

The Medieval Hospitals of St John the Baptist at Oxford and St Bartholomew of London
From Foundation to 1300

by

Gillian Bridge
B.A., University of Victoria, 1999

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History

© Gillian Bridge, 2005
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without the permission of the author.

Supervisor: Dr Timothy S. Haskett

ABSTRACT

A study of the medieval hospitals of St Bartholomew of Smithfield, London and St John the Baptist at Oxford from their foundations in the twelfth century to 1300. Charters, cartularies, papal bulls, episcopal letters, visitation records and other documents were examined to shed light on the endowments and functioning of these hospitals asking the questions: who gave to whom, and why; where were these hospitals located and how did their architecture correlate to the physical and spiritual goals of such institutions; what was the role played by these hospitals in their communities? Contemporary notions of charity were investigated to place the great generosity shown by so many individuals to these two hospitals during the twelfth and thirteen centuries within the spiritual context of the period. Evidence was sought but not found in the records for medical treatment or for the presence of physicians and surgeons at these hospitals.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i
List of abbreviations	ii
1 Introduction	1
2 Formal Views of Charity in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.	21
Charity	22
Purgatory and Suffrages	28
Confraternities and Chantries	31
The Testament	34
3 The Endowments of St Bartholomew's and St John's Hospitals	38
Charters	38
Endowments	58
The Hospitals as Sources of Charitable Finance	65
Benefactors and Trends in Giving	68
4 The Physical Environments	80
Choosing the Sites	80
The Precincts	86
The Infirmary Halls	93
Water Sources	96
Burial Grounds	98
5 Founders and Functional Organization	104
Founders and Refounders	104
Rules	113
Masters	119
Staff - Brothers, Lay Brothers and Sisters	124
Inmates	139
Communal Life within the Community	147
6 Summary and Conclusions	155
Epilogue	161
Appendix I Tables and Graph	163
Appendix II Maps and Illustrations	175
Appendix III List of the Masters of the Hospitals of St Bartholomew and St John	187
Bibliography	189

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr Timothy S. Haskett, for giving me the opportunity to undertake this journey, for his rigorous scholarship, his invaluable guidance and his unstinting generosity with that precious resource, time. My gratitude also goes to Emily Freer as I have greatly benefited from her Latin skills and from her constructive suggestions. I would also like to thank Professor Hamar Foster who clarified several points on Mortmain legislation despite his own heavy work commitments. Because of the distance between Canada and England, some aspects of my study would have been more difficult without the expert long-distance assistance of Magdalen College archivist, Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith, and the archivists of St Bartholomew's hospital, Ms. Marion Rae and Ms. Samantha Farhall, who were all unfailingly helpful both by email and during my memorable visits to their archives. Finally, I would like to express my thanks to my family for their encouragement and support and to my husband for waiting out my grand obsession with two medieval hospitals.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
Cart. HSB	Cartulary of the Hospital of St Bartholomew
Cart. HSJB I, II, III	Cartulary of the Hospital of St John the Baptist, 3 vols.
HIG	Oxford, Magdalen archives, <i>Hospitalium in Genere</i>
Mac	Oxford, Magdalen archives, <i>Macray Calendar of Deeds</i>
VCH	Victoria History of the Counties of England (Victoria County History)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As knowledge of the human body and its workings down to the molecular level becomes more profound and as medicine and medical and surgical treatments become more and more complex, more invasive and more effective so the likelihood of a stay in hospital for all sections of the population of the Western world has increased. This was not true for people in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England, the period and location of this study. The rich and sick person would have called in a physician to study and balance his humours with diet, emetics, clysters and bloodletting, to examine his pulse and his respiration, to analyse his urine, to cast his horoscope to determine the reason for his sickness and the optimum time for any treatments, and to supervise the barbersurgeon in any bloodletting considered necessary. Competant and less competant midwives were available for birthing. The urban rich probably had a choice of physician to call, noble families retained their own. For the poor, it was a very different matter. They fell sick, endured, got better, or died in their homes, in the fields, on the streets, and a few did so in one of the large number of small hospitals scattered throughout the towns and countryside of medieval England. Unlike the secular hospitals of today, all the hospitals in this period were religious institutions and were frequently referred to in charters and chronicles as *domus dei* or *maison dieu*. The role of the hospital in the treatment of disease was small, largely confined to bed rest and a more nourishing diet; emphasis on the health of the soul was paramount.

The hospital's role in society was multivalent and may be gauged by an examination of their foundation charters and their ordinances. For example, St Giles's Hospital in Norwich founded by Walter Suffield, bishop of Norwich, in 1249 was to provide thirty beds for sick paupers, care for elderly priests unable to function because of infirmity and relief for the hungry outside the gates. Later in the century provision was also made for the schooling of seven poor

but talented youths.¹ Other hospitals like St Leonard's at York, the largest and wealthiest hospital in medieval England, provided for 225 poor and infirm in the late thirteenth century and also served as a children's home for those whose mothers had died giving birth to them in the hospital.² St Thomas's hospital, Southwark, was founded as a house for converts and poor children.³ Some hospitals were exclusive. The ordinances made by Bishop Joscelyn of Bath and Wells in 1219 for St John Bridgwater banned the admittance of lepers, lunatics, persons having the falling sickness or any contagious disease, pregnant women, sucking infants or any 'intolerable person' even if poor or infirm.⁴ Yet other hospitals specialized, some served lepers such as Harbledown near Canturbury, others such as the hospital of St John the Baptist, Chester, founded in 1232 'for the sustentation of poor and silly persons' were for the treatment of the insane.⁵ In the early fourteenth century, William Elsyng founded a hospital, St Mary without Cripplegate, for the care of 100 sick paupers, with preference being given to blind or paralysed priests.⁶ However, there was one feature that hospitals almost always shared: an obligation to care for the poor and infirm, '*pauperes et infirmi*' as they were identified in so many of the charters. One other common function of the medieval hospital can be guessed from the derivation of the word 'hospital.' Latin *hospes* means both host and guest, and *hospitium* a place where hospitality is both given and received. So one of the early functions of the hospital was as hospice for poor wayfarers and pilgrims and as such it mirrors the services provided by monastic institutions. The military order of the Knights of St John took the additional name of Hospitallers from their work as protectors of a hospice and infirmary for pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Their dedication to the poor and infirm was written in ringing terms in

¹Carole Rawcliffe, "'Gret cryng and joly chauntyng": life, death and liturgy at St Giles's hospital, Norwich, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,' *Counties and Communities: Essays on East Anglian History*, eds. Carole Rawcliffe, Roger Virgoe and Richard Wilson (Norwich: East Anglian Studies, 1996), 38-9.

²Patricia Cullum, 'Cremetts and corrodies: care of the poor and sick at St Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages,' *Borthwick Papers* (1991): 10.

³Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (London: Methuen, 1909), 22.

⁴Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital: 1070-1570* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995) 58.

⁵Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London: Hambledon, 1996) 33.

⁶Carole Rawcliffe, 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London,' *Medical History* (1984): 18.

the twelfth century. They were to serve '[their] lords the poor, [their] lords the sick.'⁷

The medieval understanding of the word 'hospital' can be seen to encompass four general types of institution: the hospital for the poor and infirm, almshouses, leperhouses and other specialist institutions, and hospices for the poor traveller and pilgrim.⁸ All these categories of medieval hospitals depended for their functioning upon the charity of their surrounding communities and were very vulnerable to both local and general political and economic events, and because the larger hospitals came to be landowners, they were also vulnerable to the business skills and probity - and conversely the ineptitude, dishonesty and greed - of their masters.

This study will look at the functioning of two of the larger of such hospitals, St John the Baptist's at Oxford and St Bartholomew's of Smithfield in London. The function of one of these hospitals, St John's, became increasingly devoted to the maintenance of poor scholars and it was eventually subsumed into Magdalen College in the fifteenth century.⁹ The other, St Bartholomew's, remains one of the largest, most important and prestigious of the London hospitals to this day. These two hospitals have been chosen as they were both founded in the twelfth century, were similar in size, were both under Augustinian rule and both served urban populations, and were both recipients of considerable charitable donations in the form of both real estate and rents. Additionally and importantly for this study, they both possess very rich archives providing a good, if partial, look into the charitable activities of donors, and which tell the reader not only who gave and what they gave, but sometimes why and in doing so throw light on some of the functions of the hospital by the occasional specificity of those donations. Because the amount of material is large, the time covered by this study will start from foundation in the twelfth century and will finish on the last day of the thirteenth century. The St John's charters and ordinances together with a cartulary, the *Liber Niger* written in the late thirteenth century, and various rentals are currently held in Magdalen College archives. The St

⁷Quoted in Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Newhaven: Yale UP, 1986) 466.

⁸Carlin, 'Medieval English Hospitals' 21.

⁹See below, 'Epilogue,' 161.

Bartholomew's charters are housed in the archives on the premises of the hospital, as is the magnificent cartulary which was written in two volumes under the aegis of the hospital rector, John Cok, in the fifteenth century and is known as *Cok's Cartulary*. Although many of the charters of these institutions were examined for this study, most of the work was undertaken on the excellent transcriptions of the charters to be found in H.E. Salter's *Cartulary of Hospital of St John the Baptist*¹⁰ and on the calendar prepared by Nellie Kerling of the *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital*.¹¹

In 1917 the Oxford Historical Society published the three-volume *Cartulary of the Hospital of St John the Baptist* edited by the Rev. H.E. Salter. The first two volumes contain transcriptions in Latin of the charters of all the Oxford donations to the hospital, arranged by location both within and without the town walls. They contain more than 900 charters, only 171 of which were written into the corresponding portion of the *Liber Niger*. The third volume contains transcriptions of The Rule, a list of the properties of the hospital in 1246, the sole surviving computus roll of 1340, a fragmentary rental of 1287x93, the earliest full rental of 1293x4, various later rentals and Fine books. Salter has arranged the property deeds of the hospital topographically. His extensive knowledge of Oxford, gathered over nearly fifty years of study, meant that he knew the history of each tenement in the town from the twelfth century onwards. As a result, he was able to place most of the tenements referred to in the charters not only into their own parish, which is usually mentioned in the charter, but also into the street and often onto the side of the street where it was to be found in Oxford or its environs. Most of the urban and suburban holdings and many of the owners and renters of the medieval town of Oxford are revealed in Salter's two volume *Survey of Oxford*,¹² which was used in this study to check endowments made to other hospitals and monasteries by the benefactors of St John the Baptist

¹⁰ *Cartulary of the Hospital of St John the Baptist*, 3 Vols., ed. H.E. Salter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917). Hereinafter *Cart. HSJB* I, II, III.

¹¹ *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital: A Calendar*, ed. Nellie J.M. Kerling (London: St Bartholomew's Hospital, 1973). Hereinafter *Cart. HSB*.

¹²H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960)

and to provide evidence for the other charitable activities of St John's donors. The *Cartulary* only contains properties of concern to the hospital of St John the Baptist in and around Oxford. Endowments from outside the city were catalogued by C Woolgar and calendared by W.D. Macray. These have never been published and exist only in typewritten form, but are to be found in the Magdalen archives.¹³ A cartulary of the hospital of St John the Baptist, the *Liber Niger*, thought to have been written by Richard de Eppewelle, an Oxford scribe, c.1278x9, contains deeds to land in Oxford and also deals with properties in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Warwickshire. From these sources it has been possible to map the extent of the considerable holdings of the Hospital.¹⁴

The Calendar of the contents of the *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital* prepared by Nellie Kerling for the 850th anniversary of the hospital, presents in English translation the papal bulls, episcopal letters, letters patent and property deeds in London, Middlesex, Essex, Northamptonshire, Somerset and Lincolnshire which were transcribed in the fifteenth century into *Cok's Cartulary*. As Salter did for St John's in Oxford, Kerling has arranged the property deeds by location, beginning with the hospital site and the close parishes of St Sepulchre without Newgate and St Botolph Aldersgate and ending with the more distant properties in counties outside London. Unlike Salter, she has calendared the charters of the properties belonging to the hospital and translated the details into English. All names, professions, geographical locations, rents and fines are included together with an index which is extensive and usually accurate. However, the language of charity, the formulaic expression of piety, was largely omitted from Kerling's calendar so evidence was sought on this point from the charters themselves and from the transcriptions in Latin of fifty-seven of these charters included in Norman Moore's *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*.¹⁵ For both the Oxford and the London cartularies, the

¹³Oxford, Magdalen Archives, Macray *Calendar of Deeds*; a copy of C. Woolgar's *Catalogue of Estate Archives of St Mary Magdalen College, Oxford* (1981) is also in the Bodleian Library.

¹⁴Julian Munby 'The Property of the Hospital of St John, Oxford,' 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Oxford by Brian Durham, (*Oxoniensia*, vol LVI, 1991) 24.

¹⁵Norman Moore, *The History of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, 2 vols., (London: Pearson, 1918). Unless otherwise stated, information obtained from Moore for this study is from volume one which is subtitled: *Henry I-Richard II*.

deeds in the archives do not start any earlier than the late twelfth century: c.1190 for St John; for St Bartholomew's, apart from a grant of a church by Rahere the founder of St Bartholomew's to Hagno Clericus in 1137 and the charter of Henry I of 1133 copied into the cartulary, there are few deeds from the first half of the twelfth century, and most are from c.1160 onwards. St Bartholomew's early days, however, have been chronicled by one of the canons of the priory. Called *The Book of the Foundation of St Bartholomew's Priory and Hospital*, it was completed before 1189¹⁶ and acts, as Christopher Brooke suggests, as a prospectus for the Priory and Hospital, describing the site and the early foundation years with an emphasis on the miracles that had occurred there under the patronage of the apostle St Bartholomew.¹⁷

One of the initial hopes for this study was to investigate the spirit of charity that motivated the hospital donors. Charters and testaments were the major vehicles through which endowments and bequests were made. The private charters in the hospitals' archives are the legal instruments by which the conveyance of property, rents and quit rents were effected from one or more persons or corporations to the hospitals. Each charter stated the particular conditions on which a property or a rent was to be held.¹⁸ Charters and testaments chart the course of giving and are almost the only evidence left marking the open-handed treatment and support of the two hospitals by their benefactors, but because of their contractual nature they cannot provide the full picture of charity to the hospitals. Smaller gifts of money and objects for use in the hospital such as clothes for the poor, bedclothes for the wards, food and extra treats at feast times, books and ornaments for the altar were all made on a one-time, rather than a yearly, basis and thus did not stand in need of a charter. However, since charters provided the bulk of the information for this study, a detailed description of their format follows in Chapter 3.

¹⁶*The Book of the Foundation of St Bartholomew's Smithfield*, ed. and trans., E.A. Webb (London: Printing Aspects, 1996). The original manuscript is lost, but a copy containing two versions of the same work, one in Latin and the other in Middle English is housed at the British Library, London, Ms. Cott. Vespasian B. IX. The original work has been dated by internal evidence which is set out by Moore, pp.9-11.

¹⁷Christopher Brooke and Gillian Keir, *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (Bungay: Richard Clay, 1975) 327.

¹⁸Alan Harding, *A Social History of English law* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1966), 25.

In spite of the wealth of archival material it is, however, not always easy to determine which charters attested to charity and which were simply property transfers or even sales to the hospital. Sometimes the language of charity embellished a charter that also included a substantial monetary return, the fine or *gersumma*. When quit-rents were given or gifts confirmed by wives or heirs, sometimes the fines were very large while at other times they were non-existent. Could such confirmation be regarded as charity for the purposes of this study? Which of the numerous exchanges of properties could be considered as charity, and which were business ventures? Might they not be both at the same time? A decision was made to include only those charters where no monetary return was seen. But at times a charter giving a certain property or rent in a particular year and making no mention of a *gersumma* can be seen in the Cartulary, which is repeated *verbatim* in the same year in a second grant but in this instance with the addition of a large *gersumma*. Was the first instance charity? Did the donor change his mind? The charters hide almost as much as they reveal. This was nowhere more true than in the fleeting references and glimpses that they allowed of the workings of the great charitable machine, the wheels and cogs of daily life in the hospital, how the inmates were housed, clothed, healed and sent on their way into the wide world or eased into death and burial. How the brothers worked and what position the sisters held within the framework of the hospital's routine was rarely seen, nor was it clear in what esteem they were held within the community. When were the formulaic phrases of piety and charity truly felt and when were the phrases gracing the charters just empty rhetoric? To locate these charters within the temper of the times, to gauge the impact of the impetus towards charity advanced by the then universal church, to understand the purposes for which these two hospitals were created and to investigate not only their administration and functioning but also their physical presence within the community, it is necessary to site these aspects within the context of the general functioning of such institutions during that period.

Investigation of the English medieval hospital began in earnest at the start of the twentieth

century with the publication in 1909 of Rotha Mary Clay's illustrated study, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England*. In it Clay undertook a general survey of the hospitals of England which was broad in scope and was based on her wide readings of the material that was available at the time, such as Dugdale's *Monasticon*, the studies of individual hospitals found in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*,¹⁹ Victorian editions of chronicles, and the transactions of the various antiquarian societies. In spite of the frequent lack of those scholarly mechanisms that allow for verification of sources, Clay's synthesis of the subject was nonetheless groundbreaking and *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* remained the only work of general reference until Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster produced *The English Hospital: 1070-1570* in 1995.²⁰ In 1989 Martha Carlin, writing in *The Hospital in History*, complained that Clay's work was 'seriously flawed by the author's romantic and essentially unscholarly treatment of the subject' and asserted that Clay viewed the institution as basically stable, effective and static in character, lacking in development from foundation to the dissolution.²¹ Orme on the other hand is more generous in his assessment of Clay's general synthesis of the subject. While acknowledging her lack of formal education, Orme claims that Clay belongs to 'one of the first cohorts of modern women historians' and praises Clay's wide research and careful presentation, characterizing her achievements as 'remarkable.'²² Carlin's own concise survey of medieval hospitals refutes Clay's position concerning the efficacy and static nature of the medieval hospital and paints a much grimmer picture of the disintegration of the ideals of the founders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at the hands of larcenous masters, of the change from free care for the poor and infirm to fee-demanding almshouses and of the conversion of hospices and hospitals to

¹⁹*The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, ed. W. Page, et al., (London, 1900-). The history of the hospitals usually appears in the second volume of each county and in some counties where there was a large number of hospitals such as Middlesex, coverage is very brief. The hospitals follow the monasteries in position and there is little attention paid to the almshouses that appeared and disappeared with regularity during the Middle Ages. *VCH* in all future references.

²⁰Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital: 1270-1570* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995).

²¹Martha Carlin, 'Medieval English hospitals' in *The Hospital in History*, eds. Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1989) 21.

²²Orme and Webster, 8-9.

schools and secular colleges. She asserts that by 1535, of the 112 hospitals in England and Wales that cared exclusively for the sick poor only 39 remained.²³ Clay's appendix, tabulated very briefly some 969 hospitals and almshouses, arranged by county, of which 422 hospitals and almshouses were founded in England before 1300.²⁴ Orme and Webster's study is in two parts: one is a general study of hospitals throughout England and provides a general outline of the current state of knowledge and in the other, they have narrowed the field to a regional study of the hospitals and almshouses of the West Country. This second part lists in great detail and with copious footnotes 75 medieval hospitals, 21 of which are known to have been in existence prior to 1300.²⁵ These two general studies on the subject of hospitals bracket the twentieth century. Although David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock produced a revision of their magisterial opus *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* in 1971, this was an updated catalogue of religious houses which included some data on hospitals but did not aim to present a general history of hospitals.²⁶

The absence of scholarly interest in the general history of the medieval hospital during most of the twentieth century was, Orme suggests, due to the dominance of political and constitutional history in both secular and religious affairs. He also suggests that it was not until the rise in interest in demographic and, in particular, social history that scholars began to pay attention to the subject of individual medieval hospitals.²⁷ This interest produced a number of fine studies of specific hospitals in the later twentieth century, such as Miri Rubin's detailed study of the hospital of St John the Evangelist in Cambridge,²⁸ Carole Rawcliffe's monograph

²³Carlin, 'Medieval English hospitals,' 36.

²⁴Clay, Appendix B on pages 277-327, tabulates only location, dedication, possible foundation date, the founder (if known) and the Patron.

²⁵Orme and Webster, Chapter 10 on Cornwall and Chapter 11 on Devon. The foundations appear disproportionately to cater to lepers, perhaps because Bishop Bitton's executors list cash distributions to numerous leper communities. On the sources for the history of hospitals in medieval England Orme confesses that they are so large as to make the studies 'necessarily selective and anecdotal.' p. 169.

²⁶David Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* 2nd ed. (London: London UP, 1971).

²⁷Orme and Webster, 9.

²⁸Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987) Chapters 5 and 6.

on St Giles's hospital, Norwich,²⁹ Patricia Cullum's article on St Leonard's hospital in York,³⁰ and Orme's own investigations into the Clyst Gabriel Hospital for twelve priests who for reasons of infirmity were no longer able to play an active role in their profession.³¹ Smaller but more detailed studies of hospitals to be found within a circumscribed area allowed further understanding to grow about the influence of regional needs on the foundation of hospitals. Carole Rawcliffe's survey of London hospitals includes an appendix that lists hospitals and almshouses founded between the early twelfth century and the mid-sixteenth century with brief notes on the founders, the groups for whom they were founded together with any change in the core composition of those groups that might have occurred over time.³²

Because the reasons for the constitution of medieval hospitals varied with the desires of their founders and as, over time, individual institutions responded to the wishes and needs of their benefactors and of the community within which they were established, so their functions too changed over time, as is witnessed by the need of a university town such as Oxford for a school and a place of habitation for poor scholars. The gradual metamorphosis of St John's Hospital into a college, completed in an era long past the time of this study, fulfilled a need within the community that was paralleled by the growth of St Bartholomew's into a hospital for a busy urban centre with all its modern connotations. The production of the late fourteenth-century medical compendium, the *Brevarium Bartholomei*, written by John Mirfield, a chaplain working at the hospital of St Bartholomew foreshadows its current role as one of England's finest teaching hospitals.³³

²⁹Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital. St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249-1550* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999)

³⁰Patricia Cullum, 'Cremets and corrodies: care of the poor and sick at St Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages,' *Borthwick Papers* 79 (1991) was based on her work for her Ph.d. thesis.

³¹Nicholas Orme, 'A Medieval Almshouse for the Clergy: Clyst Gabriel Hospital near Exeter' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988) 1-15.

³²Rawcliffe, 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London,' Appendix 18-21.

³³John Mirfield's contribution to medicine has been discussed by Faye Getz in 'John Mirfield and the *Brevarium Bartholomei*: The Medical Writings of a Clerk at St Bartholomew's Hospital in the Later Fourteenth Century,' *Society for the Social History of Medicine Bulletin* 37 (1985) pp 24-26. The *Brevarium* itself was transcribed from the Latin, translated and edited by Sir Percival Horton-Smith Hartley in 1936 for the Cambridge UP.

Although St Bartholomew's developed over time into an important London hospital with a prestigious medical school, the hospitals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not run by a medical staff knowledgeable in the science of the human body, of anatomy and physiology and biochemistry, skilled in the use of such diagnostic technologies as magnetic resonance imaging and pet scans, armed with an armamentarium of potent pharmaceutical remedies and adept in surgical techniques. Medicine in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had no such potential for cure. Its understanding was modest, its cures and its practitioners were few. The intellectual legacy, the theoretical underpinnings of medieval medicine, looked back to Greece and Rome, to the shimmering legacy of the ancient world, to the place where all had once been known, the canon fixed and the benchmark set. In contrast, the mindset of today's medical scholarship, while recognizing the necessity to build upon known facts, recognizes that the scientific method may turn this year's truth or that well-researched certitude into next year's fallacy. As consumers of medical services, we are used to change and flux and the certain knowledge that there is always more know, that the canon is never fixed. Medieval scholastic training at the schools and universities, however, laid an emphasis on the core canon of medical texts; independent observations of nature and experimentation with observed phenomena were pushed into the background.³⁴ The education of the university-trained physician has been extensively researched

³⁴This occurred in spite of Galen's plea to the physician to 'put his trust not in books . . . but in his own eyes' in his *Use of Parts of the Body* (Margaret T. May trans. and ed., 2 vols., 1968) and also in spite of Roger Bacon's insistence that medicines be titrated to obtain uniform drug dosages and a plea for a fuller working understanding of compound drugs. (Faye Marie Getz, 'To Prolong Life and Promote Health: Baconian Alchemy and Pharmacy in the English Learned Tradition' in *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1992, 141-151). Franciscan Roger Bacon, pupil of Robert Grosseteste and active in thirteenth-century Oxford university life, went unheeded when he said that experiment was a finer and more trustworthy basis of knowledge than argument (qtd but uncited in Daniel Boorstin, *The Discoverers: A History of Man's Search to Know his World and Himself* (New York: Random House, 1985) 348. In 1265 Roger Bacon also wrote in his treatise '*De Erroribus Medicorum*,' chapter 13, 'For learning comes by way of the senses, of memory and experience and especially in the practical sciences of which medicine is one.' In chapter 39 he avers that 'without a testing of conclusions there never will be science. For evidence as a demonstration proves the truth of a conclusion which no one is able to refute . . . experiments are continually being demanded and then the truth is comprehended without complaint or hesitation,' though he admits in chapter 23 the difficulty for doctors in experimenting on the human body 'because the body requires that no mistake be made in experimenting upon it, and so it is difficult to experiment in medicine.' But he adds that 'one cannot arrive at the truth except by means of experimentation, therefore the doctors are excused when they make mistakes, more than other experimental scientists.' (Mary Catherine Welborn 'The Errors of the Doctors According to Roger Bacon of the Minor Order' *Isis*, 1932).

by Faye Marie Getz. In her book *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*, Getz presents the two strands of medicine in England during these centuries: the one, based on the Greco-Arabic texts which provided the core curriculum for the universities was theoretical and perhaps prophylactic in nature; the other, encyclopaedic in character and based on the pragmatic texts of the Romans, the elder Cato and Pliny, was well-suited to literate householders and to monastic practitioners and was remedy driven and untechnical.³⁵ Herbals, surgeries and phlebotomies existed in these texts alongside religious therapy such as prayers and charms. Getz's contribution to Volume II of *The History of the University of Oxford* describes the curricular studies of the nascent faculty of medicine at Oxford, although she admits that almost nothing is known about where or how the students were taught. There are no records of dissections taking place at Oxford and the only reference to examinations at this early date appears as a complaint in the chancellor's book that there was a lack of examiners for the medical students.³⁶ Vern Bullough, who has also investigated medical studies at both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,³⁷ suggests the possibility of a medical school attached to St John's Hospital by the fourteenth century. However, the records of St John's are silent on this point and the university-trained medieval *medicus* was conspicuously absent from the records of either St John's or St Bartholomew's during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The lack of evidence for doctors and surgeons attending the indigent and sick in medieval hospitals is, however, not a indication that medical and surgical treatment was unavailable to the inmates.³⁸ Rawcliffe has suggested that empirical treatments were provided by members of the staff of the hospitals who were trained on the job. Bed rest, a moderate diet and a quiet, contemplative, and above all clean environment would have gone a long way towards the healing of bodily ills.

³⁵Faye Getz. *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1998) Chapter 3.

³⁶F.M. Getz, "The Faculty of Medicine before 1500," *The History of the University of Oxford Volume II Late Medieval Oxford* ed. J.I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press) 379.

³⁷Vern L. Bullough, "Medical Study at Mediaeval Oxford," (*Speculum* 36, 1961) 600-612 and "The Medieval Medical School at Cambridge," (*Mediaeval Studies* 24, 1962)161-168.

³⁸Patricia H. Cullum "Cremetts and corrodies: care of the poor and sick at St Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages" (*Borthwick Papers*, 1991) 2.

The spiritual care of the inmates, the most important part of a hospital stay during these centuries, was undertaken by the brothers while most of the physical care lay with the sisters of the hospital. The subject of nursing care has been teased from the records of various medieval hospitals by Carole Rawcliffe. It features in her monograph on St Giles's Hospital, Norwich,³⁹ in her article 'Hospital Nurses and their Work' for *Daily Life in the Middle Ages*⁴⁰ and in a chapter 'Women and Medicine: The Midwife and the Nurse' in her *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England*.⁴¹ Because of the physical rather than the spiritual nature of the care provided by these women and the relative lack of importance attached to it as revealed by largely clerical writers on the subject, the picture painted of their lives is, by necessity, anecdotal. Rawcliffe draws on literature and contemporary art, hospital regulations and ordinances, and the visitation records of many different institutions. In this way she gradually builds up a more complete picture than is available in the records of St John's or in those of St Bartholomew's. In these documents the nursing sisters are visible in the Hospital Rule of St John the Baptist and are not completely forgotten in the wording of many of the charitable donations recorded in the *Cartularies* of both hospitals in this study, though they never appear without mention of the brothers and are as often omitted as remembered in the preamble to many of the donations.

The sisters whose task it was to minister to the needs of the inmates and to ameliorate their physical suffering were helped in the heavy manual work by the lay brothers, but the most important healing was reserved for those brothers who were also priests. Priests were the physicians of the soul and they followed in the footsteps of *Christus medicus*, the one from whom all healing emanated.⁴² Priests were responsible for the health of the soul; they heard confessions of the patients upon admittance and celebrated mass in the sight of the sick and

³⁹Carole Rawcliffe *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249-1550* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999) 169-176.

⁴⁰Carole Rawcliffe 'Hospital Nurses and the Work', *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Stroud: Sutton 1998) 43-64.

⁴¹Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine & Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997) 194-213

⁴²Rudolph Arbesmann, 'The Concept of *Christus Medicus* in St Augustine,' *Traditio* x (1954): 1-28. Arbesmann while focusing on the concept of Christ the Physician which is, he asserts, found in forty texts of St Augustine, also traces the history of this concept back to Origen.

brought the *viaticum* to the dying. They led the inmates in prayers that remembered and celebrated the founders and benefactors of the hospitals and by providing donors with a positive entry on the balance sheet of redemption encouraged continued support for their institutions in this world. The donors, the inmates, and the staff of the hospital were all enmeshed in a web of mutuality, a gift exchange that was beneficial to all.⁴³

Hospital architecture reflected this reciprocity, this relationship between the inmate in his bed, the sisters about their work and the brothers praying for the souls of the benefactors and for healing for the inmates. Elizabeth Prescott examines the extant architecture of medieval hospitals in her short monograph, *The English Medieval Hospital 1050-1640*.⁴⁴ Her first chapter, 'The Early Hospitals c.1200-1350,' covers the period which she calls the great age of the building of the infirmary-hall type of hospital. These she suggests were often built from stone from the early twelfth century onwards. She discusses the organization and layout of numerous hospitals of the infirmary-hall type and explains their basic standard design. Many of these hospitals, including St John's and St Bartholomew's, were built to house a certain number of inmates within the nave of the hall in full view of the chapel at the east end so that the liturgical functions described above could be undertaken. The hospital complex was very similar to that of the monastic precinct, as befitted a religious community, but because they were mixed communities they were often provided with separate entrances and always with cloistered quarters for the sisters and the brothers.⁴⁵ Evidence for this design comes not merely from surviving examples, but also from archeological excavations and corroborative documentary evidence. Orme includes numerous ground plans of the infirmary-hall hospital in *The English*

⁴³This was particularly so during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the period of this study, before the startling increase in the number of chantry priests in the fourteenth century, particularly in parish churches, employed to recite masses and pray continuously for the benefit of the founder's soul. This trend bypassed the need for the prayers of hospital inmates who might be unworthy and whose prayers might then be considered less efficacious. This inclination of the benefactors coincided with an increasing emphasis on the admittance to hospitals of deserving poor: the 'shame-faced', less disruptive, less threatening poor.

⁴⁴Elizabeth Prescott, *The English Medieval Hospital: 1050-1640* (London: Seaby, 1992).

⁴⁵Prescott gives the example of the eleventh-century monastic infirmary of Canterbury Cathedral Priory. Prescott, 7 with a photo on page 8.

Hospital: 1070-1570,⁴⁶ and suggests that an important tool for the closer understanding of the hospital's many functions may be provided by the archeologist and by the members of specialist disciplines such as the paleopathologist and the paleobotanist. Roberta Gilchrist is concerned to develop an archaeological classification of hospitals as settlements where building type is correlated to known function.⁴⁷ In *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* she examines the physical remains of hospitals to discover changes in their functions over time and shows that with the help of the discipline of physical anthropology, information concerning the health of the inmates can be extrapolated from material objects about which the records are silent.⁴⁸ Bodies in graveyards can be examined for disease and the information concerning the level of nutrition can be sought both of the poor buried in the churchyard and of those more important people buried inside the church. The middens of hospitals, she suggests, give up interesting data when examined. Broken dishes and dietary items can be subjected to archeological, biochemical and physical analysis and some information can also be tentatively extracted from plant and mineral residues concerning their possible medical uses, yielding clues as to standards of living and possible treatment of disease. The evidence available from the excavations of various types of hospital evinced in Gilchrist's monograph throws a general light upon the two hospitals in this study; however, as in the case of the documentary evidence for hospitals, caution is in order in the extrapolation of the particulars and their application to the specifics of St Bartholomew's and St John's.

Early in the twentieth century the archeology of St Bartholomew's priory was studied by E.A Webb⁴⁹ and yielded some information about the hospital; more recently, a survey has been produced for the Museum of London's Archeology Service bringing the developments in this

⁴⁶Orme 85-92.

⁴⁷Roberta Gilchrist, "Christian bodies and souls: the archaeology of life and death in later medieval hospitals," *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*, ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester: LeicesterUP, 1992) 101-118.

⁴⁸Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester UP, 1995).

⁴⁹E.A. Webb, *The Records of St Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St Bartholomew the Great. West Smithfield* (Oxford: printed for E.A. Webb, 1921) includes some information on the hospital.

field up to date.⁵⁰ Hospitals that have been in continuous use are not available to the archeologist's scrutiny and can only be observed when changes are to be made to the building or work is to be undertaken on roads, sewers or, in the case of London, on the Underground. The chance to examine certain aspects of the medieval hospital of St John the Baptist came when Oxford's Magdalen College decided to move its kitchens in 1987 and upon examining the trial trenches dug by the engineers, some old leatherwork was found. At this point, Magdalen brought the Oxford Archeological Unit into the college for a thorough archaeological survey of the medieval deposits. Brian Durham and his colleagues confirmed that the old kitchen was in a stone building which was part of the original hospital structure and rescue and salvage excavation on the site selected for the new kitchen showed it to be the location of a major twin-halled structure situated at the eastern end of the infirmary hall.⁵¹ This report was very thorough in its analysis of that portion of the hospital precinct that Durham was able to investigate and included work in the specialist areas of pottery and tiling, clay pipes, window glass, human bones, other metal finds, and plant and invertebrate remains from the thirteenth-century silt beneath the hospital buildings. Durham suggests that the hospital was large and imposing and asks the question whether this was truly the 'architecture of healing,' or an example of ostentatious charity on the part of those who had more than enough for their own physical needs and those of their dependants, a surplus that many scholars have suggested fuelled the great building boom in the England of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵²

It was these centuries that saw the increase of land under cultivation and the resulting increase of agricultural production leading to an increase in the population, which in turn brought about the growth of towns and concomitant economic activity, all of which not only created

⁵⁰Museum of London Archeology Service, *St Bartholomew's Hospital London E.C.1 City of London: An Architectural, Historical and Archeological site Development Survey* (London: Museum of London, December 1998).

⁵¹Brian Durham et al., "The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist at Oxford," (*Oxoniensia*, 1991): 17-75.

⁵²Durham, 21 See also, for instance, R.W.Southern's *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 100-133 and David Nicholas, *The Evolution of the Medieval World: Society, Government and thought in Europe 312-1500* (London: Longman, 1992), 283-320.

economic surplus and an increase in comfort for the merchants, craftsmen, and wealthier peasants but also, as Miri Rubin points out, led to the impoverishment of less advantaged groups such as labourers and their families whether rural or urban, whether semiskilled or unskilled, whether casually employed or underemployed.⁵³ These groups were especially vulnerable to sickness, injury or death of the major wage earner. Death of the major provider left families destitute, left widows to care for their children as best they could, or left orphans and elderly parents unable to care for themselves, conspicuous in their need. The predicament of such individuals could be dire, especially in towns where the lives of newcomers who had abandoned the social security of village life, had not yet fully rooted in the shared community life of the ward or parish. The presence of such obvious want within the community, coupled with the prevailing drive towards charity by the church in writings and preaching during the twelfth century and intensified by the friars in the thirteenth, went hand in hand with a natural pleasure in the ostentatious display of beneficence by those with surplus land and rents to spare and led to the unprecedented foundation and endowment of hospitals and alms-houses during these centuries.

The charitable imperative engendered in the hearts and minds of medieval men and women that made the foundation and running of hospitals such as St John's and St Bartholomew's possible is addressed clearly by Rubin in her study of charity in medieval Cambridge.⁵⁴ She devotes three chapters to the discussion of the dissemination of the ideas relating to charity as formulated in the schools, in canon law, and by reforming popes and bishops and examines how the impulse towards charity was channelled and fostered amongst the laity by the church. The perennial problems of poor relief had some thirty years earlier been described by Brian Tierney in his influential monograph on the subject.⁵⁵ His *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and its Application in England* traces the development of

⁵³Rubin, *Charity and Community* 291.

⁵⁴Rubin, Chapters 3, 4, and 7.

⁵⁵Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and its Application in England* (Berkeley: U California P, 1959). See also his article, the springboard for his monograph, "The Decretists and the 'Deserving Poor'", (*Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1, 1958) 360-373.

notions concerning almsgiving and the poor, from the early divergence of opinion of the church fathers, to the Decretists who were active at the time of the foundation of these hospitals and who were still not in complete agreement concerning the obligations of those with surplus possessions towards those with few or none. Tierney notes the increasing emphasis even in the twelfth century on discrimination in poor relief and discusses the order of preference raised by the Decretists. The theology of charity, based in large part on Christ's sermon on the Last Judgement (Matthew 25:32-36),⁵⁶ stressed six of the Seven Works of Mercy. Everyone who would love his neighbour as himself⁵⁷ was to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, give rest to the traveller, clothe the naked, attend to the sick and visit those in prison. The seventh work of mercy was the burial of the dead as set out in Tobit 1:16-17.⁵⁸ Those performing these Seven Works of Mercy laid up for themselves treasure in heaven. The benefactors of hospitals such as St John's and St Bartholomew's were performing six of the Seven Works of Mercy in giving to such institutions whose mandate it was to feed and clothe the poor and the infirm, to provide hospitality to the weary traveller and to bury in their graveyards those fortunate to die in the spiritual comfort and peace provided by the staff of nurses and brothers within full sight of the holy altar. In return, the benefactors were assured of the intercessory prayers of the inmates and of the brothers and sisters and the power of such prayers to ease the soul through the torments of purgatory increased the value of their almsdeeds to the benefactors. As Peregrin Hördern has

⁵⁶Matthew 25:32-36. King James version. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. . . . And the King shall answer and say unto them (the righteous), Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

⁵⁷Mark 12:30-31 King James version. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all they mind, and with all they strength: this is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these. Cited from Leviticus 19:18.

⁵⁸Tobit 1:16-17. 'In the days of Shalmaneser I performed many acts of charity for my brethren. I would give my bread to the hungry and my clothing to the naked; and if I saw one of my people dead and tossed outside the wall of Nineveh, I would bury him,' in Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1996). Morey notes that to bury someone is the most important act of charity in Tobit and cites as proof in addition to this passage 1:18-20, 2:3-8, 4:3-4, 6:15, 14:10-13.

suggested, charity was not only descending but can be seen to be ascending from the poor to the rich in these prayers.⁵⁹ Benefactors gave to the hospitals by charters during their life-times and, as Peter Heath suggests, provision for the poor and infirm must also have stood ‘very near the top of the list’ of priorities of testators.⁶⁰ P.H. Cullam and P.J.P. Goldberg point out that probate evidence in late medieval York shows that the performance of good works had a central place in medieval piety,⁶¹ while Timothy Haskett and Emily Freer’s collection of twelfth- and thirteenth-century wills, though far less numerous at this earlier date, also shows the importance to the testator of charitable provision for the poor.⁶²

Sandra Cavallo has investigated the ways in which charitable action is to be interpreted. She describes the approaches by scholars towards charity as being either functionalist or ideological. By functionalist she means that charity is seen as a response to the needs of the poor and the infirm, and includes studies of economic and demographic factors such as population growth, new technologies and opening job markets, shortages of food, famines, epidemics and wars. By ideological she suggests that the study of charity concentrates on the needs of benefactors, and the consideration of what motivated them to give in a particular manner at a particular moment in time.⁶³ This present study will attempt to engage both the functionalist and ideological aspects of charity, to look for who were the likely recipients of hospital care and why they sought help, while at the same time looking at the reasons why people gave to hospitals in such large numbers and so generously in the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries. It will also examine the charters, papal bulls, ordinances and visitation records of St John the

⁵⁹Peregrin Hordern, “A Discipline of Relevance: The Historiography of the Later Medieval Hospital,” *The Society for the Social History of Medicine*, (1988): 369. Hordern also envisages horizontal charity between the brothers and the sisters and the inmates and between the hospital as landowner and the tenants on its estates.

⁶⁰Peter Heath, “Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: the Evidence of Hull Wills,” *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R.B. Dobson (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1984)

⁶¹P.H.Cullam and P.J.P. Goldberg, “Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: ‘To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor,’” *Northern History* 29 (1993): 24-39 discusses the priorities of lay York testators in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

⁶²*The Wills of Medieval England, 1066-1300*, eds., Timothy S.Haskett and Emily E.Freer (forthcoming).

⁶³Sandra Cavallo, “The Motivations of Benefactors: An Overview of Approaches to the Study of Charity,” *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, eds., Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones (London: Routledge, 1991) 46-62.

Baptist's and St Bartholomew's hospitals to discover how this considerable charity was used within the hospital context and in doing so throw some light on the functioning of this medieval institution.

CHAPTER 2

**FORMAL VIEWS OF CHARITY IN THE TWELFTH AND
THIRTEENTH CENTURIES**

St Bartholomew's and St John's hospitals were dependent upon the charity of their surrounding communities both for their foundation and for their continued existence. What was the climate of giving during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? What were the reasons that influenced benefactors into making both small and large donations to hospitals? Were there different patterns of giving in London and Oxford? Who were the major benefactors of both hospitals? The foundation and maintenance of successful hospitals such as these by the burgesses of Oxford and London came about, in part, as a result of two perceived rewards that the benefactors could expect from such charitable behavior. There was the initial excitement of a foundation in their midst and the sight of the building rising block by block and plank by plank that marked and celebrated their generosity in stone and wood and stimulated them to give open-handedly. At the same time, the establishment in that hospital of a religious community dedicated to the poor that they saw around them conferred the spiritual benefits of a constant flow of prayers on their behalf. The first reward was an advertisement, in the physical realm, of their munificence and a tribute to their success and power within the community; the second was more subtle, less tangible yet more long-lasting, as its reward was in the spiritual realm and deferred until the after-life. The ability to display surplus funds had been generated in the great economic boom of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century towns where burgesses found themselves able to part with money for purposes unrelated to simple survival of their families and reinvestment in their businesses but that could be used in leisure activities, to display their worth to others in their clothing and in the furnishing of their homes and in their contributions to the building and maintenance of parish churches and hospitals in their communities. In short, they could indulge in what Thorstein Veblen in his felicitous phrase calls 'conspicuous waste'¹ and

¹Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (London: George Allen &

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were brighter and more vibrant because of it. This ostentation in no way negated the genuine charitable impulse towards the poor, though this urge, too, was not completely altruistic in its nature owing to the expected rewards that benefactors had been told would follow upon their almsgiving: the alleviation of purgatorial suffering and the achievement of heaven. The important spiritual side to their charitable giving was encouraged by the religious climate of the times, by their parish priests in sermons on Sundays and feastdays and by the mission of the preaching friars who arrived in England in the early thirteenth century.

Charity

Charity was a fundamental tenet of the Christian faith. Christ had preached its virtue in his sermon on the Last Judgement from which the church had derived its teachings on six of the Seven Works of Mercy. Charity, *caritas*, was love owed naturally to God, as father and creator, and which spilled over into the feelings for and care to be given to one's neighbours, to others. Christ, when asked by a lawyer what was the greatest commandment, replied 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself.'² When asked who that neighbour might be, he replied with the parable of the good Samaritan.³ The Samaritan was a good neighbor to the poor and injured traveller, the man whose plight had been ignored by those passing by on the other side of the road, and this caring behaviour was what God expected of his children. *Caritas* for one's neighbour thus covered all the Works of Mercy and forms the root of the English word 'charity,' and, in a perfect world, is the reason for the deeds done in its name.

At the end of the sermon on the Last Judgement, Christ had concluded that 'in as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'⁴ Because of

Unwin, 1925) 93.

²Luke 10:27 King James' version. The same response is to be found Matthew 22:35-29.

³Luke 11: 30-37 King James version.

⁴Matthew 25:40 King James version.

these words, Christ came to be seen in the person of the poor and disadvantaged. The lesson of this sermon was that those performing the Seven Works of Mercy could expect to enter heaven and those who did not must, forgiveness apart, assume damnation. St Paul in formulating the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity added that the greatest of these was charity, the prime mover in the Works of Mercy, but sounded a serious warning as to intent. ‘And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor . . . and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.’⁵ Charity without the love intrinsic in *caritas* was worth nothing when weighed in the scales of salvation.

The early church fathers examined charity further. Augustine and Ambrose recognized the need for some ordering as to the priority of those to whom charity was due, a discriminating charity. Augustine specifically excluded those of the sinful professions such as fortune tellers, gladiators, actors and prostitutes⁶ while Ambrose, the great administrator and bishop of Milan, ordered his giving priorities in concentric circles. Those closest to the donor were the members of his family, then came the members of his household for whom he had responsibility and after that, finally, came strangers.⁷ Clearly, where funds were limited charity must be ordered so that the benefactor behaved in responsible fashion towards those for whom he had greatest obligations. John Chrysostom, on the other hand, was the advocate of indiscriminate giving.⁸ Where there was need, help should be provided unhesitatingly and unstintingly to sinner and deserving alike. Such discrepant approaches to charity and to the perennial problem of poor relief were examined by Gratian in the *Decretum*, c.1140,⁹ and an attempt was made by him and later canonists to reconcile these two very different approaches to charity and almsgiving. Brian Tierney suggests that neither Gratian nor the later canonists were able to harmonize all the discordances present in

⁵I Corinthians 13:3. King James’ version.

⁶*Decretum magistri Gratiani, in Corpus iuris canonici* 1, ed. E Friedberg (Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1879) D.86 cc. 7-9, 14-18.

⁷*Decretum*, D.86 c.9.

⁸*Decretum* D.42 dictum post c.1 ‘In hospitalitate autem non est habendus delectus personarum, sed indifferenter quibuscumque sufficimus hospitales nos exhibere debemus.’ See also Blake Leyerle, ‘John Chrysostom on Almsgiving and the Use of Money.’ *Harvard Theological Review* (1994): 29-47.

⁹Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, Chapter III, ‘Charity,’ 44-67.

the texts that he assembled on almsgiving from the Bible and the Church Fathers and that there grew up notions of ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor and differing scales of *caritas ordinata*. Rufinus, for instance, writing in the mid-twelfth century, suggested there were four factors to be taken under consideration in determining when to give alms: the quality of the person seeking the alms, whether he was *honestus* or *inhonestus*; the resources of the giver, which if sufficient required that all the *honesti* were to be helped but if not then Ambrose’s rules applied; the reason for the request; and the amount requested.¹⁰ The reason for the request and the amount requested were factors more likely to be considered seriously by a potential benefactor for someone known to him than for a complete stranger. In giving to hospitals, the benefactor bypassed decisions as to the worthiness of the recipient and judgements concerning the reasons for the request. In giving to an institution that embodied the first of Rufinus’ categories, the benefactor left it to the hospital to decide on the worthiness or otherwise of the poor and infirm that they admitted or helped at the gate. The reason for the request and the amount requested were clear and unambiguous and presented no ethical dilemmas to the benefactor. Whether he gave a little or a lot, he participated in six of the Seven Works of Mercy that the hospital performed and by doing so he could assist in maintaining the hospital, alleviating poverty and sickness in the community, contributing to the common weal while fulfilling the charitable obligations laid on him by Christ in the Sermon of the Last Judgement, by his parish priest and, in the thirteenth century, by the friars preaching in his town.

The burgesses, who it will be seen provided the bulk of the documented charity supporting these two hospitals, would in the twelfth century have been influenced in their charitable activities by their parish priests. These, in turn, would have been educated at the archidiaconal chapters where attendance was mandatory and which acted as continuing education seminars that would have refreshed their commitment to pastoral care, including the art of preaching. Here they would have been made aware of all the synodal decrees issuing from the

¹⁰Brian Tierney, ‘The Decretists and the “Deserving Poor,” 362.

councils of their bishops. The bishops would have received further instruction at legatine councils, provincial councils and at the great papal councils, two of which - Lateran III (1179) and Lateran IV (1215) - occurred during the period of this study. The bishops were ultimately responsible for the education of the priests in their dioceses and to this end some of them produced literature for their guidance, *pastoralia*, including homilies, penitentials and books on the art of preaching and hearing confessions and on the articles of faith that it was their duty to transmit to their parishioners.¹¹ For instance, between 1150 and 1170, Bartholomew of Exeter, bishop and theologian, wrote an influential *Penitential*¹² and between 1220 and 1230 Robert Grosseteste, bishop of the diocese of Lincoln that included Oxford, wrote a summary of what a priest needed to know about the pastoral care of souls, *Templum Dei*.¹³

The confessional *Summula* for the diocese of Exeter written by of Bishop Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and reissued by Bishop Peter Quinel (1287) is couched in the language of medicine and asks the parish priest to make sophisticated decisions as to the appropriate penance for the sins confessed, balancing factors such as knowledge of the parishioner, his status, whether servile or free, his estate, whether rich or poor, his order, whether cleric or lay, his physical condition, whether sick or healthy, his age and his temperament. He was also to discover the

¹¹Joseph Goering, 'Pastoralia: The Popular Literature of the Care of Souls,' *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographic Guide* ed. F.A.C.Mantello and A.G.Rigg (Catholic U of America Press, 1999) 670-676 The topics, for instance, that the *Summa* of Richard of Wetheringsett (d.1232) identifies as essential to be taught to the laity were The Creeds, The Articles of Faith, especially the Nativity, the Passion and the Second Coming, The Lord's Prayer, The Four Cardinal Virtues, The Three Theological Virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity), The Seven Deadly Vices, the Seven major Sacraments, The Ten Commandments, The Two Evangelical Precepts, The Seven corporal Works of Mercy, and The Seven spiritual Works of Mercy, The Rewards of the Just and the Pains of the Wicked (heaven, purgatory and hell), The Errors of the People (popular superstition, heresy, negligence and malpractice) and Things to be Avoided (p 673-4).

¹²Adrian Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1937) contains the text of Bartholomew's *Penitential* from the Cotton MS. Vitellius A. XII. 175-300 and contains a section *De Eleemosina* p.184-5.

¹³Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, eds. J.W. Goering and F.A.C.Mantello (Toronto: PIMS,1984). Written before Grosseteste became bishop of Lincoln, the ninety-six extant copies found throughout England and the continent attest to its importance to the *cura animarum*. The work is in point form and posits a twofold Temple of God, a corporal one and a spiritual one. The spiritual one, which is the dwelling place of the soul, is made up of a foundation of faith, walls of hope and a roof of love. The roof of love, important to this study, incorporates the ten commandments and the two evangelical precepts and with the help of the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer the roof protects against the seven capital sins - so called because they threaten love, the highest capital virtue - and their three *executores*, the devils, the world and the flesh. *Templum Dei* is very visual and would have acted as a memory aide to the student of the *cura animarum*.

sinner's motive and whether there were any extenuating circumstances and to make a judgement as to the intentions held in the sinner's mind when the sin was committed. The *Summula* aimed to teach the priest to be an expert in diagnosis, to tailor his treatment to heal the soul and not to dispense routine remedies like patent medicines, without due thought as to the underlying need. In assigning penances, the effectiveness of almsgiving loomed large. Generous almsgiving and works of mercy were enjoined for sins that were both of the spirit and of the flesh, such as greed and avarice. The bishop went on to say that in every sin there was something that the eye desired and that against such an aspect almsgiving was a particularly effective remedy. However, whoever was unable to give material alms should at least give spiritual ones, for instance by showing compassion, and have the clear intention to give material alms when the opportunity arose.¹⁴

In 1281 Archbishop Peckham's 'Information for Priests of Simple Learning,' chapter 9 of the Council of Lambeth, required parish clergy to preach at least four times a year about doctrinal matters, which were clarified for the use of the priest. In a discussion of the fifth of the Twelve Commandments, 'Thou shalt not kill,' he broadened the commandment adding to it a spiritual dimension and explaining in strong terms that '[T]hey commit spiritual murder who do not relieve the needy.' Archbishop Peckham also included in his small manual a list of the six works of mercy revealed in the Gospel of Matthew and the seventh from the Book of Tobias. Copies of the chapter, known after its opening words *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, were used as teaching aids for parish priests throughout England for the rest of the Middle Ages.¹⁵

The works of homilists and compilers of exemplars as religious aides for those licenced to preach contained many tales and apocrypha that might be used to help priests prepare their sermons and to illustrate and enliven the particular topics upon which they wished to expound. Both Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canturbury (1207-1228), and Jacques de Vitry, an early

¹⁴John Shinnars and William J. Dohar, eds. and trans. 'A Popular Manual of Confession from the Diocese of Exeter,' *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 1998) 170-185, No.78.

¹⁵Shinnars and Dohar, 'Archbishop Pecham's *Ignorantia sacerdotum* (1281),' *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England*, 127-132, No.70.

thirteenth-century preacher and historian, were known for their use of *exempla* to bring to their sermons a telling immediacy and to concretize the moral and theological message for the audience.¹⁶ Kathleen Greenfield charted the changes in the attention of homilists to behaviour such as murder and lying, and states of mind such as pride and contrition, comparing homilies of the tenth and eleventh centuries to those of the twelfth and thirteenth. After 1100, the emphasis in the homilies shifted away from murder and rape to avarice, gluttony and sloth, away from the sins that created civil disorder to an increased focus on a compliance with higher Christian morality, from the sins of a warrior culture towards the creation of an ethical merchant code and an emphasis on the sins that undermined such a code. Interestingly, she found no difference in the importance of almsgiving as a means to salvation. It remained just as valued and as valid.¹⁷ In the sermons of the earlier period she noted a focus on the impending coming of the Antichrist, the imminence of the Last Judgment and an insistence that life in this world was illusory and ephemeral and but a short prelude to the reality of an eternity of salvation or damnation. Later sermons, however, showed a great increase in the importance of the sacrament of confession and its role in the forgiveness of sins. There was an increasing interest on the part of the church in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries on reforming the behaviour of the individual. Emphasis on confession was underlined by the availability of confessionals and penitentials to the parish priests and underscored by the decree of Lateran IV that all Christians were required to confess their sins to a priest at least once a year. It was in confession that each individual was to examine his own conscience and during the twelfth century theologians debated notions of the venial sin and the related importance of purging away such sins that stained the soul by the tripartite act of Penance: confession, contrition, and satisfaction. Satisfaction included amendment in oneself in

¹⁶See Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto: PIMS, 1968) and Carolyn A. Muessig, "Audience and Sources in Jacques de Vitry's 'Sermones FERIALES ET COMMUNES,'" in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, eds. Jaqueline Hamesse et al., (Louvain-la-Neuve: Textes et Etudes Du Moyen Age, 9, 182-202.

¹⁷Kathleen Greenfield, 'Changing Emphases in English Vernacular Homiletic Literature, 960-1225,' *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981) 283-297 On the change of emphasis from the pre-eminence in sermons of the sin of pride to the sin of avarice see also Lester K. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom,' *American Historical Review* 7 (1971): 16-49.

the determination not to repeat the sin and reparation made to the one sinned against, a setting right of the balance that had been disturbed by ones thoughts or deeds. *Satisfactio operis*, satisfaction by works, was the important final act of the sacrament of confession and included almsgiving and works of mercy, prayer, fasting and pilgrimage. Stephen Langton gave a privileged position to almsdeeds when he said : ‘Fasting without alms is of no value; alms without fasting are more valuable than fasting without alms. Fasting with almsgiving is of double goodness; fasting without almsgiving is of no good. And abstaining from food is of no value unless you abstain from sins.’¹⁸ Bartholomew of Exeter wrote in his *Penitential* that ‘alms extinguish sins according to the saying: water extinguishes the burning fire and alms extinguish sin.’¹⁹ Charitable acts assumed an importance for personal salvation that cannot be overlooked and played an important part in creating a climate of charitable giving that nurtured the foundation and maintenance of medieval hospitals.

Purgatory and Suffrages.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the concept of Purgatory as a place as opposed to a process began to gain credence. Jacques le Goff credits the twelfth-century theological development of the notion of purgatory to Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Comestor.²⁰ Christ’s discussion of anger in the Sermon on the mount²¹ and Paul’s first Letter to the Corinthians²² both present at least a suggestion of expiation of those sins not fully atoned for in life. Building

¹⁸Quoted in Rubin, *Charity and Community* 64. ‘Ieiunium sine elemosina non valet. Elemosina sine ieiunio plus valet quam ieiunium sine elemosina. Ieiuniumcum elemosina duplex bonum est. Ieiunium sine elemosina nullum bonum est. Item nihil valet abstinere a cibis, nisi abstinere a peccatis.’

¹⁹Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, c.8, 179. ‘Elemosina enim extinguit peccata iuxta illud: ignem ardentem extinguit aqua et elemosina extinguit peccata.’

²⁰Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1981) 154-158. Peter Comestor’s treatise *On the Sacraments* 1165x70 discusses purgatory, confession and penance and a sermon prepared for the dedication of a church is one of the earliest references to purgatory as ‘Locus Purgatorius.’

²¹Matthew 5:25-26 especially verse 26 (King James version) ‘Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.’ See also Matthew12: 31-32. ‘. . .but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.’

²²1 Corinthians 3: 10-17. (King James version). Note especially verse 13: ‘Every man’s work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man’s work of what sort it is.’

on these statements, Christian theologians used the image of a purgatorial refining fire to conceptualize the salvation of souls after the death of the body, thus assuaging the intense anxiety surrounding the single chance presented by the Last Judgment, the terror carved so exquisitely into the twelfth- and thirteenth-century tympana of Gothic churches and expressed so powerfully in the hymn:

dies irae, dies illa
solvat saeculum in favilla²³

In a letter to the archbishop of Lyons in 1202, Innocent III referred to the realm of purgatory 'where those who have not done penance in this world or who have carried with them into the grave the taint of some venial sin are punished.'²⁴ Jacques de Vitry wrote in a sermon 'To Spouses' that 'contrition changes the punishment of hell into punishment of purgatory, confession into temporal punishment and appropriate satisfaction into nothingness.'²⁵ Thus, as the writings of authorities such as these were disseminated to the laity, purgatory came to be associated with contrition and penance and gave hope to the sinner, encouraging him to works of mercy.

The pain of the purgatorial fire was debated by theologians. William of Auvergne, a theologian at the University of Paris, discussed the fires of hell and purgatory in spiritual and psychological terms for his students in his lectures and disputations.²⁶ But at the same time, as bishop of Paris and pastor of his diocese, he considered that the fear of the pain inflicted in literal fashion by infernal and purgatorial fire would act as a deterrent to sin and encourage repentance and that, in preaching to the laity, the physical nature of such fires should be upheld. He held

²³F.J.E. Raby, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford:Clarendon, 1959) 392-394. *Dies irae, dies illa*, is thought to have been written by Thomas de Celano, the biographer of St Francis, and has become the sequence for the Mass of the Dead.

²⁴Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* 174.

²⁵In Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* 298. 'To Spouses' was one of Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones vulgares*, a collection of seventy-four sermons, each one was addressed to a different group of people such as merchants, artificers, sailors, widows, servants and others.

²⁶Alan E. Bernstein, 'Esoteric Theology: William of Auvergne on the Fires of Hell and Purgatory,' *Speculum* 57,3 (1982) 509-531. William wrote his *De Universo* as a theologian well-versed in the philosophies of Aristotle and the Arab commentators.

that the 'idea of merely dreaming of fires would not sufficiently deter men from vices and sins, since very few would be able to understand that souls can be tormented either by dreams or by imagining tortures.'²⁷ However, if purgatory were the place where those whose sins were not so black as to deserve hell were obliged to linger, what could be done to alleviate their sufferings and speed them through the place of purging? The Christian church had always believed that prayers were efficacious to the dead, as can be seen in funerary inscriptions and the liturgy.²⁸ Biblical precedent for this belief was found in the passage from the Second Book of the Maccabees where Judas Maccabeus orders prayers on behalf of a number of sinful soldiers who had died in battle. '... he was mindful of the resurrection. . . . Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.'²⁹ Augustine, writing after the death of his mother, also argued that suffrages for the dead were effective.³⁰ The bonds between the living and the dead were strongly intertwined because the dead could not effect works of mercy from beyond the grave, and so the prayers and good deeds of those in the world were deemed to transfer grace to those in purgatory, alleviate their sufferings and abridge their time in Purgatory. Thus Christians were responsible not only for their own salvation, but by suffrages could aid those members of the Christian community who could no longer help themselves. The *Supplementum* to Thomas Aquinas' great *Summa Theologie*, which was compiled by his disciples after his death in 1274 and which is for the most part based on Thomas' *Scriptum*, presents the Thomist doctrine of purgatory. As far as suffrages were concerned, in answer to the question of whether the prayers of the Church, the sacrifice of the altar, and alms were useful to

²⁷Bernstein, 515.

²⁸For instance, the inclusion in the eighth-century Gelasian sacramentary of a Mass for the souls of those whom the congregation suspected of crimes and that asked for God's mercy for that individual. See Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990) 99. Paxton splices the social practice of gift giving in early medieval society to the statement by Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues*, 4.57.2, concerning aid that could be rendered to souls postmortem: 'If their sins are not indissoluble after death, the holy offering of the saving sacrifice may bring aid to many souls even then.' p.68. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* p.46 states that it is not until the end of the fifth century that inscriptions concerning redemption of the soul of the deceased are found. The earliest according to Le Goff is an epitaph of a Gallo-Roman woman which includes the words 'pro redemptionem animae suae.'

²⁹Quoted in Le Goff, 41.

³⁰Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991) 176-178.

the dead, he replied that suffrages could be useful on condition that there was union in love between the living and the dead. He added that the three most effective suffrages were alms, prayer, and the mass. Even the suffrages of sinners were deemed useful to the dead because their value lay in the condition of the deceased and not in that of the living. As expiatory acts, suffrages were only of benefit to the deceased, but as meritorious acts they benefited both him who gave and him who received by reason of the charity from which they arose.³¹ Because of the dual action of suffrages, people joined together in confraternities and made substantial donations to religious houses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to benefit from the merit that prayers undertaken on their behalf created both in this world and the next.

Confraternities and Chantries

Votive masses had been celebrated since the early Middle Ages to discharge the penitential obligations incurred by sin. Monasteries responded to the need for such intercession on the part of sinners by forming confraternities of prayer for the dead and, keeping lists of the dead important to them, remembered those dead with obits and anniversaries.³² The medieval hospital of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also possessed the ability to provide benefactors with a similar flow of intercessory prayers, performed on their behalf by a dedicated religious community and with a liturgical routine almost as rigorous as that of a monastic house. Importantly also these prayers were augmented by the prayers of the poor and the sick, who in their helpless condition were understood to represent Christ.³³ Some charters of both St

³¹Le Goff 274-5. On the power of prayer to help those in purgatory see also Thomas of Chobham *Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1963) 125-126. 'In omni enim missa celebratur pro vivis et pro defunctis, sed pro defunctis dupliciter, quia sacramenta altaris pro vivis sunt petitiones, pro sanctis sunt gratiarum actiones, pro illis qui sunt in purgatorio sunt propitiationes et valent eis ad remissionem pene.' Mass is celebrated for the living and for the dead, but for the dead doubly, because the sacraments of the altar are petitions for the living, thanksgivings for the saints, and propitiations for those in purgatory, and result in remission of their punishment.

³²Paxton 99.

³³*Matthew*, 25:40. King James version. Christ's concluding words to his sermon on six of the seven works of mercy promised his audience that 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

Bartholomew's and St John's mention specifically that the donor and his family had entered into confraternity with the hospital. For instance, in 1180 when Henry son of Wale granted a messuage and fourteen acres of land and a tronage of corn in Surrey to St Bartholomew's, he did so on the condition that the hospital received him, Margaret his wife and his children into the brotherhood.³⁴ Similarly, but phrased a little differently, c.1185 when Walter son of Hugh son of Ulger gave land opposite the door of the church of St Sepulchre the *gersumma* included one pound of pepper and the allowance by the hospital for Walter and the souls of his father and mother to participate in the benefits of the hospital.³⁵ In 1271 William and Isabella conveyed land and tenements and rents to St John's, and even though the hospital gave them a *gersumma* of 95 marks, William, Isabella and her heirs were additionally admitted to share in all the benefits and prayers of the hospital.³⁶ When in 1262 a final concord between Henry, the master of St John's, and Richard le Dosiere was reached before the justices of the Eyre regarding the details of his livery, it was stipulated that the master should remember Richard in every blessing and prayer in his church forever.³⁷ Although most of the charters that mention the prayers of the hospital indicate that they follow upon endowment to the hospital, one such arrangement was made by St Bartholomew's for a renter of one of its properties. In 1250 Bartholomew, warden of the hospital, granted Thomas Dudemen land in the parish of St Audoen for a rent of 6s. As part of this agreement Thomas and his mother Edeline were also to have a share in the benefit of the prayers of the brothers and a burial place among them.³⁸ The testament of Reginald de Wirham,

³⁴Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1606).

³⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (344): '...et me animasque patris mei et matris mee participes admiserunt omnium beneficiorum que fiunt vel fient in predicto hospitali.'

³⁶Oxford, Magdalen Archives, Westcote 8, MacRay 56. William de Nodaris, knight, and Isabella his wife (*non coacta*) granted 4 1/2 virgates of land and tenements in Westcote and 30d additional rent. This was a big gift from benefactors in Warwickshire and recorded in the *Liber Niger*, a small folio volume containing 146 leaves that was written c.1280.

³⁷Salter, *Cart. HSB* (308): 'Et preterea idem magister recepit predictum Ricardum in singulis benefactis & oracionibus que decetero fient in ecclesia sua predicta in perpetuum.'

³⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (590). Cok's rental gives the history of this tenement which is called le Belle on the hoop in his time, suggesting a tavern. See Kerling, *Cart. HSB*, Appendix (163). It had been granted to the hospital ca 1200, was triangular in shape, nine and a half ells in width and eight and a quarter perpendicularly to the tip of the triangle. (1 ell = 45 inches). The brothers had built a wall of earth upon it for an unstated purpose. See Moore's transcript of the original gift by William son of Bruning, (Moore 220). Perhaps for these reasons, the awkward shape and the presence of the wall, it was less desirable as a rental property and was offered to Thomas with the additional

made before he left to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem c. 1220, shows that hospitals, like monasteries, kept a list of those for whom they had to pray. Reginald left rents to several hospitals including St Bartholomew's and in the final sentence of his testament he requests his executors to advise those receiving these rents that they were to receive his soul and those of his parents into full confraternity of their houses and to cause their names to be written in their book of obits.³⁹

The movement by donors towards a more personal form of pious provision, the chantry, seems to have made very little inroad into the practices that donors perceived to be most advantageous to their souls and those of their ancestors during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Karen Wood-Legh defines a chantry as 'the provision for daily or weekly masses and other services for a private intention, usually the repose of the souls of particular individuals.'⁴¹ The chantry can thus be seen to differ from the confraternity in its private rather than collective function, and, because of its private nature, it was an option open only to very wealthy or prestigious benefactors. An increasing number of chantries began to be instituted towards the end of the thirteenth century but there appears to have been very little interest on the part of the benefactors of St Bartholomew's or St John's in creating chantries at either hospital during this period. There are only two instances of the institution of individual chantries in the hospitals' cartularies. In 1283 when Robert de Swinbrook and his wife Juliana donated three selds and a further one with a courtyard to St John's, the brothers agreed to obtain a *frater capellanus* to celebrate mass perpetually for their souls.⁴² In 1269 when Robert the son of

inducement of prayers for his soul or perhaps Thomas for reasons of charity had offered the hospital a larger rent than it had previously enjoyed and thus merited membership in the confraternity.

³⁹'Will of Reginald de Wirham (c. 1220)', *The Wills of Medieval England, 1066-1300*, eds. Timothy S.Haskett, Emily E.Freer (forthcoming). 'Petit autem predictus Reginald' executores quod moneant receptores predicti redditus quod admittant animam eius et animas patris et matris eius ad participandum beneficiis que fiunt in domibus suis et faciant nomina eorum scribi in martilogio suo'.

⁴⁰For the wills of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see Haskett and Freer. For the importance of chantries see G.H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London: Phoenix House, 1963).

⁴¹K.L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965) 2.

⁴²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* (527). Robert and Juliana included their ancestors as was common in such arrangements but they also, interestingly, included Henry III, who had died in 1272. 'Pro hac donacione . . . ad inveniendum unum fratrem capellanum pro animabus regis Henrici & nostri Roberti & Juliane & antecessorum nostrorum divina imperpetuum celebraturum.'

Robert de Brusse confirmed the grants issued to St Bartholomew's by his ancestors in Hatfield Regis, Hertfordshire, he stipulated that these grants must be used for a chaplain in the hospital. In 1277 this stipulation is clarified when John Walton, master of St Bartholomew's, promised to provide a chaplain to pray for the soul of Isabel de Brus, mother of Robert, and for Margery, countess of Carrick, and others.⁴³ Magdalen archives possess a copy on paper from the fifteenth century of one other and very early institution of a chantry. The copy records the promise made by Henry de Leukenore, warden of the hospital of St John, made c. 1240-5. Henry binds himself and his successors at the instance of Gilbert de Seagrave to provide a chaplain in the church of Willoughby, Warwickshire, to celebrate perpetually for the souls of Sir Stephen de Seagrave, Sir Gilbert and their ancestors and heirs, and also that five poor men shall have a daily exhibition at the table in the house of the hospital at Willoughby.⁴⁴

The Testament

The idea that prayers might deliver aid to the soul in purgatory became increasingly important to the testator contemplating his own death and resulted not only in large payments to the poor on the day of funerals and for obits, trentals and anniversary masses but also in pious provisions such as bequests to religious houses, including hospitals. For instance, in 1258 Nicholas Bat left houses and tenements to his wife Elizabeth who was to give 4s. annually to St Bartholomew's while she lived for the souls of his father, mother and ancestors, and all the faithful departed, and for aiding the poor and the infirm of the hospital.⁴⁵ Often testators remembered a number of

⁴³Kerling, *Cart. HSB*, (1494-1496). Robert de Brusse was lord of Hadfield and earl of Carrek, justiciar in England in 1249-50 and grandfather of the victor of Bannockburn. He was also lord of Little Wakering and confirmed the grant that William de Taidena made to the hospital of the advowson of the church of Little Wakering (1428). See also Moore 449-51. John Walton, master of St Bartholomew's 1269-80 was at the time of the first confirmation on 13 July 1269 Robert's own chaplain and recently appointed master of the hospital.

⁴⁴Magdalen Archives, Willoughby, C 101. Macray, 146. This paper copy suggests the existence of a sister hospital at Willoughby and that St John's possessed the advowson of the church at Willoughby, which would suggest in part the great interest in St John's on the part of the benefactors of Willoughby and nearby Westcott. I can find no corroborating evidence for the first of these statements. VCH Warwickshire vi 262 confirms that St John's did indeed possess the advowson of the church at Willoughby citing the deed above and a confirmation by Thurstan's grandson John in 1269 and recorded in the *Feet of Fines* on page 856, published by the Dugdale Society.

⁴⁵Haskett and Freer, 'Will of Nicholas Bat, 5 September, 1259': 'reddendo inde annuatim quatuor s. hospitali Sancti Bartholomei London quasi ad suum capud et de quibus volo ut teneat. Quia ista predicta dedi pro animabus patrum

religious houses in their wills, spreading the effectiveness of their almsgiving and ensuring for themselves a greater spiritual return in the prayers from a wide variety of institutions. Nicholas Bat, for example, not only remembered St Bartholomew's hospital in his will but also three other hospitals in the London area, St Mary of Bethlehem outside Bisopsgate, St Katherine by the Tower and St Thomas of Acon, in addition to three priories in Middlesex.⁴⁶

As Haskett and Freer's collection of twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries wills shows, both the making of last wills and testaments and above all their retention archivally for posterity were sporadic and much less common than in subsequent centuries. St Bartholomew's archives possesses originals or complete copies of only seven last wills and testaments for this period, though mention is made of twelve other wills in the *Cartulary*. Only those bequests are recorded in the *Cartulary* that are of concern to the scribes cataloging the hospital's patrimony in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.⁴⁷ There are even fewer extant original wills or copies for St John's hospital. Salter transcribed three into his *Cartulary* and Magdalen College archives possess the original or probate copy of one other.⁴⁸ This paucity of extant last wills and testaments stands in considerable contrast to the large numbers of surviving charters for both hospitals. There are two important reasons for the preponderance of charters. One is, as Michael M. Sheehan points out, that the testament was frequently an oral act.⁴⁹ When written down in

et matrum et omnium parentum nostrorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum ad serviendum pauperibus infirmis infirmarie et hospitali.'

⁴⁶Haskett and Freer, 'Will of Nicholas Bat, 5 September, 1258.' Nicholas Bat was an important and wealthy Londoner, he was alderman of the ward of Bishopsgate, had been elected sheriff three times and mayor of London in 1253x4.

⁴⁷Haskett and Freer, 'Will of Walleram & Lucy c. 1220,' 'Reginald de Wirham c. 1220,' 'Richard Cook c. 1225,' 'John de Bruning 1240,' 'Martha daughter of Adam de Wytheby c. 1240,' 'Nicholas Bat 1258,' 'Matilda de Kersing 1280.' Martha's will survives in the hospital archives not because she made a bequest to the hospital, but because Joan her daughter, one of the beneficiaries, became a sister at the hospital and endowed it with the 10s. quit rent her mother had left to her.

⁴⁸Haskett and Freer, 'Will of Henry Perle 1260,' 'Henry Swapham of Lincoln 1275,' 'Agnes Punchard 1281,' and 'John son of Thomas le Parcare 1286.' Henry Perle is not a benefactor to the hospital. A record of his testament was kept by St John's as part of a chain of property transfer beginning with his donation to his daughter Joan of a house in Gropecunt St to its eventual donation to the hospital in 1300 by Richard le Tayllur de Schrousesbury. See Salter, *Cart HSJB I*, (471)-(477).

⁴⁹Michael Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England* (Toronto: PIMS, 1963)186. During the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries the terms last will (*ultima voluntas*) and testament (*testamentum*) were used interchangeably though use of the word testament was more usual. See Sheehan, 178.

these early centuries, the will was a testament to one's faith and concerned those matters that surrounded one's death, funeral and burial, the last things to be arranged to round out a Christian life, its creation part of a 'good death.' However, good deeds in life trumped good deeds at the end of life.⁵⁰ A popular similitude of the times explains this. It asserts that almsgiving should be done in one's lifetime, just as one candle in front gives more light than two behind.⁵¹ One of Jacques de Vitry's *exempla* describes a man who failed to perform any almsdeeds in his life but upon the approach of death left provision for the poor in his will. As death drew closer he saw the four kinds of almsgiving in a dream: one gold, one silver, one lead and one clay which corresponded, he was then told, to alms given in youth, in old age, in sickness and after death.⁵² Almsgiving done during one's lifetime and in full health was considered to be more virtuous. While clearly more of an immediate and personal sacrifice, such acts of voluntary dispossession on the part of the donor had the additional advantage of certainty of execution.

Almsdeeds during life, if important enough, were recorded in charters and entered into cartularies. The charters of donation of St Bartholomew's and St John's hospital all stressed the same aim in their opening statements. Throughout, they state that the donations were made 'pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum et successorum meorum,' or related phrases, which became part of the formulaic expression of the donation that proclaimed both the legality of the document and its pious intent. These ritual words came to be included not only in charters of donations, quitclaims and confirmations of grants but even in those documenting exchanges, leases and sales made to religious houses. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the idea of almsgiving as a meritorious act deserving of eternal life and of potent value in the personal penitential process was allied to its importance as suffrage for those souls post mortem that might

⁵⁰Sheehan, 11.

⁵¹Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Helsinki UP, 1969) 19.

⁵²Quoted in Rubin, *Community and Charity*, 86 from Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones Feriales et Communes*.

be languishing in Purgatory, and so a complex web of almsgiving and prayer united the living to the dead and fostered the foundation and maintenance of institutions such as hospitals.

CHAPTER 3

THE ENDOWMENTS OF ST BARTHOLOMEW'S AND ST JOHN'S

The charters

The archives of St Bartholomew's and Magdalen College contain charters testifying to the endowment of St Bartholomew's and St John's with temporal goods by their benefactors. The charters relate chiefly to the conveyance of properties, rents and quit-rents and show the hospitals to have been active in the land market and in the business life of their communities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Not all the charters in the archives are direct grants to the hospitals. Many of them are background documents pertaining to the properties and rents that had been acquired by gift and sale. They were preserved and a record of them entered into the respective cartularies in order to support the hospitals' claims to particular properties and rents. Of the 945 deeds in *Cok's Cartulary* only 259 were direct grants to St Bartholomew's; the rest related the history of the donations, recorded important privileges obtained from both royal and ecclesiastical authorities, set down exchanges and registered legal compositions. Some charters seem to have no connection to any known benefaction and many of the donations must be reconstructed with the help of marginal notes and endorsements or by referral to the hospital rentals. Although the rental prepared by John Cok in the mid-fifteenth century frequently gives the name of the original transferor of the property to the hospital, use of the words 'gift of' conceals precise knowledge as to whether the property was a donation or whether it was a sale, and when the entries in the rental are crosschecked with the *Cartulary* they are sometimes found to be gifts and sometimes sales. Occasionally all documentation as to the purported gift in the rental is absent from the *Cartulary* and no deeds have been retained in the hospital archives.

The St John's Hospital rental of 1293 or 1294 is set out differently. It does not give the past history of the property and its renters, but is a list of the rents to be received from a certain house or tenement together with its current rentpayer. It has the additional feature of being marked with either A or F which Salter explains as standing for *annualis redditus* and *feodum*

respectively. Where the initial F is used, the entry is completed with the words *tenenda libere* or *tenent ad terminum vite*, so here the word *feodum* bears the sense of a fee or fixed payment.¹ The properties of St John's Hospital as they existed in 1246 were confirmed to it by the king and a copy of his charter survives on the Charter Roll of 30 Henry III.² The portion of it relating to the properties in Oxford is included the third volume of Salter's Cartulary.³ The list is very nearly complete and shows the accurate correspondance between the properties listed in the Charter Roll and the charters retained in the archives. Only two charters are missing from the archives that are mentioned in the Charter Roll and one of those survives in the Cartulary. Clearly, the muniments of the hospital as far as the Oxford properties are concerned are almost intact for the first half century of the hospital's existence.⁴ However, as with St Bartholomew's, the picture of the hospital's benefactions and financial arrangements from foundation to the eve of the fourteenth century can by no means be considered complete and visible to the researcher in a way that would satisfy a modern accountant. Nevertheless, a sufficient number of the hospitals' endowments and business transactions have been retained in the hospitals' archives to allow certain patterns to emerge and certain conclusions to be drawn.

Many of the hospitals' charters were written instruments recording grants of land or rents. They were recorded and retained for the purpose of providing a permanent testimony to the livery of seisin, the act by which the grantor put the grantee into physical possession of the property or rents at issue. Since the written charter could be retained, it thus acted as a more permanent testimony than the presence at the livery of seisin of mortal witnesses. The charters of donation and sale were written in the past tense and were a confirmation of a gift or sale already given before the writing of the deed.⁵ Note of the livery of seisin was sometimes made in the

¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 28. The rental was a list of what the tenants ought to pay, not what was actually paid. Some entries, having documented the rent due, lament '*non est spes*' or '*remanent vacua*.'

²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 11. See also *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. i, 300.

³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 11-18.

⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 11.

⁵F.M. Stenton, "Introduction," *Transcripts of Charters relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington, and Alvingham*. (Lincoln: Horncastle, 1922) xvi-xvii.

cartularies of the hospital especially when the properties lay at any great distance from the hospitals or if the donor lived too far away to be present at the livery of seisin. For instance, power of attorney was given by William Bagot to the clerk Gilbert de Kyrkeby to give seisin of land in Westcote, Warwickshire, which he had sold to the master of St John's in 1261,⁶ while in 1278 Walter, the warden of St John's, gave Peter of Edelmetone, the alderman of the ward of Castle Baynard, London, power of attorney to receive seisin of the houses given by Richard de Hereford, clerk of the King's Exchequer.⁷ In 1261 Thomas, rector of Schabbeam, gave power of attorney to M. R. de Walle Torta for delivery of seisin to St Bartholomew's of one mark annual rent which the hospital was accustomed to pay him for the houses of Walter de Norhamtonia. Thomas was rector of Chobham, a village in Surrey twenty-five miles south and east of London, and the land from which the rent was drawn was in the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate close to the hospital's own parish and, like it, just outside the walls of London.⁸ In all these instances the grants were marked both by a written charter and by written evidence of a physical ceremony of transfer.

The charters of donation are couched in formulaic and uniform phrases. The charter opens with a greeting, the words of notification. Most of the charters in both hospitals open with a non-specific notification, with words that addressed men in the generality. 'Let those men present and future know' - 'Sciant presentes et futuri' - is the standard greeting, with the occasional variant of 'By all men let it be known' - 'Notum sit omnibus hominibus.' These words are immediately followed by the name of the donor who grants his gift to God, to the

⁶MacRay (33).

⁷MacRay, (143).

⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. (376). This Thomas, rector of Chobham, cannot be the one who wrote the *Summa Confessorum* as he was rector of Chobham between 1249 and 1261 as can be seen in the grant to the hospital (370) in 1249 where it is stated that he is the son of William of Eastcheap, skinner and in the deed cited above (376). F. Broomfield, editor and translator of the *Summa* asserts that the evidence suggests that he was at least sixty-seven in 1236 when his position as sub-dean of Salisbury was taken by another Thomas, Thomas of Embleburn. However, in c.1190 a master Thomas de Chobham does witness the statement by Richard bishop of London concerning the advowson and patronage of the church of Little Wakering in Essex. This was during the period when the theologian was a member of the clerical staff of the bishop of London. F. Broomfield, ed. and trans., *Thomae de Chobham: Summa Confessorum* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1968) xxxviii.

blessed Virgin Mary and to the hospital. The phrase used is ‘dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta confirmavi’ - ‘I have given, granted and by this charter confirmed.’ The word *dedi* is usually, though not always, omitted in gifts that are being confirmed by an overlord or a close relative. However, since a gift could be easily contested by lords, wives and heirs, the donor often took care to include their names either in the same grant or in a separate grant issued on the same occasion. Many donations include the name of the wife who was, no doubt, in many cases in full agreement with the benefaction tendered and may even have instigated it. When Robert Faber granted a shop in All Saints parish to St John’s he specifically acknowledges the consent of his wife Mathilda to the grant.⁹ Ailwin the Turner is even more inclusive. He grants St John’s a house in the High Street with the consent of his wife and his sons.¹⁰ The usual way the grant is written, however, is to include the wife’s name directly after her husband’s, making her a joint donor. Such deeds are then written in the plural number. Of the 49 women who are connected to donations to St Bartholomew’s, 14 are included in their husband’s grant. Of the 47 women benefactors to St John’s, 16 act together with their husbands. Of the remaining women, widows quitclaimed often substantial dower rights in their husbands’ donations and daughters gave properties or rents that they had inherited and thus became donors themselves. F.M. Stenton asserts that the reason for the insistence in charters on the wife and heirs consent harks back to the time when no part of the family inheritance could be alienated without considerable repercussions. He suggests that once a warranty clause from the donor and his heirs became standard feature of the charter then it became unnecessary to record the assent of the heirs to the provisions of the benefaction.¹¹

Lords usually consented to grants in separate charters. In 1192 John, count of Mortain, granted to St Bartholomew’s land in Buckinghamshire that had been given to the hospital by William son of Reimberd and by Richard son of Azor. He couched the grant in terms that made

⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II, (519). The consent is worded ‘assensu & consensu Matilde uxoris mee.’

¹⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I, (266).

¹¹Stenton, xix.

it appear that he had been the donor.¹² Robert Bruce, another noble overlord, was more circumspect in his confirmation c. 1240 of the grant of an acre of land in Little Wakering, Essex, which Henry de Teydena had made.¹³ The benefit to his soul is not educed, the terms of Henry's gift are merely granted and confirmed.¹⁴ Overlords such as the two above make no mention in their confirmations of feudal services owed. Others confirmed the grants of their tenants but did not forgo their feudal dues. Most of the services, however, were commuted into a money payment. For instance, c. 1245 William de Bineslee confirmed the grant of 3 acres of land in Lambourne, Essex, that Cecilia de Sanford had given to St Bartholomew's. The hospital was to pay William 2s. a year for all services, aids, customs and demands and an additional 20s.6d. for scutage. William's confirmation was also a donation in that, at the prompting of charity, he remitted to the hospital all external services affecting the land desiring in return that he and his successors be participants in the benefit of all good works done in the hospital for ever.¹⁵

In all grants the donor is said to give his gift first 'Deo et beate Marie' and then to the hospital 'sancti Iohannis extra portam orientalem Oxonie' or, of course, alternatively 'hospitali sancti Bartholomei de Lundoniis.'¹⁶ The gift may, in addition, be addressed to the master and brothers or to the brothers and sisters of the hospital and sometimes those other beneficiaries, the inmates of the hospital, are also named. The latter are commonly referred to as *pauperes* or *infirmi* and the reasons for the gifts, if they are recorded at all, are usually said to be for the purpose of their upkeep and care: 'ad sustentacionem pauperum et infirmorum ibidem egrotantibus et commorantibus'¹⁷ or 'degentium'¹⁸ or sometimes 'languentibus.'¹⁹ The poor are

¹²Kerling, *Cart. HSB*, (1562). 'Johannes comes Moretonie omnibus hominibus et amicis suis francis et anglicis presentibus et futuris Salutem. Sciatis me pro amore dei et salute anime mee et antecessorum nec non successorum meorum peticione et assensu Willelmi filii Reimberdi . . .'

¹³Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. (1417).

¹⁴Moore, 449. 'Sciatis presentes et futuri, quod ego Robertus de Brus concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi deo et fratribus hospitali sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum . . .sicut carta Henrici de Taydena quam de predicta acra habent testatur in perpetuum.'

¹⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. (1548). See also Moore, 416.

¹⁶A further designation is added in some of the earliest charters of St Bartholomew's at a time when the hospital is emphasizing its separation from the priory. The hospital is said to be *de Lundonis apud Smethefend*. For example, Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1639), Moore, 183.

¹⁷For example Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (504).

ailing, lingering, declining and languishing in the hospital. It is at this point in the charters that the occasional specific benefactions for the poor and infirm occur, allowing the tantalizingly brief glimpses into their lives that are documented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Alongside the enumeration of those to whom the grant was being made is a statement about the donor's own expectations. The grant is made for the health of the donor's own soul and for the souls of specifically-honoured relatives and often, additionally, in general for his or her ancestors and for generations in the future. Sometimes the field is broadened to include all the faithful dead,²⁰ and the king is mentioned twice in the charters of St Bartholomew's and once in those of St John's. There are probably particular reasons for this attribution, but only one is sufficiently noble that aspects of her life were documented by a contemporary historian. In 1245 when Cecilia de Sanford mentions that her grant to St Bartholomew's of land in Essex was also made for the health of the soul of King John it is because, many years previously as a young woman, she had been chosen to be the companion and instructress of John's daughter, Eleanor, and must therefore have known John personally in a family setting.²¹

Not all the charters of donation mentioned the health of the donor's soul or those of special others. For instance, using only those grants from the town of Oxford, the full transcriptions of which Salter includes in his *Cartulary*, in the 121 grants to St John's hospital only 60 benefactors mentioned their souls. The number doing so decreased dramatically by the middle of the thirteenth century. Triple the number of benefactors mentioned that the reason for their grant was for their souls' health between 1210 and 1219 than did not. In the following decade twice as many did so as not and in the next decade slightly less than double did so. By the 1250s the number of benefactors with a stated pious motivation was less than those that did

¹⁸For example Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (420).

¹⁹For example Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (69).

²⁰For example Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (151), (1006). Salter, *Cart. HSJB. II*, (709), (598).

²¹Kerling, *Cart HSB* (1547). Cecilia was married to William of Gorham, who belonged to a family of benefactors to St Bartholomew's. Soon after the death of her husband she took a vow of perpetual widowhood and the events of her death are narrated by Matthew Paris (Moore, 412).

not and their numbers decreased fairly steadily for the rest of the century. In the final two decades of the century only four charters of donation out of twenty-five expressed a pious motive and of those four, one widow made the grant with her husband in mind and the wish to participate in the fraternity of the hospital,²² a second grant was for the establishment of a chantry for a husband and his wife²³ and a third recorded a grant made by Simon Scot, a parchment maker, and Juliana his wife for the upkeep of the charnel house of the hospital and to provide for a chaplain to celebrate masses therein for all the dead souls.²⁴ In other words, these three grants were made with more than usual commitment both to the welfare of the hospital and to the donors' own needs. The early strong emphasis on the health of the donors' and other souls coincided with the church's initiative in the post Lateran IV years to educate the public in the basic tenets of their faith, to push for yearly confession of sins, and to emphasize the importance of good works in penance and the efficacy of suffrages for those who had died. The expression of a pious motive may, of course, be partly formulaic on the part of the scribe but there is sufficient injection of personal material, of wives, sons, uncles and friends, for there to appear to have been some individual input into the charter by the donor. Although the charters of scribes and churchmen are far less likely to contain such expressions,²⁵ those that do so usually include mention of the souls of their benefactors. In 1241 M. Walter de Sancto Eadmundo, official to Adam de Sancto Edmundo, archdeacon of Oxford, granted his house which Adam had given him in the parish of St Frideswide's 'pro anima dicti Adam et pro anime mea et animabus omnium benefactorum meorum et suorum.'²⁶

²²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (709). Claricia widow of Hugh de Edlinton, the stationer, grants the residue of her lease in a house outside the south gate of Oxford to the hospital but also grants all her goods for the maintenance of the poor and infirm in the hospital. In return the brothers are to remember her and her dead husband Hugh and their parents and all the faithful dead in their prayers. This request does not follow the usual formulaic reason for the gift but makes a stronger demand for prayers than is common.

²³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (531).

²⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (381).

²⁵For example, Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (880). Master Robert Maynard, the perpetual vicar of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the suburbs of Oxford was a three-time donor to the hospital. His first grant is made for his soul alone, 'pro salute anime mee' while his two subsequent grants leave out his motivation.

²⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (616) and see also (950), (836)

When grants of land and rents are made in alms, they are frequently stated to have been made in free, pure and perpetual alms.²⁷ They are ‘free’ in respect to law, and suits concerning such land are the business of church courts rather than those of the king’s. They are ‘pure’ in that the grantor and his heirs may not exact secular services from the land, and they are ‘perpetual’ in that neither the grantor nor his heirs may revoke the gift.²⁸ When Michael de Valencins gave two pieces of land in St Botolph without Aldersgate to St Bartholomew’s he gave them, according to the charter, ‘in liberum, puram et perpetuam elemosinam . . . sine omni retinimento.’ But this phrase is followed by the statement that the land had to pay 42d. annually to the sick of St Giles hospital and 2d. to Lawrence son of Edmund for all occasions, services, exactions and customs.²⁹ It appears that although secular services are not due to Michael or his heirs they are due to Lawrence son of Edmund in the form of cash payments. The secular services listed must have been commuted to cash payments in some previous transfer of the property. The accurate tally of all the incoming and outgoing rents and quitrents must have required not only sophisticated accounting skills but also the services of a rent collector, someone who would not only have had to collect the money, but also see that rents owed reached their specified destinations. However, only four instances of such activities are to be seen in the records of the hospitals before 1300. The sole mention of the office of renter is to be found in St Bartholomew’s cartulary. Edward le Renter witnessed a grant c.1220 from John chaplain of Wakering to the hospital of all his property in Stortford, Essex.³⁰ The names of Gilbert le Dispenser and Thomas le Butiler, both known members of the hospital’s staff follow him in the list of witnesses. Edward and Gilbert are often seen witnessing grants together and usually Edward is styled Edward Pincerna (butler).³¹ In 1200 William Nuncius (messenger) witnessed the grant of Isabel widow of

²⁷For example Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (82). Geoffrey son of Herwic, in giving St Bartholomew’s 3s. quit rent in 1200, states that the gift is given ‘in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam.’

²⁸Stenton, xxvii. See also J.H.Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 4th ed. (London: Butterworth, 2002) 127.

²⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (352). Moore, 106.

³⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1537)

³¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (401) (402) (728) (1177) (1565) (1568).

Astmar' of Enfield. His name is sandwiched between the names of two known members of the staff of St Bartholomew's, Gilbert Dispensator and Walter Cocus. William's name is to be seen again c.1220 on the witness list of a quitclaim of a rent in Duck lane near the hospital once again following the name of Gilbert le Dispensier.³² There are no named renters or messengers for St John's before 1300 but an intriguing entry in a grant of half a messuage in Cat Street suggests the use of the messenger of the Priory of Norton by the hospital. In 1245 when Philip the Miller makes his grant to the hospital, he states that one of the attached rents was due to the priory of Norton 'so that the messenger of the said priory of Norton always remain according to the reasonable custom of the aforesaid hospital as long as the previously specified rent is paid fully to them at each term.'³³ Norton Priory was in Cheshire and thus its messenger would have passed close to the hospital's lands in Warwickshire.³⁴

The main body of the charters of donation is usually taken up with an exact description of the property being demised, and recites the neighbours and the previous and present occupants of the holding in question. In some cases, particularly in the urban context where land was in high demand and neighbours crowded cheek by jowl, the land was measured out down to the last iron ell of King John or King Henry.³⁵ Charters concerning property transfer in rural areas were occasionally as brief as 'a tenement in Standon,'³⁶ or 'three acres of meadowland in my marsh.'³⁷

³²Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (403).

³³Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (454). ' . . . ita quod nuntius predicti prioratus de Nortone remaneat semper super rationabilem custum predicti hospitalis . . . '

³⁴Knowles and Hadcock 168.

³⁵The ell = 45 inches. See grants such as Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (360), (696) or (67) and Salter, *Cart HSJB I* (82). As an example, when Thomas Blund, fishmonger, granted to William and the brethren land in the parish of St Nicholas Fishmarket the measurements were given with great precision: 'And it contains next to the high street in breadth, from the wall of the house of the aforesaid hospital, which is on the eastern part, with the whole of the entry which belonged to my house towards the west, seven ells and three quarters of the iron ells of King Henry the son of King John of England, and the breadth of the same entry throughout is one ell and ten thumbs and the length nine ells and a half, and in length from the corner of the wall of the stone house of the aforesaid brethren to the land of John the cheesemonger which is towards the north twenty and two ells and ten thumbs, and from the house of John the cheesemonger to the land which was Ralph Cardinal's in the north part eleven ells and four thumbs, and in breadth from the house of the aforesaid John to the land of the said Ralph next my land which is of the fee of Bermondsey sixteen ells and four thumbs, and from my land at the western end to the land of the aforesaid John next the land of Ralph fourteen ells and a half and twelve thumbs' (Moore, 406).

³⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1603).

³⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1176).

For instance, the charter of Andrew Halegod, a two-time donor to St John's, merely states that Andrew had given to the hospital all that land with its appurtenances that he had bought from Gilbert Carectarius. That may have been sufficient for those witnessing the deed but for later ages the delineation of the property boundaries is so vague that even Salter with his great knowledge of the individual tenants and tenements of medieval Oxford was unable to locate this gift.³⁸ At other times the rural charters gave such a richly detailed description of the topography that the countryside almost springs into being before the eyes of the reader.³⁹ Where the description is inadequate for full recognition, as in the cases listed above, the long list of witnesses would keep the memory of such a transfer alive, but only for a generation or two. Since, in comparison, meagre and careless documentation of properties and holdings in the thirteenth-century charters of either hospital is rare, the conclusion may be drawn that care in drawing up the instruments of transfer was of growing importance in that period and provided security both for the grantee and the grantor.

The details of the gift of land were followed by the conditions on which the grantee should hold the tenement. Where the grantor retained a rent, the money owed and the appointed times of payment were laid out. Because rents and quit-rents could be given as benefaction as well, land and tenements might by the thirteenth century return many separate rents and quit-rents to different individuals and religious institutions, and even though the land was to be held *in elemosinam* it had, nevertheless, to operate like other lands within the legal rules of tenure.⁴⁰ When Robert Docket sold his land in St Martin Vintry to Luke de Batencourt, he retained a rent of half a pound of cumin. Luke was still obliged to pay the rents attached to the property, which

³⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (153).

³⁹For example, Kerling, *Cart HSB* (1463). The grant, c. 1275, by Robert son of Walter son of Robert is for free entry and exit through his marsh and land in Burnham. This road runs from Southwale above the new wall at Yanlades meadow to the new marsh and through this marsh to the sheep-run of the demesne near the rabbit-warren and along this run to the corner of the land of William at the Longeditch and from that corner above the desmesne land to Holemade and through the middle of Holemade towards the west to Scampet and over Smallthornsway from Scampet to the road formerly of the demesne.

⁴⁰Stenton, xxviii.

in this case were 6s. 8d. to St Bartholomew's (hence its entry into the Cartulary), 6s. 8d to the hospital of St Giles, 6s 8d. to the hospital of St James and 4s. to the monks of St Saviour's in Bermondsey. When the same property was granted to Robert de Estot, a vintner, and his wife by Luke and his heirs and their families, in addition to the rents due to the hospitals and priory above, a further half mark was owed to John and Isabel and 20s. to Simon and Rose, Luke's daughters and their husbands.⁴¹ Another example of this great growth in attached rents and dues can be seen when Thomas de Haverhill gave a house and land in Wood Street to St Bartholomew's c.1210 that he had bought from John Cosin. The rent owed was 5s to the canons of Merton, 3s. to London Bridge, 3d. for the king's soke, and 1lb. of cumin or 2d. to the heirs of John Cosin. Already by the early thirteenth century the possession of tenements and houses, especially those in the urban property market, had become complex and the more times a property changed hands the more the security of the gift or purchase was threatened, creating a need for tight controls in the phrasing of the charter.

In order to commit the grantor to the duty of proving his title to the land he or she was giving, a clause of warranty was usually included in the charter. Traditionally, the grant was warranted against all men, 'contra omnes homines,' and sometimes the warranty was spelled out in full. When Philip Molendinarius and his heirs granted to St John's a perpetual rent of 2s. from a certain house in Holywell, he added that if he or they could not warrant this, 2s. would be raised from different lands of theirs in Oxford that were more secure.⁴² Similarly, should the mill in Iffley from which Juliana de Sancto Remigio's grant of a rent of 18d. was to be taken fall out of the hands of Juliana or her heirs, then the sum was to be delivered fully from her *herbergeria*.⁴³ Should land be lost through defect of warranty the implication here is that an

⁴¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (846), (847).

⁴²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (873): 'Et si warrantizabimus eos non poterimus, dabimus eis rationabile escambium de aliis terris nostris in certo & securo loco in Oxonia.'

⁴³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (953): '... et si forte memoratum molendinum in manum meam vel in manus heredum meorum reciderit, ita quod in manus nostras teneamus, ego Juliana vel heres meus predictum redditum fratribus predictae herbergerie annuatim terminis prescriptis plenarie reddemus.'

exchange would be given for the failure. An instance of this in action can be seen following the donation that Walter Haringer made to St John's before leaving on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1233. The charter records that he left three messuages to St John's, one in the parish of St Aldate's, one in St Ebbe's, and the one in the parish of St Peter's which was to come to it after the death of his wife Juliana. It appears that the last two of these houses were not his to give. Roger, son of Robert, granted two houses in St Ebbe's that he had from Eva daughter of Richard de Stockwell to his son on condition that his son should surrender the big stone house if he were unable to warrant to Walter of Haringer land in St Peter's in the East that he had granted to the hospital. The hospital lost the land in St Peter's because of an action by Alice, the widow of Richard de Stockwell, before the itinerant justices in 1241. Roger Noyf, the son of Roger, was then obliged to surrender the stone house to the hospital who leased it back to him for life for a rent of two marks annually.⁴⁴ According to Stenton, such suits of warranty were commonplace in the thirteenth century.⁴⁵

Early clauses of warranty promise, as stated above, a warranty against the claims of all men. But during the thirteenth century the inclusion of women in such clauses became more common and from 1250 to the expulsion of the Jews in 1290 some lands were also warranted against Christians and Jews.⁴⁶ A warranty clause, whatever its wording, can be seen both in donations and sales.⁴⁷ An additional warranty may be seen when rents are given. The charters of such donors sometimes state that should the rents be in arrears, the master and the brothers have the right to enter and distrain goods to the full value of the rents.⁴⁸

One final and threatening clause that imposes severe spiritual penalties for non-compliance with the provisions of the charter is the clause of anathema. Stenton asserts that this

⁴⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (719), (720), (721).

⁴⁵Stenton, xxix.

⁴⁶For instance 13 of the 59 grants of donation to St John's between 1250 and 1290 contained a clause of warranty worded 'contra omnes homines mares & feminas tam Iudeos quam Cristianos' (874) or 'contra omnes gentes tam Cristianos quam Iudeos tam masculos quam feminas' (643).

⁴⁷For example, Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (882), (894). Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (93), (122).

⁴⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (200) and II (810), (845) Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (453).

clause, when found, is a survival from old English charters and that it became obsolete after the Norman conquest.⁴⁹ It can be found only twice amongst the charters of St Bartholomew's and not at all in those of St John's. Both occur in the early part of the thirteenth century. In 1200 William de Haverill, who had been sheriff in 1189 and 1190 and who was the alderman of Cripplegate ward and soke-reeve of the bishop of Ely in Wood Street, gave rents to the considerable value of 26s. But, warns the clause, if anyone presumes to tamper with the provisions he had set out for his grant they should know that they will, for certain, be bound with the chain of anathema.⁵⁰ The anathema clause appended to the charter of Christine, widow of Geoffrey Aspoinz, c.1220 was even more formidable. It takes the form of a curse and addresses the brothers. It states that if any one of the brothers presumes to abuse her grant they should know that they will have incurred the wrath and indignation of almighty God together with Blessed Mary and all the saints and will also have received the sentence of anathema given by priests.⁵¹

The sealing clause follows the warranty clause with wording such as, 'so that my donation and concession is established permanently and firmly, I have confirmed this present deed with my seal.'⁵² The validity of the document is ratified by means of the grantor's seal and, as M.T. Clanchy suggests, it acted in some regards as a 'relic which could be seen and touched, in order to obtain from it that authentic knowledge of a donor's wishes.'⁵³ In the late twelfth and early thirteenth century the use of seals went from being commonplace only among those of high rank to being used by that level of society that incorporated the less well-off donors, the artisans, tradesmen and substantial peasants. There are many seals still in good condition in the archives

⁴⁹Stenton, xxxiii.

⁵⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (772) 'Si quis autem hanc meam donationem et assignationem infringere sive in aliam formam mutare presumpserit vinculo anathematis se vinctum pro certo esse sciat.'

⁵¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (608), Moore, 227. 'Si quis autem fratres predicti hospitalis ab hac mea donatione et concessione et legatione spoliare presumpserit Iram et Indignationem omnipotentis dei et beate Marie et omnium sanctorum et sententiam anathematis a sacerdotibus datam se incurrisse sciat.'

⁵²Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1006). Moore, 62. 'Ut autem hec mea donacio et concessio perpetua firmitate consistat presens scriptum sigill meo confirmavi.'

⁵³M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 316

of both St Bartholomew's and Magdalen College. Salter's cartulary, which describes all the extant seals for St John's shows that by early thirteenth century all levels of society confirmed their charters with their seals. These seals are not only sometimes very intricate and beautiful but can also give additional information about the donor or vendor of the property at issue. The seals are particularly useful for social historians. Widows who mention their husbands are often named as the daughter of another man on their seals and men who are sons of someone in the charter opening are sometimes shown in their capacity as tradesmen or artisans and vice versa. For instance, Thomas Piscator and Amicia his wife are seen on their seals to be Amicia d'Huntindone and Thomas son of Thomas.⁵⁴ Although the grant of Warinus de Aula of Oxford does not mention his wife, her seal is appended and shows her to be Juliana Farendone, a member of the Farendon family who were great benefactors to the hospital.⁵⁵ Sometimes the names on the seals are in Latin, sometimes in French and occasionally in English. An example of the latter is the grant of Robert Faber to St John's which he seals as Robert Blaksmit, while in another grant in which he is cited as a neighbour he appears with a French name and is called Robert le Coteler.⁵⁶ Towards the end of the thirteenth century surnames start to appear and wives start taking their husbands' names. In 1282, for instance, Thomas son of Hugh le Cordewaner, burgess, authenticates his quitclaim of a messuage to St John's with a seal naming himself Thomas Cordewaner, clericus, while in 1287 Juliana, the wife of Simon Scot a dealer in parchment, has her seal engraved with the words S. Juliane Scottis.⁵⁷

The choice of image engraved into the surface of the seal may also be instructive. The most ubiquitous image is that of the fleur-de-lis, followed by variations on a star and crescent, but other images are more telling. Images of men in armour wielding swords or spears or seated

⁵⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (370).

⁵⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (716).

⁵⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (519), (505).

⁵⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (698) and I (381). The process by which the name of an ancestor tended to become a surname can also be seen in action in the confirmation of Richard the Cleric son of Walter son of Algar. His seal bears the inscription "Sigill. Ric. Fil. Walteri Algari."

on horseback and women in long robes and tall cloth-draped headresses with hawks on their wrists indicate that the bearer of the seal is a person of high rank. While many images have religious connotations, such as an Agnus Dei or the pelican in her piety, others hint as to the occupation of the bearer and add additional information about the owner of the seal. The seal of Thomas Piscator, mentioned above, bears a crusader's cross, hinting at a previous journey to the Holy Land, and Hugh de Bridgewater's seal depicts a pair of scissors suggesting the occupation of a tailor.⁵⁸ Even when the name is a trade name and the seal carries a recapitulation of the name at the head of the charter, the image can still add information. Henry Cementarius' seal was inscribed with a double axe of the sort that masons used to dress stone before the introduction of the chisel.⁵⁹

Following the sealing clause came the often long list of witnesses that were present when the charter was executed and which was frequently prefixed by the words *hiis testibus*. The function of the witnesses to a charter was, as already stated, to provide living testimony as to its provisions. In important grants the list of witnesses usually began with the names of the mayor and the sheriffs or bailiffs - the *vicecomites* of London and the *prepositi* or *ballivi* of Oxford⁶⁰ - although when prominent churchmen were present their names appeared first on the list.⁶¹ These were often followed by the alderman of the ward in which the property lay.⁶² Next came a list of

⁵⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (366).

⁵⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1437). Moore, 201.

⁶⁰The first mayor of London was Henry fitz Ailwin, a benefactor of St Bartholomew's, who was probably installed in 1192 and held office until 1212 when he was succeeded by his nephew, Roger Fitz Alan, whose brother Peter was also a benefactor. The first mayor of Oxford, according to Salter, was John Kepeharm. He was in office by 1199 and on his death in 1205 was succeeded by his son Lawrence. Most of the early grants to St John's do not specify the civic positions held by the witnesses though from the 1220s they do so on a regular basis. Early experiments in the title of the mayor can be seen in the record of a concord, (Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II) (556), where a latinized form of the French *maire - marrus* - can be seen. However, *major* soon became the standard title in the charters.

⁶¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (420), II (611). In Oxford this was especially true when academics or others in holy orders gave donations or had other dealings with the hospital. Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. (318), (951).

⁶²The name of the ward which these aldermen governed was never given in the witness list. Although the parish in which properties or rents at issue was always named in the charters, parish boundaries were not contiguous with ward boundaries making it difficult for historians to locate the properties in charters with any exactness or to decide which alderman to assign to which ward. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries most wards were known by the names of their aldermen. For instance, St Bartholomew's which was located in the parish of St Sepulcher without Newgate lay in the ward of alderman, Joce son of Peter, in the early part of the thirteenth century and was known as such, (Moore, 320). He passed the office on to his son Nicholas But, by 1278, William de Farrington (Farndon),

neighbours, or important people of the neighbourhood. The witnesses to the instruments of humbler grantors were largely colleagues or neighbours and the list was headed usually by the alderman of the ward.⁶³ Skinners, tanners and leatherworkers such as cobblers, cordwainers, belt-, glove-, and bag-makers may predominate in some grants, while metal-workers of different description may appear in another.⁶⁴ In Oxford, grants in Cat Street where many of the schools were located had witness lists that included masters, illustrators, illuminators, book binders and parchment makers.⁶⁵ The last witness on the list was usually the scribe of the charter, such as Alexander of Smithfield who was responsible for writing or witnessing as many as fifty charters for St Bartholomew's, or Richard de Eppewelle the town clerk at Oxford between 1259 and 1279 who was responsible for writing 34 charters for St John's. The list of witnesses was lengthy in the twelfth-century charters, but grew shorter towards the mid-thirteenth century as grantors and grantees began to put their faith in the written instrument under seal.⁶⁶ But whether the list was

goldsmith, had acquired the aldermanry and when he died in 1293 he bequeathed it to Nicholas, his son-in-law and also a goldsmith. Nicholas had taken William's last name and retained the office of alderman until his death in 1334. From that point to the present day the ward has been known as Farringdon ward whatever the name of the current alderman, (Thrupp, 339 and Williams, 32).

⁶³The grant of land that Ralph de Frowic, goldsmith makes to Everard le Cuteler (cutler or sometimes smith) in the vicinity of St Bartholomew's gives a wonderful cross-section of the neighbours. Clement Faber (smith), Luke Parmentarius (dealer in fur robes), Ralph Childes, Stephen Fruiter, Henry Tannator, William Mazun (mason), Edward Corrir (?messenger), William Viteri donor of stables to the hospital, Henry Pikebone, Peter de Bracking, Ralph Swinedriver, Walter Limbaner (limeburner), Ralph Cormanger (cornmonger), Everard Piscarius (fishmonger), John Turnur (turner), William de Ripa the clerk. Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (159).

⁶⁴As an example: Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (164). Smiths and tanners are neighbors and connected by family ties and the need for water in their occupations. They live and work in and around Seacoal Lane between the hospital and the Fleet (Holborn River). When John Tannator grants Edwin Faber his brother land between a messuage of John Tannator and the land of Ailurich Tannarius and a piece of his land at the end of John's courtyard next to the Holborn, his grant is witnessed by Ives, chaplain of St Sepulchre, Andrew Tannarius, Otes his brother, Robert Hiis, Eustache Hiis, Richard Tannator, Adam le Mutun, Dering Tannator, Walter Stam, Arnold Tannator, Richard Albus, John Palmer, Hugh Scot, Aldwin Lorimer (maker of the hardware for harnesses and spurs), Clement Faber (smith), Baldwin Tannator, William his brother, Thomas son of Ailurich a tanner, Simon de Rohing - possibly the same Simon de Roding who ten years earlier had given the hospital, for the sake of the soul of his wife Maud, 3 acres in Roding next to the land of Ralph the cowkeeper (1522).

⁶⁵As an example, in 1210 when Peter Illuminator and Sara his wife sell her father Adam Bradfot a tenement in Cat Street, the deed of sale is witnessed by, amongst others, Tuold Cordwenerus (cordwainer), Lamberto Cordwenerus (cordwainer) Peter nephew of Roger Illuminatoris, John Illuminator, Ralph Illuminator, William Illuminator, Robert the son of Roger Illuminator, Thomas Scriptor, Roger Pergamenerus (dealer in parchment) and many others. Adam Bradfot was probably a cordwainer as he gave his daughter Sara a pair of slippers made of the finest leather as an addition to the *gersumma* of three marks. Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (449). The house subsequently became the house of William Ligator, the bookbinder.

⁶⁶Clanchy, 95-97.

short or long the witness list usually ends with the words *et multis aliis* - 'and many others'- suggesting a complex social venue for the validation of the transaction whether it were grant, sale or concord.

One striking difference between the charters of St John's and St Bartholomew's lies in the size and make-up of the witness lists. Although the earliest deeds of St John's are witnessed by long lists of personages, most of the later charters have much shorter witness lists and often cite only those men belonging to the town patriciate. The grant of Richard son of Nicholas shows this trend clearly. When Richard gave a seld in the Parmunteria section of Cornmarket to St John's in 1272 the donation was witnessed by ten people. All except one of them had held, were holding, or would in the future hold public office and this was true also of the donor himself. The single witness who was never an office holder, Nicholas le Parmunter, was clearly a colleague of Richard, but not a neighbour. He can be seen in Salter's *Survey of Oxford* to have had shops on the south side of Great Bailey in the district where the butchers had their stalls.⁶⁷ The witness lists of St Bartholomew's charters, on the other hand, although they do become shorter towards the end of the thirteenth century, remain consistently larger than those of St John's. Further, although most of the later lists were headed by the mayor of London, the two sheriffs and the alderman of the ward where the property at issue was located, the rest of the list of witnesses was usually composed of local property owners rather than members of the city patriciate and were usually men that witnessed on a regular basis for St Bartholomew's.⁶⁸

⁶⁷H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford II* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969) 111.

⁶⁸An example of this can be seen in the quitclaim of Thomas Spurun, a clerk, to St Bartholomew's in 1268x9 (Kerling Cart. HSB [172]). The witness list is headed by the two sheriffs of London and the current alderman of the ward of St Sepulchre without Newgate. The rest of the list is comprised of Richard de Enefend, a goldsmith, who witnessed 5 times for the hospital, Roger de Stoples who witnessed 7 times, Thomas Hod, a butcher, who witnessed 8 times, Michael de St Edmundo who witnessed 5 times, Martin le Arbelaster, the crossbowman, who witnessed 8 times, William de Bercweya, a butcher, who witnessed 14 times, Geoffrey Faber, a smith, who witnessed 14 times and Ralph Canun, *puletarius*, who witnessed 25 times. None of these men held civic office. Richard de Enefend lived near Holborn Bridge (152); Thomas Hod leased land in Vitery Lane from the hospital and at the time of his death owed the hospital 20 pounds (291); Michael de St Edmundo had a messuage in Clerkenwell Street next to the lane leading from the hospital to a field in the north and owed 3s rent for it to SBH (108); Martin le Arbalaster, described as Martin called Parvus, crossbowman, also lived in Vitery Lane and owed a rent of 16s.4d. to SBH (289); William de Bercweya leased land in Smithfield from SBH at the corner of the road to Cowbridge and owed the hospital a rent of 14s (182); Geoffrey Faber, had a tenement next to the garden of SBH (99) and a forge in

The dating clause, which usually appeared on the charter just before or just after the list of witnesses, was uncommon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries even in Oxford, where churchmen, masters, schoolmen, scribes and notaries were frequent witnesses. Ignoring the royal grants and writs - which were always dated - of the rest of the 384 deeds in which St John's was involved only eighteen have a dating clause, and of these eighteen only two are dated prior to 1271.⁶⁹ Dating clauses may state both the time and the place where livery of seisin occurred and the deed was drawn up and witnessed. Only one of the dating clauses states that the events took place within the hospital walls, and of the rest, sixteen are generically labelled '*apud Oxoniam*' or '*Oxonie*' and in one grant no place of livery is stated. An analysis of all the dating clauses concerning the business of St John's shows that there was no set pattern of days upon which the hospital charters were drawn up. The single dating clause specifying the hospital as venue occurred on a Sunday. This *carta indentata* of 1277 granted William of Gloucester, burgess, a lease for life of two shops on the east side of Cornmarket at a yearly rent of 16s. The grant was witnessed by ten important burgesses, the last of whom was the town clerk, Richard de Eppewelle, in whose hand the charter was written.⁷⁰ The hospital precinct must have been bustling with the commotion of visiting civic dignitaries that day.

The paucity of dated and located charters in Salter's *Cartulary* make it impossible to determine precisely when or where the ceremonies usually occurred or the charters were written, but it is clear from the records that the Oxford grants were witnessed first and foremost by members of the town patriciate. This must in part be due to the smaller size of Oxford compared

Clerkenwell Street, West Smithfield (124); Ralph Canun, puletarius, also lived near Smithfield and his son Reynold continued in his father's tradition as witness for the hospital's deeds (71).

⁶⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I, (428) and II, (616). The first concerned a property in Cat Street given in 1267 by William son of master Robert de Preston and the second a gift made in 1241 by master Walter de Sancto Edmundo, vicar of Charlebury and official of his brother, Adam de Sancto Edmundo, dean of Oxford. Both grants were made by well educated men used to the purpose of dating clauses.

⁷⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (569): 'Dat' apud hospitale sancti Iohannis Oxonie die dominica proxima ante festum Assumptionis beate Marie, anno domini MCCLXX septimo & anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici quinto.' This instance of a dating clause is unusually precise and includes the day of the week as well as an instance of double dating. The scribe has computed the year from Anno Domini as well as from the year of regnal succession.

to London, with its more compact topography and smaller population, and it may also reflect the polarized nature of its governance, the division between town and gown that existed in the University town, and the secular nature of property conveyance. St John's, as Oxford's only hospital, was an important institution to the whole town, burgesses and scholars alike. St Bartholomew's, on the other hand, was one of several hospitals serving the London community. Situated just outside a large and populous city where the commitments and activities of the mayor and sheriffs must perforce cover an area far greater than at Oxford, the witness lists of St Bartholomew's charters by no means always included the names of the mayor and sheriffs. They were often long lists of the more prominent tradesmen and artisans from the neighbourhood of the property at issue in the charter, headed by the alderman of the relevant ward. Like St John's charters, few of St Bartholomew's contain dating clauses. Of the 663 deeds from foundation to 1300, and once again ignoring royal instruments, 61 charters have dating clauses of which only 12 date to before 1269. Eighteen of them involve quitclaims and ten involve debts. Most of the rest with dating clauses are documents involving the hospital and another religious institution or are concords and agreements made in various courts. Also like St John's charters, very few specify the location at which the transactions occurred. Only two charters specifically mention that they had been drawn up on the hospital premises. When John de Trumpington and Agnes de St Clero, his wife, granted St Bartholomew's 40 acres of arable land in Ickenham, Buckinghamshire, on 2 February 1243, because they were in debt to the Jews, the agreement was concluded at the hospital in the presence of, amongst others, John's overlord and William de Westmelun, clerk and sheriff of Middlesex.⁷¹ The second charter drawn up in the hospital also concerned a debt. This time it was the hospital which owed Master James de Abbingwrthe, canon of St Paul's, arrears of rent from a tenement of the fee of St Bartholomew whether the tenement was occupied or not.⁷² But, although location of the livery or place of concord are

⁷¹Moore, 410. Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1578).

⁷²Moore, 474: 'Datum in Hospitali nostro predicto die sabbati proxima ante festum Sancti Barnabe apostoli anno domini supradicto.' Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (375).

rarely specified, the internal evidence within the charters of St Bartholomew's sometimes demonstrates that they were drawn up at the hospital. When Lecia de Montaigni, wife of Henry Foliot and daughter of Jordan Briset, the founder of St Mary Clerkenwell, granted St Bartholomew's land in the parish of St Sepulchre without Newgate, she made the grant knowing that it had been promised to her in the chapter of the hospital that the priests of the hospital would celebrate her anniversary with prayers for her soul and the souls of her father and mother.⁷³ When Edith, relict of Peter Smith, was granted land outside of Smithfield for a rent of 4s., the body of the charter averred that she swore in full chapter of the hospital to observe the agreement loyally.⁷⁴ Whatever it was that had been agreed upon between Edith and the hospital was not mentioned in the charter, but in other cases the agreements are spelled out in full and add interest to the document. When John the Chesemonger was granted land and houses in Fridaystreet, John was to allow the brothers free entrance and exit to their stone house and he was not to obstruct the light and air of the great stone house. He was to receive the water dripping from the gutter between the stone house and John Burgoyne's house and he was not to shut out the view of the upper room of the house on the east. In addition, he was not to sell or mortgage to Jews or to any religious house without the consent of the hospital. If he wished to sell, the hospital was to have the chance of buying at one besant less than any other purchaser. John was to pay a rent of forty shillings a year. John then swore to the master and brethren in full chapter loyally to observe the agreement and then gave them ten pounds sterling for their grant.⁷⁵ This agreement is unusually detailed and for the most part neither the date nor the location of such contracts are disclosed. The practice of documenting the appearance of the grantee in the hospital chapter usually occurs where the transaction is not straightforward and where specific arrangements are at play. In these cases the pledging of faith adds a serious and pious dimension

⁷³Moore, 111: 'Et sciendum est quod in capitulo sepe dicti hospitalis michi concessum fuit quod sacerdotes eiusdem hospitalis singulis annis pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et pro anima mea anniversary faciant.'

Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (123).

⁷⁴Moore, 435. Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (78).

⁷⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (740).

to the transactions of sale and lease agreements and in so doing fortifies the charter.

The charters of the hospitals are to be understood within the legal and religious climate of the times. They form the bulk of the material in the hospitals' archives and, in spite of their often routine and formulaic format, they play a key role in providing those details that illuminate the scope of the charitable giving by benefactors, the role played by the hospitals within their communities and some information as to the spiritual and earthly goals of the institutions being studied.

The Endowments

The urban communities of London and Oxford were generous in their support of the hospitals of St Bartholomew and St John. Grants were made to both of land, and of rents and quit-rents. Urban property was highly prized and both hospitals received shops, houses, half houses, solars, gardens and orchards. One large donation in London gave a quay in St Martin, Vintry.⁷⁶ Both St John's and St Bartholomew's were given urban horse mills.⁷⁷ Grants could be small, such as a wall with all easements between the tenements of Wymund le Lyndraper and St John's,⁷⁸ or large and lucrative such as Ing Hall, an academic hall from which St John's received 4 marks rent annually.⁷⁹ The hospitals must have received many gifts in kind which would only have made

⁷⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (841). This was a gift from Richard son of Rayner, an immensely rich friend of King John, alderman of Bridge ward and sheriff of London in 1187. The large donation was confirmed by his grandson in 1223-4, (842).

⁷⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* Appendix I (John Cok's Rental) (92) 'A tenement and nine shops in Chykenlane with a horse-mill of the gift of Richard Musshet' (139, 141) but not mentioned in the charters. See also Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (504). In 1237 Juliana, widow of the baker Walter de Oseney, gave St John's her capital messuage in the district of the parish of All Saints and another messuage behind it with ovens and a horse-mill and all other appurtenances.

⁷⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (174). This shows the importance of the collection of rain water in urban areas. Another very small grant was that of Reynold de Wirham. He granted St Bartholomew's a quarter of a shop in the parmenter's part of the Marketplace of Winchester which the hospital subsequently alienated for a rent of 18d. Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (815).

⁷⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 35. As early as the first rental fragment from 1287x93, Ing Hall is listed as owing four marks of rent. Salter's *Survey of Oxford vol. I* acknowledges that there is no deed of gift relating to this property but suggests that Walter Ing seems to have died between 1240 and 1246 and since both this property and a tenement at 53-55 High Street (Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I [335]) subsequently came into the hospital's possession it is possible both his properties passed to the hospital by his will. However it came to be counted amongst the hospital's possessions, it is a further example of the gaps that exist in even the most well-stocked medieval archives.

their way into the archives by chance because they were discrete rather than on-going benefactions. One such a gift slipped into the records by being part of a larger grant. In 1283 when Cecilia, the widow of the stationer Hugh de Edlinton, granted St John's the residue of her lease in St Michael's Southgate, she also granted all her goods for the maintainance of the poor and infirm in the hospital.⁸⁰ Another chance retention in the archives is a gift with no enduring, but definite short-term value, involving a gift of work. In 1223x4 Nicholas son of Edmund quitclaimed his labour and expenses in the virgate in St Christopher's parish which St Bartholomew held of the gift of Richard the chaplain of St Christopher. In doing so, Nicholas was performing an act of charity in the manner that Jacques of Vitry recommended in his sermons *ad status* to artisans and tradesmen - 'unusquisque secundum propriam facultatem.'⁸¹

One important and lucrative endowment was the gift of a parish church by its patron to the hospital. Appropriation of a parish church to a religious house transferred the rights of tithes and other sources of revenue as well as the rights of the presentation of a priest to the parish, the advowson. The parochial duties became the corporate responsibility of the religious house. Acting as rector, the house had then to ensure the institution of a suitable vicar and that sufficient income from parish revenues was allotted to him not only to allow an adequate livelihood but also for the fulfilment of his pastoral obligations, which included poor relief.⁸² The gift of a parish church was a generous endowment but one that brought with it considerable responsibilities. St Bartholomew's was the recipient of two such churches and MacRay's calendar shows that St John's was also the recipient of one.

The grant of the church of Little Wakering in Essex, with the advowson and all rights and with one acre of extra land called Geldeneaker, was made by William of Theydon to St

⁸⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (709).

⁸¹Quoted in Rubin, *Community and Charity*, 84: '...sed et pauperibus de arte sua subvenientes debent artifices mechanici, unusquisque secundum propriam facultatem, ut sutores aliquando gratis et pro Deo reparent pauperum sottolares, . . . cementarii autem et carpentarii aliquando in edificiis faciendis pauperibus cooperentur et tecta domorum pauperum vicinorum recooperiant.'

⁸²C.R.Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1956), 131. See also Tierney, *Medieval Poor Relief*, 89-133 and Rubin, *Charity and Community*, 237-245.

Bartholomew's and is one of the earliest grants to be found in the *Cartulary*. There are 22 entries concerning this gift from its first donation to the hospital in 1185 to the end of the thirteenth century. Grants, confirmations, quarrels over tithes and additions to the initial endowment are recorded.⁸³ Moore, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, notes that the grant was one from which the hospital still received income and that its arms, together with those of John Wakering, master of the hospital 1423-1466, were carved near the church door.⁸⁴ St Bartholomew's was also given the patronage of the church of St George at Hinton in Somerset in 1220 by Robert de Barnvilla. In the same year, the grant was confirmed and augmented by Joscelin, bishop of Bath.⁸⁵ In spite of the distance between London and Somerset, affection for the hospital persisted. In 1280 in a deed sealed by the dean of the church of St Mary de Arcibus, Ralph le Botillere, here styled rector of Hinton St George, cancels the payment due to him from the hospital in view of the good works of the brothers, and in 1285 he grants the hospital 2s. quit-rent from a house of his in the parish of St Mary le Strand.⁸⁶ These feelings of affection for the hospital must also have been held by the vicar of the church of Little Wakering for in 1210 John, chaplain of Wakering, granted St Bartholomew's 6 acres of land and in 1220 he gave the hospital all his land in Stortford, Hertfordshire.⁸⁷ The church of St Nicholas at Willoughby, Warwickshire, was granted to St John's hospital by Thurstan before 1246 and the grant was confirmed by Gilbert de Segrave.⁸⁸ A fifteenth-century copy of a deed, entered by MacRay into his calendar of the deeds from outside the town and environs of Oxford states that Henry de

⁸³Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1411-1431 and 1434). The grant of 2 May, 1304 (1431) is interesting in that it shows Alexander, vicar of Little Wakering, acknowledging in the presence of the official of the archdeacon of Essex that he is responsible for all ornaments and books in his church, supplied by St Bartholomew's as rector. Another entry shows that St Bartholomew's was guilty of simony in 1273. This entry, (1429), is an acknowledgement by Thomas de Hancestre, *vicarius perpetuus* of Little Wakering that he owes the hospital 10s., lent to him to procure his church.

⁸⁴Moore, 188.

⁸⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1645 and 1646). This roused the furious protest of Robert, prior of Bath (1647) but Peter, dean of Wells, having inspected the deed of Joscelin, bishop of Bath, gave his consent (1648).

⁸⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1650), (485).

⁸⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1536) and (1537)

⁸⁸*VCH Warwickshire* vi, 265. The value of the vicarage in 1291 was 40s. according to *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 244.

Leukenore, chaplain and warden of the hospital of St John's, has bound himself at the instance of Gilbert de Segrave to provide a chaplain in the church of Willoughby to celebrate perpetually for the souls of Sir Stephen de Segrave, Sir Gilbert and their ancestors and heirs, and also for five poor men to have a daily exhibition at the table in the house of the hospital at Willoughby.⁸⁹

In addition to grants of land in fee and the other grants referred to above, both hospitals also received rents and quit-rents ranging in value from 1d.⁹⁰ to the large sum of 32s.⁹¹ Rents and quit-rents, when small and retained by the donor, usually served as a recognition by the tenant of the landlord's seisin but also seem to have been retained as a yearly remembrance of the donation. Although usually claimed in money, they also occur in kind. Pepper, cumin, and cloves testify to the great role spices played in medieval cuisine and to their part in medieval medicine, where they were considered to aid in the regulation of humors and 'complexions' and in the neutralizing of the dangers that were thought to be inherent in certain foods.⁹² But roses, shoes and gloves were also still to be found in early thirteenth-century grants.

Rural grants to both hospitals differed from urban ones in that they were land-rich. Half-acres, acres, virgates and hides; fields, marshes and paths. Some grants were small, as with the ditch in Little Burstead, Essex, given to St Bartholomew's in 1285,⁹³ or very large such as the grant by Ralph son of Richard Clericus of Milton, Oxfordshire, who gave of 70 acres of land in Bloxham, Oxfordshire, to St John's c.1240, or that of Robert de Neibure to St Bartholomew's in 1210, which consisted of 71/2 virgates of land in Wollaston, Northamptonshire.⁹⁴ The latter grant

⁸⁹Mac.146, and Willoughby C 101. See Chapter 2 n.44.

⁹⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (72), (200), (383). A donation of 1d. was rare. 2d. was more common. There were no donations as small as 1d. to St Bartholomews in the Cartulary.

⁹¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1375). Thomas le Waleys, saddler of London, gave the hospital 32s. quit rent from a tenement in Dunton. In 1295, Beatrice widow of Thomas quitclaimed her dower right to one-third of 32s. rent from a tenement in Donton, formerly held by Simon de Donton of Joan, mother of Beatrice. This was a very substantial gift by Beatrice in her own right. (1379).

⁹²Phyllis Pray Bober, *Art, Culture and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1999) 242-247.

⁹³Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1403). This must have been an important grant as in return the hospital gave the donors entry into the confraternity of the hospital.

⁹⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (922) and Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1632). 1 virgate = approximately 30 acres.

is interesting in that it shows that the transfer of the land also included villeins and their households.⁹⁵ One of the charters of St John's documents the manumission by Thomas, son of Adam de Mildecumbe. In 1220 he freed his born serf, Thomas, son of William Wynemere, with all his following by granting him to the hospital 'so that he might be free wheresoever he will.'⁹⁶

As with the urban grants, the rural ones were sometimes given in kind. Gifts of oxen, *summe* of corn and foraging rights for pigs or brushwood all made their way into the records. Rents and quit-rents were also given to the hospital in large numbers from the rents held by the donors from arable land, pastures, small holdings and barns, and grants were also made out of the profits of mills and customs. The earliest grant to St John's in the Cartulary was from Juliana, daughter of Robert de Sancto Remigio, who donated 18d. rent from her mill at Iffley, Oxfordshire, c. 1190, and at about the same time both Walter, son of Robert, and Agnes de Guverrez gave St Bartholomew's 5s. and 13d. respectively from their mills in Ramsden and Roding in Essex.⁹⁷ Another very early grant to St Bartholomew's was of one mark a year from the customs in Hedon, Lincolnshire. It was given to the hospital c. 1175 by William, earl of Albemarle, confirmed by William, earl of Essex, c.1185 and again c. 1200 by Baldwin, earl of Albemarle, and Hawise, countess of Albemarle.⁹⁸ Adding both rural and urban rents and quit-rents together, and laying aside the difficulties the hospitals might have faced in collection, it can be shown that, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, St Bartholomew's received a total of 476s. 11d. and St John's a total of 259s. 9d as gifts over this period. These rents and quit-rents were a source of ready cash for their own needs but could also be sold in times of emergency or, should the rent come from a distant source, it could be sold and reinvested closer to hand in the lucrative urban property markets of both London and Oxford.

⁹⁵Five villeins and their households held a virgate each and five others half a virgate each. In all ten villeins and nine households were listed. Around 1200 St Bartholomew's also bought the right to Simon son of Nicholas with his cattle and family paying one mark silver to Richard the abbot de Limad and 3 marks to Robert son of Ralph. Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1627), (1678).

⁹⁶HIG I, Mac 162.

⁹⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (953) and Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1260), (1521).

⁹⁸Kerling, *Cart HSB* (1673), (1676), (1674), (1675).

Often the only difference between a donation and a sale to either hospital lies in the mention of a *gersumma*, or consideration, even though both documents often expressed a pious motive. Although mention of a *gersumma* in a charter indicates the approximate sale price, usually the vendor - either the hospital itself or the vendor to the hospital - commonly retained a nominal rent. Sometimes the business strategy chosen was to receive a small *gersumma* but charge a much more substantial rent, allowing the hospitals to maintain a steady income. Because the properties were given to the hospitals by those moved by the spirit of charity, *caritatis intuitu*,⁹⁹ the randomness of the act of giving meant that the properties so given were widely and sometimes inconveniently dispersed. Such properties might then be sold or exchanged for other properties of similar value in a more convenient location. The same was true of rents received. In 1249 Walter, son of Geoffrey Aurifaber, granted St John's a rent of 3s. from a house in Holywell in the vicinity of the hospital in exchange for rents of 20d. and 12d in the parish of St Peter le Bailey at the other end of town. The exchange left him 4d. short so that he was justified in calling the arrangement *mea donacio*.¹⁰⁰ Exchanges were more frequent in rural areas where both hospitals strove to consolidate their holdings, exchanging fields and strips of land so that they were contiguous.¹⁰¹ The inconvenience of some rural holdings can be seen in the sale by St Bartholomew's for 20s. of 4 acres of land in Birchanger, Essex in 1292 to John, prior of St Walaricus of Takeley, Essex.¹⁰² The grant notes firmly that these 4 acres were

⁹⁹For example, Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (598) or Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (696), (993). The alternative 'me divini amoris intuitu' was sometimes used, as in for example, *Cart. HSJB II* (597).

¹⁰⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (879).

¹⁰¹As an example see Kerling *Cart. HSB* (1485). This is a grant made in 1215 by Peter de Haslingfend to HSB of 3 acres of land in Hatfield Regis in a field called *Pyfend* between the land of HSB and that of Walter son of Robert, extending from Chotegrove in the north to the highroad between *Lata Quarcu et Armig'* in the south. HSB gave Peter three pieces of their land in exchange. See also Willoughby 75, Mac 147. This is a grant made in 1243x4 by William son of Hugh de Greneberge to St John's of land in the fields of Willoughby where the hospital had considerable holdings for meadowland and arable land in Woolscot, a neighbouring village, where the hospital had very few.

¹⁰²Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1531). The Priory of Takeley was an Alien House dependent on St Valery, Picardy. It was founded by William I in gratitude to St Valery (Walaricus). When the lack of a good southerly wind had kept William's fleet anchored at the mouth of the Somme, thwarting his plans for the invasion of England, the monks of the abbey of St Valery had offered up prayers. For a fortnight the monks prayed and at last, after processing round the harbour with the saint's relics, a good south wind began to blow. In gratitude for this perceived saintly intervention in the affairs of men, William had founded the priory of Takeley and had endowed it with the advowson

useless to St Bartholomew's. Of the 11 exchanges made by St Bartholomew's, nine were rural and two were urban, which represents 6.6% of the rural grants and 1.6% of the urban grants. St John's had fewer rural estates, and the percentage of land being exchanged was 5.0% and 4.3% respectively.

Not only were the hospitals endowed with rents, but they also leased to tenants for long periods the properties they received as bequests or had bought,¹⁰³ and a rentier approach to their scattered acquisitions collected a further steady flow of income. Neither the archives of St Bartholomew's nor that of Magdalen contains many charters concerning these leases. Those they do have show that the person or persons who entered into a lease agreement almost always paid an entry fee, also called a *gersumma*. Clauses pertaining to upkeep of the property were usually included. When c.1246 John the Palmer and Alicia his wife leased a shop and a solarium over it extending over other shops in the fish market, St Bartholomew's undertook to keep it wind and rain tight. John and Alicia prospered, and five years later the hospital made another grant to them for their lives of four shops under the solarium. The annual rent was to be 20s. and this time the tenants were to keep the shops in repair while the hospital was to undertake repairs on the solarium as before.¹⁰⁴ A common clause in a lease agreement is that the tenants may not sell, sub-let or mortgage to another religious house or to the Jews, and that if they did want to sell, the hospital might have the right of first refusal at a sum somewhat less than anyone else might pay.¹⁰⁵ Another common addition to the lease is the agreement that if the rent were outstanding then the hospital had the right to enter and distrain goods to the value owed.¹⁰⁶ When the hospitals leased they often sought improvements to their properties. When St Bartholomew's granted Alexander le Orbatur land along the road from Smithfield to the Red Cross, it stipulated

of the church of Birchanger and estates in Essex. (*VCH Essex*, ii, 409). See also Knowles and Hadcock, 85 and 93.

¹⁰³In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the properties were often leased for life - *ad tempus vite sua* - and in the case of a married couple to the end of the life of the longest lived of the pair. See Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (699), (1025), (1202) or Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (292), II (808).

¹⁰⁴Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (699), (700).

¹⁰⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (439), (182), (183), (999). Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (335), II (633), (888).

¹⁰⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (280), (286), (310) and II (845). See also Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (290), (769).

that he must build on this land and keep the buildings in good repair.¹⁰⁷ Similarly when St Bartholomew's granted Gerard de Mymmes, the butcher, land near the city ditch for a rent of 4s., it required him to build what was necessary on the land and to keep what he had built in good repair, adding that that would be sufficient to raise the rent.¹⁰⁸ Leases such as these allowed the hospitals to rearrange terms and to evict delinquent tenants who had defaulted on their payments or failed to keep the property in good repair. At the same time this business strategy allowed them to retain full seisin.

The only complete extant rental for St John's for this period, compiled in 1293x1294, and the only rental available for either hospital in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, gives the annual sum to be collected from 232 separate properties in Oxford and environs as 2401s. 9d.¹⁰⁹ Even if all the rents could not be collected, this is a very large sum. Both St Bartholomew's and St John's were wealthy hospitals and major land-owners, who participated fully in the business life of their communities.

The Hospitals as Sources of Charitable Finance.

Not only were the hospitals active in the acquisition and management of property and rents, but they can also be seen to engage in their own charitable activities. As institutions with large and steady flows of rents in the form of cash, both hospitals were part of the credit systems in both London and Oxford.

The charity dispensed by St Bartholomew's and St John's was not only general, as can be seen in their reception and care of the poor and sick, but could also be personal. In 1200 three poor women in the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate - Agnes widow of Everard the

¹⁰⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (439).

¹⁰⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (288). (289) is a grant by Ranulph son of Gerard de Mymmes, also a butcher. Twelve years later in 1263 he sold the lease to Martin called Parvus, crossbowman and his wife Margery for 18m. the same land now with houses. The rent to the new lessees was now one head of cloves to Ranulph and 16s.4d. to St Bartholomew's.

¹⁰⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 36-45. Six of the properties lament 'Non est spes' even though they were occupied and a further two were vacant.

carpenter, and her daughters Cecily and Sibyl - granted St Bartholomew's the land they held of the hospital for 12s. rent. The hospital in return forgave them their arrears in rent and granted them the sum of 60s. for repairs and for the relief of their poverty.¹¹⁰ Forgiveness of debt like this can be seen many times in the records, yet the hospitals more often resorted to creative arrangements to allow tenants to fulfil their obligations.¹¹¹ In 1235 when John Decerius' rent fell into arrears he entered into an agreement with St Bartholomew's in full Husting, promising to pay 11d. extra each time his rent of 11d. was due until the 20s. of arrears were paid.¹¹² When c.1295 Alice, relict of Henry le Orbatur of Enfield, found herself in debt, she granted St Bartholomew's 3 rods of land in *le Wyldmershe* which served as a payment for the 30s. and five years of rent she owed.¹¹³

Although the Jews were the traditional money lenders of twelfth- and thirteenth-century England and the first to whom an embarrassed debtor or someone needing capital for a venture might turn, Miri Rubin has suggested that institutions like hospitals might also step forward and provide charitable loans. She sees evidence for this in certain sales and leases that were made to hospitals. The hospital might, for instance, receive a grant in free alms and in return would provide the donor with a lump sum that he would have difficulty raising in any other way. She also suggests that short-term leases phrased in the form of a fee-farm in return for a cash rent payable at the beginning of the term was another method of raising money by those in immediate financial need.¹¹⁴ The former strategy can be seen clearly in some grants. C. 1260 Ralph son of Robert Bagot of Westcote, Warwickshire, granted St John's 4s. rent in Westcote. This grant is

¹¹⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (396).

¹¹¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (110), (409), (717), (1216). One unusual debt repayment arrangement is that of Peter de Abingdon. (1605, 1606). In 1255 a final concord between St Bartholomew's and Peter occurred. Peter then owed the hospital 40s arrears of a rent of 11s., in other words nearly four years rent. He paid the hospital 20s for arrears and the hospital cancelled the other 20s. In 1274 Peter acknowledged that once again he owed the hospital. This time his rent was 33s. in arrears. Peter promised to pay his arrears within a year and a half or bound himself for 60s. to be paid to the hospital of Clerkenwell without London as a gift for the Holy Land. Salter, *Cart. HSB* II (509), (510), (522).

¹¹²Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (591).

¹¹³Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1216).

¹¹⁴Rubin, *Charity and Community*, 217-226.

stated to have been made in consideration of the receipt of 40s. 'ad negotia mea expedienda.'¹¹⁵ When Helena de Blechesdon granted four messuages and half an acre to St John's in 1242 the brothers gave her one mark 'ad quietandum debita mea.'¹¹⁶ When c.1278 Nicholas son of Gilbert quitclaimed all his right in the lands and tenements that might come to him in the future, he received in return 2s. 'ad magnum negocium meum' from St John's.¹¹⁷ The latter strategy can be seen in the ten-year lease that Clement Blaunche of Westcote, Warwickshire made to St John's in 1284. The hospital granted him beforehand a sum of 2m. for the eight acres of arable land in the fields of Westcot.¹¹⁸ Rubin asserts that advanced payments are unknown in genuine leases, and suggests that when such lands were pledged to secure a loan, the status of the payments as advanced rent disguised their true nature as provision of credit.¹¹⁹

Rubin suggests, however, that people in need of credit turned first to the Jews, who had greater liquid assets available to them, but that hospitals and other institutions with some financial flexibility provided by the rents and quit-rents they received could, when necessary, respond to such needs. Rubin proposes that the hospitals' policy might be to act as 'lender of the last resort.'¹²⁰ Redeeming Christians indebted to the Jews was regarded as an act of charity and of piety by the Christian community and this action was undertaken on their behalf by both St John's and St Bartholomew's hospitals. In 1243 John de Trumpington and his wife, Agnes de St Clero, granted St Bartholomew's 40 acres of arable land in Ickenham, Essex, for fifty-six years at

¹¹⁵Westcote 90, Mac 21.

¹¹⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB* (899). Her debts, in this instance, must have been due to the cost of the retrieval of an inheritance from her uncle that she regained by writ of recto racione with the help and counsel of Henry Inge in the court of Haliwell.

¹¹⁷Westcote (108), Macray (69).

¹¹⁸Westcote (63), Macray (78). Clement Blaunche had many dealings with St John's. He sold land to the hospital on seven different occasions and also became a benefactor in 1274 when he made a donation in free alms of one acre of arable land in the fields of Westcote. Westcote (59), Macray (63). He can also be seen in 1286 as broker in a quarrel between the hospital and the priory of Stonley in Arderne in which, with William de Dorchester, he gave bond as security for the abbot of Stonley that he should not sow a certain piece of cultivated ground called Monkespeche in the field of Westcote without the consent of the hospital and other neighbours of the village of Westcote.

Westcote (32), Macray (89).

¹¹⁹Rubin, *Charity and Community*, 222.

¹²⁰Rubin, *Charity and Community*, 224.

a rent of 40d. yearly. In return, the hospital gave 14m. to John and Agnes so that they might redeem their lands from the hands of the bishop of Ely and of the Jews of Poitou, ‘de manibus Helie episcopi et pictaviensis iudorum.’¹²¹ Between 1231 and 1244 Laurence Rocelyn sold and quitclaimed his house to St John’s for the *gersumma* of 50s. In the same grant he also acknowledged that the hospital had spent an additional six marks to acquit him of Jewry, ‘de Iudaismo aquietaverunt.’¹²²

The connection of both St Bartholomew’s and St John’s to their separate business communities is shown not only in the many sales of properties and rents both to the hospitals and by them, but also in their participation as providers of credit. A pious connection to a religious house active in the area that had engendered trust and familiarity may well have been a preferred strategy for those seeking sources of finance.

Benefactors and Trends in Giving

That charters of donation were kept and their contents recorded in the cartularies of the hospital was related to the size and the ongoing importance of such grants. Constance Bouchard in her study of monastic cartularies suggests that the codex not only attempted to organize and rationalize the holdings of the religious house, but it also created a seemingly timeless community of donors to be commemorated.¹²³ The charters retained in the archives and entered into the cartularies were those grants that had particular significance to the hospitals. Since richer people have more surplus funds to dispose of in charitable projects, it is interesting how many of the urban grants are from people of more modest backgrounds. The bulk of rural grants of land, too, come from the middle level of the land-owning ranks rather than from those high on the scale of feudal tenure. There must also have been a wealth of smaller gifts in kind to the

¹²¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1578).

¹²²Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (85A).

¹²³Constance B. Bouchard, ‘Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity,’ *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, eds. Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth (Toronto: PIMS, 2002) 29.

hospitals that did not need a charter to effect transfer and which remain invisible to the historian. Only a glimmer of these remain in the *Book of Foundation* written towards the end of the twelfth century to celebrate the first years of St Bartholomew's priory and hospital. Gifts of meat and ale, and gifts in money, in household goods, in corn and movables were all recorded.¹²⁴

Of the 259 direct grants to St Bartholomew's, 222 were made by men alone or by married couples (and then formally by the husband) and 37 by women alone. Of the men 33 were churchmen or clerics who thus comprised 14.8% of the male donors. Of the 182 direct grants to St John's, 145 were made by men alone or married couples and 37 by women alone.¹²⁵ Of the men, 22 were made by churchmen or clerics which amounted to 15.1% of the endowments made by male donors. Even if only those donations in and closely around Oxford as found in Salter's *Cartulary* are used, the percentage of gifts that the now 17 churchmen and clerics are responsible for still amounts to only 16.6% of the Oxford endowments, a trend which might be expected in a university town, but the figures show that in both London and Oxford, churchmen responded themselves to the messages of charity that they preached and that clerks, too, responded to the charitable impulses that they recorded in deeds of donation.

The circle of donors to both St John's and St Bartholomew's was heterogeneous. Knights, merchants, artisans, substantial peasants and even a few nobles all contributed to the success and smooth functioning of the hospitals. London, as a wealthy center of commerce that supplied and was supplied by its surrounding counties, brought nobles and knights and those with big estates to London, and St Bartholomew's was a frequent beneficiary of their charity. Table 1 shows that more than half the donations to St Bartholomew's came from the surrounding counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Surrey, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Kent and particularly Essex, with a few grants from more distant counties, Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Northhamphshire and Lincolnshire. Of the 137 grants from the counties, 60 - of virgates, acres,

¹²⁴*Book of the Foundation*, 23, 24, 28. Those who experienced miraculous recoveries gave candles, and one of those who was saved at sea gave a little boat fashioned out of silver, 35.

¹²⁵See Table 1.

half-acres, tofts and crofts, villeins and even a hermitage - came from Essex.¹²⁶ A climate of giving evidently stimulated neighbours to give, and not only the knightly ranks¹²⁷ in the counties but also clerks,¹²⁸ village artisans and tradesmen, merchants from county towns¹²⁹ and substantial peasants gave, each according to his means. Senior churchmen and members of local religious houses¹³⁰ were benefactors, as were their lesser colleagues such as parish priests.¹³¹ Many of the rural grants came early in the hospital's records of donation. Of the 52 donations to the hospital before 1200, 38 were gifts from outside London.

Of the 122 grants of properties and rents from within London, many were from those men who styled themselves *barones*, members of those merchant families who ruled London, who were its aldermen, sheriffs and mayors and who, because of their mercantile prowess, held firmly to the reins of authority.¹³² Of the 122 urban grants, 27 of them are made by members of the city patriciate. The fitz Ailwins, fitz Reiners, Bats, Basings, Bukerels, Bucointes, Cornhills, Haverills, Hardels and Steperangs all feature in the records as donors or business associates.

¹²⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1577). C. 1190 Ralph de Bidun granted a hermitage (*heremitorium*) to the hospital on his land at Ickenham and the land within the enclosure belonging to the hermitage on condition that the hospital accepted Ralph, his mother Agnes and his lord, John de Bineham, into the brotherhood and would celebrate two masses each week for their souls.

¹²⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. Such as William earl of Albemarle (1673), William lord of Wakering (1411), William de Plessiz, feudal tenant of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex (749), Ernulph, Geoffrey de Mandeville's nephew (1220), Walter son of Robert whose father had been seneschal of Henry I, husband to Mathilda de Bohun and Mathilda de Luci (1260), Robert Bruce grandfather of the King of Scotland, lord of Hatfield and earl of Carrek (1417), Cecily de Sanford instructress of Eleanor, the daughter of King John and sister of Henry III (1245), Gilbert de Vere, afterwards Prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem (1241). All were benefactors to St Bartholomew's.

¹²⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. Such as Geoffrey Clericus de Widefeld who gave a house in Horndon, Essex (1392), Michael Clericus de Hatfield and Coldecorn his wife who gave 4 acres of land (1477).

¹²⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. Such as William le Careter who gave one rod of his field in the marsh of Edmonton (1181) and 1/2 acre of pasture in Edmonton, Hertfordshire (1183), Henry Cementarius son of Osbert Clericus who gave one acre and a strip of ploughland (1437), Benet Mercator who gave land in Enfield for the soul of his wife who had just died (1209), John Feron, farrier, of 16 acres and one rod of land in South Mimmes, Hertfordshire (1219), Thomas called le Waleys, a saddler, quitclaimed his right to 32s. quit-rent from land in Dunton, Essex (1375) and Reynold le Draper de Berkyng gave land in Berking, Essex to build a house (1238).

¹³⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. Such as Gilbert prior of St Mary's, Butley, an Augustinian priory founded by Ranulph de Glanvill (610), Simon the abbot of St Albans (775), A. the abbot of Missenden (1584) and the abbot of Coggeshall a Cistercian house in Essex (1426).

¹³¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. Such as John of Wakering (1517) and (1536), William Capellanus son of Aubrey de Hertford (982) Ralph le Botyler, rector of Hinton St George (485) and Robert vicar of Brathewell (1501).

¹³²Williams, *Medieval London from Commune to Capital* (London: Athlone, 1963). See chapter III, 'The Ruling Dynasties.' 50-75.

John Bocointe, his sister Hersent, and their half brother William, son of Sabeline, contributed c.1180 to the nidus of the property on which the hospital stands as did Andrew Bukerel and Solomon de Basing in 1222.¹³³ Henry fitz Ailwin, London's first mayor, was an early benefactor giving the hospital a quit-rent of 5s. c.1213,¹³⁴ and wealthy Richard son of Reiner, who was King John's personal friend and financier, gave the hospital the very generous gift of land, houses and a quay in the parish of St Martin Vintry c. 1185.¹³⁵ Churchmen, magnates and knights owned much of the land in London and its close surroundings, and many of them too became benefactors of the hospital,¹³⁶ as did three important officials, Robert de Lalieflood, warden of the Fleet prison, William Montfichet, and Waleram, *janitor* of the Tower.¹³⁷ But as with the rural grants, many humbler people gave to the hospital. Occupational surnames or designations show grants made by three tanners, a goldsmith, a coppersmith's widow, a roofer, a farrier, a moneyer, a baker, a parmenter, a cook, a fishmonger, a tawyer, a skinner, an ironmonger and a painter.¹³⁸

St John's major support came from the townsfolk of Oxford and the surrounding parishes of St Mary Magdalen and Holywell, situated north and east of the town respectively. Of the 72 grants that came from outside Oxford, 52 came from Warwickshire. King Henry III was the patron and founder of the hospital,¹³⁹ but the great magnates were not significantly interested in St John's and were confined to Richard de Hereford, clerk to the king, who in 1277 gave all his houses in London to the hospital, and John, count of Mortain, who in the early days of the first

¹³³Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (10), (13), (14), (15).

¹³⁴Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1006).

¹³⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (841). In 1240 William proctor of the hospital leased the property for the princely sum of 16m. a year and a *gersumma* paid of 60m. of silver.

¹³⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB*. Such as Walter, abbot of Westminster who gave a tenement in Friday Street to the hospital (735), and Ralph de Diceto, historian, and at the time of the grant dean of St Paul's, gave land in St Nicholas of Acon (863), and William de Plessis, an Essex knight, who gave the hospital an acre of land in Enfield (1208) and 4s. rent from land by the Thames in the parish of St Michael Queenhythe (749).

¹³⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (512), (959), and (827).

¹³⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (119), (131), (507), (697), (1028), (880), (1042), (509), (541), (364), (544), (707), (177), (371), (168) and (1280).

¹³⁹See Chapter 3.

foundation had granted them a rent of 10s.¹⁴⁰ The presence of knightly families is restricted to grants from owners of estates in Oxfordshire and Warwickshire and properties in Bristol and London. With the exception of Hugo Malaunay, knight of Oxford, whose chief seat was at Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, and Juliana, daughter of Robert de Sancto Remigio, whose grants formed the nidus of the hospital's early possessions, donations by knightly families do not occur in the environs of Oxford.¹⁴¹ The two latter grants are the only ones to the hospital before 1200 that have been written into the *Liber Niger*.¹⁴² During the thirteenth century, most of the gifts to the hospital came from members of the town patriciate, from churchmen and clerks, and from tradesmen and artisans from the town of Oxford and its suburbs.

Of the 139 urban direct grants to St John's, 26 were by members of the town patriciate and four by bailiffs from Haliwelle and from the hundred outside the North Gate, where the parish of St Mary Magdalen lay. Donors from the ruling families could support St Frideswide, Oseney Abbey, Godstow Convent, Stodley Priory and their parish churches, as well as St John's. Some, like the very rich Henry, son of Simeon, became benefactors to several of these institutions, as well as the hospital. Henry was not only a generous supporter of St Frideswide's, but he also gave on three separate occasions to the hospital.¹⁴³ Enthusiasm for the hospital often passed from parents to children, who made separate donations to the hospital or confirmed those of their parents thus dispossessing themselves of rents and properties both to respect the wishes of their parents and with a view to supporting the charitable work undertaken by the hospital. C.1215 Ralph Halegod gave St John's land in Logic Lane.¹⁴⁴ His son, Andrew, was clearly a

¹⁴⁰Watling Street 3 and Mac 143. Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (70) John's grant is mentioned in passing in Hugo Malauney's grant.

¹⁴¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (70) and II (953). The grant of Hugo Malaunay was a sale of all his land in Oxford within and without the walls and all the land and tenements that Peter Boterel held being of the Honor of Wallingford by John Count of Mortain who held that honor and who had given him meadows, fields, gardens, waters, fishpools roads, paths, and 'chiminis.' The hospital owed him 40s. annually for this land and gave him a *gersumma* of 10 pounds of silver and a palfrey worth 3m.

¹⁴²Hugo's original deed is preserved in the *Cartae Antiquae* (Q.19) at the Record Office and entered into the *Liber Niger* fol. 1^r. Juliana's deed is lost but it has been entered in the *Liber Niger* fol. 4^r.

¹⁴³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (213), (276), (304).

¹⁴⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (597).

devoted friend to the hospital. He not only gave rents and properties to the hospital on two separate occasions during the course of his life, but he also left it a substantial legacy, an academic hall, in his testament. Throughout his life he remained the friend of the hospital for, although he never held public office, he bore witness to their charters on fifty-one occasions.¹⁴⁵ In 1259 John Halegod, his nephew, became a benefactor in his own right, and when Andrew died in 1265, John as heir confirmed his uncle's testamentary bequest.¹⁴⁶

Churchmen, clerks and masters of the schools provided grants to the hospital which came to be landlord of several academic halls and received rents from others. The hospital rental of 1293x4 lists the rents obtained 'de domibus clericorum' separately at the end of each section. Most of the schools and the academic halls in St John's possession were to be found in the intramural section of St John's own parish, St Peter in the East, particularly in Cat Street and St John's Street. There are 26 of them recorded in the Rental of 1293x4, including the Magna Schola in Cattestrete, Ing Hall, Waldry Hall and Dosier Hall. The last three were all gifts from benefactors of the same names and brought in substantial rents.¹⁴⁷ The churchmen, like those of the knightly ranks giving to the hospital, were of secondary status rather than great magnates, men such as Hugo de Bercote, the rural dean of Oxford in 1210, or M. Walter de Sancto Eadmundo, official for his brother Adam, the archdeacon of Oxford.¹⁴⁸ Masters, clerics, rectors and vicars of local parishes also chose the hospital as the focus of their charity. One very generous benefactor was M. Robert Maynard, the perpetual vicar of the church of Blessed Mary Magdalen, who c.1270 gave the hospital land in the parish of the Holy Cross and arable land and a croft in a separate grant.¹⁴⁹ Additional charity from him to the hospital came in the form of a quitclaim to a rent from a house in Haliwell that his sister Isolde had given the hospital.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (153), II (518), (465).

¹⁴⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (951), (465).

¹⁴⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 36-46.

¹⁴⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (756) and I (51).

¹⁴⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (880), (871).

¹⁵⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (867). This land had previously been given to Isolde by her brother, Robert.

One of the differences between the benefactors of St Bartholomew's and St John's lies in the relative number of simple townfolk who gave to the hospital. Given Oxford's much smaller size, its tradesmen, artisans and substantial peasants gave in larger numbers to St John's than those of London did to St Bartholomew's. Of the 139 direct grants to St John's in Oxford and the vicinity 30 were members of the town patriciate, four were officials and 17 were clerics or churchmen, leaving 88 donors who either have names that do not allow them to be placed in any of these categories or whose occupations are stated or who have occupational surnames suggestive of a certain employment. There is also a greater diversity of employment amongst those giving to St John's. These include: goldsmiths, a parmenter, an illuminator, a parchment dealer, a stationer, a cobbler, a tawyer, a hatter, two fishmongers, two bolters, a glazier and his son a bottle maker, a baker and miller combination, a carpenter, a turner, two tailors (one of them the king's tailor) and a linendraper. All had the skills and expertise needed by a medium-sized town with a university.¹⁵¹ At least one substantial peasant can be seen giving to St John's as is indicated by the nature of the wording of his charter. C.1220 Walter Cole, past the age of work and in return for a livery, gave lands to the hospital in the hundred outside the north gate of Oxford. The rents included 2s. for the lord of the meadowland, 2s. at the time of fawning, and 4d. for the guardian of the meadow.¹⁵²

As can be seen in the graph, there were fluctuations in the rate of donation over the thirteenth century. Because the donations were fitful and the dating often not accurate to the exact year, a time interval of ten years has been chosen to demonstrate the rise and fall in acts of generosity towards the hospitals. As will be seen in the next chapter, donations to St Bartholomew's hospital started to be retained by the hospital as soon as it began to achieve autonomy and a presence within the community as an entity distinct from the priory.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* (706), (741), (451), (381), (709), (557), (847), (80), (369) and (370), (80) and (907), (420) and (421), (504), (885), (266), (547) and (923), and (174).

¹⁵²Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (813).

¹⁵³See below Chapter 4.

Independent grants begin to appear from c.1175 with the grant of a very pious goldsmith Walter, son of Hugh son of Ulgar.¹⁵⁴ The rates of donation increased rapidly thereafter and reached a peak in the second decade of the thirteenth century. Rubin has suggested that the enthusiasm of the community towards a newly-founded religious house would rapidly diminish after two or three generations and a glance at the graph shows that this would seem to be true for both hospitals.¹⁵⁵

In 1221 the Dominicans arrived in England, and in 1224 the Franciscans. Both groups went straight to London and to Oxford to begin their evangelizing missions. Donations to both hospitals were falling but still remained at high levels as the friars taught from the pulpit and in streets and market places of purgatory and salvation, of poverty and riches, of charity and avarice, intensifying awareness of the plight of others, the canonical ambiguities surrounding usury and trade and the redemptive power of prayer, of suffrages. The years of failed harvests, of famine and starvation,¹⁵⁶ of harsh winters and summers of drought were too singular to make an impact on the ten year intervals of the graph. Even political events such as the brief civil war that occurred when John died in 1216 and Louis of France entered London show only briefly in the records,¹⁵⁷ and were also too short to alter the movement of the longer decade-oriented graph. But the destruction and disruptions caused by the baronial wars between 1258-1265 where London and Oxford both stood for Simon de Monfort, were long enough to show a marked decrease in the rate of donations to both hospitals.

¹⁵⁴Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (342). Walter made another grant of land in the parish of St Nicholas Cole Abbey (696). The charter of his wife Sabelina shows that c. 1216 Walter became a monk at the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall in Essex (624). In confirming this grant, his son, Richard can be seen to be a cleric (625).

¹⁵⁵Rubin, *Charity and Community*, 212.

¹⁵⁶For instance, the harvest failed in 1203 and the Thames was frozen in 1204 from New Years Day to Lady Day. In 1257 when the harvest failed following another harsh winter, Matthew Paris complained that 'the dead lay about, swollen and rotting on dunghills and in the dirt of the streets,' and the price of wheat rose sharply because of the bad harvest of 1257. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, 57

¹⁵⁷Kerling *Cart. HSB* (750). When Juliana relict of Alan Balun quitclaims her right to 4s. quit-rent to the hospital she seals her charter on the Nativity of St John the Baptist next after the first coming of Lord Louis, firstborn of the King of France into England. 'post primum adventum domini Ludouici primogeniti Regis Francie in Angliam.' and (531) which is an agreement between the hospital and Reginald, the chaplain, son of Henry le Perer. The house in question is to be held by the hospital from the feast of St Michael next after the death of the Count of Perche at Lincoln for eight years following.

The Statute of Mortmain was enacted on 14 November 1279, forbidding all alienation of property to religious houses or any other corporation whether by bequest or sale, to prevent such lands from passing out of the control of common law. As S. Raban explains, this legislation targetted tenure by any institution because the overlord could no longer collect any incidents from the property. This was particularly true of land passing to the church, because canon law emphasized that endowments to religious institutions were to be seen as the property of God.¹⁵⁸ Theoretically, the statute should have restricted all benefaction and acquisition, but a glance at the graph shows that during the years 1280-1289 donations to the hospital have increased. Turning to the charters, however, most of those which bear Nellie Kerling's date of c. 1280 probably occurred just before the enactment of legislation. Maud de Kersing's will was written a week after the legislation was enacted, and was perhaps allowed to pass to the hospital without a special licence because her testament states that the 13s. 4d. rent to be paid to St Bartholomew's was to be transferred from another religious house.¹⁵⁹ Another grant transferring 2s. rent from the rector of Hinton St George, Somerset, to the hospital may also be seen as a transfer from a member of the church to a religious institution.¹⁶⁰ Only one grant was sufficiently large to fall afoul of the new law, and that case was speedily resolved. Geoffrey de Catenham, painter, left the hospital 1m. in rent in his testament which was proved on 13 May 1280. In 1281 letters patent gave licence to the hospital to receive this bequest.¹⁶¹ The rest of the grants were either very small,¹⁶² or were quitclaims made by widows. It can thus be seen that donations to the hospital were much less significant than the graph would suggest. However, the quitclaims have been counted as donations here as elsewhere in the graph, as under common law unless quitclaimed or purchased the widow was entitled to her third, her dower.

¹⁵⁸S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church: 1279-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982), 2.

¹⁵⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (747), (1350).

¹⁶⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSJB* (485).

¹⁶¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (455).

¹⁶²Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1499). This grant was from Adam la Hoo of a piece of pasture which he shared with the hospital.

Looking at the graph once more, like St Bartholomew's, St John's experienced a steady climb in donations in the first decades of its existence. But unlike St Bartholomew's, St John's was refounded by Henry III in 1231 and became a royal foundation. During the next two decades it experienced a steep climb in donations. Henry III, and after him his son Edward I, never tired as patrons of the hospital. Henry had close connections to Oxford. His father, John, had been born at the royal hunting lodge at Woodstock which was one of Henry's favorite residences and his uncle, Richard, had been born at Beaumont palace just outside the north gate of Oxford.¹⁶³ The king's favour to the hospital was also shown in the king's grant of a Tuesday market and a Whitsun fair of two days duration at the hospital's manor at Willoughby in Warwickshire,¹⁶⁴ which probably explains the active role St John's played in the charitable and business activities of the landowners in the vicinity, in Willoughby, Woolscot, Westcot, Princethorpe and Napton on the Hill. In 1243 Geoffrey, prior of Esseby,¹⁶⁵ granted all his land and tenements in Willoughby to St John's 'quod dominus Henricus rex filius Johannis Regis Anglie fundavit ad Elemonsinas suas sustentandes.'¹⁶⁶ The king's gifts and patronage were constant during the thirties, forties and fifties, which would explain the burst of endowment by donors particularly in the period when the new hospital was under construction. The burgesses of Oxford and the landowners in Warwickshire responded to the king's patronage adding to his generosity towards St John's with endowments of their own.¹⁶⁷

During the baronial wars, Simon de Montfort met his chief followers at Oxford in 1263. In the same year, the burgesses shut the gates against the soldiers of Edward, prince of Wales,

¹⁶³Boase, 42.

¹⁶⁴*VCH Warwickshire* vi, 262. This appears to be the same manor which included one carucate of land that Peter son of Thurstan conveyed to Henry warden of the hospital for the sum of 40m. in 1243 at Westminster. See Willoughby B. 188 and Mac 165.

¹⁶⁵*VCH Warwickshire* vi, 262. The Priory of Esseby of the charter was probably the Priory of the Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire whose right in the land Peter son of Thurstan acknowledged. The priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary was founded for Augustinian Canons in 1147x51. See Knowles and Hadcock, 152.

¹⁶⁶Willoughby B 77 and Mac 166.

¹⁶⁷Some of the king's personal servants also chose to endow where he had endowed. In 1241 William Scissor, once the king's tailor granted land to the hospital in South Newington, Oxfordshire, land which the king had once given him and a grant which the king confirmed. Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II, (923). In 1277 Richard de Hereford, clerk to the King granted all his houses in London to St John's, a grant which was very substantial (Watling St. 2, Mac 142).

and the clerks rioted after several of their number were imprisoned by Nicholas de Kingston, the mayor, for breaking down Smith gate at the north end of Cat Street. When the civil war was over in 1266, the burgesses had to pay a large sum to Prince Edward as a penalty for having sided with the king's enemies.¹⁶⁸ During these tumultuous times the donations to St John's, as can be seen on the graph, were reduced. But none of this soured the king's affection for his foundation. In 1266 Henry granted the hospital a charter of further privileges and two years before he died, in 1270, he confirmed a large grant of land in Bloxham, Oxfordshire, to the hospital.¹⁶⁹

In the following decade, the seventies, grants to the hospital rose again, perhaps in response to the effects of a series of bad harvests that caused the prices of corn at times to approach the high costs that had prevailed during the severe famine of 1258.¹⁷⁰ In the decade after the enactment of the Statute of Mortmain, endowments continued to flow to the hospital, and it continued to make purchases of messuages, tenements and quitclaims. Although some of the donations were small, such as a wall with all easements or a penny-worth of rent, some were really quite large. But, from the seventies until the end of the century, there are only four grants for which a licence appears to have been sought, and a single licence covered all of them.¹⁷¹ One was the grant that Robert de Swinbrook and his wife made to the hospital in 1283x4 of a messuage with four selds, one of which had a courtyard. The second was the grant Agnes Punchard made of her house as set out in her testament of 1281. The third was the grant of two messuages in the parish of St Mary Magdalen from Robt Bodin in 1287x8 and the fourth, the grant of two cottages in Willoughby made by William son of Ivo of Willoughby.¹⁷² Perhaps

¹⁶⁸*V.C.H. Oxford*, 14.

¹⁶⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (927), (928).

¹⁷⁰David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (London: Allen Lane, 2003) 57. See also D.L. Farmer 'Some Grain Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England,' *The Economic History Review* 10 (1957): 207-220.

¹⁷¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (534). This is a transcription of Mortmains 12, November 7, 1294 which Salter has added to his cartulary.

¹⁷²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (527); I (322); II (839). William's grant can not be found in the Magdalen archives and is only noted by Salter in the royal licence, (II [534]). See also *VCH Warwickshire* vi, where the date for the grant is given as 1294 and a citation is made to *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, 107.

many of the grants in this period escaped the *inquisitio ad quod dampnum* and the required acquisition of a royal licence because they were mainly small rents and quitclaims but, as can be seen on the graph, the great river of donations that had sustained and nourished both St John's and St Bartholomew's throughout the early years of their existence effectively dried up during the last decade of the thirteenth century. The great flow of giving, of properties, rents and quitrents, was at an end, but so great had been that initial endowment that both hospitals had received, that they were able to survive and adapt to the changes of the coming centuries.

CHAPTER 4

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Choosing the site

The four main types of hospital as analysed by Martha Carlin - leper houses, almshouses, hospices for poor wayfarers and pilgrims and institutions that cared for the sick poor¹ - often had, in practice, functions that overlapped. Because the contagious nature of leprosy was recognized in the Middle Ages, society dealt with its dread of the disease by secluding those thought to be suffering from its ravages. Leper houses were always located in the countryside and usually well outside urban centres and it has been suggested that one of the predominant forms of accommodation for lepers was that of cottages or cells grouped around a free-standing chapel, as at Harbledown in Kent.² Such architecture would allow the self-contained communities to grow organically within their boundary walls.³ On the other hand, many of the hospitals, almshouses and hospices which were founded in the twelfth century were providing, in essence, services that St Benedict had laid down in his *Rule* for his monks and it was natural for those founding new institutions of these types to use well-tryed monastic architectural arrangements.⁴ Because they were religious institutions that administered both to the bodies and the souls of the inmates, the accommodation of the *pauperes et infirmi* was commonly laid out following the monastic infirmary-hall pattern and their buildings, courtyards and compounds were set within walled precincts with controlled access through one or more gates.

¹Martha Carlin, 'Medieval English hospitals,' in *The Hospital in History*, eds. Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1989) 21.

²Clay, 35.

³Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action* 9.

⁴'St Benedict: Rule for Monasteries.' in *Readings in Medieval History* ed. Patrick J. Geary (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 1989) 180-214. In Chapter 53: "On the reception of guests." In the reception of the poor and of pilgrims the greatest care and solicitude should be shown, because it is especially in them that Christ is received . . ." And in Chapter 36: "On the sick brethren." Before all things and above all things care must be taken of the sick, so that they be served as if they were Christ in person; for He himself hath said, "I was sick, and ye visited Me" and, "What ye have done unto one of these little ones, ye have done unto Me." But let the sick on their part consider that they are being served for the honor of God, and let them not annoy the brethren who are serving them by their unnecessary demands."

Because of the economic and demographic growth of the towns and because of the promise of work and freedom that they held out, many disadvantaged groups were attracted to the vital and congested urban centers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the same time, the mercantile activity in towns generated wealth and wealthy benefactors who were able to establish and endow hospitals and give generously to the growing number of those falling on hard times. Many of these twelfth- and thirteenth-century foundations were situated just outside city walls on roads and near bridges and rivers in areas that were handy to receive the poor and sick of the towns and also to provide hospitality to poor and sick travellers and pilgrims. There were other practical reasons for this position. Space for the building of the hospital could more easily be found outside the walls than in the already crowded cities. Fresh water was a consideration as the hospital would need a good supply of pure water for all its needs and for the disposal of human waste. Easy access to rivers and roads facilitated the transport of construction materials for building programmes and for the delivery of agricultural produce destined for the kitchens. The prominent position at the entry or exit points to a city and at bridges or at major fairgrounds also situated outside the city encouraged the giving of alms in thanks for the ending of a safe journey or a lucrative visit to the fair.

Rawcliffe's list of the hospitals of later medieval London suggests that there were about seventeen hospitals and almshouses in the London area in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and of these, fourteen were situated without the city walls, including St Bartholomew's.⁵ Oxford, a considerably smaller town, had only one hospital, St John's, during this period. Its first site was outside the wall in the extramural part of the parish of St Peter-in-the-East, but when it was refounded by Henry II in 1231 it was again located outside the East gate, but this time on the main road to London. Although Oxford had a *leprosarium*, St Bartholomew's, a mile further east and over the East Bridge (Pettypont) which had been founded by Henry I c.1126,⁶ and

⁵Rawcliffe, 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London' 18-21.

⁶C.W.Boase, *Oxford* in the series *Historic Towns* eds. E.A.Freeman and W.Hunt (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887) 29.

although two other small hospitals are mentioned in the fourteenth-century records,⁷ St John's was the main and perhaps the only centre of care for the *pauperes et infirmi* of Oxford during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Sometimes, in order to stress the ascendancy of the Christian religion over that of the Jews, hospitals were situated squarely within the Jewish quarter as was St. John's, Cambridge.⁸ Another hospital, St Anthony's, on Threadneedle Street, London, was established by Henry III in a synagogue in 1256.⁹ In 1231, when Henry III refounded the hospital of St John the Baptist in Oxford, he gave it the site of the Jews' burial ground and garden fronting onto East Bridge Street outside the East Gate, saving a place reserved for the burial of the Jews that was retained by them on the south side of the road.¹⁰ Since the kings of England had the Jews of England under their special protection, Salter suggests that the Jews surrendered the land to Henry III in order to retain his goodwill.¹¹ The position of a large, imposing and important institution opposite the burial ground of the Jews would enhance the contrast of *ecclesia* and *synagoga* as Rubin has proposed because, in the minds of Christians, hospitals represented the epitome of Christian charity towards the poor and the sick.¹² Both the priory and the hospital of St Bartholomew's were also situated near the garden of the Jews that lay to the north and west outside the walls of London facing the priory across Aldersgate street.

Hospitals were not only situated outside towns for the reasons given above, but were

⁷Both the hospitals of St Giles and St Peter were mentioned in *VCH*, iv, 366 as having existed in the records: St Giles when the master and brethren of the hospital were given protection while collecting alms in 1330, 1336 and 1346 and as having been given a legacy in 1390; and a hospital of St Peter was recorded as existing in 1338 by Anthony Wood in his *History of the City of Oxford*. Brian Durham in his 'Introduction to The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Oxford' p.19 suggests that such evidence indicates the assumption, born out by Brian Tierney's *Medieval Poor Law*, that people in distress would first seek help from the parish church.

⁸Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*, 108.

⁹Orme and Webster 43

¹⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB I (77)*. 'Concessimus etiam pro nobis & heredibus nostris eisdem magistro & fratribus gardinum cum pertinenciis quod fuit gardinum Iudeorum in suburbio Oxonie extra predictam portam orientalem ad hospitale predictum de nouo ibidem construendum, salua Iudeis Oxonie placia quadam competenti iuxta idem gardinum ad Iudeorum decedentium sepulturam.' See also Salter, *Cart. HSJB III*, xv.

¹¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB III* xv

¹²Rubin, *Charity and Community* 108.

also placed on rougher unwanted land that might have less commercial, agricultural or prestige value to the donor. The site of both the hospital and the priory of St Bartholomew's had been obtained by its founder, Rahere, in a grant from Henry I. It was located on the higher southern portion of a wide open space beyond the north west section of the wall of the city between Newgate and Aldersgate and with the River Holborn and its tidal estuary, the Fleet, to the west. Christopher Thomas has suggested that St Bartholomew's was set back between two major gates and tucked in between the roads that left London because, already at the time of foundation in the early twelfth century, housing was stretching out from the city along these major thoroughfares.¹³ The land Rahere acquired had once belonged to Edward the Confessor and had passed into the hands of the Normans after the Conquest. The area was called Smithfield, or Smethefeud in the earliest documents, from *smethe* the old English word for 'smooth,' and which Kerling connects to *smeig* or *smeuid* meaning 'soft' in the same way that butter is soft.¹⁴ The land was marshy, fed by the Horsepool and other watering spots, such as Todwell, Loderswell and Foxwell and, skirting its perimeter, was the Faggesswell brook. But in the summer Smithfield was used for horseracing and games. Every Friday a horse fair was held there and agricultural produce was also on sale along with cows, oxen and sheep.¹⁵ Once a year for three days starting on St Bartholomew's Eve (23 August) there was a great cloth fair in the grounds of the priory.¹⁶ Although during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the area became more populous, evidence that it still contained unused and vacant land is found in the grant to the hospital by Edward II in

¹³Christopher Thomas, *The Archaeology of Medieval London* (Stroud: Sutton, 2002) 23

¹⁴Nellie Kerling, 'Administration,' *The Royal Hospital of St Bartholomew, 1123-1973* eds. Victor Medvei and John Thornton (London: Cowell, 1974) 20.

¹⁵This is born out by the names of some of the streets in the area. Duck Lane separated the priory and the hospital. Chicken Lane ran along the north side of Horse pool west towards Cow Bridge over the river Holborn. Cow Lane to the south of the pool ran southwest towards Holborn Bridge while Cock Lane ran from Rennetstrete that skirted the west wall of the hospital due west towards the same bridge.

¹⁶The earliest mention of this fair is in the royal charter of King Henry I of 1133 who extends his protection to the Fair. 'I grant also my firm peace to all persons coming to and returning from the fair, which is wont to be celebrated in that place at the feast of Saint Bartholomew; and I forbid any one of the royal officials to send to implead any one, or without the consent of the canons on those three days, to wit, the eve of the feast, the feast itself, and the day following, to demand customary dues from them.' (Moore 41).

1326 of two waste plots in Smithfield to enlarge its grounds.¹⁷ William Fitzstephen's view of the area stands in considerable contrast to that of the *Book of Foundation*. Fitzstephen's description of late twelfth-century London is to be found in the prologue to his *Vitae S. Thomae*. Concerning Smithfield he tells his readers:

In the suburb immediately outside one of the gates there is a smooth field, both in fact and in name. On every sixth day of the week, unless it be a major feast-day on which solemn rites are prescribed, there is a much frequented show of fine horses for sale. Thither come all the Earls, Barons and Knights who are in the City, and with them many of the citizens, whether to look on or buy. It is a joy to see the ambling palfreys, their skin full of juice, their coats a-glisten, as they pace softly, . . . then the younger colts of high breeding . . . and after them the costly destriers of graceful form and goodly stature. . . . When a race between such trampling steeds is about to begin, or perchance between others which are likewise, after their kind, strong to carry, swift to run, a shout is raised and horses of the baser sort are bidden to turn aside. . . . When the signal is given, they stretch forth their limbs . . . The riders, passionate for renown, hoping for victory, vie with one another in spurring their swift horses and lashing them forward with their switches no less than they excite them by their cries. . . . In another place apart stand the wares of the country-folk, instruments of agriculture long-flanked swine, cows with swollen udders, and woolly flocks and bodies huge of kine. Mares stand there, meet for ploughs, sledges and two-horsed carts; the bellies of some are big with young; round others move their offspring, new-born, sprightly foals, inseparable followers.¹⁸

The Book of the Foundation, on the other hand, suggests a ranker and more unwholesome location.

Now that place, however before its cleansing, holding forth no hope of offering anything good, was very foul and, like a marsh, at almost all times abounded with filth and muddy water. And the part which was above the water was allotted to the hanging of thieves and the punishment of others who had been condemned by judicial authority. . . . From this time all men were greatly astonished both at the novelty of the rising fabric and at the founder of the new work. For who would believe that that place could be purged with so sudden a cleansing, and the tokens of the adorable Cross be raised there where a short time ago were standing the horrible gibbets of thieves?¹⁹

Beneath that muddy and seemingly unpromising surface lay, however, a deep layer of fine river gravel entirely suitable for the foundations of the great priory and the adjoining hospital.²⁰

¹⁷Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt.1, m.5. in E.A. Webb, *The Records of St Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield Vol 1*, (London: OUP, 1921) 76.

¹⁸William Fitzstephen, *Description*, trans. H.E. Butler, in F.M. Stenton *Norman London: An Essay* (New York: Italica Press, 1990) 53-4.

¹⁹*The Book of the Foundation* 13-14.

²⁰Moore 23.

Rawcliffe has suggested that hospitals were often located in the ‘rougher end of the medieval townscape,’²¹ and this was to some extent true of both St John’s and St Bartholomew’s. In the Oxford records, tanners, dyers and several smiths can be seen witnessing, renting, buying and selling properties along East Gate Street and in the nearby parish of St Clement’s. Their position outside the East Gate of Oxford enabled them to make use of the copious amounts of water needed in their trades, provided by the River Cherwell. The smell of urine, one of the main ingredients in the tanning process, would have been ever present at the hospital and the noise of the smiths at work at their forges would have disturbed the peace and quiet of the inmates. St Bartholomew’s was no more salubrious. In addition to the presence of the gallows at Smithfield, the district was populated by artisans practicing many of the same trades as at Oxford, and it must also have rung to the sound of hammers at work. The air, too, must at times have been dense with the smoke of the forges and rank with the smell of the tanners’ craft. When in 1180 Edwin Smith, a lorimer from neighbouring Seacole Lane, gave the hospital 12d quit-rent for the soul of his wife, of the nine witnesses to his charter, three were tanners and two were smiths.²² In 1249 and 1265 when the hospital granted land in Vitery lane between the hospital’s court and the city ditch to two butchers, cordwainers and tawyers are among the witnesses of these two charters.²³ Cock Lane at the south end of Smithfield was known for its brothels,²⁴ and nearby Newgate gaol was in existence by 1188 and enlarged significantly in 1218 and 1236 on the orders of Henry III.²⁵

²¹Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul* 38.

²²Kerling, *Cart. SBH*, (164).

²³Kerling, *Cart. SBH*, (289) and (290).

²⁴Ruth Mazo Karras, ‘The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England,’ *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14:2, (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 1989) 408. The ordinances of the 1276 Assizes of the City of London printed in *Letter-Book A*. edited by Reginald R. Sharpe (London: John Edward Francis, 1899) 218 ordain that no whore of a brothel be resident within the walls of the city. However, even though there was an attempt to banish prostitutes and brothels to Southwark, regulations by city authorities in 1393 seem to tolerate brothels in Cock’s Lane within the Liberty of London but outside the city walls.

²⁵Anthony Babington, *The English Bastille: A History of Newgate Gaol* (London: MacDonald, 1971) 14-15. Newgate was used for the most serious types of criminals in the City of London and the county of Middlesex such as rebels, traitors, heretics and spies. Its security was highly regarded and in 1259 it also came to house prisoners from the county of Essex. Because of the nature of their offences, many of the prisoners were under sentence of death.

Gilchrist has suggested that siting the hospital outside the city walls emphasized its physical and spiritual liminality. In a physical sense, the hospital stood in the landscape at the junction of town and country. In a spiritual sense, the brothers and sisters labored in the world while at the same time were set apart from full participation in secular life by their vows. Many of the sick, too, could be seen to be hovering at the junction of this life and the next. Emotional responses to the poor, the crippled and the sick were also ambivalent. Feelings of fear of disease and disgust at the ragged, noisome face of sickness and poverty existed alongside compassion for the sufferers and resulted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in a great outpouring of charitable aid to hospitals on the part of the more fortunate.²⁶ Removal of such sufferers from the general view, while making sure that their needs were met, must have seemed an additional benefit to the benefactors.

The Precincts

Both St John's and St Bartholomew's were walled precincts. St Bartholomew's hospital precinct had three gates during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The main gate opened north onto Smithfield but there was a second smaller gate on the south side of the precinct, the Tanhouse gate, adjacent to the City ditch, and so called because of the activity of the tanners who made use of the springs that supplied the ditch.²⁷ The hospital was connected to the priory grounds to the east by the Little Britain Gate that guarded the entrance to Bartilmewis Lane opposite the South Gate of the Priory.²⁸ The main outer gate led from Smithfield to an inner gate via a passage with a brick wall on one side. It is documented in an indented chirograph between the master of the hospital, Stephen, and Master Ralph de Alcr'. In 1212, Stephen granted Ralph room within a

²⁶Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action* 6.

²⁷Museum of London Archeology Service, *St Bartholomew's Hospital London E.C.1 City of London: An Architectural, Historical and Archeological Site Development Survey* (London: Museum of London, December 1998), 44.

²⁸Power, D'Arcy, *A Short History of St Bartholomew's Hospital 1123-1923: Past and Present* (London: St Bartholomew's Hospital, 1923) 13.

storehouse within the precinct which had been previously built by Richard, archdeacon of Essex. Ralph was granted, for as long as he lived, free entrance and exit through the outside gate up to his place, which extended from the outer gate to the inner gate towards the north, so that it was of old shut in by a brick wall. Master Ralph was given a key to the outside door that he could come and go as he pleased. After Ralph's death the place and all improvements that he had made to it were to be returned to the possession of the hospital.²⁹ Evidence can also be found in the charters that St Bartholomew's was used as a place of safekeeping for documents important to others. In 1225 John de Marsham chaplain was to go to Rome on some business for Alan de Culing, the rector of St Mary in Warham, Lincolnshire. He, having touched the Holy Gospels, promised that if he could not do this he would return to Alan the deed of the collation of the vicarage of Warham deposited at St Bartholomew's and if he were successful, the charter was to be handed to him in the presence of Alan and other men of probity.³⁰ Hospitals were secure communities, and those with a need for the safety they provided could find it within their walls.

The original chapel belonging to the brothers, sisters and staff of the hospital was the chapel of the Holy Cross. Kerling maintains that one of the factors that influenced Rahere to build in Smithfield was the prior existence of a chapel used for the sick and infirm on ground that had been bought by the citizens of London.³¹ This chapel was known as the Holy Cross and a memory of the name seems to have been retained in some of the later documents. In 1222, for instance, Solomon de Basinges quitclaimed his right to 7s. rent for land between the Chapel of the Holy Cross of St Bartholomew's hospital and the highroad towards the *curia* of the canons of St Bartholomew where the dead were buried during the general interdict.³² Further, the fifteenth-

²⁹Moore 143. 'Concessimus etiam predicto Magistro Radulfo quam diu uixerit liberum introitum et exitum per portam nostram exteriorem usque ad placiam suam que extendit a portu exteriori usque ad portam interiorem versus aquilonem sicut antiquitus muro terreo erat inclusa et licebit dicto Magistro Radulfo habere unam clavem in porta nostra exteriori ut quamdiu voluerit sine difficultate nostri intret et exeat.'

³⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1656) (1657). See also Moore 390. '... tradatur eidem Alano carta confecta mea de collatione vicarii ecclesie sue de Warham que deposita est penes magistrum hospitalis sancti Bartholomei apud smethefeld.'

³¹Kerling, *Cart. SBH* (9); Moore II, 23.

³²Kerling, *Cart. SBH* (13).

century register of masters which John Cok compiled and wrote in his own hand is entitled ‘The list of the masters of St Bartholomew’s Hospital founded in honor of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.’³³ In 1184 when the Priory church was rebuilt to the east of Duck Street - present-day Little Britain - and the brothers moved into their new premises, the name of the original hospital chapel, which was dedicated to the Holy Cross, seems to have been retained by the hospital alongside the dedication to St Bartholomew. The new division of hospital and priory was fraught with difficulties and struggles for independence on the hospital’s side and for dominance on the part of the priory. The hospital chapel comes vividly to life in a letter of Pope Lucius III written from Verona in 1184 and addressed to the abbot of Boxley, the archdeacon of Rochester and Master Henry of Northampton. According to the description, the prior and canons had tried with force to carry off the body of one of the brothers who had died and was lying out in their new chapel, in order to take him to the priory for burial. At the same time, the canons had seized the wax candles that had been brought in by the faithful and had taken them away for their own purposes. When the brothers resisted, the prior and canons pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon them. The pope begs the addressees to mediate in the quarrel between the hospital and convent over burial rights and orders that the sentence of excommunication passed be pronounced vain; the prior is to be suspended from authority to excommunicate anyone until further notice.³⁴

The tower of the present-day church, now known as St Bartholomew’s-the-Less, dates to the fourteenth century, and it displays bricked-up doorways that once connected to the lodging of the master. A chapel dedicated to St Mary opened into the church,³⁵ and a second side chapel

³³N.J.M. Kerling, ‘The Foundation of St Bartholomew’s Hospital in West Smithfield, London,’ *The Guildhall Miscellany*, 4:3 (1972), 137-48. Kerling also mentions that the only two illuminations in Cok’s Cartulary depict the Exaltation and the Invention of the Holy Cross. The illumination of the former was accompanied with the rubric ‘Crucis exaltacio ducat nos celi confortio.’

³⁴E.A. Webb, *The Records of St. Bartholomew’s Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield Vol I* (London: OUP, 1921) 81.

³⁵Kerling, *Cart. SBH* (866). In this charter of 1210, Thomas de Haverill, sheriff of London, granted the hospital 12s. rent for a light for the altar of St Mary. Moore infers that Robert Danvers’s testament proves that the chapel of St. Mary opened into the chapel of the Holy Cross, (Moore, II:27).

was dedicated to St Katherine.³⁶ South beyond the chapel were the conventual buildings and the great cloister. To the west there was a second smaller cloister close to the great infirmary hall which stood, according to the Archeology Service, within the Smithfield gate and to its right.³⁷ Power suggests that the whole precinct contained dwelling houses, some with gardens and shops. For instance, in 1250 the hospital granted a messuage to Roger de Hanunia, mercer, that lay on the south side of Smithfield between the stone wall of the courtyard of the hospital in the north and the house at the corner.³⁸ Mention is made of an orchard within the close in a grant by Andrew Bucherel in 1180. Andrew was planning a pilgrimage and before he left, he pledged 6s. rent which the brothers used to pay him for the orchard which they held of him on the east side of the close between the hospital and a certain small road towards the church of St Bartholomew.³⁹ The presence of many houses and gardens and shops is also born out by the rental of St Bartholomew's Hospital compiled by John Cok in 1456 that lists all rents within and without the City of London from the time of King Henry I. The rental shows that there were many dwellings in the Close, some of them abutting and forming its walls. It also shows that a further two separate chapels lay within the Close. St Nicholas lay near the South gate (Tanhouse gate), and near the Little Britain gate stood the Chapel of St Andrew.⁴⁰ There were even dwellings upon the walls adjoining the infirmary hall. In 1312 an agreement was reached between the hospital and John de la Chambre, clerk, permitting him to keep the houses he had built on the wall of the hospital together with the drains he had made so long as he kept his part of the wall in good repair, that he blocked all the windows and exits overlooking the hospital and covered the drain

³⁶Power 14. The only mention of this chapel in the Cartulary is in the early fourteenth century when William de Arundel, a horse-dealer, gave two shops with a solar, rooms and yards to the hospital to provide an income for a chaplain to pray for the souls of all the faithful departed in the hospital. One month earlier he had obtained letters patent to grant two messuages, fourteen shops, eight solars and 13s.4d. in annual rent to the hospital to maintain a chantry for himself, his wife, a friend and the current master of the hospital in the chapel of St Katherine which had been newly built by the said William, (Kerling, *Cart. SBH*) (228), (229), (236).

³⁷Museum of London Archeology Service 44.

³⁸Kerling, *Cart. SBH* (316).

³⁹Kerling, *Cart. SBH* (15).

⁴⁰Power 15. Both references to the chapel of St Andrew in the Cartulary are from the fourteenth century and one concerns the establishment of a chantry.

from his kitchen with iron bars so that large pieces could not fall through into the precinct. As part of the agreement John undertook to pay an extra 12d a year on his rent.⁴¹ The location of this tenement is described in a deed of sale by his executors in 1328 as being at the corner of Westsmithfield between the hospital in the east and north, Vitery Lane in the South and the road from Westsmithfield and Newgate in the west. William of Viteri had donated, quitclaimed and sold land with a stone house and an orchard to the hospital in 1227x8 and had lent his name to Vitry Lane.⁴² Further land in Vitry Lane both on the north side by the hospital and south towards the Ditch against London Wall was added to the hospital's patrimony in the thirteenth century. The hospital's possessions around the core precinct had grown piecemeal over the two centuries since its foundation extending its area to the south and west.

St Bartholomew's hospital has occupied the same position for nearly nine hundred years. Situated between Newgate and Aldersgate on a raised area above the Fleet, the tidal zone of the river Holborn, the twin towers of the priory were clearly visible to travellers entering and leaving London via the road from Newgate to Oxford and the west, and from Aldersgate two roads ran north along ridges to converge on the high road that climbed up Highgate Hill and on to Lincoln and York.⁴³ London's population has been estimated at 40,000 in 1200.⁴⁴ It had a vibrant trade with the rest of England and its export trade in wool with countries like Flanders generated wealth for the merchants and allowed artisans to flourish. Tanners, dyers, smiths, lorimers, knifsmiths, butchers, parmenters, drapers, linen drapers, hosiers, shoemakers, hatters and belt makers witness charters and give and sell land in the vicinity of the hospital, in the close and in the parishes of the Holy Sepulchre and St Botolph's without Aldersgate. Although the area was sparsely populated at the time of its foundation, by the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was clearly a bustling suburb.

⁴¹Kerling, *Cart. SBH* (305).

⁴²Kerling *Cart. SBH* (277) to (285).

⁴³William Francis Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London*, (London:Routledge, 1968) 44.

⁴⁴David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (London: Allen Lane, 2003) 44.

St John's hospital on the other hand, although it was similarly placed outside the walls of Oxford and on the main road to London, was set in a quieter suburb. Unlike the suburbs outside the north and south gates, which were active centers of trade, the eastern suburb was largely rural in nature and relatively undeveloped. The hospital was situated on the north side of the main road between Longwall street and the Pettypont over the River Cherwell. There were thirteen tenements on the north side of the road between the hospital and Longwall street, which skirted the town wall and led north to Crowelle and on to Holywell. On the south side of the road were eight tenements, Rose Lane which led to the grange of St Frideswide's priory, and the Jews' burial ground. Beyond this and to the south lay Paris mead which, in time, came to be part of the hospital patrimony.⁴⁵ The Cherwell skirted the Paris Mead and joined the Thames south and east of Grandpont Bridge. To the north of the hospital lay the rural parish of Holywell and to the east of Pettypont the parish of St Clement's that was home to a number of smiths, tanners, and dyers. Smiths and dyers⁴⁶ can also be seen witnessing and renting in the immediate vicinity of the hospital, but included in the charters are men with names suggestive of less environmentally-disruptive occupations. In 1235, Eadred the Bolter, brother of Eadmund le Chapeler, and Leticia his widow granted Eadmund's messuage - the second tenement west of the great gateway - to the hospital. One of their neighbours was John Carpentarius.⁴⁷ In 1220, Ailwin the Turner granted the fourth tenement west of the gateway to Edred of London.⁴⁸ Clerics such as Philip le

⁴⁵Salter *Cart. HSJB I* (71). Between 1271 and 1280 the cartulary provides an early description of the property of the Hospital and walks us round the grounds. 'A limitacione hundredi de Bolendene quod dicitur Tubrige usque ad pratum de Paris tota illa placia quod [sic] iacet iuxta pontem pertinet ad feodum hospitalis & hoc ex dono regio, quia Godefridus de Crawecumbe inde saisivit hospitale nomine regis, presentibus ballivis Oxonie & aliis fidelibus, ut fratres hospitalis de predicta placia disponerent & ordinarent ad sua aysiamenta.' Then follows a list of holdings that the hospital holds 'de feodo.' The final paragraph marks the boundaries. 'Preterea sunt & alii tenentes extra portam orientalem Oxonie qui in nullo sunt subiecti hospitali; sed non video quo iure possunt se tueri cum hospitale habeat cartam Hugonis de Malanay de 'omnia tenementa extra portam orientalem Oxonie' prout patet in predicta carta, & sunt mete videlicet a grangio sancte Fridesswide & a prato de Paris per fossatum quod extendit se usque ad murum municipii Oxonie & sic per murum extra usque ad Crowewelle, per gardinum hospitalis usque ad Charwewelle, que Charewelle currit de molendino de Haliwelle, & sic per pratum quod iacet infra fossatum quod extendit usque ad Charewelle que Charewelle venit de Kynqismulle, & sic [per] Charewelle de fossato illo usque ad Tubrige cum omnibus pertinenciis.'

⁴⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (91).

⁴⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (80).

⁴⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (85).

Notur and Richard de Walingford were also to be found living near the hospital in the thirteenth century, as might be expected in a university town.⁴⁹

The site of the refoundation of St John's on the garden plot of the Jews involved reclaiming land from a branch of the Cherwell, and the two buildings that dominated the south and east corner of the hospital grounds formed the edges of the precinct to the south and east and are the only buildings about which any firm conclusions can be drawn as to their architecture. Brian Durham suggests a courtyard plan based on the fragments known to R.T. Gunther and his analysis of the observations of John Buckler, the early nineteenth-century architect.⁵⁰ The south wall of the infirmary faced onto East Gate street and its eastern end lay out upon land reclaimed from the Cherwell. Durham's archeological investigations beneath the kitchens of Magdalen College determined that a building that he called the hospital hall lay at right angles to the infirmary and followed the bank of the Cherwell. Its south gable end was formed by the north wall of the infirmary chapel and there was a communicating door between the two buildings.⁵¹ Its eastern wall ran parallel to the Cherwell. The doorway connecting the infirmary to the hall is small, but there was a far more imposing doorway on the western side leading into the courtyard. Durham suggests that it was, perhaps, a hall for the warden or the king's almoner, a hall where business was conducted and important visitors lodged.⁵²

Construction of the hospital continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the north range. Durham makes the argument that the initial plans for the hospital were to build on a grand scale and thus took some time to be completed.⁵³ Land upon which to build the chief

⁴⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (67), (87), (88).

⁵⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III Appendix 393-434. Appendix III 'On the architecture of the Hospital of St. John' by R.T. Gunther was compiled from J.C. Buckler's rough notes (British Library Addit. MS. 27963) and from his own observations. From his reading of Buckler's notes Gunther assumes that four hospital buildings survive the completion of Waynflete's college, Magdalen, were the infirmary block on the north side of the College Cloister, the block north of the infirmary or the 'stables' of 1674-1733, the chapel building in two storeys (c. 1234) and the kitchen block.

⁵¹Durham 71.

⁵²Durham 72.

⁵³Durham 63.

gate to the hospital was obtained when Amicia, daughter of Robert, sold and quitclaimed a tenement to the hospital in 1233, and in the Charter Roll of 1246 the mention of payments made by Geoffrey, the king's almoner, in relation to this tenement suggests that the site was required for the building program of the king.⁵⁴ An early description of this property says that the buildings on this tenement were destroyed to make a site for the main gate and the chapel.⁵⁵ This chapel, distinct from the chapel of the infirmary hall, was for the use of the staff and for poor pilgrims and other travellers and was a two storey building known as the Wayside Chapel.⁵⁶ Beneath the chapel, which was on the upper floor, there was a large vaulted chamber, the Stranger's Hall. This chamber was thought by Gunther to have been used to provide accomodation and refreshment for poor wayfarers that needed temporary shelter, one of the services for which the hospital was originally founded.⁵⁷

The Infirmary Halls

Because of Durham's archeological exertions on behalf of Magdalen College, much is known about St John's hospital infirmary. The building parallel to the East Bridge Road and extending over the Cherwell was identified in Durham's study as the infirmary because of its twin-hall layout which has a single arcade down the center. The twin-hall design provided for the separation of men and women in one building, as a central curtain would have allowed for a certain amount of privacy. But such a design for the whole hall would have required two altars and failed to provide a central east window. However, it is clear from the archeological record that there is an altered arrangement of pier bases for the easternmost two bays and that, at this point, the infirmary switched from being a twin-halled to an aisled design. This allowed the inmates of both sides to view the altar from their beds and would have allowed the light from a

⁵⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I. (75), (78).

⁵⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I. (71). 'Terra quam Walterus Gulle tenet est de feodo hospitalis, sed inde non habuit warantizationem ab hospitalis; fuerunt & ibi alia edificia loco porte & capelle modo derupta.'

⁵⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III. Appendix 3, 404.

⁵⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III. Appendix 3, 407.

large east window to stream in in the mornings.⁵⁸ By extrapolating from the distance between the two pier bases uncovered, Durham suggests that the twin halls were divided into ten foot modules or cubicles. The floor of these cubicles was discoloured by charcoal and ash from fires or braziers and in places he found scorch marks from the fires themselves. However, no scorching was to be found in the eastern annexe suggesting this was never an area used for the accomodation of inmates.⁵⁹ John Buckler's early nineteenth-century drawings of Magdalen College clearly show that the walls of the infirmary were pierced by a row of early English lancet windows.⁶⁰ The earliest extant drawing of the Hospital of St John was done by Matthew Paris with his trademark red and green shading around 1250. Although simplified, this representation may be accepted as evidence that the hospital had a tower near its east end and that the eastern annexe beyond this tower had a lower roof.⁶¹

Durham's study of the St John's infirmary hall has uncovered a unique feature, the presence of a culvert at the extreme eastern end of the infirmary hall, at the far eastern end of the infirmary chapel. The culvert was built on concreted sand on the river bed and lined with rebated floor slabs. Steps led down from the chapel level into the culvert on the northern upstream end. Because the ashlar-lined culvert incorporated the flowing waters of the River Cherwell into the eastern part of the hall, which had its own gabled roof at right angles to the main body of the infirmary hall, Durham posits the existence of a healing ritual. The dedication of the hospital to St John the Baptist articulates the architectural feature with notions of spiritual healing, of rebirth and repentance, and of the cleansing of sin through immersion.⁶²

Some details of life in the hospital can be found in the records. The infirmary and the altar were lit at night. Numerous grants attest to bequests for the upkeep of such lights, kept

⁵⁸Durham 65.

⁵⁹Durham 72.

⁶⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III. Appendix 3, 395.

⁶¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III Appendix 3, 433 and Clay, 1. After a sketch by Matthew Paris in his *Chronicles*, BL Roy. MS. 14C.vii, f.221.

⁶²Andree Hayum, *The Isenheim Altarpiece: God's Medicine and the Painter's Vision* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989) 89-94

burning for the comfort of the inmates. In 1245, for instance, Robert le Mignot assigned 2s. to the lighting of the lamp in the infirmary.⁶³ Robert also assigned 16d. to the sweeping and cleaning of the great hall that was to be done four times a year.

Precise knowledge of St Bartholomew's infirmary hall eludes archeological investigation as the site has been in constant use ever since the hospital's inception. There are maps of London from the mid-sixteenth century and sketches such as Anthony van den Wyngaerde's of Smithfield⁶⁴ but none of these are sufficiently precise to contribute further details to knowledge of the layout of the hospital. Evidence is also scarce as to the furnishings of the hospital. Some few details can be gleaned from the charters and letters patent. Bequests for the charitable upkeep of a light in the infirmary can be found in the cartulary. Details of the testament made by Waleram c.1215 note a bequest to the hospital of 8s. quitrent, namely 4s. for lights in the infirmary and 4s. as an obit for Lucy his wife,⁶⁵ and in 1219 John, son of Geoffrey Bocointe, granted the hospital 5s. quitrent from his messuage to be used for lights for the sick in the hospital infirmary.⁶⁶ The use of the plural designation of 'lights' (*lumine*) in these grants suggest that more than one light allowed the staff to move among the sick in the long hours of the night and ensured that any wakeful inmate might profitably spend his time contemplating the cross upon the altar, visible from his bed within the main body of the infirmary hall.⁶⁷ Lights before the altar and lights within the body of the infirmary are differentiated in a grant from the year 1300. Ralph Niger granted to the hospital for his soul and the soul of his wife 6s. quitrent;

⁶³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (632): 'ad luminare unius lampadis in firmeria.' This was also true for the first hospital in Longwall Street. In c. 1210, Geoffrey Aurifaber grants the hospital two rents 'ad luminare unius lampadis in firmaria ipsa coram infirmis in ea existentibus ardentis' (706). In the same year, Ailwin the Turner quitclaims to the brethren and sisters 12d. 'ad luminare in domo infirmorum' (266).

⁶⁴Power, Plate IV opposite p.15. This sketch shows horsemen racing over Smithfield. Plate V opposite p.16 shows a plan of the hospital in 1617, which positions the hospital on the west side of St Bartholomew-the-Less and to the north of the great cloister. See Appendix II. Figs. 5 and 6.

⁶⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (827).

⁶⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (479), 214-15/266. 'ad luminarum infirmorum' In another charter (480) 215/377 John, who features on his seal as a knight in armour on horseback bearing a long shield and a sword, grants the hospital pledges in his chief house of Holborn and in other rents of his in London or Portsoken so that they receive the 5s. quitrent for the lights.

⁶⁷Prescott 15.

the money is to be divided between oil for the lamp before the altar of St Mary and oil for the infirmary.⁶⁸ The infirmary hall at St Bartholomew's appears to have had a hearth because in 1223 and in 1224 King Henry III ordered his forester, Engelard de Cicogny, to give to the inmates of the hospital the gift of one old oak from the forest of Windsor. It was to be cut with the least possible injury to the forest and to be given to the patients for their hearth.⁶⁹

As for the inmates of St Bartholomew's, only one grant before 1300 specifically mentions their needs, and at the same time proves that the hospital was used not only for the sick but also for poor wayfarers. In 1215x6 Alexander de Norfolk grants to the hospital for the souls of his parents and of his uncle Fulger his house outside the gate of St Paul's and opposite the brewery of the canons of St Paul's.⁷⁰ The rent is to be used to buy the clothes necessary for the poor staying over night in the great ward and should any money remain it is to be used for the purchase of linen cloths and other garments for the infirmary.⁷¹

Water Sources

Every hospital needs a good, clean water supply and a way to get rid of the wastes of the community. St Bartholomew's was supplied by a spring known as Faggesswell, that rose in the south of the hospital grounds near the ditch and crossed the south side of Smithfield running northwest through the hospital to join the River Holborn near Holborn Bridge. There were clearly problems with the drainage. In 1275 when Richard Muschet was granted a house in Cowbridge street near the exit of the Faggesswell brook, it was stipulated that he must maintain a ditch running through his tenement in order that the water running from the hospital to his

⁶⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (838).

⁶⁹Power 14.

⁷⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (583). Alexander de Norfolk witnesses three grants for SBH and, according to Moore, *The History of St Bartholomew's Hospital* 321, four charters belonging to the abbey of Holy Trinity, Caen. Five of the witnesses of this grant are connected to the cathedral and in a grant made to the hospital by William de Sancta Maria, canon of St Paul's (Kerling [1169]) it appears that Alexander may hold the nearby prebend in Alarichesbery. In a grant made to him in 1215 (Kerling [525]), Alexander is seen to be a clerk.

⁷¹'... emantur panni in magna tulchia hospitalis necessarii ad opus pauperum ibi de nocte hospitantium secundum disposicionem magistri et si quid residuum fuerit expendatur in lintheaminibus et aliis pannis in infirmario.'

tenement is not obstructed.⁷² By 1297 this brook had become a sewer and Edward I directed the master and brethren to cover it with wood and stone.⁷³ The city of London was first supplied by water in lead pipes in 1236, when nine conduits were erected.⁷⁴ A covered cistern was situated in the centre of the priory close, as shown in Agas's sixteenth-century map.⁷⁵ An agreement reached in 1433 concerning repairs to the pipes suggests that at that time the head of the aqueduct was situated in the priory's manor at Canonbury and that the water reaching the priory was piped across Duck Lane from the cistern to the hospital.⁷⁶ An important source of fresh water must also have been the collection of rain water. This is shown by the sale and quitclaim by Jordan Coleman to William White of his right to a wall between their houses. Jordan stipulates that he must receive the water coming from the gable of William's house that had been built upon this wall.⁷⁷

The disposal of human waste is mentioned in a grant made by Bartholomew Capellanus, master of the hospital, to Thomas, called Hod, the butcher. In addition to land with houses in Viteries Lane he is also granted a piece of land with an outer room (*camera forinseca*) over the ditch which descends through the common ditch from the privy (*camera communis*) of the hospital.⁷⁸

In Oxford, the water supply to the east end of St John's hospital infirmary has already been described. In addition, in 1246 Henry III granted to the *custos* of the hospital that water from Crowell spring situated outside the wall at the north-east corner of the town should be conveyed to the hospital by aquaduct and the sheriff was to see that no one hindered its flow.⁷⁹ Its situation at the top of Longwall street probably meant that water from the Crowell spring was

⁷²Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (139).

⁷³*Cal. P.R. 1292-1301*, 288.

⁷⁴Thomas 73.

⁷⁵Webb, 1:100.

⁷⁶Webb, Vol I, 192

⁷⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (963).

⁷⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (290).

⁷⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB III*, xxiv

the primary source of water to the original hospital and that the hospital's rights in its use had been transferred to the new foundation. There appears to be a further source of water taken from above the church of the Holy Cross in Haliwell. Durham suggests that this may have been the source of the water which, flowing south from west to east, flushed the series of latrines recorded by Buckler in the north range of the hospital cloister and also fed a possible 'lavacrum in medio Claustri.'⁸⁰

Burial Grounds

Because hospitals were religious institutions, they came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Burial rights were sought by hospitals in their provision of the seven works of mercy. Because burial of the dead earned the priest a mortuary fee, there was considerable competition to provide this service. In a small town like Oxford, where many small parish churches vied for a sufficient income, the new foundation with burial rights must have caused some friction. In the case of the hospital of St Bartholomew's the competition would have been largely with the priory but also to a lesser extent with the nearby parish church of St Sepulchre which was part of the priory's patrimony. Hospitals with burial rights were entitled to bury the brothers and sisters, the lay staff and the patients who died in the hospital. They were also allowed to bury anyone who had requested burial within the hospital cemetery and had stated so in writing. But in such cases a *portio canonica* had to be paid to the parish church to whose community the dead person belonged.⁸¹

⁸⁰Durham 73 and Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xxiv

⁸¹Jean Imbert, *Les Hôpitaux en Droit Canonique* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1947) 93-4. On ne pourra enterrer à l'hôpital d'autres personnes que celles qui y meurent (frères, soeurs, donnés ou malades.) La seule exception permise concerne les personnes qui, dans leur testament, auraient élu sépulture dans le cimetière hospitalier. Si l'hôpital admet dans son cimetière indistinctement qui que ce soit, il faut le soumettre au droit commun. Outre cette première obligation, restrictive, l'hôpital se verra tenu, mais seulement lorsqu'il s'agira des élections de sépulture à indemniser le curé du casuel qu'il aurait pu obtenir. Cette indemnité s'appelle la 'portion canonique', dont le montant a été fixé très exactement par la législation et la doctrine. L'obligation de verser la canonique est précisée chez les canonistes; elle est même dûe si, par cas fortuit, le mort n'est pas enterré à l'hôpital: ce dernier devra verser la canonique sur les legs effectivement reçus.

The problems over burial rights between the hospital and priory of St Bartholomew's did not start until the canons moved into their new premises in 1183x4. In that year Alan, master of the hospital, obtained a bull from Pope Lucius III taking the hospital and its property under papal protection. Amongst other privileges, the pope saw fit to grant an indulgence so that the hospital might have the right of burial for its own use and for its household, and that its own chaplain might administer in its church without any contradiction whatsoever.⁸² After the disturbance at the funeral of one of the brothers in the hospital chapel, related above, Alan obtained a second bull from Lucius in 1184.⁸³ In this document the pope ordained that the brothers might have a cemetery for themselves, their household and the poor, even though the brothers had, up to this point, had burial at the church of the canons.⁸⁴ Evidently the brothers' goal of a cemetery of their own had not become a reality six years later, as in 1190 Pope Clement III issued another bull confirming the bull of Lucius. Clement's bull expanded on the need of the hospital for a separate burial ground 'since, on account of the multitude of those dying in the house of [their] hospital and the excessive distance of the cemetery through the horse market and muddy streets, the labour entailed by those brothers and servants in [their] house who apply themselves to conducting funerals is recognized in these days to have grown to vast proportions.'⁸⁵ Alan, the master, had clearly exaggerated the distance between the hospital and the priory in his eagerness to acquire burial rights. The struggle for these rights continued and it is noteworthy that in 1224 Eustace of Fauconberg, bishop of London, having allowed the brothers other privileges, stated that the brothers should not have the burial ground which they had asked to be granted them by papal indulgence, nor were they to seek any other save the burial ground in the cemetery of the

⁸²Moore 151.

⁸³See above: Chapter 4, page 88.

⁸⁴Moore 155-6: '... nullius contradictione vel applicatione obstante, cimiterium ibidem pro fratribus, familia et pauperibus precipimus benedici non obstante quod apud predictorum ecclesiam canonicorum hactenus habueritis sepulturam, cum in paccione prefata nulla de fratribus vestris apud eos sepeliendis mencio habeatur.'

⁸⁵Moore 161: 'Ad hec quum ex multitudine morientium in domo hospitalis vestri et nimia cimiterii longinquitate per medium forum equorum et vias lutasas labor fratrum et serviencium in domo vestra qui tumulandis funeribus intendunt diebus hiis in immensum crevisse dinoscitur.'

canons set apart for the burial of the poor. A small concession was made in the following sentence, allowing that should any citizen of London or other person wish to be buried in the burial ground of the poor of the hospital, his body was to be sent to the hospital and a funerary mass be celebrated there. Following the ceremony, however, the citizen was to be buried in the priory burial ground.⁸⁶ This can be seen in action when the hospital granted Thomas Dudeman land in the parish of St Audoen. Thomas must have been paying a relatively larger rent than the land was worth as the hospital also agreed to make Thomas and his mother members of their confraternity, having a share in the benefit of the prayers of the brothers and a burial place amongst them.⁸⁷ The hospital did not acquire undisputed and well documented burial rights of its own until 1373. The composition of Simon of Sudbury, then bishop of London, laid out in article thirteen that the master, brothers and sisters and every other person dying within the hospital precincts might be buried there and that the burial ground could be canonically consecrated. All who chose to be buried there might also be admitted to burial except the parishioners of St Sepulchre or anybody who died within the priory precincts.⁸⁸

Although during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries St Bartholomew's Hospital never succeeded in gaining burial rights, it did provide burial facilities for Londoners during the general interdict of 1208-1214, when Christian burial was forbidden. In the first year of the interdict, William of Sanctmerglise, bishop of London, issued an ordinance to all the faithful in his diocese concerning land which the hospital had granted to the mayor and citizens on the east side of the hospital for the burial of their dead. The staff of the hospital and the poor arriving at the hospital from other places during the interdict were to be buried as previously in the place provided by the canons until after the interdict. The burial ground granted at the request of the

⁸⁶Moore 376: 'Cimiterium vero quod fratres ex indulgentia domini pape sibi concessum petebant benedici non habebunt nec aliud petent de cetero quam cimiterium apud [Cimiterium apud] dictos Canonicos sepulture pauperum deputatum. Siquis tamen de civitate london vel aliunde sepulturam pauperum hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei elegerit: corpore ipsius ad idem hospitalis delato et missa pre ipsius et Fidelium animabus celebrata in dicto cimiterio sepulture pauperum deputato ac si inter pauperes in eodem hospitali decessisset tumulabitur.'

⁸⁷Kerling, *Cart HSB* (590).

⁸⁸Moore 588.

mayor and citizens on the hospital grounds was to return to the possession of the hospital after the Interdict and no-one was to be buried there from that time forward.⁸⁹ The position of this unconsecrated ground for burial is made manifest in the quitclaim made in 1222x3 by Solomon de Basinges to the hospital of his right to 7s. rent for land between the Chapel of the Holy Cross of the hospital of St Bartholomew and the highroad towards the *curia* of the canons of St Bartholomew where the dead were buried during the general interdict.⁹⁰ The choice of such ground by the mayor and citizens of London must have seemed the closest to holy ground that they could have achieved, sandwiched as it were between the priory and the hospital itself, where so many good alms-deeds were done by benefactors and so many prayers reached up to God from the grateful poor.

Despite the wrangling over burial rights between the hospital and the priory, the presence of a cemetery on the hospital premises seems to antedate all these conflicts. Around the year 1185 the draft of a petition from the hospital to the pope was made and was copied by Cok into a place of some importance in the *Cartulary*. It concerns the foundation and states that the site had been bought by the citizens of London for 7m. from Dame Rose, widow, and that it had been bestowed upon the church and the canons by the king to make a cemetery and a chapel for the use of the sick, ‘ubi ad hoc idem essent corpora infirmorum.’⁹¹ The *Book of the Foundation* states that Richard, the bishop of London, ‘hallowed that place on the east side of the said field, and dedicated with episcopal authority what was at that time a very small cemetery.’⁹² Kerling suggests that this may have been the site that the citizens of London had bought from Dame Rose.⁹³

⁸⁹Moore 128: ‘Locus sepe dictus ad ius aet possessionem fratrum hospitalis libere revertetur. Dum tamen nulli omnino homini liceat ulterius in eadem area defunctum aliquem sepelire.’

⁹⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (13).

⁹¹Nellie Kerling, ‘The Foundation of St Bartholomew’s Hospital in West Smithfield, London.’ 138.

⁹²*The Book of the Foundation* 12.

⁹³Kerling ‘The Foundation of St Bartholomew’s Hospital’ 141. Moore points to an even greater antiquity of the use of Smithfield as a burial ground. In 1877 two ancient sarcophagi of lead-lined stone of Roman form but made of local limestone were discovered while digging underneath the foundations of the Library and Museum of St Bartholomew’s, (Moore 3). See above p. 87.

St John's hospital was granted its first cemetery in 1245 when the king, as patron of the hospital, sent letters patent to the archdeacon of Oxford or his official ordering him to provide a cemetery where the brothers and the patients might be buried. At the instance of the king, the pope had commanded the bishop of Lincoln to authorize such a cemetery, provided that there was no damage to the mother church. William the chaplain and Roger, subdeacon, brothers of the hospital, were to be the king's representatives in this matter.⁹⁴ Since the hospital was set in the parish of St Peter's in the East some agreement must have been drawn up compensating the rector of St Peter's for his loss of revenues, but Salter was unable to discover any such charter.⁹⁵ However, the cemetery is mentioned again in the bull of privileges granted by Innocent IV in 1245, when the chapels and the cemetery were numbered among the permitted possessions of the hospital.⁹⁶ After the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, the cemetery of the Jews across East Bridge street from the hospital escheated to Edward I. Salter suggests that the hospital may have claimed that it should belong to the hospital, as Henry III had founded the hospital on land which had been part of the same burial ground. Upon an *Inquisitio ad quod damnum* in 1293 the jury decided that it would not be to the king's damage as long as the high road remained at a width of 26 feet. The Patent Roll of 22 Ed. I records the gift of the land by the king to the hospital and in 1295 the bishop of Lincoln granted permission for the plot to be consecrated.⁹⁷ Finally, in 1297 the vicar of St Peter's assented to the consecration of this new and more ample cemetery.⁹⁸ The presence of a charnel in the hospital grounds is mentioned in R.T. Gunter's early twentieth-century archeological survey of the hospital,⁹⁹ and the records refer

⁹⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xxii. Calendar of Patent Rolls (1232-47), p.457: 'Rex archidiacono Oxon' vel eius officiali salutem. Cum dominus Papa ad instanciam nostram dederit in mandatis Lincolnensi episcopo ut hospitali Oxonie cimiterium provideret et sepulturam fratrum eiusdem hospitalis et pauperum in eodem hospitali decedentium, provisam tamen indemnitatem matricis ecclesie, et nostra intersit ut patroni eiusdem hospitalis de provisione facienda de indemnitatem ecclesie predictae constituimus ad hoc loco nostro Willelmum capellanum et Rogerum subdiaconum eiusdem hospitalis.'

⁹⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xxii

⁹⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III 7: '...ut pro vobis et familiaribus vestris ac pauperibus in hospitali degentibus memorato capellas et cimiterium liceat vobis habere...'

⁹⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (38).

⁹⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (42).

⁹⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III Appendix 404.

to another in the parish of St Peter in the East opposite Smithgate. A tenement was given to the hospital in 1287 by Simon Scot and Juliana his wife to provide for the upkeep of the latter charnel and provision for one chaplain to celebrate the divine office for the souls of all the faithful dead therein.¹⁰⁰ Clearly, by this point the existing cemetery of the hospital had become much too small for all the poor requiring burial since the refoundation of the hospital.

The sites chosen for both hospitals took into account the needs of the community, both those of the staff and inmates and also those of the benefactors. They were built outside the city walls where there was sufficient space for their institutions, sufficient supplies of good fresh water and where the subsoil provided adequate drainage. They were also endowed with the necessary extra space for gardens that could provide them with their immediate needs and sufficient land for adequate burial facilities for those dying in the comforting spiritual surroundings of the two hospitals. The buildings themselves grew organically over the time from foundation to 1300 and were sufficiently imposing to provide arresting proof of the benefactors' generosity to those entering and leaving the sheltering security of city walls.

¹⁰⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (381): '... ad sustentacionem charnerii dicte domus & ad auxilium unius capellani ad celebrandum divina pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum in dicto charnerio.'

CHAPTER 5

FOUNDERS AND FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION

Founders and Refounders

St Bartholomew's hospital has a very clear record of its founder. *The Book of the Foundation* celebrates its foundation in 1123 by Rahere, the courtier turned Augustinian canon. No foundation charter exists, but this medieval chronicle provides details about the early years of the hospital's existence before charters and other documents began to be kept with any regularity by the institution in the second half of the twelfth century. Five charters exist in the archives from the 1160s, but by the 1180s more and more are being preserved. St John's foundation, in contrast, is shrouded from view both as to the founder and as to the exact date land was provided and the first stones raised.

The *Book of the Foundation* is the work of a canon of the priory of the second half of the twelfth century. As Kerling points out, it was written at the time of the separation of the priory and the hospital and although the writer does not mention the tension between the two, he presents the narrative largely from the point of view of the priory and in doing so stresses the importance of the priory and the subordination of the hospital at a time when the hospital was entering upon its own free and independent existence.¹

The story of the foundation has been told fully by Moore, Webb and Kerling, but some details are germane to this present study. Rahere is described in the *Book of the Foundation* as a man of humble lineage, who raised himself in the world by using his ready wit and drew the friendship to himself of 'those whom he had soothed with jokes and flatterings.'² The image of him as a court sycophant and sweet-talking hanger-on in the *Book of the Foundation* was

¹Kerling, 'The Foundation of St Bartholomew's Hospital,' 147.

²*The Book of the Foundation* 6.

probably a typological literary device used by the author to heighten the value of his subsequent conversion. He must, however, have had a genuine gift for friendship as Richard of Belmeis I, bishop of London, and many of the great barons of the city remained his friends, supporting his plans for the foundation in many concrete ways. Kerling has suggested that the name Rahere was from the Low Countries and that the largest immigration from this area to England during these centuries was to Essex. She proposes a link between the de Vere family, who had large holdings in Essex, and Rahere. She suggests that Rahere came from Essex and may have come to London in the entourage of Aubrey de Vere, who became sheriff of London in 1121^{x2} and great chamberlain to the king in 1133. The de Veres were great benefactors to the hospital,³ and the hospital seems to have a special link to Essex in that a large number of charters preserved in the archives concern this county. At some point, and perhaps due to the influence of the important people that he knew, Rahere became a canon of the prebend of Chamberlain Wood of St Paul's Cathedral.⁴ This position as a well-beneficed canon of an important ecclesiastical institution would have seemed worldly to the Augustinian chronicling these events, and he relates that in the course of time Rahere became dissatisfied with his life and left for Rome to obtain forgiveness for his sins, hoping by the difficulty of the journey to do penance.⁵ Having reached Rome, he fell very ill and came close to death. In one of his lucid moments he promised that should he recover he would return to England and 'erect a hospital for the restoration of poor men and, as far as he could, would minister to the necessities of the poor gathered together in that place.'⁶ No mention is made in the *Book* at this point of the promise to found a priory and no mention is yet made of Rahere's choice of patron. But on this latter decision he may already

³The Mandeville family were related to the de Veres by marriage and were also benefactors. The Albermarles, William of Pleshy and Serlo de Marci were all important benefactors of influence from Essex, (Moore 186).

⁴Kerling, 'The Foundation of St Bartholomew's Hospital,' 139. The rather unusual name, Rahere, can be seen in the list of the canons holding this prebend c. 1115 in D.E.Greenway (ed.), *John le Neve Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, I (1968) 38.

⁵Kerling, 'The Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital' 137 n.4: 'ut plenam atque perfectam omnium peccatorum peccatorum consequeretur indulgenciam . . . decrevit romanam adire curiam.'

⁶*Book of the Foundation* 7: 'Quod si sanitate adepta ad patriam suam sibi redire liceret ad pauperum recreacionem hospitale construeret et pauperibus ibidem congregatis necessaria quo ad posset ministraret.'

have made the choice of St Bartholomew, as there existed in Rome an ancient healing shrine on an island in the Tiber that had once been dedicated to Aesclepius.⁷ These healing precincts had later been co-opted for Christian healing and dedicated to St Bartholomew. *The Book of the Foundation*, however, claims that it was because of a vision of St Bartholomew on his return journey in which the saint presented himself as patron that Rahere's devotion was forged. The apostle gave Rahere very specific instructions: 'For you should know that I - by the will and command of all the High Trinity, and with the common favour and counsel of the court of heaven - have chosen a spot in a suburb of London at Smithfield where, in my name, you are to found a church - the house of God, the tabernacle of the Lamb, the temple of the Holy Ghost.' As to funding, the apostle helpfully told Rahere not to worry: 'merely apply diligence, for I will provide the costs necessary for directing and completing the fabric of this work. . . . You are to provide diligent service and I will perform the office of master and patron.'⁸

Upon his return to England, Rahere consulted with the barons of London who, according to the petition, had already bought land from Dame Rose for a hospital.⁹ But, because Smithfield was within the royal demesne,¹⁰ the barons referred him to the king. Richard of Belmeis I, bishop of London, and a man with a great interest in the new order of Augustinian canons, was present at this meeting.¹¹ Rahere was granted his request¹² and in 1123 Bishop Richard

⁷Vivian Nutton, 'Roman medicine, 250 BC to AD 200,' in *The Western medical Tradition: 800 BC to AD 1800*, eds. eds. Lawrence I. Conrad et al., (Cambridge:Cambridge UP, 1995) 40. The cult of the healing god Aesclepius was introduced to Rome in 291 BC.

⁸ *Book of the Foundation* 8. The English has been modernized for these quotations.

⁹See above p. 87.

¹⁰Henry I charter of 1133 speaks of his 'demesne chapel.' The charter Prior Thomas obtained from Henry II c.1176 uses the term 'demesne chapel' and 'demesne canons' to describe the church and the canons. He notes that the priory was to be protected as it belonged to 'the king's demesne.' must be free as it was part of his demesne. See Webb, *The Records of St Bartholomew's Priory* 44.

¹¹*Book of the Foundation* 11: 'And, using their counsel, he betook himself at an opportune time to the king and, in the presence of Bishop Richard, whom he had won over to himself as a supporter, he effectually explained his business, and humbly besought to be allowed to bring his purpose to performance.' Richard of Belmeis provides yet another connection to Essex in that he founded a priory of Augustinian canons in 1121 called St Osyth. The connection persisted. The second prior was called Thomas of St Osyth (1144-1174) and it was he who instituted a separate mastership for the hospital.

¹²Webb concludes that the feoffment was not by deed (there are none, nor even a copy in the Cartulary) but by livery livery of seisin only. Webb, 47 *The Book of the Foundation*, on page 12, says only that he obtained 'of the king's majesty the title of the possession he desired . . .'

consecrated the ground and building commenced.¹³ Both the priory and the hospital were begun simultaneously, as we are told that Rahere ‘omitting no care or diligence, very gladly began to carry out his double work of piety; one for the vow which he had made; the other which had been appointed to him by precept . . . he straightaway began to build the church with suitable stone blocks in courses, and the hospital house a little farther removed from the church.’¹⁴

The building of the priory and the hospital is described amusingly but not in great detail by *The Book of the Foundation*. No mention is made of whence the building materials were obtained nor of masons, nor tilers, nor sculptors. One small sentence suffices for the practicalities of ‘providing the necessaries for the relief of the poor who lay in the hospital and for those who were hired for the sake of building the church.’ For this task Rahere seeks the help of Alfune, the founder and priest of the church of St Giles, Cripplegate. He, by then an old man, was to go about the city with an officer of the church to ‘seek busily’ for these things.¹⁵ The construction is presented as a miracle. The *Book* tells us that Rahere

made himself a fool because he was constrained to do so (quia coactus) and outwardly putting on the appearance of a simpleton he began for a time to hide the secret of his soul . . . At length, with wonderful skill in games, he won to himself bands of children and servants, and by their help he easily began to collect together stones and other things which should be profitable for his building. And he himself played with them and became in his own eyes even more vile from day to day, in order only that he might so much please the apostle of Christ, to whom he approved himself. And helped by his grace, when those things that seemed necessary had been prepared, he raised up an immense fabric; and now he began to be and to be called not foolish as was being thought but truly wise as was being concealed.¹⁶

This hagiographical depiction of the construction has certain features in common with the miraculous reconstruction of Chartres Cathedral in 1198, when people came from far and wide and from all strata of society to play a part in the building of the cathedral. Rahere’s vision was made real in these buildings, only one of which survives and that only in part. The solemn, yet

¹³*Book of the Foundation* 12.

¹⁴*Book of the Foundation* 12.

¹⁵*Book of the Foundation* 23.

¹⁶*Book of the Foundation* 14.

graceful, Norman choir is all that remains of the original priory church; the nave is long gone.¹⁷ The present gateway at the west of the church marks the western end of the priory church and the nave is now a graveyard where the stumps of the great nave's columns poke up through the soil. The *Book of the Foundation* speaks of the future of the establishment in ringing terms expressing the certitude of its early chronicler: 'Moreover, the spiritual sanctuary which in like manner is constructed here of living stones shall be transferred to a building to remain unimpaired to the Kingdom everlasting.'¹⁸

Whereas the foundation of St Bartholomew's is well documented, that of St John's is not. Salter suggests that the first hospital, which was possibly situated near Crowell on Longwall street in the extramural parish of St Peter's, was founded by a collective effort on the part of the citizens of Oxford. Oxford had no other hospital, though the monastery of St Frideswide would have provided accommodation to travellers in its guest hall and like Oseney Abbey would have possessed its own infirmary. One mile east out on the London road lay the leper hospital of St Bartholomew's founded by Henry I c.1126. Parishes would have assumed the care for their own needy parishioners, but a house for the poor and infirm and for pilgrims, as Matthew Paris records,¹⁹ would have been necessary for the growing town which had the additional burden of poor scholars from the end of the twelfth century. The earliest charter preserved by the hospital is that of Juliana, who granted 18d. rent from her mill at Iffley in 1190.²⁰ Another very early charter is that of Hugo Malaunay, a knight of Oxford, dating from last decade of the twelfth century. In this charter, Hugo grants the hospital all his property in Oxford within and without the walls, that is, all the land and all the tenements which Peter Boterel had held being of the Honour of Wallingford from John, count of Mortain. He also gives all the meadows, fields, gardens, waters, fishpools, roads, paths and ways together with all appurtances and all liberties

¹⁷Walter Besant, *Medieval London* II, (London: Black, 1906) 250. The nave was destroyed in 1540 during the dissolution of the monasteries and the stones carted away to be used for other building projects of the king.

¹⁸*Book of the Foundation* 51.

¹⁹Matthew Paris changes the usual phrase '*pauperes et infirmi*' to '*peregrini et infirmi*.' See above p. 139. n.124.

²⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (953).

connected to these, except the 10s. rent John had already given to the hospital.²¹ For this, he and his heirs are to receive a perpetual rent of 40s. for all services and secular exactions. For all the lands and tenements belonging to Hugo, the brothers of the hospital give him 10 pounds of gold and a palfrey worth 2 marks.²² This document is clearly a sale, even though couched in the terms of an eleemosinary grant. The grant is entered on the first page of the *Cartulary*, indicating its importance to the hospital as, through it, the hospital acquired the freehold of the land upon which the hospital stood. That the hospital was already in existence is clear in the second sentence: ‘Noveritis universi quod ego dedi & concessi & liberavi & hac mea carta confirmavi deo & herebergerie hospitalis sancti Iohannis Baptiste site extra portam orientalem Oxenefordie & fratribus ibidem deo servientibus’

The first hospital escheated to the king when Hugo’s son died without an heir in 1226, but it was not until 1230 that the records start to show that interest in the hospital which Henry III was to sustain throughout his long reign. In 1230 the king commanded his forester, Hugh de Neville, to allow the hospital to take two loads of dead wood from Shotover Forest daily as had been the custom until Brian de Insula had stopped it.²³ In July 1231 the king granted his mill called the Kingsmill in Edendon ‘ad sustentationem pauperum & infirmorum’ and, in the same deed, he granted the garden of the Jews to the master and the brothers as a place for them to rebuild the hospital ‘de novo ibidem construendum.’²⁴ Thereby he became the *fundator* of the hospital.²⁵ The charter was sealed at Woodstock, one of the king’s favorite hunting lodges eight miles northeast of Oxford, and in the presence of many of the greatest nobles of the land including the bishops of Bath, Lincoln and Carlisle and Hubert de Burgh, count of Kent and justiciar of England. In the years following, the king continued his favour towards the hospital.

²¹There is no charter in the archives relating to the 10s. rent that John, as count of Mortain, gave to the hospital.

²²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (70). The boundaries of Peter Boterell’s manor are given in charter (71).

²³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xiv.

²⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (73).

²⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III vi. Salter makes the distinction between the word *fundator*, by which title Henry III is graced in many of the charters, and the modern word ‘founder’. A *fundator* was the man who gave the land upon which the hospital was erected.

His orders to his foresters came thick and fast: thirteen *fusta* from Shotover forest in October, 1231; in February 1232, five oaks from Brill Forest and five oaks from Shotover and three oaks from Whichwood; in May 1232, when the king was once again at Woodstock, fifty cart-loads of thorn and underwood were to be supplied;²⁶ in June of that year twenty-three *copule* and beams and *panne* for the building of the new chapel of St Mary which had begun to be built at the new hospital from Shotover and ten *copule* from the forest of Cornbury.²⁷ Between 1232 and 1233, Geoffrey, the king's almoner, acquired the property where the gatehouse was planned.²⁸ In 1234 an order was sent from the king to all those through whose land timber was being transported from Reading to the hospital: they were forbidden to make any impediment to its passage. In the same year, 100 oak trees from the forest of Savernake were to be supplied to Geoffrey, the almoner, for the building the hospital at Oxford and the king's carpenters were to select the most suitable wood for the project. In April 1235 four posts, four *panne* and the necessary *laquei* for the building of the hospital kitchen were once again to be delivered to the king's almoner. By 1238 twenty further oaks were granted, this time to the warden of the hospital for rebuilding the king's mill which had burnt down. In 1242 another major building must have been underway as twelve oaks were provided from the king's forests, and in the following year a further twenty eight were supplied. This was followed in 1244 by forty oaks to the *custos* 'for the works of the hospital and ten more to make a barn.'²⁹ The final ten oaks were granted in 1246 to make a grange, perhaps the group of low, two-storeyed buildings that stood on the north side of the way leading to the bridge that Gunther suggests may have been where the sisters of the hospital resided.³⁰ In the same year the king granted to the *custos* of the hospital the water of the Crowell spring that was to be transported to the hospital by aqueduct, and the sheriff was to see that no-

²⁶Salter suggests that the thorn and underwood acted as a type of scaffolding in the medieval construction process (Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xvi, n.2).

²⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xvi.

²⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (78).

²⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xiv-xxii.

³⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III 403.

one was to make any hindrance to its flow.³¹ Clearly the king had a strong personal interest in his hospital and took his role as *fundator* and his rights as patron very seriously. In a quarrel in 1237 with the archdeacon of Oxford he shows his readiness to oversee and care for his hospital, and his touchiness to any infringement of his position as patron. This is shown in the disagreement over the removal of the man whom the king had temporarily appointed as warden of the hospital and the appointment of another by the archdeacon. The king sent a letter to the archdeacon marvelling at such interference in matters of patronage and reiterating that he had founded the hospital for the salvation of his ancestors and endowed it with his own goods. A further letter to the priors of Eynsham and Northampton, who had been appointed judges delegate by the pope in the matter, stated that he was the patron of the hospital, having founded it and enriched it with his goods. He affirmed his right to approve the brothers' choice of master and added that the man who considered himself to be the prior in the hospital was not so, as he had not been presented by the king to the bishop.³²

Not only did St John's receive considerable royal help in the construction of the hospital complex, but it was also the recipient of substantial generosity from the king. In 1246 he granted the hospital a portion of Shotover Wood where it could gather wood and feed its pigs, and in 1248 royal permission was granted for a market and a fair at Willoughby, in Warwickshire. Further privileges were granted by the king in a charter of 1266.³³ Edward I continued the patronage of his father, confirming his father's charters and in 1293, after the expulsion of the Jews from England, granting the remaining land south of the East Bridge Road that the Jews had retained as their burial ground to the hospital.³⁴

³¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xxiv.

³²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xviii-xx. The matter was settled shortly and an entry on the roll of Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln in 1237 affirms that Robert, the king's chaplain at Oxford, was instituted warden of the hospital on the resignation of Elyas, chaplain, who had previously been rector. The archdeacon must have been mortified as he was to give him induction.

³³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (924), (925), (926). See Appendix.

³⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (37). This land had been part of the Jew's original garden at the time of the refounding of the hospital and had been retained by them in the interim.

In contrast, there are few records of such royal generosity to St Bartholomew's Hospital. The grants of Henry II and Richard I were made to the priory. At the beginning of his reign, in 1223, Henry III commanded Engelard of Cicogny to give one old oak from his forest at Windsor to be used in the hearth of the patients of the hospital and in 1229 Richard of Muntfichet, one of the barons who had signed the Magna Carta, was commanded to deliver to the master of the hospital six leafless oaks for the hospital hearth.³⁵ In 1230 in a letter close the brothers were excused from the payment of a tallage on their land in Hatfield.³⁶ In 1253 the hospital obtained two important charters from the king: the first confirmed the hospital possessions and the second confirmed the charters of his grandfather concerning its site and liberties. The king echoed the sentiment of the Oxford charters: 'Let all men know that I have taken this hospital as my own chapel with all that belongs to it into my hand, protection and defence against all men and I ordain that it should be as free from all earthly power and service as my crown.'³⁷ In 1290 Edward I confirmed the grants of his royal forbears and in addition gave the hospital a piece of land at the corner of Hosier Lane that led westwards out of Smithfield.³⁸

Royal patronage played a vital role in the founding and continued survival of both St John's and St Bartholomew's Hospitals. No foundation charter for either hospital exists, St John's because the first foundation was probably the collective desire of like-minded burgesses who left no legal trace, St Bartholomew's perhaps because the foundation was ceremonial and involved the livery of seisin from the king to Rahere in the presence of bishop Richard and the barons of London before the days when written charters had become the rule for any important transaction. However, both hospitals received charters of liberties, St Bartholomew's from Henry I in 1133 and St John's from its *fundator*, Henry III, in 1246. Both hospitals were the recipients of royal favors but it was to the papacy that the master and brothers of St

³⁵Moore 284.

³⁶*VCH London I*, 520.

³⁷Moore 460.

³⁸Moore 499.

Bartholomew's turned in their struggle for independence from the priory, while the priory sought help nearer at hand from the king and the bishop of London.³⁹ On the other hand, throughout the thirteenth century the master and brothers of St John's continued to seek the king's patronage, calling upon his help to avoid episcopal visitations and continually regarded by the king with privileged affection.⁴⁰

Rules

Hospitals of the twelfth and thirteenth century were institutions in which brothers and sisters gathered together under the guidance of a master to care for the poor, the infirm and the indigent wayfarer. Because of the religious orientation of such foundations and the communal nature of the effort to care for these disadvantaged groups, and because the brothers and sisters of the community lived in close contact with laymen, the wise founder usually applied to the pope or his bishop for a rule to regulate all aspects of the lives lived within the hospital walls. The rule of St Benedict ensured that much of the monk's day was spent in prayer and study, the *opus Dei*, and thus it was not suitable for those with busy lives of practical service to the poor. The rule of St Augustine was much more flexible in this respect and although staff and inmates of hospitals were expected to attend chapel and participate in the ritual daily round of worship, other duties such as ministering to the needs of the sick or the dispensing of food and alms to the poor were not to be forgotten and found place within the more generous confines of Augustinian governance.

The rule of St Augustine was developed and rose to prominence in the late eleventh century and by the early twelfth century was to be obeyed by groups of brothers and sisters all over Europe, its precepts regulating communities as diverse as priories, colleges and hospitals.

³⁹*VCH London I*, 520. In 1204, following further agitation between the hospital and the priory, King John proclaimed that he would regard any attempt to free the hospital from the priory as an attack upon the crown. Add. MS. 34768, fol. 37b, 38.

⁴⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB III xxxiv-v*. In 1302 Edward I made it clear in a letter close to the Bishop of Lincoln that 'the hospital which had been founded on the alms of the king's progenitors was fully exempt from all jurisdiction of the ordinary and from all such payments from the time of its foundation, so that no one but the king and his chancellor ought to visit or intermeddle with it.'

Writing around 1225 Jacques de Vitry, himself an Augustinian canon, devotes eleven chapters of his *Historia Occidentalis* to the various categories of those following the Rule of St Augustine. Chapter 29 bears the rubric ‘On hospitals of the poor and leper houses’ and announces that ‘there are other communities of men as well as of women, who have renounced the world and live a regular life in leper houses or hospitals of the poor . . . in all regions of the West. They live according to the rule of St Augustine.’⁴¹ The Augustinian rule was based on a letter of advice, attributed to St Augustine, to a group of religious women on how best to live together. The rule was very general, telling them to have all things in common, to pray together, to dress unostentatiously and to obey their chosen superior. The great strength of the rule was its adaptability, its ability to be developed in ways which suited the circumstances of those who adopted and expanded it to their own purposes.⁴²

Both St Bartholomew’s and St John’s were institutions that followed the rule of St Augustine. No written rule is extant in the archives of St Bartholomew’s, and the priory was suppressed in 1539 leaving no records, but since Rahere founded the priory and the hospital at the same time and the priory was a chapter of the order of the canons regular of St Augustine, the hospital must originally have followed the general rules of the order. Daily life would have been governed by observances or customs specific to the purposes of the house but in harmony with the the general rules of the order.

There are glimpses in the *Book of the Foundation* of some of the seven canonical hours that were kept by the canons. Matins and Lauds were referred to in the story of the prisoner who was released from his bonds when he called upon St Bartholomew, having heard the sound of the bells and the hymns that marked Lauds.⁴³ The singing of the Magnificat during Vespers wrought

⁴¹Jacques de Vitry, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: a Critical Edition*, ed. J.F. Hinnebusch, (Fribourg, Switzerland: UP, 1972) 146-151.

⁴²R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972) 241. Pope Urban II, in delineating the differences between the Benedictine and the Augustinian forms of religious life, the monastic and canonical, compares their roles to those of Mary and Martha. The role of the canons was humbler but equally necessary. As Southern puts it in his inimitable way, ‘The new canons sought in some humble way to repair the ruins of the world.’ 244.

⁴³*Book of the Foundation* 33.

a miracle cure for a girl who was deaf, mute, blind and crippled.⁴⁴ Compline was mentioned twice in reference to two other miraculous cures.⁴⁵ Jacques de Vitry acknowledges that ministering to the sick and work in the hospital might, at times, interfere with attendances at all the canonical offices,⁴⁶ and in the injunctions following the visitation by Gilbert Segrave, bishop of London, in 1316 it is stipulated that the brothers and sisters must go to Matins, and that afterwards they must perform the duties set out for them by the master.⁴⁷

Obedience to the superior was an important tenet of regular life. It was the cement that bound together the disparate members of the community and, at the same time, smoothed the edges of their daily interactions. The daily chapter was a locus of composition between members, a place where behavior was checked and corrected and where discussions about outstanding problems were held and differences solved. There was a hierarchy of obedience at St Bartholomew' Hospital. Before the separation of the priory and the hospital, the prior in the person of Rahere was the ultimate source of authority. But even during his priorate he designated others to help in the hospital. Very early in the history of the hospital, before the completion of Rahere's building program, Alfune, an old friend who had built the church of St Giles Cripplegate c. 1090, was delegated to seek food and other necessities for the inmates of the hospital. Kerling suggests that he oversaw the work of the hospital under the supervision of Rahere.⁴⁸ The earliest charter in the hospital archives is that between Rahere and Hagno. In 1137 Rahere, having received the living of St Sepulchre without Newgate from the bishop of Salisbury, granted it to Hagno provided he did not enter another order. In return, every year Hagno was to pay fifty shillings for the use of the canons and of the poor abiding in the hospital. The list of masters, compiled by John Cok in the fifteenth century, shows Hagno succeeding

⁴⁴*Book of the Foundation* 31.

⁴⁵*Book of the Foundation* 25 and 50.

⁴⁶Jacques de Vitry 147: 'Horas autem canonicas, quantum hospitalitatis studium et pauperum Christi ministerium permittunt, diebus et noctibus audire non omittunt.'

⁴⁷Kerling, 'Administration of St Bartholomews Hospital' 22.

⁴⁸Kerling, 'Administration of HSB' 21.

Rahere as master of the hospital in the same year as this charter. The second prior, Thomas of St Osyth, was prior from 1144 to 1174. The *Book of the Foundation* says that he was prior for thirty years and was about one hundred years old when he died. Not surprisingly, he sought help in the management of the hospital. By 1170 relations between the hospital and the priory were considerably strained and Prior Thomas made an agreement with a layman, Adam the Mercer, to manage the hospital. Adam was permitted to keep and administer for the hospital any money, land or rents granted to it. The title that Adam is given in the list of masters in the Cartulary is 'primus magister fratrum et laicorum.'⁴⁹ Here the agreement concerning obedience and a series of obligations are laid out. Adam, the charter notes, has solemnly professed fidelity to the church of St Bartholomew's and promised obedience to Prior Thomas and his successors. No one is to be admitted to the hospital society and habit without the consent of the prior and convent. When Adam dies the brothers of the hospital are to be called to a chapter to elect to the mastership (*custodia*) whomsoever they think best of their number. Future wardens are also to be bound solemnly by an oath of fidelity and obedience to the priory. Various duties are laid upon Adam, and the charter ends with a solemn curse upon all those who try to make division and separation between the hospital and the priory.⁵⁰ This agreement of 1170 gave the hospital its first notable measure of independence and explains why there are no grants to the hospital before this date. However, the drive towards fuller autonomy on the part of the hospital and the effort to retain its position of mastery and power by the priory continued until the composition of Richard, bishop of London, in 1420. Between 1170 and 1420, however, disputes arose on a regular basis. The composition by Bishop Eustace in 1224 continues to place the ultimate authority for the hospital in the hands of the prior, but allows some small loopholes for the master to assert his authority regarding the hospital. The master who has just been chosen by the brothers is to present himself at the chapter of the prior and convent for confirmation. There he is to take an oath of

⁴⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* Appendix III.

⁵⁰Moore 52-53.

fidelity to them and obedience to the prior, but this obedience is only to refer to certain matters. The subordination of the hospital is to be made visible by attendance in the processions at the priory church on Palm Sunday and Ascension Day and on St Bartholomew's day when two of the brothers are to take two wax candles of four pounds weight to the procession as an offering on the high altar of St Bartholomew's after which they can return freely to the hospital. The brothers are to have neither an altar nor a figure of St Bartholomew as that might be contrary to the canons' interests, 'in dictorum canonicorum prejudicium,' and the hospital is to have only two bells and they are not to be rung before those of the canons on Easter eve. Even though the hospital had received permission from Pope Lucius III in 1183, Pope Celestine in 1191 and Pope Honorius III in 1217⁵¹ to have a cemetery for the staff and for the poor dying in the hospital, this composition denies the papal indulgences and states most firmly that the brothers are not to have this right.⁵² Clearly monetary considerations were operating in this agreement along with those of the prestige and status of the priory.

The subordinate position of the master to the prior is shown in the oath that the master must take upon his election and those taken upon admission by the brothers and the sisters. The master swears that he will be obedient to the prior and his successors and to all the articles contained in Bishop Eustace's ordinance, and the brothers and sisters swear to be useful and faithful to the prior and convent.⁵³ Adam the Mercer and his immediate successors were called 'proctor' in the charters, indicating a subordinate position to the prior, but gradually over the century the title of master became pre-eminent.

⁵¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (29), (31), (36).

⁵²Moore 376: 'Cimiterium vero quod fratres ex indulgentia domini pape sibi concessum petebant benedici non habebunt nec aliud petent de cetero quam cimiterium apud dictos Canonicos sepultur pauperum deputatum.'

⁵³Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (47), (45). Moore, 380: 'Ego frater N. magister hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smythfeld Londoniarum iuo ad hec Sancta Dei evangelia per me corporaliter tacta et visa quod ero obediens Fratri N. de P Priori Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei predicti et suis successoribus dicti monasterii canonice intransibus in licitis et canonicis mandatis. Precipue in omnibus et singulis articulis contentis in quadam ordinacione facta per bone memorie Dominum Eustachium quondam Londoniensem Episcopum. Sic me Deus adiuuet et sancta Dei evangelia.' Bishop Eustace died in 1228 so these oaths must have achieved their final form after this date. 'Ego Frater N. Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smythfeld Londoniarum ero utilis aet fidelis Priori et conventui Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei predicti nec inferam eis dampnum iacturam vel gravamen nec ab aliis pro posse meo fieri permittam et bene et fideliter ipsis faciam et solvam servicia eis debita et consueta de dicto hospitali com pertinenciis suis quod

Uniform and modest clothing was always a part of regular life and was required by the rule of St Augustine, for not only did the purchase of fine clothing waste precious resources meant for the poor and the sick but it also encouraged the vices of *luxuria* and pride in the wearer. The canons of St Bartholomew wore a black cassock lined with fur, and over this a *super pellicium*.⁵⁴ Nothing is known of the dress of those working in the hospital until the visitation by Gilbert Segrave, bishop of London, in 1316. As part of his injunctions, Gilbert ordered that there should be different clothing for the different ranks, that priests should wear cloaks of frieze, the laybrothers short tunics and the sisters were to wear grey dresses which were not to fall below the ankles. No one was to be allowed to buy his or her own items of clothing.⁵⁵

The absence of a written rule for the hospital of St Bartholomew's means that the rules, ordinances and customs of the working staff have to be teased from a variety of sources, including those from later than the end of the thirteenth century. This is not so with St John's, where a written rule was provided for the hospital by Innocent IV in 1246 and covers most aspects of the communal life.⁵⁶ Obedience to the master and to the rules of the hospital, the observances of prayer and of their other duties, renunciation of private property, stipulations as to clothing and chastity are all found in the rule and show adherence to Augustinian principles. Although no mention is made in this document of the Augustinian rule itself, Henry III as founder and patron of the hospital announced by letters patent in 1234 that he had appointed three brothers who were chaplains, six lay brothers and six sisters who were all to follow the rule of St Augustine.⁵⁷ Salter suggests that because the dating clause of the rule is corrupt and contains so many errors, the document was probably drawn up by a clerk of the king.⁵⁸ The first

clamo tenere de eis et de prioratu eorum: sic Deus me adiuvet et hec sancta Dei evangelia.'

⁵⁴Webb 26.

⁵⁵*VCH, London I* 521.

⁵⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB III* 1-6. See Appendix.

⁵⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB III* xvi: '... sustententur tres fratres capellani imperpetuum quorum unus de communi provisione fratrum electus & nobis presentatus presit allis ad ordinem sancti Augustini custodiendum.'

⁵⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB III* xxiii. Salter suggests that had the statutes been drawn up in the papal chancery some reference to the abbot and the archdeacon of Westminster would have been made as they were the *conservatores* of the hospital. In addition, he notes that the clause of malediction should have contained the names of St Peter and St Paul as well as St Mary.

chapter, 'De Magistro', states that these statutes were additions to older ones but if so, this older version of the rule is no longer amongst the instruments of the hospital.⁵⁹ However, the rule as it has come down to us provides a fairly full picture of how the main actors in the care of the patients were to behave, even if very little is revealed of the care and cure itself or of the inmates, the *raison d'être* of the hospital.

The Masters

The position of the master was that of the shepherd. He was responsible for his flock, the brothers, the lay brothers, the sisters, their *familia* and the inmates. He was both the spiritual and the temporal leader of the community. In charters masters might be given the title *magister*, *procurator*, *custos* or *rector*. The early masters of St Bartholomew's were styled *procurator* to signal their subservience to the prior, but the title *magister* came increasingly to be used during the thirteenth century. Alan, for instance, who was in charge of the hospital from 1182 - c.1198, was called *magister* in four of the charters and *procurator* in nine. Bartholomew, who was master between 1246 and 1268 was called *magister* in thirty-five charters, *procurator* in seven and *custos* in two, while at the end of the century, in all fifteen charters, Thomas de Whitchester was called *magister*.

The masters of St John's were styled *magister*, *custos*, and *rector*. The titles *magister* and *custos* are used indifferently in the hospital charters, though *custos* is usually found on the Patent Rolls. By the end of the thirteenth century *magister* prevailed as a title in the hospital charters.⁶⁰ Adam the chaplain, who was master between 1246 and 1253 was *magister* in one deed and *custos* in another in two deeds from his first year of office, and Nicholas de Shireveleye, chaplain, was called *magister et custos* in a deed of exchange dating between 1291 and 1292.⁶¹

⁵⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB III* '... ut coarceantur quedam mala de novo exorta et mala futura cautius possint evitari, statutis antiquis quedam nova volumus superaddere.'

⁶⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB III*, xx-xxi.

⁶¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB Adam*, (137) and (86), Nicholas de Shireveleye, (645).

During the building of the hospital, between 1231 and 1263 there appear to have been two different people in charge of the hospital. One was a chaplain and was resident at the hospital and in charge of the day-to-day running of the hospital like Adam and Nicholas, another was appointed by the king and was either the king's almoner or chancellor. Salter notes that this administrator was always styled *custos* in the Close and Patent Rolls.⁶² The dual nature of the administration continued until 1263 when Henry de Wyleby, who had been master of the hospital for more than ten years, received the supreme wardenship that had previously been held by the king's chancellors or almoners.⁶³

The masters of both hospitals were indistinct figures for the most part. Of the 15 masters who followed Rahere between foundation and 1300 not much is known. Only four are shown in the cartulary to have held any other benefice or ecclesiastical office and a fifth, Adam Mercer, judging from his last name clearly came from a secular background. Hagno the clerk, who was designated master of the hospital in the list of masters, was granted the living of St Sepulchre without Newgate by Rahere provided he promised to pay the canons and the poor in the hospital 50s. a year from his income.⁶⁴ Master William, 1224-46, appears to come from a family of minor landowners in Essex. In 1210 he witnessed the confirmation of a grant which Stephen de Stebehee made to St Bartholomew's of half of two marshes which Stephen had obtained from master William's brother Robert. In a final concord between Richard de Hegham and William de Krikeshede, here styled former master of St Bartholomew's, the hospital received 70 acres of marshland in Burnham from Richard.⁶⁵ Clearly, the master was still active on behalf of the hospital. Master Bartholomew (1246-69) was styled vicar of Enfield and warden of St Bartholomew's hospital in a grant c.1260 of a piece of land in Hatfield Regis, Hertfordshire.⁶⁶

⁶²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xxviii.

⁶³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III xxvii. November 2, 1263 an entry in the patent roll reads that Henry de Wyleby, master of St John's, received the custody of the hospital as the other wardens were wont to have and the brothers and tenants were commanded to be obedient to him. See Appendix III.

⁶⁴Nellie J.M. Kerling, 'The Foundation of St Bartholomew's Hospital' 142 and *Cart. HSB* Appendix II.

⁶⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1469) and (1472). Various members of the Krickeshee, Krikeshede, Cirkesee, and Crykesh family witness grants in Burnham, Essex, in the first half of the thirteenth century.

⁶⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1490).

Master John Walton (1269-80) was also the chaplain of Robert, son of Robert de Brusse, earl of Carrik and lord of Hatfield. In 1269 Robert confirmed all the grants issued by his ancestors to the hospital ‘with the knowledge of John de Waleton, chaplain of Robert and at the time of the grants, master of the hospital.’ These grants were to be used for a chaplain in St Bartholomew’s hospital. John confirmed this duty and in a grant in 1277 promised in addition to provide a chaplain in the hospital to pray for the soul of Isabel de Brus, mother of Robert, and for Margery, countess of Carrik, and others.⁶⁷ The possession of another benefice by the master frequently translated into interest in the hospital by the landowners in the vicinity of the beneficed vicar or rector. But it is not clear if the lord presented his protégé to the hospital or whether the climate of donation in the neighbourhood led younger scions of benefactors’ families to become interested in a life of service in the hospital to which so much attention had been given. Some outward display of prestige was attached to the office of master. In the injunctions following the visitation of Bishop Seagrave, it was ordained that the master was only to have one groom, the implication being that, in 1316 at least, there were stables and several horses at the hospital for the use of the master.⁶⁸

In 1147 when Prior Thomas of Osyth had appointed Adam the Mercer to the mastership of the hospital, he had ordained that when Adam died the brothers should gather in chapter and elect one of their own to succeed him. This was standard Augustinian practice. The elected brother should have the same charge as Adam, and should be solemnly bound by an oath of fidelity and obedience to the prior.⁶⁹ However, because of the dispute between the hospital and

⁶⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1494-96). The only donation in the *Cartulary* by Robert Bruce, senior, was in 1240 when he gave the hospital one acre of land in Little Wakering (1417). Robert Bruce was justiciar in England in 1249-50 and lord of Little Wakering in Essex (Moore 449). In 1270, Robert de Brywes, lord of Little Wakering quitclaimed to the hospital his right to present a vicar to the Church of Little Wakering (1428).

⁶⁸Moore 551.

⁶⁹Moore 53: ‘Cum autem vita sua in mundo finitur convocatis fratribus ad capitulum ecclesie si quos per suam industriam in domum prefatam attraxerit, communi assensu auctoritate nostra unus ex illis dignus et honestus et utilis prefate domui preferetur. Et alii custodes qui per successionem post eum venient eandem curam quam predictus Adam habuit perpetue habuerint. Et quicumque Ade successerit in predictam domus hospitalis custodiam: simili juramento fidelitatis et obediencie solempniter astringetur.’

the priory over burial rights and other issues of privilege, Richard FitzNeal, bishop of London, intervened in 1190 and ordained that from that point on the canons of the priory together with the brothers of the hospital were to elect the new master jointly and that if none of the brothers were fit for the office then a master might be chosen from outside the community. Only once during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did the king appoint a master to St Bartholomew's. In 1223, when no agreement could be reached upon the death of Master Hugh, the king intervened and appointed brother Maurice, chaplain of the Temple, as warden of the hospital.⁷⁰ In 1224, Bishop Eustache's composition ordained that upon the death of the master the brothers had to apply to the prior for licence to elect the most suitable person, and that he must be a priest or one who might soon be promoted to priest's orders. As soon as he was elected the brothers were to present him to the prior and if the prior considered him suitable then the prior was to present him to the bishop of London. After his confirmation the master, as we have seen, was to swear obedience to the prior and convent at the chapter of the prior and convent, but only in lawful and canonical commands, and on the articles of the bishop's ordinance and not in other matters.⁷¹

The master's duties as spiritual head of the community were to ensure adherence to the rule, to correct in chapter those in error, to lead the daily round of liturgical services and to hear the brothers' and sisters' confessions. Injunctions to St Bartholomew's after the visitation by Gilbert Segrave, bishop of London, in 1316 remind the master of St Bartholomew's that it is his duty to visit the sick often and to provide for their needs according to the ability of the house.⁷² His temporal duties included the administration of the hospital properties which made provision

⁷⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* 'Introduction' 4. The appointment of Maurice was recorded in *Cal. P.R. 1216-25*, 371.

⁷¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (44): 'Videlicet quod cum creandus fuerit magister in hospitali sancti Bartholomei fratres eiusdem hospitalis ad priorem Sancti bartholomei accedant et petita ab ipso eligendi licencia: personam sibi in magistrum eligant ydoneam: sacerdotem videlicet vel talem qui ad ordinem sacerdotii in brevi possit promoveri. Quo electo dicto presentetur priori. Et si ydoneus fuerit a priore domino Londoniensi Episcopo presentabitur. Qui post eleccionis sue confirmacionem in capitulo dictorum prioris et canonicorum iurabit priori obedienciam et tam priori quam conventui fidelitatem. Et ne idem Magister a prefato priore vel conventu super inobediencia posset redargui si pro sua voluntate que sibi placeret in virtute obediencie valeret iniungere: Sciendum quod dictus magister non tenebitur ad obedienciam memorato priori exhibendam nisi in articulis tantum in hac ordinacione nostra subsequenter contentis.'

⁷²Moore 552.

for the poor and sick possible. The composition of Richard of Ely, bishop of London, in 1192 ordained that the master should not alienate any of the hospital property without the consent of the bishop of London and the prior and canons. He was also to submit accounts twice a year of the receipts and expenditures of the hospital in the presence of the bishop of London or his deputy and the prior of St Bartholomew's.⁷³ The composition of Bishop Eustace in 1224 confirmed the earlier composition and stated additionally that the seal of the hospital was to be kept under three keys, one in the possession of the master and two by two of the brothers who had been chosen for this duty by the master and brothers on the advice of the prior. The prior, however, was not to have the power to change these key keepers.⁷⁴ The masters of both St Bartholomew's and St John's represented their hospitals in legal issues and were often named in grants both by and to the hospital, and this is especially clear in the deeds of St Bartholomew's where 230 out of 663 charters mention the master by name. Perhaps this is one further ploy used by the hospital to assert and maintain its independence from the priory.

The rule of St John's, which purports merely to be adding certain new statutes to the old, describes only those duties of the master which pertain to his relations to the other brothers. He was to be of an honest and upright character and free-born. Having been elected lawfully by the majority of other brothers from the hospital, he was to be assiduous in divine works and to set an example as a persevering worker himself. He was to admonish those counterfeiting piety and he was to correct them in their excesses. He was responsible for any rebelliousness and disobedience and for those who disrupted the quiet of the precincts because, as shepherd of his flock, he was responsible for their behaviour which if incorrigible was likened to a disease that would spread and infect the others of the flock.⁷⁵

⁷³Moore 165: . . . 'et quod terras et redditus eiusdem domus non alienabit neque vendet neque alicui in feodo concedet nec ad paruum servitium rediget sine assensu nostro et assensu prioris et Canonicorum sancti Bartholomei. . . Procurator etiam domus hospitalis debet bis comptum reddere per annum de receptis et expensis in presentia domini Episcopi vel alicuius quem a latere suo destinare voluerit: et in presentia prioris sancti Bartholomei.'

⁷⁴Moore 378: 'Sigillum hospitalis sub tribus clavibus custodiatur: Quarum unam habebit magister hospitalis et duas alias duo de fratribus eiusdem hospitalis per magistrum et fratres hospitalis de consilio dicti prioris ad hoc electi. Quos idem prior refutare vel mutare non poterit dum modo magister et fratres hospitalis ipsos credant idoneos.'

⁷⁵Salter, Cart. H.SJB III: 2: 'Pastoris namque culpa esse creditur, quod in grege suo paterfamilias minus invenit

The temporal administration of the two hospitals by their masters must have proceeded largely by trial and error, as very few guiding principals were set out either in St John's rule or in the compositions between the priory and the hospital. St Bartholomew's, however, must have been aided in its administrative duties by the wealth of collective experience that lay behind the organization of the Order of St Augustine of which the priory was a member. St John's, however, would have had no such assistance. Perhaps during the dual mastership by the resident master and the highly experienced king's chancellor and almoner during the early years of the second foundation, the hospital was provided with guidelines that have not left their mark in the archives. This lack of administrative guidelines for hospitals was noted by the church and an attempt to standardize hospital administration did occur in the early part of the fourteenth century with the decretal *Quia contingit* of Pope Clement V.⁷⁶

The Staff - Brothers, Lay Brothers and Sisters

The hospital was staffed by brothers and sisters. Some of the brothers were ordained chaplains, usually called *fratres capellani* in the records, and their work lay in the spiritual comfort and cure of the inmates. Others, the lay brothers (*fratres laici* or *conversi*), were not ordained and helped the sisters with the heavier work about the hospital. The sisters were responsible for most of the nursing tasks and for the physical comfort and care of the inmates.

It is not known when the canons of the St Bartholomew's priory and those serving in the hospital became two distinct and separate functioning units, nor when sisters joined the hospital staff. But as early as the priorate of Thomas of Osyth (1145-1174), it was ordained that the master might not admit anyone to the hospital society and habit without the consent of the prior and convent.⁷⁷ However, Alan Presbyter the procurator, who worked very energetically for the

utilitatis. Ideoque si quis fratrum inquietus, rebellis vel inobediens fuerit, omnis sibi diligentia tanquam oui morbide est attribuenda, ut cesset et quiescat et canonicis obediat mandatis, ne eius contagione grex possit infici vel contaminari. . . ?

⁷⁶Rubin, *Charity and Community* 170.

⁷⁷Moore, 54.

rights of the hospital, obtained on its behalf no less than six papal bulls between 1183 and 1195. He complained on the matter of staffing that the canons put obstacles in the way of admission of those likely to be useful to the house; Pope Lucius III replied in 1184 allowing that Alan was authorized, with the counsel of the brothers, to admit to the society those who were desirous of fleeing from the world as he saw fit. However, Lucius admonished, they must show reverence and honor to the canons.⁷⁸ In Bishop Richard's composition fourteen years later the rights of the priory were stressed, and here the sisters were included. Whomever was admitted to the hospital, whether brother or sister, must receive his or her habit of conversion from the prior in the chapter of the canons, and must swear obedience to the prior and the church of St Bartholomew. The circle of responsibility for the choice of brothers and sisters widened in the next century, as can be seen in the composition of Bishop Eustace. Although permission to admit must first be asked from the prior, if the candidate were unknown to the prior but was recognized as a fit and useful person to the master and brothers then the prior must give his consent. However, if the prior thought the candidate unfit then the decision was left to the bishop or to the chapter of St Paul's. When the candidate was admitted, the prior was to take or send the habit to the chapter of the brothers of the hospital and there the new brother or sister was to swear fealty to the prior and convent and obedience to the master.⁷⁹

One of the duties of the brothers was to collect extra revenues from the faithful that would keep the hospital in those funds needed to feed and clothe and look after the poor and sick,

⁷⁸Moore 155: . . . 'liceat tibi, Alane fili tuisque successoribus cum consilio fratrum tales e seculo fugientes cum opportunum fuerit libere ad conversionem recipere et absque ullius contradiccione in vestro consorcio retinere, qui tamen predictis canonicis debitam reverenciam exhibeant et honorem.'

⁷⁹Moore 376: 'Cum autem aliquis in fratrem fuerit recipiendus a priore petatur licencia et si ignotus fuerit priori recipiendus et magister et fratres hospitalis sancti bartholomei in obediencia et fidelitate qua ei tenentur asserant quod credunt eum esse idoneum et domui sue notum: Prior omni cessante cavillatione prebebit assensum. Si vero notus et idoneus similiter. Si notus non tamen secundum opinionem prioris idoneus: Magistro et fratribus credentibus et asserentibus ipsoum idoneum hoc per Episcopum vel officialem eius vel si absentes fuerint et negocium instanciam desideret per Capitulum Sancti Pauli discussiatur et si idoneus inveniatur admittatur non obstante prioris reclamacione. Et cum admissus fuerit accedat prior vel mittat ad capitulum fratrum hospitalis et habitum tradat admissio. Quo facto iurabit admissus ibidem presente priore et magistro hospitalis dictis priori et conventui fidelitatem et magistro loci obedienciam.'

expenses that were not completely covered by the rents and sales of properties which constitute the major transactions seen in the *Cartulary*. The first glimpse of these activities is in the *Book of Foundation*. In the early days Rahere appointed as his colleague Alfune, a trusted friend, and sent him out into the city to seek alms to support the poor who lay in the hospital and for the building of the church.⁸⁰ Prior Thomas ordained that there should be an alms-box in the chapel for making collections, and in addition the brothers were to go out to collect things that were necessary as had been their custom.⁸¹ In 1224 competition between the priory and the hospital for alms was addressed by the composition of Bishop Eustace. The bishop directed that when any of the brothers went out to preach or to collect alms, he should take an oath only to ask in the name of the hospital, and to take nothing which should belong to the canons. Should he do so he must restore it to the canons in full. The canons were to act in the same way if they received anything meant for the hospital.⁸² Administrative checks and balances can be seen at work in the injunctions following Bishop Seagrave's visitation in 1316. The master was not to spend money with his own hand, but a brother was to go about with him who paid each time and gave an account of their transactions on his return. Concerning the rents and all casual possessions, two rolls were to be drawn up: one was to be retained by the master, the other by one of the brothers.⁸³ These injunctions show how easily administration of the patrimony of the hospital could become sloppy and incompetent and the day-to-day reception of alms could, if not carefully scrutinized, be converted to dishonest purposes.

Paramount amongst the duties that occupied the ordained brothers was the spiritual cure of the inmates. They heard the confessions of the sick, the poor and the ailing travellers admitted

⁸⁰*Book of the Foundation* 23. See above p. 27.

⁸¹Moore 52: 'In qua vero scrinium trimocum collocabitur ad collectam faciendam. . . .Et fratres domus hospitalis eant in adquisicionem ea que sunt necessaria domui hospitalis sicut hactenus consueto fuit.'

⁸²Moore 375: 'Cum vero fratres hospitalis exierint ad predicandum vel ad elemosinas colligendas iurabunt quod nichil in tota vita sua petent nisi nomine expresso hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei nec recipient aliquid quod ad Canonicos Sancti Bartholomei pertineat. Quod si fecerint com redierint eisdem canonicis sine diminucione restituent. Idem vero canonici com exierint in virtute obediencie priori suopromittent videlicet quod nichil petent nisi expresso nomine canonicorum Sancti Bartholomei: Et si aliquid receperint nomine hospitalis vel quod ad hospitale pertineat fratribus hospitalis bona fide et integre restituent.'

⁸³Moore 552.

to the ward. They celebrated Mass at the altar in the great hall in the sight of the sick. They gave the spiritual care that brought comfort and ease to the soul and that might, God willing, bring physical healing to the body.⁸⁴ They administered the sacrament of extreme unction which conferred grace to the dying and, should death occur, ensured that those dying received a Christian burial in hallowed ground observed with due and solemn rites.

The duties of the brothers and sisters are more clearly laid out in the rule of St John's, purported to have been drawn up by Innocent IV on 23 March 1246. One of the brothers was to be the cellarer and one to be the sacrist. The cellarer's task was to lighten the load of the master as far as the business of the hospital was concerned.⁸⁵ He was the steward and his was the work of provisioning the hospital. Since he was in charge of food, drink and, in a small house such as St John's, other needs such as clothing and utensils, the rule laid out that 'he should be sober, not much given to over-eating, . . . not grasping, not miserly, not extravagant . . . but a God-fearing man . . . set before all, disposing and ordaining their deeds as he sees fit . . . but doing nothing without the command of the master.'⁸⁶ The character he should possess and the way in which he should perform his tasks mirrors the ideal cellarer as set out in St Benedict's rule and, as in this rule, it was his responsibility to care solicitously for all the infirm poor that might arrive unexpectedly at the house.⁸⁷ The sacrist was responsible for the fabric of the church, he must lead the choir and decorate the church, having in his possession those things such as ornaments, books and vestments belonging to the hospital chapel. He was also responsible for receiving the rents, offerings and revenues that belonged to the church. He had to look after the clothes and other goods of poor strangers dying in the infirmary, if they had had any; he had to sew, repair and renew books and vestments, and he had to find wax and oil for the lamps burning in the

⁸⁴See above Chapter 1, n. 42.

⁸⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 2: ' . . .eo quod in multis negociis magistri debet onera portare.'

⁸⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 2: 'Sit etiam sobrius, non multum edax, non elatus, non turbulentus [sic], non iniuriosus, non piger, non tenax, non avarus, nec prodigus; sed vir timens deum, qui omni familie vice magistri debet preesse, disponens et ordinans actus eorundem sicut melius viderit expedire; tamen sine magistri iussione nichil omnino faciat vel incipiat.'

⁸⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 3: 'Omni sollicitudine curam gerat infirmorum pauperum, hospitium supervenientium.'

choir, the infirmary and the dormitory. An account of all he had taken in had to be kept and given to the master at the end of the year. Because the care of the infirmary was in his charge, it was his duty to hear the confessions of the sick before they were admitted, if they were adult.⁸⁸ The duties as laid out in the rule show that the infirmary, the chapel and the dormitory were all lit at night. It shows that there were liturgical books and vestments to celebrate the divine offices with due solemnity and that these objects were rare and precious and had to be repaired and darned when torn or damaged. Even the clothing of the dead poor was retained, probably so that other poor folk might benefit.

No one could be admitted to the habit without undertaking at least six months' service to the hospital on probation. This would have allowed the other staff members to evaluate the probationer's suitability and provide the fledgling brother himself with a good test of his vocation. The rule lists all those who should not be admitted as brothers and it includes those who were easily roused by the vices of intemperance, men who were gluttonous, drunks, the proud, the contentious, the illiterate and, on the physical level, those deformed of person, suffering from crippled limbs or incurable diseases. The rule gives clear indication that one of the most valuable benefits to admission into the hospital fraternity was spiritual. All the brothers and sisters were enjoined to pray for each other on a regular basis, the *fratres capellani* in the mass and the lay brothers and the sisters in their Sunday prayers. In addition, when any of the brothers or sisters died, the *fratres capellani* were to celebrate a Mass on that day and the *fratres laici* and the sisters must recite from the psalter of the Blessed Virgin. One of the chaplains was to be given the dead man's corrody for a year and, in return, was to celebrate further Masses for his soul. When the day of his anniversary occurred each year a full mortuary service was to be held with other special prayers from all the brothers and the sisters. Once admitted, the brother had to swear an oath promising to God and St John that he would live honestly and chastely

⁸⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 3: 'Et quia eidem sacriste est cura firmarie, statuimus et firmiter precipimus quod infirmorum admittendorum confessionem audiat priusquam admittantur, si fuerint adulti.'

according to the statutes of the house and serve the poor as was seemly.⁸⁹

The statutes enjoined obedience to one's superiors and the necessity of living communally. Everything was to be owned in common and none of the brothers or sisters was to give or accept anything except at the express wish of his superior. If anyone should be caught in this 'most reprehensible vice of owning,'⁹⁰ he should first be rebuked but then if he persisted he should be beaten. If he did not surrender whatever it was that he had in his possession to the master to be converted to the use of the house, then after seven days he was to be excommunicated. Finally, and most frightening for the erring brother, he was advised by the rule that if any money or other object were to be found in his possession after he had died then his body would be removed from the Christian grave and 'buried in the manner of an ass on the pyre.'⁹¹ Apparently incongruously, the rule also refers to servants that a brother might have in a way that does not suggest communal appointment. Perhaps these servants were employed for specific services to the sacristan and the cellarer relating to their duties. On the other hand, the rule which applied as much to brothers as to sisters specifically refers to the servants of the sisters, who must be kept close and not allowed to run about the premises to the infamy of all.⁹²

The rule required the brothers to eat and drink together in the refectory. Dress was regulated and they were to wear only russet, camel or burnet so that the habits of everyone were matching. The capes (*cappe*) were to be marked with a double cross on the chest and the cloaks (*mantella*) were to be marked in the same way, but with the cross over the left arm. If it were necessary for the brother to leave the house, he was expected to wear the cape or a *pallium*. Communal life also entailed the brothers sleeping together in the dormitory, going to bed at the

⁸⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 7: 'Profiteor Deo omnipotenti et sancto Iohanni, huius ecclesie patrono, me honeste et caste vivere secundum statuta istius domus, et pauperibus deservire ut decet in hac domo; sic Deus me adiuvet et omnia sancta eius evangelia.'

⁹⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 5: '...hoc nequissimo proprietarii vicio.'

⁹¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 5: 'Si autem innotescerit [sic] aliquem cum proprietate obisse, corpus eius proiciatur extra sepulturam Cristianam et sepeliatur more asini in fimario, proiecto super eum eius proprio a fratribus dicentibus 'Pecunia tua tecum sit in perdicionem'.

⁹²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 6: 'Sorores converse vagas non teneant domicillas, sed si quas tenuerint arceantur ne discurrant in locis privatis domorum aut gardenorum, per quod possit oriri infamia.'

same time and wearing knee-length clothing suitable to the place. Silence was to be observed in the refectory and in the dormitory. The brothers were to make a sign if they wanted to speak and were particularly forbidden to joke at another's expense or make scurrilous remarks likely to incite others to anger. Rest and relaxation were approached negatively. No one was to eat or drink in the town of Oxford or even sit before the door to gawp at the world passing by. The brothers were also directed not to play at dice or *taxilli*.⁹³

The healthy brothers were all to get up at the same time so that they could celebrate Matins before dawn or, the rule adds, at least at dawn. Before the office of the day the Matins of Our Lady was said which was unusually, but perhaps for practical reasons, followed immediately by Prime, Terce, Mass, Sext and None. Evensong and Compline are not mentioned, but Salter suggests they were probably said together at night so that the offices were separated into clusters of two groups.⁹⁴ Anyone arriving late for the first office of the day was to remain outside the choir and wait to be punished by his superior for the sin of idleness. The Mass and the other Hours having been celebrated by the sacrist, the brothers had to leave to attend to the business of the house and whatever duties had been assigned to them. Discipline, that important feature of all regular life, was maintained in the chapter which was to be held weekly rather than daily. In a mixed house, with both brothers and sisters and male and female servants, an important virtue was chastity. Smutty talk was to be discouraged and reported to chapter, and carnal lust was the first on the list of sins. The other undesirable actions requiring consideration and correction in chapter were lying, swearing and cursing and over-drinking. Lying receives considerable attention, as lying to the brothers and sisters gathered in chapter would make it a less effective instrument of correction. If anyone were discovered to be lying he was to be beaten severely and any servants of the house caught lying were to be expelled. The same held true of those convicted of theft.⁹⁵

⁹³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 5 n.3. Salter notes that *taxilli* were oblong dice with four sides and rounded ends.

⁹⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xxiii.

⁹⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 6. 'Si quis fratrum super mendacio possit convinci, gravi pena plectetur. Similiter famuli mendaces a servitio domus expellantur. Similiter et hi quos super furto convinci contigerit.'

Discipline of the brothers and sisters of St Bartholomew's was addressed by Bishop Segrave after his visitation of the hospital in 1316. Disobedience on the part of a brother or sister was to be punished by a diet of bread and water for three days, and repeated offences led to ecclesiastical censure and even excommunication.⁹⁶ Quarrelling between the members of the community was to be denounced in chapter, where the master was to announce their penance and they, too, were to be reduced to the rule of bread and water. Perhaps to ensure such feuding did not fester and continue to upset the harmony of the house, the proceedings in chapter were to be regarded as secret. Bishop Segrave's injunctions, although given past the date on which this study ends, nevertheless give a very clear picture of what life in the hospital must have been like and it was probably not so very different from the way hospital life was organized at the end of the thirteenth century.

There are many similarities in Bishop Segrave's injunctions to the rule of St John half a century earlier in Oxford. Dress was regulated, but differences in rank were noted. The *fratres capellani* were to wear round cloaks of frieze or other cloth and the *fratres laici* shorter cloaks. The sisters were to wear tunics and over-tunics of grey cloth which were not to reach down lower than their ankles. The uniform nature of these garments is underscored by the clause stating that no brother was to buy any garment or stores with money collected by him. If he needed a new garment he was to return the old one to the steward who would then give him a new one. The diet of both the sisters and the brothers was regulated, with the inference that the food for the sisters had not been adequate. Each sister was to receive four white loaves of the common bread of the brothers and three loaves of the lesser quality and white loaves of the weight of 50 solidi and half a flagon of ale as the brothers had. The brothers were to have two dishes (*fercula*) at each meal and the sisters the better of the two dishes and a pittance.⁹⁷ As in the rule of St John,

⁹⁶Webb, 91.

⁹⁷Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1993) 34-71. Barbara Harvey has written extensively on the monastic diet and explains that dinner in Benedictine house at this period would have consisted of two dishes called *generalia* and sometimes a third. To these were added a number of extra dishes of superior quality called pittances (10).

the brothers were not to eat or drink in the city without permission of the master. Daily life moved to the rhythm of the canonical hours and as at Oxford all the brothers and sisters were to rise in the morning, hear Mass and then go about their duties. Life within the hospital walls, whatever its privations, must have seemed to some to be more peaceful, serene and free from the duties, obligations and difficulties of secular life. In 1283 for instance, Roger Drake, son of Robert the Reeve of Chalcford, released the master and brothers of St John's of their promised admission and maintenance of him because he was compelled by the ecclesiastical courts to fulfil two prior oaths, one an engagement to Ingeleys of North Merton contracted before the agreement between the hospital and himself, and the other a vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It is not clear whether he was entering the hospital as a lay or clerical brother and he does not seem to be bringing income or property to the hospital as none is mentioned in the agreement. Roger must have been a difficult character as he promised to bring no actions, exactions, petitions or suits whether civil or canonical against the hospital for this release. On its side the hospital recognized the work that he had already done for the hospital by giving him 10 marks of silver as remuneration for his services and labors.⁹⁸

The brothers of St Bartholomew's witnessed many of the charters of the hospital and their specific roles within the hospital administration are often mentioned. For instance, the offices of dispensator,⁹⁹ butler,¹⁰⁰ cook¹⁰¹ and servant to the master¹⁰² are all visible in the records. As

⁹⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (958): ' . . .quia saniori ductus consilio fidem promissam & votum emissum volens adimplere, matrimonium inter me & Ingeleys de Nort Mersone de facto contractum ante convencionem inter me & perdictos magistrum & fratres initam, cohercione ecclesiastica inpellente, ducere compellor ad effectum, & peregrinacionem similiter terre sancte quam me faciendam devoui personaliter velim adimplere, quam sine dispendio salutis eterne nulla potero racione devitare.'

⁹⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1215) (1243) (1612) Gilbert Dispensator (steward) also witnesses as Gilbert *capellanus* (1446) and c.1220 Gilbert Pincerna (1011).

¹⁰⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1206) (1537) Thomas le Buteiler; (402) (728) (1643) Edward Pincerna who was also called Edward le Renter (1537) between 1210 and 1230.

¹⁰¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (617) Richard Cocus; (1564) (1563) Gilbert Cocus; (1215) Walter Cocus; (1572) (1586) (1637) Ellis Cocus.

¹⁰²Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (354) Thomas *serviens magister* c.1215. Elsewhere he is *capellanus*, le Despenser and le Buteiler and he often appears with Edward and or Gilbert le Despenser who are both sometimes called servants of SBH for instance in 1220 (1003).

many as four *fratres capellani* and two clerks witnessed a grant c.1215, while in 1220 four chaplains, two clerks and Gilbert and Edward, servants of the hospital but who are seen in other grants to be *fratres capellani*, witnessed a confirmation of a grant.¹⁰³ The number of hospital staff witnessing charters drops off as the hospital becomes more firmly separated from the priory and secure in its own endowments. The most frequently named role outside that of the master is that of the clerk, of whom Alexander of Smithfield, William de Ripa, Hugh de Buckingham and Robert Hocheles are the most prominent examples. Moore states that there are fifty charters in Alexander's clear and elegant hand in the archives of St Bartholomew's and several more at St Paul's dating from between 1226 and 1265. Alexander witnessed other deeds which he did not write and Moore asserts that he wrote one in which his name does not appear at all. However, in all the other deeds he was responsible for writing, he usually styles himself 'Alexandro clerico,' 'Alexandro de Smethefeld clerico,' or if there is no room on the parchment merely 'Alex.'¹⁰⁴ There is no clear indication as to whether he was one of the *fratres capellani* of the hospital. His early charters were contemporaneous with those of William de Ripa and he often witnessed the same charters as William, who was not only one of the *fratres capellani* but can be seen in his early charters to be the vicar of St Sepulchre, the neighbouring church in the patrimony of the priory.¹⁰⁵ Hugh de Buckingham was also a chaplain-brother of St Bartholomew and in addition in the grant c.1220 by Hervey son of Geoffrey for 12d. quit rent from one acre of land next to the garden of the hospital, Hugh describes himself as clerk and steward (*senescallus*) of the hospital.¹⁰⁶ Robert Hocheles was active from 1225 to 1260 and wrote and witnessed seven charters for the hospital.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (964) (1003)

¹⁰⁴Moore, 493.

¹⁰⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (318).

¹⁰⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (82). Hugh is active as clerk between 1210 and 1229. (167) (394) (453) (617) (750) (1003) (1011) (1560). He can be seen as a chaplain brother in the previous decade (1612).

¹⁰⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (151) (516) (1205) (1212) (1217) (1226) (1489). A Robert Capellanus was active in the second decade of the thirteenth century and a Robert Diaconus in the first. Followed in the charters, the staff seem to progress from deacon to chaplain to some higher post of which clerk is usually one.

The names and offices of the *fratres capellani* of St John's are not to be found in the list of witnesses of the charters of the hospital. Doubtless when important gifts were given to the hospital, many members of the staff were present though unrecorded in honor of and gratitude to the benefactor. The parties involved in donations, sales and other arrangements must have been present and the master is sometimes mentioned by name. However, unlike the charters of St Bartholomew's, those making up the list of recorded witnesses for transactions concerning St John's are made up of Oxford great folk, the mayor, sheriffs and other wealthy merchants, university masters where relevant, and neighbours. A major difference lies in the clerk responsible for writing the document. Many of the documents of St Bartholomew's are in the hand of its own scribe though other clerks may be present as witnesses. Even when a clerk is mentioned in the witness list, the charters of St John's are always in the hand of the town clerk or if not in his hand then his name is written last on the list of named witnesses. Perhaps this reflects the difference in size between London and Oxford. That St Bartholomew's charters were usually in the hand of its own scribes also explains the presence and naming of the hospital staff and their offices which are often to be found in positions of prominence in the witness lists; this is especially true of large grants from counties such as Essex.

The *fratres laici* are not specifically mentioned in the rule of St John's but the king notes in his letters patent of 26 January 1234 that the goods which he as patron and founder had given or would transfer to the hospital were to maintain three *fratres capellani*, together with six *fratres laici* and six sisters. Their numbers were not to be increased until the hospital could, by reason of further donations, afford to maintain them.¹⁰⁸ However, a look at the attributes required for St Bartholomew's leper house a mile away out on the London road gives some idea of the type of lay brother wanted for work in the hospital. 'A healthy brother strong and skilled in wainage will be admitted . . . and a healthy brother strong and able to work and tend the curtilages and to make roofs for houses will be received.'¹⁰⁹ Bishop Seagrave's injunctions for

¹⁰⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xvii.

¹⁰⁹Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community*, 165. An excerpt from the Rule of St Bartholomew's Hospital, Oxford, of

St Bartholomew's in London distinguished the *fratres capellani* and *laici* by their habits and stated that seven brothers, of whom five were priests, were necessary for the house, but in the next sentence declared that there should be a maximum of eight brothers and four sisters.¹¹⁰ An example of the work that the lay brothers might be required to do can be seen in a grant by St Bartholomew's to Robert de Meldeburn in 1281. The hospital grants Robert 3 ft. of land, which is half the land it had recovered from him. It lay on the south and west side of a barn belonging to the hospital, on the east side of which Robert had built his *camera forinseca*. The 6ft. of land recovered by the hospital, 3ft. of which must have been Robert's, was to be common land, not cultivated and not built on. The brothers were to be allowed to walk over this land to put up a ladder whenever they needed to put a new roof on the barn. They could also break down the hedge on the east if it proved necessary, but they were obliged to repair it afterwards.¹¹¹ The lay brothers were only once mentioned by name in the charters. In 1330, beyond the date of this study, six *fratres laici* of St Bartholomew's witnessed the foundation for a chantry in the Church of St Thomas the Apostle in the parish of St Nicholas Shambles.¹¹²

The sisters of both hospitals undertook the physical care of the inmates. Their work was to make the sick comfortable, to tend to their physical needs and to fetch a *frater capellanus* when confession or viaticum were needed. Theirs was an active life of devotion, both physical and practical, fulfilling a role in their lives of service akin to that of Martha. They are mentioned occasionally as co-addressees in grants to the hospitals but never in the transactions alienating or rationalizing properties. In other words, they were recognized as a functioning part of the great charitable organization but played no role in its business arrangements. Kerling, in her introduction to the *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, asserts that the sisters were not forgotten by generous donors and that many gifts were made to 'the bretheren and sisters serving

1316.

¹¹⁰Moore 551.

¹¹¹Kerling, *Cart. SBH* (69). The barn was situated in the parish of St Sepulchre without Newgate a parish to the west of the hospital towards the River Holborn.

¹¹²Kerling, *Cart. SBH* (599).

the poor.¹¹³ However, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries sisters are mentioned with the brothers only fifteen times in 132 grants to the hospital for which full Latin transcriptions were available, while in the 182 grants to St John's they are only mentioned three times.¹¹⁴

The presence of women in both establishments added an element of risk and disorder to the peace of the precinct. The rule of St John's and the injunctions of Bishop Seagrave both warn of sexual dangers to be avoided. The rule stresses the need for chastity.¹¹⁵ Bishop Seagrave, perhaps in response to complaints in these matters, ordained that neither seculars nor religious were to be admitted to visit the sisters without leave of the master, and one of the brothers who is modest and praiseworthy in conversation was to be chosen as doorkeeper (*ostiarius*). The sisters were called *sorores converse* in the Rule of St John's, which suggests lay status but they were enjoined, inasmuch as befits their sex, to observe the rule as laid out for the brothers.¹¹⁶ The kind of woman that was accepted as a sister is suggested by the three sisters admitted to St Bartholomew's during the period of this study. The first sister whose name is known at the hospital was Edeva. About 1200, a charter from William Becuinte, a major early benefactor to the hospital, gave Edeva, daughter of Wakerilde de Writele, his servant, 10s. quit-rent annually for life. Seven shillings were from the land which the brothers of the hospital already held from him in Smithfield and two shillings from the land and shops which Simon Licio held of him in the parish of St Mary-le-Bow, and a further shilling from the land held of him by the dean of St Martin's in the parish of St John the Baptist near Aldersgate. If Edeva chose to take the religious habit of the hospital then the money was to remain with the brothers

¹¹³Kerling, *Cart. SBH* 'Introduction', 7.

¹¹⁴Although 299 grants and quitclaims to St Bartholomew's hospital are to be found in Kerling's Cartulary for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in the interests of brevity she does not give a full description of the donees. My numbers in this instance were gleaned from my own observations of 87 charters in the hospital archives; the rest were found in Moore's complete transcriptions of some of the documents. The number of sisters mentioned alongside the brothers works out to be a little more than ten percent which is not many as Kerling suggests though certainly more than can be found in the transcriptions of grants to the St John's hospital compiled by H.E. Salter.

¹¹⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 6: 'Casti sint omnes et sobrii, lasciviam domantes, moderati in victu, cum mulieribus non loquentes seu iocantes, recordantes semper quod mulierum contractus multos fecerunt errare sapientes.'

¹¹⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 6: 'Sorores converse, secundum quod competit sexui suo, observent ea que superius fratribus statuimus observanda.'

and sisters serving God in pure and perpetual alms forever but if she did not, then the seven shillings quit-rent which the brothers paid every year to William were to remain with them after her death. Moore suggests that since the charter at St Bartholomew's is preserved, this shows that Edeva ended her days tending the poor and infirm as a sister.¹¹⁷ This charter could, however, have been preserved as a record of the seven shillings that the brothers were to receive upon Edeva's death. The charter of 1240 is less ambiguous. Martha, daughter of Adam de Wytheby, in her last will granted 10s. rent from land that Henry Woodmonger held to each of her children, Stephen and Joan. On the dorse of the deed is stated 'de redditu dato hospitali Sancti Bartholomei cum Johanna sorore dicti hospitalis.' A grant by Joan, daughter of Martha, of this 10s. to the hospital in 1250 confirms that this was indeed so.¹¹⁸ In 1250, Isabel, daughter of Edward de Bray and his wife Maud, granted a tenement in the parish of St Gregory's by St Paul's to the hospital and in return the hospital promised to give her a sister's portion. This house had been the gift to her parents from her grandfather, Adam Scott, the warden of the chest of the fabric of St Paul's and a chaplain of the same church. William of Sanctmerglise, dean of St Paul's, had sanctioned the gift in 1242. Her parents had in turn given it to their daughter who, upon entry to the hospital, had presented it to the hospital and the brothers and sisters ministering to the sick. The charter states that for her gift and for the confirmation of her charter, she was to be given a sister's gown, to be received as sister and was to be given the profession of a sister, the office about the sick and the emolument of the house for her whole life.¹¹⁹ This charter of donation of property or income functioned in many respects as a dowry upon entry. Evidence of payment upon entry is probably only seen in the charters where complications might arise concerning the donation. However, these three sisters clearly came from respectable and respected families and brought money or property with them when they joined the staff of the hospital as sisters.

¹¹⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (11). Moore, 139.

¹¹⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (562) and (563).

¹¹⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (592) and (593). Moore, 381.

The rules and ordinances are silent about the nursing activities to be undertaken by a sister. What skills she brought to, or learnt on the job cannot be known. A clause in Bishop Seagrave's injunctions suggesting that the treatment of the sick was not always up to standard does not reveal the nature of the care delivered to the inmates. Only one duty is documented. A list of all important garments was to be kept in two rolls and one was to be in the possession of the master and one in the possession of a careful sister.¹²⁰ Visitation records and hospital regulations were more interested in the correct maintenance of decorum and demeanour than in issuing guidelines for the physical care of the inmates. Carole Rawcliffe, however, in her article 'Hospital Nurses and their Work,' suggests that the nursing staff probably became competent in a wide range of healing activities. Although spiritual cures were undoubtedly considered more important than corporal ones, she suggests that nurses, like many medieval women, probably had a rudimentary knowledge of the *regimen sanitatis* and of herbs and their healing qualities. Hospital gardens may well have been used by the sisters to produce healing and sweet smelling herbal remedies.¹²¹ The gardens of the hospital St Bartholomew are mentioned in the charters, such as in the grant of 1252 by Laurence Turpyn to William of Dunolm, where the garden was in the south side of the hospital square between the hospital and Little Britain and another is mentioned in Bartholomew Capellanus's charter to Edith, widow of Peter Smith, where a garden belonging to the hospital was to be found outside the bar of Smithfield in St Sepulchre's parish. However, in 1338 there is specific mention of the sisters' garden, which was located north and east of Vitery Lane in St Bartholomew's close.¹²² At Oxford, R.T. Gunther suggests that the sisters' residence with a small garden behind ran parallel to and north of the hospital infirmary of St John.¹²³

¹²⁰Moore 552.

¹²¹Carole Rawcliffe, 'Hospital Nurses and their Work,' 43-64. *The Book of Gilbert* edited by R Foreville and G. Kier (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987) 309 speaks of the 'powerful herbs and roots' that were produced in the twelfth-century garden of Hospital of St John the Baptist at Castle Donnington, Leicester.

¹²²Kerling, *Cart. HSB*, (404) 192/104, (78) 96-7/336, (313) 164/370.

¹²³Salter, *Cart. HSJB III*, 403.

The Inmates

Hospitals were founded for those usually designated in charters as ‘pauperes et infirmi’, the poor and infirm or the sick poor. *The Book of the Foundation* recounts how, when Rahere fell sick and feared to die in Rome among ‘outlandish people,’ he made a promise to God that if he recovered he would ‘erect a hospital for the restoration of poor men and, as far as he could, would minister to the necessities of the poor gathered together in that place.’¹²⁴ When Henry III refounded St John’s in 1233, Matthew Paris noted in his *Historia Anglorum* that the king had founded the hospital for ‘infirmi et peregrini.’¹²⁵ Similarly early grants to St Bartholomew’s mention pilgrims received at the hospital. In 1180, when Henry de Taidena, lord of Little Wakering in Essex, confirmed his uncle William’s grant of the patronage of the church of St Mary to St. Bartholomew’s Hospital he confirmed it to the brothers caring for the infirm, poor and pilgrims and Andrew Bucherel makes his grant in the same decade to the hospital ‘in refectiōne peregrinorum et solacio pauperum infirmorum.’¹²⁶ As late as c. 1240 Robert Bruce granted St Bartholomew’s an acre of land in Little Wakering, in Essex, ‘ad sustentationem infirmorum pauperum et peregrinorum.’¹²⁷ Pilgrimages were undertaken by large numbers of people in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and St Bartholomew’s possessed a piece of the true cross and many other relics.¹²⁸ Oxford attracted pilgrims to St Frideswide, the Anglo-Saxon saint about whom little is known but who was the patron of Oxford.¹²⁹ Her shrine at the Priory of St Frideswide was the scene of many cures.¹³⁰ Oxford also lay at the confluence of many

¹²⁴*Book of the Foundation* 7.

¹²⁵*Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum* Vol. II, ed. Frederic Madden (London: Longmans, 1866) 363: ‘Simili quoque peitatis spiritu tactus, idem rex quoddam nobile hospitale Oxoniis constituit, non procul a ponte, ut ibidem infirmi et peregrini suae remedium percipiant necessitatis.’

¹²⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1421), (1422). Moore, 195: ‘Dedi. . . fratribus ad sustentationem infirmorum pauperum et peregrinorum.’

¹²⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1417). Moore 449.

¹²⁸*Book of Foundation*. Rahere cures a woman’s swollen tongue with water in which a piece of the true cross has soaked on page 19. The mention of many relics of unspecified saints can be found on page 17.

¹²⁹H.E. Salter, *Medieval Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936) 4.

¹³⁰R.C. Finucane, ‘The Use and Abuse of Medieval Miracles,’ *History* 60 (1975), 8.

roads that criss-crossed England and had the advantage of the proximity of the Thames which was navigable on a commercial scale as far as Henley.¹³¹ The three most famous miracle-working shrines in England in these centuries were those of St Thomas of Canterbury, Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk and St Cuthbert's in Durham. Pilgrims coming from west of Watling Street might well have passed Oxford on their way to one of these shrines. Poor people travelling in search of a cure or on a pilgrimage of penitance might well have lodged for a night at St John's. The centrality of Oxford was also a factor in its emergence as the first and most important university of England.¹³² The bull of privileges issued by Innocent IV in 1245 states that the king of England, inspired with the divine fervor of piety, caused the hospital to be built and endowed it for the encouragement of poor scholars and other wretched persons.¹³³ In a university town such as Oxford, it is to be expected that some of the inmates of the hospital must, from time to time, have been poor scholars.

St John's rule itself includes a list of those people who must not receive admittance: lepers, paralytics, those suffering from the dropsy, the insane, those subject to epilepsy, and those suffering from ulcers or incurable diseases. Last but not least, women who were lewd and pregnant were also not to be admitted, nor were those who were adolescents.¹³⁴ All these types of poor and infirm should, according to the rule, be assigned help outside the house and then only until they recovered. This list appears to exclude all those with chronic and debilitating diseases that would occupy the beds and take up the space that those suffering from more acute and potentially curable conditions and those weak from malnutrition and in the grip of an infectious disease might use more profitably. The presence of lewd pregnant women and maidens was probably perceived as being likely to have a disruptive effect on the peace and quiet of the hospital, distracting the other inmates from their prayers and in particular proving to be objects of

¹³¹Salter, *Medieval Oxford* 17.

¹³²David Carpenter, 464.

¹³³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 7: 'ad sublevationem pauperum scholarium et aliarum miserabilium personarum . . .'

¹³⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, 3: 'Non admittant leprosos, paraliticos, ydropicos, furiosos, morbo caduco laborantes, fistulas aut morbos incurabiles patientes nec mulieres lascivas pregnantes nec iuenculas.'

temptation to the brothers. The exclusion of lewd pregnant women in the rule issued in 1246 is at odds with the documented work in progress in 1240 on a chamber for women in child birth.¹³⁵ A separate room for child birth would have been a necessity to protect the peace of the inmates of the great ward from the noise and drama of labour and from the complications of parturition which would have been particularly likely in poor malnourished travellers. However, the presence in Oxford of large numbers of often riotous young male students might have drawn a large pool of single young women to the town, leading to lonely childbirth outside the warmth of the family circle and unsanctioned by wedlock and, as far as can be judged by the rule, unwanted as well by the hospital. The death of such a mother, but survival of the child, would have left the hospital with infants to care for and there is no evidence of the presence of children at the hospital in the records of St John's.

As previously mentioned, St Bartholomew's has no rule, but as early as 1147 when Prior Thomas of Osyth appointed Adam the merchant to the mastership of the hospital, his charter sets out his mandate and enumerates those people for whom he is to care. The deed confirms Adam in the care of the hospital and gives him authority to do all he can for the needy, for orphans, for foundlings, and for the poor of the district, for every kind of sick person, and for homeless wanderers.¹³⁶ In 1191 the hospital obtained a bull from Lucius III which commends the work of the master and brothers and praises them for the zeal with which they care for the great multitude of the sick, the poor and orphans in the hospital.¹³⁷ The presence of orphans is again confirmed later in 1191 when Pope Celestine III takes the hospital and its possessions under his protection.¹³⁸ Apparently, by the mid-thirteenth century St Bartholomew's was running what appears to be a boarding school for the orphans. In 1258 Christina, the widow of Walter de

¹³⁵VCH *Oxford* iv, 366. *Calendar of Liberate Rolls*, i,1226-40, 455 shows that Henry III contributed 16li.13s.4d. to St John's towards the construction of a chamber for women in labour.

¹³⁶Moore, 54.

¹³⁷Moore 155: '...quod licet in eodem loco nunc per Dei gratiam multitudo maxima infirmorum, pauperum, et orphanorum elemosinis Christi fidelium vestroque studio sustentetur.'

¹³⁸Moore 161.

Chaure, entered into an agreement with the hospital concerning her little sons. On the advice of friends and neighbours she granted all her houses next to Smithfield on the condition that her sons Ralph and John were taken into the care of the hospital until they came of age. The hospital must keep the two boys in good condition giving them a reasonable quantity of food, clothes and shoes. The houses were to be given to them when they came of age, or to the one who survived. Should they both die while still in St Bartholomew's then the property was to remain with the hospital. The deed was witnessed by well-to-do merchants and tradesmen, and Christina's part of the chirograph was to be left in the keeping of Geoffrey Faber, her chief executor.¹³⁹ The presence of children in the hospital can be seen much later in a fourteenth-century petition to the king in which the master and brothers of the hospital asked to be exempted from the tenth and other subsidies because of the heavy expenses incurred for the treatment of the sick poor who came to the hospital to be healed or to die and because they visited Newgate Prison taking away all the infants who were born to women who were detained there.¹⁴⁰

St Bartholomew's also attracted pilgrims, who came to be in the presence of St Bartholomew and to ask for healing. The priory church was, according to the *Book of Foundation*, 'dowered with many relics of saints.'¹⁴¹ One of Rahere's proud possessions was a piece of the True Cross, which features in one of the tales of healing.¹⁴² Because the *Book of Foundation* was written by a canon of the priory, the preponderance of miracles occur in the priory church in front of the altar of St Bartholomew. However, some idea of the type of inmate

¹³⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (107). Geoffrey the Smith owned a tenement next to the garden of the hospital and property outside the bar of Smithfield on the high road and was thus one of Christina's neighbors. He witnessed thirteen of the charters in the *Cartulary*.

¹⁴⁰Kerling, 'Note on Newgate Prison,' *Trans. Lond. Middx. Archaeol. Soc.*, 22, (1968) 21-2: '...trouer touz les enfantz que sont neez en la prisone de Neugate des femmes enditez et deteintes en la dite prisone. . .'. Kerling cites Public Record Office. Ancient Petitions, S.C. 8 File 68 No. 3354. Much later, in the fifteenth century, the hospital's work was praised by a London citizen who claimed that St Bartholomew's was a place of great comfort for the poor 'and in specialty unto young women that have misdone, that are with child. There they are delivered, and unto the time of purification they have meat and drink of the place's cost and [are] full honestly guided and kept. And in [as] much as the place may, they keep their counsel and their worship.' (quoted in Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* [New Haven: Yale UP, 2001] 87).

¹⁴¹*Book of Foundation* 17.

¹⁴²*Book of Foundation* 19.

to be found in the hospital can be gathered from these tales of miraculous healing even though only four of them mention the hospital specifically. For instance, Adwyn the carpenter came to London from the town of Dunwich, Suffolk. He had been crippled from a young age and by the time he decided to seek healing, his calves had cleaved to his thighs, preventing him from walking, and his hands were so bent backward he could do no work.

Therefore, because he was far from the said church, he paid the passage money and was set on a ship and, being carried to the church, was set in the hospital of the poor and supported there some time of the alms of the said church. Meanwhile, by the virtue of the apostle he began to revive and his longed-for health began to return bit by bit. And so at first, bent though he was, he made with his hands little things such as distaffs, weights, and other girls' gear. Next, as his steps grew stronger and his limbs enjoyed their natural vigour, he followed the more important works of those who cut logs with axe and hatchet, and not long after practised the craft of carpentry in the same church and throughout the City of London as he had been taught as a boy, blessing God whose eyes are on them that fear Him and on those who hope in His mercy.¹⁴³

Another miracle describes a young woman who, having been 'seduced by a certain profligate from the benefit of honest labour to the pleasures of unclean sin,' became insane. 'As her madness increased, she was confined in stricter bonds, and when those were easily burst by her fury others were added, and thus she was carried to the hospital of the aforesaid church. . . . the mercy of the most blessed apostle came upon her and graciously delivered the woman from her madness . . . and sent her sound to her home.' Yet another story tells of a paralytic woman who was shaken with palsy and suffered so severely from the loss of the use of her limbs that she was brought from her house beyond the Thames to the same hospital where 'after some time,' she was healed of her sickness. One final mention is made of the hospital in a tale of a maidservant from the house of a citizen of London who was unable to stretch out one of her feet. Upon being brought to the hospital, one night she had a dream that the apostle bade her stretch out her foot. She did as he had commanded and the next morning she awoke healed.¹⁴⁴ These four tales show that sufferers from chronic diseases such as arthritis, contractures and the palsy sought help and

¹⁴³*Book of Foundation* 27.

¹⁴⁴*Book of Foundation* 49, 49, 50.

healing in the hospital, and that employers at their wits' end, not knowing how to improve the physical condition of their servants might also use the hospital. The tale of the woman seduced into sin also shows that, at least at the time of writing towards the later decades of the twelfth century, the insane found shelter within the hospital walls. Another miracle concerning an episode of insanity is to be seen in the *Book of the Foundation*. Although the hospital is not specifically mentioned, the tale relates how Ralph, a knight of the household of William of Munfichet, while passing through Essex was seized by a fiend and became suddenly aggressively insane. Having resisted capture, 'he was at last taken, . . . brought to the same church, and after passing two nights therein he became sane.'¹⁴⁵ In the late twelfth century William of Munfichet granted 12d. rent to the hospital with the assent of Rayner the hostage to whom the rent had previously been given and who now was living in prosperity. Perhaps William made this grant to the hospital in gratitude for the recovery of his military tenant and Ralph had indeed been cared for by the hospital.¹⁴⁶ St Bartholomew's appears to have catered for a wider group of the sick and the infirm than St John's rule permitted to be admitted at Oxford. Two of the four miracles featuring the hospital demonstrate its use by poor travellers with chronic conditions as one beneficiary had travelled from Dunwich in Suffolk and another from 'beyond the Thames,' indicating that an important function of the hospital in the early days was the care of sick and infirm pilgrims and travellers bound for the shrine of St Bartholomew.

Another group of inmates, corrodarians, was to be found in hospitals. These were layfolk who were allowed to live in the hospital as boarders in return for gifts of cash, rents and properties. The purchaser of the corrody, usually old and wealthy, took up residence at the hospital making an endowment to it and could expect to remain there, cared for in a specified manner, until he died.¹⁴⁷ There is no evidence for the purchase of corrodies in the cartularies of either St Bartholomew's or St Johns during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, royal

¹⁴⁵*Book of Foundation* 40.

¹⁴⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (959). Moore 223.

¹⁴⁷P.H.Cullum, 'Cremetts and Corrodies,' 8.

appointments of corrodarians occurred at St John's during this period. The king, as patron, used the hospital as a place where his servants could be cared for when they were no longer capable of work or when he felt an obligation towards their families. The *Calendar of Close Rolls* contains three such placements during the thirteenth century. In 1235, Henry III ordered the hospital to admit Maud, daughter of Geoffrey le Camberleyn, to be one of their sisters and six months later, in 1236 he sent Milisant, the widow of Symon le Establer, to be a sister. In 1293, Edward I commanded that the brothers admit Nicholas le Ferur, now incapable of work, and requested that he be provided with maintenance for as long as he lived. Salter points out that the women appear to be sent to the hospital to work as sisters and keep to the rule, while the men became guests with the privilege of electing the master. However, the two women sent by Henry III were close family members of important royal servants who were either past the age of marriage or unwilling to enter that estate, but were quite capable of leading useful lives of service. Nicholas on the other hand is quite clearly stated to be unable to work. An entry in the Close Rolls in 1307 demonstrates the treatment that a corrodarian might expect from the hospital. Geoffrey de Castre, the king's chaplain, together with his clerk, were to be given fitting sustenance in food, drink, robes, shoe-leather, wood, litter and other necessities for the term of his life and he was not expected to live with the brothers or in the great ward, but the hospital was to find him a fitting chamber for his residence within the enclosure.¹⁴⁸

There was an alternative and cheaper way to buy maintenance, called a livery. Most livery holders lived at home and came to the hospital to receive their liveries of food or money.¹⁴⁹ Two liveries were purchased from St John's during the thirteenth century. In 1220 Walter Cole granted the hospital lands and a meadow outside the north gate of Oxford. In return the hospital was to find him sufficient victuals and clothing for the duration of his life.¹⁵⁰ A fuller description

¹⁴⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xxxii-iii. The brothers had apparently paid no attention to the letters sent under the king's privy seal showing that there was resistance by the hospital to accept charges that would be a drain on its resources.

¹⁴⁹Cullum, 'Cremetts and Corrodies' 18-20.

¹⁵⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* (813).

of a livery can be seen in the final concord in 1262 between the hospital and Richard le Dosiere, established before four itinerant justices. Richard granted the hospital a messuage and six shops at the corner of the High Street and Queen's Lane. In return, the brothers were to give him a reasonable allowance, whether in victuals or in clothing. Each day he was either to eat at the table with the free servers of the house or he was to receive one loaf with one obol, one gallon of beer and one course of cooked food. In addition, he was to be provided yearly with one robe worth 5s. for the rest of his life and after his death the master was to remember Richard in every blessing and prayer in his church for ever.¹⁵¹ A livery can be seen in the grant that Ralph de Quatremares and Albreda his wife made to St Bartholomew's in 1180. The charter, made 'coram omni hustengo' granted to the hospital their tenement in Bread Street that they held of Westminster Abbey for 5s. 10d. and their orchard which they held of St Paul's for 3s. Should necessity befall, the brothers were to supply them with all their needs as if they were a brother or sister, either in the hospital or in the house that they have given to them.¹⁵²

Besides the poor and infirm, the sisters and brothers and the livery-holders, St Bartholomew's had one further rather substantial inmate. In 1227, Katherine Hardel, wife of William who had been mayor of London in 1215-16, obtained a grant from the king of a small piece of land in Smithfield adjoining the chapel of the hospital. There she lived as an anchoress, spending her time in solitude and prayer. Her gift to the hospital of land and houses was confirmed by her husband William indicating that the hospital would, in effect, treat her as a corrodarian.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹Salter, *Cart HSJB* II, (813), and I, (307), (308).

¹⁵²Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (726). Moore 210. 'Si vero necessitas nobis ingruerit fratres predicti hospitalis ministrabant nobis quasi fratri et sorori in predicto hospitali vel in domo nostra quam eis com omnibus pertinentiis suis dedimus omnia necessaria. Et cum nobis placuerit ipsi recipient nos in societatem suam.' Ralph and Albreda were tenants of Westminster Abbey and in 1184 Walter the abbot granted the whole property to the hospital as fee farm rent in perpetuity. Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (735).

¹⁵³Kerling, *Cart. HSB*, (713) 295/978. Moore, 321. William Hardel was also warden of the leper hospital of St Giles together with Thomas de Haverill. William and Katherine lived in the parish of All Hallows the Less and had a shop in the Fishmarket. They had two sons, William and Richard. William witnessed eight charters for the hospital.

Communal life within the community

Before the sick poor were admitted they had to confess their sins to the sacrist or to one of the *fratres capellani*. The ordained staff had a duty to see that no one died unshriven. Sickness of the soul was believed to give rise to sickness of the body and one of the most healing tools in the hospital *armamentarium* was the religious cure of souls: the hearing of confession, the daily round of prayers in which the inmates joined, the celebration of Mass with the elevation of the host in full sight of all the inmates of the great ward and, if necessary, the administration of the sacrament of extreme unction. With their prayers, the inmates and the chaplains remembered their benefactors, the people who had given generously in order for this care and cure to be possible at all. In doing so, all participants in these acts earned spiritual merit.

The charters of the hospital give very little indication of the daily routine or of the administration of the funds so generously given in support of this charitable group effort. Charters, which were legal documents, rarely mentioned specifics but left money, rents and property to the hospital, leaving the brothers and sisters to incorporate the funds into their already functioning routines. Some charters mention lights, so that care could be delivered throughout the night and so that the comfort of the altar was always visible.¹⁵⁴ The patients must have had beds with sheets and coverings,¹⁵⁵ though only one charter of St Bartholomew's mentions the presence of beds in the great ward.¹⁵⁶ The linens and clothes are mentioned in the visitation

¹⁵⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (706). C.1210 Geoffrey Aurifaber granted the hospital 2s. rent for the lighting of one lamp in the infirmary for burning in the presence of the infirm existing there. In 1245, Robert le Mignot granted 2s for the maintenance of the lamp in the infirmary (632). This must give some idea of the cost of maintaining a lamp for a year. See also Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (866) and (827).

¹⁵⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* (213). The very wealthy and four-time benefactor of the hospital, Henry son of Simeon, granted a corner messuage, Horsemull Hall, to the hospital to help maintain five beds. 'In auxilium sustentacionis quinque lectorum in predicto hospitali' suggests that the rent from such a holding situated in Logic Lane at the junction of Kibald Street, and an academic hall was not sufficient to fully maintain five beds. No value is given in the charter.

¹⁵⁶Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (583). In 1212, Alexander of Norfolk granted a house outside St Paul's gate opposite the brewhouse of St Paul's and specified that the money from the rent was to be used for clothes for the poor in the great ward and for linen for the sick.

records of Bishop Segrave and small single items might be bequeathed by testament, such as the coverlet donated by John Bruning to St Bartholomew's in 1240.¹⁵⁷

What the inmates ate is not laid out in any detail, but it is clear from the charters that meat formed part of the diet. In the *Book of Foundation* one of the miracles tells of Alfune who 'went out daily with officers of the church to seek necessaries for the relief of the poor who lay in the hospital . . . and divide what [he had obtained] amongst them as each had need.' Godric the butcher was always niggardly in his giving and one day Alfune, having been unable to soften his heart with words calculated to make him fear, nor by appeals to the love of God, nor to his feeling of shame, promised him in the apostle's name that whatever 'heap' of meat that Godric should give to him, he would be able to sell the same amount sooner than the other butchers and would lose nothing of its price. The chronicler says that Godric 'moved not by the instinct of charity, but overcome by the importunity of the asker, drew out a single piece of food from the cheaper heap and threw it at the priests and, calling them vagrants, bade them depart from him speedily.' As soon as he had done this, a citizen and his family arrived at his stall and bought that heap of which Alfune had spoken. This was regarded as a miracle by all the butchers of the market and from that time on they all became 'more ready and fervent in the giving of alms.'¹⁵⁸ Meat for St Barthomew's is mentioned again in 1249. Bartholomew, the procurator of the hospital, acknowledged a debt to Walter de Hendon, butcher, of eleven pounds for meat that they had purchased. They promised to pay 26s. 8d. annual rent from a tenement held by John le Bon, mercer, until the debt had been paid off.¹⁵⁹ In addition to meat bought in the market, St Bartholomew's held many live animals on its rural estates and there are occasional testamentary bequests of animals to the hospital. For instance, William Longspee, earl of Salisbury, gave 8 oxen to the hospital in 1226 in his will.¹⁶⁰ St John's possession of a substantial number of pigs

¹⁵⁷Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (347).

¹⁵⁸*The Book of Foundation* 23.

¹⁵⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (611). This would have taken more than eight years at this rate.

¹⁶⁰Moore 310.

can be seen in the King's grants. For instance, in 1266 Henry III granted the hospital the right for 150 pigs to forage for food in the royal forest of Wytlewode, 50 pigs in the royal forest of Burwood and a further 50 in the royal forest of Shotover.¹⁶¹ The hospital also possessed a dovecote by 1257 which was one of the appurtenances that came with a croft sited next to its own garden that Hugh le Bolter granted to the hospital.¹⁶² In a charter of liberties in 1246, the king granted the hospital the right to all animals that are called 'waif' found in their fief and in a further privilege the brothers and sisters were permitted to hold the cattle of their fugitive tenants.¹⁶³

Vegetables and fruit would have been grown in the hospital gardens and orchards which are mentioned in the charters of both hospitals,¹⁶⁴ but further sources of fruits and vegetables were imported from the close and far-flung estates that both hospitals had acquired by donations and by astute purchases during these centuries. For instance, in 1282 Walter Jordan de Chausy, the bailiff of Haliwell, gave St John's half an acre of arable land in the fields of Haliwell, while in 1285 a further acre of land in the fields of Haliwell was granted to the hospital by Isolda, the sister of M. Robert Maynard the perpetual vicar of the church of St Mary Magdalen and himself a great benefactor of the hospital.¹⁶⁵ The earliest *computus* roll of the hospital is dated 1340, well outside the time chosen for this study, and it is very incomplete and only partially legible. The harvest expenses of the local hospital land are shown, the mowing of Parys Mead, Cowlake, Cowlese, King's Mead and Cowelake Rowayn, and the expenses for the reaping of the corn in the area of the Grove which was done by forty hired workers and took place over three and a half days. Other entries relating to the provision of foodstuffs for the inmates and staff of St John's

¹⁶¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (927).

¹⁶²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (907).

¹⁶³Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (924).

¹⁶⁴Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (395). A composition in 1237 between the hospital and the Vicar of St. Peter's in whose parish the hospital was situated specifies the tithes that the hospital owed the vicar 'super decimis fructus arborum, ortorum & nutrimentorum animalium' and 'super decimis feni secundis de pratis & pratellis in parochia dicte ecclesie provenientibus.'

¹⁶⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (870), (867).

includes expenses for making a fishpond and those for making collars for the hospital swans.¹⁶⁶ How the food was cooked is not visible in the charters, but in the early thirteenth century William le Franceis granted 2s from the house next to Hugh the Carter to buy lard for the infirmary of St Bartholomew's, but whether this is for cooking or for making the base for various ointments that might be used there is not clear.¹⁶⁷

The *Cartulary* of St Bartholomew's gives a fuller picture of the management of the rural estates and the transport of produce that was sent to the hospital. In 1250 Bartholomew, master of the hospital, granted Richard Heyn of Enfield a grange belonging to the hospital in Richard's yard near his garden. It was stipulated that after the death of Robert, the vicar of South Mimms, Hertfordshire, Richard must find storage for the corn of the hospital and a plough needed for sowing the land that the vicar holds of the hospital for life. A second grant to Richard in the same year granted a messuage between the land of the abbot of Waleden and the messuage of Robert Brolle, except a grange near the garden in which the hospital keeps corn, animals and all their easements. In 1285, the hospital granted Edith, daughter of Edith le Ratt, one acre of land with a messuage. The rent that Edith had to pay was 18d. but she also had to find two men for one day in the autumn at the hay-harvest, though the food for them on that day was to be provided by the hospital.¹⁶⁸ Several benefactors donated corn rather than rents or properties. In 1180, Henry son of Wale granted the hospital a messuage with 10 acres in Puttenham, Surrey. The grant was given on condition that the hospital received Henry and his wife and children into the confraternity. In addition, he granted them one tronage of corn yearly during his lifetime. In 1220 Hubert de Anesti granted St Bartholomew's one seam (*summa*) of corn to be given each year within fifteen days from Michaelmas, and in 1250 Christina de Marisco gave the same hospital one seam of corn at Michaelmas from her granary at Edmonton. What was meant by

¹⁶⁶Salter, *Cart. HSB* III, 19: 'in duabus [sic] colariis emptis pro cignis vd.'

¹⁶⁷Moore 364: '. . . ad emendum sepum fermerie.' William also gave money from the hall and garden opposite towards the maintenance of the patients in the infirmary.

¹⁶⁸Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1225), (1226), (1500).

corn is made clear when, c.1190, Henry de Pinkem and Lettice his wife gave from his land in Buckinghamshire one measure of corn, namely half a measure of wheat and half a measure of barley and oats.¹⁶⁹ A very good idea of the transport arrangements for produce sent to St Bartholomew's from its rural estates can be seen in the grant that brother Stephen, the procurator, made to William, son of Simon de Renham in Essex. The hospital promised to give William ten marks of silver towards his debts and a virgate of land. In return William had to deliver each year to St Bartholomew's a certain quantity of his produce namely, a total of twenty-eight quarters of corn consisting of five quarters of wheat, five of rye, five of barley, five of beans [sic] and eight of oats. The corn was to be delivered twice a year at the quay of the brothers of the hospital of St John of Clerkenwell. William was also to send to the hospital four cartloads of hay every year. When time for the hay harvest came around, the hospital was to send a messenger to see if the carts were reasonably equipped, namely with four oxen and two horses or two oxen and four horses and that they were reasonably loaded. William was then to take the hay to the ship, to hire a ship and sailors and to provide food for the messenger for as long as he stayed with the hay or took care of the hay in the ship. Whenever the hospital received hay at London, three sailors were to be provided with food, as long as the ship was loaded with hay and the same was true of the corn. If William or his heirs withdrew from this agreement, he or they had to give back, along with the tenement, as many houses and buildings as had been found there and to repay the ten marks given to William.¹⁷⁰ Corn and other produce can thus be seen to have

¹⁶⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1609), (1475), (1476) and (1625). An interesting feature of the grant of Hubert de Anesti is that the *summa* of corn was standardized by the use of a measure fixed by Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, 'per mensuram quam Hubertus Walterus Archiepiscopus Cantuarie posuit in Anglia, quum fuit iusticiarius.' Attempts at standardization of weights and measures can be seen in both the cartularies where the frequent use when describing smaller, particularly urban property boundaries are specified as being so many iron ells of the king long or wide. e.g. Salter, *Cart. HSJB* (82): *ulna regis*; or Moore 343: *de ulnis ferreis Domini Regis Johannis Anglie*; or Moore 278: *de pedibus Sancti Pauli*; or Moore 330: *de ulnis ferreis regis Henrici*.

¹⁷⁰Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (1243). Moore 241-243. Then there follows a picture of life on the farm, of all the houses and barns that were there when William was granted the virgate. The charter lists the buildings which included a house with two bedrooms, and in the house stalls for horses, a barn, ox-stalls, a brew-house with an oven and a hen-house. 'Domus cum duobus thalamis et in domo stabula equorum orreum buveria bracinum et in eo clibanus domus gallinarum.'

reached St Bartholomew's by ship from many of its outlying estates. In the early thirteenth century, a grant made by Robert de Lalieflonde, warden of the gaol of Fleet, would have made its journey cheaper and easier. For the welfare of his soul and for those of his wife and children he granted free passage over the Fleet water for all the ships which carried the goods of the hospital.¹⁷¹ In 1234 the king issued a mandate, recorded in the Patent Rolls, to all those persons through whose lands the king's timber was being brought from Reading to Oxford; Salter suggests the passage of this timber would have been in the main by water.¹⁷²

Bread, especially extra rations, is another item for consumption that was sometimes specified in the charters. In 1200 William de Haverill, alderman of Cripplegate Ward and soke-reeve of the bishop of Ely in Wood Street, granted the hospital 18s. quit-rent from various properties. Fifteen shillings and 21/2d. were to be spent each year in buying bread so that the eight poor people in the hospital who were most in need should receive 1/2d of white bread daily. The rest was to be spent on a pittance at All Saints for the use of the sick.¹⁷³ C.1210 when Stephen, procurator of the hospital, granted land which Hugh de Fossato had given the hospital to William le Tyeis and Cecily his wife, they agreed to pay 2 marks rent and as a fine gave the hospital one hundred loaves and one barrel of ale.¹⁷⁴ This fine may represent door-step charity which all religious institutions including hospitals engaged in, usually on Maunday Thursday, All Saints' Day, the day of the hospital's own patron saint or on the anniversary of a benefactor who

¹⁷¹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (512). One of the witnesses of this charter was Simon *de ponte de Flete*. Kerling suggests, looking at the charter by Robert to the hospital of land granted by his father to William de Tunebrige opposite the Fleet prison on the other side of the river, that the 2s. rent that the hospital had to pay him was a way of paying a yearly lump sum for passage up or over the Fleet instead of making individual payments.(510). She comes to this conclusion because, in 1456, the renter wrote that nothing was received because the hospital had free entry and exit over the Fleet with ships and any other water-vehicle without paying customs. (App. 139).

¹⁷²Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xvii.

¹⁷³Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (772). Moore 213: '...ad emendum panem ita ut qualibet die ematur una obulata panis albi et dividatur in viii partes et detur viii pauperibus in predicto hospitali magis indigentibus, et residuum remaneat ad pitanciam in die omnium sanctorum in coquina ad opus infirmorum.'

¹⁷⁴Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (555). This deed is unusual in that Alice de Salerno is named among one of the witnesses. Alice was William de Salerno's sister and lived next door to William le Tyeis and Cecily. The rent of 2marks that William le Tyeis and Cecily agreed to pay was augmented with a 5s. increase granted to the hospital by William de Salerno and Alice his wife as stated in the charter. When Cecily became a widow in 1237 the hospital granted the property to William de Salerno and Alice his wife for a rent of only 2 marks of silver and a fine of 21 marks.

had left money for the purpose. For instance, in 1208 Joce, son of Peter, alderman of the ward in which the hospital stood and sheriff in 1211, gave the hospital 3s. quit rent in return for a commitment by the brothers that on the morrow of the feast of All Saints they would spend and give away the money 'ad sustentandum pauperis' and that it would not be converted to any other uses except to the maintenance of the poor annually on that day.¹⁷⁵ Another instance of charity to Christ's poor with a local and personal touch can be seen in Robert le Mignot's grant of all his land with pertinances in the parish of St Aldates, Oxford. He desired among other things that on five occasions per year the poor of Christ should be fed a pittance of 50s., namely on the feast of St Frideswide, the purification of St Mary, Ascension, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and on the anniversary of his own death.¹⁷⁶ The poor at Oxford were also favoured by the king. In 1231, when he granted the hospital a mill called Kingsmelne with suit and lands and meadows belonging to that mill for the sustenance of the poor and infirm of St John's, he also specified that whenever he came to Oxford a payment of 100 tale was to be made to 100 poor people and for the sustenance of other poor people cared for in 'our' hospital. Henry III had a residence called Beaumont just outside the north gate of Oxford which he used for a few days every year, and a favorite palace at Woodstock where he stayed for long periods, so this was indeed a very generous stipulation.¹⁷⁷ The Patent Rolls also shows further generosity on the part of the king when, in 1244, the hospital received corn sent by the royal almoner to be distributed to the poor.¹⁷⁸

How many people were cared for in the great wards or at the door-step of either hospital is not visible in the records. That many people came to both the hospitals for help is very likely. Bishop Seagrave's visitation record enjoined the brothers and sisters receiving the sick to have

¹⁷⁵Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (549). Moore 114. On perhaps the same day and certainly with the same list of witnesses, Joce fitzPeter had bought from Henry son of Rayner his right to 3s. quit-rent that the hospital paid to Henry for the gersumma of 21/2 marks, (548). He then straightway donated this sum to the hospital to the poor seeking door-step relief from the hospital.

¹⁷⁶Salter, *Cart. HSJB II* (632).

¹⁷⁷Salter, *Medieval Oxford* 91. Carpenter 150.

¹⁷⁸Rubin, *Charity and Community* 247.

Christ before their eyes when choosing whom to admit, and once admitted the sick were to be kept until they were sufficiently recovered.¹⁷⁹ These injunctions imply a large number of poor and sick looking to the hospital for remedial care, and the consequent need for selectivity on the part of the admitting staff. Indeed, a few of the charters of both hospitals speak of the multitude of sick and poor flowing to the hospital.¹⁸⁰ St John's was the only hospital in a small but vibrant community of merchants, tradesmen, scholars, laborers and servants, and a wider community of landholders and peasant farmers. St Bartholomew's was one of many hospitals in the largest city of the realm. Neither hospital is likely to have been able to succour all those in need in either town, but both must have gone some way to providing relief for the migrants on the road searching for employment, for those dreaming of a better life in the city, for those displaced from the over-populated countryside, for widows and widowers and children without families, for scholars with no patron, for those injured in wars or unable to work because of infirmity or ill health, in short the *infirmi*, *pauperes*, *peligrini* and *orphani* of the records.

¹⁷⁹Moore, 552.

¹⁸⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (527): '...ad sustentacionem pauperum infirmorum & aliarum miserabilium personarum ibidem confluencium.' In 1183 Pope Lucius III acknowledged that a very great multitude of the infirm the poor and orphans were sustained by the alms of the Christian faithful and by the care of the hospital of St Bartholomew (Moore 157). In 1191, a bull from Celestine III spoke of the multitude dying in the hospital house (Moore 160).

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Using the rich archives of Magdalen and St Bartholomew's and the printed calendars of Salter and Kerling, two very successful hospitals have been studied to discover who was responsible for their endowment and maintenance, the many reasons that induced these people to proffer their aid and the climate of giving that the church encouraged. This study has investigated the physical surroundings and the architecture within which these two prestigious hospitals operated. Using the charters of donation, papal letters, royal charters and episcopal visitation records it has also examined the daily life of the staff within the walls, the type of care they administered and the rules that bound them into a community. No record of the bodily treatment of the sick is visible in the records, but whether it were simply dietetics, rest, warmth and a temporary shelter or occasionally something more akin to later medical practices,¹ these institutions filled a need and, as this study has shown, for a variety of reasons - both physical and spiritual - were treasured and supported by their benefactors.

A comparison of the hospitals of St John and St Bartholomew suggests that they were both important and wealthy institutions in their own communities, that they both received support from a wide variety of donors. They also both possessed large rural estates making them less vulnerable in times of famine and rising wheat prices and more able to care for the destitute than other houses with lesser incomes.

St John's was the only hospital in Oxford, which was a town whose burgesses had prospered in part due to its central position and in part thanks to the large population of students and academics that required the accomodation and the commodities they supplied. Oxford was

¹The Coroner's Rolls of Oxford show that in 1305, after the time of this study, Robert Attewindyate who lived near the South gate of Oxford broke his finger in a fight, was taken to the Hospital of St John and died. Another instance of the use of the hospital on an emergency basis occurred in 1396 when Roger who had fallen into the Cherwell from the East Bridge was carried to the hospital for help. (Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xlvi). Both examples show up in the Coroner's Rolls and take place in the fourteenth century but there is an implication that St John's hospital may have played a role in the care of the acutely injured and the sick poor.

also an important administrative centre favoured by kings especially, as has been shown, by Henry III. The royal palace created business for victuallers and the town's cloth and leather industries brought riches to the burgesses. In 1155 its aid to the king was eighth in size in the whole kingdom, and in 1199 the burgesses bought the right to have the city at a fee-farm of 63 pounds and 5d - a larger sum than the king had ever received from them previously.² Henry III, well-known for his openhandedness,³ became the *fundator* of St John's in 1231 and in the same year issued letters in favour of the university, regulating the administration and reinforcing the authority of the chancellor, pegging the rents paid by students 'according to the custom' of the university and rejoicing in the 'advantage and honor that comes to us and our kingdom.'⁴ His numerous visits to Oxford and his patronage of both the university and St John's are clear. As a result, townsmen and villagers joined with churchmen and masters and rallied to support the hospital that he had founded, ensuring that it became one of the town's largest landowners. In 1279 when the town was surveyed in the Hundred Rolls, it contained some 1,400 properties, and St Frideswide's priory, Osenev abbey and St John's hospital held a total of 105 properties in demesne and received rents from 420 others.⁵

St Bartholomew's was situated on the outskirts of London, a city which during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was emerging as the political and governmental capital of the kingdom and the focus of English mercantile activities. It exported cloth and grain, but above all wool, and imported wine and spices and other luxuries from Europe and the Middle East, and by trading in these commodities fortunes were made by the merchant elite. Because it was the first among the cities of England, many knights and magnates and great churchmen had residences in London. Among all groups, but among the wealthy and the powerful in particular, there was a

²Salter, *Medieval Oxford*, 33.

³Carpenter, 447. Henry III was a very pious king and is known to have fed hundreds of paupers at court every day and as he travelled round his realm gave generously to the hospitals and leper houses that he passed. St John's was, however, held in special favour as can be seen in his particular patronage described in Chapter 5. For instance, in 1231 he promised a payment of 100 tales to be made to 100 poor people and for the sustenance of other poor people cared for in his hospital every time he came to Oxford. (Salter, *Cart. HSJB I* [73]).

⁴Carpenter, 463.

⁵VCH, *Oxford iv*:15.

strong sense of affiliation to the church, its rituals and its doctrines. An intense preoccupation with salvation and with what Rubin has called the 'hectic accumulation' of prayers for their souls was advanced and intensified by the ambiguities of current canonical thinking on wealth and usury.⁶ Magnates, knights, merchants and more affluent tradesmen gave so generously to religious houses that much of London was owned by the church.⁷ There were 104 parish churches⁸ and several larger institutions such as St Paul's and the priory of the Holy Trinity within the walls, while outside there was a ring of hospitals, priories and nunneries of which St Bartholomew's was but one, albeit one with great prestige. The many religious houses and hospitals of London were the foci of the charitable impulses of rich merchants, knights with estates in the country and, more locally, friends and supporters amongst the artisans and tradesmen of their own districts. St Bartholomew's from its foundation attracted endowments from each of these groups and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the establishment of most of its core properties and estates, its patrimony.

St Bartholomew's and St John's played an active role in their business communities buying and selling properties and rents and providing credit for those in need. At times they themselves fell into need due to incompetent, or perhaps dishonest, administrative practices. Bartholomew, master of St Bartholomew's, can be seen to be in debt to the Jews in 1235x6. Because of the hospital's debts, he granted Robert Passelewe land and houses in St Bride Fleet Street that had been given to the hospital by Hugh de Fossato and by Robert of Ipswich. The rent was to be 1lb. of cumin, the hospital was furnished with a sum of 50m. by Passelewe and he acquitted the hospital of all debts in the Jewish community (*in iudaismo*) that they owed to Aaron son of Abraham and Deusentreus his son.⁹ Similarly, one of St John's own periods of financial difficulties is seen in the grant that M. Walter de Sancto Edmundo, official of Oxford, made to the hospital in 1241. He concludes that for the soul of his brother and having compassion on the

⁶Rubin, *Charity and Community*, 292.

⁷Williams, 14.

⁸Brooke and Keir, 123

⁹Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (515).

poverty of the brothers and the paupers he will pay 21/2m. annually towards their sustenance for as long he retains the house.¹⁰ In a second example of exigency, in December 1295 Nicholas de Schireveley lost his position as master to Robert de Scardeburgh, the king's clerk, who was appointed to the custody of St John's at the king's pleasure because the hospital had fallen into debt; but six years later things must have turned around at the hospital, because Nicholas regained his position 'ad voluntatem regis,' and he retained the office until his death in 1316.¹¹

Enough funds to cover expenses were not always available and both hospitals used additional strategies to ensure their financial stability. Collection boxes were to be found outside St Bartholomew's, and both hospitals sent out proctors to collect money in the form of cash. The uniforms worn by the staff not only signified a commitment to a rule but would have presented identifiable clothing, allowing those being approached for donations to recognize the brothers as members of a particular hospital personnel. The brothers of St John's would probably been well known in a small town like Oxford, but raising money in this fashion carried its dangers as can be witnessed in the early fourteenth century. A record in the Patent Rolls shows that in 1324 and 1327 orders were made for the arrest of persons pretending to be proctors of the hospital of St Bartholomew's and who had fraudulently obtained a large amount of money in its name.¹²

Funds could be further augmented by indulgences and although no record of their award can be seen to either hospital, two papal bulls obtained by St Bartholomew's do urge the faithful to support the hospital. The first, issued by Celestine III in 1192, appeals for contributions from all the faithful in England for the repair of the hospital building and the support of the poor, 'et vos per hec et alia bona opera que domino inspirante feceritis ad eterne felicitatis gaudia mereamini pervenire.'¹³ When the second bull was issued by Honorius III in 1224, the building must have been completed as the pope now addresses all the faithful in the dioceses of London, Lincoln and Rochester to give alms. He admonishes and exhorts them in the Lord and for the

¹⁰Salter, *Cart. HSJB* II (616): 'Compatiens etiam paupertati dictorum fratrum & pauperum . . .'

¹¹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xxiv.

¹²Rawcliffe, 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London,' 15. She cites the *Calendar of patent rolls, 1324-1327*, London, HMSO, 1904, p. 25, and *1327-1330*, 1891, p.18.

¹³Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (35). Moore 160.

remission of their sins to make pious alms and gracious grants of charity to St Bartholomew's so that by such aid the needs of the hospital might be supplied and so that those giving might be able to attain the joys of everlasting happiness. The contemporary thinking on charity is laid out clearly in this bull. Honorius reminds the faithful that they must all one day stand before the judgment-seat of Christ to receive good or evil according to their deeds in the body. Therefore, they ought to prepare for the last day by works of mercy and keeping eternity in mind, should sow on earth so that, on the coming of the Lord, they may reap manifold fruit in heaven. He who sows but a little will only reap a little, but he who sows in blessings shall reap the blessings of eternal life.¹⁴ This ringing exhortation to the faithful would have been read from the pulpit of the cathedrals and parish churches of the dioceses of London, Lincoln and Rochester, and the willingness of the faithful to respond to this message both for their own spiritual welfare and for the general weal can be seen in the many endowments made to the hospital during these decades.

St John's hospital had a further lucrative source of income, the possession of a court, which Salter suggests probably came to it with the land of Peter Boterel outside Eastgate sold to the hospital by Hugo de Malaunay in 1191x9.¹⁵ That the hospital had the right of holding a court for its own tenants can be seen in Brian Twyne's copy of the roll of a husting court of 23 January 1300, now lost,¹⁶ which shows brother William de Otyndon of the hospital claiming and being granted the right to deal with the fight between Baldwin and Adam, its tenants, in its own court.¹⁷ Further lucrative privileges were obtained from the charter of liberties granted to the hospital by Henry III in 1246. This charter allowed the hospital to take the goods of its tenants who committed suicide, or were condemned as criminals, and can be seen in action when Edward de Hales took sanctuary in a church in 1298 and abjured the realm. The bailiffs seized his goods but

¹⁴Kerling, *Cart. HSB* (38). Moore 387-8.

¹⁵Salter, *Cart. HSJB* I (70), (71). By Hugo's grant the hospital obtained the small manor outside East Gate, whose boundaries are given in (71). The hospital possessed the lordship or the manorial rights.

¹⁶Brian Twyne, the early seventeenth-century antiquary, was appointed to the newly created office of Keeper of the Archives at Oxford University in 1634, an office which he held for ten years.

¹⁷Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xlii: 'Et super hoc venit frater Willelmus de Otyndon de hospitali sancti Iohannis extra portam orientalem Oxonie et petit curiam hospitalis predicti de predictis Ada & Baldewyno, tenentibus hospitalis predicti, et concessa est ei: et idem frater Willelmus assignavit partibus predictis diem curie die dominica proximo sequente post hunc diem.'

when the hospital obtained a writ from the king asserting its right to the goods according to its charter of liberties, the bailiffs returned the goods to the hospital.¹⁸ The hospital benefited in other ways from royal patronage. A charter of Edward I, in 1284 states that whenever forestallers and regraters made purchases contrary to the liberties of the university, the goods were to be forfeited and delivered to the poor and infirm of the hospital. Similarly, in 1290, when any meat or fish was adjudged to be putrid, it too was to be granted to the hospital along with any amercements for the offense.¹⁹ Henry I's charter of liberties granted St Bartholomew's the rights of *sak* and *sok*, *thol* and *theam* and *infangheuteof*, but this was in 1133, before the hospital and priory separated, and no royal charters were obtained specifically by the hospital during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

What was the meaning of these hospitals to their communities? First and foremost they were providers of poor relief at the gates and within the walls to the poor and infirm, to pilgrims and to other poor travellers on the roads of England in search of employment, or home from the wars. St Bartholomew's provided education for the orphans it took in and for paying students like the sons of Christine, the widow of Walter de Chaure c.1260, while from its foundation St John's provided a place of accomodation for poor scholars at the university. They perhaps provided placement as sisters for unmarriagable girls and certainly they allowed the fulfilment of vocations for the brothers and sisters. Evidence from the charters shows that the hospitals were also partners in the business community, sharing in its ups and downs, providing credit and being provided in turn with credit. But probably the most important value of the hospital to the community was as the recipient of the charity of its benefactors, whose gifts were written not only in wood and stone, in land and rents and produce, but more importantly on the merit side of the eternal balance sheet of sins and good works, and manifested in the upward charity of the prayers of Christ's paupers and the brothers and sisters of the hospital.

¹⁸Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xliii.

¹⁹Salter, *Cart. HSJB* III, xliii. Salter suggests that this putrid meat and fish was not to be served in the wards but was to be used as food for the fish ponds.

Epilogue

St John's and St Bartholomew's were both large and wealthy hospitals with considerable endowments that had been built up in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The estates and rents enabled them to survive the fourteenth-century retrenchment of the charitable efforts of donors as they began to focus on a more personal, less inclusive form of piety, channelling efforts for their souls by instituting chantries, channelling their efforts towards the poor through guild membership and its support for known members who fell upon hard times. Orme suggests that some 20% of existing foundations disappeared in the second half of the fourteenth century.²⁰ St John's and St Bartholomew's, however, had attained that critical mass of endowments that translated into self-sufficiency.

Yet neither this economic stability, nor respect for the wishes of its benefactors proved sufficient to prevent the demise of one of these institutions as a hospital, as defined in this study, and the alteration of the other. The dissolution of St John's occurred first. In 1456 the king issued a commission for five masters of the university to visit the hospital and make inquiry as to the negligence of masters in singing divine offices and the performance of good works, and into the loss, destruction and sale of chalices, books, vestments and other ornaments. Four months later the king granted permission to the president and scholars of Magdalen Hall to acquire in mortmain amongst other places the lands of the prior and brothers of St John the Baptist without the east gate. Shortly afterwards, Bishop Waynflete was made chancellor of the realm and the king granted to him the patronage and advowson of the hospital. On 5 July 1457 the master and the four remaining brothers granted the hospital with its site and all its possessions to the authorities of Magdalen, and in 1458 the permission of the pope was obtained to suppress the hospital. St John's hospital had quietly become Magdalen college.

In 1534 Parliament accepted the breach with the pope and Henry VIII became head of the Church of England. In June that year John Brereton, master of St Bartholomew's, and three of the brothers acknowledged the royal supremacy in a written declaration. In 1539 the Priory of St

²⁰Orme and Webster, 129.

Bartholomew was suppressed and the hospital's future was in jeopardy. The city had sent a petition to the king in 1538 asking him not to close the hospitals of London: St Bartholomew's, St Mary Without Bishopsgate, St Thomas' in Southwark, Bethlem (Bedlam) in Bishopsgate Street and St Mary of Graces east of Tower Hill. They asked for a grant of these hospitals together with their endowments, as the city urgently needed them 'for the ayde and comfote of the poore, sykke, blynde, aged and impotent persones, beyng no hable to help theymselffs nor havyng any place certeyn wheryn they may be lodged, cherysshed, and refreshed tyll they be cured and holpen of theyre dyseases and syknesse,'²¹ and also because they were crucial institutions for 'the myserable people lyeng in the streete, offendyng every clene person passyng by the way with theyre fylthye and nastye savors.'²² In 1546, the king's commissioners's made a survey of the property and drew up an inventory. They noted that St Bartholomew's had an annual income of 319 pounds, similar to St Mary's and St Thomas' and much larger than Bethlem with its annual revenues estimated at only 40 pounds. The king finally responded to that part of the petition concerning St Bartholomew's and Bethlem, and in 1546 he granted St Bartholomew's to the City and it was 'hereafter to be called the House of the Poore in West Smithfield in the suburbs of the City of London, of King Henry VIII's foundation.'²³ St Bartholomew's, founded by Rahere in 1123 as a 'hospital for the restoration of poor men,' has been constantly in the service of Londoners, a service now of 882 years duration. Once a place of holy healing, it is now a place where science and technology take their place alongside bed rest, cleanliness, nourishing food and the ancient kindly work of caregivers.

²¹Moore II, 150.

²²Kerling, 'Administration,' 25.

²³Kerling, 'Administration,' 24.

APPENDIX I**TABLES AND GRAPH**

- Table 1.** Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, London shown by parish in and around London and by town or village in the counties.
- Table 2.** Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St John the Baptist outside the East Gate, Oxford shown by parish in and around Oxford and by town or village in the counties.
- Graph** Bar Graph of Donations to St Bartholomew's and St John's showing number of donations over time to the two hospitals.

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, London shown by parish in and around London and by town or village in the counties

Parishes/villages	Total deeds	Deeds relating to HSB	Grants	Quit Claims Given	Bought By Hospital	Quit Claims Bought	Debt	Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other
General Information	23	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
Foundation	8	8	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Sepulchre w/out Newgate	143	89	14	11	13	15	4	-	1	6	19	3
St Botolph w/out Aldersgate	57	28	4	7	5	3	5	-	-	3	3	1
St Botolph w/out Aldersgate & Cripplegate	5	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
St Andrew Holborn	6	6	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
St Mary le Strand	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Bride Fleet Street	25	9	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	1
St Martin Ludgate	30	24	6	1	1	2	1	-	3	5	-	2
St Andrew Castle Baynard	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Gregory by St Pauls	6	6	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-
St Audoen	5	5	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
St Nicholas Shambles	16	8	3	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1
St John Zachary	4	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
St Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street	6	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, London shown by parish in and around London and by town or village in the counties

Parishes/villages	Total deeds	Deeds relating to HSB	Grants	Quit Claims Given	Bought By Hospital	Quit Claims Bought	Debt	Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other
St Peter Paul's Wharf	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Mary Somerset	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Nicholas Cole Abbey	26	16	3	2	2	1	2	-	-	2	2	-
All Hallows Bread Street	9	7	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	3	-
St Margaret Moses	6	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-
St Michael Queenhithe	9	6	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Matthew Friday Street	4	3	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
St Peter Westcheap	5	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	1
St Michael Wood Street	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Alban Wood Street	9	6	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
St Alphage London Wall	11	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Olave Silver Street	3	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
St Lawrence Jewry	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
St Mary Magdalene Milk Street	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
St Mary Le Bow	10	8	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	4	-

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, London shown by parish in and around London and by town or village in the counties

Parishes/villages	Total deeds	Deeds relating to HSB	Quit Claims		Bought By Hospital	Quit Claims Bought	Debt Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other
			Grants	Given							
St Mary Aldermary	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
St Martin Vintry	8	5	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
St Michael	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parthenoster Royal	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Pancras Soper Lane	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
St Mary Colechurch	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Margaret Lothbury	8	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
St Christopher	8	6	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-
St Mildrid Poultry	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All Hallows the Less	12	11	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
St Swithin	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
St Mary Abchurch	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Margaret Fish Street Hill	4	4	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Olave Southwark	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Dunstan in the East	5	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
All Hallows Barking	8	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, London shown by parish in and around London and by town or village in the counties

Parishes/villages	Total deeds	Deeds relating to HSB	Grants	Quit Claims		Bought By Hospital	Quit Claims		Debt	Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other
				Given	Quit		Bought	Bought						
St Mary Redliselane	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Peter Cornhill	12	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
St Ethelburga Bishopsgate	10	6	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
St Augustine Papey	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Botolph w/out Bishopsgate	19	18	2	2	-	-	3	1	-	-	2	6	2	-
All Hallows London Wall	8	6	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
St Peter Broad Street	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Divers Counties	8	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-
Hackney, Essex	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hendon, Mx	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Edmonton, Mx	7	5	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Enfield, Mx	29	25	7	2	2	9	1	1	1	2	-	2	-	-
South Mimms, Herts	9	9	4	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Stratford and West Ham, Herts	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barking, Herts	5	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rainham, Essex	7	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aveley, Essex	9	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, London shown by parish in and around London and by town or village in the counties

Parishes/villages	Total deeds	Deeds relating to HSB	Grants	Quit Claims Given	Bought By Hospital	Quit Claims Bought	Debt	Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other
Ramsden,	17	15	4	2	7	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Downham and Wickford, Essex	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wickford, Essex	37	16	3	4	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	2
Dunton, Essex	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Horndon, Essex	10	9	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Little Burstead, Essex	5	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bulphan, Essex	21	21	9	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	9
Little Wakering, Essex	5	5	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Barling, Essex	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Sutton, Essex	15	11	2	4	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	-
Burnham, Essex	6	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Marsh of Colwerd, Essex	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anasey, Herts	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Edmonton, Herts	37	27	6	4	2	3	-	2	1	-	4	5
Hatfield Regis, Herts	8	8	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Roding, Essex	3	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Birchanger, Essex	6	6	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hockley, Essex	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farnham, Birchanger and Stortford, Essex	9	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Lamborne, Essex												

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, London shown by parish in and around London and by town or village in the counties

Parishes/villages	Total deeds	Deeds relating to HSB	Grants	Quit Claims Given	Bought By Hospital	Quit Claims Bought	Debt	Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other
Erdewannelegh,	5	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Essex	29	29	12	2	9	2	-	-	-	1	2	1
Ickenham, Bucks	3	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Westwyke, Herts	3	3	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Kernyton, Essex	3	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chissenden, Wilts	9	6	3	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Standon, Herts	6	5	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Puttenham, Sy	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Crandon, Cambs	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Datchet, Berks	9	8	1	-	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	2
Wollaston, North Hants	9	7	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1
Farningham, Kent	5	5	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Hinton St George, Somerset	20	18	5	2	1	3	-	-	-	1	2	4
Boston, Lincs												

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, London shown by parish in and around London and by town or village in the counties

	Total deeds	Deeds relating to HSB	Grants	Quit Claims Given	Bought By Hospital	Quit Claims Bought	Debt	Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other
Total	945	663	185	74	80	50	32	11	9	55	74	93
Urban Total	573	374	87	35	35	30	23	2	7	40	62	53
County Total	372	289	98	39	45	20	9	9	2	15	12	40

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St John the Baptist outside the East Gate, Oxford, shown by parish in and around Oxford and by town or village in the counties.

Parishes/villages	Deeds		G & Quit		Bought		Quit		Debt		Exchange		Sale		Leases		Other	
	Total deeds	relating to HSJB	Grants	Quit Claims	By Hospital	Bought w/Quit Claim	Claims Bought	Claims	Debt	Exchange	Sale	Rent Retained	Sale	Rent	Leases	Other		
St Clements	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Peter in the East (outside walls)	84	48	12	2	5	7	5	3	-	1	-	-	-	3	10	-	-	-
St Peter in the East (inside walls)	128	77	20	3	9	9	5	8	3	-	-	2	-	11	7	-	-	-
St Mary the Virgin	36	18	5	1	-	4	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
All Saints	37	24	4	2	1	-	-	5	4	-	-	-	-	2	6	-	-	-
St Mildred	8	5	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Martin	9	8	-	1	-	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	-
St John	17	14	4	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Frideswide	8	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Aldate	22	12	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	-
St Michael at Southgate	20	13	8	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
St Ebbe	14	11	6	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
St Peter-le-Bailey	6	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Michael at Northgate	5	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Mary Magdalene	43	22	14	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
St Giles	5	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Holywell	45	31	9	1	4	5	4	4	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Royal Charters	6	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

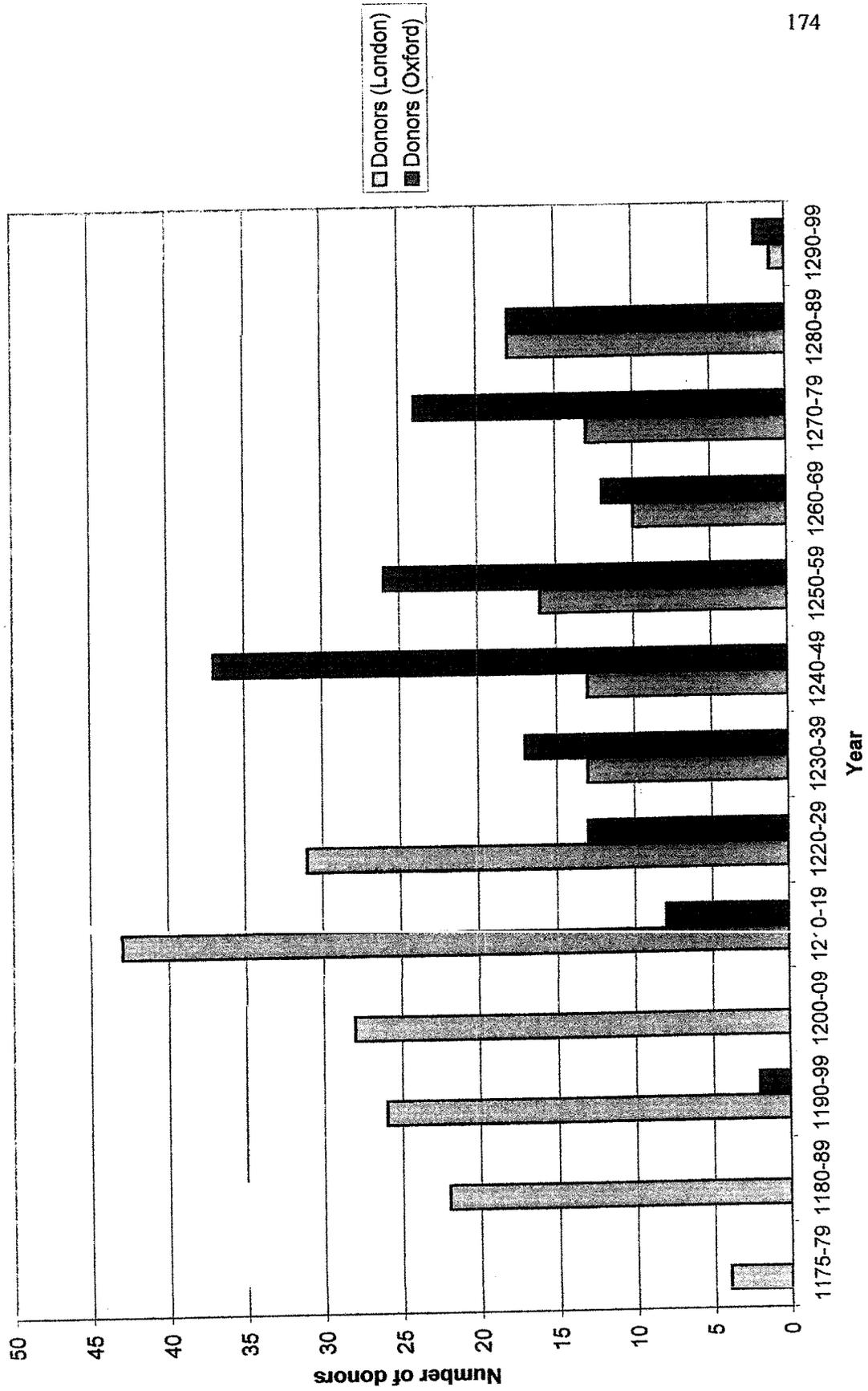
Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St John the Baptist outside the East Gate, Oxford, shown by parish in and around Oxford and by town or village in the counties.

Parishes/villages	Total deeds relating to HSJB	Deeds relating to HSJB	Grants	G & Quit Claims		Bought By Hospital	Bought w/Quit Claim	Quit Claims Bought	Debt Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other
				Quit Claims Given	Quit Claims Bought								
Bloxham, Ox	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Newington	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Thomas	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc.	6	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Middlescombe, Ox	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stoke Talmage, Ox	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Willoughby, Warwick.	13	13	8	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
Woolscot, Warwick.	4	4	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Westcot, Warwick.	44	42	12	-	5	17	-	1	1	-	-	-	4
Princethorpe, Warwick.	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Napton-on-Hill, Warwick.	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
London	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bristol, Glos.	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ewelme, Ox.	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Syncombe, Ox.	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shipton, Ox.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Grants, Purchases, Exchanges and Leases concerning the Hospital of St John the Baptist outside the East Gate, Oxford, shown by parish in and around Oxford and by town or village in the counties.

	Total deeds relating to HSJB	Grants	G & Quit Claims	Quit Claims Given	Bought By Hospital	Bought w/Quit Claim	Quit Claims Bought	Debt	Exchange	Sale	Sale Rent Retained	Leases	Other	
														Quit Claims
Total	587	384	139	19	24	51	16	29	21	8	4	4	23	45
Urban Total	296	309	101	19	19	33	16	27	18	6	4	4	23	38
County Total	291	75	38	-	5	18	-	2	3	2	-	-	-	7

Charitable Donors



APPENDIX II

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1 London c.1200. (Christopher Brooke and Gillian Keir, *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City*, London: Secker & Warburg, 1975, 74-75).
- 2 Medieval hospitals in London. (Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital: 1070-1570*, New Haven: Yale UP, 1995, 33).
- 3 London Agas' Map, detail showing Smithfield. London as it looked in the sixteenth century. (Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, *The History of London in Maps*, London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990, 84).
- 4 London Lobel's Map, detail showing Hospital and Priory of St Bartholomew's c.1520. (Museum of London Archeology Service. *St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London E.C.1: An Architectural, Historical and Archeological Site Development Survey*. London: Museum of London, 1998, 61).
- 5 London, a mid-sixteenth-century pen drawing by Anthony van den Wyngaerde showing Smithfield with St Bartholomew's Priory and Hospital behind and to the right of St Paul's Cathedral. (William Benham and Charles Welch, *Medieval London*, London: Seeley, 1901, 3).
- 6 Plan of St Bartholomew's Hospital 1617. (Norman Moore, *The History of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, II. London: Arthur Pearson, 1918, 261).
- 7 Oxford c.1375. (VCH Oxford, iv, 30).
- 8 Oxford, the Eastern Suburbs based on a critical reading of Salter's work. (Brian Durham, 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist at Oxford.' *Oxoniensia*, 1991, 22).
- 9 Plan of St John's Hospital. The known and conjectured details. (Brian Durham, 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist at Oxford.' *Oxoniensia*, 1991, 27).
- 10 Two alternative roof reconstructions for the infirmary east annexe. St John's Hospital. (Brian Durham, 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist at Oxford.' *Oxoniensia*, 1991, 68).
- 11 Map of England to show the distant estates of St Bartholomew's in Essex and Somerset and those of St John's in Warwickshire.

Fig. 2 Medieval Hospitals Founded in London c. 1100-1350.

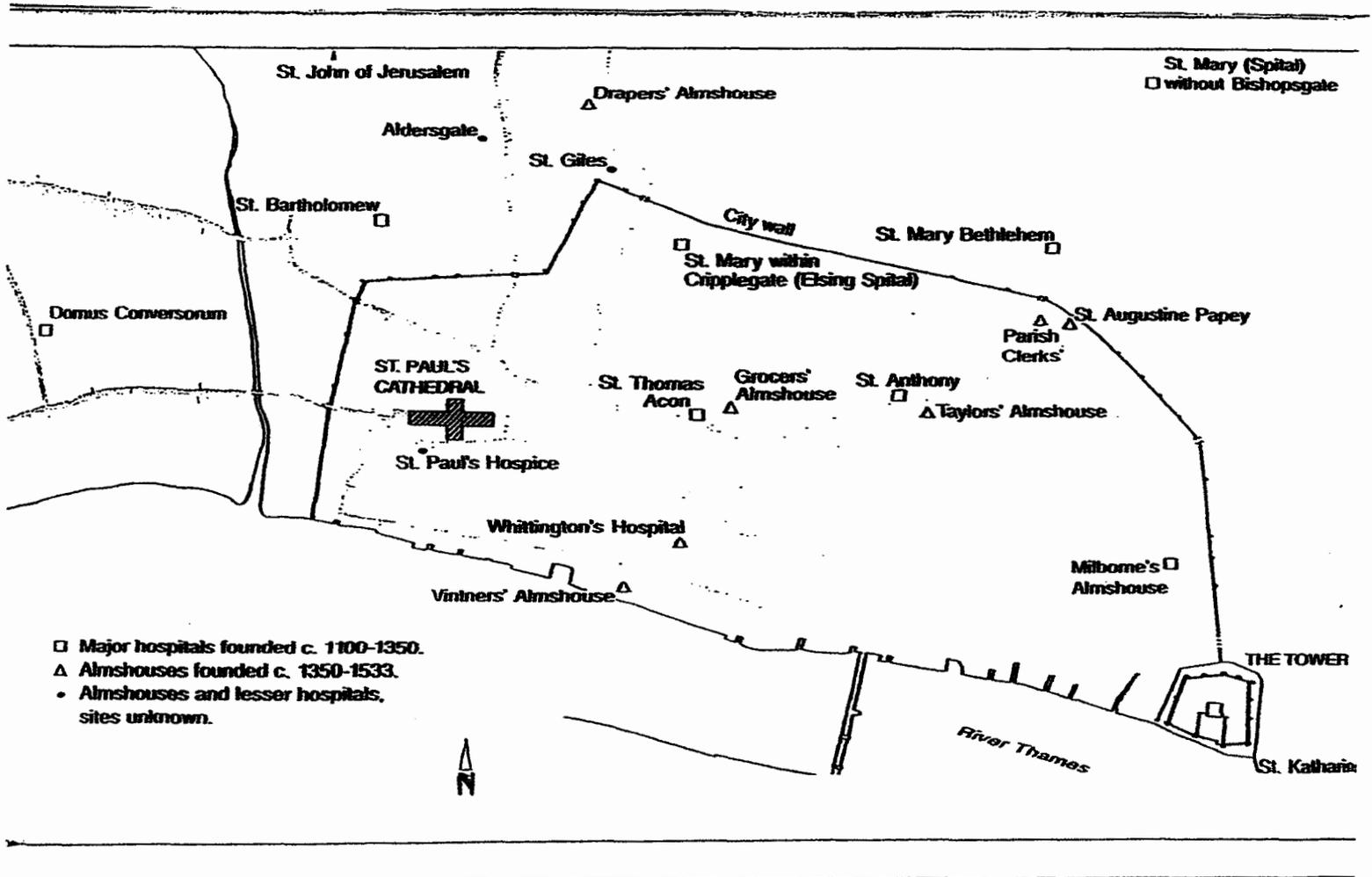
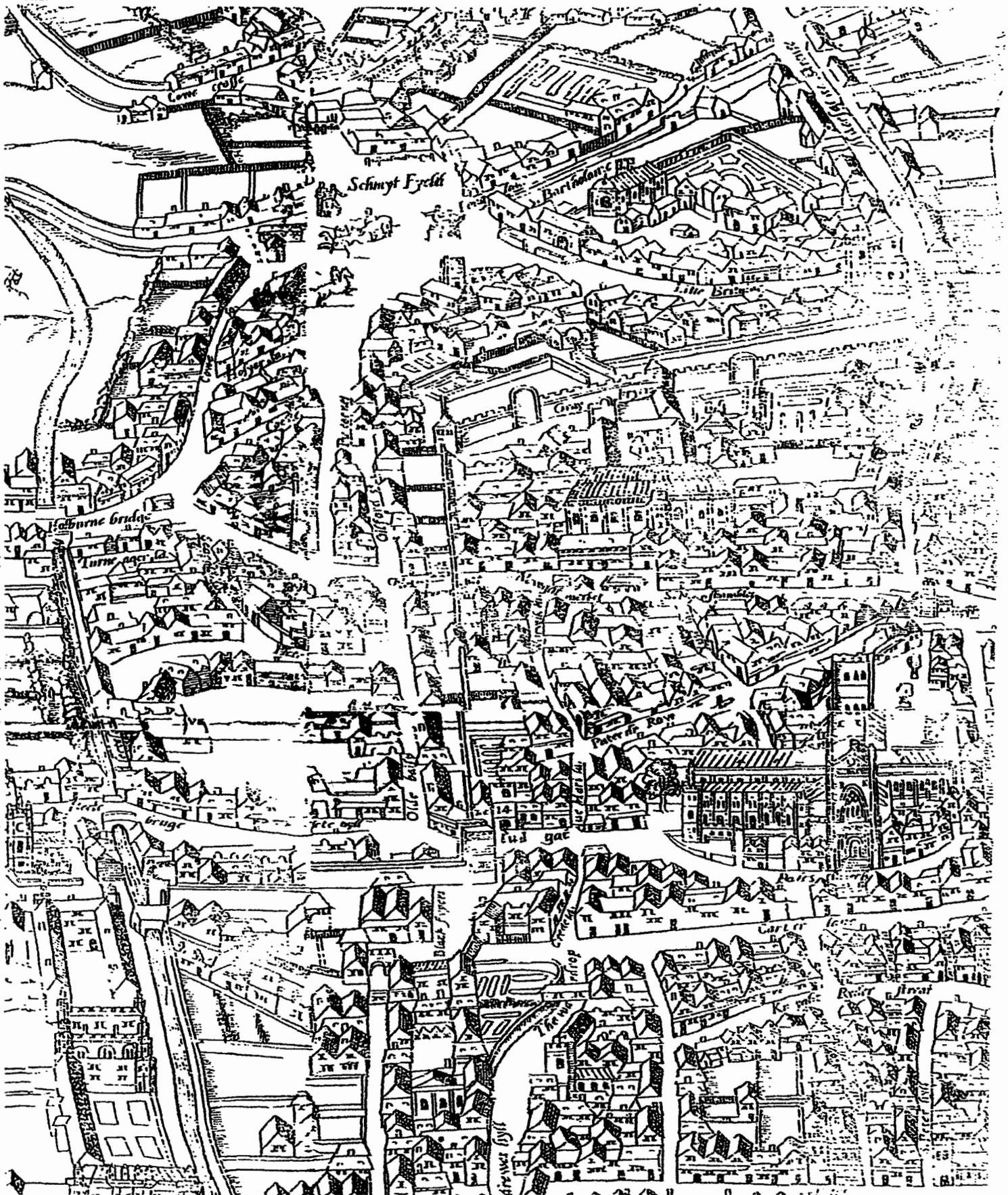


Fig. 3 London. Agas' View: Detail of 16th Century Smithfield.



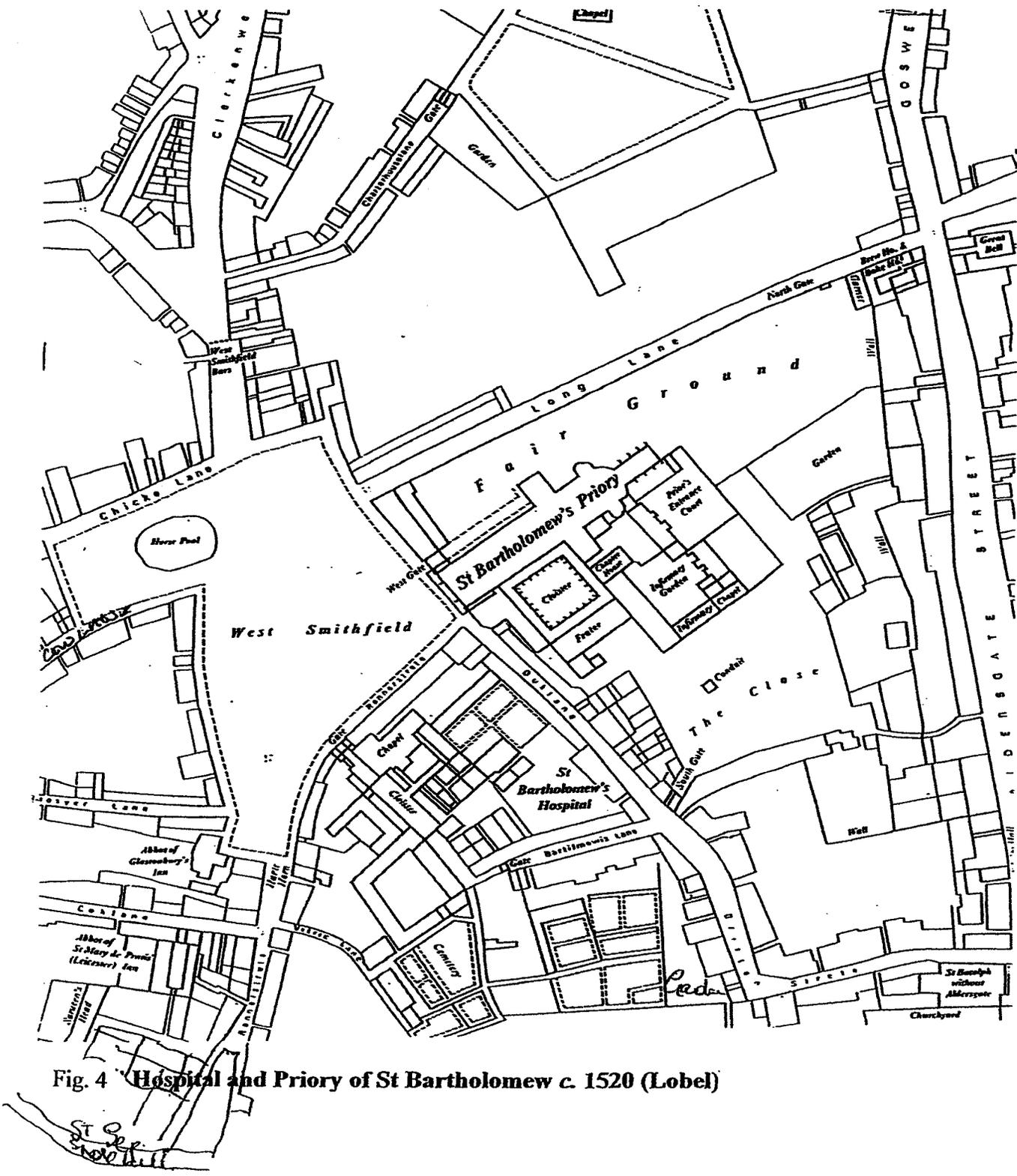


Fig. 4 Hospital and Priory of St Bartholomew c. 1520 (Lobel)

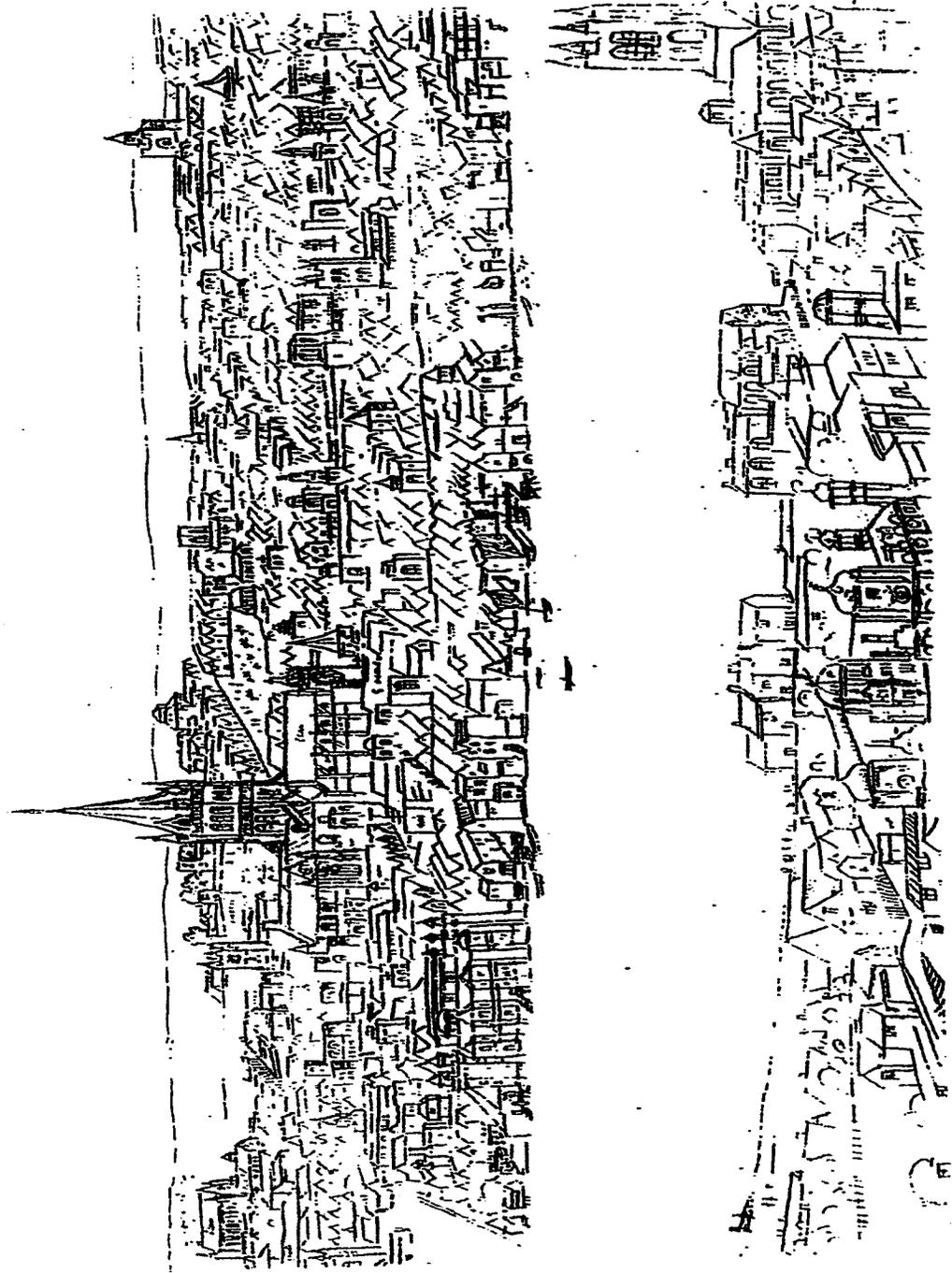


Fig. 5 ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. From the Drawing by Antoni van den Wyngaerde.

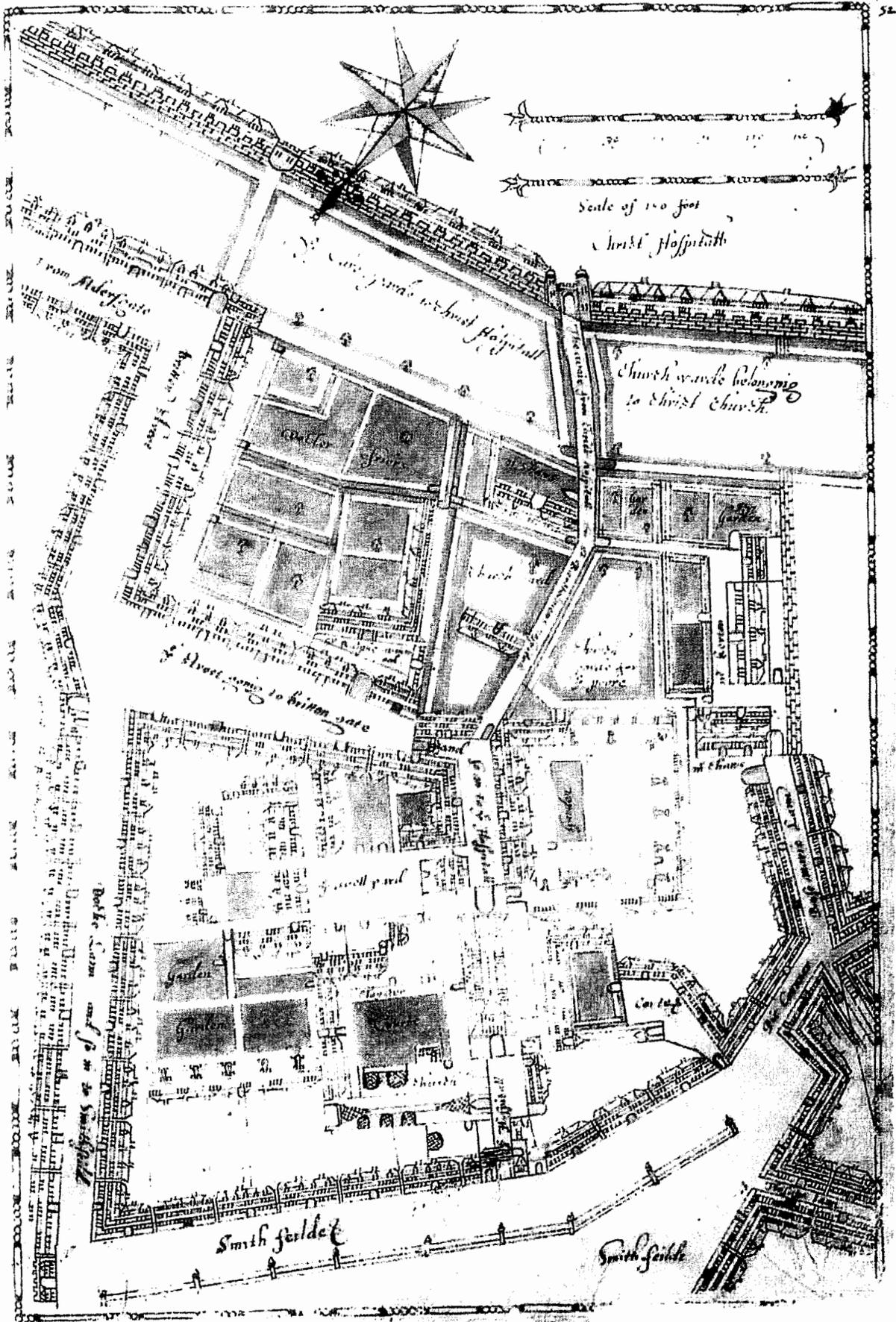
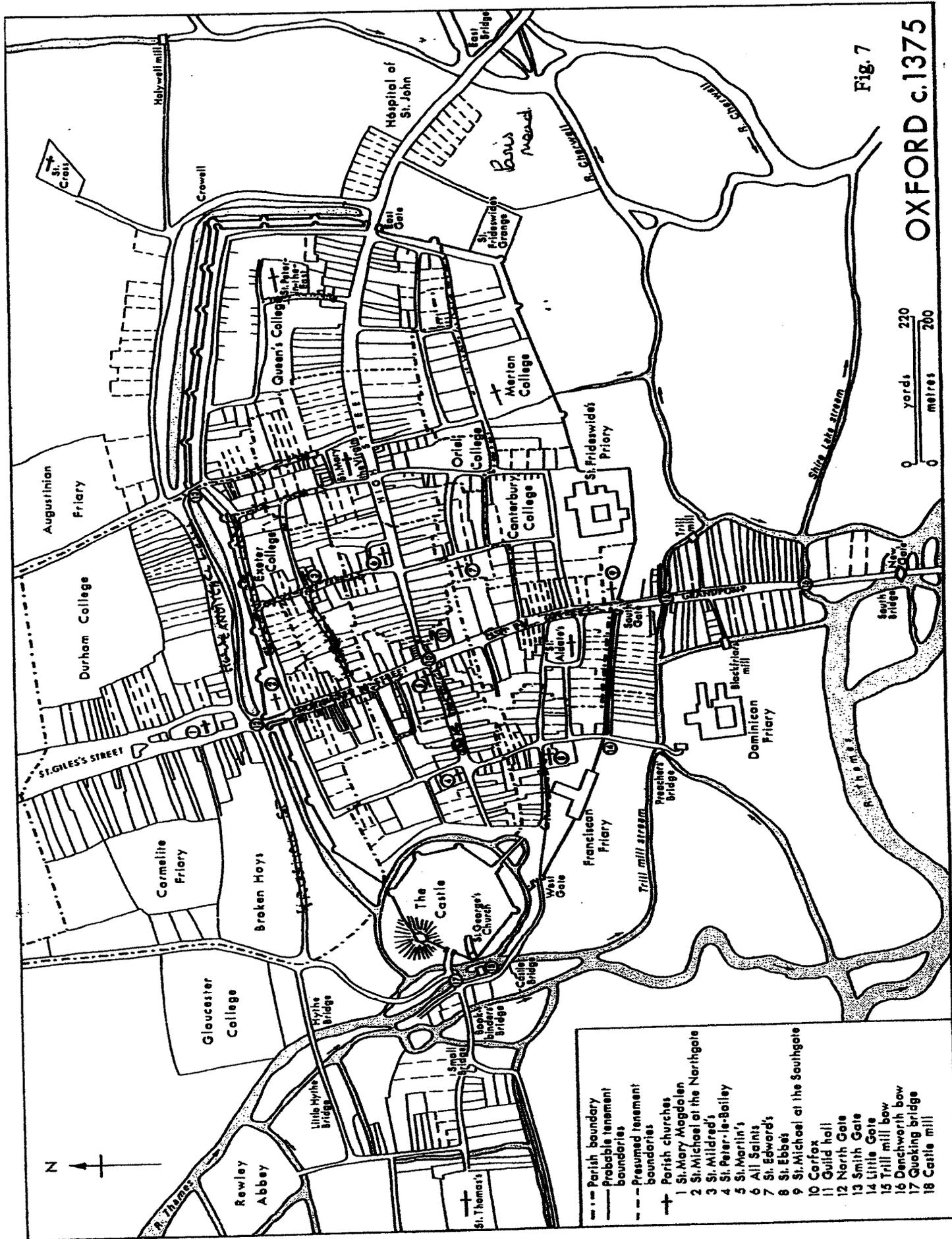


Fig. 6 ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, LONDON
 PLAN OF THE HOSPITAL, circa 1617

Reproduced in Colour by permission of the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital

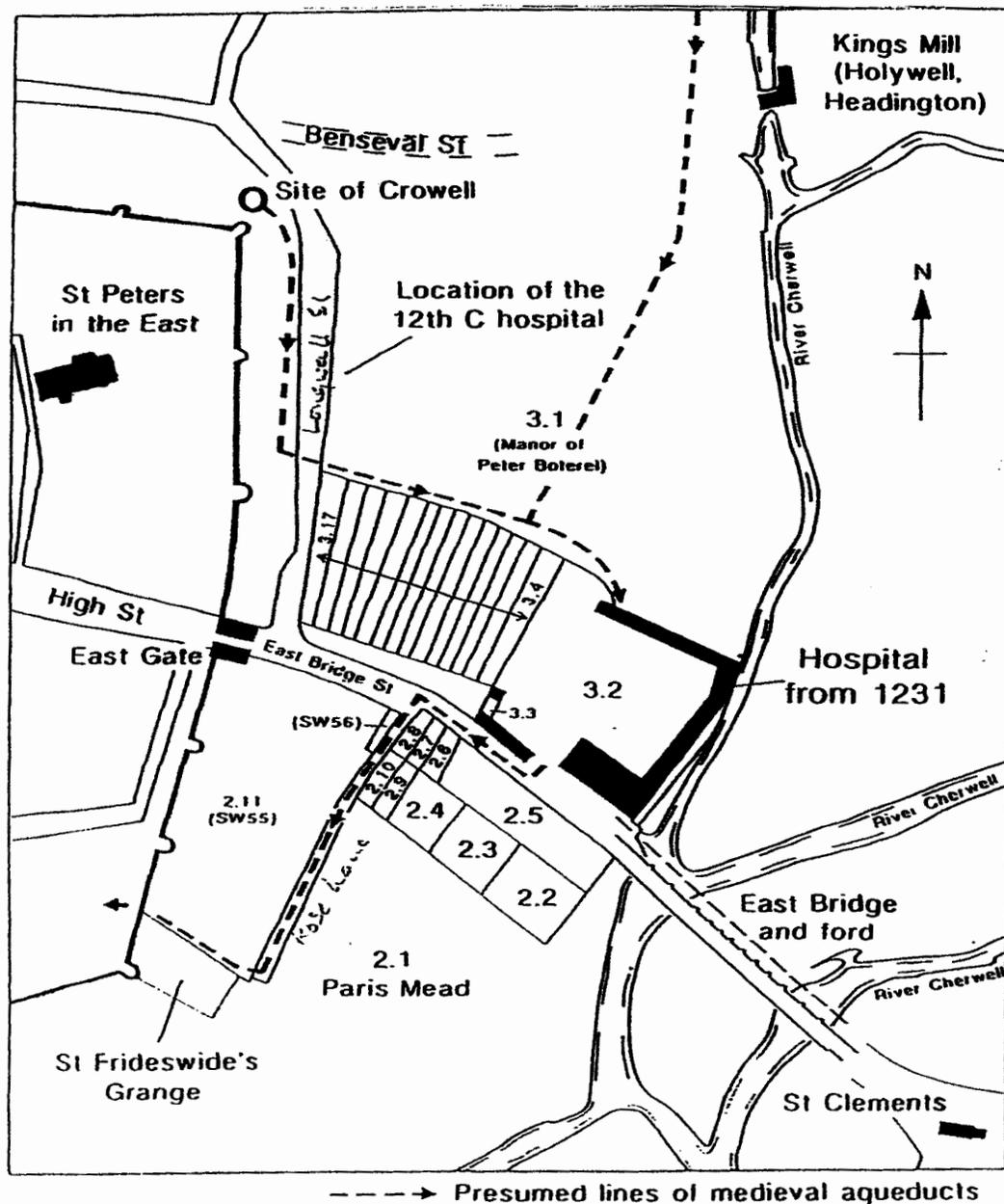
Fig. 7

OXFORD c.1375



- Parish boundary
- Probable tenement boundaries
- Presumed tenement boundaries
- + Parish churches
- 1 St. Mary Magdalen
- 2 St. Michael at the Northgate
- 3 St. Mildred's
- 4 St. Peter-le-Bailey
- 5 St. Martin's
- 6 All Saints
- 7 St. Edward's
- 8 St. Ebbes
- 9 St. Michael at the Southgate
- 10 Corfax
- 11 Guild hall
- 12 North Gate
- 13 Smith Gate
- 14 Little Gate
- 15 Trill mill bow
- 16 Denchworth bow
- 17 Quaking bridge
- 18 Castle mill

Oxford: The Eastern Suburbs in the 13th Century.



The eastern suburbs: 13th century. The aqueduct from Crowell existed by 1216. The later aqueduct from above Holywell Mill replaced it in 1267.

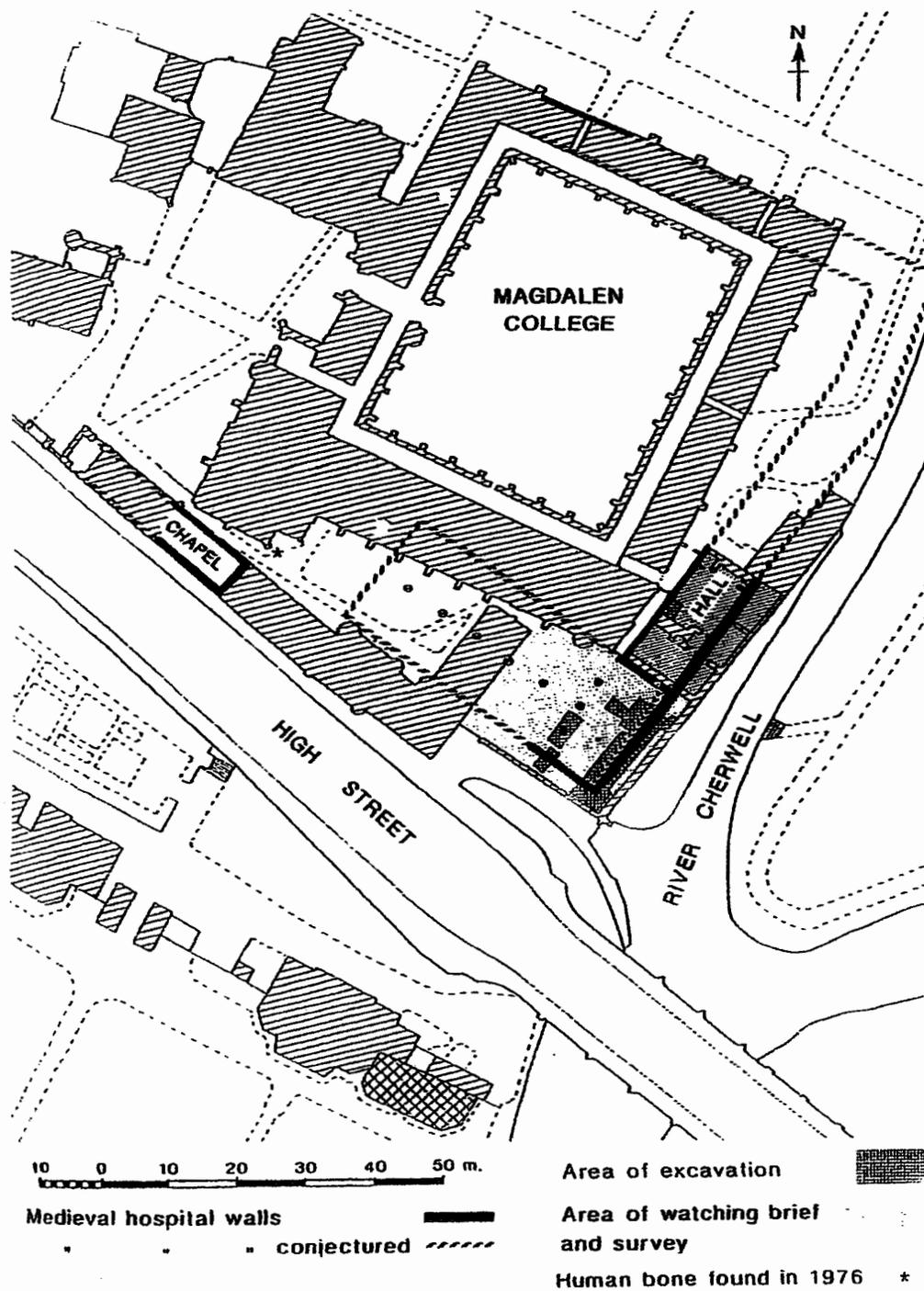
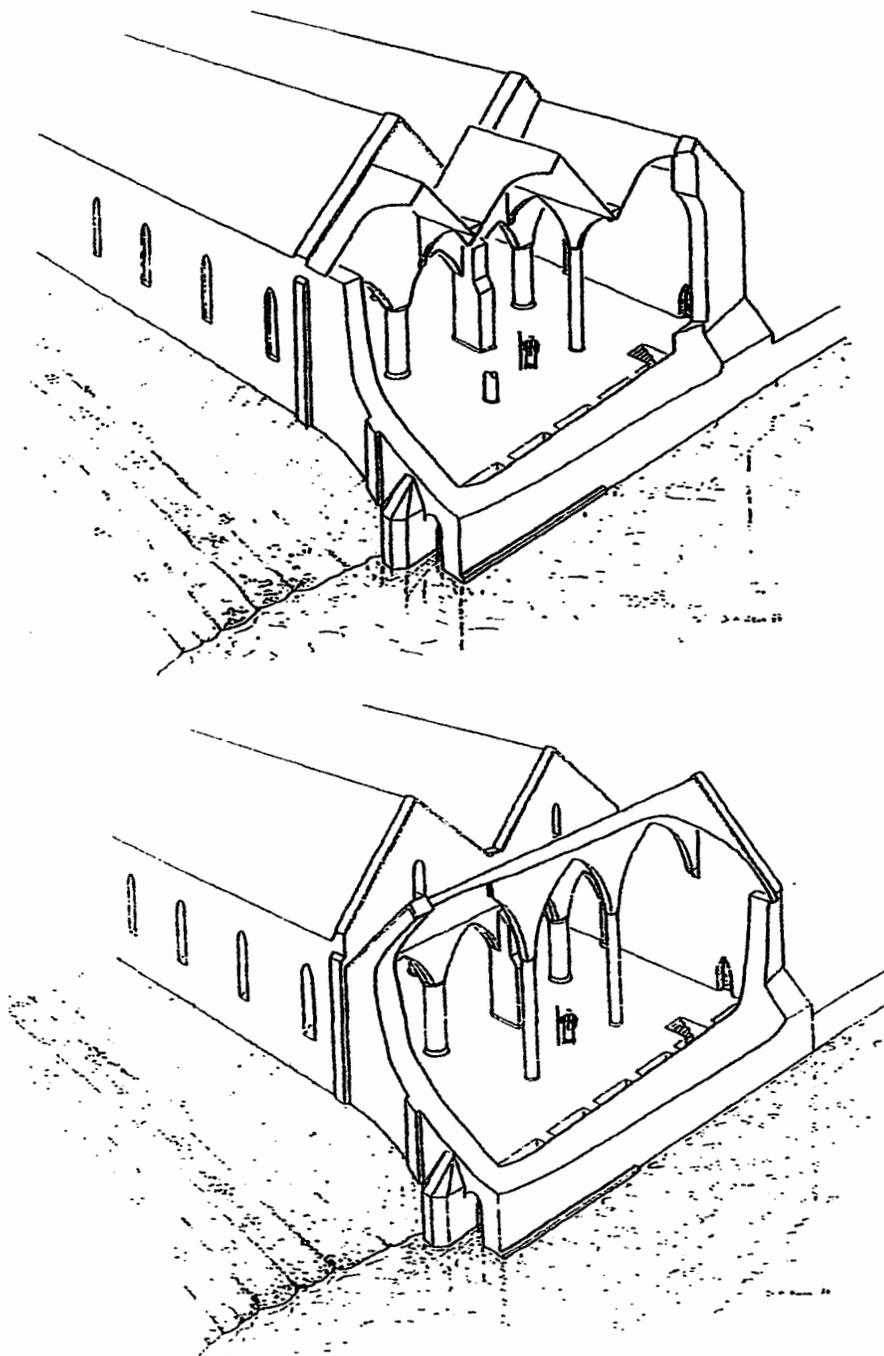


Fig. 9 The medieval core of Magdalen College, showing the location of trenches within the Survey Area, and the known and conjectured plan of St. John's Hospital.

Two Alternative Roof Reconstructions for the Infirmary of St John's.



Two alternative roof reconstructions for the infirmary east annexe: above, the 'aisled' option; below, the cross-roof option.

Fig. 10

MAP of ENGLAND
to show distant estates of St Bartholomew's
and St John's Hospitals.
Red dot = HSB ●
Blue dot = HSJB ●

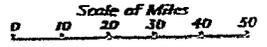
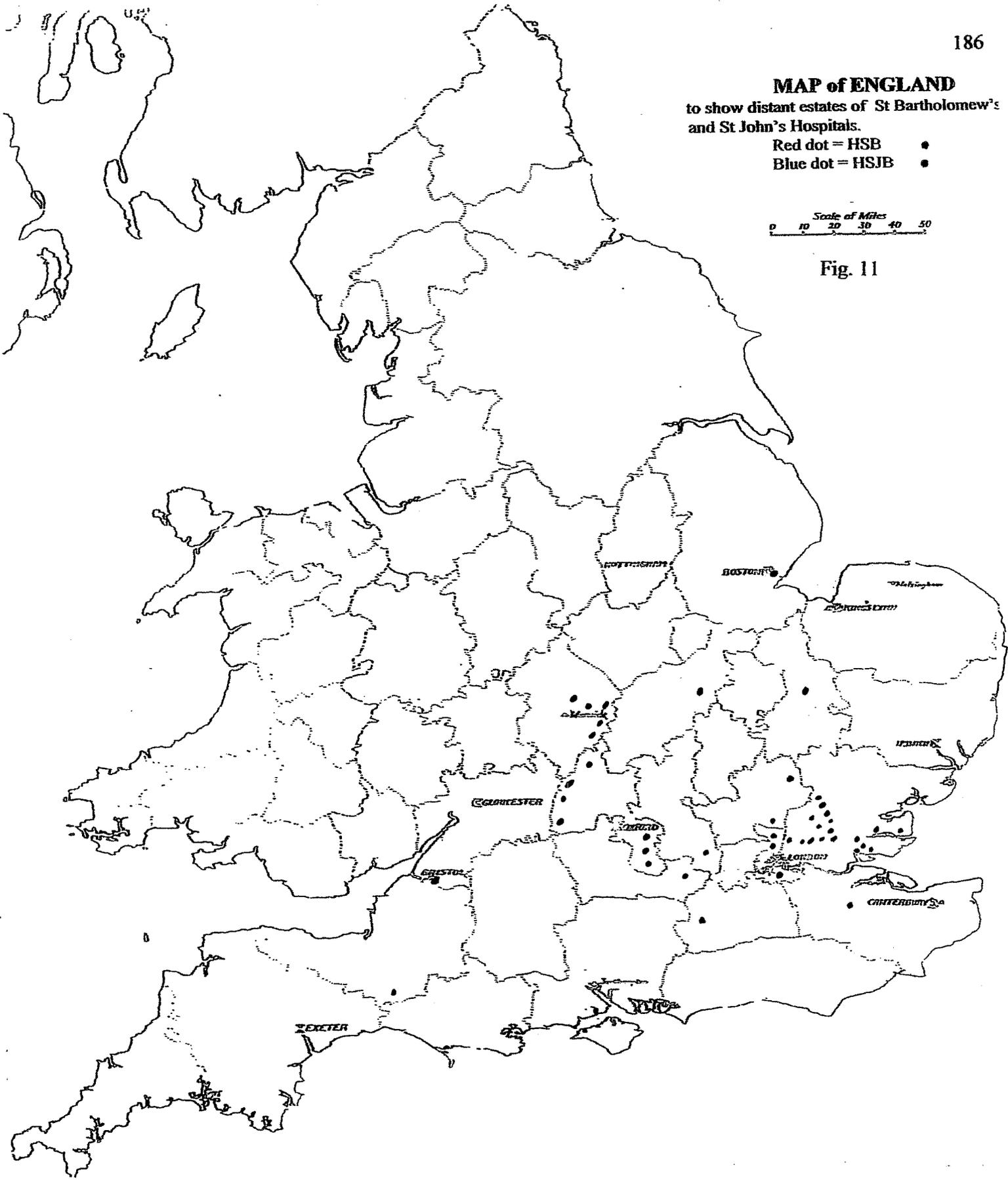


Fig. 11



APPENDIX III

**LIST OF MASTERS OF THE HOSPITALS OF ST BARTHOLOMEW AND
ST JOHN THE BAPTIST**

Masters of St Bartholomew's (Kerling, *Cart. HSB* Appendix III, 177).

Rahere 1123-43

Hagno 1137-47

Adam 1147-75x6

Hugh ?

Alan Presbyter 1182-c.98

Stephen c.1198-1211

Hugh 1212-23

Maurice (chaplain of the Temple) 1223

William de Krikeshede 1224-46x47

Bartholomew (vicar of Enfield, Mx.) 1246x7-68x9

John Walton (chaplain of Robert son of Robert Bruce) 1269-80

John de Eylesbury, warden 1270-1

John de Camerwell 1281

Geoffrey de Eystan (rector of Easton, Suffolk) 1281-85

Thomas de Whitchester (rector of Downham, Essex) 1285-99x1300

Masters of the Hospital of St John the Baptist

- 1240- Henry de Lewknor, m. of hospital and parson of Thornton
- 1246- Adam the Chaplain
- 1253- Thomas
- 1255- Henry of Willoughby (Wylebi)
- 1263- Henry of Willoughby (Wylebi) receives custody of the hospital (also had care of the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Ox.)
- 1264- Walter of Willoughby (Wylebi) a.k.a. Walter de Nevill from Willoughby (also for a time had care of the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Ox.)
- 1281- Nicholas de Shireveleye appointed for life but removed in 1295 for maladministration. Hospital in debt.
- 1295
- 1301- Nicholas de Shireveleye reappointed during the king's pleasure and serves till 1316.

Wardens Appointed by the King

- John de Lewknor, king's almoner (3 deeds)
- Roger de Cramfield, king's almoner
- M. William de Kilkenni, king's clerk archdeacon of Coventry and Keeper of the King's Seal also m. of Ospringe Hospital.
- Henry de Wengham, Chancellor of the king.
- Robert de Scardesburgh, the king's clerk appointed during the king's pleasure.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Unpublished Primary Sources

London, St Bartholomew's Archives, *Cok's Cartulary*.

Oxford, Magdalen College Archives, *Hospitalium in Genere*.

Oxford, Magdalen College Archives, *Liber Niger*.

Oxford, Magdalen College Archives, *Macray Calendar of Deeds*.

B. Published Primary Sources

Augustine of Hippo. *The City of God*. trans. Marcus Dodds. New York: The Modern Library, 2000.

Broomfield, F., trans. and ed. *Thomae de Chobham: Summa Confessorum*. Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1968.

Chew, Helena M. and Martin Weinbaum, eds. *The London Eyre of 1244*. London: London Record Society, 1970.

Crane, T.F. ed., *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*. Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1967.

Foreville R and Gillian Kier, eds. *The Book of Gilbert*. Oxford: OUP, 1987.

Friedberg, E., ed. *Decretum Magistri Gratiani, in Corpus Iuris Canonici*. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1879.

Geary, Patrick J., ed. 'St Benedict: Rule for Monasteries.' *Readings in Medieval History*. Peterborough: Broadview, 1989.

Grosseteste, Robert. *Templum Dei*. Eds. J.W. Goering and F.A.C. Mantello. Toronto: PIMS, 1984.

Jacques de Vitry. *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition*. Ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch. Fribourg, Switzerland: Fribourg UP, 1972.

Kerling, Nellie J.M.. ed., *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital: A Calendar*. London: St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1973.

- Little, A.G. ed. *Liber Exemplorum ad Usus Praedicatorum*. Farnborough: Gregg, 1966.
- Madden, Frederick, ed. *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum in Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scripturis* vol 2. London: Longmans, 1866.
- May, Margaret T., trans. and ed. *Galen: On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1968.
- Moore, Carey A., trans and ed. *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. New York: Doubleday, 1996.
- Paris, Matthew. *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth-Century Life*. trans. Richard Vaughan. Cambridge: Alan Sutton, 1993.
- Salter, H.E. ed. *A Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. 2 Vols.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917.
- Sharpe, Reginald R., ed. 'Letter Book A.' *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London*. London: John Edward Francis, 1899.
- Tubach, F.C. *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*. Helsinki: Helsinki UP, 1969.
- Webb, E.A. trans *The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Smithfield: A Modern English Version*. London: Printing Aspects, 1996
- William Fitz Stephen. 'Descriptio.' *Norman London*. Trans. Frank Stenton. New York: Ithaca P, 1990.

C. Secondary Sources

- Arbesmann, Rudolph, "The Concept of *Christus Medicus* in St Augustine", *Traditio*, x (1954), 1-28.
- d'Avray, D.L. *The Preaching of the Friars. Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985.
- Babington, Anthony. *The English Bastille*. London: MacDonald, 1971.
- Baker, J. H. *An Introduction to English Legal History*. 4th ed. London: Butterworth, 2002.

- Bernstein, Alan E. "Esoteric Theology: William of Auvergne on the Fires of Hell and Purgatory." *Speculum* 57.3 (1982): 509-531.
- Besant, Walter. *Medieval London*. 2 vols. London: Black, 1906.
- Boase, C.W. *Oxford: Historic Towns*. Eds. E.A. Freeman and W. Hunt. London: Longmans and Green, 1887.
- Bober, Phyllis Pray. *Art, Culture and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1999.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Discoverers*. New York: Random House, 1985.
- Bouchard, Constance. 'Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity.' *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*. Eds. Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth. Toronto: PIMS, 2002.
- Boyle, Leonard E. *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1981.
- Brooke Christopher and Gillian Kier. *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1975.
- Bullough, Vern L., "Medical Study at Mediaeval Oxford," *Speculum* 36 (1961): 600-612.
- Bullough, Vern L., "The Medieval Medical School at Cambridge," *Mediaeval Studies* 24 (1962): 161-168.
- Burgess, Clive. "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented': an Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England." *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750*. Ed. S.J. Wright. London: Hutchison, 1988.
- Carlin, Martha. "Medieval English Hospitals," *The Hospital in History*. eds. Granshaw Lindsay and Roy Porter. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Carlin, Martha. *Medieval Southwark*. London: Hambledon, 1996.
- Carpenter, David. *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284*. London: Allen Lane, 2003.
- Cavallo, Sandra, "The Motivations of Benefactors: An Overview of Approaches to the Study of Charity." *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*. eds Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones. New York: Routledge, 1991.

- Cheyney, C.R. *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1956.
- Clanchy, M.T. *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.
- Clark, Andrew, ed. "Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford," composed in 1661-6, by Anthony Wood. Vol. 1. *The City and Suburbs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889.
- Clay, Rotha Mary. *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England*. London: Methuen, 1909.
- Cooper, Janet. "Medieval Oxford," *A History of the County of Oxford Vol. IV: The City of Oxford* ed. Alan Crossley. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*. Oxford: OUP, 1979.
- Cullum, P.H. and P.J.P. Goldberg. "Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: 'To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor'." *Northern History* 29 (1993): 24-39.
- Cullam, Patricia H. "Cremetts and corrodies: care of the poor and sick at St Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages." *Borthwick Papers* (1991): i-iv, 1-35.
- Daniell, Christopher. *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Dickinson, Rev. J.C. *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England*. London: Church Historical Society S.P.C.K., 1950.
- Durham, Brian. 'The Infirmary and Hall of the Medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist at Oxford.' *Oxoniensia* 56 (1991): 17-75.
- Farmer, D.L. 'Some Grain Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England.' *The Economic History Review* 10 (1957): 207-220.
- Finucane, Ronald C. 'The Use and Abuse of Medieval Miracles,' *History* 60 (1975): 1-10.
- Getz, Faye. "John Mirfield and the Breviarum Bartholomei: the Medical Writings of a Clerk at St Bartholomew's Hospital in the Later Fourteenth Century," *Society for the Social History of Medicine Bulletin* 37 (1985): 24-26.
- Getz, Faye. *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998.
- Getz, Faye, "The Faculty of Medicine before 1500," *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

- Getz, Faye, "To Prolong Life and Promote Health: Baconian Alchemy and Pharmacy in the English Learned Tradition," *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Gilchrist, Roberta. *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism*. London: Leicester UP, 1995.
- Gilchrist, Roberta. "Christian bodies and souls: the archaeology of life and death in later medieval hospitals," *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*. ed Steven Bassett. Leicester: Leicester UP (1992): 101-118.
- Goering, Joseph. 'Pastoralia: The Popular Literature of the Care of Souls.' *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographic Guide*. Eds. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg. Washington, DC: Catholic U of America P, 1999.
- Granshaw, Lindsay and Roy Porter, eds. *The Hospital in History*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Greenfield, Kathleen. 'Changing Emphases in English Vernacular Homiletic Literature, 950-1225,' *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 283-297.
- Grimes, William Francis. *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London*. London: Routledge, 1968.
- Harding, Alan. *A Social History of English Law*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1966.
- Harvey, Barbara. *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540. The Monastic Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Haskett, Timothy S. and Emily E. Freer. *The Wills of Medieval England, 1066-1300*. (Forthcoming).
- Hayum, Andree. *The Isenheim Altarpiece: God's Medicine and the Painter's Vision*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989.
- Heath, Peter. "Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: the Evidence of Hull Wills." *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*. ed. Barrie Dobson. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984.
- Hodgett, Gerald ed. *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*. London: London Record Society, 1971.
- Honeybourne, Marjorie B. 'St Bartholomew's Hospital.' *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, 1: History of the County of Middlesex*. Ed. J.S. Cockburn et al. London: OUP, 1969, 212.

- Horden, Peregrin, "A Discipline of Relevance: The Historiography of the Later Medieval Hospital", *The Society for the Social History of Medicine*, (1988), 359-374.
- Horton-Smith Hartley, Sir Percival. *Johannes De Mirfeld of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield: His Life and Works*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1936.
- Imbert, Jean. *Les Hôpitaux en Droit Canonique*. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1947.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo, 'The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England.' *Signs* 14:2 (1989): 399-433.
- Kerling, Nellie J.M. 'Administration.' *The Royal Hospital of St Bartholomew, 1123-1973*. Eds. Victor Medvei and John Thornton. London: Cowell, 1974.
- Kerling, Nellie J.M. 'Note on Newgate Prison.' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeological Soc.* 22 (1968): 21-2.
- Kerling, Nellie J.M. 'The Foundation of St Bartholomew's Hospital in West Smithfield, London.' *Guildhall Miscellany* 4 (1972): 137-48.
- Knowles, D and R.N. Hadcock. *Medieval Religious Houses of England and Wales*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1971.
- Kosto, Adam J. and Anders Winroth, eds. *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*. Toronto: PIMS, 2002.
- Lawrence, C.H. *St Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1960.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Tr. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1984.
- Leyerle, Blake. 'John Chrysostom on Almsgiving and the Use of Money.' *Harvard Theological Review* (1994): 29-47.
- Little, Lester K. "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom." *American Historical Review* 7 (1971): 16-49.
- Magilton, John and Frances Lee. "The leperhospital of St James and St Mary Madgalene, Chichester." *Burial Archaeology: Current Research, Methods and Developments*. Ed. Charlotte A. Roberts. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989, 249-265.

- Mollat, Michel. *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Newhaven: Yale UP, 1986.
- Moore, Norman. *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Vol. 1*. C. London: Arthur Pearson, 1918.
- Morey, A. *Bartholomew of Exeter, bishop and canonist. A study in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1937 (184).
- Museum of London Archeology Service. *St Bartholomew's Hospital, London E.C.1: An Architectural, Historical and Archeological Site Development Survey*. London: Museum of London, 1998.
- Neubauer, A. "Notes on the Jews in Oxford," *Collectanea: Second Series*, ed. Montagu Burrows. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890.
- Nicholas, David. *The Evolution of the Medieval World: Society, Government and Thought in Europe 312-1500*. London: Longman, 1992.
- Nutton, Vivian, "Healers in the Medical Market Place: Towards a Social History of Graeco-Roman Medicine," *Medicine in Society: Historical essays*. ed Andrew Wear, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.
- Orme, Nicholas. "A Medieval Almshouse for the Clergy: Clyst Gabriel Hospital near Exeter" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1988): 1-15.
- Orme, Nicholas. *Medieval Children*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2001.
- Orme, Nicholas and Margaret Webster. *The English Hospital, 1070-1570*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1995.
- Owst, G.R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961.
- Page, William, ed. *The Victoria History of London*. Folkstone: Dawson, 1974.
- Paxton, Frederick. "Anointing the Sick and the Dying in Christian Antiquity and the Early Medieval West," *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*. eds. Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall and David Klausner. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Pope, Stephen J. "Aquinas on Almsgiving, Justice and Charity: An Interpretation and Reassessment." *Hey Journal* XXXII (1991): 167-191.

- Postles, David. 'Country Clerici and the Composition of English twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Charters.' *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*. Ed. Karl Heidecker. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000.
- Power, Sir D'Arcy. *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital 1123-1923: Past and Present*. London: St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1923.
- Prescott, Elizabeth. *The English Medieval Hospital 1050-1640*. Melksham: Cromwell Press, 1992.
- Raban, Sandra. *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church, 1279-1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. "'Gret cryynge and joly chauntynge': life, death and liturgy at St Giles's hospital, Norwich, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," *Counties and Communities: Essays on East Anglian History*. Carole Rawcliffe, Roger Virgoe and Richard Wilson eds. Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1996.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. "Hospital Nurses and their Work." *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell. Stroud: Sutton, 1998. 43-64.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England*. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital, St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249-1550*. Stroud: Sutton, 1999.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. "Medicine for the Soul: The Medieval English Hospital and the Quest for Spiritual Health," *Religion, Health and Suffering*. eds. John R. Hinnells and Roy Porter. London: Kegan Paul International, 1999. 316-338.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London." *Medical History* (1984): 1-21.
- Roberts, Phyllis Barzillay. *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton*. Toronto: PIMS, 1968.
- Rubin, Miri. *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.
- Rubin, Miri. "Development and Change in English hospitals, 1100-1500," *The Hospital in History*. eds., Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter. London: Routledge, 1989.

- Rubin, Miri, "Imagining Medieval Hospitals: Considerations on the Cultural Meaning of Institutional Change," *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*. eds. Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones. London: Routledge, 1991. pp. 14-25.
- Salter, H.E. *Medieval Oxford*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.
- Salter, H.E. *Survey of Oxford. 2 Vols.* ed. W.A Pantin. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- Salzman, L.F. ed *The Victoria History of the County of Warwick*, vol. 6. London: Dawsons, 1965.
- Sheehan, Michael M. ed. *Aging and the Aged in Medieval Europe*. Toronto: PIMS, 1990.
- Sheehan, Michael M. *The Will in Medieval England: From the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century*. Toronto: PIMS, 1963.
- Shinners, John and William J. Dohar, eds. *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame UP, 1998.
- Southern, R.W. 'Between Heaven and Hell.' *Times Literary Supplement* (18 June, 1982): 651-2.
- Southern, R.W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.
- Stenton, F.M. 'Introduction.' *Transcripts of Charters Relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington, and Alvingham*. Lincoln: Horncastle, 1922.
- Thomas, Christopher. *The Archaeology of Medieval London*. Stroud: Sutton, 2002.
- Thrupp, Sylvia. *The Merchant Class of Medieval London 1300-1500*. Michigan: U Michigan P, 1962.
- Tierney, Brian. *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and its Application in England*. Berkeley: U California P, 1959.
- Tierney, Brian. 'The Decretists and the "Deserving Poor."' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1 (1958):360-73.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An economic Study of Institutions*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1925.

Webb, E.A. *The Records of St Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great* 2 vols. London: Oxford UP, 1921.

Welborn, Mary Catherine. "The errors of the Doctors According to Friar Roger Bacon of the Minor Order," *Isis* 18 (1932): 26-62.

Williams, Gwyn A. *Medieval London: From Commune to Capital*. London: Athlone, 1963.

Wood-Legh, K.L. *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965.