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ABSTRACT.

In the latter half of the twelfth century and at the beginning of the thirteenth, the machinery and methods of episcopal government in several English bishoprics were improved and transformed by the actions of certain competent and energetic prelates. The following study aims to record and assess the achievements of one such bishop - Hugh of Wells, for twenty-six years occupant of the see of Lincoln. Hugh's experience of Hubert Walter's reforms in the royal chancery and his implementation of this knowledge to diocesan government after his elevation to the bishopric of Lincoln culminated in a pontificate marked by transition and innovation in the sphere of administrative procedure - notably, the registration of certain categories of diocesan business upon rolls. An examination of these enrolments in conjunction with the four hundred surviving acts of the bishop has allowed a more detailed insight into many aspects of routine ecclesiastical government than at first appeared possible. Yet, even the resultant study is by no means an exhaustive record of the conduct of diocesan affairs under this very efficient but otherwise unremarkable bishop. The central bureaucracy of the diocese, its composition and recruitment, the division of duties between the various administrative officials and the bishop's relations with the regular and secular clergy under his control have all merited close attention but in the event it has proved impossible to include in this thesis a survey of the administration of the temporalities of the see during Hugh's episcopate even though ample source material is available for such a project.

THE
ADMINISTRATION OF HUGH OF WELLS
BISHOP OF LINCOLN
1209-1235

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WOODRUFF, C. EVELEIGH: 'The Will of Peter de Aqua Blanca, Bishop of Hereford (1268)' in Camden Miscellany, vol. XIV, Camden, 3rd series vol. XXXVII, 1926, pp. 1-xi, 1-13.

The intention of this study is to throw some light upon the administrative activities of an extremely competent but otherwise unremarkable prelate and it is therefore appropriate that the investigation should begin with a survey of the available source-material for such a study - the four hundred episcopal acts and the most important and enduring of Hugh of Wells's achievements, the systematic record of specific categories of diocesan business in the form of parchment rolls. Perhaps understandably, the pioneers in this field have chosen to collect the acts of the more eminent members of the English episcopate - archbishop Theobald¹, Gilbert Foliot² and archbishop Stephen Langton³ - and very little work has consequently been undertaken on those of their episcopal colleagues who have been unjustly condemned by some as mediocrities and time-servers, simply because they were not renowned for their pastoral accomplishments or for their sanctity or for their scholarship. This notion is undoubtedly misconceived, for many of these prelates were men of outstanding administrative calibre and the records of their pontificates might indeed prove to be a more informative and accurate depiction of routine diocesan government than the enactments of their famous and controversial associates. In this respect, Hugh of Wells is typical of the efficient and capable "administrator-bishop", a convenient appellation which can also be applied to denote certain of his contemporaries in the royal chancery who were likewise promoted to the episcopal bench - Jocelin of Wells, John de Gray, Richard Marsh, Walter de Gray - all of them bishops who devoted a great deal of attention to the government of their respective dioceses.

Although the discussion of the episcopal household will

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1. A. SALTMAN: Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury (London 1956).
 2. A. MOREY & C. H. L. BECOCKE: The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot. (Cambridge 1967).
 3. K. MAJOR: Acta Stephani Langton Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi 1207-1228 (Canterbury & York Society, vol. L, 1950).

merit a separate chapter, it may be convenient, before embarking upon an examination of the diplomatic of the charters, to give some consideration to those clerks of the household who were engaged upon the drafting and writing of the bishop's enactments - in other words, the episcopal secretariat or to use a more generally accepted, though not strictly accurate parlance, the chancery. The members of this highly-trained group are unfortunately shadowy figures and their respective functions and organisation are even more obscure. During the episcopate of Hugh of Wells there is no trace of an officer known by the title of chancellor and indeed I have been unable to find references to any such episcopal functionary until the time of Richard Gravesend (1258-1279)⁴. Yet, this certainly does not preclude the existence of a highly-organised and capable secretariat and we may presume with some justification that the cancellarial office was in being, even though the specific designation was not employed. Although it is impossible to corroborate such a statement, it would seem quite probable that the supervision of the bishop's secretarial staff was the responsibility of those persons who acted as episcopal dataries, authorised the issue of documents and presumably had custody of the bishop's seal. It is rather difficult to ascertain whether the tenure of office of these functionaries coincided with any new developments and changes in chancery practice and procedure. Certainly the phraseology of the charters had become for the most part so stereotyped that it is impossible even to trace the activities of a particular scribe by this method let alone the influence of a superior officer. On the other hand it may not be without significance that the adoption of a separate roll for the records of each archdeaconry from the bishop's eleventh pontifical year (commencing 20 December 1219) followed closely upon the assumption of office by Thomas of Fiskerton

4. John of Maidstone (1260) Public Record Office, Ancient Deed D 11014 ; William de la Gare (1269) F.N.DAVIS: Rotula Ricardi Gravesend (Lincoln Record Society vol. XX, 1925), p. 244.

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(from July 1219) and seven years later the apparent extension of the use of the personal authorisation of documents (the "dat' per manum nostram" clause)⁵ coincided with the appointment as datary of Ralph of Waravill, a canon of Lincoln and Wells and a former clerk of bishop Jocelin of Bath and Glastonbury. Thanks to the survival of many attested acts, it is possible to discover the names of over thirty episcopal clerks who served bishop Hugh in the course of his pontificate, amongst them being clerks who appear regularly in the bishop's company for many years - master Robert of Graveley, Peter of Bath, Oliver Chesney, Thomas of Ashby, master Richard of Fingest, John de Burgo, Richard of Oxford, master Stephen of Chichester, John of Banbury, Roger de Bohun, William of Winchcombe, master Alard of Arundel, Richard of Windsor, Robert of Acton and John of Crackhall. Yet we can gain no idea of their particular functions or the division of duties. A William 'scriptor' features in the 1212 testament of the bishop⁶ but it is otherwise impossible to identify the activities of any of the foregoing 'clerici episcopi' or to disclose the identify of any of the scribes of the acts or the rolls.

After examining three original charters of Hugh I of Lincoln, Professor Cheney was prompted to remark that "we often find in the acts of a prelate hands so alike as to be barely distinguishable from each other."⁷ This statement could just as well be applied in respect of several of the scribes of the second Hugh, for the hands reveal a remarkable similarity of style even though of course distinctive characteristics are for the most part easily discerned. The identification of the handwriting of individual scribes requires considerable mental adroitness and to some extent the task is even more formidable when a comparison has to be made between the script of the

5. See the section on "The Date and Dat' per manum nostram" later in this chapter.

6. actum no.1.

7. G.R. CHENEY: English Bishops' Chanceries 1100-1250, p.55 & Note 1 (Manchester 1950).

charters and that of the episcopal enrolments - the former more likely to contain careful compositions of normal size, the latter untidy, deliberately cramped and hastily written, since they were merely intended for internal administrative use. It goes without saying that handwriting is identified by features which are both consistent and peculiar to it. Yet, with the scribbling of Hugh's secretariat there has been considerable difficulty in knowing precisely which criteria should be employed to assess the individuality of a particular script. It has become increasingly apparent that each scribe varied his writing considerably in accordance with the current circumstances and even in a single charter there was little consistency. In the Launton charter issued in 1213 (Plate I)⁸ ~~there are~~ three different forms of the capital letter 'M' can be counted on a single line (line 10) and in 1227 the Great Harrowden grant (Plate III)⁹ exhibited little uniformity about specific abbreviation signs. No reliance can be placed upon the particular form of phraseology employed in the charters as a guide to the identification of individual scribes. The use of formulae was apparently left to the discretion of the writers and they clearly took pains to vary their compositions. Two original notifications similar in content, written by the same hand and issued simultaneously, bear different addresses, the one "omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit"¹⁰, the other "omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum inspecturis"¹¹. Uniformity of spelling of territorial and personal names is also no criterion of judgment. In several entries enrolled on the Northampton charter roll for the years 1220 and 1221 in an identical hand (this is proved by other internal features), the surname of Ralph of Waravill is spelt in four different ways:- "Warevill", "Waravill", "Warrevill", "Warravill"¹². It must also be taken into account that, if the original acts are anything to go by, the episcopal scribes had

8. actum no. 2.

9. actum no. 240.

10. actum no. 299.

11. actum no. 298.

12. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 184, 186, 187, 194 resp.

A problem has arisen with regard to those acts which are merely calendared. It is rather futile in a discussion on the diplomatic of the charters to refer to an English summary. Hence, reference is made to the original printed source.

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to contract their handwriting to about half its normal size for the enrolments.

Further diversity occurs as a result of external circumstances - the quality of the parchment, the thickness of the quill, the state of mind of the clerk and his state of health, the conditions in which he had to work, the contents of the documents he was charged with writing and, of great importance, whether he was pressed for time or able to execute his commission at leisure. These qualifications must all be borne in mind when dealing with the handwriting of Hugh's secretarial staff. Some notes on the principal hands identified in his documents and rolls are appended. It will be seen that there was apparently no strict division between duties between enrolling clerks and the writers of episcopal charters. The same script is frequently found in both types of record.

a) The earliest surviving original charter of bishop Hugh's pontificate also furnishes the only example of the work of this particular scribe⁸. The handwriting itself is clear and bold, with a pronounced tendency towards the elongation of the ascenders of certain letters, notably 's', 'd' and 'h'. These individual letters can measure ~~xxxxxxx~~ up to twelve millimetres in height, as opposed to the two millimetres of the normal small letter. On several occasions, the loop of the long 's' is continued over to the right and then passes through the ascending stroke of the letter. Capital letters are rather elaborate being adorned with additional vertical and/or horizontal strokes, but the most distinctive characteristics of this hand appear to be the small 'q', the lower loop of which is turned forwards and raised slightly above the line, and the small 'g' with its horizontal tail remaining close to the body of the letter before gradually curving away at the end.

b) I have ascribed this next hand to the years 1214-1215 and it is found in the earliest institution roll but not in any contemporaneous acta¹³. A very fine quill was consistently employed and the script is extremely minute, not to say

¹³. Episcopal roll X, membranes 1-2.

cramped, the small letters being just under a millimetre high. It is a very simple and business-like hand with no calligraphic flourishes, which is not entirely unexpected in a purely administrative records, and from the interlineations and erasures, it seems that the entries were obviously written up in great haste. The most distinctive letters are the very narrow capital 'A' and the small, square 'g'.

g).

This hand is found on both the rolls and in original charters and the activities of this scribe may be assigned to the period following the bishop's return from the Lateran Council until approximately 1219-1220¹⁴. It is a neat and methodical script, evenly spaced and in fact rather elegant. The most noticeable features of the handwriting are the three capital letters 'A', 'R' and 'W'. It is probable that the Beesby charter dated the 28 December 1217¹⁵ is distinct from the script at present under consideration. Although superficial similarities exist, there are several letters, especially 'R' and 'L', which suggest that these hands are the product of two separate clerks. The Beesby document is very slovenly in appearance and arrangement but this can be adequately accounted for by the fact that on the date of its issue, at least twenty-four charters were drawn up in Hugh's name. The general untidiness on this occasion can no doubt be attributed to the pressure of work and the fatigue of the hard-pressed chancery staff.

a).

The St. Fromond charter of 1221¹⁶ is a good example of the hand that was current in the institution, charter and vicarage rolls of the period from about 1220 to 1224. It is a plain and business-like hand but without any pretensions to symmetry or elegance. It is characterised by the thick oblique stroke of the small 'd' and the compressed and square 'g'. Capital letters

14. Episcopal rolls X and XII, & acta nos. 46-8, 70, 90, 94.

15. actum no. 59.

16. actum no. 129 (Plate II).

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remain fairly simple in form and at times a slightly backward slant can be detected in the handwriting.

e).

This is the most fluent and regular handwriting of all the surviving examples of the handiwork of bishop Hugh's secretarial staff. The documents and even the entries on the rolls were carefully written and there is a good contrast of thick and thin strokes, giving a rhythmical impression to the work. Easily identifiable are the long descending strokes of the small 'r' and the capital 'R' with its extra vertical line, the elongated ascender of the 'd' and the small 'g'. The script is first found in 1224¹⁷ and the scribe is active to within five years of the bishop's death. It is interesting to note that the Great Harrowden charter of 1227⁹ is faintly ruled, thereby aiding considerably the symmetrical appearance of the finished product.

f).

The handwriting of the scribe who supplanted the previous clerk at least in matters of enrolment bears a vague resemblance to the work of his predecessor, although it must be emphasised that this script is less precise and comparatively untidy in arrangement¹⁸. In point of fact, in the Westminster version of the notification regarding Oakham church issued about 1231¹⁰, no single line of writing is absolutely straight. As usual, the small 'd' and the 'g' provide a means to identification, as do the narrow capital letters 'A' and 'R'.

g).

The archidiaconal vicarage rolls and register supply the only known example of a very small, spidery hand which has made additions to the earlier entries. It was obviously written hurriedly and from the internal evidence the activities of this scribe can be tentatively assigned to the last years of the pontificate. Capital 'D' and capital 'I' are the distinctive

17. In the institution, charter and vicarage rolls ; acta nos. 225, 240, 258, 259, 274.

18. Institution and charter rolls ; acta nos. 298, 299, 316, 360, 380.

vicaria qm hie in eadem. qui dem ecciam tenet. reddendo annuatim duas exare. nomine pensionis.
 et salus in omib epalib consuetudinib. et eccie Lincolnen dignitate. Et ut hec iura in futuro

I. 5 October 1213.

Westminster abbey muniment 15683,
 lines 5-6.

Omnes xpi fideles ad quos psonis sequam puerit. Quis de gra Lincolne epe. Hinc in dno. Houit multas us
 de cu puz de seo fremendo post mortem magre sobis de bonobis qui eccias de bonobis et de alioy possidet. Et eccias

II. 3 March 1221.

Public Record Office, Ancient Deed B.463,
 lines 1-2.

tu de Suleby duas mdras annuas de ecclia nraus harescedum et capella mraus harescedunt. que de ipoz aduocatio
 ne sunt. post excessum ut cessione adgr bardi de cartia emsam eccie pectous pmanu illi qui pro tempore in eadem
 eccia psona fuerit nomine ppetui bnficij annuatim recipiendas ad duas terminos. videlicet ad festu omniu scap. viam marta. et

III. 8 September 1227.

British Museum, Additional Charter 21999,
 lines 3-5.

letters of this script.

With the remaining charters there is a real element of doubt as to whether the hands in which they are written are merely stylistic variations of a known script or whether they constitute evidence for the activities of yet another member of the episcopal secretariat. In such cases, no firm commitment has been made.

Any attempt to discover the basic evidence of an episcopal archival system at Lincoln under Hugh of Wells is hampered by the paucity of relevant material and a study, comparable to Miss Hill's detailed account of the methods of keeping records under bishop Oliver Sutton¹⁹, cannot be hoped for in respect of his predecessor in office. Admittedly a study of Sutton's archives was assisted by the survival of a memoranda register and an inventory of many of the episcopal muniments; all that remains for Hugh are a few casual references in the institution rolls. The treasury of the cathedral was the most secure repository for documents of importance but there is no mention of such a place of custody in bishop Hugh's rolls. The reason for this silence is doubtless to be explained by the fact that the majority of charters recorded in the rolls with their location were letters of presentation or archidiaconal reports of inquiries - documents of a transitory nature not requiring stringent safeguarding. It is in fact most probable that the cathedral treasury was used to store royal and papal charters and confirmations and other important business, as is attested by the contents of the Registrum Antiquissimum and other capitular cartularies.

Miss Hill made the valid distinction between the different types of record in the bishop's custody - namely his routine administrative material to which he would have constant recourse, the important royal and papal instruments and other documents which affected the rights and liberties of the bishopric, private archives delivered to the bishop for safe-keeping and a great

¹⁹. R.M.T.HILL: "Bishop Sutton and His Archives"; a study in the keeping of records in the thirteenth century" in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. II, 1951, pp. 43-53. SEE also: J.E. SAYERS: "The Medieval Care and Custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Archives" in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. XXXIX, 1966, pp. 95-107.

accumulation of miscellaneous correspondence of a strictly ephemeral nature concerning many aspects of his duties as a diocesan. In the first instance it is almost certain that the episcopal rolls accompanied the bishop on his perambulations of the diocese. He would require them for constant reference and it would not have been feasible to deposit them permanently in one place. Furthermore there are no references to any duplicate copies. Excluding the memoranda rolls, the format of which is uncertain, the total number of these enrolments would be quite considerable²⁰ - ten institution rolls, ten charter rolls, three vicarage rolls, presumably eight 'matricule', the composite register known as the 'Liber Antiquus', and there is the added possibility of visitation rolls and records of ordinations.

The entry regarding a dispute over the church of Evedon to be found in the Lincoln institution roll under the seventeenth pontifical year furnishes the only reference to private records being placed in the bishop's custody²¹. Certain muniments of H. of St. Vedast were stored in the sacristy of Lincoln, no doubt along with the vestments and church ornaments and plate.

It is perhaps only natural, considering the source of our information on this subject, that reference to places of deposit should be concerned with the routine incoming letters relating to presentations, inquisitions and other day-to-day business connected with episcopal administration. Chests, hanapers, a sealed pyx are all mentioned but it is uncertain what determined the location of the document and the particular repository. Letters of presentation are found deposited in the episcopal chests²², in the bishop's hanaper²³, in the great hanaper²⁴ and in the chapter-house of Lincoln cathedral²⁵.

20. See Chapter II on the episcopal enrolments, in particular the section on "Missing Rolls".

21. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, pp. 148-9.

22. ibid., vol. II, pp. 199, 282, 288; vol. III, pp. 27, 38, 157.

23. ibid., vol. II, p. 159.

24. ibid., vol. I, p. 220.

25. ibid., vol. I, p. 174.

Procuratory letters are also located 'in scriniis'²⁶ and a royal letter about a disputed church found its way into the sealed pyx²⁷. Certain letters of the abbey of Ramsey about the churches of Therfield, Ripton Abbots and Barton were left in the custody of a canon of Lincoln, Peter of Kirmond²⁸. Since the latter only appears very infrequently in episcopal witness lists, it is unlikely that he was a permanent chancery officer. It is also interesting to note that the letters of presentation of a Hugh of Wells to Irchester church were deposited 'apud Laf'²⁹. This must surely prove that the bishop used his residences as repositories too, for 'Laf' can only signify the episcopal castle of Sleaford (Lafford). At the same time evidence is available to establish the existence of a rather general accumulation of 'negotia'. The letter of presentation to the vicarage of Great Steeping was placed 'inter negotia anni undecimi'³⁰; yet, it is clear that this was not merely another way of referring to the episcopal muniment chests and cases. In an entry in the Northampton institution roll concerning Brooke priory³¹, the letter of presentation of the prior of Kenilworth was deposited in the bishop's hanaper but 'quedam aliis littere inter negotia facta eiusdem anni'. There is obviously a conscious distinction here in the mind of the writer. I can only suggest that a possible explanation of the term 'negotia' is that it referred to files made up by the episcopal clerks each year for letters connected with diocesan administration. It is confusing that letters of presentation are found both in the bishop's chests and among the 'negotia' but there was probably no hard and fast rule about the selection of material and its specific place of preservation. The references to the 'negotia' of a particular year are also found in the enrolments of Hugh's successor, Robert Grosseteste³². From the previously-cited Ramsey abbey entry²⁸, it is clear that certain muniment

26. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.III, p.125.

27. ibid., vol.III, p.177.

28. ibid., vol.III, p.38.

29. ibid., vol.II, p.150.

30. ibid., vol.I, p.174.

31. ibid., vol.II, p.159, cf. also vol.II, p.325.

32. F.N.DAVIS: Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste (L.R.S.xi, 1914), pp.9, 36, 48, 274, 323, 367, 371.

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chests were transported about with the bishop but it is difficult to say whether this applied to all such caskets and cases. It hardly seems likely that the bishop's clerks would require to consult all of them in the course of their travels.

This collection of Hugh's acts does not pretend to be exhaustive ; it is quite apparent that it merely constitutes an infinitesimal proportion of the documents issued during his pontificate which can be supplemented to a certain degree by information contained in the fourteen extant episcopal rolls. Indeed it is difficult to conceive of the vast extent of this edition, if the other archidiaconal charter rolls had not been lost. To gain an idea of how little of the administrative correspondence has in fact survived, it will be worthwhile just to consider one routine type of written record - the induction mandate. In the institution rolls it is always noted at the end of each entry that the archdeacon or his official or a rural dean had been ordered to induct the new incumbent into corporal possession of his benefice. The precision of language employed in the early years of Hugh's active episcopate is unfortunately reduced to abbreviated forms by later episcopal scribes but at first, two distinctly-phrased versions are used to record these induction commands, their use depending upon particular circumstances - whether the responsible inducting officer was actually present at the time of institution and received his instructions to induct verbally or whether a written mandate was employed to convey the order :

a). 'Injunctum est dicto archidiacono tunc presenti apud Leircestr' ut ipsum secundum formam premissam in corporalem illius ecclesie possessionem inducat.' 33

'Injunctum est ei viva voce ut mittat eum in corporalem illius ecclesie possessionem.' 34

b). 'Mandatum est litteraria dicto archidiacono ut ipsum in corporalem eiusdem ecclesie possessionem induceret.' 35

Obviously it can be assumed with justification that on the first two occasions the archdeacon was present at the ceremony of

33. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 58.

34. ibid., vol. I, p. 131.

35. ibid., vol. I, p. 32.

institution when induction orders were given and that on the last occasion his absence necessitated a written instruction. At a later date, these forms were abbreviated to 'injunctum' or 'mandatum' est eidem archidiacono ut etc.'. Working on the reasonable assumption that the episcopal clerks still made these distinctions in respect of inductions although no longer writing the appropriate sentence in full, then we should expect that the choice of either 'injunctum' or 'mandatum' in the contracted formula would reveal the circumstances regarding the delivery of the bishop's induction commands. Of the one thousand six hundred and thirty-one institutions to benefices recorded in the rolls, there are two hundred and sixty-eight instances of the abbreviated 'injunctum' clause but still with 'tunc presenti'. (Incidentally, 'mandatum' is never found with 'tunc presenti' and 'injunctum' never with 'litteratorie'.) If for the moment it is assumed that the remaining one hundred and eighty-six excessively abbreviated 'injunctum' clauses are mere contractions of this specific form, then it follows that these four hundred and fifty-four recorded cases merely involved a verbal order to induct and the one thousand ~~six hundred and thirty-one~~ one hundred and seventy-seven entries with the 'mandatum' clause required instructions in a documentary form. When it is pointed out that the text of only one induction mandate has survived³⁶, then it will be seen how great the loss of documents really is.

Of the four hundred acts that have come to light, the number of surviving originals is unfortunately surprisingly few - a total of forty-~~two~~^{three} documents³⁷ - but this deficiency is partially remedied by the survival of the Northampton charter roll³⁸, which portrays relatively accurately the diplomatic arrangement of the Wells's acts. The following analysis of the

36. Actum no. 222.

37. Acta nos: 2, 5, 15, 18, 24, 46, 47, 48, 53, 59, 70, 90, 93, 94, 109, 111, 129, 145, 154, 161, 174, 185, 200, 212, 225, 240, 288, 259, 261, 274, 280, 282, 298, 299, 316, 326, 334, 355, 360, 376(2), 380.

38. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 183-272.

charters is, for the sake of convenience, arranged in two distinct sections, firstly a discussion of the diplomatic forms and characteristics of the documents as a whole and then a more specific examination of particular categories of enactment according to their contents. If undue prominence has been given to certain aspects of this analysis - for instance, the dating clause or the letter of institution - it is because special problems have arisen with regard to these matters which deserve a more thorough investigation than other topics.

The invocation.

The invocation is rarely found in episcopal documents after the first half of the twelfth century and indeed the two examples of its use by the clerks of Hugh of Wells concern solemn documents of a personal nature - the episcopal testaments of 1212 and 1233 - rather than normal diocesan business. The first testament exists in transcript in an episcopal cartulary at Wells but the copyist has taken care to include the sign of the cross and the invocation of the Trinity 'In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis'³⁹ The 1233 testament has chanced to survive in the original but here the sign of the cross is followed by the invocation of the Three Persons 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Amen'⁴⁰.

The style of the bishop.

Throughout Hugh's entire pontificate 'dei gratia Lincolnensis episcopus' is employed to designate the bishop and there are certainly none of the variations which marked archbishop Langton's chancery⁴¹. In consequence, it is impossible to establish the duration of a particular scribe's active career by the different episcopal styles in use. The 'dei gratia' style was in fact adopted at Lincoln at a relatively early date. The first occurrence of this usage which I have been able to locate is in an original charter of bishop Alexander (1123-1148)⁴² and

³⁹. actum no. 1.

⁴⁰. actum no. 355.

⁴¹. Acta Stephani Langton, pp. xxi-xxiv.

⁴². C.W. FOSTER: The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, vol. II, (L.R.S. xxviii, 1933), no. 334, p. 21.

it was used with remarkable consistency by that prelate's successors, being finally superseded as the standard diplomatic form at Lincoln by 'permissione divina' and 'miseratione divina' from the pontificate of bishop Henry Lexington (1254-58) onwards. The only variations to this regular style which have been encountered in bishop Hugh's acts occur in business of a special nature - be it letters to the king or pope or in the episcopal testaments. 'Devotus suus H. divina miseracione Lincolnensis ecclesie minister humilis'⁴³ is the style employed in a letter to King Henry III, notifying him of the results of an investigation into the marriage of Hugh de Chastillon and Gunnora de Bray. A few years earlier in 1219 or 1220 'devotissimus sanctitatis sue servus H. miseracione divina Lincolnensis ecclesie minister humilis'⁴⁴ is found in episcopal correspondence with Pope Honorius III about the proposed canonisation of bishop Hugh of Avalon. In his testaments, the bishop's scribes deviate from the established norm as far as Hugh's style is concerned. ⁴⁰ 'Divina miseracione Lincolnensis ecclesie qualiscunque minister' was used in the original charter of 1233 and similarly in 1212, ³⁹ with the additional insertion of 'episcopus' after 'Lincolnensis'. Since this early testament has survived only in transcript, it is uncertain whether this was a superfluous interpolation or was actually to be found in the original enactment.

Information gained by an examination of the surviving originals suggests that the episcopal scribes usually gave the full form of the bishop's name in the charter and the use of the initial letter H. only occurs twice, in a grant of 1215⁴⁵ and in an indulgence of 1226⁴⁶. They are written by different hands. Of course these findings are by no means conclusive, for original documents are few and no reliance can be placed upon the evidence

⁴³. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 204 (actum no. 170).
⁴⁴. Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society: Reports & Papers, vol. VI (new series), 1956, p. 111 (80).
⁴⁵. actum no. 47.
⁴⁶. actum no. 225.

of cartulary transcripts, where there is a considerable possibility of the subsequent extension or abbreviation of the bishop's name by the copyist.

The Address.

At a very early date it had become the established rule that in documents of an epistolary nature the relative positions of the names of the writer and the addressee depended upon their respective status and social preëminence. 'Recte quippe ordo est et honestus, ut qui ad superiores vel ad pares scribunt, eorum quibus scribunt nomina sua anteponant. Sin autem ad inferiores, praecedunt scriptionis ordine qui praecedunt rerum dignitate'⁴⁷ In common with many similar conventions governing the diplomatic forms of charters, it was not always strictly adhered to. Certainly in documents emanating from episcopal chanceries in the twelfth century, there seems to have been some genuine uncertainty whether "all the sons of holy mother church" and "all Christ's faithful" took precedence in the text over an ecclesiastic in episcopal orders. The scribes of archbishop Theobald of Canterbury always placed that prelate's name first⁴⁸ but his successors were clearly undecided on the correct position of this general form of address⁴⁹ and in the last quarter of the century English episcopal acts reveal glaring inconsistencies in this matter⁵⁰. At all events, by the time of Hugh of Wells's pontificate, it was acknowledged that the general address should precede the bishop's name and style and similarly correspondence with lay or ecclesiastical superiors should have the intended recipient's name at the beginning of the letter. In cases where the addressee was of a lower rank than the bishop, then the charter commences with the diocesan's name. Again there seems to have been some confusion,

⁴⁷. J.P.MIGNE : Patrologia Latina, vol.CLXXVIII,col.193.
⁴⁸. Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury,p.190.
⁴⁹. cf.B.E.A.JONES: The Acta of Archbishops Richard and Baldwin 1174-1190, London Ph.D.Thesis 1964.
⁵⁰. cf.acta of bishop Seffrid II of Chichester in H.MAYR-HARTING: The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207,no.118,pp. 171-3 & no.122,p.176, and acta of bishop Roger of Worcester: R.R.DARLINGTON: The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory. no.178,p.96 & no.182,p.98 (P.R.S.new series 38,1968).

or perhaps merely carelessness on the part of Hugh's scribes over the status of papal judges delegate. Whereas the abbot of Crowland and his fellow-judges⁵¹ were relegated to the customary position for inferiors after the bishop's style, in other letters to groups of judges the names of the abbot of Cirencester and his associates⁵² and the dean of Cambridge and his colleagues⁵³ were placed before the episcopal name and titles. It is always possible that this may indicate the uncertainty in the minds of the clerks as to the relative status of such judges - whether they retained their personal status as abbots, deans and so on, or whether they assumed greater preëminence as judicial delegates of the supreme pontiff; nevertheless it is more probable that the real explanation for this apparent indecision can be attributed to scribal negligence and error.

The general address had come to be used for all manner of diocesan business, save for mandates and letters of restricted application or personal correspondence which were naturally directed to specific persons. In this category were mandates for induction and inquisition, notifications of excommunication, judicial dealings and a host of routine administrative instructions to be discharged by specific diocesan officers. At this date the letter of institution still bore a general address.

Of the diverse forms of general address current at Lincoln, 'Omnibus Christi fidelibus' was the most widely-used expression; it occurs to the point of monotony in acts issued between 1214 and 1235⁵⁴. 'Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis' rivals it as the standard form from 1214 to 1218 but is then found only occasionally⁵⁵ - once in 1226⁵⁶, again in 1228-9⁵⁷ and once more in 1232⁵⁸. 'Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis' was never employed with any regularity at Lincoln and only.

51. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 244 (301).

52. ibid., vol. II, p. 270 (363).

53. ibid., vol. II, p. 224 (231).

54. It would be too tedious to enumerate every document containing this clause. Exceptions are noted below.

55. actum no. 4; Liber Antiquus, pp. 72(3), 74(15), 77(31).

56. actum no. 224.

57. actum no. 255.

58. actum no. 316.

appears in two charters, one issued in 1213⁶⁰, the other in 1220⁶¹. Likewise 'Universis Christi fidelibus' enjoyed fleeting popularity among the episcopal scribes as far as can be ascertained, for it only features in acts of the years 1214 and 1215⁶². A more comprehensive study of the dates of usage of particular forms of general address might have been possible, had it not been for the fact that in the episcopal rolls and register, there was an unfortunate tendency to abbreviate the formulae to 'Universis etc' or 'Omnibus etc'.

The phrase which concluded the general address was the subject of more variations than "all Christ's faithful" or "all the sons of holy mother church". The form 'ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit' is found throughout the episcopate; it also underwent minor emendations. 'Carta' replaced 'scriptum' in three charters of 1213, 1214 and 1217⁶³, and 'littere presentes pervenerint' occurs in a document to be dated to 1217.⁶⁴ An alternative 'has litteras visuris et auditoris' is found twice in 1217 and 1221⁶⁵ and 'presens scriptum visuris vel auditoris' occurs in an inspeximus charter of 1232⁶⁶. The more succinct 'presens scriptum inspecturis' is found in a notification issued about 1230-1⁶⁷ and also in a settlement of a dispute issued conjointly by bishop Hugh and his brother bishop Jocelin of Bath and Glastonbury circa 1217-1224⁶⁸.

Documents with "selective" addresses - that is to say, letters not directed generally to "all Christ's faithful" but to all the clergy or particular diocesan officers in a specific area - begin with the bishop's name and style. Four episcopal acts bear such addresses, relating to the clergy and

60. actum no.2.
 61. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.189 (106).
 62. Liber Antiquus, pp.72(2), 75(18), 77(30).
 63. acta nos.2,5,48.
 64. actum no.45.
 65. actum no.46 ; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.195(392).
 66. actum no.316.
 67. actum no.298.
 68. actum no.135.

laity of the diocese - 'dilectis in Christo filiis universis tam clericis quam laicis per Lincolnensem diocesim constitutis'⁶⁹ and 'Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis per episcopatum Lincolnensem constitutis'⁷⁰ - and to the clergy of a particular archdeaconry - 'dilectis in Christo filiis archidiacono Norhampton' et officiali, decanis, personis, vicariis, capellanis per archidiaconatum Norhampton' constitutis'⁷¹ and the variant 'dilectis in Christo filiis abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, personis, vicariis, capellanis et aliis per archidiaconatum Norhampton' constitutis'.⁷²

As has become apparent from those charters with specific addresses, 'dilectus in Christo filius' was generally employed to designate the addressee if he happened to be subordinate in rank or office to the bishop, the exceptions being 'vires venerabiles'⁷³ for papal judges delegate and the use of 'amicus karissimus'⁷⁴ in addition to 'dilectus in Christo filius' for a person of some standing, in this case a powerful magnate, William Beauchamp, patron of the priory of Newport Pagnell. Some transcripts contain the name of the recipient of the charter without any prefix such as the abovementioned but this is probably due to intentional abbreviation of the text by the copyist. Needless to say, lay or ecclesiastical superiors of the bishop received more grandiose addresses. King Henry III was addressed as 'Excellentissimo domino suo Henrico dei gratia illustri Regi Anglie, domino Hybernie, duci Normannie, Aquitanie, et comiti Andegavie'⁷⁵ and letters to the pope and the Roman cardinals were couched in the same manner: 'Sanctissimo patri et domino reverentissimo N. dei gratia summo pontifici'⁷⁶ and

70. Rotuli Hugenie de Wellez, vol. II, p. 189(106).

71. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 207-8(184).

72. Ibid., vol. II, p. 245(285).

73. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 224(231), 244(301), 270(363).

74. Ibid., vol. II, p. 88(308).

75. Ibid., vol. II, p. 204(170).

76. Lincolnshire Architectural & Archaeological Society: Reports & Papers, vol. VI, new series 1956, p. 111(80).

'Venerabilibus patribus et dominis karissimis sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalibus'.⁷⁷

The Salutation.

The brief and formal 'salutem in domino' is employed as the salutation in most of the documents issued by the clerks of bishop Hugh but variant forms of greeting are infrequently found. 'Eternam in domino salutem' (and once the inverted 'salutem eternam in domino') occurs on eleven occasions⁷⁸ and 'salutem' is used in five charters⁷⁹ but since all five texts are cartulary transcripts and one of them has clearly been much abbreviated, it is perhaps no firm indication of the usage of this particularly terse form of greeting at Lincoln. Two other salutations which are found in acta with a general address are 'salutem in domino sempiternam'⁸⁰ in an original inspeximus of 1232 and 'salutem in auctore salutis' in a cartulary copy of a 1214 document relating to the priory of Little Wymondley.⁸¹ Since this charter was inspected by archbishop Langton and the same salutation is employed, it can be assumed that this greeting was not a scribal interpolation on the part of the compiler of the cartulary.⁸² As I have already remarked, all these salutations are to be found in acta with a general address; for charters with a specific address other forms of greeting are often employed. The use of the benediction with the salutation ~~xxx~~ is found in charters addressed to laymen and ecclesiastics below the rank of bishop irrespective of the contents of the documents. This seems to have been the general practice in many episcopal households at this time and its use is well attested at Canterbury under Stephen Langton.⁸³ Hugh's predecessors at Lincoln are known to have employed the benediction with the

77. L.A.A.S.: Reports & Papers, vol. VI, new series, 1956, p. 114(79).

78. acta nos: 12, 14, 18, 24, 40, 45, 53, 224, 242, 259; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 189(106).

79. acta nos: 78, 222, 291, 390; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 254(305).

80. actum no. 316.

81. actum no. 4.

82. Acta Stephani Langton, no. 14, pp. 22-3.

83. *ibid.*, p. xxvii.

salutation. From the charters of St. Hugh and William of Blois that I have been able to locate, 'salutem et dei benedictionem' is the normal greeting for all categories of business directed to specific persons, all of whom are inferior in rank and status to the bishop⁸⁴. The examples of this usage under bishop Wells are not particularly numerous. 'Salutem et benedictionem' is found in a letter to the mayor and commune of Oxford⁸⁵ and 'salutem, gratiam et benedictionem' features in a charter addressed to the convent of St. Michael, Stamford⁸⁶ and in an indulgence for the construction of Salisbury cathedral directed specifically to the clergy of the Northampton archdeaconry.⁸⁷ At the same time, it should be emphasized that in charters with a personal address, the salutation and benediction never completely excluded other forms of greeting. Three letters to papal judges delegate and the notification to the clergy of the Northampton archdeaconry of the appointment of two sequestrators merely required the more conventional 'salutem in domino'.⁸⁸ It would obviously be a mistake to imagine that rigid rules had been formulated for the employment of these various forms of salutation and that convention strictly governed their usage. Beyond the fact that the benediction should apparently be used to greet persons inferior in rank to the bishop, the choice of greeting was presumably left to the individual judgment or preference of the episcopal clerk and the standard 'salutem in domino' was no doubt preferred for administrative transactions because it was succinct and business-like. The only occasion when the bishop's scribes were compelled to use more flowery language was in the composition of letters to ecclesiastical and secular superiors of the diocesan. These required more diffident and obsequious salutations. A routine

⁸⁴. This conclusion is based upon a collection of 131 acts of St. Hugh and 40 acts of William of Blois.

⁸⁵. Liber Antiquus, p. 73(13).

⁸⁶. actum no. 116.

⁸⁷. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 207-8(184).

⁸⁸. ibid., vol. II, pp. 224(231), 244(301), 245(283), 270(363).

administrative letter to King Henry III merited 'salutem et tam devotam quam debitam cum sincera dilectione reverentiam'⁸⁹, while correspondence with Pope Honorius III and his cardinals about the canonisation of Hugh I bore the respective salutations 'omnem cum sincera devotione reverentiam'⁹⁰ and 'salutem et devotam in omnibus cum sincera dilectione famulatum'⁹¹.

The Harangue.

The *harangue* (*arenga*) was never an essential part of a charter and at Lincoln under bishop Hugh its use definitely appears to have been severely curtailed, as is witnessed by the fact that only twenty-five episcopal acts out of a total number of four hundred have been found to contain such preambles. These Lincoln *harangues* do not imitate the lengthy and verbose compositions of the twelfth century and are for the most part terse and banal, although it is uncertain whether this reflects the lack of rhetorical ability on the part of the bishop's *clerks* or the declining importance of the *harangue*. There seems to have been little variation in the construction of these preambles and clerks were content to resort to the same preamble for any number of charters. On the whole, the use of the *harangue* was reserved for confirmations of grants and possessions and for indulgences, a solitary exception to this rule occurring with the appropriation of the chapel of Croulton to Aynho hospital in 1215 when 'cum ea que locis religiosis rationabiliter collata sunt pium sit perpetuo roborare' was employed in the charter⁹². Other surviving appropriation deeds contain no such pious generalisations. 'Quoniam pio facta fidelium digno sunt prosequenda favore' was used on seven separate occasions between 1215 and 1219 in episcopal

89. Rotuli Hugonis de Wallea, vol. II, p. 204 (170).

90. L.A.A.S. Reports & Papers, vol. VI, new series, 1956, p. 111 (80).

91. ibid., p. 114 (79).

92. actum no. 15.

confirmations of private grants of the advowsons of churches to religious houses⁹³ and minor variations of this brief harangue 'Cum' or 'Quia pia vota fidelium pio sunt favore prosequenda' were employed in confirmations of possessions to the priories of Rowney⁹⁴ and Fineshade⁹⁵ respectively. The confirmation of St. Hugh's grant of the church of Skidbrock to Torre abbey in 1215⁹⁶ merited 'ut ea que locis religiosis juste collata sunt perpetuo consistant et debita gaudeant fortunate.....' and the confirmation four years later of John Malherbe's grant of advowson to Hockliffe hospital included remarks about charitable works: 'Quoniam opera caritatis assensu grato sunt amplectenda'⁹⁷. The harangue usually followed the salutation and in most cases immediately preceded the notification but there is one example of a version of the pious preamble being combined with the notification: 'Noverit universitas vestra quod nos pia vota fidelium pio volentes favore prosequi....'⁹⁸ Sometimes the notification was omitted altogether.

The harangues of indulgences contain general observations on almsgiving, pious donations and charitable works and here again one example sufficed for numerous indulgences of a particular type. 'Quoniam inter opera caritatis id valde meritorium reputatur quod ad publicam confertur utilitatem' was employed for indulgences between 1219 and 1230 regarding the repair of bridges at Brampton, Rockingham, Thrapston, Aynho and Wellingborough⁹⁹. Another Thrapston bridge indulgence contained a modified version of the preceding preamble: 'Quoniam inter opera caritatis ea valde meritoria reputantur que pia devotione fidelium ad publicam conferuntur utilitatem'¹⁰⁰ but in 1221 an indulgence for the upkeep of Wansford bridge for some reason required a less

⁹³. actum no. 47; Liber Antiquus, pp. 76(28), 77(31), 86(65), 93(87), 94(89), 96(93).

⁹⁴. actum no. 177.

⁹⁵. actum no. 212.

⁹⁶. Liber Antiquus, p. 73(10).

⁹⁷. ibid., p. 94(88).

⁹⁸. actum no. 300.

¹⁰⁰. ibid., vol. II, pp. 206-7(179)

⁹⁹. Rotuli Hugonis de Wallis, vol. II, pp. 188(102), 218(207), 219(223), 220(227), 225(241), 233(264).

stereotyped harangue 'Volentes vos ad opera caritatis invitare quo citius gaudia repromissa percipiatis...' ¹⁰¹ An indulgence for the leper-hospital of St. Leonard, Northampton included selected remarks of good works in aid of the poor and infirm: 'Quoniam inter opera caritatis ea valde meritoria reputantur que ad sustentationem pauperum et infirmorum Christi pia largitione fidelium conferuntur' ¹⁰² while indulgences for the construction of the church of All Saints, Northampton in 1232 and the priory of Fineshade six years earlier had both made use of expressions appropriate to the occasion: 'Cum decor domus dei sit exemplo prophete diligendus et loca sacra construere merito computari debeat inter opera caritatis' ¹⁰³ With the ordination of the bishop's chantry in the cathedral a few months before his death, it was perhaps felt to be too solemn an occasion to use one of the stereotyped forms of harangue and the lengthy provisions were prefaced by 'Cum sine diei certi seu temporis predefinitione soluturi simus nature debitum cupientes ut expedit nobis itinerantibus providere viaticum in presenti et in futuro remedium' ¹⁰⁴

The use of the harangue in episcopal documents was fast disappearing and at Lincoln the acts of bishop Hugh were written in a simple, business-like style by clerks who cared nothing for the niceties of rhetorical adornments and florid preambles to their compositions. In consequence, the expression of a few pious sentiments was confined to certain categories of documents - mostly indulgences or confirmations - and even for these specific types of business it has become obvious that the use of this formula was far from being regularly applied.

The Notification.

The chancery of bishop Hugh attained a considerable degree of uniformity in the clause of notification used with a general address. Three hundred and eight out of the four hundred

101. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. ~~XXXIX~~ 196(133).

102. ibid., vol. II, p. 189(106).

103. ibid., vol. II, pp. 219(221), 253(318).

104. actum no. 376.

surviving acts contain the standard clause 'Noverit universitas vestra'. The form 'ad universitatis vestre noticiam volumus pervenire' which had enjoyed great popularity with the scribes of St. Hugh and William of Blois found little favour with Hugh of Wells's clerks, and it only occurs in three grants to religious houses in 1215¹⁰⁵ and in two isolated charters ordaining perpetual vicarages in churches appropriated to Godstow abbey and St. Frideswide's priory issued in 1220 and 1221¹⁰⁶. It is not inconceivable that these five charters were the product of a scribe inherited from the administrative staff of Hugh's two immediate predecessors.

Fourteen charters contain the simpler forms 'noveritis quod' or 'noveritis', irrespective of their contents and in seven of these documents - dated between 1215 and 1219 - the notification follows an harangue¹⁰⁷. Ordinarily at Lincoln, the harangue precluded the use of a notification but there are a few instances - eight to be precise - when the two formulae are found together. In these cases, the notificatory clause is preceded immediately by the harangue and there are none of the usual linking words between the preamble and the text - 'ut igitur, eapropter, itaque, hinc est quod' and so on. Besides the use of the above-mentioned terse notifications in seven of these documents with harangues, 'universitatem vestram scire volumus quod' is found on the eighth occasion¹⁰⁹. It is significant that these eight charters are all episcopal confirmations of private grants of advowsons to monasteries.

It will have been noticed that the bishop's scribes showed a marked preference for notification clauses formed from the verb 'noscere' rather from 'scire' and the occurrences of

105. Liber Antiquus, pp. 76(29), 78(34), 80(38).

106. acts nos: 122, 143.

107. acts nos: 2, 47, 224; Liber Antiquus, pp. 76(28), 77(31), 86(65), 93(87), 94(89), 96(93), 94(88); Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 208(184), 224(239), 266(362), 270-1(363).

108. Liber Antiquus, pp. 76(28), 77(31), 86(65), 93(87), 94(88), 94(89), 96(93); actum no. 48.

109. ibid., p. 94(88).

'sciatis' in the notification are in consequence relatively infrequent. In all, this form is found seven times, the majority of the documents being connected with grants of property and possessions - grants of the town of Axbridge¹¹⁰, of knights' fees in Rowberrow, Draycot¹¹¹ and Norton¹¹², and of the advowson of Axbridge church¹¹³ to bishop Jocelin of Bath and Glastonbury, and the gift of land and tenements to found the hospital of St. John the Baptist at Wells¹¹⁴. In the administrative sphere, the letter of institution of Agnes of Boothby as prioress of St. Michael, Stamford¹¹⁵ and the notification to the sheriff of Northampton of the excommunication of an apostate nun¹¹⁶ both contained the form of notification with 'sciatis', although it must be added that in these instances the addresses of the charter were to specific persons. In a similar document relating to the apostate nun directed to archbishop Richard Grant, 'vestra noverit paternitas quod'¹¹⁷ was employed.

In several of the surviving acts, excluding those with harangues - for instance indulgences - the notification is not found. Some *inspeximus* charters begin with 'Inspeximus cartam.'¹¹⁸ Immediately after the salutation; in all fairness it must be pointed out that an *inspeximus* of bishop Hugh's has survived with a notification¹¹⁹. Letters of institution, a dispensation for illegitimacy and other documents which include the recital of letters or mandates usually commence with a clause such as 'Mandatum venerabilis patris domini legati suscepimus in hec verba' or 'Mandatum domini pape suscepimus in hec verba'¹²⁰.

110. actum no. 243.

111. actum no. 5.

112. actum no. 8.

113. actum no. 6.

114. actum no. 40.

115. actum no. 116.

116. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 233 (257).

117. ibid. (256).

118. actum no. 316.

119. Liber Antiquus, pp. 79-80 (37).

120. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 195 (392), 254 (305).

Similarly, neither the grant to bishop Jocelin in 1214 that all his lands, fees and ~~taxations~~ tenevements should be quit of suit of bishop Hugh's hundreds of Cheddar and Winterstoke¹²¹ nor the visitation injunctions for Nun Cotham priory¹²² contain any form of notification. In like manner, some settlements and awards begin with a summary of the dispute 'Cum inter..... questio verteretur'¹²³.

The Clause of Corroboration.

The formula of corroboration established the authenticity of the documents and assured its permanence. Diplomatically the clause affords ample opportunity for a great variety of forms; indeed the variations to be found in Hugh's acts are legion and contrast sharply with the monotonous repetition of some other formulae in the charters. It is pointless and tedious to enumerate the fifty-two different versions of the corroboration clause which occur in the acts; so many of the variations hinge upon the choice of words used to describe the document - 'scriptum, carta, littere, pagina, institutio, concessio, ordinatio, confirmatio, compositio and donatio' - or the verbs employed - 'apponere, roborare, corroborare, confirmare, munire, communire' - and their tenses - perfect indicative, gerundive perfect passive and present participle - that it is quite unnecessary to recite these many variants in full 'Quod ut perpetuam obtineat firmitatem, presenti scripto et sigilli nostri appositione duximus apponendum', 'In huius rei (robur et) testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus' and 'Et ut hec nostra concessio (and variants) perpetue firmitatis robur optineat, eam presenti scripto et sigilli nostri appositione duximus confirmandam' are the forms of corroboration most regularly used by the bishop's clerks throughout the episcopate for all classes of documents. Certainly

121. actum no.7.

122. actum no.391.

123. actum no.44 and actum no.135.

on occasion 'perpetua gaudeant stabilitate', 'ratum et firmum imperpetuum perseveret' (or 'stabile' or 'inconcussum') replaced the standard forms but at least the latter were the bases for the variations. The corroborative clauses introduced by 'ut autem' and 'ut igitur' were less common at Lincoln and only twelve charters have been found which contain such formulae.

Certain forms are only found once. 'Et ut hoc nulli veniat in dubium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposimus' is contained in a charter of 1215 remitting to the citizens of Oxford the payment of a fine levied against them for the hanging of clerks six years earlier¹²⁴. Although this form was frequently employed in judgments of archbishop Stephen Langton¹²⁵, it is not found in such documents at Lincoln.

As a general rule, the seal was announced in the formula of corroboration but there is one instance where this was not the case. The record of the institution of master William of Wakerley to the church of Wing concluded with 'In huius rei testimonium presentes litteras nostras patentes fecimus'¹²⁶. There are no witnesses or a date and the corroboration is followed by the valediction. The reference to letters patent has only been found in a prohibitive clause in Hugh's indulgences¹²⁷. Judgments, awards, confirmations and grants, made with the assent of the Dean and Chapter, often bore the seals of the parties or the cathedral chapter in addition to the bishop's seal. Accordingly the clause of corroboration was modified by an insertion, after the announcement of the episcopal seal, to the effect that another seal (or seals) was appended - 'Quod ut perpetuam optineat firmitatem, presenti scripto sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo predicti capituli nostri Linc' duximus apponendum'¹²⁸ and 'Et in

124. Liber Antiquus, p.73(13).

125. Acta Stephani Langton, p.xxxix.

126. actum no.45.

127. e.g. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, pp.219(216)&(221), 225(241), 228(247).

128. e.g. actum no.334.

huius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum et sigillum predicti capituli nostri Line' una cum sigillo prefati Roberti archidiaconi Huntingdon' coordinatoris nostri et sigillis omnium predictarum partium duximus apponenda.^{129.}

It was not always stated that a particular agreement or settlement was drawn up in the form of a cyrograph but in those instances where reference is made to the indented format of the document, provision is made for the sealing of the component sections and their custody. 'Ad perpetuum igitur omnium predictorum firmitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter nos et predictum Stephanum et Amabiliam in modum cyrographi et parti que residet penes nos et capitulum nostrum apposita sunt sigilla ipsius Stephani et Amabilie uxoris sue ; parti vero dictis Stephano et Amabilie remanenti appositum est sigillum nostrum et sigillum capituli nostri'.¹³⁰

It is exceedingly difficult to establish with any degree of certainty which categories of acts required a clause of corroboration. Indulgences certainly never contained any corroborative formulae and correspondence about judicial matters and routine business such as an induction mandate also seem to have lacked such clauses, but for other types of documents, there was apparently no recognised practice. The inspeximus of Robert le Flemeng's charter relating to Polsbrook church¹³¹ and the hospital of Armston included a clause of corroboration but the inspeximus of St. Hugh's grant to Bushmead priory did not.¹³² Similarly, the bishop's testament of 1212¹³³ is without a corroboration but his second testament is not.

The episcopal seal.

Only twelve specimens¹³⁵ of bishop Hugh's seal have been found and several of these are in an advanced state of deterioration. The extremely dry atmosphere of certain muniment

129. actum no. 161.

130. actum no. 261.

131. actum no. 316.

132. Liber Antiquus, pp. 79-80(37).

133. actum no. 1.

134. actum no. 255.

135. acta nos: 2, 14, 18, 47, 48, 70, 240, 258, 299, 334, 360, 380.

rooms and the use of seal-bags have caused some of the seals to become powdery ; others have succumbed to constant mishandling and are now no longer intact. Nevertheless fine impressions of the episcopal seal and counterseal are appended to the charter confirming to Osnay abbey the church of Steeple Barton and the chapel of Sandford and ordaining perpetual vicarages in the same¹³⁶; similarly the seal affixed to the 1229 charter granting to the priory of Newton Longville an annual pension of three marks from the church of Horwood¹³⁷ is also in an extremely fine condition.

A fairly detailed description of the bishop's seal and counterseal is to be found in the 'registrum commune' of bishop Edmund Lacy of Exeter (1420-1455), following an inspeximus of bishop Hugh's charter concerning the dean and chapter of Exeter and the Oxfordshire church of Bampton:-

'.....primo videlicet sigillo oblongo predicte(sic) sancte memorie domini Hugonis dudum Lincolnensis episcopi in quo parte anteriori magna est insculpta sive impressa ymago cuiusdam pontificis vestibus sacerdotalibus induta, baculum pastorem in manu sua sinistra tenens ac manu dextra benedicens ; in cuius sigilli circumferencia scriptum est HUGO DEI GRACIA LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPUS et in dorso eiusdem sigilli est alterum sigillum oblongum impressum in cuius medio ymago Virginis gloriose sedentis et Filium in brachio sinistro tenentis ac ubera manu dextera Filio propinantis ; insculpta sub cuius pede similitudo est cuiusdam episcopi mitrati genuflectentis et iunctas manus sursum tenentis ; et in ipsius sigilli circumferencia metrico scriptum est VITA SIT HUGONIS HIIS INFORMATA PATRONIS. 138

To complete the description of the seal, it may be added that on the right hand side of the obverse, near the centre, is the Roman numeral II distinguishing Hugh II from his illustrious predecessor and namesake.

136. actum no.48.
 137. actum no.258.
 138. G.R.DUNSTAN: The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter 1420-1455 ; Registrum Commune, vol.II (Canterbury & York Society 1963-4), p.342.



Obverse.



Reverse.

Examples of the episcopal seal has survived in green, white and brownish-white wax. The method of attachment is generally "sur double queue" but on occasions strings have been used and there are instances of sealing "sur simple queue". In these cases, it is difficult to establish whether there were any strict rules regulating the method of applying the seal to specific categories of acta according to their purport. Certainly confirmations and grants of appropriation and pensions appear to have always been sealed "sur double queue", as were those letters of institution which contained both witnesses and date. Letters of institution which bore a date but were not attested were sealed "sur simple queue" and this method of attachment seems to have applied to routine administrative mandates, notifications and, if we can judge from the sole surviving example in the original, indulgences. The customs of the royal chancery whereby grants in perpetuity were authenticated by the seal pendent by laces or strings¹³⁹ was clearly not adhered to at Lincoln, for such grants could be sealed indiscriminately by laces or "sur double queue". The

139. H. MAXWELL-LYTE: Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal in England, H.M.S.O. 1926, p. 302.

grant to bishop Jocelin of half a knight's fee in Rowberrow and Draycott¹⁴⁰ had seal strings, whereas in the case of a grant of land to the bishop's butler¹⁴¹, the episcopal seal was appended to a parchment tag, passed through two layers of parchment ("sur double queue"). The same uncertainty of practice existed for settlements of disputes. The episcopal award regarding the tithes of Burringham was sealed "sur double queue"¹⁴² but seal strings were employed for the composition concerning Compton Bassett church.¹⁴³ It must be pointed out however that the latter charter could have been the product of bishop Jocelin's chancery and therefore no real indication of current Lincoln practice.

The specimen of the bishop's seal appended to the charter confirming the grant of the advowson of Water Stratford church to Luffield priory¹⁴⁴ has aroused considerable interest, for although resembling exactly the normal seal and counterseal in its device and legend, it is nevertheless of much smaller dimensions. The date of this charter is 23 September 1217 and perhaps the explanation of the different-sized matrix may hinge upon the arrangements made by the bishop while he was abroad at the Lateran Council and elsewhere from September 1215 to early 1217. This solitary example of the smaller seal is found, as it happens, on the first document issued after the bishop's return with its seal still extant. The "normal-sized" seal is found on documents dated 5 October 1213, 7 February 1215 and 20 April 1215¹⁴⁵ and the episcopal sealing-clerks had reverted to this larger matrix by 14 October 1217¹⁴⁶, using it continuously until the end of Hugh's pontificate. There is no information available on the arrangements made for the sealing of documents while Hugh was absent abroad. Certainly, the vicegerent master Reginald of Chester would appear to have been using his personal seal for administrative business¹⁴⁷ but whether the episcopal

140. actum no.5. The holes for two seal strings are clearly visible.

141. actum no.70.

142. actum no.161.

143. actum no.174.

144. actum no.47.

145. actum nos.2,14,18 resp.

146. actum no.48.

147, see next page.

seal was left in his custody or whether the bishop took a smaller matrix with him and continued to use it for a few months after his return is impossible to ascertain. There is certainly no mention of a 'secretum' or 'privatum sigillum'.

In the fourteenth century, bishop Hugh's seal was connected with an interesting attempt at forgery which it might be worthwhile to relate. In 1319 King Edward II inspected a charter of the Gilbertine priory of St. Katherine outside Lincoln in which it was stated that 'quia sigillum nostrum pro futuris temporibus pluribus est incognitum sigillum.....nostri domini Johannis dei gratia nobilis regis Anglie et sigillum venerabilis patris domini Hugonis permissione divina Lincolnensis episcopi.....(and others named) procuravimus.'¹⁴⁸ The document was dated at Salisbury in 1210. Twenty-nine years after the inspeimus, King Edward III "on account of a strong presumption of forgery" caused the document to be examined¹⁴⁹ and the seals to be examined¹⁴⁹. It was subsequently found that 'sigilla predicta aliunde acquisita in superioribus eorum partibus ingeniose aperta fuerant et incisus infra ceram alteris partibus filii et pergameni per que dicta sigilla pendebant, dicta filum et pergamenum per medium plicature scripti predicti transmissa in dictis aperturis sigillorum predictorum reposita et in cera ipsorum sigillorum sic aperta cum glutino reconjuncta....' It may also be added in proof of the forgery that at the time the document was supposedly drawn up, bishop Hugh was in exile in France.

Witnesses.

Two hundred and fifty-two of the acta have witnesses and a further eighty-three documents show signs of having once been attested but the cartulary transcripts merely retain the introductory 'his testibus' or some minor variant and omit the

^{147.} Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 30-2. Simon Islip, when vicar-general of bishop Burghersh used the episcopal seal Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 1084, pp. 395-6.

^{148.} Calendar of Patent Rolls (1317-1321), p. 357.

^{149.} ibid., (1348-1350), p. 131.

the list of names. Of the remaining acts, a good proportion never apparently required attestation at all. Indulgences and a host of minor administrative and judicial business of a purely transitory nature - induction mandates¹⁵⁰, the report of an inquiry into the patronage of a church¹⁵¹, agreement over the choice of mediators in a dispute¹⁵², the appointment of sequestrators¹⁵³, the results of an investigation into the matrimonial status of two litigants¹⁵⁴, notifications of excommunication¹⁵⁵, the taking under the bishop's protection of the property of crusaders¹⁵⁶, and testimony sent to papal judges delegate about certain cases being heard before them¹⁵⁷ - fall into this category. With some other types of document, attestation appears to have been optional. The composition over the tithes of Burringham contained a list of witnesses¹⁵⁸; the settlements regarding the Salisbury prebends of Shipton-under-Wychwood and Brixworth and the church of Compton Bassett¹⁵⁹ did not. The bishop's first testament was attested¹⁶⁰; his second was not¹⁶¹. Certain episcopal confirmations of grants or agreements were witnessed; others were not. The agreement between the nuns of Catesby and Ralph of Normanville over the erection of a private chapel received attestation¹⁶²; a similar arrangement between Crowland abbey and Baldwin de Ver did not¹⁶³. A few letters of institution and collation have survived without witnesses¹⁶⁴ but this was unusual.

150. actum no.222. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, pp.88-9(310-1)

151. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.190(104).

152. acta nos.298-299.

153. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.245(283).

154. ibid., p.204(170).

155. ibid., p.233 bis(256-7).

156. ibid., p.196(138), pp.224-5(239).

157. ibid., p.244(301), pp.270-1(363).

158. actum no.161.

159. acta nos.135,174 respectively.

160. actum no.1.

161. actum no.355.

162b Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, pp.228-9(249).

163. ibid., pp.259-61(312).

164. acta nos.45,72,116, 185,380,381; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.195(392).

'His testibus' had by this time become the standard introduction to the names of the witnesses and it was almost invariably employed by Hugh's clerks, the sole variant occurring in the bishop's testament of 1212 when 'presentibus'¹⁶⁰ was used. In general the witnesses follow the clause of corroboration and precede the date but in one original charter the dating clause has been found to come immediately before the witness list¹⁶⁵. The acts are often attested by as many as thirty persons but the average number of witnesses is about ten. It was only natural that business transacted on more formal occasions in the chapter of Lincoln would have more witnesses than charters issued in the course of the episcopal perambulations of the diocese. The phrases 'et aliis' and 'et multis aliis' regularly terminated witness lists of Hugh's acts until 1219 when this practice was all but discontinued. Only two instances of 'et aliis' being employed after that date have been found - once in 1229¹⁶⁶ and again in 1233¹⁶⁷.

Considerable controversy has raged over the significance of witness lists and whether charter attestations in fact reveal a definite arrangement in order of witnesses or not¹⁶⁸. Certainly, an element^{of} order of precedence based upon the simple divisions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy can be discerned in bishop Hugh's acts - the bishop, cathedral dignitary, archdeacon, canon and clerk - and similarly for the laity, the respective position of the witnesses reflects to some extent their status - the episcopal steward takes precedence over the marshal and the more menial servants of the bishop. Nevertheless these are only general divisions and

165. actum no. 24.

166. actum no. 261.

167. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 261 (312).

168. See the curious articles of J. C. RUSSELL: "Social Status at the Court of King John" in Speculum, vol. XII (1937), pp. 319-329; and "Attestations of Charters in the Reign of King John" in Speculum, vol. XV (1940), pp. 489-498 and G. L. HASKINS' criticism "Charter Witness Lists in the Reign of King John" in Speculum, vol. XIII (1938), pp. 319-325.

the arrangement of names within these divisions is on the whole far too erratic and inconsistent for any rigid and preconceived pattern of precedence to be discernible. A close examination of the two hundred and fifty-two attested charters readily corroborates this conclusion. The accepted order of the four cathedral dignitaries in these documents was Dean, Precentor, Chancellor and Treasurer. Sometimes the archdeacon of Lincoln followed immediately after the Dean and before the three other dignitaries, but on other occasions he is to be found with the other archdeacons of the diocese. The position of the Subdean in these lists was also not clarified. Although he generally ranks after the Treasurer and precedes the archdeacons, it is not unknown for his name to occur after the names of the archdeacons of the Lincoln diocese and even after the names of archdeacons from other sees. In the fifteenth century the accepted archidiaconal order of precedence had come to be Lincoln, Northampton, Leicester, Buckingham, Oxford, Huntingdon, Bedford and Stow¹⁶⁹, but neither this sequence nor one based on seniority of appointment was adhered to in bishop Wells's charters. The only general rule which seems to have been observed was that the eight archdeacons of the diocese took precedence over archdeacons from other bishoprics and this rule also applied to simple canons. In the case of the latter there is some evidence to support the view that a strict order of precedence was adopted, based upon the clerical status of the canons - chaplain, deacon and subdeacon¹⁷⁰ - but it is equally evident that this precise pattern of arrangement was not regularly followed during Hugh's pontificate¹⁷¹. The lesser clergy show similar signs of random arrangement in these lists, although it does seem to have been customary for 'capellani' to

¹⁶⁹. H. BRADSHAW & C. WORDSWORTH: Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. II, pp. 305-6 (Cambridge 1897).

¹⁷⁰. e.g. actum no. 258.

¹⁷¹. cf. acta nos. 263, 280, comparing the orders of the canons against actum no. 258. Deacon and subdeacon are mingled indiscriminately.

precede 'clerici'. At any rate, it is clear that for both canons and clerks, a master's degree had nothing to do with its owner's relative position in the list of witnesses.

The Date and 'Dat' per manum nostram'.

Hugh of Wells, with his experience of royal methods of dating documents, was the first bishop of Lincoln to include a dating clause with any regularity in the bulk of his acts. The date of each documents is always to be found in the final protocol - even in the case of awards and judgments - and with one exception it constitutes the last sentence of the charter, being immediately preceded by the names of witnesses. Three hundred and four of the acts contain a dating clause and of the remaining ninety-six charters, thirty-nine still retain references of having once been dated and the remainder are either much-abbreviated cartulary transcripts or else certain categories of mandates and notifications which did not require a date. It was not the practice at Lincoln to commence the date on a separate line but in common with papal procedure, it was customary to ensure that the dating clause finished exactly at the end of the line ; consequently in some cases, wide gaps and calligraphic flourishes are found between the individual words.¹⁷²

As a general rule, the word 'datum' (or alternatively 'data' or 'dat') introduces the date but 'actum' is also found on seven occasions. The use of the latter term in a grant of land¹⁷³ the episcopal testaments¹⁷⁴, a grant of tithes to the nuns of Studley¹⁷⁵, a letter of institution¹⁷⁶, confirmation of what was ordained concerning the churches of Hambleton and St. Peter, Stamford and the chapel of Braunston¹⁷⁷ and in a grant in augmentation of the common fund of the canons of Lichfield¹⁷⁸ is

172. cf. actum no. 240.

173. actum no. 261.

174. acta nos. 1, 355.

175. actum no. 280.

176. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 203-4(171).

177. actum no. 326.

178. actum no. 336.

sufficiently diverse to dispel the widely-held notion that 'actum' was only used for settlements and judgments. The scribes of bishop Hugh copied the royal rather than the papal sequence of dating by inserting the datary's name before the place-date: 'Dat' per manum.....apud.....' The datary is usually named in most of the dating clauses but 'dat' per manum nostram' features in thirty-three documents¹⁷⁹ and in six acts of 1215 the 'per manum' phrase is omitted altogether¹⁸⁰. The preposition 'apud' with the accusative is employed for the place-date and examples of the locative form are extremely rare. The charter concerning the foundation of the hospital of St. John the Baptist At Wells issued at Troyes in 1215¹⁸¹ and a document, issued jointly with bishop Jocelin, relating to a loan of seven hundred marks contracted by the prelates 'pro utilitatibus et negotiis ecclesiarum nostrarum'¹⁸² are the only two acts in which the place-date is found in the locative case. In both instances, there is an element of doubt concerning the actual authority responsible for their issue and it is quite possible that neither of the documents were drawn up by clerks of bishop Hugh.

The day and the month were expressed according to the Roman method of computation and in this, Hugh followed papal rather than royal precedents. At least one of his episcopal colleagues who had previously been employed in the king's service adopted the practice current in royal charters of dating the month continuously from the first to the thirtieth or thirty-first day¹⁸³. This method is never employed at Lincoln and similarly the use of liturgical days and church festivals for dating purposes found little favour. Only four examples of the latter have been discovered - the bishop's testament of 1212

179. acta nos: 109, 110, 212, 214, 216-9, 237-8, 245, 258-9, 265, 268, 270, 274, 281, 288-9, 294, 300, 322-5, 332-5, 345, 354, 357.

180. acta nos. 15-20.

181. actum no. 40.

182. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II I, pp. 140-1 (81).

183. Richard Marsh, bishop of Durham.
 J.C. ATKINSON: Cartularium Abbathie de Rievallie (Surtees Society LXXXIII, 1889 for 1887), p. 225.

(dated on St. Brice's day)¹⁸⁴, the Troyes charter of 1215¹⁸¹ (Michaelmas day) and two grants of 1220 augmenting the common fund of Lincoln (Easter day)¹⁸⁵. Incidentally, it is interesting to note how much routine diocesan business was transacted on a Sunday or a feast-day¹⁸⁶. The month is never found alone in the dating clause but it must also be added that the actual day of the week (dies lune etc) was never mentioned. The bishop's pontifical year is used in all administrative documents, the regular formula being: 'pontificatus nostri anno.....' The 1233 testament is the only charter in the whole collection to contain the year of the Christian era as well as the year of Hugh's episcopate¹⁸⁷, and the previously-cited joint charter with bishop Jocelin arranging the repayment of a loan is dated by the pontifical year of Pope Honorius III¹⁸². This would seem to suggest that the document was not the product of the chancery of the bishop of Lincoln.

The personal authorisation of a document by the bishop - the use of the 'dat' per manum nostram' clause - has already given rise to conflicting views upon its origin and use and it may seem presumptuous to confuse matters even further by offering yet another contribution to this much-discussed topic, based upon findings gleaned for the most part from an examination of bishop Hugh's acts. It has been remarked that "an essential condition of progress in palaeography and diplomatic is that as many related documents as possible shall be accumulated and compared¹⁸⁸" and certainly it will be impossible to establish with any degree of accuracy the reasons or motives behind the use of this particular method of authorisation until all the available acts of those prelates who received their early training in the chancery of King Richard I or King John have been collected and a thorough comparison undertaken. Until that time, it will only be fitting

184. actum no.1.

185. actum no.109 & Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 358, pp. 51-

186. acta nos. 26, 37, 40, 67-9, 85, 95, 107, 109, 110, 114, 117, 52(110).
118, 128, 137, 143, 147, 160-3, 167, 200, 207, 212-3, 216, 218, 221,
225, 228, 242-3, 281, 290, 296-7, 320, 322, 328, 353.

187. actum no. 355. 188. C. R. CHENEY: The Study of the Medieval Papal Chancery, p. 10 (Edwards Lecture, 1966).

to volunteer comments and suggestions, the validity of which will only be revealed by subsequent investigations.

To begin with, the common link between the bishops who employed this clause was their previous connexion with the royal chancery and their knowledge of royal administrative methods ; consequently it may be advisable to concentrate at first upon the evidence furnished by the charters and enrolments of the king. Professor Galbraith attributed the use of "dat' per manum nostram" specifically to cancellarial vacancies and whenever the solemnity of the occasion or the documents demanded the personal assumption of responsibility for the written record by the king¹⁸⁹. Professor Cheney disagreed with this view and held that for episcopal acts "the formula may be taken to indicate that the bishop's usual datary was not at hand and that the bishop authorised the document".¹⁹⁰ Neither explanation is entirely adequate in the light of the surviving material.

The first occasion on which I have found the clause is in April 1197 in a charter of Richard I confirming the exchange of the manor of Lambeth and the manor of Darent made between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Rochester¹⁹¹. It is significant that William Longchamps, bishop of Ely and king Richard's chancellor, had died at Poitiers on 31 January 1197. The chancellorship was vacant until May 1198. Further documents survive from this period with the "dat'per manum nostram" formula - a charter of confirmation for the priory of Le Plessis-Grimoult dated 17 April 1198¹⁹²; a charter for the abbey of St.Amand, Rouen, issued at La Roche'Orval three days later¹⁹³; and finally on 1 May a charter confirming to the abbey of Bec a grant made to them by Hugh Gournay¹⁹⁴. Eustace, bishop of Ely

189. V.H.GALBRAITH: Studies in the Public Records (London 1949), pp.126-9.

190. C.R.CHENEY: English Bishops' Chanceries, p.89.

191. J.THORPE: Registrum Roffense, p.272 (London 1769).

192. J.H.ROUND: Documents preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland 918-1206 (London 1899), p.195.

193. La Societe des Antiquaires de Normandie, vol.XVI, p.224.

194. Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol.IV(1327-1341), p.332 - in an inspeximus.

became chancellor in May 1198 but in the preceding vacancy of the office, he appears in the dating clauses of several charters as vice-chancellor¹⁹⁵. It is impossible to gain any idea of the motives behind the concurrent use of the personal royal authorisation and the vicecancellarial authorisation in this period. There was no distinction relative to categories of documents and perhaps the employment of "dat' per manum nostram" depended upon the absence of the vice-chancellor. Eustace was elected bishop of Ely in 1197 and was consecrated at Westminster in March of that year¹⁹⁶; all this time Richard was in northern France¹⁹⁷ and it is quite feasible that the personal authorisation was devised to meet a particular set of circumstances which had not been encountered before. It must be remembered that King Richard was the first English monarch to include a dating clause in all his enactments and the cancellarial vacancy of 1197-1198 was the first time the office had been unfilled since this administrative innovation was introduced. If the vice-chancellor also happened to be called away at this time (? for consecration and installation), then the royal clerks would be confronted with a novel and unprecedented situation arising out of the need for authorisation of their written records. The phraseology of the documents of this period is to my mind vaguely reminiscent of the method adopted by the French royal chancery when the office of chancellor was unoccupied. Under King Philip Augustus "data vacante cancellaria" or "data vacante cancellaria per manum fratris Guarini" and such clauses occur indiscriminately¹⁹⁸.

"Dat' per manum nostram" is next found in five documents issued in January 1201¹⁹⁹ - five quite routine charters,

195. cf. Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. IV, p. 337 (5 Oct. 1197); ibid vol. III, p. 480 (1 Sept. 1197); ibid., vol. V, p. 399 (14 July 1197) Documents preserved in France, p. 363 (14 May 1198).

196. Radulphi de Diceto Opera Historica, ed. W. STUBES, vol. II, p. 159 (Rolls series 1876).

197. See L. LANDON: The Itinerary of Richard I, Pipe Roll Society new series 13, 1935.

198. See J. MONICAT & J. BOUSSARD: Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France, vol. III (Paris 1966), "data vacante cancellaria" no. 959, p. 2 et passim; "data vacante cancellaria per manum fratris Guarini", no. 962, p. 5 et passim.

confirmations for the burgesses of Canterbury and Carmarthen, grants of land and a knight's fee to Peter Burdun and Robert de Secheville and a confirmation for the canons of St. Denys, Southampton. Professor Galbraith has convincingly shown that this period also witnessed a cancellarial vacancy, when Hubert Walter had been temporarily deprived of his office after some ill-feeling between him and the king.²⁰⁰ As yet, the clause is only used when there is no chancellor in office and during the temporary absence of the vice-chancellor; within a few years, the scope of its usage will be extended to meet other peculiar conditions and ~~the~~ circumstances which could not be dealt with by the normal procedural methods.

In a chancery where the officials received no fixed salary but were recompensed for their services with ecclesiastic²⁰¹ preferment, grants of wardships and property and so forth, the situation was eventually bound to arise when the officer acting as the regular datary of the king would also find himself the beneficiary of a particular royal charter, the redaction and issue of which he would normally have authorised. The difficulty was clearly whether such authorisation would be improper in the circumstances. In the early years of King John's reign the problem was easily solved, since the practice of employing two dataries who were jointly responsible for the issue of the king's documentary business allowed a certain degree of modification. In October 1199 when Simon FitzRobert and John de Gray were acting as dataries, the issue of a charter in favour of the latter was warranted by Simon alone.²⁰¹ Obviously when it became customary for a single datary to authorise the written records of the king, other means of overcoming the consequent procedural difficulties of a grant in his favour had to be purposely evolved. It must be pointed out that apparently not all of these chancery officials had doubts on the propriety of

199. T.D.HARDY: Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati 1199-1216 (Record Commission 1857), pp. 83-83b.

200. Studies in the Public Records, pp. 127-8.

201. Rotuli Chartarum, pp. 28-28b.

their actions in this respect. Richard Marsh was given a prebend in the church of Lichfield in 1213 and dated the grant himself²⁰²; similarly in 1214 the church of Ludgershall was conferred upon Ralph Nevill who authorised the same charter.²⁰³ Nevertheless, these are the only two examples of their kind that I have been able to locate in the charter rolls. Other dataries adopted an acceptable expedient when confronted with this situation. In 1204 Simon FitzRobert was elected to succeed Seffrid II as bishop of Chichester but while he was bishop-elect, he still continued to act as the king's datary. On 11 April, King John granted him the church of Bakechild²⁰⁴ and eleven days later the city of Chichester.²⁰⁵ This was followed on 8 May by a general confirmation of all the possessions of the bishop and the cathedral church of Chichester.²⁰⁶ In all three of these charters, "dat' per manum nostram" replaces the normal authorisation of Simon the bishop-elect. A parallel is to be seen in charters granted to the two brothers, Hugh and Jocelin of Wells, who were both responsible for documents emanating from the royal chancery after Simon's elevation to the episcopal bench. On 8 August 1204 the king, taking advantage of the vacancy of the priory of Kenilworth, conferred the church of Edington upon the datary Hugh of Wells.²⁰⁷ The personal royal authorisation is again employed. In the following year Hugh received the church of Adisham and the chapel of Staples by reason of the vacancy of the archbishopric of Canterbury.²⁰⁸ In a second grant concerning this church issued on 7 August the king, in accordance with Hugh's wishes, granted the perpetual vicarage of the same benefice to the latter's brother Jocelin, saving a pension of one bezant

202. Rotuli Chartarum, p.196b.

203. ibid., p.197.

204. ibid., p.127b.

205. ibid., p.127b.

206. ibid., p.129.

207. ibid., p.140b.

208. ibid., p.157.

payable to Hugh as parson.²⁰⁹ The "per manum nostram" phrase is found in both charters. On the same day as the second grant was made, the king issued a charter in favour of the burgesses of Huntingdon ; significantly, it is dated "by the hand of H. of Wells, archdeacon of Wells"²¹⁰. The reason for the use of the personal authorisation in these particular circumstances is now apparent. Further confirmation is provided by a charter of 22 February 1205 bestowing the church of Meriden upon Jocelin of Wells.²¹¹ From February until the beginning of June of that year Jocelin was the regular datary and this fact again explains the use of the "dat' per manum nostram" clause. It is also conceivable that the employment of the same dating formula in the charter appointing Walter de Gray as chancellor in 1205²¹² also stemmed from this concern not to assume responsibility for those charters in which one had a vested interest.

In 1207 the king confirmed to Thomas fitz Eustace the manor of Gretford²¹³ and a few months later Jocelin of Wells, now bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, was confirmed in the possession of the manor of Dogmersfield²¹⁴ and in addition was the recipient of two other royal charters of confirmation.²¹⁵ The issue of these four charters was in each case personally authorised by the king. Hugh of Wells was the regular chancery official dating royal charters at this time and it is possible that his absence from the chancery on these four occasions forced the clerks to resort to an earlier precedent. It will be remembered that in the cancellarial vacancy of 1197-1198, I suggested that the occasional use of the personal dating clause was most probably closely related to the temporary absences of the normal authorising officer, Eustace the vice-chancellor. Certainly the tenor of the documents is not of such significance or solemnity to require the special authorisation of the

209. Rotuli Chartarum, p.157.

210. ibid., p.157.

211. ibid., p.142.

212. P.R.O. Cartae Antiquae B.B.22.

213. Rotuli Chartarum, p.167b.

214. ibid., p.171.

215. ibid., p.169 & Cartae Antiquae Rolls, 1-10 (Pipe Roll Society, new series 17, 1939), p.138.

monarch. A similar charter of confirmation for bishop Jocelin issued in January 1215 was dated by Richard Marsh²¹⁶ and the explanation for the use of "per manum nostram" in the 1207 charters must tentatively be attributed to the absence of the normal functionary entrusted with the responsibility for the issue of the charters. It is just conceivable that in the case of bishop Jocelin the close ties of kinship between the recipient of the documents and the king's datary precluded the employment of the usual method of authorisation, but to suggest this is to extend the use of the expedient beyond its original scope, and in my opinion such a step is far from justified at the present stage of the investigations.

It will be seen from these few examples that the use of the "dat' per manum nostram" clause remained highly exceptional but there is still one aspect of its use that has not yet been treated; this concerns the personal authorisation of a solemn document solely because of the importance of its contents. As far as can be judged, none of the grants already discussed fit into this category but with the issue of Magna Carta in 1215²¹⁷, there is a likely example; the document is given "per manum nostram" and it is possible, considering the circumstances in which it was issued that this formula was the result of baronial pressure upon the king that he should authorise the charter personally to add weight and authority to its provisions, rather than entrusting the task to one of his subordinate officers.

Discussion has centred upon the various uses of "dat' per manum nostram" in certain categories of royal enactments, but even from this preliminary investigation, one significant point has emerged - namely that the introduction of this term into the language of royal documents was initially a result of expediency. The king's clerks were confronted with a peculiar set of conditions in which the established chancery procedure

216. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 203b.

217. Statutes of the Realm, I, pp. 9-13.

could not be followed and it was left to them to formulate an alternative method of dealing with these temporary difficulties. Once ~~an~~ a precedent was set, then it was discovered that the same solution could be applied to cope with any transitory problems which arose from time to time.

The "dat' per manum nostram" formula is found in thirty-three of Hugh of Wells's charters¹⁷⁹ but the lack of comparative collections of episcopal acts seriously hampers the investigation. At least it is known that the term was used in the chanceries of such bishops as John de Gray²¹⁸, Jocelin of Wells²¹⁹, Richard Marsh²²⁰, Walter de Gray²²¹, Ralph Nevill²²², Walter Maclere²²³, Eustace of Fauconberg²²⁴ and Thomas of Blundeville²²⁵. It must be continually emphasized that its occurrence is still exceptional and in the vast majority of

218. B.M.Cotton MS.Claudius D XIII,f.184 ; J.HUNTER: Ecclesiastical Documents (Camden Soc.old series VIII,1840), p.61; H.E.SALTER: Newington Longeville Charters (Oxon Record Society III,1921),p.94; Historical Manuscripts Commission : Duke of Portland, vol.II,p.4 ; H.W.SAUNDERS: The First Register of Norwich Cathedral Priory (Norfolk Record Society XI,1939),p.108 ; J.R.WEST: St.Benet of Holme 1020-1210 (Norfolk Record Society II,1932),vol.I,no. 99,p.59; British Museum Harley MS.2110,f.122d.

219. Wells Dean & Chapter, Liber Albus II,ff.10,13,128d,192d; Liber Ruber,ff.14,15,43d; Hereford Dean & Chapter doct. 2042 ; P.R.O.Exchequer K.R.Misc.books.i.20,f.91; B.M. Harley MS.3650,f.51d; A.WATKIN: The Great Chartulary of Glastonburyvol.I,(Somerset Record Society vol.LIX,1947), p.21.

220. Durham Dean & Chapter, Cartuarium Vetus,f.148 ; Cartularium Abbathie de Rievalla (Surtees Society#vol.LXXIII),p.223. Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis,pp.lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

221. Durham D & C, Cartuarium Vetus,f.157d.

222. W.D.PECKHAM: The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester (Sussex Record Society,XLVI,1946),no.246.

223. Hereford Dean & Chapter doct.2039.

224. Hereford Dean & Chapter doct.2043.

225. B.M.Cotton MS.Faustina A IV, f.110 "Dat'.....manu nostra.." is used instead of "per manum nostram".

cases, the acts are authorised by the regular episcopal dataries. In contrast to several of his colleagues who are found employing the personal authorisation from the very inception of their episcopates, there is no evidence to show that bishop Hugh used this clause before 1220, his eleventh pontifical year, when two isolated examples have come to light²²⁶. A pause of six years ensues and it is not until the employment of Ralph of Waravill as datary from 1226 to 1232 that "per manum nostram" is found with any frequency. In fact the stages in the development of this usage can clearly be discerned in the diplomatic of the acts. It is obviously difficult, not to say well-nigh impossible in many of these documents, to state with any confidence the probable reason for the use of the personal authorisation.

Tentative conclusions have of necessity to be based on assumption and surmise and the dearth of records prevents the corroboration of these ideas. The charters of John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, which contain the "per manum nostram" phrase are of such a miscellaneous character that it is altogether impossible to hazard any convincing explanation for their common appearance in matters of dating other than to attribute it to the absence of the usual datary. The validity of this notion can neither be adequately substantiated nor totally disproved but the existence of two dissimilar Norwich documents issued on the same day both with this formula²²⁷ - the confirmation of a church to Westacre priory and a settlement between the bishop and the prior of Norwich over the wood at Thorpe - would tend to support the previous conclusion.

In the period between the bishop's return from exile and his departure for the Lateran Council (1213-1215), the Lincoln episcopal chancery methods clearly underwent reorganisation. The date is now for the first time included in most outgoing documents and it is highly likely that registration was begun in

226. acta nos:109-110.

227. H.M.C. Duke of Portland, vol. II, p.4 ; The First Register of Norwich Cathedral Priory, p.108.

the form of institution and charter rolls²²⁸. In these years of administrative change and innovation, it is consequently not surprising to discover that there was no regular datary, merely four clerks - Roger the chaplain, master William de Thornaco, master Robert of Hailes and master Reginald of Chester - who took turns to authorise the issue of episcopal charters and correspondence. Obviously the years 1213-1215 saw experimentation by the household clerks in an attempt to evolve a convenient method of dating procedure. This experimental stage is reflected in five acts issued on 20 April 1215 when the "per manum" clause is omitted from the documents altogether²²⁹. The names of three of the current dataries are to be found in the witness lists, so this cannot be attributed to expediency on the part of a particular scribe, motivated by the absence of the dating clerks. After Hugh's return in 1217, the dating of documents becomes more systematic and William de Thornaco is employed as the permanent datary. Naturally there would be occasions when the absence of the dating officer would be unavoidable but at first the episcopal clerks did not resort to "per manum nostram". If we can assume that the datary was absent when his name is missing from both the dating clause and the witness list of the charter, then his duties were carried out temporarily by another member of the episcopal household. In the period from 1217 to 1219 Peter of Bath²²⁹ and Reginald of Chester²³⁰ are found on a few occasions acting in this capacity. In May 1219 upon his elevation to the archdeaconry of Lincoln, William de Thornaco relinquished office as datary and there was a vacancy of a few months before Thomas of Fiskerton appears in charters as the regular functionary. In the intervening period, Reginald of Chester²³¹ assumed the responsibility for authorising documents and acted as interim

228. See Chapter II, the section on the earliest roll.

229. acta nos:47,96,97,102.

230. actum no.75.

231. acta nos:92,93,94,106. There is always the possibility that Reginald was intended to be the permanent datary, but he ceased to be subdean in 1219 (?died).

datory. It is again significant that "per manum nostram" was not employed during the vacancy. Similarly in the "interregnum" between Thomas of Fiskerton and John of Taunton, an episcopal clerk - Oliver Chesney²³² ^{bore} ~~assumed~~ the responsibility for the redaction and issue of the bishop's acts.

With the assumption of the datarial office by Ralph of Waravill in 1226 an important change is readily apparent. The datary's temporary absence is now not only evident by the exclusion of his name from the lists of witnesses to the acts but also by the inclusion of "per manum nostram" in the dating clause. Fourteen letters of institution spanning the period from 1226 to 1232 all contain this form of authorisation²³³ and it is important to note in addition that Ralph of Waravill does not feature among those attesting these documents. Three indulgences also contain "per manum nostram"²³⁴ in their dating clauses but since it was not customary to witness this category of charter, the reason for the use of this formula will have to remain uncertain. It is most probable that Ralph's absence was instrumental in the use of the episcopal authorisation but it cannot be proved. Indulgences were normally given by the hand of the regular datary and were not of such a solemn nature as to require "per manum nostram". On 18 October 1226, four bishops - Hugh of Wells²³⁵, Jocelin of Wells²³⁶, Eustace of Fauconberg,²²⁴ bishop of London and Walter Mauclere²²³, bishop of Carlisle - issued indulgences in favour of the hospital of St. Ethelbert at Hereford. The charters of the two Wells brothers were both dated at the bishop of Lincoln's London residence, the Old Temple, Holborn; the other two documents were both dated at Westminster. Hugh's indulgence is dated "per manum Radulfi de Warauill' canonici Lincolnensis", the other three documents are given "per manum nostram". It is thus conceivable that the decision to issue indulgences for the same hospital

232. acta nos: 154, 155, 159, 160, 164, 165.

233. acta nos: 217, 237, 238, 245, 246, 265, 268, 279, 281, 288, 289, 294, 322, 345.

234. acta nos: 214, 216, 218.

235. actum no. 225.

236. Hereford Dean & Chapter doct. 2042.

simultaneously was a spontaneous action possibly as a result of an appeal to the four prelates - archbishop Langton had issued a similar indulgence in August²³⁷ and that in three cases their normal chancery officials were not at hand when the relevant documents were drawn up. This coincidence does not invalidate the preceding argument. An unattested acknowledgment of payment and three other documents - two confirmations and an ordination also include the "per manum nostram" formula. Without evidence to the contrary it must be supposed that Ralph of Waravill was unavailable at the time of issue.

It will be remembered that it became the acknowledged practice among clerks in the royal chancery that the personal authorisation^{of the king} would be employed whenever the datary was a party to, or a recipient of a specific royal grant. This precedent is followed at Lincoln towards the end of the bishop's pontificate. At first other means of overcoming this problem had been attempted. In 1220 Thomas of Fiskerton the datary was instituted to the church of St. Peter, Northampton²³⁸; his letter of institution is merely dated by another episcopal clerk, Peter of Bath. By 1233 this had given way to "per manum nostram", as can be verified by the use of the term in the letter of institution of Warin of Kirton, the current datary, to the church of Nettleham²³⁹.

Although the episcopal datary's absence or the vacancy of the office would seem to account adequately for a fair number of such acts of royal-trained chancery-trained prelates it is equally certain that in several cases the solemnity of the occasion or the document was alone responsible for the use of the formula. In 1210 bishop Jocelin of Bath and Glastonbury augmented the endowments of the deanery and subdeanery of Wells²⁴⁰; four years later he enacted that the chapter should have the

237. Acta Stephani Langton, no. 90, p. 109.

238. actum no. 123.

239. actum no. 345.

240. Wells Dean & Chapter, Liber Albus II, f. 43d.

custody and fruits of vacant prebends while the bishop retained similar rights in respect of the dignities of the cathedral²⁴¹. These two charters are of considerable importance for the bishop's relations with the chapter and for the capitular constitution. In accordance with the solemnity of these episcopal ordinances, the relevant parts of the dating clauses read respectively: "dat' per manum nostram et Alexandri decani et capituli Wellensis" and "dat' in capitulo Wellensi per manum nostram et decani et capituli". There could be no better examples illustrating the use of the personal authorisation to lend added weight and authority to a particular transaction. Subsequent enactments of bishop Jocelin relating to the vicars choral of Wells²⁴² and the augmentation of the common fund²⁴³ of the canons are also dated in chapter "per manum nostram".

The first occurrence of "per manum nostram" in Hugh's acta is in two ~~acta~~ charters issued in the chapter of Lincoln on Easter Day 1220²²⁶. Both concern episcopal grants of pensions from churches in the bishop's collation to augment the common fund of the canons of Lincoln. In one version of the second charter, Thomas ~~the~~ of Fiskerton, the episcopal datary, is to be found in the witness list. Twenty-five charters issued "in capitulo Lincolnensi" have survived before this date²⁴⁴ and a further sixteen from 1220 to 1227²⁴⁵ which are authorised by the current datary. The only difference between these two charters and the other thirty-one is that the former are the only documents to contain a grant to the chapter, and the use of the episcopal authorisation can thus be attributed either to the solemnity of the enactments and the bishop's desire to symbolically ensure their provisions (as at Wells) or to the fact that Thomas of Fiskerton the datary was also a canon of Lincoln and consequently a member of the body to whom the

²⁴¹. Wells Dean & Chapter, Liber Albus II, f. 14.

²⁴². *ibid.*, f. 128d.

²⁴³. *ibid.*, f. 14d.

²⁴⁴. acta nos: 49-62, 71, 82, 85, 90, 92, 96-101.

²⁴⁵. acta nos: 117, 126, 131, 145, 151-2, 154-6, 161-2, 168, 200, 209-210, 233.

the charters were directed.

From 1226 onwards the situation at Lincoln becomes more complex with the apparent extension of the scope of the personal authorisation, the reason for which is still far from clear. Thirteen charters are found which not only contain the "dat' per manum nostram" clause but at the same time include the attestation of the regular datary - Ralph of Waravill or Warin of Kirton²⁴⁶. These examples obviously do not fit easily into any of the previously-discussed categories. It is just conceivable that a general confirmation of the possessions of the Augustinian priory of Fineshade²⁴⁷ and the grant to bishop Jocelin of the custody of the land and heirs of Ralph Cromwell and William de Dive²⁴⁸ were ~~regarded as~~ considered matters of sufficient importance and solemnity to require "per manum nostram", but against this one must set the fact that in 1221 a grant of wardship was held to be a sufficiently ordinary piece of administrative business that it was dated by Thomas of Fiskerton²⁴⁹. It can be argued that the administrative changes taking place in the episcopal chancery in the time of Ralph of Waravill and his successor as datary, Warin of Kirton, could have involved a change in attitude towards the significance of specific types of document but this is really venturing too far into the hypothetical and the point should not be laboured. The eleven remaining charters were all issued "in capitulo Lincolnensi"²⁵⁰. In 1220 the reason for this usage appeared to be dependent upon the contents of the acta and the circumstances of their issue - the solemnity of the grants to the common fund of the canons made in full chapter. In the later period only three of the enactments could have been so described - the ordination of the bishop's chantry²⁵¹, grants of pensions from the churches of Brattleby and Hambleton in augmentation of the common fund²⁵² and in addition, a grant of six marks from

246. acta nos: 258-9, 270, 274, 300, 332-7, 354, 357.

247. actum no. 212.

248. actum no. 354.

249. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 195 (130).

250. acta nos: 2, 12, 62, 270, 274, 300, 332-7.

251. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 361, pp. 54-6 (337).

Kilsby church to provide for the maintenance of two servants to guard the cathedral day and night²⁵³. The remaining documents fall into categories of business which earlier in the pontificate would have been authorised by the regular datary even when they were issued in the chapter of Lincoln. The following table, comparing the dating clauses of similar types of documents issued both in the early years and towards the end of the episcopate, will convincingly illustrate my point. It is important to realise that from 1229 onwards, every charter issued the chapter of Lincoln was dated "per manum nostram" without any apparent regard to its contents:

Acta dated "in capitulo Lincolnensi".

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|--|
| 1. | 12 July 1219
(actum 92) | Appropriation of Marston St. Laurence church to the abbey of St. Evroult. dated "by the hand of Reginald of Chester". |
| | 9 April 1230 (270) | Appropriation of Rushden church to Lenton priory. dated "per manum nostram". Ralph of Waravill a witness. |
| ----- | | |
| 2. | 28 December 1217 (59) | Grant of a pension from the church of Beesby to Greenfield priory. dated "by the hand of William de Thornaco". |
| | 2 April 1229 (258) | Grant of a pension from Horwood church to Newton Longville priory. dated "per manum nostram". Ralph of Waravill a witness. |
| | 8 September 1232 (332) | Grant of a pension from Great Paxton church to Holyrood abbey. dated "per manum nostram". Ralph of Waravill a witness. |
| | 8 September 1232 (334) | Grant of a pension from Moulsoe church to Goring priory. dated "per manum nostram". Ralph of Waravill a witness. |
| ----- | | |

252. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 359, pp. 53-4 (333).

253. ibid., vol. II, no. 365, pp. 62-3 (335).

- 3. 26 December 1220 (126) Confirmation of Bampton church to the dean & chapter of Exeter and ordination of a vicarage, dated "by the hand of Thomas of Fiskerton".
 - 9 September 1231 (300) Confirmation of church of Haddenham & chapels to Recheater cathedral priory and ordination of vicarages, dated "per manum nostram". Ralph of Waravill a witness.
-

4. The following acts are similar in content, though not identical.

- 25 December 1221 (145) Permission for a private chapel, dated "by the hand of Thomas of Fiskerton".
 - 2 April 1229 (259) Permission for Hockliffe hospital to have a chapel & burial rights attendant.
 - ? 2 April 1229 (274) Permission for Stonely hospital to have a chapel & burial rights attendant.
- Both docts. dated "per manum nostram" Ralph of Waravill a witness.
-

- 5. 15 August 1222 (152) Grant of tithes of Fleet to Cattle Acre priory, dated "by the hand of Thomas of Fiskerton".
 - 9 September 1232 (336) Grant of tithes of Thornton by Horncastle to Dean & Chapter of Lichfield, dated "per manum nostram". Ralph of Waravill a witness.
-

How can these apparent illogicalities be explained? Professor Cheney has questioned the meaning of the witness-lists and has tentatively suggested that the datary might not have been present when the drafting of the act was authorised, even though he attested the document²⁵⁴. This indeed is one solution to the problem but one which I do not readily accept. I am more

254. English Bishops' Chanceries, p. 89.

inclined to believe that the reason for the use of the "per manum nostram" formula in these eight instances cited above lies not in their contents - for no common factor can be discerned - but rather is related to the circumstances surrounding the redaction of these acts and the place of issue - namely, "in capitulo Lincolnensi". Under Ralph of Waravill there seems to have been a deliberate extension of the use of this personal episcopal authorisation as far as charters enacted in the chapter of Lincoln were concerned. Whereas initially the apparent criterion for the use of this dating clause was the solemnity of the document in itself, this was gradually superseded by the notion that the clause applied to the solemnity of the occasion - the fact that the documents were authorized in the chapter - irrespective of the tenor of the charters that were issued at these times. This seems to have been a conscious development and perhaps is directly attributable to the Wells-trained datary, Ralph of Waravill.

In this preliminary investigation, I have endeavoured to offer a plausible explanation for the introduction and use of "dat' per manum nostram" in respect of the royal chancery and in the administrative acts of several chancery-trained bishops. For the episcopate of Hugh of Wells I have been able to discuss the use of this formula in reasonable detail but I must again emphasize that my findings are only tentative and their corroboration or disproof will only be possible when much more research has been undertaken into the administration of other prelates who are known to have employed the personal authorisation in the redaction of their acts. The real irony of the situation lies in the fact that "dat' per manum nostram" came to be employed far beyond its original scope by the chancery clerks in the latter years of King Henry III and to the exclusion of all other methods of dating, but in the episcopal chanceries the formula rapidly disappeared, sometimes with the death of the bishop who had introduced it. At Lincoln the use of the "per manum" phrase with the name of the datary has been found only infrequently in documents issued by Hugh's immediate successor, Robert Grosseteste²⁵⁵ and it very soon gave

255. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 58, 138, 141, 190, 207, 252, *
316, 317, 343,

way to a simpler form of dating with the time and place-date and the pontifical year only. "Per manum nostram" is not found at Lincoln after bishop Hugh's death.

Valediction.

It is difficult to assess the extent of the use of the valediction in Hugh's charters, since "valete" or variant forms might easily have been omitted in transcript, being of no significance to the general tenor of the document. At all events its use does not appear to have been as regular or as extensive as in the archiepiscopal chancery of Stephen Langton²⁵⁶. "Valete" only occurs in eight of bishop Wells's acta and only two of these charters are originals. In every case the documents which contain this final salutation are undated and have no witnesses. They range in content from an indulgence for the hospital of St. Ethelbert, Hereford²⁵⁷ to the settlement of a dispute over the church of Compton Bassett²⁵⁸. It must be pointed out that the latter composition was issued jointly with Hugh's brother, bishop Jocelin, so that it may not reflect accurately current Lincoln usage. Nevertheless, documents issued in connexion with the appointment of a prior of Newport Pagnell²⁵⁹ and a prioress of St. Michael's, Stamford²⁶⁰ also conclude with "valete", as do two letters of institution and a report to papal judges delegate over the deprivation of the vicar of Little Houghton²⁶¹. These eight charters span the years 1217 to 1234 so it is unlikely that the employment of the valediction was the isolated practice of a single episcopal clerk.

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An analysis follows of the major categories of business to be found in this collection of Hugh's acta. Lack of space prevents this study from being completely exhaustive but

256. Acta Stephani Langton, pp. xlv-xlvi.

257. actum no. 225.

258. actum no. 174.

259. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 88(308-9).

260. actum no. 116.

261. acta nos. 45, 72, 363 respectively.

at least it attempts, in conjunction with the preceding notes on the diplomatic of the documents, to provide a reasonably adequate survey of the main types of episcopal charters.

The Inspeximus and Charters of Confirmation.

Only two of bishop Hugh's surviving confirmatory charters are drawn up in "inspeximus" form²⁶² - three, if the inspeximus of Magna Carta issued in conjunction with eight other bishops and the legate is counted²⁶³. As a result of this paucity of comparative material, no new information can be offered to supplement the excellent studies of Professors Galbraith and Cheney on the subject²⁶⁴. In 1215 the bishop inspected a charter of bishop Hugh I confirming a grant of Hugh de Beauchamp to Bushmead priory; the other inspeximus dates from 1232 and contains the recital of a charter of Robert le Fleming, patron and parson of Polebrook permitting Ralph son of Reginald and his heirs to have a private chapel in his parish. The introductory notification of the earlier of the two documents reads: "Noverit universitas vestra nos inspexisse confirmationem predecessoris nostri Hugonis bone memorie Linc' episcopi in hec verba" but that of the 1232 confirmation resembles in the conciseness of its phraseology the usual style of the royal chancery: "Inspeximus cartam dilecti filii Roberti le Fleming patroni et persone ecclesie de Pokebroc in hec verba". There is no formal notification and the "inspeximus" clause follows immediately upon the salutation. After the recitation of the charter, the text continues with the bishop's confirmation "episcopali auctoritate" and a final clause of reservation, saving all episcopal customs and the dignity of the church of Lincoln. In the Bushmead document, having acknowledged St. Hugh's confirmation to be "rationabiliter confirmata", bishop Wells confirmed to the canons the possessions named in the inspected

262. Liber Antiquus, pp. 79-80 (37) and actum no. 316.

263. actum no. 21.

264. V. H. GALBRAITH: "A New Charter of Henry II to Battle Abbey" in English Historical Review, vol. LII (1937), pp. 67-73 & English Bishops' Chanceries, pp. 90-96.

charter and also confirmed any possessions which they might acquire in the future.

The verb "inspexisse" is also found in two of the thirty-seven confirmations of the bishop which did not include the recitation of the document under scrutiny. In February 1214 Hugh confirmed a composition made about twenty years before between St. Hugh, together with the chapter, and the master of Sempringham²⁶⁵. The notification of the confirmatory charter proceeds as follows: "Noverit universitas vestra quod inspeximus compositionem super ecclesiis de Northon' et de Marthon' et de Newton' factam inter sancte recordacionis Hugonem predecessorem nostrum et capitulum Lincoln' ex una parte et R. magistrum ordinis de Sempingeham et canonicos hospitalis Lincoln' ex alia". The bishop then moved on to confirm that the composition was "rationabiliter facta" and "autentico scripto predictorum episcopi et capituli Lincoln' confirmata" - both essential conditions for a confirmation - but he did not recite the text of his predecessor's agreement. Some years later - in actual fact, in 1231 - Hugh confirmed two exchanges of woods and lands arranged between William son of William de Insula and Thomas, the rector of St. Mary, Brampton Ash²⁶⁶. There is no notification and the text of the charters commences like a genuine "inspeximus" confirmation with: "inspeximus cartam Willelmi filii Willelmi de Insula....." but then goes on to give a detailed summary of the contents of the two transactions. The vast majority of the extant charters of confirmation relate to religious houses. Besides the more general confirmations of possessions, the monasteries were also anxious to obtain ratification of grants of pensions, churches, chapels, tithes and advowsons conferred on them by the bishop's predecessors or by lay benefactors²⁶⁷. The remaining records include the confirmation of an agreement over the foundation of a hospital,²⁶⁸

265. Liber Antiquus, p. 72(3).

266. In this category are acta nos: 4, 10, 28, 31, 46, 47, 63, 65, 76, 82, 87-9, 93, 99, 140, 177, 212, 224, 258, 300, 324.

267. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 243-4(297).

268. ibid., vol. II, pp. 256-8(325).

of an institution performed by the Dean of Lincoln²⁶⁹, of grants of land and three parts of a mill to private individuals²⁷⁰ and the approval of the endowments of certain perpetual vicarages ordained by the Official in Hugh's absence²⁷¹. In the confirmatory clause of the charters, it is generally noted that the confirmation is made "episcopali auctoritate" and this is consistently followed by a saving clause, safeguarding the rights of the bishop and his cathedral church and in certain cases of the mother-church of the parish or even in more general terms "nulli in jure suo volentes per hoc prejudicium gravari"²⁷². Charters of confirmation which do not begin with part of the verb "inspexisse" usually commence with a notification and a general reference to the document or documents which are to be confirmed. The contents of these grants are often recorded in the vaguest of terms - "omnes terras, possessiones, donationes et confirmationes et omnia tenementa sine aliquo retinemento que habent in Ormesby et Uterby de dono Radulfi de Wyhum et Willelmi filii sui et Radulfi filii dicti Willelmi, sicut carte eorum plenius testantur"²⁷³ and it is only occasionally that details are supplied. This is the case with the confirmation of the possessions of Little Wymondley priory in 1214²⁷⁴ - "in quibus hec propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis" - when the property of the house was set out in minute detail, each parcel of land and tenement being recorded. In confirmations of private grants of advowson²⁷⁵, of which there are nine examples, there is usually a pious harangue. It was also normal diplomatic practice to emphasize that the charter to be confirmed was "rationabiliter facta". Vincent the carpenter was confirmed in his possession of a quarter of an acre of the glebe of Brampton granted by Martin of Pattishall the parson "sicut carta ipsius Martini rationabiliter testatur"²⁷⁶. Many of these confirmations were issued in the chapter of Lincoln and in these instances a note of the assent of the dean and chapter to the transaction was

269. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 216-7 (202).

270. ibid., vol. II, p. 189 (115) & Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 754, pp. 107-8 (233) respectively.

271. Liber Antiquus, pp. 86-9, 96-7 (66, 68, 69, 85).

272. ibid., p. 73 (10). 273. actum no. 224. 274. actum no. 4.

275 & 276 next page

inserted in the text. In certain cases the consent of interested parties - patrons, parsons of mother-churches and so on - was also obtained. The charter of confirmation was usually stated to be issued by the bishop "divine pietatis intuitu". In 1226 a confirmation was made "ad instantiam conventus utriusque sexus de Ormesby"²⁷³. On another occasion the original grant and the episcopal confirmation were probably issued simultaneously. It is noted in the bishop's charter that Robert of Boddington had made a grant to the canons of Chacombe of the advowson of a moiety of Boddington church and "eidem priori cartam super hoc confectam in presentia nostra sponte liberavit"²⁷⁷. The bishop then went on to confirm Robert's gift. The clause of corroboration varies considerably from document to document but not surprisingly the expression: "Et ut hec nostra confirmacio perpetuam optineat firmitatem" is frequently to be found. The Little Wymondley confirmation of 1214²⁷⁴ is exceptional in that it is the only surviving document of its kind issued by bishop Hugh which contains any form of sanction - "Si vero aliquis eorum pacem perturbando vel injuriam inferendo molestus eis extiterit, dei et gloriose virginis indignacionem se noverit incursum".

Indulgences.

In an age when it was left to the church to take the lead in sponsoring works of a charitable nature, the indulgence was the ideal instrument with which to discharge these responsibilities. The twenty surviving indulgences granted by bishop Hugh all ~~involve~~ involve pecuniary contributions to deserving causes rather than the saying of prayers for the souls of the faithful departed. Nine of the charters concern the repair of bridges which carried public highways²⁷⁸; with possibly one exception all the bridges were situated within the confines of the diocese. There is very little evidence in this period for the systematic maintenance of roads and bridges and the few repairs that were undertaken depended to a great extent upon the alms elicited from travellers

²⁷⁷. actum no. 46.

²⁷⁸. acta nos: 102, 133, 207, 216, 223, 227, 241, 261, 278.

²⁷⁵. acta nos: 28, 31, 46, 47, 65, 87-9, 93.

²⁷⁶. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 189(115).

by virtue of almost "perpetual indulgences". As soon as the validity of one episcopal grant of indulgence expired, it would be renewed for another ~~ten~~ term of years. Indulgences for the bridge at Rockingham - the site of a royal castle - were issued by bishop Hugh in 1218, 1226, 1229 and 1230. Religious houses, hospitals, cathedrals and parish churches formed the subjects of the other episcopal indulgences. Penitents were enjoined to contribute alms to York Minster²⁷⁹, the priories of Daventry²⁸⁰ and Luffield²⁸¹, and the hospitals of St. Leonard at Northampton²⁸² and St. Ethelbert, Hereford²⁸³, and an insight into the activities of church-builders can be obtained from the indulgences to aid the construction of Salisbury cathedral²⁸⁴, the monasteries of Sulby²⁸⁵ and Fineshade²⁸⁶, and the parish churches of Ketton²⁸⁷, Abington²⁸⁸ and All Saints, Northampton.²⁸⁹

The indulgences were issued in the form of letters patent and diplomatically, they follow a fairly stereotyped pattern. The general address, 'intitulatio' and the salutation do not call for special comment as they are identical with those found in other categories of episcopal documents and have already been treated in this chapter. There is no notificatio; nor is the document attested, but the normal dating clause is still employed. In the solitary original charter the valediction is found and it is possible that it was omitted by the copyist in the transcripts on the charter roll. The pious harangue was clearly not obligatory, and as an alternative the salutation is often followed immediately by the 'dispositio', which is introduced by a clause such as "De misericordia Dei

279. actum no. 218.

280. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 228 (247).

281. ibid., vol. II, p. 220 (214).

282. ibid., vol. II, p. 189 (106).

283. actum no. 225.

284. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 207-8 (184).

285. ibid., vol. II, p. 228 (251) & p. 243 (295).

286. ibid., vol. II, p. 219 (221).

287. ibid., vol. II, p. 259 (330).

288. ibid., vol. II, pp. 253-4 (318).

289. ibid., vol. II, p. 254 (a note only).

omnipotentis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti et meritis beate Virginis et omnium sanctorum confidentes". Indulgences were all of limited duration and the exact period was usually specified in the final clauses of the charter ("concedentes hanc relaxationis nostre gratiam per triennium duraturum"). Whereas the majority of such grants remained effective for the space of one to three years, the validity of others was restricted to a particular festival or solemn occasion. The indulgence for Luffield priory issued in June 1226²⁸¹ was valid for almsgivers who visited the monastery on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and in a grant made in the following month, the remission of thirteen days penance was extended only to those visiting York Minster²⁷⁹ on the day of the commemoration of St. William, archbishop of York or within eight days of that anniversary. The numbers of days of penance commuted by these works of charity varied considerably and was not apparently governed by any predetermined rules. Penitents subscribing towards the cost of repairing a bridge evidently merited the commutation of seven to thirteen days of penance ; similarly, contributions to needy hospitals entitled the subscriber to remission of ~~ten~~ seven to ten days ; those to religious houses from ten to twenty days and with indulgences for cathedrals and parish churches the period of relaxation was from thirteen to twenty days. In contrast to his episcopal colleagues, bishop Hugh seems to have been very sparing as regards the period of penance commuted. The Hereford indulgence²⁸³ of ten days enjoined penance was issued simultaneously with indulgences of thirteen days granted by the archbishop of Canterbury²³⁷ and the bishops of Bath²³⁶, London²²⁴ and Carlisle²²³. Moreover, archbishop Langton's indulgences of thirty days for Salisbury cathedral²⁹⁰ and twenty days for York Minster²⁹¹ compare very favourably with Hugh's twenty days and thirteen days

290. Acta Stephani Langton, no. 50, pp. 65-6.

291. B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius B III, f. 53d; York Dean & Chapter, Magnum Registrum Album, part III, f. 60d.

respectively. Sometimes the indulgence would contain a clause to the effect that other diocesan bishops could issue indulgences for the same purposes if they so desired ; in the 1226 indulgence for Luffield priory, it is interesting to note that Hugh stipulated that the remission of penance granted by his episcopal colleagues should not exceed ten days, the period allowed in his own charter.

It is evident that it was not the bishop's intention to allow these indulgences to be hawked about the diocese in an attempt to obtain the full benefit of the grant in terms of contributions ; they were only valid at the monastery or in the parish or at the bridge with which they were directly concerned and in several of the charters a prohibitive clause forbids the employment of collectors to perambulate the diocese with these episcopal letters of indulgence. Only accredited collectors were allowed to visit the archdeaconries and in this respect the Salisbury indulgence of 1224²⁸⁴ is strictly-speaking a "littera questuaria". It is addressed to the archdeacon and the clergy of the Northampton archdeaconry and informs them that the bishop, with the assent of the dean and chapter, had permitted the bishop and chapter of Salisbury to send collectors into the archdeaconry to procure contributions for the fabric of the new cathedral. The clergy were to facilitate the collection of alms and in addition, bishop Hugh announced an indulgence of twenty days to all who should contribute. It is clearly different in form from the ordinary indulgence and besides the more specific address, contains a notification.

Judgements and Settlements of Disputes.

It is naturally impossible to assess the extent of bishop Hugh's activities as an ecclesiastical arbiter from an examination of the paltry number of judicial records which have survived for his entire pontificate. The thirteen extant documents²⁹² which fall into this specific category serve only to

292. acta nos: 44, 113, 129, 135, 145, 161, 168, 174, 209, 286, 358, 365, 388.

illustrate the types of dispute the bishop was called upon to settle. Dissension arose over the possession of tithes, pensior chapels, rights of collation and the status of churches. In none of these cases is the bishop found as a papal judge delegate but in two awards²⁹³ concerning the rights of the bishop of Salisbury, Hugh is joined by his brother, Jocelin bishop of Bath and Glastonbury as joint-arbiter; in 1223 Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Huntingdon is found acting with the bishop as "coordinator" in a dispute between the rectors of Althorpe and Bottesford over the tithes of Burringham²⁹⁴. On all other occasions he acted alone; in one award relating to the rector of Tingwick and the abbey of Mont-Sainte-Catherine, Rouen²⁹⁵, judgment was stated to have been delivered by the bishop "ordinaria auctoritate".

Despite the paucity of comparative material, these awards and judgments do at least seem to admit of a conscious similarity as far as the diplomatic form of the charters is concerned. The composition of the documents followed a regular pattern. After the normal introductory formulae - general address, "intitulatio" and salutation - the text begins with an account of the subject of discord and the names of the disputants. This is usually preceded by the notification but the latter is not obligatory. On the vast majority of occasions, this statement is introduced by "cum inter.....questio verteretur" or "cum controversia mota esset....." and sometimes is fairly detailed about the reasons for the dispute. The appropriate section in a composition made in 1221 between the archdeacon of Huntingdon and Walter son of Robert about a private chapel at Harthey is typical of the information contained in this initial summary of the cause of the conflict - "cum inter dilectum filium Robertum archidiaconum Huntingdon canonicum prebende de Bramton' ex una parte et Walterum filium Roberti militem ex altera super quadam capella quam idem miles sibi uoluit construere in loco qui dicitur Herthey quem quidam

293. acta nos: 135 & 174.

294. actum no. 161.

295. Liber Antiquus, p. 104(113).

locum idem archidiaconus ad suam prebendam de Bramton' iure parochiali asseruit pertinere questio verteretur"²⁹⁶ If the case had previously come before papal judges delegate, it is invariably noted in the text²⁹⁷. A subsequent clause records the voluntary submission of the parties involved to the bishop's arbitration "appellacione et contradiccione cessantibus"²⁹⁸. This was generally said to have been made "sponte, simpliciter et absolute" and the disputants had to agree, occasionally on oath,²⁹⁹ to abide by whatever decision was reached by the bishop. In a particular case where one of the parties was the Norman abbey of Lessay, that monastery was represented by an accredited proctor, Anketil prior of Boxgrove³⁰⁰. It is interesting to note that before this abbey could submit to the ordination of bishop Hugh, permission to do so was required from their own diocesan, Hugh de Morville, bishop of Coutances (1208-1238)³⁰¹.

Before proceeding to the details of the judgment or settlement, it was apparently customary to make mention in the vaguest of terms of the procedural methods employed before reaching a decision - "habita diligenti deliberatione et tractatu, communicato quoque prudentum virorum consilio, volentes quieti partium prospicere et materiam contentionis et iurgiorum amputare"²⁹⁹ or the slightly more specific "diligentem prius inquisitionem facientes per testes ab utraque parte productos iuratos et examinatos diligenter"³⁰². The actual ordination was introduced by a clause similar to, or identical with, the following: "solum deum habentes pre oculis de consensu partium ita duximus ordinandum"³⁰². In the Harthey chapel dispute which concerned the rights of a prebend of Lincoln cathedral, and in certain awards which were made in the chapter of Lincoln, the

²⁹⁶. actum no. 145.

²⁹⁷. acta nos. 44, 161, 358.

²⁹⁸. actum no. 145. Submission clauses are also found in acta nos. 44, 129, 135, 161, 174, 358, 388.

²⁹⁹. actum no. 135.

³⁰⁰. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 369, pp. 66-8 (365).

³⁰¹. Bishop Hugh's award was ratified by the bishop of Coutances and the abbot of Lessay in a joint inspeximus, ibid.

³⁰². actum no. 161.

dean's assent to the episcopal judgment was also noted²⁹⁶. In the Tingwick case the matter was amicably settled by the bishop before a definitive judgment had been delivered.²⁹⁵

In documents of a judicial nature, it was absolutely vital that there should be precision in terminology and no trace of ambiguity, especially in cases where possessions and property were involved. Accordingly the details of the bishop's judgments were as a general rule extremely lengthy and the terms were well-defined. In the Burringham tithe composition of 1223³⁰², twenty-six separate parcels of land and tofts are described, and the appropriate tithes belonging to the Salisbury prebends of Brixworth and Shipton-under-Wychwood are likewise meticulously enumerated in the bishop's award²⁹⁹. The occasions on which pensions are to be paid are also carefully regulated. In case any section of the settlement was obscure or liable to misinterpretation or likely to require emendation for any other reason, a clause of reservation was on occasion incorporated in the text after the details of the decision. In the twelve examples for Hugh's pontificate, it only occurs in the two charters issued jointly with bishop Jocelin concerning the church of Compton Bassett and the two prebends of Salisbury cathedral and therefore need not necessarily reflect the chancery practice of Lincoln. The Compton Bassett document contains a brief clause to the effect that "siquid vero in hac ordinatione nostra obscurum fuerit vel minus plene declaratum, illud de consensu partium nobis reservamus declarandum"³⁰³ but in the other Salisbury charter, the language of the reservatory passage is more profuse; "Et si forte aliqua per fraudem vel per negligentiam omissa, vel per nimiam occupationem seu subreptionem fuerint pretermissa, quominus suprascripta assignatio equaliter facta sit prout debet vel fortasse erratum in aliquo, nobis correctionem reservamus"²⁹⁹.

Before issuing the award, the bishop required that the parties approve his decision and it was essential to note this in the written record, in order to prevent further disputes arising on the same grounds - "hanc autem ordinationem nostram

³⁰³. actum no. 174.

partibus recitavimus et ipsa ab eis gratanter acceptata"³⁰³, sometimes the clause which recorded the disputants' approval of the settlement was combined with a clause confirming the award or with the clause of corroboration - in the Burringham ordination³⁰² "nos igitur hanc ordinationem a nobis et deo archidiacono factam et a partibus approbatam, auctoritate episcopali de consensu Willelmi decani et capituli nostri Linc' confirmamus" and in the settlement of the tithe dispute between the nuns of Rowney and the rector of Great Munden "ut autem hec ordinatio nostra a supradictis partibus admissa est et accepta, perpetuam optineat firmitatem, presenti scripto sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum"³⁰⁴.

In an effort to secure the permanent observance of the episcopal judgment or composition, it was usual for the written record to be authenticated by the seals of all those who had an interest in the subject of the dispute and this desire for added security was naturally apparent in the corroboration clause; for instance, "Et in huius rei testimonium, presenti scripto sigillum nostrum et sigillum predicti capituli nostri una cum sigillo prefati Roberti M^o archidiaconi Huntingdon' coordinatoris nostri et sigillis omnium predictorum partium duximus apponenda"³⁰². Seven of the bishop's settlements were attested and dated³⁰⁵, and contrary to the generally accepted theory, the dating clause of all of these documents was introduced by "dat'" as opposed to "act' ". The final valediction is found once³⁰³. Two of the surviving charters are known to have been issued in the form of a cyrograph - the Burringham award and the Harthey chapel dispute - but in neither document is the specific form of charter announced. In the Salisbury prebends dispute, provision was made for the distribution of the documents: "Et ad perpetuam huius nostre ordinationis firmitatem, tria sub eodem tenore confecta sunt instrumenta, quorum unum remanebit dictum episcopum et successores suos, alterum penes capitulum Sar' et tertium penes dictum A. militem et heredes suos sigillis nostris et predicti

304. actum no. 358.

305. acta nos. 113, 129, 145, 161, 209, 358.

domini Sar' et capitulorum Linc' (et) Sar' et sepedicti A. munita"²⁹⁹ Another point of interest in this award is the clause which notes that one party in the case, Adam of Brimpton, had handed over his relevant records to the bishop - "omnes vero cartas et instrumenta que habet et habuit dictus H.(sic) miles et predecessores sui super dictis decimis cum pertinentiis resignavit in manus dicti episcopi".

In another document the bishop himself was involved and it cannot really be classed as a judgment. In 1221 the prior of St. Fromond³⁰⁶ claimed that the churches of Bonby and Saxby had both been appropriated to his monastery and that the previous incumbent had merely been the farmer of the churches. The priory produced witnesses and documents in support of their case but eventually they submitted to the bishop's ordination. The resultant appropriation of Bonby church and the grant of a pension from Saxby was made by the bishop "negocii circumstantiis et domus paupertate pensatis".

Letters of Institution and Collation.

Professor Major had dealt more than adequately with the development of the letter of institution from a record of emfeoffment in the twelfth century to a personal letter directed to the presentee in the middle of the thirteenth³⁰⁷ and it will not be necessary to cover this ground again. The embarrassing profusion of letters of institution to be found in this particular collection of acts at least enables a thorough examination of this type of document to be undertaken. The sheer bulk of this material is for the most part a direct consequence of the survival of the Northampton charter roll of bishop Hugh. This roll is in fact principally composed of transcripts of such letters, although it must be added that it is by no means as complete or comprehensive a record of institutions to benefices as the episcopal rolls of institutions. An investigation which was carried out to determine the

306. actum no.129.

307. Acta Stephani Langton, pp. xxxv-xxxvii.

proportion of enregistered charters of institution in relation to the summarized entries of the institution rolls found that on average between forty-five and fifty-five per cent. of the incumbents instituted in any one year procured registration of their letters patent;

Archdeaconry of Northampton.

Pontifical year	+ No. of entries inst. roll.	+ entries charter roll	+ Pont. year.	+ inst. roll.	+ charter roll.
1219-1220	16	8	1227-1228	13	7
1220-1221	22	9	1228-1229	17	9
1221-1222	-	-	1229-1230	17	12
1222-1223	8	5	1230-1231	15	6
1223-1224	22	11	1231-1232	22	12
1224-1225	23	11	1232-1233	16	9
1225-1226	22	10	1233-1234	14	5
1226-1227	19	10	1234-1235	3	-

It is not absolutely certain whether it was the new incumbent of the benefice or the patron who thought it beneficial to obtain registration of those letters of institution. Monastic cartularies offer ample proof that some patrons at least did acquire such documentary evidence of the act of institution but it is also apparent from the charter roll that several documents were enrolled at the instance of the rector or vicar. A few letters are transcribed more than once on the Northampton roll (sometimes with different dates) and this can only mean that both the patron and the incumbent had procured letters of institution. In the record of Richard of Wendover's institution to the church of Yardley Hastings, it is specifically stated that this was the case - "Hec prescripta carta duplicata est ; una residet penes patronos, alia vero penes magistrum R. de Wendour' rectorem ecclesie de Iardels supradicte"³⁰⁸ and in 1224-1225, three copies of a letter of institution for Brockhall

308. Rotuli Hugonis de Walle, vol. II, p. 249.

vicarage were enrolled and from the marginal headings it is clearly revealed that one was intended for the vicar of the ~~same~~ church, one for the parson who had presented the vicar with the assent of the patrons, and one for the patrons.³⁰⁹

In bishop Wells's time, the letters patent of institution were still being issued in the form of charters with a general address but even at this stage there are, from the point of view of diplomatic, two distinct types of document. From the original charters, it is possible to state that the significant differences between the two types occur in the physical format of the letters, the method of attaching the seal and the attestation of the documents. Whereas one form is both attested and dated and is invariably issued with the episcopal seal appended "sur double queue", charters of the other category are of much smaller dimensions and are sealed "sur simple queue". With this latter type there are no witnesses but the documents still bear a date and occasionally a valediction.

It is as yet impossible to account for the concurrent use of both these forms by the episcopal clerks at Lincoln. The majority of extant letters of institution (including the many transcripts) contain a list of witnesses and it may be presumed with reasonable justification that their physical appearance would have corresponded with the first type of document under consideration if they had all chanced to survive in the original. Charters which incorporate a dating clause but are not witnessed are distinctly few - only six having come to light at all and only two of these are originals³¹⁰ and the consequent paucity of sources makes it a little difficult to perceive any common features in these documents which might yield an explanation of their physical appearance. In this category are records of institution, collation and collative institution.³¹¹ Of two original charters which testify to the

309. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 207-8 (180, 181, 191).

310. acta nos. 185, 380.

311. By "collative institution", I mean the subsequent grant of letters of institution to an incumbent, who had been presented by the true patrons, the church having earlier been collated to him "per lapsam". See below.

collation of the church of Claybrooke to master Laurence of Warwick, one of them dated 24 October 1224 is unattested³¹²; the other issued on 7 December of the same year includes a list of witnesses³¹³. The kaks institution of Luke of Arthingworth to Scaldwell church produced two similarly distinctive letters of institution³¹⁴. In 1234 the church of Appleby had been collated to Thomas Dandely "pendente lite"³¹⁵. When the prior of Lytham recovered his right of presentation, he presented Thomas to the same benefice and the subsequent letter of institution is dated but not witnessed³¹⁶. Identical with this is a charter issued on the same day as the Appleby document recording the institution of master Alard of Arundel to Althorpe church³¹⁷. It is far from convincing to ascribe these apparent differences in the format of the documents merely to the eccentricities of a particular episcopal scribe. Yet, if there is a common feature linking all these unattested letters, then it is a most elusive attribute and it certainly does not appear to have been connected with the type of document (institution or collation), the date or place of issue, the intended recipients of the letters (incumbents or patrons) or whether the patron was a religious house or not. In more than one example, it is known that the recipients of the charters were indeed monastic patrons. At the same time it will be recalled that a good many of the cartulary transcripts of such documents contained lists of witnesses. As yet, it is clear that the few surviving specimens of unattested letters of institution do not furnish sufficient evidence for a successful examination to be undertaken.

It must nevertheless be emphasized that in all other respects these two versions of the letters patent bear marked resemblances. Both types contain similar introductory clauses

312. actum no.185.

313. actum no.186.

314. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.206(178-9).

315. ibid., vol.II, pp.322-3.

316. actum no.380.

317. actum no.381.

and a notification which is almost invariably "noverit universitas vestra"³¹⁸. The text of the letter proceeds to record that on the presentation ("ad presentationem") of the patron of the benefice, the bishop had admitted a certain clerk (always introduced by "dilectum in Christo filium") to the church and had canonically instituted him as parson of the same ("ad eandem ecclesiam admisisse ipsumque in ea canonice personam instituisse"). Admission refers purely to the individual presentee, while institution is his investiture in the office. The presentee is admitted to a position in which he is capable of exercising spiritual functions and then is instituted as rector or vicar and empowered to exercise these functions in that capacity. The one is simply complementary to the other, institution forming the fulfilment of admission. In the case of an institution to a perpetual vicarage, it is stipulated that the new incumbent is to minister personally in the church ("cum onere in officio sacerdotali ministrandi personaliter in eadem") and provisions are made for the payment of pensions (on occasion with the rider "si quam probaverint ad se pertinere") to the appropriating monastery or to the rector. Sometimes the detailed ordination of the endowments of the perpetual vicarage is included in the letter of institution. In all the charters without exception, the clause of corroboration is preceded by a clause of reservation, saving all episcopal customs and the dignity of the church of Lincoln. It is of interest to note that when an alien is instituted to a benefice by proxy, this fact is never recorded in the letter of institution by the clerks of bishop Hugh³¹⁹. In the acts of Robert Grosseteste however the fact that a presentee was represented by a proctor is invariably noted in the letter of institution³²⁰.

The letter of institution of a prioress of St. Michael,

³¹⁸. Exceptions are few, e.g. "noveritis" - actum no. 2 (1213).

³¹⁹. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 203-4 (171), cf. ibid., vol. II, p. 117.

³²⁰. cf. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 56.

Stamford, was specifically addressed to the convent and bore the salutation "salutem, gratiam et benedictionem"³²¹ After the brief notification "sciatis" the text recorded the canonical election of the new prioress and the bishop, with the consent of the patrons Peterborough abbey, then admitted and instituted her ("ad prioratus admisisse et ipsam in dicto monasterio vestro priorissam canonice instituissse, curam interiorum et exteriorum eidem committentes"). The convent was enjoined to show obedience to the new prioress and the letter concluded with the valediction. It was unattested and undated.

Collation is the conferment of a benefice in the bishop's patronage, where presentation and institution are combined in one act. The term also relates to the episcopal obligation of providing incumbents for those churches where the lawful patrons had failed to exercise their rights of presentation within the specified six months period. The default of the patron was generally caused by litigation over the advowson in the king's court or ~~by~~ ^{by} the fact that he was excommunicate, both of which effectively barred his presentation; on some occasions, however, collation took place merely "propter negligentiam"³²² of the patron. The bishop was normally ready to exercise his rights at the end of the specified time and in the vacancy of Somerton church bishop Hugh collated a day before the six month period had expired³²³. In instances of collation by default it became customary to obtain letters of presentation from the true patrons³²⁴, especially in those cases where the right of presentation had been the subject of litigation and when the clerk had been collated "pendente lite" (notwithstanding the disputants' ability to procure a prohibition in the form of the royal writ "ne admittas"). The effect of this practice for diplomatic studies was that a letter of collation was sometimes followed shortly afterwards by an ordinary letter of institution

321. actum no.116.

322. Rotuli Hugonis de Wellez, vol.II, p.78.

323. ibid., vol.II, p.35.

324. cf. ibid., vol.I, p.124 - a distinction made between those incumbents who had been collated by the bishop and had later obtained letters of presentation from the true patrons and those who had not.

in which the incumbent was stated to have been presented by the lawful patron. Simon of Missenden, collated by the bishop, was later instituted to the church of Desborough on the presentation of William Burdon, the patron³²⁵. It was noted that Simon was the clerk "cui ipsam ecclesiam prius auctoritate Concilii contuleramus". The church of Sibbertoft was collated to William Blund of Leicester - his letter of collation still survives in transcript³²⁶ - but at a later date the abbey of Sulby presented him to the same benefice³²⁷. In 1231 the advowson of Appleby was disputed between the prior of Lytham and William son of William³²⁸. The church was collated to Thomas Dandely but a subsequent letter of institution mentions that Thomas was presented by the prior of Lytham, the successful party in the case³²⁹.

The normal letters of collation resemble letters of institution in appearance and arrangement with only a few emendations in the language and terminology employed in the text. Collations "per lapsum temporis" are said to be "auctoritate Concilii", a reference to the seventeenth canon of the Third Lateran Council of 1179 and in place of admission and institution, the church is conferred on the clerk and he is instituted as parson ("contulisse ipsumque in eadem canonice personam instituisse"). An additional clause reserves the right of patronage in future ("salvo in posterum jure uniuscuiusque qui jus patronatus evicerit in eadem"). In one instance the bishop collated to a benefice with the approval of the successful party in an assize of darrein presentment after the suit had been terminated³³⁰. The church of Claybrooke was collated to master Laurence of Warwick "salvo dilectis in Christomonalibus de Eton eiusdem ecclesie patronis cum ipsam vacare contigerit jure suo presentandi ad eandem"³³¹. In the institution roll for the Leicester archdeaconry it records that the collation was made with the consent of the prioress and convent of Nuneaton who had recovered their right of presentation³³². A

325. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 220-221 (232).
 326. Ibid., vol. II, p. 193 (137).
 327. Ibid., vol. II, p. 104. 330. acta nos. 185-6.
 328. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 322-3, 324. 331. actum no. 186.
 329. actum no. 380.

letter of collation for a church in the bishop's gift usually contained the formula "que de nostra est advocacione" or "ad donationem nostram pertinentem"³³³.

Two other letters of institution that require a mention are in the form of "double records", that is to say, in one charter the institution of two successive incumbents of the same benefice is recorded and in the other, the institution of two clerks to separate churches. In 1217 the churches of Howell and Claypole had been collated to William of Benniworth and Richard of Oxford respectively, since the patron, Gerard of Howell, being excommunicate, could not exercise his right of presentation.³³⁴ Shortly afterwards Gerard was absolved and a charter³³⁵ contains the record of the institutions of both William and Richard to their particular churches on the presentation of the rightful patron. The document has no witnesses nor is it dated. It concludes with a valediction. The other charter is a certificate of the institution of master William of Wakerley to the church of Wing on the presentation of St. Neot's priory and of the institution of William of Bath to the same church on the same presentation, master William previously having died.³³⁶ As in the foregoing document there is no date and it is unattested. The valediction is preceded by a corroboration clause unusual in bishop Hugh's acts "In huius rei testimonium presentes litteras nostras patentes fecimus".

The letter of institution was merely documentary verification that the act of institution had been performed. It served only an evidentiary purpose and did not constitute an essential part of the act. As with private grants of land and property at this time, the ceremony of institution itself was legally completed by the symbolic investiture of the presentee into possession of the benefice and cure of souls. This transfer of possession could be symbolised by the handing over

³³². Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 293.

³³³. e.g. ibid., vol. II, p. 185(103).

³³⁴. ibid., vol. I, pp. 69-70.

³³⁵. actum no. 72.

³³⁶. actum no. 45.

by the bishop of a ring ("per anulum") or a cord ("per cordam") or a cap ("per pilleum") or a book ("per librum") or, as is now customary, a letter of institution. The details of the institution ceremony performed at Lincoln at the present time have been described by Canon Foster:

"During the act the bishop holds the letters testimonial of institution and reads them, while the presentee kneeling before him, holds the seal of the document between his hands. The bishop then delivers the letters to the presentee who has now become rector or vicar with the words 'Receive this cure of souls which is both mine and thine'."

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In the thirteenth century this method of investiture was clearly only one of the means of transferring possession. The first reference that I have been able to find in the Lincoln records to an incumbent being invested "per quamdam cedulam quam tenuit in manu sua"³³⁸ dates from 1281 and this is presumably the forerunner of the modern ceremony. In Hugh of Wells's day, heads of religious houses were instituted "suscipiendo per librum de manu domini episcopi curam et administrationem tam interiorum quam exteriorum dicti prioratus"³³⁹ and a resignation of an incumbent was made in 1228 "in camera domini episcopi apud Dunestaple' per pilleum"³⁴⁰ but there is no firm indication of the method by which presentees to parochial benefices were symbolically empowered to exercise the functions of a rector or vicar.

Letters of institution have generally come to be regarded solely as a source of information about the preferment of particular ecclesiastics and only of interest in themselves to a few dedicated students of diplomatic, and those engaged in

337. Associated Architectural & Archaeological Societies: Reports & Papers, vol. XLI (1933), p. 163.

338. R. M. T. HILL: The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1299, vol. II (L. R. S. XLIII, 1950), p. 7.

339. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 107. For other institutions of monastic heads "per librum", see ibid., vol. II, pp. 110, 145, 158, 290, 300, 316, 324, 325; vol. III, pp. 54, 121, 133, 142, 150bis, 151, 184.

340. ibid., vol. II, p. 143.

studying the minutiae of diocesan administration. Undoubtedly, as a direct result of this preponderant attitude, no collective study of these documents has ever been contemplated and it has been tacitly assumed (at least no one has attempted to assert otherwise) that from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the issue of these letters was automatic on the institution of the new incumbent. On the face of it, contemporary evidence would appear to support this assumption - the curia regis rolls abound in references to such charters being produced in the course of advowson disputes, and the ninth canon of the Council of Oxford of 1222 stipulated that nothing should be exacted from the incumbent for his institution his induction, or for his letter of institution. Nevertheless a preliminary investigation into certain aspects of thirteenth century administrative practice at Lincoln has led me to question the veracity of the previous supposition.

The institution rolls of Bishop Wells contain a record of the vast majority of institutions performed during his episcopate but the novelty of these rolls lies in the fact that they contain entries not in the form of transcripts of charters issued to the new incumbents but in the form of precise and comprehensive summaries of all matters pertaining to the act of institution. The charter rolls on the other hand were principally composed of letters of institution transcribed in extenso which were clearly intended to serve as added security for the recipients of the documents. The institution rolls had a more administrative purpose, namely to furnish adequate and readily accessible information about institutions to benefices in the diocese. It is thus rather curious that a bishop who was conversant with royal registrational practices which involved the transcription of out-going charters should not have adopted this method for his own administrative requirements rather than introducing an innovatory format for the most important category of his enrolments. Could it have been that this particular method of registration had to be devised since not all the incumbents obtained letters of institution as a matter of course? If this was so, then obviously institutions could not be recorded with anything

approaching completeness by merely adhering to a system based upon the transcription of out-going charters.

The survival of the results of an investigation made during the pontificate of bishop Robert Grosseteste about institutions performed by the archdeacons of the diocese 'sede vacante'³⁴¹ does nothing to allay our suspicions relative to the supposed granting of letters patent of institution to all incumbents. The entries for the most part are relatively stereotyped and record that such-and-such an incumbent said that he had been instituted to a particular benefice by the archdeacon during an episcopal vacancy and that this statement could be verified by certain clergy of the vicinity who were no doubt familiar with the circumstances of the institution (for example, "et possunt probari per rectorem ecclesie de Stenigod et magistrum Laurentium et vicarium de Kelchewel et per Rogerum cappellanum dictum prophetam"³⁴²) However, in the Stapleford entry, it is noted that the rector of the church was instituted by the archdeacon of Huntingdon and that he possessed a letter of institution³⁴³. There is no mention of this rector having to support his account with the testimony of other clerics and it is strange that if the other incumbents possessed such documents - (the archdeacons are known to have issued such letters 'sede vacante') - why they were not produced at the time of the enquiry. They evidently constituted sufficient proof in themselves without having to resort to the verbal corroboration of neighbouring clergy. Surely they could not all have been mislaid!

It will be remembered that the letters of institution enrolled upon the Northampton charter roll corresponded on average to half of the total number of institutions performed each year in that archdeaconry by the bishop. Presumably, fifty per cent. of the beneficed clergy of Northamptonshire and Rutland were doubtful whether the summarized account recorded

341. Associated Architectural & Archaeological Societies' Reports & Papers, vol. XXXIX (1929), pp. 183-7.

342. Ibid., p. 185.

343. Ibid., p. 187.

in the institution roll afforded a sufficiently strong measure of protection - (it takes a long time for an administrative innovation to be accepted) - and were willing to pay for the additional registration of their respective letters of institution. It can be convincingly argued that all the remaining incumbents had received letters of institution as well but had not gone to the expense of having them enrolled. Exponents of such a theory have obviously not taken into account the glaring discrepancies between the dates of the actual ceremony of institution and the dates of the letters patent of institution recorded on the charter rolls - differences which were in many cases so great as to preclude the possibility of the written record having been issued automatically at the time the act of institution was performed. The following analysis of the Northampton charter roll and other surviving letters of institution will emphasize my point. It cannot be argued that all the delayed letters were intended only for patrons :

Actum	+ Benefice	+ Inst.roll entry date (pont.year).	+ Letter of inst. date.
103	Kilsby	1217-1218.	1219-1220.
105	Easton Mauduit	1218-1219.	17 January 1220.
119	Everdon	1218-1219.	3 August 1220.
120	Whitfield	1218-1219.	5 September 1220.
123	St.Peter Northampton	1217-1218.	20 October 1220.
127	Thrapston	1218-1219.	26 December 1220.
136	Maxey	1217-1218.	5 August 1221.
139	Pickworth	1218-1219.	12 August 1221.
141	Ashley	1218-1219.	27 September 1221.
158	St.Peter Northampton	1220-1221.	23 January 1223.
159	Stanford-on-Avon	1219-1220.	1 March 1223.
160	Checkenden	1221-1222.	12 March 1223.
164	Overstone	1221-1222.	22 May 1223.
173	Kislingbury	18 Nov.1223.	4 January 1224.
175	Litchborough	1222-1223.	1 July 1224.
189	Hannington	1223-1224.	1224-1225.
193	Harpole	1223-1224.	1224-1225.
194	Edith Weston	1223-1224.	27 March 1225

213	Woodford Halse	1223-1224.	7 June 1226.
215	Boddington	1224-1225.	1225-1226.
217	Earl's Barton.	1222-1223.	22 June 1226.
232	Deaborough	1224-1225.	23 February 1227.
234	Stanwick	1224-1225.	2 April 1227.
235	Broughton	1219-1220.	12 May 1227.
236	Cranford	1217-1218.	12 May 1227.
244	Holecott	1225-1226.	1227-1228.
245	Hanging Houghton	1226-1227.	4 January 1228.
246	Woodford	1225-1226.	4 January 1228.
248	Harleston	1226-1227.	1227-1228.
250	Warkton	1226-1227.	1227-1228.
252	Little Bowden	1223-1224.	5 October 1228.
253	Great Creaton	1225-1226.	1227-1228.
260	St. John Baptist, Peterborough.	1224-1225.	1228-1229.
263	Cottesmore.	1227-1228.	16 August 1229.
265	Stuchbury	1227-1228.	25 August 1229.
266	Brackley	1227-1228.	31 August 1229.
271	Clipston	1228-1229.	7 June 1230.
275	Islip	1228-1229.	5 September 1230.
276	Collyweston	1228-1229.	5 September 1230.
277	St. Giles, Northampton	1228-1229.	5 September 1230.
281.	North Aston	1226-1227.	1 December 1230.
284	Winwick	1229-1230.	1230-1231.
287	Clapton	1229-1230.	1230-1231.
288	Hargrave	1228-1229.	29 March 1231.
289	Lyndon	1229-1230.	1 April 1231.
290	Church Brampton	1229-1230.	13 April 1231.
292	Wadenhoe	1225-1226.	21 May 1231.
293	Bradden	1229-1230.	29 May 1231.
294	Whiston	1229-1230.	19 June 1231.
296	All SS. Northampton	1228-1229.	1 August 1231.
303	Lilford	1228-1229.	14 October 1231.
304	Charwelton	1229-1230.	14 October 1231.
314	Thornby	1227-1228.	1231-1232.
315	Rushden	1229-1230.	1231-1232.
319	Great Harrowden	1225-1226.	6 February 1232.
320	Weekley	1227-1228.	25 February 1232

321	Woodon Pinkney	1229-1230.	25 February 1232.
328	Duston	1226-1227.	4 July 1232.
331	Quinton	1230-1231.	31 July 1232.
338	Roads	1231-1232.	1232-1233.
339	Pattishall	1225-1226.	1232-1233.
342	Wyke Hamon	1231-1232.	7 March 1233.
344	Braybrooke	1231-1232.	2 April 1233.
345	Nettleham	1223-1224.	April 1233.
346	Edith Weston	1231-1232.	16 April 1233.
348	Ashby Folville	1231-1232.	16 April 1233.
349	Helpston	1230-1231.	16 April 1233.
350	Gumley	1228-1229.	16 April 1233.
352	Ashby St.Ledgers	1226-1227.	16 April 1233.
356	Durley on the Hill	1231-1232.	1232-1233.
359	Wellingborough	1231-1232.	July/August 1233.
364	Thistleton	1225-1226.	1233-1234.
366	South Luffenham	1232-1233.	28 January 1234.
368	Walgrave	1231-1232.	21 March 1234.
369	East Farndon	1229-1230.	21 March 1234.
370	Hardingstone	1232-1233.	21 March 1234.
375	Oxendon	1230-1231.	5 June 1234.
378	Stanwick	1232-1233.	2 October 1234.
382	Great Harrowden	1233-1234.	1234-1235.
384	Holy Trinity, Northampton	10 Dec. 1234.	25 January 1235.
385	Gayton	1233-1234.	25 January 1235.
386	Paston	1233-1234.	25 January 1235.

The dates of these enrolled charters clearly relate to the issue of the evidentiary document and not to the performance of the act of institution. It was previously noted that several of these letters were specifically intended for the beneficed clergy concerned and it may be presumed with some justification that a good many others were in fact registered as a means of safeguarding the incumbent's title rather than that of the patron. Bearing this in mind, it is necessary to pose the following question, namely, if the issue of letters patent was, as is alleged, automatic upon the institution of the presentee, then why were these letters not enrolled at

the time of the ceremony or shortly afterwards, if it was the new incumbent's definite intention to procure their registration by the episcopal clerks? In other words, how can this aforementioned theory be equated with the fact that a fair proportion of the enregistered transcripts bear a date which does not correspond at all with the date of the actual institution? Certainly the composition and the arrangement of the charter roll lends credence to the notion that the incumbent did not necessarily always receive such a charter as a matter of course. I have no doubt that many letters patent were obtained at the time of institution and that some were registered and others were not. At the same time, many of the enrolled entries suggest that a letter was not obtained at first but the need for adequate security occasioned the acquisition of such documents, and their subsequent registration at a later date (perhaps as the practice of obtaining such letters became more widespread). In these latter circumstances, it is hardly conceivable that the bishop's clerks would deliberately draw up a new charter of institution for enrolment purposes, if the incumbent in question already possessed such letters issued at the time of his institution some years previously.

The tentative conclusion that the conferment of letters of institution was neither automatic nor universal is more than adequately substantiated by the institution rolls and registers of Hugh's successors as bishops of Lincoln up until the pontificate of John Dalderby (1300-1320). The charter roll did not survive the death of bishop Wells but the comprehensive summary was retained for the institution records and transcripts of letters of institution were recorded in ever-dwindling numbers as the century progressed on the dorse of the relevant institution roll. With the episcopates of Oliver Sutton (1280-99) and John Dalderby these letters were registered among the memoranda. From the time of bishop Gravesend (1258-1279) however, a significant addition to the normal record of the institution aids our inquiries. While retaining the phraseology of the earlier enrolments, the scribes of bishop Gravesend and his two immediate successors conclude certain entries by a note to the

effect that "habuit litteram patentem de institutione sua in communi forma"³⁴⁴. Upon examination, it was found that approximately half of the recorded entries for a given year in a particular archdeaconry contained this terminal clause or some minor variant of it. For instance, in two of bishop Sutton's rolls:-

<u>Archdeaconry</u>	<u>year</u>	<u>with letters</u>	<u>without</u>
Lincoln	1285	18	16
Northampton	1285	8	8

As a general rule, these letters were issued on the day of the institution and exceptions are always noted. If the proportion of incumbents who acquired these charters remained fairly constant, the only possible conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that about half of the beneficed clergy of the diocese did not obtain letters of institution at all. In view of the clarity of the language of the enrolments, this can hardly be disputed; no other interpretation can be placed upon the wording of this particular ~~xxx~~ clause. There would hardly be any point in carefully noting which of the presentees had received letters patent of institution, if it had no administrative significance. This practice of recording who had such letters was discontinued under bishop Henry Burghersh (1320-1340).

Grants of Appropriation and Ordinations of Vicarages.

The large number of acts relating to the ordination of perpetual vicarages in parochial churches of the diocese clearly underlines the extent of bishop Hugh's activities in this field, but it would be inappropriate at the present time to dwell upon this aspect of his diocesan administration - a topic which will in fact be treated at length in a subsequent chapter. Besides the many letters of institution which contain ordinations of vicarages, provisions for their establishment in appropriated churches are frequently, although not always, combined with the actual appropriation grant. The appropriating body was inducted as rector of the church, subject to providing a portion of the endowments with which the bishop could

³⁴⁴. L.A.O. Gravesend's rolls, Registers I & II, passim.

constitute a perpetual vicarage responsible for the spiritual ministrations of the parish. On occasion, however, simple grants of appropriation were issued without any reference to the endowment of a perpetual vicarage in the same benefice. Perhaps as a consequence of the profusion of such material, the phraseology and arrangement of these documents became relatively stereotyped, reflecting the current pattern of development in episcopal chancery methods, whereby established forms and set phrases had been evolved for specific types of diocesan business. A cursory examination of the documents reveals that there is no departure from the regular formulae of the initial protocol or for that matter, in the final clauses and as with many other grants in perpetuity, the assent of the dean and chapter to the transaction is invariably obtained, no doubt to ensure even more closely the strict observance of the charter's provisions. Only one appropriation deed - that appropriating the chapel of Croulton to Aynho hospital³⁴⁵ - bears a harangue and the scribe was ordinarily content to preface the words of donation with the expression of a few pious sentiments. "Divine pietatis intuitu" is the most frequently found phrase but in 1217 the text of Hugh's charter appropriating the benefices of Steeple Barton and Sandford to Osney abbey³⁴⁶ was introduced by slightly more elaborate reflections: "attendentem religionem et honestam conversationem dilectorum filiorum abbatis et canonicorum de Osen' divine pietatis intuitu....." Without exception, the terms and language of the appropriation were uniformly precise and succinct recording the fact that a benefice had been granted and confirmed (usually "concessisse, dedisse et hac sua carta nostra confirmasse") to a monastic foundation "in proprios usus imperpetuum habendam et tenendam". On occasion it was stipulated that the appropriation was only to take

345. actum no.15.

346. actum no.48.

effect on the death or cession of the present incumbent of the benefice and the rector's life interest was always safeguarded by the bishop. In certain types of episcopal grants relating to religious establishments, it was sometimes specified for what purpose the endowments of the church should be employed. In the case of Osney abbey and the church of Steeple Barton and the chapel of Sandford³⁴⁶, they were to be used "ad sustentationem pauperum et peregrinorum" and the church of Nuffield was appropriated to the nuns of Goring "ad se vestiendum convertendam",³⁴⁷

In those cases where the ordination of the perpetual vicarage followed the grant of appropriation, the description of the endowments was introduced by one of a small number of set clauses - "salva vicaria quam constituimus (or "ordinavimus) in eadem que consistit in....." or "consistit autem dicta vicaria in....." or "salva vicaria in eadem per nos assignata (or "ordinanda")" or "salva perpetua vicaria in qua per provisionem nostram continetur....." In two documents which concern the ordination of several vicarages and which were issued without the attendant appropriation grants - one made at the visitation of Dunstable priory in 1220³⁴⁸ ordaining perpetual vicarages in the churches of Stodham, Totterthoe, Chalgrave, Segenho and Hasborne Crawley and the other relating to Godstow abbey and the vicarages of High Wycombe, Bloxham and St.Giles, Oxford³⁴⁹ - the introductory clause reads "Sunt autem predictae vicarie ordinate in hunc modum". Sometimes the ordination was said specifically to be "auctoritate Concilii" and in the charter appropriating Whitfield church to Eynsham abbey in November 1222³⁵⁰, the provision of the vicarage was stated to have been made "iuxta constitutionem concilii prouincialis apud Oxon' sub venerabili patre domino Stephano Cant' archiepiscopo totius Anglie primate et sancte Romane ecclesie cardinale celebrati". Needless to say, the description of those church revenues assigned for the use of the

347. Liber Antiquus, p.80(39).

348. actum no.122.

349. actum no.143.

350. actum no.154

perpetual vicar are very precise and detailed but a comparative study of these vicarage endowments will have to be postponed until a later chapter. Nevertheless it may be of interest to note that the bishop took care to remind the appropriating corporation of his authority over the perpetual vicar, especially regarding admission and institution, and in several of the charters, a clause is inserted to this effect: "Debebunt autem predicti abbas et conventus de sancto Ebrulfo nobis et successoribus nostris ad eandem vicariam semper cum vacaverit, capellanum idoneum presentare per nos et successores nostros ad eorum presentacionem vicarium in ipsa ecclesia instituendum".³⁵¹

Grants of Pensions.

The fifty surviving grants of pensions³⁵² to be paid by incumbents of benefices to monastic houses or the cathedral church constitute a singularly large portion of the extant material relating to the parish churches of the diocese. The churches in question were not appropriated to the monasteries, merely under the obligation of paying a specified sum of money each year to these religious communities. Diplomatically, all of the charters in this category are remarkably similar in arrangement and language, and it is clear that the clerks had already evolved specific formulae to suit this particular type of grant. The documents carry a general address and the normal salutation and notification. More often than not, they are issued with the assent of the dean and chapter of Lincoln and the capitular seal is consequently found affixed to these charters as well as the bishop's. In those cases where the beneficiary of the grant did not hold the advowson of the church, then the consent of the patrons was also required to the transaction. A clause of reservation safeguarded the latter's right of patronage.³⁵³ In the remaining documents, it was customary to note that the grant affected a benefice in the

351. Liber Antiquus, p. 95(92).

352. acta nos: 9, 17-20, 26, 30, 32, 35, 36, 49-52, 54, 57-60, 71, 76-8, 95-8, 100, 109-110, 112, 131, 140, 155-6, 158, 163, 175, 192, 240, 258, 286, 326, 332-5, 337, 365, 376.

353. e.g. Liber Antiquus, pp. 72-3(9).

gift of the monastery.

In several instances, the grant was supposedly motivated by pious considerations, "divine pietatis intuitu" being the most common formula to precede the words of gift "concessisse, dediisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse", but on occasion a more elaborate expression of these sentiments is found. In a grant augmenting the maintenance of the choir clerks of Lincoln cathedral "ad honorem dei et gloriose virginis matris sue cuius inutiles servi sumus.....pro salute anime nostre et omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum"³⁵⁴ is used. The grant was ordinarily stated to be either "nomine perpetui beneficii" or "in purum et perpetuum beneficium", but donations to the cathedral are made "in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam". In these last-mentioned charters, the purpose to which the money is to be applied is always specified - whether it be to maintain two servants to guard the contents of the cathedral, to augment the maintenance of the choir clerks, or the common fund of the canons, or to be distributed to the canons cathedral clergy and the poor on the anniversary of the bishop's death. This practice is followed in certain of the charters directed to monastic communities. The grant of three marks from the church of Warboys to Ramsey abbey was intended "in usus elemosinarie eiusdem domus"³⁵⁵ and a similar sum was to be paid to the Gilbertine nuns of Alvingham from Grainthorpe church "ad pitanciam earundem monialium"³⁵⁶. Some charters were in force from the time of their issue but in others it was laid down that the provisions contained therein should not come into effect until after the cession or demise of the present incumbent, or in another form "cum primo vacaverit". This stipulation was especially affirmed in those instances which involved the augmentation of the existing pension. The charter increasing the pensions payable to Leicester abbey by the rectors of Narborough and Clay Coton³⁵⁷ contained a reservation that the present parsons

³⁵⁴. actum no. 109.

³⁵⁵. Liber Antiquus, p. 96(95).

³⁵⁶. actum no. 90.

³⁵⁷. Liber Antiquus, p. 84(54).

should continue to pay their previous annual pensions. The document recording the augmentation of a pension differed only slightly from the initial grant. In fact, the most significant modification was the additional note about the old pension either separately "de qua prius tantum unam marcam percipere consueverunt"³⁵⁸ or else incorporated in the new figure "computati in ipsa summa triginta solidos quod de ea prius percipere consueverunt"³⁵⁹. The periods of payment by the incumbents were specifically defined in the charters. Dependent upon the sum of money involved, the pension could be paid in one or more instalments a year - usually on feast days, Michaelmas, Easter, Whitsun, Christmas, St. Martin, All Saints and the nativity of St. John the Baptist being the most regular. The pension owing to Dunstable priory from St. Mary's church, Bedford was due "in sinodo Pasche x. solidos et in sinodo sancti Michaelis x. solidos"³⁶⁰ and it was laid down that the pensions from the churches of Hambleton and Brattleby which had been granted to the common fund of the canons of Lincoln cathedral was to be paid directly to the provost of the common.³⁶¹

Grants to the common fund of the cathedral are in fact more precise and contain obligations and terms not found in charters of the same category issued to the regular clergy. In two documents it is laid down that the incumbents of the churches involved are to take an oath before the dean and chapter at their institution, promising to pay the required pensions and provision is made in case of their failure to carry out this obligation.³⁶² "Decernentes insuper quod si aliquis eorum maliciose contra hoc unquam venire presumpserit et legitime commonitus id emendare neglexerit, ipsum tam diu ab officio et beneficio fore suspensum, donec super his satisfecerit competenter, maiori etiam pena feriendum iuxta arbitrium nostrum et successorum suorum. si nec sic, errorem suum duxerit corrigendum". Both charters also contain a similar final clause of sanction: "nos vero ad eliminandam prorsus omnem maliciam et ad perpetuam huius concessionis et constitutionis nostre firmitatem, una cum omnibus sacerdotibus ecclesie Linc'

358. Liber Antiquus, p. 77(32).

359. actum no. 334.

360. actum no. 78.

see next page.

Over and above the temporal estates and possessions of the bishopric, which of course could not be alienated, the bishop also had personal property amassed in the course of his active career - a good proportion of it no doubt granted in recompense for his services as a royal clerk - and this could be conferred as he pleased. All the grants which have come to light concern Hugh's possessions in Somerset and it is known that most of them were originally bestowed upon him by King John. In 1215 the bishop granted all his lands and rents in Wells to found the hospital of St. John the Baptist there³⁷¹ but the remaining documents of this nature are all in the form of grants to Hugh's brother, bishop Jocelin and his episcopal successors. The town of Axbridge,³⁷² the advowson of Axbridge church³⁷³ and fees of half a knight's service in Rowberrow, Draycott³⁷⁴ and Norton³⁷⁵ are all the subject of grants and in addition, the bishop of Bath and Glastonbury received a more general charter establishing that all his lands, fees and tenements should be quit of suits of Hugh's hundreds of Cheddar and Winterstoke³⁷⁶.

The diplomatic of these documents calls for little comment as they resemble in appearance and construction private charters of the same nature. The grants of knights' fees and wardship are made "in puram et perpetuam elemosinam"; the gifts to the hospital of Wells "in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam". "Sciatis" replaces "noverit universitas vestra" as the notification in the grants of the Somerset knights' fees, and in respect of the custody of the heirs of the bishop's knights, it is stipulated that the marriage of the heirs should be arranged "per consilium amicorum suorum" and that there should be no disparagement.

371. actum no. 40.

372. actum no. 243.

373. actum no. 6.

374. actum no. 5.

375. actum no. 8.

376. actum no. 7.

The Testaments of the Bishop.

It is perhaps fitting to conclude this examination of the contents of the episcopal acts with a few notes on the bishop's testaments. The practice of making a will apparently became general among ecclesiastics in the twelfth century. Hugh of Avalon's biographer remarks that during the last stages of his illness the saint was advised to make his will, a scheme in which he only reluctantly acquiesced.³⁷⁷ The description of the scene, if accurately portrayed, allows us to conclude that it was a nuncupative will - that is, the will was an oral act delivered before witnesses and did not involve the drawing up of a written record - the "testamentum". The dean and two archdeacons were merely instructed to distribute the bishop's goods to the poor. The act was legally valid in this oral form, for the document was only confirmatory evidence of the testator's verbal instructions, but with the advent of the thirteenth century, the written testament increased considerably in importance, as is clearly verified at Lincoln by Hugh of Wells's testaments of 1212 and 1233.³⁷⁸ "In many cases the chief concern was to establish the authenticity of the written testament and there are occasional hints that the execution of the document was considered to be the effective legal act."³⁷⁹

Father Sheehan has commented that most men delayed the making of their wills until they were on the point of death.³⁸⁰ This is probably true in the majority of cases - Peter of Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, made his will on the day before he died³⁸¹ - but obviously there were exceptions.

³⁷⁷. D.L. DOUIE & H. FARMER: Maena Vita Sancti Hugonis, vol. II, pp. 186-7, London 1962.

³⁷⁸. acts nos: 1 & 355.

³⁷⁹. M.M. SHEEHAN: The Will in Medieval England, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies & Texts 6 (Toronto 1963), p. 187. See this excellent and comprehensive study for information on the development of testamentary practice in England.

³⁸⁰. ibid., p. 195.

³⁸¹. C. EVELEIGH WOODRUFF: "The Will of Peter de Aqua Blanca, Bishop of Hereford (1268)" in Camden Miscellany, vol. XIV (Camden 3rd ser, vol. XXXVII, 1926), pp. 1-xi, 1-13, esp. p. v. This will was drawn up by a public notary and cannot really be compared with the Lincoln testaments.

Hugh's testaments are two cases in point. In 1233 it is possible that the bishop was in ill-health but at least he managed to survive for another twenty-one months ; in 1212 it was probably the uncertain situation rather than bodily ills which prompted Hugh to draw up his testament. By that time he had been an exile in France for three years and was no doubt cautious and unsettled about his future prospects, for it was impossible to tell when, if ever, he would be able to return to England. On 1 July 1212 a fellow-exile, bishop Mauger of Worcester had died and he was followed in December of that year by archbishop Geoffrey of York. Presumably Hugh was also aware of the possibility of an exile's death and accordingly made appropriate arrangements to safeguard his possessions and to be prepared to meet this contingency if it arose. It was usual for a bishop to obtain the king's permission to make a will ; Hugh's second testament was licensed by two charters of Henry III dated 27 May 1227³⁸² and 15 May 1229³⁸³ but considering the circumstances of its issue, it is very doubtful whether such permission was sought for the 1212 document.

A cursory examination of the diplomatic form of these two testaments reveals that they are terse and compact compositions with no literary embellishments and florid language. Both are remarkable for the simple but precise arrangement of the text. The 1212 charter has unfortunately survived only in transcript but as far as can be ascertained, it appears to be without any salient omissions. Both testaments are written in the first person singular and both begin with the chrismen and the invocation. The initial wording of the 1212 document - "condidi testamentum meum" suggests that the writing of the testament was preceded by an oral statement of the will's provisions but by the time Hugh was ready to draw up his second testament, the present tense of the verb was employed "condo testamentum meum in hunc modum". In both

382. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 370, pp. 68-9.

383. Ibid., vol. II, no. 371, pp. 69-70.

instances the present tense was used for the statement of bequests, the disposal of the residue and the appointment of executors.

In 1212 there is a veiled suggestion of the bishop's present condition when he added in explanation that his testament was "de bonis meis que michi restituenda sunt in Anglia"; later there is a reference to "coexules meos". The bishop also required that all things be restored to him, his knights and his tenants, which had been taken from them in the general interdict. The list of legacies and bequests follow the few introductory words - the invocation, the bishop's name and a statement to the effect that he was making his will. The first priority seems to have been to provide for the discharge of certain debts owed by the bishop - in 1212, the payment of two hundred and sixty-one marks to the pope in respect of Peter's pence for the Lincoln diocese and six hundred and eight marks, eight shillings and a penny to King John. In 1233, the testament contains only a general observation on the executors' duty to pay all the bishop's debts out of his moveable goods and crops but they are not on this occasion specified.

The initial problem attendant upon the distribution of the episcopal property was to decide which were the personal possessions of the prelate and which belonged to the endowments of the bishopric. The distinction must sometimes have been difficult to make. Hugh^{of Avalon} voiced his apprehension when pressed to make his will by stating: "I have never possessed, nor do I possess anything of any kind which I did not consider to belong to the church over which I have been ruling and not to myself."³⁸⁴ As Father Sheehan has pointed out, on the death of the bishop his possessions would be taken into the hands of the royal custodians of the temporalities of the see. Once security had been given for the payment of debts to the king, the bishop's personal property was handed over to the executors who then proceeded to carry out the testator's instructions

³⁸⁴. Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, vol. II, pp. 186-7.

regarding the disposal of his goods. The legacies contained in the testaments were for the most part in the form of pecuniary gifts to the king, the bishop's relatives (including his poor kinmen in Somerset), colleagues, friends, servants and ecclesiastical establishments, both regular and secular. In 1212 the combined bequests totalled just over five thousand six hundred marks. Hugh made donations to the fabric of Wells and Lincoln cathedrals, to the common fund of the canons, the vicars choral and to specific monasteries and hospitals as well as more general bequests to all the religious houses, hospitals and leper-houses situated within the Lincoln diocese. In addition, three hundred marks were bequeathed to churches in the bishop's possession to purchase books and ornaments. Other donations included settlements for the marriages of daughters of the bishop's tenants and acquaintances, grants of wardship, and the gift of a ring to each of his episcopal colleagues in the province of Canterbury. There is little mention of chattels in these testaments, presumably because the executors had to sell all the deceased's goods to raise the money for the legacies. In 1212 the executors were to dispose of the bishop's books, clothes and vestments as they thought fit. As was customary, the bishop, in his second testament, left one hundred marks to pay for his funeral expenses. For the provision of his altar in the cathedral, he bequeathed "totam wapellam meam", except for a small missal which was to be sold and the proceeds distributed to the poor in memory of Roger of Bristol, a former canon.

After the individual bequests, provision was normally made for the disposal of the residue of the bishop's goods. In 1212 it was enacted that any such residue should be distributed among the poor of the diocese, a task which was to be supervised by the executors. The second testament was more specific in its allocation of any surplus. It was to be divided between the needy religious houses and leper-hospitals of the bishopric, the masters and scholars of Oxford, converts from Judaism, the poor of the episcopal manors and all those whom the bishop had harshly treated during his lifetime. I am unsure whether the latter is a genuine attempt at restitution or merely reflects the customary language of the testament. In fact, the language of

the text is rather variable and "lego", "volo", "concedo", "assigno" "do" and "ordino" are all found introducing specific legacies.

Having provided for the acquittance of debts, the individual bequests and the disposal of the residue of the bishop's goods, the texts continue with a section concerning the execution of the testament. Rather surprisingly, there is no mention in the 1233 document of the earlier testament nor is any attempt made to revoke its provisions. The naming of the executors was the essential task and in each case the clause of appointment begins: "Huius igitur testamenti mei executores constituo....." In 1212 the executors were Hugh's brother, bishop Jocelin and master Elias of Derham. Proviso was made for a change of executors in the event of the death of one of the parties. If master Elias were to die, bishop Jocelin would henceforth act as sole executor, but if the situations were reversed, then master Reginald of Chester was to assist Elias in the execution of the bishop's instructions. Incredible as it may seem, in 1233 the executors numbered eleven! - bishop Jocelin, the treasurer of Lincoln, the archdeacons of Lincoln, Northampton and Leicester, the bishop's chaplains Robert of Bolsover and Warin of Kirton, and Gilbert of Treilly, Ralph of Waravill, Thomas of Ashby, John of Crackhall and John de Burgo. To the last five persons fell the task of selling the bishop's goods and arranging for the collection and safekeeping of the money.

Whereas St. Hugh had pronounced anathema and excommunication against all those who prevented the executors from carrying out their duties³⁸⁴, no such anathema is found in either of Hugh's charters. Nevertheless, in 1212 the archbishop of Canterbury and Hugh's fellow-exiles in episcopal orders were required to assist and advise the executors when called upon. In 1233 the appointment of the executors was followed by a lengthy supplication to the archbishop of Canterbury, the dean and chapter of Lincoln and all the archdeacons of the diocese, requesting them to enforce the execution of the testament. It is also interesting to note that Hugh made provision in the second testament for the expenses of the executors while they were involved in carrying out the episcopal instructions.

Since the executors were faced with the task of proving the testament as authentic after the testator's demise, it was essential that the document should be sealed. The 1212 charter has no sealing clause but to the testament of 1233 were appended the bishop's seal, the Lincoln capitular seal, the seal of bishop Jocelin and the seals of the other executors. The first testament was witnessed but "presentibus" was employed in place of "testibus". This lends weight to the argument that the witnesses only testified to the redaction of the testament and its sealing in their presence, rather than to the actual contents of the document. Both charters bear a date introduced by "actum". There is no datary's name and in 1233 the year of the Christian era is found alongside that of the bishop's pontificate.

The rolls of Hugh of Wells have always attracted their deserved share of attention from historians of the medieval English Church. For a long time past, the fourteen extant rolls of the bishop and a small composite register have been acknowledged as the earliest representatives of that great series of English episcopal registers, the majority of which survive from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Attempts to wrest this distinction from the diocese of Lincoln have not met with much serious support. Assertions that a roll once existed for the early years of the pontificate of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York - a former colleague of bishop Hugh in the chancery of king John - have been readily dismissed as unsubstantiated¹. Yet, in spite of the homage paid to these rolls by successive generations of ecclesiastical historians, no detailed study of their composition has ever been undertaken. The introduction to the printed edition by W.P.W. Phillimore² was far from satisfactory, concentrating as it did upon the contents of the rolls and the historical allusions contained therein; Canon Foster, concerned with giving a brief but general outline of the whole series of Lincoln episcopal registers, naturally could not become involved in a lengthy discourse on the records of any one bishop in particular³. Professor Hamilton Thompson's investigations were restricted to a comparison of the Lincoln

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1. James Raine in the preface to his edition of archbishop Gray's rolls (Surtees Society 56, 1872 for 1870) states that there was a roll for the years 1215-25; there is no evidence for this claim. However it may be true that the two extant rolls of this archbishop were not the only ones kept. It is indeed curious that while Hugh's dealings with heads of religious houses - confirmation, institution etc - were endorsed on the institution rolls, there is no mention of such acts on Gray's roll. The archbishop could have recorded such matters on a separate roll. There is nevertheless a great difference in arrangement between the Lincoln & York rolls and it cannot be assumed that they were similar in content. cf. later section.
 2. W.P.W. PHILLIMORE: Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, Episcopi Lincolnensis, Canterbury & York Society vols. 1, 3, 4 (1907-9); Lincoln Record Society vols. III, VI, IX (1912-4).
 3. O.W. FOSTER: "The Lincoln Episcopal Registers" in Associated Architectural Societies: Reports and Papers, vol. XXXIII (1933), XLI (1933), pp. 155-168b.

rolls with the archiepiscopal records at York and Professor Cheney's comprehensive study of English episcopal chanceries necessitated a certain economy of discussion with regard to Hugh of Wells's rolls.⁵

It has long been accepted that in commencing registration of certain types of episcopal records, Hugh of Wells and his contemporary Walter de Gray were drawing upon their past experience in the royal chancery in the early years of the thirteenth century. This is clearly the case, although it must be remembered that the bishops would also have been aware of the papal practice of registration. As senior chancery clerks, they were no doubt closely involved in implementing the administrative reforms of the chancellor, archbishop Hubert Walter, in matters of organisation and the enrolment of royal records. Nevertheless surprise is often expressed that equally able chancery-trained prelates - Simon FitzRobert, Jocelin of Wells, Richard Marsh, William of Sainte-Nère-Église, Ralph Nevill etc. - did not venture into the field of registration after their promotion to the ranks of the episcopate. It is certainly rather puzzling that Hugh and Walter should have been singled out in this way from their former colleagues. At the same time it should be remembered that such innovatory developments depend to a great extent upon either personalities or circumstances - archbishop Hubert Walter was clearly the dominant force behind the administrative reforms in the English royal chancery ; in France, the disastrous loss of the royal archives after the battle of Frétéval (6 July 1194) was sufficient to prompt Philip Augustus to order the registration of documents. Similarly, on a diocesan level, I am convinced that local conditions played a more important part than has previously been supposed in providing an impetus for innovation, although I cannot accept Professor Brentano's curious statement that the York rolls of Walter de

4. A. HAMILTON THOMPSON: "The Registers of the Archbishops of York" in Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. XXXII, pp. 245-263, 1936.

5. C. R. CHENEY: English Bishops' Chanceries 1100-1250, Manchester 1950, in particular pp. 100, 104-9, 113.

Gray owed their origin to archiepiscopal boredom! In the latter half of the twelfth century both secular and ecclesiastical government began to undergo a change in organisation, resulting primarily from a drastic multiplication of administrative and judicial business. This "professionalisation" of government engendered special problems for those clerks and officials entrusted with the conduct of administration. The excessive growth of business had far-reaching effects on the workings and development of both the royal and the episcopal chancery. The relatively rudimentary methods of government no longer proved adequate to deal with the increased flow of work coming within the cognizance of the king or bishop. Enrolment of certain categories of documents was an obvious way to create some order out of the chaotic profusion of accumulated records. Naturally the adoption of such a method depended to a great extent at first upon the scale and scope of governmental business. It was to be expected that the practice of keeping permanent records in the form of a roll should have originated in the royal chancery, dealing as it did with affairs on a national level. Similarly, it is not difficult to see why the episcopal clerks of Lincoln and York were pioneers in the field of diocesan registration rather than their equally experienced colleagues in Wells or Chichester or any other diocese for that matter. The thirteenth century prelate required to have detailed information about incumbents, patrons and benefices in his diocese and with the increase of litigation, it was essential to have incontestable and easily accessible records. The administrative innovation in this case did not depend upon the abilities or personalities of the diocesans - Jocelin of Wells and Ralph Nevill, for example, were equally competent administrator-bishops - but rather upon the respective sizes of the dioceses and the amount of work to be

6. R. BRENTANO: Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century, Princeton 1968, p.292 "Archbishop Gray, bored in his northern isolation, remembered the administrative efficiency of his days in King John's chancery. This personal memory almost surely swept York into that movement of enrolled government, with its neatly effective official memory that characterised John's England and Philip Augustus's France and Innocent III's Rome."

dealt with. The sees of Lincoln and York were enormous in extent : the latter contained Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland Nottinghamshire and part of Lancashire ; the former extended from the Humber to the Thames, including within its confines the counties of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and part of Hertfordshire. Obviously for bishop Hugh with approximately fifteen hundred parishes under his control, the volume of diocesan business, and consequently the pressure of work, would be proportionately greater than in the relatively small and sparsely-populated bishoprics of Wells and Chichester. Enrolment was a convenient and efficient method of getting out of this administrative predicament.

The date of the earliest Lincoln roll.

Despite, and perhaps because of, the unique character of the Lincoln rolls, there is still a great deal of uncertainty regarding the dating of the earliest of these episcopal records. The institution roll in question, which now bears the Roman numeral X⁷, has been distinguished by several appellations in the course of approximately seven and a half centuries of its existence. The episcopal clerks of bishop Hugh knew it as the "Vetus Rotulus"⁸, a name in itself indicating its prototypal position ; some seventy-five years later, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the scribes of bishop Dalderby referred to it, erroneously, as the "Secundus Rotulus de Institutionibus Omnium Archidiaconatum simul"⁹ and this designation, or slight

7. This roll is printed in the first volume of Rotuli Hugonis de Welles between pages 1-130.

8. cf. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 31 (Nuffield entry) "..... ordinatam ut in veteri rotulo....." referring to ibid., vol. I, p. 15.

9. Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. 10. 28 (Vetus Repertorium), f. 87d (Heckington entry) referring to Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 89. The "Primus Rotulus" was roll XII, the institution roll for the bishop's tenth year cf. Vetus Repertorium f. 88d (Aby entry). For a discussion of the Vetus Repertorium, see D. M. OWEN: "Vetus Repertorium, an early memorandum book of the diocese of Lincoln" in the Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, vol. IV, part II (1965), pp. 100-106.

variations of it, persisted at least until the early sixteenth century.¹⁰ The roll consists of thirteen membranes of parchment (not twelve, as the editor of the Canterbury and York Society edition of the rolls would have us believe¹¹), having a total length of just over twelve feet and an average width of eight inches. It is undated; nevertheless that it is the earliest roll is verified by its rather experimental and undeveloped appearance in comparison with the later enrolments. A pattern in the evolution of episcopal registration can be clearly discerned at Lincoln. By December 1218 the roll was being dated by the bishop's pontifical year and from the eleventh year of Hugh's episcopate onwards (20 December 1219-19 December 1220), the bishop's scribes evolved a more convenient method of classification, by keeping separate rolls of institutions for each of the eight archdeaconries of the diocese. Having once established that roll X contains the registration of acts of institution prior to the beginning of Hugh's tenth year, then the more difficult problems are encountered.

Phillimore, in the introduction to the printed edition, maintained that the roll could not have been compiled before 1215¹². He proffered the opinion that certain membranes were out of sequence and even suggested that membrane 2, by its apparently more developed style of marginally indicating both benefice and archdeaconry, might belong to roll XII, the roll of institutions for the bishop's tenth year¹³. While not completely endorsing this view, Canon Foster inferred that this roll could have been begun about 1214, coinciding with the earliest known acts of of the bishop after his return from France¹⁴. Dr. Churchill

10. L.A.O. Additional Register 5 (Repertorium of Robert Toney), compiled in 1507-8, still refers to the roll as the "Secundu rotulus eiusdem de institutionibus omnium archidiaconatum simul" cf. f. 115 (Godmanchester entry).

11. See separate page.

12. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 111.

13. Ibid., vol. I, p. 11.

14. "The Lincoln Episcopal Registers", pp. 155-157.

11. The arrangement of the membranes of this roll is as follows; (page numbers refer to volume I of Rotuli Hibernie de Welles) membrane 1 - pp.1-2; membrane 2 - pp.2-9; membrane 3 - pp.9-15; membrane 4 - pp.15-26; membrane 5 - pp.26-31; membrane 6 - pp.32-42; membrane 7 - pp.42-51; membrane 8 - pp.51-60; membrane 9 - pp.60-70; membrane 10 - pp.70-88; membrane 11 - pp.88-102; membrane 12 - pp.102-117; membrane 13 which comprises the entries between pages 117-123 (beginning with Bradenham) has unfortunately succumbed to the damaging effects of constant unrolling. It is much faded and considerably torn; how much of the membrane is missing is impossible to determine.

The Canterbury and York edition of these rolls certainly seems to have received little forethought or careful planning. In the Lincolnshire Archives Office, there are several letters among the episcopal correspondence, concerning the edition and the deposit of the rolls in the Public Record Office for the use of Mr. W.P.W. Phillimore. The first mention of the proposed publication is to be found in a letter from the Rev. J. Clare Hudson, vicar of Thornton by Horncastle and a member of the Canterbury and York Society to the Diocesan Registrar, Mr. William Walker Smith, dated the 6th June 1904:-

"Dear Mr. Smith,

Canterbury and York Society.

I do not know whether you have noticed the recent formation of this Society for the purpose of printing and publishing the various Bishops' Registers of England and Wales. If not I send you some printed matter for you to peruse, I will call on you on Friday next in order to pick it up, and have a brief conversation with you about it.

I have just written to the Bishop to inform him that he will very shortly have a formal application from Mr. W.P.W. Phillimore, the Secretary of the new Society, to permit the deposit of the earliest roll or register - that of St. Hugh, I believe - in the Public Record Office, London, in order that it may there be transcribed for publication.

Mr. Phillimore purposes, I believe, to be in Lincoln on Wednesday the 15th Inst., in order to take personal charge of the roll and deposit (it) in the P.R.O., with his Lordship's sanction.

Everyone at the meeting in London, and there were over thirty there, seemed pleased at the idea of getting these valuable historical documents into print and as Lincoln stands amongst the earliest, it is proposed to commence on the Lincoln Registers at once.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

(signed) J. Clare Hudson. "

(L.A.O. Cor. B. 7/3 Letter category W).

Apparently the original intention was to publish all the records of bishop Hugh and Mr. Phillimore duly transported the fourteen rolls and the Liber Antiquus to London for transcribing; it was not until the 16th June, upon examining the manuscripts, that Phillimore discovered that the Liber Antiquus had already been edited - in 1888 ! (L.A.O. Cor. B. 7/3 Letter category W).

apparently thought that enrolment began in 1209¹⁵ but Professor Cheney considered that 1217 was the most probable date of compilation, presumably after Hugh's return from the Fourth Lateran Council¹⁶. Acknowledging that there were references to earlier material on the roll, he concluded that the wording of these particular entries indicated compilation long after the actual events they recorded:

"It was then (i.e. after the 1215 Council) that it became obligatory on all 'appropriating' corporations and absentee rectors to make fixed permanent provision for the ministry of their parishes, subject to the diocesan's control. It must have been plain to any conscientious bishop thereafter that he required permanent record of the persons he instituted, the licences he granted, and the ordinations of vicarages which he made. This could best be achieved by contemporaneous registration, in the form of copy or memorandum; and once a register of this sort was started, it could serve other purposes as well." 17

In this 1217 theory, Professor Cheney has been followed more recently by Professor Brentano¹⁸.

It will be convenient at this juncture to retrace very briefly the career of bishop Hugh from his election up to the year 1217, in order to provide an adequate background for the discussion which is to follow on the date of the earliest of his rolls. Hugh of Wells, archdeacon of Wells and a senior official in the chancery of King John, was elected bishop of Lincoln in 1209 after that see had been vacant for three years. His subsequent defection from the king's cause, his consecration by archbishop Stephen Langton at Melun and his exile in France together with many of his episcopal colleagues during the period of the General Interdict need not detain us at this stage. With several other prelates he returned to England in June 1213.¹⁹ One

15. I. J. CHURCHILL: "The Archbishops' Registers" in Mediaeval Records of the Archbishops of Canterbury (Lambeth Lectures 1960), London 1962, p. 11 "Other dioceses had systematic records earlier in the thirteenth century: those of Lincoln have survived in the form of rolls since 1209....."

16. English Bishops' Chanceries, p. 105 and note.

17. ibid., p. 107.

18. Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century, p. 291.

19. W. STUBBS: Memoriale Walteri de Coventria vol. II, p. 213 (Rolls series 187).

can well imagine that Hugh immediately set to work with characteristic energy in an attempt to restore some semblance of order and government to his see, dealing at first with only the most pressing of diocesan matters. The course of national events in 1213-1215 obviously must have distracted him from episcopal affairs; nevertheless from October 1213 there survives the earliest of the extensive series of his diocesan acts, touching upon every aspect of the government of a large diocese²⁰. Obeying the summons of Pope Innocent III to attend a General Council to be held in November 1215, Hugh set out for Rome in September of that year, accompanied by the bishop of London, the bishop-elect of Ely and a few members of his household.²¹ He apparently did not return to England until early in 1217²² and during the intervening period he committed the day-to-day administration of the diocese to a vicegerent, master Reginald of Chester "Officialis noster dum essemus in partibus transmarinis"²³. Master Reginald was one of the most prominent members of the episcopal "familia" and he is to be found in most of the witness-lists to Hugh's acts in the years to 1215²⁴. He had been in the episcopal service for a considerable time, having remained with the bishop in exile in France during the Interdict years²⁵. On occasion he acted as episcopal datary in the absence of the regular functionary²⁶. He was a canon of Lincoln by 1214²⁷ and soon after the bishop's

20. cf. actum no. 2 onwards.

21. The last-recorded charter of Hugh before he set out for Rome is dated at Canterbury on 1 September 1215 (actum no. 39); the bishop's travelling companions can be discovered from the witness-list of actum no. 40, dated at Troyes on 29 September. The opening session of the Council was held on 1 November.

22. The first mention of Hugh in the royal records is in a letter dated 5 February 1217 (Patent Rolls (1216-1225), p. 29).

23. cf. A. GIBBONS: Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariarum tempore Hugonis Wells, pp. 86, 87, 93 (privately-printed 1888).

24. cf. acta nos. 1-3, 9-11, 14-20, 25-27, 30-39, 28-9.

25. cf. actum no. 1.

26. cf. acta nos. 28-9, 76, 92-4.

27. He occurs as a canon of Lincoln on the 27 February 1214 - actum no. 3.

return from Rome in 1217 he succeeded John of Marston as subdean of Lincoln²⁸. He ceased to be subdean at some date between 13 July and 23 September 1219²⁹.

Having concluded this brief survey of the years 1209-1217, the roll can now be examined membrane by membrane firstly to discover whether the entries are in some kind of chronological order and then to enquire as to the dates or date of compilation of the entire roll. The first membrane, which is in reality an extremely small piece of parchment being only four and a half inches in length, contains six entries of institution of which the last two are collations of the churches of Cranwell and Wainfleet to master Robert of Graveley, an episcopal clerk, "by authority of the Lateran Council"³⁰. Unfortunately this last reference is of no assistance in dating the membrane, referring as it does to the Third Lateran Council of 1179 (not the Fourth) and in particular to canon 8 of that Council concerning collation by lapse. However the attestation of master Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Huntingdon, in a transcript of the Cranwell letter of collation in the Bardney cartulary at least suggests that it cannot be earlier than mid-1214³¹. With the exception of the institution of master William of Brauncewell, a clerk who acted for Peter, archdeacon of Lincoln in the early years of Hugh's episcopate³², there is no clue to the approximate dates of any of the other entries. A careful examination reveals that the membrane was the product of more than one scribe. The first four ~~membranes~~ entries are written in a very small and untidy hand which for the sake of convenience I have attributed to scribe A. The marginal headings and the fifth and sixth entries are in an entirely contrasting hand and were obviously enrolled on a different occasion. The script is regular, neat and more ornate than the work of scribe B, the writer of the

²⁸. He first occurs as subdean on 14 July 1217 (C.W.FOSTER: The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln vol.III (L.R.S.xxix,1935),no.875,pp.218-221 - amended date ibid.,vol.IX,p.xxxii.)

²⁹. cf. acta nos.94 and 96.

³⁰. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.I,p.2.

³¹. actum no.12. Robert first occurs as archdeacon on 5 November 1214 (actum no.9).

³². cf. Rot

³². cf. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I,pp.4-8,11-3,15,33,35,43,53,57,66,87.

entries on membranes 3 to 13. Nevertheless certain divergences which do exist between the two hands make it unsafe to state categorically that they are the product of the same writer. What does emerge from this close study of the roll is that membrane 1 was not written as a single entity but on two separate occasions and suggests that the enrolments themselves need not necessarily relate to institutions performed in the same year.

The writer of the first four entries on membrane 1 was also the compiler of membrane 2, a section of the roll which has caused great confusion and misunderstanding. This membrane has an unusual appearance, being much narrower than the normal membrane of parchment comprising this roll (five and three-quarter inches wide as opposed to the average eight inches) and also very much worn and faded. Indeed it looks as if it had once been kept separate and continually unrolled and carried about. It contains twenty-one entries, several of which can be dated with approximate certainty. In general this membrane would seem to deal with acts relating to the sixth year of the bishop (20 December 1214-19 December 1215). The suit over the advowson of the church of Milton Ernest between Robert of Middleton and the priors of Beaulieu and Canons Ashby was concluded in Robert's favour in December 1214³³. In the following entry concerning the church of Kettering, the "elect" of Peterborough is mentioned.³⁴ This can only refer to Robert of Lindsey who was elected abbot in 1213 or 1214³⁵. Whatever the correct date, he was certainly styled "abbot" and not "elect" in April 1215,³⁶ so the presentation

33. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 4 & Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VII, pp. 135-6, 215.

34. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 4.

35. H. R. LUARD: Annales monastici, vol. III (Rolls series 1866), p. 40 (1213); Chronicon Petroburgense (Camden Society, vol. XLVII, 1849), p. 7 (1214). I am inclined to believe the latter source.

36. T. D. HARDY: Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, vol. I, p. 194b (Record Commission 1833).

to this benefice must have occurred before this date. Mention is made in the entry regarding the church of All Saints, Oxford of a pension of three marks granted by the bishop to the priory of St. Frideswide's³⁷. The actual grant of this pension is recorded in the Liber Antiquus and is dated at Oxford on 18 August 1215³⁸. The inquisition held by master William of Braucewell regarding Wyville church³⁹ and the mention of John de Beauchamp as rector of Houghton Conquest⁴⁰ would also seem to indicate a relatively early date, as would the institution of Adam of Chaworth who was presented by King John to Lilley church soon after the bishop's return from exile.⁴¹ With regard to the remaining entries there is insufficient specific evidence which could narrow down their dates to a particular year: however there is nothing which militates against the possibility that the remaining institutions took place at a similar time - 1214-1215. Although one would not expect the entries to be in chronological order by day and month, it is not inconceivable that even if an episcopal scribe was compiling the roll a few years after the event, he would take care to keep the records in comparative order at least by pontifical year of the bishop. As for the apparently more developed style of this particular membrane, this contention can easily be disproved. Phillimore stated that this membrane indicated both benefice and archdeaconry in its left-hand margin; this is quite correct but what the editor failed to point out was that only the archdeaconry headings were in the hand of Scribe A. The benefice titles had been written in by a later scribe who also wrote the headings of membranes 3 to 13 and whose script resembles the hand of Scribe B, writing seemingly in great haste. Once this fact has been established, membrane 2 would appear in the light of a prototype rather than as a later development. Perhaps archdeaconry headings were used to denote entries at first but for obvious reasons this type of

37. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 5.

38. actum no. 30.

39. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 8.

40. ibid., p. 7. On membrane 8 of this roll, John was deprived of his benefice, ibid., p. 113.

41. ibid., p. 7. & Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 197b.

indication did not really prove satisfactory. It would still take a considerable time to go through the marginal headings of one archdeaconry in search of a particular benefice. The next logical step was to write the name of the benefice in the margin instead. Later experience suggested that the confusion which might arise over common territorial names - Burton, Weston, Kirkby etc. - could only be remedied by a more convenient method of arrangement - the use of separate rolls for each archdeaconry.

Membranes 3 to 5 must be discussed together for it is my opinion that they all relate to one particular period - that of Hugh's absence abroad and the administration of master Reginald of Chester, Official of the bishop (September 1215 to early 1217). It is unfortunate that no early commissions to vicegerents survive to tell us of their duties. Commissions survive among the Lincoln records from the time of bishop Gravesend⁴² but with the exception of the description by Gerald of Wales of the arrangement made by archbishop Hubert Walter during one of his absences abroad⁴³, little else remains for the early period. In the case of archbishop Hubert, master Simon of Southwell was appointed "officialis generalis" and given the use of the archbishop's counterseal. His acta still bore the name and title of the absent archbishop. Yet there is no real indication of the extent of his powers. Only two transcripts of charters survive from the period of master Reginald of Chester's administration but both are set out in the Official's name⁴⁴; master Reginald also used his own personal seal. The contents of these two acta may help to indicate the scope of this particular vicegerent's duties. The first charter is the record of the institution by the Official "with the special authority

⁴². F.N.DAVIS: Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend (L.R.S.xx,1925),p.5 (commission dated 1262).

⁴³. J.S.BRYNER: Giraldi Cambrensis Opera vol.III (Rolls series 1866),pp.216-7 : also cited K.MAJOR: "The 'familia' of archbishop Stephen Langton" in English Historical Review, vol.XLVIII (1933),p.536 & C.R.CHENNEY: Hubert Walter,p.166. London 1967.

⁴⁴. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.I,pp.30-1 (on the dorse of membrane 5).

of the bishop, then on his way to the Lateran Council" of Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Huntingdon to the church of Glatton and the second is the record of the induction by the Official "auctoritate domini Legati" of Ralph of Hoby into the church of Hoby. At first sight, these acts seem ~~quite~~ routine occurrences in diocesan government and one might wonder why master Reginald bothered to take special trouble to record these two events in particular ; however, when it is pointed out that in thirty-nine out of forty-three entries on these three membranes, the presentee is merely given custody of the church instead of being admitted and instituted, then perhaps we have discovered the approximate limited sphere of action allowed to the vicegerent by bishop Wells in his absence. In these thirty-nine instances, custody is given in only a few cases (five to be precise⁴⁵) for reasons which were quite usual - the youth of the candidate or his insufficient learning, advowson disputes etc.; the remaining thirty-four custody entries record perfectly normal acts where admission and institution would be the accepted course. The Glatton charter, already cited, is indicative that the bishop's vicegerent could not, on his own authority, institute clerks to benefices ; to perform such acts he evidently required the special authorisation of the diocesan⁴⁶. For obvious reasons such permission would not be forthcoming when the bishop was abroad

⁴⁵. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 11 (Orton-on-the-Hill), 15 (Beckingham), 19 (Mavis Enderby), 20 (Souldern), 22 (Kidlington).

⁴⁶. In the episcopal confirmations of vicarage ordinations in the churches of Anwick, Billingborough, Alford and Rigsby made by the Official in the bishop's absence, it is recorded that perpetual vicars were "instituted" by master Reginald to these vicarages (Liber Antiquus, pp. 86-7, 87-8, 89, 93). This does not invalidate my theory. In 1214-1215, archbishop Langton had settled a dispute between bishop Hugh and the order of Sempringham about the appropriation of these above-mentioned churches and the ordination of perpetual vicarages in them. No doubt when the bishop departed for Rome, he commissioned his vicegerent to ordain vicarages in these churches and to institute vicars "auctoritate domini episcopi" (K. MAJOR: Acta Stephani Langton, no. 43, pp. 58-60, Canterbury and York Society vol. I, 1950).

or away from his see ; in consequence it would not be too rash to conclude that the custody entries on these three membranes can be dated to the period when the administration of the diocese was in the hands of master Reginald of Chester. This assumption is borne out to a great extent by the many references to the Official on membranes 3 to 5 conducting routine diocesan business, much of which would normally have been carried out by the bishop - issuing mandates for inquisitions to be held, receiving royal and legatine letters, prohibiting the payment of a pension, receiving the resignation of an incumbent and so on⁴⁷. There are even a few references to the exigencies caused by the civil war, for instance, the presentee to the church of All Saints, Huntingdon could not come to the Official at Lincoln to be given custody of his benefice "sine magno periculo" and accordingly the archdeacon of Huntingdon was directed to put him in possession⁴⁸; in addition, enquiries were made occasionally to discover if any of the patrons had espoused the baronial cause⁴⁹.

Here again with regard to membranes 3 to 5 (all of which are in the hand of Scribe B), the sad lack of textual criticism by the editor of the printed volumes has made it appear that these entries were all written as a single entity long after the events they recorded, for after most of the custody entries, there follows in conclusion a note to the effect that after due examination the bishop later instituted the presentee to the church, of which he had previously been given charge. These additional "postscripts", although in the same hand as the main body of the text, are written in a different tone of ink from the original enrolments. They are usually endorsed but a few are squashed between entries on the face of the roll. Duplication of "postscripts" on both the face and dorse is a common occurrence. They were evidently written at a later date to the original compilation of the membranes, well after the bishop's

47. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 11, 13-5, 18-21, 27, 28, 30.

48. ibid., p. 14.

49. ibid., pp. 18, 20, 28.

return from the General Council. I will deal with this significant point later when I come to discuss the probable date of compilation. Returning to the date of the enrolled entries, further corroboration of the view that these membranes span the period of the vicegerency of master Reginald of Chester is afforded by certain of the "postscripts" themselves and by later entries on roll X. Nicholas de Nevill was instituted to the church of Lowick notwithstanding that he was beneficed elsewhere "cum ante noticiam concilii generalis in Anglia per Officialem predictum custodiam esset adeptus"⁵⁰ In the "postscript" to the Wigtoft custody entry on the third membrane, the record of the presentee's institution by the bishop begins "Qui postmodum anno fere revoluto post reversionem domini episcopi a concilio generali in Angliam....."⁵¹ On the eighth membrane of the roll, Eudo of Farlesthorpe resigned the church of Cumberworth, custody of which had been granted to him by master Reginald of Chester the Official (an act recorded on membrane 3)⁵² Likewise it is noted on membrane 9 that master Roger of Buckland had previously been given custody of the Lincolnshire church of Welby by the Official⁵³ and a similar event is recorded for Warin of Kirton on the following membrane⁵⁴. The fact that in some records on membranes 3 to 5, custody is given by the Official "salva domino episcopo institutione"⁵⁵ and on one occasion, a clerk was to be examined "in adventu domini episcopi cum venerit ad institutionem suam habendam"⁵⁶ also suggests that the bishop was absent from the diocese at the time of registration.

Conclusive evidence that the arrangement of this earliest roll is chronological by the bishop's pontifical year is furnished by two references to the "rotulus institutionum anni viii" (ending 19 December 1217) to be found in later rolls of bishop Hugh, one concerning the benefice of Haseley which occurs on the seventh membrane of the roll⁵⁷, the other relating to

50. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 14.

51. *ibid.*, p. 12.

52. *ibid.*, p. 57 & custody entry p. 11.

53. *ibid.*, p. 66.

54. *ibid.*, p. 83 (Nettleham).

55. *ibid.*, pp. 14 (Scotton)
18 (Wyberton), 20
(Souldern).

56. *ibid.*, p. 23
(Kiddington).

57. *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 8
ref. to vol. I, pp. 46-7

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Cassington church on membrane 8⁵⁸. It may be questioned how a member of the episcopal secretariat writing in 1222 could be so confident that the entry in question related to the eighth year of Hugh's episcopate and not to the sixth, seventh or ninth. To-day there is no indication on the roll where the records for one pontifical year end and another begin ; one indeed wonders how the bishop's clerk knew. Perhaps he was merely relying upon his memory!

It is at once apparent from the format of membrane 6 that the bishop had returned to his diocese after his absence ~~at~~ abroad and it will not be too difficult to prove that this membrane, together with membranes 7 and 8, contains the record of acts performed during the eighth year of Hugh's pontificate. The Official is no longer mentioned and admission and institution replaces the simple custody entries which marked the period of vicegerency. References to collations of benefices performed after the bishop's return from overseas further corroborates the original conclusion regarding the date of these three membranes⁵⁹. There is no shortage of evidence in support of this hypothesis. The collation of Thomas of Norton must have been performed before December 1217 when he is mentioned as being the parson of the church in another episcopal grant⁶⁰. The church of Marlowe was vacant owing to the death of Alard of Burnham, Dean of St. Paul's London ; he is presumed to have died in September 1216⁶¹. The contents of the Whitchurch entries - one on membrane 6, the other on the seventh membrane (eighth year) - indicate that they are near-contemporary in date⁶². Geoffrey of Cropredy was instituted to the church of Lower Heyford with a licence to study theology and canon law for three years. He next appears in the rolls in 1220, presumably at the end of this period, to resign the benefice which had provided him with financial support for

58. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 184 referring to p. 52.

59. ibid., vol. I, pp. 124ff (dorse of membrane 6).

60. ibid., vol. I, p. 124 and acta nos. 58-9.

61. ibid., vol. I, p. 39 & J. LE NEVE: Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae : vol. I, St. Paul's London 1066-1300 (ed. D. E. GREENWAY, 1968), p. 6.

62. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 33, 48.

his studies⁶³. The collation of the chapelry of Glooston in Leicestershire can also be dated to the eighth year - in all probability, about November 1217.⁶⁴ Although the patron had exercised his right of presentation, the fact that he was excommunicate for siding with the barons in the civil war, and had subsequently been captured at the battle of Lincoln in May 1217, invalidated his presentation. The benefice remained vacant for six months and then the bishop collated by lapse. Several entries note the day of the month on which the institution was performed. On the Wednesday before the feast of St. John (either 21 June 1217 or 20 June 1218 if it is accepted that the roll is in chronological order by pontifical year) the bishop was at Chertsey in Surrey where he instituted clerks to the churches of Thornton and Kegworth.⁶⁵ From the 10 to 26 June in 1217 King Henry III was also either at Chertsey or six miles away at Stanwell⁶⁶ and it is perhaps not too rash to presume that these two entries on membrane 6 relate to 1217 rather than to the following year. Similarly one of the "postscript" entries on the fourth membrane is dated at Oxford on 21 July (?1217 or 1218); King Henry was at Oxford on 21 July 1217.⁶⁶ The civil war was still in progress when Hugh returned from the Lateran Council and it was only to be expected that he would hasten to join the new king and his followers; in any case it would have been too dangerous to journey through large areas of his own diocese which were under baronial sway - Lincoln itself was controlled by the forces of Prince Louis and the royalist-held castle was besieged until the battle in May 1217.⁶⁸

There are also several allusions on these three membranes (6-8) to certain enactments of the Fourth Lateran Council, particularly canon 29 regarding plurality and canon 32 concernin

63. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 39 and vol. II, p. 3.

64. Ibid., vol. I, p. 40.

65. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 36-7.

66. Itinerary of King Henry III (typescript, deposited in the Public Record Office).

67. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 23 (Kiddington)

68. Bishop Hugh was with the royalist army at Newark on 15 May, before the battle of Lincoln - J. STEVENSON: Chronica de Mailros, p. 131 (Edinburgh 1835).

benefices with absentee rectors, both secular and regular, and the provision for a fixed portion of the profits of the church to be given to the resident perpetual vicar⁶⁹. In the case of master Walter of Langton, there is a clear indication of the initial difficulties encountered by the implementation of these measures⁷⁰. Master Walter had been presented to the church of Drayton before the 1215 Council but had been instituted after the bishop's return; consequently it was undecided whether the provisions of canon 29 affected him or not.

Datable material on the seventh and eighth membranes confirms the veracity of the episcopal clerk's note to the effect that this was the section of roll X dealing with acts of the eighth year. There are references to the late King John (died 19 October 1216)⁷¹ and to the deprivation of Brand, canon of St. Paul's (an event assumed to have taken place in 1217)⁷². Roger the chaplain of Banbury castle must have been instituted to Boddington church before December 1217 when he features as parson of the church in another charter of the bishop⁷³, and the frequent occurrence of the name of the cardinal legate Guala Bicchieri, although no firm indication of the actual date of these membranes, testifies to the general chronological arrangement of the complete roll (his legation May 1216 - November 1218)⁷⁴.

Enrolment of documents for the ninth pontifical year (20 December 1217-19 December 1218) would seem to commence at least on membrane 10 and continue until the end of the roll. The single datable entry on membrane 9 is a note concerning the church of Steeple Barton and the chapel of Sandford and referring to an undated charter in the Liber Antiquus⁷⁵. Fortunately the

69. e.g. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 39, 40, 58.

70. ibid., p. 39.

71. ibid., pp. 51-2.

72. ibid., p. 58 (Caddington) & Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: St. Paul London 1066-1300, p. 30.

73. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 53 & actum no. 51.

74. ibid., vol. I, pp. 26-8, 30-1, 35-7, 51-2, 55, 58, 72, 92, 104-5, 113-4, 117, 120-2, 128.

75. ibid., vol. I, p. 65 & Liber Antiquus, pp. 81-2.

original charter still survives and its date - 14 October 1217 - proves that at least part of the ninth membrane dealt with acts of the eighth pontifical year⁷⁶. It is of course impossible to ascertain at what point registration of acts of the following year begin ; nevertheless it is certain that membrane 10 includes such entries. Episcopal grants in respect of the churches of Black Bourton, Easington, Barton, Pattishall, Boddington, Narborough, Clay Coton, Ivesbury, Turvey, Beesby-in-the-Marsh and Donington, which are briefly noted on this membrane, are transcribed in full in the Liber Antiquus and all bear the date 28 December 1217 - eight days after the beginning of bishop Hugh's tenth year⁷⁷. The letter of institution of Ralph the chaplain to Haddenham (an act recorded on membrane 10) is dated 10 August 1218⁷⁸, although it must be emphasized that the date of the letter of institution does not necessarily correspond to the actual day on which the presentee was instituted by the bishop. Similarly the letter of institution regarding the Heckington entry on membrane 11 is dated 4 March 1218⁷⁹. On membrane 13 it is recorded that the church of Gosberton was collated to Richard de Atteberg ; the letter of collation is dated 3 November 1218⁸⁰. Finally on the last membrane, it is recorded that the church of Swallow was vacant on the election of William of Blois, archdeacon of Buckingham to the see of Worcester⁸¹. William's predecessor, bishop Silvester died on 16 July 1218 ; William received the temporalities on 10 September and was consecrated bishop on 7 October 1218.

The results of such an enquiry as this can never be considered beyond all dispute. Above all, the dearth of comparative material has prevented a considerable number of entries from being dated ; yet, this investigation has significantly produced no evidence to invalidate or even vaguely

76. actum no.48.

77. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, pp.74-8 & acta nos.49-62.

78. ibid., p.72 & actum no.73.

79. ibid., p.89 & actum no.67.

80. ibid., p.123 & actum no.75.

81. ibid., pp.121-2.

challenge the assumption of an episcopal clerk writing in 1222 that the arrangement of the contents of this roll was in chronological sequence by the bishop's pontifical year. In my opinion, if several entries on a particular membrane of the roll can all be dated to a single year of the bishop's episcopate, then it would not be too presumptuous to suppose that other entries on that membrane, provided always that the conditions of handwriting and shades of ink were fulfilled, could also relate to events of that same year. The following table may help to clarify my own conclusions as to the chronology of the contents of the roll:-⁸²

- 1. membrane 1 (first 4 entries at least) and membrane 2 and first 4 entries of membrane 3 (the latter enrolled after the bishop had left for Rome - see following pages. Acts at least of the sixth year until the bishop's departure for Rome. (Dec.1214-Sept.1215).
- 2. membranes 3 to 5. Acts of the vicegerency of M.Reginald of Chester. Sept. 1217-early 1217 with later insertions,made after Hugh's return 1217.
- 3. membranes 6 to 9. Acts of the eighth year, commencing when the bishop returned to his diocese. early 1217-December 1217.
- 4. membranes 10 (at least) to 13. Acts of the ninth year Dec.1217 - Dec.1218.

82. That the membranes are in chronological order is further corroborated by a comparison of entries on different membranes of the roll relating to the same benefice or to the same incumbent. The following results were achieved: Page numbers refer to volume I of Rotuli Hugonis de Welles

1. Same clerks.

- William of Benniworth instituted to Fingest (p.43) membrane_7; later instituted to Howell (Fingest vacant)(p.70) membrane_9.
- Eudo of Farlesthorne, custody of Cumberworth (p.11)membrane_3; resigned p.57 membrane_8; instituted to Bilsby p.101 membrane_11.
- Nicholas son of Simon, instituted to Sudborough p.3 membrane_2; instituted to Stevenage & resigns Sudborough p.21 membrane_4.
- John de Beauchamp, parson of Houghton Conquest p.7 membrane_2; deprived p.113 membrane_12.
- William of St.Lo.instituted to Beckingham p.15 membrane_3:occurs as parson p.82 membrane_12.

Robert of Brackley, instituted to Ridlington p.27 membrane_5; resignation p.112 membrane_12.

Thomas of Norton instituted to Beesby p.124 membrane_5; occurs as parson p.77 membrane_10.

Gilbert, the clerk of William de Welle: presented to Belleau p.78 membrane_10; instituted p.102 membrane_11.

Ledger Pipard, custody of Gilmorton p.54 membrane_8; instituted p.108 membrane_12.

Alan Costein, instituted to Weldon p.67 membrane_9; vacant because of his institution to Ab Kettleby p.98 membrane_11.

William of Chinnor, instituted to Easington p.16 membrane_4; grant referred to, p.78 mentions him as parson (Liber Antiquus, p.83) membrane_10.

John of Mildecombe, instituted to Pattishall p.21 membrane_4; grant referred to, p.75 mentions him as parson (Liber Antiquus, p.84) membrane_10.

Gilbert son of Walter of Preston, instituted to Marholme p.5. membrane_2; mentioned as parson p.61 membrane_9.

Robert of Barnetby, custody of Hibaldstow p.29 membrane_5; instituted p.45 membrane_7.

Simon de Moel, instituted to Burton p.33 membrane_5; occurs as parson p.130 membrane_8.

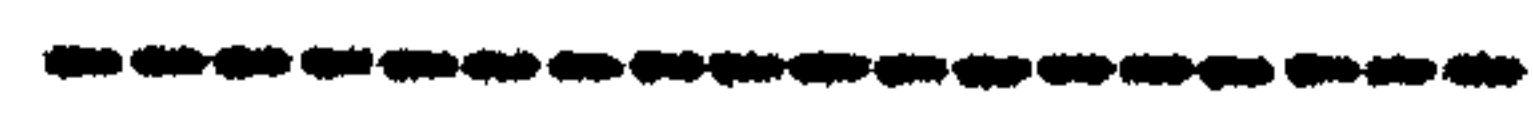
Geoffrey de Dunville instituted to Witchurch p.33 membrane_6; occurs as parson p.48 membrane_7.

Roger the chanlain of Banbury Castle, instituted to Boddington p.53 membrane_8; grant referred to, p.75 mentions him as parson (Liber Antiquus, p.83) membrane_10.

Simon of Baumber, instituted to Witham on the Hill p.53 membrane_8; mentioned as vicar, p.116 membrane_12.

2. Same benefices.

- Ripton institution. p.10 membrane_3 & p.91 membrane_11.
- Fingest p.43 membrane_7 & p.70 membrane_10.
- Bassingham p.13 membrane_3 & p.60 membrane_9.
- Wainfleet All Saints. p.13 membrane_3 & p.83 membrane_10.
- Bennington p.12 membrane_3 & p.83 membrane_10.
- Sudborough p.3 membrane_2 & p.66 membrane_9.
- Eastwell p.62 membrane_9 & p.97 membrane_11.
- Witchurch p.35 membrane_6 & p.114 membrane_12.



The effect of this protracted, and perhaps at times tedious, investigation has been to indicate, as clearly as can ever be possible, the chronological arrangement of entries on the roll. It is now time to turn from the dating of the recorded acts to the dating of the roll's compilation. In point of fact the controversy can be resolved by a critical examination of the composition of the first five membranes. No one would dispute that entries on membrane 6 to the end of the roll, relating to the eighth and ninth years of Hugh's pontificate, were written up by Scribe B relatively soon after the events they record. The episcopal clerk would keep a record of institutions performed by the bishop and when he had noted a sufficient number, they would be enrolled simultaneously. Naturally such a method did not achieve a strict chronological sequence of acts within the pontifical year; nevertheless it is safe to assume that at least the clerks took special care to retain the divisions of the roll by the year of the bishop's episcopate.

With reference to the first five membranes, it would not be an undue oversimplification to state that the problem of dating has arisen solely because of divergent interpretations of the internal evidence - whether in fact an examination of these membranes really does confirm that they were begun in 1217 from files of earlier information, or whether it reveals that this section of the roll was a gradual and roughly contemporaneous compilation, commencing in 1214-1215 or thereabouts, some time before bishop Wells left for the General Council.

Adherents of the 1217 compilation theory have never expounded at length their reasons for reaching this particular conclusion but in any case it is not too difficult to attempt a reconstruction of their hypothesis. The argument would no doubt proceed on the following lines: membranes 1 to 5, although containing material at least from the bishop's sixth pontifical year onwards, were nevertheless compiled immediately after Hugh's return from the Lateran Council. Master Reginald of Chester had kept on file a record of the diocesan business he had transacted during the bishop's absence, and together with notes of earlier material, these were registered on a roll by one of the episcopal clerks. It was to be expected that after such a long absence, the bishop would require to review the

work of his vicegerent and as those clerks, who had obtained charge of their benefices from master Reginald, received institution at the hands of the bishop, the relevant information was inserted on the new roll against the appropriate entry. This would explain the additional entries which are a notable feature of the third, fourth and fifth membranes.

The weaknesses in this hypothesis are manifold. In particular, the time factor is of considerable importance. Hugh returned from overseas in early 1217. If my previous supposition is correct (as seems likely) he was in the company of the King at Chertsey on 21 June 1217 and at Oxford on 21 July. The latter date occurs significantly in a "postscript" entry on membrane 4; the former in an entry on the sixth membrane. The only possible conclusion therefore is that within this short period from early 1217 until the summer of the same year, the bishop met with his official⁸³ (notwithstanding the civil war), supervised the enrolment of 1214-1215 and vicegerent acts, instituted clerks who had had custody of benefices pending his return (thereby enabling his scribes to insert the additional record of these institutions on membranes 3 to 5) and also commenced the registration of contemporaneous acts of the eighth pontifical year (membrane 6) !

If we are to accept that the original entries and the later insertions, both in the hand of Scribe B, were written under the bishop's supervision within the space of a few months in 1217, then surely the scribe would have been informed of the intended review of the vicegerent's administration and accordingly would have made allowances for insertions to be made when entering up the original custody material. The fact that there was no provision made for these additional "postscripts" and that some are endorsed and others are squashed in a haphazard fashion between entries on the face of the roll, leads us to question the validity of the previous assumption.

The fatal flaw in the 1217 theory is in the handwriting

⁸³. The earliest surviving document to which bishop Hugh is a party after his return is dated at Leicester on 14 July 1217 The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, vol. III, no. 875, pp. 218-221. Reginald of Chester is among the witnesses. No earlier 1217 material is available.

of the early part of the roll. If the first five membranes were really compiled at that time, it would be natural to expect (given that all the required information was available to the bishop's clerk) that they would be written up in a uniform hand and with little, if any, variation in the tone of ink (in fact, like the so-called "matriculus" of the Leicester archdeaconry which was clearly compiled as a single entity). A close examination of these five membranes reveals that there is no such continuity. This section of the roll is the work of at least two and possibly three separate scribes and there are a bewildering number of ink changes, even on membranes written by the same scribe, usually at intervals of four or five entries. No clerk compiling these membranes in 1217 would have written up a few entries at a time, as is the case here. Rather, the handwriting supports the contention that the membranes were a gradual compilation dating from 1214-5 at least, with material relating to the following two years enrolled periodically. Phillimore and Canon Foster who both reached this very conclusion did so without reference to the composition of the roll - the latter was working on the assumption that enrolment would be contemporaneous with the earliest surviving diocesan acts; the former's judgment can best be described as an enlightened guess with no supporting evidence. It is at once manifest that definite proof of this theory can only be furnished by detailed consultation of the roll.

A preliminary investigation of the first two membranes has established that Scribe A wrote up the enrolled material of the 1214-1215 period on at least four separate occasions. There are ink changes after the first four entries on membrane 1⁸⁴, then from the St. Nicholas Hertford entry to Paston⁸⁵ and from Lilley to the end of the second membrane⁸⁶. "Concessa est eis ab episcopo pensio trium marcarum" referring to the pension granted to St. Frideswide's priory from the church of All Saints, Oxford on 18 August 1215⁸⁷ is also an obvious addition to the

84. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 1-2.

85. ibid., pp. 2-7.

86. ibid., pp. 7-9.

87. ibid., p. 5.

to the original entry. I have already remarked upon the rudimentary and undeveloped appearance of the second membrane in comparison with subsequent ones and it is certainly not inconceivable that the enrolment of this section of roll X was begun before the bishop departed for Rome in September 1215. In this respect, it is important to bear in mind that the handwriting of Scribe A has not been traced on any other roll of bishop Hugh or in his acts. One feasible explanation for the disappearance of the handwriting of this particular scribe from the roll - and one which favours the 1214-15 compilation hypothesis - is that he may have accompanied his diocesan to the General Council. In addition to Thomas of Fiskerton, the bishop's chaplain, and William de Thornaco, archdeacon of Stow the episcopal datary, the other clerks attendant upon the bishop overseas were Peter of Bath, master Nicholas of Evesham and master John of Houghton⁸⁸. Perhaps Scribe A is to be identified with one of these three clerks. Pursuing this supposition to its logical outcome, we should expect the first enrolments of Scribe B (on membrane 3) to deal with acts of the period of master Reginald of Chester's administration. Having ascertained that the Official could apparently only grant custody of benefices to presentees, saving institution to the bishop, it is somewhat surprising to discover that the first four entries on membrane 3 (before the custody entries begin) are records of institutions⁸⁹. On reflection however, this in no way undermines the view that the roll was a gradual compilation from the very beginning. As I have taken care to emphasize, entries were written up in batches after some delay; these four entries were enrolled simultaneously (the subsequent entries are in a darker shade of ink). It is therefore highly probable that Scribe B was registering acts which had been performed before the bishop had left the country in September 1215. A short delay in registration was only to be expected.

For the 1217 compilation date to remain within the bounds of possibility, it has already been observed that the custody entries and the additional insertions regarding institutions

⁸⁸. Cf. the witnesses of actum no.40.

⁸⁹. Rotuli Hugonis de Wellea, vol. I, pp. 9-11 (Woodston to Wistow).

would have to have been enrolled on membranes 3 to 5 with a speed, remarkable for even the most efficient of diocesan "chanceries". An equally plausible theory in explanation of the composition of the roll - and one which cannot be dismissed lightly - is that the original entries on these three membranes were enrolled by Scribe B during the period of master Reginald's vicegerency. The contents of these membranes would support such a conclusion⁹⁰. It has already been noted that the wording of certain entries would seem to indicate that the bishop was absent from the diocese at the time of registration. Then, on the return of the bishop, Scribe B was retained as enrolling clerk (a fact which would explain the disappearance of the handwriting of scribe A) and in this capacity in 1217 entered on the same membranes, using both the face and dorse of the roll, the supplementary information resulting from the bishop's review of the Official's administration.

The cumulative weight of evidence and argument is extremely damaging, not to say fatal, to the credibility of the 1217 hypothesis. The whole theory rests on the assumption that episcopal registration was motivated by the consequences of certain provisions of the fourth Lateran Council. Yet the main reason for the existence of these rolls was the necessity for a systematic record of institutions to benefices and it is questionable whether bishop Hugh needed the enactments of a General Council of the Church to suggest to him that a permanent form of record was a most essential prerequisite for efficient administration and the avoidance of unnecessary disputes. Indeed, in this instance royal rather than papal influences seem to have been instrumental in encouraging the keeping of diocesan records. With a training in royal administration and experience of the reforms of archbishop Hubert Walter in the chancery of King John, it is quite feasible that the new bishop of Lincoln, on

⁹⁰. The casual reference to the fourth Lateran Council in the Oxendon entry on membrane 5 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 26) in no way weakens this theory. It is noted that the presentee was beneficed elsewhere but had been presented to Oxendon before the Council. Since he was given charge of the church "on the advice of the legate Guala", presumably it was the latter who knew about the provisions of canon 29 of the Council. He arrived in England in May 1216 and would have known of the enactments of the Council (Nov.-Dec. 1215).

first entering his diocese and being confronted with the effects of a virtual interregnum of seven years (1206-1213), felt that the situation which he found could only be remedied and avoided in the future by an improvement in administrative methods. Rather than waiting until 1217, it seems more likely that the enrolment of acts of institution was begun by the bishop soon after his return from exile after the general interdict, and if membranes 1-2 are correctly dated, at least from his sixth pontifical year (beginning 20 December 1214).

The Rolls and Registers - Some preliminary remarks.

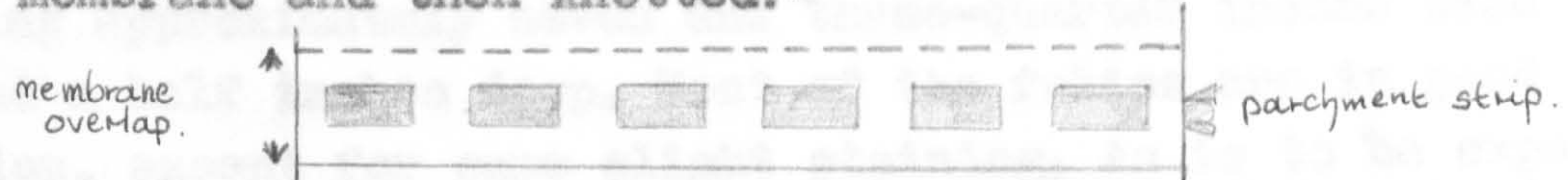
Ten institution rolls, one charter roll, two vicarage rolls, one composite register and a roll known as the "matricula" constitute the total surviving records of bishop Hugh's episcopate but several charter rolls, memoranda rolls, "matricule" and at least one other vicarage roll have disappeared in the course of seven centuries. It is quite possible that visitation rolls were kept by the bishop's clerks but the ephemeral nature of such material would not make for long-term preservation in the episcopal archives. The concern expressed throughout the institution rolls over the orders of the parochial clergy would suggest that some form of record of clerical ordinations might also have been compiled, though again this is mere speculation. At York, such records survive from the time of archbishop Walter Giffard but at Lincoln the earliest lists of ordinations date from 1290. Presumably registration on quires, which would later be bound into the episcopal register, increased their chances of survival rather more than the keeping of a separate roll for what were, after all, records of transitory importance. This study of the rolls aims to be as comprehensive in treatment as space and time will allow. It will include a detailed examination of the contents of the rolls, their manner of compilation and method of registration. An attempt will be made, with the aid of internal and palaeographical evidence, to date certain rolls more accurately than before and to dispel certain misconceptions. Later developments in methods of enrolment at Lincoln will be traced and a comparison will be made between the Wells rolls and those of Walter de Gray at York. Indeed it seems

odd, considering the celebrity of these Lincoln rolls, that such matters should have received little or no attention in the past. Since textual criticism was sadly neglected by the editor of these records, it will be convenient to include in our investigations some notes on the physical composition of the rolls and registers.

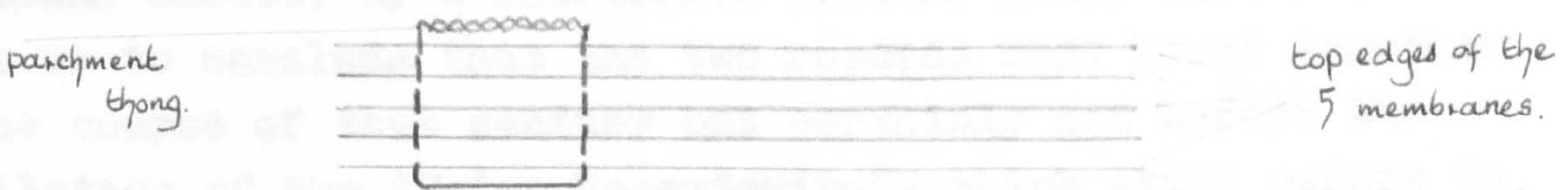
The fourteen parchment rolls, written in a variety of hands, embody certain common physical characteristics, upon which it will be advisable to comment before proceeding to treat each category of enrolment separately. After the bishop's tenth year (ending 19 December 1219), separate rolls were kept for each archdeaconry. The arrangement of these rolls is chronological by pontifical year, in the case of charter and institution rolls, and by monastic patron, in the case of vicarage rolls. Spaces on the rolls ranging from two to seven inches in extent are left after the entries for each pontifical year; these were presumably intended for later insertions. Sometimes an entry is misplaced but either marginal indicators point to its correct location or else the entire entry is erased and then enrolled in its proper position. When the clerk unintentionally recorded an entry on the wrong archdeaconry roll - for example, in the case of Horsenden (Buckingham), obviously mistaken for Horsington (Lincoln)⁹¹ - a note as to its whereabouts was always endorsed on the appropriate roll. With the exception of roll Vb (the so-called "matricula"), none of the rolls are ruled for writing purposes. The script is usually cramped and compact and heavily abbreviated, which is only to be expected when the entries contain so much common form. A vertical line is scored down the face of each roll, on average about one inch from the left hand edge; it served to delimit a margin for benefice headings and additional notes about the entries. A right-hand margin, about a quarter of an inch wide, is a feature of most of the rolls but the scribes frequently ignored it and continued to write to the very edge of each membrane. Sewing holes at the top of each institution roll would seem to indicate

91. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 56 "De custodia de Hossindone require in rotulo archidiaconatus Lincolnensis anno duodecimo." ibid., vol. III, pp. 112-3 Horsington entry: in the margin "Bukingham".

that all the rolls in a particular category were stitched together while they were in process of compilation. The name of the archdeaconry, inscribed on the dorse of certain rolls at the lower edge of a membrane would seem to confirm this supposition; surely the sole purpose of this endorsement would be to facilitate identification and consultation when they were thus fastened together? Separation of the rolls would only come when enrolment ceased on the demise of the bishop. The constituent membranes of each roll were usually sewn together with waxed thread. Some of the original stitching has survived, but there is abundant evidence of modern repairs. Yet it is uncertain whether this was the only method of attachment employed. On the vicarage roll for the Lincoln archdeaconry (roll I), two membranes have been connected by parchment lacing - a small strip of parchment being passed through holes at the lower edge of the membrane and then knotted:-



There are no signs of any sewing holes and this lacing could date from the time of Hugh's episcopate. Similarly the "quinque rotuli" (roll XI) are gathered together at the head and held by the method known as tacketing. Two holes are made through the five membranes about half an inch apart. Then the ends of a parchment thong are passed through the holes and are wound round each other and knotted:-



In this case, however, there is evidence that this roll has also been stitched at the head and it cannot be determined with any degree of certainty whether the tacketing is earlier than the stitching or vice versa. Many of the rolls are torn or stained or at least show signs of wear, due to the constant unrolling and rough handling by the clerks of the episcopal chancery.

The clerks of bishop Hugh also kept certain records on quires of parchment - three of which survive. These quires are now collected in one composite volume but in the thirteenth century they constituted two separate and distinct registers - the "registrum cartarum" containing transcripts of appropriation

deeds, grants of pensions and confirmations of grants of advowson⁹²; and the "quaterni de vicariis", recording ordinations of vicarages⁹³. Both sets of records are bound together in brown undressed calf, the raised-cord method of sewing being employed; they are known collectively as the Liber Antiquus, a name originally applied to the vicarage quires only. The present binding dates from the seventeenth century and possibly from the time of Dean Honynood (1660-81)⁹⁴. Some paper leaves and half-leaves have been inserted at the beginning and at the end of the volume. The title "Hugo Wells 1209" is written in ink on the cover, and the fly-cover contains the description "Liber Antiquus de ordinationibus vicariarum tempore Hugonis Wells 1209" in a large, round eighteenth century hand. The three quires together consist of thirty-six folios - made up from regular double-leaved sheets - each measuring approximately seven and three-quarter inches wide by nine and a half inches deep. Most of the folios are in good condition, except for some slight staining. As is to be expected, the edges of the folios are ragged in parts but there are no signs of trimming. Each folio has been pricked and ruled to contain forty lines of writing; margins of one and a half inches and one inch respectively have been retained on the right and left hand sides of each page. The volume (i.e. the three quires) has been foliated throughout in Roman numerals (except for blank sheets) by a fourteenth century hand. This disclosure leads us to conclude that the two records were bound together in the course of that century but certainly not before the compilation of the "Vetus Repertorium", which still refers to them as two distinct registers⁹⁵. The foliator is probably to be identified with the scribe who added the marginal headings.

92. printed in Liber Antiquus, pp. 72-106.

93. ibid., pp. 1-71.

94. See D.M. WILLIAMSON: Lincoln Muniments (Lincoln Minster Pamphlets 8, 1956), p. 8 & M. ARCHER: The Register of Bishop Repington 1405-1419, vol. I (L.R.S. lvii), p. xv and note 2.

95. e.g. Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. 10. 28, f. 97d (Marston entry).

The rolls are by no means a complete record of the administration of bishop Hugh. They contain only a selection of the business which was transacted by the diocesan - certain classes of records which, for administrative or legal purposes, it was convenient to have enrolled together rather than filed among the "negotia" in the episcopal archives. It will be seen that the rolls fall into three main categories of diocesan business - Institutions, Charters (and memoranda) and Vicarages (and the so-called "matricula").

Institution rolls.

Institutions constitute the major portion of these records, accounting for ten out of the fourteen surviving rolls. These rolls are not bulky records. Whereas at York in the mid-thirteenth century the institution of a clerk often involved the registration of the letter of presentation, the letter of inquisition, the letter of institution and the induction mandate⁹⁶, the clerks of bishop Wells succeeded in including all the necessary information in a single, precise summary of the act. These institution rolls were strictly speaking a form of "act book", whose specific purpose was to provide the bishop and his staff with adequate and readily accessible information about institutions to benefices - the incumbents, their status and learnings; the patrons, pensions and the like - without including the unnecessary verbiage which so marked later episcopal registers.

With the more systematic arrangement of the rolls from the eleventh pontifical year, all institutions to benefices are recorded on the face of the roll; all entries relating to the custody of churches and institutions of heads of religious houses are enrolled on the dorse. The latter category is never

⁹⁶. e.g. W. BROWN: The Register of Archbishop Walter Giffard, p. 21 (Surtees Society CIX, 1904). HIGH HOYLAND entry, containing the letter of resignation of the previous incumbent, the letter of presentation, the letter to the archdeacon instructing him to hold an inquisition, the archdeacon's report, a note of the admission of the presentee and the induction mandate.

recorded in the rolls before 1219-1220 (year 11). It is of course impossible to gauge what proportion of the total number of institutions performed in any one year eventually achieved enrolment. Canon Foster maintained that these institutions were "recorded with as much completeness as human fallibility will allow."⁹⁷ Yet, a consultation of the Leicester "matricula" for instance makes it blatantly obvious that many such acts of bishop Wells escaped registration. The vicarage rolls contain records of several institutions which are not noted elsewhere and a random check reveals that it is frequently impossible to trace the clerical succession in certain benefices, because of this failure to record every institution. Bearing in mind the extent of the diocese and the number of parishes within its boundaries, these omissions are understandable. The great accumulation of charters, memoranda, correspondence and other archival material in the episcopal chancery could clearly lead to much business being lost or overlooked, and the bishop's constant perambulations of his diocese would not have made his enrolling clerks' task any simpler. A deficiency in enrolment was only to be expected.⁹⁸

The entries in these rolls are relatively stereotyped, except that the precision of language employed in the early days of bishop Hugh's active episcopate, is greatly abbreviated by later scribes. A typical entry records that a certain clerk (whose status is almost invariably given), on the presentation of the patron (there being no dispute), has been admitted to a particular church and instituted parson in it by the bishop, after the archdeacon had held an inquisition as to the cause of

97. "The Lincoln Episcopal Registers", p.160.

98. Bishop Dalderby admitted that his register was not a complete record of institutions, cf. Lincoln Register III, f.319
 ".....Vniuersitati vestre volumus esse notum quod inuestigato registro nostro plenius et rimato de admissionib^{us} clericorum ad beneficia ecclesiastica in diocesi nostra factis temporibus retroactis de presentacione quondam magistri Henrici de Newerk' ad ecclesiam de Rothalo nostre diocesis uel institutione ipsius in eadem ecclesia nichilominus adhuc potuit inueniri set vtrum idem magister Henricus mencione facta de eo in registro predicto verisimiliter hesitamus."

vacancy. There frequently follow remarks about the suitability of the presentee and whether he is sufficiently learned to carry out his priestly duties. If a candidate is commanded to attend the schools for a specified period, he is usually given custody of the benefice pending a re-examination at the end of the prescribed time. It was always emphasized that the presentee to a perpetual vicarage was under the obligation of personal residence. Frequently the ordination of the vicarage or any provisions about the payment of pensions or tithes were noted in the entry. If the clerk was not in orders, it was stipulated that he should proceed to ordination within a specified time. Each entry concludes with a note to the effect that the bishop instructed the archdeacon or his official or a rural dean to induct the presentee into corporal possession of the benefice. The records of institutions of monastic heads sometimes include a transcript of the letters of resignation and presentation; this is especially so in the case of alien priories.

Brief notes on the physical composition of the ten rolls follow:-

1. All the archdeacons before the tenth year. (roll X - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 1-130.)

The physical composition of this roll has already been adequately treated in the preceding section on the date of the earliest roll of bishop Hugh.

2. All the archdeacons for the tenth year. (roll XII - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 131-176.)

As the name of the roll suggests, only institutions performed in the course of the bishop's tenth pontifical year (20 December 1218-19 December 1219) are enrolled upon the five component membranes of this roll. It is eight feet six inches long and seven and three-quarters inches wide. The last membrane is torn and abraded.

3. Lincoln archdeaconry. (roll Ia (XIII) - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles vol. III, pp. 97-218.)

It is appropriate that the largest archdeaconry in the diocese should furnish us with the largest institution roll. Its twelve membranes measure twenty-three feet and four inches in length and eight inches in width. Unfortunately every membrane

bears ample testimony to the voracious appetite of the rodents inhabiting the muniment room. Entire marginal headings have disappeared in this way. Moreover the fifth and twelfth membranes are considerably stained. The entries on the roll date from Hugh's eleventh year to his twenty-fifth.

4. Bedford archdeaconry. (roll VI - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, pp. 1-32).

The roll consists of five membranes, the last of which is considerably torn, especially at the edges. It is nine feet six inches long and eight inches wide. There are some natural holes in the parchment. The institution entries begin in the eleventh pontifical year and continue until the twenty-fifth.

5. Stow archdeaconry. (roll IV - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 211-237).

This roll consists of five membranes having a total length of eight feet and an average width of eight and a quarter inches. Parts of the roll are slightly stained and it has endured the normal amount of wear at the edges. The fifth membrane is slit in several places at the end and it is probable that a substantial portion of this membrane has been torn away completely. The last entry is almost illegible. A slight tear on the right hand edge of membrane 2 has been crudely repaired by the use of the white adhesive borders, which normally surround a block of postage stamps. This "repair" dates from the period 1924-1934⁹⁹. The roll contains the record of institutions performed by the bishop from his eleventh pontifical year to his twenty-fifth.

6. Northampton archdeaconry. (roll II - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles vol. II, pp. 98-182).

This roll is sixteen feet six inches long and eight inches wide. Of its nine membranes, the last is badly mutilated and several others are torn and faded in parts. Much of the original sewing has now disappeared. The entries commence with the eleventh pontifical year and conclude with the twenty-sixth.

⁹⁹. The watermark (multiple crown and GVR) and the colour-tone indicate quite plainly that these strips formerly surrounded a block of the 1st denomination of the second issue of the first definitive stamps of King George V. They were in use from 1924 to 1934.

7. Huntingdon archdeaconry. (roll VIII - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, pp. 33-54).

Only three membranes of this roll survive, containing entries from the eleventh to the eighteenth year of bishop Wells's pontificate ; yet it is difficult to gauge how much of the roll has been torn away. All three extant membranes, together measuring five feet nine inches, are faded and considerable sections of the edge of the roll have been eaten away. Membrane 2 is very badly stained and it is almost impossible to read the last few entries on the third membrane. The roll is seven and three-quarter inches wide.

8. Oxford archdeaconry. (roll III - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 1-47).

This roll is composed of six membranes, with a small slip of parchment, one inch deep, attached to the last membrane. The total length is eleven feet six inches and the average width is seven and three-quarter inches. With the loss of the original thread, membrane 2 has almost become detached from the first membrane. Institutions are enrolled from the bishop's eleventh year and the last recorded entry is dated to the twenty-sixth year.

9. Leicester archdeaconry. (roll V - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 273-327).

The editor of the published text was under the misapprehension that membrane 1 of this roll had become detached. The membrane he identified as such, was in fact the Leicester section of the "quinque rotuli" of ordained vicarages and consequently membrane 2 of the printed edition is in reality the first membrane of the institution roll. The six other membranes of this roll are in a reasonable state of preservation, although it is only to be expected that the lower half of the last membrane should have sustained more than the normal amount of wear. The roll's total length is thirteen feet five inches and its width eight inches. Enrolment begins in the eleventh year of bishop Hugh and continues until the twenty-sixth.

10. Buckingham archdeaconry. (roll VII - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 48-97).

The six membranes¹⁰⁰ of this roll measure just over eleven feet in 100. According to Phillimore's computation, there were only five membranes, curiously numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 131

length. In common with several other institution rolls it is seven and three-quarter inches wide. The final membrane is badly stained and there is a slit about five inches long from the centre of the lower edge of the roll. Institutions are dated from the eleventh to the twenty-fifth year of the bishop.

Charter rolls and register.

The first charter rolls were coeval with the earliest institution rolls. References to entries on charter rolls for the sixth¹⁰¹, ninth¹⁰², and tenth¹⁰³ pontifical years allow us to conclude with confidence that their arrangement resembled exactly the surviving institution rolls - namely, a single roll for all the archdeaconries from at least 1215 to 1218, a similar roll for the tenth year of the bishop (1218-9) and from then on, separate archidiaconal rolls. This latter assumption is convincingly substantiated by numerous references between 1220 and 1235 to the seven archidiaconal charter rolls which are now no longer extant - those of Lincoln, Stow, Bedford, Oxford, Huntingdon, Leicester and Buckingham¹⁰⁴. From the Northampton roll - the only charter roll of bishop Wells in existence - it can be established that these rolls were in reality a record of certain classes of outgoing letters, enrolled in some cases for the benefit and use of the bishop and his administrative officials and in others as an additional safeguard for the recipients of the charters. Letters of institution and of collation, which constitute the principal contents of this roll, fall into this latter category, as do confirmations of private grants of lands and pensions and tithes, agreements over the erection of private ~~grantaxaxixum~~ chapels and the recital of several other types of private document, such as the grant of a corrody, a papal dispensation

¹⁰¹. Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. I, p. 199 and on the Lincoln vicarage roll (Roll I), on the dorse opposite the Owersby entry which appears ibid., vol. III, p. 56 - omitted by the editor.

¹⁰². ibid., vol. III, pp. 79, 80, 82.

¹⁰³. ibid., vol. I, p. 232.

¹⁰⁴. ibid., vol. I, p. 232, vol. II, pp. 84, 210, 226; vol. III, pp. 8, 40, 125.

for illegitimacy and the granting of the profits of a church to repay a loan. A large amount of miscellaneous business - worthy of the memoranda rolls - is to be found on the charter rolls, for example, indulgences, the appointment of sequestrators, aspects of judicial proceedings and appeals, grants of wardship, the report of an archidiaconal inquest, letters of protection for crusaders' property, notifications of excommunication and the like. It is quite clear that separate memoranda rolls did exist in this period, but it is equally apparent that no strict divisions were kept between the various series of enrolments¹⁰⁵. The letters of institution and of collation are enrolled on the face of the roll and with minor exceptions, all other categories of business are endorsed. In the majority of cases, care has been taken to reproduce the charter as accurately as possible. In some instances, witness-lists and dating clauses are not copied in full, but reference is made to documents on other charter rolls which were issued on the same day.

The register of charters was a gradual compilation of a relatively early date, reference to it even being found on institution roll X among entries of 1217-1218¹⁰⁶. A more precise date for its compilation is difficult to ascertain.

Unfortunately the handwriting of the compilers of the register cannot be identified with any of the hands of the scribes of the institution rolls. Nevertheless it is quite conceivable that this manuscript was compiled in stages between 1214 and 1220 - that is,

spanning the dates of the enrolled charters. The register is presumably a supplement to, rather than a duplicate of, the missing charter roll of the same period. It is extremely selective in material for registration - indeed, too selective

105. The language of bishop Hugh's clerks was always precise and there is no question that "rotulus cartarum" and "rotulus memorandorum" are synonymous e.g. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 34 "De ~~memorandorum~~ portionibus autem predictis habetur in rotulo cartarum hujus archidiaconatus et in rotulo memorandorum anno xxii." It should also be remembered that some institutions were recorded on the vicarage rolls (no strict divisions).

106. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 65, 74, 75.

for a mere duplicate copy - and the fact that enrolment ceased somewhat abruptly in 1220, the year when episcopal registration at Lincoln underwent further significant developments, in my opinion, makes speculation regarding the existence of a later quire (for 1220-1235) unnecessary and rather pointless. Certainly the Northampton archdeaconry charter roll (commencing 1220) contains the same type of document to be found in the earlier register - appropriation deeds and ordinations of vicarages, confirmations and grants of pensions from churches ; perhaps the continuation of such a register after the changes of 1220 was no longer justified¹⁰⁷.

1. Northampton archdeaconry. (roll IX - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 183-272).

The sole surviving charter roll resembles the institution rolls in format, if not in content. The nine membranes together measure fifteen feet ten inches in extent. As is to be expected, the width of the roll is the normal seven and three-quarter inches. This roll requires a considerable amount of repair. Membrane 3 is attached to the preceding membrane by no more than three strands of broken thread ; membranes 4 and 7 are torn in several places and on the ninth membrane, careless handling has resulted in a six inch slit from the centre of the lower edge, mutilating all the entries arranged under the twenty-sixth pontifical year. Certain sections of the roll are also faded and rather illegible. The entries begin on 27 December 1219 and the last recorded charter was issued on 25 January 1235, a fortnight before the bishop's death.

2. "Registrum cartarum". (Liber Antiquus, pp. 72-104).

The "registrum cartarum" is a single quire of twelve folios, the last two of which are left blank. They presumably acted as an outer cover for the quire before it was bound. The old foliation can still be discerned by means of an ultra-violet lamp - folio 1

¹⁰⁷. The commencement of the vicarage rolls about this period would also have some effect, especially where records of ordinations were concerned.

of the original quire corresponding to folio 23 of the composite volume. Insertions and amendations to the text are always noted in the margin but the heading "Appropriaciones ecclesiarum et constituciones pensionum viris religiosis facte tempore domini Hugonis secundi Lincoln' episcopi, una cum quibusdam confirmacionibus factis per eum super appropriacionibus et constitucionibus pensionum habitis de temporibus quorundam predecessorum suorum" and the marginal benefice headings are subsequent additions, written by a fourteenth century hand. There is no rubrication. The initial letter of each entry is sometimes omitted but more usually is written in the left-hand margin at some distance from the remainder of the word. The entries are arranged in chronological sequence by the bishop's pontificate, a space between the transcripts heralding the beginning of another episcopal year. There are no archidiaconal divisions. The register contains seventy-seven copies of charters dating from 27 February 1214 to 30 April 1220 but it has the appearance of being unfinished. The final entry¹⁰⁸, regarding the church of Bletsoe, seems to end in the middle of the witness-list on the fortieth line of the recto of folio 10 (or 32) ; yet, the charter is not concluded on the verso. In fact, a charter of bishop Richard Gravesend relating to the appropriation of the churches of Old Sleaford and Ruskington¹⁰⁹ has been enrolled on the upper half of this folio by Thomas Colston "who was registrar to the bishops of Lincoln during the whole of the first half of the fifteenth century".¹¹⁰ "Registrum cartarum" was the contemporary name for this quire but by the time of bishop Dalderby (1300-1320), it had become known as the "quaternus antiquus de cartis et pensionibus ecclesiarum appropriatarum".¹¹¹ The accuracy of the transcripts can be checked against certain original documents which are still extant. A comparison will be undertaken when the manner and method of registration is discussed later in this chapter.

^{108.} Liber Antiquus, pp. 104-5.

^{109.} ibid., pp. 105-6.

^{110.} A. HAMILTON THOMPSON: Visitations of Religious Houses, vol. II (.L.R.S. xiv, 1918), p. ix.

^{111.} Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. 10. 28, e.g. f. 97d (Marston)

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Vicarage rolls and register.

Considering bishop Hugh's ceaseless activity in ordaining perpetual vicarages, it is not surprising that descriptions of vicarage endowments form an important part of the episcopal records. These records consist of two rolls (the "quinque rotuli consueti" for the seven archdeacons excluding Lincoln, and the "rotulus curtus et grossus" solely for the Lincoln archdeaconry) and one register (the "quaterni de vicariis, containing entries for all the archdeacons except Leicester). They are surveys of vicarages for reference purposes and for this reason, the entries are relatively stereotyped. They record the name of the benefice, the appropriating monastery, the endowments and value of the vicarage and frequently the name of the perpetual vicar. The arrangement of these records is always by archdeaconry and within each archidiaconal division, the benefices are grouped together under common monastic patrons. It must be added that the latter method of classification is not always strictly adhered to in the register. Spaces are left for the insertion of additional material and new ordinations. As yet, no attempt has been made to date the rolls and register or to explain their relationship.

A close examination of the "quinque rotuli" reveals that they are a gradual compilation in the handwriting of at least four separate scribes, whom for the sake of convenience I have styled Scribe I, II, III and IV. The Lincoln vicarage roll is written for the most part in a hand resembling that of Scribe II, with later insertions enrolled by Scribes III and IV. Deliberately cramped and hurried handwriting presents especial difficulties for palaeographical study and a change of quill and ink can sometimes lead to further apparent distortions; consequently, in some cases an element of doubt hampers positive identification of the hand but such entries are not sufficient to affect the general conclusions regarding the date of the manuscripts. It must be pointed out that the aim of the following investigation is merely to discover the approximate period of activity of each of the four scribes; accordingly I have not felt it necessary to dwell at length on the component membranes of the rolls in order to note their precise palaeographical arrangement; rather, I have only recorded those entries which

assist in the dating of the hands.

Scribe I is identical with the compiler of the institution rolls between 1219/20 and 1223 ; yet, in this instanc he cannot have begun the roll earlier than the twelfth year of the bishop (20 December 1220-19 December 1221). Towards the end of the second entry on the Oxford rotulet of the "quinque rotuli" Warin the chaplain is described as perpetual vicar of Shirburn¹¹²; his institution was performed in the course of this pontifical year¹¹³. The entries regarding the benefices of Bloxham, St.Giles Oxford (on the Oxford rotulet) and High Wycombe (Buckingham rotulet)¹¹⁴ must surely date from the bishop's ordination of these three vicarages on 12 December 1221¹¹⁵. Richard of Bramton, vicar of Stukeley in the Huntingdon archdeaconry was instituted in the same year¹¹⁶ and other incumbents mentioned in the "quinque rotuli" who have a bearing on the date of Scribe I's enrolments are William of Rothwell vicar of Rothwell¹¹⁷, Elias vicar of Harringworth¹¹⁸ and Martin vicar of Ashby St.Ledgers¹¹⁹. Their respective letters of institution are recorded on the Northampton charter roll under the years 1221, 1222 and 1223¹²⁰. A "terminus a quo" is provided by the names of the vicars of Caversfield, Westbury and Stanton Barry¹²¹; although their own institutions are not recorded elsewhere, all the benefices were next vacant in the course of the sixteenth year of Hugh's episcopate (December 1224-December 1225)¹²². In the light of this evidence, the date of Scribe I's activity can be ascribed to the period 1221-1224.

112. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 177.

113. ibid., vol. II, p. 6.

114. ibid., vol. I, pp. 179, 178, 195 respectively.

115. actum no. 143.

116. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 189, 193 & vol. III, p. 36.

117. ibid., vol. I, p. 206.

118. ibid., vol. I, p. 203.

119. ibid., vol. I, p. 207.

120. acta nos. 134, 150, 165.

121. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 196, 197bis.

122. ibid., vol. II, pp. 66-7.

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The mention of Robert of Hailes as archdeacon of Lincoln, a dignity he held from 1223, confirms that an initial assumption that Scribe II's enrolments began after that date. An explanatory note to the Temple Dinsley entry on the Huntingdon membrane of the "quinque rotuli" states that an erasure was made during the siege of Bedford castle¹²⁴ that is, between 22 June and 14 August 1224. This scribe also noted that the prior of St. Frideswide was to appoint perpetual vicars to the vicarages of Fritwell, Headington, Marston, Elsfield and St. Frideswide, Oxford before 8 September 1225¹²⁵ but in the same entry it is recorded that the vicarage of Winchendon in the Buckingham archdeaconry was not yet ordained. This suggests that Scribe II ceased his registration of these vicarage records before the eighteenth pontifical year (December 1226-December 1227) when a vicarage was ordained in that aforesaid church¹²⁶.

The Buckingham, Huntingdon and Oxford membranes of the "quinque rotuli" furnish all the information that is required to date the handwriting of Scribe III. It is evident that this clerk did not commence work until the eighteenth year of the bishop or soon afterwards, for reference is made to the ordinations of Wroxton¹²⁷ and St. Mary, Huntingdon¹²⁸ to be found in the institution rolls for that year. Similarly the endowments of Winchendon¹²⁹ vicarage, ordained in the same year, are recorded in full on the roll, but the fact that Worminghall¹³⁰ is still described as not yet ordained makes it clear that the enrolling activities of Scribe III were concluded before the twentieth pontifical year (December 1228-December 1229), when this particular vicarage was ordained¹³¹. It may be of interest to note that Scribe III was also the compiler of the institution and charter rolls for the same period.

123. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 180 - the heading before the Fritwell entry.

124. ibid., vol. I, p. 192 - "Hec abrasio facta fuit in obsidione castri Bedef' de consilio R. Linc' et J. Bedef' archidiaconoru"

125. ibid., vol. I, p. 182.

126. For ordination of Winchendon vicarage, see ibid., vol. II, pp. 72-3.

127. ibid., vol. I, p. 25 referring to vol. II, p. 25.

128. ibid., vol. I, p. 190 - institution roll missing for this year.

129. ibid., vol. I, p. 199 130. ibid. 131. ibid., vol. II, p. 75.

The work of Scribe IV is restricted to a few notes referring to ordinations of vicarages enrolled on the appropriate institution or charter rolls. Since these insertions refer to entries of the fifteenth¹³², seventeenth¹³³, eighteenth¹³⁴, twentieth¹³⁵ and twenty-first¹³⁶ years of bishop Hugh's pontificate, it can be assumed that this scribe was active in the last few years of the bishop's life (? 1230 onwards). Thus the approximate period of each clerk's enrolments can be dated as follows:-
Scribe I - 1221-4 ; Scribe II - 1224-7 ; Scribe III - 1227-9 ;
Scribe IV - circa 1230 or later.

There is no foundation whatsoever for the statement of Canon Perry that the "Liber Antiquus" (as a whole) was compiled for the most part in 1218¹³⁷; he plainly did not take into account that it was a composite register and whereas the "registrum cartarum" was of a comparatively early date, the "quaterni de vicariis" was clearly a much later compilation. The latter register is no mere duplicate of the two vicarage rolls, as the following table will indicate. There are enormous differences between them:

Stow archdeaconry : Benefices not in the rolls but in the register.

Upton : Willoughton (one moiety): Crowle : Raventhorpe.

Northampton archdeaconry: Benefices not in the register but in the rolls.

Harringworth: Wilbarston: Rothwell: Brigstock: Weldon:
Greatham: Hellidon.

Benefices not in the rolls but in the register.

Maxey: Writhorpe: Slipton: Addington: Bozeat: Wollaston:
Roade: Wellingborough: Mears Ashby: Preston Deanery: Horton:
Brayfield: Little Houghton: Hardingstone: All Saints
Northampton: Duston: St. Edmund Northampton: St. Gregory

132. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 196 (Chalfont).

133. Liber Antiquus, p. 32 (Addington).

134. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 183 (North Aston).

135. ibid., vol. III, p. 72 (Cadney).

136. Liber Antiquus, p. 61 (Morton).

137. ibid., p. x.

Northampton: St. Giles Northampton: St. Bartholomew
 Northampton: St. Michael Northampton: Weedon Pinkney:
 Weedon Bec: Blakesley: Welford: Pattishall: Brackley:
 Marston: Sulgrave: Newbottle: Dodford: Moulton: Flores:
 Watford: Little Billing: Lilbourne: Guilsborough: Ashby:

Buckingham archdeaconry: Benefices not in the rolls but in the register.

Lavendon: Cold Brafield: Filgrave: Astwood: Little Brickhill:
 Wolverton: Chicheley: Willen: Bradwell: Thornborough:
 Hillesdon: Wootton: Underwood: Hogshaw-cum-Fulbrook: Long
 Crendon: Hedsor: Chilton: Ashenden: Wendover: Shabbington:
 Chesham Bois (both moieties): Ilmer: Haddenham: Marsworth:
 Medmenham: Mentmore: Walton: Wing: Stoke Poges.

Bedford archdeaconry: Benefices not in the register but in the rolls.

Chicksands: Houghton Regis.

Benefices not in the rolls but in the register.

Salford: Westoning: Tilsforth: Eaton: Houghton: Luton: Henlow
 Arlesey: Dunton: Langford: St. John Bedford: Kempston:
 Goldington: Cardington: Willington: Roxton: Great Barford:
 Renhold: Ravensden: Podington: Bromham: Stagden.

Huntingdon archdeaconry: Benefices not in the rolls but in the register.

St. Ives: St. Neots: Everton: Pirton: Weston: Great Wymondley:
 Kimpton: All Saints Hertford: St. John Hertford: Bengoe:
 Sandon.

Oxford archdeaconry: Benefices not in the rolls but in the register.

Dunstew: Burford: Asthall: Bampton: Black Bourton: Shipton-
 under-Wychwood: Kirtlington: Sandford-on-Thames: Dorchester-
 on-Thames: Pyrton: Fishill: Nuffield.

Lincoln archdeaconry: Benefices not in the register but in the rolls.

Riby: Bardney: Edlington: St. Andrew Stamford: Steeping:
 Laughton.

Benefices not in the rolls but in the register.

Witham: Spalding: Cabourne: West Ravendale.

The register is thus a much fuller and more developed version of the rolls, extensive use having been made of institution and charter rolls and "matricule", in order to present a reasonably accurate and more complete survey of vicarages in the Lincoln diocese. Admittedly certain entries are

copied almost verbatim from the rolls but in the majority of cases, the compiler has resorted to considerable additional information gleaned from other sources. All the same it is rather curious that several entries on the rolls were not transcribed into the register ; perhaps these omissions can be ascribed to carelessness on the part of the enrolling clerk. The names of vicars are invariably omitted in the "quaterni" and in this respect it is much more of a precise survey than the rolls (after all, the proper place for institutions is in the institution roll). The body of the text is in the handwriting of Scribe III and it is evident that the main part of the register was written up as a single entity, spaces being left after some benefice headings for endowments to be inserted after the vicarages in question had been ordained. These later additions are enrolled by Scribe IV, by clerks of bishops Grosseteste and Gravesend and on occasion by clerks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

One would expect the date of compilation of the initial section of the register to be coeval with the period of Scribe III's activities on the other rolls. This is not a false assumption and once again the vicarages of Winchendon and Worminghall¹³⁸ provide the conclusive evidence for dating the manuscript. The Winchendon entry is written in the hand of Scribe III ; the Worminghall entry heading and the name of the appropriating monastery is in the same hand and ink, but the continuation of the endowments are in a different shade of ink and are clearly a later addition. The production of the first part of the "quaterni" can therefore be dated to a period in or after the eighteenth year of the bishop (the date of the Winchendon ordination) and before his twentieth year (date of the Worminghall ordination). Corroboration of this theory is furnished by the entries for North Aston¹³⁹ and Wroxton¹⁴⁰, which record the ordination of these vicarages as it appears in the

138. Liber Antiquus, p.14 (both entries).

139. ibid., p.3 & institution roll entry Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.25.

140. Liber Antiquus, p.7 & Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.25.

relevant institution roll, in both cases under the eighteenth year ; similarly the ordination of Cadney vicarage¹⁴¹ occurred in the course of the twentieth pontifical year but that was apparently too late a date for the provisions to be recorded in the original portion of the register.

It is difficult to fix upon the exact connexion between these two sets of records. The relationship is certainly not one of original and duplicate, as has once been mooted - the notion being no doubt that one copy would remain at Lincoln or some manor-house of the bishop, while the other was in the custody of the peripatetic episcopal clerks. (In any case, one would surely expect the duplicate of a roll to be in the form of a roll, and not on quires.) A more plausible explanation for the existence of the register is that it was a modified and improved version of the prototypal vicarage rolls, intended to render the latter obsolete. The five rotulets, sewn together at the head, are distinctly unwieldy and awkward for constant reference and quick identification and it is likely that the codex form was preferred for this special type of record. The total number of entries was very great and the numerous gaps left in the text for later insertions would have made a compilation in roll form extremely unmanageable. It is quite possible that the original aim was that the register should virtually supersede the two rolls and not that they should be complementary. It is perhaps significant that Scribe IV, who continued to make annotations to the rolls after the register had been compiled, confined himself to noting down references to vicarage ordinations which could be found on the institution and charter rolls and did not bother to enrol the ordinations in their entirety. This is perhaps in itself an indication of the diminishing importance of the rolls. Nevertheless, if the intention really was to abandon the vicarage rolls altogether, then it was not successful. Bishop Grosseteste is found consulting both records indiscriminately for information about certain vicarages and from the imperfect

¹⁴¹. Liber Antiquus, p.51 & Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.III, p.167.

it is clear that state of the rolls (he was not the only Lincoln prelate to make use of them¹⁴²). Later clerks also failed to keep the entries in the "quaterni" up-to-date and frequently omitted to insert new ordinations, for which space had been allowed in the text.

1. The "Quinque Rotuli". (Roll XI - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 177-210 & ibid., vol. II, pp. 272-277).

The roll consists of five membranes or rotulets (one of which is now detached) and a small schedule. Entries relate to the ordination of vicarages in the archdeaonries of Northampton, Oxford, Huntingdon, Buckingham, Leicester, Bedford and Stow, Lincoln vicarages require a separate roll. Unlike the other Wells rolls, the membranes are not sewn end to end to form a continuous roll, but are gathered together at the head and stitched and tacketed. This partially explains their advanced state of deterioration. This arrangement is hardly conducive to careful treatment, especially when a clerk needed to follow up a reference from one rotulet to another.

Rotulet 1. is in very serious need of repair. The membrane, six and three-quarter inches wide and twenty-one inches long, is split vertically in half and the two portions are only held together by four pieces of white adhesive paper, affixed at strategic intervals. The Huntingdon vicarage entries are enrolled on the face; those of the Bedford archdeaconry on the dorso. The entire membrane is much defaced and partly illegible. A large natural hole in the parchment on the right hand side of the rotulet has been sewn up, but the rest of this edge is torn away. Attached to this membrane is a contemporary parchment schedule, measuring seven inches by six and a half, and containing the amended ordinations of the Huntingdonshire vicarages of Great Stukeley, Hemmingford Grey, Great Gidding and Winwick and a transcript of a letter from the archdeacon of Lincoln to the bishop about vicarages belonging to Huntingdon priory. Phillimore mistook this piece of parchment for one of the "quinque rotuli".

Rotulet 2 is in the best state of preservation of any of the

142. It has been established that the following references to vicarage rolls and register all relate to the records of Hugh: Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 376, 164, 303, 342 (rolls); p. 308 (register); cf. also Lincoln Register I, f. 94 (register).

"quinque rotuli". With the exception of a few creases in the parchment towards the end of the membrane, it bears only the normal signs of wear. The Buckingham archdeaconry entries are written on the face of the rotulet; the Stow entries on the dorse. Although it is the longest of the five component membranes at twenty-two inches, it does not appear to have served as the outer cover for the roll. It is six and a half inches wide. Eight inches of parchment on the lower half of the face of the roll are left blank.

Rotulet 3 contains only entries regarding the Oxford archdeaconry. There are no endorsements. It is twenty and a half inches long and seven and three-quarter inches wide. The parchment at the left hand edge of the membrane has become very brittle. The entries on the whole are reasonably legible, although there are a few faded sections here and there. The lower edge of the membrane is creased and torn.

Rotulet 4, the membrane containing Northampton ordinations, is much rubbed and galled. It is twenty-one and a quarter inches long and six and three-quarter inches wide. A slip of parchment, now in a very fragmentary state, is stitched to the end of the membrane. Part of the last entry concerning Hemington vicarage has been torn away. On the dorse are further entries relating to vicarages in the Northampton archdeaconry, two of them being reports of archidiaconal inquests.

Rotulet 5. As already stated, the surviving fragment of the Leicester vicarages membrane was originally thought to be the first membrane of the Leicester institution roll. It is no longer attached to the other rotulets. This remnant measures seventeen and a quarter inches at its longest point and is eight inches wide; there are no endorsements. Much of the right hand side of the roll has been eaten away and the left hand margin is considerably stained. It is possible to ascertain how much of the roll is missing by consulting the "Vetus Repertorium"; this provides us with the names of vicarages which were enrolled on the destroyed section of the membrane. They number twenty-one, two more than on the surviving portion of the rotulet. They are Eaton; Thorp Arnold; Barkby; Queniborough; Billesdon; St. Nicholas Leicester; St. Peter Leicester; St. Michael Leicester; St. Clement Leicester; All Saints Leicester; St. Martin Leicester; St. Leonard

Leicester; Thornby; Enderby; Cosby; Bitteswell; Thornton;
Whitwick; Shepshed; Lockington; Ratby¹⁴³

2. Lincoln Vicarage roll (roll I - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, pp. 55-96).

This roll is in reality three separate rolls in one - first, there is the "rotulus curtus et grossus" consisting of five membranes (or "partes" according to the fifteenth-century annotator) and containing ordinations of vicarages in the Lincoln archdeaconry; then, there is the "rotulus inclusus" of two membranes, a continuation of the preceding roll, and finally there is a single membrane bearing the heading "Ecclesie, pensiones et redditus concessi in proprios usus viris religiosis per Dominum H. secundum Line' Episcopum". The three rolls are stitched together at the foot of each roll. This particular vicarage roll is the narrowest of all bishop Hugh's enrolments, each constituent roll being only five and three-quarter inches wide. The "rotulus curtus et grossus" is ten feet six and three-quarter inches long. Only one entry concerning Swinstead vicarage¹⁴⁴ is endorsed. The upper section of the first membrane is rubbed and faded but otherwise the roll is in good condition. The "rotulus inclusus" has not been so fortunate. The top of the roll is split and cracked and portions of the left hand edge of the roll have been eaten away. Membrane 1 was torn in two at an unspecified date; the fragments have been stitched together and this repair has been "reinforced" on the dorse by seven strips of adhesive paper (identified as postage-stamp surrounds). The second membrane has escaped the ravages of time relatively successfully. In addition to modern pencil numbering, both membranes bear Arabic numerals of the fifteenth century. The total length of this roll is four feet four inches. The final roll - a concise list of churches and pensions granted to the regular clergy, with the dates of the grants - emerges comparatively unscathed. Perhaps its position as the inner of the three rolls helped to protect it from mishandling by episcopi

143. Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. 10.28, ff. 95-95d.

144. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 63.

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143. Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. 10. 28, ff. 95-95d.

144. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 63.

145.

clerks. It is twenty-two inches long and bears only one endorsement - a variation of the heading on the face - "De beneficiis concessis religiosis in proprios usus per Dominum H. Linc' secundum".

3. The "Quaterni de vicariis". (Liber Antiquus, pp. 1-71).

The register, known as the "quaterni de vicariis" and later as the "quaterni antiqui de ordinationibus vicariarum", consists of two quires: the first, of fourteen folios in extent, containing entries relating to vicarages in the archdeaconries of Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon and Northampton; the second, of ten folios, being confined to the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow. Up to the time of the "Vetus Repertorium", there was no continuous foliation of these two quires, each of them being regarded as a separate entity, with independent foliation¹⁴⁵. The first two folios and the verso of the final folio of quire I are blank; similarly the last two folios of the second quire. Obviously these would serve as outer covers for the respective quires before binding removed the need for such protection. The inscription in a late thirteenth century hand on the verso of the final folio of quire 2 - "Ordinaciones vicariarum tempore Hugonis .ii. facte in archidiaconatibus Lincoln' et Stowe" - proves that these quires were retained in their original format by successive episcopal clerks for a considerable time after bishop Hugh's death. These covers are the only parts of the register to show any noticeable traces of wear. The arrangement of the text is by archdeaconry. Each archidiaconal section begins on a new page. After certain entries, space is left for the insertion of additional information about the endowment of the vicarages. Supplementary notes have been added in the course of the centuries but a few entries are still unfinished and

145. Liber Antiquus, p. 46 (Quire 2) refers to folio 5 of the quire - which is folio 18 if the two quires are bound together "Aliter habetur infra in v^{to} folio". Similarly this distinction is retained in the "Vetus Repertorium", C.U.L.MS.Dd.10.28, f. 87 - the Worlaby entry is referred to as being "in quaterno ordinationum in prima parte folii primi" - i.e. folio 1 of Quire 2 but folio 13 of the composite volume.

there are several erasures. Archdeaconry headings and marginal descriptions are not contemporaneous with the text of the manuscript. The initial letter of the first word in each entry is omitted ; it was presumably left for the rubricator to complete, a task which he evidently failed to carry out.

It is apparent that this survey is incomplete, for there is no section for the archdeaconry of Leicester. Since it is rather unreasonable to suppose that the endowments of Leicester vicarages were deliberately excluded from enrolment, this points to the existence of a third quire of vicarages, now unfortunately lost. There is no mention of it in the "Votus Repertorium" and this could indicate that it was already missing at that date.

The "matricula". (roll Vb - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 238-279).

This roll was renumbered comparatively recently, having previously been assigned the number XIV in the nineteenth century. It consists of five membranes in a good state of preservation except for the top of membrane 1 which is considerably worn in parts and much stained with ox-gall. There are also a few natural holes in the parchment. The total length of the roll is exactly ten feet and the average width is seven and three-quarter inches. There is a margin of half an inch in width at either edge of the face of the roll. Double vertical lines delimit the margin on the left hand side of the roll ; a single vertical line suffices for the right hand margin. These margins are left blank. Unlike the institution and vicarage rolls, the entries are written upon ruled lines. As the distance between these horizontal lines varies from a quarter of an inch to three-eighths of an inch, it seems probable that the naked eye was used to gauge the ruling: certainly there is no evidence of the use of a spiked-wheel at the edge of the roll for spacing purposes. The clerical valuation entries on the dorse, which extend over the first two membranes only, are enrolled in two separate columns towards the centre of the roll. The first column is written at a distance of one and a half inches from the edge of the roll ; there is also a margin on the right hand side of the roll, one and three-quarter inches wide.

Horizontal lines are again to be found, together with two-pairs of vertical lines for each column. The first pair of lines delimit the margin ; the second divide the taxation assessment from the name of the benefice. The entire roll, both face and dorse, is written in a uniform hand and ink. Membranes 4 and 5 have been re-sewn to the other three membranes of the roll in the course of this century¹⁴⁶.

An initial warning about the usage of the term "matricula" is perhaps essential, before embarking on a detailed appraisal of roll Vb. Professor Cheney has dealt more than adequately with the technical meaning of the term¹⁴⁷ - signifying a systematic survey of all the benefices in a diocese, with additional information about their valuation, incumbents, patrons, pensions and the like, arranged under archdeaconry and rural deanery, and akin to the French "pouillé" - but unfortunately "matricula" can also be used in a general sense to refer to any (episcopal) record or register. Examples of such usage have been found in thirteenth century Lincoln records merely denoting the institution rolls of successive bishops¹⁴⁸. This dual meaning of the word must always be taken into account, when examining the evidence.

146. Phillimore gave the Diocesan Registrar a receipt for the rolls that he was taking to the P.R.O. In this receipt (dated June 1904) the "matricula" is stated to be in two pieces (L.A.O. Cor. B/7. Letter category W).

147. English Bishops' Chanceries, pp.110-119.

148. e.g. F.N.DAVIS: Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p.306 (addenda) Byfield entry referring to institution of John of Fulton on p.135; ibid., p.292 (addenda) referring to p.84; ibid., p.68 referring to Fulletby entry p.59; ibid., p.98 referring to Grosseteste's institution roll. Also, Spalding Gentlemen's Society, Crowland cartulary, f.82 - bishop Oliver Sutton "...examinatis matriculis de admissionibus clericorum ad beneficia ecclesiastica in diocesi Lincoln' bone memorie dominorum Hugonis de Wellis et Roberti Grosseteste predecessorum nostrorum temporibus factis, ~~xxx~~, in matricula dicti domini Hugonis de anno pontificatus sui vicesimo tercio...." (there follows a copy of the Whaplode entry to be found on the Lincoln institution roll - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.III, pp.187-8). Cf. also Calendar of Charter Rolls vol.VI, p.301: An arbitration agreement recorded "in matriculam seu registrum" of William Middleton bishop of Norwich 1288. Incidentally, this register has not survived. In all these instances, the "matricula" was none other than the bishop's institution roll.

It should be made clear at the outset that roll Vb is not described as a "matricula" in contemporary records. The heading "Incipit matriculus domini H. episcopi Lincoln' " in the printed edition is an inexcusable interpolation on the part of the editor ; there is no such heading on the roll¹⁴⁹. The survey of the Leicester archdeaconry is written on the face of the roll in a hand which cannot be identified with that of any known episcopal scribe ; it was evidently compiled on a single occasion, as the entries are all enrolled in a uniform shade of ink. On the dorse there is a copy of two valuations of churches in the archdeaconry of Leicester ; I will return to these endorsements later.

"In or after 1220, Hugh de Wells made a general survey of churches to supplement the other rolls of his register, and this is called a matricula. Only the roll for the archdeaconry of Leicester remains, arranging the churches under the town of Leicester and the various rural deaneries. The patron of each church is stated and usually the incumbent (with the name of the bishop or archdeacon who instituted him). Pensions due from the churches are noted, and occasionally other details. It is not a very impressive record, but was doubtless convenient in form, easy to use." 150

Professor Cheney's preceding remarks on the nature and composition of roll Vb were used as the starting-point for the investigation. To begin with, a close examination was made of the internal evidence in an attempt to establish with some degree of accuracy the date of the survey. The results were to say the least surprising and somewhat perplexing. The dates of institution of many of the incumbents named in the survey were traced, wherever possible, in bishop Wells' institution rolls. Any other institutions to the same benefice in the course of Hugh's episcopate were noted too. The findings, since they were rather inconsistent, are set out in full below. Page numbers ~~and~~ in brackets after the name of the benefice refer to the appropriate page of the first volume of Rotuli Huconis de Welles (R.H.W.). "Inc" refers to the incumbent of the benefice named

¹⁴⁹. Phillimore copied this heading from a 15th century copy of the roll. B.M. Cotton MS. Nero D X, f. 140 "Incipit matriculus domini H. episcopi Lincoln' de omnibus ecclesiis in archidiaconatu Leycestrie anno domini m. cc. xx."

¹⁵⁰. English Bishops' Chanceries, p. 113.

in the Leicester survey. The institutions are dated by the pontifical year of the bishop, beginning 20 December:-

Oadby (pp.238-9) Inc. mr R. the official, presumably mr Robert of Blois, official of the archdeacon of Leicester. His institution is not recorded.

Other institutions: Ralph of Kirton 1220-1221 (R.H.W.11.281)
Roger de Turberville 1234-1235 (ibid., 325).

Great Wigston (p.239) Inc. A.-institution is not recorded.

Other institution: Simon de Penne 1230-1231 (RHW.11.312).

Great Peatling (p.240) Inc: Alan - instituted 1223-1224 (RHW.11.295).

Blaby (p.240) Inc: John de Hinckestan, nepos of adm. of Stow. John de Hylle(sic) nepos of adm. of Stow instituted 1217-1218 (RHW.1.126).

Other institution: Alfred de Sloutra 1234-1235 (RHW.11.325).

Aylestone (p.240-1) Inc: Philip de Cuneston. instituted c.1217 (RHW.1.41).

Leire (p.241) Inc: William Walenges (le Valeis). instituted 1226-1227 (RHW.11.303).

Frolesworth (p.241) Inc: William of St. Albans - instituted 1217-1218 (RHW.1.111-2).

Claybrooke (p.241) Inc: Peter - institution not recorded.

Other institution: Laurence of Warwick 1223-1224 (RHW.11.293)

Ashby Magna (p.242) Inc: William - instituted 1220-1221 (RHW.11.281)

Gilmorton: (p.242) Inc: Ledger - Ledger Pipard instituted 1217-18 (RHW.1.108).

Kimcote: (p.242) Inc: Adam - instituted 1219-1220 (RHW.11.279).

Next institution: Robert son of Hugh of Saleby 1231-1232 (RHW.11.318).

North Kilworth. (p.242) Inc: Hugh de Barre - instituted 1225-1226 (RHW.11.301).

Swinford. (p.242) Inc: William - institution not recorded.

Other institution: Anthony of Winchester 1224-1225 (RHW.11.297).

Shawell. (p.242) Inc: John. - John Espigurnel instituted 1223-24 (RHW.11.290).

Next institution: Nicholas Spigurnel 1231-1232 (ibid., 318)

Misterton. (p.243) Inc: Warin - institution not recorded.

other institution: William of Nepton 1222-1223 (RHW.11.284).

Lutterworth. (p.243) Inc: mr Simon - instituted 1222-23 (RHW.11.284)

Next institution: Philip Lovel 1231-32 (ibid., 316)

- Croft. (p.244) Inc: Peter. He is said to have been instituted by St. Hugh but the institution of Peter of Leicester is recorded 1217-1218 (RHW.1.94) Was he the same man?
- Thurlaston. (p.244). Inc: Henry, instituted by St. Hugh.
Next institution: Geoffrey of Ecton 1220-1221
(RHW.11.280-1)
- Stoney Stanton (p.244) Inc: Geoffrey Basset, instituted 'sede vacante' by Baldric adn of Leicester.
Next institution: Peter of Grimston 1225-6
(RHW.11.300).
- Sharnford. (p.245). Inc: Nicholas - institution not recorded.
Another institution: Roger of Sharnford
1219-1220 (RHW.11.278).
- Newbold Verdun (p.246) Inc: Elias, instituted by Baldric adn of Leicester 'sede vacante'.
Next institution: Robert of Alston 1225-26.
(RHW.11.302).
- Market Bosworth. (p.246) Inc: William (?de Verdun) instituted
1221-1222 (RHW.11.283).
- Nailstone (p.247). Inc: Nicholas, instituted by St. Hugh.
Next institution: mr William of Burton 1224-25
(RHW.11.298).
- Markfield (p.247) Inc: William (?de Harcourt) instituted c. 1217
(RHW.1.54).
- Ibstock. (p.247) Inc: H. institution not recorded.
Another institution: Thomas de Verdun 1219-1220
(RHW.11.280).
- Heather. (p.247) Inc: mr Thomas, instituted by bishop William.
Next institution: Richard Arundel 1221-1222
(RHW.11.282).
- Fenny Drayton. (p.248) Inc: mr W. of Langton, instituted c. 1217
(RHW.1.39).
Next institution: Ralph of Drayton 1231-32
(RHW.11.318).
- Witherley. (p.248) Inc: Roger (?de Sibbedesdon) instituted
1219-1220 (RHW.11.279).
- Orton on the Hill. (p.249) Inc: Philip (?of Langport) instituted
1223 (RHW.11.289).
- Appleby (pp.249-250). Inc: Richard Midda instituted by St. Hugh.
Next institution: Thomas Dandely 1233-1234
(RHW.11.322-3).
- Shackerstone. (p.250) Inc: Richard - institution not recorded.
Other institution: Matthew Sarracenus
1220-1221 (RHW.11.280).
- Seale. (p.250) Inc: William, instituted by Baldric adn of Leicester 'sede vacante'.
Next institution: Robert of Shrewsbury 1225-1226
(RHW.11.302).

Packington (p.251). Inc: W. de Castell, instituted by St. Hugh.
Next institution: Simon of St. Maur 1220-1229.
(RHW.11.307).

Cole Orton (p.251) Inc: Robert de Londa - instituted 1230-1231.
(RHW.11.314).

Whitwick. (p.251) Inc: Ralph Taleboys - instituted 1217-1218
(RHW.1.91).

Diseworth (p.251) Inc: Alexander - instituted 1224-1225 (RHW.11.296)
Next institution: Elias of Kegworth 1226-1227
(ibid.,305).

Wanlip (p.253) Inc: Walter (?of Bristol) instituted 1230-1231
(RHW.11.313).
Next institution: Walkelin de Rol' 1233-1234
(ibid.,322).

Barrow on Soar. (p.253). Inc: W., possibly William of Hungerton
instituted 1227-1228 (RHW.11.305).

Loughborough. (p.253) Inc: R. de Verdun instituted by St. Hugh.
Next institution: Ralph de Tureville
1221-1222 (RHW.11.286).

Dishley. (p.253) Inc: Richard (?of Leicester) instituted 1231-1232
(RHW.11.319).

Hathern. (p.254) Inc: Richard (?de Duaco) instituted 1229-1230
(RHW.11.311).

Long Walton (p.254) Inc: Ledger (Guiberti) instituted 1218-1219
(RHW.1.131).

Lockington. (p.254) Inc: Nicholas (?of St. Bridget) instituted
1222-1223 (RHW.11.288).

Swithland. (p.254) Inc: Roger. EITHER R. given custody 1217-1218
(RHW.1.80-1) OR Roger instituted 1223-1224
(RHW.11.294-5).

Beeby. (p.256) Inc: Mr H. of Stanford - instituted c. 1217 (RHW.1.34)
Next institution: Nicholas 1219-1220 (RHW.11.280).

South Croxton: (p.256). Inc: Thomas of Northampton instituted by
archdeacon Baldric 'sede vacante'.
Next institution: John of Saltby 1223-1224
(RHW.11.291).

Humberstone: (p.256) Inc: Richard of Gloucester instituted 1228-29
(RHW.11.309).

Belgrave (pp.256-7) Inc: R. possibly Robert of Dunholme instituted
1231-1232 (RHW.11.319); previous parson was
Stephen de Lucy instituted 1226-27 (ibid.303).

Rearaby (p.257) Inc: Geoffrey Basset (rural dean) institution not
recorded.
Other institution: Thomas Basset 1224-1225 (RHW.
11.298).

Hungarton (pp.257-8) Inc: William - institution not recorded.
Other institution: Walter de Bereford
1230-1231 (RHW.11.315).

- Alexton. (p.258) Inc: Peter, instituted by St. Hugh.
Next institution: William of Benetle 1225-1226
(RHW.11.301).
- Tugby. (p.258) Inc: Theobald - institution not recorded.
Other institution: Thomas of Gnoshall 1224-1225
(RHW.11.296).
- Ashby Folville (p.258). Inc: G. Basset - institution not recorded.
other institutions: Seman de Len 1224-25
(RHW.11.300).
William of Arthingworth 1231-1232
(RHW.11.317).
- Skeffington. (p.258) Inc: Robert - institution not recorded.
Other institution: Laurence Lombard 1223-1224
(RHW.11.295).
- Hoby. (p.259) Inc: Gilbert instituted by the legate ???
Ralph of Hoby inducted by authority of the legate
Guala 1216-1217 (RHW.1.30-1).
Next institution: Stephen of Heydon 1223-1224 (RHW.
11.292).
- Medbourne (pp.260-1) Inc: N. de Breute - instituted 1217-1218
(RHW.1.92).
- Knossington. (p.263) Inc: G. instituted by bishop William.
Next institution: Thomas of Felmersham
1228-1229 (RHW.11.308).
- Gaulby. (p.264) Inc: Roger ? Roger Blund of Leicester instituted
1231-1232. (RHW.11.320) - previous incumbent
Thomas of Lullington 1219-20 (ibid., 279).
- Burton Overy (p.264) Inc: Ralph, instituted by Baldric archdeacon
of Leicester 'sede vacante'.
Next institution: Alexander 1228-1229
(RHW.11.307-8).
- Saddington (p.265) Inc: Master L. - institution not recorded.
Other institution: Richard de Burgo 1230-1231
(RHW.11.313).
- Houghton on the Hill (p.266). Inc: Peter (? de Saubiri) instituted
1219-1220 (RHW.11.279).
- Harston (p.266) Inc: P. Comflensis instituted 1222-1223 (RHW.11.290)
- Sproxton (p.267) Inc: W., possibly William of Leicester instituted
1231-1232 (RHW.11.320) - previous incumbent
Roger son of Robert Albus of Leicester c.1217
(RHW.1.73).
- Buckminster (p.267) Inc: Baldric & instituted 1223 (RHW.11.289)
- Garthorpe (pp.267-8) Inc: Maurice (? of Newport) instituted 1227-28
(RHW.11.306).
- Exby (p.268) Inc: Clement (? de Hawurthin) instituted 1226-1227
(RHW.11.303).
- Wymondham: (p.268) Inc: Robert instituted by R. archdeacon of
Leicester 'sede vacante'.
Next institution: Robert de Drobrige 1232-1233
(RHW.11.321)

Stapleford (p.268) Inc: H. of Derby - instituted 1226-1227
(RHW.11.304).

Little Dalby (p.269) Inc:R., possibly Richard of Lincoln
instituted 1223-1224 (RHW.11.291).

Kirby Bellars (p.269). Inc:W. de Pratis - instituted 1230-1231
(RHW.11.315).

Nether Broughton. (p.270) Inc: John de Bradel' - instituted 1222-1223
(RHW.11.287-8).

Stathern (p.270) Inc: mr Amaury - instituted 1225-1226 (RHW.11.
302).

Barkston (p.270) Inc: Robert - institution not recorded.
Other institution: Richard 1224-1225 (RHW.11.295)

Redmile (p.270) Inc: Roger (?of Suffolk) instituted 1220-1221
(RHW.11.281-2).

Bottesford (p.271) Inc: Ralph (de Aubigny) instituted 1223-1224
(RHW.11.291).

Muston (p.271) Inc: master W., possibly mr William of
Hagworthingham instituted 1231-1232 (RHW.11.319)

Branston (p.271) Inc: Hugh (?de Moraby) instituted 1226-1227
(RHW.11.303).

Eastwell (p.271) Inc: Peter - instituted 1226-1227 (RHW.11.304).

Goadby Marwood (pp.271-2) Inc: Adam (?de Overton) instituted
1230-1231 (RHW.11.315).

The significance of this lengthy examination will not have escaped notice. It is abundantly clear that the roll, which was written up as a single entity, could not have been compiled from the findings of one enquiry held at the instigation of the bishop "in or after 1220", specifically to gather information about the livings in his diocese. The blatant chronological discrepancies can only mean that the contents of this roll are a heterogeneous amalgam of material from a variety of sources and dates, and not an accurate and general survey of the state of the diocese at a particular point in time. This disclosure is unfortunately of no great assistance when an attempt is made to ascertain the date of the roll's compilation. Phillimore, who assigned the roll to 1220, did so without an examination of the internal evidence. He was merely accepting, without question, the opinion of a fifteenth century clerk who had transcribed the survey (rather inaccurately in parts, it must be added) in a register now in the Cottonian collection¹⁵¹. Confidence in the

151. B.M.Cotton MS.Nero D X, ff.140-149d. -e.g. Guthlaxton deanery comes out as "Suthlaston".

reliability of this clerk in matters of dating is demonstrably weakened when, in the same register, he attributes the 1291 valuation of Pope Nicholas IV also to "circa annum domini m.cc. xx".¹⁵² The material contained in the survey in fact convincingly proves that 1220 is far too early a date for compilation; it is rather more likely that the last four years of Hugh's episcopate (1231-1235) saw the enrolment of this information about benefices in the Leicester archdeaconry (and presumably in the other seven archdeaconries too).

A "terminus a quo" can be established from an examination of the latest dates of institution of incumbents named in the survey. In this category are William de Pratis rector of Kirby Bellars¹⁵³ and Robert de Londa rector of Cole Orton¹⁵⁴, both being instituted in the course of Hugh's twenty-second year (20 December 1230-19 December 1231). It is conceivable that the parsons of Dishley¹⁵⁵, Belgrave¹⁵⁶ and Gaulby¹⁵⁷ were instituted in the following year but this supposition is based solely on the forenames of the incumbents in question and consequently no definite confirmation is available. The many references to "H. nunc episcopus" in the roll make it safe to conclude that the material was written up before February 1235. A more precise dating than this is difficult to achieve. My own theory - and one which cannot be substantiated, I hasten to add - is that the roll was compiled in 1233 or thereabouts under the direct supervision of the bishop's Official, master Robert of Hailes archdeacon of Lincoln. On reflection, this supposition does not appear as insolent or absurd as at first sight, for my conclusions were prompted by an examination of the heading of the

¹⁵². B.M. Cotton MS. Nero D X, f. 150.

¹⁵³. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 269 and vol. II, p. 315.

¹⁵⁴. ibid., vol. I, p. 251 & vol. II, p. 314.

¹⁵⁵. ibid., vol. I, p. 253 (Richard, parson); vol. II, p. 319 Richard of Leicester instituted (previous parson William of Billensdon vol. II, p. 292).

¹⁵⁶. ibid., vol. I, pp. 256-7 (R. the parson); vol. II, p. 319 Robert of Dunholme instituted (previous parson Stephen de Lucy, p. 303)

¹⁵⁷. ibid., vol. I, p. 264 (Roger, parson); vol. II, p. 320 Roger Blund of Leicester instituted (previous parson Thomas of Lullington p. 279).

roll - or at least, the visible portion of it - which Phillimore omitted to transcribe. Unfortunately the first few words in the heading have been obliterated by a combination of normal wear and a liberal application of ox-gall ; however, the concluding phrase - "in anno domini mei R.officialis .i.(probably ".i." but there is a hole in the parchment) pontificatus domini H." - is clearly not without significance. Indeed, the wording would seem to suggest that the Official was very much involved with the composition of this roll. By way of corroboration, the reference to "domini mei" confirms my initial conclusion that the writer of this roll was not an episcopal clerk ; in all probability, a scribe of the Official's household was responsible for the enrolment of this material. The dating of the roll by the year of the Official is most unusual and is a practice that I have not encountered elsewhere. Master Robert of Hailes is found acting as the Official in 1219¹⁵⁸, 1220¹⁵⁹, 1224¹⁶⁰, 1225¹⁶¹, 1226¹⁶², 1231¹⁶³ and 1233¹⁶⁴ but the paucity of records for the Lincoln officiality does not allow us to determine whether he held office continuously. At any rate, the "first year" of the Official (if that is what indeed is written) seems a little incongruous with the obviously late date of compilation.

The intense confusion surrounding the composition and purpose of this roll can only be dispelled by resorting to pure hypothesis. As far as we can tell from episcopal acts, from the 7 March 1233 until his death two years later, bishop Hugh never left his residence of Stow Park, eight miles from Lincoln¹⁶⁵. This long period of immobility would seem to suggest incapacity due to old age or physical infirmity. In 1233 the Official instituted the new prior of Newport Pagnell "auctoritate domini

158. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 139, 140, 152.

159. ibid., vol. II, pp. 1, 49, 52, 278-9.

160. ibid., vol. II, p. 120.

161. S. R. WIGRAM: The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford, vol. II (Oxford Historical Society XXI, 1896), p. 31.

162. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 134 & vol. III, p. 151.

163. Annales monastici, vol. III, p. 128.

164. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 93.

165. See the Itinerary of the Bishop.

Lincolniensis"¹⁶⁴ in the same year we learn from the annalist of Dunstable that in accordance with a mandate of Pope Gregory IX, the Official, deputizing for the bishop, conducted a visitation of the priory and left injunctions¹⁶⁶. In both cases it has to be admitted that the archdeacon of Lincoln could merely have been acting as a commissary of the bishop appointed for these specific tasks. Yet it is equally plausible that in this period of episcopal inactivity 1233-1235, the Official was in the much more responsible position of vicegerent for an old and ailing bishop.¹⁶⁷ If this was so, his increased responsibility for the administration of the diocese could account for his connexion with this Leicester roll and could conceivably explain the mysterious method of dating. In normal circumstances, it is difficult to conceive of the Official requiring a roll of this kind or even being concerned with its compilation.

At all events, it is hard to discern the exact purpose of such a roll. It is definitely not a systematic survey of the archdeaconry; it is a compendium of information from miscellaneous sources, relating to most of the parishes and a few religious houses in the rural deaneries of Leicestershire. The prime functions of a "matricula", we are told, were legal¹⁶⁸ as well as fiscal - "an instrument of ecclesiastical government" - hence the inclusion of the names of incumbents and patrons and details about pensions and so on. Roll Vb would certainly seem to have defeated such a purpose from the start by including information already obsolete at the time of enrolment. Its treatment of many benefices is rudimentary; for instance, it is not easy to see the value or use of an entry such as that for the church of Cotesbach - "Ecclesie de Codesb', patronus (blank) de Verdon, persona (blank)"¹⁶⁹

Professor Lunt has already remarked upon the two valuations endorsed upon this roll in his study of the Norwich

^{166.} Annales monastici, vol. III, p. 132.

^{167.} Bishop John Dalderby appointed his Official, master Thomas Bray, as coadjutor in 1315 (Lincoln Register III, f. 329d.) Perhaps there was a precedent.

^{168.} English Bishops' Chanceries, p. 118.

^{169.} Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 243.

Valuation of 1254¹⁷⁰ but his investigations were hampered by lack of information on the palaeography of the manuscript and a misconception over the date of the roll's compilation. The first valuation is styled "antiqua taxatio"¹⁷¹; the second is preceded by the heading "Memorandum quod hec taxatio valde antiqua est"¹⁷². Naturally in such circumstances, palaeographical knowledge was essential, if an attempt was to be made to establish the date of these valuations. It is unfortunate that Lunt could not obtain access to the roll, for his explanations were based on arguments which could only be corroborated or disproved by a thorough consultation of the document. In point of fact, I believe that the conclusions he reached by using the Phillimore edition of the rolls were - with slight modifications suggested by later research - basically sound. In his own words:-

"Both (i.e. valuations) were assessed after 1209. Both are connected in some way with the abbey of Leicester. The 'antiqua taxatio' contains only those churches which the abbot of Leicester had 'in proprios usus'. The other contains nearly all the churches in the archdeaconry, but in the margin ab(batis) is checked against each of the abbot's impropriated churches.....If the valuations were written by the same presumably coeval hand as the entries on the recto of the roll, they could be placed definitely between 1209 and 1220. The valuation designated as 'valde antiqua' could be dated still more closely. It was, with little doubt, made for the assessment of a papal tax, since it leaves blank the value of the church of Tugby on the ground that it belonged to the Order of the Cistercians; and the Cistercians were exempt from papal taxes on incomes. Under these circumstances, the 'valde antiqua taxatio' would be the valuation of 1217, since in all probability that was the only valuation for papal taxation which was reduced to writing before 1220. It seems improbable however that the hands of the recto and verso can be the same, provided the former is coeval, for a valuation made in 1217 would hardly be termed 'valde antiqua' in 1220.....Since only the two valuations of 1217 and 1229 were made for papal taxes between 1209 and 1254.....the 'valde antiqua taxatio' is probably one or the other of these. As much may be said for the 'antiqua taxatio'. If the 'terminus ante quem' is 1245, instead of 1254(173) little chance is

170. W.E. LUNT: The Valuation of Norwich (Oxford 1926) appendix 1 a.2. "The Valuation of the Archdeaconry of Leicester in the Diocese of Lincoln", pp. 526-534.

171. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 273. 172. *ibid.*, p. 274.

173. The Hospitallers were exempted from taxes decreed in 1245 and subsequently. In this valuation, their church of Dalby is valued, hence it must be before 1245.

left that it could be other than the valuation of 1217 or that of 1229. Which of the two dates may with the greater probability be assigned to the 'valde antiqua taxatio' depends largely upon the date when the copy on the roll of Hugh of Walls was written.....The 'valde antiqua taxatio' is probably a portion of the valuation of 1217 or of 1229 and the probability balances slightly in favour of the former date. An approximation of probability with regard to the 'antiqua taxatio' seems to be impossible. If it is a fragment of an assessment for papal taxation, it is probably a portion of the valuation of 1229." 174

Of course, Lunt could not commit himself fully, for he was impeded in his critical analysis of the valuations by lack of information regarding the handwriting on the dorse of the roll and by his unquestioned acceptance of 1220 as the date of compilation. Nevertheless my own investigation confirms and strengthens his initial conclusions. In the preceding pages it has been shown that the period 1231-1235, rather than 1220, saw the enrolment of the Leicester material. A further examination of the palaeography of the manuscript reveals that the handwriting on the dorse of the roll is identical with that on the face. Both sides of the roll are thus coeval and no attention should be paid to the nineteenth century endorsement ascribing this document to the pontificate of bishop Henry Lexington (1254-1258)¹⁷⁵. The later date of this roll in fact assists, rather than weakens, Lunt's hypothesis. The 'valde antiqua taxatio' could refer more convincingly to the assessment of 1217, viewed from a distance of fourteen to eighteen years, while the 'antiqua taxatio' could conceivably form part of the 1229 valuation of Pope Gregory IX, levied to support the papacy in its struggle with the Emperor Frederick II. No alternative explanation is readily forthcoming.

This lengthy exposition on the date and format of roll Vb has served to undermine the fabric of a time-honoured opinion - namely, that the roll was a systematic survey of an

174. The Valuation of Norwich, pp. 528-530.

175. Nineteenth century Lincoln antiquarians seem to have attributed records and documents to bishop Lexington with an almost fanatical zeal - cf. Episcopal Register V, the Memoranda Register of Bishop Burghersh, ascribed to Henry Lexington.

archdeaconry, a "matricula". This is not to deny that the bishop (together with his archdeacons) had more conventional "matricule" in fact, I am utterly convinced that they did possess such records but in a much fuller form than has generally been supposed. For, besides the usual references in the records of bishop Hugh to pensions from certain churches being noted in the respective "matricula"¹⁷⁶, the bishop is also found ordering the archdeacon of Stow to have a copy of an agreement made between the rector of Lea and Ralph of Trehampton over a private chapel entered in his "matricula"¹⁷⁷; similarly the archdeacon of Leicester was instructed to transcribe in full in his "matricula" the numerous gifts to the church of St. Mary Redmile¹⁷⁸. It is unlikely that archidiaconal "matricule" differed notably from their episcopal counterparts; consequently far from containing a bare minimum of information respecting benefices, a "matricula" would often seem to have included ancillary material such as transcripts of grants and agreements.

One problem remains to be solved - if roll Vb is not a systematic survey of an archdeaconry of the Lincoln diocese, for what purpose was it compiled? Unfortunately the inconsistencies and perplexities of the document defy a response, even to this eminently reasonable question. It is virtually impossible to express a final judgment; even to attempt an answer one must descend to the realms of original hypothesis. The subsequent results have been far from satisfactory. The alternatives to be

176. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 138 (Oakham) "De pensione in matricula."; ibid., vol. I, p. 183 "De hoc tamen in matricula." (beside Bradwell entry - not printed); Liber Antiquus, p. 7 (Kirtlington) "In matricula tamen loco redditus tencencium habetur et in una hida terre." ibid., p. 40 (Little Billing) "secundum quod in matricula continetur."

177. actum no. "...precipimus enim quod huius cirographi tenor in missali ecclesie de Lea vel alio libro et in matricula archidiaconi loci distincte conscribatur..."

178. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 311 "Et mandatum est archidiacono Leircestr' ut ipsum W. capellanum in singularum portionum possessionem induci et ipsas portiones in matricula sua et in missali ecclesie predictae distincte faciat et aperte conscribi."

faced are these:-

EITHER the roll was part of a survey of the diocese - a work of reference - compiled in the period 1231-1235, possibly under the supervision of the Official. It was a collection of material supplied from earlier surveys, supplemented wherever possible by more up-to-date material. This is a possible explanation but one devoid of logic, particularly when a consultation of the relevant institution rolls and vicarage rolls would have furnished more modern information regarding many of the benefices.

OR the roll was not a survey at all. It was compiled on the authority of the Official who had assumed increased administrative responsibilities towards the end of bishop Hugh's life. It served to combine in one roll (presumably one for each archdeaconry) information from multifarious sources. The arrangement by archdeaconry and deanery was a convenient method of "storing" material of a variety of dates, which had accumulated in the episcopal archives over the years - visitation and valuation records, presentation deeds, 'sede vacante' records reports of archidiaconal and ruridecanal inquests and the like. Such an arrangement would reduce the bulk of episcopal 'negotia' to a more manageable form. Once such a roll as this had been compiled, then perhaps the documents from which the information had been extracted, were disposed of. In this way, there would still be a brief (and less wieldy) record of their contents after their destruction¹⁷⁹. This theory could explain the duplication of the Blaby entries (of obviously different dates)¹⁸⁰ and the partially completed entries, if the original documents (some of which were clearly of the twelfth century - cf. Baldric archdeacon of Leicester) were so damaged and faded, as to be illegible in parts. This explanation - or something approximating to it - could possibly be near the truth ;

179. There seems to have been a deliberate destruction of certain types of document in the episcopal chanceries, cf. English Bishops' Chanceries, p.133 "...original administrative documents concerning benefices ceased to be useful and were commonly destroyed as soon as the essential facts had been enrolled or enregistered authentically." cf. R.M.T.HILL: "Bishop Sutton and his Archives" in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, II, 1951, p.45 - "An efficient registrar would probably get rid of incoming correspondence as soon as the matter was settled."

180. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, 240, 245

nevertheless in this argument I may have ventured too far into the hypothetical. It has to be admitted that the criticism of this roll has been predominantly destructive in nature. It is not too difficult a task to reveal the errors and misconceptions of an editor like Phillimore but it is far from easy to put forward a reasonable and satisfactory alternative explanation for the compilation of an apparently illogical document.

Missing rolls of Bishop Wells.

In addition to the many charter rolls which have been lost, the memoranda rolls of bishop Hugh have also suffered a similar fate. The earliest reference to such a roll concerns diocesan business enacted during the bishop's sixteenth year¹⁸¹ (20 December 1224-19 December 1225) but it is conceivable that there were rolls before this date, coeval with the early institution and charter rolls, although of course there is no evidence in support of this assertion. Unfortunately no memoranda rolls of any other thirteenth century bishop of Lincoln have survived, so it is impossible to determine their physical arrangement. The memoranda registers of Oliver Sutton (from 1290) and John Dalderby (1300-1320)¹⁸² are arranged chronologically with no archidiaconal divisions and Miss Hill has pointed out that for the first decade of bishop Sutton's episcopate (1280-1290) a separate roll of memoranda was kept for each year¹⁸³. It is probable that this system marked no new departure in record-keeping at Lincoln. A single roll divided up by pontifical year would be a much more sensible arrangement for memoranda, which in certain cases could not be classified by archdeaconry - for instance, letters dimissory, copies of papal bulls of general application etc. - than having eight separate rolls, one for each archdeaconry of the diocese.

¹⁸¹. Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. III, p. 137. Later references to Hugh's memoranda rolls occur ibid., vol. II, pp. 34, 87, 159, 244 & vol. III, p. 201.

¹⁸². Lincoln Episcopal Register I (Sutton), ff. 1-211 & Register III (Dalderby)

¹⁸³. R. M. T. HILL: The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-1299, vol. I (L. R. S. xxxix, 1948), p. xiii (citing Register I f. 3)

The "Vetus Repertorium" affords ample evidence for the existence of yet another roll of bishop Hugh which has long since disappeared. It is a roll recording ordinations of perpetual vicarages and is entitled the "tres parve membrane simul ligate de ordinationibus antiquis". As its designation implies, it consisted of three membranes of parchment, of differing lengths, and distinguished by the compiler of the repertory as the "maior (longior) membrana", the "media membrana" and the "minor (brevior, minima) membrana". Of the fourteen references to this roll in the repertory, nine of the entries¹⁸⁴ record the augmentation of existing vicarage endowments, the previous ordinations of which are to be traced in the "quaterni de vicariis", the vicarage or the institution rolls. Yet it did not simply contain new information on vicarages; if it had merely recorded augmentations, its purpose and function would have been adequately explained. Unfortunately, the five remaining enrolments¹⁸⁵ apparently repeated, without modification - if we are to believe the compiler of the "Vetus Repertorium" - ordinations of vicarages already set out in other episcopal rolls. Having so little to work on, it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain whether the roll was a gradual compilation or not. It is clear that the Langtoft entry on the middle membrane must have been enrolled after the bishop's sixteenth pontifical year¹⁸⁶; similarly, the augmentation of Redbourne vicarage recorded on the longest membrane must be dated after Hugh's twentieth year¹⁸⁷; but whether this meagre information is in itself

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184. Cambridge University Library MS. Dd. 10. 28, ff. 89 (Anwick); 89 (Cadeby); 87 (Hamberston); 90 (Langtoft); 90d (Gainsborough); 93d (Redbourne); 99 (Ryhall); 99d (Stretton); 101d (Chalgrave).
185. *ibid.*, ff. 88 (Burton Pedwardine); 89 (Billinghay); 90 (Newton); 90 (Ranby); 102 (Renhold).
186. *ibid.*, f. 90 "...vicaria ordinata... in rotulo eiusdem de institutionibus anno xvi et augmentata ut in media de tribus parvis membranis antiquis simul ligatis." (The augmentation clearly follows the ordination of the sixteenth year).
187. *ibid.*, f. 93d "...ordinata per Hugonem ut in rotulo eiusdem de institutionibus anno xx et augmentata ut in longiori de tribus parvis membranis antiquis simul ligatis".

indicative of a general chronological arrangement of the roll, is a very open question. Another feature of great interest is discernible in the actual composition of the roll. The compiler did not follow the customary practice with regard to enrolment after the bishop's tenth year - in other words, the use of a separate roll for each archdeaconry. These three membranes in fact contain references to benefices in at least four archdeaconries - Lincoln, Stow, Bedford and Northampton. While the preceding information may aid a partial reconstruction of the roll and its contents, it is still well-nigh impossible to establish its exact relationship to the other vicarage records - the "quinque rotuli", the "rotulus curtus et grossus" and the "quaterni de vicariis".

The manner of registration.

The records of bishop Wells can be divided into distinct registrational categories - the rolls of outgoing letters (the prime function of the charter rolls) and the rolls of acts (the institution rolls), the latter in particular intended for frequent and constant reference. The entries on vicarage rolls and "matricule" were abstracted for the most part from other episcopal rolls - for example, vicarage endowments were often contained in the records of institutions - and do not come within the scope of this discussion. Following the pattern of the royal chancery, the outgoing letters - or at least the essential parts of the texts - are transcribed in full on the roll, only the most familiar and repetitive phrases being substantially abbreviated. The "act-rolls" on the other hand contain entries not in the form of charters but in the form of precise and comprehensive summaries of all matters pertaining to the act of institution. In this respect, bishop Hugh or more accurately the clerks under his supervision were innovators, for the method of registration they adopted for institutions followed neither royal nor papal precedents. It is essential to remember when considering the manner of episcopal enrolment at Lincoln that whereas the institution rolls were compiled first and foremost in the interests of the bishop and his administrative staff and only indirectly came to serve as a legal safeguard for

those incumbents whose institutions were recorded, the charter rolls were primarily intended for the benefit and protection of the recipients of the enrolled documents. This distinction will help to explain the differences in matters of registration.

Some twenty-six years ago, H.G. Richardson, commenting upon the method of enrolment in the royal chancery under King John, maintained that the final format of the charter rolls was more the result of accident than deliberate planning and forethought :-

"The manner in which the rolls are written suggests that they were the work of clerks of no great skill and of no great competence, copying clerks of much the same kind as those who, almost within living memory, were employed in the departments of state to transcribe the out-letters into registers, men who could be trusted to make a more or less accurate copy but who might find it difficult to construct an intelligent précis. Hence it would seem that the full copies of instruments we find on the chancery rolls, no matter whether the instrument was in common form or not, are due to the lack of capacity of the clerk employed, rather than to any desire to have on hand the 'ipsissima verba' of the charters and letters that passed under the seal." 188

This judgment seems somewhat dubious. If the clerks of a mere bishop were capable of constructing a comprehensive summary of an act or event, then it is unwise to suppose that the king's enrolling clerks were of such limited ability that they could not perform a similar task. I confess that I am not convinced by Mr. Richardson's arguments that "the primary concern of the chancery clerks in instituting the Charter roll was.....the collection of fees"¹⁸⁹ and that "beneficiaries did not yet conceive of a chancery enrolment as a measure of protection for themselves"¹⁹⁰. If the attainments of the Lincoln clerks are anything to go by, then surely the administrative personnel in the royal chancery could easily have devised a method of registration more convenient for their purely financial purposes

188. H.G. RICHARDSON: Memoranda Roll 1 John, Pipe Roll Society, New series, vol. 21, 1943, p. xliii.

189. ibid., p. xli.

190. ibid., p. li.

(if this was really the case) than transcribing the documents in their entirety.

The reason behind the innovatory practice adopted at Lincoln for the "act rolls" is, I think, relatively easy to discern. In the preceding chapter I attempted to show that at Lincoln at any rate the letter of institution does not appear to have been an integral part of the act of institution and that it did not automatically follow that each new incumbent would obtain such letters, even though they would prove a vital measure of protection while he was in possession of the benefice. In consequence, if my supposition is correct - and I am inclined to believe that it is - the task of keeping a full and accurate record of institutions performed by the bishop would present serious problems for those chancery staff concerned with matters of registration. If it is true that ~~the~~ letters of institution ^{were} ~~not~~ issued as a matter of course, then the clerks would have to develop their own procedure for noting down the requisite information about each act. Expediency led to registrational innovation. Professor Hamilton Thompson was led to conclude that entries on bishop Gravesend's rolls were written up from files of letters of presentation¹⁹¹ and indeed such a source would be of immense assistance to the episcopal clerks. Nevertheless I can only partially accept this explanation. The marginal notes in bishop Wells's rolls, recording that neither letters of presentation nor inquisition had been received, are far too numerous to allow that this was the sole aid to registration¹⁹². I am convinced that the enrolling clerks made brief notes about various aspects of each institution at the time - names of

191. Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p. xxiii.

192. "Non habemus litteras presentationis". Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. II, p. 285 - similarly, ibid., vol. II, pp. 13, 21, 34, 54, 59, 62, 66, 79, 107, 111-4, 121, 125, 126, 128, 130, 135, 139, 143, 149, 151, 154-5, 174, 285, 296, 299, 300, 317; vol. III, pp. 8, 29, 36, 42, 108, 117-20, 123, 129-31, 136-7, 140-1, 144, 147, 149, 151, 154, 177, 181, 187, 197; vol. I, p. 217 : "Non habemus litteras inquisitionis" ibid., vol. II, pp. 54, 56, 66, 101, 285-6, 289, 292; vol. III, pp. 30, 108, 117-9, 123, 125, 129-30, 135-8, 141, 161, 165.

patron and presentee, status, results of archidiaconal inquiries, pensions etc. - and kept these on files in readiness for registration in batches. The clerks were frequently content to base their records on verbal reports in the case of presentations, archidiaconal inquests and orders to induct¹⁹³ and it is apparent that it was sometimes possible for an enrolment to be made without recourse to any documentary evidence at all, except for a few personal notes. On occasions when advowson disputes had been heard in the king's court, it was permissible to transcribe in full the royal writ directing the bishop to admit the presentation of the successful party¹⁹⁴, although even this was by no means the customary practice. At all events, letters of presentation and inquisition, induction mandates and any other cognate instruments all assisted the episcopal clerks in the preparation of their summarized records but in all probability the final enrolment was compiled from their own rough notes, rather than reliance being placed on the information contained in any one type of document issued in connexion with an institution.

The problem with the rolls of outgoing letters is not whether the bishop's clerks used documents or rough notes for registration but rather, whether they constructed their enrolments from drafts of the original or from the completed instruments themselves. These outgoing letters are arranged in roughly chronological order; of the two hundred and seventeen entries recorded on the Northampton charter roll, I have discovered only nine occasions¹⁹⁵ when the enrolling clerk

193. cf. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 286 - "Non habemus litteras presentacionis nec inquisitionis nisi vivam vocem officialis". Also ibid., vol. I, p. 220; vol. II, p. 117; vol. III, pp. 119, 129-30, 135, 137, 161 & vol. II, p. 324 "Promisit autem idem abbas in verbo domini quod cum in partes suas venerit, litteras presentacionis sigillo suo et sui conventus signatas dominis episcopo transmitti pro viribus procurabit." ibid., vol. I, p. 131 "Injunctum est ei viva voce ut mittat eum in corporalem illius ecclesie possessionem." vol. III, p. 46 "Et mandatum est dicto archidiacono per Johannem decanum Hertford', viva voce, ut etc."

194. e.g. ibid., vol. II, p. 79 (Clifton); More usually a summary of the writ sufficed e.g. vol. II, p. 10 (Brizenorton).

195 ibid., vol. II, pp. 184 (Whissendine), 185 (Bugbrooke), 195 (Charwellton), 205 (Aldwinckle), 232 (Cottesmore), 237 (Clipston), 239 (Lyndon), 242 (Bradden), 246 (Green's Norton).

omitted to register a charter in its correct sequence and in two of those cases the discrepancy was only a matter of a few days. Nevertheless chronological registration does not necessarily imply that the entries were copied from the original charter at the time of issue. Indeed in the case of bishop Hugh's charter roll and "registrum cartarum", I will go as far as to say that I am positive that registration was from rough drafts. This conclusion does not spring wholly from a comparison of surviving originals with the enrolled versions, but more from an examination of the compilation of the charter roll itself. The scribes of bishop Wells appear to have been careful copyists, for in the few cases where comparison with the original document is possible¹⁹⁶, the entries bear only slight variations, usually in the matter of spelling of proper names or in differences in word-order. The only serious discrepancy occurs in a grant to the common fund of the cathedral chapter, where the witness-lists to the charter are markedly divergent¹⁹⁷. The really decisive proof that registration was not from the original document is furnished by ^{the} results of an investigation to determine the extent of the interval between the issue of a charter and its registration. The method employed was to discover if possible how many copies of letters and charters were enrolled at the same time and if they bore any relationship to the dates of the documents. The ink changes usually after four or five entries in the manuscript indicate quite clearly that the copies were enrolled in groups at regular intervals, or at least when there was a sufficient number. When it is remembered that four or five entries of a particular type can span a period of as many months¹⁹⁸, then it becomes apparent that drafts must have been employed in the episcopal chancery. A charter, once it had been issued and the episcopal seal appended

196. acta nos. 14, 18, 46-8, 53, 59, 110,

197. actum no. 110 - this is in fact not an original, but a transcript in the Registrum Antiquissimum.

198. e.g. the six entries from Warmington to Cottesmore under the twentieth pontifical year are all written in the same tone of ink - (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 229-232); they span the period 30 December 1228 to 16 August 1229!

would hardly have been retained in the chancery for several months until time could be found for its registration! It might be added that I have not been able to discover any registration marks or notes such as "Irrotulatur" or "Registratum est" on the dorse of any of the original charters I have transcribed.

The York Rolls of Archbishop Gray - a comparison.

In the course of an address to the Canterbury and York Society, delivered in 1934, Professor Hamilton Thompson remarked that the York rolls of archbishop Walter de Gray (1215-1255) closely resembled the contemporary Lincoln enrolments¹⁹⁹. This statement requires considerable modification. The rolls of archbishop Walter, covering the period 1225 to 1255, in fact show very few signs of similarity with their counterparts at Lincoln. I would even go so far as to state that the only real affinity between them lies in their common physical appearance, for in all other respects - arrangement, manner of registration and to some extent, their actual contents - they are totally unconnected and visibly dissimilar. Whereas bishop Wells kept separate rolls for different kinds of business, archbishop Gray was content to record all aspects of diocesan affairs on a continuous general roll. These York enrolments comprise two large rolls, the "rotulus major"²⁰⁰ of twenty-six parchment membranes sewn end to end and containing entries from 1225 to 1235; and the "rotulus minor"²⁰¹ of fifteen membranes in extent dealing with records of the last twenty years of Walter's life. A left hand margin, on average one and a quarter inches wide, is used for benefice headings or descriptions of the types of document, e.g. "indulgentia"; a margin at the right-hand edge of the roll does not seem to have served any specific purpose and is discontinued after the eighth membrane of the first roll. The arrangement of the two rolls is by pontifical year of the archbishop and within the year, by calendar month. This arrangement was possible when registration

199. "The Registers of the Archbishops of York", p.247.

200. W.BROWN: The Register, or Rolls of Walter Gray (Surtees Soc. 56 1872 for 1870) Rotulus major, pp.1-72(face); pp.221-48(dorse).

201. ibid., pp.72-123(face); 248-74(dorse).

was in the form of copies of dated instruments. Gaps were frequently left after each monthly section for later insertions, which would seem to suggest that the enrolling clerks did not have all the material to hand. There are no archidiaconal divisions in the manuscript or even any indication as to the archdeaconry in which a particular benefice was situated. Such divisions first appear at York in 1266 with archbishop Giffard.

It has frequently been asserted that archbishop Gray's enrolments can be divided quite simply between those records concerning the spiritualities of York, which were written up on the face of the roll, and those affecting the temporalities of the archbishop, which were entered up on the dorse. This clear-cut distinction is not strictly speaking correct. Whereas the face of both rolls contains entries of a purely ecclesiastical nature - institutions and collations, grants of custody of churches, indulgences, agreements about private chapels, ordinations of vicarages, letters testimonial, institutions performed "sede vacante" in suffragan dioceses, appropriation deeds, advowson disputes, dispensations for illegitimacy and the like - , not all the entries enrolled on the dorse relate specifically to secular matters. Besides the records of grants of wardship and land, the presentation of bailiffs' accounts, the acquittance of debts and confirmations of land exchanges, there are also records of an ecclesiastical nature, for instance letters dimissory, licences of non-residence, the appointment of an Official "sede vacante" for the bishopric of Whithorn, the grant of a pension to a clerk until he could be provided with a suitable benefice, the appointment of proctors at Rome, and the relaxation of the sequestration of churches.

It is in the sphere of institutions to benefices that there is such a marked distinction between the Lincoln and York rolls. In methods of registration, archbishop Gray followed more closely the pattern of royal enrolments than did his former chancery colleague at Lincoln. The York record of an institution contains no exhaustive summary of the act; it merely comprises a copy of the incumbent's letters of institution. The texts of these letters tend to be increasingly abbreviated by the enrolling clerks as the pontificate draws to

its close. The abundant use of such letters at York for registrational purposes in no way detracts from my earlier arguments about the registration of institutions at Lincoln. Procedure and customs vary from see to see and if at York new incumbents were obliged to purchase letters of institution, it does not follow that such a practice was current at Lincoln too. Moreover the whole of the preceding argument has been based on the reasonable assumption that the rolls were compiled for the benefit of the archbishop, as an aid to efficient administration. Another possible explanation, which deserves a brief mention and should be given serious consideration, is that the York rolls were not, in respect of institutions, a variation of the "act rolls" of bishop Wells, but were similar in purpose to the Lincoln charter rolls - that is, while recording general memoranda of administrative use to the archbishop, their prime function was to act as a permanent form of record and a legal safeguard for the recipients of the charters. On payment of an additional fee, a copy of a document which had been issued from the archiepiscopal chancery, would be registered on the roll. This suggestion cannot be dismissed without mature reflection. The see of York consisted of five archdeaconries - York, East Riding, Richmond, Cleveland and Nottingham, containing a total of 593 parishes according to the 1291 valuation; for the years 1225-1234 the total number of institutions recorded on the roll for all the archdeaconries was one hundred and forty-seven: for the same period at Lincoln, a random survey of three of the eight archdeaconries - Northampton, Leicester and Stow, having a total of 597 parishes - found that the "act rolls" contained summaries of three hundred and twenty-four institutions to benefices! On the Northampton charter roll, however, the copies of letters of institution for this prescribed period numbered one hundred and one. Northampton is a fairly large and populous archdeaconry, and taking into account the discrepancies in the size of the archdeaconries and the sparsely populated areas, the probable total of letters enrolled on the charter rolls of those three Lincoln archdeaconries (all are lost except Northampton) would be about the one hundred and seventy-five mark. The relative proximity between the York total and the probable Lincoln charter

roll total will not have escaped notice. Considering the extent of the York diocese, it is somewhat surprising that the institutions recorded for the ten-year period 1225-1234 should be comparatively few. A further test that can be applied to gauge the completeness of the records of institution in the time of archbishop Gray, consists of an examination of the clerical succession to certain York benefices. The rural deanery of Dickering in the archdeaconry of the East Riding was taken as an example and the lists of incumbents were traced by means of the "fasti" volume in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society record series²⁰². Of twenty-six parishes within the deanery, sixteen had no record of institutions in archiepiscopal registers until long after Gray's death²⁰³. This would seem to suggest that the institution entries on Gray's rolls were very selective indeed. Both sets of figures certainly merit serious thought.

Although this comparison of the Lincoln and York rolls has had of necessity to be brief, it is sufficiently clear that any resemblance between the two sets of records is superficial. At Lincoln, there are clear signs of development in the arrangement and division of the rolls throughout bishop Hugh's episcopate; at York enrolment remain fairly rudimentary and unchanging during the last thirty years of archbishop Gray's pontificate. It is only with archbishops Giffard, Wickwane and Romeyn that registration undergoes modification and improvement and at the same time the roll form is discarded in favour of quires.

202. N.A.H. LAWRENCE : Fasti Parochiales, vol. III, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series vol. CXXIX, 1967.

203. ibid. The following benefices have no institutions recorded in the archiepiscopal registers until the date given in brackets after each entry.
 Argam (1290); Boynton (1268); Burton Fleming (1302); Carnaby (1267-8); Driffield (1330); Foxholes (1288); Ganton (1304); Garton (1322); Hunmanby (1287); Kilham (1310); Langtoft (1274); Muston (1301); Reighton (1282); Thwing - moiety (1301); Willerby (1275); Wold Newton (1305).

Later developments in enrolment at Lincoln 1235-1290.

Registration in the form of rolls continued at Lincoln until the last decade of the thirteenth century²⁰⁴ but immediately on the accession of bishop Robert Grosseteste in 1235, the original arrangement of the rolls of bishop Hugh underwent modification and, to a certain extent, simplification. In matters of institutions to benefices, the comprehensive summary was retained but the most important change was the disappearance of the charter roll. The previously exclusive institution rolls now bear the designation "institutiones et carte" and letters of institution and other ecclesiastical documents - appropriation deeds, ordinations of vicarages, agreements over private chapels, grants of pensions and so forth - are endorsed on the appropriate institution roll. The remaining categories of business formerly enrolled on the charter roll were presumably transferred to the memoranda rolls, which the successors of bishop Wells are known to have kept, even though none have survived²⁰⁵. This revision in episcopal enrolments was no doubt highly acceptable to the overburdened clerks in the bishop's chancery. It must have become obvious that the sheer bulk of the rolls could be reduced by more efficient registrational methods. The dorse of an institution roll contained ample space to absorb the enrolment of letters of institution and other types of document. Similarly a comparison of the general memoranda on the charter rolls and the memoranda rolls themselves would no doubt have suggested to the episcopal clerks that these entries could be conveniently combined in one roll. A factor of considerable importance in this connexion was the rapid decline in the number of letters of institution being

204. From 1290 institutions and memoranda are enrolled on quires; but custody entries were retained in roll form until 1298-9 at least.

205. References to memoranda rolls of Hugh's successors follow: Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 6, 445 (for Grosseteste); Episcopal Register I, f. 11d (for Gravesend) and The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton vol. I, p. xiii & note (for Sutton). There are no references to a memoranda roll of bishop Henry Lexington (1254-8) but there is no real reason to suppose that he let the practice of keeping such rolls lapse.

enrolled. In the time of bishop Hugh there were one hundred and fifty one letters enrolled relating to the Northampton archdeaconry ; under Grosseteste (1235-1253) there were thirty-six such enrolments ; for Gravesend (1258-1279) no letters of institution are recorded for that particular archdeaconry - only three letters of ~~institution~~ commendation, and in the Northampton roll of bishop Sutton (1280-1290) no letters are registered at all. Perhaps this sharp downward trend in the registration of such documents reflects the growing acceptance of the summarized account of the institution recorded on the institution roll as being a strong measure of protection in itself, without needing to resort to the trouble and expense of having a letter of institution registered in addition. The fact that exemplification of entries in earlier episcopal rolls appears to begin in the time of Bishop Sutton lends weight to this theory²⁰⁶. Thus, the enrolments which had been recorded in the course of Hugh's episcopate with the original intention of assisting the bishop in the administration of his diocese, had apparently come to be regarded as an adequate legal safeguard for the incumbents whose institutions are recorded. From the episcopate of Richard Gravesend it was deemed sufficient to record after the summarized entry that the newly-instituted clerk "habuit de sua institutione litteram patentem in forma consueta"²⁰⁷. In the later rolls, there is noticeably no longer the precision of language which marked the Wells rolls and moreover there is considerably more laxity in arrangement. For instance, the records of monastic institutions under Grosseteste and his successors appear indiscriminately on both the face and the dorse of the institution rolls.

The constant recourse to bishop Wells's vicarage enrolments by his immediate successors²⁰⁸ would make it appear

206. cf. note 148 Crowland cartulary entry. & B.M. Additional Charter 22001.

207. Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p. 285 (addenda to p. 76).

208. cf. note 142.

that the latter relied upon his vicarage rolls and register, without seeing the necessity of compiling similar records themselves. Of other records kept by these thirteenth century prelates, the memoranda rolls have already been mentioned and it is evident that there was considerable development in the registration of categories of documents not previously enrolled. Reference is found in the "Vetus Repertorium" to the commendation roll of bishop Gravesend²⁰⁹ and a small portion of a roll of the same bishop containing mandates for induction to benefices in Stow archdeaconry still survives in the Lincoln muniments²¹⁰. Bishop Sutton is known to have kept custody rolls²¹¹ and it is to be supposed that visitation rolls and similar records of transitory importance would have been compiled by all these bishops²¹².

The year 1290 marks the end of a phase in enrolment at Lincoln, with the abandonment of the roll in favour of the quire. This decision can no doubt be ascribed to John de Scalleby, the bishop's registrar. Certainly the combined enrolments of five successive bishops must have presented many problems in respect of storage and consultation, and possibly Scalleby was aware of the different method of registration employed at Canterbury, York,

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209. Cambridge University Library MS.Dd.10.28, f.89 (Legsby entry).
210. L.A.O. Rolls of Richard Gravesend, Roll IX (formerly Dean & Chapter B1/35/3); printed Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, pp. 347-353.
211. One custody roll still survives for bishop Sutton, covering the period 1298-1299. For a description, see: The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, vol. I, p. xiv.
212. A small fragment of a visitation roll of bishop Sutton for the abbey of Wellow or St. Augustine, Grimsby (1287) still survives L.A.O. Box of miscellaneous materials labelled "Religious Houses", item 1 of. K. MAJOR: A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Stow. (Oxford 1953), p. 39.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND CAREER OF HUGH OF WELLS.

The thirteenth century witnessed significant and far-reaching developments in the methods and structure of English diocesan government. For those with little interest in such matters, the pontificate and person of Hugh of Wells offer no immediate attraction and in several diocesan histories, his episcopate of twenty-six years is often dismissed in as many words:-

"Hugh Wallys or de Wallis.....was consecrated December 21 1209. Of him nothing very remarkable is recorded....." 1

Medieval historians had little to add:-

"On the death of the aforesaid William, he was succeeded by Hugh of Wells, chancellor of the King of England, who in the year of our Lord 1209 obtained the bishopric, and, as it is said, fell asleep in the Lord on February the seventh 1235. The episcopal hall which St. Hugh had begun in splendid style, as we have already mentioned, and the kitchen, he brought to completion with costly workmanship. And many other good things he did." 2

and Matthew Paris was more abusive in his comments:-

"...monachorum gravator indefessus, canonicorum, sanctimonialium et omnium religiosorum malleus." 3

In fact, Hugh was typical of those officials of the secular government who had been rewarded with preferment to the episcopal bench after years of loyal service to their royal master - in other words, efficient, practical and of exceptional administrative ability, but otherwise utterly unremarkable. He possessed neither the saintly characteristics of Hugh of Avalon, his predecessor but one, nor any of the academic distinction of his successor Robert Grosseteste, and it was the second Hugh's misfortune to be contrasted unfavourably with these two

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1. J. SAUNDERS (publ.): History of the County of Lincoln, vol. I, p. 146, 1834.
 2. J. R. SRAWLEY (ed): The Book of Hohn de Schalby, (Lincoln Minster Pamphlet no. 2, reprint 1966), p. 11.
 3. F. MADDEN : Matthaei Parisiensis Historia Minor, vol. II, pp. 375-6 (Rolls series 1866).

distinguished occupants of the see of Lincoln. He was completely overshadowed by these two Titans of the medieval English church, with the result that his own achievements and his contribution to the well-being of his spiritual spouse, the church of Lincoln, have tended to be belittled or even ignored. The chronic lack of information of a personal nature in medieval records transforms, in part at least, a biography of any notable personage of the time into an exercise in illusion. Much of Hugh of Wells's life is lamentably obscure and undocumented and to make matters even more inconvenient, contemporary chroniclers exhibited little interest in so conventional a bishop, so that to attempt a biographical sketch of this prelate, whose fame rests solely upon his administrative innovations, is bound to descend at times into the realms of pure conjecture.

It may be presumed with some justification that Hugh, the eldest son and heir of Edward of Wells⁴, was a native of the cathedral city from which he took his name. At a later date, his younger brother Jocelin was described as such after his elevation to the bishopric of Bath and Glastonbury: "...Jocelino natione Wellen' fratre Hugonis Lincoln' presulis . uiro summa prudentia in temporalibus....."⁵. Hugh's early years were spent in these Somerset surroundings until his entry into the royal service at the close of the twelfth century. It is not known in which year he was born but it is probable that he was an old man at the time of his death in 1235. His episcopal brother survived him another seven years but another Hugh of Wells, the archdeacon of Bath and possibly a nephew, died in 1234. As far as can be determined from the episcopal acts, from the 7 March 1233 until his death two years later, bishop Hugh never left his residence of Stow Park, eight miles from Lincoln. This long period of immobility would seem to suggest incapacity due to old age or physical infirmity. The earliest datable charter which he attests - the grant by abbot Henry of Glastonbury to bishop Reginald of Bath of the church of Brent for a prebend at Wells⁶ -

4. see H.M.C. Wells, vol. II, p. 548, charter no. 9.

5. Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R. 5. 33, f. 41.

6. H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, pp. 47-8.

was issued between 1189 and 1191. Taking into account the requirements of the canon law, the date of his birth must be placed at some time in the seventh decade of the century (1161-1170). Of his family little is known. His father, Edward of Wells, held land of bishop Reginald of Bath in Lancherley⁷, a village close by the cathedral city of Wells, for which he paid an annual rent of three shillings. In the period 1184-1188 he was also granted property in Wells belonging to Ralph of Wilton at a yearly rent of ten shillings⁸. The names of any brothers and sisters of Hugh and Jocelin have not come down to us but it is recorded that the bishop of Lincoln gave his land at Dornford in Oxfordshire with Agatha his niece in marriage⁹. Hugh of Wells, archdeacon of Bath and canon of Lincoln, was also a kinsman, although the exact relationship has not been satisfactorily established.¹⁰ He had a brother Osbert and a nephew, also Hugh, to whom he granted certain houses in Lincoln¹¹. Nicholas of Wells, who occurs in the records of the Somerset diocese¹² and of the royal chancery¹³, could have been related to the episcopal brothers, as could master Walter of Wells, canon of Lincoln and a member of Hugh's 'familia'¹⁴, but it is extremely dangerous to suppose that a similar territorial surname implies firm ties of consanguinity. Tradition has ascribed to Jocelin the surname of Trotman¹⁵ and Dean Armitage Robinson was led to assume a connexion with the family of Tortesmaines who held knights' fees in Pilton and elsewhere¹⁶. A reference in bishop Hugh's 1233

7. H.M.C. Wells, vol. II, p. 548, charter no. 9.

8. Ibid., vol. II, p. 548, charter no. 10.

9. actum no. 355.

10. See the chapter on the Cathedral Chapter of Lincoln.

11. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IX, nos. 2540-1, pp. 142-3.

12. H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, pp. 18, 164, 491; Archaeologia, vol. 52, part 1, p. 106, 1890.

13. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, pp. 22, 48, 53, 56, 59, 63, 65, 66, 66b, 67, 70b, 81, 91, 114.

14. See the chapter on the bishop's 'familia'.

15. Annales monastici, vol. I, p. 28. See also the curious work, F.H. TROTMAN: The Trotman Family 1086-1963, (priv. pd. 1965).

16. J.A. ROBINSON: Somerset Historical Essays, Appendix D, "Jocelin of Wells and members of his family", pp. 156-9. London 1921.

testament to a bequest to his poor relatives in Wells and Pilton⁹ seemed to confirm this link but this is still not proved to my satisfaction. Neither of the brothers were ever called Trotman in the extant records of the period and the Pilton episode could be mere coincidence.

Hugh began his ecclesiastical career in his native county where he was taken into the service of bishop Reginald of Bath (1174-1191). There does not appear to have been any previous association with other members of the episcopal household which might have led to his recruitment and it can be assumed that he was one of the promising young clerks of the locality whose talents had been brought to the notice of the diocesan. The date of his first appearance in the bishop's entourage has not been established with any precision. In addition to the 1189/91 grant of the abbot of Glastonbury already cited⁶, Hugh features in several charters of bishop Reginald - the exemption from episcopal and archidiaconal jurisdiction of seven churches in the patronage of Glastonbury abbey¹⁷, a grant of four annual pensions to the same abbey¹⁸, confirmations of grants to Wells cathedral made by Robert and John de Boleville¹⁹ and James of Mountsorel²⁰, an episcopal ordination regarding fairs and traders at Wells²¹, as well as certain other grants²² - but their exact dates cannot be determined. There is no evidence to suggest that he spent any considerable time at a university or that he was ever highly proficient in canon or civil law. He is never once styled 'magister', although his brother Jocelin is found with that title²³ but his appearance as an attorney in three disputes in the king's court in 1200²⁴, 1201²⁵ and 1204²⁶, his occasional employment as

17. A. WATKIN: The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury, vol. I, (Somerset Record Society LIX, 1947), no. 1, p. 2.

18. ibid., vol. I, pp. 92, p. 64.

19. H.M.O. Wells, vol. I, p. 24.

20. ibid., vol. I, pp. 44-5.

21. D.O. SHILTON & R. HOLWORTHY: Wells City Charters (Somerset R.S. XLVI, 1932), no. 2, p. 2.

22. e.g. P.R.O. 31/8/140b (Léchaudé d'Anisy) no. 84 pp. 294-5; Exch. K.R. misc. books. 1.20, f. 91; Lambeth MS. 940, no. 4.

23. Archaeologia vol. 52, part 1, pp. 104-5. 25. Curia Regis Rolls

24. Rotuli Curiae Regis, vol. II, p. 179 (1835) 26. ibid., vol. III, p. 213

a royal justice²⁶, and intermittent service as a papal judge delegate²⁷ or mediator in internal ecclesiastical disputes²⁸, would seem to imply certain experience and knowledge of judicial and legal affairs. In 1190 archbishop Boniface of Canterbury died on the crusade and in the following year, Reginald of Bath was elected by the monks of Christ Church as the new primate. Death intervened before his consecration - nevertheless it would be interesting to speculate on the different course of Hugh's career if his archiepiscopal master had lived. As it was, the accession of Savaric archdeacon of Northampton as bishop of Bath in succession to his uncle Reginald, ensured the continuance of Hugh's clerical activities in the Somerset diocese. In a grant issued by the bishop to the borough and burgesses of Wells allowing them to enjoy all the liberties and free customs of other burgesses and boroughs, Hugh attests as a 'clericus'episcopi'.²⁹ Of his early preferment there is no record and he first occurs as a canon of Wells in 1200³⁰. Up until this time the careers of Hugh and his brother Jocelin are closely interwoven. Jocelin also features in a charter of bishop Reginald³¹ but towards the close of the century he is to be found in the employment of Robert prior of Bath from 1198 to 1223 (and later abbot of Glastonbury 1223-1235)³². Prior Robert had been a prominent member of bishop Savaric's household for six years before his elevation to the priorate and it is easy to envisage the close connexions between the prior and the Wells brothers. Jocelin was certainly

26. In 1204, 1207, 1208, 1209 - D.M. STENTON: Pleas before the King or his justices 1198-1212, (Selden Soc. 83, 1967), vol. III, pp. ccxvii, ccl, cclvi, cclxix respectively.

27. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 116; C.R. CHENEY: Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 988, p. 164.

28. see acta nos. 135 & 174 and Acta Stephani Langton, nos. 105 & appendix III.

29. Wells City Charters, no. 3, p. 3.

30. Rotuli Curiae Regis, vol. II, p. 179.

31. Wells City Charters, no. 2, p. 2.

32. Jocelin is described as the prior's clerk in W. HUNT: Two Chartularies for the Priory of St. Peter at Bath. (Somerset Record Society, VII, 1893), 11, no. 65, p. 15.

appreciated by Robert and he was rewarded with the church of Dogmersfield³³ and an annuity of one hundred shillings³⁴. Nicholas of Wells was likewise a clerk of the prior³⁵ and Hugh was also associated with him. They both witnessed his charter conferring the church of Radstock upon David his clerk³⁶. His early years in the service of successive bishops of Bath was a formative period in Hugh's career and obviously during this time he met and formed professional and personal links with several ecclesiastics or ecclesiastical families - the Thornacos, the Bohuns, the Wiltons, Ralph of Lechlade, the Chichesters, Peter of Bath and so on - many of whom reappear later in his career to obtain either preferment or employment³⁷.

Although bishops Reginald and Savaric were deeply involved in national affairs, it would seem unlikely that the Wells brothers owed their introduction into the royal administration to either of these prelates. Hugh certainly appears to have secured advancement into the king's service through the good offices of Simon fitzRobert, archdeacon of Wells. Simon was a prominent member of archbishop Hubert Walter's entourage³⁸ and his connexion with the Bath diocese dated from at least 1198 when he received the archdeaconry of Wells. Hugh became his protégé and is found about this time in Simon's company attesting a grant of Richard Barre, archdeacon of Ely³⁹. With the accession of King John in 1199 and the appointment of archbishop Hubert as chancellor on the 27 May, archdeacon Simon and Hugh were brought into the royal chancery, the former becoming datary and a deputy of the chancellor, in

33. Two Chartularies for the Priory of St. Peter at Bath, 11, nos. 65-6, p. 15.

34. *ibid.*, 11, no. 64, p. 15.

35. *ibid.*, 11, no. 16, p. 6.

36. *ibid.*, 11, no. 17, p. 6, for Hugh see also *ibid.*, 11, no. 52, p. 13.

37. See the chapters on the 'familia' and the cathedral chapter.

38. cf. C. R. CHENEY: *Hubert Walter*, (London 1967), pp. 43-4, 85, 160, 171.

39. W. R. JONES & W. D. MACRAY: *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City and Diocese of Salisbury in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, no. LXXIII, p. 60, Rolls series 1891.

which capacities he was eventually succeeded by Hugh of Wells. On 26 August 1199 at the Norman capital of Rouen, Hugh made his first appearance in royal records when he attested an agreement made by King John regarding the debts due to his sister Joan, queen of Sicily, from the late King Richard⁴⁰. Jocelin does not appear to have followed his brother into the king's chancery immediately but remained for some time as a clerk of prior Robert of Bath⁴¹.

The achievements and innovations brought about in the time of archbishop Hubert Walter's custody of the great seal - in particular, the evolution of a systematic record of chancery business - are familiar to all students of English administrative history and have been the subject of many thorough and painstaking investigations⁴². In spite of this great interest, the activities of the chancellor's subordinates during this period of development and adaptation cannot be determined in any great detail, but it is obvious that the responsibility for the implementation of these schemes must have fallen upon chancery clerks such as Hugh of Wells. Indeed, Painter thought that the two Wells brothers were directly involved in the archiepiscopal reorganisation of chancery procedure⁴³ - an assertion that is quite within the bounds of possibility. Hugh spent the years from 1199 to 1209 in devoted service to the king. His merits were quickly recognised and within a year he is found authorising the issue of documents - at Angoulême on 26 August 1200 he acted as joint-datary with John of Brancaster, archdeacon of Worcester⁴⁴. In November of the same year he and Hugh of Boothby were entrusted with the custody of the temporalities of the see of Lincoln⁴⁵ recently vacant by the

40. Calendar of Documents in France, no. 1103, pp. 391-2.

41. Jocelin is described as a royal clerk when he was given the church of Lugwardine on 24 February 1204 (Rotuli Chartarum, p. 119b) but he is not so described earlier.

42. see H. G. RICHARDSON: introduction to Memoranda Roll 1 John, Pipe Roll Soc. vol. 21, 1943, new series - part of Mr. Richardson's hypothesis should be treated with reserve.

43. S. PAINTER: The Reign of King John (Baltimore 1945), pp. 104-5

44. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 74b.

45. ibid., p. 99b.

death of bishop Hugh of Avalon. The rejection by the Lincoln chapter of King John's choice for the bishopric - Roger de Beaumont, bishop of St. Andrew's⁴⁶ - meant the prolongation of the vacancy until William of Blois's election in 1203, but Hugh must have acquitted himself very satisfactorily as regards the administration of the episcopal estates, for he was appointed a royal custodian of the diocese of Bath and Glastonbury during the vacancy of 1205-1206⁴⁷. In the previous year he and Hugh of Chacombe administered the temporalities of the vacant priory of Kenilworth⁴⁸.

Besides these extraneous responsibilities, Hugh was clearly very much involved in the organisation and day-to-day running of the royal chancery. As early as 1200 there is a curious reference in the fine rolls to certain entries 'in rotulo Hugonis de Welles'⁴⁹. Whether this refers to a personal working roll of this prominent chancery clerk or indicates that Hugh was charged with the keeping of one of the official royal rolls is not at all obvious. Many chroniclers have mistakenly assumed that Hugh occupied the office of chancellor⁵⁰. This is sheer nonsense; he was not even vice-chancellor in the sense of a permanent administrative deputy but merely had custody of the king's seal and acted as royal datary when circumstances demanded - 'e Hue de Welles.....qui le seel le rei portout'⁵¹ - From July 1203 until his election as bishop, Hugh is regularly

⁴⁶. D.L. DOUIE & H. FARMER : Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, vol. II, p. 84.

⁴⁷. He occurs as such: Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, pp. 57b, 63b; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, pp. 49, 52, 56, 61, 63b, 66b, 67, 72b; Pipe Roll 7 John, pp. 144-5.

⁴⁸. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 44b.

⁴⁹. Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati, temp. Regis Johannis, p. 74 (Record Commission 1835).

⁵⁰. The Book of John de Schalby, p. 11; Matthaei Parisiensis Historia Minor, vol. II, p. 120; Roger of Wendover, vol. II, p. 51; but in Annales Monastici, vol. IV, p. 397 he is described as 'signifer domine regis'; even Pope Innocent was mistaken: cf. '...cum ipse in curia regis officium exercuerit cancellarii, multas litteras sigillaverit de spoliacionibus clericorum, invasionibus ecclesiarum, mutilacione membrorum, et aliis abusionibus et injuriis multipliciter irrogatis..' J-P. MIGNE Patrologia Latina, vol. CCXVI, pp. 62-4.

⁵¹. ed. P. MEYER. L'Histoire de Guillaume le Marechal, vol. II, 11-12941-3 (Paris 1894).

found authorising the issue of royal documents and on archdeacon Simon of Wells's elevation to the bishopric of Chichester in 1204, he succeeded to his senior position in the chancery, second only in importance to the chancellor. There is ample evidence in the surviving royal records to show Hugh's total involvement in the workings of the central administration and it would not be too presumptuous to suppose that the knowledge and experience gained from archbishop Hubert's registrational reorganisation in the chancery at a later date directly encouraged bishop Hugh to effect similar reforms in the methods and practice of diocesan administration.

Hugh's talents were not restricted to the purely administrative aspects of the ~~xxxx~~ central government and royal confidence in his abilities was such that he was frequently called upon to represent the king's interests on missions of a diplomatic nature. The defence of the Norman duchy from the invading French forces was the dominant theme of English continental policies following the opening of hostilities in 1202. The events leading to the French monarch's eventual conquest of Normandy need not be recapitulated here⁵². It is only necessary to record that Hugh was in close attendance upon king John, acting as datary, during the latter's frantic attempt to recover lost ground in the summer and autumn of 1203. He was at Rouen when the strategically important fortress of Vaudreuil surrendered⁵³ - a shattering blow to Angevin hopes - and in August was present when efforts were made to recapture Alençon⁵⁴. He evidently shared the king's hasty withdrawal from the duchy; he is found at Cherbourg on 4 December⁵⁵ and on the following day at Barfleur, John and his retinue embarked for England⁵⁶. Within a month Hugh of Wells was back in Normandy on a mission that could have concerned the defence of Château-Gaillard⁵⁷ but

52. see F.M. POWICKE: The Loss of Normandy, (Manchester 1913).

53. Rotuli Chartarum, pp. 106b-109.

54. ibid., pp. 109b-110.

55. ibid., p. 114.

56. The Loss of Normandy, p. 249.

57. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, pp. 38, 38b; The Loss of Normandy, p. 259 & note: Rotuli de Liberata ac de Misia et Praestit pp. 77, 81 (Record Commission 1844).

the fall of that supposedly impregnable fortress on 8 March 1204 brought his journey to an unsuccessful conclusion and he had returned to England before the English ambassadors - archbishop Hubert Walter, the bishops of Norwich and Ely, the earl marshal and the earl of Leicester - crossed to France to enter into negotiations with Philip Augustus⁵⁸.

The loss of Château-Gaillard and the surrender of Rouen marked the final and irreparable stages in the collapse of English authority over the Norman duchy. The succeeding years witnessed the Poitevin expedition and the conclusion of alliances with the Welf king (later emperor) Otto IV and the Rhenish princes to facilitate the recovery of these former continental possessions of the English king which had been conquered by the French. This spate of military activity was interspersed with efforts to obtain a satisfactory peace. In the spring of 1205 Hugh, now archdeacon of Wells, accompanied the earl marshal on a visit to King Philip at Compiègne for the purposes of negotiations⁵⁹ - a project which met with a severe rebuff from an unexpected quarter. Archbishop Hubert Walter was apparently very suspicious of the marshal's intentions - the latter possessed extensive lands in conquered Normandy - and effectively sabotaged the envoys' efforts by informing the French king that neither earl William nor archdeacon Hugh had the power to negotiate a settlement, - information, it may be added, which caused the abrupt dismissal of the ambassadors from Philip's presence. In spite of the failure of his first attempts at diplomacy, Hugh was evidently considered sufficiently gifted as an ambassador for his services to be required at a later date. In January 1208 he occurs as a royal envoy in the company of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester⁶⁰, but the exact nature of their mission is not at all clear. Years later, long after he had become bishop, Hugh once again exercised his diplomatic skills

58. The Loss of Normandy, p. 382.

59. L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, vol. II, ll. 12935-46, pp. 101-2; S. PAINTER: William Marshal, pp. 138-9 (John Hopkins Press 1933); Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 28.

60. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 101.

skills on an embassy to Philip Augustus's son, King Louis VIII.⁶¹

Loyal service to the king procured its expected rewards in the form of preferment to ecclesiastical benefices and grants of land and wardship. In 1203 Hugh received the grant of the prebend of Louth in Lincoln cathedral⁶², in the king's gift by reason of the episcopal vacancy, and he occurs as prebendary of Ealdstreet in St. Paul's London at a similar date⁶³. He must have vacated the Louth prebend shortly afterwards for one of a higher value, since master Walter Blund, his successor, had ceased to be prebendary by February 1208⁶⁴. The year 1204 was the most profitable for Hugh as far as the king's munificence was concerned. On 25 April he was granted the Somerset manors of Cheddar and Axbridge and the hundreds of Cheddar and Winterstoke in fee-farm⁶⁵ and this was followed within a few months by the custody of Lothingland in Suffolk⁶⁶ as well as the gift of the churches of Addle⁶⁷ and Edington⁶⁸. In addition to these rewards, between 4/9 and 25 April Hugh succeeded Simon fitzRobert in the archdeaconry of Wells.⁶⁹ The benefice of Adisham⁷⁰, the custody of the houses and rents of Jordan de Turri in London⁷¹ and the wardship of the land and heir of Geoffrey of Evercreech⁷² were all bestowed upon him in the following year, and on other

61. C. PETIT-DUTAILLIS: Louis VIII, p. 273 and see note 152.

62. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 27.

63. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, vol. I, St. Paul's London, (ed. D. E. GREENWAY, 1968), p. 48.

64. cf. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 103b.

65. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 129.

66. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 12b.

67. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 431

68. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 140b.

69. Simon was elected bishop of Chichester between 4 & 9 April 1204; Hugh first occurs as archdeacon of Wells on 25 April (Rotuli Chartarum, p. 129).

70. ibid., p. 157.

71. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 18.

72. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 154.

occasions Hugh was rewarded with the churches of Rothley⁷³ and Aldfrith⁷⁴ and custody of the escheated lands of Richard Foliot⁷⁵ and Simon de Bugeken⁷⁶. Hugh's personal assistants were not forgotten. Hugh of Wells, the archdeacon's clerk and future archdeacon of Bath received the church of Newton in the diocese of Bath and Glastonbury⁷⁷, the perpetual vicarage of Edington⁷⁸ and the prebend of Gridinton⁷⁹, and John of Birmingham, the archdeacon's chaplain, became perpetual vicar of Adisham⁸⁰.

The defection of Hugh of Wells from the king's cause in December 1209 was understandable in view of the momentous events of the preceding few months. On 23 March 1208 a general interdict was laid upon the country as a result of the king's acrimonious dispute with Pope Innocent III over the choice of Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury⁸¹. King John countered by taking into his custody all the possessions of those clergy who would not celebrate divine service. Hugh was not immediately affected by the imposition of the interdict and he remained in attendance upon the king, continuing to act as the datary of royal documents until well into 1209. However the early months of 1209 witnessed an important change in the archdeacon's clerical status. The see of Lincoln had been vacant since the death of William of Blois on 10 May 1206 and the temporalities had been entrusted to a prominent exchequer official, William of Cornhill, archdeacon of Huntingdon⁸². In January 1209 Pope Innocent commanded the cathedral chapter to proceed to a canonical election⁸³. By 12 April Hugh of Wells was being styled the elect of Lincoln⁸⁴. The choice of a senior

73. Curia Regis Rolls, vol. V, pp. 165, 224, 239, 253.

74. Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannie, vol. II imp. cxv, (1844).

75. Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus, p. 182.

76. Pipe Roll 5 John, p. 99.

77. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 68b.

78. ibid., p. 80 ; B.M. Harley MS. 3650, f. 48d.

79. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 176.

80. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 69b.

81. see F.M. POWICKE: Stephen Langton (new edn. London 1965); C.R. CHENEY: in T.E.H.S. vol. XXXI, 1949 and Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. XXXI, 1948. other notes next page.

official in the royal chancery naturally aroused papal suspicions that king John had exerted pressure on the electors, and archbishop Stephen Langton, then in exile in France, was commissioned to examine the election procedure and to investigate certain accusations brought against the person of the elect.⁸⁵

The charge of collusion levelled against the king by Matthew Paris must remain open⁸⁶. It is impossible to deny that John influenced the choice of bishop, although his efforts in support of Roger de Beaumont during an earlier vacancy had not proved entirely successful. On the other hand, the composition of the cathedral chapter of Lincoln may have rendered open intervention unnecessary. The see had experienced two long vacancies in a single decade - 1200-1203 and 1206-1209 - and the king had not been slow to exercise his vacancy rights of collation to prebends and dignities. Thus in 1209 a sizeable proportion of the chapter were either in the royal service or else owed their promotion solely to the king. In addition to Hugh of Wells himself, there were numbered among these royal-appointed members of the capitular body, William of Cornhill archdeacon of Huntingdon, Philip de Lucy (?) treasurer, John of Brancaster, William of Ely, Geoffrey son of the Viscount of Thouars, Henry son of Geoffrey FitzPeter, Henry de Loundres, Robert of London, Ralph Nevill, Thomas Nevill, Peter des Rivaux and Henry de Ver⁸⁷. Quite clearly this group constituted an important and influential portion of the chapter and it is evident that their voices would have carried considerable weight in the choice of a pastor for the diocese. Hugh was already well-known in Lincoln circles - he was a prebendary and for three years had been custodian of the

82. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 65.

83. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 829, p. 137.

84. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 185.

85. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 851, pp. 140-1.

86. Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora, vol. III, p. 526.

87. see the chapter on the Cathedral Chapter of Lincoln.

temporalities. It is plausible conjecture that a combination of these factors influenced the electors' decision.

Pope Innocent's initial mandate to the archbishop of Canterbury was dated the 21 June and in a little over a month the examination had been conducted and a report submitted to Rome. From Innocent's second letter of 29 July it would seem that Hugh had been accused of having daughters in matrimony earlier in his career⁸⁸. Evidently the elect of Lincoln purged himself of the charges to the satisfaction of the archbishop's representative in England, who is known to have exercised authority while Langton was in exile, and who would have acted for the archbishop in this matter. The breach with the king came soon afterwards - precipitated by the rapid course of events in the autumn of 1209. Hugh remained active in John's service for most of the year and is found as a judge of the 'coram rege' court at Knapp castle⁸⁹. Nevertheless he may have already come to the conclusion that the king's cause was doomed. It is known that he was one of a group of royal intimates who urged the king to come to terms with the pope⁹⁰. Perhaps their pressure on John resulted in the abortive peace moves of October⁹¹. The failure of these negotiations must have decided the course that Hugh would take. The king was excommunicated in November and many of his former supporters, including the bishops of Bath and Rochester, withdrew from court and took themselves abroad. The bishop-elect of Lincoln must have been in a terrible quandary - he was forced to choose between remaining with an excommunicate king whom he had loyally served for ten years, and deserting him for Stephen Langton, the pope's choice as archbishop of Canterbury and enemy of his royal master, who had apparently approved the canonical form of the Lincoln election and was willing to confirm and consecrate the

88. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 853, p. 141 ; Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 34 ; J-P. MIGNE: Patrologia Latina, vol. CCXVI, pp. 62-4.

89. Pleas before the King or his justices 1198-1212, vol. III, p. cclxix.

90. Gervase of Canterbury, vol. II, pp. xcvi-11-c1 (Rolls series 1880)

91. A. L. POOLE: From Domesday Book to Magna Carta (Oxford, 2nd edn 1955) p. 448.

bishop-elect. If Hugh remained with the king, he would thereby incur excommunication himself and if he obeyed the royal command to seek consecration from the hands of archbishop Robert of Rouen, he realised that with the expected papal victory and Langton's triumphant return to England as primate, his own position would be seriously jeopardised. Personal considerations naturally prevailed over loyalty and in December Hugh left England ostensibly to travel to Rouen for consecration. Instead he went to the exiled archbishop of Canterbury and at Melun on 20 December he was consecrated eighth bishop of Lincoln⁹², the first bishop to be consecrated by Stephen Langton⁹³. He remained in exile for three and a half years.

Of the intervening period little is known. Besides his consecration at Melun, the only other appearance Hugh of Wells makes during his enforced stay abroad is on 13 November ~~1212~~ 1212 at St. Martin de Garenne near Paris when he drew up his testament⁹⁴. This testamentary activity may have been prompted by fears of an exile's death. Two of his episcopal colleagues - Malger of Worchster and Geoffrey Plantagenet of York - did not live to return to England and Hugh may have become dejected over his own future. He stated that he had made his will 'de bonis meis que michi restituenda sunt in Anglia' and enumerated the debts to be discharged by his executors. Ironically, he owed money to both combatants in the struggle - Peter's Pence due to the Pope in respect of the bishopric of Lincoln and six hundred and eight marks, eight shillings and a penny to the king. The witnesses to this document - in particular Jocelin of Bath, master Elias of Derham, Peter of Chichester, Reginald of Chester and William de Hammes - are perhaps indicative of the company the bishop kept while in France.

In England in the meantime efforts were being made to

92. Matthaei Parisiensis : Chronica Majora, vol. III, p. 528.

93. Giraldi Cambrensis : Opera, vol. VII, p. 5 - Gerald's 'Vitaes SS. Remigii et Hugonis' which he sent to Langton was to be lent to Hugh of Wells 'filio vestro primogenito et hactenus etiam unigenito'.

94. actum no. 1.

reach a settlement between the king and the pope. In 1211 two papal envoys had crossed to England on such a mission but without success. At the end of the following year a royal emissary was despatched to Rome and was obliged to accept the previously rejected 1211 proposals. The early months of 1213 saw dramatic developments. John's position was insecure - the French menace was very real and the pope threatened deposition - and pressure was put on the king to ratify the terms agreed to by his envoys. On 27 February Pope Innocent elaborated the terms of settlement, demanding that the king grant his peace to the exiled English prelates⁹⁵. A week later, bishop Hugh, together with Stephen Langton and the bishops of London, Ely and Hereford, was the recipient of a papal missive ordering the suspension of all those secular and regular clergy who had failed to observe the excommunication of King John⁹⁶. The exiled bishops were by this time with Pandulph, the papal subdeacon, in Flanders and in April and May negotiations were resumed with the king's representatives. On 15 May John submitted to the papal terms and resigned the kingdom into the hands of Pope Innocent⁹⁷. Within nine days letters had been sent to bishop Hugh promising and safety and urgently requesting to return to England - 'secundum formam mandati domini et venerabilis patris nostri I. dei gratia summi pontificis veram pacem ac plenam securitatem vobis prestamus necnon ceteris tam clericis quam laicis hoc negocium quod inter nos et ecclesiam Anglicanam versatum est contingentibus'⁹⁸. The archbishop of Dublin, the bishops of Winchester and Norwich and twelve barons stood surety for the maintenance of the king's promises.

Discussions about restitution of property and liberties and compensation for damages may have been held in the succeeding months. On 28 June at Bere Regis the king issued letters patent

95. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 905, p. 150.

96. ibid., no. 908, p. 150.

97. RYMER: Foedera, vol. I, pp. 112-2 : Rotuli Chartarum, p. 195.

98. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, no. 207, pp. 233-4.

informing Hugh that he had granted peace and security to the English church according to the form of settlement sent by the pope through Pandulph his clerk, namely, in return for his submission to the pope and his absolution from excommunication, King John had sworn on oath to give security to the bishops and to make restitution⁹⁹. The chronicle attributed to Walter of Coventry states that the exiled bishops returned to England in June¹⁰⁰, but it is more likely that Roger of Wendover is correct on this occasion when he dates their arrival at Dover as 16 July¹⁰¹. Even before they landed, the episcopal abbey of Eynham had been restored into Hugh of Wells's hands¹⁰². On 20 July at Winchester a general reconciliation took place and was followed by the king's absolution from the sentence of excommunication.¹⁰³

Hugh's active episcopate dates from his return from exile. He remained in attendance upon the king for at least a few days after his arrival - he was still at Winchester on 21 July¹⁰⁴ and at Corfe castle on the 24th¹⁰⁵ - but it is not known whether he was present at the council of St. Albans or the assembly at St Paul's on 25 August, where his colleague and metropolitan Stephan Langton took such a prominent part.¹⁰⁶ He was however in St. Paul's Cathedral on 3 October¹⁰⁷ when John's surrender of the kingdom to the Holy See was ratified with due solemnity by the legate, the cardinal-bishop of Tusculum. Hugh's efforts to restore some order to his long neglected diocese occupied most of his time after this ceremony. Clearly, there remained much to be done in the sphere of diocesan administration

99. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, no. 208, pp. 134-6.

100. W. STUBBS: Memoriale Walteri de Coventria, vol. II, p. 213.

101. Roger of Wendover, vol. II, p. 81.

102. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, no. 203, p. 128.

103. Roger of Wendover, vol. II, p. 81 ; Stephen Langton, pp. 112-3.

104. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 194b.

105. ibid., p. 194.

106. Stephen Langton, pp. 113-6.

107. Rotuli Chartarum, p. 195 ; From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p. 457.

The see of Lincoln had in effect been without a pastor for over seven years ; during the interdict the temporalities of the bishopric had been entrusted to a royal custodian, Brian de Insula,¹⁰⁸ and evidence seems to suggest that the spiritual duties normally expected of a bishop had been conducted by the dean of Lincoln and the eight archdeacons (as agents of the chapter)¹⁰⁹. On 5 October, the bishop issued his earliest known administrative charter - a letter of institution of Simon of London to the church of Launton¹¹⁰ - and in just over a week he is found dedicating the conventual church of Dunstable in Bedfordshire¹¹¹. There was little to detain him at court ; King John was preparing for another Poitevin expedition and the bishop could devote all his energies to the diocesan work in hand. The bishop's itinerary for 1214 reveals that as far as can be ascertained he was active within the confines of his see for most of the year. This is not to say that he did not participate in the contemporary events of national significance. He was probably at Dunstable in January when the archbishop and his suffragans voiced bitter complaints against the questionable appointments made by the legate¹¹². Moreover there was the matter of restitution of ecclesiastical property. In July 1213 the king had sworn to make full restitution and compensation by Easter 1214 for any losses and damages inflicted upon clergy or laity.¹¹³ It was of course too much to expect that full restitution could be effected within such a short space of time and it was not until the end of the year that Hugh received substantial compensation in the form of several grants. In the first place

108. Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VI, p. 361; vol. VII, pp. 197-8; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 615, pp. 310-311.

109. See Chapter V, the section on 'sede vacante' government, and note the recipients of royal letters of presentation in the royal rolls tempore the Interdict.

110. actum no. 2.

111. Annales monastici, vol. III, p. 42.

112. Stephen Langton, pp. 105-6, 129.

113. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, no. 209, p. 137.

he was granted the manor of Winthorpe near Newark which had been pledged to Aaron the Jew and had escheated to Henry II. In addition, an annual payment of ten pounds which successive bishops had paid to the crown in respect of the wapentake of Stow was hereby remitted. Hugh was also given licence to enclose, impark or assart the episcopal woods of Liddington, Buckdon and Spaldwick, the grove of Stow in Huntingdon and the spinney of Crouch near Banbury. All were to be quit of view of foresters and pleas of the forest, saving however to the king his hunting. The bishop was allowed to divert the way which led from Kimbolton towards Huntingdon, through part of Buckden wood, so that that way might be the boundary between this wood and the adjoining wood of Brampton. In conclusion, the king affirmed the right of bishops of Lincoln to hold their fairs for three or four days a year and their markets one day a week in all their manors¹¹⁴. The grant was repeated on 21 January 1215¹¹⁵. Some months later, after the issue of Magna Carta, the bishop received a further compensatory charter, this time in respect of waste made by the king's men at Stow Park. John made good this damage by the gift of the royal wood of Harthay in Huntingdonshire with licence to enclose, impark or assart it, quit of pleas of the forest save the king's hunting, until the wood was disafforested¹¹⁶. All in all bishop Hugh of Wells received generous treatment at the hands of his former master; certainly the bishop of Lincoln seems to have been restored to high favour. Just how long he managed to retain the confidence of the king remains to be seen.

Professor Powicke rightly says that "the history of the Charter begins in the summer of 1213 and not later"¹¹⁷. Although it is unnecessary to delve once more into the minute details of the momentous events from the council of St. Albans until the granting of the Charter in June 1215 and the drift into civil

114. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, no. 206, pp. 131-3.

115. ibid., vol. I, no. 205, pp. 129-131.

116. ibid., vol. I, no. 211, pp. 138-9.

117. Stephen Langton, p. 112.

war¹¹⁸, it may be profitable to try to assess the part played by, or at least the sympathies of, the bishop of Lincoln in the various stages of the struggle. Together with Stephen Langton and other bishops, Hugh strove to effect a peaceful settlement, while that was yet possible, and was one of the guarantors of the barons' safety until the holding of a conference with the king at Easter 1215.¹¹⁹ On 15 March Pope Innocent ordered the primate and his suffragans to work diligently and effectively for peace.¹²⁰ He also mentioned that he had received disturbing reports informing him that several of the bishops favoured the king's opponents. It is of course impossible to know Hugh of Wells's mind but it is possible, indeed highly probable, that he, like Langton, was in sympathy with many of the aims of the rebellious barons and the justice of their cause, if not with the methods they employed to attain their objective. In 1217 on his return to England, Hugh had to pay heavy fines to the pope and the legate to recover his bishopric - a penalty ostensibly ~~paid~~ imposed because he had countenanced the rebellion against the late king.¹²¹ This charge does not automatically imply, as Powicke supposed, that Hugh had joined openly with Louis of France and the insurgents.¹²² (Incidentally, Louis did not arrive in England until May 1216 whereas Hugh left the country in the previous September). In any case, it seems curious that the bishop would actively want to displace his erstwhile royal benefactor, whom he had loyally served for a decade. He was certainly not openly rebellious and when the time came delivered his castles into the hands of the king for the duration of hostilities without any trouble.¹²³ Rather than as a result of any extreme action, it seems more likely that the bishop had incurred the displeasure and the suspicion of both the pope and the king by his attitude towards the charter and the execution and observance of its terms. It is probable that

118. see J.C.HOLT: Magna Carta (London 1965)
 119. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.126b.
 120. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no.1002, p.167.
 121. Matthaei Parisiensis: Chronica Majora, vol.III, p.32 ; Roger of Wendover, vol.II, p.225.
 122. Stephen Langton, pp.137-8. 123. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.195b.

Hugh was one of the group of prelates and laymen whose counsel influenced the king to grant the Charter in the first place. He was present when the Charter was issued¹²⁴ and he joined his colleagues in protesting when the barons refused to honour their promise to give surety for the maintenance of the peace¹²⁵. He clearly wanted the Charter to succeed and presumably, like Stephen Langton, he adopted an independent stance between the opposing sides. As a result, he may have been reluctant to join in the apparent victory of the king and pope which followed the quashing of the Charter and the excommunication of the rebels, and this reluctance may have contributed to his loss of favour. In the circumstances, Hugh deemed it expedient to leave the country and at the end of August prepared for his journey to Rome to attend the Fourth Lateran Council summoned for November. He left the routine administration of the diocese during his absence to master Reginald of Chester, a trusted member of his household, and left England in early September in the company of the bishop of London and the bishop-elect of Ely¹²⁶. He did not return for some eighteen months.

The General Council of the Church held at the Lateran Palace in the last few weeks of 1215 under the presidency of Pope Innocent III engendered a general spirit of enthusiasm and reform among the prelates who attended its sessions - an inspiration which in most cases was translated into firm action once the bishops had returned to their own dioceses. The enactments of this universal assembly contained in the seventy canons issued at its final session are familiar to any historian of the medieval church - the affirmation of the main tenets of the faith, the clarification of legal and administrative uncertainties and the removal of abuses, the centralisation of ecclesiastical government, the regulation of the relationship between the church and both the individual and the secular authorities, and equally important, the extensive procedural definition - but it is impossible to assess the part played by

124. Statutes of the Realm, vol. I, pp. 9-13.

125. actum no. 22.

126. Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 131 (40).

Hugh of Wells, or any other bishop for that matter, at the meetings of the Council.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, our ignorance of bishop Hugh's general contribution to the discussions and the subsequent legislation of this Lateran assembly in no way frustrates an assessment of his later diocesan activities viewed in the light of these conciliar provisions. His innovations in administrative practice, his enforcement of certain regulations affecting incumbents and their benefices, their conduct and discipline, the systematic establishment of perpetual vicarages and above all, his involvement in the reiteration of the applicable Lateran canons at the Council of Oxford in 1222, allows us to conclude that he was particularly receptive of the Council's decrees, and after his return to England endeavoured to promote reform and to remedy abuses in his own diocese.

Hugh was still in Rome in January 1216 when a long-standing dispute with the abbot of Leicester was settled,¹²⁸ but his whereabouts from then on are obscure.¹²⁹ It is clear that he tarried in Europe while at least some of his entourage returned home immediately after the Council.¹³⁰ He was back in England by 5 February 1217 when a royal mandate was sent instructing him to induct the prior and convent of Newnham into corporal possession of the church of Pinedon at the next vacancy.¹³¹ On the payment of the heavy fines already mentioned, one thousand marks to the Pope, Honorius III, and one hundred marks to the papal legate Guala,¹³² he recovered his bishopric. He then sought

127. For the attendance at the Council, see Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, vol. XXXI (1906), pp. 575-593.

128. Acta Stephani Langton, no. 42, pp. 56-8.

129. cf. S. KUTTNER & A. GARCIA Y GARCIA: 'A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council' in Traditio, vol. XX, 1964, p. 129: 'Altera autem die post concilium terminatum multi episcopi cum aliis prelatibus a domino papa licentati recesserunt. Quamplures tamen et maxime de Alemannia episcopi per totum aduentum et quidam usque ad quadragesimam pro specialibus negotiis in curia remanserunt' (from GIESSEN UNIV. MS. 1105).

130. Peter of Bath accompanied the bishop to Rome (cf. note 126) but he was back in England on 28 February 1216 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 167b.)

131. Patent Rolls 1216-1225, p. 29.

see next page.

to allay any royal suspicions of his loyalty by joining the court of the new monarch Henry III. The civil war was still in progress and besides being unsafe to travel through parts of his diocese in enemy control, it was politically expedient for the bishop of Lincoln to present himself before the king and the regents and to make his peace and to regain their confidence. The bishop had left England in disfavour; it was not to be expected that he would jeopardise his position on his return by any unwise or precipitate action. Consequently he is to be found in the company of the king and the legate during the early months of 1217¹³³ and he was rewarded for his political prudence by the restoration of his episcopal possessions. He was with the royal forces at Newark in May, prior to their advance on Lincoln to relieve the castle and the beleaguered royalist garrison. There is no evidence to suggest that he was present at the subsequent "Fair of Lincoln" in which the rebels were out-maneuvred and worsted.¹³⁴

During the period of Hugh's absence, the diocesan machinery had continued to function adequately but it is obvious that the civil war had wrought considerable damage and the disruption of normal life. The cathedral itself had suffered from the exigencies of the civil strife - its treasury allegedly containing eleven thousand marks had been looted during the siege of the castle by the supporters of Louis of France.¹³⁵ It was Hugh's responsibility to bring some order to diocesan affairs and administration after the upheaval, and from 14 July 1217 there is abundant evidence that he had commenced this arduous task¹³⁶. Even with the conclusion of hostilities and the departure of prince Louis, there was no end to his difficulties.

132. Matthaei Parisiensis: Chronica Majora, vol. III, p. 32.

133. cf. itinerary of bishop, and the discussion of the date of the earliest roll in Chapter II.

134. cf. F. W. BROOKS & F. OAKLEY: "The Campaign and Battle of Lincoln" in A. A. S. E. vol. XXXVI (1922), pp. 295-312.

135. Matthaei Parisiensis: Chronica Majora, vol. III, p. 23.

136. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 875, pp. 218-221, and cf. the acta from 24 August 1217 (no. 46).

In 1217 the episcopal castles, including that of Newark, had been restored to the newly-returned bishop. The subsequent refusal of the royal custodian of Newark castle to surrender his charge was indicative of the general chaotic condition of his time. Robert de Gaugy had been entrusted with the custody of the castle by King John in 1215¹³⁷; on 10 June 1217 he was ordered to deliver it to the bishop. Henry de Coleville, a knight of the episcopal household, was deputed by his master to receive the surrender and was armed with the added authority of legatine letters¹³⁸. Robert declined to give up his castle and after contemptuously flouting the king's authority by disobeying successive royal summonses, finally submitted on 26 October¹³⁹. He made a formal surrender of the castle to the king and promised that he would evacuate his garrison and restore the fortress to the bishop of Lincoln within forty days. He did not keep his word and after three months more drastic action was decided upon. On 27 January 1218 the temporalities of the bishopric were placed in the king's hands and the constables of the episcopal castles of Newark, Banbury and Sleaford were instructed to deliver their castles to the newly-appointed custodians¹⁴⁰. Robert de Gaugy again proved reluctant to comply with the king's mandate and recourse was had to military action. The preparations for the siege were made by the earl marshal¹⁴¹, the 'rector regi et regis', but there is little information on the conduct of hostilities save for a report of the death of William de Dive, an episcopal knight¹⁴². The besiegers did not capture the castle and eventually an agreement was reached between the bishop and the excommunicate de Gaugy, whereby the latter was to evacuate his forces when

137. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 193b.

138. Patent Rolls 1216-1225, pp. 68, 71.

139. ibid., pp. 81, 85, 121.

140. ibid., pp. 134-5.

141. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, pp. 365-365b.

142. Matthew Paris: Historia Minor, vol. II, p. 226.

the bishop had paid one hundred pounds for the provisions inside the castle.¹⁴³ On 27 July 1218 just over a year after the initial royal mandate was issued, Robert surrendered to the king at Wallingford.¹⁴⁴ Newark castle was entrusted to Feter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and was subsequently restored to bishop Hugh. A fitting sequel to this episode - fitting, no doubt, in the eyes of bishop Wells - was the fiery death of Robert de Gaugy within the year; he was struck dead by lightning at St. Neots.¹⁴⁵

The task of restoring normality to diocesan government and introducing new methods in administrative practice and procedure consumed Hugh's energies for the rest of his episcopate. Yet, he did not cease to be active in public life during the royal minority and afterwards. From a close comparison of the episcopal itinerary with that of Henry III, it is possible to determine the frequency of his attendance upon the king and the regents, and undoubtedly he was one of Henry's trusted counsellors on those occasions, just as he had been of his father. The nature of his advice cannot of course be gauged but he appears to have been content to wield influence over affairs of state collectively with the primate and the body of suffragans. He certainly secured no prominence in secular matters like certain of his episcopal colleagues, but nevertheless his experience was always available when it came to judicial or diplomatic duties or in times of crisis. In 1218-1219 he headed the names of itinerant justices for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire,¹⁴⁶ and in 1226 he was again employed in the general eyre in the last two counties.¹⁴⁷ There had been a general collapse of secular judicial administration as a result of the strife which marked King John's

¹⁴³. Roger of Wendover, vol. IV, pp. 35-6.

¹⁴⁴. Patent Rolls 1216-1225, p. 164.

¹⁴⁵. Annales monastici, vol. III, p. 54.

¹⁴⁶. Patent Rolls 1216-1225, pp. 187, 208, 210.

¹⁴⁷. Rotuli Litterarum Clausurarum, vol. II, p. 154b; Curia Regia Rolls, vol. XIII, p. xiv.

declining years. Lincolnshire had not been visited by the royal justices since 1208 and consequently there was a considerable amount of outstanding business to be dealt with by the bishop and his colleagues. Of especial interest, both for the course of national events and as an indication of Hugh's strength of character, was the case of Gilbert de Gant and William de Forz, count of Aumale.¹⁴⁸ Gilbert had been disseised of a free tenement in the village of Edenham and count William was summoned to appear before the justices. Neither the count nor his bailiff, Fulk D'Oyry, could be located and they did not present themselves on the appointed day. As a result, the assize of novel disseisin was taken by default. Gilbert was adjudged to have been disseised and in consequence he recovered his seisin and was granted damages assessed at five marks. The count quite clearly resisted the decision and influenced the regents to reverse the verdict - the actions of the latter were more a result of expediency than of disagreement with the judicial decision. William de Forz was a powerful and dangerous nobleman and it was considered prudent not to antagonize him unduly; in 1221 the count rose in rebellion. Such arbitrary action on the part of the regents, based entirely ~~not~~ upon the misleading testimony of the comital bailiff, occasioned a stinging rejoinder from the itinerant justices headed by bishop Wells. In a joint letter to the earl marshal and Hubert de Burgh, they strongly protested against the precipitate and unjust action of the recipients of their missive. I use Lady Stenton's translation¹⁴⁹ "Since you chose us - we did not choose ourselves - and since you appointed us in this eyre for the peace of the lord king and his kingdom, bound to do justice to one and all, rich and poor without respect of persons, it would seem becoming and honourable, if it please you, that you should not so readily at the suggestion of Fulk de Oiry or another, believe evil of us, as from the tenor of the lord king's letters men may be led to

148. D.M. STENTON: *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-9 and Worcestershire 1221* (Selden Soc. LIII), pp. 11-161, no. 151, p. 66.

149. *ibid.*, p. 111. of W.W. SHIRLEY: *Royal Letters, Henry III*, vol. I, no. XVI, pp. 20-22 (Rolls series 1862).

think, We call him as witness who is witness of our conscience and the searcher of hearts and the knower of secrets that, sitting as a tribunal, we have done nothing of our certain knowledge according to our understanding or intelligence which ought to displease God and men of good will. Nevertheless some perhaps who see and hear these things and are not accustomed to seeing such things, the practice of which is hardly learned and recalled with difficulty by trained minds, may wonder. And therefore it is not expedient for the king's honour and ours, saving your peace, that their opinion and practice, which are indeed abuse and error, should be twisted to our blame, and thus we who should be judges are made contemptible in the sight of those to whom we are sent."

The early years of Henry III's reign were turbulent and frequently disturbed by internal dissension or foreign threats, and in consequence bishop Hugh's services and experience were often in demand. Clearly the apparent infrequency of his involvement was not motivated by consideration of the canon law - that ecclesiastics should not take upon themselves secular office. He received the custody of Lincoln castle and for a while acted as sheriff of Lincolnshire during the crisis over the surrender and redistribution of royal castles in 1223¹⁵⁰. In the following year he was attendant upon the king at Bedford during the siege of the castle which led to the downfall of Fawkes de Breauté¹⁵¹. Although he was present at Westminster when the Charters were confirmed and reissued, later in 1225 he was engaged in negotiations with Louis VIII of France over Normandy and Poitou as one of Henry's ambassadors¹⁵². In December 1226 he was still involved in foreign affairs, and jointly with other prelates assured the observance of the treaties concluded between King Henry and Hugh de Lusignan, count of La Marche and his wife, Isabel of Angoulême, Henry's

150. Patent Rolls 1216-1225, p.419 for this period, see F.M. POWICKE: Henry III and the Lord Edward, vol.I, passim, (Oxford 1947).

151. ibid., p.450.

152. ibid., pp.537,552-3,554; C.PETIT-DUTAILLIS: Louis VIII, p.273. He pursued his negotiations into 1226 (Patent Rolls 1225-1232, p.31).

mother¹⁵³. The marks of royal favour were not so plentiful as in former years. Besides confirmations of certain gifts of King John¹⁵⁴, the only examples of Henry's munificence were grants of privileges made in respect of markets and fairs¹⁵⁵, licence to construct deer-leaps in the episcopal parks¹⁵⁶ and the gift of timber and stone to assist the construction of the hall and kitchen in the episcopal palace at Lincoln¹⁵⁷. Without further documentary evidence to the contrary, it would seem that Hugh of Wells was only periodically involved in public life after his return to England in 1217. Although he may have offered shrewd and sound advice when called upon, the general influence he exercised over matters of national importance was, as far as we can tell, comparatively negligible. Clearly, he was not particularly outspoken in his opinions nor greatly involved in political machinations. In effect, it would seem that after 1217 he devoted most of his attention to the affairs of his own bishopric, and to his projects for administrative reorganisation. His fame, if at all, rests upon this aspect of his work, rather than on any notoriety in the political activities of his era.

Similarly, in ecclesiastical matters, other than of a purely diocesan nature, bishop Hugh appears to have made no lasting contribution. True, his anti-Jewish activities immediately after the provincial Council of Oxford have been treated elsewhere¹⁵⁸, but evidence for subsequent involvement in

153. actum no.228 ; Patent Rolls 1225-1232, pp.98-9.

154. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.I, no.228, p.167; no.237, pp.175-6
Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol.I, pp.5, 8, 14-5, 75.

155. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.I, nos.229-232, pp.167-70 ;
Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol.I, pp.2-3, 33, 104-5, 128 ;
Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol.II, p.169b; Close Rolls
1227-1231, pp.193, 195 ; Close Rolls 1231-1234, pp.375, 538.

156. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.I, nos.235-6, pp.174-5; Calendar
of Charter Rolls, vol.I, p.42, cf. also Close Rolls 1227-1231
pp.507, 573.

157. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol.I, pp.580, 595.

158. See the chapter on "The condition of the Jews in the diocese".

the deliberations of the 1226 Council of London and the mission of the papal nuncio Otto is sadly lacking. He was naturally active in the proceedings leading to the canonisation of his predecessor and namesake, Hugh of Avalon, in 1219-1220, but this honour obviously brought with it much prestige to the church of Lincoln.¹⁵⁹ Hugh's relations with his fellow-bishops on the other hand appear to have been close and friendly. He had spent long years in exile with several of these prelates and many of his old associates in royal government had joined the ranks of the episcopate. It was only to be expected that these 'curial' bishops would work together in political and judicial matters. There is also nothing to suggest that his relations with successive popes were anything but cordial. He may have complained about the actions of the legates but he still sought papal advice on points of canon law - it is evident that Hugh had directed questions to Pope Honorius on the position of married clergy and the sons of clergy and the provision of vicarages¹⁶⁰ - and was dutifully obedient to papal instructions - he followed Gregory IX's orders to hold a general visitation in 1233.¹⁶¹ The cardinal Thomas forwarded his business in Rome itself and acted as the channel to papal favour when circumstances or the affairs of the diocese demanded.¹⁶² Hugh was seldom called upon to act as a papal judge delegate¹⁶³ but his practical experience of capitular and episcopal affairs ensured his frequent employment as a judicial mediator - among such cases were those affecting the Salisbury prebends of

159. cf. H. FARMER: "The Canonisation of St. Hugh of Lincoln" in L. A. S. Reports & Papers, vol. VI, part 2 (new series), pp. 86-117.

160. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 85.

161. Annales Monastici, vol. III, p. 132.

162. This is evident from a letter of bishop Grosseteste: Epistolae Roberti Grosseteste, no. XLIV, pp. 135-7 & no. LXVIII pp. 196-7.

163. He is only found as a judge delegate once after 1217 - Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 116.

Brixworth and Shipton-under-Wychwood¹⁶⁴, the church of Compton Bassett¹⁶⁵ and a lengthy dispute between the bishop and cathedral priory of Worcester¹⁶⁶. Ralph Nevill, bishop of Chichester, asked his advice before he divided the prebend of How into three separate prebends¹⁶⁷. In this sphere at least Hugh was truly a 'vir prudens'.

In the earlier part of this chapter, I suggested that Hugh was incapacitated by old age or illness for the last two years of his life. Although there is no adequate proof of this assertion, I have no reason to doubt that his ~~inability~~ immobility was not brought about by such circumstances as these. The bishop died at Stow Park on Wednesday 7 February 1235 in the twenty-sixth year of his pontificate, and he was buried in the north choir aisle of his cathedral three days later¹⁶⁸. Any assessment of Hugh's qualities as a bishop must of necessity be restricted to an examination of those aspects of his episcopate which can be gleaned from surviving documentary evidence. Both as a royal clerk and as a diocesan bishop, Hugh of Wells took advantage of his opportunities and revealed his remarkable talent for administration. Almost seven hundred and fifty years later, this trait effectively eclipses every other aspect of his character. Of any Christian virtues that he might have possessed, we are wholly ignorant. The good use he made of his experience of royal chancery reforms and procedure and the implementation of many of the applicable provisions of Innocent III's General Council culminated in a pontificate marked by transition and innovation in the sphere of episcopal government. As a diocesan

164. actum no.135.
 165. actum no.174.
 166. Acta Stephani Langton, appendix III, pp.160-3; Calendar of Papal Letters, vol.I, p.103.
 167. ibid., no.105.
 168. Matthaei Parisiensis : Historia Minor, vol.II, p.376.

administrator, he was energetic, business-like, intensely practical, efficient and perhaps even harsh at times, but as the spiritual pastor of his flock, he cannot have attained the standards of a St. Hugh or a Grosseteste. Certainly when there are not even the opinions of contemporary chroniclers to rely upon, it is futile to venture further than this.



THE 'FAMILIA' OF BISHOP HUGH.

The term 'familia' rendered rather weakly into English as 'household', in fact embraces all those episcopal attendants who accompanied the bishop on his constant perambulations of the diocese and saw to his bodily, spiritual and administrative requirements - the menial servants, the steward, the chamberlain, the butler, the marshal, the huntsman, the cook and the messenger, the knights of the episcopal entourage, the bishop's chaplains and above all, his clerical staff. It is with this latter category of episcopal assistants that the present chapter is most concerned, for they were the effective instruments of the diocesan government and constituted the central bureaucracy of the bishopric. At the close of the twelfth century, a profound transformation was taking place in the sphere of ecclesiastical administration¹ and the subsequent efforts of the bishops to obtain the services of able and highly-trained clerks to deal with the resultant complexities of government is amply portrayed by the biographer of St. Hugh of Lincoln (1186-1200) :

".....It seems most important to record the great zeal and anxiety (the bishop) showed to secure distinguished men to raise the reputation of the church committed to his care. He thought, and indeed was completely convinced that without the assistance of highly-trained men, he could not really be of much use to the clergy and people under his authority, and

1. For a study of these developments, see H. MAYR-HARTING: The Acts of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207. (Canterbury & York Society 1964), p. 6ff.

would be unable to do justice to any litigants in the ecclesiastical courts. He therefore worked hard to have as his assistants men known for their wisdom and learning, and most essential of all, renowned for their fear of God, and with the advice and help of such companions he carried out the exacting duties of his office. Such men gave the church of Lincoln a greater fame and reputation than that of any other in the whole world, and on them he conferred prebends and promoted to different ecclesiastical dignities and offices. He sought for them throughout England and even in other countries and the schools on the continent and made them members of his cathedral chapter." 2

These episcopal clerks were thus required to be lawyers, judges and skilled administrators and they naturally expected that their exceptional talents would be rewarded with preferment to rich benefices, prebends and dignities. In this, they were not to be disappointed and consequently employment in the bishop's 'familia' came to be viewed as an avenue to rapid promotion in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Needless to say, the attestation of episcopal charters provides the only real source of information on the personnel and composition of the bishop's household. In the case of Hugh of Wells, there is no shortage of source-material, since two hundred and fifty-two of the acts have witnesses and a further eighty-three documents show signs of having once been attested. The average number of witnesses in each charter is about twelve, except for documents issued

2. D.L.DOUIE & H.FARMER: Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, vol.I, p.110 (London 1961-2).

in full chapter at Lincoln where the number of those present is appreciably greater. Yet, in spite of the veritable profusion of material, extreme caution should still be exercised when consulting these lists in an effort to determine the identity of members of the bishop's 'familia'. In the first place, it is quite obvious that certain easily recognisable groups of persons who attest these charters are not in the employment of the diocesan bishop. Episcopal colleagues, sheriffs, heads of religious houses, itinerant justices, rural deans, parochial incumbents, scholars of Oxford and so on - all on occasion appear in the witness lists of Hugh's acts but it would be foolish to suppose that their association with the bishop in these instances was other than of a purely transitory nature, their presence in bishop Wells's company having been brought about by a variety of personal or business reasons or by pure chance. Their office or their status automatically precluded them from consideration as members of the 'familia'. On the other hand, the 'secular' 'clerici' who witness Hugh's acts in large numbers do not admit of such readily distinguishable characteristics and it is virtually impossible to make a distinction between clerks of the bishop and clerks in the service of any of the other witnesses. The element of doubt is unfortunately all too present. 'Clericus domini episcopi' is rarely employed and regularity of appearance in the charters must of necessity remain the principal criterion for judging the membership of the 'familia'. It need hardly be stressed that this method is by no means foolproof. Master Walter of Crombe regularly attests charters issued by the bishop in 1226 but the fact that he only occurs when master William of Bardney, archdeacon of Wells, is also found as a witness would seem to suggest a fairly definite connexion between master Walter and the Somerset archdeacon rather than with

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the grantor of the charters ³. Similarly William of Winchcombe occurs in the vicarage rolls between March and September 1218 ⁴ and is described as a clerk of master Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Huntingdon, but he is found attesting Hugh's acts regularly from 1217, the year before he received the foregoing description in the bishop's enrolments. Robert of Hailes was an important member of the episcopal 'familia', occasionally acting as datary and this association between William and the archdeacon of Huntingdon - a natural enough association considering the geographical proximity of their territorial surnames - clearly indicates a method of recruitment of household personnel and raises the more important question of the exact relationship between the bishop and the 'clerici' who witnessed his charters and assisted him in the administration of the diocese. Is it possible that some of these clerks were not really 'clerici domini episcopi' in the strict sense of the term but clerks of prominent members of the 'familia' whose services and abilities were also placed at the disposal of the bishop when required ?

Such a conclusion is naturally difficult to substantiate with firm fact but in the royal administration a comparable situation is known to have existed :

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3. In this, and subsequent instances regarding possible clerks of the episcopal household, readers should refer to the biographical notes on individual clerks appended to this chapter. It will be unnecessary to repeat information to be found in these short biographies in the body of the chapter.
 4. For William, see below. The document can be dated by reference to A. HEALES: The Records of Merton Priory, (London 1898), pp. 74-5.

".....If we cannot estimate precisely how the office staff overlapped, we can be quite sure that some servants made themselves useful both to the prelate and the minister of state. Episcopal households were so often and so closely connected with the royal service that the point need not be laboured. When bishops were themselves civil servants and when the payment for clerical services was indirect, the bishop's clerks might often be indistinguishable from royal clerks and men might move easily from one employment to the other."⁵

One might with justification wonder, in the light of the Winchcombe-Hailes evidence, whether the same situation did not apply relative to episcopal and archidiaconal households. It would certainly seem to suggest that the link between bishop and clerk was not always as direct or as clear-cut as we are often led to believe. Archdeacons would still require the services of clerks for their own work, even though they themselves might be members of the episcopal 'familia'; in consequence overlapping of staff could surely be a strong possibility. Another likely case in point is that of master William of Kent who first appears in the Lincoln records in 1220 at the same time as master Richard Grant assumed office as chancellor of Lincoln. These two contemporary events could confidently be ascribed to mere coincidence, were it not for the fact that on Richard's elevation to the archbishopric of Canterbury, master William, who had been associated with bishop Hugh as a household clerk and had received the archdeaconry of Stow as a reward for his services, apparently still had sufficiently strong ties with the former chancellor to go to Canterbury as his Official.

Having eliminated certain categories of witnesses from the investigations, a close scrutiny of the two hundred and fifty-two acts found that the numbers of clerks who regularly attest these documents - and consequently can be considered prospective members of the episcopal 'familia' - remain fairly constant throughout Hugh's active episcopate.

5. C.R.CHENEY: English Bishops' Chanceries. 1100-1250. (Manchester 1950) p.19

The figures arrived at for selected years are set out below:-

1215	-	13. clerks.	1223	-	14.	1230	-	14.
1217	-	14.	1225	-	14.	1232	-	14.
1219	-	14.	1227	-	13.	1233	-	13.
1221	-	13.	1229	-	14.			

Twenty-five of the clerks who are assumed to have been members of the episcopal 'familia' were 'magistri' and among this group are to be numbered two archdeacons - master William de Thornaco of Stow and master Robert of Hailes of Huntingdon. Their office clearly did not prevent them from being active in the bishop's employment. Both were trusted clerks of the bishop before his accession and were in consequence immediately rewarded with the two archdeaconries that happened to be vacant. Master William de Thornaco was the bishop's datary for five years, although it must be added that after his promotion to the richer and more extensive archdeaconry of Lincoln he ceased to be a constant member of the episcopal retinue: Robert of Hailes on the other hand divided his attention equally between the Lincoln archdeaconry (from 1223) and the Officiality of the bishopric and never really relinquished his duties as a much-valued assistant of Hugh of Wells. Similarly, master Reginald of Chester continued to date episcopal acts even after he became subdean of Lincoln. Twenty-nine of these household clerks were eventually rewarded with canonries at Lincoln - an understandable action when it is considered that this was one of the simplest means the bishop possessed of recompensing his clerks for their services. The more prominent members of this group received even higher preferment; eight obtained archdeaconries, one became precentor of Lincoln, three succeeded each other as subdeans of Lincoln and William de Thornaco ultimately rose to be dean of the cathedral church; the career of yet another clerk, John of Crackhall, culminated in the royal treasurer'ship.

Besides making use of his rights of collation to prebends, cathedral dignities and churches in his own possession, the bishop also took advantage of his right to collate to vacant benefices 'per lapsum' to reward his staff. William of Benniworth, Oliver Chesney, Amaury of Buckdon, Richard of Kent, Nicholas of Evesham, John of Crackhall, Ralph of Waravill and many others benefited by this practice. At the same time several of these clerks were presented by religious houses to rich benefices in their gift. Some like Richard of Oxford and Richard of Windsor even succeeded each other as incumbents of a particular church. The intention of the abbots and priors is obvious; if a clerk was of some influence and importance in the diocese - and no one could deny that members of the bishop's 'familia' were not unimportant - then it was good policy to gain the favour of these persons by bestowing upon them valuable livings, just in case their assistance was ever required.

The duration of service of these household clerks differed considerably. Some like Richard of Oxford, Robert of Graveley and William of Winchcombe remained with the bishop for between fifteen and twenty years, whereas others, among them Robert of Acton, John of Harlow and Philip of Langport were only employed for a year or two. There are several instances of clerks returning to their parishes after a short period of service and others left the episcopal employment once they had become canons of Lincoln. In the latter case, the majority of these canons took permanent residence in the cathedral city and it is clear that each canonry was in the nature of a parting gift for services rendered. John of Banbury cut short his association with the bishop when he set out on a crusade but nevertheless it is not safe to assume that all these "short-lived" clerks left of their own volition. Clearly there must have been cases of young men who had just failed to live up to earlier portents of exceptional ability and whose services could be dispensed with, without

undue loss to the episcopal administration. This could explain the disappearance of several of the household staff, notable among them being Oliver Chesney who is not found in the bishop's records, or any other for that matter, after 1223 but did not die (as rector of the Lincolnshire parish of Bottesford) until 1260-1261. As a general rule however it would appear that the majority of clerks were content to remain as members of the 'familia' long after they had been rewarded with canonries or rich benefices.

It is only necessary at this stage to comment in a very general way upon the recruitment, background and earlier careers of the members of the bishop's household and their particular connexion with bishop Wells. The object of these introductory remarks is to provide a framework for the more detailed notes on individual members of the 'familia' which are to follow. For one reason or another, bishop Hugh was not anxious to engage the services of those residentiary canons who had received their promotion before the beginning of his active episcopate in 1213, even though many were men of considerable ability and well-versed in the methods of diocesan government. Indeed it seems to have been customary for household clerks of former bishops - St. Hugh and William of Blois - to retire to Lincoln as residentiaries and the presence of Hugh of St. Edward, William son of Fulk, Adam of St. Edmund, Richard of Linwood, Peter of Kirmond and Gilbert of Mablethorpe in this group confirms our suspicions regarding the extent of experience and talent available in Lincoln at the time. Admittedly three of this group were promoted to archdeaconries by bishop Wells, but with the solitary exception of Thomas of Fiskerton, a former chaplain of bishop William, he seems to have made little use of them in his 'familia'. Perhaps to have employed the former companions of a Saint would not have proved entirely satisfactory. In fact those canons of Lincoln who are constantly to be found in Hugh's company only received their canonries after long years of loyal service to the diocesan. This 'household group' of canons, if we may so

describe them, was implanted on the existing cathedral chapter by bishop Hugh, employing his rights of collation to full advantage in order to reward his administrative assistants. Even as late as 1310 the compiler of the chapter acts was careful to refer to three canons, Hugh of Normanton, John de Nevill and Thomas de Bray in a chapter-meeting as 'canonicis tunc familiaribus clericis dicti patris'⁶ - that is, of bishop John Dalderby.

As was to be expected, the majority of members of Hugh's 'familia' in the early years of his pontificate had been associated with him at various stages of his career before 1209. Roger de Bohun had been a contemporary of the future bishop's in the household of bishop Reginald of Bath before 1191. William de Thornaco, Peter of Bath, Nicholas of Evesham, Richard of Cernay, Philip of Langport and John of Taunton all had definite Somerset connexions and they may have been known to Hugh when he was in the service of bishops Reginald and Savaric or later when he was archdeacon of Wells. Master Walter of Wells could in fact have been a kinsman of the bishop, although there is no proof. Another source of recruits was the king's chancery and Hugh's particular link with a prominent royal clerk, Simon fitzRobert, archdeacon of Wells and bishop of Chichester. Peter of Wilton is found in the royal records as Hugh's clerk as early as 1205 and Roger of Bristol is known to have been the chaplain of bishop Simon of Chichester. Master Stephen of Chichester may also have been associated with bishop Simon, although it is more likely that he was a relative of Peter of Chichester, a future dean of Wells and erstwhile companion of the two Wells brothers.⁷ The services

6. Lincoln Dean & Chapter AC.A2/22, f. 25d.

7. cf. H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, pp. 432, 480, 491.

of master John of York were in all probability obtained at the time of Hugh's exile in France during the general interdict. Six clerks bore territorial names indicative of local diocesan origin - master William of Lincoln, master William of Benniworth, Warin of Kirton, master Robert of Graveloy, Richard of Fingest and master Amaury of Buckden, the last two places being the sites of episcopal manors, and as already stated only Thomas of Fiskerton appears to have been inherited from a previous bishop of Lincoln. Other clerks owed their recruitment to family connexions; master Richard of Kent for example was the brother of master Theobald of Kent and perhaps the latter's satisfactory service secured the employment of his brother at a later date.

The bishop's dataries.

In the earlier discussion on the episcopal acts, it was noted that there was no trace of an officer known by the title of chancellor during Hugh's episcopate, but that the supervision of the bishop's secretarial staff was probably the responsibility of the datary. These dataries were no mere clerks of the bishop - two were archdeacons - master William de Thornaco of Stow and master Robert of Hailes of Huntingdon; one was subdean of Lincoln - master Reginald of Chester; and with a solitary exception, all the others were canons of the cathedral church. Four of them were episcopal chaplains - Roger (of Bristol), Thomas of Fiskerton, John of Taunton and Warin of Kirton - and this very fact is perhaps a good indication of the source and composition of the bishop's secretarial personnel. After bishop Hugh's return from the Lateran Council in 1217, it became customary for the datary to hold office with only minor interruptions for a period of several years - in practice between one and six years - and then to yield place to another clerk. William de Thornaco continued to authorize documents until he was transferred to the extensive archdeaconry of Lincoln; there is a strong

possibility that Thomas of Finkerton's period of office was abruptly terminated by death ; his successor, John of Taunton relinquished his duties after two years on his promotion to the precentorship and Ralph of Waravill was replaced after six years by Warin of Kirton who remained as datary until the bishop's demise. At the same time it is difficult to conceive of certain dataries, notably Peter of Eath, and perhaps also Oliver Cheaney and Robert of Hailes, other than as merely temporary substitutes whose services could be called upon when the occasion demanded. There is no real need to comment further on their activities, except to record the approximate period in office of each datary:

Roger (of Bristol), chaplain.

5 October 1213 (Westminster abbey doct.15683).

Master William de Thornaco, archdeacon of Stow.

27 February 1214 (Liber Antiquus,p.72) - 8 January 1215 (Lincoln Episcopal Register II, f.28) ; 20 April 1215 (Liber Antiquus,p.75) - for date, see collection of acts); 26 July 1215 (ibid.,p.75) - 29 July 1215 (ibid.,p.76) ; 18 August 1215 (Cartulary of St. Frideswide, vol.I,no.371, p.283); 28 August 1215 (Liber Antiquus,p.77) - 24 August 1217 (P.R.O. Ancient Deed B.3570) ; 14 October 1217 (Christ Church, Oxford, Osney deed 938) - 3 November 1218 (Wells, Liber Albus II,f.189) ; 13 December 1218 (Liber Antiquus,p.91) - 25 May 1219 (ibid.p.95).

Master Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Huntingdon.

7 February 1215 (Oxford, Magdalen College, Aynho doct.82); 8 July 1215 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.III,no.912,p.255) - 12 July 1215 (B.M.Harley MS.2110,ff.122d-123) ; 21 August 1215 (Liber Antiquus,p.77).

Master Reginald of Chester (from 1217 Subdean of Lincoln).

5 August 1215 (Liber Antiquus,p.76) - 6 August 1215 (ibid., p.77) ; 10 December 1218 (ibid.,p.91) ; 12 July 1219 (ibid., p.95) - 13 July 1219 (Lincoln Dean & Chapter D11/87/3/13).

Peter of Bath, canon of Lincoln.

23 September 1217 (Westminster abbey doct. 2578) ; 23 September 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 97) ; 21 January 1220 (Rotuli Hugenis de Wells, vol. II, p. 183) ; 20 October 1220 (ibid., vol. II, p. 188) ; 12 March 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 513, p. 218).

Thomas of Fickerton, chaplain, canon of Lincoln.

21 July 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 96) ; 27 December 1219 (Rotuli Hugenis de Wells, vol. II, p. 181) - 17 January 1220 (ibid., vol. II, p. 184) - 7 September 1220 (ibid., vol. II, p. 187) ; 2 December 1220 (ibid., vol. II, p. 188) - 15 August 1222 (B. V. Harley MS. 2110, f. 122d).

Oliver Chepney, clerk.

25 November 1222 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 898, p. 243) - 12 March 1223 (Coarstall Cartulary, no. 6, p. 7) ; 22 May 1223 (Rotuli Hugenis de Wells, vol. II, p. 201) - 2 September 1223 (ibid., vol. II, p. 202).

John of Taunton, chaplain, canon of Lincoln.

29 September 1223 (Rotuli Hugenis de Wells, vol. II, p. 203) - 25 August 1225 (ibid., vol. II, p. 210).

Ralph of Wrayvill, canon of Lincoln.

26 September 1225 (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud misc. 642, f. 4d) - 31 July 1232 (Rotuli Hugenis de Wells, vol. II, p. 250).

Warin of Kirton, chaplain, canon of Lincoln.

7 March 1233 (Rotuli Hugenis de Wells, vol. II, p. 261) - 25 January 1235 (ibid., vol. II, p. 271).

There follow short biographical notes on each of the probable clerical members of the episcopal 'familia' during the pontificate of Hugh of Wells:

Robert of Acton.

Robert occurs in ten of bishop Hugh's acta between 1224 and 1226. He first appears in a letter of institution issued on 6 December 1224 (B.M. Additional Charter 47562) and attests as a clerk of the bishop until 15 July 1226 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 215). In 1225 he was instituted to the church of Aston-le-Walls in the Northampton archdeaconry (ibid., vol. II, pp. 123-4, 210). The date when he vacated this benefice is not known. On 27 May 1226 Robert was present at the institution of Martin as prior of Belvoir (ibid., vol. III, p. 150).

Master Alard of Arundel.

Master Alard was already an episcopal clerk on 10 June 1228 when he was present at the institution of Thomas of Longville as prior of St. Andrew's, Northampton (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 145) and from 5 October of that year (ibid., vol. II, p. 222) until the 5 June 1234 (ibid., vol. II, p. 270), he appears in thirty-six charters issued in bishop Hugh's name. Soon after his appearance in the episcopal retinue he was presented by the abbey of Crowland to the perpetual vicarage of Wellingborough (ibid., vol. II, p. 148), although it must remain a mystery how he fulfilled the residential qualification normally demanded of a vicar while at the same time accompanying the diocesan on his perambulations of the bishopric. In 1231-1232 the church of Asfordby, in the bishop's gift, was collated to him (ibid., vol. II, p. 321) and while he was parson of this benefice, the bishop ordained that he and all future rectors were to pay ten marks each year to the canons and other ministers of the cathedral church and to feed the poor on the anniversary of the bishop's death (Peristrium Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 361, pp. 54-6). In 1234 he vacated Asfordby and was instituted to the rectory of Althorpe in Stow archdeaconry (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 237 ; B.M. Cotton MS. Nero D III, f. 16). He retained this church until 1238-1239 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 139).

Thomas of Ashby, subdeacon.

Thomas had entered the employment of the bishop of Lincoln at least by 31 October 1226 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 216) and he subsequently witnessed forty-eight acts before that prelate's death. He was also a co-executor of the bishop's 1233 testament (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 372, p. 74). A canonry was given to him at a date between 14 February and 7 June 1230 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 237 bis); in 1254 he was prebendary of Welton Paynshall (W. E. LUNT: The Valuation of Norwich, Oxford 1926, p. 279) but it is not known whether he held this prebend from 1230. After Hugh's death, he continued in the service of bishop Grosseteste, "though perhaps only for the purpose of ensuring continuity and handing over the business to the new men" (K. MAJOR: "The 'familia' of Robert Grosseteste" in Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop, ed. D. A. CALLUS, Oxford 1955, pp. 219-220). From the Registrum Antiquissimum and other capitular cartularies it is clear that Thomas soon became a residentiary canon. It is known that he possessed property in the city parish of St. Margaret in Pottergate (Lincoln D & C, D1j/79/1/134-140; D1j/78/2/35). In 1228-1229 he was instituted to the church of All Saints Wainfleet (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 172), a benefice which he resigned with the advice of the bishop on 16 September 1235 and was then re-instituted (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 15). Thomas witnesses a charter on 8 July 1259 (Cartulary of Conyng abbey, vol. IV, p. 47) and another in the period 1259-1262 (Lincoln D & C. A/1/6, no. 663); the date of his death is unknown.

John of Banbury, clerk.

John's approximate period of service with bishop Wells can be ascertained from the twenty-four charters which he witnesses between 23 January 1223 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 200) and 5 July 1227 (ibid., vol. II, p. 222). In the latter year he took the cross and the church of Litchborough to which he had been instituted in 1222-1223 (ibid., vol. II, pp. 110-1), was placed under the protection of the bishop (ibid., vol. II, p. 225). He evidently got heavily into debt in Bologna and on 12 December 1233 bishop Hugh confirmed to Nicholas de Wythibros the profits

of Litchborough church until the debts were paid (ibid., vol. II, pp. 266-7). The benefice was next vacant in 1237 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 164, 166-7). It is extremely unlikely that John is to be identified with the Lincoln canon of the same name in the time of bishop Grosseteste (see K. MAJOR: "The 'familia' of Robert Grosseteste" in Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop, ed. D. A. CALLUS, pp. 220-1).

Peter of Bath, clerk.

Peter's territorial designation betrays his origin and connexion with bishop Hugh. He was associated with Robert prior of Bath who bestowed upon him an annuity (W. HUNT: Two Chartularies for the Priory of St. Peter at Bath, Somerset Record Society VII, 1893, ii, no. 94, p. 20; cf. also ii, no. 71, p. 16) and it is also recorded that Peter held land in the city from which he took his name (ibid., ii, no. 95, p. 20). His promotion to a canonry at Lincoln was rapid. He first occurs in the witness list of an episcopal charter on 27 February 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p. 72) and had become a canon between 8 January and 7 February 1215 (Lincoln Episcopal Register II, ff. 27d-28; Liber Antiquus, p. 74). He was in regular attendance upon the bishop until 1223 and even accompanied him to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 (Calendar of Charters Rolls, vol. I, p. 131). On six occasions between 1217 and 1223 he is found as episcopal datary (see list of dataries) and in 1216 the king gave permission that he could visit the absent bishop's manors (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 167b). After 12 March 1223 he ceases to appear in episcopal documents and his disappearance from the list may be taken as an indication that he had either taken up residence in the cathedral city or had retired to his parochial benefice (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 513, p. 218). In 1215 and in 1219 he occurs as parson of Toft (Liber Antiquus, p. 78; Final Concordes, vol. I, pp. 147-8) and in 1217-1218 he was instituted to the church of Welton-le-Wold by legatine dispensation (Rotuli Hugenis de Welton, vol. I, p. 120). In his capacity as rector of Welton and a canon of Lincoln, he (and the cathedral church) were the recipients of many grants of land in the village,

which have been transcribed into the cartulary of the vicars choral of Lincoln (Lincoln Dean & Chapter VC.2/1, nos. 12-4, 19-20, 23-4, 29, 40, 44). There is a faint possibility that Peter is to be identified with Peter, canon of Lincoln and provost of the common who occurs in 1224 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VII, no. 2153, p. 176). Peter of Hungary can be excluded from the list of possibilities (*ibid.*, p. 175 - he was a party to the same agreement) and the provost was clearly either Peter of Bath or Peter of Kirmend. The church of Welton-le-Wold was vacant in 1225 (Rotuli Hucronis de Wellec, vol. III, p. 141) but there was no institution to the church of Toft until 1228-1229 (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 160).

Master William of Benniworth, chaplain.

The Lincolnshire Wold village of Benniworth, some fifteen miles from Lincoln, gave its name to this future subdean of the cathedral church. He held land and property in the village (Polla or Register of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York, ed. J. RAINE, no. lxxvii, p. 242 ; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. V, no. 1536, pp. 57-8), as well as in the Lincoln city parish of St. Nicholas in Newport (*ibid.*, vol. IX, no. 2659, pp. 246-7) and it is highly probable that he was connected by ties of consanguinity with the contemporary lord of that village, sir William of Benniworth. The Benniworth family were distantly related to Robert FitzRalph, bishop of Worcester 1191-1193 and may also have produced Walter of Benniworth who ruled as abbot of Bardney from 1241 to 1243 (cf. The Genealogist, vol. XV, pp. 12-6, 68-70, 140-5; vol. XVII, pp. 82-9; Assoc. Archit. Soc. Reports & Papers, vol. XXXII, p. 353). To return to master William, he was beneficed in the diocese from circa 1217. In that year the church of Fingest, in the bishop's gift, was collated to him (Rotuli Hucronis de Wellec, vol. I, p. 43) but within twelve months or even less, he vacated it and the church of Howell was subsequently collated to him (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 70). Presumably he ceased to be rector in 1238-1239 when the institution of a Ralph of Benniworth is recorded (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 36). The William of Benniworth who was

instituted to the vicarage of Great Steeping circa 1218 had no master's degree and is not to be identified with his namesake the bishop's chaplain (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 111); nor is it certain whether the W. of Benniworth who resigned Salmonby church in 1239-1240 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 45) - a rectory in the patronage of sir William of Benniworth - is the same as the subdean of Lincoln. Although he received preferment from Hugh of Wells as early as 1217, master William is not mentioned as the bishop's chaplain until 26 September 1225 (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud misc. 625, f. 4d.) He was appointed to a canonry between 4 January and 5 October 1228 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 226-7) and while he was a canon it is recorded that in 1231 he gave some buildings in the city for the use of the friars minor (Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 62). In the same year, between 9 September and 11 October (Registrum Roffense, pp. 386-7; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 316) he succeeded master John of York as subdean of Lincoln (q.v.) a dignity which he enjoyed until the period February 1248 - February 1250 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 364, p. 61; vol. IV, no. 1417, p. 248). Naturally enough, he appears in many charters of a purely capitular nature, concerned for the most part with the common fund of the cathedral canons. (cf. Registrum Antiquissimum passim). He granted certain land in the city parish of St. Nicholas in Newport to the cathedral common (Lincoln Dean & Chapter A/1/6, f. 78d, no. 442) and towards the end of his tenure of office, he is found as co-executor of William Blund the precentor (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VII, no. 2130, pp. 156-7).

William of Bledington, clerk.

Bledington is a village in Gloucestershire. William occurs in six charters between 11 November 1233 (Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, Compton doct. 38) and 22 May 1234 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 269). He also attests the sale of land in Newport made by the executors of the testament of master Roger of Lacock, canon of Lincoln (q.v.) to William of Winchcombe on 26 April 1234 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. VIII, no. 2223, p. 37). On this occasion he is grouped in the

witness list with Ralph Bassot and John of Chilbolton who are known to have been clerks of archdeacon Robert of Hailes (Rotuli Hucusque de Welles, vol. II, p. 93), and there is a distinct possibility that William was a clerk of archdeacon Robert, rather than of bishop Hugh. Bledington is only fifteen miles from Hailes.

Roger de Bohun, clerk.

Dr. Armitage Robinson, in his essays on various aspects of the history of Somerset, devoted a little attention to the Bohun family who dominated the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese of Bath and Glastonbury in the last quarter of the twelfth century in the persons of Reginald fitzJocelin bishop from 1174 to 1191 and Savaric his successor, bishop from 1192 to 1205 (Somerset Historical Essays, 1921, esp. p. 87). Reginald's father had been bishop of Salisbury and Richard de Bohun, Jocelin of Salisbury's brother, had received the bishopric of Coutances. Consequently it is not in the least surprising that Roger de Bohun should feature in Wells material of this date. It would appear that he was a contemporary of Hugh of Wells in the entourage of bishop Reginald, for both of them attest the grant of the church of Easton Gordano for a prebend at Wells in the period 1189-1191 (H. M. G. Dean & Chapter of Wells, vol. I, p. 51). At the same time, Roger began his association with the diocese of Lincoln and is found witnessing a charter of St. Hugh (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 338, ix, p. 30). He again occurs with Hugh of Wells, this time in the royal records in 1205 (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 52) and in the same year he was a custodian of the abbey of St. Osyth (ibid., vol. I, p. 59b). He had been rewarded with a canonry at Wells before bishop Savaric's death (ibid., vol. I, p. 67). His first appearance at Lincoln during the episcopate of Hugh II takes place on 5 November 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p. 73) and in that year he acted as an attorney of the bishop in the king's court (Curia Regis Rolla, vol. VII, p. 161). He continues to accompany the bishop on his perambulations of the diocese until 26 October 1218 (B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D XII, f. 144d).

From 17 February 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p.93) he only occurs in episcopal charters when they were issued in Lincoln and it is safe to assume that he had become a residentiary (cf. Registrum Antiquissimum, passim). He occurs as provost of the common fund circa 1223-9 (Lincoln D & C. VC.2/1, no.200). He was a canon of Lincoln by 9 January 1218 (Liber Antiquus, p.90) and from other sources it appears that he was prebendary of Sancte Crucis (Lincoln D & C. D11/76/3/2-8). He makes his last appearance in Lincoln records on 9 April 1230 (Rotuli Hugonis de Wella, vol. II, p.235).

Master Robert of Bolsover, chaplain.

Bolsover is near Chesterfield in Derbyshire. Master Robert first appears in episcopal charters on 28 November 1230 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no.931, p.272) and had acquired a canonry within the year - in fact, between 1 August and 27 December 1231 (Rotuli Hugonis de Wella, vol. II, pp.241, 246). He witnesses thirty-five acts in the last five years of the bishop's life and after 1235, if the number of capitular documents he attests is a fair indication, he would seem to have settled at Lincoln as a residentiary canon (cf. Registrum Antiquissimum, passim). In 1250 he is found acting as representative of the dean and chapter (ibid., vol. III, no.974, p.311 ; Final Concords, vol. II, pp.56, 81 ; Lincoln D & C. VC.2/1, no.71). He held certain land in West Bight in the city parish of St. Clement in the Bail (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IX, no.2620, pp.211-2 ; Final Concords, vol. I, p.323). He was a coexecutor of bishop Hugh's second testament (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no.372, p.74) and occurs as provost of the common circa 1245-1253 (Lincoln D & C., VC.2/1, no.347). Robert was still alive on 11 February 1255 (D. E. Cotton MS. Vespasian E XX, f.214d, cited Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IX, p.212 note) and from a transcript of an entry on the missing Lincoln archdeaconry roll of bishop Lexington, it has become apparent that a Robert of Bolsover was instituted to the rectory of St. Guthlac, (Market) Deeping on 16 December 1257 (O. U. L. Add. MS. 3021, f.398d). Unfortunately it is not recorded when he vacated this benefice.

Roger of Bristol, chaplain.

The occurrence in bishop Hugh's 'familia' of Roger of Bristol, or Roger the chaplain as he is sometimes simply known, emphasises the link between Hugh of Wells and Simon fitzRobert, archdeacon of Wells and bishop of Chichester. Roger was the chaplain of Simon both as archdeacon (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 398b) and as bishop (Pipe Roll & John, p. 65 ; H. MAYR-HARTING: The Acts of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207, no. 143 p. 194; no. 152, p. 201; no. 153, p. 202; no. 154, p. 202). In 1203 he had been granted by king John half of an annual livery from the farm of the county of Hereford - a sum formerly paid to Gerald of Wales, archdeacon of Brecon (ibid., p. 22 note). Obviously, on Simon's death in 1207, Roger must have entered the service of his late master's colleague in the royal chancery and his successor in the archdeaconry of Wells. He witnesses (as Roger the Chaplain) the bishop's first testament drawn up in exile in 1212 (H. M. G. Dean & Chapter of Wells, vol. I, pp. 431-2) and dates the earliest of Hugh's surviving acts issued after his return to England in 1213 (Westminster abbey doct. no. 15683). Between 5 October 1213 (ibid.) and 5 November 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p. 73) he had become a canon of Lincoln, and from another source it is known that he held the prebend of Scamblesby-with-Melton Ross (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VI, no. 1937, p. 158). Roger is in constant attendance upon the bishop until 1218 but after 10 December of that year (Liber Antiquus, p. 91), he only attests episcopal charters dated at Lincoln. He is not found after 8 September 1227 (B. M. Additional Charter 21999) and he was certainly dead by 1 June 1233 when bishop Hugh directed (drawing up his second testament) that a small missal should be sold and the proceeds distributed among the poor for the soul of Roger of Bristol (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 372, p. 72).

Master Amaury of Buckden, clerk.

Buckden in Huntingdenshire is the site of an episcopal residence. Master Amaury appears on 17 January 1220 as a member of the episcopal household (Rotuli Hugonia de Welles, vol. II, p. 183)

and regular service in the bishop's entourage resulted in speedy promotion to a canonry at Lincoln between 11 July and 25 November 1222 (ibid., vol. II, p. 198) Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 898, p. 243) and to the archdeaconry of Bedford (q.v.) between 14 October and 27 December 1231 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 241, 246). In all, master Amaury features in sixty episcopal acts of the period. He was prebendary of North Kelsey while archdeacon of Bedford but it is not known whether he possessed this prebend from the very beginning (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 473, pp. 171-2). In 1220 Bugbrooke church in Northamptonshire was collated to him by the bishop "by authority of the Council". (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 99, 185) He resigned this benefice in 1239-1240 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 196) and died during bishop Grosseteste's eleventh pontifical year (17 June 1245 - 16 June 1246) (cf. section on archdeacons of Bedford).

John de Burgo, subdeacon.

It is plainly impossible to distinguish the many clerks by the name of John de Burgo who were contemporaries of the bishop of Lincoln's household clerk. He occurs on nine occasions between 29 March 1231 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 238) and 2 October 1234 (ibid., vol. II, p. 270) and was a co-executor of the bishop's second testament (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 372, p. 74). If he is to be identified with the John de Burgo, subdeacon, who was instituted to Oundle church on the presentation of Peterborough abbey in 1223-1224 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 115), it is quite possible that he derived his name from Peterborough. In 1226 - 1227 he was instituted to the church of St. Peter Saltfleetby (ibid., vol. III, p. 156) which he resigned three years later (ibid., vol. III, p. 181) to become rector of East Carlton (ibid., vol. II, pp. 155, 235-6). In 1232-1233 he vacated this benefice (ibid., vol. II, p. 172) and received the Lincolnshire living of Ludborough (ibid., vol. I I, p. 203). He was dead by 1247-1248 when it is recorded that Philip de Burgo had been granted the church on John's death "by authority of the Pope" (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 106). It has become apparent

that John was in some way linked with the temporal administration of the bishopric, cf. Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 344, p. 37 where he witnesses with the episcopal steward. After bishop Hugh's death on 7 February 1235, John is found with Ralph of Waravill as royal custodians of the temporalities of the see in the vacancy (Patent Rolls 1232-1247, p. 94; Close Rolls 1234-1237, pp. 53, 62-3, 65, 77)

Stephen de Castello, subdeacon.

This clerk found employment in the service of successive bishops of Lincoln - Hugh of Wells and Robert Grosseteste. He first appears in Hugh's company on 9 August 1229 (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. II, p. 231) and his attestation of thirty-four surviving acts between that date and 2 October 1234 (ibid., vol. II, p. 270) affords ample testimony of his constant attendance upon the bishop in the latter's declining years. In 1229-1230 he was instituted to the church of Oakley in the archdeaconry of Bedford on the presentation of Caldwell priory (ibid., vol. III, p. 23). It is not known when he ceased to be incumbent of that benefice. He continued as a household clerk of bishop Grosseteste and last appears in this capacity on 10 November 1244 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 289 cf. K. MAJOR: "The 'familia' of Robert Grosseteste" in Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop, ed. D. CALLUS, 1955, p. 224). He did not obtain a canonry.

Richard de Cernay.

Presumably Cernay in Gloucestershire.

He witnesses a letter of institution on 5 September 1220 as a clerk (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. II, p. 186). and appears in a charter of the same year concerning the grant of a toft and a croft in Marton to Richard the bishop's butler. (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 567, p. 289). On this occasion he is described as "serviens" of the bishop. He owed his preferment to Hugh of Wells. The Hertfordshire church of Great Munden was collated to him in 1218-1219 "by authority of the Lateran Council" (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 151-2), and likewise on 2 December 1220 the tithes of the demesne of John de Monte Acuto in Broxbroke (ibid., vol. II, p. 188). In 1221-1222 he

acted as proctor for William de Cave at his induction into corporal possession of Teddington church (ibid., vol. III, p. 7). He occurs as rector of Great Bunden in 1224 and 1233 (P.R.O. Exchequer, Augmentation Office misc. book 62, ff. 7, 6d. respectively) but the benefice was vacant in Grosseteste's first year (17 June 1235-16 June 1236 - Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 250). He was still in possession of the Braybrooke tithes on 22 March 1237 (ibid., p. 174).

Oliver Chesney, clerk.

The origins of Oliver Chesney are lamentably obscure and it is not known whether there was a direct connexion with bishop Hugh's clerk and the twelfth century bishop of Lincoln, Robert Chesney. In all probability Oliver sprang from the local branch of the Chesney family - the Chesneys of Caerby and Glenham (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, appendix IV, p. 283; cf. also Cartulary of Eynsham Abbey, vol. I, pp. 411-423; A. MOREY & C. H. L. BECKE: Gilbert Foliot and his Letters, pp. 34-5, 44, 50). His career as an episcopal clerk was comparatively brief. He first appears in the acts as one of the bishop's clerks on 9 January 1218 (Liber Antiquus, p. 90) and in all, attests fifty-nine charters of Hugh of Wells until his final appearance on 4 November 1223 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 203). He occurs as a witness to several private grants with which the bishop was concerned - grants of land or advowsons (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, nos. 585, 609; vol. III, nos. 885, 887, 955) - and he was present at several institutions of heads of religious houses (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, pp. 45, 100, 127). The church of Botteford in Stow archdeaconry was collated to him by the bishop in 1219-1220 (ibid., vol. I, p. 213) and in his capacity as parson of the church, he was involved in a dispute with the rector of the neighbouring church of Altherpe over the possession of tithes in part of the village of Burringham. A settlement was reached with the bishop's mediation in March 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 515, pp. 215-8; B.M. Cotton MS. Nero D. III, f. 16d). After Thomas of Fiskerton had ceased to act as episcopal datary, Oliver took over his

duties for a short while and he dated eight charters which have survived between 25 November 1222 (ibid., vol. III, no. 898, p. 243) and 2 September 1223 (Rotuli Hugenis de Walleis, vol. II, p. 202). Shortly afterwards he ceased to be a member of the bishop's household and nothing more is heard of him until his death as rector of Bottesford in the course of bishop Gravesend's third pontifical year (3 November 1260-2 November 1261 - Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p. 88)

Master Reginald of Chester.

Master Reginald shared exile with bishop Hugh at the time of the general interdict and is found witnessing the bishop's testament at St. Martin-de-Garenne on 13 November 1212 (H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, pp. 431-2). He returned to England with Hugh in 1213 and was present when Simon of London's letter of institution to Launton church was issued on 5 October 1213 (Westminster abbey doct. no. 15683). He had become a canon of Lincoln by 27 February 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p. 72) and was constantly with the bishop until the latter departed for Rome and the Fourth Lateran Council in September 1215. During the period of Hugh's absence, master Reginald acted as his vicegerent in the administration of the diocese (cf. Rotuli Hugenis de Walleis, vol. I, pp. 30-1; Liber Antiquus, pp. 86-7, 93). In 1217 he was rewarded with the subdeanery of Lincoln (q.v.), which office he possessed on 14 July of that year (Foristrum Antiquissimum vol. III, nos. 875, 877, pp. 220, 224 - amended date) and continued to hold until some date between 13 July and 23 September 1219 (Liber Antiquus, pp. 96-7). He acted as episcopal datary on at least six occasions between 1215 and 1219 (see section on dataries).

Master Stephen of Chichester, clerk.

The grant of a pension to the canons of Huntingdon from Offord Darcy church on 5 November 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p. 73) provides the first reference to master Stephen as a household clerk of bishop Hugh and he continued in this capacity until 1221, attesting thirty-seven charters until 27 September of that year (Rotuli Hugenis de Walleis, vol. II, p. 194). From

Christmas Day, 1221 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 376, p. 87) until the end of the pontificate Stephen only occurs in documents issued in chapter at Lincoln or later on at Stow Park and it is a reasonable assumption that he had become a residentiary canon (cf. ibid., passim for his attestation of numerous capitular charters). In 1218-1219 master Stephen was instituted to the rich benefice of Kirton in Holland in the patronage of the Hospitalers (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 171-2). He was rewarded with a canonry at Lincoln between 4 March and 16 August 1218 (B.M. Cotton MS. Vespasian E X^v, ff. 33d.-34; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 659, p. 23). He attests documents on 1 April 1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 163, 391) and circa 1240 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. IV, no. 1183, p. 68). The church of Kirton in Holland was vacant in Grosseteste's tenth year (17 June 1244 - 16 June 1245 - Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 78) and the wording of a capitular grant dated 1245-1250 would seem to imply that Stephen was already dead (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. IX, no. 2617, pp. 208-9). Perhaps the vacancy of Kirton church marks the approximate date of his demise. The master Stephen of Chichester who occurs as a canon of Wells (J.H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, p. 531) is definitely not the same person as the canon of Lincoln, for the charter which he attests must be dated to the 1270's.

John of Crakehall, clerk.

John came into the bishop's service about the same time as master Walter of Warminster - both witnesses episcopal charters for the first time on 29 March 1231 (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. II, p. 238) - but there is no tangible connexion between the two clerks or their recruitment. Professor Major assumed that his name derived from Crakehall in the parish of Bedale in the North Riding of Yorkshire "where a family of that name inherited part of the fee of Conan son of Ellis in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire". (K. MAJOR: "The 'familia' of Robert Grosseteste" in Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop, ed. D. A. CALLUS, 1955, p. 226). John also held land in the city of York (B.M. Cotton MS. Nero D III, f. 196), and in the Yorkshire villages of Fockerby and South Duffield (Final Concordes vol. II,

p.236), as well as in the Lincolnshire villages of Kingerby, Overby and Hernton (L. C. Foster Library Charters, A.21, A.51, A.157, A.237) and in Faldingworth (Final Concorda, vol. I, p.292; ibid., vol. II, p.81) and Finbrock (ibid., vol. II, p.81). Eleven days after his first appearance in Lincoln documents, the Oxfordshire church of Somerton was collated to him by the Bishop "by authority of the Council" (Potuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p.35) and he retained this benefice for the rest of his life (Potuli Ricardi Gravesend, p.215). His other parochial preferment included the churches of Whillington, Althorpe, Brinton with Bythorne and Old Weston ("The 'familia' of Robert Grosseteste", p.285). He received a canonry of Lincoln after 14 June 1233 but before 15 March 1234 (P.R.O. Exchequer, Augmentation Office, misc. book 62, f.6d; Potuli Eugenii de Welles, vol. III, p.32) and about this time he occurs as the attorney of bishop Hugh in a lawsuit being heard in the king's court (P.R.O. Curia Regis Roll 17-18 Henry III, memo. 6d & 11d; Final Concorda, vol. I, pp.250, 259). He was an executor of bishop Wells's testament (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no.372, p.74), as he was of his successor Robert Grosseteste (Close Rolls 1254-1256, p.37). After Hugh's death, he was retained as a household clerk of bishop Grosseteste and became the bishop's steward 1235-1236 (Potuli Roberti Grossetesti, p.6). It is usually stated that he became archdeacon of Bedford about 1253 but he still attests as a canon of Lincoln after 17 May 1254 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. IV, no.630, p.324). He must have resigned the archdeaconry before 8 July 1259 for Peter of Aldenham occurs with the title on that day (Cartulary of Caeroy Abbey, vol. IV, p.47). He may even have given up office when he was appointed as Royal Treasurer by the Baronial party on 2 November 1258 (Handbook of British Chronology, p.100). He died on 8/10 September 1260 (ibid.) His obit-day was 3 March (Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. II, p.814).

Master Walter of Crombe.

Walter occurs in six episcopal charters from 28 May 1226 (P.R.O. Ancient Deed F.1877) until 22 July 1226 (Potuli Eugenii de Welles, vol. II, p.215) but it seems likely that he was not

a member of Hugh's household. The fact that on every occasion the document is also attested by master William of Bardney, archdeacon of Wols, would seem to suggest that master Walter's brief appearance in Hugh's acts was connected with the presence of the latter archdeacon. On 27 May 1226 master Walter was attendant upon bishop Hugh (and the archdeacon of Wells) at Pinrest on the occasion of the institution of the new prior of Belvoir (ibid., vol. III, p. 150).

Master Richard Devon.

Apart from his territorial designation, there is relatively little information forthcoming on the background, connexions and early career of this clerk. Further confusion arises and identification is made all the more difficult by the appearance, from the third decade of the century onwards, of Richard's namesake, the rather more eminent Franciscan friar (A. G. LITTLE: Frater Thomas vulgo dicti de Eccleston: Tractatus de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam, 1951, pp. xxiv, 4, 6, 9-10). Master Richard's earliest recorded link with the Lincoln diocese can be dated to the period between 1218 and March 1223, when he is found attesting a charter of Michael Belet, the founder of Wroxtton priory, in the company of threemembers of the episcopal 'familia' - master Robert of Hailes archdeacon of Huntingdon, master William of Lincoln and Oliver Chesney (Peristrium Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 955, p. 295). He does not seem to have held any preferment in the diocese at this early date and his association with bishop Hugh does not begin until 1226. He witnesses a letter of institution on 5 October of that year (Notuli Hugonis de Walle, vol. II, p. 227) and he features in five subsequent episcopal charters, appearing for the last time on 7 June 1230 (ibid., vol. II, p. 237). It is just possible that he is to be identified with Richard le Devencis, a scholar of Oxford who was attendant upon the bishop at Dorchester on 10 June 1228 on the occasion of the institution of Thomas of Longville as prior of St. Andrew's, Northampton (ibid., vol. II, p. 145). In the course of bishop Hugh's twentieth pontifical year (20 December 1228-19 December 1229), he was instituted to the Bedfordshire benefice of

Cranfield on the presentation of the abbey of Ramsey (ibid., vol.III,pp.21-2). He succeeded master Henry of Occold, a future canon of Lincoln and a prominent member of bishop Grosseteste's 'family' (Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop, pp.231-2). On this occasion master Richard's proctor was another household clerk, master Richard of Wendover (q.v.) During the same year he was instituted to Gosberton on the presentation of Robert de Rye, but he obviously possessed no dispensation to hold an additional cure of souls and he relinquished the latter church "per Conciliu" almost immediately (ibid., vol.III,p.172). A new rector was instituted between 20 December 1229 and 19 December 1230 (ibid., vol.III,p.175). Richard does not occur in the diocesan records after 1230 and he did not obtain a canonry. The church of Cranfield was next vacant in Grosseteste's first pontifical year - 17 June 1235-16 June 1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p.301).

Master Nicholas of Evesham, clerk.

A graduate of Oxford (EMDEN:I,pp.656-7), master Nicholas is first found in bishop Hugh's company at Troyes on 29 September 1215 (Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol.I,p.131) en route for Rome and the Fourth Lateran Council. He returned with Hugh to Lincoln and is soon found attesting episcopal charters - in fact from 24 August 1217 (P.F.O.Ancient Deed B.3570), although he was employed on other business too from time to time - for example, in January 1219 he and John of Houghton were granted letters of protection for their journey to the Roman curia (Patent Rolls 1216-1225, pp.209-210). He was a canon of Wells at least by 20 October 1220 (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol.II, p.187) and he became a canon of Lincoln between 24 January and 11 July 1222 (ibid., vol.II, pp.196,198). After 22 July 1226 (ibid., vol.II,p.215) he is not found in Lincoln material until 9 September 1232 (ibid., vol.II,p.252). In the intervening period it may be supposed that he was much involved in the affairs of the diocese of Wells. In July 1229 he witnesses an agreement made at Oxford between the rector of Christian Malford and the prior and convent of Bradenstoke over tithes

(H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, p. 478). The rector of this benefice was a Robert of Evesham, presumably a relative (ibid., vol. I, p. 84). In 1230 he was involved in an advowson dispute with the Hospitallers over Wigginton church (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. XIII, pp. 509, 519). In 1217 or thereabouts the church of Tring was collated to him by the bishop (Rotuli Henrici de Welle, vol. I, p. 127) and this benefice was next vacant in 1249 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 298). He was prebendary of St. Decuman's in Wells cathedral (H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, pp. 83, 122: Two Chartularies of Bath Priory, ii, no. 151, p. 32; Chartulary of Bruton Priory, no. 235, p. 57) and the prebend he was holding at Lincoln in 1247-1248 was Liddington (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 234). Master Nicholas was still alive on 10 November 1248 when he was warned that he was required to pay eighteen marks from his prebend to the cathedral church of Wells on pain of sequestration (H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, p. 82) but he was dead by 12 March 1249 (ibid., vol. I, pp. 83-4, 122). On 23 May following his Wells prebend was collated to bishop Butten's brother (ibid., vol. I, p. 86).

Master Richard of Fingest, clerk.

Although master Richard appears in a charter of St. Hugh circa 1199-1200 (B.M. Additional Charter 33442) and in private and capitular charters of the early years of the century (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, nos. 673, 751, 752, 976; vol. VI, no. 1835), he does not feature in enactments of bishop Wells until 5 November 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p. 73). In all, he witnesses twenty-four episcopal acts from that date until 24 May 1220 (Rotuli Henrici de Welle, vol. II, p. 185) and then he seems to have retired to his parochial charge of Marsworth in Buckinghamshire, a benefice which he is known to have possessed at least from 1215 (Liber Antiquus, p. 75). (cf. ibid., pp. 19, 78, 93.) The date of the next vacancy of this church is not known but Richard was involved in a dispute over the advowson of Hawridge church in the same archdeaconry as late as 1227-1228 (Rotuli Henrici de Welle, vol. II, pp. 74, 74). Fingest is of course the site of the Buckinghamshire residence of the bishop.

Thomas of Fiskerton, chaplain.

Fiskerton, either Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire.

Thomas appears as a canon circa 1198-1208 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 687, p. 52) and certainly held a canonry 1203-1205 under bishop William of Blois (ibid., vol. I, no. 293, p. 255; Cartulary of St. Erideswide, vol. I, no. 43, p. 47). He is first found in the bishop's company at Newark on 8 July 1215 (ibid., vol. III, no. 912, p. 255) and attests or authorises sixty-nine episcopal acts between that date and 1222. He succeeded Reginald of Chester as the bishop's datary on 21 July 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 96) and continues in that capacity until his disappearance from the episcopal charters and records after 15 August 1222 (B.M. Harley MS. 2110, f. 122d). He accompanied bishop Hugh to Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council (Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 131 & cf. Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 879, p. 227). In 1218 or thereabouts he was instituted to the church of St. Peter at Northampton (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 12203) and this benefice was vacant in 1222 when master Robert of Bath was presented to the living (ibid., vol. II, p. 108 - annus xiii begins with Woodford entry p. 107 - cf. ibid., vol. II, pp. 198-200). Presumably Thomas died or entered religion, for he is not found after 1222. He acted as a papal judge delegate in 1207 (Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 748, p. 124).

Master Robert of Graveley.

It is probable that master Robert originated from the Cambridgeshire village of Graveley, rather than the Hertfordshire Graveley, for he attests a charter of abbot Robert III of Thornoy in Cambridgeshire (C.U.L. Add. M.S. 3021, f. 462d.) and in this instance a John of Graveley occurs as steward of the abbot (also Add. M.S. 3020, f. 144d; Add. MS. 3021, f. 429 bis). Master Henry of Graveley also features in an abbatial charter (ADD. MS. 3021, f. 431d) and it may be questioned whether these three Graveleys were kinsmen. It is not known whether Robert should be identified with a namesake who occurs in two charters concerning the deanery's possessions 1198-1205 and 1208-1215 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, nos. 687, 684 respectively).

Master Robert first appears as an episcopal clerk on 27 February 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p.72) soon after the beginning of Hugh's active episcopate. On 1 September 1215 he was merely styled a clerk (ibid., p.80) but on 14 July 1217 he was a canon of Lincoln (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.III, no.875, p.221). In the period 1215 to 1217 he was frequently employed in the Lincoln archdeaconry to make inquiries into the vacancies of churches (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, pp.29,32,45,48). He witnesses forty-six acts of bishop Wells and makes a final appearance as a member of the episcopal household at Stow Park on 16 August 1234 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.II, no.363, p.60). After Hugh's death, he apparently went into residence at Lincoln (cf. Registrum Antiquissimum, passim) and at some date between 1235 and 1248 he is found as warden of the fabric (ibid., vol.IV, no.1221, p.102). The churches of Cranwell and Wainfleet St. Mary were collated to him "by authority of the Council" about 1214-1215 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, p.2) and there is a possibility that he was also vicar of Graveley (ibid., vol.II, p.50) and parson of Haddon (ibid., vol.III, p.41). As rector of Wainfleet he was involved in a dispute with the abbey of St. Edmundsbury (C.U.L. Add. MS.4220, f.521d; cf. also Final Concorda, vol.I, p.192) and he died as rector between 17 June 1251 and 16 June 1252 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p.128). On occasion he occurs as a papal judge delegate (cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Top. Linc. d.1, f.25d).

Master Robert of Hailes.

Hailes is a small village in Gloucestershire; a Cistercian abbey was founded there in 1246. The early career of master Robert is obscure and it is not until he occurs as archdeacon of Huntingdon on 5 November 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p.73) in succession to William of Cornhill that there is any indication of his employment in the service of Hugh of Wells. From 1214 until 1223 he was a regular member of Hugh's household and notwithstanding his archidiaconal duties he continued to accompany the diocesan on his perambulations of the diocese, occasionally acting as datary (see section on dataries).

In 1215-1216 he received the church of Clatton in Huntingdonshire (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. I, p. 30), a benefice he held until his death in 1238 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 255). With his promotion to the archdeaconry of Lincoln (q.v.) in March 1223, master Robert's attendance upon the bishop became less frequent than in former times, although he occurs as Official of the bishop intermittently from 1219 to 1233 (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 139, 140, 152; vol. II, pp. 1, 49, 52, 93, 120, 134, 278-9; vol. III, p. 151). He is also naturally much involved in capitular affairs (cf. Registrum Antiquissimum, passim). He was often employed as a papal judge delegate (cf. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, pp. 100, 121, 123) and the gift of deer made to him by Henry III no doubt represented acknowledgment of some services performed for the king (Close Rolls, 1227-1231, p. 529). He was at the siege of Bedford castle in 1224 in the company of John of Houghton, archdeacon of Bedford (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. I, p. 192). While he was archdeacon of Huntingdon he was prebendary of Brampton (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 376, pp. 80-2) but at his death he was prebendary of Louth (Epistole Roberti Grosseteste, no. LI, pp. 147-151).

John of Harlow, clerk.

The seven episcopal acts in which the name of John of Harlow occurs, were all issued between 29 September 1223 (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. II, p. 203) and 10 July 1224 (F. E. O. Exchequer, Augmentation Office misc. book 62, f. 7), but he had been beneficed in the Lincoln diocese since 1219-1220 when he was instituted to the Huntingdonshire church of Offord Cluny (Rotuli Hugenis de Welles, vol. III, p. 33).

Presumably he resumed his parochial duties after his brief association with the bishop's household; his benefice was next vacant in the course of Robert Grosseteste's seventeenth pontifical year (17 June 1251 - 16 June 1252 - Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 299).

Master Richard of Kent, chaplain.

Master Richard was the brother of master Theobald of Kent (q.v.) whom he followed into the service of the bishop of Lincoln

Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 995, p. 327). He first appears in episcopal charters on 25 August 1225 (Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. II, p. 210) and occurs in twenty-two acts subsequently issued by the bishop's secretariat until 16 August 1234 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 363, p. 60). He became a canon of Lincoln at some date between 4 January 1228 (Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. II, p. 226) and 2 April 1229 (Newington Longeville Charters, no. 26, p. 28). Earlier in his career, about 1217-1218, the church of Whitwell in Rutland had been collated to him by the bishop "by authority of the Council" (Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. I, p. 63). He vacated this church in 1226-1227 (ibid., vol. II, p. 139) when the church of Great Harrowden was likewise collated to him "by authority of the Council" (ibid., vol. II, pp. 136-7). The latter benefice was vacant in 1234 but the cause of vacancy is not given (ibid., vol. II, p. 181).

Master Theobald of Kent, chaplain.

Master Theobald did not have a particularly lengthy career in the bishop's 'familia'. He appears on 9 February 1218 (wrongly styled a canon - Liber Antiquus, p. 86, cf. also ibid., p. 87 & Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 115-6) and had obtained a canonry by 11 April 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 94), but by this time he was the official of archdeacon William of Buckingham (q.v.) and later continued as official of his successor, Matthew of Stratton, until 1224-1225 (Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 114, 117, 122, 133-4, 145, 156, 164-5, 169, 171, 174-5, 196-198; vol. II, pp. 48, 50-3, 55-61, 63-4, 66). His duties in the Buckingham archdeaconry would naturally prevent his regular attendance upon the bishop and in a short while reference to him in episcopal documents is restricted to material dealt with in chapter at Lincoln or else, in the bishop's declining years, at Stow Park with the cathedral dignitaries and the body of canons. His last recorded appearance is on 16 August 1234 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 363, p. 60).

Master William of Kent alias of Canterbury alias of Harbledown.
clerk.

It is not known whether master William was a kinsman of the two Kent brothers who have been treated already (q.v.) but it

is just possible that he is to be identified with the master William of Harbledown who attested a charter of Berinald of Cornhill in favour of St. Gregory's priory, Canterbury towards the close of the twelfth century (Cartulary of St. Gregory Canterbury, no.33,p.27, Camden series). His initial appearance in the bishop's acts on 17 January 1220 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.II,p.183) was soon followed by his institution to the church of Whissendine in Rutland; in one entry as parson (ibid.,vol.II,p.99), in another as perpetual vicar (ibid., vol.II,pp.184-5). Master William's ability must have been quickly revealed, for he became a canon of Lincoln between 11 June and 25 November 1222 (ibid.,vol.II,pp.197,199) and archdeacon of Stow between 4 November 1223 and 4 January 1224 (ibid.,vol.II,pp.203,204). After his elevation to the archidiaconate, he ceased to accompany the bishop on his perambulations of the diocese and is only mentioned in business transacted in chapter at Lincoln. He occurs as a papal judge delegate in 1229 (Calendar of Papal Letters,vol.I,p.121). When master Richard le Grant chancellor of Lincoln, became archbishop of Canterbury in 1229, master William went as his Official (Close Rolls 1227-1231,p.590). The archdeaconry of Stow was stated to be vacant during bishop Grosseteste's third pontifical year (1237-1238 - Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste,p.137) and master John Grosseteste was instituted to Whissendine at the same time (ibid.,p.172).

Warin of Kirton, Chaplain.

Kirton in Lindsey or Kirton in Holland, both in Lincolnshire. Warin was a late recruit to the episcopal 'familia', making his first appearance on 30 December 1228 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.II,p.230). Nevertheless it would seem that there was a connexion between the bishop and the chaplain before this date, for in 1223-1224 the church of Nettleham, in the bishop's gift, was collated to Warin and the enrolling clerk added "postea de speciali precepto domini mutata est vicaria in personatum" (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.I,pp.221-2). He had previously been incumbent of Long Bennington (ibid., vol.I,p.83). He became a canon between 25 August 1229 and 26 January 1230 (ibid.,vol.II,pp.231,234). From 7 March 1233

he succeeded Ralph of Waravill as episcopal datary (ibid., vol.II,p.264) and continued to authorise the issue of episcopal charters until the bishop's death. He was a co-executor of the bishop's testament of June 1233 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.II,no.372,p.74); nothing is known of his subsequent career after 25 January 1235 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.II,p.271) nor when he vacated Nettleham church. Long Bennington parsonage had been vacated before 26 January 1237 (Rotuli Roberti Grossatesta,p.15).

Master Roger of Lacock, subdeacon.

Master Roger, an eminent physician, first appears in Lincoln charters on 27 March 1222 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.II, p.197) and had already received a canonry between 11 June and 15 August of the same year (ibid.,vol.II,p.197; Sarum Charters and Documents,pp.122-3). He does not attest any episcopal charters after 4 January 1228 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.II, p.226) although he did not die until 1233. Besides the possibility of Roger having treated bishop Hugh medically, it is definitely known that he was the physician of King Henry III and it may be assumed that his royal duties necessitated his absence from Lincoln diocesan affairs. He was indebted to the king for many gifts of deer and wood from the royal forests (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum,vol.I,p.557, cf.ibid.,p.580; Close Rolls, 1227-1231,pp.187,459; ibid.,1231-1234,p.2). His ecclesiastical preferment included a prebend in the royal free chapel of Bridgnorth (Close Rolls 1227-1231, p.61) and the churches of Washinborough (from the King - Patent Rolls 1225-1232,p.271; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.III,p.171) and Great Hale (from the bishop - Patent Rolls 1225-1232,p.303; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.III,p.162). It would appear that he died in 1233 - Gerard the chancellor of the duke of Brittany was instituted to Washinborough church in that year (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.III,pp.207-8) and master Roger's prebend in Bridgnorth was given to Bernard of Grimsby on 11 July 1233 (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232-1247,p.21). Master Roger held certain property in the Lincoln parish of St. John in Newport (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.VIII,no.2222,pp.36-7 and no.2221, pp.35-6) and this land was sold to a fellow-canon, William of

Winchcombe by his executors on 26 April 1234 (ibid., vol. VIII, no. 2223, pp. 37-8). One of his executors was a master Ralph of Lacock and it is to be questioned whether this was the same as the steward of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (B.M. Harley MS. 3650, f. 39). A recipe of master Roger for an eye ointment composed of fennel, rue, musk and attic honey has chanced to survive (B.M. MS. Royal 12 B XIII, f. 181 - C.H. TALBOT & E.A. HAMMOND: The Medical Practitioner in Medieval England: A Biographical Register, London 1965, pp. 312-3).

Philip of Langport, subdeacon.

Langport is in Somerset, about fifteen miles south-west of Wells. Philip first appears in episcopal documents on 23 January 1223 (Rotuli Hugonis de Wellea, vol. II, p. 200) and frequently attests the bishop's enactments until 15 July 1226 (ibid., vol. II, p. 215). In all, he features in twenty-two charters. On 29 September 1223 he was instituted to the Leicestershire parish church of Orton-on-the-Hill on the presentation of the abbey of Merevale (ibid., vol. II, p. 289): the benefice was vacant in 1249 when Thomas de Verdun, the former official of Robert Grosseteste during his tenure of the archdeaconry of Leicester (q.v.) was instituted (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 435 bis).

Master William of Lincoln alias of Drayton.

Master William's earliest recorded appearance in an episcopal charter can be dated to 9 February 1218 (Liber Antiquus, p. 86) but a few references to him in the bishop's first institution roll could possibly date from 1217 (Rotuli Hugonis de Wellea, vol. I, pp. 115-117). There is considerable confusion as to when he received his canonry at Lincoln. On 15 February (Liber Antiquus, p. 87), 4 March (ibid., p. 88), 3 November 1218 (Wells D & C, Liber Albus II, f. 189) and 17 February (Liber Antiquus, p. 93), 27 February (-in original inspeximus - Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 925, pp. 266-7) and 11 April 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 94) he is simply described as a clerk, but on 14 June 1218 (ibid., p. 89) and possibly on 9 February 1218 (ibid., p. 86) - though there is some slight confusion here - he is styled a canon of Lincoln. In 1217-1218, armed with a legatine dispensation, he was instituted to the rectory

of Sutton-in-the-Marsh on the presentation of Crowland abbey (Rotuli Hibernie de Welle, vol. I, p. 117). He was involved in disputes as parson of this church in 1219 (Final Concords, vol. I, p. 139; Lincolnshire Eyre Roll, pp. 174-5) and in 1225 (Patent Rolls 1216-1225, pp. 597-8). It is possible that master William is to be identified with the canon of Salisbury of the same name who attests a charter of bishop Richard Poore (Barum Charters and Documents, p. 189) on 3 October 1227. From September 1227 master William ceases to attend upon the bishop with any regularity and is only mentioned intermittently in charters issued at Lincoln. In 1232 he succeeded Robert Grosseteste as archdeacon of Leicester (q.v.). It is not known exactly when he ceased to hold office but John of Winchester occurs as archdeacon on 1 April 1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 391). The church of Sutton-in-the-Marsh was also vacant in the course of Grosseteste's first pontifical year (ibid., p. 2 - wrongly described as Sutterton). It is unlikely that he is the same as master William of Lincoln who occurs as chancellor of Wells in 1247-1248 (H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, pp. 72, 81, 496). Master Alard was still chancellor of Wells on 1 April 1239 (ibid., vol. I, p. 135) and the gap of several years between master William's avoidance of the Leicester archdeaconry and his supposed appointment to the chancellorship of Wells cannot be adequately explained. In the period 1235-1247 Roger de Derloton granted to Ralph, rector of Snarford all the land and buildings in Pottergate which he had of the gift of his lord, master William of Lincoln, "quondam" archdeacon of Leicester. (Lincoln D & C. D13/78/2/38). The sense of this charter implies that William was already dead. Besides property in the Lincoln parish of St. Margaret Pottergate, master William also possessed land in Whaplode (Final Concords, vol. I, p. 234).

Richard Maucclerc, subdeacon.

Richard is occasionally to be found in the bishop's charters from 31 October 1226 (Rotuli Hibernie de Welle, vol. II, p. 216) to 30 December 1228 (ibid., vol. II, p. 230) and then again on 13 January 1232 (ibid., vol. II, p. 246). In 1219-1220 he was instituted to the third part of the church of Stainton-le-Vale

(Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 108), a benefice which he resigned seven years later to become porticary of Castle Bytham (ibid., vol. III, p. 152). It was during this period that he made a final concord with the rector of the neighbouring parish of Little Bytham over a messuage in the latter village (Final Concords, vol. II, p. 124). During the twenty-first pontifical year of bishop Hugh (20 December 1229-19 December 1230), while still retaining the portion of Castle Bytham, he was instituted to the Buckinghamshire church of Clifton Roynes (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 79-80) but it was not until 1237-8 that Richard voided the Bytham benefice on the discovery by bishop Grosseteste that he had no dispensation to hold an additional benefice with cure of souls (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 22). He died shortly before December 1267 (Rotuli Ricardi Cravenend, p. 242) cf. also Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 671, p. 37 & vol. V, no. 1499, p. 31).

Geoffrey de Moris alias de la More, clerk.

Geoffrey occurs in twenty-nine episcopal charters between 28 May 1226 (P.R.O. Ancient Deed B. 1877) and 20 May 1232 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 248) but it has become apparent that he remained in Hugh's service after that date, for he is found at Bedford on 26 September 1233 on the occasion of the resignation of John de Colna, prior of Newport Pagnell (ibid., vol. II, p. 95). He also attested a final concord made between the bishop and Oliver de Aencurt on 16 April 1228 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 670, p. 37) and two years later is found acting as attorney of bishop Wells in a legal case (Curia Regis Wells, vol. XIII, no. 2525, p. 536). In 1228 he was instituted to the church of Warmington on the presentation of Peterborough abbey (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 141, 229-30) but had ceased to be rector by 1237-1238 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 169).

Richard of Oxford, subdeacon.

Richard was one of the longest-serving episcopal clerks - from 1218 to 1235 - and attested eighty-one charters issued by the bishop as well as several capitular documents. In 1217-1218 a moiety of the church of Claypole was collated to him by the

bishop (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 69 : D.M. Cotton MS. Vespasian E XX, ff. 35d-36), and by 9 February 1218 he had begun his long association with the bishop's 'familia' (Liber Antiquus, p. 26). He was rewarded with a canonry between 5 October and 30 December 1228 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 227, 230). He was present at Stow Park thirteen days before the bishop's death when four letters of institution were issued (ibid., vol. II, pp. 271-2). Having resigned the moiety of Claypole in 1222-1223 (ibid., vol. III, p. 123), he was instituted to the church of Harlington in the Bedford archdeaconry in the course of that same year (ibid., vol. III, p. 7). Harlington was next vacant shortly before September 1273 (Rotuli Ricardi Cravenend, p. 198) but it is impossible to ascertain when Richard ceased to be rector. His last appearance as a canon of Lincoln can be dated to 1 April 1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 163, 391).

Master Clement Pigiun.

Master Clement only attests episcopal charters for just over a year - in actual fact, from 26 September 1227 (C.U.L. Add. MS. 3020, ff. 72d-73) to 30 December 1228 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 230). His preferments are not known and he did not receive a canonry. It is conceivable that he was connected by ties of kinship with Stephen Pigiun, who was a household clerk of St. Hugh (B.M. Harley MS. 3650, f. 49d; B.M. Add. MS. 47677, ff. 316d-317).

Geoffrey Scot alias le Scot, chaplain.

Geoffrey occurs in seven charters between 2 September 1223 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 202) and 10 July 1224 (P.R.O. Exchequer, Augmentation Office misc. book 62, f. 7) as the bishop's chaplain but then he does not feature in any episcopal transactions until 8 September 1227 (B.M. Additional Charter 21999), by which time he had become a canon of Lincoln. He would appear to have gone into residence at Lincoln and only witnesses charters issued in chapter at Lincoln or in 1234 at Stow Park. He possessed considerable property in the city of Lincoln, in the parishes of All Saints in the Bail, St. Mary and in Pottergate (Registum Antiquissimum vol. IX,

nos. 2517-2521, 2559 ; Lincoln Dean & Chapter VC.2/1, nos. 217-8; Curia Regis Folio, vol. XIII, p. 107 ; Lincoln D & C A/1/6, no. 669) and in the village of Harston (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. VII, no. 2064, pp. 98-99). He occurs as Provost of the Common in 1231-1232 (ibid., vol. II no. 995, p. 327 - John of Houghton became archdeacon of Northampton in 1231; William of Lincoln became archdeacon of Leicester in 1232). Geoffrey was alive about 22 March 1254 (Lincoln D & C. D11/78/2/3) but had died before William of Ingelby had been succeeded as constable of the castle by Alexander de Montfort by 2 December 1259 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IX, no. 2520, p. 122 note).

John of Taunton, chaplain.

John was instituted to the Northamptonshire benefice of Wroton Pinkney in 1218-1219 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 150-1), a living he resigned in 1225 (ibid., vol. II, p. 129). He had become one of the chaplains of the bishop's households by 2 September 1223 (ibid., vol. II, p. 202) and received a canonry between 2 October and 24 October 1224 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles vol. II, p. 208; B. Additional Charter 47561). Within less than a year, he is found as precentor of Lincoln (q.v.) - in actual fact, on the 26 September 1225 (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud misc. 642, f. 4d). From 29 September 1223 to 25 August 1225 John acted as episcopal datary (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 203, 210). He last occurs on 17 May 1237 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 254) and he was succeeded as precentor shortly afterwards by William Blund, chancellor of Lincoln (q.v.) It is not known whether he was related to Gilbert of Taunton, canon of Wells and archdeacon of Huntingdon but a Wells connexion with bishop Hugh seems likely.

master William de Thornaco, clerk.

The geographical origins of this most important member of bishop Hugh's 'familia' have been a cause of considerable confusion. Tournay, in modern Belgium, has been mooted as a possibility and in England, Thorney in Cambridgeshire or Nottinghamshire, or nearer Lincoln the Tournay family of the village of Caenby (A. R. MADDISON: 'The Tournays of Caenby' in A. A. S. D. vol. XXIX, 1907-8, pp. 1 & 42, esp. p. 2). Nevertheless,

master William's earlier career would seem to indicate a Wells, or at least a Somerset, background. A Hugh of 'Tournay' was archdeacon of Bath in the 1140's (Cartularies of Athelney and Muchelney, pp.152,172-3,182); Thomas de Thornaco was a royal clerk (L. DELIBLE : Recueil des Actes de Henri II, vol.II, p.260 no.DCXLVI Rotuli Chartarum, p.73 : Rotuli Literarum Clausarum, vol.I, pp.26b,56,63b), parson of Doulting (Great Chartulary of Glastonbury, vol.I, no.74, p.48) and of Nunney (H.M.C. Wells, vol.I, p.492), canon of Wells (Archaeologia vol.52, part 1, p.106; H.M.C. Wells, vol.I, pp.22,24-5,43-4,51-2,68-9,389,489 - not always styled canon), succentor (Two Cartularies of Bath, ii, no.70, p.16. H.M.C. Wells, vol.II, no.37, p.553) and then archdeacon of Wells (H.M.C. Wells, vol.I, p.486) ; Stephen de Thornaco, his brother (ibid., vol.I, p.486) was a clerk of bishop Reginald (ibid., vol.I, p.45,22,24,-5,43-4,51-2,68-9,489), a canon of Wells (Archaeologia vol.52, part 1, p.106) and prebendary of Whitchurch (H.M.C. Wells, vol.I, p.135) as well as parson of Wellington (ibid., vol.I, p.46). William occurs as parson of Binegar, a church in the patronage of the prebendary of Whitchurch (ibid., vol.I, p.135) and it would appear most probable that he was at least a kinsman of Stephen and Thomas. It is possible that he attests a charter of prior Durand of Montacute (1192-1205) in the company of a future archdeacon of Huntingdon (q.v.) Gilbert of Taunton (Montacute cartulary no.208 - he is described as William de Torna.....). Presumably master William was descended from Reiner de Tornach' who, in 1166, held one and a half knights' fees of Sir William III de Mohun of the Somerset honour of Dunster (T. HEARNE: Liber Niger Beccardi, vol.I, p.92, London 1774) It is my contention that Thornaco is in fact Thorney, an island in the south of Somerset adjacent to Middleney and Muchelney (- it is described as 'Thornok' in Somerset Feet of Fine, p.389). Master William first appears in Hugh's acts on 5 October 1213 (Westminster abbey doct.no.15683), although he could be the master William who witnessed the bishop's testament at St. Martin de Garenne on 13 November 1212 (H.M.C. Wells, vol.I, pp.431-2). In October 1213 he is merely described as a clerk but by 27 February 1214 he had become archdeacon of Stow

(Liber Antiquus, p.72). From that date until 1219 with very few exceptions, he occurs as datary of the episcopal enactments. In September 1215 he accompanied the bishop to Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council (Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol.I, p.131). Upon being elevated to the rich and extensive archdeaconry of Lincoln (q.v.) in 1219, between 12 April and 22 May (Liber Antiquus, p.94), he soon ceased to act as the bishop's datary (the last recorded charter he dates was issued on 25 May 1219 - Liber Antiquus, pp.94-5) and in fact is no longer to be found in Hugh of Wells's company except at Lincoln. Between 28 January and 12 March 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.VIII, p.xiii ; ibid., vol.II, no.513, p.217) he succeeded master Roger of Rolleston as Dean of Lincoln, being suspended and deprived in 1239 (Epistolae Roberti Grosseteste, no.LXXX). In that year he entered the Cistercian abbey of Louth Park (E.VENABLES & A.R.MADDISON: Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude, Lincolnshire Record Society 1891, pp.12-3) and died there on 25 June 1258 (ibid., p.16). As archdeacon of Stow, he was prebendary of Dunham and Newport (Final Concords, vol.I, p.142; Registrum Antiquissimum vol.II, no.557 pp.257-8) and in 1219-1220 he resigned the church of Scawby (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, p.211). It is interesting to note in passing the occurrence of a John de Thornaco in a Scawby charter issued after William's death (Lincoln D & C.A/1/8, no.386, f.133d). It is not known where he gained his master's degree but he was the author of some 'quaestiones' (J.C.RUSSELL Dictionary of Writers). He bequeathed the Epistles of St. Jerome to the abbey (R.M. WOOLLEY: Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library no.47, p.24) and in 1536 the cope he had given to Lincoln cathedral was still in existence (DUODALE: Monasticon Anglicanum, vol.VI, p.1285). His seal is to be found on Harleian Charter 44 F 25 - a pointed oval, with master William full length holding a book with the legend SIG..... LEIMI DE TOVRNA..... For details of William's household when Dean of Lincoln, see Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, vol.XIII, pp.75-79, 1891.

John of Torksey.

John occurs as a clerk in two charters of March and April 1233 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 261, 263).

Ralph of Waravill, clerk.

It is possible that Ralph's territorial surname derived from Waraville in Calvados department in Normandy (cf. Patent Rolls 1225-1232, p. 45). It is fairly certain that he is not to be identified with Ralph de Werewell, the king's clerk, who was granted the archdeaconry of Barnstaple in 1208 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 86b). He does not feature in Lincoln diocesan material until after bishop Hugh's return from abroad in 1217. At first - from 23 September 1217 (Westminster abbey acct. 2578) - he appears as a canon of Wells but between 22 November 1221 and 27 March 1222 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 194, 197) he also received a canonry at Lincoln. In 1217-1218 the church of Grainthorpe was collated to him by the bishop "by authority of the Lateran Council" (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 127-8; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud misc. 642, f. 98a). It is noted that he had a dispensation from the legate Guiso. Ralph also possessed some land in the village of Grainthorpe (Close Rolls 1227-1231, p. 7). He occurs in one hundred and sixteen of Hugh's acts between 1217 and 1235 and from 26 September 1225 to 31 July 1232 he acted as episcopal datary (see section on dataries). In October 1224 Ralph represented the bishop in paying the carucage to the king's wardrobe at Bedford (Patent Rolls 1215-1225, p. 491). In the vacancy after Hugh's death, Ralph is found with John de Burgo (q.v.) as royal custodians of the temporalities (Patent Rolls 1232-1247, p. 94; Close Rolls 1234-1237, pp. 53, 62-3, 65, 77). It would appear that he returned to the Wells diocese after Grosseteste's accession. He occurs as a canon in January 1236 (H. M. C. WELLS, vol. I, p. 37) and on 14 January 1240 he resigned his vicarage of Hudford in Somerset into bishop Jocelin's hands to augment the common fund of the canons of Wells (ibid., vol. I, p. 32).

Master Walter of Warminster, clerk.

The church of Warminster in Wiltshire constituted a prebend in the cathedral church of Wells and it is not too rash to

presume that the Somerset connexions of bishop Hugh resulted in the employment of this member of the episcopal 'familia'. In July 1229 he witnessed a composition made at Oxford between the rector of Christian Malford and the prior and convent of Bradenstoke over tithes (H. M. G. Wells, vol. I, p. 478). The first indication of his activities as a household clerk is furnished by the letter of institution of Henry de Rand to Hargrave church dated 29 March 1231 (Rotuli Huzonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 238) and in all, master Walter attests seventeen charters of bishop Wells. He was promoted to a canonry between 3 August and 27 December 1231 (ibid., vol. II, pp. 244, 246). On 28 July 1232 he is found as the proctor of the king in a case being heard before papal judges delegate (Patent Rolls 1225-1232, p. 495) and in the preceding year he witnesses a judicial decision concerning Thame abbey and the rector of Oddington (The Thame Cartulary, vol. I, p. 30). In 1223-1224 he was instituted to Knotting rectory in the gift of St. Neot's priory (Rotuli Huzonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 10) but he vacated this church six years later ibid., vol. III, p. 23) to become rector of Sibstone in Leicestershire (ibid., vol. II, p. 309). He resigned this benefice the following year and a master Richard of Warminster was instituted in his place (ibid., vol. II, p. 311). He last occurs in 1236 (Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. II, p. 437). He was a graduate of Oxford (EMDEN: vol. III, p. 2016).

Master Walter of Wells.

It is altogether uncertain whether master Walter of Wells can be classed among the kinsmen of bishop Hugh; nevertheless there is a distinct possibility that this may have been the case. Master Walter first appears in 1209 acting as the attorney of Alexander, dean of Wells (Pedes Finium, S. R. S. p. 26, no. 8; cf. ibid., p. 26, no. 7) and he was at Lincoln with bishop Hugh by 27 February 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p. 72). He was already a canon at this date but he continued to serve in the bishop's 'familia' until 1221 at least (Rotuli Huzonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 193). From 15 August 1222 (Sarum Charters and Documents, pp. 122-3) to the conclusion of Hugh's episcopate, master Walter only occurs in documents issued at Lincoln (or in the later period, at Stow Park) and it may be presumed with some

justification that he took up permanent residence in the cathedral city (cf. Registrum Antiquissimum, passim). He acted as the representative of the chapter of Lincoln in 1230 and again at Wells in 1244 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 896, p. 241; H. M. C. Wells, vol. I, p. 99). He owned property in Eastgate (Lincoln D & C. D1j/79/2/45 & VC. 2/1, nos. 191-3, 198, 200), in Northgate (VC. 2/1, no. 194) and in Holton Beckering (Final Concords vol. I, p. 300), besides considerable land and houses in Lissington village (VC. 2/1, nos. 50, 52-4, 56, 62, 89, 112, 123) and these latter possessions master Walter granted to the hospital of St. Giles at Lincoln in 1242 to sustain a chaplain to pray for his soul and for those of his ancestors (ibid., no. 124). It is possible that he was prebendary of Clifton (Lincoln D & C. D1j/69/1/29) but it is not known whether he was the Walter of Wells to whom king John granted a prebend "in capella domini archiepiscopi" at York on 28 July 1215 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 151). He was alive on 3 February 1251 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. V, no. 1461, p. 4) but was dead by 16 June 1252 when his executors sold his land and houses in Eastgate to Simon of London, canon of Lincoln (VC. 2/1, no. 202 - Robert of Graveley attests the executor's charter and he was dead by the end of Grosseteste's seventeenth pontifical year - ending 16 June 1252 Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 128).

Master Richard of Wendover, subdeacon.

A Richard of Wendover who was a member of a family possessing land in the Lincolnshire village of Hackthorn occurs in several documents between 1210 and 1220 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IV, nos. 1154-1159, pp. 42-8) but it is not altogether certain whether he should be identified with the canon of Lincoln of the same name. Master Richard, already a canon of Lincoln, first appears on 9 August 1229 (Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. II, p. 231) and subsequently attests thirty-seven episcopal charters between that date and 1 June 1233 (Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 186), after which time he is not found in Lincoln material again. He is not known to have been beneficed in the diocese but stood proxy for master Richard Devon (q.v.) in 1229 at his induction into the church of Cranfield (Rotuli Huconis de Welles, vol. III, p. 22). It is more than likely that

master Richard is the same as the eminent physician and canon of St. Paul's in the 1230's (cf. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XVI, pp. 1087-8; J. LENEVE: Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, vol. I, St. Paul's London 1066-1300, pp. 46, 64, 76 ed. D. E. GREENWAY, 1968). He died in March 1252 or March 1253. He is not to be confused with Richard de Wendene bishop of Rochester from 1235 to 1250; this bishop is often mistakenly referred to as Richard of Wendover.

Peter of Wilton, clerk.

Peter had been associated with Hugh of Wells long before the latter was consecrated bishop of Lincoln. In 1201 Roger son of Rannulph in a plea in the king's court against Eve daughter of Algar (? of Wells, cf. the bishop's testament of 1212 H.M.C. Wells, vol. I, pp. 431-2) appointed as his attorney either Hugh of Wells or Peter of Wilton (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. I, p. 436) and in August 1205 it is definitely stated that Peter was the clerk of Hugh of Wells, at that time archdeacon of Wells (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum vol. I, p. 46). Peter first appears in Lincoln material on 27 February 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p. 72) and continues to act as an episcopal clerk until 13 July 1219 (Lincoln D & C. D11/87/3/13) about which time the bishop set out for the Fourth Lateran Council. From a solitary surviving charter issued by the bishop en route for Rome (Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 131), it appears that Peter did not accompany the bishop to the Council. If he is to be identified with the Peter of Wilton, canon of Chichester, who represented the cathedral chapter in a lawsuit in 1203 (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. II, p. 193), then it is probable that he retired to Chichester after 1219. None of his preferments are known and Hugh does not seem to have rewarded him with a canonry at Lincoln. It is impossible to say whether he was related to the Wells clerks, Hugh of Wilton, archdeacon of Taunton and Laurence of Wilton, or to Eustace of Wilton who was a member of St. Hugh's 'familia' at Lincoln at the close of the twelfth century.

William of Winchcombe, deacon.

The town of Winchcombe is situated in the county of Gloucester, two miles from Hailes and it is therefore no surprise to discover that the original link between William of Winchcombe

and the diocese of Lincoln was master Robert of Hailles, successively archdeacon of Huntingdon and then of Lincoln. He is described as a clerk of the archdeacon in 1218 (Potuli Hucronis de Welles, vol. I, p. 191) and acted as proctor of John of Hailles in 1225-1226 (ibid., vol. III, p. 52). He first appears in episcopal acts on 14 October 1217 (Christ Church, Oxford, Osney doct. no. 938) and received a canonry between 26 September 1225 (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud misc. 642, f. 4a) and 20 March 1226 (Potuli Hucronis de Welles, vol. II, p. 213). At a later date he is found as prebendary of Dunham and Newport (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. VIII, no. 2200, pp. 15-6). William was in regular attendance upon the bishop from 1217 and at his last appearance in Hugh's company on 25 January 1235 (Potuli Hucronis de Welles, vol. II, p. 271) he had featured in one hundred and fifteen episcopal charters. Evidence for his activities as a member of the bishop's 'familia' is also to be found in the episcopal enrolments (cf. ibid., vol. I, pp. 145, 159, 163; vol. III, pp. 32, 45, 54, 100, 106, 127, 133, 143, 150, 184). His parochial preferments included the churches of 'tilten (C.U.L. Add. MS. 3020, f. 47), Fleet and Eastone (Potuli Hucronis de Welles, vol. III, p. 125) William voided the church of Fleet in 1222-1223 and his cession was due to the fact that he had become parson of Eastone after the Lateran Council (ibid.); yet, in the same year, a William le Kentein was instituted to Eastone on the presentation of Winchcombe abbey (ibid., vol. II, pp. 11-2). Is William of Winchcombe to be identified with William le Kentein? Geographical considerations seem to preclude such a conclusion but at the same time there is no convincing alternative explanation. In fact, it is noted that Walter of Banbury had previously claimed to be rector of Eastone and there is no mention of William of Winchcombe. William also possessed land and houses in several Lincoln parishes - St. John in Newport, (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. VIII, nos. 2223-9), All Saints in the Bail (ibid., vol. IX, no. 2541, pp. 142-3) and St. Michael on the Mount (ibid., vol. VIII, nos. 2297-2299) - as well as in Yorkshire (The Rolls of Archbishop Gray, no. cciv, p. 91; cf. also pp. 192n, 232n). The land in the parish of St. Michael on the Mount he granted to the

chapter of Lincoln and the profits were to be distributed by the provost of the common on the anniversary of William's death to the infirm vicars living at St. Giles, with the exception of certain sums of money to be given to the priest celebrating at the High Altar on St. Keneelm's Day (patron of Winchcombe) and to the canons, vicars and poor clerks in attendance (Peristernum Antiquissimum vol. VIII, no. 2299, pp. 110-111). After bishop Hugh's death, it seems that William took up residence at Lincoln (cf. ibid., passim) and circa 1240 he is found as warden of the fabric (ibid., vol. IV, nos. 1219, 1222-3, 1229-30). He died between 1250 and June 1252 (ibid., vol. VIII, no. 2229, pp. 42-3; vol. IX, no. 2542, pp. 143-4).

John of Winchester alias Beainratokc, clerk.

Master John occurs as a clerk in the witness list to the bishop's charter relating to the priory of St. Promond and the churches of Bonby and Soxby issued on 3 March 1221 (P.R.C. Ancient Deed E.8781). His connexion with the bishop is not known and this is the only recorded occasion on which he occurs in the episcopal retinue. By 1 April 1236 he had become archdeacon of Leicester and prebendary of Leicester St. Margaret (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 390-1; cf. J.C. RUSSELL: Dictionary of Writers). A John of Winchester witnesses a charter of bishop Herbert Poore of Salisbury in 1200 (Salisbury, Liber Evidentiarius C.f. xxv) but it is not certain whether it is the same clerk as the future archdeacon of Leicester.

Master Richard of Windsor.

The earliest recorded appearance of master Richard in the bishop's company is on 18 May 1224 when he was present at the institution of prior Philip of Wingham (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 133) and for at least ten years after that date, from 1 July 1224 (ibid., vol. II, p. 203) until 5 June 1234 (C.D. ROSS: The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey vol. II, no. 702, p. 584), he was regularly employed in the episcopal service. In 1222-1223 he succeeded another household clerk, Richard of Oxford, as rector of a moiety of Claypole church (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 123) but two years later he resigned this benefice to become rector of Potterhanworth (ibid., vol. III, p. 139; Southwell Minster Ms. 3, no. 928, f. 145d)

The next vacancy of the church is recorded during the fifth pontifical year of bishop Richard Gravesend (3 November 1262 - 2 November 1263) and the cause of the vacancy was the death of the former rector, master Richard of Hanworth (Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p.12). If the latter is to be identified with bishop Hugh's clerk - and a change of territorial surname can not be ruled out, especially if he had been incumbent of the benefice since 1224-1225 - then it is probable that Richard is the same person as master Richard of Hanworth who occurs as a canon of Lincoln on 8 July 1259 (Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol.IV, no.33a, p.47). Master Richard rector of Potterhanworth, attests two private grants to the common fund of the cathedral in 1249 and 1250 respectively (Rescriptum Antiquissimum vol.VII, nos.1390-1, pp.32-3) and he is not styled a canon on these occasions.

Master John of York.

It is probable that master John entered the employment of Hugh of Wells in the course of the bishop's exile in France 1209-1213 as a result of the general interdict. John had previously been associated with archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet of York, acting as his proctor in a lawsuit (C. W. CHENEY: The Letters of Pope Innocent III, no.304, p.50; Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol.XV, p.133) and attesting a charter issued by the York chapter circa 1191-4 (York Minster Fasti vol.I, p.69). Archbishop Geoffrey died in exile on 18 December 1212 and it is not altogether inconceivable that John found a new master in bishop Hugh soon afterwards. By the terms of the bishop of Lincoln's testament of 1212 (H. M. G. Wells, vol.I, pp.431-2), master John was to receive one hundred marks unless he should be beneficed by the bishop beforehand. As it happened, Hugh returned to England in the following year and John appears in the earliest surviving charter issued by the bishop in England - on 5 October 1213 (Westminster abbey doct.15683). He had become a canon of Lincoln by 14 June 1218 (Liber Antiquus, p.69) and occurs again on 30 January 1219 (ibid., p.91). He became archdeacon of Stow (q.v.) between 12 April and 22 May 1219 (ibid., p.94) and subdean of Lincoln (q.v.) in succession to master Reginald of Chester between 21 July and 23 September

of the same year (ibid., pp. 96-7). He ceased to be subdean between 9 September and 11 October 1231 (Registrum Roffense, pp. 386-7; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 316). On occasion he occurs as a papal judge delegate (cf. B. M. Cotton MS. Nero D III, ff. 54d-56d).



The Stewards.

The names of only two episcopal stewards have been found in the course of Hugh of Wells's pontificate and it is apparent from the evidence that both of them were stewards of the bishop's estates. No steward of the episcopal household (or even 'dispensator') has featured in any of the records. 'Senescallus domini episcopi' is clearly only used to describe the officer who was concerned with the management of the bishop's manors and possessions; yet it is doubtful whether it should be automatically concluded from documentary silence that the responsibility for the supervision of both estates and household was entrusted to the care of one man. The duties of the bishop's stewards have been adequately outlined by Professor Major in her study of the 'familia' of archbishop Langton (English Historical Review, vol. XLVIII, 1933, p. 540ff.) and it will only be necessary to point out that unlike Canterbury, the diocese of Lincoln does not appear to have known two concurrent episcopal stewards. Geoffrey son of Baldwin, a layman, first occurs as bishop Hugh's steward on 11 and 12 July 1214 when he attested a number of charters in favour of bishop Jocelin of Bath and Glastonbury. (Canterbury, Christ Church Cartae Antiquae R. 40; H. M. C. Wells, vol. I, pp. 472, 474, 475). Each grant concerned personal possessions of bishop Hugh rather than the inalienable property of the bishopric. Geoffrey continues to appear as a witness to transactions concerned with the episcopal estates, and perhaps more surprisingly with capitular property, until 1227 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, nos. 511, 583, 585-7; vol. III, nos. 705, 885-7, 925; Final Concords, vol. I, pp. 163-4; Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. I, pp. 62-3).

He was succeeded as steward by Gilbert de Treilly who is probably to be identified with the clerk who was instituted to the church of Gosberton (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 175; Final Concorda, vol. I, p. 244). His first definite appearance can be dated to 1228 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 671, p. 37 - the Hainton settlement ascribed to circa 1226 is more probably to be dated to 1229 ibid., vol. V, no. 1499, p. 31, cf. ibid., vol. II, no. 618, p. 314) and five years later he was named as an executor of the bishop's testament (ibid., vol. II, no. 372, p. 74). He also witnessed the bishop's grant of the advowson of Gosberton church in the same year (ibid., vol. II, no. 367, p. 65) but is not found after 1233. John of Crackhall became bishop Grosseteste's steward circa 1235-1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste p. 6). The date when Gilbert vacated his benefice of Gosberton is not known.

Household Knights.

Although the names of many knights who held fees of the bishop are known to us, there is only one surviving reference to a knight specifically serving in the entourage of the bishop - William de Dive, "miles de familia Hugonis Lincolnensis episcopi" who was killed in 1218 while besieging Newark castle, at that time in the possession of Robert de Gaugy (Matthew Paris: Chronica Majora, vol. III, p. 33, Rolls series).

It will be sufficient to append brief notes on the occurrence of the names of DOMESTIC SERVANTS of the bishop.

Butler.

Richard the butler occurs in several charters from circa 1215 onwards and amassed certain property in Marton and Ormsby. (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, nos. 583-588, pp. 284-290; no. 511, p. 214; Lincoln Dean & Chapter VC. 2/1, nos. 29, 44). For the descent of his possessions and a genealogical table, see the notes to actum no. 70.

Chamberlain.

Herbert of Stow (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, nos. 583-4, 587-8, 618; Westminster abbey doct. no. 15683; H. M. O. Wells, vol. I, pp. 367, 431-2 (Herbert camerarius, de camera); VC. 2/1, no. 44).

Usher.

Walter the usher was to receive one mark by the terms of the bishop's testament of 1233 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 372, p. 72).

Huntsman.

Walter the huntsman occurs as an episcopal servant in a charter of Alice daughter of Roger son of Hacon issued circa 1230 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 584, p. 289) and also attests one of the bishop's acts dated 8 May 1233 (ibid., vol. II, no. 367, p. 65):

Cook.

Walensis the cook is mentioned in Hugh's testament of 1212 (H. K. G. Wells, vol. I, pp. 431-2) and was intended to receive thirty marks by the terms of that document, but his successor Hugh the master cook twenty-one years later had to be content with a third of that sum (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 372, p. 71). Matthew de coquina, obviously a lesser member of the episcopal kitchen staff was also a beneficiary of the 1212 testament.

Marshal.

Richard the marshal and Roger the marshal both occur in the 1212 testament with legacies of forty and thirty marks respectively (H. K. G. Wells, vol. I, pp. 431-2). Richard is not heard of again but Roger is found as a witness to several charters in the course of the episcopate (Westminster abbey doct. 15683; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, nos. 367, 618; vol. III, no. 925;) and survived to be rewarded with a legacy of ten marks in 1233 (ibid., vol. II, no. 372, pp. 71-2). Thomas the marshal was also to receive five marks by the terms of bishop Hugh's second testament (ibid., vol. II, no. 372, p. 72).

Messenger.

Bufetus who bears a name which sounds of foreign extraction was the episcopal messenger (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 372, p. 72).

Other 'servientes'.

The bishop kept at least one servant at the episcopal residences scattered throughout the diocese, no doubt to

prepare for the advent of the episcopal entourage:

John, servant of the bishop at Asfordby (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 372, p. 72).

William, servant of the bishop at Buckden (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 372, p. 72).

William, servant of the bishop at Leicester (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 372, p. 72).

Geoffrey, servant of the bishop at Stow. (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 618, p. 314; vol. V, no. 1499, p. 31; VC. 2/1, no. 35).

Eustace, servant of the bishop at Nettleham. (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 618, p. 314, vol. V, no. 1499, p. 31).

Walter, servant of the bishop at Dorchester (ibid., vol. II, no. 372, p. 74).

Thomas and Reginald the carters

John de curru

Hankin de pistrino

John de capella

Robert the clerk, custodian of the bishop's houses in Lincoln.

Gilbert de camera.

John de camera.

All these servants were beneficiaries of the bishop's 1233 testament (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 372, pp. 71-2) but are not mentioned elsewhere.

John of Chester. (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 587, p. 289; vol. III, nos. 885, 887, 925;)

Anketin Peudelu, Peal de Lou, Pell de lupo. (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, nos. 584, 587-8, 626, 639;).

Peter of Godington. (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, nos. 367, 372, 511, 587; vol. III, nos. 885, 887; vol. IX, no. 2541; H. H. C. Wells, vol. I, p. 471).

William of Eyrton. (VC. 2/1, no. 29; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, nos. 585-7; 618; vol. III, nos. 671, 675-6-7, 925;).

Robert of Burton. (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, nos. 584, 587-8, 591).

Thomas de Lauerkeatok' . (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 585, p. 287; vol. III, nos. 875, 877;).

William de Stokes. (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, nos. 585, p. 287; H.M.C. Volla, vol. I, p. 471).

Reginald son of Borer. (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 587, p. 289).

Osbert. (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, nos. 885, 887).

Robert, brother of the parson of Marton. (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, nos. 587-8, 591.)

Hervey of Stow. (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, nos. 587-8; vol. IV, nos. 1238, 1240).

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SUBORDINATES OF THE BISHOP IN THE DIOCESE.

Although the members of the episcopal household constituted the central bureaucracy of the bishopric, the continual smooth running of the diocese and the execution of routine administrative and judicial work was dependent upon the hierarchy of more permanent episcopal officers and subordinates - the bishop's Official at the centre of administration and at a local level, the archdeacons and their officials and the rural deans - and when the occasion demanded, upon temporary assistants - the suffragan bishops.

Suffragans and episcopal colleagues.

It often happened that the bishop was unable, through absence or pressure of work, to carry out certain of his diocesan duties which could only be performed by persons in episcopal orders and could not be delegated to either the Official or the archdeacon. In such cases it was usual to employ the services of a Welsh or Irish bishop - and at a later date titular bishops with sees 'in partibus infidelium' - to discharge such duties as ordination, confirmation, the dedication and reconciling of churches, the consecration of altars, the benediction of heads of religious houses, the reconciling of churchyards and so on¹. Needless to say, until the more comprehensive episcopal registers of the fourteenth century, these suffragans appear as shadowy figures and references to their activities are conspicuous only by their infrequency.

Bishop Hugh is known to have retained the services of one such bishop - in actual fact, a native of the diocese -

1. Twelfth century bishops seem to have preferred to employ the services of holders of the small Welsh bishopric of St. Asaph. Bishop Richard of St. Asaph consecrated a chapel for bishop Alexander (1123-1148) B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D XII, ff. 83-83d; bishop Adam is found in the company of bishop-elect Geoffrey Plantagenet (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 338, vii, p. 29, B.M. Harley Charter 43 C 36; English Historical Review, vol. LVI, 1941, pp. 597-600; Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, no. 128b, p. 44;) and bishop Godfrey was also active in the diocese (Early Yorkshire Charters, vol. VII, p. 102.).

+Richard is a previously unknown bishop of St. Asaph. His Lincoln activity can be dated between 1135 and 1148.

master Robert of Bedford, bishop of Lismore.² This master Robert is not to be confused with a namesake, the household clerk of archbishop Baldwin and St. Hugh, who ended his life as precentor of Lincoln. The background and early career of the occupant of the see of Lismore are unknown beyond the fact that he presumably came from Bedford and that he possessed land in the Bedfordshire villages of Cople and Willington, which he eventually gave to the priory of Newnham³. Nevertheless the circumstances behind his sojourn in the Lincoln diocese are of some interest, for at the time master Robert was an exile from his see, having been ejected by the neighbouring bishop of Waterford. The separate existence of the sees of Lismore and Waterford continued to be a perennial source of conflict until the eventual union of the bishoprics in 1363. The dispute had arisen soon after the synod of Raith Breasail (circa 1111)⁴ which had declared that either Waterford or Lismore was to be chosen as the centre of a single diocese; the unexpected outcome of this decision was that two separate bishoprics of Waterford and Lismore came into being and continued to exist, despite the efforts of successive bishops of Waterford to effect a forcible reunion. In the first decade of the thirteenth century after a quarrel between the bishop of Lismore and David, bishop of Waterford (1204-1210), Pope Innocent III confirmed that Lismore was to remain a separate diocese⁵; in spite of papal hopes this was not an end to the matter. The election of master Robert of Bedford as bishop in 1218 and the interregnum before his consecration gave bishop Robert II of Waterford (1210-1223) an excellent opportunity to assert his claims, and the newly-elected bishop of Lismore was unable to enter into possession of his diocese. It was during this period when the case was being argued before the papal judges that

2. H.R. LUARD: Annales monastici, vol. III, p. 56 (Rolls series 1866)

3. J. GODBER: The Cartulary of Newnham Priory (Beds. Hist. Record Soc. XLIII), part 1, no. 122, p. 72 and part 2, no. 768, p. 334.

4. For the work of this synod, see J. MAC EARLEAN: "Synod of Raith Breasail" in Archivium Hibernicum, vol. III, pp. 1-33, 1914.

5. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 70; M.P. SHEEHY: Pontifica Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland 640-1261, vol. I, no. 132, p. 219, (Dublin 1962).

master Robert is found acting as a suffragan of the bishop of Lincoln. As our informant on this occasion is the annalist of Dunstable, it is to be expected that we only hear of the suffragan's activities in respect of Bedfordshire churches in the patronage of that priory, but it is safe to assume that the bishop's commission would not have been confined to a single archdeaconry. On 18 April 1219 at Dunstable bishop Robert dedicated the altar of the Holy Cross and the altar of the parish. On the following day he dedicated the church of Studham and consecrated five altars and a churchyard. Later in the same year he dedicated the churches of Chalgrave and Pulloxhill.² In each of these instances, he granted an indulgence of twenty days enjoined penance.

It is a little uncertain when the bishop of Lismore ceased to act as Hugh's suffragan. Professor Hamilton Thompson has pointed out that in the fifteenth century, the suffragan's commission was renewed from year to year⁶, although it is impossible to state whether this is applicable to the thirteenth century. At all events, master Robert could not have remained in the Lincoln diocese for any considerable period of time. His dispute with the bishop of Waterford dragged on until 19 November 1219 when Pope Honorius III ordered the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester and Pandulph the papal legate to remove any intruder from the see of Lismore and to restore master Robert⁷. This was followed on 9 December by a papal confirmation of Innocent III's decision that Lismore was a cathedral church⁵; yet, even with the reinforcement of papal judgments, bishop Robert did not gain full possession of his see until the 8 May 1221⁸. He did not enjoy his hard-earned victory for long, for he was dead by November 1223 and with his death began five more years of wrangling between his successor, Griffin Christopher, and the bishop of Waterford.

The appointment of suffragans was not the only means of obtaining the services of men in episcopal orders. It was

6. A. HAMILTON THOMPSON : The English Clergy, p. 49 (Oxford 1947).

7. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 69 ; Pontifica Hibernica, vol. I, no. 128, pp. 215-6.

8. Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, vol. I, no. 991, pp. 151-2.

clearly quite a common occurrence to call upon fellow bishops to render assistance when the diocesan was unable to perform various duties. In 1225-1226 when bishop Hugh was employed in the royal service, first as an ambassador to King Louis VIII of France and then as an itinerant justice, his brother Jocelin, bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, is found instituting Bartholomew of Kames to the prebendal church of Grantham *australis* 'auctoritate domini episcopi Lincolnensis'.⁹ Six years later, Alexander of Stavensby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, gave episcopal benediction to the new abbots of St. James, Northampton and Sulby 'vice domini'.¹⁰ It is apparent that this reliance upon episcopal colleagues was not without parallel in other dioceses. In 1216 at a time when Robert of York, the elect of Ely, had not yet returned from the Lateran Council, William of Cornhill, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, consecrated Robert III, abbot of Thorney at Northampton in his stead.¹¹

The Official of the Bishop.¹²

The late twelfth century witnessed a general transformation taking place throughout Western Europe in the sphere of episcopal government, resulting primarily from a vast multiplication of diocesan business, both of an administrative and a judicial nature. An important outcome of this situation was the need for the bishop to delegate to his highly-trained subordinates some of the judicial and administrative responsibilities with which he could no longer deal in person. The appearance of the 'Officialis' - the

9. Rotuli Hugonis de Walleis, vol. III, p. 149.

10. ibid., vol. II, pp. 164, 171.

11. Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 3021, f. 427d.

12. Although this section on the Officiality should really have been incorporated in the chapter on the episcopal household, the length of that particular chapter made it more convenient to include a study of the bishop's Officials with the chapter on the more permanent episcopal subordinates.

Throughout this section Official with a capital "O" indicates the technical usage of the word.

bishop's 'alter ego' in his court and a functionary also possessed of certain administrative powers - was the diocesan's response to the changes that had taken place.

The Officiality has received little attention from English ecclesiastical historians¹³, and scholars of the continent, with few exceptions, have chosen to ignore the English source material when treating of the bishop's Official in Europe¹⁴. Carl Schmalz was perhaps the only European historian to attempt a study of the emergence of the Official in England but his evidence was inadequate and his conclusions have little value¹⁵. He ascribed the origins of the office jointly to an attempt on the part of the bishops to curb the excessive

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13. The only article I have found specifically concerned with English Officials is: A.L.BROWNE: "The Medieval Officials Principal of Rochester" in Archaeologia Cantiana, vol.LIII (1940), pp.29-61. Professor Cheney has provided a concise but thorough examination of material relating to Officials in England: C.R.CHENEY: English Bishops' Chanceries 1100-1250, pp.8, 20-1, 41, 125, 143-6 (Manchester 1950); From Becket To Langton, English Church Government 1170-1213, pp.144, 147-8 152 (Manchester 1956); Hubert Walter, pp.32, 40, 41-2, 54, 166 (London 1967). Professor K.MAJOR in her article on "The 'Familia' of archbishop Stephen Langton" in English Historical Review, vol.XLVIII(1933), pp.535-40 deals in detail with the Officials of this particular archbishop of Canterbury. See also: I.J.CHURCHILL: Canterbury Administration passim (London 1933) and H.MAYR-HARTING: The Acts of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207, pp.23-4 (Canterbury & York Society 1964).
14. e.g. P.FOURNIER: Les Officialités au Moyen Âge. Étude sur l'organisation, la compétence et la procédure des tribunaux ecclésiastiques ordinaires en France de 1180 à 1328 (Paris 1880). This study should be used with extreme caution. Recently, Mevrouw Monique Vleeschouwers-van Melkebeek of the University of Ghent and I re-examined Fournier's evidence for the establishment of the Officiality at Rheims and the results were far from reassuring.
15. C.SCHMALZ: De instituto officialis sive vicarii generalis episcopi dissertatio. (Breslau 1899).

power of their archdeacons and to episcopal imitation of the example provided by the secular courts¹⁶. The Thomassin theory that the conflict between the bishop and his archdeacons was an important motivating factor behind the introduction of the Officiality has long since been repudiated¹⁷ and certainly Schmalz's arguments about the aspirations of English archdeacons in this regard seem to have been completely disproved by later scholarship. Indeed, Professor Hamilton Thompson went so far as to state that "in England the authority of the archdeacon seems at no time to have been at rivalry with that of the bishop, as it frequently was in the continental dioceses during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries".¹⁸ Moreover, it would also appear that there is no evidence to support Schmalz's claim regarding the respective development of the secular and the ecclesiastical courts.

16. C. SCHMALZ: *op.cit.*, pp.9-10.

".....licet tum origo tum historia primaeva officialis episcopi alia priorque sit quam vicarii generalis. Nam episcopi imprimis dioecesum ampliorum, destituti adiutorio archidiaconorum propria tribunalia et potestatem episcopis parum habentium, propter frequentem multitudinem praecipue negotiorum fori iudicialis incipiebant sibi assumere non unum, sed plures iuris peritos viros, quos ut ab archidiaconis, suis vicariis iure communi datis, etiam nomine distinguerent, officiales nobinabant, quo nomen 'officialis' saec.XII in usum loquendi et ecclesiastico et saeculari ministrum in iurisdictionis negotiis generaliter significans factum est terminus technicus." (p.9).

17. Even Paul Fournier discounted this theory, which he had propounded in 1880, in a review of Edouard Fournier's work on the vicar-general: Compte Rendu in Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, 4th series, 3rd year, Paris 1924.

18. A. HAMILTON THOMPSON: Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans (Raleigh Lecture 1943) in Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. XXIX (1943), p.155. For an opposing view, see C. MORRIS: "The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln" in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. X (1959), esp. pp. 52, 60-2.

It is much to be regretted that the records of English Officialities do not survive in reasonable quantities until relatively late in the thirteenth century. By comparison, the French and German dioceses possess a veritable profusion of material which considerably aids a discussion of the activities of these officers. At the same time this attempt at a definition of the Official's duties reveals how easily the chance survival of a disproportionate number of documents of any one category can prejudice the historian's judgment. In England it has happened that the earliest Officiality material is mostly concerned with the administrative duties of the Official.

"Probably he was partly occupied with judicial business from the first, but certainty is difficult to come by without court records or commissions. In the records which do survive the twelfth century Official usually appears as the person who gives corporal institution or induction to heads of religious houses and to incumbents of other benefices. In addition, he deputizes for the bishop when he is not in his diocese".

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On the other hand, in the bishoprics of ^{Northern} Norman France and the Rhenish dioceses, the documents which are still extant deal for the most part with judgments delivered by the Officials or with the exemplification of private grants, leases, sales and agreements and their authentication with the seal of the Officiality - a practice alien to England with its final concord and the widespread use of the seal at a much lower social level than on the continent. Madame Pieyns-Rigo's collection of the acts of thirteenth century Officials of Liège indicates that the great majority of the surviving records of this diocese concern the latter category of Business.²⁰ At the same time, little, if any, material of a purely administrative nature has survived and in consequence the definition of the Official's duties tends to be too restricted, by confining

19. C.R. CHENEY: From Becket to Langton, p. 147.

20. B. BROUETTE & P. PIEYNS-RIGO: "Regestes des Officiaux des Evêques de Liège 1214-1300" in Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège, vol. XLVI, 1966.

itself almost exclusively to his judicial functions. Hence, Professor Gescher:-

"Die Offiziale sind von vornherein ausschliesslich Justizbeamte ; sie üben an Stelle des Bischofs die streitige und freiwillige Gerichtbarkeit aus und handhaben in beschränkter Masse auch die Strafgewalt. Mit Verwaltungsaufgaben hat daher der Official an sich nichts zu tun, sie gehören nicht in den Bereich seines Amtes." 21

Similarly, Canon Edouard Fournier was hardly more generous in his definition:-

".....l'activité de l'official épiscopal primitif portait essentiellement sur deux points: 1^o juger, au nom de l'évêque, les différends des parties ; quiconque se sentait lésé dans son droit, dans un droit protégé par l'Église, invoquait son autorité; 2^o enregistrer les conventions des particuliers et des personnes morales." 22

One might well be forgiven in these circumstances for wondering whether the extract on Officials in England and the French and German evidence related to the same functionary !

These divergent interpretations convincingly underline the genuine ignorance of the early history of the Officiality, and although it may appear to be stating the obvious, we cannot overcome this deficiency of information concerning the duties and responsibilities of the Official of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries by an examination of the more extensive records of Officialities a century later. The duties of these later Officials are clearly laid down in the commission which still survive in the episcopal registers. He was the personal representative of the bishop, appointed by him and removable 'ad nutum'. His authority ceased with the death or resignation of the diocesan. He presided over the consistory court as the bishop's deputy and from his decisions there could be no appeal to the bishop. During his tenure of the Officiality he exercised jurisdiction 'in omnibus causis et negotiis ordinarium jurisdictionem nostram qualitercumque contingentibus' 23

21. P. GESCHER: "Official und Generalvikar" in Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLVIII, Kanonistische Abteilung XVII, (Weimar 1928), p. 626.

22. E. FOURNIER: L'origine du vicaire-général et des autres membres de la curie diocésaine, Paris 1940, p. 143.

23. Lincoln Episcopal Register L. f. 112 (1294) ed. Sutton vol. V, p. 41.

needless to say, this general commission constituted very extensive powers in the fields of contentious and gracious jurisdiction. Yet, we have no real idea whether all these functions were exercised by the earlier Official. While the office was still in its formative stages, the competence of the Official's authority would be ill-defined and his responsibility would nowhere be fully determined. It would only be with the passage of time that his jurisdiction would undergo definition and delimitation until ultimately the office attained its full development.

It is probable that the Official appeared simultaneously in bishoprics of England and Northern France in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The Fournier thesis, assigning the origins and first appearance of this office to the archdiocese of Rheims, from whence it spread to neighbouring ecclesiastical provinces¹⁴, is at variance with the evidence furnished by modern English and French research and it is a little doubtful anyway whether the creation of the Officiality was due to the initiative of a single French archbishop. The period saw a gradual change in organisation and procedure in matters of administration and justice, and the emergence of the Officiality in Western Europe was one result of this general trend.

The first reliable testimony for the existence of the Officiality at Lincoln is supplied by a private charter which can probably be assigned to the brief pontificate of Walter of Coutances (1183-1184)²⁴. One of the witnesses to this grant is a master Hugh, canon of Lincoln and 'officialis domini

24. F.M. STENTON: Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw (British Academy 1920), no. 291, p. 219. Master Hugh of London is found attesting the following acts of bishop Walter; he usually takes precedence over his fellow canons in the lists - Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 341, p. 34; B.M. Harley MS. 2110, f. 122; P.R.O. Ancient Deed B. 11484; Boarstall Cartulary, no. 2, pp. 4-5; Dunstable Cartulary, no. 140, p. 47; B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D XII, f. 165.

The fact that no other canon of Lincoln by the name of Hugh has been found in the episcopal records for at least fifteen years before 1189 lends support to the view that he is to be identified with the bishop's Official.

Lincolniensis'. He is most likely to be identified with master Hugh of London. Bishop Walter's successor at Lincoln, Hugh of Avalon, is known to have employed master Robert of Bedford²⁵ and master Ralph of Ford²⁶ as Officials in the course of his episcopate, but there is no conclusive evidence that the Lincoln Officiality was in existence before the pontificates of these two bishops. A papal decretal of 1196 provides an early but dubious reference.²⁷ The text in question is a bull of Pope Celestine III directed to bishop Hugh of Lincoln and the abbots of Thame and Bruern, judges delegate, relating to a dispute between the parson and the perpetual vicar of Westwell in the archdeaconry of Oxford. A passage in the document reveals that the vicar of Westwell had been instituted 'de assensu W. tunc patroni eius et dilecti filii R. Oxonefordensis archidiaconi officialis episcopi diocesanii'. The date of this institution must fall between the years 1151 and 1173, during Robert Foliot's tenure of the archdeaconry. Robert was the only archdeacon of Oxford before 1196 whose name began with the letter 'R'. This extract has been cited as an example of an English archdeacon acting as the Official of a bishop²⁸. The authority for such a statement rests solely upon the evidence of a document emanating from the papal chancery and it must be questioned whether such a source in describing an event that had taken

25. G.H. FOWLER: Record of Harrold Priory (Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc. XVII, 1935), no. 69+++, p. 57; B.H. Royal MS. 11 B IX, f. 35d; B.M. Cotton MS. Tiberius E V, f. 52d.

26. Curia Regia Rolls, vol. V, p. 251; cf. also The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207, pp. 18-9.

27. W. HOLTZMANN & E. W. KEMP: Papal Decretals relating to the Diocese of Lincoln in the Twelfth Century (L.R.S. vol. XLVII, 1954), no. xxiv, pp. 58-9. Also H. SINGER: "Neue Beiträge über die Dekretalsammlungen vor und nach Bernhard von Pavia" in Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil-Hist. Klasse, vol. CLXXI, part 1, pp. 243-4, 1913 - cited by Cheney in English Bishops' Chanceries, p. 8 note 2. Since there was no bishop of Lincoln 1166-73, the institution must have occurred before then to justify the archdeacon's additional title.

28. English Bishops' Chanceries, p. 8.

place at least twenty-three years earlier, could reflect accurately the established practice in matters of English ecclesiastical nomenclature.

Hugh of Wells is known to have had three 'Officiales' in the course of his twenty-six years as bishop.—Richard of Berkhamsted, master Reginald of Chester and master Robert of Hailes. The only reference so far traced, indicating that Richard of Berkhamsted was Official of the bishop of Lincoln occurs rather unexpectedly in the Cambridgeshire section of the pipe roll for 1209²⁹—in fact, at the time of Hugh's elevation to the see. Naturally, we can glean no information from that source as to his duties as Official. The origins and previous career of this Richard are lost in obscurity. He does not feature in any of the charters of Hugh II's immediate predecessors at Lincoln, Hugh I (1186-1200) and William of Blois (1203-1206), but nor is he to be found in contemporary records of the royal chancery or in the ecclesiastical muniments at Wells, the two other most likely sources of new episcopal clerks, considering the earlier career of bishop Hugh. Richard could possibly be the same as Richard the chaplain of Berkhamsted, to whom the sheriff of Northampton was directed to give seisin of land in Norton in April 1216³⁰. In December 1209 the new bishop left for Normandy ostensibly to receive consecration at the hands of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, but his defection from the king's cause and the general interdict prevented his return for almost four years. It is uncertain how the diocese was administered during the bishop's enforced absence. Perhaps Hugh left a vicegerent in control as on a later occasion, or perhaps the chapter retained their powers as administrators of the see during a vacancy. On the other hand, it is quite feasible that Richard the Official continued to perform his diocesan duties. Royal letters of presentation are either directed to the "offic' domini Linc' episcopi" or to the "offic' episcopatus Linc'"³¹ but whether this refers to Richard of Berkhamsted is

29. Pipe Roll of John, (Pipe Roll Society, new series 24, 1946), p. 121. l.e. II John

30. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 258b.

31. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, pp. 95b, 96b.

impossible to determine. With bishop Hugh's return in July 1213 there is no further mention of this official or of Richard.

The career of master Reginald of Chester is fortunately by comparison well-documented. He was one of Hugh's companions in exile in France during the interdict years and was appointed an executor of the bishop's testament made at St. Martin de Garemme in November 1212³². Returning with Hugh to England in 1213, he soon obtained a canonry at Lincoln³³ and in September 1215 was entrusted with the oversight of the diocese during the bishop's absence at the Fourth Lateran Council. During this time he was styled by the bishop "Officialis noster dum essemus in partibus transmarinis"³⁴ but he is not entitled Official on any occasion other than in this period of episcopal absence. The tentative limits of his powers have already been discussed in the chapter on episcopal enrolments, but the usage of the term 'officialis' in this context raises particular problems and requires fairly detailed study. The wording used to describe master Reginald certainly would seem to indicate that he exercised authority as vicerent of the bishop by the terms of a special temporary commission, and although the title 'Officialis' was employed, it is debatable whether these duties were considered inherent among the normal responsibilities of the Official.

Canon Edouard Fournier in the course of his study of the origins of the vicar-general³⁵ traced in detail the various stages in the development of that office. He paid special attention to the precursor of that permanent functionary - the 'vices gerens', 'procurator' or 'vicarius'. According to Fournier the vicar-general was at first merely a 'procurator generalis' - an episcopal agent charged with the administration of the diocese during the temporary absence of the bishop, distinct from, and superior to, the Official, by virtue of a special

32. actum no.1.

33. he occurs as a canon on 27 February 1214 - actum no.3.

34. Liber Antiquus pp. 86, 87, 93. A reference to him as official in 1216 Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 184b.

35. E. FOURNIER: Les origines du vicaire-général (Paris 1922) & L'origine du vicaire-général. (Paris 1940).

commission. He gave two English examples of this usage:-

"Nous pouvons le conclure de la façon d'agir des procureurs constitués à la fin du XIIe siècle (1191-8) par l'évêque de Salcsbery 'abbate Radingen, et bonae memoriae magistro Simone quondam procuratoribus tunc Sarsaberien, episcopi'.....Il résulte....que les dits procuratores possédaient tous les droits de juridiction de l'évêque, y compris celui de mettre en prison." 36

and

"Vers 1199, l'archevêque d'York part pour Rome. Là il apprend qu'Eustache archidiaconé de Richemond est promu à l'épiscopat, laissant son archidiaconé vacant. Aussitôt, l'archevêque confère ce bénéfice à 'magister Honorius' qu'il avait constitué son procureur au spirituel seulement 'cum tantum spiritualibus procurator esses ab archiepiscopo constitutus'." 37

It must be noted that both these documents derive from papal sources but corroborative evidence survives for both examples in English archives. In the first instance, the bishop of Salisbury was Hubert Walter (1189-1193), a prelate who spent little time in his see. Fortunately for our investigations there survives in a cartulary of the cathedral chapter a transcript of an agreement which was reached between the abbot of Sherborne and 'Jordanus Sar' decanus Hugo abbas Rading' et magister Batholomeus et magister Symon de Scaldis, officiales domini Huberti Sar' episcopi' over the appropriation of the churches of Staplebridge and Stoke³⁸. This charter dates from 1191. From 1190 to 1193 bishop Hubert was absent from England on the Third Crusade.³⁹ A later mention of these 'officiales' is made in a settlement between bishop Hubert and Sherborne abbey over the prebend of Sherborne, probably to be dated to 1193⁴⁰, but on this occasion they are styled 'procuratores prefati H. Sar' episcopi'. Certainly 'officiales' and 'procuratores' would seem to be synonymous terms, denoting vicegerents of an absent bishop. It

36. L'origine du vicaire-général, p. 311.

37. ibid., p. 326.

38. Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City and Diocese of Salisbury in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, no. LVIII, p. 49.

39. C. R. CHENEY: Hubert Walter, p. 32.

40. Charters and Documents..... of Salisbury, no. LX, pp. 50-1.

is also conceivable that these vicegerents are identical with the 'officiales domini H. Sar' episcopi', who, on the settlement of a dispute by judges delegate, received the resignation of the chaplain of Bucklebury and then instituted him to the same benefice on the presentation of the abbey of Reading.⁴¹

Similar confirmatory material is not lacking for the northern province. In the last decade of the twelfth century at York the lengthy quarrel between the archbishop and the chapter frequently occasioned the need for vicegerents while archbishop Geoffrey was pursuing his case at Rome or in Normandy with his half-brother, King Richard I.⁴² Although the archiepiscopal vicegerent, master Honorius is entitled 'procurator' in the document cited by Fournier, what is more revealing is that the same person and a colleague are described by archbishop Geoffrey himself and by others as 'officiales'.⁴³ These 'officiales' were displaced by archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury in 1196 because of a dispute as to whether the primate should visit York in his capacity as legate; they were later given permission to exercise their office again by the archbishop of Canterbury⁴⁴.

It is apparent from these two examples that not all vicegerents in this period were styled 'vices gerens', 'procurator' or 'vicarius' nor can it be claimed that 'officialis' was only used when the episcopal deputy was previously the bishop's Official. At the same time it cannot as yet be ascertained whether vicegerent administration was among the responsibilities of the early Official before the duties of the office had become more rigidly defined. In England at any rate 'officialis' seems to have been the most usual title applied to clerks acting for the diocesan in his absence. The Canterbury vicegerents have already been discussed by Dr. Churchill⁴⁵ and Professor Major⁴⁶. The situation in this diocese was somewhat

⁴¹. B.M. Harley MS. 1708, f. 198; Egerton MS. 3031, f. 72.

⁴². see D.L. DOUIE: Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet and the Chapter of York (St. Anthony's Hall publication no. 8, 1960).

⁴³. W. STUBBS: Chronica Rogeri de Houedens, vol. IV, p. 9, cf. p. 44 (Rolls series 1871).

⁴⁴. ibid., vol. III, pp. 316-7 (Rolls series 1870).

⁴⁵. I. J. CHURCHILL: Canterbury Administration, vol. I, pp. 25-35.

unusual in that the bishop of Rochester - a see in a great degree of subjection to Canterbury - claimed the right to act for the absent archbishop. Evidence for this intervention is available for 1187 when archbishop Baldwin was absent in France. The commission survives for this absence⁴⁷. In matters spiritual, the bishop was to act with the advice of three archiepiscopal clerks, one of whom was master Ralph of Maidstone ;for the temporal administration, he was to be advised by the archbishop's steward and two other servants. It is significant that on one occasion during this period of archiepiscopal absence the bishop and one of Baldwin's clerks, master Ralph (?of Maidstone) are described as 'officiales'⁴⁸; it is too much to suppose that this term was being employed in its technical sense of a judicial and administrative deputy of the diocesan. It must be added that Dr. Churchill thought that the bishops of Rochester did not often exercise this right and late twelfth and thirteenth century material supports this conclusion. Archbishop Hubert Walter (1193-1205) committed the care of his archdiocese during an absence to an 'officialis generalis' - one of his own clerks, master Simon of Southwell⁴⁹; and in 1212 archbishop Stephen Langton on his departure for Rome left the prior of Worcester as his 'officialis' at Canterbury⁵⁰. During the period of the general interdict the same prior of Worcester and master Robert of Clipston acted as 'officiales' of the exiled bishop Mauger of Worcester⁵¹. In 1201 Henry Marshal bishop of Exeter admitted and instituted master John of Tynemouth to the prebend of Awlescombe in Wells cathedral on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Wells and the 'officialis' of bishop Savaric of Bath and Glastonbury, acting for his diocesan who was abroad at

46. K. MAJOR in English Historical Review, vol. XLVIII (1953), pp. 535.

47. Canterbury Administration, vol. II, p. 1.

48. W. STUBBS: Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, vol. II Epistolae Cantuariensis, p. 95 (Rolls series 1865).

49. J. S. BREWER: Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, vol. III, pp. 216-7, Rolls series 1863.

50. English Historical Review, vol. XLVIII, p. 536.

51. British Museum, Harley MS. 3650, f. 47d(bis).

the time.⁵² A later example of such usage is readily available for the Lincoln diocese during Grosseteste's pontificate, when master Robert Marsh administered the diocese during an episcopal absence and was described as 'officialis domini Lincolnensis, eodem episcopo tunc in partibus transmarinis pro causa sua contra capitulum suum coram domino papa Lugdun' agente'⁵³

The important question that must finally be decided is whether 'Officialis' as employed in these circumstances to denote an episcopal vicegerent is quite distinct from the 'Officialis' who acted as a deputy of the bishop in the judicial, and to a lesser extent, the administrative spheres of diocesan government; or, whether at this early stage in the development of the Officiality the administration of a bishopric during the temporary absence of the diocesan was acknowledged to be within the scope of an Official's duties. Should this vicegerent really be considered an Official 'in sensu tecnico' or was this description merely an example of the current flexibility of terminology - an alternative designation to 'procurator', 'vices gerens' or 'vicarius' - and without any definite connexion with the other Official? Obviously there are grounds for considerable confusion. Mention has already been made of the wording of master Reginald of Chester's descriptive title and corroboration of the view that 'Officialis' was a common designation applied to both the permanent judicial and administrative deputy of the bishop and the bishop's temporary agent during an absence comes with the survival of commissions to vicegerents from the 1260's onwards. Master Reginald of Chester apparently had the authority to grant custody of churches to presentees but not to institute them; he conducted inquisitions or at least gave orders for them to be held; he received resignations, ordained vicarages and no doubt performed other routine administrative duties. Later vicegerency commissions allowed more extensive

52. H.M.C. Wells Dean & Chapter, vol. I, p. 55.

53. F.N. DAVIS: Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, (L.R.S. XI, 1914), p. 330.

powers to these episcopal deputies but for our purposes, they are chiefly of interest for the variations in nomenclature employed to designate these temporary agents, At Lincoln from the time of bishop Gravesend and certainly from 1266, 'officialis' falls into desuetude and these persons are usually styled 'vices gerens domini Linc' in partibus transmarinis agentis'⁵⁴ or 'vicarius domini Linc' episcopi tunc agentis in partibus transmarinis'⁵⁵. At Canterbury however the older designation lingered on, as is clear from the 1268 commission. That they relate to the same officer is readily confirmed by the scope of the commissions, which are not in themselves dissimilar, after taking into account of course that one concerns a metropolitan see and the other a suffragan diocese. The relevant portion of the Lincoln commission is worded as follows:-

"Notum vobis facimus quod cum pro nostris et ecclesie nostre negotiis oporteat nos ad tempus abesse : dilectis in Christo filiis magistris Johanni de Lindes' Officiali nostro et Johanni de Undel canonicis Linc' utrique eorum in solidum in administratione spiritualium committimus vices nostras, dantes ipsis et eorum alteri liberam potestatem presentatos ad beneficia ecclesiastica prout ratio exegerit admittendi et instituendi, electiones et personas electas per se et per alios examinandi et prout justum fuerit confirmandi et cassandi, ac de personis iam idoneis viduatis ecclesiis prouidendi, religiosos faciendi quecumque per dictos commissarios nostros poterunt expediri siue mandatum generale requirant siue speciale. contradictores et rebelles per censuram ecclesiasticam canonice compescendi."

56

Archbishop Boniface's commission is couched in the following terms:-

"Cum nos pro arduis et ineuitabilibus negotiis ad partes nostras Sabaudie accedere sit necesse de discrecione vestra et diligencia confidentes vos officialem nostrum constitimus (sic) committentes vobis omnimodam iurisdictionem ad nos in ciuitate et Dyocesi et prouincia nostra Cantuariensibus spectantem usque ad redditum nostrum de partibus supradictis ; Dantes vobis plenariam potestatem creandi Officiales in vacantibus sedibus prouincie nostre, conferendi beneficia ad collacionem

54. Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, pp. 7, 117.

55. Ibid., pp. 44, 46.

56. L.A.O. Gravesend roll 1, mem. 11, face, cited but not printed in Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p. 23.

nostram spectancia personis idoneis et exequendi iurisdictionem ipsam in omnibus et singulis articulis, institutionibus clericorum et destitucionibus et aliis quibuscumque preterquam in confirmacionibus eorum qui in Pontifices eligentur quas nobis specialiter reseruamus."

57

Clearly the two commissions relate to the same type of officer. Yet, although in the Lincoln example one of the recipients was already an Official, it is evident that these vicegerent duties at no stage constituted part of the normal activities of an Official and consequently that the holder of such a temporary title bore no relationship to the Official-principal as he later came to be known and should not be classed with the latter. There is a parallel here in a charter in the Cérisy cartulary in which it is noted that bishop Silvester of Séz, absent at the Fourth Lateran Council, had constituted his Official, master Raoul of Saint-Germain to act as his vicegerent during his absence⁵⁸. Master Raoul had been entrusted with a special temporary commission, over and above any general commission of the Officiality with which he had previously been empowered. Thus 'officialis' evidently describes two totally unconnected functions - distinct offices which have a common designation - and although it is still quite true that 'Officialis officium est ab illo Vicarii Generalis distinctum'⁵⁹, at least a precursor of that latter functionary on occasion bore the same title as the Official. As a result of this investigation, it seems doubtful whether master Reginald of Chester can be ranked with the Officials of bishop Hugh in the technical sense of the word. It is significant that he only occurs with this description while the bishop was absent from his see at the Lateran Council and he is more likely to have been a vicegerent commissioned to act in the diocese in an administrative capacity in this period of episcopal absence.

57. Canterbury Administration, vol. II, pp. 1-2.

58. L'origine du vicaire-général, appendice I, p. 376.

59. T. J. TOBIN: De Officiali Curiae Diocesanae, p. 134, Gregorian University Rome 1936.

There is no such uncertainty regarding master Robert of Hailes, who occurs as Official from 1219 and intermittently to 1233⁶⁰. Like master Reginald of Chester, he seems to have come to Lincoln with bishop Hugh after the latter's return from exile in France. He soon attained office, succeeding William of Cornhill as archdeacon of Huntingdon in late 1214 and he held this archdeaconry until 1223 when he was transferred to the richer archdeaconry of Lincoln. From the outset he was a prominent member of the episcopal 'familia', witnessing the majority of bishop Hugh's early acts and occasionally acting as episcopal datary⁶¹. In 1215-1217 he was instituted to the church of Glatton⁶² which he resigned shortly before his death in 1238⁶³. He was frequently called upon to act as a papal judge delegate⁶⁴ and no doubt his legal knowledge recommended him for the duties of a bishop's Official. Unfortunately the evidence of his judicial activities in the diocese is virtually non-existent. In 1225 ~~tags~~ together with master Adam of St. Edmund, archdeacon of Oxford, he acted as mediator in a dispute between Ousey abbey and the priory of St. Frideswide over the possession of tithes of several villages⁶⁵ and five years later he is mentioned in the curia regis rolls as a judge in court Christian⁶⁶. Nevertheless the administrative activities of master Robert are plainly to the fore. Besides his normal archidiaconal duties, he is found holding inquisitions relating to vacant benefices in other archdeaconries⁶⁷. He received the resignation of incumbents⁶⁸ and also examined the elections of heads of religious communities to see if they had been canonical⁶⁹. At Newport Pagnell in 1233

60. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 139, 140, 152; vol. II, pp. 1, 49, 52, 93, 120, 134, 278-9; vol. III, p. 151.

61. acta nos. 14, 24-5.

62. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 30.

63. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 255.

64. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, pp. 100, 121, 123; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Top Lincol. d. 1, f. 25d.

65. S. R. WIGRAM: Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide, vol. II, (Oxford Historical Society XXXI, 1896), p. 31.

66. Curia Regis Rolls, vol. XIV, no. 550, p. 108; also ibid., vol. XI, p. 453.

67. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 49, 278, 279.

he is found assigning the former prior the chapel of Eastwood for his maintenance⁷⁰ and some years earlier he determined that divine service could be celebrated in the new hospital of Lutterworth, while at the same time reserving the rights of the mother-church⁷¹. In 1233 he conducted a visitation of Dunstable priory in the place of the bishop⁷² and two years before, he is stated to have dedicated the Northamptonshire church of Newbottle⁷³, a task which would normally only have been thought to be within the competence of a person in episcopal orders. The fact that master Robert was an archdeacon as well as the Official undermines the Thomassin theory regarding the reason for the creation of the Officiality; if the Official was really intended to counter the powers of the archdeacon, one would hardly expect to find an archdeacon appointed as the bishop's Official. There are no references to a register of the Officiality or other form of permanent record until the time of bishop Gravesend⁷⁴; similarly the references to master Robert's seal confirm that the authentic seal of the Officiality had not yet come into existence⁷⁵, at least in the Lincoln diocese. The earliest mention of such an official seal occurs after the legatine Council of London in 1237 where the use of such seals was strictly affirmed by Cardinal Otto.

68. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 152; vol. II, p. 1.

69. ibid., vol. II, pp. 120, 134; vol. III, p. 151.

70. ibid., vol. II, p. 93.

71. ibid., vol. II, p. 152.

72. Annales monastici, vol. III, p. 132.

73. ibid., vol. III, p. 128.

74. R. M. T. HILL: The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, vol. III (L. R. S. XLVIII, 1954), p. 92.

75. cf. Associated Architectural and Archaeological Society: Reports & Papers, vol. XXXIX, p. 182, 1929.

The Archdeacons.

The diocese of Lincoln was divided into eight constituent archdeacons. Those of Leicester, Bedford, Oxford and Buckingham followed exactly in extent the respective civil divisions of the counties; Northampton archdeaconry comprised the counties of Northampton and Rutland; Huntingdon encompassed the county of Huntingdon and the northern portion of Hertfordshire and in the north of the bishopric the limits of the extensive archdeaconry of Lincoln coincided with the boundaries of Lincolnshire, except for the West Riding of Lindsey which formed the small archdeaconry of Stow. The origin of this latter archdeaconry is somewhat obscure. Henry of Huntingdon informs us that when Remigius of Fécamp transferred the see from Dorchester-on-Thames to Lincoln in the reign of William the Conqueror, he divided the diocese into seven archdeacons - namely, Lincoln, Oxford, Northampton, Leicester, Bedford, Buckingham and Huntingdon⁷⁶. Presumably because of the enormity of the diocese there never appears to have been a situation comparable to that at Chichester, where the archdeacon of the cathedral church - equivalent to the continental 'archidiaconus major' - was for some time the only archdeacon in the diocese, before gradually giving way in the course of the twelfth century to archdeacons with strictly-defined territorial areas of jurisdiction⁷⁷. Lincoln archdeaconry does not seem to have enjoyed such a position of preëminence and, as far as we can tell, all seven archdeacons were created simultaneously. It is nowhere stated that the archdeaconry of Lincoln was anterior to the others in the date of its creation. Professor Major has shown that the eighth archdeaconry - which ultimately came to be known by the name of Stow - was in existence by 1142⁷⁸. At first, the new archdeacon did not bear a territorial designation but from the middle of the century onwards Lindsey, and then West Riding, are used to describe him. Stow first occurs as a descriptive title in the early thirteenth century. The significance of the use of Lindsey in the archidiaconal title has already been remarked upon⁷⁹ and it is quite conceivable that the original intention of

76. T. ARNOLD: Henrici Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum (Rolls series 1879), pp. 301-2.

for other notes, see over.

bishop Alexander (1123-1148) - if indeed he was the motivating force behind this development - was to divide the huge Lincoln archdeaconry into two smaller and more manageable jurisdictional areas - one such district comprising the parts of Lindsey, the other formed by a union of the parts of Kesteven and Holland. If this assumption is correct, then it is easy to see why such a scheme would founder in the face of strong archidiaconal opposition. According to Henry of Huntingdon, archdeacon Robert of Lincoln was the richest archdeacon in the whole of England, and presumably the prospect of substantial pecuniary loss which would result from this projected division of his archdeaconry would have prompted him to oppose energetically any such plan. The loss of archidiaconal revenues would have been very great indeed, for Lindsey would have formed a larger archdeaconry than the remaining "rump" of Lincolnshire. It must be emphasized that this preceding theory concerning the creation of the eighth archdeaconry is based on mere supposition; nevertheless it is highly probable that the division of the Lincoln archdeaconry into two roughly equal areas was the original intention of the instigator of this scheme - a measure which was to all intents and purposes nullified or at least modified to the point of inefficacy by the persistent hostility of the archdeacon of Lincoln. How else can the creation of a pitifully small archdeaconry, with paltry revenues and extending over an area of only five wapentakes, be adequately explained? In this respect it is perhaps significant that in the late twelfth century evidence is available which clearly shows the archdeacon of the West Riding - the area to which the eighth archdeacon had theoretically been restricted - extending his territorial competence to the other parts of Lindsey which were situated within the confines of the Lincoln archdeaconry. In the last quarter of the century an arrangement between Matilda of Bayeux and the priory of Nuncotham over a private chapel at Girsby was

77. The Acts of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207, pp. 48-9.

78. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IX, p. 255.

79. ibid., vol. IX, pp. 255-6.

made at Holton Beckering 'in prouinciali sinodo....presidente magistro Alexandro archidiacono'.⁸⁰ Master Alexander was archdeacon of the West Riding ; Holton Beckering is in the rural deanery of Wraggoc in the Lincoln archdeaconry.

Archdeacons still played a very active part in the administration of the diocese at this date and non-residence and the general delegation of archidiaconal duties to the official does not appear to have been very widespread during Hugh's pontificate. Admittedly certain clerks in the employment of the king or prominent ecclesiastics paid scant attention to the administration of an archdeaconry, which they had obtained merely as a reward for their services, but these were definitely in a minority. Some twenty-five archdeacons held office at some time in the course of bishop Hugh's episcopate. Of the eight archdeacons who had been appointed before Hugh's election, death or promotion removed all but two - Raymond of Leicester and Robert of Northampton - by the tenth anniversary of the bishop's consecration⁸¹. Consequently it will be of interest to compare the composition of the archidiaconate of 1209 with bishop Hugh's seventeen archidiaconal appointments in order to establish whether there was any significant change in the origins of these archdeacons, their social provenance and the influences behind their promotion.

Sufficient information is available to shed light on the occupants of seven out of the eight archdeaconries of the Lincoln diocese in 1209, the archdeacon of Stow being the solitary exception. The collective dates of the appointment of these archdeacons span three episcopates - three of them owed their elevation to bishop William of Blois (1203-1206)⁸², a further two to the good offices of St. Hugh (1186-1200)⁸³ and the archdeacon of Lincoln, who was renowned for his longevity if for nothing else,

⁸⁰. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Top. Lines. d. 1, f. 38d.

⁸¹. see Appendix II, Fasti Archidiaconales, for details.

⁸². Alexander of Elstow archdeacon of Bedford; William of Blois archdeacon of Buckingham ; Robert of Mancetter archdeacon of Northampton.

⁸³. Walter Map archdeacon of Oxford; Raymond archdeacon of Leicester.

had been appointed by Geoffrey the bishop-elect (1173-1182)⁸⁴. The seventh archdeacon had received his archdeaconry in 1207 from King John who had taken advantage of the vacancy of the see to promote his candidate⁸⁵. Of these archdeacons, three occupied their positions solely on account of ties of consanguinity with the bishop of the day. Peter, archdeacon of Lincoln, was the uterine brother of Geoffrey Plantagenet, successively bishop-elect of Lincoln, royal chancellor and archbishop of York. Soon after his brother's election to Lincoln, he received the church of High Wycombe⁸⁶ and shortly afterwards the archdeaconry of Lincoln which had previously been held by Geoffrey himself. In 1194 archbishop Geoffrey attempted to secure Peter's election by the canons of York as their new Dean but in this instance his efforts were doomed to failure⁸⁷. St. Hugh also made provision for his kinsman, Raymond 'uir multa honestate conspicuus'⁸⁸ was a 'nepos' of the bishop and the latter bestowed upon him first a canonry and then the archdeaconry of Leicester when it was vacated by master Roger of Rolleston on his promotion to the Deanery of Lincoln. William of Elcis was the last of the three clerks who obtained preferment at the hands of episcopal relatives; he received the archdeaconry of Euckingham from his namesake at the beginning of his pontificate.

The four remaining archdeacons were either royal clerks or else former members of the episcopal household. William of Cornhill was a royal nominee pure and simple. He came from a prominent London family, whose members constituted a veritable dynasty of royal officials. Gervase of Cornhill was employed in the service of Henry II and successive generations of the Cornhill family continued to serve the sons and grandson of that monarch. William did not deviate from family tradition and at the beginning of the thirteenth century he is to be found as an

⁸⁴. Peter, brother of the bishop-elect. see Registrum Antiquissimum vol. VII, pp. 206-8.

⁸⁵. William of Cornhill, archdeacon of Huntingdon.

⁸⁶. P. R. O. Exchequer KR. misc. books. 1. 20, f. 156.

⁸⁷. see D. L. DOUIE: Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet and the Chapter of York (St. Anthony's Hall Publication no. 8, York, 1960), p. 7ff. & C. T. CLAY: in Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. XXXIV, p.

⁸⁸. Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, vol. II, pp. 154-6.

exchequer official of King John⁸⁹. His unswerving devotion to his royal master procured for him the custody of the vacant see of Lincoln after bishop William's death⁹⁰ and then in the following year the archdeaconry of Huntingdon⁹¹. From the numerous references to him in contemporary royal enactments it is doubtful whether he devoted much time to his archdeaconry, and in 1214 his short connexion with the Lincoln diocese was severed on his promotion to the episcopal bench. Walter Map, although at one time a royal clerk and an itinerant justice, probably owed his elevation to his more scholarly attainments and to his personal association with the bishop, than to any royal pressure that might have been exerted to secure his appointment. He had in any case ceased to move actively in government circles by the time he became precentor of Lincoln and then archdeacon of Oxford and it is difficult to imagine that royal interference, or any other for that matter, would have succeeded in foisting an unacceptable candidate upon St. Hugh of all prelates. The last two archdeacons to be considered, master Alexander of Elstow and master Robert of Mancetter, were both clerks who had spent most of their ecclesiastical careers in the Lincoln diocese as members of the households of successive bishops. Both began in the service of St. Hugh and were retained by William of Blois, from whom they obtained the archdeaconries of Bedford and Northampton respectively. The office of archdeacon was in the personal gift of the bishop and it is only natural that the latter should frequently have chosen clerks who had already proved their ability in matters of diocesan administration as members of the episcopal 'familia'. Master Alexander presumably came from Elstow in the archdeaconry in which he was destined to administer. He features as an episcopal clerk in the early acts of St. Hugh and received a canonry from that prelate. From the territorial surname of his companion in the bishop's household, it is evident that master Robert had Warwickshire connexions and indeed one of his brothers.

89. British Museum, Egerton MS. 3031, f. 29.

90. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 65.

91. ibid., p. 73.

William, apparently remained in the area, eventually becoming Dean of Lichfield.⁹² Another brother, Theobald, joined master Robert in his archdeaconry and is found as master of the schools of Northampton⁹³. It is in fact noteworthy that most of the archdeacons between 1209 and 1235 were university graduates and some were eminent scholars.

A word of explanation is perhaps in order before proceeding to analyse the composition of the archidiaconate after 1209. Although the artificial but convenient classifications of royal clerk, scholar, kinsman and so on have been employed to denote the individual circumstances of the archdeacons, it must always be remembered that their nomination was the personal prerogative of the bishop. The bishop was the sole avenue to promotion 'sede plena' and in each archidiaconal appointment there can be detected, overtly or not, a connexion either at a social or a professional level between the diocesan and the new archdeacon. This is made clear at a later date in bishop Grosseteste's letter to Thomas Wallensis offering him the archdeaconry of Lincoln⁹⁴. If we are able to trace in sufficient detail the early career of Hugh of Wells and to determine the names of his colleagues and contemporaries, then we should be able to discern that at each stage in his career, contacts were made and associations formed which constituted the foundations of an intricate but confused network of mutual patronage,, linking dioceses, academic circles and the departments of state. The great advantage of employment in the king's service was that it provided exceptional scope for cultivating relationships that might prove most beneficial as far as future preferment was concerned. The initiative lay with the aspirant to office and he would indeed have been foolish not to profit by this opportunity.

92. See, B.M. Harley MS. 3650, f. 35; B.M. Harley MS. 4799, f. 3d. H.E. SAVAGE: The Great Register of Lichfield Cathedral known as the Magnum Registrum Album, (Wm. Salt Arch. Soc. 3rd series 1926 for 1924), p. 515, no. 247 note.

93. N. DENHOLM-YOUNG: Cartulary of the Medieval Archives of Christ Church, (Oxford Hist. Soc. XCII, 1931), no. D83, p. 92.

94. H.R. LUARD: Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae (Rolls series 1861), no. LI, p. 147.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, Hugh began his ecclesiastical career as a clerk of bishop Reginald of Bath and was retained by his successor, bishop Savaric, a prelate whose royal connexions may have led to the employment of the Wells brothers in the king's chancery under the direction of archbishop Hubert Walter (but cf. Simon FitzRobert). Hugh's association with the bishopric of Bath and Glastonbury was resumed in 1204 when he received the archdeaconry of Wells from bishop Savaric and about that time relations were fostered with the dioceses of Lincoln and London - the prebend of Louth at Lincoln was bestowed upon him by the king by reason of the episcopal vacancy and William of Sainte Mère Eglise, bishop of London and a former royal official, granted him the prebend of Ealdstreet. At a later date, after his election as bishop, the four years of exile in France doubtless presented an excellent opportunity for making the acquaintance of his fellow-exiles and attracting the services of ambitious clerk.

A study of those persons who acquired archdeaconsries in the time of bishop Hugh reveals quite clearly this same pattern of relationships. It is not too rash to suppose that the appointment of the eminent canon lawyer, master John of Tynemouth, to the archdeaconry of Oxford stemmed from Hugh's earlier association with archbishop Hubert Walter in the royal chancery. Master John was an active member of the archiepiscopal household at the time when Hubert was the king's chancellor⁹⁵ and no doubt he would come into contact with his master's chancery subordinates. Equally significant he was a canon of Wells⁵². Similarly, Philip of Fauconberg perhaps owed his elevation to the Huntingdon archdeaconry to the bishop's associates in the royal administration. Philip was a kinsman of Eustace of Fauconberg the future royal treasurer and bishop of London and although Hugh and Eustace were employed in different spheres of government, this does not necessarily preclude the fact that they were not unacquainted. Perhaps more important in this

95. C. R. CHENEY: Hubert Walter, pp. 164-6: English Bishops' Chanceries, pp. 11-4, 20, 129, 158.

instance however was Philip's connexion with bishop Godfrey de Lucy of Winchester (1189-1204). Both Philip and Eustace were household clerks of this bishop⁹⁶, and on occasion Philip acted as episcopal datary⁹⁷. Hugh of Wells is also found in bishop Godfrey's company before he became archdeacon⁹⁸. Master John of York is most probably to be identified with the clerk of archbishop Geoffrey of York⁹⁹; he occurs in Hugh's company in France during the interdict years¹⁰⁰, and presumably on the archbishop's death in 1212, the exiled bishop of Lincoln succeeded in attracting his services. By the terms of the bishop's first testament, master John was to receive a legacy of one hundred marks unless he should be beneficed by the bishop beforehand. In the event, the provisions of this will were never carried into effect and John had to be content with the archdeaconry of Stow and then the subdeanery of Lincoln. The appointment of Gilbert of Taunton to be archdeacon of Huntingdon in succession to Philip of Fauconberg clearly emphasises the constant interchange of experienced clerks that was a feature of relations between the episcopal brothers at Lincoln and Wells. As his name implies, Gilbert was closely associated with the diocese of Bath and Glastonbury and he was a canon of Wells¹⁰¹. He often acted as a datary of bishop

96. A.W.GOODMAN: Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral (Winchester 1927), no. 90, p. 41, no. 464, p. 200; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 923, p. 265. It is important to note that Philip also attests charters of Godfrey's successor at Winchester, Peter des Roches (GOODMAN: no. 73, p. 34; no. 329, p. 147).

97. Salisbury, Liber Evidentiarum B, f. xl^d, no. 115.

98. Charters and Documents... of Salisbury, no. LXXIII, p. 60.

99. Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. XXV, p. 133.

100. actum no. 1.

101. acta nos. 124 & 244. H.M.C. Wells Dean & Chapter, vol. I, pp. 42, 367, 486.; A.WATKIN: The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury, vol. II (Somerset Record Society vol. LXIII, 1952), no. 839, p. 461; W.HUNT: Two Chartularies for the Priory of St. Peter at Bath, (Somerset Record Society, vol. VII, 1893), 11, no. 357, p. 76.

Jocelin¹⁰² but it is not known whether he was related to Hugh's datary, John of Taunton, Master John of Houghton, who received the archdeacons of Bedford and Northampton from the bishop, was frequently employed on diplomatic missions for King Henry III¹⁰³. He is found in the company of bishop Hugh en route for the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215¹⁰⁴, but since he does not feature in any Lincoln material before this time, it is probable that he was originally connected with either of Hugh's two episcopal companions on this journey, William of Sainte Mère Eglise, bishop of London, or Robert of York, bishop-elect of Ely. There is also little information available about the early life of master Robert Grosseteste and it is very difficult to establish when his close association with the bishop began or the circumstances which led to this association. Hugh of Wells was not an academic but it is significant that Robert's preferment to the church of Abbotsley¹⁰⁵ and his nomination to the archdeaconry of Leicester¹⁰⁶ both occurred in the course of the latter's sojourn in Oxford. Perhaps the appointment of Grosseteste resulted from the diocesan's surveillance of the university and the episcopal patronage of scholars and men of letters.

In all these cases it has become apparent that the archdeacons owed their promotion to an earlier social or professional relationship between the bishop and themselves or at least between the bishop and their relatives or patrons - a relationship that could have had its inception in the royal chancery, at Wells, in France during the general interdict, at Oxford, at the Lateran Council and elsewhere. At the same time it was to be expected that the bishop would take the opportunity of rewarding the clerks of his own household and certainly with

102. P.R.O. Charter roll 13 Henry III, mem. 3(bis); H.M.C. Wells Dean & Chapter, vol. I, p. 28.

103. Patent Rolls 1216-1225, pp. 424, 537, 552; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, pp. 582b, 583; ibid., vol. II, pp. 47b, 55, 64b, 83.

104. actum no. 40.

105. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 48.

106. He was archdeacon from 1229 to 1232, cf. Fasti Archidiaconalis

bishop Hugh there seems to have been a marked and quite natural preference for members of his 'familia' as archdeacons. Nine out of the seventeen archdeacons appointed by him were drawn from the intimate circle of episcopal clerks. Some of them, like Hugh of St. Edward, Master William son of Fulk and master Adam of St. Edmund were reliable administrative clerks inherited from St. Hugh and William of Blois; others - master William de Thornaco and master Robert of Hailes - had accompanied bishop Hugh to Lincoln at the beginning of his active pontificate in 1213, and the remainder - master William of Lincoln, master William of Kent, William Blund, master Amaury of Buckden - were attracted to the service of the bishop in the course of his episcopate. All were without doubt exceedingly capable administrators but since the careers of these clerks have been fully treated in the preceding chapter, it is unnecessary to repeat what has already been said of them there. As a final point, it is noticeable and rather interesting that the bishop did not promote any of his numerous relatives to archidiaconal positions; canonries seem to have sufficed, although it must be added that Hugh's brother Jocelin was not so reluctant when it came to bestowing an archdeaconry on a kinsman. Another Hugh of Wells, probably a nephew of the bishop, received the archdeaconry of Eath from Jocelin but he had to be satisfied with the prebend of Milton Manor from bishop Hugh¹⁰⁷.

It must be obvious that it is virtually impossible at this date to gain any clear idea of the social provenance of members of the higher clergy unless they happen to be saints, scholars or scoundrels. The origins and background of the archdeacons of the Lincoln diocese under Hugh of Wells are similarly obscure and very little information can be gleaned from the sources that are available. Of the twenty-five archdeacons who held office in this period, Raymond archdeacon of Leicester seems to have been the highest in social status; he was born into a minor aristocratic family from the mountainous regions around Grenoble¹⁰⁸. Few, if any, of his

¹⁰⁷. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 147. Binbrook formed part of the endowments of Milton Manor prebend.

¹⁰⁸. He was a kinsman of St. Hugh; hence his ancestry is known

archidiaconal colleagues could have had such noble antecedents. Although Peter archdeacon of Lincoln was the half-brother of Geoffrey Plantagenet, he was not another bastard son of King Henry II, but he doubtless made use of his tenuous royal connexions. At the other end of the social scale was Robert Grosseteste who was reputed to have been the offspring of lowly parents living in Suffolk¹⁰⁹. Nevertheless the majority of the archdeacons upon whom ~~xxxxxx~~ there is some information appear to have sprung from either knightly or civic families. In all probability master William de Thornaco was linked by ties of blood with the Somerset Thornacos who held knights' fees of the honour of Dunster¹¹⁰. Similarly Eustace and Philip de Fauconberg are supposed to have been connected with the Yorkshire knightly family of the same name but this has been asserted without sufficient authority and it cannot be certain whether there is any such affiliation. As previously mentioned, William of Cornhill was the scion of an important London family and the ancestors of master William son of Fulk were landowners of long standing in the city of Lincoln and probably of Anglo-Saxon descent¹¹¹. The backgrounds of the remaining archdeacons are unknown but these few notes on several occupants of archdeaconry in this period will have been sufficient to indicate the mixed social composition of the archidiaconate.

The customs of the cathedral church of Lincoln sent to Brice Douglas, bishop of Moray, in 1214 were sparing in their definition of the archdeacon's duties: 'Archidiaconi in sollicitudinem parochianorum et in cura polleant animarum'¹¹². At a later date, the 'Novum Registrum' of bishop William Alnwick

109. D. CALLUS (ed): Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop, pp. 2-3, Oxford 1955.

110. In 1166 Reinér de Tornach' held one and a half knights' fees of William de Mohun in Somerset - T. HEARNE: Liber Niger Scaccarii, vol. I, p. 92 (London 1774).

111. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IX, p. 261 and nos. 2393-2401, pp. 4-12, especially no. 2393 & note p. 4.

112. Lincoln Dean & Chapter A/2/2, f. 11d (Anthony Bek's Book).

was only slightly more explicit:-

'Archidiaconorum octo in ecclesia nostra potestas et officium in exteriori iurisdictione consistit, ut subditorum curas gerant, eorum causans iusto libramine dirigentes, mores reformantes, et excessus corrigentes, iuxta qualitates delinquentium et excessuum quantitatem. Sane contemplatione dignitatis sue intra Ecclesiam, in voce, cessione, processione, et aliis huiusmodi preeminenciam ante alios simplices canonicos eos sortiri volumus : dumtamen fuerint prebendati, et personaliter installati : quorum major sit Lincoln ; post eum Northampton, tercio Leicestr', quarto Buck', quinto Oxonia, sexto Huntyngdon, septimo Bedford, octavo Stow. Prestent archidiaconi predicti episcopo obediencie et fidelitates iuramentum ratione exterioris administracionis; pro qua ac pro cathedralicis sinodaticis, et denariis beati Petri, per archidiaconos ipsos in synodis quas vice episcopi celebrant receptis, ac aliis iuribus episcopalibus, sunt eidem episcopo censuales in summis sequentibus, ad terminos sancti Michaelis archangeli et Pasche per equales porciones solvendis..... 113

From the vague 1214 definition of archidiaconal responsibilities, little idea can be gained of the scope of the archdeacon's jurisdiction and sphere of activity, and the paucity of relevant documents of the same period scarcely supplements our knowledge on the subject. In the late fourteenth century master Richard Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln, claimed as being within the scope of his jurisdiction, the primary cognisance of all cases coming before the archdeacon's court, powers of correction and punishment over offenders, the appointment and removal of rural deans, apparitors and other officials, the probate of wills, the right of annual visitation of the benefices of the archdeaconry and the collection of procurations¹¹⁴, but for the thirteenth century there is no such detailed information available on archdeacons of the Lincoln diocese and it is impossible to discover whether all these duties were applicable over a century earlier. In fact, it is very doubtful whether certain of these powers ever formed part of the archdeacon's jurisdictional authority in the time of bishop Wells. At the same time, the

113. H. BRADSHAW & C. WORDSWORTH: Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. II, pp. 305-6, Cambridge 1892.

114. Archaeological Journal, vol. LXXII, p. 242 and note 2.

early thirteenth century archdeacon possessed certain rights relating to the administration of the diocese during an episcopal vacancy¹¹⁵, rights which were relinquished by the terms of the 1261 Boniface composition.

The archdeacon most frequently appears in the records as the administrative agent of the bishop for the execution of routine diocesan business. He holds inquiries into the cause of vacancy of particular churches and of the character of the presentees¹¹⁶, he issues letters testimonial¹¹⁷, inducts new incumbents into corporal possession of their benefices¹¹⁶, enforces the bishop's decisions against clerical concubines¹¹⁸, administers oaths of canonical obedience to the parochial clergy¹¹⁹, ordains perpetual vicarages in appropriated churches 'vice domini episcopi'¹²⁰, amends such vicarage ordinations¹²¹, draws up lists of ordained vicarages¹²², reports on the number of beneficed clergy who are attending the schools¹²³, supervises the appointment of a chaplain to minister in the church of one of these absent clerks¹²⁴, receives the renunciation of frivolous claims to churches and the resignations of incumbents¹²⁵, examines the elections of heads of religious houses and installs them¹²⁶ and sees that the clergy and people come to the cathedral church in procession with their offerings in Whitsun week¹²⁷. Clearly his duties as mandatory and commissary of the

115. See Appendix I on 'sede vacante' government.

116. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vols. I-III, passim.

117. ibid., vol. I, p. 14; vol. II, pp. 142, 276.

118. ibid., vol. I, pp. 79, 96.

119. ibid., vol. I, p. 159.

120. ibid., vol. III, pp. 27, 63, 98, 145; Liber Antiquus, pp. 16, 65.

121. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 189, 201; Liber Antiquus,

122. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 194-5. p. 69.

123. ibid., vol. III, p. 113, in this case, the archdeacon's official

124. ibid., vol. III, p. 102.

125. ibid., vol. II, p. 99; vol. III, pp. 132, 139, 160.

126. ibid., vol. II, p. 88; vol. III, p. 54.

127. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, nos. 298-9, pp. 258-60.

bishop were extensive but there is a danger of overemphasizing these duties simply because there is little material extant ~~touching~~ touching upon the aspects of his archidiaconal activities.

In default of the relevant records, it is plainly impossible to determine whether the archdeacons carried out their obligations as far as visitation of the parochial clergy was concerned. Theoretically they were supposed to visit their archdeaconries once a year; the visitation was to be made personally, otherwise procurations could not be taken. Certain enactments of the Lateran and Oxford councils¹²⁸ (and several diocesan statutes) laid down rules to be observed by the archdeacons in the course of their visitations - relating to the extortion of money from subordinate clergy, the archidiaconal retinue, the free distribution of the chrism and the holy oil, clerical morality, the correct procedure for excommunication, the keeping of written records of the ornaments, books and movable objects in the churches and clerical apparel. No reference has been found relating to the actual occurrence of archidiaconal visitation in this period but this is not really surprising as it was not the sort of information which would be recorded by the bishop in his enrolments. In appropriation grants and ordinations of vicarages, provision is made for the entertainment of the archdeacon when he visited the church and for other burdens and charges, but the activities of archdeacons in this sphere are unavoidably obscure. The only relevant document which survives is an arrangement between the abbey of Waltham and John of Houghton, archdeacon of Bedford, over the visitation of the abbey's church of Arlesey and the taking of procurations¹²⁹. It is probable that the records of archidiaconal visitations were transcribed in their 'matricule' which are known to have been kept, even though none has

128. F.M. POWICKE & C.R. CHENEY: Councils and Synods II, part 1, pp. 115-6, canons 29-30, 32-33 (Oxford council), Oxford 1964; Lateran IV 1215; canon 33.

129. British Museum, Additional Charter 18196; Cotton MS. Tiberius C IX, f. 142.

unfortunately survived¹³⁰.

The inquiries set in motion on the receipt of an episcopal mandate into the vacancy of a church and cognate subjects were made in the chapter of the rural deanery or the synod presided over by the archdeacon. Two consecutive investigations into the value and possession of the benefice of Haddenham were held in the chapter of Wendover¹³¹ and then in full synod at Aylesbury¹³². The rights of the dean and chapter of Exeter in the church of Bampton were confirmed by the archdeacon of Oxford in the chapter of the rural deanery of Chipping Norton¹³³. It was often stipulated that the chapter were to be notified of the induction of a new rector or vicar¹³⁴ and the fact that a particular incumbent had received a benefice in Scotland was announced 'in capitulo publice'¹³⁵ as was the installation of a new prior of Fineshade¹³⁶. The matter of a pension payable to the vicar of Begbroke was resolved when the vicar's letter of institution was produced in chapter¹³⁷. Yet, in spite of the obvious use of chapters and synods as a means of publicising episcopal decisions and instructions, conciliar and synodal statutes and matters of local and general significance, no clear idea can be gained of the exact composition of these assemblies (were the laity present at synods?), the regularity of their meeting, the relationship between the archidiaconal and ruridecanal chapters, the judicial activities or the powers of correction that are known to have been exercised. The vicar of Harrold was allowed hay for his horse 'cum ierit.....ad sinodos et capitula'¹³⁸ and certain

130. See the section on the 'matricule' in Chapter II of Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 311 and actum 390 '...precipimus enim quod huius circographi tenor in missali ecclesie de Lee vel alio libro et in matricula archidiaconi loci distincte conscribatur'. cf. also Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VII, p. 135 (1214), 'Profert etiam literas A. archidiaconi Bed' testificantes quod ipse ex scrutinis antecessorum suorum archidiaconorum et per capitulum loci.....'

131. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 664, pp. 28-9.

132. ibid., vol. III, no. 665, pp. 29-30. ibid.

133. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 129.

134. ibid., vol. I, p. 84.

137. ibid., vol. II, p. 38.

135. ibid., vol. III, p. 164.

138. ibid., vol. I, p. 186.

136. ibid., vol. II, p. 134.

pensions from churches were payable at the Michaelmas and Easter synods¹³⁹. In an agreement between the archdeacon of Oxford and Osney abbey, it was stipulated that the chaplain of St. Thomas, Oxford 'veniet tamen bis in anno ad sinodum ipsius archidiaconi'¹⁴⁰. In the settlement of a dispute over archidiaconal rights in Tansor, the prebendary of Nassington undertook to pay the archdeacon of Northampton a pension in the next chapter of Oubde after the Michaelmas synod at Northampton.¹⁴¹ Presumably this was the archdeacon's synod. In 1232 a dispute over the archdeacon of Oxford's jurisdiction in certain parishes belonging to St. Frideswide's priory was amicably resolved, and among the provisions were those arranging for the payment of synodalia at the Michaelmas and Easter synods, and of six shillings and eightpence procurations at the Michaelmas synod.¹⁴²

The scope of the archdeacon's jurisdiction during this period must of necessity remain obscure by reason of the paucity of documentary material. A letter of Adam, archdeacon of Oxford, confirming that John of St. John had made his will is perhaps evidence of wider testamentary powers¹⁴³ and indeed, a dispute arising from this very testament was heard some time later before Walter of St. Edmund, the archdeacon's official.¹⁴⁴ In 1232-3 the benefice of Little Houghton was vacant 'per sententiam diffinitivam' pronounced by the archdeacon of Northampton against the previous incumbent,¹⁴⁵ but in general there is no information available about the sort of business coming before the archdeacon's court and the exercise of his

139. Annales monastici, vol. III, pp. 104-5, acta nos. 78 & 168.

140. H. E. BALTER: The Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. II, (Oxford Hist. Soc, 1930), p. 439.

141. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 312, pp. 4-5.

142. Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide, vol. II, no. 731, pp. 39-41.

143. Cartulary of Osney Abbey (O. H. S. LXXXIX, 1929), vol. I, pp. 135-6.

144. Ibid., vol. I, no. 143, pp. 137-8.

145. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 175.

disciplinary and corrective powers ; in fact, our knowledge of his activities in the judicial sphere is restricted to cases in which he was involved as a papal judge delegate or as an episcopal commissary¹⁴⁶.

The fourth canon of the Lateran Council of 1179 had restricted the retinue of archdeacons during a visitation to seven mounted companions, but it is extremely rare to find precise references in diocesan material to these archidiaconal attendants. Owing to the loss of records, it must be assumed that the composition of the household of an archdeacon resembled that of the bishop but on a smaller scale. There would be chaplains, clerks, scribes and an official, to take care of the archdeacon's spiritual and administrative requirements and menial servants to look after his bodily needs. The names of a few of these assistants have chanced to survive in the rolls of the bishop and it can be seen that in addition to the official, the archdeacon's clerk was often employed to hold enquiries and to induct incumbents and perform other routine administrative work. William of London, the clerk of William de Thornaco, archdeacon of Lincoln, was entrusted with the task of finding a suitable chaplain to minister in the church of Irby-on-Humber¹⁴⁷, and the recorded activities of William of Tinton, clerk of William of Blois, archdeacon of Buckingham,¹⁴⁸ John the clerk of archdeacon Philip of Huntingdon¹⁴⁹, Adam the clerk of archdeacon Robert of Northampton¹⁵⁰, Ralph the clerk of archdeacon John of Oxford¹⁵¹

^{146.} Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 191; Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, pp. 55, 88, 92, 95, 107, 121, 125, 134, 141; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. II, p. 80; Cartulary of Newnham Priory, no. 147, p. 92; Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. V, pp. 377-8; B. M. Cotton MS. Nero D III, ff. 54d-56d; Spalding Gentlemen's Society, Crowland cartulary, ff. 189-189d. This is merely a selection of the many references to the judicial activities of archdeacons of the diocese.

^{147.} Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 116.

^{148.} ibid., vol. I, pp. 9, 34, 35, 37, 39, 110, 117.

^{149.} ibid., vol. III, p. 49.

^{150.} ibid., vol. II, pp. 107, 109; Oxford, Magdalen College, Brackley charter B. 116.

^{151.} ibid., vol. I, pp. 92, 95, 148; vol. II, pp. 3-4.

and the clerks of the archdeacons of Stow, Hugh of St. Edward and William of Kent¹⁵² bear ample testimony to their frequent employment on matters of diocesan administration. On one occasion, the official's clerk is found inducting a new incumbent¹⁵³ Nicholas the chaplain of archdeacon William de Thornaco¹⁵⁴ and Richard the chaplain of archdeacon Adam of Oxford¹⁵⁵ also feature in witness lists. Walter the chaplain of the archdeacon of Buckingham was the perpetual vicar of Branston but it is difficult to see how he fulfilled his residential requirements while being a member of the archdeacon's household¹⁵⁶.

It is known that Robert of Hailes archdeacon of Lincoln had houses both at Lincoln¹⁵⁷ and at Louth¹⁵⁸, which was an extremely central situation for his archdeaconry; it is just possible that other archdeacons also possessed houses at various centres in their archdeaconries. The names of several members of the household of archdeacon Robert have fortunately come down to us. His chaplain was Elias of Hailes¹⁵⁹ and among his clerks were William of Hailes, Walter of Hailes, Ralph Bassat, John of Chelbount and William of Winchcombe¹⁶⁰. The preponderance of the name of Hailes in this list is surely an indication of a household based to a great extent upon kinship. Elias of Hailes was instituted to the church of Coleby¹⁶¹, William of Hailes was rector of Willingham¹⁶² and Walter of Hailes was rector of the church of South Hykeham¹⁶³. Some clerks remained in the service of the archdeacon until death severed the connexion. Walter the

152. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. ~~III~~ I, pp. 217, 223.

153. *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 59.

154. *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 107.

155. Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. II, p. 439.

156. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 88. For other references to this archidiaconal chaplain, see Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VI, p. 11.

157. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 106.

158. *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 316.

159. *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 93, 95.

160. *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 191; vol. II, p. 93; Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. II, p. 439; Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 3020, ff. 83-83d.

161. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 201; Oxford, Oriel Coll. Coleby muniment no. 2.

clerk of John of Tynemouth archdeacon of Oxford served the archdeacon till the latter's death in 1221 and was then granted a corrody by the abbess of St. Mary de la Pré, Northampton¹⁶⁴. Others like Adam the clerk of the archdeacon of Northampton and Ralph the clerk of the archdeacon of Oxford eventually became officials of their respective archdeacons¹⁶⁵ and William of Winchcombe rose even higher and became a canon of Lincoln and prebendary of Dunham and Newport.

I have already remarked that it would appear likely that the majority of archdeacons were resident and that the wholesale delegation of duties to the official had not yet become common. However it must not be thought that all the archdeacons were permanently resident in their specific areas of authority. Archdeacon William of Buckingham went abroad to study for an unspecified period¹⁶⁶. John of Houghton was often involved in diplomatic missions to France or Rome and in national politics¹⁶⁷. Robert Grosseteste was currently concerned with university affairs¹⁶⁸. William of Kent acted for a short while as the Official of archbishop Richard Grant of Canterbury¹⁶⁹ and the Stow archdeaconry was ordinarily conferred upon a prominent member of the episcopal 'familia'. In fact, contrary to the accepted opinion, several archdeacons continued to be attendant upon the bishop in the course of his diocesan perambulations.

162. Rotuli Hugonis de Willems, vol. III, p. 208; Oxford, Oriel Coll. Cokeby muniment no. 2.

163. *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 140.

164. *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 193-4.

165. *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 105 bis and pp. 1, 6, 7.

166. Lincoln Dean & Chapter doct. # D1j/81/1/46.

167. *M. Matthaei Parisiensis: Chronica Maiora*, vol. III, pp. 103, 157, 169-70, 172; *Patent Rolls 1216-1225*, pp. 424, 537, 552; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol. I, pp. 582b, 583, 632b; *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 47b, 55, 64b, 77, 83.

168. He was a lecturer to the Franciscans in Oxford c. 1230-5. A.G. LITTLE: *Frateris Thome vulgo dioti de Eccleston i. Tractatus de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, p. 48 (Manchester 1951).

169. *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 590.

In concluding this sketch of the composition of the archidiaconate under Hugh of Wells, it is important to remember that the medieval archdeacon was proverbially accredited with great wealth, amassed - it was generally alleged - from the excessive profits of his archdeaconry. Certainly three of the archdeacons appointed by bishop Hugh shared this somewhat unenviable reputation. Amaury of Buckden, archdeacon of Bedford, died leaving large sums of money¹⁷⁰; Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Lincoln, left 'plura milia marcarum cum vasis multis argenteis' ¹⁷¹ at on his death in 1238 and John of Houghton, archdeacon of Northampton, died suddenly in 1246 leaving 'circiter quinque milia marcarum cum triginta cuppis argenteis vel aureis et infinitis jocalibus'¹⁷². It is worthwhile, and in the event rather amusing, to note in passing that the last two archdeacons both died intestate.

The official of the archdeacon.¹⁷³

Archidiaconal officials first make their appearance in the Lincoln diocese as early as 1180¹⁷⁴ and from the beginning of the thirteenth century 'officialis' totally replaces 'vicearchidiaconus' in current usage to designate "both the resident archdeacon's assistant and the absentee's deputy."¹⁷⁵ It will have been noted that I consider these terms to be synonymous. The opponents of this line of thought adopt the view that 'vicearchdeacon' was applied solely to denote the vicegerent of the archdeacon, 'official' solely to describe the administrative assistant of the resident archdeacon. There is no need on this occasion to repeat the now familiar arguments of Professor Cheney and Professor Hamilton Thompson¹⁷⁶ but I may be

170. Mathaei Parisiensis : Chronica Majora, vol. IV, p. 552.

171. Ibid., vol. IV, p. 552.

172. Ibid., vol. IV, p. 552.

173. See Appendix III, for a list of archdeacons' officials 1209-1235.

174. K. MAJOR: Blyborough Charters no. 6, pp. 208-9 & plate XVII in A Medieval Miscellany for D. M. Stenton, (Pipe Roll Society, new series XXXVI, 1962).

175. CHENEY: English Bishops' Chanceries, p. 146. p. 60, n. 2 & p

176. Ibid., pp. 143-6 & A. HAMILTON THOMPSON: The English Clergy.

excused for appending some additional material from Lincoln sources which clearly emphasize the interchangeable nature of the foregoing terms. Master Alexander, the official of the archdeacon of the West Riding¹⁷⁴ (Stow) must surely be identical with master Alexander the vicearchdeacon who is frequently mentioned in contemporaneous documents¹⁷⁷. Similarly, master Adam of Chinnor features in charter of much the same date, styling himself in one case, vicearchdeacon of Oxford¹⁷⁸, and in another, official of Oxford¹⁷⁹. Yet perhaps the most convincing illustration of the interchangeability of the terms is furnished by the lengthy archidiaconate of Peter of Lincoln (circa 1175-ante May 1219). In the 1180's and 1190's the two successive deputies of this notoriously inactive archdeacon - Robert de Hardres¹⁸⁰ and Roger de Insula¹⁸¹ - are invariably styled 'vicearchidiaconus'; within the space of ten years, the subsequent deputies of this same archdeacon - namely, William of Braucewell¹⁸², Gilbert de Innocentibus¹⁸³ and John of Horkstow¹⁸⁴ - have come to be entitled 'officialis' of the archdeacon. It is quite evident that in this case there was no

177. Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Daneslaw, no. 11, pp. 8-9; no. 425, pp. 314-5; A. MOREY & C. H. L. BROCKE: The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot no. 467, p. 495 (Cambridge 1967).

178. English Bishops' Chanceries, p. 144.

179. *ibid.*, p. 145, n. 6.

180. see Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VII, p. 206 & note 6. For other references, see British Museum, Royal MS. 11 B IX, f. 37d; Add. MS. 55296, f. 321; Cotton MS. Vespasian E XVII, f. 248; Add. MS. 46362 (1 leaf), no. 3; Cambridge University Library Add. MS. 4220, f. 521d; In Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, he is referred to, in retrospect, as official of the archdeacon.

181. British Museum, Add. MS. 46701, f. 102.

182. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 311, p. 3; K. MAJOR in A. A. S. Reports & Papers, vol. XLII, p. 19 (1934).

183. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 120, 122.

184. *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 62, 72, 83, 84, 86, 99-102, 106, 111, 118, 119, 125.

change of function on the part of the archidiaconal representatives, merely a change in terminology.

The official was the personal representative of the archdeacon, dependent upon him for his powers and accountable to him for all his actions. It goes without saying that he was removable at the will of his superior and that on the latter's demise or cession, his commission would lapse automatically. It will come as no surprise, considering the dearth of material for more important ecclesiastical officers, that the episcopal records are extraordinarily uninformative on the subject of the duties of archidiaconal officials. References to their activities are for the most part restricted to routine notes about inquisitions and inductions, and it is impossible to ascertain from the rolls what other executive and judicial tasks they were obliged to undertake by virtue of their office. Extra-diocesan sources are not much more helpful in this respect, although they do indicate that these officials were sometimes called upon to act outside the normal scope of their duties as judges delegate of the pope or as commissaries of the bishop.¹⁸⁵ In one instance already referred to, the official of the archdeacon of Oxford is found hearing a testamentary case.¹⁴⁴ In general they would seem to have been beneficed in the archdeaconry of which they were the official, although it has become apparent that this was not always so. Master William of Walpole held the Lincolnshire living of Croxby while he was still official of Huntingdon¹⁸⁶ and similarly Gilbert de Innocentibus was the incumbent of Benefices in Buckingham and Stow but not in the Lincoln archdeaconry¹⁸⁷. In special circumstances - perhaps as an expedient - it is clear that two officials could be appointed for one archdeaconry. This was the case at Lincoln under archdeacon Peter when this large archdeaconry was divided into two distinct areas of

¹⁸⁵. e.g. B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D XI, f. 217.

¹⁸⁶. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 131-2.

¹⁸⁷. He was rector of Ingham and Eddlesborough, see notes 246-7.

responsibility - Lindsey and Kesteven¹⁸⁸ - each with an official. It is noticeable that these two officials assiduously adhered to this invisible line of demarcation when it came to holding inquiries and inducting new incumbents.

The archdeacon's choice of an official seems to have been random, ranging from his own kinsmen and clerks of the archidiaconal household to capable beneficed clergy of the archdeaconry. In the last resort the appointment was obviously influenced by the heavy responsibilities of the office, and considerations of ability and general competence would be paramount when selecting such officers. It will be noticed that most of the officials of archdeacons during bishop Hugh's pontificate possessed master's degrees. Master Walter of St. Edmund, the official of Oxford from 1222 to 1236 was presumably a relative of the archdeacon, master Adam of St. Edmund; it is also possible that master Theobald, the official of Northampton was connected by ties of kinship with the archdeacon, master Robert of Mancetter; he could easily be the same person as master Theobald the brother of the archdeacon and at one time master of the schools of Northampton¹⁸⁹. Similarly, a decade later, master Stephen the official of Northampton is perhaps identical with master Stephen of Mancetter, parson of Clay Coton¹⁹⁰, who is once found acting as a commissary of the bishop¹⁹¹. Certainly the wording of an entry in the episcopal rolls would seem to indicate fairly conclusively that they were one and the same person. Ralph the official of Oxford and Adam the official of Northampton were previously clerks of their respective archdeacons before their elevation but by far the largest group of identifiable officials appear to have been selected from among the local incumbents. In this category are master Thomas de Verdun, master William of Brauncewell and Ralph de Gnoweshale (Gnosshall/Noseley?) who seem to have had little

188. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 118, 120.
189. Cartulary of the Medieval Archives of Christ Church, no. D83
190. actum no. 54. p. 92
191. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 163.

connexion with the archdeacons whom they served as officials beyond the fact that they had been long since beneficed in the same archdeaconry. Another official, Gilbert de Innocentibus, was dean of Christianity of Lincoln at the time he was called upon to act as the official in Kesteven.

Of the subsequent occupations of archidiaconal officials, relatively little is known. The careers of some, like master Theobald of Kent and master Robert of Brinkhill, culminated in canonries in Lincoln cathedral, the latter eventually becoming master of the works¹⁹²; others remained in the employment of their masters when they were promoted to richer archdeaconries or to bishoprics. Master William of Walpole was successively official of master Robert of Hailes in the archdeaconries of Huntingdon and Lincoln; master Robert de Bosco, official of master Robert's predecessor at Huntingdon, William of Cornhill, accompanied the latter to Coventry and Lichfield on his elevation to the see and became Official-principal of the new bishop¹⁹³ and later archdeacon of Coventry. The remaining officials, however, seem merely to have reverted to their position of incumbents of local churches, once they had relinquished office.

The Rural Deans.

Professor Hamilton Thompson's admirable study of the origins and history of rural deaneries in England¹⁹⁴ has removed the need for specific and exhaustive treatment of the deaneries of the Lincoln diocese. A few brief remarks in passing will suffice as an outline for the discussion that is to follow on the functions and activities of rural deans and the part they played in the administration of the bishopric under Hugh of Wells. It may be as well to begin by establishing the number of

192. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IV, no. 1213, p. 95; ibid., vol. VII, no. 2064, p. 99.

193. British Museum, Stowe Charter 141.

194. A. HAMILTON THOMPSON: "Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans" in Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. XXIX, pp. 153-194 (1943).

deaneries within the confines of the see. The archdeaconry of Lincoln was subdivided into twenty-one such jurisdictional areas, the archdeaconry of Northampton into eleven ; the archdeaconry of Oxford into nine ; the archdeacon of Huntingdon into nine ; the archdeaconry of Leicester into seven ; the archdeaconry of Buckingham into seven ; the archdeaconry of Bedford into six and finally the archdeaconry of Stow into four. Many of these rural deaneries corresponded almost exactly to the civil divisions of the hundred or the wapentake or at least to combinations of several such administrative units. This was particularly true of the northern archdeaconries of the diocese - Lincoln, Stow, Northampton and Leicester. The archdeaconries of Oxford and Bedford and the Hertfordshire deaneries of the Huntingdon archdeaconry for some reason bore no resemblance at all to the secular administrative boundaries and the ruridecanal areas were named after prominent towns or villages. Some of the deaneries were very extensive, especially in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire - Brackley comprised the hundreds of King's Button, Chipping Warden, Green's Norton and Towcester ; Rothwell deanery was formed of a union of Rothwell, Orlingbury and Hanfordshoe hundreds ; the deanery of Holland encompassed the three wapentakes of Elloe, Kirton and Skirbeck and the Grantham deanery, while taking its name from the soke of Grantham, also included within its borders the wapentakes of Threo and Winnibriggs. It is clear that this combination of civil areas to form a single ecclesiastical district did not depend solely upon the factor of size. The wapentake of Bolingbroke, containing twenty-seven parishes, was evidently considered adequate to constitute a rural deanery on its own, whereas Winnibriggs and Threo wapentakes, each with twenty-six parishes were nevertheless combined with Grantham, and together they formed one deanery.

I am a little doubtful whether these unions of hundreds or wapentakes were permanently established at this comparatively early date. Suspicions are aroused by a series of entries recorded by an episcopal clerk in the bishop's institution rolls. They concern the Lincolnshire deanery of Lafford which was composed of the two wapentakes of Flaxwell and Aswardhurn. The entries usually relate to inquisitions held by the rural dean

and induction mandates directed to him. On two occasions he is named as Henry dean of Aswardhurn¹⁹⁵. This designation can easily be explained as the succeeding section on ruridecanal nomenclature will indicate, for it was not infrequent for a deanery made up of two or more civil divisions to be known by the title of one of these constituent areas. However in 1220-1, it is noted that an inquisition regarding the vacancy of the church of Leasingham was held by both the dean of Aswardhurn and the dean of Flaxwell¹⁹⁶. Clearly Lafford deanery had ceased to exist as a single entity at this particular time, possibly because of its size (54 parishes), and it is not until circa 1230 that a Henry dean of Lafford¹⁹⁷, presumably to be identified with the previously mentioned dean of Aswardhurn, reappears in the records. He is still found as dean of Lafford in 1236-7¹⁹⁸. It is perhaps worthy of remark that the Flaxwell/Aswardhurn division of the deanery corresponded exactly to the modern deaneries of North and South Lafford which existed until the recent implementation of the recommendations of the 1963-4 Ruridecanal Boundaries Commission.

The question of nomenclature employed to denote rural deans and their areas of jurisdiction has been a cause of considerable confusion. The official designation of the deanery - in other words, the territorial title by which it was later permanently known - does not appear to have entirely superseded all other variant appellations until relatively late in the thirteenth century. The diocese of Lincoln is no exception and the universal adoption of such names does not occur, as far as can be ascertained, until the episcopate of Richard Gravesend (1258-1279). As I do not entirely agree with all the conclusions reached by Professor Hamilton Thompson in this regard, it may be worthwhile to discuss the topic of ruridecanal nomenclature

195. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 89; actum no. 67.

196. ibid., vol. I, p. 108. The entry has been checked with the original roll and 'decanos' is correct.

197. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 344, p. 37.

198. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 22.

solely in relation to deaneries in the bishopric of Lincoln. Earlier in this section it was noted that many rural deaneries were coterminous with hundreds and wapentakes, and consequently it is not surprising that the current name for the civil division was often retained to describe the ecclesiastical area. The Lincoln archdeaconry affords abundant instances of this adoption of temporal usage. Fifteen ruridecanal subdivisions of the archdeaconry bear the same names as the wapentakes. In those cases where two or more wapentakes or hundreds were united for ecclesiastical purposes, there seems to have been no fixed practice in respect of the names employed to describe the resultant areas. The deanery formed by the union of Navisford, Polebrook and part of Willybrook and Huxloe hundreds took the name of an important town of the district, Oundle; similarly, Grimsby was the ecclesiastical designation applied to the conjoint wapentakes of Haverstoe and Bradley, but the two wapentakes of Langoe and Boothby constituted the curiously named deanery of Longoboby. Other combinations of civil administrative areas evidently did not merit the same inventiveness in matters of nomenclature as the last example. The small hundred of Stoke was merged with the more extensive Burnham hundred to form the deanery of Burnham; in the Stow archdeaconry, the deanery of Lawres comprised ~~the~~ not only the wapentake of Lawres but also that of Well. Although the latter district contained within its boundaries the village of Stow from which the archdeaconry derived its name, a similar title was not employed for the rural deanery.

Professor Hamilton Thompson was incorrect when he stated that the custom of naming deaneries from places within them prevailed in England only when there was no correspondence between the boundaries of the deaneries and those of the civil divisions.¹⁹⁹ The names of towns and villages often ousted the old hundred or wapentake designations, even when the limits of the rural deanery and the secular district coincided. A case in point is the deanery of Wycombe which was coterminous with the

199. Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages, p.178.

hundred of Desborough and in the same category are the rural deaneries of St. Neots, St. Ives, Yaxley, Waddesdon and Mursley, the ecclesiastical titles supplanting the old hundred names of Toseland, Hurstingstone, Norman Cross, Ashendon and Cottesloe respectively. A parallel example on an archidiaconal level is afforded by the title eventually applied to the smallest archdeaconry of the diocese; originally bearing the name of the civil administrative division with which it was identical in extent - the West Riding of Lindsey - it ultimately came to be named after the village and episcopal manor of Stow.

I cannot agree with Professor Hamilton Thompson that from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth, rural deaneries underwent a gradual but marked transition, progressing "from a merely local description of the dean to the description which was adopted as his official designation"²⁰⁰. I am not convinced that there was any such distinct process of development and definition, for in the period of Hugh's episcopate, four separate methods of description are applied concurrently to rural deans and their deaneries. They are enumerated below:-

- a) The subsequently official designation is often used, but not to the exclusion of other variants.
- b) When a deanery was coterminous with a hundred or wapentake but where the ecclesiastical title differed from that used to describe the civil division, the latter's name is sometimes employed as an alternative. e.g. O., dean of Norman Cross²⁰¹ - rural deanery of Yaxley; hundred of Norman Cross.
- c) The use of the dean's own territorial surname is occasionally found, e.g. Rannulph dean of Cawkwell²⁰² was Rannulph of Cawkwell, rector of Walmgate and rural dean of Louthesk²⁰³. This does not appear to have been a very common practice.

200. The English Clergy, pp. 65-66.
 201. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 9.
 202. ibid., vol. I, pp. 19, 105, 136; vol. III, p. 123 & Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VI, nos. 1937-8, pp. 158-9. vol. III, p. 204
 203. Rotuli H. de Welles, vol. I, pp. 18-9, 20, 26, 57, 60, 64, 86, 132

d) The dean frequently took his title from the benefice of which he was the incumbent, if it was situated within the confines of his deanery, e.g. Philip dean of Carlby²⁰⁴ was more correctly Philip, rector of Carlby and rural dean of Ness²⁰⁵.

It has become quite evident that these various terms were used indiscriminately in this period under review (1209-1235) to denote the occupants of rural deaneries. There was obviously no particular point in time when one type of designation was completely discarded from current usage in favour of another. A good example of this multiformity of description is furnished by the names used to designate the rural deans of the Lincolnshire coastal deanery of Calcewaith. At the beginning of Hugh's pontificate, the rural dean was William, rector of Hogsthorpe who was invariably styled dean of Hogsthorpe²⁰⁶; his successor, Walter rector of Mablethorpe is sometimes found as dean of Mablethorpe²⁰⁷ and on other occasions is described by the later official title of dean of Calcewaith²⁰⁸. Soon after bishop Robert Grosseteste's election, Geoffrey of Mumby rector of Beesby-in-the-Marsh is found as dean of Calcewaith²⁰⁹ but within a few years this style lapses again, to be replaced by dean of Beesby²¹⁰. This is a typical example of the variety of ruridecanal descriptions to be found in documents of the first half of the thirteenth century. Additional corroboration is readily available. The official designation is sometimes found very early - the name of Ralph, dean of "Hillewapp"²¹¹ in a charter of archdeacon Robert of Lincoln issued at least before 1170 must surely be a corruption on the part of the compiler of the Bardney cartulary for "Hill wapentake". Towards the

204. L.C. LOYD & D.M. STENTON: Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals (Northamptonshire Record Society vol. XV, 1950), no. 11, p. 9.

205. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 140; Lincoln Dean & Chapter VC. 2/1, no. 200; P.R.O. Augmentation Office, misc. books. 42, no. 126.

206. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VI, pp. 5, 6, 17, 67, 68, 69, 71; vol. III, no. 1046, p. 371.

207. ibid., vol. VI, pp. 55-6; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 134.

208. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 57 bis.

see over.

close of the twelfth century this title gives was to dean of Hagworthingham²¹² and again in the course of Hugh's episcopate, the description, dean of Hill, alternates frequently with dean of Hagwrthingham in episcopal and private charters²¹³. Henry dean of Hainton²¹⁴ must probably be identified with H., dean of Wraggoc²¹⁵ who concluded an agreement between the abbey of Bardney and the Gilbertine priory of Bullington over disputed tithes. There are many such occasions in the records of Hugh's pontificates when both benefice names and the later official descriptions are applied to the same rural deanery. The dean of Bolingbroke was on occasion styled dean of Keal²¹⁶ or dean of Hareby²¹⁷; similarly, the dean of Horncastle or Bucknall²¹⁸, the dean of Peterborough or Peakirk²¹⁹; and the dean of Rothwell or Arthingworth²²⁰, the dean of Beltisloe or Witham²²¹; and the dean of Sparkenhoe or Cadeby²²². Sometimes the officially accepted designation is never employed at all; the rural deans of Lea²²³ and Kirton-in-Lindsey²²⁴ clearly must have been successive occupants of the deanery of

209. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 21.

210. ibid., p. 77.

211. British Museum, Cotton MS. Vespasian E XX, f. 106d.

212. ibid., ff. 32-32d.

213. ibid., ff. 59d, 110d, 150d, 222; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 18, 50, 84; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VI, pp. 103-6, 108, 111, 137, 141.

214. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. V, no. 1496, p. 28.

215. British Museum, Cotton MS. Vespasian E XX, f. 90d; Harley Ch. 45 A 52.

216. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 26.

217. Northamptonshire Record Office, Exeter Charter Z. 1. 10.

218. British Museum, Cotton Charter XII 7.

219. Northamptonshire Record Office, FitzWilliam Charter 783.

220. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 54, 246, 250.

221. ibid., vol. I, p. 154; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 1020, p. 347.

222. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 98; actum no. 285.

223. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, nos. 564-5, 570, pp. 264-5, 269-

224. ibid., vol. II, no. 639, p. 332. 70.

Corringham in Stow archdeaconry ; in apparently analogous circumstances are the deans of Stabton²²⁵ (for Loveden), Luton²²⁶ (for Fleet), Islip²²⁷ (for Bicester), Bosworth²²⁸ (for Gartree), Titchmarsh²²⁹ (for Higham), and Rearsby²³⁰ and Saxelby²³¹ (both for Goscote).

It has to be acknowledged that the use of benefice names to denote the rural deanery declines fairly rapidly in the course of Grosseteste's episcopate (1235-1253) ; this is no doubt due in part to the practical application of the provisions of the twenty-eighth canon of the 1237 Council of London, whereby the legate, Otto cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas in carcere Tulliano, laid down that rural deans, together with other ecclesiastical officers, were to have authentic seals of office. The deans were to be entrusted with this seal as long as they continued to act in a decanal capacity.

"Denique illi qui temporale officium suscipiunt, puta decani rurales et officiales, sigillum suum quod tantum nomen officii habeat insculptum, finito officio ei a quo habebant officium continuo et sine mora resignent." 232

The authentic seal was thus a permanent embodiment of the jurisdiction of the rural deanery - an official seal which would be assigned to successive deans on their appointment. The continuity of this seal contrasts sharply with the temporary nature of the rural dean's office and goes a long way to explain the adoption of a fixed territorial designation for the deanery.

225. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 15, 33.

226. G. H. FOWLER: A Digest of Charters in the Cartulary of Dunstable Priory (Beds. Hist. Record Soc. X, 1926), no. 122, p. 42 & no. 695, p. 190.

227. H. E. SALTER: Cartulary of Eynsham Abbey vol. I (O. H. S. XLIX, 1906-7), pp. 149, 150, 152, 172.

228. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 41.

229. Cambridge University Library Add. MS. 3021, f. 207d.

230. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 34, 58, see ibid., p. 255.

231. British Museum, Harley Charter 46 E 32.

232. Councils and Synods II, part 1 (1205-65), p. 257, canon 27. I have not found an official seal of a rural deanery in the Lincoln diocese before the Council. cf. seal of Henry, dean of Wraggoc - B. M. Harley Charter 45 A 52 - it is a personal seal.

Obviously the introduction of a seal of office would necessitate a decision as to the descriptive legend it was to bear, but once this decision had been taken, it would be more convenient for future rural deans to adhere to this established nomenclature rather than revert to the previous flexibility of ruridecanal descriptions. Hypothetically, one can well imagine the confusion and inconvenience that would have arisen from the activities of a rural dean continuing to style himself dean of Beesby when his official seal bore the legend "SIGILLUM DECANATUS DE CALSWATH"!

'Volumus et de uoluntate et assensu predicti capituli nostri statuimus, ut decetero archidiaconi Cant'. qui pro tempore fuerint; decanos constituent et amoueant pro sue uoluntatis arbitrio prout melius uiderint expedire; in diocesi memorata, qui sibi respondeant; sicut decet, cum absurdum sit, ut alios eos constituent; quam is qui eis debet preesse; et cui respondere tenentur, presertim cum ipsis referentibus corrigere debeat ceterorum errata.'

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With these words, archbishop Stephen Langton restored to his brother Simon archdeacon of Canterbury the right of appointment and removal of rural deans, after this function had long been usurped by the archiepiscopal Official. That there was a need to have documentary confirmation of these appointive powers emphasizes the real confusion which existed in the minds of contemporaries over the rightful nominating authority. The rural dean, it is true was directly subject to archidiaconal jurisdiction, but the archdeacon himself was only an intermediate authority ('media potestas') between the dean and the bishop. In these circumstances it was difficult to decide who should appoint the rural dean. Pope Innocent III asserted that the responsibility for nominating such officers lay with the bishop and his archdeacon conjointly²³⁴. Of course it is impossible to make generalisations when there is such a dearth of corroborative evidence but at least synodal statutes seem to

233. Acta Stephani Langton, no. 113, p. 131.

234. Decret. Greg. IX. Lib. I, Tit. XXIII 'De officio archidiaconi' cap. vii (E. FRIEDBERG; Corpus Iuris Canonici, cols. 151-2).

indicate that this papal counsel advocating mutual co-operation between the diocesan and the archdeacon was generally adhered to by a substantial number of English prelates. Even before this time, a predecessor of archbishop Langton at Canterbury, Richard of Dover (1174-1184) had confirmed to archdeacon Herbert the institution and displacement of rural deans 'prehabito consilio nostro',²³⁵ and Professor Cheney has cited a Salisbury chapter act of 1222 to show that the papal exhortation was at least being followed by bishop Richard Poore - the nomination and removal of rural deans was to be made 'de communi consensu domini episcopi et archidiaconorum'.²³⁶ Similarly, the statutes of Salisbury of 1237²³⁷ more or less reiterate this provision and the diocesan statutes of Wells (c.1258)²³⁸ and of Winchester (c.1262-5)²³⁹ reveal that a comparable arrangement existed for those sees. On the other hand, there were exceptions to this rule as is the case with bishop Richard Wich of Chichester who reserved 'institutionem et depositionem decanorum ruralium.....dispositioni nostre specialiter'.²⁴⁰ In the late fourteenth century the archdeacon of Lincoln claimed the right of appointment²⁴¹ but there is no evidence whether this right had ever been exercised. It is rather pointless to continue this discussion when there is an insufficient basis for argument. In all probability there was no uniformity of procedure or complete agreement on this issue, and practice no doubt varied from diocese to diocese. Personally I am inclined to think that in many English bishoprics, rural deans were appointed to their offices by the archdeacon after consultation with the bishop. There is certainly no supporting evidence for the statement that "the appointment of the rural dean seems to have been originally in the hands of the archdeacon, but by the thirteenth century at

235. W. SOMNER: The Antiquities of Canterbury, Appendix, p.65, no.lix (London 1703).

236. Councils and Synods II, part 1, pp.553-4, note 2.

237. ibid., part 1, p.553, c.6. 238. ibid., part 1, p.609, c.41.

239. ibid., part 1, p.720, c.90. 240. ibid., part 1, p.460, c.44.

241. Archaeological Journal, vol. LXXII, p.242, note 2.

any rate it had fallen in England to the bishop"²⁴².

The Worcester statutes of bishop William of Blois issued in 1219 stipulated that rural deans were to be beneficed - 'nullus fiat decanus nisi habeat beneficium ecclesiasticum'²⁴³ - and as far as can be determined from thirteenth century sources, this rule seems to have had fairly general application in this period. Bearing in mind this synodal precept, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the prospective dean would be chosen from among the resident beneficed clergy over whom he was destined to have powers of supervision - that is, from within the boundaries of the rural deanery. Undoubtedly, many - perhaps the vast majority - of the deans were selected in this manner, as is adequately corroborated by the use of benefice names in ruridecanal designations; nevertheless, in the course of bishop Hugh's episcopate, there are several instances of rural deans who were clearly not beneficed within the particular deanery, from which they took their title. Rannulph of Cawkwell, dean of Louthesk, was rector of Walmagate²⁴⁴ (in Hill deanery) and possibly vicar of Aslackby²⁴⁵ (in Aveland deanery); Gilbert de Innocentibus, dean of Christianity of Lincoln, held the churches of Ingham²⁴⁶ (Aslackhoe deanery) and Eddlesborough²⁴⁷ (Ivinghoe deanery) in plurality by virtue of a legatine dispensation; his successor as dean, John le Gentil, was rector of Boultham²⁴⁸ in the rural deanery of Graffoe. It has proved impossible to trace even the most tenuous connexion between these three clerks and a benefice within their respective deaneries. This disclosure raises several interesting questions - Why was no incumbent, resident in the deanery, selected as rural dean? Were none

²⁴². The English Clergy, p. 67.

²⁴³. Councils and Synods II, part 1, p. 54, c. 2.

²⁴⁴. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 62.

²⁴⁵. ibid., vol. III, p. 142.

²⁴⁶. ibid., vol. I, p. 125; British Museum, Harley Charter 48 A 6.

²⁴⁷. ibid., vol. I, p. 55; P.R.O. Ancient Deed B. 8548.

²⁴⁸. ibid., vol. III, p. 100.

sufficiently capable of performing routine rural deaneries or conversely were these non-resident clerks who were appointed to the deaneries men of particularly outstanding administrative ability? Until much more extensive investigations have been undertaken, these questions will have to remain unanswered.

The office of rural dean was not confined solely to rectors - Richard, perpetual vicar of Witham-on-the-Hill was dean of Beltisloe²⁴⁹; Gilbert, vicar of Islip was dean of Bicester²⁵⁰ (Islip); Adam vicar of St. Mary, Huntingdon was dean of Huntingdon²⁵¹. Although the principle behind the selection of these officers is undetermined, it is noteworthy that several deaneries - and especially extensive ones, where the amount of work would doubtless have been greater - were administered by 'magistri' - master Roger of Caen was dean of Holland²⁵²; master William of Gloucester was dean of Burnham²⁵³. It is impossible to discover the average duration of a rural dean's tenure of office. They were of course removable 'ad nutum' but obviously there would be no hurry to replace efficient and able occupants. For the Lincoln diocese in the period 1209-1235, four deans of Christianity have been noted²⁵⁴, four deans of Oxford²⁵⁵, three deans of Gartree (Leicestershire)²⁵⁶, two deans of Goscote²⁵⁷, two deans of Bolingbroke²⁵⁸, two deans of Gartree (Lincolnshire)²⁵⁹ and two deans of Calcewaith²⁶⁰. Unfortunately the sources are so

249. W.T. LANCASTER: Cartulary of Bridlington Priory (Leeds 1915), pp. 384-5, 391.

250. note 227 & Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 6.

251. B.M. Additional Charter 33054.

252. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 83, 85; vol. III, p. 110.

253. ibid., vol. II, p. 80.

254. William Martel, Gilbert de Innocentibus, John le Gentil, Stephen of Hungate.

255. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 1111, p. 183; Curia Regis Rolls, vol. XIII, no. 1532, p. 327; ibid., vol. XIV, no. 1060, p. 218; H.E. SALTER: Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, (O.N.S. LXVIII, 1915), no. 755, p. 244; Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. V, pp. 374-5.

256. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 40-1.

257. cf. notes 230-1.

258. cf. notes 216-7.

259. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 86, 121; vol. III, p. 215.

260. see notes 206-8.

sparse and the references to deans so infrequent that we can really gain no idea of the actual number of deans who occupied a particular rural deanery in any given period. Several of the deans whose names have come down to us appear to have died in office ; others evidently resigned or were relieved of what were, after all, rather burdensome duties. Presumably in the latter instance they would revert to the status of ordinary parochial clergy, although several of ~~them~~²⁶¹ continue to be described in retrospect as 'quondam decani'. At least one ex-rural dean became the master of a hospital²⁶². Although it is most unlikely that combinations of deaneries under a single rural dean existed at this date, it is of considerable interest to note that certain rural deans are found performing duties in deaneries adjacent to their own. William dean of Brattleby (Lawres) conducted an inquiry into the vacancy of the church of Cammeringham, which is situated in Aslackhoe deanery²⁶³; similarly, Rannulph of Cawkwell, dean of Louthesk, held an inquiry about Oxcombe church in the deanery of Hill²⁶⁴.

The rural deans of the diocesan records are lamentably obscure and impersonal figures ; these administrative documents merely depict one aspect of their many and varied duties, namely as mandatories of the bishop or the archdeacon, and in consequence little idea can be gained from such sources - or from any others for that matter - of the routine occupations of a rural dean in matters of parochial discipline, the supervision of the inhabitants of his deanery, the holding of regular ruridecanal chapters, citatory duties both for offenders and for visitation purposes, the settlement of petty disputes, penitentiary activities and the like. All these duties were inherent in the office of rural dean and usually it was only when the deans were required to undertake specific commissions normally outside their competence that they received a mention

261. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 30; Registrum Antiquissimum,
vol. II, nos. 564-5, 570-1, pp. 264-5, 269-70.

262. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 176.

263. ibid., vol. I, p. 133.

264. ibid., vol. I, p. 136.

in the episcopal records. The only relevant reference to a dean performing a ruridecanal duty, as opposed to acting as the commissary of the bishop or the archdeacon, is to be found in the Lincolnshire eyre rolls of 1218-1219, when it is recorded that one of the litigants, having taken the cross, then went to the rural dean (of Grimsby) and paid to be released from his vow of crusade.²⁶⁵

The mass of references in the bishop's rolls to rural deans concern inquisitions and inductions, which in theory came within the cognizance of the archdeacon, but were tasks frequently passed on to the dean. This delegation of duties is especially evident in the Lincoln archdeaconry under the apathetic archdeacon Peter and it is obvious that as long as Peter remained archdeacon, the archidiaconal officials (one of whom was a dean) and the rural deans would bear the brunt of routine administration. Whenever a presentation was made to a benefice at this date, an inquisition had to be held in the full chapter of the deanery to determine the cause of the vacancy; the right of patronage, the value of the church and the suitability of the presentee. It often happened that two deans were employed together to make the requisite inquiries in place of the archdeacon or his official. In the majority of cases, one of them was always the dean of the area in which the benefice was situated; on the other hand, their ruridecanal associates formed a small élite group who could be called upon by the bishop or archdeacon, when the occasion demanded, to act for them in executive and judicial matters outside the boundaries of their own deaneries. They clearly owed their ~~prominent~~ prominent positions to their superior administrative ability. Fortunately, they were so frequently employed on diocesan business that their names have become familiar. In the Lincoln archdeaconry there were two such itinerant deans - Gilbert de Innocentibus²⁶⁶ and Barnulph of Cawkwell.²⁶⁷ Gilbert was dean of

265. Rolls of the Justices in eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-9 and Worcestershire 1221, no. 324, p. 150.

266. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 32, 48, 81, 84, 106, 120, 122,

267. *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 18-20, 26, 57, 60, 86, 132, 136.

Christianity of Lincoln and for a short while official of archdeacon Peter in Kesteven ; he was rector of Ingham and the mention of a Thomas de Innocentibus²⁶⁸ and a John de Innocentibus²⁶⁹ in certain Ingham charters would seem to suggest that the connexion with this village was not merely confined to the ecclesiastical benefice. The burdensome duties of a regular episcopal and archidiaconal commissary obviously kept him away from his own deanery a great deal but it is not known what arrangements he made in his absence. At all events he died in 1219 or 1220. Rannulph of Cawkwell presumably came from the Lincolnshire Wolds village of Cawkwell ; he held the rectory of Walmgate until 1225-6 and possibly also the vicarage of Aslackby at some time. Before becoming rural dean of Louthesk, he had acted as 'receptor' - "the most prominent among the sheriff's clerks"²⁷⁰ - of Alexander of Pointon, sheriff of Lincolnshire in the reign of King John.²⁷¹ Rannulph also had a brother, master Laurence, who was rector of Maltby²⁷². Like Gilbert, he was employed throughout the archdeaconry and even farther afield ; on one occasion he is found at Leicester²⁷³, some seventy-five miles from his own deanery.

Although fourteenth century records at Lincoln note the appointment of an official of an archdeaconry during a vacancy caused by the death or cession of the archdeacon²⁷⁴, no such system appears to have been in operation in the first half of the thirteenth century. At that time, the smooth administration of the vacant archdeaconry seems to have depended upon the rural deans. In 1238 following the death of Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Lincoln, an inquisition was held by master Fulk, dean of Yarborough 'quia tunc temporibus vacavit archidiaconatus'²⁷⁵

268. British Museum, Harley Charters 47 G 26; 50 B 18; 52 B 19.

269. British Museum, Harley Charter 52 B 29.

270. W.A. MORRIS: The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300, p. 189 Manchester 1927.

271. P.R.O.LTR.4, Memoranda roll 6 Henry III, mems. 3, 3d, 5d.

272. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 162.

273. ibid., vol. I, p. 60.

274. cf. Lincoln Episcopal Register III, ff. 11d, 61, 197, 249, 381-381

275. Rotuli Roberti Grossatesta, p. 19.

and in the previous year the dean of Scampton (Lawres) is found installing the new prioress of Fosse 'vacante archidiaconatu Stowe'²⁷⁶

Instructions to induct form the other large group of references to rural deans in the Wells rolls. Although an archidiaconal duty, rural deans were nevertheless frequently used to place new incumbents in corporal possession of their benefices. It was apparently customary in such cases to notify the archdeacon or the official and the whole chapter of the deanery once the induction had been performed²⁷⁷. On occasion deans were simply employed as episcopal messengers to pass on verbal instructions to induct to the archdeacon²⁷⁸. Deans are also found inducting religious houses into possession of benefices or tithes. In accordance with a decision delivered by Pandulph Masca, bishop-elect of Norwich and papal judge delegate, in the case between St. Frideswide's priory and William son of Richard, the dean of Waddesdon inducted the canons into possession of the parish church of Oakley²⁷⁹. A further archidiaconal duty which sometimes devolved upon the dean was the installation of heads of religious houses. In 1233 Robert Hamelin was installed as prior of Newport Pagnell and assigned his place in the chapter by the rural dean of Newport 'gorentem vices archidiaconi Buckinghamiensis'²⁸⁰.

Sequestration of benefices, revenues and property was often the responsibility of rural deans but, as Professor Morris has emphasized, in the Lincoln diocese this duty was effectively removed from the competence of the dean by the appointment of special officers known as sequestrators who appear in the archdeaconries and deaneries from the thirteenth century at least²⁸¹. The only reference to these sequestrators

276. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 137.

277. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 84.

278. ibid., vol. III, p. 46.

279. Cartulary of St. Frideswide, vol. II, no. 821, p. 120.

280. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 93.

281. C. MORRIS: "The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln" in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. X, 1959, pp. 50-65.

that I have been able to locate in the Lincoln records before bishop Gravesend's pontificate concerns the appointment of two such officers for the archdeaconry of Northampton in 1230-1231.²⁸² It is perhaps noteworthy that one of them was the rural dean of Arthingworth.

Rural deans possessed little judicial authority by virtue of their office and in 1222 at the Council of Oxford they were forbidden to hear matrimonial cases 'quoniam in causis matrimonialibus magna est discretio necessaria, unde periculosum est eas a simplicibus tractari'.²⁸³ Nevertheless, their 'simplicitas' did not prevent them from frequently being employed as commissaries of the bishop in judicial matters. It was doubtless in this capacity that master Robert of Rothwell, dean of Yarborough, settled a dispute between the abbey of Newhouse and Hugh de Nevill and his men over tithes in the villages of Habrough and Kirmington.²⁸⁴ The case was heard in the parish church of Great Limber and among the witnesses were the dean's son, Robert, and the de^lcanal clerk, John. The same dean of Yarborough,²⁸⁵ the dean of Louthesk,²⁸⁶ the dean of Wendover,²⁸⁷ the dean of Preston²⁸⁸ and William of Mablethorpe, dean of Calcewaith,²⁸⁹ were all cited to appear in the king's court to show why each of them had held a plea concerning a lay fee in court Christian; similarly, Nicholas dean of Oxford²⁹⁰ and the dean of Bedford²⁹¹ were summoned to explain why they had proceeded in hearing pleas of chattels in an ecclesiastical court when they did not relate either to matrimonial or to testamentary business. In respect of litigation in the royal ~~xxx~~
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282. actum no. 283.

283. Councils and Synods II, part 1, p. 113, canon 25.

284. B.M. Harley Charter 44 I 12; L.A.O. Earl of Yarborough, Newhouse cartulary, f. 25d.

285. P.R.O. Curia Regis Roll 17-18 Henry III, mem. 19, dorse.

286. ibid., mem. 9, dorse.

287. Curia Regis Roll, vol. XIV, no. 1601, p. 342.

288. ibid., vol. XII, no. 977, p. 210.

289. ibid., vol. XIV, no. 550, p. 108.

290. ibid., vol. XIV, no. 1060, p. 218.

291. ibid., vol. XIV, no. 1602, p. 342.

courts, little information is available ; on one occasion, the rural dean of Mursley is found acting as attorney of Matthew of Stratton archdeacon of Buckingham²⁹² in a lawsuit in which the latter was involved. When criminous clerks were delivered by the secular authorities to the ecclesiastical courts for trial and judgment, they were sometimes handed over to a rural dean, as was the case in 1227 when Thomas, rector of Eton, was appealed of rape.²⁹³

The pope also made constant use of the services of rural deans when he was obliged to appoint judges delegate. The dean of Oxford was commissioned together with the university chancellor, to hear a case brought by the abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester against Geoffrey the vicar of Taynton for demanding tithes which it was claimed were the property of the abbey and for withholding the payment of a pension.²⁹⁴ The rural dean of Berkhamsted heard the case between Dunstable priory and the rector of North Marston and others over disputed rents and possessions in that village,²⁹⁵ and the dean of Covenham was one of the judges appointed by pope Innocent III to settle a quarrel between Bullington priory and the parishioners of Burton-on-the-Wold over the chapel of St. Peter at Burton.²⁹⁶ In 1227 the rural dean of Grantham received a commission to decide a matrimonial case²⁹⁷ and but the majority of delegated cases seem to have concerned the possession of tithes. In 1225 Pope Honorius III had appointed the dean of Oxford, the dean of Haseley and the chancellor of Oxford to determine a suit between the rector of Bytham and William de Coleville over the tithes of that church.²⁹⁸

292. J.G. JENKINS: Calendar of the Roll of the Justices on Eyre 1227 (Bucks. Record Soc. VI, 1945), no. 127, p. 8).

293. ibid., no. 516, p. 47.

294. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 1111, p. 183.

295. A Digest of the Charters in the Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, no. 336, p. 115.

296. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 1102, p. 182.

297. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 118.

298. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 1019, pp. 345-6.

and thirteen years earlier the rural dean of Islip (Bicester) settled a similar dispute between the rector of Garsington and the priory of St. Frideswide.²⁹⁹ Other ruridecanal judges appointed by the pope to hear such cases were the deans of Northampton³⁰⁰, Redbourne³⁰¹, Bedford³⁰², Langford³⁰³, Christianity of Lincoln³⁰⁴, Luton³⁰⁵, and Dunstable³⁰⁶. There is one instance in this period of a judge delegate (the dean of Bedford) subdelegating a case to be heard before the rural dean of Weston³⁰⁷ and in 1230 the dean of Christianity of Lincoln replaced the archdeacon of Stow as one of the judges in a dispute between the priories of Campsey Ash and Butley.³⁰⁸

The few barren notes on Gilbert de Innocentibus and Rannulph of Cawkwell will have emphasized the problems confronting those engaged on a study of rural deans. From the diocesan sources at our disposal, little idea can be gained of the social background, early career and sometimes even the names of these rural deans, unless like Roger dean of Pattishall³⁰⁹ they were distrained for debt or in other ways fell foul of the law. A most welcome exception to this general dearth of information is afforded in the person of master Stephen of Hungate, dean of Christianity of the City of Lincoln. The outlines of his upbringing and career are clear. The second of three sons of Osbert son of Turgar of Hungate³¹⁰, Stephen was born into a prominent and prosperous merchant family of the

299. Cartulary of St. Frideswide, vol. II, no. 1048, p. 267.

300. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 41-2.

301. British Museum, Cotton MS. Claudius D XI, ff. 217-217d.

302. Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, no. 501, p. 157.

303. Letters of Pope Innocent III, no. 1133, p. 186; Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 122.

304. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 123.

305. Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, no. 695, p. 190.

306. Ibid., no. 913, p. 229.

307. Ibid., no. 501, p. 157.

308. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, pp. 121, 123.

309. P.R.O. LTR. 4, memoranda roll 6 Henry III, mem. 2.

310. J.W.F. HILL: Medieval Lincoln, pp. 389-91 (Cambridge 1948).

city. Being persons of some substance, it was natural to expect that the Hungate family would be closely corned with the civic government of Lincoln. An uncle of the future dean, Warner son of Turgar, had apparently been bailiff of the city six times in the 1160's and 1170's ; an older cousin, William nephew of Warner, was successively bailiff of Lincoln in 1186-7, 1189-90 and 1215-6, and then mayor in 1217. Of Stephen's immediate family, his eldest brother John was mayor at some time between 1224 and 1226 and again in ~~1233-34~~¹²³³⁻³⁴ and his youngest brother Giles was a city bailiff. Several of Stephen's nephews also feature among the small group of ruling citizens - two of them, William son of Giles and Osbert son of Giles attained the mayoralty of the city, the former holding office twice ; a third, Jordan son of Giles, was a city bailiff and a fourth, Henry son of Giles, became one of the Christian Cyrographers of the Lincoln Chest~~er~~. Another cousin, William son of Warner, held half a knight's fee of bishop Hugh in Stow. Several members of the family were munificent benefactors of the Cistercian nunnery of Fosse in the archdeaconry of Stow and it is therefore not altogether surprising that Stephen should have ~~gan~~ begun his clerical career with preferment to the church of Cherry Willingham³¹¹, which was in Fosse's patronage. In the first quarter of the thirteenth century he is found attesting several charters of citizens who were making grants of land or rents to the dean and chapter of Lincoln or to a religious house³¹². He clearly held considerable property in his own right in the city parishes of St. Faith and St. Mary Crackpole³¹³; the latter land he granted to the common fund of the canons³¹⁴. Stephen is styled 'magister' from the third decade of the century. Although

311. actum no.91.

312. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VIII, pp. 6, 162, 198; vol. IX, pp. 26, 33, 39, 40, 52, 57, 63.

313. ibid., vol. IX, nos. 2452-3, pp. 58-60.

314. ibid., vol. VIII, no. 2347, pp. 156-7.

one would have expected him to be an incumbent of a city benefice. I have not been able to establish whether he held any ecclesiastical preferment other than Cherry Willingham.

Unfortunately the episcopal records do not inform us when he vacated this church. His predecessor as dean of the city of Lincoln, John le Gentil, was still in office on 13 January 1228³¹⁵ when he witnessed a deed of sale but he is not found in later documents. It is probable that master Stephen was appointed relatively soon after that date. He was certainly dean in 1234³¹⁶ and another charter in which he features could have been issued as early as 1230³¹⁷. He evidently gave up his decanal duties about 1241 when master Henry Costard is found acting in that capacity³¹⁸; he lived on for some considerable time after his resignation and appears in charters as late as the 1250's³¹⁹. In one of these documents, dated 1244, Stephen witnesses with a "Robert son of the dean"³²⁰; whether the latter was an illegitimate offspring of the former dean of Christianity is impossible to determine.

On the whole, the evidence that has been amassed seems to indicate that few rural deans rose any higher in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Gilbert de Innocentibus, it is true, became official of the archdeacon of Lincoln while retaining the deanery of Christianity and several other deans are found acting as deputies of absent archdeacons, but I think that these are exceptions rather than the general rule. At an earlier date, Gerard of Rothwell the dean could possibly be identified with the future canon of Lincoln and Official of the archbishop of York³²¹, although there is no real proof of this assertion. Rural deans were capable and experienced members of the lesser clergy upon whom fell the responsibility of supervision of their parochial colleagues; in addition they were useful

315. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VIII, no. 2318, pp. 130-2.

316. ibid., vol. VIII, no. 2223, pp. 37-8.

317. ibid., vol. VIII, no. 2351, pp. 160-1.

318. ibid., vol. VIII, p. 201.

319. ibid., vol. IX, nos. 2452-3, pp. 58-60.

320. ibid., vol. VIII, no. 2352, pp. 161-2.

for 321, see over.

executive officers of the bishop and the archdeacon but in general, it is clear that a rural deanery was not an office for an ambitious clerk intent on pursuing a career in the church and eager for advancement.

321. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IV, no. 1437, p. 263 (dean); W. STUBBS Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, vol. III, p. 298 (official); Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, pp. 26-7, 32, 42, 274, 278; vol. III, pp. 40, 54 (canon).

APPENDIX I.A Note on 'sede vacante' administration at Lincoln from the late twelfth century until 1235.

Although the subject of vacancy government does not really come within the scope of this chapter of diocesan administrators 'sede plena', it will perhaps be of some value, since reference has already been made to the vacancy of 1206-9 and the period of interdict administration 1209-1213, to add a few preliminary notes on this relatively unexplored topic.

The dearth of material for episcopal vacancies in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries makes it extremely difficult to determine with any degree of precision the nature of the 'sede vacante' administration of any English diocese. The sources for Lincoln, as elsewhere, do not become really plentiful until the pontificate of archbishop Boniface of Canterbury (1245-1270) when, after a prolonged dispute between that prelate and the cathedral chapter, a composition was made regulating the procedure to be followed in future vacancies³²². By the provisions of this 1261 composition, immediately on the death or cession of the bishop, the dean and chapter of Lincoln were to present three canons to the archbishop of Canterbury, one of whom would be chosen by him to be the Official 'sede vacante', entrusted with the task of administering the spiritualities of the diocese until the election of a new bishop. It is well known that the procedure laid down in this compromise agreement regarding the appointment of the Official

322. I. J. CHURCHILL: Canterbury Administration, vol. II, pp. 42-5, London 1933 (Lambeth MS. 1212); H. BRADSHAW & C. WORDSWORTH: Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. I, pp. 311-5, Cambridge 1892 (Liber Niger); and C. W. FOSTER: Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 962, p. 300 (noted but unprinted). In none of these works is it noted that the original composition still survives at Lincoln; it is Dean & Chapter document D1j/60/2/8. It is indented and bears slight textual variations in comparison with the printed transcripts. Unfortunately both seals are missing and their tags have been torn away.

was followed at every vacancy until 1853³²³; unfortunately, such a positive assertion cannot be made when we come to consider the pattern of "pre-composition" vacancy government. The conflict which was resolved in 1261 had arisen over rival claims to 'sede vacante' jurisdiction. Archbishop Boniface claimed to exercise vacancy rights as metropolitan; the chapter countered by insisting that jurisdiction was theirs by force of custom. The primate's claim to administer vacant suffragan sees was certainly not new but it is difficult to assess how forcefully it was advanced by successive archbishops until the time of Boniface. At Lincoln, the interference of the metropolitan during a vacancy is not very evident - archbishop Baldwin is found intervening in the affairs of the diocese after the translation of Walter of Coutances to Rouen (1184)³²⁴ and similarly, archbishop Hubert Walter in the following vacancy of 1200-1203³²⁵ - but the general impression gained from the records under examination is that the chapter enjoyed the right to administer the spiritualities relatively undisturbed until the death of bishop Grosseteste in 1253. Certainly in 1255, in a charter of bishop Hugh concerning the priory of Little Wymondley and episcopal control, provision was made for when the see should happen to be vacant: '.....ita quidem quod sede Lincoln' quancumque vacante Decanus qui pro tempore fuerit et capitulum Lincoln' circa ordinationem domus prefate plenum ius habeant in omnibus premissis.....'³²⁶ Similarly in a charter issued about the time of the dispute with the archbishop of

323. D.M. WILLIAMSON: "Sede Vacante Records of the Diocese of Lincoln" in Bulletin of the Society of Local Archivists, no. 12, p. 13 (1953). This article deals with post-1261 material.

324. Historical Manuscripts Commission: Duke of Rutland, vol. IV, p. 114 (2 charters).

325. O.R. CHENEY: Hubert Walter, p. 64; From Becket to Langton, pp. 196-8; H.E. SALTER: The Cartulary of Eynsham Abbey, vol. I, no. 585, p. 399 & no. 592, p. 403 (Oxford Hist. Society XLIX); British Museum, Cotton MS. Tiberius C IX, f. 143d.

326. British Museum, Add. MS. 43972, f. 13 (377).

Canterbury, the archdeacons of the diocese claimed to exercise jurisdiction during a vacancy 'de jure et ratione capituli, ad quos de jure communi jurisdiccio episcopalis vacante sede ~~transacti~~ dinoscitur pertinere'.³²⁷

The evidence at our disposal is reasonably plentiful, due no doubt to the fact that in this period there were frequent vacancies at Lincoln - 1166-1173, 1182-1183, 1184-1186, 1200-1203, 1206-1209 and 1235. It consists primarily of letters of institution both in transcript and original, royal letters of presentation registered on the patent and charter rolls, a register and several documents containing an account of the litigation in England and at the papal curia between the chapter and the archbishop (1253-1261),³²⁸ numerous notes in the episcopal rolls and two separate records of institutions performed in the vacancies of 1200-1203 and 1235. One of the latter documents concerns institutions performed by master Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Lincoln, in the vacancy after Hugh of Wells's death.³²⁹ The nineteenth century endorsement of the membrane has ascribed to this archdeacon, quite unjustifiably, the title of "Guardian of the Spiritualities" and Canon Foster was misled into thinking that the archdeacon of Lincoln was the Official 'sede vacante'. This is certainly not the case, as the institutions recorded only deal with benefices in the Lincoln archdeaconry and there is evidence in this vacancy of other archidiaconal activity besides that of master Robert. From the remaining categories of material, it has been proved beyond doubt that the Dean and the eight archdeacons of the diocese, presumably acting as agents of the chapter, instituted clerks to benefices during vacancies and performed other duties which

327. Lincoln Dean & Chapter doct. D1j/60/2/3.

328. Lincoln Dean & Chapter muniment D1j/62/4.

329. O.W. FOSTER: "Institutions to Benefices in the Diocese of Lincoln" in A.A.B. Reports & Papers, vol. LXXIX (1929), pp. 179-183.

would normally have been carried out by the bishop 'sede plena'.³³⁰ The sphere of action of each archdeacon seems to have been confined to his own area of jurisdiction. Letters of presentation to parish churches are addressed to the holder of the archdeaconry in which the benefice was situated; presentations to cathedral prebends were naturally directed to the Dean of Lincoln.³³¹ What is of great interest is that in this early period there is no mention of a single Official 'sede vacante', as occurs after 1261; the Dean and most (and presumably all) of the archdeacons were each entitled 'officialis' or in some cases 'officialis episcopatus'.³³²

It may be of some interest to remark upon a curious usage of the term 'officialis', also in connexion with vacancy government. It appears to have been unique to England and then only three examples have been discovered, two of which concern Lincoln, so that to attempt an explanation at this stage would be exceedingly rash. In England during the vacancy of a bishopric the king exercised his right to enjoy part of the

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- 330.** Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VI, p. 279 (adn of Bedford); British Museum, Cotton MS. Tiberius C IX, f. 141 (2 charters - adn of Huntingdon); Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VIII, p. 171 (adn of Stow); ibid., vol. VI, p. 308 (adn of Lincoln); ibid., vol. VII, p. 135 (adn of Bedford); British Museum, Royal MS. 11 B IX, f. 36 (adn of Northampton); British Museum, Add. MS. 47677, f. 357d (adn of Oxford); H.M.C. Duke of Rutland, vol. IV, p. 114 (adn of Lincoln); British Museum, Cotton MS. Vespasian E XX, f. 106d (adn of Lincoln); Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 116 (adn of Lincoln); English Historical Review, vol. LXXVI (1961), p. 307 (adn of Huntingdon); Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 186 (adn of Lincoln); Cartulary of Eynsham Abbey, vol. I, p. 3 (adn of Buckingham); Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 158ter, 159ter (adn of Northampton); British Museum, Cotton MS. Faustina A III, f. 267 (adn of Northampton).
- 331.** Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, pp. 10b-11, 13b(bis), 21b, 26b, 66b, 70(bis), 73b, 75, 78, 80b, 81b, 84(ter), 86, 87 - these letters of presentation are addressed either to the Dean of Lincoln or to the following archdeacons individually - Lincoln, Oxford, Buckingham & Huntingdon; Rotuli Charterarum p. 99b.
- 332.** Southwell Minster MS. 3, f. 145d, no. 989; B.M. Cotton MS. Tiberius C IX, f. 143d; Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VIII, p. 171; B.M. Royal MS. 11 B IX, f. 36d; Rotuli Charterarum, p. 99b.; Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, pp. 10b-11.

revenues of the see and also the rights of patronage formerly pertaining to the bishop. On the death or resignation of the diocesan, the king would lose no time in appointing custodians to administer those revenues which had come into his hands. In the late twelfth century documents these persons are styled 'custodes episcopatus' and for this note the Latin form has been preferred to the more specific title of "Keepers of the Temporalities". Dr. Howell in her study of English regalian right advises against too strict a distinction between the temporalities and spiritualities of vacant dioceses in the twelfth century and early thirteenth century³³³ and it will soon be evident that her warning is particularly appropriate on this occasion.

On 29 November 1200, thirteen days after the death of Hugh I, bishop of Lincoln, King John appointed Hugh of Boothby and Hugh of Wells as 'custodes episcopatus' for the duration of the vacancy. Two commissions of appointment were issued simultaneously and fortunately transcripts of both survive on the charter roll. The first commission, addressed specifically to the episcopal knights and all other tenants of the bishopric, announces the appointment of the two custodians and demands obedience:

'Commisimus custodiam episcopatus Linc' dilecto et fideli clerico nostro Hugoni de Well' et Hugoni de Boby.....' 334.

The second letter of appointment bears a general address to the clergy and laity of the diocese and records that the king had bestowed the "officiality" of the bishopric of Lincoln upon Hugh of Wells. There is no mention of the other 'custos', Hugh of Boothby:

'Sciatis nos commississe dilecto et fideli clerico nostro Hugoni de Well' officialitatem episcopatus Linc', sicut patris nostri regis H. officialitatem illam habuerunt quando episcopatus Linc' in manu sua fuit.....' 334.

333. M. HOWELL: Regalian Right in Medieval England, p.1, note 1 & pp.37-39 (London 1962).

334. Rotuli Chartarum, p.99b. Both entries have been checked against the original roll.

The "officiality" of the vacant bishopric in this sense must remain for the moment undefined. It is unlikely that it would refer to the office of "official-principal"! From the meagre evidence available for the 1200-1203 vacancy, it is impossible to discover the full extent of the duties of Hugh of Wells. At no time has he been found acting independently of his colleague. The only apparent distinction between the two custodians is one of status - Hugh of Wells was a clerk and Hugh of Boothby was a layman ; perhaps this difference is of more significance than has previously been supposed in the sphere of vacancy administration.

Additional Charter 6104 in the British Museum is a transcript of four charters arranged in chronological order, relating to the church of North Witham in the archdeaconry of Lincoln³³⁵. The second of these documents presents special difficulties. It is a charter issued 'sede vacante' by the Chapter of Lincoln regarding the grant of North Witham church made to Robert of Aincourt by abbot Edward and the prior of Owston. It can be dated approximately to the period 1181-1183. The text concludes as follows:

'Magister vero Gregorius et Ricardus Brit' tunc temporis Lincoln' ecclesie officiales accepta ab eo canonica obediencia Linc' ecclesie tenenda, eum ad eandem ecclesiam receperunt.'

From a reading of this passage, it could be assumed that the 'officiales' of Lincoln were either Officials of the bishop or officials 'sede vacante' (that is, the cathedral chapter and the archdeacons). However, neither interpretation would be correct in this instance for it is proved by entries on the pipe rolls that master Gregory and Richard Brito were 'custodes episcopatus' appointed by King Henry II after the resignation of his bastard son, Geoffrey the bishop-elect of Lincoln³³⁶. Yet the contents of this charter indicate that the royal custodians were performing duties seemingly outside the scope of their

³³⁵. The four charters contained in the transcript are:-

- 1) Charter of Bishop Robert II of Lincoln (1148-66).
- 2) Charter of the Chapter of Lincoln (1181-3).
- 3) Charter of bishop Walter of Lincoln (1183-4).
- 4) Charter of R. Grimbold (undated).

acknowledged activities. Here again it is interesting to note that both master Gregory and Richard Brito were in clerical orders; the former was in all probability a canon lawyer at Oxford³³⁷; the latter eventually became archdeacon of Coventry.

Further confirmation of this encroachment upon the spiritual jurisdiction of the cathedral chapter committed by clerical 'custodes episcopatus' is discernible in the York records. On the death of archbishop Roger in 1181, the see of York was vacant for eight years and during that time Laurence archdeacon of Bedford and master Roger Arundel (and on some occasions William Vavassur) administered the archiepiscopal estates for the king as 'custodes archiepiscopatus' and accounted for the profits of the see at the royal exchequer³³⁸. A charter in the cartulary of Lewes priory (compiled in 1444) reveals another aspect of these custodians' activities. It concerns a dispute between Richard de Burstale and master W. de Summere over a moiety of the church of Birton. An inquisition held in the ruridecanal chapter of Pontefract had found that Richard had been canonically instituted parson of the moiety by Laurence archdeacon of Bedford and master Richard (recte Roger) Arundel, who as "officials of the archbishopric of York, had care of the spiritualities"³³⁹. This clause about the spiritual administration of the see could have been a later interpolation or misinterpretation on the part of the compiler of the cartulary; he had already mistranscribed the name of one of the

336. Pipe Roll 27 Henry II (P.R.S. XXX, 1909), p. 63; P.R. 28 Henry II (P.R.S. XXXI, 1910), p. 59; P.R. 29 Henry II (P.R.S. XXXII, 1911), pp. 32, 70; P.R. 30 Henry II (P.R.S. XXXIII, 1912), p. 22.

337. A.B. EMDEN: A BIOGRAPHICAL Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500. vol. II, p. 817 (Oxford 1958).

338. Pipe Roll 28 Henry II, p. 62; P.R. 29 Henry II, p. 59; P.R. 30 Henry II, p. 39; P.R. 31 Henry II (P.R.S. XXXIV, 1913), pp. 78-9; P.R. 32 Henry II (P.R.S. XXXVI, 1914), pp. 100-1; P.R. 33 Henry II (P.R.S. XXXVII, 1915), pp. 90, 97; P.R. 34 Henry II (P.R.S. XXXVIII, 1925), p. 9.

339. C.T. CLAY: Early Yorkshire Charters, vol. VIII, no. 157, pp. 218-220. '...et ad presentationem prioris et conventus de Lewes per magistros L(aurentium) quondam archidiaconum Bedelf' et Ric(ardum) Arundell' qui tunc officiales archiepiscopatu Ebor(acensis) curam gerebant spiritualium institutum fuisse..... Cf course, the ruridecanal chapter could also have made an error in their titles.

'officialiales' and this supposition is well within the bounds of possibility. Indeed, additional confirmation of this conclusion is furnished by a charter of Hubert Walter, at that time Dean of York, to the abbey of West Dereham in which he records that he exercised the care of the spiritualities during the same vacancy³⁴⁰; the names of two other 'officialiales'archiepiscopatus' to whom a letter is directed by the king's itinerant justices also seem to emphasize the capitular claim to vacancy jurisdiction³⁴¹. Nevertheless it is undeniable that certain royal custodians - in every case drawn from the ranks of the clergy - apparently usurped some of the responsibilities and duties normally expected of capitular 'officialiales' during a vacancy. A hard and fast distinction between custodians of temporalities and spiritualities is obviously at variance with the facts. For the present it is impossible to ascertain the full implications of the term 'officialialis' employed in this context, but although considerably more research needs to be undertaken before any clear conception of late twelfth and early thirteenth century vacancy administration emerges, at any rate it is important to bear in mind, when attempting to study the Officiality in England, that the term 'officialialis' could also be applied to the representative of the king in the vacant see, performing spiritual duties, and likewise to the Dean and Chapter and the archdeacons of the diocese acting during a vacancy.

³⁴⁰. Cited by Cheney: Hubert Walter, p.25. The relevant part of the text is as follows: (B.M.Add.MS.46353, f.310d)'..... Noverit universitas vestra quod vacante sede Ebor' archiepiscopatus, dum curam spiritualium in eo gereremus, dedimus et concessimus divine amoris intuitu canonicis de D. ecclesiam de Kyrkebi in Malkedale.....'

³⁴¹. W.FARRER: Early Yorkshire Charters, vol.III, no.1682, p.330.

Appendix II : PARTI ARCHIDIACONALES.Archdeacons of Lincoln.PETER.

Possibly received the archdeaconry from his brother, Geoffrey bishop-elect of Lincoln circa 1175 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 340, p. 33 & vol. VII, p. 205). In 1217 Pope Honorius was petitioned by the clergy of the archdeaconry to remove him. The abbots of Sibton and Leiston and the prior of Blyborough were commissioned to investigate the charges (Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 47). The results of their enquiry is unknown. Peter occurs in the episcopal rolls circa 1217-1218 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 43, 53, 58, 100) but had ceased to be archdeacon by May 1219 (see following entry).

Master WILLIAM DE THORNACO.

Archdeacon of Stow 1213/4-1219 (q.v.). He became archdeacon of Lincoln between 12 April and 22 May 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 94). In 1223 he succeeded master Roger of Rolleston as Dean of Lincoln. Dean Roger died on 28 January 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VIII, p. xxiii) ; master William first occurs as Dean on 12 March 1223 (ibid., vol. II, no. 513, p. 217).

Master ROBERT OF HAILES.

Archdeacon of Huntingdon 1214-1223 (q.v.). He was still archdeacon of Huntingdon on 12 March 1223 but had become archdeacon of Lincoln by 23 March 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 513, pp. 217-8 ; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 126). He is styled archdeacon of Huntingdon on 24 September 1223 (ibid., vol. III, p. 42) but this is an error, since he occurs as archdeacon of Lincoln on the very same day (ibid., vol. III, p. 125). The annalist of Dunstable informs us that Robert died in 1238 (beginning 25 March 1238 - Annales monastici, vol. III, p. 148) and he was certainly dead by 27 May 1238 (Rotuli Roberti Grossetate, pp. 26-7 - letter of institution to Castle Bytham dated 27 May ; Thomas Wallensis, Robert's successor in office, had inducted the new incumbent to this benefice (ibid., p. 22), so he clearly had

been appointed archdeacon before the letter of institution was issued). He was prebendary of Louth (Epistolae Roberti Grosseteste, no. LI, pp. 147-151).

Archdeacons of Stow.

? Master WILLIAM OF FIRSBY.

He occurs as archdeacon of the West Riding circa 1198-1203 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 674, p. 40), in 1201 (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. I, p. 442) and possibly during the general interdict (Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, vol. VII, p. 147, cf. p. 139). Circa 1210-1216, William prior of St. Katherine's Lincoln sold the vicars choral a house and court next to St. Peter in Eastgate church, which had been given to them by William of Firsby, archdeacon of Stow (Lincoln Dean & Chapter Vc. 2/1, no. 199). It is not known when he gave up the archdeaconry. It is interesting to note that in 1213 a William of Firsby is found as prior of Alvingham (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud misc. 642, f. 130d). Whether the archdeacon had become a Gilbertine canon is of course impossible to ascertain.

Master WILLIAM DE THORNACO.

He became archdeacon between 5 October 1213 and 27 February 1214 (Westminster Abbey muniment no. 15683 ; Liber Antiquus, p. 72) and continued to hold office until 1219. He is last mentioned as archdeacon of Stow on 12 April 1219 (ibid., p. 94) ; by 22 May he had become archdeacon of Lincoln. (ibid.) He was prebendary of Dunham and Newport (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 557, pp. 257-8; Final Concords, vol. I, p. 142).

Master JOHN OF YORK.

He succeeded master William between 12 April and 22 May 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 94) but he did not retain the archdeaconry for long. He is described as Subdean of Lincoln on 23 September 1219 (ibid., pp. 96-7).

HUGH OF ST. EDWARD.

He was appointed archdeacon at some date between 21 July and 23 September 1219 (Liber Antiquus, pp. 96-7) ; he last occurs in this capacity on 25 November 1222 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 898, p. 243).

Master WILLIAM SON OF FULK.

Although styled simply as a canon on 25 November 1222 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 898, p. 243), he had become archdeacon by 12 March 1223 (ibid., vol. II, no. 513, p. 218). Death intervened shortly afterwards, perhaps in the same year. On 8 October 1224 it was stated that the church of Cheddington had been vacant for almost a year as a result of his death (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 65). He was certainly dead by 24 March 1224 when a successor was instituted to the church of Roxby (ibid., vol. I, p. 219). He was prebendary of Decem Librarum (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 350, pp. 41-2). In 1278 his obit-day was 10 November (Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. II, p. 812 note 3) and it is probable that he died on that day in 1223.

Master WILLIAM OF KENT alias CANTERBURY alias HARBLEDOWN.

For his various names, see Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 197 bis ; Close Rolls 1227-1231, p. 590). It is probable that he became archdeacon between 4 November 1223 and 4 January 1224 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 203-4). The archdeaconry was next vacant during the second pontifical year of bishop Grosseteste (17 June 1236-16 June 1237 - Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 137).

Archdeacons of Leicester.Master RAYMOND.

He presumably became archdeacon of Leicester in 1195, succeeding master Roger of Rolleston who had been promoted to the Deanery of Lincoln (Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, vol. II, p. 154). He occurs circa 1196-1198 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 637, p. 330). Canon Foster was mistaken when he stated that there were two

archdeacons Raymond (ibid., vol.III,p.230). He received induction mandates until bishop Hugh's sixteenth year (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II,p.300):- 20 December 1225-19 December 1225.

Master WILLIAM BLUND.

See the note on archdeacons William of Leicester appended at the end of this section. He occurs in the episcopal rolls from the seventeenth pontifical year - 20 December 1225-19 December 1226 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II,p.301). He succeeded Richard Grant as Chancellor of Lincoln in 1229. Grant was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on 10 June and Blund was chancellor by 20 December 1229 (end of twentieth pontifical year - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II,p.307).

Master ROBERT GROSSETESTE.

He was archdeacon before the twentieth of December 1229 (ibid., vol.II,pp.308-310). He had resigned his archdeaconry before 12 November 1232, when he is merely described as canon of Lincoln and prebendary of Leicester St.Margaret (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.II,no.890,pp.235-6 of Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae,no.VIII, pp.43-5). Bishop of Lincoln 1235.

Master WILLIAM OF LINCOLN alias DRAYTON.

He succeeded Grosseteste as archdeacon some time between 9 September and 20 December 1232 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.II, no.365,p.63 ; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II,p.321). His successor, master John of Winchester alias Basingstoke was in office in the first year of bishop Grosseteste's pontificate (17 June 1235-16 June 1236; Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste,pp.385ff). The often-cited charter of 1 April 1235 which he attests, should be dated 1 April 1236 (ibid.,p.391).

Archdeacons of Northampton.

Master ROBERT OF MANCETTER.

Master Richard Kentensis is found as archdeacon circa 1200-1203 (B.M.Royal MS.11 B IX,f.36) but Robert of Mancetter had succeeded him in the course of the episcopate of William of Blois (1203-1206). He occurs in a charter of that bishop which

can be dated (from the other attestations) to the period 1203-1205 (P.R.O. Exch. K.R. Misc. Books. 1.20, f.6). He is found as archdeacon on 31 March 1231 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p.160) but had ceased to hold office by the end of that year (see following entry).

Master JOHN OF HOUGHTON.

Archdeacon of Bedford 1218-1231 (q.v.). He became archdeacon between 9 September and 27 December 1231 (Registrum Roffense, pp. 386-7 ; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p.246). He died in 1246 (beginning 25 March 1246 - Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora, vol. IV, p.552) and last occurs in the episcopal roll during the bishop's eleventh pontifical year, ending 16 June 1246 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p.225). He was prebendary of Empingham (ibid., p.224).

Archdeacons of Huntingdon.

WILLIAM OF CORNHILL.

Royal letters of presentation to the archdeaconry on the death of Robert de Hardres, dated 30 June 1207 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.73). He was elected bishop of Coventry and Lichfield before 9 July 1214 (Handbook of British Chronology) and was consecrated on 25 January 1215.

Master ROBERT OF HAILES.

He first occurs as archdeacon on 5 November 1214 (Liber Antiquus, pp.72-3) and continued to hold office until 12 March/23 March 1223 (see Lincoln archdeaconry). He was prebendary of Brampton in 1221 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no.376, pp.80-2).

PHILIP OF FAUCONBERG.

He had succeeded master Robert as archdeacon by 2 December 1223 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p.44). He was still archdeacon on 7 November 1228 (Close Rolls 1227-1231, p.122) but had ceased to hold office by 7 December 1228 (Patent Rolls 1225-1232, p.231). His obit was 2 December, so he probably died on that day in 1228 (J.LE NEVE: Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, vol. I, St. Paul's London, ed. D.E. GREENWAY, London 1968, p.33).

Master GILBERT OF TAUNTON.

For his identification, see B.M. Additional Charter 33054. He presumably was the immediate successor of archdeacon Philip in 1229 but the institution roll is missing for this period. He was not archdeacon on 8 August 1229 when he dated a charter of bishop Jocelin of Bath and Glastonbury, merely styling himself canon of Wells (H.M.C. Dean & Chapter of Wells, vol. I, p. 28). He had become archdeacon by 9 April 1230 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 235). He is last mentioned during the fourth pontifical year of bishop Grosseteste - 17 June 1238 - 16 June 1239 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 264 - St. Neots entry, not printed). His successor, master William of Arundel, first occurs in the bishop's fifth year - 1239-1240 (ibid., p. 269).

Archdeacons of Bedford.Master ALEXANDER OF ELSTOW.

He succeeded archdeacon Geoffrey during the episcopate of William of Blois (1203-1206 : B.M. Harley Charter 84 D 3). If I am correct in thinking that his predecessor was Geoffrey of Deeping, then Alexander must have been appointed between²⁵ September 1205 (Peter des Roches, precentor of Lincoln was consecrated bishop of Winchester on that day and Geoffrey of Deeping succeeded him as precentor of Lincoln) and 10 May 1206 (the date of bishop William's death.) He occurs on 14 June 1218 (Liber Antiquus, p. 89) but was dead by December of that year (see following entry).

Master JOHN OF HOUGHTON.

He became archdeacon between 14 June and 10 December 1218 (Liber Antiquus, pp. 89, 91). He continued to act in this capacity until his promotion to the archdeaconry of Northampton some time between 9 September and 27 December 1231 (Registrum Roffense, pp. 386-7 ; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 246).

Master AMAURY OF BUCKDEN.

He was still a canon of Lincoln on 14 October 1231 but had become archdeacon by 27 December 1231 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 242, 246). He is said to have died in 1244 but this is caused by an error in calculating the pontifical year of bishop

Grosseteste. Amaury is last mentioned and his successor, John de Dyham, first occurs during the bishop's eleventh pontifical year (17 June 1245 - 16 June 1246). Amaury held an inquisition regarding the vacancy of Sandy church and John did likewise for Thurleigh (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p.326 - both relevant parts are unprinted). Master Amaury was prebendary of North Kelsey (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.II, no.473, pp.171-2).

Archdeacons of Oxford.

Master WALTER MAP.

Walter succeeded master John of Coutances on the latter's elevation to the bishopric of Worcester (consecrated 20 October 1196). He occurs in May 1208 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.84), but was dead in 1210 when an assize of darrein presentment was held in connexion with the Hertfordshire church of Ashwell, of which he had been the rector. (Curia Regia Rolls, vol.VI, p.93).

Master JOHN OF TYNEMOUTH.

In Lent 1210 master John was still being described as a canon of Lincoln (Lincoln Dean & Chapter A/1/6, no.762) but he could have become archdeacon soon afterwards. He witnesses as such a decision of certain papal judges delegate. Pope Innocent III's commission is dated 17 December 1209 (Luffield Priory Charters, part 1, no.60, p.61). John was archdeacon by 1212 at least (Lincoln Dean & Chapter A/1/5, no.705). He died in 1221 (from 25 March 1221 - Annales monastici, vol.III, p.66) and certainly before 2 August (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.192). He was prebendary of Langford Manor (Bracton's Note-Book, vol.II, p.625).

MATTHEW (? OF STRATTON).

He occurs as archdeacon on 2 August and 12 August 1221 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, pp.192-3). From the dates of his tenure of this archdeaconry, it is very likely that he is to be identified with Matthew of Stratton who appears as archdeacon of Buckingham later in the same year (q.v.).

Master ADAM OF ST. EDMUND.

He became archdeacon at some date between 24 January and 11 June 1222 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, pp.196-7). He died in

1236, at least before the conclusion of bishop Grosseteste's first year (16 June 1236) (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 445). He was prebendary of Langford Manor (Eracten's Note-Book, vol. II, p. 625).

Archdeacons of Buckingham.

Master WILLIAM OF BLOIS.

He was appointed archdeacon by bishop William circa 1203-1205 (St. Frideswide Cartulary, vol. I, p. 47 ; B.M. Harley Charter B4 D 2). According to a charter of bishop William transcribed into the Newnham cartulary, William's immediate predecessor was an archdeacon R, rather than Stephen of Swayfield (Cartulary of Newnham Priory, no. 98, p. 62). On 7 October 1218 William was consecrated bishop of Worcester. He was prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VI, pp. 244, 286, vol. VII, pp. 9-10, 24, 48, 52, 57, 91, 113).

WILLIAM.

This previously unknown archdeacon succeeded William of Blois after his promotion to the episcopate. He witnesses charters between 11 April 1219 and 12 April 1221 (Liber Antiquus, p. 94; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 191; H.E.C. Dean & Chapter of Wells, vol. I, p. 367). He was prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham (Testa de Nevill, p. 109). The identity of this archdeacon must unfortunately remain undetermined. If he was chosen from among the existing canons, the only known canon William who would "fit" with the dates, is master William of St. Maxentius, who was a canon by 1218 (Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. V, p. 397). He was also rector of Mixbury in 1216 (ibid., vol. V, p. 399), a benefice that was vacant in 1221-1222, at the same time as archdeacon William ceased to hold office (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 9) but of course this is worthless conjecture. In his recent thesis "The Lincoln Cathedral Chapter under Hugh of Wells 1209-1235" (Manchester M.A. 1969), Mr. G.E. Milburn concludes that William archdeacon of Buckingham 1219-1221 is William of Tinton who had acted as clerk of William of Blois, the previous archdeacon (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 9, 34-35, 37, 39, 71, 110, 117). I am not convinced by his arguments.

Indeed it would appear that William of Tinton followed his old master to Worcester when the latter became bishop. He certainly attests a charter of bishop William (B.M. Harley MS. 3697, f. 52d).

MATTHEW OF STRATTON.

? Archdeacon of Oxford 1221 (q.v.). He first occurs as archdeacon on 25 December 1221 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 376, p. 82). He was prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham (Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, no. 830, p. 215 ; Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 241). He died on 6 September 1269 (Annales monastici, vol. IV, p. 225).

William archdeacon of Leicester (c. 1226-1229) and William archdeacon of Leicester (1232-1235).

In the third volume of the Registrum Antiquissimum, Canon Foster attempted to establish the succession to the archdeaconry of Leicester in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries³⁴². This note, which slightly amends the canon's list, is concerned with the identity of two archdeacons who held office in the course of the pontificate of Hugh of Wells, namely master William of Lincoln and master William of Drayton.

Raymond archdeacon of Leicester last features in episcopal rolls during the bishop's sixteenth pontifical year (20 December 1224 - 19 December 1225)³⁴³ and master William of Lincoln is supposed to have succeeded him, retaining the archdeaconry until 1229. It has become quite apparent from the acts of bishop Hugh that master William was not archdeacon at this time, for he still attests charters as a canon of Lincoln on the 20 March 1226³⁴⁴, 15 July 1226³⁴⁵, 8 September 1227³⁴⁶ and

³⁴². Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, pp. 230-1.

³⁴³. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 300.

³⁴⁴. ibid., vol. II, pp. 212-3.

³⁴⁵. ibid., vol. II, pp. 214-5.

³⁴⁶. British Museum, Additional Charter 21999.

and 2 April 1229³⁴⁷. In the cartulary of the vicars choral of Lincoln, there is a transcript of a charter witnessed by William de Thornaco dean of Lincoln, W. the chancellor, W. the treasurer and master William of Lincoln, canon of Lincoln³⁴⁸. The date of this document must be placed after 1229, the year in which William Blund became chancellor and master Walter of St. Edmund treasurer, and before 1239, the date of the dean's deprivation. In the same cartulary William of Lincoln occurs as archdeacon of Leicester together with William the Dean, John the precentor, William Blund the chancellor, Walter the treasurer and William the subdean³⁴⁹. It is possible to date this charter between late 1231, when William of Benniworth became subdean of Lincoln, and May 1237 when John is last found acting as precentor. In consequence it is clear that the only appropriate dates for master William of Lincoln's tenure of the archdeaconry are from 1232 to 1235 - master Robert Grosseteste did not resign office until 1232 and John of Winchester was archdeacon from 1235. Accordingly, master William of Drayton, who is listed as archdeacon 1232-1235, either never held the archdeaconry of Leicester at all or else he is identical with master William of Lincoln. Three documents in the dean and chapter muniments regarding lands and tenements in the city parish of St. Margaret Pottergate convincingly prove that the latter assumption is correct. In the first charter³⁵⁰, Ralph of Dunham grants certain houses which he had purchased from Walter of Asterby in Pottergate to master William of Lincoln, canon of Lincoln, his uncle. Some years later Roger de Derleton granted to Ralph rector of Snarford all his lands and buildings in Pottergate, which he had of the gift of his lord, William of Lincoln, late archdeacon of Leicester.³⁵¹ It is noted that this land had been bought from

³⁴⁷. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 644, pp. 3-4; H. E. SALTER: Newington Longeville Charters (O. R. S. III, 1921), no. 26, p. 28; P. R. O. Ancient Deed D. 3084.

³⁴⁸. Lincoln Dean & Chapter VC. 2/1, no. 301.

³⁴⁹. *ibid.*, no. 36a.

³⁵⁰. *ibid.* Lincoln Dean & Chapter doct. D1j/78/2/39.

³⁵¹. Lincoln Dean & Chapter doct. D1j/78/2/38.

Walter of Asterby, and lay between the land of master Walter of of St. Edmund the treasurer and that of Thomas of Ashby. The treasurer's land in Pottergate had been granted to him by Walter de Camvill ; it is described in the latter's charter as extending from the land of Alexander Wickham up to the land of master William of Drayton, archdeacon of Leicester, which was formerly of Walter of Asterby³⁵². Obviously this latter property is to be identified with that previously granted by Ralph of Dunham and it is evident that master William of Lincoln and master William of Drayton are the same person.

It still remains to identify the archdeacon William who held office between master Raymond and master Robert Grosseteste, but fortunately there is sufficient evidence to establish his identity beyond dispute. A master William Blund archdeacon of Leicester is found attesting a charter of Ralph of Linford, rector of Noseley³⁵³; Ralph was incumbent of that Leicestershire benefice from the twelfth to the nineteenth pontifical year of bishop Hugh (20 December 1220-19 December 1228)³⁵⁴. Similarly, a charter of master William Blund archdeacon of Leicester confirms that Godfrey son of William had been presented to the church of Prestwold in full chapter³⁵⁵. Godfrey's institution is the first entry recorded in the institution roll under the twentieth year (20 December 1228-19 December 1229)³⁵⁶. It is noted that archdeacon William had made enquiries about the cause of vacancy but the induction mandate was directed to 'eidem W. tunc cancellario'. William Blund succeeded Richard Grant as chancellor of Lincoln in 1229 when the latter became archbishop of Canterbury ; he had clearly held office as archdeacon of Leicester in the years preceding this appointment. Canon Foster's list of archdeacons should be amended accordingly

352. Lincoln Dean & Chapter doct. D1j/79/2/30.

353. H. HARTOPP: "Some Unpublished documents relating to Noseley, co. Leicester" in A. A. S. Reports & Papers, vol. XXV (1899-1900), deed no. 1, pp. 432-4.

354. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 280, 306.

355. British Museum, Harley Charter 46 E 32.

356. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 307.

When was Robert of Hitchin archdeacon of Huntingdon?

Philip of Fauconberg had succeeded master Robert of Hailes as archdeacon of Huntingdon in late 1223 upon the latter's promotion to the richer archdeaconry of Lincoln. Philip is last mentioned in the Wells rolls on 9 February 1227³⁵⁷ but it is known that he had ceased to be archdeacon by December 1228³⁵⁸. His successor as archdeacon of Huntingdon, Gilbert of Taunton, first occurs among the Lincoln records in that capacity on 9 April 1230³⁵⁹ but the missing section of the Huntingdon institution roll (from 1227 to 1235) makes it impossible to state with absolute certainty whether Gilbert was the immediate successor of Philip, or whether the intervening period saw the brief tenure of office of another archdeacon.

Canon Foster in the third volume of the *Registrum Antiquissimum* adopted the latter view when confronted in the witness-list to a Great Paxton charter by a previously unknown archdeacon of Huntingdon, master Robert of Hitchin (Hiccho)³⁶⁰. He argued that since Gilbert was archdeacon from circa 1230 to 1237-8; William of Arundel from 1240-1 at least until 1246-7 and Roger of Ravingingham from 1246-7 until his death shortly before 24 September 1276 ("though it is somewhat doubtful whether he held the archdeaconry continuously during the period"³⁶¹), the only conceivable time when Robert of Hitchin ~~was~~ could have been archdeacon was from circa 1228 to circa 1230.

A transcript of a charter of this archdeacon Robert to be found in the Red Book of Thorney proves conclusively that Canon Foster was mistaken in his dating. The charter is concerned with pensions payable annually to the abbey of Thorney from the churches of Stanground, Stibbington, Yaxley,

357. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 54.

358. Patent Rolls 1225-1232, p. 231.

359. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 235.

360. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 846, pp. 190-1.

361. *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 191.

Haddon, Woodston, Water Newton and All Saints, Huntingdon, and the list of witnesses to this charter is as follows:-

'His testibus magistro Nicholao de Mershton' officiali nostro, magistro Henrico de Gravele, magistro Johanne de Jak', Nigello de Insula, Roberto de Sancto Egidio, Waltero de Gloucestria, Nicholao de Bedingtone, Henrico de Midlington & dictarum ecclesiarum ~~maximè~~ rectoribus etc.'

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These attestations prove that the 1228-1230 date is incorrect and that the period of master Robert's rule should be placed much later. There is no record of the institutions of master Henry of Graveley, master John of Yaxley and Robert of St. Giles. In the Red Book of Thorney, however, there is a transcript of a charter of abbot R. confirming master Henry in possession of the church of Stanground.³⁶³ This abbot could either be Robert III (1216-1237) or Richard (1237). Master Henry appears as official of the archdeacon of Huntingdon, presumably Gilbert, in a charter issued before 1237.³⁶⁴ Master John of Yaxley was rector of Stibbington by 1242 when the rectory and the vicarage were consolidated.³⁶⁵ He had resigned this benefice by February 1267;³⁶⁶ but also in 1250-1 he was instituted by bishop Grosseteste to the church of Yaxley, presumably vacated by Nigel de Insula who had been rector there from 1225.³⁶⁷ Certainly Nigel was still rector at the time of the consolidation of the vicarage and rectory in 1247.³⁶⁸ Walter of Gloucester was instituted to Woodston in 1238-9;³⁶⁹ Nicholas of Bedington to Water Newton in 1246-7;³⁷⁰ and Henry of Middleton to All Saints, Huntingdon in 1242-3.³⁷¹ Thus the date of master Robert's tenure of the archdeaconry of Huntingdon is now seen to be incompatible with the earlier suggestion.

362. Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 3021, ff. 408-408d.

363. *ibid.*, f. 433d.

364. *ibid.*, f. 431d.

365. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 277.

366. Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p. 172.

367. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 48.

368. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 295.

369. *ibid.*, p. 262.

370. *ibid.*, p. 290.

371. *ibid.*, p. 283.

When a study is made of the Huntingdon archdeaconry rolls of bishops Grosseteste and Lexington, it is soon evident, as Rasi Professor Major has shown³⁷², that F.N. Davis the editor of this volume for the Lincoln Record Society was mistaken in attributing to master Roger of Raveningham an archidiaconate of thirty years. Davis extends without justification 'R. archdeacon' in the text to 'Roger archdeacon' in the printed edition and this was the cause of canon Foster's error. For, elsewhere in the rolls Roger of Raveningham appears in the witness-lists of letters of institution and other episcopal acts merely as a canon of Lincoln (and not as archdeacon) for most years of Grosseteste's pontificate³⁷³. He also attests a charter of bishop Lexington as a canon of Lincoln after 1254³⁷⁴. These facts in themselves invalidate the argument that master Roger was archdeacon from circa 1246. Nevertheless archdeacon William does not occur after 1246-7³⁷⁵ and an archdeacon R. does succeed him in the same year³⁷⁵. This 'R' is surely none other than master Robert of Hitchin. Master Robert of Hitchin was instituted to the church of Clanfield in Oxfordshire in 1230-1³⁷⁶ in succession to another Robert of Hitchin, presumably a kinsman, who had been instituted 1219-1220³⁷⁷. Clanfield was vacant in 1246 when master Roger de Brunwerd was instituted on the presentation of the abbess and convent of Elstow³⁷⁸. Is it not likely that master Robert had resigned his benefice on becoming archdeacon?

Further evidence is offered by the archdeacon's official, master Nicholas of Marston. A certain master Nicholas of Marston was instituted to Aldbury church in the Huntingdon archdeaconry in 1241-2³⁷⁹; that church was next vacant in 1273³⁸⁰. A master

372. D.A. CALLUS (ed). Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop, appendix I, pp. 234-5. (Oxford 1955).

373. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 14 (1236) to 244 (1250-1).

374. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 387, p. 95.

375. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 290.

376. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 34.

377. ibid., vol. II, p. 1.

378. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 488.

379. ibid., p. 276.

380. Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p. 178.

Nicholas succeeded master Robert of Stapleford as archdeacon's official in 1241-2 and references to master Nicholas of Marston the official occur in the roll until 1254-5. Presumably he continued as official of the new archdeacon when William of Arundel ceased to hold office. The last mention of archdeacon R. with N. his official is in 1254-5³⁸¹. Roger of Raveningham was certainly archdeacon of Huntingdon by 5 June 1256³⁸² so that the conclusion of master Robert of Hitchin's archidiaconate must be dated to 1255-1256 or thereabouts.

381. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 510.

382. Close Rolls 1254-1256, p. 313.

ARCHDEACONRY OF LINCOLN.Master William of Brauncewell.

He received induction mandates and held inquisitions until circa 1217 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 4, 8, 11-13, 15, 33, 35, 43, 53, 57, 66, 87). Although he is not styled 'officialis' in the episcopal rolls, he is so designated in a transcript of an agreement between Crowland abbey and the rector of Holbeach (A. A. B. Reports & Papers, vol. XLII (1934), p. 19) and in a composition concerning the prebend of Nassington (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 311, p. 3). He was patron of the church of Brauncewell (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 31) and in the course of his career, he was vicar of a moiety of Leasingham (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, pp. 76, 159), rector of a fourth part of Rowston (ibid., vol. III, pp. 74, 99), rector of St. Paul, Stamford (ibid., vol. I, pp. 1-2), rector of Stewton (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 34) and rector of Grimoldby (ibid., p. 42).

Master John of Horkstow.

He occurs as official of archdeacon Peter in Lindsey from about 1217 to 1219 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 62, 72, 83, 84, 86, 99-102, 106, 111, 118, 119, 125 - p. 118 'official in Lindsey'). He presumably relinquished office on the appointment of master William de Thornaco as archdeacon of Lincoln between 12 April and 22 May 1219 (q.v.).

Gilbert de Innocentibus.

Dean of Christianity of Lincoln. He was the counterpart of master John of Horkstow in the Kesteven area of the archdeaconry (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 120, 122) He too gave up office in 1219. For his benefices, see the section on rural deans.

Master Robert of Brinkhill.

He was the official of archdeacon William de Thornaco and occurs in this capacity from 1219 to 1222 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 147-8; vol. III, pp. 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115). Advancement came with the elevation of archdeacon William to the Deanery

of Lincoln in early 1223 ; by 12 March of that year, master Robert was a canon of Lincoln (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 513, p. 218). He eventually became master of the works of the cathedral. (ibid., vol. IV, no. 1213, p. 95; vol. VII, no. 2064, p. 99).

Master William of Walpole.

Formerly official of master Robert of Hailes, archdeacon of Huntingdon, he accompanied his superior to Lincoln when the latter was transferred to that archdeaconry. He occurs in the institution roll in 1226-1227 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 152) and attests a charter in the cartulary of the Vicars Choral circa 1230 (Lincoln D & C. V8. 2/1, no. 16). After this date there is no further mention of an official until 1238 when Eusebius is recorded as official of the new archdeacon, Thomas Wallensis (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 20ff). Master William was instituted to the church of Croxby in 1219 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 131-2) ; the benefice was next vacant in 1231-2 (ibid., vol. III, p. 196).

ARCHDEACONRY OF LEICESTER.

Master Robert of Blois.

He occurs as official of archdeacon Raymond at least from 1214-5 until the archdeacon's death in 1225 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 1, 11, 19, 37, 40, 41, 44, 55, 58, 73, 88, 108, 112, 154, 155, 157, 164, 169; vol. II, pp. 278-80, 284, 285, 298; British Museum, Cotton MS. Claudius D XI, f. 214d).

Master Robert.

He acted as official of archdeacon William Blund but it is uncertain whether he is to be identified with the former official of archdeacon Raymond (ATA, S. Reports & Papers, vol. XXV 1899-1900, p. 434; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 301-2).

Master Thomas de Verdun.

He was official of archdeacon Robert Grosseteste and occurs in that capacity in 1230 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 312). He was rector of the church of Ibstock from 1219-1220 (ibid., vol. II, p. 280) to 1264 (Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, p. 145) ; in 1250 the church of Orton-on-the-Hill was commended to him (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 435).

Master William of Walpole.

He acted as the official of master Robert of Hailes in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon 1214-1223 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, pp. 66, 91, 138, 162; vol.III, pp. 33-35, 38, 41-42), and later in the archdeaconry of Lincoln (q.v.).

Master Richard of Waltham.

He occurs on one occasion as the official of archdeacon Philip of Fauconberg (1223-1228) - B.M. Additional Charter 33630.

Master Henry of Graveley.

He features as official of the archdeacon (presumably Gilbert) at least before 1237 (Cambridge Univ. Library Add. MS. 3021, f. 431d), he was parson of Offley (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 127) and later rector of Stanground (C.U.L. Add. MS. 3021, ff. 408-408d).

Master Robert.

Owing to the loss of the Huntingdon institution roll from the bishop's eighteenth pontifical year onwards, it has proved impossible to identify this master Robert, who occurs as official of archdeacon Gilbert of Huntingdon in an original charter (B.M. Additional Charter 33054). He could be identical with master Robert of Stapleford the official who is found in Grosseteste's rolls from 1239 (Rotuli Roberti Grossoteste, p. 263)

ARCHDEACONRY OF STOW.Master Simon of Scawby.

He was the official of master William de Thornaco archdeacon of Stow (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 12, 14, 29, 43, 45, 85, 103-4, 125; B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D XI, f. 217). He is last mentioned as official in the rolls in 1218, although he could have remained in office until William's promotion in the following year.

There are two references to unnamed officials in 1225 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 222) and 1226 (ibid., vol. I, p. 224) but most of the routine work seems to have been carried out in this period by two archidiaconal clerks, John (ibid., vol. I, p. 217) and W. of Waddingham (ibid., vol. I, pp. 227-9).

Master Alan.

He is the next official to feature in the episcopal rolls.

He occurs from 1229-1230 until 1232-1233 (ibid., vol. I, pp. 229-232, 235, 236).

Richards of Hatcliffe.

He is mentioned as official of archdeacon William of Kent in 1233-1234 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 237).

ARCHDEACONRY OF BEDFORD.

Master Roger.

He occurs as official in the period 1195-1212 (Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, Beds. H. R. S. X, no. 122, p. 42).

Master Simon.

He was official during almost the whole of John of Houghton's tenure of the archdeaconry (1218-1231). He first occurs in 1219 and is last recorded in 1229 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 136, 137, 143, 153, 160, 162, 163, 168, 170, 174; vol. III, pp. 1-2, 6, 8, 10, 15, 18, 20-22; Records of Harrold Priory, Beds. H. R. S. XVII, no. 15, p. 26). As his successor is not mentioned until 1232, it is safe to assume that he remained in office until archdeacon John's promotion to the archdeaconry of Northampton.

Master Ralph de Hogtuch.

He became the official of archdeacon Amaury of Buckden and continued to hold office until 1239 when master Peter Peyvre became official (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 29; Honour of Wardon; Drayton and Halstead charters, Beds. H. R. S. XI, p. 96). Peyvre occurs in 1239 in Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, no. 549, p. 167).

ARCHDEACONRY OF BUCKINGHAM.

Master Theobald of Kent.

He occurs as official in 1218, presumably after archdeacon William of Blois was elected to the bishopric of Worcester. He was evidently retained by archdeacon MattheWand is last mentioned in 1224-5 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 114, 122, 133, 134, 145, 156, 164, 165, 169, 171, 174, 175, 196; vol. II, pp. 48, 50-3, 55-61, 63-4, 66; Liber Antiquus, p. 16). He is no doubt to be identified with the canon of Lincoln of the same name.

Master L.

He is recorded as official from 1224-1225 to 1227-1228 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 67, 74).

Master P.

He succeeded master L. as official of archdeacon Matthew in 1227-1228 but is not found in the records after 1230 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 74-77, 79 ; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 662, pp. 26-7).

Master Walter.

He is mentioned as official between 1232 and 1234 (P.R.O. Curia Regis Roll 17-18 Henry III, mem. 15, dorse & G.R. ELVEY: Luffield Priory Charters part 1 (Northants R.S. XXII, 1968), no. 44, p. 50).

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON.Master Theobald.

He occurs as official until 1218 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 6, 14, 25, 27, 28, 40, 41, 45, 55, 56; O.U.L. Add. MS. 3021, f. 207d).

Adam.

A clerk of archdeacon Robert of Mancetter, he first occurs as his official in 1220-1221 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 105 bis)

Ralph de Grouseale.

He supplants Adam as official in 1222-1223. The last mention of an R. in this capacity is in 1228-1229 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 113-6, 119, 121-3, 125-6, 128, 131-3, 139-44, 147-50; Curia Regis Rolls, vol. XIII, p. 351; Calendar of the Roll of the Justices on Eyre 1227 (Bucks R.S. VI, 1945), no. 173, pp. 13-4). He was successively rector of St. Peter Bedford (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles vol. III, pp. 1, 16) and rector of Thorpe Mandeville (ibid., vol. II, p. 139).

Master Stephen (? of Mancetter).

He succeeded Ralph in 1229-1230 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, pp. 152, 154-161, 163; Northants Record Office, Buccleuch charter B.I. 415; Curia Regis Rolls, vol. XIII, no. 2498, p. 530). If he is to be identified with master Stephen of Mancetter (see Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 163), he was rector of Clay Coton (Liber Antiquus, p. 84) and a canon of Salisbury by 1236 (The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury, vol. I, no. 90, p. 63;

Documents and Charters.....of Salisbury,pp.237-8).

Master S.

Since John of Houghton became archdeacon in 1231, it would be expected that master Stephen would give up his office. The occurrence of a master S.until 1232 makes it uncertain whether Stephen remained in office or whether John appointed another official whose name began with the same initial (Rotuli Huconia de Welles,vol.II,pp.165,166,171). In this respect, it is important to remember that his official at Bedford until 1231 was a master Simon (q.v.).

Master Richard.

He occurs as official circa 1231-1233 (N.DENHOLM-YCUNG: Certulary of the Medieval Archives of Christ Church,p.53) and 1233-1234 (P.R.O.Curia Regis Roll 18 Henry III, mem.2 dorse). He is probably to be identified with master Richard de Sancta Cruce who occurs as official of archdeacon John during the pontificate of Robert Grosseteste (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp.169,176,177,183,190).



THE BISHOP AND THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER.Prefatory Note to the Chapter.

This particular chapter has been somewhat restricted in its scope, owing to the appearance of a thesis submitted by Mr. Geoffrey Milburn for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Manchester in 1969 and entitled "The Lincoln Cathedral Chapter under Hugh of Wells 1209-1235". In consequence it has been deemed unnecessary to touch upon several aspects of capitular affairs which have been more than adequately treated in the Manchester thesis. Accordingly, little has been written regarding the organisation of the chapter, its sphere of jurisdiction and the social composition of the capitular body. The solitary exception to this has been the more detailed treatment of the vicars choral. For detailed biographical studies of the cathedral dignitaries and the canons, recourse should be had to Mr. Milburn's work. Except on the occasions when I possess additional information, I have been content to list only the important dates in the careers of these office-holders.

The diocesan activities and procedural innovations of Hugh of Wells are sufficient in themselves to rank him high among the ecclesiastical administrators of the thirteenth century, but as far as his relations with the cathedral chapter are concerned, the records are surprisingly silent. Of course there are no chapter acts for the period and the loss of the episcopal memoranda rolls is particularly unfortunate, for in this regard the surviving institution rolls are of no real assistance. Nevertheless, the general impression gained from a study of the pontificate is that an atmosphere of harmony and co-operation existed between bishop and chapter, contrasting sharply with the bitterness and friction which marked his successor's episcopate¹. Considering that within four years of

1. For the dispute between the chapter and Grosseteste, see J.H. RAWLEY: Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets no. 7, 1953, pp. 18-21.

Hugh's death, the Lincoln chapter - which had undergone no radical changes in composition since his time - engaged in a fierce and prolonged dispute with Grosseteste over the episcopal right of visitation, it can be assumed with justification that the cordial relations between that prelate's predecessor and the capitular body were occasioned by a combination of mutual respect and tolerant inactivity. A chapter jealous of its rights and privileges would nevertheless be willing to co-operate with a bishop who took care not to encroach upon these liberties or to provoke constitutional controversies.

It is often assumed that a considerable distance between a bishop and his chapter was the surest way of achieving the most amicable relations and avoiding open conflict, but it cannot be claimed that Hugh was conspicuous by almost perpetual absence from the environs of his cathedral. On the contrary, contact with the chapter was relatively frequent, for the bishop was by tradition a member of the capitular body even though he held no prebend and any amount of diocesan business was transacted in the chapter-house with the assembled dignitaries and canons². Other instances reveal that the bishop was deeply involved in the life of his cathedral. He was frequently at Lincoln to celebrate the great festivals of the Christian calendar³; he continued the construction of the episcopal palace⁴ and great use was made of the actual cathedral as a location for a variety of episcopal transactions, - for example, in 1220 the vicarage of Ropsley was ordained and a vicar presented to the bishop for institution in the cathedral chapel of St. Laurence⁵. In the last few years of Hugh's life when he was permanently resident at Stow Park, the dignitaries and residentiary canons are often to be found at this episcopal manor witnessing the bishop's enactments.

2. cf. the acts issued in chapter at Lincoln.

3. cf. the bishop's itinerary and the dates of certain acts.

4. J.H. RAWLEY: The Book of John de Schalby, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, no 2, reprint 1966, p. 11.

5. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 100.

Perhaps by far the most important factor in the maintenance of good relations was the close personal links existing between bishop Hugh and many members of the chapter. It would be an exaggeration to state that the chapter was 'packed' with Hugh's former assistants but there were a substantial number of dignitaries and canons who were, or had been, members of the episcopal 'familia'. Twenty-nine household clerks received canonries, eight ultimately obtained archdeaconries, John of Taunton became precentor, Reginald of Chester, John of York and William of Benniworth were successive subdeans and William de Thornaco exercised office as Dean of the cathedral church from 1223. Such was the impressive basis for amity.

The constitution which Remigius of Fecamp framed for his new cathedral church was modelled on the organisation of the Norman secular cathedrals, consisting of a chapter of canons presided over by the Dean. There were at first twenty-one canons at Lincoln and in addition to the Dean, the other principal personages were the precentor, chancellor and treasurer, with the subdean and seven (later eight) archdeacons. The number of canons was doubled by bishop Robert Bloet (1092-1123) and further additions were made by his episcopal successors, so that by the time of Hugh of Wells's accession there were fifty-five prebends⁶. These prebends were of varying values, as can be discovered by a consultation of the 1254⁷ and 1291 valuations, and they had to be possessed by all dignitaries and simple canons to enable them to exercise their rights as full members of the cathedral chapter. It is doubtful whether many prebends were permanently annexed to dignities in Hugh's day. It is true that as early as circa 1150 the prebend of Langford Manor had been perpetually joined to the archdeaconry of Oxford⁸ but I am certain that this state of affairs was not common to all other

6. The Book of John de Schalby, pp.5-11.

7. W.E.LUNT: The Valuation of Norwich, Oxford 1926, pp.278-280.

8. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.II, no.346, pp.38-9.

offices. Obviously, a dignitary's successor might receive his old prebend since it could happen to be the only one vacant at the time of the new appointment - four successive archdeacons of Buckingham held the Sutton prebend⁹ and Thomas Wallensis succeeded Robert of Hailes both as archdeacon of Lincoln and prebendary of Louth¹⁰ - but it cannot be taken as a firm indication that a particular prebend was permanently attached to the dignity. It will be remembered that Robert Grosseteste resigned the Leicester archdeaconry but retained his prebend of Leicester St. Margaret. It is not known which prebend his successor as archdeacon, master William of Lincoln held, but quite clearly it could not have been the same as his predecessor. Similarly in the time of bishop William of Blois, Jocelin of Wells was prebendary of Leicester St. Margaret but he was not archdeacon of Leicester.¹¹

The twelfth century witnessed the separation of the possessions of the chapter from those of the bishop and the emergence and development of a separate organisation to a great extent immune from episcopal and archidiaconal control and with its own jurisdiction¹². Canon Foster remarked upon the change as far as it could be discerned from the changing diplomatic of papal confirmations - "From 1061 to 1163, with one exception in 1146, the bulls are addressed to the bishop, and are confirmations of gifts of property. After that date, they are almost always addressed to the canons or to the dean and chapter, and are mainly concerned with their rights and liberties."¹³ - but the detailed studies of Dr. Edwards make further elaboration pointless and unnecessary. Professor Major has investigated the

9. cf. Stephen of Swaxfield - B.M. Harleian Charter 84 F 30 ; William of Blois - Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VI, pp. 241, 286 etc.; William - Testa de Nevill, p. 109; Matthew of Stratton - Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 241.

10. Epistolae Roberti Grosseteste, no. LI, p. 147.

11. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 873, pp. 216-7.

12. cf. H. MAYR-HARTING: The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207, pp. 41-8.

13. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, p. xiii.

financial administration of the chapter possessions for this period¹⁴ and the earliest recorded customs of the cathedral church written down and sent to Brice Douglas, bishop of Moray in 1214 supply a welcome, if somewhat meagre, source of information on the nature of the capitular offices and the rights and organisation of the canons and jurisdictional demarcations¹⁵.

The vicars choral, the most important of the 'ministri inferiores' of the cathedral, also began to assume a more corporate identity at this time. Hugh of Wells's episcopate witnesses the first recorded instance of the use of 'communitas vicariorum'¹⁶ in place of the simpler 'vicarii', although the mention of a common seal in the corroboration clauses of charters is not found until 1249-1250¹⁷. The institution and functions of vicars choral in English secular cathedrals have been more than adequately discussed by Miss Edwards¹⁸ and it is unnecessary to recapitulate her general arguments or to comment upon her survey of the origins of this body of minor clerks at Lincoln. However, the period under review was significant for the future development of the vicars choral in two main respects, both of which deserve specific attention. Firstly, the pontificate saw the beginning of the accumulation of common property by the vicars. Dr. Edwards's statement, following A.R. Maddison¹⁹, that "the vicars of Lincoln received grants of property as early as 1190"²⁰ is somewhat misleading. Although there are two charters in the vicars choral cartulary which can be dated to the period 1189-1195²¹, it has become abundantly clear that they originally formed part of the endowments of the hospital of St. Giles, a foundation which was assigned to the vicars choral by Dean Oliver Sutton circa 1275-1280. The two charters in question

14. K. MAJOR: "The Finances of the Dean & Chapter of Lincoln from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century: a Preliminary Survey" in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. V, pp. 149-167, 1954.

15. H. BRADSHAW & C. WORDSWORTH: Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. II, pp. 136-142.

16. Lincoln D & C. VC. 2/1, no. 169. 20. EDWARDS. op. cit. p. 274.

17. ibid., no. 319. 21. VC 2/1, nos. 167, 189.

18. K. EDWARDS: The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages, 2nd edn, Manchester 1967, pp. 252-284.

19. A. R. MADDISON: The Vicars Choral of Lincoln Cathedral, London 1878, p. 3.

concerned property which was eventually given to the hospital by William of Newport and it is evident that they did not form part of the vicars choral muniments until the close of the thirteenth century. In fact, if we can believe the cartulary, the accumulation of substantial property by the vicars choral seems only to date from Hugh's pontificate.

The initial endowments were few and one of the earliest benefactors was a member of the episcopal 'familie', Peter of Bath canon of Lincoln. He gave the community of vicars approximately twenty-seven acres of land in the Lincolnshire villages of Welton-le-Wold and Bishop Norton as well as an annual rent of fourteen pence a year²². Another canon of Lincoln, Roger Scot, gave them land in the city parish of St. Martin in Dornestall²³, and other Lincoln property was bestowed upon them by Roger son of William Colebrand²⁴ and by Geoffrey of St. Andrew²⁵, himself a vicar. The latter granted all his lands in the parish of St. Andrew-super-montem for his obit. Several parcels of land and property were also confirmed to the vicars in Welton, Bishop Norton, Spital, Glentham and Crosholm²⁶. It is also of passing interest to note that some property was given over to the vicars by the common fund of the canons, Thomas son of Alan of Welton, Osbert the clerk, William son of Gilbert the tailor and Walter son of Thorald each granted some possessions in Welton to the common fund circa 1220-1230; this land was ultimately regranted to the vicars and confirmed by the original grantors²⁷. These properties were comparatively meagre in extent and all were let out at money rents. The St. Andrew's land was leased to John le Verur for a silver mark each year²⁸; the possessions in St. Martin's parish were leased to Norman Cole for an annual rent of ten shillings²⁹ and the same sum was paid for the Welton lands of the vicars³⁰. The property in Bishop Norton given by Peter of Bath - namely in Mithkeles, Bygate, Taterwellwonge, Grenegate, Stocholendale, Lichelas, Hilles, Lincoln gat, Scouelles and Torpfeld - was let out to Geoffrey de Parcho for thirty shillings a year³¹.

22. VC 2/1, nos. 14, 19, 20, 23, 24, 29, 38-45. 23. *ibid.*, no. 286.
24. *ibid.*, no. 169. 25. *ibid.*, nos. 267-8. 26. *ibid.*, nos. 16-8, 31-37.
27. *ibid.*, nos. 15-21, 25, 27. 28. *ibid.*, no. 269. 29. *ibid.*, no. 286.
30. *ibid.*, no. 32. 31. *ibid.*, no. 47.

In addition to Peter of Bath, master Walter of Wells was another episcopal clerk who indirectly provided the vicars with considerable endowments when he bestowed upon the hospital of St. Giles his extensive possessions in the village of Lissington to sustain a chaplain to pray for his soul and those of his ancestors³². Circa 1275-1280 this property was transferred to the vicars choral with the proviso that masses were to be continually said for master Walter³³.

The direct consequence of this acquisition of common property was the emergence of an organisation for administering it, based ~~main~~ for the most part on the lines of the common fund of the cathedral canons. The earliest known reference to provosts of the vicars choral occurs in 1239-1240 when R(obert) Basset and G(eoffrey) of Banbury shared office³⁴, although this is not to say that they were not in existence some years earlier. Indeed, Dr. Edwards concluded that they could have been mentioned in the 1236 statutes - "Possibly from as early as 1236, certainly from 1309, the canons of Lincoln paid their vicars' stipends of forty shillings a year direct to the provost of the vicars, who was said to have charge and administration of their common revenues and all things belonging to them, and of all gifts to them. His office was clearly modelled on that of the provost of the canons' common fund. He was elected by the vicars with the assent of the dean and chapter. He paid to each vicar twenty shillings from his stipend in two half-yearly instalments, keeping the remaining twenty shillings in their common fund, from which he distributed one penny a day to every vicar present at the cathedral services."³⁵ The duality of the vicars' provosts is worthy of remark, and it is perhaps equally significant that, as far as can be ascertained, they were always representative of the senior and junior vicars. In 1245-1246 Geoffrey of Banbury was a priest, while Thomas of Graveley was a deacon³⁶; circa 1246-1249 Geoffrey of Banbury again served as

³². Grant to St. Giles VC 2/1, nos. 123-4; cf. *ibid.*, nos. 50-69, 89, 112-3, 191-202, 207-8. 112n3.

³³. *ibid.*, no. 165.

³⁴. *ibid.*, no. 32.

³⁵. English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages, pp. 274-5.

³⁶. VC. 2/1, no. 316.

provost, this time with W. of Thorngate, a member of the subdiaconate³⁷ and in 1249-1250 Reginald Breviat was a priest whereas his colleague, John the Monk, was a deacon³⁸.

The bishop was in a position of considerable influence as far as the appointment of canons and dignitaries was concerned. The customs of 1214 inform us that: "Dominus episcopus quociens aliquem personatum vel prebendam in ecclesia Line' vacare contigerit, eam in camera sua vel ubicunque voluerit, siue per penem siue per librum vel alio quolibet modo sua auctoritate, non requisite consensu capituli, cui voluerit ydoneo tamen, conferre potest, excepto solo Decanatu."³⁹ and although in practice the bishop's powers were slightly curtailed by royal, papal and other pressures, Hugh was still able to exercise his rights of collation freely when it came to rewarding friends, kinsmen, former colleagues or prominent members of the episcopal household. In point of fact, external interference seems to have been kept at a minimum and the general standard of Hugh's appointments to dignities and canonries was remarkably good. In any case, the mere fact that a royal official should have been favoured with a prebend does not necessarily imply that the king had influenced his promotion. It must be remembered that bishop Hugh was formerly employed in the royal administration and it would not be unnatural to expect that old acquaintances and associates of the bishop, like Martin of Pattishall and William of York, would be remembered when it came to bestowing preferment. Similarly, the appointment of a few foreigners as canons need not always signify papal, or at least legatine, intervention. The two Wells brothers were financially indebted to master Laurence of St. Nicholas and his promotion to a canonry at Lincoln might have been the direct result of their earlier pecuniary association. It will be quite unnecessary in this present examination to analyse the composition of the cathedral

37. VO 2/1, no. 318.

38. *ibid.*, no. 319.

39. Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. II, p. 137.

chapter and to distinguish the artificial and often indistinct social and professional groupings within it. The researches of Mr. Milburn more than adequately supplement the work already undertaken relative to the members of the episcopal 'familia' and a consultation of the appended list of dignitaries and canons will be sufficient in the majority of cases to indicate their particular connexion with the see.

It has already been noted that the bishop often used to issue charters in full chapter at Lincoln. On these occasions, the chapter would be meeting in its traditional role of advisory body to the bishop on diocesan affairs, but there is no evidence that the bishop was ~~xxx~~ ever present in the chapter house when the dignitaries and canons were regulating their own internal business. It is in fact noticeable that bishop Hugh took especial care to obtain the consent of the dean and chapter to any ordinations or grants which he made, and at the same time it has become evident that he was a munificent benefactor of the canons in his own capacity. Grants in augmentation of the common fund in the form of monetary pensions from churches are made by the bishop with great regularity. A pension of thirty marks a year was payable to the canons from the church of Nettleham, and similarly forty marks from Gosberton, one hundred shillings from Grayingham, one hundred shillings from Stilton, fifteen marks from Woburn⁴⁰, five marks from Brattleby and forty-five marks from Hambleton⁴¹. In addition, in 1220 a perpetual render of one hundred shillings from the church of Kilsby, five marks from Fingest and ten marks from Asfordby was granted by bishop Wells in augmentation of the maintenance of the clerks of the choir⁴² and fourteen years later the chapter received combined pensions of thirty-four and a half marks from the churches of Rischolme, Paxton and Great Carlton with an assignment of eight pounds of wax from one bovate in the village of Owersby as an ~~xxx~~ augmentation of the maintenance of five vicars choral who were to celebrate daily for the soul of the bishop and others⁴³. In 1232

40. Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 358, pp. 51-2.

41. ibid., vol. II, no. 359, pp. 53-4.

42. ibid., vol. II, no. 362, pp. 56-8.

43. ibid., vol. II, no. 363, pp. 58-61.

Hugh granted the common a pension of six marks a year to maintain two servants to guard the cathedral and its contents by day and night⁴⁴.

In sharp contrast to his energetic efforts to ordain perpetual vicarages in parochial benefices, Hugh of Wells was somewhat remiss when it came to establishing vicarages in prebendal churches of the diocese - (it must be added that he apparently experienced no such qualms when it came to ordaining vicarages in prebends of other cathedrals, when the prebendal church happened to be situated in his own diocese e.g. Shipton and Brixworth in Salisbury cathedral⁴⁵) - and it was left to Robert Grosseteste and even more to Richard Gravesend⁴⁶ to carry out this delicate task. Aylesbury is the only Lincoln prebend in which a perpetual vicarage is known to have been ordained by Hugh's time⁴⁷ but it is not at all certain whether the responsibility for this ordination should be ascribed to bishop Wells. This apparent reticence to provoke an unfavourable reaction from the chapter which might lead to open conflict can also be observed in the amenable attitude adopted by the bishop in his dealings with the cathedral chapter on several different topics. The feast of fools at the Circumcision against which Grosseteste bitterly inveighed - "cum domus dei testante propheta Filioque Dei, domus sit orationis, nefandum est eam in domum jocationis, scurrilitatis et nugacitatis convertere, locumque Deo dicatum diabolicas adinventionibus execrare."⁴⁸ - had clearly been tolerated by his episcopal predecessor. It was also left to bishop Grosseteste to assert his episcopal rights in connexion with the visitation of the cathedral chapter. There is no record of any attempt on Hugh's part to undertake a visitation and indeed Dr. Edwards held that until the middle of the thirteenth century "the custom that

⁴⁴. Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 365, pp. 62-3.

⁴⁵. actum no. 135.

⁴⁶. cf. Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, pp. xx-xxi.

⁴⁷. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 54.

⁴⁸. Epistolae Roberti Grosseteste, no. XXXII, p. 118.

English bishops did not visit their secular cathedrals seems to have been maintained."⁴⁹

This outline of episcopal relations with the cathedral chapter in the time of Hugh of Wells has had, for reasons already stated, to be rather sketchy and selective. It will be realised that several topics have not been touched upon at all, since to do so would merely be a repetition of research already undertaken by Mr. Milburn. The second part of this chapter has been devoted to the compilation of 'Fasti Ecclesie Lincolnensis' for the period of Hugh's episcopate. With this aim in view it has consequently proved inexpedient to include in each entry every available detail of a particular canon's life and career.

⁴⁹. The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages, p.128.

PART II.DIGNITARIES AND CANONS OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF LINCOLN 1209-1235.DEANS OF LINCOLN.Master Roger of Rolleston.

Archdeacon of Leicester circa 1191-1195 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.II,no.338 (ii,111,ix),no.577 ; Cartulary of St.Frideswide's, vol.I,p.161) ; succeeded Hamo as Dean of Lincoln in 1195 (Registrum Antiquissimum, et al. passim). He died 28 January 1223 (ibid., vol.VIII,p.xxiii). In 1220-1221 he occurs as prebendary of Aylesbury (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II,p.54). For his early career and a character sketch, see Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis (Nelson edition), vol.I, pp.110-113.

Master William de Thornaco.

Archdeacon of Stow 1213/4-1219; archdeacon of Lincoln 1219-1223 (q.v.). He first occurs as Dean of Lincoln on 12 March 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.II, no.513, p.217); he was suspended 1239 (Epistolae Roberti Grosseteste, no.LXXX) and later deprived. He became a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Louth Park in 1239 (E.VENABLES & A.R.MADDISON: Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude, Lincolnshire Record Society 1891, pp.12-3). He died at Louth Park on 25 June 1258 (ibid., p.16).

SUBDEANS OF LINCOLN.Master Philip and Gilbert.

Master William of Bramford, subdean of Lincoln, was murdered before the high altar of Lincoln cathedral on 25 September 1205 (Annales monastici, vol.II, p.257) and Philip was certainly in office before bishop William died on 10 May 1206 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.II, no.350, p.42; B.M.Harley MS.742, f.281d). He occurs on 17 December 1209 (Letters of Pope Innocent III, no.879) and circa 1212 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.VIII, no.2302, p.115; Charters of Luffield Priory, part 1, no.60, pp.60-1 - Westminster Abbey document no.2596 - amended date from c.1210). It is

perhaps more than coincidence that the appointment of Philip as subdean should have been followed by the disappearance of master Philip of Mablethorpe, canon of Lincoln, from witness-lists - he last attests as such 1203-1205 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, no. 293, p. 255) - and it is more than likely that the identity of Philip the subdean has now been revealed.

The discovery of a hitherto unknown subdean in two original charters of the period has presented some complex and unexpected problems when attempting to establish the chronological succession of subdeans from the close of William of Blois's episcopate until 1214. At first, it seemed likely that the newly-discovered subdean, Gilbert by name, held office between Philip and John of Marston - that is, circa 1212-1214 - but the witness-lists of the two charters in which he appears - British Museum, Cotton Charter V 75 and Lincoln Dean & Chapter document D1j/78/2/62 (in the latter simply styled as G. subdean) - preclude such dates. In addition to Gilbert, the first charter is attested by R. the dean, Geoffrey the precentor, William the chancellor, master John of Tynemouth and master William son of Fulk, canons of Lincoln, Matthew of Lund and Simon of Thurs; the witnesses to the second document are R. the dean, master William son of Fulk, master John of Tynemouth and Richard of Linwood. Geoffrey of Deeping became precentor between September 1205 and May 1206 (q.v.) and master William son of Fulk obtained the prebend of Decem Librarum circa 1205-1206 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. II, no. 350, p. 41-2 - Philip the subdean attests). He is not found as a canon under William of Blois circa 1203-1205 but at the same time the fact ~~the fact~~ that master John of Tynemouth is not described as archdeacon of Oxford in either original (a position he held from at least 1212 - he witnesses a charter of Philip the subdean as such - Westminster Abbey doct. no. 2596) - effectively precludes the possibility of the latter period (i.e. 1212-1214) for Gilbert's tenure of the subdeanery, and in consequence suggests that Gilbert must have preceded Philip as subdean. The only feasible conclusion must be that in the period between William of Bramford's murder and William of Blois's death - two hundred and twenty-eight days in all - Gilbert briefly held office as subdean of Lincoln - this would help to

explain the paucity of charters in which his name occurs - and had been succeeded by Philip before the bishop of Lincoln died in May 1206. This assumption is in part corroborated by the Lincoln charter which was issued by Jocelin abbot of Bruern. Professor Christopher Brooke has kindly informed me that the last-recorded occurrences of this particular abbot are in 1206 and 1207 (Glos.F. P.R.O.Transcripts II).

Master John of Marston.

He first occurs on the 27 February 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p.72) and again in 1216 (B.M.Additional Charter 20512) and circa September 1215-early 1217 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, p.87).

Master Reginald of Chester.

He had succeeded master John by 14 July 1217 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.III, no.875, p.220 & vol.IX, p.xxxii). He is last mentioned on 13 July 1219 and had certainly ceased to hold office by 23 September 1219 (Liber Antiquus, pp.96-7)

Master John of York.

He assumed office between 21 July and 23 September 1219 (Liber Antiquus, pp.96-7). He last occurs on 9 September 1231 (Registrum Roffense, pp.386-7) and his successor was in office by 11 October 1231 (q.v.).

Master William of Benniworth.

He first occurs as subdean on 11 October 1231 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.316). He occurs on 12 February 1248 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.II, no.364, p.61) but Hugh of Hoketon had succeeded him by 9 February 1250 (ibid., vol.IV, no.1417, p.248).

PRECENTORS OF LINCOLN.

Geoffrey of Deeping.

He succeeded Peter des Roches as precentor when the latter was consecrated bishop of Winchester on 25 September 1205. He was certainly in office by 10 May 1206 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.VII, no.2003 note, p.44). He died in 1225, certainly before 26

September (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. XII, no. 1360, p. 278 ; and see following entry). His executors granted his house in the parish of St. Peter in Eastgate to a fellow-canon, master Walter of Wells circa 1225 (VC. 2/1, no. 200).

John of London alias Taunton.

This precentor is usually as John of London, as is attested by a charter concerning tenements in the Lincoln Parish of St. Andrew-on-the-mcunt (Lincoln D & C. D. 11/74/3/19). Yet it has become clear that he is identical with John of Taunton, the bishop's chaplain and episcopal datary. In 1219-1220 John of Taunton was instituted to the Northamptonshire church of Moreton Pinkney (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 150-1); six years later the church was vacant "per resignationem J. precentoris Linc' " (ibid., vol. II, p. 129) ! He became precentor between 25 August and 26 September 1225 (ibid., vol. II, p. 210 ; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud. misc. 625, f. 4d). He last occurs on 17 May 1237 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 254). He was succeeded by William Blund the chancellor of Lincoln (q.v.).

CHANCELLORS OF LINCOLN.

Master William de Montibus alias de Monte alias of Leicester.

He succeeded master Stephen as chancellor at some time between 1192 and 1195 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 338, 11 - William of Blois became subdean 1192 ; Hamo ceased to be Dean 1195). According to ibid., vol. IV, no. 1107, p. 6 note, he was chancellor from 1192. He died about Easter 1213 (J. STEVENSON: Chronica de Mailros, p. 114, Edinburgh 1835).

Master Roger de Insula.

He first appears as chancellor on 27 February 1214 (Liber Antiquus p. 72). He was still in office on 29 March 1220 (ibid., p. 100) but had become Dean of York by 8 April 1220 (J. RAINE: The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, Surtees Soc. XXXV, 1859, p. 144 ; York Minster Fasti, vol. I, p. 71).

Master Richard le Grant alias of Wethershed.

He had succeeded master Roger by 16 December 1220 (Liber Antiquus, p.103). He was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on 10 June 1229.

Master William Blund.

Archdeacon of Leicester 1226-1229 (q.v.). Blund was chancellor by 19 December 1229 (end of the twentieth pontifical year - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.307). He occurs on 17 May 1237 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p.254) but had been succeeded by Nicholas of Waddingham by 26 December 1238 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.III, no.741, p.98 - Alexander of Stavensby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who was alive at the time the charter was issued, died on that day). Master William became precentor of Lincoln and was succeeded by master Robert of Cadney between 12 April and 22 September 1244 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p.484 ; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.IV, no.1261, p.132).

TREASURERS OF LINCOLN.Philip de Lucy.

King John presented him to the treasurership and the prebend of Carlton Kyme, both previously held by Richard of Kyme, in June-August 1206 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.66b). It is uncertain whether he actually became treasurer, since on 27 December 1207 the prebend of Carlton Kyme was granted to Henry de Loundres, archdeacon of Stafford (ibid., p.78). Philip was a royal clerk and it is perhaps significant that he still features in royal charters after 1206 without the treasurer's style (ibid., pp.74b-75, 82, 84b ; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol.I, pp.75-79, 89, 103, 108b).

Gilbert de Lacy.

Gilbert first occurs as treasurer on 20 April 1215 (P.R.O.Anc. Deed B.8827) but he could have been in office for some years. He was rector of the church of Great Hale (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.VII, p.206); on 13 July 1212 master William of

Walton, clerk of the Emperor Otto IV, was presented to that benefice, which had been recently vacated by Gilbert (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, pp. 119-119b, 120b). Perhaps he resigned this benefice on assuming office as treasurer. He is last mentioned on 16 April 1226 (P.R.O. Anc. Deed D 11323). If, as seems likely, he is to be identified with the Gilbert de Lacy who was canon of Salisbury and prebendary of Bedminster (Sarum Charters and Documents, pp. 75, 77, 172-3), he died in 1227 (Register of St. Edmund, vol. II, pp. 81-3, 93-6).

Master Walter of St. Edmund.

He first attests a charter as treasurer on 2 April 1229 (Newington Longville Charters, no. 26, p. 28). He had been succeeded by Ralph of Leicester by 31 December 1248 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 830, p. 172 - amended date). According to Le Neve, Nicholas of Waddingham succeeded Walter as Treasurer. This is obviously an error; Nicholas is found as chancellor from 1237/8 to circa 1264/5 (see William Blund under CHANCELLOR, and Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VIII, no. 2209, p. 25).

ARCHDEACONS.

See Appendix to the Chapter on the Administrative Assistants of the Bishop.

CANONS OF LINCOLN.

The canons are arranged in alphabetical order; those who were members of the episcopal 'familia' are noted and reference is made to the appropriate chapter.

Thomas of Ashby.

See chapter on the 'familia'.

Marchisius de Aubigny.

He is found as prebendary of Clifton on 8 July 1215 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 912, p. 255) but was certainly not a canon circa 1204 (ibid., vol. III, no. 791, pp. 141-2). He was keeper of the bishopric of Worcester in 1216 (Rotuli Litterarum

Patentium, pp. 166, 175) and was dead by November 1225 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. VIII, no. 2349, pp. 158-9). His obit-day was the 12 February (Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. II, p. 813).

William of Avalon.

'Nepos' of St. Hugh (Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. II, p. 106). He occurs as a canon in 1204-5 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IV, no. 1108, p. 6) and could have held a canonry as early as circa 1189-1191 (ibid., vol. II, no. 338, 12, p. 30). He occurs as a canon 1192-6 or 1198-1205 (ibid., vol. VI, no. 1893, p. 124). He is last mentioned on 1 and 2 April 1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 163, 391 ; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 312, pp. 44-5). He was prebendary of Nassington (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VI, pp. 163, 212, 259 ; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 112). Master Robert of Cadney occurs as prebendary of Nassington circa 1244-1250 (Lincoln D & C. Di1/84/1/8). Master Robert first occurs as a canon of Lincoln on 25 May 1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 389) but it is not known whether he was prebendary of Nassington from the outset.

Master William of Bardney, archdeacon of Wells.

He occurs as a canon on 23 September 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 97) and from 1229 to 1231 features as prebendary of Leighton Bromswold (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. XIII, nos. 321-2, 554 ; vol. XIV, nos. 150, 1631, 1663). He was still archdeacon of Wells in 1234 (H. M. C. Wells, vol. I, p. 28).

Humphrey of Bassingbourn, archdeacon of Salisbury.

He occurs as a canon circa 1217-1218 (J. GODBER: Cartulary of Newham Priory, part 1, no. 99, p. 62) and on 16 December 1220 (Liber Antiquus, p. 103). He held land in Biggleswade (Lincoln D & C. Di1/67/3/12) but there is no indication that he was prebendary of Biggleswade. He still occurs as archdeacon of Salisbury on 16 August 1238 (Sarum Charters and Documents, p. 246).

Roger of Bassingham.

He occurs as a canon of Lincoln at some date between 1213 and

May 1219 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IX, nos. 2504-5, pp. 108-9). He could possibly be the same person as the Roger of Bassingham who was given custody of the church of Bassingham circa 1215-1217 on the presentation of his brother, Robert (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 13). The church was next vacant circa 1217-1218 (ibid., vol. I, pp. 60-1), the same year as Roger's executors were distrained of ten marks by the bishop of Lincoln (P.R.O. Exchequer K.R. Memoranda roll 2-3 Henry III, (roll 2), mem. 13 face). He was a clerk of Hubert Walter, successively bishop of Salisbury and archbishop of Canterbury (A.M. WOODCOCK: Cartulary of the Priory of St. Gregory, Canterbury, Camden Soc. 3rd series, vol. LXXXVIII, 1956, nos. 7-8, pp. 5-6; English Bishops' Chanceries, pp. 15-6; Lambeth Palace MS. 241, ff. 175, 189d & Lambeth, Chartae Miscellanae, vol. V, no. 97). He was a canon of Salisbury in 1214 (Sarum Charters and Documents, p. 77).

Peter of Bath.

See chapter on the 'familia'.

Master William of Benniworth.

See chapter on the 'familia' and SUBDEAN.

Master William of Blois.

See ARCHDEACON OF BUCKINGHAM.

Master Walter Blund, junior.

Master Walter Blund senior was prebendary of Louth until 1208 (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 103b; Curia Regia Rolls, vol. VI, p. 309). The younger master Walter Blund first appears as a canon on 10 December 1218 (Liber Antiquus, p. 91) and frequently occurs in witness-lists until 9 April 1230 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 235).

Master William Blund.

See ARCHDEACON OF LEICESTER : CHANCELLOR.

Roger de Bohun.

See chapter on the 'familia'.

Robert Of Bolsover.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Theobald of Bozeat (Bosell).

He was a canon of Lincoln circa 1189-1195 (Registrum Antiquissimum vol.III,no.689,p.54 ; B.M.Harley MS.391,f.106d) and last witnesses on 9 September 1231 (Registrum Roffense,pp.386-7).

John of Brancaster, archdeacon of Worcester.

He was presented by King John to the prebend of Liddington on 29 May and again on 2 July 1208 (on the resignation of master Richard of Brancaster alias Ruffus (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, pp.84,84b). He died in 1218 (Annales monastici,vol.I,p.64).

Master Robert of Brinkhill.

Official of the archdeacon of Lincoln 1219-1223 (q.v.). He first appears as a canon of Lincoln on 12 March 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum,vol.II,no.513,p.218). He is last mentioned circa 1237-1239 (ibid.,vol.VIII,no.2207,p.23 ; vol.VII,no.2114,p.142). He was master of the works of the cathedral (ibid.,vol.IV,no.1213,p.95 ; vol.VII,no.2064,p.99).

Roger of Bristol.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Master Amaury of Buckden.

See the chapter on the 'familia' & ARCHDEACON OF BEDFORD.

Geoffrey of Buckland.

He attests a charter as a canon of Lincoln on 12 April 1221 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.II,p.191). He was a canon of Salisbury by 1214 (Sarum Charters and Documents,p.77) and held the prebend of Grantham australis (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles,vol.III,pp.136,149). He was also Dean of St.Martin's London, an office which he filled until his death which took place in 1225, before 25 September (Patent Rolls 1216-1225,p.550).

Hugh of Burrundy.

He occurs as a canon on 29 March 1220 (Liber Antiquus, p.100) and on 7 June of the same year (ibid., p.101). He also occurs as vicar of Gosberton on 3 November 1218 (Wells Dean & Chapter MS. Liber Albus II, f.189 ; Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, p.123). From his territorial name, it is possible that he was a kinsman of St. Hugh.

Master Reginald of Chester.

See the chapter on the 'familia', and SUBDEAN.

Master Stephen of Chichester.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

William of Cornhill.

See ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON.

John of Crackhall.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Geoffrey of Deeping.

See PRECENTOR.

Master Henry of Derby.

He occurs as a canon during the pontificate of bishop William of Blois 1203-1206 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.III, no.687, p.52 ; vol.V, no.1581, p.85; nos.1595-6, p.97; no.1672, p.151; no.1680, p.156; no.1699, p.167 ; vol.VII, no.2066, p.101) and he could possibly have received his canonry as early as 1192 (ibid., vol.VI, no.1893, p.124). He occurs circa 1212 (ibid., vol.VIII, no.2302, p.115 ; Lincoln D & C.A/1/6, no.772, f.115d) but presumably was dead at least by 1219 when his lands and buildings in the Lincoln parish of All Saints in the Bail were granted to John the chaplain, Fulk Apostolorum and John son of Fulk (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.IX, no.2498, pp.101-3).

Alexander of Elstow.

See ARCHDEACON OF BEDFORD.

William of Ely.

In 1207 he was presented to the prebend of Leighton Buzzard vacant on the death of Robert de Hardres, archdeacon of Huntingdon (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.73b). He was the king's treasurer. He died in 1222 (Matthew Paris : Chronica Majora, vol. III, p.74). See also "William of Ely, the King's Treasurer" in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, vol. XV, 1932, pp.45-90.

Master Nicholas of Evesham.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Philip of Fauconberg.

See ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON.

William of Firsby.

See ARCHDEACON OF STOW.

Thomas of Fiskerton.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Geoffrey, son of (Amaury VII) Viscount of Thouars.

In 1207 he was presented by king John to the prebend in Lincoln cathedral which was formerly held by Roger of Sumerford (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.70). He is probably to be identified with Geoffrey of Thouars, Treasurer of Poitiers, who was instituted to the church of Finedon in 1218 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p.104).

Gilbert.

See SUBDEAN.

Master Richard le Grant.

See CHANCELLOR.

Master Robert of Graveley.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Master Robert Grosseteste.

See ARCHDEACON OF LEICESTER.

Master Robert of Hailes.

See the chapter on the 'familia' ; ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON ; ARCHDEACON OF LINCOLN.

Henry, son of Geoffrey fitz Peter, the King's Justiciar.

He was given the prebend which was formerly in the possession of Ralph de Virenn' (Virineto) on 4 August 1207 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.75).

Master Robert of Holm.

He occurs as a canon circa 1200 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.IX, no.2495, p.100) and on 5 June 1206 (Letters of Pope Innocent III, no.709, p.118) and 1195-1208 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.III, no.687, p.52). He is last mentioned on 21 July 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p.96) and circa 1220 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.V, no.1485, pp.20-1). It would appear that he was dead circa 1221 (ibid., vol.IX, no.2611, pp.202-4).

Master John of Houghton.

See ARCHDEACON OF BEDFORD : ARCHDEACON OF NORTHAMPTON.

Peter of Hungary.

Peter first witnesses as a canon of Lincoln in the time of St. Hugh circa 1196-1198 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.II, no.637, p.330). All twenty-three acts of bishop Wells in which he features were all dated at Lincoln and it is clear that he was a residentiary canon (cf. Registrum Antiquissimum, passim). He was alive on 1 April 1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp.163, 391) but was dead by 1239 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.IV, no.1259, pp.130-1). His obit-day was 15 January (Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol.II, p.812).

Master Roger de Insula.

See CHANCELLOR.

Master Richard of Kent.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Master Theobald of Kent.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Master William of Kent.

See the chapter on the 'familia' ; ARCHDEACON OF STOW.

Peter of Kirmond.

Peter first occurs as a canon on 25 May 1219 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 375, p. 80). He was granted the prebend of Decem Librarum on 28 September 1225 (ibid., vol. II, no. 352, pp. 43-4) and from the number of capitular documents in which he appears and the fact that all the episcopal acts he attests were issued at Lincoln, it seems very likely that he was one of the residentiary canons. Indeed it is just possible that he was ~~was~~ can be identified with Peter the provost of the common, who occurs in Michaelmas 1224 (ibid., vol. VII, no. 2153, p. 176 ; vol. IV, p. 283 & no. 1302, p. 163). He is last mentioned as a canon on 8 September 1227 (B.M. Additional Charter 21999).

Warin of Kirton.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Master Roger of Lacock.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Gilbert de Lacy.

See TREASURER.

Master William of Lincoln alias Drayton.

See the chapter on the 'familia' & ARCHDEACON OF LEICESTER.

Master Richard of Linwood.

He occurs as a canon circa 1200 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IX, no. 2496, p. 101) and features as prebendary of All Saints in Hungate in the time of bishop William of Blois (ibid., vol. I, nos. 216-7, pp. 143-4). He first appears as a master on 21 July 1219 (Liber Antiquus, p. 96), and he is last mentioned on 12 March 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 513, p. 218).

Robert of London.

He was presented by the King to the prebend of Centum Solidorum

on 3 July 1208 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.84b). For his career, see H.MAYR-HARTING: The Acts of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207, pp.19-20.

Henry de Loundres, archdeacon of Stafford.

On 27 December 1207 he was presented by King John to the prebend of Carlton Kyme, vacated by Richard Kyme (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.78). He was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin circa August 1213.

Master Gilbert of Mablethorpe.

He occurs as a canon of Lincoln circa 1195-1208 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.III, no.687, p.52) and he certainly was a canon in the time of bishop William of Blois (ibid., vol.II, no.350, p.42). He attests a charter dated 14 July 1217 (ibid., vol.III, no.876, p.222) and features in a charter to be dated between 1217 and 1219 (ibid., vol.VII, no.2087, p.120).

Master Robert of Mancetter.

See ARCHDEACON OF NORTHAMPTON.

Master John of Marston.

See SUBDEAN.

Master William de Montibus.

See CHANCELLOR.

Ralph de Nevill.

Ralph styles himself a canon of Lincoln in a letter to Roger of Rolleston, dean of Lincoln (P.R.O.Ancient Correspondence vol.VI, no.1). He was Dean of Lichfield from 1214 to 1222. In that year he was elected bishop of Chichester but did not receive consecration until 21 April 1224. From 1226 he was chancellor of king Henry III. His death took place between 1 and 4 February 1244.

Thomas de Nevill.

In February 1208 he was granted the prebend which was last held by master Walter Blund (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol.I, p.103b)

This was the prebend of Louth (Curia Regis Rolls, vol. VI, p. 309). He occurs as a canon of Lincoln and rector of Burnham and Leckhampstead and former rector of Woodston circa 1215 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 8-9). A Thomas de Nevill occurs as archdeacon of Salop (Lichfield) between 1212 and 1214 (Rotuli Chartarum, pp. 187, 196; Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 108b; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, pp. 152, 161, 172b). I am certain that the canon of Lincoln is to be identified with the hitherto unknown chancellor of Lichfield "qui nuper obiit" in 1223 (P.R.O. Memoranda Roll 8 Henry III, mem. 4, dorse and 3, face). Certain of the chancellor's debts are listed in a letter to the bishop of Lincoln. Clearly Thomas was a kinsman of Ralph de Nevill (q.v.). On 26 September 1223 Luke was appointed chancellor of Lichfield (Patent Rolls 1216-1225, p. 386).

Stephen de Normandis.

He occurs on 1 January 1230 as prebendary of Leighton (Patent Rolls 1225-1232, p. 352). He was cardinal deacon of St. Adrian from 1216 to 1228 and then cardinal priest of St. Mary trans Tiberim from 1229 until his death in 1254 (Eubel). He is probably to be identified with the Roman cardinal and canon of Lincoln, whom the Dean of Lincoln and the archdeacon of Bedford visited in 1228 (Annales monastici, vol. III, p. 109). He is almost certainly the B. 'nepos' of Pope Innocent III and prebendary of 'Layton' who occurs in a royal charter dated 12 September 1213 (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 156b).

Thomas of Norton.

Although not styled canon on 28 December 1217 (Liber Antiquus, pp. 85-6) he had become sacrist of Lincoln by 25 May 1219 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. IV, no. 1309, p. 168) amended date; see also ibid., p. 281). He continues to attest documents as sacrist or simply as canon of Lincoln until 9 September 1232 (ibid., vol. II, no. 365, p. 63).

Richard of Oxford.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Martin of Pattishall.

He was not a canon on 27 December 1214 (Liber Antiquus, p.73) but had obtained a canonry by 24 May 1220 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.II, p.185). He occurs on 12 April 1221 (ibid., vol.II, p.191) and is last mentioned on 23 February 1227 (ibid., vol.II, p.221). He was archdeacon of Norfolk and from 1228 Dean of St. Paul's London. He died on 14 November 1229 (Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanae vol.I, St. Paul's London 1066-1300, p.6).

Peter.

See ARCHDEACON OF LINCOLN.

Master Philip.(? of Mablethorpe).

See SUBDEAN.

Master Raymond.

See ARCHDEACON OF LEICESTER.

Stephen Ridel.

King John presented him to the prebend in Lincoln cathedral formerly held by Luke on 26 December 1202 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.21b). If he is identical with the canon of Salisbury of the same name - and there is no reason to believe that he is not - then he was certainly alive on 7 January 1214 (Sarum Charters and Documents, p.77). He was also a canon of Wells by 1206 (Archaeologia, vol.LII, part 1, pp.105-6, 1890).

Peter des Rivaux.

'Nepos' of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. On 17 March 1208 king John granted Peter the next prebend to fall vacant at Lincoln (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.80b). Nevertheless, the next vacant prebend - that of Liddington - was bestowed upon John of Brancaster (2 July 1208) and on the following day the king repeated his grant to Peter des Rivaux for the next vacancy (ibid., p.84b). It is not known whether Peter did in fact receive a prebend. He died in 1262, before 2 November (LE NEVE: Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanae, vol.I, St. Paul's London 1066-1300, p.59.).

Master Roger of Rolleston.

See DEAN OF LINCOLN.

Rufinus.

Nephew of the cardinal legate Guala. He occurs as prebendary of Cropredy on 29 March 1235 (Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 145) but since enquiries were set in train regarding his many English benefices as early as April 1233, it is not rash to presume that he had held the prebend during Hugh's pontificate (ibid., vol. I, pp. 132, 140, 142). He had ceased to be prebendary of Cropredy by 17 June 1236-16 June 1237 when Adenulph 'nepos' of Pope Gregory IX is found (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 394).

Master Adam of St. Edmund.

He became a canon of Lincoln in the time of bishop William of Blois 1203-1206 (Cartulary of St. Frideswide's, vol. I, no. 43, p. 47; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 350, p. 42), and ultimately ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD (q.v.) at some time between 24 January and 11 June 1222 (Rotuli Hugonis de Wellez, vol. II, pp. 196-7). He died during bishop Grosseteste's first pontifical year 17 June 1235-16 June 1236 (Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 445).

Walter of St. Edmund.

See TREASURER.

Hugh of St. Edward.

Hugh was a household clerk of St. Hugh and became a canon of Lincoln in the course of his pontificate (Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. IV, p. 443; Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, pp. 35-6; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. I, nos. 289, 305; vol. II, nos. 276, 338, xi, xii; vol. III, nos. 658, 752, 818, 1002-3, 1094; vol. IV, no. 1300). In the time of Hugh of Wells it would appear that he was a residentiary canon and with two exceptions, all the acts he attests were issued and dated at Lincoln. Between 21 July and 23 September 1219 he succeeded John of York as ARCHDEACON OF STOW (Liber Antiquus, pp. 96-7). He last occurs as archdeacon on 25 November 1222 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 898, p. 243).

John of St. Giles.

He is mentioned as prebendary of Banbury in the course of the bishop's twenty-third pontifical year (20 December 1231-19 December 1232 - Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 40). He had become prebendary of Leighton Buzzard by December 1238 and was archdeacon of Oxford from 1240 to 1249/50 (K. MAJOR: "The 'Familia' of Robert Grosseteste" in Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop, ed. D. CALLUS (Oxford 1955), p. 237).

Master William of St. Maxentius.

He occurs as a canon of Lincoln in May 1218 (Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. V, no. 867a, p. 397). He was rector of Mixbury in Oxfordshire in 1216 (ibid., vol. V, p. 399) and the benefice was next vacant in 1221-1222 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 9). He was given a prebend in the church of St. Martin, Angers in 1206 (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p. 67), a prebend in the church of Brug' (?) three years later (ibid., p. 89) and in June 1214 the Deanery of St. Martin, Angers (Rotuli Chartarum, p. 199b). He last occurs in the royal records in 1219 (Patent Rolls 1216-1225, pp. 212, 217). See ? ARCHDEACON OF BUCKINGHAM.

Master Laurence of St. Nicholas.

Papal subdeacon and a clerk of the cardinal legate Guala. He ceased to be a canon of Lincoln by 16 February 1235 when master Richard of Stamford was presented to his prebend (Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1232-1247, pp. 94, 96). In 1219 Hugh and his brother bishop Jocelin had borrowed 700 marks from master Laurence (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, pp. 140-1). In December 1226 the bishop of Lincoln was ordered to do justice regarding those who disturbed master Laurence's possessions after his departure from England (Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 114) and it could be that the papal subdeacon already held a canonry at Lincoln at this time. He was also prebendary of Thockrington at York (York Minster Fasti, vol. II, pp. 73-4).

Master Gilbert of Scarborough.

He occurs as a canon circa 1210-1212 (Luffield Priory Charters, part 1, no. 60, p. 62). He last features in an episcopal document

on 20 March 1226 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 213).

Geoffrey Scot.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Roger Scot.

Roger occurs as a canon circa 1196-1198 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 637, p. 330) and 1200-1205 (ibid., vol. V, no. 1518, p. 85). Dean & Chapter charter D11/78/2/12 in which he occurs is dated by the compiler of the Chapter catalogue to "circa 1220" but there is no internal evidence to show that it is as late as this and Roger may not have been alive at the time of Hugh's election.

Matthew of Stratton.

See ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD : ARCHDEACON OF BUCKINGHAM.

Gilbert of Taunton.

See ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON.

John of Taunton.

See the chapter on the 'familia' & PRECENTOR.

Master Theobald.

Papal writer. Pope Honorius III requested the bishop and the chapter to admit him as one of their canons and give him a prebend 28 October 1222 (Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 89). It is not known whether the bishop acceded to the papal request, although there is a distinct possibility that Theobald may be with Theobald de Berbezeus who occurs as a canon of Lincoln on 9 April 1236 (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232-1247, p. 140).

Master William de Thornaco.

See the chapter on the 'familia' ; ARCHDEACON OF STOW : ARCHDEACON OF LINCOLN : DEAN OF LINCOLN.

Master John of Tynemouth.

See ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD.

Master Vacarius.

He occurs as a canon circa 1191-1195 and 1200 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.II, no.338, xi, p.31 & vol.IV, no.1300, p.161). He was still alive in 1212 or thereabouts when he was granted lands and buildings in Pottergate by the Dean and Chapter (Lincoln Dean & Chapter Dij/79/1/131). His fellow-canon, master Adam of St.Edmund, purchased this property from the executors of his testament at some time between 1212 and 1222 (Dij/79/1/128).

Henry de Ver.

On 7 September 1208 he was presented by king John to the prebend formerly held by William Fortin (Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, p.86).

Ralph of Waravill.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Master Walter of Warminster.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Robert of Washingborough.

He features as a canon in several episcopal documents issued in chapter at Lincoln between 31 March 1220 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol.III, no.919, p.260) and 8 September 1227 (B.M. Additional Charter 21999). In 1220-1221 Robert was entrusted with the charge of Flixborough church for Ralph d'Arcy (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.I, pp.217-8). He may have been a canon slightly earlier for he attests William son of Fulk's endowment of a chantry at the altar of St.Denis in the cathedral which can be dated 1219-1220 (Lincoln D & C. Dij/77/1/11).

Hugh of Wells, archdeacon of Bath.

A canon of Wells by 1206 (Archaeologia, vol.LII, part 1, p.105), and a canon of Salisbury in 1233 (Barum Charters and Documents p.230), he first occurs as a canon of Lincoln on 16 December 1220 (Liber Antiquus, p.103). He was prebendary of Milton Manor (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol.III, p.147; Registrum Antiquissimum

vol.III,no.950,p.290). He died either in late 1234 or at the very beginning of 1235 (Annales Monastici,vol.I,p.94 - died 1234 , i.e.of course, March 1234-March 1235) ; on 14 February 1235 Walter of Kirkham was presented to the prebend that Hugh had vacated by death (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232-1247,p.93).

Hugh of Wells.

This canon is not to be confused with his namesake, the archdeacon of Bath (q.v.). He occurs as a clerk in a document dated 6 December 1224 (B.M.Additional Charter 47562). He was a canon by 26 September 1225 (Oxford,Bodleian Library MS.Laud misc.625,f.4d) and occurs again two days later (Registrum Antiquissimum,vol.II,no.352,p.43). Perhaps he was the nephew of of the archdeacon of Bath and son of Osbert of Wells (cf.ibid., vol.IX,nos.2540-1,pp.142-3).

Master Walter of Wells.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Master Richard of Wendover.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

William.

See ARCHDEACON OF BUCKINGHAM.

Master William son of Fulk.

Master William was a clerk of bishops Hugh I and William of Blois (Registrum Antiquissimum,vol.I,no.218,293; vol.II,nos. 575,578) and received a canonry and the prebend of Decem Librarum circa 1205-1206 (ibid.,vol.II,no.350,pp.41-2). It is clear from capitular documents and from the episcopal acts he is attested at Lincoln in chapter that he was one of the residentiary canons. For his extensive city property and his ancestry, see Registrum Antiquissimum,vol.IX,nos.2393-2401,esp. pp.44-5,note). He was parson of Asgarby in 1214 (Curia Regis Rolls,vol.VII,p.278), rector of a moiety of Roxby church (Letters of Pope Innocent III,no.945,pp.156-7), rector of Burton Overy (Registrum Antiquissimum,vol.III,no.870,pp.212-3)

and parson of Cheddington (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 134) He succeeded Hugh of St. Edward as ARCHDEACON OF STOW between 25 November 1222 and 12 March 1223 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 898, p. 243 & no. 513, p. 218). He died (perhaps 8 November cf. STOW) 1223. His benefices of Asgarby, Cheddington and Roxby were vacant 1223-1224 (Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. I, p. 219 (Roxby), vol. II, p. 65 (Cheddington), vol. III, p. 128 (Asgarby) ♀.

William of Winchcombe.

See the chapter on the 'familia'.

Roger of Worcester.

He occurs as a canon of Lincoln in the Great Bible list circa 1186-1190 (Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. II, p. 793) and circa 1196-1198 (Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. II, no. 637, p. 330). He is no doubt to be identified with the prebendary of Broomesbury in St. Paul's cathedral who occurs as a canon from circa 1181-1183 to 1225-1229. A successor was granted the London prebend on 25 March 1229 (LE NEVE: Fasti Ecclesie Anglicane, vol. I, St. Paul's London 1066-1300, p. 28).

Master John of York.

See the chapter on the 'familia' : ARCHDEACON OF STOW : SUBDEAN.

William of York.

He occurs as a canon on 6 November 1234 (J. PARKER: Yorkshire Fines 1232-1246, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, record series vol. LXVII, p. 9). If, as seems likely, he is to be identified with the chancery clerk and royal justice, then he also held a canonry at York (C. T. CLAY: York Minister Fasti, vol. II, Y. A. S. record series vol. CXXIV, pp. viii-ix, xii, xiv-xv, 2, 44, 150-2). He was consecrated bishop of Salisbury on 14 July 1247.

EPISCOPAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD - THE BISHOP AND THE CHANCELLOR.

Hugh of Wells's episcopate witnessed significant events and changes affecting the structure and organisation of the university of Oxford - the "suspendium clericorum" of 1209 and the subsequent migration of the academic community, the all-important legatine ordinance of 1214, the arrival of the Dominican friars in 1221 and the Franciscans in 1224, the influx of Parisian masters and scholars in 1229 after the carnival riots in that city and the establishment of discipline in 1231 with the expulsion of those scholars who were not under a regular master. These are all developments which have been touched upon in previous studies of the growth of the "studium generale" at Oxford and it may appear rather presumptuous to contemplate yet another inquiry into aspects of university affairs. With documentary evidence for this period in very short supply, there can obviously be no detailed analysis of relations between the diocesan bishop and the university over which he had jurisdiction, such as was possible for the pontificate of bishop Oliver Sutton¹, and it would indeed be pointless to go over the ground already competently covered by Rashdall and others who have made extensive use of the few surviving documents². In any case, the information available for

1. R.M.T.HILL: "Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln and the University of Oxford" in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, vol. XXXI (1949), pp. 1-16 and The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-1299, vol. III (.L.R., S. vol. XLVIII, 1954), pp. lxxiv-lxxvii.

2. H. RASHDALL: The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 2nd edn. by F.M. POWICKE & A.B. EMDEN (Oxford 1936), vol. III for Oxford; H.E. SALTER: Snape's formulary and other records, (Oxford Historical Society LXXX, 1924), pp. 318-36; For a continental viewpoint, see L. HALPHEN: "Les universites au XIIIe siecle" in Revue Historique, vol. CLXVI, pp. 217-38, and Revue Historique, vol. CLXVII, pp. 1-15 (1931); G.G. COULTON: "Student numbers at Medieval Oxford" in History, vol. XIX, (1934-5), pp. 324-7; R.W. HUNT: "English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century" in T.R.H.S. 4th series, vol. XIX (1936), pp. 19-42; D.A. CALLUS: "The Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford" in Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. XXIX, pp. 12-26; A.G. LITTLE: "The Franciscan School at Oxford" in the Thirteenth Century" in Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, vol. XIX, 1926.

such a specific study is strictly limited. The legatine ordinance³ certainly qualifies for inclusion but beyond a few royal mandates concerning the chancellor's jurisdiction over members of the university⁴ and a record of several Oxford scholars attending upon the bishop at Dorchester in 1228 on the occasion of the institution of Thomas de Longueville as prior of St. Andrew's Northampton⁵, there is on the whole little material on which to base a study. The loss of the episcopal memoranda rolls must surely have removed a valuable source of information on university affairs and a collective study portraying the development of this corporation of scholars on the lines of the university of Paris is thus condemned, in default of records, to mere generalisations and surmise. Consequently, the aim of this brief chapter has been rigidly confined to an examination of the position of the chancellor of the university and an attempt to dispel some of the confusion which has surrounded the early years of this office from its inception soon after the ordinance of the cardinal bishop of Tusculum in 1214.

The first allusions to the chancellorship are to be found in the enactments of this papal legate. Among the many provisions contained in this ordinance (in actual fact four similar charters were issued - two with general addresses, one directed to bishop Hugh and finally, one to the burgesses of Oxford), it was laid down that an annual penalty of fifty-two shillings should be imposed upon the mayor and commune for distribution among poor scholars, with the advice of the bishop of Lincoln or the archdeacon of Oxford or his official or the chancellor "quem episcopus Lincolnensis ibidem scholaribus preficiet."⁶ The wording of the text implies that

3. H.E. SALTER: Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford, vol. I, pp. 2-6 (Oxford Historical Society LXX, 1917).

4. e.g. Close Rolls 1227-1231, pp. 469-70, 520, 586-7.

5. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. II, p. 145.

6. Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford, vol. I, p. 3.

no such officer existed at the time the document was drawn up but there is no reason to suppose that this legatine enactment was not implemented by the bishop fairly soon afterwards. Mrs. Cheney has convincingly proved that master Geoffrey de Lucy's tenure of the chancellorship fell at some date between June 1214 and August 1216⁷ and it is highly probable that he was the first chancellor of the university. Bearing this in mind, it is somewhat perplexing to discover that in the course of a dispute between bishop Oliver Sutton and the university over the "election" of master Roger of Weasenham as chancellor in 1295, the bishop of Lincoln had unequivocally affirmed, in an attempt to bolster his claims against the growing independence of the university, that "beatus Robertus quondam Lincoln' episcopus, qui hujusmodi officium gessit dum in universitate predicta regebat in principio creationis sue in episcopum dixit proximum predecessorum suum episcopum Lincoln' non permisisse quod idem Robertus vocaretur cancellarius sed magister scholarum".⁸ This is the earliest known reference to Robert Grosseteste either as chancellor or master of the Schools and this affirmation has been accepted by question by most historians, the more so ? since master Peter of Medbourne, the university's representative, did not attempt to contradict the bishop's statement. Master Peter's silence has been taken to confirm that the assertion was undeniably true and based upon common knowledge and it has been inferred that initially bishop Hugh was suspicious of the new title and only grudgingly approved its use some years after the legatine ordinance. Such an assumption is not altogether justified in the light of the extant documentary evidence.

The whole question rests on the date of Robert Grosseteste's tenure of office as head of the academic community at Oxford. There is no mention of a chancellor before 1214 - a "magister scholarum" is found in 1201⁹ and a "rector scholarum" appears in 1210¹⁰ but their exact responsibilities are

7. M.G. CHENEY: "Master Geoffrey de Lucy, an early chancellor of the university of Oxford" in English Historical Review, LXXXII (1967), pp. 750-763.

8. R.M.T. HILL: The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1260-1299, vol. V (L.R.S. vol. LX, 1965), p. 60.

9. Snape's Formulary, p. 318. 10. ibid., pp. 318-9.

undetermined and uncertain. They could in fact merely have been regent-masters. It is almost definite that the appointment of a chancellor stemmed directly from the provisions made by the bishop of Tusculum, so that the period when Grosseteste is reputed to have held office must presumably be dated after 1214 (and at least after bishop Wells's accession in 1209). Father Callus came to the conclusion that "the contestation of the title by the bishop suggests unequivocally a period of transition when the status of the chancellor was not yet definitely settled, perhaps on the occasion of the first appointment to that office, that is in or shortly after 1214"¹¹ and he added: "it follows that his (i.e. Grosseteste's) presidency of the schools must fall between 1214 and 1221".¹¹ Dr. Salter¹² and the editor of the Victoria County History¹³ have expressed more or less similar opinions. Professor Josiah Cox Russell, on the other hand, in three curiously-argued articles of doubtful value, written at intervals of eleven years, has vacillated between several possible dates for Grosseteste's tenure of office.¹⁴ In the first article published in 1933¹⁵,

11. D. CALLUS: "The Oxford Career of Robert Grosseteste" in Oxonienis, vol. X (1945), p. 49.

12. Snape's Formulary, p. 319.

13. Victoria County History of Oxford, vol. III, p. 38 (Oxford 1954).

14. Professor Russell has the infuriating habit of making tenuous assumptions appear as concrete fact - for example, in the 1955 article (see note 17), when talking of the possibility of a connexion between Robert Grosseteste and Gerald of Wales, he cites a letter of Gerald's noting that his clerk, R. is to travel to Rome to bring to the notice of certain high officials the Welsh archdeacon's dispute with the bishop of St. David's. Russell suggests, without any evidence to support his claim, that R. was probably Robert Grosseteste (p. 201). On the following page, this inspired guess is suddenly transformed into hard fact in a most incredible sentence: "...it is interesting to see Grosseteste as a young man getting his legal experience in the company of so enthusiastic a controversialist as Gerald and it also shows Grosseteste close to Welsh interests."

15. J. C. RUSSELL: "The Preferments and 'Adiutores' of Robert Grosseteste" in Harvard Theological Review, XXVI (1933), pp. 161-172.

he followed the standard theory first propounded by Dr. Salter that Grosseteste was probably the first chancellor and was in office at least by 1221. In the 1944 article¹⁶, by making considerable use of the fabulous and untrustworthy metrical life of Grosseteste written by Richard of Bardney in 1503, he alleged that it was now most probable that Robert Grosseteste was master of the schools in 1209 and asked the bishop for the new title of chancellor while the university was dispersed or in Cambridge a request that met with a blank refusal. Unfortunately, Professor Russell omits to mention any reliable authorities for such a positive and detailed statement. In 1955 further significant modifications are introduced¹⁷. "The story about Grosseteste and the bishop of Lincoln can be narrowed ~~down~~ in time to the period in 1209 when Hugh was elected and 1210. Indeed it can probably be limited to a few weeks early in 1209 before the bishop left England. Grosseteste then probably left Oxford for the continent (cf. 1944 then at Cambridge!) at the end of the academic year 1208-1209."¹⁸ Thus the dilemma facing anyone who attempts to solve this problem.

No one has ever explained to my satisfaction why the bishop should have been wary or suspicious of the title of chancellor. It was the regular appellation for the head of an academic community on the continent (and of the cathedral schools) and the title did not conjure up at this early stage any notion of the university's independence of episcopal control. The use of the word in the 1214 document merely confirms that the masters and scholars of Oxford were regarded as a corporation sufficiently large and definite to merit a common seal and an officer to have the custody of that seal and to exercise a general supervision over their affairs - rather than a "master of the schools" as in Northampton¹⁹ or any other

16. J.C. RUSSELL: "Richard of Bardney's Account of Robert Grosseteste's Early and Middle Life" in Medievalia et Humanistica, fasciculus II (1944), pp. 45-54.

17. J.C. RUSSELL: "Some Notes upon the Career of Robert Grosseteste" in Harvard Theological Review, XLVIII (1955), pp. 197-211.

18. ibid., p. 201.

19. cf. A. SALTMAN: The Cartulary of Tutbury Priory, Staffs, Record Soc., 4th series, vol. IV, 1962, no. 271, p. 190.

non-cathedral city²⁰. As the cardinal legate took pains to emphasize, the chancellor was the personal representative of the bishop - "ab episcopo constituto"²¹ - a deputy specifically appointed to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the masters and scholars of a university, one hundred and twenty-two miles from the episcopal city. In Hugh of Wells's time there certainly would have been no rivalry between the bishop and his delegated representative. Conflict came with the expansion and development of the university and the desire among the masters to govern themselves without episcopal interference. The fact that the chancellor was not always in direct contact with his superior, the bishop of Lincoln, facilitated the ultimate success of these aspirations. Nevertheless, under bishop Hugh the university was still in its infancy and there are few hints of the impending discord; to continue with the metaphor, the university did not experience growing pains until later in the thirteenth century, leading to bitter verbal clashes with bishop Oliver Sutton and his successors. To return to Robert Grosseteste, it is well-known that he and the bishop were linked by bonds of personal friendship. He owed all his ecclesiastical preferment - the prebend of St. Margaret's Leicester²², the church of Abbotsley²³ and the archdeaconry of Leicester²⁴ - to bishop Hugh and in a letter Robert once stated that he was much loved by his episcopal predecessor at Lincoln.²⁵ Surely these are not the background circumstances which might lead to disagreement between two ecclesiastics over nomenclature. Indeed, in my opinion, the person who may well have had real reason to be suspicious of the appointment of a chancellor was not the bishop of Lincoln but the archdeacon of Oxford who

20. e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Top. Lincs. d. 1, f. 40d
"vicerector scholarum de Grimesby" 1241. B.M. Additional Chart
45802 William son of Elias "quondam magister scholarum de
Bartona" (late 13th century).

21. Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford, vol. I, p. 9.

22. He retained his prebend when he resigned all other
preferment in 1232 Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 890

23. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, vol. III, p. 48.

pp. 235-6.

24. He was archdeacon from 1229 to 1232.

25. H. R. LUARD: Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae, no. XLIV, pp. 135-7.
(Rolls series 1861).

would have lost jurisdictional rights over the clerks of the university. Some historians have emphatically denied that the archdeacon did have any control over the Oxford schools in the period before 1214 but I am far from convinced that this was the case. It is perhaps more than coincidence that the archdeacons of Oxford who held office in the last quarter of the twelfth century and the first decade of the thirteenth were themselves notable scholars or lawyers - master John of Coutances, master Walter Map, and master John of Tynemouth. Could it have been that their appointment was influenced by their academic as well as their administrative capabilities since they were to be entrusted with a supervisory control over the growing academic establishment in the city of Oxford?

It will be remembered that Father Callus expressed the opinion that the term "magister scholarum" would have been employed soon after 1214 and before the title of chancellor gained episcopal acceptance. Yet, "cancellarius" of Oxford is ~~not~~ found in documents issued between 1214 and 1216²⁶, 1221²⁷, 1222²⁸, 1225²⁹, 1228³⁰, 1229³¹, 1231³², 1232³³, 1233³⁴, 1234³⁵ and 1235³⁶, and

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26. English Historical Review, vol. LXXXII, p. 754.
 27. H. E. SALTER: The Cartulary of Osney Abbey vol. V (Oxford Historical Society XCVIII, 1935), p. 374; Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford, vol. I, pp. 10-11, 15.
 28. English Historical Review, vl. LXXXII, p. 754 and n. 3 citing B.M. Add. MS. 32100, f. 210.
 29. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 148; Rotuli Litterarum Clausurarum, vol. II, p. 80; Spalding Gentlemen's Society, Crowland Cartulary, ff. 189-189d; Registrum Antiquissimum, vol. III, no. 1019, pp. 345-6.
 30. The Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. IV (O.H.S. XCVII, 1934), pp. 185, 187.
 31. Curia Regis Rolls, vol. XIII, no. 1532, p. 327.
 32. Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. I (O.H.S. LXXXIX, 1929), p. 137; ibid., vol. IV, p. 368; Close Rolls 1227-1231, p. 469.
 33. Close Rolls 1227-1231, p. 520; ibid., 1231-1234, p. 63.
 34. Registrum Antiquissimum vol. III, no. 829, p. 171.
 35. Cartulary of Osney Abbey, vol. I, p. 278.
 36. Calendar of Papal Letters, vol. I, p. 148.

in fact this term seems to have found approval from the very beginning. The bishop was absent abroad from 1209 to 1213 and from 1215 to 1217 but Professor Russell's ingenious efforts to place Grosseteste's tenure of office in 1209 or 1210 can be discounted for lack of evidence. It is hardly likely that one of the foremost scholars of his age and one of the most outspoken in defence of the rights of the Church would have remained in Oxford during the general interdict and after the 'suspendium clericorum' as leader of the "rump" of the university which did not disperse. If he had done so, he would have been counted among those who were suspended from lecturing for three years by the papal legate³⁷. Master Geoffrey de Lucy appears to have been the first chancellor - there is no evidence to suggest that Grosseteste enjoyed this distinction - and it would seem highly improbable that bishop Hugh would refuse to allow the use of the title of chancellor later in his pontificate having once accepted it soon after the 1214 ordinance. Unfortunately Robert Grosseteste's whereabouts are rather vague at this time. He became lecturer to the Franciscans about 1230³⁸ and resigned his archdeaconry in 1232³⁹, devoting himself to university affairs until his election as bishop of Lincoln in 1235, but his activities in the second decade of the century are lamentably obscure.

In such circumstances it will be advisable to examine more closely the source of this particular piece of information and the events with which it was concerned. The affairs of the university of Oxford presented a serious problem for bishop Oliver Sutton. The points at issue were two. In Miss Hill's words: "Was the right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over

37. Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford, vol. I, p. 4.

38. A. G. LITTLE: Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston i. Tractatus de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam, p. 48, (Manchester 1951).

39. Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae, no. VIII, pp. 43-5. Robert was attacked for his decision to resign (ibid., no. IX, pp. 45-7) and we may wonder whether his colleagues at Lincoln merely thought that he was excusing himself in order to devote all his time to academic work. Their ill-feeling could account for the schism which occurred at the 1235 episcopal election. (Matthew Paris: Historia Anglorum, vol. II, pp. 375-6, ed. F. MADDEN, Rolls series 1866).

members of the university to belong to the chancellor or to the bishop and, in the second place, had the university the right to elect its own chancellor, or did it simply nominate a person to fill the office and present him to the bishop who made the actual appointment?"⁴⁰ Every cancellarial vacancy now brought with it the inevitable clash of rival jurisdictional claims. Naturally the bishop was determined to abide by the 1214 legatine ordinance which gave him the right of appointment and he attempted to defeat the trend towards the growing independence of the university on every possible occasion. The chancellor and the regent-masters were equally determined to throw off episcopal tutelage as far as the appointment of the chancellor and the jurisdictional powers of the university were concerned. The bishop's statement should be viewed in the light of this acrimonious struggle. In February 1295, master Peter of Medbourne brought notice from the university that master Roger of Weasenham had been elected chancellor in succession to master Roger Martival and requested episcopal confirmation of the appointment. The form of the letters roused Sutton to protest that "cancellarii pro tempore existentes non fuerunt electi sed tantummodo nominati".⁸ He then went on to cite the example of Robert Grosseteste and bishop Hugh of Wells to emphasize the total dependence of the chancellor on the bishop of Lincoln. Master Peter's failure to contradict his diocesan need not necessarily have been due to his acceptance of the truth of the assertion. His silence could just as easily be attributed to lack of information. He could hardly question the veracity of the bishop's statement when he had no precise knowledge of an event which was supposed to have taken place some eighty years earlier. It has already been remarked that the surviving documentary evidence makes it extremely difficult to ascertain the exact period when the incident could have occurred and there is always the possibility that the bishop had misinterpreted his sources - "magister scholarum" is found in 1231 merely indicating a regent-master⁴¹ - or had in fact

40. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, vol. XXXI, p. 7.

41. Close Rolls 1227-1231 pp. 586-7.

resorted to a deliberate bluff to confound the autonomous pretensions of the university. This is not being purely fanciful. It is known from another instance that bishop Sutton was not always entirely honest when it was a matter of upholding the rights of "sponsa sua", the cathedral church of Lincoln. John Romeyn, archbishop of York, expressed great surprise and utter incredulity that Oliver Sutton should have protested about the archiepiscopal institution of the prebendary of South Scarle - a Lincoln prebend which lay within the confines of the archdiocese of York. Romeyn was obviously making good use of his personal knowledge of Lincoln diocesan affairs - he was previously chancellor and then precentor of Lincoln - and knew full well that bishop Sutton insisted on instituting the prebendaries of the Salisbury prebends of Grantham Australis and Borealis, Brixworth and Shipton-under-Wychwood, which were all situated in the Lincoln diocese⁴². Be this as it may, it is reasonable to suppose that Hugh of Wells's relations with the chancellor of Oxford were not fraught with as many dangers and anxieties as those which beset his episcopal successor at Lincoln at the close of the thirteenth century. "The university felt that it had outgrown the ordinary system of diocesan jurisdiction, and desired to escape from it."⁴³

42. W. BROWN: The Register of John le Romeyn vol. I (Surtces Soc. CXXIII, 1913), pp. 278-9 & note 2.

43. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, vol. XXXI, p. 5.

THE BISHOP AND THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN.¹

The unique position of the Jew in medieval English society was largely determined by religious and economic considerations ; yet it would be quite misleading to imagine their total isolation from the indigenous population of the country of their adoption. True, their religious beliefs and teachings - the concept of the Chosen People - forbade their assimilation or absorption into the native community, but this did not prevent the harmonious intermingling of the races both in personal and commercial relationships. Just as it is utterly false to think that the vast majority of Jews were usurers or money-lenders², so it is unreasonable to suppose that the sporadic anti-semitic outbursts among the Christian inhabitants were not punctuated by long periods of comparative harmony and toleration. Nevertheless, beneath the surface, there persisted an abundance of superstition, mythology and prejudice, which could erupt at any time and inflame passions and arouse intense hatred among Christians against the unconverted living among them and, as popular imagination had it, living off them. There is no shortage of cautionary tales of Jewish deception and guile practiced against Christian victims. At the same time, it would be an unjustifiable oversimplification to insist that persecution resulted purely from misguided religious motives. Economic factors played a considerable part. It is significant that in many riots instigated against the Jews, the 'archa', the chirograph chest containing the bonds of those financially indebted to the money-lenders, was a prominent object of the

1. This chapter is only concerned with the attitude of the church towards the Jews in England. For relations between the Jews and the secular authorities, see: C. ROTH: A History of the Jews in England (Oxford 1941); H.G. RICHARDSON: The English Jewry under Angevin Kings (London 1960); M. ADLER: Jews of Medieval England (London 1939).

2. See ROTH and RICHARDSON, *passim* and V.D. LIPMAN: "The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry" in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (T.J.H.S.E.), vol. XXI (1962-7), pp. 64-77.

mob's destructive wrath. The massacre of the Jews of York in 1190 was prompted by the actions of certain members of local aristocratic families who had borrowed heavily from the York community and were taking advantage of unrest to evade their obligations.³

In spite of oppressive tallages and demands for excessive pecuniary assistance, the secular government offered a considerable measure of protection for the English Jewry. After all, they were in Dr. Roth's words "the royal milch-cow" and any serious aggravation or elimination of Jewish communities would have adversely affected the finances of the royal government. In consequence, the culpability for the hostile treatment of the Jews has been placed predominantly upon the catholic church. This is too general a condemnation. Obviously the endemic hatred and fear of the Jewish race was fostered and stimulated to a great extent by religious dogma, theological teachings and papal, conciliar and synodal enactments. Yet, the real responsibility lay not with the church as a whole but with individual ecclesiastics. Clearly the implementation of any conciliar decisions or papal directives depended upon the attitude of diocesan bishops who had the alternative of enforcing the decrees or of disregarding them. Just because there were stringent regulations touching the activities of Jews, it does not necessarily follow that these provisions were put into effect. It is extremely dangerous to suppose that the decisions of Councils and any precepts sanctioned by papal authority were strictly and universally observed by bishops and their subordinates. For instance, the canon law and papal decrees expressly forbade Christian usury⁴, clerical concubinage and the employment of

3. A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND, pp. 22-24.

4. See T.P. McLaughlin: "The Teaching of the Canonists on Usury" in Medieval Studies, vol. I (1939), pp. 81-147 & vol. II (1940), pp. 1-22; B.N. NELSON: "The Usurer and the Merchant Prince: Italian Businessmen and the Ecclesiastical Law of Restitution 1100-1550" in Journal of Economic History, Supplement VII, pp. 104-122 (New York 1947); J.J. RABINOWITZ: "Some Remarks on the Evasion of the Usury Laws in the Middle Ages" in Harvard Theological Review, vol. XXXVII (1944), pp. 49-59.

ecclesiastics in secular affairs, but it would be absolutely stupid to claim that as a result there were no Christian money-lenders, no clerical concubines and no royal officials in holy orders. Similarly, the regularity with which the church's legislation against the Jews was enforced was wholly dependent upon the personal sentiments and prejudices of individual members of the episcopate. St. Hugh is known to have been tolerant towards Jews⁵; his namesake and successor does not appear to have shared his attitudes.

The diocese of Lincoln contained many Jewish communities within its borders. In addition to the important centres of Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford and Stamford, smaller settlements are also recorded at Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Dunstable and Berkhamsted⁶. With such a concentration of Jewry within one bishopric, the ecclesiastical authorities of the diocese could not fail to be much involved and concerned with Jewish affairs. Not that their involvement was always inspired by religious fervour and the discriminatory enactments of popes and councils. Many of the diocesan clergy were themselves financially indebted to the Jews. The higher clergy were not alone in their borrowings; parochial incumbents also entered into financial transactions with the Jews. The royal memoranda rolls of the period of Hugh of Wells's episcopate abound in references to parish clergy being distrained on account of their debts to the Jewish money-lenders.⁷ With these close

5. D.L. DOUIE & H. FARMER: Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, vol. II, p. 228 (London 1961-2).

6. A History of the Jews in England, pp. 11-2; The English Jewry under Angevin Kings, pp. 9-19; for studies of individual Jewish communities within the diocese, see C. ROTH: The Jews of Medieval Oxford (Oxford Historical Society, new series, vol. IX, 1951); S. COHEN: "The Oxford Jewry in the Thirteenth Century" in T. J. H. S. E., vol. XIII, pp. 293-322; J. W. F. HILL: Medieval Lincoln (Cambridge 1948) chapter XI "The Jews", pp. 217-238; C. ROTH: Medieval Lincoln Jewry and its Synagogue, (1934); S. LEVY: "Notes on Leicester Jewry" in T. J. H. S. E., vol. V, pp. 34-42; A. J. COLLINS: "The Northampton Jewry and its Cemetery in the Thirteenth Century" in T. J. H. S. E., vol. XV, pp. 151-164.

7. cf. Public Record Office, KR.2 memoranda roll 3 Henry III, mem. 22; KR.4 memoranda roll 5 Henry III, mem. 8; LTR.6 memoranda roll 8 Henry III, mem. 2 for distrained clergy of the diocese.

economic connexions between the clergy and the Jews went an abiding mistrust which can be illustrated by the monastic annals of the time and by genuine complaints at the exchequer of the Jews. In 1220 Hugh of Wells himself complained that Benedictus Episcopus had demanded a debt of him unlawfully⁸ but the well-known and well-authenticated tale of the prior of Dunstable, Moses son of Brun and a forged bond for twenty-four pounds⁹, besides giving a valuable insight into thirteenth century procedure for establishing the authenticity of a document, reveals more clearly the ingrained suspicion and prejudice which must inevitably have clouded many such dealings. If some of these more plausible allegations were founded on fact, then it is obvious that this ill-feeling would naturally vent itself in the antagonistic pronouncements of the catholic church and in their subsequent strict enforcement. The Dunstable incident is dated 1220-1221 ; no doubt such stories were heard with righteous indignation by the clergy of the Canterbury province assembled in council at Oxford in the following year and ultimately would lead to the wholesale adoption, and in some cases extension and elaboration, of the anti-Jewish canons of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

Considerable conciliar activity in the immediate period before and during Hugh of Wells's pontificate had resulted in the reiteration of many familiar anti-Jewish regulations and the imposition of even more stringent and vexatious restraints. The Third Lateran Council of 1179 had dealt for the most part with usurious practices but had included supplementary clauses respecting converted Jews and relationships between Jews and Christians. The Fourth Lateran Council reflected even more poignantly the current extent of anti-semitic feeling among the clerical body with its vicious usury provisions, the prohibition about the appearance of Jews in public during certain Christian festivals, the limitation

8. J.M.RIGG: Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, vol.I (1218-72), Jewish Historical Society 1905, p.29.

9. cf. H.R.LUARD: Annales monastici, vol.III, p.66 (Rolls series 1866) & J.M.RIGG: Select Pleas, Statutes and other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews 1220-1284, pp.4-5, (Selden Society XV, 1901).

of the public activities of Jews as prescribed by the Council Toledo and the adoption of the pernicious Moslem practice that Jews should wear distinctive clothes, ostensibly to prevent unwitting sexual intercourse between the different ethnic groups. The use of a white piece of cloth affixed to an outer garment was introduced in England in 1218 on the order of William Marshal 'rector regis et regni' and was reiterated with more precise specifications at the provincial Council of Oxford in 1222.¹⁰ At the time of this council, there took place an incident which was to have a profound and, for the Jews, an unfortunate effect upon the assembled clergy at Oxford. The famous story of the deacon and the Jewess, culminating in the burning of the degraded clerk, need not be retold here¹¹. Suffice it to say that the mood and temper of the council became decidedly intolerant as far as the Jews were concerned. In Dr. Roth's own words: "Thoroughly stirred by this episode, the Council went on to reiterate the anti-Jewish regulations decreed at the Lateran seven years before, with a few elaborations. Jews were forbidden to employ Christian servants, to enter churches or store their property in them, or to build new synagogues; they were enjoined to pay tithes to the priests of the parishes in which they resided not only on their real ~~property~~^{estate} but also on their usurious profits; they were once more ordered to wear a distinguishing badge, the size of which was stipulated for the first time; and they were submitted to the ecclesiastical authority in cases of neglect."¹²

10. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 378b. cf. also canon 47 of the Council of Oxford: ".....providemus auctoritate concilii generalis ut omnes omnino iudei, tam masculi quam femine, in veste superiori ante pectus tabulas lanceas alterius coloris quam vestis sit deferant manifeste; ita quod utraque tabula duorum digitorum mensuram habeat in latitudine et quatuor in longitudine....."

11. A History of the Jews in England, p. 41.

12. ibid., p. 42.

Bishop Hugh's part in the discussions and in the subsequent conciliar enactments is of course unknown but perhaps an indication of his personal sentiments is to be found in a document which he issued in conjunction with archbishop Stephen Langton and Pandulph Masca, bishop of Norwich, some time after the Oxford Council. The text of these injunctions has unfortunately been lost and we only know of them from an entry on the close rolls¹³. In accordance with the sixty-seventh canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, the three prelates had apparently forbidden any Christian to sell provisions to Jews on pain of excommunication ; in other words, they had ordered a boycott of the Jewish communities within their dioceses. Such a scheme would obviously have been detrimental to the royal power and finances and Hubert de Burgh, the king's justiciar, intervened and nullified this extremely injurious act.

Hugh of Wells's zealous attitude is clearly representative of a current hostile atmosphere in the diocese and in the country at large. Occasional disturbances and the upsurge of anti-semitic feeling are recorded in various parts of the bishopric. Seven years before Hugh's accession there had been allegations of ritual murder of Christian children by Jews at Lincoln and Bedford¹⁴, an awful presage of the fateful episode of Little Saint Hugh of Lincoln in 1255¹⁵. In 1220 the murder of Moses of Lincoln¹⁶ and the deaths of Deulecresse and Sara his wife¹⁷, both Lincoln Jews, was doubtless the inevitable outcome of civil strife and attacks on the Jewish inhabitants. Fourteen years later another Jew of Lincoln, one Jacob, was murdered by Alexander of Lincoln, a clerk.¹⁸ In 1222 charges

13. Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 567.

14. A History of the Jews in England, p. 22, n. 1.

15. Medieval Lincoln, pp. 224-8.

16. Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, vol. I, p. 31.

17. ibid., vol. I, p. 46.

18. Medieval Lincoln, p. 224.

were levelled against the Jews of Stamford alleging that they had made a game ridiculing the Christian religion¹⁹ and the Jews of Oxford, many of whom lent money to the impecunious scholars, were frequently the object of violent affrays²⁰. The emphasis was also on conversion as well as harassment, as is verified by the appearance of the Dominican and Franciscan friars at Oxford in the third decade of the century, who lived among the Jewish community and attempted to persuade them to relinquish their faith. True to form, bishop Hugh left legacies in his testament for the benefit of converted Jews.²¹

The sentiments of prelates like Hugh of Wells, Stephen Langton and William of Blois, bishop of Worcester²², obviously found expression in the fierce conciliar decisions of the period and their enthusiasm for this policy was such that their over-meticulous attention to the details and implementation of these canons led to blatant intolerance on their part. If they could not convert or eliminate the Jews without the support of the secular authorities, it is clear that they could harass and harrise the Jews on many matters that came within their competence.

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19. A History of the Jews in England, p.42, n.2; cf. also Public Record Office, LTR.7 memoranda roll 9 Henry III, mem.26.
20. See C.ROTH: "The Jews in Medieval Universities" in Menorah Journal, 1930, pp.127-141 & The Jews in Medieval Oxford, passim
21. actum no.355.
22. cf. Bishop William's diocesan statutes of 1219 and 1229; F.M.POWICKE & C.R.CHENEY: Councils and Synods, II, part 1, pp.52-7, esp.canon 6, and pp.169-181 esp.canon 44 (Oxford 1964).