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The Bishops of the Archdiocese of York, *c.*1200-*c.*1250

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

Margaret Norton

Trinity College, Dublin

October, 2004

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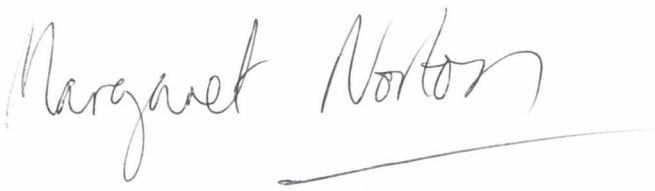

Margaret Norton

Summary

This thesis is a prosopographical study of the prelates of the Archdiocese of York *c.*1200-*c.*1250. Drawing on a wide range of primary and secondary sources, it seeks to portray the careers of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York (1215-1255) and seven of his suffragans. The work is divided into three main sections each of which encompass the events of one particular diocese. The thesis commences with a discussion of the archdiocese of York under Walter de Gray. Because of the length of Walter's archiepiscopate and wealth of detail relating to it, this chapter is further subdivided under three headings, which deal with his career in the reigns of John and Henry III and his role as archbishop of York. The following sections on the bishopric of Carlisle and Durham contain chapters on the suffragan bishops namely: Bernard of Ragusa (*c.*1204-*c.*1214); Hugh of Beaulieu (1218-1223); and Walter Mauclerk (1223-1246) at Carlisle, and at Durham: *Magister* Philip of Poitou (1195-1208); *Magister* Richard de Marisco (1217-1226); *Magister* Richard Poore (1228-1237); and *Magister* Nicholas of Farnham (1241-1249). These chapters are arranged in chronological order. Itineraries of the individual bishops have also been compiled and these are included as appendices after the main body of the discussion.

In addition to providing a biographical account of the eight bishops, this thesis seeks to analyse the overall administration of the archdiocese of York under Archbishop de Gray. Themes such as the spread of canon law in the aftermath of the Fourth Lateran Council and the contribution of each prelate to the spiritual welfare, as well as to the material goods, of their dioceses have been highlighted where the evidence has permitted. Attention has also been paid to the method by which each prelate found preferment, building on the studies completed by the late Professor C. R. Cheney, M. Gibbs and J. Lang. Through this I have examined the dominance of the crown in episcopal elections in the northern archdiocese in the early thirteenth century, and the effect that the electors' overall loss of independent choice had on relations between bishop and chapter. The selection of the archdiocese of York has allowed an in-depth comparison between the experiences of the secular chapter at York and their monastic counterparts at Carlisle and Durham. Moreover, looking beyond the immediate bounds of the province, mention has also been made of the status of York's claims to primacy over Canterbury and the Scottish church. The medieval bishop, however, was also a major figure in the political affairs of the kingdom. The peculiar demands placed on the northern prelates, whose sees formed a barrier against the Scots, placed an even greater emphasis on the bishops' abilities and more importantly on their loyalty to the English crown. The survey, therefore, also seeks to examine the effect of these requirements on the character of the prelates of the archdiocese of York and assess their role in the affairs of the kingdom as a whole.

Acknowledgements

Over the course of my research I have incurred many debts of gratitude. Above all I extend my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Professor I. S. Robinson, of the Medieval History Department, Trinity College Dublin. His support and generosity have been unstinting throughout and I have benefited greatly from his knowledge and enthusiasm. I would also like express my gratitude to the staff of the Medieval History Department of Trinity College Dublin. I wish also to thank the archivists of the various institutions in which I have been privileged to work. A special mention must go to Mr. Alan Piper, Assistant Keeper of the Archives and Special Collections of the University of Durham, for aiding me with my research in the extensive muniments preserved in the Dean and Chapter Archives at Durham. In addition I would also like to extend my gratitude to Mr. M. G. Snape, who edited the recent volumes of the *English Episcopal Acta* for Durham, and who kindly offered his advice. I am particularly grateful to Professor David Smith of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, for allowing me to consult the original manuscript of the register of Archbishop Walter de Gray, which has thrown up some inaccuracies in James Raine's 1872 edition for the Surtees Society. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Philippa Hoskin of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York. She very generously provided me with an offprint of her article on Bishop Nicholas of Farnham, together with the associated *acta*, from her forthcoming volume of the *English Episcopal Acta* for Durham. I am most grateful to her for her encouragement and I have benefited from her help on a number of thorny issues. In a similar vein I would also like to express my appreciation to Dr. Nicholas Vincent who gave me the benefit of his knowledge on the career of Walter Mauclerk and for allowing me to use his article on Walter composed for the forthcoming edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I should also like to acknowledge the help of Dr. Henry Summerson who kindly brought to my attention to documents housed in the County Record Office at Carlisle. Thanks also go to Mr. Peter Young, Archivist of York Minster Archives; to Dr. Richard Mortimer, Keeper of the Muniments, Westminster Abbey Library; to Dr. Michael Stansfield, Archivist at Merton College, Oxford; to the staff of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the British Library and the Bodleian Library; and in particular to the helpful staff of the Public Record Offices at Kew and in Carlisle.

Last but not least, I want to thank my family and friends. To my parents for their unerring faith and reassurance; to my brother-in-law, Simon Elliott, for his sterling work as a translator; and to my Uncle Charles for many an illuminating discussion. Finally to my husband, Gordon, whose love and support has made this work possible.

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Preface

This study examines the careers of eight prelates of the archdiocese of York during the first half of the thirteenth century. In particular it seeks to highlight not only the varying origins of the bishops of York, Durham and Carlisle, and the method of their elevation, but also their contributions to the secular and religious life of the realm as well as to their individual cures. For a fuller appreciation of their activities and to facilitate further study an itinerary of each bishop has been included in the appendix to this dissertation. The imposition of the arbitrary division of fifty years (1200-1250) is only intended to be a rough guideline. The natural variation in the length of episcopal careers has extended the span of the study to over sixty years, beginning with Philip of Poitou, bishop of Durham in the early 1190s and terminating with the death of Nicholas of Farnham, bishop of Durham in 1257. Owing to the confines of space the study has been restricted to the eight men whose episcopates fell within these broad dates. As a result the careers of Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York (1189-1212) and Silvester de Everdon, bishop of Carlisle (1247-54) have not been included. This approach is in part justified by the fact that both the omitted prelates have received attention from previous scholars.[1]

The medieval bishop was by necessity a flexible creature, with responsibilities to both crown and crozier. They wore many hats: politician, statesman, administrator, spiritual guardian, judge, castellan, and mediator, to name but a few. As a result the debt of gratitude owed to the contributions of those who have gone before is exceptionally broad. Particular emphasis should be placed on the extensive writings of the late Professor C. R. Cheney. His invaluable investigations have covered many aspects of the ecclesiastical life of the kingdom, developments in canon law and the often turbulent relationship between Church and State in the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216). In the reign of Henry III (1216-1272) other authorities come into prominence. M. Gibbs and J. Lang's survey of bishops and reform from the Lateran Council of 1215 until 1272, complements Professor Cheney's work. Their excellent study details the efforts of individual prelates to implement the rapid advances in canon law.[2] In addition to the general surveys, the biographies of individual bishops must also be noted. Earlier works such as F. M. Powicke's *Stephen Langton* and D. A. Callus' edition of essays on Robert Grosseteste have mainly concentrated on their

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[1] For the career of Geoffrey Plantagenet see M. B. Lovatt, *The career and administration of Archbishop Geoffrey of York: 1151?-1212* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1974). On Silvester de Everdon see H. Summerson, 'The King's *Clericulus*: the life and career of Silvester de Everdon, bishop of Carlisle, 1247-1254', *Northern History*, 28 (1992), 70-91.

[2] M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform 1215-1272 with special reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (Oxford, 1934) – hereafter denoted as *G&L*.

subjects' contribution to intellectual thought.[3] This study, however, in common with more recent biographies, attempts to shift the emphasis towards the bishops' political and administrative roles. Of these studies the most valuable has been Nicholas Vincent's admirable biography of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester (1205-1238), a prelate with whom many of the bishops of the archdiocese of York were closely associated.[4] In tandem with this ecclesiastical focus, I have also drawn extensively on the great number of studies devoted to the political arena in which the bishops manoeuvred. The reigns of Richard I and his brother John have been the subject of intense debate. The works of historians such as J. C. Holt, S. Painter, K. Norgate, R. V. Turner, J. Gillingham, and M. T. Clanchy have done much to bring our picture of these often larger than life monarchs into sharper focus. Turning to Henry III, F. M. Powicke's monumental examination of his lengthy reign remains the standard text. In recent years, however, Powicke's broad view has been augmented by more in-depth studies, many of which draw predominantly on governmental rather than narrative sources. These include the detailed account of the minority and the collection of essays on Henry's later reign by D. Carpenter. These together with works by R. C. Stacey and M. Howell have provided much needed illumination.[5]

The intent of this broad survey, which draws together many disparate avenues of modern scholarship and original material, is to examine the lives and careers of eight very different bishops. The archdiocese of York, and in particular the border sees of Carlisle and Durham, was a bastion against the Scots. The importance placed on prelates as instruments of royal authority in the north, far distant from the traditional centres of power, is highlighted by the vehemence with which the crown controlled episcopal elections in the archdiocese. All but two of the bishops were royal nominees and the exceptions, Richard Poore, bishop of Durham (1228-1237) and Walter Mauclerk, bishop of Carlisle (1223-1246), were acceptable to the crown. But the study commences with a prelate who was preferred against the wishes of the electorate, Walter de Gray. At York he reformed the administration and spiritual life of the see, work that was reflected in the bricks and mortar of the various building projects that he undertook at the minsters of York, Beverley, Ripon and Southwell. Drawing on his experiences at the royal chancery, Walter's concern for the orderly maintenance of the rights and privileges of his see manifested itself in the production of the earliest extant archiepiscopal register. In the wider archdiocese he enjoyed good relations with his chief

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[3] D. A. Callus, 'Robert Grosseteste as a scholar', in D. A. Callus ed., *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1955), 1-69; F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928).

[4] N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches* (Cambridge, 1996) – hereafter denoted as Vincent, *Peter des Roches*. Moreover I would like to reiterate my thanks to Nicholas Vincent who very kindly provided me with an offprint of his forthcoming article on Walter Mauclerk, bishop of Carlisle, for the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

suffragans at Carlisle and Durham. He was also careful to exercise his archiepiscopal privileges in the province of Canterbury and in the see of Whithorn, the last remnant of York's claim to dominance over the Scottish Church. For convenience, because of the great length of his career and the extent of his legacy at York, the chapter is divided into subsections. These deal in turn with his early career in the reign of King John, followed by a thematic study of his archiepiscopal career and finally Walter's involvement in the political arena in the reign of Henry III.

From York our focus changes to the poorest and newest of the English sees, the diocese of Carlisle. In the past the succession of the bishops of Carlisle has been the subject of disagreement amongst historians. Up until the late eighteenth century it was thought that after the death of Bishop Aethelwold in 1156 the see remained vacant until the election of Hugh of Beaulieu in 1218. As I intend to argue, however, the vacancy ended with the arrival of the refugee archbishop, Bernard of Ragusa, who having sought sanctuary in England was appointed bishop of Carlisle by King John *c.*1204. The restoration of episcopal authority at Carlisle was a necessary step in the spread of Angevin power in the diocese. The entrenched interests of the local nobility meant that the bishop of Carlisle, together with the sheriff and other appointed officers, was a valuable asset in the attempt by successive English kings to bring the region within the remit of centralised administration. Two of the three individuals included in this study, Hugh of Beaulieu (1218-1223) and Walter Mauclerk (1223-1246) were active in securing royal authority in the north. Unlike Bernard of Ragusa, both Hugh and Walter had gained preferment through the ranks of the royal household. As a result of this and because of the paucity of extant sources associated with Carlisle, our view of their careers has a distinctly royal slant. Nevertheless, as shall be demonstrated, it is possible to shed some light on their performance of their ecclesiastical duties and enhance the standing of the bishop within the diocese. A key element in this was division of the *mensa* which sparked off a protracted dispute which ran throughout the their episcopates, and that of their successor, Silvester de Everdon.

The dispute over possession is a theme which is picked up in more detail in the last section of this study which discusses the careers of four bishops of Durham: Philip of Poitou (1195-1208), Richard de Marisco (1217-1226), Richard Poore (1228-1237) and Nicholas of Farnham (1241-1249). Until the promulgation of an agreement known as *Le Covenit* by Bishop Richard Poore in 1229, the bishops proved remarkably resistant to the convent's claims sparking a series of bitter and, if the Durham chroniclers are to be believed, periodically violent altercations. The monks' determined efforts to secure a prelate of their

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[5] D. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996); R. C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III, 1216-1245* (Oxford, 1987) – hereafter denoted as Stacey, *Politics*. M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998).

own choosing were systematically frustrated by royal intervention, leading to the series of prolonged election disputes that characterise this period of Durham's history.[6] As a consequence of this Bishop Poore's predecessors were vilified by outraged monastic chroniclers, the effects of which, I argue, have unduly influenced our view of their achievements. Richard de Marisco in particular has suffered in our estimations. He was certainly no saint, but historians have too often accepted the biased opinions of monastic chroniclers. From the maligned to the venerated the remaining chapters focus on the careers of Richard Poore and Nicholas of Farnham. As the instigator of *Le Covenit*, Richard Poore has earned particular praise from contemporary and modern observers alike. His regime has justifiably been dubbed by Frank Barlow as the golden era of the convent.[7] His successes at Durham were the crowning glory of an eventful career during which he had been translated twice, from Chichester to Salisbury and lastly to Durham. Because of the constraints of space and in the interests of continuity, this study has mainly concentrated on his accomplishments at Durham.[8] The thesis ends with the episcopate of Richard's successor, Nicholas of Farnham, who reluctantly accepted his election to Durham in 1241 and proceeded to cement and expand Bishop Poore's initiatives. Nicholas' episcopate was, however, cut short as old age and debilitating illness prompted him to resign in 1249.

In view of the vast body of research already completed concerning this period one could be excused for imagining that it would be hard to find any avenues for additional study. Nevertheless, despite advances made by J. C. Holt, R. B. Dobson, H. Summerson and F. Barlow, the history of Northern England remains relatively underexposed. It is to be hoped that this study will go some way to redress this balance. I have been fortunate in my research to be able to draw not only on a significant body of secondary works, but also on rich collections of primary sources either in print or in manuscript form. Of the printed works, pride of place must undoubtedly be given to the English Episcopal Acta project. Two volumes covering the bishops of Durham between 1153-1195 and 1196-1237 have already

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[6] In examining this subject I have benefited from the survey of episcopal elections in Henry III's reign produced by W. K. Evers, which concentrates on the Durham election dispute of 1226-8: W. K. Evers, *Disputes about episcopal elections in the reign of Henry III with special reference to some unpublished Durham documents* (B.Litt. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1936) – hereafter denoted as W. K. Evers, *Disputes*.

[7] F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 40.

[8] Richard's career at Salisbury is the subject of an article by Brian Kemp, who also edited Richard's episcopal *acta* associated with this earlier cure: B. Kemp, 'God's and the King's good servant: Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury, 1217-28', *Peritia*, 12 (1998), 359-378; *English Episcopal Acta XIX: Salisbury 1217-1228*, ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford, 2000) – hereafter denoted as Kemp, *Richard Poore* and *EEA Salisbury II* respectively. For Richard's Chichester *acta* see *English Episcopal Acta XXII: Chichester 1215-1253*, ed. P. M. Hoskin (Oxford, 2001) – hereafter denoted as *EEA Chichester I*.

been published.[9] I extend many thanks to Dr. Philippa Hoskin for providing me with an offprint of her chapter on Bishop Nicholas of Farnham (1241-1249), together with the collection of his *acta*, from her forthcoming volume on the later bishops of Durham. Without these admirable publications, which provide much needed depth of detail to often obscure charters and the people involved in their production, this work would have been the poorer. For York a similar function is performed by James Raine's edition of the archiepiscopal register of Walter de Gray, the earliest surviving register for the diocese, which is augmented by additional documents taken from unprinted archives.[10] The extensive publications of the Surtees Society, and the record series of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society have made numerous local cartularies and other collections of documents from each of the three dioceses readily accessible to the researcher. In terms of archival material Durham, which has benefited from the accumulative tendencies of the Benedictine chapter, towers above her sister dioceses. Moreover, owing to the dedicated work of archivist, Alan Piper, much of this information is available on the archive's web site. In contrast original documents for the diocese of Carlisle are extremely scarce. Many of the records have been lost due to war and political upheaval, which given its exposed position on the Anglo-Scottish border, is understandable if regrettable. Episcopal *acta* of the bishops of Carlisle are therefore largely to be found in local monastic cartularies, particularly those produced by the nearby monasteries of Lanercost, Holmcultram and Wetheral.[11] Added to these local archives, the archivists of Merton College, Oxford and Westminster Abbey have very kindly allowed access to extant charters relating to Nicholas of Farnham, bishop of Durham.

The dual role of the bishops as both priests and politicians has offered the opportunity to supplement the ecclesiastical records with administrative, legal and financial documents produced by the royal government. These had begun to be vigilantly kept in increasing levels of detail by the royal chancery after the administrative reforms made in the early thirteenth century. Charter witness lists have proved especially informative in the complex but rewarding work involved in the production of itineraries. The recent publication by the List and Index Society of the charter witness lists of Henry III has greatly

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[9] *English Episcopal Acta XXIV: Durham 1153-1195*, ed. M. G. Snape (Oxford, 2002); *English Episcopal Acta XXV: Durham 1196-1237*, ed. M. G. Snape (Oxford, 2002) – hereafter denoted as *EEA Durham I* and *EEA Durham II* respectively.

[10] *The Register of Walter de Gray*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 56 (1872) – hereafter denoted as Reg. Gray.

[11] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, ed. J. M. Todd, Surtees Society, 203 (1997); *The Register and Records of Holmcultram*, F. Grainger and W. Collingwood (eds.), CWAAS, record series, 7 (1929); *The Register of Wetheral*, ed. J. E. Prescott (CWAAS, 1897) – hereafter denoted as *Lanercost Cart.*, *Reg. Holmcultram* and *Reg. Wetheral* respectively.

facilitated this field.[12] Intensive interest in administrative sources has encouraged the publication of a wide range of material, continuing a tradition which stretches back through the publications of the Record Commission to Thomas Rymer and Sir William Dugdale. I have therefore been able to limit my research in unprinted governmental archives, which is by no means exhaustive, to the Pipe Rolls preserved at the Public Record Office in Kew. This time consuming process was merited because of the light that the Pipe Rolls shed on custodies and wardships held by the bishops and the status of their debts to the crown. Both of these provide a useful indication of the extent of the prelates' relative wealth, or expectations of wealth, as well as of their influence at court.

In addition the documentary evidence, one must also mention the narrative sources. This study has made frequent use of chronicles which add flesh to the bare bones provided by the documentary sources. The north of England is fortunate to have fallen under the scrutiny of a number of local chroniclers. This is especially valuable for the diocese of Carlisle which is so lacking in extant documents. The relationship between bishop and canons at St. Mary's, Carlisle is vividly painted by the author of the near contemporaneous Lanercost chronicle, a priory situated to the north-west of Carlisle.[13] At Durham the tradition begun by Symeon of Durham was continued by two local chroniclers. Geoffrey of Coldingham, sacrist of the abbey's cell at Coldingham and previously a monk of Durham, relates events from 1152 until 1214. After a lapse of almost a century another Durham monk, Robert of Graystanes, picked up the tale, composing an account of the priory until 1339. For the events of the early thirteenth century Graystanes drew much of his material from an earlier Durham chronicle which covers the period 1202-1285/6. As monastic chronicles the bias of these three accounts is naturally heavily slanted in favour of the abbey.[14] This bias is particularly evident when viewed in comparison with Roger of Howden's more balanced chronicle. Furthermore, the bishops' relations with Scotland are recorded in the Melrose chronicle.[15] The other major source of information, as with any survey of the early thirteenth century, are the works of the St. Albans chroniclers, Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris. As shall be argued, like the Durham chroniclers, the opinions

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[12] *Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III*, ed. M. Morris, 2 vols., List and Index Society (2002). Unfortunately I had completed much of my research at the Public Record office before Morris' edition came out, hence the numerous references made to the original Charter Rolls preserved at Kew in the itineraries.

[13] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1939) – hereafter denoted as *Chron. Lanercost.*

[14] The chronicles of Geoffrey of Coldingham and Robert of Graystanes have been edited and printed by the James Raine: *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 9 (1839) – hereafter denoted as *Script. Tres.* The Durham annals have been edited by Frank Barlow: *Durham annals and documents of the Thirteenth century,* ed. F. Barlow, Surtees Society, 155 (1945) – hereafter denoted as *D. Ann.*

[15] *Mediaeval chronicles of Scotland*, ed. J. Stevenson (Llanerch, 1988) – hereafter denoted as *Chron. Melrose.*

expressed by Wendover and Paris concerning the bishops of Durham are frequently in tune with those of their Benedictine brethren at Durham, or are coloured by resentment of the actions of various prelates which clashed with the interests their own house of St. Albans.

Abbreviations

Acta Bosniae	*Acta Bosniae pottissimum ecclesiastica,* ed. P. Eusebius Fermendžin, MSHSM, 23 (Zagreb, 1892).
Acta Langton	*Acta of Archbishop Stephen Langton*, ed. K. Major, Canterbury and York Society, 50 (1950).
Adam of Domerham	*Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, ed. T. Hearne, i (Oxford, 1727).
Anglia Sacra	*Anglia Sacra*, Henry Wharton, 2 vols. (London, 1691).
Ann. Barnwell	Annals of Barnwell in *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS, ii (London, 1872-3).
Ann. Mon.	*Annales Monastici,* ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols., RS (London, 1864-9).
Annali di Ragusa	'Annali di Ragusa del Magnifico, Ms. Nicolo di Ragnina' in *Annales Ragusini* ed. S. Nodilo, MSHSM, xiv, Scriptores 1 (Zagreb 1883).
Anonimalle Chronicle	*The Anonimalle Chronicle 1333-1381*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1970).
Basset Charters	*Basset Charters c.1120-c.1250*, ed. W. T. Reedy, PRS, new ser., 50 (London, 1995).
Bath Cartularies	*Two Cartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, ed. W. Hunt, Somerset record Society, 7, ii (1893).
Beauchamp Cart.	*Beauchamp Cartulary 1100-1268*, ed. E. Mason, PRS, new ser., 43 (London, 1971-3).
Beaulieu Account Book	*The Account Book of Beaulieu Abbey*, ed. S. F. Hockey (Royal Historical Society, 1975).
Beaulieu Cart.	*The Beaulieu Cartulary*, ed. S. F. Hockey, Southampton rec. ser., 17 (1974).
Beverley Minster Fasti	*Beverley Minster Fasti*, ed. R. T. W. McDermid, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, rec. ser., 149 (1993).
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
Biog. Ox.	*A Biographical register of the university of Oxford to A.D.1500*, ed. A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-9).
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
Blyborough Charters	*Blyborough charters*, ed. K. Major, in *A Medieval Miscellany for D. M. Stenton*, PRS, new ser., 6 (London, 1962).
Blyth Cart.	*The Cartulary of Blyth Priory*, ed. R. T. Timson, Thoroton Society, rec. ser., 2 vols. (London, 1973).
BOF	*Liber Feodorum. The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill*, 3 vols. (London, 1920-31).
Boldon Book	*Boldon Book*, ed. W. Greenwell, Surtees Society, 25 (1852).
Bracton	*De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, f.417, ed. G. E. Woodbine, rev. with translation S. E. Thorne, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1968-77).

Brinkburn Cart.	*The Chartulary of Brinkburn Priory*, ed. W. Page, Surtees Society, 90 (1893).
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Cal. Inq. Misc.	*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)*, i (1219-1307) (London, 1916).
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Cal. Lib. R.	*Calendar of Liberate Rolls,* 6 vols. (London, 1917-64).
Cal. Wells	*Calendar of Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, HMCR, 2 vols. (London, 1907-14).
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Cartae Antiquae II	*Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20*, ed. J. C. Davies, PRS, new ser., 33 (London, 1957).
CDRI	*Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland 1171-1251*, ed. H. S. Sweetman (Dublin, 1875).
CDRS	*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland 1108-1272*, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1881).
CEH	*The Chronicle of the election of Hugh abbot of Bury St. Edmunds and later bishop of Ely*, ed. R. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1974).
CEPR	*Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland 1198-1304*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893).
Chancellors Roll	*Chancellor's Roll 8 Richard I*, ed. D. M. Stenton, PRS, new ser., 7 (London, 1930).
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Chronica de Melsa	*Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ab anno 1150 usque annum 1406*, ed. E. A. Bond, 3 vols., RS (London, 1866-1868).
Cl. R.	*Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 14 vols. (London, 1902-38).
CLI	*The letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales*, eds. C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney (Oxford, 1967).
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Corpus Iuris Canonici	*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedburg (Leipzig, 1881).
CRO	Cumbria Record Office.
Crook, *General Eyre*	*Records of the general eyre*, ed. D. Crook, PRO handbooks, 20 (London, 1982).
CRR	*Curia Regis Rolls of the reigns of Richard I, John and Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office*, 17 vols. (London, 1922-90).
CWAAS	*Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.*
D. Ann.	*Durham annals and documents of the Thirteenth century,* ed. F. Barlow, Surtees Society, 155 (1945).
DCDCM	*Durham Cathedral Dean and Chapter Muniments*
DD	*Diplomatic Documents preserved in the Public Record Office 1101-1272*, ed. P. Chaplais (London, 1964).
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Diceto	*Radulfi de Diceto Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS (London, 1876).

DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography.*
Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*	Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1846).
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EEA Canterbury II	*English Episcopal Acta III: Canterbury 1193-1205*, eds. C. R. Cheney and E. John (Oxford, 1986).
EEA Chichester I	*English Episcopal Acta XXII: Chichester 1215-1253*, ed. P. M. Hoskin (Oxford, 2001).
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EEA Norwich I	*English Episcopal Acta vol. VI: Norwich 1070-1214*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Oxford, 1990).
EEA Salisbury I	*English Episcopal Acta vol. XVIII: Salisbury 1078-1217*, ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford, 1999).
EEA Salisbury II	*English Episcopal Acta XIX: Salisbury 1217-1228*, ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford, 2000).
EEA Winchester I	*English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester (1070-1204)*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993).
EEA Winchester II	*English Episcopal Acta vol. IX: Winchester 1205-1238*, ed. N. Vincent (Oxford, 1994).
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Ep. Cant.	*Epistolae Cantuariensis (Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard II, vol. 2)*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS (London, 1865).
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Evers, W. K., *Disputes*	*Disputes about episcopal elections in the reign of Henry III with special reference to some unpublished Durham documents* (B.Litt. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1936).
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EYC	*Early Yorkshire Charters*, 12 vols., *YAS*, rec. ser. (1914-65).
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Feet of Fines Yorkshire 1246-72	*Feet of fines for the county of York 1246-1272,* ed. J. Parker, *YAS*, rec. ser., 82 (1932).
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Foreign Accounts	*Foreign Accounts Henry III (1219-1234)*, ed. F. A. Cazel jnr., PRS, new ser., 44 (London, 1982).
FPD	*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, ed. W. Greenwell, Surtees Society, 58 (1872).
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G&L	M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform 1215-1272 with special reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (Oxford, 1934).
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Gesta	Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henricis Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS (London, 1867).
Giraldus Cambrensis	*Opera*, eds. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimmock and G. F. Warner 8 vols., RS (London, 1861-1891).
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Great Roll of the Pipe 1189-90	*The Great Roll of the Pipe for the first year of the reign of King Richard the First AD 1189-1190*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1844).
GRP	*Great Roll of the Pipe*
Guala Letters	*The letters and charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. N. Vincent (Canterbury and York Society, 1996).
Guisborough Cart.	*Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 86, 89 (1889-94).
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HMCR	*Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Reports,* HMSO (London, 1870-).
Holtzmann	*Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, vol.2, part 2 (Berlin, 1936).
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Maréchal	*L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer, 3 vols., Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1891-1901).
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Mem. St. Edmunds	*Memorials of St. Edmunds abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, ii, RS (London 1892).
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Monkbretton Cart.	*Abstracts of the cartularies of the Priory of Monkbretton*, ed. J. W. Walker, *YAS*, rec. ser., 66 (1924).
MSHSM	*Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*
Newburgh	William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicanum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 2 vols., RS (London, 1884).
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Paris, *Gesta Abbatum*	*Gesta abbatum monasterii sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols., RS (London, 1867-9).
Paris, *Hist. Angl.*	*Matthaei Parisiensis, Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols., RS (London, 1866-9).
Pat. R.	*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 6 vols. (London, 1901-13).
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Pipe Roll 1241-2	*Great Roll of the Pipe 26 Henry III, 1241-2*, ed. H. L. Cannon (Oxford, 1918).
Pontefract Cart.	*The Cartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, ed. R. Holmes, *YAS*, rec. ser., 2 vols. (1899-1902).
Potthast	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols. (Graz, 1957).
Powicke, *Henry III*	F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947).
PR	*Pipe Roll*
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
Reading Cart.	*Reading abbey cartularies*, ed. B. R. Kemp, Camden Society, 4th ser., 2 vols. (London, 1986-7).
Receipt Rolls	*Receipt and Issue Rolls 26 Henry III (1241-2)*, ed. R. C. Stacey, PRS, new ser., 49 (London, 1992).
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Reg. Corbridge	*The Register of Thomas Corbridge, archbishop of York (1300-1304)*, ed. W. Brown, 2 vols., Surtees Society (1925-8).
Reg. Giffard	*The Register of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York (1266-1279)*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 109 (1904).
Reg. Gray	*The Register of Walter de Gray*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 56 (1872).
Reg. Greenfield	*The Register of William Greenfield, archbishop of York (1306-1315)*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, 3 vols., Surtees Society (1931-38).
Reg. Greg. IX	*Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, 4 vols. (Paris, 1890-1955).
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Reg. Hon. III	*Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888-95).
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Reg. Palatinum Dunelmense	*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 4 vols., RS (London, 1873-5).
Reg. Romeyn	*The Register of John le Romeyn, archbishop of York (1286-1296)*, ed. J. M. Marshall, 2 vols., Surtees Society (1913-16).
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Reg. St. Bees	*The Register of St. Bees*, ed. Rev. J. Wilson, Surtees Society, 126 (1915).
Reg. St. Osmund	*The Register of St. Osmund*, ed. W. H. Rich Jones, 2 vols., RS (London, 1883-4).
Reg. Wetheral,	*The Register of Wetheral*, ed. J. E. Prescott (CWAAS, 1897).
Reg. Wickwane	*The Register of William Wickwane, archbishop of York (1279-85)*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 114 (1907).
Rievaulx Cart.	*Cartularium abbathiae de Rievalle*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, 83 (1889).
RL	*Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III*, ed. W. W. Shirley, 2 vols., RS (London, 1862-6).
RLC	*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londoniensi asservati*, ed. T. Duffus Hardy, 2 vols. (London, 1833-4).
RLP	*Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londoniensi asservati*, ed. T. Duffus Hardy (London 1835).
Rot. Chart.	*Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londoniensi asservati*, ed. T. Duffus Hardy (London, 1837).
Rot. Curiae Regis	*Rotuli Curiae Regis*, ed. F. Palgrave, ii (London, 1835).

Rot. Grosseteste	*Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, ed. F. N. Davis, Canterbury and York Society, 10 (London, 1913).
Rot. Hugonis de Welles	*Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, W. P. W. Phillimore and F. N. Davis (eds), 3 vols., Canterbury and York Society (1907-9).
Rot. Hundred	*Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Henry III et Edward I*, 2 vols. (London, 1812-1818).
Rot. Lib.	*Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis*, ed. T. Duffus Hardy (London, 1844).
Rot. Ob.	*Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londoniensi asservati*, ed. T. Duffus Hardy (London, 1835).
Rot.Canc.	*Rotulus cancellarii, vel antigraphum magni rotuli pipae, de tertio anno regni regis Johannis*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1833).
RS	*Rolls series*
Russell	J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers in Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936).
Sallay Cart.	*Cartulary of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven*, *YAS*, rec. ser., 90 (1934).
Sarum Charters	*Charters and Documents illustrating the history of the Cathedral, City and Diocese of Salisbury in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, ed. W. R. Jones and W. D. Macray, RS (London, 1891).
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Selby Coucher	*The Coucher Book of Selby*, ed. J. T. Fowler, 2 vols., *YAS*, rec. ser. (1891-3).
SLI	*Selected letters of Innocent III concerning England 1198-1216*, eds. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (London, 1953).
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TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Trivet	*Annales F. Nicholai de Triveti*, ed. T. Hog, English Historical Society (London, 1845).
VCH	*Victoria County History*
Vetera Monumenta	*Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*, ed. A. Theiner, i (Rome, 1863).
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Wendover, *Chronica*	*The Flowers of History by Roger of Wendover*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, 3 vols., RS (London, 1886-9).
Wendover, *Flores*	*Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, 3 vols., RS (London, 1890).
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Worcester Cart.	*The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, ed. R. R. Darlington, PRS, new ser., 38 (London, 1968).
YAJ	*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*
York Cart.	*The Cartulary of the Treasurer of York Minster and related documents*, ed. J. E. Burton, Borthwick texts, 5 (1978).
York Minster Fasti	*York Minster Fasti*, ed. C. T. Clay, *YAS*, rec. ser., 2 vols. (1958-9).
York Statutes	*Statutes of the Cathedral church of York*, ed. J. Raine, 2nd ed. (Leeds, 1900).
Yorkshire Assize Rolls	*Yorkshire assize Rolls of the reigns of King John and King Henry III*, ed. C. T. Clay, *YAS*, rec. ser., 44 (1911).
Yorkshire Eyre 1218-1219	*Rolls of the Justices in Eyre*, ed. D. M. Stenton, Selden Society, 56 (1937).

YORK

1. Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester (1214-1215), archbishop of York (1215-1255).

The long archiepiscopate of Walter de Gray marks an important stage in the development of the archdiocese of York. Like many of his episcopal colleagues he received his early training in the royal administration, in which he held the title of chancellor between October 1205 and October 1214. Over the extensive course of his career, Walter successfully combined the demands of his diocese with his duty to the crown, proving himself a loyal servant of the Angevin kings. His presence in the north of England helped to ensure the stability of the region through a period of foreign invasion and the troubled years of Henry III's minority. He was an active ambassador, leading embassies as far afield as Flanders, France, Brittany, Poitou and the Germany, as well as facilitating relations with Alexander II of Scotland. The climax of his political career came later in life, when he was named as regent of England during Henry III's campaign to regain his continental possessions in 1242-3. But despite this consistent involvement in secular affairs, Walter's devotion to his see was paramount. After a brief episcopate at Worcester he was translated to York where his skills as administrator were given a broader scope and his episcopal register stands as testament to his seemingly tireless activities as diocesan as well as metropolitan. His is the first episcopal register that survives from York, and is only the second extant example of this new form of administrative document which began to be produced in England in the early thirteenth century. The existence of this rich source of information, which has received little scholarly attention, sheds considerable light on the role and duties of the archbishop of York.
Following in the wake of the tumultuous archiepiscopate of Geoffrey Plantagenet, which had been marred by bitter struggles and long periods of exile, de Gray re-established good relations with the cathedral chapter and commenced a programme of reform and reorganisation. This work was carried beyond York into the wider diocese, where he carried out visitations of monastic houses throughout the see, encouraging correct practices with a series of reforming statutes and decrees. On a parochial level, Walter like his colleagues at Durham, showed himself to be concerned with the maintenance of adequate pastoral care. Under his guidance alterations to the fabric of the diocesan minster churches of Beverley, Ripon, Southwell and York were promoted. To help fund these great works and to enrich the spiritual life of the province, Walter granted indulgences to pilgrims and successfully petitioned the pope to canonise his predecessor, William, archbishop of York. As metropolitan he actively asserted the rights and privileges of his church, both over his suffragans at Carlisle, Durham and Galloway, and in the province of Canterbury, although by the thirteenth century the previously intense rivalry over the primacy had shrunk to a

dispute over ceremonial cross bearing and seating arrangements.[1] In death, as in life, he bequeathed an impressive legacy. His magnificent Purbeck marble tomb, which is fittingly housed in the south transept of York Minster which he constructed, was furnished with a rare and exquisite painted coffin lid depicting a life-size portrait of the archbishop dressed in full pontificals. It is a rich and evocative monument to an exceptional cleric.[2]

Walter's early career: The reign of King John

In stark contrast to this glorious end our knowledge of the beginning of Walter de Gray's career is curiously blank. Without any previously documented training he suddenly emerges into the historical record, fully fledged, as royal chancellor in October 1205. As C. H. Lawrence notes, it seems inconceivable that King John would have entrusted such a prominent post to a person who, to the modern observer, appears to have been a complete novice. Yet it is possible that he did just that. Walter's age on entering royal service is unknown, although Lawrence has estimated that Walter was between 28 and 30 when he obtained the chancellorship.[3] Given the length of his career, however, this seems unlikely, as it would mean that he was around 85 when he died in 1255. Furthermore in 1209 Walter's candidacy for the bishopric of Coventry-Lichfield was dismissed by the justiciar, Geoffrey fitz Peter, as he was too young and was unready for preferment.[4] Whether this indicates a deficiency in age or experience is unclear. If Walter was indeed younger than thirty, the age prescribed for advancement to the priesthood under canon law, then he must have been born after 1179/80.[5] It is thus tempting to portray Walter as an example of the romantic rags to riches story, the plucky youth who rose up from obscurity to wealth and pre-eminence through innate ability and charm. Sadly this view is not supported by the evidence, as Walter was a member of wealthy family with established connections at court. His uncle, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, was a favourite of King John who guaranteed the fine of £5,000 offered by Walter to secure the post of chancellor.[6] Walter's family, the de Grays of Rotherfield (Oxfordshire), were established local gentry and were benefactors of a number of a monastic houses, including Eynsham and possibly Reading where Walter's father was

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[1] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 3605; Wendover, *Flores.* ii 223; *C&S II* p. 238; Paris, *CM* iii 416-20; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 146.
[2] H. G. Ramm et al., 'The tombs of Archbishops Walter de Gray (1216-1255) and Geoffrey de Ludham (1258-1265) in York Minster, and their contents', *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971), 101-139.
[3] C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 115-6.
[4] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* viii 1242-4.
[5] H. G. Ramm postulates that Walter was twenty-one when he became chancellor, 'The tombs of Archbishops Walter de Gray and Godfrey de Ludham in York Minster': *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971) 106.
[6] *Foedera* p. 93; *Rot. Ob.* p. 368.

buried. While he was bishop of Worcester, Walter continued the family tradition, appropriating the church of Rowington to the abbey, as an act of piety and for the sake of his father's soul.[7] Hawise de Gray, Walter's mother, was a benefactress in her own right, granting the church of Cornwell to the canons of St. Mary's, Osney[8], for the benefit of the souls of her brother, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, and of her ancestors and kinsmen.[9] Walter's preferment at court in 1205 served to secure the rise in the family's fortunes that had begun under John de Gray. In his turn, Walter repaid his debt to his family and used his influence with the king and, once he had been promoted to the episcopate, the patronage at his disposal to further their advancement. On 25 October 1225, Walter offered a substantial fine of 1,200 marks for his own debts as well as those of his uncle, John de Gray.[10] He also secured a succession of grants beneficial to Hawise de Gray, who outlived her husband by around 35 years, releasing her and her heirs from suit of court in the shire and hundred courts and from the payment of sheriff's aids in the counties of Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. In March 1240 the same privilege was also granted to Walter's brother, Robert de Gray, for the lands in Rotherfield which Walter had granted him.[11] In addition to these favours, as will be shown later, the records of the archbishopric include a number of clerks bearing the name de Gray or Rotherfield, indicating that Walter took advantage of his position in order to introduce his extensive family to the diocese of York.

Unlike his brother, Robert, who appears to have been the older son, Walter seems to have been intended for a career in the church. In a letter of postulation issued *c.*1243 in support of the canonisation of Edmund of Abingdon, archbishop of Canterbury (1234-40), Walter states that he had attended lectures given by Edmund in arts at Oxford.[12] According to the French translation of the life of St. Edmund composed by Matthew Paris, Walter was later to honour this association with typical generosity, by presenting his former teacher with

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[7] Eynsham Cart. i 7, 95, 95; Reading Cart. i 628, c.f. 629-31. The name of Walter's father is not supplied, but G. Baker asserts that he was also called John: *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, I part i (London, 1822), 140; c.f. W. H. Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses: The lives of the Archbishops of York*, ed. J. Raine, i (London, 1863), 280. As archbishop of York, Walter granted an indulgence of 40 days throughout the year to the abbey: *Reading Cart.* i 176.

[8] It is possible that Richard de Gray who was successively prior and then abbot of Osney (1221-1229) was related to the Rotherfield Grays: *Heads II* p. 441; *Hist. St. Peter's Gloucester* i 82.

[9] The church of Cornwell was in the patronage of the de Gray family. Alice de Gray had granted land to the church of Cornwell *c.*1210 and Hawise notes that her grant to the canons of Osney was made with the consent of her son, Robert, who also confirmed the charter: *Osney Cart.* iv 287-288. Hawise should be distinguished from Isolde de Gray who was wife of Henry de Gray of Codnor, a distinct branch to the Rotherfield Gray's: G. E. Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, vi (London, 1926), 150 .

[10] *RLC* ii 68; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 556; E372/69 m.9d. Walter had paid 1000 marks of this fine by 1230 when he was quit of the remaining 200 marks: *PR 14 Henry III* p. 269. Walter, acting as co-executor of John de Gray's will, granted the wood of Coggeswood to the canons of Osney: *Osney Cart.* iv 97.

[11] Walter's father must have died before the grant of Rowington church to Reading mentioned above (5 October 1214 x November 1215). Hawise was still alive in March 1240. *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 161; MemR33 no. 1148; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 451, 454; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 250, 251.

[12] Walter was amongst many of St. Edmund's associates who lavished praise on the scholar: C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 15-16, 301-2; *G&L* pp. 42-3.

a benefice in the archbishopric of York.[13] His meteoric advancement was thus probably the result of a combination of factors, his family's wealth, John de Gray's influence with the king and Walter's own ambition and abilities. In contrast to his immediate predecessor, Archbishop Hubert Walter, de Gray appears to have shown no interest in the minutiae of the royal administration. As S. Painter argues, it is probable that, given his apparent lack of administrative experience, Walter viewed his elevation purely as a business venture. It was a wise investment which could be recouped from the fees and other benefits owing to the chancellor.[14] Painter's view is borne out by the infrequency of Walter's activities as chancellor. Compared to his successor, Richard de Marisco, who was keeper of the seal between June 1210 until October 1214, Walter rarely issued royal correspondence. It is perhaps this comparatively low profile, coupled with the confusion created by the increasing dominance of the keepers of the seal, that encouraged early commentators including Sir William Dugdale, to suggest that Walter's tenure of the chancellorship ended in 1212.[15] Yet Walter remained as titular chancellor until his elevation to the episcopate in October 1214.[16] Moreover, as his later career was to prove he was not immune to the lessons to be learnt at the royal chancery. The initiation of an episcopal register at York during his archiepiscopate is seen as a direct transferral of the administrative practices developed under Archbishop Hubert.[17]

In some respects the course of Walter's career appears to have been the reverse of those followed by men like Walter Mauclerk and Richard de Marisco. They, like many of the king's loyal followers, entered royal service in the hopes of eventually obtaining high office. Walter on the other hand, having procured a position of prestige and influence at court, then proceeded to try and earn it. Gradually over the course of John's reign Walter's role in the royal administration began to extend beyond the immediate business of the chancery. In 1207 and 1212 he made the first of his sporadic appearances as a royal justice.[18] Nevertheless his advancement fluctuated markedly. After a brief flurry of activity in the years immediately after his purchase of the chancellorship, his involvement was then dramatically reduced between 1209 and 1212. This shifting pattern is puzzling, particularly as it appears to be complemented by the occurrence of ecclesiastical preferments received by Walter de Gray during this period. Sometime prior to May 1206 he was granted a moiety of

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[13] St. Edmund piously resigned the benefice to the hospital at Abingdon: BL MS Royal. 14 C f.122r. c.f. C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon* (Oxford, 1960), p. 77.
[14] S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 64-5.
[15] W. Dugdale, *The Ancient Usage* (London, 1812), p. 260; E. Foss, *The judges of England*, ii (London,1848), pp. 15-19; N. Vincent, 'The origins of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer', *EHR*, 108 (1993), 105; see also below p. 167-8.
[16] The last reference to Walter as chancellor is 7 July 1214, and by 3 November 1214 he is referred to as former chancellor: *RLC* i 168b; *RLP* p. 122b.
[17] D. Smith, 'The rolls of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln (1209-1235)', *BIHR*, 45 (1972), 156.
[18] *Fines sive Pedes Finium* i lxv; *CRR 1210-12* p. 189.

the church of *Leke* and in January 1207 he was granted the prebend in the church of Malling (Kent) formerly held by Henry de Bayeux.[19] A few months later John made a somewhat half-hearted attempt to present Walter to the archdeaconry of Totnes, which was subsequently granted to John of Bridgeport, although the prebend formerly associated with the office did pass to the chancellor.[20] By August 1208 he had added the church of Stradbroke (Suffolk) and a moiety in the church of Holkham (Norfolk) to his impressive list of benefices. But at this point the flood of preferments ceased and was only restored again in December 1212 when he is presented to the church of Costessey (Norfolk).[21]

It is possible to attribute the fluctuation in the progress of Walter's advancement to a disagreement with the crown which would lead to long absences from court and the cessation of ecclesiastical preferment. Nevertheless we lack the evidence to prove this. Modern observers usually note his continuing close co-operation with the king and his chief advisers.[22] The solution to the puzzle appears to lie not with Walter, but with his uncle, John de Gray. During this period John de Gray's star was rising.[23] In 1205 he was nominated as Hubert Walter's successor as archbishop of Canterbury and when that faltered after the consecration of Stephen Langton in June 1207, he was compensated by being appointed justiciar of Ireland. While present at court he could promote the interests of his nephew. Significantly, the majority of the benefices listed above, to which Walter was presented, were in John's own diocese of Norwich. A case could also be made for Walter's prebend at Malling, which was in the crown's possession because of the vacancy at Canterbury. As the royal nominee for the see, John de Gray may have been anticipating the success of his candidacy by securing Walter a benefice in his new church. In July 1208, however, John de Gray's departure to undertake his duties as justiciar of Ireland robbed Walter of his chief patron at court. For the next four years the bishop was preoccupied with Irish affairs, his itinerary showing that his occasional visits to England were dominated by episcopal business.[24] On one of these visits Walter is to be found witnessing an episcopal charter for his uncle at Geddington, the only identifiable occurrence in the chancellor's itinerary which is otherwise completely blank between December 1209 and May 1212.[25] During John de Gray's absence the king seems to have been under less pressure to shower favours on Walter.

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[19] *RLP* pp. 58b, 64. *Leke* may be identified as Leake N. Yorkshire, Nottingham or Lincoln.
[20] *RLP* pp. 71b, 75. Ultimately Walter does appear to have gained the archdeaconry since the clerics of the archdeaconry were informed on 20 August 1213 that the king has granted Totnes to Thomas de Boves, just as Walter de Gray had held it: *RLP* p. 103; *EEA Exeter II* p. 308 n. 38.
[21] *RLP* pp. 95b, 102b. 81; *Rot. Chart.* p. 169. At some point before 30 July 1213 Walter was granted the parsonage of Hopton (Suffolk); *RLP* p. 102b. He also held the church of Abbots Bromley (Staffordshire), which he resigned upon becoming bishop of Worcester: *Guala Letters* no. 140.
[22] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 69; S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 229.
[23] On his career see: G. M. Budge, 'John de Gray, bishop of Norwich', (M.A. thesis, Manchester, 1946); *EEA Norwich I* pp. xxxviii-xxxix.
[24] *EEA Norwich I* app. II.
[25] *EEA Norwich I* no. 335.

Royal acceptance of his nomination to the bishopric of Coventry-Lichfield, which occurred between December 1209 and 1210, was achieved only after the electors' rejection of the king's preferred candidates, including Richard de Marisco.[26]

In the absence of his uncle, Walter made a concerted effort to win royal approval. In September 1209 he was named as one of the ecclesiastics who advised the papal executors to delay the excommunication of King John until 7 October 1209.[27] Possibly as a result of this service, Walter was named at the head of a list of experienced negotiators who were to represent the king's interests at Dover in 1211. Gervase of Canterbury recorded a letter dated 24 July 1211, commending the royal delegates to Stephen Langton and offering safe conduct to the archbishop elect and the bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Lincoln, Hereford and Bath for the meeting. This attempt to break the deadlock in the Canterbury dispute, however, never came to fruition as Langton and his advisers mistrusted the king's intentions.[28] Nevertheless Walter appears to have found favour with the king since in the summer of 1212 he was sent to negotiate with the king's nephew, Otto IV, as part of John's political manoeuvring before the battle of Bouvines.[29] Having engaged his nephew's interest, John then turned his attention to detaching the Flemish from the French camp. In the aftermath of the English victory over the French fleet at Damme on 2 June 1213, arrangements were made for an embassy to Count Ferrand of Flanders to secure his support for a land attack on Philip II. On 26 June in a letter to the count, John states that he is sending his half-brother, William Longspee, earl of Salisbury and Walter de Gray, who were empowered, together with other envoys already present in Flanders, to make arrangements which the king would regard as binding.[30] To fund the Flemish war effort John authorised the release of 10,000 marks from the royal treasury at New Temple, London, to be delivered to the envoys at Sandwich for carriage to Flanders. The precise duration of the embassy is unclear. But it seems that the envoys departed with the war chest in mid July and Walter is recorded as being present in Flanders in mid August. The alliance, however, was costly and in October 1213 Walter once again was despatched to carry the king's treasury to Flanders.[31] In his absence the duties of chancellor passed to Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, who issued royal charters, using the clause *per manum*, between August 1213 and February 1214.[32]

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[26] *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 399; *PR 12 John* p. 177; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* viii 1242-4; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 129-131.
[27] *Gervase of Canterbury* ii cv-vi.
[28] *Gervase of Canterbury* ii cxiv-xv. For the frustrated attempts at negotiation during this period see: Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 322-325.
[29] *Mem. St. Edmunds* ii 21-22.
[30] *RLP* p. 101.
[31] *RLC* i 153, 156b; *RLP* pp. 103, 104b. J. P. Huffman, *The social politics of medieval diplomacy; Anglo-German relations, 1066-1307* (Ann Arbor, 2000), pp.. 209-214.
[32] *Rot. Chart.* pp. 194b-196b; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 68.

Walter was well rewarded for his part in King John's great continental enterprise. He was granted the benefices of St. Probus and St. Buryan (Cornwall), and Kirkham (North Yorkshire) in 1213.[33] In addition the lifting of the Interdict had effectively reopened the issue of the Coventry-Lichfield election, which had remained in abeyance after Walter's nomination had been quashed by Archbishop Langton.[34]. The king's enthusiasm for Walter's candidacy appears to have increased, as contrary to the previous occasion no record survives of the proposition of a rival royal candidate. Adhering to the practices of his predecessors, King John ordered the electors to dispatch proctors to the royal court in order to proceed with the business of election.[35] On 16 August 1213 the king announced to the earl of Chester that Walter had been canonically elected according to the constitutions of the realm. Nevertheless, his elevation may have been achieved at the prompting of John de Gray, who had returned from a mission to Otto IV and was present at the royal court when the election was declared. Furthermore the earl of Chester was informed that Walter himself was still in Flanders and that until the return of the bishop-elect, the temporalities of the see were to be committed to the custody of John de Gray.[36] If the two had met in Flanders it is possible that Walter had urged his uncle to present his case to the king. But neither party was to have the last word and once again the nomination failed, possibly due to the intervention of Archbishop Langton.[37] In compensation John seems to have returned the archdeaconry of Totnes to Walter, which overturned the grant made on 20 August 1213 to John's clerk, Thomas de Boves.[38] His income was further supplemented by the award of the lands formerly belonging to Walter Pippard in Wallingford, together with custody of Roger Pippard.[39]

John de Gray, now embroiled in the disputed election to the see of Durham, survived to see his nephew raised to the episcopate. In January 1214 in blatant disregard of an earlier election at Worcester, the papal legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, persuaded the bishop-elect, Ranulf, prior of Worcester, to renounce his postulation. Walter de Gray was then elected in his stead and Prior Ranulf was removed to Evesham where the abbacy lay vacant following

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[33] Walter may have held the benefice of Kirkham prior to this point as on 4 July 1213 it was granted to Simon le Blund, apparently on Walter's resignation of the church. But this grant was quickly superseded by a further royal grant on 14 July 1213 when the church seems to have been restored to Walter: *RLP* p. 96b, 102; *Rot. Chart.* p. 193b.
[34] *Acta Langton* 81.
[35] *RLC* i 150.
[36] *RLP* p. 103; *RLC* i 164b, 196b; *Foedera* p. 114. The see is given its old title of the bishopric of Chester.
[37] Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 131.
[38] *RLP* p. 103. Walter remained archdeacon of Totnes until his election as bishop of Worcester in 1214, when it was granted to W. provost of St. Audemar, who was also awarded Walter's churches of St. Probus and St. Buryan *RLP* p. 111.
[39] *RLC* i 160.

the legate's deposition of Abbot Roger Norreys.[40] The exact timing of these events is obscure as contemporary accounts indicate that both elections, to Worcester and Evesham, occurred on 20 January 1214. While the distance between the two monasteries is not prohibitive it seems unlikely that Nicholas could have accomplished so much within the space of one day. Notwithstanding this difficulty, it is apparent that in promoting Walter, as the Evesham chronicler claims, Nicholas of Tusculum was acting with royal approval. For shortly afterwards, on 26 January, John confirmed the election and ordered William de Cantilupe to restore the temporalities of the see. The process of restoration appears to have been delayed, however, as a further order for their resumption was issued on 7 July 1214.[41] It is possible that this delay resulted from Walter's absence on the king's business. The Pipe Roll for 1214 contains a payment for the passage of the bishop-elect of Worcester who was conducting the treasury of the lord king from Sandwich to Flanders. This entry provides an explanation for the order given by Peter des Roches to the sheriff of Kent concerning 6,000 marks which is being delivered to Sandwich, where it is to be delivered to the custody of Walter bishop-elect of Worcester, William earl of Salisbury and Hugh de Boves. Walter Mauclerk, acting as royal messenger, was to confirm the arrangements dictated in the letter.[42] On his return, Archbishop Langton, who now offered no objection to Walter's elevation, duly consecrated him as bishop of Worcester at Canterbury on 5 October.[43] His status as one of the leading magnates of the realm was now secure and by 29 October 1214 he had given up the office of chancellor, to be replaced by Richard de Marisco.[44]

The timing was fortunate as John de Gray, perhaps worn out by the demands of active royal service, died at St. Jean d'Angely on 18 October 1214, on his return journey from the papal curia.[45] As noted in a later chapter, his demise plunged the Durham monks once again into a bitter confrontation over the choice of their pastor.[46] For Walter the possible repercussions of the loss of his most consistent patron seems to have been mitigated by his increasing popularity with the king and his own astute alliances. In 1214 he stood as pledge for 200 marks of Peter de Maulay's fine of 7,000 marks for marriage to the heiress

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[40] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 38, iv (Worcester), 402-3; *Chron. Abb. Evesham* pp. 255-6. For the course of the long dispute at Evesham c.f. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 331-345.
[41] *Chron. Abb. Evesham* p. 255; *RLP* p. 109; *RLC* i 168b.
[42] The Pipe Roll entry also contains payment for an earlier passage of Hugh de Boves to Flanders as he is described as travelling with Walter de Gray, who is styled chancellor, not bishop-elect: *PR 16 John* pp. 27-8; *RLC* i 206.
[43] Wendover, *Flores.* ii 151; Paris, *CM* ii 582; *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury), 61; iv (Worcester), 402-3.
[44] *Rot. Chart.* p. 202. As noted in the discussion of Richard de Marisco's career, this re-allocation of the office of chancellor may have been due to the king's determination to maximise the efficiency of the chancery and thereby squeeze the maximum amount of revenue from the kingdom.
[45] *Fasti* ii (Norwich) p. 56.
[46] See below pp. 173-4.

Isabella de Turnham.[47] But the most prominent of the alliances formed by Walter was with Peter des Roches. John's favoured counsellor witnessed the royal grants of the church of Costessey (1212), the archdeaconry of Totnes (1207) and the bishopric of Coventry-Lichfield (1213). The Winchester Pipe Rolls show that Walter was entertained on the bishop's estates, and periodically they co-operated in the production of royal correspondence.[48] In return Walter acted as surety for des Roches' pledge of 20 palfreys should Peter de Maulay offend the crown after 8 May 1212.[49] Moreover, Walter also co-operated with in the endowment of Halesowen abbey, a house of Premonstratensian canons which des Roches founded during mid-summer 1215. Walter's assent was necessary for the manor and church of Halesowen were situated within the diocese of Worcester, although by October 1214 they had been granted to the bishop of Winchester by the crown. His assent is indicated by the foundation charter issued by des Roches, in which Walter is named as the first witness.[50] In addition the grant of the church of Halesowen to the canons is confirmed by a charter of Walter de Gray.[51]

The dating of this grant is, however, somewhat problematic as it was apparently issued at Rotherfield on 8 November in the first year of Walter's episcopate [1214]. If this date is accurate then the charter predates the founding of the priory. Walter's grant may represent, therefore, a preliminary stage in des Roches' preparations for his foundation.[52] Moreover, N. Vincent argues that Walter might have co-operated with des Roches over Halesowen as a *quid pro quo* for the latter's withdrawal of his candidacy for the see of York which occurred between April and November 1214.[53] It seems unlikely that the charter could have been issued the following year, as Walter was attending the Lateran Council in Rome at that stage, although there is always the possibility of scribal error, either contemporaneously or later.[54] As it stands, the charter appears to be genuine. The style is

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[47] De Maulay's other pledges were Ranulf, earl of Chester (1,000 marks), William, earl Ferrers (1,000 marks), Savaric de Mauleon (1,000 marks), Reginald de Pontibus (1,000 marks), William Longspee, earl of Salisbury (500 marks), Hubert de Burgh (100 marks) and Arnold de Auckland (100 marks): *PR 16 John* p. 94; Holt, *Northerners* p. 105.

[48] *Winchester Pipe Roll, 1208-1209* p. 139; *RLP* pp. 88b, 97b. When John was absent on campaign in Poitou, Peter des Roches was also ordered to see that Walter received full seisin of his episcopal estates: *RLC* i 168b.

[49] *EEA Winchester II* no. 94; *Rot. Chart.* p. 196b; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 69-70.

[50] *EEA Winchester II* no. 13.

[51] *EEA Worcester* no. 76.

[52] King John had granted the manor of Hales to Peter des Roches on 28 October 1214 and confirmed des Roches' intention to found a Premonstratensian house on 8 August 1215: *Rot. Chart.* pp. 201b, 217; H. M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 178-83.

[53] *EEA Winchester II* no. 13 n. See below p. 13.

[54] The charter is preserved in an incomplete inspeximus of Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester (1237-66). I have discussed this point with Philippa Hoskin, who edited Cantilupe's *acta*, and she suggests that the charter may have been issued by Walter de Gray as archbishop of York and that the scribe corrected this for Worcester. She also notes the possibility that T. R. Nash, who transcribed and printed the charter (from an original sold to a private collector in 1978), may have altered the

typical of that employed by Walter de Gray, and was issued *datum per manum*, a phrase often used by clerks who received their training in the royal household. Furthermore, the witnesses, who included his brother, Robert de Gray, appear as part of Walter's household in York.[55] Only one admittedly very minor point jars. Rotherfield, where the charter is witnessed, is defined as Rotherfield in the county of Oxford, a description which appears nowhere else in Walter's charters. But on balance it appears that the grant, which was issued to Peter des Roches 'to build a religious house on the manor of Hales', was designed as a preliminary security for the intended foundation. By renouncing his rights in advance the bishop of Worcester could have been removing a possible obstacle to the success of the priory in order to secure the support of Peter des Roches. The king's opinion of Walter, however, appears to have been ambivalent. On 24 and 25 January 1215, Richard de Marisco was ordered to inspect the rolls of the exchequer and wardrobe and in addition the rolls of Walter de Gray concerning the payments made for Flanders. The order was not an isolated occurrence as Richard, together with the treasurer and chamberlains, was also instructed to check the treasury rolls for payments of Engeram de Genteles.[56] But no further mention is made of the affair. Unlike Walter Mauclerk in 1233, de Gray was not forced to offer a fine to restore him to the royal confidence and for the remainder of King John's reign, Walter proved himself a loyal servant of the Angevin cause.

At Windsor on 10 May 1215, Walter was named as guarantor of the king's promise to the rebel barons that neither they nor their followers would be arrested nor disseised of their lands without due process of law.[57] Accounts by the St. Albans chroniclers stating that he was in the king's camp at Runnymeade are corroborated by the witness lists of charters dated around the time when Magna Carta was promulgated.[58] Walter is named in the preamble to the charter in the list of bishops, together with the secular magnates and other trusted royal counsellors, on whose advice Magna Carta was granted. Each of the bishops named in the charter, with the exception of the archbishop of Canterbury and Benedict of Saunston, bishop of Rochester, was a royal nominee. Shortly afterwards these same bishops and the legate, Pandulf, issued an inspeximus which reiterated and confirmed the Charter of

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date: T. R. Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, 2 vols. (London, 1781-2) ii app. p. xxviii.

[55] Of the other witnesses, Serlo de Sunnings witnesses charters in 1216 and 1227 and may be identified as the canon of York who became archdeacon of Cleveland in 1230: DCDCM 3.1.Archiep.7; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 141; *Fasti* (York), p. 39. R. de Clypston and Richard de Heyford, however, do not appear at York and is recorded by M. B. Lovatt as being a well known official to successive bishops of Worcester: M. B. Lovatt, *The career and administration of Archbishop Geoffrey of York: 1151?-1212* (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1974), p. 197.

[56] *RLC* i 183, 183b, 185b.

[57] *RLP* p. 141; S. Painter, *Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 306-7.

[58] Paris, *CM* ii 589-90; *Rot. Chart.* p. 210b.

Liberties.[59] Nevertheless, as disaffection with the achievement at Runnymeade spread, the king sought to undermine the charter by any means available. While waiting for the results of his appeal to his papal overlord on the overall legality of Magna Carta, King John secured letters testimonial in his favour from Walter and the other bishops named in the preamble. These letters concerned the refusal of certain barons to issue charters promising fealty to the crown and also the declaration that the proposed inquiries for the reformation of the forest laws should not interfere with the effective management of the forests.[60] Through these measures the embattled king was determined to adhere to the established customs of his predecessors. Similarly, on 18 July 1215, the king instructed the prior and convent of Norwich to elect a bishop by the counsel of Simon, bishop of Exeter, Walter de Gray and Peter de Russignol, precentor of York.[61] Walter had already proved his credentials acting on behalf of the king in the disputed election at Bury St. Edmunds in December 1214.[62] Under the watchful eye of the royal delegation, the prior and convent duly nominated the papal subdeacon, Pandulf as bishop of Norwich. In a letter of testimony Walter and his colleagues echo the words of the king's mandate which states that the election should occur according to the will of the pope.[63] Nonetheless, the royal will had been served at Norwich.

By the time of the outbreak of civil war at the end of John's reign, therefore, Walter de Gray had succeeded in establishing his position at court in his own right. In comparison to previous years, he remained in close contact with the court until his departure for the Fourth Lateran council in mid September 1215.[64] It was perhaps enroute to Rome that Walter fulfilled his mission, described by Matthew Paris, with fellow envoys Richard de Marisco, William Gernun and Hugh de Boves, to seek military aid on the continent. But the account, as noted in a later chapter, is of uncertain credibility.[65] As events at the Lateran Council unfolded it became clear that the chief motivation for Walter's journey to Rome was to secure his translation to the archbishopric of York. Representatives of the dean and chapter of York had been summoned to attend the Council in order to postulate a suitable candidate for the long-vacant see. In the pope's presence their choice fell on Walter de Gray,

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[59] Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 448, 491 no. 2.; C. R. Cheney, 'The Church and Magna Carta', *Theology*, 68 (1965), 266-272.
[60] *Foedera* p. 134.
[61] *RLP* p. 149b. For a detailed account of the election and its circumstances see: N. Vincent, 'The election of Pandulf Verracclo as Bishop of Norwich (1215)', *BIHR*, 68 (1995), 143-163.
[62] CEH pp. 133-5, 138-41, 144-5.
[63] *EEA Exeter II* no. 219A.
[64] Walter witnesses a two charters at Dover on 13 September 1215: *Rot. Chart.* pp. 218b, 219. Hugh of Beaulieu and Richard de Marisco were also present at Dover during September prior to their departure for Rome: *Rot. Chart.* p. 219b; *RLP* pp. 155b, 182.
[65] Paris also includes John de Gray, who had died the previous year, in the list of envoys (for a fuller discussion of the issue see below p. 171): Paris, *CM* ii 613. But before his departure for Rome Walter was given 500 marks by King John, though the purpose is not recorded: *PR 3 Henry III* p. 197.

who received his pallium at the council.[66] The metropolitan see had been vacant since the death of Archbishop Geoffrey on 18 December 1212.[67] King John had originally intended the see to pass to Peter des Roches, the translation serving a dual purpose as it would both reward one of his most loyal followers and impose royal authority in the rebellious north.[68] Apart from the concerns for the stability of royal government in the north of England, N. Vincent also proposes that by translating Peter des Roches to York, John sought to reopen the primacy dispute in York's favour and so sideline Archbishop Langton.[69] In July 1213 the king, who was preparing for his delayed campaign to Poitou, therefore commanded the York chapter to send proctors to the royal court, whether it be in England or in France.[70] The mandate, however, appears to have been disregarded as Innocent III in December 1213 wrote commending the papal legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, to the dean, on whose advice the election was to proceed.

The cause of Innocent's intervention at this stage may well have been an appeal by the canons of York as the pope also specifies that no violence or fraud should be allowed to frustrate his orders. This unusual stipulation possibly indicates that the king or his agents had placed unwarranted pressure on the electors.[71] Nevertheless the king dispatched his own delegation to York, comprising his trusted envoys Hugh of Beaulieu, William de Cantilupe and William Brewer, with the abbots of Selby and St. Mary's, York, to achieve an election to the king's satisfaction.[72] The canons of York had good reason to be wary of royal intervention. Like their monastic counterparts at Durham during the episcopate of Philip of Poitou, the canons had experienced a bitter and sometimes violent struggle with Geoffrey Plantagenet.[73] Both prelates had been imposed by the crown against the wishes of the respective chapters. At York the canons appear to have attempted to promote their dean, Simon of Apulia, who had been one of Geoffrey's most outspoken opponents.[74] Rumours of their intentions reached King John who wrote expressly forbidding the chapter from electing Simon of Apulia. The letter is markedly reminiscent of Richard I's missive to the Durham monks in 1195 as the king asserted that their actions would be prejudicial to the honour of

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[66] *CLI* no. 1017; Paris, *CM* ii 634-5; *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 287; iv (Worcester), 405.
[67] *Fasti* (York), p. 4.
[68] For a discussion of the disputed elections to York and Durham and Winchester during this period see: Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 76-7, 162-7;Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 96-7.
[69] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 96.
[70] *RLC* i 147.
[71] *CLI* no. 942.
[72] *RLP* p. 109b. York was one of fourteen vacant abbeys and bishoprics to receive such mandates at this stage, see below pp. 87-8.
[73] E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 358-60; M. B. Lovatt, *The career and administration of Archbishop Geoffrey of York: 1151?-1212* (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1974), pp. 88-97.
[74] R. V. Turner, 'Richard the Lionheart and English Episcopal elections', *Albion*, 39 (1997), 1-13; D. Douie, *Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet and the Chapter of York*, Borthwick Papers, 18 (York, 1960).

he crown and the security of the kingdom.[75] If the canons of York had indeed appealed to Rome in 1213 to prevent further royal interference, they were to be disappointed. Nicholas of Tusculum interpreted the pope's instructions to ensure that the postulants to vacant sees were loyal to the king and profitable to the kingdom, by persuading the divided chapter to promote Peter des Roches.[76] As a further sign of des Roches' favoured status the king also installed his nephew, Bartholomew des Roches, as dean of York in April 1214 and the bishop's clerk, Peter de Russignol, as precentor.[77]

These appointments, however, proved to be over optimistic. As noted in a later chapter, the king's audacious scheme for the sees of York, Durham and Winchester failed due to lack of papal support.[78] But both king and chapter remained determined to dictate York's fortunes. When the issue was reopened in the winter of 1214-15, the chapter belligerently proposed Simon Langton, brother of Archbishop Stephen. It is unclear exactly when Walter de Gray's name came to the fore. According to Roger of Wendover, when the canons applied to the king for a new licence to elect they were asked to accept Walter as archbishop. The canons refused the king's request, asserting that Walter was insufficiently learned (*illiteratus*) and proceeded to elect Simon Langton. The chronicler continues by stating that the king, angered at this refusal, appealed to the pope pleading his opposition to Simon's candidacy in the interests of the continuing peace of both king and realm. This in turn prompted Innocent to write to the York chapter prohibiting Simon's election on the grounds that he had already forbidden him to pursue the honour.[79] Based on this evidence, C. R. Cheney argued that Walter's name had been suggested before 13 May 1215 when the king wrote to the chapter informing them that he would not accept the promotion of anyone who was suspect to the crown.[80] It is possible, however, that Walter's name was put forward to the York electors as late as 18 June 1215, on which date the king granted the canons a licence to elect.[81] If so then his promotion may have occurred in gratitude for his loyal service to the crown in the fateful months surrounding the promulgation of Magna Carta. But even at this stage the chapter apparently persisted in their nomination of Simon Langton. For on 23 July the king ordered that *magister* J de St Laurence and *magister* R de Insula and

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[5] *Diceto* ii 128-9 (See below p. 132); *Rot. Chart.* p. 163. The letter is undated but C. R. Cheney suggests that it was possibly intended to be delivered to the canons by Hugh of Beaulieu and his fellow envoys: Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 163 n. 156.

[6] SLI no. 62; *Script. Tres.* pp. 28-9. Ironically, on 1 February 1214, Peter des Roches was deputised to consent to episcopal elections on the king's behalf while John was in Poitou: *RLP* p. 110b.

[7] Both appointments, however, appear to have been contested by the chapter at York: *RLP* p. 101, 105, 113b; *Fasti* (York), pp. 10, 15.

[8] See below pp. 169, 173-4.

[9] Paris, *CM* ii 628-9. Innocent's letter contained in this account, which is based on one he actually produced on 20 August 1215, is thought to have been retouched by the chronicler and dated to 13 September 1215: SLI no. 81; *CLI* no. 1017.

[0] *RLP* p. 141.

[1] *RLP* pp. 143b, 215b.

William fitz Richard, canons of York, be paid £20 for expenses which they incurred travelling to the king's court to gain his assent. As no mention is made in the royal records of their request being granted, it is assumed that the mission was unsuccessful.[82]

Finally, in his letter of 20 August 1215, the pope reserved judgement in the affair to the forthcoming Lateran Council. At this juncture it would seem that the York electors had bowed to their fate and that Walter had emerged as the sole candidate.[83] Despite his adherence to the excommunicate King John, Innocent III appears to have offered no opposition to his candidacy and unlike Richard de Marisco, Walter was not forced to sue for papal favour after the lifting of the Interdict. As with the suspension of Archbishop Langton, which the pope confirmed on 4 November 1215, Walter's election seems to have occurred before the Council was officially convened. The dating clauses of his archiepiscopal *acta* indicate that he received papal sanction on 10 November 1215.[84] In selecting him the chapter is reported to have recommended him to the pope because of his chaste life. Nevertheless, Roger of Wendover still asserted that Walter was forced to pay dearly for papal support. He stated that the archbishop-elect returned to England with his pallium, but indebted to the curia for £10,000 sterling.[85] At the Council Walter added his voice to that of Hugh of Beaulieu in defence Angevin interests and those of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. He petitioned the pope to allow Raymond to retain his mother's marriage portion which, along with the rest of the count's possessions, were presently in the possession of Simon de Montfort. If the present arrangement continued, Walter is said to have asked 'Will he [Raymond] who is a legitimate son, courtly and well-bred, of the best lineage one may think of, then wander about the world like a thief?'.[86] His plea, however, failed to move his audience and the pope, whose own sympathy for Raymond's cause was overruled by the weight of opinion at the Council, was unable to restore the count's possessions. Walter appears to have arrived in England towards the end of January 1216. On 29 February orders were issued to the custodian of the archbishopric of York, Brian de Lisle, and the sheriffs of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, for the restoration of the temporalities of the see.[87] According to the mid-fourteenth century historian, Thomas Stubbs, the official date of his

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[82] *RLC* i 222.

[83] C. R. Cheney dismissed the account by Roger of Wendover that at the Lateran Council the canons tried once more to promote Simon Langton, as an implausible dramatic device. It is possible that for clarity the pope did quash Langton's election: *Innocent III* p. 165 n.166; Paris, *CM* ii 634; *Walter of Coventry* ii 227.

[84] *Reg. Gray* p. xxxvii.

[85] Paris, *CM* ii 635. As W. E. Lunt comments, if this figure is not an exaggeration on the part of the chronicler, the amount demanded from Walter de Gray may represent a certain degree of papal pressure: Lunt, *Financial relations* p. 462.

[86] *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot, ii (Paris, 1972), 73-5; H. Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III* (Oxford, 1980), p. 233-40; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 395-6.

[87] *RLC* i 248b

translation was 27 March 1216.[88] During the final months of King John's reign little evidence survives of the new archbishop's movements. He witnessed only one further royal charter, at Salisbury on 13 June 1216, at a time when John was beating a hasty retreat from Winchester in the face of the advance by the invading forces under Prince Louis of France.[89]

The archiepiscopal career of Walter de Gray

Much of what is known of Walter in the tumultuous final months of John's reign and the early years of Henry III's minority, indicates that he had begun to undertake his archiepiscopal duties. Both the see and the archdiocese of York had suffered much neglect as a result of the long vacancies that had, after the death of Bishop Bernard of Carlisle *c.*1214, left the province completely bereft of episcopal authority until Walter's election in 1215. Moreover, unlike later vacancies there is no reference to the employment of the bishop of Whithorn, who was claimed as a suffragan by the archbishop of York, in the archdiocese.[90] From the very beginning of his archiepiscopate, Walter proved to be a methodical and conscientious prelate, attentive to the needs of his archdiocese.[91] Among his earliest acts at York was the separation of the office of treasurer from the archdeaconry of the East Riding, which was confirmed by Pope Honorius III on 31 August 1218. As the charter notes, when conjoined, the dignity of the offices had been diminished and their effectiveness reduced. The treasurer of York was resident in the city, while the archdeacon by necessity was almost continually absent, fulfilling his duties of visitation. To provide a firm footing for the separation, the treasurership was endowed with the portion of the prebend of Sherburn, known as Newhope.[92] In addition, presumably under Walter's guidance, the treasurer, Hamo, was transferred to the deanery of York, an office which in the twelfth century had been appointed by the archbishop. This in turn opened up the treasury for William de Rotherfield who first appears in September 1220. By March 1218 a second William de Rotherfield was also selected as archdeacon of Richmond.[93] The slender

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[88] *Hists. York* ii 402; *Chron. Melsa* ii 125.
[89] *Rot. Chart.* p. 222b.
[90] The diocese of Whithorn, alternatively known as Galloway or Candida Casa.
[91] For a detailed and invaluable discussion of the chapter of York Minster during Walter's archiepiscopate see: R. B. Dobson, 'The later middle ages, 1215-1500', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 44-110. Also D. E. Greenway, *Fasti* (York), pp. xxi-xxxv; A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Medieval Chapter*, York Minster Tracts, 10 (1927).
[92] YMA M2/3a f.9v-11r; *Reg. Gray* app. I no. vii; *Reg. Greenfield* i app. 2, pp. 299-305; CEPR p. 57. This endowment was supplemented to in August 1227 by the addition of the churches of Acomb and Wilton, and by the end of the thirteenth century the office had become among the most valuable of English benefices: *Reg. Gray* pp. 17, 198; *Fasti* (York), p. xxv.
[93] *Fasti* (York), pp. xxv, 10, 25. There were three men called William de Rotherfield who held prebends and offices in York during Walter de Gray's archiepiscopate, only one (also known as

endowment of the office of chancellor was also augmented with the churches of Wawne and Acklam.[94] These changes indicate that Walter had begun his tenure at York in a strong position, firmly stamping his authority on the previously fractious chapter. Over the course of his archiepiscopate the restructuring of the York chapter continued with the creation of two further dignitaries. The office of subdean was established on 9 November 1228, and on 13 November 1230 the succentor of the canons was inaugurated as a deputy for the precentor during the latter's absence. On both occasions Walter came to an agreement with the abbot of St Martin's, Aumale (Normandy), who conceded to the archbishop the abbey's churches of Preston and Tunstall which were then annexed to the respective offices.[95]

At York Walter de Gray is fondly remembered as 'Our Great Benefactor'.[96] This view, though markedly sentimentalised, is not without justification. Shortly after his translation he secured a papal mandate confirming the possessions of the see and York's metropolitan authority over the sees of Durham and Carlisle.[97] Moreover, in addition to changes made within the chapter at York, he also bestowed on the see two of its principal archiepiscopal seats. As at Carlisle these acquisitions provided Walter's successors with palaces in the diocese and in London. But unlike Walter Mauclerk, de Gray did not rely on royal patronage.[98] The manor of Thorp St. Andrew, or Bishopthorpe, where the palace of the archbishop of York is situated, and its various appurtenances were gradually accumulated by Walter through gifts and purchases. One such arrangement was made on 6 October 1237 as the result of a plea held before the royal justices in eyre for Yorkshire. In this the abbot of Kirkstall recognised a grant made by his predecessor, Ralph, to the archbishop of York, of one carucate of land in Thorp St. Andrew along with lands in Thorp Mauteby and Thorp Bustard.[99] As a result of this careful organisation Walter was able to convey the manor in its entirety, along with a variety of appurtenances, to the chapter on 22 March 1241. As the terms of Walter's charter attests, the grant was made in order to provide for the church of York and for his successors, and as a possession of the chapter the manor could not be

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William de Langeton), archdeacon and then dean of York, was related to Walter. But the toponymic 'Rotherfield' is presumably connected with the de Gray manor of Rotherfield (Oxfordshire): *Fasti* (York), pp. 24, 34, 49.

[94] *Reg. Gray* pp. 52-3, 143-4; CEPR p. 109.

[95] *Reg. Gray* pp. 26-7, 52-3. The office of subdean existed by 22 June 1228, but was formally inaugurated by Walter in November: *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 191. The abbey had been granted lands in Holderness: *EYC* iii 1304; B. English, *The Lords of Holderness* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 9, 14, 25.

[96] York Minster Pamphlets, 'Our Great Benefactor: Archbishop Walter de Gray, 1216-1255', a historical sermon preached in the Minster 16 June 1922 by Chancellor Austen.

[97] *CLI* no. 1070; *Reg. Gray* pp. 125-7.

[98] Walter Mauclerk secured the manor of Dalston, where the episcopal palace of Rose castle is situated, and a house in London: J. Wilson, *Rose Castle*, (Carlisle, 1912), pp. 1-28. See below pp. 113-4.

[99] *Feet of Fines York 1232-1246* p. 49. It appears that it was on this carucate of land that the palace of Bishopthorpe was built: *Kirkstall Coucher* p. 6.

appropriated by the crown during vacancies.[100] A payment of £20 was to be paid annually by the archbishop to the chapter, part of which was to be used to provide for a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of Thorp St. Andrew for Walter's soul and those of King John and all the faithful departed. Until this point the archbishops of York had frequently stayed at Ripon, but from Walter's itinerary it is apparent that Bishopthorpe quickly became a favoured residence.[101] The acquisition of the archbishop's London residence follows a similar pattern. In 1240 Walter purchased houses on the highway of Westminster, in the parish of St. Margaret, from the representatives of Hubert de Burgh for the sum of 400 marks. The ageing former justiciar had been brought to sell the properties in order to raise the funds to discharge his crusading oath.[102] After Hubert's death, Walter granted the houses to the church of St. Peter's York and his successors in perpetuity.[103] The London palace became known as York Place and was held by the archbishops of York until confiscated by Henry VIII and used as the basis of his palace of Whitehall after Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's disgrace in 1530.[104]

As elsewhere in England, at York the vogue for building in the early thirteenth century was partly the result of ongoing repairs, but more importantly was encouraged by the need to provide fitting shrines for their respective saints to encourage pilgrims. At Ripon the body of St. Wilfrid was translated to a new shrine on 26 December 1224. Walter's account of the translation describes how the old tomb had been opened to discover the body was intact, missing neither bones nor limbs. The saint's head was removed and enshrined separately so that it might be honourably preserved and reinforce the devotion and belief of the faithful. To capitalise on this event an indulgence of thirty days was granted to any who visited Ripon, or venerated the saint in another fashion if they were unable to come in person, which would last from the festival of saint's new translation until Epiphany.[105] York, in contrast, lacked a major saint which would have allowed the minster to compete with the great shrines at Durham and Ripon. A bid was therefore made for the canonisation of

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[100] *Reg. Gray* pp. 192-5; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 270. After Walter's death the crown honoured this arrangement, instructing the custodians of the see to restore the manor, which had been taken into the king' hands, to the chapter: *Cl. R. 1254-6* pp. 100-1; *Cl. R. 1256-9* pp. 238-9.

[101] *Mem. Fountains* i 32.

[102] *Reg. Gray* pp. 199-200. F. M. Powicke states that Walter bought the house from the Dominicans a few years after Hubert's death, a statement which appears to be based on Matthew Paris' account of Hubert's bequests, but contradicted by the evidence given above: Powicke, *Henry III* p. 141 n. 2; Paris, *CM* iv 243.

[103] The dating of this charter is somewhat problematic as it appears to have been granted on 21 May 1245, the day after the issue of a royal inspeximus (20 May 1245): BL MS Lansdowne 402 f. 50-v; *Reg. Gray* pp. 200-1; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 284.

[104] E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, *The History of the Ancient Palace and late Houses of Parliament at Westminster* (London, 1836), 91-2, 354-7.

[105] *Mem. Ripon* i 49-50; *Reg. Gray* pp. 148-9. St. Wilfrid had previously been translated by Archbishop Oswald of York (972-992): *Hists. York* i 462.

William Fitz Herbert, archbishop of York (1143-1147, 1154).[106] Sponsored by the archbishop and a number of his fellow prelates a papal inquiry was launched on 5 April 1223. John, bishop of Ely, formerly abbot of Fountains, together with the current abbot, John of Kent and the abbot of Rievaulx, were commissioned to collect information on the validity of the miracles which had been reported at William's tomb. The following year they were ordered to send the depositions of the miracles to Rome for papal scrutiny.[107] Unlike similar proceedings initiated by Richard Poore for Bishop Osmund at Salisbury, the York bid was successful. On 18 March 1226 Honorius declared that William had been accepted into the ranks of the saints. His miracles were manifest. Sufferers had been anointed with a precious oil which had emanated from his tomb and had been cured of their afflictions.[108] Three people had been raised from the dead and the vision of the blind, even those who had lost their eyes due to warfare and other injury, had been restored. A papal indulgence of forty days' release from penance was therefore granted to all who visited York on his feast day, which was celebrated on 8 June.[109] To this papal munificence Archbishop Stephen Langton, who had been entreated to declare and observe the feast of St. William throughout his diocese by the dean and chapter, added a further twenty days for pilgrimages made on his feast or during the following eight days.[110]

One obstacle, however, to York's victory presented itself. Despite the construction of a new choir by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque (1154-81), devastating fires are thought to have left the minster and the tomb of St William in a sorry state of repair.[111] The newly elevated saint therefore was in need of a fitting shrine. Walter proved, out of necessity or inclination, to be an enthusiastic builder and made significant contributions to the fabric of minsters of the archdiocese. He seems to have found the cathedral at Beverley in a relatively dilapidated state. On 16 July 1232 an indulgence of twenty days was granted to all who donated goods for the repair of the church. Thirty day indulgences were offered for benefactors of Southwell and Ripon in November 1234, together with the confirmation of similar grants made by Walter's fellow bishops.[112] At York the alterations were extensive,

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[106] On his troubled career see: D. Knowles, 'The case of St. William of York', in *The Historian and character and other essays* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 76-97; *Fasti* (York), p. 3.
[107] CEPR pp. 90, 96.
[108] Roger of Wendover related that precious oil had gushed from William's tomb in 1223: Wendover, *Chronica* ii 270; Paris, *CM* iii 77.
[109] CEPR p. 109; *Hists. York* iii 127-130.
[110] *Hists. York* iii 133-5.
[111] J. Browne, *History of the Metropolitan church of St. Peter, York* (London 1847), p. 20; *Hists. York* ii 279-80. C. Norton, however, notes that there is no archaeological evidence for the fire of 1137 and argues that the chroniclers were referring to the consecration of the minster: C. Norton, 'The York fire of 1137: Conflagration or Consecration', *Northern History*, 34 (1998), 194-204.
[112] *Reg. Gray* pp. 55-6, 64-5. The chapter at Ripon, *c.*1224 offered additional inducements in the form of prayers for the souls of benefactors both in life and after death: *Hists. York* iii 123-4. At Southwell work on the church was still continuing in July 1237 when Walter secured the grant of 140 oaks from the royal forest at Mansfield (Nottingham): *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 469.

entailing the construction of new north and south transepts. Their scale, which was considerably larger than the unaltered Norman nave and the new choir built by Archbishop Roger, subsequently dictated the dimensions of later additions to the minster.[113] In order to facilitate the work a proctor was dispatched to appeal for alms in return for forty days of indulgence on 18 July 1226.[114] Possibly at the behest of the archbishop, Robert le Vavasour granted the chapter rights of transportation through his land at Thevesdale where the minster held a quarry.[115] The work was sufficiently advanced in 1241 for Walter to assign rents of 30 marks from a portion of the church of Millom to support three clerks for his chantry chapel dedicated to St. Michael located within the south transept.[116] It is possible that it was this chapel that is mentioned in a grant by Henry III of thirteen oaks to the archbishop from the royal forest of Knaresborough in July 1233.[117] Moreover, Walter's benevolence appears to have extended beyond the borders of his see. On 11 January 1240 he conferred an indulgence of thirty days on the prior and monks of Finchale, a cell of Durham, who proposed to build a church there dedicated to St. Godric. He may also have been the unnamed archbishop of York who granted an indulgence to the church of Durham which was confirmed by Prior Thomas of Melsonby.[118]

The fabric rolls of York minster also contain evidence of Walter's generosity.[119] Among the extensive list of precious objects he bestowed on the church was a gold chalice and paten, both of which were encrusted with precious stones, weighing 3lbs 11oz, and a gold clasp for a cope fashioned in the shape of a rose, with a ruby of great worth at its centre, weighing one pound.[120] Nevertheless, in stark contrast to this view of the munificent prelate, the St. Albans chroniclers related a less than flattering account of Walter's character. In 1234 the chronicler recorded that famine afflicted England after three years of failed

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[113] For a detailed discussions of the alterations made at York by Walter de Gray see: E. A. Gee, 'Architectural history until 1290', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 111-148, particularly pp. 127-133. Also see: H. G. Ramm, 'The tombs of Archbishops Walter de Gray (1216-1255) and Geoffrey de Ludham (1258-1265) in York Minster, and their contents', *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971), pp. 104-5.

[114] *Fabric Rolls* pp. 149-50; *Reg. Gray* p. 10.

[115] *Fabric Rolls* p. 147-8. The Vavasours, whose main seat of Hazelwood castle was built out of stone from the Thevesdale quarries, held land of the archbishopric of York: *PR 16 John* p. 69. Robert may have been related to William and Richard le Vavasour, nephews of Archbishop Walter, see below p. 22.

[116] *Reg. Gray* pp. 190-1. The portion of Millom church had been reserved to the archbishop in an agreement with the abbey of Furness in May 1228. This was later modified to state that the portion should be assigned to the sustenance of his three chantry chaplains at York: *Furness Coucher* I iii 652-3, II ii 555-7; *Reg. Gray* pp. 160-2. See also below p. 29 n. 175.

[117] *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 238. E. A. Gee, however, argues that it is more likely that this refers to the chapel of the archbishop's palace at York: E. A. Gee, 'Architectural history until 1290', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), p. 131.

[118] Walter is probably to be identified as the originator of the Finchale grant based on the length of his episcopate: DCDCM 3.1.Finc.32; DCDCM Misc. Ch. 1518.; *Finchale* p. 170.

[119] Walter also bequeathed a costly hood to his former church of Worcester: *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 443.

harvests. In the midst of this disaster Walter de Gray was held up as the worst example of the avarice of prelates. The archbishop, who considered neither God nor the poor, proposed to dispense his hoarded grain, which was rotten and putrefying or gnawed by mice, to the peasants in return for new corn from their harvests. But when the officials came to Ripon and opened the granary the sheaves of corn were found to be covered in vermin, serpents and toads. The unfortunate peasants who were compelled to scale the stacks discovered black smoke and a hellish stench issuing from them and descended in fear of their lives swearing that they had never experienced such an intolerable odour before. Seeing this the archbishop's officers set fire to the grain, a possession of the devil, along with the vermin, preventing them from devastating the surrounding area.[121] This account of the miraculous punishment of the avarice of the archbishop is one of a number of salutary tales related at this point in the chronicle. Modern observers, particularly those associated with York, are sceptical of the anecdote. W. H. Dixon dismisses it as 'ridiculously absurd' and points to the shower of benefactions by Walter that are recorded in the fabric rolls of York minster.[122] Partisan feelings aside, it is impossible to establish definitively the veracity of the passage. W. Hunt linked it to the excessive financial burden imposed on Walter by the pope at his consecration. Walter's frugality, he argued, was probably the result of his straightened circumstances. In other passages in the *Chronica Majora* the chronicler's opinion of Walter is mixed. He is portrayed as a shrewd administrator, his largesse calculated to enhance his reputation with the king, and as a untrustworthy advisor who shuns royal councils. Moreover Walter was accused of promoting a Roman cleric to the church of Kirkleatham, robbing the English patron, Robert de Tweng, of his rights, as he was both unable and unwilling to challenge the will of Rome. But at his death Walter is described as worn out by the cares of the realm and weakened by his regular fasting. His faithfulness and expertise, if any doubted it, had been proved by his acts as custodian of the realm during the king's absence in France.[123]

Outside the pages of the chronicle, however, as has been discussed, the evidence of Walter's generosity is more pronounced. But although Walter worked to secure the welfare of his church, he was not adverse to using the great wealth of the see of York to advance his family. Several of his relatives were preferred through archiepiscopal patronage. The most prominent of these was his nephew, William of Rotherfield (also known as William of Langeton), who having been appointed as succentor of York in June 1245, rose to hold the

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[120] *Hists. York* iii 376-7, 385; *Fabric Rolls* p. 212.
[121] Paris, *CM* iii 299-300.
[122] W. H. Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses: The lives of the Archbishops of York*, ed. J. Raine, i (London, 1863), 292; York Minster Pamphlets, 'Our Great Benefactor: Archbishop Walter de Gray, 1216-1255', a historical sermon preached in the Minster 16 June 1922 by Chancellor Austen pp. 2-3.
[123] *DNB*; Paris, *CM* ii 635, iii 609-10, v 269-70, 373, 495, 535. For Matthew Paris' views on foreigners see: R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 141-2.

offices of archdeacon of York in 1249 and dean in 1262. He was elected as archbishop of York on 12/13 March 1265 but this was quashed by the pope.[124] At Walter's request, William of Rotherfield and his brothers, Richard and William le Vavasour, were granted a papal dispensation in November 1254 to allow them to hold a second benefice with cure of souls.[125] Two other nephews, the brothers Henry and Walter de Gray, who were sons of Walter's brother, Robert, were also given preferments in the diocese. Both had followed their uncle's example by undertaking studies at Oxford prior to the riot at Osney abbey in 1238, when they applied for royal permission to leave the university.[126] Henry de Gray was presented to the churches of Gargrave and Leake, becoming a canon of York in 1241.[127] Walter de Gray appears to have been another favoured nephew as he was collated to the rectory of Seamer on 27 March 1235, which had fallen to the archbishop due to the neglect of the patron, the abbey of Whitby.[128] To this Walter later added the church of Gargrave after the death of Henry de Gray.[129] Confusingly another of Robert de Gray's sons, also named Walter, who inherited the family lands from his father, formed part of the archbishop's household at York.[130] He is to be distinguished from his namesake Walter, rector of Seamer and Gargrave, as he is described as knight in archiepiscopal charters. It is probably this Walter who was the beneficiary of two extensive grants in June 1245 and May 1246. These included lands in Rotherfield, Brighton, Hardwick and Aylesford, together with lands which the archbishop had acquired from Joan Arsic in the barony of Cogges.[131] Around this time Walter was married to Isabella, one of the three co-heiresses of William Duston who were wards of the archbishop.[132] Finally two further nephews, another Walter

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[124] *Fasti* (York), pp. 11-12, 28, 34. In December 1278, shortly before his death he was elected as bishop of Carlisle, though he refused the appointment: *Fasti* ii (Carlisle), p. 21.

[125] *Reg. Gray* pp. 214-5; CEPR p. 308.

[126] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 236; *Biog. Ox.* pp. 807, 808. Two other clerks, Robert, canon of Southwell and Thomas de Stanford, and Richard de Hadeston, a servant of Walter de Gray, are also given permission to quit the town on 1 May 1238: *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 47.

[127] *Reg. Gray* pp. 7, 15, 17, 21, 32, 246; *Fasti* (York), p. 122.

[128] The abbey apparently disputed this award as it was repeated, this time at their institution on 5 June 1237: *Reg. Gray* pp. 68, 77. The disagreement continued resulting in an appeal to Rome in 1246 whence Walter de Gray promised, in front of papal judges, to pay a pension of 5 marks to Whitby for his church of Seamer, the charter was witnesses by Archbishop Walter: *Whitby Cart.* i 249-50.

[129] Walter appears in the archiepiscopal register as rector of Gargrave by 1252: *Reg. Gray* p. 113; *Fasti* (York), p. 87-88.

[130] *York Cart.* no. 11.

[131] *Reg. Gray* pp. 114, 263, 270, 285; *Cal. Ch. R.1226- 57* pp 285, 293. The barony of Cogges formerly belonged to Eustace de Grenville, a knight of Peter des Roches, who died before January 1241, at which point his interest in the barony reverted to his wife, Joan Arsic, who sold it almost immediately to Walter de Gray: *EEA Winchester II* p. 205 no. 38; c.f. *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 264-5, 270; *BOF* ii 822.

[132] *BOF* ii 932, 944; *Cl. R. 1254-6* pp. 358, 368. The youngest Duston heiress, Joan was married to Mauger le Vavasour, who may be related to Richard and William le Vavasour (see above p. 20), *c.*1250 (a date estimated from the assertion that his son was 26 when Joan died in 4 Edward I [1275-6]): *Reg. Gray* p. 214 fn; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem* ii 176.

(surnamed le Breton), and John de Hautein, were promoted due to the archbishop's influence.[133]

As D. Greenway notes, the families introduced by Walter to the archbishopric were conspicuous in the chapter at York during his archiepiscopate and beyond.[134] The same can also be said of the other clerks in his household. Walter's familia can be divided into a number of distinct groups, though they frequently overlap. In addition to his relatives and kinsmen mentioned above, a number of men appear to originate from Oxfordshire. Examples of this include Gilbert and John de Tew, both canons of York, and Geoffrey de Buckland who served as the archbishop's clerk *c.*1216-1248 and was granted canonries in Beverley and Ripon.[135] The local gentry of Yorkshire were also represented. Richard de Vescy, son of the rebel Eustace, was canon of York by April 1240 and William de Vescy is named frequently as a witness in archiepiscopal charters.[136] *Magister* Robert Haget, archdeacon of Richmond and treasurer of York, is thought to have been related to the Hagets of Healaugh (W. Riding, Yorks).[137] There appears to have been little continuity between Walter's households at Worcester and York. Of the clerks that can be identified as part of Walter's former household only *magister* Serlo de Sunninges accompanied his patron to York.[138] Arguably the most significant group of clerks were the *magistri*. It has been suggested that Walter's own studies at Oxford and the demands of his office led him to favour men with similar backgrounds.[139] Allowances were made for clerks who were engaged in studying theology. In 1226 he sent envoys to the pope to inquire whether clerks who were absent from their cures as a result of their pursuit of theological studies should receive the same upkeep as resident clerks.[140] Walter is also thought to have purchased a

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[133] *Fasti* (York), p. 130; DCDCM 3.1.Archiep.8; *Reg. Gray* p. 151.

[134] Fasti (York), pp. xxviii-xxix. See also J. L. Grassi, 'Royal clerks from the archdiocese of York in the fourteenth century', *Northern History*, 5 (1970), 15-6.

[135] *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 270; *Reg. Gray* pp. 42, 99, 190-1, 195; *CRR 1221-2* p. 215; *Mem. Ripon* no. 73; DCDCM 4.1.Finc.5; *Beverley Minster Fasti* p. 16. Robert de Tew acted as co-executor of John de Gray's will with Walter: *EEA Chichester I* p. xxix. There is also a reference to Walter de Tew who was granted custody of the lands and heirs of Geoffrey de Appleton by the archbishop February 1218: *RLC* i 351; *BOF* i 254; c.f. RL i 168. See also below p. 47.

[136] *Beverley Minster Fasti* p. 14; DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.15

[137] *Healaugh Park Cart.* pp. xi, 1-2.

[138] *EEA Worcester* 76; *Reg. Gray* pp. 38n, 277; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 141. This view may well change following the publication of the English Episcopal Acta for Worcester prior to 1218.

[139] R. B. Dobson, 'The later middle ages, 1215-1500', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), p. 48.

[140] CEPR p. 114. It has been calculated that over half of the dignitaries and archdeacons of York between 1215 and 1300 had received some degree of university education: *Fasti Eboracenses* p. 280; *York Minster Fasti* i xiii. Of Walter's successors, R. B. Dobson notes, 'By the second half of the thirteenth century it was already more or less inconceivable to imagine an archbishop of York who was not a university graduate': R. B. Dobson, 'The political role of the Archbishops of York during the reign of Edward I', in *Thirteenth-Century England III*, eds. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1991), 52.

property known as Black Hall and donated it to the university of Oxford.[141] Possibly as a result of Walter's encouragement around 1230 Elias Bernardi, a canon of York who endowed an altar to St. William in the north transept of the minster, was permitted to depart for Paris.[142] Of the educated clerks who joined Walter's household, the most prominent were the *magistri* Simon of Evesham and Sewal de Boville. Simon appears as Walter's scribe or datary between August 1225 and September 1232, was appointed successively precentor of York (*c.*1241), archdeacon of the East Riding (*c.*1247) and archdeacon of Richmond (*c.*1262). He was also installed as a canon of Beverley with the prebend of St. Peter by 1242.[143] Sewal de Boville, however, the most distinguished of the *magistri* in Walter's household, was a comparative late comer to York. Formerly chancellor of Oxford and a friend of the celebrated Franciscan scholar, Adam Marsh, he was a canon of York by 5 October 1236 and was made archdeacon of York by 1248, shortly after Walter's death he was appointed, against the king's wishes, as archbishop of York.[144]

R. B. Dobson argues that Walter's success in promoting these officials was key to the remarkable achievements in the organisation and administration of his immense diocese and its elaborate corporations made under his regime.[145] The energy with which Walter executed his administrative duties in the archdiocese appears to have been very demanding on his household and chapter alike. On 28 January 1226 he secured a papal dispensation for four of his clerks which allowed them to hold additional benefices, not withstanding the decrees of the general council. This was intended to sustain the clerks in his service as the archbishop had great need of grave and literate persons by whose assistance he could prevail in his labours.[146] The timing of this grant is suggestive as it coincides with the beginning of the enrolment of archiepiscopal documents in the form of a register. As noted above, this form of administrative archive was in its infancy during the early thirteenth century.[147] The practice of recording information in this fashion began at Lincoln *c.*1217 under Hugh of Wells, who had served as a senior chancery clerk and keeper of the royal seal before being elevated to the episcopate.[148] Like Walter, Hugh had experience of the reforms in the royal chancery that resulted in the inauguration of the close, patent and charter rolls. The selection and preservation of episcopal documents in this manner was a therefore natural progression

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[141] *Rot. Hundred* ii 805; *Medieval archives of the University of Oxford* i 300-2.
[142] *Hists. York* iii 138-141; *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 3464.
[143] *Reg. Gray* pp. 10, 56; *Fasti* (York) pp. 15, 42, 50; *Beverley Minster Fasti* pp. 79-80; *Biog. Ox.*
[144] M. Gibbs and J. Lang class Sewal's election as one of the genuinely free elections that occurred in Henry III's reign, although because of the king's opposition he was forced to travel to Rome to gain papal confirmation: *G&L* pp. 81, 92 n. For his career see: *Biog. Ox.*; *Fasti* (York), pp. 5, 11, 34.
[145] R. B. Dobson, 'The later middle ages, 1215-1500', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), p. 47.
[146] CEPR p. 108; *Reg. Gray* p. 151.
[147] On the development of episcopal registers during this period see: C. R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1150-1250* (Manchester, 1950), pp. 100-10.
[148] S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 79-81, 184-6.

for the bishops who had received their early training in the royal household. Registers were an efficient solution to the problem presented by the sheer volume of records on whose accessibility effective government depended. As D. Smith notes it was the enormous size of the bishoprics of Lincoln and York that prompted the adoption of this administrative innovation.[149] The chief preoccupation of both registers were the institutions to the benefices of the diocese and their patrons. This information was vital to the preservation of archiepiscopal rights and reduced the risk of conflict and expensive litigation. After Walter's death the practice of keeping archiepiscopal registers continued, with register-books surviving from 1266 until the nineteenth century.[150]

Walter de Gray's register in its present form consists of two rolls, major and minor. Starting in the tenth year of his episcopate, the earliest entry dating from 22 March 1225, it provides an unbroken record until his death in 1255.[151] In the introduction to his edition of the register, James Raine asserts that there probably was a third roll, now lost, covering the missing years of Walter's tenure. This, however, has been dismissed as conjecture by C. R. Cheney who argues that there is no evidence to support this theory.[152] Unfortunately it is not possible to identify the exact impetus for beginning the register at this point in his archiepiscopate. It may have been the result of a combination of factors including the decline of Peter des Roches' faction at court after 1224 and the establishment of firm royal control after the initial problems of the minority. Walter's itinerary during these years is notably sparse and is increasingly dominated by the affairs of his see rather than of the realm. Moreover an extraordinary contemporary letter suggests that by the beginning of 1228 the archbishop had become detached from the royal court. Writing to his patron, Ralph Neville, in January 1228 the chancery clerk, William of York, states that he has recently been in negotiations with the archbishop over the succession of Simon Neville, to a hereditary benefice. Having acknowledged Walter's accommodating attitude to the request, William continues: 'Since the archbishop delights in gossip and news of the court, it would be a good idea, if it suits you, to gratify him by writing often in this way'.[153] On the basis of this evidence it has been argued that Walter's notable drive in ecclesiastical affairs was partly the result of boredom.[154]

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[149] D. Smith, 'The rolls of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln (1209-1235)', *BIHR*, 45 (1972), 157.
[150] A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The registers of the Archbishops of York', *YAJ*, 32 (1934), 245-263.
[151] *Reg. Gray* p. 1.
[152] *Reg. Gray* p. viii; C. R. Cheney, *English Bishop's Chanceries, 1150-1250* (Manchester, 1950), p. 105. n. 1.
[153] William of York later held the prebends of Ampleforth and Knaresborough and was made provost of Beverley by 1240: *Fasti* (York) pp. 53, 82-3; *Beverley Minster Fasti* p. 6; C. A. F. Meekings, 'Six letters concerning the Eyres of 1226-8', *EHR*, 65 (1950), 501.
[154] R. Brentano, *York metropolitan jurisdiction and papal judges delegate, 1279-1296* (Berkeley, 1959), p. 107 n.

Viewed from another angle, it is possible that Walter's absence from the delights of the court was imposed upon him by the demands of his office. The business of secular and ecclesiastical government seems at times to have been incompatible. This is indicated in a letter Walter wrote to Hubert de Burgh describing his involvement in the Mitford case in August/September 1220. Having received the claimant, Roger Bertram, at Durham, Walter was forced to leave before the heated negotiations were brought to a satisfactory conclusion. For, as he states, he was called to York on the urgent business of his church and was therefore ignorant of the outcome.[155] Furthermore as his register shows, when appointed as guardian of the realm during Henry III's campaign to Poitou from May 1242 to September 1243, his diocesan activities were brought virtually to a standstill. In contrast to his predecessor, Walter has been credited with the restoration of a chaotic and neglected see, torn apart by bitter conflicts.[156] There is an element of truth in this. The production of episcopal registers at York in the thirteenth century marks a sea-change in the attitude of the archbishops and their clerks towards the administration of their diocese. Arguably it shows a desire to understand and catalogue the various benefices within their jurisdiction. Geoffrey Plantagenet, although unstinting in the pursuit of the rights and privileges of his see and his office, had shown little interest in pastoral matters. His frequent squabbles with his chapter, suffragans and his royal brothers, Richard and John, resulted in long periods of exile, the ill effects of which were subsequently compounded by a four year vacancy after his death.[157] Moreover the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council were a recent admonition to prelates to put their cures in order. Walter appears to have taken this to heart. On 8 December 1221 he secured a papal mandate ordering the removal of married and hereditary clerks from their benefices. Pluralism was also to be rooted out and the livings provided with fitting parsons. This direction was evidently enforced, as the pope received an appeal from Peter de Wiverthorp whose possession of the benefice of Wiverthorp, it was asserted, had been disturbed because of the pope's order. He claimed to have legitimately succeeded to the church after his father's resignation, having been presented by Archbishop Geoffrey over ten years previously. Acting on the pope's instructions, Peter was instituted to the church of Rowley on 18 September 1228. In addition to rooting out unsuitable clergy, a higher standard of pastoral care was also encouraged by a further papal mandate, issued 22 December 1221, to induce beneficed clerks to undergo ordination to the priesthood.[158]

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[155] RL i 153-4. For the disputed possession of Mitford castle see below pp. 45-6.
[156] *Reg. Gray* p. xiii; *Pontefract Cart.* i xli.
[157] M. B. Lovatt, *The career and administration of Archbishop Geoffrey of York: 1151?-1212* (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1974), pp. 88-97.
[158] CEPR pp. 84-5, 113; *Reg. Gray* pp. 26, 140-1, 153. A further condemnation of married clergy was issued on 13 January 1255 by Innocent IV: *Reg. Gray* pp. 215-6.

Walter also endeavoured to limit the abuse of absenteeism within the diocese. It was asserted that some rectors cared only for the worldly goods – the milk and wool – they could gather from their flock, and they completely disregarded their charges' spiritual health. To address the issue the archbishop, together with the penitentiary of York and a monk of Rievaulx, was commanded to see that all rectors, whether native or foreign, return to their benefices within three months. Only those who had already received papal indulgences for non-residency or plurality were exempt as long as they appointed vicars to carry out their pastoral duties.[159] In common with many of his episcopal colleagues, Walter frequently took it upon himself to create vicarages when the opportunity presented itself.[160] Often this occurred in conjunction with appropriations to monastic houses as a result of pious benefactions by secular patrons. One such was the appropriation of the church of Wighill to the canons of Healaugh Park, in which a vicarage was created, to be presented by the priory.[161] Alternatively the archbishop could take advantage of disputes which had been submitted to his arbitration. On 4 December 1234 an agreement was reached between the priory of St. John, Pontefract and the dean and chapter of York over the church of Ledsham which had been a bone of contention since the twelfth century. The church was assigned to the priory, which was engaged to present a perpetual vicar, while the associated chapel of Fairburn passed to the possession of the church of York.[162] In addition to pastoral care absenteeism also had an adverse impact on the revenues of the church. *Magister* Laurence of St. Nicholo, papal subdeacon and chaplain, secured his right to his share of the common fund of York minster, which was normally divided amongst resident canons, whether he was absent or present. The sum involved was minimal, only 6 marks annually, but it demonstrated the power of the papacy to subvert existing regulations designed to protect the church from this type of deprivation.[163] By 1255 the dean and chapter were debt ridden and they sought papal aid to repair the damage. The chapter was therefore given licence to sequester the revenues of the benefices of non-resident canons to contribute to the upkeep of the church, which had suffered because of their neglect.[164]

Of equal concern was the influx of foreign clerks, which exacerbated the problem of non-residence. Contrary to the accusation levelled against him as a result of his institution

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[159] CEPR p. 129; *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 717; *Reg. Gray* pp. 165-6.
[160] *Reg. Romeyn* i 896; *Reg. Giffard* p. 34; *Finchale* p. 64; DCDCM 4.1.Finc.4; *Reg. Gray* p. 35
[161] *Healaugh Park Cart.* pp. 22-3.
[162] *Pontefract Cart.* i 53 c.f. p. xxx. A charter of Prior Stephen resigning judgement in the case to Walter de Gray is also preserved: *Pontefract Cart.* ii 629; *Reg. Gray* pp. 181-2.
[163] The amount the resident canons received was fixed in the *statuta de residentia* of 1222: *York Statutes* p. 16; R. B. Dobson, 'The later middle ages, 1215-1500', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 49-50.
[164] *Hists. York* iii 172-3. E. A. Gee suggests that the canons' debts were the result of the extensive programme of building works undertaken at York Minster after 1220: E. A. Gee, 'Architectural history until 1290', in G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), p. 133.

of a Roman cleric at Kirkleatham, which prompted the attacks in 1239 against alien clergy led by the church's patron, Robert de Tweng, Walter was neither reluctant nor unable to withstand the papal provisions.[165] Walter's register certainly contains evidence that foreign clerks were promoted in the diocese and on occasion were able to use their connections to select the choicest benefices.[166] The most prominent of these was John le Romeyn (or *Romanus*). He had served as a canon of York probably since Richard I's reign. Under Walter's patronage he became the first subdean of York in 1228, then was transferred to the archdeaconry of Richmond by November 1241 and finally was promoted treasurer of York by August 1253. Over the course of his long career he was able to use his influence to the benefit of his own family. His son and namesake was archbishop of York between 1287 and 1296.[167] Nevertheless, on 18 February 1221 Honorius III issued a privilege in Walter's favour, which stated that the pope would not seek to make provision upon the vacation of those benefices occupied by Roman or Italian clerks in the church of York, and that the right should return to the patrons.[168] The desire for lucrative livings, however, was not limited to foreign clerks. As related in a papal mandate of 1 March 1239, Walter complained to the curia that some English clerks, upon being presented to a living by the pope, refused to accept perpetual vicarages or other benefices worth 20 marks. Instead they claimed richer prebends, major church offices or rectories. Subsequently it was left to the archbishop's discretion to ignore any who acted in this manner, unless expressly permitted in apostolic letters to demand more valuable benefices.[169] But the deficiencies in pastoral care in the diocese were not solely the result of absenteeism; the size of the parishes was also an obstacle. Population distribution within the larger parishes meant that regular attendance was impossible, the churches often being too remote to serve the whole community. The old and infirm were particularly afflicted. Priests were unable to reach their parishioners and some died without first receiving the last rites. The established parochial system had also begun to be overtaken by changes in population density. Villages and towns swelled in size as the population grew while the number of parishes remained fixed. The arrival of the mendicant orders in the region could have helped to redress this balance, although their efforts were concentrated in the towns.[170] In response to Walter's request for guidance in

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[165] Paris, *CM* iii 609-10.

[166] Nicholas, the nephew of the cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri, was presented to the church of St. Mary, Nottingham, by Walter but refused the living and was awarded the first vacant benefice: *Reg. Gray* pp. 11-12: c.f. also pp. 9, 14, 20, 28, 62, 67, 77, 82, 102; *Fasti Parochiales* i 101.

[167] He died shortly after Walter *c.*25 December 1255, *Fasti* (York), pp. xxix, 5-7, 24, 27, 50.

[168] CEPR p. 79; *Reg. Gray* pp. 137-8. Walter was instructed to publicise a similar privilege for the English Church: CEPR p. 79. It is possible that this concession was linked to Archbishop Stephen Langton's visit to Rome which according to the Dunstable annalist secured a letter in the same terms for Canterbury dated 26 February 1221: *Ann Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 74; *C&S II* pp. 96-8.

[169] CEPR p. 179; *Reg. Gray* p. 184.

[170] The Dominicans were the first to arrive, establishing a house at York in 1227 with lands near the cathedral precinct on Goodramgate: *Charters of Vicars Choral* no. 141. By 1252 they had founded

these matters, in May 1233 Gregory IX granted him the right to construct oratories and chapels in needy parishes.[171]

Paradoxically, because of Walter's continuing efforts to eradicate abuses in his see, in some respects he not only countenanced, but encouraged non-residency. His itinerant lifestyle mirrored that of the royal court and his household frequently was comprised not only of his clerks, but also contained the major office holders of the chapter. This practice directly infringed York's *statuta de residentia* laid down on 14 February 1222, which required the continuous residence of the four major dignitaries of the minster.[172] Apparently to preserve the terms of this statute a complaint was lodged in Rome, as a later indulgence states that the pope had directed a panel of judges delegate, headed by the bishop of Coventry, to compel the officers to reside in York. Walter appealed the decision and in January 1226 was successful in persuading Honorius to allow him to summon four principal members of the York chapter to provide him with counsel in church affairs. The privilege was granted both within the province and beyond providing that their obligations did not lead them to be continually absent from York. As J. Raine suggests, it is probable that the four major officers mentioned were the dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer of York.[173] At the time of the grant these offices were filled by the *magistri* Roger de Insula, Geoffrey of Norwich and Richard of Cornwell, and by William de Rotherfield.[174] The expertise of these men would have been vital to the efficient administration of the diocese, their knowledge invaluable in disputes. For example in May 1228 Walter issued an ordination detailing the appropriation of certain churches to the abbey of Furness, the possession of which had been challenged by the archbishop. The arrangements laid down in the charter were made by the counsel of Geoffrey of Norwich, precentor of York, William de Taney, archdeacon of the East Riding and John le Romeyn, canon of York.[175] When the advice of his household proved insufficient, the archbishop readily sought clarification from Rome.[176] It is notable that Honorius' grant seems to have been obtained around the same time as the dispensation discussed earlier which permitted four of Walter's clerks to hold additional benefices to

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houses at Beverley and Scarborough. The Franciscans arrived at York in 1230 and had a house at Scarborough in 1239: D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (London, 1953), pp. 182-194.

[171] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 1359; *Reg. Gray* pp. 167-8. On 25 June 1227 Walter had already granted Gilbert of Kent, parson of Tuxford, the right to build a chapel at Tuxford because of the distance between his house and the chapel, which was exacerbated by the disrepair of the road in winter: *Reg. Gray* p. 16.

[172] *York Statutes* pp. 14-17.

[173] W. Bliss mistakenly suggests that the bishop of Coventry and his colleagues had been instructed to see that the officers were resident in Coventry rather than York: CEPR p. 105. The version of the grant given in Raine's edition of Walter's register is dated to 3 February 1226-7: *Reg. Gray* pp. 157-8.

[174] *Fasti* (York), pp. 10, 15, 19, 24.

[175] *Furness Coucher* II iii 652-3. The rents of the moiety of the church of Millom which was reserved to the possession of the archbishop and his successors in this agreement were later assigned to Walter's chantry chapel dedicated to St Michael at York Minster, see above p. 20 n. 116.

[176] For example CEPR p. 119.

sustain them in his service.[177] As occasion demanded, Walter showed himself willing to delegate responsibility, despatching proctors to judge cases on his behalf.[178] Nevertheless as these privileges show he was determined to fulfil many of his duties personally. Armed with his register and attended by educated clerks and prominent officials, Walter must have been a force to be reckoned with.

To provide an overall framework for the piecemeal legislation and ordinations resulting from his involvement in individual cases, Walter issued a series of statutes for the diocese of York. The first of these appears to have been enacted by 11 January 1228 when it is referred to in a privilege granted to Richard de Vescy releasing him from the restriction set by the archbishop on the sale of the fruits of benefices. Unfortunately the statute has since been lost, rendering it impossible to establish whether it formed part of a more extensive series.[179] A further individual enactment was made by Walter during his archiepiscopate. At Pontefract on 27 January 1238 a mandate was issued designed to enforce the pronunciation of banns of marriage. Priests who failed to comply were to be suspended for three years, while the laity were to be denied the sacraments and whipped.[180] It is likely that these statutes were promulgated in synods, which had become a regular feature in most English dioceses in the twelfth century. The evidence for diocesan synods is very meagre. It appears to rest solely on the entry in the register concerning the institution of Walter's nephew, Henry, as rector of Gargrave. The perpetual vicar, Richard de Percy, is to pay Henry a pension of 10 marks, half at the synod after Easter and half at the synod after Michaelmas.[181] As C. R. Cheney noted this practice was found elsewhere in England, for example at St. Paul's where synods were also held biannually at Easter and Michaelmas.[182] But towards the end of his tenure at York Walter composed a set of statutes which have been dated between 1241 and 1255, although the surviving manuscripts also contain later additions inserted up to 1306.[183] The decrees produced by Walter de Gray were intended for application in York diocese rather than the archdiocese as a whole. Walter's presence at a number of important ecclesiastical councils would suggest that he gained a firm grounding in the various developments in canon law both on an international level and those specific to England.

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[177] CEPR p. 108; *Reg. Gray* p. 151.
[178] *Hists. York* iii 144-9; *Reg. Gray* app I xlvi; BL MS Cotton Claudius D. XI f.42r.
[179] *Reg. Gray* p. 20; *Reg. Giffard* p, 43; *C&S II* pp. 164-5.
[180] *C&S II* pp. 259-60.
[181] The relevant portion of the text runs as follows '*med' ad sinodium post Pascha et med' ad sinodium post festum St. Michael*': *Reg. Gray* p. 15.
[182] C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1965), p. 150 and n. 3. It is presumably this evidence which J. Raine refers to in the introduction to his edition of Walter's register and which M. Gibbs and G. Lang later dismissed as 'completely unfounded': *Reg. Gray* p. xxi; *G&L* p. 147.
[183] *C&S II* pp. 483-498; C. R. Cheney, 'A group of related synodal statutes of the thirteenth century', in J. A. Watt, J. B. Morall and F.X. Martin (eds.), *Medieval studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn* (Dublin, 1961), pp. 114-132.

Perhaps the most influential in terms of legislation were the Fourth Lateran Council and the Legatine Council of Otto, cardinal deacon of St. Nicola in Carcere, held at London in November 1237. As noted in a later chapter it is possible that Otto may have taken advantage of his meeting with Walter at the negotiations between the kings of England and Scotland held at York on 25 September 1237, to gain his advice for the provisions of the forthcoming council.[184] Walter was quick to adopt the decrees for use in his own diocese, as shortly after the London council the impact of clause 12 was felt in York archdiocese concerning the prohibition of the division of advowsons.[185] In producing a fuller set of decrees, Walter took advantage of the diocesan statutes produced by Nicholas of Farnham for Durham 1241 x 1249. Such borrowings were common. Thirteenth-century prelates showed a marked preference for copying earlier legislation, rather than starting from a blank canvas. Moreover, as C. R. Cheney argued, the good relations between Walter and his suffragan meant that the Durham statutes would have been readily accessible in York.[186] The overall preoccupation of the York statutes is with the duties and responsibilities of parish priests towards their flock. Clerical discipline is also paramount. Rectors and any with pastoral cures are exhorted to comport themselves with propriety and lead by example. Lewd or unseemly behaviour is prohibited together with participation in duels, tournaments and other contests involving the spilling of blood (1). The statutes also presented an opportunity to reaffirm papal legislation. Clerical marriage is forbidden (5) and provisions for visiting of the sick, who were to be attended each Sunday and feast day, were detailed (15). Perhaps in response to the influx of mendicant preachers, the hearing of confession and the administration of the communion was restricted to licensed priests (19).

A further statute ascribed to Walter de Gray concerning church ornaments was thought to belong to 1250. It provides details of the necessary ornaments for parish churches, vestments, books and ecclesiastical furniture. In addition it lays out the respective obligations of parishioners and clergy over the repair of the various areas of the building. The laity was responsible for the nave and steeple along with the windows and the church-yard, while the priest was to take care of the chancel and his own dwelling. But C. R. Cheney pointed out that certain aspects of the statute, the earliest extant manuscripts of which date from the fifteenth century or later, are too elaborate for such an early date.

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[184] D. Williamson, 'Some aspects of the legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237-41', *EHR*, 64 (1949), 161. See below p. 224.

[185] Two parts of the church of Wath-on-Dearne were reunited by Walter de Gray: *Fasti Parochiales* ii xiv-xvi; *C&S II* pp. 250-1; D. M. Williamson, 'Some aspects of the legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237-41', *EHR*, 64 (1949), 166.

[186] C. R. Cheney, 'A group of related synodal statutes of the thirteenth century', in J. A. Watt, J. B. Morall and F.X. Martin (eds.), *Medieval studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn* (Dublin, 1961), pp. 124, 132.

Moreover the archbishop is described as legate of the Apostolic see, which suggests that the statute was actually issued by Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury (1313-1327).[187]

In addition to reforms affecting the archdiocese as a whole Walter also targeted individual churches. On 16 April 1237 Gregory IX instructed Walter to visit the church of Beverley, where the canons had fallen into gluttonous ways. According to a complaint of the provost of Beverley, Fulk Basset, they frequently consumed an immoderate quantity of dishes, including both fish and meat. Any surplus food, which ought to be given to the poor they shamelessly sell and turn to illicit purposes. Walter was therefore to call on the canons to practise moderation and obey their provost according to the constitution of the church.[188] Walter's legislative activities were not, however, limited to the secular churches in his province. The York registers show that he promulgated decrees for a number of religious foundations that fell within his jurisdiction. These usually took the form of injunctions issued as the result of an archiepiscopal visitation.[189] Decrees were produced for the Benedictine abbeys of Blyth and Selby, the Augustinian priories of Hexham, St. Oswald's Gloucester and Newstead and the hospital of St. John at Nottingham. A central theme of the injunctions was the correct observance of the respective rules of the houses involved. At Blyth the prior was admonished to hold regular chapters for the correction of faults, while the subprior and the lesser members of the convent were enjoined to show due reverence to their superior and submit to chastisement. To ensure attendance at the offices of the church the hospital of St. John was to have a bell to call the brothers to worship.[190]

In addition to spiritual matters attention was paid to the financial stability of houses in the archbishop's patronage. The abbeys of Selby and St. Oswald's, Gloucester had been gifted to Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux (1070-1100) in 1094 by King William II.[191] After a visitation of Selby abbey in January 1233 Walter decreed that two bursars were to manage the expenditure of the monastery with the agreement of the abbot and the counsel of four experienced monks. Quarterly accounts were to be presented by the bursars to the abbot and receipt and expense rolls were to be kept so that any change in the convent's status would be made plain at the close of each year. Similar problems were faced at St. Oswald's

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[187] J. Raine accepted de Gray's authorship and printed another undated injunction concerning tithes, it is possible that this also is of a later date: *Reg. Gray* pp. 217-220. C. R. Cheney, 'The so-called Statutes of John Pecham and Robert Winchelsey for the diocese of Canterbury', *JEH*, 12 (1961), 18-19.

[188] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 3617; *Reg. Gray* pp. 175-6.

[189] A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English clergy and their organisation in the later middle ages* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 178-9. See also C. R. Cheney, *Episcopal visitation of Monasteries in the thirteenth century* (Manchester, 1983), pp. 5-6.

[190] *The Priory of Hexham*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 44 (1864), p. xvii no. xiii; *Reg. Greenfield* iv 1754 pp. 41-3; *Blyth Cart.* p. lxxxv; *Reg. Gray* pp. 168-70, 210. In 1231 Walter granted that the prior of Blyth could only be removed from office by the authority of the archbishop, nor could he retire without archiepiscopal licence: *Reg. Romeyn* i 258-9.

Gloucester. Despite rich endowments made at the foundation of the minster in the tenth century, later depredations by Thomas of Bayeux, who annexed the barony of Churchdown to the possession of the archbishop, reduced the monastery to relative poverty.[192] According to the Tewkesbury annalist, Walter visited St. Oswald's in 1231 and finding that because of inept government they had become deeply indebted to Jewish money lenders, expelled a number of the canons.[193] No more is heard of the matter, but on 28 December 1250 he performed a visitation of the priory. As at Selby the prior, or his appointed deputy, was ordered to act according to the counsel of the senior canons and the bursar was to render account at least twice a year to the chapter. Added to this was the injunction that the cellarer was to be responsible for the granges and other external possessions of the house, answerable to the prior and the bursar.[194] Nevertheless, the priory's problems continued. They were reportedly still burdened with a debt of 3,000 marks in 1251 when the prior was removed from office by Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester (1237-1266), who replaced him with the subprior.[195]

Overall it seems that Walter enjoyed harmonious relations with the monasteries. For although he rarely made personal benefactions, he acted as an arbiter in disputes, confirmed their privileges and performed institutions to monastic benefices.[196] There are occasional strains of discord such as the complaint in February 1217 by the prior and canons of St. Oswald's, Nostel, that notwithstanding an appeal to Rome, Walter had despoiled the priory of the churches of *Kirkeli* and Tickhill. The archbishop stood accused of breaking into the church and expelling the canons, killing one and injuring others, and then excommunicating the prior and clerks. Normal relations, however, were soon restored.[197] Indeed only the fiercely independent abbey of St. Mary's, York offered any real resistance to archiepiscopal authority. In May 1225 Abbot Robert Longchamp (1197-1239) was ordered to submit to papal inquiry all indults and privileges, which were thought to be forgeries, that appear to have been concocted to exempt the abbey from episcopal visitation.[198] Evidently the charters

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[191] *Selby Coucher* p. ix; *Ann. Mon.* ii (Winchester), 37; *Hists. York* iii 21; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 631.
[192] *VCH Gloucestershire* II 84.
[193] The canons were allowed to return in 1232: *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury), 78, 87. According to his itinerary Walter stayed at Churchdown on 6 January, 6 and 13 February 1231: *Reg. Gray* pp. 42-3.
[194] *Reg. Giffard* pp. 203-6.
[195] The deposition was not, as is claimed by the *VCH Gloucestershire*, performed by Walter de Gray: *VCH Gloucestershire* II 85; *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury), 146.
[196] For example see: DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.17; DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.15; DCDCM 4.1.Archiep.13; DCDCM Cart. 3 i. f.41v-42r; ; *Furness Coucher* I ii 270; *Furness Coucher* II ii 58; *Guisborough Cart.* ii 153 no. 879; *Blyth Cart.* i 229, 320; *Blyth Cart.* ii B95; *EYC* xii 43; *Healaugh Park Cart.* pp. 11-12, 50-1; *EEA Durham II* no. 278; *Hist. St. Peter's Gloucester* i 25.
[197] CEPR p. 44; *Reg. Gray* pp. 84, 107, 128, 205-7.
[198] CEPR p. 102. It is probable that an earlier mandate issued the previous year to the abbots of Cumbe and Stanley, also on petition of Walter de Gray, to inspect certain false or suspect privileges was related to this dispute: CEPR p. 88.

proved to be false and on the strength of this investigation Honorius issued a mandate on 6 March 1226 allowing Walter and his successors to make an annual visitation. The archbishop was to be accompanied by four or five canons of York who were to advise him on the correction of abuses. On his part Walter was forbidden to demand the payment of procurations.[199] In addition a separate mandate was addressed to Abbot Robert quashing a forged privilege reputedly issued by Pope Celestine III, conferring on the abbot of St. Mary's the right to excommunicate any who attack the possessions of the convent.[200] Despite this victory for the archbishop the disagreement continued. Walter and his archdeacons and officials were accused of demanding payments in kind for benefactions and institutions, while the abbot seems to have objected to the presence of the secular canons employed as advisors during visitations.[201] The matter was thus settled and by 1234 relations were sufficiently cordial for Abbot Robert to contribute with Walter and Bishop Richard Poore to a fine for the deforestation of the lands between the rivers Ouse and Derwent.[202]

The pattern of Walter's rule established at York was repeated at the other minsters in his care, namely Beverley, Ripon and Southwell. As we have seen, he commenced repairs to the fabric and granted indulgences to aid the alterations. He was protective of their liberties, writing to Hubert de Burgh to request that the justiciar ensure that the privileges granted to Southwell by the charters of John and Henry III were maintained.[203] In addition he was concerned to establish a firm financial footing for the chapters. On 16 September 1241 at the entreaty of the chapter of Ripon he granted the church of Nidd to the communal fund of the minster. Similarly the church of Rolleston was conferred on the chapter of Southwell in April 1221.[204] Reforms were encouraged: the gluttonous canons of Beverley were enjoined to abide by the constitutions of their church, while at Southwell Walter tackled the problem of non-residency by ordaining a series of remunerative rewards for attendance.[205] Walter was also keen to promote his authority over the chapters. Despite the independence of these bodies Walter was remarkably successful in promoting his own clerks.[206] Furthermore, A. F.

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[199] CEPR p. 108; *Reg. Gray* p. 152.
[200] CEPR p. 109. A second copy of this mandate appears to exist dated 31 March 1226: *Hists. York* iii 131-2.
[201] CEPR pp. 111, 116. After Walter's death the abbey once more appealed to Rome against the presence of secular clerks on the grounds that they might bring laxity into the convent. In 1262, Urban IV therefore reduced the number of canons permitted on such visits from five or six to two or three: *Reg. Romeyn* i 73; c.f. C. R. Cheney, *Episcopal visitation of Monasteries in the thirteenth century* (Manchester, 1983), pp. 67-8.
[202] DCDCM Cart. 3 f.213v-214v; E372/79 m4d.
[203] *Reg. Gray* p. 145. The letter is undated, although J. Raine suggests that it was written between 1220 and 1223. If this is correct it may well be associated with the apparent disturbances suffered by the canons of Southwell as regards their woods in Nottinghamshire: *RLC* i 421.
[204] *Reg. Gray* pp. 3, 91. In 1230 Walter created a seventh prebend at Ripon, endowing it with the church of Stanwick St. John: *Reg. Gray* pp. 51-2, 57.
[205] *Reg. Giffard* p. 7 and see above p. 32.
[206] See above pp. 21-4.

Leach asserts that the appearance of a certain Hugh, dean of Southwell, as a witness to a series of undated deeds and some archiepiscopal charters indicates that Walter made a concerted attempt to install a dean at Southwell *c.*1225.[207]

Beyond the immediate bounds of York diocese Walter successfully exercised metropolitan authority over his suffragans at Carlisle, Durham and Whithorn. Although no evidence survives of regular provincial councils that had been prescribed in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (c. 6), one such meeting did occur. On 12 September 1252 the archbishop together with Walter Kirkham, bishop of Durham and Silvester, bishop of Carlisle, wrote to Henry III informing him that a council had taken place at Blyth. At this council the northern clergy had refused to assent to the crusading tenth requested by the crown as they asserted that this matter affected the whole of the English church and that they alone were not sufficiently representative. The letter, however, makes no mention of any further business or legislation that may have been enacted at this council.[208] While it is inadvisable to make firm pronouncements based on silence, given the infrequency of councils in the province of York, it seems likely that the sole purpose of the Blyth meeting was to discuss the king's demand.[209] A similar problem exists for professions of obedience. The oath which bound suffragans to their metropolitan was increasingly common in the thirteenth century, the practice becoming commonplace in the province of Canterbury. Nevertheless, during Walter's tenure only two records of episcopal professions survive, those of Walter Mauclerk and Nicholas of Farnham.[210] Bishop Hugh du Puiset having given his oath of obedience to Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque, had protested against Archbishop Geoffrey's repeated demands, but was apparently brought to submit in October 1192.[211] Hugh's obstinacy was based on a bull of Clement III exempting him and his church of Durham for life from the jurisdiction of the church of York. But this privilege was over turned by Celestine III in 1191. Subsequently both he and Philip of Poitou, who was chastised by Innocent III for his disobedience, had been ordered to show due reverence to the archbishop.[212]

York, unlike Canterbury, seems not to have placed such great importance on the professions. As a result the northern province lacks the carefully maintained rolls kept at

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[207] *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, ed. A. F. Leach, Camden Society, 48 (1891), pp. xxxiv-xxxvii.
[208] *Reg. Gray* p. 211. The council was presumably held May x September 1252: *C&S II* p. 450.
[209] Hubert Walter had held a legatine council at York to promulgate conciliar decrees in 1195: C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1965), pp. 141-2.
[210] *Reg. Gray* pp. 144, 195.
[211] *Howden* iii 169, 172; *Gervase of Canterbury* ii 513; G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 168 and n. 6.
[212] *Howden* iii 74; *Giraldus Cambrensis* iv 383; *CLI* no. 353; For the dispute between Hugh du Puiset and Archbishop Geoffrey see: G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 176-181. See also below p. 145.

Canterbury, and surviving professions made during this period are recorded in the White Book kept by the dean and chapter of York.[213] The reason for this differing attitude is obscure. As M. Richter notes, Canterbury is unique amongst the churches of Europe in that it possesses an almost unbroken collection of original professions for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. York therefore may well represent the norm and the existence of professions may be demonstrative of a particularly close bond between bishop and metropolitan. As noted in a later chapter, Walter Mauclerk appears to have been sponsored by de Gray.[214] He was a canon of Southwell, holding the prebend of Woodburgh which in 1218 the archbishop had supplemented by the grant of the wood of Newhay. But if the oaths represent personal preference, the question arises as to why Richard Poore, who had professed obedience to Canterbury in 1215 when he was consecrated bishop of Chichester, did not repeat it when he was translated to Durham in 1228.[215] In principle the episcopal profession was offered once during a bishop's tenure. Yet by the thirteenth century English prelates in Canterbury diocese were increasingly being required to repeat their oaths.[216] The actual text of the oaths given by Nicholas of Farnham and Walter Mauclerk is similar to those recited in Canterbury. The infrequency of York professions is a pattern which is repeated in the episcopates of Walter's successors.[217] Without further information it is impossible to know if the extant records are representative of events or not.

Nevertheless, while Walter may not have received regular professions of obedience, he asserted his authority by officiating at the consecrations of his suffragans.[218] The only bishopric where he appears to have failed was Carlisle. Due to the paucity of the sources it is unknown who performed the consecrations of Hugh of Beaulieu, Walter Mauclerk and Silvester de Everdon. The only firm evidence that exists for a bishop of Carlisle at this point is for Thomas de Vieuxpont, whose consecration was performed on 7 February 1255 by the bishop of Durham.[219] Apart from disputed elections, no evidence survives that he examined his suffragans prior to consecration. In addition to those already discussed at Durham (1226-

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[213] *Canterbury Professions* pp. xi-xii; York D&C, Magnum Registrum Album, iii, f. 36.
[214] See below pp. 104, 107-8.
[215] *Canterbury Professions* no. 151. Richard appears not to have offered a second oath upon his translation from Chichester to Salisbury.
[216] *Canterbury Professions* pp. lxxix-lxxxi.
[217] In the thirteenth century the only two professions to have survived are by Ralph de Ireton, bishop of Carlisle (1280-1292) and Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham (1283-1311): *Reg. Wickwane* pp. 222-3; *Records of Anthony Bek*, ed. C M. Fraser, Surtees Society, 162 (1953) pp. 1-2.
[218] The consecrations performed by Walter were as follows: 1217 Richard de Marisco: *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 288. 1235 Gilbert bishop of Whithorn: *Chron. Melrose* p. 61. 1241 Nicholas of Farnham: Paris, *CM* iv 134-5. 1249 Walter de Kirkham, bishop of Durham: *D. Ann.* p. 10; Wendover, *Flores.* ii 362; Paris, *CM* v 83. 1255 Henry, bishop of Whithorn (*Chron. Melrose* p. 90).
[219] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 62. It is unclear who performed the consecration of Silvester de Everdon, which occurred on 13 October 1247 at St. Agatha's, Richmond, although it is possible that Walter was the celebrant: *Chron. Lanercost* p. 53. For details concerning the consecrations of Hugh of Beaulieu and Walter Mauclerk see below pp. 94-5, 112.

8 and 1237-41), Walter was also called upon to provide judgement in a double election to the bishopric of Whithorn in 1235. In 1155 Pope Adrian IV had written to the bishops of Glasgow, Whithorn, St. Andrew's, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Brechin, Moray, Ross and Caithness to remind them of their obedience to their metropolitan at York.[220] The terms of the treaty of Falaise imposed by Henry II after the capture of the Scottish king, William the Lion, at Alnwick in 1174 confirmed this subjection. But by 1192, despite lacking a metropolitan, the growing independence of the Scottish church and changes in papal policy had stripped York of its jurisdiction. In this year Celestine III issued the bull *Cum universi* which accorded the nine dioceses of the church of Scotland independent status as a special daughter of the Apostolic see, exempt from local metropolitan authority.[221] As a result only the diocese of Whithorn, which was coterminous with the lordship of Galloway (an area fiercely resistant to the rule of the Scottish kings), remained under English control.[222] Any hope of a reversal of this policy was subsequently dashed in 1225 when Honorius III granted the right to hold provincial councils in Scotland.[223]

During Walter de Gray's archiepiscopate the most obvious display of York's metropolitan authority in Scotland was in disputed elections. According to the chronicler of Melrose the clergy and people of Galloway had elected Gilbert, master of the novices at Melrose and formerly abbot of Glenluce as bishop of Whithorn on 25 February 1235. The prior and convent of Whithorn, however, were left out of these proceedings and on 18 March they unanimously appointed Odo of Ydonc[hester], a canon of the cathedral and formerly abbot of Dercungal.[224] This account is corroborated by a rare collection of documents relating to Odo's election.[225] In a letter to Walter de Gray they established their credentials as an electoral body with a detailed description of the process by which they selected Odo. Apparently in response to the canons' letter, Walter ordered Odo to present himself at York on 5 July so that he could confirm and consecrate the bishop-elect. Hindered by the war raging between the lords of Galloway and King Alexander II in the power vacuum created by the death of Alan, lord of Galloway in 1234, the canons despatched a proctor in Odo's stead. But by this stage the clergy and people of Whithorn had entered the fray, electing

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[220] R. Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia* (Oxford, 1982), p. 4.
[221] R. Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 4-10.
[222] D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), pp. 231-2; R. Brentano, 'The Whithorn vacancy of 1293-4', *The Innes Review*, 4 (1953-55), 71-83; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The making of a Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 527-532.
[223] *Concilia Scotiae*, ed. D. Lang, Bannatyne club, ii (Edinburgh, 1866), 3; *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, ed. D. Patrick, *Scottish Historical Society* (1907), p. 1; D. E. R. Watt, 'The Provincial Council of the Scottish Church, 1215-1472', in A. Grant and K. Stringer (eds.), *Medieval Scotland: Essays presented to G. W. S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 141-2; J. Story, 'Concerning the bishops of Whithorn and their subjection to the archbishops of York: Some observations on the manuscript evidence and its links with Durham', *Durham Archaeological Journal*, 14-15 (1999), 83-7.
[224] *Chron. Melrose* p. 61.

Gilbert, a monk of Melrose as their pastor. Walter therefore authorised *magister* Geoffrey of Norwich, dean of York, with two canons, Laurence of Lincoln and Robert Haget, to hold an inquiry at York minster on 2 June and if possible to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

Perhaps in anticipation of this inquiry the canons of Whithorn prepared a document summarising the progress of the election and provided a list of the officers and canons of the church who had participated in the election.[226] But the canons' claim to have acted with royal assent was dismissed by Alexander II, who denied the legality of their proceedings. In a letter dated 19 May [?1235], which bears remarkable similarities to those issued against Walter Mauclerk in 1223, the Scots king stated that Odo had been elected without royal licence, which was against the custom of the realm. The archbishop was requested not to proceed to either confirmation or consecration pending an embassy by Alexander's clerk. The reason for this intervention was that Alexander had assented to the election of Gilbert, which was announced on 23 April 1235. It is unclear whether the projected inquiry at York minster on 2 June ever took place. The Melrose chronicler asserts that Gilbert was consecrated as bishop by Walter at York on 2 September 1235.[227] Odo seems to have challenged the decision and litigation was continuing in 1241 when Gregory IX ordered two Irish bishops, the bishops of Raphoe and Rathlure, to investigate the claims and confirm either Odo or Gilbert.[228] Notwithstanding this appeal, Gilbert, appears to have had Walter's support as he acted as the archbishop's deputy at Malton priory in August 1241 and June 1253.[229] After Gilbert's death, Walter once again intervened in the affairs of Whithorn, appointing the archdeacon of Galloway as his deputy during the vacancy.[230] His successor, Henry, abbot of Holyrood, received archiepiscopal confirmation 14 February x 24 February 1255 and was consecrated as bishop by Walter the same year.[231]

In addition to the authority exercised over his own suffragans, Walter also had a close relationship with the bishops of Man and the Isles. Although technically within the province of Trondheim, the remoteness of the see meant that jurisdiction sporadically passed to York. In May 1224 Walter was commissioned to inquire into the request by Bishop

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[225] *Reg. Gray* pp. 170-3; c.f. *Scottish annals from English chroniclers A.D.500 to 1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson, Paul Watkins medieval studies, 10 (1991), 347-8.
[226] Apart from Alexander II's letter of 23 April 1235 all the documents mentioned in relation to this election lack precise dates.
[227] *Chron. Melrose* p. 61.
[228] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 6077.
[229] BL MS Cotton Claudius D. XI f. 42r, 43r. He performed similar services at Yeddingham dedicating the prior church there in 1241 and consecrating a chapel at Helmsley castle in 1253: *Reg. Gray* pp. 90 n., 119 n. For the suffragans bishops acting in the church of York see: L. A. S. Butler, 'Suffragan bishops in the Medieval diocese of York', *Northern History*, 37 (2000), 49-60.
[230] *Reg. Gray* p. 272. This was underlined by a mandate of 15 October 1254 to the clergy and people of the diocese who were ordered to obey the archdeacon, just as they had Gilbert: *Reg. Gray* p. 273.
[231] *Reg. Gray* pp. 120-2; *Chron. Melrose* p. 90.

Nicholas of Meaux for papal approval of his resignation from his see. He claimed that he had been compelled to live in exile because of the continued hostility of the secular power and all his flock.[232] Possibly in gratitude for his release from office, Nicholas subsequently appears as a witness to a number of Walter's charters.[233] The succession to the see of Man and the Isles during this period is somewhat confused, in part because of its remoteness. After Nicholas's retirement the see passed to Simon (*c.*1226-1248), who appears to have been elected in Norway. A rival bishop, John son of Hefare, appears in the records in 1229-1230. Bishop John is found consecrating an altar to St Nicholas and St. Katherine at Malton priory on 13 December 1229 as vicar of the archbishop of York. He also witnessed a number of archiepiscopal charters in 1230 including Walter de Gray's confirmation of *Le Covenit* on 1 August 1230.[234] It is possible that he was promoted by the archbishop of York with the connivance of the abbey of Furness who also claimed the right to elect. On one occasion in February 1244, the archbishop was called upon by the pope to confirm and consecrate the bishop of Man. The crossing to Trondheim was considered to be prohibitive as it was too long and dangerous.[235]

Closer to home, Walter appears to have been on good terms with his suffragans at Durham and Carlisle.[236] His tenure was notably free from the constant feuding that had existed under Geoffrey Plantagenet. Indeed the one of the few sources of friction appears to have been their ambitious and fiercely independent monastic chapters. The Augustinian canons of Carlisle were no doubt resentful of Walter's part in the division of Carlisle's possessions in the aftermath of Alexander II's invasion in 1216. Walter had been co-signatory of a letter complaining to the pope of the duplicity of the canons. They stood accused of ignoring papal mandates and celebrated mass during an interdict and then compounding their offences by electing an excommunicate clerk of Alexander as bishop of Carlisle. As shall be discussed in a later chapter, the outcome of this intervention was that the legate, Guala, was ordered to disperse the canons, replacing them with men faithful to the king, while the rents and possessions of the church were to be fairly distributed.[237] Complaints had continued to surface, however, and after Walter Mauclerk's death the canons resurrected their accusation that the late bishop had usurped the right of collations to

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[232] *Reg. Gray* pp. 149-50. Bishop Nicholas had been opposed by the nobility of Man since his consecration: CEPR p. 69; *Reg. Hon. III* i 2245; see below p. 95.
[233] DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.1; *Reg. Gray* pp. 11 n. He was also collated to a benefice in the church of Kellawe by Richard de Marisco on 20 August 1225: *Reg. Gray* p. 5.
[234] BL MS Cotton Claudius D. XI f.43r; DCDCM 2.4.Pont.7; *Mem. Ripon* iv 73; *Reg. Gray* pp. 38-9, 237; *Pontefract Cart.* i xlix. There is a further charter witnessed by Hugh, formerly bishop of Man and the Isles on 3 April 1229, which appears in the Cartulary of the church of Pontefract. The editor notes that it is strange that Hugh does not appear in Le Neve's lists for the bishopric. But it is possible that this also refers to Nicholas: *Pontefract Cart.* i 51 and n. 4.
[235] CEPR p. 206; *Reg. Inn. IV* i 481; *Reg. Gray* pp. 198-9.
[236] R. Brentano, *York Metropolitan jurisdiction and Papal judges delegate* (Berkeley, 1959), pp. 85-6.
[237] See below pp. 96-7, 114-5.

churches in the priory's gift. The new bishop, Silvester de Everdon, also found the division of the see's possessions to be unacceptable. On 17 January 1248 the case was reopened and Walter was named as a papal judge delegate together with the prior of Kirkham and Simon of Evesham, archdeacon of the East Riding.[238] Nevertheless, because of the poor survival of contemporary material from the Carlisle diocese our understanding of the nature of Walter's contact with the newest and poorest of his sees is limited.

In contrast the wealth of the archive preserved at Durham is remarkable. Moreover the proximity of the sees of Durham and York often led to conflict, particularly as both sees held franchises within the boundaries of the neighbouring diocese.[239] Unlike in later centuries the question of the archbishop's jurisdiction over Durham and it spiritualities *sede vacante* appears to have caused little friction.[240] One of the few problems to occur was the result of Walter's appropriation of the annual payment of 40 marks made by Silvester de Everdon to Durham for possession of Carlisle's churches within the bishopric of Durham. As noted in a later chapter the question of who was entitled to collect this revenue was a matter of dispute between the crown and the bishop of Durham until 1260. In this instance the king gained the upper hand, judging that Walter should account for the revenue to the exchequer.[241] Presentations to benefices during periods of vacancy were predominantly made by the crown, while Walter de Gray is instructed to act only as the king's agent.[242] After Nicholas of Farnham's resignation in 1249, at the instance of the prior and convent, Walter issued a licence which conferred archiepiscopal authority on his suffragans or any other bishop, English or Irish, travelling through the see. Therefore they were empowered to ordain monks and other religious of the diocese, to consecrate chrism and to dedicate the monks' churches as they were required.[243] Apparently Walter did not aspire to the lofty principle stated in the agreement between York and Durham on 2 November 1286 which

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[238] CEPR pp. 48, 112, 256. Walter was later replaced by a panel of arbitrators selected by Bishop Silvester: *Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 365; H. Summerson, 'The King's *Clericulus*: the life and career of Silvester de Everdon, bishop of Carlisle, 1247-1254', *Northern History*, 28 (1992), 70-91.

[239] The priory of St. Andrew's, Hexham (Northumbria), was founded by St. Wilfrid of York *c.*672 and it was re-founded as an Augustinian house *c.*1113.

[240] B. Till, *York against Durham: The guardianship of the Spiritualities of the diocese of Durham Sede Vacante*, Borthwick Papers, 18 (York, 1993); R. Brentano, 'Late medieval changes in the administration of vacant suffragan dioceses: Province of York', *YAJ*, 38 (1952-55), 496-503; C. H. Lawrence, 'The Thirteenth Century', in *The English Church and the papacy in the middle ages*, ed. C. H. Lawrence, rev. ed. (Stroud, 1999), pp. 143-5.

[241] The order was enforced in 1252 but the appropriation presumably occurred during the vacancy after Nicholas of Farnham's resignation (February-October 1249), when Peter Chaceporc served as custodian of the vacant see: *Cl. R. 1247-51* p. 157; *Cl. R. 1251-3* pp. 136-7; DCDCM Misc. Ch. 7207. For the overall dispute see: M. Howell, *Regalian right in Medieval England* (London, 1963), pp. 114-5. See also below p. 236.

[242] For example: *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 108, 115, 131; *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 212, 216; *Pat. R. 1247-58* p. 39.

[243] DCDCM 1.3.Archiep.7; *Reg. Gray* p. 209. Bishop Gilbert wrote to Walter excusing himself for having exceeded his mandate: *Script. Tres.* pp. lxxix-xxx. A similar privilege was also extended to the monks of Blyth in November 1248: *Blyth Cart.* i 321.

granted the archbishop jurisdiction during vacancies while reserving the rights of the bishop of Durham *sede plena*.[244] Significantly Walter's earliest datable act as archbishop, issued 17 September 1216, is the confirmation *sede vacante* of the possession of the churches of Aycliffe and Pittington to the prior and monks of Durham.[245] Paradoxically, as this confirmation shows, the Benedictine chapter of Durham, normally jealous of their independence, were keen to submit their claims to archiepiscopal scrutiny in order to strengthen their position against their own bishop. Moreover, as noted in later chapters, until the promulgation of *Le Covenit* in 1229, the bitter disputes between bishop and chapter at Durham meant that the archbishop of York was often the first court of appeal.[246] Recourse to nearby York was naturally more attractive in terms of the time and effort, and more importantly the expense, involved than to far distant Rome. In Richard de Marisco's tumultuous episcopate, Walter's skills as an intermediary were in great demand. On 5 January 1227 he was ordered to ignore the presentation made by Richard to the church of Heighington and admit Hugh of Blye on the presentation of the prior and convent.[247]

Nevertheless Walter was not above turning the situation to his own advantage when the opportunity offered itself. His prize was the valuable prebend of Howden, part of Durham's Yorkshire franchise. The monks had been in pursuit of their rights to the advowson of Howden, together with a number of other churches in Yorkshire, through the royal courts since November 1218.[248] In addition the convent had also appealed for archiepiscopal protection for their appeal to Rome. Worried that Richard de Marisco was deliberately prolonging the vacancies in these churches in order to usurp the priory's privileges, the prior obtained a royal mandate addressed to Walter ordering him to admit a suitable parson to the church of Howden.[249] But in the meanwhile, Walter had presented his nephew, John de Hautein, to the living, an act which F. Barlow argues was unlikely to have had the whole hearted blessing of the convent.[250] Furthermore, despite continued royal pressure, Walter then engineered the institution of Fulk Basset, provost of Beverley, who occurs as rector of Howden by 9 March 1226.[251] It is possible that throughout Richard de Marisco's conflict with the Durham chapter, Walter's sympathies lay with the episcopal power. Early in 1221 Walter fulfilled his commission to act as Richard's deputy while the

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[244] DCDCM 4.2.Archiep.3.
[245] DCDCM 3.1.Archiep.7.
[246] See below pp. 141, 180.
[247] *RLC* ii 165. Hugh of Blye was a clerk of the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh. Richard de Marisco had claimed the presentation for himself and had promoted Thomas de Blundeville, but had been ordered to institute Hugh of Blye on 6 June 1225: *RLC* ii 73.
[248] *CRR 1219-20* p. 147. For the details of this court case see below pp. 178-80.
[249] DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.7; *Reg. Gray* pp. 135-6; *RLC* i 632b.
[250] DCDCM 3.1.Archiep.8; *Reg. Gray* pp. 150-1 and fn; F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 89.
[251] *RLC* i 655; *Reg. Gray* p. 7 and fn; DCDCM 4.1.Archiep.13.

latter defended his cause to the pope, and collated *magister* Alexander de Nolan to the church of Ryton.[252] Equally revealing is his award to Nicholas of Farnham at the latter's resignation in 1249. The manors of Howden, Stockton and Easington were allotted to Nicholas by a panel of papal judges delegate headed by Walter de Gray, a move which was highly unpopular with the monastic chapter.[253]

Walter was certainly keenly aware of the dignity of his archiepiscopal office. By the thirteenth century the contest over the primacy of the English Church had lost much of its potency. In deference to Canterbury, Walter followed established custom and styled himself as primate of England, reserving the title of primate of all England to his southern colleague.[254] Nevertheless it was kept alive by sporadic disputes over the apparently trivial matters of seating arrangements and the carrying of archiepiscopal crosses throughout the realm.[255] Walter was no exception. On 6 February 1218 in an effort to promote harmony within the Church, Honorius wrote to Walter, reciting previous judgements by popes Alexander III and Innocent III, forbidding him to process with his cross in the province of Canterbury.[256] But according to the Dunstable annalist, Walter was reluctant to heed this injunction. For the chronicler states that Walter absented himself from the second coronation of Henry III (17 May 1220) as he was disgraced and was not able to attend because of the pope's prohibition.[257] While this act may have been due to a fit of pique at the injunction, it is more likely that it was a genuine attempt on Walter's part to heal the rift. In 1222 the two archbishops met near Lincoln expressly to discuss the issue, although neither side seems to have been prepared to back down and the meeting ended in failure.[258] Yet the most revealing insight into Walter's view of the matter is found in a letter written by him to Hubert de Burgh *c.*1223. Walter stated that he was travelling south on the king's orders when he learned that Henry had travelled from Winchester to London to greet the arrival of the king of Jerusalem and Archbishop Stephen Langton. Although protesting his desire to continue south, not wishing to mar the celebrations with scandal which would develop because of his contention with Canterbury, he informed Hubert that he had diverted to his manor near Gloucester, there to await the king's pleasure.[259] Despite this reticence the quarrel continued, flaring up again in 1237 when the legate, Otto, was commissioned to induce the archbishops to attend conferences without causing scandal. No further disruption is recorded and at the legatine council at London in November 1237, both prelates were

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[252] *EEA Durham II* p. 327 no. 34. Richard carried with him to Rome letters of support written by Walter and other prelates and great men: CEPR p. 78.
[253] CEPR p. 255; *Script. Tres.* p. lxxvii; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 338. See below pp. 241-3.
[254] A. Hamilton Thompson, *The dispute with Canterbury*, York Minster Historical Tracts, 10 (1927).
[255] R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings* (Oxford, 2000), p. 394.
[256] CEPR p. 52; *Hists. York* iii 113; *Reg. Gray* p. 131.
[257] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 57.
[258] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 77.

allowed to make solemn procession preceded by their crosses and lighted candles. When reaching his seat, the legate appealed to the authority of the positions of St. Peter and Paul on a papal bull. He therefore placed the archbishop of Canterbury, as primate of all England in the place of St. Peter, at his right hand and Walter, who was compared to St. Paul, on his left. Fortunately Otto's tact appears to have sealed the debate at least for Walter's archiepiscopate.[260]

The political career of Walter de Gray in the reign of Henry III

Walter's reluctance to stir up the age old debate is an indication of the diplomatic skills which had helped to win him royal favour and secure his position as archbishop of York in King John's reign. A combination of his loyalty to the Angevin cause and his innate skills were to stand him in good stead during the chaos of civil war and foreign invasion that followed John's death. Moreover, until the elevation of Richard de Marisco to Durham in 1217, York was the only see in the archdiocese to possess a prelate. Curiously, however, the weight of royal expectations in the north rested relatively lightly on Walter's shoulders at this crucial stage. This is not to suggest that Walter was given any responsibilities. The regency government was in desperate need of support. In December 1216 he was called upon to ensure the payment of 1000 marks owed to the crown by the men of Beverley for a fine made in John's reign.[261] Apart from royal finances another major concern of the regent, William Marshal, was the restoration of royal authority which had been lost due to Alexander II's opportunistic invasion during the civil war. In anticipation of Alexander's surrender in the aftermath of Prince Louis' capitulation at Lambeth, Robert de Vieuxpont had been charged with the recovery of Carlisle castle and its lands and prisoners. Perhaps in order to impress the Scottish king, Walter was named among a list of powerful magnates who were to provide effective aid if Alexander proved recalcitrant.[262] What form this aid took, if indeed it was required, is not apparent, although a later inquiry into the corn of the demesne of Carlisle castle states that Robert de Vieuxpont received the castle from Walter de Gray who was acting on behalf the crown.[263] In addition Walter helped to foster good

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[259] *Reg. Gray* pp. 145-6. The manor mentioned was probably Churchdown.
[260] Paris, *CM* iii 416-7; *C&S II* p. 238; *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 318; iii (Dunstable), 146. The affair was notably restrained in comparison to similar disputes in the twelfth century and the later thirteenth century, Hugh the Chanter: *The history of the Church of York, 1066-1272*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson (Oxford Medieval Texts, 1990), p. 22; *Reg. Wickwane* pp. 178-80.
[261] William Marshal is recorded to have lamented the poverty of the minority government on Henry's accession: *Maréchal* line 15644; Carpenter, *Minority* p. 26.
[262] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 93.
[263] *RLC* i 450b.

relations by meeting Alexander at Berwick on 1 December 1217 to release him from the ban of excommunication imposed in 1217.[264]

As the tide of war turned against the invaders, fleeting glimpses of Walter's influence at court are gleaned from a series of charters which he either witnesses or which are issued on his advice. Around Easter 1217 with Henry, archbishop of Dublin and Jocelin, bishop of Bath, he was present to witness the restoration of the bailey of Worcester castle to Bishop Silvester. Similarly he is recorded as having advised the young king on the payment of compensation to Newenham priory for the destruction of its church of St. Paul, Bedford by King John who had burnt it when strengthening Bedford castle.[265] Possibly in recognition of his services, and because he was regarded as a safe pair of hands, Walter was awarded custody of lands pertaining to his see formerly held by the king's enemies. The majority of these awards occurred in the immediate aftermath of the battle of Lincoln (20 May 1217).[266] According to the Melrose chronicler, the archbishop had been present amongst the ranks of the king's supporters when the legate, Guala, formally repeated the excommunication of Prince Louis and his allies prior to the battle of Lincoln.[267] The work of securing the submissions of the rebels continued piecemeal throughout 1217, the areas where royal authority was weakest, particularly the northern shires, being the last to be attended to. In July Walter was authorised to receive into the king's grace any rebel in the archbishopric of York who wished to renew his fealty to the crown.[268] As peace was restored to the north Walter was granted the royal escheat of Thorp Bustard and custody of the royal forest of Carlisle. One of the key ingredients in the achievement of that peace was the issue of modified versions of both Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest. It is possible that Walter was involved in the great council at Westminster where the changes incorporated in the 1217 versions were discussed. He was present to witness the resulting charters when they were promulgated *c.*6 November 1217.[269]

From the available evidence it is hard to shake the conviction that although Walter's loyalty was not called into question, he was not a key player in the new regime. By virtue of his office his public assent was important for major decisions and pronouncements made by the regency council. Added to the examples of such service given above, he was present

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[264] *Chron. Melrose* p. 69.
[265] *Worcester Cart.* no. 328a; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 29.
[266] *RLC* i 308-9, 312b, 313.
[267] The Melrose chronicler stated that the excommunication occurred at Lincoln on the day of the battle. This, however, is refuted by accounts contained in the biography of William Marshal and Roger of Wendover, which record that Guala performed his duty on 17 May before departing to carry Henry III to safety at Nottingham: *Chron. Melrose* p. 51; *Maréchal* lines 16225-37; Paris, *CM* iii 19. Richard Poore was also present
[268] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 77; Holt, *Northerners* pp. 37-8.
[269] The annals of Waverley date this event to 1218: DCDCM 1.2.Reg.4; *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 290. For a discussion on the problem of dating the 1217 version of Magna Carta see: Carpenter, *Minority* p. 60 n.2.

when the letters patent governing the use of Henry III's new seal were issued in November 1218.[270] Moreover he certainly identified with the Angevin cause and continued to associate himself with leading figures like Peter des Roches. He was present at court when the royalist party was besieging Winchester in April 1217 and co-operated with des Roches in advising the crown over the return of the manor of Lechlade (Gloucestershire) to Falkes de Bréauté in October 1217.[271] But unlike his associate, Walter is rarely found at the heart of government for a sustained period. It could be argued that during these uncertain years Walter was more valuable as a force for royal authority in the north than as another courtier adding his voice to the unwieldy conciliar rule. With the threat of French rule eradicated, attention turned to internal foes. In this fraught and difficult contest Walter proved to be a useful ally. As archbishop of York he held sufficient authority to intervene on behalf of central government against its most powerful rivals. One such was Philip de Oldcoates, whose dogged refusal to part with the lands and castles entrusted to him during the recent disturbances was threatening to undermine the stability of the realm. On 13 August 1217, Oldcoates was forcibly enjoined to return the lands he withheld to the newly consecrated bishop, Richard de Marisco. The matter was to be expounded in person by Walter de Gray who was familiar with the council's intentions.[272] The archbishop made little headway and in April 1219 a fresh attempt was made to curtail the independence of Philip de Oldcoates.[273] Responding to his claims that a journey south was ill advised without the provision of an adequate safe conduct, Peter des Roches instructed Walter de Gray and Richard de Marisco to comply. The choice of delegates was partly dictated by Oldcoates' demand for a fitting escort and possibly in part by their prior connection to the bishop of Winchester.[274]

Walter received the order at Hexham on 23 April, where he was celebrating the patronal feast of St. Wilfrid, and indicated his intent to track Philip down and fulfil his charge. The effort, however, was frustrated by Oldcoates, who, the archbishop reported, gave the seemingly flimsy excuse that he believed the day proposed for the council was unfeasible.[275] One victory which was achieved against Oldcoates was the recovery in 1220 of Mitford castle, which he had held since the castle had been captured by the king's forces from Roger Bertram in January 1216. Mitford was surrendered to Hugh de Bolebec. Walter's involvement in this affair highlights the problems of rule by proxy. From a letter written by Walter around September 1220, it is apparent that Hubert de Burgh had instructed

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[270] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 177.
[271] *RLC* i 304, 371.
[272] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 86.
[273] For an detailed discussion of the origins of the dispute surrounding Philip de Oldcoates see: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 57-8, 83-8.
[274] As has been noted in a later chapter, Richard de Marisco was a member of des Roches' network of allies: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 190. See below p. 160.
[275] RL i 26-7.

him not to release Mitford to Roger Bertram unless the latter gave pledges of good faith. But events overtook these instructions. The legate, Pandulf, had interceded on Bertram's behalf and, in return for the promise of his son as hostage, Bertram regained Mitford. Yet when he arrived at Durham, Walter and Richard de Marisco were unaware of the change and refused to carry out the writ.[276] Experience it seems had taught Walter and the minority government the value of caution. Upon hearing of Philip de Oldcoates death by the end of October 1220, the government hurried to recoup his possessions and despatched Robert de Lexington to secure the castles of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Bamburgh from Philip's castellans. To prevent any mishap Philip's men were directed to call on the counsel and aid of Walter de Gray, who was to add his voice to that of Robert of Lexington.[277]

In addition to his efforts against Philip de Oldcoates, Walter's aid was apparently invoked against another thorn in the government's side, William de Fors, count of Aumale. Unable to attend the court because of illness, Walter wrote to Peter des Roches and Hubert de Burgh, assuring them of his willingness to act in a matter which, D. Carpenter suggests, may have been the subjection of the count of Aumale.[278] When the latter rebelled in 1221, Walter assisted the legate, Pandulf, in pronouncing a formal excommunication of the count at St. Paul's cathedral on 25 January.[279] Far from being cowed, in a sudden act of rebellion Aumale seized Fotheringay castle. But the swift retaliation, which included an order to muster troops under the direction of Walter de Gray and Geoffrey de Neville to besiege Aumale's castle at Skipsea, caused him to flee to Fountains abbey. There he was found by Walter who conducted him to the king.[280] Overall Walter's involvement in these various struggles between an increasingly assertive central council and its overmighty officers suggests that he was a useful tool, but not an originator of policy. It is possible that his influence at court suffered as a result of Peter des Roches' gradual eclipse. To the beleaguered bishop pilgrimage and crusade seemed a welcome escape and des Roches

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[276] At the end of the letter Walter also asked the justiciar to postpone his case against Adam de Haton which was due to be held in London on the octave of St. Michael as he was ordered to conduct the king of Scotland to York. The justiciar obliged and the case was postponed until Hillary Term 1221: RL i 153-4; Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 197-8, 204-5, 207-8; *CRR 1220* p. 210; Holt, *Northerners* pp. 245-6.

[277] *RLC* i 473b. Richard de Marisco was at the papal court when Philip de Oldcoates died; upon his return he protested the grant of custody of the lands and heirs of Geoffrey Coyner to Walter de Gray as he asserted they had formally belonged to the temporalities of the see of Durham: *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 59; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 323.

[278] RL i 39-40; Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 158-9. Walter had personal dealings with the counts of Aumale who were patrons of the abbey of St. Martin, which held extensive lands in Holderness: c.f. *CRR 1223-4* nos. 1967, 2838; *CRR 1225-6* nos. 711, 894, 1555; *Chron. Melsa* ii 78-82.

[279] Walter was present in London for a court case on 20 January between one of his household, *magister* Robert of Winchester, canon of York, and Ralph Nuvel: *Feet of Fines York 1218-1231* p. 38; RL i 168-9; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 63-4.

[280] Paris, *CM* iii 60; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 63-4; *RLC* i 474b; Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 227-234.

departed for the shrine of St. James of Compostella in April 1221.[281] Possibly inspired by this act of piety, Walter de Gray obtained royal letters of protection lasting from 3 April until Christmas 1222 for himself, William of London and Alexander Marshal.[282] The duration of his pilgrimage is unknown, but on 8 September the chief forest justiciar, Brian de Lisle was ordered to postpone the upcoming pleas of the dean and chapter of York until the octaves of Hilary 1223. The letter states that the delay was necessary to allow the archbishop, who the court had heard was returning from pilgrimage, time to reach England. A gift of bream from the royal fishpond at *Fosse* to stock the archbishop's own at Ripon made on 21 October 1222 may well mark his arrival.[283]

Notwithstanding his associate's decline, Walter could have withdrawn from court of his own accord. S. Painter suggests that Walter's main motivation for the purchase of the chancellorship in 1205 had been as a means to achieve ecclesiastical preferment.[284] Once archbishop of York, Walter, as we have seen, became immersed in the affairs of his archdiocese. Yet as Walter's correspondence and William of York's request that Ralph Neville should keep the archbishop abreast of court gossip, indicate, he did not wish to become totally isolated. Payments for messengers going to the archbishop of York are frequently recorded in royal correspondence.[285] Moreover his influence at court was consistently sufficient at this stage, and throughout his career, to win him a series of grants, favours and other privileges. In May 1218 he was permitted to hold a mint at York as his predecessors had done. Wardships such as the lands and heir of Geoffrey de Appleton which he bestowed on Walter de Tew, and other custodies were awarded freely.[286] Weekly markets and annual fairs were granted for the archbishop's manors of Sherburn, Patrington, Otley and Hexham until the king should come of age.[287] Walter was also able to prolong the protection his possessions, granted initially because of his pilgrimage to Compostella, from the possible deprivations of the forest eyre which had been commissioned in 1221. A string of postponements was authorised for Walter and the dean of chapter of York lasting until Easter 1224. An individual grant was also made for the archbishop's knights and free tenants in Nottingham in March 1223.[288]

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[281] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 199-208; K. R. Giles, 'Two English bishops in the Holy Land', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 31 (1987), 46-57.
[282] William of London is known to be a servant of Walter de Gray and journeyed with him to Antwerp in 1227: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 327; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 141.
[283] *RLC* i 510, 515.
[284] S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 65.
[285] *RLC* i 391b, 411b, 431b, 440, 447, 628; *RLC* ii 48, 118b, 128b; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* pp. 9, 54, 66, 85, 131, 145, 162.
[286] *RLC* i 351, 361, 426; *BOF* i 251, 254; *Eyre Lincoln and Worcester* no. 1058; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 323.
[287] *RLC* i 536, 536b; *RLC* ii 187.
[288] *RLC* i 497, 510, 526, 535, 536b, 559, 573. These were later confirmed when the king came of age.

Perhaps the clearest sign of Walter's trusted position within the minority government was his appointment as custodian of Knaresborough castle on 30 December 1223. This formed part of the major redistribution of royal castles and sheriffdoms which was achieved shortly after the creation of the young king's personal seal. Together these acts marked an important step in the resumption of central control. It has been noted that this was a victory for Hubert de Burgh at the expense of Peter des Roches and his adherents, many of whom were forced to surrender the counties and castles in their control.[289] But in this particular instance it is arguable that des Roches's party was not completely unrepresented. Knaresborough had been awarded to Brian de Lisle, an associate of des Roches', following the battle of Lincoln in May 1217.[290] In transferring custody to Walter de Gray, Hubert and his supporters were therefore exchanging one of des Roches' allies for another. That Walter was favoured in this way, however, suggests either that he had managed to secure the approval of the justiciar, or that his relationship with the bishop of Winchester was not sufficient to exclude him. Alternatively, as the majority of the new custodians were ecclesiastics, Walter may have been viewed as a neutral candidate. Nevertheless, Brian de Lisle proved reluctant to hand over his charge prompting a further royal mandate on 30 January 1224.[291]

In the turmoil that preceded the rebellion of Falkes de Bréauté, Walter may have added his voice at the council of Northampton to those of Stephen Langton and the other bishops who called for the restoration of Peter des Roches and his allies. According to Matthew Paris, the archbishop attended the council, which had been summoned for 16 June 1224 to discuss the situation in Poitou.[292] The alliance of the French king with Hugh de Lusignan, count of La March posed an immediate threat to English possession of the county. Swift action was prevented, however, by the revolt of Falkes de Bréauté and the subsequent siege of Bedford castle. The government, distracted by this crisis, could do little to prevent the loss of Poitou. Indeed the cost of besieging Bedford meant that a carucage was imposed on the ploughs of ecclesiastics and their tenants. The tax was to be collected by the Michaelmas exchequer 1224, although a new date of January 1225 was set in November 1224. As S. K. Mitchell notes, Walter de Gray appears not to have been present when the

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[289] Carpenter, *Minority* p. 332.
[290] The grant, which was made until the king's fourteenth birthday, subsequently renewed in November 1221: *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 64, 315.
[291] *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 418, 425. For the circumstances surrounding the surrender of the sheriffdoms and castles in 1223 see: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 321-342; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 212-3; R. Eales, 'Castles and Politics in England 1215-1224'in *Thirteenth-Century England II*, eds. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1988), 23-43. Walter held Knaresborough until June 1229 and accounted at the exchequer for the revenue via his steward Adam de Staveley: *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 254; E372/69 m6d; E372/70 m1, 2; E372/71 m8; E372/72 m28; E372/73 m33, 34; *RLC* ii 95; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 13.
[292] Paris, *CM* iii 84; RL i 224-6.

carucage was granted and as a result postponed payment, the final instalment being made in December 1224.[293] With Poitou lost, attention turned to the recovery of Gascony. In October 1224 Walter was instructed to dispatch *magister* Roger, the king's ballista maker, and his tools with all speed to the Tower of London.[294] Moreover to ease the financial burden an additional tax of a fifteenth on moveables was authorised by the great council.[295]

There is some confusion in the sources as to the dating of this grant. Roger of Wendover states that the magnates discussed the levy at Westminster during the Christmas court of 1224. But modern observers have tended to agree with Walter of Coventry who gives the date of 2 February 1225 as this ties in with the reissue of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest which were conceded in return for the tax.[296] If, as Wendover records, Walter was present during the deliberations, the latter date appears to be the more likely as according to his own account Walter was officiating at the translation of St. Wilfrid at Ripon at Christmas 1224.[297] Moreover, in a letter to Richard de Marisco, the bishop is encouraged to co-operate in the collection of the tax which, the king reminds him, was freely granted by the archbishop of York and the earls and barons.[298] In line with the original provision Walter's bailiffs were also involved in the collection of the fifteenth from ecclesiastical tenants and the order of Sempringham. The £915 yielded from the archbishopric of York was then sent to the castle of Winchester in the custody of Richard Poore (then bishop of Salisbury).[299] English coffers were also swollen by a gift of £1000 which King Alexander of Scotland made to Henry's brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, towards the war in Poitou. On 14 April 1225 Richard de Marisco, John de Lacy, constable of Chester, and Walter were commanded to receive the promised funds from Alexander II which was to be conveyed to Winchester with the rest of the revenue from the archbishopric of York. This mission was to coincide with the marriage of Alexander's sister, Isabella to Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk. In preparation for his journey to Scotland, Walter petitioned the king for a delay in the payment of his debts at the exchequer until Michaelmas 1225.[300]

As Hubert de Burgh tightened his control over the king and central government, Walter found himself increasingly dispatched on continental embassies. The justiciar appears to have been anxious to take advantage of the opportunity provided by the death of

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[293] The majority of payments were made in October and November 1224: Mitchell, *Taxation* p. 157; *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 494, 505, 517.
[294] *RLC* i 626. This was repeated on 11 January 1225: *RLC* ii 13.
[295] Mitchell, *Taxation* pp. 159-69; F. A. Cazel jnr., 'The fifteenth of 1225', *BIHR*, 34 (1961), 67-81.
[296] Wendover, *Chronica* ii 282-3; *Walter of Coventry* ii 256; Mitchell, *Taxation* p. 160 and n. 202; F. A. Cazel jnr., 'The fifteenth of 1225', *BIHR*, 34 (1961), 70; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 222-3.
[297] Wendover, *Chronica* ii 282-3; Paris, *CM* iii 91; *Hists. York* iii 124-5; *Mem. Ripon* i 49-50; and see above p. 18. Walter did not stay to ratify the reissue of the charters on 11 February 1225.
[298] *RLC* ii 75b.
[299] *RLC* ii 74, 81, 81b; *Foreign accounts* p. 61
[300] CDRS p. 909; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 527; *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 128. For the arrangements for Isabella's marriage see: Stacey, *Politics* pp. 20-2.

Louis VIII in November 1225. By virtue of his office and experience and proven loyalty, Walter was a fitting envoy to win over the princes and magnates previously attached to the Capetian regime. According to the St. Albans chroniclers, in 1226 Walter was sent with Philip de Albini on a wide ranging tour of Normandy, Anjou, Brittany and Poitou.[301] This was followed early in 1227 by a bid to secure the support of Peter de Dreaux, count of Brittany, against the young Louis IX of France. The Worcester annalist records that the Anglo-Breton alliance was to be secured by the marriage of Henry III to Peter's daughter, Yolande. The archbishop, who was to be accompanied by Walter Mauclerk and Philip de Albini, was also charged with continuing negotiations with Hugh de Lusignan.[302] Hubert appears to have been attempting to resurrect the complex network of alliances that had existed in King John's reign, for the envoys were to carry with them £2000 from the royal coffers presumably to strengthen the resolve of Henry's putative supporters. Their efforts, however, foundered with the reassertion of Capetian dominance at Loudun.[303] The rapid demise of English hopes freed Walter to return to deal with the disputed election to the bishopric of Durham. In accordance with the papal mandate of 22 December 1226, evidence from the parties concerned was received at four sessions of the archbishop's court on 15-17 February, 16-17 March, 19-20 April and 24-25 May 1227.[304] But the respite from his diplomatic duties was brief. Frustrated in his dealings with French magnates, Henry and his advisors turned their attention to pursuing the Bavarian marriage proposed in summer of 1226. Walter was to lead an impressive delegation, which included the bishops of Coventry and Norwich and the earls of Pembroke, Gloucester and Aumale, to a meeting at Antwerp in September 1227. Previously it has been asserted that this conference, though planned, never came to fruition because of the opposition of Emperor Frederick II. The lack of any mention of the proceedings or the outcome of the negotiations in German or English sources seems to confirm this. Nevertheless English intelligence of the emperor's change of heart did not come early enough to prevent the final preparations for the departure of Walter de Gray and his entourage. For on 4 September 1227 royal letters of protection were issued for the archbishop's servants, *magister* Serlo de Sunninges, William of London and Lidiard de Norton, who were to travel with him to the continent.[305] On 6 Sept 1227 the provost of

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[301] Wendover, *Chronica* ii 316; Paris, *CM* iii 119; E372/70 m30d.

[302] *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 420; *RLC* ii 165, 166, 168, 206; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 106-7; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 13.

[303] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 103; E372/71 m25d; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 13; Stacey, *Politics* pp. 165-8; Powicke, *Henry III* pp. 174-5.

[304] The first two of these sessions seem to have been heard in the archbishop's absence as the St. Albans chroniclers recorded that the envoys returned around Easter [11 April] 1227: Wendover, *Chronica* ii 319-20; Paris, CM iii 122-3; DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5520; W. K. Evers, *Disputes* p. 73. See below pp. 204-6.

[305] *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 141; 161. J. P. Huffman, *The social politics of medieval diplomacy; Anglo-German relations, 1066-1307* (Ann Arbor, 2000), pp. 243-4. Walter also made arrangements for a

Dover was ordered to give to Walter's proctors the money gathered from wine purveyed at Sandwich, which was to be placed in ships and taken to the port of Orwell in Suffolk, the traditional departure point for Antwerp, there to await Walter's arrival.[306]

Notwithstanding the various disappointments in English foreign policy in the closing stages of Henry III's minority, Walter's standing with the young king remained unaffected. He was able to prevail on the king, who had begun to issue charters in perpetuity since January 1227, to confirm the various markets and annual fairs for his manors of Otley, Sherburn and Hexham first granted in March 1223. To this list the king added an annual fair for Southwell on the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury, whose translation Walter had attended in 1220.[307] In September 1227 Walter secured an extension until Easter 1228 of certain liberties for the church of York, which were to be indicated to the sheriff of York in a separate letter.[308] Henry also chose to celebrate the Christmas feast at York in 1227 and 1229. On the latter occasion Alexander II was also present, his expenses for his stay and the journey to and from York being met in part by the English exchequer.[309] The city had traditionally been used as a convenient meeting place for negotiations between England and Scotland.[310] On 15 June 1220 Alexander II promised to marry Henry's sister Joan as soon the regency council secured her release from Hugh de Lusignan's custody. Walter was amongst those present at York to witness the agreement which he confirmed, together with Richard de Marisco and Hugh of Beaulieu and other clerics, under pain of ecclesiastical censure. A year later Walter, who had been formed part of Alexander's honorary escort from Scotland, then officiated at the marriage ceremony at York minster.[311] Relations,

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delay in the payment of his account at the exchequer for the debts of his mother, Hawise, and the scutage of his ward, Oliver de Ayncourt, until Easter 1228: *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 161. The dating of the archbishop's *acta* for this period is obscure as institutions were made on 3, 5 and 7 September at Stan' which is too vague to provide an accurate fix on Walter's location, though it may have been close to Windsor, where the royal letters patent concerning this embassy were issued: *Reg. Gray* pp. 17-8.

[306] *RLC* ii 199b. Edward III sailed from Orwell to Flanders in 1341: *Anonimalle Chronicle*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1970), p. 13, 16.

[307] *RLC* ii 187, 207; Paris, *CM* iii 59.

[308] *RLC* ii 201. These same privileges appear to have been successfully extended repeatedly until the king's return from campaign in Poitou, September 1230: *Cl. R. 1227-31* pp. 10, 11, 62, 131, 172, 219; *CRR1227- 30* no. 502.

[309] *Cl. R. 1227-31* p. 6; *Chron. Oxenedes* pp. 155, 159; Paris, *CM* iii 193; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 160.

[310] This tradition was to intensify in the reign of Edward I whose marked preference for York, combined with the convenience of the city during the Anglo-Scottish wars, meant that York became the centre for royal authority in the north: R. B. Dobson, 'The political role of the Archbishops of York during the reign of Edward I', in *Thirteenth-Century England III*, eds. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1991), 54.

[311] CDRS nos. 761, 803; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 325; *EEA Winchester II* no. 117; *Walter of Coventry* ii 249; *RLC* i 476; Paris, *CM* iii 66-7; Carpenter, *Minority* p. 245 and n. 11. H. G. Ramm argues that it was this wedding ceremony that inspired the archbishop and chapter to undertake urgent rebuilding of the damaged fabric, in order to provide a more salubrious setting for future events: H. G. Ramm, 'The tombs of Archbishops Walter de Gray (1216-1255) and Geoffrey de Ludham (1258-1265) in York Minster, and their contents', *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971), 104-5. Although, in light of the argument put

however, were not always so cordial. Ignoring Honorius III's earlier ban on the ceremony, which had been granted on the grounds that Alexander was a liege man of Henry III, in 1233 the Scottish king sought to secure his rule by coronation. A joint protest was registered with the pope on 6 May 1233 by Henry III and Archbishop Walter. Both claimed that the coronation would prejudice the rights of the kingdom and the church of York respectively.[312] Although Henry later reasserted his claims, this seems to be only occasion when York's rights were also asserted in long struggle between the two crowns.[313]

Perhaps as the result of close co-operation between king and archbishop, Walter seems to have been more amenable to royal authority than many of his episcopal colleagues. At a council of the clergy held at London on the octave of Michaelmas 1229, which was the ecclesiastical counterpart of a meeting at Northampton on 23 July attended by the secular nobility, the decision was taken to grant an aid of 3 marks per fee to finance Henry's Breton campaign. But while the majority of the clergy rejected the levy as it was felt that insufficient guarantees had been given for the protection of their privileges, Walter promptly paid his account of £40 for twenty fees he held from the crown.[314] The payment seems unusually high and furthermore the Patent Roll specifically mentions that it was made for passage and scutage, which S. K. Mitchell states that the bishops did not pay. This last irregularity may be due to confusion in the sources as the later Pipe Roll entry records that the £40 was for the aid not the scutage.[315] Nevertheless, it would appear that Walter was determined to be seen to support the war effort. His open handed acquiescence to royal demands seems to have been one of the few contributions made by the archbishop during these years. Both itinerary and *acta* reveal that Walter was almost exclusively concerned with diocesan affairs. This is particularly apparent after June 1229, when the custody of Knaresborough castle passed to Robert de Cockfield, thus concluding the stream of orders concerned with the upkeep of the castle and its appurtenances which had previously been addressed to the archbishop. The change of custodian reflected the continuing rise of Hubert de Burgh's faction at court, as the castle was now held by de Cockfield, steward of the

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forward by C. Norton disputing the fire of 1137, the archbishop may simply have been wishing to update the cathedral, see above p. 19 n. 111.

[312] CEPR pp. 83, 270; CDRS no. 1181; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 16.

[313] F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 593-4; M. Bloch, 'An unknown testimony on the history of coronation in Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 21 (1926), 105-6. No reference to York's claims is made when Alexander renewed his request for a coronation: CDRS no. 1798.

[314] The record of the payment is undated, though it seems to belong to October 1229. Unlike the majority of the clerical payments which were recorded on the Fine Roll, the account is confirmed in the Pipe Roll the following year: E372/13d; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 275; *PR 14 Henry III* pp. 32, 215; Mitchell, *Taxation* pp. 180-195, especially p. 192.

[315] Mitchell, *Taxation* p. 184.

justiciar, and the latter henceforth accounted for his charge at the exchequer.[316] Sporadic royal mandates were still addressed to the archbishop. One such was the instruction for the correct arming of the king's subjects, issued in June 1230. Teams of local dignitaries comprised of abbots and bishops or their seneschals and secular nobles and administrators were assigned in each county to be accompanied by the sheriff. The maintenance of specific arms depended on the value of property held by each subject. Those with chattels valued at 15 marks were to possess a hauberk, while those with possessions worth 20*s* were to be armed with a bow and arrows, unless they lived within the royal forest, where the bow was replaced by axe and lance.[317] But these mandates were increasingly infrequent and between July 1228 and October 1232 he witnessed no royal letters. Indeed the majority of correspondence received by Walter during this period refers to royal presentations to benefices within his see and other diocesan matters.[318]

Walter continued to command a certain amount of influence at court. In 1231 Henry III granted Hawise de Gray and her heirs freedom from sheriff's aids and suit of court at both hundred and shire level in Oxfordshire and Berkshire.[319] Nevertheless it is notable that royal largesse increased after the fall of Hubert de Burgh in the autumn of 1232. Walter had played a part in the justiciar's downfall. Following the anti-Italian riots that occurred in the first half of 1232, Walter, together with Richard Poore and John le Romeyn, was given a papal commission for the northern archdiocese to investigate and denounce those responsible.[320] On 9 June Honorius also complained to Walter concerning the attacks perpetrated against bearers of papal letters and Italian clerks beneficed in England, calling upon the archbishop to excommunicate offenders until they gave due compensation.[321] It is no surprise, therefore, to find Walter amongst the ranks of bishops witnessing the king's decision concerning the fate of Hubert de Burgh after his trial at Cornhill on 10 November 1232, which exposed the justiciar's part in the riots.[322] In addition to his duty to the papal mandate, Walter may also have had a personal reason for participating in Hubert's disgrace. As noted above, Matthew Paris noted that Walter had been accused of enforcing a papal presentation to the church of Kirkleatham, which was seen as a fraudulent act against the interests of the patron, Robert de Tweng. In co-operating with the inquiry, Walter appears to

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[316] E372/70 m1, 2; E372/71 m8; E372/72 m28; E372/73 m33, 34; *RLC* ii 95, 122; *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 55, 254; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* pp. 13, 150; *Cl. R. 1227-31* p. 8. Walter's register also shows that he regularly visited Knaresborough during these years: *Reg. Gray* pp. 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 20, 26, 29, 224.
[317] *Cl. R. 1227-31* pp. 398-400.
[318] For example *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 195, 431; *Mem. R. 1231-3* no. 3257; *CRR 1227-30* no. 2373; *CRR 1230-2* no. 931.
[319] *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 451, 454.
[320] Paris, *CM* iii 217-8. On the riots and the fall of Hubert de Burgh see: D. Carpenter, 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh', in *The Reign of Henry III*, D. Carpenter (London, 1996), 45-60.; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 303-318; Powicke, *Henry III* pp. 76-83.
[321] *Ann. Mon.* i (Burton), 239-43; CEPR 130; *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 808.
[322] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 30; RL i 409.

have dispelled further criticism, at least in the chronicler's eyes. Apparently Robert de Tweng was not so easily appeased, as his lands were distrained sometime prior to June 1245 for an attack on Walter's clerk, Richard of Salisbury, in the king's hall at Windsor.[323] The justiciar's dismissal left Peter des Roches and his supporters in control of the government. But apart from granting the church of Knaresborough to des Roches' kinsman, Peter de Rivallis, in 1233, Walter remained aloof from the factional wrangling.[324]

It has been suggested that the bishops chose to absent themselves from court, mistrusting des Roches' stranglehold on power. In an effort to win them back the bishops were then showered with various forms of royal patronage.[325] Walter's relations with the crown seem to bear out this thinking. In 1233 Walter was allowed to fine for custody of the lands and marriage of royal wards, Walter de Tunstall and his mother Isobel, and the following year Walter joined with Richard Poore and the abbot of St. Mary's York in securing the deforestation of the lands between the rivers Ouse and Derwent.[326] Gifts of timber, pike, bream and wine were made to replenish the archbishop's stores. Henry III also contributed to the on-going building works at York minster, providing timber for the construction of the crossing tower in 1234.[327] Possibly as a result of his distance from the political wrangling that culminated in the Marshal's war, Walter was untainted by the collapse of des Roches' regime. Knaresborough castle was removed from Peter des Rivallis' custody in May 1234 and was transferred at the king's request to Walter's cleric, Adam de Staveley.[328] Moreover, although his attestation rate remained slight, there are other indications that Walter, either in person or though his envoys, was able to use the king's favour to his own advantage. At this stage a number of mandates appear to have been made at the instance of Walter de Gray. These included the grant of the gaol at Nottingham castle to the archbishop for the imprisonment before trial of clerics accused of theft and other crimes.[329] In July 1235 Walter was also entrusted with the enforcement of the aid of 2 marks per knights fee from clerical tenants of the crown in the counties of Gloucester, Leicester, Nottingham, Lincoln and York. Those failing to pay the aid, which was to be levied to finance the impending marriage of the king's sister, Isabella, to Frederick II, were to have their property distrained.[330]

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[323] *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 315.
[324] *Reg. Gray* p. 63. Significantly Walter had protested against the institution by Hubert de Burgh of *magister* Alexander de Dorset to the church of Knaresborough in 1231. The award to Peter de Rivallis was presumably made after *magister* Alexander's death *c.*March 1233: BOF ii 1352; *Cl. R. 1231-4* pp. 197, 201-2; C. A. F. Meekings, 'Justices of the Jews, 1218-68: a provisional list', in *Studies in Thirteenth century Justice and Administration*, C. A. F. Meekings, iv (London, 1981), 179.
[325] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 366-7.
[326] E372/77 8d; E372/79 m4d; *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 477; DCDCM Cartulary 3 f. 213v-214v.
[327] *Cl. R. 1231-4* pp. 238, 247, 403; *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 237.
[328] *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 438; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 52.
[329] *Cl. R. 1231-4* pp. 380, 404; *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 153.
[330] *Cl. R. 1234-7* pp. 186-7; Mitchell, *Taxation* pp. 208-214; Stacey, *Politics* pp. 98-9.

Increase in tension with Scotland led Pope Gregory IX to issue a mandate to Walter and the bishop of Carlisle in January 1235, exhorting Alexander II to abide by the treaties made between his father, William the Lion, Henry II and John.[331] Alexander, however, ignored this mandate, provoking a stinging rebuke from the pope. Negotiations continued throughout 1236. Following an abortive attempt to conduct Alexander to a Great Council to be held at London in January, on 15 September the two kings met at Newcastle, where the ground work was laid for a more lasting settlement.[332] It is at this stage, late in 1236, that Walter began to emerge as one of Henry's closest counsellors. The timing suggests that it was the prevalence of northern affairs that brought Walter once more into the limelight. During the conference at Newcastle in September 1236, Henry III granted the manor of Driffield to his sister, Queen Joanna of Scotland, for which Walter, or his proctor, was to act on behalf of the queen.[333] The death of Richard Poore on 15 April 1237 had once more plunged the bishopric of Durham into a contest with the crown over the selection of a pastor. In an effort to prevent a repetition of the difficulties experienced during the previous vacancy (1226-8), Walter was employed early on in the king's attempt to sway the electors into selecting his preferred candidate, William of Savoy, bishop-elect of Valence.[334] But Henry's main concern was the ongoing question of the security of the north and the claim by the king of Scots to the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland. Rumours of piracy and foreign invasion abounded, causing Henry in March 1237 to substitute a delegation led by Walter, John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and William de Raleigh, instead of the proposed envoys, Simon de Montfort and William of Savoy, bishop-elect of Valence. Walter and his colleagues were granted plenary powers to treat for peace. The meeting was apparently successful as on 13 August, Walter was instructed to conduct Alexander II with due ceremony to York.[335] There the two kings met with the papal legate, Otto, who concluded a treaty on 25 September 1237. Alexander gave up his claim to hereditary rights in the northern counties in perpetuity and freed Henry from any obligation owed as a result of the projected marriages arranged by William the Lion and King John. In recognition of Alexander's surrender, Henry granted the Scottish king lands worth £200 in the counties of

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[331] CDRS nos. 1265-6; CEPR p. 142.

[332] Walter was also summoned to a council at London, which presumably refers to the council of Merton which met shortly after the coronation of Henry's new queen, Eleanor of Provence, on 23 January 1236, but there is no indication that either Walter or Alexander attended: CDRS no. 1257; *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 331; RL i 483-4.

[333] CDRS no. 1292-3; *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 314.

[334] *D. Ann.* p. 5-6. See below pp. 225-30.

[335] It seems that Durham had initially been suggested as the venue for the meeting, but Henry wrote to the Walter stating that the city was unsuitable as he believed the legate did not want to travel so far north and because Durham did not possess sufficient supplies or servants to provide for the extensive entourages: *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 559; CDRS no. 1317; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 177.

Northumberland and Cumberland with the stipulation that these were to fall outside vills containing castles.[336]

Walter's re-emergence at court coincided with a change in conciliar personnel that had been brought about by the arrival of William of Savoy in early spring 1236. The chief concern of the new group that formed around Henry was the state of the royal finances, which in 1236 had been stretched to breaking point by the king's matrimonial policies. The issues of the aid agreed in 1235, designed to cover the cost of Isabella's dowry had been meagre and slow to arrive and the expense of Henry's own marriage to Eleanor of Provence only compounded the problem.[337] The reasons for Walter's inclusion amongst the ranks of this reforming council is unclear. He does not appear to have participated in the oath sworn by William of Savoy and eleven other counsellors in April 1236.[338] Indeed the evidence from charter witness lists suggests he was drawn into the king's inner circle towards the end of 1236. By this stage the measures undertaken to reap the maximum profit from the various sources of income available to the crown, in particular the resumption of the royal demesne, had prompted significant unrest. It is possible, therefore, that Henry sought to associate the archbishop with the regime during this crisis, in the hope that his position and experience would help to allay baronial fears. As R. C. Stacey notes, the dangers of opposition to the king's aggressive policies in 1236-7 were mitigated by the number of important magnates who sat on the council.[339] Walter appears to have been present at the crucial assembly in January 1237 where the magnates met to discuss the king's demand for a tax of a thirtieth on moveables. The council did not meet until 22 January but Walter's itinerary shows that he was at the royal court from 18 January until 10 February. On 27 January Walter was granted the right to capture eight roe-deer in the forest of Windsor, while he stayed in that area.[340] At the very least he was informed of the intention to levy this tax, as Henry III stated in his writ ordering the collection of the thirtieth from clerical tenants, that the archbishop should well recollect the assembly at Westminster on the octave of St Hilary.[341] In addition Walter was

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[336] The agreement was witnessed by both Walter de Gray and Walter Mauclerk: CDRS no. 1358; *Foedera* pp. 233-4; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The making of a Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 532-534; D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), pp. 331-2. As G. W. S. Barrow argues, the treaty of York recognised the existing Anglo-Scottish border: G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973), pp. 139-161.

[337] For an in depth discussion of the personnel and policy of Henry's council 1236-9 see: Stacey, *Politics* pp. 91-131.

[338] *Ann. Mon.* i (Burton), 395-7.

[339] Stacey, *Politics* p. 131.

[340] Walter seems to have used the occasion to visit his relatives at Rotherfield as a collation to the benefice of Scaleby was issued at *Stokes* on 19 January 1237, which may be identified as Stoke Row or Stoke Poges, both of which were nearby: *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 411.

[341] *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 555-6. The letter was also addressed to Walter Mauclerk, who was present at court around this time and witnessed the reissue of Magna Carta that was demanded by the magnates in return for the thirtieth: *Ann Mon* i (Tewkesbury), 103; C53/30 m7; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 225-6.

named as chief advisor to a writ issued to control the management of forest resources such as hunting rights, pasturage and the collection of green and fallen wood.[342]

Despite this Walter was mindful needs of his church which still took precedence over the affairs of the realm. After the great council in January 1237 Walter's attention was turned to the correction of the gluttonous ways of the canons of Beverley. Moreover his judgement was necessary in the continuing election dispute at Durham. Shortly before attending the legatine council at St. Paul's, London, Walter seems to have received a list of the king's objections to Thomas of Melsonby's candidacy.[343] Henry seems not to have grudged Walter's absences from court. According to Matthew Paris, Walter was among those whom Henry proposed sending as his representative to Frederick II's meeting of Christian princes at Vaucouleurs set for 24 June 1237.[344] For Walter, his visits to court offered the opportunity to advance the claims of his diocese and his network of kinsmen and associates. In a touching plea, Walter defended a local woman, Juliana de Fencot, who was suspected of being involved in the death of her daughter. The archbishop presented her case to the king, arguing that the daughter had been struck by a falling branch when picking apples in a neighbour's garden and that her death was accidental and should not be treated as a felony.[345] By a curious twist of fate Walter was also present at court at the time of the riot at Osney abbey, which was sparked off by hostility to the visit of the papal legate, Otto, cardinal deacon of St. Nicola in Carcere. He was therefore on hand to attend the legatine council on 17 May 1238, held to discuss how best to proceed against those clerics guilty of perpetrating the attack. The town had already been placed under interdict and the scholars had been forbidden to leave without the king's permission. Nevertheless, as noted above, in the days immediately preceding the council Walter had been able to secure the release of three of his clerks and his nephews, Henry and Walter de Gray.[346]

Not all of Walter's dealings, however, can have met with wholehearted royal approval. In January 1240, Matthew Paris recorded that the bishops congregated at London apparently to renew their complaints against the intervention of the lay power in ecclesiastical affairs. The charges, though potentially damaging to the crown if they had

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[342] *Cl. R. 1234-7* pp. 521-2. This formed part of a wider effort to realise the full financial potential of the royal forests: Stacey, *Politics* pp. 110-11.
[343] *Script. Tres.* app. liv. The archbishop had been notified of the royal embassy on 16 October 1237: *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 198. For Walter's participation in Otto's legatine council see above p. 31.
[344] The meeting was postponed to 24 June 1238 and no further mention is made of Walter's attendance: Paris, *CM* iii 393-4.
[345] *CRR 1237-42* no. 101.
[346] Paris, *CM* iii 483-5; *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 47; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 236; *C&S II* pp. 260-1; H. Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the middle ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, iii (Oxford, 1936), 87-8.

been fully addressed, were largely ignored.[347] Like his episcopal colleagues Walter had to submit to the intrusion of Peter Aigueblanche as bishop of Hereford, which Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln claimed had been achieved through a mixture of bribery and intimidation.[348] Nonetheless, Henry III was evidently suspicious of such gatherings. On 29 November 1241 he wrote to Walter, who appears to be the driving force behind a council convened to discuss the continuing enmity between Frederick II and the Church, requesting that the bishops refrain from acting contrary the crown and the royal dignity.[349] Yet Henry's misgivings did not adversely affect the archbishop, who continued to garner substantial grants during these years.[350] In addition at some point before December 1241 he was made joint custodian of the Tower of London, with Bertram de Cryoll, and advanced an allowance of 20 marks for the six months until June 1242.[351] But the highest royal accolade conferred on Walter occurred on 5 May 1242, when the archbishop was commissioned as regent of England during Henry's Poitevin campaign. The appointment was made with the counsel of those present at Portsmouth with the king prior to his departure. Walter was to act with the counsel of Walter Mauclerk and William de Cantilupe.[352] As noted above, Walter threw himself wholeheartedly into his new role. Diocesan business virtually ceased from the time of the king's departure on 9 May 1242 until his return in late September 1243. The better to undertake the business of government, Walter removed from his preferred northern manors of Cawood, Scrooby, Bishopthorpe and Wilton, and progressed through the south, remaining predominantly at Westminster.[353]

The refusal by the magnates to provide financial support for a campaign which contravened the five year peace treaty agreed with Louis IX in 1240, meant that the king was

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[347] Paris, *CM* iv 3; *C&S II* 284-5; Stacey, *Politics* pp. 138-9. Matthew Paris dates this council to 13 January 1240, but C. A. F. Meekings argues that it probably occurred no earlier than 22 January: *CRR 1233-7* p. lvi n. 5.

[348] Walter is named as present together with the legate at Peter's consecration at St Paul's, London on 23 December 1240 and afterwards at the king's Christmas feast at Westminster: Paris, *CM iv* 75; *Epistolae* 264-6; *G&L* p. 89; C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon* (Oxford, 1960), p. 171.

[349] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 267; Paris, *CM* iv 173; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 157; *C&S II* pp. 338-40; F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln* (London, 1899), pp. 217-8.

[350] These included custody of the lands and heirs of Thomas Karo, for which the archbishop fined 400 marks in 1240: *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 238; E372/84 m23d. Walter failed to adhere to the instalment scheme laid out in January 1241 and instead paid the fine in two lump sums in 1245 and 1246: *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 335; E372/89 m22; E372/90 m8. Gifts of timber and game were made to replenish Walter's stocks and further privileges were extended to Walter's mother and brother: *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 113, 149, 173, 180, 202, 203, 264, 271, 298, 371, 394, 426, 424; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 245, 250-1, 264-5, 270; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 288.

[351] *Receipt and Issue Rolls 26 Henry III*, ed. R. C. Stacey, *PRS*, new series, 49 (London,), 95; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 139. Walter seems to have retained custody of the Tower. On 30 April 1244 Walter was pardoned for any blame attached to him for the death of Gruffudd, son Llywelyn of Wales who broke his neck while escaping from the Tower on 1 March 1244, *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 424; Paris, *CM* iii 227, 230; iv 295-6.

[352] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 290.

[353] For a discussion of the regents' itinerary see: C. A. F. Meeking's introduction to *CRR 1242-3* pp. xii-xx.

forced to embark with only half the desired war chest. Furthermore insufficient numbers had answered the king's summons. Despite overwhelming odds Henry was determined to fight on, informing his regents that he proposed to remain in Poitou over the winter.[354] From the beginning of the regency Walter and his colleagues were bombarded with urgent requests for men and supplies. The king's financial difficulties and expectations reached a peak to coincide with the annual Michaelmas accounting at the exchequer. On 13 October 1242 the king gratefully acknowledged the regents efforts but notes that the money that they sent had been insufficient to cover his debts. He therefore exhorted them to send all the proceeds of the Michaelmas exchequer to Poitou as soon as the winds permitted. This demand fell hard on the heels of a request for 30,000 marks, with 3,000 quarters of wheat and the same of oats from the vacant bishoprics of Winchester and Canterbury and 300 well equipped knights. As R. C. Stacey notes, the regents' efforts were frustrated, as the king had already anticipated his resources so well that there was little money remaining to be gathered.[355] The king's desperate request on 19 October 1242 that loans, fines and other resources be pursued to enable the collection of up to 50,000 marks, was doomed to failure. Henry was reduced to offering his regalia and jewels as pledges to the goldsmiths of London and pardoning the debts of his supporters to keep his army in the field.[356] Henry also authorised a stream of presentations to ecclesiastical benefices and awarded lands in England as payment for his allies.[357] Nevertheless, Henry was unwilling to face reality and blamed his straightened circumstances on the loss of treasure ships at sea and on the former treasurer, Walter Mauclerk.[358]

In England Walter and his colleagues organised the final assault on the outlaw William de Marisco, whom Matthew Paris accused of plotting to assassinate Henry III in 1238. On 21 May 1242 William Bardulf was authorised to flush him out from his stronghold on Lundy Island (Devonshire).[359] With the help of the men of Bristol, who were reimbursed for their trouble, the government's forces prevailed. William de Marisco and five other ring leaders were duly brought to the Tower of London and were tried by the regents at Westminster.[360] The majority of judicial business conducted by Walter at Westminster during this period, however, was more mundane. The Curia Regis Rolls also show that he made a number of progresses to hear pleas and put down unrest, including tours of East

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[354] *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 514-5.
[355] *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 457, 470, 496, 518-9; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 336; CDRI no. 2586; Paris, *CM* iv 243.
[356] *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 520-4; *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 73, 78; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 153; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 336.
[357] For example *Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 7-8, 12, 25; *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 332, 335, 342, 364, 380, 390.
[358] Paris, *CM* iv 237-8 See below p. 122.
[359] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 298.
[360] *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 446, 502; Paris, *CM* iv 193-7; C. A. F. Meekings, *CRR 1242-3* pp. xiii, xv-vi; Powicke, *Henry III* pp. 747-54.

Anglia, the midlands, Winchester and the south east.[361] To an increasingly beleaguered king the maintenance of routine justice was important both for the security it provided for his regime and the profits afforded by fines and amercements. Another great source of revenue was the church. Vacant bishoprics such as Canterbury and Winchester were systematically plundered to support the king's campaign.[362] Some vacancies were filled. In May 1242, Walter was empowered to assent to the election of Walter, prior of St. Augustine's, Bristol as abbot of that house or any other fitting person if the prior was found to be unsuitable.[363]

In September 1243, Henry returned to England. The speed of Louis IX's initial rebuff to English hopes in Poitou, coupled with his lack of resources and troops, effectively blocked any significant hope of gains to be made in the region. The two kings concluded a five year truce in April 1243 which was subsequently renewed and extended to 1258.[364] Of the many payments Henry made in recognition of devoted service, Walter de Gray received the right to dictate the marriage of Peter, son and heir of Peter de Maulay. In January 1244 he obtained the right to farm the whole of the de Maulay inheritance during the minority by covenant with the titular custodian, Guy de Russilun.[365] Even more lucrative was the custody of the Lincolnshire lands of the late John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln and constable of Chester, who died in 1241. Walter seems to have been granted the rich estates in 1242 and from 1243 rendered an account of £558 2s to the royal exchequer until the king restored the lands to John's heir, Edmund de Lacy in May 1247.[366] The cessation of his duties as regent appears to have come as a relief to Walter. In contrast to his fellow regent, Walter Mauclerk, who remained attendant on the king, the familiar pattern of infrequent attestations of royal charters and visits to court interspersed amongst diocesan business which was characteristic of his career prior to 1242 once more reasserted itself. In 1244 the rumour mongering of William Bisset provoked a flurry of activity on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border. Unsettled by the suggestion of a possible alliance between Alexander and Louis IX, a powerful delegation headed by Walter de Gray was sent to Earl Patrick of Dunbar in July

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[361] For a discussion of Walter's judicial itinerary and activities during the regency see: C. A. F. Meekings, *CRR 1242-3* pp. xii-xx.

[362] Paris, *CM* iv 230-1; *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 488, 503; M. Howell, *Regalian right in Medieval England* (London, 1963), pp. 150-1.

[363] Prior Walter's candidacy was dismissed and a fresh licence to elect was issued on 20 June 1242. William Longe, the chamberlain of Keynsham was promoted in July 1242: *Pat. R. 1242-47* pp. 288, 299-300. The Benedictine nuns of Shaftesbury also faced a disputed election, the candidacy of Agnes de la Ferrariis probably being dismissed as she was a blood relative of the recently executed William de Marisco: *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 329-300; *Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 28, 396; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 192; *Heads II* p. 605

[364] Powicke, *Henry III* p. 195. On the conclusion of the war Henry turned his attention to internal problems in Gascony: F. B. Marsh, *English rule in Gascony, 1199-1259* (Ann Arbor, 1912), pp. 86-110.

[365] *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 398, 415-6; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 210. Walter held the fee until October 1247: *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 540; E372/90 m7d; E372/92 m18d.

[366] E372/87 m26d; E372/88 m23; E372/89 m25; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 502; *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* ii 18.

1244 to inquire into the trespasses apparently committed by Alexander and the earl against English interests. It is unclear whether Walter actually fulfilled this embassy, but he was present at the ensuing conference convened at Newcastle. On 12 August he stood as surety for Henry III in an agreement with the count of Flanders over the damages caused to the king of Navarre by his Gascon subjects.[367] Two days later Henry met Alexander II at Ponteland, just outside Newcastle, where the Scottish king gave assurances of his loyalty to Henry III. According to the Melrose chronicler, the peace treaty was concluded chiefly at the insistence of Walter and the other nobles of the realm.[368]

It is notable that Henry, who by 1244 had become dangerously isolated from the nobility of the realm, still included Walter in his counsels.[369] Although his presence is not specifically noted, Walter may have attended the crucial parliament at London in November 1244 at which the king requested an aid, reputedly to replenish his coffers exhausted by the Poitevin campaign. The exact date of the parliament is hard to establish. Matthew Paris stated that it occurred on 3 November, but F. M. Powicke argued that it probably dispersed on this date, having been convened at the end of October.[370] In addition to the secular deliberations, the papal nuncio, *magister* Martin, presented Innocent IV's demand for a subsidy to the prelates. Walter's itinerary for these dates is unknown, but he witnessed two charters on 11 and 13 November, which could indicate that he had remained at court after the business of the parliament had been concluded.[371] Although this assertion is conjectural, Walter was does appear to be aware of the outcome of the discussions. Protest against the combined demands of king and pope and Henry's refusal to submit to proposed reforms had caused those present to delay their response until 23 February 1245. Walter absented himself from this later council but was represented by a proctor.[372] The evidence concerning Walter's attendance of the General Council at Lyons in June 1245 is similarly problematic. Walter and Nicholas of Farnham had been summoned to the council in a letter issued under the name of Gregory IX, but which has been dated to 20 December 1244.[373] Nevertheless, the archbishop was unwilling to obey the summons, as he was named amongst those that the king humbly postulated should remain in England. Innocent IV, however, writing on 20

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[367] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 434; Stacey, *Politics* pp. 244-5.
[368] *Chron. Melrose* p. 69; Paris, *CM* iv 430. D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery* (London, 2003), p. 336; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The making of a Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 535-7; M. Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249-1272', in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, eds. B. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (Aldershot, 2002), 45-7. See also pp 122-3, 233.
[369] Stacey, *Politics* p. 253.
[370] Powicke, *Henry III* pp. 298-9; Stacey, *Politics* pp. 247-54.
[371] C53/37 m7; Lunt, *Financial relations* pp. 206-19; *C&S II* pp. 388-91;
[372] This argument is based on the acceptance of Matthew Paris' account of the February meeting. The annals of Dunstable, however, note the absence of an unspecified archbishop, not both: Paris, *CM* iv 372; *Ann. Mon.* iii 166-7. On Walter's probable sentiments towards the papal exactions see below pp. 63-4.

May 1244, refused to excuse the archbishop. It is not clear whether this rebuttal could have reached Walter in time for him to reach the council which was in session on 28 June and on 5 and 17 July. He witnessed a royal charter at Westminster on 7 June and was probably at court to prompt the king's confirmation of certain gifts made to his nephew, Walter de Gray, on 12 June. But from this point on until 13 January 1246 Walter disappears from the record rendering it impossible to state definitively whether he journeyed to Lyons or not.[374]

In the last decade of Walter's life, notices of the archbishop's absence from the king's councils due to his remoteness from court or old age begin to occur in the records. Matthew Paris noted that he was absent from the parliaments held in October 1252 and May 1253. Despite this Walter remained surprisingly active, attending parliaments in February 1248 and May 1255.[375] Moreover he declined a papal mandate to investigate the legality of Henry III's marriage to Joan of Ponthieu as he was too taken up with other affairs.[376] At Christmas 1251 York was the setting for another Anglo-Scottish marriage alliance, on this occasion between the young king, Alexander III and Henry's daughter, Margaret. The ceremony was performed by Walter in York minster on St Stephen's day, part of an elaborate week long series of feasts and formal celebrations designed to impress and confirm English superiority.[377] Even after the wedding Henry made every effort to exert English influence in Scotland, often using the health of the royal couple, and that of his own queen, as an excuse.[378] In July 1253 Walter was despatched to persuade Alexander to allow Margaret to return to England in order to attend Queen Eleanor's confinement. The offer was denied by the Scottish nobles.[379] At York in 1251, Walter followed the king's lead, giving a sumptuous wedding banquet, attending to every need, providing for every deficiency. He was behaving, Matthew Paris asserted, as if he were prince of the North. The festivities, however, were not without cost. The chronicler cryptically noted that despite rich gifts of gold, silver and silk worth 4,000 marks, the archbishop never reaped the benefits,

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[373] *Reg. Gray* pp. 162-3; *C&S II* p. 402 n. 1.

[374] C53/37 m4; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 285; Paris, *CM* iv 413-4. Powicke and Cheney, however, interpreted the papal letter of 20 May as meaning that Walter did not attend the General Council: *C&S II* p. 402 and n. 4.

[375] Paris, *CM* v 5, 324, 495. Paris' note of Walter's absence from the parliament which met from 4-13 May 1253, though contradicted by the annals of Burton, appears to be confirmed by a charter issued by Walter at Cawood on 7 May: Paris, *CM* v 373; *Ann. Mon.* i (Burton), 305; *Reg. Gray* pp. 115-7; *Whitby Cart.* ii 507.

[376] *Foedera* pp. 270-1, 277-8, 284-5. For a full account of this affair see: M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 58-9.

[377] Paris, *CM* v 266-9; *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury), 146; M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 77-8; K. Staniland, 'The Nuptials of Alexander III of Scotland and Margaret Plantagenet', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 30 (1976), 20-45.

[378] M. Brown, 'Henry the peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249-1272', in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, eds. B. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (Aldershot, 2002), 49.

having sown his largesse in sterile soil.[380] More explicable is the grant made by Henry III on 6 January 1252 in favour of the dean and chapter of York. The canons had complained that the king's marshals had ignored the liberties of the church of York and had commandeered their houses to accommodate the nobles who were attending the wedding. The king made known his intention not to contravene the canons' liberties henceforth.[381]

After accompanying the king on the first stage of his progress south, Walter then returned to preside over a session of the general eyre held at Beverley on 3 February 1252.[382] Beyond the royal courts, Walter also made efforts to ensure peace. In May 1253 a conflict had arisen between the men of archbishop's manor of Laneham and those of Robert Grosseteste over thirty-three acres of pasture and meadowland known as *Estmerse*. The bishop of Lincoln's men alleged that they had been set upon, some of their number were killed and the rest were imprisoned at Laneham, their beasts confiscated. Walter requested a royal inquiry into the incident, which appears to have been the latest flare up in a long running argument. Accounts of the precise nature of the attack are garbled, however, as an earlier writ appoints the same royal clerks to investigate an assault on the men of Laneham. The accusations of violence, robbery and imprisonment are duplicated, but in this version the assailants seem to have been Grosseteste's men, who imprisoned the men of Laneham at the episcopal manor of Stowe.[383] In July 1253 an agreement was sealed by the bishops of York and Lincoln, together with their chapters, in which Walter and his successors were granted thirty-six acres of pasture in Laughterton in exchange for *Estmerse*. Reciprocal pasturage and biannual hay making rights were detailed, enclosures were to be erected after 2 February and straying beasts were to be restored to their owners.[384]

Even at this late stage in his life Walter exhibited the diplomatic qualities that had stood him in good stead throughout his long and eventful career. There appears to be little evidence to confirm the assertion by W. Hunt that Walter, who had become disillusioned with the royal and papal policy, spoke out against the evils of the administration. Walter's rejection of papal exactions can be extrapolated from a protest addressed to Innocent IV in 1247. In a letter to the pope, the archbishops of Canterbury and York and their suffragans

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[379] CDRS no. 1935; *Cl. R. 1251-3* p. 485. It is possible that this particular request was born out of the close relationship between mother and daughter: M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 103-4.

[380] Paris, *CM* v 266-71.

[381] *Hists. York.* iii 170-1; *Cl. R. 1247-58* p. 124. A further privilege of Henry III is recorded together with this grant which specifies that the commandeering of the canons' houses and hospitality both within the city and outside was prohibited. The grant, however, was issued by Henry I between 1100 and 1122 as it is witnessed by Robert [Bloet], bishop of Lincoln who is described as chancellor, and Robert earl of Mallent, Henry's illegitimate son who was created earl of Gloucester in 1122.

[382] Crook, *General Eyre* pp. 116-7; *Feet of Fines York 1246-1272* p. 79.

[383] It is possible that these are two separate attacks but the details are so similar as to render this unlikely: *Pat. R. 1247-58* pp. 228-9; *Cl. R. 1251-3* p. 468.

[384] *Reg. Gray* pp. 292-3. The church of Fenton belonged to York: *Reg. Gray* pp. 132-3, 184-8, 229 n.

courteously refused to grant the subsidy, offering instead a fixed sum of 11,000 marks.[385] Notwithstanding this refusal, on 25 April 1252 Walter was appointed by Henry as joint executor of the crusading tenth which had been granted to the crown by Innocent IV in April 1250.[386] Walter and his fellow executors were subsequently replaced by the bishops of Chichester and Norwich and the abbot of Westminster as collectors of the levy. But this change was probably influenced by Walter's advanced age, rather than because of his resistance to the subsidy.[387] Indeed the only protest he made to the king over the tenth was the response of the provincial council held at Blyth discussed earlier, in which the bishops of the northern province declined to pronounce on the issue, declaring that it should be debated by all the clergy of the realm.[388] To Henry III the venerable survivor of his father's regime was, as he so often had been, a trustworthy figurehead, an authoritative and capable servant who seems to have been above faction. As in previous years royal grants and privileges continued to demonstrate the king's favour.[389] Walter was arguably the ideal antidote to the growing discontent caused by the king's Sicilian policy and the immunity granted to the king's Savoyard and Poitevin relatives and other favourites. On the departure of Queen Eleanor, who had been sole regent while Henry fought to retain his Gascon possessions, he was once more nominated as custodian of the kingdom.[390] Matthew Paris asserted that Walter declined the honour, pleading the burdens of old age and sickness. Nevertheless, the king continued to call on Walter to participate in the counsels of the realm. His authority was also invoked to delay the disputed election of a local nobleman, Thomas de Vieuxpont, to the see of Carlisle in May 1254 until Henry's return from Gascony.[391]

Poignantly it was returning from a great council in April 1255 that Walter, worn out by daily fasting and weighed down by care, accepted an invitation from the bishop of London to rest at his manor of Fulham. It was there, after a sojourn of three days, debilitated by age, weariness and toil, that the archbishop died on 1 May 1255. His body was prepared for burial and was conducted with great ceremony to York by his suffragan, Walter de Kirkham, bishop of Durham. At York he was buried with fitting honour in the minster on 15

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[385] *DNB*; Paris, *CM* vi 144-5; *C&S II* p. 390.
[386] *Cl. R. 1251-3* p. 214; *Foedera* p. 272. Henry's appointment copied the pope's instructions of 30 April 1250, *Foedera* p. 274.
[387] Lunt, *Financial relations* pp. 255-63. As noted above Walter had absented himself from the councils held in October 1252 and May 1253 where the prelates had debated and finally consented to the levy: Paris, *CM* v 324, 373; C&S II pp. 451, 474-9.
[388] *Reg. Gray* p. 211; *C&S II* p. 450. See above p. 35.
[389] *Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 151, 158, 309, 313, 461; *Cl. R. 1251-3* pp. 29, 67, 388; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 293, 347, 386-8.
[390] Paris, *CM* v 447; *Cl. R. 1253-4* pp. 115-6, 137, 140, 254, 272. M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 112. Thomas Wykes erroneously stated that Walter and Richard, earl of Cornwall were left as joint regents in August 1253: *Ann. Mon.* iv (Wykes), 104.
[391] Royal assent was given for Thomas de Vieuxpont on 5 November 1254: *Cl. R. 1253-4* p. 244; *Pat. R. 1247-58* p. 391.

May.[392] While artisans constructed his magnificent Purbeck marble tomb, his limestone coffin was covered with a painted effigy of the archbishop.[393] This painted coffin cover and the other riches buried with Walter, which included an ivory headed crozier, a gold ring set with a large sapphire, a silver chalice and pattern and rich embroidered textiles, were discovered when the tomb was opened in 1968. Apart from his vestments, which were judged to be of linen rather than silk, the contents of the grave form a powerful demonstration of the archbishop's wealth. The ivory crozier appears to have been deliberately embellished with precious stones to grace the tomb, while the sapphire ring is the largest discovered to date from an episcopal grave. The striking embroidered cushion on which his head rested was patterned with stylised animals and a symbol which may be a representation of the keys of St. Peter.[394] This well appointed and dignified burial tells us much of the high esteem which was felt at York for their great archbishop. Walter may have been a devoted royal servant for much of his career, but his attachment first and foremost was to the church of York. Under the rule of Walter de Gray the fabric as well as spiritual life of the churches of the diocese was restored. The accolade of 'Our Great Benefactor' is richly deserved. He asserted his authority over his suffragan bishops of Carlisle, Durham and Whithorn and tactfully defended York's rights against the see of Canterbury. In the political life of the kingdom Walter was a steadying influence. He retained the favour of pontiffs and kings through interdict, invasion, civil war and helped to secured royal authority in northern England.

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[392] Paris, *CM* v 495-6; *Ann. Mon.* i (Burton), 336; iii (Dunstable), 196.

[393] The vaulted structure above the coffin led to the colourful speculation that Walter had died excommunicate and had been interred in the canopy, rather than in the coffin. The story was disproved in the eighteenth century by Francis Drake who bored a hole in the canopy and discovered it was solid: F. Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the city of York* (London, 1736), p. 427.

[394] On the opening and contents of the tomb see: H. G. Ramm et al., 'The tombs of Archbishops Walter de Gray (1216-1255) and Geoffrey de Ludham (1258-1265) in York Minster, and their contents', *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971), 101-139.

CARLISLE

2. Bernard of Ragusa, bishop of Carlisle (*c.*1204-*c.*1214).

The career of Bernard, archbishop of Ragusa (1189-1199) and subsequently, second bishop of Carlisle (*c.*1204-*c.*1214) stands out as one of the most intriguing but elusive episodes in the early history of the diocese of Carlisle.[1] Elusive, because, in comparison to his fellow bishops in the archdiocese of York, Bernard has left little mark on the historical record. Our knowledge of his episcopate, both in Ragusa and in Carlisle, stems from a mere handful of references. Moreover the majority of these date from the period of his residence in England. The few Ragusan sources that survive only heighten our confusion, leading one historian to assert that not one but two Bernards held the post of archbishop of Ragusa between 1189 and 1199. As a result nothing is known of Bernard's origins prior to his elevation to the see of Ragusa, while the reasons for his dramatic flight to England and the manner of his translation to Carlisle, though better documented, remain unclear. This lack of detail, at least concerning his activities in England, may be in part excused by the paucity of sources that survive from Carlisle in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the absence of references to Bernard in certain sources is telling. In his entry in the *Victoria County History* for Cumberland, Rev. James Wilson stated that the archbishop of Ragusa 'was in constant attendance at the English court, with the probable intention of gaining preferment in England'.[2] But this picture of the refugee archbishop begging for scraps at King John's table is not borne out by contemporary records. Singularly amongst the men elevated to the episcopate in the archdiocese of York in the early thirteenth century, Bernard was neither a royal clerk nor a courtier. During his time in England he witnessed no royal letters and appears in the royal presence a total of three times.[3] Papal recognition following his flight to England, as we shall see later, was also lacking. It is therefore easy to see why Christopher Cheney, in his study of the troublesome relationship between Church and State during the Interdict, dismisses Bernard of Ragusa, stating that he 'counted for nothing'.[4] On a purely national level this view can be considered as fair. But his role in the development of the diocese of Carlisle is a more significant one. For his episcopate marks the end of a 48-year vacancy, which lasted from the death of the first bishop, Aethelwold in 1156. Yet even here his career remains obscure and the subject of much debate. Historians have at times provided alternative dates for his episcopate (1156-1186) leading to the suggestion, as in

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[1] An article based on this chapter has been published in the *Journal of Postgraduate Studies*, Trinity College, Dublin (2002-3), pp. 133-151.
[2] *VCH Cumberland,* ii 21.
[3] Bernard was present for King John's coronation in 1199 and attended the funeral of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln in 1200: *Howden* iv 89; *Vita S. Hugonis* p. 114; *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* p. 207. He was also a witness of the homage of William, king of Scots to King John in November 1200: *Howden* iv 141.
[4] C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 315.

Ragusa, that there were in fact two Bishops Bernard of Carlisle.[5] Others have questioned his existence altogether.[6]

The first extant contemporary reference to Bernard comes from a papal letter to Count Gervase and the people of Ragusa dated 25 November 1189. In this letter Pope Clement III stated that he had received Bernard, archbishop of Ragusa and knowing him to be possessed of goodness, virtue and learning, had granted him his pallium and therefore commended him to his flock.[7] Here, however, the certainty appears to end. Accounts of this period, the majority of which date from the sixteenth century or later, are confused and contradictory. Consequently a variety of dates can advanced for the duration of Bernard's archiepiscopate. Writing in the second half of the sixteenth century, Nicolo di Ragnina in his *Annali di Ragusa del Magnifico* stated that Bernard became archbishop in 1185, four years before Clement III's mandate of 1189.[8] Over 100 years later, Daniele Farlatti published a list of archbishops in which he noted not one but four prelates between 1189 and 1199: Bernard I (1189-1191); Salvius (1191-1194); Gausonus (1194-1197) and Bernard II (1197-*c.*1205). In addition Farlatti comments that the first Archbishop Bernard, though absent from all catalogues and writings of Ragusa, was without doubt the person referred to in Clement III's letter of 1189. Therefore, he ought to be distinguished from the second Bernard who was elected in 1197, as the existence of Salvius and Gausonus in between prevent the confusion.[9] Angelo and Sebastian Dolci in *De Ragusini*, however, argue that Gausonus was in fact archbishop between 1177 and 1197 and was succeeded by Bernard who fled to England in 1199.[10] Unfortunately many of the original documents upon which these accounts are based have since been lost. Sorting fact from fiction, myth from reality and forgeries from genuine documents thus becomes an extremely difficult task.

Ragusa (modern day Dubrovnik) in the early thirteenth century was a thriving commercial city with trade links throughout its Balkan hinterland and the Adriatic. Nominally under Byzantine suzerainty, the city was largely independent until 1204, when it became a Venetian dependency. Since the foundation of the see in the tenth century the archbishops of Ragusa had traditionally played an important role in the conversion of the pagan Slavs to Christianity, becoming metropolitan of Bosnia and southern Dalmatia, exercising authority over a number of suffragans including Bar (Antivari) and Bosnia. But

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[5] F. Godwin, *De Praesulibus Angliae commentarius* (Cambridge, 1743), p. 145.
[6] T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, iii (Oxford, 1854), 230; A. Haddan and W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ii (Oxford, 1873), 34, 48.
[7] *Migne* cciv 1449-1450.
[8] 'Annali di Ragusa del Magnifico, Ms. Nicolo di Ragnina' in *Annales Ragusini ed. S. Nodilo,* (MSHSM, xiv Scriptores 1, (Zagreb 1883) p. 219.
[9] Daniele Farlatti (ed.), *Ilyrici Sacri*, vi (Venice 1800), 83-90.
[10] *De Ragusini archiepiscopatus antiquitate Epistola Anticritica*, Angelo and Sebastian Dolci (Ancona, 1761).

towards the end of the twelfth century, threatened by the expansionist policies of Hungary, Stephan Nemagna ruler of Serbia and Vukan, the self styled king of Dioclea and Dalmatia, the influence of the archbishopric of Ragusa was in a state of flux. Around 1192, apparently through the machinations of the king of Hungary who claimed overlordship in Bosnia, the bishopric of Bosnia was transferred to the jurisdiction of the pro Hungarian archbishop of Split. For the Hungarians this transfer achieved a dual purpose of bolstering the prestige of Split and also bringing to heel the Bosnian ruler, Ban Kulin, who though acknowledging Hungarian overlordship, ruled a virtually independent state. The bishopric of Bar was a further bone of contention. Originally part of the archbishopric of Ragusa, Bar's status reflected the changing fortunes of the Zetan state in which it lay. Elevated to an archbishopric by Gregory VII, Bar, and its suffragan dioceses of Ulcinj (Dulcigno) and Drivast, remained autonomous until 1142 when, as Zeta declined, the archbishop of Ragusa persuaded the pope to reverse the alienation. But by 1199, with the support of the fiercely ambitious Serbian rulers; Stephan Nemagna and Vukan, it appears that the pope had once more been prevailed upon to confer archiepiscopal status on Bar.[11] The papacy's interest in the region stems largely from the growing rumours of Patarene heresy, usually identified by modern writers as Bogomilism.[12] Bogomilism, a dualist heresy similar to Catharism, originated in Bulgaria in the mid tenth century spreading gradually until by the late twelfth century it was reported in Split and Bosnia. But arguably such rumours were often dubious. In 1199 Ban Kulin himself was accused by Vukan of introducing his wife and more than 10,000 Christian subjects to heresy.[13] If taken at face value, Kulin's rejection of the Roman church may have been, as M. Spinka suggests, a bid for independence from pro-papal Hungary.[14] Vukan's accusation, however, could equally have been an astute political move to ingratiate himself with the papacy and wrest control of the church of Bar from Ragusa. J. V. A. Fine has claimed that it was the archbishop of Ragusa's failure to enforce orthodoxy in his suffragan dioceses that led the pope to reinstate Bar as an archdiocese.[15]

Against this backdrop of heresy and intrigue, Archbishop Bernard remains a shadowy figure, his actions obscured by the confused nature of the sources. Nothing is known of his origins, although it has been suggested that he was possibly of Anglo-Norman

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[11] Innocent appears to expressed some doubts over the validity of Bar's claim, for in a letter of 26 January 1199 he stated having discovered that Bar was numbered among the suffragans of Ragusa, therefore, the legates who had carried the pallium to Dalmatia, were not to bestow the pallium unless it was proved that Bar had held metropolitan status in the past, *Migne* ccxiv 418-2; *Potthast* nos. 566, 567, 578. It appears that Bar's bid was successful as by September 1199 Innocent is writing to John archbishop of Bar: *Migne* ccxiv 731-2; *Potthast* no. 831.

[12] Though it is to be noted that Vukan's wife was a relative of Pope Innocent III, see: A. P. Vlasto, *The entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 216.

[13] *Migne* ccxiv 725-6.

[14] M. Spinka, *A History of Christianity in the Balkans* (Chicago, 1933), p. 159.

[15] J. V. A. Fine jnr., *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp. 43-6.

birth.[16] The consensus amongst modern historians is that Bernard was indeed archbishop from 1189 until his flight to England sometime before 1199. Any earlier date for his election is discredited by the existence of a papal letter of 21 June 1188 to his predecessor, Archbishop Tribune, confirming the lands and privileges of Ragusa.[17] Moreover the record of a judgement made between Archbishop Bernard and his suffragans on 3 May 1195 directly contradicts the episcopal lists produced by Daniele Farlatti and Angelo and Sebastian Dolci.[18] Despite the troubled times, it appears that Bernard exercised some form of metropolitan authority. According to the *Chronica Ragusina*, Archbishop Bernard consecrated two bishops: Paul, bishop of Ulcinj in 1191 and Radigost, bishop of Bosnia, who had been sent to Ragusa for confirmation in 1189. Knowing no Latin or any other language except Slavic, Radigost is reported to have sworn his oath of obedience as a suffragan in the Slavic language.[19] The sources also record that at the invitation of Ban Kulin, Bernard consecrated two churches in Bosnia either in 1190 or 1194, the latter date suggesting that Bernard ignored the alienation in 1192 of Bosnia to Split.[20] But Bernard's archiepiscopate was not a successful one. His authority was challenged from within Ragusa as well as from without by the expansionist designs of Hungary and Zeta. Pope Clement III's letter of 1189 to the count and people of Ragusa lays great emphasis on the duty of obedience that should be shown to their archbishop. The letter was undoubtedly issued by the papal chancery at the request of Archbishop Bernard, indicating that from the beginning of his archiepiscopate he was experiencing some difficulties in Ragusa. These difficulties were to continue for on 3 May 1195 a dispute between Bernard and his clergy over the consecration of the bishop of Bosnia was only resolved through judicial arbitration.[21] Curiously both this dispute and Clement III's letter have been ignored by historians attempting to explain Bernard's dramatic flight to England. Instead they point to the emergence of heresy threatening the security of the Roman church in the region or to Bernard's failure to protect his church from the depredations of foreign powers all of which date after 1192.[22] Undeniably these could have been factors which encouraged his flight. Nevertheless it is clear that from 1189 Bernard

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[16] C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 74.
[17] *Migne* cciv 1368-1371.
[18] *Acta Bosniae pottissimum ecclesiastica*, ed. P. Eusebius Fermendžin, MSHSM, 23 (Zagreb, 1892), p. 4.
[19] Resti, *Chronica Ragusina ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451*, ed. S. Nodilo, Trans Monumenta Hist. Slavonum Meridionalium, xxv, Scriptores 2, (Zagreb, 1893), p. 63.
[20] The date of 1190 is advanced by Nicolo di Ragnina: *Annali di Ragusa del Magnifico*, in Annales Ragusini ed. S. Nodilo, MSHSM, xiv Scriptores 1 (Zagreb 1883), p. 219. While 1194 is suggested by Orbini: *Regno de gli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni Historia di Don Mauro Orbini* (Pesaro, 1601), p. 350.
[21] *Acta Bosniae pottissimum ecclesiastica*, ed. P. Eusebius Fermendžin, MSHSM, 23 (Zagreb, 1892), p. 4.
[22] J. V. A. Fine jnr., *Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1987), p. 45; J Lučič 'The earliest contacts between Dubrovnik and England' in *Dubrovnik's relations with England* (Department of English, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, 1977), 9-29.

was insecure on his archiepiscopal throne. The importance of this evidence is that no exact account of the circumstances leading up to Bernard's flight exists.

Resti's *Chronica Ragusina* recorded that in 1196 Vukan, who was attempting to seize power throughout Serbia following the abdication of his father Stephan Nemagna, began to harass Ragusa on account of (*per causa*) the suffragans. Finding the situation intolerable, Archbishop Bernard abandoned the church of Ragusa and transferred himself to Italy. Pope Innocent III in turn, acting on a complaint from the canons of Ragusa, decreed that if the archbishop did not return within four years then the canons should proceed to elect another man. Moreover it was this decree, the chronicle asserted, that finally prompted Bernard to resign his post into the hands of the pope.[23] Sebastian and Angelo Dolci, however, present a different version of events. They describe a synod held in Dalmatia by the papal legate, John, together with Simon the subdeacon, in 1199. The purpose of the synod, they explain, was to restore discipline in the church. The legates' attempts were to prove ineffective because following the synod, disputes arose amongst Ragusa's suffragans and disgusted or wearied by these disputes, Archbishop Bernard fled his see.[24] The common theme that emerges from these notably disparate accounts is the dispute between Ragusa and her suffragans. This added to Clement III's rebuke to the count and people of Ragusa in 1189 provides the most plausible explanation for Bernard's dramatic departure. Unable either to control or defend his subordinates and finding no support from Ragusa, Bernard, possibly in imminent danger of death as the pope later asserted, abandoned his see.[25]

Paradoxically, despite its dramatic nature, dating this remarkable event remains a complex issue. The earliest probable date for Bernard's flight is provided by the annals of Bermondsey which, though somewhat confused, state that the archbishop came to England with King Richard I.[26] The crusader king, Roger of Howden reports, was returning from Acre in October 1192, landing first at Corfu where he and some twenty others took ship and landed at Gazera near Ragusa.[27] Howden alone out of the chroniclers that record Richard's journey back from the Holy Land mentions Ragusa specifically. William of Newburgh stated that Richard was shipwrecked between Aquileia and Venice, while Ralph of Coggeshall agrees with Howden that Richard halted at Gazera, but without reference to Ragusa.[28] Howden himself was not present on the voyage, having returned from the Holy Land with King Philip II of France. The most likely source for Howden's tale, therefore, is

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[23] Resti, *Chronica Ragusina ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451*, ed. S. Nodilo, Trans Monumenta Hist. Slavonum Meridionalium, xxv, Scriptores 2, (Zagreb, 1893), p. 67.
[24] *De Ragusini archiepiscopatus antiquitate Epistola Anticritica*, Angelo and Sebastian Dolci (Ancona, 1761).
[25] SLI no. 18.
[26] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Bermondsey) 450, the entry then erroneously relates that it was Richard (rather than King John) who awarded Bernard the custody of the bishopric of Carlisle.
[27] *Howden* iv 89.

the king's clerk, *magister* Philip of Poitou, who was one of Richard's twenty companions who set sail from Corfu and remained with the king throughout his subsequent captivity in Germany. Significantly Philip was later to be rewarded with the bishopric of Durham, which provides a link between bishop and chronicler as Roger's parish of Howden formed part of the franchise of the church of St. Cuthbert.[29] In addition, Roger of Howden's account is supported, albeit tenuously, by a Ragusan tradition that Richard the Lionheart had been shipwrecked off Ragusa and in recompense for his rescue had donated money to build a church there. Unfortunately the first written evidence of the king of England's largesse, though apparently a long-held tradition in the city, occurs in 1590 and even then Richard himself was only officially named as the origin of the largesse in 1597.[30] Setting aside these inconsistencies it seems doubtful that Bernard actually left Ragusa with Richard in 1192. No mention is made of his presence amongst the king's party in captivity, nor of his arrival in England prior to 1199. Other Ragusan sources, as we have seen, also point to a later date for his departure, setting it between 1196 and 1199. But of these Resti's date of 1196 is based on a misinterpretation of a papal mandate issued by Pope Innocent III in June 1202.[31] In this Innocent III clearly stated that the canons were to elect a new archbishop one month after receiving the mandate as Bernard had been absent from the church of Ragusa for over four years (as noted, Resti's version is that the canons have licence to elect if Bernard remains absent for 4 years). Moreover, in ascribing these events to 1196 Resti ignores both the date of the mandate, June 1202, and the fact that Innocent's pontificate began in 1198 not 1196. Similar objections can be raised against Angelo and Sebastian Dolci's description in *De Ragusini*, that Bernard left in 1199 after a legatine synod failed to restore discipline in the region. John the chaplain and Simon the subdeacon were indeed, as *De Ragusini* reports, dispatched by Innocent III in January 1199 to cleanse the province of Dioclea of superfluous and injurious practices.[32] This legation, which was sent in response to letters written by Vukan espousing his ardent devotion to the mother church in Rome, was also charged with investigating the reinstatement of Bar's metropolitan status.[33] Nevertheless, despite the obvious threat that the legatine mission posed to Bernard's authority, it is unlikely that it prompted his departure. For the synod mentioned in *De Ragusini* appears to have occurred in the summer of 1199, by which date it has been established that Bernard was already in

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[28] *Newburgh* p. 382; *Coggeshall* pp. 53-54.
[29] For Roger of Howden's connections with *magister* Philip of Poitou and the probable sources of his chronicle see: J Gillingham ' The travels of Roger of Howden and his views of the Irish, Scots and Welsh' in *Anglo Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), 151-169; and also J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), pp. 231-233.
[30] J Lučič 'The earliest contacts between Dubrovnik and England' in *Dubrovnik's relations with England* (Department of English, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, 1977), 9-29.
[31] *Migne* xxiv 970-1.
[32] *Migne* xxiv 480-1 no. 525.
[33] *Migne* xxiv 481-2 no. 526.

England.[34] Taking all this information together it would seem prudent to date his absenteeism to around 1198.

Having fixed on a plausible date, one further mystery remains. Why did the exiled Bernard choose England as his refuge? After all, the journey from Ragusa to England was a long and arduous undertaking for a cleric without any known contacts en route. One possibility is that Bernard, as Cheney suggests, was of Anglo-Norman birth.[35] Having failed to impose himself on his insubordinate archdiocese, it would arguably be a natural course of action to return to his homeland. If this hypothesis is correct, it would go some way to explain why Bernard met with considerable resistance in Ragusa. Given the unsettled conditions in Dalmatia, a foreign prelate without local support, would undoubtedly be a very isolated figure. But regardless of his origin, the most obvious conclusion that can be drawn from contemporary accounts is that previous contact with King Richard persuaded Bernard to seek his patronage. Moreover, it is tempting to suggest that Bernard owed his introduction to the king's circle to his former acquaintance, *magister* Philip of Poitou. As noted earlier Philip as royal clerk had accompanied Richard on crusade and in the years following Richard's release in 1194, he travelled widely on royal embassies. On 20 April 1197 Philip was consecrated bishop of Durham in Rome by Pope Celestine III. This event marks the settlement of a protracted dispute at the papal court between Richard's envoys and the archbishop of Rouen over the manor of Les Andelys, which Richard had chosen as the site of his new castle of Chateau Gaillard.[36] A year later Philip led the delegation which represented Richard at the election of his nephew Otto of Brunswick as king of Germany at Cologne in June 1198. Another representative known to Bernard present at the election was the count of Aumale, Baldwin of Bethune who had also attended Richard on his voyage from the Holy Land in 1192. It is interesting to speculate, therefore, that Bernard may have encountered Philip of Poitou either in Rome or Germany and returned with him to Richard's court. Proving this theory is, however, problematic. No record survives of Bernard's presence either in Rome in 1197 or Germany in 1198 nor that he ever joined Richard's court in France.[37] Indeed if it was his intention to seek Richard's patronage it seems that he

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[34] J. V. A. Fine jnr., *The late medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1987), p. 45; F. W. Carter, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa), a classic city-state* (London, 1972), p. 77; A. Theiner (ed.), *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*, i (Rome, 1863), no 13; and T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae and Slavonie*, ii (Zagreb, 1904-1910), no. 312.

[35] C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 74.

[36] *Howden* iv 14, 16-17.

[37] F. W. Carter claims that Bernard travelled to Rome in 1199, but to date no other reference to this journey has been discovered: F. W. Carter, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa), a classic city-state* (London, 1972), p. 77. Though as noted above Resti does state that Bernard fled to Rome and resigned his office into the pope's hands: Resti, *Chronica Ragusina ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451*, ed. S. Nodilo, Trans Monumenta Hist. Slavonum Meridionalium, xxv, Scriptores 2 (Zagreb, 1893), p. 67.

arrived too late, as Bernard's first appearance at the royal court occurred at the coronation of King John at Westminster 27 May 1199.[38]

Exiles like Archbishop Bernard were not unknown during this period: prelates from as far afield as Trondheim and Nazareth also found refuge in England.[39] In an era when absenteeism was common, their presence was usually welcomed, as they served as temporary suffragans, consecrating churches, judging disputes or acting as officials for vacant abbeys and dioceses.[40] Bernard was no exception. Shortly after John's coronation, in June 1199 he was commissioned by Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury to enthrone Bishop Savaric of Bath in his new see.[41] Similarly in June 1206, according to the annals of Bermondsey, he translated the remains of Peter, the first prior of their house (1089-1118/19) and dedicated an altar in honour of the Virgin Mary and all the saints.[42] Some effort was also made to provide him with a living, for in 1200 King John granted Bernard custody of the diocese of Carlisle, which he was to hold until a more ample benefice was provided.[43] By granting custody of a vacant diocese in this manner, King John was following established royal practice. The exiled archbishop of Trondheim was provided with an income from the vacant abbey of St Albans and the bishopric of Lincoln successively by Henry II.[44] Nevertheless, the exact nature of Bernard's authority in the diocese appears to have been a matter of dispute. This is evidenced by a series of four papal letters of March 1201 addressed to John, prior and the convent of St Mary, Carlisle, which together form a comprehensive confirmation of the priory's rights and privileges. Significantly these letters include a papal grant that no bishop may be set over them whom they have not canonically elected.[45] Exactly why the canons took such defensive measures at this stage is unclear. Not all exiles were received with open arms. Gerald of Wales warns against appointments made by Welsh, Scottish and Irish bishops, as they are unsuitable.[46] Ecclesiastical appointments were certainly on the canons' agenda as Innocent III also grants that they may place their brethren in parish churches pertaining the priory. It is possible therefore that the monastic chapter merely sought to protect themselves against the interference of their custodian. This may in part be the result of the long vacancy, which had left the canons fiercely protective of their independence. Since the death of Bishop Aethelwold in 1156, the management of the

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[38] *Howden* iv 89.
[39] *Gesta Henrici* i 268-9; *PR 5 John* p. 6, cf. p. xviii.
[40] C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956), pp. 148-9. L. A. S. Butler, 'Suffragan bishops in the medieval diocese of York', *Northern History*, 37 (2000), 49-60.
[41] Adam of Domerham, ii 384. Bernard also granted indulgences in return for contributions to the church fabric: Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.5.33 (no. 724) f. 80 r.
[42] *Am. Mon.* iii (Bermondsey), 450.
[43] *Ro. Chart.* p. 96b.
[44] C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956), p. 148; I *roll of the pipe, 28 Henry II (118-2)*, PRS., 31 (London, 1910), p. 60.
[45] CI nos. 306-9; Mitchell, *Taxation* p. 110.
[46] *Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Rolls series, iii (London, 1863), 368.

bishopric's estates had usually fallen either to the prior or the archdeacon of Carlisle.[47] But the fact that the canons also felt it necessary to secure immunity from an uncanonically elected bishop, suggests that they suspected a more sinister motive for King John's grant.

Under the Angevins royal authority in the north was steadily increasing. Royal visitations became more frequent, taxation was increased, in Henry II's reign the king's forest of Inglewood (which lay just to the south of the town) was extended and in 1201 King John personally supervised an inquest into royal rights and properties in the county. Carlisle was an important centre of royal administration as well as a stronghold against Scottish incursions. But English control over Cumberland remained precarious. During the anarchy of King Stephen's reign the county returned to Scottish rule and many of the local border families had closer ties with Scotland and Ireland than with England. To counter this, Henry II after 1185, began to remove local magnates from important administrative posts and impose his own place-men. Families such as de Vesci, de Vaux and de Stuteville were replaced by newcomers such as Hugh Bardolf and Gilbert fitz Reinfrey.[48] This process was continued and accelerated by Henry's sons, particularly by John, whose heavy handed dealings with the northerners prompted many, including Eustace de Vesci and Nicholas de Stuteville, to join the rebellions of 1212 and 1215. In the early part of John's reign, however, security was a more important consideration than asserting royal authority. The counties of Northumberland and Cumberland were therefore returned to the control of the Stuteville family under Nicholas' nephew, William, thus binding them to the new regime. The bishopric of Carlisle on the other hand appears to have been too poor a prize for the local nobility to fight over, although Peter de Ros, archdeacon of Carlisle describes himself as *custos* of the bishopric.[49] Henry II's attempt in 1186 to fill the see, which coincided with his dismissal on charges of corruption of Robert de Vaux, sheriff of Cumberland, had ended in failure. The bishop-elect, Paulinus of Leeds, master of St Leonard's hospital in York, refused the impoverished see, despite Henry's promise of an extra 300 marks per year for the diocese.[50] The diocese remained in royal hands until 1188, contributing a measly £52 19s 6d to the royal coffers, after which even the notoriously avaricious Angevins lost interest in retaining so small a catch.[51]

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[47] T. H. B. Graham, 'The Medieval Diocese of Carlisle', *CWAAS*, new series, 25 (1925), 96-113; H. Summerson, 'Old and New Bishoprics: Durham and Carlisle', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 369-80.

[48] Holt, *Northerners* pp. 202-3.

[49] *Reg. Wetheral* nos. 120, 123. Peter de Ros was archdeacon of Carlisle 1189-1196/7 and canon of York. He was probably part of the de Ros family which held the barony of Helmsley (Yorks.), the most prominent member of which was Robert de Ros who held the shrievalty of Cumberland 1213-15 and rebelled against King John in 1215: Holt, *Northerners* pp. 24-5.

[50] *Gesta Henrici* p. 349; *Howden* ii 309.

[51] As a rough comparison, the income of the wealthy bishopric of Winchester ranged between £3513 in 1218-1219 and £4917 in 1226-7; the difference in incomes reflect the gradual return to normality following the French invasion and rebellions of 1216-1217: Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 146-147.

King John's motives, therefore, in granting the bishopric of Carlisle to Archbishop Bernard, hardly appear sinister or particularly generous. Moreover, it is unlikely that John endeavoured at this stage to impose Archbishop Bernard on the Carlisle chapter. No mention is made of any episcopal election held in Carlisle until 1218 and it appears that either John's grant of 1200 was ignored or that Bernard's custody of the see was short-lived. In March 1202 John informed the bishop of Chester that he has presented Henry of Derby to the vicarage of Melbourne (Derbyshire), which was attached to the church of Carlisle, as the bishopric was in royal hands.[52] It is possible that the canons' unease persuaded the king to install a more acceptable candidate. For in June the following year the bishopric was granted to our beloved clerk, Alexander de Lucy. The abbots, priors and clerics of the diocese were instructed to receive Alexander and show him due obedience. The de Lucy family controlled the Cumberland burghs of Copeland and Egremont and although Alexander's connection to the family is not recorded, it is probable that he was related to this increasingly powerful local family. The terms of this grant, however, are ambiguous. Did King John intend merely to grant Alexander custody of the diocese or the bishop's mitre as well? In the event it seems the king soon experienced another change of heart and on 18 November 1203 Alexander de Lucy was appointed archdeacon of Carlisle.[53]

John's apparent indecision was probably the result of papal intervention. As we have seen, by June 1202 Innocent III had accepted Archbishop Bernard's abandonment of his see, and ordered the canons of Ragusa to elect a new pastor one month after receiving his mandate. In doing so, Innocent asserted the papacy's sole right to translate or depose bishops. Such action was, however, a last resort. In 1206, Bishop Gilbert Glanville of Rochester's plea for resignation on the grounds of age and ill health was rejected, forcing him to remain in office until his death 1214.[54] In Bernard of Ragusa's case, Innocent still seems to have held out some hope that even at this late stage the errant archbishop would return to his flock. Not until a year later at the urgent supplication of Bernard himself, did Innocent finally release him. King John was informed in a letter dated 15 May 1203 that the archbishop had been relieved of 'the obligation of care and responsibility for the church of Ragusa by which he was bound'. But Innocent went further, he also granted to Bernard, by the bounty of the apostolic see, the bishopric of Carlisle and the church of Melbourne to "prevent the archbishop from suffering lack of the things of this world to the scandal of our ministry". These gifts, the pope claims, had already been made over to Bernard by the munificent generosity of the king and by his venerable brother, Geoffrey, archbishop of

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[52] *RLP* p. 7.
[53] *RLP* p. 35b.
[54] *Potthast* no. 2677.

York.[55] Bernard's reception by this redoubtable archbishop was sweetened by a parallel letter, which informed Geoffrey that although the exile was to hold the right to exercise the episcopal office, he was not to be allowed the use of his pallium and was to show due reverence to Geoffrey as metropolitan.[56] In the process of pleading for his release therefore, it appears that Bernard also made a bid for the diocese of Carlisle, appealing to Innocent's conception of the dignity of his ministry to further his cause. In his impoverished state he was clearly unwilling to allow Carlisle to slip through his fingers.

Surprisingly Innocent's letter prompted no immediate response. This degree of papal interference was normally unacceptable to King John, who like his predecessors was vehement in the defence of his royal rights and privileges. But in 1203 John was preoccupied with defending the duchy of Normandy against King Philip II of France. Furthermore, as the tide of the war turned against him, John sought to avoid further confrontation by appealing to the pope for his aid in arranging a truce with Philip II. Innocent III complied, dispatching a papal nuncio, Gerald, abbot of Casamari to treat with Philip, exhorting him to make an enduring peace with King John or risk ecclesiastical censure.[57] Though the embassy was to prove unsuccessful, Innocent persevered sending further instructions to Abbot Gerald in October 1203 and April 1204.[58] At this point, on 10 January 1204, John informed his brother Geoffrey, archbishop of York that, acting on Innocent's letter of May 1203, he has granted the bishopric of Carlisle to Bernard of Ragusa. Given the timing of this grant, and the change of policy it appears to represent, it is possible that King John sought to ingratiate himself with the pope in the hopes of his continued intervention with Philip II. If so he seems to have exceeded the papal mandate, for John stated that Bernard was to be treated, not just as custodian, but as pastor and bishop. The terms of Innocent's mandates of May 1203 are open to interpretation. His letter to King John referred mainly to the temporalities of the see, while to Archbishop Geoffrey he stated that Bernard should be allowed to exercise the episcopal office in the diocese but without reference to the papal right of translation. On the other hand, John may simply have wanted to fill the see with a candidate who was after all totally reliant on his good will, securing the diocese without having to rely on the local nobility.

As I noted in the introduction, this confusion in the sources has led some historians to doubt Bernard's existence as bishop of Carlisle. Hardy in his *Fasti Ecclesiae* and Haddan and Stubbs regard Bernard merely as a custodian, and assert that the diocese remained vacant

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[55] CLI no. 474, SLI no. 18.
[56] CLI no. 473.
[57] SLI no. 19.
[58] CLI nos. 510, 555.

in effect until the election of Hugh of Beaulieu.[59] On the whole, as Cheney noted, it is probable that Innocent intended nothing more than the provision of an adequate income for the former archbishop.[60] King John, however, misinterpreting the papal mandate for his own reasons, installed Bernard as bishop of Carlisle. Ultimately it was this act that was to prove decisive. From this point on the royal chancery addresses Bernard as bishop of Carlisle rather than as archbishop of Ragusa. The only exception was during the reign of Henry III who in 1218 in a letter to the sheriff of Cumberland ordered him to give full seisin of the lands pertaining to the see of Carlisle to the bishop-elect, Hugh of Beaulieu, as they has been held by Bernard *archiepiscopus Sclavoniensis*, former custodian of the diocese.[61] Bernard himself, both on his episcopal seal and in his few surviving *acta*, uses the title *Bernardus dei gratia Karleolensis episcopus.*[62] Clearly there was no doubt in his mind concerning the validity of his office. This attitude was shared by the monastic institutions within the archdiocese of York. Cartularies, including those belonging to Lanercost, Wetheral, Holmcultram, and Whitby all contain charters issued by Bernard confirming their possessions and privileges. During the long vacancy after the death of Bishop Aethelwold, such charters had been issued by the archdeacon of Carlisle. Moreover, although we lack any cartulary for Carlisle priory itself, it is evident that the canons had also accepted Bernard's authority. In an *inspeximus* issued by Henry de Mareis, prior of Carlisle (1214-?1217), contained in the Lanercost cartulary, he was referred to as 'our venerable father, Bernard, bishop of Carlisle'.[63] Contrary to his experiences in Ragusa, therefore, Bernard appears to have been secure in his new see. He paid visits to Furness in 1211, witnessing a charter there with the bishop of Down, and probably to Guisborough (North Yorks) in 1214 as he was mentioned in a list of witnesses to a charter of Alice de Rumely who granted the church of Bridekirk in Allerdale to the monastery.[64] His charters reveal a conscientious diocesan who was careful to maintain the duties and privileges of his church. In a letter addressed to the officials, deacons, parsons and chaplains of the diocese, Bernard exhorts them to honour the arrangements made for the sustenance of St Peter's Hospital (St

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[59] T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, iii (Oxford, 1854), 230; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland,* ii (Oxford, 1873), 34, 48. This view is also held by G. Hill: *English Dioceses; a history of their limits from the earliest times to the present day* (London, 1900), p. 292 fn.3.

[60] C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 75.

[61] *RLC* i 369.

[62] *Lanercost Cart.* no. 174 for example.

[63] *Lanercost Cart.* nos. 174,175.

[64] *Furness Coucher*, ii, part 2, no. 8; *Guisborough Cart.*, no. 1142. It is possible that the charter between Fountains and Furness was witnessed at Melrose, Ralph, bishop of Down was formerly abbot of the monastery there, and was present along with the abbot of Fountains, Furness and Calder, the latter of which also witnessed the charter, at Melrose in 1211. There is however, no mention of Bernard's presence: *Chron. Melrose* p. 35; c.f. C. R. Cheney, 'King John's reaction to the Interdict', *TRHS*, 4th series, 31 (1949), 140.

Leonard's) in York, under pain of ecclesiastical censure.[65] He also seems to have enjoyed relatively cordial relations with his metropolitan, Archbishop Geoffrey of York, witnessing two of the latter's charters.[66]

Unlike his successors, Hugh of Beaulieu and Walter Mauclerk who had the ear of the king, materially Bernard contributed little to the diocese. King John was moved in 1205 to provide him with a pension of 20 marks per year for life and confirm his possession of the church of Melbourne.[67] But aside from this the king seems to have largely ignored Bernard. He is not mentioned as part of the royal retinue when John visited Carlisle in 1206, 1208 and 1212.[68] The few royal letters addressed to the bishop of Carlisle during this period merely inform Bernard, as diocesan, of the king's presentations to benefices in his see.[69] From the surviving evidence, therefore, his career was hardly that of the persistent royal courtier described by Rev. James Wilson.[70] Similarly the pope, having ordered the provision of a suitable living for the exile, also appears to have forgotten Bernard's existence. For uniquely amongst the bishops in my study of the archdiocese of York in the early thirteenth century, Bernard is the only diocesan who does not figure in papal correspondence. This silence is especially striking when it is considered that even the disreputable Bishop Richard de Marisco of Durham received letters ordering ecclesiastical reform in his diocese.[71] Perhaps, Innocent III, to whom the importance of pastoral care was paramount, was reluctant to address his efforts to a man who had deserted his flock. It is possible, however, that this absence of royal and papal correspondence is due to the loss of documents at a later stage. In a charter which dates between *c.*1205 and 1214 concerning the presentation of *magister* Ernald to the church of Crosby Ravensworth, Bernard stated that he was acting on royal orders though no record of them survives.[72] As a result little is known of Bernard's career as bishop of Carlisle, though it is known that he did not join the general exodus of bishops from England following the excommunication of King John in 1209 and remained in his see

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[65] BL MS Cotton Nero D.III f.47. This letter taken from the cartulary of St Leonard's Hospital, York, appears to be a previously unknown missive of 'B bishop of Carlisle'. As the cartulary purports to contain material from the time of Aethelstan until the reign of Edward I and is written in a 14th or 15th century hand, the letter should definitely be ascribed to Bernard of Ragusa. The only other 'B bishop of Carlisle', is Barnabus Potter (1629-1642).

[66] *Reg. Gray* p. 73n; *Whitby Cart.* no. 270.

[67] *RLC* i 52b; this grant was confirmed in 1207: *RLP* p. 76.

[68] The witness list of a royal charter issued on 17 August 1208 at Carlisle makes no mention of Bishop Bernard: DCDCM 3.1.REG.20.

[69] *RLP* pp. 51, 115.

[70] *VCH Cumberland*, ii 21.

[71] Mandate to Richard de Marisco to deprive of their benefices *R. de Berneval* and others who live in matrimony: CEPR p. 80.

[72] *Whitby Cart.*, no. 36. Interestingly Bernard stated that Whitby was vacant and therefore in royal hands because of the present disturbance in the church due to the Canterbury dispute.

throughout the Interdict.[73] Unlike Peter des Roches bishop of Winchester, the only other prelate to remain and risk possible excommunication, who stayed because of loyalty to the king, Bernard's reason was most probably poverty. He simply had no where else to go.

Characteristically, Bernard's end is as obscure as his beginning. Rev. James Wilson recorded that Bernard was at death's door in 1212, afflicted by debilitating age and continual illness.[74] This account, however, which is taken from Walter Bower's continuation of the Scotichronicon, is misdated. For the chronicle describes the ambition of Adam of Kendal, abbot of the nearby Cistercian house of Holmcultram, to succeed the ailing bishop of Carlisle and his attempts to secure, by bribery, his unanimous election to the see. Moreover, Adam, as Bower notes, himself succeeded William de Courcy as abbot of Holmcultram after the latter had been promoted to become abbot of Melrose.[75] William's translation, however, occurred not in 1212 but in November 1215.[76] The bishop of Carlisle to which Bower refers, therefore, is Bernard's successor, Hugh of Beaulieu, who died in 1223. It would appear that Bernard was still alive in 1214, for a later insertion into the Lanercost cartulary stated that he dedicated the priory church of Lanercost in the twelfth year of his episcopate. If, as the editor of the cartulary suggests, Bernard's episcopate was dated from Innocent III's letter of 15 May 1203, then this would provide the date of May 1214-May 1215 for his twelfth year.[77] This evidence is, however, problematic as the insertion dates the consecration not to 1214 but to 1169. Nevertheless, given that the priory was only founded shortly after 1165, it is unlikely that the consecration of the church could have occurred at such an early stage.[78] Moreover the possibility that Bernard did indeed live until 1214 is strengthened by a confirmation charter issued by Henry de Mareis, the new prior of Carlisle, referring to Bishop Bernard as *'venerabilis patris nostri, B[ernardi] Karleolensis episcopi'*.[79] Henry de Mareis was elected prior of Carlisle between 26 June 1214 and 25 August 1214.[80] It is therefore possible that this election occurred at the very end of Bernard's life. If so, then Bernard died very shortly afterward for on 8 July 1214 the diocese was granted to the

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[73] C. R. Cheney, however, suggested that Bernard may have taken refuge in Scotland during the Interdict, as he postulated that the agreement between the abbeys of Fountains and Furness witnessed by Bernard in 1211 was made at Melrose. But in a later work Cheney indicates that Bernard did remain in England throughout the Interdict: C. R. Cheney, 'King John's reaction to the Interdict', *TRHS*, 4th series, 31 (1949), 140; Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 315; see above p. 78 n. 64.
[74] *VCH Cumberland*, ii 22 fn. 2.
[75] D. E. R. Watt (ed.), *Scotichronicon*, v (Aberdeen 1990), 25-30.
[76] *Chron. Melrose* p. 43; see also Knowles ed., *Heads I* p. 135.
[77] No evidence survives from contemporary records as to the exact dating of Bernard's episcopate. Le Neve dates it from Innocent III's grant in May 1203, *Fasti* ii (Carlisle), p. 19; while J. E. Prescott argued for 1204-1214 based on King John's grant of the bishopric in January 1204: *Reg. Wetheral* appendix D.
[78] *Lanercost Cart.* p. 4.
[79] *Lanercost Cart.* no. 175.
[80] *RLC* i 207b, 211b.

custody of Aimeric, archdeacon of Durham for the duration of the vacancy.[81] To the end of his days, therefore, Bernard remains a shadowy figure, leaving little mark on the historical record, an exile who unaccountably preferred the windswept north of England to the Mediterranean climate of Ragusa. Dismissed as a non-entity, he nevertheless returned episcopal rule to the diocese of Carlisle after a 48-year vacancy.

[81] *RLP* p. 118. A further letter to the bishop of Carlisle (unnamed) concerning the election of Henry de Mareis as prior of Carlisle therefore appears to be a scribal error as it is dated 25 August 1214: *RLC* i 211b.

3. Hugh of Beaulieu, bishop of Carlisle (1218-1223).

Hugh of Beaulieu's elevation to the bishopric of Carlisle was the product of the age-old compromise between ecclesiastical idealism and practical necessity. King, pope and legate combined to elect him to a see which had been overrun by a Scottish invasion during the wars which had threatened the survival of the Angevin regime. Although often a rather obscure figure, his contribution to the course of events in his somewhat chequered career should not be underestimated. As his toponymic recalls he appears to have been Burgundian monk who rose to become abbot of new Cistercian house of Beaulieu (Hampshire).[1] Unlike many of his brethren who sought to retire from the world, Hugh was thrust into the limelight as a negotiator in the protracted and bitter dispute over the Canterbury election in King John's reign. In this guise he made frequent embassies to Rome between 1206 and 1215 to represent the interests of his royal sponsor. Rarely an originator of policy, he was nevertheless a trusted associate of King John and one of his closest counsellors, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. His abilities as a mediator secured his own fortunes and that of his house, which flourished under royal patronage. In 1218, therefore, despite apparently having been deposed as abbot for worldly living, Hugh was a fitting choice for the regency government, determined to secure the Angevin succession and reassert English rule in the north of the kingdom. His rule as bishop of Carlisle was marred by the process of dividing the possessions and rents of the see, which coloured his relations with the cathedral chapter. Nevertheless, he successfully asserted episcopal authority through the diocese, and is thought to have embarked on a programme of building work at Carlisle cathedral, an ambitious scheme considering the relative impoverishment of the see.

The abbey of Beaulieu was founded by King John on the royal manor of Faringdon in late 1202, had moved to Beaulieu in the New Forest by January 1204/5.[2] According to contemporary chroniclers, Beaulieu, or *Bellus Locus*, was intended by John to salve his conscience after a bitter quarrel with the Cistercian order in 1200 over their claims to exemption from taxation. Fortuitously, the king's attitude to the order had been softened by the miracles that occurred in the aftermath of the death of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln.[3] This determination won John the approval of Pope Innocent III who wrote in March 1202 of his

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[1] The editors of *Heads of the religious houses of England and Wales* vol. 2 refer to Hugh as Hugh of Cardeville, but I have as yet found no evidence of this surname in the sources, although it is probable that Cardeville is a derivation of *Carduill* or Carlisle: *Heads II* p. 260.

[2] The site at Faringdon apparently proved unsuitable: *Ann. Mon.* i (Margam), 26; ii (Waverley), 254; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v 680; *Cartae Antiquae I* no. 222; S. F. Hockey, *Beaulieu: King John's abbey* (London, 1976), pp. 10-22, 23-6; S. F. Hockey, *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, Southampton record series, 17 (1974), pp. xxxiv-v; C. Holdsworth, 'Royal Cistercians: Beaulieu, her Daughters and Rewley', in *Thirteenth-Century England IV*, eds. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1992), 139-50.

rejoicing at the news that the king, having humbly confessed the sins he had committed since manhood, was prepared to make amends by founding a Cistercian monastery.[4] The house retained close contacts with the king throughout his reign, receiving numerous grants of land and financial aid towards the construction of its buildings.[5] Indeed, Ralph of Coggeshall recorded that John proposed to be buried at Beaulieu, his sole religious foundation. But despite the monks' protests, owing to the French occupation of the abbey in 1216, he willed his body to St Wulfstan's church of Worcester.[6] Traditionally Hugh of Beaulieu is supposed to have been the first abbot of this new foundation. Some doubt, however, is cast on this assumption by the cartulary of Newenham abbey (Devon), which was a daughter house of Beaulieu. In this register the names of the first abbots of the mother house are given as; Hugh, Hugh, Acius, Denis and William.[7] With no distinction made between the two Hughs it is impossible to state that Hugh of Beaulieu was indeed the first abbot. Unfortunately, the cartulary is the only source for this information. Turning to the royal records the earliest reference to Hugh as abbot of Beaulieu is contained in a letter providing for his expenses incurred on the king's business at the papal curia in 1206.[8] Given that only four years had elapsed between the foundation of the monastery at Faringdon and the appearance of Hugh as its abbot in the royal records, it seems improbable that a change in leadership had occurred at Beaulieu. At the very least it is likely that Hugh was one of the original group sent from France to take up possession of King John's grant.

With this in mind, is it possible to glean any clues about Hugh's place of origin? According to the charter detailing the grant of the manor of Faringdon, the monks who occupied the original site of the monastery came from the abbey of Cîteaux.[9] But the strongest evidence points to the nearby abbey of La Ferté, Cîteaux's eldest daughter house. Included in the letters and charters of the papal legate Guala, is an *actum* of 3 September 1217 which recorded the collation by Guala of a moiety of the church of Caddington (Bedfordshire) to a William de Grisneto, cleric, nephew of the former abbot of Beaulieu.[10] The toponymic '*de Grisneto*', has been connected with La Ferté as the monastery is situated on the river Grosne near Chalon, and it may well indicate that both William and his uncle

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[3] *Howden* iv 144-5; *Coggeshall* pp. 102-110; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v 683; *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 254; *Life of St. Hugh* pp. 232-3; S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), 155-6.
[4] SLI no. 13.
[5] *RLC* i 12b, 93b; *PR 13 John* p. 178; *PR 14 John* p. 91; *Cartae Antiquae I* no. 222; *Rot. Chart.* p. 204b; S. F. Hockey, *Beaulieu: King John's abbey* (London, 1976), p. 22. John visited Beaulieu, where in 1208 it is mentioned he had a house, in May 1206, December 1212 and March 1213: *Mem. R. 1208* p. 65.
[6] *Coggeshall* p. 109; *Foedera* p. 144; *Ann. Barnwell* p. 232; W. L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1997), p. 255; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 131-2.
[7] BL MS Arundel 17, fos. 45 and 53.
[8] *RLP* p. 67.
[9] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v 683.
[10] *Rot. Hugonis de Welles* i 58. A further nephew, Wischard, is noted in October 1222: *RLC* i 514.

originate from La Ferté.[11] This is corroborated by the statement of the Waverley annalist that the abbot of La Ferté was sent by the lord abbot of Cîteaux to accept the royal manor of Faringdon in 1202.[12] No record remains of the exact composition of this colonising party and the abbot of La Ferté is the only person mentioned by name.[13] Nonetheless, it is possible that Hugh accompanied his abbot from La Ferté and remained at Faringdon with the monks of Cîteaux. Even without conclusive proof for either abbey, however, there seems little doubt that Hugh was a native of Burgundy.[14] As such he provides yet another example of King John's patronage of aliens which caused great consternation and unrest among the political elite of England during the early part of the thirteenth century. Like many of his fellow aliens, such as Peter de Rivallis and his kinsman Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, Hugh was frequently to be found in royal service. This factor has led one historian to state that Hugh was John's own nominee to his new foundation. Unfortunately this rather attractive theory is unsubstantiated.[15] Even so, the extent to which Hugh of Beaulieu was employed by the crown throughout his career, would suggest that he was a royal favourite. Conversely F. M. Hockey postulates that Hugh's involvement with the crown may well have sprung from his sense of obligation to the king, as the abbey's founder and benefactor.[16]

Contemporary records show that Hugh was an invaluable royal instrument and a particularly talented loyal envoy and mediator. He rose to prominence during the war of attrition between papacy and crown that erupted after the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury in 1205. Throughout this conflict Hugh was heavily engaged in John's attempts to control the election of the new archbishop of Canterbury, or at the very least reduce papal intervention. Following the double election of Prior Reginald and John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, a Canterbury delegation had been dispatched in answer to papal summons to present themselves at the curia on 1 October 1206. A similar mandate was issued to King John who was requested to send proctors to act for him in the curia on the appointed day. On 25 August, therefore, Hugh was provided with letters of credence to merchants for his expenses on his embassy to Rome.[17] Despite this Hugh was unable to prevent the monks from accepting Innocent's compromise candidate, Cardinal Stephen

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[11] *Tuala Letters* p. 9.
[12] *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 254.
[13] The chronology of the succession of the abbots of La Ferté is confused, rendering it difficult to determine whether it was Abbot Nicholas or Abbot Odo who took possession of Faringdon in 1202: A Archdale King, *Cîteaux and her elder Daughters* (London, 1954), pp. 116-7; *Ann. Mon.* i (Margam), 26; ii (Waverley), 254.
[14] The Lanercost chronicle stated that Hugh was abbot of '*Belli-Loci de Burgundia*': *Chron. Laercost* p. 27.
[15] EH p. 30 n.2.
[16] F. M. Hockey, *Beaulieu, King John's abbey* (London, 1976), p. 24.

Langton. Having failed to secure the election of John's favourite, John de Gray, there was little the envoys could do but try to limit the damage done by the pope to the king's traditional rights and privileges. The result of their actions can be seen from Innocent's letter of *c.* 20 December to John recounting the refusal of the royal envoys to give John's assent to the election of Stephen Langton.[18] In reality, despite Innocent's obvious chagrin, their refusal was a foregone conclusion. John's co-operation with papal demands would set a dangerous precedent for other episcopal elections. This would perforce result in a corresponding decline in royal power, an event to which no Angevin king would submit readily. Hugh appears to have returned to England by mid-February 1207.[19] His embassy, however, was far from conclusive, as John's objections to the legality of Innocent's intervention had fallen on unsympathetic ears. Accordingly Stephen Langton was consecrated at Viterbo 17 July 1207. Stalemate had thus deteriorated into hostile deadlock. Various measures were employed on either side to bring the dispute to a satisfactory conclusion. Innocent, finally despairing of voluntary royal co-operation, imposed a general interdict on England on 23 March 1208, followed by a personal excommunication of the king in November 1209. John for his part vented his fury through his infamous confiscation of clerical property coupled with the imprisonment of clerical mistresses.[20] Negotiation between two such determined parties would arguably seem fruitless. Nevertheless, Hugh of Beaulieu's movements show that some less drastic attempts were made to break the deadlock.

It seems that Hugh was almost immediately despatched to Rome to treat with Innocent to remove the interdict. On 4 April 1208 an order for the transportation of Hugh, along with his entourage, was issued to the bailiff of the port of Kent, and his arrival in Rome is chronicled by Innocent's letter of 27 May. Hugh, the pope wrote, had forwarded the king's proposal for the acceptance of Stephen Langton, though these do not include the king's personal conveyance of the archiepiscopal *regalia*, which Innocent then requested.[21] The speed of John's response to the promulgation of the interdict suggests that initially the papal censure was regarded as a greater threat than historians have previously allowed. The importance of this mission and the unusual appearance of Hugh as the sole named delegate accordingly raises our estimation of his experience and the level of trust placed on him. This estimation is confirmed by Hugh's inclusion amongst the ranks of the royal contingent

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[17] CLI nos. 699, 701; *RLP* p. 67. For a detailed account of the Canterbury election see: Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 147-54.
[18] CLI no. 725.
[19] *RLP* p. 69.
[20] For a discussion of the conflict between church and state see: Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 303-25; C. R. Cheney, 'King John and the papal interdict' *BJRL*, 31 (1948), 295-317; C. R. Cheney, 'King John's reaction to the Interdict on England', *TRHS*, 4th series, 31 (1949), 129-150.
[21] *RLC* i 108b; CLI no. 793.

detailed to meet the proctors of Stephen Langton at Dover which finally occurred in August 1209. Hugh of Beaulieu is named by Gervase of Canterbury among the impressive delegation headed by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, and included royal servants such as the justiciar, Geoffrey fitzPeter, earl of Essex and William Brewer. To this meeting Hugh brought a continuity of experience they might otherwise have lacked. The terms agreed at Dover, which included the full restoration of clerical property and the safe return of Archbishop Langton and the executors of the Interdict, were not unduly harsh. Nevertheless, in spite of the efforts of Hugh and his colleagues, the king mistrusted the safeguards detailed in the negotiations, notice of which was issued on 9 August.[22] The ultimate failure of these negotiations cannot be ascribed to the inadequacy of the mediators but to the king's refusal to back down even under threat of papal excommunication.

The escalation of the conflict which resulted from King John's uncompromising stance ensured Hugh's continued prominence on the diplomatic stage. Not surprisingly, therefore, the composition of the negotiators hardly changed by 1212 when John, forced by rumours of deposition backed by a French crusade, coupled with increasingly seditious unrest at home, finally submitted.[23] In November 1212 Hugh, accompanied by Alan Martel, Thomas of Erdington and Peter Sarracenus, was sent to re-open negotiations based on the form of peace mooted in 1211. The pope's rejection of these out-dated terms, however, meant that pressure continued to mount during the early months of 1213.[24] In May 1213, in a famous move calculated to attach papal interests to the Angevin cause and defuse the antagonism between Church and State that the dispute had created, John surrendered the kingdoms of England and Ireland to Innocent as papal fiefs.[25] Although Innocent had cautiously welcomed this sign of the king's good intentions, difficulties remained concerning the details surrounding the lifting of the double ban of excommunication and Interdict. As John faced ever more pressing demands from the English clergy for compensation for income lost to the crown during the conflict, Hugh once again embarked for Rome in August 1213. As Innocent reports, on 4 November, in addition to raising the issue of John's excommunication, he was charged with certain unspecified petitions, presumably the ecclesiastical rights to which the pope also refers. In addition the envoys fixed papal interest

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[22] The king's proctors did, however, secure the postponement of the papal excommunication of King John until mid September. Archbishop Walter de Gray subsequently advised a further delay until 7 October 1209: *Gervase of Canterbury* ii c-iii, cv-vi; see above p. 7.

[23] C. R. Cheney, 'The alleged deposition of King John', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to F. M. Powicke*, eds. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), 100-116; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 326-341; Holt, *Northerners* pp. 79-88; S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1979), pp. 187-90.

[24] This list is based on royal letters of credence, though the composition of the embassy appears to have changed as the pope's letter of 27 February 1213 also includes William of St. Ouen, Philip of Worcester and *magister* Richard of Terrington: *RLP* p. 123b, 126; CLI no. 905.

[25] Paris, *CM* ii 544-6; *Ann. Mon.* i (Burton), 222.

in the king's fortunes by obtaining a bull confirming the surrender of May 1213. Innocent's letter illustrates the effectiveness not only of John's own demonstration of loyalty to Rome but also of the mediators' machinations on John's behalf. The pope, using a favoured metaphor, addressed the king as a 'troublesome patient' who has been cured by papal ministrations.[26] John's successful conversion of Innocent from a determined adversary to a devoted overlord, has many causes, not least the surrender of the kingdoms as papal fiefs. But some credit should be assigned to the loyal, if self-interested, delegates described by Innocent as 'wise and trustworthy men'.[27]

Needless to say, Hugh could hardly have become such a regular and indispensable ambassador if he did not maintain John's trust, which was no mean feat. Perhaps the most revealing insight into the value placed on Hugh's services by the crown comes from his involvement in elections to vacant sees, which occurred after the lifting of the interdict in 1214. Although Innocent had instructed his legate, Nicholas, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, to oversee the elections, promoting candidates who were loyal to the king, John deemed it necessary to take steps to ensure the legate's co-operation.[28] A series of letters was dispatched to the electors of Bury St. Edmunds, Carlisle, Chichester, Coventry, Durham, Evesham, Exeter, Norwich, Peterborough, Ramsey, St. Peter's Westminster, St. Swithun's Winchester, Worcester and York, informing them that a suitable pastor was to be selected in the presence of a number of venerable men, including Hugh of Beaulieu. In addition to this, while the king was absent on campaign in Poitou, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, was to give consent to the new elections on John's behalf.[29] This arrangement, it has been suggested, was a deliberate attempt by the king to prevent the archbishop of Canterbury from influencing the course of elections during his absence.[30] Unfortunately it is only possible to trace Hugh's personal involvement in one of the elections detailed above, that of Bury St. Edmunds.[31] The election of Hugh of Northwold as their new abbot in August 1213 had left the monks of Bury divided between those adhering to correct canonical procedure and those who felt that the election had been rushed through without prior royal nominations. Stephen Langton, to whom the supporters of Hugh of Northwold had appealed for confirmation, rejoiced declaring, 'Glory to God in the highest, for in this way the church has at last

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[26] CLI no. 940-1; SLI no. 63; *RLC* i 148b, 149. Hugh appears to have travelled with John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, who was travelling to Flanders en route to the papal curia.
[27] CLI no. 940; SLI no. 63.
[28] Mandate issued 31 October 1213: CLI no. 368; SLI no. 62.
[29] *RLP* pp. 107, 109b, 110b, 113; *RLC* i 162
[30] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 93-4.
[31] In May 1214, King John instructed Hugh, together with the abbot of York, William Brewer and William de Cantilupe, to secure the election of Richard de Marisco to Winchester. The canons of Winchester complied with the king's wishes, but it is unclear what precise role Hugh played in this event: *RLP* p. 136b; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 77; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 95-7; see below p. 169.

triumphed in victory'.[32] John, however, possibly mindful of the similarities between the Bury election and Langton's own, refused to recognise Hugh of Northwold and the matter was put before Nicholas of Tusculum in December 1213.

Nicholas, however, despite his controversial bias towards the king in the elections to the vacant bishoprics after the interdict, seems to have made little impact in this case. For Hugh of Beaulieu, recently returned from Rome, seems to have accompanied the legate to Bury, where he arrived on 21 December 1213. Three days later the chronicle recorded that Hugh of Beaulieu, 'in order to oppose the archbishop, handed the legate a letter from the king, demanding that he return to him without delay'.[33] Hugh's motive in producing this letter appears to have been to prevent the legate succumbing to pressure and confirming the election of Hugh of Northwold. Archbishop Langton had written asking the legate not to upset an election which, the chronicler asserted, he regarded as valid. As events were later to prove, John's caution was unnecessary as Nicholas was reprimanded early in 1214 for overtly favouring the king's cause in elections.[34] But more revealingly the chronicler also stated that on St. Stephen's day, Hugh:

'arose in their midst and had much to say on the king's behalf; and pretending to offer advice he asked and warned them not to detract from the king's customary liberties. For this, he said, was the way to justice, to render each man his due, "to Caesar what is Caesar's", etc. And if the election had been carried out less prudently and discreetly than possible, then they could annul it while there was still time'.[35]

The author of the chronicle, who was a supporter of Hugh of Northwold, possibly exaggerates the vehemence of Hugh's utterances. But for Hugh at least, Langton's call for free ecclesiastical elections appears to have fallen on deaf ears. Hugh thus facilitated John's attempts to continue the level of royal intervention in ecclesiastical appointments that he had controversially enjoyed throughout his reign. His efforts were not to go un-rewarded. In May 1214 the Dunstable annals record that Hugh was nominated by the canons of Lichfield as their candidate for the joint dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield.[36]

Unlike the other bishops in this study, Hugh is rarely described as an advisor of the crown. Although he appears never to have incurred royal censure, his role in John's regime was predominantly that of ambassador and negotiator.[37] One of the few occasions on which

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[32] CEH p. 15.
[33] CEH p. 33.
[34] CLI no. 968; *C&S II* pp. 21-3.
[35] CEH p. 33.
[36] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 38; *Anglia Sacra* i 436-7; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 129-131. Pressure was also brought to bear on the electors to select Walter de Gray and Richard de Marisco, see pp. 3, 7-8, 159.
[37] Hugh is not mentioned in Roger of Wendover's list of the evil counsellors of King John: Paris, *CM* ii 533.

Hugh is identified with royal policy is the grant in July 1214 of a benefice to John, nephew of Guido, cardinal priest of St. Nicholas in Carcere. Also associated with this award, which was made by the king while on campaign in Poitou, were two other faithful royal servants, John de Gray and Thomas of Erdington.[38] Hugh's presence in La Rochelle is explained by the mandate issued two days after the king's triumphal entry into Angers (17 June 1214). In this the king orders Hugh, Alan Martel and *magister* Arnold, to conduct Queen Isabella and the royal treasury to France, along with the horses belonging to his children, Richard and Joanna.[39] John's celebrations, however, were cut short by the defeat of his allies at the battle of Bouvines on 27 July 1214. Failure abroad exacerbated the already volatile situation in England. Appeals were despatched to Rome to bolster both royal and baronial factions. In this fraught atmosphere the king's envoys gained the upper hand, playing on the pope's desire to promote peace and his suspicions of Archbishop Langton.[40] Responding to his vassal's entreaties the pope issued a series of letters on 19 March, admonishing those who conspired against the crown. Archbishop Langton was instructed to deal faithfully with John and to devote himself to restoring agreement between all parties.[41]

Hugh was also to be selected along with other leading personages including Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester, Henry of Londres, archbishop of Dublin and the royal chancellor, Richard de Marisco, as one of the king's representatives to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.[42] His main role seems to have been three fold: firstly he was to ensure the accusations levelled against Stephen Langton resulted in the archbishop's foreshadowed suspension.[43] With this achieved, as Roger of Wendover attests, Hugh then played a successful part in the excommunication of the rebel barons for their persecution of King John.[44] But his most significant contribution was in the defence of the king's nephew, Raymond of Toulouse, who was being tried for heresy. According to the *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* Hugh addressed Innocent directly, pleaded on behalf of his beloved royal son and vassal, that the pope remember the mercy of the judgement of Darius in his pronouncements. Innocent, however, bound by the weight of opinion against the count,

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[38] *RLP* p. 118.
[39] *RLP* p. 117; *PR 16 John* p. 28. Joanna had recently been contracted in marriage to Hugh de Lusignan, though the marriage never took place: *Foedera* pp. 123, 125; K. Norgate, *John Lackland* (London, 1902), pp. 199-200.
[40] On 8 January, letters patent were issued endorsing Hugh's expenses for his coming journey to Rome: *RLP* p. 126b. The period immediately prior to the arrival of Hugh is described in a rare letter from Walter Mauclerk, whose own embassy had been delayed by illness, to the king: *DD* no. 19; see below pp. 106-7.
[41] CLI nos. 1001-3; SLI nos. 75-6; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 367-71.
[42] *RLP* p. 182; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 387-91.
[43] *C&S II* pp. 46-7.
[44] Wendover, *Chronica* ii 159; S. Kuttner and A. Garcia y Garcia, 'A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council', *Traditio*, xx (1964), 115-78.

reluctantly demurred.[45] Each of these cases was of vital diplomatic importance to King John, who was beset on all sides by rebellion and intrigue. If the settlement for which Hugh had worked so ardently was ever to tip the political scales in John's favour, then the alliance between pope and king must be made to pay. This meant the condemnation of the king's enemies and the removal of the damaging charges aimed at his potential allies. Ironically, only Hugh's cry for mercy was to fail and the chief casualty of the envoy's success was to be the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other moderates. The decisions of the Fourth Lateran council thus further decreased the possibility of a peaceful solution to the crisis in England.

Whatever the wider implications of the manoeuvring achieved by Hugh and his fellow delegates, their actions again highlight the abilities of the individuals involved, and also the level of trust the king accorded to them. Moreover, Hugh's skill as a negotiator was also recognised by the Cistercian order. In 1205 he was commissioned with the abbots of Ford and Boxley by the general chapter to investigate the suitability of relocating the convent of Woburn, which had fallen into poverty, to Medmendham.[46] At some point prior to 1210 he was also ordered to inquire into a dispute between the dean and chapter of York and the Cistercian abbots of the archbishopric.[47] In contrast to his devoted attention to royal affairs, the records of the general chapter show that Hugh was noticeably reticent regarding commissions by his own order. He was repeatedly denounced by his fellow abbots for negligence. In 1214 the abbot of Coggeshall complained that Hugh had failed to approach William Marshal to grant protection for his newly founded abbey, for which Hugh was enjoined to three days of fasting as a penance.[48] More serious, however, was the accusation that Hugh's lax discipline was leading the convent of Beaulieu into disrepute. Complaints against him began as early as 1208 when rumours of his conduct led to the decision that Hugh be examined and, if necessary, corrected by the abbot of Cîteaux.[49] On this occasion Hugh appears to have provided an satisfactory account of his tenure. But in 1215 the abbot of Quarr charged him with an extensive list of depravities. These included entertaining three earls and 40 knights at his table with wassail, possessing a watchdog with a silver chain to

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[45] *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot, ii (Paris, 1972), 77; H. Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III* (Oxford, 1980), p. 233-40; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 395-6. The newly consecrated archbishop of York, Walter de Gray, also spoke up in defence of Count Raymond, see above p. 15.

[46] *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1205), no. 55. Medmendham was a cell of Woburn. The fortunes of the Woburn convent had not improved by 1234 when the monks were forced temporarily to disperse: D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, 2nd ed. (London, 1971), pp. 112, 118.

[47] *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1210), no. 42.

[48] *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1213), no. 51; *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1214), no. 10. The unnamed abbey is probably Duiske (co. Kilkenny, Ireland): D. Crouch, *William Marshal: knighthood, war and chivalry, 1147-1219* (London, 2002), pp. 188-94.

[49] *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1208), no. 41. In the same chapter Hugh was one of three English abbots exempted from the penance imposed on those who had observed the terms of the Interdict, in contravention of the immunity of the Cistercian order: *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1208), no. 28.

guard his bed and engaging secular servants who attended the abbot on bent knees. He was thus ordered to present his defence to the following general chapter or face deposition, an order which was apparently ignored, as Hugh's case was again left to the discretion and judgement of the abbot of Cîteaux in September 1216.[50] No further mention of the abbot's decision is noted in the records of the general chapter, but by the following year his fate appears to have been sealed. As noted above, Hugh is described as the late abbot of Beaulieu in the collation of William de Grisneto to a moiety Caddington by Guala at Windsor on 3 September 1217. The explanation for this is arguably provided by the Waverley annalist, who stated that Hugh had been deposed prior to his elevation to Carlisle which the sources agree occurred in 1218.[51]

Nevertheless this assertion should be treated with caution as Waverley annalist is the only source which specifies that Hugh was deposed. The Lanercost chronicle, which was composed *c.*1280 using material borrowed from earlier sources, refers to him merely as the former abbot of Beaulieu. This silence is remarkable considering the chronicler's highly critical account of Hugh's later relations with the canons of Carlisle.[52] Notwithstanding this, it is apparent that Hugh was hardly a blameless victim of monastic rivalry. As D. Knowles notes, Hugh's regular employment as an agent of the crown would have provided ample opportunity for temptation.[53] Moreover, it is arguable that Hugh's moral guidance and example to his fellow monks can only be described as highly questionable, and given his frequent absences, largely sporadic. It is thus hard to imagine, given his chequered monastic career and the extent of his involvement in the affairs of Church and State how Hugh was able to achieve any positive impact on the life of his abbey. On the other hand, despite continuing royal interest in the abbey, a fledgling community like Beaulieu would require an able administrator to combat incursions by older more established houses. The long running dispute between Beaulieu and Stanley abbey (Wiltshire), which is thought to have sprung from a disagreement over the manor of Faringdon, highlights Hugh's efforts to protect the vested interests of his house.[54]

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[50] *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1215), no. 48; *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1216), no. 54. The prevalence of beer drinking particularly amongst the conversi of English and Welsh abbeys was the cause of frequent rebuke: D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 656-7.

[51] *Guala Letters* no. 10; *Rot. Hugonis de Welles* i 58; *Ann. Mon.* i (Waverley), 291. Deposition was relatively infrequent in England although the Waverley annals also record a number of other Cistercian abbots who suffered deposition towards the close of the twelfth century: *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 245.

[52] *Chron. Lanercost* pp. 27, 30; A. Gransden, *Historical writing in England c.550-c.1307* (London, 1974), pp. 494; see below pp. 97, 100.

[53] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 658-9.

[54] *Statuta Cisterciensis* (1213), no. 64, (1214) no. 40, (1215) no. 41, (1216) no. 53. The dispute continued at least until 1217 and probably into the 1220s: F. Hockey, *Beaulieu, King John's abbey* (1976), p. 88.

Overall the impression of Hugh of Beaulieu's character that can be gleaned from the perusal of his career prior to his election to Carlisle is that of a loyal but calculating and independent officer, with little respect for any authority other than that of the English king. In the chaos that pervaded England during the early years of the minority of John's heir, Henry III, it seems it was these credentials, rather than any qualities of life or learning, which were at the root of Hugh's promotion to the episcopate. At first glance, the overall motives behind his appointment are somewhat mystifying. He was after all a disgraced monk, or one at least possessed of dubious morals and therefore could have been regarded as a *persona non grata* as far as the Church was concerned. Moreover, current thinking within reform circles was becoming increasingly prejudiced against monks in episcopal elections, as their previously secluded life provided an inadequate training ground for the wider world.[55] Indeed, Stephen Langton is reported to have said that only a monk of real eminence in life and learning could ever be expected to make a successful bishop.[56] Hugh's appointment must therefore been an anathema to the archbishop, especially considering the former abbot's involvement in a sequence of attacks on Langton and the ecclesiastical principles for which he stood. Considering these apparently substantial obstacles, the question remains as to how Hugh was able to gain the favour of the papal legate.

The Waverley annalist's cryptic comment that it seemed to many that Guala promoted Hugh in revenge for his deposition and to remove him from Cistercian discipline, is problematic due to the reasons outlined above.[57] Yet, as Henry III's letter in February 1219 to the new pontiff, Honorius III, points out, Hugh was indeed set over the see by the papal legate, Guala.[58] His election formed part of the latter's efforts to obey papal instructions to provide pastors that were faithful to the king and to the Roman see and thus end the vacancies prolonged by the French invasion of 1216.[59] The key to understanding the puzzle of Hugh's election lies partly in the political situation which existed during the minority of Henry III. Archbishop Langton, although finally allowed to return to England in 1218 by Honorius III, was still discredited by his failure to condemn the rebel barons in 1215.[60] His eclipse left the minority government in the hands of churchmen such as Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and others who had remained loyal to John throughout. It

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[55] *G&L* pp. 5-8; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 167. For changes in the composition of the episcopate during the 11-13th centuries see: R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 395-402.
[56] F. M Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928), p. 12, 265.
[57] *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 291. Nicholas Vincent, however, suggests that Guala may have promoted Hugh to slight the Cistercians for their failure to provide adequate support for the minority regime: *Guala Letters* p. lii.
[58] *RLC* i 405; CDRS no. 716; J. E. Sayers, *Papal government and England during the pontificate of Honorius III (1216-1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 60, 175-6.
[59] CEPR p. 43.
[60] *C&S II* pp. 46-7.

was these men that were to influence the nominations to the vacant dioceses. In 1218, des Roches actively collaborated with the legate in promoting his ally, Hugh of Beaulieu, to Carlisle.[61] The link between bishop and abbot appears to have been formed shortly after the foundation of Beaulieu. On 31 March 1206, Innocent III instructed Hugh and Peter des Roches to inquire whether Richard I had received the city of Bath from Bishop Savaric in return for granting the abbey of Glastonbury to the see of Wells. The pope, who was increasingly supportive of Glastonbury's pleas for the dissolution of a union which had been extorted during Richard's captivity in Germany, was to be informed of the delegate's findings.[62] Des Roches also contributed to the construction of the abbey buildings at Beaulieu, which Gervase of Canterbury comments were both extensive and lavish in 1209. During Hugh's abbacy the bishop had also confirmed the sale to the convent of houses in English street, Southampton, by Walter Fortin, a burgess of Southampton.[63] Moreover, in addition to his association with the bishop of Winchester, as has been noted, Hugh had recently secured Guala's patronage for his nephew, William de Grisneto.[64]

Hugh was therefore ideally placed to take advantage of the extensive powers and influence wielded by legate and bishop in the minority government. Under these circumstances, Guala's actions at Carlisle become explicable. It is possible, given that a number of more prominent and wealthy dioceses were also vacant at this time, that Hugh's promotion to Carlisle was an attempt by the legate to remove a disgraced monk while still retaining the support of Peter des Roches and the minority council.[65] But is more likely that Hugh's election represents part of a reassertion of Angevin rule in the north, rather than an embarrassed compromise between secular and ecclesiastical influences. Evidence of this strategy comes from Henry III's letter to Honorius reporting the progress of the legate's activities up to February 1219. The king, in reporting the circumstances of Hugh's election, stated that Guala did not omit to notice Carlisle's position on the border of England and Scotland.[66] The importance of Carlisle's role as defensive stronghold had recently been brought home to Henry's advisers during Alexander II of Scotland's invasion of Cumberland in 1216. The city of Carlisle, aggravated by incessant royal interference, had capitulated without a fight on 8 August.[67] From a report to Edward I in 1292, it appears that it was the

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[61] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 166-7.
[62] CLI no. 703. On the protracted Glastonbury case see: Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 220-5; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 327-30.
[63] *Gervase of Canterbury* ii 105; *RLC* i 136-b; *PR 13 John* p. 178; *EEA Winchester II* no. 2. At some point during his abbacy, Hugh witnessed a charter of Peter des Roches: *EEA Winchester II* no. 1.
[64] *RLP* p. 118; see above p. 83.
[65] During his legation Guala participated in the elections of the bishops of Carlisle, Chichester, Durham, Ely, Hereford, Salisbury, and Worcester: *G&L* pp. 70-3.
[66] *RLC* i 405; CDRS no. 716
[67] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 18; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The making of a Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 520-6.

prior and convent of Carlisle who had delivered the city to Alexander as 'King John had done them many injuries', most notably the imposition of a royal candidate as prior in August 1214.[68] Further evidence of the canons' treason had also been sent to the pope in 1217, who was informed that the canons had celebrated mass in the presence of the excommunicate king of Scots and that they had presumed to elect as bishop of Carlisle one of Alexander's clerks, also excommunicate. The vengeful young king goes on to beseech that the schismatic canons should be removed and replaced with secular canons who are obedient to the Roman church and its royal vassal.[69] Failure to meet this threat could have resulted in a return to the situation that occurred during Stephen's reign when David I reasserted Scottish control of Cumberland as far south as Stainmore which had been lost to the Conqueror's sons.[70]

The provision of Hugh of Beaulieu to the see by Guala in place of this Scottish intruder, was therefore arguably an important step towards rebuilding the integrity of the border. Following his election, which occurred around 1 August 1218, the temporalities of the see were quickly restored to the new bishop.[71] Details concerning his consecration are somewhat conflicting. The Lanercost chronicler puts forward the date of 1218 for his consecration.[72] William Stubbs, however, recorded that the ceremony was performed by Archbishop Walter de Gray and Bishop Robert of Waterford, probably at York, on 29 February 1219.[73] The source of this assertion, however, is unknown although a later letter does relate that the bishop of Waterford travelled to the north of England for the consecration of the bishop of Carlisle on the instructions of the legate.[74] If the Lanercost chronicler is correct in dating the event to 1218, then it must have occurred after November. In this month Hugh witnessed Henry III's letter confirming the restriction on permanent alienations which governed the use of the new royal seal as bishop-elect.[75] As this event shows Hugh continued to be associated with the minority government after his elevation to

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[68] *Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland*, ed. Sir Francis Palgrave, i (London, 1837), 74.*RLC* i 211; *Chron. Lanercost* p. 14.
[69] *Foedera* p. 147. Alexander's clerk is not named, but it has been postulated that he was either Robert of St. German or the king's chancellor, William Bosco: *Guala Letters* no. 12; H. G. Richardson, 'The letters of the Legate Guala', *EHR*, 48 (1933), 250-59.
[70] G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973), pp. 142-8; H. Summerson, 'Old and New Bishoprics: Durham and Carlisle', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 369-80; D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), pp. 163-7, 178-86.
[71] *RLC* i 369. Hugh's election is dated by royal letter of consent which was issued on 1 August 1218. The annals of Worcester, however, date the event to 2 August: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 164; *Guala Letters* no. 12; *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 410.
[72] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 27.
[73] *Reg. Sac. Angl.* p. 38. In the second edition, however, no mention is made of York: W. Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1897), p. 55.
[74] *RLC* i 392.
[75] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 177.

the episcopate. But as in King John's reign, Hugh was not a major originator of royal policy, but useful instrument. That Hugh continued to serve the interests of his crown under the new regime is highlighted by his inclusion in the list of guarantors of Henry's peace settlement with Alexander II at York in 1220. Hugh, along with Peter des Roches, Walter de Gray, and the king's chancellor, Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, promised to ensure that the marriage alliance between Alexander and Henry's eldest sister, Joan would be concluded on pain of ecclesiastical censure.[76] In 1222 Hugh of Beaulieu was ordered along with Walter Mauclerk, the newly appointed sheriff of Cumberland and later bishop of Carlisle, and Thomas de Multon, hereditary forester of the county, to inquire into the farm of the vill of Carlisle. The inquiry appears to have been part of the first stages in the bid to recover control of the revenues of the county following the settlement with Robert de Vieuxpont.[77]

The evidence therefore suggests that far from being shunned, the new bishop of Carlisle was continuing to be a useful instrument of the crown and increasingly to the papacy as well. In October 1222 Hugh was sent as Henry's nuncio to the council at Verona which had been summoned to discuss the upcoming crusade of Emperor Frederick II.[78] Honorius III, who had inherited his predecessor's suspicion of Stephen Langton, utilised Hugh as judge delegate in the affairs of northern England and Scotland. In November 1219 he was mandated to intervene on behalf of Nicholas of Meaux, bishop of Man, who had been elected by the abbey of Furness, but was fiercely resisted by the secular nobility of the see.[79] Hugh was also included in a panel of judges delegate sent by Honorius III in response to allegations by the papal legate, James, and a number of the Scottish bishops against Alan of Galloway, constable of Scotland. The pope had been informed by James, recently returned from Scotland, that Alan was thought to be in danger of mortal sin because of his consanguineous marriage. Hugh therefore, together with the archbishop of York and the bishop of Exeter, was to inquire whether the couple were close kindred and to act according to the interest of their souls.[80]

Hugh was also active in his new bishopric. C. G. Bulman in his study of the development of Carlisle Cathedral argued that the construction of the choir was almost certainly initiated by Hugh, who had until his deposition been involved with the building of

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[76] CDRS no. 761; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 235. See above p. 51.
[77] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 312-3. Robert de Vieuxpont had relinquished his claim to the shrievalty of the county following a settlement over the honour of Tickhill: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 275-6; also see below p. 110.
[78] *RLC* i 512. The council was postponed from November 1222 to 23 March 1223 and the venue moved to Ferentino: T. C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford, 1972), p. 159; G. Masson, *Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (London, 1973), p. 94.
[79] CEPR p. 69; Reg. Hon. III i 2245. Hugh's intervention if it occurred, was only temporarily successful as Nicholas was finally driven to resign in May 1224: *Reg. Gray* pp. 149-50; see above pp. 38-9.
[80] CEPR p. 87; Reg. Hon. III ii 3916.

the fine Early English church at Beaulieu abbey.[81] It has also been postulated that Hugh was responsible for the initial construction of Bewley castle, an episcopal residence situated some thirty miles from Carlisle, which may well have been named after the bishop.[82] Yet Hugh had merely exchanged one fledgling foundation for another. For in reality, despite its two previous bishops, the episcopal customs of Carlisle remained severely underdeveloped. Conversely the protracted vacancies experienced by the bishopric had fostered the rapid growth of a relatively advanced administrative staff. This was headed by the archdeacon, who sat as the bishop's deputy in the episcopal court and had overseen inductions to benefices.[83] Like the canons, however, these officers had come to enjoy an unusual amount of independence, which was challenged by the presence of a bishop. Hugh it seems did little to reduce the power of the archdeacon, for a century later, his successor Bishop Halton was still insisting that no subordinate could exercise judicial authority within the diocese.[84]

A more immediate hindrance to episcopal control, however, was the poverty which had resulted from Henry I's inadequate endowments. Henry III's grant to Hugh of twenty oaks from the royal forest of Inglewood in June 1221, with a further fifty in November, to construct a house in the town, served only as a temporary stopgap.[85] The most effective effort towards the rejuvenation of the see's resources was ordered by Honorius III in his reply to Henry's complaint of the canons' treason. A mandate issued in July 1217 instructed Guala to effect a separation of the *mensa*, distributing the possessions and rents of the church between the bishop and the canons. This was a measure which the king had asserted would tend to the tranquillity of the church and thus the border itself. The legate was also instructed to disperse the monastic chapter, who had been tainted by treachery, and replace them with secular canons.[86] Nevertheless, tranquillity was hard to establish. Guala was unwilling to implement the pope's mandate concerning the regular canons without further clarification of the pope's intentions. Honorius, who may have been using the opportunity create a secular chapter to resolve the perennial difficulties inherent in monastic cathedrals, responded that the canons were regular in name only and confirmed his earlier mandate.[87] This far sighted strategy, however, did not materialise and although the subsequent expulsion of the canons by Guala in 1218 resulted in the acid denunciation of both bishop and legate

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[81] C. G. Bulman, 'Carlisle Cathedral and its development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', CWAAS, new series, 49 (1949), 87-117; *Gervase of Canterbury* ii 105.
[82] J. Wilson and E. T. Bewley, 'Bewley castle', CWAAS, new series, 3 (1903), 240-262.
[83] J. Wilson, 'Constitutional growth of Carlisle Cathedral', *Scottish Historical Review*, 17 (1920), 198-218; . Summerson, 'Old and New Bishoprics: Durham and Carlisle', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 369-80.
[84] *The register of John de Halton*, ed. W. N. Thompson, i (Canterbury and York soc., 1943), 31.
[85] *RLC* i 463, 480.
[86] *Foedera* p. 147.

by the Lanercost chronicler, the cathedral continued to be served by regular canons.[88] The division of the *mensa* proved a more complex and protracted issue. It seems that despite the Lanercost chronicler's assertion that Hugh had been granted the possessions of the canons, Guala was only able to complete an initial survey of the see's estates before his departure in December 1218.[89] The inquiries continued and in February 1219 the pope's attention was brought to a number of Carlisle's possessions which included the churches of Newcastle, Newburn, Corbridge, Warkworth, Whittingham and Penrith, which had been alienated during the long vacancy by the carelessness and negligence of the canons.[90] The so-called second dispersal was carried out in 1221 by Pandulf, bishop-elect of Norwich, papal legate and chamberlain, with the full co-operation of the bishop and chapter in the diocesan synod. Agreement was reached over the church of Warkworth, which was granted to the bishop and his successors in return for 60 marks annual rent. In addition a number of cases involving lay claimants were also sued by the legate resulting in the resignation of a moiety of Corbridge church to the bishop along with further rights in Warkworth.[91] But despite Hugh's announcement that these disputes had been settled, additional papal intervention was required in 1226 and 1248 and a final concord was not reached until 1249.[92]

Some evidence also survives of Hugh's attention to the spiritual welfare of his diocese. Monastic patrons were instructed to provide suitable vicars to their churches with proper allowances. In a confirmation charter dated 20 October 1220 of the churches of Kirkby Stephen and Morland to the use of the monks of St. Mary's, York and its cell at Wetheral, Hugh stated that the vicars appointed to both churches should each receive 100s.[93] This stipulation is also echoed in a charter confirming the gift of the patronage of the church of Burgh-by-Sands to the abbey of Holmcultram by Hugh de Morville.[94] Hugh's emphasis in these charters on suitable appointments to parochial cures highlights the concern for pastoral care felt by many English clerics in the early thirteenth century. Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, in his *Memorandum* of 1250 argued that the evils of heresy and schism are the main products of inadequate pastoral care.[95] In Carlisle these concerns were exacerbated by the neglect of parochial system by the canons of Carlisle during the vacancy.

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[87] *Guala Letters* nos. 13, 179; J. E. Sayers, *Papal government and England during the pontificate of Honorius III (1216-1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 175-6; E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 111.
[88] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 27.
[89] CEPR pp. 48, 57; *Guala Letters* no. 14.
[90] *RLC* i 405; CDRS no. 716.
[91] *Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* pp. 363-5.
[92] CRO TL542/6ff 164-5; CEPR p. 112, 256; Reg. Inn. IV ii 4519; *Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 365; see also pp. 40, 114-5.
[93] *Reg. Wetheral* no. 19.
[94] *Reg. Holmcultram* no. 19; see also *Lanercost Cart.* no. 177.
[95] Fr. S. Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste at the papal curia, Lyons 1250: edition of the documents', *Collectanea Franciscana*, 41 (1971), 340-93.

Hugh stated in a charter confirming possession of the churches of St. Laurence and St. Michael Appleby to St. Mary's abbey, York, that as a result of negligent administration during the vacancy many of the bishopric's possessions and rights had been alienated.[96] Perhaps it was this neglect that resulted in Hugh's willingness to ignore the recent developments in canon law and allow hereditary succession to benefices within his diocese in order to re-establish some form of episcopal supervision of appointments to parochial cures. The practice of sons succeeding to their fathers' livings had survived in England despite prohibitions by both papal and archiepiscopal councils, though by the early thirteenth century it had ceased to be common custom. In October 1205, Innocent III felt compelled to remonstrate with Peter des Roches, newly appointed bishop of Winchester, as it had come to his ears that the many sons of priests had inherited churches from their fathers in the diocese of Winchester.[97] The practice was also condemned in canon 31 of the Fourth Lateran council in 1215, which Hugh had attended. Nevertheless in February 1221 on the complaint of the abbot of Jedburgh, Honorius III ordered Hugh to revoke those concessions and confirmations made by him and his chapter to underage sons who had been presented during their fathers' lifetime. Hugh's actions in this matter have been described as an almost wilful defiance of papal decrees.[98]

Unfortunately we lack the evidence to assess the extent of the abuse in Carlisle diocese in this period. It is possible, however, that Hugh's actions were not so much wilful as misguided. Honorius' mandate of February 1221 appears to have caused Hugh to send to Rome for further clarification on the practice. From the pope's response it is clear that Hugh was uncertain concerning the application of the decree. Honorius' letter dated 7 April 1223, explicitly stated that the papal constitutions on hereditary succession should apply to all sons of clerks. Therefore Hugh should discontinue the practice and remove those that have already been instituted.[99] Alternatively, Hugh's appeal may have been part of a concerted effort to strengthen episcopal authority in the face on the entrenched customs of the canons and other patrons. In March 1204 the prior and convent had secured a comprehensive set of papal mandates confirming their rights and privileges. These included the grant allowing them to place their brethren in churches pertaining to the convent.[100] Moreover, further evidence of Hugh's endeavours to reform his diocese is furnished by a papal indult granting Hugh the right to revoke those pensions that have been introduced or increased, contrary to the canons, in churches pertaining to his diocese.[101]

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[96] *Reg. Wetheral* no. 20.
[97] SLI no. 26.
[98] CEPR p. 78; Reg. Hon III i no. 3083; *Potthast* no. 6562; *G&L* p. 8.
[99] CEPR p. 91; RL p. 537; Reg. Hon. III ii 4287.
[100] CLI nos. 306-9. See above p. 74.
[101] CEPR p. 67; Reg. Hon. III i no. 2046.

Hugh was also eager to exercise his episcopal prerogatives over other monastic institutions in the diocese. The various cartularies of abbeys within the see of Carlisle, along with those whose possessions fell under Carlisle's jurisdiction, contain numerous examples of episcopal confirmations made by Hugh.[102] These included the priory of Lanercost, which put aside previous objections to the treatment of its Augustinian brethren in order to seek confirmation of its appropriation of churches whose income would provide sustenance for the poor and pilgrims who frequented the priory.[103] In 1220 he also acted as an arbitrator in a dispute between Lanercost and the nearby abbey of Holmcultram over a pension which had been granted to the priory from the church of Burgh by Sands. The church had subsequently been granted to the abbey of Holmcultram by Hugh de Morville and after a protracted dispute the Lanercost canons had been awarded the patronage and a pension of 5 marks, although the abbey retained overall possession. Hugh, however, having reviewed the documents judged that the arrangement was uncanonical and caused John, prior of Lanercost, to renounce it in his presence. In a separate charter the patronage of Burgh by Sands was confirmed to Holmcultram, with the stipulation that they appoint a suitable vicar with an adequate allowance.[104] In this diocesan work, Hugh was aided by at least two Beaulieu monks serving as his priests, who appear to have accompanied the bishop to his northern diocese.[105] But due to the paucity of the sources, the details concerning the rest of his *familia* are notably scarce. The majority of those who witness Hugh's charters are local officers, such as Adam de Kirkeby, official of Carlisle, or supplicants and other interested parties.[106]

Just as with his *familia*, our overall knowledge of Hugh's episcopacy is hindered by the poor survival rate of sources for the diocese of Carlisle. Nevertheless, it is apparent that Hugh's contribution to the see, like his services to the crown, was not insignificant. Henry's glowing description of Hugh, as 'a man careful in his doings, illustrious in letters and morals, devoted to the Roman Church and faithful to the king', seems to be essentially accurate (excepting perhaps the apparently formulaic recommendation of Hugh's morals). Moreover, in light of the recent Scottish invasion, loyalty in a prelate was arguably more important to the crown than spiritual guidance. This assiduous service, however, and his role in the necessary division of rents and property, earned him the lasting condemnation of the

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[102] *Reg. Wetheral* nos. 19, 20, 22-23, 118, 151; *Whitby Cart.* nos. 39, 40, 42; *Reg. Holmcultram* no. 19.
[103] *Lanercost Cart.* no. 177, 178.
[104] *Lanercost. Cart.* p. 401; *Reg. Holmcultram* nos. 17-19.
[105] These appear to be William and possibly Peter who are described as chaplains of Hugh of Beaulieu, though without being denoted as Beaulieu monks: *Reg. Wetheral* no. 20, 22, 118, 151; *Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 365. G. and W., lay brethren [? of Beaulieu] are also witnesses to a charter of Hugh's: *Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 365.
[106] *Reg. Wetheral* nos. 19-21, 118, 151; *Lanercost Cart.* no. 177-8, 181; *Whitby Cart.* no. 39-40.

Lanercost chronicler. In recording the bishop's death, the writer recounted that it was said that on 4 June 1223 Hugh, who had monstrously dispersed the canons and their possessions, died, having gorged himself, miserably and unshriven. Vindictively the chronicler notes that this end was the righteous judgement of God.[107] The Waverley annalist, writing around the same time as the Lanercost chronicler, gives a slightly different version of events. No mention is made of the state of his soul at his demise which is recorded on 3 June 1223 after an illness lasting four days.[108] Corroborative evidence for a more lingering death is given by Walter Bower in his continuation of the Scotichronicon. As noted in a previous chapter the account is misdated to 1212, yet it clearly stated that the bishop of Carlisle was doubly afflicted, by debilitating age and continual illness, and was therefore brought to death's door.[109] Despite these differences, both the Waverley annalist and Lanercost chronicler relate that Hugh disappears from the historical record as he began, at La Ferté. He was returning from the Roman curia, presumably from the council of Ferentino held on 23 March 1223. Possibly as a result of this last visit, Hugh secured Honorius III's confirmation of the boundaries and possessions of the see of Carlisle which was issued by the papal chancery on 2 May 1223. His place of burial is uncertain, though E. Martene and U. Durand in 1717 record that a bishop of Carlisle was buried in the sanctuary at La Ferté.[110] The traveller had come full circle.

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[107] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 30.
[108] *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 291.
[109] D. E. R. Watt notes in his edition of the *Scotichronicon* that the passage is dated by the election of William de Courcy as abbot of Melrose, which occurred in 1215. The bishop referred to in the passage is therefore thought to be Hugh, not Bernard of Ragusa as Rev. J. Wilson asserted: D. E. R. Watt (ed.), *Scotichronicon*, v (Aberdeen 1990), 25-30; *VCH Cumberland*, ii 22 n. 2; see above p. 80.
[110] E. Martene and U. Durand, *Voyage Litteraire de deux Religieux Benedictins*, i (Paris, 1717), 226.

4. Walter Mauclerk, bishop of Carlisle (1223-1246).

Walter Mauclerk, fourth bishop of Carlisle (1223-1246), was first and foremost a royal clerk. The majority of the information to be gleaned about his career comes from the records of Kings John and Henry III, who advanced Walter from fairly humble beginnings to high office. Having proved his worthiness acting as an ambassador in Ireland and Rome during the reign of King John, he was promoted by the minority government of Henry III first as sheriff of Cumberland and treasurer of the exchequer and finally as co-regent of England in 1242-3. In his rise to power he was identified with the party of Hubert de Burgh, the royal justiciar, and in 1232-3, therefore, he fell victim to the political struggle between the justiciar and his rival Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. It is this aspect of the bishop's career that Roger of Wendover described when he stated that: 'This is he whom fortune oft times raised up only to dash down; who imprudently concerned himself with royal policy, that he had neither the power nor the will to carry out'.[1] This treatment, however, is too harsh. In his ecclesiastical career Walter exhibited a farsightedness and cunning which the chronicler has failed to take into account. Like Richard Poore's translation from Salisbury to Durham in 1228, Walter's election as bishop of Carlisle was made without prior royal approval. Perhaps trading on his influence as sheriff of Cumberland, Walter appears to have seized his chance and prevailed on the canons of Carlisle to nominate him in August 1223. But whereas Richard Poore was an established royal minister, Walter seems to have been viewed as an upstart. His candidacy was accepted only after a struggle in which appeals were made to Rome. That he succeeded in his ambitious gamble stands as testimony both to the position he had secured with the crown, but also to his farsighted political acumen. In a minority much of what is achieved by an individual could all too easily be withdrawn when the king came into his own. By claiming a place amongst the ranks of the episcopate, Walter had secured himself against the vicissitudes of faction. Moreover as far as the extant sources for Carlisle allow, although for the most part his services to the crown took precedence over his ecclesiastical duties, they show that Walter proved to be a determined administrator who used his influence at court to attract royal largesse to augment the slender endowment of his see. At the end of his life he turned his back on the world, resigning his see to enter the Dominican friary at Oxford, of which house Walter was an early sponsor. It is possibly this patronage that drew the criticism of Roger Wendover, who alleged that Walter procured, probably by bribery, the privilege that no friar might leave the order for another, which if true would damage entry to Benedictines.[2] Nevertheless, as this discussion hopes to prove, the criticisms made against

[1] Wendover, *Flores* ii 350.
[2] Wendover, *Flores* ii 350.

Valter, particularly concerning his political career, were largely unfounded and to the end he remained a valued and trusted figure, rather than a hapless victim of faction.

Walter's successes are all the more striking when one considers the relative obscurity of his origins.[3] His surname Mauclerk or Malclerk, literally translated as 'bad cleric', is relatively uncommon. Little is known of Walter's parents beyond the gifts he made to the church of Carlisle for the safety of his soul, and the souls of W. his father and his mother.[4] At the turn of the thirteenth century two groups of Mauclerks appear in the royal records, one group centred around Rouen and the other in the Midlands of England. The relationship between these groups (and between the individuals in either country), if any existed, is unknown. Nicholas Vincent has drawn attention to a Walter Mauclerk, son of Grald Mauclerk, whom he has traced in the records of property transactions at Rouen back to 1176, but has stated that this identification is unlikely.[5] The earliest surviving record referring to Walter comes from July 1202 when King John presented him to the church of Holy Trinity, Falaise.[6] It appears that Walter was still active in the king's service in Normandy the following year when he secured a royal grant of a tenement formerly held by William Gernun.[7] After these early entries nothing is known of Walter's activities until 1204 when he was appointed as joint sheriff of the Lincolnshire together with the hereditary constable of Lincoln castle, Gerard de Canville, and Simon de Driby.[8] It is possible therefore, given this pattern of service, that Walter followed his defeated patron back to England after the loss of Normandy in 1204. If so, his subsequent dependence on royal patronage and his rise to power at court would place him among the ranks of the much maligned aliens who played such a controversial role in the politics of the first half of the thirteenth century.

Attractive though this hypothesis may be, it remains purely speculative. Although the evidence of silence is inconclusive it is notable that there is no mention by contemporary chroniclers that Walter Mauclerk was of alien origin. Indeed Roger of Wendover related that in1233, Henry, on the advice of Peter des Roches, expelled all his native counsellors,

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[3] I owe much of the information and theories concerning Walter's origins from the detailed research undertaken by Nicholas Vincent who kindly forwarded me a copy of his forthcoming article on Walter Mauclerk that he has prepared for the new *Dictionary of National Biography*. Any mistakes that I have made are of course of my own making.

[4] *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 117.

[5] N. Vincent, 'Walter Mauclerk' *DNB* (forthcoming).

[6] *RLP* p. 14. A year later John wrote to the chapter of Chinon informing them that he had granted the king's lazar house of that city to his clerk, Denis Mauclerk. (*RLP* p. 32).

[7] *RLP* p. 31b. Nicholas Vincent also stated that Walter was involved in the financial operations of the king's chancery in Normandy in 1202, but I have been unable to find the reference: N. Vincent, 'Walter Mauclerk' *DNB* (forthcoming).

[8] *RLP* p. 47. An account of an assessment of tallage in the county of Lincolnshire made by Walter with Simon de Kyme and Jocelin de Neville appears on the Pipe Roll for this year: *PR 6 John* pp. 48-50

including Walter Mauclerk, and replaced them with Poitevins and other aliens.[9] Moreover, it has been suggested that Walter was related to Robert Mauclerk, a resident of Nottinghamshire who had fought for John in the latter's uprising against Richard I in 1193-4.[10] The few references that have survived to Walter's immediate family tend to support an affiliation with Nottingham and the north-east Midlands. The register of Archbishop Walter de Gray records the collation to a pension of three marks out of the church of St Mary's, Nottingham, to Thomas Puignant, which had previously been held by a nephew of Walter Mauclerk .[11] A further un-named nephew was thrust into the limelight by a complaint raised by Hugh Neville. He claimed that Walter was attempting to cause the prior of *Laland* to grant the church of Arnold (?Nottingham) to his nephew, thereby disinheriting Hugh.[12] In 1233 the Close Rolls record that one Robert de Furness who was married to a niece of Walter, bishop of Carlisle, sought the seisin of her lands in Nottinghamshire.[13] Robert appeared as a ward of Walter Mauclerk in 1227, holding lands in Wellingore (Lincolnshire).[14] It is thus likely that the bishop arranged the marriage of his niece to an eligible local landowner, using the privileges of wardship and consolidating his influence within the region. Finally Nicholas Vincent noted that Ralph Barri, whom the Lanercost chronicler identifies as another of Walter's nephews, may be connected to the Barry family of Nottinghamshire.[15]

The proliferation of references to Walter's association, and those of his family, to Nottinghamshire thus appears to be persuasive. In the 1240s there are also a number of seemingly un-connected Mauclerks, the majority of who are based either at Gresham (Norfolk), or in Wiltshire. Whilst they could be part of Walter's extended family, it is impossible to prove this with any degree of certainty since no direct link between Walter and the Norfolk Mauclerks has survived.[16] Nevertheless from extant evidence it is apparent that Walter belonged to a relatively minor county family. Considering these origins, his later achievements provide a good insight into the avenues of social mobility and advancement

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[9] Wendover, *Flores* ii 207.
[10] N. Vincent, 'Walter Mauclerk', *DNB* (forthcoming).
[11] James Raine cautions that there may be some problem in the dating of this grant due to Walter de Gray's absence on an embassy to France, but it appears that de Gray did not depart until after this grant, which was issued at Porchester, was made: *Reg. Gray* p. 15-16 and n.; *RLC* ii 168. It seems that Walter Mauclerk, who accompanied the archbishop to France, used the occasion to promote his relative.
[12] RL i 68. There is also an Arnold in the East Riding of Yorkshire
[13] *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 194.
[14] *BOF* i 359-60.
[15] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 41. N. Vincent, 'Walter Mauclerk', *DNB* (forthcoming).
[16] These are Emery Mauclerk de Avers: *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 217; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 227; Nicholas Mauclerk: *CRR 1237-42* nos. 2846, 2559; Peter Mauclerk: *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 288; Ralph Mauclerk: *Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 86; Ralph Mauclerk of Gresham, *CRR 1233-7* no. 1869; Reginald Mauclerk: *CRR 1227-30* no. 1777; Richard Mauclerk: *CRR 1237-42* nos. 1274, 2202, 2864, *CRR 1242-3* no. 1144; Stephen Mauclerk: *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 31.

which were open to able and determined clerics during the early thirteenth century. Predictably enough, Walter's rise was engineered through generous royal patronage both from King John and then later his son Henry. But unlike Walter de Gray, whose advancement had been secured by his uncle, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, Walter appears to have lacked a powerful familial sponsor. The source of his introduction into royal circles therefore remains open to debate. Two main figures present themselves. The first is Robert Mauclerk who had weathered the retribution meted out against John's supporters for their part in the rebellion of 1193-4. In August 1199 Robert, who is described as a clerk of the royal household, was awarded custody of the lands and heirs of Roger de Crokelay.[17] If Walter was indeed related to Robert Mauclerk, it is possible that the latter used his influence to bring a kinsman to the notice of the crown. Alternatively, Walter may have been a protégé of John de Gray. Early on his career Walter appeared as a witness to two of the bishop's charters, the first of which dates to 17 October 1204 and the second to 13 January 1206. On the strength of these charters a suggestion could be hazarded to the effect that Walter's position in the royal household was accomplished by John de Gray at a time when the bishop's influence at court was rising. Perhaps significantly the various stages of Walter Mauclerk's career exhibit similar fluctuations to those described in the study of Walter de Gray's advancement. Beyond his ongoing accounts of debts owed at the exchequer, during the years between John de Gray's departure for Ireland to undertake the office of justiciar in June 1208, Mauclerk, like de Gray, is notably absent from the royal records.[18] Similarly no evidence survives of awards and presentations made to Walter between July 1207 and July 1212. Furthermore, as Christopher Harper-Bill noted, after 1199 de Gray's chief employment in the royal administration was in the financial dealings of the king's chamber, an area in which Walter Mauclerk was later to excel.[19] If this affiliation is correct, it may also help to explain the patronage provided to Walter by John's nephew, Walter de Gray when the latter became archbishop of York in 1215.[20]

In the early years of King John's reign, Walter Mauclerk's sphere of influence, which was initially centred around Lincolnshire, gradually expanded. After Gerard de Canville regained sole tenure of the shrievalty of Lincoln in April 1205, Walter served as an assessor of tallage in the counties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the accounts of which appear on the Pipe Roll for 1206.[21] In addition to his financial skills it also appears that he was a man of some legal acumen. In 1207 the Curia Regis Rolls record that Walter had been

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[17] *Rot. Chart.* pp. 11b, 31. Robert also issues a royal letter later on that year: *Mem. R. 1199-1200* p. 26.
[18] *PR 9 John* pp. 12, 16, 27; *PR 10 John* pp. 79, 88; *PR 11 John* pp. 54, 73; *PR 12 John* p. 24; *PR 13 John* pp. 76, 91; *PR 14 John* p. 106.
[19] *EEA Norwich I* p. xxxvii.
[20] *EEA Norwich I* nos. 321, 343. See below pp. 107-8.
[21] *PR 8 John* pp. 100, 106-7, 220.

named as attorney for the abbot of Barlings (Lincolnshire) in a case against Roger de Montbegon concerning the rights of presentation to the church of Brocton[22]. Yet Walter was destined to be more than just a local county officer. King John's generosity did not cease with the presentation to Falaise in 1202. This grant was followed up between 1205 and 1213 by a string of awards. These included presentations to the churches of Nympton (Devon) and Mylor (Cornwall), the gift of moieties in the churches of Croxton (Lincolnshire), and Catfield (Norfolk), and a pension in the diocese of Exeter.[23] This income was supplemented by a number of grants of royal wards, including custody of the lands and heirs of Ralph Sepewic in Dorset and Somerset, for which he owed 11 marks and a palfrey in 1207.[24]

Continuous royal patronage, however, especially under the notoriously fickle King John, requires some explanation. In any reign the absence of elevated birth meant that those seeking greatness through royal favour were largely reliant on their own natural talents and abilities. Accordingly Walter's early career creates a picture of a self-interested but capable and above all loyal officer of the crown. One of his greatest strengths lay in the financial dealings of the crown. In 1210 he accompanied the king on his expedition to Ireland.[25] On 3 June orders were issued for an advance of £60 15s from the royal treasury to pay for fifty-five *servientes* and five bailiffs who were dispatched with Walter and John Marshal.[26] It is not clear how long he remained in Ireland as his itinerary for the years between 1210 and 1212 provides little illumination. It is possible, as has been suggested above, that this absence was caused by the withdrawl of the regular patronage of John de Gray. Alternatively it may indicate that Walter made a more lengthy stay in Ireland than the royal household which returned to England with the king in August 1210. If so then he appears to have returned to England by July 1212 when he was granted a moiety of the perpetual vicarage of Catfield. It appears that the experience that he had gained of Irish affairs was valuable, as around October 1212 John de Gray was informed by the king that Walter and an English clerk, John de St. John were being sent over to Ireland to 'undertake, by the bishop's counsel, the care of the king's exchequer of Ireland'.[27]

In addition to his financial acumen, Walter's services in Ireland had proved his credentials as a royal envoy. In December 1213 he was despatched to inform William Brewer of the alterations made by the crown concerning the custody of the castle of

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[22] *CRR 1207-9* no. 56.
[23] *RLP* pp. 49b, 74, 93b, 103; N. Vincent, 'Walter Mauclerk' DNB (forthcoming).
[24] *PR 9 John* p. 27.
[25] On John's campaigns in Ireland see: D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), pp. 277-82; A. Cosgrove ed., *New History of Ireland*, 2 (Oxford, 1987), pp. 127-55.
[26] CDRI no. 401. D. Sweetman suggests that *servientes* in this context should be interpreted as meaning soldiers.
[27] CDRI no. 443. Walter was granted letters of protection for the duration of his service in Ireland on 16 October 1212: *RLP* p. 95b; CDRI no. 441.

Hastings.[28] In the build up to the campaign against Philip II Augustus, Walter appears to have remained in England acting as a royal messenger.[29] In July, however, shortly before the battle of Bouvines, orders were issued to commandeer a ship to take Walter and the precentor of Rouen to King John. By the time of their arrival the king's hopes of victory had been ruthlessly crushed and there was little left but to heed the urgings of the pope and seek a truce. On 31 August Walter was despatched as John's private envoy to the papal legate in France, Robert Courson, with a secret message concerning a treaty and the meeting between John and Philip Augustus.[30] Perhaps in gratitude for Walter's loyalty in the midst of the wreckage of his attempts to regain his continental possessions, the king ordered his regents in England to promote Walter's brother, R. prior of Reading. On 10 September 1214, Peter des Roches was instructed act with other trusted agents, Richard de Marisco and William Brewer, to see that the prior was promoted to the vacant abbacy of St. Albans.[31] From France it seems that Walter was sent on to Rome only to be detained on the way by a grave illness and he therefore arrived on 17 February 1215. The effects of his mission were described in his letter to John, written in early March, which provides a rare insight into the business of the papal curia through the eyes of a royal messenger.[32] The delay due to his illness was arguably fortuitous, as the information contained in his letter gives a first-hand account of the arrival of the rebel envoys; John de Fereby, clerk of Eustace de Vescy, and Osbert, chaplain of Richard de Percy. These proctors had been sent to plead the baronial case and forestall any manoeuvres the king attempted to make during the breathing space he had created by postponing decisions on baronial grievances from Epiphany until Easter 1215. He details the complaints made by the northerners 'as if by all the barons of England', namely that John had scorned their ancient customs and liberties, begging Innocent III to admonish the king. Walter's presence at the papal court was thus vital as the king's own envoys, led by Hugh of Beaulieu, did not arrive until March. The continuation of papal support for John's cause therefore hung in the balance. Walter's role was, along with other royal supporters, to hold the adverse effects of baronial criticism at bay until a direct royal challenge arrived from England. The outcome of Hugh of Beaulieu's mission was a total vindication of John's actions in a series of letters issued on 19 March.[33] These reproached both secular and ecclesiastical magnates for their failure to show due loyalty and support for

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[28] *RLP* p. 106b.
[29] On one of these missions Walter was entrusted with orders for Walter de Gray, bishop-elect of Worcester, who was travelling with the earl of Salisbury and Hugh de Boves, to deliver 6,000 marks to Flanders: *RLC* i 206-b.
[30] *RLC* i 170b; *Foedera* p. 124.
[31] *RLP* p. 140, 202b.
[32] DD no. 19.
[33] SLI nos. 74, 75. See above p. 89.

the crown and instructed them to take care to render all the customary services owed to John and his predecessors.

What little evidence we have therefore for his actions during the troubles of 1214-1216 places Walter firmly in the king's camp. Walter's description of himself as 'always and in all places your devoted and faithful cleric', appears to be more than courtly flattery.[34] Like other adherents of John's regime, however, his future hung in the balance during the civil war and the invasion by Louis of France which resulted from the king's failure to appease his subjects. Unfortunately Walter's actions during the last turbulent years of King John's reign are not known. After writing his despatch from Rome Walter disappears completely from the records until 1218. Establishing under what auspices Walter managed to weather this particular storm is, as a result, largely a matter of educated guess-work. It is possible that it was during these few years of chaos and uncertainty that he attracted the sponsorship of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York, prompted perhaps by Mauclerk's association with his late uncle, John de Gray. At some point between November 1215 and March 1218 Walter acted as witness to two archiepiscopal *acta* concerned with the possessions of the bishopric of Durham.[35] But this hypothesis is largely based on Walter' promotion to the prebend of Woodburgh in Southwell Minster, the southernmost of the great minsters of the archbishopric of York. Unfortunately no exact record of his promotion to Woodburgh exists, although it occurred some time before August 1218, and it is therefore impossible to prove conclusively that de Gray, who became archbishop in November 1215, was behind his elevation.[36] But the lack of any royal mandate concerning the appointment could indicate that Walter had found an alternative source of patronage. It is arguable that de Gray, who was trying to establish firmer archiepiscopal control over Southwell, saw in Walter Mauclerk a useful tool and advanced him accordingly.[37] The grant confirmed by Pope Honorius III in August 1218, of the wood of Newhay to Walter's prebend by the archbishop of York appears to strengthen this argument.[38] Indeed the close co-operation between de Gray and Mauclerk which was at its height in 1242-3 when they were selected as regents of England during the king's absence in France, would seem to have begun with Mauclerk's promotion to Woodburgh.[39]

Capturing de Gray's patronage probably saved Mauclerk from returning to the obscurity from which he came, shorn as he now was of the security of royal favour. Yet

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[34] DD p. 28.
[35] DCDCM 3.1.Archiep.9; 4.1.Archiep.6; *Reg. Gray* p. 6n
[36] CEPR p. 57; *Reg. Gray* p. 134.
[37] For Walter de Gray's ambitions as regards Southwell minster see: *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, ed. A. F. Leach, Camden Society, 48 (1891), p. xxxvi.
[38] CEPR p. 57; *Reg. Gray* p. 134.
[39] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 290. Perhaps significantly he is the only bishop of Carlisle to profess obedience to the archbishop of York during the course of this study: *Reg. Gray* pp. 144; c.f. above p. 35.

from early on in the minority of Henry III it seems that Walter and the archbishop began to follow separate paths. As has been discussed, Archbishop Walter became increasingly involved in the affairs of his see and to a certain extent withdrew from the business of government. Nevertheless, Mauclerk's association with de Gray indicates that his allegiance to the Angevin cause remained unshaken by the crisis of 1215-17. As a known dependant of King John this is hardly suprising. His actions against the rebel barons at the papal curia can have done little to recommend or endear Walter to men like Eustace de Vescy or Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford. In fact the new canon of Southwell emerges in the historical record in 1218 in a familiar role, as a local county officer.

At the great council at Westminster on 4 November, the general eyre was revived to hear both civil and criminal cases, and also to make inquiries into the current state of royal rights and privileges.[40] After the complete collapse of judicial proceedings during the civil war, the general eyre of 1218 was the minority government's first major step to re-establishing central authority. The civil war had left the regent, William Marshal, and the government with the task of reconciling the recalcitrant rebel faction to the new regime. Moreover, the war to maintain the rights of John's nine-year-old son Henry, had created an insidious and arguably far more threatening group which was to dominate the politics of the minority. These were the over-powerful loyalists, exemplified by Falkes de Breauté, whom the Tewkesbury annalist famously dubbed 'more than the king in England'.[41] The composition of the individual groups of justices-in-eyre of 1218, therefore, was designed to tackle the problems posed by these 'centrifugal forces', as David Carpenter terms them.[42] Each group was to be prestigious enough to enforce its decisions, and also to contain a number of local men to ensure the co-operation of their fellows in the counties. Walter Mauclerk was ordered to undertake the general eyre in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham and Derby, under the leadership of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, a company which included the loyalist John Marshal.[43] Coming from a Nottinghamshire based family, Walter's influence could be expected to be of some use to the justices-in-eyre. Moreover, he was as a proven royal servant, an invaluable asset to a central government that was powerless in the face of the virtually autonomous castellans and sheriffs who ruled instead of the king. Such men, although they had been responsible for the very survival of the Angevin dynasty, now weakened royal authority and starved the newly re-opened exchequer of funds.

The overall success of the general eyre, in the face of this opposition, is remarkable. The plea rolls for Lincolnshire and Yorkshire for 1218-19 illustrate the vast backlog of cases waiting to be resolved. Some 1,340 civil pleas were heard by Walter and his fellow

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[40] For a discussion of the Westminster council see: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 93-103.
[41] *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury), 64.
[42] Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 50-56.

justices.[44] In the eyes of the central government, the general eyre thus established Walter Mauclerk as a useful counterbalance against the power block controlled by the overmighty magnates. In May 1219, he was selected by the papal nuncio, Pandulf, the nominal head of the new triumvirate which had replaced William Marshal, to assist the collection of the amercements resulting from the general eyre in the counties of Nottingham, Derby and Lincoln. Essentially the role of these co-adjutors, who were 'discreet and loyal men', was to by-pass shrieval authority.[45] A gift of 111s to Walter from the proceeds of the eyre hints that his services were beneficial. He was also to be rewarded with the custody of the lands of William de Tylebroc in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire which had recently been taken into royal hands.[46] Overall, although it is impossible to evaluate the influence of the co-adjutors, it is clear that the triumvirate was attempting a gradual strengthening of its hold on the government of the realm. This is further suggested by the inquiry ordered in April 1220 into the state of Pickering Castle, which was to be carried out be twelve 'lawful men' and overseen by Walter along with an number of other royal servants.[47] The previous year Geoffrey de Neville, sheriff of Yorkshire, had gained permission to use what funds he could raise above the county farm to maintain the royal castles at Scarborough and Pickering.[48] Clearly the triumvirate was no longer willing to allow royal sheriffs to govern unchecked in their counties.

Walter's role as a royal servant was to continue with his appointment, with Brian de Lisle, an adherent of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, as joint custodian of the royal forest in March 1221.[49] Successive eyres had proved that the issue of the royal forest remained highly divisive. This was especially true of decisions concerning the extent of the deforestation of areas afforested by Henry II and his sons provided for in the Charter of the Forest of 1217. Huntingdonshire, for example, repeatedly claimed that Henry II's afforestations were so extensive that they could find only three demesne woods in the entire shire which predated his reign.[50] Although this extreme view was not duplicated in most other counties, the government found itself at a loss. For without a recognised set of forest boundaries, any attempt to govern the existing forest could only end in stalemate. The demands on a forest-justiciar were thus highly complex: authority, flexibility and above all diplomacy were all necessary requirements of the post and this provides us with some indication of the value set by the regency government on Walter's abilities. This newly-

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[43] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 208.
[44] *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire, 1218-1219 and Worcestershire, 1221*, ed. D. M. Stenton, Selden Society, 53, (1934), nos. 1-912; *Yorkshire Eyre, 1218-1219* nos. 1-428.
[45] RL i 28, 36.
[46] *RLC* i 407b; *Exerpta é Rotulis Fin.* i 38.
[47] *RLC* i 436.
[48] *RLC* i 377b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 145-6.
[49] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 285.

exalted position was to be further augmented the following year when the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, finally reached a settlement with the entrenched sheriff of Cumberland, Robert de Vieuxpont.

Cumberland had effectively been held hostage by Robert who had refused to relinquish control of the county until his claim to the honour of Tickhill (Yorkshire) had been satisfied.[51] His tenure was costly for the enfeebled exchequer, as he had been allowed to abstain from accounting to exchequer for the county farm, for the duration of his suit. In February 1222, after the failure of previous attempts at mediation, Hubert de Burgh finally bought Vieuxpont off. In return for the renunciation of his claim to the honour of Tickhill, Robert was to receive £100 and the tenure of a number of its fees.[52] Accordingly, Vieuxpont was replaced as sheriff of Cumberland and constable of Carlisle castle by a more amenable royal nominee, Walter Mauclerk.[53] One of his first duties seems to have been to undertake repairs to the king's dwelling at the castle and to tend the royal demesne.[54] The effects of the transfer of authority were immediately felt at the treasury, as the new sheriff began to render accounts for a county which had been a closed book to the exchequer since 1218.[55] But despite his apparent success, Walter's position was extremely vulnerable. Hubert de Burgh's patronage brought with it the enmity of the supporters of Peter des Roches, as the latter's influence at court was rapidly being eclipsed by that of the justiciar. Paradoxically, however, for Walter the greatest threat to his position came from the king himself.

Throughout the minority much of the political manoeuvring that occurred was dominated by attempts to influence the king once he had attained his majority and thus had personal control over royal appointments. Many of the influential men of the early 1220s held their offices in trust, appointed by King John to hold them until Henry should come of age. Falkes de Breauté, who held the shrievalties of Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire-Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire-Huntingdonshire, along with a number of strategic royal castles, presents the most extreme example of how much could be at stake. In an attempt to secure his position Hubert de Burgh jealously monopolized the guardianship of the young king, removing Henry from the tutorship of his rival Peter des Roches during the summer of 1221. In this unstable atmosphere, Walter Mauclerk, exhibiting a cunning which Mathew Paris overlooked in his condemnation of his abilities, sought an alternative source of patronage: that of the Church. His election as bishop of Carlisle seems to taken the justiciar completely by surprise, a fact which can be ascertained from the stormy response

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[50] On the complaints surrounding the royal forests see: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 89-90, 276-9.
[51] For a detailed discussion of Vieuxpont's claims see: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 88-9, 119-20, 274-6.
[52] *Feet of Fines for the County of York 1218-1231*, ed. J. Parker, *YAS*, record ser., 62 (1921), 42-3.
[53] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 326.
[54] *RLC* i p. 498b, 502-b.
[55] *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland*, ed. F. H. M. Parker, CWAAS, extra ser., 12 (1905), 6-11; *PR 6 Henry III* p. 125; CDRS no. 840.

which it provoked. For a letter attested by Hubert de Burgh to Archbishop Walter de Gray dated 22 August 1223, stated that Walter's election had been made without royal assent and favour, and that the archbishop should by no means proceed until the king's favour was obtained.[56] This was closely followed on 5 September, by the dispatch of a cleric, John de Pavilly, to the papal curia, to plead with the pope against the bishop-elect of Carlisle and those persons responsible for his advancement[57].

Walter seems to have overstepped the mark, perhaps using his influence as sheriff of Cumberland to recommend himself to the cathedral chapter. It is possible that the canons of Carlisle, in agreeing to promote Walter, were following a general trend noted by Matthew Paris, that cathedral chapters deliberately nominated reputable royal clerics in an effort to stave off more direct royal interference.[58] Ecclesiastical appointments during the minority were tightly controlled by a government determined to ensure the co-operation of at least one section of the aristocracy. To this end Hubert de Burgh promoted both his brother Geoffrey to the bishopric of Ely in 1225, and also his nephew Thomas de Blundeville to the bishopric of Norwich in 1226. Not every appointment was to be dictated by factional wrangling as Ely and Norwich were. With the exception of Carlisle in 1223, however, the majority of sees falling vacant during this period were filled either by a royal or papal nominee.[59] Thus if Walter had indeed attained his appointment against the express wishes of the crown, it was a remarkable coup, providing him with a position secure from the vicissitudes inherent in the royal will. Most significantly, however, Walter's bid for the bishopric of Carlisle came shortly after the arrival of papal letters ordering that Henry should be given 'the free and undisturbed disposition of his kingdom'.[60] Royal lands and castles were also to be surrendered to the king, along with the use of his personal seal. For one so recently appointed as a royal constable and sheriff, offices which at this point were his most lucrative source of income, the papal iniative must have been a shattering blow to Walter's ambitions. In fact Honorius' letters were not to be acted upon until December 1223, and even then Henry received only limited powers.[61] But during the early summer these events were still unclear, and rumours about the king's coming of age caused even the greatest barons to scramble to secure their possessions.

Walter's influence at court apparently suffered only a temporary set-back as a result of his manoeuvring. On 26 October 1223 the government assented to his election, informing

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[56] *RLC* i 560b.
[57] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 408.
[58] Paris, *CM* iii 525, v 185; see also *G&L* p. 91.
[59] *G&L* pp. 7-33.
[60] RL i 430; Paris, *CM* vi 69-70.
[61] For the successive attempts to end Henry's minority see: Carpenter, *Minority* especially pp. 268, 280, 301-6.

all faithful followers of Christ that Walter had been received back into royal favour.[62] The dating of Walter's consecration, however, is more problematic, although the majority of the evidence points to 1224. The ceremony appears to have taken place between 6 December 1223, when Walter is still referred to as bishop-elect, and 29 March 1224.[63] The Lanercost chronicler recorded the event under his entries for 1224, but gave no indication of the precise date. Based on this it seems that we can rule out the more detailed account of Roger of Wendover which stated that Walter's consecration was performed by Archbishop Walter de Gray around the feast of the Ascension [1 June] 1223. This date is untenable, however, because quite apart from placing Walter's consecration before the death of his predecessor, Hugh of Beaulieu, who died on 3/4 June 1223, even if it is translated to 1224 it falls outside the dates set out above. Wendover's whole account therefore is called into question.[64]

Nevertheless, in the light of this success, Walter can hardly be seen as a victim of the fitful course of events. Indeed his election as bishop of Carlisle served only to enhance his prestige. For in January 1225 he set out for the continent charged with the daunting task of securing a marriage alliance for Henry, against the king of France.[65] This mission was an answer to overtures sent by Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne, who sought to re-instate the alliance between England and the Empire at the expense of Frederick II's ties to the French king. The archbishop proposed that this alliance was to be effected by the marriage of Frederick's heir, the young Henry (VII) to Henry III's sister Isabella, while Henry III himself would in turn marry the daughter of Duke Leopold of Austria.[66] In response to this proposal, Walter Mauclerk, Alanus, master of the Knights Templar in England, Robert, prior of the Hospitallers in England, Nicholas de Molis and Henry, chancellor of London, were dispatched to treat with the duke of Austria and the archbishop concerning the proposed marriages.[67] The mission was not without its difficulties, not least the storm which as Walter later informed his royal master had stripped them of their horses and harnesses, so that they were forced to continue their urgent mission with only one servant, eventually arriving at Cologne on 2 February .[68] The subsequent negotiations were to drag on for months necessitating numerous royal letters guaranteeing or providing for the envoys' expenses.[69]

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[62] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 413. Orders for the restoration of the temporalities of the see were issued on 27 October 1223: *RLC* i 573b.
[63] *RLC* i 578; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 486.
[64] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 31; Wendover, *Chronica* ii 270; Paris, *CM* iii 77.
[65] *Foedera* p. 176; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 501, 558; *RLC* ii 11, 11b, 14; J. P. Huffmann, *The social politics of medieval diplomacy; Anglo-German relations, 1066-1307* (Ann Arbor, 2000), pp. 233-242; B. Weiler, 'Henry III's plans for a German marriage (1225) and their context', in *Thirteenth-Century England VII*, eds. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 173-88.
[66] *Foedera* p. 176; RL i 249-254.
[67] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 558.
[68] RL i 249-254.
[69] *RLC* ii 20b, 38, 43, 46, 49b. The original grant of royal protection was to last until the feast St. John Baptist (24 June) 1225: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 501.

Their efforts were dashed, however, by Frederick II's determination to continue his alliance with France, and marry the young Henry (VII) to Duke Leopold's daughter, Margaret. But the archbishop of Cologne was unwilling to allow the envoys to leave, writing to Henry III in late July or early August asking him not to allow Walter to return home. To encourage Walter's compliance, the archbishop arranged that Walter should officiate at the consecration of the relics of St. Felix and St. Audactus at the Holy Apostles' church in Cologne. The ceremony which was carried out on 15 July must have come as a welcome relief after the months of inactivity in Cologne.[70] Walter's sojourn in Cologne appears to have lasted until autumn 1225, as a royal letter dated 27 August urges the bishop to remain there until Michaelmas (29 September).[71] But despite Archbishop Engelbert's efforts, the German princes rejected the English marriage at the royal diet of Frankfurt, which occurred between late August and October.[72]

Walter's other missions, to France in 1226, Brittany in January 1227 and lastly to France in June of the same year, again met with little success.[73] Yet it was Henry's political ambition to build up an alliance against his French rival that was the root cause of these repeated failures, rather than the incompetence of his envoys. Certainly Walter was to be amply rewarded for his services, for in July 1227, he was granted the royal manor of Melbourne (Derbyshire) for life, whose income was a welcome supplement to Carlisle's diminutive resources.[74] To this the king later added the manor of Dalston (Cumberland), whose boundaries extended to the city walls of Carlisle, and provided the bishop with his principal seat in Cumberland, Rose castle.[75] His standing with the crown is further attested by a letter to the prior and convent of Durham in 1226, stating that Walter was being sent with the master of the Knights Templar and Stephen de Lucy to oversee the election to their vacant bishopric.[76] It seems, however, that Walter's presence was not effective as the young king irritably threatened to pull down Durham castle if the monks continued to reject the royal candidate.[77] Nevertheless his more successful efforts as a royal justice and courtier provided him with ample rewards, including the custody of Peterborough abbey during a

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[70] *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, ed. L Ennen and G. Eckertz, ii (Cologne, 1860-79), 95 no. 87.
[71] *RLC* ii 79b; *Foedera* p. 180.
[72] J. P. Huffman, *The social politics of Medieval diplomacy* (Ann Arbor, 2000), p. 241 and n. 76.
[73] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 107, 135; *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 420; *RLC* ii 206b, 212; *Foedera* p. 185-6; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 42. From the Pipe Rolls it appears that Walter have accompanied Archbishop de Gray and Philip de Albini on the tour of Normandy, Anjou, Brittany and Poitou in 1226 described by the St. Albans chroniclers, although no mention of his presence is made in the narrative sources: E372/70 m30d; Wendover, *Chronica* ii 316; Paris, *CM* iii 119.
[74] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 132, 136. The church of Melborne was part of the possessions of the see confirmed by Honorius III on 2 May 1223: CEPR p. 91.
[75] *Cl. R. 1227-31* p. 301.
[76] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 82.
[77] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5520, in W. K. Evers, *Disputes* p. 107. See also pp. 204-5.

brief vacancy in the closing months of 1226.[78] By 1228 he was becoming firmly entrenched in the north of England. In March of that year he was granted custody of the castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne together with the shrievalty of Northumberland.[79] Walter also reached an agreement with Robert de Vaux in which the latter demised his lands in Cumberland together with the fee of Coupland to the bishop for 16 years at an annual rent of 80 marks.[80] At the same time Walter's standing within the central administration also increased and *c.*13 November 1228 he was appointed as treasurer of the exchequer.[81]

In Carlisle Walter is remembered as the bishop responsible for establishing a firm financial basis for the diocese. Many of the lucrative manors acquired by Mauclerk, including the manors of Dalston and Horncastle and the bishop's residence in London, remained as part of Carlisle's possessions until the redistribution of church lands in the nineteenth century.[82] Some of this new wealth may have been used in improvements to the fabric of Carlisle cathedral. For although work on remodelling the cathedral is traditionally thought to have begun under Walter's successor, Silvester de Everdon (1247-55), it has been suggested based on the architecture that alterations were made as early as 1225. Moreover after Walter's resignation in 1246, Henry III ordered the custodian to give the canons of Carlisle 20 marks from the issues of the bishopric as a contribution towards works on their church.[83] Despite his frequent absences from the diocese, the interests of his remote see were never entirely forgotten. The numerous confirmations of his predecessors' charters in registers of priories of Holmcultram, Wetheral and Lanercost bear witness to his efforts to conserve episcopal rights and possessions.[84] In addition there is evidence of a number of legal disputes over lands and rights of the see of Carlisle, such as the contested fishing rights on the river Eden.[85] He was also involved in the protracted and controversial process of dividing the possessions of the church of Carlisle as the agreement forged under his predecessor Hugh of Beaulieu in 1221 continued to cause complaints amongst the canons. In 1226 a new inquiry was ordered, following the complaints that Walter was usurping the right of collations to churches in the priory's gift.[86] It is possible that it was in response to

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[78] *RLC* ii 95b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 74, 85. Walter witnessed a number of royal letters: *Foedera* p. 183; *RLC* ii 116b, 119b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 50. Custody was granted on 21 November and was withdrawn after royal permission was granted for the election 7 December: *RLC* ii 159b, 160b, 161.
[79] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 181
[80] *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 76
[81] E372/76 m9; *Mem. R. 1231-33* no. 2691.
[82] James Wilson, *Rose Castle* (Carlisle, 1912), pp. 1-28.
[83] *Cal. Lib. R. 1245-51* p. 70; C. G. Bulman, 'Carlisle cathedral and its development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', *CWAAS*, new series, 49 (1949), 87-117.
[84] *Reg. Holmcultram* nos. 20, 33, 221, 223.
[85] *Reg. Holmcultram* nos. 25, 25h.
[86] CEPR p. 112.

this renewal of hostilities that Walter deemed it necessary to promote his nephew Ralph Barri as prior of Carlisle in 1230, thus strengthening his hold over the rebellious priory.[87]

By 1230, therefore, Walter was an established figure both at the royal court and in the north: treasurer of the exchequer, bishop of Carlisle, sheriff of Cumberland, constable of Carlisle castle and the holder of a large variety of wardships and manors. Also underpinning this impressive list is a series of grants of game and timber and other royal largesse from the increasingly independent Henry III.[88] Much of his success was, however, the result of his association with the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, who became chief royal counsellor after the disgrace of his rival Peter des Roches in the aftermath of the rebellion of Fawkes de Bréauté. But Hubert de Burgh's own rise had been secured by the promotion of a large number of family members to positions of prominence. As we have seen, these included the bishoprics of Norwich and Ely and also the justiciarship of Ireland, which was given to his nephew Richard de Burgh. Hubert himself had succeeded in obtaining as a wife the Scottish princess, Margaret, and had been raised to the earldom of Kent in 1227. Nevertheless Hubert remained an upstart in the eyes of the established noble families. His network of alliances at court was at one and the same time too limited to protect him from a major attack and too large to be accepted with comfort by those vying for the king's attentions.[89] Moreover by 1232 Hubert's ability to juggle the various interests of his supporters and rivals at court had failed him. Deserted by his former allies and reliant on the increasingly restless Henry III, the justiciar was then to be confronted by the return of Peter des Roches, now a celebrated crusader and the confidant of Emperor Frederick II. Ten years had lapsed since the bishop of Winchester, according to the Dunstable annalist, had in a fit of anger sworn to oust de Burgh from power, even if it meant emptying his coffers to do so.[90] Peter des Roches' triumphant return, therefore, was also of little comfort to Walter Mauclerk, for his advancement at the hands of Hubert de Burgh now singled him out as a dangerous obstruction to Peter des Roches' political rehabilitation.

One of the more insidious signs from Walter's point of view of des Roches' increasing influence at court, was the rise of his nephew, Peter des Rivallis, who was granted custody of wardrobe and the office of treasurer of the household on 11 June 1232.[91] It was insidious because, in January 1233 it was Peter des Rivallis who, at des Roches' instigation,

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[87] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 41.
[88] *RLC* ii 145b, 193b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 232; *Cl. R. 1227-31* pp. 156, 241, 262, 332, 346; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 121, 122,
[89] On Hubert's increasing isolation at court before his fall and the rise of Peter des Roches see: Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 259-302, in particular pp. 259-62; D. Carpenter, 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh', in in *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), pp. 45-60.
[90] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 84; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 213-4
[91] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 478; *Cl. R. 1231-4* pp. 68-9.

was to replace Walter as treasurer of the exchequer.[92] Despite the gradual decline of Hubert de Burgh's authority, in the summer of 1232 few can have foreseen the disaster that was to envelop the justiciar and his party. On 2 July Hubert's standing with the king was sufficient to extract from Henry a solemn oath to observe a series of charters, quittances and grants, addressed to a number of his supporters. Amongst these was the grant to Walter Mauclerk of the treasurership of the exchequer for life.[93] Yet even this was to be marred by the inclusion of Peter des Rivallis among the ranks of the beneficiaries.[94] Nicholas Vincent has argued convincingly that by promoting the rivalry between de Burgh and des Rivallis, Henry III probably hoped to free himself from the possessive clutches of the justiciar.[95] In the event, Hubert's fall was brought about through his implication in the riots caused by the widespread provision of non-resident foreigners to English benefices.[96] A papal inquiry into the disturbances in late July was commissioned in the archdiocese of Canterbury, under the leadership of Peter des Roches and the abbot of Bury.[97] The bishop of Winchester lost no time in using his commission to revenge himself on Hubert de Burgh, who was dismissed from his office of justiciar and hounded by legal proceedings during the closing months of 1232. Hubert's dismissal left his associates open to attack. For Walter's position at court had been anchored on his connection with de Burgh.

His own network of allies and followers was in turn dependent upon him for protection: a fact which can be glimpsed through the misfortunes of John *Aundr'*, who was arrested by the men of Eton for attacking William of Hecham in 1237.[98] To avoid immediate imprisonment, John *Aundr'* claimed to be a man of the bishop of Carlisle, a fact which was only validated the following morning after several 'acquaintances' had failed to recognise the plaintiff. But on the whole, with the exception of Walter's cleric *magister* John de Wiche who appears to have been a member of the *familia* of Edmund of Abingdon, archbishop of Canterbury, few of Walter's household appear to have been men of note.[99] The majority were men of low standing. Some, like Geoffrey de la Rose, probably named after Rose Castle, and Thomas de Ewelme were brought from Cumberland to serve the

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[92] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 7.
[93] *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 165. See F. M. Powicke, 'The oath of Bromholm' *EHR*, 56 (1941), 529-48; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 299-303; 'Chancellor Ralph de Neville and the plans of political reform 1215-1258', in D. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), pp. 61-73.
[94] Peter des Rivallis was the beneficiary of a number of charters granting various wardships, lands and castles: *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 486; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 163, 166-7; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 300-02
[95] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 295-6.
[96] 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh', in D. Carpenter, *The reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), pp. 45-60.
[97] Paris, *CM* iii 218. In York archdiocese, Walter de Gray and Richard Poore were appointed as judges together with John le Romeyn, canon of York, c.f. pp 53, 207-8.
[98] *CRR 1237-42* no. 143.
[99] See *Biog. Ox.* iii 2099. He is referred to as a clerk of Walter Mauclerk: *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 446.

bishop at the exchequer.[100] Robbed of his patron at court, Walter's fate was left to the leaders of the ascendant faction to decide.[101] Thus in December 1232 he was ordered to account for his tenure of the treasury, a duty from which Peter des Rivallis had been exempted for one year during the previous April.[102] This was followed by a mandate, in direct contravention of Henry's oath and life grant in July 1232, ordering Walter to deliver the office of treasurer to des Rivallis.[103] Walter's disgrace was confirmed by the redistribution of his more lucrative offices, lands and escheats. Thomas of Moulton was to receive custody of the county of Cumberland and its royal castle.[104] His manor of Melbourne, which he held by a life grant, was awarded in perpetuity to Stephen de Seagrave, who replaced Hubert de Burgh as justiciar[105]. Walter's associates at court were to suffer the same fate. For in February 1233 William of Huntercumbe, a knight whose homage and services had been granted to Walter by the king the previous year, was stripped of an escheat in the manor of Chalgrove.[106]

Humiliated, exposed and shorn of most of his lands, Walter was reduced to offering a fine of £1000 to be quit of any suit and that he, his executors and the church of Carlisle would be free of any account arising from his tenure of the treasurership. Moreover the substantial fine also secured Walter's possession of the manor of Horncastle together with the wards, farms and other tenements that the king had taken into his hands.[107] On 25 February Peter de Rivallis was ordered to return to Walter the seisin of the manor of Horncastle, a property which the latter held by private grant from Ralph de Rodes.[108] Walter's lands in Cumberland were also to be returned as well as those in the county of Nottingham taken from Robert de Furness, the husband of Walter's niece.[109] Nevertheless, the respite proved to be brief as Henry's displeasure seems to have continued unabated. In August 1233 the king arbitrarily annulled his grant of 25 February by granting the manor of Horncastle to Gilbert, son of Stephen of Seagrave.[110] In response Walter attempted to flee into exile to avoid the threat of any further punishment. Even here the vengeful pursuit of

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[100] Both men are described as servants of Walter Mauclerk: *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 341. Indeed Thomas de Ewelme (whose toponymic suggests that he came from Ewelme in Oxfordshire) appeared to be one of a number of men named 'Ewelme' who are to be found in connection with Mauclerk, as Ralph de Ewelm' a canon of Southwell, in 1231 gained lands held there by Walter Mauclerk when he was a canon of Southwell, and one Walter de Ewelme is described as Mauclerk's sergeant: *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 13; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 6.

[101] On the attack on Walter Mauclerk in 1231-33 see: Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 331-34.

[102] *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 164; C60/32 m.9.

[103] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 7.

[104] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 8.

[105] *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 175.

[106] *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 150; *Cl. R. 1231-1234* p. 195; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 464.

[107] Wendover's statement that the fine was only £100 is unfounded as the Pipe Roll for 1233 shows that Walter paid 500 marks to the exchequer: Wendover, *Flores* ii 207; E372/77 m4d.

[108] *Cl. R. 1231-1234* p. 193.

[109] *Cl. R. 1231-1234* pp. 193, 194.

those who had brought about his downfall was hard to shake off, as Matthew Paris reported that Walter, whilst attempting to take ship at Dover, was violently expelled from the ship and detained by the king's officials.[111] The bishop and his entourage, they claimed, were not allowed to leave the realm without royal licence. This action seems to have occurred as a result of a royal letter, issued by Peter des Rivallis, who had been appointed as constable of Dover after Hubert de Burgh was forced to quit the post, to his men at Dover.[112] This stated that the bishop was in no wise to be allowed to take ship, but that the bishop's men who were already in Flanders should be allowed to return with their horses and equipment to their lord. Walter's freedom was only obtained by the fortuitous arrival of Roger Niger, bishop of London, who upon seeing Walter's rough handling, excommunicated the perpetrators.[113] The bishop of London then sought out the king at Hereford and repeated the excommunication in the presence of the law and certain bishops.[114] According to the chronicle of Lanercost, an Augustinian house located 15 miles north of Carlisle, Walter himself, having safely arrived in Flanders, showed his displeasure by placing his own church of Carlisle under interdict. Nevertheless the chronicler recorded that this curious act was ignored, as the churches and religious of the town merely celebrated the divine service hidden behind closed doors.[115] One other possible result of Walter's flight was the order in November 1233 to Richard Poore, bishop of Durham, to distrain the bishop of Carlisle for debts which totalled 500 marks.[116]

Walter's exile and disgrace, along with Peter des Roches' ascendancy, was to be short lived. Like that of his rival before him, Peter des Roches' personal dominance of the king and his policies was viewed with suspicion and resentment, not least by Henry III himself.[117] Few in England could view with equilibrium the numerous awards and promotions that were accumulated by the bishop and his associates, often made at the expense of those who expected to reap the benefits of Hubert's downfall. For the majority of the former justiciar's lands were, like those of his disgraced colleagues, parcelled out to Peter's relatives and loyal associates. Ultimately, however, it was des Roches' perceived role in the Marshal's war that engulfed the south-west during the autumn and winter of 1233-4, that broke his political stranglehold. At a council on 2 February at Westminster, which

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[110] *Cl. R. 1231-1234* p. 249.
[111] Paris, *CM* iii 248; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 138.
[112] *Cl. R. 1231-1234* p. 255.
[113] Paris, *CM* iii 248.
[114] The annals of Dunstable tell a different story, that Mauclerk and Bishop Roger were detained at Canterbury in the autumn of 1233. This account is somewhat confused as the annalist then records that Walter fled in 1234 and was detained at Canterbury and was allowed to depart following a plea made by Edmund of Abingdon, the new archbishop of Canterbury: *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 134.
[115] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 42.
[116] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 422.
[117] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 429-65.

formed part of the attempted peace negotiations, the bishop of Winchester was presented as the root cause of every reversal suffered by the crown since the loss of Normandy in 1204.[118] This xenophobic backlash was to result in des Roches' final disgrace and removal from power during March and April 1234 and coincided neatly with the rehabilitation of Walter Mauclerk's fortunes at court. On 10 April, royal letters were issued returning to Walter the seisin of the manor of Horncastle, the hermitage at Seburgham (Cumbria) and the manor of Greenford (Middlesex), just as he had held them before they were taken into royal hands.[119] A few days later Walter was pardoned the remaining 500 marks of the fine which he made for the king's peace in 1233.[120] Henry also reversed his controversial grant of the manor of Melbourne, this time ignoring a charter granting the manor in perpetuity to Stephen of Seagrave.[121] Walter's success was marked by a litany of complaints lodged against him by the embittered remnants of des Roches' faction. One such accusation came from Peter des Rivallis, who objected to the inclusion of Walter amongst the list of judges appointed by Henry to hear his accounts. Des Rivallis refused to render any account until Walter, Godfrey de Crowcombe and John Marshal, were removed from the panel.[122] Ironically, however, Walter had suffered the same indignity in April 1233, as Peter des Roches and Peter des Rivallis were both members of the committee to which he had been forced to render his account.[123] Stephen of Seagrave also tried to blacken Walter's name. In a hearing before the king shortly after his own dismissal, reported by Mathew Paris, Stephen lamely attempted to claim that it was Walter Mauclerk and Peter des Rivallis who ought to be making their defence to the king, rather than he.[124] Nevertheless, Walter's standing with the king seems to have remained undisturbed by the death-throes of des Roches' regime. Indeed the years following des Roches' fall mark a highpoint in Walter's standing at court. As a member of the reforming council which dominated politics during 1235-39, Walter, along with the chancellor Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, was the most influential bishop in the king's entourage. This influence is demonstrated by the number of royal letters issued or witnessed by Walter after his rehabilitation in May 1234, a concentration which is unequalled at any other point in his career.[125]

It seems Walter was also able to achieve some form of revenge against his enemy, Peter des Roches. In April 1235 Henry III was persuaded to send a number of letters condemning the counsel of the bishop of Winchester who had retired from the political scene

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[118] Paris, *CM* iii 269-71.
[119] *Cl. R. 1231-1234* p. 401.
[120] *Cl. R. 1231-1234* p. 402.
[121] *Cl. R. 1231-1234* p. 471.
[122] *CRR 1233-7* no. 1289 p. 322; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 451.
[123] E372/76, m.4.
[124] Paris, *CM* iii 296; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 445.

in England and had escaped to the continent. Once there des Roches may have hoped to re-establish his links with Emperor Frederick II and with the Roman Curia.[126] Henry's letter to Frederick II, however, spoke out against des Roches stating that the emperor should not trust the bishop of Winchester's representation of events, but rather that he should pay heed to Walter Mauclerk who is commended to the emperor.[127] But it is doubtful whether Walter ever travelled to the continent as he appeared as witness of royal letters almost continuously from April until mid-July. Nevertheless, Henry's warnings and advice show the extent that Walter had triumphed over the leader of the debacle of 1233. His dismissal from the exchequer in 1233, and his subsequent victimization at the hands of des Rivallis and Stagrave, stands as the only major setback of Walter's long career. The loose confederation of servants and clerics associated with the bishop of Carlisle, soon re-establishes itself in the records after 1234, and with hindsight we can say his disgrace ultimately had little effect on his influence at court.[128] In 1235 as part of the negotiations for Henry's marriage to Joan, daughter of Count Simon of Ponthieu, the count was submitted to the jurisdiction of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, Bishop Ralph of Chichester and Bishop Walter Mauclerk. The bishops were to compel Count Simon, by the use of excommunication or interdict, to adhere to the terms of the marriage agreement.[129] Matthew Paris records that this alliance, which would give Henry a vital strategic advantage in his wars against the king of France, was procured by Walter Mauclerk.[130] These arrangements were, however, superseded by plans for the development of closer contacts with the Poitevin nobility, through Henry's proposed marriage to Eleanor of Provence. Thus on 16 July Henry advised his proctors in Rome to cease their efforts towards a papal dispensation for the marriage of Henry and Joan of Ponthieu, a decision which no doubt pleased Louis IX and Blanche of Castille who had been attempting to block the progress of Henry's plea in the curia.[131]

Mauclerk's influence as a member of the king's council is also demonstrated by the consistent gifts of royal largesse. These allowed him to amass a number of lucrative wardships including custody of the lands and heirs of John de Jarpunvill in December 1234

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[125]Stacey, *Politics* pp. 93-131, 140. For details of Walter's record as a royal witness during these years see his itinerary below appendix D.
[126]*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 163. Des Roches had taken part in Frederick's crusade of 1227 and had acted as a mediator between emperor and pope in 1229: *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury); 76; iii (Dunstable), 126. See also Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 229-258.
[127]RL i 469; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 471-2
[128]*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 212; *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 194; *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 446.
[129]Treaty Rolls i 19, 61, 63; *Foedera* p. 216, 226; *Cl. R. 1234-37* p. 175.
[130]Paris, *CM* iii 327-8.
[131]*Foedera* p. 218; Paris, *CM* iii 328. For the political machinations surrounding Henry III's proposed marriages of 1235-6 see Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence, Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 10-12.

and of Odard de Wigeton in August 1238.[132] Numerous gifts of wood and game from the royal forest and wine from the king's cellars went to enrich the bishop's household.[133] Moreover, though he never reclaimed the cluster of offices that he held before his fall in January 1233, Walter also managed to regain some form of dominance in the north of England. For in addition to the recovery in February 1236 of his former post as constable of Carlisle castle, in 1242 he fined 600 marks per year for the custody of the lands and heirs of John de Vieuxpont, which included the hereditary tenure of the county of Westmorland.[134] Like Richard de Marisco, Walter's pre-eminent position was arguably the result of his financial abilities. The years immediately after des Roches' fall were characterised by financial crisis brought on largely by the demands of Henry's royal marriage alliances. In addition to the king's own marriage to Eleanor of Provence in January 1236, the royal coffers were strained raising the dowry of 30,000 marks promised to his sister Isabella for her marriage to Emperor Frederick II. To meet these demands the council set about reforming the administration of the royal demesne, ordering inquests into the value of these lands and a survey of knights fees.[135] Accountability increasingly became the watchword of the council. On 15 November 1236 Mauclerk sat in judgement with the barons of the exchequer and the justices of the king's Bench, over John de Colemere, chamberlain of the king's wines. The chamberlain upon failing to render account of the wines purchased for the king's cellar or of the money he received to pay for these wines, was bodily arrested. He was replaced by two new chamberlains who swore an oath to the bishop and the barons of the exchequer to faithfully keep the king's wines and render due account for them.[136]

It is clear that Bishop Walter remained one of Henry's most senior and trusted advisors. Walter formed part of Henry's entourage at the signing of the treaty of York between Henry III and Alexander on 25 September 1237.[137] Like Walter de Gray, Mauclerk was able to use his influence with the crown to secure a royal licence after the riots that were sparked off by the attack on the servants of the papal legate at Osney on 23 April 1238, Otto, cardinal deacon of St. Nicola in Carcere, for certain of his clerks to leave Oxford.[138] Moreover, according to Matthew Paris, when Otto baptised the young prince Edward at Westminster on 28 June 1239, Walter performed the catechism.[139] But the ultimate recognition of Walter's standing with the king occurred on 5 May 1242 when he was chosen

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[132] *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 26; CDRS no. 1443; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 229.
[133] *Cl. R. 1234-7* pp. 54, 115, 213, 223, 276, 292, 446, 479, 503; *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 12, 84, 85.
[134] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 136; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 284.
[135] Stacey, *Politics* pp. 98-114.
[136] E159/15 m. 16d (Memoranda Roll, *21 Henry III*); Stacey, *Politics* pp. 107-8.
[137] *Foedera* pp. 233-4; CDRS no. 1358.
[138] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 219; H. Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the middle ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, iii (Oxford, 1936), 87-8; see pp. 22, 57.
[139] MPCM iii 539-40. Walter also apparently added his voice to that of the legate, Otto, to bring about the election of Nicholas of Farnham as bishop of Durham: Paris, *CM* iv 87.

to assist Archbishop Walter de Gray and William de Cantilupe as regents while the king went on campaign in Poitou during 1242-3.[140] Again the appointment appears to have been determined by Walter's experience with royal finances. Before his departure for Poitou in May 1242, Henry had collected around £35,000 to fund his war in France. But even this substantial war chest had been exhausted by July 1242, leaving the king in desperate financial straits. Repeated requests were made to the regents for troops, supplies and up to 50,000 marks to be dispatched to the king as soon as a favourable wind arrived.[141] Despite the urgency of these pleas, Mauclerk and his colleagues were unable to meet the king's expectations. The Poitevin expedition was unpopular with the majority of the barons, forcing the regents to rely on the time consuming process of distraint to raise the required funds. As a result though Henry acknowledges the receipt of his treasury on 13 October 1242, he reports that the sum was not enough to cover his debts.[142] As the month dragged on and chances of victory in Poitou evaporated, a frustrated Henry turned on Mauclerk. Writing to each of the regents in turn, blaming his misfortunes on his lack of money, Henry singles out Walter for special condemnation. For the king warns the bishop that unless he is provided with sufficient funds, the consequences will be grave.[143] Nevertheless the money was not sent and on 4 December Walter is abruptly told to look to the health of his soul and to cease concerning himself with the king's affairs. He was to be replaced as regent by the bishops of Ely and Worcester and the remaining regents were ordered to enforce the king's decree.[144] This order, however, was never carried out. Possibly Henry yielded to the persuasion of Archbishop Gray and William de Cantilupe. In the event, the regents' efforts were to be in vain. Betrayed by his ally, the count of La Marche, who defected to Louis IX's camp in July 1242 and left isolated by the surrender of Raymond of Toulouse in January 1243, Henry sued for peace in April 1243.

Despite this debacle Walter remained active in the king's service. Following the failure of his Poitevin campaign, Henry III was facing uprisings in Wales under David ap Llywellyn and increased pressure on the Scottish border from Alexander II. Rumours abounded of a potential alliance with King Louis IX, predominantly spread by a fugitive from the Scottish court, William Bisset. In July 1244 therefore, King Henry wrote to inform Earl Patrick of Dunbar that he is sending a powerful delegation to Alexander II to hear what amends the latter was willing to make for his actions against the English. Henry was to be represented by the bishops of York, Durham and Carlisle and by Simon de Montfort, earl of

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[140] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 290. See also pp. 58-60.
[141] *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 518, 519, 522.
[142] *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 519. For the king's financial preparations for the Poitevin campaign see: Stacey, *Politics* pp. 183-200.
[143] *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 533.
[144] *Cl. R. 1242-47* p. 58.

Leicester, William de Cantilupe and the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England.[145] Although both sides mustered large armies neither was seriously ready to go to war, being distracted by more pressing affairs at home.[146] Amicable relations were thus rapidly restored in a meeting between the two kings at Newcastle, with little loss of face to either side. The covenant of 1237 and the arrangements for the marriage of Henry's daughter, Margaret to Alexander's heir were confirmed on 14 August 1244.[147] In Wales, however, a campaign was necessary. Henry planned to personally lead an army against the Welsh, under their leader, David ap Llywellyn, in the summer of 1245. During this crisis Walter Mauclerk was once more entrusted with the custody of the kingdom. As a result, Walter and his fellow regent, Richard of Barking, abbot of Westminster, were excused from attending Innocent IV's council at Lyons in 1245.[148]

In the years after his election as co-regent, however, Walter increasingly withdrew from court, due no doubt to his advancing age. Indeed there is a rather touching note added to the normally terse order of largesse in 1244 which stated that Walter Mauclerk was to receive two roe-deer as he was ill at Reading.[149] Walter was also granted relief from a crusading vow due to his old age and debility, though the pope stipulated that he was to send warriors according to his means in recompense.[150] Unfortunately, it is impossible to discern when this commutation was granted or even when Walter actually took up the cross. One possible indication of date is the papal letter of 31 March 1238 authorising the legate Otto to absolve from crusading vows only those who could not fulfil them owing to old age, poverty, debility or infirmity.[151] Further indications of Walter's awareness of his advancing age is the royal licence granting him the right to make a will in July 1245. In addition to the licence the king stated that on 5 July Walter was to be regarded as quit of all his debts to the king, except the 80 marks owing for the Wigeton wardship.[152] Mauclerk was also to be quit of a fine he owed for the escape of three prisoners from the royal castle of Carlisle, which was in his custody.[153] His arrangements, however, did not stop there, for on 18 June 1245 the

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[145] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 432.
[146] Paris, *CM* iv 430. D. Carpenter refers to the affair as a 'storm in a teacup': *The Struggle for Mastery* (London, 2003), p. 336; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The making of a Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 535-7.
[147] *Chron. Melrose* p. 69; Paris, *CM* iv 430; M. Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249-1272', in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, eds. B. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (Aldershot, 2002), 45-7. See also pp 60-1, 233.
[148] Paris, *CM* iv 413; D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), pp. 362-6.
[149] *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-45* p. 236.
[150] W. E. Lunt in his *Financial relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), p. 430 n. 5 stated that this grant was found on *folio* 30 of a formulary of the papal chancery kept in the Lea Library of the University of Pennsylvania.
[151] *Potthast* no. 10560.
[152] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 456.
[153] *Cl. R. 1244-47* p. 323.

archbishop of York informed him that he had received permission from Pope Innocent IV allowing Mauclerk's resignation on grounds of old age and debility.[154] This release from his pastoral duties in turn freed Walter, allowing him to enter the Dominicans, which as Mathew Paris records had occurred by 29 June 1246.[155]

His links with this flourishing order, of which the St. Albans chronicler was so critical, appear to have been formed soon after their arrival in Oxford. It is known that he granted to the new friary a plot of land in the old Jewry and a double mill outside the south gate of Oxford called the Trill Mills.[156] It was to this latter plot that the Friars were to move in 1236, establishing their house on an island south of Littlegate, a site which the records show had been acquired through the gifts of benefactors such as Walter Mauclerk and Isabel de Bolebec, countess of Oxford.[157] His attachment to the order may also have led him to aid the Dominicans to establish a house within the city walls of Carlisle by 1238.[158] Interestingly Walter appears to have contemplated the religious life for some years before his resignation. On 25 April 1230 the king grants that Walter's heirs, successors and executors should not be impeded in the execution of the bishop's will by reason of any account to be rendered of Walter's tenure of the king's treasury. Walter himself was to continue to account to the king, unless he was relieved from this duty by the king's favour, or until his death or until he entered into religion.[159] Mathew Paris stated that the former bishop of Carlisle resigned his see due to a sense of guilt over the secular manner in which he had been promoted. Walter's retirement and entry into the Dominican order is thus represented as a form of atonement for past inadequacies.[160] His estimation of Walter's character, however, is highly questionable. Indeed it would appear that monastic rivalry over his patronage of the Dominicans was the root cause of Paris' animosity. Also, as we have seen, his condemnation of Walter Mauclerk as the victim of the flow of events outside his control, is not borne out by a closer look at the facts of his career. Therefore, though his pronouncements concerning Walter's character and activities should be noted as an invaluable contemporary view of the bishop, it is still advisable to treat his words with care. In such turbulent times, Walter's survival as a courtier is remarkable. True he did not scale the exalted heights dominated by men like Peter des Roches and Hubert de Burgh. But unlike them, Walter retained Henry's trust to the end. Shortly after his resignation, the custodian of the bishopric of Carlisle was instructed that the former bishop was to receive all

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[154] *Reg. Gray* p. 98 no. 447
[155] Paris, *Hist. Angl.* iii 11; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 170; iv (Wykes), 94.
[156] *Collectanea* iv 8; *Rot. Hundred.* ii 789.
[157] Isabella is regarded as the founder of the friary by Mathew Paris: Paris, *CM* iv 406.
[158] It is not known who granted the plot of land within the walls to the Dominicans, though their earlier grant of land in 1233 in the Botchergate, outside the city walls, was granted by Henry III: *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 387.
[159] *Cal. Ch. R 1226-1257* p. 122.

the corn from the manors attached to the bishopric as well as from the churches annexed to the diocese.[161] Moreover, royal largesse in the form of a tun of good wine was granted to Brother Walter from the king's cellar at Oxford in 1248.[162] But these signs of royal favour represent gratitude for past services, for after 1246 Walter appears to withdraw from secular concerns. He does, however, continue to exercise his episcopal authority. At the request of Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, the former bishop of Carlisle blesses Henry of Rothley as abbot of Leicester priory, and Emma Bluet as abbess of Godstow in 1247-8.[163] It is perhaps this new found devotion to the spiritual life that at last earns him the praise of Mathew Paris. For in recording Walter's death around the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude (28 October) 1248, the chronicler stated that 'he eluded the canker of worldly affairs and riches, [and] came to the end of his days in laudable fashion'.[164] But, as this study has shown, it is as a trusted royal servant and financial officer that Walter Mauclerk has left his mark.

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[160] Wendover, *Flores* ii 350; Paris, *Hist. Angl.* iii 11.
[161] *Cl. R. 1242-47* p. 456, similar letters were also dispatched concerning the manors of Melbourne and Horncastle.
[162] *Cl. R. 1247-51* p. 30.
[163] *Rot. Grosseteste* pp. 429, 491.
[164] Paris, *CM* v 16.

DURHAM

5. *Magister* Philip of Poitou, bishop of Durham (1195-1208).

In elevating *magister* Philip of Poitou to the see of Durham in 1195, King Richard I sought both to reward a favourite clerk and to reassert royal authority over the bishopric. Philip had proved his credentials while accompanying Richard on crusade in 1191-2, remaining with him throughout his subsequent captivity in Germany. A capable administrator, he had risen through the ranks of the royal chancery to become a trusted envoy, judge and adviser. According to William of Newburgh, he was an attentive servant of King Richard, one to whom the king confided his secrets and a sharer in his labours.[1] His services to the crown in King John's reign earned him a place in the list of the king's evil counsellors (*consiliariis iniquissimi*) compiled by Roger of Wendover, placing him in the company of fellow curial bishops: Peter des Roches of Winchester, John de Gray of Norwich and his successor at Durham, the royal chancellor Richard de Marisco.[2] As bishop of Durham, Philip's attempts at the reform of the rights and privileges of his church meant that his regime was characterised by a constant battle with the monastic chapter. The convent, having successfully prevailed on their dying bishop, Hugh du Puiset, to confirm a series of forged charters in 1195, which, in G. V. Scammell's view, amounted to a 'bill of rights', was unwilling to give up its new-found independence.[3] The bitterness of the conflict between bishop and chapter is reflected in local contemporary narratives. To Geoffrey of Coldingham, himself a former monk of Durham, Philip of Poitou was a callous despoiler of the church, who led or connived in the various attacks on the convent described in his *Liber de Statu ecclesiae Dunhelmensis.*[4] Viewed from another angle, however, these clashes can also be described as legitimate attempts by a diocesan to curb abuses and reform his see in line with current canonical practices.

Little is known of Philip's early career prior to his appearance as a clerk in the chancery of Richard the Lionheart in May 1191. It is probable that he served in Richard's ducal household in Aquitaine and his designation as *magister* in the sources prior to his elevation to the episcopate, indicates formal training in a university or cathedral school.[5] Moreover, although the nature and origin of his learning is not recorded, it is plausible to speculate that Philip had studied canon law. Certainly from the 1120s the title *magister* was associated with those who were "distinguished for their learning, especially in law".[6] As shall be discussed later, in his dealings with the Durham monks Philip was often forced to

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[1] *Newburgh* ii 441.
[2] Paris, *CM* ii 533.
[3] G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 135.
[4] *Script. Tres.* pp. 17-27.
[5] R. R. Heiser, 'The royal *familiares* of King Richard I', *Medieval prosopography*, 10 (1989), 25-50.

appeal to Rome to bolster his episcopal authority against conventual encroachments. Significantly the favourable response to these appeals arguably shows that, despite the protestations of the monks concerning the accepted legitimacy of their claims, Philip's grasp of correct canonical practice was at the very least better than that of his chapter.[7] As a native of Poitou, Philip may well have completed his studies at the University of Paris, where, as at Oxford, great emphasis was placed on teaching practical applications of theology and canon law in the wider Church. Philip had a familial connection with the school, his nephew, Peter Thebert, being a scholar at Paris sometime before 1203.[8] Such connections, however, must remain purely speculative and circumstantial.

It is generally accepted that Philip of Poitou is to be identified as the *magister* Philip who first begins to issue royal letters at Limassol on 12 May 1191. There *magister* Philip sealed the dower settlement made by King Richard upon his new bride, Berengaria of Navarre, following their marriage which had occurred the same day.[9] His rise to prominence began when the vice-chancellor and seal bearer, Roger Malcael, drowned in a shipwreck off Cyprus.[10] The Pipe Rolls of the first two years of Richard's reign contain payments for the passage from Southampton of a royal envoy variously described as Philip, clerk of the chamber and *magister* Philip.[11] Notably both these renditions can be found in the royal letters witnessed or sealed by Philip of Poitou in the years 1191-1194.[12] Nevertheless, it was to be Richard's crusade and subsequent captivity, or more precisely his proximity to the king during this period, that was to make Philip of Poitou's fortune. The prospect of royal preferment may indeed have been part of his motivation for participating in the Third Crusade. Nevertheless, later in life he was to complete a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, signifying that he was a devout Christian.[13]

Over the course of the crusade, Philip was to issue one further letter at Jaffa (10 January 1192), which places him with the king when the decision was taken to divert the crusade from the conquest of Jerusalem in favour of the refortification of Ascalon.[14] His position within the king's chancery appears to have been that of a vice-chancellor, though, it should be stressed, he was never accorded that title. Indeed H. E. Mayer, in his examination of Richard's chancery during the Third Crusade, argues that, at least to begin with, Philip's

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[6] I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1098* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 220, in the context of the college of cardinals.
[7] See below p. 142.
[8] CLI no. 454.
[9] Landon no. 358.
[10] *Gesta Henrici II* ii 162. There is, however, some doubt as to the exact date of the shipwreck: see: J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), p. 144 n.19.
[11] *Great Roll of the Pipe for first year of the reign of King Richard the first*, ed. J. Hunter, Rec. comm., (London, 1844) p. 207; *PR 2 Richard I* p. 5.
[12] Landon nos. 367, 374, 386.
[13] See below p. 149.
[14] Landon no. 366.

promotion was expedient, an emergency solution to the crisis caused by the drowning of Roger Malcael in April 1191. Furthermore, Mayer identifies the eccentricities contained in many of Richard's letters of this period as the work of Philip, arguing that he possessed a "weak talent" for chancery style.[15] But despite his apparent unfamiliarity with chancery formulas, with the exception of a grant confirming Pisan rights and those letters issued by the king himself, Philip seals or witnesses all extant royal letters which date from Richard's crusade.[16] Clearly his services were of some value to the king.

The Third Crusade ended with a three-year truce, concluded between Saladin and King Richard, to last until April 1196. But Richard's route home remained uncertain. According to the chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall, Richard sailed from Acre, landing at Corfu where he hired two galleys and continued on towards Gazera on the Dalmatian coast. Accompanying the king from Corfu was a small group of loyal followers including Baldwin de Béthune, William de l'Etang, Anselm the chaplain, from whom Coggeshall claims to have gleaned his information, and Philip.[17] The ensuing story of Richard's eventual capture near Vienna following his attempt to flee to north-east Germany disguised (unconvincingly) as a poor pilgrim is well known, if somewhat obscured by conflicting contemporary accounts. The fate of his companions, however, is less well known. Roger of Howden, who may well have heard the tale from Philip, relates that Richard, fearing detection, left his household at Frisach and travelled on towards Vienna, accompanied by a sole companion.[18] Richard's household, including, it is believed, Baldwin de Béthune, Anselm the chaplain and Philip, were then arrested c.14 December 1192 by Frederick de Betesov, an envoy of the count of Görz.[19] Their imprisonment was of short duration, however, and it appears that Baldwin of Béthune and Philip were permitted to rejoin their royal master, though the precise date of their reunion is unknown.[20]

One further note must be included concerning the events of Richard's abortive attempt to return home. It has long been thought by scholars that the vessel on which Richard travelled to Corfu, his great ship, was called the *Frankenef*. The name attributed to the great ship originates in a somewhat terse charter confirming certain funds to the church of Chichester, which was issued *Apud Frankenef* and witnessed by *magister* Philip. The charter is undated, but, given the assumption that it was issued at sea, it is thought to date

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[15] H. E. Mayer, "Die Kanzlei Richards I, von England auf dem Dritten Kreuzzug", in *Mitteilungen des Instituts fuer Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 85 (1977), 22-35.
[16] Landon no. 365. As mentioned above Philip sealed two letters: Landon nos. 358, 366. All other royal letters of this period are issued by the king: Landon nos. 359-364.
[17] *Coggeshall* pp. 53-4.
[18] *Howden* iii 186, 195; see J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), p. 232 n. 36.
[19] *Howden* iii 195; Landon p. 70.
[20] Philip had rejoined the king by 28 May 1193: Landon no. 373, while Baldwin appears in June 1193: *Howden* iii 215.

from November 1192.[21] Recent scholarship, however, has shown that rather than denoting the name of a ship, the phrase *Apud Frankenef* refers instead to Frankfurt am Main.[22] As a result, H. E. Mayer, who has suggested the correction, postulates that the charter was issued sometime between 28 May and 8 June 1193, while Richard was negotiating peace between Emperor Henry VI and the rebels of the lower Rhineland, who had risen against the Emperor who was thought to have ordered the murder of Bishop Albert of Liège.[23] Whilst removing corroborative evidence of Ralph of Coggeshall's report of Philip's presence in the king's entourage during his voyage home, Mayer's theory further emphasises the clerk's importance in Richard's chancery while in captivity.

During this period, Philip was to witness a total of five letters all of which were dated at Worms or Frankfurt[24], the remaining twenty-two being issued by the king himself or by the chancellor.[25] Moreover, it seems that Richard was also to dispatch his loyal clerk to England to collect money from the royal treasury. For in the Pipe Roll of Michaelmas 1194 a payment of £21 18s 4d was recorded for the passage of Philip and William of St Mère Eglise carrying treasure to Germany.[26] This reference, however, should be used with caution as the Pipe Rolls contain another payment connected with a *magister* Philip who was active on the king's service in England during 1193.[27] Mention is also made of a clerk of *magister* Philip for whose passage, to an unspecified destination, the crown owed 15s.[28] Without further details it is impossible to state definitively that all these entries refer to Philip of Poitou. Nevertheless, a mission to England may explain Philip of Poitou's absence from the witness lists of Richard's letters between 30 September 1193 and 12 February 1194.[29] It is therefore plausible that he was instructed to journey to England to conduct part of Richard's treasure to Germany. He may even have travelled with William of St Mère Eglise, the king's secretary (*protonotarius*), who had arrived in Germany with a previous instalment of Richard's treasure and witnesses two letters at Speyer on 20 November 1193.[30]

The reward for this loyal service is recorded by Roger of Howden, who states that in 1193, Philip of Poitou was appointed archdeacon of Canterbury by the king.[31] Significantly this advancement appears to have been one of a number of appointments made by Richard at

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[21] Landon no. 367.
[22] H. E. Mayer, "A Ghost ship called Frankenef: King Richard I's German itinerary", *EHR*, 115 (2000), 134-144.
[23] *Howden* iii 214.
[24] Landon nos. 373, 367, 375, 383, 386.
[25] Landon nos. 368-372, 374, 376-382, 384-385, 387-393.
[26] *PR 6 Richard I* p. 242.
[27] *PR 5 Richard I* p. 134.
[28] *PR 5 Richard I* p. 172.
[29] Landon nos. 386, 394.
[30] Landon nos. 387-388. For details of the career of William of St Mère Eglise see: R. V. Turner, *Men Raised from the Dust* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 20-34.
[31] *Howden* iii 221.

this stage, the majority of which recognised debts of gratitude owed by the king. The most prominent of these was of another fellow crusader, Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, whose transfer to the see of Canterbury the king requested in a series of letters dated 30 March 1193. In these Richard writes that Bishop Hubert had performed admirably in the "relief of the East" and further commends his discretion, loyalty, constancy and the "services he performed pleasing to God and all Christendom and ourselves".[32] In addition to Philip and Hubert Walter, Richard also sanctioned two further elections: that of Henry Marshal, dean of York and brother of the king's stalwart supporter William Marshal, to the bishopric of Exeter; and also of Henry de Sully, Richard's candidate in 1189 as abbot of Glastonbury, to the bishopric of Worcester. Clearly Richard, though imprisoned, was determined to carry out his royal prerogative in ecclesiastical elections and advance his favourites.

It is difficult to attach any precise date to these appointments, but it seems unlikely that they occurred altogether as Howden's account suggests. Hubert Walter's election is fixed in the spring of 1193 both by the king's own letters of 30 March, and also by Gervase of Canterbury who records that Bishop Hubert was elected by the Canterbury monks on 28 May.[33] The elections of Henry de Sully and Henry Marshal were both completed by March 1194.[34] Philip of Poitou, however, is only accorded the title archdeacon of Canterbury on 28 July 1194, when witnessing a royal grant to the archbishop of Canterbury.[35] Prior to this date he continues to witness as he had previously as *magister* Philip or Philip the king's clerk. The previous archdeacon, Herbert Poore, appears to have relinquished the office upon his elevation to the bishopric of Salisbury sometime before 29 April 1194.[36] In addition Philip was also chosen as Richard's nominee for the archdeaconry of York following Archbishop Geoffrey's refusal to accept his half brother's first candidate John de Béthune, provost of Douai.[37] Nevertheless, the nomination foundered as the York chapter refused to relinquish their candidate *magister* Simon of Apulia.[38] Richard was to have more success with the monks of Durham, prevailing upon the monastic chapter to appoint Philip of Poitou as their bishop in the winter of 1195-6. But, even here the royal will met with some obstruction.

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[32] *Ep. Cant.* p. 363.
[33] *Gervase of Canterbury* i 518-9.
[34] It is likely that Henry de Sully's promotion was the result of the schemes of Bishop Savaric of Bath, who having failed to secure Canterbury, gained a controversial royal grant annexing the abbey of Glastonbury to his own bishopric of Bath presumably during his visit to Richard in February 1193: *Howden* iii 196, 197; *Gervase of Canterbury* i 514; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 220-5.
[35] Landon no. 432.
[36] *Fasti* (Salisbury), p. 3; *Diceto* ii 115-6.
[37] *Howden* iii 221-2. Notably John de Béthune, provost of Douai was also in attendance on Richard during his imprisonment, witnessing a number of letters, his relationship to Baldwin de Béthune is not recorded: Landon nos. 386, 390.
[38] D. Douie, *Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet and the chapter of York*, Borthwick Papers, 18 (York, 1960).

Historians have, until recently, been dismissive of King Richard's role in episcopal elections, pointing to his long absences from the kingdom which were assumed to have limited his ability to influence the choice of his bishops. But as R. V. Turner notes, a closer study of Richard's dealings with the English Church reveals "a monarch who had little respect for the Church's freedom and worked to preserve his royal predecessors' authority over it".[39] This is amply demonstrated by his involvement in the Durham election of 1195. Writing to Richard fitz Neal, bishop of London, the king informed the bishop that the prior and monks of Durham had presumed to make a secret election without consulting the crown. Such an act was regarded by Richard as detrimental to the royal honour and therefore it should be immediately annulled.[40] Although this letter condemns unlicensed elections in general, it is arguable that the see of Durham was held to be of particular importance by the king. The bishopric was a bulwark against the Scots, its bishop controlling a number of important strategic castles including Norham and Durham. During the previous episcopate, that of King Richard's cousin, Hugh du Puiset (1154-1195), this influence was increased by the purchase of the earldom of Northumberland. Furthermore, the vehemence with which the crown utilised this argument of defence was justified by the memory of Bishop Hugh le Puiset's hesitation in repelling the Scots during the rebellion against Henry II in 1173-4.[41] The precise details of the monks' duplicity are unknown. The letter to Bishop Richard provides no indication of whom the monks elected and is undated, though it must have been written after Bishop Hugh's death on 3 March 1195.[42] By piecing together the information provided by Geoffrey of Coldingham and the royal witness lists, however, it is plausible to suggest that it was Burchard du Puiset whose candidacy was so repugnant to the king. Burchard, who is variously described as the nephew or son of Bishop Hugh[43], already held the archdeaconry of Durham and, Coldingham claims, had previously been promised the bishopric by the king.[44] Hugh du Puiset, it is believed, intended the see to pass to Burchard, having been robbed of the chance to see him elevated to the archbishopric of York in 1189.[45] Arguably King Richard could not afford to risk the alienation of such an important see and allow the du Puiset family to become increasingly entrenched in the north.

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[39] R. V. Turner, 'Richard the Lionheart and English Episcopal Elections', *Albion*, 29 (1997), 1-13.
[40] *Diceto* ii 128-9. Ralph Diceto, as a canon of St Paul's, London, was ideally placed to garner such information and frequently used episcopal correspondence in his chronicle, see: A. Gransden, *Historical writing in England, c.550-c.1307* (London, 1974), p. 231.
[41] G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 36-42.
[42] Geoffrey of Coldingham also notes that Richard accused the monks of holding an election and that they were hiding money belonging to Bishop Hugh: *Script. Tres.* pp. 16-17.
[43] *Newburgh* ii 440-1; *Howden* iii 16, *Gesta* ii 85; for a discussion of Hugh du Puiset's family see: G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 312-3.
[44] *Script. Tres.* p. 18.
[45] G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 176, 182.

Whatever the truth of Bishop Hugh's dynastic ambitions, Richard prevailed and the duly chastened monks sent to the king to consult with him concerning the election of the bishop. It is possible that Burchard went himself to promote his cause to the king, for (although not a frequent visitor to court) he witnesses a royal charter at Le Mans on 23 June 1195.[46] But Richard, so Coldingham informs us, had a different candidate in mind and humbly recommended his loyal clerk, Philip of Poitou. In return for their co-operation the monks received promises of friendship and the confirmation of their liberties. They therefore accepted Philip of Poitou, whose honesty and probity had been reported to them.[47] Coldingham later implies that Burchard's failure to secure his promised bishopric resulted from his refusal to satisfy the king's demand for silver, which had been a condition of Richard's original promise. By refusing to stoop to simony, Burchard therefore lost his bishopric.[48] But it appears that Philip's election was not without cost. As shortly after his consecration Coldingham records that the new bishop demanded an aid from the clerics of the see, along with custody of vacant churches and donations. It would appear that this was the source of Frank Barlow's statement that Bishop Philip "levied an aid on the diocese in 1197-8 to reimburse him for the cost of his appointment", though it should be noted Coldingham makes no reference to the purpose of the exactions.[49]

Philip was duly nominated by the Durham chapter, though the sources disagree about the precise date and circumstances. Gervase of Canterbury dates the election to November 1195 while Walter of Coventry, following Howden, records that Prior Bertram elected Philip in the presence of Archbishop Hubert Walter at Northallerton on 29 December 1195.[50] This appears to have been followed by a formal election by the Durham monks in chapter on 4 January 1196.[51] As Pope Celestine III later recounts in his letter of confirmation, the monks unanimously transferred their vote to Philip (*vota sua unanimiter transtulerunt*).[52] William of Newburgh, however, who is highly critical of the king's actions, paints the Durham election of 1196 in a more sinister light. Writing between 1196 and 1198, apparently from local sources, Newburgh states that the election was a sham.[53] Far from being carried out according to correct canonical procedure, it was a shining pretence

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[46] Landon no. 453.
[47] *Script. Tres.* p. 17.
[48] *Script. Tres.* p. 18.
[49] F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 20. The statement is unfortunately without reference. However, it seems likely that Coldingham was indeed the source: c.f. *Script. Tres* p. 18.
[50] *Gervase of Canterbury* i 531; *Walter of Coventry* ii 96; *Howden* iii 308.
[51] *Script. Tres.* p. 17. Ralph Coggeshall and the annals of Tewkesbury, Waverley and Worcester all record Philip's election under their entries for 1196: *Coggeshall* p. 70; *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury) 55; ii (Waverley) 250; iv (Worcester) 389.
[52] *Script. Tres* app. xlvi.
[53] On the composition of William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicanum* see: A. Gransden, *Historical writing in England, c.550-c.1307* (London, 1974), pp. 263-268.

cunningly concocted to cover up the reality of a purely royal election. In his opinion the monks were left with no option but to choose Philip, as the implacable will of the king denied them the right to choose any but the king's pre-elect.[54]

Apparently in response to this loyal capitulation, Richard fulfilled his promise and issued a confirmation of the liberties of the convent. This was given at Chinon on 4 February and was witnessed by Philip as bishop-elect of Durham.[55] There are, however, some doubts as to the authenticity of this charter as it dated to 6 Richard I [1195], a date incompatible with the presence of Philip as bishop-elect. A scribal error has been assumed and the majority of commentators date the charter to 1196.[56] But, more significantly, certain phrases in this document have been identified as originating in the spurious *Venerabilibus patribus*, an alleged charter of Bishop William of St Calais manufactured by the convent c.1190-1195.[57] If the charter is genuine then Richard's confirmation is the first occasion that any part of *Venerabilibus patribus* had been exploited for the convent's benefit. It is plausible to suggest therefore, that the Durham monks saw the disputed election of 1195 as an opportunity to gain respectability for their forged charter through royal confirmation. By accepting Philip's candidacy they achieved an important step in their efforts to have their manufactured rights and privileges recognised outside the monastery. If so, they were soon to regret their bargain, as Bishop Philip refused to give credence to the monks' version of their liberties.[58]

Following his election to the bishopric of Durham, Philip continued in the service of the crown. Early in 1196, probably in March, prompted by disappointing returns from Richard's various levies, he was sent together with Abbot Robert of St Stephen's, Caen, to inquire into the financial operations of the justices, sheriffs and their officials who were suspected of pocketing the profits.[59] The enquiry came to nothing as Abbot Robert died on 11 April shortly after his arrival in London. Ironically he had been taken ill at dinner with the justiciar, Archbishop Hubert Walter five days earlier.[60] Despite this setback, Philip appears to have remained in England for the rest of the year. He was named as one of the king's advisers who were to instruct Archbishop Hubert concerning the delivery of royal

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[54] *Newburgh* ii 441-2.
[55] DCDCM 2.3.REG.3a.
[56] Landon no. 460; D. Bates, 'The forged charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St Calais', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 123.
[57] DEC pp. 53-63; D. Bates, 'The forged charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St Calais', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 111-124; G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 302.
[58] *Script. Tres.* p. 21. See below p. 142.
[59] *Howden* iv 5; L. Landon places the envoys departure for England on 25 March 1196 apparently based on William of Newburgh: Landon p. 111; c.f. *Newburgh* ii 465.

castles.[61] In addition he also assessed tallage in the counties of Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Westmorland, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Cumberland and Yorkshire with Hugh Bardolf, sheriff of Northumberland and Westmorland.[62] No doubt this tour provided the bishop-elect with an invaluable chance to gain some insight into his new diocese and its environs. Indeed Howden records that during this period Philip was ordained priest in Durham cathedral by Henry, bishop of Llandaff.[63] The presence of a Welsh bishop officiating in the archdiocese of York requires some explanation. In December 1195 Archbishop Geoffrey had been suspended by the pope for his refusal to answer charges brought against him in the papal curia by the canons of York. Early in 1196, Geoffrey successfully defended his cause in Rome, but King Richard refused to return York's temporalities, which had been confiscated on his suspension and were providing valuable revenue for the crown.[64] In the absence of a metropolitan, letters requesting confirmation of Philip's election had been sent to Rome, a unique occurrence in the scope of this study.[65] The resulting confirmation, issued on 13 April 1196, may well have prompted Philip's ordination at Durham two months later.[66] Papal involvement was to continue as the quarrel between king and archbishop dragged on into 1197, when the bishop-elect used the opportunity of an embassy to Rome, on behalf of King Richard, to achieve his consecration.

Philip had travelled to Rome to promote Richard's cause in a quarrel which had developed between the king and Walter, archbishop of Rouen over the manor of Les Andelys. This strategic site, which belonged to the archbishop of Rouen, had been earmarked by the king for the construction of his 'saucy castle', Chateau Gaillard. But the archbishop was reluctant to give up Les Andelys, which was one of the see's wealthiest manors. Frustrated, Richard seized the manor, against the will and prohibition of the archbishop, causing the prelate to flee to Rome and place Normandy under interdict.[67] Richard defended his actions, despatching a legation headed by William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, William bishop of Lisieux, and Philip of Poitou, to plead his case before the pope.

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[60] There is no suggestion of foul play by Archbishop Hubert; nevertheless William of Newburgh notes that of those who feared Abbot Robert's arrival, none regretted his demise: *Newburgh* ii 464-5.
[61] Landon no. 464.
[62] *Chancellor's Roll* pp. 96, 98, 251; *PR 9 Richard I* pp. 12, 59, 150-2, 181-2.
[63] *Howden* iv 9-10.
[64] *Howden* iii 287, iv 7-9. Richard I is often credited by historians for his unwillingness to prolong vacancies to bishoprics in order to swell the royal coffers: J. T. Appleby, *England without Richard 1189-1199* (London, 1965), p. 186. Apparently this scrupulousness did not extend to Archbishop Geoffrey's estates which were confiscated in 1194, 1196 and 1197-9: *Howden* iii 260-2, iv 8, 92.
[65] Gratian's *Decretum*, based on a canon from the council of Nicea, notes the importance of the metropolitan in the confirmation of a bishop-elect. In the late twelfth century no definite mechanism existed to deal with exceptions to this rule, though the French *Summa Et est sciendum* (1181-1185) suggests that during a vacancy the bishop-elect should be confirmed by a *visitator* or by the primate, see: R. L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect* (Princeton, 1968), pp. 36, 106. Curiously neither of these approaches was tried by Philip of Poitou.
[66] *Script. Tres.* app. xlvi.

By 31 January the envoys had reached Poitiers where the ailing William Longchamp died. According to Roger of Howden, who, John Gillingham argues, travelled to Rome amongst Philip's entourage, the two remaining prelates then continued on their journey.[68] Once in Rome the envoys impressed upon the pope the vital strategic importance of Les Andelys and Chateau Gaillard for the protection of Normandy against the aggression of King Philip of France. Faced with such persuasive arguments and his grievance placated by the offer of the town of Dieppe as compensation, Archbishop Walter acquiesced.[69] Meanwhile, the continuing rift between Richard and Archbishop Geoffrey of York remained unresolved. In the absence of a metropolitan, Philip of Poitou turned to the pope to perform his consecration, which was celebrated at the Lateran on 20 April 1197.[70] Bishop Philip then returned to Richard in the company of the archbishop of Rouen and William, bishop of Lisieux, bearing the peace agreement formulated in Rome to be ratified by the king and his magnates.[71]

Philip of Poitou's success marked him as an invaluable negotiator for the crown. Richard's wars in France left him urgently in need of troops and the money to pay them. We have already seen in 1196 that Richard had trusted his clerk to enquire into the workings of the English exchequer in an attempt to squeeze more money out of the royal administration. In a similar vein, Archbishop Hubert Walter held a council at Oxford on 7 December 1197, at which he announced to the assembled barons Richard's demand that, in addition to their scutage payments, they should provide 300 knights for a year's service in France.[72] No direct mention is made of Philip's presence at this council. But a final concord issued at Oxford and witnessed by him and Archbishop Hubert, along with a number of other bishops and royal officials, may well date from the time of the council.[73] Certainly all those named by the chroniclers as being present at the Oxford council, including Hugh, bishop of Lincoln and Hubert Poore, bishop of Salisbury who protested so violently concerning the king's demands, are also named as witnesses to the concord.[74] It is possible, therefore, that Bishop

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[67] *Howden* iv 14.
[68] *Howden* iv 17; J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), p. 302 n. 5; J. Gillingham, 'The travels of Roger of Howden and his views of the Irish, Scots and Welsh', in *Anglo Norman Studies*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, 20 (Woodbridge, 1998), 165.
[69] *Howden* iv 17-19; *Newburgh* ii 499-500.
[70] *Howden* iv 18; *Diceto* ii 152; *Script. Tres.* p. 18. York's temporalities were not returned to Archbishop Geoffrey until John's reign: *Howden* iv 92.
[71] *Howden* iv 19. The final agreement was negotiated by Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury, Bishop John of Worcester and Bishop Eustace of Ely on 16 October 1197: *Diceto* ii 154, 157.
[72] *Gervase of Canterbury* i 549; *Howden* iv 40, Roger of Howden dates the council to 1198, an error which J. Gillingham ascribes to the author's absence in Rome at this time: J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), p. 280 n. 49.
[73] *Feet of Fines 9 Richard I (1197-1198)*, *PRS*, 23 (London, 1898), no. 208. This is the dating evidence used by L. Landon to note Bishop Philip's presence at the Oxford council: Landon p. 116.
[74] *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* ii 98-100; *Giraldus Cambrensis* iii 103-4.

Philip attended the council in order to promote the king's cause by persuading his fellow bishops to consent to the scheme.

More prominently in the spring of 1198, Bishop Philip was named as the head of a delegation to Cologne to represent King Richard in the election of a new German king, which was occasioned by the sudden death of Emperor Henry VI. Conspicuous among those Richard selected as his envoys were men who were familiar with German politics and his allies, the Archbishop of Cologne and the princes of the Lower Rhineland. For along with Bishop Philip he also named Baldwin of Béthune and William l'Etang, who had been part of Richard's household on the ill fated voyage from the Holy Land and during his captivity.[75] Moreover they had to be men possessed of an ample degree of tact and diplomacy in order to persuade the reluctant Archbishop Adolf of Cologne to support the English king's preferred candidate, his nephew, Duke Henry of Saxony.[76] Indeed C. C. Bayley argues that it was largely the prospect of Richard's financial backing which swayed Archbishop Adolf to accept an heir of Henry the Lion.[77] Richard's cause was further aided by the election on 8 March of the Staufen candidate, Philip of Swabia, an event which galvanised support for the Welfs. Nevertheless, Duke Henry's absence on crusade forced Bishop Philip and his fellow envoys to nominate his younger brother, Otto of Brunswick, as Howden claims, against the wishes of the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz and certain other German magnates.[78]

The exact timing of the embassy, however, remains obscure. According to Howden, Richard was summoned to an assembly of German magnates at Cologne on 22 February. But in his subsequent account of the events of Otto's election and coronation, which may well have been gleaned from Bishop Philip, no mention is made of the election of Philip of Swabia, nor of Archbishop Adolf's nomination of Duke Berthold of Zähringen, both of which occurred in March. It is possible therefore, that Howden's silence indicates that Richard's envoys did not reach Germany until after these events had taken place. Evidence from charter witness lists shows that Bishop Philip and his colleagues could have been present in Cologne at the election of Otto IV which took place on 9 June.[79] Only Howden's description of Eustace as bishop-elect of Ely seems hinder this conclusion, as Eustace was

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[75] *Ann. Mon.* i (Burton), 195; *Walter of Coventry* ii 117. In addition Richard also named Eustace, bishop-elect of Ely, William de Chimeli, bishop-elect of Angers, Warin, bishop of Evreux, William de Preaux and Brice the king's chancellor: *Howden* iv 37.

[76] The archbishopric of Cologne was one of the major beneficiaries of the redistribution of Welf lands following the downfall of Henry the Lion, the father of Henry and Otto of Brunswick, in 1180. As a result, the rehabilitation of the Welf family can hardly have gained the immediate support of Archbishop Adolf: c.f. K. Jordan, *Henry the Lion* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 168-173.

[77] C. C. Bayley, *The formation of the German college of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Toronto, 1949), p. 121.

[78] *Howden* iv 38.

[79] Though it does not rule out the possibility of a February meeting, as charter witness lists show that the envoys were all absent from Richard's court during February and March 1198: Landon pp. 125-130.

consecrated bishop at Westminster on 8 March 1198.[80] Yet as W. Stubbs notes in his edition of Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, another of the party, Bishop Warin of Evreux (1195-1201), was erroneously called bishop-elect by the chronicler.[81] It is thus possible that Howden made a similar error in describing Eustace as bishop-elect. But whatever the timing of their visit, the embassy was a marked success. Otto's subsequent coronation at Aachen on 12 July 1198, secured Richard the support of the Rhineland princes as well as the count of Flanders against King Philip of France and his ally, Philip of Swabia.[82]

Finally in Richard's reign, in response to intercessions from the newly elected Pope Innocent III, Philip of Poitou was sent together with the royal chancellor, Eustace, bishop of Ely, and the bishops of Winchester, Worcester and Bath to bring and end to the rift with Richard's half-brother, the exiled archbishop of York. This mission followed an earlier attempt at reconciliation at the royal court at Les Andelys in May 1198.[83] Howden records that the bishops asked Archbishop Geoffrey to confirm a number of appointments made by the king in the archdiocese of York in the archbishop's absence. In return, Richard offered the restoration of York's temporalities confiscated in 1196. But the negotiations were inconclusive as the prelates refused Geoffrey's request that they set their seals to a written confirmation of these terms for the pope's approval, arguing that the archbishop was old enough to present his own case in Rome.[84] The assumption to be drawn from this is that Richard's agents refused to be drawn into the dispute and present Archbishop Geoffrey with a possible weapon against the king.

As a result of this assiduous royal service Bishop Philip was absent from his diocese for much of Richard's reign. It has been suggested that King Richard, unlike his successors John and Henry III, may have been sensitive to the divisions that could be created by the overt advancement of foreigners in the English administration. Key roles in the regency were largely left in the hands of Englishmen. Foreigners certainly travelled with Richard's itinerant household, but were rarely promoted to high office in England.[85] Notably Philip is the only cleric from Richard's southern domains to be elevated to an English bishopric. His role in the administration of the kingdom during Richard's reign was minor, being effectively limited to the eyres of 1197-1198, while evidence from charter witness lists shows that he ranked high amongst the members of Richard's court.[86] But arguably it was his activities as royal adviser and negotiator, rather than his Poitevin origins, which kept him

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[80] *Diceto* ii 159; *Howden* iv 41.
[81] *Howden* iv 37.
[82] J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), pp. 311-2.
[83] *Howden* iv 51-2; M. B. Lovatt, *The career and administration of Archbishop Geoffrey of York: 1151?-1212* (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1974), p. 64.
[84] *Howden* iv 66-7.
[85] R. R. Heiser, 'The royal *familiares* of King Richard I', *Medieval Prosopography*, 10 (1989), 25-50.

at Richard's side. Indeed the surviving evidence shows that Bishop Philip was hardly to set foot in his diocese until the autumn of 1198, when he returned to England, perhaps in the company of the royal chancellor, Bishop Eustace of Ely.[87] What motivated his return at this point is uncertain. He was clearly still in high in Richard's favour as the king addresses an exultant letter to him informing the him of his dramatic victory over King Philip II of France near Gisors on 28 September.[88] He also continued to act as a royal justice, witnessing two final concords at Westminster on 28 October 1198. But it appears it was events in the bishopric of Durham that demanded his attention.

In his absence, Durham's episcopal duties passed to his nephew, Aimeric, who had been granted the archdeaconries of Durham and Carlisle in 1196.[89] During this period Archdeacon Aimeric is presented by the Durham chronicler, Geoffrey of Coldingham, as the villain of the piece. He is portrayed as a malign influence on his uncle, poisoning Bishop Philip's thoughts against the monks, persuading him that they had usurped episcopal liberties, particularly the presentation to advowsons. Nevertheless, despite Coldingham's vitriolic attack on Aimeric, the archdeacon in turn is recorded as the tool of 'malicious men' (*malignantium*), the identity of whom is never revealed.[90] Given that the account was composed during Aimeric's lifetime, Coldingham's 'malicious men' may well be a rhetorical device designed to lessen the impact of the chronicler's account on his prospective audience. Roger of Howden, however, is more direct, detailing an attack by Aimeric on the monastic estate of Haswell in 1198.[91] In this account Aimeric is named as the instigator of the ensuing violence. His cavalier attitude towards the monks appears to stem, in part at least, from the convent's attempt to sideline episcopal control by claiming archidiaconal authority over their franchise in rivalry to his own.[92] Disputes over presentations were therefore commonplace, as convent, bishop and archdeacon each vied to assert their authority.[93] Already in 1196, the monks had refused to countenance Philip of Poitou's grant of Aycliffe church to his nephew, a living previously held by Archdeacon Burchard du

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[86] For statistical analysis of charter attestations in Richard's reign see: R. R. Heiser, 'The royal *familiares* of King Richard I', *Medieval Prosopography*, 10 (1989), 39-50.
[87] This is suggested by a Pipe Roll entry for 1198 which includes an account for 150s for three ships for the passage of the bishops of Ely and Durham: *PR 10 Richard I* p. 224.
[88] *Howden* iv 58-9.
[89] *Howden* iv 14. Durham archdeaconry was granted by Bishop Philip, while Carlisle was in the gift of the king, the see being vacant.
[90] *Script. Tres.* p. 18.
[91] *Howden* iv 39-40.
[92] This was based on a forged charter of Bishop William of St. Calais which states that the prior of Durham was to have '*omnes potestates atque omnia jura et vices archidiaconi in ominibus ecclesiis propriis*', see: *F.P.D.* pp. xlv-li; DEC pp. 27-36.
[93] For a discussion of the dispute over archidiaconal rights see: F. Barlow, *Durham jurisdictional peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 4, 14; E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 144-149.

Puiset.[94] This was followed in May 1197 by a papal mandate ordering the bishop and archdeacon not to do anything to prejudice the liberties and possessions of the church of Durham which had been confirmed by papal indult.[95]

But the most infamous incident in the dispute occurred after Bishop Philip's return to England in the autumn of 1198. It concerned the churches of Elvet and Bishop Middleham which became vacant upon the death of *magister* Richard of Coldingham. St Oswald's, Elvet had been granted to the convent by Bishop Hugh du Puiset, who installed *magister* Richard on the understanding that possession would not pass to the convent until the latter's death.[96] Bishop Philip, however, contested the monks right to present, arguing that Elvet should remain in his gift as he was both bishop and abbot.[97] This claim directly challenged the convent's attempt to assert that in fact abbatial rights rested with the prior, who was abbot in all but name.[98] Indeed Howden records that Prior Bertram replied that the presentation to Elvet should pertain to him as the prior of Durham had abbatial authority in the community.[99] Unlike earlier altercations, Bishop Philip is now identified as the main instigator of violence. The monks, who had taken possession of St Oswald's, were imprisoned in the church by Archdeacon Aimeric by order of the bishop (*ex praecepto episcopi*). In his anger the bishop then ordered that an armed guard of around 30 soldiers be set around the church to prevent any food being carried in to sustain the monks within.

At this point the sources begin to disagree. Roger of Howden, writing sometime before 1201, states that the monks appealed to Rome, in response to which Archdeacon Aimeric set fire to the door of the church hoping the smoke and vapours would drive out the monks. This task was completed by his attendants, who entered the church through the partially burnt door and forcibly ejected those inside.[100] A decade or so later Geoffrey of Coldingham painted a different picture, arguing that it was the monks' determination and unwearied constancy that persuaded the bishop to lift the siege.[101] Finally in the episcopate of Richard de Marisco (1217-1226), *magister* William of Lisewis and William de Auckland testified that the monks had indeed been starved out, emerging after four days they had relinquished the church.[102] Nevertheless, although the sources disagree on the actual events

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[94] *Howden* iv 14; F. Barlow, *Durham jurisdictional peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 33.
[95] DCDCM 1.1.PAP.11; printed in *Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, ii part 2 (Berlin, 1936), 285.
[96] *D. Ann.* p. 146.
[97] *Howden* iv 69.
[98] G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 160-1; DEC no. 7; E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 146-8.
[99] *Howden* iv 69.
[100] *Howden* iv 69-70. Nothing seems to have come of this delegation, if indeed it was sent, although Innocent did confirm Bishop Hugh's grant of Elvet to the monks on 23 April 1199: DCDCM 3.1.Pap.8; CLI no. 102.
[101] *Script. Tres.* p. 19.
[102] *FPD* pp. 248-9.

of the siege, they agree on the outcome. Philip, recalled to piety by God and in reverence for St. Cuthbert, confirmed the convent's appropriation of St. Oswald's.[103] Conversely at Bishop Middleham the flow of events appears to have favoured the bishop who used the opportunity to provide for one of his household. According to the testimony of William de Middleham, on the death of *magister* Richard, Bishop Middleham was duly occupied by two monks and two lay episcopal officers for seven weeks until the arrival of Bishop Philip and the subprior. The monks' attempt to force the issue by absconding with the church key proved futile and ultimately they changed their choice of nominee to Bishop Philip's clerk, *magister* Philip de Balliol, dean of Poitiers.[104]

Frank Barlow argues this episode marks the lowest point in the relations between bishop and priory, and that the rest of Philip's episcopacy was "fairly peaceful".[105] This view, however, appears overly optimistic. According to Geoffrey of Coldingham, in the aftermath of the dispute resentment still simmered under the surface.[106] Attacks on monastic property and persons by the bishop continued. Fishponds were destroyed, the monks' water supply was diverted to the castle. Worst of all the prior was placed under the sentence of excommunication after the bishop had been refused access to the chapter house, though it appears this was annulled by the archbishop of York.[107] Unfortunately much of what Coldingham records cannot be corroborated from other sources, and as a result his account, though of immense value, has to be treated with caution. Yet, even having allowed for Coldingham's obvious bias, relations between bishop and chapter can hardly have been described as cordial. Indeed conflict continued to flare throughout the episcopacy of Philip of Poitou and that of his successor, Richard de Marisco, as the underlying causes remained unresolved. Part of the reason for the convent's intransigence was that under Hugh du Puiset conventual rights had been increasingly undermined. In 1162 Hugh deposed Prior Thomas after the latter had made a determined stand to preserve the convent's liberties. Faced with such resolute opposition the monks appear to have adopted a more cautious approach. Rather than confront the bishop head on they commenced what David Bates has described as a campaign of fabrication.[108] Charters detailing the monastery's rights, privileges and properties were manufactured within a carefully constructed chronology, providing the monks with proof of their version of the correct state of conventual rights. Their efforts achieved a degree of success when, in March 1195, the ailing Bishop Hugh issued a series of

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[103] M. G. Snape suggests that as Innocent III's confirmation refers to Bishop Hugh's grant rather than Philip's, the latter's grant was probably issued sometime later: *EEA Durham II* no. 202.
[104] *FPD* p. 250. This was confirmed by the prior and convent of Durham: *EEA Durham II* no. 184.
[105] F. Barlow, *Durham jurisdictional peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 26.f
[106] *Script. Tres.* pp. 19-21.
[107] *Script. Tres.* pp. 22-3; DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.25, 2.1.Archiep.33.

grants in favour of the convent which as Scammell argues constituted a "sort of bill of rights".[109] Riding high on this success the monks, driven by their ambitious new prior, Bertram, looked further afield and, as we have seen, papal and royal confirmation of their liberties soon followed.

Such lavish grants were hard to swallow. Coldingham notes with bitterness that Philip of Poitou, having requested a recital of the brothers' liberties in the synod, upon listening to part, cried out in protest and stormed out, halting the reading.[110] Moreover, despite Prior Bertram's confident assertion that the convent's claims were based on papal privileges, current papal policy overwhelmingly supported the episcopal authority.[111] In 1198 and 1204, Innocent III addressed letters to the prior and convent of Durham reminding them of their duty of obedience to their bishop. In the first of these, Bishop Philip's pre-eminent position in the community is recognised, as the monks are ordered to obey him as if he were their abbot. Furthermore, as abbot, his consent was required for all monastic appointments, alienations and charters.[112] Clearly this failed to have the desired effect, for in June 1204, Innocent ordered that Prior Bertram and the convent be compelled to show due reverence and obedience to Bishop Philip or face ecclesiastical censure.[113] On the subject of presentations, papal opinion had also swung in favour of the bishop. In December 1198, Bishop Philip was granted the right to present to vacant churches and prebends if the monks failed to act within the four months prescribed by the Third Lateran Council.[114] The monks countered by the production of more forgeries, but as Frank Barlow notes these weapons were rendered virtually useless by changes in canon law.[115] As a result, by using papal support in this manner and perhaps his knowledge of canon law, Bishop Philip was able to challenge and undermine the convent's more objectionable claims.

Control over presentations also allowed the bishop to dilute the influence of the monks within the diocese, while at the same time providing for members of his own household. The arrival of Bishop Philip brought about a remarkably clean sweep of the episcopal *familia*, as very few of Hugh du Puiset's clerks continued to serve his successor.[116]

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[108] D. Bates, 'The forged charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St Calais', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 121.
[109] G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 135.
[110] *Script. Tres.* p. 21.
[111] *Howden* iv 69.
[112] CLI no. 64.
[113] *Migne* ccxv 405.
[114] CLI no. 65.
[115] F. Barlow, *Durham jurisdictional peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 24. CLI no. 299 is a genuine charter of Innocent III, though it confirms earlier forged documents purportedly issued by Gregory VII and Bishop William of St Calais: c.f. DCDCM *Cart Vetus* 31r, while an undated charter of Innocent III appears to be entirely fabricated: CLI no. 1109.
[116] For a detailed discussion of the composition of Bishop Philip's household see: *EEA Durham I* pp. xlv-xlviii.

As mentioned above, Bishop Philip had already installed his nephew, Aimeric, as archdeacon of Durham and Carlisle, whose dominant position is clear both in contemporary chronicles and from the episcopal *acta.*[117] Having failed to secure the church of Aycliffe for his nephew, Philip confirmed to him possession of the vill of Crookhall.[118] Pensions were granted in lieu of presentations or land grants to episcopal clerks; *magister* John of London, *magister* Edmund and another of Philip's nephews', Jolan.[119] Like his predecessor, Bishop Philip was eager to use his elevation to promote his family. Another nephew, Peter Thebert, apparently brother of Aimeric, was presented to the valuable conventual church of Howden, vacant after the death of Roger of Howden in 1201/2.[120] Two further members of the Thebert family are evident in the witness lists of Bishop Philip's *acta*, one of whom, Bernard, is also named as brother of Archdeacon Aimeric.[121] In addition to his relatives, Philip appears to have brought with him a small number of foreign clerics. These included Andrew de Chanceaux, a native of Touraine, who financed an obituary at Tours for Philip, bishop of Durham, which is thought to refer to Philip of Poitou.[122] In addition *magister* William of Lisieux and *magister* Philip de Balliol, dean of Poitiers, probably should be numbered among the list of foreigners in the episcopal entourage.[123] But the majority of those who frequented the bishop's household were local landowners such as Leo de Heriz, sheriff of Durham, Jordan Escolland, Robert de Amundeville and Geoffrey son of Geoffrey. These men undoubtedly provided invaluable local expertise and a degree of continuity as many had attested Hugh de Puiset's charters.

Royal patronage also helped to secure Philip of Poitou's pre-eminence in his diocese. In 1198 he offered a fine of 400 marks for the manor of Sadberge and a further 1200 marks in 1199 to the newly crowned King John for the wapentake.[124] Sadberge, in the county of Northumberland, formed part of the royal demesne and had been acquired, with appurtenances and associated rights, from the crown in 1191 by Bishop Hugh. But the

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[117] As M. G. Snape notes, Aimeric witnessed forty-three *acta*, making him the most frequent witness in Bishop Philip's episcopate: *EEA Durham II* pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.
[118] *EEA Durham II* no. 176.
[119] *EEA Durham II* no. 200. *Magister* John of London, originally a prebendary of St Paul's London, lectured in natural philosophy, probably at Oxford. He appears to have remained in Philip's household, witnessing numerous charters, until becoming an official of Bishop Peter des Roches of Winchester c.1205. On his career see: *Biog. Ox.*; *Fasti* (St Paul's, London), p. 47; *EEA Durham I* p. xlvi; *EEA Winchester II* p. xxxv.
[120] See below pp. 144-6. Aimeric is referred to as Aimeric 'Theberti' in 1204: *Rot Chart* p. 119b.
[121] Bernard and William Thebert: *EEA Durham II* no. 211; *RLP* p. 152b.
[122] *EEA Durham II* no. 228; J. J. Bourassé, *Martyrologe Obituaire de l'Eglise Métropolitane de Tours*, Memoires de la Société Archaéologique de Touraine, xviii (1865), 37. See also Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 40-1.
[123] *Magister* Philip de Balliol could be connected to the Balliol family already established in Northumbria. It seems more likely, however, given his office as dean of Poitiers, that he was of Picard origin: c.f. L. C. Loyd, *The origins of some Anglo-Norman families*, Harleian society, 103 (1951), 11; G. E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 1 (London, 1910), 385.
[124] *PR 10 Richard I* p. 43; *PR 1 John* p. 123.

latter's ill treatment of William the Lion, king of Scotland, added to Richard's desperate need for money had led to the confiscation of the wapentake, along with the county of Northumberland, in 1194.[125] Philip of Poitou, in better odour with the crown, regained possession of Sadberge, which from this point on became established as part of Durham's temporalities.[126] Together with Sadberge, Richard also bestowed on him the right to enclose the woods of Cliffe and Crayke which would henceforth be quit of all forest duties.[127] Along with material gains these grants gave the bishop regalian rights.[128] Pleas of the crown were transferred to the bishop's court, though this lucrative right was later claimed by the prior of Durham.[129] In addition, Philip of Poitou successfully offered a fine of 500 marks for the right to hold pleas of advowson in the courts Christian, as his predecessor had done, rather than in the king's court.[130] Moreover, as a sign of singular favour, in 1196 the king granted Philip a mint at Durham which as Howden notes had not been permitted to his predecessors for a long time past.[131]

Overall therefore it is hard to support G. V. Scammell's pessimistic view that Hugh du Puiset's surrender in 1195 left a situation which "defeated the abilities of such practised politicians as Philip of Poitou" and his successors.[132] Although it is certainly true that until the episcopate of Richard Poore, no attempt was made by the bishops of Durham to establish a clear definition of the relative rights of bishop and convent, we can hardly view Philip as an abject failure. Through a combination of royal patronage, a pro-episcopal papal policy and a certain disregard for diplomatic niceties, Philip of Poitou stamped his authority firmly on the church of Durham and its fiercely independent chapter. Unchecked the monks would have been able to reduce the bishop to a minor administrator with very little power within his own diocese. It is thus probably best to argue that bishop and convent established a rough working balance, with no one side gaining absolute control. Indeed when challenged from without the two parties appear to have co-operated to protect the interests of their church. This is highlighted by the controversial presentation of Philip's nephew, Peter Thebert, to the parsonage of Howden. The living, which was in the gift of the prior and convent, had become vacant following the death of Roger of Howden in late 1201 or 1202. At this point it seems that the monks made a dual presentation as both Peter Thebert and *magister* Simon of

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[125] *Howden* iii 261.
[126] DCDCM 3.1.REG.27. In 1217 the custodian of the see, Philip de Oldcoates, was ordered to hand over the wapentake of Sadberge and other lands of bishopric to the new bishop, Richard de Marisco: *RLC* i 313b.
[127] *Howden* iv 55. This was confirmed by John in 1199: DCDCM 3.1.REG.27; *PR 1 John* p. 123.
[128] G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 188-191.
[129] *FPD* pp. 218-9, 231, 233-5.
[130] *PR 10 Richard I* p. 28.
[131] *Howden* iv 13. The mint had been transferred to Newcastle probably during Henry II's reign: *Boldon Book*, ed. W. Greenwell, SS, 25 (1852), 1-2; G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 192.
[132] G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 66.

Farlington, a clerk of Bishop Philip, later claimed that they had been granted the church. The causes for the dispute are unclear, as both candidates were members of the bishop's household. Perhaps the monks had chosen one of Philip's clerks to forestall a conflict and stave off more direct episcopal intervention. It is possible, given *magister* Simon's claim at the Roman curia, that he was presented first, but was then supplanted, presumably at the bishop's insistence, by the latter's nephew, Peter.[133]

These efforts failed, however, as apparently in response to the ensuing confusion, Archbishop Geoffrey of York refused to install Peter Thebert and instead used the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of the benefice.[134] Profit seems to have been Geoffrey's only motive. M. B. Lovatt advanced the suggestion that he intervened in the dispute to promote *magister* Simon in the hopes of winning royal support. But this suggestion is based on the assertion that Simon was a royal servant.[135] Nevertheless, there is very little evidence for this assertion in the early years of King John's reign.[136] Relations between Bishop Philip and his metropolitan were already strained. In October 1201 the pope had ordered him to show respect to Archbishop Geoffrey, dismissing a privilege of Clement III exempting Bishop Hugh from archiepiscopal jurisdiction in matters concerning Durham's possessions in the archbishopric of York.[137] It was perhaps Geoffrey's refusal to act which prompted Philip in 1202 to offer a fine of 200 marks for royal protection for the prior and monks of Durham, their church of Howden and its cleric, Peter Thebert.[138] The fine arguably served a dual purpose, as it both asserted the monks' right to present, and portrayed the bishop's nephew as the sole candidate. As the case dragged on Bishop Philip enlisted the pope's protection by taking the cross in January 1203. The crusading privilege gave him immunity from any prejudicial action against him, which, as C. R. Cheney argues, suggests that this was an attempt to stop Geoffrey from using ecclesiastical censure to delay the case further.[139] Overall, it seems likely that Philip's interest in the dispute was largely self-serving, resulting

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[133] CLI no. 454.
[134] CLI nos. 447, 454.
[135] M. B. Lovatt, *The career and administration of Archbishop Geoffrey of York: 1151?-1212* (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1974) app. I, no. 56 n.
[136] Simon was granted the corn from the church of Howden and accounts for it in Michaelmas 1202. The Pipe Roll entry also makes reference to the presence of excommunicated persons holding the church of Howden against Simon, which indicates perhaps that there was also a physical struggle between the two candidates over the living: *PR 4 John* p. 65.
[137] CLI no. 353. Howden was a peculiar of Durham in Yorkshire and therefore within the boundaries of the diocese of York. Innocent's mandate is probably the result of Archbishop's Geoffrey's reaction to the alleged order by the papal legate, John of Salerno, that Bishop Philip should withhold his obedience to his metropolitan: c.f. *C&S I* p. 1074.
[138] *PR 4 John* p. 67. This was renewed in March 1203: *RLP* p. 27.
[139] CLI no. 455; Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 254. Innocent III, was already wary of Archbishop Geoffrey, as in May 1202 he ordered an inquiry to determine whether the archbishop was equal to the duties of his pontifical office: CLI no. 414.

from a desire to see his nephew provided for.[140] Nevertheless his involvement helped to reinforce the convent's rights and prevent the establishment of a potentially injurious precedent.

There are further indications that bishop and monks enjoyed some degree of co-operation during Philip of Poitou's episcopate. This is exemplified by Philip's foundation of the hospital of St James at Northallerton.[141] As part of one of the main grants made by the bishop, the conventual church of North Otterington was appropriated to the hospital, seemingly with the monks' approval.[142] Conversely, Philip honoured an institution made by the brothers and presented Prior Bertram's nephew, Henry de Ferry, to the conventual church of Heighington, having previously ordered episcopal officials to take possession of the church.[143] In other grants the bishop appears more open handed, as he orders his forester, Roger de Camera, to allow the monks to take some timber from his forest.[144] To the monks of Farne Island, a cell of Durham priory, he granted, for the souls of himself and his predecessors, half a chalder of wheat annually from the manor of Fenwick. This largesse carried a certain amount of symbolic value, as St Cuthbert is supposed to have abandoned the growing of wheat on the island, in favour of oats and barley, after a failed harvest. Philip's gift was thus poignantly dedicated to God and St Cuthbert, with the order that the wheat be collected on the feast of St Cuthbert which fell during Lent.[145]

It is easy to forget when studying the introspective and localised account of Geoffrey of Coldingham, that Philip of Poitou's relations with his chapter, though far from peaceable, are hardly unrepresentative. In a highly litigious age few communities or individuals were remiss in pursuing their rights through all available channels, archiepiscopal, papal and royal. Nevertheless, Philip of Poitou seems to have ignored proprietorial rights to an unacceptable degree. The powerful abbeys of St Mary's, York and St Albans both resorted to the royal courts to protest over Bishop Philip's intervention in the presentations to their churches of Stainton and Coniscliffe.[146] Complaints also found their way to the papal curia,

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[140] His efforts were successful, Archbishop Geoffrey instituted Peter Thebert (1203x1207): DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.31, printed in M. B. Lovatt, *The career and administration of Archbishop Geoffrey of York: 1151?-1212* (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1974) app. I, no. 56.

[141] W. Dugdale gives Hugh du Puiset as the founder of the hospital, but this ignores a charter of Nicholas of Farnham, bishop of Durham (1241-1249) which states that Philip was the founder: Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi 780; Reg. Gray pp. 180-1. From charter evidence it would appear that the hospital was in existence before August 1203: *EEA Durham II* no. 234 and n.

[142] *EEA Durham II* nos. 232-234; *Rot. Chart.* p. 182b; c.f. F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 52.

[143] *EEA Durham II* nos. 215, 216; *FPD* p. 253.

[144] *EEA Durham II* no. 199. A witness in Richard de Marisco's episcopate claims that this was one of a number of similar grants, though it is unclear whether all of these dated to Philip of Poitou's time: *FPD* p. 243.

[145] *EEA Durham II* no. 210; *Two lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (New York, 1969), pp. 220-1.

[146] For St Mary's, York and Stainton see: *PR 1 John* p. 124; *Rot. Curiae Regis* ii 259; *EEA Durham II* app. VII no. 10. For St Albans' protest over Coniscliffe see: *CRR 1221-2* pp. 1, 6.

for in 1203 Innocent III orders an investigation of a claims that Bishop Philip had unjustly granted away churches in the patronage of Theobald de Perche, archdeacon of Northumberland. Philip replied through his proctor in the curia that Theobald had neglected his archdeaconry, which was suffering from the lack of adequate government. The pope, however, remained unconvinced and instructed a judicial delegation, headed by Abbot Samson of St. Edmunds, to resolve the issue.[147]

Despite this, papal opinion of Philip of Poitou stayed favourable throughout his episcopate. Innocent III evidently regarded him as a valuable papal delegate, one experienced in negotiation and perhaps also in canon law. This is indicated by the wide variety and the gravity of the cases in which he was to participate. Early in Innocent's pontificate Bishop Philip, together with his clerk, *magister* John of London, completed an investigation into the allegations made by Robert, formerly abbot of Thorney, that he had been unlawfully deposed and imprisoned by Archbishop Hubert Walter.[148] This was followed in May 1203 by a commission to enquire into the dispute between the archbishop and Gerald of Wales, over the question raised by Gerald concerning the claimed metropolitan status of the see of St David's. Although Bishop Philip had prior knowledge of the case, he seems to have been chosen to act in this matter because Innocent wished to entrust the enquiry to clergy of the northern archdiocese.[149] That he was selected rather than either of his episcopal colleagues, Archbishop Geoffrey or Bishop Bernard of Carlisle, suggests that unlike them, Philip was regarded as trustworthy.[150] Moreover Innocent III appears to have placed equal faith in his abilities as a reformer. For in an effort to improve the spiritual and temporal welfare of exempt monasteries in the care of the Apostolic See, Innocent ordered that the bishops of Ely and Durham and the abbot of St. Edmund's should preside over a chapter composed of the exempt abbots and convents of England. At the chapter the papal delegates were to discuss matters touching on reform and correction of abuses with the monastic representatives, as well as arranging for suitable visitations of the monasteries to carry out any necessary changes.[151] In addition to his abilities as a reformer and as a judge, it is arguable that Philip's standing with the secular authority also proved beneficial to the pope. In February 1206, Innocent made another attempt to persuade King John to honour the legacy granted to his nephew, Emperor Otto IV. Previous exhortations in 1200, 1201, 1202, 1205 had failed, and Innocent frustrated by these failures reiterated his demands in February 1206.[152] This time the pope's representatives, Eustace, bishop of Ely,

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[147] CLI no. 464.
[148] CLI nos. 362, 421; SLI no. 15.
[149] CLI nos. 227, 494; c.f. Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 134-141.
[150] Bernard of Ragusa had been translated to Carlisle from Ragusa in May 1203, although this was not confirmed by the crown until January 1204: CLI nos. 473-4; *RLP* p. 37b.
[151] CLI no. 462, c.f. app. p. 234.
[152] CLI nos. 264, 293, 354, 399, 640.

Philip, bishop of Durham and Mauger, bishop of Worcester, were to compel the king to comply by ecclesiastical sanctions if persuasion proved ineffective.[153] Each of these prelates owed their promotion to King Richard rather than his brother, which perhaps gave them a degree of independence from the king which the pope may have hoped to utilize in this difficult and unpalatable task.[154]

Philip of Poitou's relations with the crown during the reign of King John at first sight appear little altered from those he enjoyed with King Richard. Philip continues to be a frequent, if somewhat sporadic, member of John's court, while the pattern of his attestations to royal charters also seems roughly comparable. Furthermore, John like his predecessor, clearly valued Philip's experience as a negotiator and royal ambassador, sending him on a number of occasions to treat with the king of Scots. On more detailed examination, however, subtle differences become evident. Philip's role in the new regime is increasingly defined by his office rather than his personal standing with the monarch. As bishop of Durham he was the ideal candidate to undertake a mission to invite William the Lion, king of Scotland to a meeting with the newly crowned king of England.[155] The prelates of the northern archdiocese frequently performed embassies for both king and pope involving Scottish affairs. But in 1199, Carlisle was vacant and Archbishop Geoffrey had only recently been restored to royal favour. Moreover, King William's demand for the return of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, in return for his faithful service, would have ramifications for the bishop of Durham's possessions in these counties, particularly the border castle of Norham. Therefore it is probable that Philip was selected for this task because he was a senior prelate of the archdiocese of York, knowledgeable in local politics, who could be expected to deal shrewdly with the king of Scots. Similarly in 1200 Roger of Howden records that the king again dispatched Bishop Philip to Scotland, this time at the head of an impressive list of magnates charged with conducting King William to Lincoln, where the latter submitted and performed homage.[156]

But despite his continuing service to the crown, the close personal relationship that had existed between bishop and king had ended with Richard's death in 1199. As a result Philip of Poitou's influence at court began to wane and he slipped into relative obscurity in the royal records. This gradual decline reflects the wider change in the make up of John's court. During the early years of the new regime the need for security rather than innovation

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[153] CLI no. 690, c.f. nos. 689, 691-693.

[154] This was certainly a factor in Innocent's choice of the bishops of Ely, Worcester and London as delegates to impose the sentence of Interdict on England in 1207: CLI no. 763, c.f. Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 299-300.

[155] *Howden* iv 91.

[156] These included local magnates William de Vesci, Robert de Ros and Robert, sheriff of Northumberland, as well as William's brother David, earl of Huntingdon, and nephew, Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford: *Howden* iv 140-1.

was paramount. John therefore turned to Richard's former advisors, men like Hubert Walter, Hugh Bardolf and Philip of Poitou, to maintain his government and royal authority, particularly in vulnerable border regions.[157] But John increasingly came to rely on his own close associates and favourites, including Peter des Roches, John de Gray, Hubert de Burgh and Richard de Marisco, whose rapid elevation and zealous attention to their duties came to fuel baronial discontent. Many of these were condemned by Roger of Wendover as 'evil counsellors' for failing to restrain the king. As mentioned above, Roger of Wendover also lists Philip of Poitou amongst their ranks.[158] Nevertheless, Philip hardly seems to merit this attention. Unlike his successor at Durham, Richard de Marisco, who is credited with aiding King John to extort money from the monasteries during the interdict, his actions are not singled out by contemporaries. Neither would it appear that he numbered among the core group of advisors at John's court. Contrary to his experiences under Richard, Bishop Philip's itinerary in John's reign is largely restricted to England. His presence swelled the roll of dignitaries attending John's first coronation in May 1199 and the homage ceremony of William the Lion, king of Scotland and the funeral of Bishop Hugh at Lincoln on 23-24 November 1200.[159] But he no longer accompanied the king on his campaigns overseas. Indeed the only occasion when it is recorded that he travelled outside England during this period was in 1201 when he undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. Departing immediately after the Purification of St. Mary (2 February), reaching St. Jean d'Angely (Saintonge) at Easter (25 March), he journeyed independently of the court which remained in England until May.[160]

The fact that he performed this act of piety at this stage suggests that the demands placed on him by royal service had lessened. Yet they had not ceased entirely, for on his return from Compostella he attended the royal court at Chinon where Roger of Howden records that he witnessed the agreement between King John and Richard's widow, Berengaria of Navarre, concerning the latter's dower.[161] A. M. Cooke mistakenly dated this event to May 1201, John, however, did not visit Chinon until late July and a letter informing the English administration of his agreement with Berengaria is dated to 2 August 1201.[162] Notwithstanding this decline in his standing at court, on the whole Philip appears to have

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[157] F. Barlow, *The feudal kingdom of England, 1042-1216*, 4th ed. (Longman, 1991), pp. 390-1; Holt, *Northerners* pp. 218-9.
[158] Paris, *CM* ii 533.
[159] *Howden* iv 89, 141; *Vita S. Hugonis* p. 114; *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* p. 207; *Howden* iv 143. A. M. Cooke also states that Philip assisted at the consecration of William of St. Mere Eglise at Westminster 23 May 1199, but apart from Hubert Walter, who officiated at the ceremony, none of the other 13 bishops present is identified directly as being present: DNB; *Diceto* ii 166; *Coggeshall* p. 89.
[160] *Howden* iv 157. Prior to his departure on 18 January he secured royal letters of protection and safe conduct: *Rot. Chart.* p. 100b.
[161] *Howden* iv 164, 172-3.
[162] DNB; *RLP* p. 26b.

retained the king's favour. Whilst at Chinon he was granted 200 marks which was repaid to the crown at the Michaelmas exchequer.[163] Over the course of John's reign more lucrative grants ranging from the right to hold fairs at Howden, Norham and Northallerton, to the addition of the royal manor of Dalston to his nephew, Aimeric's substantial holdings, also found their way into the bishop's possession, although, as so often happened under the Angevins, privilege came at a price.[164] As noted earlier, John's confirmation of his predecessor's grant of the manor of Sadberge, together with the wapentake, cost Philip a fine of 1200 marks, which he had paid in full by 1201.[165] This was followed in 1207 by a fine of £1000 to secure the good will of the king and for freedom from suit of shire and hundred courts, and from sheriff's aids, for his lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.[166]

This last fine, which was also paid in full, apart from demonstrating the wealth of the bishopric of Durham, hints at a slight cooling of relations between king and bishop. The probable cause of this change was Philip's protest in support of Archbishop Geoffrey's stand against the collection of a tax on clerical property. Despite the reluctant co-operation of his fellow prelates, the archbishop had refused to consent to the tax and imposed ecclesiastical censures on those who did. In retaliation the king once again confiscated York's temporalities and treated the archbishop with contempt when, as Gervase of Canterbury notes, he and Philip of Poitou pleaded for leniency.[167] It is possible, therefore, that as a result of this conflict Philip felt compelled to offer a fine to stave off further repercussions, a payment which may also have disguised his contribution to the forbidden tax. The reasons for Philip's involvement in this affair are unclear. As we have seen there is little evidence to suggest that he was on friendly terms with the archbishop or that he subscribed to Geoffrey's impassioned plea for ecclesiastical liberties. It is possible, however, to interpret his intervention as an attempt to protect the rights and privileges of his church and by extension those of his metropolitan. This is corroborated by Howden's account of Bishop Philip's appeal at John's coronation on 27 May 1199, that the ceremony should not take place while Archbishop Geoffrey remained in exile. Surprisingly this petition is ostensibly based on the assertion that the archbishop of York, rather than his old rival the archbishop of Canterbury, was the primate of all England.[168] If Howden is correct in attributing this statement to Philip, such a claim, though it had no discernible repercussions, can hardly have ingratiated him with either the king or Archbishop Hubert Walter.

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[163] *PR 3 John* p. 246.
[164] *Rot. Chart* pp. 37, 119b; *Walter of Coventry* ii 161; *Howden* iv 117.
[165] *PR 3 John* p. 246.
[166] *PR 9 John* p. 70. The fine also gave Bishop Philip the right to collect the tax from his own tenants.
[167] *Gervase of Canterbury* ii lix.
[168] *Howden* iv 90.

It is thus hard to reconcile Roger of Wendover's inclusion of Philip of Poitou in the list of John's evil counsellors, with the bishop's role in royal affairs following Richard's death. As a result we are forced to look elsewhere for an insight into the reasons for the chronicler's hostility. The most obvious factor, given the growing resentment against aliens who occupied positions of prominence within the English administration, which forms a recurring theme in Wendover's account, is Philip's Poitevin origins. Moreover, as I have argued, his office provided him with opportunities to advance his fellow aliens, some of whom as N. Vincent notes, went on to serve in the household of another Poitevin, Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester.[169] Added to this, Wendover's attitude to Philip may have been influenced by the experiences of the Durham monks. During Philip's episcopate the abbey of St. Albans contested the bishop's right to remove a case concerning a presentation to the church of Coniscliffe, which belonged to the priory of Tynemouth, itself a cell of St Albans, to the diocesan court.[170] Though the outcome of the case is not recorded, there was clearly some contact between the two abbeys, which leads to the speculation that Wendover's opinion might, at least in part, have been affected by his Benedictine brethren at Durham. Certainly the local chronicler, Geoffrey of Coldingham, remains resolutely censorious of Philip of Poitou, even after his death. He concludes his account of Philip's episcopate by recording, with obvious glee, that because of the Interdict, the bishop was buried in unconsecrated ground. Furthermore, just as Philip had disturbed the solemnity of the church, he was denied a funeral procession. As he had denied the monks food, he departed without the last sacrament, lacking the monks' kiss of peace and though he coveted all, he now possessed nothing.[171] Indeed apparently on the strength of this J. Raine states that Philip died excommunicate, though this is not supported by the sources.[172]

Nevertheless, the surviving evidence contradicts this bleak picture. The Pipe Roll for 1208 shows that his nephew, Archdeacon Aimeric, together with the other executors of Philip's will, paid a fine of 2000 marks and all of the bishop's jewels, so that they might be quit of all debts pertaining to his estate.[173] In addition, once the Interdict had been lifted, Philip's body was moved to a more salubrious resting place in the chapter house at Durham and was buried dressed in full episcopal vestments, including mitre and crosier.[174] His attitude towards his convent appears also to have softened, for in his last illness, c.10/11

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[169] These included *magister* John of London, Andrew de Chanceaux and Robert de Clinchamps: Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 35.
[170] *CRR 1221-2* pp. 1, 6.
[171] *Script. Tres.* p. 26. It is possible that Philip was denied the *viaticum* as a result of the Interdict. Precise instructions concerning the exact terms concerning the last rights during the Interdict did not reach England until mid-summer 1208: SLI no. 36, c.f. Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 303-307.
[172] J. Raine (ed.), *Last Wills and Inventories*, SS, 2 (1835), 4 n. 2.
[173] *PR 10 John* p. 59. These also included freedom from the debts owed by the bishop for the transgressions of his parents.
[174] *Wills and Inventories* p. 4.

April 1208, he restored the wood of Heworth to the monks' possession.[175] Despite the condemnation of the chroniclers his episcopate was a successful one, preserving, and with royal patronage, extending episcopal authority in the diocese. His career exemplifies the heights to which an ambitious clerk could rise under the Angevins. From clerk to crusader, royal favourite and confident, and from archdeacon to bishop and pilgrim, his extensive travels brought him into contact with kings, popes and emperors.

[175] *EEA Durham II* no. 203.

6. *Magister* Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham (1217-1226).

Of all the bishops covered in this study none is as universally condemned by his contemporaries as Richard de Marisco. Ambitious and loyal, he served the Angevin kings with ruthless efficiency. As a close confidant and adviser of King John, he was blamed for the extortion of enormous sums of money from the monasteries during the Interdict. Roger of Wendover includes him in the list of King John's evil counsellors, who, desirous of pleasing the king above all else, neglected to restrain the king with prudent advice.[1] Like many of his fellow *curiales*, Richard enjoyed King John's somewhat erratic confidence throughout his reign. So great was the bond between the two men that the continuator of the chronicle of William of Newburgh claimed that the king considered Richard de Marisco to be his God.[2] Beginning as a lowly clerk of the chamber, he served as royal justice and ambassador, becoming chancellor in 1214, a position he held until the end of his life. In tandem with secular promotion he was also rewarded with numerous ecclesiastical benefices, chief amongst which, before his election to the see of Durham, were the archdeaconries of Northumberland and Richmond. But Richard's continued contact with the excommunicate king during the Interdict resulted in his suspension, forcing him to apply in person to Rome for papal absolution. Not surprisingly, his services to the crown rendered him markedly unpopular within ecclesiastical circles, which no doubt contributed to his lack of success in a series of episcopal elections during John's reign. After finally achieving elevation to the bishopric of Durham in 1217, a promotion procured at the behest of the crown, his relations with the fiercely independent Benedictine chapter of Durham are best characterised as turbulent. The nine-year vacancy which followed the death of Bishop Philip of Poitou, had done little to soften the monks' resolve. Following a brief period of tranquillity, complaints once more reached Rome, this time accusing Richard of crimes ranging from bloodshed to sacrilege, simony and adultery.[3] Moreover though he ultimately evaded papal condemnation, hostile monastic chroniclers note that his conduct provoked divine retribution as he was stricken with severe opthalmia, so that he could not distinguish men from trees.[4] Despite this, according to the St. Albans chroniclers, Richard continued unrepentant, prompting even his former master, King John, to appeal to him from beyond the grave. In a curious scene in the *Chronica Majora of Mathew Paris*, the dead king called upon a monk of St. Albans to bid the bishop of Durham to correct his shameful life, or else he would be doomed to join his master in the inferno which awaited him.[5] His efforts, however, went

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[1] Paris, *CM* ii 533.
[2] *Newburgh* ii 512.
[3] CEPR p. 72.
[4] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 67.
[5] Paris, *CM* iii 112-3; Wendover, *Chronica* ii 307-9.

unnoticed and, two years later, Richard died suddenly, unshriven and without receiving the benefits of the last rites.[6]

Nevertheless, although it is all too easy to be swept along by the torrent of hostile opinion contained in the chronicles, their works must be treated with caution. Richard de Marisco's reputation, like that of King John, has come to be dictated by the writings of these monastic authors, who judged their world according to a rigid, and largely self-interested, set of rules. Those who broke them were condemned as impious despoilers and tyrants. A study of Richard's episcopal *acta* reveals elements of the cause of the chroniclers' resentment, for they show him to be a careful, if somewhat rapacious, administrator, mindful of the privileges of his church and zealous in their guardianship. But though these attributes led him into conflict with the church, both in Durham and in England as a whole, they also paradoxically, served to benefit the see of Durham. As his predecessor, Philip of Poitou, had done, Richard de Marisco maintained good order in the diocese, preserving episcopal authority in the face of monastic encroachments. Moreover, despite bitter quarrels with the Durham monks, particularly over the dispensation of the chapter's patronage, his relations with wider the diocese appear to have been equitable. Even his more questionable approach to the presentation to churches claimed by the monks of Durham can be partially excused by the need to provide livings for episcopal clerks who would in a secular cathedral be awarded cathedral prebends.[7] Overall, therefore, though we should not dismiss the chroniclers' evidence, the picture that emerges is much more complex than the monochromatic view of the evil counsellor they painted.

In common with many career clerics, Richard de Marisco's first appearance in the historical record is to be found in the accounts of the royal household. In the Pipe Roll of *8 Richard I* (Michaelmas 1196), together with *magister* Anketil, he returned the account to the royal exchequer for the custodians of the vacant bishopric of Durham, Gilbert fitz Reinfrey and Richard Brewer. He is also entered as receiving money into the royal treasury on two occasions from Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury.[8] Though only periodically referred to as *magister* in the records, A. B. Emden includes Richard in the list of those who may have studied at Oxford.[9] C. L. Kingsford proposes, presumably based on place name evidence, that Richard might have been a native of Somerset.[10] Though this theory cannot be specifically pin-pointed in the sources, between 1198 and 1202 there are a number of

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[6] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 32; Paris, *CM* iii 111-2.
[7] *EEA Durham I* p. xxxv.
[8] *Chancellors Roll* pp. 171, 172, 253-261.
[9] *Biog. Ox.*
[10] *DNB*. There is a Marsh in present day Devon. Based on this evidence P. C. Brooke suggests that Richard was related to the de Marisco pirates of Lundy: P. C. Brooke, 'The organisation and administration of the see and diocese of Durham, 1195-1229' (M.Litt thesis, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1967), p. 32.

references to a Richard de Marisco, such as the payment of a fine of 2 marks for illegal hunting, associated with the counties of Cornwall and Hampshire.[11] He also appears to have had a few familial connections with the county. According to Nicholas Trivet, Richard's nephew, the learned Franciscan theologian, Adam de Marisco (or Marsh), to whom Richard bequeathed his library, was born in the diocese of Bath and Wells which encompasses the county of Somerset[12]. Furthermore, another of Richard's nephews, T. de Marisco, seems to have held the farm of Bleadon in Somerset. T. de Marisco may be identifiable as the Thomas de Marisco who acted as the attorney for Robert de Marisco, probably the brother of Adam, who inherited the custody of the lands and heirs of Elias Escolland from Richard.[13] Interestingly it would appear that both Robert and Thomas were attending Richard de Marisco on the day of his death, as Thomas was dispatched by Robert to take possession of the lands that very day.[14]

Until 1207, however, Richard de Marisco's role in royal government was very minor. Prior to this date the majority of his appearances in the records resulted from fines made in the royal courts for a variety of offences including, as we have seen, illegal hunting and also selling wine contrary to the assize.[15] It is possible that he owed his position at court to the patronage of the northern baron, Gilbert fitz Reinfrey, a trusted servant of Henry II and his sons, who had been rewarded with the barony of Kendal and shrievalties of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Fitz Reinfrey, a close confident of King John, was an administrator of experience and skill, and may have recognised these qualities in Richard de Marisco.[16] As we have seen, Richard de Marisco first appears in the records accounting at the exchequer for the vacant bishopric of Durham, of which Fitz Reinfrey was joint custodian. Moreover, twice, in 1201 and 1203, he served as fitz Reinfrey's attorney in the *curia Regis*. He is the first named witness to a charter in which Gilbert, together with his wife Helewis, confirmed to the abbey of St. Mary's, York, the possession of certain churches in Lancashire and Cumberland.[17] It is thus plausible to suggest that Richard was introduced into royal circles by Fitz Reinfrey. Once there he seems to have continued his association with the northern barons, many of whom were also intimates of the king, standing as pledge for Robert de Vieuxpont, lord of Westmorland, alongside Philip de Oldcoates and Fitz Reinfrey.[18] Finally

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[11] *PR 2 John*, p. 223 also c.f. *PR 10 Richard I*; *PR 1, 3, 4 John*; *CRR 1210-12* p. 91. Some caution must be exercised over entries concerning Richard de Marisco, as it appears there was another person of that name who died prior to 1212 who held land at Doncaster: *CRR 1223-4* p. 324-5.
[12] Trivet, *Annales* p. 243; *RLC* ii 136
[13] *EEA Durham II* app. X no. 11; *RLC* ii 137; *Mon. Franc.* 1 198-203.
[14] *RLC* ii 137.
[15] See above n. 11 and also: *PR 7 John*, p. 195; *PR 8 John*, p. 206.
[16] On Gilbert fitz Reinfrey's career see: Holt, *Northerners* p. 31.
[17] *CRR 1210-12* p. 57, 210; Reg. St Bees p. 543 no. xxvi.
[18] *Foreign Accounts Henry III (1219-1234)*, ed. F. A. Cazel jnr., *PRS*, new series, 44, (London, 1982) p. 15. This pledge was apparently made sometime between 1205 and 1212, though it is most likely to have occurred *c.*1208, when Robert de Vieuxpont, having failed to account properly to the exchequer

in May 1220, shortly after Gilbert's death, Richard wrote to the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, on behalf of William de Lancaster, Gilbert's eldest son. Despite the family's long history of faithful service, father and son had joined the rebellion against the crown around Easter 1215. William of Lancaster formed part of the rebel garrison of Rochester, and was captured when the castle fell. Their betrayal resulted in a particularly vindictive settlement. The price of the king's favour when they finally made peace in January 1217 was severe, as they were forced to surrender their castles and offer a fine of 12,000 marks.[19] Ultimately these terms proved impossible to meet and in 1220 Gilbert was driven to beg to be allowed to pay their debt in instalments. According to Richard de Marisco's letter the fine had reduced the family to such straits that, following Gilbert's death, William, being destitute of horses and supplies, was unable to travel to offer his homage to the king. Richard therefore pleaded with the justiciar that William be allowed to delay until the king arrived in York.[20]

Having received his initial introduction to court, Richard de Marisco rapidly ingratiated himself with King John. In his capacity as clerk of the chamber, a title which he is first accorded in July 1207, he appears to be in frequent attendance at court, issuing or witnessing royal letters and receiving money into the royal exchequer.[21] In June 1209, according to S. Painter, Richard replaced Hugh de Wells as senior chancery clerk[22]. This assertion is suspect, however, as it is based on a charter which Richard issued at Cardiff on 25 May *11 John*.[23] Though the regnal dates for this year are inconclusive (the regnal year *11 John* spans 7 May 1209-26 May 1210[24]), the place of issue in southern Wales renders it is more likely that the charter was issued during John's preparations for the Irish campaign.[25] Moreover an entry in the Pipe Roll of 1210 which corresponds to the charter quoted by Painter as the source arguably confirms the date of the charter as 25 May 1210 rather than 1209.[26] By 1210 in the face of mounting tension in England and the demands placed on the

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for his numerous offices, made a number of fines for the king's grace: c.f. Holt, *Northerners* pp. 226-7.

[19] *Rot. Ob.* pp. 570-1; *Rot. Chart.* p. 221b. See Holt, *Northerners* pp. 65, 137.

[20] SC 1/1, no. 135; c.f. Carpenter, *Minority* p. 197.

[21] *RLP* pp. 74b, 82; *PR 11 John* pp. 5, 67, 81.

[22] S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (New York, 1979), pp. 65, 80, 205. This assertion appears to have been followed by F. West: c.f. *The justiciarship in England 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 190.

[23] *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 281-282. This is the first occasion that Richard issues a charter using the clause *data per manum*, a clause generally reserved to the principle clerks of the chancery: F. West, *The justiciarship in England 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 190.

[24] This confusion results from the regnal year of King John being dated from Ascension day, the occurrence of which varied according to the ecclesiastical calendar, see: *A Handbook of Dates*, ed. C. R. Cheney, revised edition (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 21-2, 33.

[25] Without the royal presence it is hard to imagine why a royal charter would be sealed so far from the traditional centres of government. John's itinerary (though somewhat fragmentary) for the respective years is: 1209: 23 May – Southampton; 24 May – Porchester; 27 May – Aldingourn (W. Sussex); 28 May – Arundel, Bramber, Knep castle (Sussex). 1210: 17 May – Bristol; 21 May – Neath; 28 May – Margam, Swansea; 31 May – Haverford.

[26] *PR 12 John* p. 75.

royal coffers by the king's expedition to Ireland, Richard de Marisco's role in the royal administration broadened considerably. The same year he made his first appearance as a royal justice, participating in a general eyre which encompassed almost the entire kingdom.[27] These duties, however, had to be fitted around a lengthy visit to Ireland. Departing from Cross on Sea, near Pembroke, around 16 June 1210, Richard accompanied the king on his campaign through Leinster and Meath to Ulster, where the latter took Hugh de Lacy's castle at Carrickfergus. Richard's part in the campaign appears to have been purely financial. By all accounts the army that John brought to Ireland was large, comprising both the feudal host and mercenary companies, much of which was supported by loans advanced from the royal treasury by Richard de Marisco and his colleagues.[28] Indeed Richard's prominence in the issue of these loans, combined with his position as senior clerk of the chamber, has led C. F. Slade, the editor of the Pipe Roll, to suggest that Richard was in overall charge of the financial administration of John's expedition to Ireland that year.[29]

Upon his return from Ireland in August 1210, it seems that Richard began the aforementioned visitation, though the work cannot have been completed by the Michaelmas exchequer of 1210 as many accounts were held over until the following financial year. Apart from the amercements and other fines they produced, which went towards the payment of John's expensive military endeavours, the eyre also appears to have been designed to underpin the crown's flagging authority, by investigating and correcting abuses.[30] Paradoxically, however, John's efforts to secure his position only served to damage his cause further. Just as the destruction of the de Braose family, which had provided the major impetus for the king's Irish campaign, had increased the tensions with the already disaffected barons, so too did his financial manoeuvres. These also included the extraction of unusually substantial fines imposed in lieu of military service in Ireland, and the imposition of a fine of 40,000 marks on William de Braose, an enormous sum which no baron could be expected to pay swiftly.[31] So great was the sum that S. Painter has argued that the fine was purely symbolic, indicating that his former favourite could not hope to buy himself back into royal favour.[32] It was also a warning to the rest of the barons, that John would not tolerate disloyalty or the non-payment of debts. This in turn poisoned the increasingly strained relations with his magnates still further, and led them to seek protection from the arbitrary

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[27] *PR 12 John* pp. 58, 97, 98, 121, 214; *PR 13 John* pp. 2, 11, 27, 28, 81, 92, 143-4, 156, 167, 193, 208, 216, 239, 258, 266.
[28] *Rot. Lib* pp. 177, 179, 185, 167, 189, 195, 207, 210, 214, 218; Mitchell, *Taxation* p. 97; D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), p. 280.
[29] *PR 12 John* p. xxxii.
[30] *PR 12 John* p. xv. C. F. Slade argues that the brevity of the entries for these counties suggests that the eyres took place late on in the year. See also *PR 13 John* pp. xxiv-xxv.
[31] Mitchell, *Taxation* p. 99.
[32] S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (New York, 1979), pp. 246-250.

royal will, ultimately in the form of Magna Carta.[33] But arguably the greatest damage, at least to John's reputation, was inflicted by his financial exactions from the church.

The imposition of the Interdict on 24 March 1208 had led to angry reprisals by the crown in the form of the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, monastic and secular. The majority of churches hastened to offer fines for the return of the custody of their property, thereby providing the king with a continuing source of income while at the same time removing the need for the lands to be administered directly by royal officers. The revenue generated by this audacious scheme was considerable and was supplemented further by high levels of tax and aids, levied in the year surrounding the Irish campaign. The burden of blame for the process fell on King John. But the monastic chroniclers, angered at what they saw as evidence of his impiety and of his hatred of monks in particular, also lashed out at the king's advisers. Those singled out by the St. Albans chroniclers were William Brewer, Robert de Turnham, Reginald de Cornhill and Richard de Marisco, all trusted *curiales*, who are portrayed as instruments of the king's continuing in rift with the Cistercians.[34] At a meeting at St. Brides, London in 1210, they were responsible for imposing a levy on the order, variously reported as amounting to between £22,000 and £40,000. Though they do not agree on the exact amount required from the Cistercian order, many chroniclers note that the strain of raising the required funds caused the temporary closure of a number of monastic houses, the displaced monks being forced to seek refuge wherever they were able.[35] Cistercian chroniclers, however, such as the annals of Waverley, the chronicle of Meaux and the continuator of William of Newburgh, when apportioning blame are more specific in their accusations, clearly identifying Richard de Marisco as the main instrument of the exactions. The Meaux chronicler for example, notes with bitterness that when their abbot, Alexander, refused to pay a fine to recover the abbey's property from the crown, Richard de Marisco, who was in charge of the said exaction, forced him to hand over 1000 marks.[36] Most damning of all, we are told that the king leaned heavily on Richard's advice in these matters and, as noted above, that John was not afraid to name Richard as his God before all men.[37]

In addition to the Cistercians, the abbey of St. Albans also appears to have been directly affected by the king's need for money. Matthew Paris in his *Gesta Abbatum*

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[33] Holt, *Northerners* pp. 185-188.
[34] Paris, *CM* ii 531. For John's quarrel with the Cistercians see: D. Knowles, *The monastic order in England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 366-370.
[35] *Ann. Mon.* i (Margam), 29-30, iii (Bermondsey), 451-2; *Coggeshall* p. 164; *Newburgh* ii 512; *Southwark Annals* pp. 45-46; *Gervase of Canterbury* ii 105.
[36] *Chronica de Melsa* i 329-7. This payment appears to have been a fine to recover the abbeys lands following the general confiscation of ecclesiastical property ordered in reaction to the Interdict, see: C. R. Cheney, 'King John's reaction to the Interdict on England', *TRHS*, 4th series, 31 (1949), 129-150.
[37] *Chronica de Melsa* i 329-7; *Newburgh* ii 512. The continuation of the chronicle of William of Newburgh which covers the period 1198-1270 was composed in the Cistercian abbey of Stanley and later copied and extended by a monk of Furness up to 1290: *Newburgh* ii lxxxvii-xc.

includes the story that during the interdict Richard de Marisco, John's principal royal councillor, acting on royal authority, summoned Abbot John and demanded from him a contribution of 500 marks to regain the king's favour. This was done in spite of the fact that abbey had already fined 600 marks for the return of their property. When the abbot delayed payment, Paris condemns Richard as an inexorable exactor of money who oppressed Abbot John beyond all measure.[38] Naturally those responsible for exactions from individual houses were unlikely to be readily forgiven by their chroniclers. Curiously, however, though the stories of John's exactions from the monasteries are widespread, very few of these highlight Richard de Marisco's part in them. Only Newburgh, Meaux and the St. Albans chroniclers record that he was personally involved in the events of 1210, while the annals of Waverley simply states that he was frequently used in such matters. Matthew Paris's account, though vivid and highly detailed, is somewhat suspect. Written years after the event, it begins with a derogatory description of the method of Richard's elevation to the episcopate in 1217, which the chronicler claims was achieved not by canonical election but by royal intrusion.[39] Thus while we probably should not dismiss out of hand the authenticity of the account, it is plausible to suggest that it has become exaggerated, as Paris wrote with the vindictiveness of hindsight.

Nevertheless his reputation, like that of King John's, has become irrevocably sullied by the accounts of these few chroniclers and the majority of modern assessments of his character and deeds reflect this hostile view.[40] Loyalty to the crown, however, brought its own, more tangible rewards to Richard de Marisco. Throughout the Interdict he was granted a string of lucrative benefices, as the king took advantage of the vacancies prolonged by the crisis to dispense patronage to his faithful servants. In the autumn of 1208, therefore, Richard was granted a prebend in the church of Exeter and the church of Bampton (Oxfordshire), both of which had previously belonged to John, archdeacon of Barnstable.[41] The following year, in an effort to forestall unwanted papal intervention, Richard was one of the nominees proposed by the king to the electors of the see of Coventry-Lichfield. But although it is said that the monks were locked in a room until they made a choice between the king's preferred candidates, at this stage Henry, abbot of Bindon and Richard, the electors grudgingly selected the royal chancellor, Walter de Gray.[42] Despite this setback, it is clear from a grant dated 13 April 1208, ordering the return of those lands and possessions

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[38] Paris, *Gesta Abbatum* i 242-244.
[39] Paris, *Gesta Abbatum* i 242.
[40] N. Vincent, 'The origins of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer', *EHR*, 108 (1993), 116; Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 347; CEH p. 133 n. 4; S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (New York, 1979), p. 65.
[41] Not 1209 as is asserted in the *DNB*, *RLP* pp. 86b, 87. The church of Brampton had previously been granted to Richard Brewer, nephew of William Brewer, though this appears to have been superseded by the grant to Richard de Marisco: *RLP* p. 86.
[42] Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* viii 1242-4; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 129-132.

which had been taken into royal custody on account of the Interdict, that Richard's holdings were more substantial than the extant records suggest. The grant was directed to Hugh de Neville and the sheriffs of Kent, Surrey, Westmorland, Northumberland and Lancashire, who were also to see that Richard received all oblations, tithes and income attached to his churches as he had been accustomed to before the Interdict.[43] The silence of the royal records concerning these numerous possessions would indicate that at least some of the churches covered by this grant may have been baronial presentations. Indeed, although no individual churches are mentioned, the inclusion of the counties of Westmorland and Lancashire, strongholds of Gilbert fitz Reinfrey, lends weight to the theory that he was one of Richard's most prominent patrons during the early stages of the latter's career.

The grant has additional implications, for as N. Vincent notes, it was issued less than a month after the initial confiscation of ecclesiastical property was ordered and is witnessed by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. Unlike the abbeys of St. Albans and Meaux, there is no evidence that Richard was forced to offer a fine in order to regain control of his lands. Rather it shows that his standing with the king, and with one of his closest advisers, was sufficient to merit this act of royal favour.[44] Richard's membership of des Roches's extensive network of allies during these years is shown by payments, contained in the Winchester Pipe Rolls, for expenses incurred for gifts of cheeses and capons made to Richard and for the stabling of his horse together with two of the bishop's own for 5 weeks.[45] Moreover the position of both men, high in the king's confidence, is recorded by Roger of Wendover, who includes Peter des Roches and Richard de Marisco in his list of evil counsellors. This places Richard amongst the ranks of those who in Wendover's opinion were, together with the king, responsible for the excesses of the Interdict as they failed to restrain the king with prudent advice.[46] In contrast to his predecessor at Durham, Philip of Poitou, Richard appears to have earned this dubious honour. Regardless of the risk of ecclesiastical censure which hung over all who continued to serve the excommunicate king, Richard remained active in royal service throughout the Interdict. In 1212 and 1213 he rose in the royal court acting as a royal justice at Westminster, and becoming a resident baron of the exchequer where, in October 1212, he was amongst those who received the envoys of the justiciar of Ireland, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich.[47] He also appears to have persisted in his exactions on behalf of the crown, as the Bury annalist states that during 1212 he

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[43] *RLC* i 111b.
[44] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 79 n. 174. The initial confiscations were to begin on 24 March 1208: *RLP* p. 80b; C. R. Cheney, 'King John's reaction to the Interdict on England', *TRHS*, 4th series, 31 (1949), 129-130, 133 and n. 9.
[45] *Winchester Pipe Roll, 1208-1209* p. 51; *Winchester Pipe Roll, 1210-1211* pp. 65, 67, 68; Payment was also detailed for Simon, nephew of Richard de Marisco: Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 69 and n. 119.
[46] Paris, *CM* ii 533.

shamelessly extorted the *debita Judeorum.*[48] His rise in the secular court was matched by the award of number of more lucrative ecclesiastical preferments by a grateful king. Sometime before 1 November 1211 he was granted the archdeaconry of Northumberland, vacant on the death of Theobald de Perche.[49] By 5 February 1213 he had secured another great northern archdeaconry, that of Richmond.[50] Similarly a number of lesser benefices including the churches of Great Walsingham (Norfolk) and Kempsey (Worcestershire) and prebends in the churches of York and Lichfield were also added to Richard's growing possessions.[51]

The discovery of the baronial plot in the summer of 1212, however, and the rumours of Pope Innocent III's intention to announce the deposition of the king, encouraged John to seek a rapprochement with Rome. Nevertheless, even when surrounded on all sides by rebellion and predictions of the impending cessation of his reign, John sought to limit his potential losses.[52] As a result in November 1212, Hugh, abbot of Beaulieu and his fellow delegates to the curia were dispatched with instructions to accept the peace terms proposed in 1211, an offer which was contemptuously dismissed by the pope as inadequate as it failed to offer redress to the English church as a whole.[53] Compensation for the money taken from the church during the Interdict was a sensitive issue. John realised that he would have to pay, but begrudged the loss of royal revenue at a time when he was preparing to launch a campaign to regain his continental possessions. In the early autumn, therefore, the king began to compel the abbots, priors and many clerics of his realm, to issue letters which stated that any money granted to the crown between his first coronation (27 May 1199) and the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September 1212), should be regarded as voluntary donations, and ought not to be repaid.[54] It is possible that this process began two years earlier as the annals of Dunstable, which from 1210 were written up close to events, notes the existence of these letters in 1210.[55] These unscrupulous arrangements were

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[47] *CRR 1223-4* p. 189; *RLC* i 132b.
[48] F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtesquellen* (Strasbourg, 1879), p. 153.
[49] *Cal. Ch. R. 1327-41*p. 71. Theobald died by September 1211: *Fasti* ii (Durham), p. 40; *EEA Durham II* no. 245 n.
[50] *Rot. Chart.* p. 190.
[51] Great Walsingham was granted 1200 x 1214, though the absence of a writ directed to the sheriff of Norfolk similar to those detailed above suggests that the grant dates to after 1208: *RLC* i 111b; *EEA Norwich I* p. 371a. Kempsey, July 1212 (*RLP* p. 93b); York, the prebend of Hasculf Paynell, August 1213 (*RLP* p. 105), Lichfield, the prebend of William Deredent, August 1213 (*Rot. Chart.* p. 196b).
[52] In addition to numerous portents noted during the summer of 1212, a number of chroniclers, including Geoffrey of Coldingham, record the prophecy of Peter (of Pontefract) that John's reign would not continue beyond Ascension day of his fourteenth year: *Script Tres* pp. 27-28; *Walter of Coventry* ii 208; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 34.
[53] SLI no. 45. See above p. 86.
[54] *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), p. 268; *Two Cartularies of the priory of St Peter at Bath*, ed. W. Hunt, Somerset Record Society, 7, part ii (1893), 18 n. 82; *Coggeshall* p. 165.
[55] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 34; c.f. A. Gransden, *Historical writing in England vol. 2, c.1307 to the early 16th century* (London, 1982), p. 332.

condemned by papal letter in March 1213, any existing agreements were to be declared null and void and the perpetrators were to be excommunicated.[56]

N. Vincent argues that the agent responsible for the extraction of some of these letters was Richard de Marisco.[57] This is a likely conjecture, based on his previous dealings with the Cistercians in 1210. Nevertheless, as with this previous occasion, there is very little evidence of his involvement. The only foundation which is known to have suffered directly from Richard's attentions was the abbey of Bury St Edmunds.[58] Shortly after 2 December 1214 he was dispatched with a royal letter to the prior and convent of Bury, asking that they pardon the crown for any 'gifts' taken during the Interdict, and informing them that they should consult with Richard de Marisco on the matter.[59] Once at the abbey, it appears that Richard attempted to use the internal divisions caused by the ongoing election dispute, to his own advantage, by allying himself with the pro-royal party led by the sacrist.[60] When the supporters of the canonically elected candidate, Hugh of Northwold, asked that they might first take consultation on the matter, Richard contemptuously dismissed their plea, saying in an overbearing manner, 'I declare your countermand and opposition or whatever to be utterly invalid and a waste of time'.[61] Moreover, not content merely with his master's enrichment, Richard is revealed to have accepted the gift from the sacrist of a precious ruby ring, part of the possessions of their patron, St. Edmund, without the permission of the convent. But the other royal proctors, led by Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester, allowed the two week delay, at which meeting Richard renewed his attempt to browbeat the monks. Once more he is portrayed as the voice of the king, declaring 'the sole purpose of our coming was to ask for the release. If you are sensible you will answer us in such a way that the king may commend your wisdom and prudence and that your deeds may bring you into greater favour with him'.[62] The author of the Chronicle of the election of Hugh wrote his account in order that future generations might follow the example of the 'party of truth' (*pars veritatis*), as he termed Hugh of Northwold's supporters and avoid the shame and disloyalty of his opponents.[63] Polemical though his account may be, he was an eye witness to these events. By associating him with the sacrist of Bury, Robert of Graveley, who is accused as being an ambitious dilapidator of his house, he thus places Richard amongst the ranks which, in his

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[56] SLI no. 46.
[57] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 93.
[58] A similar writ, issued at the same time as that to Bury St. Edmunds, to the abbots and priors of the bishopric of Ely informs them that Simon de Insula, Gaimar de Bassingburn and Humphrey de Bassingburn, archdeacon of Salisbury, were to act for the king: *RLP* p. 140.
[59] *RLP* p. 140b. Though explicitly banned by Innocent in 1213, John may have regarded this request as legitimate as later arrangements for the payment of compensation in April-May 1214 had allowed for individual arrangements to be made with the king: SLI no. 70.
[60] CEH pp. 133-139.
[61] CEH p. 137.
[62] CEH p. 145.
[63] CEH pp. 43, 55, 57.

opinion, deserved the deepest condemnation.[64] Yet, notwithstanding this vivid and damning account of Richard's activities, it is important to note that this appears to be the only occasion where Richard's name is directly linked to what the pope termed 'unscrupulous arrangements'.[65]

In these years of growing crisis, as John's regime suffered rebellion at home while his plans for the Poitou campaign lay in tatters, it seems that Richard's star was rising. His abilities and his loyalty to the crown combined to render him invaluable to a king who suspected treachery at every turn and, more crucially, one who was in urgent need of money. Indeed it is perhaps this combination that led S. Painter to view Richard de Marisco as the king's faithful guardian, deputized to maintain a watchful eye over the workings of the exchequer and its officers in the spring and autumn of 1212 and again in the autumn of 1214.[66] As keeper of the great seal, which he bore from June 1210 until his promotion to the chancellorship in October 1214, he could act independently of the king, who by this stage had begun to make use of the privy seal during his travels throughout the kingdom.[67] Having said this, Richard did not remain fixed at Westminster, as he joined the king on the latter's expedition to secure the north-east of the kingdom following the betrayal of the northern conspiracy.[68] Yet, it is arguable that although Richard's loyalty to King John appears to have been beyond question, his particular aptitude was in the area of royal finance. This is highlighted by the grant in November 1212 of the shrievalty of the shires of Dorset and Somerset, which forms part of a widespread reallocation of shires that occurred after Michaelmas 1212.[69] In all, ten shires changed hands at this stage for reasons varying from death and routine changes, to attempts to appease baronial complaints of misgovernment. Richard's promotion, however, seems to stem from a desire to impose stricter government on the counties. The previous sheriff, William Malet, a local landowner, is known have rebelled against the king in May 1215, but prior to this he adhered to the king's cause, paying the scutage for Poitou in 1214.[70] The reason for his dismissal in 1212, as suggested by the Pipe Roll of 1214, was his lenient approach to the payment of debts, for he made a fine of 2000 marks in that year to clear himself of the arrears accruing from his time in office.[71] It follows, therefore, that Richard de Marisco was installed as sheriff, not to bring a rebellious

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[64] CEH pp. xv, 7-9.
[65] John issued general letters stating that the exactions of the Interdict should be regarded rather as gifts, but Richard's name is not mentioned: *Rot. Chart.* p. 191-2.
[66] S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (New York, 1979), pp. 109, 269.
[67] S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (New York, 1979), p. 106; N. Vincent, 'The origins of the Chancellorship of Exchequer', *EHR*, 108 (1993), 105-6.
[68] *Rot. Chart.* pp. 187b, 188; DCDCM 2.2.Finc.15.
[69] *RLP* p. 95.
[70] Holt, *Northerners* pp. 106, 110; *RLC* i 201.
[71] *PR 16 John* pp. xviii-xix, 100.

county back under royal control, but to ensure the efficient running of the county farm.[72] After all, without revenue the king was effectively powerless.

Despite the obvious advantages for an ambitious clerk striving to make his mark in the royal household, service to the crown came at a price. On 7 March 1213 in response to Hugh of Beaulieu's embassy to Rome, Innocent III wrote ordering that the clergy who had 'furnished to John king of England, while excommunicated, service counsel or support in what he has presumed to do contrary to ecclesiastical liberty; and those too who have knowingly obtained ecclesiastical benefices from the king after his excommunication' should suffer suspension from offices and benefices alike. Individuals wishing for release from this sentence had to present themselves to the pope armed with letters written by the executors of the papal mandate, stating the true nature of their involvement.[73] The annals of Dunstable record that amongst those affected by this mandate, which formed part of the preliminary arrangements for the lifting of the Interdict, included Richard de Marisco, Henry de Vere and Gilbert L'Aigle.[74] Nevertheless, either because the censure meant little to him or because his duties at court kept him at the king's side, Richard appears to have made no effort to evade the ban. I suspect the latter, for even when he eventually travelled to Rome late in 1213, not only did he neglect to obtain the necessary recommendation, the main motivation for his journey was arguably to secure the relaxation of the Interdict on more lenient terms for the crown. Negotiations surrounding this complex issue had been in progress since the arrival of the papal nuncio, Pandulf, in May 1213. The process was hindered by the English bishops' refusal to accept any reduction of John's obligations. Moreover the calculation of the precise figure exacted from the church, which John was supposed to repay in full, proved divisive, particularly as the king, as we have seen, persisted in his attempts to persuade some houses to quitclaim their losses. In the midst of these deliberations, John, presumably to stave off possible strictures on account of this delay, renewed his act of submission and oath of fealty to the pope for the kingdoms of England and Ireland.[75] The oath in the form of a charter was issued by Richard de Marisco at St Paul's, London, on 3 October 1213.[76]

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[72] Richard's accounts for the counties of Dorset and Somerset appear on the Pipe Roll for 1214: *PR 16 John* pp. 96, 97, 100, 106-7. These included accounts for the abbeys of Sherbourne, Milton and Abbotsbury of which only the latter was possibly vacant in 1213-1214.

[73] SLI no. 47.

[74] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 40, though the annalist, apparently mistakenly, dates this to 1212. John de Gray, bishop of Norwich is also recorded as travelling to Rome to achieve absolution in 1213: *Walter of Coventry* ii 213.

[75] John's submission had originally been made on 15 May 1213 and was confirmed by Innocent III on 4 November 1213: CLI no. 941.

[76] The pope confirmed John's second oath 21 April 1214 which coincides with Richard de Marisco's sojourn in Rome: SLI no. 67.

It therefore seems likely that Richard's mission to Rome in the closing months of 1213, was made at the behest of the crown. His arrival may have coincided with the production of the mandate on 23 January 1214 to the papal legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, informing him of the pope's new proposal which fixed the amount of compensation at 100,000 marks.[77] He was certainly in Rome five days later when he received papal absolution from his suspension, despite failing to bring the necessary letter from the archbishop of Canterbury, as he had been 'too busy with the king's affairs'.[78] Innocent graciously disregarded the oversight and issued Richard with a letter of protection, directed against all those who felt aggrieved by his actions in his long years of service to the crown, and who might henceforth seek to molest him unjustly.[79] C. R. Cheney sees this as evidence of Innocent's willingness to disregard the feelings of the English clergy, even against so 'notorious' a character[80]. It may, however, simply represent realism on the pope's part, as around this date, to relieve the burden caused by the mandate of March 1213, he orders that those clerks guilty of lesser crimes should be absolved in England by the legate.[81] Perhaps therefore, Innocent was unaware of, or did not share, the opinion of those chroniclers who charged Richard de Marisco with the excesses of the Interdict.

Significantly Richard stated that he was unable to make a second journey to Rome, this time with the archbishop's letter, as he was 'too busy with the king's accounts and other business'.[82] Nevertheless, it appears that his duties did allow him to remain in Rome until April-May 1214, when he was numbered amongst the king's negotiators who achieved a relaxation of the terms of the settlement of compensation owed to the church. This apparent contradiction may indicate either that the archbishop of Canterbury had been unwilling to recommend Richard's absolution, or that Richard, like his master, sought to distance himself from the archbishop, whom he mistrusted, and deal directly with the pope.[83] In any event the agreement which Richard helped to forge meant that the Interdict would be lifted after only 40,000 marks had been paid, with the remainder to be paid in instalments of 12,000 marks per year until the total amount, as yet to be fixed by enquiry, was reached. This change effectively nullified the attempts of the English bishops to force the king to make full restitution, especially as the pope admits that individual parties are to be allowed to come to private agreements, so long as they did so entirely of their own free will.[84]

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[77] SLI no. 64.
[78] CLI no. 950.
[79] CLI nos. 949-951. The issue of this letter would suggest that Richard himself was aware of having committed some misdemeanours.
[80] Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 347.
[81] ?April 1214, CLI no. 969.
[82] CLI no. 950.
[83] Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 346.
[84] SLI no. 70.

John's ambassadors had thus done their work well. Their intervention allowed the king to concentrate his over-stretched financial resources on the prosecution of his Poitevin campaign. It was there that Richard rejoined his master, arriving in Poitou by late May 1214.[85] His participation in the campaign appears to have been brief, for John ordered him back to England to help with the supervision of the government there. Shortly before his departure, however, he was deputized to oversee the release of 11,250 marks from the treasury to Brother Boes, preceptor of the knights Templar in La Rochelle.[86] S. Painter suspected that the reason for Richard's return to England in May 1214 was to ensure the discretion of the regents, Peter des Roches and William Brewer. On 22 May the regents were informed that Richard was being sent to them to discuss the munitioning of castles and other business, and that they should acquiesce to his advice.[87] This view is disputed by N. Vincent, who interprets this act as merely another stage in the promotion of Richard de Marisco.[88] But whatever the cause of Richard's mission, it is clear that the king placed great trust in his clerk, who continued to act together with other key royal servants maintaining royal government in England.[89] His role was varied and included the selection of troops to swell the ranks of the army in Poitou and carrying out the king's orders in elections to vacant abbeys.[90] He also appears to have sent reports to the king, for in July 1214 Peter de Maulay is directed to provide a well provisioned ship to take the envoys of Peter des Roches and Richard de Marisco to England.[91] Moreover, the avaricious king requested that his ministers in England should investigate the possibility of accepting Geoffrey de Say's offer of a fine of 15,000 marks for the disputed Mandeville inheritance.[92]

The defeat of John's allies, however, at the battle of Bouvines (27 July 1214) necessitated a change in royal policy, with the emphasis now firmly on defence. Chief among the king's concerns was the possibility of a French invasion while the English army still remained in France. Thomas of Erdington was sent on 16 August 1214 to des Roches, Brewer and Richard to make arrangements for the safety of the king's own person and his castle of Dover.[93] Having signed a treaty with King Philip II Augustus, John returned to

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[85] *RLP* p. 139; *Rot. Chart.* p. 198b; CEPR p. 45.
[86] Richard appears to have left for England some time after 4 June 1214: *RLP* p. 116b.
[87] S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (New York, 1979), p. 281; *RLP* p. 139.
[88] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 103 n. 80. F. West also agrees arguing that the arrangement was purely an administrative device: *The justiciarship in England 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 171.
[89] These key ministers were the justiciar, Peter des Roches, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich and William Brewer.
[90] Only those troops deemed to be non-essential to English affairs were to be sent: *RLP* pp. 118b, 121, 140.
[91] *RLC* i 169.
[92] The Mandeville estates had been confiscated in February 1214 as Geoffrey de Mandeville had defaulted on payment of his fine of 20,000 marks, at which point Geoffrey de Say sought to renew his family's claim to the honour: *RLC* i 168b; c.f. Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 106; S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (New York, 1979), pp. 283-4.
[93] *RLC* i 202.

England on 13 October 1214, his military reputation in tatters. Having failed one of the acid tests of medieval kingship, John now faced the impending storm of baronial discontent with an almost empty treasury. Matthew Paris scornfully reports that the king had foolishly squandered the 40,000 marks that Richard de Marisco and similar courtiers had stolen from the Cistercians, thereby fulfilling the proverb 'Nothing good comes of base plunder' (*Non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos*').[94] To alleviate his financial difficulties, John had issued writs in March and May respectively, for the collection of a tallage, ostensibly to contribute to the lifting of the Interdict, and a scutage assessed at 3 marks per knights fee.[95] But the failure of his Poitevin campaign had only strengthened baronial resistance to the tax, with many counties failing to make account at the Michaelmas exchequer of 1214.[96] Crucially, it is in the midst of this crisis that Richard de Marisco appears as royal chancellor for the first time.[97]

The exact dating of Richard's tenure of the chancellorship has proved the subject of some debate amongst historians. The near contemporary St. Albans chroniclers and Sir William Dugdale, who may have based his account on material which has since been lost, variously describe Richard as chancellor in 1211 and 1212. More recently D. E. Greenway states that in addition to his longer tenure from 1214 onwards, he held the office briefly in 1213.[98] Much of the confusion seems to arise from an entry dated 9 October 1213 which records that Richard de Marisco delivered the great seal to the king at Ospringe.[99] But by the late twelfth century, possession of the seal was no longer restricted to the chancellor, as frequently the holder of that office was too often absent from court for it to be practicable for the seal to remain in his keeping.[100] As a result the keeper became responsible for the day to day usage of the seal, an office which, as we have seen, Richard succeeded to in 1210. From this point onwards Richard begins to issue charters using the clause *datum per manum.*[101] Throughout this period the titular chancellor was Walter de Gray, who had purchased the office from the crown in October 1205 for £5000.[102] His last appearance as chancellor occurs on 7 July 1214 and he seems to have resigned the office shortly after his consecration

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[94] Paris, *CM* ii 581.
[95] *RLP* p. 111b; *RLC* i 166b.
[96]Mitchell, *Taxation* pp. 109-118; Holt, *Northerners* pp. 101-102
[97] *Rot. Chart.* p. 202.
[98] Paris, *CM* ii 533; W. Dugdale, *The Ancient Usage* (London, 1812), p. 260; *Fasti* (York), p. 49.
[99] *RLP* p. 105; *RLC* i 153b. The seal passed into the custody of Peter des Roches who committed it to the care of Ralph Neville in December 1213: *RLP* p. 107; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 68.
[100] N. Vincent, 'The origins of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer', *EHR*, 108 (1993), 105.
[101] As E. Foss notes, this disproves Prynne's theory that Richard became chancellor in October 1213 based on a charter issued *datum per manum*: E. Foss, *The Judges of England*, ii (London, 1848), 402; SLI no. 67; *Foedera* p. 115; *Rot. Chart.* p. 195
[102] *Foedera* p. 93; *Rot. Ob.* p. 368.

as bishop of Worcester on 5 October 1214.[103] Shortly after this, on 29 October, Richard de Marisco appears as royal chancellor, an office he continued to hold until his death, although his duties were increasingly assumed by the keeper of the seal, Ralph Neville, dean of Lichfield.[104]

Arguably the main motivation for Richard's promotion was the king's desperate financial situation. Walter de Gray had at best been a disinterested chancellor, purchasing the office as a business venture, seemingly attracted more by the prestige and the income of the office than the process of government.[105] Richard, on the other hand, had repeatedly proven his ability as an efficient and trusted administrator. Given the political turmoil that ensued after the debacle at Bouvines, these two qualities were of the utmost importance to the embattled monarch. Moreover, on becoming chancellor, in addition to controlling the chancery, Richard was periodically granted some degree of authority over the royal chamber and the treasury. In January and February 1215 a number of writs were issued directed to him in conjunction with the barons of the exchequer or the treasurer and the chamberlains.[106] As these writs are predominantly concerned with the receipt of accounts and payment of monies owed by the crown, F. Barlow argues that the new chancellor had assumed this role in order to squeeze as much money as possible out of the crown's resources.[107] But ironically, one of Richard's first acts as royal chancellor was to issue the king's charter of free elections. In November 1214, John sought to distance himself from the responsibility for the actions of the legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, whose questionable handling of elections had resulted in a papal reproof.[108] This apparent display of orthodoxy was in reality a ploy calculated to gain the support of the episcopate, hoping to separate their grievances from those of the secular barons. Archbishop Stephen Langton and his fellow bishops, however, remained unconvinced, causing the charter to be reissued in January 1215 and submitting it for papal confirmation.[109] Their suspicions seemed to have been justified, for John remained determined to retain his customary rights, although he made some concessions to his new policy. This is demonstrated by the election to the bishopric of Rochester, vacant following the death of Bishop Gilbert Glanville in June 1214. While Nicholas of Tusculum proceeded

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[103] *RLC* i 168b; *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 403. By 3 November 1214 he is recorded as former chancellor: *RLP* p. 122b.
[104] *Rot. Chart.* p. 202. F. M. Powicke states that the last time that Richard is officially mentioned as chancellor is 9 November 1225. But this appears to be an error for 9 November 1224: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 495. The latest official mention of Richard as chancellor that I have found is 6 June 1225: *RLC* ii 73.
[105] S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (New York, 1979), pp. 64-5.
[106] *RLC* i 183b-184b, 185b, 188.
[107] F. Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England*, 4th edn. (Longman, 1991), p. 417. This included an inquiry into the exchequer and wardrobe rolls for the payments Walter de Gray made for Flanders: *RLC* i 183, 185b; see above p. 11.
[108] CLI no. 968.

to try to bully the canons of Rochester into nominating one of the king's candidates, Peter des Roches, together with William Brewer and Richard de Marisco, were sent to inquire into the presentation to (*ordinatio*) and custody of the vacant see. Archbishop Langton was informed that the three royal envoys were to interview the local barons and inspect the muniments of the see to ascertain whether these rights belonged to the king or the archbishop.[110] But ultimately John diplomatically admitted defeat, relinquishing the right of election to the archbishop in November 1214.[111]

When the security of the kingdom was in question, however, the king made few concessions to appease the archbishop and his allies. In 1214, in a move calculated to bring greater security to the rebellious north, two of the king's most trusted servants, John de Gray and Peter des Roches, were proposed for translation to the sees of Durham and York. In doing so the king contemptuously dismissed the rights of the electors, ordering the Durham chapter to withdraw their postulation of Richard Poore, dean of Salisbury, which was prohibited by the king.[112] Similarly at York, having been sworn to secrecy, the chapter was forbidden to elect their dean, Simon de Apulia, as this would 'run contrary to our honour and the welfare of the state'.[113] With the chapters of Durham and York firmly under his thumb, the king now turned his attention to the promotion of Richard de Marisco. In May 1214 the monks of St. Swithun's, Winchester, were directed to elect Richard as their bishop. This, the king asserted, would facilitate the peace and tranquillity of the realm and was supported by both crown and papacy. To ensure their co-operation, Hugh of Beaulieu, together with the abbots of York and Selby, William Brewer and William de Cantilupe, was sent to present the king's case. The monks submitted and the legate's confirmation was sought as John claimed that the metropolitan, Archbishop Langton, would maliciously attempt to defer confirmation.[114] But despite John's confidence in the pope's support, his ambitious scheme failed. Innocent III had received damning reports of the conduct of Peter des Roches and Nicholas of Tusculum, both of whom were rebuked for their infringements of ecclesiastical liberties.[115] Richard's election to Winchester was therefore irregular, as it had been completed before des Roches' translation was confirmed, and the matter was dropped. Seemingly undaunted by this reverse, the following year John nominated Richard to the bishopric of Ely. This time William Brewer, Robert of Kent and Ralph de Normanville were

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[109] It is possible that King John himself sought papal confirmation for the charter, but C. R. Cheney argues that it was more likely that Archbishop Langton was responsible: *Innocent III* p. 365.
[110] *RLC* i 201b-202; H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i (London, 1691), pp. 385-6; *G&L* p. 61.
[111] Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 170-171.
[112] *RLC* i 202.
[113] *Rot. Chart.* p. 207b.
[114] *RLP* p. 139b.
[115] CLI nos. 967, 968. For the authenticity of the letter directed to Peter des Roches: c.f. Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 98 n. 50.

sent on behalf of the king to discuss the chancellor's promotion.[116] Nevertheless, as at Coventry-Lichfield in 1209, the electors once again shied away from accepting his candidacy. In his stead they elected first Geoffrey de Burgh, archdeacon of Norwich and then Robert of York, and the dispute between these two candidates dragged on until the election of John of Fountains in 1219/1220.[117]

The king's confidence in his chancellor, however, appears to have been unshaken. On 4 March 1215 at St Paul's cathedral, according to the annals of Southwark, Richard joined his royal master in taking the cross.[118] As noted above, Richard's role in the royal government at this stage was largely financial. But in addition to keeping a watchful eye on the dealings of the exchequer, in January 1215 he was also ordered to see to the provisioning of the royal castles, part of the king's impressive preparations against the gathering storm.[119] At Northampton, Henry de Braybrock, whose loyalty John had reason to suspect, was replaced as castellan by a mercenary captain after the king had sent Richard on his behalf to review de Braybrock's office. But although these arrangements may have secured Northampton for the royal cause, they did little to stave off the impending civil war, which finally broke in May 1215.[120] In response John ordered the confiscation of the lands of a number of prominent rebels, including Henry de Braybrock, and two days later instructed Richard de Marisco and Hugh de Neville to take possession of Winchester castle and conduct Queen Isabella and Prince Henry to Marlborough.[121] The loss of London to the rebels on 17 May was a catastrophic blow to the crown and resulted in the almost total cessation of exchequer functions for the remainder of the reign.[122] This is reflected in the activities of Richard de Marisco. After the capture of London, his itinerary shows him to be in almost constant contact with the king, yet his duties were reduced to the issuing of royal writs and charters. Though not mentioned in Magna Carta he issued a charter at Runnymeade on 20 June.[123]

The peace brokered at Runnymeade, however, was doomed to failure. As part of the preliminaries to the renewed outbreak of civil war following the promulgation of Magna Carta, John began to make arrangements for the payment of his army. With his treasure at Westminster in the hands of the rebels John relied on caches of royal treasure, such as the

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[116] *RLC* i 130b.
[117] Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 174-5.
[118] *Southwark Annals* p. 49.
[119] *RLC* i 184b, 185. c.f. Holt, *Northerners* pp. 103-4.
[120] *RLP* p. 131b; *RLC* i 193, 195, 200; S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (New York, 1979), p. 302.
[121] *RLP* pp. 135, 136; Holt, *Northerners* p. 106. N. Vincent argues that there was great confusion in the records between the castles of Wolvesey and Winchester, and that the order refers to Wolvesey castle: c.f. Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 116-7.
[122] *PR 17 John* pp. 3-4.
[123] *Rot. Chart.* p. 210b.

one at Corfe castle, on plunder and on loans provided by the Templars.[124] The king was already heavily in the Templars' debt, owing around 3,000 marks from loans arranged in 1215 alone. This was extended in August 1215 by a further 1000 marks, which according to a letter to Brother Gerard de Brochard, master of the Knights Templar in Poitou and Gascony was to be paid to Richard de Marisco.[125] Based on this evidence a number of writers have suggested that Richard was sent to Poitou in August to raise troops.[126] Their argument appears to be backed up by an account by the St. Albans chroniclers, that John sent the bishops of Worcester and Norwich, Richard de Marisco, William Gernun and Hugh de Boves to seek military aid on the continent. Any who answered the king's call were promised lands with ample possessions and money, so long as they presented themselves at Dover by Michaelmas 1215. Attractive though this account may be, it must be treated with extreme caution as it is full of inaccuracies. Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester, is erroneously styled as royal chancellor rather than Richard de Marisco, and John de Gray, bishop of Norwich is included in the list, regardless of the fact that his death had been recorded in the same chronicle the previous year.[127] Further details about the arranged loan of 1000 marks to be collected by Richard were issued on 28 August, at which time it was specified that the money was to be put towards the purchase of arms and horses for John's mercenaries. Provision was also made for an extra 300 marks for Richard's own expenses.[128] But from Richard's itinerary it is clear that if he did undertake this mission in person, he could not have departed for the continent earlier than late September.[129] Throughout August and September he continued to issue charters on a fairly regular basis. Furthermore during this period, though poor, the king was in a strong military position both in terms of men and strategic fortifications. Other considerations, it appears, had arisen which took precedence over this mission.

Walter of Coventry notes that following the promulgation of the Great Charter, the king sent Richard de Marisco, a man familiar with promoting royal business at the Curia, to consult with the lord Pope, for at that time the General Council was drawing near.[130] John had turned his attention to the denunciation of his enemies to his papal overlord. On 24 August 1215, in conjunction with his condemnation of Magna Carta on 24 August 1215, Innocent III had written to the barons of England ordering them to send proctors to the forthcoming Lateran Council where he would forge a new settlement between them and the

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[124] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 118; Holt, *Northerners* p. 125.
[125] *RLP* pp. 141, 152b; *RLC* i 194, 221b.
[126] K. Norgate, *John Lackland* (London, 1902), p. 241; S. Painter, *The reign of King John* (New York, 1979), p. 360; Holt, *Northerners* p. 126.
[127] Paris, *CM* ii 613 and c.f. 582.
[128] *RLP* pp. 152b, 153b.
[129] This renders Paris's account even more unlikely as it would be impossible for any availing of King John's offer to reach England before Michaelmas.

king.[131] But Innocent's offer of an olive branch was suppressed by John and his supporters. Shortly before the departure of the royal proctors bound for the Lateran Council in September, the rebel barons were excommunicated and Archbishop Langton was formally suspended from office for assisting the king's enemies.[132] These envoys included the archbishops of Bordeaux and Dublin, Richard de Marisco, Hugh of Beaulieu, John Marshal and Geoffrey Lutterel, who were issued with letters of credence on 13 September.[133] It is probable therefore, that Richard de Marisco's embassy to Poitou, if it occurred at all, was achieved on his journey either to or from the Lateran Council. Once in Rome, unlike his colleague Hugh of Beaulieu, no record survives of Richard's activities at the Lateran council. His name was linked in general terms with the king's complaints that despite the pope's intervention, some barons continued to rebel. Nevertheless his familiarity with the Curia, his prominent office within the royal administration and his unswerving loyalty to the crown no doubt rendered him invaluable to the prosecution of the king's interests in Rome.

Richard appears to have returned to England upon the conclusion of the Fourth Lateran Council on 30 November.[134] His itinerary for 1216 is surprisingly sparse. Upon his return he continued to issue royal correspondence, though on a noticeably decreased scale compared to the previous year. In addition to this he is mentioned only a handful of times in conjunction with royal affairs. Chief amongst these was his inclusion in a list of royal proctors John proposed to send to treat on his behalf with the guardians of his peace treaty with the king of France. In his letter John apologised that he would be unable to attend the meeting to discuss infringements of the treaty on 9 June 1216 in person. A delegation comprising Hugh de Lusignan, count of La Marche, Ralph, count of Augy, Richard de Marisco, Hugh de Lusignan, Galfrid de Tannay and *magister* William the almoner was therefore empowered to treat in his place.[135] It is doubtful, however, if this mission actually took place. The letter, which was written on 28 April 1216, was intended to present the king in a favourable light in the hopes of delaying the impending invasion by Philip Augustus' eldest son, Prince Louis. This coincides with a number of other advances made by John during the spring of 1216, all geared towards the prevention of Louis's attack.[136] But his efforts were in vain; Louis launched his invasion, landing at Thanet on 21 May.[137] For the

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[130] *Walter of Coventry* ii 222. Though Walter also appears to date this to July/August 1215.
[131] CLI nos. 1018, 1019.
[132] Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 381; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 125.
[133] *RLP* p. 182; *Foedera* p. 138.
[134] He issues a charter given at Durham, 28 January 1216: *Rot. Chart.* pp. 219b, 220; DCDCM Cartulary 2 f.29v.
[135] *RLP* p. 179.
[136] *Coggeshall* pp. 180-181; *Walter of Coventry* ii 229; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 126; K. Norgate, *John Lackland* (London, 1902), p. 264.
[137] Richard's itinerary shows that he was at Corfe on 11 June 1216, so it is unlikely that he travelled to France at this stage: *Rot. Chart.* p. 222b.

remainder of John's reign, Richard is almost invisible in the records. Yet he appears to have maintained some contact with the court beyond his duties in the chancery, as a letter of safe conduct was provided for his clerk, Robert de Neville, shortly before John's death in October 1216.[138] The explanation for this decline in his activities at court may well lie in the severe disruption of the business of the exchequer which lasted from May 1215 until the autumn of 1217.[139] As we have seen, though he acted as judge, adviser and envoy, Richard's particular genius lay in the financial transactions of the crown. The loss of the exchequer records to the rebels in May 1215 with the corresponding change in the method of raising royal finances, the chaos of the civil war and the French invasion, seems to have made Richard virtually redundant.

Moreover, following the refusal of the chapter at Ely to accept his candidacy, his ecclesiastical career was also in abeyance. Elections to English bishoprics continued despite the civil war. Walter de Gray was successfully transferred to York by February 1216, his place at Worcester being taken by Silvester of Evesham in April that year, while the disputed elections to the sees of Ely and Hereford were being pursued in Rome. Furthermore, Archbishop Langton's suspension, which had been confirmed at the Lateran Council in November 1215, removed his restraining influence on John's choice of candidates.[140] John did take advantage of the archbishop's disgrace, for in a letter written in 1215, he requests that Hubert de Burgh should petition for Richard de Marisco to be promoted to Durham, or some other see, if Peter des Roches refused translation there.[141] This letter represents the revival of John's plans, noted above, to reinforce royal government in the north by strategic rearrangement of his most loyal allies. Nothing appears to have come of this move, however, and no further mention of Richard's promotion is made during John's reign. Assuming that the king had set his heart on Richard's elevation to Durham, the reason for this is unclear, especially as by late 1215 no rival candidates existed to challenge him.

Since the death of their previous bishop, Philip of Poitou, in April 1208, the monastic chapter of Durham had made a concerted effort to elect a pastor of their own choosing.[142] Ignoring papal warnings in January 1209 that they should proceed immediately with an election, they delayed until 1213 when they secretly elected Richard Poore, dean of Salisbury. Geoffrey of Coldingham records that the monks were reluctant to announce their decision to the king, fearing his anger at the lack of prior consultation.[143] Their choice can hardly have impressed the king. In 1205 Richard Poore's election to Winchester by a rival

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[138] *RLP* p. 198b.
[139] *PR 17 John* pp. 3-4. No Pipe Rolls survive for 18 John or 1 Henry III.
[140] In January 1214 Langton had forbidden Nicholas of Tusculum to fill any vacancies until appeal could be made to the pope: Wendover, *Chronica* ii 97.
[141] V. H. Galbraith, *Studies in the Public Records* (London, 1948), pp. 136-7, 161-2.
[142] For a detailed account of the Durham elections in this period see: Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 165-7.
[143] *Script Tres.* pp. 29-30.

set of electors within the chapter had challenged Peter des Roches' carefully engineered promotion. His scholastic achievements, though impressive, also rendered him suspect as he had been a student of Stephen Langton at Paris. Finally, as we have seen, his election upset the planned translation of John de Gray from Norwich. With papal support Poore's election was quashed in October 1214. Unfortunately this came too late for the royal camp, as Geoffrey of Coldingham notes, with some satisfaction, that the same day the pope had quashed the election of a live man and confirmed a corpse.[144] Released from their obligations, the monks, perhaps in an attempt to choose a candidate acceptable to the king, now nominated John's half-brother, Morgan, provost of Beverley. John at first acquiesced to the scheme, confirming the election on 7 March 1215, but then changed his mind. At the papal curia, Morgan was persuaded by his clerk, *magister* William de Laneham, not to deny his royal blood even though this would result in his election being quashed, a ploy that the Durham annalist blames on John's intervention.[145]

The account of Morgan's disappointment in Rome is undated, but it must have occurred after John's initial acceptance of his candidacy in March 1215. Presumably John's letter to Hubert de Burgh asking him to petition for Richard de Marisco's advancement, was written after this event. Nevertheless, having cleared the way for Richard's election the process simply stalls. In reality it would appear that John's ambitions for his chancellor were over taken by events beyond his control. Despite successful campaigns against the northern barons in January and February 1216, the arrival of Prince Louis in May had allowed the rebels to regroup, robbing the crown of its hard won victories. Carlisle was besieged by King Alexander II of Scotland, whose armies also campaigned close to Durham before turning south to meet Louis at Dover in September. Durham itself remained unmolested, but given the circumstances it is hardly surprising that Richard's promotion was shelved. The process was only reopened during the minority of Henry III, but to one observer the death of his chief patron made little difference. The Waverley annalist views the election of 1217 as the work of King John, and scathingly adds that the clergy objected as 'an ape in the court might not become a priest in the Church'.[146] The exact chronology that brought about this apparently objectionable event is, however, confused by the conflicting and contradictory evidence contained in the sources.

According to royal and papal sources, Richard's election follows a relatively coherent course. On 12 May 1217 the new pontiff, Honorius III, issued a fresh licence to elect. Royal assent to Richard's election to Durham and orders for the return of the

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[144] *Script. Tres.* p. 31. John de Gray died on 18 October 1214.
[145] *D. Ann.* pp. 1-2. William de Laneham became archdeacon of Durham in 1224: *Fasti* ii (Durham), p. 38.
[146] *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 288.

temporalities of the see, were given on 27 and 29 June respectively.[147] Shortly after this on 17 July the new bishop issued his first episcopal charter and on 23 July he issued a royal letter styling himself bishop of Durham and royal chancellor.[148] Yet even within this neat framework there are inconsistencies as on 8 July Honorius wrote charging the papal legate, Guala, to make arrangements for the advancement of Richard de Marisco.[149] But this papal mandate was most probably issued in ignorance of events in England and thus has no bearing on the course of the election. When we turn to the chronicle evidence, however, this concise picture is shattered. The Durham annals, composed in the late thirteenth century, state that Richard was elected by Guala at the feast of St Nicholas after the see had been vacant for nine years and less than 8 months. As the annalist dates Bishop Philip of Poitou's death to 1207, this would mean Richard's election occurred on 6 December 1216.[150] According to the same source, Richard was then consecrated by the new archbishop of York, Walter de Gray, on the feast of St John the Baptist (without further details it is to be presumed that the Durham annalist was referring to the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist on 24 June). The majority of the chronicle sources agree that the consecration was performed by de Gray and add the information that it was performed at Gloucester. Yet they disagree over the date, the Waverley annalist stating it occurred on the day of Saints Processus and Martinianus [2 July] 1217 and the chroniclers of St Albans giving 24 July 1218.[151]

From this conflicting evidence, historians have drawn a variety of conclusions. The date of his consecration is generally accepted to be 2 July as recorded by the Waverley annalist. D. E. Greenway passes over the confusing entry in the Durham annals and follows the course suggested by royal and papal documents outlined above, while editor of the annals accepts the date of 6 December 1216 for Guala's grant of the bishopric to Richard.[152] Of the two interpretations the first seems more likely. The delay between Guala's reported grant on 6 December 1216 and the royal letter of assent of 27 June is too great to be easily credible. Moreover, during this period Richard continues to issue letters as chancellor rather than bishop-elect.[153] It is possible that Guala visited the monks in December 1216 to canvass their support for Richard's candidacy. Even so the mission would have been somewhat

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[147] Regaining possession of the temporalities of the see, however, proved to be problematic and involved a long struggle with the former custodian, Philip de Oldcoates: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 76, 81, 86, 190, 269; *RLC* i 317, 446, 449. On Richard's struggle with Oldcoates see: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 145-6, 327, 148.

[148] CEPR p. 47; *RLC* i 313b, 315; *EEA Durham II* no. 270.

[149] CEPR p. 48.

[150] The Durham annals are full of such inconsistencies which have been corrected by F. Barlow's edition. I cannot, however, agree with his assertion that, using the internal dating evidence (the 9 years and less than 8 months), Richard's election would have occurred in June 1218: *D. Ann.* pp. 1-2, 203-4.

[151] Paris, *CM* iii 43; *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 288.

[152] *Fasti* ii (Durham), p. 31; *D. Ann.* p. 203. In addition c.f. *Guala Letters* no. 22.

[153] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 55.

dangerous as Louis and his supporters continued to hold the eastern half of the kingdom and a temporary truce was not signed until 15 December. Despite all this confusion, the one indisputable fact about Richard's election is that it was achieved by the papal legate, Guala, apparently fulfilling the wishes of King John. Matthew Paris records that Richard was elevated to the bishopric of Durham, not by election, but by royal intrusion.[154] Unfortunately it is impossible to gain a more detailed insight into the opinions of the Durham monks themselves as the local chronicle, by Geoffrey of Coldingham, whose vivid account illuminated the events of the previous episcopate, ends in 1215. Robert of Graystanes, also a monk of Durham, continued Coldingham's history up till 1336, basing much of his account of Richard's episcopate on the Durham annals. But though Graystanes reports subsequent elections in great detail, in Richard de Marisco's case he simply reiterates the brief account contained in the Durham annals.[155]

Nevertheless Graystanes makes it clear that Richard owed his position to the king, both in 1217 and subsequently. He reports that supported by the authority of the king, Richard assaulted the monks' liberties and rights, changing those he could not steal. This hostile view of Richard's episcopate is repeated by other more detailed accounts, many of which were connected with the dispute which erupted between bishop and chapter in 1219. Yet as Graystanes records, Richard's initial dealing with the monks were fairly equitable. In the first two years of his episcopate Richard confirmed the convent's appropriation of the churches of Dalton-le-Dale, Aycliffe and Pittington. Confirmation was also granted for the liberties of the prior and convent of Durham as they were laid out in two spurious charters of Bishop William of St Calais.[156] It is unclear whether Richard realised the documents were forgeries. As former archdeacon of Northumberland he would have been familiar with the chapter of Durham and its affairs. In this capacity he had issued a charter ratifying a grant made by Bishop Hugh du Puiset of the church of Ellingham to the convent of Durham, reserving the episcopal and archidiaconal rights.[157] Interestingly, just as they had in the previous episcopate, the monks were swift to seek papal confirmation and thereby legitimacy for their suspect charter. On 4 August 1220, the house and its goods, possessions and rents, as set out in the documents of Bishops William of St. Calais and Richard de Marisco, was taken under papal protection. The chroniclers of St Albans certainly indicate that Richard suspected the monks of dishonesty. Indeed they relate that it was this that soured relations between bishop and chapter, leading to the bitter dispute that dominated much of Richard's episcopate. In an account which resonates with monkish outrage at the indignity of an episcopal visitation, they assert that the dispute arose over certain ancient liberties which

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[154] Paris, *Gesta Abbatum* i 242.
[155] Compare *Script. Tres.* p. 36 with *D. Ann.* p. 2.
[156] *Script. Tres.* p. 36; *EEA Durham II* nos. 259, 260, 261.

their Durham brethren had long enjoyed. Upon being asked to display the privileges and documents of their church to the bishop in order that he might correct any irregularities, the monks refused, suspecting Richard of fraud. In retaliation Richard conspired to seize the convent's possessions and swore that as long as he lived the monks would have no peace. Other alleged offences followed, including a violent attack on a number of monks by the bishop's servants, to which Richard is said to have responded callously, saying that it would have been better if the monks had been killed.[158] Compelled by these wrongful and hostile acts, the monks appealed to Rome and placed themselves under the pope's protection. Numerous other monastic chroniclers relate a similar tale. The Lanercost chronicler states that Richard inflicted tyranny on the church of St. Cuthbert, annexing their rights and possessions to his own use.[159]

Considering the list of the crimes of which Richard was accused, it is hardly surprising that the dispute was reported by so many chroniclers. Richard is said to have been guilty of bloodshed, simony, adultery, sacrilege, rapine, perjury and dilapidation, the oppression of clerks, orphans, the poor and the religious, of interfering with the wills of the dying, of taking part in divine offices though excommunicate, of failing to preach the word of God to the people, and of providing a depraved example, both in his language and way of life, for his flock. Curiously he is also accused of furthering the king's rights against the knowledge of the papal legate, Pandulf; '*regia jura contra scientiam dilecti filii nostri Pandulfi Norwicensis electi munire*'.[160] Clearly the monks were determined to make a forceful impression on the pope. Once again, it would seem that the Durham chapter had failed to obtain a pastor who was sympathetic to their demands. Yet, like Philip of Poitou, Richard's crime appears to stem from a desire to assert episcopal authority which would otherwise be swamped by his acquisitive chapter. As evidenced by his episcopal *acta*, Richard punctiliously performed his duties, confirming presentations and seeing that fit portions were assigned to conventual benefices.[161] He also took care to maintain good order in the diocese as a whole, issuing numerous confirmations to monasteries for their possessions which were subject to Durham's jurisdiction.[162] In Durham, however, discontent soon flared. In 1219 Richard disputed the prior' and chapter's seisin of the wood of Heworth which had been confirmed to the convent by Bishop Philip of Poitou during his last illness in April 1208.[163] But the chief cause of concern was, as in the previous episcopate, the control of monastic patronage. Even allowing for the natural bias of the monastic commentators,

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[157] DCDCM 2.2.Pont.4.
[158] Paris, *CM* iii 61-2.
[159] *Chron. Lanercost* p. 32.
[160] Paris, *CM* iii 62-63. Honorius' letter is clearly the source for part of Matthew Paris' account.
[161] *EEA Durham II* no. 253, app. IX no. 22, 32; DCDCM Cartulary 1 f.17r.
[162] *EEA Durham II* nos. 248, 252, 254, 265, 269, 271, 273-275, 277-278, 281.
[163] DCDCM 2.4.Pont.8; *EEA Durham II* no. 264.

Richard's approach to this thorny issue seems to have been somewhat underhand. Repeatedly his *acta* shows that he persuaded the chapter to present his own clerks to churches within the priory's gift. Amongst those clerks promoted in this manner were his nephew, Robert de Marisco, who was admitted to the church of Hemingbrough, and his clerk, William de Roding, who was presented to the church of Bedlington having been provided with a dispensation to hold the living in plurality.[164]

In some instances it is clear that the wishes of the convent were deliberately ignored. On 4 November 1224, Richard issued a charter confirming his presentation, by the authority of the general council, of his clerk, Oger of Tyes to the church of Ancoft. This would appear to refer to the decree, reiterated at the Fourth Lateran Council, that if an electoral body failed to collate within three months the duty passed to their immediate superior. As M. G. Snape notes, Ancroft was a chapelry in the patronage of the priory of Durham, though it was treated by Richard as a parochial benefice.[165] On the death of the previous incumbent the monks apparently made some attempt to carry out their duty as patrons, installing a successor. But their actions were overturned by the bishop, claiming that they had failed to act within the period set down by the Lateran decrees. Whether Richard acted in good faith in this matter, or had in some way connived in the delay for his own advantage, is uncertain. As a delegate to the Fourth Lateran Council, he was clearly aware of the decrees passed there. Nevertheless he does not have a reputation as a reformer, and unlike his successor, Richard Poore, he did not enforce the council's decrees.[166] Moreover, in April 1221, Honorius III wrote to Richard ordering him to remove R. de Berneval and other married clerks within his diocese.[167] On the whole it appears that Richard enforced the decrees that suited his purposes, while turning a blind eye to other abuses.

The fact that Richard resorted to these dubious tactics is a fair indication of the intransigent attitude of his chapter. Notwithstanding this, his actions did little to foster good relations with the monks, who in turn sought recourse at the papal curia and in the royal courts. The dispute sparked off by this appeal dragged on throughout Richard's episcopate. Repeated requests were sent to the papal judges delegate, led by Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury, and John, bishop of Ely, to inquire into the charges and foster peace between the warring factions.[168] According to the chroniclers who report the affair, the most dramatic stage in the protracted dispute occurred in 1220-1.[169] The papal judges duly arrived at Durham to begin proceedings. At a meeting attended by the abbots, prior, archdeacons and

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[164] DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.17, c.f. 2.1.Archiep.6; *EEA Durham II* no. 253; *Guala Letters* no. 153.
[165] *EEA Durham II* no. 250; c.f. *FPD* pp. 220-230, 263-8, 282-4. Periodically the bishops of Rochester and Bath were also employed as papal judges.
[166] *G&L* p. 108.
[167] CEPR p. 80.
[168] *Potthast* nos. 6265, 7511; CEPR pp. 72, 78, 82, 93, 97, 101, 104.
[169] Paris, *CM* iii 63-4; *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 294; iii (Dunstable) 62, 67; *Walter of Coventry* ii 247.

other clergy together with the laymen of the diocese, they read out the pope's letter so that all could understand the purpose of the gathering. The inquiry, however, proved to be inconclusive as Richard halted the meeting, with certain false and frivolous accusations against the judges, and both sides appealed to Rome. Richard and his clerks were the first to arrive at the curia and managed to persuade the pope of his innocence, by means of bribes and various devotions. He was granted papal absolution, but as the Dunstable annalist vengefully notes, God saw through his hypocrisy and struck him down with opthalmia so severe that he could hardly distinguish men from trees.[170]

Critically, though the chroniclers probably exaggerated some elements, much of their accounts can be corroborated using Honorius' letters.[171] The dispute forced Richard to depart for Rome to defend himself in person and the Dunstable annalist records that he set out in the company of Archbishop Langton shortly after Michaelmas 1221.[172] His journey, however, appears to have been cut short by illness and by 25 October he had returned to court and witnessed royal correspondence there throughout November and December.[173] In his absence, M. G. Snape suggests that his business at the papal curia was delegated to his clerks.[174] They claimed that the charges against Richard were based on false accusations and supported his case with testimonials written by prelates and great men, including his metropolitan, Walter de Gray. Whilst there the pope released him from his crusading vow, again on account of his age and infirmities, though blindness is not listed amongst them. He further ingratiated himself with Honorius by promising 1000 marks towards the subsidy for the Holy Land, which may be the source for the allegations of bribery made against him.[175] Richard's victory, however, provided only temporary relief. Honorius' mandate of 6 February 1221 only revoked those proceedings which had taken place since Richard's departure for Rome. By June the same year additional complaints seem to have reached the ears of the pontiff as the bishops of Salisbury and Ely are ordered to renew their inquiry.[176] The monks had abandoned their impressive but probably unfounded charges, and the focus of the dispute now centred on the issue of disposal of property, conventual and episcopal, which appears to be the real cause of the conflict. For the rest of Richard's episcopate the

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[170] *Deus autem, qui nulla hypocrisi potuit irrideri, dictum Richardum episcopum tanta percussit opthalmia quod vix homines potuit sicut arbores intueri. Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 67.
[171] CEPR p. 78.
[172] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 62.
[173] It would seem that Richard did indeed leave England as a royal letter to Walter de Gray concerning the agreement made between Richard and the king over possession of the lands and heirs of Geoffrey Coyners on 14 December 1221, states that the agreement was reached after Richard had returned to England: *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 59; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 323; CEPR p. 78.
[174] *EEA Durham II* p. 341; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 67.
[175] CEPR p. 78. N. Vincent also argues that his grant of a substantial money fee to the Roman knight, Peter Saracenus, and his request for papal confirmation of his office as royal chancellor were similarly intended to secure the papacy's affections: *Guala Letters* p. 18.
[176] CEPR p. 82.

matter was pursued relentlessly both in Rome and in England as the records of the Curia Regis eloquently display.[177]

Apart from the damage this ongoing feud inflicted on the personal relationship between prelate and chapter, it also had an economic impact. The continuing appeals, counter appeals and lawsuits were a significant drain on the finances of the see. Both Richard and the prior, Ralph Kerneth (1218-1234), were active litigants, pursuing their claims to lands and advowsons in the royal and diocesan courts.[178] Richard in particular appears to have been determined to maintain his rights by recourse to the law. The rolls of the curia regis record a series of protracted pleas between the bishop and important local landowners such as Richard de Percy, Henry de Farlington, former constable of Norham, Gilbert Hansard and the archbishop of York. The expense of these legal battles soon began to mount up. Moreover, Richard accumulated his own personal debts for in October 1218, Walter de Gray issued a certificate witnessing that by apostolic authority, he was the executor of a debt of 1000 marks owed by Richard to a group of Roman and Italian merchants. The debt was recognised by Richard and the sum was to be paid to Senebald, the merchant's proctor, by the hand of the prior of Durham with whom the money had been lodged. Beyond testifying to the payment of the debt, one of the main concerns of the certificate appears to be the acknowledgement that the priory itself was quit of all liability.[179] Nevertheless, despite such precautions the Dunstable annalist claimed that Richard saddled the bishopric with so many debts that it was generally said that he was still bishop of Durham fifteen years after his death.[180] The statement has a ring of truth to it, for shortly after his death the royal custodians were ordered to retain all the goods of the bishopric until they received further instructions, to be held as security against the money owed to the crown.[181] Payment, however, was slow to come and the Pipe Rolls show that some money was still owed to the crown in 1238, forcing the executors of his successor, Richard Poore, to offer a fine to be quit of Richard's debts.[182]

But in addition to the financial cost the dispute appears to have had severe ramifications for Richard's political career. Most modern commentators see it as the reason for his gradual withdrawal from affairs at court and particularly from his duties as

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[177] *CRR 1219-20* pp. 138, 147, 210, 273, 326; *CRR 1220* p. 202; *CRR 1221-2* pp. 20, 200, 304; *CRR 1223-4* nos. 1076, 2622; *CRR 1225-6* nos. 1151; 1634; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p410; *RLC* i 632b; *RLC* ii 73.
[178] Walter de Gray's register contains a certificate which notes that the monks appealed in his court as early as January 1218: *Reg. Gray* p. 135.
[179] *Reg. Gray* p. 135.
[180] *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 67. Matthew Paris asserts that the sum owed by the bishop was 33,000 marks: Paris, *CM* iv 260 n. 6.
[181] *RLC* ii 110.
[182] PRO E372/83 m.10d.

chancellor.[183] Although he was still titular chancellor, the regular functions of the office were carried out by the keeper of the seal, Ralph Neville, who took custody of Henry III's seal when it was inaugurated in November 1218.[184] Richard's role in the regency government therefore appears to be minor. He was, however, unwilling to accept any diminution in his status. In February 1219 he obtained papal confirmation of his tenure of the chancellorship following his promotion to Durham.[185] Nevertheless he still felt threatened by Ralph Neville. Provoked by what he perceived as the keeper's disrespect for his position, Richard dispatched a stinging rebuke to Neville. In his letter, Richard berated Neville for failing to address him as chancellor, a title that the pope and his cardinals graciously have upheld in their letters.[186] Yet, ironically he himself was guilty of similar irregularities of address. On several occasions when writing to the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, he placed his own name before the name of the addressee, a device which was used to indicate the exalted status of the writer.[187] Despite his injured pride the rift with Ralph Neville seems to have been short lived, suggesting that Richard accepted the realities of the situation. He continued to use the title chancellor, styling himself as such in his episcopal *acta*, though his lessened status is indicated by the fact that he issues only six letters during Henry's reign. Indeed his apparent inactivity has led one historian to state that although Richard guarded his position jealously 'it is hard to see what practical use he was to king or country'.[188]

Notwithstanding the decline of his duties at court, Richard did remain of 'practical use' to the kingdom. He was a powerful figure of royal authority in the north, contributing to the restoration of central control in the wake of the disruption caused by rebellion and foreign invasion. In July 1217, in an effort to capitalise on the defeat of Prince Louis's forces at the battle of Lincoln (20 May 1217), a letter was sent to the men of the bishopric of Durham promising the return of their lands as they had held them before the war if they gave their service to Henry III. Richard was empowered to act as royal proctor and receive the

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[183] N. Vincent, 'The origins of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer', *EHR*, 108 (1993), 116; J. and L. Stones 'Bishop Ralph Neville, chancellor to King Henry III, and his correspondence: a reappraisal', *Archives*, 16 (1984), 230; F. M. Powicke, 'The chancery during the Minority of Henry III', *EHR*, 23 (1908), 225.

[184] Paris, *CM* iii 74, 364; iv 367; F. M. Powicke, 'The chancery during the Minority of Henry III', *EHR*, 23 (1908), 228.

[185] CEPR p. 62.

[186] The precise date of Richard's letter is unknown. W. W. Shirley places it between July 1217 and October 1222: RL i 180. It is possible, however, that one the papal letters that Richard refers to is the confirmation of his office issued by Honorius III on 19 February 1219: CEPR p. 62.

[187] RL i 28, 117, 131, 132; *EEA Durham II* app. X nos. 5, 7. It is notable, however, that when asking a favour his name appears after that of the addressee: *EEA Durham II* app. nos. 10, 11. See the discussion in J. and L. Stones, 'Bishop Ralph Neville, chancellor to King Henry III, and his correspondence: a reappraisal', *Archives*, 16 (1984), 251-252.

[188] L. B. Dibben, 'Chancellor and Keeper of the Seal under Henry III', *EHR*, 27 (1912), 41.

requisite securities from the men of his bishopric.[189] Over the coming months further letters were issued on behalf of named individuals, including Roger Bertram, Hugh de Capella and Philip Coleville, directing the bishop to see that their lands were returned.[190] He was also placed as temporary custodian of the castle of Alnwick, part of the lands of Eustace de Vesci which had not been granted to the custodians of the honour.[191] In addition to Alnwick, as bishop of Durham he also held the castles of Durham and Norham.[192] It is arguable, however, that like his predecessor at Durham following the death of his major patron, in this case King John, his role in the new regime came to be dictated by his office rather than his status at court. The most marked change was the sharp decrease of his dealings with the exchequer. He continues to act as a royal justice, serving in 1218-19 as a justice in counties Northumberland and Yorkshire on the crucial first general eyre of Henry III's reign.[193] From this process it is clear that he remained an astute and exacting administrator. In a letter to the justiciar he recounts that he has received Hubert's instructions concerning the collection of amercements made on his eyre of Northumberland and Yorkshire. But as a result of these instructions he states that he has had to relax the original deadline of 24 June 1219 which he imposed for the delivery of the amercements. He subsequently informs the justiciar that he has imposed a new (split) deadline of 1 August and 29 September.[194] Obviously he had not lost his financial acumen.

Nevertheless, his activities were restricted to the environs of his bishopric, unlike the eyre of 1210, which covered almost the entire country. Perhaps this reflects the different nature of the later proceedings, which represented the revival of the general eyre after the years of civil war. The sheer amount of labour involved in the general eyre of 1218-19, which encompassed civil and criminal pleas as well as petty assizes, together with an investigation into royal rights, was prohibitive. The work therefore being carried out by groups of judges each responsible for no more than a handful of counties.[195] It is also possible that he was restricted by old age as he claimed when commuting his crusading vow in February 1221. Despite this it would seem that his role in the regency government resulted from his status as a local magnate, rather than as a crony of the king. As bishop of Durham he was frequently employed in the crown's dealings with King Alexander II of Scotland. Together with Archbishop de Gray he journeyed to Berwick in November 1217 to absolve the Scottish king from the bonds of excommunication which had been imposed as a

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[189] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 77.
[190] *RLC* i 321, 323, 327, 338b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 90.
[191] *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 122, 127, 134, 159.
[192] Custody of these castles was granted with the temporalities of the see in June 1217: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 76.
[193] His fellow judges were Robert de Vieuxpont, Martin de Patishull, William fitz Roger and Roger Huscarl: *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 206-7; *RLC* i 380b, 403b.
[194] RL i 28; Carpenter, *Minority* p. 146.

result of his invasion of England in 1215.[196] In 1220 and 1221 he formed part of the delegation despatched to accompany Alexander and conduct him to meet Henry III and in 1225 he conducted Roger Bigod to the Scottish court where the latter was to marry Alexander's sister, Isabella.[197]

Overall, therefore, his services to the young King Henry III show that he continued a loyal and reliable royal officer, entrusted with prestigious delegations and the maintenance of royal authority in the North. The opinion of contemporary chroniclers remained critical to the end, spurred on perhaps by his excommunication of the monks which Honorius III ordered Richard Poore and his fellow judges-delegate to reverse on 8 December 1225.[198] An epitaph recorded by the chroniclers of Lanercost and St. Albans warns those who thirst after praise and pomp, that ungentle death does not spare the holders of earthly honours. But the most extravagant condemnation of Richard de Marisco is espoused by Roger of Wendover who records that not even the pleas of his former master could save him from the torment he so richly deserved. According to Wendover, a vision of the dead king had appeared to a monk of St. Albans, dressed in regal garments that no living man could touch without being consumed by the fire that burnt them. The king's shade then informed the monk that unless the bishop of Durham should reform his ways, and by penance correct his shameful life, he too would take the place that awaited him in the inferno. For he had earned his place by providing John with harmful counsel, causing him to confiscate the property of the Cistercians and many other evil counsels. Moreover, if Richard doubted the validity of this message, he was bidden to remember that he had gifted to the king a precious stone of immense worth. The vision of the king then vanished and the monk woke from his slumbers amazed.[199] In addition to advocating the spiritual advantages of pious living, even for such 'notorious' characters, the passage was clearly intended to pass judgement on a figure much resented by the chroniclers of St. Albans. As I have argued, however, this persuasive image of the corrupt, grasping royal official, more interested in the king's purse than his everlasting soul, is a flawed one. Throughout his career Richard de Marisco served the crown with a loyalty and efficiency that made him few friends in monastic circles. His reputation has become overly tarnished as a result, as modern commentators follow the biased and somewhat simplistic accounts of a few outraged monastic authors.

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[195] Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 96-101.
[196] *Chron. Melrose* p. 52.
[197] *EEA Durham II* app. X no. 6; CDRS nos. 761, 803, 909.
[198] Reg. Hon. III no. 5747.
[199] Paris, *CM* iii 112-113.

7. *Magister* Richard Poore, bishop of Chichester (1215-1217), Salisbury (1217-1228) and Durham (1228-1237).

Throughout his long and wide-ranging career, *magister* Richard Poore has been remembered, above all, for the positive impact he made on the various churches in his care. At Salisbury he is honoured as the bishop who was responsible for the successful translation of the cathedral church from its cramped position within the walls of the ancient hill fort of Old Sarum to its present site on the river. A devoted administrator and reformer he helped to introduce the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council to the kingdom, issuing what may be the earliest set of diocesan statutes to survive in England. While at Durham he is credited for releasing the diocese from the onerous burden of debt, and ending the long running dispute with the monastic chapter that had marred the episcopates of his predecessors, Philip of Poitou and Richard de Marisco. The compact he made with the Durham monks was enshrined in *Le Covenit*, a document which detailed the respective possessions, rights and liberties of the bishop and chapter. So effective was this settlement that it remained, through later emendations and adjustments, a workable solution to internal disputes at Durham until the dissolution of the monasteries. In addition to his invaluable diocesan contribution, Richard was also active in the affairs of the wider church, acting as papal judge delegate on numerous occasions. Moreover, through his association with his former teacher, Archbishop Stephen Langton, he also rose to prominence within the secular administration during the minority of Henry III. Loyal and able he was entrusted with the custody of a number of strategic royal castles following Henry III's reclamation of royal rights in 1223-4. Between December 1223 and January 1227, together with Hubert de Burgh and Jocelin of Wells, bishop of Bath, Richard acted as guardian of the young king's new seal, ensuring its correct use, their authority effectively replacing that of the regency council. As a result, commentators, both contemporary and recent alike, praise Richard's industry, his ability, scholastic and administrative, and his devotion and service to the Church and the realm. In short he appears to be the model medieval bishop.

Uniquely amongst the bishops in this survey, Richard Poore did not achieve his exalted status through royal patronage. Though a member of family with established credentials in royal service, it was rather through familial benevolence and later archiepiscopal and papal sponsorship that Richard gained his promotion. His parentage is somewhat obscure. According to the annals of Winchester, Richard was brother of Herbert Poore, bishop of Salisbury (1194-1217) and therefore was probably the illegitimate son of

Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester (1174-1188).[1] This assertion is apparently confirmed by a papal grant issued in January 1206 in which Richard received a dispensation allowing him to hold benefices regardless of his illegitimate birth.[2] In view of Richard's close association with the nunnery of Tarrant Keynes, which he effectively re-founded, it has been suggested that he was born at Tarrant (Dorset).[3] Furthermore, Brian Kemp argues that although Herbert and Richard Poore shared the same father, they were most likely born of two different mothers, which would explain why only Herbert was referred to by the toponymic 'of Ilchester'.[4] This theory may also be supported by the difference in the dates of their death. Richard outlived his brother by 20 years and while it is unknown when either was born, it would appear that both died of old age.[5] Unlike his father and brother, however, Richard did not enter royal service. Instead his career began with his appointment as archdeacon of Dorset, presumably at the request of his brother, then bishop of Salisbury. The date of his appointment is unknown, though it must have occurred before 8 March 1196 when he was granted the vicarage of Puddletown church.[6] Shortly after this in the closing months of 1197 he became dean of Salisbury, a post which he continued to hold until his election as bishop of Chichester in 1215.[7]

In addition to his ecclesiastical preferment, at some point during the early stages of his career Richard also embarked on a period of study at the University of Paris. Although it is impossible to provide any accurate dates for his sojourn in Paris it is known that he had earned the title of *magister* prior to February 1206, when the title appears in a papal mandate.[8] This is supported by the account of Thomas of Marlborough, later abbot of Evesham, who states that he and Richard were taught by Stephen Langton, who left Paris upon becoming cardinal priest early in 1206.[9] The content of his studies completed in Paris is equally elusive. A number of contemporary sources, including the Durham chronicler, comment on his profound knowledge and extensive learning.[10] But an attempt by G. Panciroli in the sixteenth century to identify Richard de Poore with the English born

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[1] *Ann. Mon.* ii (Winchester), 65. For Richard of Ilchester's career see: C. Duggan, 'Richard of Ilchester, royal servant and bishop', *TRHS*, 5th series, 16 (1966), 1-21.
[2] CLI no. 674.
[3] It has been suggested that Richard was responsible for the inclusion of the nunnery of Tarrant Keynes in the Cistercian order, S. Thompson, *Women Religious* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 97-8.
[4] Kemp, *Richard Poore* p. 362.
[5] *EEA Salisbury I* p. lii. Matthew Paris records that Richard aware of his imminent death, having retired to Tarrant Keynes, settled his worldly affairs and on the third day peacefully passed away: Paris, *CM* iii 392.
[6] *EEA Salisbury I* no. 195.
[7] *Ann. Mon.* ii (Winchester), 65. The previous dean, Eustace, was elected as bishop of Ely on 10 August 1197.
[8] CLI no. 680. It is possible that Richard was referred to as *magister* in a papal letter dated January x October 1205, but the original has since been lost and is known only from Pope Innocent III's letter of 1 February 1206: CLI no. 652.
[9] *Chron. Abb. Evesham* p. 232.

Bolognese jurist, Ricardus Anglicus, has largely been dismissed by later authors.[11] More illuminating is the theory that Langton's teaching, which emphasised the practical application of canon law, influenced the composition of Richard's statutes for Salisbury as these provide a detailed set of guidelines for the duties of those involved in pastoral care.[12]

More puzzling, however, is the reason why Richard did not follow in the footsteps of his father and brother and become a royal clerk. Perhaps it was simply due to a personal inclination towards scholastic pursuits and the attraction of the great teachers of Paris. Equally his decision may have been forced by Richard of Ilchester's gradual withdrawl from court in the in the three years before his death in 1188. As a result, although Herbert Poore appears to have been sponsored at the royal court, becoming a justice in 1185, Richard may well have been too young to benefit from his father's patronage. Moreover, Herbert's own influence, which was never as great as that of his father, suffered a setback in 1197 when he protested against King Richard I's demand for additional troops to aid his wars in France.[13] Despite a successful reconciliation with Richard I and relatively good relations with his successor, King John, Herbert was not to resume his duties in the royal administration. Nevertheless, both Herbert and Richard of Ilchester were well placed to advance Richard Poore's standing in the church. As has already been argued, it was under the auspices of Herbert as bishop of Salisbury that Richard became archdeacon of Dorset and then dean of Salisbury by 1197. Likewise it was probably these familial connections which led to Richard Poore's nomination as bishop of Winchester in 1205.[14] In this election Richard was raised as a rival candidate to the precentor of Lincoln, Peter des Roches, who had been chosen by a faction of Winchester monks with a certain amount of royal prompting. As Nicholas Vincent notes, the archdeacons of Surrey and Winchester responsible for Richard's nomination were associated with the family of Richard of Ilchester. Roger, archdeacon of Winchester, owed his appointment to the former bishop of Winchester, while Amicus, archdeacon of Surrey acted as a papal judge with Herbert Poore in a case concerning the bishop and monks of Rochester in 1206.[15]

As dean of Salisbury, Richard Poore was himself known to the prior of the cathedral church of St. Swithun's, Stephen de Lucy, who in March 1199 had been delegated to hear

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[10] *Script. Tres.* p. 29; *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 4; Paris, *CM* iii 391.
[11] G. Panciroli, *De claris Legum Interpretibus Libri quatuor*, ed. C. G. Hoffmann (Leipzig, 1721); DNB; T. Twiss, 'The twelfth century, the age of scientific judicial procedure', *The Law Magazine and Review*, 292 (1894), 181-212.
[12] F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (London, 1965), pp. 49-74, particularly p. 61; G&L pp. 26-7.
[13] *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* ii 98-100; *Giraldus Cambrensis* iii 103-4.
[14] For the Winchester election see: Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 49-52; Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 144-147.
[15] Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 51; *EEA Winchester II* app. IV no. 11; CLI no. 729; *Fasti* ii (Winchester), p. 92.

Richard's complaint against the church of Le Mans over the tithes of Deverill.[16] But in 1205, Stephen de Lucy served the king's interests, smoothing the way for Peter des Roches' election with the monastic chapter at Winchester. The result was that both candidates sought recourse to Rome, Peter des Roches receiving extensive loans from the royal coffers to aid his suit.[17] It is unclear why the archdeacons of Winchester and Surrey attempted to interfere in the election process, which had until this point been the preserve of the monastic chapter. Perhaps like the suffragan bishops of Canterbury archdiocese, who in 1205 were attempting to stamp their authority on the choice of a new archbishop, they rejected the monks' exclusive claim to elect a pastor. If so, although Richard Poore was rejected apparently because of his illegitimacy, their efforts were successful as they secured a part in the new election held in the papal curia from which Peter des Roches emerged victorious.[18] It is possible that Richard went in person to Rome to defend his nomination, only to be prevented from returning by the king's wrath. John, it seems, was extremely displeased by the attempt to deny him the right to promote a royal favourite to so wealthy and influential a see as Winchester. For whatever his parentage, in 1205 Richard Poore was a political nobody.

In retaliation for this presumption King John attacked those involved in Richard's election, imprisoning some and confiscating their property. Though the precise details are unknown, John was also the probable source of the rumours that Richard's election had been quashed due to accusations of forgery. In fact John's ill will towards Richard continued even after Peter des Roches had been formally consecrated by the pope in St. Peter's, Rome on 25 September 1205. In response Pope Innocent III was compelled to issue a series of papal letters condemning John's actions. The first of these stated that the persecution of Richard and the clerks and laymen involved should end, their property be restored and the exiles be allowed to return.[19] But despite papal backing John's hostility was slow to ebb. In December 1205 Innocent wrote refuting the accusation of forgery levelled against Richard and in February 1206 repeated his request that Richard and the dean of Winchester be left in peace this time under pain of ecclesiastical censure.[20] From his conduct following the Winchester election it is clear that King John, who was notoriously capable of acts of vengeance against even his most trusted supporters, felt no compunction in crushing an upstart cleric.

Nevertheless, although his credentials had failed to impress the king, his contribution to the diocese of Salisbury during John's reign was substantial. As dean of Salisbury,

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[16] CLI no. 88; *Reg. S. Osmund* i 354.
[17] *RLP* p. 52; *RLC* i 37b-38, 48.
[18] Richard's election was quashed '*per inordinatam presumptionem*' which C. R. Cheney interprets as being due to his illegitimacy: Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 145.
[19] CLI no. 652.
[20] CLI nos. 672, 680.

Richard Poore is credited with the authorship of a number of works outlining the customs, duties and regulations of the church of Salisbury. The most significant of these was the *Consuetudinarium*, essentially a work detailing the various duties of cathedral clergy and other dignitaries.[21] Above all Richard appears to have been concerned with the codification of correct practices and the production of clear guidelines in an effort to eradicate abuses prevalent in the church as well as the wider diocese. This is highlighted by the inclusion in a compilation of statutes known as the *Nova Constitutio* of new regulations governing the use of the new great seal of the church, the old seal having been the instrument of frequent malpractice.[22] Richard's works were largely built on earlier codes and statutes produced at Salisbury, including the *Institutio* compiled *c.*1150, but he added his own scholarly flair and organisational talents. As with his later statutes issued 1217 x 1219, their influence was to spread beyond the immediate diocese. For as D. Greenway notes, the 'Use of Sarum', comprising Poore's *Ordinale* and *Consuetudinarium*, helped to shape the development of constitutional and liturgical practice in England for the rest of the thirteenth century and beyond.[23] An influential model, the 'Use of Sarum', thus came to be adopted, with varying degrees of adaptation, by the cathedral churches of Lincoln, Glasgow, London and Dublin.[24]

This invaluable work was, however, interrupted by the onset of the Interdict which was published in March 1208 following John's refusal to accept the election of Richard Poore's former teacher, Cardinal Stephen Langton. As the power struggle between king and pope turned to deadlock, many senior clerics sought refuge in exile. Those that left prior to the general exodus that occurred after John's excommunication in November 1209, appear to have acted out of prudence rather than principle. The papal executors of the interdict, the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, were amongst the first to leave, no doubt in fear of royal reprisals. Giles de Braose, bishop of Hereford was also quick to depart, the Interdict coinciding with the escalation in tensions between the crown and the de Braose family which forced Giles's father, William, into exile in Ireland.[25] For the lesser clergy, such as Richard Poore, it is not so easy to discover the circumstances that caused them to quit England. On a purely personal level, Richard's former association with Stephen Langton and also King John's recent belligerence resulting from Richard's failed election to Winchester may have been factors. Indeed, given the lack of information for Richard's activities during 1206-1209, it is possible that he had preferred to remain in exile. A number of undated charters

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[21] For a discussion of Richard Poore's contribution to the development of constitutional and liturgical practice at Salisbury see: D. Greenway, *Fasti* (Salisbury) pp. xxvi-xxvii.
[22] *Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury*, ed. G. Wordsworth and D. Macleane (London, 1915), pp. 40-3.
[23] D. Greenway, *Fasti* (Salisbury) p. xxvii.
[24] W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum* (Cambridge, 1898), pp. xxi-xxxvii.
[25] Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 313-315; C. R. Cheney, 'King John and the Papal Interdict', *BJRL*, 31 (1948), 311-2.

issued by the dean and chapter of Salisbury which have been ascribed to *c.*1209/10 appear to contradict this theory – but the evidence is vague at best.[26] In contrast his brother, Herbert, like the majority of English prelates maintained relatively good relations with the crown until the king's excommunication in November 1209. Though not a frequent visitor to court, he witnessed a number of royal charters in 1208 and in July 1209 formed part of the royal entourage on John's campaign against the Scots.[27] Perhaps as a consequence of this, the diocese of Salisbury suffered little deprivation at the king's hands and Herbert successfully fined for the recovery of the see's temporalities within two weeks of confiscation.[28] With Salisbury back in the hands of its bishop, personal grievances rather than deprivation of duty would appear to have caused Richard's departure. For despite the Interdict the business of administration and church government was carried out.[29]

But whatever the reason, once in exile Richard gravitated towards his former abode, becoming resident in Paris by the end of 1208. For it was to Richard, dean of Salisbury, dwelling in Paris, that a papal letter was directed on 3 January 1209. In this Richard was ordered, together with the archdeacon of Paris and *magister* P Peverel, canon of Paris, to act as papal judge in the long running dispute between the monasteries of Andres and Charroux over the election of the abbot of Charroux.[30] Richard appears to have stayed in exile, presumably in Paris, returning to England sometime before November 1213. Once reinstalled at Salisbury he threw himself enthusiastically into the administration of the diocese. It is to this period, following the lifting of the Interdict, that the production of the *Nova Constitutio* and the *Consuetudinarium* is thought to belong. Indeed it could well be argued that their rapid compilation is an indication of the neglect the diocese had suffered during the crisis, both the bishop and the dean having been absent throughout. Significantly one of Richard's first acts was to issue the ordinance respecting the use of the new chapter seal mentioned above.[31] Together with his duties in Salisbury, Richard also became enbroiled in the disputed election to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. On Whitsunday (18 May) 1214, after a successful appeal to Rome, the proctors of the abbot-elect, Hugh of Northwold, reached Bury St. Edmunds bearing a papal commission appointing Henry, abbot of Wardon, Richard, prior of Dunstable and Richard Poore as judges delegate.[32]

The three judges were informed of their task during the following week, so beginning a process which would last until March 1215. In addition Richard and his

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[26]*Sarum Charters* pp. 72-4. Perhaps an erroneous date was given or the charters were transacted in his absence but still in his name.
[27]*EEA Salisbury I* pp. l-liv.
[28]*RLC* i 111.
[29]C. R. Cheney, 'King John and the Papal Interdict', *BJRL*, 31 (1948), 295-317.
[30]CLI no. 821. For further attempts to resolve the dispute c.f. *Migne* ccxv 1260, ccxvi 395.
[31]*Sarum Charters* p. 76.
[32]CEH p. 72.

colleagues were charged with the correction of abuses and evil customs.[33] Their progress was, however, greatly hindered by King John's refusal to accept Hugh's candidacy, arguing that the election was made without royal approval and therefore in contempt of royal practices. As the proceedings dragged on, a further complication was added as John endeavoured to persuade the Bury monks to relinquish their right to compensation for monies extorted during the Interdict.[34] Ultimately the pope, angered at the complaints made against the delays caused by Peter des Roches and the royal proctors, forced the conclusion of the dispute in favour of Hugh of Northwold.[35] But curiously by this stage, (so R. M. Thompson argues) he was replaced as judge by his successor as dean of Salisbury, Adam, apparently because of Richard's election as bishop of Chichester. The evidence for this puzzle rests on the continued use of the title dean of Salisbury and on a letter recorded by the chronicler detailing the judges' decision which is issued by A. dean of Salisbury.[36] It is hard to explain why Richard, particularly after such a long involvement, would have risked further complications by delegating his commission. But without any further evidence the problem must necessarily remain unresolved.

The Bury St. Edmunds case seems to have proved Richard's credentials as a learned and determined negotiator.[37] In June 1214 he was chosen to act with the papal legate, Nicholas of Tusculum and Pandulf, papal subdeacon, in the newly re-opened quarrel between the monks of Glastonbury and Jocelin bishop of Bath and Wells.[38] Moreover the papacy was not the only party to be impressed by Richard's skills. In 1213 the Durham chronicler, Geoffrey of Graystanes, records that the Durham monks secretly elected Richard as their new bishop.[39] As noted in the previous chapter, neither the monks' choice nor their covert election could have pleased the king. Quite apart from the obvious challenge it presented to royal prerogative, and the disruption to John's plan to secure the north by installing John de Gray at Durham, it is arguable that Richard continued to be viewed as *persona non grata* by the crown. For John, it seems, was unmoved by the accolades which were heaped upon Richard by his fellow churchmen. Innocent III wrote that Richard 'evidently deserved pastoral office', a sentiment echoed by his representative, Nicholas of

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[33] CEH p. 79.
[34] CEH p. 135; c.f. above pp. 162-3.
[35] CEH p. 155; CLI nos. 967, 990.
[36] CEH pp. 151, 155. A papal mandate dated 26 January 1215 addressed to an unnamed dean of Salisbury can probably be discounted as it was likely to have been issued in ignorance of Richard Poore's elevation to Chichester which occurred on 7 January 1215: CLI no. 990; *RLP* p. 126.
[37] This opinion is also reflected in the pope's statement in 1220 that Richard was to replace the dean of Winchester as judge-delegate as the latter was ignorant of the law; Reg. Hon. III no. 2366; J. E. Sayers, *Papal judges delegate in the Province of Canterbury, 1198-1254* (Oxford, 1971), p. 133.
[38] CLI no. 977. This hotly contested dispute had its roots in a grant made to Savaric, bishop of Bath by Richard I during his captivity in 1193: c. f. Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 220-225; D. Knowles, *The monastic order in England* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 328.
[39] *Script. Tres.* p. 29.

Tusculum, who is recorded as telling the Durham monks that Richard was a well educated and fitting candidate for the office.[40] But in the years of crisis that characterised the end of John's reign loyalty was a more important criterion for ecclesiastical preferment than scholastic prowess. Innocent's direction that vacancies should be filled by 'men not only distinguished by their life and learning, but also loyal to the king, profitable to the kingdom and capable of giving counsel and help' was twisted to the crown's advantage.[41] With papal support John was able to ignore the wishes of electors and impose his own place men. As a result the Durham monks, threatened with the loss of their electoral rights, were forced to postulate John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, on the subject of whose elevation, they were informed, the king and pope were of one heart and mind.[42]

The blame for Richard's continued disappointment in episcopal elections must therefore be laid at King John's door. For, as his later career was to prove, he certainly fitted the description of the educated and loyal cleric identified by the pope as the ideal pastor. Ostensibly both at Winchester and Durham, Richard was rejected because his election interfered with royal stratagems. But in addition it is also possible that his chances of preferment under John were prejudiced by his friendship with Archbishop Langton, towards whom the king exhibited growing hostility. Pupil and teacher had been reunited shortly after the latter's return to England in July 1213. Thomas of Marlborough records that as proctor for the abbey of Evesham he had visited the archbishop at Croydon in November 1213, and finding Richard Poore with their former master, proceeded to consult with them over the deposition of his abbot.[43] Furthermore Langton had wholeheartedly approved Richard's election, which was revealed to him by the Durham chapter, promising to recommend the monks' choice to an unsuspecting king.[44] But John, assured of papal support, was under little pressure to abandon his plans and advance Langton's favourite over one of his own. Undeterred by John's refusal, Langton seems to have taken it upon himself to secure Richard's promotion. For although the circumstances surrounding Richard's subsequent election to Chichester are unknown, it is plausible to suggest that it was sponsored by the archbishop.[45]

His cause was aided by the sudden crisis in royal fortunes precipitated by the defeat of the king's allies at the battle of Bouvines. As noted in a previous chapter, following this setback John issued the charter of free elections in a bid to gain episcopal support. In

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[40] *Rot. Chart.* p. 208; *Script. Tres.* p. 29.
[41] SLI no. 62.
[42] *Script. Tres.* p. 29.
[43] *Chron. Abb. Evesham* pp. 232-3. For the dispute at Evesham c.f. D. Knowles, *The monastic order in England* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 331-345.
[44] *Script. Tres.* p. 29.
[45] C. R. Cheney suggests that the pope made provision for Richard Poore and that his promotion to Chichester was a consolation-prize for his failure at Durham: Cheney, *Innocent III* p. 167.

addition, Nicholas of Tusculum, whose favourable conduct toward the king had been the source of grievance to Langton and his supporters, had been recalled in November 1214.[46] For a brief period, therefore, in late 1214 until the finger of papal disapproval fell in mid 1215, the archbishop enjoyed a relatively free rein. Significantly, as M. Gibbs and J. Lang note, the two promotions achieved during these months were both associates of Langton. The vacancy at Rochester, the patronage of which had recently been confirmed to the archbishop by King John, was filled by Benedict of Sawston, while Richard Poore was appointed to Chichester.[47] The king, either because he was presented with a *fait accompli* or because he genuinely had no objection, confirmed Richard's elevation on 7 January 1215. The new bishop was consecrated by Archbishop Langton and professed obedience to Canterbury at Reading a few weeks later.[48] Once installed as bishop, his relationship with the crown remains ambiguous. Despite Brian Kemp's assertion that John soon came to appreciate Richard and welcomed him into his inner circle of advisors, ultimately selecting him as co-executor of his will, the new bishop arguably remained an outsider at court.[49] In the closing years of his reign, as the crisis in his affairs deepened, John's military commanders and the secular barons come to dominate the witness lists. Richard Poore, however, witnesses only twice, once as bishop-elect on 9 January and a second time on 12 May 1215, and issues a one further letter in support of the crown.[50] On each occasion he appears in an extensive list of bishops, and, with one exception, in the presence of Archbishop Langton. It is possible that the disruption experienced by the royal government and the corresponding drop in the production of royal charters, masks a more active political career. But despite this reduction in output, the chancery records still show John's favourites, such as Peter des Roches and Richard de Marisco, to be present at court or involved in the prosecution of royal policies. In contrast those letters directed to Richard during this period are solely concerned with his ecclesiastical duties.[51] Moreover, beyond his appointment as John's executor, the only evidence of royal favour is an order to the sheriff of Sussex to make certain that the bishop of Chichester received his full liberties in that county.[52]

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[46] *Walter of Coventry* ii 217.
[47] G&L p. 62; *Rot. Chart.* p. 202b; *Fasti* ii (Rochester), p. 76.
[48] *RLP* p. 126; *Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 282; *Canterbury Professions* no. 151. A statement by Matthew Paris in his *Historia Anglorum* that Richard was consecrated on 5 October 1214 is apparently erroneous: Paris, *Hist. Angl.* ii 152, 171.
[49] Kemp, *Richard Poore* p. 361; *EEA Salisbury I* p. lvi.
[50] In this the archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, Worcester, Coventry and Chichester together with Pandulf, papal subdeacon, testify that when peace was made the barons refused the king's demand for charters guaranteeing their fealty to the crown: *Rot. Chart.* p. 203b; *RLP* pp. 180, 181.
[51] *RLP* p. 129b.
[52] *RLC* i 211b; *Foedera* p. 144.

Overall the pattern of Richard's relations with the crown during these years leads to the suggestion that he was more a part of Langton's *familia* than the royal household. As Langton's position as mediator and peace-maker became increasingly untenable over the summer of 1215, his influence at court dwindled until the papal order of suspension was carried out against him in September forcing him into exile. It is perhaps significant then that Richard Poore disappears from the royal records in late July 1215 and does not appear again until after King John's death. If he was a valued counsellor of the crown, he has left little trace in the surviving records. Nevertheless, unlike his colleague at Hereford, Giles de Braose, Richard was to remain a loyal supporter of the crown and, in part at least, his inactivity during the closing stages of John's reign is explained by his absence when attending the Fourth Lateran Council. Unfortunately Richard's itinerary for these years is extremely sketchy, making it impossible to determine the length of his stay on the continent. The majority of clerics, including Archbishop Langton, appear to have departed in September. The council sessions occurred on 11, 20 and 30 of November 1215, with the majority of the English delegates, amongst them Richard de Marisco, returning in early January 1216. Richard Poore perhaps lingered, as he is mentioned in an award made by Archbishop Langton to the church of Lincoln dated at Rome on 14 January 1216, part of a settlement of a dispute over the manor of Knighton.[53] Although Richard had no documented role at the general council, it was to have a profound effect on his ministry.[54] The practical tone of the conciliar decrees with their emphasis on the provision of adequate pastoral care and the importance of strengthening internal diocesan organisation, complemented and built on his earlier legislation. The constitutions Richard produced at Salisbury between 1217 and 1219 wholeheartedly adopted the Lateran decrees and are considered to be among the most exhaustive and important of the statutes issued in England in the aftermath of the council.[55]

In 1216, however, the task of disseminating the Lateran decrees was rendered extremely difficult by the onset of civil war and foreign invasion. In the event Richard's tenure of the bishopric of Chichester was to be cut short by the death of his brother Herbert Poore, bishop of Salisbury, in January 1217. Having first been granted custody of the temporalities of the see in May, Richard was then translated to Salisbury at the provision of the papal legate, Guala. The chronology of the move is somewhat confused as Richard appears to have been granted the temporalities of the see prior to his formal translation which

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[53] *Acta Langton* no. 42.

[54] Richard's presence is confirmed by an official report which lists the English bishops attending the council: C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, (trans. and ed.) H. Leclercq, 5, part ii (Paris, 1913), 1316-98, 1722-33. See also *C&S II* pp. 47-9.

[55] For a detailed discussion and text of the Salisbury statutes and its derivatives see: C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the thirteenth century* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 51-89; *C&S II* pp 57-96; G&L pp. 105-130.

occurred between 28 June and 2 July 1217.[56] It is possible that this unusual arrangement was the result of a desire by Guala to restrict the exploitation of the vacant see by entrusting it to a churchman, an act that was then repeated on 27 June when Richard was given temporary custody of his old diocese of Chichester.[57] Richard's translation to Salisbury was greeted with enthusiasm by the chapter. William de Waude, the precentor, recorded that as dean Richard had served the diocese vigorously and he praised his learning and overall goodness of life. But aside from these established attributes, he records that the main motivation behind the legate's appointment of Richard was the latter's staunch support for the fragile regime of the young Henry III. Richard had proved himself to be a devoted opponent to Prince Louis's attempted occupation, and furthermore Guala had found in him a faithful ally for the business of royal government.[58] The bishop, though apparently overlooked in John's reign, suddenly bursts on to the political scene in November 1216 at a hastily convened council held at Bristol. At this council Guala and the regent, William Marshal, with the advice of the eleven bishops, including Richard, issued a revised version of Magna Carta as one of a number of measures designed to undermine support for the rebel cause.[59] As these measures took effect, Richard was also empowered to receive men back into royal service and to absolve them from the ban of excommunication. Amongst the most prestigious of those who committed themselves to Richard's good offices were John's half-brother, William, earl of Salisbury and the regent's son, the young William Marshal.[60] This new found involvement in secular affairs should not be seen as a change of heart. As noted above, at no point in his career is Richard's loyalty to the crown seriously questioned. Even John seems to have been brought to recognise his qualities at the last, and either out of hope of Richard's intercessions for his soul or belief in his abilities as a diplomat, nominated him as one of his executors. By this act John successfully engaged Richard's interest in the young king, although as D. Carpenter notes there is no evidence that John's executors acted as a political body.[61] Thus charged with the defence of the Angevin inheritance, Richard joined his efforts to those of the regency government firstly to repel the invaders and then to re-establish royal authority and effective centralised government lost during the war. The Melrose chronicler, in a somewhat flawed account, places Richard amongst the ranks of Henry's supporters at the battle of Lincoln when Guala formally repeated the

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[56] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 63; *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 5; *Fasti* (Salisbury) p. 4; *EEA Salisbury I* pp. lvi-lvii.
[57] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 75. Salisbury had previously been granted to Thomas de Disci, precentor of Salisbury and Radulf de Brai, 6 February 1217: *RLC* i 297. Chichester subsequently passed to Guala who administered the diocese until the election of Ralph Wareham in January 1218: *Guala Letters* nos. 18-20. See Vincent, *Peter des Roches* pp. 165-6.
[58] *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 4.
[59] DCDCM 1.2.Reg.3.
[60] *Guala Letters* no. 17; *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 17, 42, 109, 110.
[61] Moreover, D. Carpenter argues that Richard was probably named executor for spiritual reasons: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 14 n. 6, 323.

excommunication of Prince Louis and the rebels.[62] Not a warrior bishop like Peter des Roches, whose daring action at the battle of Lincoln secured the element of surprise for Henry's forces, Richard nevertheless undertook the role of spiritual defender, pronouncing benediction on the royal fleet prior to the equally decisive battle of Sandwich. It is also claimed that he mortgaged the diocese of Salisbury in order to raise money hire mercenaries for the royal army.[63]

It has been suggested that in the early years of Henry's reign the scholar bishops, being the products of the universities rather than the royal administration, were largely unaffected by court faction, their actions dictated by principle not personal gain.[64] As far as can be ascertained, this description can be applied to Richard Poore. His abilities and reputation made him a useful and essentially neutral tool for the minority government. Though allied through friendship to the legate, Guala, who resigned in November 1218, and to Archbishop Langton and thus to Hubert de Burgh, Richard showed no enmity towards their opponents. In May 1219 he acted together with his former rival for the bishopric of Winchester, Peter des Roches, to transfer the nuns of St. Mary's away from the distractions of the city and replace them with canons.[65] The previous year des Roches had appointed Richard as arbiter of a dispute between William Brewer and the bishop and monks of St. Swithun's, Winchester, over forest liberties.[66] His rise to prominence in the minority government may have made him a potential rival to des Roches' ambitions, but there is no evidence that Richard courted high office, ecclesiastical or secular. Even his assumption of the office of sheriff of Hampshire, together with the castles of Winchester, Porchester and Southampton, at des Roches' expense after the latter was excluded from court in 1223-4, can be viewed as a dutiful acceptance of responsibility rather than a desire for power.[67]

That Richard was a trusted servant of the crown was further demonstrated in November 1218 when he was ordered to head a panel of itinerant justices in the counties of Wiltshire, Hampshire (Southampton), Berkshire and Oxfordshire.[68] Together with the resumption of the general eyre, forest perambulations were also reinstated in 1218, its findings leading to more ambitious visitations in January 1220. These were to be carried out by small groups of leading *curiales* with instructions to identify to the regency council forests created under John which were proscribed in the Charter of the Forest of 1217. As

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[62] The Melrose Chronicle, the only source to mention Richard's presence at Lincoln, mistakenly dates battle to 1 June: *Chron. Melrose* p. 51. Moreover it has been established from other sources that the excommunication was pronounced by Guala on 17 May at Newark: *Maréchal*, lines 16225-37; Paris, *CM* iii 19.
[63] *Maréchal*, lines 16500-20; *Ann. Mon.* iv (Waverley), 408; Paris, *CM* iii 28-9.
[64] G&L p. 33.
[65] CEPR p. 66.
[66] *EEA Winchester II* no. 82.
[67] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 420.
[68] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 207.

part of these proceedings Richard Poore was to tour the county of Somerset with his colleague, Jocelin of Wells, bishop of Bath and William Neville.[69] Not all of Richard's collaborations, however, were viewed with such gratitude by the crown. Unwilling to countenance the confiscation of the forests of Melksham and Devizes, William, earl of Salisbury, in 1219 enlisted the support of the bishops of Salisbury and Bath to countermand the order. William's presumption drew a swift reprimand from Hubert de Burgh who wrote on behalf of the king to restore the forests to the appointed custodian. Whether the bishops acted in ignorance or connived at the earl's duplicity is unknown. On the whole Richard's involvement in important matters of state served to bolster the authority of the minority council. In the autumn of 1220 he helped to broker an agreement between the young king and Henry fitz Reginald which returned the castle of Launceston and county of Cornwall to royal control. While on 25 October 1221 he witnessed the formal surrender of Irish castles by Geoffrey Marsh, who as justiciar of the lordship had failed to honour his agreement over the dispatch of Irish revenues to England.[70] On these and other occasions therefore, Richard acted in concert with the majority of Henry's counsellors. But in a period where centralised government was threatened by the desires of the great men, who at one and the same time secured and undermined the integrity of the regime, the chain of command became somewhat confused. Nevertheless whatever the cause of his collaboration with the earl of Salisbury, the episode clearly shows that Richard was an influential part of that chain.[71]

Service to the crown also brought with it more material rewards. During Henry's minority numerous custodies, grants and other signs of royal favour were directed towards the bishop of Salisbury. Some, like the bishop's custody of the castles of Wisbech and Creake (Norfolk), represented a redistribution of assets held by the crown to ensure their continued security. In a similar vein in May 1217 Richard was granted the lands in Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire formerly held by the king's enemy Ralph Brewer. Other grants, however, highlight the esteem felt for the bishop by the young king. Twice prior to the resumption of the royal demesne in June 1222, which marked the main starting point for the dispensation of royal largesse, Richard was awarded gifts of deer and timber from the royal forest for his own personal use.[72] Added to this Richard was also well enough placed at court to secure a number of lucrative wardships. Chief amongst these were the heirs of Simon de Lindon and William de Keynes for which Richard offered fines of £10 and £100 respectively, both of which were subsequently pardoned by the king's grace.[73] This latter

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[69] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 259; Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 61-63, 89-93, 168-69.
[70] *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 266, 316.
[71] *RLC* i 395, 413. Carpenter, *Minority* p. 121.
[72] Although such grants are not unheard of prior to June 1222, they less common than later in the reign: *RLC* i 387, 485.
[73] *RLC* i 329b, 506; *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 3, 53; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 341; E372/69 m21.

wardship was of particular significance to Richard as William de Keynes was the son of the original founder of the nunnery of Tarrant Keynes. Evidently Richard was prepared to go to some lengths to secure the Keynes inheritance, as the fine he offered was backed by pledges from Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, John of Fountains, bishop of Ely and Falkes de Bréauté.[74]

But as P. M. Hoskin notes, Richard's greatest legacy is to be found in ecclesiastical circles not in the cut-throat world of secular politics.[75] Moreover, unsurprisingly it was at Salisbury and later at Durham that his work had most impact, his brief episcopate at Chichester lasting just over two years. His crowning glory at Salisbury was the successful completion of a project begun under his brother, Herbert Poore, to construct a new cathedral for the diocese away from the restrictive confines of the site chosen by Osmund at Old Sarum.[76] The defensive advantages provided by this ancient hill fort had long since been outweighed by the inconveniences presented by the cramped conditions and inadequate water supply, while the necessity of living cheek by jowl with the castle garrison led to friction with the secular authority.[77] Following his translation to Salisbury therefore, Richard lost little time in petitioning the pope for permission to move the cathedral to a more fitting site. His enthusiasm and determination, being matched by his standing with papacy and crown, soon brought the project to fruition. The new pope, Honorius III, won over by entreaties from the canons of Salisbury, which were backed by a favourable report from Guala, issued the necessary authorisation on 29 March 1218.[78] But financing such an ambitious scheme also took great skill, organisation and widespread popular support. Bishop Richard and his canons each undertook to make made personal contributions to the cost of building work for seven years and preachers were sent out to plead for alms as far abroad as Scotland. Royal and baronial assistance was also forthcoming, the close and Patent Rolls showing that in addition to generous grants of timber from the royal forest, the pious young king gave permission for a number of new fairs to be held at 'New Salisbury'.[79]

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[74] *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 95; S. Thompson, *Women Religious* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 96-98.
[75] *EEA Chichester I* p. xxvii.
[76] It is possible that the identification of Herbert Poore as author of this scheme was an act of charity by William de Waude, who recorded its progress: *EEA Salisbury I* pp. lii-liii; *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 3-7.
[77] Numerous works have been written on the construction of the new cathedral at Salisbury and its architect, Elias of Dereham: D. Stroud, *Richard Poore and the building of Salisbury Cathedral* (Salisbury, 1996); A. Hastings, *Elias of Dereham, architect of Salisbury Cathedral* (Salisbury, 1997); P. Draper, 'Salisbury Cathedral: Paradigm or Maverick?', in *Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral*, ed. L. Keen and T. Cocke, British Archaeological Society Conference Transactions, 17 (1996), 21-31; Kemp, *Richard Poore* pp. 375-6.
[78] *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 5-7 mistakenly dates the bull to 1219: c.f. *EEA Salisbury II* no. 356. J. E. Sayers argues that in recognition of Guala's good offices Bishop Richard was persuaded to accommodate two of the legate's clerks: *Papal government and England during the pontificate of Honorius III (1216-1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 179-180; c.f. *EEA Salisbury II* no. 278 and n.
[79] *EEA Salisbury II* no. 356; *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 7-13; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 257; *RLC* i 448b, 456, 466, 561, 587b, 623; *RLC* ii 91b; 123b.

By Michaelmas 1225 construction was well enough advanced to allow the dedication of the east end chapel with its three altars, the extended celebrations being attended by the king, the archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, together with the papal nuncio Otto and many other prelates and noblemen.[80] The prestige of the new cathedral was further augmented on 8 March 1226 by the burial of Richard's former associate, William, earl of Salisbury.[81] Finally towards the end of Richard's episcopate royal interest in the process was cemented by a formal ratification of the removal of the cathedral with additional privileges to be enjoyed by the inhabitants of the newly founded city.[82]

To complement the physical transformation of Salisbury's buildings, Bishop Richard also effected a remodelling of the structure of the diocese. The synodal statutes, thought to have been issued by Richard prior to December 1219, form a comprehensive and intensely practical model for the church of Salisbury.[83] Of utmost concern was the spiritual welfare of his flock. As a result mixed in with chapters devoted to a discussion of the sacraments are others detailing the necessary provision of baptismal fonts, the use of ecclesiastical ornaments and the need for thrice yearly confession. Priests were warned to preserve the dignity of the marriage ceremony by sober conduct, without mockery or jests, in a suitable location rather than in a tavern or public drinking house. Advice was also offered for the correct conduct of the priest taking confession, who should take care to maintain a humble countenance and seek out the greater sins while not ignoring the lesser.[84] As a whole the chapters present a unity of purpose and approach that has led historians to argue that, although based on identifiable sources, the Salisbury statutes were an original work, not a pastiche of earlier decrees. Like the 'Use of Sarum', the statutes were adopted outside the diocese forming the basis for legislation promulgated at Canterbury, York, Winchester, Exeter, London, Chichester and Worcester. Also between 1228 and 1236 Richard reissued them for his new see of Durham.[85]

As a good steward, Richard, in addition to his legislative work, was also careful to defend the rights of his church. In 1221 Benedict of Sawston, bishop of Rochester, issued a charter disclaiming any injury to the rights of Salisbury that might ensue from his consecration of Eustace bishop of London in March that year. The bishop of Winchester being absent, the honours should have passed to Salisbury, but despite Richard's protests he was overruled by the papal legate, Pandulf, leaving him with only a subordinate role in the

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[80] Otto is recorded to have used the occasion to bring about a reconciliation between Henry III and Peter des Roches: *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 40-3.
[81] *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 48.
[82] *Sarum Charters* pp. 175-8.
[83] For a discussion of Richard Poore's synodal statutes see: *C&S II* pp. 57-96; C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 51-55, 62-89; G&L pp. 25-7, 109-29; Kemp, *Richard Poore* pp. 365-8.
[84] *C&S II* pp. 73 ch. 40, 87 ch. 93.

ceremony.[86] But it is as an arbitrator that Richard truly shines. Records of his judgements in disputes, both at a diocesan level and nationally, are strewn throughout his episcopal *acta.* Some including the declaration of the exempt status of Westminster abbey in 1222 were the result of papal commissions, while others originated from individual appeals for his intervention.[87] The sheer volume of such records stand as testament to the bishop's profound learning and skill as a negotiator. Amongst the most complex and sensitive cases in which Richard participated was the protracted litigation between the abbey of St. Albans and the bishop of Lincoln.[88] Within his own diocese Richard's settlements with monastic houses often contained an extra dimension. Just as in his statutes the bishop was anxious to ensure the provision of adequate pastoral care. As a result judgements concerning the rights of monastic patrons in parish churches were often used as an opportunity to assess, and if necessary restructure, the endowment of the church involved. Where suitable his preferred solution to the conflict between monastic rights and parochial interests was to attach the advowson of a church to the diocese, bringing it under the control of the bishop, while leaving the greater portion of the monastic revenues intact.[89] On occasion, however, the bishop gained control of both revenue and advowson. On 3 October 1227 Richard issued an ordinance following an agreement with Malmesbury abbey over the church of Bremhill. By this agreement the collation of the church devolved to the bishop, who in turn assigned the revenues of Bremhill, when vacant, to support thirteen vicars who were to celebrate daily mass at the altar of St. Mary at Salisbury cathedral.[90]

This last provision is significant as it forms part of a body of grants and donations devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary made by the chapter. Moreover, Richard himself appears to have had a strong personal attachment to this increasingly popular cult. At Salisbury he assigned a hide of land in Stratford-sub-Castle which he had formerly reserved to the bishop's use, to the office of the St. Mary mass. Later on, after his translation to Durham, he oversaw the re-dedication of the church of Easington, the patronage of which pertained to the bishop of Durham, to the Virgin Mary with provision for mass to be held in her honour every weekday.[91] Of equal veneration in Salisbury was Bishop Osmund, founder of the old cathedral, whose body had been reverently translated to a fitting resting place in

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[85] C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 62-89.
[86] *Sarum Charters* pp. 109-110; *Walter of Coventry* ii 249.
[87] *Acta Langton* no. 54; *EEA Salisbury II* no. 393; *Reg. S. Osmund* i 327-8.
[88] Kemp, *Richard Poore* p. 370; *EEA Salisbury II* no. 353; *Reg. Ant. Linc.* iii 13-15. Richard was also involved in a number of other prominent disputes including: 1216-20 – The Ely election dispute (Cheney, *Innocent III* pp. 174-5); 1220-1226 – Durham (see above pp. 178-80); 1221 – Wheathampstead dispute (Kemp, *Richard Poore* pp. 370-1).
[89] Kemp, *Richard Poore* pp. 366-8.
[90] This arrangement was found to be inadequate and additional sources of income were added: *EEA Salisbury II* nos. 360, 362, 376.
[91] *EEA Salisbury II* nos. 360-363, 376; *EEA Durham II* no. 316; c. f. also *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 39.

he lady chapel of the new cathedral on 14 June 1226.[92] The removal, though necessitated by he construction of the new cathedral, coincided with a renewed interest in local saints and he prominence they afforded to their churches.[93] It also occurred in the shadow of the riumphant translations of the relics of St. Wulfstan at Worcester in 1218 and St. Thomas 3ecket at Canterbury in 1220, both of which Richard had attended.[94] The presence of a aint's shrine, with the revenues from thankful pilgrims, would be beneficial to both the prestige and the coffers of the new cathedral. Unsurprisingly, therefore, during Richard's piscopate a petition was sent to Rome to request a papal inquiry, which marked the first tage in the canonisation process.[95] With Richard's translation to Durham in 1228, however, he impetus appears to have been lost and was not regained until the fifteenth century when St. Osmund was canonised by Pope Calixtus III.

Nevertheless, Richard's contribution to his beloved church of Salisbury is emarkable, especially when it is viewed against the backdrop of his political career. Already a valued member of the minority government, in the closing months of 1223 circumstances conspired to advance him into the forefront of English politics. His rise to prominence was largely due to his friendship with Archbishop Langton. Earlier in 1223 spurred on by the death of the arch-enemy of the Angevins, King Philip II of France, an embassy headed by the archbishop and the bishops of Salisbury and London was dispatched to raise the fraught issue Henry's claim to the duchy of Normandy. Their efforts were frustrated, however, as a delay in crossing the Channel robbed them of the chance to intercede with Prince Louis prior to his coronation.[96] But since Langton's return from Rome in July 1221, having secured the removal of the papal legate, Pandulf, the archbishop's main aim had been to promote peace and secure the stability of Henry III's regime in England. Central to these issues were the linked questions of the resumption of the royal demesne and the king's majority. Yet the potential for political and financial gain inherent in the achievement of these objectives naturally resulted in the intensification of court rivalries as the various factions jostled for position. Caught between the chief combatants, the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh and the king's tutor, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, the archbishop thus attempted to steer a moderate course beneficial to the realm. Moreover, although as D. Carpenter notes, Langton was more frequently a supporter rather than an

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[92] *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 55.

[93] See above pp. 18-9 on Archbishop Walter de Gray and his efforts to secure the canonisation of the Archbishop William fitz Herbert of York.

[94] *Walter of Coventry* ii 240, 249; Paris, *CM* iii 59.

[95] D. Greenway suggests that it is likely that the canons took the opportunity of the removal of Osmund's body to inspect the body, incorruptibility of the remains being a pre-requisite for canonisation: *Fasti* (Salisbury) pp. xxix-xxx.

[96] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 406; *RLC* i 556; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 81; Paris, *CM* iii 77. Louis VIII was crowned at Rheims on 6 August, Archbishop Langton had returned to England by late August 1223: *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 85; *Acta Langton* p. 166.

originator of initiatives, his support was still crucial to the success of the minority government.[97] By December 1223 the failure of de Burgh's attempt to steal a march on his rival and implement papal letters ordering the establishment of Henry III's personal rule had left the country on the brink of civil war.[98] Having intervened to prevent the escalation of hostilities, Langton subsequently co-operated with Hubert to grant Henry personal control of his seal. It is at this crucial point that Richard Poore is thrust directly into the limelight. In a move designed to prevent abuse of the seal by the shifting court factions, the young king was to issue his letters in the presence of the justiciar and the bishops of Salisbury and Bath.[99] Between 10 December 1223 and January 1227, when Henry obtained full control of his seal, Richard's itinerary is dominated by that of the king, his presence at court only rarely interrupted by other commitments.

Unlike his associates, Jocelin of Wells, bishop of Bath and Hubert de Burgh, as we have seen, Richard was not an experienced administrator. Consequently his inclusion as guardian of the interests of king and realm must have been determined primarily by Archbishop Langton, influenced no doubt by Richard's innate abilities. Nevertheless, although this arrangement was to have a profound influence on the bishop of Salisbury, it proved less effective in the struggle to bring about a peaceful resumption of the king's rights. For despite bearing the king's name, few in England can have been unaware that the policies contained in his letters continued to be dictated by the justiciar and the archbishop. Under their direction at the Christmas court of 1223 Henry's loyal supporters were induced to surrender their castles and sheriffdoms, forcing the remainder of the baronage to follow suit on 30 December. Over the coming months these castles and sheriffdoms were redistributed to ostensibly neutral custodians, but all too often, as Falkes de Bréauté was later to assert in his *querimonia*, the appointments were distinctly partisan. No such objection appears to have been raised against Richard Poore, however, who by May 1224 had been awarded custody of Salisbury, Corfe, Sherborne, Winchester, Porchester and Southampton, together with the shrievalty of Southampton.[100] Even so Richard still issued a charter disclaiming any right to the castle of Sherborne, which he states he had received from the king to keep at his own cost during the king's pleasure. The notification was also backed by a complementary

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[97] Carpenter, *Minority* p. 265.

[98] These letters issued on 13 April 1223 are thought to have been procured by Peter des Roches as part of his bid to ensure his pre-eminence at court, but were later appropriated by Hubert de Burgh c.f. Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 301-6; Vincent, *Peter des Roches,* pp. 208-9; see above p. 111.

[99] Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 321-3.

[100] *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 419, 420, 421; *RLC* i 598. It is notable that apart from those custodies surrendered by the bishop of Winchester noted above, the castles entrusted to Richard had formerly been in the charge of de Burgh's faction: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 327.

declaration by Dean William de Waude and the Salisbury chapter on behalf of their church.[101]

Other castellans were less willing to submit to royal authority, particularly as the eclipse of former stalwarts of the regime such as Peter des Roches, Falkes de Bréauté and Ranulf, earl of Chester had left Langton and de Burgh with the bishops of Salisbury and Bath in splendid isolation in control of royal government. Over the next few years while de Burgh's party remained in the ascendancy, Richard's name is frequently associated with major decisions of government policy. In March 1224 he was present at court for the signing of a covenant between Henry III and Walter de Lacy which set de Lacy on the path to war against his rebellious brother, Hugh de Lacy, in Ireland.[102] While on 27 March 1224 he stood witness to Henry III's letter granting the extensive concessions demanded by Hugh de Lusignan in return for his continued loyalty.[103] Closer to home, however, Richard, although usually noted for his ability to defuse bitter disputes, had little success in preventing the country from plunging to war. Falkes de Bréauté, despairing of unbiased justice in the royal courts, then connived with his brother's seizure of Henry de Braibrock and forsaking the king's interests in Poitou the royal forces laid siege to de Bréauté's castle at Bedford. Richard's itinerary shows him to be present for the majority of the siege of Bedford which began on 20 June 1224 and lasted for eight weeks. Only once during this period does it appear that he may have absented himself from court to attend to the needs of his church. At Reading on 28 June a composition between Battle abbey and Stephen the rector of Brightwalton over the tithes of that church was secured with the seals of the bishop of Salisbury, the judges and William de Merton, archdeacon of Berkshire.[104] Moreover, as Brian Kemp notes, the impact of the siege on the bishop and his household is highlighted by the substitution of the fall of Bedford for Richard's pontifical year in the dating clause of a charter issued on 27 May 1225.[105]

For Hubert de Burgh and his allies, however, victory against the archetypal over-mighty subject at Bedford was tempered by humiliating defeat abroad. Louis VIII seized the opportunity to invade Poitou, capturing the strategic port of La Rochelle on 13 August 1224,

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[101] *Reg. S. Osmund* i 330; *EEA Salisbury II* no. 297. Sherbourne, as the original seat of the bishopric of Salisbury, held special significance for the diocese and was among the principal manors of the bishop. Moreover the castle of Sherbourne was constructed by Richard's predecessor, Bishop Roger (1102-1139) chancellor of Henry I: *EEA Salisbury I* pp. xxix-xxxi, xxviii-xlii.

[102] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 483.

[103] *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 431-2. The effects of this compromise were short lived as Louis VIII's decision not to renew the truce with England in May 1224 prompted Hugh to desert the Angevin cause: Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 348-9, 355-8.

[104] *Sarum Charters* p. 166; Kemp, *Richard Poore* p. 369. Though the evidence for his presence at this agreement rests purely on the use of his seal, the distance between Bedford and Reading is not prohibitive nor does it conflict with his extant itinerary c.f. Appendix G below. A similar situation occurred on 18 August 1222: c.f. *Reg. S. Osmund* i 339; *EEA Salisbury II* p. 413, 419 n. 9.

[105] *EEA Salisbury II* no. 398; Kemp, *Richard Poore* pp. 374-5.

its inhabitants, according to Ralph of Coggeshall, having given up hopes of relief from England while the siege of Bedford lasted.[106] In order to soften baronial resistance to financing a Poitevin campaign, which can have had little appeal beyond loyalty to the Angevin cause, the king reissued Magna Carta and the Forest Charter on 11 February 1225. Witnessed by Richard, bishop of Salisbury together with many prelates and nobles regardless of faction, the grant was made with the express provision that it be made in return for a tax of a fifteenth on all moveables.[107] As in 1224 during the resumption of royal castles, Richard was once more advanced as a neutral and trustworthy servant of the crown. For in response to baronial fears over the misuse of the revenue generated by the tax, Richard and his fellow guardian of the seal, Jocelin, bishop of Bath, were put in charge of its collection and redistribution.[108] Writing to the bishop of Bath on 20 May 1225 the king states that by provision of the council held at London (*c.*2 February), the money collected was to be divided between him and the bishop of Salisbury, to be held at their respective castles of Devizes and Winchester.[109] As a further safeguard any payments from the revenue in their care had to be made by the bishops themselves. From May 1225 until early 1227 therefore, orders such as the 8,000 marks Richard was to release to the representative of the king's brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, commanding the army in Poitou, in July 1225, come to dominate the bishop's dealings with the crown.[110] Moreover in October 1225 Richard was made custodian of Devizes castle as well as Winchester, leaving him sole custodian of the king's war chest.[111] Nevertheless, despite this intense activity few references remain recording Richard's presence at Winchester during these years and none at Devizes.[112] As it had been previously the greater part of his itinerary is dictated by the movement of the royal court. Even after Henry III gained control of his seal in January 1227, this pattern continued and the bishop continued to attest royal charters on a regular basis.

Far from resenting this careful and attentive guardianship, Henry III appears to have regarded Richard Poore as a trusted advisor. Gifts of game and wine from royal stocks continued to grace the bishop's table.[113] In addition, following the lifting of the ban on permanent alienations that accompanied the king's resumption of his seal, the bishop was allowed to offer a fine 300 marks, of which he was later pardoned 100 marks, for a royal

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[106] *Coggeshall* p. 208.
[107] DCDCM 1.2.Reg.2. The fifteenth was also to be used for the defence of the realm against French invasion: Carpenter, *Minority* p. 379.
[108] Carpenter, *Minority* pp. 379-82; Mitchell, *Taxation* pp. 159-169; F. A. Cazel, 'The fifteenth of 1225', *BIHR*, 34 (1961), 67-81.
[109] *RLC* ii 73b.
[110] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 538, c.f. *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 534-545; *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 1-107.
[111] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 554.
[112] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 549; *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 8, 41; *RLC* ii 90; *Foreign accounts* pp. 52-3, 58, 60-1, 92.
[113] *RLC* ii 87, 97b, 136b, 137b, 183, 193, 194.

charter confirming the privileges and liberties of his household and the church of Salisbury.[114] Significantly, although the decision to lift the ban on the king's right to make grants in perpetuity was partly motivated by the opportunity it offered to charge for the privilege, not all the grants received by Richard at this point were the result of a fine. On 13 February 1227 the bishop's custody of the lands and heirs of Simon de Lindon and William de Keynes was renewed, seemingly without payment on Richard's part.[115] Richard was also granted a number of vacant churches in his diocese including the abbey of Sherbourne and the nunnery of Wilton, the burial place of his brother, Herbert.[116] This degree of royal favour was also echoed in Rome as Richard was appointed joint custodian in February 1227 of the bishopric of Winchester during Peter des Roches' absence on crusade by Honorius III.[117] At the end of Henry's minority, therefore, Richard was at the pinnacle of his political career. A valued counsellor and mediator, he seemed firmly entrenched in royal circles. Nevertheless it would appear that it was papal rather than royal influence that was to dictate the next stage of his career. For, similar to Walter Mauclerk's election to Carlisle in 1223, Richard's translation to Durham in 1228 was not carried out at the request of the crown, although they both subsequently received royal approval.

After the death of Richard de Marisco in May 1226 the Durham monks were once more plunged into a lengthy dispute with the crown over the election of a new prelate.[118] A collection of documents preserved in the Durham cathedral archives details the crown's desire to procure the elevation of Luke, dean of St. Martin le Grand and treasurer of the king's chamber.[119] The monks, however, objected since Luke was illegitimate and feared that the delay required to gain a papal dispensation would result in the loss of their elective rights, for the chapter had to elect within the statutory three months or the right would pass to the metropolitan. Indeed one witness later suggested that Henry believed this delay would prove to his advantage, for if he failed to prevail upon the monks, Archbishop Walter de Gray as Durham's metropolitan would ensure his success.[120] Furthermore, Luke's position as Hubert de Burgh's chaplain did little to alleviate their suspicions. For in the late 1220s de Burgh's influence at court was at its height and using his pre-eminent position he had already

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[114] E372/71 m17; *RLC* ii 195; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 24. N. Vincent notes that the amount paid by Richard is in stark contrast to the less favoured Peter des Roches who was compelled to offer £500 for a confirmation of Winchester's liberties, which was significantly larger than any other fine extracted for the reissue of privileges: Vincent, *Peter des Roches,* p. 227.

[115] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 110.

[116] *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 130, 132, 181; *RLC* ii 190.

[117] Alexander de Stavensbury a fellow pupil of Archbishop Langton was appointed as the other custodian: Reg. Hon. III ii 6222; c.f. K. R. Giles, 'Two English bishops in the Holy Land', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 31 (1987), 46-57.

[118] For a detailed account of the 1226-8 Durham election see: W. K. Evers, *Disputes* pp. 65-74, 90-115; Powicke, *Henry III* pp. 266-270.

[119] For a discussion of Luke's position in the royal household see: T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative history of Medieval England*, i (Manchester, 1967), 196.

secured the elevation of his brother, Geoffrey and his nephew, Thomas to the sees of Ely and Norwich respectively. But the strictures of canon law proved stronger than secular opposition. Unmoved by Henry's reputed threat to tear down Durham castle if they refused him, the monks remained obdurate and on the last day of the statutory three months the Durham chapter elected William of Stichill, archdeacon of Worcester.[121] This act was validated by canon law and also King John's charter of free elections which stated that if the king refused or postponed his royal licence, the chapter should nevertheless proceed to make a canonical election.[122]

The king, however, disputed the claim that the licence had been unjustly denied and launched an immediate appeal against the monks to Archbishop de Gray. Revealingly, in the evidence given against William of Stichill in the metropolitan court, Henry centred his objections on the importance of the diocese of Durham for the defence of the border. The king argued that the bishop of Durham was an important castellan, keeper of the castles of Norham and Durham, and that as a Scot, William of Stichill was a dangerous alien.[123] Significantly, in his defence Henry enlisted the offices of several bishops including Richard Poore and Walter Mauclerk, who was also custodian of Carlisle castle. But despite this urging the monks, having failed to secure a candidate of their own choosing since Hugh de Puiset in 1153, remained determined to assert their own prerogatives. The result was deadlock and in late autumn 1226 the case was submitted to papal authority. On 22 December the pope responded, ordering Archbishop de Gray to proceed with the delayed examination within two months of the receipt of the papal mandate.[124] The archbishop duly obeyed, holding four sessions of the metropolitan court between February and May 1227, during which evidence was collected from royal and monastic proctors.[125] Inexplicably the matter was then allowed to rest until May 1228 when William of Stichill's election was overturned in the papal curia.[126] According to the account of the Durham chronicler, Robert of Graystanes, the pope found the election to be uncanonical as the monks had individually acclaimed William rather than proceeding by ballot (*scrutinium*), delegation (*compromissum*) or by inspiration (*per inspirationem*). Thus although the unfortunate monks had claimed the nomination had occurred by unanimous acclamation, they each had

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[120] W. K. Evers, *Disputes* pp. 68-9, 104.
[121] W. K. Evers, *Disputes* pp. 66, 102.
[122] SLI no. 76.
[123] W. K. Evers, *Disputes* p. 109.
[124] CEPR p. 114; *Reg. Gray* p. 156 no. xxxi.
[125] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5520; W. K. Evers, *Disputes* p. 73.
[126] At some point in the dispute prior to July 1228 the prior and convent underwent sentences of excommunication, imposed to prevent the monks proceeding with William of Stichill's election. It is unclear who imposed the ban which is known only from a papal mandate relaxing the sentence: DCDCM *Cart. Vetus* f.123v.

subsequently proceeded to imitate the prior and signify their choice of nominee individually, producing an election by individuals which precluded unanimity.[127]

Ironically this apparently unfavourable papal judgement was ultimately to work to the monks' advantage. Rather than postpone the matter further by ordering a new election at Durham, Gregory IX ordered the monastic proctors to nominate a suitable candidate in his presence. Without hesitation they pleaded with the pope to transfer Richard Poore, whom they had postulated without success in 1215, from Salisbury and on 9 May 1228 the pope reluctantly agreed.[128] Richard's involvement in the election dispute appears to have been relatively minor up to this point. He was well known to the Durham chapter, having acted as papal judge delegate in the protracted dispute between Bishop Richard de Marisco and the Durham monks which had begun in 1220. Moreover, as a trusted royal adviser he had been sent on 30 June 1226, together with Archbishop Langton and Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, to induce the monks to accept the king's proposal.[129] With hindsight it seems curious, given the chapter's obvious and continued preference for his candidacy, that they did not nominate Richard in 1226. The most plausible solution to the puzzle would appear to be Richard's own desire to remain at Salisbury. The monks were well aware of the difficulty, as they secured a papal letter informing the bishop of his impending translation which reminded Richard of the dire state in which the church of Durham now lay. He was told that the goods of the church had been wickedly dispersed, even the hides of the sheep had been snatched away from their bones, leaving the church deformed in spirit and diminished in temporalities. Having recounted the evils of the last episcopate, the pope exhorted and admonished Richard to accept the will of the Holy Spirit and undertake his new charge.[130] Richard's response to his preferment is equally revealing. In a heartfelt letter, he wrote to Dean William de Waude and the chapter of Salisbury announcing his sorrow at his removal to Durham. He assures the chapter that although he is compelled to obey he will remain with them in spirit as they have been joined by God. As. Brian Kemp notes, the sentiments expressed in the letter go far beyond the conventional, providing a rare glimpse of the writer's emotions.[131]

Any hope Richard may have fostered of a reprieve due to resistance on the part of the English crown was quickly dashed. No appeal was launched against Gregory's provision, which had occurred without the prior assent of the king, and England was spared a

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[127] *Script. Tres.* p. 36.
[128] *D. Ann.* p. 3; *Script. Tres.* p. 37.
[129] W. K. Evers, *Disputes* pp. 102-3.
[130] *Script. Tres.* p. 37 and app. p. lxix no. LII; *D. Ann.* p. 5; *Reg. S. Osmund* ii 90.
[131] *Reg. S Osmund* ii 100-102; Kemp, *Richard Poore* pp. 377-8. A further glimpse into Richard's feelings on the matter is shown by a charter dated September 1229 in which he styles himself: 'Richard by the grace of God bishop of Durham formerly bishop of Salisbury': *EEA Durham II* no. 300.

repetition of the interdict that had resulted from John's rejection of papal interference in the Canterbury election of 1207.[132] On 22 May 1228 the custodian of the see, Stephen de Lucy, who had served as Henry's stalwart proctor during the election dispute, was ordered to restore Durham's temporalities, including the castles of Norham and Durham and the wapentake of Sadberge, to its new bishop.[133] This was followed by Richard's enthronement at Durham, fittingly celebrated on the feast of St. Cuthbert's translation (4 September).[134] Ultimately Henry's acceptance of this *fait accompli*, though influenced by the close relationship between papacy and crown, was ensured by Richard de Poore's pivotal role in the minority government. Nonetheless, historians have argued that Richard's translation to Durham took its toll on his involvement in secular politics, the demands of his new see leading to his voluntary withdrawl from court.[135] This break with his secular duties seems to be symbolised by the re-allocation of the royal castles in his custody. On 29 June 1228, a week after his election to Durham was confirmed by the crown, Richard was ordered to deliver up the castles of Winchester, Devizes and Porchester, along with the county of Hampshire.[136] Yet, looking at his court attendance, it is striking that, although the frequency of his visits are dramatically reduced, they continue to dominate his itinerary. Indeed the surviving evidence suggests that Westminster, rather than his new diocese, remained Richard's most common residence.[137]

This is not to deny, however, that after his translation to Durham, Richard ceased to figure so prominently in the king's inner circle of advisors. Apart from the demands of his troubled diocese, a number of other factors can be identified as causing this change. Encroaching old age may have played a part, while, with the death of Archbishop Langton in July 1228 one of the key figures linking Richard to Hubert de Burgh's regime had been removed.[138] In addition the justiciar was becoming increasingly isolated at court and was rapidly being eclipsed by his rival Peter des Roches, who had returned from crusade in August 1231. By the summer 1232 Richard was sufficiently divorced from de Burgh's cause, in the pope's eyes at least, to be nominated as one of the papal judges in the inquiry into the justiciar's involvement in the anti-Roman riots that had broken out in England

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[132] He was one of only six bishops appointed by the pope without preliminary election in England during Henry III's reign and the only one in the northern archdiocese: G&L pp. 81-2.
[133] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 61; *Cl. R. 1227-31* p. 66. Stephen was apparently unwilling to surrender his charges as the order was repeated in August 1228: *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 201.
[134] *D. Ann.* p. 5.
[135] Carpenter, *Minority* p. 390; Vincent, *Peter des Roches,* p. 255.
[136] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 198.
[137] By 1229 the bishop of Durham had a house in London: E372/73 m.2; *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 436.
[138] Richard's date of birth is unknown, though Brian Kemp has speculated that it may have occurred after 1167, which gives a maximum age of 70: *EEA Salisbury I* p. lv.

earlier that year.[139] A few months later at de Burgh's petition, the judgement against him was respited and Richard was to stand witness to the provision made by Henry III for the justiciar at Lambeth.[140] Nevertheless, in December 1232, Richard, like his colleague at Carlisle, was ordered to render an account of the royal revenue which had passed through his hands. But unlike Walter Mauclerk, Richard retained a degree of favour within the coalition that had taken control of royal government. On 5 February 1233, the churches of Bath and Durham together with their bishops, Jocelin of Wells and Richard Poore, were quit of any account and reckoning owing to the crown from the fifteenth of 1225. Later on that month Walter Mauclerk was granted a similar reprieve, though he was forced to offer a fine of £1000 for the privilege. The relative status of the bishops of Carlisle and Durham is further emphasised by the fact that having paid 500 marks by Michaelmas 1233 Walter was pardoned the remainder of the fine. But as Nicholas Vincent notes Richard was then ordered to distrain Walter for the recovery of a further 500 marks of assorted debts in November 1233.[141]

This comparatively light treatment suggests that Richard was not viewed as a significant threat by the ascendant faction. Nevertheless for the first time since King John's reign, Richard was left in political isolation. From 4 May 1233 until 18 May 1234 he witnessed no royal letters, the longest gap in his itinerary since undertaking responsibility for the use of the king's seal in December 1223. Richard's absence, as N. Vincent suggests, was probably caused by his voluntary retirement from court. His reappearance shortly after des Roches's fall during March and April 1234 also seems to confirm the suspicion that Richard mistrusted the new regime.[142] One additional factor which may have prompted him to re-enter the fray was papal intervention. For around this point Richard probably received a papal mandate, issued on 3 March 1234, ordering him and the bishop of Rochester to use ecclesiastical censure if necessary to ensure that the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans worked to promote peace in the realm.[143] Upon his return Richard once more became active in the business of royal government. In May 1234 he attended the great council held at Gloucester during which he set his seal to the king's promise to restore the lands and castles of Savaric de Maulay to his son and heir Ralph, the king's ward. He was also present to witness Henry III's initial judgement on the issue of bastardy; the question of

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[139] His fellow judges in the archdiocese of York were Walter de Gray and John le Romeyn, canon of York, while Peter des Roches and the abbot of Bury St. Edmund's were appointed for the archdiocese of Canterbury: Paris, *CM* iii 218.
[140] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 30.
[141] *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 11-12; E372/77 m4d; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 422.
[142] Vincent, *Peter des Roches,* pp. 366-7; C53/27 m.10; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 45. The timing of his return may also have been prompted by a papal mandate of 3 March 1234 ordering Richard and the bishop of Rochester to use ecclesiastical censure if necessary to ensure that the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans worked to promote peace in the realm.
[143] CEPR p. 139.

whether or not a child was born out of wedlock was henceforth to be determined by the bishops not the secular courts.[144] Finally in July 1235 Richard was ordered to oversee the collection of an aid levied at 2 marks per knight's fee from the clergy in the counties of Wiltshire, Sussex, Oxford, Gloucester and Dorset. The aid was intended to contribute to the dowry of Henry's sister, Isabella, after her marriage to Emperor Frederick II early in 1235. Significantly, alone out of the list of clerical collectors, Richard is placed in charge of counties that were far removed from his church, while Northumberland is entirely neglected.[145] It is hard to perceive the reason for this anomaly. Richard's itinerary for July and August 1235 suggests that he may have undertaken some of his duties. He was certainly present in the south of England during these months, first at Westminster and then travelling to Stanwell (Middlesex) and Tarrant. If so then he appears to have combined his governmental duties with personal ones as he takes the opportunity to make a further contribution to the temporalities of his reputed foundation at Tarrant.[146] Moreover, Richard helped to resolve a dispute over the church of Warminster (Wilts.), witnessing the charter sealing the agreement together with his fellow collectors in Wiltshire: Jocelin, bishop of Bath and his successor at Salisbury, Robert Bingham.[147]

As bishop of Durham he also made a contribution to the security of the regime in the north of the kingdom. Like many of his colleagues in the archdiocese of York he was ordered to serve as escort to the king of Scotland and his entourage, apparently accompanying Alexander II and his queen to the great council of Merton in January 1236.[148] In May 1230, after Henry departed on campaign to Normandy and Poitou, Richard was ordered to act with the sheriff of Northumberland to close the ports of Northumberland. Merchants without special licence were also to be held along with their goods in safe custody, so that none should trade without the king's permission.[149] On occasion, however, the detention of merchants seems to have conflicted with Richard's own trading interests. In November 1230 the bishop intervened with the king to secure the release of Stephen Reymund, a merchant of Monsac, who had been arrested, together with his chattels, by the sheriff of Northampton. The following year Richard secured a licence and safe conduct within England for Stephen Reymund and another merchant, Bernard de Lard of Nérac,

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[144] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 76; *EEA Durham II* app. VIII no. 3; *CRR 1233-7* no. 1178. An attempt to amend the judgement of 1234 was made at the great council of Merton (January 1236): Bracton, *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, ed. G. E. Woodbine, rev. with translation S. E. Thorne, iv (Cambridge, Mass., 1968-77), 296; *C&S II* pp. 198-201.
[145] *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 187; Mitchell, *Taxation* pp. 208-214. The lay subsidy was collected in Northumberland, Cumberland and Lancashire: *Cl. R. 1234-7* pp. 189-91.
[146] M. G. Snape suggests that Richard formed part of the king's entourage as he travelled from Westminster to Woodstock between 17 and 21 July: *EEA Durham II* no. 337 and n.
[147] *EEA Durham II* no. 341.
[148] No reference survives to Richard's presence at this council: CDRS no. 1257; *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 331.
[149] *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 364.

along with permission to receive and carry money for the bishop's financial transactions overseas.[150] No mention is made of the purpose of these transactions, but as both towns are situated in Gascony it is possible to speculate that Richard was involved in the wine trade.[151]

Just as at Salisbury, however, it is Richard's diocesan achievements, not his role as a courtier bishop, that truly stand out. The urgency of the pleas made to the pope by the Durham monks in 1228, though possibly influenced by their bitter disputes both with Philip of Poitou and Richard de Marisco, were grounded in truth. To a prelate used to harmonious relations with his cathedral chapter, where conflicts of interest over advowsons and privileges were solved without resort to violence or years of expensive legal wrangling, he must surely have viewed his new cure with some degree of misgiving. That he succeeded in restoring calm and good order where his predecessors had failed is perhaps the greatest testament to his skills as a negotiator. This is not to dismiss the achievements of either Philip or Richard who had held their own against a recalcitrant chapter, but they can hardly be described as compassionate pastors. Nevertheless Richard, instead of fighting a series of disjointed battles for episcopal rights, contesting each individual case as vacancies or the occasion arose, as in previous episcopates, adopted a logical and methodical approach. The result was the settlement known as *Le Covenit*. Issued just over a year after Richard's arrival at Durham, on 28 September 1229, it details the various privileges, possessions and rights of the bishop and chapter of Durham.[152] In the opening clause Richard states that recent episcopates, particularly that of Richard de Marisco, had been afflicted by many controversies and grave quarrels. Having been enjoined by Gregory IX when undertaking the care of Durham to repair the church and restore tranquillity, Richard therefore records his intention to establish a stable and honest peace between bishop and chapter. *Le Covenit* was thus a necessary creation in Richard's eyes, the advantages of restoring relations to an even keel outweighing the dubious authenticity of some of the chapter's claims.

To the Durham monks *Le Covenit* thus arguably forms another stage in their long battle to achieve the status quo they had desired since the eleventh century.[153] Bishop Hugh du Puiset's death-bed capitulation in 1195 had been their last major victory. Neither of his immediate successors, however, had been prepared to accept the monks' more objectionable claims. Chief amongst these was the assertion that the prior of Durham, who was abbot in all but name, was second only to the bishop in the convent, a status symbolised by his

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[150] CR41 p. 457; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 428. When this expired Bernard de Lard was granted a further licence allowing him to trade in England until June 1233, though Richard is not named as his sponsor: *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 472.

[151] Richard's trading interests may have been of long standing for in November 1222 he was granted 80 oaks to construct a quay at London: *RLC* i 521.

[152] DCDCM 1.4.Pont.4; *EEA Durham II* no. 302. See also E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-century England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 149-151.

[153] E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-century England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 146-147.

possession of the abbot's stall in the cathedral.[154] Conversely Richard seems not to have shared the doubts of his predecessors. Perhaps he viewed the monks' demands as legitimate or at least judged the sacrifices made in 1229 to be expedient. Moreover he may have been concerned to provide the chapter with a bona fide document to replace their forged or suspect charters, allowing both bishop and chapter to draw a line under past conflicts. A number of clauses included in *Le Covenit* support this view. Clause 2 details the monks' right to free election of their prior who, after episcopal examination and confirmation, was to exercise abbatial authority within the see. This is a direct reversal of Philip of Poitou's position which, according to Roger of Howden, was that the bishop not the prior was abbot in the church of Durham.[155] Other gains made by the monks included the right to have free disposition of their appropriated churches (clause 7); to make free presentation to unappropriated churches and to appoint and remove monastic officials (clause 3); and that in the absence of the bishop the prior could act in synods with the archdeacons and the bishop's Official to deal with spiritual pleas (clause 4). Each of these rights and privileges figure prominently in the dossier of forged charters composed by the monks during the previous century.

Clauses 13 and 21 have a similar pedigree. They detail the monks' possession of the wood of Heworth and their rights of presentation over the Yorkshire churches, Howden, Welton, Brantingham, Walkington and Kirkby Sigston, which had been hotly disputed during Richard de Marisco's episcopate. The advowson of the Yorkshire churches, with the exception of Kirkby Sigston, had been the subject of a legal battle pursued through the secular courts with dogged regularity beginning in November 1218.[156] The agreement also provides an insight into a claim by the Durham chronicler, Geoffrey of Coldingham, that during his attacks on the monks Philip of Poitou had cut off their water supply by diverting it into the castle. In Clause 17 the monks are granted the right to have a free watercourse through the bishop's lands whether by land or water. Overall therefore, *Le Covenit* is dominated by the interests of prior and chapter. Nevertheless the bishop's privileges are also preserved. His rights of visitation and treasure trove, judicial franchise, synodal authority and the bishop's forest, though they are often enumerated in relation to the priory's own, are all secured by the agreement.[157] Moreover through compromise Richard was also successful at trimming one of the convent's more extravagant assertions. This relates to the claim, first explicitly documented in a forged charter of Bishop William of St. Calais composed *c.*1160, that the prior alone should celebrate synods in the bishop's absence. As H. S. Offler notes,

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[154] DEC pp. 23-4.
[155] This position gained papal approval from Innocent III in 1198: *Howden* iv 69; CLI no. 64.
[156] *CRR 1220* p. 147.
[157] Clauses 4, 8-10, 17-18.

this was made to the exclusion of all archidiaconal authority and rights.[158] Clause 4 of *Le Covenit*, however, restores the balance as it states that the prior must act together with the bishop's official and the archdeacons, to deliver judgements in place of the bishop.

Like Magna Carta, *Le Covenit* can be viewed as a critique of and attempted solution to the inadequacies of previous regimes fostered by a lack of clarity and definition. Its clauses are dictated by recent episcopal and conventual, instead of royal and baronial, grievances rather than by a systematic review of the entirety of their respective interests. As a consequence, similar to the great charter, the solution was a flawed one, requiring later amendments and alterations. But unlike Magna Carta the agreement was willingly granted and adhered to from the beginning, not annulled and re-granted as a political expedient whenever the need arose. The agreement was received with widespread approval, guaranteed by the bishops of Carlisle and Bath, and confirmed by papal and metropolitan authority within a year of its production.[159] Writing at the end of the thirteenth century the Durham chronicler, Robert of Graystanes notes the formation of the agreement which was favourable to the prior and convent in many respects. Moreover, as R. B. Dobson observes, *Le Covenit* remained the basic charter of liberties for the monks of Durham until the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century.[160] It was altogether a rare and valuable achievement.

For all his skill and experience as an administrator, however, accomplishing the second major part of the manifesto presented by the monks to Gregory IX in 1228 seems to have proved elusive. As the pope related the extravagances of Richard de Marisco had left the community gravely diminished in temporalities and saddled with a debt that Matthew Paris variously calculated at 33,000 or 40,000 marks.[161] Throughout his episcopate Richard made concerted attempts to clear his church of debt, with some degree of success. At some point between 1229 and 1235 he wrote to the royal chancellor, Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester requesting that he write to the pope, together with his own contacts in Rome, to intercede on behalf of his debt-ridden church.[162] From this letter we learn that Richard wished to send episcopal proctors to the curia, as he also required the chancellor to send him royal letters soliciting papal protection for Durham's envoys at the curia. The dating of the letter is uncertain, but the urgent plea may have been provoked by a papal mandate issued on

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[158] DEC no. 3a and p. 24.
[159] *Reg. Gray* p. 38; DCDCM Cartulary 1 f.11v-12v.
[160] *Script. Tres.* p. 37; R. B. Dobson, *Durham Priory: 1400-1450*, Cambridge studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd ser., 6 (Cambridge, 1973), p. 222.
[161] Paris, *CM* iii 391, iv 260 n.6.
[162] J. Boussard, 'Ralph Neville, évêque de Chichester et chancelier d'Angleterre', *Revue Historique*, 176 (1935), 224n; *EEA Durham II* app. X no. 15.

23 January 1231 on behalf of two of Richard de Marisco's Roman creditors.[163] As his successor, Richard was bound to pay them despite de Marisco's attempt to claim immunity by authority of a papal indult.[164] Beyond approaching the pope, which was perhaps an attempt to negotiate more lenient terms, Richard also appealed to his diocese for help. In response to his call the free men of Howdenshire and Norhamshire granted Richard an aid to discharge his church from debt.[165] Just how successful these various ventures were is hard to determine.[166] A study of the Pipe Roll for 23 Henry III, however, shows that at the Michaelmas exchequer 1239 the king accepted a fine from the executors of Richard Poore's will of 500 marks so that they and the church of Durham would be quit of all de Marisco's debts. Unfortunately the Pipe Roll entry gives no indication of the amount of money still owed to the crown. Any attempt to gauge the debt by making comparisons with comparable fines where the sum being pardoned is known, is frustrated by the compound nature of the arrangement. In addition to de Marco's debts, the 500 marks also covers Richard Poore's personal debts to the crown as well as the remainder of the deforestation fine which he had made together with Archbishop de Gray and the abbot of St. Mary's York in 1235.[167] Furthermore, the Pipe Rolls are necessarily silent concerning other creditors, such as the Roman citizens noted above, and only bear witness to the money due to the crown. All that can be reasonably stated is that Richard had not totally cleared his predecessor's debts, though he may have substantially reduced them.

One indication that the bishopric was indeed returned to relative solvency is the ambitious building scheme started by Richard Poore at Durham *c.*1235. In this year Hugh of Northwold, bishop of Ely, (formerly abbot of Bury St. Edmunds) granted an indulgence of 30 days for those who made a contribution to the building fund at Durham. Donations were to be used to fund the intended construction of a chapel at the east end of the cathedral, the existing stone vaulting having shown cracks. As at Salisbury the new chapel was to provide a fitting setting for the shrine of St. Cuthbert, which was being threatened by the impending collapse of the vaulting above his tomb.[168] The unusual design of the new chapel was

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[163] Another possible date is *c.*10 November 1229 when Philip Arden, who was the royal negotiator for whom Richard requested royal letters of instruction to prosecute Durham's affairs, was granted royal letters of protection to travel to the Roman curia on the king's business: *Pat. R. 1225-32* p314.
[164] CEPR p. 124.
[165] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 190.
[166] M. G. Snape argues that a number of chroniclers 'remark on Poore's success in liquidating the debts incurred by his predecessor', though to this point I have only been able to locate one corroborative reference: Paris, *Hist. Angl.* iii 260; *EEA Durham II* app. X no. 15 n.
[167] E372/83 m.10d. This fine was probably made as a result of proceedings which Henry III ordered Walter Mauclerk and Peter des Roches to oversee a the exchequer in December 1237: *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 9-10. The fine also covers Richard Poore's personal debts to the crown as well as the remainder of the disafforestation fine which he had made together with Archbishop de Gray and the abbot of St. Mary's York in 1235, see below p. 214.
[168] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 1512. In 1234 Hugh of Northwold was also embarking on the construction of a fitting new shrine for St. Ethelberga: DNB xiv; VCH Cambridgeshire ii.

influenced partly by the demands of the topography of the site and by recent works at cathedrals such as Canterbury and Rochester. But the main source of inspiration appears to have been the chapel of the nine altars at Fountains abbey, which was virtually complete by Richard's episcopate.[169] Given the extensive financial commitment involved in a project of this scale, it is therefore plausible to suggest that it is an indication of Durham's renewed fortunes. Further evidence of this recovery comes from the fine of 800 marks rendered in 1235 by Richard Poore together with Archbishop de Gray, Robert de Longchamp, abbot of St. Mary's, York and other nobles and freemen to secure the disafforestation of the area between the rivers Ouse and Derwent. After only three years all but £49 of this substantial fine had been paid off and in 1239 Richard's executors were released from the remainder.[170]

Besides fulfilling the pope's initial mandate, as Richard successfully imposed his stamp on Durham he imported other key features of the regime he had established at Salisbury. Foremost amongst these were the synodal statutes produced for Salisbury between 1217 and 1219. These were reissued for Durham with minor alterations, though it is possible that these changes are due to deficiencies in the surviving manuscripts.[171] He also sought to provide fitting endowments for vicars and most notably for the archdeaconry of Durham which, having been found to be insufficient for the dignity of the office, was augmented December 1235 by a grant of the tithes of Haughton-le-Skerne church.[172] Richard's episcopal *acta* from Durham continue to show ample evidence of his abilities as a judge and negotiator. An undated ordinance thought to be the work of Richard Poore *c.*1229, details the settlement made between William de Laneham, archdeacon of Durham and the prior and convent of Durham over their respective rights in the churches held by the archdeacon *in usus*. Henceforth the archdeacon is to continue to enjoy the customary dues except the synodals and procuration or hospitality fees which were granted to the convent.[173] Disputes between the monastery and the churches in the wider diocese were also to benefit from his expertise. Shortly after his translation to Durham an agreement was made in the bishop's court between the brethren of the hospital of Holy Trinity, Gateshead and the prior

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[169] P. Draper, 'The nine altars at Durham and Fountains', in *Medieval art and architecture at Durham cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 3 (1980), 74-86.
[170] E372/79 m.4d; E372/80 m26d; E372/81 m18; E372/82 m13d; E372/83 m.10d. The original grant was made in July 1234: *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 477; DCDCM Cartulary 3 f.213v-214v. Nicholas Vincent argues that it was allowed by the crown in an attempt to win Richard's support following Peter des Roches' seizure of power in 1232-3: Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 367.
[171] The attribution of these statutes to Richard de Marisco by H. Spelman has been dismissed by later editors as unfounded: *C&S II* p. 58; *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici...*, ed. H. Spelman, ii (1664), pp. 137, 161.
[172] DCDCM Cartulary 1 f.17r; *EEA Durham II* no. 319.
[173] It is possible that this ordinance dates to Richard de Marisco's episcopate, William de Laneham was archdeacon of Durham between 1223 x 1224 and 1243 x 1249: *EEA Durham II* no. 301.

and convent of Durham over the vill of Kyo which had been granted to the hospital by Henry de Farlington in 1225.[174]

Richard, however, was not alone in his task. He was surrounded by a learned and able household, some of whom had accompanied him to Durham from Salisbury and even one clerk, Valentine, who can be found witnessing his *acta* at Chichester.[175] Amongst the most distinguished of Richard's *familia* was the reputed architect of the new cathedral at Salisbury, Elias of Dereham who having served as steward to Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury and Jocelin of Wells, bishop of Bath, transferred to Salisbury from Archbishop Langton's household around 1222.[176] *Magister* William of Kilkenny, later bishop of Ely, also witnessed a number of Richard's early *acta* at Durham and was the recipient of a number of episcopal grants including the vill of Stanley and a gift of timber to construct granges in the forests of Lancaster and Auckland.[177] The members of the *familia* served in the bishop's writing office, witnessed his *acta* and sat in judgement in the bishop's court.[178] Moreover, Richard seems deliberately to have preferred his own men as his regime appears to have effected a clean sweep of the personnel of the household. Few of those found during Richard de Marisco's episcopate, apart from the holders of major diocesan offices, continued to serve his successor.[179]

By 1237, however, with old age encroaching, Richard's thoughts apparently turned to his own mortality. Whether by premonition of his impending demise or because he was satisfied that he had fulfilled his duty to the church of Durham and the pope, or by sheer chance, he left the north and journeyed to his beloved diocese of Salisbury. There, at the nunnery of Tarrant, he died on 15 April 1237 in the presence of his *familia*. It is unknown precisely when Richard determined to make this final pilgrimage to Tarrant. Brian Kemp asserts that Richard retired there a year or more before he died.[180] But this seems to conflict with the grant of live game for his park at Galtres made by Henry III to Richard on 23 September 1236, which suggests that the bishop was still resident in the north at this stage. Therefore his journey south was probably made in the late autumn of 1236. For a further royal grant, made in November that year, of five does from the forest of Blagdon (Dorset), was intended to provide for the bishop's Christmas celebrations.[181] During January and

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[174] *EEA Durham II* nos. 265, 300.
[175] *EEA Chichester I* nos. 2, 6.
[176] For details of Elias' complex career see: A. Hastings, *Elias of Dereham, architect of Salisbury Cathedral* (Salisbury, 1997).
[177] *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 472; *EEA Durham II* no. 328.
[178] *EEA Durham II* nos. 324-327.
[179] Interestingly one of the survivors from de Marisco's regime was *magister* Alexander de Nolan, who had witnessed Philip of Poitou's charters and may have served as his doctor: *EEA Durham II* no. 335.
[180] Kemp, *Richard Poore* pp. 362, 378.
[181] *Cl. R. 1234-7* pp. 314, 385.

February he is present at the royal court, witnessing a number of royal charters at first at Windsor and then moving to Westminster. By early April he had made his way to the bishop of Winchester's manors of Taunton and Highclere (Hampshire) where the Winchester Pipe Roll records him to be a guest of Peter des Roches.[182] According to Matthew Paris, Richard was staying at Tarrant when he perceived that his illness had increased and over the next three days made dispositions of his property and settled his worldly affairs before departing peacefully in his sleep.[183]

His death robbed Durham of an able pastor and the realm of a dedicated and experienced servant. Although a relatively late comer to secular politics in comparison to the majority of the bishops in this study, as part of the Langtonian party of bishops he had been influential in shaping and securing the minority government. An active legislator, codifier, builder, negotiator and administrator he had also made significant contributions to each of the churches in his care. At Salisbury he is remembered as the founder of the fine new cathedral and as a medieval town planner, establishing what is probably England's oldest 'new town'.[184] But it is arguably at Durham that he made his greatest impact. Richard's skilful solution of the dispute between bishop and chapter that had bedevilled the episcopates of his predecessors restored Durham's fortunes and launched what F. Barlow has described as the 'golden age of the convent'.[185]

[182] Winchester Ms 32 DR m.7, 13d, 14; Vincent, *Peter des Roches* p. 469.
[183] Paris, *CM* iii 391-2.
[184] A. Hastings, *Elias of Dereham, architect of Salisbury Cathedral* (Salisbury, 1997), p. 11.
[185] F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 40.

8. *Magister* Nicholas of Farnham, bishop of Durham (1241-1249).

According to Matthew Paris, the last bishop of Durham to be considered in this study, *magister* Nicholas of Farnham, was a man of commendable character and knowledge. Of English birth, he spent much of his early career in the schools of Paris and Bologna where he lectured in arts and medicine before moving on to study theology.[1] His acquaintance with Matthew Paris is crucial for our knowledge of his career as the St. Albans chronicler is frequently the sole source of information for Nicholas's activities. Fortunately Paris devoted relatively extensive passages to diverse events of Nicholas's life. With the details provided by this narrative the bare bones of Nicholas's career revealed by other sources, primarily those of the royal administration, can thus be fleshed out.[2] Despite his long sojourns on the continent he maintained a sporadic presence in England. In 1229, therefore, apparently heeding Henry III's invitation to the scholars affected by the dispersal of the University of Paris, he was amongst the list of English scholars who sought refuge in their native land.[3] But his departure may not have been permanent, as despite becoming a physician of Henry II by 1235, it is only after September 1237 that his presence at the royal court becomes more marked. Significantly this date coincides with the beginning of the legation of Otto, cardinal deacon of St. Nicola in Carcere, who in addition to sponsoring his advancement at court may also have promoted Nicholas' candidacy to the chapter of Durham in 1241. As bishop of Durham, Nicholas has been dismissed as ineffectual, yet this is to judge his regime too harshly.[4] Although beset by ill health, he cemented the programme of building and reform established by Richard Poore, issuing diocesan statues and beginning the construction of the chapel of the nine altars to house the shrine of St. Cuthbert. In addition to the contributions to his diocese, Nicholas of Farnham is moreover credited as being the foremost benefactor of Merton college, Oxford, founded by his former chancellor, Walter de Merton. Ultimately, however, advancing old age and continued illness compelled him to resign his see. Following the example of Walter Mauclerk he retired, with papal permission, to devote himself to prayer and meditation away from the cares of the world.[5]

Very few details of Nicholas of Farnham's early career survive, leading historians to advance a number of speculative theories concerning his origin. The majority of writers point to his toponymic, 'of Farnham', and identify Nicholas as a native of Farnham in

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[1] Paris, *CM* iv 86.
[2] On Nicholas of Farnham's career see: Talbot and Hammond, pp. 223-225; *Biog. Ox.*; DNB; Russell, pp. 87-89; c.f. also the article on Nicholas of Farnham by P. Hoskin: *EEA Durham III* (forthcoming), many thanks to Dr. Hoskin for kindly providing me with an off-print of this article together with the accompanying *acta*.
[3] Paris, *CM* iii 168; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 257.
[4] Talbot and Hammond p. 224; *G&L* p. 40.
[5] Wendover, *Flores* ii 357; Paris, *CM* v 53-4.

Surrey.[6] J. C. Russell, however, suggested a link with the diocese of Worcester. He points out that Nicholas was associated with the monastery of Great Malvern, a cell of the abbey of Westminster, witnessing a number of charters relating to the two monasteries around 1216-1218.[7] Moreover in May 1218 a *magister* Nicholas, thought to be Nicholas of Farnham, was granted a dispensation to hold benefices in plurality, which was directed to the bishop of Worcester.[8] Of the two theories the place name evidence appears more convincing, particularly as a significant number of Nicholas's household as bishop of Durham was to be drawn from Surrey and the neighbouring county of Hampshire.[9] But these associations may have been formed at a later date when Nicholas was resident in the south east, as one further, more tentative, candidate for Nicholas's birth place can also be put forward. In 1235 the king pardoned Tristram de Rendham for an amercement imposed for perjury by royal justices in Suffolk. The favour was granted on account of Nicholas of Farnham, and considering the proximity of Rendham to the village of Farnham (Suffolk), this could denote an otherwise undocumented personal connection with the area. Despite the assertion made by some authors that he received his preliminary education at Oxford, there is no evidence which suggests that he attended the university prior to the 1220s.[10] Indeed the earliest reference to Nicholas comes from an account written by Matthew Paris dated to 1201. In this he recounts the seizure which left *magister* Simon of Tournai, a master at the University of Paris known for his erudite teaching and tenacious memory, unable to read or speak coherently.[11] The chronicler claims to have based the passage on the eyewitness account of Nicholas himself. Whether Nicholas was a pupil of the celebrated scholar is unknown, though the detailed description he provided of Simon's teaching and discursive techniques may indicate more than a chance attendance at the fateful lecture. Nicholas's main field of study at Paris was in the faculty of arts, in which he appears to have risen to hold a professorial chair by May 1218.[12] Having taught in Paris for many years he moved to Bologna where, according to Matthew Paris, he turned to the study of dialectics and the

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[6] Talbot and Hammond p. 223; *Early Merton Rolls* p. 15.
[7] Westminster Muniments 2017; 1846, 32623, 16739, 22493; Westminster Domesday fos. 303, 447-v, 575v. Although it should be noted that the charters witnessed by Nicholas predominantly relate to the interests of Westminster, rather than Great Malvern.
[8] Russell p. 88 and n. 2; CEPR p. 55; *Biog. Ox.*
[9] *Early Merton Rolls* p. 15.
[10] Talbot and Hammond p. 223; DNB; *Biog. Ox.*; E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique de Médecins en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1936), pp. 569-70; Joannes Pitseus, *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis tomus primus de illustribus Britanniae scriptoribus* (Paris, 1619), p. 321.
[11] Paris, *CM* ii 476-7; c.f. H. Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the middle ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, i (Oxford, 1936), p. 354 and n. 2.
[12] Again this information relies on identifying Nicholas of Farnham with the *magister* Nicholas referred to by the papal licence: CEPR p. 55.

physical and natural arts as well as medicine, in which field he became renowned for his skill and favour.[13]

But although this overview of his career has been accepted, the product of this scholarship is the subject of some debate. Interest in medical knowledge and Nicholas's achievements in this field began to appear in the mid 1500s, and over the centuries his name has been associated with divers works and treatises. These include the attribution by John Bale, writing in 1559, who regarded him as the author of a list of texts including *Antidotarium Nicholai*. Sixty years later Joannes Pitseus added two further treatises, *Pratica Medicinae* and *De Viribus Herbarum.*[14] Together with these literary attributions Nicholas has also been variously identified as Nicholas of Fuly and more recently by J. G. Fotheringham as Nicholas de Anglia, whose commentaries on Galen have been preserved in a manuscript held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[15] Current scholarship, however, casts doubt on most of these associations. In particular Nicholas's authorship of *Antidotarum Nicholai* proposed by John Bale has been questioned, as the internal references in the treatise indicate that the work was composed in Salerno, not Bologna. Moreover, E. Wickersheimer has dismissed the suggestion that Nicholas was Nicholas de Anglia, although he accepts the alternate identification of de Fuly.[16]

The exact chronology of Nicholas's studies is equally elusive. The datable events provided by Matthew Paris both refer to his time at the University of Paris, namely the seizure suffered by Simon of Tournai in 1201 and then Nicholas's return to England after the dispersal of the university in 1229. His account has led to the suggestion that Nicholas, having completed his studies in Bologna, returned to Paris by 1229 before travelling to England and turning his back permanently on his continental career. English royal and diocesan records, however, point to a more unsettled existence. As noted above, between 1216 and 1218 he witnessed a number of charters associated with the abbey of Westminster and its cell of Great Malvern. This was followed in 1219 by his presentation to the church of Aldenham (Hertfordshire) by the abbot and convent of Westminster abbey. It is perhaps this latter presentation that caused him to travel to the papal curia in Rome to secure a licence to hold benefices in plurality granted to *magister* Nicholas in May 1218.[17] An entry in the

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[13] Paris, *CM* iv 86.

[14] John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Catalogus*, i (Basle, 1557-9), p. 293; Joannes Pitseus, *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis tomus primus de illustribus Britanniae scriptoribus* (Paris, 1619), p. 321.

[15] G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, iv (Florence, 1805-13), p. 218; *Biog. Ox.*; Talbot and Hammond p. 225; DNB; Mauro Sarti, *De claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus a saeculo XI. usque ad saeculum XIV*, I i (Bologna, 1769-72), 535.

[16] R. Sharpe, *A handlist of Latin writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Brepols, 1997), p. 387; E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique de Médecins en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1936), p. 570.

[17] The bishop of Worcester is told to grant dispensation to *magister* Nicholas, the bearer of the letter: CEPR p. 55.

register of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln records that R. archdeacon of Huntingdon had made inquiry into the legality of the grant of Aldenham to one who already held benefices with the cure of souls. The archdeacon found, however, that Nicholas already had secured a dispensation through the papal legate, Guala, and the presentation was declared legitimate. The flaw in this theory is the differing authorities responsible for enacting the dispensation, Guala and the bishop of Worcester. If the two references are indeed related, then it is possible that Nicholas arrived in England during the vacancy at Worcester between 24 July and 10 September 1218, during which period Guala is known to have procured the election of William of Blois to the see.[18]

Moreover, Nicholas's presence, or at least his reputation, in England was sufficient to attract royal preferment. In 1221 he was given 20 oaks from the royal forest of Brill to repair his house at *Charletun*, probably Charlton-on-Otmoor (Oxon.).[19] The following year he also received the church of Essendon (Hertfordshire) together with the chapel of Bayford (Hertfordshire) from the crown.[20] His position at court is variously recorded as a royal clerk and as a supplier of medicinal spices or drugs (*species*) and cordials (*electuaris*) to the king.[21] When combined with Matthew Paris's account, these sporadic grants and other references to Nicholas in England during the years up to 1229, indicate that rather than remaining fixed in either Paris or Bologna, he travelled extensively. In addition the length of his stay in either school is unclear. A. B. Emden's suggestion that having left Bologna, Nicholas's second stint at Paris was of short duration is apparently erroneous. It is based on a letter of protection granted by Henry III in January 1227 ensuring the safety of the bearer until Easter 1228. Emden stated that this was granted to Nicholas, whereas in fact it was issued to the abbot of Waverley as a favour to Nicholas.[22] After the riots between the clerics of the university and the citizens of Paris which caused the masters and scholars to quit the city in protest in around May 1229, the general consensus of opinion is that Nicholas came permanently to reside in England.[23] But given the continued large gaps in his itinerary between 1229 and 1237, this assumption is open to examination. Like his compatriot, William of Durham, it is possible that Nicholas returned to the University of Paris after

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[18] N. Vincent argued that the election probably took place between 10 and 25 August 1218: *Guala Letters* no. 139; *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 410; *G&L* p. 72; J. E. Sayers, *Papal government and England during the pontificate of Honorius III (1216-1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 177.

[19] *RLC* i 468b. Charlton-on-Otmoor is the nearest settlement to the forest of Brill, but Charlton (Northants.) and Charlton (Oxon.) are also plausible. A further grant of oaks for repairs to this house was made in April 1234: *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 411.

[20] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 328; *Rot. Hugh de Wells* iii 44. J. G. Fotheringham also stated that Henry III granted the church of Cleuden to Nicholas in 1222, but I have been unable to substantiate this assertion: DNB.

[21] *RLC* i 468b, 532; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 33.

[22] *Biog. Ox.*; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 106. Waverley abbey was in close proximity to Farnham (Suffolk), no further contact between the two men has been discovered, but his successor as abbot, Walter Giffard, witnessed an episcopal charter of Nicholas on 15 March 1246: DCDCM Misc. Ch. 6580.

peace was restored at the end of 1230 or early 1231.[24] If so he once again divided his attention between England and France. In 1230 and 1232 he was given gifts of oak from the royal forests of Shotover and Wychwood for his household (*focus*) which presumably refers to his house at Charlton-on-Otmoor.[25] Furthermore by October 1235 he had also been granted the church of Bourton (Gloucestershire) as the king ordered that the crops of the two acres pertaining to the church in the nearby village of Slaughter should be handed over to Nicholas.[26]

In addition to serving as parson of his numerous churches, or more likely simply collecting their revenues, Nicholas may also have become associated with the English schools, Oxford and Cambridge being the obvious candidates. Many of the scholars who quit Paris in 1229 are thought to have established themselves at these universities.[27] Of Nicholas's compatriots listed by Matthew Paris, John Blund and Ralph of Maidstone are known to have settled at Oxford, the latter becoming chancellor of the university in 1231, while William of Durham may have stayed there briefly before returning to Paris.[28] It is important to be cautious when arguing this point in regard to Nicholas of Farnham, however, as it rests on purely circumstantial evidence. J. G. Fotherington asserted that Nicholas is 'known to have been teaching logic and natural philosophy at Oxford' in 1232, but without any discernible reference this is impossible to verify.[29] Nevertheless, the case for Oxford seems the most compelling. The grants of timber made to Nicholas from the royal forests in Oxfordshire in 1221, 1229-30 and 1232 indicate that he was resident in the area. Moreover, his links to Cambridge are less certain. The oft repeated reference to his possible presence there comes from Matthew Paris's account of the arrest of a heretic posing as a Carthusian at Cambridge in 1240. After a brief examination the prisoner was sent to the papal legate, Otto, at the Tower of London where he was interrogated in more detail. It was at this latter interview, conducted by the legate, that Nicholas is recorded as present, together with Richard le Gras, abbot of Evesham, and *magistri* P. de Bordeaux and Henry de Susa. Although it is not explicitly stated in the account, it is conceivable that it was these men who

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[23] Paris, *CM* iii 166-8

[24] William of Durham is thought to have composed his *Questiones* in Paris between 1231 and 1235, *Biog. Ox.* Matthew Paris also noted that the scholars of the university returned after the riots had been quelled: Paris, *CM* iii 169. For the duration of the dispersal of the university see: A. G. Little and D. Douie, 'Three sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic, preached in England, AD 1229', *EHR*, 54 (1939), 5.

[25] The grant of January 1230 was originally made in November 1229, but was delayed by the removal of the bailiff of Shotover, the order was repeated again in April 1230: *Cl. R. 1227-31* pp. 265, 287, 316; *Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 72.

[26] *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 145. This grant was repeated in September 1238 leading a number of writers to suggest that the church was not granted until that year: *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 233; DNB; *Biog. Ox.*

[27] H. Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the middle ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, iii (Oxford, 1936), p.83.

[28] *Biog. Ox.*

[29] DNB.

had held the initial examination at Cambridge and then accompanied the heretic to London. Nevertheless, it is more probable that Nicholas's involvement in the trial was the result of his association with the papal legate rather than with the University of Cambridge.[30]

Otto, cardinal deacon of St. Nicola in Carcere is reported by Matthew Paris to have recommended that Nicholas should be entrusted with the spiritual as well as the physical well being of the king and queen. The legate was backed by other confidential royal counsellors including the former treasurer, Walter Mauclerk, who by 1237 had recovered much of his earlier status under the king's personal rule. Nicholas's function within the royal household would therefore encompass confessor and advisor as well as physician.[31] As noted earlier, Nicholas had already served in this last capacity prior to this date, dispensing cordials and medicinal spices for which the king reimbursed him 51 *sol* in February 1223. On 28 July 1228 in the will of Richard of Elmham, canon of St. Martin le Grand, London, he was also accorded the title of royal physician.[32] But it was not until after the arrival of Otto, whose legation began in July 1237, that Nicholas's appearances at Henry's court become pronounced. On 15 September 1237, Nicholas is recorded to have witnessed the account of Queen Eleanor's expenses rendered by John de Gatesden, the clerk of the queen's wardrobe, for the period since her marriage to Henry III in January 1236.[33] In addition, after September 1237, the number of grants made in favour of Nicholas increases dramatically, indicating a more consistent level of attendance on the king. Along with gifts of game and timber, Nicholas also prevailed on the king to present his chaplain, John, to the church of Cnolle in Salisbury diocese in October 1237.[34] But the most curious of these grants was made on 30 March 1239, in which the king ordered the payment of 100*s* to Nicholas to defray the

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[30] Paris, *CM* iv 32-34. *Magister* John le Gras, a possible relation of Abbot Richard, was sent to Durham by Archbishop Walter de Gray and the bishop of Bath with letters patent concerning Nicholas's resignation: *Script. Tres.* p. 42. *Magister* P. de Bordeaux is presumably Peter of Bordeaux, Otto's clerk, while Henry de Susa, later Cardinal bishop of Ostia, was a distinguished canonist who was often a member of Otto's court: c.f. D. M. Williamson, 'Some aspects of the legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237-41', *EHR*, 64 (1949), 150, 154-6.

[31] Paris, *CM* iv 86-97. On Otto's legation see: D. M. Williamson, 'Some aspects of the legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237-41', *EHR*, 64 (1949), 145-173; *C&S II* pp. 237-259.

[32] *RLC* i 532; Westminster muniments no. 13262; A. Way, 'The will of Richard of Elmham, canon of St. Martin le Grand, London', *Archaeological Journal*, 24 (1867), 340-344. Richard of Elmham bequeathed his portable breviary (*portehors*) to Nicholas. The connection the two men, is unknown, although Richard held the benefice of Westwell (Oxon.) close to Nicholas's church of Bourton (Glos.).

[33] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 196. The Melrose chronicler stated that Nicholas was the queen's physician: *Chron. Melrose* p. 66.

[34] *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 496; *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 5, 81, 84, 233, 109, 205; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* pp. 479, 481. From the dating clauses of these grants it appears that Nicholas periodically accompanied the king on his preferred leisurely tour of royal palaces and castles primarily in the south of the kingdom: c.f. D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), p. 340. *Cnolle* is probably to be identified as Church Knowle (Dorset): *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 204.

expenses of clothing and transporting a young lady (*domicilla*), to Richard Poore's foundation at Tarrant, where the king proposed to make her a nun.[35]

Nevertheless, in comparison to the other bishops in this study, Nicholas's role at court was relatively minor. Prior to his elevation as bishop of Durham he witnessed only one royal letter and although he was evidently valued by the king, little trace of his prominent position as described by Matthew Paris, survives in the royal records.[36] Indeed his interests and activities that are revealed by royal correspondence, appear to be predominantly fixed by his private holdings in Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire and London. In October 1237 Nicholas successfully petitioned the king to pardon the men of Slaughter, near his church of Bourton (Gloucestershire), for the escape of William Bradwell who had been arrested for robbery and released into their custody.[37] Gifts of timber, cumbersome and difficult to transport, are made in forests close to Nicholas's possessions. By 1238 these also included a house at Greenford (London). The custodian of Windsor forest, Engelard de Cigogné, was ordered in July 1238 to see that Nicholas received 10 oaks for the construction of a grange there.[38] In addition to developing his own interests, Nicholas also co-operated with Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, to provide a competent vicarage in his church of Essendon in 1238.[39] This continued a long tradition for the establishment of vicarages in Lincoln diocese which stretched back to the mid twelfth century and was intensified under Robert's predecessor, Hugh of Wells (1209-1235).[40] Robert himself also showed concern for the provision of adequate pastoral care. Clause 18 of his diocesan statutes, issued *c.*1239, states that priests were to be assigned sufficient revenue by the rector of the church, so that divine services did not suffer due to inadequate sustenance. The emphasis lay firmly on adequacy as priests were neither to be left coveting great riches nor be forced to beg.[41] Upon his elevation to the episcopate in February 1241, however, Nicholas gave up Essendon and the chapel of Bayford and the king granted the benefice to John Bezill, who two years later instituted his own vicar to the parish.[42]

One further possible episode in Nicholas's career can be implied from the king's grants during this period. On 21 November 1237 the king authorised the capture, by Nicholas, of eight deer in the forest of Windsor. Assuming that Nicholas was present in

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[35] *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 374. See below pp. 241-2.
[36] *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 379.
[37] *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 507.
[38] *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 81. Nicholas seems to have taken possession of Greenford by Hillary term 1238, when he is involved in a plea concerning service owed: *CRR 1237-42* no. 332; *Calendar of feet of fines for London and Middlesex*, eds. W. F. Hardy and W. Page i (London, 1892), 24. It is perhaps significant that the advowson of Greenford belonged to the abbey of Westminster: E. Mason, *Westminster abbey and its people, c.1050-c.1216*, (Boydell, 1996), pp. 64, 136.
[39] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 220.
[40] C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1965), pp. 131-3, 182-5.
[41] *C&S II* p. 271.
[42] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 244; *Rot. Grosseteste* pp. 274, 285.

person at Westminster to prompt the grant it is possible that his visit to court coincided with the conclusion of the legatine council held at St. Paul's, London. The dating of Otto's great council is imprecise but it is thought to have begun on 17 or 18 November and lasted for three days, thereby concluding on 20 or 21 November.[43] According to narrative sources the council was attended by the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans and various proctors of the churches of England (and maybe of Scotland and Ireland also). Although Nicholas is not recorded to have been amongst their ranks, few delegates are individually identified as being present.[44] Moreover, as his synodal statutes were later to show, a number of which are reminiscent of those issued in London, Nicholas was familiar with the canons of the council of 1237.[45] It is even possible that Nicholas had a hand in advising on their composition. D. M. Williamson argued that the language of the canons shows that Otto had consulted English clerics, including Walter Mauclerk and Walter de Gray, prior to the council in November 1237.[46] Otto met the two bishops at the negotiations held between Henry III and Alexander II of Scotland at York on 25 September 1237. Nicholas's presence at the meeting is not recorded but he was present on the journey north at Nottingham witnessing the queen's account.[47] Nevertheless, this hypothesis must remain purely speculative. For, as will be discussed below, it is generally asserted that the Durham statutes were largely drawn from those produced by Robert Grosseteste for the bishopric of Lincoln, which incorporated many of the Ottonian canons.[48]

Fortunately Nicholas was not reliant on Otto's patronage. The London council marked a high point in the co-operative relations between the papal legate and the English clergy. On the whole, although accounts of his activities are tainted by the bias of the monastic chroniclers who resented foreign interference, his legation did little to foster royal authority or baronial confidence in the king.[49] Of particular concern was his supervision of the collection of the papal subsidy to fund the pope's campaign against Henry's brother-in-law, Emperor Frederick II. While he remained in England the legate was able to sway royal opinion into supporting the levy, although in 1240 the king did command the exemption of

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[43] *C&S II* p. 238.
[44] *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury) 105; ii (Waverley) 318; Paris, *CM* iii 414. In addition to the bishops Matthew Paris noted the attendance of Simon Langton, archdeacon of Canterbury, *magister* Atho, the legate's clerk, and the king's proctors: Paris, *CM* iii 414-20.
[45] C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1968), p. 140. This discussion of the statutes assumes that they were produced by Nicholas's successor at Durham, Walter Kirkham (1249-1260), but Cheney subsequently re-examined the evidence and ascribed the authorship to Nicholas of Farnham: *C&S II* pp. 421-422.
[46] D. Williamson, 'Some aspects of the legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237-41', *EHR*, 64 (1949), 161.
[47] *Foedera* pp. 233-4; CDRS no. 1358; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 196.
[48] *C&S II* pp. 266, 422.
[49] D. Williamson, 'Some aspects of the legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237-41', *EHR*, 64 (1949), 145-7; Powicke, *Henry III* pp. 351-3.

foreign clerks in his service.[50] After Otto's departure on 5 January 1241 the king reiterated his order and extended it to include Nicholas of Farnham. In letters issued on 27 January 1241, addressed to Otto's clerk, Peter Rubeus, and the archdeacon of Huntingdon, the king angrily reproached them for neglecting his exemption of his favoured clerks. The collectors, therefore, were to return any money that they had wrongfully extracted from Nicholas.[51] In these later letters Nicholas is conspicuous, being the only cleric named in person and the sole English clerk designated as a recipient of the king's protection. Drawing on this combined evidence it seems that despite his relatively low profile in the sources, Nicholas was still a valued member of Henry's court. Moreover he was manifestly in a position to use the king's favour to his own advantage. Indeed it is possible that it was this comparative obscurity which recommended him to episcopal electors. During his career Nicholas is recorded to have been nominated for two bishoprics, Coventry-Lichfield and Durham. Several writers have argued that Nicholas was also nominated for the bishopric of Chichester, an event which A. B. Emden dated to 1222.[52] But this line of argument appears to have been based on a misreading of Matthew Paris's account of Nicholas's refusal of his election to Coventry, an event dated to 1239 by the Dunstable annalist.[53] Like Walter Mauclerk, Nicholas may have been viewed by cathedral chapters as an acceptable compromise candidate. Matthew Paris asserted that occasionally electors chose royal clerks with sufficient standing at court whose nomination would stave off further royal intervention.[54] At Coventry in 1239 two candidates were selected, Robert of Lexington and Nicholas of Farnham, both of whom were royal clerics, Robert having served as a royal justice in Henry III's reign.[55]

It is not clear how Nicholas of Farnham's name came to the ears of the Durham monks. By February 1241, when Nicholas' election took place, the monks had been locked in a bitter dispute with the king over the choice of pastor for over three years. Just as in 1226-8, the central issue of the dispute was the king's obstinate refusal to acquiesce to the monks' desire to secure a candidate of their own choosing. The local chronicles recount that following the solemn funerary rites held in honour of Richard Poore, whose body was interred at Tarrant, monastic proctors were dispatched formally to request a royal licence to elect.[56] Arriving at Windsor on 5 May 1237, the monks presented their credentials and

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[50] *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 175, 176. There is some disagreement as to the extent of Henry's support for the papal subsidy of 1239: Lunt, *Financial relations* pp. 197-205; Powicke, *Henry III* pp. 296 fn 2, 353-5.
[51] *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 347. Nicholas's churches of Essendon and Aldenham lay within Huntingdon archdeaconry. The archdeacons are thought to have acted as deputy collectors for Peter Rubeus, who together with another of Otto's clerks, Peter de Supino, had been left to continue the collection of the subsidy: Lunt, *Financial relations*, p. 203.
[52] Russell p. 88; *Biog. Ox.*
[53] Paris, *CM* iv 87; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable) 149.
[54] Paris, *CM* iii 525, v 185; *G&L* p. 91.
[55] *EEA Durham II* app. VII nos. 11, 12, 17.
[56] Much of this account is based on the Durham chronicles: *D. Ann.* pp. 5-9; *Script. Tres.* pp. 38-42.

awaited the king's favour, which, unlike the previous occasion, was granted promptly on the morrow.[57] The speed of Henry's response boded well for the convent, as it appeared to lack the evasive tactics that had marred the relations in 1226. But, unbeknown to the proctors, it had been granted in the knowledge that a royal candidate had already been proposed to the chapter in Durham. On 3 May 1237, Walter de Gray and John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, presented the king's request that the queen's uncle, William of Savoy, bishop-elect of Valence, be elevated to the see. The prior and chapter, however, proved equally evasive and announced that they could not consent as too many of their number were absent. Unmoved by royal pressure the electors settled on their prior, Thomas of Melsonby, who, somewhat reluctantly, was persuaded by the tearful prayers of the brothers and the counsel of the clergy to undertake the charge on 1 June.[58]

Henry's reaction to this defiance of royal wishes is well documented.[59] His first recourse, as it had been in 1226, was to lodge an appeal with Durham's metropolitan, Walter de Gray. In his determination to exercise his royal prerogative Henry and his supporters amassed an extensive series of objections to the prior's candidacy. These are preserved in the Durham archives, dated 23 October 1237, and were apparently presented to the archbishop's court by the king's proctors, *magister* William of Gloucester and the papal chaplain, *magister* Simon de Steland.[60] Thomas is denounced as the uneducated product of an illegitimate union between the former rector of Melsonby and a maid servant (*ancilla*), and as a known homicide who had caused the death of a certain minstrel. Several clauses contain accusations of simony, one stating that he was prepared to bribe great men to secure his election. Perhaps the most provocative, not to mention curious, claim was that Thomas, who undermined the liberties of the church of Durham, was the root cause of the strife between Richard de Marisco and the convent. At this remove it is impossible to state with any certainty just how accurate these statements were. Thomas's origins are obscure.[61] His toponymic distinguishes him as a native of north Yorkshire, and who most likely entered the Benedictine order as a monk at Durham. He is probably to be identified as the Thomas of Melsonby who was sent by the chapter of Durham, together with Ralph of Appleby, a monk of Durham, and Simon de Farlington, clerk to Philip of Poitou, to the abbey of Hexham over

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[57] In 1226 after the death of Richard de Marisco the monks were ultimately forced to nominate his successor without the necessary royal licence: W. K. Evers, *Disputes* pp. 65-70. In the calendar of the Patent Rolls the licence is dated to 5 May not 6 May 1237: *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 181.
[58] *D. Ann.* p. 6; *Script. Tres.* p. 38.
[59] W. K. Evers, *Disputes* pp. 37-39; *G&L* pp. 66-7, 81.
[60] *Script. Tres.* app. liv. For a discussion of the career of *magister* Simon de Steland, or Simon the Norman see: Powicke, *Henry III*, pp. 772-783.
[61] *Fasti* ii (Durham), pp. 31, 35.

the presentation to the church of Welton (Yorks.).[62] By September 1229 he had become the prior of Coldingham, a cell of Durham, and he is named as a witness to *Le Covenit*.[63] Nothing, however, is known of his activities during Richard de Marisco's episcopate. But given the comprehensive nature of the charges levelled against Thomas of Melsonby, it is likely that the majority were more formulaic than rooted in reality.[64] They were designed to blacken the reputation of the opposition and prejudice Walter de Gray against him.[65]

Nevertheless Henry's objections reveal the crown's traditional preoccupation with the security of the north. For in addition to the ecclesiastical charges, the king asserted that the bishop-elect had sworn fealty to the king of Scotland, and in his service as counsellor and confident of Alexander, had brought much evil to England.[66] It was therefore unthinkable that such an enemy of the king should become bishop of Durham, who controlled important castles and munitions to conserve the realm against the Scots. For good measure, Durham's maritime position was also highlighted, with the accompanying suggestion that it would be perilous to elevate a man who would invite invasion by the French and Flemish and others of the king's adversaries. Revealingly out of these extensive claims, the only two to be admitted by the archbishop at his inquiry were those related to the questionable fidelity of Thomas of Melsonby and the accusations of simony.[67] But caught between the conflicting demands of his church and his monarch, de Gray seems to have been unwilling to make a definitive decision for either party. Frustrated, both sides appealed to Rome, the Durham chapter seeking to prompt the archbishop into action, while the king wished only to forestall any proceedings that were disadvantageous to his cause.[68] In response Pope Gregory IX, in a letter dated 26 April 1238, commended the archbishop's prudence but ordered him to proceed, confirming the election if canonical, within four months of the receipt of the papal mandate. As added insurance Gregory also wrote to the legate, Otto, directing him to complete the task if de Gray failed.[69] Neither de Gray nor the legate, however, were able to

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[62] *FPD* p. 297. Though undated the testimony of Anketil which describes the embassy to Hexham presumably occurred before Simon of Farlington's appointment as archdeacon of Durham which occurred after July 1217: *Fasti* ii (Durham), p. 38.
[63] *EEA Durham II* no. 302.
[64] *G&L* p. 67.
[65] Henry also accused Thomas of breaking the rule of St. Benedict by eating meat, and allowing his monks to do the same, a practice which Otto legislated against at the General Chapter of the Benedictines held at Oxford and afterwards at legatine council at London in November 1237: *C&S II* p. 253; Paris, *CM* iii 432; W. A. Pantin ed., *The Chapters of the English Black Monks*, Camden Society, 3rd ser., 45 (1931), i 24.
[66] Coldingham's position north of Berwick in the borders of Scotland renders this claim at least plausible.
[67] The archbishop later rejected the claim of simony and refused to examine the charge of hostility: *Reg. Greg. IX* nos. 4547, 4946; CEPR pp. 176, 183.
[68] *D. Ann.* pp. 7-8; *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 206, 209.
[69] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4313; CEPR p. 172. The Durham chroniclers claim that the archbishop was allowed three months in which to act: *Script. Tres.* p. 40; *D. Ann.* p. 8. Also W. K. Evers, *Disputes* claims that it is not certain whether de Gray and Otto were supposed to work together or if the legate

bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.[70] Henry, despite relinquishing his desire to secure the see for William of Savoy, was determined to reject Thomas of Melsonby.[71]

In September 1238 he despatched Simon de Steland to Rome to represent the crown in the matter of the disputed elections at Winchester, Norwich and Durham. Simon's embassy appears to have secured a papal mandate nominating three papal judges, headed by Robert Grosseteste, who were ordered to pursue the matter within two months.[72] But this latest attempt to break the deadlock was ignored, as the king never used the mandate. In a much neglected passage the pope later recounted the reason for the king's decision to disregard the mandate. Gregory IX stated that Robert Grosseteste had once more fallen out of favour with the king and that his fellow judges, following the terms of the mandate, were unable to proceed without him and the matter was allowed to drop.[73] The cause of this apparently renewed animosity between king and prelate is not recorded, although it may relate to Grosseteste's attempts to prevent beneficed clergy from undertaking secular duties.[74] A fresh appeal was thus sent to Rome, and during this embassy the king called for a new selection of delegates, but the pope appears not to have granted this request.[75] At this point the account becomes confused by conflicting evidence in the sources. The Durham annals claim that the monks suffered a severe setback when four of their number, including their sub-prior and chamberlain, died en route. Gregory IX then summoned Thomas of Melsonby to Rome to submit his case personally to papal judgement.[76] Yet at the last the king's nerve seems to have failed him and he had the prior detained as he prepared to take ship at Dover. The king's obstinacy and unrelenting delaying tactics finally had the desired effect. Cowed into submission, Thomas of Melsonby renounced his election and returned to Durham on 8 April 1240.[77] If the Durham annalist's statement is accurate, the rationale for

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was supposed to interfere if the archbishop failed, which appears to be refuted by the evidence: W. K. Evers, *Disputes* p. 37.

[70] Gregory later stated that the reason Otto did not intervene was due to the latter's absence on legation to Scotland and Ireland: *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4548, CEPR p. 176.

[71] William of Savoy had been nominated as bishop of Winchester after the death of Peter des Roches in June 1238: Powicke, *Henry III* pp. 270-271; D. Williamson, 'Some aspects of the legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237-41', *EHR*, 64 (1949), 148.

[72] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 232; *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4946; CEPR p. 183.

[73] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4946.

[74] Robert Grosseteste began his campaign for the removal of clerks from secular government in 1236. Famously in 1245 the matter once more erupted as the bishop refused to acquiesce to Henry's presentation of Robert Passelewe to a church in Northampton, provoking a lecture on the relations between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*: *Epistolae* pp. 348-51 no. 124; Powicke, *Henry III* p. 288 and n. R. W. Southern in his interpretation of these events, however, argued, that the cordial relations between Henry and Grosseteste were not disrupted by this affair: R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The growth of an English mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 265-271, especially p. 269.

[75] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4946.

[76] The summons was dispatched 5 August 1239, but it appears that Thomas did not depart for Rome until 1240. Thomas's election was still viewed as valid by the pope on 1 February 1240; *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4946; CEPR p. 183; Paris, *CM* iv 61-2; *D. Ann.* pp. 8-9; *Script. Tres.* app. no. lvi.

[77] *D. Ann.* p. 9; *Script. Tres.* p. 40; *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4946.

this drastic measure is unclear. Arguably Henry could have been dubious about the efficacy of his accusations of simony and enmity against Thomas. Archbishop de Gray is reported to have claimed that he had been placed under unwarranted pressure to admit these objections in his inquiry, a degree of pressure which Henry would find difficult to recreate in distant Rome.[78] Moreover, Henry may also have been unwilling to give up the revenues of the wealthy see which, by the time of the prior's arrest, had been swelling his coffers for over two years.[79] In a similar case, R. C. Stacey argued that the six year vacancy at Winchester, from 1238 to 1244, was caused partly by Henry's hostility to William de Raleigh's candidacy and partly by financial considerations.[80]

Nevertheless, the account of the Durham chronicle is contradicted by surviving documents and Matthew Paris's somewhat flawed account of the death of the monastic proctors in Rome. Based on this evidence, two further versions of events can be suggested. Matthew Paris asserted that Thomas's resignation was a reaction to the tragic demise of his colleagues in Rome, upon whom the prior's hopes had been resting.[81] F. Barlow, however, reasons that this statement was the result of a faulty chronology. He points instead to an undated document preserved in the Durham archives which indicates that Thomas's resignation predates the sub-prior's ill-fated mission to Rome.[82] According to the document this delegation had been granted plenitude of power to make a new election or postulation at the papal Curia. From this Barlow deduces that the mandate dated 18 August 1240 authorising a new election was issued posthumously, presumably to the remainder of the delegation.[83] Notwithstanding this confusion over the exact chronology of events, it is apparent that the convent had once again lost their bid to select a pastor entirely at their own discretion. Moreover the king appears to have been far from magnanimous in victory. The Durham annalist recounts that he immediately forbade the monks to select two further specified candidates, Roger of Weseham, dean of Lincoln and *magister* Simon of London, canon of Auckland, together with a ban on all monks. He proposed in their stead either William of Savoy's brother, Boniface, or another Savoyard, Peter d'Aigueblanche, bishop-elect of Hereford who was later refused at London in 1241 and Lincoln in 1253. Matthew Paris, however, who was particularly prejudiced against Boniface of Savoy, noted that their candidacy was unsuitable as they were of foreign birth and thoroughly ignorant in learning

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[78] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4548.
[79] According to M. Howell's calculations the sum received by the crown from the vacant bishopric was £6,861 15s. 10d.: *Regalian right in Medieval England* (London, 1963), p. 218.
[80] Stacey, *Politics* pp. 2 21-2.
[81] Paris, *CM* iv 61-2.
[82] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5712 m.7; printed in *D. Ann.* no. 177a.
[83] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 5290; CEPR p. 192; For Barlow's examination of the conflicting evidence in this election dispute see: *D. Ann.* pp. 205-6.

and morals.[84] On 13 November 1240, therefore, the whole process began again as Henry issued a new licence to elect.[85] Faced with Henry's continued mulish determination, the monks elected Nicholas of Farnham on 2 February 1241. According to Matthew Paris the convent was inspired by the Holy Spirit to a unanimous election. Nevertheless, though they were careful to follow correct canonical procedure, their choice was motivated by a desire to please the king and bring an end to the ruinous expense that the dispute had inflicted.[86]

As noted above, precisely how Nicholas's name came to be suggested to the monks is uncertain. One possible route, mentioned in the introduction, might have been through the good offices of the legate, Otto. Despite his recorded lack of intervention in 1238, Otto was subsequently charged in October 1239 with ensuring that Thomas of Melsonby appeared in Rome so that the pope could judge his case.[87] Having carried out this mandate, however, Otto appears to have had no communication with the Durham chapter and his legation seems to have ended before Nicholas was elected. Alternatively, Nicholas may have owed his postulation to his friendship with Robert Grosseteste. The latter's interest in the church of Durham appears to have been fixed by papal intervention. On 5 October 1239, in addition to summoning Prior Thomas to Rome, the bishop of Lincoln was ordered to ensure that the diocese suffered no molestation during the vacancy.[88] This was followed on 1 February 1240 by a mandate addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and Robert Grosseteste, instructing them to see that the expenses incurred by the monks during Thomas's election were recouped from the revenues of the see after his election was confirmed.[89] Given this connection to Durham, it is significant that until they were forbidden by the king in 1240 the monks had contemplated postulating another of Grosseteste's confidants, Roger of Weseham, a *lector* in theology to the Franciscans at Oxford between 1235 and 1240, who is thought to have been appointed dean of Lincoln by the bishop.[90] It is plausible to suggest, therefore, either Grosseteste or Weseham could have recommended Nicholas to the beleaguered chapter.

Nicholas, however, appears to have been unwilling to undertake the charge. He reputedly claimed that his previous refusal of the bishopric of Coventry, a poorer see relative to Durham's riches, would make his acceptance seem hypocritical.[91] But fortunately for the chapter, Nicholas's scruples were said to have been overcome by an impassioned plea by Robert Grosseteste. The bishop, who is made a mouthpiece for Matthew Paris's own

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[84] Paris, *CM* iv 61; R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 119-120, 149.
[85] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 238.
[86] Paris, *CM* iv 86.
[87] *Reg. Greg. IX* no. 4946; CEPR p. 183.
[88] *Script. Tres.* app. no. lv.
[89] It is unclear whether this mandate was carried out after Thomas renounced his election: *Script. Tres.* app. no. lvi.
[90] *Fasti* (Lincoln), pp. 10, 36-7; *Biog. Ox.*

prejudice against foreigners, reminded Nicholas of the lamentable state of the church of Durham, which was destitute without a pastor.[92] If he did not accept this charge, the king would seize the opportunity to elect a foreigner, someone ignorant and degenerate, who would bring ruin to the ecclesiastical dignity and peril to the whole realm. The speech is markedly reminiscent of Henry's objections to Thomas of Melsonby's candidacy, as Grosseteste is then supposed to have reiterated the complaint that the bishopric of Durham, on the borders of Scotland, was vital for the defence of the realm against all enemies. Following this Nicholas is reported to have drawn a deep breath and submitted obediently, saying that he would comply with his diocesan's monition.[93] To what extent this largely uncorroborated passage reflects the views or intervention of Robert Grosseteste is unclear. The chronicler may well have concocted the account using royal or papal documents related to the disputed election. But while allowances probably have to be made for an extensive degree of poetic licence in Paris's account, it is possible that Nicholas did require some persuasion and that Grosseteste was the man who provided it. The Melrose chronicler noted that at the time of his election he was advanced in years and in 1244 he was on the brink of death, suffering from incurable dropsy and asthma, and disfigured by jaundice.[94] Nevertheless, despite his frailty, Nicholas was an acceptable compromise.

On 10 February 1241, Henry confirmed the monks' election, news of which appears to have reached the royal court after 27 January 1241 (when Nicholas is still referred to as clerk), and ordered that the temporalities of the see be restored.[95] The new bishop was duly consecrated by Walter de Gray at Gloucester, on 26 May or 9 June. The discrepancy in the dating of this event is caused by conflicting evidence in the sources.[96] On balance it seems that the latter date is more likely. Matthew Paris gives an account of the consecration ceremony, which was celebrated in the presence of the king and queen and attended by many bishops, abbots and secular magnates. Following his consecration Nicholas performed his profession of obedience to his metropolitan.[97] Although this level of detail is not present in other narrative sources, Henry's itinerary shows that he was at Westminster on 26 May and left London travelling via Bisham (6 June) and Abingdon (7 June) and was at Gloucester on

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[91] Paris, *CM* iv 87.
[92] R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 141-2.
[93] This presumably refers to Nicholas's benefice at Essendon in Lincoln diocese.
[94] *Chron. Melrose* p. 66; Paris, *CM* iv 331.
[95] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 244; *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 272, 347.
[96] The Durham sources state that Nicholas's consecration occurred on *die Trinitatis* (26 May 1241): *D. Ann.* p. 9; *Script Tres.* p. 41. Other chroniclers, however, date the event to 9 June 1241 (the second Sunday after Trinity): *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury), 118; ii (Winchester), 88; Paris, *CM* iv 134. The annals of Osney give 13 June 1241, which has been dismissed by F. Barlow, although the king appears to have been at Gloucester on this date: *Ann. Mon.* iv (Osney) 88; *D. Ann.* p. 206; *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 308-9.
[97] Paris, *CM* iv 134-5.

10 and 11 June.[98] Moreover, on 22 May Nicholas was granted lavish gifts of game, totalling 20 carcasses, from the forests of Dean, Tewkesbury and Feckenham, all of which were to be carried to nearby Gloucester.[99] Presumably these were intended to contribute to the provisions gracing the new bishop's table during the accompanying festivities. Like his predecessor before him, his installation was then celebrated at Durham on the feast of the translation of St. Cuthbert (4 September).[100]

Nicholas's elevation to Durham appears to have marked a change in his duties at court. On 10 February 1241, the same day that Henry consented to his election, he received a quitclaim of all exactions and demands which the king might make on him pertaining to the period of Nicholas's service. Furthermore Nicholas was also discharged from his financial ties to the king's court.[101] This is not to suggest that Nicholas retired to his northerly see and disassociated himself entirely from the king's counsels. According to Matthew Paris the bishop still held some sway over the king. Shortly before 27 October 1241, Nicholas arrived in London and with the support of the queen and many trusted nobles, successfully petitioned the king to restore the Marshal estates to Walter Marshal. Walter was made earl but the king withheld the two strategic royal castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan, which had been lost to royal control in 1234.[102] The new bishop of Durham was also actively involved in negotiations with the Scottish crown. Henry was anxious to cement relations with Alexander II following the Scottish king's momentous surrender of his claims to the counties of Northumberland, Westmorland and Cumberland at York in September 1237. In return for his surrender Alexander II had been granted lands worth £200 annually. The acquisition of these lands, however, did not run smoothly as neither king could agree on the precise method for choosing the land which the terms of the treaty specified must be situated away from castles.[103] In February 1242 the task of assigning them was passed to Nicholas of Farnham. Moreover, the bishop of Durham was authorised to offer an extra £20 worth of lands in the northern counties to Alexander together with the power to grant the liberties contained in the covenant made in 1237.[104] Whether Nicholas was actually present at the discussion is unclear, as Henry dispatched William de Kamho, sheriff of Northumberland, and William Blockley to meet Alexander's envoys on 23 March. They were to carry a transcript of Henry's covenant with Alexander to which the bishop of

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[98] *Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 303-4, 307-9.
[99] *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 52.
[100] *D. Ann.* p. 9; *Script. Tres.* p. 41.
[101] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 245.
[102] Paris, *CM* iv 158; D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery* (London, 2003), pp. 316, 363.
[103] *Foedera* pp. 233-4; CDRS nos. 1358, 1370, 1440; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The making of a Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp.534-5.
[104] *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 272-3

Durham's seal was appended.[105] In the same year, Matthew Paris credits Nicholas as the broker in a marriage agreement between Henry's daughter, Margaret and Alexander's heir. Paris' assertion, however, contradicts accounts given by the majority of chroniclers, who date the betrothal to the peace settlement at Newcastle in 1244.[106]

Nicholas's intervention in Scottish affairs did not end there. As tensions rose once again after the failure of Henry's Poitevin campaign, Nicholas was ordered to remain in his diocese in order to protect royal interests in the region. According to a royal mandate dated 22 April 1244, rumours of treachery had reached the bishop's ears, which may be a reference to the anti-Scottish agitation being carried out by Walter Bisset, a fugitive from Alexander's court.[107] Bisset sought to convince Henry that the Scots were making secret alliances with the French and were building up their border fortifications. The king therefore commanded Nicholas not to travel south to meet Boniface of Savoy, who had been confirmed archbishop-elect of Canterbury by Pope Innocent IV in September 1243 and was finally journeying to England to take up his post.[108] Shortly after this Nicholas was named as one of the delegation headed by Walter de Gray, along with Walter Mauclerk and Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, which was dispatched to Earl Patrick of Dunbar to listen to Alexander's intended reparations for his actions against the English. The emissaries were also empowered to provide the Scottish king with safe conduct to and from the meeting with Henry at Newcastle. At this conference, despite some sabre rattling on both sides (each king being accompanied by a large army), peaceful relations were quickly restored on 14 August 1244.[109] In contrast to his secular duties, on reaching the episcopate Nicholas's contribution to the wider English church appears to have been limited. During his episcopate he was the subject of only one papal delegation, the content of which reveals that it was probably the result of his reported friendship with Robert Grosseteste rather than because of his standing in Rome. On 23 August 1243 the new pontiff, Innocent IV, ordered the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury to lift the ban of excommunication they had laid on Robert Grosseteste. If they failed to do so, Nicholas was instructed to fulfil the papal mandate in

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[105] CDRS no. 1426; *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 272-3. William of Blockley had become rector of Bedlington church (Northumberland) during Richard de Marisco's episcopate, and frequently attests Nicholas of Farnham's *acta*: *EEA Durham II* app. IX no. 32; DCDCM 2.1.Pont.16, 2.1.Pont.13, 2.1.Pont.14; DCDCM Misc. Chs. 6098, 6447, 6362; PRO E326/11309, E212/104; Bod. Dodsworth MS 49, p. 43 no. 18. s.xvii.

[106] Paris, *CM* iv 192-3.

[107] *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 244.

[108] Boniface arrived in England on 25 April 1244: *Gervase of Canterbury* ii 201. For his career c.f. E. L. Cox, *The Eagles of Savoy* (Princeton, 1974), pp. 134-138.

[109] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 432; Paris, *CM* iv 430; *Foedera* p. 275. For an overview of relations between the two kingdom's during Henry's reign see: D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery* (London, 2003), chapter 10 especially pp. 327-337; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The making of a Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 535-7. M. Brown, 'Henry the peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249-1272', in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, eds. B. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (Aldershot, 2002), 44-7. See also above pp. 60-1, 122-3.

their stead and no appeals were to be allowed.[110] The dispute which had raged over visitation rights and the attempt by the monastery to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in the archbishopric of Canterbury while the see was vacant, was reaching its final stages. In July 1243 the king, while absent on campaign in Poitou, had written to the regents, Walter de Gray, Walter Mauclerk and William de Cantilupe, suspending all punitive actions by the monks and suffragans of Canterbury until his return.[111] Despite this intervention rumbles of discontent continued both from the convent and Robert Grosseteste until the matter was dropped upon the arrival of the newly consecrated Archbishop Boniface in 1245.[112]

This lack of employment in papal affairs, a record which is comparable to that of Bernard of Ragusa and Hugh of Beaulieu, is curious. Nicholas was an educated man whose accomplishments as bishop and in his earlier career show him to be an orthodox believer, interested in the reform and welfare of his church. His concern for the correct running of his diocese is exemplified by the synodal statutes issued for Durham 1241x1249. These were previously attributed to Nicholas's successor, Walter Kirkham (1249-1260), but F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney have observed that this was based on careless copies made in the late fourteenth century, and that a thirteenth century manuscript of the statutes identifies Nicholas of Farnham as the author.[113] In composing his statutes, Nicholas was most heavily indebted to those produced by his predecessor, Richard Poore.[114] Nicholas seems to have intended his to be an extension of Poore's work, refining and expanding where necessary. As a result new legislation was added including clauses dealing with divided parishes served by more than one chaplain (26-7), and the hearing of confession which is to be reserved to priests who have the power of binding and loosing to impose penance (39). Legislation was also laid down to govern the behaviour of his flock. Heavy drinking and games, especially combative games such as jousting at quintaines, were prohibited in holy places (44).[115] Clause 36 hints at the reality of living in a border region, as clerics were forbidden to carry arms except perhaps when in defence, when compelled in times of war and other reasonable

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[110] Paris, *CM* iv 258-9.
[111] *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 66.
[112] During this period Grosseteste secured a papal indult protecting him from excommunication: CEPR p. 209. On events of the dispute see: F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln* (London, 1899), pp. 156-160; M. M. Morgan, 'The excommunication of Grosseteste in 1243', *EHR*, 57 (1942), 244-250.
[113] *C&S II* pp. 421-2.
[114] For a discussion of the sources of the Durham statutes, though they are still ascribed to Walter Kirkham, see: C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the thirteenth century* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 138-40.
[115] *Insuper interdicimus levationes arietum super rotas et ludos in quibus decertatur ad bravium consequendum. Insuper et scotlatorum potationes et ludos in locris sacris quoscunque artius prohibemus, prout in patrum et predecessorum constitutionibus est statutum.* A similar prohibition was made in the statutes of Worcester (26 July 1240): *C&S II* p. 313 no. 69.

causes. To ensure adherence to the statutes, archdeacons were ordered to abide by the clauses and to carry out their visitations with diligence (51).[116]

Apart from Poore's work and Nicholas's own additions, as noted earlier, the statutes are also based on those produced for Lincoln by Robert Grosseteste *c.*1239. In these the practical application of the duties of parish priests were a major consideration. Nicholas thus adopted clauses dealing with the availability of priests, who were to be prepared to attend their parishioners day or night (10). Clergy were bidden to learn the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins and the seven sacraments and diligently publish them both by word and deed (1). Furthermore, either through his own first hand knowledge or through Grosseteste's statutes, a few of the canons laid down at the legatine council held at London in 1237 by Otto also appear.[117] Significantly clause 40, which relates to the need for rectors to be resident, is markedly similar to clause 13 of the London council and seems to have been based purely on this source, not filtered through the Lincoln statutes. The other major sources are the canons of the recent Lateran Councils of 1179 and 1215 and the decretals of Gregory IX.[118] In addition to the synodal statutes, Nicholas is probably responsible for the statutes issued for the peculiars of the church of Durham in the diocese of York.[119]

Together with his legislative work, like many of his episcopal colleagues, Nicholas was an enthusiastic builder. Shortly after he became bishop, work began on the Cathedral. Tradition has it that Nicholas's great undertaking was the building of the chapel of the nine altars, the elaborate chapel at the east end of the cathedral, initiated by Richard Poore, which was designed to provide a prestigious setting for the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The Durham chroniclers noted that construction began in 1242, indicating that despite vacancy the convent had preserved enough revenue to finance the project.[120] Nicholas lent his personal support by granting an indulgence of 40 days to benefactors contributing to the repairs of the church of Durham. His action appears to have been copied by Walter de Gray and Walter Mauclerk, both of whom were supervising alterations to their own cathedrals, as two unnamed prelates of York and Carlisle also offered indulgences of 40 days.[121] On 28 January 1249, shortly before his resignation of the bishopric, Nicholas granted the church of Bedlington to the sacrist of Durham, committing its revenues to the fabric of the new work

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[116] The statutes are printed in *C&S II* pp. 422-435.
[117] Clauses 21, 40, 42.
[118] Clauses 4, 7-8, 16-17, 28, 48.
[119] The statutes for the Durham peculiars appear before Nicholas's main statutes in the Stowe manuscript, BL MS Stowe 930, f. 3r; c.f. *C&S II* pp. 435-445. For details on Durham's franchise in York diocese see: F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 53-115.
[120] This may be in part due to the dedication shown by Prior Thomas of Melsonby who is also accredited as responsible for the building work at Durham: *Script. Tres.* p. 41; *D. Ann.* p. 9; W. Greenwell, *Durham Cathedral* (Durham, 1932), p. 66.
[121] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 1518.

and the construction and maintenance of the roof.[122] The actual building work may have been supervised by Richard of Farnham, who is described as *architector novae fabricae Dunelmensis.*[123] Richard's relationship with Nicholas is unknown, though it has been speculated that he was he was in some way related to the bishop, perhaps his brother.[124] His name first appears in the Durham records during Nicholas's episcopate, witnessing a number of the bishop's *acta*, and by 1247 he had become rector of the church of Houghton-le-Spring.[125]

Nicholas's achievements as bishop of Durham belie the assertion that he was a more successful teacher than prelate, or that his episcopate was too short to make much impact on the diocese.[126] His regime fits the picture of a golden age of the convent, begun under Richard Poore, where relations between bishop and monastery were largely undisturbed by the disputes that had dominated previous episcopates.[127] Nicholas was generous in his grants to the prior and chapter. On 3 October 1242 he gave the monks a plot of land in Ivesmoss, followed in August 1248 by the grant of 100 acres of woodland on the north side of the convent's cow-pasture (vaccary) near Witton.[128] Moreover he was willing to risk royal displeasure to assert the rights of his church. In 1247, while the church of Carlisle lay vacant after the resignation of Walter Mauclerk, Nicholas made a bid to secure the profits of Carlisle's appropriated churches that lay within his diocese. It was a notable departure from the usual wholesale assumption of episcopal revenues of a vacant see by the crown. Henry reacted by ordering that the fruits of the relevant churches be sequestered until Michaelmas pending an inquiry as to whether the revenue should pertain to the king or the bishop.[129] Between October 1247 and October 1248 Nicholas confirmed the appropriation of these churches to the prior and convent of Carlisle and their new bishop, Silvester de Everdon, provided that Durham retained the right of presentation.[130] The dispute with the crown, however, remained unsolved until 1260, when the bishop of Durham agreed to pay a fine of £1000 for income received from this source prior to this date and for the right to collect these revenues in future vacancies.[131]

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[122] DCDCM 2.1.Pont.14.
[123] DCDCM 2.18.Spec.7.
[124] J. Harvey, *English Medieval architects, a biographical dictionary down to 1550* (Gloucester, 1984), p. 106; W. Greenwell, *Durham Cathedral* (Durham, 1932), p. 66.
[125] DCDCM 2.1.Pont.17; DCDCM Misc. Ch. 6098; PRO E326/11309; PRO E212/104; DCDCM SHD 3/7.
[126] Talbot and Hammond p. 224; *G&L* p. 40.
[127] F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford, 1950), p. 40.
[128] DCDCM 2.1.Pont.12a, 13.
[129] *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 510.
[130] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 7207. The churches involved included Newcastle, Newburn, Warkworth, Corbridge and a moiety of Whittingham, c.f. BL MS Lansdowne 397, f. 5r s.xiv med. After Nicholas' resignation, the archbishop of York also attempted to claim the payment of 40 marks dictated by this agreement: *Cl. R. 1251-3* pp. 163-7. See above p. 40.
[131] *Pat. R. 1258-66* p. 86; M. Howell, *Regalian right in Medieval England* (London, 1963), pp. 114-5.

In addition to the affairs of the Durham convent, Nicholas's *acta* also show that he took an active interest in the religious houses in the diocese and beyond. He issued charters of confirmation and inspeximus for the abbeys of Fountains and Newminster and the priory of Guisborough.[132] Moreover, like his predecessor, Richard Poore, his judgement was occasionally sought in disputes. On 15 March 1246, at the request of the prior and convent of Hexham, he issued orders respecting the advowson of Stamfordham church. This stated that after the death or resignation of the rector the advowson should pass to the bishop, while the tithes of the church and its appurtenances should be assigned to the priory as a simple benefice without cure of souls.[133] Similarly the concern exhibited in previous episcopates for the spiritual welfare of the diocese and the adequate provision of pastoral care is evident in the *acta*. According to a later papal confirmation he continued his predecessors' allocation of fit portions to the vicarages in the churches of Aycliffe, Pittington, Norham and St Peter's, Bywell, the advowsons of which were owned by Durham priory.[134] In his confirmation of the churches appropriated to the church of Carlisle, Nicholas stipulated that suitable vicarages are to be provided out of their revenues.[135] He also founded a chapel dedicated to St. Edmund at Gateshead *c.*1247, which was united with the established hospital of Holy Trinity Gateshead in 1248. The chapel was to be served by four priests, obedient to Gilbert, the master of the house, who were to divide the ministerial duties between them. These included the celebration of Mass for the Virgin Mary and offices for the soul of Nicholas of Farnham and the faithful departed.[136] Endowments were subsequently added from episcopal possessions, including the grant of the vill of Ouston together with the advowson of the church of Stamfordham. The church of Durham was then compensated by lands, some of which had been bought by Nicholas himself.[137]

Nicholas surrounded himself with a *familia* which contained a number of highly educated clerics.[138] The majority including *magister* John of Reigate, who was probably presented to the church of Whitburn (Durham) by Nicholas, were in-comers to the bishopric.[139] But a few, like *magister* William of Kilkenny, later keeper of the seal and

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[132] BL Add MS 18276, f. 98v s.xvi in; DCDCM Misc. Ch. 6150; Newminster Cart. pp. 46, 42, 82, 215, 217-8.
[133] CEPR p. 278; DCDCM Misc. Ch. 6580.
[134] The papal confirmation, dated 4 October 1256, stated that Richard de Marisco and Richard Poore and other former bishops of Durham had acted in this manner: DCDCM Cart. 1 17r. Aycliffe and Pittington having been granted to the convent by Richard de Marisco: (*EEA Durham II* no. 260), while St. Peter's, Bywell and Norham were granted by Bishop Hugh le Puiset or confirmed during his episcopate: *EEA Durham I* no. 37; Holtzmann ii 148-9, 212.
[135] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 7207.
[136] DCDCM 2.3.Spec.65; D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, (London, 1971), p. 360.
[137] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 6098; DCDCM 2.3.Spec.65.
[138] For further details on the composition and careers of Nicholas's household see: *Early Merton Rolls* pp. 15-18.
[139] John of Reigate was chancellor of Oxford University 1239-*c.*1241, *Biog. Ox.*

chancellor of the Exchequer, had been brought to Durham by Richard Poore. His membership of Nicholas's household, however, appears to have been brief as he witnessed only one charter early on in the episcopate.[140] A small number of Poore's other clerks and associates also continued to serve the new bishop. Chief amongst these was *magister* John de Romsey who once more acted as bishop's steward, a position he had occupied throughout much of Poore's episcopate, an office also filled by Geoffrey de Leukenor in 1242.[141] Together with *magister* Martin of St. Cross and Nicholas's clerk, Robert of St. Albans, John de Romsey is the most frequent attestor of episcopal *acta.*[142] But perhaps the most notable of Nicholas's clerks was Walter de Merton, the founder of Merton College, Oxford. As J. R. L. Highfield concludes, Walter was 'not a scholar, but he was the friend of scholars'. He had been presented by the celebrated scholar, Adam Marsh, to Brother Adam Bechesoveres to be ordained as a subdeacon. The ordination was to be carried out by Robert Grosseteste, to whose household Adam probably belonged.[143] It is therefore possible that it was Robert Grosseteste who in turn introduced Merton to Nicholas of Farnham. Between 1242 and 1247, when he departed apparently to serve as a clerk in the royal chancery under William of Kilkenny, he was employed by Nicholas in a variety of roles from bishop's chancellor to justice.[144] His relationship with Nicholas of Farnham is commemorated in the 1264 statutes of Merton College, in which the former bishop appears at the head of a list of benefactors of the college.[145] Unlike Walter Mauclerk, who granted lands to the Franciscan friary at Oxford, no details of Nicholas's contribution to the college survive. Walter de Merton, however, did use his northern connections to build up the early endowment of his college, purchasing the manor of Stillington (N. Yorks.), from a debt ridden local landowner, Ralph de Amundeville.[146] As J. R. L. Highfield noted, the world of the founders of the early Oxford colleges was a microcosm, one which had significant links to the north of England

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[140] Dated 3 October 1242: DCDCM 2.1.Pont.13. William of Kilkenny had been granted lands in the vill of Stanley (Durham) between 1228 and 1234 (*EEA Durham II* no. 328). For his career see: *Biog. Ox.*

[141] The majority of charters witnessed by John de Romsey in Nicholas's episcopate refer to him simply as '*dominus*': DCDCM 2.1.Pont.12a, 2.1.Pont.13, 2.1.Pont.14, 2.1.Pont.16, 2.1.Pont.17; DCDCM Misc. Chs. 6098, 6447; PRO E326/11309; PRO E212/104; Bod. Dodsworth MS 49, p. 43 no. 18. s.xvii. Only one accords him the title of bishop's steward which is unfortunately undated though it is asserted that Geoffrey de Leukenor was his successor: DCDCM Misc. Ch. 6110; *Miscellanea* ii xiii.

[142] Martin de Sancta Cruce has been identified as Martin of St. Cross of Totton: *Early Merton Rolls* p. 15.

[143] *Mon. Fran.* i 405; *Early Merton Rolls* pp. 9-10.

[144] DCDCM 2.1.Pont.13, 2.1.Pont.17; Bod. Dodsworth MS 49, p. 43 no. 18. s.xvii; *Early Rolls of Merton College* pp. 15-18.

[145] *Merton Muniments*, ed. P. S. Gallen and H. W. Garrod (Oxford, 1928), p. 15.

[146] MCR 2297, 2307, 2308 Successive members of the Amundeville family had acted as witnesses for the bishops of Durham stretching back to Hugh le Puiset's episcopate. The family is noted to have been in financial difficulties, with debts to Jewish money lenders in King John's reign: c.f. Holt, *Northerners* pp. 164-5.

and to Durham in particular.[147] Three colleges, Merton, Balliol and University, were founded by men with northern connections, the last by a fellow scholar of Nicholas, William of Durham, who probably had been made rector of Bishop Wearmouth (Durham) *c.*1235 by Richard Poore.[148] Such connections show the depth of scholastic talent and interest which had developed in Durham during the course of the early thirteenth century, encouraged by two great scholar bishops, Richard Poore and Nicholas of Farnham.[149]

Given his substantial contribution to the diocese of Durham, allowing Nicholas's achievements to be overshadowed by the more negative events of his episcopacy, as some commentator have done, arguably distorts the evidence.[150] One of the few disputes to mar Nicholas's tenure of Durham was a quarrel which centred on the liberties of the church of Tynemouth, a cell of the abbey of St. Albans. This dispute, which occupies a prominent place in the pages of Matthew Paris's chronicle, occurred at the very end of Nicholas's episcopate. In May 1247 an agreement had been reached between the two parties, in the presence of papal judges delegate, over the visitation rights of the bishop in regard to the parish church of Tynemouth. A decision was also made on the various privileges and liberties of the priory of Tynemouth, which included the stipulation that its prior should be appointed or dismissed by the abbot of St. Albans. Moreover the prior was not required to attend diocesan synods or chapters.[151] Tynemouth priory had long been the subject of litigation between the houses of Durham and St. Albans. In 1174 the prior and convent of Durham had renounced their claim to the church and confirmed St. Albans' ownership.[152] But the intricacies of the relationship of bishop and priory apparently remained ill-defined, necessitating the agreement of May 1247. Certain aspects still seem to have been neglected as shortly after this, according to Matthew Paris, Nicholas, acting contrary to his honour, rashly infringed the privileges of the house. The chief cause for complaint was the bishop's reputed interference in the revenues of Tynemouth which prompted Matthew Paris to rehearse elements of his abbey's various privileges and grants concerning pensions and episcopal exactions. In defence of its privileges the abbey of St. Albans in 1248 procured

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[147] *Early Merton Rolls* p. 68.

[148] *EEA Durham II* no. 315. For his turbulent relationship with Nicholas of Farnham: c.f. W. Carr, *University College*, (London, 1902). On Balliol college, founded by John Balliol as a penance imposed by Nicholas's successor, Walter Kirkham: c.f. *Chron. Lanercost* p. 69; H. Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the middle ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, ii (Oxford, 1936), 179-181.

[149] It is worth noting that in addition to the bishop's, scholastic interests were also fostered by the priors of Durham. Prior Bertram of Middleton (1244-1258) donated a manuscript which included transcripts of sermons by various authors including Robert Grosseteste and Friar Jordan of Saxony the successor to St. Dominic as Master-General of the Friar's Preachers, see: A. G. Little and D. Douie, 'Three sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic, preached in England, AD 1229', *EHR*, 54 (1939), 1-19.

[150] Talbot and Hammond p. 224.

[151] Paris, *CM* iv 615-6; Paris, *Gesta Abbatum* i 390-1.

[152] *EEA Durham I* p. xxx, nos. 137-8.

royal letters addressed to the bishop of Durham ordering Nicholas to desist from harassing the prior of Tynemouth.[153] Nevertheless, despite this provocative behaviour, Matthew Paris, whose jealous devotion to the privileges of his abbey colours much of his chronicle, is remarkably equitable in his treatment of Nicholas. As the *Chronica Majora* was composed contemporaneously with this dispute, the events will have been fresh in the chronicler's mind.[154] Yet, while previous bishops of Durham had been vigorously condemned for their treatment of the church and St. Albans in particular, Nicholas emerges from Paris's account of dispute with a comparatively mild reprimand.[155] Moreover, as we have seen, his overall respect for Nicholas appears not to have been adversely affected.[156]

The success of Nicholas's regime is all the more noteworthy when it is remembered that he was beset by old age and periodic bouts of illness. Matthew Paris provides a vivid and moving account of his sufferings in 1244, when he relates that Nicholas was afflicted by incurable dropsy, his whole body was swollen and jaundiced and his breathing laboured by coughing and asthma.[157] From this remove it is notoriously difficult to form an accurate diagnosis of medieval ailments, although A. B. Emden concluded that these symptoms indicated an internal tumour.[158] It is possible, however, that Nicholas was suffering from cirrhosis, or some other form of liver disease, which causes ill health, swelling of the torso with emaciated limbs and a jaundiced complexion. If he was suffering from cirrhosis then it could be an indication of Nicholas's lifestyle, as the most common cause of the disease is the excessive consumption of alcohol. On the point of death Nicholas vowed to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Edmund of Abingdon at Pontigny and was transferred thither by cart from Durham, stopping briefly to enjoy the warmer climate of his native southern England. At Pontigny his miraculous cure was effected by imbibing holy water containing hairs from the beard of St. Edmund of Canterbury which acted as a purge restoring the bishop to health. The cure, although miraculous, was not long lasting, which perhaps indicates a chronic affliction. On 22 August 1244 Nicholas was granted the right to make his will concerning the corn sown on the lands of the bishopric and of his other possessions pertaining to him by reason of his church.[159]

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[153] Paris, *CM* v 8-12.
[154] R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 59-61, 136-145.
[155] See above pp. 151, 158-9, 183.
[156] The dispute lay dormant until Walter Kirkham's episcopate, when it flared up once more in 1256 and was further complicated by a litigation concerning the church of Coniscliffe: Paris, *CM* vi 326-332,340-1, 346-8, 376-83.
[157] Paris, *CM* iv 330.
[158] *Biog. Ox.*
[159] *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 435.

Illness and his remoteness from the royal court also prevented him from attending the Great Council held at London on 9 November 1248.[160] After 1244 Nicholas ceased to be active in royal service and the cessation of royal grants of largesse at this point suggest that he removed himself from court.[161] But his influence was still sufficient to secure royal pardons for debts owed to the crown in January and November 1246.[162] Having freed himself of his secular duties, Nicholas then sought release from the burdens of his episcopal office.[163] The process, which may have begun as early as 1247, was a lengthy and complex one as he was unwilling to depart without first making provision for his sustenance during his remaining years. By 22 April 1248 he had been allotted the manors of Howden, Stockton and Easington after the intervention of papal judges delegate led by Archbishop de Gray.[164] From the outset it is apparent that the alienation of these manors was resented in Durham. Innocent IV's confirmation was accompanied by a monition to Walter de Gray and his fellow judges not to allow Nicholas to suffer any molestation on account of the grant. This was reiterated in October 1248 by a letter issued by the papal judges and by royal charter in January 1249.[165] According to Matthew Paris, Nicholas finally resigned shortly before the Purification of the Virgin Mary [2 February] 1249.[166] This accords well with the pope's instructions on 1 July 1248 to Walter de Gray and the bishops of London and Bath that they should formally receive Nicholas' resignation between Christmas and 2 February 1249.[167] In this letter Innocent IV also set out the papal view of the reasons for Nicholas' actions as he stated that the bishop had sought this release because of old age and infirmity. The Lanercost chronicle, however, offered an alternative motive for his retirement. He recorded the rumour that Nicholas was forced to resign by the pope as accusations had arisen that he had been married, although he claimed to have repudiated his wife before his elevation to the episcopate. But this piece of gossip, which has led to the theory that the woman whom the

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[160] Paris, *CM* v 5. He was also absent from the council at London on 23 February 1245 which had been called to discuss the granting of a papal subsidy requested by Innocent IV: *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable) 167; *C&S II* pp. 388-90; Lunt, *Financial relations* pp. 206-19.

[161] The last grant to the bishop is dated 29 November 1244, when Thomas Maunsell was ordered to see that Nicholas received a gift 10 deer from the forest of Cliffe (Northants.) for the Christmas feast: *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 272.

[162] *Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 388, 485.

[163] F. S. Stevenson asserted that Nicholas attended Innocent IV's General Council at Lyons in June 1245, but this appears to be the result of a misreading of the annals of Dunstable: *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 167; *C&S II* p. 388 and n. 2; F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln* (London, 1899), pp. 242-3.

[164] DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5344; CEPR p. 255.

[165] *Script. Tres.* p. lxxvii; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 338.

[166] Paris, *CM* v 53-4; *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury) 138; ii (Winchester) 91; iv (Osney) 97.

[167] *Script. Tres.* p. lxxviii-ix. The annals of Winchester and Osney, however, date his resignation to 2 February 1248.

king proposed to make a nun and whom Nicholas conveyed to Tarrant in March 1239, was actually his wife, is not repeated elsewhere.[168]

Despite the careful preparation by the papal judges the monks of Durham and Nicholas's successor, Walter Kirkham, were reluctant to let matters rest. In March 1249 Nicholas procured royal letters of protection for himself, his men and his possessions as assigned to him by papal judgement.[169] Obtaining possession of these manors was problematic, resulting in two separate orders to the royal custodians of the vacant bishopric, instructing them to see that Nicholas received full seisin of his lands. The second of these was issued just over two weeks before the temporalities were restored to Bishop Kirkham.[170] Although Matthew Paris acidly accuses Henry of greedily taking possession of Durham's temporalities so that he could swallow down the financial fruits, the delay was probably caused by interference by the bishop-elect and the convent. Unlike previous occasions the vacancy in 1249 was of short duration. Walter Kirkham, dean of York, was elected on 21 April and received royal approval on 27 September 1249. As a result there was less opportunity for the temporalities of the see to become dispersed. Moreover, in 1251 the bishop and convent again tried to reverse the award, claiming that Nicholas held a third of the bishopric. Their pleas for the reintegration of the lands to the bishopric were ignored by the pope who reminded the monks that the provision had been made with papal blessing to provide for the former bishop in his infirmity.[171] At the root of the dispute was a determination on behalf of the bishop and chapter to prevent the temporary alienation becoming permanent. Rather than viewing the affair as a malicious attempt to disturb Nicholas's retirement, the litigation served the practical purpose of maintaining their claim to the manors. This was vital in an era where physical possession often carried more weight than written charters.

The protection of episcopal ownership of the manors of Howden, Stockton and Easington was made all the more important as they represented a significant portion of Durham's endowment. Together their combined annual revenue was said to value 1000 marks.[172] If this valuation is accurate, it may help to explain how the ageing former bishop could afford the generous loan of 1000 marks made to the crown in August 1255.[173] The money was used to finance Henry's expedition to Scotland to aid the newly crowned Alexander III, who had been imprisoned in Edinburgh with his new bride, Margaret.[174]

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[168] *Chron. Lanercost* pp. 54-5; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 374; Russell p. 88.
[169] *Script. Tres.* p. lxxx.
[170] *Cl. R. 1247-51* p. 157, 204; *Pat. R. 1247-58* p. 51.
[171] Paris, *CM* v 212-3.
[172] CEPR p. 348.
[173] *Pat. R. 1247-58* p. 423.
[174] D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2003), p. 367. Henry repaid the loan by December 1255 using the revenue provided by the temporalities of the archbishopric of

Ultimately the prudent strategy pursued by Bishop Kirkham and his chapter was justified as a disagreement over the precise nature of Nicholas's tenure of the episcopal manors did arise. At some point between 1249 and his death in 1257 Nicholas attempted to present his own clerk to the church of Easington in direct competition to Kirkham's nominee, *magister* Robert of St. Agatha. An appeal was launched to Rome on behalf of the church of Durham, which was decided in Kirkham's favour. On 23 July 1257 Pope Alexander IV declared that as the manors had been allocated to Nicholas for his temporal sustenance, the right of presentation to these manors was not intended to be included in the grant.[175]

Little is known of Nicholas's activities during these closing stages of his life, although he continued to be attended by members of his *familia.*[176] Moreover, he seems to have continued to have an impact on his former associates, funding royal campaigns and inspiring Robert Grosseteste to contemplate following his example and resigning his bishopric.[177] Yet from the evidence it is clear that after his resignation Nicholas did not achieve his ambition of putting aside worldly cares, and turn his back on disruptive law suits.[178] Following his death at the manor of Stockton *c.*2 February 1257, possession of the manors reverted to the bishopric of Durham.[179] In the past Nicholas of Farnham's achievements at Durham have sometimes been dismissed by those concentrating on the negative aspects of his episcopate, in particular his quarrel with the St. Albans over its cell at Tynemouth. He has been described as a better teacher and physician than bishop of Durham. Ironically, however, recent scholarship has reversed this balance. Doubt has been cast on his authorship of the majority of the academic works and treatises previously ascribed to him, leaving little but the description of his career found in Matthew Paris's narrative. In contrast work on his episcopal activities has revealed him as a legislative reformer and the collection of his episcopal *acta* further highlights his interest and concern for the administration of his diocese.

York, which was vacant after the death of Walter de Gray: *Pat. R. 1247-58* pp. 423, 448; *Cl. R. 1254-6* pp. 131, 235; *Cal. Lib. R 1251-60* p. 261.

[175] CEPR p. 348.

[176] Walter de Merton and the former sheriff of Durham, John Gilet, who served as the Nicholas's steward, were responsible for conveying to the royal treasury the 1000 marks loaned by Nicholas to the king: *Pat. R. 1247-58* p. 423.

[177] Paris, *CM* v 186.

[178] In 1251 and 1256, however, he was declared free of answering suits in the royal courts in the county of Yorkshire: *Cl. R. 1247-51* p. 558; *Cl. R. 1254-6* p. 449.

[179] Paris, *CM* v 650; *Cl. R. 1256-9* p. 87.

Conclusion

In this prosopographical study of the bishops of York, Durham and Carlisle *c.*1200-*c.*1250 many individual characters have emerged. Their origins and experiences were diverse. Whether due to a coincidence or to a sympathetic regard by successive kings for their subjects' anti-alien prejudice, the majority were of English or Anglo-Norman descent. Nevertheless some foreigners were appointed, for it seems certain that Hugh of Beaulieu was of Burgundian origin, while the toponymic 'of Poitou' identifies Bishop Philip as a native of the Angevins' southern dominions. Where more precise evidence of the bishops' origins has survived, as in the case of Walter de Gray and Richard Poore, it is apparent that they hailed from minor gentry families with well established credentials within court circles. Familial patronage was a decisive factor in the lives of these two prelates, though their careers initially took different paths, the former being catapulted to the head of the royal chancery and the latter entering the ecclesiastical hierarchy as archdeacon of Dorset. Without discernible backing provided by powerful kinsmen, their colleagues were almost totally reliant on royal or, like Richard de Marisco and possibly Walter Mauclerk, on baronial patronage. The clearest example of this is provided by the refugee archbishop, Bernard of Ragusa, whose flight had left him dependent on King John's good graces. But having secured a patron, the bishops' successes and failures are to a great extent dictated by their own skills and their ability to change, or at least, weather the circumstances in which they found themselves.

Apart from Bernard of Ragusa each of the men in this study was involved in the royal administration or was attached to the households of Richard I, John and Henry III. In the service of their royal masters the bishops of the archdiocese of York displayed different aptitudes. Walter Mauclerk and Richard de Marisco demonstrated considerable talent for financial administration, both men having been employed in this capacity from the earliest stages of their careers, rising to prominence during King John's expedition to Ireland in 1210. Nicholas of Farnham gained Henry III's confidence through his position as royal physician. Similarly, shared experiences on crusade and afterwards in captivity helped to form a bond between Philip of Poitou and King Richard, which raised Philip from the position of a lowly chancery clerk to that of the king's trusted advisor. For others the relationship with the crown was more remote. Although rarely at court, Hugh of Beaulieu worked tirelessly, first as abbot and then as bishop, as an envoy and mediator, thrust into the political limelight in the pursuit of Angevin interests. In the confusion of the civil war and the early years of Henry III's minority the bishops became agents of stability and continuity, trusted because of their exalted status and their presumed neutrality. In this capacity they acted as royal justices and custodians of strategic royal castles, while their secular

counterparts jostled for position. Standing head and shoulders above his colleagues in this respect, as in so many others, was Richard Poore, who upon the death of his opponent, King John, had come in from the cold and established himself as one of the key members of the minority government.

Between them Archbishop Walter and his colleagues represent each of the three major groups, outlined by M. Gibbs and J. Lang, from which the Angevin episcopate was drawn: administrators, scholars and monks.[1] Moreover, their appointment fits the overall trend of episcopal recruitment found during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The increasing predominance of the royal administration as a springboard to ecclesiastical promotion is marked, resulting in the elevation of half of the bishops included in this study.[2] Conversely, as the weight of opinion in reforming circles turned against monastic prelates, only one bishop, Hugh of Beaulieu, was recruited from the monastic orders. As has been argued, royal influence in episcopal elections was paramount. Cathedral chapters which ignored the wishes of the crown regularly found their efforts frustrated, canonical elections overturned, often with papal assistance, and their preferred candidates passed over. The notable exceptions to this pattern were Walter Mauclerk, who made an ambitious bid for Carlisle, and the scholar bishop, Richard Poore, who unlike his successor, Nicholas of Farnham, a fellow graduate of the Parisian schools, achieved his advancement in spite of continued royal opposition.

As I have argued, it was the particular demands of the northern archbishopric which intensified the crown's customary determination to control the selection of its ecclesiastical barons. The Scottish invasions in 1173-4 and 1216 had taught the crown to be cautious. Moreover, the border created between England and Scotland during the conquests of the late eleventh century, which was recognised at York in 1237, was arbitrary. Ties of kinship were deeply rooted in the area and the distinction between Englishman and Scot was blurred by the fact they were all Borderers. Defence was therefore the watchword and the excuse used repeatedly by Henry III to reject unsuitable candidates, including Thomas of Melsonby, William of Stichill and Alexander II of Scotland's unnamed clerk. But internal affairs in the region also influenced royal policy. In this isolated part of England, royal authority was relatively weak. The local nobility, which descended from the great men who had helped to settle the north in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, had become entrenched. Many high government offices had become hereditary or were tightly controlled by a small number of local lords. King John's efforts to break into this regime by the intrusion of his own men only added to the list of grievances that eventually spurred the northerners into revolt. Episcopal offices, therefore, remained the only practical arena for acceptable royal

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[1] *G&L* pp. 1-54.
[2] Namely Walter de Gray, Philip of Poitou, Richard de Marisco and Walter Mauclerk.

intervention. Revealingly it was to the bishops, including Richard de Marisco and Walter de Gray, and other loyal men, that these rebels were directed to give their surrender if they wished to be received back into the king's service after the failure of Prince Louis' invasion in 1217. Although episcopal office was traditionally a reward for past services, it also offered the holder a refuge from the vicissitudes of secular politics, securing an independent source of revenue and influence.

Perhaps as a result of this close relationship between crown and episcopate, and their own skills as politicians, the bishops experienced few irrevocable set-backs, maintaining the trust of their respective monarchs. This is remarkable given the sometimes volatile Angevin temperament and determining the selection of bishops did not always guarantee smooth relations as the regimes of Geoffrey Plantagenet at York and to a lesser extent that of Hugh Puiset at Durham had shown. Moreover, despite their perceived neutrality, few of the individuals included in this study were immune to the effects of faction, as Walter Mauclerk in particular discovered to his cost in 1232-3, when he suffered a dramatic fall from grace at the hands of Bishop Peter des Roches and his allies. Nevertheless even this episode was fleeting, contradicting Roger of Wendover's judgement that Walter was one 'whom fortune oft times raised up only to dash down; who imprudently concerned himself with royal policy, that he had neither the power nor the will to carry out'.[3] Yet probably the most telling evidence concerning the bishops' particular capabilities is to be found by viewing the different experiences encountered by each prelate in the administration of his diocese.

A bishop was the custodian of his church and was answerable to the patron saint of his church for his tenure. For some like Walter de Gray, Richard Poore and Nicholas of Farnham, the judgement must have been favourable. The care that these prelates lavished on the churches of York and Durham is demonstrated by the administrative and spiritual reforms they undertook. Through their diocesan statutes they were responsible for the introduction of the canons of papal and legatine councils, most prominently those of the Fourth Lateran Council and Cardinal Otto's London Council of November 1237. The diocesan statutes of Richard Poore, produced first for Salisbury, in particular proved to be extremely influential, being re-issued for Durham by Poore and then copied and embellished further by Nicholas of Farnham and at York by Walter de Gray. The systematic approach of Poore's statutes, which are considered to be among the most exhaustive and important of the statutes issued in early thirteenth century, sought to correct abuses and offered practical and comprehensive guidelines for parish priests in their day-to-day pastoral care. The impact that these three prelates had on the spiritual lives of their dioceses was complemented by the programme of building work they initiated, literally setting their achievements in stone in the

[3] Wendover, *Flores* ii 350.

new Early English gothic style. At Durham, Ripon and York this was associated with the active promulgation of the cults of the patron saints: Cuthbert, Wilfrid and the newly canonised Archbishop William Fitz Herbert. The scale of the new transepts at York and the originality and splendour of the chapel of the nine altars at Durham created a display of wealth and power that rivalled any of their southern counterparts. Extensive remodelling was also carried out at Carlisle mainly on the choir, the construction of which is thought to have been begun by Hugh of Beaulieu and continued by his successor, Walter Mauclerk. Moreover, Mauclerk, though not a diligent reformer, made significant contributions to the financial endowment of his impoverished see.

Philip of Poitou, Hugh of Beaulieu and Richard de Marisco, however, if we are to believe the chroniclers, would have met with less approval. Nevertheless, as I have argued, their legacy is largely dependant on one's viewpoint. Although the activities of the prelates, particularly those of Carlisle and Durham, may not have won the affections of their chapters, they each effectively asserted episcopal authority within their dioceses. The refusal of Philip of Poitou and Richard de Marisco to repeat the death bed change of heart which had characterised past episcopates, could be interpreted as indifference. But as successors of St. Cuthbert their duty lay in preserving both the privileges of the monks and those owed to the bishop. Until the settlement embodied in *Le Covenit* in 1229 these interests often proved to be mutually exclusive. In comparison Walter de Gray's archiepiscopate was remarkably free of the clashes which engulfed some of his suffragans. In part these different experiences were created by the distinct nature of the chapters with which they were involved. As has been discussed the monastic chapters of Durham and Carlisle were intensely protective of their rights and privileges. Durham in particular had sought to safeguard these rights, embarking on a programme of charter fabrication in the mid-twelfth century in order to provide retrospective authority for the convent's claims. But it is too simplistic to blame the suspicion and hostility that pervaded the episcopates of Philip of Poitou, Richard de Marisco and Hugh of Beaulieu, purely on the existence of a monastic chapter. Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet, Walter's predecessor, had repeatedly proved that the secular chapters of York and its collegiate churches were not immune to controversy.

In their struggles against their recalcitrant chapters, many of the prelates increasingly turned to Rome for support. The rapid expansion of papal power in the early thirteenth century brought even the far distant churches of the north of England under the influence of Pope Innocent III and his successors. As I have argued, Hugh of Beaulieu and Philip of Poitou actively appealed to papal authority in order to root out abuses and strengthen their own position. But the relative accessibility of the papal court was a double edged sword, encouraging disaffected chapters to vent their fury or take action against their diocesan. At such a remove the process could be long and costly, both as regards time and revenue. The

proceedings launched against Richard de Marisco by the Durham monks that marred the greater part of his episcopate not only constituted a severe drain on diocesan resources, it also placed considerable pressure on Richard Poore and the other papal judges delegate, distracting them from the affairs of their own sees. Other distractions came in the form of the prelates' continued involvement in secular administration. For in addition to their ecclesiastical role and their duties as royal officers in the North, many of the bishops were actively employed in central government. Richard Poore, Walter Mauclerk, Richard de Marisco, Philip of Poitou and Walter de Gray were frequently at court for at least part of their careers, although they each chose a different balance between their responsibilities to bishopric and crown. In this respect, Walter de Gray stands out as the prelate most devoted to his see. As his itinerary demonstrates, the business of government only occasionally outstripped his diocesan commitments. In contrast, Walter Mauclerk is rarely to be found in Carlisle. In part this disparity is created by the lack of extant records relating to Carlisle, whereas Walter de Gray's itinerary, owing to the survival of his register, is the most complete of all the bishops' itineraries in this survey. The other major variable was the attitude of the monarch whom the bishops served so assiduously. Changes in regime were particularly influential. To a great extent both Philip of Poitou and Richard de Marisco were creatures of individual monarchs, respectively Richard I and King John. The death of their patron, while it did not terminate their association at court entirely, does seem to have brought about a dramatic reduction in their attendance at court. Old age and illness also played a role in removing many of the bishops from public life. But again personal choice must surely have played a part in governing the course of their careers.

At such a remove it is hard to uncover much hard evidence which could illuminate the bishops' individual characters, their appearance or lifestyle. The portrait of Archbishop de Gray found in his tomb together with some of his possessions; an ivory headed crozier and a gold ring set with a large sapphire, is a rare survival. Richard de Marisco's library is known only from the royal order to honour the terms of his will and deliver the books to his nephew, the celebrated Franciscan scholar, Adam de Marisco. Accusations levelled against Hugh of Beaulieu by the abbot of Quarr for his drinking and fine furnishings, and the possible liver complaint that afflicted Nicholas of Farnham, may well be indications of a somewhat dissolute lifestyle. Conversely, Walter de Gray is recorded as being weakened by regular fasting in his later years. We are fortunate to possess a number of personal letters written by the bishops, or more likely by their clerks. The most revealing and personal of these was addressed to the canons of Salisbury by Richard Poore, expressing his regret at leaving his beloved church for his new post at Durham in heartfelt terms which go far beyond the conventional. The letters of Walter Mauclerk and Walter de Gray are altogether more businesslike, composed to inform the king and his officers of the progress of their

missions. Nevertheless, some insight into their characters can be gleaned. De Gray's admission of his reluctance to provoke a scandal by appearing in the archbishop of Canterbury's presence bearing his archiepiscopal cross *c.*1223, speaks volumes about his tact and diplomacy.

Details of the personal religious beliefs of the churchmen in this survey are also scarce, being limited to the extraordinary occurrences that found a place in contemporary accounts. Bernard of Ragusa's extraordinary flight to England may be interpreted as the action of an orthodox believer fleeing the spread of heresy within his see. But the most common expression of faith was the overseas pilgrimage. Walter de Gray and Philip of Poitou, who presumably had narrowly missed the chance to visit Jerusalem while on crusade when Richard I turned aside from the conquest of the city, undertook pilgrimages to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. Nicholas of Farnham sought relief from his chronic illness by journeying to the tomb of St. Edmund of Canterbury at Pontigny where he was miraculously cured by drinking holy water containing the saint's hair. Perhaps in recognition of this cure Nicholas later founded a chapel dedicated to St. Edmund at Gateshead. In addition to these local saints, a number of the bishops appear to have been adherents of the popular cult of the Virgin Mary. Richard Poore assigned land and other revenues for mass to be held in honour of the Virgin while he was bishop of Salisbury and after his translation to Durham he rededicated Easington church as St. Mary's, with provision for a weekly mass to be held in the church. Moreover, it is possible that under his influence the nunnery of Tarrant Keynes, which Richard effectively re-founded, became associated with the Cistercian order whose houses were customarily dedicated to the Virgin. But the ultimate expression of devotion is undoubtedly Walter Mauclerk's resignation in 1246 in order that he might enter the order of the Friars Preachers at Oxford. His close association with the fledgling order since its arrival in England contradicts Matthew Paris's acid dismissal of this act as being motivated by a belated desire to purge his conscience because of the secular manner of his elevation to the episcopacy. But beyond these dramatic or life-changing events, the day-to-day expressions of devotion by the bishops often go unrecorded.

Overall, the most lasting testament to the lives Archbishop Walter de Gray and his suffragans was the contribution they made to the churches in their care. Through the episcopal statutes of Richard Poore, Nicholas of Farnham and Walter de Gray, comprehensive reform plans based on the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council were introduced to the archdiocese. Fittingly the most enduring testament to the bishops' achievements can be seen in the spectacular alterations they initiated to the material fabric of the cathedral churches of Carlisle, Durham and in the minsters of the archdiocese of York.

But the most telling of all was the monument erected to grace the tomb of Archbishop Walter de Gray. In death, as in life, the legacy of this extraordinary prelate lived on.

APPENDICES

A) Itinerary of Walter de Gray

1205

3 October	Newark	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 159).
7 October	Spalding	(*RLC* i 58).

1206

16 March	Selveston	(*RLP* p. 60).
19 April	Winchester	(*RLP* p. 62).
5 May	Freemantle	(*RLP* p. 64).
19 May	Beaulieu	(*RLP* p. 65).

1207

16 February	Bowes	(*RLP* p. 59b).
28 March	?Beer Regis[1]	(*RLP* p. 70).
23 May	Doncaster	(*RLP* p. 72; CDRI no. 328).
24 May	Newark	(*RLC* i 85b).
30 June	Lambeth	(*RLC* i 86b).
23 July	Charterhouse	(*RLP* pp. 74b, 82).
5 August	Woodstock	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 168).
7 August	Woodstock	(*RLP* p. 75).
26 November	Marlborough	(*RLP* p. 77).
26 December	Windsor	(*RLP* p. 78).

1208

3 January	Ashley (Hampshire)	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 205b).
5 January	Burbage (Wiltshire)	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 176).
5 March	Harptree	(*RLP* p. 79b).
6 March	Bristol	(*RLP* p. 79b).
15 March	Marlborough	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 176).
22 April	Clarendon	(*RLP* p. 82).
6 May	Lambeth	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 177b).
28 May	Porchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 178b).
23 July	Charterhouse	(*RLP* p. 82).
26 July	Rockingham	(*RLP* p. 85).
9 December	Freemantle	(*RLP* p. 83).
14 December	Burton	(*RLP* p. 88b).
29 December	Ludgershall	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 184).

1209

1 January	Winchester	(*RLP* p. 91).
14 December	Burton	(*RLP* p. 88b).

[1] The place where Walter heard an account on this date is not recorded but Peter des Roches was at Beer Regis on 28 March 1207 (*RLC* i 80).

24 December	Bristol	(*RLP* p. 88).

1211

27 August	Geddington	(*EEA Norwich I* no. 335).

1212

4 May	Lambeth	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 186, 186b).
25 May	Westminster	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 186b).
July	Embassy to Germany	(*Mem. St. Edmunds* ii 21-2).

1213

7 January[2]	Kimbolton	(*Rot. Chart* p. 190).
24 January[3]	Bedlington	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 190b; *Whitby Cart.* ii 715).
5 March	Windsor	(*RLP* p. 97b).
29 March	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 191).
Mid July – mid August	Mission to Flanders	(*RLP* pp. 101, 103; *RLC* i 145b).
3 October	St. Paul's, London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 195).
*c.*10 October	Mission to Flanders	(*RLC* i 156b).

1214

5 October	Consecrated bishop of Worcester at Canterbury	(Wendover, *Flores.* ii 151; Paris, *CM* ii 582).
18 October	London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 201).
19 October	Enthroned at Worcester	(*Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 402-3).
9-10 December	Bury St Edmunds	(CEH pp 133-9).
21 December	Bury St Edmunds	(CEH pp 141-5).

1215

20 January	Winchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 209; *Acta Langton* no. 11).
30 January	Southampton	(*RLC* i 185).
26 February	Rotherfield	(*Worcester Cart.* no. 230).
7 May	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 206, 207).
9 May	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 207).
15 June	Runnymeade	(Wendover, *Chronica* ii 118; Paris, *CM* ii 590).
20 June	Runnymeade	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 210b).

[2] This entry is recorded as 7 February 1213, but on this date King John was at Northallerton (Northumbria).

[3] This entry is recorded as 24 February 1213, but this is unlikely as King John was returning from his progress north at this stage and was at Kingscliffe (Northamptonshire) on 23 February and Kimbolton (Cambridgeshire) on 25 February.

18 July	Oxford	(*Cartae Antiquae II* nos. 485, 492; *Rot. Chart.* pp. 213b, 214b, 217b).
19 July	Oxford	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 213b, 214).
13 September	Dover	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 218b, 219).
September-*c.*January 1216	Fourth Lateran Council	(Paris, *CM* ii 635; *Reg. Gray* p. xxxvii).

1216

27 March	Translated to York	(Hists. York ii 402).
13 June	Salisbury	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 222b).
17 September	York	(DCDCM 3.1.Archiep.7).

1217

5 February	Gloucester	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 29).
7 February	Gloucester	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 30).
1 April	Winchester	(*RLC* i 304).
20 May	Battle of Lincoln	(*Chron. Melrose* p. 68).
[4]2 July	Consecration of Richard de Marisco, at Gloucester	(*Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley) p. 288).
6 November	St. Paul's London	(DCDCM 1.2.REG.4.).
1 December	Absolution of Alexander II of Scotland at Berwick	(*Chron. Melrose* p. 69).

1218

1 June	Howden	(*EEA Durham II* no. 278).
17 June	Otterington	(*Pontefract. Cart.* i 50).

1219

14 January	Bishop Wilton	(DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.7).
22 February	York	(*Feet of Fines York 1218-1231* p. 30).
23 April	Hexham	(RL i 26-7).
24 April	Hexham	(RL i 26-7).

1220

7 July	Translation of St. Thomas, Canterbury	(Paris, *CM* iii 59).
19 November	Hexham	(DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.15).

[4] Various dates are provided for Richard's consecration, but 2 July 1217 is generally accepted: *D. Ann.* p. 2, 204; *Fasti* ii (Durham) 31.

1221

20 January	Westminster	(*Feet of Fines York 1218-1231* p. 38).
25 January	Excommunication of William, count Aumale in St. Paul's, London	(*Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 63-4; RL i 168-9).
25 March	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 139 fn.).
22 May	Berwick	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 139-40).
21 June	Officiated at marriage of Alexander II and Joan, York Minster	(*RLC* i 476; *Walter of Coventry* ii 249).
21 December	Sherburn	(BL MS Cotton Nero D. III f.28b).

1222

2 March	Banbury	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 141-3).
3 March	Ettington[5]	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 143-4).
Mid summer – *c.*21 October[6]	Pilgrimage to Compostella	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 327).

1224

16 June	Royal council, Northampton	(Paris, *CM* iii 84).
27 September	Churchdown	(DCDCM 3.1.Archiep.8).
6 November	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 494).
25 December	Opening of St. Wilfrid's tomb at Ripon	(*Hists. York* iii 124-5; *Mem. Ripon* i 49).
26 December	Translation of St. Wilfrid Ripon	(*Mem. Ripon* i 50).

1225

21 January	Otley	(*Hists. York* iii 124-5).
24 January	Otley	(DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.1; 2.1.Archiep.6).
2 February	London	(*Walter of Coventry* ii 256).
22 March	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 1).
1 April	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 1).
4 April	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 2).
17 April	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 3).
26 April	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 4).
1 June[7]	Attends wedding of Roger Bigod and Isabella of Scotland, Alnwick	(*Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 128).

[5] This is identified in the sources as *Otington*, however, given Walter's itinerary it is unlikely that it was North/South Otterington (North Yorkshire). Walter did possess a manor or lodging place at Ettington (Warwickshire) for which he was granted wood from the royal forests of Wychwood (Oxfordshire) and Braden (Wiltshire) to build a stable, the use of which he was to share with the royal court: *Cl. R. 1234-7* pp. 288, 488; *RLC* i 297b.

[6] Walter was granted protection while he was on pilgrimage from 3 April to Christmas 1222, but it seems probable that he didn't depart until the summer of 1222. The royal court had heard that he was returning by 8 September 1222: *RLC* i 510.

30 June	Durham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 4).
21 July	Lenton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 4).
6 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 4).
8 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 4).
18 August	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 222).
20 August	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 5).
27 August	Cawood, York	(DCDCM Cart. 3 f.62r; *Reg. Gray* p. 5).
4 September	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 5).
15 September	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 222).
23 September	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 5).
7 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 6).
14 November	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 6).
11 December	Laneham	(*Sallay Cart.* no. 613).

1226

14 January	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 7).
January - March	Mission to Normandy, Anjou, Brittany and Poitou	(E372/70 m30d; Wendover, *Chronica* ii 316; Paris, *CM* iii 119).
9 March	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 7).
22 March	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 8).
23 March	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 8).
5 May	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 8).
15 May	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 8).
16 May	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 8).
20 May	Kirby Sigston	(*Mem. Ripon* i 249).
22 May	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 223).
25 May	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 223).
3 June	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 9).
14 June	Beverley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 223).
17 June	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 9).
19 June	Kirby Sigston	(*Reg. Gray* p. 9).
20 June	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 9).
24 June	Hexham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 9).
18 July	Sherburn	(*Hists. York* iii 135-6).
25 July	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 224).
28 July	Otley	(DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5220).
4 August	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 224).
16 August	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 10).
19 August	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 10).
20 August	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 10).
29 August	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 11).
4 September	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 11).
7 September	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 11).
19 September	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 11).
27 September	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 12).
14 October	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 13).
7 November	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 224).
10 November	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 13).

[7] Walter was given permission to delay accounting to exchequer for his debts until Michaelmas 1225 because he was intending to travel to Alnwick for the wedding of Roger Bigod.

19 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 225).
22 November	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 13).
1 December	York	(*Feet of Fines York 1218-1231* p. 85).
13 December	Beverley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 14).
26 December	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 14).
29 December	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 225).
30 December	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 226).
31 December	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 14).

1227

1 January	?Shelford	(*Reg. Gray* p. 14).
7 January	Reading	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 13).
10 January	Rotherfield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 14).
11 January	Reading	(*Reg. Gray* p. 16).
12 January	Reading	(*Reg. Gray* p. 14).
16 January	Alton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 15).
18 January	Porchester	(*Reg. Gray* p. 15).
26 January	Porchester	(*Reg. Gray* p. 15).
February - April	Mission to France	(*RLC* ii 165, 166, 168, 206b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 106; Paris, *CM* iii 122-3).
5 April	Westminster	(C53/18 m9).
6 April	Westminster	(C53/18 m10).
7 April	Westminster	(C53/18 m9).
28 May	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 17).
1 June	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 226).
19 June	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 16).
21 June	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 226).
25 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 16).
16 July	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 16).
11 August	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 17).
13 August	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 17).
14 August	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 226).
21 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 17).
22 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 17).
23 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 17).
3 September	Stan'	(*Reg. Gray* p. 17).
5 September	Stan'	(*Reg. Gray* p. 18).
7 September	Stan'	(*Reg. Gray* p. 18).
6 October	Otterington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 18).
1 November	Daventry	(*Reg. Gray* p. 226).
13 November	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 18).
16 November	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 19).
17 December	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 19).
20 December	Beverley	(C53/18 m10).
23 December	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 19).
?25 December[8]	York	(*Chron. Oxenedes* p. 155).
26 December	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 19).

[8] The king held his Christmas court at York, but there is no specific reference to Walter's presence on this date.

1228

11 January	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 20).
14 January	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 227).
15 January	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 20).
16 January	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 20, 228).
23 January	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 20).
10 February	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 228).
14 February	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 20, 228).
24 February	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 20).
12 March	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 20).
20 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 21, 230).
28 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 21).
29 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 229).
7 April	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 21).
13 April	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 21).
14 April	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 23).
23 April	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 23).
29 April	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 230).
1 May	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 230).
5 May	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 231).
23 May	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 231).
24 May	Cawood	(*Furness Coucher* II ii 6, 7; *Reg. Gray* p. 232).
31 May	Shelford	(*Reg. Gray* p. 24).
1 June	Aylestone (Leics)	(*Reg. Gray* p. 24).
17 June	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 24).
6 July	Ettington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 24).
10 July	Honcedon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 24).
14 July	Westminster	(C53/20 m3).
21 August	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 26).
26 August	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 26).
18 September	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. .26).
30 September	Shrewsbury	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 100).
7 October	Wenlock	(*Reg. Gray* p. 26).
20 October	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 26).
30 October	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 18).
9 November	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 26).
1 December	Claverburg	(*Reg. Gray* p. 27).
11 December	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 27).
25 December	Southwell	(*CRR 1227-30* no. 1609).
28 December	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 233).

1229

5 January	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 28).
13 January	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 233).
17 January	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 28).
24 January	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 28).
28 January	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 28).
30 January	Knaresborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 29).
2 February	Beverley	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 28, 29).

3 February	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 29).
5 February	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 29).
6 February	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 234).
1 March	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 29).
6 March	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 234).
17 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 29).
19 March	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 30).
30 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 234).
1 April	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 233).
3 April	Cawood	(*Pontefract Cart.* i 51; *Reg. Gray* p. 30).
18 April	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 30).
19 April	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 30).
9 June	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 30).
12 June	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 30).
17 June	Shelford	(*Reg. Gray* p. 31).
11 July	Ripon	(*Mem. Ripon* i 51-63).
19 August	Guisborough	(*Reg. Gray* p. 31).
20 August	Sedgefield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 31).
31 August	Hexham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 235).
1 September	Hexham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 235).
11 September	Lancaster	(*Reg. Gray* p. 31).
19 September	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 31).
8 November	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 32).
28 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 32).
1 December	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 32).
25 December	York	(Wendover, *Flores* ii 197; Paris, *CM* iii p193; *Chron. Oxenedes* p. 159).

1230

16 February	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 33).
26 February	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 33).
4 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 33).
23 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 34).
17 April	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 34).
19 April	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 35).
23 May	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 236).
28 May	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 35).
30 May	Hexham	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 236, 237).
1 June	Pontefract	(*Reg. Gray* p. 35).
9 June	York	(*Finchale* p. 64; DCDCM 4.1.Finc.4; *Reg. Gray* p. 35).
18 June	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 36).
19 June	Ripon	(*Mem. Ripon* no. 73; *Reg. Gray* p. 237).
12 July	Allwenton [Allerton]	(*Reg. Gray* p. 237).
1 August	Kirk Leavington	(DCDCM 2.4.Pont.7; *Reg. Gray* p. 38).
6 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 36).
14 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 37).
19 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 37).
29 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 37).

?23 August[9]	York	(*Feet of Fines York 1218-1231* p. 128).
?3 September[10]	Nottingham	(*Feet of Fines York 1218-1231* pp. 128-9).
14 September	Beverley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 39).
15 September	Patrington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 238).
16 September	Patrington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 238).
22 September	York Minster	(*Reg. Greenfield* ii 1106).
25 September	Patrington	(*Pontefract Cart.* i 49; *Reg. Gray* p. 39).
2 October	York	(*Feet of Fines York 1218-1231* pp. 129-30).
7 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 40).
10 October	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 39).
17 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 40).
23 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 238).
24 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 40).
13 November	Bishopthorpe, St. Peter's York	(*Guisborough Cart.* ii 259; *Furness Coucher* II ii 58; YRM P1/2/3).
20 November	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 41).
21 November	Scrooby, Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 41).
28 November	Claverburg	(*Reg. Gray* p. 41).
7 December	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 42).
8 December	Bishopthorpe	(DCDCM 4.1.Finc.5; *Reg. Gray* p. 42).
16 December	Batinton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 42).

1231

6 January	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 42).
6 February	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 42).
13 February	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 43).
5 April	Farringdon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 44).
14 April	Dunstable	(*Reg. Gray* p. 239).
28 April	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 44).
22 May	Hustwaite	(*Reg. Gray* p. 45).
20 June	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 239).
2 July	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 46).
3 July	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 45, 46).
7 July	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 46).
8 July	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 46).
17 July	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 46).
27 July	York	(*Finchale* p. 65; DCDCM 4.1.Finc.7; *Reg. Gray* p. 46).
4 August	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 47).
30 August	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 47).
1 October	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 239).
13 October	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 239).
28 November	Bridlington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 53).
11 December	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 53).

[9] It is unclear whether Walter was present at these legal proceedings.
[10] It is unclear whether Walter was present at these legal proceedings.

12 December	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 54).

1232

1 January	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 54).
17 February	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 54).
15 March	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 54).
3 April	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 54).
15 April	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 54).
6 May	Otterington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 55).
12 July	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 55).
16 July	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 55).
2 September	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 56).
4 September	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 56).
20 September	Clerkenwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 56).
7 October	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 241).
11 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 241).
16 October	Lambeth	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 30; RL i 409).
17 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 242).
13 November	St. Oswald's [Nostel]	(*Reg. Gray* p. 57).
23 November	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 242).

1233

14 January	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 57).
26 January	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 57).
29 January	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 57).
15 February	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 57).
21 February	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 58).
5 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 242).
12 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 58).
20 March	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 58).
21 March	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 58).
26 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 58).
29 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 58).
1 April	Visitation of Selby abbey	(*Reg. Gray* p. pp 327-8).
25 April	Scrooby	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 387-88).
18 May	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 60).
25 May	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 60).
30 May	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 60).
31 May	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 60).
27 June	Aylestone (Leicestershire)	(*Reg. Gray* p. 62).
2 July	Wallingford	(*Reg. Gray* p. 61).
4 July	Wallingford	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 61, 62).
11 July	Westminster	(C53/27 m2).
14 July	Reading	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 187).
21 July	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 62).
11 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 62).
2 September	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 63).
3 September	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 63).
6 October	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 63).

19 October	Cawood	(*Pontefract Cart.* i 52).
1 November	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 63).
10 November	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 64).
23 November	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 64).
27 November	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 65).
16 December	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 65).
28 December	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 243).

1234

7 January	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 65).
10 January	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 65).
15 January	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 65).
2 February	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 65).
24 February	Ripon	(*Mem. Ripon* no. 79; *Reg. Gray* p. 243).
4 March	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 244).
29 March	Cawood	(*Monkbretton Cart.* p. 222).
25 May	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 66).
30 May	Kirkby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 66).
5 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 66).
26 June	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 66).
13 July	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 67).
31 July	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 67).
9 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 67).
2 September	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 67).
30 November	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 168-70).
13 December	Scrooby	(DCDCM 4.1.Archiep.14; *Reg. Gray* p. 69).

1235

21 February	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 244).
22 February	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 68).
2 March[11]	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 73).
4 March	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 245).
27 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 68).
18 April	Muschamp [?Muskham]	(*Reg. Gray* p. 69).
28 April	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 83).
16 June	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 69).
22 June	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 69).
21 August	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 246).
23 August	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 248).
29 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 69).
2 September	Consecration of Gilbert bishop of Whithorn at York Minster	(*Chron. Melrose* p. 61).
5 September	Nottingham	(C53/28 m3).
15 September	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 247).
17 September	Southwell	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 387-

[11] This institution is placed amongst the entries for the 21st year of Walter's archiepiscopate [10 November 1235-9 November 1236] but is dated to the 20th year [10 November 1234 – 9 November 1235].

		88; *Reg. Gray* p. 247).
21 September	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 69).
24 September	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 71).
27 September	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 71).
3 October	Ettington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 71).
7 October	Rotherfield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 72).
17 October	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 248).
17 November	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 72).
4 December	York	(*Pontefract. Cart.* i 53).

1236

15 January	Kirby Sigston	(DCDCM 4.1.Archiep.8).
8 March	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 73, 74).
14 March	Shelford	(*Reg. Gray* p. 74).
2 April	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 74).
9 April	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 75).
27 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 74).
29 July	Wilton	(*Guisborough Cart.* ii 153).
22 August	Nottingham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 74).
15 [September]	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	(CDRS no. 1292).
24 September	Sherburne	(C53/29 m1).
27 November	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 75).

1237

7 January	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 75).
18 January	Windsor	(C53/30 m7).
19 January	Stokes	(*Reg. Gray* p. 75).
?4 February	Kempton[12]	(*CRR 1237-42* no. 14; *Cl. R. 1234-7* pp. 521-2).
8 February	Kempton	(C53/30 m7).
10 February	Kempton	(C53/30 m7).
24 February	St. Oswald's	(*Reg. Gray* p. 75).
21 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 75).
9 April	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 75).
21 April	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 248).
3 May	Durham	(*D. Ann.* p. 5).
4 May	Darlington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 76).
6 May	Alnwick	(*Reg. Gray* p. 77).
14 May	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 76).
21 May	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 77).
5 June	Rotherfield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 77).
17 June	Westminster	(C53/30 m5; *Reg. Gray* p. 77).
18 June	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 187).
7 July	Hexham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 249).
29 July	Husthwaite	(DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.19).
22 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 78).
23 September	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 78).
24 September	York	(*CRR 1237-42* no. 101).

[12] The place of issue is not given but Henry III is known to have issued letters at Kempton on this date: *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 520.

?25 September	York	(CDRS no. 1358).
27 September	York	(C53/30 m2).
28 September	York	(C53/30 m2).
30 September	Sherburn	(C53/30 m2; CDRI no. 2408; CDRS no. 1365).
7 October	Nottingham	(C53/30 m2).
9 October	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 78, 79).
10 October	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 78).
17 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 79).
19 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 79).
18-20/19-21 November	Legatine Council, St. Paul's, London	(Wendover, *Flores* ii 223; Paris, *CM* iii 416-20).
10 December	Shelford (Nott.)	(*Reg. Gray* p. 80).
13 December	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 249).

1238

8 January	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 80).
11 January	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 80).
24 January	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 80).
5 February	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 81).
13 February	Scrooby	(*Pontefract Cart.* i 54).
4 March	Westminster	(C53/31 m2).
13 March	Westminster	(C53/31 m2; *Reg. Gray* p. 81).
29 March	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 81).
20 April	Wallingford	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1327-41* p. 85).
25 April	Wallingford	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 45).
10 May	Westminster	(CDRS no. 1426).
11 May	Winchester[13]	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 227).
13 May	Hampton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 81).
17 May	London	(Paris, *CM* iii 485; *Ann. Mon.* i 254).
20 May	Mortlake, Lameye [Lambeth]	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 54; *Reg. Gray* p. 82).
19 June	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 82).
30 June	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 82).
13 July	Purl' [Purley-on-Thames, Berkshire]	(*Guisborough Cart.* ii 134-5).
25 July	Westminster	(C53/31 m3).
2 October	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 82).
14 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 82).
20 November	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 83).

1239

4 January	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 83).
13 January	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 83).
25 January	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 83).
29 January	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 84).
5 February	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 84).

[13] This may be a misprint for Westminster as Henry III was at Westminster between 10 and 19 May.

6 February	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 84).
11 February	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 84).
17 February	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 84).
1 March	London	(*Reg. Gray* p. 85).
4 March	Westminster	(C53/32 m6).
19 March	Balrinton' [Balderton (Notts.)]	(*Reg. Gray* p. 85).
24 April	Rotherfield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 86).
3 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 251).
20 August	Rotherfield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 86).
16 September	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 86).
23 September	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 86).
11 November	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 88).
15 December	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 87).
21 December	Lancaster	(*Reg. Gray* p. 87).

1240

11 January	Middleham	(*Finchale* p. 170; DCDCM 3.1.Finc.32).
22 January[14]	London	(Paris, *CM* iv 3).
26 February	Westminster	(C53/33 m3).
9 March	Windsor	(C53/33 m3).
15 March	Westminster	(C53/33 m2).
5 April	Windsor	(CDRI no. 2483).
18 June	Westminster	(C53/33 m2; CDRS no. 1498).
2 September	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 87).
8 October	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 89).
16 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 88).
18 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 88).
19 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 88).
25 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 252).
29 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 89).
7 December	Westminster, Scrooby[15]	(C53/34 m6; *Reg. Gray* p. 89).
23 December	Consecration of Peter Aigueblanche as bishop of Hereford, at St. Paul's, London	(Paris, *CM* iv p. 75).
25 December	Xmas feast at Westminster	(Paris, *CM* iv p. 84).
26 December	London	(*Reg. Gray* p. 89).

1241

7 January	Westminster	(C53/34 m6).
11 January	Windsor	(C53/34 m6).
16 January	Reading	(C53/34 m6).
20 January	Rotherfield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 252).
8 February	Woodstock	(C53/34 m5).
1 March	Woodstock	(C53/34 m5; *CRR 1237-42* no. 1493).

[14] Matthew Paris dated this council to 13 January 1240, but C. A. F. Meekings argues that it probably occurred no earlier than 22 January, which would fit better with Walter's itinerary: *CRR 1233-7* p. lvi n. 5.

[15] It is unclear which of these two incompatible references is erroneous.

2 March	Woodstock	(C53/34 m5).
3 March	Woodstock	(*Beauchamp Cart.* no. 58; C53/34 m5, 4).
2 April	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 90).
8 April	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 90).
1 May	Westminster	(C53/34 m4).
5 May	Westminster	(C53/34 m4).
6 May	Westminster	(C53/34 m4).
8 May	London	(*Reg. Gray* p. 90).
9 June	Consecration of Nicholas of Farnham at Gloucester[16]	(Paris, *CM* iv 134-5).
29 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 90).
26 August	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 90).
14 September	Ripon	(*Reg. Giffard* p. 84).
15 September	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 91).
16 September	Ripon	(*Mem. Ripon* no. 62; *Reg. Gray* p. 91).
1 October	Westminster	(C53/34 m2).
2 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 253).
3 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 91).
9 October	Oxton (Notts.)	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 195-8).
20 October	London	(*Reg. Gray* p. 91).
2 November	Westminster	(C53/35 m6).
3 November	Westminster	(C53/35 m8).
30 November	Ecclesiastical Council at Oxford	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 267; Paris, *CM* iv 173; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 157).
10 December	Reading	(C53/35 m7).
22 December	Westminster	(C53/35 m8).

1242

2 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m6; CDRI no. 2552).
7 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m8).
9 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m7).
29 January	Westminster Parliament	(Paris, *CM* iv 185).
30 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m7).
1 February	Westminster	(C53/35 m7).
24 February	Reading	(C53/35 m7).
27 March	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 92, 253).
1 April	Windsor	(C53/35 m5).
18 April	?Bishopthorpe [17]	(*Reg. Gray* p. 198).
20 April	Winchester	(C53/35 m5).
22 April	Westminster, Windsor	(C53/35 m5; CDRS no. 1575).
24 April	Windsor	(*Reg. Gray* p. 92).
25 April	Windsor	(C53/35 m5).
26 April	Winchester	(C53/35 m2).
29 April	Winchester	(C53/35 m5).
30 April	Winchester	(C53/35 m4).

[16] For arguments concerning the dating of this event see above chapter 8.
[17] Walter issued a letter on this date at Thorpe, which usually indicates Bishopthorpe (near York), but the distances involved between Yorkshire and Winchester leave this identification open to speculation.

5 May	Portsmouth	(C53/35 m2).
6 May	Portsmouth	(C53/35 m2).
7 May	Portsmouth	(*Beauchamp Cart.* no. 59; *Cal. Ch. R. 1327-41* p. 151).
16 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 441; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 135).
18 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 441).
19 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 486).
20 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 442, 484; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 135).
21 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 298; *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 487).
22 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 136).
24 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 136).
25 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 442).
26 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 443;
30 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 137).
1 June	Westminster	(CDRS no. 1584; *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 442; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 137).
4 June	Chelmsford	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 443).
8 June	Colchester	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 444).
12 June	Ipswich	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 137).
13 June	Ipswich	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 445).
15 June	Ipswich	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 138).
16 June	Ipswich	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 445; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 138).
17 June	Dunwich (Suffolk)	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 445).
23 June	Norwich	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 446, 487; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 138).
26 June	Norwich, Wyndmondham,	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 447; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 138).
28 June	Thetford	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 447).
30 June	Cattishall (Suffolk)	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 447; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 138).
1 July	Cattishall	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 448).
5 July	Writtle	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 139).
8 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 448; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 139).
15 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* pp. 449, 488; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 139).
17 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 450).
20 July	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 139).
21 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 451).
22 July	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 140).
23 July	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 141).
25 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 452, 488).
26 July	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 141).
28 July	Mortlake	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 453).
29 July	Mortlake	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 454; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 142).
30 July	Mortlake	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 142).
1 August	Westminster, Mortlake	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 144; *CRR 1242-3* no. 9).
4 August	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 457, 490;

		Reg. Gray p. 92).
5 August	Windsor	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 142).
6 August	Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 142).
8 August	Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 143).
12 August	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 458; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 143).
13 August	Kempton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 253).
16 August	Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 144).
17 August	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 458).
18 August	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 491; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 143).
20 August	Farnham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 143).
23 August	Winchester	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 458).
25 August	Winchester	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 461; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 143).
26 August	Winchester	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 462; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 144).
27 August	Winchester	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 463; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 145).
29 August	Crondall (Herts.)	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 465).
30 August	Woking	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 145).
2 September	Mortlake	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 465).
4 September	Croydon	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 466; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 146).
9 September	Rochester	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 146).
10 September	Rochester	(CDRI no. 2576; *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 467, 8).
14 September	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 469).
15 September	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 469).
18 September	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 492).
19 September	Rotherfield	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 470).
20 September	Wallingford	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 471).
23 September	Mortlake	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 472).
24 September	Mortlake	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 146).
1 October	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 473).
2 October	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 473).
3 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 147).
4 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 147).
6 October	Mortlake	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 477; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 147).
7 October	Mortlake	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 148).
8 October	Ettington	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 79).
9 October	Mortlake	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 477; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 148).
13 October	Westminster	(*Reading Cart.* ii 789).
15 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 148).
16 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 149).
17 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 149).
18 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 150).
20 October	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 479).
21 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 150).
22 October	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 480).
23 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 151).
26 October	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 482).
28 October	Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 160).

29 October	Staines	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 72).
2 November	Kennington	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 72).
4 November	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 72, 73; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 160).
6 November	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 73).
7 November	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 492; *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 74; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 160).
8 November	Westminster	(CDRS no. 1593; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* pp. 160, 161).
10 November	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 161).
11 November	Fulham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 161).
12 November	Fulham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 75, 76).
17 November	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 163).
19 November	Westminster	(CDRS no. 1595; *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 76).
22 November	King's Hall, Westminster	(*Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 330).
25 November	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 77).
27 November	Windsor	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 163).
30 November	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 78).
5 December	Ettington	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 78, 79).
8 December	Woodstock	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 164).
10 December	Ettington	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 164).
13 December	Rotherfield	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 79).
15 December	Reading	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 164).
16 December	Reading	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 79).
17 December	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 80; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 165).
18 December	Kennington[18]	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 80; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 166).
25 December	Tower of London	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 80).
30 December	Fulham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 166). *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p.

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5 January	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 166).
12 January	Northampton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 82; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 166).
14 January	Northampton	(*CRR 1242-3* p. 497).
21 January	Northampton, Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 82, 83; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 167).
23 January	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 167).
25 January	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 167).
26 January	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 83).
27 January	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 85; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 168).
1 February	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 86; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 168).
3 February	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 169).

[18] The Liberate Rolls give Kempton as the place of issue, but it is more likely that, as the Close Roll entry states, that Walter was at Kennington [London].

4 February	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 86, 87).
5 February	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 169).
6 February	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 170).
9 February	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 171).
12 February	Kingston	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 87).
13 February	Guilford	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 88).
18 February	Winchester	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 171).
19 February	Winchester	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 88).
23 February	Kempton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 254).
25 February	Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 172).
27 February	Fulham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 172).
3 March	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 89, 127; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 173).
4 March	Tower of London	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 173).
7 March	Faversham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 90).
10 March	Romney	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 90).
12 March	Charring	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 91).
15 March	New Temple London	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 91).
18 March	Westminster, New Temple London	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 127; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 174).
23 March	Fulham	(CDRS no. 1611; *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 91).
30 March	Woodstock	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 92; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 174).
1 April	Woodstock	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 93, 128).
2 April	Burford	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 94).
6 April	Churchdown	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 94).
8 April	Churchdown	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 128; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 175).
17 April	Woodstock	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 94).
18 April	Rotherfield	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 95).
19 April	Rotherfield	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 95; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 175).
21 April	Windsor	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 175).
22 April	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 96).
25 April	Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 175).
26 April	Fulham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 176).
27 April	Westminster, Fulham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 96, 97; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 176).
29 April	Alton (Hants)	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 97; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 177).
30 April	Fulham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 128).
7 May	Winchester, Stoneham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 98; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* pp. 178, 179).
8 May	Winchester, Sutton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 97, 98; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 180).
10 May	Sutton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 187).
11 May	Sutton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 99; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 180).
13 May	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 99).
16 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 181).
17 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 99).
18 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 180).
19 May	Westminster	(CDRS no. 1613; *Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 100).

20 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 101; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 181).
21 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 182).
22 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 102).
28 May	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 102; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 182).
6 June	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 103).
7 June	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 103; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 182).
9 June	Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 183).
10 June	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 103).
14 June	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 104; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 183).
15 June	Kingston	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 106).
17 June	Kempton	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 106; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 183).
20 June	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 107; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 185).
25 June	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 107; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 185).
27 June	Fulham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 108).
29 June	Stratford Longthorne (Essex)	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 108).
1 July	Stratford Longthorne (Essex)	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 109).
2 July	Stratford	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 185).
7 July	Hertford	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 109).
9 July	Hertford	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 109; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 186).
12 July	Hertford	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 186).
11 July	Hertford	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 110).
15 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 111; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 186).
17 July	Windsor	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 186).
19 July	Reading	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 111, 112; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 187).
20 July	Reading	(DCDCM 3.1.Archiep.5).
23 July	Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 187).
27 July	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 188).
29 July	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 188).
30 July	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 189).
6 August	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 115; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 190).
7 August	Stepney, Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 117; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 190).
13 August	Fulham, Kempton	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 190; *Reg. Gray* p. 253).
16 August	Fulham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* pp. 117, 118; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 190).
18 August	Windsor, Farnham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 191).
20 August	Reading	(*Reg. Gray* p. 92).
21 August	Bishops Waltham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 118).
26 August	Fareham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 191).
27 August	Bishops Waltham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 119).
28 August	Bishops Waltham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 191).
1 September	Bishops Waltham	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 192).
2 September	Bishops Waltham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 120; *Cal.*

		Lib. R. 1240-5 p. 191).
7 September	Bishops Waltham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 121).
10 September	Bishops Waltham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 122; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 192).
11 September	Wolvesey	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 193).
17 September	Porchester	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 123).
18 September	Fareham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 130; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 192).
19 September	Fareham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 92).
20 September	Fareham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 124; *Cal. Lib. R. 1240-5* p. 193; *Reg. Gray* p. 92).
24 September	Fareham	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 124).
1 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 398).
13 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 398).
17 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 397).
14 November	Dover	(C53/36 m4).
26 November	Westminster	(C53/36 m4).
13 December	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 142).
17 December	Windsor	(CDRI no. 2647).
25 December	Reading	(C53/36 m4).
26 December	Reading	(C53/36 m4).

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6 February	Reading	(C53/36 m4).
2 April	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 93).
9 April	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 254).
1 May	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 93).
14 May	Bingham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 93).
27 May	Upton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 93).
29 May	Pontefract	(*Reg. Gray* p. 93).
31 May	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 93).
1 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 93).
9 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 93).
19 June	Rothwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 94).
3 July	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 94).
7 July	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 94).
*c.*15 July	Mission to Scotland	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 432).
12 August	Newcastle	(C53/36 m1).
14 August	Treaty between Alexander II and Henry III, Ponteland	(*Chron. Melrose* p. 69).
22 August	Sherburn	(C53/36 m1).
11 November	Westminster	(C53/37 m7).
13 November	Westminster	(C53/37 m7).

1245

10 January	Hexham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 255).
28 April[19]	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 95).

[19] Walter's register given no year for this entry, but J. Raine suggests that it belongs to 1245: *Reg. Gray* p. 95.

21 May[20]	Rotherfield, Woodstock	(BL MS Lansdowne 402 f. 50-v; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 284; *Reg. Gray* pp. 200-1; *Hists. York* iii 161-3)
7 June	Westminster	(C53/37 m4).
June-July	General Council at Lyons[21]	(Paris, *CM* iv 413-4).

1246

13 January	Lenton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 97).
19 January	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 97).
13 February	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 97).
6 May	York	(*Feet of Fines York 1232-1246* p. 134).
15 May	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 201-2).
4 June	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 97).
?10 June[22]	York	(*Feet of Fines York 1232-1246* pp. 147-8).
14 June	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 97).
19 June	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 98).
21 June	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 98).
22 December	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 100).

1247

10 January	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 257).
25 February	Upton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 100).
13 March	Hocton [Houghton]	(*Reg. Gray* p. 101).
30 April	Woodstock	(C53/39 m7).
11 May	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 256).
15 May	Woodstock	(C53/39 m6).
12 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 101).
17 July	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 101).
22 August	Burton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 257).
18 September	Burton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 102).
7 October	Kirkham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 102).
13 October	Consecration of Silvester de Everdon as bishop of Carlisle, at Richmond[23]	(*Chron. Lanercost* p. 53).
5 November	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 102).
13 November	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 258).
5 December	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 102).
8 December	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 102).

[20] On this date Walter issued a charter granting his London property to the church of York. Henry III's inspeximus of the charter was, however, issued the day before (20 May 1245 at Woodstock), which suggests a scribal error.

[21] Walter's plea to be excused from the council was denied by the pope but it is unknown whether he actually attended the council as a result.

[22] It is unclear whether Walter was present at these legal proceedings

[23] There is no mention of the celebrant at Silvester de Everdon's consecration, but it is possible that Walter de Gray performed it.

1248

17 January	Bishopthorpe	(*Hists. York* iii 165-7).
9 February	London Parliament	(Paris, *CM* v p. 5).
13 February	London	(*Reg. Gray* p. 103).
5 April	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 103).
26 April	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 104).
9 May	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 103).
18 May	York	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 206-8).
25 June	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 258).
12 July	Westminster	(C53/40 m3).
16 July	Westminster	(C53/40 m3).
21 July	Westminster	(C53/40 m3).
20 September	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 103).
25 September	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 103).
6 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 103).
20 October	Leicester	(DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5344).
4 November	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 104).
5 November	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 258).
13 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 288-90).
27 November	Scrooby	(*Blyth Cart.* i 321).
28 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 104).
?2 December[24]	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 104).
13 December	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 205-6).

1249

15 February	Cawood	(*Hists. York* iii 167).
18 February	Laneham/Cawood[25]	(DCDCM 1.3.Archiep.7).
8 April	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 260).
11 April	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 104).
13 April	Ripon	(*Reg. Gray* p. 104).
22 April	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 104, 105).
14 May	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 105).
24 May	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 106).
10 June	Scrooby	(*Blyth Cart.* i 230; *Reg. Gray* p. 105).
18 June	Scrooby	(*Blyth Cart.* i 229; *Reg. Gray* p. 106).
6 September	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 107).
7 September	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 107).
20 September	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 107).
24 September	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 257).
9 October	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 261).
12 October	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 107).
15 November	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 262).
19 November	Bainton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 262).

[24] The reading of this from the original manuscript is unclear, and the entry may date to 28 November 1248 as J. Raine suggests: *Reg. Gray* p. 104.

[25] DCDCM 1.3.Archiep.7 records that this licence was issued at Laneham, while J. Raine references *Kaun* which he argues is an error for Cawood: *Reg. Gray* p. 209 fn.

22 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 108).
2 December	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 108).
5 December[26]	Consecration of Walter de Kirkham as bishop of Durham at York	(*D. Ann.* p. 10; Wendover, *Flores.* ii 362; Paris, *CM* v p. 83).

1250

18 February	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 264).
24 February	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 108).
25 February	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 108, 263).
11 March	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 109).
26 March	Southwell	(*Reg. Gray* p. 109).
29 March	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 109).
19 May	Sherburn	(*Reg. Gray* p. 109).
24 May	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 109).
19 June	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 263).
24 August	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 110).
29 August	Burton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 110).
19 September	Burton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 110).
29 September	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 263).
12 October	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 110).
13 October	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 110).
19 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 110).
26 November	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 110).
28 December	Visitation of St. Oswald's, Gloucester	(*Reg. Giffard* pp. 203-206).

1251

22 February	Laneham	(*Reg. Gray* p. 265).
15 March	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 265).
30 March	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 111).
12 October	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 111).
20 October	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 111).
12 November	York	(*Feet of Fines York 1246-1272* p. 40).
26 December	York	(Paris, *CM* v 266-70; *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury), 146).
28 December	York	(C53/44 m24; CDRS no. 1849).

1252

5 January	York	(C53/44 m23).
6 January	York	(C53/44 m23).
7 January	Sherbourne	(C53/44 m23).
8 January	Pontefract	(C53/44 m23).
17 January	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 111).

[26] Matthew Paris gave the date of Walter de Kirkham's consecration as 28 November 1249: Paris, *CM* v 83.

20 January	York	(*Feet of Fines York 1246-1272* p. 64).
3 February	Beverley	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 116-7; *Feet of Fines York 1246-1272* p. 79).
8 March	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 112).
11 March	Cawood, Upton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 112).
14 March	Rufford	(*Reg. Gray* p. 112).
25 April	Windsor	(C53/44 m15).
May x September	Provincial council at Blyth (Nott.)	(RL ii 94-5; C&S p. 450).
16 July	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* pp. 113, 267).
22 July	Upton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 113).
12 September	York	(RL ii 94-5).
22 September	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 113).
17 October	Raunde [Raunds, (Northants.)]	(*Reg. Gray* p. 114).
27 November	Upton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 114).

1253

18 January	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 114).
4 March	York	(*Reg. Gray* p. 118).
6 April	Wilton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 115).
7 May	Cawood	(*Whitby Cart.* ii 507; *Reg. Gray* pp. 115-7).
22 June[27]	Otley	(*Reg. Gray* p. 270).
1 July	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 117).
17 July	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 117).
5 August	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 270).
23 September	Burton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 117).
15 October	Burton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 271).
17 October	Bishop Burton	(DCDCM 2.1.Archiep.4, 3.1.Archiep.6).
31 October	Burton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 117).
12 November	Cawood	(*Reg. Gray* p. 118).
15 December	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 118).
27 December	Rufford	(*Reg. Gray* p. 271).

1254

6 January	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 118).
20 January	Scrooby	(*Reg. Gray* p. 271).
7 March	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 272).
16 March	Cawood	(*Vicars Choral Charters* no. 143).
7 May	Bishopthorpe	(*Reg. Gray* p. 272).
19 July[28]	Oxford	(*Cl. R. 1253-4* p. 137).
14 September	Wallingford	(*Reg. Gray* p. 119).

[27] This grant appears as Kal. July in the printed register, the original shows that it was issued on 10 Kal. July: *Reg. Gray* p. 270.

[28] Plaintiffs were summoned to a hearing at Oxford on this date, to be judged by Richard, earl of Cornwall and Walter, but it is not clear whether he attended.

24 September	Ettington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 273).
13 October[29]	Westminster	(*Feet of Fines York 1246-1272* p. 98).
15 October	Upton [?near Windsor]	(*Reg. Gray* p. 273).
17 October	Rotherfield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 119).
26 October	Upton near Windsor	(*Reg. Gray* p. 120).
28 October	Upton near Windsor	(*Reg. Gray* p. 120).
7 November	Rotherfield	(*Reg. Gray* p. 274).
19 December	Otterington	(*Reg. Gray* p. 120).

1255

24 February	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 121).
12 March	Churchdown	(*Reg. Gray* p. 122).
21 April	London	(*Reg. Gray* p. 120).
23 April	Westminster, London	(C53/46A m?; *Reg. Gray* p. 122).
1 May	Death at Fulham	(Wendover, *Flores* ii 408-9; Paris, *CM* v 495-6; *Hists. York* ii 403).

[29] It is unclear whether Walter was present at these legal proceedings.

B) Itinerary of Bernard of Ragusa

1199

27 May	Westminster	(*Howden* iv 89).
*c.*28 May-June	Glastonbury	(*Adam de Domerham* pp. 382, 384).

1200

22 November	Lincoln	(*Howden* iv 141).
23 November	Funeral of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, Lincoln	(*Vita S. Hugonis* p. 114; *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* p. 353).

1206

9 June	Bermondsey	(*Ann. Mon.* iii (Bermondsey), 450).
11 June	Bermondsey	(*Ann. Mon.* iii (Bermondsey), 450).

C) Itinerary of Hugh of Beaulieu

1206

August – *c.*20 February 1207	Embassy to Rome	(*RLP* pp. 67, 69; CLI no. 725).

1208

April - May	Embassy to Rome	(*RLC* i 108b; CLI no. 793; SLI no. 36).

1209

9 August	Dover	(*Gervase of Canterbury* ii ci-ciii).

1210

23 June	Winchester	(*EEA Winchester II* no. 21).

1212

November – February 1213	Embassy to Rome	(*RLC* i 126; *RLP* p. 123b; CLI no. 905; SLI no. 45).

1213

*c.*28 August – *c.*4 November	Embassy to Rome	(*RLC* i 148b, 149; CLI no. 940; SLI no. 63).
21-26 December	Bury St. Edmunds	(CEH p. 31-35).

1214

June – July	Embassy to Poitou	(*RLP* p. 117; *PR 16 John* p. 28).
*c.*9 July	La Rochelle	(*RLP* p. 118).
11 July	La Rochelle	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 200).

1215

9 January	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 202b, 203b; *Glastonbury Cart.* i 90).
February – *c.*19 March	Embassy to Rome	(*RLP* p. 126b).
4 September	Dover	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 219b)
18 September	Dover	(*RLP* p. 155b).
September -	Rome – Fourth Lateran council	(*RLP* p.182; *Foedera* p.138;

December		*La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* ii 77; Paris, *Hist Angl.* ii 168).
1219		
24 February	Consecrated as bishop of Carlisle, venue unknown	(*Reg. Sac. Angl.* p. 55).
1220		
15 June	York	(CDRS no. 761; *Foedera* p160; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 235; *EEA Winchester II* no. 117).
1222		
October – June 1223	Embassy to councils of Verona and Ferentino	(*RLC* i 512).
1223		
3 or 4 June	Death at La Ferté	(*Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 298; *Chron. Lanercost* p. 30).

D) Itinerary of Walter Mauclerk

Those entries marked with an * are uncertain.

1204

17 October	Thames Ditton (Surrey)	(*EEA Norwich I* no.424).

1206

13 January	London	(*EEA Norwich I* no. 321).

1208

10 October	Bridgenorth (co. Salop)	(*CRR 1207-9* p. 304).

1210

June-August[30]	Mission to Ireland	(CDRI no. 401; *Rot. Lib.* p.173).

1212

October[31]	Mission to Ireland	(*RLP* p. 95b; CDRI nos. 441, 443).

1214

*c.*23 May	Embassy to Flanders	(*RLC* i 206b).
*c.*18 July	Embassy to Rouen	(*RLC* i 209).
*c.*23 August	Embassy to Angouleme	(*RLC* i 170b).

1215

17 February - March	Rome	(DD no. 19; *Foedera* p. 120).

1218

*25 November – 20 December	Lincoln	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75).
25 November	Lincoln	(Basset Charters no. 111).
10 December	Lincoln	(DCDCM Cart. Vetus f.60v-61r; Blyborough Charters nos.

[30] Walter Mauclerk's return date is uncertain, but it is possible that he accompanied King John who returned from Ireland on 25 August 1210.

[31] Like his earlier mission to Ireland the duration of Walter's stay is unknown, the letter of protection provided on 16 October 1212 was left open ended. It appears that he returned to England by the autumn/winter of 1213: *RLP* pp. 95b, 103, 106.

8-11).

1219

*7 January – 16 February	Lincoln	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75).
21 January	Lincoln	(Basset Charters no. 112).
*18 February – 17 March	Nottingham	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75).
*29 April – 17 May	Nottingham	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75).
23 May	Southwell	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75).
*25 June – 20 July	Lincoln	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75).
25 June	Lincoln	(Basset Charters no. 113).

1220

*10 May	Pickering	(*RLC* i 436).

1221

*24 May	York	(*RLC* i 475b).
*6 June	Nottingham	(*RLC* i 475b).
*29 September	Northampton	(*RLC* i 475b).
*4 October	Huntingdon	(*RLC* i 475b).

1222

March	Cumberland	(*RLC* i 490b).

1222

*c.*27 Feb- *c.*16 May	Tallage assessment in counties Cumberland, Northumberland and Yorkshire	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 403; CDRS no. 853).

1224

*29 August	Carlisle	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 486).

1224/1225

26 December	Carlisle	(*Lanercost Cart.* no. 226).

1225

22 January	Dover	(RL i 249).
31 January	Dover, Gravelines	(RL i 250).
1 February	Cologne	(RL i 250).

5 February	Cologne	(RL i 250).
7 February	Altenberg	(RL i 251).
15 July	Cologne	(*Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, ed. L Ennen and G. Eckertz, ii (Cologne, 1860-79), 95 no. 87.
July-October	Embassy to Cologne	(*RLC* ii 79b; *Foedera* p. 180).

1226

12 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 110b).
*18-25 May	Nottingham	(*CRR 1225-6* no. 2454).
30 June	London	(DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5520).
2 July	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 50).
25 July	Durham	(DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5520).
*21 August	Hereford	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 82).
18 October	Westminster	(Hereford, D&C mun. 2039; *Councils and Synods II* p. 159).
*20 October	Stafford	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 85).
9 December	Westminster	(BL MS Cotton Cleopatra Cvii (Merton Cartulary) fos. 100v, 105r).
18 December	Westminster	(*Foedera* p. 183; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 98-102; RL i p. 302).
20 December	London	(*Foedera* p. 184; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 153).

1227

January-March	Embassy to Brittany and Poitou	(Paris *CM* iii 123; *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 420; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 13; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 107; *RLC* ii 166, 166b, 168, 206b).
5 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m9).
6 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m10).
7 April	Westminster	(*Reg. Holmcultram* nos. 211, 218).
16 April	Westminster	(C53/18 m9).
17 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m9).
18 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m9).
20 April	Stratford	(C/53/18 m10).
22 April	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 28; C53/18 m9).
25 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m9).
26 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m8).
29 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m8).
30 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m9).
1 May	Westminster	(C/53/18 m7).
2 May	Mortlake	(C53/18 m7, 6).
4 May	Westminster	(C/53/18 m7, 5).

5 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 31).
6 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 31; C53/18 m7).
15 May	Fulham	(*Giraldus Cambrensis* vii 230-1
17 May	Westminster	(C/53/18 m4).
24 May	Westminster	(C/53/18 m3).
26 May	Westminster	(*Glastonbury Cart.* p. 188; C53/18 m4).
27 May	Westminster	(*Giraldus Cambrensis* vii 230-1).
1 June	Westminster	(C/53/18 m3).
2 June	Westminster	(C/53/18 m3).
4 June	Merton	(C/53/18 m3).
10 June	Westminster	(C/53/18 m2).
c. 14 June- *c.* 15 July	Embassy to France	(*RLC* ii 189, 212; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 39, 42; *Foedera* pp. 185, 186; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 135).
19 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m7).
20 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m5).
22 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m6, 5).
23 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m6).
1 August	Westminster	(C53/19 m5).
8 September	Carlisle	(*Reg. Holmcultram* no. 249).
10 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
11 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
13 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
15 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 148).
20 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
21 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
28 October	Westminster	(C53/20 m11).
6 November	Westminster	(C53/20 m11).

1228

12 February	Westminster	(C53/20 m10, 9).
13 February	Westminster	(C53/20 m9).
25 February	Westminster	(C53/20 m8).
28 February	Westminster	(C53/20 m8).
4 March	Westminster	(C53/20 m8).
13 March	Lambeth	(C53/20 m8).
20 March	Reading	(C53/20 m7).
22 March	Reading	(C53/20 m7).
28 March	Reading	(C53/20 m7).
20 April	Westminster	(C53/20 m7).
*22 April	Westminster	(CDRS no. 1003; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-1257* p. 72; C53/20 m7).
25 April	Westminster	(C53/20 m6).
27 April	Westminster	(C53/20 m6).
28 April	Westminster	(C53/20 m6).
3 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 76).
6 May	Westminster	(C53/20 m6).
9 May	Westminster, Lambeth	(C53/20 m6, 5).

19 June	Westminster	(C53/20 m4).
14 July	Westminster	(C53/20 m3).
8 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 101, 103).
10 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 100).
11 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 100).
8 November	Westminster	(C53/21 m20).
16 November	Westminster	(*Foedera* p. 193; C53/21 m17).
20 November	Westminster	(C53/21 m17).
25 November	Westminster	(C53/21 m18).
28 November	Westminster	(C53/21 m18).
5 December	Westminster	(C53/21 m5).
10 December	Westminster	(C53/21 m20, 18).
12 December	Westminster	(C53/21 m18).
13 December	Westminster	(C53/21 m20, 17).

1229

2 January	Oxford	(C53/21 m18).
17 January	Westminster	(*Cal. Inq. Misc.* p. 4).
20 January	Westminster	(C53/21 m13).
23 January	Westminster	(C53/21 m16).
27 January	Westminster	(C53/21 m13).
3 February	Waltham	(C53/21 m13).
5 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m13).
6 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m13).
13 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m12, 11).
18 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m12, 11).
15 May	Fulham	(*Glastonbury Cart.* p. 150; C53/21 m7).
18 July	Westminster	(C53/21 m5).
18 August	Westminster	(C53/21 m5).
24 September	Durham	(DCDCM 1.4.Pont.4.).
5 October	Westminster	(C53/21 m3).
6 October	Westminster	(C53/21 m3).
8 November	Westminster	(C53/23 m4).
16 November	Westminster	(C53/23 m4).

1230

17 January	Westminster	(*CRR 1227-30* nos. 2308, 2331).
28 January	Westminster	(C53/24 m13).
1 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m13).
4 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m12).
6 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m12).
7 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m12, 11).
8 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11).
10 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11).
18 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11).
24 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11).
26 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11, 10).

27 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m9).
28 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m10).
5 March	Marlborough	(C53/24 m10).
2 April	Lambeth	(C53/24 m10).
4 April	Reading	(C53/24 m10).
7 April	Reading	(C53/24 m10).
8 April	Reading	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 175; C53/24 m8).
9 April	Reading	(C53/24 m10, 9).
10 April	Reading	(C53/24 m7).
11 April	Reading	(C53/24 m4).
12 April	Reading	(C53/24 m7).
13 April	Reading	(*Whitby Cart.* no 557; C53/24 m7, 5).
15 April	Winchester	(C53/24 m7).
10 October	Westminster	(Mem. R. 1230 p. 91).
11 October	Westminster	(Mem. R. 1230 p. 91).
4 November	Westminster	(BL MS Cotton Claudius D. XI f.30v).
8 November	Westminster	(C53/25 m13).
24 November	Westminster	(C53/25 m13).
19 December	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1227-31* p. 463).
25 December	Westminster	(CDRS no. 1113; C53/25 m13).

1231

5 January	Reading	(C53/25 m11).
30 January	Westminster	(C53/25 m11).
4 February	Westminster	(C53/25 m11).
5 February	Westminster	(C53/25 m11).
10 April	Westminster	(C53/25 m10).
14 April	Westminster	(C53/25 m10).
17 April	Westminster	(C53/25 m9).
21 April	Westminster	(C53/25 m9).
9 June	Westminster	(C53/25 m7).
10 June	Westminster	(C53/25 m8).
11 June	Lambeth	(C53/25 m8; Cal. Wells i p. 494).
22 June	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1227-31* p. 519).
24 June	Windsor	(C53/25 m7).
1 July	Reading	(C53/25 m7).
6 July	Reading	(C53/25 m7).
12 July	Oxford	(C53/25 m6).
14 July	Oxford	(Norwich charters no. 85; Cal. Wells i 305).
18 July	Oxford	(C53/25 m5).
12 August	Marlborough	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1300-1326* p. 214).
18 October	Westminster	(C53/25 m3).
23 October	Westminster	(C53/25 m3).
24 October	Westminster	(C53/25 m3).
26 October	Westminster	(C53/25 m2).
27 November	Westminster	(C53/26 m19).

29 November	Westminster	(C53/26 m19).
2 December	Lambeth	(C53/26 m19).
8 December	Teynham	(C53/26 m19).
22 December	Winchester	(C53/26 m19).
28 December	Ashley, Clarendon	(C53/26 m19).

1232

8 January	Windsor	(C53/26 m17).
14 January	Lambeth	(C53/26 m18).
16 January	Lambeth	(*Foedera* p. 201; C53/26 m18).
17 January	Lambeth	(C53/26 m18).
20 January	Westminster, Lambeth	(CDRS no. 1146; C53/26 m16, 15).
21 January	Lambeth	(C53/26 m16).
23 January	Westminster	(C53/26 m15).
24 January	Westminster	(C53/26 m15).
27 January	Havering	(C53/26 m15).
4 February	Westminster	(C53/26 m14).
5 February	Westminster	(C53/26 m14).
6 February	Westminster	(C53/26 m14).
13 February	Oxfordshire	(*Mem. R. 1231-33* no. 1347).
7 March	Westminster	(Norwich charters nos. 104, 105).
26 April	Westminster	(C53/26 m12).
5 May	Westminster	(C53/26 m12).
7 May	Westminster	(Norwich charters nos. 40-43, 45; C53/26 m11, 10).
9 May	Westminster	(C53/26 m11).
10 May	Westminster	(C53/26 m11).
12 May	Reading	(*Reg. Holmcultram* nos. 221, 222).
4 July	Yorkshire	(*Mem. R. 1231-33* no. 1007).
15 July	Lambeth	(C53/26 m4).
16 July	Lambeth	(C53/26 m3).
17 July	Lambeth	(C53/26 m3).
18 July	Westminster	(C53/26 m3).
21 July	Lambeth	(C53/26 m3).
17 September	Westminster	(C53/26 m1).
20 September	Lambeth	(C53/26 m2, 1).
23 September	Westminster	(C53/26 m1).
12 October	Lambeth	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 30; RL i 409).
4 November	Westminster	(C53/27 m15).
7 November	Westminster	(C53/27 m12).

1233

*8 February	?Westminster	(Mem. R. 1231-33 p. 191).
27 February	Westminster	(C53/27 m11).
28 February	Westminster	(C53/27 m11).
November (returned	Exile in Flanders	(Wendover, *Flores* ii 207,

by April 1234)		210; Paris *CM* iii 248; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 134; *Chron. Lanercost* p. 42).
1234		
23 May	Gloucester	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 47; C53/29 m4).
25 May	Gloucester	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 49; *Cl. R. 1231-34* pp. 429, 431).
26 May	Gloucester	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 431).
29 May	Gloucester	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 434).
1 June	Westminster	(*Ann. Mon.* i (Burton), 249).
3 June	Gloucester	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 216).
4 June	Gloucester	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 442).
8 June	Tewkesbury	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 566).
12 June	Worcester	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 55).
16 June	Tewkesbury	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* pp. 452, 453).
26 June	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 460).
28 June	Westminster	(*CRR 1233-7* no. 1031).
1 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 465; RL i 448).
2 July	Westminster	(*Foedera* p. 213; *Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 434).
12 July	Worcester	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 55).
14 July	Westminster	(DCDCM Cartulary 3 f.213v-214v).
17 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* pp. 476, 477).
12 August	Marlborough	(*Cartae Antiquae I* no. 19; *Cal. Ch. R. 1300-1326* p. 467).
14 August	Abingdon	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 499).
15 August	Abingdon	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 65).
30 August	Chertsey	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 508).
18 September	Marlborough	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 519).
26 September	Marlborough	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 71).
10 October	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1231-34* p. 532).
*12 October	?Westminster	(*CRR 1233-7* no. 1178).
14 October	Westminster	(Cal. Wells i 438).
19 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 472; *Cal. Ch. R. 1327-41* p. 148).
30 October	Woodstock	(C53/28 m19).
3 November	Woodstock	(C53/28 m19, 15).
4 November	Woodstock	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 7).
6 November	Woodstock	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 80).
9 November	Reading	(C53/28 m19).
13 November	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 9; C53/28 m19, 15).
19 November	Harrow	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 20).
20 November	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 81).
21 November	Harrow	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 83).
27 November	Harrow	(C53/28 m17).

30 November	Kempton	(C53/28 m19).
3 December	Reading	(C53/28 m19).
5 December	Reading	(C53/28 m19).
8 December	Reading	(C53/28 m18).
16 December	Clarendon	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 29).
19December	Sandelford	(C53/28 m18).
20 December	Windsor	(C53/28 m18).
27 December	Kempton	(C53/28 m18).

1235

3 January	Waverley	(C53/28 m18).
5 January	Winchester	(C53/28 m17).
7 January	Winchester	(CDRS no. 1222; C53/28 m17)
8 January	Winchester	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 36).
9 January	Romsey	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 88).
12 January	Christchurch (Hants.)	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 38).
18 January	Sandelford (Berks)	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 39).
19 January	?Kempton	(C53/28 m16).
20 January	Westminster	(*CRR 1233-7* no. 1319).
26 January	Westminster	(C53/28 m17).
27 January	Westminster	(C53/28 m17).
28 January	Westminster	(C53/28 m17).
10 February	Canterbury	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 192; C53/28 m16).
13 February	Rochester	(C53/28 m16).
19 February	Westminster	C53/28 m15).
20 February	Westminster	C53/28 m15).
27 February	Westminster	C53/28 m15).
28 February	Stratford, Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 95, 96; C53/28 m15).
5 March	St. Osyth	(C53/28 m15).
7 March	Colchester	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 96).
8 March	Ipswich	(*Cartae Antiquae I* no. 20; C53/28 m15).
9 March	Butley	(C53/28 m14, 7).
12 March	Norwich	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 58).
20 March	St. Neot's	(C53/28 m12).
26 March	Northampton	(C53/28 m12).
30 March	Woodstock	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 66).
1 April	Windsor	(*Cartae Antiquae* I no. 33).
?2/9 April	Abingdon	(C53/28 m12).
3 April	Abingdon	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 70).
11 April	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 74; C53/28 m12).
18 April	Westminster	(C53/28 m11).
19 April	Westminster	(*Foedera* p. 208;C53/28 m11).
20 April	Westminster	(C53/28 m11).
22 April	Westminster	(*CRR 1233-7* no. 1421).
25 April	Westminster	(C53/28 m11, 10; Cal. Wells i 310).
30 April	Westminster	(C53/28 m11, 10, 9).
1 May	Westminster	(C53/28 m10).

2 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 102).
3 May	Westminster	(Treaty Rolls no. 19; *Foedera* p. 226).
4 May	Westminster	(C53/28 m10).
5 May	Rochester	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 87).
6 May	Rochester	(C53/28 m10).
7 May	Sandwich	(C53/28 m9).
9 May	Canterbury	(C53/28 m9).
10 May	Canterbury	(C53/28 m9).
21 May	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 94).
23 May	Guildford	(C53/28 m9).
27 May	Winchester	(C53/28 m7).
30 May	Marwell	(C53/28 m7).
5 June	Westminster	(C53/28 m8).
8 June	Windsor	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 99; C53/28 m7).
12 June	Reading	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 102; C53/28 m7).
15 June	Woodstock	(Basset Charters no. 266; C53/28 m7).
16 June	Woodstock	(C53/28 m7, 6).
1 July	Woodstock	(C53/28 m6).
8 July	Westminster	(C53/28 m5).
10 July	Westminster	(C53/28 m5).
12 July	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 112).
14 July	Westminster	(C53/28 m5).
16 July	Westminster	(C53/28 m5).
5 September	Nottingham	(C53/28 m3).
18 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 121).
23 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1300-26* p. 473).
2 November	Woodstock	(C53/29 m9).
8 November	Daventry	(C53/29 m9).
12 November	Kingscliffe	(C53/29 m9).
23 November	Colne	(C53/29 m9).
24 November	Rayne	(C53/29 m9).
2 December	Westminster	(C53/29 m8).
12 December	Wherwell	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 132; *Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 216).

1236

4 January	Marlborough	(C53/29 m8).
10 January	Bisham	(C53/29 m8).
11 January	Windsor	(C53/29 m8).
20 January	Merton	C53/29 m8, 5).
21 January	Merton	(C53/29 m6).
22 January	Merton	(C53/29 m8).
24 January	Merton	(C53/29 m8).
27 January	Merton	(C53/29 m7).
4 February	Winchester	(C53/29 m7).
16 February	Marlborough	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 217).
*22-23 April	St Albans	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 350).
26 May	Marwell (Hants)	(*Foedera* p. 227; C53/29 m4).
*8-14 July	Tewkesbury	(*CRR 1233-7* no. 1882).

17 July	Feckenham	(C53/29 m4).
23 July	Worcester	(C53/29 m3).
24 July	Worcester	(*Worcester Cart.*. p. 169; C53/29 m3).
20 August	Nottingham	(C53/29 m2).
10 September	Durham	(C53/29 m2).
26 October	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 326).
28 October	Westminster	(C53/30 m7).
*15 November	?Westminster	(Mem R. 20 Henry III (E. 159/15 m. 16d).

1237

18 January	Windsor	(C53/30 m7).
28 January	Westminster	(*Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury), 103; C53/30 m7; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 225-6).
30 January	Westminster	(C53/30 m7).
10 February	Kempton	(C53/30 m7).
12 February	Westminster	(C53/30 m6).
13 February	Westminster	(C53/30 m6).
20 March	Westminster	(*Foedera* p. 231; C53/30 m6).
11 May	Winchester	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 227).
8 June	Westminster	(C53/30 m5).
3 July	Woodstock	(C53/30 m4).
16 July	Brill	(C53/30 m4).
1 August	Westminster	(C53/30 m4).
25 September	York	(*Foedera* pp. 233-4; CDRS no. 1358).
28 September	York	(C53/30 m3).

1238

11 January	Westminster	(C53/31 m1).
1 February	Westminster	(C53/31 m1).
2 February	Westminster	(C53/31 m1).
4 March	Westminster	(C53/31 m4).
6 April	Tewkesbury	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 39).
22 April	Woodstock	(*Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 44).
6 July	Reading	(*Cartae Antiquae I* no. 32).
25 July	Westminster	(C53/31 m3).

1239

22 March	Westminster	(C53/32 m5).
17 April	Westminster	(C53/32 m4).
13 May	Westminster	(C53/32 m4).
20 June	Westminster	(C53/32 m4).
28 June	Westminster	(Paris, *CM* iii 540).
20 July	Westminster	(C53/32 m4).
5 August	Westminster	(C53/32 m4).

7 August	Westminster	(C53/32 m4).
23 August	Westminster	(*Reg. Gray* p. 283 no. 10; C53/32 m4).

1240

15 March	Westminster	(C53/33 m2).
15 May	Gloucester	(*Foedera* p. 239-40; *Cl. R. 1237-42* p. 241).
18 June	Westminster	(CDRS no. 1498; C53/33 m2).
15 November	Westminster	(C53/34 m6).

1241

8 February	Woodstock	(C53/34 m5).
1 March	Woodstock	(C53/34 m5; *CRR 1237-42* no. 1493).
2 March	Woodstock	(C53/34 m5).
3 March	Woodstock	(*Beauchamp Cart.* p. 58; C53/34 m5, 4).
30 November	Ecclesiastical Council at Oxford	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 267; Paris, *CM* iv 173; *Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 157).
10 December	Reading	(C53/35 m7).
22 December	Westminster	(C53/35 m8).
27 December	Westminster	(C53/35 m8).

1242

2 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m6).
7 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m8).
8 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m7).
9 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m7).
30 January	Westminster	(C53/35 m7).
1 February	Westminster	(C53/35 m7).
24 February	Reading	(C53/35 m7).
8 March	Westminster	(C53/35 m6).
1 April	Windsor	(C53/35 m5).
20 April	?Westminster/Winchester	(C53/35 m5).
21 April	Westminster	(C53/35 m3).
22 April	Windsor	(CDRS no. 1575).
25 April	Windsor	(C53/35 m5).
26 April	Winchester	(C53/35 m2).
28 April	Winchester	(*Reg. Gray* p. 195n; C53/35 m4).
29 April	Winchester	(C53/35 m5, 1).
30 April	Winchester	(C53/35 m4).
5 May	Portsmouth	(C53/35 m2).
6 May	Portsmouth	(C53/35 m2).
7 May	Portsmouth	(*Beauchamp Cart.* p. 59).
13 May	Windsor	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-45* p. 181).
20 May	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-45* p. 135).

21 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 298).
13 October	Westminster	(*Reading Cart.* ii 789).

1243

*18-22 May	Westminster	(*CRR 1242-3* no.234).
*14-20 July	Westminster	(*CRR 1243-5* no.394).
30 September	Westminster	(*CRR 1242-3* no. 93).
1 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 398).
13 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 398).
17 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 397).
14 November	Dover	(C53/36 m4).
1 December	Westminster	(*Foedera* pp. 253-4; *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 437).
25 December	Reading	(C53/36 m4).
26 December	Reading	(C53/36 m4).

1244

6 February	Reading	(C53/36 m4).
1 April	Carlisle	(*Whitby Cart.* no. 313).
3 April	Carlisle	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 124).
3 May	Westminster	(C53/36 m3).
4 May	Westminster	(C53/36 m3).
*c.*15 May	Reading	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1240-45* p. 236).
?29 June	Geddington	(C53/36 m2).
17 October	Westminster	(C53/36 m1).
11 November	Westminster	(C53/37 m7).
13 November	Westminster	(C53/37 m7).

1245

20 January	Westminster	(C53/37 m7).
28 February	Westminster	(C53/37 m7).
4 March	Westminster	(C53/37 m7).
6 March	Westminster	(C53/37 m6).
11 April	Westminster	(C53/37 m5).
12 April	Westminster	(C53/37 m6).
22 April	Windsor	(C53/37 m5).
30 April	Westminster	(C53/37 m5).
21 May[32]	Rotherfield	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 284; *Reg. Gray* p. 200).
7 June	Westminster	(C53/37 m4).
10 June	Westminster	(C53/37 m4).
1 July	Westminster	(C53/37 m3).
2 July	Westminster	(C53/37 m3).
5 July	Westminster	(C53/37 m3).

[32] For the problems associated with the dating of this charter see above chapter 1.

1246

20 March	Westminster	(C53/38 m9).
26 March	Westminster	(C53/38 m9).
28 March	Westminster	(C53/38 m9).
1 April	Westminster	(C53/38 m9).
3 April	Westminster	(C53/38 m9).
6 April	Westminster	(C53/38 m9).
9 April	Westminster	(C53/38 m9).
22 April	Windsor	(C53/38 m8).
30 May	Windsor	(C53/38 m7).
2 June	Windsor	(C53/38 m7).
24/29	Walter Mauclerk enters the Dominicans at Oxford	(*Ann. Mon.* iii (Dunstable), 170; iv (Wykes), 94; Paris, *CM* iv 564).

1248

*c.*28 October	Walter Mauclerk dies at ?Oxford	(Paris, *CM* v 16).

E) Itinerary of Philip of Poitou

1191

12 May	Limassol (Crete)	(Landon p. 49, no. 358).

1192

10 January	Jaffa/Joppa	(Landon p. 60, no. 366).
*c.*14 December	Frisach	(Landon p. 70).

1193

28 May	Worms	(Landon p. 75, no. 373).
*c.*28 May-8 June	Frankfurt	(Landon p. 69, no. 367).
8 June	Worms	(Landon p. 76, no. 375).
14 August	Worms	(Landon p. 79, no.383).
30 September	Worms	(Landon p. 80, no. 386).

1194

12 February	Cologne	(Landon p. 84, no. 394).
26 April	Portsmouth	(Landon p. 91, no. 420).
2 May	Portsmouth	(Landon p. 92, no. 425).
5 May	Portsmouth	(Landon p. 92, no. 426).
28 July	Poitiers	(Landon p. 98, no. 432).
8 August	Ville L'Eveque	(Landon p. 98, no. 433).

1195

9 January	Brionne	(Landon p. 100, no. 439).
3 April	Le Mans	(Landon p. 101, no. 445).
12 June	Cahaignes	(Landon p. 102, no. 452).
23 June	Le Mans	(Landon p. 102, no. 453).
December	Rouen	(Landon p. 106, no. 457).

1196

4 February	Chinon	(DCDCM 2.3.REG.3a; *Cal. Ch. R. 1327-1341* p. 323; Landon p. 110, no. 460).
*c.*25 March-April	Embassy to England	(*Howden* v 5; Landon p. 111).
15 June	Durham	(*Howden* iv 9).
December	Embassy to Rome	(Landon p. 116).

1197

31 January	Poitiers	(*Howden* iv 17).
20 April	Lateran	(*Diceto* ii 152; *Howden* iv 18).
16 September	Rouen	(Landon p. 122, no.480).
7 December	Oxford	*(Pedes Finium 9 Richard I* p. 160).

1198

*c.*22 February	Embassy to Cologne	(*Howden* iv 37-9).
14 May	Lyons-la-Forêt	(Landon p. 127, nos. 491, 492, 493).
16 May	St Georges de Boscherville	(Landon p. 127, no. 240).
18 May	Jumieges	(Landon p. 128, no. 494).
22 May	La Roche d'Andely, Chateau Gaillard	(*Cartae Antiquae I* nos. 186, 187; Landon p. 128, nos. 495, 164 resealed).
26 May	Lyons-la-Forêt	(Landon p. 128, no. 454 resealed).
27 May	Lyons-la-Forêt	(Landon p. 128, no. 496, 399 resealed).
24 June	[Chinon]	(Landon p. 130, no. 502).
30 July	La Lyre	(Landon p. 131, no. 5, 51 resealed).
28 August	La Roche d'Andely	(*Magna Vita S Hugonis* p. 251).
5 September	La Roche d'Andely	(Landon p. 133, no. 134 resealed).
7 September	La Roche d'Andely	(Landon p. 134, no. 521, 522).
8 September	Chateau Gaillard	(Landon p. 134, no. 131 resealed).
10 September	La Roche d'Andely	(Landon p. 134, no. 199, 204 resealed)
15 September	La Roche d'Andely	(Landon p. 134, no. 187, 244 resealed).
18 September	La Roche d'Andely	(*Cartae Antiquae II* no. 360; Landon p. 134, no. 228 resealed).
28 October	Westminster,	(*Feet of Fines (1198-1202) Norfolk*, nos. 201, 202).

1199

27 May	Westminster	(*Howden* iv 89).
After 27 may	Embassy to Scotland	*Howden* iv 91.
7 June	Northampton	(*Foedera* p. 76).

1200

4 March	Windsor	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 39).
25 March	York	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 39b).
26 March	York	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 40b).
24 April	Porchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 49b).
25 April	Porchester	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 50, 50b, 51; *Cartae Antiquae II* no. 432).
26 April	Porchester[33]	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 50b; *Reg. S. Osmund* i 240; c.f. *EEA Winchester I* no.231b).
27 April	Porchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 50b).
November	Embassy to Scotland	*Howden* iv 140.
22 November	Lincoln	(*Howden* iv 141; *Walter of Coventry* ii 171).
23 November	Lincoln	(*Vita S. Hugonis* p. 114; *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* p. 353; *Howden* v 143).

1201

*c.*2 February	Dover-Wissant	(*Howden* iv 157).
25 March	St. Jean d'Angely	(*Walter of Coventry* ii 182).
*c.*March-*c.*August	Pilgrimage to Compostella	(*Howden* iv 157; *Rot. Chart.* p. 100b.)
? 2 August	Chinon	(*Howden* iv 164, 172-3; *RLP* p. 26b).

1204

22 February	York	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 120).
25 February	York	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 119b).
27 February	York	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 120b).
1 March	York	(*Cartae Antiquae I* no.228).
5 May	Porchester	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 128, 133, 214).
7 May	Porchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 133).
8 May	Southwick	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 129b).
9 May	Southwick	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 129, 130).
11 May	Southwick	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 130, 132).
12 May	Southwick	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 130b, 131, 131b).
18 May	Winchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 134b).
6 November	Canterbury	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 139b).

[33] *EEA Winchester I* no. 231b gives Dorchester as the place where Philip witnessed on this date, though the editor was dubious as to its authenticity. Given the distance between the two towns and the fact that M. Philip witnesses a series of letters at Porchester 24-27 April it is more likely that Porchester is the more accurate place-date.

1205

6 March	York	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 143, 144b).
8 March	York	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 143, 150).
23 May	Northampton	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 150b).
30 October	Guilford	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 159).

1206

12 February	York	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 162b).

1208

*c.*10/11 April	Durham	(*EEA Durham II* nos.203, 204).
22 April	Death of Philip of Poitou	(*D. Ann.* p. 2; *Script Tres.* p. 26).

F) Itinerary of Richard de Marisco

1207

23 July	Charterhouse	(*RLP* pp. 74b,82).
6 August	Woodstock	(*RLC* i 89b).
10 August	Rockingham	(*RLC* i 90).
6 September	Holwell in Blackmore	(*RLC* i 92).
16 September	Harptree	(*RLC* i 92).
1 October	Winchester	(*RLC* i 92b).
15 October	Easton	(*RLC* i 94).
24 October	Windsor	(*RLC* i 94b).
27 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 94b).
28 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 95).
8 November	Woodstock	(*RLC* i 96).
12 November	Tewkesbury	(*RLP* p. 76b).
27 November	Marlborough	(*RLC* i 97b).
28 November	Marlborough	(*RLC* i 97b).
11 December	Brockenhurst	(*RLC* i 98b).
28 December	Guilford	(*RLC* i 99).

1208

2 January	Winchester	(*RLC* i 99b).
3 January	Salisbury	(*RLC* i 100).
5 January	Burbage	(*RLC* i 100; *Rot. Chart.* p. 176).
10 January	Northampton	(*RLC* i 100b).
17 January	Silverstone	(*RLC* i 100b).
22 January	Lambeth	(*RLC* i 100b, 101).
23 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 101).
30 January	Freemantle	(*RLC* i 101b).
3 February	Marlborough	(*RLC* i 101b, 102).
4 February	Marlborough	(*RLC* i 102).
21 February	London	(*RLC* i 103).
23 February	Lambeth	(*RLC* i 103b).
26 February	Winchester	(*RLC* i 104).
6 March	Bristol	(*RLC* i 105).
17 March	Marlborough	(*RLC* i 106).
20 March	Clarendon	(*RLC* i 107).
23 March	Clarendon	(*RLC* i 107).
24 March	Southampton	(*RLC* i 107b).
29 March	Pagham, Aldingbourne	(*RLC* i 108).
31 March	Southampton	(*RLC* i 109).
1 April	Bedhampton	(*RLC* i 108).
7 April	Guilford	(*RLC* i 109b).
10 April	Ludgershall	(*RLC* i 110b).
16 April	Woodstock	(*RLC* i 112).
27 April	Hereford	(*RLC* i 113b).
6 May	Lambeth	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 177b).
9 June	Winchester	(*RLP* p. 84b).
8 December	Clarendon	(*RLP* p. 83).

1209

28 January	Prestbury	(*RLP* p. 91b).
28 May	Marlborough	(*RLP* p. 91).

1210

25 May	Cardiff	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 282).
16 June	Cross on Sea near Pembroke	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 177; *PR 17 John* p. 78).
24 June	Kilkenny	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 179).
30 June	Grenoc [Greenogue]	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 185).
2 July	Trim	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 187).
5 July	Prater subter Kendles [Kells]	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 189).
7 July	Meadow near river Shrule [Louth][34]	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 192).
11 July	Carlingford	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 195).
26 July	Carrickfergus	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1300-1326* p. 198).
27 July	Carrickfergus	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 207).
2 August	Carrickfergus	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 247).
9 August	Drogheda	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 210).
19 August	Dublin	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 214).
21 August	Dublin	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 218).
22 August	Dublin	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 224).
17 September	Bristol	(*Guisborough Cart.* p. 98).

1211

5 February	Gillingham	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 239).
1 March	Dodington	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 188).
13 March	Chilham	(*Rot. Lib.* p. 245).
1 November	Reading	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1237-41* p. 71).

1212

2 January	Woodstock	(*CRR 1210-2* p. 189).
19 April	Westminster	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 189).
4 May	Lambeth	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 186; *Foedera* p. 105).
16 May	Lambeth	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 186b).
18 May	Tower of London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 186b).
19 May	Tower of London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 186b).
24 May	Westminster	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187).
25 May	Westminster	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187).
27 May	Wolmere	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 191).
24 June	Westminster	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187).
8 July	Nottingham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187).

[34] Prest issued at p*rater subter aquam quandam que vocatur Struthe*, which has been tentatively identified as the river Shrule in county Louth: c. f. *Annals of the Four Masters, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, 3rd edition, i (Dublin, 1990), 112n.

9 July	Nottingham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187).
27 July	Devises	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187).
11 August	Lamport	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187b).
12 August	Salvatam	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187b).
1 September	Allerton	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 187b).
3 September	Durham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 188).
7 September	Durham	(DCDCM 2.2.Finc.15)
23 September	Havering	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 188, 188b).
26 September	Woodham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 190).
5 October	Dutton	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 188b).
30 October	Southwark	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 188b).
3 November	Windsor	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 189).
8 November	Flaxley	(*PR 17 John* p. 85).
12 November	Westminster	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 189b; *Feet of Fines Norfolk 1201-1215, Suffolk 1199-1214*, *PRS* , new series, 32 pp. 134-5 nos.271, 272).
13 November	Reading	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1327-41* p. 71).
2 December	Westminster	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 189b).
5 December	Woodstock	(*PR 17 John* p. 86).

1213

2 January	Havering	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 189b, 192b).
7 January[35]	Kimbolton	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 190).
10 January	Lincoln	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 190).
24 February[36]	Bedlington	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 190b; *Whitby Cart.* ii 715).
5 February	Stockton-on-Tees	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 190).
12 February	Driffield	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 190b).
22 April	Rochester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 191).
27 May	Wingham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 193).
29 May	Dover	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 193b).
30 May	Wingham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 192b).
3 June	Wingham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 193).
8 June	Rochester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 193).
14 June	Ashley	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 193b).
27 June	Beer Regis	(*RLC* i 144; *Rot. Chart.* p. 193).
6 July	Cranbourne	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 193).
8 July	Gillingham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 194).
11 July	Fisherton	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 193).
15 July	Corfe	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 194).
21 July	Winchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 194b).
24 July	Corfe	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 194).
27 July	Bindon	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 194).
28 July	Dorchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 194b).

[35] This entry is recorded as 7 February 1213, but on this date King John was at Northallerton (Northumbria).

[36] This entry is recorded as 24 February 1213, but this is unlikely as King John was returning from his progress north at this stage and was at Kingscliffe (Northamptonshire) on 23 February and Kimbolton (Cambridgeshire) on 25 February.

30 July	Poorstock	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 194b).
8 September	York	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 194b).
3 October	St Paul's London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 195; *Foedera* p. 115; SLI no.67).
9 October	Ospringe (Kent)	(*RLP* p. 105; *RLC* i 153b).
c. late 1213-*c.*May 1214	Embassy to Rome	(CLI nos. 949-950; SLI no. 70).

1214

26 May	Parteney (Poitou),	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 198b; CEPR p. 45).
4 June	Spina	(*RLP* p. 116b).
16 August	Ludgershall	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 198b).
28 October	London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 202).
29 October	Tower of London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 202).
2 November	Havering	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 202).
21 November	New Temple London	(*C&S II* pp. 38-41; Cal. Wells i 311).
22 November	London, New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 202b; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 154).
9-10 December	Bury St Edmunds	(CEH pp. 133-9).
21 December	Bury St Edmunds	(CEH pp. 141-7).
22 December	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 203).
27 December	Worcester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 206).

1215

9 January	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 202b, 203b; *Glastonbury Cart.* p. 90; Cal. Wells i 10).
10 January	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 205b).
14 January	New Temple London, Guilford,	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 203, 203bb).
15 January	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 204b; *Foedera* p. 126-7).
17 January	Guilford	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 203, 204b, 205).
18 January	Guilford	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 205).
21 January	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 204).
31 January	Christchurch	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 205b).
7 February	Marlborough	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 205).
9 February	Marlborough	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 205b).
4 March	St Paul's, London	(*Southwark Annals* p. 49).
15 March	Tower of London	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1327-41* p. 339).
31 March	Nottingham	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 392).
6 April	Oxford	(CEH pp. 164-5).
22 April	Oxford New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 206b, 214b).
28 April	Dover	(*Foedera* p. 128).
3 May	New Temple London	(*Feet of Fines Norfolk 1201-1215, Suffolk 1199-1214*, *PRS*, new series, 32 p. 139 no.279).

5 May	Reading	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 206b).
7 May	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 207).
9 May	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 207).
30 May	Odiham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 209b).
20 June	Runimeade	(*Rot. Chart.*p210b).
25 June	Windsor	(*Rot. Chart.*p210).
27 June	Winchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 210).
3 July	Marlborough	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 210b, 211).
4 July	Marlborough	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 212).
5 July	Devises	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 212, 212b).
6 July	Devises	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 211b).
7 July	Bradenstoke	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 220).
8 July	Marlborough	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 212b).
9 July	Marlborough	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 212b).
10 July	Clarendon	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 213).
13 July	Corfe	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 213).
16 July	Freemantle	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 213).
17 July	Oxford	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 214).
18 July	Oxford	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 213b, 214b, 217b).
19 July	Oxford	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 213b, 214).
20 July	Oxford	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 214b).
23 July	Oxford	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 215; BL MS Cotton Vesp. E.XIX f.8r).
25 July	Woodstock	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 216; BL MS Cotton Vesp. E.XIX f.4v-5r).
26 July	Campden	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 215b).
27 July	Feckenham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 216).
28 July	Feckenham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 216b).
1 August	Bridgenorth	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 216b, 217).
8 August	Clarendon	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 217).
16 August	Marlborough	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 217b, 218).
20 August	Wareham	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 218).
21 August	Wareham	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 218, 218b).
1 September	Dover	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 218b).
2 September	Dover	(*Foedera* p. 137; *RLP* p. 182).
3 September	Dover	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 34).
4 September	Dover	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 219b; *RLP* p. 182; *Foedera* p. 137).
6 September	Dover	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 219).
13 September	Dover	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 218b, 219; *RLP* p. 182b; CEPR p. 52; BL MS Cotton Vesp. E.XIX f.7v-8r).
23 September	Canterbury	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 219b).
September-?December	Embassy to Rome	(*RLP* p. 182).

1216

28 January	Durham	(*Rot. Chart.* pp. 219b, 220; DCDCM Cartulary 2 f.29v).
19 March	Colchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 220).
1 April	Enfield	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 220b).

7 April	Reading	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 221).
28 May	Winchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 222).
30 May	Winchester	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 222).
11 June	Corfe	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 222b).
13 June	Salisbury	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 222b).
19 June	Beer-Regis	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 223).
27 June	Corfe	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 223).
30 June	Corfe	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 223b).
4 July	Corfe	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 223b).
7 July	Bradenstoke	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 220).
9 July	Devises	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 222b).
13 July	Salisbury	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 222b).
14 July	Corfe	(*RLP* p. 191).
25 July	Hereford	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 223b).
28 September	Lincoln	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 224).

1217

9 April	Winchester	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 55).
? June (x March 1218)	Durham, enthronement	(*EEA Durham II* no.259).
?2 July[37]	Gloucester	(*Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley) 288).
23 July	Oxford	(*RLC* i 315).
17 July	Stockton	(*EEA Durham II* no. 270).
23 July	Oxford	(*RLC* i 315).
10 August	Oxford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 83).
6 November	St Paul's, London	(*Minority* p.60 n.2).
8 November	Westminster, London	(CEPR p. 97; *EEA Winchester II* no.107).
1 December	Berwick	(*Chron. Melrose* p. 169).
4 December	Berwick	(*Chron. Melrose* p. 169).

1218

6 May	Darlington	(*EEA Durham II* no. 276).
1 June	Howden	(*EEA Durham II* no. 278).
22 September	Durham	(*EEA Durham II* nos. 253, 260, 261).
24 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 371).
2 November	Westminster	(*RLC* i 381).
4 November	Westminster, London	(*RLC* i 380b, 403b; *EEA Durham II* no. 279).
25 November – 18 December	Judge on Yorkshire eyre, York	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75, *Yorkshire eyre 1218-19* p. xx).

1219

7 – 14 January	Judge on Northumberland eyre,	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 76,

[37] Various dates have been recorded for this event, but 2 July 1217 is generally accepted: *D. Ann.* pp. 2, 204; *Fasti* ii (Durham) 31.

	Newcastle	*Yorkshire eyre 1218-19* p. xx).
20 January – 24 February	Judge on Yorkshire eyre, York	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75, *Yorkshire eyre 1218-19* p. xx-xxi).
11 April	Judge on Yorkshire eyre, York	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 75, *Yorkshire eyre 1218-19* p. xxi).

1220

4 February	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 225)
20 February	Westminster	(*RLC* i 412).
*c.*8 May	Didderston or Diddersley Hill (Richmondshire)	(RL i 117, see also RL i 112; *EEA Durham II* app X nos. 4-5).
*c.*9 June	Northallerton	(RL i 131; *EEA Durham II* app X no.8).
15 June	York	(*Foedera* p. 160; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 235; *EEA Durham II* no.247).
c. September	Durham	(RL i 153-4).
?After 29 Sept[38]	Embassy to Rome	(*Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 294; iii (Dunstable), 62; *Walter of Coventry* p. 247; *EEA Durham II* p. 341).

1221

May	Embassy to Scotland	(*RLC* i 476).
6 September	Bishop Auckland	(*EEA Durham II* no.275).
25 September	York	(*EEA Durham II* no. 264).
25 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 316).
12 November	Westminster	(*RLC* i 479b).
21 November	Westminster	(*RLC* i 482).
22 November	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 321).
23 November	Westminster	(*RLC* i 482b).
8 December	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 322).

1222

?4 June[39]	Howden	(*EEA Durham II* no.280).
30 June	Howden	(*EEA Durham II* no. 266).
6 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 511b).

1223

3 January	Howden	(*EEA Durham II* no. 267).
? 5 June[40]	Riccall	(*EEA Durham II* no.281).

[38] M. G. Snape argues that although Richard departed for Rome he soon returned due to illness, leaving his proctors to complete his business at the curia: *EEA Durham II* p. 341.
[39] This actum may in fact have been issued in 1224: see *EEA Durham II* no.280.

8 December	Westminster	(*RLC* i 578).

1224

15 January	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 422).
14 June	Northallerton	(*EEA Durham II* no. 268).
?1 September[41]	Bury St. Edmunds	(*EEA Durham II* app X no. 12).
4 October	Northallerton	(*EEA Durham II* no.250).
16 November	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 495).

1225

18 January	Bishop Auckland	(*EEA Durham II* no.265).
May	Embassy to Scotland	(*Foedera* p. 178; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 527).
29 September	Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 40).
18 October	Waltham	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 2).

1226

1 May	Death of Richard de Marisco at Peterborough	(Wendover, *Chronica* ii 309; Paris, *CM* iii 111-113; *Script. Tres.* p. 36.)

[40] This actum may in fact have been issued in 1225: see *EEA Durham II* no. 281.
[41] For the dating of this letter see *EEA Durham II* app X no. 12.

G) Itinerary of Richard Poore

1197

19 April	Wareham	(*EEA Salisbury I* no. 212).

1198

15 July	Abingdon	(*EEA Salisbury I* no. 219).

***c.* March 1205 – *c.* January 1206**

Possible embassy to Rome		CLI nos. 631, 672, 674, 680.

1209

3 January	Paris	CLI no. 821.

1213

7 January 1213	Salisbury	(*Statutes and Customs* p. 40-3).
November	Croydon	(*Chron. Abb. Evesham* p. 232).

1214

7 January	Salisbury	(*Sarum Charters* p. 76).
4-9 June	Bury St. Edmunds	(CEH pp. 77, 79-81).
28-29 June	Bury St. Edmunds	(CEH pp. 81-3).
26 July	St. Albans	(CEH pp. 93-97).
29 September	Bury St. Edmunds	(CEH pp. 109-111).
7 November	Royston	(CEH p. 129).
9 December	Bury St. Edmunds	(CEH pp. 131-33).

1215

9 January	New Temple London	(*Rot. Chart.* p. 203b).
?12 January*	Reading	(CEH p. 133).
25 January	Consecration and profession of obedience as bishop of Chichester, Reading Abbey	(*Ann. Mon.* ii (Waverley), 282; *Canterbury Professions*. no.151).
?10 March*	Bury St. Edmunds	(CEH pp. 155-7).
12 May	Folkestone	(*RLP* p. 180).

* These dates in the Bury St. Edmunds case occur after Richard was elected bishop of Chichester and may therefore refer to Adam, his successor as dean of Salisbury: c.f. CEH p. 157 and fn. 1.

1216

12 November	Bristol	(DCDCM 1.2.Reg.3.).

1217

20 May	Battle of Lincoln	(*Chron. Melrose* p. 68).
28 May x 2 July	Translation from Chichester to Salisbury	(*Fasti* (Salisbury) p. 4 n.2).
24 August	Sandwich	(Paris, *CM* iii 28-9; *Ann. Mon.* iv (Worcester), 408).
13 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 330).

1218

7 June	Dedication of Worcester Cathedral	(Walter *of Coventry* ii 240).
2 July	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 356).
21 August	Ramsbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 290).
9 November	Chardstock	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 328).
25 November-21 December	Oxford	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72).

1219

3 January	Shaftesbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 286).
13 January	Oxford	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72)
23 January – 25 February[42]	Reading	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72)
21 February	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 274).
26 February-23 March	Winchester	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72).
3 March[43]	Rochester	(*RLC* i 387b; Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72).
24 April – 21 May	Winchester	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72).
2 June	Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 10).
7-27 June	Winchester	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72).
20 June	Westminster	(*Sarum Charters* p. 86).
28 June	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 331).
?1 July [44]	Wimbourne Minster	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 341).
18 July	Westminster	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72).
15 August	Salisbury Cathedral	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 10).
18 August	Amesbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 268).
16-20 October	Westminster	(Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72).
? 1 November	Move to new cathedral site, Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 10).

[42] This special session of the general eyre appears to have been conducted in Richard's absence: Crook, *General Eyre* p. 72.
[43] Richard was summoned to a Great council at Reading on this date but it is unclear whether he attended: *RLC* i p. 387b.
[44] This act may belong to 1220: *EEA Salisbury II* no. 341n.

8 November	Reading	(*CRR 1220* p. 197).
13 November	Sonning	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 388).
23 November	Abingdon	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 254).
31 December	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 344).

1220

31 January	Sherbourne	(*CRR 1220* p. 197).
25 February	Amesbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 397).
28 April	Laying foundation stones of new cathedral, Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii12).
30 April	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 300).
?1 July [45]	Wimbourne Minster	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 341).
4/5 July	Canterbury Cathedral	(*Walter of Coventry* ii 249).
7 July	Translation of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral	(Paris, *CM* iii 59).
16-19 August	Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 15).
20 September	Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii p. 15).
5 October	Ramsbury	(*CRR 1220* p. 197).
8 October	London	(*CRR 1220* p. 197).
17 October	Amesbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 301).
26 October	Abingdon	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 255).

1221

21 January	Westminster	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 392).
12 April	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 325-6).
13 April	Salisbury	(*Sarum Charters* p. 107-9).
25 April	Westminster abbey	(*Walter of Coventry* ii 249).
29 April	London	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 262).
19 July	Westminster	(Wendover, *Flores* ii 172-3).
?20 July[46]	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 311).
18 August	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 270).
7 October	Salisbury	(*Sarum Charters* p. 114).
25 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 316).

1222

17 January	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 325).
19 February	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 292).
7 April	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 345).
? 25 April	Cumnor	(*EEA Salisbury II* no.278).
13 May	Chardstock	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 275).
23 July	Highworth	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 346A).
15 August	Cathedral chapter, Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 18).
?18 August	Bishop's seal used, New Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 18; c.f. *EEA Salisbury II* p. 419 fn. 9).
27 October	London	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 306).

[45] This act may belong to 1219: *EEA Salisbury II* no. 341n.

[46] Recorded in a letter patent that Richard was present at court, probably referring to that day's events: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 311.

17 November	Ramsbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 346B).
24 November	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* nos. 280, 394).

1223

10 March	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 277).
15 May	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 395).
*c.*16 May	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 380).
16 June	Amesbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 308).
c. 28 July	Embassy to France	(*RLC* i 556; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 406).
10 December	Westminster	(*RLC* i 578).
11 December	Westminster	(*RLC* i 578b).
12 December	Tower of London	(*RLC* i 578b, 579; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 417).
21 December	Newport Pagnell	(*RLC* i 579).
27 December	Northampton	(*RLC* i 579b).
30 December	Northampton	(*RLC* i 580; *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 418, 419, 420).
31 December	Northampton	(*RLC* i 580).

1224

1 January	Northampton	(*RLC* i 580b).
2 January	Northampton	(*RLC* i 580b).
4 January	St Albans	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 419).
8 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 580b).
12 January	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 420).
13 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 581).
14 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 581; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 421).
15 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 581; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 422).
16 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 581, 581b).
17 January	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 423).
18 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 581b).
19 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 582; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 424).
20 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 582, 582b).
22 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 582b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 425).
23 January	Westminster	(*RLC* i 582b).
January	Westminster	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 337).
1 February	Westminster	(*RLC* i 583).
2 February	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 421).
4 February	Westminster	(*RLC* i 583).
5 February	Westminster	(*RLC* i 583b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 426).
6 February	Westminster	(*RLC* i 583b).
23 February	Westminster	(*RLC* i 586).
1 March	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 259).
10 March	Bristol	(*RLC* i 587b).

12 March	Bristol	(*RLC* i 588).
13 March	Bristol	(*RLC* i 588b).
21 March	Reading	(*RLC* i 588b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 430).
23 March	Kingston-upon-Thames	(*RLC* i 589).
25 March	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 483).
26 March	Westminster	(*RLC* i 589b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 430).
27 March	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 430, 432).
28 March	Westminster	(*RLC* i 589b; 590)
29 March	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 432).
15 April	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* nos. 267, 303).
26 April	Westminster	(*RLC* i 594b).
28 April	Westminster, New Temple London	(*RLC* i 595; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 484).
29 April	New Temple London	(*RLC* i 595).
30 April	Westminster	(*RLC* i 595, 595b).
2 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 597; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 437).
3 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 597b).
4 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 597b).
5 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 597b, 598).
6 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 598; *Exerpta é Rot Fin.* i 123).
8 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 598; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 438).
9 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 598b).
11 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 438).
12 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 599; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 485).
14 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 599; *Exerpta é Rot Fin.* i 116).
15 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 599; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 484).
16 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 599).
17 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 599; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 486).
19 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 599).
20 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 599b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 438, 439).
21 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 599b).
22 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 440).
24 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 600b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 486).
25 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 600b, 601; *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 440, 441).
26 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 601, 601b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 441).
27 May	Westminster	(*RLC* i 601b).
13 June	Wallingford	(*RLC* i 604b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 443).
18 June	Northampton	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 446).
24 June	Bedford	(*RLC* i 606b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 446).

25 June	Bedford	(*RLC* i 607).
26 June	Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 447).
28 June	Bishop' seal used, Reading	(*Sarum Charters* p. 166).
3 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 609).
4 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 609b).
5 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 609b).
6 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 634).
7 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 610).
8 July	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 448).
9 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 610b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 448).
10 July	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 450).
15 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 611, 611b).
17 July	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 453).
18 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 612; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 454).
19 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 612b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 456).
25 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 613b).
27 July	Siege of Bedford	(*RLC* i 613b).
2 August	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 458).
3 August	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 459).
4 August	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 459).
10 August	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 460).
12 August	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 461).
13 August	Siege of Bedford	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 486).
?21 August	Abingdon Abbey	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 310).
4 October	Hereford	(*RLC* i 623).
7 October	Cirencester	(*RLC* i 623b).
?15 October	St. Catherine's chapel, Westminster	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 311).
20 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 626).
21 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 626b).
22 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 627, 627b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 476).
25 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 654).
26 October	Westminster	(*RLC* i 654: *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 479).
28 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 491).
29 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 3).
30 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 3b).
3 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 4).
6 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 4b, 5; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 493).
7 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 5b).
8 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 5b).
9 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 6, 6b).
11 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 6b).
13 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 6b).
14 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 7b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 497).
15 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 7b, 8).
16 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 8).
17 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 8).
20 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 8b).
21 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 8b).

23 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 8b).
?26 November	St Nicholas' chapel, Abingdon	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 312).
1 December	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 499).
5 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 9).
7 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 9).
10 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 9, 9b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 499).
12 December	London	(*RLC* i 629b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 481).
19 December	London	(*RLC* i 630b).
30 December	Northampton	(*RLC* i 630b).

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8 January	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 12).
9 January	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 12b, 13).
11 January	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 13b).
14 January	Dover	(*RLC* ii 13b).
17 January	Dover	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 502).
9 February	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 507).
11 February	Westminster	(DCDCM 1.2.Reg.2.).
14 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 16b).
15 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 17b).
16 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 18).
17 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 18b).
19 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 19).
11 March	Winchester	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 512).
13 March	Winchester[47]	(*RLC* ii 23; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 516).
14 March	Winchester	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 513).
20 March	Portsmouth	(*RLC* ii 24; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 514).
21 March	Portsmouth	(*RLC* ii 24b).
22 March	Portsmouth	(*RLC* ii 28, 30b).
23 March	Southwark	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 516).
24 March	Southwark	(*RLC* ii 24b).
26 March	Winchester	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 517).
8 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 25b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 518).
10 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 26b).
11 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 27; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 519).
13 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 27b).
15 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 33b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 520).
16 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 28).
19 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 29; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 521).
20 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 29).
22 April	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 522).
23 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 33).

[47] It would appear that a letter reputedly issued at Southwark on this date is the result of a scribal error (*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 516).

26 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 33).
27 April	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 523).
28 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 33b).
29 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 34).
30 April	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 35).
2 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 35).
5 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 36).
9 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 37, 37b).
10 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 37b, 38; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 523).
11 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 526).
12 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 527).
13 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 39, 39b).
14 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 39).
15 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 39).
16 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 529).
20 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 40).
27 May	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 398).
4 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 43b, 44).
5 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 43b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 533).
6 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 44, 44b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 533).
8 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 44b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 533).
9 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 76; *Exerpta é Rot. Fin.* i 129).
11 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 44b).
15 June	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 536).
16 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 45; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 534).
18 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 45b).
20 June	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 45).
23 June	Canterbury	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 536).
27 June	Rochester	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 536).
1 July	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 46b).
4 July	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 47b).
7 July	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 49b).
19 July	Winchester	(*RLC* ii 55).
24 July	Marlborough	(*RLC* ii 52b).
2 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 54b).
4 August	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 542).
5 August	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 577).
7 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 55, 55b).
8 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 48b, 49, 55b).
9 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 56).
11 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 57, 57b).
12 August	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 542).
13 August	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 544).
14 August	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 545).
15 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 57b).
16 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 58).
18 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 58b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 546).
20 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 59).

23 August	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 578).
26 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 59b).
28 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 59b).
29 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 60).
30 August	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 60).
31 August	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 548).
5 September	Reading	(*RLC* ii 82b).
8 September	Winchester, castle?	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 549).
28 September – 5 October	Salisbury	(*Reg. S Osmund* ii 38-44; *EEA Salisbury II* no. 327).
16 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 65b).
18 October	Waltham	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 2).
20 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 66b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 554).
22 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 67; *Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 555).
24 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 68).
25 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 68b; *Pat. R. 1216-25* pp. 556, 557).
27 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 68b).
28 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 84).
30 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 84).
31 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 1).
2 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 84).
22 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 85).
24 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 85).
27 November	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 3).
28 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 85).
2 December	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 560).
8 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 87).
9 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 88).
10 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 88, 88b).
11 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 88b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 5).
12 December	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 5).
13 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 89b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 6).
15 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 90).
26 December	Winchester	(*RLC* ii 90b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 8).
27 December	Ashley	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 7).
28 December	Salisbury, royal visit	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 44).
30 December	Clarendon	(*RLC* ii 91b).

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7 January	?London[48]	(*Councils and Synods II* p. 155-6).
8 January	Marlborough	(*RLC* ii 92b).
9 January	Marlborough	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 10).
10 January	Marlborough	(Foreign accounts p. 52).
14 January	Marlborough	(*RLC* ii 93, 93b; *Pat. R. 1225-*

[48] It is unclear whether Richard attended this church council.

		32 p. 10).
16 January	Marlborough	(*RLC* ii 93b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 11).
22 January	Marlborough	(*RLC* ii 94b, 95; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 12).
28 January	Marlborough	(*RLC* ii 96).
11 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 98; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 16).
13 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 98b).
16 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 99b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 17, 18).
20 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 100).
21 February	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 18, 20).
22 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 100; *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 20, 21).
23 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 100).
24 February	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 21; 74).
25 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 100b).
26 February	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 101).
7 March	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 304).
8 March	Burial of William earl of Salisbury at New cathedral, Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 48).
15 March	Blessing of abbot of Reading, ?Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 48).
21 March	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 103b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 24).
23 March	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 104; *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 24, 25).
3 May	St. Paul's London	(*Councils and Synods II* pp. 155-8).
5 May	Westminster,	(*RLC* ii 108).
?5 May[49]	London	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 313).
10 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 31).
11 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 110b).
15 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 111).
16 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 34).
17 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 113b).
19 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 114).
20 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 114b, 115).
21 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 115b).
24 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 115b, 116; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 37).
25 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 116b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 38).
27 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 118).
30 May	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 118b).
14 June	?Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 55).
17 June	Winchester	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 41).
23 June	Winchester	(Foreign accounts p. 92).
25 June	Winchester, New Salisbury	(*RLC* ii 123b; *EEA Salisbury II* no. 294).
30 June	Windsor, St. Catherine's chapel, Westminster Abbey	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 48; DCDCM Misc. Ch. 5520;

[49] See *EEA Salisbury II* no. 313.

		Evers pp. 102-3).
1 July	?Westminster	(Foreign accounts p. 92).
2 July	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 50).
4 July	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 126; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 52).
5 July	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 126b, 127).
6 July	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 52).
7 July	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 127b).
8 August	Ramsbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 354).
15 August	Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 60).
3 September	Winchester	(*RLC* ii 136b).
13 October	London	(*Councils and Synods II* pp. 163-4).
16 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 142).
17 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 142b).
20 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 64).
21 October	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 143, 144).
26 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 66).
27 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 69).
5 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 158b; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 89; *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 5).
13 November	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 159).
20 November	Westminster	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 5).
16 December	Westminster	(*RLC* ii 162).
18 December	Westminster	(RL i 302; *Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 99, 100, 102).
20 December	London	(*EEA Winchester II* no. 128; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 152; *Acta Langton* no. 95).

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20 January	Westminster	(C/53/18 m36).
22 January	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 109; Cal. Wells i 360).
30 January	Westminster	(C/53/18 m36).
1 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m35).
3 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m35).
4 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m30, 29).
5 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m35, 34).
1 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m35).
8 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m34).
9 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m33).
10 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m33, 32, 28).
11 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m29, 27, 26, 24).
12 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m34, 32, 29, 28).
13 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m32, 27, 26).
14 February	Westminster	(*Cartae Antiquae II* no. 377).
16 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m31, 30, 26).
17 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m26, 24, 22).
18 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m26, 23, 22, 16).
19 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m22, 21).
20 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m25, 24, 23, 21, 19).

21 February	Westminster	(C/53/18 m20).
15 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m21).
16 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m20, 19, 15; *Cartae Antiquae II* no. 28).
17 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m19, 16).
18 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m17).
20 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m14).
22 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m18, 15, 12, 11).
23 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m14, 11).
24 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m14, 13, 12, 11).
25 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m14).
26 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m13).
28 March	Westminster	(C/53/18 m11).
30 March	Ramsbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 351).
5 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m11).
25 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m9).
26 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m8).
28 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m8).
29 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m8).
30 April	Westminster	(C/53/18 m9).
1 May	Westminster	(C/53/18 m9).
2 May	Mortlake	(C/53/18 m7, 6).
4 May	Westminster	(C/53/18 m7, 5).
6 May	Westminster	(C/53/18 m7).
10 May	?Westminster	(C/53/18 m5).
17 May	Westminster	(C/53/18 m4).
1 June	Westminster	(C/53/18 m3).
2 June	Westminster	(C/53/18 m3).
7 June	Ramsbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 260).
10 June	Westminster	(C/53/18 m2).
20 June	Westminster	(C/53/18 m2,1).
5 July[50]	Westminster	(C/53/18 m1; C53/19 m9; *Sarum Charters* p. 183-4).
6 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m9, 8).
9 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m8).
14 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m8).
15 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m8).
16 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m7, 6).
18 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m6).
19 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m7).
20 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m7, 5).
22 July	Westminster	(C53/19 m6, 5).
1 August	Westminster	(C53/19 m5).
15 August	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 374).
17 August	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 383).
3 September	Monk Farleigh priory	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 330).
1 October	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 332).
3 October	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 283).
7 October	London	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 317).
11 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
13 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).

[50] The bishop's seal was used to issue a charter issued at Salisbury on this date, but given that Richard witnessed royal letters at Westminster the same day, it seems likely that the seal was used in his absence.

15 October	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 148).
20 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
21 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
25 October	Westminster	(C53/19 m2).
28 October	Westminster	(C53/20 m11).
25-28 December	Salisbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 81, 95).

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1 January	Amesbury	(*Reg. S. Osmund* ii 81, 95).
26 January	Ramsbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 299).
12 February	Westminster	(C53/20 m10, 9).
15 February	Westminster	(C53/20 m9).
25 February	Westminster	(C53/20 m8).
28 February	Westminster	(C53/20 m8).
March	Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 376).
31 March	Sonning	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 269).
8 April	St Bride's, London	(*EEA Salisbury II* no. 347).
11 April	Reading, Sonning	(C53/20 m7; *EEA Salisbury II* no. 319).
20 April	Westminster	(C53/20 m7).
22 April	Westminster	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 72).
May	Embassy to France	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* pp. 213-5).
6 July	New Salisbury	(*EEA Salisbury II* nos. 334, 377).
*c.*22 July	Translation from Salisbury to Durham	(*Reg. S Osmund* ii 100-102; *EEA Durham II* app X no.14; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 195; *Cl. R. 1227-31* p. 66).
4 September	Enthroned at Durham	(*D. Ann.* p. 5; *Script. Tres.* p. 37).
8 November	Westminster	(C53/21 m20).
16 November	Westminster	(C53/21 m17).
20 November	Westminster	(C53/21 m17).
28 November	Westminster	(C53/21 m19, 18).
5 December	Westminster	(C53/21 m5).
10 December	Westminster	(C53/21 m20, 18).
12 December	Westminster	(C53/21 m18).
13 December	Westminster	(C53/21 m20).

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3 February	Waltham	(C53/21 m13).
5 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m13).
6 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m13).
13 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m12, 11).
14 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m12).
18 February	Westminster	(C53/21 m12, 11).
22 February	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 284).
8 May	Westminster	(C53/21 m7).
11 May	Westminster	(*Guisborough Cart.* p. 131; C53/21 m7).
13 May	Westminster	(C53/21 m7).

15 May	Westminster, Fulham	(C53/21 m7; *Reg. Ant. Linc.* i 230, 232, 235; ii 371; Cal. Wells i 8, 309, 494).
18 July	Westminster	(C53/21 m5).
18 August	Westminster	(C53/21 m5).
24 September	Durham	(*EEA Durham II* nos. 302, 304, 306, 308, 329).
13 October	Westminster	(*EEA Durham II* app VII nos. 12; 14, 15, 18, 19).
24 October	Northallerton	(*EEA Durham II* no. 321).
28 October	Northallerton	(*EEA Durham II* no. 318).
16 November	Westminster	(C53/23 m4).

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28 January	Westminster	(C53/24 m13).
1 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m13).
4 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m12).
6 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m12).
7 February	Westminster	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* p. 114; C53/24 m12, 11).
8 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11).
18 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11).
24 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11).
26 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m11, 10).
27 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m9).
28 February	Westminster	(C53/24 m10).
24 September	Durham	(*EEA Durham II* no. 333).
27 September	Durham	(*EEA Durham II* no. 290).
4 November	Westminster	(BL MS Cotton Claudius D. XI f.30v).
8 November	Westminster	(C53/25 m13).
24 November	Westminster	(C53/25 m13).
28 November	London	(*EEA Durham II* no. 346).
8 December	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1227-31* p. 462).

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6 January	Westminster	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1341-1417* p. 19).
9 January	Woodstock	(C53/25 m11).
20 January	Westminster	(*EEA Durham II* App VII nos. 17, 20).
30 January	Westminster	(C53/25 m11).
4 February	Westminster	(C53/25 m11).
5 February	Westminster	(C53/25 m11).
10 April	Westminster	(C53/25 m10).
14 April	Westminster	(C53/25 m10).
21 April	Westminster	(C53/25 m8).
10 June	Westminster	(C53/25 m8).
7 December	Bishop Auckland	(*EEA Durham II* no. 295).
9 December	Bishop Auckland	(*EEA Durham II* nos. 291, 292).

1232

10 March	Bishop Middleham	(*EEA Durham II* no. 335).
7 May	Westminster	(C53/26 m11, 10; Norwich Cathedral charters – nos. 40-45, 104-5).
9 May	Westminster	(C53/26 m11; St Paul's charters no.53).
10 May	Westminster	(C53/26 m11).
12 May	Reading	(C53/26 m10; *Reg. Holmcultram* p. 77).
12 October	Lambeth	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 30).
12 November	Lambeth	(C53/27 m15).

1233

27 January	Windsor	(*Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40* p. 197).
6 February	Westminster	(C53/27 m11).
7 February	Westminster	(C53/27 m12).
8 February	Westminster	(C53/27 m11).
25 February	Westminster	(C53/27 m11).
28 February	Westminster	(C53/27 m11).
18 April	Tarrant	(*EEA Durham II* no. 334).
4 May	Westminster	(C53/27 m10).
31 July	Durham	(*EEA Durham II* no. 317).

1234

4 March	Bishop Auckland	(*EEA Durham II* no. 311).
18 May	Gloucester	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 45).
22 May	Gloucester	(*Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 427).
12 May	Gloucester	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 47; C53/29 m8).
25 May	Gloucester	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 76; *EEA Durham II* app VIII no. 3).
3 June	Gloucester	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 216).
28 June	Westminster	(*CRR 1233-7* p. 225).
1 July	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1231-4* p. 465).
2 July	Westminster	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 434; *Cartae Antiquae I* no. 18).
11 July	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 60).
24 July	Rochester	(*Cartae Antiquae I* no. 27).
20 August	Fulham	(*EEA Durham II* no. 330).
12 October	Westminster	(*CRR 1233-7* no. 1178).
14 October	Westminster	(*Cl. R. 1461-1467* p. 365; Cal. Wells i 438).
19 October	Westminster	(*Cal. Ch. R. 1257-1300* p. 472; *Reg. Ant. Linc.* i 240).
13 November	Westminster	(C53/28 m19).

16 December	Reading	(C53/28 m18).

1235

6 February	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	(*EEA Durham II* app VII no. 16).
19 February	Westminster	(C53/28 m15).
27 February	Westminster	(C53/28 m15).
28 February	Westminster	(C53/28 m15).
9 April	Tarrant	(*EEA Durham II* no. 298).
20 April	Westminster	(C53/28 m11).
25 April	Westminster	(C53/28 m11, 10; *Cal. Lib. R. 1267-72* p. 246; Cal. Wells i 310).
30 April	Westminster	(C53/28 m11, 10, 9).
1 May	Westminster	(C53/28 m10).
2 May	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 102).
4 May	Westminster	(C53/28 m10).
8 July	Westminster, London	(C53/28 m5; *EEA Durham II* no. 341).
10 July	Westminster	(C53/28 m5).
12 July	Westminster	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 112).
14 July	Westminster	(C53/28 m5).
16 July	Westminster	(C53/28 m5).
18 July	Stanwell	(*EEA Durham II* no. 337).
13 August	Tarrant	(*EEA Durham II* no. 342).
3 November	Bishop Auckland, Fenwick	(*EEA Durham II* nos.331, 339).
13 December	Bishop Auckland	(*EEA Durham II* no. 319).

1236

January	?Escorting Alexander II of Scotland to London[51]	(*Cl. R. 1234-7* p. 331; CDRS no. 1257).
8 July	Easington	(*EEA Durham II* no. 316).

1237

18 January	Windsor	(C53/30 m7).
28 January	Reissue of Magna Carta, Westminster	(*Ann. Mon* .i (Tewkesbury), 103; C53/30 m7; *Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57* pp. 225-6).
30 January	Westminster	(C53/30 m7).
12 February	Westminster	(C53/30 m6).
13 February	Westminster	(C53/30 m6).
20 March	Westminster	(C53/30 m6).
22 March	Westminster	(C53/30 m6).
April	Taunton and Highclere	(Winchester MS 32 DR m.7, 13d, 14).

[51] Richard was amongst those deputised to accompany Alexander II and his queen to the royal council at Merton, held on 23 January 1236, but is not known if he carried out this duty.

15 April Richard de Poore dies at Tarrant (*Script. Tres.* p. 37).

H) Itinerary of Nicholas of Farnham

1201

No date	Paris, witnesses seizure of M. Simon of Tournai	(Paris, *CM* ii 476-7).

1216-18

Witnessing charters of abbey of Westminster		(Westminster Muniments 2017; 1846, 32623, 16739, 22493; Westminster Domesday fos. 303, 447-v, 575v).

1223

19 July	Gloucester	(*Pat. R. 1216-25* p. 379).

1229

Possibly after 16 July	Return to England Dispersal of Scholars from Paris	(Paris, *CM* iii 168; *Pat. R. 1225-32* p. 257).

1237

15 September	Nottingham	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 196).

1240

Trial of Heretic at Cambridge or the Tower of London		(Paris, *CM* iv 33).

1241

3 March	Woodstock	(*Beauchamp Cart.* ch.58).
6 May	Westminster	(C53/34 m4).
26 May or 9 June[52]	Consecration at Gloucester	(*Script. Tres.* p. 41; DCDCM Reg. II of.349v; Paris, *CM* iv 134-5; *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury) 118; ii (Winchester) 88.
28 September	Bishop Auckland	(Durham CRO, D/GR 27 (1, 2).
*c.*27 October	London	(Paris, *CM* iv 158).

[52] The discrepancy in the dating of this event is caused by conflicting evidence in the sources, but on balance the latter date (9 June 1241) seems the more likely, see Nicholas of Farnham chapter.

1242

*c.*16 February	Embassy to Scotland	(Paris, *CM* iv 192; *Pat. R. 1232-47* pp. 272-3).
24 February	Reading	(C53/35 m7).
3 October	Stockton	(DCDCM 2.1.Pont.13.; F.P.D. p. 186n).

1243

3 March	Bishop Middleham	(Merton College, Oxford, Muniment 566 item v. s. xiii).
2 April	Bishop Middleham	(Bod. Dodsworth MS.49, p. 48 no. 18. s. xvii).

1244

No Date	Pilgrimage to Pontigny where cured by St. Edmund's beard	(Paris, *CM* iv 330).
16 May	Darlington	(DCDCM 2.1.Pont.15a.).
*c.*15 July	Embassy to Scotland	(*Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 432).
18 September	Bishop Middleham	(DCDCM 1.6.Pont.15.).
27 October	Northallerton	(*Reg. Gray* p. 180).

1245

20 April	Midhurst	(*Newminster Cart.* p. 215).

1246

28 January	?Westminster[53]	(*Cl. R. 1242-7* p. 388).
15 March	Slindon	(Vatican archive, Reg. Vat. 22 (Papal register of Pope Innocent IV) f. 183r. s. xiii med.).

1247

17 July	Darlington	(DCDCM 2.1.Pont.17.; *Script. Tres.* p. lxxvi).

1248

28 March	Darlington	(DCDCM Misc. Ch. 6362).
10 August	Stockton	(DCDCM 2.1.Pont.12a).

[53] The place where this letter is witnessed is not noted but Henry III was at Winchester on this date: *Pat. R. 1232-47* p. 471.

3 September	Durham	(DCDCM 2.1.Pont.18).

1249

28 January	Bishop Middleham	(DCDCM 2.1.Pont.14).
30 January	Kepier	(PRO E.326/11309; DCDCM 2.3.Spec.65).
*c.*2 February	Resignation of Bishopric	(Paris, *CM* v 53-5; *Ann. Mon.* i (Tewkesbury) 138; ii (Waverley) 342; iv (Thomas Wykes) 98).

1257

*c.*2 February	Death of Nicholas of Farnham at Stocton on Tees	(Paris, *CM* v 650).

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2.3.Spec.65.
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2.1.Pont.12a, 2.1.Pont.13, 2.1.Pont.14, 2.1.Pont.16, 2.1.Pont.17; 2.2.Pont.4; 2.4.Pont.8
2.1.Archiep.25; 2.1.Archiep.31; 2.1.Archiep.33; 3.1.Archiep.7; 3.1.Archiep.8
SHD 3/7.
3.1.REG.27; 1.2.Reg.2; 1.2.Reg.3; 2.3.REG.3a
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