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# I. THE COMPOSITION OF THE CHAPTER OF ST PAUL'S, 1086–1163<sup>1</sup>

By C. N. L. BROOKE

No secular institution of the English Church has left behind richer materials for the study of its history in the twelfth century than the cathedral chapter of St Paul's. There is a fine series of original charters, and two important cartularies; fragments of a twelfth-century survey, and a complete survey of the early thirteenth century from which a long stretch of agrarian history can be reconstructed. The letter collections of Gilbert Foliot, bishop from 1163 to 1187, Master David of London and Peter of Blois, and the splendid thirteenth-century inventories give an insight into the activities, characters and tastes of many of the canons. The chronicle and ordinances of Master Ralph de Diceto, the most distinguished of its deans; a sprinkling of hagiographical and theological writings; calendars and obit rolls; and a catalogue of the holders of the thirty prebends, purporting to start in the days of Bishop Maurice (1086–1107)—these and numerous other more incidental sources of information go to make up the tale of the evidence.<sup>2</sup>

This wealth of material has not escaped the notice of historians, and it has been frequently pillaged from the days of Dugdale, Wharton and Newcourt<sup>3</sup> down to the present. At the root of all recent study lies Stubbs's edition of the chronicle of Ralph de Diceto.<sup>4</sup> The career and connections of Dean Ralph were sketched by him in the introduction, and although he was not concerned

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's for permission to make use of unpublished manuscript material in their possession; and the Chapter Librarian and Keeper of the Archives, Mr G. W. Henderson, for his kind assistance.

<sup>2</sup> For detailed references, see below; for the MSS. in the chapter library, Maxwell Lyte's *Report* (below, n. 7); for a general bibliography, Miss Gibbs's *Early Charters* (below, n. 8), pp. xlv–xlviii. Gilbert Foliot's letters were edited by J. A. Giles (2 vols. London, 1846); a new edition is being prepared by Dom Adrian Morey and the present writer. On Master David, see Z. N. Brooke, 'The Register of Master David of London and the part he played in the Becket Crisis', in *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 227–45; most of the letters were printed in Liverani, *Spicilegium Liberianum* (Florence, 1863). For the letters of Peter of Blois, see *Petri Blesensis Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, I–II (London, 1846–7), and R. W. Southern in *English Historical Review*, LIII (1938), pp. 412–24.

<sup>3</sup> W. Dugdale, *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London* (three editions, London, 1658, 1714–16, 1818); H. Wharton, *Historia de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus* (London, 1695); R. Newcourt, *Repertorium ecclesiasticum parochiale Londinense* (2 vols. London, 1708–10).

<sup>4</sup> 2 vols. Rolls Series (1876): referred to hereafter as *Diceto*; the bulk of the introduction was reprinted in Stubbs's *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series*, ed. A. Hassall (London, 1902), pp. 35–88.



to produce a systematic picture of the chapter, it is a mine of useful information. At about the same time—between 1857 and 1895—a large proportion of the other documents were being brought to light by Hale,<sup>6</sup> Sparrow Simpson<sup>6</sup> and Maxwell Lyte;<sup>7</sup> more recently the earlier sections of the thirteenth-century cartulary, the *Liber Pilosus*, have been edited by Miss Marion Gibbs.<sup>8</sup> Miss Gibbs, in her introduction, gave an interesting, though far from definitive, account of the constitutional development of the chapter in the twelfth century; the economic evidence has been subjected to systematic analysis by Prof. Postan;<sup>9</sup> the story of the London schools has been worked out in detail by Miss Eleanor Rathbone.<sup>10</sup> The present author has tried to absorb a few of the remaining crumbs.

My investigation started in an attempt to reconstruct the dates and careers of the canons and dignitaries of St Paul's in the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> The first task involved is the comparison of the unique prebendal catalogue with the evidence of witness lists and other incidental information in order to assess the reliability of the catalogue for chronological purposes. The catalogue has been in print for over two hundred years,<sup>12</sup> and has often been referred to and quoted. But no attempt has hitherto been made to check it in detail or to account for its existence. If reliable it provides an exceptional opportunity not only for establishing the dates of the prebendaries, but for a general view of the personnel of the chapter, and for observing the composition of a large ecclesiastical community over a long period of years. It has its limitations from both points of view, but its value is great, particularly, I think, as a social document.

My purpose in this article is to state the arguments by which I have come to the conclusion that the catalogue is, for general historical purposes, perfectly reliable; and to give an outline sketch of the social structure of the

<sup>6</sup> W. H. Hale, *The Domesday of St Paul's* (Camden Society, 1857–8), containing the survey of 1222, a fragment of one of 1181, etc. I shall refer to it as 'Hale'.

<sup>6</sup> W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum statutorum et consuetudinum ecclesie cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis* (London, 1873)—referred to as *Statutes*; *Documents illustrating the History of St Paul's Cathedral* (Camden Society, 1880), including a fourteenth-century calendar and obit roll (there are two calendars of the thirteenth century in St Paul's, MS. W. D. 12, fols. 101–16v, and Brit[ish] Mus[eum], Harleian MS. 6956, fols. 107r–110r); and other works, including 'Two Inventories of the cathedral church of St Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402...', in *Archaeologia*, L (1887), pp. 439–524.

<sup>7</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix to the *Ninth Report*, I, 1–72, referred to as *Report*.

<sup>8</sup> *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London* (Camden 3rd series, LVIII, 1939), referred to as 'Gibbs'.

<sup>9</sup> The first fruits of this study have appeared in 'The Chronology of Labour Services', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xx (1937), pp. 178–80.

<sup>10</sup> An account will appear in her forthcoming book on English scholars in the twelfth century. I have to thank Dr Rathbone for a number of the references used in this article.

<sup>11</sup> The collection of material was started by my father, the late Professor Z. N. Brooke, shortly before his death, as a continuation of our work on the dignitaries of Hereford Cathedral (*ante*, VIII (1944–6), pp. 1–21, 179–85).

<sup>12</sup> Newcourt included the list for each prebend in his own catalogue of prebendaries without indicating his source; his text is not always accurate, but it has few omissions.

chapter and the part it played in English ecclesiastical life in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>13</sup> The latter part will be no more than a slight illustration of the evidence to be derived from the catalogue and related documents.

## I

The thirteenth-century custumal of Bayeux left it on record that there was a register (*matricula*) preserved in the cathedral giving the arrangements for dividing the psalter between the prebendaries, according to a practice common in cathedral chapters, and a list of the canons who held each prebend.<sup>14</sup> The register has perished; but there can be no doubt that the London catalogue now under consideration derives from something very similar. Two texts of it survive, in St Paul's MS. W. D. 2 of the fourteenth century, and the British Museum Harleian MS. 6956, a late seventeenth-century collection of transcripts by Matthew Hutton.<sup>15</sup> They both arrange the prebends in the order of the psalms allotted to them, give the *incipit* of the first psalm of each prebend, and its annual value. The last raises certain difficulties. The common errors<sup>16</sup> and the common features of the two lists show them to be derived, whether immediately or not, from a common source, presumably not earlier than the thirteenth century. Hutton's transcript is by its own confession a copy of the St Paul's Liber B, a collection, apparently of the thirteenth century, of which only a fragment now survives.<sup>17</sup> Hutton observed that the names were written in one hand down to a certain point in each of the lists, and that the later names were added after the manuscript was originally drawn up. The point at which the 'same ancient hand' ceased<sup>18</sup> dates the lists to the third quarter of the thirteenth century, perhaps to about 1260. But the valuations of the prebends are said in a colophon to have been assessed for the papal subsidy of 1229.<sup>19</sup> I am inclined to think that the St Paul's MS., like Hutton's transcript,

<sup>13</sup> An account of the chapter from 1163 to 1187 will appear in the new edition of Gilbert Foliot's letters.

<sup>14</sup> *Ordinaire et coutumier... de Bayeux*, ed. U. Chevalier (Paris, 1902), p. 287. The *matricula* sounds like a kind of Liber Vitae, and the St Paul's lists may in origin have been the same. There are lists of the canons of Lincoln, c. 1135 and c. 1189, in the twelfth-century Lincoln bible (*The Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth, III, 789–93).

<sup>15</sup> St Paul's MS. W. D. 2, fols. 110r–112r; Brit. Mus. Harleian MS. 6956, fols. 91r–96r; there is a transcript of the St Paul's text in the Harl. MS. fols. 115v ff. I follow the Harleian text unless otherwise stated; and I shall refer to the lists by the names of the prebends (for detailed references, see Appendix I).

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Alured for Wlured (Wildland; see below n.63); Ailebertus for Gilebertus (Harlesden and Consumpta per Mare).

<sup>17</sup> In Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. B 372, fols. 3–4.

<sup>18</sup> Hutton noted the point in each list by inserting the words 'hucusque in manu eadem et antiqua' or some variant of them. This is not a very adequate critical test, and the exact date cannot be determined; but it was certainly between 1259 and 1273, and probably c. 1260–2. The lists in the St Paul's text are all in one hand.

<sup>19</sup> This colophon is attached to both texts: the assessment was made 'eo scilicet tempore quo dominus papa Gregorius nonus omnia ecclesiastica beneficia in Anglia per Stephanum capellanum suum... appretiata decimavit'; for the date cf. W. E. Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford, 1926), p. 20 and n. 5.

derives from the Liber B; it was certainly not copied before the fourteenth century. But in any case an earlier thirteenth-century edition must lie behind the Liber B; and it is not an unreasonable hypothesis that there had been a series of such copies made dating back to the time of the first generation of canons named in the list. The Liber B was in fact the late thirteenth-century edition for St Paul's of the *matricula* described in the custumal of Bayeux. But when was the first edition produced?

The Harleian text of the catalogue is headed:

Hec est institutio psalterii a Mauricio episcopo et Wlmanno decano et ceteris fratribus Sancti Pauli constituta, ita tamen quod unusquisque cotidie quinque psalmos cantabit. Hec autem sunt nomina canonicorum illius temporis et successorum eorum et nomina prebendarum.

It purports to be a complete list from the days of Maurice, bishop from 1086 to 1107; and there are certainly enough names in it to cover the whole period from the late eleventh century. This does not prove that the lists are either complete or accurate, but it indicates the method of their compilation. A more or less serious attempt must have been made to keep them up to date from the time when they were started; and they must have been started in the days of Bishop Maurice. The only alternative would be to suppose that they were in part or as a whole a fabrication: a desperate theory, and one which, as we shall see, would be entirely at variance with the evidence.

Of the first names on the thirty lists, fifteen can be shown on other grounds to have been canons under Maurice; in seven of the other prebends we know that the second or third holder was a canon in his time;<sup>20</sup> the first prebendary of Consumpta per Mare died in 1095.<sup>21</sup> There is no prebend for which there is not a reasonable presumption that the first holder belonged to Maurice's pontificate. Three of the first generation would seem likely to have been canons before Maurice became bishop,<sup>22</sup> and three more are named in Domesday Book,<sup>23</sup> drawn up in his first year; on the other hand four other canons who are named in Domesday Book do not appear in the catalogue,<sup>24</sup> and it is probable that the majority of the first generation named became canons

<sup>20</sup> Twenty or twenty-one canons witness one document in 1104 (*Report*, p. 61b): fourteen of the first generation and six of the second. Bermundus (Berbundus), of the second generation, occurs in 1103 (*ibid.* p. 65a). Algar, son of Dereman, first prebendary of Islington, seems to have become a canon shortly after 1086, Round, in *Domesday Studies*, ed. P. E. Dove, II (1891), 556, 558.

<sup>21</sup> Robert, bishop of Hereford, if correctly placed, must be Robert of Lorraine (1079-95).

<sup>22</sup> Anskitin or Ansketil, archdeacon of Canterbury (Eald St.), who had been succeeded in that office by 1089 (*Monasticon*, I, 175); Robert, bishop of Chester (Chamberlain Wood), who was appointed bishop on the same day as Maurice (Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, II, 18); and Robert of Lorraine.

<sup>23</sup> Durand (Twyford) holds two hides in Twyford (Domesday Book, I, 127b); Ralph, presumably Ralph, son of Algod (Rugmere), holds Rugmere (*ibid.*); Edmund, son of Algot (i.e. brother of Ralph: Chiswick), holds of the bishop in Stepney (*ibid.*).

<sup>24</sup> Engelbric, Gueri (*ibid.*), Walter (*ibid.* I, 128a) and Sired (*ibid.* I, 127a). Sired was dead; he may have been father of Ailward son of Sired, first prebendary of Stoke Newington.

after 1086. Miss Gibbs argued that the chapter had a continuous history back behind the Conquest; that the elements of a prebendal system were in existence by 1086; but that it was not fully established until some years later.<sup>25</sup> My analysis serves to confirm these conclusions. The catalogue shows us a complete prebendal system, and a chapter led by a dean and four archdeacons: it is clear that these arrangements were completed by Bishop Maurice, certainly well before 1102,<sup>26</sup> and most probably about the year 1090. Whether there was an exact date of refoundation or not is uncertain, nor is it of great significance. Bishop Maurice's reforms must in any case have taken some years to complete. It was from this reorganization that the prebendal lists took their origin.

In view of the comparative scarcity of charter and other evidence for the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the fact that the catalogue can be checked to this extent is impressive: it augurs well for the general accuracy of the lists. But there is still plenty of room for error: it is possible that a number of names have been omitted; that some appear in the wrong order, or under the wrong prebend; and that some are misspelt or even fictitious. In the process of reconstructing the dates and careers of all the twelfth-century canons by comparing the lists with the other available evidence, it has proved possible to check to some extent the incidence of each of these forms of error.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1086 and 1216 there are thirteen cases in which a canon can be assigned with some show of probability to a particular prebend on grounds other than the catalogue; of at least two more it can be said that they held one of the numerous prebends in Willesden.<sup>28</sup> Every one of them appears in the catalogue, and under the correct prebend. These cases add up to about five per cent. of the total, clearly a significant proportion. It follows that the assignment of a canon to the wrong prebend was at worst a very rare mistake, and that the lists will not be found to have more than a comparatively few omissions. There are slightly over 170 names in all before 1200: of these 123 can be proved on other grounds—sometimes very incidental—to have been canons of St Paul's; there is circumstantial evidence in favour of a number

<sup>25</sup> Gibbs, pp. xviii f.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Appendix II, p. 130.

<sup>27</sup> It is impossible to give a full statement of the results of my investigation here, but the Appendix (II-III) contains an example of the results in two prebends, Tottenham and Caddington Minor, for which the evidence is particularly full. For most of the prebends the check is less conclusive.

<sup>28</sup> Alexander de Saccavilla, Caddington Major (Gibbs, no. 78); Alard of Burnham as archdeacon of London, Caddington Major (Gibbs, no. 105), as dean, Holborn (*Statutes*, p. 141); Paris, archdeacon of Rochester, Caddington Minor (Gibbs, no. 78); Richard fitzNeal, royal treasurer, Chiswick in Sutton ('scotlanda thesaurarii', Hale, p. 151); Richard of Stortford, Harlesden (Gibbs, no. 103); Richard junior, Holborn (Gibbs, no. 313); Alan the chaplain, Moorfields (Grub Street, Gibbs, no. 249); William de Belmeis and John of St Laurence, St Pancras (Gibbs, nos. 160, 223 and 70); Ralph de Diceto as dean, Tottenham (Gibbs, nos. 223, 261); and the two cases in Domesday Book referred to above (n. 23). Master David (Brownwood in Willesden) and Master Nicholas (presumably Master Nicholas son of Clement, probably Chamberlain Wood in Willesden) held demesnes in Willesden in 1181 (Hale, p. 152).

more; and about half of those for whom there is no certain proof were royal clerks or held positions elsewhere which would have made them rare visitors to the chapter. On the other hand, there are two or three men who are known to have been canons who cannot be identified on the lists,<sup>29</sup> apart from a certain number whose identification is not beyond doubt. Minor corruptions are not infrequent; but there is no instance in which we can say that the incidental information—about offices held and about a canon's relations—is incorrect.

Of the individual lists, there are at least three,<sup>30</sup> and possibly half a dozen, which combine with other evidence to produce so complete and coherent a chronology that they may be regarded as almost certainly accurate—as accurate as any list of twelfth-century officials not supported by extensive chronicle evidence could ever hope to be. Most of the lists could be complete and correct: they arouse no suspicion among the vagaries of twelfth-century chronological evidence. Since there are some omissions, as we have seen, and since some of the canons undoubtedly changed their prebends without the fact appearing in the lists,<sup>31</sup> it is not surprising that a few appear to be incomplete. But there is only one list which seems to be definitely inconsistent,<sup>32</sup> and only one case in which there is any reason to suppose that a name has been put in the wrong place within a list.<sup>33</sup> This would not be remarkable if we knew little of all but a few of the names which appear; but in fact we have a great deal of chronological information about a large proportion of the twelfth-century canons of St Paul's.

In 1192 Ralph de Diceto issued his statute of residence, which contains what appears to be a complete list of all the canons,<sup>34</sup> and so can provide us with another check of the highest significance. At first sight the list is a little perplexing, because it contains thirty-two names for thirty prebends. But

<sup>29</sup> Master Theodoric occurs in 1111 (*Report*, pp. 26a, 67b–68a), as brother of Hamo (Eald St.) in 1115 (*Report*, p. 61b) and possibly later (but other references may be to Hamo's successor Theodoric junior); Master Walter of Whitney occurs c. 1186–7 (Gibbs, no. 67; *Report*, p. 33a); and the doubtful John de Mareni, c. 1175 and 1181 (Harl. MS. 3697, fol. 38v; Hale, p. 111).

<sup>30</sup> Caddington Major, Caddington Minor (see Appendix III) and Tottenham (Appendix II).

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Hugh de Mareni and Ralph de Diceto must have held other prebends before each became dean and removed to Tottenham (cf. Appendix II).

<sup>32</sup> Islington, where John of Greenford, who was elected bishop of Chichester in 1173, is followed by Richer de Andelys, and he by Robert Banaster, archdeacon of Essex from 1167 (he succeeded Richard Rufus I: cf. below, n. 76). But it is possible that the latter had held some other prebend before Islington.

<sup>33</sup> 'Willelmus filius Oconis (*Otonis* in the St Paul's MS.) archid.' (Sneating), who is probably to be identified with William, archdeacon of Colchester (who occurs in 1162: *Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson, Rolls Series, v, 22); but the identification is far from certain. In the St Paul's MS. the names of David and Brand, successive prebendaries of Brownswood, appear in the wrong order. The order is correct in the Harl. MS.

<sup>34</sup> Printed in *Diceto*, II, pp. lxix–lxxiii. Mr H. G. Richardson has pointed out that Stubbs omitted William of Ely from the list of canons (*E.H.R.* LVII (1942), p. 132 n. 1).

It is not possible to give here the full grounds for my conclusion on this test: I hope to publish a detailed study of it elsewhere.

most of the names are included in the list of those who assented after the statute was first drawn up; and the explanation is that two or more of the canons on this second list had replaced names on the first list—of those actually present when the statute was drafted—in the succeeding months. Working on this assumption, the evidence of the statute and the prebendal catalogue are almost wholly reconcilable. A few of the identifications are not certain, being inadequately supported by other evidence, and there is no representative from the prebend of Wildland. These are minor difficulties, and do not detract from the crucial fact that the canons of the statute can be spread over the thirty prebendal lists without impossible overlapping. The test must be pronounced successful.

It is clear, then, that the prebendal catalogue is what it appears to be: a contemporary record kept up from generation to generation. It has a high degree of accuracy, but it is not immaculate. We must allow in a proportion of cases for the corruption of names; for occasional disorder; and for a few omissions. For what purposes can it be safely used? As a general guide to the composition of the chapter it is unexceptionable evidence; it can be relied on for the information it gives about the individual canons as much as any single document of the period; it can be treated above all as contemporary evidence as much as any more or less reliable cartulary copy of a charter or the like. For the purposes of detailed chronology it cannot be treated as infallible: but where its evidence is confirmed by or coherent with other information, even to a small extent, it will prove reliable.

One final test must be applied, the human test. The catalogue was produced by men whose work varied in proportion with their interest in it and their normal habits of accuracy. The scribes who made the Liber B could not have maintained a detailed, critical accuracy, and many of the names will have meant nothing to them; on the other hand, they had no motive to falsify the facts. They made the sort of mistakes which medieval scribes who used a reasonable care were wont to make; and yet the lists have a high degree of accuracy.

It follows that the original compilers had a strong interest in keeping the lists up to date, and made a very fair effort to do so. This interest may be defined as approximately equivalent to the concern of a club in its membership and traditions: the kind of attitude which produces school and college directories, or maintains the obituary notices of members of clubs and societies. This interest notoriously varies from generation to generation, and we might be led to expect that in the main the fluctuations in the accuracy of our lists would vary with the rise and fall of interest in their preservation by the chapter. Leaving aside a certain degree of inconsequence reflected in minor errors, it may be said that the accuracy of the lists seems best established in the time of Bishop Maurice when they were started, and in the chapter's greatest prosperity

under Dean Ralph de Diceto. But their accuracy at one period is not proof that they are equally accurate for another; nor do their occasional lapses show them to have been always ill-kept. It is clear, then, that their reliability can only be fully assessed from one generation to another: and this is my justification for analysing the catalogue after an investigation which has only been systematic for the twelfth century. The great additional labour of checking the catalogue to the limits of the two manuscripts would have little or no effect on the conclusions I have reached.<sup>35</sup> For my present purpose, the extent of its reliability is established; it remains to see how it may be interpreted.

## II

At the time of the Norman Conquest St Paul's, in common with most of the English secular chapters, was under the more or less communal rule of Chrodegang of Metz.<sup>36</sup> The early Norman bishops refounded most of the chapters on the North French model, mostly on the lines of the so-called custom of Rouen.<sup>37</sup> Native traditions undoubtedly survived, but they are almost entirely hidden from us under the cloak of French titles, constitutional arrangements and liturgical rites. The chief event in this process was the foundation of the chapters of London, Salisbury, Lincoln and York—all completed in or about the year 1090. London was exceptional in having an unbroken history back behind the Conquest: the changes there were more gradual, and the imposition of the Norman model was not complete until the reign of John. Even then there were marked eccentricities.

One of the first Norman bishops seems to have introduced the title of archdeacon,<sup>38</sup> and the first dean may already have been in office at the accession of Bishop Maurice in 1086.<sup>39</sup> But it was Maurice, as we have seen, who completed the prebendal system and established the full hierarchy of dean and four archdeacons. He started to rebuild the cathedral, which was

<sup>35</sup> For the thirteenth century, it is sometimes possible to confirm the statements of the catalogue with a fair degree of precision from the notes and references supplied by Newcourt.

<sup>36</sup> See Gibbs, p. xviii, n. 1, and below, p. 120.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1949), pp. 12–22. I hope to give elsewhere a detailed account of the grounds for this statement, and an explanation of the ambiguous phrase 'consuetudo' or 'ritus Rothomagensis'.

<sup>38</sup> Edward, archdeacon of London, who does not appear in the catalogue, became a monk at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the time of Lanfranc (*Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series, pp. 155–6, 241–5; cf. also *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. D. Knowles (Nelson, 1951), p. 112).

<sup>39</sup> Since the first known dean, Wulman, was associated with Maurice in the institution of the psalter, it is possible that he had already been in office for some years: he does not seem to have long survived the institution (see below, Appendix II, p. 130). He is referred to as lying at the roots of the administration of the chapter manors in the survey of 1181 (Hale, pp. 110, 152); and his obit is recorded on 2 October in St Paul's MS. W. D. 12, fol. 15v. No earlier dean is mentioned outside the wholly unreliable list of deans in the Statuta Minora (cf. *Statutes*, p. 472; also copied in Harl. MS. 6956, fol. 5), which is the only authority for the strange alternative 'Wulman or Ulstan' which appears in most later lists of the deans.

probably not completed until some time after 1175.<sup>40</sup> A beginning was made with separate dwellings for the canons;<sup>41</sup> but the relics of communal organization survived in the practice of all the canons feeding at the dean's table at least as late as 1136.<sup>42</sup> The office of treasurer only became a dignity in 1162–3; and the proper endowment of the precentor and chancellor was not carried out until 1204, although there had been a master of the schools and possibly a 'cantor' in the time of Bishop Maurice.<sup>43</sup> The process by which these offices came into being illustrates the close relations of the bishop and his chapter in the twelfth century: the treasurer at least was a servant of the bishop until the dignity was fully established. It also illustrates the strength of tradition at St Paul's; for the new dignitaries never attained that precedence over the archdeacons which was normal in other secular chapters. There seems to have been a tradition of independence in matters of appointment and election within the chapter; but it became quite ineffective under the strong rule of Bishop Maurice. He officially restored the chapter's rights at the end of his life,<sup>44</sup> but this act was in practice ignored by his successors. By the thirteenth century the normal compromise was established, by which the prebendaries and dignitaries were collated by the bishop, while the chapter elected the dean.<sup>45</sup>

At least until the death of Gilbert Foliot in 1187, the relations of bishop and chapter were intimate: but the chapter was also from the first a body with a coherence, a tradition and a prestige of its own. Founded as an emanation from the bishop's *familia*, to serve his cathedral, aid him in his work and act as his circle of associates, his salon as it were, St Paul's, like the chapters all over Europe, was by this time a fully-fledged independent institution, jealous of its self-contained activity and autonomous tradition. As a religious community maintaining the liturgical rites of the cathedral,<sup>46</sup> and as an economic unit administering its extensive property, the London chapter worked independently of the bishop.<sup>47</sup> As a religious community it was in theory subject to a rule, dedicated first and foremost to the Opus Dei, the communal worship of the cathedral, and bound together by the duty of residence. The notion

<sup>40</sup> Rose Graham, in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, x (1945–7), pp. 73–6.

<sup>41</sup> The first clear reference (1106) is to the house of Master Durand outside the East wall of the cathedral (Gibbs, no. 198); under Richard de Belmeis, Dean William gave him lodgings, at the bishop's command, 'in angulo turris... inter Robertum de Auco et Odonem' (both canons: Gibbs, no. 273).

<sup>42</sup> *Diceto*, I, 248.  
<sup>43</sup> For the treasurer, see Gibbs, pp. xxxv–xxxvi, and nos 47, 187–8, 192–3, 217, 231; for the chancellor and precentor, *ibid.* p. xxxiv and n. 3, nos. 49, 58. Levegar 'cantor' was first prebendary of Holywell (cf. *Report*, p. 61b). <sup>44</sup> Cf. in particular Gibbs, no. 59.

<sup>45</sup> *Statutes*, pp. 181–2.

<sup>46</sup> There are no liturgical remains from St Paul's of any significance before the late thirteenth century, when the Use of St Paul's, if it had ever had a separate existence, had already been swamped by the Use of Salisbury.

<sup>47</sup> At least in theory, but I am doubtful of the extent to which the chapter was really independent of the bishop under Maurice and Richard de Belmeis I.

of the canon's rule was in decay in the episcopate of Maurice. It was already something of a mockery; and the spread of the more formal rule of St Augustine at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the subsequent differentiation of canons regular from canons secular,<sup>48</sup> made it an empty phrase in most of the chapters of western Europe. A fragment of an ancient *regula canonicorum*, largely a pastiche of clauses from Chrodegang, was preserved in the thirteenth-century statutes of St Paul's,<sup>49</sup> but it is no more than a dying echo, a faint reminder of the unbroken tradition of the chapter's history. The duty of residence remained a living issue.

St Osmund, in his institution of the chapter of Salisbury (1091), permitted one canon to be absent in the king's service, one in the archbishop's and three in the bishop's.<sup>50</sup> In practice this number was almost invariably exceeded in most English chapters throughout the later Middle Ages. It is impossible to obtain exact statistics before the fourteenth century, but it seems to have been unusual in the twelfth for the number of regular absentees to rise above a quarter of the total, and common for it to be much less. The chapter of York suffered most heavily from non-resident officials, so much so that half the dignitaries and half the archdeacons were royal clerks or justices at the death of Henry II.<sup>51</sup> To this limited extent the King and the leading churchmen made free with the surplus wealth of the church for the support of their clerks and protégés.

At St Paul's it would seem that the number of canons permanently non-resident remained more or less constant at about seven out of the thirty throughout the century—that is, at just under one quarter of the total.<sup>52</sup> In the first half of the century over twenty canons sometimes witness chapter documents.<sup>53</sup> In the time of Gilbert Foliot (1163–87) they are so frequently attested by a number varying from twelve to fifteen<sup>54</sup> as to suggest that it was normal then for about half the chapter to be in residence at one time. In 1192 fourteen canons were actually present when the statute of residence was drawn up; a little later there were no more than eleven canons officially resident.<sup>55</sup> But by then residence had become a privilege rather than a duty, and the chapter of St Paul's—for a time—a distinguished and exclusive club.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons* (London, 1950); K. Edwards, op. cit. pp. 4 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Statutes*, pp. 38–43; cf. Gibbs, p. xviii, n. 1. It is included in all the MSS. of Ralph of Baldock's *Statutes*, and separately in two other MSS. besides.

<sup>50</sup> Ed. W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, 1 (Cambridge, 1898), p. 259.

<sup>51</sup> For the dignitaries and archdeacons of York in the twelfth century, see C. T. Clay, in *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vols. xxxiv–xxxvi (1938–47).

<sup>52</sup> For difficulties with non-resident canons, cf. *Statutes*, p. 176; Gibbs, nos. 224–5; Z. N. Brooke, art. cit. (above, n. 2), p. 237.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. *Report*, p. 61b (1104); p. 67b (1132); p. 64b (c. 1140).

<sup>54</sup> Twelve: Gibbs, no. 220, *Report*, pp. 5b–6a, 12a, 24a–b; thirteen: Gibbs, no. 72; fourteen: *Report*, pp. 11b–12a, 13b, 23b; fifteen: Gibbs, no. 164, *Report*, pp. 23b, 24b, 25b–26a. One document is witnessed by nineteen canons (Gibbs, no. 243).

<sup>55</sup> *Diceto*, 1, pp. lxxii–lxxiii; *Statutes*, p. 183.

## III

Before the evidence about the social origins and parentage of the English upper clergy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries has been fully explored, an immense amount of minute genealogical research will have to be undertaken: in the meantime the St Paul's prebendal catalogue provides more information than any other single document except the history of Orderic Vitalis. Out of just over one hundred and seventy canons recorded between 1086 and 1202, we can name from the catalogue and other sources the fathers of approximately forty-five.<sup>56</sup> Of some of these we know only the father's name; and of only a sprinkling more have we any real evidence of the status of their forbears. This figure owes its significance to the fact that such information is exceedingly rare in the twelfth century: the proportion of English and Welsh bishops whose fathers are known is no higher, and the proportion for any other rank of the hierarchy is negligible.<sup>57</sup>

The statistics from St Paul's reveal a few canons who were sons of tenants-in-chief; one of royal family, Geoffrey Plantagenet son of Henry II; a certain number of sons of sub-vassals and knights;<sup>58</sup> and a small group whose fathers were citizens of London. But by far the largest number were the sons of clerics—bishops, priests, clerks, and, most of all, canons of St Paul's. The size of the latter class cannot be made the basis of a generalization for the whole century. It is far less significant than might at first appear: the documents are more free with their information in this category than in any other;<sup>59</sup> and twelve out of the sixteen canons known to have been sons of canons of St Paul's had received their prebends before the death of Bishop Richard de Belmeis I in 1127. For the evidence to yield any harvest, it must be analysed in shorter periods, and in the light of other aspects of the structure of society less abstract than mere genealogy.

The chapter of St Paul's had a continuous history from Anglo-Saxon days. The survival of English traditions is emphasized by the names of the first generation of canons:<sup>60</sup> some nine of them English; four Anglo-Scandinavian; one, Arthur, possibly Welsh; one other, Quintilian, a 'renaissance' classicist; and fifteen French or continental—of which three are specifically Norman.

<sup>56</sup> In some cases the evidence is doubtful, and in some we know a little of the father but not his name: this figure is therefore very approximate.

<sup>57</sup> The only systematic study is that of the Welsh bishops by J. Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, II (Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948), pp. 491–569.

<sup>58</sup> Humphrey Bigod (Appendix II); William de Ver, later bishop of Hereford (Neasden: cf. R. Rawlinson, *The History and Antiquities... of Hereford*, (London, 1717), Appendix, p. 13); Godfrey de Lucy (Eald St.); and possibly a small number more were sons of tenants-in-chief. The majority of the Belmeis, the Foliots and their relatives were sons of sub-vassals.

<sup>59</sup> A typical entry is 'Thedbalus, Odo filius eius' from Caddington Minor (Appendix III); cf. also below, nn. 71–2, 75.

<sup>60</sup> This analysis is, inevitably, very approximate: I owe it to the kind assistance of Prof. Bruce Dickins.



Of the fifteen continentals, two were Lotharingians—Albert of Lorraine, a holder of land and churches on a large scale and a survivor from the Confessor's Lotharingian circle;<sup>61</sup> and Robert of Lorraine, the mathematician, who was bishop of Hereford from 1079 to 1095.<sup>62</sup> The remainder were presumably Norman for the most part, and so it would appear that a little under half the chapter set up by Bishop Maurice was recruited from the invaders. The tenants-in-chief of Domesday were all but a small fraction foreign in origin; the lower we look in the feudal scale the larger is the proportion of native Englishmen. The bishops and abbots were mostly Norman or French by the end of the eleventh century, but a strong native element survived in the religious communities, regular and secular, and the other strongholds of the upper clergy. After the first generation of canons the names alone lose their significance: the assimilation of English and Norman was very rapid in the first half of the twelfth century, and the fashion set in for English parents to give their children French names. The second prebendary of Wildland had the impeccably English name of Wluered son of Goldman, but his two sons, both canons, were called Geoffrey and Robert.<sup>63</sup> Otherwise there are not more than two or three English names in the catalogue after the first generation.

The documents reveal three circumstances most clearly in the pontificates of Maurice and Richard de Belmeis I: links with the city of London on the one hand, and with the royal curia on the other; and the strong family complexion of the community of canons.

Of these the first is the most elusive. 'There can be little doubt', wrote Round in *The Commune of London*,<sup>64</sup> 'that the canons of St Paul's were as closely connected . . . with secular life in London as they were with farming in Essex.' The cathedral chapter, as the leading religious community in the neighbourhood, always played its part in the life of the city; the canons, individually and as a chapter, seem to have held a considerable amount of property in London. It is no more than a guess, but I should doubt if 'farming in Essex' was the only economic activity of the canons. On the other hand, the actual evidence of connexions between the canons and the leading citizens does not amount to much; and, scanty as it is, we are in danger of exaggerating it, since an enormous proportion of the evidence about London at this time comes from the chapter archives. Occasional scraps of informa-

<sup>61</sup> Prebendary of Maplebury; on him see J. H. Round, *The Commune of London* (Westminster, 1899), pp. 36–8.

<sup>62</sup> Prebendary of Consumpta per Mare; on him see W. H. Stevenson, *E.H.R.* xxii (1907), pp. 72 ff.; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Harvard, 1927), pp. 333–5.

<sup>63</sup> Wluered, canon and priest, occurs once (*Report*, p. 61b); Geoffrey and Robert, sons of Wluered, frequently (e.g. Hale, p. 124; *Report*, p. 67a; Gibbs, no. 218). Robert was prebendary of Port Pool; Geoffrey and Wluered must be identified with the corrupt entry 'Alured filius Goldmanni, Galfridus filius eius' under Wildland. A third son, Henry (a layman), occurs once (*Report*, p. 61a).

<sup>64</sup> P. 102.

tion reveal that some of the canons, now and throughout the century, were members of city families or the sons of local landowners.<sup>65</sup> Ralph, son of Algod, first prebendary of Rugmere, was alderman of a London ward in the 1120's, and he and another canon were leading members of the Cnihtengild: he had sufficiently wide connexions to be entered in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham along with his whole family.<sup>66</sup> But he is an isolated case. At the end of the century the curtain lifts for a moment when the ordinances of Ralph de Diceto demand that the mayor and aldermen of London shall be present at the chapter banquets given by new canons residentiary.<sup>67</sup> The fact of a close link seems clear; the extent and nature of it are utterly obscure.

Bishop Maurice is the only bishop of London in the twelfth century of whom it cannot be said with certainty that he presented any of his relatives to prebends—most probably because of our ignorance of his family connexions. William of Malmesbury hints at a family, calls him worldly and lascivious, accuses him of excessive expense on the new cathedral; but the accounts are conflicting. Chaplain and chancellor of William I, archdeacon of Le Mans, and bishop of London: that bare outline and the monuments he left at St Paul's—the cathedral, the prebendal system, and the richly embroidered chasuble, with an inscription in cloth of gold tricked out with precious stones<sup>68</sup>—are really all that we know of Maurice.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Dereman, father of Algar, first prebendary of Islington, was a London citizen (cf. *Report*, p. 65b; Round, in *Domesday Studies*, loc. cit.; W. Page, *London, its Origin and Early Development* (1923), pp. 248–9); Thomas Becket's father, as is well known, was a leading London citizen; Richard de Humfraville (Chamberlain Wood) was connected with the Blund family (Gibbs, nos. 295–6; cf. Page, op. cit. pp. 261 f.). Simon of Aldermanbury was the brother of two canons, Master Nicholas, nephew of the archdeacon, and Master John of London (Wildland and Ealdland); his mother was sister to two more canons, Nicholas, archdeacon of London and Master Richard (Oxgate and Sneating: cf. Gibbs, nos. 134, 138–9, 143); his grandfather was Nicholas Crocemannus, prebendary of Oxgate.

In addition to these, David of London (see above, nn. 2, 28), Hugh of London (Ealdland), and Henry de Civitate (Reculverland) were clearly local men. This list is not exhaustive.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. the survey of c. 1127 printed by H. W. C. Davis in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), p. 59. He appears as a leading figure in the Cnihtengild in 1125 (*Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, v (1881), p. 478) and 1137 (Round, *Commune of London*, p. 101), in the latter case followed by 'Radulfo cancellario Sancti Pauli'—an impossible reading, for which I suggest *canonicus*. If this is correct, it makes reasonably certain the identification of the alderman with the prebendary of Rugmere, which is in any case highly probable. He occurs as a canon in 1104 (*Report*, p. 61b), 1132 (*Report*, p. 67b), and after 1133 (Hale, p. 124). He is probably to be identified with the Ralph canon who held Rugmere in 1086 (see above, n. 23). The *Liber Vitae* of Durham (facsimile edition by A. H. Thompson, Surtees Society, 1923), fol. 42+r, gives the following list of his family: 'Raulf filius Algoti et frater eius Eadmundus (prebendary of Chiswick; cf. Domesday Book, i, 127b) et Mahald socia eius et Thomas filius eius et Willelmus (Ralph's successor as prebendary of Rugmere) et mater Raulfi Leoverun.'

<sup>67</sup> *Statutes*, p. 126. This may not have formed part of the statute of 1192, but there seems no reason to doubt that it dates from the deanery of Ralph de Diceto.

<sup>68</sup> *Archaeologia*, L (1887), p. 484.

<sup>69</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Series), pp. 145–6; cf. Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. A. Le Prevost, iv, 275; etc. For a summary of the evidence about Maurice, see H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, i, p. xvii.



His work as chancellor brought him into contact with other royal officials, and we meet a few of them in the prebendal catalogue in his day. The most distinguished of these was Ranulph Flambard, Maurice's old subordinate in the royal service and the leading figure of William II's administrative staff.<sup>70</sup> The association of Maurice and Flambard seems to have been maintained at St Paul's: as Flambard grew in favour with the King, so, it would seem, his grip on the chapter and the bishop grew firmer. I believe that he received the deanery some years before his promotion to the bishopric of Durham; and continued to hold this office after he became bishop, by an abuse such as he practised on the deaneries of Hastings and Christchurch. One or two of his brothers and two of his sons held prebends at St Paul's; and he made use of his position to seize the vill of Hadham from the monks of Ely. He can never have performed the duties of his office: in his absence the archdeacons were the leading figures in the chapter administration. As part of his final act of restitution, bishop Maurice seems to have ejected Flambard from St Paul's.

The family circle of Ranulph Flambard was perhaps the most powerful, and certainly the most notorious group in the chapter; but it was not alone. The Flambard clan came from the Bessin, perhaps from Bayeux itself; from Bayeux too came Anger or Ansker, prebendary of Kentish Town, with his wife Popelina. It is possible that they were not much in residence, since it is recorded that their son Audoen or Ouen, chaplain to Henry I and later bishop of Evreux (1113-39), was born in the Bessin; and it is possible that Ansker had been a royal chaplain under Rufus. Audoen and his distinguished brother Thurstan, also a royal chaplain and archbishop of York from 1114 to 1140, were both canons of St Paul's.<sup>71</sup> Albert of Lorraine was succeeded by his son Hugh; Quintilian archdeacon of Colchester and prebendary of Ealdland

<sup>70</sup> For what follows, see below, Appendix II. Another remarkable figure in the chapter a little later than this was Hugh of Buckland, prebendary of Harlesden from c. 1106. He is probably to be identified with the Hugh of Buckland who was sheriff of eight counties under Henry I and died c. 1115, W. A. Morris, *The Mediaeval English Sheriff, to 1300* (Manchester, 1927), pp. 77-9; C. H. Haskins, op. cit. pp. 328-9. The identification is not certain, but the fact that the sheriff never built up a lay honour (F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, Oxford, 1932, p. 85) suggests that he was a cleric, like his contemporaries Richard de Belmeis, steward and sheriff of Shropshire, and Osbern, sheriff of Lincolnshire (Morris, op. cit. pp. 77-8). No other Hugh of Buckland is known at this date. A few years later Roger, bishop of Salisbury granted to Geoffrey Constable (prebendary of Chamberlain Wood) land in London which had belonged to a Hugh of Buckland (*Report*, p. 25b; cf. also p. 62b): this charter seems to connect him both with the exchequer and with the chapter of St Paul's. But the identification cannot be proved.

<sup>71</sup> 'Angerus pater Turstini archiepiscopi, Audoenus frater archiepiscopi' (Kentish Town): cf. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xxiii, 46; Round, *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, no. 297; etc. For Audoen, see Ordericus Vitalis, iv, 301; v, 118-19. Thurstan is described as a canon of St Paul's by Hugh the Chanter (*Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, Rolls Series, II, 129), and appears in the list for Consumpta per Mare; Orderic (iv, 373) calls him *Baiocensis*. For Anger's wife Popelina, see *Historians of the Church of York*, II, 261. Anger is probably to be identified with the Ansker, canon and priest, who occurs in 1104 (*Report*, p. 61b) and the Ansker who held land of the chapter at about the same time (*Essays... presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, p. 57). An Ansker occurs as royal chaplain in 1091 (Davis, op. cit. no. 315).

was succeeded in both by his son Cyprian; Robert archdeacon of Middlesex by his son Roger; and three prebends besides passed from father to son in the first transfer after the refoundation.<sup>72</sup>

Such slight evidence as survives from eleventh-century Normandy suggests that married clergy and even hereditary benefices may not have been uncommon; it is usually assumed that the same was true in England. The positive evidence from St Paul's proves that down to the death of Richard de Belmeis I at least a quarter of the canons were married;<sup>73</sup> and that the sons of canons had some sort of prescriptive right to their father's prebends, or at least a very strong claim on the bishop's patronage. We are left to guess what we should discover if the evidence were more complete or less incidental. The bulk of the married canons were apparently French, but one at least of the English canons also had children to succeed him.<sup>74</sup>

The efforts of the early Norman reformers to put down clerical marriage and hereditary benefices were not, however, entirely fruitless. The stream of canons' sons receiving their father's prebends becomes a thin trickle in the second quarter of the century. Seven or eight cases occur before c. 1127, one about 1140, one about 1150,<sup>75</sup> and the last in 1167. In 1167 Richard Rufus, archdeacon of Essex and brother of Richard de Belmeis II, died, leaving two sons, it would seem, of whom one succeeded him in his prebend, and the other, already a canon, as *firmarius* of four of the chapter manors.<sup>76</sup> In 1137 the ladies of the chapter were kidnapped and imprisoned in a tower; their husbands were compelled to pay ransom for them.<sup>77</sup> By the accession of Gilbert Foliot in 1163, the canons' concubines must have been rare intruders.

<sup>72</sup> Maplebury, 'Albertus Lotaringus, Hugo filius eius'; Caddington Major, 'Rogerus archidiaconus filius Roberti archidiaconi'; Caddington Minor, see Appendix III; Ealdland, 'Quintilianus archidiaconus, Cyprianus filius eius'; Hoxton, 'Osbernus Masculus, Gaufridus filius eius'; St Pancras, 'Osbernus de Auco, Robertus filius eius'.

<sup>73</sup> The total number of canons certainly married in the years 1086-1107 is ten, with two others for whom there is slight evidence.

<sup>74</sup> The only clear case is Whuered (see above, p. 122 and n. 63).

<sup>75</sup> Seven cases are cited above (nn. 66, 71, 72). The others are Wenlock's Barn, 'Willelmus de Wintonia, Ricardus filius eius' (?c. 1127); Hoxton, 'Hugo archidiaconus, Henricus filius eius' (c. 1140); Oxgate, 'Nicholaus Crocemannus, Nicolaus filius eius archidiaconus London' (c. 1150). These dates are very approximate.

<sup>76</sup> Richard Rufus I died in 1167 (H. G. Richardson, *E.H.R.* LVII (1942), p. 128); he was succeeded as prebendary of Holborn by Richard junior, younger brother of Richard Rufus II (Twyford, cf. *Report*, pp. 12a, 51a, etc.). This succession; the coincidence of names; the fact that Richard Rufus II, like Richard Rufus I, had a brother called Richard; and that he seems to have succeeded Richard Rufus I as *firmarius* of four chapter manors (Barling, Hale, pp. 65, 111, 126; the Sokens, Hale, pp. 111, 129; Beauchamp, *ibid.* and pp. 138-9, 148; and Runwell, Hale, pp. 70, 111, 125, 150) combine to suggest that Richard Rufus II and Richard junior were sons of Richard Rufus I.

<sup>77</sup> *Diceto*, I, 249: he does not specify that they were the *focarie* of the canons of St Paul's, but it is natural to suppose that they were—the account would be entirely inconsequential if the canons of another church were involved. It is in any case probable that the tower referred to was the Tower of London.

Richard Rufus's uncle, Richard de Belmeis I, was a family man on a splendid scale: the tribe of his sons and nephews, great-nephews, cousins and other relations held many of the richest plums in the chapter down to the second decade of the thirteenth century. Two of his sons and four of his nephews at least received their first promotion at his hands; and their number tended to increase rather than to diminish down to the death of his nephew, Bishop Richard de Belmeis II, in 1162.<sup>78</sup>

The period from 1127 to 1162 saw the Belmeis connexion dominant in a chapter which was at once at the height of its independence and autonomy, and at the nadir of its material prosperity. A succession of short-lived bishops,<sup>79</sup> never strong in the saddle, with two long vacancies, left the canons largely free to follow their own devices; and the weakness of Stephen's rule gave them an opportunity to elect bishops of their own choice such as they never had at any other time. But the chapter was not united, and both the elections which took place under Stephen showed its weakness as a community. They both led to prolonged disputes and appeals to Rome. The nominee of the chapter in 1136-8 was refused consecration, to be replaced by a candidate of the Empress Matilda in 1141;<sup>80</sup> and Richard de Belmeis II only succeeded in 1152 after a long struggle which left him hopelessly in debt. His misfortunes were complete when shortly before his death he became a paralytic.<sup>81</sup> He was succeeded by Gilbert Foliot, who brought with him a new family circle of nephews and cousins—at least, not entirely new, because Gilbert and his predecessor were related.<sup>82</sup> The arrival of the Foliots broadened the base, but did not wholly destroy the family complexion of the London chapter.

Of the thirty canons whom Gilbert Foliot found at St Paul's on his accession in 1163, at least four and perhaps seven or more were of the Belmeis family; one was the son of another former bishop; and at least four were the sons of former canons or members of families which held canonries for more than one generation.<sup>83</sup> The hereditary element was still strong, but it was on the

<sup>78</sup> On the Belmeis family, see Stubbs, introduction to *Diceto*, I, pp. xxi ff., xxvi-xxix. His account is by no means exhaustive.

<sup>79</sup> Gilbert the Universal, 1128-34; Robert de Sigillo, 1141-50 (not 1151, as usually stated); Richard de Belmeis II, 1152-62.

<sup>80</sup> On the election of 1136-8, see *Diceto*, I, 248-52. The dispute between the Belmeis faction and the party of the Immaculate Conception has been often described (e.g. by Edmund Bishop in *Liturgica Historica*, p. 245; by J. Armitage Robinson and E. W. Williamson in *The Letters of Osbert de Clare*, pp. 14, 198-9; and by B. Smalley, in 'Gilbertus Universalis', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, VII (Louvain, 1935), pp. 240-2).

Robert de Sigillo was appointed by the Empress at Westminster in June 1141 (Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, II, 131).

<sup>81</sup> W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, I, II, no. 50; John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. R. L. Poole, pp. 90-1; Gilbert Foliot, cpp. 95, 140 (for his election); *Diceto*, I, 295 (his consecration); pp. xxix-xxx and Foliot, cpp. 94, 130, 133, 137 (troubles after his consecration); *Diceto*, I, 304 and Foliot, ep. 120 (his final sickness).

<sup>82</sup> Gilbert Foliot, ep. 27.

<sup>83</sup> The following were of the Belmeis family: Richard Rufus I and II (above, n. 76), Walter de Belmeis (Stoke Newington), William de Belmeis (St Pancras), and probably Hugh de Mareni (see Appendix II, p. 129, n. 13); Laurence 'Belesmeius' (Brondesbury) may have

wane. The links with the city remained, as did the distinguished absentees. In 1162, the year before Gilbert's accession, Thomas Becket, prebendary of Reculverland and a pluralist on a splendid scale, royal chancellor and son of a leading London citizen, left for the see of Canterbury. In the same year another future archbishop, John aux Bellesmains, treasurer of York, became bishop of Poitiers; he was later archbishop of Lyons, and ended a long and useful career in retirement at Clairvaux.<sup>84</sup>

The pluralists remained to be the butt of the monastic satirists, Ralph Niger and Richard of Devizes; but in Gilbert, for a time, the chapter found a strong and determined master. It gained in practical usefulness and worked in close harmony with the bishop as a nucleus of sound, if somewhat commonplace, learning and administration in a well-ordered diocese. The first prebendary of Rugmere was Ralph, son of Algod, the alderman and family man; the second was his son, William; the third and fourth, Ralph of Chilton and Master John Witeng, were recruited from the circle of Gilbert Foliot's clerks, the constant attendants of the bishop in his administrative duties. Old faces and new appeared in the prebendal stalls, as a witness to the strength of tradition and the rapidity of change in the twelfth-century chapter of St Paul's.

## APPENDIX

### I. THE PREBENDS OF ST PAUL'S

The following is a list of the thirty prebends with references to the pages in Newcourt and the folios in the two manuscripts where the relevant prebendal list may be found.

*Brondesbury*, Willesden: Newcourt, I, 116 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111v; Harl. 6956, fol. 95r.

*Brownswood*, Willesden: Newcourt, I, 119 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111r; Harl. 6956, fol. 93v.

*Caddington Major*: Newcourt, I, 124 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110v; Harl. 6956, fol. 92v.

*Caddington Minor*: Newcourt, I, 129 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110v; Harl. 6956, fol. 93r.

*Chamberlain Wood*, Willesden: Newcourt, I, 133 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111r; Harl. 6956, fol. 94r.

been a Belmeis, and Stubbs suggested that Ralph de Diceto was also related to them. Henry, son of Bishop Robert (de Sigillo) occurs as prebendary of Moorfields. Henry (Hoxton) was the son of Hugh, archdeacon of Middlesex; Nicholas, archdeacon of London, was the son of Nicholas Crocemannus (above, n. 75); William, son of Ralph, son of Algod, was apparently still alive (for him, cf. above, n. 66); Richard fitzNeal's father, Nigel, bishop of Ely, had at one time been prebendary of Chiswick, as was his son. Robert, son of Generan (Holywell) and Hugh, son of Generan (Wilkesden Green) were brothers, and both survivors of the second generation of canons. It is not certain that quite all the above were still alive in 1163.

<sup>84</sup> John aux Bellesmains, or John of Canterbury, held the prebend of St Pancras. For his early career, see C. T. Clay in *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xxxv (1940-3), pp. 11-19; for his later career, P. Pouzet, *L'Anglais Jean dit Bellesmains...* (Lyon, 1927).

- Chiswick*: Newcourt, 1, 137 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110v; Harl. 6956, fol. 93r.  
*Consumpta per Mare*, Walton-le-Soken: Newcourt, 1, 141 ff.; St. Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111v; Harl. 6956, fol. 94v.  
*Ealdland*, Tillingham: Newcourt, 1, 144 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111r; Harl. 6956, fol. 94r.  
*Eald Street*, Shoreditch: Newcourt, 1, 148 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111r; Harl. 6956, fol. 94v.  
*Harlesden*, Willesden: Newcourt, 1, 151 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111r; Harl. 6956, fol. 94r.  
*Holborn*, St Andrew: Newcourt, 1, 156 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110r; Harl. 6956, fol. 91v.  
*Holywell* (or Finsbury), Newcourt, 1, 159 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 112r; Harl. 6956, fol. 96r.  
*Hoxton*, Shoreditch: Newcourt, 1, 162 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111v; Harl. 6956, fol. 95r.  
*Islington*: Newcourt, 1, 165 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111v; Harl. 6956, fol. 95v.  
*Kentish Town*: Newcourt, 1, 169 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fols. 110r-v; Harl. 6956, fol. 92r.  
*Maplebury* (or Mapesbury), Willesden: Newcourt, 1, 173 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 112r; Harl. 6956, fol. 95v.  
*Moorfields* (or Mora), St Giles Cripplegate: Newcourt, 1, 176 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 112r; Harl. 6956, fol. 96r.  
*Neasden*, Willesden: Newcourt, 1, 183 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110r; Harl. 6956, fol. 91v.  
*Oxgate*, Willesden: Newcourt, 1, 189 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fols. 111r-v; Harl. 6956, fol. 94v.  
*Port Pool*, Holborn: Newcourt, 1, 198; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110v; Harl. 6956, fol. 93r.  
*Reculverland*, Tillingham: Newcourt, 1, 202 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110v; Harl. 6956, fol. 92r.  
*Rugmere*, St Pancras: Newcourt, 1, 206 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111v; Harl. 6956, fol. 95v.  
*Saint Pancras*: Newcourt, 1, 193 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111r; Harl. 6956, fol. 93v.  
*Sneating*, Kirby-le-Soken: Newcourt, 1, 209 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110r; Harl. 6956, fol. 92r.  
*Stoke Newington*: Newcourt, 1, 186 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 111v; Harl. 6956, fol. 95r.  
*Tottenham*: Newcourt, 1, 212 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110r; Harl. 6956, fol. 91r.  
*Twyford* (East), Willesden: Newcourt, 1, 216 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fols. 110v-111r; Harl. 6956, fol. 93v.  
*Wenlock's Barn*, St Giles: Newcourt, 1, 219 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110v; Harl. 6956, fol. 92v.  
*Wildland*, Tillingham: Newcourt, 1, 224 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110r; Harl. 6956, fol. 91v.  
*Willesden Green*: Newcourt, 1, 227 ff.; St Paul's W.D.2, fol. 110v; Harl. 6956, fol. 92v.

## II. RANULPH FLAMBARD AND THE PREBENDARIES OF TOTTENHAM

In the early twelfth century the deans of St Paul's had no separate endowment: in its place most, if not all of them held the prebend of Tottenham, the first, though not the most valuable of the prebends.<sup>1</sup> The evidence for this will be made clear by a comparison of the list of deans and prebendaries of Tottenham down to the opening years of the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Deans	Prebendaries of Tottenham
Wulman, c. 1090 <sup>3</sup>	Decanus Wulmannus
V, occurs c. 1107 <sup>4</sup>	Rannulfus Dunelmensis episcopus
William, before 1111-1138 <sup>5</sup>	Humfridus filius Rogeri Bigod
Master Ralph of Langford, c. 1138- c. 1160 <sup>6</sup>	Willhelmus de Marení
Hugh de Marení, c. 1160-1179/80 <sup>7</sup>	Radulfus de Langeford
Master Ralph de Diceto, 1180-1202 <sup>8</sup>	Hugo de Marení
Master Alard of Burnham, 1202-1216 <sup>9</sup>	Radulfus de Diceto
	Alardus de Burnham

There is no doubt of the identity of the first and last four names on each list. Alard,<sup>10</sup> Ralph and Hugh<sup>11</sup> must each have held some other prebend before they became dean; and Ralph of Langford almost certainly held the prebend of Brownswood.<sup>12</sup> Dean William was sister's son to Bishop Richard de Belmeis I, and there is no reason to doubt that he is to be identified with William de Marení.<sup>13</sup> At some stage he held the prebend of Chiswick, but he must have exchanged it for another

<sup>1</sup> Psalms 1-5 were assigned to the prebendary of Tottenham. It was assessed at 16 marks in 1229 and 1254 (for the assessment of the prebends in 1254, see W. E. Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 494-6).

<sup>2</sup> The tradition was broken when dean Alard transferred from the prebend of Tottenham to Holborn (cf. *Statutes*, p. 141). <sup>3</sup> See above, p. 118, n. 39; and below, n. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Gibbs, no. 59.

<sup>5</sup> He first occurs in 1111 (*Report*, pp. 26a, 67b-68a), and from then frequently until his death on 29 April 1138 (St Paul's MS. W.D.12, fol. 12v; *Diceto*, 1, 252).

<sup>6</sup> He occurs frequently between 1138 and 1150 (*Report*, pp. 28a, 62a, 63a, etc.), for the last time in or after 1154 (John of Salisbury, ep. 7 (ed. Giles)); Hugh de Marení was still archdeacon of Colchester in 1156 (Gibbs, no. 253).

<sup>7</sup> He first occurs c. 1160 (*Archaeologia*, LVI, 1899, p. 227), and 1162 (Gibbs, nos. 192, 217); and last on 2 December 1178 (*Ancient Charters*, ed. Round, Pipe Roll Society, 1888, no. 46). He died on 27 June (St Paul's MS. W.D.12, fol. 13v) in 1179 or 1180.

<sup>8</sup> Stubbs, introduction to *Diceto*, 1, pp. lvii, lxxxi-lxxxiii.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. *Annals of Dunstable* (ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series), *sub anno*. He died on 8 September (St Paul's MS. W.D.12, fol. 15r).

<sup>10</sup> He had previously held the prebend of Caddington Major.

<sup>11</sup> The prebends held by Hugh de Marení and Ralph de Diceto before each became dean are quite uncertain. <sup>12</sup> 'Radulfus de Lang' was third prebendary of Brownswood.

<sup>13</sup> *Diceto*, 1, 251. There is evidence of a connexion between the Marenis and the bishops of London perhaps dating back to the time of Richard de Belmeis I. In 1166 Roger de Marení was holding two knights fees of the bishop (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, Rolls Series, 1, 186).

It is possible that the unidentified Hugh, nephew of the dean (William or Ralph—who were cousins) who occurs between c. 1138 and c. 1150 (Gibbs, no. 154; *Report*, pp. 62a, 65a, 66a, 67a; Hale, p. 125) may be Hugh de Marení, which is coherent with the view that William bore the same surname.

many years before his death; and it is very difficult to find a place for him anywhere except at Tottenham.<sup>14</sup> The natural conclusion would seem to be that William, like all his successors down to Alard, moved to the prebend of Tottenham when he was promoted; and it is natural to suppose that he did so because the prebend of Tottenham was already by tradition the prebend of the dean. It would be a strange chance if six out of the eight names, including the first, had been deans, and not the remaining two.

The mysterious V (or U) who occurs in or about 1107 might be identified with Humphrey Bigod, who is otherwise unknown. He might also be identified with Wulman; but there is strong reason to doubt this identification. In the years 1102-1106 we have five documents, all closely affecting the chapter, which are witnessed by three or four archdeacons, but which never mention a dean;<sup>15</sup> and yet it seems reasonably certain that Wulman had held that office in the 1090's.<sup>16</sup> This suggests that an absentee dean intruded between Wulman and 'V': an absentee, presumably, either because he was a royal clerk, or living out of England, or holding high office elsewhere, like the contemporary dean of St Martin-le-Grand, Roger, bishop of Salisbury.<sup>17</sup> It would be a curious chance if he, almost alone of the canons of the period, had been omitted from the catalogue; and it is remarkable that there is one man who answers to every one of the reasons suggested for his consistent absenteeism, and appears in addition as the second prebendary of Tottenham. Ranulph Flambard, the leading figure of William II's *capella*, was bishop of Durham from 1099; from 1100 to 1106 he was in Normandy, occupying the see of Lisieux in the name of his brother or of one of his sons.<sup>18</sup> He was an old protégé of Bishop Maurice, and his family certainly had a firm foothold in the chapter in the middle and later years of Maurice's episcopate.

Apart from these suppositions, and his place in the list of the prebendaries of Tottenham, there are two small pieces of evidence which suggest that Flambard held the deanery of St Paul's:

(1) Symeon of Durham or his continuator<sup>19</sup> tells us that Ranulph Flambard started his career in the entourage of Bishop Maurice, but later transferred to the royal service after a quarrel over a deanery from which he had been ejected. The chronology of this story is impossible,<sup>20</sup> but it is quite likely that the quarrel and the deanery

<sup>14</sup> Our information is particularly full for the years 1130-8.

<sup>15</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, October, III, 754; Gibbs, no. 178 (1102); *Report*, pp. 65a (1103), 61b (1104); Gibbs, no. 198 (1106).

<sup>16</sup> His association with Maurice in the institution of the psalter must date from well before 1102; and there is clear evidence of a dean some years before 1103, H.G. Richardson in *E.H.R.* LVII (1942), p. 126, citing *Report*, p. 65a.

<sup>17</sup> Round, *Commune of London*, pp. 109, 110, 114-16. It appears from the charter of the Empress quoted on p. 116 that Roger's predecessor was a certain Fulcher, who may be identified with Flambard's brother (see below).

<sup>18</sup> For Flambard's career, see R. W. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xvi (1933), pp. 95-128. His brother Fulcher was prebendary of Eald St., and his sons Elias and possibly Ralph ('Radulfus frater Elie': for Flambard's son Ralph, a clerk, cf. *Liber Vitae ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 1841, p. 141) were prebendaries of Sneating. Osbern the royal chaplain, prebendary of Consumpta, may also have been a brother of Ranulph Flambard (cf. *Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series, II, 23).

<sup>19</sup> Ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series, I, 135.

<sup>20</sup> Since it appears that when Flambard started his career as a subordinate of Maurice, he was already in the king's service.

were genuine. It is hard to imagine what deanery could have involved the bishop of London in such a quarrel except that of St Paul's.<sup>21</sup>

(2) Thomas of Ely,<sup>22</sup> writing in the mid-twelfth century, says that Henry I restored to the monks of Ely the vill of Hadham which had been seized by Ranulph Flambard 'per clericos Londonie ecclesie sue'.<sup>23</sup> The natural interpretation of this would be that Flambard held a position of authority at St Paul's; and it is clearly the cathedral church which was referred to, since the vill was in dispute between the monks of Ely and the bishop of London in 1086, and since it was almost entirely surrounded by the lands of the bishopric. The seizure presumably took place in the vacancy of the abbey of Ely, 1093-1100.<sup>24</sup>

None of these pieces of evidence is conclusive in itself, but together they raise a strong probability that Ranulph Flambard held the deanery of St Paul's from before 1100 to about the time of his return to England in 1106 or Maurice's deathbed repentance in 1107.

Humphrey Bigod is a shadowy figure,<sup>25</sup> and his place in the list must be considered uncertain: but with that one exception it seems very probable that the list of the prebendaries of Tottenham from c. 1090 to c. 1216 is accurate and at the same time a list of the deans of St Paul's.

### III. THE PREBENDARIES OF CADDINGTON MINOR, c. 1090-1222

The first four names on the list for Caddington Minor are given as 'Thedbaldus, Odo filius eius, Parisius nepos Roberti Pulli, Willelmus de Hely'. Their dates can be reconstructed as follows.

*Theobald* occurs 1103, 1104, 1111 (twice).<sup>26</sup> He is perhaps to be identified with the Theobald who is mentioned (apparently as dead) in the list of chapter lands of c. 1127.<sup>27</sup>

*Odo*, son of *Theobald* is to be identified with the Odo who first occurs between c. 1111 and 1127 (well before the latter date),<sup>28</sup> and from then frequently down to 1145.<sup>29</sup>

*Paris*, nephew of Robert Pullen, was confirmed in the archdeaconry of Rochester by Pope Eugenius III in 1145,<sup>30</sup> in succession to his uncle, the distinguished theologian and papal chancellor. He last occurs in 1190, and had been succeeded in the

<sup>21</sup> The only other deaneries in the diocese c. 1100 of which we have evidence were Waltham and St Martin-le-Grand. The Waltham chronicle (edited by Stubbs in *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey*: cf. also his list of deans on pp. xxi ff.) gives an account of the period without mentioning Ranulph; and it appears that Fulcher and not Ranulph was dean of St Martin's at this time (above, n. 17). There is no evidence to connect Ranulph with either; and Maurice would not have been able to depose Ranulph from their deaneries on his own authority.

<sup>22</sup> Ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, I, 614.

<sup>23</sup> The author of the *Liber Eliensis* (II, 148; ed. D. J. Stewart, London, 1848, p. 298) merely says 'per clericos Lundonie'.

<sup>24</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, II, 137, 140 (pp. 280, 284).

<sup>25</sup> The only reference known to me to a Humphrey Bigod at this time is in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham, fol. 42 + r (perhaps also on fol. 43r: 'Rodgerus Bigod... Unfrid'). He is described in the prebendal list as son of Roger Bigod, who died in 1107 (*Complete Peerage*, revised edition, IX, 578): this is chronologically possible.

<sup>26</sup> *Report*, pp. 65a, 61b, 26a, 67b-68a.

<sup>27</sup> *Essays... presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* no. 154.

<sup>29</sup> W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, II, ii, no. 46.

<sup>30</sup> Gibbs, no. 273.



archdeaconry by 1193.<sup>31</sup> Since William of Ely was prebendary by 1192, but not much earlier (see below), he probably died in or about 1191.

Paris witnesses one charter in company with Robert, bishop of London (i.e. before 1150); and two in company with members of the chapter of St Paul's (c. 1180 and 1183).<sup>32</sup> It is therefore possible that he received his prebend c. 1145-50 and reasonably certain that he held it to his death.

*Master William of Ely*, royal treasurer, was a clerk of his kinsman Bishop Richard fitzNeal (1189-98), became a canon in or shortly before 1192, and held his prebend until his death in 1222.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Pipe Roll*, 2 *Richard I*, p. 142; *Registrum Hamonis Hethe*, ed. C. Johnson (Canterbury and York Society), p. 46.

<sup>32</sup> *Cart. Monasterii... de Colecestria*, ed. S. A. Moore, 1, 170 (1145-50); *Cart. of Clerkenwell*, ed. W. O. Hassall, no. 319 (c. 1180); Gibbs, no. 72 (1183).

<sup>33</sup> H. G. Richardson, 'William of Ely, the King's Treasurer', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xv (1932), pp. 45-90, especially pp. 47, 56-8, 60-1; *E.H.R.*, LVII (1942), pp. 131-2 and 132, n. 1.

## II. CRUSADERS' CASTLES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

By R. C. SMAIL

### I

ALTHOUGH the castle is regarded as a distinguishing feature of feudal society in medieval Europe, its functions in that society have been less adequately studied than its architecture.<sup>1</sup> The variety and importance of those functions arose principally from the role of the castle in government. Any ruler needs organized force at his disposal as a final sanction for his authority. It is required both against the external enemy and to preserve internal order; it has both a military and a police function.

Part of the force available to a medieval ruler was embodied in his castles. They were instruments of his policy towards his neighbours and were used as fortresses have been used throughout history: to protect exposed frontier areas and to hold down conquests. But their importance was not confined to the borders. The commander of a castle and its garrison was master of the surrounding district and had means continuously at his disposal to meet any challenge to his authority. Wherever they stood, fortified buildings provided a base from which power could be exercised, and within which it could be protected and preserved. As a consequence castles are found serving not only as nuclei for urban growth or bases of colonization, but most frequently as centres of feudal government, from which administrative and judicial powers were exercised over the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. In a feudal monarchy this could be equally true of the castles both of king and vassals.<sup>2</sup>

The castle was no less important in politics than in administration. The authority of any feudal ruler was founded, to some extent, on effective co-operation with his vassals; therefore baronial castles, no less than his own, were part of the force on which government rested. But when co-operation could not be achieved, the lord needed to be able to control his vassals by virtue of superior resources and, if necessary, of superior force. From this

<sup>1</sup> S. Painter, 'English Castles in the Middle Ages' in *Speculum*, vol. x (1935), 321.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Maurice Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, p. 48; S. Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony*, p. 22. In Germany during the period of the Investiture Contest, many feudal families, unchecked by the monarchy, acquired judicial and other powers originally public. To them, 'the castle was not only a means by which the demesne lands could be more rigorously administered, but also a fixed point in which governmental rights could be concentrated. Attached in this way to a territorial centre, the rights of jurisdiction vested in the prince could be "territorialized", attached to consolidated territorial districts and used as a means of uniform government.' G. Barraclough, *Medieval Germany*, 1, 85-6. Also on the castle as such a 'point de cristallisation', see M. Bloch, *La Société Féodale, Les classes et le gouvernement des hommes*, p. 182.