

# **The Pious Practices of Edward I, 1272-1307**

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## Declaration of Authorship

I **Charles Hedley Davies Christopher Farris** hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Abstract

Edward I's devotional life has not received much attention from historians; indeed, his reputation in this respect has long been overshadowed by his father's noteworthy – all too extravagant – piety. Having outlined Henry's piety to establish a benchmark, the thesis assesses Edward's debt to his father. Clearly he learned much from him. But, once established, Edward's piety was both generous and strikingly well worked-out: overall, the day-to-day fulfilment of his devotional duties assumed a more consistent nature than his predecessor's ever did.

Copious evidence survives to shed light on Edward I's piety, and this thesis particularly depends upon those materials created by clerks working in the king's wardrobe. Moreover, exchequer clerks enrolled much of the same material in the pipe rolls, so for those years for which wardrobe material has been lost we may yet derive some impression of royal pious practice. Having briefly described accounting procedures, the thesis concentrates on those individuals whose duty it was to ensure that Edward's soul should profit from masses, good works, and the intercession of the saints – which means an appraisal of the royal chapel and its clerks. Foremost among the latter was the royal almoner who discharged a variety of spiritual activities, many of which were eleemosynary. In addition to constant almsgiving on behalf of the king, the almoner acted assiduously to guarantee intercession – not only for the king's soul but also for the good of his realm.

The royal family also played its part in a carefully co-ordinated round of religious activity on Edward's behalf, which the thesis proceeds to investigate. By conscientious pious provision, Edward sought both to profit his soul and to ensure that his subjects should also benefit from the grace that a good Christian king could accrue. He deserves credit for this.

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## Abbreviations

BL - British Library

*Charter Rolls - Calendar of Charter Rolls*

*CLR - Calendar of Liberate Rolls*

*Close Rolls - Calendar of Close Rolls*

*CM - Chronica Majora*

*Charter Rolls - Calendar of Charter Rolls*

*ODNB - Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

*Patent Rolls - Calendar of Patent Rolls*

TNA - The National Archives

## Introduction

Edward I's recent biographers have been content to define his piety using generic terms. Powicke concluded that Edward I was 'a very conventional Christian in his outlook on life.'<sup>1</sup> Prestwich has used similar terminology, calling him 'a man of unsophisticated piety' and 'conventionally religious in his attitudes.'<sup>2</sup> Earlier biographers were somewhat more forthcoming. Tout was of the opinion that:

Edward was himself a man of sincere and ardent religious feeling. He was rigidly orthodox, and never so much as questioned the right of the Church to reign supreme over all matters of faith and practice. A crusader in his youth, he never, as we have seen, altogether relinquished his hope of joining in a great movement for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. He was an unwearied attendant at the offices of the Church. He was a founder of monasteries and an ardent pilgrim to holy places. To what he conceived to be lawful ecclesiastical authority he yielded an absolute and ungrudging obedience.<sup>3</sup>

Salzman is in agreement with this interpretation, and he calls Edward I 'a man of very sincere piety.'<sup>4</sup> Whether sincere or merely conventional, such terms are effectively irrelevant unless it can be determined what they mean. Religion was evidently a major factor in the lives of most medieval kings but we need to determine how exactly they expressed it.

In 2002 Nicholas Vincent surmised that the study of the religion of England's medieval kings was one that richly deserved to be written but which had as yet failed to attract an author.<sup>5</sup> He conceded, however, that for the period after 1272 '...as a result of the work of Michael Prestwich and others, we have a slightly better understanding of the dynamics of kingly piety than we do for the proceeding two centuries.'<sup>6</sup> The piety of

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<sup>1</sup> F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1947), ii. p. 691; F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1962), p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London and New Haven, 1988), pp. 111-12.

<sup>3</sup> T. F. Tout, *Edward the First* (London, 1986), p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> L. F. Salzman, *Edward I* (London, 1968), p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> N. Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154-1272', *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, eds. C. Morris and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 12-45, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, citing, M. Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium* (Harlaxton, 1984), pp. 120-8; A. J. Taylor, 'Edward I and the Shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury', *JBAA*, 132 (1979), pp. 22-8; A. J. Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations in the Later 13th Century', in F. Emmison and R. Swanson (eds.), *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays presented to Marc Fitch* (London, 1976), pp. 93-125; D. W. Burton, 'Requests for

Edward I has indeed attracted the attention of a number of historians.<sup>7</sup> But their studies have only illustrated just some of the many practices which made up the piety of a medieval king. A more comprehensive analysis of Edwardian piety is possible because of the survival of a large number of financial accounts. Edward's pious activities incurred costs, and these were meticulously recorded because the king demanded that his household was kept in good order. The clerks of the king's household, and later those of the exchequer, worked tirelessly to ensure that the king's expenditure was recorded and that abuses were avoided.

Several historians have worked on the piety of Henry III, such as Carpenter, Dixon-Smith, Vincent and Wild, and they have shown how much can be learned from a relatively small body of source material.<sup>8</sup> The volume of extant material produced by Edward I's household and exchequer clerks, permits a more comprehensive image. These accounts are by no means completely untitled. Johnstone, in 1929, created an early image of royal charity in the thirteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Lack, in 1949, furthered this study, with her impressively detailed MA thesis, which looks at the role of the royal almoner under Henry III, Edward I and Edward II.<sup>10</sup> More recently, in the 1970s, Taylor, provided us with two studies of Edwardian piety. The first is a detailed analysis of one of Edward I's rolls of alms and oblations; the second studies Edward's interaction

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Prayers and Royal Propaganda under Edward I', in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England*, vol. III (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 25-35.

<sup>7</sup> To Vincent's list we can add the following, D. S., Bachrach, 'The Organisation of Military Religion in the Armies of King Edward I of England (1272-1307)', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), pp. 265-86; 'The Ecclesia Anglicana goes to War: Prayers, Propaganda, and Conquest during the Reign of Edward I of England, 1272-1307', *Albion*, 36 (2004), pp. 393-406; H. Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth-Century England', *Speculum*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (April, 1929), pp. 149-167; M. Lack, 'The Position and Duties of the King's Almoner, 1255-1327', MA, (unpublished), University of London, 1949.

<sup>8</sup> D. A. Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings Henry III and Louis IX', *Thirteenth Century England 10: proceedings of the Durham Conference 2003*, eds. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 1-30; D. Carpenter, 'The Household Rolls of King Henry III of England (1216-72)', *Historical Research*, 80: 207 (2007), pp. 22-46; D. Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult', *English Historical Review*, 122 (2007), 865-91; S. Dixon-Smith, 'The Image and Reality of Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, CLII (1999), pp. 79-96; S. Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor to Commemorate the Dead, the *pro anima* Almsgiving of King Henry III of England 1227-1272', Ph.D. (unpublished), University of London, 2003; Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings'; N. Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary', *Studies in Church History*, 39 (2004), pp. 126-46; B. Wild, 'A Captive King: Henry III between the Battles of Lewes and Evesham, 1264-5', *Thirteenth Century England XIII, Proceedings of the Paris Conference, 2009*, ed. J. Burton (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 41-56; B. Wild, 'Secrecy, Splendour and Statecraft: the jewel accounts of King Henry III of England, 1216-72', *Historical Research*, 83: 221 (2010), pp. 409-430.

<sup>9</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', pp. 149-167.

<sup>10</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties'.

with the cult of St Thomas of Canterbury.<sup>11</sup> Prestwich, most recently in 1984, drew on previous studies and handpicked a number of choice examples from the wardrobe accounts in order to produce an elegant summary of Edwardian piety.<sup>12</sup> These studies have led the way, but if Vincent's proposed study of the religion of England's medieval kings is ever to be written, it is essential that historians of royal piety should make the most of the sources available to them. In the case of Edward I, this body of material is considerable. Such an abundance of material deserves to be fully exploited.

This study will not attempt to simplify Edwardian piety into neat paraphrases and colourful examples. It will instead subject the sources surviving for Edward's reign to close scrutiny. Many of them - similar to the obedientiary accounts of religious houses - are repetitive. But this study will attempt to follow the example of Ben Nilson, for instance, whose study of cathedral shrines demonstrated that detailed analysis of familiar material can create a more comprehensive understanding of a familiar topic.<sup>13</sup> Nilson wrote that, for a long time, 'denominational bias and modern contempt towards saint worship and miracle stories brought about a general avoidance of medieval relic worship as a topic for serious research'.<sup>14</sup> I do not presume to accuse historians of Edward I of similar bias, but royal piety is often considered an aside to the serious study of politics and state-making. This is especially true when the monarch under scrutiny was famed for more conventional achievements. Edward I built castles, not cathedrals, and herein lies the crux of the matter. However, a methodical consideration of Edward's day-to-day pious practices presents a more informed image. Edward I's faith appears to have been of great importance to him; even if this merely mirrored convention, it is worth while pursuing quite what this meant.

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<sup>11</sup>Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations'; Taylor, 'Edward I and the Shrine', pp. 22-28.

<sup>12</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', pp. 120-8.

<sup>13</sup> B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

## Chapter 1: Henry III's Legacy

The piety of a medieval monarch was the product of an inherited culture. This culture was defined by two inter-related principles: firstly that a certain level of religious activity was both efficacious and necessary; and secondly that there were established practices by which the former could be accomplished. Henry III was a famously pious king but, in the first instance, he inherited many of the methods of expressing this piety from his father and ancestors. Given that there was a stock of pious practice, it was up to the monarch to decide upon the degree of enthusiasm he injected into any particular aspect of its implementation. Had Henry III followed his father at all closely, he would not enjoy the reputation for religious zeal that historians have attributed to him. Conversely, aspects of Henry's religious enthusiasm could be attributed to the healthy competition in this matter that he enjoyed with his saintly contemporary, Louis IX of France.<sup>15</sup> This introduces an additional factor, that of environment, be it local or international. Moreover, the interplay of ideas that had, for centuries, profited from personal travel and diplomatic contacts, was, in the thirteenth century, energised by the arrival of the mendicant orders on the European stage. In short, a religiously minded king in this century was neither short of guidance nor of inspiration.

However, David Carpenter has suggested that Henry III's religious conviction was not harmoniously intertwined with the other ideals associated with a good Christian king.<sup>16</sup> Whereas Louis IX of France was canonised, Henry III was not despite their both displaying a comparable devotion to religious practices. In answer to Nicholas Vincent's question 'Is there really that great a difference between their respective styles?', Carpenter concludes 'In the narrow terms of his religiosity, he (Henry III) deserved just as much to be a saint as Louis IX. In terms of discharging his obligations as a Christian king, he most certainly did not.'<sup>17</sup> When compared with his father, Edward I was a much

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<sup>15</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', pp. 1-30; B. Weiler, 'Symbolism and Politics in the Reign of Henry III', *Thirteenth Century England 9, proceedings of the Durham Conference 2001*, eds. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 15-41.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 196; Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', p. 29.

more successful king. Although displaying many far from admirable character traits, he satisfied the requirements of a good Christian king. In common with Louis IX, Edward went on crusade. On his death it was commented 'Jerusalem, you have lost the flower of all chivalry' and, had the circumstances of the latter years of his reign been different, there is little reason to doubt that Edward would have made good on his obligation in taking the cross for a second time in 1287.<sup>18</sup>

Henry lavished time, money and attention upon Westminster Abbey and the shrine of Edward the Confessor. This important focal point of his piety, and arguably his reign, has prompted a good deal of research and comment. The focus of this thesis, however, is not the big statements of royal piety, but instead the everyday practices by which kings expressed their faith. Repetitive custom was essential in the benefiting of the soul. Some of the inspiration for such behaviour must surely be located in the world of the 'religious': the message of the monks was simple - the way to heaven was through faith, obedience and ritual. Kings, more than most, needed a routine of grace, for theirs was a job inevitably tainted by sin. King Henry II remarked "I have sinned more than most, for the whole life of the knight is passed in sin, nor have I time for proper repentance unless the Lord have mercy upon me."<sup>19</sup> Henry III kept his soul, unlike his realm, in good order. Daily masses, liberal almsgiving and attention to the saints took care of the everyday needs of his soul. When he committed a particular sin he acknowledged it accordingly. For example, Henry was said to have confessed that he knew he had sinned against God and the saints when he appointed his half-brother Aymer to the Bishopric of Winchester.<sup>20</sup> For the everyday welfare of the soul, however, routine was the key to success.

Various scholars have cast light on aspects of Henry's devotional regime. In particular Henry's almsgiving has been addressed both by Hilda Johnstone in 1929 and, more recently, by Sally Dixon-Smith.<sup>21</sup> Likewise David Carpenter has summarised his

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<sup>18</sup> *The Political Songs of England*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1839), p. 249; M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), pp. 326-333; see also, S. Lloyd, 'The Lord Edward's Crusade, 1270-2: its setting and significance', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. by J. Gillingham, and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 120-33.

<sup>19</sup> Peter of Blois, 'Dialogus inter regem Henricum secundum et abbatem Bonevillis', ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Revue Benedictine*, 68 (1958), p. 111.

<sup>20</sup> Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings', p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'The Image and Reality', pp. 79-96; 'Feeding the Poor'; Johnstone, 'Poor Relief', pp. 149-167.

religious practices when he was in France, drawing comparisons with those of his saintly counterpart and contemporary Louis IX.<sup>22</sup> These authors have all used a combination of sources including rolls of writs, accounts emanating from the household and, where possible, narrative accounts from chronicles. I will outline these sources, assess the customs and practices they detail and finally draw some conclusions as patterns of behaviour that Henry III established, which will then permit clearer judgements as to Edward's behaviour.

## I. The sources

### The Office of Chancery

As identified by Dixon-Smith, the bulk of the surviving evidence for Henry III's piety emanated from the office of the chancery. The chancery, the king's writing office, issued writs on behalf of the king. These writs were issued under the king's name and authorised the exchequer to release funds sufficient to pay for various enterprises. Dixon-Smith echoes David Carpenter by stressing that the office of the exchequer could not authorise payments without the permission of the chancery.<sup>23</sup> The office of chancery recorded copies of these writs in various rolls, which, unlike most of the individual writs themselves, have survived. Chaplais suggests that in descending order of lasting importance the types of documents produced by the chancery were a) charters b) letters patent c) letters close, and he writes that 'the quality of the materials employed, the handwriting, the level of abbreviation used, and the methods of sealing reflect this hierarchy.'<sup>24</sup> In the context of this study, however, this order of importance is reversed. The writs issued in closed format are the most informative for illuminating the king's piety. The most informative of all are the writs contained in the *liberate* rolls.

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<sup>22</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', pp. 1-30.

<sup>23</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 18, who cites, D. Carpenter, 'The English Royal Chancery in the Thirteenth Century', *Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: espace français, espace anglais* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997), pp.25-53, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The *liberate* rolls recorded writs ordering the release of money from the exchequer to named recipients to accomplish various enterprises.<sup>25</sup> The TNA catalogue describes them as concerning money paid out for 'pensions, salaries, stipends, expenditure of the royal household and other expenses of state.'<sup>26</sup> These writs of *liberate* were issued frequently during the reign of Henry III and the rolls for his reign are far more extensive than those for the reign of Edward I.<sup>27</sup> The *liberate* rolls reveal many aspects of royal piety. Henry III fed the poor for a number of reasons, many of which we can identify using these sources. Other aspects of Henry's piety also emerge: payments for repairs in and embellishments of the king's various chapels, the offerings made at various shrines and even wine issued for use in the Eucharist. In short, in their content, the *liberate* rolls are precursors of the wardrobe accounts.

References to alms occasionally appear on the close rolls. These 'closed' writs were similar to those in the *liberate* rolls but differed in that they do not begin with an order to release funds (*liberare*). Nevertheless, as Dixon-Smith notes:

Often initial orders for the feeding of the poor are found on the Close rolls, (it is highly unlikely that a sheriff would have spent any money from the king's revenue without a written order to back him up), and the payment or allowance on the Liberate roll.<sup>28</sup>

These therefore, rather than recording the explicit demand for the feeding of the poor, acted as a warning that such a demand was imminent. Occasional references also appear in the patent rolls. These rolls recorded those writs sent in 'open format'. These writs were produced with the seal of authentication attached to a tongue cut into the parchment which would therefore remain intact, and need to be considered in comparison to the 'closed writs', in which the seals had to be broken to read the enclosed information. The patent rolls, therefore, often recorded matters such as changes to the fixed alms and pensions which were paid from county funds. The sheriffs were expected to honour these amendments until receiving further instructions from the crown.

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<sup>25</sup> *liberare* - to free/release.

<sup>26</sup> <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/browse/C3622?v=h>

<sup>27</sup> Dixon-Smith notes that, since these writs were closed in format (i.e. sealed), it had been the practice during King John's reign, to include them on the close rolls, Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

## Rolls of Oblations

Things changed in Edward I's reign. His clerks produced a series of account rolls specifically recording expenditure upon pious acts. In the reign of Henry III, such accounts had yet to be fully developed, but we do have their precursors - the rolls of oblations. Unfortunately, very few of these rolls have survived, and those that have are far less informative than their later equivalent. These early rolls were concerned mainly with offerings in the king's private chapel and elsewhere. The principal reason for this is because the majority of Henry III's alms were given in the form of meals, whereas in his son's reign cash was distributed more frequently. For this reason, the accounts of the household (see below) are the only accounts through which the day-to-day alms of the king can be assessed. Although Dixon-Smith referred to the two surviving oblation accounts as almoner rolls, such an identification is incorrect.<sup>29</sup> The oblations accounts are nearest in content to the rolls of alms and oblations of Edward I's reign, but they were neither named as such by their authors nor were they used in the same way.

## Household rolls<sup>30</sup>

The household rolls recorded the everyday expenses of the king's household, and the earliest to survive are from Henry III's reign. They are akin to the 'diet accounts' of private households, recording the daily expenses of the various departments, such as the kitchen, buttery and stables. Carpenter has noted how, until the recent work of Dixon-Smith and Vincent, these early rolls had been largely ignored by historians.<sup>31</sup> These are useful for the study of the Henry's piety for two main reasons. Firstly, some of the later survivals record the number of poor fed daily by the king.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, they reveal the increase in expenditure in purchasing food and wax needed for the celebration of important feasts - at which celebrations the poor were also fed. Feeding the poor out of the daily expenditure of the household (described in the pipe rolls as *elemosina statuta*), represented one of the more basic aspects of royal piety, and reference to it would

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<sup>29</sup> TNA, C47/3/44 and E101/349/30.

<sup>30</sup> TNA, C47/3/43/1, C47/3/43/2, C47/3/46/8, E101/349/27, C47/3/6, E101/667/50, C47/3/43/14.

<sup>31</sup> Carpenter, 'The Household Rolls', pp. 22-23.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40, poor fed daily appear on the rolls from 1259 onwards, see, TNA E101/349/27.

continue on the household rolls (sometime referred as diet accounts) well into the fifteenth-century.

## Pipe rolls

Until the late thirteenth century, the pipe rolls were principally concerned with recording the accounts of the county farms. The king drew an income from the various county farms, and individual sheriffs were responsible for supplying these fixed sums to the crown from the *corpus comitatus* (body of the county). Until the 1270s, they also recorded the unpaid debts of the various counties, rendering them unwieldy documents. However, of utmost interest to this study, the accounts also began to record the enrolled expenses of the king's wardrobe, albeit in a greatly abridged format. Unfortunately, as this method of audit was still in its infancy in the reign of Henry III, the available material is limited by comparison with that for Edward I.<sup>33</sup>

## II. Environment

Henry III's piety was in many ways a more intimate affair than his son's. We see this in the way that he fed the poor rather than giving them money with which to buy their own food. Dixon-Smith, in her article 'The Image and Reality of Royal Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III', has shown how the royal halls provided the backdrop to much of his alms-giving. The poor were invited into the royal halls and there they were fed at the command of the king. Dixon-Smith has described how, in three of the royal halls, the walls were decorated with paintings of the story of Dives and Lazarus, a parable in which the character of Dives ignored the poverty of Lazarus, and on their deaths, Lazarus joined Abraham in heaven whilst Dives was cast into hell.<sup>34</sup> The depiction of this story in the halls of Henry III (at Ludgershall, Guildford and Northampton) stood in marked contrast to the trappings of power and regality, clearly indicating Henry's humility as well as his sincerity.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The enrolled wardrobe accounts of Henry's reign have been edited by Ben Wild and are soon to be published by the Pipe Roll Society.

<sup>34</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', pp. 81-82.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

It was not only this parable that reminded the king of the importance of charity. In 1261, Henry requested that an image of St Edward the Confessor should be painted in his great hall at Guildford opposite that of the image of Dives and Lazarus. This was recorded in a writ of *liberate* which ordered that 'at the head of the king's hall at Guildford, towards the entry of the king's chamber, a certain spur/spere [i.e. screen] of wood; and to paint there the figure of St Edward, and the figure of St John holding a ring in his hand.'<sup>36</sup> This image depicted a story that would have been well known to the king - in which, St Edward, lacking coin, gave a beggar his ring, which beggar transpired to be St John in disguise. Henry's request for these images to be painted in his great halls, as at the royal residence at Guildford, offer clear examples of how Henry chose to advertise his piety. These images, moreover, reminded him very powerfully of the need to emulate the holy. Henry no doubt hoped that the poor he fed would see such images and make the link between the king and his saintly and biblical counter-parts. He would also have expected prayers in return for his charity. At larger occasions, too, when his nobles were also present, they would see the poor being fed. Henry, at such banquets, would have sat in hospitable benevolence above representatives of the full spectrum of society. In such a way the king made a powerful statement about the hierarchy of his nation. The king was the host and his people depended upon his kindness.

If the great halls of Henry's royal residences provided the backdrop to his almsgiving, his chapels similarly provided a context for his more private acts of devotion. The *liberate* rolls contain many references to writs demanding that wax be provided for candles in his chapels, that masses be performed therein and wages be paid to maintain the chaplains serving in them. Henry's willingness to witness the celebration of the mass has been frequently noted and he probably attended chapel daily. This suggestion is supported by entries in his few surviving oblations rolls. Not only were large quantities of wax set aside for the chapels but the king also clearly expected services to be as noisy as they were bright.<sup>37</sup> The *liberate* rolls suggest that music played a prominent part in Henry's liturgical year, and that his chapel clerks were proficient in singing when required. For example, in 1240, it was recorded that £10 was paid to Peter de Bedinton and the clerks of the king's chapel for singing *christus vincet*

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>37</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', pp. 7,15.

on eight occasions: 'the Nativity of St Mary and the Translation of St Edward in the 23rd, and All Saints Day and St Edmund's Day, Christmas Day, the Circumcision, St Edward's Day and the Epiphany, in the 24th year'.<sup>38</sup>

Even in his absence his chapels were kept well staffed. For example, a writ of 1227, recorded that the king's chaplain, serving in his chapel at Rochester, was to be paid 2 marks for his maintenance.<sup>39</sup> Likewise the Keeper of the king's manor of Gillingham in September of 1239 was to find a suitable chaplain to minister daily in the king's chapel there and was to find 50s. yearly for his maintenance.<sup>40</sup> The *liberate* rolls are full of such writs demanding that wages be found for the chaplains serving in the king's chapels. Clearly royal service proved to be a profitable career path for many clerks.

The king's most important servants, where charity was concerned, were his almoners and sub-almoners. This again was in clear imitation of monastic practice. The position of almoner was filled initially by one of the king's chaplains. The royal almoner, as noted by Tanner in 1957, was a position of great antiquity and dignity.<sup>41</sup> However, to begin with, there were often two or three such individuals, although probably even then one was the king's almoner proper and the others were sub-almoners.<sup>42</sup> The first reference to a royal almoner seems to be 'William the Almoner' c. 1103-c.1130, and, at some point in the twelfth century, the practice of appointing Knights Templars to this position was established. John Leukenor, a Templar, served as one of Henry III's almoners for much of the early part of his reign. Dixon-Smith notes that 'The English royal almoners were Templars until 1255 when the royal chaplain, Simon of Offam, was given the office, succeeded a year later by another chaplain, John de Colecestre.'<sup>43</sup>

The office of almoner was focused principally upon charity. As well as organising the king's formal alms, almoners organised the daily meting out of 'broken meats' from the king's table and also distributed clothing on certain holy days, such as

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<sup>38</sup> *CLR: 1226-40*, p. 441.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 415.

<sup>41</sup> L. Tanner, 'Lord High Almoners and Sub-Almoners, 1100-1957', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 20-21 (1957-8), pp. 72-83.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>43</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 32.

Easter.<sup>44</sup> This is in clear emulation of the monasteries which collected a daily pittance for the poor from the table of the monks, and also distributed old clothes. The scraps from the king's table were placed upon an alms-dish and given to the poor. We find reference to the alms-dish in the reign of Henry III when, in 1229, the close rolls record that it was repaired.<sup>45</sup> This item was symbolic of the king's charity and the role of his almoner.

Dixon-Smith states that the evidence of the *liberate* rolls shows that almsgiving was often paid for either directly from the exchequer or from county funds. These payments reveal that almoners were also involved in the purchase and delivery of fish, clothes and shoes for alms, as well as buying chalices for various churches under the king's patronage, and organising the feeding of the poor.<sup>46</sup> It is clear that the duties of the almoner were onerous so it is not surprising that 'sub-almoners' were a necessity. What is notable, however, is that Henry III's almoners, despite so many duties, were not necessarily burdened with financial administration. As mentioned above, almoner's rolls had yet to be produced. Their precursors, the oblations rolls of Henry's reign, were not specifically concerned with feeding the poor and almoners surely did not produce them. Dixon-Smith states:

The bulk of the information on these rolls relates to chaplain's wages and the king's oblations - the coins which the king put on the altar after mass as offerings. Trivet's assertion that Henry heard at least two masses every day is certainly backed up by the 1264-5 roll, which for each day records two sets of oblations, one for the day (presumably given in the chief church of wherever the king was) and one the oblations given after the mass in his private chapel.<sup>47</sup>

Whereas Edward I's second almoner, Henry of Blunsdon, was required to account for the king's alms-giving, those of Henry III seem to have been more concerned with its practical administration.

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<sup>44</sup> Tanner, p. 72.

<sup>45</sup> *Close Rolls: 1227-31*, p.118.

<sup>46</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 37.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

### III. Alms

Giving alms or, more precisely, feeding the poor, was perhaps the defining feature of Henry III's personal piety. According to Matthew Paris, Louis IX rebuked those deriding Henry III, stating 'Be Silent, his alms and his masses will free him from all shames and dangers.'<sup>48</sup> Henry III's failure to go on crusade may have prompted criticism, especially given that both Louis IX and Prince Edward undertook this adventure. However, this may, in fact, reveal a more sophisticated view of a Christian's duties. Debra Birch has drawn to our attention the differing schools of thought in the twelfth century, where commentators, such as Honorius of Autun and Lambert le Bègue, suggested that the money spent on crusades might better be spent on nourishing the poor.<sup>49</sup> Such a method of acquiring grace certainly appealed to Henry who was not a warlike man. But the exact composition of Henry's pious charity is difficult to ascertain - although there is no doubting that it was very considerable. If Matthew Paris was correct, it was substantial enough to draw the attention and commendation of Louis IX, himself always mindful of the religious duties of a Christian king.

Henry III's charity is difficult to define as no specific alms accounts survive for his reign. It has been suggested that two accounts in the TNA were almoner accounts, but these are in fact oblation rolls and quite different.<sup>50</sup> Almoner accounts, of which we have examples from Edward I's reign, recorded the alms given on any given day and also the purpose for which they were given (e.g. in honour of a particular saint's feast). These can be used to create a detailed weekly picture of royal charity. All we have for the reign of Henry III are clues from certain writs of *liberate* permitting us to piece together some impression of what was afoot. Throughout Henry's reign writs were issued with reference to almsgiving. These recorded details, such as quantities of fish acquired to feed the poor, or money issued to the almoner for the same purpose. I will now explain how these clues can create some impression, at least, of Henry's charity.

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<sup>48</sup> *CM*, p. 231-32.

<sup>49</sup> D. J. Birch, 'Jacque de Vitry and the Ideology of Pilgrimage', *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. J. Stopford (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 79-93, p. 85.

<sup>50</sup> TNA, C47/3/44 and E101/349/30.

## *Elemosina statuta*

Henry was particularly concerned to set aside revenues to feed a certain number of poor each day.<sup>51</sup> Evidence may be found in two types of documents: firstly household rolls which record the daily expenses of the various household departments; secondly, the pipe rolls on which these daily expenses began to be enrolled towards the end of the reign of Henry III.<sup>52</sup> All but the first of the surviving household rolls of Henry's reign record that the king fed 100 poor per day.<sup>53</sup> On days when the queen was present this figure was increased by fifty, meaning that on these days the king met the cost of her daily alms. The cost of feeding the poor varied because they could receive meals from the different household departments - such as the pantry or kitchen - hence the costs would vary with the price and nature of the food provided. Carpenter has stated that two common figures for feeding 150 were 14s. 6d. and 19s. 11d., giving totals per person of 1.16d. and 1.59d. respectively.<sup>54</sup>

Feeding 100 or 150 poor every day contradicts Hilda Johnstone's claim that Henry III fed 500 poor daily.<sup>55</sup> Her source for this was a writ issued, in June 1242, from Gascony ordering that 350 of the 500 poor that he usually fed daily were instead to be fed by John, his almoner in England.<sup>56</sup> Dixon-Smith has made a compelling argument that several writs issuing money to the almoner at this particular time indicate that this instruction may have actually been carried out.<sup>57</sup> However, as borne out by the surviving household rolls of later years, feeding 100 or 150 paupers every day became the standard number for *elemosina statuta*. Although fixed in nature, these practices were adaptable in execution. With the passage of time, changes in interest and, perhaps more importantly for Henry III, changes in financial fortune, meant that change was inevitable. Roger of Wendover, in his chronicle, mentions Henry III as saying 'All the

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<sup>51</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', p. 152.

<sup>52</sup> Carpenter, 'The Household Rolls', pp. 38-39.

<sup>53</sup> TNA, C47/3/43/1, C47/3/46/8, C47/3/43/2 (Three portions of 10 Henry III, 1225/26); E101/349/27 (44 Henry III, 1259/60); C47/3/6 (46 Henry III, 1261/62); E101/667/50 (50 Henry III, 1265/66); and C47/3/43/14 (55 Henry III, 1270/71), these manuscript have been analysed in, Carpenter, 'The Household Rolls', pp. 38-39.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', p. 155.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., citing, *Close Rolls: 1237-42*, p. 497.

<sup>57</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', pp. 84-5.

revenues in my treasury are barely sufficient for my mere food, clothing, and accustomed alms.<sup>58</sup> By the later years of his reign his revenues had diminished forcing him to adjust this provision.

#### Evidence from the *liberate* rolls

The first reference to the king's alms from a writ of *liberate* dates from 21 February 1233. This writ recorded that Brother Geoffrey or Brother John, the king's almoner, was to be issued with 44 marks for eleven lasts of herring to be distributed to the poor.<sup>59</sup> Writs of this sort occur throughout the reign of Henry III and show that frequently the king's almoners or chapel clerks would receive, or be given money to purchase, barrels of fish for the king's almsgiving. These fish were surely for alms distinct from the *elemosina statuta* outlined above, as the cost of the latter was covered in the household rolls. One last of herring was approximately twelve barrels in size, and hence sufficient to feed many poor. The reference above for eleven lasts would equate to 132 barrels. The source unfortunately does not record whether these fish were salted or dried, or whether they were all purchased at the same time. It is therefore difficult to deduce whether these fish were for immediate dispersal or to be given to the poor over a longer period of time. However, these acquisitions of fish do not appear with sufficient regularity to suggest that this was the only means by which the royal almoners facilitated the king's almsgiving. The next writ of *liberate* to mention the purchase of fish for the king's alms was not issued until 23 March 1237, nearly four years later. There must have been another system in place to acquire the necessary victuals for the king's charity. What it was is not clear.

During the earlier part of Henry's reign we can monitor a combination of lasts of fish and sums of money being issued to the king's almoners and it seems safe to assume that these were destined for the poor. For example, on 24 June 1238 Brother Geoffrey was issued with a sum of £200, and the next year a further £200 was issued to the same

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<sup>58</sup> *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, 3 vols (Rolls Series, 1890), ii, p. 30.

<sup>59</sup> *CLR: 1226-40*, p. 200.

Brother Geoffrey, described as the almoner on 9 July 1239.<sup>60</sup> If we break the sum of £200 down into pennies, it equates to 48,000*d*. If we assume that each pauper was fed at a daily cost of roughly one penny, then the period of 381 days between the two dates on which £200 was issued, equates to just over 125 poor being fed every day.<sup>61</sup> However when we also note that during this period, on 13 January 1239, sixteen *lasts* (or 192 barrels) were also acquired for the king's almsgiving then this figure can be raised to a more substantial, but incalculable, number. However, these few entries, although intriguing, are not enough to substantiate any firm conclusions as to Henry's alms because, unfortunately, the £200 sums were not issued every year.

A little later, in 1242, a series of writs indicating regular payments to the king's almoner for feeding the poor, while the king was in France, make for intriguing reading. Dixon-Smith has suggested that these writs could help to substantiate the claim that Henry III fed 500 poor per day at this time. The information provided by these writs is tabulated below:

**Table 1 - Money issued to the Almoner between 8 November 1242 and 1 September 1243<sup>62</sup>**

Date of Writ	Date Beginning	Date Ending	Estimate Number of Days	Value	Estimate of poor fed per day
8 Nov. 1242	9 May 1242	12 Nov. 1242	188	£236 9s. 10.5 <i>d</i> .	336
3 Feb. 1243	12 Nov. 1242	25 Feb. 1243	105	£206 13s. 4 <i>d</i> .	472
18 May 1243	12 Apr. 1243	9 May 1243	27	£61 17s. 8.5 <i>d</i> .	550
25 Jun. 1243	09 May 1243	24 Jun. 1243	47	£102 16s. 3 <i>d</i> .	525
23 Jul. 1243	24 Jun. 1243	15 Aug. 1243	53	£113 7s. 10.5 <i>d</i> .	513
1 Sept. 1243	16 Aug. 1243	28 Sept. 1243	44	£101 14s. 4.5 <i>d</i> .	554

Henry evidently wished for a large number of poor to be fed in his absence. In less than a year the almoner received a sum of £823 3*d*. - this is a greater sum than Edward I ever spent on alms in a single year, his largest outlay being £696 18s. 3½*d*., in 1296/7.<sup>63</sup> The greater part of these sums were issued in 1243 - the year which marked the eightieth anniversary of the translation of Edward the Confessor. Perhaps a great number of poor were fed to honour this important event. Unfortunately, this is the only year large sums were issued on a regular basis to the almoner. There is no way of telling when the poor

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 360, 401.

<sup>61</sup> 24 June 1238 until 09 July 1239, is 381 days (both days included).

<sup>62</sup> *CLR: 1240-45*, pp. 160, 169, 180, 184, 187, 192, figures explored by Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 85.

<sup>63</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 5r.

were fed, whether a set number were fed each day, or whether extra poor were fed to honour specific feast days. The type of details abundantly available for the reign of Edward I are sadly missing for the reign of Henry III.

#### Alms and the liturgical year

Henry III marked key moments in the liturgical year by feeding large numbers of poor. Dixon-Smith summarises this practice by writing:

The king regularly fed the poor on the feasts commemorating the lives of Christ, the Virgin Mary and SS. Peter and Paul, the death days of the apostles John and Thomas, pope Gregory, as well as the English saints King Edmund, King Edward and Thomas Becket.<sup>64</sup>

This statement is correct in as much as these feasts were marked by increased almsgiving at various points in Henry's reign, but it cannot be said that he was consistent in this practice. For instance, a writ issued on 5 December 1239, demanded that the Halls of Windsor were to be filled with poor on certain feasts and fed by Hugh Gifford. The writ specified that on Christmas day the Great Hall was to be filled with poor; on St Stephen's Day and Epiphany the smaller hall was to be filled likewise, on St Thomas's Day the same hall was to be filled with poor chaplains and clerks, and on Holy Innocents day with poor children.<sup>65</sup> The next year a similar writ issued on 6 April 1240 specified that, on Easter Sunday, only the small hall at Windsor was to be filled with poor, who were to be fed.<sup>66</sup> Such variations in Henry's charity is typical. Henry was keen to mark special occasions by increasing his alms, but there was little consistency from year to year. The requests for almsgiving that feature in the *liberate* rolls are clearly representative of special occasions. Were it the case that *liberate* rolls reveal all that Henry did to mark the liturgical year then his responses would seem unremarkable - especially when compared to the practices of his son. It is likely that a small number of poor were fed on many minor saints' days, but, because no special acquisition of food was necessary to feed such limited numbers, we have no evidence with which to 'flesh out' such practices.

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<sup>64</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 101.

<sup>65</sup> *CLR: 1226-40*, p. 433.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 459.

The number of poor who were fed on the occasions which do feature in the *liberate* rolls varies greatly. On the feast of All Saints (1 November) 1259 the king fed 390 *fratres* at Westminster.<sup>67</sup> The use of the word *fratres* in describing much of Henry's almsgiving is misleading. As Carpenter has suggested the frequent gathering of so many friars or monks is difficult to imagine. He suggests that in referring to his almsmen as *fratres* Henry was perhaps emphasising his brotherhood with the poor. He notes, to support his interpretation, that a surviving portion of the queen's household roll for 1252/3 refers to the feeding of *fratres* but that the corresponding entry in the enrolled account in the pipe rolls refers to *pauperes*.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, it is far more likely that Henry fed 100 poor every day, rather than friars or monks, despite the entries in the household rolls referring to *fratres*.

Other feasts prompted the feeding of even higher numbers of poor. On the feast of the death of Edward the Confessor (5 January) 1260, Henry was in France at Pontoise. On this day Henry fed 1500 poor.<sup>69</sup> Carpenter notes that this was the largest number of poor fed, at any one time, throughout his visit to France of 1259/60. It is noteworthy that Louis IX was not present at this time and hence this cannot be dismissed as an act of competitive largesse.<sup>70</sup> On this occasion Henry spent just over 1*d.* per almsmen. Carpenter has deduced that the spreading of the costs between the pantry, buttery and kitchen reveals that a full meal was offered, not just a general distribution of bread.<sup>71</sup> Earlier in the reign, this same feast had been marked with the feeding of 4000 poor in 1243, the cost of which was recorded as £28 40*d.* - equating to 1¾*d.* per recipient.<sup>72</sup> The next year, 1244, no writ of *liberate* was issued to suggest that this feast was marked with the feeding of the poor. Such an omission seems unlikely, and illustrates the point that there was clearly more to Henry's almsgiving than can be established from the surviving manuscripts. The feast days which do feature in the surviving accounts, record that the number of poor that were fed frequently might be 1000, or 1500 or even 5000.<sup>73</sup> Henry's alms display his generosity as well as his lack of consistency.

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<sup>67</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', p. 7.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4, citing, TNA, E101/349/16 and E372/96, m. 36.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *CLR:1240-45*, p. 166

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Very occasionally, Henry chose to feed an even larger number of poor. On the feast of the translation of Edward the Confessor (13 October) 1263, Henry ordered that provision for feeding 100,000 be made for the poor coming to Westminster.<sup>74</sup> This figure may seem ridiculous but Henry's fondness for the Confessor was as ardent as the devotion of any king to any cult. It must also be noted that 13 October 1263 marked the centenary of the translation of the saint, as overseen by Henry II.<sup>75</sup> Apparently Henry sought to feed 1000 poor for every year that had passed since the translation. That Henry thought so many poor would come to Westminster for the occasion is testament to his devotion to the cult and the status he believed that it had attained in England. This however must be seen as an exceptional, if not unique, example of pious generosity. In April of 1242 Henry ordered the feeding of a total of 102,000.<sup>76</sup> On this occasion the order for the feeding came in two writs addressed to the almoner and to William de Haverhull: the first was to request that 25,000 were fed at Oxford and Ospring and 1000 at Ankerwic and Bromhull; the second stipulated only that 50,000 were to be fed.<sup>77</sup> This does however reveal that such largesse (to mark the death of Henry III's sister, the Empress Isabella) was to be spread around the king's realm. Henry, on this occasion, wanted a number of communities to benefit from his charity.

#### Alms for the dead

*Pro anima* almsgiving provides the focus for Dixon-Smith's doctoral thesis. She explains that the principal motivation behind such activity was to reunite the 'community of the Church on earth and in Heaven.'<sup>78</sup> The poor, on receiving meals, would have been expected to pray for the souls of those in whose honour the meals were given. This practice emulated that in monastic communities where, as well as giving alms to celebrate the feasts of the church, the monks did likewise on the anniversaries of the deaths of their brethren, and lay benefactors.<sup>79</sup> On such occasions the monks would receive extra dishes in memory of their departed, and hence more

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<sup>74</sup> *Patent Rolls: 1258-66*, pp. 282-3.

<sup>75</sup> D. Farmer, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Fifth edn. (Oxford, 2003), p. 164.

<sup>76</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', p. 88.

<sup>77</sup> *CLR: 1240-45*, p. 124, cited in, Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', p. 88.

<sup>78</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', p. 89.

<sup>79</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 106.

leftovers could be given to the poor. Corrody meals were also served for no less than thirty days and often up to a year after a monk's death - meaning that the meals that the monk would have received would then be given to a pauper. This act served to remind the community, both inside and outside the precinct, of the passing of a monk. Such corrodies would also often be served on the anniversary of the death of a monk or lay benefactor.<sup>80</sup> Additional poor were often fed on the anniversaries of the deaths of kings and abbots. This system, as developed within the monastic context, filtered out to the households of the lay magnates.

Henry III marked the anniversaries of the deaths of many of his progenitors with the feeding of the poor. Richard I (d. 1199), was remembered by the feeding of paupers in 1248 when £14 11s. 8d. was spent in this manner on two successive days. Likewise the anniversary of the death of King John (d. 1216) was marked with the feeding of 1000 poor in 1242.<sup>81</sup> Carpenter has noted how on 10 December 1259, Henry III, 'at the prayers of the illustrious king of France', made provision for the annual arrears owed to the Abbey of Fontevrault, for the celebration of the anniversaries of his progenitors. These were the anniversaries of Henry II, Richard I and Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>82</sup> Henry III granted Fontevrault £70 per year in fixed alms for this purpose. In addition he also provided 50s. each year for a chaplain to celebrate for the soul of Eleanor of Aquitaine, in the chapel of St Laurence, in that place.<sup>83</sup> It is interesting to observe that while Louis IX had to remind Henry of his duties in this respect, subsequently he appears to have been steadfast in his response.

Henry III also marked the deaths of his immediate family in this way. He marked the anniversary of the death of his sister, Joan of Scotland (d. 1238), with the customary feeding of 1000 poor.<sup>84</sup> In addition the nuns of Tarrant Abbey, where she was buried, were issued with wax and with the instruction that two tapers were to be kept burning constantly by her tomb.<sup>85</sup> In addition, he ordered the Sheriff of Wiltshire to provide for a chaplain in the queen's chapel at Marlborough to celebrate for her soul.<sup>86</sup> The soul of Eleanor of Brittany (d. 1241), Henry's first cousin, was also served by the

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>82</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', p. 14.

<sup>83</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 192.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

liturgical celebrations of an appointed chaplain.<sup>87</sup> We have already seen how the death of Henry's sister, Empress Isabella (d. 1241), was marked with the feeding of 102,000 poor in April 1242. Dixon-Smith has suggested that such a huge provision was made because Henry did not learn of her death for some time, and because she had died in child-birth, which was considered inauspicious.

Henry made similar provision for the soul of his mother, Isabella of Angouleme (d. 1246). A chaplain was paid £5 per annum to pray for her soul at Westminster Abbey, and similarly the Sheriff of Wiltshire was commanded to provide a chaplain at Marlborough with 50s. to do likewise.<sup>88</sup> It was not only the souls of Henry's blood relatives that received this protection. The soul of the king's father-in-law, the Count of Provence(d. 1245), was provided for with a chaplain in Westminster Abbey, at a cost of £5 every year to celebrate divine service daily forever.<sup>89</sup> Likewise the queen's sister, Sanchia of Provence (d. 1261), was provided with a chaplain, at a cost of 50s., to pray for her soul in the chapel of St John, within the Tower. We can see, therefore, that Henry obeyed a duty to commemorate. Almsgiving provided another facet of this practice. Moreover, clerks were hired to say prayers in both royal chapels and elsewhere. Henry was clearly concerned to pray for the dead, and supported this with almsgiving and liturgical observances. In doing so, of course, he benefited his own soul.

### The royal Maundy

To this day the monarch in England distributes Maundy gifts on Maundy Thursday. Henry III distributed the precursors of these gifts on Maundy Thursday, Christmas and Whitsun.<sup>90</sup> During the celebration of these important feasts, tunics and shoes were given to the poor, as in 1237 when 'three hundred poor received tunics and shoes at Easter and Whitsun, and two hundred at Christmas.'<sup>91</sup> The numbers given these gifts varied from year to year, but most frequently these distributions catered for 150 or 350 poor at a time. These distributions seem often to have been preceded by Henry III physically washing the feet of the poor. The roll of oblations for 1238/9 recorded that

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 231-234.

<sup>90</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 93.h

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

gifts were given to: '*CCC paup[eribus] quib[us] d[omi]n[us] Rex lavit pedes*'.<sup>92</sup> That Henry III washed the feet of the poor is confirmed by other sources. One frequently quoted example comes from the words of Louis IX who reprimanded his later biographer, Joinville, for not washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday, stating 'you would be very unwilling to follow the example of the King of England, who washes the feet of lepers and kisses them.'<sup>93</sup> Louis IX's assertion that Henry III washed the feet of the poor is validated by the reference to a silver bowl, weighing 117 troy ounces, recorded on an enrolled jewel account of August 1265. The entry records that Henry used this bowl to wash the feet of the poor.<sup>94</sup>

### Fixed Alms

Certain religious houses appear to have received an annual gift of alms to support their works, described as fixed alms. The nuns of Wrockeshall (probably Wroxal in Worcestershire) received 10 marks per year, the Hospital of St Giles (without London) received 60s. each year, and the Hospital of Burton St Lazars in Leicestershire received 40 marks per year.<sup>95</sup> The last of these seems to be a development of Henry II's annual grant to this leper hospital of 30 marks per year.<sup>96</sup> The increase of the grant to 40 marks each year perhaps resulted from Henry III's heeding the message of the story of Dives and Lazarus and marks his awareness of the benefit that would accrue from the lepers' prayers. The Carthusians also received annual alms from the king, with frequent references to the payment of 50 marks per year to the Charterhouse, although these do not specify whether the money was for Hinton (founded 1222) or Witham (founded 1179).<sup>97</sup> Fontevault received the largest annual sum from the king, not surprisingly considering that so many of his progenitors were buried there. The Abbey received £70 for fixed alms, £10 for the souls of his progenitors and 50s. for the maintenance of a

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<sup>92</sup> TNA, C47/3/44, as quoted in Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 93.

<sup>93</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', p. 89.

<sup>94</sup> TNA, E372/114, m. 19, '*j magna pelve argenti ad usum regis ad lavendum pedes suos et pedes pauperum*', cited in B. Wild, 'Secrecy, Splendour and Statecraft', p. 113, n. 33.

<sup>95</sup> For examples of these *fixed alms* being paid see *CLR*, vol. I, 1240-45, pp. 149, 284 and vol. III, 1245-51, p. 115.

<sup>96</sup> W. G. Hoskins, ed., *Victoria History of the County of Leicestershire*, vol. II (1954), p. 36.

<sup>97</sup> For example see, *CLR*, vol. IV, 1251-60, p. 93.

chaplain.<sup>98</sup> All of these fixed alms represented the patronage of the king and, in return, he no doubt expected support in the form of prayers for his soul.

Just as the king had his own fixed alms so too did other holders or guardians of substantial estates. A select number of special poor also received daily alms, not from the king's household but directly from the sheriffs - the guardians of the county farms. As noted by Dixon-Smith, the patent, *liberate* and close rolls all contain writs recording changes in the recipients of these payments.<sup>99</sup> She observed that: 'Evidently, each county or town had a certain sum set aside for fixed alms to be given daily, for life, to support elderly and sick royal retainers.'<sup>100</sup> When a retainer died the fixed alms were allocated to another. Certain writs recorded such changes, while others demanded that these alms were paid. For example, in April 1233, Peter de Rivallis was instructed to 'pay yearly the established alms of the honours of Gloucester and Arundel, for so long as the honours will be in his custody by the king's order, in the same way as the earls of Gloucester and Arundel were wont to receive them in their time.'<sup>101</sup> The threatening tone of this admonition is evident, and many such writs make it clear that these 'pensions' were not always paid on time or sometimes at all. It is clear that Henry used the system of County Farms as an early pension system for those who had been in royal service. That these were referred to as alms highlights the reality that these 'pensions' were considered as much as an act of piety as they were a reward for years of loyal service to the crown.

### Summary of almsgiving

To summarise Henry III's almsgiving, it consisted of the following elements. Firstly, 100 or 150 poor were fed daily by *elemosina statuta* as recorded on the household rolls. These alms may in the 1240s have been given to 500 poor per day, but evidence suggests 100 or 150 poor became the standard. In addition many 'retired' royal servants were supported through official alms 'for life', organised by sheriffs and paid for from the revenues of the county farms. Moreover, Maundy gifts were given to upwards of

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<sup>98</sup> *CLR: 1245-50*, p. 310.

<sup>99</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 29.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *CLR: 1226-40*, p. 209.

200 poor on, or around, the feasts of Christmas, Maundy Thursday and Whitsun. The distribution of shoes and tunics seems to have followed the king's washing the feet of the recipients. The highlights of the liturgical year were also marked by the feeding of the poor at great feasts. Most notably, and consistently, the feasts relating to St Edward the Confessor prompted the largest displays of charity. Other important feasts provoked the feeding of crowds of poor, often numbering 1000, 1500 or 5000 poor. Fluctuations in the numbers of poor fed might be explained by limited finances. Finally, the anniversaries of the deaths of the king's progenitors, relatives and contemporaries were also marked with feeding the poor, usually to the tune of 1000 recipients on each occasion. Henry passed many of these customs onto his son who, the sources suggest, was more systematic in organising these provisions.

#### **IV. Offerings**

As well as feeding the poor, Henry III made offerings. These were gifts of money or of precious tokens, the latter usually made at altars and shrines, but these might also be given to individual needy recipients. A king would rarely visit a church without making some offering. We have only two surviving oblations rolls for the reign of Henry III, and each is imperfect. They account for part of the 23rd and 49th years of his reign (i.e. 1238/9, 1264/5).<sup>102</sup> A large part of the earlier account is badly faded and in places damaged.<sup>103</sup> A careful analysis of the second (E101/349/30), which covers from 1 January 1265 until 6 August 1265, does, however, give us some idea of the king's devotions, albeit for a very short duration. Henry III was very much at the mercy of Simon de Montfort during this period. He was effectively king in name only and was kept under strict guard by de Montfort. However, as Simon de Montfort was by no means an impious man, it is wise to assume that Henry's pious activities were not greatly impeded, even if his freedom of movement was.<sup>104</sup> I will now describe the content of this later account and attempt to compare it to the earlier example.

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<sup>102</sup> TNA, C47/3/44 and E101/349/30.

<sup>103</sup> TNA, C47/3/44.

<sup>104</sup> For analysis of piety of Simon de Montfort see, J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 77-105.

The later surviving roll of oblations, covered the period from 1 January 1265 until 6 August 1265.<sup>105</sup> This roll was made up of membranes, stitched in chancery style (i.e. foot-to-head), upon which was recorded daily expenditure within weekly paragraphs running from Sunday to Saturday. At the end of each week a total, in shillings and pence, was entered in the left-hand margin. However, the account only recorded the offerings of the king up until the 1 July 1265. In the last month or so, the account recorded only the location of the king without any mention of disbursement. It is perhaps possible that with the panic leading up to the Battle of Evesham (4 August 1265), including the escape of Prince Edward in May of that year and the loss of many of the forces of the young Simon de Montfort to Prince Edward at Kenilworth in the following July, Henry was unable to practise his normal routine of devotions. Written in the margin of the account next to the entry for 4 August '*apud Evesham*' is the word *bellum* (i.e. war) - a clear reference to the Battle of Evesham on that day.<sup>106</sup> One would assume that after this resounding royalist victory, and the effective release of Henry III, that a number of acts of devotion would have been made in thanks. But alas, the account recorded no such information. What the earlier part of the document preserves, however, goes a long way to revealing the everyday pious practices of the king.

The daily entries in the account record, for the most part, two pieces of information: firstly how much was spent on general offerings, and secondly how much on specific offerings after mass in his chapel. The first of these varied in cost but was usually only a matter of a few pence per day. Each paragraph records the location of the king, and also notes whenever the king travelled. It notes when an offering coincided with a specific feast, in which case more seems to have been given. For example, the account reveals that Henry made an oblation every Sunday. Usually this was *7d.*, sometimes a few pence more or less. On certain feasts, however, he gave somewhat more: the Feast of the Circumcision - *15d.*, Palm Sunday - *13d.*, and Whitsun - *18d.* These offerings seem to have been made outside of the king's private chapel. When offerings were made after mass, the chapel was specifically recorded as the location; other offerings were seemingly made elsewhere.<sup>107</sup>

Offerings might also be made on the other days of the week. On days when no offerings were given at all, this was recorded. Throughout the account are references to

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<sup>105</sup> TNA, E101/349/30.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 38, n. 67, who cites, Vincent, *The Holy Blood*, p. 36, n. 18.

*ob. nich.* (*oblaciones nichil* [*nihil*] - no offerings), which suggests that it was more usual for an offerings to be given than not, indeed, *ob. nich.* was usually recorded only once or twice a week. However towards the end of this document such entries became frequent. For example, from the 31 May 1265 to 1 July 1265, no offerings were made by the king except on Sundays. Clearly, during the tense time, leading up to the battle of Evesham, when Henry's freedom was even more restricted, there was less opportunity for him to distribute pious offerings. It must be noted that Henry's daily attendance in his private chapel went on unhindered during this same period.

### Gold Coins

As well as the frequent daily offerings, Henry occasionally offered more expensive coins. Written in the left margin are several entries which record the giving of two types of gold coin. On the one hand we find occasional references to gold pieces/coins given at special locations on special occasions. The value of these gold tokens was not great, usually sixpence each.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand we find *oboli de musca* (hereafter *obols*), small gold coins, whose value is not specified. These *obols* have been identified as originating from the Almohade dynasty in Spain and North Africa (1130-1269), and Carpenter suggests that they were imported specifically to assist in pious offerings.<sup>109</sup> Henry offered the first of these coins on the feast of St Edward the Confessor, on 5 January 1265, at the high altar of Westminster Abbey. This was not a unique occasion. The king offered the Shrine of St Edward a gift of £7 4s. 3d. as well as seven gold *obols* later that same month and a further gold piece was also offered at the High Altar of Westminster Abbey.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> On the verso of the account, MS TNA E101/349/30, Henry of Ghent acquired three of these gold in pieces in Westminster at a cost of 18d.

<sup>109</sup> D. Carpenter, 'The Gold Treasure of Henry III', *Thirteenth Century England 1: Proceedings of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Conference*, ed. P. Coss and S. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 61-88, p. 109, n. 10, in this discussion he cites, P. Grierson, 'Oboli de musca', *English Historical Review*, lxvi (1951), pp. 75-81, and, 'Muslim coins in thirteenth century England', in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Studies in Honor of G. S. Miles*, ed. D. K. Kouymjian (Beirut, 1974), pp. 387-91. Please note - an entry for the purchasing twelve of these coins at Westminster in 1264 recorded a cost of 14s., which would give each coin a value of 1s.2d. TNA, C62/40, m. 2.

<sup>110</sup> TNA, E101/349/30, m 1.

Holy Week, which Henry celebrated at Westminster, prompted more of these offerings. On Palm Sunday (29 March 1265) he offered one gold piece to the 'Girdle of the Blessed Virgin' at Westminster. On Holy Wednesday he offered a further gold piece to the shrine of St Edward, on Good Friday one to the Sacred Cross, and on Holy Saturday he offered one to the high altar of the abbey church. On Easter Sunday itself Henry offered a gold piece both to the high altar and to the shrine of St Edward. Henry offered only one more gold coin, which was bestowed at the shrine of St Kenelm in Winchcombe in the following April.<sup>111</sup> In total, the king offered just eleven of these gold pieces, as reaffirmed at the foot of the account. Likewise he offered only seven gold *obols*, although at the foot of the account it records nineteen. The fact that he offered all but one of these in Westminster is yet another reaffirmation of Henry's devotion to that church and in particular the shrine of St Edward. What is striking, however, is that Henry made no separate offering to the relic of the holy blood which he had himself bestowed to Westminster Abbey in 1247.<sup>112</sup> This supports Vincent's claim that the relic never attracted the same acclaim as the passion relics of France.<sup>113</sup> It would appear that just twenty years after bestowing it to the Abbey even Henry chose not to display any particular devotion to it.

Understandably, Holy Week was an important time in the king's devotions. As well as the aforesaid increase in the giving of gold pieces, we find further indications of his pious offerings. Firstly on Maundy Thursday the account records that Friar Edward distributed one hundred tunics. We have already discussed the giving of tunics for the Royal Maundy and the strong possibility that these gifts followed the washing of feet by the king. On Good Friday Henry offered 5s. at the 'Adoration of the Cross'.<sup>114</sup> This was followed by a *p[er]leg[ri]natio* (pilgrimage) around the City of London in which Henry spent a total of 49s. 6d. on offerings at churches and in distributing alms. On Easter Sunday itself the king offered 5s. at the 'resurrection', and a total of 3s. 7d. at two masses.<sup>115</sup> It should be noted that on Good Friday, Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday there is no record of Henry attending mass in his own chapel (the only days in the account when he failed to do so). Perhaps the masses he attended in the abbey church

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., m. 2.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Vincent, *The Holy Blood*, p. 186.

<sup>114</sup> Described as *adorando sanctem crucem*.

<sup>115</sup> TNA, E101/349/30, m. 2.

made up for the interruption to his normal rounds of private devotion.<sup>116</sup> It is to the daily masses celebrated in Henry's private chapel that we must turn now.

#### Offerings after mass

Throughout the account Henry is revealed as witnessing the celebration of a daily mass in his chapel, after which he made an offering. The value of these offerings was usually 5*s.* although on occasions this was reduced to just 15*d.* - quite why this reduction occurred is impossible to say. In the earlier account of 1238/9 each Sunday mass was coupled with the offering of 5*s.* and offerings made on other days of the week stood at either 5*s.*, 5*d.* or 3*d.*<sup>117</sup> This account records no further details concerning these masses. More can be said, however, about the types of masses Henry witnessed, as recorded on the later account. Ordinarily these offerings in the chapel were simply made *post missam* (after mass): other ceremonies however, were described as 'solemn masses'. These solemn masses were often also described as being the solemn mass of a particular saint. Most frequently the saints in question were Edward the Confessor and the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>118</sup> The king is said to have witnessed the celebration of a solemn mass of St Edward almost every week. Likewise, most Saturday masses were of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>119</sup> This is a strong indication of the particular devotion that Henry felt for these two saints, exceeding his devotion to any other.<sup>120</sup> If Ben Wild is correct in assuming that many of these solemn masses were votive, that is offered for the king's protection, then it follows that these saints were considered the most capable of ensuring the king's well-being.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., m. 1.

<sup>117</sup> TNA, C47/3/44.

<sup>118</sup> As noted in, Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin', pp. 137-145.

<sup>119</sup> Wild has summated that of all the solemn masses requested by the king in 1265 the 'majority (21) honoured the king's patron saint, Edward the Confessor. In second place was Mary (11) and in third place, Thomas Becket (3).' See, Wild, 'A Captive King', p. 53.

<sup>120</sup> Henry's dedication to St Edward and the Blessed Virgin Mary has been highlighted in a number of works, most notably: Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward', pp. 865 - 891; Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin'; P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (London and New Haven, 1995), and 'Reflections on *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*: Hagiography and Kingship in Thirteenth-Century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, xvi (1990), pp. 333-50; Wild, 'A Captive King', pp. 53-55.

<sup>121</sup> Wild, 'A Captive King', p. 53.

Henry ordered the celebration of many other masses in honour of specific saints - often on, or near to, their feasts. The table below outlines these masses in relation to the feasts which probably prompted them:

Table 2 - Solemn masses of saints, requested in 1265, in relation to their feast days.<sup>122</sup>

Saint	Date of mass (in 1265)	Date of Feast
St Stephen	2 January	26/27 December
St John Evangelist	4 January	27 December
St Marcellus	16 January	16 January
St Julian	27 January	27 January
St Agnes	28 January	28 January
St Batilda	30 January	30 January
St Blaise	3 February	3 February
St Agatha	5 February	5 February
St Valentine	14 February	14 February
St Peter (in Antioch)	23 February	22 February
St Matthew	24 February	24 February
St Milburga	25 February	23 February
St Chad	2 March	2 March
St David	3 March	1 March
St Bartholomew	21 April	24 April
St Erkenwold	30 April	30 April
St Thomas (Martyr)	5 May	?
St John of Beverely	7 May	7 May
St Andrew	9 May	8 May
Great Church?		
St Pancratius	12 May	12 May
Ascension Day	14 May (1265)	14 May
St Augustine	1 June	26 May
St Thomas (Apostle)	2 June	3 June
Of the Cross	3 June	NB Corpus 4th June
Blessed Pascha?	5 June	NB Corpus 4th June

#### Offerings at shrines and altars

Henry also made offerings at specific shrines or altars, in addition to those made in his private chapel. During the week beginning 10 May 1265 Henry was in Hereford. On the Monday, of this week, Henry visited Hereford Cathedral and there he gave an offering of 5*s*. The next day he offered 20*d*. to the relics of the same church. While Henry was staying in Hereford he offered a further 5*s*. at the relics of St Ethelbert on 20 May 1265 and the next day he offered 5*d*. at the relics in the church of St Ethelbert. The following week Henry offered 5*s*. at the relics of the small church of St Ethelbert and

<sup>122</sup> TNA, E101/349/30.

5*d.* at the relics in Hereford Cathedral.<sup>123</sup> It is unclear why Henry visited more churches during these weeks. He may not have had the opportunity in the previous weeks. Or, it could have been that the proximity to the relics of St Ethelbert, an Anglo-Saxon king who was killed by Offa of Mercia, offered a degree of comfort to Henry III who was facing an equally precarious position at the hands of his enemy. If Henry was looking for heavenly support for the weeks ahead, then engaging with a suitable intercessor, might have seemed like an obvious answer. The account mentions no other churches or relics until its last entry when 25*d.* was offered to the relics in the 'Great Church' in Monmouth. These entries show that, when the opportunity presented itself, Henry did make offerings in churches and especially to their relics. He may not have been as systematic as his son in this enterprise but, as stated, this impression may simply arise from the account in question.

The earlier account of 1238/9 records more such offerings in churches. For instance, when visiting Canterbury Cathedral in February of 1239, Henry made offerings at the various shrines, altars and images in that place over two days. The money offered to each was consistent at 13*d.*<sup>124</sup> This figure does not correlate with any of the rather desultory number of offerings recorded in the later account. We can perhaps deduce from this piecemeal evidence that, in the earlier part of Henry's reign, 13*d.* was the standard sum offered by the king at shrines and altars, but in the later years of his reign this was no longer the case. While at Canterbury, Henry focussed his attention upon Christchurch. By contrast, whenever Edward I visited Canterbury Cathedral he also visited St Augustine's Abbey. Henry III made no offerings to that church, although he did give 40*s.* to the nuns of the Holy Sepulchre in the town.<sup>125</sup> This is another example of the difference between the piety of Henry III and his son. Edward I demonstrated a modest but inclusive piety that involved gifts in many churches and feeding the poor in honour of many saints. Henry III, by comparison, would make expensive pious gestures, but tended to focus this generosity upon a select number of institutions and a smaller community of favoured saints.

The oblation accounts do not, however, contain all the references to the acts of piety known to have occupied the king. The writs recorded in the *liberate* rolls mentioned payments made for gold coins used for the king's offerings. Quite in keeping,

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., m. 2.

<sup>124</sup> TNA, C47/3/44, m.1.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

however, with what we have already detected about Henry's pious tastes, many of these were offered at the shrine of St Edward the Confessor. In 1265 a writ recorded '£4 7s. for 72 gold *obols* bought and delivered to the king for his offering at that feast', i.e. the feast of St Edward (5 January).<sup>126</sup> These gold coins may, in fact, have included the seven offered by the king as recorded in the surviving oblation account of this year. This suggests that the *liberate* rolls may tell us a little of what might have been recorded on the lost oblations rolls. The oblation accounts may itemise the giving of coins, but the *liberate* rolls recorded their initial purchase. Likewise, a writ from 1239 recorded £4 10s. being spent on seventy-two *obols* offered by the king at Westminster.<sup>127</sup> However, not all of these gifts were intended for Westminster, and the king clearly distinguished special occasion by such offerings. In 1238, sixteen gold *obols* were sent to the king at Winchester where he was spending Christmas. These were no doubt for his offerings during this important feast.<sup>128</sup> Special occasions and special locations were honoured by offering gold - but given Henry's love of Westminster and the shrine of Edward the Confessor, it is no surprise that many of these gifts ended up there.

### Travelling alms

The final practice which emerges from this account was the giving of alms while travelling. The oblations accounts recorded that on days when the king was in transit he fed additional poor. The cost of these alms remained constant at 4s. 2d., sufficient to feed fifty at a penny each. This figure was the same as that recorded in the earlier account of 1238/9, showing a rare instance of continuity. As explained before, the monetary value of Henry's alms do not always equate with the feeding of a round figure of paupers. This is because much of his almsgiving was given in the form of food, and prices obviously varied. However, in this instance, perhaps fifty paupers at a penny each is most likely. As these alms were made in transit, the acquisition of victuals would have been a further complication. Notably, Henry's *elemosina statuta* were recorded on the household rolls, while travelling alms were recorded on his oblation rolls. It may, perhaps, have been the case that the oblation accounts recorded expenditure in the form of cash. A pauper willing to travel might subsist quite happily upon Henry's charity.

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<sup>126</sup> TNA, C62/41, m. 7.

<sup>127</sup> CLR: 1226-40, p. 394.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 356.

With one hundred being fed daily; more extravagant meals provided on special feasts days; and 50*d.* being distributed whenever the king changed location - it is possible to speculate that a regular retinue of hangers-on followed the king's progress.

## Candles

Candles do not appear in Henry's oblations accounts but they were clearly an important means of displaying his religious devotion. Carpenter has brought to our attention the increase in the use of wax in the royal halls, almonry and the chapel during important feasts.<sup>129</sup> Henry also frequently donated wax to churches. For example, in 1236, £23 3*s.* 5½*d.* was spent on 1000 tapers to be placed around the shrine of St Edward on the feast of his translation (23rd October).<sup>130</sup> A writ from the following year confirms that Henry gave the Abbot of Westminster £100 each year so that four tapers should be kept burning around the shrine at all times, day and night.<sup>131</sup> Henry occasionally showed similar favour to other saints. In 1238 the king gave Canterbury Cathedral 300 tapers, costing £17 16*s.* 6*d.*, to light Becket's shrine during his feast.<sup>132</sup> He also gave Winchester Cathedral 'half a hundred' of wax to maintain tapers before the relics of St Swithun in 1240.<sup>133</sup> He made many similar gifts to the churches of London, too. In July 1239 the king ordered that 300 tapers each be given to Westminster Abbey, the Monks of Clerkenwell, the Nuns of Haliwell, St Pauls Cathedral and fifty to the chapel of St Margaret in Westminster Abbey in honour of her feast.<sup>134</sup>

Carpenter has commented that 'From the earliest days of the established church, the provision of light has been central to Christian ritual, not surprisingly since light was a holy thing, associated continually in the scriptures with the understanding and salvation which flowed from God himself.'<sup>135</sup> As God bestowed light to man, Henry made its gift symbolic of his devotion and patronage. He also seems to have used candles in a specific way to provide for his own physical safety. A practice had grown up of giving a shrine a candle that had been fashioned to match the dimensions of an

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<sup>129</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', pp. 4-7.

<sup>130</sup> *CLR: 1226-40*, p. 243.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 263 and 306.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 357.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 487.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.

<sup>135</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', p. 4.

invalid hoping for cure.<sup>136</sup> In June 1245, £51 13s. 6d., was provided for the making of fifteen tapers 'of the king's size', to be placed around the shrine of St Edward at Westminster, while the king was travelling in Gascony.<sup>137</sup> Henry, in this instance, was not using these candles in hope of a specific cure, but instead to procure the protection of the saint while travelling abroad. Travel, especially by sea, was a dangerous business in the thirteenth century, and here we see Henry enlisting spiritual protection against its dangers. Candles were evidently used in a variety of ways by the king, not only to embellish religious ritual but also to secure the protection of the saints.

### Offerings on the enrolled accounts

During Henry III's reign the totals of various aspects of household expenditure were, on several occasions, enrolled on the pipe rolls. Among these figures were often the totals taken from the rolls of oblations. This claim can be verified because the total of the 1265 account (E101/349/30) stood at £49 9s. 7d., the very same sum as recorded on the 1269/70 pipe roll (E372/114).<sup>138</sup> The clerks who enrolled this information recorded that the totals comprised the alms given when the king travelled 'by the almoner', the offerings he made in chapel, and the Maundy distributions of clothes and shoes.<sup>139</sup> This further confirms that these totals were compiled from the rolls of oblations. The enrolled totals are listed below:

**Table 3 - Totals of the king's oblations enrolled on the pipe rolls<sup>140</sup>**

MS	Membrane	Date Starting	Date Ending	Total
E372/83	7	7 February 1238	27 October 1238	£126 6s. 1d.
E372/83	7	28 October 1238	27 October 1239	£177 14s. 6d.
E372/83	7	28 October 1239	3 February 1240	£57 8s. 6d. ob.
E372/88	14	c. 26 HIII		£105 6d.

<sup>136</sup> R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), pp. 95-6; B. Nilson, 'The Medieval Experience at the Shrine', *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. by J. Stopford (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 95-122, p. 106

<sup>137</sup> *CLR: 1240-45*, p. 306.

<sup>138</sup> TNA, E372/114, m. 40 *dorso*.

<sup>139</sup> For example, see TNA, E372/115, m. 1.

<sup>140</sup> My special thanks to Ben Wild for kindly letting me know which of the pipe rolls contain enrolled Wardrobe material.

E372/88	14	c. 27 HIII		£107 9s. 11d.
E372/88	14	c. 28 HIII		£147 18d.
E372/88	14	c. 29 HIII		£79 19d.
E372/113	2	25 July 1261	24 December 1264	£388 8s. 1d.
E372/114	40 <i>dorso</i>	1 January 1265	30 July 1265	£49 9s. 7d.
E372/115	2	1 August 1265	3 March 1268	£300 9s. 7d.
E372/116	2	4 March 1272	20 November 1272	£705 8s. 1d.

We can assume that the sudden increase in the king's expenditure upon pious activity at the end his reign was prompted by his ill health. One can easily imagine the disquieted king spending a lot of time in his chapel and requesting a great number of votive masses.

### Jewels

As we will see, Edward I frequently gave small pieces of jewellery to his favourite shrines, a practice he inherited from his father. In 1254 Henry, whilst in Gascony, sent an order to his officials in Westminster requesting they send a clasp to the shrine of St Edmund at Bury - *unum firmaculum pulcrum et ornatum lapidibus precii decem marcarum*, (one clasp, beautiful and adorned with stones costing 10 marks).<sup>141</sup> At the same time Henry ordered that *chevagium* were offered before the shrine of St Edward the Confessor, for himself, his queen and Prince Edward.<sup>142</sup> The term *chevagium* was used in the reign of Edward I to describe certain special offerings he made to shrines. For example, in 1297 Edward's *chevagium* consisted of three gold *florins* valued at 2s. 6d. each, which he offered to the shrine of St Thomas.<sup>143</sup> The term *chevage* normally referred to an annual fee paid by an un-free tenant to their landlord as a tribute. Perhaps the term *chevagium* was used by the king to stress the terms of the relationship between king and saint, emphasising that the former was dependent upon the grace and protection of the latter. In a writ dating from 1243, Henry III is said to have offered 12 gold coins at the shrine of St Edmund on the feast of that same saint (20 November).<sup>144</sup> In this writ the alternative word *capitagium* was used. This translates

<sup>141</sup> *Close Rolls: 1253-1254*, p. 247, noted in D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000), p. 120.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> BL, Add. MS. 7965, f. 8r, in 1297 he gave this offering to the Shrine of St Thomas Becket on the feast of that saint's translation (7 July), through John of Langley, while the king himself was at Westminster.

<sup>144</sup> *CLR: 1240-45*, p. 198.

literally as 'head money', but might be used interchangeably with *chevagium*.<sup>145</sup> This implies a certain similarity with the customs of the kings of France. Carpenter has shown us how Louis IX, for example, reportedly placed four gold coins upon his head, before offering them upon the altar of St Denis 'thus showing that he was the saint's man.'<sup>146</sup> This act could quite easily be attributed the term *chevagium* or *capitagium*. Whether Henry's *chevagium* took this form is not known. Likewise, if this were the case, it cannot be proved who influenced whom, or whether it was merely a common practice amongst kings. What can be concluded is that the terms *chevagium* or *capitagium* indicate an offering of some special significance.

Ben Nilson has described how, among the various offerings made at shrines, 'The most valuable were gifts of jewellery'.<sup>147</sup> The jewel accounts of Henry III, which have been analysed by Ben Wild, reveal the giving, receiving and purchasing of large numbers of gold *firmacula* (clasps). For example, the jewel account, which made up part of the wardrobe account of Walter of Kirkham, and which covered the period from 4 May 1234 to 3 May 1236, listed 103 gold clasps.<sup>148</sup> The last surviving jewel account, covering from 04 March 1268 to 20 November 1272, recorded 157 of the same.<sup>149</sup> Frustratingly these accounts do not record the destination of these clasps, in contrast to the later accounts from the reign of Edward I. David Carpenter has recalled the words of Matthew Paris, that in 1254, after his great feast at the Temple, Henry had given the French magnates silver cups, gold brooches and silk belts, 'as it behoved so great king to give and such primates gladly to receive.'<sup>150</sup> Carpenter notes that gifts were 'just as important in establishing and consolidating relationships as the exchange of hospitality.'<sup>151</sup>

The use of gifts for forming and cementing relationships was considered as efficacious in the spiritual realm as it was in the temporal - as demonstrated in the account of the 1254 visit to Bury St Edmunds. Whereas in the temporal world gifts were exchanged between individuals to mark the forging of relationships, when offered to

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<sup>145</sup> R. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (Oxford, 2008), p. 69. '**capitagi/um** 1219, 1353, **chevagium** 1251, 1286, head penny, chevage, paid by the suitors at view of frankpledge or law-hundred...**chivagium** c. 1335, 1349, royal offering at a shrine...'

<sup>146</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', p. 16.

<sup>147</sup> Nilson, 'The Medieval Experience', p. 112.

<sup>148</sup> Wild, 'Secrecy, Splendour and Statecraft', p. 412.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

<sup>150</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', p. 20.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

shrines the exchange worked in a slightly different way. Obviously the king would expect no material reciprocation for his gift to a saint. However, he may well have believed that he could hope for reciprocity in the protection of that saint. This was ultimately far more valuable than any trinket a contemporary could offer him. These gifts also stood as a symbol of the relationship between the two parties. The more valuable the gifts exchanged, the more valued the relationship was considered by the giver. In addition, when offerings were made at shrines, the more remarkable or expensive the gift, the more likely it was to be retained. The gifts of money that the average pilgrim would offer were quickly absorbed into the funds of the church. A beautiful and valuable piece of jewellery was more likely to be kept, and perhaps even attached to the shrine itself.

The *liberate* rolls provide frequent examples of Henry making offerings of this kind and, not surprisingly, the most frequent recipient was the shrine of St Edward at Westminster. In March 1242 Henry offered two clasps weighing 14s. 4d. at a cost of 114s. 8d. at the shrine of the Confessor.<sup>152</sup> Colvin states that 1 mark of gold was equal to 8 oz., therefore this would have weighed approximately 8.6 oz.<sup>153</sup> Likewise in September of 1244, another gold clasp was offered to the same shrine which had cost the greater sum of £10, and which was decorated with precious stones.<sup>154</sup> He also lavished precious gifts on other churches and their shrines. In 1244 a writ recorded *'contrabreve* to make a golden garland (*garlendechia*) out of the issues of the mint worth £24 91d., to place at the head of the shrine over the altar-table of St. Thomas the Martyr at Canterbury where there is a defect.<sup>155</sup> The year before this, in 1243, Henry had also given the same shrine 250 marks (or up to 300 marks if necessary) to make three golden images.<sup>156</sup> Clearly the king venerated the shrine of St Thomas. Recorded within the inventories of the Christchurch Canterbury (c.1307) were two further gifts from Henry III. These entries recorded *Calix magnus aureus Regis Henrici tercij cum gemmis in nodo pedis*, and, *Item Capa Regis H. tercij de samico rubeo brudato*.<sup>157</sup> These entries are significant because they demonstrate that monasteries not only

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<sup>152</sup> CLR: 1240-45, p. 113.

<sup>153</sup> H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*, 2 vols (London, 1963) i, p. 150.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>157</sup> W. H. Hope, and J. W. Legg, eds., *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury* (Westminster, 1902), pp. 69, 53. (A great gold cup of King Henry III with gems in the 'knot' of the foot, and , A cope of king Henry III of embroidered red samite).

retained valuable gifts but might also record their donors. This would have pleased Henry III, as it proves that even after his death the guardians of churches and their shrines continued to associate his name with pious generosity, regardless of his political failures.

## V. The friars

Edward I would often support the communities of mendicants he encountered, by paying for their food for a set number of days. The oblations accounts of Henry III, however, do not reveal such practice as a feature of Henry's day-to-day pious expenditure. Evidence in other sources nevertheless suggests that he supported them by other means. Dixon-Smith has revealed how the friars played an important part in Henry's provision for the souls of the dead. For example, in December 1260, he gave instructions that the communities of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites and Friars of the Sack of Oxford should celebrate divine services for the soul of Aymer de Valence.<sup>158</sup> This writ, recorded on the *liberate* rolls, authorised that money should be provided for their food on this day.<sup>159</sup> Similarly the Dominicans and Franciscans of both Oxford and Cambridge were to be fed on the same day that each performed obsequies in their respective convents for the soul of Isabella of Angouleme, the king's mother (d. 31 May 1246).<sup>160</sup> The prayers of the friars, who were after all God's special poor, were regarded as particularly efficacious in benefiting the souls of the deceased.

This was not the only way in which Henry showed support for the mendicant orders. Entries in the *liberate* rolls show that Henry might mark a particular feast with feeding communities of friars. For example, on 23 December 1244, he provided £14 17s. 8½d. to feed the 'friars preachers, friars minor, nuns, lepers and all the poor of all the hospitals of London.'<sup>161</sup> Similarly, in 1233, he fed the Dominicans of Oxford, and also gave them clothes and shoes, at Michaelmas.<sup>162</sup> A problem that arises when trying to identify Henry III's support of the mendicants is that he, or his clerks, were in the habit of referring to the poor as *fratres*. It may be noted, however, that when the clerks

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<sup>158</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 159.

<sup>159</sup> *CLR: 1260-67*, pp. 12, 14.

<sup>160</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', pp. 216-17, citing, *CLR: 1227-57*, p. 78.

<sup>161</sup> *CLR: 1240-45*, pp. 306-7, cited in Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 123.

<sup>162</sup> *CLR: 1226-40*, p. 234, cited in, Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 159.

recorded gifts to the friars on the *liberate* rolls they would often note both the order and the location - for instance, 'the Dominicans of Cambridge' - leaving no doubt that it was indeed mendicants who received particular gifts or provisions.

Henry, moreover, as well as bestowing occasional gifts to the mendicants, played an important role in their establishment in England. The *liberate* rolls contain numerous references to Henry providing various mendicant communities with materials with which to make repairs and improvements to their buildings. For example, in September 1233 five good oaks from the forest of Gillingham were granted to the Franciscan Friars of Salisbury for making 'shingles' for roofing their chapel, which the Sheriff of Wiltshire was to oversee.<sup>163</sup> This order followed on from a previous writ which instructed the Sheriff of Wiltshire to oversee the felling and delivery of these trees - although he seems to have been slow in fulfilling this task.<sup>164</sup> Similarly, he provided 80 marks to buy a plot of land for the Franciscan friars of Winchester, 'to build their house upon'.<sup>165</sup> He gave the Franciscans of Oxford ten oak 'stumps' with which to 'build their house'.<sup>166</sup> Henry advanced similar aid to the Dominicans. For example, he gave the Dominican community at Canterbury 30 marks in 1237, and a further 20 marks in 1239 for the building of their church.<sup>167</sup> What we detect in these writs is of utmost importance in understanding the establishment of the mendicant orders in England in the thirteenth-century. The advantage the friars had over the older monastic orders was that they did not require huge endowments in order to gain a foothold in a country. Henry's, relatively humble, tokens of patronage enabled them to build churches and establish themselves in communities across the country. Henry III provided them with the small footholds that they needed to prosper.

As well as granting small parcels of land, building materials and money to individual mendicant communities, Henry supported the orders at large. He granted the sum of 100s. to the Franciscans assembling at London for their General Chapter in May of 1238.<sup>168</sup> Similarly he gave 10 marks in June of 1238 for their General Chapter at Oxford.<sup>169</sup> The Dominicans, too, received financial aid for the assembly of their General

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<sup>163</sup> *CLR: 1226-40*, p230.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 298, 385.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

Chapters: 30 marks at Canterbury in December 1237, 100s. at Oxford in June 1238, and the Sheriff of Northampton was ordered to provide victuals for those meeting at Northampton in July 1239 (plus a meal of three courses and good wine on the day of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross), and 10 marks at Beverley in August 1240.<sup>170</sup> Henry not only helped the Mendicants to establish themselves, but he was also keen to nurture them in their progress.

## VI. The royal family

While solicitous for his own soul, Henry also sought to benefit others in his immediate family. Indeed, he seems to have been guided in this matter by monastic precepts. Within this tradition the Abbot or Abbess bore ultimate responsibility for the behaviour, and therefore the souls, of their brethren. Likewise Henry, as head of his own family, had a duty to succour the spiritual wellbeing of his close relatives. It has already been mentioned that the queen's daily alms included feeding fifty poor every day and, when the queen was with the king, he met these expenses.<sup>171</sup> Dixon-Smith noted that in 1248 Robert de Muscegros, the queen's household steward, was instructed to feed twenty-five poor each day for the king's children, in addition to the 100 poor he fed daily for the queen.<sup>172</sup> As well as spurring the eleemosynary responsibilities of his family, Henry also made provision for furnishing their chapels.

The *liberate* rolls contain numerous writs ordering that the chapels of the queen and their children should be equipped and improved. For example, he ordered that an upper-story be added to the queen's chapel in Kenyton in 1237 - so that she might enter it from her chamber.<sup>173</sup> Easy access to her chapels seems to have been a priority for the queen. Her chapel at Woodstock featured a covered walkway to her chamber, so that she might access it with dry feet.<sup>174</sup> Other writs testify that Henry provided items such as chasubles for her chapel and, in November 1238, he commissioned an image of St Mary 'with a great tabernacle' to be painted in her chapel at Winchester.<sup>175</sup> In like manner, Henry organised the equipping of Prince Edward's chapels. In March of 1240

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., pp. 337, 385, 403, 413 and 484.

<sup>171</sup> See p. 16.

<sup>172</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', pp.85-87.

<sup>173</sup> *CLR: 1226-40*, p. 262.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 372.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., pp. 261, 350.

he requested an 'entire vestment' for the princes chapel at Windsor - including, chasuble, alb, amice, stole and maniple.<sup>176</sup> Henry ensured his family's chapels were fully equipped and suitably decorated in order to provide an appropriate atmosphere for their spiritual activities. Henry staffed these chapels, like his own, with chaplains, who performed divine services, whether or not the family was present.<sup>177</sup>

Of the piety of Queen Eleanor of Provence more can be said. Thanks to the survival of two account rolls of her daily expenses and two of her oblations, a picture emerges of her private piety which is very much akin to that of her husband.<sup>178</sup> The first account roll of her household, which covers two months from 29 August 1252 until 28 October 1252, confirms that she provided for feeding fifty poor each day.<sup>179</sup> The cost of feeding these poor varied. Three different totals of 8*s.* 10½*d.*, 6*s.* 10½*d.*, and 4*s.* 9½*d.*, equate to 2.13*d.*, 1.65*d.* and 1.15*d.* for each pauper, respectively. The next account, which covers the six months from 26 February 1253 until 16 August 1253, reveals similar expenditure.<sup>180</sup> Throughout this period feeding fifty poor per day cost either 5*s.* 3½*d.*, or 7*s.* 2½*d.*, equating to 1.27*d.* and 1.73*d.* per person respectively. There are, however, some notable variations. On the vigil of the feast of Pentecost in June 1253, the cost of feeding the poor rose to 16*s.* 5*d.*, which equates to 3.94*d.* per almsmen.<sup>181</sup> We can conclude from this that a more lavish meal was provided to mark the auspicious occasion. Conversely, in the week of Easter, expenditure dropped to just 3*s.* ½*d.* on Holy Wednesday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, equating to just 0.73*d.* per person.<sup>182</sup> We can perhaps assume that, as Lent drew to an end, even the poor were subjected to stricter fasting. Perhaps the cost was reduced by supplying the poor with a simple meal, mainly of bread rather than something more substantial. This idea is supported by the fact that, on Easter Sunday, the cost of feeding the poor rose again to 7*s.* 2½*d.*, and remained the same the next day, after which, on the Tuesday, it rose again to a far greater sum of 57*s.* 7½*d.*<sup>183</sup> This large sum equates to over 13*d.* per recipient were it still the intention to cater for just fifty poor. Were this the case, then it is evident that even these humble almsmen were rewarded at the end of Lent with a feast at the queen's

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<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 456.

<sup>177</sup> For example, see, *Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>178</sup> TNA, E101/349/16, E101/349/22, E101/349/17 and E101/349/24.

<sup>179</sup> TNA, E101/349/16.

<sup>180</sup> TNA, E101/349/22.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 4.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 3.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

expense. Like the king, Eleanor also fed additional poor on the days when she was travelling. These travelling alms cost 2*s.* 1*d.*, exactly half the sum spent by the king in the same way. It appears that the queen's charity was modelled on the king's, but, halved in terms of provision: she fed fifty each day, where he fed one hundred; and she distributed 2*s.* 1*d.* when she travelled, compared to his 4*s.* 2*d.*

Like her husband, Eleanor made daily offerings. Eleanor's accounts make no mention of offerings after specific masses, but they do record daily offerings of an unspecified kind - which were perhaps given at masses. Most days were accompanied by the spending of 6*d.* upon an offering. Greater offerings were made on Sundays and specific feasts of saints. A typical week's entry early in the account of 23 June 1252 to 26 October 1252 provides an example:

On Sunday the feast of the translation of St Thomas the Martyr in offerings 15*d.* On Monday 9*d.*  
On Tuesday in offerings at Salisbury and Wilton 3*s.* 10*d.* Alms [given] on route to Wilton 2*s.* 1*d.*  
/ On Wednesday in offerings 8*d.* On Thursday 6*d.* On Friday 8*d.* On Saturday 6*d.* / Sum total -  
10*s.* 6*d.*<sup>184</sup>

The other surviving account of the queen's oblations paints a similar picture. This account, which begins on the date the other concluded, covered from 27 October 1252 until the 24 June 1253.<sup>185</sup> An example of an entry from this account reads:

Sunday the feast of St Edward at Westminster in offerings in the great church and in the queen's chapel 3*s.* 9*d.* On Monday the feast of Epiphany in offerings 14*d.* On Tuesday / in offerings 6*d.*  
For alms [given] en route to Kenyton 2*s.* 1*d.* On Wednesday in offerings 6*d.* For alms [given] on route to Wyndlesham 2*s.* 1*d.* On Friday 6*d.* On Saturday in offerings 6*d.* / Sum total - 11*s.* 6*d.*<sup>186</sup>

These two manuscripts summate the queen's offerings for a period of almost exactly a year, from 23 June 1252 until the 21 June 1253. The sum of these two accounts, which was recorded at the foot of the later document, was £19 9*s.* 10*d.*<sup>187</sup> This gives an estimated monthly average of £1 13*s.* 2*d.* If we cast our mind back to the oblations account of the king for part of the year 1265 and look at the total for the first month in

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<sup>184</sup> TNA, E101/349/17, m. 1.

<sup>185</sup> TNA, E101/349/24.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 1.

<sup>187</sup> TNA, E101/349/24, m. 2.

that account, the total comes to £7 3s. 6d.<sup>188</sup> This indicates, predictably, the king's offerings far exceeded those of the queen.

Henry also catered for the spiritual wellbeing of the royal family by offering votive images and items in various churches and their shrines. For example, in November 1236 an 'Image of the queen' was placed upon the shrine of St Edward in Westminster at a cost of £4 2s. 8d.<sup>189</sup> This image was offered the same year as they were married (14 January 1236). Perhaps Henry was invoking the blessing of his favourite saint for the health of the marriage and, no doubt, particularly his new wife who was still just thirteen. Likewise in June 1271, a writ recorded the giving of 'two silver-gilt images of the king and queen for St. Edward's shrine.'<sup>190</sup> An unusual reference, in the *liberate* rolls, records the king paid 20s. for a 'tunic of samite made according to the stature of the body of Edward the king's son' to be offered in St Mary's church in Suffolk in January 1240.<sup>191</sup> Edward, who was born on 17 June 1239, was less than a year old at this time and perhaps Henry was concerned for his health. After all, infant mortality was very high at this time. Tapers cut to the height of a person were often offered to shrines and altars in the hope of spiritual aid or cure from an illness. This was a practice that Henry III himself indulged in.<sup>192</sup> The offering of a tunic, made to the infant prince's dimensions, seems to be a variation on this practice. Henry clearly sought heavenly protection for his family in a very intimate and precise fashion.

Through these brief examples Henry III displays a staunch concern for the spiritual, and temporal, condition of his family. This concern extended not only to those living but also to those who had died. The souls of his deceased ancestors and relatives were nourished through the feeding of the poor on their anniversary days and by commissioning suitable liturgy. The queen engaged in similar daily pious activities as the king. When Henry was with his queen his household covered her pious expenditure. The young Edward also seems to have been given a full and appropriate education concerning the spiritual practices that became a king. This education, as we will see, was a success. Edward adopted many of his father's pious practices and continued to

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<sup>188</sup> Taking the first complete months running from 4 January 1265 until 31 January 1265. TNA, E101/349/30.

<sup>189</sup> *Close Rolls: 1234-37*, p. 278.

<sup>190</sup> *CLR: 1267-72*, p. 171.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442.

<sup>192</sup> *CLR: 1240-45*, p. 306. '*Liberate to Edward de Westm' 511. 13s. 6d. for wax for 15 Westminster. tapers of the king's size (cera ad xv. mensuras nostras) placed round the shrine of St. Edward all the time the king was in Gascony till his return to England*', dated June 1246.

nurture the spiritual needs of his own family. Much of Henry's political legacy to Edward proved problematic, and the lessons he passed on in kingship were not all positive. However, in so far as religion was concerned, Henry's instruction was second to none.

## **VII. Conclusions**

Henry III led an active spiritual life. He passed each day witnessing at least one mass in his chapel. He fed many poor and made many offerings. He held the saints in high regard, particularly the Blessed Virgin Mary, Edward the Confessor, Edmund of Bury and Thomas of Canterbury. This high regard materialised in the lavish gifts he gave to their shrines and the thousands of poor who were packed into royal halls to be fed on their feast days. He marked the feasts of Christmas, Maundy Thursday and Whitsun by washing feet and distributing clothes and shoes. He succoured the poor at a consistent rate of one hundred per day, with an additional fifty receiving the gift of a penny on days when he travelled. Travel often led to the feeding of increased numbers of poor to mark his arrival. A key feature of his piety was the establishment and nurturing of the mendicant orders. Henry ensured that his many chapels were not only well staffed with chaplains, but were well furnished with all the equipment required to perform masses and implement the liturgy. In short, the limited evidence available suggests Henry III practised a thorough and consistent round of private and public devotions.

Henry III taught his son that devout personal piety benefited a king. He demonstrated, by example, which practices best expressed this devotion. Although Henry III and Edward I displayed very different styles of kingship, they were remarkably similar in respect of their religion. Henry may well have been more capricious in this regard, and Edward more business-like, but their fundamental concern for their souls and the benefit that religion would afford their realm, was one and the same. Edward learned from his father's political mistakes, but his spiritual education proved to be invaluable. This legacy defined the terms of his own spiritual life, and he tried, although with more limited success, to impart this to his own son, Edward II.

## Chapter 2: The Piety of Edward I - the Sources

Edward I, like his father, satisfied the needs of his soul through the implementation of established rituals and practices. These inevitably incurred costs, and these were carefully recorded. This important fact has made this study possible. There survives a plethora of manuscript material with which to study the pious practices of the royal family in England during the reign of Edward I - a far greater survival than that for the reign of Henry III. The majority of these documents are lodged at the National Archives at Kew, but other important manuscripts are also held in the collections of the British Library and the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. For the reign of Henry III the *liberate* rolls provide us with the best account of the king's spiritual activity. This is not the case for Edward I's reign - indeed, references to his pious activity in the *liberate* rolls are few. This metamorphosis results from administrative developments rather than changes in pious activity. The study of Edward I's piety is, by and large, a study of the king's wardrobe and the clerks who worked therein. As a result this chapter needs to address the process of money management in the household of Edward I, before considering quite what documentation has survived to shed light on Edward's piety.

### I. The king's household

Edward I presided over a busy household. This household, in common with that of Henry III, was made up of the departments necessary to cater for the day-to-day needs of the king, such as the kitchen, scullery and pantry. Michael Prestwich has described how one particular department of the household, the king's wardrobe, 'developed in the thirteenth century a central role in government, taking the place which had earlier been occupied by another household department, the chamber.'<sup>193</sup> The wardrobe was successful because of its considerable financial autonomy and its ability to expand to meet the intensified financial demands created by war. In addition, the

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<sup>193</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 134.

privy seal was held by one of the wardrobe officials.<sup>194</sup> Edward I was a man of action and had learned that decisive and timely acts were the key to successful kingship. Often in his youth he had seen his father crippled by financial insecurity which had forced him into periods of procrastination when action was called for.<sup>195</sup> In short, Edward recognised the need for a more stream-lined process for extracting the money held by the exchequer. He did not wish to waste time, especially at moments of crisis, in filtering his commands through the chancery and the exchequer. Edward, instead, used the wardrobe as the flexible and prompt means by which to exercise his will.

With greater financial autonomy came greater responsibility, and it proved essential that the wardrobe should keep scrupulous records of its financial expenditure. The need for such attention to financial management was essential because, as Tout has concluded, 'The whole state and realm of England were the appurtenances of the king's household.'<sup>196</sup> At the nucleus of the king's household was the wardrobe.<sup>197</sup> The wardrobe was presided over by three chief clerks: the treasurer (or keeper), the controller, and the cofferer. The chief among these, the treasurer, ultimately bore responsibility for recording and auditing of all of the expenditure of the wardrobe. It was to him that the heads of the various household departments had to justify, and account for, their department's expenditure. The treasurer, likewise, then had to justify the expenditure of the entire wardrobe to the exchequer. It is for this reason that the treasurers had so often spent their whole careers in the service of the king's household, and were only promoted after proving their competence in a variety of subordinate positions. For example, John de Droxford (d. 1329), was usher of the wardrobe (1288), cofferer (May 1290), and controller (November 1290) before finally being made treasurer (November 1295 - July 1307).<sup>198</sup>

The money necessary for the many works of the wardrobe came from the exchequer. Edward I would demand that the chancery issue writs of *liberate* which

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> For example in 1263 when lack of funds forced the king to take extended refuge in the Tower of London and the young Prince to embark upon the ignoble gesture of stealing the Queen's jewels from the New Temple. See, Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>196</sup> T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History of England*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920-33), ii, p. 59.

<sup>197</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-86*, ed. by B. F. Byerly and C. Ridder Byerly, (London, 1977), p. xvi.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., p. xviii and, *ODNB*, *sub nomine*.

commanded the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer to grant large sums of money (often £1000 at a time) to the keeper of the king's wardrobe.<sup>199</sup> Both the *liberate* rolls and the issue rolls record frequent payments of this sort. The keeper, once he had received this money, could then distribute it to the various household departments according to their various needs. Household expenditure can be traced through three major stages of audit. The first two of these stages were the responsibility of the various clerks of the household. The third was recorded separately by those of the exchequer. Whereas in Henry III's reign there is ambiguity as to which documents were used to compile the later stages of audit, in the reign of Edward I the process can be traced in greater detail.<sup>200</sup>

The fact that the treasurer of the wardrobe had to present his accounts to the exchequer for audit is of great importance to this study. These accounts were later enrolled by the exchequer upon the pipe rolls and these, unlike many of the wardrobe accounts, have survived.<sup>201</sup> Although these enrolled accounts have been simplified, they nevertheless contain many of the departmental totals that together comprised the wardrobe's expenditure. These totals shed welcome light on different aspects of Edward I's activities, permitting some overview of expenditure throughout the years 1272 - 1307. There are, however, several years for which these totals were not, for one reason or another, enrolled with the exchequer. Nevertheless where other studies of Edwardian piety have utilised only some of the surviving wardrobe accounts, this investigation seeks to make much more of the material in the pipe rolls to evaluate the character of pious practice in Edward's reign. I will now describe the various types of documents which recorded pious expenditure.

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<sup>199</sup> C. Johnson, 'The System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward I', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series, 6 (1923), pp. 50 - 72, p. 56.

<sup>200</sup> D. Carpenter, 'The Household Rolls', p. 29.

<sup>201</sup> There survives in The National Archives at Kew an unbroken series of pipe rolls for the reign of Edward I beginning with TNA, E372/117 for 1 Edward I, and running numerically until, E372/152A. For the year 35 Edward I, this roll is supplemented by E372/152B which details foreign accounts. These rolls are supplemented by the surviving counter rolls, known as chancellors' rolls, which record almost identical entries, see E352/66 - E352/100.

## *Journalia*

The cofferer was responsible for supplying the various household officials with money, both for their wages and for the works of their offices. He was responsible for the household's stock of cash and diligently recorded when it was spent. The *journalia*, or day books, are the account books in which the cofferer recorded household expenditure as and when it occurred. These accounts include many sums spent on pious activity. These may immediately be broken down into alms and oblations. Alms were the responsibility of the almoner. At the start of the reign the cofferer recorded the precise details of these expenses and it does not appear that the almoners were responsible for recording their own expenditure.<sup>202</sup> In the later part of the reign, however, these accounts only recorded the sums of money issued to the almoner.<sup>203</sup> By 1289/90 the almoner was responsible for recording the expenses of his office. This change was prompted by the great increase in almsgiving and it evidently became impractical for the cofferer to record all such details personally. This change can perhaps also be attributed to Walter Langton who served as cofferer from 1287 until his promotion to controller and then keeper of the wardrobe in 1290.<sup>204</sup> He, more than anyone would have known the burden of audit placed upon the cofferer.

However throughout all of Edward's reign the *journalia* continued to record all of the king's oblations. Oblation was a broad term that described a variety of offerings made for the good of the king's spiritual welfare. These varied from offerings made at altars to sums of money given to communities of friars. These could be facilitated by any number of wardrobe officials. The king did not employ an 'offerer' to match the almoner. The cofferer was always burdened with recording such expenditure. Therefore the *journalia* from the first half of Edward's reign can be used to monitor both the king's alms and oblations. Those from the later part of his reign can only be used to accurately assess his oblations. However, as these accounts continued to record the money issued to the almoner for his work, they can still be used to estimate the general

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<sup>202</sup> See, TNA, C47/4/1; C47/4/2.

<sup>203</sup> See, TNA, C47/4/4 and E101/370/16.

<sup>204</sup> *ODNB, sub nomine.*

size of the king's charity. They also give us important clues as to how regularly the almoner was provided with money for his office.

### Rolls of alms and oblations

In the period before the almoner was charged with producing accounts of his work, all of the king's pious enterprises were recorded upon a single account - called the rolls of alms and oblations. These rolls were produced from the *journalia* and there is nothing to suggest that the almoner played any part in their production. This differs from the interpretation of Prestwich who referred to these manuscripts as 'accounts of his (Edward's) almoners.'<sup>205</sup> Three examples of these accounts have survived, all of which are for years in the first half of his reign. The first of these, TNA E101/350/23, records the king's alms and oblations for the year 5 Edward I (1276/7). The second, TNA E101/351/15, records the same for the year 12 Edward I (1283/4).<sup>206</sup> The final account, TNA E101/352/18, covers the year 17 Edward I (1288/89).<sup>207</sup>

These documents, as noted by Johnstone, '...though they are alms rolls, do not seem to be almoner's rolls, but the summary made by the wardrobe clerks of meals to the poor, oblations, distributions by the wayside, and other miscellaneous charitable expenditure.'<sup>208</sup> The accounts feature chronological paragraphs that cover variable periods of time, from a week to a month. As the reign progressed, and more money was spent upon pious enterprises, the number of paragraphs increased. For example, the account for 1276/7 has sixteen paragraphs, that for 1283/4 twenty-six, and that for 1288/9 has thirty-six paragraphs. Within these paragraphs the king's alms are recorded in distinct sections. These sections, as first noticed by Lack, were usually for two or three months at a time.<sup>209</sup> Although less obvious, even these early accounts clearly

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<sup>205</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 120.

<sup>206</sup> This account has been discussed in detail by Taylor in 'Royal Alms and Oblations'.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>207</sup> A full transcription of this roll is available in print in 'Records of the Wardrobe and Household' in, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-89*, ed. by B. F. Byerly and C. Ridder Byerly, (London, 1986), pp. 272-305.

<sup>208</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor Relief', p. 160, n. 1.

<sup>209</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 116.

distinguish between alms and oblations. This distinction would be later crystallised in the wardrobe books.

In the earlier part of Edward's reign, such documents seemingly stood alone as accounts of the king's alms and oblations. There is little to suggest that they were drafts which were used to compile wardrobe books, the first of which survives for the year 1296/7.<sup>210</sup> The last surviving roll of alms and oblations (1288/9) presents a total of £3082 19s., and this total corresponds exactly with the enrolled total in the pipe rolls.<sup>211</sup> As Lack notes: 'They are uncanceled so that they appear to be final and not subsidiary accounts.'<sup>212</sup> What she meant was that, whereas other accounts often contained lines drawn through their entries, to mark that these had been transcribed into superior documents, these contain no such scoring.<sup>213</sup> However, throughout these documents an abbreviation for *probatas* (proven) was written next to the running totals and the final sum totals. This confirms that these accounts were carefully audited. At this early stage in Edward's reign (up until at least 1288/9), these accounts provided the final stage in recording the alms and oblations given by the king within the wardrobe. They, or their copies, were probably submitted to the exchequer for audit. This hypothesis can be substantiated by looking at the corresponding entries in the pipe rolls. Until 19 Edward I (1290-91), the enrolled totals of alms and oblations were followed by a reference to 'rolls of particulars' from which they were compiled.<sup>214</sup> From 20 Edward I (1291-2) these entries refer instead to books of particulars. After this date the rolls of alms and oblations were probably no longer produced. Instead this business was recorded within a separate chapter within the wardrobe books.<sup>215</sup> And it was these books which were submitted to the exchequer for audit. This change in wording within the pipe rolls suggests that these wardrobe books were first produced for the year 1291-2.<sup>216</sup> It is true that other forms of account books were compiled previously. Entries in the wardrobe book of 1299/1300 record that *libri garderobe* for the years 1286/7 to 1288/9 were kept

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<sup>210</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965.

<sup>211</sup> TNA, E101/352/18, the corresponding entry in the pipe roll of 1292/3, E372/18, m. 52.

<sup>212</sup> Lack, p. 116.

<sup>213</sup> In contrast the *journalia* are full of such deletions and underlining, this shows that they were used to assemble later accounts, of which the rolls of alms and oblations are one example.

<sup>214</sup> For example, see TNA, E372/138, m. 49.

<sup>215</sup> TNA, E372/138, m. 51.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

in the treasury in the Tower of London.<sup>217</sup> However these may refer to any number of earlier accounts produced in codex form. It may refer to *journalia*, or perhaps to the earlier books of the treasurer, for which examples survive. Such accounts differ from the later wardrobe books, for example the book of the treasurer for 1286/7, contains no chapter of the king's alms.<sup>218</sup> The entries in the pipe rolls certainly suggest that wardrobe books were not submitted to the exchequer until 1291/2.<sup>219</sup> This innovation can surely be attributed to Walter Langton, who was made controller and then keeper of the wardrobe in 1290, succeeding William of Louth.<sup>220</sup>

### Almoners rolls

The last surviving roll of alms and oblations is for the year 1288/9, as mentioned above. The total of this roll is £3082 19s., a sum far greater than that for any previous year.<sup>221</sup> So great an increase in royal expenditure upon pious enterprises demanded a change in the method of accounting. From the year 21 Edward I (1292/3), a new type of document begins to emerge. At some point in around 1290 the practicality of recording the king's alms and oblations together appears to have been questioned, and thereafter we begin to see rolls of alms. As mentioned above, wardrobe books were probably created in the year 20 Edward I. The alms sections of the alms and oblations chapters of these books were compiled from the rolls of alms created by the almoner. Four examples of rolls of alms survive - for 1292/3, 1299/1300, 1300/1301 and 1301/2.<sup>222</sup> These rolls, unlike the earlier rolls of alms and oblations, can be more precisely attributed to the almoners themselves. The earliest example is endorsed *particule domini h. elemosinarii* and the next *compotus h. elemosinarii*.<sup>223</sup> This fact was noted by Lack in her thesis and supports Johnstone's claim that the earlier rolls of alms and

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<sup>217</sup> *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo* (London, 1787), p. 349, as noted in Johnson, 'The System of Account', p. 52.

<sup>218</sup> TNA, E36/201, printed in, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, pp. 2-170.

<sup>219</sup> TNA, E372/138, m. 51.

<sup>220</sup> *ODNB, sub nomine*.

<sup>221</sup> TNA, E101/352/18.

<sup>222</sup> TNA, E101/353/16; E101/357/29; E101/359/15; E101/361/21.

<sup>223</sup> TNA, E101/353/16; E101/357/29.

oblations had not been created by the almoners.<sup>224</sup> These accounts are far less elaborate than the earlier rolls of alms and oblations and are concerned only with the king's alms, as organised by the king's almoners.

The surviving rolls of alms all include the word *probatus* written next to the running totals, suggesting that they have been carefully audited. In addition they have all been struck through with a single, ruled black line showing that they have been successfully enrolled elsewhere. Whereas the earlier rolls of alms and oblations were probably fair copies submitted to the exchequer, these accounts were copied into the wardrobe books. This appears to prove that these documents were for the use of the clerks of the wardrobe who were to enrol them in the books of the treasurer and controller. They were only ever intended for the auditing system within the king's wardrobe. In addition the almoner himself probably kept a copy of these accounts as a reminder of how much had been spent on alms at different times in the year. The king's alms for the years between 1296/7 - 1301/02 are remarkably consistent. In particular the practice of alms given in honour of over one hundred different feasts of saints remained extremely consistent from one year to the next. This consistency can only have been achieved if the almoner retained copies of his accounts.

#### Wardrobe books

As we have noted, up until the 19th year of Edward's reign (1290/91), the accounts submitted to the exchequer were probably in the form of rolls.<sup>225</sup> Although Tout suggests that these accounts took the form of books from 1286 onwards, it is worthy of note that until 1291 the enrolled accounts in the pipe rolls still referred to rolls and not books of particulars.<sup>226</sup> After this date the king's alms and oblations were recorded in a single chapter within the wardrobe books. This chapter was split into two halves, one recording alms and the other oblations. The former was compiled from the

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<sup>224</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor Relief', p. 160, n. 1.

<sup>225</sup> See above, p. 60.

<sup>226</sup> Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, i, p. 47.

almoner's rolls, the latter from the *journalia* produced by the cofferer. However, this is not the only chapter in the wardrobe books which illuminates the king's piety.

Five wardrobe books survive in their complete form for the reign of Edward I. These are for the 25th (1296/7), 28th (1299/1300), 29th (1300/1), 32nd (1303/4) and 34th (1305/06) years of the reign.<sup>227</sup> These books contained the total expenditure made through the king's wardrobe, detailing these expenses. These accounts are composed of 'chapters' pertaining to different aspects of expenditure which were probably produced separately and then sewn together into book form. The first of these accounts, the keeper's book for 1296/7, can be used to shed light on these chapters.<sup>228</sup> In this volume, the first chapter covered expenditure on alms and oblations under the title of alms.<sup>229</sup> The second chapter itemises the costs of a variety of necessities, principally including transportation.<sup>230</sup> The third chapter details the many victuals purchased for the king's stores for the use of the household.<sup>231</sup> The fourth records the payments of the knights of the king's household.<sup>232</sup> The fifth records the wages of engineers and sergeants at arms.<sup>233</sup> The sixth records the wages of foot soldiers and archers in the service of the king.<sup>234</sup> The seventh the wages of seaman in service of the king.<sup>235</sup> The eighth chapter itemises the expenses of the king's messengers.<sup>236</sup> The ninth records the wages and expenses of the king's falconers and huntsmen.<sup>237</sup> The tenth records the cost of providing winter and summer robes for a variety of personnel in the service of the crown.<sup>238</sup> The eleventh records the purchase of a variety of precious items for the household, and also similar items in the possession of the crown in a variety of locations elsewhere.<sup>239</sup> The twelfth chapter records a variety of valuable items purchased for the household, including an array of different types of cloths, furs, spices and wines.<sup>240</sup> The final

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<sup>227</sup>In chronological order - BL, Add. MS 7965, 35291; Add, MS 7966A; Add. MS 8835; TNA, E101/369/11.

<sup>228</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., ff. 1v-11r.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., ff. 12v-42v.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., ff. 43v-59r.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., ff. 59v-70r.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., ff. 71v-80r.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., ff. 80v-87r.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., ff. 88v-105v.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., ff. 106v-118r.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., ff. 114v-119r.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., ff. 120v-132r.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., ff. 133v-148v.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., ff. 149v- 154r.

chapter records the sums of money given to the king's allies.<sup>241</sup> The end of the account gives the grand total of wardrobe expenditure.<sup>242</sup> Although each of the wardrobe books displays slight variations of order and content, this example gives a good indication of the variety of expenditure covered in their chapters. An important additional chapter covering *recepta*, or money received into the wardrobe, was later to become a regular feature.<sup>243</sup>

A great many clerks worked to create the wardrobe books. They offer, after all, the final expression of account within the wardrobe before being submitted for the scrutiny by the exchequer. However, despite the many clerks named in their pages it is, in most cases, impossible to conclude who actually bore responsibility for their composition. An exception to this comes in the keeper's book of 1296/7. In this account, in the chapter of *necessaria*, two individuals are named as producing the account. The first, John of Langar, is described as clerk and binder of the wardrobe book. The entry records that he was given a robe costing 20s.<sup>244</sup> A robe of the same cost was given to Richard of Wardington, described as a clerk and scribe of the wardrobe book.<sup>245</sup> These named clerks do not feature in later lists of household clerks within the same account and it is not certain whether they were permanent staff of the wardrobe or hired especially for the production of the account. However, as these entries record that these clerks received robes, and not payment for their work, it could be postulated that they worked within the king's household. These entries provide a rare and fortunate glimpse into the production of the wardrobe books. Despite the king's household generating so much accounting evidence, in the vast majority of cases authorship remains anonymous.

Three chapters within the wardrobe books shed important light upon the king's piety. Only one of these has been heretofore used for this purpose. This unsurprisingly is the chapter of alms. The content of this chapter mirrors the earlier rolls of alms and oblations. These earlier rolls were submitted to the exchequer for audit. This same auditing function was now facilitated by the chapter of alms within the wardrobe books. These chapters began with a title (as in the keepers book of 1299/1300) :

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid., ff. 155v-158r.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., f. 159v.

<sup>243</sup> For example see, BL, Add. MS 7966A, ff. 1r-7r.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., f. 19v.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., f. 22v.

*Titulus de Elemosina Regis Edwardi, Filii Regis Henrici, data per Elemsinarium suum et clericos garderobe sue a festo sancti Edmundi regis et martiris anno regni E. predicti 28 incipiente, usque ad idem festum anno revoluto, tempore Johannis de Drokenford tunc custodis garderobe regis predicti et Johannis de Benestede tunc contrarotulatoris ejusdem.*<sup>246</sup>

The first half of these chapters recorded the king's charity as carried out by the king's almoner, Henry of Blunsdon. These were compiled from his accounts which have been described above. All of the work officially associated with his office was recorded in this section except for the dispersal of alms when the king travelled, which was recorded elsewhere.

The second half of the chapter of alms concerned the king's oblations. This section recorded a great variety of expenses. It can be summarised that their scope encompassed any form of expenditure, other than alms, which could be construed as spiritually efficacious. These matters were facilitated by a great many individuals, primarily but not exclusively household clerks. The huge range of these expenses meant that no single clerk was assigned the responsibility of their record. The money used for their dispersal came from the cofferer and he was therefore responsible for recording their expense. Whereas the responsibility of recording the king's alms was assigned to the almoner, no such office existed for the king's oblations. Therefore the oblations in the wardrobe books were compiled from the *journalia* - and their complexity by this time meant that these *journalia* included separate sections of oblations. Rather confusingly these sections were titled *elemosina* (alms). A surviving example of 1299, covers the king's oblations from 1 January 1300 until the 2 February 1300.<sup>247</sup> The entries in this book exactly match those of the surviving wardrobe book for that year. In this *journalia*, the beginning of each entry is underlined, which showed that that entry had been enrolled in the wardrobe book. The first of these entries records: *Primo die Januarii in oblationibus regis ad magnum altare in ecclesia parochiali de Bamburgh, vijs.* - this matches, word-for-word, the entry in the wardrobe book for that year.<sup>248</sup> The cofferer's work load had been lessened by assigning the responsibility of recording the

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<sup>246</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 16. (Title of alms of King Edward, son of King Henry, given by his almoner and the clerks of his wardrobe from the feast of St Edmund, King and martyr, in the 28th year of the reign of the aforesaid Edward to the same feast in the following year, in the time of John de Drokenford, then keeper of the wardrobe of the aforesaid king, and of John de Benestede, then controller of the same.).

<sup>247</sup> TNA, E101/357/4, f. 4r.

<sup>248</sup> TNA, E101/357/4, f. 4r and *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 27, (First day of January for an offering of the king at the high altar in the parish church of Bamburgh, 7s.).

king's charity to the almoner, but he was still burdened with recording much of the king's pious expenditure.

Two other chapters within the wardrobe books illuminate the king's piety. The first is the chapter concerned with allowances for winter and summer robes. This chapter details the money given to a multitude of individuals in the service of the crown for the purchase of their robes. Of most relevance to this to this study, however, are the references to members of the king's chapel who received such a stipend. These records give names to the many individuals who worked to nurture the king's spiritual wellbeing. Among these are the clerks, sub-clerks and servants of the king's chapel and also the almoner, his clerk and his servant. These records help create a picture of the significant manpower required to facilitate the king's piety. This king's chapel was a peripatetic institution. Indeed Edward's regime was inherently itinerant in nature. This saw the king residing in a number of residences, from royal castles and palaces to monasteries and private homes. Therefore his chapel clerks, and the equipment they used, represented a rare consistency in an otherwise shifting existence.

The other untapped chapter in the wardrobe books is that concerning *jocalia*, or jewels. This chapter records the various precious gifts, chiefly cups, that the king gave and received. Gift-giving was an essential aspect of forming and cementing relationships. This practice was extended to the saints. These accounts record that the king commissioned many precious items for offering at shrines. Such items rarely feature in the section of oblations and such entries suggest that such gifts were infrequent and irregular. However, the chapter of *jocalia* within the wardrobe books affirm that this was a regular feature of the king's piety. These items were often expensive and demonstrate the king's particular devotion to a number of saints - usually English saints. The chapter of *jocalia* also records precious items given to his family members. A number of these indicate that the king was keen to nurture good pious practice among his children. These entries highlight many aspects of the king's piety which have not been previously identified.

## Household rolls

In the previous chapter we observed that the few surviving rolls of daily expenditure, the *rotuli hospicii* (rolls of the household), reveal that Henry III fed a set number of poor each day.<sup>249</sup> One hundred poor were fed daily for the king and, on days when the queen was present, fifty more were fed. David Carpenter observed that the reign of Edward I has left many more accounts of this sort, shedding light on the daily expenses of the crown.<sup>250</sup> Such rolls survive for some ten years of the almost thirty-five that Edward reigned, and two rolls have been transcribed by Her Majesty's Stationery Office.<sup>251</sup> These rolls are still of great use for studying the expenditure of the king's various household departments but shed less light on Edward's almsgiving. Indeed in obvious contrast to previous accounting practice, these accounts no longer contain any record of a daily feeding of poor. It must be noted, however, that the first of these accounts is for the 12 Edward I (1283-4), so we do not know whether or not such daily charity continued into Edward's reign. Pious expenditure is not altogether removed from the household rolls. These accounts detail the daily expenses of the various household departments but also alms given on days when the king travelled to a new location. Edward I inherited this form of mobile charity from Henry III.

## II. The exchequer and the pipe rolls

It is not just the various accounts of the king's household which have been under-used by those researching Edward I's piety. The pipe rolls, created by the clerks of the exchequer, have also been largely neglected. These rolls principally recorded the accounts of the county farms. Extensive entries on their many membranes recorded money paid to the king by the county sheriffs from the income of the king's lands and other rights in the counties. This was known as the *corpus comitatus*, or, the body of the

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<sup>249</sup> See above, pp. 25-26.

<sup>250</sup> Carpenter, 'The Household Rolls', p. 29.

<sup>251</sup> That for the 14 Edward I is printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-86*, pp. 117-163, and for 16 Edward I, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-89*, pp. 504-531.

county.<sup>252</sup> However, as described in the previous chapter, during the reign of Henry III evidence concerning the king's household was increasingly recorded in these rolls.<sup>253</sup> The evidence of this sort from the reign of Henry III has been recently edited by Benjamin Wild for the Pipe Rolls Society.<sup>254</sup> In the reign of Edward I, however, their bulk increased greatly.

As stated above, the keeper of the wardrobe bore responsibility for submitting his accounts to the exchequer for audit. The exchequer provided the money which allowed the king's household to function and, in return, it had to be kept informed how this money had been spent. These accounts, once checked by the clerks of the exchequer, were enrolled upon the pipe rolls, and then, in turn, upon the identical counter rolls called the chancellor's rolls.<sup>255</sup> This process was, of course, not a rapid one and could take years to complete. Whereas the *journalia* recorded expenditure on the days in which it occurred, and the wardrobe books were probably written up as soon after the end of the relevant year as possible, totals might take years to be enrolled upon the pipe rolls. For example, the totals of household expenditure for the 13th year of Edward's reign (1284/5) were not enrolled upon the pipe rolls until the roll for the 18th year (1289/90) was drawn up.<sup>256</sup> On other occasions this process was completed more quickly. For example the details of household expenditure for the 8th year (1279/80) was enrolled on the pipe roll of that very same year.<sup>257</sup> Regardless of the time taken to enrol this material, what was recorded proves illuminating.

Wardrobe expenses were enrolled on the pipe rolls for a total of nineteen of the thirty-five years of Edward's reign. The longest continuous series of these entries covers the fourteen years between the thirteenth (1284/5) and twenty-sixth (1297/8) regnal years. This period of good practice was perhaps prompted by Edward I's return to England from Gascony and represents a deliberate effort to tidy up his financial affairs after a period of absence. It should also be noted that these entries were enrolled on the pipe rolls of 18th (1289-90), 19th (1290/91), 21st (1292/3), 22nd (1293/4) and 27th

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<sup>252</sup> <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/Details?uri=C6749>

<sup>253</sup> See above, p. 44.

<sup>254</sup> Forthcoming publication.

<sup>255</sup> Pipe rolls - TNA, E372, chancellors rolls - TNA, E352.

<sup>256</sup> TNA, E372/135, m. 1 *dorso*.

<sup>257</sup> TNA, E372/124, m. 60 *dorso*.

(1298/9) years of Edward's reign.<sup>258</sup> These are years principally covered by Walter of Langton's tenure as keeper of the wardrobe (1290-95), before his later appointment as treasurer of the exchequer (1295-1307).<sup>259</sup> The following table details the years in which household expenditure was enrolled by the exchequer:

**Table 4 - Years in which wardrobe expenditure was enrolled on the pipe rolls**

Regnal Year	Start Date	End Date	Pipe Year	MS reference	Membrane
1/2	04-11-1272	18-10-1274	5	E372/121	21
2/3	18-10-1274	16-11-1275	3	E372/119	43
8	20-11-1279	19-11-1280	8	E372-124	60 <i>dorso</i>
9	20-11-1280	20-11-1281	12	E372-128	61 <i>dorso</i>
10	20-11-1281	20-11-1282	12	E372-128	62 <i>dorso</i>
13	20-11-1284	20-11-1285	18	E372-135 and E372-136	1 <i>dorso</i> and 34
14	20-11-1285	20-11-1286	19	E372-136	34
15	20-11-1286	20-11-1287	19	E372-136	34 <i>dorso</i>
16	20-11-1287	20-11-1288	19	E372-136	34 <i>dorso</i>
17	20-11-1288	20-11-1289	21	E372-138	52
18	20-11-1289	20-11-1290	21	E372-138	51 <i>dorso</i>
19	20-11-1290	20-11-1291	21	E372-138	49
20	20-11-1291	20-11-1292	21	E372-138	51
21	20-11-1292	20-11-1293	22	E372-139	6
22	20-11-1293	20-11-1294	27	E372-144	23
23	20-11-1294	20-11-1295	27	E372-144	46 <i>dorso</i>
24	20-11-1295	20-11-1296	27	E372-144	25
25	20-11-1296	20-11-1297	27	E372-144	25
26	20-11-1297	20-11-1298	27	E372-144	49 <i>dorso</i>

After the first two enrolled years, the periods covered are standardized to the full financial year, from the feast of St Edmund (20 November) until the same feast in the following year. The reason for the irregularity in the first years is itself revealing. In these years the new keeper of the wardrobe, Thomas Bek, was clearly tidying up the accounts. The first enrolled account covers from 4 November 1272, shortly before Henry III died, until 18 October 1274, the day Thomas Bek took over as keeper.<sup>260</sup> The reason this period is so extensive is because Edward did not return to England until the beginning of August 1274, and his coronation did not take place until the nineteenth of that month. Thereafter, Edward did not waste time in organising his affairs. On 21 September he appointed Robert Burnell as chancellor and on the same day made Anthony Bek keeper of the wardrobe. The latter was replaced by his brother Thomas

<sup>258</sup> TNA, E372/135, 136, 138, 139 and 144.

<sup>259</sup> *ODNB, sub nomine.*

<sup>260</sup> Prestwich, Edward I, p. 92.

less than a month later.<sup>261</sup> The next enrolled wardrobe account covers from the 18 October 1274, the day of Thomas Bek's appointment, until the 20 November 1275.<sup>262</sup> Thus the administrative loose ends of the last reign were tied up and subsequent accounts covered the full extent of the financial year.

Up until the year 20 Edward I (1291/2) the accounts submitted to the exchequer from the wardrobe were in the form of a roll.<sup>263</sup> After this date the keeper submitted wardrobe books.<sup>264</sup> The exact form of these early rolls can in fact be seen in the pipe roll of 1289/90.<sup>265</sup> In this account the actual wardrobe roll of 1284/5 seems to have been stitched into the pipe roll, as can be seen on the *dorso* of the first membrane.<sup>266</sup> This wardrobe roll has had two vertical lines drawn through it, from top to bottom, suggesting it had been enrolled elsewhere. This is, in fact, the case as the account was actually enrolled by the clerks of the exchequer in the pipe roll of the following year.<sup>267</sup> Why the wardrobe roll was subsequently stitched into the pipe roll of the previous year is not known. Upon the reverse (in fact the facing side of the membrane) is entered money dispatched by the chambers of London and Canterbury between 1287 and 1290 by Gregory of Rokesle.<sup>268</sup> Rokesle was a London banker and later mayor of London, who had been appointed a warden of the London and Canterbury exchanges.<sup>269</sup> This business may have been recorded on the back of the wardrobe roll because, as it had been enrolled, it was no longer needed. Then, rather than re-write it onto a new piece of vellum, it was simply stitched into the pipe roll for convenience and economy. Before the advent of the wardrobe books, a great many wardrobe rolls, once they had been enrolled, were to an extent superfluous. Many of these may have been recycled in a similar fashion.

The enrolled accounts begin with a statement of the receipts accruing to the wardrobe. In times of crisis these entries could be extensive - as in the account of 1284/5 when the financial details of the war in Wales were also recorded. In this entry

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> TNA, E372/121, m. 21.

<sup>263</sup> See above, pp. 59-61.

<sup>264</sup> See, TNA E372/138, m. 51.

<sup>265</sup> TNA, E372/135.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., m. 1*dorso*.

<sup>267</sup> TNA, E372/136, m. 34.

<sup>268</sup> TNA, E372/135, m. 1.

<sup>269</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 245 and 264-5.

the account records that in that year, £102,621 4*d.* was received and £90,248 10*s.* ½*d.* was released by the wardrobe for this enterprise.<sup>270</sup> After the receipts of the wardrobe had been entered the expenditure was detailed. This began with a statement of the sums recorded in the rolls of daily expenditure as mentioned above. The enrolled account of 1296/7 provides an example of the form this entry took. It recorded:

Et in expensis hospicii regis dicto anno XXV<sup>o</sup> cum elemosinis cotidianis per dietas regis in itinerando statutis et vino pro hospicio empto per dietas per idem tempus xj millia c iij (score) xiiij li. vij s. xj d. ob. Sicut continetur in libro de particularis [quem]/ liberavit in thesauro.<sup>271</sup>

As we can see from a similar entry for 1274/5, this formula had changed little from the beginning of Edward's reign:

Et in expensis domus regis et regine quando fuit in curia per totum predictum tempus cum elemosinis statutis et vino aliquando empto preter vinum de instauro viij mill. xlvj li. vj s. et xj d. sicut continetur in rotulo / de particulis quem predictus magister Thomas liberavit in thesauro.<sup>272</sup>

Next we find the totals of many types of household expenditure. These mirror the chapter headings in the wardrobe books. The first of these is most important for this study: the total of the king's alms and oblations. These figures were taken directly from the chapter of alms in the wardrobe books. The surviving wardrobe book of 1296/7 records a total at the end of the chapter on alms of £1144 7*s.* 4½*d.*<sup>273</sup> The corresponding enrolled entry in the pipe roll reads:

Et in oblationibus elemosinorum datis pauperibus et partizonis putera pauperum Religiosorum pannis et mandato pauperum die Cene per idem tempus M<sup>l</sup>C xliij li. vij s. iij d. ob. sicut continetur in libro de particulis quem liberavit. in [thesauro].<sup>274</sup>

There can be no mistaking that these entries recorded the totals of the alms recorded in the wardrobe book. Similarly, the enrolled account of 1274/5 again demonstrates that this had changed little from the earlier accounts:

Et in oblationibus regis elemosinorum datis pauperibus in itinere regis sotularibus et mandato pauperum per idem tempus iij (score) xij / li. xiiij s. et iij d. sicut continetur in rotulo de particularis.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> TNA, E372/135, m. 1 *dorso*.

<sup>271</sup> TNA, E372/144, m. 25.

<sup>272</sup> TNA, E372/119, m. 43.

<sup>273</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 11r.

<sup>274</sup> TNA, E372/144, m. 25.

Both of these entries allude to the feeding of the poor and the distribution of items of clothing. In the later account it is explicitly stated that shoes were given on Maundy Thursday. But a key difference also emerges. In the later account the feeding of the *religiosi* is specifically mentioned. We know from an early roll of alms and oblations that Edward fed the mendicants in the first five years of his reign.<sup>276</sup> However, by the time these later accounts were produced such expenditure had become so common it was specifically itemised. The enrolled account of 1292/3 is the first in which donations to the religious are explicitly mentioned - shortly after the keeper began to submit books instead of rolls.<sup>277</sup> This represents that the clerks were keen to emphasise the range of expenses covered under the heading of alms. This clarified to the exchequer clerks how this money had been spent, and made their auditing work easier.

A final aspect of the enrolled wardrobe accounts on the pipe rolls is the larger donations made to specific religious communities. For a brief period in the 1280's the pipe rolls also specifically recorded larger sums of pious expenditure. The enrolled accounts for six years between the years 1284/5 and 1289/90, all feature additional information on money given to religious communities under the heading of alms.<sup>278</sup> These gifts did not constitute additional expenditure from the enrolled totals of alms and oblations, but were recorded as having been made from within these totals.<sup>279</sup> These expenses were probably itemised in order to explain why the totals of alms and oblations appeared larger than normal. For example, the enrolled total of alms for the year 1288/9 was £3082 19s., roughly £2000 more than previous years.<sup>280</sup> This could potentially have rung alarm bells in the exchequer had it not been mentioned that 'contained within the same sum' was £570 given to the Abbey of Vale Royal, £100 given to the Dominican friars of London, and £1095 17s. 9½d. given to various mendicant orders in the Duchy of Aquitaine.<sup>281</sup> Similar entries occur in the enrolled totals for the above years.

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<sup>275</sup> TNA, E372/119, m. 43.

<sup>276</sup> TNA, E101/350/23.

<sup>277</sup> TNA, E372/144 m. 23

<sup>278</sup> TNA, E372/135 m. 2 *dorso*; E372/136, mm. 34 and 34 *dorso*; E372/138, mm. 51 *dorso* and 52.

<sup>279</sup> An exception to this is the enrolled account of 13 Edward I (1284/5) when the sums expended on special projects were recorded as separate from other alms and oblations, with the inclusion of the word *Et*. TNA, E372/135, m. 1 *dorso*.

<sup>280</sup> TNA, E372/138, m. 52.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid*.

### III. Conclusions

Differing types of accounts, each representing the various stages in the auditing process of the king's household expenditure, provide the substance for this study. Casting one's net a little wider over the surviving manuscript material produces a far more extensive and comprehensive image of Edwardian piety than that which has emerged hitherto. Other accounts also shed light on this broad topic. The information contained in the chapters of *jocalia* within the wardrobe books are supplemented by inventories of jewels.<sup>282</sup> Accounts of the king's goldsmiths also complement this impression.<sup>283</sup> Other accounts specifically illuminate the pious practices of Edward's family. In particular, his daughter Mary's various pilgrimages begin to emerge from the accounts relating to her travel expenses.<sup>284</sup> All of these documents amalgamate to present a fuller image of the pious practices Edward I and his family. There are of course several gaps in this picture. Examples of each type of account have not survived for every year between 1272-1307. Prior to 1276, for example, very few details of Edwardian piety emerge. The accounts that have survived nevertheless create an image of royal piety more comprehensive than that for other medieval English kings. In particular, this image is richer than that for Henry III, notwithstanding the fact that his piety has received considerable attention despite the deficit of sources.

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<sup>282</sup> For example, TNA, E101/354/14.

<sup>283</sup> For example, TNA, E101/357/1.

<sup>284</sup> For example, TNA, E101/355/20.

## Chapter 3: Edward I's Almsgiving

This chapter will describe Edward I's almsgiving in its many forms. In order to tackle this complex topic a three pronged strategy will be used. The study will begin by investigating the staff that facilitated the king's charity and how, and with what, they did their work. Next will be a survey of the different form that these alms took - their purpose, makeup and implementation at different stages in Edward's reign. Finally some conclusions will be drawn as to the changes in practice visible during Edward's reign and suggestions made as to the motivations behind such metamorphoses. However, before beginning this assessment some opening remarks about the practice of almsgiving prove useful. This will not be a thorough investigation into the theology of almsgiving, such a study has already been undertaken by Sally Dixon-Smith and it would be superfluous to repeat it here.<sup>285</sup> However some opening remarks on the medieval concepts of charity proffer a helpful introduction.

### I. Almsgiving

Almsgiving was an essential activity in the spiritual lives of medieval kings. Dixon-Smith has concluded that the underlying motivation behind the giving of alms was the demonstration of mercy.<sup>286</sup> She describes that feeding the poor was one of the seven corporal works of mercy and an obligation on all Christians able to do so. To feed the poor was to please Christ, as he explicitly states in his discourse on the last judgement: "I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did it for me."<sup>287</sup> Dixon-Smith stresses that the implication for those who neglected the poor is clear:

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<sup>285</sup> See, Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', pp. 42 - 116.

<sup>286</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 68.

<sup>287</sup> Matthew 25:31-46.

Clearly, while performing alms could bring spiritual benefits to the giver, ignoring the poor could lead to damnation. Almsgiving was a matter of precept, in other words, it was one of the things Christians were obliged to do.<sup>288</sup>

Regular charity was essential to maintain spiritual health and to ignore this obligation was to risk damnation.

Dixon-Smith also observes that the scale of a Christian's charity was dictated by the social and economic standing of the individual. She states that Thomas Aquinas concluded that charity should emanate from superfluous wealth and should not be to the detriment of the requirements of the giver's social rank and business commitments, nor the neglect of his dependents.<sup>289</sup> This factor was problematic for a king whose commitments were many. Edward I's charity was considerable but did indeed contract in times of financial hardship. However, when liberal charity was a possibility it was fulfilled. Despite Dixon-Smith's assertion that the 'quantity given in alms did not relate to the quality of the spiritual benefits', this is not altogether true. She by and large dismisses the obligation of the poor recipient to pray for the benefactor.<sup>290</sup> However this ignores one of the key attractions of almsgiving. In feeding the poor Edward I was effectively harvesting prayers. The prayers of the poor were considered particularly efficacious. By feeding paupers, widows, lepers and friars - God's special poor - Edward could expect benefit from powerful reciprocal prayers.

This apparently self-interested view of almsgiving must be kept in context. Firstly, charitable giving was a legitimate form of spiritual betterment as advocated by Christ himself. Secondly, the expectation of spiritual reward for financial output was far from new. Concern for the soul had been the underlying motivation for the endowment of monasteries for centuries. William the Conqueror's concern for his spiritual wellbeing after the battle of Hastings had prompted the founding of Battle Abbey. Battle's foundation was prompted by Pope Alexander's concern for the souls of the Normans who had shed so much blood during the conquest of England. Richard Southern observed that 'battle for the safety of land was closely associated with the battle for the safety of the souls of their benefactors', and, 'temporal and eternal welfare

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<sup>288</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', p. 70.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

depended equally on the warfare of the monks'.<sup>291</sup> Edward I's almsgiving should be viewed in this same context. A king with a well-nourished soul could expect temporal success. This benefit was, of course, not all personal. Contemporaries believed that the spiritual wellbeing of the king would be reflected in the state of his realm and also in the lives of his subjects. A king who fulfilled his spiritual obligations was, hence, looking after the interests of his people.

Furthermore, almsgiving in its many forms could very well be a public act. The work of the religious went on behind closed doors and arguably, in some measure, unnoticed. The advantage of almsgiving was that observers would take note of the poor being fed and therefore reflect that the king was doing good work. The almoner and his staff decked out in their livery would have been instantly recognisable as royal officials. Whereas merchants fearing the king's prises might have groaned at the sight of approaching royal officials, the sight of lines of poor queuing up to receive their alms cannot have been other than comforting. It must be remembered that the poor were technically the responsibility of anyone with a degree of superfluous wealth. Royal charity when lodged in a particular town would momentarily have lifted this burden from its inhabitants. Such charity would, moreover, have reminded the local communities of their own responsibilities for nurturing the poor. Hence almsgiving, as well as being spiritually advantageous, was no doubt a successful method of generating positive royal publicity.

## **II. The almoner**

The royal almoner played a vital role in facilitating the monarch's piety. An early study on this subject is Lawrence Tanner's article entitled 'The Lord High Almoners and Sub-Almoners, 1100 - 1957', published in 1957/8.<sup>292</sup> Tanner's evidence suggests that this office appears to date back at least to the reign of Henry I in the early 12th century, and he concludes that a certain William was the king's almoner between c.

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<sup>291</sup> R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1990), p. 225.

<sup>292</sup> Tanner, 'Lord High Almoners', pp. 72 - 83.

1103 - c. 1130.<sup>293</sup> However Tanner's study says little of the almoners in the reign of Edward I and he fails to include Ralph the almoner in his list of high almoners who should have been placed between Henry III's last almoner, John of Colchester, and Edward I's second almoner, Henry of Blunsdon.<sup>294</sup> A rather less prominent study has been more forthcoming in delineating the role of the almoner in the reign of Edward I. This was an unpublished MA thesis submitted to the University of London in 1949 by Marguerite Lack entitled 'The Position and Duties of the King's Almoner, 1255-1327'.<sup>295</sup> Another important work which must be mentioned is Sally Dixon-Smith's PhD thesis of 2002, which explores Henry III's *pro anima* almsgiving and the role of the almoner in facilitating this expression of piety.<sup>296</sup>

The most recent article addressing the topic of the royal almoner focuses upon how his role had evolved by a much later period, namely c.1450-1700.<sup>297</sup> This article focuses upon the almoners' duty of acquiring deodands and the goods of felons *de se*, or suicides. This article is a reassessment of the portrayal of the almoner in a book entitled *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* written twenty years earlier. Both these works, however, establish the almoner as a semi-independent agent of the crown, with a key political and fiscal role.<sup>298</sup> In the period under scrutiny in this study the role of the almoner had yet to acquire such dimensions and was, by contrast, much more focussed upon the provision of royal piety. The almoners of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were usually recruited from among the king's chaplains, and often continued to play an important role in the king's chapel.<sup>299</sup> Almsgiving was a pillar in the expression of royal piety and at the centre of this practice was the king's almoner.

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<sup>293</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>295</sup> Lack., 'The Position and Duties'.

<sup>296</sup> Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor'.

<sup>297</sup> R. A. Houston, 'What did the Royal Almoner do in Britain and Ireland, c. 1450-1700?', *The English Historical Review*, 125 (2010), pp. 279-313.

<sup>298</sup> M. MacDonald and T. R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls, Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990).

<sup>299</sup> D. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: ancient and modern* (London, 1990), p. 375.

## Edward's almoners and their staff

Tanner's article suggests that Edward I inherited John of Colchester as almoner on his accession in 1272.<sup>300</sup> However there is no discernible evidence for this. It must be noted that Edward I did not arrive in his kingdom until early August in 1274.<sup>301</sup> It is more likely that John of Colchester, if he did continue to distribute alms, did so in England and independently from the new monarch, and for the soul of his deceased master. It is interesting to compare the actions of Henry of Blunsdon, Edward's almoner, after the king's death in 1307. A surviving *journalia* for this year shows that on the 11th of July, four days after the king's demise, the almoner was still being issued with money for the works of his office.<sup>302</sup> Henry's commitment to work to the benefit of his master's soul did not terminate when the king was unable to reprimand him for neglecting his duties. This entry also confirms that Henry was still almoner in 1307, contrary to Tanner's conclusion that his tenure in that office ended in 1305.<sup>303</sup>

Edward's first almoner appears to be a certain Friar Ralph. In the roll of alms and oblations for 1276/7 he is described as facilitating the king's almsgiving. Throughout this account references to royal alms are preceded or followed by: *per manus* Friar Ralph the almoner. The exact nature of these alms will be discussed in due course. Ralph's work in this capacity can be traced into the next year (1277/8) as the *journalia* of that year still refers to the same Friar Ralph when recording the king's alms.<sup>304</sup> This is the last reference to Friar Ralph and at some point in the next few years he was evidently replaced. Lack mistakenly claims that the same Friar Ralph can be traced in the *journalia* of 1289/90. She stated that: 'He was alive and travelling with the king from June to November, 1289/90 when he was given a special daily allowance to give to the poor on the king's behalf.'<sup>305</sup> This is a misreading, it in fact states that a Master Ralph, the queen's almoner, distributed 2s. a day when the Queen was travelling, from the 1 June 1290 until 19 November 1290, a period of fifty-six days, at a total cost

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<sup>300</sup> Tanner, 'Lord High Almoners and Sub-Almoners', p. 75.

<sup>301</sup> H. Gough, *Itinerary of King Edward the First throughout his Reign, A.D. 1272-1307*, 2 vols (London, 1900) i, p. 38.

<sup>302</sup> TNA, E101/370/16, f. 19r.

<sup>303</sup> Tanner, 'Lord High Almoners', p. 75.

<sup>304</sup> See, TNA, C47/4/1, f. 13r.

<sup>305</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 125.

of 112s.<sup>306</sup> It would be tempting to conclude that Friar Ralph went from being the king's almoner to the queen's. However this is very unlikely as the account very clearly states that he is Master Ralph and not Friar Ralph.<sup>307</sup>

Friar Ralph, perhaps surprisingly, received a wage for his role as royal almoner. This wage, it could be assumed, went to his order and not his own purse. Indeed as a friar he was not supposed to have any personal property. However entries in the *journalia* of 1277/8 make it clear that, as well as receiving the money necessary for enacting the king's alms, he also received a daily wage. For example an entry for June 1278 records 'Item Tuesday 28th day of June clerk Friar Ralph the almoner for his wages for the month of May, 10s. 10½d.'. <sup>308</sup> This total supplies a daily wage of just over 4d. per day. Another entry in the same account makes it clear that he was paid a similar sum each month.<sup>309</sup> Unfortunately Friar Ralph's order is never explicitly stated and hence we do not know which of the mendicants benefited from his employment in this role. When Friar Ralph was replaced at some point in the 1270s/80s, it was by a secular clerk, Henry of Blunsdon.

Unfortunately no informative material survives for the king's almoner between 1278 and 1282 and so it is impossible to conclude when Henry of Blunsdon assumed this office. Likewise it cannot be stated with any certainty when Friar Ralph ceased to hold this position and if there was another almoner during this time. The first reference to Henry of Blunsdon appears in a roll of necessities for 1282/3. This account records that Henry of Blunsdon bought a horse on 2 December 1282.<sup>310</sup> This early reference alludes to the mobile nature of Henry's position. Henry of Blunsdon, to judge from his name, probably hailed from Blunsdon in north Wiltshire, roughly five miles north of Swindon. Lack's thesis of 1949 includes a short biography of Henry of Blunsdon.<sup>311</sup> Her research reveals that Blunsdon held lands in Blunsdon and also in the neighbouring villages of Upper and Lower Widhill and in West Tockham.<sup>312</sup> Lack goes on to describe how the almoner also held lands in Southampton, Dorset, Somerset, Warwick, Essex,

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<sup>306</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, f. 47v.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., f. 47v, and cf. f. 23v.

<sup>308</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 29r.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., f. 48r, (This entry is slightly damaged but details his wages from May until October that year).

<sup>310</sup> TNA, E101/351/9, cited in Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 152, n. 1.

<sup>311</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', pp. 152-166.

<sup>312</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 152.

York, Kent and Rutland, and how in 1294, he was 'enfeoffed of land in West Chellow in Berkshire.' Much of Henry's land was probably acquired with the help of the king. Indeed his property in London can be directly linked to Edward I. In April 1300, the king granted Blunsdon a *messuage* in Dowgate and also land in the parish of St Mary Bothaw with the advowson of that church.<sup>313</sup> These acquisitions were in part payment for money previously lent to the king by his almoner.<sup>314</sup>

Blunsdon clearly became a man of some substance as indicated by his ability to lend the king several large sums of money.<sup>315</sup> This was a distinct advantage of having a secular clerk for an almoner, as it seems unlikely that his predecessor Friar Ralph could have aided the king in like manner. Blunsdon's relationship with Edward was surely a reciprocal one and the prestige that came with such regular proximity to the king undoubtedly assisted Henry's private affairs. Indeed Lack has shown that Henry obtained several benefices after 1292, including, for a time, archdeacon of Dorset, and several canonries in Wells, Chichester and St Pauls.<sup>316</sup> Such preferment was not always popular and his appointment as warden of the Hospital of God's House in Southampton was certainly controversial.<sup>317</sup> Perhaps, in the long term, appointment as a canon of Salisbury was the most auspicious of his preferments as it was to this place that he appears to have retired after the death of Edward I.<sup>318</sup> Indeed in the 1330s daily masses were being said in Salisbury Cathedral for the souls of Henry of Blunsdon and his master Edward I.<sup>319</sup> A spiritual bond between the two men, it appears, lasted even longer than the course of their natural lives - such was the devotion of Henry of Blunsdon.

Henry certainly appears to have benefited greatly from his role in the household. Lack suggests that, before he received any benefices, Blunsdon would have

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<sup>313</sup> Ibid., pp. 153-4.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., p. 154, n. 3, ('...on 4 April, 1300 he lent the king 400 marks (C.P.R. 1292-1301, p. 507) and between 20 May and 19 November, 1303 he lent the wardrobe sums varying from 54s. to £39 6s. 8d. and amounting in all to £75 6d. (wardrobe account book E101/363/19, m. 2)').

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., pp. 157-8, citing, *The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire*, ed. Doubleday, H. A., vol ii, p. 203. ('Warden Bluntesdon, a favourite of the king, seems to have been the first non-resident warden. The scandal of giving the chief emoluments of hospitals, founded for the poor and infirm to men who rarely, if ever, visited the house, over which were supposed to preside became, alas a rule and not the exception').

<sup>318</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', pp. 156 - 160.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

received a wage in his early days as almoner. The *journalia* of 1289/90 records that Blunsdon was paid 6*d.* a day. In this entry it records that for a period of 111 days he received 55*s.* 6*d.*, equating to exactly 6*d.* per day.<sup>320</sup> This is 50% more than Friar Ralph was receiving for the same duties in the previous decade, perhaps because his predecessor was a friar.<sup>321</sup> It is interesting to note that, at this time, Master Andrew of Lincoln, clerk of the king's chapel, was receiving a slightly higher wage of 7½*d.* a day. This may reflect Master Andrew's duties, but it may suggest that even at this early stage the almoner could supplement his income from elsewhere.

The almoner bore the responsibility for the majority of Edward's eleemosynary obligations. A treatise written during the reign of Edward I describes these duties. This treatise, which was known as *Fleta*, because it was written in Fleet Prison, had the subtitle 'seu Commentarius juris Anglicani' (On the Law of England). It claimed:

This is the office of the almoner. He is to gather up the fragments diligently every day and distribute them to the needy; he is to visit for charity's sake the sick, lepers, the captives, the poor, the widows and others in want and the wanderers in the countryside and to receive cast horses, clothing, money and other gifts bestowed in alms and to distribute them faithfully. He ought also by frequent exhortations to spur the king to liberal almsgiving, especially on saints' days, and to implore him not to bestow his robes, which are of great price, upon players, flatterers, fawners, talebearers or minstrels, but to command them to be used to augment his almsgiving.<sup>322</sup>

As will be demonstrated, Henry was certainly successful in spurring 'the king to liberal almsgiving, especially on saints' days'. Alms of this sort increased greatly from the early days of his tenure as almoner. The degree to which he accomplished the other duties mentioned is harder to gauge because these did not leave a mark upon the financial records. It seems reasonable to assume that he was as diligent in these duties as he was in facilitating the king's alms.

Another roughly contemporary description of the office is less informative but still of value. This description of the entitlements of the almoner is taken from a copy of

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<sup>320</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, f. 23r.

<sup>321</sup> Please note that 4*d.* was the daily sum given to friars in alms, see below p. 215.

<sup>322</sup> *Fleta*, ed. by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, 2 vols (London, 1955) ii, p. 131.

the ‘Household Ordinances of Edward II’ of 1318.<sup>323</sup> The description, originally in French, is as follows:

Item - a chaplain who is an esquire eating in the chamber. And taking for the chamber one pitcher of wine, two allowances of candles, one torch and have beds all year. And [fouail] for the season [dyuer] [del] usher of the chamber. And if he was elderly or ill, to take for an allowance two portions of bread, one pitcher of wine, two large dishes from the kitchen and one dish of meat; two robes for one, or eight marks in cash; and they are waged seven and a half pence because it is advanced by the king. and every day of the stay fourteen gifts of bread, fourteen gallons of beer, acquired from the pantry and the butlery, and fourteen dishes from the kitchen for the office of the almonry. And every day of the king’s work fourteen shillings, in [deniers] of the wardrobe, which upon entered in the grant roll of the dispenser of [loustiell] at the close of the day.<sup>324</sup>

This same ordinance goes on to describe the staff of the almoner:

Item – a clerk who will take charge of the almonry [desoutz luy], who will eat in the chamber and who will take three pence from the roll of the [marchauce] for the sustenance of his hackney, because it is advanced by the king. and his servant will live of the almonry, and will have one robe per year of cloth, of twenty shillings at least. And if he is elderly or ill, to take for an allowance one portion of bread, one gallon of beer and one large dish of the kitchen.

Item – a servant of the master of the aforesaid office, who will eat in the chamber among the other masters’ servants. And will take one robe a year of cloth, of one mark at least; and for shoes four shillings and seven pence per year. And if he is elderly or ill, to take for his allowance one portion of bread, one gallon of beer, and one large dish from the kitchen.<sup>325</sup>

This description from the ‘household ordinances’ focuses principally upon the ‘entitlements’ of the almoner and his staff. It does however confirm that, in the reign of Edward II, the almoner was still supported by a clerk and a servant, all of whom received sustenance, clothing and a form of travel expenses from the household. That the allowance mentions the feeding the clerk’s horse and providing shoes for the servant again confirms that these positions were frequently of a mobile nature. That no mention is made for the provision of the almoner's horse perhaps alludes to the fact that he was of sufficient means to meet these expenses personally. The king’s chapel clerks, among whom the almoner and his staff were included, were required to follow the king’s

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<sup>323</sup> Printed in, T. F. Tout, *The Place and Reign of Edward II in English History, based upon the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1913* (Manchester, 1936), pp. 270 - 314

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278 - 279.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*

progress. In doing so they attended to his spiritual needs in his chapel and facilitated his external demonstrations of piety, including almsgiving.

As we have observed, the first enrolled entries of household expenditure within the pipe rolls were the totals transcribed from the rolls of daily expenditure.<sup>326</sup> These enrolled entries recorded that within this title was contained: *elemosinis cotidiana per dietas regis*, or as described in an earlier entry *elemosina statuta*.<sup>327</sup> These alms in probability refer to the scraps collected from the king's table and given to the poor. A duty of the almoner which was described in *Fleta*: 'He is to gather up the fragments diligently every day and distribute them to the needy.'<sup>328</sup> To facilitate this duty the almoner was provided with an alms dish, or in probability more than one. A reference to one of these dishes comes in an account of plate from the years 1298/9 which records that an alms dish was in the keeping of the wardrobe in a basket bound with iron.<sup>329</sup> These dishes were symbolic of the duty of the great to nurture the needy and were probably owned by any great household. It is interesting to observe that Edward I provided his daughter, Lady Margaret, the Duchess of Brabant, with 'a large silver dish for alms weighing £13 15s.'<sup>330</sup> This entry is fascinating because it records other items provided to facilitate the duchess's alms. These items were a silver pot (*olla*) with two handles weighing 10 marks minimum, and a silver trough (*algea*) with two handles weighing 8 marks 10s. 2d.<sup>331</sup> Not only did Edward I fulfil his own charitable obligations but he also encouraged his children to do likewise.

Similar items used by the almoner are recorded in the section concerning jewels in the wardrobe books. That for 1296/7 records a silver alms-dish weighing £8 8s. and costing £9 and 1 mark. The same list records a silver *navis* for alms weighing 19 marks, 1s. 3d., which cost 16 marks.<sup>332</sup> The latter of these was recorded as having been delivered into the Tower of London. What role this *navis* played in almsgiving is not known but a similar one was given to Edward's daughter, Lady Elizabeth, Countess of

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<sup>326</sup> See above, p. 71.

<sup>327</sup> See, TNA, E372/144, m. 25, and E372/119, m. 43.

<sup>328</sup> *Fleta*, p. 131.

<sup>329</sup> TNA, E101/356/21, transferred to E101/667/51.

<sup>330</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 134r.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 143v.

Holland, that same year costing £8.<sup>333</sup> It was perhaps in such a receptacle that the king's alms were put before being taken to the poor. After all, Edward's almoner often distributed alms to a thousand or more paupers. With each pauper receiving 1½*d.* each this would have required a quantity of coin, and the two handles mentioned on the above silver items perhaps aided the almoner's staff in transporting their heavy loads. Lack has identified an inventory of plate kept in the almonry of Edward II and this listed a great host of silver items.<sup>334</sup> This variety of precious vessels suggests that the hardware used in almsgiving went beyond the better known alms-dishes. However, it was the alms-dish that perhaps embodied best the act of almsgiving and Henry of Blunsdon's seal, now lost but represented in a photograph in Lack's thesis, might depict the almoner before the poor holding an alms-dish.<sup>335</sup>

The household ordinances of Edward II's reign make it clear that the almoner was supported by at least two subordinates. References to such staff appear from time to time in the accounts from Edward I's reign. Considering the variety of the almoner's duties it is not surprising that he required help in his work. These staff often appear in the lists of winter robes paid for from the wardrobe. The following table lists the almonry staff who feature in these documents:

**Table 5 - Staff of the almoner, c. 1282 - 1307.**

Year	Name	Position	Cost of Robe	MS Reference
1282/3	Richard of Moreton	Servant of the almoner		TNA E101/351/3, m. 1.
1285/6	John of Langley	Sub-almoner	20 <i>s.</i>	TNA E101/351/26, m. 1.
1285/6	Benedict	Servant of the almoner		TNA E101/351/26
1288/9	John	Clerk of the almoner		TNA E101/352/31
1288/9	Benedict	Sub-almoner		TNA E101/352/31
1289/90	John of Langton	Clerk of the almoner	20 <i>s.</i>	TNA E101/352/24
1296/7	John of Langley	Clerk of the almoner	20 <i>s.</i>	BL Add. MS 7965, f. 123 <i>verso</i>
1296/7	Thomas Brun	Servant of the almoner	2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	BL Add. MS 7965, f. 123 <i>verso</i>
1296/7	Thomas Brun	Servant of the almoner	1 mark	BL Add. MS 7965, f. 42, <i>recto</i>
1298/9	Richard of Acton	Clerk of the almoner		E101/356/1, m. 2 <i>verso</i>

<sup>333</sup> Ibid.

<sup>334</sup> Including 'a large silver dish with the arms of England engraved on the bottom, two silver jars, one jar with gilt shields, a water vessel of silver gilt, with enamelled shields, studded with large pearls, a silver vessel barred with gold, a silver gilt goblet with chased feet, a silver gilt measure, with a shield on the bottom, bearing the arms of William Marshall, and a silver measure with chased feet.', Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 93, citing, BL, Add. MS 17362, f. 50v.

<sup>335</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. ii, see below, p. 80.

1299/1300	Thomas Brown	Servant of the almoner	13s. 4d.	<i>Liber Quotidianus</i> , p. 515
1305/06	Thomas Brown	Servant of the almoner		TNA, E101/369/11, f. 94 <i>verso</i>
1306/07	Nicholas of Morton	Servant of the almoner?		TNA E101/357/15. f.27.

From these records it can be concluded that from at least the early 1280s onwards the almoner was supported in his duties by at least two subordinates, a clerk and a servant.<sup>336</sup> It was at this time that Henry of Blunsdon took office as almoner and also that the king's almsgiving began to increase noticeably. Details of what these staff actually did are hard to ascertain. It is clear from many records that their duties were not necessarily restricted to the business of almsgiving. In 1296/7, for example, John of Langley was frequently dispatched to take the king's offerings to churches the king did not have time to visit in person.<sup>337</sup> Often these offerings were taken some considerable distance. The almoner himself would make such offerings in the name of the king.<sup>338</sup> But, when he did so, he tended not to be sent very far, highlighting that he was kept in fairly close proximity to the king. In many ways, the almonry staff were treated similarly to the other chapel staff. Their underlying aim was to profit the soul of their master and this task was not restricted to the provision of alms. Likewise, they could be helped by other members of the wardrobe staff in their own duties. For example, the lay clerk, Robert of Cottingham, described as a 'clerk of the king', helped the almoner's clerk, John of Langley, to distribute pennies for the soul of Queen Eleanor on 19 February 1297.<sup>339</sup> As described in greater detail in the next chapter, the king's wardrobe was full of versatile staff whose objective was serving the king in a variety of ways. The almoner's staff may have specialised in facilitating the king's almsgiving, but they were not restricted to this duty.

The role of the servants of the almoner is harder still to describe. It can be assumed that they did much of the leg-work associated with that office, perhaps summoning the poor and gathering the food from the king's hall. The servants of the chapel seem to have been multi-functional. For example, in 1297 Walter of Ashwell

<sup>336</sup> The servants are given the title *valletto*, this term could be translated as young man, esquire, groom, servant or journeyman, in this context servant seems the least ambiguous, see, Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, p. 504.

<sup>337</sup> For example, BL, Add. MS. 7965, f. 7r-7v.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 7r.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*

was sent to Ipswich several weeks ahead of the king's arrival there to inspect the building work being done in the king's chapel.<sup>340</sup> It is likely that the servants of the almoner had similar multi-functional roles. Considering the number of valuable, and no doubt heavy, items used by the almoner, they were probably also required to help pack up the almoner's equipment before travelling. Edward I, unlike Henry III, rarely stayed in one place for very long and therefore the unpacking and packing of the almoner's tools must have been a frequent obligation on his staff. Some of the almoner's staff seem to have served in their positions for extensive periods of time. For example, John of Langley, the clerk of the almoner, and Thomas Brown, the servant of the almoner, had careers lasting at least ten years - by which time they must have been well rehearsed in their roles. These tenures are, however, overshadowed by that of Henry of Blunsdon, who served as almoner for at least twenty-five years. Under his tutorage, staff helped to ensure that the king's alms were distributed regularly and efficiently.

That Henry of Blunsdon required additional staff is no surprise. His duties were extensive: as well as daily collecting the scraps from the king's table and giving them to the poor, he was also charged with organising and facilitating the king's other alms. These alms were considerable and the following will describe them in close detail. However, before this can be done it must be considered what form these alms took. Despite Lack's suggestion that all of Edward I's alms came in the form of meals this seems unlikely.<sup>341</sup> Whereas in Henry III's reign we have many references to the almoner collecting large quantities of fish and bread for the feeding of the poor, this is not evident in Edward's reign.<sup>342</sup> Prestwich is probably correct in stating 'for the most part distributions were made in cash.'<sup>343</sup> As Prestwich observed, in the earlier accounts references to alms used the word *pascendum* which implies feeding. But, from the 1290s onwards, the word *putura* is used instead.<sup>344</sup> These pittances could, of course, be in the form of food or cash but, given the scale of Edward's alms and his incessant movement, cash seems more likely. It should also be noted that in the earliest account of alms from 1276/7 both words are used when describing the gifts given to the

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<sup>340</sup> BL, Add. MS. 7965, f. 17v, this chapel was in the priory of St Peter's Ipswich and was surely not technically royal property. However, several royal weddings took place in the priory church on this visit to Ipswich and therefore perhaps he was granted a suite of rooms for his use, including a chapel.

<sup>341</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 97.

<sup>342</sup> See above, pp. 26-30.

<sup>343</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 122.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

mendicants.<sup>345</sup> In this account the word *pascenda* is principally used but on a few occasions it is replaced by *putura*.<sup>346</sup> Perhaps even at this early date alms were occasionally given in the form of money.

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<sup>345</sup> TNA, E101/350/23.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid., m. 1 (To *pascendam* friars minor of Canterbury for two days for the alms of the king 26s. 8d. Item for *putura* the same friars for another two days for the alms of the king 20s.).



Figure 1 - The seal of Henry of Blunsdon, previously attached to TNA, E101/369/21 (dated June 1297), this seal has recently become detached, but this image survives in Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. ii.

### III. Finance

What remains to be determined is the source of the money that enabled the almoner to discharge his business. From the beginning of the reign precise payments for the king's alms feature in the *journalia*. It could be assumed therefore that each day the almoner would have had to report to the cofferer, declare what sum he required, which was then duly noted in the *journalia*. However, in reality these *journalia* often feature blocks of payments for almsgiving of roughly a week at a time.<sup>347</sup> Whether this was done in advance of feeding the poor is hard to gauge. If so, the almoner would have had to declare how much he needed at the beginning of the week. This would have been impossible. The almoner frequently gave alms, at the behest of the king, which were unrelated to specific feast days. Likewise, the almoner also oversaw the gifts of pennies to the poor who were touched for scrofula by the king - surely their numbers could not be foretold. It therefore stands to reason that the almoner carried a 'float' of some value to cover unpredictable expenditure. The *journalia* 1277/8 shows that the king's alms were paid for using money from the cofferer and then recorded in his *journal*. These accounts were then later used to compile the rolls of alms and oblations.<sup>348</sup> At this time there is no evidence that the almoner, then Friar Ralph, was responsible for recording his expenditure.

The *journalia* of 1284/5 and 1289/90 seem to display a similar picture. In these accounts weekly paragraphs recorded the alms distributed by the almoner along with their costs. This seems to confirm that the cofferer was not only supplying the almoner with the money necessary for his work but also recording that expenditure. After this date, however, the almoner seems to have become responsible for recording his own outgoings. 1292/3 is the first date for which an almoner's account survives, suggesting that as almsgiving increased it was no longer practical for the cofferer and his staff to record this sort of spending. By 1296/7 household expenditure was recorded in detailed wardrobe books. Within these accounts the disbursement of the almoner was recorded in its own section, which comprised the first half of the chapter of alms and oblations. This section would have been compiled from the almoner's own rolls of accounts.

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<sup>347</sup> For example, see TNA C47/4/1, f. 13r.

<sup>348</sup> For example, see TNA, E101/350/23.

However, although the almoner became responsible for recording his own expenditure, he still, usually, relied upon the cofferer to supply him with the money he needed.

The *journalia* of 1306/7 shows that the cofferer handed over funds to the almoner on a regular basis. Much of the almoner's time must have been spent enquiring as to whether there was any money in stock for him to withdraw. The table below illustrates the money given to the almoner by the cofferer during this period:

**Table 6 - Money issued to the almoner, 1306/7 (from TNA, E101/370/16)**

Date	Day	Sum	Sum in <i>d.</i>	Number of poor at 1½ <i>d.</i> each	Folio	Detail
20 November	Sunday	18s. 6d.	222	148	2 r	
21 November	Monday	35s.	420	280		
25 November	Friday	18s. 6d.	222	148		
30 November	Wednesday	42s. 6d.	510	340	2v	
3 December	Friday	£14 4s. 5d.	3413	2275.3	3r	anno 34?
6 December	Tuesday	30s.	360	240		
8 December	Thursday	12s. 6d.	150	100	3v	
15 December	Thursday	17s. 6d.	210	140	4 r	
21 December	Wednesday	42s. 6d.	510	340		
24 December	Saturday	£30	7200	4800	4v	In farthings
29 December	Thursday	52s. 6d.	630	420	5r	
6 January	Friday	47s. 6d.	570	380	5v	
10 January	Tuesday	12s. 6d.	150	100	6r	
15 January	Saturday	17s. 6d.	210	140		
20 January	Friday	65s.	780	520	6v	
31 January	Tuesday	£20 11s. 6d.	4938	3292	7r	
5 February	Sunday	47s. 6d.	570	380	7v	
11 February	Saturday	42s. 6d.	510	340	8r	
14 February	Tuesday	20 marks	3200	2133.3	8v	
16 February	Thursday	£28 16s. 8d.	6920	4613.3		
7 March	Tuesday	40s.	480	320	9v	
17 March	Friday	60s.	720	480		
1 April	Saturday	12s. 6d.	150	100	10v	
5 April	Wednesday	50s.	600	400	11r	
13 April	Thursday	£20	4800	3200		
15 April	Saturday	45s.	540	360		
17 April	Monday	47s. 6d.	570	380	11v	
19 April	Wednesday	£20	4800	3200		In farthings
23 April	Sunday	35s.	420	280	12r	
3 May	Wednesday	£4 2s. 6d.	990	660	13r	
16 May	Tuesday	£4 10s.	970	646.6	13v	

29 May	Tuesday	44s. 3d.	531	354	14v	
4 June	Sunday	47s. 8d.	570	380	15v	
15 June	Thursday	£40	9600	6400	16v	
17 June	Saturday	52s. 6d.	630	420		
02 July	Sunday	110s.	1320	880	18r	
5 July	Wednesday	£50	12000	8000	18v	anno 34?
11 July	Tuesday	£4 19s. 6d.	1194	796	19r	
16 July	Sunday	35s.	420	280	19v	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>£304 3s. 4d.</b>	<b>73000</b>	<b>48666.5</b>		

These figures show that roughly once a month the almoner would receive a large sum from the cofferer, no doubt mainly to fund the king's set weekly alms. These alms will be described in detail below, but it suffices to say that by the time of the above account they would have required 999*d.* every week - effectively £4 3*s.* 3*d.*<sup>349</sup> The smaller sums of money recorded above would have facilitated specific distributions to the poor on particular feast days or when requested by the king. The sum of 12*s.* 6*d.* appears three times in this account. This would have fed 100 poor - the number fed when the king missed chapel. The sum of 17*s.* 6*d.* appears twice, this would have fed 140 poor, the number often benefiting to honour the saints on their feast days.<sup>350</sup> A fragment survives of a miscellaneous account of 1307 recording the king's alms. What exactly this account was is difficult to describe. It records the king's alms, which we would expect to find on an almoner's roll, but also general distributions which appear in duplicate in the *journalia*. Whoever made this account probably used both of these documents to compile it. Its purpose however remains a mystery. The figures in this account are detailed below:

**Table 7 - Pious expenditure between 23 April and 26 May, 1307<sup>351</sup>**

Date	Day	Number	Cost	Reason
23 April	Sunday	666	£4 3 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	Customary alms for that week
23 April	Sunday	140	17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	Feast of St George
24 April	Monday	140	17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	By Order of the King
25 April	Tuesday	140	17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	Feast of St Mark ( <i>pro domino Edwardo</i> )
25 April	Tuesday	100	12 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	By Order of the King
26 April	Wednesday	140	17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	By Special Order of the King
30 April	Sunday	666	£4 3 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	Customary alms for the week
1 May	Monday	140	17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	Feast of Sts Philip and James
2 May	Tuesday		£6 10 <i>s.</i>	General Distribution for Countess of

<sup>349</sup> See below, pp. 101-105.

<sup>350</sup> Noted by H. Summerson, *Edward I at Carlisle: King and Parliament in 1307* (Kendal, 2011), p. 28.

<sup>351</sup> TNA, E101/358/27, m. 9.

				Gloucester <sup>352</sup>
3 May	Wednesday	100	12s. 6d.	Feast of Saint Cross
6 May	Saturday	140	17s. 6d.	Feast of Saint John <i>ante portam</i>
7 May	Sunday	666	£4 3s. 3d.	Customary alms for the week
7 May	Sunday	140	17s. 6d.	Feast of Saint John of Beverely
10 May	Wednesday	100	12s. 6d.	The king did not hear mass
12 May	Friday	100	12s. 6d.	The king did not hear mass
14 May	Sunday	666	£4 3s. 3d.	Customary alms for the week
14 May	Sunday		£4 5s.	General Distribution in Carlisle for Pentecost
15 May	Monday	100	12s. 6d.	By Order of the King
16 May	Tuesday	100	12s. 6d.	By Order of the King
17 May	Wednesday	100	12s. 6d.	By Order of the King
18 May	Thursday	140	17s. 6d.	By Order of the King
21 May	Sunday	666	£4 3s. 3d.	Customary alms for the week
21 May	Sunday	140	17s. 6d.	Feast of the Holy Trinity
24 May	Wednesday	140	17s. 6d.	Feast of the Translation of Saint Dominic
25 May	Thursday		57s.	General Distribution for the feast of Saint Francis
26 May	Friday	140	17s. 6d.	Feast of Saint Augustine of Canterbury

If one compares the figures contained within 'Tables 6 and 7' it is evident that they do not appear to correspond exactly. The cofferer does not appear to have provided the almoner with funds depending on his immediate needs. It must be concluded that the almoner maintained a stock of money, for his work, that was intermittently replenished when possible by the cofferer.

It is clear that the exchequer provided the wardrobe with money specifically for the needs of the almoner. For example, the wardrobe book of 1305/06, records amongst its receipts from the exchequer, that the almoner received the sum of £10 in farthings.<sup>353</sup> The *journalia* of 1306/07 records receipts of cash into the wardrobe in the left hand margin. For example on 24 December 1306, 2000 marks was received from the exchequer, and, in addition to this sum, also £30 in farthings. This latter sum was given directly to the almoner the very same day.<sup>354</sup> In probability this sum of cash in small coin was always earmarked for the almoner. The exchequer clerks knew, when providing money for the wardrobe, that a sizeable tranche of small coin would be needed for the king's alms. Similar transactions are recorded later in the same account. For example on 14 April 1307, the exchequer provided another 2000 marks, as well as

<sup>352</sup> This was Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I, who died 23 April 1307. It must be noted that this records a general distribution and not the giving of formal alms.

<sup>353</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 5r, as noted by Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 101.

<sup>354</sup> TNA, E101/370/16, f. 4v.

£20 in farthings, and sure enough a few days later, on 19 April, the sum of £20 was given to the almoner.<sup>355</sup> It is revealing that almsgiving was such an integral feature of royal life, so much that it affected the way in which the exchequer provided the king's household with money. Also recorded in the left hand margin was the money remaining in the coffers and this was, on occasion, remarkably low. For example on the 21 December, three days before the exchequer sent a relief of funds, just £160 23½*d.* remained in the king's coffers.<sup>356</sup> Being reliant on the resources of the cofferer meant that, until money was sent from the exchequer, the almoner could not collect any cash for his office. It is therefore certainly possible that some of the king's alms were distributed late.

Occasionally the almoner received money directly from the exchequer. For example the Book of *Prests* for 1305/6 records a total of £255 17*s.* 3*d.* that was paid directly from the exchequer to the almoner.<sup>357</sup> Such direct funding from the exchequer also helped the almoner with the small coin that he needed. A surviving receipt dating from 1306/7 records that Henry of Blunsdon received £100 from John of Drokensford, keeper of the wardrobe, on 20th June 1307.<sup>358</sup> This suggests that the keeper might, on occasion, directly supply the almoner with money. This £100 would have fed 16,000 poor at 1½*d.* each, enough to keep the almoner in business for a considerable period of time. Blunsdon's work required a constant in-flow of funds, and when the king's coffers were low, he was forced to seek funds from wherever possible. His usual source of finance was, however, the cofferer of the wardrobe.

Comparing the *journalia* of 1289/90 and 1305/6 illustrates an important change in the work of the almoner during Edward's reign. In the earlier account the details of the king's alms were still recorded in the cofferer's accounts. By the end of the reign, however, only the sums given to the almoner are included. It is clear that the almoner later had to compile his own records of his departments expenditure.<sup>359</sup> The appearance of these rolls suggests that these were working documents and far from presentation copies. They may, in fact, be in the hand of Blunsdon himself or that of his clerk. This

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<sup>355</sup> TNA, E101/370/16. ff. 11r-11v.

<sup>356</sup> TNA, E101/370/16, f. 4r.

<sup>357</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 106-7, citing TNA, E101/368/27.

<sup>358</sup> TNA, E101/369/21.

<sup>359</sup> Surviving rolls are, TNA, E101/353/16, 357/29, 359/15 and 361/21.

cannot be proven but they are certainly a far cry in quality from the rolls of alms and oblations made by the wardrobe clerks earlier in the reign. The later almoner's rolls would have been submitted to the wardrobe clerks to compile their own accounts. The later wardrobe books clearly distinguish between pious expenditure recorded by the almoner and that recorded by the clerks of the wardrobe. The first of the surviving almoner's rolls is for the year 1292/3.<sup>360</sup> It was perhaps around this time that this change occurred.

The almoner was, by and large, reliant upon the cofferer for the money he needed to facilitate the king's charity. This system had the potential to leave him temporarily unable to do so. This would perhaps explain the receipt of £100 from the keeper of the wardrobe to Blunsdon in 1306.<sup>361</sup> Two intriguing payments to the almoner in the 1306/7 account record that Blunsdon received £14 4s. 5d. on the 3 December 1306, and £50 on 5 July 1307.<sup>362</sup> Both of these payments, rather confusingly, are recorded to be for the king's alms in the thirty-fourth year, i.e. the year before. It is perhaps possible that during 1305/06 some of the king's alms were supplied out of the almoner's own personal funds and then reimbursed the next year. It is certainly true that Blunsdon made personal loans to the king during these difficult years.<sup>363</sup> When no other avenue of finance was available, perhaps the almoner had to put his hand in his own pocket to maintain the king's charity. If this were the case then Blunsdon was surely a remarkable figure in the king's household, and it is no wonder that he kept this role for so many years. This might also shed light on Blunsdon's considerable personal portfolio of property. The king no doubt had a hand in these acquisitions. Perhaps Edward I intended that Blunsdon would always be personally solvent, and so in a position to help the king with his charitable obligations when necessary.

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<sup>360</sup> TNA, E101/353/16.

<sup>361</sup> TNA, E101/369/21.

<sup>362</sup> TNA, E101/370/16, ff. 3r and 18v.

<sup>363</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', p. 154, n. 3.

### III. Touching for scrofula

I will begin my assessment of Edward I's almsgiving with a familiar topic. One area of Edward's almsgiving that has received considerable attention is his touching for the king's evil, or scrofula. I can add little to this debate in consequence of its popularity with previous historians, notably Bloch, Barlow and Prestwich.<sup>364</sup> However to ignore their findings would leave an imbalanced view of Edward's almsgiving and the duties of his almoner. Scrofula, which is now referred to as *tuberculous cervical lymphadenitis*, is a form of tuberculosis of the neck. The Kings of France and England were said to possess the power to ease this unpleasant condition through their touch. This led to it being referred to as the 'King's Evil'. As concluded by Prestwich:

The efficacy of this treatment cannot of course be determined, but the sick were at least rewarded with their penny, and unlike many forms of medicine, this can have done no positive harm.<sup>365</sup>

Because each sufferer touched by the king was given a penny their number was recorded. Within these accounts the sufferers were referred to as *infirmis benedictis*, the 'blessed infirm.' This type of alms was recorded firstly, in the *journalia* and later, in the almoner's rolls - invariably at the foot of each weekly entry of expenditure on alms. It is hence plausible that the almoner was responsible for the distribution of this money, or at least that he acquired it and then gave it to the king to dispatch personally. The total numbers of sufferers who were touched by Edward I have been printed by Prestwich and are replicated here with the addition of the 30th year:

**Table 8 - Annual totals of Edward I's touching for scrofula<sup>366</sup>**

Regnal Year	Year	Number 'touched'
5	1276/07	627
6	1277/08	928
12	1283/4	237
13	1284/5	888
17	1288/9	519
18	1289/90	1736
25	1296/7	757

<sup>364</sup> M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch, Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (Great Britain, 1973); F. Barlow, 'The King's Evil', *English Historical Review*, xcvi (1980), pp. 2-27, M. Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', pp.124-126.

<sup>365</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 126.

<sup>366</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 125.

28	1299/1300	983
29	1300/1	0
30 <sup>367</sup>	1301/02	0
32	1303/04	1219
34	1305/06	2002

It is not known why no figures were kept for touching in the years 1300/01 and 1301/02. Prestwich has assigned this absence to an accounting error. There was clearly some brief change in the way in which the king's piety was recorded in this year. The wardrobe book of 1300/01 and the almoner's roll of 1301/02 record no touching, nor do they record any alms other than those given in honour of the saints.<sup>368</sup> It is possible, then, that for a brief period the almoner and wardrobe clerks kept a second type of account to make the section of alms less congested. There is no evidence of such accounts but they would explain the absence of certain types of expenditure which surely was not suspended for this brief period. By 1303/04, limited crown funds reduced pious expenditure and touching once again appears in the accounts. Perhaps the theoretical additional almoner's accounts were no longer considered necessary.

Ignoring these years, an average of 989 *infirmis benedictis* were touched each year. It must be affirmed that the number touched was not controlled by the king. As the figures for 1296/7 in the below table demonstrate, even if the king did choose to 'touch', he could not guarantee how many would qualify for this form of charity. After all if the individual did not have the external symptoms of the illness then he would not qualify for the king's 'touch', nor the gift of one penny that accompanied it:

**Table 9 - Scrofula figures 1296/7<sup>369</sup>**

Week Beginning	Sum ( <i>d.</i> )	Location	County
2 December	15	Ipswich	Suffolk
17 February	64	St Albans	Hertfordshire
24 February	26	Salisbury	Wiltshire
3 March	22	Clarendon	Wiltshire
10 March	18	Breamore	Hampshire
17 March	31	Christchurch	Dorset
24 March	99	Gillingham	Dorset

<sup>367</sup> This year does not feature in Prestwich's table but the Almoner's Roll of 1300-1 survives and records no figures for touching. TNA, E101/361/21.

<sup>368</sup> BL, Add. MS 7966A, ff. 19r-21v, and TNA, E101/361/21.

<sup>369</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 2r-5r.

31 March	51	Martock	Somerset
7 April	15	Ilsington	Devon
14 April	18	Plympton	Devon
21 April	18	Plympton	Devon
28 April	16	Plympton	Devon
5 May	15	Plympton	Devon
12 May	102	Bishop's Clyst	Devon
19 May	38	Ringwood	Hampshire
26 May	40	Chichester	Sussex
02 June	7	Canterbury	Kent
9 June	9	Canterbury	Kent
16 June	30	Greenwich	Middlesex
23 June	31	Westminster	Middlesex
30 June	18	London	Middlesex
7 July	15	Westminster	Middlesex
14 July	13	Westminster	Middlesex
21 July	13	Westminster	Middlesex
28 July	9	St Albans	Hertfordshire
4 August	15	Sevenoaks	Kent
11 August	9	Udimore	Sussex
Total	757		

One might have expected areas of high population to have yielded more patients with this illness. This does not appear to have been the case. 'Table 9' demonstrates that despite Edward 'touching' at Canterbury during the first two weeks of June 1297, a total of only sixteen sufferers came forward for his attention. By contrast, in the week starting the 12 May 1297, the king touched no fewer than 102 sufferers of scrofula while travelling between the Devonshire village of Bishop's Clyst and Canford in Dorset. This might suggest that there was an epidemic of scrofula in the west country at this time; it could also be inferred that most of the sick in Canterbury looked to the shrine of the famous martyr rather than visiting their king. What is evident is that, regardless of the king's willingness to engage in this practice, participants were not guaranteed.

The figures for 'touching' in 1296/7, reveal that Edward did not partake in the practice when abroad. Edward did not 'touch' after leaving for Flanders on the 22 August 1297. Prestwich has commented that Edward touched no fewer than 995 sick in 1303/4, while he was in Scotland. Therefore, it would be wrong to conclude that

Edward only practised 'touching' when in England.<sup>370</sup> However what is evident for the year 1296/7, at least, is that although Edward's other acts of charity did continue when abroad, touching for scrofula did not. The number that Edward touched, which has been a preoccupation of many historians, is perhaps unimportant. It is his willingness to do so that is of interest. Edward was fulfilling an obligation of monarchy which, in probability, began in France. While his character seemed to lean towards common sense and scepticism in many matters, he was nonetheless mindful of his duties.<sup>371</sup> This probably made sound political sense. If God favoured the kings of France with healing powers, then he surely afforded the same powers to the kings of England. Failure to exercise this ability would only have acknowledged the inferiority of the English crown.

To this well trodden ground I can make a small offering by outlining a few numbers of touching that have not previously been recorded. These come from the fragmentary almoner's roll of 1292/3.<sup>372</sup> This fragment covers six weeks of the king's alms for February and March of 1293:

**Table 10 - Scrofula figures from almoner's account, TNA, E101/353/16**

Week Starting	Cost	Number of sufferers	Location
8 February 1293	2s.	24	Yorkshire
15 February 1293	18d.	18	Yorkshire/Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire
22 February 1293	2s. 6d.	30	Derbyshire
1 March 1293	3s. 6d.	42	Leicestershire
15 March 1293	3s. 9d.	45	Huntingdonshire
Total	13s. 3d.	159	

These figures give a rather unscientific average of 26.5 *infirmis benedictis* touched by the king per week. If this had been replicated throughout the year it would have yielded a total of, 1378. This would have been roughly in line with the years in which more complete figures have survived. However, as I have asserted, it was not the number of sick that was important, it was the willingness of the king to touch them. As all of these sick were touched in England, these new figures, unfortunately, do not add anything to the debate on whether Edward was in the habit of touching foreigners.

<sup>370</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 126.

<sup>371</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 120.

<sup>372</sup>TNA, E101/353/16.

#### IV. Travelling alms

Like his father Edward gave alms when en route to a new location. This form of mobile charity would surely have gone some way to generate a feeling of amicability as he perambulated around his kingdom and, indeed, abroad. In Henry III's reign, so far as the limited evidence supports, the king's travelling alms were constant at 4s. 2d. (50d.) and were recorded upon the rolls of oblations. In Edward's reign this had changed and, instead, the rolls of daily household expenditure recorded these costs. The entries within these rolls record no information about these alms other than where the king was heading when they were given and what they cost. However, the *journalia* of 1289/90, a document that would have been used to compile a later roll, records another vital piece of information. In this manuscript is the entry:

Alms - Master Henry the almoner of the king received four shillings per day on which the king travelled, for alms given on route (*per viam*), for these alms from Monday 20th day of February, on which day the king travelled to Westminster unto Sheen, until the 28th day of April on which day the king returned from Shene to Westminster. For 38 days for this journey - £7 12s.<sup>373</sup>

This entry records that it was indeed the almoner who was responsible for distributing these alms, a fact that cannot be gleaned from the rolls of daily household expenditure. This also makes it clear that the almoner received additional funds to accomplish this task and that these alms were not paid for from his own budget. This would explain why these alms feature in the daily household accounts and not the almoner's rolls. The reason for this is not entirely clear. Perhaps it was thought that the almoner had enough responsibilities as it was, without burdening him with enumerating alms given in transit.

The first reference to these alms in the reign of Edward I appears in the *journalia* of 1277/8. This document shows that Edward's alms of this sort had differed little from those of his father. As he travelled, Henry III gave 4s. 2d. a day in alms - equating to fifty poor at a penny per recipient. Edward in 1278 had reduced this amount by just 2d., giving 4s. a day. For example, in October of 1278 Friar Ralph was issued with 12s. for the king's 'customary alms' for three days when the king travelled from

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<sup>373</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, f. 6r.

Macclesfield to Stafford.<sup>374</sup> This sum probably meant that forty-eight poor received a penny each. This sum, so far as evidence supports, remained the same for at least the next fifteen years. It is interesting to note that, even in the early days of Friar Ralph, it was already the almoner who was responsible for these alms. There are ten years for which rolls of daily household expenditure survive which record the feeding of poor when travelling. The first of these is for the year 1283/4, roughly a decade after Edward's succession to the throne.<sup>375</sup> This account shows that the king's travelling alms were still dispersed in sums of 4s. a day. Similar rolls for 1285/6, 1287/8, 1289/90 and 1292/3, show identical findings.<sup>376</sup> These documents record the king travelling in a number of locations: in England, Wales, Scotland, Gascony and France. Regardless of location, the king's charity remained consistent.

The next surviving roll of daily household expenditure is for the year 1300/01, and comprises three incomplete rolls, one of which seems to be a collection of drafts sewn together for compiling the fair copy.<sup>377</sup> These various manuscripts between them cover much of the time between 10 December 1300 and 4 September 1301. The travelling alms recorded in these entries are no longer steady at 4s. but instead vary between 4s. and 9s. per journey. There does not appear to be any discernible pattern as to the sums of money distributed in this way. However, after arriving at Chester-le-Street on 20 June 1301, until the document ends on 4 September, the sum of 4s. seems to have been given every day while travelling, and was the only payment recorded.<sup>378</sup> It appears that there was a degree of flexibility in the sums given at this time. Perhaps the almoner was allowed to distribute more than 4s. if the crowds of poor encountered merited it. However with donations always coming in multiples of one shilling it seems

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<sup>374</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 41r.

<sup>375</sup> TNA, E101/351/13.

<sup>376</sup> TNA, E101/351/13; E101/351/23; E101/372/23; E101/352/23; E101/353/10.

<sup>377</sup> TNA, E101/358/28 is made up of three membranes sewn together *exchequer* style, i.e. at the top. Membrane 1 covers from 22 December 1300 until 4 January 1301, and its *dorse* covers from 10 December 1300 to 21 December 1300, membrane 2 covers from 01 March 1301 until 17 March 1302. Its *dorse* covers from 13 February 1301 until 28 February 1302. Membrane three covers from 24 January 1301 - 12 February 1301, and its *dorse* from 23 January 1301. Although these draft membranes are in the wrong order they therefore cover the period 10 December 1300 until 17 March 1301. These details were used to compile TNA, E101/358/29 a portion of the fair copy which covers from 24 December 1300 until 6 January 1301, and TNA E101/358/30, is a later portion of the same manuscript which at some point has become detached, this portion covers from 19 May 1301 until 4 September 1301. These rather confusing documents, once deciphered tell us much about the way in which the everyday household expenditure was recorded before it was written up in neat form.

<sup>378</sup> TNA, E101/358/30.

unlikely that the sums were given according to the turnout of poor. It seems, for one reason or another, that on occasions the king or his almoner chose to display more liberal largesse.

The household roll of 1301/02 permits a similar picture of flexible almsgiving. In this year either 4*s.* or 6*s.* was distributed to the poor when travelling.<sup>379</sup> It records that from 20 November 1301, 6*s.* was given to the poor whenever the king travelled until 26 June 1302. On this day, when travelling to Minster-in-Sheppey, 4*s.* was distributed. Throughout the rest of the year this smaller sum was distributed when the king travelled - which remained as standard for the rest of Edward's reign.<sup>380</sup> The accounts of 1302/03, 1304/05 and 1306/07 all feature travelling alms of just 4*s.* per journey. There are, of course, several gaps in this picture. Prior to 1277/8 we have no records to tell us of the king's travelling alms. We do, however, know that between 1277 and 1307, at least 4*s.* was distributed among the poor when the king was in transit. For a short period, for some unknown reason, between c. 1300 and 26 June 1302 this figure was increased in multiples of 1*s.*, up to a maximum of 9*s.* The *journalia* confirm that it was the almoner who was responsible for these distributions. Given that the servant of the almoner was not provided with a horse, it can be suggested that he was responsible for actually handing out these alms. After all, doing so from horseback would surely be problematic for the almoner and his clerk, neither of whom travelled on foot. Nevertheless, this form of mobile charity acted as a means of promoting the king's benevolence whenever he travelled. The poor of England, and those abroad too, must have welcomed the sight of the king's entourage on the horizon.

## V. Weekly alms

The money spent on feeding the poor when the king travelled made up only a very small proportion of Edward I's almsgiving. The almoner and his staff were also responsible for facilitating a busy weekly routine of royal charity. The nucleus of these alms was a fixed number fed each week by *custuma antiqua*, or ancient custom. This

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<sup>379</sup> TNA, E101/361/10.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

term presents the first, and to an extent irresolvable, problem. The antiquity of these alms is very hard to establish. Terms like *custuma antiqua* and *elemosina statuta* are in many ways interchangeable and seem to allude to a simple truth that some alms were given regularly - they were not, as it were, optional. These alms were probably a reincarnation of Henry III's practice of feeding one hundred poor every day. In the accounts of Henry III's day these alms were described as *elemosina statuta*.

Hilda Johnstone's 1929 article on poor relief in the thirteenth century first brought this practice to light.<sup>381</sup> She stated that under the term *elemosina statuta* 'a fixed sum was charged upon household revenues.'<sup>382</sup> She stated that the term can be traced back to the reign of King John when a *Misae* roll for 1209-10 recorded that a daily distribution of 3s. was given to the poor. This, she noted, was reckoned in the accounts in blocks of anything from 30 to 80 days.<sup>383</sup> We know in Henry III's reign that the term *elemosina statuta* referred to the 100 he fed every day, the cost of which was recorded on the rolls of daily expenditure.<sup>384</sup> However, in Edward I's reign, these alms evaporate from the household rolls and in their place emerged the king's travelling alms. The totals of the rolls of daily household expenditure, when enrolled on the pipe rolls, still refer to *elemosina statuta* but this may have been out of accounting habit in the wardrobe and exchequer.<sup>385</sup> However, I believe that this phrase was retained because the poor were still effectively fed from the scraps taken from the king's table by the almoner. These were after all still an important and legitimate form of charity. One inherited from the world of the religious who, in theory at least, exemplified the Christian duties of charity and hospitality.

Edward may not have continued to feed one hundred poor every day, as his father had done, but he still fed a regular number of poor each week. Although the nature of these alms had changed it amounted to the same action. A 'fixed sum charged upon the household revenues', or in this case the revenues of the wardrobe - which amounted to the same.<sup>386</sup> The term *custuma antiqua* was, I believe, later used because it

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<sup>381</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief ', pp. 149-167.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152, citing the printed roll of 1209 -10, *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Praestitis*, TNA, E101/349/1B.

<sup>384</sup> See above, pp. 25-26.

<sup>385</sup> For example, see, TNA, E372/135, m. 1 *dorso*.

<sup>386</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', p. 152.

neatly summarised that these alms were similar to those given by previous kings and would therefore continue in perpetuity. They were not optional. But this did not prevent them from being adapted. At the beginning of Edward's reign he fed a set number of poor on certain days. As his prestige increased, so too did his awareness of the charitable obligations of a monarch.

Hilda Johnstone incorrectly linked Edward I's *elemosina statuta* with the roll of alms and oblations for 1276/77. Johnstone stated that the roll recorded that Edward spent 8s. over fourteen days for his *elemosina statuta*.<sup>387</sup> This is in fact a misreading of the account which records that Edward paid for the queen's *elemosina statuta* for four days while she was travelling with him and this amounted to 8s. Throughout the roll entries record the king paying for Eleanor of Castile's daily alms.<sup>388</sup> This is in fact very similar to the practice of Henry III who fed an extra fifty poor per day when the queen was present. Eleanor's daily alms provided for feeding sixteen poor every day at 1½d. per almsman. Hence the 8s. for four days mentioned above. This same account is in fact a vital initial glimpse of Edward's almsgiving and the practice of giving weekly alms that would later be described as *de custuma antiqua*.

The roll of alms and oblations for 1276/7 records that Ralph the almoner fed thirteen poor every day.<sup>389</sup> The number thirteen was probably meant to symbolise the number of apostles including Jesus. These alms were recorded each week with a total of 11s. 4½d., which equates to each of the thirteen poor receiving 1½d. each. The sum of 1½d. was reckoned as sufficient to feed one pauper for a day throughout Edward's reign. When we consider that the king's almoner was receiving a daily wage of just over 4d. per day in 1278, and 6d. per day in 1290, this sum seems quite generous.<sup>390</sup> The almoners were after all providing a service for their money. More startling still is the fact that an ordinary infantryman fighting in Scotland in 1300 received a wage of only 2d. per day.<sup>391</sup> Put into this context the poor must have been rather pleased with the money they received from the crown in alms. This was also, in probability, a higher sum than they would have expected from the average donor. In addition to the thirteen

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<sup>387</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', p. 153, n. 3.

<sup>388</sup> TNA, E101/350/23.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 29v, and C47/4/4, f. 23r.

<sup>391</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 485-6.

poor fed daily were an extra fifty fed on Mondays and the same number on Fridays at the same rate, costing a total of 12s. 6d. for these days. These figures equate to the feeding of 191 poor every week at a cost of £1 3s. 10½d. .

The *journalia* of 1277/8 records that once again, thirteen were fed every day with fifty poor fed on each Monday and Friday of the week.<sup>392</sup> These alms are occasionally described in this account as being '*elemosina regis statuta*'.<sup>393</sup> However this custom had been expanded. In addition fifteen poor were now fed every Friday in honour of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>394</sup> At the beginning of the year the *journalia* records that the feeding of fifteen poor in honour of the Blessed Virgin took place on Thursdays.<sup>395</sup> However during the week starting Sunday 3 April 1277, this was moved to Friday and there it remained for the rest of the account.<sup>396</sup> This new addition meant that in 1277/8, 206 poor were being fed each week by the king's almoner.

The next surviving document that can be used to assess these alms is the roll of alms and oblations for the year 1283/4.<sup>397</sup> In this we note that there are some new additions to Edward's weekly alms. To the fifty poor fed on Mondays and Fridays was added another fifty fed on Tuesdays. These alms are described as being either *de statuta* (established) or *de consueta* (accustomed). A further forty were also fed on Sundays in honour of the Trinity. The fifteen poor receiving alms in honour of the Blessed Virgin were now fed on Saturdays. Therefore in 1283/4, including the thirteen fed per day, a total of 296 poor were fed each week - a notable increase since the 1270's.

A similar routine is evident in the roll of alms and oblations for 1288/9 but again with some notable additions. The table below outlines the weekly alms:

**Table 11 - Weekly alms in 1288/9<sup>398</sup>**

Day	Number of Poor Fed	Reason if given	Cost
Monday	13		1s. 7½d.
	10		1s. 3d.
	50	<i>de custuma</i>	6s. 3d.
Tuesday	13		1s. 7½d.

<sup>392</sup> TNA, C47/4/1.

<sup>393</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 14v.

<sup>394</sup> See, TNA, C47/4/1, f.

<sup>395</sup> For example, *Ibid.*, ff. 11r, 12r and 13v.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 14v.

<sup>397</sup> TNA, E101/351/15.

<sup>398</sup> TNA, E101/352/18.

	10		1s. 3d.
	100	<i>de custuma</i>	12s. 6d.
Wednesday	13		1s. 7½d.
	10		1s. 3d.
Thursday	13		1s. 7½d.
	10		1s. 3d.
	15	Honour of the Blessed Virgin <i>de custuma</i>	22½d.
Friday	13		1s. 7½d.
	10		1s. 3d.
	100	<i>de custuma</i>	12s. 6d.
Saturday	13		1s. 7½d.
	10		1s. 3d.
	140	<i>de custuma</i>	17s 6d.
Sunday	13		1s. 7½d.
	10		1s. 3d.
	40	<i>de custuma</i>	5s.
TOTAL:	606		£3 15s. 9d.

This year witnessed a substantial increase from the account of just five years before with 310 new alms being provided each week. This account records that an extra ten were fed every day and an extra 140 on Saturdays. The fifteen fed in honour of the Blessed Virgin had once again been moved from Saturdays to Thursdays. The account also records that a total of 250 poor were fed on Mondays, Tuesdays and Fridays. This provides a total of 606 poor fed each week. This increase is not however as impressive as asserted by Prestwich. He stated that 250 poor were fed on Monday, Tuesdays and Fridays. This was in fact a total and not a sum for each day. This is borne out by the total of these alms which came to 31s. 3d., which gives a total of 250 alms at 1½d. each. Conversely Prestwich also failed to include the forty fed on Sundays in his total.<sup>399</sup> This correction renders the year 1288/9 consonant with the picture of a gradual increase of set weekly alms reaching a zenith in the 1290's, rather than being an anomaly. This routine of weekly alms is replicated exactly the following year in the surviving *journalia* of 1289/90.<sup>400</sup>

The year 1292/3 heralds the climax in Edward's weekly almsgiving as recorded on the almoner's roll for that year.<sup>401</sup> At this point weekly alms now provided for feeding 666 poor each week, a sum that remained constant for the rest of Edward's reign. These alms are the result of notable additions to the routine and, what's more, the

<sup>399</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 121.

<sup>400</sup> TNA, C47/4/4.

<sup>401</sup> TNA, E101/353/16.

dedication of these alms had become set. The composition of this routine is illustrated in the table below:

Table 12 - Weekly Alms c. 1292/3 - c. 1307<sup>402</sup>

Day	Number of Poor Fed	Reason if given	Cost
Monday	13	Honour of the Apostles	1s. 7½d.
	10	Honour of St Jacob	1s. 3d.
	50	Honour of All the Faithful Departed	6s. 3d.
Tuesday	13	Honour of the Apostles	1s. 7½d.
	10	Honour of St Jacob	1s. 3d.
	100	Honour of St Thomas	12s. 6d.
Wednesday	13	Honour of the Apostles	1s. 7½d.
	10	Honour of St Jacob	1s. 3d.
Thursday	13	Honour of the Apostles	1s. 7½d.
	10	Honour of St Jacob	1s. 3d.
Friday	13	Honour of the Apostles	1s. 7½d.
	10	Honour of St Jacob	1s. 3d.
	100	Honour of <i>Sancta Crux</i>	12s. 6d.
Saturday	13	Honour of the Apostles	1s. 7½d.
	10	Honour of St Jacob	1s. 3d.
	15	Honour of the Annunciation of Blessed Virgin	22½d.
	60	Honour of St John the Evangelist	7s. 6d.
Sunday	140	Honour of Blessed Virgin Mary	17s 6d.
	13	Honour of the Apostles	1s. 7½d.
	10	Honour of St Jacob	1s. 3d.
TOTAL:	40	In Honour of the Trinity	5s.
	666		£4 3s. 3d.

As Edward's reign progressed and his prestige increased so too did his fixed weekly alms. A distinct rise in weekly alms is evident from the late 1280s onwards, peaking in the early 1290s. The next table illustrates Edward I's weekly alms for all available years throughout his reign:

Table 13 - Weekly alms in the reign of Edward I

Regnal Year	Year	Poor Fed	Cost	MS (TNA unless stipulated)
5	1276/7	191	£1 3s. 10½d.	E101/350/23
6	1277/8	206	£1 5s. 9d.	C47/4/1
12	1283/4	296	£1 17s.	E101/351/15
13	1284/5	346	£2 3s. 3d.	C47/4/2
17	1288/9	606	£3 15s. 9d.	E101/352/18
18	1289/90	606	£3 15s. 9d.	C47/4/4

<sup>402</sup> TNA, E101/353/16; BL, Add. MS7965, ff. 2r-5r; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 16-25; TNA, 7966A, ff. 19r-21v; BL, Add. MS 8835, ff. 1r-3v; TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 24r-27r.

21	1292/3	666	£4 3s. 3d.	E101/353/16
25	1296/7	666	£4 3s. 3d.	BL Add. MS 7965
28	1299/00	666	£4 3s. 3d.	BL Add. MS 35291
29	1300/01	666	£4 3s. 3d.	BL Add. MS 7966A
30	1301/02	666	£4 3s. 3d.	E101/361/21
32	1303/04	666	£4 3s. 3d.	BL Add. MS 8835
34	1305/06	666	£4 3s. 3d.	E101/369/11
35	1306/07	666	£4 3s. 3d.	E101/358/27, m. 9

## VI. Alms given for the family of Edward I

Henry III fed many poor for the souls of his family who had died, both recently and in earlier years. Likewise *pro anima* alms were given for many of his contemporaries both domestic and foreign. This provides the focus of Dixon-Smith's thesis. However, this was not a practice which Edward I adopted. He would command the celebration of masses on receiving news of a person's death and occasionally also order a general distribution of money . But, with one exception, he never provided for a specific number of poor to honour a dead person. The exception was his father.

In 1277, Edward fed 100 poor for the soul of Henry III, both on the feast of the translation of St Edward Confessor (13 October) and also on the feast of Edmund of Abingdon (16 November).<sup>403</sup> The first of these represented a touching nod to his father's devotion to the confessor, the second marked the day of his father's death. The *journalia* of 1277/8 unfortunately does not cover the feast of St Edmund of Abingdon but it does record that no special alms were given for the soul of Henry III on the feast of the translation of Edward the confessor. So the occasion in 1277 appears to have been a 'one-off'. In 1284 no alms were specifically given on anniversary of Henry III's death but there was, instead, a large 'general distribution' of £10 for the soul Edward's father, which equates to 2400 pennies, or perhaps 1600 gifts of 1½d.<sup>404</sup> Even though the poor were not specifically mentioned in this distribution, the fact that the term *pro anima* was

<sup>403</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 3.

<sup>404</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, m. 4.

used, confirms that the act was still considered spiritually efficacious and not just a display of secular largesse.

In 1289, rather than marking the anniversary of his father's death by doles of food, Edward chose to make a sizeable distribution of £11 10s. 10d. at the Church of Christ in Twynham, now Christchurch, in Dorset.<sup>405</sup> Likewise in 1290, he arranged a distribution of £6 10s. 5d. in the stead of formal alms, on the same day for the soul of Henry III at Laxton in Nottinghamshire.<sup>406</sup> In 1297 he arranged formal alms to be given to 140 poor on the anniversary of Henry III's death. The entry does not explicitly state *pro anima* but perhaps this was obvious to the clerk making the account who did record that it was the anniversary of the previous king.<sup>407</sup> In 1300 the same number of poor received alms on the anniversary of Henry's death.<sup>408</sup> This was repeated identically in 1301 and in 1302.<sup>409</sup> Such alms disappear after this date, with no reference to them in 1304 or 1306. Although general distributions were occasionally made for other dead, Henry III was the only person honoured with formal almsgiving on his anniversary.<sup>410</sup> Edward was clearly demonstrating his special regard for his father, treating his anniversary rather as if it were a saint's day. This sets him apart from Henry III, who frequently gave *pro anima* alms.

It was also very rare for Edward to provide almsgiving for the sake of the living. All such alms were given for the sake of his children. Or perhaps more tellingly - for his sons. Just as Edward bent the rules for the sake of his father, a former king, so too did he for his sons - possible future kings. In 1283, he fed 200 poor on the 'morrow of Saint Clement' for Prince Alphonso, in honour of Saint Clement. This was on the 24 November, Alphonso's birthday. Taylor has suggested that the young prince's health may already have been a cause of concern for the king. Taylor notes that the birth of Edward of Caernarvon was certainly a cause for celebration in 1284.<sup>411</sup> A few weeks after Edward's birth (25 April), he fed 140 poor in honour of the young prince on Trinity Sunday (4 June 1284). Likewise, he provided for another 140 poor *pro domino*

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<sup>405</sup> TNA, E101/352/18, m. 7.

<sup>406</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, f. 47v.

<sup>407</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 4v.

<sup>408</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 24.

<sup>409</sup> BL, Add. MS 7966A, f. 22r, and TNA, E101/361/21, m. 1.

<sup>410</sup> For example in 1289 a general distribution of £4 3s. was made at Waltham for the soul of Richard of Brus. TNA, E101/353/16, m. 6.

<sup>411</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', pp. 107 -8.

*Edwardo filio regis per preceptum regis* later that month.<sup>412</sup> So rare a provision perhaps displays the king's relief at having a 'spare heir' in good health. This may also reflect that the early months of a baby's life can be precarious, especially so in the thirteenth century. We must remember that Edward lost several children while they were still infants and his fatherly concern seems to have found expression through pious charity.

Edward continued giving alms in association with Edward of Caernarvon even after he had overcome the dangers of early childhood. Interpreting these alms is problematic. It is not certain whether they were given in order to celebrate his survival into adulthood or as means of acquiring spiritual favour that his future safety might be ensured. In all probability, both of these concerns were implied. Edward was giving just thanks to Christ for protecting his heir and appealing for this protection to be continued. So far as evidence supports, between 1290 and 1300 Prince Edward's birthday (25 April) was marked by feeding the poor. On this date in 1290, he fed 700 poor. On Edward of Caernarvon's thirteenth birthday, the 25 April 1297, he fed 1400 poor - the largest number fed on any day of that year.<sup>413</sup> The king's relief that his son had reached such an age is apparent. The next surviving account shows that in 1301, he provided for 1700 to be fed to mark his son's seventeenth birthday.<sup>414</sup> However this was the last year that such alms were given. The account for 1300/01 records no such almsgiving on his eighteenth birthday.<sup>415</sup> Similarly no such alms appear on the accounts of 1301/02 or 1303/04. Perhaps it can be concluded that by the age of eighteen Edward of Caernarvon was considered a man and capable of procuring his own alms. It could also be concluded that he had escaped the perils of childhood and was considered in good health. Regardless of the many obvious differences in personality and character between father and son, Edward I must have been greatly relieved to have a healthy adult heir.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

<sup>413</sup> BL, Add. MS, 7965, f. 3r.

<sup>414</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 20.

<sup>415</sup> BL, Add. MS 7966A, f. 20r.

<sup>416</sup> Edward once more fed the poor on his son's birthday in 1306, shortly before his own death. On 25 April 1307, he fed 140 poor for the sake of his son. Perhaps his own failing health turned his mind, once more, to his son's welfare. BL, Add. MS 8835, f. 1r-3v.

## VII. Alms 'by order of the king'

Technically all the king's almsgiving, not described as 'by custom' were *per preceptum regis*, that is 'by order of the king'. This distinction ranked these alms as additional to the king's required charity, or to use another phrase - above and beyond the requirements of convention. Many of these alms were expressly linked to particular point in the church year or to the feasts of saints; others were simply described as 'by order of the king', 'by special order of the king', or 'private alms'. Occasionally these alms might be linked to a particular saint, which shows that intermittently the king was moved to honour a particular saint outside of the calendar of feast days. In the 1270s such alms were relatively infrequent. On Sunday 21 February 1277, he fed seven poor, costing 10½*d.*, for which no reason was recorded.<sup>417</sup> On the 16 April 1277 he fed fifty poor for 'the alms of the king' in addition to the fifty fed out of custom on this day. Again, no special reason was given. Likewise on Monday 26 April 1277 he fed another ten poor for the king's alms.<sup>418</sup> Three more such feedings took place in this year; he fed sixty-three on Friday 30 July; he fed 140 on Friday 16 September; and on Sunday 09 October, he fed five paupers.<sup>419</sup> Little can be said about these alms. However, they do confirm that in the 1270s alms were occasionally given for no apparent reason other than the king's pleasure. They are distinct both from those given out of custom and those given in honour of the saints.

By the 1290s such alms were more frequent. The account for 1296/7 serves as an example with which to try and analyse this mysterious facet of Edward I's charity. Unfortunately, even by this date, we have virtually no information concerning the motivation behind these alms. Edward's grandfather, King John, frequently fed 100 poor to make amends for eating meat on Fridays, which was meant to be a fast day.<sup>420</sup> King John's other failures, such as going hunting on Holy Innocents Day 1212, were also compensated by the giving of alms.<sup>421</sup> During the year 1296/7, eleven gifts of alms were described as 'private alms': one for thirty poor, one for forty poor, six for 140 poor,

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<sup>417</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 1.

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 2.

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>420</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', p. 153.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*

two for 270 poor and one for 400 poor.<sup>422</sup> In total private alms resulted in the feeding of 1850 poor. These private alms perhaps allude to an element of secrecy. Virginia Cole has identified that charity performed in private was considered modest and subsequently more spiritually efficacious. Her translation of an extract from a biography of Louis IX illustrates this fact:

The sainted king, who was greatest in this world, showed himself the most humble in all things. He had the habit, each Saturday, of washing the feet of the poor in secret, and after washing them, he dried them and kissed them humbly.<sup>423</sup>

There is no evidence that Edward I ever went to such extraordinary lengths, but it could be suggested that he occasionally fed the poor in private. In 1296/7 a further two gifts of alms were given 'By special order of the king' to provide for feeding 140 poor on both occasions. Taylor observed that in the roll of alms and oblations for 1283/4, a total of 3340 poor received 'secret alms'.<sup>424</sup> Unfortunately the account of 1296/7 was not so explicit in its entries.

We must finally consider those alms simply described as being 'By Order of the King'. In 1296/7 thirty-two separate gifts were designated in this way, the majority of these were for the feeding of 140 poor, giving a total of 3551 poor being fed. From this total, ninety-one can be attributed to gifts to the poor on Maundy Thursday. As for the others, we have, by and large, no hint as to motivation. On a few occasions location can explain these alms. Throughout the alms section of the wardrobe book for 1296/7 are examples when alms were given in the name of saints without it being one of their feast days. In these examples proximity to a shrine, image, altar or even church which was dedicated to a particular saint appears to be the motivation. The below table lists all of the occasions in 1296/7 when this motivation can be detected:

**Table 14 - Alms prompted by location in 1297**

Date	Number of poor	Saint	Place	Institution	Reason	Folio
7 Mar	140	Blessed Virgin Mary	Salisbury	Cathedral	Dedication	2 v.
23 Mar	140	St Edward the Martyr	Shaftesbury	Abbey	Shrine	3 r.

<sup>422</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 2r-5r.

<sup>423</sup> V. A. Cole, 'Ritual Charity and Royal Children in Thirteenth-Century England', *Medieval and Early Modern ritual: formalized behaviour in Europe, China and Japan*, ed. J. Rollo-Koster (Leiden, 2003), pp. 221-243, p. 231.

<sup>424</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', pp. 103-4.

3 Apr	140	Blessed Virgin Mary	Ottery Saint Mary	Parish Church	Image	3 r.
4 Apr	140	St Peter	Exeter	Cathedral	Dedication	3 r.
5 Apr	140	St Nicholas	Exeter	Priory	Dedication	3 r.
13 Apr	140	Blessed Virgin Mary	Plympton	Priory	Image	3 r.
20 Apr	140	St Michael	St Michael's Mount	Priory	Dedication	3 r.
20 May	140	St Denys	Lyndhurst	Priory	Dedication	3 v.
26 May	140	St Richard	Chichester	Cathedral	Shrine	3 v.
4 Jun	140	St Thomas Becket	Canterbury	Cathedral	Shrine	3 v.
6 Jun	140	St Augustine	Canterbury	Cathedral	Shrine	3 v.
15 Jun	140	Blessed Virgin Mary	Chatham		Image	3 v.
27 Jul	140	St Alban	St Albans	Abbey	Shrine	4 r.

Several things emerge from this table. Firstly, all of the gifts of alms are of the same value. Edward fed 140 poor whenever he wished to honour a saint, for any reason other than their feast days. Secondly, it is notable that it was not only the larger cathedrals whose shrines and images prompted this type of almsgiving. Thus the parish church of Ottery Saint Mary triggered the same desire to give alms as the cathedral church of Christ's Canterbury. These types of alms gave Edward the freedom to express his devotion to the saints associated with the places he visited beyond the constraints of the calendar of feast days. This also highlights the importance of a church's dedication. Whereas today a church's dedication is considered little more than a name, in the thirteenth century such an association was considered extremely powerful.

### **VIII. Penitential alms**

Edward, like his progenitors, fed the poor as an act of contrition. As we have observed, King John frequently fed the poor to make amends for failing to observe the dietary requirements of holy days. Edward I gave penitential alms for failing to attend chapel. This fact is of utmost importance because it confirms that he considered it desirable to attend chapel daily. Prestwich commented that, in 1289, Edward missing chapel, 'was such a rare occurrence that it prompted the largest single distribution in the

roll, to 600 poor.<sup>425</sup> This is not strictly true for, in that same year, Edward often fed 100 poor when he missed chapel. On the occasion when he fed 600 poor, the account records the reason as being *non audivit missam*.<sup>426</sup> Such entries are rare in Edward's reign and did not always mean that a higher number of poor were given alms than on days when he missed chapel. Perhaps these phrases were interchangeable. But together they confirm that Edward both attended chapel and witnessed the celebration of a mass every day. The days on which he did not are recorded in the following tables:

**Table 15 - Alms given for missing chapel, 1284/5<sup>427</sup>**

Date	Day	Number fed
18 January 1285	Thursday	100
8 June 1285	Friday	100
4 September 1285	Tuesday	200 <sup>428</sup>
2 October 1285	Tuesday	200 <sup>429</sup>
9 November 1285	Friday	100
	Total	700

**Table 16 - Alms given for missing chapel, 1288/9<sup>430</sup>**

Date	Day	Number fed
10 January 1290	Tuesday	100
25 April 1290	Wednesday	100
10 May 1290	Wednesday	100
25 August 1290	Friday	600 <sup>431</sup>
2 November 1290	Thursday	100
	Total	1000

**Table 17 - Alms given for missing chapel, 1289/90<sup>432</sup>**

Date	Day	Number fed
02 December 1289	Friday	100
17 January 1290	Tuesday	500
15 April 1290	Saturday	100
02 May 1290	Friday	100
13 June 1290	Monday	100
25 August 1290	Saturday	100
04 October 1290	Wednesday	100
20 October 1290	Friday	100

<sup>425</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 122.

<sup>426</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-89*, p. 295.

<sup>427</sup> TNA, C47/4/2, ff. 20r-24v.

<sup>428</sup> The account states that this was the feast of St Cuthbert.

<sup>429</sup> The account states that this was the feast of St Leger.

<sup>430</sup> TNA, E101/352/18, printed in, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, pp. 275-302.

<sup>431</sup> This entry reads: *Eidem pro Dc pauperibus dicto die quia rex non audivit missam, lxij s. vj d.*

<sup>432</sup> TNA, E101/352/18, ff. 38r-47v.

15 November 1290	Wednesday	100
	Total	1300

**Table 18 - Alms given for missing chapel, 1296/7<sup>433</sup>**

Date	Day	Number fed
12 December 1296	Wednesday	100
04 January 1297	Friday	100
06 August 1297	Tuesday	100
24 September 1297	Tuesday	100
19 October 1297	Saturday	100
24 October 1297	Thursday	100
12 November 1297	Tuesday	100
	Total	700

**Table 19 - Alms for given for missing chapel, 1299/1300.<sup>434</sup>**

Date	Day	Number fed
30 January 1300	Saturday	100
11 February 1300	Thursday	100
18 February 1300	Thursday	100
	Total	300

**Table 20 - Alms given for missing chapel, 1303/4<sup>435</sup>**

Date	Day	Number fed
16 March 1304	Monday	100
23 March 1304	Monday	100
01 April 1304	Wednesday	100
06 April 1304	Monday	100
21 May 1304	Thursday	100
03 August 1304	Monday	100
13 August 1304	Thursday	100
17 August 1304	Monday	100
20 August 1304	Thursday	100
28 August 1304	Friday	100
31 August 1304	Monday	100
07 September 1304	Monday	100
10 September 1304	Thursday	100
18 September 1304	Friday	100
24 September 1304	Thursday	100
03 October 1304	Friday	100
12 October 1304	Monday	100
21 October 1304	Wednesday	100
23 October 1304	Friday	100
24 October 1304	Saturday	100
30 October 1304	Friday	100
	Total	2100

<sup>433</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 2r-4v.

<sup>434</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 16 - 25.

<sup>435</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, ff. 1r-2v.

**Table 21 - Alms for missing chapel, 1305/06.** <sup>436</sup>

Date	Day	Number fed
14 January 1306	Friday	100
15 January 1306	Saturday	100
02 March 1306	Wednesday	100
14 March 1306	Monday	100 <sup>437</sup>
13 April 1306	Wednesday	100
22 April 1306	Friday	100
11 May 1306	Wednesday	100
29 May 1306	Sunday	100
06 June 1306	Monday	100
02 July 1306	Saturday	100
09 July 1306	Saturday	140 <sup>438</sup>
19 July 1306	Tuesday	100
26 July 1306	Tuesday	140
08 August 1306	Monday	100
17 August 1306	Wednesday	100
26 September 1306	Monday	100
02 October 1306	Sunday	100
03 October 1306	Monday	100
	Total	1880

**Table 22 - Alms given when the king did not hear mass in 1307.** <sup>439</sup>

Date	Day	Number Fed
10 May 1307	Wednesday	100
12 May 1307	Friday	100

These figures show us that from at least 1284 onwards the king gave alms to 100 poor on days when he failed to attend chapel and/or failed to hear a mass. At various times this number was increased but there is no discernible patterns to these deviations. In the last years of his reign these alms became more frequent, and Prestwich is probably correct in asserting that this was the result of his failing health and the difficulty he found in rising early in the morning.<sup>440</sup> Nevertheless, these figures tell us that, as a rule, the king attended his chapel, and heard a mass, every day. Evidently he maintained a strict liturgical routine and depended heavily upon his chaplains. Edward was not a 'high days and holidays' Christian, and he kept his chapel clerks busy to satisfy his daily spiritual needs.

<sup>436</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 24r-27r.

<sup>437</sup> Entry states 100 poor were fed because the king did not hear a mass.

<sup>438</sup> This increased feeding may have been due to the proximity to the feast of St Thomas Becket on the 7 July.

<sup>439</sup> TNA, E101/358/27, m. 9, NB this is only a small portion of an account.

<sup>440</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 122.

## IX. Alms and the liturgical year

The set routine of weekly alms given by the king provided only the nucleus of the king's charity. Numerous other poor received allocated meals as prescribed by the rhythm of the church year. In keeping with the changes witnessed in the king's fixed weekly almsgiving as his reign progressed, so too did his almsgiving in honour of the saints develop. Surviving manuscripts provide us with nine complete years of eleemosynary expenditure. These allow us to monitor changes and trends. Other more fragmentary sources also fill in small but important gaps in this timeline. All of these documents come together to display a defining aspect of Edwardian piety. Whereas, Henry III never seemed to display a real consistency in his almsgiving, his son, in the words of Hilda Johnstone, was more 'businesslike'.<sup>441</sup> In likelihood the almoner dictated many of these alms. However the king was technically responsible for their instigation, ultimately liable for their cost and, of course, the chief beneficiary of their application. The later wardrobe books repeatedly affirm that all alms not given by *custuma antiqua* were by *preceptum regis*.

### The life of Christ

The life of Christ was celebrated by many important feasts in the liturgical year. As well as Easter and Christmas, which are more familiar to us, other benchmarks in Christ's life also helped to define the structure of the church year. Many of these feast days form part of a group known as solemnities: the main feasts of the church year. However, for Edward I, Christ was at the centre of a large and diverse spectrum of celestial sponsors to whom he could turn for help and guidance. Edward's later alms suggest that the Blessed Virgin was considered the preeminent source of spiritual sponsorship. Nevertheless, key moments in Christ's life still provided ample opportunities for celebration. Almsgiving, in a variety of forms, was a key characteristic of these festivities. The first of these, because Edward's regnal year began on the 20 November, was Christmas day.

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<sup>441</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', p. 162.

## Christmas

Alms given to celebrate Christmas day in the 1270s appear unremarkable. In 1276 just one hundred poor were fed on this day.<sup>442</sup> However, this low figure must be kept in context. Throughout this year only thirty-six feasts were marked with special almsgiving, with a total of 4313 poor fed in the entire regnal year. This produces an average of just over 113 poor per feast day. The *journalia* for 1277/8 is unfortunately damaged and does not record the alms given for Christmas day that year.<sup>443</sup> However the next surviving record of almsgiving records that in 1283/4 Christmas day was marked by feeding 500 poor. This is the largest single distribution of alms for that entire year.<sup>444</sup> This account also suggests that other feasts associated with Christ's birth had begun to be marked with almsgiving. One hundred poor were fed in honour of the feasts of the Holy Innocents and the Circumcision of Christ. In addition the feast of the Epiphany prompted the feeding of 300 poor.<sup>445</sup> This is a clear increase from the practices of the 1270s. The wardrobe book for 1284/5 records a similar, if slightly reduced, regime of almsgiving with 200 poor fed on Christmas day and the feasts of the Innocents, Circumcision and Epiphany all being celebrated with the feeding of one hundred poor.<sup>446</sup> That these sums are slightly lower than the previous year reveals that a set system had not yet been established.

The king's almsgiving in the later 1280s displays similar variation. In 1288 Christmas day was again honoured by feeding 200 poor.<sup>447</sup> However we also see slight variations: in addition to feeding 200 poor, Christmas day saw a *communis partizona* (general distribution) of 29s. 3d. This year the feast of the Holy Innocents passed with the feeding of 140 poor, but these alms were described specifically as being by *preceptum regis* (by order of the king).<sup>448</sup> Similarly, rather than there being a set number of poor fed to honour the feast of the Circumcision, there was instead a *communis partizona* of 32s. 9½d. and a further 140 poor fed by *preceptum regis*. This general distribution equates to 393½d., a sum not divisible by the standard 1½d. given

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<sup>442</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 1.

<sup>443</sup> TNA, C47/4/1.

<sup>444</sup> A fact noted by Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 121.

<sup>445</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, m. 1.

<sup>446</sup> TNA, C47/4/2, f. 24r-24v.

<sup>447</sup> E101/353/6, m. 1.

<sup>448</sup> Ibid.

to the poor. Another general distribution was made on the Epiphany, this time costing 45s. 9d.<sup>449</sup> General distributions become more common in the 1290's and suggest a display of public largesse not necessarily restricted to the poor. Those given in 1288/9 to celebrate Christmas and its subordinate feasts all took place at *Bonnegarde* in Gascony. Such displays of largesse were clearly intended to ingratiate the king with his Gascon subjects. A payment from the king's alms of 73s. 1d. to a chaplain, Arnaldo Guilleim of *Fayet Aybyn*, to repair a *clocherium* (bell tower) which was destroyed in the course of Edward's campaigning, displays a similar intent to ameliorate the king's image.<sup>450</sup>

Such general distributions were not yet common place. The next year when celebrating Christmas back in England, at Westminster, the king ordered a more routine run of almsgiving. On Christmas day he fed 340 poor, on Holy Innocent's day 280 by order of the king, on the Circumcision he fed 215, by order of the king, and on the Epiphany he fed 420.<sup>451</sup> Unfortunately the almoner's roll for 1292/3 is incomplete and does not contain details of the alms given at Christmas.<sup>452</sup> However the alms that it does record, for feasts later in the year, resemble more closely those from the late 1280's than the next surviving account of 1296/7. It would therefore appear that the generosity in the late 1290's evolved some time after 1293. The surviving wardrobe book of 1296/7 marks the start of Edward I's most prolific almsgiving.

In the 1296/7 wardrobe book, after a surprisingly low Christmas almsgiving benefiting just 200 poor, the king marked the feast of the Holy Innocents by feeding 700 poor, and at both the Circumcision and Epiphany he fed 1000 poor.<sup>453</sup> This increase from the figures of the 1280s is again replicated in the accounts of 1299/1300, 1300/01 and 1301/02 with the addition of 1000 poor being fed on Christmas day, rather than 200.<sup>454</sup> The reason which explains why Christmas of 1296 was only honoured by feeding of 200 poor is not known, but it is tempting to conclude that it was supplemented with a general distribution that was not, for some reason or another,

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<sup>449</sup> Ibid.

<sup>450</sup> TNA, E101/352/18, m. 1, printed in, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289*, p. 273.

<sup>451</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, f. 38v.

<sup>452</sup> TNA, E101/353/16.

<sup>453</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 2r-2v.

<sup>454</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 17, BL, Add. MS 7966A, ff. 19r-19v, and TNA, E101/361/21, m. 1.

recorded. These years represent the highpoint in Edward's almsgiving and perhaps suggest the regal image he wished to display.

The last accounts of Edward's reign display a sharp drop in almsgiving. In 1303/04 and 1305/06 no alms were recorded at all for Christmas itself and on the three subsequent feasts of Holy Innocents, the Circumcision and Epiphany the king fed just 140 poor occasion.<sup>455</sup> This decline was no doubt a result of dwindling crown finances, exacerbated by troubles in Scotland rather than a decline in pious interest. It is imperative to remember that Edward's weekly alms were still being disbursed at the high rate of 666 poor per week, as set in the late 1290's. Edward's alms at this time show a good intent that could not be matched entirely by his depleted coffers. The totals of money spent on alms and general distributions for Christmas and its subordinate feasts in these years are listed below:

**Table 23 - Alms and general distributions during Christmas, Holy Innocents, Circumcision and Epiphany**

Year	Total	MS (TNA unless stated)
1276/7	12s. 6d.	E101/350/23
1283/4	£6 5s.	E101/351/15
1284/5	£3 2s. 6d.	C47/4/2
1288/9	£7 10s. 3½d.	E101/352/18
1289/90	£7 16s. 10½d.	C47/4/4
1296/7	£18 2s. 6d.	BL, Add. MS 7965
1299/1300	£23 2s. 6d.	BL, Add. MS 35291
1300/01	£23 2s. 6d.	BL, Add. MS 7966A
1301/02	£23 2s. 6d.	E101/361/21
1303/04	£2 12s. 6d.	BL, Add. MS 8835
1305/06	£2 12s. 6d.	E101/369/11

## Easter

Easter Sunday and associated holy days stimulated a variety of charitable activities. Mirroring the alms given at Christmas, these practices seem to have varied in the 1270s and 80s before becoming more uniform in the later 1290s before declining

<sup>455</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, f. 1r-1v, and TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 24r-24v.

again in c. 1303. In 1277 the king fed just one hundred poor on Easter Sunday, and we have no references recording any other alms given on the subsidiary feast days except for Good Friday.<sup>456</sup> A variety of charitable outgoings on Good Friday seem to herald the practices revealed in later accounts, whereby Holy Week provided an opportunity for the whole royal family to engage in charity. The account for this year details the following:

'A distribution made to the poor on Good Friday for the alms of the king by the hand of the king - 5s. For 70 pairs of shoes for distributing to the poor on the same day for the alms of the king 29s. 4d. / For a distribution made to twenty poor for Master Alphonso, the king's son, the same day 20d. For 31 pairs of shoes distributed to the poor the same day for the alms of the king 13s. For a distribution made to the poor on Good Friday for the alms of the king made by Friar Ralph 20d. For a distribution made to the poor on the same day for the alms of the Queen 20d.'<sup>457</sup>

Good Friday was clearly an important day for royal charity, upon which the king, queen and prince all made offerings to the poor. It should be noted, however, that in 1277 Alphonso was just four years old and these alms were probably given on his behalf and not by him in person. By the next year more than shoes were given to the poor during holy week.

In 1278 a variety of gifts were dispersed to mark Easter. On Good Friday the king distributed 169 lengths of cloth to the poor at a cost of £13 10s. 7d., in addition 140 pairs of shoes were also given on the same day which cost a total of 30s. 6d. The queen gave additional cloths and shoes at a cost of 103s. 4d.<sup>458</sup> Good Friday seems to have been the focus of Holy Week as charity on other days was less remarkable. Between 8 April and 23 April, the king fed thirteen poor each day; however, it is not clear whether these were in addition to the thirteen fed each day by *custuma antiqua*. On the Wednesday and Friday of Holy Week the king fed an additional fifteen poor each day. On Maundy Thursday the king arranged that sixty poor should receive one penny each, perhaps an early reference to the royal Maundy, unfortunately this is not explicitly stated. The king fed a further thirty poor on Good Friday at the usual sum of 1½d. per recipient. Finally on Easter Sunday itself, the king fed 200 poor.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 2.

<sup>457</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 1.

<sup>458</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 15v.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 16v.

By the 1280s royal charity during Holy Week had become more elaborate, mirroring the increased number of poor fed to celebrate Christmas and its subordinate feasts. In 1284 on the eve of Holy Week, Palm Sunday, the king fed 100 poor to mark the beginning of the festivities. He fed an additional fifty poor on the following Monday, Tuesday and Friday of Holy Week. Easter Sunday itself, as in 1278, was celebrated with the feeding of 200 poor. On Maundy Thursday of 1284, we see the first explicit references to Maundy gifts. The use of the term *manda* to describe these gifts strongly suggests that the king was engaging in the practice of washing the feet of the poor that his father had adhered to.<sup>460</sup> The king disbursed 4s. 4d. in this enterprise suggesting he washed the feet of 52 paupers. Likewise the queen spent 2s. 6d., Prince John 20d. and Princess Elizabeth 12d. all on similar *manda*. It seems the whole family was following Christ's example in washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday. The account also records that a total of £24 12s. was spent on sixty-four measures of cloth and 114 pairs of shoes for the poor, probably given on Good Friday, although it is not explicitly stated. It does record, however, that on Good Friday the king's almoner made a distribution of £3 11s. 6d. at the 'Adoration of the Cross.' The account also records that on each day of Holy Week the king fed an additional thirty poor at the standard sum of 1½d. per almsman.<sup>461</sup>

The king spent Easter of 1289 in Condom in Gascony. At this time an innovation emerged by which the king fed an extra thirteen poor for each day in Lent.<sup>462</sup> These alms were in addition to the twenty-three he fed each day for his fixed alms. Maundy Thursday was marked with the now regular Maundy offerings. The king and his twenty-one year old niece, Marie of Brittany, gave a total of 5s. 3d. for this purpose. The queen also gave thirty of these Maundy gifts at one penny per recipient.<sup>463</sup> On Good Friday the royal family made a general distribution amounting to £4 4.5d. in Condom along with gifts of shoes and cloth. Cloths of different types costing a total of £3 3s. and ninety-three pairs of shoes costing 51s. were brought to Condom at a cost of 13s. 2d.<sup>464</sup> On Easter Sunday the king fed the standard number of 200 poor and he marked the beginning of the paschal season by feeding 300 poor on the following

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<sup>460</sup> See above, pp. 32-33.

<sup>461</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, m. 2.

<sup>462</sup> TNA, E101.352/18, m. 2.

<sup>463</sup> Ibid.

<sup>464</sup> *Record of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, p. 285.

Monday, 300 on Tuesday and 100 on Wednesday. The end of this season also saw new almsgiving with 200 poor receiving alms on Whitsunday and 300 on Ascension day.<sup>465</sup>

The royal family spent Holy week of 1290 at Woodstock and the records of pious expenditure reveal a good deal as to the whole family's activities. On Maundy Thursday the king distributed Maundy gifts to fifty poor at one penny each, presumably after he had washed the recipients' feet.<sup>466</sup> Prince Edward likewise gave thirty poor the same gift of one penny, again presumably after washing their feet. These distributions were followed by others made by the whole royal family, evoking the sense of a family occasion. The king, his queen, prince Edward, the four royal daughters and his niece, Marie of Brittany, all distributed gifts of cloth and shoes. These gifts comprised of 106 measures of cloth costing £30 14s. 11d. and 140 pairs of shoes costing 75s. 7½d.. This equated to 18d. per measure of cloth and 5½d. per pair of shoes. They gathered these gifts from far and wide, with an entry in the same account recording that 23s. 10d. had been spent on their carriage to Woodstock from Stanford, Banbury and Farendon.<sup>467</sup> On the next day, Good Friday, the king paid for his daughters', and their attendants', offerings at mass. On this day, the almoner also made a general distribution of 46s. at the behest of the king. Finally, on Easter Sunday, the king commanded another general distribution of 15s.<sup>468</sup> Unfortunately the almoner's roll of 1292/3 does not cover the Easter gifts of that year and the next record we have is not until 1297.

The accounts show that in the years 1296/7, 1299/1300, 1300/01 and 1301/02 gifts of shoes and cloth were no longer given. Instead the king fed set numbers of poor. The findings of these accounts are displayed in the two following tables below:

**Table 24 - Charity during Lent and Holy Week (1297, 1300, 1301 and 1302)<sup>469</sup>**

Year	Poor fed on each day of Lent	Maundy Distributions	Poor fed on Good Friday	Poor Fed on Easter Sunday
1297	13	7s. 7d.	700	500 plus 35s.
1300	13		140	700
1301			700	1000
1302			700	700

<sup>465</sup> Ibid., p 287.

<sup>466</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, f. 40r.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid.

<sup>469</sup> BL, Add. MS, 7965 f. 3r-3v, *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 20-21, BL, Add. MS, 8835, f. 2r-2v, TNA, E101/369/11, f. 25r-25v.

Table 25 - Charity after Holy Week (1297, 1300, 1301 and 1302)

Year	Poor fed on Monday after Easter	Poor fed on Tuesday after Easter	Poor fed on Wednesday after Easter	Poor fed on Ascension Day	Poor fed on Whitsunday	Poor fed on Trinity Sunday
1297	140	100	100		700	1000
1300	100	100	100	140	700	1000
1301	100	None <sup>470</sup>	100	700	700	1000
1302	100	100	100	700	700	1000

In the first account of 1296/7 contains reference to *7s. 7d.* spent on pennies given to the poor for the *mandata* of the king.<sup>471</sup> No other Maundy distributions were recorded until 1306. The practice of feeding a set number of poor throughout Lent also appears to have been fleeting: first appearing in 1289, but disappearing after 1300. The contrast to the familial scenes of the 1270s and 80s seem stark. Perhaps Eleanor of Castile's death in 1290 prompted this change. Another explanation for this is that by the late 1290s Edward was too busy with problems in Gascony, Wales and Scotland, and so had to direct his time elsewhere. That he did not wish these distractions to diminish his spiritual well-being is evident from the parallel rise in his almsgiving. Unfortunately towards the end of his reign even this effort was greatly impeded.

In 1304, he only fed 140 poor on Good Friday and the same on Easter Sunday and Whitsunday. Maundy gifts were however reinstated into the celebrations of Easter. Edward gave 100 poor such gifts. However no additional poor seem to have been fed on any of the first days of Eastertide, nor Ascension day nor Trinity Sunday.<sup>472</sup> In 1306 this position shows little improvement. The king gave alms to 100 poor on Good Friday, ordered a general distribution of £9 8s. on Easter Sunday and on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday following 100 poor received alms each day. The king also distributed Maundy pennies, which totalled *2s. 2d.*<sup>473</sup> He fed an additional 300 poor on Whitsunday, and 140 poor on Trinity Sunday. This slightly improved position still represents a severe decrease from previous years. The jovial celebrations of the 1280s were a thing of the past. In the later 1290s and earlier 1300s their absence was

<sup>470</sup> NB 100 poor not fed on this day in honour of Easter but 100 poor were fed in honour of St Ambrose whose feast was also that day.

<sup>471</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 3r.

<sup>472</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, ff. 2r-2v.

<sup>473</sup> TNA, E101/369/11. f. 25r-25v.

compensated for by enhanced almsgiving. However, in the last few years of the reign even this proved impossible.

After 1290 the sense of Easter as a family occasion fades from the records. This was perhaps due in no small part to the death of Eleanor of Castile in November 1290. Edward and his queen had given gifts to the poor during the 1270s and 80s up to and including their last Easter together in April of 1290. There is insufficient evidence to tell us exactly when these gifts ceased, but they had certainly disappeared by 1297. By this point Edward was in his late fifties and the youngest of his five children, Edward of Caernarvon, was thirteen. Perhaps he felt by this point that such educational exercises were no longer necessary. The absence of his queen must surely have been keenly felt for she had been a part of these festivities up until her death in 1290. It is perhaps no coincidence that after Eleanor's death, Edward routinely ordered almsgiving on his son's birthday. These two changes perhaps reflect a change in Edward's character. Jovial family celebrations had been replaced by more sombre and reflective concern for the health of his heir. The death of the queen seemingly altered the king's personality.

#### The saints

Whereas Henry III's almsgiving displays a keen devotion to a small group of saints, headed by Edward the Confessor, Edward I's almsgiving suggests a more inclusive approach. The advantage of feeding the poor in honour of the saints was three-fold. Firstly by doing so the king was satisfying the Christian obligation for charity. Secondly it was an excellent method of harvesting prayers for the king's spiritual wellbeing. Thirdly it acted as a means of glorifying a chosen saint and thus availing the king of the saint's intercessory power. All of these objectives could be achieved by other means, such as general almsgiving, making an offering at a saint's shrine or participating in a special mass. However no other act of devotion could achieve all of these objectives at the same time and so neatly. This type of almsgiving was an excellent method of interacting with the chosen saint and a clear method of advertising the king's special devotion to him or her. Although the scale of charity in proportion to spiritual benefit has been questioned, expenditure surely does reflect clearly the king's

belief in the power of a particular saint. The more poor fed in honour of a particular saint the more keenly the king wished to avail himself of the saint's protection. Thus the varying largesse of Edward's almsgiving acts as a clear indication of the saints he favoured, and whose intercessory sponsorship he desired.

### The early years

At the beginning of Edward's reign, when Friar Ralph, facilitated his almsgiving, only a small number of saints was honoured in this way. In the roll of alms and oblations for 1276/7, only thirty-five feast days were privileged with the giving of alms. The king fed a total 4113 poor for this purpose, giving an average of just over 114 poor fed per feast. The dedications which elicited most generosity must give pause. The feast which prompted the feeding of the most poor was the feast of Saint Paul on the 25 January 1277. On this day two separate feedings took place, one for 600 poor and the other for 30 poor.<sup>474</sup> Why so many were fed on this day is not known; in other years the feast was not held in such high esteem. It could be suggested that the act was prompted by the location, Worcester, and the fact that at this time Edward was making ready for a war in Wales. Edward had decided that Worcester was to be the muster point for the war against Llywelyn, on 1st July 1277, and perhaps this large distribution of alms was an early spiritual preparation for the oncoming war. It should also be noted that Edward stopped at Evesham both before, and after, visiting Worcester. On both occasions he made an oblation at the 'stone cross' in that place.<sup>475</sup> This may be a reference to the cross which supposedly marked the place where Simon de Montfort had died, which was reportedly becoming a centre of pilgrimage.<sup>476</sup> De Montfort's cult had been a worry to Henry III who had banned his veneration.<sup>477</sup> Edward's visits to Evesham may have left

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<sup>474</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 1.

<sup>475</sup> Ibid.

<sup>476</sup> For the cult of Simon de Montfort, see, Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 347 - 349; J. St. Lawrence, 'A Crusader in a "Communion of Saints": Political Sanctity and Sanctified Politics in the Cult of St. Simon de Montfort' *Comitatus*, vol. 38 (2007), pp. 43 - 67; J. M., Theilmann, 'Political Canonisation and Political Symbolism in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1990), pp. 241-66.

<sup>477</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

him ill at ease. He was about to go to war with Llewellyn who had once been de Montfort's ally. This may explain his sudden increase of alms.

In 1276/7 the king gave most alms in honour of biblical figures. These included the Blessed Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Mark the Evangelist, Michael the Archangel and the Apostles: Andrew, Paul, Peter, Simon and Jude. These saints' feasts prompted the feeding of 1840 of the total 4113 meals, roughly half. Of these the Blessed Virgin prompted three separate distributions of 140 meals on each occasion - her Purification (2 February), Assumption (15 August) and Nativity (8 September). This demonstrates that even in the 1270s Mary was of no small importance to Edward, and he would later in the 1290s feed many thousands in her honour. English saints form the next largest group for Edward's almsgiving. The feasts of saints Thomas Becket, Wulfstan, Aldhelm, Augustine, Edmund of Abingdon, Botulf, Alban and Edward the Confessor prompted the king to feed 827 poor between them. Of these, only St Thomas prompted more than one distribution with one hundred poor being fed on both his Feast (29 December) and his Translation (7 July). This early dedication to English saints already perhaps questions Prestwich's assertion that Edward was not nationalistic in his devotions.<sup>478</sup> The feast of St George, who was fast becoming a favoured sponsor of the English, also prompted the feeding of 100 poor. This being said, the feasts of three decidedly French saints, Sts Denys, Julian of Le Mans and Martin of Tours, also prompted the feeding of 200, 50 and 100 poor respectively.<sup>479</sup>

The remainder of the feasts which prompted Edward's almsgiving in 1276/7 are perhaps typical of the cults that were popular at this time. Saints who were positively international in their appeal such as Sts Cecilia, Agnes, Blaise and Laurence, all left their mark on Edward's early almsgiving. Edward fed over 4000 poor in 1276/7 in honour of the saints.<sup>480</sup> The *journalia* of 1277/8 is incomplete and very imperfect but the overall image of the king's alms is similar to the year before. If any pattern can be detected it is of a slight decrease in the number fed. For example, the king fed sixty poor to honour the feast of St Alban (20 June) compared to 100 the year before.<sup>481</sup> Likewise

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<sup>478</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 124.

<sup>479</sup> It is worthy of note that the devotion to Saint Julian of Le Mans may have been inherited from Henry II who was born in Le Mans and baptized in the church of St Julian, see, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p. 293.

<sup>480</sup> TNA, E101/350/23.

<sup>481</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 23v.

he fed 100 poor to honour the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist (24 June) as compared to 150 the year before.<sup>482</sup> Edward, however, began to mark additional feasts by feeding the poor. In 1278, Edward gave alms to honour the feasts of Sts Cuthbert (20 March), Benedict (21 March), Dunstan (19 May), Ethelbert (29 May) and Etheldred (23 June) - feeding fifty poor on each feast.<sup>483</sup> Edward was clearly keen to increase the scope of his almsgiving, even if it meant reducing the number fed on each occasion.

## The 1280s

In the 1280s Edward's almsgiving in honour of the saints increased considerably. The composition of this charity is shown in the below table:

**Table 26 - Alms in honour of the feasts of saints in the 1280s<sup>484</sup>**

Date	Saint	Type of Feast	1283/4	1284/5	1288/9	1289/90
20 November	St Edmund	Feast	100	215		400
22 November	St Cecilia	Feast	50	100	50	200
23 November	St Clement	Feast	100	100	100	200
24 November	St Grisgonus	Feast		30	30	
24 November	St Hugh	(Feast 17-Nov)	100			
25 November	St Katherine	Feast	250	200	140	200
30 November	St Andrew	Feast	300	100	300	1000
6 December	St Nicholas	Feast	100		300	400

<sup>482</sup> Ibid.

<sup>483</sup> Ibid., ff. 13v-23v.

<sup>484</sup> Figures taken for 1283/4: TNA E101/351/15, 1284/5: TNA, C47/4/2, 1288/9: TNA, E101/352/18, 1289/90: TNA, C47/4/4. Note the account for 1283/4 ends on the 13 November 1284 and the figures for the last week of this year feature at the beginning of the account for 1284/5. However the former account records that 200 poor were fed to honour the feast of St Martin of Tours (11th November) but the latter account records an additional fifty poor fed on this day. Therefore a total of 250 has been presented in this table. Also note the account for 1284/5 also does not record the alms for the last week of that year and would therefore probably have been recorded in the account of 1285/6 if it had survived. G.D. denotes when a general distribution was made instead of, or in addition to, normal almsgiving to the poor. \*Note on 19th January 1284 100 poor were fed in honour of St William of York, however his feast was on the 9th January and the account records that it was honoured with the feeding of 100 poor on that day. The 19th January was the feast of St Wulfstan and it can perhaps be assumed that in compiling the account an error was made. This interpretation is however contrary to the conclusions of Taylor who states that these alms took place as an additional celebration of the translation of St William which took place that year at which Edward himself acted as one of the bearers. This of course a valid interpretation. See, Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 100, n. 14.

8 December	Blessed Virgin Mary	Conception	140		140	700
8 December	St Andrew	Octave		30		
13 December	St Lucy	Feast	100	50	140	200
21 December	St Thomas Apostle	Feast	100	100	200	200
26 December	St Stephen	Feast	100	100	140	200
27 December	St John the Evangelist	Feast	100	100	140	200
29 December	St Thomas Becket	Feast	200		250	240
31 December	St Sylvester	Feast	50	50	140	140
3 January	St John the Evangelist	Octave			30	
5 January	St Edward the Confessor	Feast			140	200
9 January	St William of York	Translation	100			
13 January	St Hilary	Feast	50	50	300	100
14 January	St Felix of Nola	Feast	30		30	
15 January	St Maurus	Feast	30	60		240
17 January	St Sulpicius	Feast	30	30		
19 January	Wulfstan	Feast	100*		200	340
20 January	Fabian and Sebastian	Feast	140	50	300	340
21 January	St Agnes	Feast	140		200	
22 January	St Vincent	Feast	50	100	140	340
25 January	St Paul	Translation	100	100	500	440
27 January	Julian of Le Mans	Feast	30		200	
28 January	St Agnes	Feast	30	30	30	200
1 February	St Brigid of Ireland	Feast	30		140	200
2 February	Blessed Virgin Mary	Purification	140	140	140	340
3 February	St Blase	Feast	100	50	300	240
5 February	St Agatha	Feast	100	50	100	340
6 February	Sts Vedestus and Amandus	Feast		30		100
11 February	St Scholastica	Feast	30		100	200
14 February	St Valentine	Feast	30	43	180	200
16 February	St Juliana	Feast	30		180	
22 February	St Peter	Feast ( <i>in cathedra</i> )	100	113	180	
24 February	St Matthias the Apostle	Feast	300	113	180	100
1 March	St David of Wales	Feast		113	700	140
12 March	St Gregory	Feast			100	140
18 March	St Edward the Martyr	Feast	400		300	300
20 March	St Cuthbert	Feast	100		140	300

21 March	St Benedict	Feast	100		140	140
25 March	Blessed Virgin Mary	Annunciation	140	155	140	140
3 April	St Richard of Chichester	Feast		700		
4 April	St Ambrosius	Feast		200		200
14 April	Sts Tiburtius and Valerianus	Feast				100
19 April	St Alphege	Feast	30	30	50	100
23 April	St George	Feast	100	200	200	100
25 April	St Mark	Feast	200	200	600	100
28 April	St Vitalis	Feast	30		60	30
1 May	Sts Philip and James	Feast	100	100		200
3 May	Holy Cross	Feast	100	500	40	300
6 May	St John (ante portam)	Feast	100		140	140
10 May	Sts Epimachus and Gordianus	Feast	30	30	30	30
12 May	Sts Nereus and Achilles	Feast	30			
19 May	St Dunstan	Feast	50			140
25 May	St Aldhelm	Feast	50	200		60
26 May	St Augustine of Canterbury	Feast	50	100		100
28 May	St Germanus	Feast		30		
31 May	St Petronilla	Feast				30
1 June	St Nichomedemes	Feast				30
7 June	St Wulfstan	Translation	100	100	200	140
8 June	Sts Medard and Gildard	Feast	30		30	30
9 June	St Edmund of Abingdon	Translation	100	100	200	140
11 June	St Barnabas	Feast	100	200	200	140
14 June	St Basil	Feast	30	30	30	30
15 June	St Vitus and Modestus	Feast	30		300	30
16 June	St Richard of Chichester	Translation	100	100	200	200
17 June	St Botulf	Feast	100	300	200	300
19 June	Sts Gervasius and Prothasius	Feast	30			
20 June	St Edward (k and m)	2nd Translation	100		200	200
22 June	St Alban	Feast	100	100	200	400
23 June	St Etheldreda	Feast	100	100	200	140
24 June	Nativity John Baptist	Feast	200	300	100	400
28 June	Sts John and Paul	Feast	30	30	100	100
29 June	Sts Peter and Paul	Feast		300	300	400

30 June	St Paul	Feast Commemoration	50	50	100	200
2 July	Sts Processus and Martinianus	Feast	30	100		
4 July	St Martin of Tours	Translation	100	240	200	300
6 July	Sts Peter and Paul	Octave of Feast	50		100	50
7 July	St Thomas Becket	Translation		G.D.	300	400
10 July	Seven Brothers	Feast		30		
11 July	St Benedict	Translation		100	100	200
15 July	St Swithun	Translation	50	40	700	140
17 July	St Kenelm	Feast	200	100	140	
18 July	St Arnulf	Feast		30	140	
20 July	St Margaret of Antioch	Feast	100	140	200	300
22 July	St Mary Magdalen	Feast		100	300	400
25 July	St James the Great	Feast	100	200	200	300
26 July	St Stephen the Pope	Feast	30			
27 July	Seven Sleepers	Feast	30		30	100
28 July	St Samson	Feast	30		200	100
29 July	Sts Felix, Faustinus and Faustus	Feast			140	
31 July	St Germanus	Translation		30		30
1 August	St Peter's Chains	Feast	100	100	300	400
3 August	St Stephen	Feast		100	140	100
4 August	St Dominic	Feast		200		
5 August	St Oswald (King and Martyr)	Feast			140	100
6 August	Sts Felicissimus and Agapitus	Feast		30		
7 August	St Donatus	Feast		30		30
8 August	St Ciriacus	Feast		30	140	30
9 August	St Romanus	Feast		50	100	100
10 August	St Laurence of Rome	Feast		300	200	500
11 August	St Tiburtius	Feast			200	30
13 August	St Hippolytus	Feast		100		
15 August	Blessed Virgin Mary	Assumption		140 and G.D.	G.D.	G.D.
17 August	St Laurence of Rome	Octave			100	
18 August	St Agapitus	Feast	30			
19 August	St Magnus	Feast	30			
22 August	Blessed Virgin	Octave of	50	100		

	Mary	Assumption				
23 August	Sts Tomotheus and Appollinaris	Feast	30			
24 August	St Bartholomew	Feast	100	200	300	300
28 August	St Augustine	Feast	100	140	200	200
29 August	St John the Baptist	Feast	250	200	100	300
30 August	Sts Felix and Auductus	Feast	30	30	30	
31 August	St Cutberga	Feast			30	
1 September	St Giles	Feast	50		200	200
4 September	St Cuthbert	Translation	100		100	
5 September	St Bertin	Feast	30			
8 September	Blessed Virgin Mary	Nativity		G.D.	140	G.D.
14 September	Holy Cross	Feast		150	500	500
16 September	St Edith	Feast			100	100
21 September	St Matthew	Feast	100	200	200	200
22 September	St Maurice	Feast	100		100	140
26 September	St Firmin	Feast	50			
26 September	St Cyprian	Feast	30			
27 September	Sts Cosmas and Damian	Feast		60	100	30
29 September	St Michael	Feast		200	100	100
30 September	St Jerome	Feast	50	100	100	100
1 October	St Remigius	Feast	50	200	100	140
1 October	St Mylor	Feast				100
2 October	St Leger	Feast	60	200		
4 October	St Francis	Feast		100	100	100
6 October	St Faith	Feast			50	30
6 October	St Hugh of Lincoln	Translation	100	100		
9 October	St Denys	Feast	100	300	300	200
11 October	St Nicasius	Feast	30	30	30	30
13 October	St Edward Conf.	Translation		G.D.	100	100 and G.D.
15 October	St Wulfram	Translation	60	50	100	100
16 October	St Michael	Feast	100	100	140	140
18 October	St Luke	Feast		150	300	200
21 October	Eleven thousand Virgins	Feast	30		220	
23 October	St Romanus	Feast	30			
25 October	Sts Crispin and Crispinianus	Feast	30	30	30	30
25 October	St John of Beverley	Translation				
28 October	Sts Simon and Jude	Feast	100	200	300	300
31 October	St Quintinius	Feast	30			

1 November	All Saints	Feast			100	100
2 November	All Souls	Feast			G.D.	
6 November	St Leonard	Feast	100	200	200	200
8 November	Four Crowned Martyrs	Feast	30	30	30	100
9 November	St Theodore	Feast	100		30	140
11 November	St Martin of Tours	Feast	250		300	300
13 November	St Brice	Feast	50		100	100
15 November	St Malo	Feast			100	100
16 November	St Edmund of Abingdon	Feast	215		100	100 and G.D.
17 November	St Hugh of Lincoln	Feast	100		200	100

The increase in the feasts marked with almsgiving in the 1280s, as compared with those in the 1270s, is considerable. During the 1280s 157 different feasts were celebrated in this way compared to just thirty-five in 1276/7. In addition, the octaves of the feasts of Sts Andrew, John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul, Laurence of Rome and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin also prompted additional almsgiving.

As the number of feasts celebrated with almsgiving increased so, too, did the average number fed on each occasion. This increase was gradual throughout the 1280s as demonstrated in the below table:

**Table 27 - Total and average number of poor fed to honour the feasts of saints in the 1280s**

Year	Total Poor Fed	Average Number Fed	Percentage Increase
1283/4	9805	88	
1284/5	11712	122	+19%
1288/9	20140	171	+72%
1289/90	22360	193	+11%

It was not until 1284/5 that the average number of alms per feast day surpassed the 114 of 1276/7. However, in 1276/7 just 4113 of these alms were given in total. Even as early as 1283/4 the number fed for this purpose had more than doubled. The number of English saints honoured in this way also increased greatly from 1276/7, when just eight appeared. In the 1280s the various feasts of twenty-three English saints were now honoured with almsgiving and many of these prompted feeding an above-average number of poor. Likewise the king celebrated the feast of St George (23 April), who was fast becoming an English patron, was celebrated by feeding 200 poor in both 1284/5 and 1288/9. These figures were above the average for these years; prompted

perhaps by ongoing troubles in Wales. Prestwich has observed that when fighting the Welsh, the English infantry wore arm bands with the cross of St George on them.<sup>485</sup>

Edward's almsgiving supports this image of the English adopting St George as a special patron.

The climax, c. 1296 - c. 1302

There is only one account recording the king's alms for the first half of the 1290s. This account is an almoner's roll which covers a short period in the middle of 1293.<sup>486</sup> The figures within it are closer in number to the accounts of the late 1280s than to the next complete account, which is for 1296/7.<sup>487</sup> The below table demonstrates this fact:

**Table 28 - Poor fed to honour the feasts of saints (1290, 1293, 1297)<sup>488</sup>**

Date	Saint	Occasion	1290	1293	1297
01-Feb	St Brigid	Feast	200	100	140
02-Feb	Blessed Virgin Mary	Purification	340	140	1300
03-Feb	St Blase	Feast	240	200	300
05-Feb	St Agatha	Feast	340	300	500
06-Feb	Sts Vedestus and Amandus	Feast	100	100	
11-Feb	St Scholastica	Feast	200		140
14-Feb	St Valentine	Feast	200	100	140
16-Feb	St Juliana	Feast			
22-Feb	St Peter(in cathedra)	Feast		400	500
24-Feb	St Matthew (Ap.)	Feast	100	400	500
01-Mar	St David	Feast	140		200
12-Mar	St Gregory	Feast	140	300	500
18-Mar	St Edward the Martyr	Feast	300	300	200
20-Mar	St Cuthbert	Feast	300	300	200
21-Mar	St Benedict	Feast	140	300	200
	TOTAL		2940	2940	4960
	AVERAGE		210	245	354

<sup>485</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp.199-200.

<sup>486</sup> TNA, E101/353/16.

<sup>487</sup> BL, Add. MS. 7965.

<sup>488</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, E101/353/16, BL, Add. MS. 7965.

There are some minor fluctuations and increases between the figures for 1290 and 1293 but the latter have more in common with the former than with those of 1297. It seems likely, therefore, that the dramatic increase in royal charity in the later 1290s began after 1293 and before or during 1296/7. These figures also suggest that the gradual increase in these alms throughout the 1280s had begun to ebb by 1293. The high numbers fed in 1296/7 were not the result of a gradual increase from year to year but a sudden climb sometime after 1293.

1296/7 marks the beginning of the detectable climax of almsgiving in honour of the saints. The surviving figures for 1296/7, 1299/1300, 1300/01 and 1301/02 are all remarkably similar and demonstrate that the king and his almoner seem to have developed a routine that was considered both appropriate and satisfactory. By 1296/7 Edward appears to have found a formula for royal charity which he considered satisfactory to express his personal piety. It must be emphasised, however, that these were not years of plenty. Edward's increased alms were not the result of a king who had stumbled upon great wealth. His almsgiving was not an *El Escorial*, funded by consistent and apparently inexhaustible streams of gold. Acquiring money during these years was hard-fought and led to political complications. Edward was not feeding such large numbers of poor just because he could; he did so because he wanted to and more importantly because he felt he needed to.

The figures of poor fed in honour of the saints during these years speak for themselves. The following table displays these figures:

**Table 29 - Almsgiving in honour of the feasts of saints in 1296/7, 1299/00, 1300/01 and 1301/02.<sup>489</sup>**

Date	Saint	Event	1296/7	1299/00	1300/01	1301/02
20 November	St Edmund	Feast	1300	1000	1000	1000
22 November	St Cecilia	Feast	700	700	700	700
23 November	St Clement	Feast	700	700	700	700
25 November	St Katherine	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
30 November	St Andrew	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
6 December	St Nicholas	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
8 December	Blessed Virgin Mary	Conception	1300	1300	1300	1000
8 December	St Nicholas	Prox feast	140			

<sup>489</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 2r-5r; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 16-25; BL, Add. MS 7966A, ff. 18r-22r; TNA, E101/361/21; please note, G.D. denotes a general distribution.

13 December	St Lucy	Feast	700	700	700	700
21 December	St Thomas Apostle	Feast	700	700	700	700
26 December	St Stephen	Feast	700	700	700	700
27 December	St John (evan.)	Feast	700	700	700	700
28 December	Holy Innocents	Feast	700	700	700	700
29 December	St Thomas Becket	Feast	700	700	700	700
31 December	St Silvester	Feast	200	200	200	200
5 January	St Edward the Confessor	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
13 January	St William of York	Translation	200			
13 January	St Hilary	Feast		300	300	300
15 January	St Maurus	Feast	300	300	300	300
19 January	Wulfstan	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
20 January	Fabian and Sebastian	Feast	500	500	500	500
21 January	St Agnes	Feast	500	500	500	500
22 January	St Vincent	Feast	500	500	500	500
25 January	St Paul	Translation	700	700	700	700
28 January	St Agnes	Feast	140	140	140	140
1 February	St Brigid	Feast	140	140	140	140
2 February	Blessed Virgin Mary	Purification	1300	1300	1300	1300
3 February	St Blase	Feast	300	300		300
5 February	St Agatha	Feast	500	500	500	500
11 February	St Scholastica	Feast	140	140	140	140
14 February	St Valentine	Feast	140	140	140	140
22 February	St Peter (in cathedra)	Feast	500	700	700	700
24 February	St Matthew (Ap.)	Feast	500	500	500	500
1 March	St David	Feast	200	200	200	200
12 March	St Gregory	Feast	500	500	500	500
18 March	St Edward the Martyr	Feast	200	200	200	200
20 March	St Cuthbert	Feast	200	200	200	200
21 March	St Benedict	Feast	200		200	200
25 March	Blessed Virgin Mary	Annunciation	1300	1300	1300	1300
3 April	St Richard of Chichester	Feast	140 <sup>490</sup>	140		200
4 April	St Ambrosius	Feast		140	140	140
23 April	St George	Feast	700	700	700	700
25 April	St Mark	Feast	500	500	500	500
29 April	St Severus of Naples	Feast	140			
30 April	St Eutropius	Feast	140			
1 May	Sts Philip and	Feast	700	700	700	700

<sup>490</sup> Note that the account records these were given on 5 April, BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 3r.

	James					
3 May	Holy Cross	Feast	700	700	700	700
6 May	St John (ante portam)	Feast	700	700	700	700
7 May	St John of Beverely	Feast	140			
9 May	St Nicholas	Translation	140			
10 May	Sts Epimachus and Gordianus	Feast	100			
19 May	St Dunstan	Feast	140 <sup>491</sup>	140	140	140
22 May	St Quiteria	Feast	140			
25 May	St Aldhelm	Feast	140	140	140	140
26 May	St Augustine (Ang)	Feast	300	300	300	300
7 June	St Wulfstan	Translation	300	300	300	300
9 June	St Edmund of Abingdon	Translation	500	500	500	500
11 June	St Barnabas	Feast	600	500	500	500
14 June	St Basil	Feast	140			
16 June	St Richard of Chichester	Translation	500	500	500	500
17 June	St Botulf	Feast	500	500	500	500
20 June	St Edward (k and m)	2nd Translation	700 <sup>492</sup>	500	500	500
20 June	St Alban	Feast	700	700	700	700
23 June	St Etheldred	Feast	500	500	500	500
24 June	Nativity John Baptist	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
28 June	Sts John and Paul	Feast	200	200	200	200
29 June	Sts Peter and Paul	Feast	700	700	700	700
30 June	St Paul	Commemoration	140	140	140	140
2 July	St Swithun	Feast	140	140	140	140
4 July	St Martin of Tours	Translation	300	300	300	300
6 July	Sts Peter and Paul	Octave	140			
7 July	St Thomas Becket	Translation	1000	1000	1000	1000
10 July	Seven Brothers	Feast	100		100	100
11 July	St Benedict	Translation	140	140	140	140
15 July	St Swithun	Translation	140	140	140	140
17 July	St Kenhelm	Feast	300	300	300	300
18 July	St Arnulf	Feast	140		140	140
20 July	St Margaret of Antioch	Feast	700	700	700	700
22 July	St Mary Magdalen	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
25 July	St James the Great	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
27 July	Seven Sleepers	Feast	140	140	140	140
28 July	St Samson	Feast	140	140	140	140
1 August	St Peter's Chains	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000

<sup>491</sup> Note that the account records saint Denis, but this was probably a mistake, BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 3v.

<sup>492</sup> Note the account records this was given on 19 June, but this was probably a mistake, Ibid.

3 August	St Stephen	Feast	700	700	700	700
5 August	St Oswald (k and M) + Dominic	Feast (s)	200	200	200	200
10 August	St Laurence of Rome	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
11 August	St Tiburtius	Feast	140	140	140	140
13 August	St Hippolytus	Feast	200	200	200	200
15 August	Blessed Virgin Mary	Assumption	1300	1300	1300	1300
19 August	St Magnus	Feast	100	100	140	140
24 August	St Bartholomew	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
28 August	St Augustine	Feast	500	500	500	500
29 August	St John the Baptist	Feast	700	700	700	700
1 September	St Giles	Feast	700	700	700	700
4 September	St Cuthbert	Translation	300	300	300	700
8 September	Blessed Virgin Mary	Nativity	1000	1000	1000	1000
13 September	Holy Cross	Prox feast	140			
14 September	Holy Cross	Feast	700	700	700	700
16 September	St Edith	Feast	700	700	700	700
21 September	St Matthew	Feast	700	700	700	700
22 September	St Maurice	Feast	500	500	500	500
26 September	St Firmin	Feast	100	100	100	100
27 September	Sts Cosmas and Damian	Feast	100	100	100	100
29 September	St Michael	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
30 September	St Jerome	Feast	400	140	140	140
1 October	St Remigius	Feast	140	100	100	200
1 October	St Mylor	Feast	100	100	100	
4 October	St Francis		200	200	200	200
6 October	St Faith	Feast	140	140	140	140
6 October	St Hugh of Lincoln	Translation	140	140	140	140
9 October	St Denys	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
11 October	St Nicasius	Feast	100	100	100	100
13 October	St Edward Conf.	Translation	G.D.	140	140	140
16 October	St Michael	Feast	500	500	500	500
18 October	St Luke	Feast	700	700	700	700
21 October	Eleven thousand Virgins	Feast	220	120	120	220
25 October	St John of Beverley	Translation	140	140	140	140
28 October	Sts Simon and Jude	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
1 November	All Saints	Feast	G.D.	140	140	140
2 November	All Souls	Feast	G.D.	140	140	140
6 November	St Leonard	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000
8 November	Four Crowned Martyrs	Feast	30	30	30	30
9 November	St Theodore	Feast	140			
11 November	St Martin of Tours	Feast	1000	1000	1000	1000

13 November	St Brice	Feast	140	140	140	140
15 November	St Malo	Feast	140	140	140	140
16 November	St Edmund of Abingdon	Feast	700	700	700	700
17 November	St Hugh of Lincoln	Feast	140	140	140	140
		TOTAL	59870	57950	57990	58990
		AVERAGE	487	513	509	513

Edward I's almsgiving in honour the feasts of the saints was at its apex during this period. Although the number of feasts celebrated during this period had dropped from 157 in the 1280s to 126, we can detect stability in their application. It would appear that Edward and his almoner had settled upon which saints they wished to honour and were content with this number. This stability allowed the remaining feasts to be honoured with greater gusto. Within this collection of feasts a clear hierarchy can be detected. The more favoured the saints, and the more ardently the king wished to receive their sponsorship, the more poor were fed in their honour.

At the head of this list was Mary the mother of Christ. Henry III had demonstrated devotion to the cult of the Virgin, visiting Walsingham and presenting the Abbey of St Albans with four banners depicting St Alban, St Amphibalus, St Wulfstan and St Mary.<sup>493</sup> A concept similar to that of England as Mary's Dowry, later famously depicted by the Wilton Diptych, was clearly already in the mind of the king. Edward I's almsgiving seems to imply that Mary was the special patroness of England.<sup>494</sup> The Virgin Mary, along with St George, were both adopted by the English as special protecting saints. It is clear that the Plantagenets, who were later to promote their claim to the throne of France, were keen to adopt areas of devotional practice that had, heretofore, been associated with France. These claims to spiritual patronage, and their symbolic spiritual resonances, became a salient feature of national piety in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>495</sup> Edward I was evidently already beginning to promote this cause towards the end of the thirteenth century.

<sup>493</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp. 117 and 121. See Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin'.

<sup>494</sup> D. Gordon, *The Wilton Diptych, Making & Meaning* (London, 1993), p. 58.

<sup>495</sup> C. Burgess, 'St George's College, Windsor: Context and Consequence', in *St George's Chapel Windsor in the fourteenth century*, ed. by N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 63-96, p. 69.

The main feasts of the Virgin, her Conception (8 December), Purification (2 February), Annunciation (25 March) and Assumption (15 August), were all honoured by feeding 1300 poor. This is the highest number fed in honour of any saint, with the exception of the feast of St Edmund (20 November) in 1296. The reason for these exceptionally high alms for St Edmund can probably be attributed to Edward being in Bury St Edmund's on this day, and also because he was about to hold a very trying parliament. He was no doubt keen both to promote his piety at this time and enlist the support of St Edmund, a former English king. However, this was a unique occurrence and normally 1300 poor were only given alms on the aforementioned feasts of the Blessed Virgin. In addition to this impressive routine of almsgiving, the king gave alms to 1000 poor on the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September). Why this feast witnessed reduced almsgiving is impossible to say - perhaps it was because of its proximity to the feast of the Assumption less than a month before. It should however be affirmed that this was still a very high number of poor, and a number reserved for only a select number feasts.

Although Edward's almsgiving demonstrates his foremost devotion to the Blessed Virgin, he also shows a level of restraint that his father lacked. There were other feasts associated with the Blessed Virgin that he did not honour in this way. On the 24 June 1278, he fed fifty poor in honour of the Blessed Virgin, presumably for her Salutation which was on the next day.<sup>496</sup> However this feast does not appear in the lists of alms during the period 1296 - 1302. Likewise neither do the feasts of the Visitation of the Mary (2 July), nor the Presentation of Mary (21 November). Although Edward was a staunch advocate of the cult of Mary he did not allow it to become an obsession as Henry III had with the Cult of Edward the Confessor. In the words of Hilda Johnstone, he was still being 'businesslike'.<sup>497</sup>

There was a select group of saints who, after the Blessed Virgin, Edward held in highest esteem. This group consists of just seventeen saints who were honoured with 1000 poor being fed on their feasts days. These saints, and their favoured feasts, are listed in the following table:

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<sup>496</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 27v.

<sup>497</sup> Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', p. 157

**Table 30 -Saints honoured with the feeding of 1000 poor, c. 1296 - 1302.**

Saint	Feast	Date
Edmund of Bury	Primary	20 November
Katherine of Alexandria	Primary	25 November
Andrew the Apostle	Primary	30 November
Nicholas of Myra	Primary	6 December
Edward the Confessor	Primary	5 January
Wulfstan of Worcester	Primary	19 January
John the Baptist	Nativity	24 June
Thomas Becket	Translation	7 July
Mary Magdalene	Primary	22 July
James the Great	Primary	25 July
Laurence of Rome	Primary	10 August
Bartholomew the Apostle	Primary	24 August
Michael the Archangel	Primary	29 September
Denys of Paris	Primary	9 October
Simon and Jude the Apostles	Primary	28 October
Leonard	Primary	6 November
Martin of Tours	Primary	11 November

This elite group of saints was evidently viewed by Edward as most worthy of his praise and most able to help him in his endeavours. Among their number are five Apostles, Mary Magdalene, John the Baptist and the Archangel Michael. In such auspicious company are also four home grown-saints, a clear indication of the esteem in which they were held by the king. Saints Edmund of Bury, Edward the Confessor, Thomas of Canterbury and Wulfstan of Worcester evidently held a pre-eminent position nationally. Two patrons of France also appear, Denys the former bishop of Paris and Martin of Tours. This is a stark reminder that although Edward was at loggerheads with the king of France, he still considered himself of that stock. Indeed a great many of his progenitors were buried in France, a country littered with his relations both distant and immediate. The remaining four saints in this group, Katherine of Alexandria, Nicholas of Myra, Laurence of Rome and Leonard, were all popular in Western Christendom at this time. These saints, perhaps more than any, remind us that Edward was a European king with 'worldwide' intentions. The inclusion of St Leonard in this group, whose cult was closely linked to the crusade movement, reinforces Edward's view of himself as an international player.<sup>498</sup>

The figures presented in Table 29 , could be dissected and used in any number of ways. They suggest a king who sought the help of a large but measured number of

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<sup>498</sup> St Leonard supposedly helped Bohemond escape from a Moslem prison in 1103. *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p. 320.

saints and honoured them accordingly. These saints were ranked by the number of poor who were given alms in their honour and among whom an elite number were preeminent. The figure of the Blessed Virgin towers above all others, and Edward's keenness to obtain her support is abundantly clear. However, in this enterprise he enlisted many others to help her. Among this group were a great many English saints. Some dated back to the early days of Christianity in England like Saint Alban, many others were of Anglo-Saxon stock. There were also relative newcomers, like St Richard of Chichester who had died as recently as 1253, after a career of antagonising Henry III. All were enlisted in Edward's celestial legion - to join the fight for both his soul and his realm.

#### Decline and fall, c. 1303 - 1307

Edward, in the last five years of his reign was plagued by misfortune and financial insecurity. In 1303 Edward reached his sixty-second birthday, and repeated troubles in Scotland began to sap his energies. It is during this period that his almsgiving in honour of the saints contracted sharply as a clear testament to his stretched resources. While it could be expected that he would have displayed a surge in pious energy towards the end of his life this cannot be quantified. Edward was still desperate to settle his nation's problems and this enterprise monopolised both his energies and his coffers. Edward's almsgiving in honour of the saints during this period are detailed in the following table:

**Table 31 - Almsgiving in honour of the saints (1303/4, 1305/6 and part of 1306/7)<sup>499</sup>**

Date	Saint	F/T	1303/04	1305/06	1306/07
20 November	St Edmund	Feast	140	140	
22 November	St Cecilia	Feast	140	140	
23 November	St Clement	Feast	140	140	
25 November	St Katherine	Feast	140	140	
30 November	St Andrew	Feast	140	140	
6 December	St Nicholas	Feast	140	140	
8 December	Blessed Virgin Mary	Conception	140	140	

<sup>499</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, ff. 1r-3v, TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 24r-27r, E101/358/27, m. 9.

13 December	St Lucy	Feast	140	140	
21 December	St Thomas Apostle	Feast	140	140	
26 December	St Stephen	Feast	140	140	
27 December	St John (evan.)	Feast	140	140	
28 December	Holy Innocents	Feast	140	140	
29 December	St Thomas Becket	Feast	140	140	
31 December	St Silvester	Feast	140		
5 January	St Edward the Confessor	Feast	140	140	
13 January	St Hilary	Feast	140		
19 January	Wulfstan	Feast	140	140	
20 January	Fabian and Sebastian	Feast	140		
21 January	St Agnes	Feast	140	140	
22 January	St Vincent	Feast	140	140	
25 January	St Paul	Translation	140	140	
2 February	Blessed Virgin Mary	Purification	140		
22 February	St Peter(in cathedra)	Feast	140	140	
24 February	St Matthew (Ap.)	Feast	140	140	
12 March	St Gregory	Feast	140	140	
18 March	St Edward the Martyr	Feast	140	140	
20 March	St Cuthbert	Feast	140	140	
25 March	Blessed Virgin Mary	Annunciation	140	140	
3 April	St Richard of Chichester	Feast	140		
23 April	St George	Feast	140	140	140
25 April	St Mark	Feast	140	140	140 <sup>500</sup>
1 May	Sts Philip and James	Feast	140	140	140
3 May	Holy Cross	Feast	140	100	100
6 May	St John (ante portam)	Feast	140	140	140
7 May	John of Beverley	Feast			140
19 May	St Dunstan	Feast	140	140	
24 May	St Dominic	Translation			140
26 May	St Augustine (Ang)	Feast	140		140
11 June	St Barnabas	Feast	140	140	
16 June	St Richard of Chichester	Translation		140	
17 June	St Botulf	Feast		140	
18 June	Alban and Amphibalus	Feast		100	

<sup>500</sup> Entry records that the alms given on the feast of Saint Mark the Evangelist were *pro domino Edwardo*, i.e. for Edward of Caernarvon. Note that this was his birthday.

20 June	St Edward (k and m)	2nd Translation	140		
20 June	St Alban	Feast	140	140	
23 June	St Etheldred	Feast		40	
24 June	Nativity John Baptist	Feast	140	140	
28 June	Sts John and Paul	Feast		140	
29 June	Sts Peter and Paul	Feast	140	140	
30 June	St Paul	Commemoration		140	
4 July	St Martin of Tours	Translation		140	
7 July	St Thomas Becket	Translation		140	
17 July	St Kenhelm	Feast	140	140	
20 July	St Margaret of Antioch	Feast	140	140	
22 July	St Mary Magdalen	Feast	140	140	
25 July	St James the Great	Feast	140	140	
27 July	Seven Sleepers	Feast	100		
28 July	St Adrian	Feast		140	
1 August	St Peter's Chains	Feast	140	140	
5 August	St Oswald (king and martyr) and Dominic	Feast (s)		140	
5 August	Blessed Virgin Mary	Feats <i>ad nives</i>	140		
10 August	St Laurence	Feast	140	140	
17 August	Octave St Laurence		100		
24 August	St Bartholomew	Feast	140	140	
28 August	St Augustine	Feast	140		
29 August	St John the Baptist	Feast	140	140	
1 September	St Giles	Feast	140	140	
4 September	St Cuthbert	Translation	140	140	
8 September	Blessed Virgin Mary	Nativity	140	140	
14 September	Holy Cross	Feast	140	140	
16 September	St Edith	Feast	140		
21 September	St Matthew	Feast	140	140	
22 September	St Maurice	Feast	140		
29 September	St Michael	Feast	140		
30 September	St Jerome	Feast	100	140	
4 October	St Francis	Feast	140		
6 October	St Hugh of Lincoln	Translation		140	
9 October	St Denys	Feast	140	140	
13 October	St Edward Conf.	Translation		140	
16 October	St Michael	Feast	140	140	
18 October	St Luke	Feast	140	140	

21 October	Eleven thousand Virgins	Feast		140	
25 October	St John of Beverley	Translation	140	140	
28 October	Sts Simon and Jude	Feast	140	140	
2 November	All Souls	Feast	140	140	
6 November	St Leonard	Feast	140	140	
11 November	St Martin of Tours	Feast	140	140	
15 November	St Malo	Feast		140	
16 November	St Edmund of Abingdon	Feast	140	140	
17 November	St Hugh of Lincoln	Feast	140	140	
		TOTAL	10100	9900	
		AVERAGE	138	138	

These figures display a startling reduction from just a few year previous and are indicative of Edward's dwindling finances. The alms given for the saints in 1301/2 saw 60,000 poor being fed, and averaged over 500 per feast. Just two years later these had reduced in number by nearly 80%. Likewise the number fed on each occasion was roughly 70% smaller. However they still show a keenness to keep up some resemblance of a thorough routine of charity. We must remember that the king's routine feeding of 666 poor per week was not reduced. Likewise, eighty-six feasts were still being celebrated with almsgiving. This number is more than double the thirty-five being celebrated in 1276/7, although admittedly a far cry from the 157 in the 1280s and 126 between 1296 and 1302. Under terrible financial pressure Edward and his almoner seem to have been making the best of a difficult time.

It pays to recall the warning of St Francis that an individual's charity should emanate from superfluous wealth and should not be to the detriment of the requirements of the giver's social rank and business commitments, nor the neglect of his dependents.<sup>501</sup> The *journalia* of 1307 shows that the coffers were frequently depleted. For example, shortly before a delivery of cash from the exchequer on the last day of June 1307, the cofferer had just £13 10s. 7½d. remaining in his coffers.<sup>502</sup> This entire sum would only have provided alms for 2165 poor at the standard rate.<sup>503</sup> In 1302,

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>502</sup> TNA, E101/370/16, ff. 17v-18r.

<sup>503</sup> £13 10s. 7½d. = 3247½d. This sum, divided by 1½d., equates to 2165.

between 24 June and the 30 June, a total of 2180 poor were given alms in honour of the feasts of Sts John the Baptist (24 June), John and Paul (28 June), Peter and Paul (20 June), St Paul (30 June). Had such almsgiving been maintained in 1307 then the coffers would have emptied rapidly. Edward I's wardrobe had, after all, to provide for more than just his almsgiving, and therefore a reduction in royal charity was an absolute necessity.

## X. Conclusions

Edward I's almsgiving seems to have started modestly. In the days of Ralph the almoner few saints were honoured with almsgiving and his customary alms were a fraction of those his father reportedly gave. He remedied this by the 1280's. Edward had had success in Wales and perhaps felt his charity should reflect this. In the later 1280's Edward spent an extended period on the continent and, arguably, his charity was increased to fend off a niggardly reputation. By 1293 his fixed weekly alms had reached their zenith and he kept them at this level for the rest of his reign. However his almsgiving in honour of the saints had not reached such a climax at this point. It is not known exactly when this occurred but, by 1296/7, a suitable routine had been established which was maintained until the 1303 when his finances collapsed. In the final years of his reign he could maintain only a fraction of his former alms. This was no doubt a matter of much concern to the king who previously, as in 1296/7, had been extremely generous to the poor in spite of financial insecurity. The number of poor fed in honour of the saints provides a convenient index of royal charity. The following table details the changes in these alms over his reign:

**Table 32 - Alms given in honour of the saints during the reign of Edward I**

Year	Total Poor Fed	Percentage Increase or Decrease
1276/7	4113	
1283/4	9805	+138%
1284/5	11712	+19%
1288/9	20140	+72%
1289/90	22360	+11%
1296/7	59870	+168%
1299/00	57950	-3%

1300/01	57990	+ 0.1%
1301/02	58990	+2%
1305/06	10100	-83%
1306/07	9900	-2%

The year 1296/7 was perhaps the watershed for Edward's almsgiving. The table above shows that the king's alms between 1296/7 and 1301/02 were relatively stable. However the greatest deviations during this period were between 1296/7 and the other years. Perhaps this year marked the start of the climax in royal charity. Edward at this time did not enjoy a good relationship with the Church. Prestwich described the period of 1294-8 as 'The Years of Crisis' and the regnal year in question was particularly precarious.<sup>504</sup> The war with France was fundamentally unsuccessful, but that did not prevent it from being remarkably expensive. It has been estimated that between 1294 and 1301 the king transferred £265,000 from England to Gascony.<sup>505</sup> In an attempt to stay solvent Edward tried to levy heavy taxation from the Church. At the Bury Parliament of 1296 Archbishop Winchelsey claimed that the Church could not grant further taxation until a Church council had met in January. He also stated that the papal bull, *Clericos Laicos*, meant that they would not be able to cooperate with Edward until they had received confirmation from Rome.<sup>506</sup> Edward was furious, as the monastic chronicler Walter of Guisborough recorded:

This done, the king's anger flared and, burning with rage, he put the archbishop of Canterbury himself and all the clergy of England outside of his defence and protection, ordering, too, all the lands and endowments of the whole English church to be taken into his hand. And miraculously, as is believed, it happened that very same day the king put the clergy outside of his protection, his knights were confounded in Gascony and defeated by the French...'.<sup>507</sup>

His attempt to solve financial short-fall left him with spiritual problems instead.

In the light of this situation, Edward's increased almsgiving could be seen as an attempt to counteract his loss of Church support. Peter Langtoft suggests in his chronicle an understanding of the spiritual difficulty Edward faced. Edward, in his eyes,

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<sup>504</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, chapter 16, pp. 401-435.

<sup>505</sup> J. R. Strayer, 'The Cost and Profits of War: the Anglo-French Conflict of 1294-1303', *The Medieval City*, eds. H.A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy, A.L. Udovitch (New Haven, 1977), pp. 272, 290.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>507</sup> *English Historical Documents: 1189-1327*, pp. 224-225.

had estranged himself from the Church's spiritual support and, in consequence, also of the support of the saints. He wrote:

*Haste you thither, the people appeals to you;  
Be reconciled with the church and with the clergy,  
And Thomas of Kent, and John of Beverley,  
And Cuthbert of Durham, will come to thee in aid.  
For, if thou hast not aid of God in the struggle,  
For all thou wilt do I would not give a garlic.*<sup>508</sup>

Edward's almsgiving can be seen as an attempt to bypass the role of the Church in procuring the support of the saints. The reference to the support available from Sts Cuthbert of Durham, Thomas of Canterbury and John of Beverley for military endeavours clearly voices the belief that the saints could aid the king in temporal matters. However the ability of the church to withhold this divine aid is also implied. Edward's alms and, as we will explore, his offerings suggest that the king was not prepared to be thwarted.

Edward I's almsgiving demonstrates a strict adherence to the spiritual conventions of the age. Many of his eleemosynary activities were inherited from his father, but they were implemented in a personal way. These activities adapted over time and the role of Henry of Blunsdon was surely of significance. In keeping with the obligations of the almoner, as outlined in *Fleta*, during his tenure in office he certainly seems to have spurred the king to liberal almsgiving especially on the feast days of the saints.<sup>509</sup> The death of Eleanor of Castile also seems to have left a mark on his charity. The convivial family scenes during Easter seem to evaporate after her death. Perhaps, like many a politician, his wife had encouraged him to foster a more caring public image.

Perhaps most telling of all is the great increase in royal charity between 1296 and 1302. Edward faced huge difficulties both foreign and domestic during this period. If anything these problems seem to have filled him with greater spiritual resolve. This

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<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>509</sup> *Fleta*, (London, 1955) ii, p. 131.

resolute, and even obstinate, reaction to adversity is indicative of his character. He was not one to back down from his convictions and showed great determination in his ambitions. A healthy soul was necessary for political or military success. D.W. Burton has shown that, from 1294, writs to bishops frequently requested prayers for the king and his endeavours. However, with the violent breakdown in relations with the Church in 1296/7 these became subject to doubt. Charity was a fail-safe way to achieve spiritual health. If he could not be sure that Churchmen were praying for him then he would 'employ' the poor to do so instead. Such charity contracted after 1302 when his supplies of energy, like his coffers, were finally exhausted. There was not a complete breakdown of charity at this time and his fixed alms were not reduced, but his other alms suffered greatly during the crises of his final years. The overall picture, as complex and variable as it is, is surely of a king with a remarkable sense of Christian duty and an overriding concern for his spiritual welfare.

## Chapter 4: Oblations I

Almsgiving retained a role of central importance in Edward's efforts to accumulate grace - although, of course, he mixed almsgiving with other pious practices in order to maximise spiritual benefits. In implementing these practices he inevitably incurred costs and these were known as oblations. The term oblation means offering and loosely encompasses all non eleemosynary forms of pious expenditure. Many of these expenses were incurred within the king's private chapel. Additional expenses were incurred elsewhere, such as offerings made at shrines and small gifts given to needy individuals the king encountered. The scope of the term oblation was wide. Almost any act that could be construed as a good deed was included. Some were decidedly spiritual in nature, such as offerings made at mass; others appear more secular, such as contributing to the repair of a bridge. These expenses could be facilitated by any number of individuals - usually, but not exclusively, household staff. For this reason the cofferer, who was responsible for the king's cash supply, was responsible for recording such expenditure. The nature of these oblations was too wide-ranging to be the responsibility of one particular official: there was no 'offerer' to match the king's almoner.

This chapter considers the variety of expenses covered by the general term oblations. It will begin by looking at the royal chapel and the many staff who worked there. It was in this spatial context that the king's daily spiritual needs were met. This investigation will next address the many forms of pious expenditure covered by the term oblation. In particular, it explores the king's interaction with the churches in his realm, paying special attention to his promotion of the cult of saints. Finally, it offers some conclusions about the king's pious routine. This topic is broad and therefore aspects of this study will be focussed upon a number of sample years. When appraising the king's dedication to masses, a sample year from each decade provides this focus. These examples will help to identify both change and continuity. When considering the king's many offerings an even greater consolidation is required. This topic will therefore be discussed by identifying a number of themes, and highlighting these using examples from one sample year. However throughout, where relevant and necessary, references to other years will be made.

## I. The chapel and the clerks of the chapel

Edward's chapel provided a locus of continuity during a turbulent reign. Unlike Henry III, Edward rarely remained in one place for very long. Wherever Edward went, so too did his household and all the staff necessary for it to function. Edward's lifestyle necessitated a mobile unit to cater for his spiritual needs. This was the chapel royal. The chapel royal could be assembled wherever the king halted. When staying at royal palaces or castles a permanent chapel would have been ready and *in situ*. However, Edward often stayed in religious houses or private homes and in such cases his chapel often needed to be assembled. Throughout the wardrobe accounts are references to actions which took place in the king's chapel. Such entries often record the location of the chapel when these occurred. Some of these record only a geographical location such as 'at Gillingham', others are more specific, such as 'in the house of the Archbishop of York at Westminster'.<sup>510</sup> The king's chapel was not so much a place, but a space in which he attended daily services. This space was occupied by a body of men, his chapel clerks, and these men tended to his daily spiritual needs.

Many of these chapel clerks can be identified and named because each received a robe at the expense of the Wardrobe. The Wardrobe Books feature chapters which recorded the costs of these robes. These were usually given twice a year, in winter and summer. The cost of these robes reflect the status of the receiver. Thus the most important officials received 4 marks per robe, while junior clerks and servants received much less. These figures also emerge from separate rolls of robes which are especially important for the beginning of Edward's reign before the wardrobe books were produced. The men described as chapel clerks and staff from all such sources are listed in the tables below:

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<sup>510</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 7r and 8r.

Table 33 - Clerks of the chapel, 13 Edward I (1284/5)<sup>511</sup>

Name	Position	Type of Robe	Cost per Robe
John of Witham	Chaplain and Clerk of the Chapel	Both	4 marks
Nicholas of Sporton	Chaplain and Clerk of the Chapel	Both	4 marks
Nicholas of Rotreb?	Chaplain and Clerk of the Chapel	Both	4 marks
John of <i>Sancte Fide</i>	Chaplain and Clerk of the Chapel	Both	4 marks
Henry	The Almoner	Both	4 marks
Robert of Aylward	Clerk of the Chapel	Both	£1 3s. 4d.
Andrew of Lincoln	Clerk of the Chapel	Both	£1 3s. 4d.
Angelo	Clerk of the Chapel	Both	£1 3s. 4d.

Table 34 - Clerks of the Chapel, 14 Edward I (1285/6)<sup>512</sup>

Name	Position	Type of Robe	Cost of Robe
Roberto de Saint Quentin	Chaplain of <i>novo vento</i> in service of the king	Summer	4 marks
Domino Roberto del Estre	Chaplain of the King's Chapel	Both	4 marks
John of Witham	Chaplain of the King's Chapel	Both	4 marks
Magistro Nicholao de Aarabato	Chaplain of the King's Chapel	Both	4 marks
John of <i>Sancte Fide</i>	Chaplain of the King's Chapel	Both	4 marks
Henry of Blunsdon	Almoner and Chaplain of the Chapel	Both	4 marks
Nicholas de Sprouton'	Chaplain of the King	Christmas	4 marks
Andrew de Lincoln'	Clerk of the King's Chapel	Both	£1 3s. 4d.
Roberto de Aylward	Clerk of the King's Chapel	Both	£1 3s. 4d.
John of Langley	Sub-Almoner	?	20s.
John of Exeter	Clerk of the King's Chapel	Summer	20s.
Benedict	Servant of the Almoner	?	1 mark

Table 35 - Clerks of the Chapel, 17 Edward I (1288/9)<sup>513</sup>

Name	Position	Type of Robe	Cost of Robe
John of Witham	Clerk of the King's Chapel	Both	4 marks
Robert of Estre	Clerk of the King's Chapel	Both	4 marks
Robert of Saint Quentin	Clerk of the King's Chapel	Both	4 marks
Henry of Blunsdon	Almoner	Both	4 marks
Andrew of Lincoln	Clerk of the King's Chapel	Both	£1 3s. 4d.

<sup>511</sup> TNA, E101/351/17.

<sup>512</sup> TNA, E101/351/25 and E101/351/26.

<sup>513</sup> TNA, E101/352/31.

John of Exeter	Clerk of the King's Chapel	Both	£1 3s. 4d.
John	Clerk of the sub almoner	-	20 s.
Benedict	Sub Almoner	-	1 mark

**Table 36 - Clerks of the Chapel, 18 Edward I (1289/90)<sup>514</sup>**

Name	Position	Type of Robe	Cost of Robe
John of Witham	Chaplain	Both	4 marks
Robert de Saint Quentin	Chaplain	Both	4 marks
Henry of Blunsdon	Chaplain	Both	4 marks
Robert del Estre	Chaplain	Both	4 marks
John of Langton	Clerk of the Almoner	?	20s.

**Table 37 - Chapel staff in the wardrobe book of 1296/7<sup>515</sup>**

Name	Position	Type of Robe	Cost of Robe	Year	Folio
John of Witham	Chaplain	-		25	123r.
Henry of Blunsdon	The Almoner	Both	4 marks	25	123r and 129r
Ralph of Stanford	Clerk off the chapel	Both	4 marks	25	123r and 129r
Robert of Saint Quentin	Clerk of the chapel	-	4 marks	25 & 26	123r
Roger of Clare	Clerk of the chapel	Both	4 marks	24	123r and 129r
Andrew of Lincoln	Clerk of the chapel	Both	2 marks	25	123r and 129r
John of Exeter	Clerk of the chapel	-	20s. 8d.	25	123r
Richard of Reading	Of the chapel	-	2 marks	25	123r
Roger of Asshering	Clerk of the chapel	Both	2 marks and 20s.	25	123r and 129r
Walter of Ashewell	Servant of the chapel	-	1 mark	25	123v
John of Langley	Clerk of the Almoner	-	20s.	25	123v
Thomas Brun	Servant of the almoner	-	1 mark	25	123v
Thomas Brun	Servant of the almoner	-	2s.4d.	25	42r
Watekin Benere	Sub-Clerk of the Chapel	-	2s. 4d.	25	42r

**Table 38 - Chapel staff receiving robes in the wardrobe book of 1299/1300<sup>516</sup>**

Name	Position	Type of Robe	Cost	Year	Page
John of Witham	Chaplain of the King	Winter	Nihil	28	314

<sup>514</sup> TNA, E101/352/24.

<sup>515</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 42r, 123r, 123v and 129r.

<sup>516</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 314-327.

Henry of Blunsdon	Almoner	Winter	4 marks	30	314, 327
Ralph of Stanford	Clerk of the Chapel	(September?)	4 marks	28	314
Roger of Asheridge	Clerk of the Chapel	(March?)	2 marks	28	314
Roger of Clare	Clerk of the Chapel	Winter	4 marks	28	314
Roger of Clare	Clerk of the Chapel	?	4 marks	30	327
Andrew of Lincoln	Clerk of the Chapel	Winter	4 marks	28	314
Peter of Shevyngdon	Clerk of the Chapel	Winter	4 marks	28	314
Thomas Brown	Servant of the Almoner	Winter	1 mark	?	315

**Table 39 - Chapel staff receiving robes in the wardrobe book of 1300/01<sup>517</sup>**

Name	Position	Type of Robe	Cost	Year	Folio
John of Witham	Clerk of the Chapel				136r
Henry of Blunsdon	Almoner	Winter	4 marks	30	136r
Henry of Blunsdon	Almoner	Summer	4 marks	29	140r
Ralph of Stanford	Clerk of the Chapel	Summer	4 marks	29	136r
Ralph of Stanford	Clerk of the Chapel	Winter	4 marks	29	140r
Peter of Shevyngdon	Clerk of the Chapel	Summer	4 marks	28	136r
Peter of Shevyngdon	Clerk of the Chapel	Summer	4 marks	35	140r
Roger of Clare	Clerk of the Chapel	Summer	4 marks	28	140r

**Table 40 - Chapel clerks receiving robes in wardrobe book of 1303/04<sup>518</sup>**

Name	Position	Type of Robe	Cost	Year	Folio
Peter of Shevyngdon	Clerk of the Chapel	Summer	4 marks	35	119r
Ralph of Stanford	Chaplain of the King	Winter	4 marks	1 Edward II	119r
Ralph of Eaton	Clerk of the Chapel	Summer	4 marks	35	119r
Otto de Dunameneye	Clerk of the Chapel	Summer	4 marks	35	119r
John of Kenle	Clerk of the Chapel	Summer	4 marks	35	119r

<sup>517</sup> BL, Add. MS 7966A, ff. 136r, 140r.

<sup>518</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, f. 119r.

This evidence provides a clear indication of the staff that tended to the king's spiritual welfare. These were roughly divided into three groups. At the top this hierarchy were the king's chaplains. They all received a stipend of four marks per robe. This group includes the almoner. Secondly, there were chapel clerks who received between 1 mark and four marks per robe. Frequently they were given 3½ marks each year for two robes. These men were perhaps concerned more with administration of the chapel than with spiritual matters. Finally, at the bottom of this hierarchy, were the servants of the chapel. These men received one mark or less for each robe. In Edward II's reign three types of clerk continued to be employed in the chapel, and likewise, their clothing allowances reflected their status. The Household Ordinance of 1318 sets out that the head chaplain received 8 marks each year for two robes. The other chaplains received 3½ marks each year for two robes. And the clerks received 40s. for two robes.<sup>519</sup> In the reign of Edward I similar staff were employed but a greater number received the higher sum of 4 marks per robe.

In reality this hierarchy was probably even more structured. For example, in 1285/6 a dozen individuals served in the chapel. These included seven senior clerks, described as chaplains, who received 8 marks for their robes.<sup>520</sup> Below them were two clerks who received 3½ marks for their robes. These were supported by two who received 20s. for their robes. One, John of Langley, was described as sub-almoner, while John of Exeter was described simply as a clerk of the chapel. Finally, at the bottom of this hierarchy, was Benedict; described as servant of the almoner, he received just one mark for his robes. At this time, no fewer than twelve men served in the king's chapel. At other times their number was not so great. It is evident, though, that these accounts were not always complete. For example, we know from other sources that Henry of Blunsdon served as Almoner until 1307. Yet the account of 1303/04 does not record that he was issued with a robe. However, allowing for such omissions, the accounts suggest that the chapel was at its fullest in the mid 1280s. The year 1296/7 is unique in that the chaplains were outnumbered by the clerks and servants. As we will see, at this time the king frequently dispatched the former to make offerings on his behalf. It can be assumed that extra clerks were necessary because of such activity. The

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<sup>519</sup> Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II*, pp. 278-9.

<sup>520</sup> Four marks was the same sum issued to the most senior Wardrobe clerks, for their robes, including the Keeper.

number of chaplains, clerks and servants employed throughout Edward's reign is listed below:

**Table 41 - Number of chapel clerks per year, listed by cost of their robes**

Year	Chaplains (receiving 4 marks per robe)	Chapel clerks (receiving < 4 marks and > 1 mark per robe)	Under clerks/servants (receiving 1 mark or less per robe)
1284/5	5	3	
1285/6	7	4	1
1288/9	4	3	1
1289/90	4	1	
1296/7	4	5	2
1299/1300	5	1	1
1300/01	2		
1306/07	4		

These accounts also suggest that there was a degree of continuity in chapel staff between the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. The wardrobe book of 1303/04 records that Ralph of Eaton and Otto of Dunameneye both received an allowance for robes on 14 July 1307, one week after the king had died.<sup>521</sup> This might suggest that they were to be retained by Edward II. Conversely, if this were not the case, then the two clerks would have been pleased to receive a new robe before leaving the service of the crown. Ralph of Stanford, seems to have kept his position. Stanford is first mentioned in the Wardrobe Book of 1296/7, being described as a clerk of the chapel. At this time he received 4 marks for his robe, suggesting he was a senior chapel clerk or chaplain. On 13th November 1307, he received an allowance for his robes and was described as chaplain of the king. Perhaps there was some continuity in the chapel staff between the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. If this were the case, then he, and perhaps others, would have been well versed in helping the new king to observe a full and fitting routine of devotion.

Much of the work of these individuals must remain a mystery. We know that they served the king in his chapel where he heard a mass daily. The king's chaplains were also responsible for attending frequent masses at the command of the king.

<sup>521</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, f. 119r, (the fact that this account for 1303/04 records payments made in 1307 confirms that these accounts were often drawn up much later and could include details of expenditure made in a range of years).

Edward also bestowed offerings to be made by his chaplains. Frequently Edward gave the almoner and his clerk this responsibility. It could be assumed that the chaplains were also occasionally required to sing, as Henry III's had, but unfortunately such occasions do not appear to have been recorded. Much time must have been spent looking after the furnishings of the king's chapel. Through constant use and frequent transportation this equipment inevitably became worn. For example, in December 1283 John of Witham, chaplain, was paid 9*d.* for mending nine surplices belonging to the chapel.<sup>522</sup> However, the clerks were not responsible for washing the fabrics used in the chapel, this task was reserved for the laundresses. For example, in 1299/1300, a certain Matilda of Waltham was paid 2 marks for doing the king's laundry, and this included the linen used in the chapel.<sup>523</sup> Other equipment also required occasional repair. For example, in February 1283, 4*s.* 5*d.* was spent on mending the chapel and having its books bound.<sup>524</sup> Other activities must have been even more regular. On 3 May 1287, money was issued to Robert Aylward, a chapel clerk, for performing a variety of duties. One of these was 'preparing the altars' (*pro altaribus parandis*) before the celebration of a number of important feasts.<sup>525</sup> In 1297, Walter of Ashwell, the servant of the chapel, was dispatched to Ipswich in advance of the king's arrival. Here he inspected the work being done in the king's chapel which was next to the king's chamber within the priory of St Peters.<sup>526</sup> These examples represent just some of the variety of duties performed by the chapel staff. Their main objective was to meet the king's spiritual needs and to maintain all of the equipment necessary for this enterprise.

The chapel was stocked with all the accoutrements necessary to satisfy the king's spiritual needs. This equipment was transported from place to place along with the other equipment and furniture of the royal household. Prestwich has described how forty-one packhorses were needed to transport all the trappings of the royal household from place to place. An account roll of robes for 1288/9 records that robes costing 10*s.* were issued to three *sometarius* (the officials responsible for transportation) responsible for the carriage of the king's chapel.<sup>527</sup> The equipment of the king's chapel can be described in

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<sup>522</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, m. 1, noted in Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 118.

<sup>523</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 84.

<sup>524</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, m. 1, noted in Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 118.

<sup>525</sup> TNA, E36/201, f. 8v, Printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, pp. 32 - 33.

<sup>526</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 14v.

<sup>527</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286 - 1289*, p. 344.

detail thanks to the survival of an inventory made at Burgh-on Sands on 17 July 1307, shortly after Edward's death.<sup>528</sup> This account records:

A silver-gilt chalice.

An altar-slab of jasper.

Two silver cruets.

Six silver candlesticks, two of which are in the cofferer's keeping.

A little bell for the elevation of the host.

A silver pyx to put the host in.

Two silvered tablets for giving the pax.

A silver ewer for holy water with two silver water-sprinklers.

Three silver thuribles.

A little silver incense boat.

Two silver basins.

A wooden board painted with images.

Four pairs of albs and amices with three stoles and four maniples.

Four chasubles of various colours with a tunic and a double dalmatic of red and yellow sendel.

Two frontals of cloth of Tars and a third one white with decorations.

Ten old surplices.

Item, six altar-cloths, three of them with ornaments.

Item, two worn-out hand towels.

Item, two copes for the choir of cloth of India, and two of green and striped cloth of Tars.

Item, a black chasuble, with matching tunic and dalmatic, for services for the dead.

Item, a purple frontal embroidered with images.

A chasuble of cloth of ermine, with tunic and dalmatic.

A chasuble of cloth of Tars woven with gold, with alb, amice stole, maniple and belt.

A cushion for the Gospel-book.

A white diapered chasuble with tunic, dalmatic and cope for the choir, in a matching set.

A new and old missal, a new and old gradual, two breviaries, one lectionary containing the Temporal and another containing the Sanctorale.<sup>529</sup>

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<sup>528</sup> TNA, E101/370/3, m. 1 *dorso*, this has been recently printed in H. Summerson, *Edward I at Carlisle*, pp. 41 - 49.

<sup>529</sup> Summerson, *Edward I at Carlisle*, pp. 48 - 49.

These items provide some idea of the equipment needed to help the king maintain a full liturgical routine. These items remind us of the 'entire vestment' including chasuble, alb, amice, stole and maniple, which Henry III provided for Edward in March 1240.<sup>530</sup>

Henry III would no doubt have been pleased that his son maintained a fully equipped chapel throughout his reign.

In addition to carrying this equipment, Edward also travelled with a collection of relics. Relics were an essential attribute of medieval churches. In 787 the Second Council of Nicaea had decreed that no church should be dedicated without the placing of relics.<sup>531</sup> By the thirteenth century many churches owed their fame, and indeed a large part of their income, to the relics they possessed. It is impossible to imagine Edward's private chapel functioning adequately without a collection of relics. The 1307 inventory of Edward's chapel also includes an inventory of his relics collection.<sup>532</sup> This consisted of:

In the coffer marked with the sign of the cross, the following:

The Cross of *Naid* embellished with gold and precious stones, together with the foot of that Cross, of gold and gems, in a small leather case the shape of that foot, outside the coffer.

Item, the Black Rood of Scotland, wrought of gold with a golden chain, in a box of wood inside and silver-gilt outside.

Item, the Cross of St Helena of Scotland, wrought of gold and gems, in a small case of wood and leather.

Item, a little cross wrought of silver parcel-gilt in a wooden case.

Item, a thorn from the Lord's crown in a leather case with attached label.

Item, a silver-gilt box with gems containing various relics, namely part of the wood of the holy Cross, along with many other small relics of St Edmund the Confessor, in a purse of the arms of the French King with certain other relics sent to Lord Alexander, King of Scots, and which were found in Edinburgh Castle, and all these in a leather box.

Item, two tunics of Chatres.

(In another Coffer adjacent)

Item a crystal reliquary wrought in silver-gilt, one end of which holds the images of the Crucifix, Mary and John, and the other the image of Mary with the image of the child Jesus, which reliquary contains many relics, to wit part of the wood of the cross of St Andrew the apostle, little bones from the head of St Laurence, a bone of St John of Beverley, a bone of St James of Galicia, part of the arm of St Maurice, two pieces of bones of St Blaise, and St Christina, a joint of St Exsuperius, and an empty crystal case labelled as of St Christopher.

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<sup>530</sup> Ibid., p. 456.

<sup>531</sup> W. Bonsor, 'The Cult of Relics in the Middle Ages', *Folklore*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (1962), pp. 234 - 256.

<sup>532</sup> TNA, E101/370/3, m. 1 *dorso*, this has been recently printed in H. Summerson, *Edward I at Carlisle*, pp. 47 - 49.

Item, another reliquary, of broken crystal wrought in silver-gilt, one end of which holds the image of St Paul while the other lacks its image, which reliquary contains a little silver flask of milk of the blessed virgin, the mother of the Lord, the various other relics, as appears from its surrounding inscription. Item, a part of the sponge from which our Lord Jesus Christ received, a tooth of a saint effective against lightning and thunder. Item, a holy stone, without a label. Item a piece of meat miraculously turned to stone. Item a little purse containing part of the garment and hood of the blessed Mary and St Gregory. Part of the nail of the Lord and of a stone from the Lord's sepulchre.

Item, a great silver-gilt arm with relics inside, namely of Ss Thomas and Bartholomew the apostles. Item, it contains a large bone from the arm of St Osyth, an arm of St David, an arm of St Richard of Chichester, a bone of St William of York, an arm-bone of St William the Englishmen, formerly the companion of St Francis. Item, in the lower part of that bone of a saint without a label.

Item, another, smaller, silver-gilt arm, containing the arm-bone of a certain [saint] without a label.

Item, a long wooden casket containing a crystal vial holding milk of the glorious virgin Mary.

Item, a leather reliquary containing the gilded image of St James holding a rib of that saint in his hands.

Item, a silver-gilt head representing the head of a Bishop, containing at its top a bone from the head of a saint without a label, with some pieces of silver-gilt.

Item, a little wooden casket containing two *agnes dei*, with a red leather cross sent to the king by William de Montfort from the girdle of Pope Michael IV.

Item, a silver-gilt vessel in the form of a little ship containing many bones, so it is believed, of the 11,000 virgins.

Item, many other bones wrapped up in little cloths in a small package without a label.

Item, two caskets of *theriac* tied together with cotton.

Item, two other caskets of *theriac* tied together in the same way, as their labels show.

Item, some little bones without a label tied up in a white apron.<sup>533</sup>

This collection of relics would have been highly-regarded and very valuable. Persons of high status, when attending translations, were often given a small relic of the saint to keep. It appears that the English royal family had a particular fondness for arm relics and many of these had probably been acquired at translations. Others may have been sent to them as gifts and, no doubt, others purchased. It is clear also that Edward acquired some of these relics under more dubious circumstances. For example, the Cross of Gneyth, was presented to Edward at Conway in June 1283 and this had previously been the possession of the Princes of Wales.<sup>534</sup> This prized relic was

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<sup>533</sup> TNA, E101/370/3, m.1 *dorso*, recently printed in H. Summerson, *Edward I at Carlisle*, pp. 41 - 46.

<sup>534</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 203-4 and Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', pp. 119 - 120, n. 49.

effectively a spoil of war. In like manner Edward acquired other relics that had belonged to the kings of Scotland. The inventory of 1307 records 'The Black rood of Scotland' and the 'Cross of St Helena of Scotland', among other relics previously owned by Alexander III. In particular, Edward must have been pleased to acquire the:

'...small relics of St Edmund the Confessor, in a purse of the arms of the French King with certain other relics sent to Lord Alexander, King of Scots, and which were found in Edinburgh Castle'.

Edmund of Abingdon was an English Saint whom Edward especially venerated. The fact that these relics travelled with the king is indicative of their perceived value. They offered protection and also a focus for his worship. The king frequently found comfort in visiting the shrines of saints and having such a large personal collection of relics in his possession presumably brought similar solace.

The Cross of Gneyth played a special role in the king's devotions. Taylor noted that Edward spent £104 in 1293-4 having the cross's pedestal adorned with gold.<sup>535</sup> The Wardrobe Book of 1296/7, moreover, records that Edward made offerings before the cross and the thorn 'from the crown of our lord', usually on special occasions. On such occasions the king's practice was to offer 5*s.* before the Cross of Gneyth and 3*s.* before the thorn. For example, in 1297, this was done on Christmas Day in Ipswich when the relics were placed upon the High Altar of the Priory Church.<sup>536</sup> This same year offerings were again made before these relics on Palm Sunday (7 April 1297), Ascension Day (23 May 1297) and the feast of All Saints (1 November).<sup>537</sup> On 3 May 1297, further offerings were made before the Cross of Gneyth and the holy thorn in the king's chapel in the Priory of Plympton.<sup>538</sup> It has been suggested that offerings made before the Cross of Gneyth on Palm Sunday were related to the practice of making cramp-rings, although this alludes substantiation.<sup>539</sup> What is clear, however, is that the Cross of Gneyth and the Thorn were usually reserved, like best china, for special occasions. This practice was maintained for the remainder of Edward's reign. And so, on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February) in 1306, Edward

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<sup>535</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', pp. 119-20; TNA, E101/352/21.

<sup>536</sup> BL, Add. 7965, f. 6v.

<sup>537</sup> Ibid., ff. 7v, 8r and 10v.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid., f. 7v.

<sup>539</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 126.

offered 5s. before the Cross of Gneyth, 3s. before the holy thorn and 2s. before the Cross of Scotland.<sup>540</sup> The inventory of 1307 also confirms that these relics were with him when he died. The Cross of Gneyth was to remain in royal possession until 1348 when it was given to St George's Chapel Windsor on the foundation of the Order of the Garter.<sup>541</sup>

Edward's daily spiritual needs were fostered in the environs of the royal chapel, surrounded by the staff and objects described above. It was here that he attended daily service and heard masses. At many of these masses Edward made offerings. Such offerings, by 1296/7 had become standardized at 7s.. These offerings present a puzzling question. It is extremely difficult to discern who actually took these offerings. Offerings made at altars and shrines in churches would benefit the church concerned. However, the destination of the money offered in the chapel royal is unclear. If such donations were simply absorbed back into royal coffers then such gestures would be merely symbolic. This seems unlikely. The household clerks carefully recorded this expenditure, and evidence does not suggest that the chapel royal turned a profit. In November 1296 the monks of Bury St Edmunds were annoyed because Edward chose to stay in a private home rather than in the Abbey itself. The Chronicler of Bury St Edmunds recorded:

When he arrived he went to the house of Henry de Lynn, outside the limits of the monastery; he slept there as long as he remained in town. Many people were offended by this form of hospitality as unworthy of royalty and not offered to king's in former times. Before he (Edward) left he dismantled and broke into small pieces the altar which he had erected by a special dispensation outside the boundaries of the monastery, lest as a result it should be prejudicial to the church.<sup>542</sup>

Altars were an important source of revenue for churches and it is no surprise that the monks of Bury were keen to see that Edward's temporary altar was taken down. The consternation of the monks might also suggest that, had Edward's chapel been set up in their precinct, they might have been the beneficiaries of his offerings. The accounts are usually quite precise in recording where the king's chapel was when he made offerings

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<sup>540</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 31v.

<sup>541</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 119 - 120, n. 49.

<sup>542</sup> *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301*, ed. A. Gransden (London, 1964), p. 136.

in it. It is certainly possible that the host institution would be the beneficiary of the king's offerings. As we will see these offerings could be substantial.

## II. Masses

Edward commanded that a continuous round of masses be maintained to supplement his almsgiving. We recall that Louis IX was impressed by Henry III's devotion to masses and almsgiving.<sup>543</sup> Just as Edward I's dedication to the welfare of the poor through alms has been noted, so surviving records indicate a similar devotion to masses. Edward's penitential alms indicate that the king heard a mass each day. In addition to these, Edward requested the celebration of a great many other masses. Some of these were organised by the king's chaplains, and the king attended many of them, particularly when marking a special occasion or to commemorate the dead.

### Masses requested through the chaplains

The roll of alms and oblations of 1276/7 records that John of Witham, the king's chaplain, made a daily offering on the king's behalf. The account records that between 28 September 1276 and 15 May 1277, John offered *7d.* each day in the name of the king, a total of £7 11*s.* 3*d.*. During this same period he offered a further *5s.* 11*d.* at diverse masses.<sup>544</sup> The same account records that the offering of *7d.* each day continued for the rest of the year.<sup>545</sup> Just over ten years later, the same, John of Witham made daily oblations on the king's behalf.<sup>546</sup> The function of these daily oblations is difficult to determine. It was not recorded whether they were made in the king's chapel or elsewhere. After 1289 these daily offerings disappear from the accounts which possibly

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<sup>543</sup> *CM*, p. 231-32.

<sup>544</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 2.

<sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 3.

<sup>546</sup> The roll of alms and oblations for 1288/9 (TNA, E101352/18) records that *Johanni de Whycham* chaplain offered *7d.* per day in the name of the king between 20 November 1288 - 19 November 1289.

implies that they were discontinued. The king's chaplains, however, continued to celebrate masses on his behalf.

The wardrobe book of 1296/7 records that Henry of Blunsdon, the almoner, was issued with the money for the king's offerings at diverse masses in honour of the saints. At each mass the King's Great Penny would be placed upon the altar by one of his chaplains and then bought back at a cost of 7*d.* Between 10 November 1296 and 24 June 1297, these offerings were made at eighty-two masses at a cost of 47*s.* 10*d.* Similarly between 01 September 1297 and 19 November 1297, eighty-one further masses were held at a cost of 47*s.* 3*d.*<sup>547</sup> These entries record that 'diverse chaplains of the king's chapel' made offerings at these masses.<sup>548</sup> While the almoner had been issued with the money for these offerings, they were discharged by any one of the king's chaplains. The wardrobe book of 1299/1300 reveals similar evidence. It records that between 20 November 1299 and 19 November 1300, Henry the Almoner was issued with a total of £5 10*s.* 10*d.* for offerings of 7*d.* at 190 masses.<sup>549</sup>

The nature of such masses can be remarked upon thanks to a remarkable survival.<sup>550</sup> Two lists survive which reveal when, and why, masses were requested by the king. The first of these emerges in a separate account made for the year 1299/1300, the second list was attached to the back of an almoner's roll of 1301/02.<sup>551</sup> The first of these is more complete and records not only the types of masses requested but also their location. It records 167 masses celebrated at a total cost of £4 17*s.* 5*d.*. These masses correspond with an entry in the wardrobe book for that year, which records that an additional twenty-three masses were subsequently ordered - taking the total up to 190. The list records that all of the masses were specific to a particular saint, or cult. Notably, those in honour of the saints were prompted not by feast day but by location. For example, in Durham Edward frequently requested a mass of St Cuthbert or, in Beverley, one of Saint John of Beverley. The dedications that appear in the 1299/1300 list are detailed below:

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<sup>547</sup> BL. Add. MS 7965, ff. 8r and 10v, why the account does not cover the period between June and September is unclear.

<sup>548</sup> Ibid.

<sup>549</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 44. The entry records that these offerings were given by 'Ralph of Stanford and all of the chaplains of the king's chapel by order of the king.'

<sup>550</sup> TNA, E101/357/27, and E101/361/21, m. 3 *dorso*.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid.

Table 42 - Masses requested by the king, 1299/1300<sup>552</sup>

Dedication	Number
Saints	31
Blessed Virgin Mary	25
Holy Spirit	26
All Saints	16
Epiphany	12
Angels	15
Trinity	13
Holy Cross	2
Unknown	27
Total	167

The largest number of masses were celebrated in honour of the saints, and the proximity of a shrine prompted the majority of these celebrations. The remainder suggest the king's particular interests. For example, nine masses were celebrated for Saint Thomas and only one of these can be explained by the presence of the king in Canterbury. A particular devotion to the martyr therefore emerges. Likewise three masses of St George were recorded within the account.<sup>553</sup> The king's dedication to the Virgin Mary also emerges from this list, with twenty-five separate masses 'of the virgin' being celebrated. This supports the image created by the king's almsgiving: the Blessed Virgin was foremost in the king's affections.

This account also reveals that clerks might be dispatched to hear these masses elsewhere. Master Ralph, probably Ralph of Stanford, a clerk of the king's chapel, was dispatched to hear ten masses and make the king's oblations. On the 6 July 1300 a mass was celebrated at Applegarth, where the king had paused, having left Carlisle on the 4 July.<sup>554</sup> The account then lists ten masses attended by Master Ralph - one at St Albans, five at Ely, two at Brotherton and two at Carlisle.<sup>555</sup> He made an offering of 7*d.* at each. Such masses may possibly be construed as a cautionary measure. Edward at this time was busy making war in Scotland. There he remained for the next two months. These masses were presumably votive, i.e., intended for the king's protection. The masses requested in 1299/1300 were clearly not unique, although lists detailing them rarely survive. The almoners roll of 1301/02 features a similar list of seventy masses ordered by the king; however this does not appear to be complete, and there is no reference as to

<sup>552</sup> TNA, E101/357/27.

<sup>553</sup> See also, J. Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009).

<sup>554</sup> TNA, E101/357/27; *Itinerary Edward I*, ii, p. 191.

<sup>555</sup> TNA, E101/357/27.

where they were performed.<sup>556</sup> In this list the majority of masses were celebrated in honour of the saints, as demonstrated in the table below:

**Table 43 - Masses requested by the king, 1301/02<sup>557</sup>**

Dedication	Number
Saints	36
Holy Spirit	7
Blessed Virgin Mary	10
All Saints	5
Angels	5
Trinity	3
Holy Cross	2
Epiphany	1
Resurrection of Christ	1
Total	70

The evidence suggests that the celebration of such masses continued throughout the rest of Edward's reign. The wardrobe book of 1305/06 records that Henry of Blunsdon was still responsible for organising this enterprise.<sup>558</sup> However, as a result of poor finances, these, like many of his other pious practices, had been reduced. The account records that a total sum of only 27*s.* 10*d.* was offered by 'all the chaplains of the king's chapel' for just forty-six masses over the entire year.<sup>559</sup> On each occasion 7*d.* was still offered just as it had been in 1276/7. As Edward's almsgiving had been reduced by the end of his reign, by necessity, so too were his requests for masses.

#### Masses attended by the king

Edward I attended many masses in person, in addition to those he heard daily in his chapel. The details for these emerges because the king gave offerings. The roll of alms and oblations for 1276/7 does not detail such offerings, although, quite possibly,

<sup>556</sup> TNA, E101/361/21, m. 3 *dorso*.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>558</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 30r.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid.*

they were included under the general term oblation.<sup>560</sup> In the roll of alms and oblations for 1288/9, however, these offerings are more explicit and demonstrate an element of largesse on Edward's part. The first such entry in the roll of alms and oblations of this year was on Christmas day 1288. On this day Edward attended three masses in his private chapel, which was at that time situated in *Bonnegarde* in Gascony. At the masses the king paid not only for his own offerings, but also for those of others present. This included: *regina, domine, domicelle, milites alii circumstantes*.<sup>561</sup> The total spent on offerings on this occasion was 14s. 4d..<sup>562</sup> The king frequently paid for the offerings of others present when he attended masses. This displays not only his own generosity but also an element of instruction - he intended that his subjects should be equally munificent in their own devotions.

The entries recording the king's masses in 1296/7 are similar to those from 1288/9. In both decades the king attended masses in his own chapel and also in the churches he visited. Throughout the period he also paid for the offerings of others in attendance. The fact that these were often in his personal chapel demonstrates that this was not an altogether private space. Presumably those attending had been invited to participate in the king's devotions. Unfortunately, apart from family and household officials, these spectators were never named. Some of the entries in the accounts elaborate upon the reason for celebrating these masses. Often they marked the major feasts of the church year such as Christmas, Easter or Whitsun. Occasionally they honoured the feast of a saint. Some were also prompted by proximity - for example, the king heard a mass of St Eutropus when visiting the Church of St Eutropus in Saintes in July 1289.<sup>563</sup> Edward occasionally offered more valuable coins at these masses. This practice is reminiscent of Henry III's use of gold *obols* for his offerings.<sup>564</sup> For example, at a high mass celebrated at Epiphany in 1289, Edward and his queen offered two gold Spanish coins costing 5s. 9d..<sup>565</sup>

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<sup>560</sup> However, the account of 1276/7 does record the king attending *pro anima* masses, and so it is difficult to speculate either way.

<sup>561</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 89*, p. 272, (...of the queen, masters, ladies, knights and others a standing).

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>563</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, p. 288.

<sup>564</sup> See above, pp. 37-39.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

In the last years of Edward's reign a change can be detected in the way in which he used masses. It has been noted how, in these years, the king's chaplains made fewer offerings at masses using the king's great penny - as a consequence of crown finances being so diminished. By contrast, in 1305/06, the king spent more money on attending masses personally. At most of these he offered 7*s.*, the same sum he offered at shrines. Most of the masses were celebrated to honour the feasts of saints, particularly in June and July of 1306. This was a clear deviation from previous practice. At this time Edward was preparing for his final advance into Scotland, but with little support from his nobility. Also Edward's health was beginning to fail him.<sup>566</sup> Perhaps these masses represent the king's concern for his health and also for national security. The fact that more of the masses were celebrated to honour the feasts of saints may also reflect his concern that his almsgiving in their honour had diminished so dramatically. The masses attended by the king in 1288/9, 1296/7 and 1305/06 are tabulated below, this data does not include *pro anima* masses which will be discussed separately.

**Table 44 - Offerings made at mass, 1288/9<sup>567</sup>**

Date	Occasion	Number of Masses	Location	Cost
25 December 1288	Christmas	3	King's Chapel	14 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>
6 January 1289	Epiphany	1	King's Chapel	13 <i>s.</i>
26 February 1289		1	Dominican House of Pont Ortes	11 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
25 March 1289	Ann. Blessed Virgin	1	Dominican House of Morlans	14 <i>d.</i>
10 April 1289	Easter Day	1	Great Church of Condom	11 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>
c. April 1289		1	Lascurre'	7 <i>s.</i>
29 May 1289	Whitsun		King's Chapel	4 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> <sup>568</sup>
24 June 1289	Nat John Bap.	1	King's Chapel	2 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
c. 3 July 1289		1	Church of Saint Eutropus in Saintes	7 <i>d.</i>
3 July 1289	Honour of Saint Eutropius	1	Church of Saint Eutropus in Saintes	16 <i>d.</i>
c. 12 August 1289		1	King's Chapel <sup>569</sup>	7 <i>s.</i>
15 August 1289	Assumption Blessed Virgin	1	Choir of St Augustine's Cant.	3 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
c. 5 October 1289		1	Ely	7 <i>d.</i>

<sup>566</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 506-507.

<sup>567</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, pp. 272-305.

<sup>568</sup> In this entry there is not an explicit mention of a mass but it can perhaps be inferred as it records that the offerings of the knights, clerks, masters and ladies were paid in the king's chapel. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>569</sup> The King's chapel was in Dover at this time and this High Mass may have been in thanks for a safe crossing from France. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

13 October 1289	Feast St Edward Conf.	1	Westminster Abbey	5s. 9d.
1 November 1289	All Saints	1	King's Chapel	3s.
			Total	£4 7s. 1d.

Table 45 - Offerings made at mass, 1296/7<sup>570</sup>

Date	Occasion	Number of Masses	Location	Cost
20 November 1296	Feast St Edmund	1	Bury St Edmunds	7s.
8 December 1296	Feast St Nicholas	1	King's Chapel	7s.
9 December 1296	Hon. Three Kings	1	St Mary's Bury	3s.
25 December 1296	Christmas	4	King's Chapel and great church in Ipswich	21s. 8d.
3 January 1297	Marriage of Eleanor de Burgh <sup>571</sup>	1	Priory of St Peter Ipswich	7s.
6 January 1297	Epiphany	1	King's Chapel	2s. 6d. <sup>572</sup>
6 January 1297	Epiphany	1	King's Chapel	3s. 1d. <sup>573</sup>
7 January 1297	Marriage of Elizabeth <sup>574</sup>	1	Priory of St Peter Ipswich	12s.
2 February 1297		1	Walsingham	7s.
2 February 1297		1	Walsingham	3s. 1d.
14 April 1297	Easter	1	Priory of Plympton	2s. 7d.
15 April 1297	Hon. St Michael	1	St Michael's Mount <sup>575</sup>	7d.
23 April 1297	Altars <sup>576</sup>	2	Church of St Maurice in Plympton	14d.
24 April 1297		1	Church of St George in Ashcombe	7d.
c. 14 June 1297		3	Beverley, York and Durham <sup>577</sup>	21d.
c. 14 June 1297		1	Worcester	7d.

<sup>570</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 6r-11r.

<sup>571</sup> Eleanor de Burgh was the daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, she married Thomas de Muldon in 1297 at Ipswich. BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 6v.

<sup>572</sup> At this mass the king offered a gold florin, costing 2s. 6d. Ibid.

<sup>573</sup> This offering was for the other people in attendance at this mass. Ibid.

<sup>574</sup> Daughter of Edward I, married the count of Brabant on this day. Ibid.

<sup>575</sup> John of Langley made this offering for the king along with one at the High Altar. Ibid., f. 7v.

<sup>576</sup> Masses accompanied offerings at the altars of Sts George and Maurice, made by William of Brun. Ibid.

<sup>577</sup> Note the king resided at Leeds castle at this time. The clerk of the almoner, John of Langley was dispatched to make offerings at the Shrines of Sts John of Beverley, William of York and Cuthbert. Each offering was accompanied by a mass. Ibid., f. 7v.

			Cathedral <sup>578</sup>	
31 July 1297		1	St Pauls Cathedral	7s. <sup>579</sup>
23 August 1297	Hon. Holy Cross	1	Friars of Winchelsea	8s. <sup>580</sup>
1 November	All Saints	1	King's Chapel	6s. 2d.
1 November	All Saints	1	Chapel of the Countess of Holland <sup>581</sup>	6s. 8d.
			Total	£5 8s.5d.

Table 46 - Offerings made at mass, 1305/06<sup>582</sup>

Date	Occasion	Number of Masses	Location	Cost
6 January 1306	Epiphany	1	King's Chapel	11s. 4d.
2 February 1306	Purification Blessed Virgin	1	King's Chapel	8s. 4d.
3 April 1306	Easter Sunday	2	King's Chapel	12s. 9d.
23 May 1306 <sup>583</sup>	Whitsun	1	King's Chapel	21s.
16 June 1306	Feast St Richard	1	King's Chapel	7s.
17 June 1306	Feast St Botolph	1	King's Chapel	7s.
22 June 1306	Hon. St Alban <sup>584</sup>	1	King's Chapel	7s.
24 June 1306	Nat. John the Baptist	1	King's Chapel	7s.
25 June 1306	Salutation Blessed Virgin	1	Church of Woburn Abbey	7s. <sup>585</sup>
26 June 1306	Feast of Sts. John and Paul	1	King's Chapel	7s. <sup>586</sup>
4 July 1306	Feast of St Martin	1	King's Chapel	7s.
7 July 1306	Trans. St Thomas Becket	1	King's Chapel	7s.
19 July 1306	Vigil feast of St Margaret	1	King's Chapel	7s.
27 July 1306	Hon. St Andrew	1	Conventual Church of Newburgh	7s. and 9s. 2d. <sup>587</sup>
10 August 1306	Feast St Laurence	1	King's Chapel	7s.
16 August 1306	For his forthcoming business	1	King's Chapel	7s.
30 August 1306	Because the king was recovering from illness	1	King's Chapel	34s.
18 October	Feast St Luke the	1	King's Chapel	7s.

<sup>578</sup> Note that this offering was made by Proxy as the king was in Leeds Castle in Essex at this time. Ibid., f. 7v.

<sup>579</sup> Offering was made at the High Altar after mass, Ibid., f. 8v.

<sup>580</sup> This offering was made through Henry the almoner for a solemn mass in honour of the Holy Cross and for a safe journey to Flanders. Ibid., f. 10r.

<sup>581</sup> Elizabeth of Rhuddlan, Edward's daughter.

<sup>582</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 28r-33v.

<sup>583</sup> Note Whitsun was actually on the 22 May this year. This was probably just an accounting error, Ibid., f. 32v.

<sup>584</sup> At this time the king was in Battlesden in Bedfordshire but the week before he had been at St Albans this was also two days after the feast of St Alban. Ibid., f. 28r.

<sup>585</sup> Offering made by John of Langford. Ibid., f. 28v.

<sup>586</sup> Offering made through Henry of Blunsdon, Ibid.

<sup>587</sup> At this mass 7s. was offered by the king and 9s. 2d. for offering given and shared at this time.

1306	Evangelist			
1 November 1206	All Saints	1	King's Chapel	17s. 3d.
6 November 1306	Feast St Leonard	1	King's Chapel	7s.
17 November 1306 <sup>588</sup>	Feast of St Hugh	1	King's Chapel	7s.
			Total	£10 18s. 10s.

### *Masses pro anima*

Masses were also celebrated for the dead. We have concluded that Edward I did not give formal alms *pro anima* except in the case of Henry III. Edward did, however, make provision for the dead in the form of masses. These came in two forms. The first were masses held on the anniversaries of the deaths of members of his family. The second were masses performed for the souls of the recently deceased. The latter were probably requested soon after the king heard of the person's death. Comparing the occurrence of *pro anima* masses at different points in Edward's reign is problematic. After all, absence of examples might suggest a reduction in the practice - or simply that nobody of note had died. Such masses were requested in 1276/7 on five occasions. In the late 1280s this practice was implemented more frequently than at any other decade in the reign. During this period it appears that a number of these masses were commissioned for relatively humble individuals. By the later 1290s this had changed and *pro anima* masses were not held for anyone below the rank of baron. In the year 1296/7 the masses celebrated were most frequently held for close family members. Two masses were performed for both Eleanor of Castile and Eleanor of Provence. By the end of Edward's reign this practice had contracted further: only the anniversary of Eleanor of Castile's death was commemorated with a mass, and the recently dead received just two masses. The changes at different stages in his reign are detailed in the tables below:

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<sup>588</sup> Note the account records 17 October, however this is surely an error. It was recorded along with other November oblations and the feast of St Hugh of Lincoln is indeed the 17 November. *Ibid.*, f. 30r.

Table 47 - *Pro anima* masses, 1276/7<sup>589</sup>

Date	Person	Relationship	Cost in <i>d.</i>
29 March 1277	Beatrice of Brittany <sup>590</sup>	Sister	17
25 June 1277	Edward of Valeri	?	35
21 September 1277	Henry of Woodstock	?	82
c. 11 November 1277	John of Valence	Son of William de Valence <sup>591</sup>	264
20 November 1277	Henry III	Father	60
		Total	458

Table 48 - *Pro anima* masses, 1288/9<sup>592</sup>

Date	Person	Relationship	Cost in <i>d.</i>
20 November 1288	Henry of Wheatley	Ex-Cofferer	255
c. 2 February 1289	John de Vescy <sup>593</sup>	Baron, soldier and diplomat	50
4 March 1289	William Middleton	Bishop of Norwich	13
15 March 1289	Jeanne de Dammartin	Mother of Eleanor of Castile	134.5
25 March 1289	Guyoti de Bigorre	?	104
29 March 1289 <sup>594</sup>	Beatrice of Brittany	Sister	80
c. 8 August 1289	Jeanne de Dammartin	Mother of Eleanor of Castile	703 <sup>595</sup>
10 September 1289	Hugh son of Otthon.	Steward	44
3 October 1289	William of Montchesney	Knight <sup>596</sup>	99
11 October 1289	Henry III	Father	138 <sup>597</sup>
c. 14 October 1289	Peter of Greyliaco	?	515 <sup>598</sup>
c. 14 October 1289	Peter of Greyliaco	?	272 <sup>599</sup>
c. 14 October 1289	Beatrice of Brittany	Sister	593 <sup>600</sup>
c. 15 October 1289	Richard de Brun	?	148 <sup>601</sup>
12 October 1289	Richard de Brus	?	963 <sup>602</sup>

<sup>589</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 2 - 3.

<sup>590</sup> Beatrice died on 23 March 1277, this mass was therefore on roughly the first anniversary of her death.

<sup>591</sup> William de Valence was Earl of Pembroke, he had been on crusade with Edward I and was a key figure in the war in Wales; *ODNB*, *sub nomine*.

<sup>592</sup> TNA, E101/352/18, printed in, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286 -1289*, pp. 272 - 305, pp. 272, 277, 278, 291, 296, 299,

<sup>593</sup> John de Vescy's death was clearly a considerable loss to Edward I and he supplemented the mass for his soul with a general distribution of 62*s.* 3½*d.* and also fed many mendicants at this time - *pro anima*. *Ibid.*, pp. 277 -278.

<sup>594</sup> NB, 2 masses were performed for the soul of Beatrice, *Ibid.*, p. 278.

<sup>595</sup> NB, this sum was offered to the monks of Valloires Abbey to celebrate solemnly for two days, to provide food for the monks performing these services and for offerings, *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>596</sup> Died in the service of the king in Wales, *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>597</sup> NB, at Westminster. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>598</sup> NB - No mass performed but the king fed the Dominicans of London for one day for his soul. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>599</sup> This money was given to the Franciscans of London to celebrate solemnly for his soul. *Ibid.*

<sup>600</sup> NB - Her daughter Marie of Brittany was present. This money was given to the Franciscans of

<sup>601</sup> The entry records that two masses were said at Whitton for Richard le Brus and the offerings were for the king, queen, daughters and all around. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

6 November 1289	Henry III	Father	272
		Total	4235.5

Table 49 - *Pro anima* masses, 1296/7<sup>603</sup>

Date	Person	Relationship	Cost
29 November 1296	Eleanor of Castile	Wife	37 <sup>604</sup>
19 February 1297	Eleanor of Castile	Wife	102 <sup>605</sup>
25 February 1297	Eleanor of Provence	Mother	60 <sup>606</sup>
19 June 1297	William de Valence	Uncle	126 <sup>607</sup>
26 June 1297	Eleanor of Provence	Mother	42 <sup>608</sup>
8 November 1297	Roger of Mowbray <sup>609</sup>	1st Baron and soldier	88
		Total	455

Table 50 - *Pro anima* masses, 1305/06<sup>610</sup>

Date	Person	Relationship	Cost
29 November 1305	Eleanor of Castile	Wife	69 <sup>611</sup>
4 December 1305	Peter de Che? <sup>612</sup>		2s. 2d.
20 December 1305	Eleanor of Provence	Mother	11s. 8d. <sup>613</sup>
24 February 1306	John Comyn	Former Enemy/Ally	246 <sup>614</sup>
		Total	315

Again the factor of proximity emerges as of importance in determining when these masses were held. Edward held masses for the both his mother and his wife when he visited the place where they had died. For example, in 1297 the king arranged a mass

<sup>602</sup> Please note, this was a 'general distribution' and not a mass, *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>603</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 6r, 7r and 8r and 8v.

<sup>604</sup> The entry records that a solemn mass for the soul of Queen Eleanor was performed in the king's chapel and the sum of was for the *participate* in this mass. This marked the day after she had died in 1290. *Ibid.*, f. 6r.

<sup>605</sup> This solemn mass was celebrated in the king's chapel and the 8s. 6d. was given to the *participantis* in the mass. On this same day a general distribution of 26s. 9d. was made through John of Langley (the clerk of the almoner) and Robert of Cottingham. *Ibid.*, f. 7r.

<sup>606</sup> The entry records the solemn mass was held in the Priory church of Amesbury, where Edward's late mother had retired. The sum of 5s. was for the *participantis* in the mass. *Ibid.*, f. 7r.

<sup>607</sup> Entry records solemn mass for Edward's uncle was performed at the High Altar in Westminster Abbey and 10s. 6d. was given to the *participantis* in the mass. *Ibid.*, f. 8r.

<sup>608</sup> Performed in the great chapel in the House of the Archbishop of York, this was roughly the anniversary of Eleanor's death (d. 24 June) in 1291, the sum of 3s. 7d. was given to the *participantis*. *Ibid.*

<sup>609</sup> Roger had served in Wales and Gascony for Edward I. *Ibid.*, 10v.

<sup>610</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 28r-33v.

<sup>611</sup> This solemn mass took place in the Abbey Church of Oseney in Oxfordshire, 5s. 9d. was distributed to the *participantis*. *Ibid.*, f. 30v.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>613</sup> Prompted by the king being at Amesbury.

<sup>614</sup> This large offering was made to the *participantis* in the solemn mass in the Abbey Church of Hyde. f. 31v.

for the soul of his mother on the 25 February at Amesbury - the convent to which she had retired and subsequently passed away.<sup>615</sup> This was in addition to one held on the 26 June in the king's chapel, which was roughly the anniversary of Eleanor of Provence's death (24 June 1290). He remembered Eleanor of Castile in the same way. He arranged masses for her soul whenever he visited Lincoln, close to where she died.<sup>616</sup> For instance, on 24 May 1300 and 24 January 1301.<sup>617</sup> He arranged another mass for Eleanor of Castile on the 19 February 1297 at Langley. This seems not to correspond to any specific date in her life (although her birthday is not known), but was probably prompted by the king being at St Albans the day before - one of the places at which her body had rested when en route to Westminster in 1300.<sup>618</sup> It is clear, therefore, that *pro anima* masses were not only prompted by anniversaries but also when the king visited the places which particularly reminded him of the loved ones he had lost.

The money spent on these masses was never fixed. This is almost certainly because the king paid for the offerings of everyone in attendance on these occasions. From 1296/7 onwards the accounts specify that the offerings at these masses were *participantis*, therefore shared.<sup>619</sup> Edward was again covering the cost of the offerings of the congregation, just as he did at other masses. In the circumstances it was clearly not just a form of largesse or benevolence. The implication is that the more people who attended the masses the greater the reward for the soul of the deceased. There was surely a degree of reciprocity implied in this arrangement. Henry III's *pro anima* almsgiving was based upon the concept that those who received meals were expected to pray for the deceased. If he covered the cost of the offerings of the congregation, Edward surely expected that they would pray for the soul of the deceased. Although Edward and his father differed in the ways in which they made provision for the dead, the desired outcome was surely still the same. They remembered the dead and nurtured their own souls in the process.

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<sup>615</sup> Ibid., f. 8r.

<sup>616</sup> ODNB, *sub nomine*.

<sup>617</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 37; BL, Add. MS 7966A, f. 23v.

<sup>618</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 7r.

<sup>619</sup> 'Of the participants'.

### III. *Communis partizona*

On select occasions Edward I ordered the distribution of large sums of money, disbursements which were described as *communis partizona*, or general distributions. This form of charity was effectively almsgiving under a different name. This conclusion is supported by the following factors. Firstly, the entries recording such payments usually specified that the distributions should be made to the poor. Secondly, they usually mention that the almoner was responsible for distributing the money. Thirdly, these distributions were occasionally made instead of almsgiving for important feasts. Therefore, in many ways these distributions seem almost indistinguishable from the king's alms. But there were subtle differences. Firstly, the distributions were defined by a sum of money rather than a number of poor. Secondly, the sum given to each recipient varied from the 1½*d.* invariably given to each almsman. Finally, these costs were recorded with the king's oblations rather than his alms. Overall it may have been that these two forms of charity were indistinguishable to the medieval eye, and Edward's *communis partizona* may simply have constituted a more flexible form of charity.

Such distributions appear only rarely in the accounts of the 1270s. For example, on Good Friday 1277 the king distributed 5*s.* to the poor and the queen also distributed 20*d.*.<sup>620</sup> However this may simply have been activity peculiar to Holy Week, similar to the later Maundy gifts. By the 1280s general distributions had become a fixed feature of the king's piety. Taylor has listed the distributions in 1283/4 and concludes that £106 11*s.* 7*d.* was given throughout the year 'in (or pro) *quadam communi distributiones diversis pauperibus.*'<sup>621</sup> Later that decade general distributions were given even more frequently - 1288/9 saw a total of £147 2*s.* 11½*d.* spent on such distributions. By the later 1290s general distributions were given less frequently - perhaps as a direct consequence of the great increase in the king's almsgiving. However a custom which endured for a number of years was the distribution of £20 16*s.* 8*d.* on the feasts of the translation of Edward the Confessor (13 October), All Saints (1 November) and All Souls (2 November). This sum equates to 5000*d.* and it was surely intended that 5000 poor each receive a penny. Evidence would appear to indicate that this practice was

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<sup>620</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 1.

<sup>621</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 109.

maintained between 1296 and 1302.<sup>622</sup> This coincides exactly with the climax of Edward's other almsgiving. The general distributions made in 1288/9, 1296/7 and 1305/06 are listed below.

**Table 51 - General distributions, 1288/9<sup>623</sup>**

Date	Feast/Occasion	Cost of Distribution (in <i>d.</i> )	Donor
6 December 1288	Feast St Nicholas	307	Henry of Blunsdon
25 December 1288	Christmas	351	Henry of Blunsdon
2 February 1289	Purification Blessed Virgin	241	Henry of Blunsdon
26 February 1289	<i>pro anima</i> Eleanor of Provence	1314	Henry of Blunsdon
12 March 1289	Arrival at Oleron	747.5	?
25 March 1289	Annunciation Blessed Virgin	490	Henry of Blunsdon
8 April 1289	Good Friday	964.5	?
24 June 1289	Nativity John the Baptist	603.5	Henry of Blunsdon
14 August 1289	Vigil Assumption Blessed Virgin	1620	?
15 August 1289	Assumption Blessed Virgin	1176	?
8 September 1289	Nativity Blessed Virgin	539	Henry of Blunsdon
c. 18 September 1289	At Saint Edmunds?	3600	Henry of Blunsdon
c. 24 September 1289	At Walsingham	3648	Henry of Blunsdon
29 September 1289	At Burgh	3552	Henry of Blunsdon
c. 2 October 1289	<i>pro anima</i> William de Mont canis'	1248	?
c. 5 October 1289	At Ely	3492	?
c. 13 October 1289	<i>pro anima</i> Richard de Brus	996	Henry of Blunsdon
13 October 1289	Translation St Edward	5520	
1 November 1289	All Saints	1392	Henry of Blunsdon
2 November 1289	All Souls	768	Henry of Blunsdon
16 November 1289	Anniversary Henry III	2770	Henry of Blunsdon
	Total	£147 2s. 11½ <i>d.</i>	

<sup>622</sup> This practice was recorded in four accounts: (1296/7), BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 10v; (1299/1300), *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 44; (1300/01), BL, Add. MS 7966A f. 27r; (1301/02), TNA, E101/361/21, m. 1 *dorso*.

<sup>623</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, pp. 272 - 305.

Table 52 - General distributions, 1296/7<sup>624</sup>

Date	Feast/Occasion	Cost of Distribution (in <i>d.</i> )	Donor
25 December 1296	Christmas	1260	
19 February 1297	<i>pro anima</i> Eleanor of Castile	321	John of Langley and Robert of Cottingham
25 February 1297	<i>pro anima</i> Eleanor of Provence	900	?
14 April 1297	Easter Sunday	420	?
13 October 1297	Feast St Edward Conf.	5000	Henry of Blunsdon
1 November 1297	All Saints	5000	Henry of Blunsdon
2 November 1297	All Souls	5000	Henry of Blunsdon
	Total	£74 11s. 9d.	

Table 53 - General distributions, 1305/6<sup>625</sup>

Date	Feast/Occasion	Cost of Distribution (in <i>d.</i> )	Donor
28 November 1305	?	1179	Henry of Blunsdon
2 February 1306	Purification Blessed Virgin	2620	Henry of Blunsdon
3 April 1306	Easter	273	John of Droxford and Henry of Blunsdon
21 July 1306	Hon. John of Beverley	1380	Henry of Blunsdon
15 August 1306	Assumption Blessed Virgin	1840	?
30 September 1306	Hon. St Michael	720	Henry of Blunsdon
1 November 1306	All Saints	1800	Henry of Blunsdon
	Total	£40 17s. 8d.	

We see from these figures that by the later years of Edward's reign general distributions were not made *pro anima*, coinciding with the parallel decline in *pro anima* masses at this time. We also see that Henry of Blunsdon was usually responsible for their organisation. This might indicate that general distributions were just another form of alms. Conversely it may simply reflect his logistical abilities and how indispensable he was in the household. It should be remembered that he organised the money for the masses celebrated by the king's chaplains but did not necessarily attend these masses personally. Blunsdon was evidently an able administrator.

<sup>624</sup> BL, Add. MS, 7965, ff. 6r-11r.

<sup>625</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 28r-33v.

The account for 1305/06 records a general distribution being given in honour of St John of Beverley on 21 July 1306. At this time the king was in Beverley. Just as Edward would request a special mass for local saints so too might he make general distributions. These facts reflect two important themes. Firstly, any of the king's pious practices might be adapted to meet present needs. Secondly, the king often displayed a special sensitivity to his environment. Pious rituals and practices might mark special occasions but they were also employed to reflect the king's mood - and this mood was responsive to external influences.

#### **IV. The king's offerings**

Edward regularly made offerings. These took the form of both money, and occasionally, of precious objects. Some of these were given as a demonstration of devotion to a particular saint, some in thanks for fortunate developments, others were simply a routine expression of his pious persona. He made these offerings in many places. Some were given in his private chapel and others in more public places. The scope of this topic is broad and needs careful treatment. Three things are necessary. Firstly, I will describe the different forms of offerings. Then I will explore several themes which emerge from the way in which these gifts were distributed. Finally, I will describe in detail one important practice upon which Edward often relied.

##### Types of offering

The majority of Edward's offerings took the form of money. When Edward made an offering at an altar, shrine or image he invariably gave the sum of 7*s.*. This would have been a far greater contribution than that of the average pilgrim or visitor. Ben Nilson has concluded that most pilgrims would have made an offering of just 1*d.*

when venerating shrines.<sup>626</sup> Edward's offerings were also much larger than those given by his chaplains at masses.<sup>627</sup> These larger offerings reflected his position and status. They can also be interpreted as a form of largesse on Edward's part. Dixon-Smith has stated that:

As the highest leader in society, and a military leader at that, the obligations of giving were particularly pertinent for a king as a means of rewarding and maintaining loyalty. In the Middle Ages free and happy giving to the worthy was the hallmark of good kingship and strong leadership, and was deeply ingrained in the aristocratic imagination.

The desire to reward and maintain loyalty was particularly important when Edward made offerings at shrines and images. By giving a much greater sum than average Edward hoped for special rewards. In the 1270s the sum of 7*s.* had not yet become fixed. He offered this at Walsingham in March of 1277 and at also the image of the Blessed Virgin at Rhuddlan later in August of that year.<sup>628</sup> However, we find other sums too - for example, 13*d.* was offered at the Stone Cross at Evesham on 20 January 1277, and the sum of 5*s.* at the Holy Cross of Bromholm in March of that year.<sup>629</sup> The next year Edward visited Worcester where he offered 7*s.* at the shrines of St Wulfstan and St Oswald, and also a further 30*s.* at their altars.<sup>630</sup> Edward also made offerings by proxy at this time so, for example, he sent William of Hamilton to offer 60*s.* before the shrine of St Edith in Shropshire.<sup>631</sup> By the 1280s, 7*s.* had become the standard sum for a royal offering. Taylor's breakdown of the 1283/4 roll of alms and oblations shows that offerings in churches were invariably in multiples of 7*s.*<sup>632</sup> Subsequent accounts for the rest of Edward's reign affirm that this became established practice.

He also offered more valuable coins. For example, on the feast of the Epiphany 1301, Edward offered eight florins in his chapel at Northampton, and the queen offered three more, the total value of these coins being 13*s.* 4*d.*.<sup>633</sup> He also made a special sort of offering, known as the *chevagium*, but infrequently, at most once a year. This consisted of a varying number of gold coins. As noted in chapter 1, the term *chevagium*

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<sup>626</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 114.

<sup>627</sup> As his chaplains gave 7*d.* and he gave 7*s.* his offerings were twelve times larger.

<sup>628</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, mm. 2-3.

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*, m 1.

<sup>630</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 41r and 41v.

<sup>631</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42v.

<sup>632</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', pp. 113 - 116.

<sup>633</sup> BL, Add. MS 7966A, f. 23r.

was used to stress the special terms of the relationship between king and saint. This emphasised the dependency of the king upon the protection of his chosen sponsor. Whereas Henry III had made this special offering to St Edward the Confessor, Edward I offered all but one of his *chevagium* to the shrine of St Thomas Becket.<sup>634</sup> For example, in 1297 the *chevagium* consisted of three gold *florins* valued at 2s. 6d. each.<sup>635</sup> John of Langley offered these before the shrine of St Thomas in July 1297. On 23 February 1300 St Thomas was once again in receipt of the *chevagium*. On this occasion a total of twelve gold florins were offered - valued at 3s. 3d. - three were offered in the name of the king, three for the queen, three for Prince Edward and three for the child in Margaret's belly.<sup>636</sup> Strangely, these offerings do not appear in account of 1300/01. However, on 4 March 1306 the king offered another three gold florins at the shrine of St Thomas and this was described as his *chevagium*.<sup>637</sup> The next year, again on the 4 March, Edward sent his *chevagium* to St Thomas. Unfortunately the manuscript is damaged and it is not possible to see what this consisted of.<sup>638</sup> It appears that, while Edward did not offer his *chevagium* every year, when he did it was always sent to the shrine of St Thomas. This clearly identifies Becket as the special protector of the king. There appears to have been just one deviation from this rule. Edward sent his *chevagium* in December 1305, to the shrine of St Denis in Paris.<sup>639</sup> This is very similar to the former practice of Louis IX who would place coins on his head before offering them at the shrine of St Denis.<sup>640</sup> This act demonstrated the kings of France were subordinate to their patron saint. Perhaps Edward, by doing likewise, was insinuating his pretensions to the French throne.

Offerings could also consist of precious items, such as gold cloths. In May 1297 Edward arranged for six gold cloths to be sent to the Earl of Lincoln in Gascony to be offered in the name of the king at the church of the Blessed Virgin in *Barrone* and the Church of St Quiteria. Accompanying these gifts were three silver chalices and three silver clasps also to be offered.<sup>641</sup> Likewise in, December 1305, he sent two gold cloths,

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<sup>634</sup> See above, pp. 45-47.

<sup>635</sup> BL, Add. MS. 7965, f. 8r, in 1297 he gave this offering to the Shrine of St Thomas Becket on feast of that saints translation (7 July), through John of Langley, while the king himself was at Westminster.

<sup>636</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 29 - 30.

<sup>637</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 29v.

<sup>638</sup> TNA, E101/370/16, f. 5v.

<sup>639</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 31r.

<sup>640</sup> Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings', p. 16.

<sup>641</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 7v.

a gold ring and a candle weighing fifty pounds to be offered at the high altar of St Denis in Paris.<sup>642</sup> These entries suggest something of the variety of gifts that could be offered in sacred spaces. Gold *firmacula*, or clasps, played a particular role in Edward's piety and were used to display special devotion to a number of saints. The king also occasionally gave items of greater value. Taylor has described the particular devotion that Edward showed to the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury when he offered four gold images costing a total of £355 10s. 11½*d.* in 1285.<sup>643</sup> This was however a very special donation and is not typical of Edward's day-to-day piety. However smaller precious offerings did form a more routine part of Edward's pious practice.

Offerings were also occasionally votive - that is, offered for the king's protection. Arguably any offerings made at an altar or shrines were given in the hope of some personal reward; however some were more explicit. Pilgrims would often offer wax images at shrines, depicting the body part they hoped would be cured. Another practice was to offer a candle measuring the height of the supplicant. Henry III certainly practised the latter, offering fifteen candles of his height to the shrines of St Edward the Confessor in 1245.<sup>644</sup> Edward I also offered candles at shrines and altars. In 1303 Edward arranged for many candles of his measure to be offered at a number of shrines.<sup>645</sup> Occasionally the offerings were more elaborate. For example in 1306 the king sent a cloth of gold to the shrine of St Augustine of Canterbury which had been cut to the 'measure' of the king.<sup>646</sup> This was accompanied by a gold brooch offered in his name.<sup>647</sup> The king suffered poor health during the summer of this year and it is possible that he made these offerings in the hope of a recovery.<sup>648</sup>

He also made votive offerings on behalf of his family. In 1285 he gave money to the canons of St Mary of Chatham to burn candles of the measure of the entire royal family.<sup>649</sup> These votive offerings could also come in the form of gold coins. We recall that in 1300 he offered gold coins at the shrine of St Thomas *pro fetu adhuc existente in*

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<sup>642</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 30r-31v, these gifts accompanied the king's *chevagium*.

<sup>643</sup> Taylor, 'Edward I and the Shrine', p. 25.

<sup>644</sup> *CLR: 1240-45*, p. 306.

<sup>645</sup> TNA, E101/363/30.

<sup>646</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 170v.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>648</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 98r, noted in Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 507.

<sup>649</sup> Taylor, 'Edward I and the Shrine', p. 22.

*ventre Regine*.<sup>650</sup> Prestwich and Taylor have both identified that votive offerings were occasionally made for the king's sick falcons.<sup>651</sup> The Book of the Controller for 1285/6 records the purchase of wax for making an image of a sick falcon to be offered at the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury.<sup>652</sup> A surviving account of expenses of falconry and hunting from the same year records that coins were frequently placed above the heads of sick birds. Presumably these were also later offered at shrines.<sup>653</sup>

## Themes

The king made offerings in a variety of locations and for a number of specific reasons. Fundamentally they acted as a means of acquiring spiritual favour and, when given in public, as a means of promoting greater awareness of the king's piety. However a number of distinct themes emerge from Edward's offerings. Firstly, those given in his chapel were a more private and personal method of expressing the king's faith and thanksgiving for good fortune. Secondly, when stationed in a particular location, the king was mindful to interact with many parish churches in order to promote the image of the royal household. Thirdly, Edward's visits to shrines were expressive of more than customary obligation. Finally, that Edward clearly made a concerted effort to interact with the shrines of the nation's saintly patrons. These themes prove complex and interconnected and so in order to explain them clearly, I will use examples of each from one specific year in Edward's reign. The year is 1296/7, and I propose to rely on material held within the wardrobe book. This year was not an easy one for the king: he was desperate to resolve his problems in Gascony at this time and his need for money and manpower had put him at loggerheads with both the Church and his nobility. During this year, however, Edward maintained a consistent routine of personal piety, both to acquire spiritual favour and promote a positive royal image.

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<sup>650</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 29 - 30. Noted in Prestwich, 'The piety of Edward I', p. 124. (for the foetus in the stomach of the queen...).

<sup>651</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 124. Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', pp. 105 -106.

<sup>652</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285 - 1286*, p. 38.

<sup>653</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxxix, n. 9 and 232 - 233.

## Theme 1 - The chapel as a place of private devotion

In the year 1296/7, Edward made a total of ninety-nine separate offerings in his private chapel. These donations add up to the significant sum of £34 12*s.* 5*d.*, with the majority valued at the standard 7*s.*<sup>654</sup> Edward made the bulk of these offerings himself, with just three being made by Henry the Almoner in the name of the king. Most of these offerings are described simply as 'an offering at the altar in his chapel'. Edward made five of these offerings because he had received *boni rumores*. The accounts give some impression of the turn of events that was being celebrated. For example, the king made an offering on the 2 July 1297, when he received good news concerning Flanders.<sup>655</sup> On three other occasions that month the auspicious reports concerned Scotland. Each instance prompted an offering of 7*s.* at the altar in his chapel.<sup>656</sup> As the king was almost constantly seeking divine sponsorship for his many endeavours, it was only right that he should give thanks when this was delivered.

Some of the offerings in the king's chapel were made in honour of the saints. These donations represent the king's personal devotion to the saints and complement his strict routine of almsgiving. The occasions in 1296/7 are listed below:

**Table 54 - Offerings in chapel in honour of saints with comparative figures of almsgiving, 1296/7**

Date	Saint	Occasion	Offering (s.)	Number of Poor given alms
30 November 1296	Andrew	Feast	7	1000
6 December 1296	Nicholas	Feast	7	1000
21 December 1296	Thomas <sup>657</sup>	Feast (29 December)	7	700
3 May 1297	Holy Cross	Feast	7	700
7 May 1297	John of Beverley	Feast	7	140
17 July 1297	Kenhelm	Feast	7	300
20 July 1297	Margaret	Feast	7	700
12 October 1297	Edward Confessor	Translation (13 October)	7	5000 <i>d.</i> general distribution
16 October 1297	Michael	Feast	7	500

<sup>654</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 6r-11r.

<sup>655</sup> Ibid., f. 9r.

<sup>656</sup> Ibid., f. 9r and 9v.

<sup>657</sup> This was the day after the feast of St Thomas.

Edward made just two other types of offerings in his chapel in this year, both are unique in type and occurrence. The offerings were both of the standard sum of 7*s*. On the 28 January 1297 Edward made an offering to 'relics in his chapel', at that time in the Priory of Castle-Acre, in Norfolk.<sup>658</sup> On the 20 May 1297, he made an offering to the 'image of St Nicholas' in the king's chapel, in the Priory of St Denis in Southampton.<sup>659</sup> All of these offerings suggest the flexibility of the king's chapel as a place of private devotion. In this environment the king could express his faith, give thanks and no doubt find comfort for his private concerns. Offerings played an important part in this process, acting as a physical expression of his pious concerns. In this relatively private environment there was little temporal benefit to be gained from their offering. The king nevertheless thought it right and proper to offer money in honour of the saints and for receiving good news.

## Theme 2 - Offerings to improve the royal reputation

One would not be surprised to find the king in a great cathedral before a famous shrine. The king making an offering at an altar in a parish church is less believable. However, Edward frequently visited smaller religious institutions and paid due respect before their altars. This demotic form of devotion was evident throughout his reign. Edward's subjects were forced to find money for his policies to be implemented. To many the king's concerns in Gascony must have seemed of little consequence or relevance to their own lives. By visiting the parish churches, at the centre of his subjects' spiritual lives, Edward presented himself in a more human light. When the king based himself in a specific location for an extended period, his attention to local centres of devotion duly increased. Two examples from the year 1297 illustrate the point, the first when he stayed in Plympton in the spring, and the second back in London in the summer.

Edward stayed in and around Plympton from c. 10 April to c. 7 May 1297, endeavouring to raise taxation and preparing for his forthcoming diplomatic mission to

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<sup>658</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 6v.

<sup>659</sup> Ibid., f. 8r.

Flanders. During this stay Edward primarily stayed in the Priory of Plympton, where he made many offerings in his private chapel. However he also made, in person and by proxy, no fewer than thirteen different offerings at churches in Plympton and the surrounding area. These are listed in the following table:

**Table 55 - Offerings in churches in around Plympton April/May 1297<sup>660</sup>**

Date	Location	Offering	By whom?
9 April	Parish Church at Ermington	7s. at High Altar	King
23 April	Church of St Maurice	7s. at Altar of St George	William le Brun
		7s. at Altar of St Maurice	William le Brun
		7d. each at two masses	William le Brun
24 April	Church of St George Ashcombe	7d. at a mass	John Chandler
		One large candle	John Chandler
		7s. at High Altar	John Chandler
		7s. at Altar St George	Ralph Lescot
28 April	Parish Church at Brixton	7s. at High Altar	King
29 April	Parish Church at Newton Ferrers	7s. at High Altar	King
1 May	Parish Church at Newton Ferrers	7s. at High Altar	King
2 May	Parish Church at Brixton	7s. at High Altar	King
	Church of St Mary Plympton	7s. at High Altar in hon. Blessed Virgin	John Champnet

On leaving Plympton, he made further offerings in the parish churches of Ottery St Mary, Honiton and Wimborne.<sup>661</sup> Roughly two months later (June/July 1297) the king was back at the heart of his realm, in Westminster, where he summoned a parliament to try and negotiate the money and support he needed before leaving for Flanders.

Whilst in London, Edward made use of many important churches to further manifest his faith and no doubt to try and encourage some support from the city. Edward would have remembered that citizens of London had played an important role in the Baron's war of his father's reign and judged it prudent not to alienate them in the current tense political climate. On the 28th June Edward visited the church of St Katherine by the Tower and offered 7s. at the high altar and also at the image of St Katherine. The same day he gave another offering to the altar in the church of the Poor Clares.<sup>662</sup> On the 7 July 1297, he dispatched Master William of Brun, to make an offering in the church of St Thomas in London, which particular church of St Thomas

<sup>660</sup> Ibid., f. 7v.

<sup>661</sup> Ibid., f. 7v.

<sup>662</sup> Ibid., f. 9r.

was not recorded.<sup>663</sup> On the 20 July, Henry of Blunsdon offered a gold cloth at the church of St Margaret's in Westminster and two days later offered the same at the church of Mary Magdalene Milk Street.<sup>664</sup> Henry of Blunsdon then also gave 50s. to the Leper Hospital of St Jacob just outside the city.<sup>665</sup> All of these offerings, as well as benefiting the king's soul, cannot have done any harm to his reputation in London.

### Theme 3 - Exceeding the demands of protocol

Edward I's offerings show that the king went beyond making token appearances at the national centres of devotion that he encountered. He frequently maintained contact with a holy site once he had made an initial visit. For example, on 7 December 1296 Edward visited the Chapel of St Mary in Bury St Edmunds. This church, which was within the precinct of the Abbey, attracted significant and repeated attention from the king. During the first visit on the 7 December Edward gave an offering of 7s., in person, at the high altar.<sup>666</sup> A week later, he visited again in order to venerate its relics and images, giving 7s. at the image of the Blessed Virgin, the image of St Nicholas and the relics 'above the high Altar'.<sup>667</sup> This was not the full extent of his interaction with this church. In the days between these two visits Edward sent members of his household to make further offerings in his name. Henry of Blunsdon, the almoner, visited on 8 December to have a mass said in honour of St Nicholas and to make a further offering at the aforesaid relics. On this occasion John of Benstead, the controller of the king's wardrobe, was also in attendance and made an offering at the image of the Blessed Virgin. The next day Blunsdon returned once more to make further offerings at the image of the Blessed Virgin, the altar of St Nicholas and to hear a mass in honour of the Three Kings.<sup>668</sup>

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<sup>663</sup> Ibid., f. 9v.

<sup>664</sup> Ibid.

<sup>665</sup> Ibid., f. 9r.

<sup>666</sup> Ibid., f. 6v.

<sup>667</sup> Ibid.

<sup>668</sup> Ibid.

Another example emerges from Edward's visit to Walsingham in February 1297. Edward stayed just one week at Walsingham (1 - 8 February) but in this time made a number of offerings. This visit was surely intended to coincide with the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February). On this day Edward gave alms to 1300 poor in honour of the feast, and fed a further 270 through his 'private alms'.<sup>669</sup> To complement these alms many offerings were given on this day. Firstly, Edward made an offering at 'the milk of the Blessed Virgin above the high altar'. Next Edward made an offering in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin. Here Edward then heard a solemn mass after which he offered 7*s.*, and he offered the same after vespers. John of Drokenford (the keeper of the wardrobe) then made an offering of 21*s.* before the image of the Blessed Virgin, in the name of Prince Edward, and his sisters Elizabeth and Eleanor. After this, another mass was celebrated during which Edward spent 3*s.* 1*d.* on offerings. Finally, Edward produced the famous Cross of Gneyth, and having done so, made an offering before it. He did the same before the Cross of Scotland, and finally, to the relics above the high altar.<sup>670</sup> This whole day seems to have been filled with acts of devotion prompted by the feast of the Virgin and the presence of her image.

Edward's devotions at Walsingham were not restricted to the day of the Purification. The day before the feast, Edward offered 7*s.* at the altar in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin and the same at the high altar in the priory church. Three days after the feast (5 February), Edward offered another 7*s.* at the image of the Blessed Virgin. Finally, before leaving Walsingham on the 8 February, Edward made two final offerings of 7*s.*, at the images of the Blessed Virgin and Gabriel in the small chapel in that place.<sup>671</sup> All of these offerings, except those made by John of Drokenford for the king's children, the king made in person. Edward's alms clearly suggested an ardent devotion to the Blessed Virgin, ranking her above all other saints. Edward's visit to Walsingham in February 1297 certainly reinforces this picture. During this visit the king immersed himself in the ceremonies taking place to honour the Virgin. Having shared in Walsingham's wonders, he reciprocated by producing his relic of the true cross - precious article the guardians of Walsingham would have felt privileged to host.

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<sup>669</sup> Ibid., f. 7r.

<sup>670</sup> Ibid.

<sup>671</sup> Ibid.

Edward's behaviour at Walsingham went far beyond satisfying protocol. During these days Edward immersed himself, personally and fully, in the place and its rites.

#### Theme 4 - Offerings at the centres of national devotion

Edward I's offerings represent a concerted effort to maintain and nurture reciprocal relationships with the saints, and the churches in which they were buried. Edward was an itinerant king and this allowed him to interact with a greater number of churches than if he had been based in one location. Henry III had venerated a number of saints but the greater part of his devotion was aimed at Edward the Confessor. Edward I exhibited a far broader range of allegiance. However, this being said, his greatest devotion was to English saints. They provided him with a private spiritual army, and also the means to promote patriotic enthusiasm for his private endeavours. He implemented this through many regular personal visits to a variety of institutions and also through offerings sent by proxy. All relationships require careful nurturing and this is especially true when maintained over distance. If Edward's visits to shrines can be interpreted as intimate spiritual conversations with the saints, then offerings sent by proxy represent a concerted effort to keep this dialogue alive when parted. The shrines Edward visited in 1296/7 are listed below:

**Table 56 - Shrines visited by Edward I, 1296/7<sup>672</sup>**

Date	Saint	Location	Occasion?
20 November 1296	Edmund (King and Martyr)	Bury St Edmunds	FEAST
22 March 1297	Edward (King and Martyr)	Shaftesbury	(4 days after feast)
26 May 1297	Richard of Chichester	Chichester	
4 June 1297	Dunstan	Canterbury	
4 June 1297	Alphege	Canterbury	
4 June 1297	Blaise	Canterbury	
6 June 1297	Augustine	Canterbury	
6 June 1297	Adrian	Canterbury	
6 June 1297	Mildred	Canterbury	
9 June 1297	Thomas Becket	Canterbury	
9 June 1297	Thomas Becket	Canterbury	
10 June 1297	Thomas Becket	Canterbury	

<sup>672</sup> Ibid., ff. 6r-11r.

18 June 1297	Edward the Confessor	Westminster	
19 June 1297	Edward the Confessor	Westminster	
19 June 1297	Edward the Confessor	Westminster	
27 July 1297	Alban	St Albans	
27 July 1297	Amphibalus	St Albans	
28 July 1297	Alban	St Albans	
28 July 1297	Amphibalus	St Albans	
30 July 1297	Edward the Confessor	Westminster	
31 July 1297	Erkenwald	London	

In June 1297 Edward visited Canterbury, arguably the nation's spiritual centre. On his arrival on 1 June he made straight for the high altar of the Cathedral and there made an offering of 7s..<sup>673</sup> On the 4 June Edward returned to the Cathedral and presented offerings at the shrines of Sts. Dunstan, Alphege and Blaise. Two days later Edward visited the abbey church of St Augustine and there gave offerings at the shrines of Sts. Augustine, Adrian and Mildred, and also at the head-shrine of St Augustine.<sup>674</sup> It was not until the 9 June that Edward finally visited the shrine of St Thomas Becket. Arguably the most important shrine in all of England, and the nation's only centre of international pilgrimage. On this day Edward made two separate offerings to St Thomas. The next day, before leaving Canterbury, he returned to the Cathedral and made a number of offerings. He made these to the relics above the altar of St Edmund of Abingdon, at the former tomb of St Thomas, the image of the Blessed Virgin in the vault of the Cathedral and, of course, at the shrine of St Thomas himself.<sup>675</sup> Canterbury provided the king with a host of subjects to venerate. This was not accomplished in one go. Edward staggered his offerings and visits. In particular he saved his visits to the shrine of St Thomas for the last two days of his stay. Edward certainly appeared to be doing more than just satisfying protocol. A less spiritually aware king might have visited all the shrines in one go. The Canterbury visit of 1297 displays an even more thorough pious concern than Henry III. When Henry visited in February 1239, he only made offerings at the Cathedral and not at the shrines of St Augustine's.<sup>676</sup> This again displays Edward I's thoroughness in spiritual matters.

If spiritual concern is evident from Edward's visits to altars and shrines in person, it emerges all the more strikingly in his concern that others should continue to

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<sup>673</sup> Ibid., f. 8r.

<sup>674</sup> Ibid.

<sup>675</sup> Ibid., f. 8v.

<sup>676</sup> TNA, C47/3/44, m.1.

act for him in his absence. He relied most heavily on Henry of Blunsdon who made fifteen such offerings. Blunsdon's clerk, John of Langley, made fourteen, and the controller of the wardrobe, John of Benstead, made nine. Many others were also enlisted in this enterprise, including the king's own daughter, Mary of Woodstock, a nun at Amesbury. Mary made an offering at the shrine of St Edith at Wilton Abbey in March of 1297 in the name of her father.<sup>677</sup> The offerings made by proxy on the king's behalf in 1296/7 are listed in the table below:

**Table 57 - List of the king's offerings made by proxy, 1296/7<sup>678</sup>**

Date	Location	Location Type	Cost of Offering ( <i>d.</i> )	Offering and Place	Agent	Location of the King
28 Nov 1296	Bury St Edmund's	Abbey	84	Shrine of Saint Edmund	Henry the Almoner	Bury St Edmunds
6 Dec 1296	Bury St Edmund's	Abbey	84	Shrine of Saint Edmund	John of Langley	Nayland
6 Dec 1296	Walsingham	Priory	84	Image Blessed Virgin	Richard of Hainault	Nayland
6 Dec 1296	Walsingham	Priory	84	Image Gabriel	Richard of Hainault	Nayland
6 Dec 1296	Nayland	Parish	84	Altar in Hon. St Nicholas	Henry the Almoner	Nayland
8 Dec 1296	Bury St Edmund's	Chapel of Mary	84	Mass in Hon. St Nicholas	Henry the Almoner	Bury St Edmunds
8 Dec 1296	Bury St Edmund's	Chapel of Mary	84	Relics above the Altar	Henry the Almoner	Bury St Edmunds
8 Dec 1296	Bury St Edmund's	Chapel of Mary	84	Image Blessed Virgin	John of Benstead	Bury St Edmunds
9 Dec 1296	Bury St Edmund's	Chapel of Mary	84	Image Blessed Virgin	Henry the Almoner	Bury St Edmunds
9 Dec 1296	Bury St Edmund's	Chapel of Mary	84	Altar in Hon. St Nicholas	Henry the Almoner	Bury St Edmunds
9 Dec 1296	Bury St Edmund's	Chapel of Mary	84	Mass in Hon. 3 Kings	Henry the Almoner	Bury St Edmunds
17 Dec 1296	Kersey	Priory	84	High Altar	John of Benstead	Nayland
29 Dec	Ipswich	Priory	84	Mass in	Henry the	Ipswich

<sup>677</sup> Ibid., f. 7r.

<sup>678</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 6r-11r.

1296				Hon. St Thomas	Almoner	
8 Jan 1297	Ipswich	Priory	84	High Altar	Ralph de Stanford	Ipswich
8 Jan 1297	Ipswich	Priory	84	Relics above the Altar	Ralph de Stanford	Ipswich
8 Jan 1297	Ipswich	Priory	84	High Altar	Robert (Messenger)	Ipswich
2 Feb 1297	Westminster	Abbey	84	Shrine of St Edward Conf.	Adam Burlfabrum	Bury St Edmunds
2 Feb 1297	Walsingham	Priory	252	Image Blessed Virgin	John of Drokensford	
12 Feb 1297	Ely	Cathedral Priory	84	Shrine of St Etheldreda	John of Benstead	Ely
12 Feb 1297	Ely	Cathedral Priory	84	Relics above the Altar	John of Benstead	Ely
12 Feb 1297	Ely	Cathedral Priory	84	Sandle of St Thomas	John of Benstead	Ely
12 Feb 1297	Ely	Cathedral Priory	84	Altar <sup>679</sup>	John of Benstead	Ely
12 Feb 1297	Ely	Cathedral Priory	252	Places around Shrine	John of Benstead	Ely
9 March 1297	Worcester	Cathedral Priory	84	Shrine of St Wulfstan	John of Langley	Breamore
9 March 1297	Worcester	Cathedral Priory	84	Shrine of St Oswald	John of Langley	Breamore
9 March 1297	Wilton	Abbey	84	Shrine St Edith	Mary Plantagenet	Breamore
15 March 1297	St Michaels Mount	Priory	84	High Altar	John of Langley	Plympton
15 March 1297	St Michaels Mount	Priory	7	Mass in hon. St Michael	John of Langley	Plympton
23 April 1297	Plympton	Parish	84	Altar - Hon. St George	William of Bruge	Plympton
23 April 1297	Plympton	Parish	84	Altar - Hon. St Maurice	William of Bruge	Plympton
23 April 1297	Plympton	Parish	14	2 Masses	William of Bruge	Plympton
24 April 1297	Ashcombe	Parish	7	Mass and Candle	John the Chandler	Plympton
30 April 1297	Newton-Ferrers	Parish	84	Offering hon St Eutropius	Henry the Almoner	Newton-Ferrers
2 May	Plympton	Parish	36	Altar in Hon	John of	Plympton

<sup>679</sup> Offering made when the king received good news.

1297				Blessed Virgin	Champnent	
7 May 1297	Sutton	Parish	84	High Altar	Philp of Everdon	Plympton
7 May 1297	Plympton	Parish	84		John of Benstead	Plympton
12 May 1297	Exeter	Priory	84	Image St Nicholas	John of Langley	Bishops Clist
12 May 1297	Ottery St Mary	Parish	84	Image St Nicholas	John of Benstead	Bishops Clist
13 June 1297			84	Mass Hon. St Cuthbert	Henry the Almoner	Leeds Castle
14 June 1297	Beverley	Cathedral Priory	84	Shrine St John	John of Langley	Leeds Castle
14 June 1297	Beverley	Cathedral Priory	7	1 Mass	John of Langley	Leeds Castle
14 June 1297	York	Cathedral Priory	84	Shrine St William	John of Langley	Leeds Castle
14 June 1297	York	Cathedral Priory	7	1 Mass	John of Langley	Leeds Castle
14 June 1297	Durham	Cathedral Priory	84	Shrine St Cuthbert	John of Langley	Leeds Castle
14 June 1297	Durham	Cathedral Priory	7	1 Mass	John of Langley	Leeds Castle
14 June 1297	Worcester	Cathedral Priory	84	Shrine St Wulfstan	Edmund Hakluce?	Leeds Castle
14 June 1297	Worcester	Cathedral Priory	7	1 Mass	Edmund Hakluce?	Leeds Castle
6 July 1297	Canterbury	Cathedral Priory	90	<i>Chevagium</i> at Shrine St Thomas	John of Langley	Westminster
6 July 1297	Canterbury	Cathedral Priory	90	3 Gold Florins at Shrine St Thomas	John of Langley	Westminster
7 July 1297	London	St Thomas Church	84		William of Brun	Westminster
16 July 1297	Winchester	Cathedral Priory	84	Shrine St Swithun	John of Langley	Westminster
17 July 1297	Winchcombe	Abbey	84	Shrine St Kenelm	Eliot of Brun	Westminster
20 July 1297	Westminster	St Margarets	84	Gold Cloth	Henry the Almoner	Westminster
22 July 1297	Milk Street	Mary Magdalene	84	Gold Cloth	Henry the Almoner	Westminster
29 Sept 1297	Ghent	St Michael's	84	In Hon St Michael	Henry the Almoner	Ghent
9 Oct 1297	Ghent	St Denis's	84	High Altar	Henry the Almoner	Ghent

12 Oct 1297	Ghent	St Denis's	84	Hon. St Edward	King	
16 Oct 1297	Ghent	St Michael's	84	Hon. St Edward	Henry the Almoner	Ghent
		Total	£19 6s. 8d.			

Evidently Edward frequently used members of his household to make offerings on his behalf. It is also instantly apparent that such offerings were often dispatched in groups. John of Langley, the clerk of the almoner, was dispatched on 14 June 1297, from Leeds Castle in Kent to make offerings at Beverley, York, Durham and Worcester. Langley surely cannot long have been back before he was sent to Canterbury on 6 July 1297 to offer the kings *chevagiium* before St Thomas. When Langley finally returned from this mission he was immediately dispatched on 16 July to Winchester to make an offering before the shrine of St Swithun. The next day Master Eliot of Brun was sent to make an offering at the shrine of St Kenelm at the Abbey of Winchcombe, this day being the feast of St Kenelm.<sup>680</sup> In other years Edward visited many of these shrines in person, but on this occasion there was not time to do so. He did, however, find time to make a two day visit to St Albans on the 27 - 28 July, and there he made several offerings at the shrines of St Alban, St Amphibalus and head shrine of St Alban.<sup>681</sup> Back in London, Edward also visited, in person, the shrines of St Edward the Confessor and Erkenwold, on the 30 and 31 of July respectively.<sup>682</sup> By invoking the favour of England's most important saintly sponsors, including Sts Alban, Augustine, Cuthbert, Edward the Confessor, John of Beverley, Thomas Becket, William and Wulfstan, Edward hoped their' assistance would further his many endeavours.

The motivation behind all offerings was the cementing of relationships. Offerings made in chapel cemented relationships with God and the saints. Those made in churches helped to ingratiate the king with his people and promote the royal cause on the periphery of his kingdom - whether it be in Gascony or Scotland. Those made at the national centres of devotion promoted a positive royal image and cemented the bonds between the king and his saintly sponsors. Such offerings instigated dialogue. These helped to make the king seem less remote and more human. Edward was a king and, as such, he ruled. But he did not exert this role from a position of obscurity. In many ways

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<sup>680</sup> Ibid.

<sup>681</sup> Ibid., f. 9r.

<sup>682</sup> Ibid., f. 9v.

Edward showed great humility, and his people could identify with this. He showed great respect for their churches and worshiped within them. At the altars of parish churches he would make an offering of 7s. as he would in a great Cathedral . The impact of such a gift in a small church was surely more keenly felt than it would be at a famous shrine. He also sought help from the saints, with which all could identify.

### Gold clasps

It has already been mentioned that the king would, occasionally, make gifts of precious items at favoured shrines. Ben Nilson has described how, among the various offerings made at shrines, 'The most valuable were gifts of jewellery'.<sup>683</sup> Offerings included gold *firmacula* or clasps and these played a regular part in the king's devotions. This form of veneration was inherited from Henry III. In March 1242 Henry had offered two gold clasps weighing 14s. 4d. at a cost of 114s. 8d. at the shrine of the Edward the Confessor, and in 1254 he sent another to St Edmund at Bury.<sup>684</sup> An account of jewels purchased in 1277/8 records the purchase of seven gold clasps from different goldsmiths at a total cost of £11 17s. 6d.. Unfortunately the purpose that they were to serve is not recorded, so we do not know if they were to be offered at shrines. A counter-roll of jewels from 1285/6 records several gold clasps purchased by the king from a number of goldsmiths, mainly for the offerings of the royal family. These are listed below:

**Table 58 - Gold clasps given by the royal family, 1285/6<sup>685</sup>**

Date	Cost	Detail
31 July 1285 <sup>686</sup>	£5 6s. 8d.	Offered by the queen at the shrine of St Richard of Chichester
31 July 1285	£5 13s. 4d.	Offered by the king at the shrine of St Richard of Chichester
31 July 1285	£5	Offered for Prince Edward at the shrine of St Richard of Chichester
31 July 1285	£1 16s.	Two gold clasps offered for princesses Mary and Elizabeth at shrine of St Richard of Chichester
31 July 1285	£4 6s.	Three gold clasps offered for princesses Eleanor, Joan and

<sup>683</sup> Nilson, 'The Medieval Experience', p. 112.

<sup>684</sup> *CLR: 1240-45*, p. 113; *Close Rolls: 1253-1254*, p. 247.

<sup>685</sup> TNA, E101/352/4, printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286*, pp. 196-205.

<sup>686</sup> Note that the account records 31 March, but this was surely a mistake as the king was in Burgh-on-Sands at this time, see, *Itinerary of Edward I*, i, pp. 165-169.

		Margaret at the shrine of St Richard of Chichester
c. December 1285 <sup>687</sup>	£9	Three gold clasps offered by the king, queen and Prince Edward at the cross of Crediton
7 December 1285	£3 6s. 8d.	Offered by the king at the shrine of St Ethelwold at Cerne <sup>688</sup>
7 December 1285	£3 6s. 8d.	Offered by the queen at the shrine of St Ethelwold at Cerne
7 December 1285	£3 6s. 8d.	Offered for Prince Edward at the shrine of St Ethelwold at Cerne
12 January 1286	£2	Offered by Prince Edward in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Caversham
12 January 1286	£9 6s. 8d.	Two gold clasps offered by the king and queen in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Caversham
17 March 1286	£3 6s. 8d.	Given by the king to Dounede of Bedford, knight
12 April 1286	£2 16s. 8d.	Given by the king to Frederick, knight and messenger of the King of Spain
24 May 1286	£3 6s. 8d.	Offered by the king at the shrine of St Wulfram in Abbeville
24 May 1286	£3 6s. 8d.	Offered by the queen at the shrine of St Wulfram in Abbeville
24 May 1286	£3 6s. 8d.	Offered for Prince Edward at the shrine of St Wulfram in Abbeville
29 May 1286	£10	Offered by the queen at shrine of St Denis in Paris
29 May 1286	£8	Offered by Prince Edward at the shrine of St Denis in Paris
14 August 1286	£8	Offered by the king at the shrine of St Edmund of Abingdon at Pontigny
14 August 1286	£5 6s. 8d.	Offered by the queen at the shrine of St Edmund of Abingdon at Pontigny
14 August 1286	£3 6s. 8d.	Offered for Prince Edward at the shrine of St Edmund of Abingdon at Pontigny
14 August 1286	£2 16s. 8d.	Offered for Princess Margaret at the shrine of St Edmund of Abingdon at Pontigny
14 August 1286	£6 6s. 8d.	Two clasps offered for princesses Joan and Eleanor at the shrine of St Edmund of Abingdon at Pontigny
14 August 1286	£2 16s. 8d.	Offered for Princess Mary at the shrine of St Edmund of Abingdon at Pontigny
27 August 1286	£4 6s. 8d.	Offered by the king at the shrine of St Martin of Tours
27 August 1286	£4 3s. 4d.	Offered by the queen at the shrine of St Martin of Tours
27 August 1286	53s. 4d.	Offered by Prince Edward at the shrine of St Martin of Tours
October 1286? <sup>689</sup>	£2 16s. 8d.	Offered by the king at the shrine of St Eutropius in Saintes
October 1286?	£2 16s. 8d.	Offered by the queen at the shrine of St Eutropius in Saintes
October 1286?	£3 6s. 8d.	Offered for Prince Edward at the shrine of St Eutropius in Saintes <sup>690</sup>

These figures show that in 1285/6 the king purchased a number of gold clasps, primarily for offering at the shrines he visited. All of these clasps appear to have been offered at

<sup>687</sup> No date given, Edward was in Devon in December 1285, *Itinerary of Edward I*, i, p. 174.

<sup>688</sup> Note that the account records Cerne, but Ethelwold was buried at Winchester.

<sup>689</sup> The date is not recorded but the king visited Saintes c. 14 April 1286, *Itinerary of Edward I*, ii, p. 26.

<sup>690</sup> Another of the same value was given into the king's wardrobe at *Sanctum Johannem; Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-6*, p. 202.

shrines the king visited personally. From, 1296/7 onwards, Edward bought these items for offerings made in person and by proxy.

This import regular facet of Edwardian piety has not been previously identified because the alms and oblations sources rarely list their dispersal. However, within the chapters of *jocalia* they are a habitual feature. Listed below are the clasps purchased by the king for which we have record:

**Table 59 - Gold clasps offered, 1296/7<sup>691</sup>**

Date	Location	Recipient	Cost	Offered by?	In the name of?
24 January 1297	Bury St Edmund	St Edmund	£3 6s. 8d.	King	King
1 February 1297	Walsingham	Image Blessed Virgin	£4 13s. 4d.		King
17 February 1297	St Albans	St Alban	£4		King
6 March 1297	Canterbury	Image Blessed Virgin	£4	King	King
9 March 1297	Wilton	St Edith	£4 13s. 4d.	Mary of Woodstock	King
9 March 1297	Wilton	St Edith	£3 6s. 8d.	Mary of Woodstock	Mary of Woodstock
11 April 1297	Plympton	Image Blessed Virgin	£3		King
26 May 1297	Chichester	St Richard	£4 13s. 4d.	John of Benstead	King
21 May 1297	Southampton	Image St Denis	£3		King
26 May 1297	Chichester	St Richard	£2	Prince Edward	
27 May 1297	Chichester	St Richard	£3 6s. 8d.	King	King
6 June 1297	Canterbury	St Augustine	£4 13s. 4d.	King	King
6 June 1297	Canterbury	St Mildred	£2 10s.	King	King
6 June 1297	Canterbury	St Augustine	£3	John of Benstead and Walter of Winterbourne	King
7 June 1297	Barone	Image Blessed Virgin	£5	Edmund of Dynceton	King
14 June 1297	Beverley	St John	£4 13s. 4d.	John of Langley	King
14 June 1297	York	St William	£4 13s. 4d.	John of Langley	King
14 June 1297	Durham	St Cuthbert	£4 13s. 4d.	John of Langley	King
15 June 1297	Chatham	Image Blessed Virgin	£3	King	King
22 June	St Albans	St Alban	£3 6s. 8d.	Henry of Mt	King

<sup>691</sup> BL, Add. MS, 7965, f. 139r.

1297				Pessilano	
6 July 1297	Canterbury	St Thomas	£2	John of Langley	King
16 July 1297	Winchester	St Swithun	£2 10s.	John of Langley	King
17 July 1297	Winchcombe	St Kenelm	£2	Eliot of Brun	King
27 July 1297	St Albans	St Alban	£2	Prince Edward	
27 July 1297	St Albans	St Alban	£5	King	King
3 August 1297	Bruges	Blood of Christ	£3 6s. 8d.	John of Langley	King
6 August 1297		Shrine St Thomas Ap.	£3 6s. 8d.	Princess Elizabeth	King
29 August 1297	Aredenburg	Image Blessed Virgin	£4 13s. 4d.	King	King
8 November 1297	Ghent	Richard the fiddler	£2	King	-
12 November 1297	Pontigny	St Edmund of Ab.	£16 13s. 4d.	Mary Countess of Sainte-Paule	King
12 November 1297	Tours	St Martin	£4	Mary Countess of Sainte-Paul	King
c. November 1297	Burgundy	Image St Michael	£5	Valet of Com. Barr	King
-	Dunfermline	St Margaret	£3 6s. 8d.	2 canons	King
Total Number	33	Total Cost	£131 6s. 8d.		

Table 60 - Gold clasps offered, 1299/1300<sup>692</sup>

Date	Location	Recipient	Cost	Offered by?	In the name of?
November	York	St William	£4	King	
20 November 1299	Lincoln	St Hugh	£3 6s. 8d.	John of Langley	King
4 December 1299	Durham	St Cuthbert	£5	King	
8 December 1299	Tynemouth	St Oswin	£4	King	
2 January 1300	Canterbury	St Thomas	£3 6s. 8d.	Henry de Monte Pessulano	Queen
22 February 1300	Canterbury	St Augustine	£5	King	
22 February 1300	Canterbury	St Augustine	£5	Prince Edward	
22 February 1300	Canterbury	St Thomas	£5	Prince Edward	
22 February 1300	Canterbury	St Thomas	£5	King	
22 February 1300	Canterbury	St Thomas	£5	Ralph de Manton	Queen

<sup>692</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 333-334.

28 February 1300	Canterbury	Image Blessed Virgin	£5	King	
4 March 1300	Westminster	St Edward	£5	King	
3 April 1300	Chichester	Cathedral	£3 6s. 8d.	John of Langley	King
3 April 1300	Worcester	St Wulfstan	£3 6s. 8d.	Manfred de Pavia	King
13 April 1300	St Albans	St Alban	£5 6s. 8d.	King	
14 April 1300	St Albans	St Alban	£5	King	
May 1300	Bury St Edmunds	St Edmund	£2 13s. 4d.	John of Droxford	Queen
7 May 1300	Ely	St Etheldreda	£4 6s. 8d.	King	
10 May 1300	Bury St Edmunds	St Edmund	£5 6s. 8d.	King	
15 May 1300	Walsingham	Image Blessed Virgin	£5 6s. 8d.	King	
15 May 1300	Walsingham	Image Blessed Virgin	£4 6s. 8d.	John of But'	Queen
24 May 1300	Lincoln	St Hugh	£3 13s. 4d.	King	
24 May 1300	Lincoln	St Hugh	£3 6s. 8d.	Ralph de Manton	King
29 May 1300	Beverley	St John	£5 6s. 8d.	King	
29 May 1300	Beverley	St John	£5	Ralph de Manton	King
08 June 1300	Ripon	St Wilfrid	£3 6s. 8d.	John of Langley	Queen
13 June 1300	York	St William	£3 6s. 8d.	Ralph de Manton	Queen
13 June 1300	York	St William	£4 13s. 4d.	King	
15 June 1300	Durham	St Cuthbert	£4	Prince Edward	
18 June 1300	Durham	St Cuthbert	£6 6s. 8d.	King	
Total Number	30	Total	£132 13s. 4d.		

Table 61 - Gold clasps offered, 1300/01<sup>693</sup>

Date	Location	Recipient	Cost	Offered by?	In the name of?
	Ripon	St Wilfrid	£4 13s. 4d.	-	King
24 January 1301	Lincoln	St Hugh	£4	King	
24 January 1301	Lincoln	St Hugh	£2 13s. 4d.	-	King

<sup>693</sup> BL, Add. MS 7966A, f. 144r.

27 January 1301	Tynemouth	St Oswin	£5 6s. 8d.	King	
19 February 1301	Lincoln		£4	Robert of Chishull	Prince Edward
20 March 1301	Winchcombe	St Kenelm	£2 13s. 4d.		King
20 March 1301	Winchcombe	St Kenelm	£3 6s. 8d.	William Reginald	Prince Edward
9 April 1301	Feckenham	2 minstrels	£6	King	
17 April 1301	Worcester		£1 15s.	J. Of Vodele	Queen
17 April 1301	Worcester	St Wulfstan	£4	King	
June 1301	Chatham	Image Blessed Virgin	£2 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
June 1301	Chichester	St Richard	£2 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
June 1301	Ely	St Etheldreda	£2 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
June 1301	St Albans	St Alban	£2 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
June 1301	Walsingham	Image Blessed Virgin	£3 6s. 8d.	John Chandler	King
June 1301	Bury St Edmunds	St Edmund	£3 6s. 8d.	John Chandler	King
June 1301	Westminster	St Edward Con.	£4	John Chandler	King
June 1301	Canterbury	St Thomas	£4	John Chandler	King
June 1301	Canterbury	St Augustine	£2 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
June 1301	Cantebury	Image Blessed Virgin	£2	John Chandler	King
10 June 1301	Beverley	St John	£5 6s. 8d.	King	
19 June 1301	Durham	St Cuthbert	£5 6s. 8d.	King	
15 August 1301	Beverley	St John	£2	Hugh of Dundale	Prince Edward
24 September 1301	Durham	St Cuthbert	£6 13s. 4d.		
Total Number	23	Total	£87 15s.		

Table 62 - Gold clasps offered 1302 as recorded in wardrobe book of 1303/04<sup>694</sup>

Date	Location	Recipient	Cost
8 December 1302	Dunfermline	St Margaret	£5
24 September 1302	Durham	St Cuthbert	£5 6s. 8d.
		Total Cost	£10 6s. 8d.

<sup>694</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, f. 122v.

Table 63 - Gold clasps offered c. February 1304 - October 1305<sup>695</sup>

Date	Location	Recipient	Cost	Offered by?	In the name of?
16 February 1304	Dunfermline	St Margaret	£4	Prince Edward	
13 March 1304	St Andrews	Arm of St Andrew	£4	King	
19 March 1304	St Andrews	Arm of St Andrew	£4 13s. 4d.	Queen	
6 October 1304	York	St William	£4 13s. 4d.	John of Droxford	King
7 October 1304	Ripon	St Wilfrid	£4 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
25 October 1304	Hemingbugh	Image Blessed Virgin	£4 13s. 4d.	Princess Elizabeth	
10 January 1305	Lincoln	St Hugh	£4 13s. 4d.	King	
27 January 1305	St Andrews	St Andrew	£3 6s. 8d.		
2 February 1305	Walsingham	Image Gabriel	£4 13s. 4d.	King	
11 February 1305	Bury St Edmunds	St Edmund	£4 13s. 4d.	King	
3 October 1305	Lannercost	Image St Michael	£1 6s. 8d.	Henry of Blunsdon	King
Total Number	11	Total	£45 6s. 8d.		

Table 64 - Gold clasps offered, 1305/06<sup>696</sup>

Date	Location	Recipient	Cost	Offered by?	In the name of?
6 June 1306	Westminster	St Edward	£5 6s. 8d.	King	
21 June 1306	Walsingham	Image Blessed Virgin	£4 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
21 June 1306	Canterbury	St Thomas	£5 6s. 8d.	John Chandler	King
21 June 1306	Canterbury	St Thomas	£4 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
21 June 1306	Canterbury	Image Blessed Virgin	£4 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
27 June 1306	Canterbury	Image Blessed Virgin	£4 3s. 4d.	John Chandler	Queen
21 June 1306	Bury St Edmunds	St Edmund	£4 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
21 June 1306	Worcester	St Wulfstan	£4 16s. 8d.	John Chandler	King
21 June 1306	Worcester	St Wulfstan	£4 6s. 8d.	John Chandler	King
27 June 1306	Bury St Edmunds	St Edmund	£4 3s. 4d.	John Chandler	Queen
27 June 1306	Ely	St Etheldreda	£4 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	King

<sup>695</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, f. 121r.

<sup>696</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 170r-170v.

27 June 1306	Ely	St Etheldreda	£4 13s. 4d.	John Chandler	Queen
27 June 1306	Walsingham	Image Blessed Virgin	£4 3s. 4d.	John Chandler	Queen
27 June 1306	Chichester	St Richard	£4 3s. 4d.	John Chandler	King
27 June 1306	Chichester	St Richard	£4 3s. 4d.	John Chandler	Queen
12 July 1306	Lincoln	St Hugh	£3 6s. 8d.	Thomas of London	King
18 July 1306	Ripon	St Wilfrid	£5 6s. 8d.	Ralph of Stanford	King
18 July 1306	Winchcombe	St Kenelm	£3 13s. 4d.	John Neel	King
21 July 1306	Beverley	St John	£6 13s. 4d.	King	
22 July 1306	York	St William	£5 13s. 4d.	Richard of Dalton	King
27 July 1306	Newburgh Priory	Image Blessed Virgin	£2	William Druel	King
c. July 1306			£2 13s. 4d.	Mary of Woodstock	
c. July 1306			£2	Mary of Woodstock	
5 August 1306	Tynemouth	St Oswin	£4 3s. 4d.	Henry of Shirokes	King
5 August 1306	Durham	Image St Oswald	£4		
7 August 1306	Durham	St Cuthbert	£8	King	
10 August 1306	Lanchester	Image Blessed Virgin	£2	Thomas of London	King
15 August 1306	St Andrews	Image Blessed Virgin	£4	John de Sulle	King
15 August 1306	St Andrews	Image Blessed Virgin	£1 5s.	John de Sulle	King
6 September 1306	Kaversham	Image Blessed Virgin	£3 6s. 8d.	John of Echebrigg	King
	Carlisle	Image St Nicholas	£3 6s. 8d.	Jacob of Dalilegh	King
	Bury St Edmunds	St Edmund	£3 6s. 8d.	William of Betterell	Prince Edmunds
	Canterbury	St Thomas	£4	William of Betterell	Prince Edward
	Canterbury	St Augustine	£4	William of Betterell	King
	Westminster	St Edward	£3 6s. 8d.	William of Betterell	Prince Thomas
	Westminster	St Edward	£3	William of Betterell	Prince Edward
	Walsingham	Image Blessed Virgin	£3	William of Becaull?	2 Princesses
	St Andrews	St Andrew	£3 6s. 8d.	John Rastle	King
Total Number	38	Total	£154 8s. 4d.		

The account of 1296/7 records another seven gold clasps which were not bestowed upon any such locations.<sup>697</sup> This indicates that Edward would have had a number of them made each year, of varying values, which could then be offered as he saw fit.<sup>698</sup> Many of these clasps were of considerable worth and were surely of some size. The most expensive cost £16 13s. 4d.<sup>699</sup> Unfortunately none of the accounts provide a description of these items and so it is not possible to conceive their actual appearance. Brooches in the form of a flattened ring shape were certainly popular at this time and these could be inscribed with words. It is tempting to suggest that they might have borne some symbol, or inscription, which would make them identifiable as being a gift of the king. Richard II would later use brooches depicting the white hart, as a symbol of his kingship. Perhaps Edward I had a similar policy. Jewels would often be attached to the shrines to which they were offered. For example Archbishop Walter Reynold, who died in 1327, bequeathed several rings to the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury with the express instruction that they be fixed to that shrine.<sup>700</sup> If the king intended that these brooches were to be fixed to shrines then they may well have given him an opportunity to advertise his piety.

Whether or not these items served to advertise the king's piety, they certainly served to cement the king's affiliation with his saintly sponsors. Many were offered in the name of the king by proxy. The two valuable gifts sent via Mary Countess of Saint-Paul, and the servant of the Count of Barr in November 1297, for use at shrines abroad suggest that these were intended to perform a diplomatic function.<sup>701</sup> More usually they were sent through members of the king's household or, occasionally, by members of his family. The dates when they were offered often coincide with other offerings recorded in the section of oblations. This suggests an element of ritual in their offering. John of Langley's visitation of a number of shrines in June 1297 provides an excellent example of this. On the 6 June 1297, Langley set out from Leeds Castle to make offerings at principal shrines in the churches of Beverley, York, Durham and Worcester. In each of these places, at the shrines of Sts John, William, Cuthbert and Wulfstan, he made an

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<sup>697</sup> BL, Add. MS, 7965, f. 139r.

<sup>698</sup> Ibid.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid.

<sup>700</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 109.

<sup>701</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 139r.

offering in the name of the king of 7*s.* and then gave an additional 7*d.* for a mass.<sup>702</sup> At the first three of these shrines he also offered gold clasps costing 7 marks each.<sup>703</sup> Why St Wulfstan was not given a clasp is unclear; he probably was, but it was accidentally omitted from the record. The king on this occasion did not have time to visit the shrines in person, but by sending Langley he clearly indicated to the saints his continued devotion and his desire for them to watch over him.

Edward wished to maintain a close relationship with the saints in keeping with his devotion to his special patroness. These offerings clearly demonstrate Edward's especial devotion to the Blessed Virgin. This is a recurrent theme in all aspects of his pious activities. These accounts show that a total of twenty-three gold clasps were offered at various Marian images. Seven of these were at Walsingham and five at Canterbury but he also arranged gifts to images at Chatham, Hemingburgh, Newburgh, Lanchester, St Andrews, Caversham and Plympton. In addition he sent two of these clasps to Marian images abroad, at Barone and Ardenburg. Edward's preoccupation with, and devotion to, the Cult of the Virgin was surely second to none. The table below details a summary of all the clasps given within these accounts. In light of such evidence the twenty-three clasps given to Marian images certainly appears exceptional:

**Table 65 - Gold clasps offered to English shrines, c. 1296 - c. 1306**

Location	Saint/Image	1296/7	1299/1300	1300/01	1302	1304/05	1305/06	Totals
Beverley	John	1	2	2			1	6
Bury St Edmunds	Edmunds	1	1	1		1	3	7
Canterbury	Thomas	1	4	1			1	7
Canterbury	Augustine	2	2	1			1	6
Canterbury	Mildred	1						1
Chichester	Richard	1		1			2	4
Dunfermline	Margaret				1	1		2
Durham	Cuthbert	1	3	2	1		1	8
Ely	Etheldreda		1	1			2	4
Lincoln	Hugh		3	2		1	1	7
Ripon	Wilfrid		1	1		1	1	4
St Albans	Alban	3	2	1				6
St Andrews	St Andrew					3	1	4
Tynemouth	Oswin		1	1			1	3

<sup>702</sup> Ibid., f. 8v.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid., f. 139r.

Westminster	Edward the Confessor		1	1			2	4
Wilton	Edith	2						2
Winchcombe	Kenelm	1		2			1	4
Winchester	Swithun	1						1
Worcester	Wulfstan		1	1			2	4
York	William	1	3			1	1	6

This is, of course, not a particularly scientific method of identifying the king's favourite saints. The impression presented here is by no means complete, but it provides some indication of the king's pious interests. It could be suggested that any shrine on this list was favoured because the king offered it a precious item rather than just a monetary offering. Edward must have walked past many shrines which did not capture his imagination at all. It is interesting that the king appears never to have sent any gifts to the arm of St James at Reading. In many respects his interests seem to be nationalistic; although it must be noted, with caution, that some these gifts were sent abroad. Edward's almsgiving suggests that the English saints to the forefront of his affections were Thomas Becket, Edmund of Bury, Edward the Confessor and Wulfstan of Worcester. Other shrines also received his gifts, and he carefully nurtured a close relationship with the entire communion of English Saints. But the Blessed Virgin was, without a doubt, pre-eminent in the king's affections.

One document survives which concisely illustrates Edward I's use of gifts to cement his relationships with the centres of devotion in England. Dated 18 April 1303, this memoranda records items issued to John of Echenbigg to be offered at various churches by order of the king. At this time Edward was heading for Scotland in an attempt to subdue the Scots. The muster was set for Whitsun of 1303, which was 26 May.<sup>704</sup> This campaign culminated in the siege of Stirling Castle which began in late Spring of 1304. Unlike some of Edward's campaigns this one had been meticulously prepared. A special flotilla of floating bridges had been sent up from King's Lynn for crossing the Firth of Forth.<sup>705</sup> A great number of siege engines had also been transported to hasten the siege of Stirling castle. Edward was just as meticulous in his spiritual preparations. On 18 April 1303, John of Echenbrigg, the king's chandler, was

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<sup>704</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 298.

<sup>705</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 499

dispatched to make Edward's offerings at a number of key spiritual centres in the south of England. The details of the offerings are listed below:

### **Canterbury Cathedral**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Shrine of St Thomas - One gold clasp and 7s.
- Head shrine of St Thomas - 7s.
- At the sword which killed St Thomas - 7s.
- At the club (*clavidem*) of the same - 7s.
- Empty former tomb of St Thomas - 7s.
- Image of the Blessed Virgin - One gold clasp and 7s.
- Shrine of St Dunstan - 7s.
- Shrine of St Blase - 7s.
- Shrine of St Alphege - 7s.
- Mass sung at the shrine St Thomas
- Mass sung for Blessed Virgin at the image of the Blessed Virgin
- Wax images of the measure of the king to be placed before the shrine of St Thomas and the image of the Blessed Virgin

### **Church of St Augustine Canterbury**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Shrine of St Augustine - One gold clasp and 7s.
- Shrine of St Adrian - 7s.
- Shrine of St Mildred - 7s.

- Mass of St Augustine to be sung before his shrine
- Wax image of the measure of the king to be placed before the shrine of St Augustine

### **Greenwich**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Mass of the Cross to be sung before the High Altar
- Two crosses in the church - 7s. at each
- Wax image of the measure of the king to be placed before the High Altar

### **Chichester Cathedral**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Shrine of St Richard - 7s. and one gold clasp
- Head Shrine of St Richard - 7s.
- Tomb of St Richard - 7s.
- Mass of St Richard to be sung before his shrine
- Wax image of the measure of the king to be placed before the shrine of St Richard

### **Worcester Cathedral**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Shrine of St Wulfstan - 7s. and one gold clasp
- Head shrine of St Wulfstan - 7s.
- Shrine of St Oswald - 7s.
- Head shrine of St Oswald - 7s.

### **Ely**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Shrine of St Etheldreda - 7*s.* and one gold clasp
- Shrines of four diverse Saints - Total - 28*s.* (7*s.* each)
- Mass of St Etheldreda to be sung before her shrine
- Wax image of the measure of the king to be placed before the shrine of St Etheldreda

### **Bury St Edmunds**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Shrine of St Edmund - 7*s.* and one gold clasp
- Sword of St Edmund - 7*s.*
- Shirt of St Edmund - 7*s.*
- Boot of St Thomas in the new chapel - 7*s.*
- An offering at another place - 7*s.*
- Mass of St Edmund to be sung before his shrine
- Wax image of the measure of the king to be placed before the shrine of St Edmund

### **Walsingham**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Altar in chapel of the Blessed Virgin - One gold cloth
- Image of the Blessed Virgin - 7*s.* and one gold clasp
- To the Angel to the right of the Altar - 7*s.*
- Milk of the Blessed Virgin- 7*s.*
- Mass of the Blessed Virgin to be sung before her image

- Wax image of the measure of the king to be placed before the image of the Blessed Virgin

### **Lincoln**

- High Altar - One gold cloth
- Shrine of St Hugh - 7*s.* and one gold clasp
- Mass of St Hugh to be sung before his shrine
- Wax image of the measure of the king to be placed before the shrine of St Hugh

### **Totals**

- Offerings in coin - £12 19*s.*
- Wax for making images of the king - £10 10*s.*
- Horse bought for carrying the wax images - £4
- Gold cloths - 10
- Gold clasps - 8<sup>706</sup>

This account clearly illustrates the methods that Edward employed to gain divine assistance. Through agents, he offered gold cloths to altars and made gifts of money and jewels to shrines and images. He also ensured that life-size wax images should be placed at prominent shrines. And, of course, he commissioned votive masses. By such actions he contrived to enlist England's spiritual sponsors in his own support, and sought also to procure the success of his campaign.

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<sup>706</sup> TNA, E101/363/30.

## The king's subjects

Sometimes Edward's generosity reached a wider audience. Weddings provided one such opportunity. Royal weddings to this day are cause for public celebration and it seems this was true also in the thirteenth century. In January 1297, the priory of St Peter's Ipswich hosted a number of weddings. The king showed considerable generosity to the populace who gathered to enjoy the spectacle. The first wedding was on the 3 January. This wedding brought together Thomas de Multon of Burgh-on-Sands and Eleanor de Burgh.<sup>707</sup> At this wedding John of Benstead distributed 40s. 10d. This was *positus super librum* (placed upon the book) and then *iactus* (thrown) to those gathered at the door of the church.<sup>708</sup> The next week, on 7 January, the king's own daughter, Elizabeth of Rhuddlan, married his ally John Count of Holland. On this occasion a larger sum of 60s. was given to the expectant crowds outside the priory church.<sup>709</sup> These displays of largesse, as well as creating quite a spectacle, must have added to the excitement of the royal wedding and no doubt helped to promote the popularity of the crown. Finally, Master Mellor of Birmingham married the daughter of John of Mandeville in the king's own chapel at Harwich on 13 January. On this, more modest, occasion a sum of just 6s. 8d. was given to those outside the door to the chapel.<sup>710</sup>

These displays of largesse complemented Edward's desire to foster a consistent and high-grade religious image and, provided opportunities for ingratiating himself with his subjects. On a few special occasions Edward strayed from his normal reserved and calculative round of offerings, masses and alms. Another interesting example occurred on 6 December, the feast of St Nicholas, in 1296. On this day Edward gave a total of 40s. to the parish church of Nayland and to the Abbey of Colchester to contribute to their celebration of the boy-bishop ceremony.<sup>711</sup> He also made similar donations during the boy-bishop festivities in 1299 in Durham.<sup>712</sup> Such occasions were useful

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<sup>707</sup> Eleanor was the daughter of Richard of Burgh, the Earl of Ulster, whose other daughter, Elizabeth, would later marry Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland.

<sup>708</sup> TNA, E101/363/30, f. 6v.

<sup>709</sup> Ibid.

<sup>710</sup> Ibid.

<sup>711</sup> Ibid., f. 6r.

<sup>712</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 25.

opportunities for Edward to engage with his subjects and involve himself in their local celebrations and customs.

Edward also showed generosity to the poor or unfortunate whom he encountered by chance as he moved about his kingdom. The roll of alms and oblations of 1276/7 records that he gave 13*d.* to a poor man because his goods had been 'carried away by thieves.'<sup>713</sup> That same year he gave 48*d.* to a poor Welshmen for a tunic and his travel expenses.<sup>714</sup> The king also provided 11*d.* through his almoner to pay for the burial of a man who had drowned.<sup>715</sup> Other examples of royal philanthropy benefited larger numbers of people. In June 1277 he contributed 24*d.* to the repair of the Bridge at Thame. This same month he also gave 13*s.* 4*d.* for the construction of a house for the poor at Rhuddlan.<sup>716</sup> These occasional and small demonstrations of altruism would have made a remarkable difference to the lives of a small number of people. This can hardly be seen as an extensive attempt to improve the public image of the crown but it did at least set a good example to his subjects and displays a more intimate side to the king's generosity.

The king was also mindful to make amends for any damages caused by his family or household. In June 1277 he gave 6*s.* 8*d.* to a poor man crushed by the queen's horse.<sup>717</sup> Taylor has noted that the roll of alms and oblations of 1283/4 records that the owners of horses killed in the king's service were duly compensated.<sup>718</sup> Edward also cared for the members of his household. Prestwich has noted that the king would pay for the burial costs of members of his household.<sup>719</sup> He also cared for these men when they were sick, as in April 1297 when John of Whitting, one of his cooks, was taken ill at Milton. In this instance the not inconsiderable sum of 2*s.* was expended on his care.<sup>720</sup> This compassion extended to the soldiers wounded in his wars. In 1277, he gave the Dominican friars of Rhuddlan 26*s.* 8*d.* to nurture the poor and sick Englishmen remaining in that town.<sup>721</sup> Through modern eyes all of these expenses seem little more

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<sup>713</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 2.

<sup>714</sup> Ibid.

<sup>715</sup> Ibid.

<sup>716</sup> Ibid., mm. 2 - 3.

<sup>717</sup> Ibid., m. 2.

<sup>718</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 121.

<sup>719</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 123.

<sup>720</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 7v.

<sup>721</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 3.

than common decency. However, the king was under no obligation to show such kindness. It is worth remembering that, as a young man, Edward had gained a reputation for being anything but decent. Matthew Paris thought him most uncivilised and described his outright cruelty in blinding a young man and having his ear cut off for no apparent reason.<sup>722</sup> While away on crusade his reputation in England may have blossomed through tales of his courage, but his subjects could not have had any idea when he returned that he was also going to be just. With such a shady past it seems likely that Edward made a conscious effort to work on a more benevolent persona as king. The fact that all of these expenses were listed under oblations demonstrates that they were considered to be kindnesses.

#### **IV. Conclusions**

This chapter has explained the variety of actions included under the general heading of oblations in the wardrobe accounts, and which together comprised many of the more regular features of the king's piety. Edward's behaviour in attending service, visiting churches and distributing gifts can be described as thorough and intended to impress his subjects. As well as attending daily service in his own chapel, he also visited the churches and shrines that he encountered. On occasions when he did not have time to do so in person he would dispatch staff to maintain his piety by proxy. The king also showed benevolence to the needy he encountered and made an effort to demonstrate his interest in the churches in which his people worshipped. He kept his chaplains busy much of the time. They looked after the chapel, attended to the king at his daily devotions, attended many masses on his behalf, and performed a host of other inter-related duties. Henry of Blunsdon was surely busiest of all. As well as the heavy burden of organising the king's alms, he was responsible for facilitating general distributions, arranging the king's offerings at the masses attended by the chaplains, as well as making frequent visits to significant shrines and images at the behest of the king. Through the efforts of his household, and his own personal exertion, the king

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<sup>722</sup> *CM*, v, p. 598.

maintained a comprehensive and consistent pious regime designed to accumulate grace for himself and for his realm.

## **Chapter 5: Oblations II - The Mendicants and Foundations**

This chapter will address two remaining aspects of Edward I's piety. The first is his frequent interaction with the mendicant orders. The second is his less frequent sponsorship of grander ecclesiastical building projects. These two methods of pious expression stand in opposition to each other. The first was a regular feature of his daily pious practice throughout his reign, which tied in closely with his other daily expressions of devotion. The second, in contrast, appears to have been a concern of more fleeting importance. The following will concentrate on the many ways in which Edward interacted with, and supported, the mendicant communities of England, and those abroad. It will then consider his more passing concerns for ambitious spiritual undertakings. Finally I will suggest why Edward chose to devote his attention to daily personal pious activity rather than the elaborate devotional gestures that his father had favoured.

### **I. The Mendicants**

Edward I carefully nurtured the work of the mendicants throughout his reign. This support was expressed in four ways. Firstly, he gave money to the mendicant communities he encountered as he travelled. Secondly, he contributed towards the expenses of holding and attending provincial and general chapters. Thirdly, he gave annual grants to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Oxford and Cambridge. Finally, he occasionally gave gifts to individual friars and communities. Edward's support for the mendicants benefited him in two ways: firstly, it was another means to accrue grace and, secondly, it provided an opportunity to improve the pious image of the crown. The second of these benefits demonstrates that Edward understood the importance of public image.

The mendicant orders burst onto the international scene in the thirteenth century, and represented a new and positive movement in the Catholic Church. The friars had three powerful weapons in their armoury which made them ideal allies, particularly well

equipped when necessary for disseminating political propaganda: oratorical skill, education and mobility. Robson has described the ability of the friars to move in any social circle:

Vowed to chastity, obedience and without anything of his own, the friar renounced social and economic status. He was an accessible man in social terms and was familiar in hospitals and the homes of the sick. He was to be seen visiting prisons and the homes of the aristocracy. He was frequently selected as a mediator in urban disputes or between local communes. He could be invited to preach before the king. Equally he might be selected as the ambassador of his community or his country to announce or negotiate peace; he was no stranger to the battlefield. His status as a member of a large international order made him an ideal instrument of the crown, crossing from one territory to another and recognisable by his habit.<sup>723</sup>

The friars exercised a freedom of movement, both geographic and social, that no other group possessed. The mendicants were ideally qualified to disseminate the king's propaganda. They were drawn to areas of high population - towns in particular - where there were enough people to support them in their work. Their interaction with the populace was in stark contrast to the members of the older monastic orders who were aloof by necessity. In contrast too, they were not required to stay in one location, but moved regularly among the king's subjects. In short, the mendicants constituted a body whose support was invaluable. Edward's nurture of the friars displays an acute awareness of their value.

### Proximity

Whenever Edward I paused at a location with a mendicant community, he fed that community for the duration of his stay. This custom, so far as evidence supports, persisted throughout Edward's reign. However a number of important caveats to this practice must be acknowledged. Firstly, when Edward stayed in one place for an extended period of time it would have been too expensive to maintain such charity daily. Therefore, after an initial gift of money, further charity was only given on special occasions. For example in September, October, November and December of 1297

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<sup>723</sup> M. Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 3.

Edward stayed in Ghent. On his arrival on 9 September, Edward gave money for three days' food to the communities of Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites and Friars of the Sack, of that city. Edward issued further money on the feasts of the translation of St Edward the Confessor (13th October), and again on All Saints (1 November).<sup>724</sup> The second caveat to this rule was that Edward often fed the mendicant communities nearby, not just those in the immediate vicinity of where he was lodged. For example, on the 28 June 1306, Edward travelled from Woburn, Bedfordshire, to Horton, Northamptonshire. On this journey he stopped at Newport Pagnell.<sup>725</sup> During this stop Edward sent 20s. to the Franciscans of Bedford (who resided roughly ten miles to the west) for two days' food, through friar John of Tring.<sup>726</sup> Edward's charity was frequently dispersed to nearby communities of friars through their representatives - who probably came to meet the king for this specific purpose.

The precise details of Edward's support of the mendicants, through daily allowances for food, survive for a number of years. This material confirms that Edward nurtured the mendicants throughout his reign. Prestwich has noted that Edward showed no preference for a particular order of mendicants, whereas Eleanor of Castile favoured the Dominicans.<sup>727</sup> This certainly seems to have been the case. Edward frequently gave charity of this nature to the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites and Austin friars. He showed similar generosity to the less prolific orders of friars whenever they were encountered, including the Crutched Friars, the Friars of the Sack (sometimes referred to as Friars of Penance) and the Pied Friars (sometimes referred to as Friars of the Blessed Virgin). Similarly he also occasionally gave allowances for food to the Poor Clares (sometimes referred to as the Minoreesses).

The records relating to food allowances are also invaluable for devising estimates of the populations of the mendicant communities Edward supported. The friars have left notoriously little by way of documentary evidence and any information that may be derived about them is, as a result, of great interest. Various historians have been at pains to try and document some of this evidence. In particular Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, in the late nineteenth century, used this material to estimate the populations of

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<sup>724</sup> BL, Add. MS, f. 10v.

<sup>725</sup> *Itinerary Edward I*, ii, p. 262.

<sup>726</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 28v.

<sup>727</sup> Prestwich, 'The piety of Edward', p. 123.

the Dominican communities of England.<sup>728</sup> This task was continued by Rev. W. A. Hinesbusch and Rev. W. Gumbley in the twentieth century.<sup>729</sup> The Victoria County History volumes also frequently refer to these sources when describing particular mendicant communities and their estimated populations. However, the various early authors of the Victoria County Histories mainly used Palmer's findings when estimating the numbers of friars in Dominican Houses.<sup>730</sup> Therefore, in these volumes, population estimates were not given for the communities of other mendicant orders.

The accounts recording Edward's gifts to the friars usually recorded three details: which community was being supported, how many days' food was paid for, and the total cost of this aid. By dividing this total cost by the allotted number of days, a cost each day can be established. By then dividing this figure by 4*d.* an estimate of the population of the community can be established. Whereas Edward I fed the poor at a rate of 1½*d.* each, he usually gave the mendicants 4*d.* for each friar, each day. This exact formula was rarely recorded explicitly in the accounts of Edward I's reign. One entry in the wardrobe book of 1299/1300 alludes to it though. It records that Edward gave a total of 22*s.* 4*d.* to the Franciscans of Carlisle, for four days food - three days in June when they numbered sixteen, and one day in July when they numbered nineteen.<sup>731</sup> This gives a total of 4*d.* for each friar, each day.<sup>732</sup> In Edward II's reign the accounts are frequently more instructive. For example in the chapter of alms and oblations in wardrobe book of 1317/18, the first entry records that the king gave money for one day's food to the Dominicans of Lancaster on 13 July 1318. This entry precisely records that the cost of feeding the forty friars of that community was 13*s.* 4*d.* for one day. This equates to 160*d.* for forty friars for one day - 4*d.* each, each day.<sup>733</sup>

Using the simple equation described above, we may deduce an impression of the populations of the mendicant communities in England in the reign of Edward I. It must

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<sup>728</sup> C. F. R. Palmer, 'Fasti ordinis fratrum praedicatorum: the provincials of the Friars Preachers in England', *Archaeological Journal*, 35 (1878), pp. 134-65, 'The Friars-Preachers, or Blackfriars, of Guildford', *Reliquary*, Vol. 1 (Jan - Oct 1887), pp. 7-20, Palmer, C. F. R., 'Monumenta provinciae Angliae sacri ordinis Praedicatorum', *Analecta S. Ordinis fratrum praedicatorum*, 3 (1897-8), pp. 549-66.

<sup>729</sup> W. A. Hinesbusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Vatican City, 1951), W. Gumbley, 'The English Dominicans in the 13th Century', *Blackfriars*, 34 (1953), pp. 349-51.

<sup>730</sup> For example population estimates are given for the Dominicans of Oxford but not for any of the other mendicant communities of that town, *A History of the County of Oxford*, vol. 2 (1948), pp. 107-152.

<sup>731</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 40.

<sup>732</sup> 16 friars for 3 days = 192*d.*, 19 friars for one day = 76*d.* This gives a total for the two days of 268*d.* The account records 22*s.* 4*d.* which equates to 268*d.*

<sup>733</sup> Library of the Society of Antiquaries, MS 121, f. 3r.

be emphasised, that these are estimates. It appears that the clerks occasionally rounded up the sums dispersed to the nearest shilling. It is worth noting, too, that that wardrobe clerks possessed a set of scales, and money was often weighed instead of counted. Prestwich has commented that the burden of counting such large sums in silver pennies would have been intolerable.<sup>734</sup> The large sums frequently issued in small coin to the almoner neatly illustrate this point. The sums given to particular houses often varied, even when two or more allowances were given in the same month. The populations of mendicant communities often varied, testifying to the mobile nature of the friars life. However, in other instances their numbers appear more consistent. It can be assumed that a representative of the chosen mendicant community would have stated the number of friars in his house, and then the king's clerks would issue him with the money necessary for the sustenance of the house in question. It is of course perfectly plausible that the mendicant representative might also have been a little liberal with his calculations. Nevertheless, taking all these opportunities for error into account, these figure provide us with the best opportunity we have for estimating the numbers of mendicants in England at this time. The money given to the friars for this purpose is detailed in the following tables. I will firstly detail all of the figures to show the fluctuation - even from week to week. I will then distil the material to give an average population of each house during the reign.

**Table 66 - Money granted to the friars for food, 1276/7<sup>735</sup>**

Month/Year	Place	Order	Number of Days	Cost ( <i>d.</i> )	Population Estimate
November 1276	Cambridge	Carmelite		120	30
November 1276	Cambridge	Franciscans	2	320	40
November 1276	Cambridge	Franciscans	2	240	30
November 1276	Cambridge	Dominicans	2	240	30
November 1276	Cambridge	Sack		96	24
November 1276	Cambridge	Carmelite		120	30
November 1276	Cambridge	Pied		48	12
November 1276	Dunstable	Dominicans	2	144	18
December 1276	Oxford	Augustinian		160	40
December 1276	Oxford	Carmelite		240	60
December 1276	Oxford	Sack	1	60	15
January 1277	Worcester	Franciscans	1	128	32
January 1277	Worcester	Carmelite		18	4
February 1277	Oxford	Dominicans	1	344	86
February 1277	Oxford	Augustinian	1	125.5	31
February 1277	Oxford	Sack	1	93	23

<sup>734</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 143.

<sup>735</sup> TNA, E101/350/23.

February 1277	Oxford	Carmelite	1	84	21
February 1277	Dunstable	Dominicans	1	204	51
March 1277	Cambridge	Dominicans	2	458	57
March 1277	Cambridge	Franciscans	2	480	60
March 1277	Cambridge	Pied	2	120	15
March 1277	Cambridge	Carmelite	2	120	15
March 1277	King's Lynn	Dominicans	1	160	40
March 1277	King's Lynn	Carmelite	1	108	27
March 1277	King's Lynn	Sack	2	72	9
March 1277	King's Lynn	Dominicans		144	36
March 1277	King's Lynn	Franciscans		320	80
March 1277	King's Lynn	Carmelite		123	30
March 1277	Norwich	Franciscans		160	40
March 1277	Norwich	Pied		117	29
March 1277	Norwich	Sack		120	30
March 1277	Norwich	Carmelite	2	240	30
March 1277	Norwich	Carmelite	4	480	30
March 1277	Norwich	Franciscans	4	320	20
March 1277	Norwich	Franciscans	5	560	28
April 1277	Yarmouth	Carmelite	2	198	24
April 1277	Yarmouth	Franciscans	2	120	15
April 1277	Yarmouth	Dominicans	2	280	35
April 1277	Yarmouth	Augustinian	2	160	20
April 1277	Dunwich	Franciscans	2	160	20
April 1277	Dunwich	Dominicans	2	192	24
April 1277	Ipswich	Dominicans	2	168	21
April 1277	Ipswich	Carmelite	1	120	30
April 1277	Ipswich	Franciscans	1	120	30
April 1277	Chelmsford	Dominicans	1	120	30
April 1277	London	Franciscans	1	216	54
April 1277	London	Dominicans	1	790.5	197
June 1277	Oxford	Franciscans	1	394	98
June 1277	Oxford	Dominicans	2	844.5	105
June 1277	Oxford	Sack	3	224	18
June 1277	Oxford	Carmelite	3	432	36
June 1277	Oxford	Franciscans	3	522	43
June 1277	Oxford	Augustinian	3	251	20
June 1277	Gloucester	Franciscans		96	24
June 1277	Gloucester	Dominicans		120	30
June 1277	Gloucester	Carmelite		48	12
July 1277	Worcester	Franciscans	1	24	6
July 1277	Worcester	Carmelite	1	72	18
July 1277	Stafford	Franciscans	2	160	20
July 1277	Chester	Dominicans		157	39
July 1277	Chester	Franciscans		157	39
July 1277	Chester	Sack		60	15
July 1277	Chester	Carmelite		44	11
July 1277	Rhuddlan	Dominicans	1	80	20
August 1277	Chester	Carmelite		80	20
August 1277	Chester	Dominicans		291	72
August 1277	Rhuddlan	Dominicans		102	25
August 1277	Chester	Dominicans	4	428	26
October 1277	Chester	Franciscans	7	402	14
			Total	£60 9s. 11½d.	

Table 67 - Money granted to the friars for food, 1283/4<sup>736</sup>

Month/Year	Place	Order	Number of Days	Cost	Population Estimate
November 1283	Worcester	Franciscan	3	420	35
November 1283	Worcester	Sack	3	80	6
December 1283	Gloucester	Dominican	3	480	40
December 1283	Gloucester	Franciscan	3	480	40
December 1283	Gloucester	Carmelite	3	360	30
December 1283	Shrewsbury	Dominican	2	288	36
December 1283	Shrewsbury	Franciscan	2	240	30
December 1283	Shrewsbury	Augustinian		160	40
January 1284	York	Augustinian	3	927	77
January 1284	York	Franciscan	3	840	70
January 1284	York	Dominican	3	650.5	54
January 1284	Pontefract	Dominican	3	360	30
January 1284	Doncaster	Franciscan	3	360	30
February 1284	Nottingham	Franciscan	2	480	60
February 1284	Nottingham	Carmelite	2	240	30
February 1284	Lincoln	Augustinian	3	262.5	21
February 1284	Lincoln	Pied	3	90	7
February 1284	Lincoln	Franciscan	3	660	55
February 1284	Lincoln	Dominican	3	756	63
February 1284	Lincoln	Carmelite	3	320	26
February 1284	Lincoln	Dominican	2	486	60
February 1284	Lincoln	Franciscan	2	432	54
February 1284	Lincoln	Pied	2	192	24
February 1284	Lincoln	Augustinian	2	196	24
February 1284	Lincoln	Carmelite	2	216	27
February 1284	Rhuddlan	Dominican	3	320	26
February 1284	Chester	Franciscan	3	320	26
February 1284	Chester	Dominican	3	347	28
February 1284	Stafford	Franciscan	3	480	40
March 1284	Chester	Carmelite	3	208	17
March 1284	Chester	Pied	3	96	8
July 1284	Chester	Carmelite	9	660	18
July 1284	Chester	Sack	9	162	4
July 1284	Chester	Franciscan	9	724	20
July 1284	Chester	Dominican	9	1050	29
August 1284	Chester	Dominican	3	372	31
August 1284	Chester	Franciscan	3	372	31
August 1284	Chester	Pied	3	108	9
August 1284	Chester	Carmelite	3	186	15

<sup>736</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, figures also printed in Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', pp. 109-112.

			Total	£49 15s. 6d.	
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Table 68 - Money granted to the friars for food, 1288/9<sup>737</sup>

Month/Year	Place	Order	Number of Days	Cost ( <i>d. chipotaines</i> or <i>tournois</i> ) <sup>738</sup>	Cost ( <i>d. Sterling</i> )	Population Estimate
February 1289	Morlano	Dominican	1	1080	<b>200</b>	50
February 1289	Morlano	Franciscan	1	873	<b>162</b>	40
March 1289	Oleron	Franciscan	3		175.5	14
March 1289	Pont Ortes	Dominican	1	660	120.5	30
March 1289	Morlano	Dominican	3	2952	539	44
April 1289	Condom	Carmelite	3	3468	635.5	52
April 1289	Condom	Dominican	3	4602	840.5	70
April 1289	Condom	Franciscan	3	2880	526	43
April 1289	Condom	Minoreesses	3	2160	394.5	32
April 1289	Condom	Minoreesses	1	720	132	33
April 1289	Condom	Franciscan	1	1200	219	54
April 1289	Condom	Dominican	1	2232	405.5	101
April 1289	Condom	Carmelite	1	720	132	33
April 1289	Tarbes	Franciscan	3	1584	289.5	24
April 1289	Nogaro	Franciscan	3	1440	263	21
April 1289	Lectoure	Franciscan	3	2040	<b>378</b>	31
April 1289	Lectoure	Dominican	3	1680	<b>311</b>	25
April 1289	Lectoure	Carmelite	3	1440	<b>267</b>	22
April 1289	Lectoure	Franciscan	3	1440	<b>267</b>	22
April 1289	Lectoure	Augustinian	3	960	<b>178</b>	14
April 1289	Condom	Dominican	1	2582	465	116
April 1289	Condom	Franciscan	1	1080	199.5	49
April 1289	Condom	Minoreesses	1	480	132	33
May 1289	Condom	Franciscan	1	960	174.5	43
May 1289	Condom	Carmelite	1	2400	438	109
May 1289	Condom	Minoreesses	1	720	131.5	32
May 1289	Condom	Dominican	1	2634	481	120

<sup>737</sup> TNA, E101/352/18, printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, pp. 272-305.

<sup>738</sup> In the first half of this year the king travelled around Gascony and France. Throughout this period the king used both *livres chipotains* and *livres tournois*. The account often records a payment in one of these currencies and then also gives the equivalent in pounds sterling. However this is not always the case and in such circumstances I have therefore had to estimate the equivalent in sterling using average exchange rates estimated from all of the entries when both currencies were recorded. The exchange rates from these calculations are 5.4 *livres chipotaines* to the pound sterling and 4.4 *livres tournois* to the pound sterling. When such totals are estimated I have recorded the entry in **bold type**. The king primarily used *livres chipotaines*. However, when *livres tournois* were recorded, I have identified the figures using an asterisk.

May 1289	Condom	Dominican Nuns	2	1038	189.5	23
May 1289	Nerac	Franciscan	1	480	75	18
May 1289	Agen	Franciscan	3	1104	201	16
May 1289	Mirmande	Franciscan	2	1200	219	27
May 1289	Bordeaux	Franciscan	3	4800	877	73
May 1289	Bordeaux	Dominican	3	5760	1050	87
May 1289	Bordeaux	Carmelite	3	3240	592	49
May 1289	Bordeaux	Penitence	3	780	140	11
May 1289	Bordeaux	Augustinian	3	1440	263	21
May 1289	Bordeaux	Minoreesses	3	1920	351	29
May 1289	Regula	Franciscan	3	1440	264	22
May 1289	St Emilian	Dominican	2	2439	445.5	56
May 1289	Libourne	Franciscan	2	3624	662	77
May 1289	St Emilian	Franciscan	2	2316	423	52
May 1289	St Emilian	Franciscan	3	2004	366.5	30
May 1289	Libourne	Franciscan	3	2460	473.5	39
May 1289	St Emilian	Dominican	3	2160	394.5	32
June 1289	St Emilian	Dominican	1	595	108.5	27
June 1289	Barberen	Franciscan	3	1200*	274.5	22
June 1289	Pons	Franciscan	3	1200*	274.5	22
June 1289	Pons	Dominican	3	1800*	401	33
June 1289	Angouleme	Dominican	1	480*	<b>109</b>	27
June 1289	Angouleme	Franciscan	2	1200	<b>222</b>	27
June 1289	Saintes	Franciscan	1	598	136.5	34
June 1289	Saintes	Dominican		1104	252.5	63
June 1289	Castro Eraldi	Franciscan	1	480*	110	27
June 1289	Pontigny	Cistercian	1		90	22
July 1289	Poitiers	Dominican	1	960*	220	55
July 1289	Poitiers	Franciscan	1	720*	176.5	44
July 1289	Poitiers	Penitence	1	102*	23.5	5
July 1289	Tours	Dominican	1	960*	220	55
July 1289	Tours	Franciscan	1	480*	110	27
July 1289	Tours	Carmelite	1	240*	55	13
July 1289	Tours	Sack	1	72*	17	4
July 1289	Tours	Trinitarian	1	72*	17	4
July 1289	Vendome	Franciscan	1	480*	110	27
July 1289	Chartres	Dominican	1	960*	219	54
July 1289	Chartres	Franciscan	1	720*	164	41
July 1289	Chartres	Carmelite	1		240	60
July 1289	Chartres	Sack	1		180	45
July 1289	Chartres	Augustinian	1		360	90
July 1289	Chartres	Crutched	1		138	34
July 1289	Chartres	BVM	1		144	36

July 1289	Chartres	Franciscan	1	789*	<b>179</b>	44
July 1289	St Lizier	Franciscan	1	1200*	274.5	68
July 1289	Abbeville	Franciscan	1		137.5	34
July 1289	Amiens	Dominican	3	2250*	515.5	42
July 1289	Amiens	Sack	3	180	41	3
August 1289	Canterbury	Dominican	3		600	50
August 1289	Canterbury	Franciscan	3		720	60
August 1289	Canterbury	Sack	3		36	3
August 1289	Aylesford	Carmelite	1		80	20
August 1289	Chelmsford	Dominican	3		325	27
September 1289	Southbury	Dominican	3		325	27
September 1289	Colchester	Franciscan	3		480	40
September 1289	Bury St Edmunds	Franciscan	4		384	24
September 1289	Burgh	Dominican	3		480	40
September 1289	Burgh	Franciscan	3		480	40
September 1289	Burgh	Carmelite	3		360	30
September 1289	Burgh	Sack	3		120	10
September 1289	Burgh	Augustinian	3		160	13
September 1289	Burgh	Pied	3		171	14
September 1289	Norwich	Dominican	3		480	40
September 1289	Norwich	Franciscan	3		480	40
September 1289	Norwich	Carmelite	3		360	30
September 1289	Norwich	Sack	3		120	10
September 1289	Norwich	Augustinian	3		160	13
September 1289	Norwich	Pied	3		171	14
October 1289	Cambridge	Sack	3		240	20
October 1289	Cambridge	Pied	3		180	15
October 1289	Cambridge	Carmelite	3		480	40
October 1289	Cambridge	Dominican	3		600	50
October 1289	Cambridge	Franciscan	3		840	70
October 1289	Cambridge	Augustinian	3		240	20

October 1289	London	Dominican	3		1125	93
October 1289	London	Franciscan	3		830	69
October 1289	London	Carmelite	3		768	64
October 1289	London	Augustinian	3		761	63
October 1289	London	Penitence	3		360	30
October 1289	London	Pied	3		240	20
October 1289	London	Crutched	3		360	30
October 1289	London	Dominican	1		515	128
October 1289	London	Franciscan	1		272	68
October 1289	Reading	Franciscan	3		360	30
Novmber 1289	Salisbury	Dominican	3		678	56
Novmber 1289	Salisbury	Franciscan	3		480	40
				Total	£145 17s. 9½d.	

Table 69 - Money granted to the friars for food, 1296/7<sup>739</sup>

Month/Year	Place	Order	Number of Days	Value (d.)	Population Estimate
November 1296	Bury St Edmunds	Franciscan		240	60
November 1296	Clare	Augustinian	3	348	29
December 1296	Sudbury	Dominican	3	360	30
December 1296	Colchester	Franciscan	3	348	29
December 1296	Ipswich	Dominican	3	480	40
December 1296	Ipswich	Franciscan	3	552	46
December 1296	Ipswich	Carmelite	3	396	33
January 1297	Ipswich	Dominican	1	160	40
January 1297	Ipswich	Franciscan	1	184	46
January 1297	Ipswich	Carmelite	1	132	33
January 1297	Ipswich	Dominican	1	160	40
January 1297	Ipswich	Franciscan		204	51
January 1297	Ipswich	Carmelite		144	36
January 1297	Bury St Edmunds	Franciscan	1	160	40
February 1297	Cambridge	Dominican	2	472	59
February 1297	Cambridge	Franciscan	2	440	55
February 1297	Cambridge	Carmelite	2	280	35
February 1297	Cambridge	Augustinian	2	288	36
February 1297	Cambridge	Pied	2	48	6
February 1297	Salisbury	Dominican	3	501	41
February 1297	Salisbury	Franciscan	3	474	39
March 1297	Salisbury	Dominican	1	167	41

<sup>739</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 6r-11r.

March 1297	Salisbury	Franciscan	1	158	39
April 1297	Exeter	Dominican	3	432	36
April 1297	Exeter	Franciscan	3	408	34
April 1297	Exeter	Dominican	1	144	36
April 1297	Exeter	Franciscan	1	136	34
May 1297	Sutton	Carmelite	3	96	8
May 1297	Bodmin	Franciscan	3	480	40
May 1297	Dorchester	Franciscan	3	384	32
May 1297	Southampton	Franciscan	3	240	20
May 1297	Chichester	Franciscan	3	324	27
May 1297	Chichester	Dominican	3	288	24
May 1297	Arundel	Dominican	3	264	22
May 1297	Lewes	Franciscan	3	240	20
June 1297	Canterbury	Dominican	3	372	31
June 1297	Canterbury	Franciscan	3	468	39
June 1297	Canterbury	Sack	3	36	3
June 1297	London	Dominican	3	848	70
June 1297	London	Franciscan	3	840	70
June 1297	London	Carmelite	3	780	65
June 1297	London	Augustinian	3	576	48
June 1297	London	Pied	3	144	12
June 1297	London	Sack	3	180	15
June 1297	London	Crutched	3	336	28
June 1297	London	Dominican	3	848	70
June 1297	London	Franciscan	3	840	70
June 1297	London	Carmelite	3	780	65
June 1297	London	Augustinian	3	576	48
June 1297	London	Pied	3	144	12
June 1297	London	Sack	3	180	15
June 1297	London	Crutched	3	336	28
July 1297	London	Dominican	3	768	64
July 1297	London	Franciscan	3	792	66
July 1297	London	Augustinian	3	793	66
July 1297	London	Carmelite	3	756	63
July 1297	London	Sack	3	144	12
July 1297	London	Pied	3	144	12
July 1297	London	Crutched	3	348	29
August 1297	Winchelsea	Franciscan	3	312	26
August 1297	Bruges	Dominican	3	756	63
August 1297	Bruges	Franciscan	3	696	58
August 1297	Bruges	Augustinian	3	240	20
September 1297	Ghent	Dominican	3	640	53
September 1297	Ghent	Franciscan	3	480	40
September 1297	Ghent	Augustinian	3	300	25
September 1297	Ghent	Carmelite	3	240	20
September 1297	Ghent	Sack	3	120	10
October 1297	Ghent	Dominican	1	180	45
October 1297	Ghent	Franciscan	1	160	40
October 1297	Ghent	Augustinian	1	60	15
October 1297	Ghent	Carmelite	1	80	20
October 1297	Ghent	Sack	1	40	10
November 1297	Ghent	Dominican	1	180	45
November 1297	Ghent	Franciscan	1	160	40
November 1297	Ghent	Augustinian	1	60	15
November 1297	Ghent	Carmelite	1	80	20
November 1297	Ghent	Sack	1	40	10
			Total	£112 8s. 8d.	

Table 70 - Money granted to the friars for food, 1299/1300<sup>740</sup>

Month/Year	Place	Order	Number of Days	Value (d.)	Population Estimate
November 1299	Beverley	Dominican	3	396	33
November 1299	Beverley	Franciscan	3	384	32
December 1299	Jarrow	Dominican	1	120	30
December 1299	Newcastle	Dominican	1	132	33
December 1299	Newcastle	Franciscan	1	136	34
December 1299	Newcastle	Carmelite	1	108	27
December 1299	Alnwick	Carmelite	1	80	20
December 1299	Bamburgh	Dominican	2	80	10
December 1299	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Dominican	3	48	4
December 1299	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Franciscan	3	84	7
December 1299	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Augustinian	3	72	6
December 1299	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Carmelite	3	48	4
December 1299	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Dominican	2	48	6
December 1299	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Franciscan	2	42	5
December 1299	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Carmelite	2	32	4
December 1299	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Augustinian	2	32	4
January 1300	Bamburgh	Dominican	3	120	10
January 1300	Alnwick	Carmelite	1	72	18
January 1300	Newcastle	Dominican	2	264	33
January 1300	Newcastle	Franciscan	2	272	34
January 1300	Newcastle	Carmelite	2	200	25
January 1300	Newcastle	Augustinian	2	200	25
January 1300	Newcastle	Sack	2	24	3
January 1300	Pontefract	Dominican	2	240	30
January 1300	Doncaster	Franciscan	2	320	40
January 1300	Tickhill	Augustinian	1	72	18
January 1300	Grantham	Franciscan	2	152	19
February 1300	Canterbury	Dominican	3	336	28
February 1300	Canterbury	Franciscan	3	360	30
February 1300	Sandwich	Carmelite	1	60	15
March 1300	Northampton	Dominican	1	160	40

<sup>740</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 25-47.

March 1300	London	Dominican	3	1020	85
March 1300	London	Franciscan	3	872	73
March 1300	London	Carmelite	3	624	52
March 1300	London	Augustinian	3	564	47
March 1300	London	Sack	3	228	19
March 1300	London	Crutched	3	336	28
March 1300	London	Pied	3	96	8
March 1300	London	Dominican	1	368	92
March 1300	London	Franciscan	1	304	76
March 1300	London	Carmelite	1	220	55
March 1300	London	Sack	1	272	68
March 1300	Stamford	Dominican	1	160	40
March 1300	Stamford	Franciscan	1	160	40
March 1300	Stamford	Carmelite	1	80	20
April 1300	Northampton	Franciscan	1	136	34
April 1300	Northampton	Carmelite	1	96	24
April 1300	Northampton	Dominican	3	480	40
April 1300	Northampton	Franciscan	3	480	40
April 1300	Northampton	Carmelite	3	288	24
April 1300	Northampton	Sack	3	36	3
May 1300	Babwell	Franciscan	3	528	44
May 1300	Stamford	Dominican	5	840	42
May 1300	Stamford	Franciscan	4	736	46
May 1300	Stamford	Carmelite	4	424	26
May 1300	Stamford	Sack	4	64	4
May 1300	King's Lynn	Dominican	1	180	45
May 1300	King's Lynn	Franciscan	1	160	40
May 1300	King's Lynn	Carmelite	1	104	26
May 1300	King's Lynn	Augustinian	1	80	20
May 1300	King's Lynn	Sack	1	80	20
May 1300	Boston	Dominican	2	236	29
May 1300	Boston	Franciscan	2	244	30
May 1300	Boston	Carmelite	2	144	18
May 1300	Lincoln	Dominican	2	376	47
May 1300	Lincoln	Franciscan	2	424	53
May 1300	Lincoln	Carmelite	2	224	28
May 1300	Lincoln	Augustinian	2	240	30
May 1300	Lincoln	Sack	2	32	4
May 1300	Beverley	Dominican	3	384	32
May 1300	Beverley	Franciscan	3	456	38
May 1300	Hull	Carmelite	1	60	15
June 1300	Pontefract	Dominican	4	576	36
June 1300	York	Dominican	3	752	62
June 1300	York	Franciscan	3	688	57

June 1300	York	Carmelite	3	384	32
June 1300	York	Augustinian	3	560	46
June 1300	York	Sack	3	32	2
June 1300	Appleby	Carmelite	1	48	12
June 1300	Penrith	Augustinian	1	32	8
June 1300	Carlisle	Dominican	3	192	16
June 1300	Carlisle	Dominican	1	64	16
June 1300	Carlisle	Franciscan	3	192	16
June 1300	Carlisle	Franciscan	1	76	19
July 1300	Dumfries	Franciscan	3	72	6
August 1300	Carlisle	Dominican	2	128	16
August 1300	Carlisle	Franciscan	2	134	16
October 1300	Carlisle	Dominican	3	216	18
October 1300	Carlisle	Dominican	1	72	18
October 1300	Carlisle	Franciscan	4	272	17
October 1300	Dumfries	Franciscan	4	64	4
			Total	£92 4d.	

Table 71 - Money granted to the friars for food, 1300/1<sup>741</sup>

Month/Year	Place	Order	Days	Value (d.)	Population Estimate
November 1300	Pontefract	Dominican	2	232	29
November 1300	Doncaster	Franciscan	2	232	29
December 1300	Tickhill	Augustinian	2	144	18
December 1300	Nottingham	Franciscan	2	304	38
December 1300	Nottingham	Carmelite	2	256	32
December 1300	Lancaster	Dominican	2	256	32
December 1300	Lancaster	Franciscan	2	240	30
December 1300	Lancaster	Augustinian	2	80	10
December 1300	Northampton	Dominican	3	480	40
December 1300	Northampton	Franciscan	3	480	40
December 1300	Northampton	Carmelite	3	312	26
December 1300	Northampton	Dominican	6	1104	46
December 1300	Northampton	Franciscan	6	960	40
December 1300	Northampton	Carmelite	6	624	26
January 1301	Stamford	Franciscan	1	160	40
January 1301	Stamford	Carmelite	1	120	30
January 1301	Stamford	Sack	1	24	6
January 1301	Stamford	Dominican	1	168	42
January 1301	Stamford	Sack	9	108	3
January 1301	Lincoln	Dominican	3	852	71

<sup>741</sup> BL, Add. MS 7966A, ff. 23r-27v.

January 1301	Grantham	Franciscan	1	72	18
February 1301	Lincoln	Franciscan	4	1008	63
February 1301	Lincoln	Carmelite	4	672	42
February 1301	Lincoln	Augustinian	4	736	46
February 1301	Lincoln	Sack	4	110	6
March 1301	Grantham	Franciscan	3	252	21
March 1301	Northampton	Dominican	3	384	32
April 1301	Hereford	Franciscan	3	396	33
May 1301	Worcester	Franciscan	3	408	34
May 1301	Warwick	Dominican	3	444	37
June 1301	Coventry	Franciscan	1	132	33
June 1301	Hull	Carmelite	3	240	20
June 1301	Beverley	Dominican	3	432	36
June 1301	Beverley	Franciscan	3	408	34
June 1301	Newcastle	Dominican	3	348	29
June 1301	Newcastle	Franciscan	3	480	40
June 1301	Newcastle	Carmelite	3	216	18
June 1301	Newcastle	Sack	3	12	1
June 1301	Newcastle	Augustinian	3	312	26
June 1301	Alnwick	Carmelite	2	224	28
July 1301	Bamburgh	Dominican	2	80	10
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Dominican	3	72	6
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Carmelite	3	72	6
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Augustinian	3	48	4
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Franciscan	3	168	14
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Cistercian Nuns	1	80	20
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Dominican	1	32	8
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Franciscan	1	48	12
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Carmelite	1	40	10
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Augustinian	1	40	10
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Dominican	1	24	6
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Franciscan	1	48	12
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Carmelite	1	32	8
July 1301	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Augustinian	1	16	4
July 1301	Roxburgh	Franciscan	3	60	5
September 1301	Glasgow	Dominican	3	72	6
			Total	£63 19s. 6d.	

Table 72 - Money granted to the friars for food, 1305/6<sup>742</sup>

Date	Place	Order	Days	Value (d.)	Population Estimate
November 1305	London	Dominican	2	604	75
November 1305	London	Dominican	2	492	61
November 1305	London	Dominican	1	272	68
November 1305	London	Franciscan	3	816	68
November 1305	London	Carmelite	6	1152	48
November 1305	London	Augustinian	3	600	50
November 1305	London	Pied	6	228	9
November 1305	Oxford	Dominican	3	1152	96
November 1305	Oxford	Franciscan	3	1008	84
November 1305	Oxford	Carmelite	3	648	54
November 1305	Oxford	Augustinian	3	624	52
November 1305	Oxford	Sack	3	96	8
December 1305	Salisbury	Dominican	2	400	50
December 1305	Salisbury	Franciscan	2	376	47
February 1306	Dorchester	Franciscan	3	396	33
February 1306	Winchester	Franciscan	3	456	38
February 1306	Winchester	Dominican	3	456	38
February 1306	Winchester	Augustinian	3	216	18
February 1306	Winchester	Carmelite	3	336	28
May 1306	Winchester	Dominican	1	140	35
May 1306	Winchester	Carmelite	1	104	26
May 1306	Winchester	Augustinian	1	52	13
May 1306	Winchester	Franciscan	1	152	38
May 1306	Guildford	Dominican	3	228	19
May 1306	London	Augustinian	9	1936	53
May 1306	London	Crutched	9	492	13
May 1306	London	Franciscan	9	2928	81
May 1306	London	Poor Clares	9	936	26
May 1306	London	Sack	9	180	5
May 1306	London	Carmelite	9	1600	44
May 1306	London	Pied	9	480	13
June 1306	Dunstable	Dominican	3	348	29
June 1306	Dunstable	Dominican	1	104	26
June 1306	Bedford	Franciscan	2	240	30
July 1306	Northampton	Dominican	3	456	38
July 1306	Northampton	Franciscan	3	432	36
July 1306	Northampton	Carmelite	3	324	27
July 1306	Grantham	Franciscan	2	160	20
July 1306	Beverley	Dominican	3	432	36

<sup>742</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 28r-33v.

July 1306	Beverley	Franciscan	3	408	34
July 1306	Hull	Carmelite	1	60	15
August 1306	Jarrow	Dominican	1	120	30
August 1306	Richmond	Franciscan	1	136	34
			Total	£94 18s.	

These figures clearly indicate that Edward's support of the mendicants was a consistent feature throughout his reign. Although the population estimates of these communities do not directly contribute to our understanding of the king's piety they are, nonetheless, an important glimpse into the spiritual landscape in which he lived. Similarly, they are just one example of how the evidence on which this thesis is based can shed important light on a variety of adjacent subjects. Therefore I have distilled this information into the two following two tables which record estimates of the populations of the mendicant communities he supported during his reign:

**Table 73 - Average population of mendicant houses in the British-Isles during the reign of Edward I<sup>743</sup>**

Town	Aug.	Carm.	Crutched	Dominican	Franciscan	Pied	Sack	Poor Clares
Alnwick		22						
Appleby		12						
Arundel				22				
Aylesford		20						
Babwell					44			
Bamburgh				10				
Bedford					30			
Berwick-upon-Tweed	5	6		6	10			
Beverley				34	34			
Bodmin					40			
Boston		18		29	30			
Burgh	13	30		40	40	14	10	
Bury St Edmunds					41			
Canterbury				36	43		3	
Cambridge	28	30		49	51	12	22	
Carlisle				16	17			
Chelmsford				28				
Chester		16		37	26	8	9	
Chichester				24	27			
Clare	29							
Colchester					34			
Coventry					33			

<sup>743</sup> All estimates have been rounded down to the nearest whole number. Aug. = Augustinian; Carm. = Carmelite.

Doncaster					33			
Dorchester					32			
Dumfries					5			
Dunstable				31				
Dunwich				24	20			
Exeter				36	34			
Glasgow				6				
Gloucester		21		35	32			
Grantham					20			
Guildford				19				
Hereford					33			
Hull		12						
Ipswich		33		35	43			
Jarrow				30				
Kings Lynn	20	27		40	60		14	
Lancaster	10			32	30			
Lewes					20			
Lincoln	30	30		60	56	15	5	
London	53	57	26	91	69	12	23	26
Newcastle	25	23		31	36		2	
Northampton		25		39	38		3	
Norwich	13	30		40	32	21	20	
Nottingham		31			49			
Oxford	35	42		71	75		16	
Penrith	8							
Pontefract				31				
Reading					30			
Rhuddlan				23				
Richmond					34			
Roxburgh					5			
Salisbury				47	41			
Sandwich		15						
Shrewsbury	40			36	30			
Southampton					20			
Southbury				27				
Stafford					30			
Stamford		25		41	42		4	
Sudbury				30				
Sutton		8						
Tickhill	18							
Warwick				37				
Winchelsea					26			
Winchester	15	27		36	38			
Worcester		11			26		6	
Yarmouth	20	24		35	15			
York	61	32		58	63		2	

Table 74 - Average population of mendicant houses abroad in the reign of Edward I<sup>744</sup>

Town	Aug.	Carm.	Cr.	Dom.	Franc.	Pied	Sack	Trinitarian	Poor Clares	Dominican Nuns
Abbeville					34					
Agen					16					
Amiens				42			3			
Angouleme				63	34					
Barberen					22					
Bordeaux	21			87	73		11		29	
Bruges	20			63	58					
Castro Eraldi					27					
Chartres	90	60	34	54	42	36	45			
Condom		64		101	47				32	23
Ghent	18	20		47	40		10			
Lectoure	14	22		25	26					
Libourne					58					
Marlano				50	40					
Mirmande					27					
Nerac					18					
Nogaro					21					
Oleron					14					
Poitiers				55	44		5			
Pons				33	22					
Pont Ortes										
Repel					22					
St Emillian				38	41					
St Lizier					68					
Saintes				63	34					
Tarbes					24					
Tours		13		55	27		4	4		
Vendome					27					

Edward would have expected the prayers of the friars in return for his charity. The prayers of the friars, like those of the poor, were considered particularly valuable. The friars were after all Christ's special poor. Just as Edward fed the poor to mark special occasions so, too, would he occasionally feed the friars in like manner. It has been noted that in 1297 Edward fed the friars of Ghent on the feasts of All Souls and the translation of Edward the Confessor.<sup>745</sup> This was not an isolated incident. For example, on the 29 December 1297 he gave money for three days' food to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Ipswich, in honour of the feast of St Thomas Becket.<sup>746</sup> Similarly in

<sup>744</sup> All estimates have been rounded down to the nearest whole number. It must be noted that many of these figures stem from isolated entries. Aug. = Augustinian; Carm. = Carmelite; Cr. = Crutched Friars; Dom. = Dominican; Franc. = Franciscan.

<sup>745</sup> BL, Add. MS, f. 10v.

<sup>746</sup> Ibid., f. 6v.

1300, Edward granted the various mendicant communities of Northampton money for five days' food on Christmas day, having already fed them on his arrival in the city on the 21 December.<sup>747</sup> Edward granted this charity in the name of himself, his queen and his new baby son, Thomas of Brotherton, who had been born in June of that year. On such occasions Edward surely expected the friars to offer thankful prayers to the saints, thus aiding his mission to stay on good terms with his spiritual sponsors.

Edward also fed the friars to mark more temporal occasions, both joyful and sad. For example, on 8 January 1297, Edward gave an allowance for one day's food to the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carmelites of Ipswich in celebration of his daughter Elizabeth's wedding on that day.<sup>748</sup> Similarly, on 16 July 1290, Edward fed the communities of Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, Crutched Friars, Pied Friars and Friars of the Sack of London, for three days to celebrate the wedding of Joan of Acre, his daughter, to Gilbert of Clare, the Earl of Hertford.<sup>749</sup> Edward also fed the friars on less auspicious occasions, tying in this charity with his *pro anima* commemorations. For example, Edward fed the friars of Bangor and Chester in October 1284 *pro anima* Henry of Brittany, son of the Duke of Brittany.<sup>750</sup> Similarly, Edward fed the mendicant communities of London on the 21 March 1300, the day his brother Edmund had been buried in Westminster Abbey.<sup>751</sup> The friars played an important role in Edward's devotions. He marked a number of occasions by showing them his support and in return he would have expected prayers and, no doubt, positive publicity as they intermingled with his people. Edward was evidently keen that the mendicants should play a part in many aspects of his devotions.

#### General and provincial chapters

Edward also gave financial aid to the friars to help with the costs of holding provincial chapters and attending general chapters. The friars were poor by design and

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<sup>747</sup> BL, Add. MS 7966A, f. 23v.

<sup>748</sup> Ibid.

<sup>749</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, f. 43v.

<sup>750</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, m. 4.

<sup>751</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 31.

relied upon charity to support themselves. When hosting a provincial chapter, a community of mendicants would have needed additional support to feed the influx of so many extra friars. Had all of this additional sustenance been paid for by the local population it is reasonable to assume that resentment might have grown. Therefore the king would frequently make a financial contribution to these meetings - often stipulating that those attending were to be fed for a certain number of days. For example, in July 1284 Edward gave the Dominicans of Northampton 106s. 11*d.* for one day's food when hosting their 'general chapter'.<sup>752</sup> If the standard sum of 4*d.* for each friar was maintained then this figure would suggest that around 320 Dominicans attended this council. This same year Edward gave a larger sum of £20 to the Franciscans of Northampton, for their 'general chapter'.<sup>753</sup> This higher figure suggests that more friars were in attendance - however, the account does not record the number of days for which this gift was intended, so it is impossible to draw a definite conclusion.

In later years this form of charity was extended to some of the other orders of mendicants. In 1289 Edward gave the Dominicans and Carmelites of Oxford £6 13*s.* 4*d.* each for one day's food for their respective provincial chapters.<sup>754</sup> That of the Dominicans was held in York and Edward gave a further £13 6*s.* 8*d.* to provide two days' food for this congregation.<sup>755</sup> These sums suggest that around 400 Dominicans attended this council. The money given to the friars of England for holding provincial chapters at various stages in Edward's reign is listed below:

**Table 75 - Money given to the friars for holding provincial chapters**<sup>756</sup>

Year	Order	Location	Number of days if stated	Cost ( <i>d.</i> )	Estimate of number attending
1284	Franciscan	Northampton		4800	
1284	Dominican	Northampton	1	1283	320
1289	Franciscan	Oxford	2	4295	536
1289	Dominican	York	3	4788	399
1289	Carmelite	Oxford?	1	1588	397
1297	Dominican	Oxford	3	2880	240
1297	Augustinian	London	3	2400	200
1297	Franciscan	London		1200	

<sup>752</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, m. 3.

<sup>753</sup> Ibid.

<sup>754</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289*, p. 304.

<sup>755</sup> Ibid., p. 297.

<sup>756</sup> TNA, E101/351/15; E101/352/18; BL, Add. MS 7965, ff. 6r-11r; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 25-47; BL, Add. MS 7966A, ff. 23r-27v; TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 28r-33v.

1300	Dominican	Lincoln	3	1600	133
1300	Carmelite	Ipswich	3	1600	133
1300	Franciscan	Stamford	3	2400	200
1301	Augustinian	?	2	1600	200
1301	Franciscan	Oxford	3	2400	200
1301	Dominican	Leicester	3	2400	200
1301	Carmelite	Stamford	3	2400	200
1306	Dominican	Oxford		6400	
1306	Dominican	Oxford		960	
1306	Augustinian	Huntingdon		1600	

The king often provided the mendicants of England with the means to attend the general chapters held on the continent. Travel was expensive, even for mendicants, who would have made slow progress if they had had to rely on random charity on such journeys. For example, in May 1301, Edward gave a total of £28 8s. to various English Dominicans who were attending the general chapter being held in Cologne in Germany.<sup>757</sup> Edward often provided a sum for feeding the entire congregation assembled at such meetings. For example, in 1306 the Carmelites held their general chapter on the feast of Pentecost (22 May 1296), in Toulouse, France. The month before, on 25 April, Edward provided £10 to supply three days' food for this meeting. Edward sent this money through two friars, John Isaray and Peter Reynolds, to whom he also gave 40s. for their expenses.<sup>758</sup> Edward displayed similar generosity when abroad. In 1289 he gave the Dominicans of Avignon £17 5s. 2d., for holding their general chapter that year.<sup>759</sup> Likewise Edward gave the Carmelites of Condom 59s. 2d. for attending their general chapter.<sup>760</sup> That same year the Franciscans held their general council in Rome. Edward sent £48 9s. 8d., to this congregation through a certain merchant called Luke. This same Luke also took £20 18s. of the king's gift to the Dominicans of Tours, to provide for two days' food at their provincial chapter.<sup>761</sup> Edward evidently promoted his reputation as a supporter of the mendicants as carefully on the continent as he did in England. This may well have been a cost effective method of promoting his image abroad.

<sup>757</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 24v.

<sup>758</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 28r.

<sup>759</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, p. 278.

<sup>760</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284.

<sup>761</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

## Oxford and Cambridge

From at least 1289 onwards, Edward provided an annual subsidy to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Oxford and Cambridge. One might easily imagine that these grants were intended to further academic endeavours. The roll of alms and oblations for 1288/9 records that Edward granted 50 marks each year to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Oxford, in two equal instalments made on the feasts of Easter and St Michael (29 September). Likewise, he gave 25 marks each year to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Cambridge, in instalments of 12½ marks on the same feasts.<sup>762</sup> This entry records that the payments were a *subsidiem sustentacionis sua* - a subsidy for their maintenance. The *journalia* of 1289/90 confirms that Edward issued these grants the next year, in which they were referred to as the 'annual pensions'.<sup>763</sup> These grants were still being given in 1297, when they were recorded in the alms and oblations section of the wardrobe book.<sup>764</sup> These payments do not appear in all subsequent wardrobe accounts but they were clearly still being given - in 1304, when in Scotland, Edward sent a mandate to the exchequer for these subsidies to be paid.<sup>765</sup> At some point in or around 1289, Edward began making these annual payments to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Oxford and Cambridge, and evidence suggests that these were still paid as late as 1331.<sup>766</sup> Edward had forged an enduring relationship between the crown and these communities.

## Occasional gifts

Not all of the king's charitable donations to the friars were so formulaic. For example, in 1277 the king seems to have struck a brief but important relationship with the Dominican friars of Rhuddlan. Having just subdued the Welsh, Edward was

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<sup>762</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>763</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, f. 41r.

<sup>764</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 9r.

<sup>765</sup> *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ed. Salzman, L. F vol. 2 (1948), pp. 269-76. Citing, *Patent Rolls: 1301-7*, p. 239.

<sup>766</sup> *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ii, pp. 269-76.

stationed in and around Rhuddlan between August and November 1277, before returning to Westminster in December. Whilst in Rhuddlan the king gave 13s. 4d. for the construction of a house for the poor.<sup>767</sup> This act suggests that, although Edward frequently moved on quickly at the close of a campaign, he had some regard for the wounded and destitute that would inevitably have been left behind. Edward gave the Dominicans of Rhuddlan the means to help these unfortunates. Edward granted this community £10 for their maintenance and 26s. 8d. to maintain the poor English detained in Rhuddlan through illness. Many of these convalescents were surely wounded, not ill. Whilst in Rhuddlan Edward frequently granted the Dominicans money for food and before he left he also gave them 50s. for making a window next to their altar of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>768</sup> This transient but emblematic relationship perfectly demonstrates the link that the friars could forge between the king and his people.

Friars also acted as intermediaries between the king and more distinguished personnel. The friars often transported correspondence, an enterprise to which they were ideally suited, as they could travel in England and abroad both relatively cheaply and safely. A considerable number of these unassuming individuals must have criss-crossed Europe carrying valuable information without drawing too much attention to themselves. Also, as they possessed both education and oratorical training, they were well-suited to delivering important or sensitive communications. For example on the 1 April 1297, the king gave 13s. 4d. to friar Robert of Mar who had travelled down from Scotland. Friar Robert had carried a message from Hugh of Cressingham, the treasurer of Scotland, all the way to the king who was in Forde in Devon. Edward granted this money to subsidise friar Robert, and his companions, expenses in returning to Scotland.<sup>769</sup> Similarly in June 1300 the king gave 60s. to a Franciscan, William Provost, and his friend, who had carried a message from Henry II, the king of Cyprus.<sup>770</sup> Edward, of course, also made donations to secular messengers and in some ways this form of charity appears not to be overtly spiritual. However such expenses do at least demonstrate yet another way in which the king frequently came into contact with mendicants.

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<sup>767</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 3.

<sup>768</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 3.

<sup>769</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 7r.

<sup>770</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 44.

Predictably Edward frequently gave financial aid to his confessor, the Dominican friar, Walter of Winterbourne, to help with his expenses. For example, in 1297, Edward granted him £8 2s. 5½d. towards expenses incurred in the previous months, including food and some clothing.<sup>771</sup> Edward granted similar allowances in 1300, when four separate payments were issued to Winterbourne for his expenses, amounting to £4 6s. 4d.<sup>772</sup> Winterbourne also occasionally disseminated Edward's charity to his associates, as on the 19th August 1297 when he took money to pay for medicine for a fellow friar, Walter of Glemsford, who was ill.<sup>773</sup> Winterbourne was a noted scholar and acted as prior provincial of the Dominicans in England between 1290-96. On 19 February 1304, Pope Benedict IX made him a cardinal-priest. This appointment was much to the king's consternation, since he regarded him as indispensable, and he asked the pope to excuse Winterbourne's appearance at the papal curia because he was needed in England to help with important matters.<sup>774</sup> However, when Winterbourne finally left England his position, as the king's confessor, was filled by another friar, Luke of Woodford, who was probably a Dominican. In 1305 Woodford took money for food to the Dominicans of Beverley.<sup>775</sup> Similarly, Winterbourne had been responsible for giving the Dominicans of Oxford and Cambridge their annual grants in 1297.<sup>776</sup> In April 1306, Woodford received 34s. for the expenses of himself and *socio sua* (his associate) who was described as a Dominican friar.<sup>777</sup> Winterbourne had been indispensable to Edward I, as much as an advisor as a spiritual mentor, it is most likely that his replacement was indeed another Dominican.

Edward I supported the friars in a number of ways throughout his reign. Edward fed the many communities of friars he encountered both at home and abroad. Likewise the king contributed to the work of the entire community of friars by sponsoring their provincial and general chapters. Edward also supported the Dominicans and Franciscans of Oxford and Cambridge with an annual subsidy, presumably to nurture their academic endeavours. Edward fed the friars in order to mark special occasions. Clearly supporting the mendicants was considered as appropriate an act of piety as hearing a mass or

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<sup>771</sup> Ibid., f. 9v.

<sup>772</sup> Ibid., pp. 25-47.

<sup>773</sup> Ibid., f. 10r.

<sup>774</sup> ODNB, *sub nomine*.

<sup>775</sup> BL, Add. MS 8835, f. 5r.

<sup>776</sup> BL, Add. Ms 7965, f. 9r.

<sup>777</sup> TNA, E101/369/11, f. 32r.

feeding the poor. Edward surely expected spiritual support for his kindness, but he presumably also hoped the friars would publicise his generosity as they travelled amongst his people. The fact that Edward recruited his confessors from amongst the ranks of the mendicants clearly demonstrates his high regard for their work. On occasions his support was even more substantial. Before Edward left Gascony in 1289 he summoned a parliament to Liborne. In this place he made several large grants to support the mendicant communities of the 'Duchy of Aquitaine'. Edward gave the Dominicans and Franciscans 2500 *livres chipotaines* each. He gave the Carmelites 700 *livres chipotaines*, the Augustinians 200 *livres chipotaines* and the Pied friars 100 *livres chipotaines*. The total of these grants was an impressive £1095 17s. 9½d. (sterling).<sup>778</sup> Unfortunately it was not recorded as to what exactly this money was for, to whom it was given, or how it should be distributed. Edward clearly intended that the mendicants in Gascony should flourish after he had departed. This was no doubt principally a spiritual concern but there was probably also a political motive behind such generosity.

## II. Foundations

Edward was thoroughly engaged with day-to-day expressions of piety. Edward I's spiritual routine was equally as comprehensive and consistent as the devotions of other medieval kings. However, unlike his father, he failed to associate himself closely with any particular cult or foundation. Edward clearly felt a strong affiliation to the cult of the Blessed Virgin and expressed this in a number of ways. Likewise, the king venerated keenly several important English cults. Edward's particular dedication to Thomas Becket is demonstrated by his frequent visits to Canterbury, and by his gifts of the four expensive gold statues in 1285.<sup>779</sup> However, Edward has failed to be recognised as a particularly pious king, perhaps because he did not leave an indelible mark on the physical landscape of England. Henry III will always be associated with the cult of Edward the confessor, and Westminster, because he spent so much money rebuilding

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<sup>778</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289*, p. 305.

<sup>779</sup> Taylor, 'Edward I and the Shrine', pp. 22-8.

the abbey. Posterity will always declare Edward I a warrior because of the monuments to conflict he left in Wales. The castles of Aberystwyth, Builth, Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Conway, Flint, Hope and Rhuddlan will forever be the physical reminders of Edward's reign. Perhaps the only exception to this image is created by the twelve Eleanor crosses, of which three survive at Geddington, Northampton and Waltham Cross. However these are monuments to Edward's devotion to his wife not his faith. The following will discuss whether Edward had ever intended to engage in this form of religious expression.

### The evidence

Edward I's almsgiving suggests a chronology of his pious development: modest compliance to convention in the 1270s, a growth of fervour in the 1280s, a climax of enthusiasm in the later 1290s and sharp decline c. 1303, due to the poor state of royal finances. However, if we look at the grand totals of alms and oblations present in the accounts of the wardrobe and the exchequer, a slightly different impression emerges. This image is demonstrated in the following graph of money spent on alms and oblations throughout Edward's reign and the table below it:

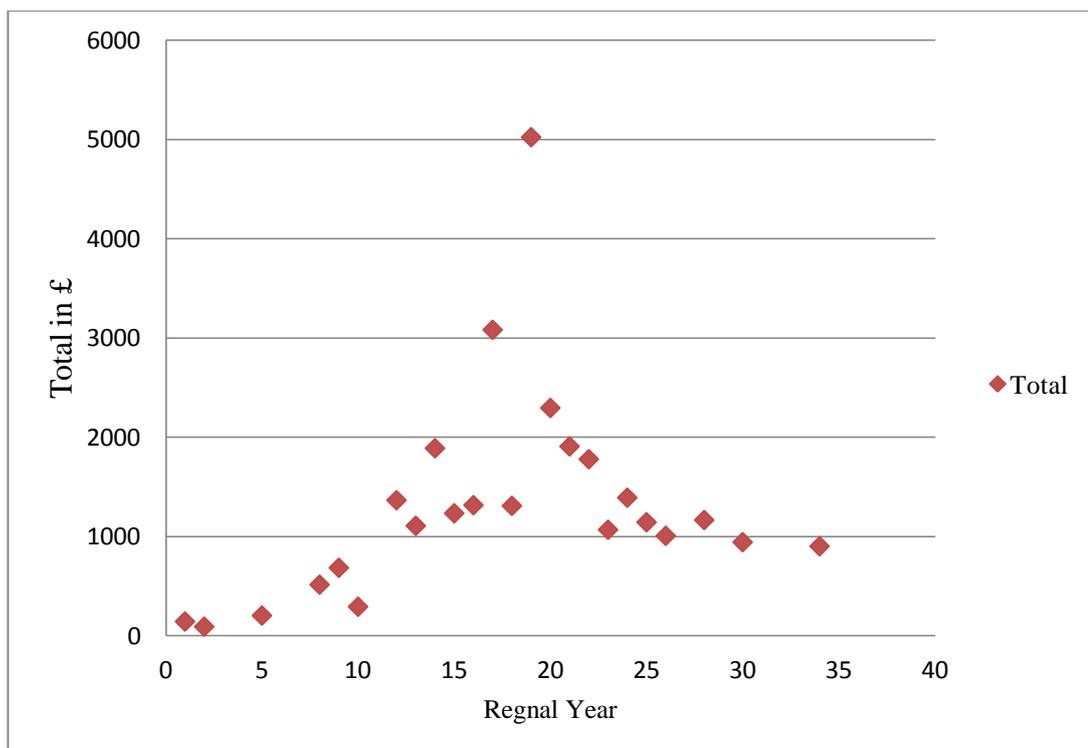


Figure 2 - Total annual expenditure upon alms and oblations in the reign of Edward I

Table 76 - Totals expenditure upon alms and oblations in the reign of Edward I

Year	Start Date	Finish Date	Total	Manuscript Reference <sup>780</sup>	Pipe year if relevant
1/2	4 Nov 1272	18 Oct 1274	£144 5s. 11d.	E372/121, m. 21	5
2/3	18 Oct 1274	20 Nov 1275	£92 13s. 4d.	E372/119, m. 43	3
3					
4					
5	20 Nov 1276	20 Nov 1277	£204 9s. ½d.	E101/350/23, m. 3	
6					
7					
8	20 Nov 1279	19 Nov 1280	£515 17½d.	E372/124, m. 60 <i>dorso</i>	8
9	20 Nov 1280	20 Nov 1281	£685 8s. 3d.	E372/128, m. 61 <i>dorso</i>	12
10	20 Nov 1281	20 Nov 1282	£293 14s. 10½d.	E372/128, m. 62 <i>dorso</i>	12
11					
12	20 Nov 1283	20 Nov 1284	£1366 14s. 9d.	E101/351/15, m. 4	
13	20 Nov 1284	20 Nov 1285	£1108 18s. 4½d.	E372/135, m. 2 <i>dorso</i> and E372/136, m. 34	18
14	20 Nov 1285	20 Nov 1286	£1889 3s. 10d.	E372/136, m. 34	19
15	20 Nov 1286	20 Nov 1287	£1234 2s.	E372/136, m. 34 <i>dorso</i>	19
16	20 Nov 1287	20 Nov 1288	£1316 6s. 1d.	E372/136, m. 34 <i>dorso</i>	19

<sup>780</sup> TNA, unless otherwise stated.

17	20 Nov 1288	20 Nov 1289	£3082 19s.	E372/138, m. 52	21
18	20 Nov 1289	20 Nov 1290	£1309 8s. 3d.	E372/138, m. 51 <i>dorso</i>	21
19	20 Nov 1290	20 Nov 1291	£5022 9s. 3½d.	E372/138, m. 49	21
20	20 Nov 1291	20 Nov 1292	£2295	E372/138, m. 51	21
21	20 Nov 1292	20 Nov 1293	£1908 18s. 11½d.	E372/139, m. 6	22
22	20 Nov 1293	20 Nov 1294	£1779 15s. 7½d.	E372/144, m. 23	27
23	20 Nov 1294	20 Nov 1295	£1068 11s. 1½d.	E372/144, m. 46 <i>dorso</i>	27
24	20 Nov 1295	20 Nov 1296	£1391 19s. 8½d.	E372/144, m. 25	27
25	20 Nov 1296	20 Nov 1297	£1144 7s. 4½d.	E372/144, m. 25	27
26	20 Nov 1297	20 Nov 1298	£1007 16s. 2½d.	E372/144, m. 49 <i>dorso</i>	27
27					
28	20 Nov 1299	20 Nov 1300	£1166 14s. 6d.	<i>Liber Quotidianus</i> , p. 47	
29	20 Nov 1301	20 Nov 1302	£943 7s. 3½d.	BL, Add. MS 7966A, f. 27v	
30					
31					
32	20 Nov 1303	19 Nov 1304	£815 10s. 4½d.	BL, Add. MS 8835, f. 6r	
33					
34	20 Nov 1305	20 Nov 1306	£902 15s. 7¼d.	E101/369/11, f. 33v	
35					

These figures suggest an image of Edwardian piety contrary to that painted thus far. They suggest that between 1286 and 1296 the king was at his most pious. However this is because during these years a large proportion of the king's expenditure upon alms and oblations was made up of large payments for specific enterprises outside of the realm of day-to-day pious practice. Fortunately a number of accounts survive which detail this expenditure and these demonstrate that for a brief period Edward engaged in a number of more elaborate pious gestures. None of what follows can compete with Henry III's elaborate efforts at Westminster Abbey, but it does at least demonstrate that Edward I was not altogether opposed to the type of pious gestures his father had made.

## Vale Royal

In the winter of 1263/4 Edward made a vow to found a great Cistercian abbey after a perilous sea-crossing in which he was protected by the Blessed Virgin.<sup>781</sup> Initially this foundation was to be at Darnhall in Delamere Forest but, on Edward's return from crusade, a new and better site had been found four miles north near Nantwich, Cheshire.<sup>782</sup> On 13 August, 1277 the king laid the foundation stone of the abbey which he called Vale Royal.<sup>783</sup> Likewise, Queen Eleanor laid two stones, one for herself and one for Prince Alphonso.<sup>784</sup> Edward envisaged an ambitious project. Edward intended the church to be 421 ft. long - longer than any other Cistercian church in England.<sup>785</sup> Such an ambitious project would require money. However Edward decided to solve this problem in a unique manner. Although Edward granted the abbey a considerable parcel of property, this would have been inadequate to complete the building works on the scale he had envisaged. Therefore Vale Royal was to be built using all the issues from the county of Chester in which it was situated.<sup>786</sup> Unfortunately political events hampered the implantation of this policy. In the early 1280s much of these revenues were diverted towards the war effort in Wales and therefore the county of Chester alone could no longer support the works at Vale Royal. The king therefore decided to supplement these works with an annual grant, to the sum of 890 marks to the abbot of Vale Royal, from central government. In 1283 a new scheme was born by which a total of £1000 each year would be provided for the project. This money was to be provided jointly by the county of Chester and the King. The county of Chester was to provide 790 marks each year and the remaining 710 marks was to come from the king's wardrobe.<sup>787</sup> The latter of these payments can be traced in Edward's accounts.

The wardrobe, was to discharge the necessary money in instalments, under the heading of the king's oblations. The larger portion of these were to be paid in the spring

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<sup>781</sup> *The Ledger-Book of Vale Royal Abbey*, ed. J. Brownbill (London, 1914), p. 1.

<sup>782</sup> H. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. 1 (London, 1963), p. 248.

<sup>783</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>784</sup> *The Ledger-Book*, p. 5.

<sup>785</sup> J. Denton, 'From the Foundation of Vale Royal Abbey to the Statute of Carlisle: Edward I and Ecclesiastical Patronage', *Thirteenth Century England*, vol. 4 (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 124.

<sup>786</sup> Colvin, *King's Works*, vol. 1, p. 249.

<sup>787</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

and summer when work on the abbey would be more productive. The payments were to total 710 marks each year, or £473 6s. 8d.. The pipe roll entry for 1284/5 confirms that £320 of this sum was paid in this year.<sup>788</sup> In 1285/6, £723 and half a mark was likewise paid.<sup>789</sup> In 1286/7, £363 and half a mark was paid.<sup>790</sup> In 1287/8, £516 13s. 4d. was paid.<sup>791</sup> In 1288/9, £570 was paid.<sup>792</sup> Finally, in 1289/90, £260 was paid, but this was in fact to be the last of these payments.<sup>793</sup> In 1290 the king ordered that all payments to the abbot of Vale Royal were to cease. Colvin notes, when Walter of Hereford, the master mason, sent his man to collect his annual robe from the wardrobe he was informed that it would be the last such gift, because: '...the king has ceased to concern himself with the works of that church, and henceforth will have nothing more to do with them.'<sup>794</sup>

What prompted this sudden change in heart is impossible to conclude. Colvin suggests two contributing factors. Firstly that the monks had incurred the king's displeasure, and that some of the money he had issued had not been used as intended.<sup>795</sup> Secondly, that the king was still reeling from the effect of the death of Eleanor of Castile in December 1290. The last payment to the Abbey was made in the regnal year ending November 1290, just before her death. Eleanor had laid some of the foundation stones in 1277, and perhaps Edward viewed it as their project. We recall that the king stopped celebrating Easter as a family occasion after her death. Perhaps such activities seemed fruitless in her absence. Eleanor in fact left Vale Royal 350 marks in her will. This money was intended to contribute to the building works, and it was also meant to found a chantry in the church. Colvin notes that her executors were not forthcoming with this money and twenty years after she had died it had still not all been paid.<sup>796</sup>

Vale Royal had begun as an extremely ambitious project. Its early history suggests that the king fully intended it to be a prestigious institution. Over the course of the 1270s and 80s the king issued charters granting Vale Royal several parcels of land -

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<sup>788</sup> TNA, E372/135, m. 2 *dorso*.

<sup>789</sup> TNA, E372/136, m. 34 *dorso*.

<sup>790</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>791</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>792</sup> TNA, E372/138, m. 52.

<sup>793</sup> TNA, E372/138, m. 51.

<sup>794</sup> Colvin, *King's Works*, vol. 1, p. 249, citing, TNA, C47/4/5, f. 42v.

<sup>795</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>796</sup> *Ibid.*

the wording of many of these make it clear that this was a family project, and that the abbey was to also benefit the soul of Henry III.<sup>797</sup> Its church was intended to be a grand edifice which the king would fill with precious relics. The Vale Royal ledger-book recalls that Edward donated his portion of the true cross to them, having obtained this in the Holy Land, after he returned from crusade. This book also records the significant liturgical exertion Edward expected from his foundation. The monks of Vale Royal were to pray for the king and enact liturgical efforts in his name. Every day the monks were to perform a special mass for the king and queen, and were to say a special collect for the king and after each mass say: "May the souls of King Edward and Queen Eleanor and all of the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace."<sup>798</sup> Vale Royal was intended to be Edward's Westminster Abbey, and he hoped that the monks who lived there would nurture his soul in perpetuity.

Over the course of the 1280s Edward appears to have become disenchanted with this project. The money it required was needed for the more immediate matter of national defence. Unlike Henry III, Edward would not let his private spiritual and architectural ambitions hamper the needs of his realm. Although he did, at least, issue a charter confirming their land holdings in 1299.<sup>799</sup> Vale Royal was in many ways a private affair. Unlike Westminster Abbey, it was not geographically situated where it could stand as an obvious testament to the king's power and piety. Therefore, politically speaking, it offered few rewards. Spiritually it was only of benefit if he could trust the monks who worked there, and perhaps this trust had been broken. Edward's priority was the protection of his realm. Edward reminded his people of his status through his actions rather than through a great stone monument. He catered for his soul through repeated rituals and customs. In exercising these practices he also benefited the poor, the friars and the saints. Perhaps it can be concluded that he considered these actions more important than a lasting monument to his piety - in obvious contrast to the reasoning of Henry III.

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<sup>797</sup> *Charter Rolls: 1257-1300*, pp. 215 and 282.

<sup>798</sup> *The Ledger-Book*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>799</sup> *Charter Rolls: 1257-1300*, p. 278.

## Other beneficiaries

The high levels of expenditure upon alms and oblations between 1286 and 1296 can be attributed to more than just the Vale Royal project. Some indication of the range of these projects can be gleaned from the pipe roll entries between 1284/5 and 1288/9. For example, Edward gave money to the Dominicans of London during this period. So, in 1284/5 Edward gave the Dominicans of London £220 of the 1000 marks he had promised, for the building of their church.<sup>800</sup> In the next two years, 1285/6 and 1286/7, he gave them a further £150 each year for this project.<sup>801</sup> The pipe roll entry for 1287/8 does not record a payment to the Dominicans of London, but in 1288/9, he granted them another £100 through Walter of Winterbourne, the king's confessor and a Dominican.<sup>802</sup> Unfortunately after this date the pipe rolls cease to record such details and so we do not know when these payments ended. However, by 1289, £620 (or 93%), of the sum of 1000 marks promised, had been paid. This is also assuming that no money was given in 1287/8. It appears that Edward saw this project through to completion.

Edward granted support to other similar projects at this time. In 1285/6, Edward granted the monks of Westminster £200 for glazing their windows.<sup>803</sup> Likewise in 1290, he gave a further £64 13s. 4d. for this purpose.<sup>804</sup> In 1285/6, Edward also gave money for the rebuilding of certain shrines. This is reminiscent of the £6 13s. 4d. that he gave to the monks of Worcester in 1277, for the making of the shrine of St Wulfstan.<sup>805</sup> In 1285/6, Edward gave the monks of Bury St Edmunds £42 6s. 8d. for the making of the shrine of St Edmund.<sup>806</sup> This same year Edward gave Thomas Bek, the Bishop of St David's and his former clerk, £121 8s. 4d. for building the shrine of St David. Unfortunately such information was not always recorded in the pipe rolls and so details of many other acts of generosity have, in all probability, been lost.

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<sup>800</sup> TNA, E372/135, m. 2 *dorso*.

<sup>801</sup> TNA, E372/136 m. 34, and E372/136 m. 34 *dorso*.

<sup>802</sup> TNA, E372/138 m. 52, also features in E101/352/18, printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, p. 305.

<sup>803</sup> E372/135 m. 2 *dorso*, the entry records that £66 and one mark of the £200 promised was paid at this time. Recorded in Colvin, *King's Works*, i, p. 150, n. 6.

<sup>804</sup> Colvin, *King's Works*, i, p. 150, n. 7, citing TNA, E101/250/1.

<sup>805</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 3.

<sup>806</sup> E372/135, m. 2 *dorso*.

In the year 1290/91, Edward spent a total of £5022 9s. 3½*d.* on alms and oblations, the highest total for his whole reign.<sup>807</sup> Unfortunately the details of these expenses have not survived. A great proportion of this expenditure was surely associated with the death of Eleanor of Castile. One can only imagine the number of paupers and friars whom he fed, the offerings that were made and the masses that were said. The next highest total is the for the year 1288/9, when £3082 19s. was spent. Fortunately two accounts survive for this year and therefore it can be concluded that, in addition to his normal daily outlay, he gave £570 to Vale Royal, £100 to the Dominicans of London and £1095 16s. 9½*d.* to the mendicants of Aquitaine.<sup>808</sup> This gives a total of £1765 16s. 9½*d.* When we subtract this total number from the original total, the annual expenditure upon alms and oblations is a more modest £1317 2s. 2½*d.* Unfortunately such precise calculations cannot be made for all of the years in this period. Those years where such calculations can be made are detailed below:

**Table 77 - Totals of alms and oblations 1285/6-1289/90, with totals of expenditure on special projects<sup>809</sup>**

Year	Total Alms and Oblations	Special Expenditure	Adjusted total
1285/6	£1889 3s. 11 <i>d.</i>	£873 6s. 8 <i>d.</i>	£1015 17s. 3 <i>d.</i>
1286/7	£1234 2s.	£513 6s. 8 <i>d.</i>	£720 15s. 4 <i>d.</i>
1287/8	£1316 6s. 1 <i>d.</i>	£516 13s. 4 <i>d.</i>	£799 12s. 9 <i>d.</i>
1288/9	£3082 19s.	£1765 17s. 9.5 <i>d.</i>	£1317 1s. 2½ <i>d.</i>
1289/90	£1309 8s. 3 <i>d.</i>	£260	£1049 8s. 3 <i>d.</i>

These adjusted figures suggest that Edward's piety in the 1280s was not necessarily any more ardent than it was to be in the later 1290s. During the 1280s a number of projects were undertaken which required additional finance. Such projects required not only money but also trusted officials to oversee them. By the mid 1290s such men could not be spared. The king's time was spent tackling more pressing problems of national security. Further rebellions in Wales, the troubles in Gascony and repeated campaigns in Scotland, all occupied the king's time. For such enterprises to be a success the king needed to nurture his soul, but this could be done more efficiently through his daily pious routine than it could by costly and time-consuming building

<sup>807</sup> TNA, E372/138, m. 49.

<sup>808</sup> TNA, E101/352/18, printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, p. 305.

<sup>809</sup> TNA, E372/136 m. 34 (1285/6), E372/136 m. 34 *dorso* (1286/7 and 1287/8), E372/138, m. 52 (1288/9), E372/138, m. 51 *dorso* (1289/90).

projects. The death of Eleanor of Castile was surely of some influence in this change. The decline of interest in Vale Royal coincides exactly with her death. Edward's only other major project, the church of the Dominicans in London, may also have been influenced by the queen. Eleanor of Castile was a great patron of the Dominicans, to the extent that her heart was buried in their church in London - which Edward's generosity had helped to build.<sup>810</sup> By the second half of Edward's reign all of his efforts and finances were geared towards political and military matters - perhaps, had Eleanor still been alive, money might have been found for further religious projects.

Other religious houses attracted the king's attention but not in the conventional sense. The Cistercian monks of Conwy were moved to a new site at Maenan to make way for the king's new castle.<sup>811</sup> The roll of alms and oblations of 1283/4 records that Edward granted them £53 6s. 8d. for building their new church and a further £6 17s. 10d., for building materials.<sup>812</sup> These monks were later relocated, by Edward I, to Vale Royal - although some of the community must have remained for it was still an abbey at the dissolution.<sup>813</sup> Several religious houses incurred damages during Edward's campaigns in Wales and the account of 1283/4 records several small payments to a variety of religious houses to aid them in their repairs.<sup>814</sup> The abbey of Strata Florida was destroyed by fire in 1295, after their abbot promised to bring the county of Cardigan to heel for Edward I, and then failed to do so.<sup>815</sup> The king then gave the house £78 towards rebuilding it - perhaps out of remorse.<sup>816</sup> If the monks of Worcester were accurate in their account of Edward's behaviour, then the war in Wales clearly brought out some less than admirable aspects of his character. However with war this is often the case, and at least he seems to have made amends for his behaviour afterwards.

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<sup>810</sup> *ODNB, sub nomine.*

<sup>811</sup> *Charter Rolls: 1257-1300*, pp. 276 and 279.

<sup>812</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 116-7.

<sup>813</sup> S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 2 vols, 3rd edn (London, 1865), ii, p. 187. Salzman, *Edward I*, p. 179.

<sup>814</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 116-7.

<sup>815</sup> 'Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, A.D. 1-1377', *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1864-9), iv, p. 520, Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 224.

<sup>816</sup> S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, i, p. 228. Salzman, *Edward I*, p. 179.

### III. Conclusions

Edward I was clearly not altogether uninterested in making larger pious gestures. However, he seems to have been unwilling to execute them at the expense of his political and military priorities. His generosity was such that he saw the project to rebuild the Dominican church in London through to completion - he had promised them 1000 marks, and all, or most, of this seems to have been delivered. Edward did not resent spending money when a project presented itself. The castles of Wales were in the interest of national security. The Eleanor crosses commemorated his beloved wife, and also acted as symbols of royal power in various locations in his kingdom. There are various possible explanations why the king decided not to continue to promote the Vale Royal cause. Perhaps most importantly, by the second half of his reign, he could not spare the time, men or money for this enterprise. It must be remembered that the idea of a great Cistercian Abbey was conceived in 1263 when Edward was only twenty-four years old. Denton has remarked that Edward's Cistercian foundation was a conservative act and shows 'Edward's kingship was consciously rooted in the past.'<sup>817</sup> However by the 1290s the Cistercians had long lost their reputation as the most fashionable and prestigious form of religious life. The twelfth century, not the thirteenth, was the real heyday for the Cistercians and this perhaps explains why the project slipped down in his list of priorities.

When Edward gave money to the mendicants of London to build their church it was much more in keeping with the trends of the time. Edward showed support for all of the mendicant orders whenever he encountered them. A little money given to the mendicants could go a long way. In comparison Vale Royal could have swallowed thousands of pounds with much less discernible benefit. The mendicants appealed to Edward's unostentatious character - and like them he dressed plainly.<sup>818</sup> Edward rejected the fine brightly coloured cloths appropriate to his rank and instead let his character (and physical stature) suggest his importance.<sup>819</sup> Henry III and Edward II were both guilty of over-indulging their favourite ministers. Edward I was much more reserved

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<sup>817</sup> J. Denton, 'From the Foundation', p. 125.

<sup>818</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 108.

<sup>819</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 108.

with his patronage. This outlook was evident also in his religious patronage - by never lavishing excessive attention upon any one religious house, he avoided alienating others. Daily acts of personal piety could satisfy many of his spiritual needs. In reality this required a little more personal effort but a little less personal expense. By focussing his piety around himself Edward could monitor and control it. Edward was a king who appreciated value for money. The castles in Wales were built, at great expense, because they served a purpose which outweighed their cost. Edward's priority was his realm and he seemingly abandoned the Vale Royal project when he could no longer justify its expense.

## Chapter 6 - The Piety of the Royal Family

Edward I strove to maintain a thorough routine of personal piety and, likewise, he encouraged the devotions of his family. Unfortunately the sources have not survived to produce a comprehensive appraisal of the piety of each member of his family. Much of what can be learned of their individual activities must be found in the accounts of the king's own household. However, combining this evidence with information from the many diverse accounts pertaining to their individual households can produce an overview. This investigation will identify how Edward's queens and his children fulfilled spiritual obligations similar to his own. Edward's children, from birth, began a spiritual journey defined by the principles and practices which he advocated. By this means, the family were taught to benefit their souls and were urged to shine as good examples to the mass of Edward's subjects.

### I. Eleanor of Castile

Evidence for Eleanor's early piety needs to be recovered from the accounts of the king's household. These documents show that the queen's pious practices closely mirrored those of the king. The roll of alms and oblations of 1276/7 records that the queen fed the poor on each day she travelled with the king, distributing a total of 2*s.* each day - which the king paid for.<sup>820</sup> The account notes that Master Pagano, her chaplain, received these sums. The account cites two occasions when the queen fed additional paupers to celebrate feast days. On the feast of St Clemens (23 November) she fed thirty poor at 1½*d.* each, through Master Pagano. On this day the king fed fifty poor to honour the same saint. On the feast of St Katherine (25 November), the queen fed 103 poor through Bartholomew, her other chaplain.<sup>821</sup> On this day the king did not feed any extra poor. Only one offering appears in this account. On 22 December 1276 the queen offered 7*d.* in *dedicacione capelle pagani de caduro*, at Poulton in

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<sup>820</sup> TNA, E101/350/23.

<sup>821</sup> *Ibid.*, m.1.

Wiltshire.<sup>822</sup> Although providing glimpses into the queen's piety, this account fails to provide any very comprehensive picture. The *journalia* of 1277/8 reveals just one addition to this routine. On Good Friday the queen distributed cloths and shoes to the poor, which cost £5 3s. 8d., while the king's contributions cost £15 1s. 2d.<sup>823</sup> In the previous year, the queen had distributed just 20d. on Good Friday, whereas the king had distributed shoes.<sup>824</sup>

The roll of alms and oblations for 1283/4 offers similarly sparse information. The queen continued to distributed 2s. to the poor on each day she was on progress with the king.<sup>825</sup> Similarly, the queen continued to give alms on feast days: she fed 200 poor on the feast of St Stephen (26 December 1283), 43 on the feast of St Paul (25 January 1284), 30 on Easter Sunday (17 April 1284) and 140 on Low Sunday (24 April 1284).<sup>826</sup> Master Pagano, her chaplain, organised all of these alms. In February the queen attended a mass for the soul of Prince Alexander of Scotland, her nephew, who had died on 28 January 1278. At this mass Pagano the chaplain offered 2s. in the name of the queen and her ladies.<sup>827</sup> The *journalia* of 1284/5 reveals little more. On Easter Sunday 1285 (25 March), the king and queen and household made offerings totalling 8s. 9d. During Holy Week the queen's entourage made offerings on Good Friday and Easter Sunday costing a total of 3s.<sup>828</sup> On 17 June 1285, Master Roger of Clare received 50s. for the queen's offerings.<sup>829</sup> Presumably these were made after mass, although it is not recorded precisely. This rather sparse image of Eleanor's piety surely reflects the nature of the accounts rather than the likely provision.

These records tell us little about the queen's daily spiritual routine. Fortunately a roll of the queen's daily expenses survives for the year 1279/80 which permits a more comprehensive impression. This roll records the queen's daily expenses between 29 September and early December 1280.<sup>830</sup> The account records that the queen purchased eight loaves every day to distribute to the poor. The most frequent cost of these loaves is

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<sup>822</sup> Ibid., (at the dedication of the chapel of Pagano [Payne?] de Caduro).

<sup>823</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 15v.

<sup>824</sup> TNA, E101/350/23, m. 1.

<sup>825</sup> TNA, E101/351/15.

<sup>826</sup> Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', p. 107.

<sup>827</sup> TNA, E101/351/15, m. 2.

<sup>828</sup> TNA, C47/4/2, f. 25v.

<sup>829</sup> TNA, C47/4/2, f. 27r.

<sup>830</sup> TNA, C47/3/16, the end of this roll is in poor condition and after the 25 November some of the entries are illegible.

5s. 6d. - at 8¼d. for each loaf, these were surely of some size.<sup>831</sup> Occasionally more loaves were purchased - for example, on Friday 4 October the queen distributed sixteen loaves costing 10s. 6d.<sup>832</sup> This did not happen every Friday, and it must be surmised that special occasions prompted these larger distributions. Occasionally the account specifies the occasion. For example, on the feast of St Katherine (25 November), Eleanor spent 8s. 6d. on bread for the poor.<sup>833</sup> The account records that the queen made a daily oblation of 1d., presumably in her chapel after mass.<sup>834</sup> This sum was occasionally increased to 2d. or 3d., although quite why was not recorded.<sup>835</sup> The account features infrequent references to alms in the form of money, usually of only 1d.; these were given perhaps to needy individuals the queen encountered.<sup>836</sup>

More can be gleaned from other accounts. The roll of robes of 1285/6 records that the queen employed a certain Richard, described as the servant of the queen's almoner, who was given one mark for his robe.<sup>837</sup> This entry is confirmation that by 1285/6 the queen employed an almoner. The accounts up until 1283/4 suggest that the queen's alms were organised by her chaplains, but, by 1285/6, this seems to have changed.<sup>838</sup> The same roll reveals that the queen employed two *sometarii*, called Baudetto and Robert, for transporting her chapel, and they each received 10s. for robes.<sup>839</sup> It is likely that the queen's chapel was as comprehensively equipped as the king's, albeit with a more limited collection of relics. Like the king, the queen engaged a friar to serve as her confessor. The book of the controller for 1285/6 records that friar Robert of Melford was serving as the queen's confessor while friar Walter of Winterbourne was tending to the king.<sup>840</sup>

A clearer image of Eleanor's piety can be established for the period from the later 1280s until her death in November 1290. This picture derives from the survival of

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<sup>831</sup> Ibid., m. 1.

<sup>832</sup> Ibid.

<sup>833</sup> Ibid., m. 2.

<sup>834</sup> Ibid.

<sup>835</sup> Ibid., m. 1-2.

<sup>836</sup> Ibid.

<sup>837</sup> TNA, E101/351/26, printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-86*, pp. 164-182, p. 170.

<sup>838</sup> TNA, E101/351/15.

<sup>839</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-86*, p. 171.

<sup>840</sup> TNA, C47/4/3, printed in, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-86*, pp. 1-116, p. 41.

several accounts for her household.<sup>841</sup> The accounts demonstrate that Eleanor's alms closely mirrored those of the king. The major difference between their almsgiving was the scale of the provision. The accounts of 1288/9 suggest that the money for these alms was reimbursed to the almoner after distribution. This might suggest that he carried a 'float' for the queen's charity, or perhaps needed to find the money himself and then seek restitution. On Trinity Sunday 1288 (23 May) Ralph received £7 4s. 9d. for the 1601 poor that he had fed since Easter Sunday (28 March).<sup>842</sup> Then on 26 September, Ralph received 64s. 4½d. for the poor he had fed since Trinity Sunday.<sup>843</sup> This entry records that this sum did not include the £7 4s. 9d., he had been given previously.<sup>844</sup> It appears that the queen's alms were paid for on an *ad hoc* basis.

Eleanor, like the king, fed a set number of poor each week. In 1289/90, Eleanor fed seven poor every Tuesday in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury, giving each pauper 1½d. The queen spent, between the feast of St Mark (25 April) and the feast of St Laurence (10 August), 14s. (168d.) on this enterprise.<sup>845</sup> In like manner the queen fed thirty poor every Friday at a rate of 1½d. per pauper.<sup>846</sup> An entry in the roll of 1288/9 confirms that the queen gave comparable alms in the previous year.<sup>847</sup> Perhaps the daily distributions of bread had ceased by this point. The account book of 1289/90 reveals the queen, like the king, fed a number of poor at her special command - although all of the queen's donations coincided with feast days. The following table details these alms:

**Table 78 - Alms by special order of the queen, 1289/90<sup>848</sup>**

Date	Feast	Number
11 November	St Martin of Tours	40
22 November	St Cecilia	20
23 November	St Clement	20
25 December	Christmas Day	20
26 December - 2 January	Octave of Christmas Day (7 poor per day)	49

<sup>841</sup> TNA, E101/352/11 and E101/352/12, printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-89*, pp. 375-386 and 385-400, BL, Add. MS 35294, printed in, J. C. Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 59-135.

<sup>842</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379.

<sup>843</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

<sup>844</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>845</sup> BL, Add. MS 35294, printed in, Parsons, *The Court and Household*, p. 99.

<sup>846</sup> Parsons, *The Court and Household*, pp. 100, 113, 117, 124 and 132.

<sup>847</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375. The account is damaged but seems to record that an additional two paupers were fed every Tuesday.

<sup>848</sup> BL, Add. MS 35294, printed in, Parsons, *The Court and Household*, pp. 59-135.

Eleanor fed additional poor during Lent. In 1289 the king fed thirteen paupers on each day of Lent.<sup>849</sup> In 1288, Eleanor fed twenty-three poor on Ash Wednesday (10 February), and a further twenty-three poor on the following Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday until the 20 February, when the entry finishes.<sup>850</sup> The same entry also reveals that during this period (10-20 February, 1288) the queen fed forty poor each Friday, by comparison with her usual thirty.<sup>851</sup> In 1290 Eleanor marked the first week of Lent by feeding a total of fifty-two paupers over the course of Ash Wednesday and the following Thursday, Friday and Saturday. She marked the rest of Lent by feeding a total of ninety-six paupers each week, giving each 1½d.<sup>852</sup> Although the exact nature of the queen's Lent alms varied from year to year, these entries confirm that Eleanor ordered such alms be given.

The majority of Eleanor's alms, like those of the king, were given in honour of the saints on their feast days. Those given in 1289 are detailed below:

**Table 79 - Numbers of poor fed by the queen in 1288, in comparison to the king's alms in 1289<sup>853</sup>**

Date	Feast	Number of poor fed by the queen, 1288	Number of poor fed by the king, 1289
22 July	St Mary Magdalene	50	300
25 July	St James	100	200
1 August	St Peter	50	300
10 August	St Laurence	100	200
23 August	Sts Tomotheus and Appollinaris	100	-
24 August	St Bartholmew	100	200
29 August	St John the Baptist	100	100
14 September	Exaltation of the Cross	50	500
29 September	St Michael	?	100
18 October	St Luke	100	300
28 October	Sts Simon and Jude	100	300
1 November	All Saints	100	100
11 November	St Martin	50	300
20 November	St Edmund	?	400
25 November	St Katherine	50	200
30	St Andrew	100	1000

<sup>849</sup> Ibid., pp. 281-282.

<sup>850</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-89*, p. 377.

<sup>851</sup> Ibid., p. 377.

<sup>852</sup> Parsons, *The Court and Household*, pp. 59-135, p. 100.

<sup>853</sup> For the queen's alms, TNA, E101/352/11, m. 1, for the king's TNA, E101/352/89, both accounts are printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286 - 1289*, pp. 375-6 and 272-305.

November			
10 February?	St Scholastica	100	-
21 December	St Thomas (Apostle)	100	200
25 December	Christmas Day	100	340
28 December	Holy Innocents	100	280
29 December	St Thomas	?	240

Unfortunately this document is faded, and damaged, in places and thus some of the figures are illegible. However if we compare the average numbers of poor fed by the king and queen, on the feasts for which we have totals for each, the following averages are created - 84 poor fed by the queen, and 301 by the king. It must be noted that within this period the king fed the poor on many additional feast days, however on days when both the king and queen gave alms, the queen's alms stood at roughly one quarter (27%) of those given by the king.

The roll of the queen's household for 1288/9 reveals similar findings. Ralph the almoner received sporadic payments for alms of varying values.<sup>854</sup> On 31 March he received 50s. for the queen's alms.<sup>855</sup> On 26 April he received 25s.<sup>856</sup> On 21 July he received £10.<sup>857</sup> Finally in mid September, he received £4 6s. 4d., in payment for *denariorum qui ei debentur* (for the monies owed to him) for the queen's alms from 12 March until the 29 September.<sup>858</sup> The account also records other details concerning Eleanor's piety. In 1288 an (illegible) sum was spent on mending the large *algie* (trough) for alms.<sup>859</sup> One entry strongly suggests the queen's alms were still given mainly in the form of food at this time. It records:

Et domino Radulpho elemosinario regine pro elemosina participata in pecunia apud Sanctum Germanum in Laya per preceptum regine dum ipsa perhendinavit ibidem rege absente ubi elemosina ciborum deficiebat...xxvijs. iiijd.<sup>860</sup>

<sup>854</sup> TNA, E101/352/12, printed in, *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-89*, pp. 385-400.

<sup>855</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>856</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390.

<sup>857</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>858</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398.

<sup>859</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

<sup>860</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 303-4 (And Ralph the queen's almoner for alms distributed in money at St Germain-en-Laye by order of the queen while the king was absent, where there were no alms in food - 27s. 4d.).

The question of the nature of royal alms has attracted several interpretations.<sup>861</sup>

Prestwich has suggested, by the 1290s, these alms were probably in the form of coin.<sup>862</sup>

This interpretation seems likely considering the considerable numbers for whom the king made provision towards the 1290s. However this entry suggests, that at the end of the 1280s, alms were given most frequently in the form of food.

The account book of 1289/90 provides an even more detailed summation of the queen's alms. The payments for these alms were all given to Ralph the almoner, and again, apparently, after they had been distributed. For example, on 8 April 1290 he was issued with £18 16s. 3d. for the alms given between 1 May 1289 and 2 February 1290.<sup>863</sup> Similarly, at the end of the account, an entry records that on 28 November 1290 Ralph received £4 12s. 1½d. for the queen's alms from the feast of St Michael (29 September) until the feast of St Katherine (25 November).<sup>864</sup> The alms Ralph organised to honour the feasts of saints are detailed below. This table also records the number of poor the king fed on the same feasts:

**Table 80 - Poor fed by the queen for the feasts of saints 1289/1290<sup>865</sup>**

Date	Feast	Number fed by the queen	Number fed by the king
1 May 1289	St Philip and James	100	-
3 May	Invention of the Cross	100	40
6 May	St John ( <i>ante portam latinam</i> )	50	140
19 May	Ascension Day	100	300
29 May	Pentecost	100	200
5 June	Trinity Sunday	100	-
11 June	St Barnabas	50	200
24 June	Nativity St John the Baptist	100	100
29 June	Sts Peter and Paul	60	300
7 July	Translation St Thomas	50	300
20 July	St Margaret of Antioch	50	200
22 July	St Mary Magdalene	50	300
25 July	St James	60	200
1 August	St Peter's Chains	50	300
10 August	St Laurence	50	200
15 August	Assumption Blessed Virgin	100	General Distribution £6 15s.
24 August	St Bartholomew	60	300

<sup>861</sup> Lack, 'The Position and Duties', pp. 97-98, Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', pp. 156-9.

<sup>862</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 122.

<sup>863</sup> Parsons, *The Court and Household*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>864</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>865</sup> Parsons, *The Court and Household*, pp. 98-100, 113, 117 and 124; the numbers of the king's alms are taken from TNA, C47/4/4, ff. 38r-47v.

29 August	St John the Baptist	50	100
8 September	Nativity Blessed Virgin	100	140
14 September	Exaltation of the Cross	50	500
21 September	St Matthew	60	200
29 September	St Michael	100	100
18 October	St Luke	60	300
28 October	Sts Simon and Jude	60	300
1 November	All Saints	100	100
11 November	St Martin of Tours	50	300
16 November	St Edmund of Abingdon	50	100
20 November	St Edmund of Bury	50	400
25 November	St Katherine	50	200
30 November	St Andrew	60	1000
6 December	St Nicholas	50	400
21 December	St Thomas (Apostle)	60	200
25 December	Christmas Day	100	340
26 December	St Stephen	50	200
27 December	St John the Evangelist	60	200
28 December	Holy Innocents	50	280
29 December	St Thomas Becket	50	240
1 January 1290	Circumcision	100	215
6 January	Epiphany	100	420
22 January	St Vincent	60	340
25 January	Conversion St Paul	60	440
2 February	Purification Blessed Virgin	100	340
22 February	St Peter ( <i>in cathedra</i> )	60	-
24 February	St Matthew	60	100
12 March	St Gregory	50	140
18 March	St Edward the Martyr	60	300
?	St Dominic	50	
25 March	Annunciation Blessed Virgin	100	140
2 April	Easter Sunday	100	General Distribution 15s.
25 April	St Mark	300	100
1 May	Sts Philip and James	100	200
3 May	Holy Cross	100	300
6 May	St John ( <i>ante portam latinam</i> )	100*	140
19 May	Ascension Day	100	300
29 May	Pentecost	100	General Distribution 38s.
5 June	Trinity Sunday	100	-
11 June	St Barnabas	60*	140
24 June	Nativity St John the Baptist	100	400
29 June	Sts Peter and Paul	60	400
7 July	Translation St Thomas	50	400
20 July	St Margaret of Antioch	50	300
22 July	St Mary Magdalene	50	400
25 July	St James	60	300
1 August	St Peter's Chains	50	400
4 August	St Dominic	50	-
10 August	St Laurence	50	500
15 August	Assumption Blessed Virgin	100	General Distribution £4 14s.
24 August	St Bartholomew	60	300

29 August	St John the Baptist	50	300
8 September	Nativity Blessed Virgin	100	General Distribution 42s.
14 September	Exaltation of the Cross	50	500
21 September	St Matthew	60	200
29 September	St Michael	100	100

The total number of poor fed by the king and queen, on days when they both gave alms are as follows - the queen fed 4430 paupers, and the king 16795. Therefore, the queen's alms continued to stand at roughly one quarter (26%) of those given by the king. The average number of poor fed on each feast by the queen was 71, compared to the king's 270. Such findings are, to an extent, irrelevant; charity was not, after all, a competition. The key fact is that the queen's pious practices closely shadowed those of her husband, and suggests the king and queen were united in this enterprise. The impact upon the poor must also be acknowledged. Prestwich is correct in stating that 'historians should not be deluded into thinking that Edward I's almonry was a primitive Department of Health and Security.' Prestwich stresses the point that the sums given were negligible compared to the sums extracted by way of taxation.<sup>866</sup> However, if we consider the impact upon a specific town or city over a short period, then the result was surely more keenly felt. This point can be illustrated by considering the last of the feasts in the table above. On 29 September 1290, the king and queen were both in Macclesfield.<sup>867</sup> The king fed 100 poor to honour the feast of St Michael, and the queen did likewise. The king also fed twenty-three poor, as he did each day, and a further 100 because it was Friday. Likewise the queen fed an extra thirty poor, also because it was Friday. Thus, on this unremarkable day in Macclesfield, the king and queen fed a total of 353 paupers. This was not a great number, but perhaps enough for the townsmen and women to take heed - such charity was instructive. The alms of the royal family could not have solved the problems of poverty in England but, had the wealthy tended to the poor to the best of their abilities, then the plight of the poor could be made more tolerable.

Regular information concerning the queen's oblations is less forthcoming. The roll of 1279/80 confirms the queen made a daily offering of 1*d.* - probably in her chapel.<sup>868</sup> The account book of 1289/90 records a few sporadic references to the queen's

<sup>866</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 122.

<sup>867</sup> Parsons, *The Court and Household*, p. 150.

<sup>868</sup> TNA, C47/3/16.

offerings at various special masses. For example, on 12 November 1289, the feast of All Souls, the queen offered 23*d.*<sup>869</sup> On 15 March 1290 the queen held a mass for the soul of her mother. At this mass she made offerings totalling 4*s.* 4*d.*<sup>870</sup> The queen also made offerings to celebrate weddings. On 12 October 1289 the queen offered 19*d.* at the wedding of 'Petronilla de Tany'.<sup>871</sup> At the wedding of John de la Mare of Bradwell, in May 1290, the queen gave 5*s.* to be 'placed upon the book', probably to be distributed afterwards.<sup>872</sup> At this wedding the queen also offered 2*s.* 4*d.* at the mass. These offerings are similar to the king's at the various weddings which took place in Ipswich in January of that year.<sup>873</sup> The queen also offered 4*s.* 2*d.* at a mass for the wedding of her daughter, Margaret, in July 1290.<sup>874</sup> Like the king, the queen gave larger offerings on special occasions - perhaps to meet the expenses of others present on these occasions.

The queen also supported the mendicants. Parsons has highlighted her specific support of the Dominican Order.<sup>875</sup> In 1289 she sent 100*s.* to the Dominicans of Oxford, to support their provincial chapter.<sup>876</sup> Similarly, in 1290, she sent another 100*s.* to support the Dominican provincial chapter being held at Stamford.<sup>877</sup> In 1289, she sent salmon to the Dominicans of Oxford to support their fasting during Lent.<sup>878</sup> The queen also sent gifts to the Benedictine nuns of Amesbury. On 29 October 1289 Eleanor sent £33 6*s.* 8*d.* to the nuns and again, on 11 November, she sent a further 63*s.* 4*d.*<sup>879</sup> In likelihood the queen gave these gifts as her mother-in-law, Eleanor of Provence, and her daughter, Mary of Woodstock, resided at this convent. However, Eleanor's particular regard for the Dominicans was displayed in more startling terms: after her death, her heart was buried in the Dominican priory church in London.<sup>880</sup> This perhaps had always been her intention as in February 1290 (nine months before her death), the queen sent £100 for the building of a chapel in that church.<sup>881</sup> This church had been built largely as

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<sup>869</sup> Parsons, *The Court and Household*, p. 72.

<sup>870</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>871</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>872</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>873</sup> See above, p. 208.

<sup>874</sup> Parsons, *The Court and Household*, p. 109.

<sup>875</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>876</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>877</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>878</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>879</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72 and 74.

<sup>880</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>881</sup> *Ibid.*

a result of the king's sponsorship.<sup>882</sup> Unfortunately it is not clear whether the king's interest in the work of the London Dominicans was prompted by the queen's interest, or vice versa.

It is more difficult to detect whether the queen shared her husband's love of holy places. On 15 March 1290, the queen sent Henry, one of the chapel *somentarii*, to offer 6*d.* at the relics at Mottisfont.<sup>883</sup> However, other references to Eleanor's offerings at holy places all appear in the king's accounts. The queen seems not to have visited churches regularly on her own, but she accompanied the king frequently. The *journalia* of 1289/90 records frequent veneration of shrines in the company of the king, who would pay for his, and his wife's, offerings of 7*s.* each.<sup>884</sup> The queen would often attend masses, with the king, on special occasions, such as Christmas Day 1289 and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February 1290).<sup>885</sup> These public displays of devotion were probably organised by the king. Eleanor's presence on such occasions suggests her real commitment to her husband's concerns. It was essential for the king that the royal family displayed a unity of purpose. He nurtured this by a corporate attention to religious practices. In many ways the queen's pious activities bolstered the devout image that the king wished to display.

## II. Margaret of France

Margaret of France, Edward's second queen, appears to have been devout. Three accounts provide a fascinating glimpse into her spiritual life, shortly after she married Edward I on 8 September 1299. The first is a small section of an account from her household, concerning the period from 3 November 1299 to 19 November 1299.<sup>886</sup> The second is a larger part of an account kept by the queen's almoner. This sheds light on her alms and offerings for the period c. April 1300 - 19 November 1300.<sup>887</sup> The final

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<sup>882</sup> See above, p. 245.

<sup>883</sup> Parsons, *The Court and Household*, pp. 16 and 95.

<sup>884</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, for example on 22 March 1290 offerings were given at the shrine of St Wulfstan at Worcester, f. 39v.

<sup>885</sup> TNA, C47/4/4, ff. 38r and 39v.

<sup>886</sup> TNA, E101/355/17.

<sup>887</sup> TNA, E101/357/30.

account is the wardrobe book of the king's household which details her offerings when travelling with the king, and also records some of the expenditure which features on her alms roll.<sup>888</sup> The account of her household features a small section entitled 'alms', which indicates that the queen gave a daily offering of 3*d.*<sup>889</sup> Margaret may have given these daily offerings in her chapel, although it is not specified. The almoner's roll records other regular features of Margaret's piety - many of which are remarkably consistent with Edward's - suggesting that he must have been pleased with his new wife, who was both pious, and forty years his junior.

Margaret's almoner's account covers principally her pious expenditure when travelling between 18 September and 19 November 1300, in the counties of Cumberland, Dumfries, Westmoreland and Yorkshire.<sup>890</sup> This account discloses several regular aspects of her piety complementing the 3*d.* she offered daily. It records that on each day the queen travelled, she distributed 2*s.* to the poor - half the sum her husband tended to give when travelling (although, by 1306/7 she had increased these alms to 4*s.* matching those given by the king).<sup>891</sup> It reveals that she gave alms to five paupers every Friday.<sup>892</sup> These alms may have been a mere fraction of the king's fixed weekly charity, but, the queen's recipients were given 6*d.* each in comparison with the king's almsmen, who received just 1½*d.* each.<sup>893</sup> The queen gave additional, less formulaic, alms - for example, the account records that a total of 5*s.* 2*d.* was distributed at *diversis vices et loca*.<sup>894</sup> When the queen encountered especially worthy individuals she gave them a larger sum of 12*d.* each. For example, in this short period she gave the sum of 12*d.* to a poor chaplain of St Albans, a hermit between Holme-Cultrum and Carlisle, a poor chaplain of Carlisle, an anchorite at Appleby, the warden of the hospital at Burgh-on-Sands, and a hermit between Bowes and Hereford.<sup>895</sup>

The young queen was also moved to pious undertaking by tragedy. In Carlisle, in October or November 1300, she paid for the funeral rites of two young men. She

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<sup>888</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 25 - 47.

<sup>889</sup> TNA, E101/355/17, the wardrobe book of this year confirms that these daily offerings were consistent, *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>890</sup> TNA, E101/357/30.

<sup>891</sup> TNA, E101/357/30 and E101/370/15.

<sup>892</sup> TNA, E101/357/30.

<sup>893</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>894</sup> *Ibid.*, (various times and places).

<sup>895</sup> *Ibid.* Please note that the account records the hermit was between Holme-Cultrum and Hereford, but the latter is probably an error and the scribe should have written Hartforth, which is in Yorkshire.

spent 7s. 7d. on the funeral of Gerard le Picardi and 16d. on that of Matthew de Monte-Martin.<sup>896</sup> In like manner, Margaret organised *pro anima* activities. The account records that Margaret requested a mass to be said for Philip III, her father, in the church of the Franciscans in Carlisle, at which she offered 10s. Philip III died on 5 October 1285, when Margaret was just a child of five or six.<sup>897</sup> This mass was probably celebrated on, or close to, this date. To supplement this mass, Margaret also ordered a distribution of coins to the value of 45s. 10d. - perhaps 550 poor were given 1d. each. The wardrobe book reveals that Margaret, on 6 October 1300, gave the Cistercians of Holme-Cultram a pittance for one day of 16s. to celebrate the soul of her grandfather, Louis IX.<sup>898</sup> Louis IX's feast was the 24 August, but perhaps this was the date of his interment in the Basilica of St Denis.<sup>899</sup>

Margaret also supported the friars. In 1300 she gave the Dominicans of Carlisle 6s. 8d. as one day's pittance, and the Franciscans of the town 10s. for the same.<sup>900</sup> The wardrobe book for 1299/1300 reveals comparable evidence and suggests particular support for the Franciscans - in contrast with Eleanor of Castile's preference for the Dominicans. It was the Franciscans of Carlisle who celebrated the mass for the soul of Philip III in October of this year.<sup>901</sup> On 3 May she gave 2 marks to the Franciscans of Stamford for one day's food, (and, also 25s. to the Benedictine nuns in the same town).<sup>902</sup> In April 1300 she provided 100s. for Franciscan's general chapter in Saint-Lizier.<sup>903</sup> Similarly, on 3 September the queen sent £10 to the Franciscan provincial chapter which was meeting at Stamford.<sup>904</sup> Margaret's interests did, occasionally, extend to the other orders of friars: as on 1 May 1300 she offered 7s. at the high altar of the church of the Dominicans of Stamford.<sup>905</sup> However, her special devotion was to the Franciscans. When Margaret died on 14 September 1318, her body was entombed before the high altar of the new church of the Franciscans of London, a church that had

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<sup>896</sup> Ibid.

<sup>897</sup> Margaret's exact birthday is uncertain, she was born c. 1279.

<sup>898</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 43.

<sup>899</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p. 326.

<sup>900</sup> TNA, E101/357/30.

<sup>901</sup> Ibid.

<sup>902</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>903</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 34.

<sup>904</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>905</sup> Ibid.

been built partly through her own generosity, and of which she was described as foundress.<sup>906</sup>

The king's wardrobe book reveals that Margaret was keen to fit in with the pious customs of her new family. Queen Margaret appears first in the wardrobe book of 1299/1300, on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February). She joined her new husband in his chapel in Windsor Castle and made an offering of 5*s.* at the Cross of Gneyth, and the holy thorn. Edward's offerings to the same relics totalled 8*s.* on this occasion. Evidently, the important feast brought the new couple together to venerate the king's prized relics.<sup>907</sup> At the end of this month the king took his new queen to Canterbury. On 22 February he ordered that offerings were made, in his queen's name, at the major shrines in St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury. The next day, he gave the order for similar offerings to be made in Canterbury Cathedral.<sup>908</sup> Evidently the marriage was going well, for on this day the king, queen and prince Edward made *chevagium* offerings of twelve gold florins at the shrine of St Thomas - three of which were for the foetus in the queen's belly.<sup>909</sup> A few days later, 27 February, the king ordered another offering of 7*s.* be made at the image of the Blessed Virgin at Chatham.<sup>910</sup> It is noteworthy that the king does not appear to have requested offerings in the name of his queen until this month, when she was evidently pregnant.

On the 21 March Edward took his pregnant wife to visit another important English saint, Edward the Confessor; both made offerings of 7*s.* at his shrine.<sup>911</sup> The next month, Edward and his bride celebrated Holy Week in the similarly patriotic surroundings of St Albans. The wardrobe book has no record of Edward making Maundy distributions, although he did feed an additional thirteen paupers on every day in Lent.<sup>912</sup> Queen Margaret's alms account does, however, confirm that she gave Maundy gifts. On Maundy Thursday (7 April 1300), she distributed Maundy offerings to thirteen paupers. To each she gave an impressive 3*s.* - spending a total of 39*s.* The

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<sup>906</sup> *ODNB, sub nomine*; C. L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915), pp. 70-71, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. J. Gough Nichols (London, 1852), pp. xii and xxi, S. Phillips, *Edward II* (Cornwall, 2010), who cites TNA, E101/377/7, f. 6, for Edward II's and queen Isabella's attendance at her funeral.

<sup>907</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 28.

<sup>908</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>909</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>910</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>911</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>912</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

next entry is faded but seems to record that the queen gave five paupers 6*d.* each on Good Friday. The same day she also gave 12*d.* to a poor chaplain of St Albans.<sup>913</sup> On 14 April Margaret offered 7*s.* before the shrine of Saint Alban and to the altar before the shrine of Saint Amphibalus. This same day the king offered 7*s.* before the 'girdle' of the Blessed Virgin, which the monks of Westminster brought to the king at St Albans.<sup>914</sup> This seems to be the same girdle to which Henry III had offered gold coins in 1265.<sup>915</sup> Perhaps the king requested that the monks should bring it to St Albans in order to help with his wife's pregnancy. Similarly the monks had brought the girdle to Henry III in Gascony in 1242 when his queen was pregnant.<sup>916</sup> Much later, in 1502, Henry VII paid the monks of Westminster 6*s.* 8*d.* for bringing the same girdle to his pregnant queen.<sup>917</sup> This was a royal tradition which would endure - although after 200 years the Westminster monks had dropped their fee by 2*d.*

Edward's concern for his, now heavily pregnant, wife materialises in a number of offerings made in her name at this time. Offerings were presented at the shrines of: St Edmund of Bury (10 May), the image of the Blessed Virgin at Walsingham (15 May), the shrine of St Hugh of Lincoln (24 May) and St John of Beverley (29 May).<sup>918</sup> When their son, Thomas, was born, on 1 June, at Brotherton in Yorkshire, pious acts of gratitude ensued. On the day of the birth, Edward sent offerings, in the name of his new son and wife, to be made at the altars in Selby Abbey and the chapel at Hamelton.<sup>919</sup> The next day he sent an offering to the shrine of his son's namesake saint at Canterbury, and the day after to St Thomas of Hereford.<sup>920</sup> Over the next few weeks Edward sent offerings, for his son and wife, at the shrines of Sts Augustine, Adrian and Mildred in Canterbury, William of York, Cuthbert and Godric.<sup>921</sup> In addition he fed the many communities of friars in York for one day, on 14 June, to celebrate the queen's

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<sup>913</sup> TNA, E101/357/30.

<sup>914</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 33 (...*obla' ejusdem regis ad zonam beate Marie quam monachi Westmon' detulerunt Regi apud Sanctum Albanum, vijs.*).

<sup>915</sup> TNA, E101/349/30, m. 2.

<sup>916</sup> Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin', p. 142.

<sup>917</sup> C. Rawcliffe, 'Women, Childbirth, and Religion in Later Medieval England', *Women and Religion in Medieval England*, ed. D. Wood (Oxford, 2003), pp. 91-117, p. 107.

<sup>918</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 35-8.

<sup>919</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>920</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>921</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

successful delivery.<sup>922</sup> Edward's delight is evident and, for his good fortune, he gave due thanks.

Edward's new marriage seems to have begun very well - having married on the 18 September 1299, he already had a son by the 1 June 1300. Margaret's pious concern must have pleased the king too. Margaret practised a modest, but consistent, routine of piety including daily offerings, weekly alms, support of the friars, and many other occasional acts of charity. In addition, she accompanied the king to his favourite shrines and images and displayed dutiful veneration. Margaret similarly engaged with other forms of pious expression. For example, on 22 April she gave 2*s.* to a poor man called John de Anet, who travelled 'across the sea' - probably to France. The same day she ordered a general distribution of 10*s.*, although quite why was unfortunately not recorded.<sup>923</sup> On 22 June the queen made an offering of 7*s.* in her chapel at Stainmore in Cumbria.<sup>924</sup> On 28 September the queen offered 7*s.* at the high altar in the abbey church of Holme-Cultram.<sup>925</sup> The queen also gave money to the poor she encountered. A total of 7*s.* 11*d.* was given to paupers and lepers, between leaving St Albans in mid April and arriving at Clipston on 18 May.<sup>926</sup> Similarly, her alms account records that she distributed pennies at La Rose, Holme-Cultram and Carlisle, totalling 5*s.* 2*d.*<sup>927</sup> Of course, not all of Margaret's good works can be attributed to her husband; she was a product of the Capetian, not the Plantagenet, dynasty. However, as Edward encouraged pious enterprise among his family, she appears to have involved herself fully in this effort.

### III. The royal children

Evidence of the piety of Edward's many children is of a fragmentary nature. Throughout the king's wardrobe accounts are entries recording that the king made

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<sup>922</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>923</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>924</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>925</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>926</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>927</sup> TNA, E101/357/30.

offerings at shrines and altars in the name of his children and also, on occasion, providing them with money or precious items to make their own offerings.<sup>928</sup> In such accounts we see the king both educating his children as to the importance of devotion, and also appealing to the holy for their protection. It is clear that the king encouraged his children to take part in regular pious practices to which he, himself, subscribed. The *journalia* of 1284/5 records that the king provided 5s. 8d. as Princess Eleanor (b. 1269) had not given offerings at masses on sixty-eight feast days between 1 January and 31 October 128(?).<sup>929</sup> He then provided her with 5s. 6d. to make amends for daily offerings of 1d. which had not been given between 1 November 1283 and 6 January 1284.<sup>930</sup> These expenses show that the king was careful to ensure that his children should maintain a consistent routine of piety, and that he was mindful to rectify any shortcomings.

Edward's children made offerings, after mass, from a very young age. An account of Prince Edward's household from 1289/90 records frequent offerings made by the prince and his sisters. For example, on the feast of Pentecost 1289 (29 May), Prince Edward (b. 1284) and his sister Elizabeth (b. 1282) made offerings of 2s. 8d. at Westminster.<sup>931</sup> The same account records that they made offerings of 2s. 2d. on 9 July to celebrate the wedding of their older sister Margaret.<sup>932</sup> This is a clear example of how, even young, royal children made offerings very similar to those of their parents. After reaching adulthood these practices were maintained. A fragment survives of an oblations roll of Elizabeth, the Countess of Holland, which details her daily offerings.<sup>933</sup> This records that the countess offered 1d. each day and that on certain feasts she offered more, both for herself and for her ladies in waiting. For example, on the feast of All Saints, 1300, she offered 7d., and on Christmas day she spent a total of 21d. at three masses.<sup>934</sup>

After the death of her first husband, Elizabeth remarried and became the Countess of Hereford. An account of her daily expenditure, for 1303/04, contains a

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<sup>928</sup> For example for monetary offerings see, TNA, C47/4/2, ff. 25r, 27v, and for gifts of clasps see, TNA, E101/352/4, printed in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286*, pp. 196-205, p. 201.

<sup>929</sup> TNA, C47/4/1, f. 28r.

<sup>930</sup> Ibid.

<sup>931</sup> TNA, C47/3/22, m. 1.

<sup>932</sup> Ibid.

<sup>933</sup> TNA, E101/357/17.

<sup>934</sup> Ibid.

small section on oblations.<sup>935</sup> This account records that Elizabeth offered 4*s.* 5*d.* after mass on 11 October 1303, the day of her purification.<sup>936</sup> This is probably referring to a purifying ceremony after the birth of her son in September of 1303. The account also records that she made an offering at the shrine of St Robert of Knaresborough, on 13 October, and, over the next few weeks, gave money to the friars of Knaresborough and Beverley for their food.<sup>937</sup> Unfortunately, this account is damaged and the value of these payments cannot be established. Nevertheless, it serves to outline the type of practices that played a part in the everyday lives of Edward's children. In 1296/7 Edward commissioned Adam his goldsmith to make a number of items for Margaret the Duchess of Brabant, these included several items for her chapel:

- 2 silver candelabra
- 4 silver dishes (decorated with gold)
- 2 silver basins
- 1 silver incense boat
- 1 silver spoon
- 1 silver vessel for the holy water
- 1 sprinkler for the holy water
- 1 large silver alms-dish
- 1 silver pot (*olle*) with two handles for alms
- 1 silver trough (*algee*) with two handles for alms<sup>938</sup>

The same year he provided his daughter Elizabeth with a similar trough for alms and also a *coupe* for the host.<sup>939</sup> These items allude to Edward's concern that his daughters should have all the necessary equipment for their daily devotions, and that he expected them to fulfil their charitable obligations.

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<sup>935</sup> TNA, E101365/20.

<sup>936</sup> Ibid.

<sup>937</sup> Ibid.

<sup>938</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 134r.

<sup>939</sup> Ibid., f. 134v.

The king's children were expected to nurture the poor. Johnstone has analysed the accounts of the household of Prince Henry (b. 1268), and shown that between 8 February and 23 September 1273, he spent £2 4s. on alms, and between 24 September 1273 and 27 October 1274 he spent £5 5s. 11d. on alms.<sup>940</sup> This means that during the first period, roughly 16½d. was given to the poor each week and, during the second period, roughly 22½d. was given to the poor each week.<sup>941</sup> However, the account states that these included the alms attributed to Eleanor of Provence, who was in charge of the prince at this time.<sup>942</sup> In 1304/5 the young princes Thomas (b. 1300) and Edmund (b. 1301), distributed 13d. to the poor each day they travelled, as recorded on the roll of their daily expenses.<sup>943</sup> Obviously these toddlers cannot be assigned the credit for organising such alms. It must be concluded that the king or queen requested this charity. While still very young the royal children were nevertheless expected to display the hallmarks of Edwardian piety. The account of the daily expenses of princes' Thomas and Edmund, and their new sister Eleanor (b.1306), for 1305/6, confirms that the king employed a chaplain to take care of their spiritual needs. Master William of Lowry acted as the princes chaplain and almoner during this year, and was paid 7½d. per day.<sup>944</sup> In 1301 the king sent furnishing and vestments for Thomas's chapel, thus ensuring that he had a suitable place to worship - although he was only a baby at the time.<sup>945</sup> This bears a striking resemblance to the provision Henry III had ordered for Edward I when he was a child.<sup>946</sup> Both kings clearly wished their sons able to benefit from a full liturgical routine. In 1292/3 Prince Edward was under ten years old and yet his household roll for this year shows that every Friday he spent 2s., 3s. or 4s. on alms.<sup>947</sup> In 1304/05 Prince Edward continued to distributed this sum to the poor every Friday, and distributed a further 1s. on days when he travelled.<sup>948</sup> Evidently the prince was mindful to endorse the pious practices in adulthood which he had been taught as a child.

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<sup>940</sup> H, Johnstone, 'The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, Son of Edward I', *Bulletin of the John Ryland Library*, no. 7 (1923), pp. 384-420, pp. 385-6.

<sup>941</sup> The first period is roughly thirty-two weeks, during which 528d. was spent on alms, the second period is fifty-six weeks, during which 1271d. was spent on alms.

<sup>942</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>943</sup> TNA, E101/367/4.

<sup>944</sup> TNA, E101/369/15, f. 7v.

<sup>945</sup> TNA, E101/360/15 and E101/366/26.

<sup>946</sup> See above, p. 51.

<sup>947</sup> TNA, E101/353/18.

<sup>948</sup> TNA, E101/368/4.

An account book for Prince Edward's household of 1302/3 contains a section of alms and oblations.<sup>949</sup> This contains many entries recording offerings distributed at masses, both on the feasts of saints and for the souls of the dead.<sup>950</sup> Likewise, the account records that John de Leek, Edward's chaplain, made daily offerings of 1*d.* in the name of the king throughout the year.<sup>951</sup> It records that Edward gave money to sustain communities of friars. For example, Edward granted the Dominican friars of Roxburgh 3*s.* 3*d.* for one day's food on the 25 May 1303.<sup>952</sup> The same account records that the prince maintained two scholars, Richard of Nottingham and Thomas Denis, for their education at Oxford. Edward provided these students with 6*d.* per week for their sustenance, and spent an additional 41*s.* to provide them with robes and necessities.<sup>953</sup> The account reveals that Edward made distributions on Good Friday. It records that Edward's almoner purchased thirty pairs of shoes in Nottingham, which the prince distributed on Good Friday in *Stradlee*.<sup>954</sup> In addition, Edward gave 1*d.* to each of the thirty recipients.<sup>955</sup> Like his father, Edward occasionally gave money to the sick. For example, on 6 July the prince met the expenses of his almoner's sick clerk.<sup>956</sup> On the feast of St Mark the Evangelist (25 April), Edward's birthday, he ordered that 300 paupers be given 1*d.* each.<sup>957</sup> This slightly self indulgent form of alms was not one advocated by the king. Although on his birthday (17 June) he did feed the poor to honour the feast of Saint Botulph.<sup>958</sup> This short but illuminating account illustrates that, in 1302/03, the nineteen year old Prince Edward was engaging in a modest, but carefully organised, routine of piety, on which he spent a total of £23 2*s.* 9*d.*<sup>959</sup>

One final member of Edward's family must be mentioned. Mary of Woodstock (b. 1279), was Edward's fifth surviving child by Eleanor of Castile, and she became a nun at Amesbury on 15 August 1285.<sup>960</sup> Mary was the last English royal princess to

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<sup>949</sup> TNA, E101/363/18, ff. 2r-2v.

<sup>950</sup> Ibid.

<sup>951</sup> Ibid., f. 2r.

<sup>952</sup> Ibid., f. 2r.

<sup>953</sup> Ibid.

<sup>954</sup> Ibid.

<sup>955</sup> Ibid.

<sup>956</sup> Ibid., f. 2v.

<sup>957</sup> Ibid.

<sup>958</sup> For example, *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 21.

<sup>959</sup> TNA, E101/363/18, f. 2v.

<sup>960</sup> M. A. E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England*, 6 vols. (1818-1895), ii, p. 409.

take the veil until Bridget of York (b. 1480), the daughter of Edward IV.<sup>961</sup> The idea of professing Mary to a religious life seems to have originated as early as 1282, when the abbess of Fontevraud wrote to Edward I, hoping to acquire such a prestigious new recruit.<sup>962</sup> However Amesbury was eventually chosen at the behest of Eleanor of Provence, who chose to retire to the convent herself.<sup>963</sup> Although a nun, Mary did not lead an entirely closed life and often ventured on pilgrimages. On such occasions Edward often gave his daughter brooches to offer at shrines.<sup>964</sup> These pilgrimages were sponsored by the king, and later by his son, and several accounts of these expenses survive.<sup>965</sup> Pilgrimage was an appropriate activity for a young princess, but it must have been rare for a nun to venture, so frequently, beyond the walls of her convent. However, the king must have been pleased with his daughter's desire to visit England's shrines, and he paid for her to do so. The costs, however, were often considerable. For example one of Mary's, shorter, pilgrimages, to Bristol in 1304, lasted just fourteen days (25 May - 7 June) but cost a total of £75 12s. 7½d.<sup>966</sup> This represented her expenditure upon daily purchases of food, fuel, accommodation and occasional alms.<sup>967</sup> These expenses are of great significance, because they confirm that the presence of Mary was not a burden on the institutions she visited. Clause one of the statute of Westminster of 1275 stated:

Because abbeys and houses of religion have been overburdened and badly affected by the coming of the great and of others had means enough to entertain themselves and the religious have as a result been so reduced and impoverished that they could not support themselves or the burden of their accustomed charity, it for this reason provided that no one come to eat, lodge or lie in a house of religion of anyone's patronage other than their own at the cost of the house, if he is not specially invited or requested beforehand by the ruler of the house, and that no one henceforth come to lie in a house of religion at his own cost against the will of the house.<sup>968</sup>

By paying for his daughter's pilgrimages, in full, Edward avoided being accused of hypocrisy. Edward issued a similar clause in the Statute of Carlisle in 1307, which the

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<sup>961</sup> C. L. Schofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, vol. 1 (London, 1923), p. 299.

<sup>962</sup> Everett Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England*, ii, p. 406.

<sup>963</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>964</sup> For example in 1296/7, BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 139r.

<sup>965</sup> TNA, E101/355/20, E101/362/14, E101/365/18 and E101/377/2.

<sup>966</sup> TNA, E101/365/21.

<sup>967</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>968</sup> *English Historical Documents: 1189-1327*, vol. 3, ed. H. Rothwell (Oxford, 2002), p. 397.

monks of Vale Royal copied down eagerly into their ledger book.<sup>969</sup> Edward may have levied heavy taxation from the Church, but that did not prevent him from using his laws to endeavour to portray himself as their staunch protector. Edward's sponsorship of Mary's many pilgrimages indicates that he was committed to upholding his own legislation. In addition, her frequent pilgrimages provided yet greater opportunity to promote the crown's pious image and to enhance its relations with the saints.

#### **IV. Conclusions**

Edward encouraged, and indeed sponsored, the devotions of his family. His family were provided with chaplains and almoners to manage their day-to-day spiritual activities, and, when with the king, they attended masses, visited shrines and gave alms. By these means Edward I endeavoured to portray a royal family united in piety. This appearance, he surely believed, would help to promote the image of the crown and, also, encourage an enthusiasm for pious practice in his subjects. Edward's queens both displayed considerable spiritual concern, and this no doubt encouraged his affections for them. The king's children all engaged in scaled-down versions of the king's own spiritual activities from a very young age. Through a combination of masses, alms and visits to shrines the king taught them the pious practices necessary to look after their souls for the rest of their lives. I will conclude by outlining the spiritual activities of the family in the month before Princess Mary arrived at Amesbury to begin her religious career on 15 August 1285. This illustrates the significance of religion in the life of the royal family, and how they acted out their piety in public.

On 7 July 1285, the feast of the translation of St Thomas, the king and queen took their entire family to Canterbury. On this day the king offered 7*s.* at twelve different locations within the cathedral. Eleanor only visited three sites within the cathedral; however her task was perhaps more arduous as she was accompanied by her six children, whose ages ranged between sixteen years and eleven months. The queen and her children: Eleanor (b. 1284), Joan (b. 1272), Mary (b. 1279), Margaret (b. 1275),

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<sup>969</sup> *The Ledger Book of Vale Royal*, p. 65.

Elizabeth (b. 1282) and Edward (b. 1284), offered 7s. each, at each of the three places.<sup>970</sup> Their offerings totalled £7 7s. The king would often make offerings on behalf of his family, as he did at Bromholm on 15 March that year.<sup>971</sup> However, on this occasion, he desired his family's presence to mark St Thomas's translation. After leaving Canterbury the family made steady progress towards Amesbury Abbey. On two occasions Edward and his family stopped to make corporate offerings - in Lewes (c. 20 July) and in Chichester Cathedral (c. 26 July).<sup>972</sup> In Chichester Cathedral, as well as making monetary offerings, the king, queen and each of their children offered gold clasps to St Richard, at a total cost of £22 2s.<sup>973</sup> After leaving Mary at Amesbury, the king went to Salisbury on the 18 August. Here Edward made offerings for the soul of Prince Alphonso, his son, who had died on this day the year before.<sup>974</sup> Such a month of family outings must have made the existence of this anniversary particularly poignant. In the course of this short period Edward took his entire family to two of England's most important churches, and there enlightened them as to the importance of devout acts. During this same period they would have attended masses, made offerings, and fed the poor. Edward taught his family the activities necessary to protect the soul, both by example and encouragement - lessons he had surely imbibed from his own father.

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<sup>970</sup> TNA, C47/4/2, f. 27v.

<sup>971</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 25r.

<sup>972</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 28r.

<sup>973</sup> *Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286*, pp. 200-1.

<sup>974</sup> TNA, C47/4/2, f. 28v.

## Conclusion

Henry III taught his son the practices necessary to benefit the soul. Henry would have similarly inherited these from his predecessors. As each king inherited his title and lands, so, too, he entered into a culture of pious practices. However, it was up to each king to decide upon the level of enthusiasm with which he implemented these. Henry III had committed his greatest energies to the cult of Edward the Confessor and the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey. Edward I, although conceiving Vale Royal in similar terms, seemingly abandoned the enterprise when his energies and finances were required elsewhere. Edward prioritised the needs of his realm above his own architectural or memorial ambitions, and also eschewed the bestowal of all of his favours on one particular institution or saint. Among Edward's pious activities a sense of fairness and thoroughness pervades.

This sensible attitude towards pious enterprise should not be misconstrued as an indication of inferior devotional concern. Edward's day-to-day spiritual activities were both comprehensive and carefully considered. Edward was not, like his father, moved to feeding tens of thousands of poor because of a certain feast - but instead maintained a steady, and yet generous, routine of royal charity. Edward's alms do, however, indicate a particular interest in a number of cults. Edward seems particularly concerned to stay on good terms with England's saintly guardians. This interest is clearly indicated by his almsgiving, his visits to shrines, and the gifts he sent by proxy. Before campaigning Edward would often take time to visit many important churches and their shrines - in addition, he sent precious gifts and organised votive masses. Edward's armies took the banners of Sts Cuthbert, Edmund, Edward, George and John of Beverley into battle, as the visual symbols of his invisible host.<sup>975</sup> Edward, however, did not merely look to the saints in times of crisis; rather he carefully nurtured these relationships throughout his day-to-day devotions.

The king's itinerary illustrates his particular interest in certain cults. Edward visited Canterbury during eighteen years in his thirty-five year reign. Edward often timed these visits to coincide with the feast of the Translation of St Thomas, as he did in

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<sup>975</sup> Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', p. 124.

1276, 1293, 1299 and 1305. Similarly Edward's itinerary indicates his dedication to the Virgin Mary - indeed whenever in Canterbury cathedral Edward made offerings at the image of the Blessed Virgin in the 'vault'.<sup>976</sup> Edward visited Walsingham twelve times during his reign, and his visits of 1297 and 1305 coincided with the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February). Edward evidently considered this a suitable location to host his devotions on other sacred days: he spent Palm Sunday of 1277, Epiphany of 1281, Rogation Sunday of 1292 and 1300 and Ash Wednesday of 1294 in this place. Similarly, Edward visited the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Caversham on seven occasions - including, in 1275 on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, in 1281 on Ash Wednesday, and, 1305, on the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (21 November). Edward visited Chatham seven times during his reign and evidence suggests that each time he did he made offerings at the Marian image there.<sup>977</sup> Vincent has written that Henry III's dedication to the Blessed Virgin was as conscientious as Louis IX's; all the evidence suggests that Edward I's at least equalled his father in this respect.<sup>978</sup>

Edward's almsgiving was extremely well organised, especially after the appointment of Blunsdon as almoner. Blunsdon and his staff fed a set number of poor each week, gave them the scraps from the king's table and fed many more to honour the feasts of saints, and all at the express prompting of the king. All of these increased during Edward's reign until the financial pressures of the wars in Scotland rendered such generosity impossible. Edward's alms also indicate a sensitivity to his surroundings. He commanded that extra poor be fed to honour the patron saint of a nearby shrine or church. This sensitivity was also expressed in the masses he requested through his chaplains. Edward appears to have made a conscientious effort to visit churches wherever he went, promoting an image of a king in touch with his people. This image was buttressed by his consistent nurture of the mendicants whenever he encountered them. The mendicants movement was at the cutting edge of religious expression during Edward's reign and he supported their work both in England and abroad.

The chapel royal was at the heart of the king's devotions and he kept it well stocked with both staff and equipment. This equipment consisted not only of vestments

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<sup>976</sup> For example in February 1300, *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 29.

<sup>977</sup> BL, Add. MS 7965, f. 8v., *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 30.

<sup>978</sup> Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin', p. 146.

and ornaments but also of relics which - to quote Southern - provided 'the points of material contact with the unseen world.'<sup>979</sup> In this environment the king attended daily masses and on occasions gave thanks for fortunate happenings. Less auspicious events were also commemorated through pious expression. Edward remembered the deaths of loved ones with masses and distributions to the poor. Likewise the friars would often receive extra support on such occasions. These provisions provided not only a method of commemoration but also harvested extra prayers for the souls of those he had lost. Similarly, all of Edward's charitable exertions were built upon the premise that prayers could be expected in return. Edward's often difficult relationship with the Church must have troubled him in spiritual terms, but through extensive charity and nurturing relationships with the saints he actively tried to counteract this problem.

Edward's last few days were not an auspicious end. The problems in Scotland, which blighted his last years, troubled him still. Edward spent his last few months in Carlisle, where he summoned a parliament; and his last days he spent in Burgh-on-Sands where, on 7 July 1307, he was finally incapable of rising from his bed.<sup>980</sup> However even in these final days the king kept up his pious routine. Blunsdon continued to collect money to carry out the king's charitable work.<sup>981</sup> Likewise the king continued to make offerings. On 2 July, Edward, ever positive and appreciative, made an offering of 7*s.* in his chapel on receipt of good news concerning Scotland.<sup>982</sup> On 6 July the king offered a further 7*s.* in his chapel in honour of the apostles.<sup>983</sup> Finally, on the day he died, an offering of 7*s.* was sent to Carlisle in honour of the St Thomas the martyr, as it was the day of his translation. An identical offerings was made in the king's chapel, although surely not by the king personally.<sup>984</sup> Edward maintained his liturgical routine until his final hours, and the offerings given on the day he died suggest that his staff had a real empathy with the king's desires. For many years Edward had moulded his servants into agents of his piety and as the king lay dying, it seems they needed no prompting in second-guessing his intentions.

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<sup>979</sup> Southern, 'The Making of the Middle Ages', p. 133.

<sup>980</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 556-7, Summerson, *Edward I at Carlisle*, p. 37.

<sup>981</sup> TNA, E101/370/16, ff. 17r - 19v.

<sup>982</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 17r.

<sup>983</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 17v.

<sup>984</sup> *Ibid.*

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MS Reference	Regnal year	Year	Description
Add. MS 7965	25 EI	1296/7	Wardrobe book
Add. MS 35291	28 EI	1299/1300	Wardrobe book
Add. MS 35294	28 EI	1299/1300	Queen's wardrobe book
Add. MS 7966A	29 EI	1300/01	Wardrobe book
Add. MS 8835	32 EI	1303/04	Wardrobe book
Add. MS 17362	13 EII	1319/20	Wardrobe book

#### Library of the Society of Antiquaries, London

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year	Description
MS 119	28 EI	1299/1300	Wardrobe book
MS 121	11 E II	1217/18	Wardrobe book

## The National Archives, Kew

### King John Accounts

MS Reference	Regnal Year	Year	Description
E101/349/1B	11	1209/10	Misae roll

### Henry III Accounts

#### Pipe rolls

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year
E372/83	23	1238/9
E372/88	28	1243/4
E372/113	53	1268/9
E372/114	54	1269/70
E372/115	55	1270/1
E372/116	56	1271/2

#### Rolls of the king's oblations

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year
C47/3/44	23	1238/9
E101/349/30	49	1264/5

#### Rolls of the king's household

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year
C47/3/43/1	10	1225/6
C47/3/43/2	10	1225/6
C47/3/46/8	11	1226/7
E101/349/27	42-44	1257-60
C47/3/6	46	1261/2

E101/667/50	50	1265/6
C47/3/43/14	55	1270/1

### **Liberate Rolls**

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year
C62/41	1264/65	49

### **Rolls of the queen's household**

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year
E101/349/16	37	1252/3
E101/349/22	37	1252/3

### **Rolls of the queen's oblations**

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year
E101/349/17	37	1252/3
E101/349/24	37	1252/3

## **Edward I Accounts**

### **Pipe rolls**

MS Reference	Regnal Year	Year	Years for which wardrobe expenses are enrolled	Corresponding exchequer roll
E372/119	3	1274/5	3-4	E352/68
E372/121	5	1276/7	1-3	E352/70
E372/124	8	1279/80	8	E352/73
E372/128	12	1283/4	9	E352/77
E372/135	18	1289/90	13	E352/83
E372/136	19	1290/1	13, 14, 15, 16	E352/84

E372/138	21	1292/3	17, 18, 19, 20	E352/86
E372/139	22	1293/4	21	E352/87
E372/144	27		22, 23, 24, 25, 26	E352/92

### Wardrobe accounts

MS Reference	Regnal Year	Year	Type
C47/4/1	6	1277/8	<i>Journalia</i>
C47/4/2	13	1284/5	<i>Journalia</i>
C47/4/3	14	1285/6	Wardrobe book
E36/201	15/16	1286-1288	Wardrobe account
C47/4/4	18	1289/90	Wardrobe account
E101/369/11	34	1305/06	Wardrobe book

### Household rolls

MS Reference	Regnal Year	Year
E101/351/13	12	1283/4
E101/351/12	12	1283/4
E101/351/23	14	1285/6
E101/372/3	16	1287/8
E101/352/23	18	1289/90
E101/353/10	21	1292/3
E101/353/17	21	1292/3
E101/358/28	29	1300/01
E101/358/29	29	1300/01
E101/358/30	29	1300/01
E101/361/10	30	1301/03
E101/364/27	31	1302/03
E101/368/3	33	1304/5
E101/370/15	35	1306/7
E101/371/3	?	?
E101/372/7	?	Post 1290

### Rolls of alms and oblations

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year
E101/350/23	5	1276/7
E101/351/15	12	1283/4
E101/352/18	17	1288/9

### Almoner rolls

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year
E101/353/16	21	1292/3
E101/357/29	28	1299/1300
E101/359/15	29	1300/01
E101/361/21	30	1301/02

### Jewel accounts

MS Reference	Regnal Year	Year	Description
E101/350/28	6	1277/8	Roll of jewels purchased
E101/352/4	14	1285/6	Counter-roll of jewels
C47/3/25	24/25	1295-7	Accounts of Adam, the king's goldsmith, for goods supplied to the King, the Duchess of Brabant and the Countess of Holland
E101/354/14	25	1296/7	Inventory of jewels
E101/355/23	27	1298/9	List of plate bought in Paris by Adam, the King's goldsmith, delivered into the Wardrobe
E101/355/24	27	1298/9	List of plate bought by Adam, the king's goldsmith, delivered into the wardrobe
E101/357/1	27/28	1298-1300	Account of Adam the kings goldsmith
E101/359/21	29	1300/01	Clasps bought to offer at shrines

## Rolls of Robes

Reference	Regnal Year	Year
E101/351/17	13	1284/5
E101/351/25	14/15	1285-7
E101/351/26	14/15	1285-7
E101/352/31	17	1288/9
E101/352/24	18/19	1289-91

## Accounts relating to the piety of family of Edward I

MS Reference	Regnal Year	Year	Description
C47/3/16	8	1279/80	Roll of daily expenses of the queen's household
E101/352/11	16	1287/8	Account of issues and receipts of the queen
E101/505/18	16	1287/8	Account of the queen's wardrobe
E101/352/13	17	1288/9	Roll of the queen's household
C47/3/22	18	1289/90	Account of the wardrobe of Prince Edward
E101/353/18	21	1292/3	Daily expenses of Prince Edward
C47/3/28	25	1296/7	Account of daily expenses of princes Thomas and Henry of Lancaster (the king's nephews)
E101/355/17	27	1298/9	Roll of expenses of gifts, messengers and alms (of the Queen)
E101/355/20	27	1298/9	Account of travelling expenses of Princess Mary
E101/357/17	28	1299/1300	Oblations of the Countess of Holland
E101/357/20	28	1299/1300	Issues of items to the queen and Thomas of Brotherton
E101/357/30	28	1299/1300	Account of the Queen's Almoner
C47/3/32/24	30	1301/2	Expenses of the queen's chamber
E101/362/14	30	1301/2	Expenses of a pilgrimage of Princess Mary to Canterbury
E101/363/18	31	1302/3	Account book of the household of Prince Edward

E101/365/18	32	1303/4	Expenses of Princess Mary at Ludgershall while on pilgrimage
E101/365/20	32	1303/4	Account of daily expenses of the Countess of Hereford
E101/365/21	32	1303/4	Expenses of Princess Mary on a pilgrimage to Bristol
E101/368/1	33	1304/5	Account of provisions for the household of Prince Edward
E101/368/4	33	1304/5	Roll of daily expenses of Prince Edward
E101/367/4	33	1304/5	Roll of daily expenses of princes Thomas and Edmund
E101/369/15	34/35	1305-7	Account book of daily expenses of princes Thomas and Edmund and Princess Eleanor
E101/370/1	35	1306/7	Daily expenses of Queen Margaret

### Others

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year	Description
E101/357/27	28	1299/1300	List of 167 masses ordered by the king
E101/571/4	28	1299/1300	Alms and other payments
E101/363/30	31	1302/3	Memorandum as to articles issued to John de Echenbrige, to be offered on the king's behalf at various shrines
E101/369/21	35	1306/7	Receipt by the king's almoner for £100
E101/370/3	35	1306/7	Inventory of relics at Burgh on Sands
E101/370/16	35	1306/7	Part of an Account Book of Daily Household Expenses
E101/371/10	?		Memorandum of offerings at various shrines
E101/358/27	?	Temp. EI	Various imperfect accounts

## Edward II

MS Reference	Regnal year	Year	Description
E101/377/2	10	1316/17	Account of expenses of Princess Mary on Pilgrimage

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