of the Templars in other countries because of differing political circumstances across Europe. Yet, for the most part, it would seem that the episcopate of Europe played a preeminent role in the trial. England was not the only episcopate in which a bishop outside of the appointed commission interviewed Templars, and nor was it the only one in which disputes arose between a metropolitan and another member of the episcopate. What also becomes clear is that in those lands controlled as kingdoms, it was the wills of the respective kings which helped to forge the approach taken by their episcopates. In England as in Aragon, the kings were on good terms with the Templars, but in France the relations had soured with the need for money. France, therefore,

²²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 248–50.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

seems to have been the only episcopate in which the trial of the Templars was enforced with enthusiasm. The French episcopate prosecuted their duties quickly, diligently, and mercilessly, whereas elsewhere very little was found to condemn the Templars. Unfortunately, however, no letters between the episcopates of Europe concerning the trial of the Templars seem to be forthcoming, and thus we cannot tell if there was any form of pan-European unity between episcopates in regards to the order.

VII. CONCLUSION

When talking about seventeen individuals with their own motivations, ambitions, and agendas it can be difficult to see any unity, even within a common enterprise. The trial of the English Templars is one such enterprise with which the English episcopate was meant to galvanize itself as a cohesive, unified, whole, yet was more fractious than ever. While every bishop was meant to follow the same agenda set forth by the papacy in *Faciens misericordiam*, it becomes evident when examining their individual actions between 1309 and 1312 that the bishops and archbishops were following their own directions and motivations. Whether this came from weak leadership by the metropolitan primates, royalty, the politically volatile nature of King Edward II's reign is difficult to say. Moreover, the fact that the English episcopate did not have prior experience of dealing with a heresy trial, left the administrative frameworks which were in place struggling to adapt to accommodate this new need.

The disunity between the northern province of York and the southern province of Canterbury can be explained by the events which had occurred over the preceding centuries, where the archbishops of Canterbury and York battled publicly over their relative status. The disputes between the two metropolitans regarding their primacy, and the ability to maintain ecclesiastical dignity in their counterpart's province highlight not only that Canterbury and York were different in their approach, but that

personal antipathies could be carried far and wide. The archbishops' job was to unify the English episcopate in both of their provinces, and to come together themselves in unity, to take a proactive approach to the trial of the English Templars. The papal bull *Faciens misericordiam* even specifically gave information for local bishops not mentioned as members of the episcopal inquiry panel to take part in the inquisition and to hear testimonies of witnesses in their dioceses, delivering them to the commission. The only bishop who took such an interest, perhaps only because of an historic association through a grant made by a predecessor, was Bishop Richard of Hereford, who interviewed a man at his Bosbury residence in Herefordshire before reporting the testimony to the panel.

Many other bishops, however, seem to have entirely neglected the process of the inquiry to the point that memoranda concerning the trial of the Templars was omitted from their episcopal registers. Certainly they would have all received copies of the mandates and know what was occurring, but the omission of the information itself shows that in many dioceses this was not an important enough event to be documented in episcopal registers. Moreover, some of the bishops certainly went to the provincial Church councils held to begin and end the proceedings, but other prelates sent their officials in their stead. Many cited infirm health or diocesan business to excuse themselves, but it is hard to understand why an English episcopate, and its administration, which was supposed to have been unified through centuries of development would be so disjointed in this affair. Maybe this attitude stems, in some way, out of a solidarity with the order or in defiance of the papacy.

It is no wonder, then, that the main conclusion to come from examining the role of the English episcopate in the trial of the English Templars is that the bishops of England did not seem to want to get involved. The Templars of England were treated far less roughly and it seems that there was a lot more good will towards the Templars in England than their counterparts in France. Considering the disinterest of

some of the bishops, it is possible that the English Templars were emboldened, with only the continental papal commissioners posing any threat, compared with an English episcopate partisan to their plight.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

The primary aim of this thesis was to establish the roles that the English episcopate took towards the crusades and whether or not there was any cohesive form of episcopal unity present in their approach. This was achieved through an analysis of four thematic strands examining the models which episcopal-saints set for the episcopate to follow, the way the episcopate used the crusader's cross as an ecclesiastical censure in response to papal mandates, the methods which were developed by English bishops and the inquiries which were undertaken to keep track of crusaders, and the role of the English episcopate in the trial of the crusading military order, the Knights Templar. The study of the English episcopal-saints encapsulates the key theme of this entire thesis. St Thomas of Canterbury became the archetypal bishop and saint for the English episcopate to follow, yet the model of sanctity that was developed around him did not include any approach towards crusades and crusading, whereas it did in resistance to royal control, learning, and pastoral care on which the English episcopate were united.¹

Before addressing the primary thematic strand let us draw some general conclusions by first returning to the questions which were asked in the introduction, each of which has been answered in the course of this thesis. Which bishops went on crusade in our period and who took the cross? In conducting a survey of the crusading activities of the English bishops it was found that four members of the English episcopate made it to the Holy Land on crusade, while some twenty-one in total took the crusader's cross during our period of study. The role played by the English bishops who went on crusade was one of leadership and military prowess, as well as pastoral care which befitted their role. Moreover, the four prelates who went on crusade came

¹ Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community*, p. 82; Reeves, *Religious Education*, pp. 27–29; Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*.

from differing dioceses, representing Canterbury, Salisbury, Winchester, and Exeter. Other dioceses certainly did have bishops with an interest in the crusades, with all but the dioceses of Ely, Rochester, and the archdiocese of York producing *episcopi cruce signati*. The reasons for why these dioceses did not have bishops signed with the crusader's cross is not known, and may simply be down to omissions and defects in the historical record. What became clear throughout that study, however, was that the English episcopate took the cross for many different reasons at different times. Some took the cross to gain some form of political leverage or preferment, others to frustrate disputes with fellow ecclesiastics or a disagreeable chapter, and others still took the cross because of a genuine wish to go to the Holy Land or to send someone in their stead. Comparisons with the secular episcopate of Normandy further showed similar levels of crusading activity, with three bishops on the Third Crusade and two on the Fifth Crusade, the only difference coming when examining the Eighth and Ninth Crusades. Thus, in one way the English episcopate was united in a similar style to that of Normandy, showing a wider appreciation for the bishops who took the crusader's cross. Yet, in another way, it also shows its disunity. The crusader's cross was not something that every bishop embraced with the same vigour and its uptake relied heavily on the personal preferences and situation that bishops were in at the time.

Was there a model which English bishops could follow when formulating their approach to the crusades and crusading? Responding to this question by examining and comparing the lives and miracles of medieval episcopal saints to some of those bishops who went on crusade or were heavily involved in the promotion of the crusades, it has been shown that the English episcopal-saints followed models more concerned with royal resistance and pastoral care than they did with the crusades. Some prelates, such as Archbishop Baldwin of Forde and Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, followed much the same model that St Thomas of Canterbury had set with his canonization in 1173 and the efforts of his biographers. They were ardent

reformers, diligent in the promotion of learning for their clergy and diocese as a whole, resisted royal encroachment in one form or another, and performed miracles posthumously. However, events in one way or another conspired against them, with Archbishop Baldwin falling foul of his attached cathedral priory and Bishop Robert having resisted royal prerogative too strenuously with his enthusiastic endorsement of Simon de Montfort and the Second Barons' War. The fact that St Thomas of Canterbury had not had any significant interaction with a crusade during his lifetime, primarily because a campaign did not occur in that period, meant that many hagiographers found it difficult to incorporate the crusades into their writings. Out of the eight bishop-saints canonized in the period only two took an active interest in the crusades in their lifetime. Indeed, nothing in the lives or miracles of episcopal-saints directed future generations of prelates in their approach to the crusades.

What part did English bishops play in the bestowal of the crusader's cross and the enforcement of their vows? Since the topic is one which in its own right could be another doctoral thesis or monograph-length work, Chapter Three limited its remit to an examination of the use of the crusaders cross as episcopal censure. This detailed examination of the use of the crusader's cross as episcopal censure and the way bishops themselves also used the cross to avoid proceedings against them has revealed that the approach English bishops took in this regard varied immensely depending on personal preferences. The case study of the list of crusaders from 1274 to 1276 in the archiepiscopal register of Archbishop Walter Giffard of York has, in particular, shed new light on its context, construction, and contents. A close analysis of the archiepiscopal lists' contents has challenged the current historiography surrounding their composition and discovered two important points. The first is that the lists are not concerned with the redemption of crusade vows or the imposition of fines on penitents, but likely the product of an inquiry into transgressions against archiepiscopal power and the establishment of community chests for the Holy Land subsidy while a

preaching tour was occurring contemporaneously. Secondly, that the lists contain mention of only sixty-four crusaders, fifty-one of which were priests (as shown in Table Four above), and were not wholly concerned with vow redemptions. Close comparisons with contemporary cases in other English episcopal registers for other dioceses at the same point in time also highlighted that there was, in fact, different ways in which bishops approached the matter of ecclesiastical censure and the enforcement of crusader's vows. English bishops were, therefore, expected to bestow the crusader's cross for a variety of transgressions against ecclesiastical power, but in reality many reverted to the usual punishment of excommunication, with a select few utilizing the cross as punishment.

What methods were put in place to account for crusaders and their obligations? In charting the development of ecclesiastical inquiry into crusaders, their goods, and their bequests to the Holy Land subsidy revealed the scale of the task which the English episcopate faced in regard to crusade administration. The analysis of two case studies allowed for a close examination of the development of the inquisitorial process into English crusaders, beginning with a rudimentary inquiry and ending with complex articles of inquiry. The first case study was able to utilize the testimonies in the accounts from the crusaders in the deanery of Holland (Lincolnshire) in order to argue for an accurate dating to 1196, which marks the start of English episcopal inquiry into English crusaders. Similarly, the articles of inquiry from the end of the period were examined in-depth, providing a commentary on their content and uses. Significantly, a third set of these articles of inquiry were identified and a date of c.1286/1287, when King Edward I had taken the cross for a second time, was posited for their compilation. This study has brought some of these under-utilized documents to light and has challenged the historiographies surrounding them, providing accurate dates for their compilation and highlighting their importance as sources for the understanding of crusade administration. Because of their essential use in the

understanding of English crusade administration it has been seen fit to provide accurate transcriptions of these documents as an appendix for future use by scholars and students alike. The role of the English episcopate in the conduct of these inquiries was also established, although the responses to these later inquiries remain elusive, and thus we cannot tell how successful they were.

What role did the English episcopate take in the trial of the Knights Templar? No previous study has specifically charted the role of the English episcopate in the trial of the English members of the Knights Templar. The most pertinent point to have come from this examination is that many prelates seem to have distanced themselves from the inquiry, with only the bishop of Chichester, who was a papally appointed inquisitor, taking the most proactive approach in comparison to the primates and patriarch who were also appointed. Casting the net wider than the papal inquisitors, whose main body comprised two archbishops and three bishops, we find that the rest of the English episcopate took a similarly disinterested view of the matter. For many, diocesan business came first rather than the largest heresy trial England had ever seen. This, in itself, is in marked contrast to the role and the approach taken by the French episcopate. The French episcopate, however, were utilized as another arm of the French monarchy and had not managed to disentangle themselves from this role as the English episcopate had earlier in the period. On the other hand, aside from the French, the other episcopates in Europe seemed to not want to use torture in the course of the trial and often found themselves ruling in favour of the Templars, much to the pope's consternation. The main difference here, then, is not an exceptional English view, but that of the French. It was, perhaps, clear to many that the trial of the Templars was simply instigated so that the French monarchy could make money, rather than it being a crisis for the European Church. Nevertheless, as important as the European episcopates were in the trial of the Templars, often leading the inquiries,

much of their attitude appears to have hinged on the approach taken by the kings in their respective countries, often to the dissatisfaction of the pope.

Returning now to the primary theme of English episcopal unity which forms the backbone of this thesis, the results have been surprising. The evidence throughout this study has showcased that unlike the unity displayed in terms of royal resistance, learning, reform, and pastoral care, the English episcopate's attitude towards the crusades and crusading was not unified. English bishops had no exemplar to follow in this regard, whereas they did for other facets of episcopal behaviour. The comparison of approaches to the use of the crusader's cross as ecclesiastical censure highlight this point. Some prelates bestowed the crusader's cross in adherence to papal mandate, whereas many others did not, with the defence of ecclesiastical primacy being of paramount importance instead. There was an inherent difficulty in setting the type and cost of penances for transgressions against episcopal power, without adding the use of the crusade vow to its mix. The episcopal attitude towards the trial of the Knights Templar in England also highlights this disunity between the English prelates. Many neglect to record anything regarding the trial or its aftermath in their episcopal registers. Similarly, it also highlights that, while the English episcopate may have appeared united in opposition in the face of the encroachments on episcopal power by Master Rostand in the name of King Henry III's proposed crusade to Sicily in the 1250s, even in the early fourteenth century the northern and southern provinces were still divided by the disputes between the archbishops of York and Canterbury over primacy and the methods that should be employed during the trial.

Throughout this thesis the role and unity of the English episcopate has been of utmost importance. In providing this reading of the episcopate's approach to the promotion, promulgation, and participation in the crusades it has built on previous work both in the fields of episcopal Church history and crusade studies. For episcopal studies it has shown that new insights into the information which can be gained from

episcopal *acta* and registers not for the purposes of diocesan administration. For crusade studies it has revealed a wealth of information embedded within these documents which has otherwise not been fully utilized in the examinations of secular armies. In the approach that the episcopate took towards the crusade, the sources have revealed much of their individual prejudices and opinions, as well as the behaviour of primary characters. This approach has also revealed information regarding the logistical history of the crusade campaigns which left England.

This study of the English episcopate's role and unity in the face of the military campaign of the crusades has shown that the episcopate took varied roles in the administration of the crusades, and that they did not exhibit any true unity in their overall approach. This may, perhaps, be expected as we are talking about a period which faced great upheavals between Church and State. It is, however, far from being the final word on the approach and role taken by the English episcopate in regards to the crusades. Limitations of space have necessitated a thematic approach, but it would be highly illuminating to conduct a study which examines each individual diocese and bishop, and the records produced by them in regards to the crusade.² Individual sources could be approached for more information on particular thematic strands; for example a detailed study focussing on twelfth- and thirteenth-century bequests, could be exploited to expand our understanding of the inquiries which took place and why the articles of inquiry produced late in the period were so essential for crusade and diocesan administration.

² Something similar in style to Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the 'Mensa Episcopalis'*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), which examined each diocese in turn.

APPENDIX A: EDITION OF CANTERBURY, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL ARCHIVES, CCA-DCC/CHCHLET/II/227

Note on the Edition

This appendix provides a full diplomatic transcription, which preserved the original capitalization and punctuation of the list of crusaders from the deanery of Holland in 1196. The medieval ‘*punctus elevatus*’ (an upside-down semi-colon) is indicated by a modern comma (.). Contractions have all been expanded in square brackets and italics [*thus*]; abbreviation signs at the end of English place-names, however, have been denoted by an apostrophe, in accordance with traditional practice and because there is, as yet, no English Place-Name Society survey volume covering the Parts of Holland. The letter ‘J, j’ has been rendered as ‘I, i’. ‘U, u’ and ‘V, v’ have been rendered as they are given in the manuscript. These conventions have been adopted to give scholars and students as close a reading of the document as possible and to address errors in previous editions. Notation is provided on the variant readings in other editions. In the translation all place-names have been expanded and modernized. Those in Lincolnshire have been given in line with the *Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*.¹ Historical notes have been given where available.

¹ Kenneth Cameron, *A Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Popular Series (Nottingham: English-Place Name Society, 1998).

Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA-DCc/ChChLet/II/227

Ap[ud] Skirbec. Rodb[er]t[us] f[ilius] Bru[n]ma[n]ni² cruce signat[us] ia[m] p[r]de[m] it[er]
arripuerat s[ed] n[on] p[er]acto rediit . vxorat[us] e[st] . un[um] h[abe]ns filiu[m] . [et] ad
iter ill[ud] p[er]ficie[n]du[m] min[us] sufficiens.

Ite[m] . i[n] Skirbec. la[m]b[er]t[us] f[ilius] eltruth³ cruce signat[us] eo te[m]p[or]e q[uo] [et]
p[r]fat[us] Rodb[er]t[us] . it[er] arripuerat s[ed] n[on] p[er]acto rediit . vxore[m] h[abe]t
n[on] p[ro]le[m] . paup[er]im[us] t[ame]n . manu sua uictu[m] q[ue]re[n]s.

Ap[ud] Scm' Botifu' . Eudo⁴ f[ilius] aslac iuit

B[e]n[e]d[i]c[tu]s de cibecei

Girard[us] f[ilius] Gu[th]red⁵

Will[elmu]s pelliparius

Rodb[er]t[us] le poter

Rodb[er]t[us] le macecrer

Will[elmu]s de Kirkebi

Ap[ud] Wibtun' . Ioh[anne]s buchart ierat u[er]sus ier[usa]l[em] te[m]p[or]e Will[elmu]i regis
apulie . q[uo] p[ro]hibitu[m] fuit passagiu[m] magni maris . redie[n]s relaxat[us] e[st] ab

² *Various Collections*, p. 235, 'Brūmāni'; Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'Bru[m]ma[n]ni'; Brundage, *Canon Law*, p. 130, 'Brummann'. The choice here is to render it as the Old English name 'Brummann' (from *brūn* 'brown' + *mann* 'man'); see, *Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Patrick Hanks, Richard Coates, and Peter McClure, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), I, p. 355.

³ Latinate form of the Old English female name *Æthelbryth* or *Ælfibryth*.

⁴ *Various Collections*, p. 235 and Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'Ludo'. The letterform is more similar to the lowercase 'e' in style than the 'l' used throughout. The flourish at the top of the letter in particular marks it as a different form.

⁵ *Various Collections*, p. 235 and Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'Gudred'. The 'd' in the middle is clearly denoted as a thorn, 'ð', when compared to the other 'd' letterforms in the document.

itin[er]e p[er] d[omin]um . p[a]p[am]⁶ . Rep[or]ta[n]s resc[r]ptu[m] d[omi]ni . p[a]p[e] . de
 relaxat[i]o[n]e⁷ sic[ut] asser[un]t⁸ uicini⁹ ei[us] testimo[n]iu[m] p[er]hibe[n]tes . q[uo]usq[ue]
 p[os]set expedici[us]¹⁰ ill[u]d it[er] arrip[er]e [et] p[er]ag[er]e . Vxorat[us] e[st] plure[n]s¹¹
 h[abe]ns lib[er]os . [et] paup[er]im[us] . medioc[r]is q[ui]dem etatis.

Ap[ud] Kirket'. Ioh[anne]s le Borne . vxore[m] h[abe]ns [et] filios iuuenis etate n[on]
 t[ame]n satis s[ibi] suffice[n]s ad h[oc] it[er] ut q[ui]da[m] dicu[n]t.

Walt[er]us faber vxorat[us] p[ost] cruce[m] accepta[m] . p[otes]t it[er] arrip[er]e [et] nutu¹²
 d[e]i p[er]ag[er]e sic[ut] asseru[n]t.

Ap[ud] Algerkirke. Ricard[us] f[ilius] t[ur]stini vxorat[us] . v . h[abe]ns lib[er]os .
 paup[er]im[us] . asser[i]t se fuisse i[n] t[er]ra ier[us]al[em] . nullu[m] h[abe]ns
 testi[moniu]m.

Ap[ud] fotesdic. Alured[us] dultremer vxorat[us] . paup[er]im[us] . p[re]¹³ paup[er]tate
 n[on] iuit.

⁶ The letters 'am' are interlined above the 'pp' abbreviation.

⁷ *Various Collections*, p. 235, 'relaxacione'.

⁸ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'asserit'.

⁹ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'inveni'.

¹⁰ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'expediciu[m]'. The abbreviation used by the scribe resembles a superscript Arabic numeral nine: 'expedici⁹'. This conforms to an 'us' ending throughout the document, not 'um'.

¹¹ This should read *plures*; however, the scribe has placed an abbreviation mark above the 'e': 'plurēs', indicating an omitted 'm' or 'n'. Compared with similar abbreviation marks throughout the document, the mark does not appear to be accidental.

¹² *Various Collections*, p. 235 and Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'nutum'. There is, however, no abbreviation mark above the 'u' to denote the 'm' expansion.

¹³ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, used the Classical form 'prae'.

Ap[ud] Suttun'. Will[elmu]s f[ilius] Swift . vxorat[us] h[abe]ns lib[er]os . paup[er] .
medioc[er]is etatis . asser[it] se fuisse i[n] t[er]ra ier[usa]l[em] . n[un]llum t[ame]n h[abe]t¹⁴
test[imoniu]m.

Ap[ud] Wiketoft. T[h]omas¹⁵ de holft . p[ost] cruce[m] accepta[m] uxorat[us] . v .
h[abe]ns lib[er]os . n[on] satis sibi sufficit ad h[oc] it[er] age[n]du[m].

Ap[ud] Swincheued¹⁶ Hugo f[ilius] Gim[er]i¹⁷ p[ost] cruce[m] accepta[m] uxorat[us] . v .
h[abe]ns lib[er]os n[on] satis s[ibi] sufficit ad h[oc] it[er] age[n]du[m].

Ap[ud] Bicare.¹⁸ Helias f[ilius] Hervi . vxorat[us] . vij . h[abe]ns lib[er]os . paup[er] [et] fere
me[n]dic[us].

Ap[ud] Gosebtchirche'.¹⁹ Andreas cl[er]ic[us] . vxorat[us] . duos h[abe]ns liberos . cruce
signat[us] ab a[n]nis . x . it[er] arripuerat s[ed] n[on] p[er]acto rediit . eo . s[cilicet] .
te[m]p[or]e q[uo] desolata erat t[er]ra ierosolomitana [et] t[ra]nsfretac[us] p[ro]hibita .
Vn[de] co[n]silio d[omi]ni . p[er]p[er] . rediit ad uxore[m] . don[ec] fac[il]itate²⁰ h[abe]ret
redeu[n]di ad p[ro]fata[m] t[er]ra[m] . t[ame]n an[te] ia[m] d[ic]t[am] desolat[us] one[m]
p[ro]fate t[er]re alia uice cruce signat[us] ill[ud] it[er] arripuerat [et] b[e]n[e] p[er]fec[er]at²¹
 . n[on] satis s[ibi] suffic[i]t ad h[oc] it[er] p[er]age[n]du[m].

¹⁴ *Various Collections* p. 235 and Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'habens'. The abbreviation is 'ht' with a macron over the 't'.

¹⁵ *Various Collections*, p. 235 and Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'Tomas'. There is an ambiguous superscript mark after the 'T'. I have personally interpreted this as an abbreviation to denote a missing 'h'.

¹⁶ *Various Collections*, p. 235 and Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'Swincheved'. The letter in the document is clearly a 'u'.

¹⁷ It is possible that the scribe has made a mistake with this name and omitted an 'a' (*Gaimeri*). Orme and Padel noted that similar mistakes in copying were made for the Cornish list: Orme and Padel, p. 72.

¹⁸ *Various Collections*, p. 235 and Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'Biere'. The letterform matches the 'c' used throughout and omits the crossbar present in 'e' letterforms.

¹⁹ *Various Collections*, p. 235, 'Gosebertchirche'; Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'Goseberchirche'.

²⁰ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'faculitatem'.

²¹ *Various Collections*, p. 236 and Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'perficerat'.

Ap[ud] Surflet. hubert[us] f[ilius] Wid[onis] . cruce signat[us] a . v . a[n]nis . it[er] arripuerat . i[n] lo[n]gobardia p[re]dat[us] ,²² rediit . vaca[n]s e[st] . seruit f[ra]tri suo . nec satis s[ibi] suffic[i] ad h[oc] it[er].

Ap[ud] Pichebec'. hugo f[ilius] Wid[onis] . cruce signat[us] a . x . a[n]nis . vxore[m] h[abe]ns n[on] lib[er]os . dec[re]pite etatis e[st] [et] paup[er].

Vlf poucer²³ . cruce signat[us] a . x . a[n]nis . uxore[m] h[abe]ns [et] duos lib[er]os . paup[er]rim[us]²⁴ e[st].

huskarl govc²⁵ . cruce signat[us] a duob[us] a[n]nis . vxore[m] h[abe]ns n[on] lib[er]os paup[er] e[st] . iuuenis t[ame]n.

Rog[er]us²⁶ haranc²⁷ . cruce signat[us] ab . viij . a[n]nis . testa[n]te sacerdote q[ui] eu[m] cruce signauit . [et] vicini ei[us] h[oc] asser[un]t . ip[s]e t[ame]n co[n]tradic[i]t se cruce[m] accepisse . vxore[m] h[abe]t [et] . vij . lib[er]os . paup[er]rim[us]²⁸ e[st] . iuuenis t[ame]n.

Ap[ud] Spaldinge. Alexa[n]d[er] uinitari[us] . vxore[m] h[abe]ns [et] duos lib[er]os . paup[er]rim[us] e[st]. Iuuenis e[st].

Will[elmu]s Cupi[n]g . vxore[m] h[abe]ns [et] . iii;^{qo29} . lib[er]os . paup[er]rim[us] e[st] , medioc[ri]s t[ame]n etatis.

Ap[ud] Mulet'. Rog[er]us Stoile . Iuuenis [et] expedit[us] ad h[oc] it[er].

²² Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'et'. This is clearly a *punctus elevatus*.

²³ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, n. 202, noted that Ulf Poucer was omitted from *Various Collections*, p. 236. He was not. *Various Collections*, p. 236, in fact, omitted Huskarl Gouc and Roger Haranc. Ulf's account was collated with that of Roger Haranc, as indicated by Brundage who used Ulf as an example for denying his crusader's vow: Brundage, *Canon Law*, p. 130.

²⁴ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'pauper'.

²⁵ Crusader omitted from *Various Collections*, p. 236; Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'Gove'.

²⁶ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 260, 'Rogerius'.

²⁷ Crusader omitted from *Various Collections*, p. 236.

²⁸ *Various Collections*, p. 236, 'pauperimus'.

²⁹ *Various Collections*, p. 236, 'quatuor'.

Ap[ud] holebeche.³⁰ Will[elmu]s fossator s[iz]n[e] uxore [et] lib[er]is . Iuuenis .
paup[er]rim[us] t[ame]n.

Ap[ud] Geden'. Will[elmu]s pistor . senex [et] vxorat[us] . h[abe]ns duos lib[er]os
paup[er]rim[us] me[n]dic[us].

Dorse:

Hec s[un]t no[m]i[n]a³¹ cruce signato[rum] de³² Ciuitate Lincoln'.³³

Will[elmu]s Mirabilis³⁴

Will[elmu]s Ventha.

Will[elmu]s fil[ius] Turgis

Philipp[us] Cokelbert.

Translation

At Skirbek: Robert the son of Brunmann,³⁵ signed with the cross, long ago undertook a journey but returned having not accomplished his mission. He is married with one son and he is now less than able to accomplish that journey.

³⁰ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 261, 'Holebethe'. The letterform is clearly a 'c' not a 't'.

³¹ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'nom[ina]l'.

³² Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, omits 'de'.

³³ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'Lincoln[ensi]l'.

³⁴ Bombi, 'Papal Legates', p. 259, 'Mirabelis'. The confusion here could have arisen from the fact that the second scribe's 'l' letterform includes a small dash which is in close proximity to the 'i'.

³⁵ Evans, 'Crusade and Society', p. 151, claims that in London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 60, fol. 66 there is reference to a man called 'Robert the son of Brunmann' holding land in Boston. There is, however, no reference to this 'Robert' in the entries, but there are four entries regarding a man in Boston called 'Brunsman[us]' or 'Brunsmeinus', and identified as 'fil[ius] Will[elmu]i Redeking': London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 60, fols. 60r–61v.

Moreover, at Skirbek: Lambert the son of Eltruth, signed with the cross at the same time as that Robert just mentioned, undertook a journey, yet returned having not accomplished his mission. He has a wife but no offspring; however, he is very poor, seeking sustenance by his own hand.

At Boston: Eudo the son of Aslac³⁶ went, [as did]

Benedict of Sibsey,³⁷

Gerald the son of Guthred,

William the skinner,

Robert the potter,

Robert the butcher,

William of Kirkby.³⁸

At Wyberton: John Buchart had travelled towards Jerusalem in the time of William, the king of Apulia,³⁹ by whom passage across the Mediterranean had been prohibited.⁴⁰ Upon returning, he was absolved from his obligation to journey by the Lord Pope.⁴¹ He carried back the rescript of the Lord Pope of absolution until the time he could

³⁶ One Eudo, brother to William son of Aslac, appears in the witness list of a grant of land copied into the Huntingfield Cartulary; Lincolnshire Records Office, 3-ANC/2/1, fol. 27r, no. 115. There is no mention of Eudo holding land in Boston as Evans claimed: Evans, 'Crusade and Society', p. 151.

³⁷ Siedschlag, 'English Participation in the Crusades', p. 113; Evans, 'Crusade and Society', p. 338, both interpreted the Latin '*cibecet*' as 'victualler'.

³⁸ Most likely East Kirkby, around twelve miles north of Boston, though there are many places with that toponym; Cameron, pp. 74–5.

³⁹ King William II (the Good) of Sicily, reigned 1153 to 1189.

⁴⁰ In 1185 King William imposed an embargo on ships in Sicilian ports, keeping pilgrims from travelling to Palestine for two years: *La continuation*, ed. by Morgan, p. 82; *The Old French Continuation*, ed. by Edbury, p. 74.

⁴¹ If John Buchart was indeed caught up in the crusading/pilgrimage embargo between 1185 to 1187, then he could have been absolved by one of four popes: Lucius III (1181–85), Urban III (1185–87), Gregory VIII (1187), or Clement III (1187–91).

more freely undertake that journey and travel across, as was asserted by his neighbours who provided witness of it. He is married and has many children. Also, he is very poor and middle-aged.

At Kirton: John le Borne has a wife and young sons, yet he not able at all to make that journey, as certain ones relate.

Walter the smith, although he married after he accepted the cross, is able to undertake the journey and travel by the will of God, as they assert.

At Algarkirk: Richard the son of Thurstan, who is married with five children but very poor, asserted that he had himself been in the land of Jerusalem, having no evidence.

At Fosdyke: Alured 'from overseas',⁴² who is married and very poor, did not go on account of his poverty.

At Sutterton: William the son of Swift, who is married with children, also poor and middle-aged, asserted that he had himself been in the land of Jerusalem, yet he has no evidence.

At Wigtoft: Thomas of Hoffleet Stow,⁴³ married after he had accepted the cross and has five children. He is not able to go on that journey.

At Swineshead: Hugh the son of Gaimer, married after he had accepted the cross and has five children. He is not able to go on that journey.

At Bicker: Elias the son of Harvey,⁴⁴ married with seven children, is a pauper and almost a beggar.

⁴² This is formed from the preposition 'de' with 'ultremer' – better known as 'Outremer' (*Ultra + Mare*). It is likely that it just means he came from across the English Channel, but in a crusading context there is a slim possibility that he came from Frankish Outremer.

⁴³ Adjoining hamlet one and a half miles from Wigtoft.

⁴⁴ This is the modern form of 'Hervi' based on *Oxford Dictionary of Family Names*, ed. by Hanks, Coates, and McClure, II, p. 1212.

At Gosberton: Andrew the cleric,⁴⁵ who is married with two children, signed with the cross ten years ago, undertook a journey but returned having not completed his mission as at that time the land of Jerusalem had been laid to waste and crossing was prohibited.⁴⁶ Hence, on the advice of the Lord Pope⁴⁷ he returned to his wife until he was able to travel back to the aforementioned land; however, before the already-mentioned devastation of the aforesaid land, signed with the cross on another occasion, he had undertaken that journey and completed it well. He is not able to do this journey.

At Surfleet: Hubert the son of Guy, signed with the cross five years ago, undertook a journey to Lombardy. Having been robbed there,⁴⁸ he returned and, being unemployed, serves his brother. He is not able at all to make the journey.

At Pinchbeck: Hugo the son of Guy, signed with the cross ten years ago, has a wife but no children. He is elderly and poor.

Ulf Poucer, signed with the cross ten years ago, has a wife and two children. He is very poor.

Huskarl ‘the fool’,⁴⁹ signed with the cross two years ago, has a wife but no children. He is poor and also young.

⁴⁵ It appears that Andrew was no longer in Gosberton c.1208x1209, when Richard de Atteberge was collated to the church; *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, ed. by Phillimore, I, p. 123.

⁴⁶ Dating the return to 1196 places Andrew’s attempted journey to 1187. Saladin defeated the crusader army at Hattin on 5 July and laid siege to Jerusalem between 20 September and 2 October 1187, rendering the pilgrim routes impassable.

⁴⁷ If Andrew reached Rome before 20 October 1187 he would have been absolved by Urban III. If he arrived between 21 October and 17 December 1187, it would have been Pope Gregory VIII. After this point he would have seen Pope Celestine III.

⁴⁸ A similar fate was suffered by John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich [1175–1200]. Devizes, *Chronicle*, pp. 10–11.

⁴⁹ The first element is Old Scandinavian, ‘hús-karl’, which would relate to a ‘retainer in a royal or noble household’. It is also found as a name in England: John Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk: A Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place Names* (Uppsala: Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 1994),

Roger Haranc, signed with the cross eight years ago, by the witness of the priest who signed him with the cross, and also the assertion of his neighbours. He, however, denies that he received the cross. He has a wife and seven children. He is very poor and also young.

At Spalding: Alexander the wine merchant has a wife and two children. He is very poor and young.

William Cuping has a wife and four children. He is very poor and also middle-aged.

At Moulton: Roger Stoile is young and ready for the journey.

At Holbeach: William the ditch-digger, with no wife and children, is young, but very poor.

At Gedney: William the baker, an old man and married, has two children. He is very poor and in need.

Dorse:

These are the names of those signed with the cross in the city of Lincoln:

William 'the wonderful'.

Willian Ventha.

William son of Turgis.

Philip Cokelbert.

p. 214. The second element, 'Gouc' equates to the Scandinavian for 'Cuckoo'; see, 'Gook', in *Oxford Dictionary of Family Names*, ed. by Hanks, Coates, and McClure, II, p. 1094, and came to mean 'fool'.

**APPENDIX B: EDITION OF THE ARTICLES OF INQUIRY
COPIED INTO THE REGISTERS OF RICHARD DE SWINFELD,
OLIVER SUTTON, AND THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, 1283X1291**

Note on the Edition

Below is a side-by-side comparison of the three surviving lists of questions stipulated for the agents of the collectors of the Holy Land subsidy to inquire into. To ensure accuracy, recourse has been made to the manuscript registers, with notation on variant readings and comments proffered by their modern editors.

The decision has been made to render the articles of inquiry with minimal editorial intervention. Medieval punctuation has been retained. The medieval '*punctus elevatus*' (an upside-down semi-colon) and '*virgula*' (a dash or slash) is indicated by a modern comma (,), All abbreviations have been silently expanded; abbreviation signs at the end of place-names, however, have been denoted by an apostrophe, in accordance with traditional practice. The letter 'J, j' has been avoided except in Roman numerals. The spelling of 'U, u' and 'V, v' has been normalized according to standard orthography. The scribes have used 'b' and 'p', 't' and 'c' interchangeably and the manuscript readings have been retained.

The numbering employed the articles of inquiry is arbitrarily modern for ease of comparison between the lists and has thus been inserted in square brackets. The divisions of the articles follow the divisions noted in the manuscripts, usually with the scribe starting a new point of inquiry on a new line with a pilcrow (¶). In Bishop Richard's register, the articles are written in one block with no 'pilcrow' signs to denote individual articles; however, capital letters were used instead for the start of a new article.

<p>Bishop Richard de Swinfield Hereford, 1283</p> <p>Hereford, Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre, AL19/2, fol. 23r</p>	<p>Dean and Chapter of Canterbury c.1282 X 1291</p> <p>Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA- DCc/Register/I, fols. 167v–168r</p>	<p>Bishop Oliver Sutton Lincoln, 1291</p> <p>Lincoln, Lincolnshire Records Office, Bishop's Reg. 1 (Oliver Sutton), fols. 38v–39v</p>
<p>[Fol. 23r]</p> <p>¶Isti sunt articuli super quibus inquirendum est omnibus que debentur terre sancte.</p> <p>[1] ¶In primis utrum³ aliquem vel aliquos prelatos seculares seu Religiosos, vel aliquem seu aliquos clericos Religiosos siue seculares uel aliquem seu aliquos laicos cuiuscunque⁴ ordinis dignitatis seu</p>	<p>[Fol. 167v]</p> <p>Articuli Inquisicionis de crucesignatis et de bonis legatis in subsidium terre sancte.</p> <p>[1] ¶In primis inquiretur utrum apud aliquem uel aliquos prelatos seculares seu religiosos uel aliquis uel clericos alios seculares siue religiosos, uel aliquis uel aliquos laicos cuiuscunque condicionis dignitatis seu ordinis</p>	<p>[Fol. 38v]</p> <p>¶Isti¹ sunt articuli super quibus est inquirendum et procedendum super negociis terre sancte.²</p> <p>[1] ¶In primis utrum apud aliquem vel aliquos prelatos seculares seu religiosos vel aliquem seu aliquos clericos Religiosos siue seculares vel aliquem seu aliquos laicos cuiuscunque ordinis, dignitatis seu condicionis</p>

¹ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III p. 157, 'Ista'.

² *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 157 n. 2, Hill noted 'This heading appears in the text and not, as is usual in the margin.' For the Hereford and Canterbury registers the heading is at the top centre of the folio.

³ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 78, inserted '[per]' here.

⁴ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 78, 'Cuiuscunque'; in the manuscript register there is clearly an 'n' not an 'm'.

condicionis existant, deposita vel tradita fuerit aliqua pecunia vel aliqua res data legata, seu aliquo alio ⁵ modo assignata in subsidium terre sancte.	existant deposita vel tradita fuerit aliqua pecunia, vel aliqua res data vel legata seu aliquo modo assignata in subsidium terre sancte.	existant deposita vel tradita fuerit aliqua pecunia vel aliqua res data legata, seu aliquo modo assignata in subsidium terre sancte.
[2] Item utrum aliquis crucesignatus ut in terram sanctam proficisceretur ⁶ et non sit profectus.	[2] ¶Item utrum aliquis sit crucesignatus ut in terram sanctam proficisceretur et non sit profectus inquiratur Et nomina eorum redigantur in scriptis et referantur principalibus executoribus decime.	[2] ¶Utrum aliquis sit crucesignatus ut in terram sanctam proficisceretur et non sit profectus.
[3] Item si talis decesserit utrum fecerit	[3] ¶Item si talis decessit utrum fecerit	[3] ¶Item si talis decessit ⁷ utrum fecerit

⁵ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 78, 'alio' omitted: 'seu aliquo modo assignata'.

⁶ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 78, inserted '[promiserit]' here. In adding this, Capes was translating *crucesignatus* as the noun 'crusader', rather than the participle 'signed up with the Cross.' For those working from the printed register this could have rendered their translation as 'Moreover, whether any crusader [promised] to set out for the Holy Land and did not set out', rather than: 'Moreover, whether anyone might have been signed with the Cross in order to set out to the Holy Land and did not set out.' Lunt rendered it, 'Item, whether any was signed with the cross that he would go to the Holy Land and has not gone.' Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, p. 491. I am especially grateful to Professor Paul Russell for taking the time to highlight this point to me.

⁷ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 157 n. 3, Hill notes: 'I have followed Scalleby's somewhat arbitrary use of tenses throughout this entry.'

testamentum, et si fecerit, qui sunt eius executores, et ad quos bona ipsius pervenerunt.	testamentum et si fecerit qui sunt executores, eius uel ad quos bona eorum peruenerunt, seu reliquit aliquid pro redemptione voti sui in subsidium terre sancte.	testamentum, et si fecerit, qui sunt Executores eius vel ad quos bona ipsius pervenerunt, et si assignauit vel legauit seu reliquit aliquid pro redemptione voti sui in subsidium terre sancte.
	[4] ¶Item si aliquis assumpsit crucem aut aliquid de bonis suis mittent bona sua in terram sanctam uel eius subsidium inquiratur et nomina eorum redigantur in scriptis et referantur principalibus executores decime.	[4] ¶Item si aliquis assumpsit crucem ut aliquid de bonis suis mitteret in terram sanctam vel eius subsidium.
	[5] ¶Item si talis decedet qui sunt executores eius uel ad quos bona sua pervenerunt.	[5] ¶Item si talis decesserit, ⁸ qui sunt executores eius vel ad quos bona ipsius peruenerunt.

⁸ Same as n. 7 above.

[6] Item si aliquis acceperit pecuniam vel aliquid aliud ut in terram sanctam proficisceretur.	[6] ¶Item si aliquis accepit pecuniam uel aliquid aliud ut in terram sanctam proficisceretur.	[6] ¶Item si aliquis accepit pecuniam vel aliquid aliud ut in terram sanctam proficisceretur.
[7] Item si talis proximo preterito passagio transfretavit.	[7] ¶Item si talis proximo preterito passagio transfretavit.	[7] ¶Item si talis proximo ⁹ preterito passagio transfretauit.
[8] Item si talis decesserit qui sunt eius executores, et ad quos bona ipsius pervenerunt.	[8] ¹⁰ ¶Item si talis decessit qui sunt executores eius vel ad quos bona sua peruenerunt.	[8] ¹¹ ¶Item si talis decessit et qui sunt executores eius vel ad quos bona ipsius peruenerunt. —
		[Fol. 39r] Pro ¹² terra sancta
[9–10] ¹³ Item si aliquis pecuniam vel aliquid aliud debeat seu assignaverit uel promiserit ex aliqua causa terre sancte uel eius subsidio, et quid et quantum, cui vel	[9] ¶Item si aliquis accepit peccuniam[<i>si</i>] uel aliquid aliud debeat seu assignaverit uel promiserit ex aliqua causa terre sancte uel eius subsidium et quid et quantum.	[9] ¶Item si aliquis pecuniam vel aliquid aliud debeat seu assignauerit vel promiserit ex aliqua causa terre sancte vel eius subsidio et quid et quantum.

⁹ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 157, '*proxime*'.

¹⁰ This seems to be a repetition of article 5.

¹¹ This seems to be a repetition of article 5.

¹² The abbreviated 'P' is written with a scribal flourish.

¹³ There is no break in this clause in the manuscript or printed edition. In Canterbury and Lincoln it forms two separate articles.

quibusdem, ¹⁴ de talibus debitis assignatis vel promissis aliquid ante hec tempora sit solutum.	[10] ¶Item cui uel quibus de talibus debitis assignatis uel promissis aliquid ante hec tempora sit solutum.	[10] Item cui vel quibus de talibus debitis assignatis vel promissis aliquid ante hec tempora sit solutum.
[11] Item si huius debitores, assignatores seu ¹⁵ promissores ante satisfaccionem decesserint, et qui sunt ¹⁶ eorum executores, ¹⁷ et ad quos bona eorum pervenerunt.	[11–12] ¶Item si huiusmodi debitores assignatores promissores seu receptores ante satisfaccionem decederint, et qui sunt eorum executores uel ad quos bona eorum pervenerunt. ¶ ²⁰ Item videantur testamenta decetero facienda et iam facta de quibus est presumpcio uel fama aliqua, quod in ipsis in terre sancte subsidium aliqua relinquuntur.	[11] ¶Item si huiusmodi debitorum assignatores seu promissores vel receptores ante satisfaccionem decesserint ²¹ et qui sunt eorum Executores vel ad quos bona eorum peruenerunt.
[12] Item videantur testamenta, et si reperatur in eis vel eorum aliquo que ¹⁸ pecunia vel res aliqua sit legata ¹⁹ vel relicta terre sancte		[12] ¶Item videantur testamenta et si reperiatur in eis vel eorum aliquo quod pecunia vel res aliqua sit legata vel relicta terre sancte subsidio, et

¹⁴ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, 'quibus'.

¹⁵ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, 'vel'.

¹⁶ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, 'sint'.

¹⁷ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, *executors etc.* Capes terminates this entry here.

¹⁸ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, 'quod'.

¹⁹ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, 'legata terre sancte subsidio, qui sunt executores etc.' Capes omits 'vel relicta' and terminates this entry here.

²⁰ The scribe has inserted a 'pilcrow' (¶) here as the clause proceeds directly into Article 12 'Item videantur'.

²¹ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 158, 'decesserunt'.

subsidio, et qui sunt executores singulorum testamentorum, et ad quos bona pervenerunt singulorum testamentum.		qui sunt Executores singulorum testamentorum et ad quos bona peruenerunt singulorum testamentum.
[13] Item si aliqui ²² de huius ²³ relegatis uel relictis solutum fuerit, et quibus, et quantum.	[13] ¶Item si aliquis de huius legatis uel relictis solutum fuerit et quid et quantum et cui et quibus.	[13] ¶Item si aliquid de huius ²⁴ legatis vel relictis solutum fuerit et quid et quantum.
[14] Item si de crucesignatis vel debitoribus terre sancte ex premissis vel assignatis seu voto uel redempcionibus votorum, vel alia causa aliqui vel alique decesserint intestati, vel intestate, inquirendum est de bonis eorum, et requirenda est satisfaccio, et si aliquis ex	[14] ¶Item de crucesignatis uel debitorum terre sancte ex promissis uel assignatis, seu vota redempcione votorum uel aliqua causa aliqui uel aliquae decederint intestati uel intestate inquirendum est de bonis eorum et requirendum satisfaccionem,	[14] ¶Item si de crucesignatis vel debitoribus terre sancte ex promissis vel assignatis seu voto vel redempcionibus votorum vel alia causa aliqui vel alique decesserint intestati vel intestate, inquirendum est de bonis eorum et requirendum satisfaccionem, et si aliquis

²² Reg. Swinfield, p. 79, 'aliquod'.

²³ Reg. Swinfield, p. 79, 'huiusmodi'.

²⁴ Reg. Sutton, III, p. 158, 'huiusmodi'.

promissis testamentum fecerit et non apposuerit certum ²⁵ pro terra sancta, set aliqui ²⁶ legaverit seu reliquerit indistincte, de huius ²⁷ indistincte legatis debita satisfaccio requiratur.	¶Et ²⁸ si aliquis ex promissis testamentum fecerit, et apposuerit certum pro terra sancta, si aliquid legaverit seu reliquerit de huiusmodi indistincte legatis debita satisfaccio requiratur.	ex promissis testamentum fecerit et non apposuerit certum pro terra sancta set ²⁹ aliquid legaverit seu reliquerit indistincte, de huius ³⁰ indistincte legatis debita satisfacione requiratur.
[15] ³¹ Item si aliquis pecuniam vel aliqui aliud transmittere vel assignare voluerit in subsidium terre sancte.		[15] ³² ¶Item si aliquis pecuniam vel aliquid aliud transmittere vel assignare voluerit in subsidium terre sancte.
[16] Item si aliquis pro hiis que contingunt terram sanctam fuerit suspensus excommunicatus, et irregularis, requiratur	[16] ¶Item si aliquis <pro hiis> ³³ que contingunt terram sanctam fuerit suspensus, uel excommunicatus et	[16] ¶Item si aliquis pro hiis que contingunt terram sanctam fuerit suspensus vel excommunicatus et irregularis, requiratur

²⁵ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, 'terminum'.

²⁶ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, 'aliquid'.

²⁷ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79, 'huiusmodi'.

²⁸ The scribe has started a new line here and has indicated that this is a separate, new clause with a 'pilcrow' (¶).

²⁹ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 158 n. 1, 'Sic, recte "sed".'

³⁰ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 158, 'huiusmodi'.

³¹ Article of inquiry omitted from *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 79.

³² Article of inquiry omitted from *Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 158.

³³ Register/I/fol. 167^v, 'pro hiis' interlined.

quod satisfaciat, et post plenam satisfaccionem absolvatur, et cum eo dispensetur iuxta formam sedis apostolice.	irregularis requiratur quod satisfaciat et post plenam satisfaccionem absolvatur et cum ipso dispensetur iuxta formam apostolice auctoritatis.	quod satisfaciat, et post plenam satisfactionem absoluatur et cum eo dispensetur iuxta formam auctoritatis apostolice.
	[17] ¶Item si aliqui de cruce signatis personaliter eant in terram sanctam, facti fuerint inabiles et impotentes omnino ad eundum, tractatum cum eis, quod iuxta facultates suas de quorum valore diligentur auxilium tribuant et tractatum vna cum valore facultatum et nominibus eorum et quantum auxilium impendere voluerint, maioribus executoris referant, ita quod indulgencias consequantur ac si	[17] ¶Inquirendum est a singulis cruce signatis qua intencione crucem receperint, et si responderint ut vadant personaliter in subsidium terre sancte, recepiatur fides ab eis seu promissio ut iuramentum secundum qualitatem personarum quod ibunt in proximo passagio et maxime quoniam dominus Rex Angl ³⁴ vel aliqui Comites seu Barones de Angl ³⁵ cum magna comitiua pro ipso subsidio publice transfretabunt, Si uero

³⁴ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 158, 'Anglie'.

³⁵ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 158, 'Anglia'.

personaliter recedent et accedent et habeant respectum ad expensas quas facturi essent eundo morando et redeundo.	responderint quod crucem receperunt ³⁶ ut aliquid de bonis suis tribuant pro subsidio terre sancte, recipiatur ab eis quod dare uoluerint, et inducantur ad dandum congruum auxilium iuxta possibilitatem suam, quia quanto magis dabunt, tanto maiorem indulgentiam consequentur, Si uero aliqui de cruce signatis ut personaliter eant in terram sanctam facti fuerint inhabiles et impotentes omnino ad eundum in terram sanctam, tractetur cum eis quod iuxta facultates suas congruum auxilium tribuant, ita quod indulgentias consequantur ac si personaliter accederent, et habeant respectum ad expensas
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³⁶ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 158, 'recepert'.

		<p>quas facturi essent eundo, morando, et redeundo.</p>
	<p>[18] ¶Item si inuenietur quod aliqui receperunt pecuniam[<i>sic</i>] uel res alias ad eundum in subsidium terre sancte et non iuerunt et moneantur et compellantur tales ad venendum coram principalibus executoris decime super illis mandato canonico receptur.</p>	<p>[18] ¶Item si inueniatur quod aliqui receperunt pecuniam vel res alias ad eundum in subsidium terre sancte et non iuerunt, moneantur et inducantur ad deponendum dictam pecuniam vel res in Thesauraria noui Templi Lond'³⁷ vel penes aliquam bonam societatem mercatorum tali condicione³⁸ quod si in proximo passagio habiles erunt ad transfretandum et faciendum seruicium et dederint securitatem de eundo et morando in subsidium terre sancte legitimo tempore habeant libere pecuniam et res</p>

³⁷ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 159, 'London'.

³⁸ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 159, 'conditionis'.

		huius, ³⁹ Alioquin sint in dispositione Curie Romane pro dicto subsidio.
		[19] ¶ Si aliquis debitum quod in ueritate debet recipere ab aliquo assignauerit et concesserit terre sancte in toto vel in parte pro ea parte qua assignacio et concessio facta fuerit, requiratur et exigatur tanquam debitum terre sancte et nulla assignacio seu concessio recipiatur in fraudem vel simulato modo vel intentione ut assignans aliquid recuperet.
	[fol. 168r . XXXII].]	
	[20] ¶ Item si inueniatur quod aliquis uel aliqui legauerint seu reliquerint aliquam pecuniam uel res alias alicui uel aliquibus	[20] ¶ Item si inueniatur quod aliquis uel aliqui legauerint seu reliquerint aliquam pecuniam uel res alias alicui uel aliquibus

³⁹ *Rolls and Reg. Sutton*, III, p. 159, 'hujusmodi'.

<p>personis nominatis uel non nominatis ad eundum in subsidium terre sancte requirantur et moneantur executores talis uel talium ad veniendum coram principalibus executores decime cum pecuniam uel re legata seu relictam diem tercium eis assignando quod compereant apud nouum Templum Lond'.</p>	<p>personis nominatis vel non nominatis <ad eundum>⁴⁰ in subsidium terre sancte, requirantur et moneantur Executores vel detentores talis vel talium ad deponendum huiusmodi pecuniam et res in XXXX [fol. 39v] Thesauraria Noui Templi London' vel penes aliquam bonam societatem mercatorum sub condicione quod si persone nominate vel nominande ab executoribus sufficientes et habiles fuerint ad eundum in faciendum seruicium et securiatem ydoneam dederint de eundo in proximo passagio ut supra et morando legitimo</p>
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⁴⁰ Reg. 1, fol. 68r, "ad eundum" interlined.

		tempore, habeant pecuniam et res ipsas libere, alioquin sint in dispositione Romane ecclesie ad opus terre sancte.
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Translation

<p>Bishop Richard de Swinfield Hereford, 1283</p> <p>Hereford, Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre, AL19/2, fol. 23r</p>	<p>Dean and Chapter of Canterbury c.1282 X 1291</p> <p>Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA- DCc/Register/I, fols. 167v–168r</p>	<p>Bishop Oliver Sutton Lincoln, 1291</p> <p>Lincoln, Lincolnshire Records Office, Bishop's Reg. 1 (Oliver Sutton), fols. 38v–39v</p>
<p>[Fol. 23r]</p> <p>¶These are articles among all of which what is owed to the Holy Land is to be enquired.</p> <p>[1] ¶Firstly, whether any secular or religious prelate, or any religious or secular cleric, or any layman of whatever order, status or position might exist who deposited or handed over some money or gave, sent or in any way</p>	<p>[Fol. 167v]</p> <p>Articles of Inquiry concerning those signed with the cross and the goods appointed in subsidy of the Holy Land.</p> <p>[1] ¶Firstly, it is to be enquired whether among any one or any secular or religious prelate, or any one or any other clerics, secular or religious, or any one or any layman of whatever rank, dignity or order might exist who had deposited or given any</p>	<p>[Fol. 38v]</p> <p>¶These are articles among which that which is owed to the Holy Land is to be enquired.</p> <p>[1] ¶Firstly, whether any among any secular or religious prelates or any religious or secular clerics, or any laymen of whatever order, status or position one might exist who had deposited or handed over some money, or given, sent or in some other way</p>

assigned anything for the subsidy of the Holy Land.	money or given or appointed or in any way assigned anything for the subsidy of the Holy Land.	assigned anything for the subsidy of the Holy Land.
[2] Moreover, whether anyone might have been signed with the cross in order to set out to the Holy Land and did not set out.	[2] ¶Moreover, it is to be enquired whether there might be anyone signed with the cross in order to set out to the Holy Land and did not set out. And their names are to be recorded in writing and given to the principal executors for proof.	[2] ¶Whether anyone might have been signed with the cross in order to set out to the Holy Land and did not set out.
[3] Moreover, if such a one died, whether he made a will, and if he did who are his executors and to whom his goods of debt had reached.	[3] ¶Moreover, if such a one has died, whether he made a will, and if they did, who are their executors, or to whom did their goods attain, or whether they left anything in subsidy of the Holy Land to redeem their vow.	[3] ¶Moreover, if such a one died, whether he made a will, and if he did, who are his executors or to whom did his goods of debt attain; and if he assigned or appointed or bequeathed anything for the redemption of his vow in subsidy of the Holy Land.

	<p>[4] ¶Moreover, it is to be enquired if there might be anyone who took up the cross or sent any of their goods to the Holy Land or subsidy of it, and their names are to be recorded in writing and given to the principal executors for proof.</p>	<p>[4] ¶Moreover, if anyone took up the cross so that something of his goods of debt might be sent to the Holy Land or subsidy..</p>
	<p>[5] ¶Moreover, if such a one died, who are his executors or to whom have his goods attained.</p>	<p>[5] ¶Moreover, if such a one has died, who are his executors or to whom have his goods of debt attained.</p>
<p>[6] Moreover, if anyone accepted money or any other thing that they might set out to the Holy Land.</p>	<p>[6] ¶Moreover, if anyone accepted money or any other thing that they might set out to the Holy Land.</p>	<p>[6] ¶Moreover, if anyone accepted money or any other thing that they might set out to the Holy Land.</p>
<p>[7] Moreover, if such a one, having missed his</p>	<p>[7] ¶Moreover, if such a one, having missed his</p>	<p>[7] ¶Moreover, if such a one, having missed his</p>

<p>passage, crossed the sea by the next one.</p> <p>[8] Moreover, if such a one died, who are his executors or to whom have his goods attained.</p> <p>[9–10] Moreover, if anyone owes or has assigned or promised money or something else on account of some cause of the Holy Land or the subsidy of it, what and how much; to whom or to whom anything was released of such things owed, assigned or promised before this time.</p> <p>[11] Moreover, if the debtors, assignees or guarantors or the like have</p>	<p>passage, crossed the sea by the next one.</p> <p>[8] ¶Moreover, if such a one died, who are his executors or to whom have his goods attained.</p> <p>[9] ¶Moreover, if anyone accepted money, or owed or assigned or promised some other thing on account of some cause of the Holy Land or the subsidy of it, and what and how much.</p> <p>[10] ¶Moreover, to whom anything before now was released from such things that were owed, assigned or promised.</p> <p>[11–12] ¶Moreover, if the debtors, assignees, guarantors, or recipients</p>	<p>passage, crossed the sea by the next one.</p> <p>[8] ¶Moreover, if such a one died, who are his executors or to whom have his goods attained.</p> <p>—</p> <p>[Fol. 39r]</p> <p>For the Holy Land</p> <p>[9] ¶Moreover, if anyone owes or has assigned or promised money or something else on account of some cause of the Holy Land or the subsidy of it, what and how much.</p> <p>[10] Moreover, to whom anything before now was released from such things that were owed, assigned or promised.</p> <p>[11] ¶Moreover, if the assignees of the debts or the guarantors or</p>
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died before satisfaction [of the debt], also who are their executors or to whom have their goods of debt attained.	or the like have died before satisfaction [of the debt], also who are their executors or to whom have their goods attained.	receivers of the like have died before satisfaction [of the debt], also who are their executors or to whom have their goods of debt attained.
[12] Moreover, should the wills be seen and if it is discovered in all or any one of them that money or another thing is appointed or left as a subsidy for the Holy Land, also who are the executors of each of the wills and to whom the goods of debt of each of the wills has attained.	¶Moreover, if it seems that the wills need to be produced henceforth, when they have been produced, whether anything in them, by presumption or rumour, is left in subsidy of the Holy Land.	[12] ¶Moreover, should the wills be seen and if it is discovered in all or any one of them that money or another thing is appointed or left as a subsidy for the Holy Land, also who are the executors of each of the wills and to whom the goods of debt of each of the wills has attained..
[13] Moreover, if anything has been released from the things appointed or left to the like, also what and how much.	[13] ¶Moreover, if anything has been released from the things appointed or left to the like, also what and how much.	[13] ¶Moreover, if anything has been released from the things appointed or left to the like, also what and how much.

<p>[14] Moreover, if any, whether male or female, of those signed with the cross or debtors of the Holy Land, on account of assignees, or for a vow or the redemption of vows, or for another cause, might have died without having made a will, their goods of debt must be inquired into and satisfaction [of any debts] is required; and if those sent forward had made a will and he had not set a portion for the Holy Land, but appointed or left something confusingly, the satisfaction owed is required of the things appointed confusingly or the like.</p> <p>[15] Moreover, if anyone wished to send or assign</p>	<p>[14] ¶Moreover, whether anyone, male or female, of those signed with the cross are in debt to the Holy Land because of promises or assigned things or promised redemption of vows, or for another cause, died intestate, it must be inquired concerning their goods and if satisfaction [of the debt] is required.</p> <p>¶And if those sent forward had made a will and he had not set a portion for the Holy Land, but appointed or left something confusingly, the satisfaction owed is required of the things appointed confusingly or the like.</p>	<p>[14] ¶Moreover, if any, whether male or female, of those signed with the cross or debtors of the Holy Land, on account of assignees, or for a vow or the redemption of vows, or for another cause, might have died without having made a will, their goods of debt must be inquired into and satisfaction [of any debts] is required; and if those sent forward had made a will and he had not set a portion for the Holy Land, but appointed or left something confusingly, the satisfaction owed is required of the things appointed confusingly or the like.</p> <p>[15] ¶Moreover, if anyone wished to send or assign</p>
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money or any other thing in subsidy of the Holy Land.		money or any other thing in subsidy of the Holy Land.
[16] Moreover, if anyone had been suspended, excommunicated, or irregular [in their practice] as befitting those who reach the Holy Land it is required that he should make amends, and after much compensation, he may be absolved; and he may be dealt with according to the tradition of the apostolic seat.	[16] ¶Moreover, if anyone had been suspended, excommunicated, or irregular [in their practice] as befitting those who reach the Holy Land it is required that he should make amends, and after much compensation, he may be absolved; and they should be dealt with according to the tradition of apostolic authority.	[16] ¶Moreover, if anyone had been suspended, excommunicated, or irregular [in their practice] as befitting those who reach the Holy Land it is required that he should make amends, and after much compensation, he may be absolved; and they should be dealt with according to the tradition of apostolic authority.
	[17] ¶Moreover, if any of those people signed with the cross went to go personally to the Holy Land, and had become disabled and completely unable to go to the Holy Land, thought should be [dealt with] so that they	[17] ¶It is to be enquired from every crusader for what reason they received the cross; and if they respond that they [intend to] go personally for the relief of the Holy Land, a pledge may be received from them or a promise or

may give help assiduously according to the power of their abilities as well as treatment with the power of their abilities, and their names and how much help they desire to give should be given to the principal executors. Thus they may acquire indulgences and if they personally withdraw and advance, they may also have regard for the expenses they incurred in going, staying and coming back.

oath according to the dignity of the individual that they will go on the next passage, and especially since the Lord King of England [Edward I] or some earls or barons of England with a great company will cross the sea publically for the relief itself. If indeed they respond that they received the cross so that something of their goods of debt might be granted for relief of the Holy Land, whatever they desire to give should be received from them, and they should be induced to give suitable aid according to their ability, for by how much more they will give who by such gain great remission! If indeed any of the cross signed people [who desire] to go

personally to the Holy Land have become entirely incapable and unable to go to the Holy land, they must be managed so that they may offer fitting help according to their abilities, so that they may gain remissions; and if they personally went, they should also have relief for the expenses that were encountered in going, staying and coming back.

[18] ¶Moreover, if it is discovered that any received money or other things to go in relief of the Holy Land and did not go and these people were warned and compelled to come before the principal executors for decision concerning them to be

[18] ¶Moreover, if it is found that any had received money or other things to go as relief to the Holy land and they did not go, they are to be reprimanded and induced to deposit the aforementioned money or things in the Treasury of the New Temple in

<p>received by canonical mandate.</p>	<p>London or in the custody of some good society of merchants on such condition, that if they are capable, they should go on the next passage to travel and provide relief and they must give security that they will go and stay in relief of the Holy Land for a legitimate time; [then] they may freely have the money and other things of that kind. Otherwise, they [the money and things] should be placed at the disposal of the Roman Curia for the aforementioned subsidy.</p> <p>[19] ¶If anyone had appointed a debt that in truth he should receive from someone and might have granted it to the Holy Land in full or in part, that</p>
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grant and concession
which had been made,
should be queried and
ascertained how much is
owed to the Holy Land
and no grant and
concession should be
received in fraud or by
feigned means or
intention so that the one
appointing the gift might
be able to regain
something.

[fol. 168r . XXXII].]

[20] ¶Moreover, if it is
found that anyone left or
bequeathed any money or
other things to anyone or
some person, named or
not named, to go in the
subsidy of the Holy Land,
the executors of such a
one or such people are
required and warned to
come before the principal
executors for decision
with the money or the

[20] ¶Moreover, if it is
found that anyone
appointed or left any
money or other things to
one or some named or
unnamed people to go in
relief of the Holy Land it
should be queried and that
executors or custodians
[of the money] warned of
such a thing or of such
things of this kind
XXXX

	<p>thing that has been left or bequeathed, with three days assigned to them that they might appear at the New Temple, London.</p>	<p>[fol. 39v]</p> <p>in the treasury of the New Temple in London or in the custody of some good society of merchants under the condition that if the named person or persons to be name by sufficient and capable executors had been intending to go and provide relief [in the Holy Land] and give suitable security that they will go on the next passage, as above, and stay a legitimate time, they may freely have the money and those things; otherwise they will be placed at the disposal of the Roman Church for [relief] of the Holy Land.</p>
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**APPENDIX C: EDITION OF THE WRIT REGARDING THE
COURT SUIT BETWEEN ROGER LOVEDAY AND HIS STEP-
BROTHER RICHARD LOVEDAY, AL19/2, FOL. 174^v**

Note on the Edition

This appendix provides a full diplomatic transcription, which preserves the original capitalization and punctuation, of the writ of King Edward II to Archbishop Robert Winchelsey of Canterbury regarding the court suit between Richard and Roger Loveday. Contractions have all been expanded in square brackets and italics [*thus*]; abbreviation signs at the end of English place-names, however, have been denoted by an apostrophe, in accordance with traditional practice. The letter ‘j / j’ has been rendered as ‘i / i’. ‘U / u’ and ‘V / v’ have been standardized in accordance with modern orthography. These conventions have been adopted to give scholars and students as close a reading of the document as possible and to address errors in previous editions. Notation is provided on the variant readings in the printed edition.

Hereford, Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre, AL19/2, fol. 174^v.

¶Bre[*ve*]¹ ¶Edwardus [e*t*] ven[erabili] in Christo pat[er] R[oberto]² ead[em] gra[tia]³
 archiep[iscop]o Cant⁴ tot[ius] Angl' p[re]m[at]i sal[ut]e[m]. Cu[m] Rog[er]us Loueday
 nup[er] in cur[ia] d[omi]ni Edwardi quond[am] regis Angl' p[at]ris n[ost]ri,⁵ cora[m]
 Rob[er]to de Retford [e*t*] sociis suis Iustic[ariis] ejusd[em] p[at]ris n[ost]ri ad assi[s]as in
 com[itat]u Suff⁶ capiend[as] assignatis arrainasset qu[am]dam assi[s]am noue diss[is]ine
 vers[us] Ric[ardu]m Loueday et alios in breui originali contentos de ten[ement]o in
 Sproweton⁷ in com[itat]u p[re]dict[o],⁸ id[em] q[ue] Ric[ard]us in ead[em] cur[ia] venisset [e*t*]
 tanq[uam] tene[n]s p[re]d[i]c[t]o[r]um ten[ement]orum dixisset q[uo]d no[n] debuit
 p[re]d[i]c[t]o Rog[er]o inde respondere eo q[uo]d id[em] Rog[er]us h[ab]itum Religionis,
 videl[icet], ord[in]is milicie templi apud la Borner¹⁰ in dioc[esi] E[piscop]at[us] Linc¹¹
 p[re]s[ent]is assu[m]pserat [e*t*] in quo ordine p[re]fessus fuit, cui[us] loquele recordu[m] [e*t*]
 p[re]cessum, idem pater n[ost]er cora[m] eo c[er]tis de ca[us]is venire fecit. Et q[ui]a
 eiusd[em] c[aus]e cognitio¹² ad foru[m] spectat eccl[esi]asticu[m] id[em] pat[er]...<rest of
 the document not copied or cut out>.

¹ 'Breue' in the margin. The symbol next to it appears as a double 's'. The symbol appears again next to 'Edwardus' indicating its placement.

² *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'Ricardo'. The archbishop of Canterbury at this time was Robert Winchelsey (1294–1313).

³ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'gracia'.

⁴ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'Cantuariensi, etc.', omitting the ending of this greeting clause.

⁵ King Edward I (1272–1307).

⁶ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'Suffolcie'.

⁷ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'Sprowetone'.

⁸ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'predicte'.

⁹ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'predicte'.

¹⁰ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'Bornere'.

¹¹ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 468: 'Lincolniensis'.

¹² *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 469: 'congioc'.

Translation

I, Edward,¹³ send greetings to the venerable father in Christ Robert,¹⁴ by grace Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England. Roger Loveday recently brought a case to the assizes in the county of Suffolk, in the court of our late father, Lord Edward¹⁵ the king of England, before Robert of Retford¹⁶ and his fellow justiciars of that father concerning, in brief, a dispute that he had against Richard Loveday and others over the tenement in Sproughton in the same county. Richard came to that court and said that he held the rights of those tenements and so he did not have to respond to Roger, as Roger had previously assumed a religious habit and was confirmed into the order of the Knights Templar at Brewer in the diocese of the Bishop of Lincoln.¹⁷ Our father [Edward] had his speech recorded and brought before him to look into.

¹³ King Edward II (1307–1327).

¹⁴ Archbishop Robert Winchelsey of Canterbury (1295–1313).

¹⁵ King Edward I (1272–1307).

¹⁶ Robert Retford was a keeper of legal writs and rolls for court eyers from at least 1292, when he presided over the southern circuit. He presided over the eastern court circuit of England for the last decade of King Edward I's reign. Anthony Musson, *Public Order and Law Enforcement: The Local Administration of Criminal Justice, 1294–1350* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 88, 92.

¹⁷ Bishop John de Dalderby of Lincoln (1300–1320).

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1422 [Indulgence of forty days to those who visit Hereford and pray for Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, by the bishop of Carlisle, 1285]

1424 [Indulgence of forty days to those who visit Hereford and pray for Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, by the bishop of Rochester, 1286]

1425 [Indulgence of forty days to those who visit Hereford and pray for Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, by the bishop of Salisbury, 1289]

1426 [Indulgence of forty days to those who visit Hereford and pray for Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe by the bishop of Ossory, 1291]

1427 [Indulgence of forty days to those who visit Hereford and pray for Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, by the archbishop of Dublin, 1318]

1428 [Indulgence of forty days to those who visit Hereford and the tomb of the blessed Thomas the Confessor, by the bishop of Bath and Wells, 1320]

1429 [Indulgence of forty days to those who visit Hereford and the tomb of the blessed Thomas the Confessor, by the bishop of Salisbury, 1320]

1430 [Indulgence of forty days to those who visit Hereford and the tomb of the blessed Thomas the Confessor, by the bishop of Churchester, 1320]

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Beebe, Bruce, 'Edward I and the Crusades' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1971)

Clubley, Clifford, 'John Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, 1300–1320' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 1965)

Evans, Michael R., 'Crusade and Society in the English Midlands, c.1150–1307' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 1996)

Huscroft, Richard, 'The Political Career and Personal Life of Robert Burnell, Chancellor of Edward I' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Kings College in the University of London, 2000)

Gatti, Irina, 'The Relationship between the Knights Templars and the Kings of England. From the Order's Foundation to the Reign of Edward I' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Reading, 2005)

Gerrard, Daniel, M. G., 'The military activities of bishops, abbots and other clergy in England, c.900–1200' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2010)

Julian-Jones, Melissa, 'The land of the raven and the wolf: family power and strategy in the Welsh March, 1199–c.1300, Corbets and Cantilupes' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cardiff University, 2015)

Richardson, James, 'A Bishop and his Diocese: politics, government, and careers in Hereford and Winchester dioceses, 1282–1317' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2016)

Siedschlag, Beatrice, 'English Participation in the Crusades, 1150–1200' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bryn Mawr; privately printed Menasha: The Collegiate Press, 1939)

Silvestri, Angelo Mario, 'The Power of the Bishop in the Dioceses of Lincoln and Cremona (1067–1340): a study in comparative history' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cardiff University, 2012)

Spacey, Beth Catherine, 'Miracles and Marvels in Latin Narrative Histories of the Crusades, 1095–1204' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017)

Tudor, Victoria M., 'Reginald of Durham and St. Godric of Finchale: a study of a twelfth-century hagiographer and his subject' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Reading, 1979)

ADDITIONAL ITEMS

In accordance with the policy outlined in the Manchester Metropolitan University *PGR Student Handbook 2016–17*, p. 35 point k, I hereby include copies of relevant material published in advance of the examination of this thesis. Namely:

Ian L. Bass, “‘Articuli Inquisitionis de cruce signatis’: Late Thirteenth-Century Inquiry into English Crusaders’, *Crusades*, 17 (2019 for 2018), 171–94.