

The Function of Hospitaller houses
in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales

by

Christie Majoros

Doctor of Philosophy, Research
School of History, Archaeology and Religion

Cardiff University

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Abbreviations

- AOM* *Valetta, National Library of Malta, Archives of the Order of Malta*
- Cal. Inq. PM* *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol. 7, Edward III., ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, London: Mackie & Co., 1909.*
- Cal. Pat. Rolls* *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edw. I to Henry VI, 1272- 1477. ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1900.*
- Cart. gen.* *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310. 4 vols., ed. Joseph Delaville le Roulx., Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894- 1906.*
- CCR* *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edw. II to Richard II, 1313- 1392. ed., H.C. Maxwell Lyte., London: Her/ His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1896- 1922.*
- CDI* *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, Vols. 1 & 5., ed. H.S. Sweetman and Gustavus Frederick Handcock., London: Longman & Co., 1875- 1886.*
- CPR* *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Vols. 1 to 12., ed. W. H. Bliss and J.A. Tremlow., London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1893- 1933.*

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VCH

Victoria County History: Bedford, Berkshire, Buckingham, Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, Middlesex, and Norfolk., eds. J.S. Cockburn, P.H. Ditchfield, H. Arthur Doubleday, H.P.F. King, K.G.T. McDonnell, William Page, L. F. Salzman. London: Victoria County History, 1903-1969.

Introduction

From the medieval period, the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem was one of the longest-lived, wealthiest, and farthest reaching of the the crusading military orders, perhaps second in all these respects only to the shorter-lived Order of the Temple of Solomon. Granted official recognition by Pope Pascal II in 1113 with the bull commonly referred to by its incipit, *Pie postulatio voluntatis*, the Order of the Hospital expanded its original vocation of caring for the sick to include a martial function within the Holy Land during the course of the twelfth century.¹ In support of its various activities, the Order was given vast estates both in the East and in Western Europe from which it drew continual supplies of men, money, equipment, and foodstuffs. However, scholarly attention related to the military orders of the crusades has tended, for the most part, to focus on the campaigns and institutions within the Holy Land itself and also on the various other crusading arenas in the East and in Spain rather than on the more peaceful areas of Christendom and these estates of the military orders which are seen to

¹ As with the foundation of the Order, the exact story of its road to militarisation is also somewhat obscure but it is certain that by the 1140s the Hospitallers were clearly functioning in a military capacity and being given fortifications and territory to defend both in the East and in Spain and hiring mercenaries to fill their ranks.; For a more detailed discussion on the development of the military orders and the militarisation of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, see Alan Forey, 'The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century' in *Military Orders and Crusades* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 175-95; Also see Alan Forey, 'The Militarisation of the Hospital of St. John' in *Military Orders and Crusades* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 75-89.

have performed in a more peripheral, secondary role.² This work seeks to expand the current understanding of the activities, nature, and function of the military orders by providing a study on the estates of the Order of St John in Britain and Ireland, the regions physically farthest from the most active centre of traditional crusade activity.

Though unique in its concentration on the western Hospitaller houses as its centre of focus, this study draws from a vast body of literature from a number of fields of study, ranging from works on the crusades and the military orders, to those relating to the study of monastic communities and the medieval English rural economy. While general histories of the Hospitallers produced by Jonathan Riley-Smith, Helen Nicholson, Anthony Luttrell, and Alan Forey provide a good overview of the Order as an institution and condense centuries of far reaching and varied activity into a comprehensive picture, these studies centre largely on the origins and development of the Order and on its life and activities in the East and in the Mediterranean and hence lack the space for an in-depth focus on its western estates.³ This is not to say, however, that there is a lack of literature covering the history of the Order in Britain and Ireland.

² For additional background on the history of the Order of St John in the Holy Land, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Malta, see Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, chs. 2, 3, and 6.; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070- 1309* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).; Anthony Luttrell, ed. *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece, and the West 1291- 1440: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978).; Anthony Luttrell, ed. *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291- 1440* (London: Variorum, 1982).; Anthony Luttrell, ed. *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992).; Anthony Luttrell, ed. *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).; Anthony Luttrell, ed. *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306- 1462* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).; Edwin King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London: Methuen, 1931).; Studies of the Order's estates in the West include Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187- 1274* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).; B. Beaucage, ed., *Visites générales des commanderies de l'ordre des Hospitaliers dépendantes du Grand Prieuré de Saint-Gilles (1338)* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1982); *Enquête Pontificale de 1373 sur l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. Jean Glénisson, vol. 1, *L'Enquête dans le Prieuré de France*, ed. Anne-Marie Legras (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987); Anthony Luttrell, 'Les Exploitations Rurales des Hospitaliers en Italie en XIVe siècle', in Anthony T. Luttrell, ed., *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), article IX; R. Favreau, 'L'enquête pontificale de 1373 sur l'ordre de l'Hôpital dans le grand prieuré d'Aquitaine', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 164 (2006), 447–538; Mariarosaria Salerno and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, eds, *L'inchiesta pontificia del 1373 sugli Ospedalieri di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Bari: Adda Editore, 2008); Damien Carraz, 'Les enquêtes générales de la papauté sur l'ordre de l'Hôpital (1338 et 1373). Analyse comparée dans le prieuré de Provence', in Th. Pecout, ed., *Quand gouverner c'est enquêter. Les pratiques politiques de l'enquête princière (Occident, XIIIe-XIVe siècles), Actes du colloque international d'Aix-en-Provence et Marseille, 19–21 mars 2009* (Paris: De Boccard, 2010), pp. 508–31; Karl Borchardt, Damien Carraz and Alain Venturini, eds, *Comptes de la Commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2015).

³ See previous note; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St. John* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999).; Jonathan, Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050- 1310*. (London: MacMillan & Co., 1967).; Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1992).

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Many of the early studies of the Knights of St John in Britain and Ireland were produced by those seeking to draw some connection between the Order's medieval past and its nineteenth century counterpart, which was revived in a new form by Queen Victoria and which functioned largely as a charitable organisation dedicated to providing care for the sick and wounded.⁴ Colonel Sir Edwin King, for example, Bailiff Grand Cross and Chancellor of the new institution, wrote a history of the Order of St John in England in 1934.⁵ While the first part of this book dealt briefly with the history of the Hospitallers and their restoration in England the large majority of the rest of King's work concentrated on the role of the Order in the expansion of the British Empire and on its medical tradition in relation to the formation of the St John Ambulance and this service's contributions to the wartime effort.⁶ Similarly, Caesar Falkiner was motivated to write on the presence of the Hospitaller Order in Ireland in a piece written for the Royal Irish Academy in 1906 as an extension of his interest in the history surrounding the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham near Dublin which had been built on the site of the former Hospitaller preceptory there and which was seen, ideologically at least, to be continuing in the same charitable tradition.⁷ Both of these studies provide good information on the foundations of the Order in England and Ireland, with Falkiner's work on Kilmainham being of particular importance as one of only a small number of studies to focus solely on the Irish priory of the Order. However, these works' perception of continuity led them to assign a modern medical purpose to medieval foundations which did not function in this capacity.⁸

Nevertheless, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century also saw the production of many of the printed transcriptions relating to the estates and members of

⁴ For more on the Victorian revival of the Order of St John in England see Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Order of St John in England, 1827- 1858' in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 121- 138.; Elizabeth Siberry, 'Victorian Perceptions of the Military Orders' in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 365- 372.

⁵ Edwin King, *The Knights of St. John in the British Empire: Being an Official History of the British Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem* (London: St. John's Gate, 1934).

⁶ King, *The Knights of St. John*, 176- 205.

⁷ Caesar Litton Falkiner, 'The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 26 (1906/1907), 275- 317.

⁸ See discussion on hospitals and charity in chapter four.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* the Order in England and Wales that still continue to be used in current scholarship on the topic. In addition to his book on the foundations of the Order in England, King also produced an edition of the rules and statutes of the Hospitallers and also transcribed a fifteenth century letter from one of the English brethren, Hugh Middleton, then residing in Rhodes, to his agent in England.⁹ In 1857, the Reverend Lambert Larking and John Kemble produced a printed edition of the Report of Philip de Thame to Grand Master Héliion de Villeneuve, an inventory of all the Hospitallers' properties in England and Wales in 1338 ordered by Pope Benedict XII, including detailed information on the income and expenses of each community and information on the Templar properties the Hospitallers had been able to acquire by that date and those they anticipated being able to acquire in the future.¹⁰ Additionally, Charles McNeill's edition of Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 501, the register for Order's house at Kilmainham, the principal house of the Order in Ireland, was produced in 1932.¹¹ This study draws extensively on these two editions, with their detailed information on Hospitaller communities during the fourteenth century, as discussed more fully below.

More recent scholarship has seen a focus on the role of medical care, charity, and hospitality within the activities of the Order of St John. Malcolm Barber, Susan Edgington, Benjamin Kedar, Anthony Luttrell, Timothy Miller, Helen Nicholson, Denys Pringle, Ralph Pugh, Christopher Toll, and Ann Williams have all made contributions to the body of work dealing with the role of the Knights of St John as providers of medical

⁹ Edwin King, ed., *The Rule Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099- 1310: With Introductory Chapters and Notes* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1934).; Edwin King, ed., *A Letter from Brother Hugh Middleton, Knight of the Order of St. John and Turcopolier of Rhodes, to his agent in England, written about 1448.* (London: St. John's Gate, 1930).

¹⁰ Lambert Larking and John Kemble, eds., *The Knights Hospitallers in England: Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338.* (London: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1857) For background to the production of the 1338 reports see Carraz, 'Les enquêtes générales'.; Though no editions of the Report of 1338 have been produced since Larking and Kemble's publication in 1857, theirs remains an accurate transcription and has been compared with a copy of the original manuscript held at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library at St Johns Abbey and University in Colledgeville, Minnesota, United States.

¹¹ Charles McNeill, ed. *Registrum de Kilmainham: Register of Chapter Acts of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in Ireland, 1326- 1339, under the Grand Prior, Sir Roger Outlawe: With Additions for the Times of his Successors, Sir John Mareschall, Sir John Larcher and Sir John Fitzrichard, Grand Priors of Ireland.* (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1932).

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* care, food, shelter, and burial services.¹² Susan Edgington’s, Benjamin Kedar’s, and Denys Pringle’s works centre specifically on the administration and maintenance of the Order’s original Hospital of St John in Jerusalem, while Anthony Luttrell, Timothy Miller, and Christopher Toll discuss hospitals in other locations, such as Constantinople and western Europe, and investigate the degrees and directions of influence between medical traditions in the various places in which the Hospitaller Order operated. Pugh’s article is the only work to centre solely on the activities of the Order in England though he concentrates not on hospitals or medical care but rather on the burial of the dead, a charitable service particular to the Hospitallers in England. Though the existing scholarship on the medical traditions of the Order of St John largely neglects the western European estates, there are many studies on hospitals, charity, and hospitality in medieval Britain and Ireland.

Peregrine Horden and Guenter Risse have both produced works on the development of the hospital as an institution through the Middle Ages and Martha Carlin, Nicholas Orme, Margaret Webster, and Shiela Sweetinburgh have all written on the medieval English hospital while Gerard Lee focused on leper hospitals in medieval Ireland.¹³ Julie Kerr’s and Barbara Harvey’s works on Benedictine and Cistercian

¹² Malcolm Barber, ‘The charitable and medical activities of the Hospitallers and Templars,’ in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. Gillian Evans (London: Cassell, 2000), 148- 68.; Susan Edgington, ‘Medical Care in the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 27- 33.; Benjamin Kedar, ‘A Twelfth-Century description of the Jerusalem Hospital,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 3- 26.; Anthony Luttrell, ‘The Hospitallers’ Medical Tradition: 1291- 1530,” in *Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum/ Ashgate, 1994), 64- 81.; Timothy Miller, ‘The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West,’ in *Speculum* 53 (1978), 709- 33.; Helen Nicholson, ‘Charity and hospitality in the military orders,’ in *As Ordens Militares: Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros: Actas do VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares: 10 a 14 de Março de 2010*, vol. 1, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes (Pamela: Municipio de Pamela, 2012), 193- 206.; Denys Pringle, ‘The Layout of the Jerusalem Hospital in the Twelfth Century: Further Thoughts and Suggestions,’ in *The Military Orders, Vol. 4: On Land and By Sea*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 91- 110.; Ralph B. Pugh, ‘The Knights Hospitallers of England as Undertakers,’ in *Speculum*, Vol. 56 No. 3 (1981), 566- 574.; Christopher Toll, ‘Arabic Medicine and Hospitals in the Middle Ages: a Probable Model for the Military Orders’ Care of the Sick,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 35-41.; Ann Williams, ‘*Xenodochium* to Sacred Infirmary: the Changing Role of the Hospital of the Order of St John, 1522- 1631’ in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum/ Ashgate, 1994), 97- 102.

¹³ Peregrine Horden, *Hospitals and Healing from Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2008).; Guenter B Risse, *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).; Martha Carlin, ‘Medieval English Hospitals,’ in *The Hospital in History*, ed. Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1989).; Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital, 1070- 1570* (London: Yale University Press, 1995).; Shiela Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).; Gerard A. Lee, *Leper Hospitals in Medieval Ireland with a Short Account of the Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1996).

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* hospitality provide useful points of comparison on monastic communities as centres of care for the sick and the poor outside of the institution of the hospital and Myra Bom and Lynn T. Courtenay discuss the ideological and religious importance of works of charity and mercy to these communities in the Middle Ages.¹⁴ Further highlighting the importance and practice of hospitality outside of England are the works of Llinos Beverley Smith and Catherine O’Sullivan who wrote on hospitality in Wales and Ireland respectively.¹⁵ While not focusing solely on the Order of St John, Orme and Webster’s and Lee’s works do discuss the possibility of Hospitaller medical care in medieval England and Ireland and attempt to identify potential locations where the Order may have maintained hospitals. Curiously, the Knights of St John are largely absent from the majority of the literature on hospitality offered by medieval religious communities, possibly due to the perception on the part of scholars that outside of the Order’s central convent, the brethren and their houses were more secular in nature.¹⁶

Aside from their hospitaller duties, the Order of St John’s equally famous military role in the East has, of course, received a considerable amount of attention and this is also a topic that has been discussed in relation to Britain and Ireland; the main question being the degree to which members of the Order were involved in various campaigns in this area of the world during the Middle Ages. This question forms the basis for several of Helen Nicholson’s articles on warfare on the borders of England and in Ireland and also for Simon Phillips’ work on the English Priors of the Hospital in

¹⁴ Julie Kerr, ‘Cistercian Hospitality in the Later Middle Ages,’ in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages* 35, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 25- 39.; Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c. 1070- c.1250* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).; Julie Kerr, ‘The Open Door: Hospitality and Honour in Twelfth/ Early-Thirteenth Century England,’ in *History* 87 (2002), 322- 335.; Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).; Myra Bom, ‘The Hospital of St John, the Bedroom of *Caritas*,’ in *The Military Orders, Vol. 4: On Land and By Sea*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 85- 89.; Lynn T. Courtenay, ‘The Hospital of Notre Dame des Fontenilles at Tonnerre: Medicine as *Misericordia*,’ in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. Barbara S. Bowers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 77- 106.

¹⁵ Llinos Beverley Smith, ‘On the Hospitality of the Welsh: A Comparative View,’ in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. Huw Pryce and John Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 181- 194.; Catherine Marie O’ Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland, 900-1500* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

¹⁶ See discussion on the religious versus secular nature of the brothers in chapter three.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* later Middle Ages.¹⁷ The role of the Order in Britain and Ireland in relation to the English Crown, the Papacy, and the Hospitallers’ administrative centre in the East also features largely in Gregory O’Malley’s book on the history of the English province or *Langue* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁸ Though Nicholson and Phillips both discuss the settlement of the Order in the various regions of Britain and Ireland, O’Malley’s book is the only recent work to include substantial information on the Hospitallers in Scotland. In 1903, George Thomas Beatson produced a short work on the Order of St John in Scotland, although he arguably had much more to say about the eastern origins of the Order than he did about the principal Scottish preceptory at Torphichen.¹⁹ Charles Tipton discussed the Scottish branch of the Order in his 1966 article on the Great Schism, highlighting to some degree its independence from the houses in Ireland and the rest of Britain, which he also discussed in like manner in a separate article on the Irish Hospitallers during the Schism.²⁰ John Edwards’s article from 1911 as well as the study on the Knights produced by Ian Cowan, P.H.R. Mackay, and Alan Macquarrie in 1983 comprise the only works to deal with the Scottish properties of the Order exclusively, with Cowan, Mackay, and Macquarrie’s work also including transcriptions of materials relating to the Order in Scotland taken from the national archives in Edinburgh and from the remains of the now lost register of the

¹⁷ Helen Nicholson, ‘The Hospitallers’ and Templars’ involvement in warfare on the frontiers of the British Isles in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries,’ in *Ordines Militares Colloquia Tortunensia Historica* XVII, ed. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Toruń: Nicolaus Copernicus University Press, 2012), 105- 119.; Helen Nicholson, ‘The Knights Hospitaller on the Frontiers of the British Isles,’ in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 47- 57.; Helen Nicholson, ‘The Military Orders in Wales and the Welsh March in the Middle Ages,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power*, ed. Peter Edbury (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 189- 207.; Simon Phillips, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009).; Simon Phillips, ‘Walking a Thin Line: Hospitaller Priors, Politics and Power in Late Medieval England,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power*, ed. Peter Edbury, 219- 229.

¹⁸ Gregory O’Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460- 1565* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).; *Langues* or ‘tongues’ were regionally (or rather, linguistically) similar groupings of brethren.; See also Webster, Paul Webster, ‘The Military Orders at the Court of King John.’ In *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power*, edited by Peter Edbury, 209- 218. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012., for more on the military orders and English politics.

¹⁹ George Thomas Beatson, *The Knights Hospitaller in Scotland and their Priory at Torphichen*. (Glasgow: J. Hedderwick and Sons, 1903).

²⁰ Charles L. Tipton, ‘The English and Scottish Hospitallers during the Great Schism,’ in *The Catholic Historical Review* 52. No. 2 (1966), 240- 5.; Charles L. Tipton, ‘The Irish Hospitallers during the Great Schism,’ in the *Proceedings of the Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 69 (1970), 33- 43.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* preceptory of Torphichen.²¹ Like O'Malley's work, these studies concentrate largely on the later existence of the Order in Scotland and primarily on the relationship between the Scottish brethren and the English priory. This is due in large part to the lack of remaining records pertaining to earlier periods, however the materials transcribed by Cowan, Mackay and Macquarrie have not previously been incorporated in to any sort of in-depth study of the Order's properties themselves or their relation to the local communities in which they existed, a point which will be addressed in this study.

Works dealing exclusively with the history of the Order of St John in Wales have been even more scarce than those which discuss Scotland, perhaps due in large part to the inclusion of the Welsh properties within the English Priory. To date, William Rees' 1947 book, *A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem: In Wales and the Welsh Border; Including an Account of the Templars*, remains the most extensive study of the Hospitaller Order in Wales although Helen Nicholson has also discussed the properties of the Order in her article, 'The Military Orders in Wales and the Welsh March in the Middle Ages,' and Kathryn Hurlock's recent work, *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095-1291* also analyses the settlement of the Order in Wales in relation to broader interest and support for crusading activity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²² The body of scholarship relating to the Order in Ireland was also previously small with short articles produced by Charles McNeill and Lennox Barrow relating mainly to the preceptory at Kilmainham and works by Pierce Synnott and Niall Byrne discussing the Order's possible involvement in the twelfth century Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland.²³ However, the properties and communities of the brethren in Ireland have received more recent attention with Eithne Massey's work on corrodies at Kilmainham and the role

²¹ John Edwards, 'The Hospitallers in Scotland in the Fifteenth Century,' in *The Scottish Historical Review* 9, no. 33 (1911), 52- 68.; Ian B. Cowan, PH.R. Mackay, and Alan Macquarrie, eds. *The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Clark Constable, Ltd., 1983).

²² William Rees, *A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem: In Wales and the Welsh Border; Including an Account of the Templars* (Cardiff: Western Mail and Echo Ltd., 1947).; Helen Nicholson, 'The Military Orders in Wales and the Welsh March in the Middle Ages,' in *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power*, ed. Peter Edbury (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 189- 207.; Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095- 1291* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).

²³ Charles McNeill, 'The Hospitallers of Kilmainham and their Guests,' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 14, no.1 (1924), 15- 30.; Lennox Barrow, 'The Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham,' in *The Dublin Historical Record* 38, no. 3 (1985), 108- 112.; Pierce Nicholas Netterville Synnott, *Knights Hospitallers in Ireland.*, 1980. (National Library of Ireland 4A 1990).; Niall Byrne, *The Irish Crusade: A History of the Knights Hospitaller, the Knights Templar, and the Knights of Malta, in the South-East of Ireland* (Dublin: Linden Publishing, 2008).

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* which Roger Outlawe, the prior of Ireland in the mid-fourteenth century, played within the wider secular community.²⁴ Additionally, the publication of the proceedings from a recent conference at Glenstal Abbey on the military orders in Ireland, *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar in Medieval Ireland*, contains a number of works on the Hospitallers’ properties and activities from historians such as Helen Nicholson, Gregory O’Malley, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, Brendan Scott, and Paolo Virtuani and archaeologists Eamonn Cotter and Paul Caffrey.²⁵

Initially undertaken as a project searching primarily for evidence of the Order’s most famous hospitaller and martial roles within Britain and Ireland, this study has been broadened and now also discusses the estates of the Hospitallers in this area of the world both as a case study which demonstrates how this branch functioned within the international network of the wider Order and how these numerous and scattered western properties might be incorporated into a wider understanding of the varied and flexible nature of the military orders specifically and medieval religious communities generally. To date, there have been two studies undertaken which deal exclusively with the economy of the properties of the Order of St John in England. Michael Gervers, writing on properties in the county of Essex, and Nicole Hamonic, who dealt with London and Middlesex in her doctoral dissertation, both drew their information from what is sometimes called the ‘Great’ Hospitaller Cartulary compiled in 1442, British Library

²⁴ Eithne Massey, *Prior Roger Outlaw of Kilmainham, 1314- 1341* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000).

²⁵ Helen Nicholson, ‘A long way from Jerusalem: the Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland, c. 1172-1348,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 1- 22.; Gregory O’Malley, ‘Authority and autonomy: relations between Clerkenwell, Kilmainham and the Hospitaller central convent after the Black Death,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 23- 45.; Colmán Ó Clabaigh, ‘Prayer, politics and poetry: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 405 and the Templars and Hospitallers at Kilbarry, Co. Waterford,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 206- 217.; Brendan Scott, ‘The Knights Hospitaller in Tudor Ireland: their dissolution and attempted revival,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 47- 60.; Paolo Virtuani, ‘Unforgivable trespass: the Irish Hospitallers and the defence of their rights in the mid-thirteenth century,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 195- 205.; Eamonn Cotter, ‘The archaeology of the Irish Hospitaller preceptories of Mourneabbey and Hospital in context,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 103- 123.; Paul Caffrey, ‘The visual culture of the Hospitaller Knights of the Priory of Ireland,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 151- 166.

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Cotton MS Nero E vi.²⁶ This manuscript comprises a collection of deeds and confirmations concerning the property of the Hospitallers from the twelfth to the fifteenth century and is related to John Stillingflete’s list of patrons and properties of the Hospital of St John in England and Scotland, compiled in 1434.²⁷ The entries in the 1442 Cartulary relating to properties in the county of Kent were also transcribed and produced in published form by Charles Cotton in 1930.²⁸ Additionally, there is a vast amount of primary source material dealing with the estates of the Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland, though material relating to their earlier history from the twelfth to the fourteenth century is difficult to find for England and Wales and even more scarce for Scotland and Ireland. The two greatest sources of information for the estates of the Order during the fourteenth century are the 1338 Report of Philip de Thame and the register for the house at Kilmainham, mentioned above, both of which exist in reliable printed form. Additionally, there are surviving cartularies from the houses of Godsfield and Baddesley in Hampshire, Minchin Buckland in Somerset, and the Welsh preceptory at Slebech.²⁹ Rentals concerning the Order’s properties in the sixteenth century can also be found in the British Library, BL Cotton Claudius E vi, and at the Hereford Archive and Records Centre, A63/III/23/1.³⁰ There is also material relating to the Order of St John in the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh, the National Library of Ireland

²⁶ Michael Gervers, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: Secunda Camera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).; Michael Gervers, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Part 2: Prima Camera, Essex* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).; Nicole Hamonic, 'The Order of St John of Jerusalem in London, Middlesex, and Surrey, c.1128–c.1442: A Social and Economic Study Based on The Hospitaller Cartulary, British Library Cotton MS Nero E vi', unpublished PhD thesis (Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 2012).

²⁷ John Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', in William Dugdale, ed., *Monasticon Anglicanum: a History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales.*, new edition ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis and Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1817- 1830), vol. 6.2, pp. 831–39; Gregory O'Malley has suggested that Stillingflete may have been involved in compiling the English Hospitallers' 1442 cartulary: Gregory O'Malley, 'John Stillingfleet', in *Prier et Combattre: Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Age*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Philippe Josserand (Paris: Fayard, 2009), 508.

²⁸ Charles Cotton, *A Kentish Cartulary of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem* (Ashford: Headley Brothers, 1930).

²⁹ Godsfield and Baddesley: British Library Harley MS 6603, in published form, Felicity Beard, ed. *The Knights Hospitallers in Medieval Hampshire: A Calendar of the Godsfield and Baddesley Cartulary* (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 2012).; Buckland: Somerset Heritage Centre DD\SAS\C/795/SX/133, in published form, Frederic William Weaver, ed. *A Cartulary of Buckland Priory in the County of Somerset, 1152- 1423* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1909); Slebech: Cardiff Central Library MS 4.83.

³⁰ British Library Cotton MS Claudius E vi.; Hereford Archive and Records Centre A 63/III/23/1: 1505 Rental for Dinmore and Garway. These documents fall outside the period that is the main focus this study and hence will not be included in this work.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* in Dublin, and in the Order’s archives in the National Library of Malta in Valletta. Additionally, there is an abundance of material relating to the Hospitaller Order in Britain and Ireland in papal correspondence and the records of the medieval English state papers: the Court and Patent Rolls, the records of the Exchequer, and the *Inquisitions Post Mortem*.

As the majority of recent scholarship, such as the studies produced by Phillips and O’Malley, has tended to focus on the latter history of the Knights of St John in Britain and Ireland, namely the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this study seeks to fill the gap by concentrating largely on the period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. While information on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is less abundant, information relating to this period has been taken and used here from the Godsfield and Baddesley Cartulary and from the 1442 Hospitaller Cartulary. The bulk of this study focuses on on the fourteenth century and specifically on the information contained in the 1338 inventory compiled by agents of the Order itself, a valuable tool not only for the pinpointing of properties, incomes, expenses and rights, but also in the exploration of the maintenance and administration of the Hospitallers’ wide-spread estates.³¹ Though not the central focus of this study, material drawn from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will also be used here to discuss the change in the consolidation and management of properties over time and in an evaluation of the varying fortunes of the English Langue over time, particularly with respect to its ability to pay its annual *responcion* dues to the central convent of the Order.

The division of the chapters in this work relates to the the various questions asked by this thesis and the areas of study to which it hopes to contribute; namely, what is the English Langue; where did it settle; how did it maintain its administration; what purpose did it serve to the wider Order and to the communities in which it lived; and how do these activities add to the wider understanding of the varied nature of the many branches of the Hospitaller Order specifically and religious communities generally? Chapter One deals with the nature of the English Langue of the Order, its foundation and growth, its patterns of settlement, and the interrelation and degree of cohesion

³¹ See chapter two for a discussion on the Report of 1338.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* between its houses in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The hierarchy and relationship between the various types of property owned by the Hospitallers, the preceptories, *camerae* and *membra*, are also discussed in this chapter, to provide a clear picture of the different components of the English Langue and to measure how reasonably they may or may not be discussed as a whole. The second chapter of this work evaluates the function of the European priories as producers of revenue for the benefit of the Central Convent of the Hospitaller Order and highlights the various events which contributed to the varying financial stability of the English Langue from the twelfth through the sixteenth century, arguing that it was not unique in the difficulties that it encountered nor in the measures that it took to stabilise itself. The Report of 1338 is also discussed in this section in relation to the ways in which it reflects the Langue's activities at a point of recovery from financial crisis and how it might be used to better understand provincial Hospitaller administration.

The thesis will then consider other functions of the Orders' houses in Britain and Ireland. Care for both the body and the soul are investigated in chapters three and four with consideration also given to the nature and numbers of the Hospitaller brothers and sisters and the degree to which religious communities were maintained in Britain and Ireland throughout the Order's existence there. These chapters argue that though the English Langue lacked both hospitals and large conventual communities, there are other ways by which evidence for pious and charitable concerns might be measured; namely in the Order's maintenance of parish churches and in its provision of hospitality and alms. Acknowledging the Order's largely unexplored role as a major landowner in Britain and Ireland, the last chapter of this work discusses the economy of its properties and its role as rural landlord. The unifying argument of these three chapters, and indeed, the entire thesis, is that though the English Langue operated far from the Hospitallers' centre of administration and engaged in different activities, it is still very much representative of the many forms to which the Order adapted in the regions it settled and hence is worthy of attention. It will be argued here that while one of the primary functions of the properties of the English Langue was to provide financial support for the Order in the East, another equally important function was to sustain itself in Britain and Ireland. In this respect, the Order of St John managed itself in much the same way as many of its monastic counterparts, as will be discussed throughout this work.

Chapter One: Foundation and Composition

The Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem grew out of the foundations of an Amalfitan hospice in Jerusalem which was established before the taking of the city by the crusaders in 1099, and is thought to have had some connection with the nearby Benedictine house of St Mary of the Latins.³² After the success of the First Crusade, the hospice was placed within the hierarchy of the newly established crusader state, headed by the Latin patriarch, subject to the control of the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the care of a man named Gerard, who was to come to be regarded as the founder of the Order of St John.³³ The twelfth century saw the expansion of crusader institutions in the Holy Land and the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem experienced a period of intense and rapid growth both in size and function, coming to perform in a military capacity by the 1130s as well as continuing to perform its established hospitaller role.³⁴ To accommodate this growth and ensure a sustained supply of money and men, the Order was granted an abundance of properties both in the East and in Western Europe. In turn, these newly-acquired properties required an administrative structure which was achieved through the organisation of the western Hospitaller possessions into the *langues* of Provence, Auvergne, France, Spain, Italy, England and Germany.³⁵ Initially subject to the priory of Saint-Gilles, the English Langue was centred in London at the preceptory of Clerkenwell and as an administrative unit,

³² Anthony Luttrell, 'The Earliest Hospitallers' in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolph Hiestand (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 37- 9.

³³ *Ibid.*, 39- 40.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁵ The division of the Order into Langues must have happened before the chapter general at Montpellier in 1339, for a more full discussion on this, see Charles Tipton, 'The 1330 Chapter General of the Knights Hospitallers at Montpellier,' in *Traditio* 24 (1968), 294-6.; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 73; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070- 1309*, 129.; Edwin King, *The Knights of St. John in the British Empire: Being an Official History of the British Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, 50.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* included properties in Wales and Scotland and the priory of Ireland.³⁶ This chapter will survey how the Order of the Hospital acquired property in Britain and Ireland, consider the motivations behind these grants and then discuss how the Hospitallers' property was organised, arguing that the status of the individual properties within the Order may have reflected their function. The relationship between the different sections of the English Language will also be discussed here, highlighting the independence of the priories of Ireland and Scotland as important to the understanding of variation in the Order's settlement throughout western Europe. In Britain and Ireland, the wide geographical distribution of the Hospitallers' houses, their administrative organisation and the relatively small number of brothers would dictate their functions, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

Britain

The Hospitallers first established themselves in England at least by 1128 when they were given a mill in Northamptonshire and, shortly after this, eighty acres of land in Essex.³⁷ The settlement of what was to become the headquarters of the English Language at Clerkenwell grew out of a small endowment of land given by Jordan de Bricet, a Norman knight, and his wife Muriel in 1144. The original donation to the Hospitallers appears to have been part of a larger, pious gift by de Bricet of fifteen acres, all dispensed via a chaplain named Robert who granted only one of these acres to the Order of St John in lieu of *13d.* he had promised them in yearly alms, while the other fourteen went towards the foundation of the Augustinian nunnery of St Mary, also at Clerkenwell.³⁸ This single acre, however, would not have been enough land to support the sizeable establishment which the priory was to become, and it is likely that

³⁶ Michael Gervers, 'Donations to the Hospitallers in England in the Wake of the Second Crusade,' *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1991), 155–61.; Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, 78.; This identification of Scotland and Ireland within the Language of England is technically correct but practically problematic as the Irish priory was, for all intents and purposes, independently recognised as a separate but connected body and Scotland, though not afforded an official independence, operated largely beyond the control of Clerkenwell from at least the mid-fourteenth century.

³⁷ Gervers, *Donations*, 155.; *Cart. gen.*, i, no. 337; Gervers also argues that it is possible that other early grants were made to the Hospitallers in England and administered by the Priory of Saint-Gilles and that these small initial donations may have even been solicited by the Order itself., Michael Gervers, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: Secunda Camera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), xxxv- xxxvii.

³⁸ Barney Sloane and Gordon Malcolm, *Excavations at the priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, London* (London: Lavenham Press, 2004), 24-5; *VCH Middlesex*, i, 196.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* the Order was given additional land by de Bricet, again through Robert the chaplain, in the years immediately following the original grant of 1144, though the circumstances by which this came about are less than clear. The Great Hospitaller Cartulary of 1442 (BL Cotton MS Nero E vi) states that in 1100 a gift of ten acres was given to the Order by de Bricet who had purchased it from the nuns of St Mary's but of course, such a transaction would pre-date the original foundations of both St Mary's and the Hospitallers' own priory and hence this is unlikely to be true.³⁹ There was, however, a dispute between the brethren of Clerkenwell and the nuns of St Mary's in 1148 over ten acres of land in Clerkenwell and though de Bricet ultimately found for St Mary's, he granted the Hospitallers an additional five acres of land as consolation. By 1148 then, the Order possessed at least six acres in Clerkenwell to which the de Bricet family would, in 1180, add another parcel of land with a garden in Turnmill Street, near the River Fleet.⁴⁰

Barney Sloane and Gordon Malcolm have suggested that the foundation at Clerkenwell may represent an intentional effort on the part of the Order to establish a centre of administration within England so as to pass responsibility for the growing number of English properties from Saint-Gilles to England itself, or that perhaps the chaplain connected to the de Bricet family, Robert, may have even been associated with the Order somehow.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the English properties of the Order remained subject to the priory of Saint-Gilles until at least 1196 and there is no firm evidence either of Robert's connection with the Order or that Clerkenwell was founded with the intention to provide a headquarters for the English priory.⁴² From these modest foundations though, the house at Clerkenwell continued to grow both through additional grants and through active acquisition on the part of the Order itself and by the close of the twelfth century the preceptory at Clerkenwell had grown to incorporate a church, living quarters for the prior and the brethren, rooms to accommodate visitors, a kitchen,

³⁹ Sloane and Malcolm, 25.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 25; W. O. Hassali, *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1949), 205.; King, *Knights of St. John*, 10.

⁴¹ Sloane and Malcolm, 191- 192.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 27; For more information on the administration of English properties through the priory of Saint-Gilles see K. V. Sinclair, ed., *Hospitaller Rule: Miracular et Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984), xlvii.

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a granary, possibly a hospice or an infirmary with gardens and pasture and fields for
agriculture extending beyond the walls.⁴³

In addition to its settlement at Clerkenwell, the Order of St John also established preceptories in most of the counties of England, with the bulk of acquisitions being made in the twelfth century while a handful of preceptories were also established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The 1140s saw the foundation of Mount St John in Yorkshire, Quenington in Gloucestershire, and Shingay in Cambridgeshire; the 1150s, Battsford in Suffolk, Dingley in Hampshire, Maltby in Lincolnshire, Ossington in Nottinghamshire, and Standon in Hertfordshire.⁴⁴ Godsfield in Hampshire was the only preceptory founded in the 1160s but Melchbourne, the preceptory which was to host chapter meetings until they moved to Clerkenwell in 1339, was established in the 1170s.⁴⁵ The 1180s saw by far the greatest amount of acquisitions for the Hospitallers with foundations at Buckland in Somerset, Carbrooke in Norfolk, Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, Greenham in Berkshire, Hogshaw in Buckinghamshire, Maplestead in Essex, Swingfield in Kent, and Yeaveley in Derbyshire.⁴⁶ Rounding out the last decade of the century were the preceptories of Newland in Yorkshire, Poling in Sussex, and Trebeigh in Cornwall.⁴⁷ There were nine more preceptories established in the thirteenth century: Ansty in Wiltshire, Beverley in Yorkshire, Bodmiscombe in Devon, Clansfield in Oxfordshire, Dalby in Leicestershire, Fryer Mayne in Dorset, Skirbeck in Lincolnshire, Sutton-at-Hone in Kent, and Hardwick in Bedfordshire.⁴⁸ The foundation date for the preceptory of Grafton in Warwickshire is uncertain and only two other houses were established in the fourteenth century, Baddesley in Hampshire and Chibburn in Northumberland.⁴⁹ While the Order seems to have spread fairly evenly across the counties of England, the greatest concentration of preceptories was in

⁴³ Sloane and Malcolm, 27- 40.

⁴⁴ Knowles, David and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953), 300- 1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 300.; Sloane and Malcolm, 205.

⁴⁶ Knowles and Hadcock, 300- 1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*; The preceptory of Grafton is not included in the list of Hospitallers properties compiled by Knowles and Hadcock but it appears in the Report of 1338., Larking and Kemble, 41- 2.

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Hampshire and Yorkshire with three houses each. In contrast, the Order held minimal property in the northwest of England, with no large houses ever having been established in Lancashire.⁵⁰ This is also true for the Durham as well, possibly due to the presence there of the powerful bishops of Durham who did not want this privileged religious order to threaten episcopal incomes through the acquisition of land in that county.

While the Templars had gained an early foothold in Scotland due to the recruitment campaign there by Grand Master Hugh de Payns in 1128, the early history of the Order of the Hospital in that country is less clear. The Hospitallers' main house of Torphichen in West Lothian may have been granted to them during the reign of David I (r. 1124- 1153).⁵¹ Other small concessions were added to this gift during the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries including a toft in all of the burghs of Malcolm IV, saltworks at Callander in Perthshire, and lands in Lanark, Newton Mearns and Kinnear.⁵² Before the start of the first of the wars for Scottish independence in 1296, Torphichen maintained its annual responson payments and deferred to the Prior of England at Clerkenwell but after this date operated largely independently from the control of the Priory of England. Nevertheless, the Order's properties in Scotland were reconfirmed by Robert I in 1314 and the house at Torphichen was to eventually absorb the Templar properties of Balantradoch, Thankerton, Denny, Kirkliston, and Maryculter, bringing the number of the Hospitallers' holdings in Scotland up to six.⁵³

The earliest roots of the Order of St John in Wales were laid before the foundation of Clerkenwell in 1144, and although there were eventually to be four large houses in Wales and the Marches, initial donations to the Hospitallers there were small

⁵⁰ The Report of 1338 lists two *camerae* in Lancashire, Woolton and Saint Saviour, also called 'Le Stede.', Larking and Kemble, 111.

⁵¹ This assumption is based on the authority of John Stillingflete, a brother of the Order in 1434, and is contained in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, new edition ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis and Bulkeley Bandinel, vol. 6.2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819), 838; Ian Cowan and David Easson. *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland: With an Appendix on the Houses in the Isle of Man* (London: Longmans Green, 1957), 133; Cowan, et al. *Knights of St. John*, xxvi.; A toft is a farm.

⁵² Cowan, et al., *Knights of St. John*, xxvii.

⁵³ Cowan, Ian and David Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland: With an Appendix on the Houses in the Isle of Man*. (London: Longmans Green, 1957), 133.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* and revolved primarily around the rights to a number of parish churches.⁵⁴ Though an exact date for the arrival of the Hospitallers in Wales can only be speculative, William Rees has pointed to the concession of Wilfred, the Bishop of St David’s before his death in 1115, to the Knights of the right to remove chaplains or clerks in its churches as evidence that the Order must at least have been in the diocese of St David’s not long after its official papal recognition in 1113.⁵⁵ As Helen Nicholson has pointed out however, it is not impossible but rather unlikely that the Hospitallers would have been receiving property in Wales so soon after Pope Paschall II’s recognition when the earliest English foundations were not granted for at least another decade, making it more probable that the Order arrived in Wales in the 1130s or 1140s.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the house of Slebech in Pembrokeshire stemmed from a donation of land originally given to the Abbey of Gloucester but which was revoked and re-gifted to the Hospitallers not, as Rees is careful to point out, by the Flemish settler Wizo, as is sometimes maintained, but most likely his son or grandson, pushing the foundations at Slebech to the period between 1161 to 1176.⁵⁷ The only other Welsh house of the Order to be situated in Wales instead of in the Marches was Ysbytty Ffan in northern Wales, which was granted to the order by Ifan ap Rhys of Trebys sometime before 1205.⁵⁸ Halston in Shropshire was founded between 1165 and 1187 and Dinmore in Herefordshire is thought to have come to the Hospitallers towards the end of the reign of Henry II (1154- 89).⁵⁹

Ireland

In 1174, with the conquest of southern Ireland in hand, Richard de Clare, the Earl of Striguil, also known as Strongbow, started parcelling out the spoils of war.

⁵⁴ For additional information on the earliest donations to the Order in Wales see William Rees, *A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales*, 25- 28.; Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, 135-138.

⁵⁵ Rees, 25.

⁵⁶ Rees’ assumption of an arrival date of 1115 was based on a confirmation from 1230 by the Bishop of St David’s, to the Hospitallers which mentioned the extension of concessions to the Order made by his predecessors, one of which was Wilifrid, who, for the above stated reasons, was probably not referring to the Hospital of St John.; See Helen Nicholson, ‘The Knights Hospitaller’, in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 147–61.

⁵⁷ Rees, 27-8.

⁵⁸ Hurlock, 139.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 140; Rees, 40.; For more on the Welsh houses of the Order, see Helen Nicholson, ‘The Military Orders in Wales and the Welsh March in the Middle Ages,’ 189- 207.

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Amongst the beneficiaries of de Clare's largess were the Knights of St John of Jerusalem who were given land at Kilmainham just to the west of Dublin.⁶⁰ As the original charter for this gift no longer exists, the reasons for this grant remain unknown and the source of some speculation. Certainly by 1169, the Order of St John was gaining a foothold in Wales and on the Welsh border where the conquerors of Ireland had come from, and many of these Cambro-Norman families already had established ties to various crusading ventures. Richard de Clare's father, for example, had made grants to both the Hospitallers and the Templars and in this light de Clare's own donation might then be seen a continuation of his family's support of religious houses in general and the military orders specifically.⁶¹ As the Knights belonged to an active military order, one might also assume that they may have fought in Ireland, and were perhaps even promised land for their anticipated support *before* the initial landings. This assumption has been lent credence by the *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, or, as it is now more correctly called, *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland*, an Anglo-Norman chronicle of the invasion written in the early thirteenth century which lists Maurice de Prendergast as a participant in the Norman conquest of Ireland: Maurice de Prendergast is thought to have been the Prior of Kilmainham from 1202- 1210.⁶² The author of this chronicle has de Prendergast landing in the first wave of Normans at Bannow Bay in 1169 where he helped Diarmait Mac Murrough, the deposed king of Leinster take Wexford.⁶³ The following years in the chronicle are marked by additional territorial gain and the arrival of the English king, Henry II, eager to assert his dominance over de Clare and claim part of Ireland for the Crown. In 1174, however, Maurice de Prendergast shows up in the chronicle again, this time in a list of grants made to de Clare's supporters. It reads as follows:

*The valiant Earl Richard had already
given Ferann na gCenel (Fer ne Genal)
to Maurice de Prendergast,*

⁶⁰ Lennox Barrow, 'The Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham', 108- 9.; Charles McNeill, 'The Hospitallers of Kilmainham and their Guests', 15; Caesar Litton Falkiner, 'The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland', 183.

⁶¹ Niall Byrne, *The Irish Crusade*, 57.

⁶² Charles McNeill, ed., *Registrum de Kilmainham*, iii- iv.; Byrne, 54.; King, 10.

⁶³ Evelyn Mullaly, ed. and trans. *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland: La geste des Engleis en yrlande: A New Edition of the Chronicle Formerly known as The Song of Dermot and the Earl* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002), 64.; Caesar Falkiner identified Fernegenal, as a territory in the county of Wexford in his article, 'The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland', 283.

*and confirmed it in his council,
even before the valiant earl
had landed in Ireland.
He gave him ten fiefs
on condition of receiving the service of ten knights.
He [the earl himself] settled in Fir na Cenel
so that he had Maurice for his nearest neighbour.⁶⁴*

If Maurice de Prendergast was connected to the Order of St John at this time then certainly the grant at Kilmainham might make sense as payment for services rendered. However the chronicler gives no indication that this is the case, nor does he or Gerald of Wales, who described these events in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* mention the Order in either of their version of events. It seems more likely then that the Hospitallers were not given land because they had fought, but rather Maurice de Prendergast was, and that he then later joined the Order and commanded the preceptory at Kilmainham which had already been established around 1174.⁶⁵ The Hospitallers also appear to have had a house in Wexford that had been established earlier in 1172 and served as the headquarters for the brethren in Ireland until the grant was made at Kilmainham two years later. Aubrey Gwynn and Neville Hadcock have argued that after the transfer of activity to Kilmainham, the house at Wexford may have been maintained as a hostel or hospice used by brothers travelling back and forth from England.⁶⁶ With the exception of the foundations at Kilmainham, Wexford, and Kilmainhambeg in Meath, the large majority of the Hospitallers' Irish preceptories were established in the thirteenth century and included: Ballyhack in Wexford, Any in Limerick, Killerig or Killergy in Carlow, Killybegs, Killeel, and Tilly in Kildare, and Mourne in Cork.⁶⁷

Grant Motivation

The grants at Clerkenwell and in other parts of Britain and Ireland, and the spike in donations during the twelfth century may have been a reflection of the popularity of crusading at this time, particularly with the fall of crusader Edessa in 1144, the

⁶⁴ Mullaly, 132.

⁶⁵ Aubrey Gwynn and Neville Hadcock, eds., *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland: with an Appendix to Early Sites* (Harlow: Longmans, 1970), 334.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*; Gwynn and Hadcock do not list St Johns in the Ards which was in Northern Ireland., McNeill, *Registrum*, vi.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* subsequent launch of the Second Crusade in 1145, and the visit of Eraclius, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem to England in 1184/5 during which he consecrated the Hospitallers’ church and priory at Clerkenwell.⁶⁸ This interest in showing support for the Order of St John in particular, and for the crusades in general, was not only felt in England; and though a large majority of the grants to the Order in Britain and Ireland were made by English/ Norman donors, the Welsh and the Scottish were also sources of support. Hurlock has pointed to the many endowments made to the house at Slebech by Welsh patrons and the foundation of Ysbyty Ifan by Ifan ap Rhys as evidence for native Welsh interest and argues that the Templars, the Hospitallers’ closest competitor for donations, were seen to be more closely associated with the English crown and hence were less popular with both the native Welsh and the notoriously independent Marcher lords.⁶⁹ This situation was mirrored quite closely in Ireland, where the Order of the Hospital was favoured with grants by the initial conquerors of the twelfth century, the same lords from the Marches of Wales, while the the Templars received a large majority of their Irish properties from the English King Henry II.⁷⁰

Though genuine pious motivations for grants in both Wales and Ireland should not be dismissed, gifts to the military orders may also have been prompted by other, more temporal concerns, such as the desire to help settle troublesome border regions through the installation of religious houses, particularly ones with a military presence.⁷¹ Niall Byrne, for example, has argued that the location of grants to the military orders in Ireland was determined largely by an attempt to control access and movement in the southeast through the domination of ports and waterways.⁷² There may be some truth to this as the Order of the Hospital had a substantial presence in places like Cork, Wexford, and on the river Liffey near Dublin and the Close Rolls of Edward III in 1360 describe the brethren in Ireland being in ‘... a good position for the repulse of the king’s

⁶⁸ Gervers, ‘Donations’, 156, 159- 60.; Gervers has also argued for another spike in donations during the thirteenth century, between 1220 and 1260, possibly related to crusader gains in the Holy Land at this time, Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, xlv; For a further discussion on the relationship between the Order of the Hospital, the crusades, and western patrons, see Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128- 1291* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).

⁶⁹ Hurlock, 147, 155-6.

⁷⁰ See, Hurlock, 173- 4.; Byrne, 64.; Falkiner, 287.

⁷¹ Hurlock, 155- 6; Nicholson, *Knights Hospitallers*, 103; Falkiner, 296- 7.; McNeill, *Registrum*, ix.

⁷² Niall Byrne, 154.

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Irish enemies daily warring upon his liege people...’.⁷³ McNeill has also described the Hospitaller presence in Ireland as ‘alien’ and attributed the gradual decay and disappearance of the Order’s churches there as a consequence of the lack of motivation on the part of the native Irish to preserve an inherently English military institution.⁷⁴ There is also some suggestion that the eventual placing of Yspsyty Ifan under the control of Halston in Shropshire extended English influence into north Wales through the settlement of the Hospitallers. However, Hurlock has pointed out that many lands in the area around Yspsyty Ifan were farmed out so it is difficult to ascertain the degree of practical influence the Order could have had.⁷⁵ Additionally, though individual members of the Order participated, particularly in later centuries, in fighting in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, Nicholson has concluded that this was not indicative of the Order’s activities in any of these places.⁷⁶ The hospitality that religious houses afforded travellers and those in need, may have also prompted many gifts to the Hospitallers in particular, rather than to the Templars who lacked the same reputation for care. This has been assumed to be a particular feature of the motivation behind gifts in Wales and Ireland, where hospitality was afforded a special cultural significance, but it is unclear whether all of the Order’s houses in these places provided general hospitality or that, conversely, this was not an equally important function of the English and Scottish houses of the Order as well.⁷⁷ Finally, the Hospitallers were themselves, in many instances active in the identification and acquisition of lucrative property. For example, Chaureth in Essex was granted to the Hospitallers in 1151 by Alfred de Bendavill because they had asked him for it.⁷⁸ This is an important point as it suggests that the extensive settlement of the Order of the Hospital in Britain and Ireland was not simply the accidental consequence of the location of the grants given to the brethren but rather an active choice in the

⁷³ *CCR, 1360- 1364*, 39- 40.

⁷⁴ McNeill, *Registrum*, viii- ix.

⁷⁵ Hurlock, 142. Additionally, Hurlock points out that though grants to the Order were situated near the line of Anglo Norman castles, border lands constantly changed hands., *Ibid.*, 142.

⁷⁶ See Nicholson, ‘The Hospitallers’ and Templars’ involvement in warfare on the frontiers of the British Isles in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries’.; See also Simon Philips, *Priors* for more information on the military activities of the Hospitaller priors of England.

⁷⁷ Hurlock, 167- 8; For more on medieval hospitality see, Julie Kerr, ‘The Open Door: Hospitality and Honour in Twelfth/ Early-Thirteenth Century England’; Catherine Marie O’ Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland, 900- 1500.*; See also, chapter four for a discussion on general hospitality.

⁷⁸ Gervers, ‘Donations’, 158

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development of a branch of the fraternity in this area of the world which grew more extensive and more complex from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

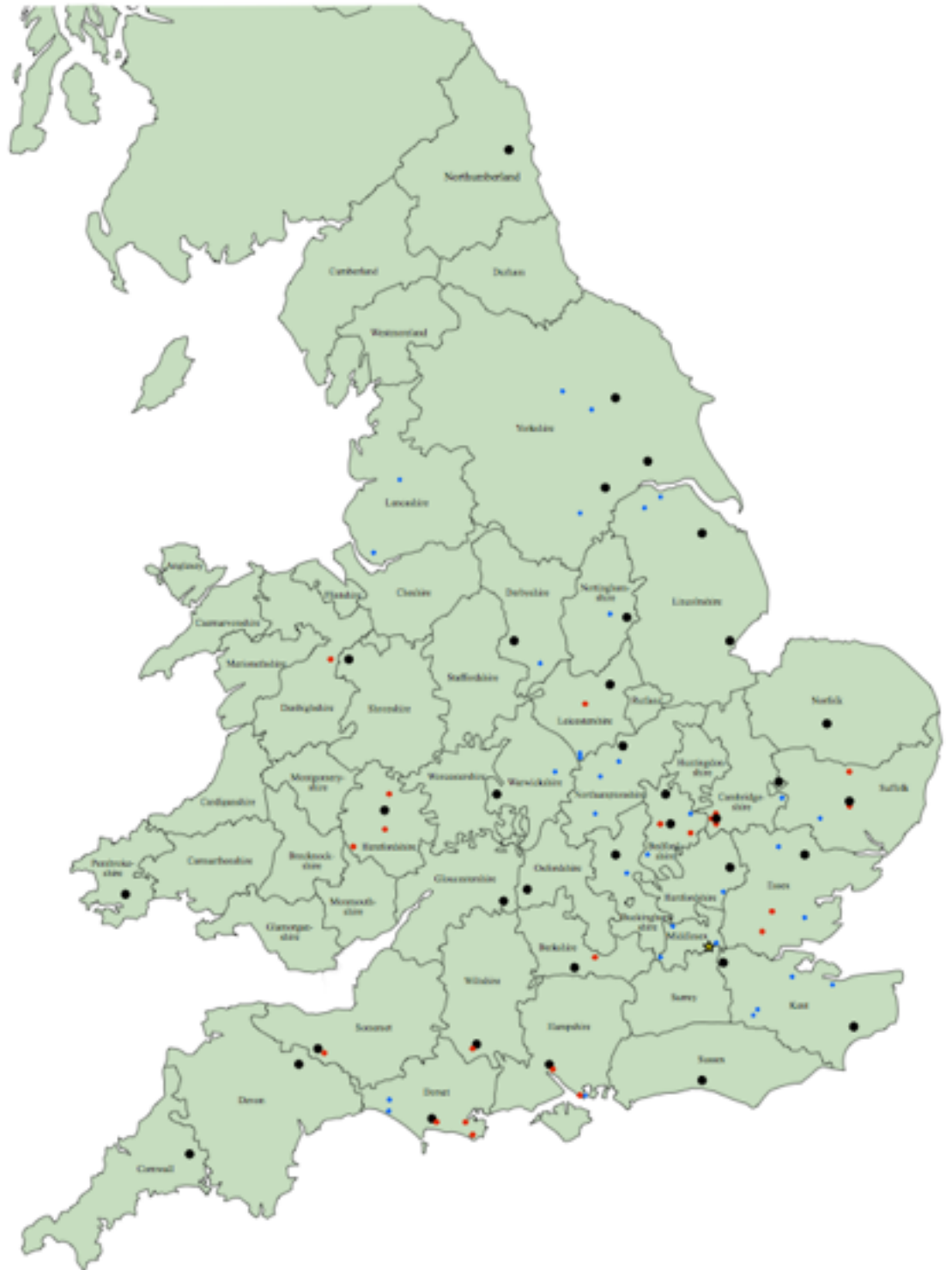
Composition of the Houses

In a discussion on the economy and function of the Order of St John in Britain and Ireland, one must first have a clear idea of the composition and organisation of the properties themselves. The Report of 1338 lists thirty six preceptories, thirty *camerae*, and nineteen *membra* attached to the preceptories and another three cameral *membra*. (See Map 1 below) To this total acquired Templar properties can be added from the fourteenth century, bringing the total number of properties listed up considerably.⁷⁹ Previous work on the Knights in Britain has assumed a clear organisational hierarchy with the larger preceptories being the main organisational units from which the smaller properties, the *membra* and the *camerae*, were administered.⁸⁰ This assumption of administration stemming from the preceptory is supported largely by the organisation of the 1338 Report of Philip de Thame to the Grand Master of the Order, Hélión de Villeneuve, of the properties of the English Langue, which places its most prominent emphasis on the finances of the preceptories, under whose headings the *membra* tend to fall. For example, the preceptory of Dinmore in Herefordshire is listed *cum membris*, with its members, Sutton and Rolston.⁸¹ Certainly this is a tidy way of conceptualising the system of organisation in theory but it is doubtful that the chain of administration was quite so neat in practice or even that there was a consistent distinction between the three different types of property.

⁷⁹ See Table for full listings of Hospitaller properties in 1338., pg. 165.

⁸⁰ The term ‘preceptory’ is derived from the Latin *praeceptorium* and refers to houses otherwise called ‘commanderies’ in Anglo-Norman French and in English. As the term *commanderie* is often used in conjunction with Templar houses, and as a large number of the examples in this study are taken from the Report of 1338, which refers to preceptors as the heads of the order’s houses, the term ‘preceptory’ will be used here.

⁸¹ Larking and Kemble, 30-1.



Map 1: Preceptories, Membra, & Camera
Preceptories (black), *Membra* (Red), *Camerae* (Blue)

*

Both Gervers and Gilchrist have argued that the inclusion of a large church was the defining prerequisite feature of the larger preceptories, though certainly the smaller properties contained churches as well and these did not all develop into administrative centres.⁸² It is clear that the preceptories were the seats of the preceptors and were also the houses that contained communities of brethren, albeit small ones by the fourteenth century that would continue to shrink until the dissolution of the Order in 1540, but it is also true that a single preceptor might hold more than one house, particularly in the same county, or in adjoining counties. For example, Clanfield in Oxfordshire and Quenington in the adjoining county of Gloucestershire both list Michael Macy as preceptor in 1338 and John de Caunvill is given as the preceptor of Hardwick and Melchbourne, both in Bedfordshire.⁸³ Additionally, some preceptories such as Sutton-at-Hone in Kent and Standon in Hertfordshire are listed as having no resident brethren at all and conversely, there were brethren of the Order living in some of the *camera* of the Order in 1338, such as Winkbourne which housed brother William Hustwayt as *custos*.⁸⁴ The listings for the acquired Templar properties in the Report of 1338 usually do not specify between types of property, but in that year there were no longer any communities of Templars as they had been sent to individual monasteries in 1311 to do penance.⁸⁵ Clearly then, the presence of resident brethren could not have been the only defining feature of the preceptory.

The other main identifying characteristic of the Hospitaller properties that has been put forward is size: preceptories were large whilst *membra* and *camerae* were small. It would certainly make sense that smaller properties would fall under the administrative jurisdiction of the larger houses, especially ones which contained personnel. However, some of the *camerae*, such as Hampton, were quite large in 1338. In addition to the manor, garden, and dovecote, Hampton also possessed three hundred

⁸² Gervers, 'Donations', 156; Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995) 77, 87.

⁸³ Larking and Kemble, 27, 29, 72, 74; Phillips, *Prior*, 6.

⁸⁴ Larking and Kemble, 89, 93.; Phillips, *Prior*, 6.; Larking and Kemble, 114-115.; The brothers of Mayne in Dorset appear in 1338 to be living at the manor of Waye, one of the members of Mayne; but this seems to be because the house at Mayne had been ruined by fire.; Larking and Kemble, 10-11.

⁸⁵ Only Roger of Dalton was at a former Templar house, Ashley in Cambridgeshire. For detail, see Alan Forey, 'Ex-Templars in England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53.1 (2002), 18-37 ; Alan Forey, 'Templars after the Trial: Further Evidence', *Revue Mabillon*, 23 (2012), 89-110; For a summary, see Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial* (Stroud, History Press, 2009), pp. 205-17.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* acres of arable land, forty acres of meadow, pasture for at least fifty two cattle, and 2,100 sheep, and a fish weir.⁸⁶ Thus Hampton, though a *camera*, could not be described as a small property; and it also contained a resident household as there was one brother, Richard Meriton, living there as *custos* along with a corrodian, Robert Cultmann.⁸⁷ Additionally, there were at least two *camerae* which, like the preceptories, were listed with their own *membra*: Chiltecomb in Dorset listed Tolre as a member and the preceptory of Winkbourne in Nottingham had Denilthorpe.⁸⁸ Clearly, preceptories were not distinguished from the *camera* by their residents, size, or members. While one could argue that the *membra* in the Report are clearly attached to the preceptories by reason of being explicitly identified with them as seen above at Dinmore, the relation between preceptory and *camerae* is less clear. There are twenty nine *camerae* listed separately from the preceptories and they are not explicitly identified with any of the large houses in the Report itself.⁸⁹ This does not necessarily prove the independence of *camera* from preceptory but should make one question assumptions of a strict hierarchy between the ‘smaller’ properties of the Order and its larger houses.

Further problematising the issue of the differentiation of properties is the inclusion of properties listed with the preceptories not identified as *membra* or *camerae*. For example, Womebridge is listed under the entry for the preceptory of Dinmore which includes Sutton and Rolston. While Stutton and Rolston are specified as *membra*, Wormebridge is not, though Kemble has specified it as such in the page headings of his transcription and its income is included in the total sum for the income of Dinmore.⁹⁰ Probably this is simply a heading omission and Wormbrigge did function as a member of Dinmore, but there remains the possibility of the existence of properties owned by the order that were neither *camerae* nor *membra*.

So if ‘small’ properties could be large and ‘large’ properties small and size was not the determining distinction, nor was it the presence of a church, a preceptor or a

⁸⁶ Larking and Kemble, 127.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 127- 8.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 105, 114.

⁸⁹ For the *camerae* of the Order in 1338, see Larking and Kemble, 105- 128.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 30- 1.

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resident community of brethren, perhaps sense might be made of the ordering of these properties by considering their function. Returning to the Report of 1338, the *membra* seemed to be largely defined by their direct attachment to a preceptory or *camera*, whereas the *camerae* seemed to be characterised by the dedicated use of their income for a specific purpose. In his introduction to Larking’s transcription of the Report, Kemble describes the *camerae* as “the demesne estates of Clerkenwell;” and Gervers has also argued that the *camerae* were reserved for the support of Clerkenwell.⁹¹ Certainty this is partially true but largely in the indirect way that all the properties of the Order paid into the general treasury at Clerkenwell and that expenses, some of which pertained to the maintenance of a high quality of life and position for the household at Clerkenwell, were drawn from this treasury.⁹² There were, however, *camerae* reserved for other purposes, namely for the upkeep of certain corrodians or important persons. For example, the *camera* of Coppegrave returned nothing to the treasury as it had been let to farm to William Hothom by Thomas Larcher for a one time payment of 20 marks which had already been collected, *in manibus hospitalis*.⁹³ The *camera* of Huntingdon in the same county also drew no income as it had been given to Geoffrey de Scrope, the king’s chief justice.⁹⁴ This assignment of income from the *camerae* for a dedicated purpose is not, however, universal amongst the listings in the Report of 1338 with much of this revenue feeding back into the general treasury. A more likely, and perhaps more simple explanation for the classification of different types of Hospitaller properties (if indeed one exists outside of regionally specific reasons of organisation which the Report of 1338 simply does not reveal) is that they were classed by location. While many of the *membra* listed in 1338 were located in close proximity to the preceptories, this was generally not the case for the *camerae* which were much less closely concentrated. (See Map 1 above) If this system of classification was accurate it would speak to the adaptive nature of the Order in organising a large number of scattered properties with a limited number of brethren, a topic which will be more fully discussed in chapter three of this work.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, lx, lxi.; Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, lvi.

⁹² Many of the payments to the Order’s various ‘friends’ and officials at the king’s court came out of the common treasury at Clerkenwell, as did expenses for the church and household at Clerkenwell and at the New Temple, see Larking and Kemble, 202- 211.

⁹³ Larking and Kemble, 112.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

Relationship Between the Components of the English Languae

The Languae of England, as an administrative unit, consisted of the priories of England and Ireland with the houses of Wales and Scotland falling, at least theoretically, under the jurisdiction of Clerkenwell. In 1934, for example, Edwin King produced a comprehensive history of the Knights Hospitallers in England in which he described the Prior of Torphichen as being “always under the supervision of the Grand Prior of England.”⁹⁵ While certainly the Welsh houses of the Order maintained close ties with Clerkenwell, and in a comprehensive study of the Hospitaller Order as a whole, the English Languae makes sense as a regional grouping, any study that discusses the function of the houses of the Order in this area of the world would be misleading if it did not acknowledge and discuss the independence of the Scottish and Irish priories from the English administrative centre. Treating the Languae of England as a combined entity of three different but distinct regions will provide for a much better understanding of how the Hospital operated in this western region, far from its eastern frontiers.

There is some indication that prior to the mid-fourteenth century, Clerkenwell did exercise control over the Order’s property in Scotland. In 1192, for example, it was the prior of England who granted lands in Galloway to the Augustinian canons of Holyrood Abbey even though there would have been a preceptor at the Torphichen at this time.⁹⁶ And certainly, even fast forwarding to the fourteenth century, Scotland is included in the 1338 inventory of the properties belonging to the priory of England, suggesting that it had not been considered, at least in the view of Philip de Thame, the Prior of England at that time, as a separate entity but rather, another property of the Languae from which income could be drawn. That being said, the entry for Scotland in the Report of 1338 indicates that despite this claim, there was no income coming out of Scotland on account of the wars of independence.⁹⁷ The prior writes that all the Order’s possessions in Scotland had been burnt and hence it was impossible to raise the 200 marks that it would normally have generated in a time of peace. Curiously though, he

⁹⁵ King, *Knights of St. John*, 10.

⁹⁶ National Archives of Scotland (NAS) GD 45/13/25.

⁹⁷ Larking and Kemble, 129.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* also reported that there was a solitary brother, a chaplain, William de la Ford, “abiding in Scotland, by means unknown.”⁹⁸ These two circumstances do seem somewhat at odds with each other: although all the Scottish properties were supposed to have been destroyed, there was still at least one brother sustaining himself in Scotland. However, if it is supposed for a moment that the Scottish properties were not lost but merely beyond the reach of the English prior this state of affairs makes more sense.

There is no doubt that war in Scotland touched the Knights of St John there, with William Wallace ousting the brethren from Torphichen in the spring of 1298 and the Prior of Scotland, Alexander de Welles, dying in the Battle of Falkirk (on the English side) that same year.⁹⁹ While Torphichen was restored to the Hospitallers and King Robert confirmed to them all of their lands and property in Scotland in 1314¹⁰⁰, it was this moment of shaken authority that seems to have broken the connection between Clerkenwell and Torphichen. Despite there being evidence that there were brethren living in Scotland throughout the fourteenth century, the Hospitaller properties in Scotland were maintained by secular custodians, Reginald More and afterwards his son, Willliam, during most of the 1320s, 30s, and part of the 1340s.¹⁰¹ That is, until 1345 when Brother Alexander de Seton was sent by the Prior of England to take the Order’s Scottish properties in hand, though he died the following year, leaving the matter up in the air again.¹⁰² Five years later, in 1351, the Prior of England launched another attempt to regain control of the situation in Scotland by sending Brother Thomas de Lindsay.¹⁰³ Thomas de Lindsay, however, appears to have been successful in Scotland for only a short amount of time as in 1355, four years later, another layman, David de Mar, held Torphichen, sharing the control of certain lands with Sir Robert de Erskine.¹⁰⁴ During this period of constant transition, the payment of responsions from the Scottish priory

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁹⁹ Cowan et al., *Knights of St. John*, xxix.

¹⁰⁰ NAS GD 119/3

¹⁰¹ See Cowan et al. *Knights of St. John*, Appendix 2, pg. 193, for a list of the masters and preceptors of the Knights of St. John in Scotland.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, *Knights of St. John.*, xxxiii.

¹⁰³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350- 1354*, 151.

¹⁰⁴ Cowan, *et al.*, xxxiv.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* not surprisingly fell into arrears, but it was not Clerkenwell that dealt with this problem: it was the Pope who attempted to remedy the situation by threatening de Mar with excommunication and appealing to the King of Scotland to compel him to make payment.

*To David, king of Scotland. Desiring him to favour the master and convent of the Hospitallers in recovering from David de Mar, treasurer of Moray, what is due to them on account of a preceptory and goods of the Hospital in Scotland, farmed by de Mar at 100 marks a year, and which has been unpaid for seven years, although he has been publicly excommunicated in the Roman court.*¹⁰⁵

Not happy with the continued lack of payment, the Grand Master of the Order eventually decided to solve the problem of Scotland by leasing all the property there to Robert de Mercer, lord of Innerpeffray in 1374.

*To Robert Mercer, lord of Inirpery, in the diocese of St Andrews. Confirmation, at the petition also of Charles king of the French, of the grant on lease made to him by letters patent of Robert [de Juillac], master of the Hospitallers, then prior of France and master elect (sealed with the seal of the said Robert as prior of France), of their property in Scotland for ten years, at a yearly rent (sub pensione) of 400 gold florins of Florence, to be paid at Paris on the feast of the Ascension.*¹⁰⁶

This action on the part of the central convent brought the matter of Clerkenwell's authority over the priory of Scotland to a head. Angry that he was not consulted on a matter that should have fallen under his jurisdiction, the Prior of England, Robert de Hales, persuaded the King of England, Edward III, to seize money headed from England to Rhodes while he appealed to the Pope.¹⁰⁷ This bold move appears to have been effective, as the Grand Master stood down and the customary dominance of the English priory over Scotland was confirmed by the Pope.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, this victory seems to have been confined primarily to parchment as de Mar and de Erskine continued to hold the property of the Order in Scotland and Robert de Mercer, who

¹⁰⁵ *CPR, 1362- 1404*, 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 110, 140.; Also, for a discussion on this dispute, see Cowan et al., *Knights of St John*, xxxvi-xxxvii.

¹⁰⁸ Cowan et al., *Knights of St. John*, xxxvi- xxxvii.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* probably would have paid his rent, was never able to take possession. This pattern of events continued throughout the 15th and 16th centuries with the priory of Scotland and its incomes belonging to whomever could hold it and the prior of England and the Grand Master of the Order both attempting with varying degrees of success to replace individuals who neglected to pay their responsions.¹⁰⁹

The problem of non-payment of responsions and dubious custodians was similarly felt in Ireland and, as was the case with Scotland, this seemed to become more frequently evident in the fourteenth century. In 1363, the Irish Priory had fallen into arrears and Pope Urban V sent a deputy to collect overdue monies owed to the Grand Master for the defence of Rhodes.¹¹⁰ Matters again became problematic in the 1380s when Papal Schism upset the relationship that had existed between the English and the Irish components of the Langue, namely that the Priors of Kilmainham were customarily English-appointed and also, English.¹¹¹ 1384 saw the Irish knights adhering both to a different Pope and a different Grand-Master than their English brethren and using the opportunity to elected a new Prior, Richard White “when, where, and by what right is nowhere stated,” as Charles Tipton put it.¹¹² The English Turcopolier, Peter Holt, was appointed to replace the un-approved Richard White, but he was unable to take possession and what followed was a succession of Irish-born priors who continued to participate in the politics of the Order, continued to make appearances at the central convent, but gradually failed to pay their responsions. Gregory O’Malley has estimated that by the 15th century, only £40 was being returned annually from the Irish Priory.¹¹³

It should be mentioned here that unlike Scotland, and despite the appointment of English-born priors to the seat of Kilmainham, the Priory of Ireland seems to have been accorded a somewhat independent status from its establishment in the twelfth century.

¹⁰⁹ See Cowan et al., *Knights of St. John* for more information on the later history of the priory of Scotland.

¹¹⁰ *CPR, 1362- 1404*, 4.

¹¹¹ For the Hospitallers during the Schism: Charles L. Tipton, “The Irish Hospitallers during the Great Schism.” in the *Proceedings of the Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature.*, vol. 69 (1970), 33-43.; Charles L. Tipton, “The English and Scottish Hospitallers during the Great Schism.” in *The Catholic Historical Review.*, vol. 52, no. 2 (Jul., 1966), 240- 245.

¹¹² Tipton, ‘The Irish Hospitallers’, 36.

¹¹³ O’Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 239.

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Letters from the Grand Master and the Pope, for example, were often addressed to both the Priories of England and Ireland or to the Priors of both England and Ireland, and it may be the case that the mysterious absence of income from Ireland in the Report of 1338 makes more sense in this light. Philip de Thame did not include the income from Ireland because he did not have access to it as the Priors of Kilmainham were responsible for their own responsions. And yet the impression of the Irish Priory as an English institution persists, given credence by its association with the Anglo-Norman conquest and its steady stream of English, rather than Irish, priors, a situation that also applied to Scotland with its predominance of English rather than Scottish personnel.¹¹⁴

This Anglo-centric perception has allowed for the sidelining of these two institutions as subsidiary houses of the English Priory, neither producing the number of recruits or a sufficient enough amount of money to be considered important in the grand, Order-wise, scheme of things. King wrote that, ‘the Tongue seems to have had to rely almost entirely upon the Priory of England, the Scottish contingent was infinitesimal, and the Priory of Ireland was of no serious value to the Order, owing to the chaos and anarchy constantly prevailing in that unhappy island.’¹¹⁵ This is not to say that Scotland and Ireland have been totally ignored: the Scottish History Society produced a book on the Knights of St John in Scotland in 1983 and Gregory O’Malley discusses both Scotland and Ireland in his book on the Hospitallers of the English Language in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹¹⁶ What is being suggested here, rather, is that a change in perspective, one which includes all the different components of the Language whilst acknowledging their difference, might provide a more full and nuanced picture of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages.

The twelfth century saw the emergence of a Hospitaller presence in Britain and Ireland which continued to grow steadily during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

¹¹⁴ See McNeill’s preface to the Kilmainham Register, iii- xvi.

¹¹⁵ King, *Knights of St. John*, 51-2.

¹¹⁶ See also, Gregory O’Malley, ‘Authority and autonomy: relations between Clerkenwell, Kilmainham and the Hospitaller central convent after the Black Death,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 23- 45.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* assisted both by generous grants by pious benefactors and through the active acquisition and consolidation of property made by the brethren themselves. The Report of 1338 reveals that by the fourteenth century a hierarchical system of organisation of properties based on regionally specific funding needs and practical administration was in place and that this regional specificity was mirrored in the practical, if not always official, independence of the Scottish and Irish branches of the English Langue. All of this points to a concentrated and sustained effort on the part of the Hospitaller Order to establish and maintain a presence in Britain and Ireland which was necessarily was moulded by the demands of the local environment.

Chapter Two: Finances

Though a large part of this study will focus on the exploration of the internal economy of the Hospitallers' houses in Britain and Ireland, the most important function of these properties, at least from an Order-wide perspective, was arguably the generation of money for the payment of responsions which would benefit the Order as a whole. The Hospitallers' far reaching, international nature had necessitated the development of a hierarchical network to ensure both that provincial properties of Western Europe were kept within the reach of the central convent and that a portion of their incomes would be sent to the general treasury of the Order in the East. The period of rapid acquisition and expansion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries described in chapter one was followed closely by catastrophic decline for the brethren in the fourteenth century and though it is difficult to say exactly when the problem started, by 1327 the English Langue was facing financial ruin. In response to this crisis, the Grand Master of the Order, Hélión de Villeneuve assigned the Prior of Venice, Leonard Tibertis, to conduct an audit of the English finances to determine what the problem was and to find a solution. In the following year, the prior and preceptors of England, with little good news to report, wrote that ruin was near and that the "*destructionem hujus Prioratus, et depauperationem preceptoriarum et fratrum*" would surely follow unless matters were taken into hand.¹¹⁷ The Langue was thousands of pounds in debt to various parties, ranging from the central convent of the Order itself which expected annual responsions and the societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi, Italian merchants who alone were owed over £1,800.¹¹⁸ The letter also states that the Langue was suffering greatly from the writs of '*fieri facias*,' allowing the seizure of property to satisfy defaulted loans despite the Order already having sold a large proportion of its moveable goods to order

¹¹⁷ "...destruction of this Priory, and impoverishment of the preceptories and brothers..."; Larking and Kemble, 216.

¹¹⁸ For the debts of the English Langue to the Bardi and the Peruzzi, see Larking and Kemble, 219.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* to raise cash.¹¹⁹ In short, the situation was grim. Leonard Tibertis, however, turned out to be an able administrator; a chapter meeting was called in 1328 at the preceptory of Melchbourne in Bedfordshire and a schedule of annual instalments was set in place. Ten years later the Order was back on its feet in Britain and, once again producing an income that exceeded its expenses. However, though the Langue never experienced another period of acute crisis in the way that it had in 1327, it never seemed to fully recover either and continued to limp along financially until the Dissolution of the Order in England in 1540 at which point many of its houses were consolidated and its communities of brethren diminished; despite the continued possession of vast amounts of land, including the addition of a number of Templar properties which had come to the Hospitallers in the fourteenth century. This chapter will consider the degree to which the Langue of England was able to perform its primary function in generating of money for the wider Order, in the face of increasing financial demand from its headquarters in the East and various financial impediments to sustaining its fortunes in western Europe.

The Holy Land

The history of the financial problems of the Hospitallers of the English Langue must begin in the East where the Order had its origins and performed its most famous military and hospitaller roles. Though initially the Order of St John had received many donations of land and cash and had effectively augmented its own holdings through additional purchases and sales, this ceased to be the case by the close of the twelfth century when fewer grants were made and the Order slowed in its own acquisition of property. While donations of land and other property could be lucrative, the Hospitallers also often received fortifications, given in the expectation that they would be expanded, strengthened, and manned.¹²⁰ This was an expensive task and the Hospitallers needed the resources from their western properties to help fund these building projects in the East and to replenish supplies and recruits. By 1201, the need for money had become critical with the Grand Master, Geoffrey de Donjon writing to the prior of England

¹¹⁹ Letter of Thomas Larcher and the preceptors of the priory of England, including accounts produced by Leonard de Tibertis, in Larking and Kemble, 215- 220, at 216. See also Nicole Hamonic, 'The Order of St John of Jerusalem in London, Middlesex, and Surrey, c.1128–c.1442: A Social and Economic Study Based on The Hospitaller Cartulary, British Library Cotton MS Nero E vi', unpublished PhD thesis. Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 2012), 27- 30.

¹²⁰ Bronstein, *Financing the Latin East*, 14.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* asking him to appeal on behalf of the Order to the king for aid, as war had destroyed the Hospitaller estates on Sicily which was an important source of supplies, and that furthermore, the Order was incurring massive expenses trying to perform its duties in the East.¹²¹ The letter also reveals that two previous attempts had been made to send for help but the first delegation had been lost at sea and the second had been forced back to Tripoli in Syria when it encountered similar problems. Judith Bronstein has pointed out that any obstacles encountered along the way such as political upheaval, natural disasters, or problems of communication would only add to the roughly two months it took a message to get from the Holy Land to Europe. Additionally, once a response had been generated and help mobilised, the situation may already have had the opportunity to deteriorate further as happened in 1202 when a major earthquake, plague, and food shortages exacerbated the already desperate situation in the East.¹²² However, the Order's undertaking of extensive building activity to regain a toehold in the Holy Land and repair fortifications such as Crac des Chevaliers and Margat, suggest that the appeals of the Grand Master had been heard and met with money from the West in addition to normal responses.¹²³ This though, was only the first in a string of crisis situations in the East that drained the resources of the Order's priories in the West. In 1237, after hearing of the crusader losses in the siege of Darbsak near Antioch, thirty brothers left from Clerkenwell and the prior of England, Thierry de Neuss, is said by Matthew Paris to have apportioned a large amount of money to go with them to assist in the defence of the Holy Land.¹²⁴

*The Hospitallers sent their prior, Theodoric, a German by birth, and a most clever knight, with a body of other knights and stipendiary attendants, and a large sum of money, to the assistance of the Holy Land. They, having made their arrangements, set out from their house at Clerkenwell, in London, and proceeded in good order, with about thirty shields uncovered, with spears raised, and proceeded by their banner, through the midst of the city towards the bridge, that they might obtain the blessings of the spectators, and, bowing their heads, and with cowls lowered, commended themselves to the prayers of all.*¹²⁵

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 17- 19.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹²⁵ Matthew Paris, *English History, vol. 1, 1235- 1273.*, trans. Rev. J.A. Giles (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), 63-4.

Heavy losses in various campaigns continued to deplete Hospitaller numbers and economic activity in the East slowed with conflicts between the Venetians and the Genoese and the advance of the Mongols prompting further demands on resources from the West.¹²⁶

The result of the constant need from the central convent of the Order in the East, which Riley-Smith has called ‘necessary but unhealthy’, was that the English priory, already struggling to keep up with its regular responson payments by the middle of the thirteenth century, was further burdened financially, despite the fact that this was the century during which the Order obtained most of its property in Britain.¹²⁷ It has been suggested, both by Bronstein and by Gervers, that faced with the continual need of the Holy Land, the English Langue adopted the habit of leasing and alienating properties and taking out loans to meet its expenses and help raise cash.¹²⁸ By the mid-thirteenth century this had become enough of a problem that the Langue received more than one papal chiding, with Alexander IV placing prohibitions on the sale of Hospitaller property in 1256 and Urban IV complaining in 1262 that the priory’s creditors had started sending collection letters to the papal court.¹²⁹ However, the English priory was not alone in its financial plight, as other Western priories were also experiencing difficulty in meeting their responson payments in the thirteenth century. The resources of the houses in Sicily, on which the Hospitallers in the East so relied, as mentioned above, were stripped in support of Charles of Anjou’s fight for Sicily.¹³⁰ The Hospital in Spain, heavily involved in an additional arena of war and reconquest, with its own castles, troops, and supplies to pay for, was also forced to take out loans and alienate property.¹³¹ The French priories, which had experienced a period of growth from the

¹²⁶ Bronstein, *Financing the Latin East*, 20- 7.; For more on the dependence of the Order’s Western properties, see Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, 441- 443.

¹²⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, 442.

¹²⁸ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, pp. LXXV- LXXX; Bronstein, *Financing the Latin East*, 80-1.

¹²⁹ Bronstein, *Financing the Latin East*, 99.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 93, 99, 102.; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John in Jerusalem*, 345.; See also Forey, Alan. ‘Royal and Papal Interference in the Dispatch of Supplies to the East by the Military Orders in the Later Thirteenth Century.’ In *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power*; ed. Peter Edbury (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 95- 102.

¹³¹ Bronstein, *Financing the Latin East*, 99- 102. Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John in Jerusalem*, 345.

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late twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century, also began to feel the financial strain. The reasons for this situation in France are less clear, perhaps expenditure for expansion in the early 1200s had simply caught up or maybe resources had been mismanaged; in either case, the French priories also took out loans and started selling property in the 1240s.¹³²

While in each of these locations the short-term, immediate need for cash was served well by liquidation, the long-term problem was that there could be no respensions pulled in future from property that was no longer owned. As donations to the Hospitallers had slackened off after 1250, and the priories had started letting go of money-generating property around the same time, this constituted a significant problem, particularly in the face of the loans that the various priories had taken out as well.¹³³ In an effort to solve this issue, the General Chapter of 1262 tried to limit the sale and lease of the Order's property unless it was either unprofitable or could fetch a particularly large amount and in an attempt to clear up the scattered situation this Chapter also ordered that the various priories keep better records.¹³⁴ It is difficult to gauge the degree to which these measures were put into place in the West, though it might be suggested that the English priory, at least, made renewed efforts with its cartularies.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, events conspired in such a way that the Order's attempts to get itself in organised were interrupted by the Fall of Acre in 1291, following which the Hospitallers found themselves homeless and based on Cyprus for a short period of time before settling on Rhodes in 1309.

Rhodes

Though the Order had been militarily active in Cyprus, their settlement on Rhodes once again put the Hospitallers in what could arguably be seen as a crusading arena, fighting Muslim forces. The taking of Rhodes had been a costly undertaking with the Grand Master of the Order having borrowed large sums of money and asking in

¹³² Bronstein, *Financing the Latin East*, 64- 77, 80-2, 94.

¹³³ See Nicholson, *Images*, 59.

¹³⁴ Bronstein, *Financing the Latin East*, 91.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 91; For example, the Maplestead Cartulary from Essex, the Godsfield and Baddesley Cartulary from Hampshire, and the Buckland Cartulary from Somerset.

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1310 that the European priories pay an additional 20,000 gold florins a year for the next five years to help pay off the debt. Each of the priories was asked to pay according to their resources and though it was recognised that priories like England and Ireland did not possess the wealth of some of the other *langues*, their portion of the 20,000 gold florins still amounted to a sum large enough to exacerbate the financial problems that they were already experiencing.¹³⁶ In 1317, Pope John XXII granted a concession to Richard Pavely, Prior of England, and Roger Outlaw, Prior of Ireland, that they would be granted a ten year grace period for payments of 3,000 marks owed from England and 300 marks from Ireland, but this did little to help them when the Bardi's creditors, the Bardi of Florence, approached the king in 1320.¹³⁷ The problem, it seems, is that to meet their additional needs for cash to help pay for the taking of Rhodes, several of the priors of the Order had taken out additional loans and then failed to pay them back, or rather refused to pay them back, despite threats of excommunication. The king appealed on the merchants' behalf to the Grand Master at Rhodes, asking him to find a way to pay the Bardi, and sent a similar appeal to the pope three days later.¹³⁸ Six years later the debt was still unsatisfied, this time the king's prohibition on moneys leaving the realm being used as an excuse to delay payment.

To the prior and brethren of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England. Although the king lately prohibited their sending any money... out of the realm, it is shewn to him on behalf of the merchants of the society of the Bardi and Peruzzi of Florence dwelling in London that the prior and brethren, by pretext of the inhibition, refuses to satisfy the merchants for divers sums still in arrear to them of certain great sums of money lent by them to the brethren of the said order for their maintenance when the brethren of the order conquered the island of Rhodes from the saracens,

¹³⁶ Clarence Perkins, 'The Knights Hospitallers in England after the Fall of the Order of the Temple,' in *The English Historical Review* 45, no. 178 (1930), 286.; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070- 130*. (Basingstoke: Palsgrave Macmillan, 2012), 190.

¹³⁷ *CPR, 1305- 1341*, 164.

¹³⁸ 'To the Grand Master of the Hospital of St [John of] Jerusalem. Certain priors of his order have borrowed, in his and their names and in the name of the order, certain great sums of money from the merchants of the society of the Bardi of Florence, and have bound him and themselves for payments thereof at certain terms now passed by public instruments made by apostolic authority and strengthened by the oath of his brethren, and the said brethren now withstand the said merchants seeking the money by action of law, notwithstanding the sentences of excommunications pronounced against them in this behalf; the king, who is bound by the faithful services of the merchants to direct his prayers to the grand-master on their behalf requests him to consider what is fitting and expedient in this behalf, and to ordain so in his coming chapter-general that the merchants shall sustain no loss in this behalf.', *CCR 1318- 1323*, 346-7.; See Perkins, 'Fall of the Temple', 286.; *Rymer's Foedera, Volume 2*, ed. Thomas Rymer (London: Apud Joannem Neulme, 1739- 1745), 440.

which sums were apportioned for payment by the houses of the whole order throughout the world by the grand master of the order, with the assent of the brethren of the order, and that they refuse to satisfy the said merchants for divers sums lent to them by the merchants within this realm, wherefore the merchants have prayed the king to provide a remedy; the king orders the prior and brethren to pay the above debts to the said merchants notwithstanding the said inhibition.¹³⁹

The following year as these payments were still in arrears the Bardi and Peruzzi foreclosed and, as mentioned above, writs of *fiery facias* were set into motion with the moveables of the Hospitallers in England being seized and sold for less than their full worth.¹⁴⁰ Leonard Tibertis was sent to England and Ireland to act on behalf of the Grand Master in identifying and solving the problem.

To the sheriff of York. Whereas the king has taken into his special protection and safe conduct Leonard de Tibertis, of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, prior of Venice, supplying the place of the grand master of the Hospital in England and Ireland, which Leonard lately came to England to visit the priories and places of the Hospital in England and Ireland, and to correct the things needing correction; and the king is informed that some persons, brothers of the Hospital and others, scheming to hinder the reformation of the estates of the Hospital and to avoid due correction, have eloigned the goods of the Hospital in divers ways out of the places of the district of the Hospital, and do not intend to obey the said brother Leonard duly: the king, wishing to assist Leonard in the execution of the premises out of confidence in his industry and in order that the estate of the Hospital, which is now miserably depressed, may be reformed, order the sheriff to go to Leonard when requested by him, and to cause the goods of the Hospital thus eloigned by the malice of the brethren or other ministers of the Hospital to be arrested, and to cause the bodies of the brethren who shall be found rebellious to Leonard in executing his office to be arrested at Leonard's request, and to deliver the goods and bodies thus arrested to Leonard, so that he may dispose of the goods for the utility of the Hospital and may chastise the said rebels according to the rule of the order, and to aid and counsel Leonard in the premises. The like to all the sheriffs of England.¹⁴¹

What is interesting here is that these letters, addressed to all sheriffs of England, point the finger of blame for the whole situation directly at the English brethren themselves, placing the responsibility for the 'miserably depressed' state of the priory on 'rebellious'

¹³⁹ CCR, 1323- 1327, 545.

¹⁴⁰ Perkins, 'Fall of the Temple', 287.; Larking and Kemble, 214- 220.

¹⁴¹ CCR 1327- 1330, 220-1.

brethren who had ‘eloigned by malice’ the goods of the Hospital. Consequently, historians have tended to run on this assumption as well, Perkins wrote that,

‘...a number of the brethren and their friends outside had embezzled considerable property and so were quite willing to see the affairs of the order remain in incompetent hands. On the arrival of the efficient Brother Leonard they refused obedience to him. In answer to his appeal, King Edward III gave him a safe conduct and ordered every sheriff to aid Brother Leonard, to cause the goods of the order to be restored, and to arrest at his request all rebellious members and deliver them to him.’¹⁴²

However, it is unclear whether the king’s help was sought by Leonard Tibertis as a precautionary measure or whether he was acting on sure knowledge of wrongdoing and had actually encountered ‘rebellious’ brethren. Certainly, the letter of 1328 from the English preceptors to the Grand Master in Rhodes, seems to suggest a willingness on the part of the brothers who attended the general chapter at Melchbourne to aid him in his quest to restore the finances of the English Langue.

*Noveritis, pater de domine, quod nuper, circa finem mensis Junii, et circa principium mensis Julii, nobis, una cum religioso viro, Fratre Leonardo de Tibertis, Priore Venetiarum, et locumtenente vestro in his partibus, et cum omnibus preceptoribus hujus Prioratus Anglie, et cum nonnullis aliis fratribus nostris, in nostro generali capitulo apud Melchbourn congregatis, ibidemque omnibus et singulis negotiis que ibidem expedire debuerunt, et commode potuerunt, feliciter expeditis, quia propter ruin...*¹⁴³

Cooperation on the part of the brethren of the Langue might also be measured by Leonard Tibertis’ ultimate success as within the span of ten years, the English Langue was once again back on its feet financially.

Increasing crises in the East

While Leonard Tibertis was ultimately able to restore some balance to the finances of the English Langue, the Order in Rhodes found itself in an increasingly dangerous position in the fifteenth century, both militarily and financially. It had been involved militarily in Greece, the Balkans, and Anatolia and had built up a naval fleet at

¹⁴² Perkins, ‘Fall of the Temple’, 287.

¹⁴³ ‘Know, father and lord, that recently, around the end of the month of June and around the first of the month of July, we, with a pious man, Brother Leonard Tibertis, Prior of Venice and your *locumtenens* in these parts, and with all the preceptors of this Priory of England, and with some of the other brothers of ours, gathered at our general chapter at Melchbourne, and there brought forward all and each matter that had to be expedited and were able to conveniently and happily expedite because ruin is at hand...’, Letter of the English preceptors *et al.*, ed. in Larking and Kemble, 214- 220, at 215- 16.

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Rhodes to protect itself, a very real necessity in the 1440s and 1450s when the island was threatened by the Mamluks and the Ottomans.¹⁴⁴ The attacks on Rhodes by Mamluk fleets in the 1440s were successfully repelled but the Hospitallers feared future trouble and set about refortifying the island's defences. This turned out to be a wise choice as 1453 saw the Ottomans demanding tribute from the Order and attacking Rhodes when the knights refused to pay. In 1462, the Hospitallers made a gift in lieu of tribute but this had only a temporary stalling effect and the Ottomans were back in 1465, once again demanding that the Order pay them tribute.¹⁴⁵ The cost of defending Rhodes was high: Bonneaud has estimated that at the time of the siege, Grand Master Jean de Lastic spent 68,000 Rhodian ducats (roughly £9,628) during a four month period to hire mercenaries and another 17,000 écus (about £3,009) per month to build and maintain the Order's galleys, to say nothing of the cost of bringing in additional knights with all of the accompanying expenses of maintenance.¹⁴⁶ In 1446, it is estimated that the Order was about 150,000 ducats (roughly £21,239) in debt and that this amount more than doubled to 360,000 ducats (about £50,976) by 1466.¹⁴⁷ Efforts were made to offset these enormous amounts by drawing, unsurprisingly, on the resources of the European priories. The general chapter held in 1445, for example, tried to raise resposion rates but this was met with protest on the part of the western priors who appealed against this change to the pope.¹⁴⁸ Though the latter history of the island existence of the Hospitallers is beyond the scope of this study, the struggle for Rhodes continued on through the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century with the Order weathering successive waves of attack, particularly in 1480, until it was finally forced from the island by the Ottomans in 1522 and relocated on the island of Malta in 1530.

¹⁴⁴ Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, 56-9.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁴⁶ Pierre Bonneaud, 'Negotiation and Warfare: The Hospitallers of Rhodes Around and After the Fall of Constantinople (1426- 1480)', in *Ordines Militares Colloquia Tortunensia Historica*, XVII., ed. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky, (Toruń: Nicolaus Copernicus University Press, 2012), 89.; Rate between écus and Rhodian ducats taken from Bonneaud, 96.; Exchange rate between Rhodian ducats and Venetian ducats taken from Nicholas Coureas, 'King James II of Cyprus and the Hospitallers: Evidence from the *Livre des Remembrances*,' in *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power*, ed. Peter Edbury (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 119.; Rate between Venetian ducats and English sterling taken from Peter Spufford, Wendy Wilkinson and Sarah Tolley, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1986), 205.

¹⁴⁷ Bonneaud, 'Negotiation', 96.

¹⁴⁸ Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, 58.

None of these events would have helped alleviate the financial state of the Order and pressure on the western priories would have been continuous.¹⁴⁹

Other issues

The Templar Inheritance

It is also worth bearing in mind that while the Order of the Hospital was conquering Rhodes in the early fourteenth century, the Order of the Temple was being dissolved; and while the Hospitallers were intended to be the chief beneficiaries of this dissolution, the transfer of the possession of these properties in England was far from smooth. Initially, the Crown seized all of the Templar estates in England and held them until instructed by Pope Clement V to give them up in 1312 and even then it was another year until the king moved to obey the papal order.¹⁵⁰ Although the Crown had, in theory, relinquished its hold on the Templar estates, the Hospitallers still had difficulty in identifying and taking possession of what was now rightfully theirs as the Templars had held a large amount of scattered land given by various people and the Hospitallers did not have access to Templar records before 1324.¹⁵¹ In many instances, land was seized by the heirs, or at least those claiming to be the heirs, of those that had made the original donations who felt that they had a rightful claim now that the original grantee was no longer living.¹⁵² In 1324, the king finally issued a statute which gave the Temple lands to the Hospitallers unconditionally, provided that they promised to

¹⁴⁹ For more on the finances of Rhodes in the fifteenth century see, Theresa M. Vann, 'The Exchange of Information and Money between the Hospitallers of Rhodes and their European Priories in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,' in *International Mobility in the (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf and Helen Nicholson (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 34- 47.; Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'The Rights of the Treasury': the Financial Administration of the Hospitallers on Fifteenth- Century Rhodes, 1421- 1522.' In *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 267- 274.; Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'Kings and Priors: the Hospitaller Priory of England in the Later Fifteenth Century,' in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 83- 102.

¹⁵⁰ *CCR, 1313- 1318*, 29- 30, 88- 89; A.M. Leys, 'The Forfeiture of the Lands of the Templars in England,' in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History, Presented to Herbert Edward Salter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 161.

¹⁵¹ *CCR, 1323- 1327*, 126.

¹⁵² *CCR, 1313- 1318*, 154- 5, 255.; *CCR, 1318- 1323*, 25, 438.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* maintain charitable services like feeding the poor and providing hospitality.¹⁵³ Despite this, the king also ordered that all moveable goods were to remain with the current owners and though he stipulated that satisfaction be made for the value of corn, the Templar estates were stripped before they were handed over to the Hospitallers. Philip Slavin has estimated that the Templars owned about 22,000 acres of arable land, 21,500 acres of grassland and 8,600 acres of woodland producing a total of 64,500 acres on the eve of the Order's suppression, which generated an annual income of £4,700.¹⁵⁴ Unsure of how long exactly they would be able to keep ahold of possession, the keepers of the former Templar estates put into play a number of practices with the aim of turning a short term profit. Livestock was sold and arable land was exploited as much as possible, a combination which stripped the soil of its fertility. Woodland was depleted of its timber and there was no repair or maintenance of the Templar buildings.¹⁵⁵ Other properties such as Etton, a *camera* of Flaxfleet in East Yorkshire, were simply neglected completely. Excavations there have revealed that there had been a roughly ten year period of disuse from the suppression of the Templars.¹⁵⁶

The Hospitallers' fight for possession of the Templar's lands continued on throughout the remainder of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth with the Order frequently resorting to seeking the king's help both in gaining hold of property and in

¹⁵³ *CCR 1323- 1327*, 91.; Phillips, *Prior*, 8.

¹⁵⁴ Philip Slavin, 'Landed estates of the Knights Templar in England and Wales and their management in the early fourteenth century,' in *Journal of Historical Geography* 42 (2013), 38.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 47-8.; See also Larking and Kemble, lviii.

¹⁵⁶ Gilchrist, 93.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* compelling former Templar tenants to pay their rent.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, the Hospitallers were forced to resort to bribes of cash and land. In 1324, the prior of England, Thomas Larcher, gave Hugh Despenser five Templar manors, Penkem in Wales, Bisham in Berkshire, Temple Guiting in Gloucestershire, Bulstrode in Buckinghamshire, and Carlton in Lincolnshire.¹⁵⁸ The king was given the preceptories of Denny in Cambridgeshire, Strood in Kent, and Flaxfleet, Templehurst, and Temple Newsam in Yorkshire, all worth £500 a year.¹⁵⁹ The Report of 1338 also reveals that other officials were also bribed with property and pensions.¹⁶⁰ Progress was made, but slowly, with the Hospitallers only receiving about £458 from Templar lands in 1328, and £1,442 from them in 1338.¹⁶¹ In short, though the acquisition of the Templar lands should have been a windfall for the Hospitallers and did eventually generate income for the Order, this process was never fully completed.¹⁶² The Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland were never able to gain all the Templar lands that they were entitled to, and the lands that they were able to gain access to were much abused and certainly in no condition for the

¹⁵⁷ For example, in 1332: ‘*To the sheriff of Somerset. Whereas the late annulling of the military order of the Temple, the lands of that order, which were held of the late king and of various other lords, were seised into the hands of the late king and the other lords of the fees, who claimed them as their escheats, and in a parliament convoked at the Purification, in the 17th year of the late king’s reign, it was agreed that neither the king more any other lord of those fees nor any other should have any title or right to retain the lands as escheats or otherwise, or of claiming them afterwards by reason of the said annulling; and because the order of the brethren of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem was likewise instituted for the defence of Christians and of Holy Church, it was agreed in the same parliament that all the lands, demesnes, fees, churches, advowsons of churches, and liberties that belonged to the said Templars at the time of the annulling should be assigned and delivered to the said order of the Hospitallers for ever, and the late king, with the consent of the earls, barons, and procures, assigned all the said lands, etc. to the said prior and brethren, to be held of the king and other lords by the same services as the Templars held them by, and afterwards the prior and brethren of the Hospital complained to the king that divers men in co. Somerset, having no consideration for the said statute, occupy divers lands that belonged to the Templars, pretending that they ought to belong to them as escheats; the king therefore orders that sheriff to take into the king’s hands without delay all the lands, etc. in that bailiwick that belonged to the Templars, and are occupied as aforesaid, and to keep them safely until further orders, certifying the king of the names of those so occupying them, and of the extent and annual value of the said lands, etc.*’ CCR, 1330-1333, 496.; see also Perkins, ‘Fall of the Temple’, 287; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1327- 1330, 84, 147, 152, 354; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1330- 1333, 244, 377, 414.

¹⁵⁸ CCR, 1327- 1330, 13, 86; CCR, 1333- 1337, 211; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345- 1348, 22. Worth £260 a year- In 1338 Report £282 13s. 4d., Letter of the English preceptors, in Larking and Kemble, 212-3.

¹⁵⁹ Rymer, *Foedera*, ii. 567; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377- 1381, 444.; Leys, 162.

¹⁶⁰ Larking and Kemble, 56, 116, 153, 210-11; Tipton, ‘1330 Chapter-general’, 298- 299.

¹⁶¹ ‘Letter of the English preceptors’, in Larking and Kemble, 217; Leys, 163.

¹⁶² Perkins has estimated that the Templar properties brought in an income of around £5,000 during peace time, a sum which would have greatly helped the Hospitallers had they been able to obtain it.; Clarence Perkins, ‘The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the Disposition of it after their Dissolution,’ in *The American Historical Review* 15, no. 2 (1910), 253, 259.

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immediate augmentation of the Order's fortunes, to say nothing of the money expended on bribes and gifts during the long process of acquisition.

The troubles that the Hospitallers had in gaining the Templar properties must be viewed in conjunction both with the possible mismanagement of Hospitaller property in Britain and Ireland and the payments levied on the western provinces by the grand master for the capture of Rhodes, as all of these factors placed a heavy strain on the finances of the English priory. Despite the eagerness of the English priors and preceptors at Melchbourne to help in the recovery of the priory as described above, there are certainly indicators in the Report of 1338 which point to mismanagement, including several references to ruined houses, liquidated property, shortsighted rental agreements, and large numbers of expensive corrody agreements.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, the Report also makes provision in many places for the maintenance of their properties, for example in the setting aside of monies to repair buildings at Ansty in Wiltshire and Bodmiscombe in Devon.¹⁶⁴ Additionally, a substantial portion of the expenses of each of the larger houses in 1338 was consumed in the provisioning of hospitality and the distribution of alms can also be seen as well. This of course, does not exclude the possibility of embezzlement and neglect but does suggest a certain degree of responsibility and care.

While fourteenth century efforts at reform and redemption were largely successful in getting the Langue back on its feet, they came at the price of further loans with Leonard Tibertis borrowing an additional £2,337 11s. 4d.¹⁶⁵ So, in 1328, the income of the priory, with the addition of the new loan, was £9,468 12s. 5d. of which £1,235 5s. 4d. was earmarked satisfy new debts, £5,573 2s. 3d. went towards the old ones, £848 5d. went to the Bardi, and £1,051 12s. 11d. went to the Peruzzi., leaving a remainder of only £760 11s. 6d.¹⁶⁶ Consequently, additional loans had to be taken out to meet the expenses of the priory and to keep up with loan payments and Perkins has

¹⁶³ See for example, the preceptory of Fryer Mayne in Dorset which was ruined by fire and could not be repaired., Larking and Kemble, 10.; See discussion on corrodies in 1338 in chapter four.

¹⁶⁴ Larking and Kemble, 8, 14.

¹⁶⁵ Leonard Tibertis mortgaged his personal jewels in order to help raise these new loans., Larking and Kemble, lviii, 217, 219 (Letter from Thomas Larcher *et al.*); Sloane and Malcolm, 69.

¹⁶⁶ Larking and Kemble, lviii, 217, 219 (Letter from Thomas Larcher *et al.*)

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* argued that initially, the debt of the priory continued to rise instead of diminish.¹⁶⁷ In 1331, the debts of the Hospitallers amounted to £12,961-3-4 and by 1332 it had risen to £14,978.¹⁶⁸ In 1333, in the face of these mounting debts, the prior was forced to mortgage some of the priory's moveable goods for an addition loan from the Bardi and the Peruzzi, bringing the total of their debt up to £17, 659.¹⁶⁹ Eventually, the priory was able to make a slow recovery but Perkins argued that it was not truly financially solvent until 1348 and that the eventual recovery of the Temple lands may have helped in this respect, though it had been a frustrating and financially burdensome process to begin with.¹⁷⁰

Royal demands

In addition to juggling its own finances, there was also the very real necessity for the priory to work within the political complexities that it lived and worked in. As one of the largest landowners in the country, the Order regularly lent sums of money to the king who was not always good at settling his debts in a timely manner.¹⁷¹ In 1337, the king seized the priory's responsions and failed to pay them back for at least two years and in 1346, the prior lent the king an additional 2,000 florins.¹⁷² The king's need for money to fight his war with France also generated taxes, and in particular a tax on wool.¹⁷³ Though, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland were involved in the production of wool there is no doubt that the

¹⁶⁷ See *CCR, 1330- 1333*, 151-2, 156, 289, 296-7, 304-5, 310, 327.

¹⁶⁸ Perkins, 'Fall of the Temple', 287.

¹⁶⁹ 'Enrolment of sale by brother Leonard de Tibertis, prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, to James Nicholas, and Alexander de Bardis and their fellows, merchants of the society of the Bardi of Florence, to Stephen Huguicionis, John Tani Baroncelli, John Junction, and Henry Accrues and their fellows, merchants of the society of the Peruzzi of Florence, of 380 horses, 399 oxen, 572 oxen, 572 cows, 137 calves, 1,201 pigs, 10,353 sheep, 2,620 lambs, 40 sacks of wool, and their silver vessels of the weight of 200 marks, in the following manors: Swynefeld, Bonyngton, Canterbury diocese; Brougham, Rochester diocese; Hampton, Herefeld, Wydemere, Clerkenwell, Boys, Barnet, Wyles, Reynham, More, Ginges, Cressyng, Wytham and Hanyngefeld, London diocese; Godefeld, Winchester diocese; Bothemescombe, Exeter diocese; Hetheryngton, Gildesburgh, Swineford, Rothele, Gaynesburgh, Wyleghton, Bruer, Brauncewell, Rouston and Kirkeby, Lincoln diocese; Asshele, Togrind, Wylburgham and Dokesworth, Ely diocese, for 2,681 marks, 2 s. 11d. legal sterlings paid to the said prior by the said merchants, so that, upon payment of the said money, they will return the said animals, etc. to the prior. Dated at Clerkenwell on 2 July 1333.'; *CCR, 1333- 1337*, 124.

¹⁷⁰ Perkins, 'Fall of the Temple', 288-9.

¹⁷¹ Phillips, *Prior*, 27.

¹⁷² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334- 1338*, 549; *CCR 1337- 1339*, 632; Phillips, *Prior*, 27-8.

¹⁷³ Phillips, *Prior*, 28.

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king's various taxes were keenly felt, particularly where the Order's collection of alms was concerned as people, burdened by tax, had ceased to give as generously as they once had. The collection at Godsfield in Hampshire, for example, had dropped by 20 marks.¹⁷⁴ Additionally, though they helped the priory start to manage its debt by setting out a new set of repayment terms with the Bardi and the Peruzzi, the measures that Leonard Tibertis set in place ultimately did little to safeguard against the inevitable possibility that the central convent of the Order would again, at some point, require large sums of extra money from the European priories.

Re-examination of the 1338 Report

Having explained the financial demands placed on the English Langue by events in the East and the various difficulties which the brethren encountered in realising the avenues of income available to them in their western properties, we may move now to consider the degree to which the Langue was able to perform its primary role of paying its responsions in the face of these setbacks. However, as much of the information on the finances and organisation of the English brethren and their properties contained in such an assessment must necessarily be drawn from the Report of 1338, the process behind the compilation of this document would seem to warrant a few words. With good reason, the Report of 1338 remains a valuable tool for the study of the Hospitallers in Britain; it gives the most detailed information on the location, size, and composition of the houses, the occupations of their members, and the variety of ways in which the Order involved itself within the national and local communities. As such, it remains the document from which much of the information in this study is pulled.

The motivation behind the creation of the Report is easily explained as a response to both the financial distress of the Hospitaller Order in general and the bankruptcy of the English Langue in particular over the course of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. After the loss of the Holy Land in 1291 and the dissolution of the Templars in 1312, Pope Benedict XII ordered a general survey of the properties of the Order of the Hospital in early 1338, citing the breakdown of the moral

¹⁷⁴ Larking and Kemble, 21.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* purpose and financial discipline of the Order as his reasons for doing so.¹⁷⁵ Despite Benedict's far-reaching plans for reform, however, it is unclear how many of these surveys were actually undertaken as only two now exist: one for the priory of Provence and the other for England.¹⁷⁶ Though these two surviving surveys differ slightly in form and content, the survey produced for Provence can be used to shed light on the process of compilation that produced the report from the English Langue.

Both reports contain information on the incomes, expenses and rights of the larger properties and their dependents as well as the names, ages, and ranks of the brothers living in them. However, the Provence survey also contains the dates on which the Order's investigators visited each house, making it possible to determine both the length of time it took to complete the entire survey and roughly how long was spent travelling from property to property. Given that the whole of the Provence report was undertaken in the period from late May of 1338 to Lent the following year, Damien Carraz has estimated an average of three days per large house, including travel.¹⁷⁷ Information on the Order's properties was given in the form of witness testimonials gathered at the large houses, making it clear that information for the smaller dependencies was gathered centrally at the larger houses, rather than having been visited in person by the investigators.¹⁷⁸ The report from the English priory, however, contains little of this kind of detailed information on the means by which the information it contains was gathered. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that those charged with the gathering of information had roughly the same time frame of completion as the investigators in Provence to complete their task. If one assumes that the Report of 1338 lists properties in the order in which they were visited, it is possible to reproduce a clear route of travel, starting at the preceptory of Greenham in Berkshire, travelling west to Dorset and Cornwall before backtracking to Somerset, detouring slightly into Wales and then following the string of properties up a northerly route to the

¹⁷⁵ Carraz points out that while the Hospitallers, as a crusading military order, came under special scrutiny, Benedict's demands should be seen as part of his larger agenda of monastic reform and that the Cistercians had been ordered to undertake a similar process in 1335.; Carraz, 3-4.

¹⁷⁶ Beaucage argues that these surveys were carried out throughout the western properties of the Order, See *Visites générales*, 11.; However, Carraz has argued that this is unlikely as no trace of these now exist., Carraz, 15.

¹⁷⁷ Carraz, 5- 6.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

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Northumberland before returning down through the properties on the eastern half of the country before finally ending at Clerkenwell. (See Map 2 below) If this route is accurate, then it is also reasonable to assume that the information on the *membra* and *camerae* of the English and Welsh properties was gathered centrally at the preceptories as many of these properties were spread quite far apart and would have taken the investigators on a much less direct route.



Map 2: Possible Data Collection Route 1338

Though a likely itinerary for information gathering has been suggested here, questions remain as to how information was gathered at the English preceptories and by whom. The Provence survey was undertaken by a team of brothers which had been designated by a papal assembly at Lyon in early 1338. It was also this same assembly

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Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* which decided on the form that this survey would take, specifying which questions were to be asked, which information gathered.¹⁷⁹ However, the report for the English priory contains no mention of witness testimony, nor is it clear whether there was a team of investigators gathering information or whether this process was undertaken by the English prior himself. The entries for the larger houses in the English Report of 1338 do list expenses for visitation by the Prior, usually for a period of two to three days, indicating that the Prior of England did, or at least was supposed to, travel about the country annually, inspecting the Order's properties.¹⁸⁰ It is possible that it was during one of these regular rounds of visitation that the information for the Report of 1338 was gathered by the prior, but there is no way of knowing for certain. It is clear that many houses did not see the prior visit annually as this expense is absent from the entries of Bodmiscomb, Trebeigh, Halston and Dongelwal (Ysbytty Ifan), Mount St John, Skirbeck, Dalby, Melchbourne, Chibburn, and Sutton-at-Hone.¹⁸¹ The prior's absence from Sutton-at-Hone in 1338 might be explained away as a consequence of this preceptory having been leased out by this time and perhaps the lack of visitation to Halston and Dongelwal in Shropshire and Northern Wales, Chibburn in Northumberland, Mount St John in Yorkshire, Bodmiscomb in Devon, Trebeigh in Cornwall, or even Skirbeck in Lincolnshire, was simply a consequence of the distance of these places from Clerkenwell. However, distance does not explain the absence of the prior's visits from Melchbourne in Bedfordshire though it is possible that annual visitations to this preceptory were unnecessary as chapter meetings were regularly held there until 1339.¹⁸² Distance may also explain the omission of all of the Order's properties in Scotland and Ireland, though certainly war in Scotland had made the Scottish properties inaccessible and relations between the components of the English Langue were such that by the fourteenth century, the English Prior would have had little to do with the finances of the largely independent Scottish and Irish priories.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁸⁰ Larking and Kemble, 5, 8, 12, 19, 23, 25, 27, 29, 33, 36, 42, 44, 45, 51, 55, 59, 67, 69, 74, 77, 80, 83, 86, 88, 89, 92.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 13- 4, 15- 6, 38- 40, 47- 8, 52- 3, 60- 2, 63- 5, 70- 2, 93.

¹⁸² Sloane and Malcolm, 205.

Alternatively, it is possible that the information contained in the Report of 1338 had nothing to do with the annual visitation of the prior and was either based on information generated through a different means of firsthand information gathering such as a single tour made by a team of investigators specifically for this purpose, such as that undertaken in Provence, or was drawn from inventories sent to Clerkenwell from the individual preceptors or their agents. Whatever the method of compilation, there remains the possibility of misinterpretation and/or exaggeration of information. While a report fashioned from a firsthand visit might have produced a certain degree of accuracy, it may also reflect the misunderstanding of local organisation and regional variation by the individual, or individuals, who were tasked with the production of a document that was meant to be read as an organised whole. Similarly, if the Report is the compilation of individual inventories reworked into a coherent and uniform document, subtleties of regional practice may have been adjusted into a single standard of administrative hierarchical organisation, that of the preceptory, the *camerae*, and the *membra*. Furthermore, accuracy in the record of exact numbers of land, animals, and income may have been neglected in favour of providing rough estimates.

Though entries contained in the Report of 1338 are extensive and appear at first glance to be generally straight forward, one can find several instances of estimated amounts listed for income. A good example of this is the entries which list the revenue from dovecotes; nine of the twenty one preceptories that reported income from dovecotes gave an amount of 6 shillings or 6 shillings 8 pence.¹⁸³ In his introduction to the 1857 transcription of this document, Larking wrote that the income from the dovecotes seemed quite high “unless we suppose pigeons to have been the very favourite food of our forefathers.”¹⁸⁴ However, pigeons provided meat and fertiliser and were a valuable commodity that only landowning individuals and institutions had the right to keep and so their value may not have been exaggerated. Hence, it is not necessarily the *value* of the income from the dovecotes that raises a red flag but rather the *uniformity* of the values given for a source of income that should have been quite varied. Unless one accepts that each of these houses kept and sold the same number of birds for the same price, one must assume that these incomes are estimations. This

¹⁸³ Larking and Kemble, 7, 10, 30, 41, 50, 63, 68, 81, 84.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, xviii.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* stands in sharp contrast with highly detailed expenses for the day-to-day running of the houses which range from the expenses of the kitchen to the salaries of the servants, the clothing of the brothers, the stabling of the visitor’s horses, and so on and so forth.

However, much more suspicious than estimates are the omissions from the Report of 1338. Though it purports to list all Hospitaller properties belonging to the English Language, it does not. For example, only two churches of the eleven that would have been held by the preceptory of Melchbourne in Bedfordshire, or in adjoining counties, are included.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, the incomes from Ireland and Scotland, as mentioned above, are also missing though both priories belonged to the English Language. However, while the omissions of Scotland and Ireland might be dismissed as part of a complicated struggle for regional autonomy within the Language itself, the Report of 1338 also fails to mention hospitals which the Order is known to have held such as the one at Hereford, and industry such as mining and saltworks.¹⁸⁶ Another fundamental missing feature of the Report of 1338 is the income from the sale of wool which is listed for the *camera* of Hampton in Middlesex and nowhere else. This is not to say that sheep or other animals are entirely absent from the Report but the way in which they are included is convoluted: sometimes land for pasture is listed and sometimes the animals themselves. Values are given in the Report for land to support 253 cattle, 3,080 sheep, 100 goats, and an unspecified number of pigs.¹⁸⁷ It would be impossible to say how these totals reflect the numbers of animals actually owned by the Order in 1338 but clearly these numbers are much too small. For instance, there are no animals listed in the income for Willoughton or its *membra* with the exception of Walcote which had been let to farm to John de Manneby for life since the time of Thomas Larcher. Here, a profit of 20 marks is listed ‘*de proficuo stauri, tam bidentium quam aliorum animalium, in omnibus*

¹⁸⁵ The churches granted to the order with Melchbourne were: Dean, Souldrop, Riseley, Eaton Socon with Harvgrave (Northamptonshire), Eaking, Ossington, Winkborne (Nottinghamshire), and the church at Melchbourne. The church of Eversholt was acquired in 1247, and the churches of Langford and Little Staughton were Templar possessions that passed on to the Hospitallers after the dissolution of that order.; *VCH Bedford, i, 394.*

¹⁸⁶ See chapter four for hospitals and chapter five for industry.

¹⁸⁷ The goats are a rarity in the Report and are only listed at Bodmiscombe in Devon: Larking and Kemble, 13.; This is not to say that other properties did not keep goats, only that they are not mentioned elsewhere.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales placeis predictis.*¹⁸⁸ It is unclear as to why the profits from all animals for Willoughton and its *membra* should be listed under Walcote as pasture is certainly mentioned in other places. Either all the animals generating profit were kept on land at Walcote rather than at the other *membra* or perhaps the animals happened to be listed under the income from Walcote but were not actually located there. In either instance, there is no number of animals nor are specifics on their type given. One might assume that ‘sheep and other animals’ refers to mostly sheep and probably a smaller number of cattle or a small number of pigs or goats: for example, in 1333, the manor at Moor Hall in Essex kept two cart-horses, three oxen, one bull, twenty cows, six stotts (draught horses), five calves, two rams, 2 muttons, 133 ewes; proportionately the size of the sheep flock was much higher than that of the cattle.¹⁸⁹ The letter of Brother Hugh Middleton from 1448 mentions that there were at least 1500 sheep at the preceptory of Willoughton in Lincolnshire in 1448 and while there is a gap of 111 years between this date and the inventory of 1338 during which time arable land could have been turned over to pasture for increased flock sizes, it is also possible that livestock number remained low as Hospitaller properties continued to contract after the fourteenth century and the numbers of brethren dwindled.¹⁹⁰

Additionally, there are also instances of identical numbers in the Report of 1338 which make one wonder about accuracy. For example, at Mayne in Dorset pasture is listed for six bulls, eight cows, and one hundred sheep with an income of 22s. 4d.¹⁹¹ This is precisely the income for pasture listed for Waye, the *membrum* of Mayne, the only difference in the entries being that six cows and eight bulls are listed at Waye and six bulls and eight cows are listed at Mayne.¹⁹² Similarly, as the numbers for sheep are almost always given in whole hundreds it is unlikely that these reflect exact numbers. It may be possible that this is a reflection of potential rather than reality in that there was pasture that could sustain x number of sheep at certain places rather than there were x

¹⁸⁸ ‘...of the profits of stock, both for sheep and other animals, in all the places mentioned before.’, Larking and Kemble, 149.

¹⁸⁹ Gervers, *Secunda*, lxxii.

¹⁹⁰ Edwin King, ed., *A Letter from Brother Hugh Middleton, Knight of the Order of St. John and Turcopolier of Rhodes, to his agent in England, written about 1448* (London: St. John’s Gate, 1930), 33.

¹⁹¹ Larking and Kemble, 11.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 11.

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number of sheep at those place. In some instances, speculative income is clearly identified. Profit is shown for ten cows and 400 sheep at Ansty in Wiltshire but the Report also specifies that it would be possible to sustain 900 sheep.

*Item ibidem de proficuo decem vaccarum iij c. bidentum, c s.
Et possent sustenari ibidem ix c. bidentes.*¹⁹³

At Greenham in Berkshire a memorandum was added to which stated that the preceptory had produced no profit from its stock as everything had been sold by Thomas Larcher, previous Prior of England, but that this was a potential source of future income which would result in more money towards the payment of responsions.

*Quod de stauro nichil hiis diebus, quia vendebuntur tempore fratris Thome Larcher; tamen possent ibidem sustentari xx. vacce et vc bidentes, qui multum solebant juvare pro responsione solvenda.*¹⁹⁴

Given these estimations and omissions, the question ultimately becomes one of intent: what picture did the English brethren hope to convey in this survey and what does this say about the administration of the houses of the English Langue? Though the brethren of the Hospital took oaths of poverty, chastity, and obedience as other religious did, they gained a reputation for extravagant living over the course of their history¹⁹⁵ and their opulence is often pointed to as the cause of the fourteenth century financial trouble in Britain: the English brothers were living beyond their means and when they started to flounder, measures were put into action that exacerbated the situation even further. The omissions of the English Report and its speculative incomes coupled with constant pleas of poverty throughout suggest a document that did not accurately reflect actual income and expense but rather sought to minimise income and maximise expense.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁹⁵ See for example, Larking and Kemble, xiv: ‘The knights took lands, raised rents, and imposed taxes and tolls, always saying, and perhaps sometimes believing, that this was what their vow of poverty and abnegation required. Poverty exchanged for wealth, weakness for power, humility for arrogance...’; See also Nicholson, *Images*, 41-2.

However, the 1338 report from Provence might once again be used here to shed some light on the English inventory. Carraz has pointed to a similar lack in the use of exact figures and to similar omissions of revenue items such as livestock in the incomes from Provence and has argued that while both of these practices seem suspicious at first, the intent of the report was to reflect the landed goods of each house and the revenues of its preceptors.¹⁹⁶ Carraz argued that the report from Provence was never intended to highlight the religious and charitable missions of the houses but rather to give some idea of the state of the Order's properties in the event of Eastern mobilisation, to take stock of its Templar additions, and ultimately to remind the Order that it was under papal scrutiny.¹⁹⁷ In this light the use of estimates rather than exact figures, as with the incomes for dovecotes in the English Report of 1338, may reflect an attempt to standardise data for comparison between houses: the listing of pasture land to support x number of sheep then reads like a prudent suggestion for the future. The English Report also lists Templar properties not yet in the hands of the Hospital in 1338 and these too are figured into the total income for the Langue though they could not have been drawing any money from them at that point in time. However, these properties rightfully belonged to the Hospitallers and if we assume that the Report of 1338 was attempting to detail *all* of its landed resources that had the potential to generate income, then the inclusion of these possessions makes perfect sense. As a record of the English priory's potential value and ability to generate responsions the Report would have been valuable information for Grand Master Villeneuve in 1338, as will become clear below.

Responsions

Responson payments generally comprised a third of each of the houses' surplus income which was then sent to the central convent of the Order.¹⁹⁸ Only a handful of the Order's accounts have survived for the period under discussion here, but the available evidence suggests that the houses in Britain and Ireland experienced a severe drop in

¹⁹⁶ Carraz, 10- 11. ; Michael Gervers has made a similar argument about the English Report of 1338. See Michael Gervers, ed., *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: Part 2, Prima Camera*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), xxxix.

¹⁹⁷ Carraz, 10- 17.

¹⁹⁸ Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070- 1309*, 189.; See also that a third part, '*tertia pars*,' is earmarked from the total value of the English Langue for the payment of responsions., Larking and Kemble, 213.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* incomes during the first three decades of the fourteenth century. In 1295 the priories of England and Ireland returned 5,000 (£3,333 13s. 4d.) marks to the Central Convent of the Order.¹⁹⁹ If this represented a third of income, then the total income of the priories in 1295 would have been 15,000 marks (£10,001). Later, in 1319/ 1320, the total value of the Hospitaller properties in England and Wales was 7,204 marks 16d. (£4,802 14s. 8d.). (see table below) Scotland produced no value on account of war and it is also specified that Northumberland had a low return of only 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) for the same reason.²⁰⁰ The addition of the Templar properties that the Hospitallers had been able to acquire by this time added another 479 and a half marks (£319 13s. 2d.) to the total, bringing the value of the English priory to 7,683 marks 8s. or £5,122 6s. 10d.²⁰¹ Ireland, too had its areas whose value was affected by war and the 1319/ 1320 inventory specifies that Connacht and New Castle were destroyed and unable to return any income.²⁰² The rest of the priory returned 1,102 marks (£734 13s. 4d.) which was augmented by the acquisition of Templar properties and added another 377 marks 3s. 4d. (£251 10s.) to the total, bringing the value of the Irish priory to 1,479 marks 3s. 4d. or £986 3s. 4d.²⁰³ As a whole, the Langue of England produced a value of 9,162 marks 11s. 4d. (6,108 10s. 2d. in 1319/1320. (See Table 1 below)

Table 1: Income for the Langue of England, 1319/ 1320

	1319/ 1320 Incomes
England & Wales	7,204 marks 16d. (£4,802 14s. 8d.)
Scotland	<i>nil</i>
Templar Additions	479½ marks (£319 13s. 2d.)
<i>Total for the Priory of England</i>	7,683 marks 8s. (£5,122 6s. 10d.)
Ireland	1,102 marks (£734 13s. 4d.)
Templar Properties	377 marks 3s. 4d. (£251 10s.)

¹⁹⁹ Sloane and Malcolm, 205.

²⁰⁰ Joachim Miret y Sans, *Les Cases de Templiers y Hospitalers en Catalunya, aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona: Imprenta de la casa provincial de Caritate, 1910), 401.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 402.

	1319/ 1320 Incomes
<i>Total for the Priory of Ireland</i>	1,479 marks 3s. 4d. (£986 3s. 4d.)
Total	9, 162 marks 11s. 4d. (£6,108 10s. 2d.)

As these amounts represent total values for the priories of England and Ireland, it is difficult to calculate what would have been paid in responsions at this time as this was a payment levied on income after the expenses of the house had been deducted. However, with the values given, the priory of England would seem to have owed responsions of about 2,561 marks (£1,707) and Ireland about 493 marks (£328), bringing the total for the Langue to roughly 3,054 marks (£2,035). (see table below) If the total responsions paid at in 1319/ 21 for the priories of England and Ireland amounted to 3,054 marks (£2,036) then this would represent a sharp decrease in the amount that it had returned in 1295 of 5,000 marks (£3,333 13s. 4d.), a difference of roughly 1,946 marks (£1,298).²⁰⁴ (See Table 2 below)

Table 2: Responsions for the Langue of England, 1319/ 1320

	Responsions 1319/1320
Priory of England	2,561 marks (£1,707)
Priory of Ireland	493 marks (£328)
<i>Total responsions for the Langue of England</i>	3,054 marks (£2,036)
Responsions paid in 1295	5,000 marks (£3,333 13s. 4d.)
Difference in responsions from 1295 to 1319/ 1320	1,946 marks (£1,298)

This drop in the fortunes of the English Langue is indicative of the financial bankruptcy experienced by the Order as a whole in the early fourteenth century, as described above. In response to this crisis, a meeting of the general chapter was called

²⁰⁴ Sloane and Malcolm, 205.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* in 1330, which set a special levy to help bring the Order out of debt, and a rate of responsions was negotiated for each of the western priories for the next ten year period, from 1331 to 1341. As Tipton writes, the amounts set for each of the priories gives a good indication of the state of their respective finances and the amounts that each might be reasonably able to contribute annually. While the priories and houses of France, Campania, Navarre, Aquitaine, Saint-Gilles of Toulouse, Auvergne, Portugal, Messina, Capua, Pisa, Venice, Lombardy, Naples, Hungary, St Stephen of Monopoli, St Eufemia, Germany and Thuringia, Bohemia, Saxony and Slavia, Denmark and Norway were able to contribute varying sums in subsidy in addition to their responsions, England and Ireland apparently did not though they were set an annual responsion plan.²⁰⁵ For the priories of England and Ireland, the chapter decided:

*Item prior Anglie pro anno finiendo in Sancte Johanne MCCCXXXI florins viii^m. Et eodem modo idem prior pro octo annis postea sequentibus videlicet quolibet; ipsorum annorum florins viii^m. Item et duobus annis sequentibus quolibet ipsorum annorum florins xvi^m. Item prior Ibernice in festo Sancti Johannis proximo futuro anno domini MCCCXXXI florins ii^m, et quinque annis sequentibus quolibet ipsorum annorum florins ii^m, et sex[to] anno florins ii^miiii^c, septimo anno ii^mvi^c, item octavo anno ii^mviii^c, item nono et decimo annis responsionem responsionem antiquam videlicet florins ii^m.*²⁰⁶

Each year from 1331 to 1339, England was to pay 8,000 florins (roughly £2,100) and this would then double to 16,000 florins (£4,200) in 1340 and 1341, bringing the total owed by England over this ten year period to 104,000 florins (£2,730).²⁰⁷ Ireland followed a somewhat different plan. Instead of its responsions being raised over time as England's were, it owed 2,000 florins (£525) each year for five years from 1331 to 1336. Over the next three years the amount was to be raised each year with 2,400 florins (£630) owed in 1337, 2,600 florins (£682 6s.) owed in 1338, and 2,800 florins (£735) owed in 1339. However, in 1340, responsions returned to the lower rate of 2,000 florins

²⁰⁵ Tipton, '1330 Chapter General', 302- 3.

²⁰⁶ 'Also, the prior of England for the year closing at St John's day 1331, 8,000 florins. And in the same way for the same prior for eight years following afterwards, each year 8,000 florins. Also, for two years following, each year 16,000 florins. Also for the prior of Ireland at the feast of St John in the next year of our Lord 1331, 2,000 florins and five years following, each year 2,000 florins, and the sixth year, 2,400 florins, the seventh year 2,600 florins, the eighth year 2,800 florins and the ninth and tenth years back to the original responsion, namely 2,000 florins.'; *Ibid.*, 304.

²⁰⁷ Exchange rate between Florentine florins and English shillings and pence sterling taken from Spufford *et al.*, 200. While the rate between 1331 and 1341 fluctuated frequently with a high of 4 s. per florin in 1338 and a low of 2 s. 11 d. 12 m. in 1336, a median average of 3 s. 3 d. per florin has been used in the calculations given here.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* (£525) and remained at that amount through to 1341 as well. Over the total of the ten year period, Ireland was to pay a total 23,800 florins (£6,247 6s.) in responsions.

Tipton argued that the varied amounts expected from England and Ireland within this ten year period reflect the acknowledgement of the financial difficulties experienced there, a situation which was explained, no doubt, by Leonard Tibertis, who attended the meeting as the Prior of England.²⁰⁸ The letter from Thomas Larcher and the English preceptors to the Grand Master in 1328 reveals that in that year the priory of England was in arrears for £458 22*d.* for its responcion dues, suggesting that either the rate of payment had been lower prior to the goals set for 1330, or that the priory had at least been able to a portion of what it owed.²⁰⁹ The Report of 1338 indicates that Leonard de Tibertis' reforms had the desired effect, as it gives a potential surplus of income over expenses in the general treasury of the English priory at Clerkenwell in that year. It should be noted here though, that there are two amounts listed for total income in the Report of 1338, both 5,739 marks 4*s.* 6*d.* (£3,826 4*s.* 6*d.*) and later a much higher 10,259 marks 3*s.* 1*d.* (£6,839 9*s.* 9*d.*).²¹⁰ It is difficult to determine why there is such a large discrepancy between the two totals and while one might think at first that the second total reflects the addition of Templar lands not yet in Hospitaller hands, the amounts listed for these properties named in the Report only add up to another 1,165 marks (£776 13*s.* 4*d.*), still leaving a gap of 3,354 marks 9*s.* 9*d.* (£2,236 9*s.* 9*d.*).²¹¹ Still perhaps more perplexing is that, when added together all of the incomes totals listed in the entries of the Report amount to £3,775 5*s.* 1*d.*, an amount which comes very close to but does not match the smaller of the two totals given. Despite the confusion introduced by these different totals, it is clear that in 1338, the income of the English Langue was such that it would have been able to pay its responsions.

As part of the English priory, the Welsh properties of the Order in 1338 all contributed to the total value of the priory, discussed above. Halston reported a value of

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 298- 99, 302.

²⁰⁹ 'Letter of the English preceptors' in Larking and Kemble, 217.

²¹⁰ Larking and Kemble, 202, 213.

²¹¹ For the list of Templar properties not yet in Hospitaller hands, see Larking and Kemble, 211.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* 116 marks 12s. 2d. (£77 18s. 10d.).²¹² Dinmore returned a slightly higher value of 150 marks 5s. 6d. ob. (£100 5s. 6d. ob.).²¹³ Slebech, however, produced the highest value of all the Welsh houses with 258 marks 12s. 7d. ob. (£172 12s. 7d. ob.).²¹⁴ In total, the Welsh properties contributed a total of 526 marks 3s. 8d. (£350 17s.) to the total value of the general treasury of the English priory in 1338. Scotland, of course, produced nothing towards the payment of responsions in this year, as discussed in previously. It is even more difficult to determine the amount paid in responsions by the Irish priory during this same period as the *Registrum de Kilmainham* fails to provide the same amount of detail on the Irish value of the Irish holdings as the Report of 1338 does. Nevertheless, it is clear from the appointment of brothers to the various preceptories there, that efforts were still being made to collect resposion amounts. The preceptory of Kilsaran was granted to brother Adam Mowr and produced a resposion payment of 80 marks²¹⁵ Kilmainhambeg went to John Mareschal and returned £80.²¹⁶ Kilbarry, Killure, and Crook were given together to William Fincham and amounted to a combined resposion payment of 40 marks.²¹⁷ There is no amount given for the resposion value from the preceptory of Mourne, granted to John son of Richard but the maintenance of resposions payments is mentioned in the terms of the agreement included in the *Registrum*.²¹⁸

The next available figures for the payment of responsions from the English priory are from the years 1373/4 and 1374/5 where it appears to have paid nothing and although Ireland was not listed for 1373/4 it was included in the list for 1374/5 and, like the English priory, returned nothing for that year.²¹⁹ It is possible that these priories

²¹² *Ibid.*, 40; This included incomes from Dongewal, Carnow, and Lanothyn as well.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 33.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

²¹⁵ McNeill, *Registrum*, 97.; McNeill dates this agreement to 1338 but his reasons for doing so are unclear although the *Registrum* does largely cover the period from 1326 to 1339.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 127- 8.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

²¹⁹ Anthony, Luttrell, ed., ‘The Hospitallers’ Western Accounts, 1373/4 and 1374/5’, in *Camden Miscellany XXX*. Camden Fourth Series, Vol. 39. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1990), 8-9.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* were simply in arrears at that time and had continued to fail in making payments. Castile, Portugal, Lombardy, Rome, Messina, Alife, St Eufemia, Monopoli, Barletta, and Hungary are all also listed as returning nothing in 1373/4 although Lombardy did pay for arrears and *spolia* in that year.²²⁰ Only Portugal and Castile returned nothing at all in the same manner as England and Ireland, no responsions, arrears, vacancies, mortuaries, or *spolia*.²²¹ Alternatively, Luttrell has suggested that these priories were not in arrears but may have simply paid their dues via a different avenue, through Venice rather than France.²²² While this represents a clear possibility, the question remains as to why England and Ireland are listed with the other priories in the French accounts if the money from these places was regularly sent elsewhere. The possibility must remain that the priories of England and Ireland simply did not pay their responsions from 1373-1375.

Later Centuries

Though the English priory was able to gain some degree of relief from its desperate financial situation by the close of the fourteenth century, its houses again encountered difficulty in keeping up with the regular responson payments throughout the sixteenth century. While there is a large gap in records relating to the payment of responsions from Britain and Ireland during the fifteenth century, one might be able to draw tentative conclusions from the scattered information that does exist. The 1448 letter of Hugh Middleton, for example, makes it clear that responson payments from at least Temple Bruer, Willoughton, and Maltby were maintained both by Hugh himself from Rhodes and from his agent in England.

Item ye have payyd thre responceions with thys yere present; the first responceion ye paydd after the tente as for Tempyllbrewere Wylughtonne and

²²⁰ The arrears were for previous responsions owed while the payment for *spolia* would have to do with money from the possessions of deceased brethren. One would expect to see *spolia* amounts given in conjunction with the mortuary fees paid to the general treasury on the decease of the preceptor of any given house as they are for France that year which paid 600 florins in mortuaries and 1,928 florins in *spolia*., Luttrell, ‘Western Accounts’, 8.; However the listing of arrears and *spolia* alone in the case of Lombardy in 1373/4 illustrates the general haphazardness of payments from the western priories in that related payments were not necessarily paid in the same year and certainly responsions, or arrears for responsions, were not always kept up with annually.

²²¹ Luttrell, ‘Western Accounts,’ 8-9.

²²² *Ibid.*, 7.

*Maltby; as for the Master Chamberis I have payyd thys yere here be myn
owyn hand...*²²³

It is reasonable to assume that other houses in England were similarly maintained. Both Scotland and Ireland, however, seem to have struggled with their responsions payments during the course of the fifteenth century. As mentioned in chapter one, the Irish priory is estimated by O' Malley to have been able to maintain payments of only £40 at this time and further evidence of financial difficulty might also be seen in the priory's inability to provide hospitality in 1478.²²⁴ The turbulent situation in Scotland during the end of the thirteenth and large majority of the fourteenth centuries, and the Order's trouble in keeping control of its possessions there during that time had continued into the fifteenth century when papal schism created additional difficulties in the ongoing attempt to bring the Order's property in Scotland under control through the granting of lands to different people through different grand masters supporting different popes.²²⁵ The problem was largely one of competing claims and so in 1418 it was stipulated by the grand master of the Order that all three claimants, John Benyn, Thomas Goodwin, and Alexander Leighton, would each hold a portion of the Scottish lands and would each contribute to an annual responcion payment of 400 gold florins.²²⁶ It is unclear whether this happened or not as administration of the Scottish properties continued to be confused after this date. In 1440s, Brother Andrew Meldrum, the master of Torphichen at that time, was summoned repeatedly to Rhodes to give an account of himself and the Order's property as no responsions had been paid for Scotland for years.²²⁷ Towards the end of the fifteenth century, William Knollis took control of the Scottish properties and paid his responsions through the 1490s.²²⁸

²²³ 'Item: you have paid three Responsions with this year present; the first Reponcion you paid after the tente (attempt, i.e. on Rhodes in 1444), as for Temple-Bruer, Willoughton and Maltby; as for the Master's Chambers (i.e. Peckham), I have paid this three years by my own hand...'; King, *Letter of Brother Hugh Middleton*, 7, 13.; (King's translation).

²²⁴ O'Malley, 239; Phillips, *Prior*, 8.

²²⁵ For a more full discussion on the effects of papal schism in Scotland see Charles L. Tipton, 'The English and Scottish Hospitallers during the Great Schism,' in *The Catholic Historical Review* 52, no. 2 (Jul., 1966), 240- 245.; John Edwards, 'The Hospitallers in Scotland in the Fifteenth Century,' in *The Scottish Historical Review* 9, no. 33 (1911): 52- 68.; Cowan, et al., *Knights of St. John*, xxxvii- xl.

²²⁶ Edwards, 68.

²²⁷ Cowan, et al., *Knights of St. John*, xlii.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, xlvi.

The National Library of Malta contains detailed records relating to the payment of responsions during the 1520s and 30s. There is no indication that the priory of England was greatly in arrears at this time, suggesting that if there had been significant lapses in payment during the fifteenth century, this had already been made up for by the 1520s. From these records it is clear that responsions from England and Wales were being paid regularly if not always completely. A good illustration of this trend can be seen in the account entries related to the house of the sisters of the Order at Buckland in Somerset. (See Table 3 below) Though in 1338, this house contributed nothing to the general treasury and was struggling to sustain itself,²²⁹ this appears not to be the case by 1520 when the prioress, Catherine Burcher was responsible for a payment of £42 15s. 6d., plus another £8 2s. in small augmentations levied on many of the Order's houses that year.²³⁰

Table 3: Responsions paid by Catherine Burcher, Prioress of Buckland, 1520s/ 30s

Year	Responsions	Subsidies	Arrears	Amount Paid
1520	£42 15s. 6d.	£8 2s.		£33 9s. 6d. (?)
1521	£30 6s. 8d.	£10 6s. 6d.	£17 6d.	£57 12s. 4d.
1522	£30 6s. 4d.	£10 6s. 6d.	£0	£40 12s. 10d.
1523	£30 6s. 4d.	£10 6s. 6d.	£0	£40 12s. 10d.
1524	£30 6s. 4d.	£10 6s. 6d.	£0	£30 13s.
1525	£30 6s. 4d.		£9 18s. 5d.	£30 1s. 2d.
1526	£30 6s. 4d.		£10 4s.	£32 3s. 8d.
1531	£45 9s. 10d.		£45 9s. 10d.	£27 13s. 4d.
1532	£40 9s. 6d.		£63 6s.	£44 13s. 4d.
1533	£45 9s. 6d.		£64 2s. 4d.	£41 6s. 10d.
1534	£45 9s. 6d.		£68 4s. 11d.	
1535	£40 9s. 5d.		£113 14s. 5d.	£51 16s. 9d.
1536	£30 6s. 4d.		£108 7s. 2d.	£5

²²⁹ See Larking and Kemble, 19- 20.

²³⁰ AOM 54, f. 12r.

The accounts for 1520 do not record Catherine’s payment but she must have at least paid in part as she owed £17 6*d.* in arrears from 1520 in addition to a responsion payment of £30 6*s.* 8*d.* for 1521 and an additional subsidy of £10 6*s.* 6*d.*, making her total for that year £57 12*s.* 4*d.* which she paid in full.²³¹ The amount owed from Buckland for the years 1522, 1523, and 1524 remained the same, with responsions of £30 6*s.* 4*d.* and subsidies of £10 6*s.* 6*d.* creating a total of £40 12*s.* 10*d.* for each year.²³² However, while Catherine paid this amount in full in 1522 and 1523, she made only a partial payment of £30 13*s.* for 1524.²³³ This partial payment caused her to be in arrears for £9 18*s.* 5*d.* in 1525 and while she paid this amount, she made another partial payment on what she owed for the current year.²³⁴ In each of the following years, Catherine continued to make partial payments with the result that by 1536, Buckland was £108 7*s.* 2*d.* in arrears.²³⁵ The years 1527 to 1530 are missing from the accounts but there is a noticeable jump in the amount of the responsions owed by Buckland in 1531; where a set rate of £30 6*s.* 4*d.* had been in place for most of the 1520s, £45 9*s.* 11*d.* was now expected.²³⁶ It is tempting to say that this new amount reflects additional need from the central convent due to the Order’s move to Malta in the previous year but the accounts do specify elsewhere that responsion rates were set at a third of the house’s value, so either this rate must have changed to meet the additional needs of the Order or the value of Buckland itself had risen by 1531.²³⁷ The amount owed in arrears for 1531 was £45 9*s.* 10*d.*, only a 1*d.* difference for what was expected in responsions for that year suggesting that the change, whatever that was, had happened at least by 1530.²³⁸ However, if the value of Buckland had gone up prior to 1531, Catherine seems not to have had the time to adjust to this change in fortunes by that year and was only able to

²³¹ AOM 54, f. 37r. and f. 38v.

²³² AOM 54, f. 62v.- 62r., f. 88r., f. 89v., f. 116v.

²³³ AOM 54, f. 117r.

²³⁴ AOM 54, f. 146v., f. 147r.

²³⁵ AOM 54, f. 295v.

²³⁶ AOM 54, f. 183r.; No running total is given in the table above as the amounts typically do not add up correctly. Nevertheless, one can see a clear pattern in the 1530’s of smaller payments and mounting arrears.

²³⁷ For rate set at a third, see for example, AOM 54, f. 52v.

²³⁸ AOM 54, f. 182v.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* make a payment of £27 13s. 4d.²³⁹ The responsions of Buckland varied within a range of about £5 over the next four years before falling down in 1536 to the rate it had been in the 1520s, £30 6s. 4d.²⁴⁰ A payment of only £5 was applied to total of £138 13s. 6d. owed that year.²⁴¹

Scotland, which had experienced so many difficulties in paying its responsions over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is also listed in the same accounts for the English Langue and it clear that it continued to make only sporadic payments in the sixteenth century as well. (See Table 4 below)

Table 4: Responsions paid from Scotland, 1520s/ 30s

Year	Responsions	Arrears	Amount Paid
1520	£33 6s. 8d.	£300	
1521	£33 6s. 8d.	£333 6s. 8d.	
1522	£33 6s. 8d.	£366 13s. 4d.	
1523	£33 6s. 8d.	£400	
1524	£33 6s. 8d.	£433 6s. 8d.	
1525	£33 6s. 8d.	£466 13s. 4d.	
1526	£33 6s. 8d.	£100	£133 6s. 8d.
1531	£33 6s. 8d.	£100	
1532	£33 6s. 8d.	£133 6s. 8d.	£100
1533	£33 6s. 8d.	£66 13s. 4d.	
1534	£33 6s. 8d.	£100	£66 13s. 4d.
1535	£33 6s. 8d.	£66 13s. 4d.	
1536	£33 6s. 8d.	£100	£100

In 1520, George Dundas, the preceptor of Torphichen is listed as owing ten payments of £33 6s. 8d. for the years 1511 to 1520, amounting to a total of £333 6s.

²³⁹ AOM 54, f. 183r.

²⁴⁰ AOM 54, f. 295v.

²⁴¹ AOM 54, f. 296r.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* 8d.²⁴² The accounts of 1520 do not specify why Dundas owed for such a long period of time, but in the entries for 1522, it becomes clear that the responsions for Scotland had not been paid since the death of William Knollis, the former preceptor of Torphichen, in 1510.²⁴³ Unlike the amounts owed for the houses of England, £33 6s. 8d. remained the standard rate for the responsions from Scotland through to 1536, but these amounts went unpaid until 1526 when Dundas made a payment of £133 6s. 8d. for the years 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525.²⁴⁴ Claiming that he had been unable to take possession of the property in Scotland in the years prior to this date, Dundas refused to pay the responson dues for the earlier years and so the debt was forgiven by Thomas Docwra, the prior of England, and the general treasury.²⁴⁵ However, when the accounts for the Languie resumed in 1531, Scotland was again in arrears, owing for the years 1529 and 1530 in addition to the new debt of 1531.²⁴⁶ In the following year, a payment was made by Dundas of £100 but this would have been short of the £133 6s. 8d. owed for the four years.²⁴⁷ The arrears from 1532 were carried over into the accounts of 1533 and were still owed by George Dundas although Walter Lindsay had taken over as the new prior of Torphichen that year and was hence responsible for the responson payment for that year.²⁴⁸ By 1536, Scotland had again accumulated an arrears of £333 6s. 8d, towards which Lindsay made a partial payment of £100 in that year.²⁴⁹

Responsons for Ireland are also listed in the accounts of the English Languie for the 1520s and 30s, with John Rawson as the prior of Ireland. The amount expected in responsions from Ireland during these decades was not high, only £26 13s. 4d., and like Scotland was set a fixed annual rate that remained constant until 1536. John Rawson, however, was an individual who took on many different roles. In addition to his responsibilities as prior of Ireland he was also the preceptor of Swingfield in Norfolk

²⁴² AOM 54, f. 14r.

²⁴³ AOM 54, f. 64v.

²⁴⁴ AOM 54, f. 168r.

²⁴⁵ Cowan, et al, *Knights of St. John*, 1.

²⁴⁶ AOM 54, f. 183v.

²⁴⁷ AOM 54, f. 217v, f. 218r.

²⁴⁸ AOM 54, 235v.

²⁴⁹ AOM 54, f. 296v, f. 297r.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* from the start of the accounts in 1520 and remained so until the end of the accounts in 1536, and is also listed as the preceptor of Quenington in Gloucestershire from 1525 to 1536, the preceptor of Ribston in Yorkshire from 1531 to 1536, the Turcopolier and Receiver General in 1532 and 1533, and the Bailiff of Eagle in Lincolnshire in 1535 and 1536.²⁵⁰ From the start of the accounts in 1520, Rawson owed £45 5s. 11d. *ob.* for the responsions of Swingfield in addition to the £26 13s. 4d. required from Ireland and the £30 mortuary fee that was still outstanding from the death of Robert Ebers in 1513.²⁵¹ None of this was paid and so the following year, Rawson owed £53 6s. 8d. for Ireland, £82 4s. 6d. *ob. qua.* for Swingfield, and £30 in mortuary fees, all of which he paid except for the mortuary fees which were paid in full the following year in 1522 along with the dues from Ireland and Swingfield for that year.²⁵² From 1523 to 1526 Rawson was able to keep up with his yearly payments, even with the addition of responsions for his preceptorship at Quenington in 1525.²⁵³ When the accounts resumed in 1531, however, Rawson was in arrears for Ireland and this combined with his payments for Swingfield equalled £84 9s. 6d. *ob. qua.* which was owed in conjunction with the 1531 responsions for Ireland, plus another £82 14d. for Ribston and £53 2s. 2d. *qua.*, a total of £246 6s. 3d., none of which was paid in that year.²⁵⁴ Although the dues for the preceptory of Quenington were paid regularly over the next three years, Rawson fell deeper and deeper into arrears for the rest of the properties under his control, including the priory of Ireland. In 1536, a total of £366 7s. 6d. was owed for Ireland, Swingfield, Ribston, Quenington, and Eagle, of which Rawson paid £81 5d. leaving a total of £284 7s. 2d. *ob. unpaid.*²⁵⁵

The accounts of the English Langue from the sixteenth century show a steady continuation of responson payments from the houses of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland through to the years immediately before the dissolution of the Order in those

²⁵⁰ AOM 54, f. 8r, f. 7v, f. 31r, f. 56v, f. 82v, f. 109v, f. 133v, f. 142r, f. 158v, f. 162v, f. f. 174v, f. 177v, f. 208v, f. 211v, f. 226r, f. 228v, f. 244v, f. 245v, f. 267v, f. 268v, f. 286v, f. 287v.; For more on John Rawson, see Brendan Scott, ‘Tudor Ireland’, 251-2.

²⁵¹ AOM 54, f. 7v, f. 8r.

²⁵² AOM 54, f. 32r, f. 33v, f. 56v, f. 56r.

²⁵³ AOM 54, f. 141v, f. 142r.

²⁵⁴ AOM 54, f. 174v, f. 177v.

²⁵⁵ AOM 54, f. 286v, f. 287r, f. 287v, f. 288r.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* places. The returns for the 1530s represent for many of the houses of the Langue not a decrease in income as the responson rates had, in many instances risen, but a decrease in the ability on the part of the preceptors to meet their payments consistently. It is possible that the Order's loss of Rhodes and subsequent move to Malta had created additional demands on the part of the western priories or perhaps it is simply that expenses within Britain and Ireland had risen at a time when preceptors found it difficult to extract the income from their properties. Additionally, the accounts from these two decades also reveals a fairly rapid change of hands of many of the houses in England at this time, either due to the death, promotion of an individual or the rearrangement of the houses themselves. The career of John Rawson, described above, is a good illustration of the constant rearrangement of authority as over the the span of two decades he acted as prior of Ireland, Turcopolier, Receiver General, and preceptor of an additional four houses. The mortuary fees in these accounts also reveals that many of the preceptors of the Langue spent time and died abroad, suggesting a lack of direct control over the houses of the Order at this time.²⁵⁶ The preceptories of Willoughton and Temple Bruer in Lincolnshire, for example, were taken into the hands of the central treasury in 1520 on the death of William Darel in Rhodes in the previous year.²⁵⁷ Willoughton seems to have been taken up by Richard Nevill, who appears as the preceptor there in 1521 but the accounts list a mortuary payment for Temple Bruer for the death of William Corbet, who had died in Rhodes that year.²⁵⁸ John Booth, the Turcopolier and precptor of Quenington and Dinmore also died in Rhodes 1522, as did Thomas Newport, who was responsible for the Bailiwick of Eagle, and the preceptories of Newland, Dalby and Rothley, and Ribston.²⁵⁹ Three years later, Eagle, which had since been joined with Beverley, Shingay, and Dinmore instead of Newland, Dalby and

²⁵⁶ The mortuary and vacancy were fees imposed on the household expenses of the preceptory on the death of its preceptor. While the mortuary period lasted from the date of the preceptor's death until the following May, the vacancy period encompassed the full year from that date. These funds were payable to the central convent of the Order and designed to augment the Order's central defence funds. After the year long vacancy, the house was then eligible to receive a new preceptor who would draw from the revenues of the house for his upkeep. These fees reveal a great deal about the identity and movement of the Hospitaller preceptors, whilst also providing additional information on the degree to which they drew from the resources of the western houses for their income.; For additional information on mortuary and vacancy fees, see Mons. le' Abbe de Vertot, *The History of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, Styled Afterwards the Knights of Rhodes, and at present, the Knights of Malta*, Vol. 1 (Dublin: J. Christie, 1818), 518- 19.

²⁵⁷ AOM 54, f. 16r, f. 17r.

²⁵⁸ AOM 54, f. 36r.

²⁵⁹ AOM 54, f. 106r., f. 107r.

Rothley, and Ribston, was again vacant on the death of Thomas Sheffield who had died in Viterbo, Italy in 1524.²⁶⁰ Clearly, many of the Hospitaller properties in Britain and Ireland had come to be controlled in a very fluid way in the sixteenth century by a members of the Order who were largely absent from the country.²⁶¹

Although the fortunes of the British and Irish houses of the English Langue fluctuated from the twelfth to the sixteenth century in the face of various financial crises and administrative changes, it is clear that for the most part they were able to fulfil their primary function of providing money to the central Convent of the Order in the East. However, the houses' function was much wider than this and the following chapters will explore their contributions to the religious and economic life of Britain and Ireland and their participation in the provision of hospitality.

²⁶⁰ AOM 54, f. 132v.

²⁶¹ For more on the movement of the brethren see Judith Bronstein, 'The Mobilization of Hospitaller Manpower from Europe to the Holy Land in the Thirteenth Century,' in *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf and Helen Nicholson (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 25- 33.; Helen Nicholson, 'International Mobility versus the Needs of the Realm: The Templars and Hospitallers in the British Isles in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,' in *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf and Helen Nicholson (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 87- 101.

Chapter Three: Churches and Religious Matters

As described in first chapter of this study, the hospice which was eventually to morph into the hospital that formed the basis for the Order of St John had originally been connected to the Benedictine monastery of St Mary of the Latins in Jerusalem but was largely absorbed within the sphere of control of the Augustinians of the Holy Sepulchre after the crusader capture of the city in 1099.²⁶² This arrangement may have been beneficial both for the hospice and for the church of the Holy Sepulchre as both the Holy Sepulchre and the hospice itself drew large amounts of donations and both houses were enriched by their association with the other.²⁶³ It is difficult to say which tradition, Benedictine or Augustinian, had more of a lasting influence on the subsequent nature of the Order but Luttrell has argued that the Hospitallers' more 'worldly charitable activities' were better suited to the Augustinian way of life than that of the more regimented and liturgically focused Benedictines.²⁶⁴ Consequently, the Hospitaller Rule, developed sometime between 1130 and 1153, was strongly influenced by the Rule of St Augustine but contained some Benedictine elements as well, a testament to its Benedictine origins and continued relationship with the monastery of St Mary of the Latins in Jerusalem.²⁶⁵ Nevertheless, though papal recognition had established the Hospitaller Order in 1113, there was no new monastic order created and the brethren of the Order were not monks.²⁶⁶ This is not to say that the Order was not a religious one and that members of the Order did not live religiously focused lives, they certainly took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and were expected to adhere to the Rule of their order described above. However, while the brothers at the central convent of the

²⁶² Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers,' 39.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 40.; Luttrell also writes that the Hospitallers may have even tampered with documents to siphon away donations intended for the Holy Sepulchre, 'Earliest Hospitallers', 47.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 43.; James Brodman has argued that the 'military-monastic' orders, such as the Templars modelled their rule after the Cistercians and that the 'military-hospitaller' orders, such as the Knights of St John, borrowed heavily from the Augustinian tradition which stressed the importance of charitable works., James Brodman, 'Rule and Identity: The Case of the Military Orders', in *The Catholic Historical Review* 87, no. 3 (Jul., 2001), 396.

²⁶⁶ Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', 42.

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Order were expected to attend Mass and the Office and they would have followed the liturgy of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, it is difficult to ascertain the degree to which the members of the Order in England would have kept up the religious end of their lives in Britain and Ireland given the small size of their communities there.²⁶⁷

The Brethren

In 1338, there were only 119 brothers listed as living in the preceptories of the Order in England and Wales. With few exceptions, each of the larger houses held two or three brothers; some reported fewer brethren, very few reported more, while others listed no brethren at all.²⁶⁸ The rapid expansion of Hospitaller holdings in Britain and Ireland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, coupled with the decay and consolidation of their houses in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries may allow for speculation on the possibility that numbers of brethren were originally higher than the small number given in 1338. However, large numbers of properties need not necessarily coincide with large numbers of brethren. The Hospitallers were effective administrators and delegated many of their responsibilities to paid employees. Additionally, there are certain incidents which hint at small communities of brethren prior to the fourteenth century. In 1201 two brothers from the preceptory of Trebeigh in Cornwall were found murdered along with one of their serving boys.²⁶⁹ This does not prove but does suggest that the community, at least at Trebeigh at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was already well established but small, as it seems unlikely that the perpetrators, two clerks and a miller, would have been able to carry out these deeds within the grounds of the preceptory (where the bodies were discovered) if it had been

²⁶⁷ Christina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 41-2.; For more on the religious schedule of the brothers, see Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, 112-5.; Also see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*. (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2010).; Christina Dondi, 'The Liturgical Policies of the Hospitallers between the Invention of Printing and the Council of Trent: The Evidence of the Early Printed Breviaries and Missals.' In *The Military Orders, Volume 3: History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 63- 71.

²⁶⁸ Simon Phillips writes that, 'of the 37 'active' commanderies in 1338, 21 houses had two brothers, 13 had three brothers, and only three houses had six or more brethren...'. Phillips, Prior, 6.; Buckland in Somerset housed six brothers and Clerkenwell held seven., Larking and Kemble, 19, 101. While ten brothers are listed in residence at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, six of them are specified as those staying in the infirmary there and may not have formed part of the permanent household., Larking and Kemble, 80.

²⁶⁹ D.M. Stenton, ed., *Pleas before the King or his Justices, 1198–1202*. Vol. II: *Rolls of fragments of rolls from the years 1198, 1201 and 1202*, no. 68 (London: Selden Society Publications, 1952), 70–1.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* staffed by large numbers of brethren. In 1338, the safety of the community of Slebech, which housed three brothers, was maintained by an annual payment of 40 s. apiece to Richard Penres and Stephen Perot, *magnatibus Wallie*, to protect the house from those who would do it harm.

*Et soluto ij. magnatibus Wallie, ad mantenendam et protegendam bajuliam, pro insidiatoribus et malefactoribus in partibus Wallie, qui sunt ibidem feroces; videlicet, Ricardo Penres xl s. et Stephano Perot xl s., Summa iiiij li.*²⁷⁰

In Ireland, the lack of brethren seems to have become so acute by the fifteenth century that inappropriate individuals were able to take possession of the Order's properties. In 1431, David Oduyud, a clerk in the diocese of Kildare, was assigned the rectory of 'Rosfyndglaisse' or Oregain which had been left void for some time on account of John Muir, whom David 'feared to meet in the city and diocese of Kildare,' holding the nearby house of Tully for two years 'without canonical title.'²⁷¹ Twenty-two-year-old Brother Charles O'Kelly was given a post at the priory of Rindown in the diocese of Elphin in 1455 by virtue of his age, the reason being that he was 'powerful for the defence of the priory.'²⁷² Despite this calculated appointment, the same house was seeking compensation only a decade later, claiming that the prior and brothers there could no longer maintain themselves after being plundered by 'powerful laymen.'²⁷³

²⁷⁰ 'And paid to two magnates of Wales, for the maintenance and protection of the bailiwick (preceptory), from ambushers and malefactors in parts of Wales, who are fierce there; namely Richard Penres, 40s., and Stephen Perot, 40s., Sum, £4.', Larking and Kemble, 36.; See also, Hurlock, 172-3.

²⁷¹ 'Mandate to collate and assign to David Oduyud, clerk, of the diocese of Kildare, who lately received papal dispensation, as the son of an unmarried man and an unmarried woman related in the fourth degree of kindred, to be promoted to all, even holy orders, and hold a benefice even with cure, the rectory, value not exceeding 30 marks, whose cure is wont to be exercised by a perpetual vicar, of Rosfyndglaisse *alias* Oregain in the said diocese, so long void, in a way not certain, that its collation has lapsed to the apostolic see, summoning and removing John Muir, commander of the Hospitallers' house of Tuyle in the said diocese, who has detained possession without canonical title for two years, and whom David fears to meet in the city and diocese of Kildare...' in *CPR, 1427- 1447*, 200- 1.

²⁷² 'Mandate to collate and assign to Charles Okellayd, a Hospitaller (who is of a noble and great race of princes, and is in his twenty-second year, is powerful for the defence of the priory of the Hospitallers' house of St John Baptist, Ryndun, in the diocese of Elphin, and has made his regular profession as a Hospitaller) the said priory, an elective dignity with cure, dependent on the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, value not exceeding 20 marks sterling...' in *CPR, 1455- 1464*, 204.

²⁷³ 'the recent petition of the said William contained that the priory of the Hospitallers' house of St John Baptist, Reynduyn, in the said diocese, provision of which the pope recently ordered to be made to him, has become so much impoverished by the plundering of powerful laymen, who have driven away its cattle and inflicted on it divers injuries, that the prior and brethren, in priest's orders, cannot be conveniently maintained therein, and suffers, moreover, no small lack of buildings, chalices, books and other ornaments...' , *CPR, 1458- 1471*, 504- 5.

This suggests both that the numbers of brethren in the Irish houses were not large and that, despite their military reputation and occasional participation of certain priors in various military campaigns on behalf of the English Crown, members of the Order did not represent a serious deterrent to those intent on violence.

Intellectual/ Religious Pursuits

It has been argued that the small communities of the military orders in this area of the world should be regarded as manors or granges rather than as religious establishments because of their focus on agriculture and the nature of the brethren living in them who did not adhere to a schedule for the singing of the offices or spend a significant amount of time on intellectual pursuits.²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Sinclair has argued that the Hospitaller *Riwle* was written by a brother chaplain of one of the English preceptories, possibly Clerkenwell, sometime between 1181 and 1185, demonstrating both evidence of literacy in the vernacular, Anglo-Norman French, and suggesting an effort on the part of the English brethren to adhere to a religious way of life.²⁷⁵ Recent work by Colmán Ó Clabaigh on Cambridge Corpus Christi MS 405, a manuscript from the preceptory of Kilbarry in Co. Waterford, Ireland further demonstrates that the brethren knew the Rule of St Raymond of Puy and made use of a liturgical calendar and breviary for the offices, indicating the active celebration of the Eucharist and the Liturgy of the Hours.²⁷⁶ The manuscript also includes a list of the kings of England, the Prophecy of Merlin, the history of the Six Ages of the World, and a history of the Hospitallers' own origins, indicating both a breadth of literary knowledge and an interest in the history of the world.²⁷⁷ Alan Forey has also considered the degree of literacy in the military orders and concluded that though these orders were not, for the most part, overly active in intellectual pursuits in the same manner as some of their

²⁷⁴ Gilchrist, 62- 3.

²⁷⁵ Sinclair, xliii- xliv.

²⁷⁶ Colmán Ó Clabaigh, 'Prayer, politics and poetry: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 405 and the Templars and Hospitallers at Kilbarry, Co. Waterford,' in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 215.; Though the manuscript was combined into a single volume in the sixteenth century, its components were written between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries., Ó Clabaigh, 208-9.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 215- 16.; For more on the Hospitallers' own version of their history, see Anthony Luttrell, 'Hospitaller Historiography: Heritages and Heresies,' In *The Military Orders, Volume 3: History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 3- 11.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* monastic counterparts, a certain level of literacy, particularly in Latin, would have been required in the celebration of services in the Order’s churches and in the administration of their property.²⁷⁸ Certainly the many rentals and cartularies produced in Britain and Ireland provide evidence for the practical application of the literacy of the brethren living throughout the properties of the Langue. The Godsfield and Baddesley Cartulary, for example, BL Harley MS 6603, is thought by Felicity Beard to have been compiled by the preceptor of Godsfield and Baddesley, William Hulle in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century.²⁷⁹ The exclusion of this cartulary from the Great Hospitaller Cartulary of 1442, BL Cotton MS Nero E vi, suggests that records were kept at local houses rather than stockpiled solely at Clerkenwell.²⁸⁰ The same might be said for other cartularies of the Order such as the Cartulary of Minchin Buckland, the sister’s house in Somerset, and the Kilmainham Register, compiled by the prior of Kilmainham, Roger Outlawe during the fourteenth century.²⁸¹ Cambridge Corpus Christi MS 405 also bears out this concern for organised administration as it contains sections devoted to the rights and exemptions of the Order, as well as legal texts on administration in Ireland.²⁸²

Hospitaller properties in Britain and Ireland also contained facilities for the spiritual life of their inhabitants, as each of the preceptories included a chapel which served the brethren. Though most of these chapels are no longer in existence, evidence of their use appears in the lists of expenses in the Report of 1338 for wine, oil, wax and other “necessities,” and also in the stipends paid to the chaplains who catered to the brothers. There are a number of chaplains listed in the Report: thirty-four of the total 119 brothers were identified as *capellani*, the same number as the *milites*, the knights, both of these groups eclipsed only slightly by the forty eight *servientes armorum*, or

²⁷⁸ Alan Forey, ‘Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 185- 206.; - For more on the ‘weighty tomes’ of the Hospitallers’ central administration, see Theresa Vann, ‘Hospitaller Record Keeping and Archival Practices,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 275- 285.

²⁷⁹ Beard, xv.; See also, Nicole and Michael Gervers, ‘Scribes and Notaries in 12th- and 13th-Century Hospitaller Charters from England.’ In *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 181-92.

²⁸⁰ Beard, xiii.; This may have something to do with the dominance of entries related to Essex in the 1442 Cartulary.; it is possible that as the Essex properties were administered from Clerkenwell, they warranted particular inclusion in the Cartulary.

²⁸¹ Buckland: Somerset Heritage Centre DD\SAS\C\795\SX\133.; Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B 501.

²⁸² Ó Clabaigh, 214, 217.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* serjeants-at-arms. Despite this number of brother chaplains, the Report indicates that the chapels of the preceptories were often staffed by secular chaplains rather than by professed brethren. This would have made sense in cases where there were no professed chaplains among the number of brethren in the house, but there are also several instances where secular chaplains were employed to serve in the chapels of preceptories which housed one or more brother chaplains. For example, there were two Hospitallers at the preceptory of Mount St John in Yorkshire, the preceptor and one other brother, both of whom were chaplains, and yet a secular chaplain was also employed there.²⁸³ This arrangement was certainly not particular to Mount St John and seems to have been the case across the majority of the larger houses listed in the Report of 1338. Even the preceptory of Standon in Hertfordshire which listed no resident brethren provided a stipend for a chaplain, perhaps in this instance for visiting brethren and guests or resident servants.²⁸⁴

It appears that there was some correlation between the number of chaplains at a given house and the presence of spiritual ‘dependents,’ but again, secular chaplains were employed to deal with these additional religious obligations. Chippenham in Cambridgeshire contained an infirmary for sick brethren and housed at least two professed brother chaplains *in aula*, and yet there were stipends for three secular chaplains, two to serve the healthy brethren in the chapel and another to cater to the occupants of the infirmary, of which there were six in 1338.²⁸⁵ It is interesting to note that the chaplain serving the infirmary earned a much smaller stipend, 5s., than those serving in the chapel of the main preceptory, who earned the much more standard 20s. each. Buckland in Somerset also had an unusually large number of chaplains but in this instance the preceptory was attached to the house containing all of the Order’s English sisters rather than an infirmary of sick brethren. Of the six brothers listed at Buckland in 1338, four were chaplains, and this might tempt one to think that this large and somewhat rare concentration of chaplains indicates that it was professed brethren who

²⁸³ Larking and Kemble, 48.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 89- 90.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 78-80.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* were serving the fifty sisters housed at Buckland, yet there are still stipends listed for secular chaplains, one serving the brothers and another the sisters.²⁸⁶

The Sisters

Conspicuously absent from the count of 119 brethren listed in the 1338 Report are the fifty sisters at Buckland, also mentioned in the Report:

*Est ibidem, quasi in dicta curia preceptoris, una domus sororum portantium habitum hospitaliariorum, fundata per Reges Anglie, in qua domo sunt communiter l. sorores, et habent, per ordinationem dictorum fundatorum, possessiones suas ordinatas per se; - unde Prior nec fratres nichil debent habere nec capere, sed potius onus et gravamen, quia habebunt certa ordinatione unum fratrem de Prioratu Anglie, sumptibus Prioris et preceptoris locis, qui erit senescallus eorum, - et habebunt duos fratres capellanos, et unum capellanum secularem ad deserviendum ecclesiam dictarum sororum, similiter, sumptibus preceptoris.*²⁸⁷

The sisters had taken the habit of the Hospital, *portantium habitum hospitaliariorum*, but clearly represented a special group which stood somewhat outside the normal function of the Order, despite representing a number that is close to half of the 119 fully professed male members of the Britain at this time.²⁸⁸ Indeed, the general summary in the 1338 Report goes so far as to include *donats* and *corrodians* amongst the *numerus fratrum* but not the sisters.²⁸⁹ This may have something to do with the complaint of the brethren that they were having to support the house of the sisters at their cost in addition to being able to draw nothing from the properties which belonged to their house.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 17- 20.

²⁸⁷ ‘There is, as in the court of the said preceptor [the preceptor of the male house of Buckland, see Larking and Kemble, 17- 9], one house of sisters carrying the habit of the hospital, founded by the king of England, in which house there are jointly fifty sisters, and they have, by the order of the said founder, their possessions, ordained by him- hence the Prior and his brothers have been able to take nothing, but they [the sisters] have been a burden and an inconvenience, because they have by certain arrangement, one of the brothers of the priory of England, selected by the Prior and the local preceptor, who will be there steward- and shall have two brother chaplains, and one secular chaplain to serve in the church of the said sisters, similarly, selected by the preceptor.’, *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁸⁸ For more information on Hospitaller sisters see: Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson, eds. *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Myra Miranda Bom, *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.); Helen Nicholson, ‘The Sisters’ House at Minwear, Pembrokeshire: analysis of the documentary and archaeological evidence’, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 151 (2002), 147- 161.; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John in Jerusalem*, 240- 2.

²⁸⁹ Larking and Kemble, 214.

*Que quidem possessiones sufficere non possunt pro sustentatione dictarum sororum cum familia, emendatione domorum, vestura, et aliis necessariis sine adiutorio amicorum et prestatione elemosinarum.*²⁹⁰

In short, the sisters of the Order in 1338 represented, at least in financial terms, an expense rather than an asset. The inclusion of sisters in the Order of the Hospital, however, was not unique though there were only a handful of female houses throughout western Europe and only two in England.²⁹¹ The sister's house at Buckland was established by a gift from Henry II, in a move to bring the sisters of the Order, who until this time had been scattered amongst the various houses of England, into one, all female establishment.²⁹² Seven sisters were pulled from the preceptories of Standon, Carbrook, Shingay, Hogshaw, Godsfield, and Clanfield, while another sister was moved from the *camera* of Hampton in Middlesex.²⁹³

The second house of sisters at Aconbury in Herefordshire, was born out of a grant in 1216 from King John to Margaret de Lacy, wife of Walter de Lacy, the sheriff of Hereford, for the purposes of building a religious house for the benefit of the souls of her deceased parents, William and Matilda de Braose.²⁹⁴ Subsequently this house of sisters, which included a prioress and seven sisters, was placed by Margaret, under the authority of the Order of the Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem.²⁹⁵ As with Buckland, the sisters at Aconbury could not perform liturgical functions themselves, and

²⁹⁰ 'And indeed these possessions are not sufficient for sustaining the said sisters and their *familia*, repairing the house, clothing, and other necessities without the help of friends and payment of alms.', Larking and Kemble, 20.; The brothers also contributed 29 marks annually to the sisters, *ab antiquo constitutum fuit per fundatores domus.*', *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁹¹ There were female Hospitallers in the East at Acre and Antioch, in Spain at Sigena, Grisén, Salinas de Añana, and Alguaire, Beaulieu and Les Fieux in France, Penne and Pisa in Italy, and at Manetin and Prague in Eastern Europe., See Bom, *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, for more information on these communities.

²⁹² Bom, *Women in the Military Orders*, 80.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁹⁴ There is no consensus on when the house at Aconbury was actually built though it is reasonable to assume that it must have been sometime after 1216, the year John granted Margaret the right Aconbury Forest, but before 1233, the year Margaret appealed to Pope Gregory IX for the house to be removed from the authority of the Hospitallers. A papal letter concerning the dispute over Aconbury written in 1236, mentions that the priory had gone six years without a prioress., *Cart. Gen.*, ii, no. 2140) If this information is accurate, then the foundation of the priory could not have occurred after 1230, further narrowing the period in which the priory at Aconbury could have been founded by three years, making the time frame 1216-1230.

²⁹⁵ Knowles, 227.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* so their church would have been served by a priest of the Hospital and linked to a nearby house of brethren at Dinmore who also supported the sisters economically.²⁹⁶ In addition to support, the brethren of the Hospital would also have held administrative authority over the priory, reserving the right to elect the prioress of the house who was subject to the commander of the nearby male house. The situation at Aconbury, however, seems to have gone sour not long after the foundation of the houses as 1233 saw Margaret de Lacy petitioning Pope Gregory IX to have Aconbury Priory removed from the authority of the Hospitallers citing both the desire of the sisters at the priory to follow the Augustinian rule to which they had professed themselves and her own personal fear that the sisters might be sent to the East if they remained under the Order of the Hospital as reasons for her appeal.²⁹⁷ The matter was referred by Gregory to the bishop of Hereford whose efforts of resolution were met with immediate opposition from the Order of the Hospital who had no intention of relinquishing what they considered to be their property, citing their principal that individuals who had taken the Rule of the Hospital could not abandon it. The bishop of Coventry was then instructed to intervene, which he did by proposing a compromise. The older sisters were to remain at Aconbury under the rule of the Hospital while the younger women were to be permitted to leave the priory in order to place themselves under the rule of Augustine.²⁹⁸ This solution apparently met with little success as two years later in April of 1236, Gregory was again dealing with the situation in Hereford, this time delegating the Prior of St Albans to investigate additional complaints made against the Hospitaller brethren by Margaret and the sisters at Aconbury. Accusations of Hospital abuses included the withholding of rents due for the maintenance of the sisters, obstructing the women's ability to elect a prioress of their own choosing, and the rude behaviour of the priest which the brethren had assigned them.²⁹⁹ In the following year the matter, still unresolved, was referred to the papal court where the case was decided in Margaret's

²⁹⁶ Rees, 60.

²⁹⁷ *Cart. Gen.*, ii, no. 2047; *CPR, 1198- 1304*, 134.; For a full discussion on the dispute over Aconbury, see Helen Nicholson, "Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire," in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. 50, no. 4. (1999.), 629-651.

²⁹⁸ Rees, 60-61.

²⁹⁹ *Cart. Gen.*, ii, no. 2140; *CPR, 1198- 1304*, 153.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* favour though by that time, she and her husband Walter had spent four years and 600 marks for their victory.³⁰⁰

The dispute over the house at Aconbury provides an interesting case study from which to discuss the function and nature of women within the Order of the St John. The letters of Gregory IX in 1233 give two specific reasons why Margaret wished to remove Aconbury from Hospitaller control, the first being that she was concerned that the sisters might be pulled from Aconbury to fulfill the needs of the Order in the East.

She came personally to our presence when she realised that according to the terms of their profession, if the prior of the aforesaid Hospital so ordered, the nuns were bound to transfer to other places and to go overseas; because she would be cheated of her desire if the women should be removed or transferred from there.³⁰¹

Secondly Margaret expressed that the sisters at Aconbury wished to follow the Rule of St Augustine, something which she asserted they could not do if they remained part of the Hospital, "... claiming in her simplicity that the aforesaid women had professed the rule of the blessed Augustine, which she believed because they mainly follow and still follow that rule in the divine offices, she obtained a letter from us to our venerable brother the bishop of Hereford'.³⁰² Both of Margaret's concerns are puzzling. As Nicholson pointed out in her discussion of the matter, though Hospitaller brethren could be and often were pulled from European houses to fulfil the needs of the Order in the East, and though theoretically at least, the sisters, as members of the Hospital could be called upon as well, this is something which simply did not happen.³⁰³ It might be argued, as it seems to have been in Margaret's appeal to Gregory, that Margaret was unaware of this though this would seem highly unlikely given that nearby Buckland had held a steady population of Hospitaller sisters since the 1180s, none of whom had been pulled to duty in the East.³⁰⁴ Margaret's second concern that the sisters at Aconbury

³⁰⁰ Helen J. Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy', 647.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 638., Nicholson's translation.; *CPR, 1198- 1304*, 134.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy', 638.

³⁰⁴ Myra Struckmeyer, "The Sisters of the Order of Saint John at Mynchin Buckland," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* might be allowed to follow the Augustinian Rule is as confusing as the first. If the sisters had already professed themselves to the Rule of Augustine *before* placement at Aconbury and had intended to adhere to this rule, why did they then take the habit of the Hospital? If they had not professed themselves to the Rule of Augustine before their placement at Aconbury but *after* it, they would be in violation of the Rule of the Hospital which stated that those who had taken up the Hospitaller habit might not put it aside.³⁰⁵ In any case, the Hospitaller Rule itself, as discussed above, was largely influenced by the Rule of Augustine in the first place.³⁰⁶

Gilchrist has argued that the inclusion of sisters to the Order may be evidence for the maintenance of hospitals on the part of the Hospitallers, with the sisters attending to the sick.³⁰⁷ Women certainly served in the Order's hospitals but it seems that fully professed sisters did not. Nicholson indicates that there is no evidence that the sisters at house of St Mary Magdalene in Acre performed hospitaller functions though there was a hospital attached to the house and additionally argues that sisters at Aconbury did not function as nurses.³⁰⁸ Similarly, Struckmeyer maintained in her study of Buckland that the sisters there contributed primarily to the spiritual prestige of the Order, devoting themselves to prayer and other religious functions, living lives not unlike those of Augustinian canonesses.³⁰⁹ Thompson, unlike Nicholson and Struckmeyer, maintained that there was in fact a hospital at Aconbury and that the sisters there cared for the sick and poor, at least until the house was removed from Hospitaller authority.³¹⁰ Thompson's argument is based largely on the wording in documents discussing the priory, which refer to the "hospital" at Aconbury and the charitable works of the sisters there. For example, Gregory IX's letter to the bishop of Coventry proposes a compromise to the problem at Aconbury by instructing that the older women were to be left at Aconbury "to take care of the poor and sick of the

³⁰⁵ Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy', 638.; *CPR, 1198- 1304*, 134.

³⁰⁶ See also, Sally Thompson, *Medieval Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries After the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 156.

³⁰⁷ Gilchrist, 64.

³⁰⁸ Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, 89.; Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy', 639.

³⁰⁹ Struckmeyer, 103.

³¹⁰ Thompson, 50-51.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* hospital,” while the younger sisters would be placed in other monasteries.³¹¹ This wording lends strongly to the impression that not only was there a hospital at Aconbury but that the sisters there actively participated in maintaining it. However, the presence of the term “hospital” does not necessarily indicate the existence of a medical facility.³¹² Furthermore, the term itself could refer instead to the house which belonged to the Order of the Hospital, the Pope was after all proposing a solution in which Aconbury Priory would remain part of the Hospital. That the sisters themselves are described as caring for the sick and the poor can be explained as a further identification of Hospitaller association whether or not they actually performed these functions. It seems unlikely that the sisters at Buckland were permitted to live under a rule which suited their spiritual needs while the nuns at Aconbury were prohibited from doing so, especially when considering that both of these houses would have been subject to the authority of the same Prior, who sought to ensure that the sisters at Buckland were well maintained both financially and spiritually. Furthermore, it seems as though the deference shown to the Hospitaller sisters at Buckland was something which could be found in female houses of the Order in other places in Europe. The Hospitaller sisters at the Spanish house at Sigena, founded, like Buckland, in the 1180s, followed a Rule which had been specially drawn up for them, which combined the Rule of the Hospitaller Order itself and the Augustinian Rule.³¹³ A consideration of this arrangement also casts doubts on Margaret’s claim that the sisters at Aconbury could not satisfy their spiritual desires. If anything, comparison with other female houses seems to show that the Hospitallers were both accommodating and flexible toward their female members.

So, while it is clear that the sisters of the Order of the Hospital did not perform in a hospitaller capacity the question remains as to why the Order was willing to spend time, money, and effort in its attempt to keep Aconbury, and why it would continue to allow female membership when Buckland failed to contribute to, but instead pulled from, the already strained resources of the priory. It might be that female members brought income with them when they initially joined the Order, or that maintenance of

³¹¹ Nicholson, ‘Margaret de Lacy’, 638.; *CPR, 1198- 1304*, 134.

³¹² A topic that will be more fully discussed in chapter four.

³¹³ Nicholson, ‘Margaret de Lacy’, 639.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* female houses drew donations. There is some suggestion that the Hospitallers actively sought for possession of Aconbury; Margaret de Lacy may have given the house at Aconbury to the Order because they asked for it. In a letter to the Bishop of Coventry, the Pope explains that Margaret had put the house of sisters in the care of the Hospitallers at their request.³¹⁴ Nevertheless, while it may have been hoped that female houses would be a pull for donations, it is clear that the Order's single remaining female establishment in 1338 was failing to make ends meet and was having to be subsidised by means of other resources. As Myra Struckmeyer points out, female Hospitaller houses throughout western Europe were generally not set up and maintained by the Order of its own accord, but as a response to the instruction of their patrons.³¹⁵

However Aconbury Priory came to be possessed by the Order of St John, the inclusion of sisters in the Order speaks both to the Knights' eagerness to absorb properties and their flexibility in adapting to the wishes of the benefactor to obtain it. Again, this is illustrative of flexible function rather than singular, economic purpose; Hospitaller houses in Britain and Ireland may have shared in a wider administrative and religious framework but their function, determined by any variety of regional factors, was highly individual.

Churches

An aspect of Hospitaller properties that remains largely unacknowledged and understudied is the way in which they can provide information on the religious life both of the brethren themselves and the communities in which they held property. From the twelfth century, the Knights of St John of Jerusalem received numerous grants of property which included a number of parish churches. The reasons that make Hospitaller properties difficult to identify in general (the lack of sources, dubious identification, and non-survival of the properties themselves) are certainly also true of the churches attached to the Order. Hospitaller records themselves, in some case,

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 638.; *CPR, 1198-1304*, 134.; For more information on the Order's active solicitation of grants, see Michael Gervers, "Pro defensione Terre Sancte: the Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers' Landed Estate in Essex," in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 3-7.

³¹⁵ Struckmeyer, 92.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* perpetuate this problem. As discussed in chapter two, the 1338 Report names some but not all of the churches that the Order held at that time. Another problem with the Report of 1338 in terms of identifying churches is that it excludes large portions of the regions which, technically, should have been included as part of the English Langue, namely Ireland and Scotland. It is clear that the Scottish properties of the Order were being maintained in the fourteenth century and that property there was still turning a profit in one way or another despite the pessimistic claims of the 1338 Report. In 1344, just six years after the compilation of the Report, there was a master at Scottish house of Torphichen, Alexander de Setoun, who sold “with the consent of the brothers” all of their lands in the town of Hawkarstoune.³¹⁶ Likewise, the Priory of Ireland sent regular responsions of between 2,000 and 2,800 florins to the central convent of the Order in the fourteenth century, demonstrating an income from its properties there at the time of the compilation of the 1338 Report.³¹⁷ This is not entirely surprising given the large number of properties, many of them churches, owned by the Order in Ireland. The 1212 papal confirmation of the Hospitallers’ churches with appurtenances in Ireland lists a staggering 125 properties, many of which remain unidentified and largely ignored in preference of the more accessible properties of England contained in the inventory of 1338.³¹⁸

The Hospitallers were the rectors of many churches in Britain and Ireland. The original church at Clerkenwell had a round nave and a chapel with a crypt below it that may have possessed additional functions both as a chapter house and a treasury.³¹⁹ The round church at Clerkenwell was one of only a handful of round churches in Britain and one of three owned by the Order of St John, the others being Little Mapelstead in Essex and St Giles in Hereford.³²⁰ In general, churches in Britain and Ireland were a lucrative source of income for the brethren. The church of Petherton, for example, owned by the

³¹⁶ The National Archives of Scotland (NAS), GD 150/9.

³¹⁷ McNeill, *Registrum*, x.; See also Tipton, ‘1330 General Chapter’, 304.

³¹⁸ McNeill, *Registrum*, 138- 156.

³¹⁹ Sloane and Malcolm, 28, 35, 56- 70.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 278; Gilchrist, 71.; The round church is thought to have been an imitation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.; For more on the influence of the Holy Sepulchre in Europe, see Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

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priory of Hospitaller sisters attached to Buckland in Somerset, returned 50 marks (£33 6s. 8d.) a year.³²¹ Even more lucrative was the church of Ellesmere attached to the house of Halston in Shropshire, which was worth 70 marks (£46 13s. 4d.) in average years, ‘*communibus annis*’.³²² To better appreciate the high value of this church, it may be useful here to compare the income from all the land attached to the same house, bearing in mind that at this time, the house of Halston had also absorbed the house of Dolgynwal or Yybyty-Ifan in Northern Wales.³²³ All of the land-related income from the preceptory of Halston in 1338: two mesuages with two gardens, curtilage, and a dovecote, half a carucate, three farms, another 200 acres, and the tithes of corn and hay, amounted only to £35 3s. 4d. Even the addition of the two water mills owned by this house only brings the total up another £2 to £37 3s. 4d., still £9 10s. short of the total for the church of Ellesmere alone. The incomes for all the assizes, pleas, and escheats for Dolgynwal, Halston, and the hundred of Ellesmere, likewise falls short of the income pulled in by the church, reporting only £24 18s. 2d. Ellesmere, however, was only one of four churches attached to the preceptory at Halston and though not all of them brought in nearly the same amount, the total came to £67 13s. 4d., forty five percent of the total £157 5s. 10d. total income reported for the preceptory.³²⁴

While the church of Ellesmere is representative of the value of appropriated churches, not all churches brought in such hefty sums. The church of Swarkstone, attached to the house of Barrow in Derbyshire, returned only 10s. in 1338.³²⁵ The house of Trebeigh in Cornwall listed incomes from three different churches, but in this instance the nature of the incomes is more detailed:

Et gleba ecclesie Sancti Ivonis..... *iiijd.*
Item de gleba Sancti Maderni..... *ixd.*
Item de gleba Sancte Clare..... *j marca.*
Item de pensione vicarii ecclesie Sancti Maderni..... *iiij marce.*
Item de ecclesia Sancti Maderni appropriata..... *xliij marce.*

³²¹ Larking and Kemble, 20.; This income would have been reserved for the maintenance of the sisters at Buckland and would not have featured in the total income of the priory.

³²² *Ibid.*, 39.

³²³ Rees, 70.

³²⁴ Larking and Kemble, 39.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

While the brethren drew incomes from the glebe lands attached to certain churches, it is clearly the appropriated churches that produced the higher income.³²⁷ In addition to drawing tithes from attached lands, churches also typically drew income from oblations at certain major feast days, Lent, Easter, Assumption, and Christmas; and also from the performance of religious services such as marriages and burials, visitations to the sick, confessions, and masses for the dead. There were also a number of churches attached to the smaller parcels of land, the camerae, but often the income from these was set aside for a specific purpose. For example, the camera of Burgham in Kent held a church of the same name which returned 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) which was then funnelled back into the expenses of the church.

*Que ordinatur pro robis, mantellis, et aliis necessariis Prioris ecclesie, et iij. fratrum capellanorum, et stipendiis aliorum capellanorum secularium convetus.*³²⁸

It is difficult to determine what percentage of the income from the Order's houses was used to maintain these churches as it is clear that not all incomes and expenses are listed in the Report of 1338. A tentative summary of all given church-related expenses produces a total of £155 4s. 10d. and a *quadrans*, or a quarter of a penny (a farthing). To put this sum in perspective, church-related income for houses in England and Wales was £1,040 6s. while the sum total of all incomes in 1338 was reported as 5,739 marks 4s. 6d. (£3,826 4s).³²⁹ In short, the Hospitallers in Britain received about a third of their income from their ownership of churches and yet only about 15 percent of that income was filtered back into the maintenance of the churches themselves and the chaplains serving in them. In Scotland most appropriated churches were acquired by the Hospitallers after 1312, quite late considering the much earlier appropriations in

³²⁶ 'And the glebe of the church of St. Ives, 3.d. Also the glebe of St. Madron, 9d. Also the glebe of St. Clare, 1 mark. Also the pension of the vicar of the church of St. Madron, 4 marks. Also of the church of St. Madron appropriated, 44 marks. Also of the church of Trebeigh appropriated, 28 marks.' *Ibid.*, 15.

³²⁷ The glebe was land attached to a parish church designed to provide income and support for the incumbent priest.

³²⁸ 'Which is designated for robes, mantles, and other necessities for the church of the priory, and three brother chaplains, and stipends for other secular chaplains assembled.' Larking and Kemble, 124.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 202.

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England, Wales and Ireland.³³⁰ This process seems to have begun with the opening of
the church at Torphichen for parish services to the community, particularly the rights of
cemetery and teinds from the men of Torphichen.³³¹ They also had right of teinds from
Ogliface in Lithlithgow to the northeast of Torphichen and the right of presentation in
the church of Glenmuick in Mar.³³²

The Hospitallers were responsible for a large number of churches in Ireland as well and yet they remain largely unexplored both because they are difficult to identify and there is little in the way of material to fill in these gaps of information even if it is possible to pinpoint their location. Notoriously, the summary of the 1212 papal confirmation of the Order's ecclesiastical properties in Ireland printed in the *Calendar of Papal Letters* compiled by the Public Record Office lists only fifteen properties, although the confirmation itself actually contains over a hundred individual sites.³³³ In the appendix to his transcription of the Kilmainham register, McNeill writes of the *Calendar's* editor that: "his courage evidently failed at 'Cluchi hunche'; but he might at least have put "etc.,..."³³⁴ McNeill's frustration is understandable given the general scarcity of sources on the Hospitallers in Ireland and he points out that this confirmation, with its large number of properties, provides a sense of scope for the Order that cannot be found elsewhere. McNeill's appendix lists all these forgotten churches and also takes on the herculean task of identification. (See Map 3 below) As one would expect, the distribution of church properties more or less clustered around the preceptories on the eastern and southern coasts, especially around the central house of Kilmainham near Dublin but also in Meath, Kildare, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, Limerick, Cork and interestingly, up in the north as well in Antrim and Down. MacNeill writes that the church referred to as 'Glorie' in the confirmation, in Glenarm, Antrim may have been the Order's most northerly and remote

³³⁰ Cowan et al., *Knights of St. John*, xxvii.; This may be due to the Templars having arrived earlier in Scotland and securing royal favour there, thus providing later competition for the Hospitallers.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, xxviii. A teind is a tithe, or a tenth, as it was called in Scotland.

³³² *Ibid.*, xxvii.

³³³ These are listed in McNeill, Charles. *Registrum*, 138- 156.

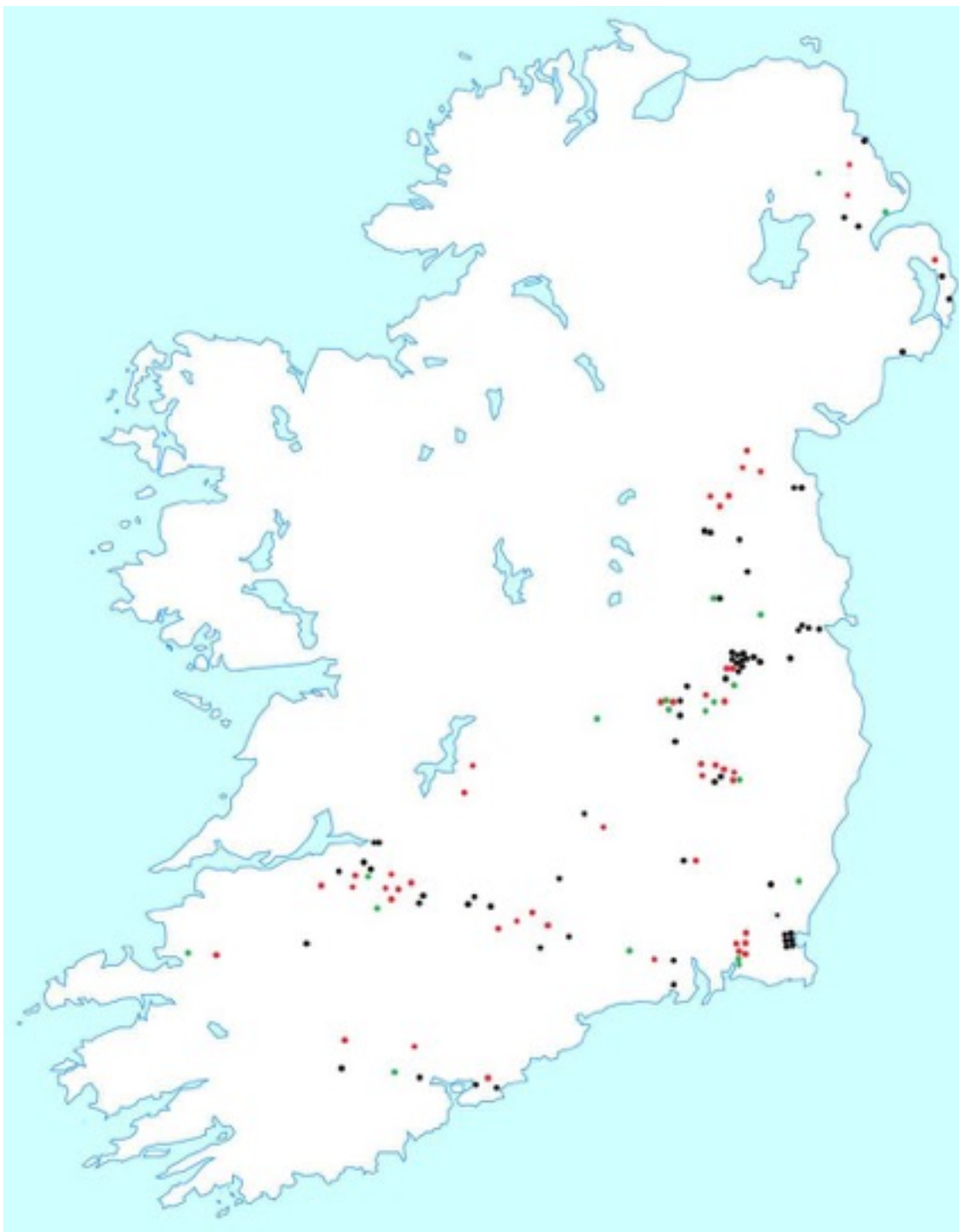
³³⁴ McNeill, *Registrum*, 139.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* church but he voices doubts over whether it would have ever been able to take effective possession.³³⁵

It is impossible to say how much money came in from the churches in Ireland but the 1212 papal confirmation with its hundred plus churches, submitted for confirmation by the Hospitallers themselves, would seem to suggest that they were eager to keep possession. The Irish taxation records for 1302-06 list a number of churches producing no return as the Hospitallers were listed as rectors; presumably the income from these properties was supposed to go to the Order.³³⁶ In most instances, the Hospitallers held the advowson, or the right of presentation to many of the parish churches they owned, making them directly responsible for staffing churches in their jurisdiction with chaplains. As was the case for their own preceptory chapels, professed brethren seemed not to have served in the parish churches and secular chaplains were hired instead. As mentioned above, the income for some of these churches was substantial and often more than enough to cover the meagre stipend (on average, 20s.) paid to these hired chaplains. In certain places this amount was higher, though it seems that there was a correlation between the stipend of the chaplain and whether or not he also had rights to be fed at the table of the preceptory, *ad mensam*.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 147.

³³⁶ To see an example of this look under ‘Church of Garosclon.’ in *CDI, 1302-1307*, 315 .



Map 3: Hospitaller possessions in Ireland, 1212
(Map produced by and used here with permission from Dr. Paolo Virtuani)

For instance, the chaplain hired by the house of Hardwick in Bedfordshire, earned 60s. a year but was not entitled to eat at the table of the preceptory, *non ad mensam*.³³⁷ The chaplain serving the chapel of Shalford in Berkshire was also excluded from board at the house of Greenham but only earned 26s. 8d. However, in this instance, the Report

³³⁷ Larking and Kemble, 74.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* specifies that he only celebrated three times a week, hence his lower salary.³³⁸ Much more common in the churches and chapels of the English Hospitallers are the chaplains who only earned 20s. a year but were also fed at the table of the house. This practice is reflected in the relatively low expenses of church maintenance as the additional cost of providing sustenance for many chaplains may have been included in the total for the feeding of the *familia* of the preceptory.

The employment of secular chaplains to staff the numerous churches owned by the Order of St John in Britain at this time brings us back to the problem of small numbers of brethren administering to a large number of properties. Clearly, the way to overcome this obstacle was cost-effective delegation rather than direct management and in this practice, Britain and Ireland were not alone as the acquisition of chaplains outside the Order can be seen in other places. For example on April 27 1332 Edward II of England wrote to the archbishop of Bremen stating that Leonard Tibertis, named as prior of England, had told him that Frederick Odilio, canon in the church of Bücken (Buccen), chaplain was ‘continually performing the services of the Hospital, insomuch that the prior cannot conventually dispense with his presence’ especially as he had to ‘ordain for the general passage for the brethren... to the Holy Land.’ The king requested that the archbishop excuse Frederick from his obligation to reside in the benefices that he held of the church of Bücken for three years so that he could provide for the services of the Hospital.³³⁹

The Wider Community

The English Hospitallers had many conflicting relationships with the communities in which they owned property. On the one hand, by virtue of being landowners, they administered a number of the parish churches (as discussed above) which served the community and hence they performed the religious and charitable services that one would normally expect to have been offered by ecclesiastical institutions.³⁴⁰ Special privileges and exemptions gave the military orders a certain attraction. For example, in

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

³³⁹ *CCR, 1330- 1333*, 557.

³⁴⁰ The topic of hospitals, hospitality, and charity is discussed in chapter four of this work.

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1135, both the Hospitallers and Templars were exempted from interdict, allowing them to continue to celebrate but only for their own members.³⁴¹ In 1137 this privilege was extended to allow for the opening of their churches once a year for communal services.³⁴² No doubt this encouraged gifts of monies and also grants of land to ensure that sacraments would be available at least once a year.³⁴³ In 1211, Ansty in Wiltshire was granted to the Hospitallers by Walter de Tuberville, and it has been argued by Freston that this may have been made in anticipation of providing sacraments for the king's court when it was in town, as England was under interdict between 1208 and 1213.³⁴⁴ Unfortunately there is no clear evidence for this. On the other hand, the Hospitallers' special privileges often caused friction between the brothers and their neighbours. In the early sixteenth century, bishops of Hereford and Canterbury complained that the Hospitallers were ignoring interdicts and excommunications, performing clandestine marriages, and administering sacraments to individuals from other parishes.³⁴⁵

One of the more famous services of the English brethren, the burial of the dead, also got them into trouble with their neighbours. This was not an unusual activity for monastic institutions, but special in this instance because the Hospitallers held papal permission to bury persons who had contributed to their Order, no matter how they had met their end.³⁴⁶ This right included executed felons and suicides who would not otherwise be afforded burial in consecrated ground and was particularly irksome to their ecclesiastical neighbours who did not possess this privilege and may have felt that the

³⁴¹ *Cart. Gen.*, i, nr. 113.; For more on Hospitaller exemptions see, Luis García- Guijarro Ramos, 'Exemption in the Temple, the Hospital and the Teutonic Order: Shortcomings of the Institutional Approach,' in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 289-293.

³⁴² *Cart. Gen.*, i, nr. 122.

³⁴³ Despite prohibitions against simony, it appears that the Hospitallers did indeed extend their privileges to both *confraters* and *consorors.*, see Pugh, 571- 572.; See also Beverley Lees, ed., *Records of the Templars in England: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents* (London: British Academy, 1935), lxi.

³⁴⁴ P.W. Freston. *Ansty and Its Crusader Church*. (Shaftsbury: The Shaston Printers, Ltd., 1963), 3.; For more on interdict under King John see Paul Webster, *King John and Religion* (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2015).

³⁴⁵ Helen Nicholson, 'The Military Religious Orders in the Towns of the British Isles.' In *Les Ordres Militaires Dans la Ville Médiévale, 1100- 1350*, ed. Damien Carraz (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2013), 113- 126.

³⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272- 1281*, 174- 5.

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Hospitallers were garnering donations that may have otherwise come their way. There are at least two instances in which the burial of suicides caused friction between the Hospitallers of Bedfordshire and the Augustinian canons of Dunstable Priory. In 1274, the Hospitallers sued the canons who refused to bury a suicide, the wife of a Benedict Young who had thrown herself into a well.

*Eodem anno uxor Benedicti Juvenis sponte praecipitavit se in puteo, et obiit. Et quia nolimus eam admittere ad sepulturam, Hospitalarii nos implacitaverunt. Composuimus cum eis, quia timuimus eorum privilegia.*³⁴⁷

It is unclear why the Hospitallers in this instance were able to implead the canons of Dunstable for their refusal to bury this woman or why it was that the canons should have feared the Hospitallers' privileges. The summary found in the Victoria County History for this episode states that the canons were forced to pay a fine, though again this point remains unclear in the wording of the source itself.³⁴⁸ Eight years later, the Hospitallers buried another suicide in Bedfordshire, this time a servant of John Durant who had also thrown himself into a well just as the wife of Benedict Young had done in 1274. After the coroners had seen the body, it was thrown into a pit outside the town where it was retrieved by the Hospitallers and taken for burial. It is unclear in this instance whether the canons of Dunstable were impleaded again by the Knights or if this entry simply records the Hospitallers performing a duty according to their privilege.

*Eodem anno quidam ex servientibus Johannis Duraunt junioris de Dunstaple sponte se praecipitavit in puteo ipsius Johannis, et moruus est. Et postquam visus est a coronatoribus, projectus est in fovea extra villam; sed Hospitalani eum inde extraxerunt, et in coemiterio condiderunt.*³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ 'The same year, the wife of Benedict Young suddenly threw herself into a well and died. And because we did not want to admit her for burial, the Hospitallers impleaded us. We settled with them because we feared their privileges.', Henry Richard Luard, ed. *Annales Monastici, Vol. 3: Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia* (London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 260.

³⁴⁸ *VCH Bedford, i, 394.*

³⁴⁹ 'The same year, someone from the service of John Duraunt, junior, of Dunstable suddenly threw himself in John's well and is dead. And after he was seen by the coroners, he was thrown in a pit outside the town, but the Hospitallers pulled him out and buried him in their cemetery.', Henry Richard Luard, ed. *Annales Monastici, Vol. 3: Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia* (London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 298.

Also, it seems that the Knights' eagerness to bury hanged, but not quite dead, felons, provided a constant source of irritation for local authorities who objected to revived criminals escaping justice. In his 1981 article on the Hospitallers' role as undertakers, Ralph Pugh details an incident in 1276 in which the bodies of hanged thieves were taken for burial by the brethren to their church at Ilchester in Somerset where they revived, fled and quit the realm. The Order's agents were arrested and held by the sheriff until the Prior interceded on their behalf.³⁵⁰ There is a similar instance of this happening in Ireland as well in the twelfth century when two murderers were taken down from the gallows and carried by the brothers in a cart to Kilmainham to be buried but they revived, took refuge in the church there, and were eventually pardoned.³⁵¹ Linzi Simpson has argued that this episode gave credence to the assumption that the medieval graveyard attached to the church of St John at Kilmainham must have been located at Bully's Acre, itself a pauper's graveyard in subsequent centuries long after the preceptory and its knights had disappeared.³⁵² What is also interesting here though, is the nature of the individuals being taken for burial. The Hospitallers frequently buried lay members of their Order as part of a contractual agreement, prayers and burial in return for financial donations and/or services to the Order. For example, Thomas Elliot of Keepwick was hanged at Hexham, Northumberland in 1310 but as his name was 'enrolled among the brethren' his body was taken for burial by the brethren of the

³⁵⁰ Ralph B. Pugh, "The Knights Hospitallers of England as Undertakers." in *Speculum*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Jul, 1981), 566-7.

³⁵¹ 'William le Rede, Gilbert de Whithavene, Robert Godard of Sandewiz, Dublin Richard son of Robert Faber of Lyverpol, Roger Getegod and Alexander Botsweyn, charged that they were freely with Thomas le White, mariner, who feloniously slew Robert Thurstayn, giving him forcible assistance in the slaying, and so caused the death of the said Robert, come and defend, etc. Andrew de Asshebourne, Walter Keppok, Robert le Woder John le Mareschal, Richard de Eytoun, William le Graunt, Robert Joye, William Fynsur, John de Capeles, Hugh de Carletoun, John Baret, Geoffrey de Tauntoun and John Bouet, jurors, say that William le Rede is not guilty, but that Gilbert, Robert Godard, Richard, Roger and Alexander are guilty. Therefore William is quit. Let Gilbert and the others be hanged. Chattels, none; they have no free land. Afterwards Robert Godard and Richard were taken down as dead from the gallows, and when carried in a cart to Kilmeynan to be buried were found to be alive and took refuge in a church there, and at the instance of John de Ergadia, who asserts that they had set out with him to pay homage to the King in Scotland, and testifies that they are valiant and good strong mariners, suit of the peace is pardoned to them.' in James Mills, ed., *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls, 1308- 1314* (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1905), 219.

³⁵² Linzi Simpson "Dublin's Famous 'Bully's Acre': Site of the Monastery of Kilmainham?" in *Medieval Dublin IX: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2007*, ed. Seán Duffy (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009), 54.

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Hospital.³⁵³ The criminals, Robert Godard and Richard Faber, however, are described in
the justiciary rolls as mariners without chattels or land and it is though it is unclear
whether they had had any previous dealings or agreements with the Order of St John, it
may be possible that episodes like these are a glimpse of the Knights performing an act
of charity, a work of mercy.³⁵⁴

Aside from felons and suicides, the brethren also buried less controversial corpses
in the shape of their parishioners and benefactors and this might be viewed as one of
their more successful pastoral duties, though perhaps not completely an altruistic one as
they received income from this service and often property grants as well. In 1208
for example, Gilbert Martel bequeathed land in Buscot, Berkshire to the Hospitallers
along with his body.³⁵⁵ Gifts were not always bestowed posthumously and a benefactor
need not be dead to enjoy the services of the Order. In 1199, Lady Sybil de Rame gave
the land at Shingay in Cambridgeshire to the Knights and it was suggested by the author
of the Cambridge volume of the Victoria County History that she may have settled there
herself as one of the sisters of the Order.³⁵⁶ However, though Lady Sybil may or may
not have joined the Order, it seems unlikely that she would have settled at Shingay itself
as most of the sisters would have been moved to Buckland by this time. Similarly,
Yeavely in Derbyshire was granted to the Order in the last decade of the twelfth century
by Ralph Foun, provided that the house there would accept him and provide him with a
habit of the Order at such a time as he wished.³⁵⁷ This sort of arrangement was quite
common and many of the inhabitants of the larger houses of the Order in 1338 were
confraters or corrody holders rather than brethren.³⁵⁸ Those who had provided monies

³⁵³ Before he could be buried, Thomas miraculously revived and was pardoned by the king.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307- 1313*, 265.; John Crawford Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland, Vol. IV: Hexhamshire: Part II (Hexham, Whitley Chapel, Allendale, and St. John Lee) and the Parish of Chollerton, The Chapelry of Kirkheaton, the Parish of Throckrington* (Newcastle-Ypon-Tyne: Andrew Reid & Company, Limited, 1897), 128.

³⁵⁴ See discussion on the role of burial in the ideals of charity in chapter four.; It is also possible that Hospitaller properties offered sanctuary as well, for more on this, see Phillips, *Prior*, 155, and George Thomas Beatson, *The Knights Hospitaller in Scotland and their Priory at Torphichen* (Glasgow: J. Hedderwick and Sons, 1903), 26-7.

³⁵⁵ *VCH Berkshire*, iii, 515.

³⁵⁶ *VCH Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ii, 266.

³⁵⁷ Charter edited by Dugdale. *Monasticon*, vol. 6.2, 805- 6.

³⁵⁸ See the chapter four on hospitals and hospitality for more information on Hospitaller corrodians.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* or services to the Order were sometimes given a pension or room and board but also this privilege could be bought as a corrody which allowed the holder to live in the house of the preceptory and either draw a stipend, or eat at the table, sometimes both. The Kilmainham Register reflects this practice, being primarily a collection of corrody contracts and rental agreements rather than an inventory of properties like the Report of 1338.³⁵⁹

Grants also often came into the houses of the Order as part of a special endowment. The infirmary at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire contained an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary which served as the focal point for a number of gifts. Maude, Countess of Essex, granted the house a third of tithes from the parish church of Chippenham³⁶⁰ for the maintenance of a light before the altar of Mary.³⁶¹ The chapel of the infirmary also contained a chantry and gifts of incense, candles, and wine poured in from various benefactors.³⁶² Though one might expect an infirmary to have been exactly the kind of beneficiary donors would have been looking to give to, it is worth bearing in mind that the infirmary at Chippenham was not used for the wider community but rather for the infirm brethren of the Order, yet still it received gifts, arguing at least for the perception of spiritual merit surrounding Hospitaller activities at this time.³⁶³

Yet the relationship with the brethren and the secular community was not always a harmonious one and the events of the Peasant's Revolt of 1381 proved that not even Chippenham, with its popular infirmary, was immune to assault. On the 14th of June a sack of malt was stolen, though the thief was subsequently caught and pardoned.³⁶⁴ The next night, the preceptory was attacked “in force”, some of its property stolen, and its

³⁵⁹ For detailed information on the Kilmainham corrodies, see Eithne Massey, *Prior Roger Outlaw of Kilmainham, 1314- 1341* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000).

³⁶⁰ Despite the similarity in names, the Hospitallers never owned the parish church of Chippenham.

³⁶¹ *VCH Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ii, 264.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 264.

³⁶³ For more information on perceptions of the military orders see Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128- 1291*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993.; See also, Nicole Hamonic. ‘Ad celebrandum divina: Founding and Financing Perpetual Chantries at Clerkenwell Priory’. In *The Military Orders, Vol. 6: Culture and Conflict*, ed. Jochen Schenk (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming, 2016).

³⁶⁴ Andre Reville and Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Le Soulevement de Travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381*. (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1898), no 121.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* cattle driven away.³⁶⁵ These events of course, are relatively minor compared to the events at Clerkenwell in which the house was set on fire and the Prior, Robert Hales, was beheaded. As Helen Nicholson points out in her article on the topic though, the Hospitallers' lack of popularity in this instance coincided with Hales' involvement in the government and the Order's role as landowners in general.³⁶⁶ This is not the only instance of conflict, however, as is evidenced by the murders of the two brothers at Trebeigh in 1201 (discussed above) and certainly the brothers themselves were not always on the receiving end but sometimes were the culprits. In 1367, a messenger sent by the Bishop of Lincoln to the preceptor of Hoggshaw was wounded and thrown into a ditch full of water before being fished out and paraded through the town on his horse whose tail and ears had been cut off.³⁶⁷

The majority of disputes between the Hospitallers and their neighbours, however, were fought in the court room and again, these centred largely on disputes over land ownership and in particular the lucrative right of presentation to parish churches. Often this entailed the descendants of a certain estate claiming that the right of presentation belonged to them and had been usurped by the Order. The Hospitallers' rights to the advowson of the church of East Ilsley in Berkshire, for example, was challenged by John St Amand in 1313 on grounds that Sewall de Oseville, the lord of the manor during the reign of Henry III, had granted the advowson to John's ancestor, Ralph St Amand. John was unable to support his claim though, and the Hospitallers retained the advowson until the dissolution of the Order.³⁶⁸ The advowson for the church of Creslow in Buckinghamshire was also disputed in 1276 and again the Hospitallers were able to retain the right to presentation, though in this instance with the stipulation that the heirs of the plaintiff, John Tedmarsh, would have the right to reopen the case in the future.³⁶⁹ In Cornwall, the advowson of the church of St Cleer was claimed by Ingelram of Bray

³⁶⁵ Edgar Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia in 1381*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 44.

³⁶⁶ Helen Nicholson, "The Hospitallers and the 'Peasants' Revolt' of 1381 Revisited." in *The Military Orders III, History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.), 225- 233.; Though it was claimed during the legal proceedings after the revolt that Clerkenwell had been badly damaged by fire, there is no archaeological evidence that has been found to date to support this claim.; see Sloane and Malcolme, 204-5, and Gilchrist, 71.

³⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1354– 1358*, 555.

³⁶⁸ *VCH Berkshire, iv*, 31.

³⁶⁹ *VCH Buckingham, ii*, 335.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* and his wife Beatrice, on grounds that they were the descendants of Reginald de Marisco, the original donor. The couple were unsuccessful in their case and withdrew their suit in exchange for the benefits and prayers of the Order.³⁷⁰

While the Hospitallers were able to defend their rights in many instances, sometimes they lost their cases and the advowson passed out of their hands. Nevertheless, the tenacity with which the Order obtained and held onto property speaks to a direct and sustained interest even in the smallest of holdings, despite the brethren being too few in number to administer these properties themselves. Clearly the brothers saw this role as part of their function.

The *Confraria*

One of the important functions of the properties in England was to collect the *confraria*, alms for the aid of the Order's activities in the East which granted to the donor certain spiritual benefits such as prayers and intercessions.³⁷¹ The Report of 1338 gives a good idea of the amounts obtained through these appeals and also yields some information on how it was collected. Most of the larger houses returned a sum for this collection, with the amounts varying greatly from county to county, and some houses returning nothing at all. Skirbeck in Lincolnshire, Dyngley in Northampton, and Chippenham in Cambridgeshire reported no income from the collection at all and provided no explanation either, whilst other houses report a diminished sum, stating that normally the return would be higher and listing various impediments to the collection of the *confraria*. The preceptory of Greenham in Berkshire was only able to collect £10 of the 27 marks (£18) that it would normally be able to raise on account of the poverty of the realm and a variety of other oppressions, such as taxes, contributions to the king for the defence of the sea, and the tax on wool that the king took from all the land.³⁷² Godsfield in Hampshire, although returning a much higher amount, 40 marks (£33 16s.

³⁷⁰ *VCH Cornwall*, ii, 274.; For more on the Hospitallers defending their rights to the control over parish churches see also, Paolo Virtuani, 'Unforgivable trespass: the Irish Hospitallers and the defence of their rights in the mid-thirteenth century,' in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 195- 205.

³⁷¹ See Lees, lxi.

³⁷² 'propter paupertatem communitatis regni et propter diversas oppressiones ut in tallas, contributionibus domino Regis pro defensione maris, et lanis quas dominus Rex capit per totam terram...'; Larking and Kemble, 4.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* 4d.), cited many of the same problems as Greenham, otherwise it would normally have produced a healthy 60 marks (£40).³⁷³ Chibburn in Northumberland raised only 7 marks (£4 13s. 4d.), the lowest amount save for those preceptories which produced no collection at all, on account of the house's proximity to the Scottish frontier and its state of perpetual warfare.³⁷⁴ Incomes of any kind from Scotland, were inaccessible in 1338 for this same reason.³⁷⁵

Collections at other houses yielded quite large amounts, and one would expect that the collection based at Clerkenwell, the headquarters of the Order's English branch, which included the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, would top this list. However, it is the house in Carbrook in Norfolk which reported the highest amount, a startling 130 marks (£86 13s. 4d.), over £36 higher than the next highest amount of £50 collected at Batisford in Suffolk.³⁷⁶ This circumstance raises questions on the factors which contributed to the successful collection of the *confraria*. It has been suggested that as Carbrook was the only preceptory in Norfolk, its sum would have been higher as all the contributions for the county would have been collected there.³⁷⁷ However, this ignores small amounts coming from other counties with a single preceptory, such as Greenham, mentioned above. Also, this does little to explain why the combination of monies from London, Middlesex, and Surrey, funnelled into one preceptory, Clerkenwell, failed to yield anything close to the amount taken at Carbrook. Other factors one might consider then, are the presence of churches, the places from which collections were meant to have taken place, and the employment of personnel tasked with the collection of the *confraria*. In 1338, there were two churches connected to the preceptory at Carbrook, in addition to the preceptory chapel which would have been used by the brethren themselves. Certainly, other counties possessed a higher number of churches and returned a lower *confraria* amount, so the relation, if one existed, seems to have had little to do with the number of churches. Perhaps it is rather that these churches and their patrons were more wealthy and could afford to give a bit more, Norfolk was a wealthy

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 81, 84.

³⁷⁷ *VCH Norfolk, ii*, 423- 25.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* county in the middle ages and the Report of 1338 lists income to the preceptory for the churches of Great and Little Carbrook at a relatively high £40.³⁷⁸ This is, ultimately though, a point of speculation.

The preceptory of Carbrook did employ four clerks to collect the *confraria*, so perhaps too we might think there is a connection here with the number of clerks and the larger amount but the omissions of the 1338 Report make this a convoluted point. The preceptory at Quenington also reported the employment of four *confraria* clerks but yielded only £33 13s. 4d. for the collection, while Shingay in Cambridgeshire listed one clerk but reported a not too much smaller amount of £23 6s. 8d. Compounding this confusion, Battsford Preceptory reported £50 but listed no clerks at all, though undoubtedly, they would have been employed there. The omissions of the 1338 Report make this a difficult problem to get at, however what can be said with certainty is that the collection of the *confraria*, even in its diminished form in 1338, was still a major source of income for the Knights, bringing in £888 4s. 3d. It is also possible to say that the collection of the *confraria* was a regular occurrence in Ireland as well. In the fourteenth century, three men were arrested for collecting money for the Order using forged letters which they claimed were from the Prior of Kilmainham. As Synnott notes, these men would hardly have been as successful in this venture if the people they were collecting from were not used to the Order making a regular collection.³⁷⁹

Though it would be something of a stretch to argue that the houses of the Hospitallers in Britain functioned primarily for religious reasons, their ownership of numerous parish churches and general background of their Order makes this topic difficult to ignore completely. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a distinct cost-cutting, profit-yielding nature in the way in which the brethren administered their religious property in Britain, as evidenced by the employment of secular chaplains at very low rates of pay, by the small numbers of brethren in the preceptories, and most of all, through the aggressive appropriation of parish churches and the defence of the lucrative rights attached to them. The brethren of the English Langue acted as administrators for the religious well being of the communities in which they lived and

³⁷⁸ Larking and Kemble, 81.

³⁷⁹ Synnott, 31.

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used the wealth of their properties to maintain their central convent, with its very definite religious purposes, in the East and also channelled these funds back into provisioning their western houses for the maintenance of hospitality.

Chapter Four: Hospitals and Hospitality

The care of the sick and the needy was of great significance to the practice of medieval Christianity in general and in particular, to the everyday life of religious communities in western Europe. The Seven Corporeal Works of Mercy called for the Christian faithful to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, provide shelter to the shelterless, tend the sick, visit prisoners and bury the dead and were drawn largely from the Gospel of Matthew 25: 34-40 which described how people were to be weighed at the Final Judgement:

Then the King will say to those on his right, ‘Come, you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me.’ Then the righteous will answer him, saying, ‘Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you drink? And when did we see you a stranger and welcome you, or naked and clothe you? And when did we see you sick or in prison and visit you?’ And the King will answer them, ‘Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it to me.’³⁸⁰

The identification of Christ with the poor and downtrodden and the role charity played in gaining access to salvation prompted religious communities to devote considerable portions of their resources to caring for those in need and prescriptions for the ways in which this was to be done can be found in the rules of both the Benedictine

³⁸⁰ Matthew 25: 34- 40; See also Psalm 41:1, ‘Blessed is he that considers the poor and needy: the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble.’; For a discussion on the Seven Corporeal works of Mercy see Lynn T. Courtenay, ‘The Hospital of Notre Dame des Fontenilles at Tonnerre: Medicine as *Misericordia*,’ in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. Barbara S. Bowers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 86- 7.; The passage from the Gospel of Matthew does not mention the burial of the dead but the incorporation of this service amongst other deeds of corporeal charity is found in the the Book of Tobit, 1:17: ‘I would give my bread to the hungry and my clothing to the naked; and if I saw any one of my people dead and thrown out behind the wall of Ntin’evah, I would bury him.’; See discussion on the Hospitallers’ burial of the dead in chapter three.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* and Augustinian orders.³⁸¹ Drawing from both of these traditions, as discussed in the previous chapter, the sick and the poor featured similarly as the traditional beneficiaries of Hospitaller charity. Travellers and pilgrims marvelled at the Order’s central hospital in Jerusalem and the maintenance of care there constituted the chief concern for the Order in the earliest of its Rules and Statutes. The mid twelfth-century Rule of Raymond du Puy, for example, instructed that a sick man should be received and ‘...carried to bed, and there as if he were a Lord, each day before the brethren go to eat, let him be refreshed with food charitably according to the ability of the House.’³⁸² Later Statutes also gave increasingly detailed instructions for the maintenance of the hospital, from the type of linens which were to cover the beds, to the number of doctors that should be maintained to examine the urine of the patients.³⁸³ In addition to providing medical care for the sick, the Order’s conventual hospital also provided food and lodging for pilgrims, served casualties of war, and distributed daily alms of foodstuffs.³⁸⁴ After the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and its oldest and largest hospital there, the Order of St John continued to fulfil its charitable mission by creating new hospitals in each of the subsequent locations it established itself in, first in Acre, then in Cyprus, Rhodes, and finally in Malta.³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ See *Rule of St. Benedict*, Chapter 53 and the *Rule of St. Augustine*, Chapter Five.; Also see Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c. 1070- c.1250*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007); Kerr, Julie. ‘Cistercian Hospitality in the Later Middle Ages.’ In *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages* 35, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 25- 39.

³⁸² Translation by E.J. King, *The Rule Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099-1310, With Introductory Chapters and Notes*, London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1934), 27.; Also see Myra Bom, ‘The Hospital of St John, the Bedroom of *Caritas*,’ in *The Military Orders, Vol. 4: On Land and By Sea.*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

³⁸³ See, for example, the Statutes of Fr. Roger des Moulins, 1177-1187 in King’s edition of the *Rules and Statutes.*, 34- 40.

³⁸⁴ Anthony Luttrell, ‘The Hospitallers’ Medical Tradition: 1291- 1530,’ in *Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum/ Ashgate, 1994), 64-81.; Susan Edgington, ‘Medical Care in the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 70- 2.

³⁸⁵ For a more full discussion on hospitals maintained in the East by the Order and their medical practices, see Anthony Luttrell, ‘Hospitallers’ Medical Tradition: 1291- 1530’, 27- 33.; Christopher Toll, ‘Arabic Medicine and Hospitals in the Middle Ages: a Probably Model for the Military Orders’ Care of the Sick.’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 35-41.; Kedar, Benjamin, Kedar, ‘A Twelfth-Century description of the Jerusalem Hospital,’ in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 3- 26.; Denys Pringle, ‘The Layout of the Jerusalem Hospital in the Twelfth Century: Further Thoughts and Suggestions,’ in *The Military Orders, Vol. 4: On Land and By Sea*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 91- 110.

The number of hospitals for the sick in the Order's provincial holdings outside of the East, however, is still the source of some debate. In some instances, that the Order built and maintained them has been taken for granted and assumed to be a fundamental aspect of Hospitaller activity in all places where the Order held property and indeed, the Hospitallers owned substantial amounts of land throughout western Europe, extending from the British Isles to the Mediterranean. However, with very few exceptions in large urban centres like Toulouse or Genoa, the Knights seemed not to have maintained large hospitals outside of their central Convent, indicating that it is unlikely that the brothers maintained a significant charitable function outside of the institution of the hospital. In this model, it is argued that the Order's provincial houses functioned almost exclusively as rent-collecting properties, maintained only to raise funds which were then sent to the central convent of the Order. However, perhaps neither of these two descriptions, that the Order maintained a medical function throughout western Europe, or that the Order only provided these services at its central convent, is wholly accurate. This chapter will reassess the evidence.

Hospitals

Any study of the medieval hospital is bound to be fraught with difficulty, because of the multiplicity of different types of institutions covered by the term 'hospital.' In modern times hospitals, hospices, guesthouses and hostels all perform specific functions; hospitals administer medical services for the sick and wounded, hospices provide extended care for those with long-term illness, guesthouses cater to travellers, offering them food and shelter while hostels provide the same services for those on a budget. Martha Carlin, in her article on medieval English hospitals, describes the term 'hospital' as encompassing not only those places which administered to the sick, but also leper houses, almshouses, and hospices for travellers.³⁸⁶ Also compounding this confusion is the issue of exactly the kind of people cared for at these various places and what assistance they could hope to receive. Surviving sources do little to clear up this problem and in many cases it is unclear what the difference was between the poor, the sick poor, and the naked poor, or whether a house offered medical

³⁸⁶ Martha Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," in *The Hospital in History*, ed. Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter. (London: Routledge, 1989), 21.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* care to the sick and the injured or merely provided food and lodging.³⁸⁷ Functioning with these handicaps in mind, possible locations of hospitals maintained by the Knights of St John in England and Wales do present themselves, though typically past identification has been perhaps a little overly enthusiastic. Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster give the number of Hospitaller hospitals as twelve and seem to have derived their information largely from the lists compiled by David Knowles and Neville Hadcock in 1953, itself containing some erroneous identifications, possibly deriving from the proliferation of hospitals dedicated to St John the Baptist and a less than thorough reading of William Rees’ work on the Order of St John in Wales and on the Welsh border.³⁸⁸ The Hospitaller sources themselves suggest a much smaller number.

The 1338 Report of Philip de Thame mentions only two *infirmaria*; one at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire and the other at Skirbeck in Lincolnshire. Skirbeck provided for the care and clothing of twenty poor in its infirmary, though it is important to note that the wording of the entry for this house does not make clear that any of the *pauperum* were actually sick, only that they were administered to in the infirmary.

Inde in expensis domus... xx. pauperum in infirmaria...
*Item pro indumento xx. pauperum infirmaria; videlicet, cuilibet pro uno garniamento ij s. vj d., et eorum cuilibet pro iij. caneuas vj d. ob. et cuilibet pro uno pari sotulorum iij d., et in focali pro eisdem secundum compositionem fundatoris ij s. iij d., et sic suma iij li. x d.*³⁸⁹

It is also worth mentioning that the infirmary at Skirbeck, though in some ways upholding the charitable ideals of the foundation of the Order, was granted to the Hospitallers by its founder, Thomas Multon, and administered according to his wishes, not established by the Hospitallers themselves.

³⁸⁷ Anthony Luttrell also discusses this in his article on the medical traditions of the Hospitallers when he writes that there is a “terminological confusion between the poor, the sick and the sick poor; between pilgrims and other travellers; between charity and hospitality; and between medical hospitals, various types of hospice and the *infirmaria fratrum* reserved for the Hospitaller brethren,” Luttrell, ‘Medical Traditions’, 64.

³⁸⁸ See Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital, 1070- 1570*, (London: Yale University Press, 1995); Knowles and Hadcock, 72.; and Rees, *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border*.

³⁸⁹ “From that, in the expenses of the house... twenty poor in the infirmary... Also for clothing twenty poor in the infirmary; namely, one garment for each 2 s. 6 d., and or each of them, 3 canvases (cloths) 6 d. ob., one pair of shoes 4 d., and a scarf, according to agreement of the founder 2 s. 4 d., and thus the sum of 4 li. 10 d.’, Larking and Kemble, 61.

*..prout dominus de Multon fundator dicte domus ordinavit, et per bullas papales ordinationem suam fecit confirmari...*³⁹⁰

This kind of arrangement, with the Order picking up the responsibility of maintaining a hospital already in existence was, in and of itself, not unusual. John Stillingflete wrote in 1434 that Richard I handed over the care of hospitals at Worcester and Hereford to the Order in 1194.³⁹¹ Additionally, the Hospital of St Cross in Hampshire was given to the Knights in 1137 and was intended to provide care for thirteen men in the infirmary and the feeding of another hundred daily, allowing for the taking of leftovers of meat and drink on departure.³⁹² However, Hospitaller possession of the Hospital of St Cross was quickly disputed by the bishop of Winchester, Richard of Ilchester, forcing the Hospitallers to give up their claim in 1185 in favour of the bishop who agreed to feed two hundred daily instead of the original hundred. Almost immediately after renouncing their claims, the Hospitallers began petitioning to regain possession from the papal court and despite having been successful in this endeavour at least twice in 1187 and 1189, the matter was referred for further arbitration to the bishops of London and Lincoln and the abbot of Reading. Though the hospital was confirmed to the Order by King John in 1199, the papal commissioners decided for the bishops of Winchester, who took possession in 1204.³⁹³ Motivated by spite, a continuing hope that perverting the course of justice would give them additional opportunities to regain possession, or simply the disorganised state of their record keeping, the Hospitallers kept hold of the muniments and records for the Hospital of St Cross for more than a century after they had lost possession, with Prior Hales eventually passing the documents on in 1379.³⁹⁴

It is unclear why the Hospitallers were unable able to maintain their claim on the Hospital of St Cross. Certainly there would be grounds to strip them of possession if

³⁹⁰ ‘...exactly as ordained by the lord of Multon, founder of this said house, and by was confirmed by the ordination of papal letters...’, *Ibid.*, 61.

³⁹¹ John Stillingflete, ‘Liber Johannis Stillingflete’, in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi (6.2), 839., *Cart. Gen.*, ii, 604.

³⁹² *VCH, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, ii, 193-4.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 193-4.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 193-4.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* they had failed to meet to terms of charity stipulated by the founder and perhaps one might see Robert of Ilchester’s promise to feed two hundred daily instead of the original one hundred as an accusation on the part of the bishops of Winchester that not only were the Hospitallers negligent but that they, the bishops of Winchester, could do twice the job. However construction of the hospital would have been ongoing at the time of the dispute with the completion of the church there taking place as late as 1255, so it seems unlikely that the Hospitallers ever had the opportunity to fail and in any case, mismanagement of the hospital meant that it was dilapidated by 1322 and only very sporadically fulfilled any charitable function for the remainder of the medieval period.³⁹⁵ Nevertheless, this grant, however short-lived, suggests that donors clearly thought the Hospitallers suited to maintain these infirmaries, and the Order for its part seems to have been willing to taken them on and fight to keep them even though the administration of the hospitals was not indicative of the primary function of the Knights in their English properties.

In contrast with Skirbeck, the one other entry containing mention of an infirmary at Chippenham does make clear that the sick were cared for here, but the beneficiaries in this instance appear to be not the sick of the general secular community but rather the infirm brethren and servants of the Order.

*Inde in expensis domus... vij. fratrum et iij. servitorum in infirmaria; et aliquando plures fratres secundem quod fuerint infirmiri in prioratu.*³⁹⁶

No mention is made of infirm brethren in any of the other houses in the 1338 Report, suggesting either that their number in those places other than Chippenham were either too small or too inconsistent to be included in the expenses of the house, or Chippenham was the one place where all the sick English brethren were kept. This latter explanation would seem most likely given the reduced number of Hospitallers in the English preceptories in 1338; there are few entries for houses containing more than three brethren and there was a similar clustering of the sisters of the Order in one house

³⁹⁵ For an extended description of the history of the Hospital of St Cross, see *VCH, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, ii, 193-4.

³⁹⁶ ‘From that, in the expenses of the house... seven brothers and 3 servants in the infirmary; and sometimes many brothers because they have become infirm in the priory., Larking and Kemble, 78.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* at Buckland in Somerset, suggesting that those considered to be the most physically vulnerable were concentrated in a place where they could be cared for properly.

There is little consensus on the existence of a hospital or an infirmary at Clerkenwell. The twelfth century, Anglo-Norman *Hospitaller Riwle* describes a church and a hospice for the sick and is thought by Sinclair to describe Clerkenwell.³⁹⁷ However the Report of 1338 mentions no infirmary at Clerkenwell and there was no direct archaeological evidence for one unearthed in the excavations of the precinct there between 1986 and 1995.³⁹⁸ The remains of twelve individuals which bore the remains of various ailments were found in a small cemetery near the preceptory church which may suggest the existence of a hospital within the precinct or might simply be indicative of the parish function of the church of the preceptory.³⁹⁹ Though excavation of Hospitaller sites in Britain remains limited, Roberta Gilchrist has suggested that two storied churches such as might be found at Standon in Hertfordshire and Ansty in Wiltshire, may represent the presence of infirmaries where the refectory and kitchen would have occupied the ground floor whilst the infirmary with its dormitory would have been on the first.⁴⁰⁰ It has also been suggested that the Order maintained a hospital at St Leonard's Chapel, attached to the preceptory of Clanfield in Oxford and that prior to the consolidation of the sisters of the Order at Buckland, they would have nursed the sick here.⁴⁰¹ Though a hospice at St Leonard's Chapel may have existed, it seems highly unlikely that the sisters of the Order were engaged in caring for the sick there given that this was not part of their activities elsewhere.⁴⁰²

So, though it is clear that at least some of the Hospitaller houses in England contained a small number of infirmaries, they appear not to have been used for the

³⁹⁷ Sinclair, *Hospitaller Riwle*, xliii- xliv.

³⁹⁸ Sloane and Malcolm, 202.

³⁹⁹ The cemetery at Clerkenwell contained nine adults, one teenager, a child of three, and a full term foetus. Several of the individuals had suffered from rickets, caused by deficient exposure to sunlight, and *criba orbitalia* caused by iron deficiency in childhood. Of the two female adults, one died in childbirth.; See Sloane and Malcolm, 210; See also, Gilchrist, 71.

⁴⁰⁰ Gilchrist, 91- 2.

⁴⁰¹ John Blair, 'Saint Leonard's Chapel, Clanfield,' in *Oxoniensia* 50 (1985), 213- 14.; Gilchrist, *Contemplation*, 93.

⁴⁰² See chapter three for more information on the Hospitaller sisters in England.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* general reception of the sick in the same way that the Order’s famous hospital in Jerusalem had and in the manner that the Rules of the Order had provided for; the Hospitallers in England, in other words, did not set up dedicated hospitals. It may be possible that there were infirmaries at places other than Skirbeck and Chippenham that are simply not mentioned in the Report of 1338, such as the hospital at Hereford which was held by the Order into the sixteenth century.⁴⁰³ One wonders why, if such other institutions existed, the expenses of the charity they provided would not have been both highlighted and stressed in the Report of 1338. However, if this survey was intended as a report of potential value as mentioned in the second chapter of this work, self-funded hospitals not generating income for the Order may simply have been excluded. This lack of Hospitaller hospitals however, is only unusual if the Order’s central hospitals are considered the model by which all other properties of the Order should be measured against. Houses in western Europe that seem not to have provided the same services have consequently been regarded as perversions of the ideal that somehow missed the mark and viewing the western properties as failed opportunities for the Order to mimic its activities in the East has discouraged their study within the context of the late medieval landscape.

If a comparison is made with the contemporary situation for medical care in England in the Middle Ages the lack of dedicated hospitals seems rather normal. Carlin, using the roughly 1,103 “hospitals” identified by Knowles and Hadcock, identifies only 112 functioning in this manner, and of these 112, less than twenty intended specifically for the sick.⁴⁰⁴ Furthermore, in those dedicated hospitals, she writes that there is no indication that they provided anything more than a warm, clean place to sleep and consistent meals. The Statutes of the Order, as mentioned above, set out very detailed guidelines for the care of the sick and infirm at the Order’s large hospitals in the East. In the late twelfth century, no fewer than four “wise” doctors were to be maintained to diagnose patients and administer to the the correct medicine.⁴⁰⁵ However, after the prohibitions placed on them at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, religious brethren themselves could provide no medical care for the sick and there is seemingly no

⁴⁰³ See Nicholson, ‘The Military Religious Orders in the Towns of the British Isles,’ 119- 20.

⁴⁰⁴ Carlin, 25.

⁴⁰⁵ King, *Rules and Statutes*, 35.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* indication that medical professionals were employed at the English hospitals, nor is the expense of medicines commonly given in the accounts of these institutions.⁴⁰⁶ This lack of medical care was mirrored in the leper houses, almshouses and hospices of England as well.⁴⁰⁷ Furthermore, it might also be argued that Order of the Hospital had competition for its claim on donations from those wishing to support a crusading order with a hospitaller function. The Order of St Lazarus, which also cared for the sick, particularly those with leprosy, and fought in the East, also had a presence in England from the twelfth century and attracted sizeable donations.⁴⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the maintenance of a central hospital in connection with the Hospitaller Order's headquarters was sufficient to maintain its hospitaller reputation and hence to continue to justify the accumulation and exploitation of landed properties not offering these services, throughout western Europe.⁴⁰⁹ The situation in England was mirrored, with few exceptions, throughout the West and yet the ideological link between the Order and its care for the sick and the poor remained as long as the Hospitallers maintained a hospital at their central convent. Anthony Luttrell wrote that the conventual hospital was 'a source of ideological strength... a show piece to impress a visiting public which would transmit the resulting image throughout Latin Europe, thereby helping to justify the Hospitallers' extensive possessions and privileges in the West; the Conventual hospital was to some extent a public relations exercise.'⁴¹⁰

Charity

Despite this seeming lack of Hospitaller infirmaries, it would be misleading to conclude that the English properties did not engage in charitable activities. Simon Phillips has estimated that the Order spent more on charity than the 5% that is estimated

⁴⁰⁶ Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100- 1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.), 81.; For clerical prohibitions in medical practice in the Fourth Lateran see Canon 18: 'No subdeacon, deacon, or priest shall practice that part of surgery involving burning and cutting,' 'The Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council' in H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), 236-296, *Internet Medieval Source Book*, ed. Paul Halsall, accessed 4 January 2016, <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/latran4.asp>.

⁴⁰⁷ Carlin, 29-31.

⁴⁰⁸ See John Walker, "Crusaders and Patrons: the Influence of the Crusades on the Patronage of the Order of St Lazarus in England," in *Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum/ Ashgate, 1994), 327- 332.

⁴⁰⁹ Luttrell, 'Medical Tradition', 73.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* from the budgets of other monastic houses from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.⁴¹¹ The 1338 Report does mention the distribution of alms in several places. At Carbrooke in Norfolk thirteen *pauperum* were received each day and given a loaf of bread.

*Item in expensis domus... xiiij. pauperum quolibet die, quorum quilibet habebit j. panem ponderis lx s....*⁴¹²

Peas and beans were distributed three days each week at the preceptory of Chippenham.

*Item, pro distributione pauperum per iij. dies qualibet septimana per annum, xx. quarteria pisarum et fabarum, pretium quarterii ij s., Summa xl s.*⁴¹³

As one might expect, the entry for the Order's headquarters at Clerkenwell in London also lists expenses for distributions to the poor on the day of St John the Baptist.

Et de fabis ad distribuendum pauperibus die Sancti Johannis Baptiste, de consuetudine, xx. quarteria, pretium quarterii iij s., Summa lx s.

Item in farina pro potagio seu pulmento faciendo, viij. quarteria avenarum, pretium quarterii ij s., Summa xvj s.

*Et de pisis albis pro potagio, iiij. quarteria, pretium quarterii iij s., Summa xij s.*⁴¹⁴

Clerkenwell seems to have maintained its tradition of alms distribution into the sixteenth century when 20s. a week was given at the door and in the hall with 6s. 8d. on Docwra's anniversary and £4 4s. 5d. on Maundy Thursday, "the latter distributed as money, food, clothing and shoes amongst thirteen paupers."⁴¹⁵ Skirbeck also made distributions to the poor from its hall in addition to the care provided in its infirmary, the

⁴¹¹ Phillips, *Prior*, 7; Based on Snape, 116.

⁴¹² 'Also in the expenses of the house... thirteen poor every day, one loaf worth 40 s....', Larking and Kemble, 82.

⁴¹³ 'Also, for distribution to the poor for three days a week, per year 20 quarters of peas and beans, each quarter 2 s., Sum 40 s.', *Ibid.*, 79.

⁴¹⁴ 'And of beans for distributing to the poor on the day of St John the Baptist, according to custom, 20 quarters, each quarter 3 s., the sum 60 s. Also in meal for the making of pottage or broth, 8 quarters oats, each quarter 2 s., the sum 16 s.' And of white peas for pottage, 4 quarters, each quarter 3 s., the sum 12 s.', *Ibid.*, 100.

⁴¹⁵ John Stillingflete in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, Vol. 6.2, 832.; *VCH Middlesex*, i, 198; Sloane and Malcolm, 210.

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numbers of the poor being so great that additional entries allow for the costs of dealing with the crowds.

*Inde in expensis domus... et xx. pauperum in infirmaria, et xl. pauperum in aula, quolibet die...*⁴¹⁶

Custus turbarum per annum... xxj s.

*Custus unius carecte carande turbas pro focali... xx s.*⁴¹⁷

The house of Mount St John in Yorkshire also appears to have made distributions to the poor, although no specifics are given.

*Et in distributione pauperum bis, per ordinationem fundatoris domus.*⁴¹⁸

As was the case for the existence of infirmaries, it is possible that other houses of the Order were engaged in similar charitable activities, but as these are the only instances given in the Report again one would wonder why these expenses, if they existed in other houses, were not emphasized. One answer might lie in the possibility that poor were included amongst the *supervenientes*, the arrivals, in the ‘*expensis domus*’ clause at the beginning of each entry and that this would have been understood by the reader. The separate mention of distributions at Carbrooke, Clerkenwell, Skirbeck, and Mount St John might then be seen as a consequence of larger numbers of recipients (the *turbas* mentioned at Skirbeck), the need to demonstrate the fulfillment of an agreement (the terms of the Thomas Multon’s grant at Skirbeck), or a regular distribution (such as that at Clerkenwell and Mount St John).

Again, this more prevalent distribution of alms rather than maintenance of hospitals was very much in keeping with the general trends of medieval English charity. Out of the 1,103 hospitals identified by Knowles and Hadcock, Carlin identifies 742 of

⁴¹⁶ ‘From that, among the expenses of the house... twenty poor in the infirmary, and forty poor in the hall, each day...’, Larking and Kemble, 61.

⁴¹⁷ ‘The cost of the crowds per year... 21 s. The cost of one cart to be loaded with crowds... 20 s.’, *Ibid.*, 61-2.

⁴¹⁸ ‘And in distribution to the poor twice [annually], as per the ordinance of the founder of the house.’, *Ibid.*, 48.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* them as almshouses.⁴¹⁹ That is roughly sixty seven percent, versus the ten percent that were hospitals dedicated to the sick or even the thirty one percent of institutions devoted to caring for lepers.⁴²⁰ Yet the defining features of each of these types of institutions is often tentative at best. Carlin identifies only 136 of the 1,103 ‘hospitals’ as hospices for travellers and yet this list includes only independent institutions, while in actual practice monastic houses also functioned in this manner.⁴²¹ The problem of definition is a key issue when considering the Hospitaller houses’ function of hospitality.

Hospitality

During the course of the medieval period, the need for hospitality increased as the number of medieval travellers rose through crusades and pilgrimage, not to mention the necessity the brethren of St John would have had themselves for accommodation as they travelled through the network of their properties around the country.⁴²² The provision of good hospitality could benefit the house in the form of additional gifts and donations but had the drawback of drawing heavily from the resources of the house. As Julie Kerr wrote on monastic hospitality:

‘the financing of hospitality was not simply a matter of providing food and lodging of visitors. It meant buying utensils and equipment for the guest chambers, supplying candles and wax tablets for practical and devotional reasons, and providing for the visitors horses and entourage. Moreover, the monastery might provision nobles and their households staying in the vill, or part-finance their costs making them gifts of food, drink and other supplies.’⁴²³

The Hospitallers lacked the formalised rule which the Benedictines had for the reception of guests and the English Langue never had the numbers of brethren required

⁴¹⁹ Carlin, 23.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴²² For information on medieval English pilgrimage see, Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*. (London: Hambledon and London, 2000).

⁴²³ Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, 180.

to set up anything like an obedientary system within their scattered houses, but nevertheless hospitality was maintained.⁴²⁴

*In expensis domus; videlicet, pro preceptore et confratre suo, et aliis de familia domus, et etiam aliis supervenientibus causa hospitalitatis, prout fundatores dicte domus ordinaverunt...*⁴²⁵

This is the entry from the Report of 1338, which lists the basic annual expenses for the household of the preceptory at Godsfield in Southampton. As one would expect, the preceptor and his brothers are provided for, as are all others of the household, the *familia domus*, however, there is also another group, the *supervenientes*, or those who would be arriving, for reasons of hospitality, *causa hospitalitatis*. Godsfield, it would seem, was expecting visitors, visitors requiring hospitality. The wording in this entry, however, is not particular to Godsfield and is in fact, a standard clause in the expenses for most of the larger houses mentioned in the 1338 Report. With very little variation in wording, each of these clauses lists the expenses of providing hospitality to arrivals. From this, it might be surmised that the English Hospitallers either thought they were providing hospitality or that they at least wished to appear to be doing so, the motivation in either case being that they were clearly aware that this was what was expected of them and indeed, modern historians, writing about the Hospitallers, often cite the Rules and Statutes for the Order as the source of this obligation towards hospitality. In his book on the houses of the Order in Wales, William Rees wrote, “the brethren placed hospitality high among the virtues, for we read in the Statutes of the Order that ‘hospitality is one of the most eminent acts of piety and humanity.’”⁴²⁶ John Kemble, in his introduction to Larking’s edition of the 1338 Report, also wrote that the

⁴²⁴ The Benedictine obedientary system was an administrative arrangement which placed individual brethren in charge of certain practical roles such as that of the cellarer who was responsible for the provisioning of foodstuffs, the guestmaster who looked after visitors, and the almoner who distributed alms. These roles varied in nature from house to house and new positions were created over time and in response to the growth of larger houses.; For more on Benedictine hospitality and the system of obedientaries, see Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, chapter two, 50- 93.

⁴²⁵ ‘In the expenses of the house; namely, for the preceptor and his brothers, and all others of the household, and also all other arrivals for the sake of hospitality, exactly as ordained by the founder of this said house...’, Larking and Kemble, 22.

⁴²⁶ Rees, 22.

Hospitallers were “bound by the rules of the Order, and the wills of the founders to be hospitable...”⁴²⁷

It is quite possible that the *supervenientes* were multitudes of the poor and the sick arriving at Hospitaller houses to benefit from freely given hospitality, but the term could also refer to a number of other types of individuals not already included in the household of the preceptory, the *familia domus*. The entries for the preceptory of Ribston and Wetherby in Yorkshire, for example, identify the *supervenientes* as those traveling towards Scotland, individuals who may or may not have been poor but who required food and shelter at some point in their journey.

*Inde in expensis domus... et alia familia domus, una cum supervenientibus, quia plures sunt supervenientes, quia in itinere versus Scociam...*⁴²⁸

Although the Order held property in Northumberland, much closer to the Scottish border, and held property in Scotland itself, it would seem that Ribston was the house closest to the border still capable of offering hospitality to travellers in 1338 in the wake of the destruction of the Scottish wars of independence, during which the Hospitallers had supported the English. The entries for those properties closest to the border, Thornton and Chibburn in Northumberland, reports significant losses on account of the devastation of the land. The sum of the value of the income from Chibburn was greatly reduced...

*...et non plus quia terra est destructa et depredata pluries per guerram Scotie.*⁴²⁹

... while there was no income at all from Thornton.

⁴²⁷ Larking and Kemble, xlvii.

⁴²⁸ ‘From this in the expenses of the house... and others of the household, with arrivals, because many are arriving, from travel towards Scotland...’, Larking and Kemble, 137.; There is brief mention of a hospital in Edinburgh between Grassmarket and Greyfriars, in an article in the *British Medical Journal* from 1937. This article mentions a closure date of 1438 but there is no other evidence to support the existence of a hospital maintained by the Hospitallers there., ‘Scotland.’ in *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 4012 (1937), 109- 1.

⁴²⁹ ‘... and not more because the land has been destroyed and deprived many times by war with Scotland.’, Larking and Kemble, 53.

*Tamen nil in presenti propter guerram Scocie.*⁴³⁰

Even if allowances are made for exaggeration, the Scottish houses and those closest to the border were clearly not open for the purposes of general hospitality in 1338. It is clear however, that they had been previously as in 1207, Innocent III issued a bull prohibiting travellers from claiming excessive hospitality in the form of money, food, or clothing, from the Order on penalty of being denied religious services except for the baptism of children and ministrations to the dying.⁴³¹

Houses bordering Wales however, were open to visitors and it seems that these places offered hospitality to multitudes. The entry for Dinmore in Herefordshire identifies many arrivals to the Marches of Wales:

*Inde in expensis domus... et etiam aliis multis supervenientibus quia in Marchia Wallie.*⁴³²

These masses of arrivals even appear to have been destructive to the house at Slebech in Pembrokeshire.

*Inde in expensis domus... et pluribus aliis supervenientibus de Wallia, qui multum confluunt de die in diem, et sunt magni devastatores, et sunt inponderosi...*⁴³³

The preceptory of Slebech is said to have had a healing altar which drew pilgrims and was situated on the road to St David's and to have provided accommodation for pilgrims trying to cross the River Cleddau by ferry.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁰ 'Taking nothing at present because of the war with Scotland.', *Ibid.*, 134.

⁴³¹ GDS 119/1

⁴³² 'From this, in the expenses of the house... and also many other arrivals for the March of Wales.', Larking and Kemble, 32.

⁴³³ 'From this, in the expenses of the house... and many other arrivals of Wales, many who have come together from day to day, and many other devastations, and are incalculable...', *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴³⁴ Kathryn Hurlock, 'Pilgrimage' in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 157 & 162.; For additional reading on medieval Welsh hospitality, see Llinos Beverley Smith, 'On the Hospitality of the Welsh: A Comparative View,' in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. Huw Pryce and John Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 181- 194.

The hospitality of those houses in border regions would seem to have been a particularly important function of Order in England, though the entry for Clerkenwell also clearly provided for the expenses of hospitality to travellers particular to the region of the house, namely for individuals from the king's household and those conducting the business of the Order at the king's court and in London.

*Et omnia ista onera predicta, et multa alia de quibus certa mentio fieri non potest, in supervenientibus causa hospitalitatis, et aliis de familia domini Regis, et aliorum magnatum regni Anglie, ac etiam preceptorum, fratrum, et eorum familie illuc venientibus pro negotiis in curia domini Regis, ibidem continue existentibus, et aliis rationibus in civitate London faciendis, moraturis apud Clerkenwell, ad custagium preceptoris et domus quousque de negotiis suis fuerint expediti.*⁴³⁵

There is even some suggestion that the Clerkenwell's proximity to the court at Westminster was one of the factors which helped determine the location of the seat of the English Priory.⁴³⁶ The Report of 1338 lists payments to lawyers and justices and the hospitality of the prior's table at Clerkenwell also went far in this respect.⁴³⁷ In addition to providing hospitality to various important persons, preceptors of the order were also frequent boarders at Clerkenwell, so much so that a system of dues was eventually set in place in 1439 where each preceptor paid 3s. 4d. per week for himself, 20d. per week for each servant, 16d. per week for each valet. The Turcopolier paid 6s. 8d. per week but had the right to stay in the Turcopolier's house in the inner precinct.⁴³⁸ Alternatively, preceptors could build their own accommodations within the precinct and would be allocated a site and given timber.⁴³⁹ By the mid-fourteenth century, there was a large house and garden maintained within the inner precinct for the Bailiff of Eagle, a

⁴³⁵ 'And all of the aforesaid burdens, and many others of which certain mention is not possible, in arrivals for reasons of hospitality, and others of the household of the lord King, and other magnates of the king of England, and also preceptors, brothers, and their household there arriving for business in the court of the lord King, there continually appearing, and other reasons to be in the city of London, lingering at Clerkenwell, at the cost of the preceptor and the house until their business is concluded.', Larking and Kemble, 99.

⁴³⁶ Sloane and Malcolm, 191.

⁴³⁷ Geoffrey le Scrope, the king's chief justice, for example, who helped gain the Templar properties, dined at Clerkenwell and gained Penhill and the *camera* of Huntington in Yorkshire for life., Larking and Kemble, xlii, 112, 134, 204.; Sloane and Malcolm, 92.

⁴³⁸ Alfredo Mifsud, *Knights Hospitallers of the Venerable Tongue of England in Malta* (New York: AMS Press, 1914), 47.; Sloane and Malcolm, 92.

⁴³⁹ *VCH, Middlesex, i*, 198.; Sloane and Malcolm, 93.

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residence that was also used by other visiting member of the order who did not have
permanent residences at Clerkenwell.⁴⁴⁰ The preceptor of Slebech also maintained a
residence at Clerkenwell.⁴⁴¹

Another group of arrivals that would require hospitality would be those visiting
the house in some official administrative capacity. Each of the larger houses in the 1338
Report lists the expense for the annual visitation of the Prior, usually for a period of two
to three days. This entry for Quenington in Gloucestershire is quite typical.

*Et in visitatione Prioris, per ij. dies, xl s.*⁴⁴²

In addition to this though, many of the Order's houses also seem to have provided food
and lodging to local ecclesiastical authorities who would be checking up on the
maintenance of appropriated churches, in much the same manner as the Prior observing
the Hospitaller houses themselves. Here the preceptory of Ossington is visited each year
by the archdeacon of Nottingham:

*Et archidiaconi Nottingham, pro visitatione sua, et cenagio per annum,
xiiij s.*⁴⁴³

It is likely that pilgrims were included in the multitudes of *supervenientes* and that the
reader of the 1338 Report would have understood this. Certainly this was the case for
the house at Slebech, as described above, and may also have been the case for pilgrims
traveling to one of the many shrines throughout the country such as Canterbury,
Walsingham, or even perhaps bound for places abroad such as Santiago or Rome.

⁴⁴⁰ Sloane and Malcolm, 107.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 218.

⁴⁴² 'And in the visitation of the Prior, for two days, 40s.', Larking and Kemble, 29.

⁴⁴³ 'And the Archdeacon of Nottingham, for his visitation and food per year, 14s.', *Ibid.*, 55.

Ireland

An obvious place to start in the investigation of hospitals in Ireland is in the list of medieval religious houses compiled by Aubrey Gwynn and Neville Hadcock in 1970. In this compilation, the editors attribute the ownership of twenty one ‘hospitals’ to the Knights of St John, a large number considering that there are just over two hundred hospital-like institutions identified by the editors in total.⁴⁴⁴ There are several factors which cause confusion in the identification of both the function and ownership of a house, the first being of course the perpetual complaint of the scarcity of sources echoed by all those working on pre-modern topics. However, this is particularly true for Ireland and especially true for the Knights of St John in Ireland. The richest source of information for the Hospitallers in Ireland is the register for the central house of the Order at Kilmainham near Dublin, Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B 501 or the *Registrum de Kilmainham*, transcribed by Charles McNeill in 1932.⁴⁴⁵ Unlike the 1338 Report with its lists of incomes and expenses though, the Kilmainham Register is largely a collection of corrody, tenancy, and sale agreements. By reading in between the lines of these transactions it is possible to glean some information on the location and composition of the houses themselves, the personnel that inhabited them and the kinds of relationships they maintained with the communities in which they owned property. Unfortunately, this information remains frustratingly sparse.⁴⁴⁶ From the *Registrum*, for example, one can identify which of the Irish houses were large enough to maintain a preceptor, servants, and corrodians, but still have no idea how large the community of brethren would have been at any individual house or even within the country as a whole.

Another issue which causes confusion is the name of the Order and the popularity of its patron saint. The inclusion of the term ‘hospital’ or ‘St John the Baptist’ in a place name, for example, is often a good indication of previous Hospitaller associations. However, the Knights of St John were not the only order dedicated to St John, nor the only hospitaller order. Of the hospital-like institutions listed by Gwynn

⁴⁴⁴ Gwynn and Hadcock, 334- 324.

⁴⁴⁵ McNeill, *Registrum*, ix-x.

⁴⁴⁶ For more information on the house of Kilmainham, its corrodians and its place within the wider community, see Eithne Massey, *Prior Roger Outlaw of Kilmainham, 1314-1341* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000).

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* and Hadcock which include a dedication, ‘St John the Baptist’ is the second most frequently occurring name, only one institution less than the number dedicated to St Mary Magdalene. Of the fifteen hospitals dedicated to St John the Baptist, the greatest majority, seven houses, were operated by the Fratres Cruciferi, also known as the Crutched Friars, while the Knights of St John counted for only two of this number.⁴⁴⁷ In instances where a definite link with the Knights can be established, it is also often assumed that their presence is indicative of the existence of a hospital in that location. For example, Gwynn and Hadcock list a number of places with ‘spidle’ or ‘spittal’ in the name, arguing that this indicates the presence of a hospital in the area and attributing ownership to the Knights despite there being a number of other likely contenders for hospital ownership in Ireland during the Middle Ages.⁴⁴⁸ The Knights of St John did own property throughout Ireland and it is possible that there is a link with the Order in these locations. However, these place names in themselves prove neither the existence of hospitals nor a definite association with the Knights of St John. It could be that there were hospitals in these places not connected to the Order or it could be that the Order had some sort of property there, that may or may not have administered to the sick in any way. A modern example of this persistent perception, this persevering equation of ownership with function, is the selection of the site of the seventeenth century Royal Hospital of Kilmainham, now a modern art museum, based on the assumption that the new hospital was being constructed on the foundations of the previous one.⁴⁴⁹ The new hospital with its dedicated care of the sick and wounded would have borne little relation to the preceptory that preceded it and yet this equation of Hospitallers with hospitals allowed for the link to be made, the perceived legacy to be drawn on.

⁴⁴⁷ Hospitaller ‘hospitals’ dedicated to St John the Baptist in Gwynn and Hadcock: Cork (348), Wexford (357); Fratres Cruciferi “hospitals” dedicated to St John the Baptist in Gwynn and Hadcock: Castledermot, (347), Drogeghda (349), Downpatrick (349), Dublin (350), Kells (351), Nenagh (354), Newtown Trim (355).

⁴⁴⁸ Ex. Spiddal, Co. Meath. ‘Apart from the name, no evidence of a hospital has been found; probably connected with the Kts. Hospitallers.’ Gwynn and Hadcock, 356.

⁴⁴⁹ This assumption can be seen clearly in Caesar Falkner’s article on the Hospitallers in Ireland: ‘The citizen of Dublin who is attracted by such memories will dwell with pleasure on the fact that the twentieth-century Master of the Royal Hospital is the direct successor to the ancient tenants of tis site - those warrior monks, Priors of the Hospital of Kilmainham, into whose hands the sovereigns of mediaeval Ireland not infrequently committed the sword by which they governed.’; Caesar Litton Falkner, ‘The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland,’ 277- 8.

There are a number of similarly tenuous identifications in Gwynn and Hadcock's list which associate the Order with certain institutions based on the tax records, stating that said place was 'entered in the taxation of 1302- 06... as (hospital)' and that this was 'thought to mean that the vicarage was held by Hospitallers.'⁴⁵⁰ It is unclear in these instances which order is being identified as the editors often refer to both the Knights of St John and the Crutched Friars as 'hospitallers' but in either instance the presence of a hospital, again, does not indicate positively the institution which administered it. Balibudan, Magmachethyt or Magmatheythit and Carrigrugan in Co. Cork, Killen in Co. Kerry and Kilmagrigan in Co. Galway are all identified with the Knights of St John according to this logic.⁴⁵¹ Even more suspect is Killelan in Co. Kildare, assigned to the Knights on the basis that their 'ruined tower is said to have formed part of a hospital of the Knights of St John.'⁴⁵² While the properties in Cork and Kildare may represent actual possibilities, the Order is not known to have held substantial property in Kerry or Galway; in any case there is nothing in the taxation itself to connect any of these properties with the Hospitallers.

These problems of identification are not indicative of poor scholarship, but rather of the persistent problems with the sources arising both from reference to the Order as 'the Hospital' and the confusion over origin versus occupation. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it is true that the Knights of St John initially operated and continued to operate a central hospital throughout their existence, and also true that the hospital was administered by an official called the 'hospitaller' but not all of the brethren were hospitallers by occupation. This is an especially important distinction in the case of Ireland where the *Fratres Cruciferi*, also often referred to as a 'hospitaller' order, operated in many of the same areas as the Knights of St John, and, as mentioned above, dedicated a number of their hospitals to St John the Baptist. Hence there is a real danger of false identification. That being said, the Taxation of 1302- 06 does positively identify certain places as hospitals with the Knights of St John as rectors:

⁴⁵⁰ Gwynn and Hadcock, 346, under 'Balibudan'.

⁴⁵¹ Gwynn and Hadcock, see: 346 for Balibudan; Carrigrugan, 347; Killen and Kilmacgrigan, 353; Magmachethyt, 354.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 352.

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Donaghpatrick, Tara and Leckno in Co. Meath and Mounan in Cork.⁴⁵³ It has also been suggested by Gwynn and Hadcock that there were hospitals attached to the houses of Cork and Wexford, Kilmainham and Any in Co. Limerick, though there is little in the way of either documentary or archaeological evidence for the existence of these.⁴⁵⁴ There has also been some debate over the existence of a leper house dedicated to St Laurence at Chapelizod near Dublin, an area in which the Hospitallers came to hold property. In his work on leper hospitals, Gerard Lee writes that the Knights of St John maintained a leper-house at Chapelizod during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which was administered from Kilmainham and also that Chapelizod had appeared on seventeenth century Maltese map as ‘Chapel Lizard’ which Lee describes a perversion of ‘Chapel Lazard.’⁴⁵⁵ Chapelizod, however, is more commonly listed in royal and papal documents as ‘Capella de Ysoude,’ or ‘Isolde’s Chapel,’ making this an unlikely contender as a former hospital site, leper or otherwise.⁴⁵⁶

While a search for hospitals owned by the Order of St John in Ireland seems to yield little evidence for institutions offering dedicated medical care, an expanded examination of other types of houses known to have been owned by the Order might allow for a more nuanced picture of how the Knights engaged themselves in charitable hospitality. There are specific references to guest houses or hospices owned by the Order throughout the country and these are often described as *xendochium* or *liber hospes* rather than *infirmaria*, making it highly probable that most institutions offering hospitality, whether identified as hospitals, guest houses, hospices, or even preceptories may actually fall loosely into this description. Gwynn and Hadcock list Hospitaller frankhouses in: Ardee, Co. Louth (attached first to Templetown then Kilsaran, so perhaps a former Templar frankhouse); Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary (attached to

⁴⁵³ *CDI, 1302-1307*, 262- 270.: For Donaghpatrick, Tara, Leckno see, 262- 270, for Mounan, 296.

⁴⁵⁴ Gwynn and Hadcock, 348 (Cork), 353 (Kilmainham), 351 (Hospital/Any), 357 (Wexford).; Recent archaeological findings by Eamonn Cotter also confirm a lack of any trace of hospitals at known Hospitaller sites in Ireland., see Eamonn Cotter, ‘The archaeology of the Irish Hospitaller preceptories of Mounabbey and Hospital in Context,’ in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 103- 23.

⁴⁵⁵ Gerard A. Lee, *Leper Hospitals in Medieval Ireland with a Short Account of the Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1996), 46.

⁴⁵⁶ See McNeill’s transcription of Pope Innocent III’s 1212 confirmation of Hospitaller churches which lists Chapelizod as ‘Ysoude’, *Registrum*, 139.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* Hospital/ Any); Cashel, Co. Tipperary (same as Carrick-on-Suir); Drogheda, Co. Louth; Dublin, in Winetavern Street (attached to Kilmainham); Duleek, Co. Meath; Ennisboyne (Estbothyn), Co. Wicklow; Fore, Co. Westmeath; Kilkenny, Co. Kilkenny; Limerick; Mullingar, Co. Westmeath; Naas, Co. Kildare; Rathumullan, Co. Down; Trim, Co. Meath.⁴⁵⁷ In general, it has been assumed that the frankhouses belonging to the Hospitallers in Ireland were reserved exclusively for the use of the brethren; Gwynn and Hadcock described the *libera hospicia* as hospices and wrote that they, ‘appear to have been managed by seculars and to have catered only for members of the order when they were travelling or staying in towns.’⁴⁵⁸ In his 1906 article for the Royal Irish Academy, Caesar Falkiner argued similarly that ‘the Hospitallers... had establishments in Dublin and the principal towns, to which the Knights could resort for accommodation in their journeys,’ and McNeill, in his edition of the Kilmainham Register equates these frankhouses with hostels and likewise, assumes that they were primarily used by members of the Order. Pierce Synnott also argues that the hospitality of the Irish properties centred mainly on members of the order and wrote that ‘the impression then would be of a wide spread club, with a fine central club house at Kilmainham, also a free hostelry in Winetavern Street, and a number of linked country clubs, but with facilities confined to paid up members and introduced guests.’⁴⁵⁹

The issue of the nature of which individuals were being catered to at these ‘free houses,’ may be nicely investigated through the examination of the *liber hospes* on Winetavern Street in Dublin, mentioned in a royal confirmation from 1290 in which the Knights leased to Henry Marshal and his heirs, a free hostelry in a stone house with the stipulation that the prior, the brethren, and their horses would receive accommodation here when they were in Dublin.⁴⁶⁰ As Falkiner had assumed that only the brothers of the Hospitals would be using this house, he wrote that Marshal must have functioned as a custodian hired to maintain the property and provide service for the brethren when they

⁴⁵⁷ Gwynn and Hadcock, 339-342.; Synnott also argues that there was a hospice for travellers maintained at Killeel., Synnott, 33- 9.

⁴⁵⁸ Gwynn and Hadcock, 333.

⁴⁵⁹ Synnott, *Knights Hospitallers in Ireland.*, 1980. (National Library of Ireland 4A 1990), 23- 7.

⁴⁶⁰ J.T. Gilbert, ed. *Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland, A.D. 1172- 1320.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1870), 198- 200.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* required it.⁴⁶¹ The wording in the grant however, seems to suggest that Marshal was a tenant rather than a custodian as he is not referred to as a *custos*, a *seneschallus*, a *janitor*, or even a *servus* but rather as *cive et mercatori Dubline*, a citizen and merchant of Dublin.⁴⁶² The terms of the agreement also stipulate that the annual rent of two shillings and a penny would grant Marshal and his heirs not only the house itself but also the liberties attached to it, freedom from exactions, tolls, and other collections of money, all rights which were commonly extended to Hospitaller tenants.⁴⁶³ The agreement also makes mention of other freehouses in Ireland and there are instances in which these too, were leased out.⁴⁶⁴ This suggests a lack of direct maintenance by the knights *prior* to the lease agreement, meaning that they likely leased out this property because they had insufficient numbers to staff it themselves. It may be also be possible to argue that while the Knights were in possession of these frankhouses, they may have welcomed guests outside the Order. The definitive thing that one can say about these houses is that they were used by or had the possibility of being used by the brethren of the Order in Ireland, but this in no way precludes the possibility that they offered hospitality to other individuals as well.

Corrodies and Pensions

Aside from the poor, the sick, and the itinerant, there is another group of individuals which may have benefited from the hospitality of the Hospitaller houses in Britain and Ireland, and that is corrodians. Here, again a comparison might be made with other monastic houses providing this same service, especially in the later part of the fourteenth century when a shifting economic situation had drastically changed the nature of English charity. The Report of 1338 lists corrody holders in nearly all of the

⁴⁶¹ Falkiner, 275- 317.

⁴⁶² ‘*Mandamus vobis quod per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de comitatu Dubline, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit, diligenter inquiratis utrum sit ad dampnum seu nocumentum nostrum aut civiuim nostrorum Dubline, aut aliorum, si confirmemus quandam cartam quam prior et fratres Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Hobernia fecerunt Henrico le Mareschallo, civi et mercatori Dubline, de quadam domo que vocatur Liber Hospes, in civitate Dubline, nec ne.*’, Gilbert, 198.

⁴⁶³ ‘*Tunc vero predicto Henrico Marescallo, meritis suis exigentibus, concessimus quod liber hospes noster esset in eadem domo lapidea prenotata, volentes quod ipse et heredes sui habeant de cetero omnes libertates quas aliis liberis hospitibus nostris alibi in Hibernia concessimus.*’, Gilbert, 200.

⁴⁶⁴ The *Registrum* mentions frankhouses at Cardomeston near Tara (McNeill, 35), Kilkenny (79), Midia (21), and Drogheda (3,4,13); Gwynn and Hadcock also point to two frankhouses attached to the Hospitaller house of Any, Carrick and Cashel, Gwynn and Hadcock, 336.

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larger houses and their numbers are quite high considering the small number of brethren themselves, 80 corrodians to 119 brethren. These numbers suggest that over 40 percent of those living in Hospitaller houses in 1338 (not including servants) were not brethren but in fact, corrodians.

Typically, a corrody included food and lodging and the particulars of these benefits varied greatly between houses and also between individuals in the same house. The detailed entries for Clerkenwell in the 1338 Report provide a good illustration of this. At the low end of the benefit scale, Geoffrey Messor was entitled to eat at the servant's table (*mensam liberorum servientium*),

*Galfridus Messor, mensam liberorum servientium...*⁴⁶⁵

...while another corrodian at the same house, William de Langford, was eligible to eat at the same table as the brothers of Clerkenwell (*ad mensam conventus vel fratrum*),

*Willelmus de Langford, ad mensam conventus vel fratrum...*⁴⁶⁶

... the difference in dining arrangements for the two being reflective of their social standing. Geoffrey Messor, or Geoffrey the Harvester was likely a servant entitled to a corrody in return for previous service but relegated to a lesser dining table while William de Langford, a wealthy knight, ate at the finer table with the brethren, the preceptor, and other corrodians of his standing. Indeed, William's services and donations to the Hospitallers had ensured him a very generous corrody.

Willelmus de Langford, ad mensam conventus vel fratrum, cum sibi placuerit comedere in aula, et unus camerarius ad mensam liberorum, et ij. garciones, et j. pagettus ad mensam garcionum; et cum eidem Willelmo placuerit extra aulam prenotatam manducare, capiet de certo iij. panes albos, ij. panes carpentariorum, ij. panes nigros, iij. lagenas melioris cerevisie, ij. lagenas secunde cerevisie, et de quolibet servicio coquine unum ferculum integrum, sicut unus frater, et pro camerario suo unum ferculum integrum liberorum servientium, et pro garcionibus suis predictis, unum

⁴⁶⁵ "Geoffrey Messor, [at] the table of the free servants.", Larking and Kemble., 98.

⁴⁶⁶ "William de Langford, at the table of the convent or of the brothers...", *Ibid.*, 96.

*ferculum integrum garcionum, et, qualibet nocte, pro camera sua, unam lagenam melioris cerevisie; et, in sesona anni, qualibet nocte, iiii. candelas, et unum fagottum bosci, fenum, literam, ferruram cum clavis, et dimidium bussellum avenarum pro ij. equis suis, et omnia ista predicta ad voluntatem suam de die in diem...*⁴⁶⁷

Though generous, the terms of William de Langford's corrody are similar to others at Clerkenwell, John de Dyngelee, the prior's clerk, for example, also enjoyed similar privileges.⁴⁶⁸ The number of these high class corrodies at Clerkenwell suggests that the bulk of hospitality of this particular house was directed towards important persons both from the royal court and within the Order itself, hardly surprising given the house's obligation to provide hospitality for those traveling to and from London, as discussed previously. The Order's house at Kilmainham in Ireland also hosted similarly generous corrodies and Eithne Massey, in her book on Roger Outlaw, the prior of Kilmainham in Ireland, from 1314 to 1341, argues that it is these corrodians which allowed for the financial stability of the house there. Wealthy individuals, unable or uninterested in caring for themselves, or perhaps on the foul side of the law, as in the case of Walter de Islep, one of the Kilmainham corrodians, granted money and land in exchange for the security of the religious house, to the mutual benefit of both parties. This certainly seems to have worked to Kilmainham's advantage,⁴⁶⁹ and certainly other monastic orders engaged in the sale of corrodies to raise money as well.⁴⁷⁰ There is room however, for some debate on how successful a system this was for the financial well being of the Order in England as a whole. The 1338 Report was, after all produced in the wake of financial difficulty for the English language at the start of the fourteenth century, and one wonders why, if over 40 percent of those lodged at the Order's houses were paying corrodians, the English brethren's finances did not look more healthy. The most obvious answer of course is that the money brought in by corrodies would have

⁴⁶⁷ 'William de Langford, Clerkenwell, at the table of the convent or of the brothers, when it pleases him in the hall, and one chamberlain to the free [servant's] table, and two servants, and one page to the servant's table; and when it pleases that same William to eat outside the hall, he takes four loaves of white bread, two loaves of carpenter's bread, two loaves of black bread, 3 bottles of the better beer, two bottles of the second beer, and one complete dish from the servant's kitchen, just as one brother, and for his chamberlain one complete dish of the free servants, and for his aforementioned servant, one complete servant's dish, and, each night, four candles, fagots of wood, hay, a litter, a ferrier, and half a bushel of oats for two horses of his, and all is given to him day after day...', *Ibid.*, 96-7.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁴⁶⁹ Massey, 54- 6.

⁴⁷⁰ For a discussion on Benedictine corrodies, see Harvey, *Living and Dying*, Chapter 6, pp. 179- 209.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* made little difference in the face of contemporary events, such as war and famine, but it is also possible that corrodies were not as financially lucrative as they were draining. Barbara Harvey, in a discussion on Benedictine corrodies at Westminster Abbey, explains that these were often risky agreements with the monastic house benefiting only if the corrodian had a short life expectancy and if the order had asked for a substantial enough exchange at the outset of the agreement.⁴⁷¹ If a corrodian lived for a long time, or if the terms of the corrody provided for the family of the corrodian, their wife or children, an order might spend more in providing for the maintenance of the corrodian than it had originally gained. On the other hand, if the corrody provided only for the individual, and that individual was elderly or sick, an order might very well profit from the original donation.

It is difficult to ascertain how much this system worked to the advantage of the Hospitallers in England as the 1338 Report gives no mention of income from the sale of corrodies, only expenses. However, there is an amount given in the letter written in 1328 from the English Prior to the Grand Master in Rhodes which gives an income from the sale of corrodies of £202.

*Item de corrodiis utiliter, et per totum capitulum concessis recepit ccij li. dimidiam.*⁴⁷²

It is unclear how this amount was arrived at and when it was obtained. The Report of 1338, a decade later, indicates that many of the corrodies maintained by the Order during that time were granted under the priorate of Thomas Larcher, who had already been replaced in 1328. How much then, of the £202 reported in 1328 was actually obtained in that year? Was nothing more gained from the sale of corrodies in the decade after and is this why no income is given in the Report of 1338? Or is it simply that the English brethren were again pleading poverty in the face of having to send more money to Rhodes? A loose comparison might be made between the income from 1328 and the expenses of 1338. If just the monetary stipends for the listed corrodies in the 1338

⁴⁷¹ Harvey, 198.

⁴⁷² 'In the same way, profiting from corrodies, and having received from the whole chapter, £202 and a half.', Larking and Kemble, 217.

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Report are added together, the amount reached is over £60 annually. If there was an income from the sale of corrodies in 1338 and it was similar to the £202 mentioned a decade earlier in the letter of 1328, it is difficult to see how the Order could have profited from these arrangements after the additional expenses of room, board, and clothing had been added to the amounts already owed in cash stipends. In other words, unlike the Hospitallers at Kilmainham, it seems likely that most of the English houses might have been losing money from the corrody system, rather earning from it. Certainly poor Thomas Larcher is often pointed to as the culprit for this situation, driving the finances of the English houses into the ground in exchange for immediate access to cash.

It might also be though, that corrodies, though sometimes poor investments financially, were granted for different reasons. Massey describes the Hospitallers' original task of providing hospitality as having "been transformed" into the corrody system.⁴⁷³ In the case of places like Kilmainham, or even Clerkenwell, it is difficult to see how the corrody can be viewed as a form of charitable hospitality if the Order received some benefit for providing them and hesitation in doing so might seem especially justified in view of the luxurious nature of some of these arrangements. However, in his article on fourteenth century corrodies, Richard Harper argued that corrodies also often operated as a sort of extended pension system, rewarding faithful servants and for their services by caring for them in their old age⁴⁷⁴ and indeed, at the end of the 1338 Report, there is a general summary which lists the number of corrodians and describes their occupations, seeming to bear out this point of Harper's.

Numerus Corrodiariorum, - unde quidam eorum sunt capellani qui deserviunt ecclesias, alii senescalli, -alii janitores, - alii messoros, qui diversa capiunt corrodia, prout continetur in cartis eorundem, et prout

⁴⁷³ Massey, 7.

⁴⁷⁴ Richard I. Harper, "A Note on Fourteenth-Century Corrodies," in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 15 (1983): 95-101. See also Forey's article on Templar pensions, 'Provision for the aged in Templar commanderies', in *La Commanderie*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité Des Travaux Historiques Et Scientifiques, 2002), 175–186.

*evidencius patet in bajuliis et aliis locis ubi habent certas moras suas...
ij^{xx} corrodarii.*⁴⁷⁵

Other entries in the Report suggest that some of these corrodies may have been granted by the Templars and then taken over and honoured by the Hospitallers.⁴⁷⁶ It is also possible that these houses provided for temporary corrodians, individuals who did not take up permanent residence in the house and hence are not itemized as regular expenses but could perhaps be accounted for amongst the expenses of providing hospitality to the *supervenientes*.

Although the operation of hospitals and the provision of medical care was not indicative of the Hospitallers' primary role in Britain and Ireland, their houses performed an important function for the wider secular community as centres of charity in various forms. In this they were performing similar functions to other religious orders in Britain and Ireland and like other religious orders, it was in managing land the Hospitallers' houses made their most substantial contribution to the Order and to Britain and Ireland.

⁴⁷⁵ 'Number of Corrodians, - some of them are chaplains who serve churches, - others seneschals, - others janitors, - others harvesters, who take various corrodies, exactly as contained in the same charters, and exactly as evidently clear in preceptories and other locations when they have a certain amount of time... 80 corrodians.', Larking and Kemble, 214.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

Chapter Five: Economy and Consumption

Although, as was discussed in chapter three, a substantial portion of the Hospitallers' income in Britain and Ireland came from its ownership of churches, and as we have seen in the previous chapter some came from corrodies, by far the largest proportion of income for the Knights came from the ownership of land.⁴⁷⁷ In his article on Templar lands, Philip Slavin wrote that by 1308 the Hospitallers possessed 106 directly managed demesnes which contained 24,000 acres of land. He added a note of caution though where the Report of 1338 is concerned as it fails to mention the full amount of Templar land received by the Hospitallers and may under-record Hospitaller land as well.⁴⁷⁸ The total estimated income from the Priory of England in 1338 amounted to 5,739 marks, 4s. 8d. (£3, 826 4s.) before expenses, over fifty percent of which, £1,919 7s. 2d., was land related income. A substantial portion of this amount, £692 11s. 10d., was generated by land attached to the preceptories, while the *membra* added another £153 12s. 15d., and the *camerae* an additional £141 3s.⁴⁷⁹ The *membra* attached to Clerkenwell alone produced another £161 10s. 8d., more than the amount from all the other *membra* combined though Templar acquisitions were included in this total while they were listed separately for other locations. With the addition of Templar lands, the Hospitallers more than doubled their land-based income with another £770 8s. 5d.⁴⁸⁰ This chapter will investigate the many ways in which income was derived from the substantial estates of the Hospitallers in the fourteenth century.

⁴⁷⁷ Church related income totalled £1,040 6s., about a third of the total income from 1338. For a more complete discussion of church related income, see chapter three on churches.

⁴⁷⁸ Slavin, 'Templars', 38-9.; For Templar agriculture in Ireland, see Margaret Murphy, 'From swords to ploughshares: evidence for Templar agriculture in medieval Ireland,' in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 167- 183.

⁴⁷⁹ While great effort has been taken to produce accurate totals here, some of the figures given are conservatively low as a result of the income of land being listed in the Report of 1338 with another income-generating item, usually a manor and its produce or the income from rents and/ or courts. This is particularly true in the entries for the *membra* and *camerae* in the Report as well as the properties acquired from the Templars.

⁴⁸⁰ As mentioned above, this is a conservative estimate which does not include amounts listed jointly with other forms of income. For Templar properties see Larking and Kemble, 105 - 201.

Land

The string of initial donations to the Order of St John in Britain and Ireland, as described in chapter one, were gradually expanded and added to over time through additional donations from pious individuals or by the efforts of the brethren themselves. Though the Order may have had limited control over the nature and quality of land that was given to it by individual donors, it may have been more choosy in its own dealings. Gervers has argued that the Hospitallers in England lacked the resources for improvement and so generally preferred land that was already ready for agricultural use.⁴⁸¹ Conscious attempts on the part of the Order to expand and exploit property for additional income typically took one of two forms: either available property was bought outright or possessions and rights already held were traded for something more lucrative. Examples of both of these methods of expansion can be seen in the Cartulary of Godsfield and Baddesley concerning the movement of properties in the county of Hampshire. In 1154-71 a gift of land was made by Walter Andely to the brethren of the Hospital with right of pasture for 200 sheep and twelve oxen with Walter's own sheep and the demesne oxen, of the land "between the two Bugmores" which belonged to the manor of Candover.⁴⁸² In 1220, an additional gift of pasture was given to the brothers by William de Sancto Martino and his wife Eremburgia, which began at the corner of Bugmore Wood and which ran by the "assart of the brothers."⁴⁸³ This grant was then expanded in 1267 when Walter Daundeli gave the brothers eighteen acres of land in his manor of Chilton Candover "which lie together next to Bugmore Wood- which the brothers are allowed to close with a ditch- in exchange for pasture for twelve oxen which they have in common with Walter's animals "and the beasts of his ancestors." In 1270 the brothers quitclaimed the right to pasture for 205 sheep in exchange for fifty acres of land "the north part of which is next to Bugmore, so that the prior and the brothers and their successors may enclose the land with a ditch and cultivate it freely without any hinderance."⁴⁸⁴ While the reader is not likely to be familiar with the fields

⁴⁸¹ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, lxxiv.

⁴⁸² Felicity Beard, ed., *The Knights Hospitallers in Medieval Hampshire: A Calendar of the Godsfield and Baddesley Cartulary* (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 2012), #2, 11.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, #7, p 14.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, #5, p 13.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* of the Bugmores in Hampshire, it is possible to see in these four grants the gradual expansion of property through successive individual gifts and finally in the willingness of the brothers to exchange what they did not want for what they did want. Once the Order was given the eighteen acres of workable land in 1267, the pasture lands that it had been given in 1154- 71 and 1220 were very quickly traded for an additional fifty acres of arable land which they intended to enclose with a ditch and cultivate.

As one would expect, the value of land and the nature of the crops it could produce varied greatly according to location, type and condition. Distance to places of sale or consumption and the accompanying costs of transportation may have helped determine what was grown as oats, for example, were particularly heavy and therefore might be more cheaply transported by river instead of by cart.⁴⁸⁵ The Report of 1338 reveals the employment of carters (*carectarii*) on the Order's estates.⁴⁸⁶ However, the absence of carters' wages or the cost of buying or maintaining carts in the entries for the expenses of the large majority of the preceptories in the Report could suggest that the services of carters were not regularly required as Hospitallers did not produce regularly for the market or else the responsibility for transport from the Order's property was arranged and paid for by the buyer. Nevertheless, the supplying of each household with fuel and foodstuffs would require frequent use of carts but this is only mentioned in the expenses for Clerkenwell.

*Et pro expensis carectarii cariantis focale que distat de Clerkenwell per x. leucas et cum factura ejusdem focalis, pro coquina, pistrina, et bracia facienda, £24.*⁴⁸⁷

As this would have been a necessary expense for each house with a resident household this is a curious omission, but it is possible that the transportation costs of the preceptories are included in one of the other household expenses, such as the provisioning of the kitchen, or in the nebulous *expensis domus* clauses.

⁴⁸⁵ Philip Slavin, *Bread and Ale for the Brethren: The Provisioning of Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1260-1536*. Studies in Regional and Local History, Vol. 11. (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2012), 65- 6.

⁴⁸⁶ Larking and Kemble, 6, 18, 55, 62, 64, 100.; In 1333, the manor of Moor Hall in Essex was leased out with all its animals and equipment which included a cart with two horses., Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, lxxiii.

⁴⁸⁷ 'And for the expense of carters carrying fuel a distance of ten leagues from Clerkenwell for use in the kitchen, bakery, and brewery, £24.', Larking and Kemble, 100.

More importantly though, soil quality would determine which crops would flourish and which would not. Loam soil, a balance of 40 percent sand, 40 percent silt, and 20 percent clay, was the best kind of soil for all kinds of crops while clay was also good but harder to work. Chalky soil was dry and had the tendency to block the absorption of minerals like iron and manganese while sandy soil, by far the worst for cultivation, tended to be acidic, and therefore leached and dried out plants. Rye, oats, and barley the most tolerant of the four main demesne crops tended to occupy poorer soils while wheat was sown in higher quality soils.⁴⁸⁸ As the cultivation of wheat stripped the soil of its nutrients, wheat-oriented demesnes often balanced this problem with the use of legumes or livestock to re-fertilise the soil.⁴⁸⁹ At the Hospitallers' manor of Moor Hall in Essex, leased out in 1333, there were twenty six acres sown with wheat, forty two with rye, fourteen acres of winter barley (*wynterbere*), and three acres with barley and six of oats.⁴⁹⁰ These soil-depleting crops were balanced with twelve acres of beans and two of peas, while forty acres were left fallow and another fourteen were manured.⁴⁹¹ Though the report of 1338 lists incomes for land in all of its properties, there is no indication of which types of crop were planted where, although different values are returned from different qualities and types of land. For example, the entry for the preceptory of Bodmiscomb in Devonshire lists 240 acres of which only 150 were cultivated and produced an income of 50s. from a value of 4d. each acre. The remaining ninety acres were sterile and hence were worth only half that amount, 2d., and so contributed only 15s. to the income of the preceptory.

*Item ccxl. acre, et modo non coluntur nisi vij^{xx} acre et x, propter
sterilitatem, pretium acre iij d. et iij^{xx} acre, pretium acre ij d.
.....Summa lxx s.⁴⁹²*

In comparison, the entry for Grafton in Warwickshire lists 480 acres, each worth 8d. and producing a much more healthy sum of £16.

⁴⁸⁸ Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, 64.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 63-4.

⁴⁹⁰ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, lxxii-lxxiii.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² 'Also 240 acres, and presently not cultivated except 140 acres and ten, on account of sterility, each acre 4 d. and 90 acres, each acre worth 2 d., the sum, 65 s.', Larking and Kemble, 13.

Item ibidem iiiij^ciiiij^{xx} acre terre, pretium acre viij d. et valent per annum xvj li.⁴⁹³

The land at Grafton then was twice as valuable as the most productive land at Bodmiscombe, a clear reflection of differences in quality and/or productivity. The incomes of 1338 also reveal a difference in value between types of land, namely arable, pasture and meadow.⁴⁹⁴ The preceptory of Poling in Sussex, for example, lists 147 acres of arable land at 18*d.* an acre, while its 54 acres of pasture were worth 12*d.* each and its 16 acres of meadow 2*s.* apiece.

Et sunt ibidem cxlvij acre. terre, pretium acre xvij d., et valent xj li. vij d.
Et sunt ibidem liij. acre pasture, pretium acre xiij d., liij s.
Et sunt ibidem xvj. acre prati, pretium acre ij s., et valent per annum xxxij s.⁴⁹⁵

At Poling at least, the meadow seems to have held the highest value, followed closely by arable land, and with pasture trailing further behind.

While there is a clear distinction in values for the land in some of the 1338 entries such as the one for Poling, this is more difficult to determine in many of the other locations listed in the Report where income from pasture is listed not by the acre but by the number of animals the land could sustain. For example, the entry for Chippenham in Cambridgeshire gives three different incomes for pasture.

Et quedam pastura separalis que valet xx s.
Item pastura in communi pro vjc bidentibus, pretium capitis i d., l s. Et pastura pro ix. vaccis, et valent xx s.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹³ ‘Also in that place 480 acres of land, each acre 8*d.* and worth per year, £16.’ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴⁹⁴ Although there is a clear distinction in the 1338 Report between pasture and meadow and their relative values, the difference between the two types of land is unclear as meadow land was also typically used for light grazing. The distinction lies mainly in meadow land also being used to grow hay which would be cut in late summer.

⁴⁹⁵ ‘Also in the same place there are 147 acres of land, each acre 18 *d.* and worth £11 7 *d.* Also in the same place there are fifty four acres of pasture, each acre 12 *d.*, [totalling] 54 *s.* Also in the same place there are 16 acres of meadow, each acre 2 *s.* and worth per year 32 *s.*’ Larking and Kemble, 24.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

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Communal pasture for 600 sheep at 1*d.* a head produced 50*s.* while pasture for nine cows was worth 20 *s.* as was a separate pasture for an unspecified number of animals. In each of these instances a number of animals is given without specifying the acreage on which they were to be kept. This drastically alters what we are able to conclude about the amount of land held by the Hospitallers in the fourteenth century and how much of it was pasture land. As mentioned in the discussion on the Report of 1338 in chapter two, if one were to add up the specified types of acreage in the Report of 1338 one would find that the Order held 20,741 acres of arable land, only 798 acres of pasture, and 1,469 acres of meadow, however because of the different methods used in calculating the value of the land, it is difficult to say how much land or how many animals the Order owned. What is clear however, is that by the fourteenth century, the Hospitallers owned a substantial amount of land in Britain and while the Order had begun leasing property, it still drew substantial income from direct farming of its properties.

Wool

The medieval wool trade was an important source of income for many English monasteries: Hare estimates that in the fourteenth century, the bishopric of Winchester kept over 200,000 sheep as did Winchester Cathedral Priory.⁴⁹⁷ The military orders were also large producers of wool: Slavin has estimated that the Templars owned over 300,000 sheep at the time of their dissolution which would have produced about 39,000 lbs of wool a year and that this would have produced about fifty percent of their entire income for England and Wales.⁴⁹⁸ In addition to the production of wool, the keeping of sheep in places with chalky soil, as could be found in Hampshire, Dorset, Sussex, and Wiltshire had the added benefit of helping to improve the quality of the soil as the sheep would graze in pasture and be folded on arable fields where their manure would then be deposited.⁴⁹⁹ Evidence for the keeping of sheep may be found in many of the duties of the Order's customary tenants, largely in the making, repairing, and moving of fencing

⁴⁹⁷ John Hare, *A Prospering Society: Wiltshire in the later Middle Ages*. Studies in Regional and Local History, Volume 10. (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2011), 46-7.; See also Eileen Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), 34.

⁴⁹⁸ Slavin, 'Templars', 44- 5.

⁴⁹⁹ Hare, 45; See also Edward Newman, 'Medieval sheep-corn farming: How much grain yield could each sheep support?' *Agricultural History Review*, 50 (2002):164-80.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* and in the washing and shearing of the sheep.⁵⁰⁰ As mentioned above, the Report of 1338 is unhelpful in determining of the size of Hospitaller flocks but it is clear from the Report and from other evidence that the Order was involved in the large scale production of wool. From the fifteenth century, the English prior and brethren were involved in the exporting of large quantities cloth. In March of 1475 for example:

License for John Kendale, knight, brother of St John of Jerusalem in England, or his executors, factors of attorneys to ship 100 woollen clothes without grain in any ports of England and take them to any foreign parts quit of subsidies.⁵⁰¹

O'Malley has noted that cloth and tin were often shipped to the East for the use of the brethren at the central convent of the Order, and some of this cloth may have been produced by the Hospitaller estates.⁵⁰² In the entry for the *camera* of Hampton in Middlesex in 1338, there was income from six sacks of wool:

*Et proficuum stauri de ijml. bidentibus, communiter vj. sacci lane, et valent, pretium sacci vj. mar..... xlij marcas.*⁵⁰³

Curiously, only 36 of the 42 marks was produced by the sacks of wool, and yet the profits of the stock are in this case identified as having come from sheep specifically, meaning that the remaining 6 marks must have been the result of either the sale of the sheep themselves or other goods produced from sheep such as milk, cheese, or possibly even hides.⁵⁰⁴ Additional evidence for Hospitaller participation in the production of wool might also be seen in their complaints explaining the low amount collected for the *confraria* at Godfield, in Hampshire.

Item confraria ibidem solebat valere lx. marcas; et nunc, pro paupertate terre, et prisis Regis, et taxionibus x^{me} et xv^{me} omnium mobilium de anno in annum, ac etiam prestatione lanarum, et custodia maris, et multis aliis

⁵⁰⁰ Mentioned below in the discussion on rents.

⁵⁰¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467- 1477, 506.

⁵⁰² O'Malley, 85.; See also *CCR, 1389- 1392*, 126.; H.S. Cobb, ed., *The Overseas Trade of London. Exchequer Customs Accounts, 1480- 1* (Bristol: London Record Society, 1990), 282- 7, 314- 15.

⁵⁰³ 'And the profit of the stock of 2,000 sheep, together with six sacks of wool, and worth, each sack 6 marks, 42 marks.', Larking and Kemble, 127.

⁵⁰⁴ Or might simply have been a scribal error with each sack worth 7 marks rather than 6.

*oppressionibus, que die in diem emergunt; et quia illud subsidium est omnio ad voluntatem donantium, vix possunt levare in presenti, xl marce.*⁵⁰⁵

These complaints may relate to the various financial oppressions placed on the country as a whole by Edward III's need for money for his war with France which placed financial constraints on donors who would otherwise give generously, but could also relate to Hospitaller wool directly.⁵⁰⁶

Additionally, many English monasteries took out contracts for the advanced sale of wool. These contracts functioned more or less as loans which were paid off in kind rather than in cash, in that merchants paid the monastery for the delivery of future batches of wool to a certain place on a certain date; and were attractive as they offered houses a source of immediate cash without having to liquidate property.⁵⁰⁷ While this exchange provided the monastery with cash for their wool, it must be seen as something of a risky measure as the speculative nature of this arrangement meant that the monastery could find itself in much heavier debt if it failed to meet its original contract, a situation could well occur in the face of diseases which affected the flocks of the entire country such as the scabies epidemic of the 1270s and frequent outbreaks of murrain throughout the fourteenth century.⁵⁰⁸ This is exactly the trouble that Order of St John faced in England in the fourteenth century. In 1328, the English Langue owed

⁵⁰⁵ 'Also the *confraria* there used to be worth 60 marks; and now, because of the poverty of the land, and the prisage of the king, and taxations of tenths and fifteenths of all moveables from year to year, and even payments of wool, and custody of the sea, and many other oppressions, which emerge day after day; and because this subsidy is entirely of voluntary donations, it is scarcely possible to raise in the present, 40 marks.' Larking and Kemble, 21.

⁵⁰⁶ In addition to taxes on overseas trade, the laity was also taxed on moveable goods and levies were made on foodstuffs. For more on the financial demands of the crown see W.M. Ormrod, 'The crown and the English economy, 1290- 1348,' in Bruce Campbell, ed. *Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991) and M.M Postan, 'The Cost of the Hundred Years' War,' in *Past & Present* 27 (1964), 34- 53.

⁵⁰⁷ Adrian Bell, Chris Brooks, and Paul Dryburgh. *Advance Contracts for the Sale of Wool, c. 1200- 327*. (Chippenham: Antony Rowe Ltd., 2006), viii- viii.; For more information on advance wool contracts see Snape, 92-3, 137; Adrian R. Bell, Chris Brooks and Paul R. Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market, c. 1230-1327* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Adrian Bell, Chris Brooks and Paul R. Dryburgh, 'Interest Rates and Efficiency in Medieval Wool Forward Contracts., in *The Journal of Banking and Finance* 31 (2007), 361- 380.

⁵⁰⁸ 'Murrain' is a term used to describe a wide range of diseases affecting livestock. Timothy Newfield has speculatively suggested that the great murrain which hit England and Wales in the fourteenth century was rinderpest, an infectious viral disease with a high mortality rate.; Timothy Newfield, 'A cattle panzootic in early fourteenth-century Europe,' in *Agricultural History Review* 57 (2009), 155-190.; For additional information on outbreaks of sheep disease see: Ian Kershaw, 'The Great European Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England. 1315-22' *Past and Present* 59 (1973), 3- 50.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi, Italian societies of merchants, over £1,800.⁵⁰⁹ In addition to being frequent moneylenders to such an illustrious clientele as the king of England, both the Bardi and the Peruzzi were also quite heavily involved in the wool trade making it possible that the debts owed to them by the Hospitallers were the consequence of unfulfilled contracts on the advanced sale of wool.⁵¹⁰ The Court Rolls from the time of Edward III record the debts of the Order to the society of the Bardi and the Peruzzi. In 1331, on 12 July, the Prior of England, Leonard Tibertis, acknowledged that he owed to Dinus Forsetti, Bartholomew de Bardis, and Renuchius de Renuchiis, and their fellows, merchants of the society of the Bardi of Florence, 400*l.*; to be levied, in default of payment, of their lands and chattels and ecclesiastical goods in co. Kent.⁵¹¹ Fortunately for the Order, this debt was cancelled on payment and they did not have to forfeit any of their property in Kent. Three days after the above debt was recorded, another entry relating to the Peruzzi was lodged with the court with the prior owing to Nerius Perini and Henry Acursi of Florence and to their fellows, merchants of the society of the Peruzzi of Florence, 750*l.* ; to be levied, in default of payment, of their lands and chattels and ecclesiastical goods in co. Northampton.⁵¹² While these debts could of course simply be evidence of Hospitaller borrowing in the fourteenth century, they may also reflect the the outcome of risky contracts taken out in advance for the sale of wool which they assumed their estates would be capable of producing. This assumption of a heavy Hospitaller involvement in the wool trade is further supported by the intention to increase flock numbers expressed in the Report of 1338 as discussed in the second chapter of this work.

Other Animals

It is possible that by 1338 the number of animals on Hospitaller properties were not what they were in previous centuries. This cutback is clear in the the measures taken by the brethren themselves in their decisions to trade pasture land for arable land, as

⁵⁰⁹ This information is contained in a letter from Brother Thomas Larcher and the preceptors of the English priory to the Grand Master Héliion de Villeneuve describing the financial state of the English Langue in 1328, edited in Larking and Kemble, 215- 220.

⁵¹⁰ Conversely, it has also been argued that advanced wool contracts were never meant to be fulfilled and were, in reality, thinly disguised loans with high interest rates whose true intention was to hide the practice of usury. See Bell, et al., *Advance Contracts*, i- viii.

⁵¹¹ *CCR, 1330- 1333*, 327.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 327.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* seen in the transaction in Hampshire of the land in Bugmore in the thirteenth century, described at the beginning of this chapter. Additionally, the Report of 1338 itself mentions that large numbers of animals had been sold in the time of Thomas Larcher in an attempt to raise cash. For example, as mentioned above, there is a memorandum to the income for the preceptory of Greenham in Berkshire which states that there was no income from stock currently as all the animals were sold in the time of Thomas Larcher but that it would be possible to sustain 20 cows and 500 sheep there.⁵¹³ It is difficult to ascertain whether this advice was acted or not in the period of financial recovery that the English Langue experienced following the recovery measures put into place by Leonard Tibertis and Philip de Thame in the fourth and fifth decades of the fourteenth century. It is possible that the dwindling numbers of brethren and the consolidation of property from the fourteenth century onward may have meant that stock numbers did not increase. In 1338 there was a very small proportion of Knights compared to a very large proportion of land; 119 Hospitallers to a very conservative estimate of 23,008 acres plus pasture for at least another 3,500 animals.⁵¹⁴ As it would clearly have been impossible for the brothers to be working all this land and taking care of all these animals on their own, they would have had to rely on tenants, servants, and labourers to do this work for them; and certainly there are expenses listed for *bovicularii* and *vaccarii* (cowherds), and *porcarii* (swineherds) at many of the preceptories, *camerae*, and *membra* listed in the Report of 1338.⁵¹⁵

Dovecotes, in which pigeons were raised, also generated a significant level of income, usually between 5 and 7 shillings per year in the Report of 1338. The income from dovecotes from the various houses listed in the Report of 1338 are remarkably similar, a point discussed in the second chapter of this work. Chickens and eggs are also to be found in the Report though much less prevalent than the dovecotes; even though each property with a resident community was likely to keep them, as chickens were a regular part of the everyday diet for all levels of medieval society and tenants often put

⁵¹³ ‘Memorandum- *Quod de stauo nichil hiis diebus, quia vendebatur tempore fratris Thome Larcher; tamen possent ibidem sustentari xx. vacce et v^c bidentes, qui multum solebant iuvare pro responsione solvenda.*’; Larking and Kemble, 5.

⁵¹⁴ Totals taken from the Report of 1338.

⁵¹⁵ See, for example, the *bovarii*, *porcarii*, and *bercarii* at the preceptory of Dalby in Lincolnshire., Larking and Kemble, 65.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* them to dual use, both consuming and using them and their eggs as part of their rent payments.⁵¹⁶ The omnivorous diet of the chicken made them cheap to feed as they could forage; on average they lay more eggs than ducks or geese, were less destructive to meadow and arable land, and provided manure that could be used as fertiliser.⁵¹⁷ This omission in the Report of 1338 of animals which must have been present on the Hospitaller estates may simply reflect the relatively low value of chickens and their eggs or their constantly changing numbers as they were moved from place to place or consumed. As Christopher Briggs has pointed out, medieval inventories tended to concentrate on the value of certain possessions and commodities and hence items of domestic consumption were often mentioned infrequently or neglected completely.⁵¹⁸ These omissions may also simply be an indication that the raising of chickens at Hospitaller properties did not, in most cases, generate additional income for the house beyond sustaining the appetite of the inhabitants. Where chickens and eggs do appear in the Report of 1338, they are typically listed as income from rent, as will be discussed more fully below.

Fish were another source of income for the Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland though they are difficult to locate directly in the Report of 1338. There is mention of a fishery (*piscaria*) at Clifton, one of the members of the preceptory of Hardwick in Bedfordshire, and another at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire and fish weirs (*gurgites*) are listed at Slebech and the *camera* of Hampton.⁵¹⁹ The weirs at Slebech and Hampton might be distinguished from the fisheries of Clifton and Chippenham by virtue of the former houses having access to the rivers of the Thames and Cleddau respectively whereas this may not have been the case at Clifton and Chippenham, requiring these

⁵¹⁶ See below for discussion on rents.

⁵¹⁷ Philip Slavin, 'Chicken Husbandry in Late-Medieval Eastern England: c. 1250- 1400,' *Anthrozoologica* 44 (2): 36- 8.

⁵¹⁸ Christopher Briggs, 'Manorial Court-Roll Inventories as Evidence of English Peasant Consumption and Living Standards, c. 1270- c. 1420.' in *Pautes de Consum i Nivells de Vida al Món Rural Medieval*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València (forthcoming): 16.; For additional discussion on omissions of poultry from inventories, see Mark Overton and Bruce M.S. Campbell, 'Norfolk livestock farming 1250–1740: a comparative study of manorial accounts and probate inventories,' in *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 4 (1992), 377–96.

⁵¹⁹ Larking and Kemble, 34, 73, 78, 127.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* houses to maintain still ponds.⁵²⁰ On average, these fisheries returned a small profit, indicating that their main usefulness was likely in the feeding of the house.⁵²¹ Though excluded from the Report of 1338, the Scottish houses of the Order also controlled a fishing source as they can be seen paying for part of their responsions in salmon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵²² There was also a pool attached to mills on the River Liffey in Dublin, held by the Hospitallers of Kilmainham which, in 1220, caused a heated dispute between the Order and the citizens of Dublin who complained to the king that the Order's pool (*stagnum*) was blocking the river, preventing boats from travelling up and down the river and also preventing fish from making their way to the fishery owned by others. The justiciary was ordered to find a way to enlarge the river, thus freeing up passage for boats and fish.⁵²³ The situation was still unresolved in the following year when the king again instructed the justiciary, Geoffrey de Marisco to investigate the Hospitallers' pool and unblock the river.⁵²⁴ Two years later, Geoffrey de Marisco having been replaced, the king ordered the new justiciary, the archbishop of Dublin, to solve the problem which now also involved not just the pool but also the Order's mills on the river.⁵²⁵ In 1302, the battle for the Liffey continued on, escalated this time by the construction of a net by the citizens of the city, fixed to a bridge further up the river than the Hospitallers' pool. The Prior of Kilmainham and his men broke the net 'by force of arms' and the mayor and citizens of the city responded by destroying one of the mills of the Order.⁵²⁶ Clearly this was a source of income valuable enough to fight for.

⁵²⁰ That being said, the manor of Clifton was situated near the River Ivel and maintained in 1338, a fulling mill, which would have required water power., *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵²¹ See discussion on fish in the Hospitaller diet below.

⁵²² O'Malley, 258.; *Exchequer Rolls from Scotland*, vii. 665; x. 134, 237, 363; xi. 50, 220, 374; xii. 86-7, 162, 265, 378, 473; xiii. 93, 237, 372; xiv. 438; xv. 183.

⁵²³ *CDI, 1171-1251*, 149.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, 171-2.

⁵²⁶ *CDI, 1302-1307*, 81- 3.; For more on the dispute for fishing on the Liffey, see Helen Nicholson, 'A long way from Jerusalem: the Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland, c. 1172- 1348,' in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 9.; and Paolo Virtuani, 'The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Medieval Ireland (c.1169–1378),' unpublished PhD thesis (University College Dublin, 2014), 241- 3.

Another source of income for the Order's properties was the produce of the gardens attached to the houses. The exact value of these is difficult to determine as the garden is invariably listed with the *manerium* or the *mesuagium* such as it is at Greenham in Berkshire:

*Est ibidem unum maneriaum edificatum cum gardino, quod valet x s.*⁵²⁷

On average, this combination produced an income of about 10s. as it did at Greenham, but did vary, sometimes clearly based on the state of the house. At the preceptory of Fryer Mayne in Dorset, the house itself was ruined by fire and yet the income of 10s. was still given for the garden with herbage.

*Est ibidem una curia debiliter edificata, cujus domus ruinoſe, et quedam combuſte per infortunium, ita quod reſponſio bajulie unius anni non ſufficeret ad illas domos reparandas, cujuſt gardinum cum herbagio valet x s.*⁵²⁸

There are also small amounts of income listed from woodlands which appear in various forms in the Report. On average *bosci* seemed to have produced an income of about 10s. an acre. *Subbosci*, much less valuable, returned about 6d. an acre, the main difference most likely being in the size and quality of the timber being produced.⁵²⁹ At Bodmiscombe in Devon, the small wood attached to preceptory also included an alder grove which was particularly useful as a source of building material in addition to being used as a fuel.⁵³⁰ Pannage, which involved the release of pigs into the forest to forage is also a forest-related income which appears in the Report. At Bodmiscombe this drew an income of 6s. 8d. but it is unclear here whether the value here lies in the possession of woodland used for pannage or in the right of pannage itself.⁵³¹ There are also parks

⁵²⁷ 'Here is a manor built with a garden, which is worth 10s.'; Larking and Kemble, *Knights Hospitaller*, 3.

⁵²⁸ 'There is a poorly built court, in which the house is ruined, and some burned by accident, so that the responsions of the preceptory for a year are not sufficient to repair the house, whose garden with herbage is worth 10s.'; *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵²⁹ For discussion of the sale of timber and the differences and uses of wood and underwood, see David L. Farmer, 'Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200- 1500.' In *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. 3, 1348- 1500*, ed. Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 408-19.

⁵³⁰ Larking and Kemble, 13.; Farmer, 411.

⁵³¹ Larking and Kemble, 13.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* (*pomaribus*) listed in the Report of 1338 at Dalby and its *membrum* Beaumont in Leicestershire and also provisions for a park keeper are referenced in the *Registrum de Kilmainham* in relation to the preceptory at Kilmainham.⁵³² Parkland would have allowed the rearing of deer in addition to providing timber, clay, and pannage but the incomes given at Dalby and Beaumont are quite low, 4s. for the park at Dalby and 6s. 8d. at Beaumont, so it is difficult to say whether which, if any, of these purposes they were being used for in 1338.⁵³³

Industry

In the 1338 Report there are fifty seven mills listed: twenty six wind, twenty water, four fulling, and a further seven of unspecified type. In that year, seven mills had been let to rent and two had been given away and produced no income at all. By far, the preceptory of Slebech had the largest number of mills attached to it at Minwear, Rosemarket, Lanthlo (possibly Llandeilo in Carmarthanshire), Carmarthen, and another mill let to rent attached to the church of Lanelau.⁵³⁴ Altogether the mills of Slebech produced an income of £19 6s. 8d., a large sum when considering that in total the income from all the mills in 1338, water, wind, and fulling, was £65 4s. 4d. In Ireland, there were also mills attached to the houses of Kilsaran, Kilbarry, Killure, and Kilmainham, though it seems that Kilmainham was the only house not to have leased out its mills in the fourteenth century.⁵³⁵ The Hospitallers also received income from other areas of industry that the Hospitallers are known to have participated in, such as mining, butchering, tile and cloth making, and the production of salt. The Order had inherited salt works at Callander in Perthshire from the Templars.⁵³⁶ Excavations at Clerkenwell reveal that the preceptory took full advantage of the nearby meat market of Smithfield as there was a considerable amount of evidence of butchering within the priory grounds and outer precinct.⁵³⁷ The secondary products of this process were used

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 63; McNeill, *Registrum*, 8, 69, 74.

⁵³³ Hare, 53; Larking and Kemble, 63.

⁵³⁴ Larking and Kemble, 35.

⁵³⁵ McNeill, *Registrum*, 4, 10, 45, 116.; Massey, 15.; See also the mention of Kilmainham's mills on the River Liffey discussed below.

⁵³⁶ Cowan, et al., *Knights of St. John*, xxxvii.

⁵³⁷ Sloane and Malcolm, 82-3

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* in the making of hides at the nearby Augustinian priory of St Bartholomew at Smithfield and in bone and antler working at Clerkenwell itself to make knife handles.⁵³⁸ Cattle horns were also used to make lantern panes, cups, and spoons.⁵³⁹ Clay extraction pits within the priory precinct provided material for the production of floor and roof tiles which took place both within the priory precinct and also on Cow Cross and Turnmill Street, both of which contained shops rented out by the Order.⁵⁴⁰

Disposal and Consumption

The produce of the Hospitallers' property was used in various ways. Wool from the scattered estates would be brought to a central location where it could be sold all together.⁵⁴¹ Large scale producers also gathered what was known as the *collecta*, usually smaller quantities of wool of a lower quality from various farmers with smaller flocks, which would be sold with the larger batch at the market.⁵⁴² Markets also sold grains, livestock, dairy products and timber though this is difficult to prove that the Hospitallers made regular use of these and it may be instead that sales were made to merchants at the demesne gate.⁵⁴³ The Order is known to have held markets at Baldock in Hertfordshire, Bottesford, Kirby Laythorpe, and Swinderby in Lincolnshire, Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, Chipping Hill, Ingatestone, and Witham in Essex, Melchbourne in Bedfordshire, and Ystradmeurig in Wales, run by the brethren at Slebech.⁵⁴⁴ Some of these markets such as those at Baldock and Chipping Hill had been inherited by the Order along with other Templar properties and privileges. Chipping

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 90, 220.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 85, 90, 204.

⁵⁴¹ Hare, 47.

⁵⁴² For information on the *collecta*, see Bell, *Advance Contracts*, viii; See also Michael Postan, *Medieval Trade and Finance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 347.; For more information on the English wool market see Nicole Hamonic, 'The Order of St John of Jerusalem in London, Middlesex, and Surrey, c.1128–c.1442: A Social and Economic Study Based on The Hospitaller Cartulary, British Library Cotton MS Nero E vi', unpublished PhD thesis. (Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 2012), 37-9, 48.; Farmer, 'Marketing the Produce', 395- 402; T.H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); T.H. Lloyd, *The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England*, Economic History Review Supplement 6. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Eileen Power, *The Wool Trade in English History: Being the Ford Lectures* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941).

⁵⁴³ Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, 73.

⁵⁴⁴ List taken from Samantha Letters, 'Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516', <<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>>: (16 December 2013).

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Hill, held from the dissolution of the Templars, transferred in 1379 from a Tuesday market at Chipping Hill to a Tuesday at Witham, where the Templars had also held the right to hold a market.⁵⁴⁵ At Swinderby in Lincolnshire, the Order was granted license in 1345 to hold a Saturday market at two fairs, one at the the feast of St Barnabus (11 June) and the other at the feast of St Katherine (25 November).⁵⁴⁶ The granting of this license was made in conjunction with the granting of permission to build a town at Swinderby Moor in order to protect and ‘entertain’ travellers on the road from Lincoln to Newark.⁵⁴⁷ The only income from markets to be found in the Report of 1338 is the *mercatum* listed at Melchbourne, mentioned above, which drew 20s.⁵⁴⁸

Despite the Order’s right to hold markets and fairs, it is unclear whether the brothers produced for the market regularly or if most of the fruits of their land went toward the consumption of the household.⁵⁴⁹ Slavin has estimated that a portion of the demesne grain crop would be kept for seeding while further portions would be distributed in various stipends and dues, and used to satisfy the needs of the house in the making of bread and ale.⁵⁵⁰ It is also possible that the houses of the Order bought grains at local markets or farms but Slavin has argued that the cost of producing grain was relatively low, making demesne produce more economical than grain bought at market, hence this might only be done in cases where the house could not produce what it needed.⁵⁵¹ The Report of 1338 does contain expenses for buying foodstuffs for the Order’s households, namely grains for bread and ale and also meat and fish and other ‘necessaries’ for the kitchen. On average, the total spent on provisions amounted to between 40 and 50 percent of the total expenses listed for each house. For example, at

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid, Essex; *Calendar of Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. 5, 1341–1417*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1916), 258.

⁵⁴⁶ Letters, ‘Online Gazetteer’, Lincolnshire; *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1341–1417*, 40–1; *Calendar of Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. 6, 1427–1516*, ed. A.E. Stamp (London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1927), 112–13.

⁵⁴⁷ Samantha Letters, ‘Online Gazetteer’, Lincolnshire. ; See also, Dyer, *Making a Living*, 243, who writes that the charter for this new settlement authorised the building of a chapel and houses, and the holding of a market and fairs but that there is no evidence that construction was ever undertaken on this project.

⁵⁴⁸ Larking and Kemble, 70.

⁵⁴⁹ Gervers has argued that the Essex estates did not contribute regularly to the market.; Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, lxix.

⁵⁵⁰ Percentage of crop set aside for seeding estimated by Slavin, ‘Templars’, 42.

⁵⁵¹ Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, 79.

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the preceptory of Fryer Mayne in Dorset, 52 quarters of wheat were purchased at 3s. a quarter, as were 6.5 quarters of rye at 2s. a quarter, and 6.5 quarters of barley at 20d. a quarter. The total amount for the grain to produce the house's bread came to £8 14s. For ale, 64.5 quarters of barley were bought at 20d. making the total cost of the house's ale, 114s. and 2d. Items for the kitchen cost another 3s. per week and amounted to £7 16s. for the year.⁵⁵² In total, the preceptory spent £22 4s. 2d. to feed itself, which accounted for just over 50 percent of the £42 5s. 4d. in for all household expenses. As discussed in chapter four, hospitality for guests was anticipated at each of the larger houses, so despite the small numbers of brothers, food expenses were high. Mayne held only two members of the Order, the preceptor and one other brother, and there was also one corrodian and one chaplain listed in the regular household.⁵⁵³ No servants were listed as having rights to eat *ad mensam* (at the brothers' table) though it might be assumed that this occurred as it was usual in other Hospitaller houses in 1338 and the *expensus domus* clause also lists *aliis de familia preceptoris*.⁵⁵⁴

There are three types of bread listed in the Report of 1338, distinguished by their quality. The *panis albi* would, as its name suggests, have been a fine white bread which coincides with what might be called in other monastic houses the *panis monachorum*, or monk's bread. The 52 quarters of wheat purchased for the making of bread at Mayne would have been used for *panis albi* and would have produced roughly 6,562 loaves of bread, far too much food for the two brothers, the corrodian, and the chaplain to have consumed on their own in a single year.⁵⁵⁵ At Norwich Cathedral Priory, monk's bread, in addition to being consumed by the monks, was also served in the guest hall for important visitors, consumed by various *famuli* such as the cooks, distributed to certain tenants and, on occasion, to the poor.⁵⁵⁶ It is likely that the *panis albis* at Mayne, and indeed, at other Hospitaller houses was distributed in a similar manner. The other two types of bread contained in the 1338 Report are the *panis carpentariorum* and the *panis*

⁵⁵² All of these expenses taken from Larking and Kemble, 12.

⁵⁵³ Larking and Kemble, 11- 12.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁵⁵ The conversion of quarters of wheat into loaves of *panis monachorum* is based off of Slavin's ratio of one quarter for 126.2 loaves. Each loaf of monk's bread would have contained about 2,554 kcal, more than enough to cover the 2,500 calorie average daily intake for an adult male., Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, 150.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 150.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales nigri*. While the colour of the *panis nigri* indicates that it was made almost entirely of rye, the composition of the *panis carpentariorum* was more complex and contained a variable mixture of wheat, barley, and rye. It is difficult to say how exactly the grains at Mayne would have been used in the making of *panis carpentariorum* although it is most likely that all the 6.5 quarters of barley was used in addition to smaller portions of the wheat and rye, while the remainder of these went into the making of the *panis albi* and *panis niger*. The *panis carpentariorum*, also referred to as *panis militum* or *panis servientum*, was intended for distribution to the servants, the poor, and sometimes the horses as was the *panis nigri*, though it is clear from the 1338 Report that *panis nigri* was considered inferior to the *panis carpentariorum*. For example, the terms of the corrody agreements at Clerkenwell list foodstuffs in order of quality. William de Langford was entitled to eat at the table of the brothers in the hall with his *camerarius* eating at the table of the free servants and his two grooms and one page eating at the grooms' table. When William and his retinue decided to eat out of the hall, however, they were entitled to four loaves of *panis albis*, two loaves of *panis carpentariorum*, two loaves of *panis nigri*, three flasks of the better ale, the *melioris cerevisie*, two flasks of the 'second' ale, the *secunda cerevisie*, and one dish from each of the three different tables.⁵⁵⁷ Though there are two qualities of ale listed in the 1338 Report, as mentioned above, it is clear that not all of the houses would have been producing both. Clerkenwell took in malted barley, malted dredge, and malted oats for brewing ale while at Mayne, only barley was used.⁵⁵⁸ It is unclear what produced the higher quality of ale in the Middle Ages, though it has been suggested that perhaps there was a difference in strength or in the quality of malt.⁵⁵⁹

While bread and ale formed the basis of most medieval diets, the diet of Hospitaller communities in Britain also contained fish, meat, dairy, fruits, nuts, rice, wine, and the occasional spice. Excavations at Clerkenwell, in particular, have helped reveal a great deal about the diet of the members of the Order. Food waste from the inner precinct which would have housed the knights and higher ranking guests reveals a rich and varied diet of meats including beef, veal, lamb, pig, hare, chicken, goose, swan,

⁵⁵⁷ Larking and Kemble, 96.

⁵⁵⁸ Dredge is a mixture of barley and oats.; *Ibid.*, 12, 99- 100.

⁵⁵⁹ Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, 161.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* partridge, skylark as well as various types of fish such as eel, haddock, conger, plaice/ flounder, sole, gurnard, herring, and sturgeon.⁵⁶⁰ Marine fish must have been purchased with certain fish like sturgeon being quite expensive whereas it may have been possible to keep some of the fresh water fish in ponds, a common feature in monasteries and large manors.⁵⁶¹ As mentioned, above, there were at least two fisheries held by the order in Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire, and at least three fish weirs in Middlesex, Herefordshire, and Dublin. Swan, partridge and songbirds such as skylarks would also have been prohibitively expensive as would doves and while there is no mention of a dovecote at Clerkenwell in the Report of 1338, they occur in almost all of the larger houses and hence might have augmented the diet of the brothers.⁵⁶² While young animals such as veal and lamb were consumed, there is also evidence that female dairy-producing animals were kept into maturity in order to allow for the production of cheese and butter.⁵⁶³ The food waste from those living in the outer precinct at Clerkenwell, mainly tenants, suggests a lower quality diet of beef, mutton, rabbit, duck, and chicken.⁵⁶⁴

Large quantities of fruits and nuts also augmented the medieval English diet and the Clerkenwell excavations have revealed the remains of fruit pips from grapes, blackberries, strawberries, raspberries, apples, and pears, as well as stones from plums and cherries, all of which would have been grown in England, possibly in the orchard of the inner precinct of the preceptory.⁵⁶⁵ Many of the houses in the Report of 1338 also list gardens which would have produced fruit and vegetables, although no specifics are provided. Large quantities of walnuts, hazelnuts, and almonds were also grown in England and featured in various recipes.⁵⁶⁶ Hazelnut shells were found at Clerkenwell and the expenses for the kitchen at the preceptory of Dinmore in Herefordshire includes

⁵⁶⁰ Sloane and Malcolm, 208.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 61, 208.; Hammand, 12, 23-4.

⁵⁶² Peter W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1993), 17.

⁵⁶³ Sloane and Malcolm, 83.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 80-1, 83, 122, 210.

⁵⁶⁶ Hammond, 12.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* almonds (*amigdalīs*), as well as spices (*speciebus*) and rice (*rys*).⁵⁶⁷ Both rice and almonds could be ground into flour and ground almonds could also be used to make almond milk.⁵⁶⁸ Rice, of course, was not natively produced and had to be imported from Spain and Italy as did citrus fruits, figs, raisins, oil, sugar, treacle, and ginger.⁵⁶⁹ Spanish *amphorae* from the sixteenth century were found in the excavations at Clerkenwell, evidence of these imports, as were German jugs and drinking vessels for beer and wine.⁵⁷⁰ There was native production of wine in medieval Britain but this produced a sour white wine of dubious quality called verjuice, and hence most wine was imported, largely from France.⁵⁷¹ There is no mention of wine specifically in the Report of 1338 save where it appears as a chapel expense along with oil and wax, but it might be assumed that wine was one of the ‘necessaries’ of the kitchen expenses. The *speciebus* listed in the kitchen expenses at Dinmore could refer to any number of common medieval spices including cinnamon, cardamon, cumin, mace, ginger, nutmeg, pepper, cloves, or even sugar, all of which were imported.⁵⁷²

Though the Order of the Hospital can be seen to have gained the largest portion of its income from the produce of the land, the large scale consumption of foodstuffs at its properties speaks to a sustained effort to maintain resident communities both at Clerkenwell and throughout Britain and Ireland. In like manner, the Order’s role as landowner facilitated further interaction with tenants and here again, though a substantial amount of income was raised through the collection of rents, an effort to sustain resident communities rather than strip them of resources, can be seen.

⁵⁶⁷ Sloane and Malcolm, 122.; Larking and Kemble, 32.

⁵⁶⁸ Hammond, 71.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

⁵⁷⁰ Sloane and Malcolm, 210, 213.

⁵⁷¹ Hammond, 12.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.* 10- 11.

Rents

Michael Gervers has argued that small grants coupled with the Order's limited manpower made the leasing of property an attractive alternative to direct exploitation.⁵⁷³ Additionally, the Order also received land which was not demesne but tenant held, prompting the continuation of agreements already in existence.⁵⁷⁴ The Hospitallers' special privileges and exemptions made them popular landlords as their tenants shared in these benefits as well and there is evidence in the 1442 Cartulary that there were those willing to pay or otherwise request that the land they rented be granted to the Order of St John.⁵⁷⁵ In c. 1190- 1200 Baldwin Tyrrell and his wife Agatha granted an acre of land to the Hospitallers at the request of William of Scotland and his wife Rose, who held it for 8*d.* annually.⁵⁷⁶ Around the same time, c. 1200, Thorold and his son Guy gave to the Order the land called Kippinggesfield, provided that the priest, Hugh of Alresford, or 'one of his people' would always hold of the Order in some manner.⁵⁷⁷ The Hospitallers also gained from Ralph de Bouelles all of the arable land he held in three crofts and additional meadowland at the request of his tenant Robert of Waxham, who had given him 12 marks and a ring for his wife. Robert benefitted from this arrangement by being able to hold of the Order by hereditary tenure for 6*d.* annually.⁵⁷⁸

Taken as a whole, the income derived from rent comprised a substantial portion of the total for the Order's income for 1338, some £731 1*s.* 10*d.* of the £3,826 4*s.* before expenses. At about 19 percent, rents generated the third largest proportion of income for the Order in 1338 though not all payments were made in cash. Straightforward cash rents of *assiso*, *forinceco*, *coterellorum*, and *nativorum* made up the bulk of the rental income but the Report also lists rents paid in chickens, wax, and malt. Chicken rents, both in cocks and hens, were returned from Greenham in Berkshire and one of its *membra*, Shaldford, and also from Ossington in Nottinghamshire, and Carbrook in Norfolk.⁵⁷⁹ Greenham also received eggs, as did Carbrook which took six capons as

⁵⁷³ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, lxxv.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, lxxvi.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, lxxvi- lxxvii.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 178, no. 293.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 207-8, no. 357.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 309, no. 547.

⁵⁷⁹ Larking and Kemble, 3, 54, 81.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* well.⁵⁸⁰ The entry for Carbrook contains the only grain rent, 42 quarters and 6 bushels of malted oats, valued at 71s. 3d.⁵⁸¹ It is interesting that in addition to collecting its portion of cash rents, Carbrook seems to have the largest cluster of rents paid in kind with the possible exception of Greenham. Neither of these houses contained abnormally large communities which would have required the additional collection of foodstuffs and it is clear from other sources that the Order welcomed rents and grants of foodstuffs throughout its time in Britain. For example, in the thirteenth century, Gilbert de Esleia granted in alms, for the salvation of the souls of himself, his wife, children, father, mother and ancestors, to the brothers of Godsfield, half a quarter of wheat and stipulated that the brothers should send their messenger to Ashley to collect it.⁵⁸²

An investigation of rental renewals in the parish of Milford from the fifteenth century contained in the Godsfield Cartulary make it clear that while landlords increasingly moved towards cash rents, payments in kind did not vanish completely.⁵⁸³ Contained in the rents renewed in the parish of Milford in Hampshire in 1403 under the priorate of William Hulle, is a reference to William Weneford who held a messuage, sixteen acres of land, and a salt pan in return for which he owed 9d. in rent at Easter, 8½d. at Michaelmas, and churchscot of one cock and two hens at Martinmas (November 11).⁵⁸⁴ William also held a cottage and a close with one acre for which he paid 3d. in rent at Easter, and another messuage with eight acres and an additional salt pan which cost him 5¼d. at Michaelmas and an additional two hens at Martinmas. In addition to his payment of 2s. 7d., the cock and the five hens, William was also expected to do suit of court every three weeks and would agree to act as reeve when

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 4, 81.; Capons are cockerels castrated to produce a more tender, fatty meat.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁸² Beard, 26.

⁵⁸³ The Milford estate was originally attached to the Templar commandery of Sandford in Oxfordshire but passed to the Hospitallers along with other former Templar properties in Hampshire. See Beard, xvii.

⁵⁸⁴ Churchscot was a payment, usually of goods to the church, similar to tithes. It is unclear here who the recipient of William's payment is, whether it is the parish priest or the household of the preceptory at Baddesley but churchscot is mentioned frequently in fifteenth century renewals of the terms of the rents and customary payments in the parishes of Milford and Baddesley, suggesting that this is a continuation of an earlier practice.; For references to churchscot see Beard: #s 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 277, 280, pp. 76- 84.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* elected to do so, though he would gain an allowance from this.⁵⁸⁵ Many of the other tenants of Milford seem to have operated under similar terms; it is specified that in addition to payments in cash and poultry, John le White, Robert Pede, John Warfoll, William Ebelsborne, Bevis Vynche, Robert Pikeman, Thomas Dagolf, William Colette ‘will do everything like William Weneford.’⁵⁸⁶ Presumably this refers to William’s obligation both to do suit of court every three weeks and also to act as reeve when called to do so.

The terms of the rentals and customals at Baddesley which follow the renewal of the rents at Milford in the Godsfield Cartulary are much more specific and seem to suggest either more intense cultivation or simply a greater degree of direct control over the tenants of the estate at Baddesley than of those in Milford. It is possible that both are true with the seizure and subsequent impoverishment of the Templar estates in the fourteenth century possibly making direct management of the Milford estate difficult and making cash and food payments more desirable while the Hospitallers at Baddesley continued to take an active role in the management of the estates in their immediate control. This understanding of the situation at Milford seems to be supported by the commutation of the salt rents from Milford into cash payments at the time of the preceptorship of William Hulle (1404) which, on average, amounted to 2s. a quarter.⁵⁸⁷ Nevertheless, some rents of salt continued to be paid in salt, amounting to an income of 32 quarters and 4 bushels of salt.⁵⁸⁸ Meanwhile, at Baddesley, John Tailleur held a messuage with an adjacent curtilage for which he paid 18d. in rent and was expected to perform a number of duties. He was to harrow one acre of land at the Lenten sowing (Spring), perform one day’s weeding service, find one worker to turn and make hay for one day, find a man or woman to reap at harvest for seven days, give pannage of pigs at Martinmas ‘whether there have been acorns in the lord’s wood or not,’ make four hurdles made from the lord’s withies after Easter, repair or wattle four hurdles with lords straw-thread, carry the four hurdles whenever the sheepfold needs to be moved

⁵⁸⁵ Beard, #213, pp. 76-7; Suit of court obliged the tenant to attend the manorial court which met every three weeks.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, # 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224, pp. 77-8.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, #s 245-251.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, #252, p. 80.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* from one field or croft to another, wash and shear the lord's sheep at shearing time, and do suit of court.⁵⁸⁹ John was entitled to a few extra perks from performing these services, for example, he was allowed to take an armload of fodder at the Lenten sowing and would be entitled to meals in exchange for turning the hay, weeding, and participating in the reaping of the harvest, but he was also subject to small fines in cash should his services not be needed. For example, if the weeding did not need to be done, John was bound to pay $\frac{3}{4}d.$ and would receive no food. If the hay did not need turning, John owed $1d.$ and $1d.$ was also owed in lieu of each of the seven days of reaping if cash was preferred to labour. This was also the case for the pannage of pigs and the making and repairing of the wattle hurdles.⁵⁹⁰ Additionally, John also owed one cock and three hens in churchscot at Martinmas if he had a wife, or one cock and one hen if he did not.⁵⁹¹

John Taillour held larger amounts of land at Baddesley and hence owed more service or the money for those services if he could not provide the labour himself or find someone to do it for him but most of the other tenants at Baddesley also were obligated to 'pay all works and services like John Taillour.'⁵⁹² This suggests that the community at Baddesley, at least in the fifteenth century was still agriculturally active enough to desire services instead of converting the value of these exclusively to cash. Cottagers at Baddesley, on the other hand, seemed to pay their rents largely in cash with the occasional cock or hen included as churchscot. Additionally, where services were due terms were generally lighter. For example, unlike William Wenedford discussed above, the cottager Richard Hardynghe owed suit of court only twice a year instead of every three weeks when court was held.⁵⁹³ This need for labour seems to have continued at Baddesley between the preceptorship of William Hules in 1404 and that of William Weston in 1517, where the renewal of rents and customs still included harrowing,

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, # 254 and 255, pp. 80- 1.; Wattle hurdles were fences woven from willow, hazel, or alder branches, called withies.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, see # 256- 267, pp. 81- 83.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, #276, p. 83. For the Baddesley cottagers see: Beard, # 268- 277, p. 83 and #s 294- 302, pp. 85-6.

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weeding, reaping, and the making, repairing, and carrying of wattle hurdles for the
movement of sheepfolds.⁵⁹⁴

There is some evidence that rents in kind of spices and poultry were a more common arrangement of payment between tenants than between the tenant and the Order.⁵⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the cartularies of the Order record these agreements, perhaps stressing a concern to keep an account of agreements between tenants or, more importantly, the value of lands and services. At his death, William Burcheyn held a parcel of garden from the prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England by service of 1*lb.* of cumin yearly.⁵⁹⁶ The use of spices as payment was not uncommon—also contained in the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* from the fourteenth century is a grant by Margaret de Bleville to her nephew John de Coleville land in Munghedene, Suffolk which had rendered to her 1*lb.* of cumin, and 4 cloves of gillyflowers.⁵⁹⁷ Occasionally, the Order became the indirect recipient of these goods through gifts from individuals. For example, Hugh le Ungtir granted, with the consent of his wife Joan, 1 *lb.* of cumin to the brothers of Godfield which he received in annual rent from Adam de Lewes for a tenement opposite the hospital of God’s House in Portsmouth.⁵⁹⁸ This arrangement also worked in the opposite direction, with gifts of land to the Order being made in return for an annual token rent. In return for a virgate of land at Ampport, near Andover in Hampshire, from Simon de Cliddsden, the brothers owed Thomas de Port, his wife Anne, and all their heirs 1 *lb.* of cumin at the Nativity of the Blessed Mary (15 August).⁵⁹⁹ This seems confusing unless one follows the trail of charters contained in the Godsfield Cartulary which record an earlier transfer of the land at Ampport from Thomas de Port to Simon de Cliddsden, who was his nephew and hence the payment

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, # 280- 293, pp. 84- 5.

⁵⁹⁵ Capons: Beard, # 86-7, p. 39; Cumin: Beard, #46, p. 27, # 235, p. 79

⁵⁹⁶ *Cal. Inq. P.M., 1327- 1336*, 119.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 38; Originally a native of southern and central Europe, the gillyflower is thought to have been brought to England by the Normans, where it was used extensively as a cooking spice. Its clove-like smell and taste meant that it was often paired with cinnamon and used to flavour wines, desserts, syrups and sauces, preserves, and also bitter-tasting medicines. As mentioned above, the gillyflower and other spices were frequent substitutes for small payments owed in cash or for services due and in particular, often appeared as a token rent payment; what might be known in legal terms as a ‘peppercorn rent.’, see Teresa McLean, *Medieval English Gardens* (New York: Viking Press, 1981), 150- 152.

⁵⁹⁸ Beard, # 94, p. 41; Beard dates this between c. 1240 and 1250.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, # 154, p. 60.; Beard dates this c. 1219-30.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* for services in the form of cumin, to Thomas rather than Simon, makes sense.⁶⁰⁰ Similarly, the brothers were granted ½ lb. of pepper from John de Drayton which he had in service dues from his tenent, Gilbert de Drayton.⁶⁰¹ In Kent, Gilbert de Hullis granted to the Order the 4*d.* and hen rent that was paid to him by his tenant Robert the tailor.⁶⁰²

The Order of the Hospital also accepted grants of land in return for payment of foodstuffs. In c. 1230- 50, William, the son of Guy of Preston Candover gave the brother of Godsfield the messuage in Preston Candover with appertances, and another two acres with appertences in exchange for 3*d.* annual rent to William, 12*d.* to the chief lord of the fee for the messuage, 3*d.* for John le Sage from which the additional two acres had originally come, and 2 quarters of good barley at Michaelmas to William and his family for life.⁶⁰³ Also in the thirteenth century, under the priorate of Robert de Diva, Roger Frankelein quitclaimed 5½*d.* yearly rent in exchange for seven bushels of barley from the hands of Brother Edward at the preceptory of Sutton-at-Hone in Kent.⁶⁰⁴ In 1254, the widow Alice gave Hospitallers all rights to three acres of arable land in Bumstead Helion in Essex in exchange for 3*s.* and a load of wheat.⁶⁰⁵

Not all rents in kind were paid in foodstuffs though and often rental agreements contain terms for token payments of roses or white gloves. In the thirteenth century, Osbert Cutellar made a gift of a tenement in Winchester in return for a pair of white gloves or 1*d.* at Easter for all service and secular exaction.⁶⁰⁶ Simon de Merketone gave to the Hospitallers at Sutton-at-Hone in Kent, 2½ acres and 5 deyweres of land for a rent of one rose on the nativity of St John the Baptist. This deal, however, is not quite as romantic nor as generous as it sounds as Brother Henry Blundel also exchanged an acre and paid Simon 2½ marks and 40*s.* for the transaction in addition to promising the

⁶⁰⁰ Earlier transfer of land at Amport between Thomas and Simon, Beard # 153, p. 59-60.

⁶⁰¹ Beard tentatively dates this c. 1235-55, Beard, #50, pg. 29.

⁶⁰² Charles Cotton, *A Kentish Cartulary of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem* (Ashford: Headley Brothers, 1930), 87.

⁶⁰³ Beard # 22, pg. 20.

⁶⁰⁴ Cotton, 84.

⁶⁰⁵ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, #451, p. 256; This does not appear to be an annual but rather a single payment in compensation for her quitclaim.

⁶⁰⁶ Beard, p. 45.

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* annual rose rent.⁶⁰⁷ The payment of a rose as a token rent was not unusual and many examples of these types of agreements can be found in the records of the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*.⁶⁰⁸ The 1442 cartulary contains a number of rose rents but these seem to be mainly between tenants rather than payments to the Order itself.⁶⁰⁹ However there is an agreement listed in the cartulary dated 1353 at Clerkenwell, made between Prior Philip de Thame and Robert of Northborough, the rector of Wakes Colne church for the lease of two fields belonging to the preceptory of Little Mapelstead in return for the undertaking of all charges and rents for the fields and the payment of an annual rose to Little Mapelstead.⁶¹⁰

By far the largest source of income for the Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland was the wide scale ownership of land, with money generated by produce and the keeping of animals and through the collection of rents. While much of this wealth fulfilled the Languie's primary function of providing financial support for the Order in the East, it can also be argued that, either by happenstance or design, it also cultivated resident communities of both brethren and non-brethren in the places that they settled. In this respect, the Order of St John in Britain and Ireland functioned very similarly to other monastic communities in this area of the world; Philip Slavin's work on the internal economy of Norwich cathedral priory having been used here to highlight similarities of agricultural production and consumption. As the Hospitaller lands were so widespread, so too must have been their impact on the shaping of the day-to-day workings of large swathes of the medieval landscape.

⁶⁰⁷ Cotton, 85; One daywerc or rather 'daywork' was, as its name suggests, the amount of land that a man could work in a day. One acre, the amount of land that a team of oxen could plough in a day, was equal to forty dayworks.

⁶⁰⁸ See for example, *Cal. Inq. P.M., 1327- 1336*, 48, in which a wood called Le Walles in Gloucester, was held by the bishop of Worcester by service of a rose; or *Cal. Inq. P.M., 1327- 1336*, 475, where a messuage and 80 acres of land in Hereford were held by Roger Pichard, by service of half a garland of roses.

⁶⁰⁹ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, #58, pp. 35-6, #206, pp. 128- 9, # 404 p. 232-3, #776, pp. 450-1, #866, p. 505, #897, pp. 526- 7.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, #885, pp, 516- 17.

VII. Conclusion

While the Order of the Hospital of St John in England managed to evade the first two rounds of religious reformation set in motion by Henry VIII in 1536 and 1539, its dissolution was finally ordered in 1540 by the king who cited the Order's continued allegiance to the Pope and its loss of Rhodes as the principal reasons for his decision.⁶¹¹ The members of the Language, who were no longer permitted to meet, were given until the first of July 1540 to present themselves to the king and renounce their habits.⁶¹² The houses and the mobile goods of the Order were also confiscated although the remaining brethren were granted not ungenerous pensions and the actual surrender of the houses was a gradual rather than an immediate process with the preceptors continuing to hold possession until Michaelmas of 1540.⁶¹³ The Order's Irish properties were surrendered by the Prior of Kilmainham, John Rawson, in the following year. Due to the increasing fear of confiscation in the years leading up to the Dissolution, many of the religious houses in Ireland had already begun to alienate their lands before they were seized, and Rawson seems to have done this as well, putting many of the Order's properties in the

⁶¹¹ *Statutes of the Realm, Vol. 3, 1509- 1545*, eds. T.E. Tomlins and W.E. Taunton (London: Dawsons, 1817), 782- 5 ; Phillips, *Prior*, 156; For more on the reformation of Henry VIII in general, see J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation of the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1984).

⁶¹² *Statutes of the Realm*, 783.; Phillips, *Prior*, 156; O'Malley, 223.

⁶¹³ Phillips, *Prior*, 157; O'Malley estimates that the pensions received by the knights were roughly a half of what they had been accustomed to receiving annually., O'Malley, 223; Allen has estimated that at the Dissolution, Clerkenwell had a value of £2,304 19s. 11d and the other properties of the Order amounted to £3,206 9s. 5d., D.F. Allen. 'Attempts to Revive the Order of Malta in Stuart England.' in *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 4 (1990), 904.; The Irish properties were worth £744 4s. 11d. at the time of the Dissolution, though it seems that the priory of Ireland was much diminished by this time, having been poorly managed under the priorate of Robert Eure, Rawson's predecessor., Brendan Scott 'The Knights Hospitaller in Tudor Ireland: their dissolution and attempted revival.' in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 50, 56; O'Malley, 246- 8; For the pensions of the Irish brethren see, Scott, 'Tudor Ireland', 53- 4.

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hands of his family and friends.⁶¹⁴ When forced to resign his Hospitaller position,
Rawson, who had been a crown servant in Ireland before the confiscation, was made
Viscount of Clontarf in addition to receiving his pension.⁶¹⁵

Despite the seizure of the Langue's properties and the disbandment of its members, there continued to be English brethren active at the central convent in Malta during the 1540s and there is evidence that the Order believed, or at least hoped, that the Langue of England would eventually be reinstated and so measures were put in place for this possibility.⁶¹⁶ For example, certain properties in Valletta that had belonged to the Langue of England were given to the care of other branches of the Order on the understanding that they would revert back to their original owners should their fortunes be revived. The Maison Shelley in Valletta bought by an English knight, James Shelley, was given to the Assembly of Conventual Chaplains with the stipulation that it would become the English *auberge* if needed.⁶¹⁷ Similarly, the German Langue was given permission to use the chapel of the English Langue in the conventual church until such a time as it would be needed by the English knights again.⁶¹⁸ Measures such as these seemed to be entirely vindicated when, in 1557, the English Langue was reinstated with Mary I of England as founder and patron.⁶¹⁹ Thomas Tresham was named as the Prior of England and Oswald Massingbeard as the Prior of Ireland. Richard Shelley was

⁶¹⁴ Synnott also argued for a similar consolidation of the Order's properties in Ireland, although here some 12,000 acres were taken under the personal control of the prior of Ireland, John Rawson and largely let to rent. Synnott argues that though Rawson would benefitted financially from this arrangement, this was also done largely to keep the property of the Order from falling into the hands of the crown., Pierce Nicholas Netterville Synnott, *Knights Hospitallers in Ireland.*, 1980. (National Library of Ireland 4A 1990), 43; McNeill, *Registrum*, vii.; For the leasing and selling of the Order's property in Ireland by Rawson, see Brendan Scott, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 24.; Scott, 'Tudor Ireland', 49- 50.; Synnott, 43- 4.; For the alienation of property in other religious houses in Ireland, see Brendan Scott, 'The dissolution of the religious houses in the Tudor diocese of Meath,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 59 (2005), 260- 76.; Brendan Scott, 'The religious houses of Tudor Dublin: their communities and resistance to the Dissolution, 1537- 41,' in *Medieval Dublin VII*, ed. Seán Duffy (Dublin: Four Courts Press), 215- 32.

⁶¹⁵ Allen, 940.; O'Malley, 223-4.; Scott, 'Tudor Ireland', 53.

⁶¹⁶ Phillips, *Prior*, 157; Allen, 940.

⁶¹⁷ Allen, 941; Victor F. Denaro, *The Houses of Valletta* (Valletta: Progress Press Co., 1967), 94-5.; O'Malley, 283; Alfredo Mifsud, *The Knights Hospitaller and the Venerable Tongue of England in Malta* (Valletta: Malta Herald Print, 1914), 101- 4; There were auberges for each of the Langues which acted as hostels for members of the Order while they were in Malta.

⁶¹⁸ Allen, 941.; Michael Galea, *German Knights of Malta: A Gallery of Portraits* (Valletta: Bugelli Publications, 1986), 941.

⁶¹⁹ O'Malley, 331.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* appointed Turcopolier, Peter de Felizes de la Nuca the Bailiff of Eagle, and preceptors were named for the houses of Slebech and Halston, Newland, Temple Bruer, Willoughton, Yeavley and Barrow, South Baddesley, Quenington, and Templecombe.⁶²⁰ Of the new appointees, the prior of England and the Turcopolier had not previously been members of the Order but instead seem to have been servants of the English crown who were being rewarded, while the Bailiff of Eagle was of the Tongue of Castile rather than of England but had assisted in the restoration of the Order.⁶²¹ Despite the Order's reinstatement however, the new members found it difficult to regain property and the death of Mary in 1558 and subsequent ascension of Elizabeth I to the throne meant that the original dissolution was once again enforced.⁶²² King wrote that, in theory, the Langue of England was never officially dissolved for a second time but that the removal of the properties on which the brothers relied for income practically amounted to the same thing.⁶²³ The prior of England died in the spring of 1559 before his lands could be seized and the prior of Ireland relinquished the properties under his control in the summer of the same year. The properties of the Order in Scotland, however, were not taken until 1564 when James Sandilands surrendered the Order's Scottish holdings and gained the title of Lord Torphichen instead, in return for a payment of 100,000 crowns.⁶²⁴ After the short-lived restoration of the English Langue under Mary, the Order decided in 1589 that there were to be no more postulants for that branch of the Order for the time being; though there would continue to be further attempts at resurrection throughout the seventeenth century.⁶²⁵ This effectively was the end of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Britain and Ireland.

⁶²⁰The newly appointed preceptors were as follows: Richard Shelley (Slebech and Halston, also appointed Turcopolier, Cuthbert Layton (Newland), Edward Brown (Temple Bruer), Thomas Thornehill (Willoughton), Henry Gerard (Yeavely and Barrow), George Aylmer (South Baddesley), Oliver Starkey (Quenington), James Shelley (Templecomb); Only Layton, Brown, Thornehill, Gerard, and Aylmer had been members of the Order prior to the original dissolution.; King, *Knights of St. John*, 112-114.; For more on revival under Mary and the figure of Oswald Massingbeard in particular, see Scott, 'Tudor Ireland', 57- 60.; O'Malley, 331.

⁶²¹ King, *Knights of St John*, 112- 14.; O'Malley, 331.

⁶²² In Ireland in particular the Order seems to have only acquired two properties, Kilcloggan in Wexford and Croke in Waterford, Scott, 'Tudor Ireland,' 59.; O'Malley, 332.

⁶²³ King, *Knights of St. John*, 112- 14.

⁶²⁴ Allen, 940.; Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, 119.; King, *Knights of St. John*, 112- 14.; Also, see Scott, 'Tudor Ireland,' 59, for the second round of repossession of the Irish properties.

⁶²⁵ For further reading on attempts to resurrect the Order in England during the seventeenth century, see Allen, D.F. Allen, 'Attempts to Revive the Order of Malta in Stuart England,' in *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 4 (1990): 939- 952.

As the Order of the Hospital went on to an adventurous new chapter on the island of Malta, the memory of its western presence, particularly in Britain and Ireland, faded. As explained in the introductory chapter of this work, the nineteenth century revival of the Knights in England resurrected some interest in the Order and more recent work on the Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland has been produced by scholars such as Helen Nicholson, Gregory O'Malley, Simon Phillips, and Paolo Virtuani. However, the role of the western properties within the general field of crusades studies remains relatively small and outside of crusade scholarship, the Order of St John remains largely absent from the vast body of literature on medieval Britain and Ireland with respect to rural economy, social structures, and religious life. The Hospitallers are seldom mentioned in relation to the landed economy despite their ownership of a considerable amount of land and the Order has been largely ignored as a religious institution which operated in much the same manner in Britain and Ireland as its great monastic counterparts, the Benedictines, Augustinians, and Cistercians. This study, with its focus firmly centred on the properties of Britain and Ireland, has sought to reinsert the Order of St John back into these fields of history by demonstrating both its presence and importance within the wider, international Order and its role as a large scale landlord in Britain and Ireland.

It has been argued throughout this work that the primary function of the English Langue was twofold. In the first instance, this branch was intended to contribute to the finances of the Order in the East. While it is difficult to gauge the reliability of the early flow of responsions from Britain and Ireland to the Central Convent of the Order, the returns from the last decade of the thirteenth century and those from the first two decades of the fourteenth century provide evidence of regular and sizeable responson payments. The financial crisis experienced by the English Langue in the 1330s and 1340s was an Order-wide problem, similarly felt by the other branches of the Order in western Europe as the Central Convent made increasing demands to fund its ever rising expenses. The steps that the English Langue took to set itself back on the road to financial recovery were similar to those taken both by other *langues*, such as the leasing of property by the French priory discussed in chapter two, and also by other monastic institutions which also faced similar difficulties in the face of the various economic crises of the fourteenth century, namely catastrophic climate change, recurrent

Christie Majoros – *The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* outbreaks of sheep and cattle disease, and continual war with Scotland and France.⁶²⁶ This study has also sought to demonstrate the continuation of resposion payments from the English Langu into the sixteenth century despite the steady process of contraction and consolidation of the Order’s estates in Britain and Ireland and despite the fragmentation between the different components of the Langu discussed in chapter one and the interruption of control and contact with the Order’s property in Ireland and particularly Scotland.

Equally as important as this primary function of resposion generation though was the *presence* of the Order in this location, representing the Order’s interests and activities and and generating sympathy and donations for both for crusading activity in the East and also for the maintenance of the Hospitallers’ hospitals. In this sense, the existence of the Hospitaller *langues* in western Europe might be seen as something of a public relations exercise, particular where the collection of the *confraria* was concerned as discussed in chapter three. It has also been argued here that in performing this function, the Hospitallers of the English Langu acquired a collection of additional functions made necessary by virtue of their settlement in Britain and Ireland. It is worth bearing in mind that while a third of the income of the Langu was sent to the East, two thirds remained to sustain individuals and properties in Britain and Ireland, hence the maintenance of a presence there must be considered a function of primary importance as well. As with other large-scale landowners, the Hospitallers were obliged to care for what they owned and so were responsible for the sustaining churches, tenants, and land in such a way as to both turn a profit and care for the needs of the community. Though, as discussed in chapter four, maintaining hospitals was not a primary function of the Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland, there were few exceptions and, more importantly, other ways in which charity and hospitality was practiced, namely through the distribution of alms, the reception of travellers, and care for corrodians. In this respect, the brethren of the Hospital operated very similarly to their monastic counterparts, the Benedictines, Augustinians, and Cistercians. Though the Hospitallers cannot be proven

⁶²⁶ For example, see Mavis Mate’s discussion on the Benedictine houses of Battle Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral Priory in the face of these fourteenth century crises in ‘The Agrarian economy of south-east England before the Black Death: depressed or bouyant?’ in Bruce Campbell, ed. *Before the Black Death: Studies in the ‘crisis’ of the early fourteenth century*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 79-109.

Christie Majoros –*The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* to have adhered to a cloistered, contemplative life in this area of the world, neither can they be dismissed as an active religious order. While this study has sought to briefly highlight some areas of comparison between the Hospitallers and other monastic orders, namely with respect to the Benedictine system of obedientaries and their maintenance of corrodians at Westminster Abbey, further study on the ways in which the Hospitallers managed their properties and communities in comparison with the practices of other large monastic institutions would go some way towards incorporating the Order of St John back within the religious history of Britain and Ireland. Further areas of future study to explore in relation to the Hospitallers of the English Langue might also include a comparison between the ways in which the different *langues* of the Order managed their western possessions, a more in-depth investigation into Hospitaller tenants, and further inquiry into the Order's system of wool production. Studies such as these would lend not only to a better understanding of medieval English land administration but would also go some way towards expanding the current sphere of crusade studies by highlighting the massive contribution of these seemingly peripheral branches.

Appendix

Table 5: Hospitaller Properties listed in the Report of 1338

* Taken from Larking, *Knights Hospitallers in England*. * “P” indicates a Preceptory, “M” a Member, “C” a Camerae, and “T” a Templar acquisition.

County	Property	Income
Bedfordshire		
	Melchbourne (P)	84 marks, 4s. 6d. ob.
	Hardwick (P)	80 marks, 5s. 9d. ob. qu.
	Clifton (M)	(see Hardwick)
	Pelying (M)	(see Hardwick)
	Eton (C)	86 marks
	Chickwell (C)	Nil.
	Swanton (T)	£4 4s.
	Sharnbrook (T)	13s. 4d.
	Millbrook (T)	Nil.
	Staughton (T)	20 marks
	Langford (T)	20 marks
	Dinsley (T)	27 marks
Berkshire		
	Greenham (P)	63 marks, 4s. 10d. ob
	Shaldeford (M)	(see Greenham)
Buckinghamshire		
	Hogshaw (P)	62 marks, 11s. 10d.
	Wydende (C)	10 marks
	Radnage (T)	10 marks
Cambridgeshire		
	Shingay (P)	190 marks, 8d.
	Wendeye (M)	(see Shingay)

County	Property	Income
	Arnington (M)	(see Shingay)
	Cranden (M)	(see Shingay)
	Chippenham (P)	24 marks, 3d.
	Ashley (C)	28 marks
	Wilburgham (T)	97 marks, 11s. 4d.
	Duxford (T)	12 marks, 2s. 8d.
	Church of Wendy (T)	20 marks
Cornwall		
	Trebeigh (P)	82 marks, 7s. 4d.
Derbyshire		
	Yeaveley (P)	48 marks
	Barrow (C)	35 marks
Devon		
	Bodmiscombe (P)	42 marks, 7s. 10d.
	Cove (M)	(see Bothmescomb)
Dorset		
	Fryer Mayne (P)	79 marks, 10s. 10d
	Kingston (M)	(see Mayne)
	Waye (M)	(see Mayne)
	Chiltcomb (C)	30 marks
	Tolre (M)	(see Chiltcomb)
Essex		
	Maplestead (P)	60 marks
	Staundon (P)	16 marks, 2s.
	Sanford (C)	100 s.
	Stilbing and Chauree (C)	80 marks
	Brokesburn (C)	Nil.
	Cressing and Witham (T)	140 marks
Gloucestershire		
	Quenington (P)	183 marks, 19d.

County	Property	Income
	Temple Guiting (T)	Nil.
	Broughton (T)	100s.
Hampshire		
	Godsfield (P)	54 marks, 10s. 3d. ob
	Badesley (M)	(see Godsfield)
	Runham (M)	(see Godsfield)
	Woodcot (C)	20 marks
Herefordshire		
	Dinmore (P)	150 marks, 5s. 11d. ob.
	Sutton (M)	(see Dinmore)
	Rolston (M)	(see Dinmore)
	Wormbrigge (M)	(see Dinmore)
	Upleadon (T)	42 marks, 6s.
	Garway (T)	60 marks, 3s. 4d.
	Harewood (TM)	(see Garway)
	Llanmadoc (TM)	(see Garway)
	Kemeys (TM)	(see Garway)
	Saint Wulstan (TM)	(see Garway)
Huntingdonshire		
	Wassingley (T)	Nil.
Kent		
	Swinfield (P)	43 marks, 12s. 8d.
	Sutton-at-Hone (P)	60 marks
	Stallesfed and Ore (C)	40 marks
	Tunbridge and Hadloo (C)	Nil.
	Burgham (C)	Nil.
	Waltham (T)	40s.
	Ewell (T)	40 marks
	Dartford (T)	Nil.
	Southwark (T)	Nil.

County	Property	Income
Lancashire		
	Woolton (C)	20 marks
	St Saviour, or La Stede (C)	10 marks
Leicestershire		
	Dalby (P)	93 marks, 7s. 5d.
	Beaumont (M)	(see Beaumont)
	Swinford and Shadewell (C)	30 marks
	Rothley (T)	100 marks
	Church of Rothley (T)	7 marks, 12s. 6d.
	Melton Mowbray (T)	10 marks
	Stonesby (T)	10 marks
Lincolnshire		
	Maltby (P)	99 marks, 10s. 2d.
	Skirbeck (P)	8 marks
	Horkestowe (C)	Nil.
	Botnesford (C)	Nil.
	Willoughton (T)	302 marks, 6s. ob.
	Gainsborough (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Golkesby (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Calkewell (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Thorp in Warentis (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Ingham (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Cabourne (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Lymbergh (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Saxeby (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Mere (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Wadington (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Esterkele (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Claxby (T)	(see Willoughton)

County	Property	Income
	Temlby (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Walcote (T)	(see Willoughton)
	Upton (T)	Nil.
	Keteby (T)	Nil.
	Bellwood (T)	Nil.
	Hareby (T)	Nil.
	Bruer (T)	140 marks, 10d.
	Rouston (T)	(see Bruer)
	North Kirkby (T)	(see Bruer)
	Caldecot (T)	Nil.
	Eagle cum membris (T)	100 marks
	Aslackby (T)	60 marks
	South Witham (T)	40 marks
	Church of Donington (T)	£10
Middlesex		
	Herefield (C)	Nil.
	Newnton (C)	Nil.
	Hampton (C)	80 marks
	Lilleston (T)	Nil.
Norfolk		
	Carbrook (P)	180 marks, 9s. 8d. ob. qu.
	Togrind (T)	9 marks, 1 d.
North Wales		
	Halstan & Dongewal (P)	116 marks, 12s. 2d.
Northamptonshire		
	Dingley (P)	63 marks, 3s. 8d.
	Blacolnesley (C)	50 marks
	Guildsburgh (C)	80 marks
	Hetherington (C)	59 marks
Northumberland		

County	Property	Income
	Chibburn (P)	9 marks, 6s. 8d.
	Thornton (T)	Nil.
Nottinghamshire		
	Ossington (P)	26 marks, 7s.
	Winkburne (C)	60 marks
	Denilthorp (M)	(see Winkburne)
	Church of Marnham (T)	30 marks
	Flawford (T)	7 marks
Oxfordshire		
	Clanfield (P)	39 marks, 4s. 4d.
	Sandford (T)	122 marks, 13d. ob.
	Temple Cowley (T)	(see Sandford)
	Merton (T)	(see Saunford)
	Sibford (T)	(see Saunford)
	Horspath (T)	(see Saunford)
	Overhorspath (T)	(see Saunford)
	Littlemore (T)	(see Saunford)
	Bradewell (T)	23 marks, 10s.
	Werpesgrave cum Esyndon (T)	£18
Pembrokeshire		
	Slebech (P)	258 marks, 12s. 7d. ob.
Rutland		
	Church of Stretton (T)	12 marks
Shropshire		
	Stanton Long (T)	35 marks, 10s. 7d.
	Holt Preen (T)	
Somerset		
	Buckland (P)	61 marks, 7s. 4d.
	Halse (M)	

County	Property	Income
	*Sisters' house at Buckland	
	Templeton (T)	Nil.
	Templecombe (T)	60 marks
	Wilton (T)	
	Westcombelond (T)	
	Lopene (T)	
	Lode (T)	
	Bristol (T)	
	Worle (T)	
	Hidon (T)	
	Templeton (T)	
	Clayhanger (T)	
	Cheriton (T)?	13 marks, 21d.
Staffordshire		
	Keel (T)	Nil.
Suffolk		
	Battisford (P)	90 marks, 6s. 10d.
	Codenham (M)	
	Melles (M)	
	Preston (C)	20 marks
	Dunwich (T)	6 marks
	Gislingham (T)	5s.
Sussex		
	Poling (P)	66 marks, 11s. 3d.
	Compton (T)	4 marks
	Shipley (T)	10 marks
Warwickshire		
	Grafton (P)	73 marks, 6s. 8d.
	Ruton super Donnesmore (C)	Nil.

County	Property	Income
	Balsall (T)	78 marks, 3s. 6d.
	Flechamstede (T)	
	Chelverscote (T)	
	Warwick (T)	8 marks, 10s. 4d.
	Wolueye (T)	100 s.
	Herberbury (T)	Nil.
	Stodleye (T)	15s.
Wiltshire		
	Ansty (P)	79 marks, 8s.
	Swalclive (M)	
	Rockley (T)	19 marks dimidia
	Lokerugge (T)	
Worcestershire		
	Laugherne (T)	100s.
Yorkshire		
	Newland (P)	38 marks, 12s. 8d.
	Mt. St John (P)	50 marks, 5s. 8d.
	Beverley (P)	60 marks
	Coppegrave (C)	Nil.
	Huntindon (C)	Nil.
	Steynton (C)	7 marks
	Penhill (T)	Nil.
	Cowton (T)	£74 5s.
	Ribston (T)	£101 22d.
	Wetherby (T)	
	Witheley (T)	20 marks
	Etton (T)	£13 11s. 2d.
	Foulbridge (T)	£10 17s. 4d.
	Alverthorp (T)	£18 4s. 4d.
	Westerdale (T)	47 marks 2s. 8d.

County	Property	Income
	Coupmanthorp (T)	£10
* London		
	Clerkenwell (P)	-£21 11s. 4d.
	Reynham (M)	
	Gynges (M)	
*Scotland		
	Scotland (Hospitaller)	Nil.
	Scotland (Templar)	Nil.
*France, Diluge		Nil.

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