

Finance and the Crusades:  
England, c.1213-1337

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### **Declaration of Authorship**

I, Daniel Edwards, 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**

This thesis is about how crusades were financed and the economic impact of the *negotium crucis* on participants and wider society. It takes the form of a case study, focusing on the kingdom of England between c.1213 and 1337. There is certainly a need for such a study, as no monograph on the financial aspects of the crusades exists. As Riley-Smith observed, “the economic effects of the crusades have never been researched and no economic history of the movement has ever been written.”

The thesis is structured thematically and explores a variety of themes. Chapter 1 provides an analysis of the cost of crusading, demonstrating that costs varied significantly and were heavily influenced by, among other things, social status. The next three chapters look at how costs were covered. Chapters 2 and 3 explore how the Crown and the Church raised money for crusades through collective (i.e. “public”) fundraising. The overarching argument in these chapters is that the importance of such fundraising has been hitherto overestimated. Indeed, though important, collective fundraising was flawed and, at times, ineffective. Chapter 4 looks at how individual crusaders raised money for expeditions, arguing that such fundraising was the lifeblood of the crusade movement in the period under consideration. Chapter 5 considers the form money took and how it was moved from the West to the East. Lastly, chapter 6 focuses on the economic after-effects of crusading on participants, showing that individuals often had to raise money on their return in order to balance the books.

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	6
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	7
<b>Note on Money</b> .....	10
<b>Introduction</b> .....	11
Historiography.....	11
Chronological Scope.....	16
Sources.....	17
Methodology.....	20
Structure.....	25
<b>1: The Cost of Crusading</b> .....	26
Total Costs.....	26
(a) Aristocrats.....	27
(b) Knights.....	31
(c) Bishops.....	32
Spiritual and Legal Costs.....	33
(a) Spiritual.....	34
(b) Legal.....	37
Military Costs.....	40
(a) Wages.....	40
(b) Equipment and Supplies.....	42
(c) Horses.....	44
(d) Ships.....	47
Summary.....	49
<b>2: “Public” Fundraising by the Crown</b> .....	52
Tax.....	52
(a) The Saladin Tithe.....	53
(b) Fortieth of 1201.....	57
(c) Twentieth of 1270.....	60
(d) The Decline of Taxation.....	69
Tallage of the Jewry.....	74
Summary.....	78
<b>3. “Public” Fundraising by the Church</b> .....	81
Alms, Legacies and Redemptions.....	81
(a) Alms.....	81
(b) Legacies.....	84
(c) Redemptions.....	88
Tax.....	93
(a) Valuation.....	94
(b) Collection and Yield.....	96
Disbursement.....	101
Summary.....	107

<b>4. “Private” Fundraising by Individuals</b> .....	109
Financial Measures.....	109
(a) Reducing Expenditure.....	109
(b) Gifts.....	112
(c) Contracts.....	119
(d) Simple Loans.....	120
(e) Debt Collection.....	121
(f) Other Restitutions.....	123
(g) Sale of Privileges and Renunciations for Cash.....	124
(h) Sale, Pledge and Lease of Property.....	126
Summary.....	139
<b>5. Money and Logistics</b> .....	141
The Form of Money.....	141
Logistics.....	146
(a) Transfer by Sea.....	146
(b) Transfer by Credit.....	151
Summary.....	153
<b>6. Aftermath</b> .....	155
Returning Crusaders.....	155
Fundraising.....	159
Outcomes.....	163
The Lord Edward (Edward I): A Case Study.....	167
(a) Custom Duty.....	170
(b) Fifteenth of 1275.....	172
(c) Outcomes and Religious Patronage.....	177
Summary.....	178
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	181
<b>Postscript</b> .....	185
Taxation for the Crusader States.....	185
<b>Appendices</b>	
Appendix 1: The Gifts of Henry III in Support of Crusades, 1227-72.....	190
Appendix 2: Sales of Property.....	196
Appendix 3: Pledges and Leases of Property.....	203
Appendix 4: Graph 1 – The Evidence.....	215
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	224

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## Abbreviations

**Bermundeseia** – “Annales de Monasterii Bermundeseia.” In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 3, 421-87. London: Longman, 1866.

**Cal. Pap. Reg.** – *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, 1198-1341*, edited by William H. Bliss, 2 vols. London: HMSO, 1893-95.

**CChR** – *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1226-1341*, 4 vols. London: HMSO, 1903-12.

**CCR** – *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1272-1337*, 12 vols. London: HMSO, 1892-1908.

**Chron. Steph. Hen. Ric.** – *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, edited by Richard Howlett, 4 vols. London: HMSO, 1884-89.

**CLR** – *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1226-72*, 6 vols. London: HMSO, 1916-64.

**Continuation of William of Newburgh** – “Continuatio Chronici Willelmi de Novoburgo.” In *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, edited by Richard Howlett, vol. 2, 501-83. London: HMSO, 1884.

**CPR** – *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1232-1338*, 16 vols. London: HMSO, 1898-1910.

**CR** – *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1227-72*, 14 vols. London: HMSO, 1902-38.

**CRR** – *Curia Regis Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 7 Richard I—1 John – Henry III 1250*, 14 vols. London, Woodbridge: HMSO, Boydell, 1935-2006.

**Crusade and Christendom** – *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, edited by Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

**Dunstaplia** – “Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia.” In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 3, 1-420. London: Longman, 1866.

**Foedera** – *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica Inter Reges Angliae et Alios Quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates Habita Aut Tractata*, edited by Thomas Rymer and Adam Clarke, 4 vols. (in 7 parts). London: 1816-30.

**FR, I** – Lunt, William E. *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1939.

**FR, II** – Lunt, William E. *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England: 1327-1534*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1962.

**HMSO** – Her / His Majesty's Stationary Office

**MGH SS** – *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, edited by Georg H. Pertz and others, 39 vols. Hanover, Weimar, Stuttgart, Cologne: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, Impensis Karoli W. Hiersemann, 1826-2009.

**MGH SRG** – *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum*, edited by Harry Bresslau and others, NS 24 vols. Berlin, Hanover: Weidmann, Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1922-2009.

**North. Reg.** – *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, edited by James Raine. London: Longman, 1873.

**NS** – New Series

**Oseneia** – “Annales de Monasterii Oseneia.” In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 4, 1-352. London: Longman, 1869.

**MP, CM** – Matthew Paris. *Chronica Majora*, edited by Henry R. Luard, 7 vols. London: Longman, 1872-83.

**MP, HA** – Matthew Paris. *Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor*, edited by Frederic Madden, 4 vols. London: Longman, 1866-69.

**ODNB** – *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. G. C. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 61 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

**Papal Revenues** – *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, edited by William E. Lunt, 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934-65.

**PL** – *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, edited by Jacques P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844-1903.

**PR** – *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-32*, 2 vols. London: HMSO, 1901-03.

**RHC Occ.** – *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, edited by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1844-95.

**RHGF** – *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de France*, edited by Martin Bouquet and others, 24 vols. Paris, 1737-1904.

**RLC** – *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, edited by Thomas D. Hardy, 2 vols. London: Record Commission, 1833-44.

**RLP** – *Rotuli litterarum patentium in turri Londinensi asservati*, edited by Thomas D. Hardy. London: Record Commission, 1835.

**Theokesberia** – “Annales de Theokesberia.” In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 1, 41-180. London: Longman, 1864.

**TNA** – The National Archives, Kew.

**Waverleia** – “Annales de Monasterii Waverleia.” In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 2, 127-411. London: Longman, 1865.

**Wendover, Flores** – Roger of Wendover. *Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum*, edited by Henry G. Hewlett, 3 vols. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1886-89.

**Wintonia** – “Annales de Monasterii Wintonia.” In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 2, 1-125. London: Longman, 1865.

**Wigornia** – “Annales Prioratus de Wigornia.” In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 4, 353-564. London: Longman, 1869.

**Wykes** – “Chronicon Vulgo Dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes.” In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 4, 6-319. London: Longman, 1869.

### **Note on Money**

In this thesis money is expressed in sterling (£ s d) unless otherwise stated. Units in *tournois* are expressed as (lt s d / st / s dt / dt) and units in *parisis* are expressed as (lp s d / sp / s dp / dp). If the precise form of French currency is unknown, the term *livres* is used.

## Introduction

This thesis is about how crusades were financed and the economic impact of the *negotium crucis* on participants and wider society. It takes the form of a case study, focusing on the kingdom of England between c.1213 and 1337. This region has been chosen as the area of investigation because, on the one hand, many of its inhabitants went on crusade or contributed financially to the wars of the cross and, on the other, a strikingly large amount of administrative material relating to the acts of such individuals has survived. As a result, we are able to build up a detailed picture of the economics of crusading, to an extent not possible if we focused on other regions.<sup>1</sup>

## Historiography

No monograph on the financial aspects of the crusades exists. As Riley-Smith wrote only a few years ago, echoing an observation made by Postan, “the economic effects of the crusades have never been researched and no economic history of the movement has ever been written.”<sup>2</sup>

This is not to say we are working in a void. There have been a number of studies of how crusades were funded. A few general overviews have been written. Most notably, Grossman provided a chronological account of how the major expeditions to the East between 1095 and 1270 were financed; he concluded that the early crusades relied chiefly on the pockets of aristocrats, but the advent of the Second Crusade (1147-49) saw costs fall heavily on kings, with the papacy providing additional funds from 1199 onwards.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Cazel’s chapter in the “Wisconsin History” provided a useful

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<sup>1</sup> As Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216-1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 1 commented: “Thirteenth-century England... allow[s] certain themes and topics to be treated satisfactorily and to a depth which is not always possible for other contemporary societies so far as the crusade is concerned.”

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 5; Michael M. Postan, “The Trade of Medieval Europe: The North,” in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. Michael M. Postan and Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 212.

<sup>3</sup> Ronald P. Grossman, “The Financing of the Crusades” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1965).

summary of fundraising, and Tyerman and Hurlock have written similar overviews.<sup>4</sup>

Other studies have been more focused, addressing a specific theme. The area best covered is collective (i.e. “public”) finance. A number of historians have looked at the role of the Saladin Tithe (1188) in the funding of the Third Crusade (1189-92), although work remains to be done.<sup>5</sup> Housley has provided an account of the role of the Church in the financing of the Italian crusades, as well as a detailed analysis of the taxes of the Avignon papacy.<sup>6</sup> In his monograph on Louis IX and the crusade movement, Jordan showed that the king acquired funds and resources for his first expedition by taxing towns and the secular clergy.<sup>7</sup> Powell, expanding upon a line of thought first articulated by Lunt, argued that although the Fifth Crusade (1217-21) did not see dramatic changes in the area of crusade finance, it did encourage centralisation of papal fiscal administration, which led to an increase in the funds being raised through vow redemptions, taxation and subsidies.<sup>8</sup> Smith recently tempered this narrative, however, arguing persuasively that, although centralisation did occur, a good deal of local collection and distribution continued to take place.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Fred A. Cazell, “Financing the Crusades,” in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton and others, 6 vols. (Wisconsin, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), VI, 116-149; Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London: Penguin, 2016), 181-227; Kathryn Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades, c.1000-1300* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 44-59.

<sup>5</sup> John H. Round, “The Saladin Tithe,” *English Historical Review* 123 (1916): 447-450; Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 68-69; Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, 56-58; Maureen Jurkowski, Carrie L. Smith and David Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales, 1188-1688* (Kew: PRO Publications, 1998), 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 173-251; Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305-1378* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 159-98.

<sup>7</sup> William C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 65-104.

<sup>8</sup> *FR*, I, 242-247; James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 89-106.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas W. Smith, *Curia and Crusade: Pope Honorius III and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1216-1227* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 297-341.

These works focused on a specific expedition, theatre of conflict or revenue. However, the most significant contribution to our understanding of collective finance, Lunt's *Financial Relations*, took a broader approach. Drawing upon a wide range of sources, Lunt looked in detail at how the Church raised money for the crusades through taxes, alms, redemptions and legacies.<sup>10</sup> The work is certainly impressive. One is struck by the author's command of his subject and his (and his research assistants') industry. But it has a striking flaw: a lack of critical analysis. To give only the most telling example, *Financial Relations* does not contain an overarching thesis; rather, it essentially constitutes an assiduously compiled guide to a diverse range of source material. As one early reviewer put it, Lunt produced a study "as dispassionate as a report of a certified public accountant."<sup>11</sup>

The result of all this is that we have a good understanding of the fundamentals of "public" finance and its use in relation to specific expeditions, but an imperfect grasp of its relative importance. Perhaps appreciating this fact, modern scholars have occasionally dwelt upon the significance of collective finance *en passant*. A few examples may stand for all. Riley-Smith thought that "the popes themselves naturally played the most important part in the financing of crusades," and that "enormous sums were raised from alms, bequests, redemptions and taxes."<sup>12</sup> According to Leopold, the Church was "the most important source of money for the crusade."<sup>13</sup> For Tyerman, the "most striking and effective financial expedient was taxation" and "the redemption system was neat, logical and lucrative."<sup>14</sup> Such insights are valuable, but none are supported by lengthy substantiation. Indeed, there

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<sup>10</sup> *FR*, I, 240-365, 419-460. See also William E. Lunt, "Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I," *English Historical Review* 122 (1915): 398-417; William E. Lunt, "Early Assessments for Papal Taxation of English Clerical Incomes," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1917* (Washington: The American Historical Association, 1920), 267-280.

<sup>11</sup> James L. Cate, "Review: *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* by William E. Lunt," *American Society of Church History* 11 (1942): 73.

<sup>12</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2009), 45, 47.

<sup>13</sup> Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 79.

<sup>14</sup> Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, 218.

exists no systematic discussion of the merits and demerits of collective fundraising.

The present thesis offers a corrective to this state of affairs. Its fundamental contention, set out in chapters 2 and 3, is that “public” finance was not, as perhaps implied by some of the above quotes, something approaching a panacea for the crusade movement. On the contrary, the mechanisms used by the Crown and the Church were, though important and at times extremely lucrative, flawed and, in some instances, ineffective.

A less satisfactorily discussed topic is the “private” fundraising of individual crusaders. Constable and Riley-Smith looked in detail at the measures taken by crusaders from France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>15</sup> However, studies of later *crucesignati* are thin on the ground. In his monograph on recruitment in England between 1216 and 1307, Lloyd devoted a chapter to how aristocrats and knights prepared in general for their passages to the East;<sup>16</sup> however, although this work contained useful information on how such men raised funds, it lacked the sustained analysis typical of more focused studies.<sup>17</sup> Evans’ PhD thesis included a discussion of how Anglo-Normans and Englishmen secured funds to support themselves on crusade, but the relevant section was brief and considered only evidence concerning the English Midlands.<sup>18</sup> Beebe’s PhD thesis looked at the fundraising of

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<sup>20</sup> Giles Constable, “The Financing of the Crusades,” in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Giles Constable (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 117-142; Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading, 1095-1130,” in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 155-171; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 109-135.

<sup>16</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 175-197; see also the accompanying article, Simon Lloyd, “Crusader Knights and the Land Market in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference 1987*, ed. Peter Coss and Simon Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), 119-136.

<sup>17</sup> Lloyd himself made comments to this effect: “I remain only too conscious of the gaps [in this study] and the fact that I provide coverage of only part of a very large subject: a great deal of research remains to be done upon it...” Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 6-7; “The subject of financing through gage and lease requires further study,” Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 192 note 200.

<sup>18</sup> Michael R. Evans, “The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands, c.1160-1307” (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 1997), 214-227.

individuals, but the discussion was short and confined to the crusade of the Lord Edward.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the present thesis seeks to build upon this research and provide the first systematic analysis of the forms – and relative importance – of individual fundraising in England and, by implication, western Europe in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

If fundraising has received some attention, other topics have been almost entirely neglected. The cost of crusading requires further examination. Tyerman has produced an overview of the sums spent on the major crusades to the East and in a recent article argued convincingly that leaders paid wages to followers throughout the entire crusading period.<sup>20</sup> Housley has discussed the budgets of expeditions in the fourteenth century, and Beebe has analysed the expenditure of the Lord Edward on crusade.<sup>21</sup> However, there exists no sustained analysis of costs in the thirteenth century. Likewise, the economic after-effects of crusading on participants is in need of further research: Riley-Smith provided a good deal of information about the finances of the *Jerosolomitani* of the First Crusade (1095-99), but only brief discussions for later periods exist.<sup>22</sup> Lastly, in a pair of articles Murray recently opened up a new vista of research by looking at how money was transported on crusade; he argued that participants in the First Crusade and the expedition of Frederick Barbarossa (1189-90) often struggled to move cash, but to some

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<sup>19</sup> Bruce Beebe, “Edward I and the Crusades” (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 1971), 348-54.

<sup>20</sup> Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, 194-203; Christopher Tyerman, “Paid Crusaders: ‘*Pro honoris vel pecunie*’; ‘*stipendiarii contra paganos*’; Money and Incentives on Crusade,” in *The Practice of Crusades: Image and Action from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Christopher Tyerman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 1-40.

<sup>21</sup> Norman Housley, “Costing the Crusade: Budgeting for Crusading Activity in the Fourteenth Century,” in *The Experience of Crusading, 1, Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 45-59; Beebe, “Edward I and the Crusades,” 325-48, 387-94.

<sup>22</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 144-57. For the thirteenth century, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 194-97, who provided a brief discussion of the economic after-effects of crusading on individuals and Kathryn Hurlock, “A Transformed Life? Geoffrey of Dutton, the Fifth Crusade, and the Holy Cross of Norton,” *Northern History* 54 (2017): 15-27, who looked at how single thirteenth century crusader, Geoffrey de Dutton, was affected by his journey, but focused on how Geoffrey conceived of and expressed his status as a returned crusader, not his finances.

extent tackled the issue by carrying ingots rather than specie.<sup>23</sup> These investigations are of significant value. But work remains to be done: there are no detailed studies of “financial logistics” in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – a state of affairs the present thesis attempts to rectify.<sup>24</sup>

### **Chronological Scope**

The period being studied requires justification. The start date of c.1213 has been chosen because this was the year that the Fifth Crusade, which saw substantial participation from England, was launched. An immediate objection to this choice is that earlier crusades – namely, those of 1147-49 and 1189-82 – also saw considerable participation from England.<sup>25</sup> However, the present thesis does not extend to these campaigns because the administrative material required for economic study is for the most part unavailable before the thirteenth century. The great – and largely unbroken – series of enrolments by the Chancery began in 1199, while ecclesiastical registers and legal records were largely the product of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, on occasion the present thesis will address earlier developments in crusade finance.<sup>26</sup>

The closing date of 1337 has been chosen because it marked something of a turning point in the history of England and the crusade movement. As Tyerman has argued, after 1336-37 there was little possibility of an imminent, large-scale crusade to the eastern theatre; in the decades before it had seemed

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<sup>23</sup> Alan V. Murray, “Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade: Coinage, Bullion, Service, and Supply, 1096-99,” in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 229-249; Alan V. Murray, “Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa,” in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 357-368.

<sup>24</sup> Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 194-98 looked briefly at how money was moved in the fourteenth century.

<sup>25</sup> English participation in the Fourth Crusade, 1199-1204, and the Albigensian Crusade, 1208-29, was negligible. For discussion of English involvement in these expeditions, and those of 1147-49 and 1189-92, see Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 32-35, 64-75, 90, 96; Nicholas Vincent, “England and the Albigensian Crusade,” in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III*, ed. Ifor W. Rowlands and Björn K. U. Weiler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 67-97.

<sup>26</sup> The most notable example of this is the discussion of the Saladin Tithe and the fortieth of 1201 in Chapter 2.

within reach.<sup>27</sup> There were various reasons for this change. Edward III (r.1327-77) was the first ruler of England since Stephen (r.1135-54) not to take the cross; no subsequent king did so as monarch.<sup>28</sup> A proposed crusade, headed by Philip VI and ostensibly supported by Edward III, was cancelled by the pope in March 1336, and the onset of the Hundred Years' War in 1337 drew attention away from crusading.<sup>29</sup> The final mandatory income tax imposed on the English Church by the papacy was issued in 1333 and cancelled in December 1336.<sup>30</sup> The year 1337 is a natural end point for our investigation.

### Sources

Although this study occasionally employs narrative sources,<sup>31</sup> it mainly relies upon records of administration. The rolls of the Chancery have proved the most important, for they provide a wealth of information about how the Crown funded crusaders, how crusaders raised money and how crusading affected the wealth of participants. The Charter Rolls<sup>32</sup> and Patent Rolls<sup>33</sup> – the latter of which are particularly informative – list many gifts of land, money, offices, licences and liberties by the Crown to crusaders, while the Liberate Rolls record various grants of money.<sup>34</sup> The Close Rolls are packed with references

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<sup>27</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 229-58. Participation by Englishmen in other theatres became popular after this point, however, and some individuals from *Anglia* did continue to campaign in the eastern Mediterranean, see Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 21-115.

<sup>28</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 244, 247.

<sup>29</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 249-50.

<sup>30</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 250.

<sup>31</sup> Principally, Arnold fitzTheodmar, *De Antiquis Legibus Liber: Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum*, ed. Thomas Stapleton (Camden Society 34, 1846); *Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry R. Luard (London: Longman, 1859); *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301*, ed. Antonia Gransden (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964); *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, previously edited as the Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh*, ed. Harry Rothwell (London: Camden Series 89, 1957); *Continuation of William of Newburgh; Dunstaplia; Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria: The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1872-73); MP, CM; *Waverleia*; *Wendover, Flores*; *Wykes*.

<sup>32</sup> *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Thomas D. Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1837); CChR.

<sup>33</sup> RLP; PR (1216-32); CPR (1232-1338).

<sup>34</sup> *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis, regnante Johanne*, ed. Thomas D. Hardy (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1844); CLR (1226-1272). The National Archives state that the Liberate Rolls begin in 1200, see "Chancery: Liberate Rolls," accessed 24 July 2019, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3622>. However, it has been argued

to the specie and property of *crucesignati*.<sup>35</sup> Inquisitions *post mortem* provide some evidence on how crusades affected the holdings of participants and their families.<sup>36</sup> The calendared Fine Rolls, however, contain little relevant information.<sup>37</sup>

Although the Chancery rolls are of great importance, they are not perfect. First and foremost, some individuals are better represented than others. The wealthy are far more likely to be recorded than those of lesser means, principally because the Chancery dealt mainly with land owners.<sup>38</sup> Our conclusions are inevitably coloured by this bias.

Another problem is that we often have little idea of why the Chancery issued documents. The reasons for this are simple enough. First, while we have the government's out-letters in the form of letters close, we have few in return and are usually privy to only one side of a correspondence.<sup>39</sup> Second, very few instructions sent to the Chancery survive and, for the most part, we are blind to the inner workings of government.<sup>40</sup> Third, not everything sent out by the Chancery was enrolled – it is possible our picture of events would be clearer if the opposite was the case.<sup>41</sup> The result of this lack of context is that important questions can at times only be answered speculatively, for example why the Crown patronised a crusader, or why a crusader sold a certain piece

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convincingly that the correct start date is 1226-27, see David Carpenter, "In Testimonium Factorum Brevium: The Beginnings of the English Chancery Rolls," in *Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society in the Anglo-Norman Realm: Papers Commemorating the 800<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of King John's Loss of Normandy*, ed. Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), 1-28 (esp. 9-17).

<sup>35</sup> *RLC*; *CR* (1227-72); *CCR* (1272-1337). Carpenter has argued persuasively that the earliest surviving Close Roll is from 1200-01 not 1204-05, see Carpenter, "In Testimonium Factorum Brevium: The Beginnings of the English Chancery Rolls," 9-17.

<sup>36</sup> *Calendar of the Inquisitions Post Mortem in the Public Record Office and Other Analogous Documents (Henry III-Edward II)*, 7 vols. (London: HMSO, 1904-10).

<sup>37</sup> *Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1272-1337*, 4 vols. (London: HMSO, 1911-13); *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the National Archives*, ed. Paul Dryburgh, Beth Hartland, Arianna Ciula and José Miguel Vieira, 3 vols. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007-09).

<sup>38</sup> Geoffrey R. Elton, *England, 1200-1640: The Sources of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 40; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 154-55.

<sup>39</sup> Elton, *England, 1200-1640: The Sources of History*, 41.

<sup>40</sup> Elton, *England, 1200-1640: The Sources of History*, 41.

<sup>41</sup> Elton, *England, 1200-1640: The Sources of History*, 41; Carpenter, "In Testimonium Factorum Brevium: The Beginnings of the English Chancery Rolls," 4 note 16.

of land. Nevertheless, in spite of these disadvantages, the fact remains that the Chancery rolls provide us with a wealth of evidence about the economic lives of crusaders.

The records of the Chancery are supplemented by those of the Exchequer and the law courts. The Pipe Rolls document some financial information about crusades. Most of the rolls created between 1155 and 1230 have been published, but those for the remainder of our period exist only in manuscript, barring the years 1241-42 and 1259.<sup>42</sup> Feet of Fines sometimes detail the role of crusaders in the property market,<sup>43</sup> while plea rolls contain vital information about participation and legal cases involving crusaders.<sup>44</sup>

Ecclesiastical sources complement those of secular government. Bishops' registers contain a good deal of information about the role of the clergy in organising and collecting taxes, the commutation of vows, and the names of *crucesignati*.<sup>45</sup> Most registers are extant only from the later thirteenth century

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<sup>42</sup> TNA, *Exchequer: Pipe Office: Pipe Rolls*, E372; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Third, A. D. 1241-1242*, ed. Henry L. Cannon (New Haven, CT: Yale Historical Publications, 1918); Richard Cassidy, "The 1259 Pipe Roll" (PhD diss., King's College London, 2012).

<sup>43</sup> For example, *Warwickshire Feet of Fines, 1195-1284*, ed. Ethel Stokes (Dugdale Society 11, 1932), 142, no. 679; *Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire, 1195-1291*, ed. Herbert E. Salter (Oxfordshire Record Society 12, 1930), 141, no. 36; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 184.

<sup>44</sup> For example, *CRR; Northumbrian Pleas from De Banco Rolls 1-19*, ed. Alexander H. Thompson, 2 vols. (Surtees Society 158-59, 1950); *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, ed. George O. Sayles, 6 vols. (Selden Society 55, 57-58, 74, 76, 82; 1931-65); *Somersetshire Pleas, Civil and Criminal, from the Rolls of the Itinerant Justices*, ed. Charles E. H. Chadwyck-Healey and Lionel C. Landon, 4 vols. (Somerset Record Society 11, 36, 41, 44; 1897-1929).

<sup>45</sup> For example, *Episcopal registers, diocese of Worcester: Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, 1268-1301*, ed. John W. Willis-Bund, 2 vols. (Worcestershire Historical Society 15; 1898-1902); *Records of Antony Bek, Bishop and Patriarch, 1283-1311*, ed. Constance M. Fraser (Surtees Society 162, 1953); *The Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1288-96*, ed. William Brown, 2 vols. (Surtees Society 123, 128; 1913-16); *The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266-79*, ed. William Brown (Surtees Society 109, 1904); *The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York, 1279-85*, ed. William Brown (Surtees Society 114, 1907); *The Register, or Rolls, of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York*, ed. James Raine (Surtees Society 56, 1872); *The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, Bishops of Exeter*, ed. Francis C. Hingeston-Randolph (London: George Bell & Sons, 1889); *Registrum Epistolarum Johannis Peckham Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, 1279-92*, ed. Charles T. Martin, 3 vols. (London: Longman, 1882-5); *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense: The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham, 1311-1316*, ed. Thomas D. Hardy, 4 vols. (London: Longman, 1873-78); *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, 1294-1313*, ed. Rose Graham, 2 vols. (Canterbury and York

onwards. But several bishops' *Acta*, which provide similar information to registers, have been published for the early years of our period.<sup>46</sup> Papal registers likewise provide valuable information about central fundraising, although naturally they sometimes record the same letters as bishops' records.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, cartularies, many of which were compiled by religious institutions, record the charters of crusaders.<sup>48</sup> These provide detailed descriptions of land transactions between crusaders and other landowners and provide unique insights into local societies.

### **Methodology**

The methodology of this thesis is primarily qualitative in nature. However, on occasion a quantitative approach has been used. For example, a discussion

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Society 51-52, 1952-56); *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton*, ed. Rosalind M. T. Hill, 8 vols. (Lincoln Record Society 76, 1948-86).

<sup>46</sup> For example, *Acta Stephani Langton Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, 1207-1228*, ed. Kathleen Major (Canterbury and York Society 50, 1950); *Carlisle, 1133-1292*, ed. David M. Smith (English Episcopal Acta 30, 2005); *Chichester, 1215-1305*, ed. Philippa M. Hoskin, 2 vols. (English Episcopal Acta 22-23; 2001); *Hereford, 1079-1275*, ed. Julia Barrow, 2 vols. (English Episcopal Acta 7, 35; 1993-2009); *Norwich, 1215-1299*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, 4 vols. (English Episcopal Acta 21, 32, 40-41; 2001-12); *Salisbury, 1078-1297*, ed. Brian R. Kemp, 4 vols. (English Episcopal Acta 18-19, 36-37; 1999-2010).

<sup>47</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*

<sup>48</sup> For example, *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Cartulary of the Priory of Bridlington in the East Riding of the County of York*, ed. William T. Lancaster (Leeds: J. Whitehead & Son, 1912); *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters, 1100-1268*, ed. Emma Mason (Pipe Roll Society NS43, 1980); *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. William H. Hart, 3 vols. (London: Longman, 1884-93); *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. Herbert E. Salter, 6 vols. (Oxford Historical Society 89-91, 97-98, 101; 1929-36); *Charters of the Vicars Choral of York Minster: City of York and its Suburbs to 1546*, ed. Nigel J. Tringham (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 148, 156; 1993-2002); *Cartulary of Boxgrove Priory*, ed. Lindsay Fleming (Sussex Record Society 59, 1960); *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in the West Riding of the County of York*, ed. William T. Lancaster, 2 vols. (Leeds: J. Whitehead & Sons, 1915); *The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven*, ed. Joseph McNulty, 2 vols. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 87, 90; 1933-34); *The Cartulary of the Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes*, ed. Louis F. Salzman, 2 vols. (Sussex Record Society 28, 40; 1932-34); *The Cartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, ed. Richard Holmes, 2 vols. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 25, 30; 1899-1902); *Lacock Abbey Charters*, ed. Kenneth H. Rogers (Wiltshire Record Society 34, 1979); *Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, ed. Francis Grainger and William G. Collingwood (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society 7, 1929); *Two Cartularies of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. Cecil F. Slade and Gabrielle Lambrick, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society 32-33, 1990-92); *The Sandford Cartulary*, ed. Agnes M. Leys, 2 vols. (Oxfordshire Record Society 19, 22; 1938-41).

on the realisation of property by crusaders adds up all the examples – that is to say, all the examples found during the research for this thesis – of the sale, pledge and lease of property by participants in the crusade of 1270, plots them on a graph for every year between 1266 and 1271, and then analyses the results. Similarly, in another instance it is noted that a substantial percentage of sales, pledges and leases in the period under consideration involved “outlier” properties, indicating that crusaders were discerning when it came to the raising of money on lands, preferring to offload properties that were of less importance to them.

Few other studies of the crusades have taken such an approach. Various scholars have, of course, looked at the accumulation and movement of precise amounts of money, making their research quantitative by definition, but none used methods similar to those outlined above.<sup>49</sup> Riley-Smith is the only scholar to subject his evidence to a methodology comparable to that used in this thesis. For example, in the *First Crusaders* we learn that “evidence survives for thirty (possibly thirty-two) pledges made at the time of the First Crusade and for another in 1120” and “ten per cent (three, perhaps four) of the pledges... involved the close relations of crusaders.”<sup>50</sup> There is a rider here. Riley-Smith was studying late eleventh and early twelfth century France and did not have access to expansive records of Church and state, akin to those used by the present author. Rather, he relied on sparse charter evidence to build up a picture of the economic activities of crusaders. Understandably, this prevented the production of more sophisticated statistics, such as those presented in the aforementioned graph.

The effectiveness of quantitative analysis is indisputable, providing it is used correctly. A notable example in the field of economic history is Carpenter’s article on the “crisis” of the knightly class in thirteenth century England.<sup>51</sup> It

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<sup>49</sup> See, for example, Hans E. Mayer, “Henry II of England and the Holy Land,” *English Historical Review* 385 (1982): 721-739.

<sup>50</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 115, 129.

<sup>51</sup> David Carpenter, “Was There a Crisis of the Knightly Class in the Thirteenth Century? The Oxfordshire Evidence,” *The English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 721-752.

had been thought that the knighthood suffered greatly in this period, with most members falling into financial straits.<sup>52</sup> Carpenter's meticulous study of fifty-seven knightly families from Oxfordshire gave us a new outlook. He argued that the majority of these families were, in fact, financially stable throughout the century; only a group of low-rung knights experienced serious hardship. This contention was borne out by a quantitative analysis of financial and legal records. For instance, it was shown that, of the fifty wealthiest families, between two and six were "forced to sell" manors "through financial weakness," while thirty-one survived beyond 1300 as "lords of manors and possessors of substantial moveable property."<sup>53</sup> Other quantitative studies have proved similarly ground-breaking.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, quantitative analysis can have its pitfalls. A common problem is that statistical methods are brought to bear upon data which is not sufficiently robust.<sup>55</sup> The present study does not, it seems, suffer from this affliction. The records of Church and government survive fairly consistently throughout our period, although there are notable exceptions: no Charter Rolls exist for 1216-26; inquisitions *post mortem* begin only in 1236; and most bishops' registers begin in the second half of the thirteenth century. But these sources only make comparatively light contribution to our statistics, which predominantly derive from the consistently extant Close, Liberate and Patent Rolls, as well as from cartularies.

Although this main danger has been avoided, the statistics presented in this thesis do come with riders. Two stand out in particular. First, the figures here provide only a rough guide to general trends. A great deal of evidence must have perished since the Middle Ages. Moreover, the present author will not have located all the surviving evidence; there will inevitably be, for example, crusade charters in unpublished cartularies. Second, the construction of our

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<sup>52</sup> Peter Coss, "Sir Geoffrey de Langely and the Crisis of the Knightly Class in Thirteenth-Century England," *Past and Present* 68 (1975): 3-37.

<sup>53</sup> Carpenter, "Crisis of the Knightly Class," 730.

<sup>54</sup> John H. Arnold, *What is Medieval History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 65-71.

<sup>55</sup> Pat Hudson, *History By Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (London: Arnold, 2000), 13.

statistics is not without problems. Fundamentally, this is because our sources were not made to record statistics for the use of modern historians and contain various lacunae and inconsistencies. For instance, some entries about the realisation of assets simply state blandly that a crusader was going to offload property, whereas others provide comparatively detailed accounts of which properties were to be offloaded. For example, an entry in the Patent Rolls in 1221 recorded that Robert de Vallibus, *crucesignatus*, had secured a licence to pledge his lands, rents and possessions, while an entry in 1270 stated that Reynold de Pavily, going with the Lord Edward to the Holy Land, had received a licence to let his manors of Westbury and Broc in Wiltshire.<sup>56</sup> The result of this is the latter sort of entry makes a more significant contribution to our statistics – in this case accounting for two examples of lease – despite the fact that the former sort probably refers to the offloading of several properties. This is why qualitative analysis has always been used in conjunction with the data, for it is by this method that our figures can be critiqued and contextualised.

Some final – and general – methodological points need to be made. The identification of crusaders has not always proved easy. In many cases people are straightforwardly described as *crucesignati*. But at other times more problematic terms are used. The word *peregrinatio* can refer to a crusade, but it was also used to refer to pilgrimages. A description of somebody going overseas (*ultra mare*) may not mean they were going to *Outremer*; all it can be sure to mean is that they were leaving the British Isles. Reference to a journey (*iter*) to Jerusalem or the Holy Land does not necessarily refer to a crusade; it may simply describe a peaceful pilgrimage or another sort of journey. We are on firmer ground when there is a reference to a journey in support (*subsidio*) of the Holy Land, although even in these cases we cannot be certain.<sup>57</sup> There is no way to completely surmount this problem. We cannot immediately disregard any ambiguous references, for in some cases it can be proven that

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<sup>56</sup> *CPR (1216-25)*, 320; *CPR (1266-72)*, 450.

<sup>57</sup> This discussion is indebted to Evans, “The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands,” 12-13.

a person who was described merely as going to the Holy Land was in fact a crusader.<sup>58</sup> A better solution is take into account the context of an individual when considering their status. For instance, it is likely that a knight described as going to the Holy Land at the time of a general passage was a *crucesignatus*, whereas a woman described in the same way at a time when there was no general passage was probably a pilgrim.

Identification is aided by the work of other historians. Lloyd's register of participants on the Lord Edward's crusade has proved an invaluable resource, as too has Powell's list of participants in the Fifth Crusade, for it includes many *crucesignati* from England.<sup>59</sup> Likewise, Guard's catalogue of English crusaders in the fourteenth century, Evans' list of participants from the English Midlands and Hurlock's list of crusaders from the Welsh March have proved useful.<sup>60</sup>

Another difficulty has been establishing whether an action taken by a crusader before departure was done with the crusade in mind or for an unrelated purpose. The example of John de Èspeynol, *valettus* of Eleanor of Castile, may stand for all. John was granted 100s at the "instance" of Eleanor in the summer of 1270.<sup>61</sup> Around the same time we learn he was of crusader status.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, John was soon to depart for the East with his fellow Spaniard: they likely set sail with the Lord Edward from Dover on 20 August.<sup>63</sup> Yet the entry describing the grant claims John was receiving it for his long service to Eleanor and makes no mention of the imminent campaign.<sup>64</sup> It is of

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<sup>58</sup> See, for example, the case of Herbert de Boyville, *CPR (1266-72)*, 62, 425.

<sup>59</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4; Powell, *Anatomy*, 207-51.

<sup>60</sup> Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, App.; Evans, "The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands," 337-55; Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c.1095-1291* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), App. 2. Beatrice N. Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220* (Menasha, WI: Privately Printed, 1939), App. A also provided a list of crusaders from England; however, those from 1213 onwards were referenced in Powell's register.

<sup>61</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 434.

<sup>62</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 480.

<sup>63</sup> For 20 August as the likely departure date of the Lord Edward, see Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 73. For Eleanor's participation on crusade, see Bernard Hamilton, "Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995): 92-103.

<sup>64</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 434.

course possible that Eleanor paid no thought to the crusade when giving this gift and it was granted simply for John's long service, but the timing makes this unlikely. Moreover, the language used in Chancery documents was highly formulaic and often paid little heed to why an act took place, giving further reason not to accept the stated motivation at face value.<sup>65</sup>

No hard-and-fast rule has arisen to fully resolve this problem. Yet two approaches have been used to mitigate it. First, an effort has been made to find out as much about a crusader's circumstances as possible, thus enabling a deduction of why he or she may have taken a certain action. Second, in cases of statistical analysis, a crusader's action has been placed into one of two categories: "certain, or almost so" and "probable." An act that contains an explicit reference to the crusade has been placed in the former; an act that contains no reference to the crusade but occurred before departure and was likely done with the crusade in mind has been placed in the latter.

### **Structure**

The structure of this thesis is fairly straightforward. Chapter 1 discusses the cost of crusades and how participants spent money in preparation for and during campaigns. Many of the subsequent chapters are linked closely to the first: they consider how costs were covered. Chapters 2 and 3 focus on "public" fundraising. Chapter 2 looks at how the Crown raised money through national taxes and tallages of the Jewry, while Chapter 3 explores how the Church raised funds through alms, legacies, redemptions and taxes. Chapter 4 discusses the "private" fundraising of individual crusaders. Yet it is no good looking only at expenditure and income. Other themes are important. Thus, chapter 5 considers the "financial logistics" of crusading, establishing the type of money brought on campaign and how it was transferred to the East. Lastly, chapter 6 addresses the economic after-effects of crusading on participants.

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<sup>65</sup> Elton, *England, 1200-1640: The Sources of History*, 43-45.

## Chapter 1: The Cost of Crusading

An entry in the Patent Rolls on 16 April 1271 noted that Henry III, who had recently taken the cross for the third time, required a “great sum of money” to fulfil his vow.<sup>66</sup> In a similar vein, the “Barnwell Chronicler” wrote of the “lavish expenditure” of Ranulf, earl of Chester, on the Fifth Crusade.<sup>67</sup> This chapter is about that very subject: the cost of crusading. Its fundamental contention is that crusades required great sums of money, but the size of individual expenditure was, not surprisingly, influenced heavily by, among other things, socio-economic status. The main costs of crusading were: spiritual and legal measures, wages, equipment and supplies, horses and ships.<sup>68</sup>

### Total Costs

It is impossible to calculate precisely the total cost of any crusade: very few financial accounts survive and those that do are in most cases incomplete and document only the expenditure of a single individual. Nevertheless, it is clear that crusades could be very expensive. The French Crown has left the most informative accounts. Louis IX spent at least 1,537,570lt (around £385,000) on the crusade of 1248-54, while Philip III spent 1,228,666lt (around £300,000) on the Aragon Crusade of 1285.<sup>69</sup> By way of comparison, the average annual income of the French monarch was about 250,000lt (around £62,500), while that of the English Crown in a peace time year around

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<sup>66</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 531.

<sup>67</sup> *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria*, II, 246.

<sup>68</sup> On occasion there were, of course, other costs, such as construction projects and the ransoming of prisoners. Evidence of crusaders from England spending money on such acts is thin on the ground, but some examples are available. Peter des Roches and William Briewere spent a good deal of their time in the Holy Land overseeing construction works in Jaffa, Sidon and Acre. During his time in the Holy Land, Richard of Cornwall made repairs to the castle at Ascalon and bought the liberty of prisoners. Finally, the Lord Edward built at tower in Acre during his stay there, see *CPR (1272-81)*, 296; *Dunstaplia*, 112, 126; *Exeter, 1186-1257*, ed. Frank Barlow (English Episcopal Acta 12, 1996), 239-40, no. 264A; MP, *CM*, III, 489-90 (esp. 490); MP, *CM*, IV, 138-44 (esp. 141, 143); MP, *HA*, II, 304, 409-10; Nicholas Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 248-49.

<sup>69</sup> *RHGF*, XXI, 404, 512-17 (esp. 517 note 6). The conversions are based on the exchange rate of pound sterling to sous and deniers *tournois* of France in 1250 (£1 = 79s 6dt), see Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), 209.

the year 1300 was £30,000.<sup>70</sup> However, although the aggregate sum of money poured into a crusade could be immense, the financial demand of crusading on individuals varied according to wealth and status: the humble knight did not spend as much as the great lord. This simple fact has, of course, always been appreciated.<sup>71</sup> But hitherto there has been no detailed assessment of how socio-economic status affected the cost of a crusade for an individual, although in his chapter on crusade finance in the “Wisconsin History” Caziel gave some examples of the costs faced by kings, barons and knights, relying wholly on evidence from France.<sup>72</sup> In what follows, an attempt is made to describe the range of costs faced by various sorts of *crucesignati* who departed from England between c.1213 and 1337, namely, aristocrats, knights and bishops.

### Aristocrats

From the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, the most high-status crusaders to depart from England were the great lords. The costs incurred by such men varied widely. This was partly because the social makeup of the aristocracy was by no means uniform, ranging from high royals to petty noblemen. But it was also because many factors, in addition to socio-economic status, determined how much money had to be, or could be, spent on a crusade. The most notable were: how much money was raised for a campaign; the number of followers requiring subsidy; the duration of an expedition; and when a crusade took place, since the cost of war appears to have risen, at least on parchment, throughout our period.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, whether costs were comparatively high or low, aristocrats were, it seems,

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<sup>70</sup> Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 78-79; Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England, c.1200-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 29. The conversions are based on the exchange rate of pound sterling to sous and deniers *tournois* of France in 1250 (£1 = 79s 6dt), see Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 209.

<sup>71</sup> See, for example, Murray, “Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade,” 230.

<sup>72</sup> Caziel, “Financing the Crusades,” 144-47.

<sup>73</sup> See Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 339-42; Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 159-62; Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 68; Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 94-97; John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000-1300* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 32-33.

always challenged financially. According to Dyer, in the decades around the year 1300 six earls were in receipt of annual incomes below £3,000, the lowest being a relatively paltry £400, while another half-dozen were the beneficiaries of revenues in excess of £3,000, the highest standing at £11,000.<sup>74</sup> However, it appears that on crusade aristocrats spent sums that were comparable with or greater – at times much greater – than such figures.

The Lord Edward, who led a large and extraordinarily well financed crusade between 1270 and 1274, appears to provide an example from the high end of aristocratic expenditure. Records of Edward's expenses are regrettably few, the most valuable being the entry in the Pipe Rolls documenting the 22,500 marks (£16,666 13s 4d) accorded several of his followers for the first year of the campaign.<sup>75</sup> However, records of the sums raised by Edward are relatively fulsome. Entries in the royal archives, as well as the records of the Military Orders, show that Edward secured before and during his crusade, among other sums, 70,000lt (around £17,500) from Louis IX;<sup>76</sup> 4,000 marks (£2,666 13s 4d) from the English Jewry;<sup>77</sup> 2,000 marks (£1,333 6s 8d) from Richard of Cornwall;<sup>78</sup> some 24,000 marks (£16,000) from the twentieth of 1270;<sup>79</sup> 5,000 marks (£3,333 6s 8d) from a variety of creditors;<sup>80</sup> 3,355 marks 3s 4d (£2,236 16s 8d) from the Templars;<sup>81</sup> 1,967lt 12s 6d (around £490) from merchants of Narbonne;<sup>82</sup> 2,000 marks (£1,333 6s 8d) and £23,364 4s 2d

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<sup>74</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, 29.

<sup>75</sup> TNA, E372/117/6; Thomas H. Turner, "Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I," *Archaeological Journal* 8 (1851): 45-51. For a catalogue of Edward's expenditure on crusade, see Beebe, "Edward I and the Crusades," Table F.

<sup>76</sup> *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1101-1272*, ed. Pierre Chaplais (London: HMSO, 1964), 293-95, no. 419; *Foedera*, I/I, 481; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 72.

<sup>77</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 671. The grant from the Jewry was originally set at 6,000 marks, but in the event only 4,000 marks were disbursed.

<sup>78</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 671.

<sup>79</sup> *Lancashire Lay Subsidies: An Examination of the Lay Subsidy Rolls (1216-1307)*, ed. John A. C. Vincent (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society 27, 1893), 104-05.

<sup>80</sup> *Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem, 1130-1310*, ed. Joseph D. Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894-1906), III, 266-67, no. 3445.

<sup>81</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 353.

<sup>82</sup> *Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, ed. Walter W. Shirley, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1862-66), II, 347-48, no. 685. This conversion is based on the exchange rate of pound sterling to sous and deniers *tournois* of France in 1265 (£1 = 80st) as stated by Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 209.

from the Riccardi of Lucca;<sup>83</sup> 1,943lt 11s 6d (around £485) from Pisan merchants;<sup>84</sup> 3,355 marks 3s 4d (£2,236 16s 8d) from the Templars;<sup>85</sup> and perhaps £22,000 from the clerical subsidy of 1272.<sup>86</sup> Drawing upon such evidence, Beebe estimated reasonably that the crusade cost Edward £90,000—£100,000.<sup>87</sup>

An example from the mid-range of aristocratic expenditure is offered, it seems, by Richard of Cornwall, who between 1240 and 1241 led a large contingent to the eastern theatre: one chronicler asserted, doubtless hyperbolically, that the earl had 800 knights with him.<sup>88</sup> Unfortunately, there are no records of Richard's outgoings. There are, however, several references to the sums raised by him in preparation for the crusade.<sup>89</sup> These almost certainly do not constitute a comprehensive account of all the funds secured by the earl. But they probably represent most, if not all, of the more substantial cash injections into his treasury, in the period before his departure at any rate. As a result, a reasonable estimate of his total outlay can be deduced from them. In 1237-38 Richard secured from Henry III 3,000 marks (£2,000) from the Jewry and 6,000 marks (£4,000) from the thirtieth instigated by the Crown in 1237.<sup>90</sup> He was also promised the amercements of the eyre in Cornwall.<sup>91</sup> In 1239 Gregory IX granted Richard the proceeds of redemptions, legacies and taxes for the Holy Land.<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to know how much

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<sup>83</sup> TNA, E101/350/5/1; *CPR (1272-81)*, 131-32; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown: The Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 81-82; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 80-81. A Wardrobe account – TNA, E372/121/21 – states that the Riccardi loaned Edward a comparatively meagre £9,763, but as Prestwich, *Edward I*, 81 note 56 observed, “there is no reason to doubt [the Riccardi] account.”

<sup>84</sup> *Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, II, 350-351, no. 687. This conversion is based on the exchange rate of pound sterling to sous and deniers *tournois* of France in 1265 (£1 = 80st) as stated by Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 209.

<sup>85</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 353.

<sup>86</sup> See *FR*, I, 230-38 (esp. 237). For lists of the grants and loans received by Edward, see Beebe, “Edward I and the Crusades,” Tables G and I.

<sup>87</sup> Beebe, “Edward I and the Crusades,” 387-94. See also Prestwich, *Edward I*, 79, 81.

<sup>88</sup> “Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium,” in *MGH SS*, XXIII, 948; see also MP, *CM*, IV, 44-45.

<sup>89</sup> For the comments of chroniclers about the funds raised by Richard, see “Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium,” in *MGH SS*, XXIII, 948; Wykes, 86.

<sup>90</sup> *CPR (1232-47)*, 173, 222; *CR (1234-37)*, 410.

<sup>91</sup> *CR (1237-42)*, 58.

<sup>92</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 185; *CPR (1232-47)*, 250; *Papal Revenues*, II, 488-90.

money was accrued from the legal and ecclesiastical revenues: our sources provide no figures. However, it is likely that they raised several thousand pounds: in 1248 Simon de Montfort was allocated 4,000 marks (£2,666 13s 4d) from Church revenues for his planned, though in the event abortive, crusade, while in 1271 Edmund Crouchback, going to the Holy Land, was promised 2,000 marks (£1,300 6s 8d) from the fines, amercements and other issues of the next eyre in the county of Lincoln.<sup>93</sup> Thus, based on the evidence we have, it is reasonable to suggest that the crusade cost Richard some £10,000. However, given the fact that we do not have comprehensive documentation of Richard's fundraising, along with the fact that Richard was a very wealthy lord who would have been able to divert sizeable funds from his own coffers to the crusade, it is likely that his expenditure was actually much higher, perhaps in the region of £15,000 or even £20,000, though this is no more than conjecture.<sup>94</sup>

There are, it seems, several examples from the lower range of aristocratic expenditure, providing we continue to accept that the surviving accounts of the sums raised by noblemen offer a fairly reliable indication of their total outlay. In 1239-40 Simon de Montfort, preparing for his passage, sold a wood in Leicester to the Hospitallers for £1,000, secured 4,000 marks (£2,666, 13s 4d) from the papacy, and granted rights of pasture to the burgesses of Leicester, doubtless in exchange for cash.<sup>95</sup> Several years later William Longespee secured a grant of 2,000 marks (£1,333 6s 8d) from the papacy to fund his expedition.<sup>96</sup> Shortly before his departure to the eastern theatre in 1290 Otto de Grandson, justiciar of north Wales and keeper of the Channel Islands, received a grant of 3,000 marks (£2,000) from the Crown in support of his venture; five years later Otto was still in the East and, with the

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<sup>93</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 514; *Worcester, 1218-1268*, ed. Philippa M. Hoskin (English Episcopal Acta 13, 1997), 106-07, no. 133.

<sup>94</sup> With regard to Richard's personal wealth, see *ODNB*, XLVI, 702-12 (esp. 704, 707), where it is described as "enormous" and "great."

<sup>95</sup> *MP, CM, IV*, 7; *Worcester, 1218-1268*, 106-07, no. 133; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 181; Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 142.

<sup>96</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 242.

aforementioned grant presumably depleted, the papacy granted him 4,000 marks (£2,666 13s 4d) to help cover his expenses.<sup>97</sup> These examples suggest that the cost of a crusade for many aristocrats might have fallen in the low thousands of pounds.

Some, moreover, would have spent even less. In theory it was possible for aristocratic women to spend similar sums to their male equivalents, at least in the early thirteenth century. In a letter of 1200 to Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent III stated that wealthy women could lead warriors on campaign and pay them out of their own pocket.<sup>98</sup> Yet it appears few, if any, women took up the offer; indeed, *crucesignatae* appear to have continued to set out only with their immediate *domestici*. For example, when Eleanor of Castile, the best documented female crusader from England, departed for the East with her husband, the Lord Edward, in 1270, she was accompanied by the rector of Longborough, William de Tackley, and his servant, William Wether,<sup>99</sup> her clerk, William de Yattinden,<sup>100</sup> her *valettus*, John de Èspeynol,<sup>101</sup> her yeoman, Robert le Clerk<sup>102</sup> and presumably a fair number of other household servants; there is, however, no record of her leading soldiers. As a result, Eleanor's expenses, and those of women like her, must have been relatively low. Nevertheless, such individuals could still face financial strain: an entry in the Patent Rolls on 10 February 1275 referred to the debts Eleanor had incurred due to her pilgrimage in the Holy Land.<sup>103</sup>

### Knights

The best insight into how much a crusade may have typically cost a simple knight is provided by the wages rates offered on expeditions, since in the

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<sup>97</sup> *CPR (1281-92)*, 373; *Les Registres de Boniface VIII: Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape*, ed. Georges Digard and others, 4 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1884-1935), I, 277-78, no. 826.

<sup>98</sup> *PL*, CCXVI, 1261-62; Constance M. Rousseau, "Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy," in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), 38-39.

<sup>99</sup> *Select Cases from the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Province of Canterbury, c.1200-1301*, ed. Norma Adams and Charles Donahue (Selden Society 95, 1981), 49 (introduction), 243.

<sup>100</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 480.

<sup>101</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 461, 480.

<sup>102</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 480.

<sup>103</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 79.

Middle Ages wages were, it seems, generally regarded as a means of covering the basic expenses of recipients.<sup>104</sup> As the Venetian crusade planner, Sanudo, put it: “the stipend... given to... stipendiaries should be of such a sort that they may live carefully and honourably.”<sup>105</sup> The evidence is hardly fulsome, but on the crusade of 1248-54 Louis IX gave his knights 7s 6d per day, equivalent to 136lt 17s 6d (around £34) per annum.<sup>106</sup> On the crusade of 1270-74 the knights of the Lord Edward appear to have received 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) each for the first year of the campaign.<sup>107</sup> It appears, then, that a crusade may have cost a knight between some £30 and £70 per year, in the mid-thirteenth century at any rate. Such an outlay would have been difficult for a poor knight with an annual revenue of £20 to cover without the help of a stipend.<sup>108</sup> Even if the annual cost was a relatively agreeable £30, such a knight would have had to raise the equivalent of one-and-a-half times his annual revenue to crusade for a single year; three times for two years; four-and-a-half times for three years; and six times for four years.<sup>109</sup> Needless to say, this would have been a daunting prospect.

### Bishops

Only a handful of bishops from England went on crusade.<sup>110</sup> However, most of those who did almost certainly spent comparable sums to their lay, aristocratic counterparts, for it appears that, like such men, they led and financed armed contingents.<sup>111</sup> In 1218 Sylvester of Evesham, bishop of

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<sup>104</sup> Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 162. See also Cazal, “Financing the Crusades,” 147.

<sup>105</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, ed. Jacques Bongars (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1972), 70; English trans. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross, Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 121.

<sup>106</sup> Tyerman, “Paid Crusaders,” 17; the conversion is based on the exchange rate of pound sterling to sous and deniers *tournois* of France in the year 1250 (£1 = 79st 6d) as stated by Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 209.

<sup>107</sup> See TNA, E372/117/6; Turner, “Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I,” 45-51.

<sup>108</sup> For knightly incomes, see Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225-1560* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 402.

<sup>109</sup> It is interesting to compare these ratios with those suggested for knights on the First Crusade by Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 112 and Murray, “Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade,” 232.

<sup>110</sup> See Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 75-76.

<sup>111</sup> For an example from before our period, see the case of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, who in 1190 commanded – and paid for (*stipendiis pugnatori sequuntur*) – a contingent of 200 knights and 300 *satellites*, see “Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi,” in

Worcester, requested an aid from his tenants and a licence to lease all his lands, rents and possessions for three years in order to fund his pilgrimage – the financial demands of a retinue doubtless lay behind these drastic acts.<sup>112</sup> Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and William Brewer, bishop of Exeter, clearly bankrolled many of the men who headed East with them in the late 1220s: both appear to have found it necessary to pledge lands, despite Brewer having access to a crusade subsidy worth 4,000 marks.<sup>113</sup> Of course, not every bishop acted in this manner. There is no evidence of William Cornhill, bishop of Coventry – the only other bishop of England known to have set out on crusade in the period under consideration – leading a militarised retinue.<sup>114</sup> The outgoings of William must have been comparatively small as a result.

It appears, then, that crusades were, in relative terms, very demanding financially for aristocrats, knights and, in many instances, bishops, although the sums expended by individuals could vary considerably. Such a conclusion, however, hardly provides a vivid picture of how an armed pilgrimage affected the coffers of participants. For this we must take another approach: a survey of specific costs – that is, an overview of what crusaders spent money on both before and during expeditions.

### **Spiritual and Legal Costs**

Crusades required a variety of outlays. Important among these were spiritual and legal provisions.

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*Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1864), I, 116.

<sup>112</sup> *PR (1216-25)*, 143-45.

<sup>113</sup> *PR (1225-32)*, 89-90; *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 116-17. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 101 claims that des Roches received funds from the tax of 1222 for the king of Jerusalem, citing *PR (1216-25)*, 527-28. However, this is based on a misreading of that source, see Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, 238 note 51.

<sup>114</sup> For a discussion of the participation of William Cornhill and English bishops in general on crusade, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 74-76.

## Spiritual

War was a dangerous activity and the crusades were no exception: participants could be killed, maimed and captured, ships could sink, battles could be lost and disease and famine could strike. As a result, *crucesignati* tried to secure the protection of God before setting out on their journeys and when on campaign.<sup>115</sup> In many instances, this required no offloading of cash or diminution of assets. For example, as Matthew Paris recorded, in 1240 Richard of Cornwall, having made “all the necessary preparations for his journey to Jerusalem,” went to the monks of St. Albans and “begged” their prayers for his passage.<sup>116</sup> In other cases, however, crusaders deemed it necessary to sacrifice personal wealth for the good will of the Lord.

At its most dramatic, this took the form of establishing new religious and charitable institutions. Richard de Argentein’s foundation of the hospital of Little Wymondly may have occurred shortly before he set out for the eastern theatre in 1218.<sup>117</sup> On 2 August 1270, the eve of his departure from England, the Lord Edward founded a new Cistercian monastery (later to become Vale Royal) in the Delamere Forest of Cheshire, transferring to the monks Langwith Hay in Wheldrake, the manors of Darnhall and Over and the advowsons of Frodsham, Weaverham, Ashbourne and Castleton.<sup>118</sup> This was no empty show of piety. Edward took an active interest in the development of the institution. In 1271 Henry III, perhaps at his son’s request, instructed the abbots, priors and convents of England to send it some theological books.<sup>119</sup> In 1274 Edward permitted the monks £30 from the exchequer of Chester in order to clear part of their debts and maintain themselves, and in 1275 he made an annual grant

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<sup>115</sup> See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 118-23; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 155-63.

<sup>116</sup> MP, *CM*, IV, 43; English trans. *Matthew Paris’s English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273*, trans. John A. Giles, 3 vols. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1852-54), I, 287.

<sup>117</sup> *Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, ed. Charles W. Foster and Kathleen Major, 12 vols. (Lincoln Record Society 27-29, 32, 34, 41-42, 46, 51, 62, 67-68; 1931-73), III, 142-44, no. 792.

<sup>118</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. William Dugdale, John Caley, Henry Ellis and Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols. (London: Orme & Brown, 1817-30), V, 709; *Victoria County History, Chester*, ed. Brian E. Harris and others, 5 vols. (Oxford, Woodbridge: Oxford University Press, Boydell, 1979-2005), III, 156-57; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 59-60.

<sup>119</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 505.

of 50 marks to the community, which was to be received until land of that value could be assigned to them.<sup>120</sup>

It was far more common, however, for crusaders to make donations to existing institutions. In 1254 Henry III instructed his treasurer, Philip Lovel, and the barons of the Exchequer to transfer 3,000 marks a year to the church of Westminster, since he wanted to see the building completed before he undertook his journey to the Holy Land.<sup>121</sup> Most grants, however, were of a more middling to diminutive sort. William of Forz, count of Aumâle and lord of Holderness, “before he travelled across the sea to Jerusalem,” granted the Cistercians of Meaux the grange of Croo for an “annual pittance.”<sup>122</sup> Robert, son of Nigel de Castelay, gave Fountains Abbey a variety of yearly rents, such as 14d from his mother, Alice, and 20d from his aunt, Eva; these, however, were only to go to the monks until “the grantor’s return from Jerusalem.”<sup>123</sup> On the Fifth Crusade Ranulf, earl of Chester, gave the Templars 500 marks, while John de Lacey transferred to All Saints, Pontefract, various lands for the enlargement of its burying-ground and the construction of a charnel house and chapel.<sup>124</sup> Not all grants were so straightforward. Donors could enter into more unusual arrangements. Assets could be bequeathed. An entry in the Close Rolls described how Gilbert de Camera, when he undertook his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, bestowed (*legavit*) one virgate of land to the abbey of St. Mary, Winchester.<sup>125</sup> This was a sensible decision. It meant that Gilbert suffered no immediate loss of property, but presumably gained the same social approval and spiritual benefits, however loosely defined, as those who issued immediate transactions. Other grants did not consist of transfers of capital; rather, they took the form of a pardon. For instance, on 21 July 1270,

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<sup>120</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 140; *CPR (1272-81)*, 105.

<sup>121</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 281.

<sup>122</sup> *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. Edward A. Bond, 3 vols. (London: Longman, 1866-68), II, 47-48. For a discussion of the background of this grant, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 160-61.

<sup>123</sup> *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, I, 159.

<sup>124</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, “Historia Damiatina,” in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen: Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 1894), 207; *Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, I, 36-37, no. 21.

<sup>125</sup> *CR (1227-31)*, 161.

around half a year before his departure, Edmund Crouchback got his father, Henry III, to release the monastery of “Cornuto” from a debt of 100s.<sup>126</sup>

Acts like these were not humdrum features of everyday life; on the contrary, they were unusual, born of the intoxicating, pious atmosphere of the crusade. An excellent illustration is provided by William le Brun, a knight who went on – or at the very least planned to set out with – the crusade of the Lord Edward.<sup>127</sup> In 1270, the probable year of his departure, William made six distinct donations to Osney Abbey. These were as follows: one acre of meadow in the common meadow of Hook Norton; half an acre of arable land in the croft to the west of “Bottedediche”; a yearly rent of 1d in Hook Norton; half an acre of arable land in the plain of Hook Norton “opposite [*contra*] Thremthorne” near the land of William Swein; a gnaw of land in “Lambescotestrete”; and half an acre of arable land with two *buttis* at “Hertelston.”<sup>128</sup> The Osney cartulary contains no reference to William making any previous or subsequent donations. Nor, as far as the present author is aware, is there evidence of William issuing grants to other institutions during the course of his life. Those of 1270 were, it seems, *sui generis*, a dramatic offloading of property resulting from exceptional circumstances.

If the fundamental motivation behind donations was spiritual, the choice of beneficiary was inevitably influenced by earthly matters. *Crucesignati* appear to have preferred to deal with institutions that already had a connection with their family. An excellent example is provided by William Longespee and Lacock Abbey, an Augustinian nunnery founded in 1229 by William’s mother Ela, countess of Salisbury, who in 1240 became its abbess.<sup>129</sup> William appears to have made grants to Lacock before both his crusades. William took the cross for the first time in 1236 and in that year or the next he donated a manor to the nuns.<sup>130</sup> He took the cross for a second time in 1247 and in

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<sup>126</sup> *CR* (1268-72), 212.

<sup>127</sup> *CPR* (1266-72), 440; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>128</sup> *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, IV, 267-68, nos. 208-212.

<sup>129</sup> See *ODNB*, XVIII, 1.

<sup>130</sup> *Lacock Abbey Charters*, 68, no. 262. For William’s first assumption of the cross, see *ODNB*, XXXIV, 389-90.

1249, the year of his departure, came to an agreement with Lacock. It stated that the nuns were to hold in free alms five carucates of land in a local village; in return William was to be received into all spiritual benefits and prayers.<sup>131</sup> Clearly, William's familial connection with the nuns had prompted him to turn to them when preparing for his crusades.

In addition to donations, many *crucesignati* confirmed previous, often disputed, transfers of property, thereby permanently abandoning any past, present or future claims, however legitimate, to assets. A remarkable example is provided by Peter de Brus, who in 1239, a year before he departed for the East and following several years of disputation, confirmed eighty-five transactions – whether donations, leases, pledges or sales it is impossible to say – between his tenants and Guisborough priory.<sup>132</sup> Some of these had been substantial. Peter de Cliveland, for example, had transferred three gnaws in Ormesby, two bovates, four acres, the whole of the land which he held in the valley of Marton, some land “he had called Tunge,” some land “he had called Halfaker,” the “whole land before” Sandwath, three gnaws in “Austcultacre,” and a gnaw and a half near “Sandpittes.”<sup>133</sup> Others had been comparatively small. Gregory de Levingthorp, for instance, had released four acres of land in Ayresome.<sup>134</sup> On the whole, however, this was a major boon for the priory (and thus a significant concession by Peter): it was confirmed as the rightful owner of 142 separate properties, including ten churches, two chapels, two mill houses, one manor, one guest house and a wood.

### Legal

In addition to spiritual measures, crusaders had to spend money on legal affairs. The protection of assets was a priority. The property of crusaders had been under protection of the Church since the publication of *Quantum*

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<sup>131</sup> *Lacock Abbey Charters*, 70, no. 268. For William's second assumption of the cross and the time of his departure, see *ODNB*, XXXIV, 389-90.

<sup>132</sup> *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne, Ebor. dioeceseos, Ordinis s. Augustini, fundati A. D. MCXIX*, ed. William Brown, 2 vols. (Surtees Society 76, 89; 1889-94), I, 94-98, no. 215; II, 198-99, no. 940.

<sup>133</sup> *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, I, 94-98 (esp. 96), no. 215.

<sup>134</sup> *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, I, 94-98 (esp. 97), no. 215.

*praedecessores* (1145-46).<sup>135</sup> But many *crucesignati*, clearly sceptical about the efficacy of this ecclesiastical safeguard, purchased additional protections from the Crown.<sup>136</sup> Some acquired “simple” protections, which defended only men, rents, lands and possessions. However, the majority acquired protections with “clause *volumus*,” thereby securing judicial protection, too.<sup>137</sup> A typical example of the latter is provided by Robert de Cadebury, canon of St. Andrew’s, Wells, who in 1290 secured protection with clause *volumus* because he was going to the Holy Land with Otto de Grandson.<sup>138</sup> Most individuals bought protection for four years, but some opted for different timescales. For example, in 1309 John de Roches, going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, stipulated five years, while several generations earlier Gilbert Marshall covered himself for the duration of his pilgrimage, however long it lasted.<sup>139</sup> Price depended on form. Simple protections were hardly expensive, at least for the relatively affluent: in 1199 the cost of one was fixed at 2s.<sup>140</sup> However, although the evidence is extremely meagre, it appears judicial protections required a much more significant outlay: in July 1259 the bishop of Ely may have spent 10 marks on one.<sup>141</sup>

In addition to securing protections, many crusaders appointed attorneys, thereby investing an individual or individuals with the right to officially act on their behalf during their absence on crusade.<sup>142</sup> There are many examples of such appointments. The following entry in the Patent Rolls is typical: “Richard de la Rokele, going [to the Holy Land, has appointed] William de la Rokele and

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<sup>135</sup> Rolf Grosse, “Überlegungen Zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. Von 1145/46,” *Francia* 18 (1991): 90-92 (esp. 91).

<sup>136</sup> This is not to say that the protection offered by the Church was actually ineffective, see Danielle E. A. Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusades: Flanders, Champagne, and the Kingdom of France, 1095-1222* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), esp. 9, 211.

<sup>137</sup> For a discussion of the development and implications of these distinctions, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 165-66.

<sup>138</sup> *CPR (1281-92)*, 364.

<sup>139</sup> *CPR (1307-13)*, 115; *PR (1225-32)*, 323.

<sup>140</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 165 note 46.

<sup>141</sup> *CPR (1258-66)*, 221; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 165 note 46: “The cost of a judicial protection and letters of attorney in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. is unclear, but in July 1259 the bishop of Ely was charged 20*m.* for the grant of both.” Thus, it seems likely that they cost 10 marks each.

<sup>142</sup> For the development of the position of attorney, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 167-69.

John de Eston... as his attorneys.”<sup>143</sup> Such transfers of authority did not come cheap: it may have cost 10 marks to purchase a letter of attorney from the Crown.<sup>144</sup>

It is interesting to consider some of the main trends in appointments. Most crusaders chose two attorneys and a substantial portion named just one. However, a small group of individuals, most, if not all, of whom possessed great wealth and vast estates, deemed it necessary to appoint several representatives. The Lord Edward appointed his uncle, Richard of Cornwall, and various “other attorneys”;<sup>145</sup> Edmund Crouchback chose his mother, Eleanor of Provence, and Richard Fukeram and Hugh de Vianna;<sup>146</sup> Otto de Grandson selected Walter de la Haye and William de Drayton for his affairs in Ireland and Henry, prior of Wenlock, and William de Grandson for, one presumes, those in England;<sup>147</sup> and William de Huntercumbe, a knight of Oxfordshire and Essex, elected Walter de Huntercumbe, Thomas de Forsete and Richard le Engleys.<sup>148</sup> The majority of appointments were made for a period of four years, but there were exceptions. In 1269 the earl of Richmond, John of Brittany, specified a term of six years, while in 1288 Roger de Newport, going to the Holy Land, stipulated only a single year.<sup>149</sup>

In addition to securing protections and attorneys, crusaders purchased licences from the Crown to sell, pledge and lease property, despite *Quantum praedecessores* stating that those signed with the cross had the right to raise money on their lands.<sup>150</sup> A fair proportion merely bought a licence to realise money on a single property. For instance, in 1227 Ralph de Rouen purchased the right to pledge a house in Northampton.<sup>151</sup> But the majority secured

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<sup>143</sup> CPR (1266-72), 443.

<sup>144</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 165 note 46, and see note 144 of the present study.

<sup>145</sup> CPR (1266-72), 468, 509.

<sup>146</sup> CPR (1266-72), 587, 668.

<sup>147</sup> CPR (1281-92), 362, 371.

<sup>148</sup> CPR (1266-72), 443; CR (1268-72), 281-82. For William’s knightly status and regional ties, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>149</sup> CPR (1266-72), 314; CPR (1281-92), 297.

<sup>150</sup> Grosse, “Überlegungen Zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. Von 1145/46,” 90-92 (esp. 92).

<sup>151</sup> PR (1225-32), 122.

licences covering numerous lands or purchased several permissions over time, thus presumably paying comparatively more for the right to realise their assets. For example, in 1271 John de Ingoldisthorpe obtained consent to let at farm his manors of Ingoldisthorpe, Raynham and Kenwick, while on 23 October 1269 John de Vescy secured permission to let at farm his manors of Alnham and Alnmouth and on 10 July 1270 the right to lease his manor of Winteringham.<sup>152</sup>

### **Military Costs**

Although spiritual and legal measures required money to be spent, it was the military aspects of expeditions that truly drained the pockets of crusaders. This was especially true for the leaders of retinues, who were expected to provide much financial and material support for their followers.

#### Wages

Wages of followers were one of the most significant drains on the treasuries of leaders. Sanudo believed that an expedition of 15,000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry would require 600,000 florins per year to cover the cost of wages, supplies and gifts to allies.<sup>153</sup> More concretely, in the first year of his crusade, the Lord Edward expended a minimum of 22,500 marks on the stipends of his principle retainers.<sup>154</sup> Accounts from the archives of the French Crown allow for further generalisation. During his stay in Palestine between 1250 and 1253, Louis IX offloaded 177,938lt 15s 7d on the wages of knights alone.<sup>155</sup> The financial account of Phillip III's crusade in Aragon is made up almost entirely of entries about expenditure on stipends, including 170,341lt 19s on the wages of knights in the king's household, 109,254lt on the wages of knights who were not in the household, and 14,611lt 19s 3d on the wages

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<sup>152</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 371, 439, 517.

<sup>153</sup> Sanudo, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, 36; English trans. Sanudo, *The Book of the Secrets*, 72. In Sanudo's plan, the gifts were to be given to the Tartars in order to gain their support.

<sup>154</sup> Turner, "Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I," 45-51.

<sup>155</sup> *RHGF*, XXI, 512-15 (esp. 514). The present author is indebted to the translation of this document provided by *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*, trans. Louise Riley-Smith and Jonathan Riley-Smith (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), 148-52.

of carpenters, wheelwrights, carters, sappers and builders.<sup>156</sup> One may be struck by such high outgoings. Yet it was both necessary and sensible. Pay secured loyalty and obedience. As one prominent lord on the First Crusade supposedly said in defence of his high wage bill, “[My soldiers] load their pouches with silver, I load them with cares, arms, sweat, tremors, hail and rain.”<sup>157</sup>

It must be stressed, however, that not everyone on crusade would have been in receipt of a wage. Indeed, although wages had been a feature of the crusade movement since the very beginning,<sup>158</sup> and although there was possibly an increase in paid service towards the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>159</sup> crusade hosts were, generally speaking, made up of both paid and unpaid followers, with many knights, as well as other individuals, having to finance themselves. Evidence of this is provided by an entry in the *Chronica Majora* about the host of William Longespee in Egypt:

[In 1250] the king of the French [Louis IX] departed from the fortress of Damietta... towards the eastern regions... He was followed by the lord William Longespee, with his associates who adhered to him, namely Robert de Vere and other Englishmen, whom it would take a long time to list [*enumerare*], and also knights and followers [*servientibus*] whom he retained on pay.<sup>160</sup>

Thus, a clear distinction is made between those Longespee “retained on pay” and those who simply “adhered” to him. The leaders of contingents were, then, not expected to subsidise everyone. However, such men could still give a good deal of support to those not on their payroll, regardless of the absence of

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<sup>156</sup> *RHGF*, XXI, 515-17 (esp. 516). The present author is indebted to the translation of this document provided by *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580*, trans. Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 27-28.

<sup>157</sup> Ralph of Caen, “Gesta Tancredi,” in *RHC Occ.*, III, 644; English trans. *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 77; quoted in Tyerman, “Paid Crusaders,” 6. A further example of wages on crusade is provided by Geoffrey de Caux, deacon and clerk of the bishop of Winchester and the Crown, who in 1219 secured the commutation of his crusade vow in exchange for paying the wages of four crusaders, see *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 65; *Winchester, 1205-1238*, ed. Nicholas Vincent (English Episcopal Acta 9, 1994), App. 4, no. 29.

<sup>158</sup> Tyerman, “Paid Crusaders,” 1-40.

<sup>159</sup> Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, 77-101, 115-18.

<sup>160</sup> MP, *CM*, V, 130-31; English trans. modified from *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, 353-54.

formal obligation. The account of Louis IX's expenditure on the crusade of 1248-54 recorded that knights serving for wages received a cumulative sum of 107,288lt 3s 7d from the king; yet knights serving without wages still enjoyed 46,467lt 13s in *ad hoc* gifts and subsidies.<sup>161</sup>

### Equipment and Supplies

By the thirteenth century all crusaders, save high-status non-combatants, were expected to bring armour, a weapon and some supplies with them on campaign.<sup>162</sup> This is demonstrated by the decrees of crusade leaders from "continental" Europe – we lack examples from England. In 1188 Frederick Barbarossa prohibited anyone on foot "who lacked capacity in use of arms" and "could not finance themselves for the journey for at least two years" from joining his host.<sup>163</sup> According to Menko, abbot of Bloemhof, in 1269 Louis IX ordered that crusaders from Frisia who wished to join his army had to have with them 7 marks sterling, clothing and necessary arms, six jars of butter, one leg of pork, a side of beef, and half a measure of flour.<sup>164</sup> Although such requirements would have prevented, quite deliberately, the impoverished from departing, they would not have posed much trouble for the fairly affluent. In the late thirteenth century 80lbs of cheese could be bought for 3s 4d.<sup>165</sup> Under Edward I (r.1272-1307) it appears armour could be bought for 5s, while during the reign of his grandfather, John (r.1199-1216), it was possible to acquire a habergeon for 1 mark.<sup>166</sup> In the fourteenth century low quality swords were valued at 6d.<sup>167</sup> What is more, many would have found it unnecessary to purchase new equipment since they already owned some.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> *RHGF*, XXI, 512-515.

<sup>162</sup> See Jean Richard, *The Crusades: c.1071-c.1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 271-77.

<sup>163</sup> "Historia Peregrinorum," in *MGH SRG*, NS V, 126; English trans. "The History of the Pilgrims," in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Fredrick and Related Texts*, trans. Graham Loud (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 144. Note: "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi," 43 stated that Frederick Barbarossa declared that every participant must be able to fund himself for one year.

<sup>164</sup> Menko, "Cronica Floridi Hori," in *Kroniek van het klooster Bloemhof te Wittewierum*, ed. and trans. Huub P. H. Jansen and Antheun Janse (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991), 424-25.

<sup>165</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, 114.

<sup>166</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, 206; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, 24.

<sup>167</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, 174.

<sup>168</sup> See Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, 67.

It was, furthermore, possible to manufacture makeshift armaments from other tools. According to Oliver of Paderborn, a young man at the siege of Damietta turned “a flail by which grain is usually threshed” into a weapon by “interweaving” it with chains.<sup>169</sup>

In spite of such expectations, leaders purchased additional materials for their retinues in the build up to campaigns – the requirements outlined above were established to ease the burden on lords, not remove it. After taking the cross in 1250, Henry III started preparing for his campaign. In June 1252 the king ordered “arms and others things” to be sent ahead of him to the Holy Land; these were to be stored in safe houses and store-houses until his arrival.<sup>170</sup> According to a contemporary chronicler, in 1240 Simon de Montfort collected money to acquire “necessary provisions” for his passage to Jerusalem,<sup>171</sup> while Richard of Cornwall informed a papal legate that he had made “all the necessary preparations” for his passage, sending arms in advance and loading his ships with provisions.<sup>172</sup> The Lord Edward appointed John de Grely as purveyor of his passage to the Holy Land, although we have no information about the supplies he bought.<sup>173</sup>

The purchase of goods did not, of course, stop upon departure. Inevitably, stockpiles of victuals needed to be resupplied.<sup>174</sup> It has been estimated that a soldier required 1.3 kilograms of rations per day and an army of 15,000 needed a minimum of 288,400 kilograms of provisions for every two, or in exceptional circumstances, three weeks it spent in the field.<sup>175</sup> Lords were, it

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<sup>169</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, “Historia Damiatina,” 184-85; English trans. Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. John J. Gavigan (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948), 27.

<sup>170</sup> *Foedera*, I/1, 282; *CPR (1247-58)*, 158.

<sup>171</sup> MP, CM, IV, 7.

<sup>172</sup> MP, CM, IV, 46-47.

<sup>173</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 102. For further examples, see *Registres de Boniface VIII*, I, 277-78, no. 826; *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria*, II, 258.

<sup>174</sup> See Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 154-55; Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 196. For an example of a crusade host lacking provisions, see MP, HA, II, 304.

<sup>175</sup> John H. Pryor, “Introduction: Modelling Bohemond’s March to Thessalonikē,” in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 9 note 22; John Haldon, “Roads and Communications in the Byzantine Empire, Wagons, Horses,

seems, chiefly responsible for resupply, bearing the brunt of costs. Stopping in Palermo on his way to the East in December 1270, William de Valence purchased fodder and meat for his contingent.<sup>176</sup> In January 1271 John of Brittany bought 500 *tomola* of grain in Sicily for the journey to Acre.<sup>177</sup> The Lord Edward spent at least £800 on the goods of merchants of Acre at some point between 1272 and 1274.<sup>178</sup> The burden on leaders would have been alleviated, however, by the individual purchases of followers from local traders or internal crusade markets.<sup>179</sup> Furthermore, the Military Orders offered food to soldiers, with the Templars, according to Oliver of Paderborn, feeding some 4,000 men a day at the siege of Damietta (1218-19).<sup>180</sup> It was, moreover, sometimes unnecessary for crusaders to spend anything on food, since it could be gathered through forage and plunder, such as when participants on the Fifth Crusade, in the midst of a flood which destroyed much of their food stocks, caught fish with their bare hands, or when individuals on the same expedition took food from local *casalia* after their conquest of Damietta.<sup>181</sup>

### Horses

Mules, asses, donkeys and other pack animals were crucial to the crusade movement during its early years, for they carried the baggage of *crucesignati* across the landmass of Europe and Asia Minor.<sup>182</sup> The rise of the sea route in the late-twelfth century, however, led to a decline in their importance: ships, not oxen, were henceforth the predominant carriers of money and supplies.<sup>183</sup> Nevertheless, horses, the most valuable of all the pack animals, remained

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and Supplies,” in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 148-49.

<sup>176</sup> *I Registri della cancelleria angioina ricostruiti*, ed. Riccardo Filangieri and others, 49 vols. (Naples: Presso l'Accademia, 1950-2006), VI, 188, no. 974; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 140.

<sup>177</sup> *I Registri della cancelleria angioina ricostruiti*, VI, 192, no. 1003; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 140.

<sup>178</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 132.

<sup>179</sup> See, for example, Oliver of Paderborn, “Historia Damiatina,” 255; Murray, “Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade,” 241-46.

<sup>180</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, “Historia Damiatina,” 255.

<sup>181</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, “Historia Damiatina,” 192, 240-41; see also Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 156-57, 160-70.

<sup>182</sup> See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 111-12.

<sup>183</sup> See Richard, *The Crusades: c.1071-c.1291*, 277.

vital. An integral part of chivalric society, war could not be prosecuted properly, or indeed effectively, without them.<sup>184</sup>

It was standard practice for high status individuals to take several horses on crusade.<sup>185</sup> A draft of an agreement between John de Neville – or more specifically the representative of John de Neville – and Philip Basset, likely drawn up not long after the meeting of crusaders at Northampton in November 1239, stated that Phillip would bring four horses equal in value to £15 with him to the Holy Land.<sup>186</sup> In 1252 Henry III made arrangements for the shipping of horses to the eastern theatre in advance of his departure.<sup>187</sup> Hugh de Neville had a few horses with him in the Holy Land in the 1260s, including a grey palfrey and a bay horse.<sup>188</sup> Commanders could, furthermore, order additional beasts to be sent to them during expeditions. In 1272 John Hardel, a yeoman, and his servant, John de Balrewyk, took palfreys and “other necessaries” to the Holy Land for the use of the Lord Edward.<sup>189</sup>

It appears crusaders preferred not to buy new mounts for their campaigns, instead selecting them from their own stables or farms, or acquiring them as gifts or booty.<sup>190</sup> However, it was sometimes necessary or financially possible to purchase additional beasts. In December 1247 Guy de Lusignan, presumably as part of his crusade preparations, secured a loan of 500lt to buy destriers.<sup>191</sup> The Lord Edward almost certainly spent a portion of the

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<sup>184</sup> For the role of horses in contemporary warfare, see Andrew Ayton, “Arms, Armour, and Horses,” in *Medieval Warfare: A History*, ed. Maurice Keen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 186-208.

<sup>185</sup> In general, knights took three horses (two for riding, one for battle) for themselves on military campaigns, and another three for their assistants, see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, 31; Ralph H. C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 24-26.

<sup>186</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 136, App. 5. John de Neville’s representative was John de Hulecote.

<sup>187</sup> *Foedera*, I/I, 282; *CPR (1247-58)*, 158.

<sup>188</sup> Montague S. Giuseppi, “On the Testament of Sir Hugh de Nevill, written at Acre, 1267,” *Archaeologia* 56 (1899): 353-54.

<sup>189</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 674; in 1274 John Hardel took more palfreys to Edward, who was then “beyond seas,” see *CPR (1272-81)*, 42.

<sup>190</sup> For a gift, see Peter des Roches receiving two palfreys for his expedition to the Holy Land, *RLC*, II, 190; for booty, see Oliver of Paderborn, “*Historia Damiatina*,” 252.

<sup>191</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 4. *CLR (1245-51)*, 264 states that the figure was 500lt and 10 marks.

70,000lt secured from Louis IX on horses: the document underpinning the loan stated that some of it was to be used “pur chevaus.”<sup>192</sup> It is easy to see why such deals were made. Horses could fall prey to the rough and violent conditions of war and hosts could find themselves in want of them.<sup>193</sup> Any attempt to maximise numbers was eminently sensible. But there was sometimes an additional motivation: leaders could promise to provide their retainers with horses. In 1253 Henry III confirmed he would supply Peter of Savoy with twenty destriers upon the latter’s arrival in the Holy Land.<sup>194</sup>

The purchase of horses must have taken a fair toll on treasuries. In the early thirteenth century a war horse normally cost £2 to £4, while by the end of the century such a purchase could require an outlay of around £8.<sup>195</sup> Some high-quality studs, moreover, were much pricier: it was not unknown for them to sell for £50 or even £100.<sup>196</sup> Even if new horses were not bought, money had to be frequently spent on food – horses required ten kilograms of fodder per day – and general maintenance: it cost around 2d a day to feed a single beast in winter, though the price halved in spring, when fodder became cheaper.<sup>197</sup> Additional costs could be incurred if a horse was sick, for there were a variety of available medicines, such as wine, vinegar, olive oil, mastic, pitch and ginger.<sup>198</sup> A final cost, for leaders at any rate, was *restor de chevaux*. It is hard to ascertain if this was widespread. However, there is evidence of its use on the crusade of 1270. On 1 October 1274 John de Gayton was reimbursed by

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<sup>192</sup> *Diplomatic Documents... 1101-1272*, 293-95, no. 419; *Foedera*, I/I, 481.

<sup>193</sup> See Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 141.

<sup>194</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 188.

<sup>195</sup> Christopher Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 148.

<sup>196</sup> Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, 34; Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse*, 67.

<sup>197</sup> Bernard S. Bachrach, “The Crusader March from Dorylaion to Herakleia, 4 July – ca.2 September 1097,” in *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. Ruthy Gertwagen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 236-27; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, 33.

<sup>198</sup> Other medicines included fenugreek, frankincense and dragon’s blood, see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, 33.

Edward I, under whose banner he fought on crusade, for horses lost in service in parts beyond the sea.<sup>199</sup>

### Ships

If the early crusades were mainly land based expeditions, those from the late-twelfth century onwards were notable for their reliance on ships.<sup>200</sup> For the most part, the responsibility of organising such transport fell on leaders, with most procuring vessels from merchants. The Lord Edward, for instance, acquired ships from the trading centres of Genoa and Marseilles, as well as the region of Provence.<sup>201</sup> There were, however, other suppliers, such as the Military Orders.<sup>202</sup> Oliver of Paderborn referred to a Templar ship at the siege of Damietta, while in 1252 Henry III wrote to the Hospitallers, Templars and Teutonic Knights, requesting them to prepare the “best ships” for his proposed campaign in the East.<sup>203</sup> Despite such a variety of options, it appears it could be difficult to secure transportation. *Afflicti corde* (1245) decreed that those who provided and built ships for crusaders would receive remission of sins.<sup>204</sup> It is also telling that some *crucesignati* had to acquire ships from distant locations. In 1219 the earl of Winchester had a ship prepared in Galway [*Galweie*], before having it sailed down to Bristol.<sup>205</sup> In 1249 the count of St. Pol procured, according to Paris, a “marvellous ship” from Inverness.<sup>206</sup> The added distance involved in such cases must have increased fees: shipping

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<sup>199</sup> *CCR* (1272-79), 100; for John’s crusader status, see *CPR* (1266-72), 440. Notably, a contract of 1270 between Louis IX and Erard de Valéry promised *restor de chevaux*, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 137.

<sup>200</sup> See John H. Pryor, “Transportation of Horses by Sea During the Era of the Crusades: Eighth Century to 1285 A.D.: Part I: To c 1225,” *The Mariner’s Mirror* 68 (1982): 19-24.

<sup>201</sup> *Archives de l’Orient Latin*, ed. Paul Riant, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1881-84), II (Critique des Sources), 407-9; “Oberti Stanconi, Iacobi Aurie, Marchisini de Cassino et Bertolini Bonifatii Annales,” in *MGH SS*, XVIII, 268; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 141.

<sup>202</sup> See Malcolm Barber, “Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars,” in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (London: Variorum, 1992), 322-26; David Jacoby, “Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean,” in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. Karl Borhardt, Nikolas Jaspert and Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 57-72; Jürgen Sarnowsky, “The Military Orders and Their Navies,” in *The Military Orders, Volume 4: On Land and by Sea*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 41-56.

<sup>203</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, “Historia Damiatina,” 194; *Foedera*, I/I, 282; *CPR* (1247-58), 158.

<sup>204</sup> *Corpus Christianorum: Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and others, 4 vols. (in 7 parts) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006-16), II/I, 242.

<sup>205</sup> *PR* (1216-25), 185.

<sup>206</sup> *MP*, *CM*, V, 93.

companies presumably demanded to be reimbursed for the time it took to get to customers.

Although lords generally organised the transport of contingents, costs broke down in various ways. It appears leaders often paid for the entirety of expenses. The Lord Edward almost certainly did so. Part of the 70,000lt secured from Louis IX was earmarked “pur nefs,” while the two surviving contracts between Edward and his chief retainers both included provision for the “hire” of ships.<sup>207</sup> Similarly, in the testament he had drawn up in the Holy Land, Hugh de Neville left money for the homeward passage of some of his followers.<sup>208</sup> Such support was not necessarily charitable or munificent in nature. As the contracts agreed by Edward indicate, transport could be secured in exchange for participation. In 1252 Peter of Savoy was granted a ship furnished with victuals and necessaries by Henry III; in return Peter promised to set out with the king in the forthcoming passage.<sup>209</sup>

In other instances, leaders appear to have split the cost between themselves and followers. This was clearly the sort of deal struck by the envoys who agreed the Treaty of Venice (1201); the first instalment of the shipping fee of 85,000 marks could not be met because too few crusaders had gathered at Venice.<sup>210</sup> Similarly, Richard I may have put some of the cost on his followers. The Lionheart procured a large fleet in the build-up to his crusade, securing many vessels at a discount rate, since as monarch he had right of requisition; on average he paid £50 per ship, roughly 2/3 of the market price.<sup>211</sup> As has been suggested elsewhere, it is possible that Richard expected the soldiers in his following, or at least a portion of them, to make up the remaining third.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> *Diplomatic Documents... 1101-1272*, 293-95, no. 419; *Foedera*, I/I, 481; *English Historical Documents, 1189-1327*, ed. by Harry Rothwell (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1975), 841, no. 210; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 118-19.

<sup>208</sup> Giuseppi, “On the Testament of Sir Hugh de Nevill,” 354.

<sup>209</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 188.

<sup>210</sup> *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedic mit Besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, ed. Gottlieb L. Tafel and Georg M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1964), I, 362-73, nos. 92-93; Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London: Pimlico, 2005), 66, 102-26.

<sup>211</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 80-82.

<sup>212</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 82.

Thus far this discussion has focused on leaders and their contingents. But not every crusader was in a retinue; some travelled alone or with friends and family.<sup>213</sup> Individuals of this sort organised their own shipping, purchasing a single place, or a smaller number of places, on a vessel heading eastwards. Detailed evidence from England is not available, but in 1246 it was possible to purchase first, second and third-class tickets at Marseilles; these cost 4lt, 60st and 40st, respectively.<sup>214</sup> By 1268 fares were somewhat cheaper, standing at 60st, 40st and 35st, respectively, while a fourth-class ticket was also available, requiring an outlay of 25st.<sup>215</sup> The consumer, then, had a variety of options, while prices were generally reasonable and by no means static. Yet the process was open to abuse. Self-interested onlookers could seize the opportunity to ticket-scalp. An example is provided by a contract drawn up in Marseilles in 1248. The document describes how Garnier Marignino secured from three citizens of Marseille two hundred spaces on a *buzze* called the Saint Leonard, paying 45st per place. Marignino promised to sell the said places to pilgrims. Doubtless Marignino included a mark-up in his eventual dealings, perhaps selling places for 56st each, for instance, thereby making a 25% profit.<sup>216</sup>

### Summary

Crusades were costly enterprises. Yet the size of individual expenditure was influenced heavily by wealth and status. The costs borne by aristocrats varied significantly, with the Lord Edward perhaps spending between £90,000 and £100,000 and others possibly spending sums in the low thousands of pounds. Nevertheless, whether expenditure was relatively high or low, aristocrats were, it seems, generally challenged financially by the prosecution of a crusade. It appears that knights, too, were often hard-pressed. The wage rates offered on crusades in the mid-thirteenth century suggest that a knight might

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<sup>213</sup> See Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Towards the History of the Popular Element of the Seventh Crusade," *Studi Medievali* 13 (1972): 267-79.

<sup>214</sup> Kedar, "Passenger List of a Crusader Ship," 271,

<sup>215</sup> Kedar, "Passenger List of a Crusader Ship," 271 note 21.

<sup>216</sup> *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce de Marseille au Moyen-Age*, ed. Louis Blancard, 2 vols. in 1 (Geneva: Mégarisot Reprints, 1978), II, 248-49, no. 914.

typically have had to spend between £30 and £70 a year on a campaign in the eastern theatre. For a poor knight, this would have been difficult to cover without the help of a stipend, for it represented an outlay of a multiple of annual revenue. The majority of bishops who went on crusade almost certainly spent sums comparable to their lay, aristocratic counterparts, for it appears that they, too, led and financed militarised retinues.

Specific costs go some way to making total expenditure understandable. Spiritual provisions could be a drain on resources. Some crusaders established new religious and charitable institutions. But this was rare. Most preferred to donate to existing communities. Such acts were not a humdrum feature of society; on the contrary, they were extraordinary, motivated by the intense religiosity engendered by the call of the cross. The fundamental motivation behind donations was, of course, spiritual. But the decision to deal with a particular institution was inevitably influenced by worldly considerations. Notably, many crusaders preferred to deal with communities that had a connection with their family. Spiritual measures were, however, by no means restricted to donations. Many crusaders quit their right to properties and confirmed previous transactions, thereby permanently abandoning claims to assets.

In addition to spiritual measures, crusaders often had to spend money on legal matters. The protection of assets was a priority for any landed *crucesignatus*, and the rolls of the Chancery are filled with references to the protections bought by crusaders. The high majority of these contained the *volumus* clause and lasted for four years; however, there were variations, with some protections being only simple in nature and others being set at different timescales. In addition, it was common for crusaders to appoint attorneys to look after their affairs during their absence. Most appointed one or two; however, a small minority, comprised mostly or perhaps entirely of extremely wealthy individuals, chose to appoint three or more, probably because their affairs were unusually complex and burdensome. Finally, many crusaders bought licences from the Crown to sell, pledge or lease property, despite

*Quantum praedecessores* stating that those signed with the cross were allowed raise money on assets.

Although the outlays on spiritual and legal measures were by no means insignificant, they paled in comparison to the sums spent on military matters. This was especially true for the leaders of retinues, since they were responsible for providing followers with financial and material support. One of the most significant drains on the resources of such men was wages, although it must be remembered that, even in the thirteenth century when the business of the cross had become relatively professionalised, contingents were almost always made up of both paid and unpaid followers; in other words, leaders were, generally speaking, not responsible for subsidising everyone, although they sometimes still gave a good deal of support to those not on their payroll through *ad hoc* gifts and subsidies. Equipment and supplies also required substantial outlays. By the thirteenth century all crusaders, save high status non-combatants, were expected to bring a weapon, armour and some supplies with them on campaign. Nevertheless, leaders still purchased large quantities of supplies in the build up to and the course of a campaign. Horses were yet another expense. Most crusaders preferred to acquire horses from their own farms or stables or as gifts or booty. But it was sometimes necessary or possible to purchase additional beasts. Transport was another cost. Broadly speaking, the leaders of retinues were responsible for organising shipping. But costs broke down in various ways. It appears leaders sometimes covered the entirety of expenses, but at other times defrayed costs between themselves and followers. Yet not every crusader was in a contingent; some travelled alone or with family and friends. Individuals of this sort arranged their own transport, paying for a single or a small number of places on a vessel. On the whole, fares were not exorbitant, but buyers had to be careful: ticket scalpers were eager to make a tidy profit.

All in all, it is clear that crusades required substantial supplies of money, with some requiring greater supplies than others. This raises important questions. How were expeditions funded? And who provided the most support?

## Chapter 2: “Public” Fundraising by the Crown

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of how the Crown financed crusades through “public” fundraising. Its principal contention is that the mechanisms used by the Crown – taxes of the kingdom and tallages of the Jewry – were of limited importance. Although national levies for the specific purpose of funding crusades made a promising start as a method of finance and generally brought in sizeable returns, they were rare, occurring only in 1188, 1201 and 1270. Furthermore, the tallage of the Jewry did not provide much additional revenue. Although Richard I and Henry III extracted a good deal of money from the Jewry when preparing for their crusades, there were only a few other instances of crusaders receiving funds from the Jewry and the sums involved were, though substantial, never enormous. The cumulative effect was that most crusaders never received money from these revenues, while those who did still had to turn to other sources of finance.

### Tax

Taxes in aid of the crusade movement were an invention of the later twelfth century. The first such levy took place in 1166, when Henry II of England and Louis VII of France, at the request of the pope, instigated a five-year tax in aid of the Holy Land.<sup>217</sup> However, this tax, like those of 1185 and 1222, was neither associated with a forthcoming expedition nor designed to subsidise the journeys of western crusaders; rather, it was employed to provide financial relief to the Crusader States.<sup>218</sup> The Saladin Tithe was the first tax tied to a specific expedition and used to fund crusaders.

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<sup>217</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1879-80), I, 198-99; Cazel, “Financing the Crusades,” 125-26. It is possible that Louis VII of France issued a “national” tax in 1146-47 to fund his crusade. However, it is far more likely that he made a series of piecemeal requests for funds, see Constable, “The Financing of the Crusades,” 118-21; Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 107.

<sup>218</sup> For discussion of these taxes, see Postscript; see also Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 189-90.

## The Saladin Tithe

The Saladin Tithe was the brainchild of the papacy.<sup>219</sup> In the early days of 1188 Clement III urged the rulers of western Europe to levy a tenth on their subjects.<sup>220</sup> The reason for the exhortation was that, following the Battle of Hattin (1187), a general passage (the Third Crusade) to the Holy Land had been called and it required, at the very least, adequate funding.<sup>221</sup> Shortly after taking the cross at Gisors on 21 January 1188, Henry II of England and Philip Augustus of France met at Le Mans and agreed to prosecute the tax in their realms; an ordinance was drawn up and, not long afterwards, the famous sobriquet was fashioned: the phrase “*decime Salahadini*” was used by Rigord in the *Gesta Philippi Augusti*.<sup>222</sup> In France the levy was, in the final outcome, an abject failure: it was strongly resisted and collection was abandoned.<sup>223</sup> Fortunately for the crusade, however, it met with greater success in England.

It was promulgated there on 11 February 1188 at the Council of Geddington, where a supplementary ordinance was issued.<sup>224</sup> Unlike the Le Mans document, the Geddington ordinance contained no detailed information about how the tax was to be collected; rather, it simply amended certain clauses in the Le Mans ordinance about who was liable for payment and what properties fell under the remit of the tax. Thus, taken together, the Le Mans and Geddington ordinances allow us to construct a picture of the terms of the

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<sup>219</sup> For previous discussions of the tax, see Round, “The Saladin Tithe,” 447-450; Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 68-69; Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, 56-58; Jurkowski, Smith and Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales*, 1-2.

<sup>220</sup> *Waverleia*, 245.

<sup>221</sup> *PL*, CCII, 1539-1542.

<sup>222</sup> For the Le Mans ordinance, see *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1867), II, 30-31; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols. (London: Longman, 1868-71), II, 335-36; for a general description of the terms of the Saladin Tithe, see William of Newburgh, “Historian Rerum Anglicarum,” in *Chron. Steph. Hen. Ric.*, I, 273-74; for the use of the phrase “*decime Salahadini*,” see Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. and trans. Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin (Paris: CNRS, 2006), 248; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 75, 396 note 96.

<sup>223</sup> *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France*, ed. Henri F. Delaborde and others, 6 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916-2005), I, 305-06, no. 252; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 77.

<sup>224</sup> For the Geddington ordinance, see *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 409-10; *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 31-32; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 336-37.

Saladin Tithe and how it was implemented; there are, however, some differences between the various surviving transcriptions of the documents and these will be highlighted when necessary. The rate matched the pope's request and, as such, was unprecedentedly high: a tenth on income and moveable goods for one year. Not all property was liable. Arms, horses and clothes were exempt for knights;<sup>225</sup> horses, books, clothes, vestments and church furniture for clergymen<sup>226</sup> (in Geddington horses were removed);<sup>227</sup> and precious stones for both clergy and laity.<sup>228</sup> What is more, under the terms of Le Mans, clergy and knights who took the cross were exempt from payment and were to receive all the money rendered in their own lands and the lands of "their men";<sup>229</sup> the authors of Geddington altered this to clergy, knights and their followers, thereby providing encouragement for the lower classes to take the cross.<sup>230</sup> However, according to a clause in Gervase of Canterbury's version of Geddington, burgesses who took the cross without permission still had to contribute, while the version of Geddington recorded

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<sup>225</sup> *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 30-31: Clause I, "*exceptis armis et equis, et vestibus militum*"; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 335: Clause I, "*exceptis armis et equis et vestibus militum*."

<sup>226</sup> *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 30-31: Clause I, "*exceptis similiter equis et libris et vestibus et vestimentis, et omnimoda capella clericorum*"; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 335: Clause I, "*exceptis equis et libris et vestibus et vestimentis et omnimoda capella clericorum*."

<sup>227</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 409: Clause II, "*exceptis libris et vestibus et vestimentis clericorum, et capella*"; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 336: Clause II, "*exceptis vestibus et libris et vestimentis clericorum, et capellanorum*"; *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 31: Clause II, "*exceptis vestibus et libris et vestimentis clericorum et capellanorum*."

<sup>228</sup> According to William of Newburgh, "Historian Rerum Anglicarum," 273 grain was also exempt: "*et de communi consilio statutum est quod unusquisque, tam clericus quam laicus, decimam omnium reddituum suorum unius anni et mobilium suorum, quae nunc possidet, excepto blado istius anni, dabit ad subventionem terrae Ierosolymitanae*."

<sup>229</sup> *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 31: Clause III, "*Clerici autem et milites, qui crucem acceperunt, nihil de decima ista dabunt, sed de proprio suo et dominico; et quicquid homines illorum debuerint ad opus illorum colligentur per supradictos, et eis totum reddetur*"; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 336: Clause III, "*Clerici autem, et milites, qui crucem acceperint, nihil de decima ista dabunt, sed de proprio suo et dominico, et quicquid homines eorum debuerint ad opus illorum, colligentur per supradictos, et eis totum reddetur*."

<sup>230</sup> *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 336: Clause III, "*Clerici autem, et milites, qui crucem acceperint, nihil de decima ista dabunt, sed de proprio suo et dominico, et quicquid homines eorum debuerint ad opus illorum, colligentur per supradictos, et eis totum reddetur*"; *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 32: Clause III, "*Dispositum est etiam quod omnes clerici, milites et servientes qui hoc iter arripient, decimas terrarum suarum et hominum suorum habeant, et pro se nihil dabunt*"; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 409: Clause III, "*Notandum etiam quod omnes clerici et milites et servientes, qui hoc iter arripient, decimas terrarum suarum et decimas hominum suorum habebunt, et pro se nichil dabunt*."

in Roger of Howden's *Chronica* and the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* included peasants in that clause.<sup>231</sup> Property was self-assessed; but if a taxpayer was found underpaying, he was to be excommunicated and four or six law-worthy men from the local parish were to make an assessment and secure the proper sum.<sup>232</sup> Collection was conducted by a wide variety of individuals, namely, a parish priest, a rural dean, a Templar, a Hospitaller, a servant of the king, a clerk of the king, a "servant of a baron and his clerk" and a clerk of a bishop.<sup>233</sup> Given the novel nature of the tax, this was sensible. It decreased the possibility that one social group might feel defrauded by another.

Collection soon got underway. The Pipe Roll for the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry II (1187-88) recorded payments of £29 10½d from bishopric of London and £5 14s 2d from the abbey of Saint Mary.<sup>234</sup> The Pipe Roll for the first year of the reign of Richard I (1189-90) noted payments of £7 17s 4d and £2 9s 3½d from the bishoprics of Winchester and London, respectively.<sup>235</sup> It was, however, highly unusual for such deposits to be paid into and recorded by the Exchequer. This was because Henry II appears to have established, for the purpose of the Saladin Tithe, a central depository in Salisbury.<sup>236</sup> Though unfortunate for the historian – if detailed records were produced by the clerks

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<sup>231</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 409: Clause IV, "*Burgenses, qui sine licentia crucem acceperint, nichilominus decimas dabunt.*" *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 336; *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 32: Clause IV, "*Burgenses vero et rustici, qui sine licentia crucem acceperint, nihilominus decimas dabunt.*"

<sup>232</sup> *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 31: Clause II, "*Et si aliquis juxta conscientiam illorum minus dederit, quam debuerit, eligentur de parochia quatuor vel sex viri legitimi, qui jurati dicant quantitatem illam quam ille debuisset dixisse; et tunc oportebit illam superaddere quod minus dedit.*"; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 336: Clause II, "*et si aliquis juxta conscientiam illorum minus dederit, quam debuerit, eligentur de parochia quatuor vel sex viri legitimi, qui jurati dicant quantitatem illam quam ille debuisset dixisse, et tunc oportebit illam superaddere quod minus dedit.*"

<sup>233</sup> *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, II, 31: Clause II, "*Colligatur autem pecunia ista in singulis parochiis, praesente presbytero parochiae, et archipresbytero, et uno Templario et uno Hospitalario, et serviente domini regis et cleric regis, serviente baronis et cleric ejus et cleric episcopi*"; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 336-37: Clause II, "*Colligatur autem pecunia ista in singulis parochiis, praesente presbytero parochiae et archipresbytero, et uno Templario et uno Hospitalario, et serviente domini regis et clerico regis, et serviente baronis et clerico episcopi.*"

<sup>234</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-Fourth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1187-1188*, ed. Pipe Roll Society (Pipe Roll Society 38, 1925), 11, 216.

<sup>235</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the First Year of the Reign of King Richard the First, A.D. 1189-1190*, ed. Joseph Hunter (London: George E. Eyre, 1844), 5, 12.

<sup>236</sup> Round, "Saladin Tithe," 448-49.

of Salisbury, they have since perished – the decision was politically astute. Salisbury was not a traditional financial centre; by making it the headquarters of the Saladin Tithe, Henry highlighted the extraordinary nature of the levy.<sup>237</sup>

It is impossible to calculate the precise yield of the Saladin Tithe. Yet it was clearly high. According to Gervase of Canterbury the tax brought in £70,000, while Roger of Howden claimed that Richard left England with over 100,000 marks (£66,666).<sup>238</sup> Although these figures, as with any figures provided by medieval chroniclers, must not be taken at face value, the impression they give is supported by the regrettably scanty records of disbursement. The sums recorded as outgoing were fairly large. The Pipe Roll of the first year of the reign of Richard I recorded the Salisbury deposit dispatching 200 marks to Bristol, £2,500 to Gloucester and 5,000 marks to Southampton.<sup>239</sup> Furthermore, shortly before his departure, Richard made a variety of substantial purchases, many of which were presumably funded by the Tithe: among other things, 50,000 horseshoes, a supply of iron (*ferrum*) and 276 measures of dry beans were bought from Gloucestershire; “140 cheeses” and “300 bacons” from Essex and Hertfordshire; and “800 bacons,” twenty measures of beans, 10,000 horseshoes and “100 cheeses” from Hampshire.<sup>240</sup> Perhaps one authority on the preparations of Richard was correct when he asserted that the levy was “a success on a scale perhaps not seen since the massive gelds of the early eleventh century.”<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 78; Round, “Saladin Tithe,” 449.

<sup>238</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 422; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, III, 8.

<sup>239</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the First Year of the Reign of King Richard the First*, 178. Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, 58, in an apparent misreading of Round, “The Saladin Tithe,” 447-48, claimed unconvincingly that these sums might have constituted the total yield. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 79, asserted incorrectly that “twenty-five hundred marks” went to Gloucester; the relevant passage reads: “*M. M. et D. li. a. Saresb. Usq. Glocer.*”

<sup>240</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second Year of the Reign of King Richard the First, Michaelmas 1190*, ed. Doris M. Stenton (Pipe Roll Society NS1, 1925), 53, 104, 131-32.

<sup>241</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 79.

## Fortieth of 1201

The next levy tied to an expedition was the fortieth of 1201.<sup>242</sup> As with the Saladin Tithe, the papacy played an important role in the gestation of the tax. In 1199 Innocent III levied a fortieth on the Church in aid of the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204).<sup>243</sup> However, its collection was, at first, resisted by the clergy.<sup>244</sup> As a result, in 1200 Innocent began making efforts to persuade John, king of England, and Philip Augustus to support the crusade.<sup>245</sup> The kings did not immediately acquiesce. However, in June 1201, at a meeting in Paris, the two monarchs decided to aid the expedition, announcing a one-year fortieth on their revenues and those of their vassals.<sup>246</sup>

It is not known whether the fortieth was collected in France.<sup>247</sup> However, it was certainly collected in England, though this is not to say that every inhabitant of *Anglia* handed over the required funds. The terms of the fortieth and how it was collected can be deduced from a letter of 1201 from the justiciar, Geoffrey, son of Peter, to the sheriffs of England, for the missive informed recipients about how to organise and implement the extraction.<sup>248</sup> The tax was levied on the king's income [*reditus*], lands, wards and escheats. It was also imposed upon earls, barons, knights and freemen. The earls, barons and knights paid a fortieth on all the vills they held in full or in part; the sum due was based on an estimate of what the vills would accrue if farmed. Freemen, on the other hand, paid a sum equal to a fortieth of the rent they handed over to their lord each year. Assessments were not conducted by royal agents; rather, taxpayers assessed themselves. Payments were collected by "discreet and legal men" appointed by sheriffs and deposited in the New

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<sup>242</sup> For a previous discussion of the tax, see Sydney K. Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation Under John and Henry III* (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), 45-46.

<sup>243</sup> *FR*, I, 240-42.

<sup>244</sup> See Chapter 3; see also *FR*, I, 241-42.

<sup>245</sup> See *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales: A Calendar*, ed. Christopher R. Cheney and Mary. G. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 42, no. 255; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. August Potthast, 2 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1957), I, 101, no. 1102.

<sup>246</sup> *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France*, II, 239-41, no. 680.

<sup>247</sup> Christopher R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1976), 248.

<sup>248</sup> *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 188-89; *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, II, 194-95.

Temple, London. The deadline for payment was 27 January 1202. Strikingly, the tax was, in theory, voluntary: according to Geoffrey's missive, taxpayers were to hand over money out of "charity" and a "pure heart."<sup>249</sup> However, in practice, men were put under a good deal of pressure to contribute. Payments were recorded on lists.<sup>250</sup> Moreover, those who refused to pay were recorded by name and reported to the king.<sup>251</sup>

The total yield of the fortieth is unknown: no final account has survived. Nevertheless, it appears to have raised a small, yet respectable sum. Our sources are sprinkled with references to the transfer of modest quantities of specie. The Pipe Roll for 1202 recorded payments made by ten manors and the men of Nottingham; the cumulative sum stood at £44 2s 6d.<sup>252</sup> The cartulary of the monastery of Ramsey noted that the monks made payment of £6 15s.<sup>253</sup> The Plea Rolls refer to crusaders receiving funds contributed by kinsmen. Walter de Dunstanville, a crusader, took tithes worth £9 from the land of Alan his nephew, but died before he set out.<sup>254</sup> The father of Robert de Marisco assumed the cross and took the tithes from his lands; however, he, too, died before setting out. As a result, Robert left for Jerusalem in his father's stead, taking with him, among other things, the aforementioned tithes.<sup>255</sup> Furthermore, a missive of 1202 from John, king of England, to the

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<sup>249</sup> *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 188; *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, II, 194: "caritatis intuitu" and "puro corde."

<sup>250</sup> Notably, a separate list and indeed treasury was kept for the monies handed over by crusaders so that such men could have their deposits returned to them at the time of their departure, see *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 188-89; *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, II, 194-95.

<sup>251</sup> *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 189; *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, II, 195. Cazell, "Financing the Crusades," 127 slightly misrepresented this process when he wrote that "those who refused to pay were ordered to give the king their reasons," for the relevant passage in the justiciar's letter merely states that their names should be presented to the king: "Si qui autem contradixerint huic collectae assensum praebere, nomina eorum imbreventur, et coram nobis repraesententur apud Lundonias ad terminum praedictum, et hoc breve et nomina collectorum ibidem habeantur."

<sup>252</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourth Year of the Reign of King John*, ed. Doris M. Stenton (Pipe Roll Society NS15, 1937), 17, 41, 138, 144, 172, 182, 187, 198, 273, 277; Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, 248 note 45 incorrectly totalled the sum at £44 2s 7d.

<sup>253</sup> *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, I, 227-28 (esp. 228), no. 142.

<sup>254</sup> *Pleas Before the King or His Justices, 1198-1202*, ed. Doris M. Stenton, 2 vols. (Selden Society 67-68, 1952-53), II, 49, no. 247.

<sup>255</sup> *Pleas Before the King or His Justices, 1198-1202*, II, 49, no. 248.

archbishop of Rouen ordered that the funds collected “in our land” (presumably a reference to all Angevin territories)<sup>256</sup> must be transferred to Jerusalem by the Hospitallers, Templars and trustworthy subjects of the king, then disbursed to crusaders from the regions where the money originated and then, if there were funds remaining, to foreigners.<sup>257</sup> Such an instruction would have been peculiar if the yield was embarrassingly small.

Whatever the precise yield, it is likely that the sum raised was sufficient to help cover the expenses of many, perhaps most, *crucesignati* from England on the Fourth Crusade. This is because very few joined the expedition.<sup>258</sup> Indeed, only a handful of individuals can be identified.<sup>259</sup> For example, Robert of Leaveland, warden of the Fleet Prison in London, departed in 1201, while Henry Longchamp, the former sheriff of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, began his journey in 1202.<sup>260</sup> In short, though probably small, the proceeds of the fortieth were likely commensurate with the basic needs of at least a substantial proportion of the crusaders from England.

Thus, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, it might have appeared to some crusaders who had received funds from the levies of 1188 and 1201 that a new means of financing crusades had been established. If so, their hopes were misguided. The Fifth Crusade, the Bishops’ Crusade (1227-29), the Barons’ Crusade (1239-41), the crusade of William Longespee (1249-50), the expedition of Otto de Grandson (1290) and the Hospitaller and Popular Crusade (1309-10) were all prosecuted without such support. In fact, only a single such tax was ever again implemented: the twentieth of 1270 for the Lord Edward’s expedition to the eastern theatre.

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<sup>256</sup> Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, 247-48.

<sup>257</sup> *RLP*, 5.

<sup>258</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 96.

<sup>259</sup> For a list of crusaders from England around the time of the Fourth Crusade, see Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220*, App. A.

<sup>260</sup> Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, 71.

## Twentieth of 1270

The first stirrings of the twentieth occurred in 1268.<sup>261</sup> At the parliament of Northampton at Midsummer the Lord Edward took the cross, inspired by the preaching of cardinal Ottobuono and the example of perhaps the most ardent and famous crusader of the age, Louis IX of France, who had taken the cross for the second time in March 1267.<sup>262</sup> Although Edward's father, Henry III, had been bound to crusade since he took the crusader's vow in 1250, it was Edward who soon came to be seen as the leader of the English expedition.<sup>263</sup> From the offset, it was clear that his host would be large: many others assumed the cross at Northampton, including Edmund Crouchback, Henry of Almain, the earl of Gloucester, earl Warenne, William de Valence and, according to Wykes, 120 knights.<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, more men took the cross over the coming years: Guisborough claimed, perhaps optimistically, that Edward eventually had with him 1,000 men.<sup>265</sup> Such a host would clearly need a lot of money to get it to the eastern theatre and, just as important, keep it in the field when there.

However, as Maddicott has pointed out, the available options for raising money were far from promising. The Church was already being taxed. In 1266 Clement IV had ordered a three year tenth on clerical incomes in order to alleviate the financial difficulties of Henry III, while a twentieth for the Disinherited was also underway.<sup>266</sup> Thus, the Church, it seemed, would not acquiesce to yet another levy. It therefore fell to the monarch, Henry III, to help fund his son's journey. He had various options at his disposal. He could offer gifts, permit the realisation of landed assets and grant financial

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<sup>261</sup> Much of the following discussion is based heavily on, and is greatly indebted to, John R. Maddicott, "The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270 and the Development of Parliament," in *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference 1987*, ed. Peter Coss and Simon Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), 93-117. See also Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation*, 295-99; Jurkowski, Smith and Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales*, 18-19.

<sup>262</sup> See, for example, *Oseneia*, 216-17; *Waverleia*, 375; *Wintonia*, 106-07; *Wykes*, 217-18.

<sup>263</sup> For Henry III, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 111, 124-32; for Edward as leader, see *Wykes*, 229; Maddicott, "The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270," 93.

<sup>264</sup> See, for example, *Oseneia*, 216-17; *Waverleia*, 375; *Wintonia*, 106-07; *Wykes*, 217-18.

<sup>265</sup> *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, 207; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 71.

<sup>266</sup> *FR*, I, 292-310; Maddicott, "The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270," 94.

liberties.<sup>267</sup> But only a national tax could truly provide enough funds to support the crusade. This must have been a daunting situation. As we have seen, no levy in support of a crusade had been made since 1201. More generally, no tax on lay moveables had been prosecuted since the thirtieth of 1237.<sup>268</sup>

Nevertheless, a parliament – by the late thirteenth century a formal, if nascent consultative body that had the power to grant or reject proposed taxes<sup>269</sup> – was convened in York in September 1268 and a tax for the crusade was proposed. The only source who recorded the meeting was the continuator of William of Newburgh. Fortunately, he is reliable, for he likely drew upon the eyewitness account of his abbot, who was often among the Cistercian leaders called to parliament.<sup>270</sup> Here is his account:

On the nativity of the Holy Virgin the king [Henry III] held a parliament... [T]here assembled himself and the king of Scotland and the queens of both with Edward and Edmund... And almost all the nobles of England... [T]he highest business of the king was to empty [*emungere*] the purses of those present.<sup>271</sup>

However, Henry was unable to secure approval for a tax. This was because parliament was not fully assembled; it appears the commons – that is, the knights and possibly the burgesses – were absent.<sup>272</sup> Thus, he “ordered all the men, who were near and who were absent,” to assemble at London on the Translation of Saint Edward [13 October] to “conduct the business of the kingdom.”<sup>273</sup> This was to be the first of many setbacks in the securing of the grant. Indeed, it took several further parliaments for a tax to be properly agreed upon. These, along with the parliament at York, have been masterfully

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<sup>267</sup> For this sort of fundraising, see Chapter 4.

<sup>268</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 94; Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation*, 214-221.

<sup>269</sup> John R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 274-75.

<sup>270</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 95-96.

<sup>271</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 554. Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 96 note 17 pointed out that, although the word “*emungere*” is an editorial insertion necessitated by a gap in the manuscript, it is highly likely that some such word was used.

<sup>272</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 554; Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 96-97.

<sup>273</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 554.

contextualised and analysed by Maddicott, but it will prove useful to give an overview of them here.<sup>274</sup>

The first took place, as planned, in London on 13 October. The meeting is well documented, with accounts by the continuator of William of Newburgh, the continuator of Gervase of Canterbury and Arnold fitzThedmar. The latter two writers only described the trouble caused at the meeting by the archbishop of Canterbury, who insisted on carrying his cross in the province of Canterbury.<sup>275</sup> The account by the continuator of William of Newburgh, however, is far more informative:

At the stated time, when there had assembled archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors and other rectors of churches, with earls, barons, knights and innumerable other people, and when the crusade had been preached, the king ordered all who had not taken the cross to do so. Afterwards he imposed financial exactions on everyone. For he exacted tenths from the beneficed, from a lay tenement for every carucate 20s and for every acre 6d.<sup>276</sup>

Thus, the parliament was, at first glance, a success. It was well attended and a tax, though by no means the twentieth that was eventually agreed,<sup>277</sup> was granted. But the achievement was ephemeral.<sup>278</sup> The continuator of William of Newburgh tells of how afterwards the “leaders and faithful men of the kingdom took counsel” and “asked for a delay” on their payments.<sup>279</sup> Henry acquiesced, granting “deferments, for some until Christmas, for others until Easter, for others later.”<sup>280</sup> But these proved no more than a fiction, for “afterwards nothing was done” to secure collection and no money was deposited.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> See Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 93-117.

<sup>275</sup> Arnold fitzThedmar, *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, 108; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, II, 247-48; Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 98.

<sup>276</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 554-55; English trans. Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 98.

<sup>277</sup> See Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 100.

<sup>278</sup> There was, however, a brief attempt to organise collection, see *CR (1264-68)*, 557-59; Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 99.

<sup>279</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 555; English trans. Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 98.

<sup>280</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 555; English trans. Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 98.

<sup>281</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 555.

Indeed, for several months after the October parliament no attempt was made to revive the tax. This was probably at least in part because Henry was reeling from his defeat and the political environment was not conducive to another attempt at securing the extraction. However, as Maddicott perceptively suggested, there may also have been a financial motivation at work. Since 1232 it had become standard for assessment and collection of moveables to take place in September, for “it was at that time of year, after the harvest but before the autumn slaughtering of stock, that the taxable wealth of the country was at its greatest.”<sup>282</sup> Thus, Henry may have decided it best to wait until the summer of 1269 before trying to secure the levy again.<sup>283</sup>

Maddicott’s hypothesis is borne out by Henry’s actions. Between January and April 1269 the king developed and announced legislation that restricted Jewish moneylending and cancelled a forthcoming eyre in Lincoln – both acts were probably made with the intention of securing political support among the knights and burgesses for when the tax was next proposed.<sup>284</sup> More significantly, in July 1269 the issue of the tax was again raised at a parliament at Westminster. The meeting is not well documented: no chronicler mentions it. We know of it thanks to a letter patent of Henry III written at Winchester on 21 June. In this document Henry announced the postponement of the Midsummer parliament at London because he had been recently afflicted by a “tertian fever.”<sup>285</sup> He asked the “archbishops and all others” coming to the parliament to “await his arrival for a little while” and promised that, on the day after his arrival, he would make arrangements “to have treaty and colloquy with them.”<sup>286</sup> The king arrived in Westminster around 1 July and took up residence there for the rest of the month.<sup>287</sup> What was discussed at the eventual meeting is recorded by a letter which Henry sent to Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, on 7 August. The king informed the prelate that

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<sup>282</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 101.

<sup>283</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 101.

<sup>284</sup> For detailed discussion, see Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 101-03.

<sup>285</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 384.

<sup>286</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 384.

<sup>287</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 103.

a “twentieth in support of the Holy Land” had been granted; it had, furthermore, been decreed that the bishops or other clergymen must get the knights appointed as collectors in each county to take an oath regarding their work.<sup>288</sup> At face value, then, it appears that Henry had finally succeeded: the tax had been granted and the machinery of collection was being put into place. But there was a problem. The July parliament was poorly attended, probably comprising only the upper clergy and the great magnates – hence the lack of comment from chroniclers.<sup>289</sup> Thus, for the levy to have the approval of wider society, another parliament had to be convened.

This took place in October. The parliament was probably one of the best attended in the reign of Henry III.<sup>290</sup> As such, it was well documented: several chroniclers, along with an entry in the Close Rolls, mention it and, with a single exception,<sup>291</sup> all agree that it was this parliament that granted the twentieth,<sup>292</sup> or that assessment began around that time.<sup>293</sup> Wykes, for instance, wrote that those present assented to a twentieth on the “all moveable property of the laity throughout the kingdom of England.”<sup>294</sup> Likewise, Arnold fitzThedemar declared that “all the freemen of the kingdom of England... of vills... cities... boroughs, and elsewhere, gave unto his lordship the King one twentieth part of all their moveable goods.”<sup>295</sup> However, as has been argued persuasively elsewhere, these assertions were not quite correct.<sup>296</sup> In fact, only assessment for the tax had been approved; collection

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<sup>288</sup> *Concillia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. David Wilkins, 4 vols. (London: R. Gosling, 1737), II, 20; Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 103.

<sup>289</sup> See Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 103-05.

<sup>290</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 105.

<sup>291</sup> *Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*, 143-44.

<sup>292</sup> *Wykes*, 227-28; Arnold fitzThedemar, *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, 122; “Annales Londonienses,” in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1882), I, 80; *CR (1268-72)*, 245.

<sup>293</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 556; Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-170,” 104, 117 – on the latter page Maddicott mistakenly referenced *CR (1268-72)*, 245 as *CPR (1266-72)*, 245.

<sup>294</sup> *Wykes*, 227.

<sup>295</sup> Arnold fitzThedemar, *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, 122; English trans. *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, A.D. 1188 to A.D. 1274*, trans. Henry T. Riley (London: Trübner, 1863), 127.

<sup>296</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 106-7.

had not been. The tax was “granted, yet not granted.”<sup>297</sup> Or as the Norwich chronicler phrased it, “the king asked for a twentieth on all the goods of the laity of England. His request, however, was not yet conceded, but hung thus in suspense.”<sup>298</sup> What is more, the grant of assessment related only to the laity; the Church had not agreed to any such valuation. Thus, at the end of 1269, Henry had two challenges in regards to the tax: to get the laity to agree to collection and to persuade the Church to permit assessment and collection. For this to happen, the issue had to be raised again in parliament, preferably sooner rather than later, for the Lord Edward had recently agreed to depart for the East with Louis IX from Aigues-Mortes on 15 August 1270.<sup>299</sup>

Thus, it was not very long before another parliament was summoned. On 27 April 1270 the earls, barons and bishops, as well as knights and free tenants, assembled “to discuss the twentieth and the journey of the crusaders.”<sup>300</sup> Here Henry was finally successful; as the Norwich chronicler succinctly put it, the tax was “conceded to the lord king.”<sup>301</sup> Collection was permitted to begin on lay properties, while valuation and collection was approved in clerical lands; however, in return, the assembly demanded that the Charters (i.e. Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest) were reissued.<sup>302</sup> Thus, the tax was officially announced around 12 May and the following day the Charters of 1225 were proclaimed at St. Paul’s cross by nine bishops.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 106.

<sup>298</sup> *Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*, 143; English trans. Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 106.

<sup>299</sup> *Diplomatic Documents... 1101-1272*, 293-95, no. 419; *Foedera*, I/I, 481; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 72.

<sup>300</sup> For quote, see *Wintonia*, 108. For other accounts of the parliament, see Arnold fitzThedmar, *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, 122; *Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*, 144; *Concillia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, II, 22-23; *Oseneia*, 232-33; *Waverleia*, 376; *Wigornia*, 459. See also Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 109.

<sup>301</sup> *Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*, 144.

<sup>302</sup> Arnold fitzThedmar, *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, 122; *Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*, 144; *Concillia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, II, 22-23; *Oseneia*, 232-33; *Waverleia*, 376; *Wigornia*, 459; *Wintonia*, 108.

<sup>303</sup> Maddicott, “The Crusade Taxation of 1268-1270,” 109. For discussion of the Charters of 1225, see David Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London: Penguin, 2015), 417-29. The bishops who reissued the charters were as follows: Nicholas, bishop of Winchester; John, bishop of Hereford; Godfrey, bishop of Worcester; Roger, bishop of Norwich; Laurence, bishop of Rochester; Roger, bishop of Chester; Walter, bishop of Salisbury; William, bishop of Bath; and Anian, bishop of Bangor, see Arnold fitzThedmar, *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, 122-23.

The Lord Edward now had just over three months before he had to set sail with Louis IX. The result was that, when it came to assessment and collection, the government preferred expediency over the highest possible valuation and yield. This was especially true in the case of the Church, since no assessments had yet taken place. Thus, on 26 May the king granted

to all bishops of the realm that they may cause the twentieth in aid of the Holy Land which they lately courteously granted contingent upon them and their villeins to be assessed and collected by their own ministers...<sup>304</sup>

This, on its own, would have doubtless sped up assessment and collection. But Henry went on to improve the chance of a swift process by stating that self-assessment and collection would only continue to be permitted if ecclesiastics deposited the “the money of the twentieth of their own goods by Midsummer” and “all the money of the twentieth of the goods of their villeins” by the following Michaelmas.<sup>305</sup> Thus, if a clergyman was late in payment, assessors appointed by the Crown would value his property, likely at a comparatively high rate, and secure receipt – a powerful motivation for churchmen to make assiduous payment.<sup>306</sup>

Furthermore, taxpayers, whether lay or spiritual, were allowed to pay a fine – presumably set at a sum deemed slightly lower than a proper assessed contribution – acquitting them from assessment and indeed the twentieth itself. Many people and institutions took up the offer. In fact, some did so in the build up to the April parliament or before the promulgation of the tax in early May, perhaps because Henry III, anticipating parliament’s decision, may have ordered collection to begin early in some counties,<sup>307</sup> but possibly also out of a pious desire to help the forthcoming crusade. On 26 March the burgesses of Worcester agreed to pay a fine of £100.<sup>308</sup> The following day the mayor and burgess of Grimsby agreed to pay 120 marks, thereby ensuring

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<sup>304</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 431.

<sup>305</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 431.

<sup>306</sup> For an example of this taking place, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 548.

<sup>307</sup> Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament*, 269.

<sup>308</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 416.

their goods were henceforth “quit of the twentieth granted to the king in aid of the Holy Land.”<sup>309</sup> Most, however, made such commitments after the announcement of the twentieth. On 21 November 1270 the abbot and convent of Sulby received quittance for agreeing to pay a fine during the fortnight of Hilary [13 – 27 January] 1271, while in January 1271 the burgesses of Bishop’s Lynn were granted the same liberty for a fee of 100 marks.<sup>310</sup> The size of – and consent to – a fine was neither arbitrary nor straightforward. Rather, it was the result of considered negotiation. This is demonstrated by a case recorded in the Patent Rolls. An entry under the date 28 April 1270 described how William de Holgate, a citizen of Lincoln, came to Westminster to discuss the payment of the twentieth by himself and his fellow citizens. It was agreed that “for a fine” of 200 marks the citizens of Lincoln could be quit of the tax. However, the agreement was not binding, for it stated that “if they [the citizens of Lincoln] are content with the said fine, they [will] let the king have the money on the feast of the Holy Trinity [8 June 1270]; and, if not... the mayor and others of the city... shall cause the twentieth... to be assessed as such twentieth is assessed elsewhere in the realm.”<sup>311</sup>

Payment of the tax and associated fines began in July 1270, with a central depository being set up at the New Temple, London.<sup>312</sup> On 16 July William de Wintreshull, sheriff of Hampshire, was reimbursed for the money he spent on the “carriage of the money arising from the king’s twentieth.”<sup>313</sup> Around the same time Guychard de Charrun, sheriff of Northumberland, carried 600 marks of the twentieth for 20 days from his county to London.<sup>314</sup> The monastery of Ramsey deposited £66 13s 4d in October.<sup>315</sup> However, some payments took much longer to secure. The prior and convent of Waltham, for

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<sup>309</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 416.

<sup>310</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 493, 513.

<sup>311</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 422-23.

<sup>312</sup> For examples of the New Temple being used as a depository, see *Lancashire Lay Subsidies... (1216-1307)*, 100-03; *CPR (1266-72)*, 513, 540; *Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, II, 338, no. 678.

<sup>313</sup> *CLR (1267-72)*, 132, no. 1146.

<sup>314</sup> *CLR (1267-72)*, 133, no. 1158; for further examples, see *Lancashire Lay Subsidies... (1216-1307)*, 100-03.

<sup>315</sup> *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, II, 293, no. 417.

example, did not render payment until 27 August 1271.<sup>316</sup> The abbot of Glastonbury handed over the money owed by him and his villeins on 16 January 1272, while the prior and convent of Penteneye did so on 15 October 1273.<sup>317</sup> Notably, fines were not necessarily deposited more punctually. The burgesses of Grimsby did not, it seems, make payment for their fine until June 1271, over a year after the initial agreement; moreover, they did not pay the full amount, handing over only 100 marks.<sup>318</sup> Such delays were doubtless primarily a result of some taxpayers not enthusiastically gathering together cash and handing it over. However, it was possibly also a consequence of an overburdened workforce. In July 1276 the Chancery enrolled a letter patent regarding William de Middleton, a collector of the twentieth since at least 1271.<sup>319</sup> It declared that since William was “so burdened with the custody of the rolls and writs... touching pleas of the Bench,” he was permitted to “deliver the keys relating to the said twentieth” to the barons of the Exchequer, for “them to commit to fit persons.”<sup>320</sup> Presumably William and other collectors were similarly burdened during the early years of the administration of the twentieth.

The original emphasis on a speedy collection was so great that it caused some taxmen to be overly zealous in their work. On 7 November 1270 Henry III commissioned two of his clerks to lead an enquiry into the conduct of such individuals in Kent, Surrey and Sussex. The appointees were to look into how much each “township” paid, whether assessors behaved “faithfully or grieved the poor above measure,” and whether “taxers, collectors and jurors” embezzled any money or accepted bribes. If any such acts were discovered, the clerks were to make “swift amends.”<sup>321</sup> It is not known how many such acts were discovered; however, given that such a commission was required, it is likely that a fair number were taking place.

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<sup>316</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 574.

<sup>317</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 616; *CPR (1272-81)*, 30.

<sup>318</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 416, 538.

<sup>319</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 548; *CPR (1272-81)*, 154.

<sup>320</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 154.

<sup>321</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 585-86.

The twentieth raised a large sum of money. An account drawn up in the first year of the reign of Edward stated that it had brought in 47,233 marks 5s 6½d (£31,488 17s 10½d).<sup>322</sup> Of this, 24,184 marks 3s had been delivered to the Lord Edward before or after his departure, while 22,500 marks had been transferred to Henry of Almain and other knights going to the Holy Land (the remaining 549 marks 2s 6½d had been given to the citizens of Worcester).<sup>323</sup> Of this money, cities and towns contributed £2,086 1s 4d, the archbishop of York and other bishops £541 6s 8d and abbots, priors and other religious men £1,848 9s 3d. The majority of the funds, however, came from the counties, with their contribution standing at £27,013 7½d.<sup>324</sup> Not surprisingly, some counties raised more than others. For instance, Lincoln and Kent gave receipt for £2,208 2s 8d and £2,322 10s, respectively, whereas Huntingdon and Derby deposited only £264 and £479.<sup>325</sup> Nevertheless, all in all, the tax was a success: although it had proved difficult to secure, it had brought in a sizeable return and done much to aid the crusade.

### The Decline of Taxation

Our discussion thus far has made it clear that royal taxes could raise substantial sums for crusades, and that this method of fundraising began fairly promisingly, with the Third Crusade and the Fourth Crusade securing finance from it, albeit to varying extents. This raises the question: why did most subsequent crusades not receive money from such revenue? Certainly, it was not because enthusiasm for the *sanctum negotium* diminished. As various historians have demonstrated, crusading fervour continued into the fourteenth century and beyond.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> *Lancashire Lay Subsidies... (1216-1307)*, 104-05. The clerks who drew up the account stated that £31,488 18s 10 ½d was disbursed from the twentieth, thereby adding a shilling onto its total yield. This appears to have been a scribal error, for if one adds up the sums paid by taxpayers (£2,086 1s 4d from cities and towns, £541 6s 8d from bishops, including the archbishop of York, and £1,848 9s 3d from abbots, priors and other religious men) then the total comes to £31,488 17s 10½d.

<sup>323</sup> *Lancashire Lay Subsidies... (1216-1307)*, 104-05. See also *CCR (1272-79)*, 104.

<sup>324</sup> The account included the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne among the counties, *Lancashire Lay Subsidies... (1216-1307)*, 104-05.

<sup>325</sup> *Lancashire Lay Subsidies... (1216-1307)*, 104-05.

<sup>326</sup> See, for example, Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 275-315; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, 1-216; Alan V. Murray, "Conclusion: Transformations of Crusading

It appears various factors precluded the normalisation of royal taxes for crusades. Perhaps most significantly, the rise of collective fundraising by the Church in the thirteenth century (of which more in the next chapter) must have made the kings of England and indeed other monarchs feel less obliged to raise funds. As we have seen, after the Fourth Crusade nearly every crusade went without the support of royal taxes. On the other hand, the majority of expeditions were aided by newly introduced papal fundraising schemes, such as the taxation of the Church, the redemption programme and bequests and donations to the Holy Land. The Fifth Crusade, for example, received at least 20,007½ marks from the twentieth of 1215 on the English Church.<sup>327</sup> In 1239 Richard of Cornwall, a leading figure on the Barons' Crusade, was granted funds from redemptions, legacies and papal taxes.<sup>328</sup> In 1247 William Longespee, preparing for his journey to the eastern theatre, was granted £1,000 from Church revenues – the grant was later increased to 2,000 marks.<sup>329</sup> In 1278 Edward I was given 25,000 marks to help fund a planned, though in the event abortive, expedition to the Holy Land.<sup>330</sup> In short, the Church effectively replaced the Crown as the chief collective fundraiser.

Another significant factor was that no king of England set out on crusade after 1189.<sup>331</sup> This was not for lack of interest, although the level of genuine commitment varied from king to king. John took the cross in 1215; however, he did so out of political expediency and did not, it seems, sincerely plan to fulfil his vow.<sup>332</sup> Henry III took the cross three times in his life, in 1216, 1250, and 1271.<sup>333</sup> The first and final assumptions were clearly not taken with a proper expedition in mind. In 1216 Henry was nine years old and, obviously

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in the Long Fifteenth Century,” in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. Norman Housley (London: Routledge, 2017), 206-10.

<sup>327</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 74; *PR (1216-25)*, 253.

<sup>328</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 185; *Papal Revenues*, II, 488-90; *CPR (1232-47)*, 173, 250.

<sup>329</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 232, 242.

<sup>330</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 455.

<sup>331</sup> Richard I sailed from Dover to Calais on 12 December 1189, Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2007), 439.

<sup>332</sup> See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 134-35.

<sup>333</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 111; Alan Forey, “The Crusading Vows of the English King Henry III,” *Durham University Journal* 65 (1973): 229-47.

on the advice of councillors, secured the ecclesiastical protection afforded the crusader to help strengthen his fragile political position; in 1271 the king was old and presumably concerned about the state of his soul.<sup>334</sup> The vow of 1250, however, was probably made with some degree of sincerity. Henry may have taken it initially for primarily financial reasons. He was probably concerned about the widespread alienation of property by subjects who had taken the cross and were preparing to join the host of William Longespee, for this potentially lowered income from feudal incidents, the frequency of reversions to the Crown and, more generally, the taxable wealth of the laity.<sup>335</sup> He might also have been jealous of the fact that some of his vassals who had taken the cross were receiving substantial financial grants from the papacy.<sup>336</sup> In addition to the financial motive, Henry may also have been envious of the fact that, rather than himself, it was his rival, Louis IX, who was currently leading the fight against the infidel.<sup>337</sup> However, after taking his vow, Henry began to prepare in earnest for the expedition. In 1252 he set the departure date at Midsummer 1256 and, among other things, offered financial support to followers and organised shipping, equipment and supplies.<sup>338</sup> But the crusade was soon eclipsed by problems in Gascony, the Sicilian imbroglio and the Africa crusade, and preparations for it petered out.<sup>339</sup>

Edward I took the cross for the second time in his life – though for the first time as king – in 1287, and in 1290 he set the departure date for his expedition: summer 1293.<sup>340</sup> Indeed, Edward was, it seems, serious about the crusade, for he began making preparations in 1290-91, such as securing papal grants and helping finance a force led by Otto de Grandson to the Holy

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<sup>334</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 111. For an example of the legal efficacy of the first vow, see *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 72.

<sup>335</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 114-15.

<sup>336</sup> See, for example, *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 239; see also Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 115.

<sup>337</sup> See Forey, "The Crusading Vows of the English King Henry III," 237. It is also possible that Henry wished to emulate the crusading deeds of his brother, Richard of Cornwall, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 115-16.

<sup>338</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 158, 188-89; *Foedera*, I/I, 282; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 116-17.

<sup>339</sup> See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 117-23.

<sup>340</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 527, 551; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 234-35; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 232; *FR*, I, 338 note 9.

Land.<sup>341</sup> However, events soon worked against more practical engagement. In the autumn of 1290 Margaret, queen of Scotland, died; the resulting arbitration by Edward over the succession to the Scottish throne lasted until November 1292.<sup>342</sup> Furthermore, Acre, the last Christian stronghold in the Levant, fell to the Mamluks in 1291, making any planned invasion more strategically difficult; the papacy was vacant between April 1292 and July 1294; and in 1294 Edward was facing war with the Capetians over Gascony.<sup>343</sup> The same year Edward wrote to Florent of Hainault, prince of Achaia in Frankish Greece, expressing his anger that events had made his crusade impossible.<sup>344</sup> Edward II took a vow to crusade in 1313; however, he appears to have never had any serious intention of going on crusade and certainly never actively began to prepare for an expedition.<sup>345</sup> Edward III flirted, perhaps disingenuously, with the idea of going on crusade with Philip VI of France, but in the event never took the cross; the proposed expedition collapsed entirely in 1336.<sup>346</sup> Thus, these powerful men variously played with the idea of taking the cross, took it in bad faith or did so with a fair amount of sincerity but never came close to setting out. The result was that the best and most urgent justification for a national levy – that the monarch was imminently departing for the East – never presented itself, and the kings of England had little or no personal interest in raising funds for the crusades.

Furthermore, crusade taxes, like other taxes, could easily stir up resentment of the government. The Saladin Tithe had proved a *cause célèbre*. The reaction of Gerald of Wales was fairly typical:

Oh, would that our princes had been worthy to set out on this expedition with the favour of the people and popular applause, with

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<sup>341</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 509, 551-52; *CPR (1281-92)*, 373; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 236-38. The link between Edward's crusade preparations and the crusade of Otto de Grandson has recently been called into question, see Alan Forey, "Otto of Grandson and the Holy Land, Cyprus and Armenia," *Crusades* 16 (2017): 79-93 (esp. 81-83). However, Edward's support for Otto at the very least demonstrated an active interest in aiding the Holy Land and, by implication, improving the strategic situation for potential combatants like himself.

<sup>342</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 235-36.

<sup>343</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 236.

<sup>344</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 236.

<sup>345</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 240-46.

<sup>346</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 246-52.

their provisions for the journey acquired justly, not extorted, with an open and generous hand, not a tight fist, and with a pure conscience, perfected by penitence, wholly lacking envy and arrogance. Oh how much I would have preferred them to have started on their glorious, though laborious, journey in this way, with fewer men – but them all the better and more pleasing to God; instead they lacked unity and concord and prided themselves in this struggle on their vast and varied financial resources, gathered in an indiscriminate way, and on their huge multitude of peoples.<sup>347</sup>

Gerald also described an incident that apparently took place when Henry II was at Portsmouth. The king, Gerald claimed, was approached by Margaret de Bohun, a noble lady who had come “from the far distant parts of the kingdom.” She warned him that “the exaction of the tithe” had caused him to lose “the blessing of the people.” Such tidings did not go down well; Henry was “moved by anger and indignation,” declaring that his subjects “[curse him] without cause,” but “henceforth” would “curse [him] with cause.”<sup>348</sup> Gerald also asserted that Henry’s “unexpected death” soon afterwards demonstrated the “immoderate” nature of his exaction.<sup>349</sup> There was, moreover, a widespread belief that taxes should not be made regularly. The secretary of the archbishop of Canterbury, Peter of Blois, feared that the Saladin Tithe would lead to further extractions and the Church falling into “shameful servitude.”<sup>350</sup> The instructions from the justiciar of England to the sheriffs of the kingdom about the fortieth of 1201 stressed that the levy was not going to become a “custom.”<sup>351</sup> In 1271 the “commonalty” of the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury agreed to hand over money for the twentieth in support of the Lord Edward’s crusade; they demanded, however, that the act “not be drawn

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<sup>347</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. A. Brian Scott and Francis X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 367-8; English trans. Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 79-80.

<sup>348</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Instruction for a Ruler (De Principis Instructione)*, trans. Robert Bartlett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2018), 610-11.

<sup>349</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Instruction for a Ruler*, 611. For further examples, see Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 121-22; Sydney K. Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1951), 121-22.

<sup>350</sup> Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, 122, which also provides further examples of Peter’s reaction to the Saladin Tithe.

<sup>351</sup> *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 188; *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, II, 194.

into a precedent.”<sup>352</sup> Such reactions and attitudes militated against the implementation of crusade taxes casually or consistently.

Finally, the crusade movement did not exist in a vacuum; rather, it operated within a nexus of competing military, political and administrative projects requiring support from taxation. Thus, in 1225 the government levied a fifteenth for the campaign of Richard of Cornwall, then only sixteen years old, and his uncle, the earl of Salisbury, in Gascony against the French; the tax raised £57,838 13s 6d.<sup>353</sup> In 1237 Henry III was forced to secure a thirtieth because, he claimed, his finances had been mismanaged and the expenses of his marriage and his sister’s marriage had depleted his treasury.<sup>354</sup> Between 1294 and 1297 Edward I taxed £150,000 from the laity and £130,000 from the clergy to fund his wars against the Welsh, the Scots and the French.<sup>355</sup> Edward II levied a tax in 1307 to fund the war in Scotland and pay for the costs of his forthcoming coronation and marriage and his father’s funeral.<sup>356</sup> These are but a few examples of the pressures placed on the revenues of the Crown from beyond the world of the crusade.

### **Tallage of the Jewry**

Another taxable community for the crusade was the Jewry. In England, unlike in France and Germany, the Jews were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Crown.<sup>357</sup> This meant that the extraction of Jewish wealth for the benefit of the crusade was the prerogative of the king and the king alone; aristocrats and knights signed with the cross could not tax Jews to fund their expeditions.<sup>358</sup> This state of affairs was not wholly remarkable. English Jewry was, to a large extent, the creation of monarchy.

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<sup>352</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 509.

<sup>353</sup> Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation*, 159-69.

<sup>354</sup> Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation*, 215.

<sup>355</sup> Michael Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I* (Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1991), 191.

<sup>356</sup> Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 130.

<sup>357</sup> Anna S. Abulafia, *Christian Jewish Relations, 1000-1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom* (Harlow: Longman, 2011), 91.

<sup>358</sup> Lower, *The Barons’ Crusade*, 147. There were, however, instances of violent localised seizures of Jewish property by crusaders in 1189-90 and 1264, see Tyerman, *God’s War*,

Jewish communities had been brought to settle permanently in England from Rouen by William I in the aftermath of 1066; there may have been Jews in England before this time, but if so they were probably itinerant.<sup>359</sup> The Rouen Jews originally settled exclusively in London, but by the mid-twelfth century they had spread out to other commercial centres, such as Oxford, Norwich, Cambridge and Lincoln.<sup>360</sup> Indeed, by 1189 there were twenty-four Jewries in England.<sup>361</sup> The total Jewish population was small, perhaps numbering 5,000 men, women and children.<sup>362</sup> But what it lacked in size, it made up for in wealth. By 1241 English Jewry controlled approximately 200,000 marks of realisable assets, a sum perhaps equivalent to around one-third of the total circulating coin in the kingdom.<sup>363</sup> This made them, per capita, almost certainly the wealthiest Jewish community in Europe.<sup>364</sup> This is not to say that every Jew in England was rich. There was a marked centralisation of capital among a handful of elites and most Jews were of the middling sort or poor.<sup>365</sup> Furthermore, by the late thirteenth century, the collective resources of the Jews, for various reasons, had been depleted and, at least partly as a result, they were expelled from England in 1290.<sup>366</sup> Nevertheless, the fact remains that, as a group, the Jews held, for much of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a very large sum of capital.

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438-39; Robert C. Stacey, "1240-60: a Watershed in Anglo-Jewish Relations?" *Historical Research* 61 (1988): 146.

<sup>359</sup> Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, 135.

<sup>360</sup> Joe Hillaby, "Jewish Colonisation in the Twelfth Century," in *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 21.

<sup>361</sup> Hillaby, "Jewish Colonisation in the Twelfth Century," 15.

<sup>362</sup> Robert C. Stacey, "The English Jews under Henry III," in *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 41.

<sup>363</sup> Stacey, "The English Jews under Henry III," 41.

<sup>364</sup> Stacey, "The English Jews under Henry III," 41.

<sup>365</sup> Stacey, "The English Jews under Henry III," 46; Vivian D. Lipman, "The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry," *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)* 21 (1962-67): 68-69.

<sup>366</sup> Stacey, "The English Jews under Henry III," 48-52; Robin R. Mundill, "Edward I and the Final Phase of Anglo-Jewry," in *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 58-60; Abulafia, *Christian Jewish Relations, 1000-1300*, 104.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the Jewry was tapped to finance crusades. As has been discussed elsewhere, Richard I clearly secured a large sum of money from the Jews before and during his crusade; Roger of Howden declared that the Lionheart extracted an “inestimable” sum from them.<sup>367</sup> Likewise, Henry III’s extractions from the Jewry in the early 1250s, which raised some fifteen-thousand marks, were probably motivated, at least in part, by his planned crusade.<sup>368</sup> Yet Richard and Henry were unusual. As kings, they had easy access to the riches of the Jewry.<sup>369</sup> It was, in fact, extremely rare for crusaders from England to secure such funds. There were only a few other instances. In January 1237 Henry III granted his brother, Richard of Cornwall, who was preparing to make his way to the Holy Land, 3,000 marks from the Jews.<sup>370</sup> Over thirty-years later Henry promised his son, the Lord Edward, 6,000 marks from the Jewry in aid of his expedition.<sup>371</sup> It is not known precisely when this grant was made. But it certainly took place in either 1269 or 1270, for in May 1269 Henry promised not to tallage the Jews for three years unless he or his son should go on crusade, while an entry in the Patent Rolls states that the grant was made before the departure of Edward to the Holy Land, which took place in August 1270.<sup>372</sup>

There exists no detailed information about how tallages were collected, although an entry in the Close Rolls suggests that the justices of the Jews were entrusted with the gathering of funds.<sup>373</sup> Nor is there information about whether payments were made in bonds or cash or a mixture of both, although it is likely that the majority were made in cash, since the transfer of bonds

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<sup>367</sup> *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, II, 338; see also *Gesta Henrici Secundi*, II, 33; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 422; Henry G. Richardson, *The English Jewry Under the Angevin Kings* (London: Methuen, 1960), 161-65; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 192, 415 note 22.

<sup>368</sup> See Paris, *CM*, V, 114-16; Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 46; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 193. The figure of fifteen-thousand marks is based on the yields of the tallages between 1250 and June 1252, see Stacey, “1240-60: a Watershed in Anglo-Jewish Relations?,” 136, 138.

<sup>369</sup> Richard was crowned king of England on 3 September 1189, three months before he departed on crusade.

<sup>370</sup> *CPR (1232-47)*, 173; *CR (1234-37)*, 410.

<sup>371</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 671.

<sup>372</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 345, 671; *Oseneia*, 236-37.

<sup>373</sup> *CR (1237-42)*, 4.

would have failed to provide the immediate liquid capital required for a crusade.<sup>374</sup> What is clear, however, is that, in the thirteenth century at any rate, the collection process was no paragon of efficiency. Richard of Cornwall had not received a penny of his grant as of November 1237.<sup>375</sup> Of the 6,000 marks promised the Lord Edward, only two-thirds had been transferred as of 5 August 1272. As a result, Henry III and the Lord Edward decided that the remaining third was not to be used for the crusade; rather, it was to be used to pay off a debt of 2,000 marks owed by Edward to his uncle, Richard of Cornwall.<sup>376</sup>

Notably, even if the grants of Henry III had been transferred quickly, they would not have done much to cover costs. Richard of Cornwall had to secure an additional 6,000 marks from Henry III (the funds were reallocated from the non-crusade-related thirtieth of 1237) and the proceeds of redemptions, legacies and taxes from the Church.<sup>377</sup> As we saw in the previous chapter, in the first year of his crusade the Lord Edward expended a minimum of 22,500 marks on the stipends of his principle retainers alone.<sup>378</sup> This raises the question: why did Henry not tax the Jews more to help his crusading kin? Needless to say, it was not out of altruism to the Jewish people. Henry was no friend of the Jews and in 1253 promulgated a series of limitations on their community, demanding, among other things, that “every Jew wear his badge conspicuously on his breast.”<sup>379</sup> Rather, it is probable that Henry was not wholly in favour of having a valuable royal resource spent on ventures which offered little or no benefit to the Crown and in which he had no direct involvement.<sup>380</sup> This interpretation is supported by the fact that in 1241 Henry was willing to extract 20,000 marks from the Jewry to bankroll his

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<sup>374</sup> For payment of Jewish tallages in bonds, see Stacey, “1240-60: a Watershed in Anglo-Jewish Relations?” 139.

<sup>375</sup> *CR (1237-42)*, 4.

<sup>376</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 671.

<sup>377</sup> *CPR (1232-47)*, 222, 250; *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 185; *Papal Revenues*, II, 488-90.

<sup>378</sup> Turner, “Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I,” 45-51.

<sup>379</sup> *Select Pleas, Starrs, and Other Records From the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews A.D. 1220-1284*, ed. James M. Rigg (Selden Society 15, 1902), xlvi-xlix, no. 2; Stacey, “The English Jews under Henry III,” 52.

<sup>380</sup> This is essentially the argument put forward by Lower, *The Barons' Crusade*, 147.

attempt to reconquer Poitou, viewed by the king as rightfully part of his inheritance.<sup>381</sup> Furthermore, the timing of the grants may have militated against larger extractions. The grant of 1237 followed several years of substantial, though by no means inordinate, taxation of the Jews: between 1232 and 1236 they had been taxed 10,000 marks.<sup>382</sup> The grant of 1269-70 was made in the aftermath of the sacking of Jewish communities during the baronial uprising of 1258-66 and a generation of excessive taxation: between 1241 and 1255 Henry may have taxed some 100,000 marks from the Jewry.<sup>383</sup> Perhaps Henry believed that not much further pressure could be placed on Jewish coffers.

### Summary

The collective fundraising mechanisms of the Crown played an important, yet limited, role in the financing of the crusades. Although national taxes for crusades were, to varying extents, effective, they were uncommon, occurring on only three occasions. The first was the Saladin Tithe in 1188. The tax was first announced at Le Mans. It was subsequently promulgated in England at the meeting of Geddington. Taken together, the Le Mans and Geddington ordinances allow us to construct a picture of the terms of the Tithe. Although there are differences between various transcriptions of the documents, the main terms are easily observable: the rate of the tax was set at a tenth; various objects were exempt; crusaders did not have to make payment; property was self-assessed; and the collectors represented a cross-section of society. Collection began soon after the Geddington ordinance. The total yield is unknown. However, it was clearly large: contemporary chroniclers provided very high, though doubtless unreliable, estimates, while the far more reliable records of disbursement refer to substantial sums. The Saladin Tithe must have done much to aid the crusade of Richard I and many of his followers.

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<sup>381</sup> See Lower, *The Barons' Crusade*, 147; Robert C. Stacey, "Royal Taxation and the Social Structure of Medieval Anglo-Jewry: The Tallages of 1239-1242," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 56 (1985): 175-249.

<sup>382</sup> See table of tallages in Stacey, "1240-60: a Watershed in Anglo-Jewish Relations?," 136.

<sup>383</sup> Stacey, "1240-60: a Watershed in Anglo-Jewish Relations?," 138, 146; Robin R. Mundill, *The King's Jews: Money, Massacre and Exodus in Medieval England* (London: Continuum, 2010), 88-89.

The next royal crusade levy was the fortieth of 1201. The levy was announced by John, king of England, and Philip Augustus at a meeting in Paris in June. The tax was possibly never collected in France. However, it was certainly collected in England, with the king, earls, barons, knights and freemen falling under its remit. The tax was fundamentally voluntary, although taxpayers came under pressure to make payments. The total yield was probably fairly small. Nevertheless, it was likely sufficient to help cover the expenses of many of the crusaders from England, since so few participated in the Fourth Crusade.

Thus, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, it might have appeared to some crusaders who had received funds from the taxes of 1188 and 1201 that a new form of crusade finance had been established. This was not the case. Almost every subsequent crusade went without such support. Only a single royal tax for a crusade was ever again implemented: the twentieth of 1270 for the crusade of the Lord Edward.

The origin of that tax can be traced to 1268, when the Lord Edward and other great men took the cross at Northampton. Edward soon came to be seen as the leader of the crusade. Yet his prospects for raising finance were limited and it fell to his father, Henry III, to help raise money. Thus, over the next two years, the king worked to secure a national levy for his son. This required the consent of parliament and several such meetings were called to discuss the tax. These proved tumultuous, with Henry sometimes appearing to secure the tax but in fact failing to do so. Nonetheless, in the spring of 1270 the twentieth was granted. By this point Edward had just over three months before he had to depart with Louis IX for the East. The Crown therefore permitted clergymen to assess and collect the levy themselves and accepted fines instead of assessed payments. These measures were fairly successful. Payment of the twentieth began in July, although some deposits took much longer to secure. The total yield was large, standing at over £30,000, and the twentieth did much to support the crusade.

The fall-off in royal taxation after the Fourth Crusade requires explanation. There were, it seems, several causes. First, the rise of collective fundraising by the Church in the thirteenth century doubtless made the kings of England feel less obliged to raise funds for the crusade. Second, no king of England set out on crusade after 1189. Third, crusade taxes could stir up resentment of government. Lastly, the crusade was not the only project requiring support; there were other pressures on the revenues of the Crown, such as wars in Gascony and Scotland.

In addition to taxation of the kingdom, the Crown tallaged the Jewry to fund crusades. Richard I received substantial support from such revenue for his expedition, while Henry III's extractions from the Jewry in the early 1250s were probably motivated in part by his forthcoming crusade. However, there were only a few other occasions in England in which the Jewry were tallaged to fund the business of the cross. In 1236 Richard of Cornwall secured 3,000 marks and in 1269-70 the Lord Edward was allocated 6,000 marks. Such grants were certainly useful, providing recipients actually got their hands on the majority of the promised sums. However, they fell far short of covering costs and there were delays in the transfer of funds.

All in all, the decline of taxation after the Fourth Crusade, along with the failure of tallages of the Jewry to play a key role in crusade finance after the Third Crusade, meant that the majority of *crucesignati* in the thirteenth century and all *crucesignati* in the early fourteenth century had to make do without such support. Moreover, even those who did secure money from royal revenues had to turn elsewhere for additional funds. The next point of call for many would have been the Church.

### **Chapter 3: “Public” Fundraising by the Church**

Innocent III, the first pope to truly harness the riches of the Church for the benefit of the crusade, once described his rationale: “if the money be not wanting, the men will not be wanting.”<sup>384</sup> This chapter provides a detailed analysis of clerical fundraising in England for the crusades, assessing its methods and impact and, by implication, whether the vision of that Vicar of Christ proved as transformative as he hoped. Its immediate contention is that the principal revenues of the Church – alms, legacies, redemptions and taxes – were significant. However, their importance must not be overstated. They suffered from numerous problems, such as poor organisation, slow collection, low yields, unhelpful disbursement and stiff competition. The result was that the Church was only ever able to finance a minority of crusaders, while even those who did secure grants still had to raise additional capital elsewhere.

#### **Alms, Legacies and Redemptions**

One way that the Church raised money for the crusade was by soliciting – in some cases demanding – donations from the faithful. Broadly speaking, these took three forms: alms, legacies and redemption payments. These were popular and widespread. There were various reasons for this, but it was principally because, in exchange for contributions, donors received a spiritual reward.

#### Alms

The first pope to offer indulgences for donations to the crusade was Gregory VIII, who in 1187 promised partial remission of sins to all who contributed to the forthcoming *generale passagium*.<sup>385</sup> An early example of this policy in action in Britain is given in Gerald of Wales’ account of the preaching tour of Wales undertaken by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1188. An aged Welshman, Cador, gained full remission of sins from the archbishop by donating two-tenths of his wealth; Baldwin initially offered Cador half a remission for one tenth, but in reply the Welshman offered twice the amount

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<sup>384</sup> Quoted in Cazel, “Financing the Crusades,” 117.

<sup>385</sup> *FR*, I, 421; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 17.

and the logic spoke for itself.<sup>386</sup> No contemporary examples from England survive. This was perhaps because such activity did not interest local chroniclers, although it might also, or alternatively, reflect a comparative lack of activity. Whatever its initial popularity, this way of raising money quickly became established. In 1188 and 1195 the archbishop of Canterbury was instructed to persuade his flock to donate money in aid of the Holy Land; in both instances those who did so were to get an indulgence, the extent of which depended on the size of their donation in relation to their overall wealth.<sup>387</sup> In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council rearticulated the offer, as too did the First and Second Councils of Lyons in 1245 and 1274, respectively.<sup>388</sup>

The papacy ensured fundraising took place at a grassroots level by instructing local clergy to encourage donations. In 1199 Innocent ordered that a chest be placed in every church in Latin Christendom; the faithful were to put their alms in these boxes, the amount depending on what the Lord inspired them to give.<sup>389</sup> Similar provisions were made in *Quia maior* (1213) and *Zelus fidei* (1274), with the author of the latter, Gregory X, giving precise instructions: the faithful were to be urged to contribute at least 1d sterling (or *tournois*) annually to the Holy Land and weekly services were to be held in churches to persuade men to make oblations.<sup>390</sup> The dissemination of such orders could be sluggish. On 16 February 1275, around half a year after the promulgation of *Zelus fidei*, the archbishop of York, Walter Giffard, wrote to the archdeacon of Cleveland, ordering him, in pursuance of the pope's command, to have boxes with three keys placed in the churches in his archdeaconry for the collection of money for the Holy Land.<sup>391</sup> Such lacklustre administration doubtless harmed, if only to a minor extent, the collection process.

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<sup>386</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. John S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner, 8 vols. (London: Longman, 1861-91), VI, 73-74; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 17.

<sup>387</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, VIII, 236-39 (esp. 237-38); *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1876), II, 134-35; *FR*, I, 422.

<sup>388</sup> *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 204, 245, 295-96.

<sup>389</sup> *Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales*, 30, no. 171; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 110-11.

<sup>390</sup> *PL*, CCXVI, 821; *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 296-97.

<sup>391</sup> *Register of Walter Giffard*, 277; see also *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, ed. Arthur W. Goodman (Winchester: Warren & Son, 1927), 51-52, no. 108 for the delay between the order of John XXII in 1333 for chests to be placed in churches to raise money for the

Nevertheless, this method of fundraising was, on the whole, fairly successful. In 1311 the archbishop of York, William Greenfield, informed the pope that between 1307 and 1310 a total of £491 11s 5½d had been placed in the arks, trunks and chests of York Minster and collegiate and parish churches.<sup>392</sup> An entry under the year 1314 in the register of Simon de Gandavo, bishop of Salisbury, recorded that between 1309 and 1313 the archdeaconries of Berkshire, Dorset, Salisbury and Wiltshire had brought in some £200 and 270 marks, as well as various sums of *tournois* and eight silver rings.<sup>393</sup> Indeed, it is likely that the faithful put money in the collection boxes of local churches on a fairly regular basis.<sup>394</sup> Most gifts were doubtless small in nature and only secured partial indulgences, and as a result were not recorded by contemporaries. But some of the larger ones survive. These probably obtained a full remission of sins: the sums handed over certainly matched those given to redeem vows. A few examples – all of which were documented by episcopal

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crusade of Philip VI of France and the dissemination of that order by the bishop of Winchester.

<sup>392</sup> *The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306-1315*, ed. William Brown and Alexander H. Thompson, 5 vols. (Surtees Society 145, 149, 151-53; 1931-40), IV, 363-64, no. 2351A. It should be noted, however, that £228 3s 4½d of this sum was deducted for expenses.

<sup>393</sup> *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, Diocesis Saresbiriensis, 1297-1315*, ed. Cyril T. Flower and Michael C. B. Dawes, 2 vols. (Canterbury and York Society 40, 1934), I, 544. The full account is as follows: Berkshire - 25 marks (1309); 30 marks (1310); 20 marks 5s 9d, 36 *tournois* (1311); 11 marks 4s 3d, 11 petty *tournois* (1312); 8 marks 3s 4d, broken silver weighing 6s 8d, two golden florins worth 1 mark, 6 petty *tournois* (1313). Dorset - £70 12s 5¾d (1310); £46 15s 2¾d, broken silver weighing 14s 2½d (1311); £36 4s 6d (1312); £33 17s 3¾d (1313). Salisbury - 28 marks, 12s 6¼d, broken silver weighing 4s 3d, eight silver rings, 86 black *tournois* (1310); 7 marks 5s 3½d, broken silver weighing 14d, 15 black *tournois* worth 3d (1311); 5 marks 10s 10½d, two gold rings worth 1s, two silver rings worth 4½d (1312); 5 marks 4s 2¼d, £10 from the will of Henry de la Hide, priest (1313). Wiltshire - 50 marks 3s, broken silver weighing 8s, 15dt (1310); 18 marks 5d, broken money weighing 2s (1311); 10 marks 3s 4d, broken silver weighing 12d (1312); 52 marks 2s 3¼d, broken silver weighing 4s, 20 black *tournois* (1313). The figure of £200 and 270 marks has been rounded. It should be noted, too, that it includes the sterling valuation of goods; thus, for example, the two silver rings valued at 4½d are included, but the unvalued eight silver rings are not.

<sup>394</sup> In addition, laymen and laywomen would have put alms in other collection funds for the Holy Land. For instance, in 1331 John Ross, bishop of Carlisle, wrote to the archdeacon, deans, rectors, vicars and parish chaplains of his diocese, urging them to assist the brothers of the house of St. Thomas the martyr of Canterbury of Acre when they or their agents came to seek alms for the Holy Land, and telling them that parishioners should be prompted to be generous in their donations, see *The Register of John Kirkby, Bishop of Carlisle, 1332-1352, and the Register of John Ross, Bishop of Carlisle, 1325-32*, ed. Robin L. Storey, 2 vols. (Canterbury and York Society 79, 81; 1993-95), I, 9, no. 63.

clerks in the late thirteenth century – may stand for all. Henry, priest of Burton Piddese, gave two shillings to the Holy Land subsidy.<sup>395</sup> James “called Aubyn,” a citizen of Worcester, contributed half a mark.<sup>396</sup> Most strikingly, Ralph Mitton and his wife, whose name is unknown, donated 100s.<sup>397</sup>

### Legacies

In addition to the immediate deposit of alms, funds could be bequeathed to the Holy Land. Such bequests were not sent directly to the Holy Land; rather, they were paid into the papal treasury.<sup>398</sup> How they were used thereafter in aid of the *terra sancta* was determined by the pope.<sup>399</sup> The earliest known example of an Englishman making such a bequest occurred in 1190, when Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, on his deathbed in Acre, left property to the Holy Land.<sup>400</sup> In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, however, such legacies were highly unusual.<sup>401</sup> The pontificate of Innocent IV was the catalyst for change; under his guidance the Church, for the first time, actively sought bequests. A canon of the First Council of Lyons (1245) instructed prelates to persuade those in their care to “leave something” in their wills “for the help” of the Holy Land or the Latin Empire of Constantinople.<sup>402</sup> Nineteen years later Gregory X set seal to the matter in *Zelus fidei*: “those making their last wills [should] leave something for the aid of the Holy Land from their belongings.”<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> *Register of Walter Giffard*, 281. The reference to this donation comes in the midst of a list of redemptions of crusade vows. However, it is unlikely to have been a redemption, for the text includes an unusual clause, which states that Henry gave his money “from devotion”: “*Henricus, presbiter de Burton Piddese, ex devotione, ijs.*”

<sup>396</sup> *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard*, II, 284.

<sup>397</sup> *Register of Walter Giffard*, 284. This reference, too, comes in a list of redemption payments; however, it contains a similar clause to that included in the donation of Henry, priest of Burton Piddese (see note 393 of the present study): “*Radulpho Mitton, milite, et uxore sua, pro devotione, centum solidos.*”

<sup>398</sup> For example, *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, II, 485.

<sup>399</sup> For example, *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 185.

<sup>400</sup> Wendover, *Flores*, I, 189-90; *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto*, II, 88.

<sup>401</sup> Of course, this impression may be accentuated by the scarcity of contemporary bishops’ registers.

<sup>402</sup> *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 239.

<sup>403</sup> *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 295; English trans. *Documents on the Later Crusades*, 18.

The impact of such legislation was dramatic: legacies to the Holy Land became widespread. Ecclesiastical registers of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are sprinkled with examples. Reginald de Bohun left £100 to the Holy Land in his testament of c.1259.<sup>404</sup> John de Vesey (d.1289), who participated in the crusade of 1270, bequeathed 1,000 marks sterling.<sup>405</sup> In 1272 papal collectors were instructed to examine two wills made by Boniface of Savoy, the late archbishop of Canterbury (d.1270), and the testament of the papal chaplain John Mansel, and take in any sums that had been left to the Holy Land.<sup>406</sup> When William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (d.1298), drew up his will in September 1296, he left £100 for the maintenance of two soldiers in Outremer.<sup>407</sup> In the early fourteenth century the rector of Bredon, William of Loriaco, bestowed 100s.<sup>408</sup> The popularity of such bequests is confirmed by the numerous references in our sources to their collection. In 1336, for instance, Ralph of Shrewsbury, bishop of Bath and Wells, informed a papal nuncio that a handful of clergymen had collected “divers sums of money” bequeathed to the Holy Land.<sup>409</sup>

Not all bequests were voluntary; at least a small proportion would have been sequestered by ecclesiastical agents. In 1252 Innocent IV ordered that indistinct legacies, along with monies acquired by usury and other unlawful means, should be requisitioned and assigned to Henry III in support of his forthcoming passage.<sup>410</sup> Urban IV later instructed that unspecified bequests

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<sup>404</sup> *CR* (1256-59), 485.

<sup>405</sup> *North. Reg.*, 263-64 (esp. 263), no. 164. For John’s participation on crusade, see *CPR* (1266-72), 439, 480, 588; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>406</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 444.

<sup>407</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta: Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs, &c. as well as of the Descents and Possessions of Many Distinguished Families. From the reign of Henry the Second to the accession of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Nicholas H. Nicolas (London: Nichols & Sons, 1826), I, 52.

<sup>408</sup> *The Register of Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, 1308-1313*, ed. Rowland A. Wilson (Worcestershire Historical Society 39, 1927), 23-25 (esp. 25). For a further example, see *CPR* (1292-1301), 407-8.

<sup>409</sup> *The Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1329-1363*, ed. Thomas S. Holmes, 2 vols. (Somerset Record Society 9-10, 1896), I, 267-68 (esp. 268), no. 1017.

<sup>410</sup> *Foedera*, I/I, 286-87. For the background to Innocent’s order, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 17-18.

should continue to be seized, although no evidence of this order reaching England survives.<sup>411</sup>

Legacies often amounted to a significant portion, in some cases the entirety, of a donor's wealth - those contemplating death wished to ensure their eternal salvation. Naturally, the largest sums were proffered by the great lords. At the time of his death in 1311, the bishop of Durham, Antony Bek, owed 6,000 marks to the Holy Land; his personal wealth stood at around that figure.<sup>412</sup> Richard of Cornwall (d.1272), whose annual income from the estates given him by the Crown has been estimated at £5,000, left 8,000 marks to the *terra sancta*.<sup>413</sup> Both men may have been inspired by their experiences in the Holy Land. But it was not only former participants in the eastern theatre who bequeathed such sums. Edmund of Cornwall (d.1300), who vowed to crusade but never departed, promised to pay for 100 knights to serve for a year against the infidel.<sup>414</sup> The earl's yearly income has been estimated at £8,000;<sup>415</sup> it appears to have cost at least around 50 marks a year to support a single knight in the Holy Land.<sup>416</sup> Thus, Edmund may have bestowed something in the region of 5,000 marks.<sup>417</sup> These are substantial figures.

It is not possible to reliably establish the income *per annum* or wealth upon death of lesser men, but their bequests to the Holy Land were, though much smaller, in relative terms likely of similar significance. They were, after all, often among the most valuable offerings made in their wills, although only a

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<sup>411</sup> *Layettes de trésor des chartes / par Alexandre Teulet, archiviste aux Archives de l'Empire*, ed. Jean Baptiste A. T. Teulet and others, 5 vols. (Nendeln: Kraus, 1977), IV, 38-39, no. 4760; Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 126.

<sup>412</sup> *North. Reg.* 263-64, no. 164; *ODNB*, IV, 862-64.

<sup>413</sup> *Les Registres de Grégoire X, 1272-1276: Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape*, ed. Jean Guiraud (Paris: Thorin, 1892), 342-343, no. 830; *ODNB*, XLVI, 702-12; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 93 incorrectly states that Richard bequeathed 7,000 marks.

<sup>414</sup> *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, 348; *ODNB*, XVII, 770-73 (esp. 772).

<sup>415</sup> *ODNB*, XVII, 770-73 (esp. 772).

<sup>416</sup> See, for example, *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard*, II, 283.

<sup>417</sup> This is, of course, the total of 50 X 100. But also consider that the average daily pay of a knight was 2s; 2s multiplied by 365 (i.e. the number of days in a year) = 730s; 730s multiplied by 100 (i.e. the number of knights) = 73,000s; 73,000s = £3,650 (i.e. around 5,000 marks). For pay rates of knights and other soldiers, see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, 84-87.

handful of such documents survive. An example from the gentry is provided by Nicholas of Mutthon, a knight of Worcester. When Nicholas had his testament drawn up in 1290, he bequeathed 10 marks and the “moneys coming in from certain debts” to the Holy Land. Of the 103 bequests in the document, this was only topped by the 20 marks left to Christiana, daughter of Simon le Chamberleyn, and the £40 left to the Friars Minor of Worcester.<sup>418</sup> Interestingly, Nicholas bequeathed less money to most other religious causes: the nuns of Worcester were given half a mark; four nuns of Eton, who appear to have been daughters of some of Nicholas’ friends, a mark each; the Friars of the Sack of Worcester 12d; and the brothers of St. Wulfstan a bed.<sup>419</sup>

The testament of Richard de Chepmanlade, a vicar of St. Andrew’s (Wells), provides an example from further down the social scale. In August 1311 Richard bequeathed to the Holy Land “10s for my soul, and 10s for the souls of Reynold my father and Mabel my mother.”<sup>420</sup> Of the 17 bequests in the testament, this was the joint second largest, surpassed only by the 40s worth of bread to be given to the poor on the day of Richard’s burial and equalled by the 20s left to his executors.<sup>421</sup> It was, incidentally, a good deal larger than the 6s 8d that Richard’s *nepos*, John, and sister, Agnes, were each to receive. The conclusion that arises from such evidence is unavoidable: affection for the Holy Land, along with profound anxiety about sin and the prospect of salvation, transcended social class.

Although such bequests may seem impressive, they must not be taken at face value, for legacies could be unreliable. They could be cancelled outright. In 1252 the Cistercians of Maurimosoli, in the diocese of Velletri, were quit of a loan of £80 on the grounds that the payment of it would have caused “great

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<sup>418</sup> This is presuming that, on the one hand, the aforementioned “certain debts” did not comprise a large sum of money and, on the other, that the valuable material bequests, such as the “six silver spoons” and “mazer” left to Robert de Somery, were not worth over 10 marks.

<sup>419</sup> *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard*, II, 388-90.

<sup>420</sup> *H.M.C. Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, ed. William H. B. Bird and William P. Baildon, 2 vols. (London: HMSO, 1907-14), II, 587.

<sup>421</sup> Of course, the caveat regarding material goods is still relevant here.

injury” to their monastery. The money for the loan was initially taken from the bishop of Norwich’s legacy to the Holy Land - the cancellation of the former was effectively the cancellation of the latter. Alternatively, bequests could be subjected to lengthy delays. This is demonstrated by the fact that one aspect of the role of collector was to seek out and secure outstanding legacies to the Holy Land – this would not have been necessary if executors were assiduous in their duties. In January 1262 Urban IV appointed Leonard of Messina, a chaplain, to collect monies owed the Holy Land from alms, bequests, legacies and any other sources.<sup>422</sup> In 1306 the general collector, William Testa, organised a large-scale enquiry into outstanding debts to the Holy Land; this resulted in the collection of £773 1s 4d by 1311.<sup>423</sup> There are, furthermore, specific cases of legacies falling foul of external pressures. For example, Anthony Bek’s bequest was not collected until 1319, eight years after his death, due to it being used in the interim, following a royal intervention, to pay off the debts of the bishopric of Durham.<sup>424</sup> The original sum of the donation was no doubt diminished as a result. Yet all of this does not mean that legacies were an insignificant source of revenue. The high majority, it seems, did make their way into the papal *camera* and, taken as a whole, appear to have comprised a fairly healthy income.<sup>425</sup>

### Redemptions

Another important type of donation was that given in exchange for a vow redemption. These were almost certainly as old as the crusade movement itself: a vow of pilgrimage to Jerusalem was converted to a payment of gold as early as 1089.<sup>426</sup> In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, redemptions were not a significant revenue. This was a direct result of a somewhat problematic papal policy. On the one hand, the Church wanted only knights and other combatants to take the cross, but, on the other, desired everyone

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<sup>422</sup> *Les Registres d'Urban IV, 1261-1264: Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape*, ed. Jean Guiraud, 4 vols. (Paris: Fontemoing, 1901-06), I, 35, no. 132.

<sup>423</sup> *FR*, I, 454-55.

<sup>424</sup> *CCR (1313-18)*, 474, 572-73; *CCR (1318-23)*, 37, 81; *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, II, 132; *Foedera*, II/I, 398; *FR*, I, 455-56; *North. Reg.*, 263-64, no. 164.

<sup>425</sup> For yields from legacies, see *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, II, 485, 563.

<sup>426</sup> *FR*, I, 424.

who ended up taking a crusade vow, regardless of social status or martial prowess, to fulfil their obligation in person.<sup>427</sup> One consequence of this was that redemptions were, generally speaking, difficult to secure and permitted in only extreme cases.<sup>428</sup> Furthermore, a crusader who did manage to obtain a redemption was usually required to send a substitute in his place and pay his expenses for at least a year.<sup>429</sup> This meant that no extra money accrued from redemptions; rather, money that would have been spent on one crusader was simply spent on another.

This all changed in the pontificate of Innocent III, who instigated a more liberal and profitable policy. *Quia maior* declared that all of the faithful, except monks, should be actively encouraged to take the cross, but non-combatants should be allowed to redeem their vows with relative ease.<sup>430</sup> Thus, in theory at least, those who were not suitable for warfare would henceforth support the crusade by reaching into their pockets, while those who were suitable would participate in person. “It was not until 1234,” wrote Lloyd, “that the policy was first implemented systematically.”<sup>431</sup> This does not appear to be true. It was widely employed, it seems, in the pontificate of Honorius III, especially during recruitment for the Fifth Crusade, despite being omitted in *Ad liberandum* (1215).<sup>432</sup> According to the Waverley annalist, in 1218

a multitude of men and women [*caetera multitudine promiscui sexus*] took the journey to Jerusalem. Many nevertheless remained, through lack of wealth or weakness of body, sending part of their money to the subsidy of the Holy Land for the absolution of their vows by the lord Pope.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 18.

<sup>428</sup> For examples of grants and rejections, see *Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales*, 43, 52, 57-58, 80, 105, 122, nos. 261, 318, 350, 488, 633, 737; see also Michael R. Evans, “Commutation of Crusade Vows: Some Examples from the English Midlands,” in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 224.

<sup>429</sup> *FR*, I, 424.

<sup>430</sup> *Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales*, 152, no. 917; *PL*, CCXVI, 818-19.

<sup>431</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 19; see also Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 20-21, 149.

<sup>432</sup> *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 200-04; Lunt was aware of this trend, see *FR*, I, 428.

<sup>433</sup> *Waverleia*, 289.

Around the same time the papal legate, Pandulph, was ordered to “absolve from the vow of the crusade poor and infirm clerks and laymen,” providing “they give according to their means some contribution to the Holy Land.”<sup>434</sup> One of the most significant crusaders to deal with Pandulph was Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England. In 1219 Hubert requested dispensation from his vow because his absence would, he argued, be “ruinous to the castles and fortresses” in his governance. As for his side of the bargain, Hubert offered to “send a fit number of soldiers or pay a subsidy to the Holy Land.”<sup>435</sup> In the same year the bishop of Durham and royal chancellor, Richard Marsh, was absolved of his vow on account of his age and infirmities; in return Richard paid 1,000 marks to the Holy Land subsidy.<sup>436</sup> Similarly, according to the records of the assize at Lincoln in 1218-19, a certain William, son of Robert, signed with the cross, handed over some money to a dean to have the cross “removed from him.”<sup>437</sup> The end of the crusade naturally caused the rate of such exchanges to decrease, but they still occurred. In 1226 the archbishop of Canterbury was instructed to absolve a certain William from his vow, providing he sent “one or more fighting men to the Holy Land.”<sup>438</sup>

Gregory IX gave the policy fresh impetus, expanding its reach and increasing its promotion. Under Innocent III and Honorius III commutations had been for the most part approved by secular clergy. These men appear, in general, to have been prudent in their task, redeeming only those truly unsuited for participation and rarely, if ever, handing out plenary indulgences.<sup>439</sup> However, when Gregory ordered a new crusade in 1234, he handed the bulk of the workload over to the Franciscan and Dominican friars, who went about their business with zeal.<sup>440</sup> They appear to have handed out many plenary

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<sup>434</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 58.

<sup>435</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 63.

<sup>436</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 62, 78.

<sup>437</sup> *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes, Lincolnshire 1218-19 and Worcestershire 1221*, ed. Doris M. Stenton (Selden Society 53, 1934), 150, no. 324. For a further example, see *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 65.

<sup>438</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 113.

<sup>439</sup> See *FR*, I, 428-432.

<sup>440</sup> *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Georg H. Pertz and Carl Rodenberg, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883-94), I, 491-95, no. 605; *Les Registres de*

indulgences and, at least by the early 1240s, exhibited a “laxity with regard to the requirement of satisfactory excuses” for non-fulfilment of vows.<sup>441</sup> This undoubtedly increased revenue. On the downside, it aroused fierce criticism.<sup>442</sup> Matthew Paris provides a striking example. In the part of his *Chronica majora* covering the year 1234, he bemoaned that the friars were in the habit of signing people with the cross on one day then absolving them from their vows the next.<sup>443</sup> And when Thomas, a Templar and member of the papal household, came to England in 1236 to commute vows, Paris claimed, somewhat fancifully, that, after the *crucesignati* had handed over their monies and been absolved,

they wondered at the insatiable [*insatiatam*] greed of the Roman court, and formed great indignation in their minds, because the Romans strove so impudently to drain the purses of the people by so many tricks.<sup>444</sup>

Such outrage was in vain; the breezy sale of redemptions became commonplace.<sup>445</sup> Indeed, one historian has argued convincingly that by the late thirteenth century preachers were more concerned with getting money from commutation payments than with recruiting men to fight.<sup>446</sup>

Redemptions could be granted for various reasons. Thus far we have seen them being given because of poverty, illness, indispensability, old age, lack of martial ability and, at least from the early 1240s onwards, sometimes simply because a crusader was willing to hand over enough money. However, another reason was prevalent: redemptions fairly often resulted from an imposition of penance. This did not become an aspect of papal policy until the second half

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*Grégoire IX: Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape*, ed. Lucien Auvray, 4 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1896-1955), I, 1183-84, nos. 2203-10.

<sup>441</sup> See *FR*, I, 428-432, quote on 430.

<sup>442</sup> For discussion of criticism of redemptions, see Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, 150-55.

<sup>443</sup> *MP*, *CM*, III, 287-88.

<sup>444</sup> *MP*, *CM*, III, 374; trans. modified from *Matthew Paris's English History*, I, 38.

<sup>445</sup> See, for example, Paris, *CM*, IV, 6-7, 9; *Register of Walter Giffard*, 277-86; *The Register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, 1292-1324*, ed. William N. Thompson, 2 vols. in 1 (Canterbury and York Society 12, 1913), I, 317-18.

<sup>446</sup> Evans, “Commutation of Crusade Vows,” 219-228.

of the thirteenth century.<sup>447</sup> In 1250 Innocent ordered preachers of the crusade in England to absolve offenders by forcing them to take the cross, but made no explicit reference to the possibility of such impositions being redeemed.<sup>448</sup> In 1263, however, Urban IV made provision for this process, decreeing that those signed with the cross as penance may go in person, send substitutes at their own expense, or donate some of their goods to the Holy Land.<sup>449</sup>

As a result of such legislation, the redemption of crusade penances for money became a feature of society. One ecclesiastical register from the late thirteenth century contains an account of over two-dozen individuals who were granted such dispensations.<sup>450</sup> The most common offence was that of secular clergy not being ordained by their diocesan bishop.<sup>451</sup> Other transgressions included assaults on priests and the unjust imprisonment of clergymen.<sup>452</sup> Most of the penitents had to pay between two shillings and half a mark, but in one instance the size of the fine was half of one's goods, while in another it was set at £100.<sup>453</sup> The registers of other ecclesiastics contain similar cases.<sup>454</sup> Purcell thought that this practice was perhaps "the most urgently destructive form of commutation connected with the crusade," for "it bore heavily on the whole question of the integrity of crusade vows."<sup>455</sup> Yet we should not view such exchanges too cynically. They served as a useful means of raising much needed money for the business of the cross and especially awful offenders,

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<sup>447</sup> See Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 21-22; Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 114-18.

<sup>448</sup> *Foedera*, I/I, 272-3.

<sup>449</sup> *Registres d'Urbain IV*, I, 228-31 (esp. 230), no. 468.

<sup>450</sup> These penitents were recorded in a general list of individuals who were redeeming vows, see *Register of Walter Giffard*, 277-86.

<sup>451</sup> See, for example, the case of Nicholas de Rungeton, *Register of Walter Giffard*, 284. For a discussion of the transgressions for which penance could be fulfilled by taking the cross, see Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, 115.

<sup>452</sup> See, for example, the cases of John, son of Maude of Eston and Richard of Barton, *Register of Walter Giffard*, 278, 281.

<sup>453</sup> *Register of Walter Giffard*, 280, 282.

<sup>454</sup> *Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton*, III, 12, 159-60; IV, 86; V, 10, 19-20; *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard*, II, 110-13.

<sup>455</sup> Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, 114.

such as heretics, were, it seems, not allowed to commute their vows for money.<sup>456</sup>

How lucrative was the redemption programme? An insight into that question is provided by the register of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, for it contains a list of over 250 people who appear to have redeemed their vows in 1274-75 and, crucially, the sums of money they paid to do so.<sup>457</sup> The list was likely the product of an enquiry into outstanding crusade vows in the archdiocese.<sup>458</sup> Most individuals paid five shillings to secure a redemption. Yet the price varied, for it was, it seems, determined, albeit roughly, by the wealth of the individual. Fulco of Alverstan paid only 12d, while a certain William, son of Martin of Grimeston, had to pay 20s.<sup>459</sup> Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the payments constituted a welcome cash injection, bringing in close to £200. This was, of course, on its own not especially large. But it was the result of only one, fairly short-lived enquiry into unfulfilled vows. Similar investigations took place in 1247, 1255-56, 1273, 1282-83 and 1291-93.<sup>460</sup> Moreover, the mendicant friars and other preachers would have been consistently handing out redemptions and promptly securing payments in exchange.<sup>461</sup> Thus, the sum accumulated through the redemption scheme was likely sizeable, though not enormous.

## Tax

Taxation of the Church was the most lucrative – and most volatile – source of finance organised by the papacy. The English Church was subject to mandatory income taxes in support of the crusading movement in 1199,

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<sup>456</sup> See Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, 117.

<sup>457</sup> *Register of Walter Giffard*, 277-86.

<sup>458</sup> James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 135 note 79; Evans, “Commutation of Crusade Vows,” 225-26.

<sup>459</sup> *Register of Walter Giffard*, 281.

<sup>460</sup> MP, CM, VI, 134-38, 312-14, nos. 71, 153; *Wintonia*, 113-15; *Waverleia*, 379-81; *Letter-Book of William of Hoo, Sacrist of Bury St. Edmunds*, ed. Antonia Gransden (Suffolk Record Society 5, 1963), 48-49, no. 41; *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi Herefordensis*, ed. William W. Capes (Canterbury and York Society 6, 1909), 78-79; *Register of John le Romeyn*, II, 73-74, no. 1313; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 22-23; Ian L. Bass, “‘Articuli Inquisicionis de cruce signatis’: Late Thirteenth-Century Inquiry into English Crusaders,” *Crusades* 17 (2018): 171-93.

<sup>461</sup> See Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 123-160.

1215, 1245, 1250, 1263, 1274, 1291, 1305, 1309, 1312, 1317 and 1333. It also agreed to a voluntary levy in 1272.<sup>462</sup> The rate of tax could vary widely. In 1245 a triennial (i.e. three year) half was demanded of clerks who did not reside in their benefices for at least six months each year, while a mere fortieth of a single year's revenue was instigated in 1199. In most cases, however, the rate was set at a tenth of yearly income for three or more years.

### Valuation

The amount of money owed by institutions was based on a valuation of their yearly income. Important valuations, at least regarding taxes for crusades, took place in 1201, 1217, 1254, 1276, 1291-93 and 1318. We lack detailed evidence of how such assessments were made, but the broad trends are easily observable. In general those liable for tax conducted their own valuations – sometimes with the assistance of a jury of laymen and clergymen,<sup>463</sup> at other times by the “common estimation of good men”<sup>464</sup> – and presented their findings to collectors at a synod or private meeting.<sup>465</sup> These estimations could arouse suspicion and, in some cases, collectors deemed it necessary to conduct a new valuation themselves. The annals of Dunstable, for example, described how in 1275 the “chief collectors for the tithe of the Holy Land” were “unwilling to abide by our [i.e. the monks of Dunstable priory's] oath as to the due amount of our goods, and instead themselves valued [*taxarunt*] all the goods on our lands.”<sup>466</sup> Such investigations could prove acrimonious. There were complaints that collectors overvalued revenues. An excellent example is provided by a document of c.1292, in which the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds asserted that a pair of collectors had overruled the “common assent” of a jury and conducted an “immoderate assessment” of his monastery's temporal

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<sup>462</sup> *FR*, I, 230-38.

<sup>463</sup> *Papal Revenues*, II, 188.

<sup>464</sup> *Dunstaplia*, 52; *The Annals of Dunstable Priory*, ed. Harriett R. Webster and trans. David Preest (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), 27 translates this as “with the general agreement of good men,” but this seems to be a less accurate translation of the Latin: “*dedimus vicesimam reddituum nostrorum secundum communem aestimationem bonorum virorum.*”

<sup>465</sup> *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 108-112.

<sup>466</sup> *Dunstaplia*, 267; trans. modified from *The Annals of Dunstable Priory*, 184, which translates “*taxarunt*” as “taxed.” However, given the context, “valued” seems to be a more appropriate translation.

revenues. The document goes through each temporality, highlighting the differences between the jury's assessment and that of the collectors. Some of these were not particularly significant. For instance, the jury's valuation of the revenues of Whepstead stood at £44 6s, while the collectors came to the figure of £45 16s. But the divergence between other estimates was striking. The income of Ingham, for example, was put at £16 13s 2d by the jury and £30 16s 8d by the collectors.<sup>467</sup>

Although various religious groups were exempt from income taxes at various times in our period,<sup>468</sup> valuations were generally as far-reaching as they were invidious. In the most detailed account we have of how a tax for a crusade was organised, *Cum pro negotio* (1274) – itself prompted by the instigation of a sexennial tenth by the Second Council of Lyons (1274) – Gregory X ordered assessments to be made of, among other things, fisheries, livestock, gardens, woods, forests, ovens, mills, pensions, legacies, oblations and incomes from the law.<sup>469</sup> Such a sweeping remit does not imply administrative nonchalance. On the contrary, it is clear that a great deal of thought went into the document. It contained several nuanced provisions concerning the prevention of tax evasion, the form in which money was to be paid, and what forms of income were not to be taxed. The most important terms, however, concerned the type of sums from which the tenth should be calculated. For some revenues, the tenth was to be based on net income: “the tenth shall be paid on the produce of flocks and animals... the necessary expenditures for their care having been deducted.”<sup>470</sup> However, in many cases, it was to be based on gross income:

expenditures... made for ditches and for other things to improve lands, in order that they will enjoy more produce, and those... made in

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<sup>467</sup> *Papal Revenues*, II, 191-93; see also *Papal Revenues*, II, 179-82.

<sup>468</sup> See *FR*, I, 240-41, 243, 250, 312, 346-47, 387, 396; *FR*, II, 89; Smith, *Curia and Crusade*, 322-26. For a request for exemption, see *The Register of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, 1317-1327*, ed. Ernest H. Pearce (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1930), 47.

<sup>469</sup> *Les Registres de Grégoire X*, 231-34, no. 571.

<sup>470</sup> *Les Registres de Grégoire X*, 231-34 (esp. 234), no. 571; trans. modified from *Papal Revenues*, II, 168.

conserving or repairing... mills, houses, storehouses and the like ... will not be deducted from this tenth.<sup>471</sup>

If *Cum pro negotio* is representative of general trends, this is very significant. It meant that a tenth, for example, did not represent a sequestration of ten *per cent* of final earnings. Rather, in real terms, such a tax would have constituted something substantially higher. The impact of this on the coffers of the English Church should not be underestimated.

### Collection and Yield

Taxation requires sophisticated administration and an effective machinery of collection. The papacy came to appreciate this truism more and more in the opening decades of the thirteenth century. The first mandatory income tax, the fortieth of 1199, was not centralised: papal agents did not act as collectors. Instead, the archbishops and bishops of England administered the levy.<sup>472</sup> The Fifth Crusade, and the twentieth it inspired, prompted a change of policy: in 1218 Honorius III decided to employ a member of his own household, Pandulph, as the principal collector of the tax.<sup>473</sup> This was sensible. It meant that the chief administrator had no interest in minimising the financial impact of the levy on the English Church. It must have been effective, too, for such an approach became a regular feature of taxes for around the next sixty years, with men like Rostand Masson, the controversial papal chaplain and native of Gascony, being appointed to organise the collection of crusade revenues.<sup>474</sup> By the late thirteenth century, however, the papacy had reverted to something akin to its original policy, tending to choose Englishmen with no real relationship with *curia* as chief collectors, as when,

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<sup>471</sup> *Les Registres de Grégoire X*, 231-34 (esp. 234), no. 571; trans. modified from *Papal Revenues*, II, 168.

<sup>472</sup> *FR*, I, 240-42.

<sup>473</sup> For the first papal instruction to Pandulph following his appointment, see *Vetera monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum historiam illustrantia quae ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentiae tabulariis deprompsit*, ed. Augustin Theiner (Rome: Typis Vaticania, 1864), 17, no. 40. For detailed discussion of the administration and collection of the twentieth, see *FR*, I, 242-47; Powell, *Anatomy*, 89-106; Smith, *Curia and Crusade*, 297-318.

<sup>474</sup> See *FR*, I, 588-95, App. 2.

for example, the respected Dominican friar John of Darlington was selected in 1274.<sup>475</sup>

Of course, regardless of such administrative tinkering, the bulk of the groundwork of collection was always done by local clergymen or, to a much lesser extent, members of the Military Orders.<sup>476</sup> Examples are plentiful, if somewhat bland, and a few will suffice. Warinus, treasurer of the New Temple, London, was appointed as a deputy collector of the tenth of 1274.<sup>477</sup> For the tax of 1291, the Augustinians of Osney acted as deputy collectors in Lincoln, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon and Northampton (excluding the deanery of Rutland), while the abbot and convent of Reading were in charge of funds in Hereford and Salisbury.<sup>478</sup> Perhaps slightly more vividly, in 1313 the Benedictines of Selby, “appointed deputy collectors of the tenth... [on] behalf of the business of the Holy Land,” declared they had taken £11 13s 4d from the treasurer of the church of St. Peter of York.<sup>479</sup>

Collectors did not finance themselves; rather, they were given a stipend. There is no evidence of the rates paid to lowly collectors. However, a few references to the wages of principal collectors survive. For the triennial tenth of 1250, the bishop of Norwich received 500 marks, the abbot of Westminster 300 marks and the bishop of Chichester 200 marks.<sup>480</sup> Likewise, Rostand Masson was given an annual allowance of 400 marks.<sup>481</sup> Furthermore, collectors were allowed to claim expenses. On 18 October 1250, for example, Innocent IV wrote to the bishop of Chichester and the archdeacon of Essex, collectors of monies for the Holy Land, permitting them to reimburse themselves for “moderate and necessary” expenditures.<sup>482</sup> None of these allowances were financed by the papacy; rather, they were taken directly from the proceeds of

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<sup>475</sup> See *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 449; *FR*, I, App. 2.

<sup>476</sup> See *FR*, I, App. 3.

<sup>477</sup> *FR*, I, App. 3.

<sup>478</sup> *FR*, I, App. 3.

<sup>479</sup> *Papal Revenues*, II, 125.

<sup>480</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 370; see also *CR (1253-54)*, 135

<sup>481</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 449. Our sources also contain a few references to the daily rates of such men, see *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 449, 452, 617.

<sup>482</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 263.

levies.<sup>483</sup> Thus, they would have constituted a small, yet notable drain on eventual yields.

Funds were deposited with a variety of institutions.<sup>484</sup> For around the first three-quarters of a century of clerical taxation, they were housed with the Military Orders or the regular and secular clergies.<sup>485</sup> The levy of 1215, for instance, appears to have been mostly stored in the Temple in Paris.<sup>486</sup> However, from 1277 onwards,<sup>487</sup> it was common for monies to be entrusted to Italian bankers, although funds continued to be given to the aforesaid groups.<sup>488</sup> To give but one example of many, a document written in 1283 informs us that £4,575 11s ¾d of the tenth of 1274 had been stored with the Mozzi of Florence, £11,003 11s 5d with the Riccardi of Lucca, £7,114 9s 7d with the Bettori of Lucca, and a good deal more with other merchants.<sup>489</sup>

The above may give the impression that collections, in general, ran fairly smoothly. This was not the case. They were usually slow, frustrating and difficult. Most significantly, they aroused strong resistance. In some instances, the majority, perhaps the entirety, of taxpayers simply refused to pay up. The fortieth of 1199 did not, it seems, start to bring in money until 1201, probably because of such stubbornness.<sup>490</sup> The two taxes announced by the First Council of Lyons were likewise opposed, as was the tax of 1263, and collection of them in England may never have got properly underway.<sup>491</sup> Yet such extreme resistance was uncommon. Most of the time only a share of clergy was uncooperative, either refusing to hand over money or not being assiduous in their payments. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact

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<sup>483</sup> See, for example, *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 263; *Register of William Greenfield*, IV, 284-85, no. 2269.

<sup>484</sup> See *FR*, I, 595-597.

<sup>485</sup> See *FR*, I, 240-310.

<sup>486</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 74.

<sup>487</sup> *FR*, I, 596.

<sup>488</sup> For examples of continuing use of traditional groups, see *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1275-1282*, ed. Robert G. Griffiths (Canterbury and York Society 2, 1907), 219-20; *Papal Revenues*, II, 125-27; *CPR (1247-58)*, 429; *CPR (1272-81)*, 147; *CPR (1281-92)*, 231, 244.

<sup>489</sup> *FR*, I, App. 6.

<sup>490</sup> *FR*, I, 241-42.

<sup>491</sup> See *FR*, I, 250-55, 290-91.

that the papacy developed techniques to coerce such men into handing over money. The Fourth Lateran Council declared that those who did not pay a twentieth in aid of the Holy Land would be excommunicated, which became the standard punishment for such evasion.<sup>492</sup> In addition, Gregory X announced in 1274 that those who resisted payment could be forced to do so by secular authorities, though only if their “contumacy or rebellion” was unusually pronounced.<sup>493</sup>

The inevitable result of such resistance was arrears. Examples are abundant; a few will suffice.<sup>494</sup> The abbey of Tewkesbury and the priory of Worcester did not, it seems, pay their share of the tax announced by the Fourth Lateran Council until 1219,<sup>495</sup> despite it being due on 1 May 1218.<sup>496</sup> On 1 June 1277 collectors of the recent sexennial tenth reported that the total income from the first year of collection stood at £15,061 2s 9½d; the sum expected was at least £21,398.<sup>497</sup> In 1298 or 1299 the collector, Geoffrey of Vezzano, drew up an document recording the arrears he had recently collected in England for the first three years of the tenth of 1291; some of the sums were large, such as £120 from the priory and convent of Saint Katherine near Lincoln and £110 16s 10½d from the abbot and convent of Burton upon Trent.<sup>498</sup> The levy decreed by the Council of Vienne (1312) was plagued by arrears and was still being collected as late as 1321.<sup>499</sup>

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<sup>492</sup> *Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 201-202, 296-97. For an example of the policy in action, see *Register of Walter Giffard*, 274-76.

<sup>493</sup> *Les Registres de Grégoire X*, 231-34 (esp. 233), no. 571; English trans. *Papal Revenues*, II, 167. For examples of the policy in action, see *CPR (1272-81)*, 155; *Chichester, 1215-1305*, II, 173-74, no. 202.

<sup>494</sup> For some further examples, see *Coventry and Lichfield, 1215-1256, 1258-1295*, ed. Jeffrey H. Denton and Philippa M. Hoskin, 2 vols. (English Episcopal Acta 43-44, 2014), II, 59-63, no. 328; *Salisbury, 1078-1297*, III, 233-35, no. 180; *Registrum Henrici Woodlock, Episcopi Wintoniensis*, ed. Arthur W. Goodman, 2 vols. (Canterbury and York Society 43-44, 1940-41), I, 616-17; *FR*, I, 390-91.

<sup>495</sup> *Theokesberia*, 64; *Wigornia*, 411.

<sup>496</sup> *FR*, I, 245.

<sup>497</sup> Lunt, “Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I,” 407 note 69.

<sup>498</sup> William E. Lunt, “Collectors’ Accounts for the Clerical Tenth Levied in England by Order of Nicholas IV,” *English Historical Review* 31 (1916): 110-12 (esp. 110).

<sup>499</sup> See *FR*, I, 395-404 (esp. 403).

The problems of collection did not stop there. Delays frequently occurred due to administrative complications. The instructions of the papacy could be difficult to implement, with collectors not knowing whether to follow the letter or spirit of an order. In 1279, for example, Nicholas III replied to several queries made by the collectors of England concerning instructions they had received on how to conduct themselves. They had been told, to give but one example, that “nuns and other regular persons” who had to publicly seek alms for the “sustenance of their life” should not pay the tenth; this, they maintained, was problematic, because although no nuns begged publicly in England, there were “many so poor and miserable that they cannot be sustained by their revenues.”<sup>500</sup> The harvest of such revenues could not occur until this problem had been resolved. Furthermore, some collections were postponed or effectively cancelled due to unstable political and ecclesiastical circumstances. The sexennial tenth of 1291 was halted in 1294 because Edward I’s wars with France, Scotland and Wales were putting excessive demands on the English clergy; it did not resume until 1300.<sup>501</sup> The tenth of 1312 was only collected for a single year because of the death of Clement V; as the bishop of Bath and Wells declared: “the authority for collecting ceased on account of the death of the lord pope who imposed the tenth.”<sup>502</sup> The tax of 1333 was cancelled by Benedict XII in 1336 because a recent escalation in tensions between the kings of England and France meant that no crusade to the East was realistically going to take place in the near future.<sup>503</sup>

The most significant consequence of a troubled collection was a poor yield. Indeed, the returns of many levies were negligible, even non-existent – a fact which tempers some of the more fulsome praise of taxation in modern studies.<sup>504</sup> The levy of 1199 appears to have not raised much, while those of 1245 and 1263 likely brought in nothing from England, or at least no records of their collection or disbursement survive.<sup>505</sup> Nevertheless, other levies did

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<sup>500</sup> *Papal Revenues*, II, 182-185 (esp. 183).

<sup>501</sup> *FR*, I, 356.

<sup>502</sup> Quoted in *FR*, I, 400.

<sup>503</sup> *FR*, II, 93-94; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 256.

<sup>504</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>505</sup> *FR*, I, 240-42, 250-55, 290-91.

bring in sizeable, indeed sometimes enormous, returns. The twentieth of 1215 raised at least 20,007½ marks.<sup>506</sup> The tenth of 1250 clearly accumulated several tens of thousands of marks.<sup>507</sup> The subsidy of 1272 raised at the very least some £22,000.<sup>508</sup> The tax of 1274 amassed at least £128,388.<sup>509</sup> The tenth of 1291 raised over £100,000.<sup>510</sup> By 1312 the tenths of 1305 and 1309 had yielded some £62,000.<sup>511</sup> The levy of 1312 yielded between £17,235 and £18,500, that of 1317 brought in some £19,500, and it is likely that the tax of 1333 accrued a similar sum to that of 1312.<sup>512</sup>

### **Disbursement**

Once alms, legacies, redemptions, taxes and other monies had been collected, all that was left to do was distribute them – it is necessary to discuss the various revenues together because this was how they were often handed out in reality.<sup>513</sup> The sums promised to crusaders were often fairly large. In 1247 William Longespee was granted £1,000 – this was later increased to 2,000 marks.<sup>514</sup> In 1248 Simon de Montfort was assigned 4,000 marks.<sup>515</sup> William de Valence was accorded 2,200 marks in 1254.<sup>516</sup> Such figures must, however, be viewed with a healthy degree of scepticism, for the transfer of funds was often delayed. In 1239 Richard of Cornwall, preparing to make his way to the East, was informed he was to receive the monies of redemptions, legacies and taxes, but when he returned from the Holy Land on 7 January 1242, he had received just a fraction of the funds.<sup>517</sup> Likewise, at some point before their departure on the crusade of the Lord Edward, Payn de Chaworth and Robert de Tiptoft were allocated 600 marks from redemptions and

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<sup>506</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 74; *PR (1216-25)*, 253.

<sup>507</sup> *FR*, I, 289-90.

<sup>508</sup> *FR*, I, 237. See also Chapter 6.

<sup>509</sup> Lunt, "Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I," 408.

<sup>510</sup> See Lunt, "Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I," 416-17.

<sup>511</sup> *FR*, I, 391-92.

<sup>512</sup> *FR*, I, 404-05; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 257.

<sup>513</sup> For example, *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 185.

<sup>514</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 232, 242.

<sup>515</sup> *Worcester, 1218-1268*, 106-07, no. 133.

<sup>516</sup> *CR (1253-54)*, 217, 292, 303.

<sup>517</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 185; *MP, CM, IV*, 180; *Papal Revenues*, II, 488-90; *FR*, I, 432-34.

obventions. Yet neither received a penny either before or during their campaigns.

Delays were, however, not the only problem faced by crusaders who secured funds. They also had to deal with a papal policy – almost entirely overlooked in modern studies – regarding the time and place of disbursement.<sup>518</sup> That policy was thus: money was to be handed out in the eastern theatre, or in a series of instalments, the first of which could not be secured until after departure. Richard of Cornwall was not allowed to lay hands on the funds reserved for him in 1239 until he arrived “in transmarine parts.”<sup>519</sup> The monies earmarked for William Longespee in 1248 were to be distributed to him “as soon” as he had crossed the sea, notwithstanding any indult that such payments were not to be made “until the crusade [reached] the Holy Land.”<sup>520</sup> In 1238 Hugh Wake was assigned monies from redemption payments, but he was to only receive these “after” he had “set out.”<sup>521</sup> The impact of this policy should not be underestimated. It determined how much money could be spent during preparations for a crusade. This is especially significant because a fair number of people had to give up on their crusading ambitions due to lack of funds.<sup>522</sup> For example, an entry in the papal registers describes crusaders from Lincoln not being able to take ship to the Holy Land.<sup>523</sup> Perhaps if monies had been distributed during preparations, such persons would have been able to secure a stipend in the army of a lord whose liquid capital had been bolstered by the Church.<sup>524</sup> Nevertheless, despite this flaw, the policy was fundamentally sensible: it prevented crusaders receiving money and then not departing, thus embezzling their funds.<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>518</sup> The only studies to take note of it are Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, 147; Lower, *The Barons' Crusade*, 32.

<sup>519</sup> *Papal Revenues*, II, 489.

<sup>520</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 255.

<sup>521</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 176. For further examples, see Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, 147 note 82.

<sup>522</sup> See Christopher Tyerman, “Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land?” in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (London: Variorum, 1992), 13-26.

<sup>523</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 232

<sup>524</sup> For discussion of stipends, see Tyerman, “Paid Crusaders,” 1-40.

<sup>525</sup> Indeed, a handful of crusade theoreticians believed that many noblemen were interested in Church funds solely for this reason, see Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, 72-73.

There were occasions when the policy was ignored. Most notably, both Edward I and Edward II were given cash while still in England. In 1278 Edward I was given 25,000 marks to “prepare himself to set out for the Holy Land.”<sup>526</sup> In 1290-92 the pope permitted Edward I to receive money while he made arrangements to set out for the East.<sup>527</sup> The majority of the tenths of 1305 and 1309 went straight into the coffers of Edward I and Edward II. The pope stated that these funds were to be used for the welfare of the Holy Land; however, the kings did not have to pledge themselves to depart for the East nor to restore the money if they did not go.<sup>528</sup> Likewise, the tax of 1317, granted for the promotion of the cause of the Holy Land, was deposited at the Exchequer.<sup>529</sup> Such disregard for procedure was likely a result of the monarchical status of these men. The papacy probably recognised that it was necessary for such individuals to have cash in hand during preparations, since, for monarchs, these usually took years and involved a great deal of expenditure.<sup>530</sup> In addition – and especially in the cases of 1305, 1309 and 1317 – the papacy may have given the kings instant access to funds because it believed, perhaps naively, that this would encourage them to go on crusade.

There is another recorded instance of the policy being flouted, but this appears to have been merely the result of administrative negligence. Probably in 1270 Roger de Leyburn, a *crucesignatus* and friend of the Lord Edward, claimed he was ready to set out for the East.<sup>531</sup> On hearing this welcome news, a papal legate transferred Roger 1,000 silver marks, in spite of the fact that he had not yet departed. Unfortunately (at least for the Church and the crusade) Roger then “kept the money and did not go,” prompting a demand

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<sup>526</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg*, I, 455.

<sup>527</sup> *FR*, I, 340-41.

<sup>528</sup> *FR*, I, 383, 386.

<sup>529</sup> *FR*, I, 404-05.

<sup>530</sup> See Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 65-104.

<sup>531</sup> Roger had certainly taken the cross by 1270, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 479, and was contracted to depart with the Lord Edward, see Turner, “Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I,” 45-51; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 120.

from the papacy that the sum be returned in full on pain of excommunication and interdict.<sup>532</sup>

Thus far we have only considered the problems faced by *crucesignati* who had been promised money. There were, however, deeper lying issues with disbursement. Most significantly, those looking to get their hands upon funds faced very stiff competition. There was, after all, not enough money to finance everyone. In the late 1260s Hawisa of Neville wrote to her son, Hugh of Neville, who was in the Holy Land on an independent crusade. She admonished him not to place too much hope in “the moneys” of the Church, since “many great lords” would soon “go on the Crusade” and “carry away whatever shall be raised” in England.<sup>533</sup>

The likelihood of securing a grant was heavily dependent on social status. Unsurprisingly, aristocrats stood the best chance. This was especially true of taxation. While the taxes of 1199 and 1215 may have found their way into the pockets of gentry and perhaps even lesser men,<sup>534</sup> from 1250 onwards levies for the crusades were, with one exception,<sup>535</sup> assigned exclusively to the kings of England, for the simple reason that in each case these powerful men had signalled their intention to crusade.<sup>536</sup> Other central funds were comparatively open; yet a clear social gradation remained. In 1251, a year after he took the cross for the second time, Henry III was permitted all the redemptions and legacies in England, excluding those which had been allocated already to other *crucesignati*.<sup>537</sup> In other words, Henry’s decision to crusade had precluded the possibility of lower status Englishmen being funded by the clergy in the foreseeable future.<sup>538</sup> There are, furthermore, other

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<sup>532</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 444. It is not known if this threat succeeded in prompting Roger to hand back the money.

<sup>533</sup> Giuseppi, “On the Testament of Sir Hugh de Nevill,” 360.

<sup>534</sup> The distribution of both levies is poorly documented, but we know that administrators were sufficiently lax for them to give the non-crusader Stephen Langton a share of the fortieth in 1213, see *Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil*, 293.

<sup>535</sup> The subsidy of 1272 was assigned to the Lord Edward and Edmund Crouchback, see *Register of Walter Giffard*, 39-41; *FR*, I, 230-38.

<sup>536</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 191.

<sup>537</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 268.

<sup>538</sup> See *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 276.

references to aristocrats receiving such support. Edmund Crouchback, for example, secured the proceeds of bequests and redemptions in 1268.<sup>539</sup> Yet lesser lords were not without hope. In 1247 the lord of Ware, Robert de Quincy, was permitted the revenues from redemptions and legacies in his lands, along with those of the earl of Winchester and William de Ferrers.<sup>540</sup> For those lower down the social scale, it appears to have been nigh-on impossible to secure such windfalls: no evidence survives of such transactions.<sup>541</sup> This was doubtless in small part a result of ecclesiastical snobbery, but in the main it was a consequence of pragmatism. Crusading armies naturally formed around lords.<sup>542</sup> These men were, generally speaking, the leaders and chief financiers of their contingents, paying the wages of followers, arranging transport, and buying equipment and supplies. By choosing to give such men extra funds, the Church was simply recognising a social and economic reality: that the men who led and financed expeditions were best placed to spend more money.

The problem of competition was exacerbated by the fact that not all proceeds were used to fund outgoing crusaders. In 1240 a papal agent, William, was instructed to raise 5,000 marks from redemptions and legacies to pay for the release of Amaury de Montfort, who was being held prisoner in the East.<sup>543</sup> Furthermore, Englishmen did not have a monopoly on funds raised in their *patria*; monies could be channelled abroad. In 1238 the archbishops of Canterbury and York (and Dublin) were instructed to give a fourth part of the monies accrued through redemptions to Baldwin II, emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.<sup>544</sup>

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<sup>539</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 435.

<sup>540</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 239.

<sup>541</sup> Although Innocent III did permit the alms collected in 1199 to be used to aid “knights or other warriors who have assumed the sign of the cross, if they have not been able to cross at their own expense.” *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 111; English trans. *Papal Revenues*, II, 85.

<sup>542</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 167-86; Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, 127-49, 151-58.

<sup>543</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 193.

<sup>544</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 177.

A final issue was that many taxes were, in the final outcome, never used for their original purpose. Rather, from the later thirteenth century onwards, they were almost always employed for secular ends in the West. Stockpiles of specie were loaned out to needy lords. In 1293 Edmund Crouchback was lent £10,000 from the tenth of 1291 by the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln.<sup>545</sup> In 1307 Antony Bek was accused of securing a loan of £5,000 from crusading tenths.<sup>546</sup> More dramatically, taxes were seized by the Crown or kept by the papacy. On 28 March 1283 Edward I sequestered the tenth of 1274, which was housed in various churches and monasteries. He did this to fund his war in Wales; however, in the event, he spent only a small portion of the funds, and by 29 November he had fully repaid what he had taken.<sup>547</sup> The levy of 1291 was eventually split between Edward I and the papacy, with the former receiving £66,666 13s 4d and the latter receiving £42,343 7s 3¾d.<sup>548</sup> In 1314 Edward II forced the clergy to lend him the takings of the levy of 1312; he never paid back this loan, however, and it is doubtful he ever intended to do so.<sup>549</sup> In 1336 Edward III requisitioned much of the tax of 1333, using it to pay off a debt to the Bardi and finance his campaign in Scotland.<sup>550</sup> These transgressions look bad at first. But first impressions deceive. They were, in fact, of very minor importance, having little, if any, impact on the crusade movement. Indeed, no grand plans for the recovery of the Holy Land fell to pieces because of such sequestrations. This is because taxes were only misappropriated once the prospect of a crusade had diminished irrevocably. There were, in other words, no expeditions on which to spend the money. Moreover, the failure of any to materialise was, as has been argued elsewhere, political and administrative, not emotional or financial.<sup>551</sup>

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<sup>545</sup> *CPR (1292-1301)*, 12, 576.

<sup>546</sup> Constance M. Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, 1283-1311* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 121-22. For further examples, see *CPR (1247-58)*, 498; *CCR (1288-96)*, 423.

<sup>547</sup> *FR*, I, 336-37.

<sup>548</sup> Lunt, "Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I," 416-17. For an example of money from the tenth being used for secular purposes, see *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, I, 229-30.

<sup>549</sup> *FR*, I, 400-04.

<sup>550</sup> *FR*, II, 93.

<sup>551</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 252-58.

## Summary

The thirteenth century saw ecclesiastical fundraising become a prominent feature of crusade finance in England. Almsgiving was encouraged by the papacy from 1187, but Innocent III increased its promotion in 1199 when he ordered clergymen to solicit gifts from the faithful and put chests in their churches to store – and inspire – donations. Conversely, legacies to the Holy Land only became widespread in the latter half of the thirteenth century. On parchment, these normally constituted a significant part of a donor's wealth, and this was true across the social spectrum. Yet in reality legacies sometimes fell foul of external pressures and were not used, or were only used in part, in aid of the business of the cross. Nevertheless, in the final outcome, they still made an ample contribution to general subsidies.

Redemption payments had always played a role in the crusade movement. Yet it was not until the Fifth Crusade that they became a significant revenue. It was this event which prompted Innocent III to allow clergymen systematically and liberally to redeem vows throughout England. At this point clergymen were probably only handing out partial indulgences to crusaders who clearly fell into the category of non-combatant. But in 1234 Gregory IX appointed the mendicant friars to preach the crusade and hand out redemptions, and they proceeded to do this with avarice and fervour. This increased yields, but aroused criticism. Nevertheless, this approach became commonplace. Indeed, it appears that the revenues accrued through redemptions were sizeable.

Taxation was a significant, if problematic, source of finance. The sums of money owed by institutions were based on a valuation of their yearly income. For the most part, religious institutions produced their own assessment. In some cases, however, it was necessary for collectors to conduct a new one themselves, which could cause disputes. Valuations were extensive. A large array of revenues fell under the remit of assessors, from fisheries to incomes from the law. Some were taxed on net income; others on gross income. This is significant, for it meant that, in real terms, levies were more onerous than their fractional appellations implied. Once a valuation had been made, funds

had to be secured. The Church created a fairly sophisticated system of collection, appointing chief and deputy collectors and organising wages and depositaries. Yet collection was hardly ever a smooth process. Taxpayers could resist extractions and go into arrears, orders could be difficult to interpret and implement, and unforeseen political and ecclesiastical issues could cause levies to be postponed or cancelled. Such problems could prove disastrous. Over a dozen levies were made between 1199 and 1336, but some of these failed, bringing in paltry revenues or none at all. Nevertheless, the taxes that were successful, such as those in 1215, 1250, 1274, 1291 and, to a lesser extent, 1305, 1309, 1312, 1317 and 1333, brought in sizeable, sometimes enormous, returns.

The amount of money given to crusaders from central funds was often large. Yet disbursement was seldom perfect. There were often delays with the transfer of funds. Moreover, the papacy's preference for handing out money only after departure, or upon arrival in the Holy Land, meant that funds could not be spent during preparations, which may have had an impact on recruitment of impoverished warriors. There were, furthermore, more general issues with the distribution of money. Most significantly, crusaders faced very stiff competition. The chance of securing a grant was heavily influenced by social status. This was especially true of the distribution of funds from taxation, which the kings of England tended to dominate, but it was also a factor in the distribution of other central funds. The issue of competition was exacerbated by the fact that Englishmen did not have exclusive rights to the monies of their Church, since these could be distributed to men of other regions.

The cumulative effect of these shortcomings, along with those involved in collection, was that the majority of *crucesignati* would have never received any money directly from the Church, while even those who did would likely not have been able to fund themselves through this money alone. Indeed, it was probably always necessary to turn to other sources of income.

## Chapter 4: “Private” Fundraising by Individuals

This chapter provides a detailed survey of “private” fundraising by crusaders from England. Its principal contention is that the failures and inherent limitations of “public” funding forced such individuals to draw upon a wide of variety of additional revenues. These included: reducing expenditure; receiving gifts; exchanging service in return for pay; securing simple loans; chasing outstanding debts; selling privileges and rights; and selling, pledging and leasing property.<sup>552</sup> One cannot help but be impressed by the resourcefulness of participants. Indeed, the crusade movement was probably only able to remain central to the religious and political life of thirteenth and fourteenth century England because participants, and those in their connection, continued to be willing to sacrifice their own financial wellbeing for the interests of the Holy Land.<sup>553</sup>

### Financial Measures

#### Reducing Expenditure

When preparing for a crusade the most immediate concern of participants was to reduce expenditure, thereby effectively increasing income. In most cases this would not have covered entire costs, but the impact of such prudence was by no means negligible. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Church repeatedly issued legislation to help crusaders save money.<sup>554</sup> *Quantum praedecessores* and *Audita tremendi* (1187) decreed that crusaders did not have to pay usury on debts; *Quia maior* and *Ad liberandum* reaffirmed

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<sup>552</sup> For the clerical crusader another possible source of income was the revenue of vacant benefices. For discussion of such revenue, see Brundage, *Canon Law and the Crusader*, 178-79. For specific examples, see *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 116, 117, 510; *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, II, 84.

<sup>553</sup> The phrase “Holy Land” is used advisedly, see Christopher Tyerman, “Some English Evidence of Attitudes to the Crusade in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Thirteenth Century England I: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference*, ed. Peter Coss and Simon Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1986), 168-74.

<sup>554</sup> For sustained discussions, see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 179-83; James A. Brundage, “Immortalizing the Crusades: Law and Institutions,” in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith and Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 259-60; Rebecca Rist, “The Power of the Purse: Usury, Jews, and Crusaders, 1198-1245,” in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 197-213.

the provision, while also granting a moratorium on debts.<sup>555</sup> From at least the promulgation of *Ad liberandam* onwards all crusaders were exempt from paying tolls and taxes.<sup>556</sup> The Crown, moreover, issued similar decrees, often serving to reinforce those of the Church. In 1235 the men and women of London were granted immunity from tallage if they had taken the cross.<sup>557</sup> It was announced in 1250 that usury would not apply to those who took, or planned to take, the cross; this liberty would last for five-years, starting from the moment an individual was marked with the sign of the cross.<sup>558</sup> The bishop of Chichester and Hugh of St. Edmund were informed in 1252 that not only were crusaders to be relieved from paying usury to Jewish moneylenders; those who redeemed their vows were also exempt, providing they gave the king what they would have spent had they gone on his planned expedition.<sup>559</sup>

The astute crusader did not rely on such general rulings. He took matters into his own hands. In 1252 the moneylender Hamo de Burton announced, presumably at the request of his debtors, that *crucesignati* owing him money did not have to pay interest on their loans.<sup>560</sup> Thomas Charles de Hornindon, after taking the cross on 24 June 1252, was permitted by the Crown not to pay interest on loans from Jews.<sup>561</sup> In 1255 Baldwin de Wayford, crusader, was, it seems, accorded the same right.<sup>562</sup> Others sought to be entirely quit of debts; indeed, this appears to have been popular. In 1234 Walter de Norbeton, crusader, was pardoned one mark owed the tailors of Henry III.<sup>563</sup> In 1270 Alexander Luterel was granted – at the instance of the Lord Edward, with whom Alexander was going to the Holy Land – remission from what appears to have been the relief required for the inheritance of his deceased brother's

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<sup>555</sup> Grosse, "Überlegungen Zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. Von 1145/46," 90-92 (esp. 92); *PL*, CCII, 1539-42 (esp. 1542); *PL*, CCXVI, 817-21 (esp. 819); *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 202; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 179-83; Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, 137-39.

<sup>556</sup> *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 201-02; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 183-84.

<sup>557</sup> *CR* (1234-37), 82.

<sup>558</sup> *CPR* (1247-58), 75.

<sup>559</sup> *CPR* (1247-58), 164.

<sup>560</sup> *CR* (1251-53), 436.

<sup>561</sup> *CR* (1251-53), 436.

<sup>562</sup> *CR* (1254-56), 219.

<sup>563</sup> *CR* (1231-34), 408.

lands.<sup>564</sup> In February 1270, around three months before purchasing a royal protection on account of his crusader status, William Latimer was pardoned 200 marks and quit of all the debts which the king could require of him.<sup>565</sup> On 18 July 1290, six days after appointing attorneys for three years because he was going to the Holy Land, John de Booun was quit of 300 marks which he owed to the Crown.<sup>566</sup>

In addition to reaping the benefits of crusader privileges and personal agreements, many would have tried to simply spend less. According to Matthew Paris, Henry III ordered in 1250, the year he took the cross for the second time, that the “expenses” and “usual sumptuousness” of his court be reduced; not as many alms were to be given out and fewer tapers were to be kept in his church.<sup>567</sup> The scale of Christmas celebrations that year was, according to Paris, also cut back: no presents were given to the knights of the household, despite the traditional practice of handing out garments and jewels.<sup>568</sup> The Dunstable Annalist likewise noted that, after taking the cross, Henry took the “opportunity to slim down his court and particularly the queen’s apartments.”<sup>569</sup> Henry took similar measures in April 1271 when, in preparation for his planned journey to the East – which was, according to an entry in the Patent Rolls, to cost a great sum of money – he set aside a mere £120 for gifts to his household knights.<sup>570</sup> Penny-pinching of this sort could be met with consternation. Paris, with pardonable hyperbole, accused the king of “shamefully” deviating from “the footsteps of his ancestors” and committing “inexcusable” acts.<sup>571</sup> No evidence survives of other English lords tightening the purse strings – doubtless a result of most sources being

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<sup>564</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 447.

<sup>565</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 411, 479.

<sup>566</sup> *CPR (1281-92)*, 371; *CCR (1288-96)*, 96.

<sup>567</sup> *MP, CM, V*, 114.

<sup>568</sup> *MP, CM, V*, 199.

<sup>569</sup> *Dunstaplia*, 184; English trans. *The Annals of Dunstable Priory*, 127.

<sup>570</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 531, 622.

<sup>571</sup> *MP, CM, V*, 114.

uninterested in such humdrum activity.<sup>572</sup> A decree of the First Council of Lyons, however, allows for generalisation:

The nobles and magnates of the army, and all who possess an abundance of money and wealth, are to be urged by the pious warnings and exhortations of the prelates, to abstain, as they admire Christ, for whom they have assumed the cross, from all useless and superfluous expenses, but especially from those which occur in merrymaking and feasting; they are to direct [their money] in support [of] those persons through whom the business of God may prevail.<sup>573</sup>

### Gifts

Gifts were a central part of medieval society in general and lordship in particular. According to an inventory drawn up by the Wardrobe, between November 1234 and June 1235 nearly 200 objects were exchanged by Henry III, his subjects and visiting dignitaries.<sup>574</sup> Historians of the crusades, however, are yet to appreciate the importance of gifts in fundraising. In his recent study of the planning and practicalities of crusading, Tyerman made no mention of gifts in his discussion of how passages were financed.<sup>575</sup> In their works on the funding of crusades, Riley-Smith and Constable likewise overlooked them,<sup>576</sup> while other studies, such as Evans' PhD thesis, Lloyd's *English Society and the Crusade*, Tyerman's *England and the Crusades*, and Cazel's chapter in the "Wisconsin History," refer to them only in passing.<sup>577</sup> Although understandable given the dispersed nature of the evidence, such oversights are striking and in need of redress.

Gifts were an important and widespread source of income for crusaders. Participants received, among other things, cash, oaks, land and ships. Although there are a handful of examples of noblemen receiving aids from

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<sup>572</sup> A good deal of evidence, however, survives for the cut-backs made by Louis IX of France for his first crusade, see Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 90-94.

<sup>573</sup> *Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 241; MP, CM, IV, 457; English trans. modified from *Matthew Paris' English History*, II, 87.

<sup>574</sup> Benjamin L. Wild, "A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III," *English Historical Review* 514 (2010): 529-69 (esp. 530).

<sup>575</sup> Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, 204-227.

<sup>576</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 107-43; Constable, "The Financing of the Crusades," 117-142.

<sup>577</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 200; Cazel, "Financing the Crusades," 122; Evans, "The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands," 124-26.

tenants,<sup>578</sup> the principal donors were family, friends and lords. In 1247 or 1248, for example, Nicholas Pacche and his wife, Leticia, gave their son, John Pacche, in aid of his “soon to be completed” journey to the Holy Land, a piece of land they owned in Oxford. John soon raised money on his new asset by selling it to Geoffrey de Wotton.<sup>579</sup> Similarly, in c.1230 Rose, widow of Richard Marnet, granted to Simon the chaplain, son of Geoffrey de Bosco, a messuage in Carisbrooke; in return Rose received 10s, which she then gave to Andrew, her son, for his journey to Jerusalem.<sup>580</sup> Shortly before his departure for the eastern theatre in early 1271, Edmund Crouchback gave his knight, Robert de Turberville, the manor of Minsterworth; Robert was permitted to raise money on the property since he was about to cross the sea with Edmund.<sup>581</sup> Eleanor of Castile gave her *valettus*, John de Èspeynol, 100s in June 1270, the same month in which he secured a protection to go on crusade and around a month after she had done so.<sup>582</sup> Between 1270 and 1271 Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, gave money to a handful of crusaders. He issued £66 13s 4d to the Lord Edward; 20 marks to Richard de Glen; and 12d to a certain Spiriote, described as “departing for the Holy Land.”<sup>583</sup>

In addition to immediate donations, legacies were issued to specific persons or groups. In 1268 William de Beauchamp stipulated in his will that his son, Walter, who had taken the cross, should receive 200 marks in aid of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>584</sup> Roger de Clifford, who went on the crusade of 1270, left 50 marks in his will to “a certain man going to the Holy Land.”<sup>585</sup> John of Brittany, who also went on the crusade of 1270, bequeathed 30,000lt

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<sup>578</sup> The noblemen who secured such aids were: Sylvester, bishop of Worcester, in 1218, and John de Lacy, Philip Daubeny and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, in 1221, see *PR (1216-25)*, 143, 284, 318-19; for discussion of why aids of this sort were so rare, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 176.

<sup>579</sup> *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 319-20, nos. 363-64.

<sup>580</sup> *The Cartulary of Carisbrooke Priory*, ed. Stanley F. Hockey (Isle of Wight: Isle of Wight County Record Office, 1981), 85, no. 123. It is also worth noting that, in addition to the payment of 10s, Simon agreed to render 3d per annum to Rose.

<sup>581</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 515.

<sup>582</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 434, 479, 480.

<sup>583</sup> *Walter Giffard's Register*, 116, 123-24. For the crusader status of Richard de Glen, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 589; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>584</sup> *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard*, II, 7-8.

<sup>585</sup> *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard*, II, 283. For Roger's participation in the crusade of 1270, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440, 443, 448; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

to his sons, Arthur and John, for them to use on crusade.<sup>586</sup> The severely ill Eva, wife of Robert de Tiptoft, was given absolution from her crusader's vow in 1291 because she was prepared to send men-at-arms at her own expense to – one presumes – the Holy Land.<sup>587</sup> Skeel wrote that “on the whole it is the best side of human nature that comes out in medieval wills.”<sup>588</sup> Indeed, as these examples demonstrate, the sums involved could be substantial. However, they should not be taken at face value. As we saw in Chapter 3, executors could embezzle or fail to distribute legacies. As the antiquary John Stow, writing some three-hundred years after our period, poetically – and in some regards unfairly – put it, “women be forgetful, children be unkind; executors are covetous and take what they can find.”<sup>589</sup>

All the aforementioned examples are valuable. However, they provide mere snapshots of men and women aiding participants. Conversely, the expansive rolls of central government allow us to see in detail how one extremely powerful lord, Henry III, supported *crucesignati* and offer an invaluable case study of the “gift economy.”<sup>590</sup> There is a rider here: those with ties to the king, and indeed other great lords, presumably benefitted more from donations than those who moved in less affluent circles. This is not, however, cause for too much concern. The scale of Henry's giving may have been unusual; his proclivities were doubtless shared by many.

Henry gave generously to crusaders,<sup>591</sup> issuing thirty-five (perhaps forty-five) gifts in support of the passages of individuals.<sup>592</sup> The recipients can be

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<sup>586</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, II, 94, 420. For John's participation on the crusade of 1270, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 314, 395; *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, I, 11.

<sup>587</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 528; *Norwich, 1215-1299*, IV, 303, no. 105.

<sup>588</sup> Caroline A. J. Skeel, “Medieval Wills,” *History* 10 (1926): 307.

<sup>589</sup> Skeel, “Medieval Wills,” 307.

<sup>590</sup> This is noted by Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 178.

<sup>591</sup> The following study is limited to Henry III's reign between 1227 and 1272; that is, between the start of his majority and his death. Thus, the grants to Philip Daubeny in 1222, for example, are not included, see *RLC*, I, 511, 515. Furthermore, the following study does not include gifts from “public” revenues, such as the tallage of the Jewry.

<sup>592</sup> For the evidence underpinning the following section, see App. 1. The additional fourteen cases were documented in a bland manner, providing no explanation for why they were granted. However, it is likely that they were issued to help fund passages, for they were granted to individuals who had taken the cross and were soon to depart.

grouped into three categories: (1) members of the royal family (2) members of the royal household, royal officials and those with close curial ties (3) those with, insofar as the evidence allows, little or no previous connection to the Crown. Of the forty-five gifts, fourteen (31%) went to group 1. The recipients were Henry's younger brother Richard of Cornwall, his sons the Lord Edward and Edmund Crouchback, his daughter-in-law Eleanor of Castile, his step-brother William de Valence, his step-father Hugh le Brun and his illegitimate cousin William Longespee. Twenty-eight (62%) went to the second group. At least twelve of these were granted to knights of the household, namely, Giles de Clifford, Herbert de Gwaret, Joldewin de Doe, Oliver Daubeny, Philip Daubeny, Reynold de Bernevall, Robert de Musters, Robert de Sabloil, Roland de Bray and William de Turberville. Seven were given to knights who were linked to the Crown through royal service or appearances at court, but cannot be proven to have been, or were not, part of the household, namely, Guy Ferre, Hugh, son of Otto, Laurence de Seymour, Robert de Govyz, Roger de Clifford, William de Chaeny and William de Fendles. Six went to lower status members of the *familia*, namely, Amaury de Sancto Amando (steward), Gervase de Meyni Froger (serjeant), Semeine (crossbowman), William de Columbars (yeoman) and William de Pecco (serjeant). The remaining three were given to Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester and former custodian of the king; Osbert de Augo, who was clearly close to the court, but whose status is not clear; and Hugh de Pageham, who was certainly in royal service, but whose rank is unknown. Lastly, three (7%) gifts went to persons in group 3, namely, Idinevet (seneschal of the prince of Aberffraw), Ralph Paganus and Robert Charles.

Despite not receiving the highest number of gifts in total, the king's family benefitted most from his munificence. There were a few reasons for this. First, whereas the twenty-eight grants to the second group went to twenty-five individuals, the fourteen made to family went to only seven individuals. Thus, a single member of the royal family sometimes received multiple gifts. For example, it appears Edmund Crouchback was given at least three in support

of his expedition.<sup>593</sup> Second, gifts to family were typically more substantial than those to other individuals. In 1240 Richard of Cornwall and William Longespee, both preparing to depart for the East, were given ships to “cross to parts beyond sea.”<sup>594</sup> Several years later William Longespee received £100 in aid of his second expedition to the Holy Land.<sup>595</sup> In 1270 William de Valence, crusader, was granted land worth £500 per annum and the debts of William de Lancastre and Peter de Brus, both deceased, which totalled a staggering £3,196 7½d and £250, respectively.<sup>596</sup> In June 1270 the Lord Edward was given 1,000 marks to help with the cost of his crusade, and on 30 August, just over a week after his departure, he was accorded a further 5,000 marks.<sup>597</sup> In February 1271 Edmund Crouchback, going to the Holy Land, was promised 2,000 marks in aid of his expenses.<sup>598</sup>

One must enter some qualifying statements here. Not all family members were so well treated. The only gift Hugh le Brun received before joining Louis IX’s crusade of 1248-54 was a “good” and “beautiful” bed and a “pretty” cup worth at least six marks.<sup>599</sup> Furthermore, although large donations looked good on parchment, they could encounter problems when it came to disbursement. It appears only 340 of the 1,000 marks promised Edward in June 1270 had been paid by late July, one month before the prince set out for the Holy Land.<sup>600</sup> Nevertheless, although these riders are important, it remains the case that, on the whole, Henry’s family benefitted the most from his generosity.

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<sup>593</sup> One of these – the grant of 2,000 marks – was linked explicitly with the crusade, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 514. The two others – the gift of Aaron, son of Vives, Jew, and £400 – were not linked explicitly with the crusade, but were probably made with the crusade in mind, since they were given to Edmund after he took the cross and shortly before he departed, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 450, 471, 518 and App. 1.

<sup>594</sup> *CLR (1226-40)*, 473.

<sup>595</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 19.

<sup>596</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 446, 449, 452. For William’s crusader status, see *Wykes*, 217-18; *CPR (1266-72)*, 485; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>597</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 436, 457. For 20 August as Edward’s likely departure date, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, 73. For the background to the grant of 1,000 marks, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 302.

<sup>598</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 514.

<sup>599</sup> *CR (1247-51)*, 49.

<sup>600</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 436; *CR (1268-72)*, 213.

As we have seen, gifts to the royal household, royal officials and those with close ties to the Crown were, though more common, spread wider than those to family. They were also, generally speaking, less substantial. The knights and other high-status men of this group tended to receive gifts of a middling sort. In 1227 Peter des Roches was given two palfreys.<sup>601</sup> In June 1235 Philip Daubeny and his nephew, Oliver Daubeny received 50 marks and 100s, respectively, while William de Chaeny, knight of Philip Daubeny, was given 5 marks.<sup>602</sup> In March 1239 Robert de Govyz was granted an eighteen-month imprest of £60 to make his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>603</sup> William de Fendles was given 40 marks in 1245 because he was going to the Holy Land.<sup>604</sup> In 1270 Guy Ferre, going to the Holy Land with Edmund Crouchback, was accorded £50.<sup>605</sup> On 4 August 1270 Hugh, son of Otto, was given 100 marks; the grant was probably motivated by Hugh's upcoming journey, for it was issued around a month after he secured a royal protection because he was going to Holy Land with the Lord Edward.<sup>606</sup> Often Henry III merely granted an advance of Exchequer fees, thus increasing expenditure in the short term but suffering no long term losses. In May 1228 Joldewin de Doe was given an advance of £50 on a yearly fee of £100.<sup>607</sup> Eleven years later Robert de Sabloil was granted 400 marks in advance of two years of his annual fee of 200 marks, while Robert de Musters received £60 against his annual fee of £20.<sup>608</sup> William de Turberville was awarded £40 in May 1240 in advance of two years of his annual fee of £20.<sup>609</sup> However, a particularly close relationship with the royal family could result in an unusually valuable donation. Roger de Clifford, a good friend of the Lord Edward in particular and the Plantagenets in general, was on 26 July 1270 promised the first wardship worth between £500 and £700 a year. Just over a week earlier Roger had secured a royal protection

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<sup>601</sup> *RLC*, II, 190.

<sup>602</sup> *CLR* (1267-72), 249, nos. 2225, 2228.

<sup>603</sup> *CLR* (1226-40), 373.

<sup>604</sup> *CLR* (1240-45), 313.

<sup>605</sup> *CPR* (1266-72), 512.

<sup>606</sup> *CR* (1268-72), 216-17; *CPR* (1266-72), 440.

<sup>607</sup> *CLR* (1226-40), 81.

<sup>608</sup> *CLR* (1226-40), 378-79.

<sup>609</sup> *CLR* (1226-40), 464. See also the advances to Giles de Clifford and Herbert de Gwaret, *CLR* (1240-45), 29; *CLR* (1245-51), 159.

because he was going on crusade and less than a month later he appears to have departed with Edward for the East.<sup>610</sup>

Humbler connections generally received smaller gifts. In 1233 the crossbowman, Semeine, was given, in two discrete transactions, 10 marks and 5 marks because he was going to the Holy Land.<sup>611</sup> The steward, Amaury de Sancto Amando, was granted 50 marks in 1240 to make his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>612</sup> In 1246 Gervase de Meyni Froger, serjeant, was accorded £10.<sup>613</sup> A writ of *computate* of December 1270 stated that William de Pecco, serjeant, was to receive £10 without fail or delay, lest his departure for the Holy land be postponed.<sup>614</sup> William de Columbars, the yeoman seconded to Edmund Crouchback's household for the crusade of 1270-74, was given £30 in March 1271, around the time of that household's departure; as the entry in the Liberate Rolls recorded, William was about to "depart in haste for the Holy Land in his service on the business of the Cross."<sup>615</sup> It is not hard to see why such men were given less. They did not have to support others on crusade and therefore required less money. Add to this, their comparatively diminutive social status doubtless placed them lower in the hierarchy of the "gift economy."

The grants discussed so far point strongly to the importance of proximity to the royal court for those looking to secure gifts. Yet those with little or no previous connection to the *curia* occasionally received grants. In 1235 a royal official was instructed to procure for the seneschal of the prince of Aberffraw, Idinevet, who was travelling via London to the Holy Land, a silver cup worth 5 marks.<sup>616</sup> In April 1239 Roland de Bray, whose status and relationship with the Crown is unknown, received 20 marks to make his pilgrimage to the Holy

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<sup>610</sup> For the grant of the wardship, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 448. For Roger securing a royal protection, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440. For Roger's likely departure with the Lord Edward in August, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>611</sup> *CLR (1226-40)*, 217, 219.

<sup>612</sup> *CLR (1226-40)*, 471.

<sup>613</sup> *CLR (1245-51)*, 48.

<sup>614</sup> *CLR (1267-72)*, 151, no. 1340.

<sup>615</sup> *CLR (1267-72)*, 167, no. 1491.

<sup>616</sup> *CR (1234-37)*, 101.

Land.<sup>617</sup> One month later a certain Ralph Paganus was given 10 marks in aid of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>618</sup> Lastly, a donation of four oak trees on 2 August 1270 to Laurence de Seymour, another man of whom little is known, was perhaps related to the upcoming crusade; the gift was made over a month after Laurence secured a royal protection because he was going on crusade and a few months before he secured another protection and appointed attorneys to act on his behalf while he was away.<sup>619</sup>

Having discussed the main trends in gift giving, we must now consider why donations were made. The motivation behind the gifts to family and those connected with the Crown was doubtless a mixture of kingly largesse, friendship, piety and a desire to buttress loyalty to the Crown. It is more difficult to discern the motivation behind the gifts to the individuals in the third group. In all likelihood, Henry issued most of these donations after being approached for aid. A man of intense if conventional piety, inclined to public displays of religiosity, with an understanding of the importance of imagery in kingship, Henry probably saw it as both morally right and good politics to assist crusaders in need.<sup>620</sup>

### Contracts

Another way of raising money was by promising to serve on crusade in return for pay.<sup>621</sup> For members of the knighthood and aristocrats, such agreements might take the form of a written contract. It is a common misconception that the first surviving contracts in England date from the Lord Edward's crusade.<sup>622</sup> In fact, the earliest such agreement dates from 18 April 1253,

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<sup>617</sup> *CLR (1226-40)*, 380.

<sup>618</sup> *CLR (1226-40)*, 384.

<sup>619</sup> *CR (1268-72)*, 216; *CPR (1266-72)*, 480, 588, 589.

<sup>620</sup> See, for example, Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. 7-19; David Carpenter, "Henry III and the Tower of London," *The London Journal* 19 (1995): 96-107.

<sup>621</sup> Contracts have been discussed extensively in previous scholarship and need not occupy us at length here, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 115-23, 134-38.

<sup>622</sup> For example, one prominent historian has written that "the earliest known [contracts] date from 1270, when Prince Edward was forming his crusading expedition," Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, 88; see also Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 177.

when Peter of Savoy agreed to depart with Henry III on 24 June 1256 in return for the provision of 10,000 marks at Marseille, a ship furnished with victuals and necessaries and twenty destriers upon arrival in the Holy Land.<sup>623</sup> There is, furthermore, evidence that contracts were being arranged many years before this agreement. According to one chronicler, during the Fifth Crusade Ranulf, earl of Chester, maintained 100 knights in his host for one year.<sup>624</sup>

It is, however, from the Lord Edward's expedition that evidence survives on a significant scale. The Pipe Roll for the first year of Edward's reign contains an account of eighteen crusaders who were contracted to accompany the prince.<sup>625</sup> This necessitated a total expenditure of 22,500 marks. The figure may seem large, but it reflected costs and was calculated at a rate of 100 marks per knight. William de Valence, for example, was promised 2,000 marks as compensation for bringing nineteen knights, while Walter de Percy secured 400 marks for three knights.<sup>626</sup> Such sums must have done a fair amount to cover routine expenses, but almost certainly would not have left recipients in profit. The price of a horse in Acre, for instance, reached as much as 50 marks in 1271-72.<sup>627</sup>

### Simple Loans

Another way of raising money was to secure simple loans. Guy de Lusignan, for example, agreed two prior to sailing for Egypt with Alphonse of Poitiers. In 1247 Henry III lent him 500*lt* to buy war horses and the following year he was permitted to raise £1,000 on the security of his yearly fee - the money was eventually borrowed from a merchant.<sup>628</sup> In 1269 the Lord Edward secured 70,000*lt* from Louis IX.<sup>629</sup> Before Edmund Crouchback departed for the East,

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<sup>623</sup> *Foedera*, I/I, 288; *CPR (1247-58)*, 188-89. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 136-37 dates Peter's promise to set out with Henry to 14 April, but this is not supported in the evidence. The date provided by the relevant entry in the Patent Rolls reads as follows: "*xiv. kal' Maii, anno domini MCCLIII.*"

<sup>624</sup> "L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur," in *RHC Occ.*, II, 342; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 136.

<sup>625</sup> TNA, E372/117/6; Turner, "Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I," 45-51.

<sup>626</sup> Turner, "Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I," 45-51.

<sup>627</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 138.

<sup>628</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 4-5; *CR (1247-51)*, 400.

<sup>629</sup> *Diplomatic Documents... 1101-1272*, 293-95, no. 419; *Foedera*, I/I, 481.

he received 1,000 marks from his uncle, Richard of Cornwall.<sup>630</sup> In 1290 Edward I borrowed 3,000 marks from of the Ammanati of Pistoia to help fund Otto de Grandson's journey to Jerusalem.<sup>631</sup> It appears, however, that such transactions were not particularly common. This was probably a result of moneylenders not wanting to deal with people immune from usury and not wishing to enter agreements that did not involve *gage* of property. Also, simple loans appear to have typically involved individuals of high-status: it is likely that, generally speaking, only men of great wealth had enough credit left after taking the cross to strike such agreements.

It is usually impossible to know the rate of interest on loans.<sup>632</sup> Written transactions almost always included interest in the principal – lenders had to be careful to avoid the appearance of usury.<sup>633</sup> However, if it was included, it may have stood at around ten per cent.<sup>634</sup> Lenders were less circumspect about other terms and conditions. Richard of Cornwall, for example, appears to have insisted that Eleanor of Provence, the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Gilbert Talebot and John de Oketon stood as guarantors for Edmund Crouchback.<sup>635</sup> This was an astute stipulation given the state of Edmund's finances: contemporary records described his debts as “many” and “great.”<sup>636</sup>

### Debt Collection

If a crusader could not raise sufficient funds from the aforementioned revenues, he had to turn to his own resources. For some the restitution of debts was an obvious place to start, although this has received little comment

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<sup>630</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 566.

<sup>631</sup> *CPR (1281-92)*, 373.

<sup>632</sup> An exception is the Lord Edward's loan from Louis IX, which we know did not include interest, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, 72.

<sup>633</sup> Michael M. Postan, *Medieval Trade and Finance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 30-31.

<sup>634</sup> See Pamela Nightingale, “The English Parochial Clergy as Investors and Creditors in the first half of the Fourteenth Century,” in *Credit and Debt in Medieval England, c.1180-1350*, ed. Phillip R. Schofield and Nicholas J. Mayhew (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), 89-105.

<sup>635</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 566.

<sup>636</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 448, 510-11.

from historians.<sup>637</sup> It seems a fair proportion of crusaders called in outstanding debts. In 1226 the *crucesignatus* Alan Long Simon claimed that he had been assaulted by a certain Richard Marshall when trying to collect a debt of four shillings.<sup>638</sup> In 1269 Robert Burnell secured a recognisance – a formal acknowledgment of debt made by a debtor before a court, which confirmed the amount owed and the time and place of repayment – of 350 marks from the abbot of Lavendon. Such a large amount of money could not be paid back in one go, so it was agreed that £100 would be paid on 29 November 1269; 100 marks on 29 August 1270; and 100 marks on 29 November 1270. However, if Robert “set out” (*proficisci*) for the Holy Land before the second repayment date, the abbot was required to pay the remaining two hundred marks by 13 April 1270.<sup>639</sup> Likewise, in 1282 the earl of Warwick secured a recognisance of 1,600 marks from Hugh le Despenser. The final instalment of this loan was to be paid on 24 June 1283 if the earl undertook the journey to the Holy Land, but on 11 November 1283 if he did not.<sup>640</sup> William Belet, who had taken the cross at least by February 1270, instigated a plea against Ralph Perot in the opening months of that year because he had defaulted on a loan of 60 marks.<sup>641</sup> On 27 January 1271, two days after receiving a royal protection for his journey beyond seas in aid of the Holy Land, Urian de St. Petro appointed attorneys to pursue a debt of 50 marks from a certain Roger de Waulton.<sup>642</sup>

These are the clear instances of crusader activity in the credit market. There are, however, numerous other possible examples. Indeed, our sources are littered with additional cases of participants chasing debts. The problem is that they make no mention of forthcoming campaigns and, more important,

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<sup>637</sup> The only previous discussion is Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 180-81; for discussion of Christian money-lending in general, see Richard H. Bowers, “From Rolls to Riches: King’s Clerks and Moneylending in Thirteenth-Century England,” *Speculum* 58 (1983): 60-71.

<sup>638</sup> *CRR* (1225-26), 488, no. 2447.

<sup>639</sup> *CR* (1268-72), 132.

<sup>640</sup> *CCR* (1279-88), 184.

<sup>641</sup> TNA, KB 26/197/16d, referenced in Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 181. For William’s crusader status, see *CPR* (1266-72), 411.

<sup>642</sup> *CR* (1268-72), 392; *CPR* (1266-72), 588.

were issued before, or at least not demonstrably after, a participant is known to have taken the cross. The example of Gerard de Fanacurt, who took part in the Lord Edward's crusade and is known to have taken the cross by July 1270, is typical.<sup>643</sup> Gerard sought restitution of a number of debts in the period before his crusade. In the winter of 1269 Robert de Kirketon agreed to pay back 80 marks.<sup>644</sup> At some point in 1270 – our sources do not record more precise dates – Henry de Montfort, Brian de Gouez and Alexander de Aynehou arranged to repay 1,000 marks, and Robert de Nodariis, William de Nodariis, Eudo la Zuch and Thomas de la Leye arranged to hand over 43 marks.<sup>645</sup> It is impossible to know whether these debts, and others like them, were called in with the crusade in mind. But some probably were. Indeed, it is possible that the announcement of a crusade often led to a fairly wide process of debt reclamation throughout England.<sup>646</sup>

### Other Restitutions

Not all restitutions were related to the credit market. Some were concerned with the recovery of, or reimbursement for, stolen property, although the evidence is extremely meagre. In 1224 William Gernun claimed in the *curia regis* that Richard Foliot stole a cow worth nine shillings from him and demanded satisfaction.<sup>647</sup> This was almost certainly motivated, at least in part, by a forthcoming expedition: the same entry in the Plea Rolls describes William as a *crucesignatus*.<sup>648</sup> Others involved the securing of unpaid wages. In 1241 the Exchequer was instructed to pay Peter de Lungevill, Adam de Berentin and Peter de Barenny, sergeants going to the Holy Land, 58s each in unpaid wages. In 1246 William, son of Renold Pe de Chaveler, was accorded £8 12d which was owed to his father by the Crown for service in the March of Wales; the money was to be used to pay a debt owed by William and fund his

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<sup>643</sup> CPR (1266-72), 440; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>644</sup> CR (1268-72), 144.

<sup>645</sup> CR (1268-72), 241, 266.

<sup>646</sup> This is essentially the argument proposed by Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 181.

<sup>647</sup> CRR (1223-24), 391, no. 1951.

<sup>648</sup> CRR (1223-24), 391, no. 1951.

pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>649</sup> Around a quarter of a century later, in 1270, the Exchequer was ordered to make restitution for £120 in unpaid wages to six sergeants of the royal household going to the Holy Land.<sup>650</sup>

### Sale of Privileges and Renunciations for Cash

Another way of raising funds was by granting certain privileges in return for cash or other valuables. Carpenter has shown that Henry III accumulated stockpiles of gold for his planned crusade by accepting fines from subjects.<sup>651</sup> But it was not only the king who acted in such a manner. In 1270 the Lord Edward, who, as custodian of London, had recently restored the suspended offices of major and sheriff to the city, received 500 marks from its citizens, “surely a quid pro quo occasioned by Edward’s forthcoming passage.”<sup>652</sup> Others exploited relationships with the Crown.<sup>653</sup> In August 1270, around half a year after receiving a royal protection to go to the Holy Land, William Belet persuaded Henry III to give two merchants exemption from any debts of which they were not sureties or principal debtors and all prises and prests.<sup>654</sup> Edmund Crouchback secured a letter patent in February 1270 regarding the burgesses of Cardigan; it stated that “neither they nor their goods” could be arrested for “any debts whereof they were not principal debtors or sureties.”<sup>655</sup> William and Edmund were no doubt rewarded for their efforts. Similarly, government officials could put their positions up for sale. In January 1240 Edward, son of Odo the Goldsmith, gave Odo, son of John, twelve marks in support of his “pilgrimage to the Holy Land.” In return Odo arranged for Edward to replace him as melter of the Exchequer.<sup>656</sup>

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<sup>649</sup> *CLR* (1245-51), 52.

<sup>650</sup> *CR* (1268-72), 195-96.

<sup>651</sup> David Carpenter, “The Gold Treasure of King Henry III,” in *Thirteenth Century England I: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1985*, ed. Peter Coss and Simon Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1986), 61-88. Similarly, Richard I raised much money for his crusade through the sale of positions and liberties, see Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, 46-47; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 80.

<sup>652</sup> Arnold fitzThedmar, *De antiquis legibus liber*, 124; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 181.

<sup>653</sup> This trend was also observed by Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 181.

<sup>654</sup> *CPR* (1266-1272), 411, 450. It is likely that William sailed with Edward, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>655</sup> *CPR* (1266-72), 410.

<sup>656</sup> *CChR* (1226-57), 249-50.

A number of participants, in the months preceding departure, secured grants to set up new markets and fairs, presumably in return for cash, supplies or equipment from tradesmen who stood to profit from the establishment of such forums of exchange. In July 1239, three years after taking the cross and less than a year before his much-delayed departure, Richard of Cornwall was permitted to set up a yearly fair at his manor of “Thornebir.”<sup>657</sup> A few months later William Longespee, who also took the cross in 1236 and departed in the summer of 1240, was licenced to establish three weekly markets and two yearly fairs.<sup>658</sup> In February 1270, five months before securing a royal protection to go on crusade, Berenger le Moigne was granted two weekly markets and a yearly six-day fair at his manor of Barnwell.<sup>659</sup> On 14 July 1270, around two weeks after being included in a list of crusaders drawn up by the Chancery, Ralph de Gorges, king’s yeoman, was granted the right to convene a weekly market and a yearly three-day fair at his manor of Tamerton.<sup>660</sup> In August 1270, several months after receiving a royal protection to go to the Holy Land, Elias de Rabeyn was granted the right to set up a weekly market at his manor of Lyme Regis.<sup>661</sup>

An additional source of revenue was the settlement of disputes and tying up of legal grey-areas. In c.1225 John of Navarre quitclaimed some land in Oxford to the canons of St. Frideswide; in return the canons gave John 10 marks of silver for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>662</sup> Around 1240 Geoffrey Hacard confirmed two separate transfers of property with Carisbrooke Priory. In the first Geoffrey reaffirmed a grant of five acres made by his mother in return for one mark in support of his journey to Jerusalem. In the second he confirmed that his mother had given the monks seven additional acres and another plot of land. For this he received 2½ marks for his pilgrimage and a promise from

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<sup>657</sup> *CChR (1226-57)*, 244.

<sup>658</sup> *CChR (1226-57)*, 247.

<sup>659</sup> *CChR (1257-1300)*, 136; *CPR (1266-72)*, 440.

<sup>660</sup> *CChR (1257-1300)*, 148; *CPR (1266-72)*, 480.

<sup>661</sup> *CChR (1257-1300)*, 175; *CPR (1266-72)*, 411.

<sup>662</sup> *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford*, ed. Spencer R. Wigram, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-96), I, 202-03, no. 272.

the prior that, upon his safe return, he would receive food and clothing from the priory for as long as he lived.<sup>663</sup> There was, of course, a spiritual dimension to such deals. Renunciations and other acts of goodwill had long been a part of preparations for a crusade – a holy warrior who left with a clean conscience was more likely to incur God’s favour.<sup>664</sup>

### Sale, Pledge and Lease of Property

There are a number of detailed studies of sale, pledge and lease by crusaders in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Riley-Smith and Constable discussed such transactions at length in their works on France in that period.<sup>665</sup> However, the only extensive research on the thirteenth century, and indeed England, is that produced by Lloyd, who argued that it was common for knights to realise landed assets in support of their journeys.<sup>666</sup> However, Lloyd’s studies were uneven and far from comprehensive. They focused almost entirely on sale and, moreover, on the transactions of one crusader in particular: Henry, son of Henry. The result is that much work remains to be done. As Lloyd himself commented, “the subject of financing through gage and lease requires further study.”<sup>667</sup> This section therefore aims to build upon Lloyd’s pioneering work on sale and provide the first systematic analysis of pledge and lease in the thirteenth (and indeed the early fourteenth) century.

Guibert of Nogent, writing in the early twelfth century, said that the enthusiasm for the First Crusade was so great that all classes of men sold their “homes, vineyards and fields.”<sup>668</sup> Indeed, anything could be sold in support of the business of the cross. Participants can be seen offloading,

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<sup>663</sup> *Cartulary of Carisbrooke Priory*, 112-14, nos. 164, 166.

<sup>664</sup> See Phillips, *Second Crusade*, 112; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 2003), 36-38.

<sup>665</sup> Riley-Smith, “Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading,” 155-171; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 109-135; Constable, “The Financing of the Crusades,” 117-142.

<sup>666</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 175-197; Lloyd, “Crusader Knights and the Land Market,” 119-136. See also Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 195-201; Evans, “The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands,” 214-227

<sup>667</sup> Lloyd, “Crusader Knights and the Land Market,” 129 note 48.

<sup>668</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 118; English trans. *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent’s Gesta Dei Per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 46.

among other things, woods, manors, houses, wardships and dower lands. This is not a sign of enthusiasm; it is a reflection of disinclination. Sale was normally a last resort. Aware of the importance of landed wealth for the continuing prosperity of their families, most crusaders preferred to raise money through other means.<sup>669</sup> Yet some were forced to sell out of necessity; indeed, the present author has identified thirty-six (perhaps forty-two) transactions in the period under consideration.<sup>670</sup>

On rare occasions the need for money was apparently so profound that participants sold up completely, although one suspects that there must have been additional and now obscure personal motives: complete alienation showed a startling disregard for the wellbeing of close relations. According to the testimony of Joanne, wife of John de Mares, her husband sold his lands and chattel before setting out for the Holy Land sometime before 1223.<sup>671</sup> In the 1240s Henry, son of Henry, offloaded his patrimony and other holdings before departing for the East, despite having a son.<sup>672</sup> Around the time of the Lord Edward's crusade, Thomas, son of William, a crusader of Budworth, Cheshire, sold his estate in Great Budworth – presumably his patrimony – to Geoffrey, son and heir of Geoffrey de Dutton, lord of Budworth.<sup>673</sup> The rarity of selling up completely is perhaps best demonstrated by Henry III's reaction to Robert Charles' sale of the whole of his land for the accomplishment of his pilgrimage. The king, "moved by pity," ordered that Robert should be given as soon as possible the first escheats, wards and marriages worth 400 marks.<sup>674</sup>

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<sup>669</sup> This is essentially the argument outlined by Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 183-4.

<sup>670</sup> Of the forty-one examples, two were licences to sell land to raise money for a passage. It is therefore possible that the lands involved were not sold. However, this is unlikely, for it seems licences generally resulted in actual transactions, see, for example, the case of Philip Daubeny and the manor of Petherton, *CPR (1232-47)*, 93; *CR (1234-37)*, 25; *CChR (1226-57)*, 202-03.

<sup>671</sup> *CRR (1223-24)*, 262, no. 1309.

<sup>672</sup> For a detailed discussion of the properties and transactions of Henry, son of Henry, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 184-188; *Warwickshire Feet of Fines, 1195-1284*, 142, no. 679; *Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire, 1195-1291*, 141, no. 36; *Chronicle of the Monastery of Abingdon, 1218-1304*, ed. James O. Halliwell (Reading: Berkshire Ashmolean Society, 1844), 6.

<sup>673</sup> John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Arley Charters, GB 133 ARL/1/66A.

<sup>674</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 434-35.

Most crusaders who turned to sale did not offload all their holdings. Nevertheless, the properties involved could still be extensive. The continuator of William of Newburgh thought that Edmund Crouchback set out for the Holy Land “disposed” of his lands.<sup>675</sup> Roger of Montaut, preparing to depart the East in 1250, enfeoffed the prior and convent of Coventry with rents and woods in the area for, according to Matthew Paris, “a great sum of money.”<sup>676</sup> In 1269, the year before he went on crusade to the Holy Land with the Lord Edward, Robert de Munteny sold Elmdon manor for £200.<sup>677</sup> In 1270 Herbert de Boyville, a knight of Essex “going abroad in aid of the Holy Land,” sold his manor of Terling for 500 marks.<sup>678</sup> Other transactions were less substantial. For instance, around 1240, not long before going on crusade, Ralph Bolebec sold some marshland in Fulstow to Malton Priory for 40 marks and a horse worth 3 marks.<sup>679</sup> Though comparatively small, such sales must have been significant for those of humbler status. In 1271, for example, a certain Richard Maylard, “going to the Holy Land,” secured a licence to sell or let land in Bradwell worth six marks per year.<sup>680</sup>

Although sale was sometimes necessary, the pledge or lease of property was preferable because this meant it was only given away temporarily. The present author has identified fifty-eight (perhaps eighty-one) examples of such transactions.<sup>681</sup> “Mortgage was apparently the most common form of pledge used by crusaders in the twelfth century,” wrote Lloyd, “but it looks as if the vifgage was altogether more typically employed by crusaders in the thirteenth century, in England at any rate.”<sup>682</sup> This is probably true, but the evidence is not as clear cut as Lloyd would have us think. It is possible that a good proportion of crusaders mortgaged land. This is because many documents

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<sup>675</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 560.

<sup>676</sup> MP, CM, V, 98.

<sup>677</sup> TNA, KB 26/191/6 (dorse); Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 188. For Robert’s participation on the crusade of 1270, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440, 443, 454.

<sup>678</sup> *CChR (1257-1300)*, 146; *CPR (1266-72)*, 425; *Norwich, 1215-99*, IV, App. 2, no. 15.

<sup>679</sup> Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1971), 125.

<sup>680</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 503.

<sup>681</sup> Of the seventy-eight examples, forty-two were licences to pledge or lease property. However, as noted above, it is likely that licences generally resulted in actual transactions.

<sup>682</sup> Lloyd, “Crusader Knights and the Land Market,” 129.

only use the opaque term “pledge” (*vadium, invadiare*) and do not specify the form of gage. The example of Richard, son of Ralf, may stand for all. The records of the Lincolnshire eyre of 1218 recorded that “*Ricardus est in partibus Jerosolimitanis et (terra) duas partes ei inuadiauit ad terminum cruce signatorum.*”<sup>683</sup> Thus, from this entry, we cannot know if the land was mortgaged or vifgaged; all we can know for certain is that Richard pledged land.

Nevertheless, vifgage was probably the more popular form of pledge. Very few of our examples show signs of mortgage: none use the term *mortuum vadium* and hardly any refer to repayment of the principal. Moreover, vifgage offered crusaders better terms than mortgage, since the revenue from the property paid off the loan while the creditor was in possession.<sup>684</sup> Whatever the form, pledge was obviously common. The sources are filled with examples. In 1217 three brothers were permitted to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and to pledge their lands for the term of the crusader.<sup>685</sup> Four years later Robert de Vallibus, Thomas de Alneto and Robert de Veteri Ponte were given permission to pledge all their lands, rents and possessions to fund their journeys to the East.<sup>686</sup> In 1236 Bertram de Gartlip received a licence to pledge one of his manors for up to three years to help fund his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>687</sup>

If a crusader did not wish to pledge land, he could turn to lease. As has been noted elsewhere, it would appear at first that such transactions would not have yielded the lump sums required for a crusade; however, the majority of leases probably disguised a loan or, more likely, a no-strings-attached premium.<sup>688</sup> This would often have been the only payment and was effectively

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<sup>683</sup> *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre... Lincolnshire 1218-19 and Worcestershire 1221*, 70, no. 159.

<sup>684</sup> Paul Brand, “Aspects of the Law of Debt, 1189-1307,” in *Credit and Debt in Medieval England, c.1180-c.1350*, ed. Phillip R. Schofield and Nicholas J. Mayhew (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), 21.

<sup>685</sup> *PR (1216-25)*, 21, 25.

<sup>686</sup> *PR (1216-25)*, 320.

<sup>687</sup> *CPR (1234-37)*, 99, 101; *CR (1234-37)*, 391.

<sup>688</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 193.

an advance on rent.<sup>689</sup> Hazeltine outlined the advantage of this so-called “beneficial lease”: “it provides the lessor with ready money, and it provides also a form of investment of capital that enables the lessee to speculate on the return of his money with interest out of the profits of the land.”<sup>690</sup> In other words, lessors could raise lump sums quickly without going into debt, while entrepreneurial lessees could turn a profit.

This appears to have been a popular course of action. A few examples may stand for all. When preparing for his last crusade, William Longespee received a licence to let four of his manors.<sup>691</sup> In 1270, the same year he appointed attorneys because he was going to the Holy Land, John de Ardern leased his manor of Willingale and land in “Plessingho” to John of Colchester, rector, and John’s brother, Walter, for three years.<sup>692</sup> Around the same time Eustace de Balliol received licence to lease five of his manors because he was “going to the Holy Land” with the Lord Edward.<sup>693</sup> In February 1271 John de Ingoldisthorpe was permitted to let three of his manors for five years because he was heading for the East.<sup>694</sup> In 1290, the same year he went to the Holy Land, Peter de Wyppeyns demised the manor of Thornton to Master Henry de Newerk, dean of York.<sup>695</sup>

The realisation of assets transcended social status. Aristocrats and knights offloaded property, but those of more humble origin, perhaps unable to find employment in the household of a crusading lord, did so too.<sup>696</sup> Probably at some point in the first quarter of the thirteenth century John, son of William de Gardino, granted Henry, son of Gilbert de Leukenore, a house below the garden of the monks of Abingdon; in return John received 40s in aid of his

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<sup>689</sup> Frederick Pollock and Frederic W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), II, 112.

<sup>690</sup> Harold D. Hazeltine, “The Gage of Land in Medieval England,” *Harvard Law Review* 17 (1904): 552-53.

<sup>691</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 25.

<sup>692</sup> *CChR (1257-1300)*, 165; *CPR (1266-72)*, 483-84; *CCR (1268-72)*, 282.

<sup>693</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 441.

<sup>694</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 517.

<sup>695</sup> *CPR (1281-92)*, 363, 376.

<sup>696</sup> For a discussion of employment on crusade, see Tyerman, “Paid Crusaders,” 1-40.

“journey to the Holy Land and Jerusalem.”<sup>697</sup> Philip Clerk, in preparation for his passage to the East in the late 1230s, sold a virgate to Walter, vicar of Walberton, for 6 marks.<sup>698</sup> Sometime before 1244 William with the Beard pledged half a messuage in London when he made his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>699</sup> At some point in the thirteenth century Aubrey, son of Eustace de Madingley, gave one acre of land to Chatteris Abbey; in return he received 7s towards his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>700</sup> The size of the properties in these transactions, along with the obscurity of the people involved, suggests the owners were of humble status.

On the whole crusaders appear to have got a good price for their land.<sup>701</sup> Sale was by far the most lucrative recourse: by the middle of the thirteenth century land normally sold at ten times its annual value.<sup>702</sup> Moreover, participants frequently surpassed this ratio. Around 1266 John of Arundal received 8 marks for some houses and a yard in Chichester, which were worth 1s 6d per annum.<sup>703</sup> In 1269 John of Brittany gave the abbey of Fountains the entire vill of Ainderby, valued at 26d per annum; he was given £40 “towards his journey to Jerusalem” in return.<sup>704</sup> That participants did well is hardly surprising: a notable, if restrained, land hunger pervaded elite society and this could lead to inflated prices.<sup>705</sup> It is also possible that buyers piously incorporated donations into their purchases, or effectively did so by paying well over the odds for properties.

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<sup>697</sup> *Two Cartularies of Abingdon Abbey*, II, 221, no. c255.

<sup>698</sup> *Chartulary of Boxgrove Priory*, 122, no. 260.

<sup>699</sup> *The London Eyre of 1244*, ed. Helena M. Chew and Martin Weinbaum (London Record Society 6, 1970), 120, no. 295.

<sup>700</sup> *The Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey*, ed. Claire Breay (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 58, 225-26, no. 110.

<sup>701</sup> Conversely, the First Crusaders appear to have secured very low prices for their lands, see Guibert de Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, 118.

<sup>702</sup> Sandra Raban, “The Land Market and the Aristocracy in the Thirteenth-Century,” in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth and Jane Sayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 242.

<sup>703</sup> *Chartulary of Boxgrove Priory*, 88, no. 152.

<sup>704</sup> *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, I, 11.

<sup>705</sup> Raban, “Land Market,” 239-261; Lloyd, “Crusader Knights,” 135-36.

Whether participants secured good prices when pledging and leasing assets is more difficult to measure: we are usually told neither how much money was paid for property nor how much a piece of land was worth per annum. But it is likely that, in general, fairly good deals were struck. This is certainly suggested by the extant figures. William de Mastac received £180 for demising his lands in England to Henry III for three years.<sup>706</sup> Philip Daubany raised £280 by pledging a manor to the bishop of Bath and Wells.<sup>707</sup> Peter de Wyppeyns got £100 for the lease of Thornton manor.<sup>708</sup> Yet price depended on locality and circumstance. In preparation for the Lord Edward's crusade, John de Verdun leased the manor of Stokesay in Shropshire. Its annual worth was £26 13s 4d, but he secured only £24 for it. This was likely a result of having to quickly offload an estate on the volatile Welsh March.<sup>709</sup>

With transactions such as these, it is interesting to consider, first, why crusaders chose to raise money on property and, second, the effects of their transactions on society. Property was, as far as one can tell, nearly always offloaded as a result of immediate necessity: participants required a quick injection of hard cash. The cash-strapped Edmund Crouchback provides an excellent illustration. Between 1270 and 1271 the prince offloaded several properties. The convent of St. Mary de Pratis was granted the manor of Melbourne. In return the convent agreed to settle Edmund's debt of £120 with some Florentine merchants.<sup>710</sup> The vill of Little Kelk was sold to the convent of Bridlington for £80.<sup>711</sup> The castles and counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan were leased,<sup>712</sup> while the manor of Newcastle under Lyme was rented out to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield for three years.<sup>713</sup> Such

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<sup>706</sup> *CLR* (1226-40), 384.

<sup>707</sup> *CChR* (1226-57), 202-03.

<sup>708</sup> *CPR* (1281-92), 363.

<sup>709</sup> Robert W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, 12 vols. (London: J. R. Smith, 1854-60), V, 35; Mark S. Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman Family: The de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 96; Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, 46.

<sup>710</sup> *CPR* (1266-72), 502.

<sup>711</sup> *Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington*, 168, 171.

<sup>712</sup> *CPR* (1266-72), 516.

<sup>713</sup> *CPR* (1266-72), 428.

transactions can only be satisfactorily explained in the context of profound necessity.

If money was raised on properties, this was not done indiscriminately. On the contrary, a good deal of thought went into the process. If possible, “outlier” properties – a wife’s dower land, wardships, woodland, lands recently acquired, etc - were offloaded rather than the patrimony. Of the 123 examples identified by the present study, twenty-four (20%) can be assuredly described as “outliers.” For instance, in preparation for the Barons’ Crusade, Bertram le Gros raised 40 marks by handing back to Henry III some land he held *de ballio* from him.<sup>714</sup> Shortly before sailing for the East on the Lord Edward’s expedition, Alexander Luterel sold his wife’s dower to John Bryun.<sup>715</sup> King John’s illegitimate son, Oliver, sold a wardship to Thomas of London for 100 marks before departing on the Fifth Crusade.<sup>716</sup> Around the same time Injugo de Boun appears to have sold woodland in Chichester to help fund his journey.<sup>717</sup> Likewise, at some point in the early thirteenth century, Geoffrey Brun, son of Alexander Brun, in exchange for money to go to the Holy Land, gave an orchard in Barkergate to John Romeyn, canon of York.<sup>718</sup> Indeed, as has been noted elsewhere, the sale of woodland appears to have been a fairly popular recourse, since timber was a commodity much in demand.<sup>719</sup>

The length of time for which to hand over a property was also considered. Land was usually pledged or leased for three or four years, but there were exceptions. Nicholas Russell, shortly before going to the Holy Land, gave land in Harpsfield to his brother for half a year, presumably in return for some money.<sup>720</sup> Thomas de Fenwick, a crusader of Northumberland, leased two of his manors for six years, while Hugh, son of John, secured a licence to lease

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<sup>714</sup> *CLR (1226-40)*, 400.

<sup>715</sup> *CR (1268-72)*, 278-9.

<sup>716</sup> *CRR (1220-1220)*, 359.

<sup>717</sup> *RLC*, I, 383, 385, 429.

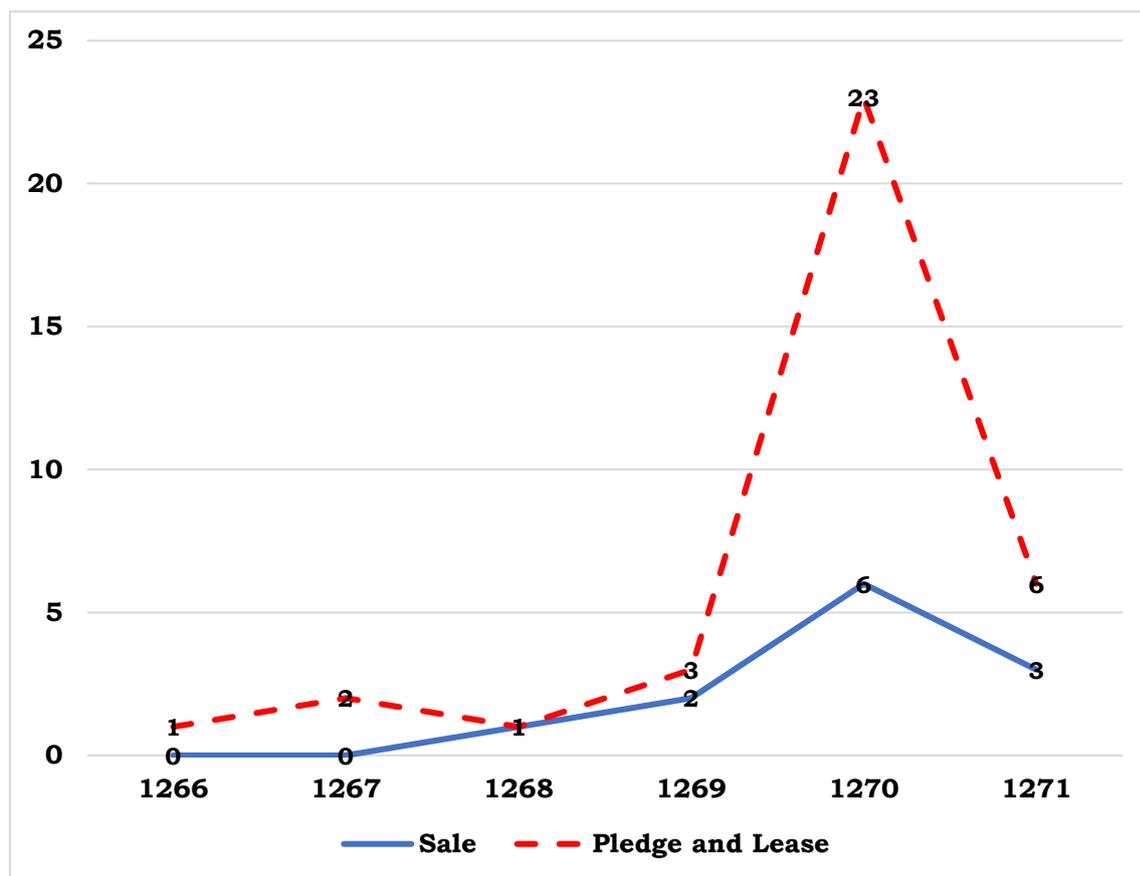
<sup>718</sup> *Charters of the Vicars Choral of York Minster*, I, 13-14, no. 21.

<sup>719</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 182-83; Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 71.

<sup>720</sup> *CRR (1227-30)*, 259-60, no. 1173.

his lands for ten years.<sup>721</sup> Perhaps the most interesting case is that of Otto de Grandson (c.1238-1328) who, shortly after securing a royal protection to go to the Holy Land, demised to Richard, earl of Ulster, lands in Estermoye and Oheny for the whole of his (i.e. Otto's) life.<sup>722</sup> In cases such as these, crusaders were no doubt trying reconcile several different factors: covering costs, considering how long the family could go without income from a property (Otto presumably underestimated how long he was going to live), and meeting the demands of purchasers.

The call to crusade prompted a notable, if temporary, surge in activity in the land market. This is demonstrated by Graph 1, which shows the number of documented sales, pledges and leases (including licences) made by participants in the Lord Edward's crusade between 1266 and 1271:<sup>723</sup>



<sup>721</sup> CPR (1266-72), 683; CPR (1281-92), 340; For Thomas' crusader status, see Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

<sup>722</sup> CCR (1288-96), 137; CPR (1281-92), 363.

<sup>723</sup> This data for this graph was gathered by searching the rolls of government and various cartularies for entries regarding the 300 or so participants on the crusade of 1270 which were listed in Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

*(Graph 1)*

It may be helpful to briefly consider the background to this crusade. It was launched by the papacy in the autumn of 1266, following the fall of Caesarea, Arsuf and the castle of Safad to the Mamluks. Later that year, Louis IX of France decided he would take part and, with his sons, took the cross in March 1267. Support for the crusade was less forthcoming in England. The papal legate Ottobuono raised the matter in a parliament in February 1267, but found no support. It was not until June 1268 that the Lord Edward, Edmund Crouchback and several other aristocrats finally took the cross.<sup>724</sup> It was from this point that preparations in England began. These went on for around two years, until on 20 August 1270 the Lord Edward departed from Dover with the main host.<sup>725</sup> In the early months of 1271 Edmund Crouchback sailed with another, smaller army.<sup>726</sup>

As Graph 1 shows, before 1268 we see no alienations and hardly any pledges or leases. As the crusade got closer to the time of departure, however, more and more transactions occur, peaking at six sales and twenty-three pledges and leases in 1270. The fact that Edmund Crouchback sailed with his army in the early months of 1271 explains both the significant drop in transactions in that year and the fact that a relatively high number still took place. The graph also shows that crusaders were reluctant to let go of property and normally only did so shortly before departure. Lastly, it demonstrates that offloading of landed assets was, in everyday life, hardly ever employed: the period 1266-67, a time of relative peace in England, saw barely any transactions. The cost of crusading necessitated the exploitation of property.

How much land, in total, came to market as a result of the crusade movement is impossible to determine, though the sheer number of surviving transactions indicates it was a considerable amount.<sup>727</sup> If such a figure cannot be arrived at, we can consider which groups were likely to have benefitted. Certainly,

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<sup>724</sup> See, for example, *Oseneia*, 216-17; *Waverleia*, 375; *Wintonia*, 106-07; *Wykes*, 217-18.

<sup>725</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 73.

<sup>726</sup> See, for example, *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, 47-48.

<sup>727</sup> Lloyd, "Crusader Knights and the Land Market," 120.

many laymen (and some laywomen) did well.<sup>728</sup> Of the seventy-one transactions where the purchaser can be identified, forty-five (63%) appear to have involved members of the laity. Eighteen of these were sales; twenty-seven were pledges or leases.<sup>729</sup> Laymen therefore dominated the market. Yet this does not necessarily mean the laity benefitted as a whole. The majority of crusaders came from this demographic and would have been forced to offload property, if only temporarily, to finance their journeys.<sup>730</sup>

Under the provisions of *Quantum praedecessores* crusaders were permitted to raise money on their lands or other possessions and pledge them to “churches or churchmen or to others of the faithful.”<sup>731</sup> It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that the chief institutional beneficiary was the Church, accounting for twenty-five (35%) of our examples. Nineteen of these were sales; six were pledges or leases. Some of the alienations, moreover, involved very large properties, necessitating the transfer of hundreds of marks.<sup>732</sup> This leads to several conclusions. First, in general religious communities preferred to buy land outright and had little interest in renting, or on loaning money on the security of property. Second, laymen faced stiff competition from the Church in the alienation market. Third, the Church, cynically or otherwise, permanently increased its landed wealth as a result of the very movement it preached. Although writing several generations before our period and in a distant land, the bishop of Salzburg summarised this process eloquently: “when the expedition to Jerusalem inspired almost the entire west with a marvellous and hitherto unheard-of fervour, people began to sell their property as if they were

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<sup>728</sup> For examples of women as purchasers in the crusader land market, see *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre... Lincolnshire 1218-19 and Worcestershire 1221*, 70, no. 159; *The Chartulary of the Augustinian Priory of St. John the Evangelist of the Park of Healaugh*, ed. John S. Purvis (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 92, 1936), 156-57; *CR (1264-68)*, 254.

<sup>729</sup> One transaction involved both a laymen and clergymen, namely, that between John de Ardern, on the one hand, and John de Colecestre (c.) and Walter, brother of John de Colecestre, on the other; thus, this has been counted as both an example of lay involvement in the land market and clerical involvement in the land market, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 483-4; *CChR (1257-1300)*, 165.

<sup>730</sup> See Tyerman, “Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land?” 13-26.

<sup>731</sup> Grosse, “Überlegungen Zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. Von 1145/46,” 90-92 (esp. 92); English trans. Phillips, *Second Crusade*, 281-82.

<sup>732</sup> For example, *CChR (1257-1300)*, 146; *CPR (1266-72)*, 425; *Norwich, 1215-99*, IV, App. 2, no. 15.

never going to return, which the churches, looking out for their own interests, bought according to their means.”<sup>733</sup>

Other demographic groups are notable by lack of activity. The Jews, so often a source of ready cash, were, as far as the evidence allows, never involved in the outright purchase of crusader property,<sup>734</sup> but did have some interest in the renting of such land. William of Eure, before departing on crusade, leased some land to Aaron, a Jew, for three years,<sup>735</sup> while Ralph de Rouen leased property in Oxford to a local Jew.<sup>736</sup> The general lack of Jewish activity in the crusader land market was probably a result of several factors.<sup>737</sup> *Quantum praedecessores* implied Jews were barred from acquiring crusader property when it decreed that those signed with the cross may pledge lands to “churches or churchmen or to others of the faithful.”<sup>738</sup> In addition, as we have seen, the Crown occasionally earmarked sums of money from the Jewry during preparations for crusades; it may be that Jews were sometimes under too much pressure in the build up to a crusade to purchase additional land.<sup>739</sup> Add to this, limiting clauses of mortmain frequently ruled out the conveyance of land to Jews.<sup>740</sup> It is also possible that the growing prominence of the Italian merchant bankers by the middle of the thirteenth century made the Jewry a less attractive option for crusaders.<sup>741</sup>

Likewise, the Military Orders were, it seems, largely uninterested in the holdings of crusaders. In preparation for his crusade of 1240 Simon de Montfort sold a wood in Leicester to the local Hospitallers.<sup>742</sup> Yet no other

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<sup>733</sup> Quoted in Constable, “The Financing the Crusades,” 125.

<sup>734</sup> There is, however, an example of an individual selling land brought from a crusader on to a Jew, see *Charters of the Vicars Choral of York Minster*, 13-14, nos. 21-22.

<sup>735</sup> *Bracton’s Note Book: A Collection of Cases Decided in the King’s Courts during the Reign of Henry the Third*, ed. Frederic W. Maitland, 3 vols. (London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1887), III, 598-99, no. 1770; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 204.

<sup>736</sup> *CChR* (1226-57), 76; *PR* (1225-32), 111, 120.

<sup>737</sup> See Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 191-92.

<sup>738</sup> Grosse, “Überlegungen Zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. Von 1145/46,” 90-92 (esp. 92); English trans. Phillips, *Second Crusade*, 281-82.

<sup>739</sup> For example, *CPR* (1266-72), 545-56.

<sup>740</sup> Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 191.

<sup>741</sup> See Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 191-92.

<sup>742</sup> *MP*, *CM*, IV, 7.

such deal is recorded. This may reflect lack of activity, although it is doubtless in part a consequence of the records of the English Temple no longer being extant.

The aforementioned examples demonstrate that the crusade movement led to a redistribution of landed wealth in England. Yet the effect of this process was mitigated by the fact that many crusaders dealt with family: twelve (17%) of our examples involved close relations. Five of these were sales; seven were pledges or leases. A few examples will suffice. Probably in 1227 Philip of Badger, in preparation for his journey to the East, sold his estate of Beckbury to his brother, Thomas.<sup>743</sup> Before making his way to the Holy Land in 1270, Ralph de Cotum sold a wardship to his brother.<sup>744</sup> Around the same time John Lovel, preparing for his journey to the Holy Land, let one of his manors to Henry Lovel.<sup>745</sup> Such deals would have done much to soften the impact of the crusade movement on dynastic holdings: land that was sold to kinsmen would remain within the family, as too would the revenues of pledged or leased properties.

It is interesting to compare our figures with those produced by Riley-Smith in his study of the fundraising of the early crusaders. Riley-Smith observed a comparable level of familial activity, noting that 10% of the pledges and 9% of the sales in his period involved close relations.<sup>746</sup> Likewise, he found that the early crusaders preferred to offload land of doubtful value; for instance, at least 11% of sales were of lands which were already pledged.<sup>747</sup> The

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<sup>743</sup> *Antiquities of Shropshire*, II, 71-72; *Victoria County History, Shropshire*, ed. George Baugh and others, 11 vols. (London, Oxford: Archibald Constable, Oxford University Press, 1908-98), X, 242.

<sup>744</sup> *Calendar of the Inquisitions Post Mortem*, I, 234-35, no. 736; *CPR (1266-72)*, 480, 604.

<sup>745</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 425, 514.

<sup>746</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 129.

<sup>747</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 133. Riley-Smith also commented that at least 43% of “all surviving disposals for cash at the time of the First Crusade were of assets of doubtful value.” This figure is, of course, substantially higher than the “outlier” figure presented in the current work. However, the difference appears to be largely artificial. Riley-Smith included renunciations for disputed claims in his figure. Moreover, his pool of evidence contained many easily identifiable outlier properties, with 22% of pledges and 25% of sales involving churches, tithes, and other ecclesiastical property; conversely, our sample does not generally contain such examples since, in our period, ecclesiastical property was,

similarities, however, end there. Riley-Smith stated that the Church was involved in the majority of surviving transactions, noting that only 16% of the pledges and 13% of the sales at the time of the First Crusade were agreed with lay men and women.<sup>748</sup> The present study has, of course, found a much higher level of lay involvement. There are two possible explanations for this. First, it is possible that Riley-Smith's figures, based as they were almost entirely on ecclesiastical sources, failed to properly reflect the role of the laity at the time; indeed, Riley-Smith himself was aware of this possibility.<sup>749</sup> Alternatively, it is possible that Riley-Smith's figures provided a fairly accurate representation of contemporary lay activity, but that the involvement of lay people in the land market increased dramatically by the thirteenth century.

### **Summary**

There was no single approach for an individual to raise money for a crusade. It was usually necessary to tap a variety of revenues. Most preparations almost certainly began with an attempt to reduce expenditure. Both the Church and the Crown helped with this by granting financial privileges. Astute crusaders took matters into their own hands, however, and sought to be quit of usury or whole debts. Yet it was no good simply spending less. To raise a decent sum of money participants had to turn to those in their connection. Gifts from family, friends and lords played an important and hitherto underappreciated role. If Henry III's donations are reflective of general proclivities, lords gave most generously to family and, to a lesser extent, other men in their connection. Nevertheless, individuals without little or no connection to a lord still stood a chance of receiving a gift. Another way of raising money was by promising service in return for pay. For men of middling-to-high status this could take the form of a contract. These appear

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generally speaking, not owned by laymen, and, as a result, identifying "outlier" lands has proved more difficult, see Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 132-33.

<sup>748</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 129.

<sup>749</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 129: "... it should be remembered that the surviving records are almost entirely ecclesiastical and that it would have been rare for an agreement negotiated among lay people to have surfaced in them. This... makes one wonder whether we are not glimpsing the tip of an iceberg [in regards to lay activity in the crusader land market]. If so, we may have overestimated the part played by churchmen as financiers at this time."

to have been agreed throughout our period, although documentary evidence exists only from the mid-thirteenth century. The sums involved reflected basic costs and did not present much of an opportunity for profit. Participants could also secure simple loans, but this was rare. The financial privileges accorded crusaders by the Church meant that most crusaders did not have sufficient credit to agree loans without immovable property as security.

If sufficient money could not be raised through the aforesaid revenues, participants were forced to turn to their own resources. The restitution of outstanding debts was an obvious place to start; indeed, this appears to have been a fairly common recourse, although the evidence is often problematic. Crusaders could also, if they had been subject to theft, seek reimbursement for stolen property. The sale of rights and renunciations provided yet another opportunity. Deals were struck with merchants, townsmen and religious communities, ranging from the establishment of markets and fairs, to the reinstatement of offices and liberties, to public confirmations of property transactions. Indeed, it was the land market that offered the best opportunity for crusaders to raise large amounts of capital. Although sale was usually a last resort, some were forced – or perhaps chose – to sell up completely, doubtless to the chagrin of their families. But this was exceptional: most sales involved only a fraction of a crusader's assets. In general pledge or lease of property was a preferable to sale. Crusaders appear to have usually got good prices for their assets, especially if they were selling them. The call to crusade had a dramatic impact on the land market, causing a surge of new, available property, and a good deal of land would have changed hands, if only temporarily. All in all, it is not possible to calculate an average figure for how much money crusaders raised through “private” finance. Yet, as the examples included in this chapter demonstrate, such revenues could provide crusaders with substantial funds.

## Chapter 5: Money and Logistics

What form did the money secured by crusaders take? And how were such funds, when not spent in the West, transferred to the East? This chapter provides the first detailed response to such questions in regards to crusading in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>750</sup> Its fundamental contention is that, in England at any rate, the funds of crusaders mostly took the form of silver bullion and coin, while various methods were used to move money, most notably transfer by sea and credit.

### The Form of Money

In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the basic monetary unit of England was the silver penny, the sterling. This had a fineness of some 92.5% and weighed 1.46 grams from 1156/57-1279 and 1.44 grams from 1279-1412.<sup>751</sup> Its purchasing power was substantial and, to a certain extent, problematic: a gallon (8 pints, 4.55 litres) of ale could be bought for 1d.<sup>752</sup> As a result, people took it upon themselves to cut pennies into halves and quarters in order to facilitate small transactions. However, in 1279 Edward I had the mints of the realm strike official halfpennies and farthings.<sup>753</sup> There were attempts to introduce higher value coinage. In 1257 Henry III minted a gold coinage, each penny of gold being worth 20d, and just over twenty years later Edward I ordered the striking of the silver groat (worth 4d). Both, however, proved to be failures: the high value of the coins largely precluded their use in trade.<sup>754</sup> The implication of all this is that, broadly speaking, the money secured by crusaders from England would have taken the form of coin and, to some extent, silver bullion (i.e. unminted silver) in the form of ingots, since these, too, were used in *Anglia* and indeed elsewhere in Europe as currency.<sup>755</sup>

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<sup>750</sup> For current historiography, see Introduction.

<sup>751</sup> Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 402.

<sup>752</sup> James L. Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy: 973-1489* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 50-51.

<sup>753</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 51.

<sup>754</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 51, 154-55, 157.

<sup>755</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 44; Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 209-24.

It is impossible to establish the average bullion-to-coin ratio, but it is likely that ingots comprised a substantial portion of many treasuries. In August 1308 Payn de Turberville received written permission from the Crown to take 300 marks with him on his journey to Jerusalem, notwithstanding the prohibition of the export of money or “silver in mass.”<sup>756</sup> Thus, the Crown presumed that Payn, as a pilgrim, might take some ingots with him. “Continental” sources corroborate the impression of the English evidence. The “Barbarossa Hoard,” the treasure of a single crusader or a group of crusaders in the army of Frederick Barbarossa, discovered between 1982 and 1985, contains ingots of silver as well as pennies and jewels.<sup>757</sup> At some point in the thirteenth century the citizens of Dortmund were permitted to acquire silver bullion “*quantumcumque necesse habet ad mercandisas suas vel ad peregrinationes.*”<sup>758</sup> In 1250 Philip, treasurer of St. Hilary’s, Poitiers, sent, among other things, ingots of silver to Alfonse of Poitiers, then on crusade in the eastern theatre.<sup>759</sup> One can see why *crucesignati* used ingots. The benefits were manifold. They were less unwieldy than pennies; they enabled large purchases to be made with relative ease; they could be exchanged in full for local currencies during the journey to the East; and they could be cut up into fractions to make small or medium-sized payments.<sup>760</sup>

Despite the merits of bullion, coin would have been the most common form of money used by crusaders from England and indeed elsewhere in Europe. Ingots would have become less practical the further one went down the social scale: the purchases of humbler individuals would have been small in nature and most easily carried out in coin.<sup>761</sup> Add to this, when it came to the business of the cross, the Church appears to have preferred to collect, and by

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<sup>756</sup> CCR (1307-13), 122.

<sup>757</sup> See Murray, “Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade,” 233; Murray, “Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa,” 361-64.

<sup>758</sup> Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 215.

<sup>759</sup> Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 211.

<sup>760</sup> Murray, “Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade,” 233; Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 44; Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 209.

<sup>761</sup> Murray, “Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade,” 234.

implication disburse, coin rather than bullion or other valuables. *Zelus fidei* decreed that the faithful should donate “one coin to the worth of one tournois or one sterling” each year to the Holy Land in return for the remission of sins.<sup>762</sup> *Cum pro negotio* instructed that payment of the sexennial tenth for the crusade “should be made not in those things which are collected for revenues, but in counted money.”<sup>763</sup> Furthermore, during the course of the thirteenth century, the money supply in England increased dramatically.<sup>764</sup> In 1180 there was between £70,000 and £190,000 worth of coins in England. This meant that there were 16,800,000—45,600,000 actual coins in circulation and some 6.10—20.3 coins per capita, depending on whether one accepts the low or high estimates of population size and the money supply.<sup>765</sup> By 1290 there was between £1,000,000 and £1,300,000 worth of coins in England, amounting to some 240,000,000—312,000,000 actual coins and 46.6—69.3 coins per capita.<sup>766</sup> In such an environment coinage would have been by far the easiest form of wealth to obtain. The coffers of most crusaders would have been made up largely, if not entirely, of specie.

This is borne out by some specific examples from the documentary evidence. An entry in the Close Rolls in 1228 described how a group of crusaders who had drowned at Ferry Bride had been carrying £17 18s and 10½d worth of “*denariis*” with them – that is, 4,306½ actual pennies.<sup>767</sup> An entry in the papal registers in 1248 stated that the grant of 2,000 marks to William Longespee was to be made in the “new sterling” (i.e. the long-cross coinage).<sup>768</sup> In 1252 a letter close from the Chancery to Richard, bishop of Chichester, referred to the “pennies collected” for the business of the cross.<sup>769</sup>

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<sup>762</sup> *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 296-97; English trans. *Crusade and Christendom*, 469.

<sup>763</sup> *Les Registres de Grégoire X*, 231-34 (esp. 233), no. 571; English trans. *Papal Revenues*, II, 167.

<sup>764</sup> See Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, esp. 21-28.

<sup>765</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 26.

<sup>766</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 26.

<sup>767</sup> *CR (1227-31)*, 34-35.

<sup>768</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 255; Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 152-54.

<sup>769</sup> *CR (1251-53)*, 272.

Most of the specie secured by crusades from England would, of course, have been in sterling and its denominations, but other forms of silver coin might be acquired. It appears the penny of Tours not infrequently found its way into coffers. In 1247 the bishop of Dublin was instructed to transmit 3,000lt to “certain crusaders,” although it is not known whether these crusaders were from Ireland, England or elsewhere.<sup>770</sup> As we saw in the previous chapter, Guy de Lusignan received a loan of 500lt to buy destriers, while the Lord Edward’s loan from Louis IX of France was to the sum of 70,000lt.<sup>771</sup> Given that the value of these grants and loans were expressed in *livres tournois*, it is fairly likely that much, though by no means all, of the actual cash took the form of *deniers tournois*.<sup>772</sup>

Furthermore, crockards and pollards, the notorious counterfeit sterling struck in the Low Countries, must have made up a fair proportion of the funds of those who set out on the crusade of 1290.<sup>773</sup> These coins had begun to be produced in 1283 and by 1290 constituted some £90,000—£170,000 of the specie in England.<sup>774</sup> Edward I’s recoinage of 1300-02, however, largely removed them from circulation.<sup>775</sup>

In addition to securing silver coin and bullion, crusaders might acquire gold as well as precious objects.<sup>776</sup> Carpenter has demonstrated that between 1243 and 1253 Henry III amassed a stockpile of gold in leaf, ingots and coin worth the equivalent of some 28,390 marks of silver; from 1247 onwards Henry appears to have collected this gold to support crusaders from England and from 1251 to help bankroll his own expedition to the East.<sup>777</sup> Vincent has suggested that Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, acquired gold for his

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<sup>770</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 237.

<sup>771</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 4; *Diplomatic Documents... 1101-1272*, 293-95, no. 419; *Foedera*, I/I, 481.

<sup>772</sup> For the *denier tournois*, see Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 401.

<sup>773</sup> For crockards and pollards, see Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 12, 69, 143, 158-62. Notably, an entry in the Close Rolls referred to the tenth of 1291 for the Holy Land bringing in pollards from Ireland, *CCR (1296-1302)*, 357.

<sup>774</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 158, 160.

<sup>775</sup> Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 161-62.

<sup>776</sup> For examples from the First Crusade, see Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 110-11.

<sup>777</sup> Carpenter, “The Gold Treasure of King Henry III,” 107-136.

crusade, noting that the Winchester pipe rolls record des Roches spending at least £180 and probably £280 on the purchase of gold coin between 1225 and 1227, the year of his departure.<sup>778</sup> Robert de Marisco set out for the *terra sancta* with, among other things, 20 marks, 22 bezants, a gold ring and a cloak of scarlet.<sup>779</sup> As we saw in Chapter 4, in 1235 Henry III arranged for the seneschal of the prince of Aberffraw, who was preparing to set out for the Holy Land, to receive a silver cup worth five marks.<sup>780</sup> It is not hard to see why crusaders coveted such materials. Precious objects had a high intrinsic value and would generally have been easy to carry, while gold was the traditional basis of currency in the East.<sup>781</sup> As a result, crusaders believed – perhaps to a certain extent mistakenly given the rise of silver in the Levant in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries<sup>782</sup> – that a ready supply of *aurum* would make it easier to function in the economy of Outremer and its surrounding regions. Matthew Paris made this clear when he described why Henry III decided to start collecting his hoard:

... since the king knew that he was to go to the eastern parts where gold is used as money and reward for stipendiaries serving on an expedition, he began to desire to collect gold.<sup>783</sup>

Furthermore, although gold was, like elsewhere in western Europe, rare in England, it was not so rare that its acquisition was nigh-on impossible.<sup>784</sup> It could be bought from goldsmiths in the form of leaf; a gold coinage was, as noted above, minted in 1257; and a variety of gold coinages from overseas – such as the bezant, the *oboli et denarii de musc'* and the Augustales – could

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<sup>778</sup> Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, 238-39. See also the example of Alphonse of Poitiers in Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 180-81.

<sup>779</sup> *Pleas Before the King or His Justices, 1198-1202*, II, 49, no. 248.

<sup>780</sup> *CR (1234-37)*, 101. See also *CR (1247-51)*, 49.

<sup>781</sup> Andrew M. Watson, "Back to Gold – and Silver," *The Economic History Review* 20 (1967): 7.

<sup>782</sup> See Watson, "Back to Gold – and Silver," 1; Carpenter, "The Gold Treasure of King Henry III," 115-16; David M. Metcalf, "Describe the Currency of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith and Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 195.

<sup>783</sup> MP, *HA*, III, 99; English trans. Carpenter, "The Gold Treasure of King Henry III," 115. See also MP, *HA*, III, 320; MP, *CM*, V, 274.

<sup>784</sup> For the rarity of gold, see David Carpenter, "Gold and Gold Coins in England in the Mid-thirteenth Century," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 147 (1987): 112; Carpenter, "The Gold Treasure of King Henry III," 128-29.

be found in England, although the volume of such coins was so small that they were used as commodities rather than as currency.<sup>785</sup>

### **Logistics**

The early crusaders moved money from the West to the East by carrying it over the landmass of Europe and Asia Minor. The army of Peter the Hermit, for instance, used a waggon to store and move a hoard of silver and gold.<sup>786</sup> At a fundamental level this method of transportation continued throughout the entire crusading period: money was always, to some extent, moved on carts, pack animals and the like, if only when it was being sent around the homelands of crusaders or the frontlines of the Near East.<sup>787</sup> However, in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries there emerged additional – and more sophisticated – methods of conveyance, namely, transfer by sea and credit.

#### Transfer by Sea

The rise of the sea route in the late twelfth century revolutionised the movement of money. No longer did funds have to be carried slowly over land. Instead, crusaders could, relatively speaking, expediently transfer sums via the Mediterranean to the Levant, although crusaders from England might often have had to cross the Channel and march to Occitania or Provence in order to do so.<sup>788</sup>

Naturally, those signed with the cross would have taken money on the vessel (or vessels) which they had procured to ferry them across the Mediterranean, so that supplies could be purchased *en route* and cash would be available immediately upon arrival. However, one of the advantages of the sea route was that individuals, at any rate those of high status, did not have to take all their funds with them when they departed, for money could be sent in advance

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<sup>785</sup> Carpenter, “Gold and Gold Coins in England in the Mid-thirteenth Century,” 106-13. Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, 183-85.

<sup>786</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 110.

<sup>787</sup> See, for example, *CLR (1267-72)*, 132, 133, nos. 1146 and 1158.

<sup>788</sup> For a general discussion of crusaders and the sea route, see Edward Peters, “There and Back Again: Crusaders in Motion, 1096-1291,” *Crusades* 5 (2006): 157-71.

to – and stockpiled in – the East. Matthew Paris appears to refer to this practice in an entry in his *Chronica Majora*. According to the monk of St. Albans, when in 1240 Richard of Cornwall was told by papal representatives in St. Giles that he was not allowed to set sail for the Holy Land, he retorted thus:

“I have made all the necessary preparations for my passage, I have said goodbye to my friends, I have sent ahead [*praemisi*] my money and arms ... and now the tone is altered.”<sup>789</sup>

It might be objected here that the account is unreliable, since Paris was, as far as we know, not present at St. Giles. Certainly, it is not a verbatim transcript. But it is in all likelihood a reliable precis of Richard’s reaction and, more important, the preparations he undertook for the crusade, for, as has been established elsewhere, Richard was one Paris’ chief informants and provided him with details about the expedition.<sup>790</sup> It might also be objected that Richard – or more precisely the Richard portrayed by Paris – meant that he had used the Templars or Italian bankers to transfer the money by credit. This is unlikely. True, Richard had used the Templars in 1238 to transfer (probably physically) to Paris (the city not the monk) the 6,000 marks that had been given to him by Henry III for the crusade.<sup>791</sup> But the word “*praemisi*” seems to imply a literal movement. Moreover, Richard’s war chest, which amounted to several thousands of pounds, was probably too large to be transferred entirely on credit, for such an act would have likely placed an intolerable burden on the eastern “branches” of banking institutions – a theme to which we will return.<sup>792</sup> It is perhaps also noteworthy that the money is mentioned in the same breath as arms, which were, of course, conveyed by sea.<sup>793</sup>

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<sup>789</sup> MP, *CM*, IV, 46-47; English trans. modified from *Matthew Paris’ English History*, I, 289; for the background of why Richard of Cornwall was not permitted to depart, see Lower, *The Barons’ Crusade*, 129-48.

<sup>790</sup> Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 13, 135-36.

<sup>791</sup> *CPR (1232-47)*, 222

<sup>792</sup> For the relationship between the size of a treasury and the likelihood of credit transfer, see pages 152-53 of the present thesis; for the size of Richard’s war chest, see Chapter 1.

<sup>793</sup> For the transfer of arms by sea, see *Foedera*, I/I, 282; *CPR (1247-58)*, 158.

There are other apparent examples of crusaders sending money ahead by sea, although all of them pertain to *crucesignati* from France. Paris tells of how an assembly of crusaders at Lyon in 1239 declared to papal representatives that they had “sent all” their “money to the Holy Land in advance” of them and “sent word” of their “approach beforehand.”<sup>794</sup> Likewise, it appears Louis IX shipped money, as well as victuals, to Cyprus in preparation for his first crusade. Joinville wrote of how, when he and his men arrived on the island, they “found a great abundance of the king’s provisions: cellars, grain stores and money.”<sup>795</sup>

Another advantage of the sea route was that it enabled crusaders to receive cash injections from the West while campaigning in the East. In his account of how in 1250 money was sent from France to Louis IX in Egypt, Matthew Paris provides us with a vivid picture of how this worked:

The king was... sent as much gold and silver – of talents and sterling and approved money of Cologne, not the condemned money of Paris or Tours – as eleven long carts [*bigae*] – to each of which were four strong horses – could be loaded with, by which means it was transported to the sea; when in that very place it was received by hired Genoese ships, to be transported, with provisions, not a little way to the needy king. Each cart carried two large iron-hooped casks... filled with the aforesaid money.<sup>796</sup>

Unfortunately, there exist no such account of funds being sent to crusaders from England, but it is likely that some of the prominent crusaders of *Anglia* used this method of resupply.

Thus far our discussion has presumed that crusaders had absolute control over the money they secured, arranging its transfer in advance of departure or organising its delivery in the midst of a campaign. However, as we saw in Chapter 3, when it came to the funds raised by the Church, crusaders were often only able to access the sums allocated to them upon arrival in the

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<sup>794</sup> MP, *CM*, III, 615; English trans. *Matthew Paris’ English History*, I, 235.

<sup>795</sup> *Histoire de Saint Louis par Jean Sire de Joinville*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1868), 46; English trans. John of Joinville, “The Life of Saint Louis,” in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Caroline Smith (London: Penguin, 2008), 178.

<sup>796</sup> MP, *CM*, V, 116-17; English trans. modified from *Matthew Paris’ English History*, II, 342.

eastern theatre. This meant that it was, generally speaking, the responsibility of the Church, not the crusader, to arrange the transmission of sums raised through alms, legacies, redemptions and ecclesiastical taxation.

For the most part, the Church, from the early thirteenth century onwards, delegated the transfer of such monies to international organisations, such as the Military Orders and Italian merchant banks, all of whom appear to have, for the most part, moved such funds physically over land and sea rather than on the balance sheet.<sup>797</sup> A few examples will suffice. Honorius III used both the Hospitallers and the Templars to dispatch funds raised from the twentieth of 1215; on 1 July 1220, for example, he wrote to the master of the Paris Hospital, instructing him to transmit in the next passage some four, five or six thousand marks of the English twentieth, which had been deposited at Paris by Pandulf, bishop of Norwich and papal legate.<sup>798</sup> On 23 May 1266 Clement IV ordered Sinicius, papal nuncio, to collect in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, among other things, tenths, twentieths, redemptions, legacies and the papal and Holy Land cess; on the same day Clement instructed various groups and institutions, most notably the Templars, Hospitallers and (intriguingly) the Cistercians, to receive any sums that Sinicius committed to them for transfer.<sup>799</sup> On 6 August 1284 Martin IV ordered Geoffrey de Veçano, clerk of the papal *camera*, and John de Luco,

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<sup>797</sup> Thomas W. Parker, *The Knights Templars in England* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1963), 73-74, observed that “in the years before the appearance of credit instruments and in the early stages of their development, it is most likely that the Templars carried funds, their own and those belonging to others, with a considerable degree of regularity and with great reliability.” On different note, the phrase “for the most part” is used advisedly, for in 1217 Honorius III ordered that, in tandem with the centralised system of transfer, monies were to be carried to the East by crusaders, see *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, edited by Petrus Pressutii, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1978), I, 67-69 (esp. 67), no. 381; Thomas W. Smith, “Pope Honorius III, the Military Orders and the Financing of the Fifth Crusade: A Culture of Papal Preference?” in *The Military Orders, Volume VI (Part 1): Culture and Conflict in the Mediterranean World*, ed. Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr (London: Routledge, 2016), 56. Finally, for a general summary of the papacy’s use of the Military Orders to transfer sums of money, see Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 275.

<sup>798</sup> See Smith, “Pope Honorius III, the Military Orders and the Financing of the Fifth Crusade,” 54-61; *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I, 416, no. 2519.

<sup>799</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 423.

canon of London, to hand over to merchants of Florence, Siena and Lucca “all the Holy Land tenth collected in England.”<sup>800</sup>

The transfer of money by ship was not without drawbacks. Most notably, money could be lost at sea, with ships sinking as a result of bad weather. This almost happened to Ranulf of Chester on his return journey from Damietta in 1220, when his ship was, according to the chronicle of the abbey of Dieulacres, afflicted by a “storm of the sea.”<sup>801</sup> Similarly, according to Matthew Paris, in 1251, when a ship carrying money to Egypt for the ransom of Louis IX was at sea, “a storm arose, and the vessel, with everything on board, was sunk.”<sup>802</sup> Add to this, pirates could attack vessels and seize cargo. This is demonstrated by the fact that the papacy repeatedly attempted to protect the assets of crusaders (and indeed crusaders themselves) from pirates. In 1213 *Quia maior* decreed thus:

... because corsairs and pirates put too great obstacles in the way by seizing and despoiling aid passing to and from the Holy Land, we bind them and their chief supporters and patrons with the chain of excommunication, forbidding under the menace of anathema anyone to have business with them in any contract involving sale or purchase, and ordering the rulers of cities and their possessions to recall them and hold their iniquity in check.<sup>803</sup>

In 1215 *Ad liberandum* announced that

... since corsairs and pirates excessively impede the aiding of the Holy Land, taking and despoiling those who go to and return from it, we bind with the chain of anathema their helpers and those who favour them through any contract of buying or selling, and enjoining on the rectors of their cities and districts to recall and restrain them from this iniquity.<sup>804</sup>

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<sup>800</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 478. For references to the occupations of Geoffrey and John, see *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 471, 476.

<sup>801</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, 628.

<sup>802</sup> MP, CM, V, 239; English trans. *Matthew Paris' English History*, II, 445.

<sup>803</sup> PL, CCXVI, 820; English trans. *Crusade and Christendom*, 110-11.

<sup>804</sup> *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 202-03; English trans. *Crusade and Christendom*, 128.

Similar promulgations were made in *Rachel suum videns* (1234), *Afflicti corde* and *Zelus fidei*.<sup>805</sup> Evidently, the raids of pirates were, in spite of such legislation, a persistent issue.

### Transfer by Credit

As well as – or instead of – arranging the shipment of money, crusaders could transfer sums by credit. It may be helpful to explain how this typically worked.<sup>806</sup> A crusader would deposit a sum of money with a western representative of an international banking organisation; in return he would be given a financial instrument, such as a letter of credit, enabling him to withdraw, upon his arrival in the *terra sancta*, the equivalent sum from a local “branch.” Thus, the crusader would be able to access his funds, but the funds themselves would never have been moved.

As far as the evidence allows, the Temple was, until its dissolution in the early fourteenth century, the organisation that most crusaders used to make credit transfers. Indeed, in spite of the fact that record books of the English Temple are no longer extant,<sup>807</sup> some examples have, it seems, come down to us. In a letter written in the 1260s Hawisa de Nevill informed her son, Hugh de Nevill, who was in the Holy Land, that, if she managed to raise funds for him in the near future, she would send them to him “by the messengers of the Temple, who will carry their moneys.”<sup>808</sup> In 1217 Honorius III instructed the Templars of England to redistribute the money that they had accumulated from the benefices of Morgan, “sometime provost of Beverley.” Morgan had been permitted to receive, for a period of three years, the revenues of his benefices

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<sup>805</sup> *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum*, I, 491-95 (esp. 494), no. 605; *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, II/I, 243, 297-98.

<sup>806</sup> The following explanation is based upon: Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 268-71; David M. Metcalf, “The Templars as Bankers and Monetary Transfers between West and East in the Twelfth Century,” in *Coinage in the Latin East: The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. Peter Edbury and David M. Metcalf (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980), 6-8; Evelyn Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain* (London: Longman, 2002), 178-79; Parker, *The Knights Templars in England*, 74-77.

<sup>807</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, 173; Parker, *The Knights Templars in England*, 78.

<sup>808</sup> Giuseppi, “On the Testament of Sir Hugh de Nevill,” 360.

when on crusade, but had died at Fountains Abbey after setting out.<sup>809</sup> Presumably the Templars had originally given Morgan a letter of credit that permitted him, upon arrival in the East, to withdraw a sum of money equal to the estimated three year revenue of his benefices, on the condition that the actual revenues would be channelled into the English Temple over the same period.

The Italian banking houses, whose representatives were present in England from the first half of the thirteenth century, could also execute credit transfers between the West and the East, and so provided crusaders with an alternative to the Templars.<sup>810</sup> Unfortunately, there are, as far as the present author is aware, no examples of crusaders from *Anglia* placing money in the care of Italian firms in the build-up to expeditions. But this must have, to a certain extent, taken place. Over a generation ago Metcalf described a series of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, first brought to the attention of scholars by Lavoix in 1877, consisting of 300 contracts signed by crusaders in the East with Italian banks.<sup>811</sup> Moreover, as we have seen, the papacy used the Italians to transfer money obtained through collective fundraising. The banks of Italy were, in short, well-integrated into the crusader economy.

The impression one gets from the above is that crusaders could fairly easily transfer sums to the East via credit. This raises the question: why did they not do so more often? To put it another way, why did so many crusaders still use ships to move funds? Here we must resort to conjecture. Several possible explanations present themselves, but perhaps the most credible one is that the large sums of money frequently raised by crusaders were, in many instances, not accepted by banking organisations for credit transfer, on the basis that (a) it could not be guaranteed that the money would be available for withdrawal in the East or (b) the proposed withdrawal would place too

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<sup>809</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 50.

<sup>810</sup> For growth of Italian banks in England and their use of written financial instruments, see Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, 198; Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown*, 1-4.

<sup>811</sup> Metcalf, "The Templars as Bankers," 6-8.

much strain on the coffers of eastern “branches.” This proposition is supported by the case of the veteran administrator and courtier William Brewer. In 1189 Clement III had allowed Brewer to postpone his crusade vow.<sup>812</sup> Some thirty years later, in 1226, Brewer was old, probably seriously ill,<sup>813</sup> and yet to fulfil his commitment to the *terra sancta*. As a result, he persuaded his nephew and namesake, the bishop of Exeter, to crusade as his substitute, and sent 4,000 marks to the Temple of Acre to help finance the venture.<sup>814</sup> There can be little doubt that the money was actually transported: the Patent Roll entry documenting the transfer describes the money as having been “deposited” in the “house” of the Templars at Acre.<sup>815</sup> Yet a credit transfer would have been easier for the elder Brewer to arrange, since he was clearly happy to deal with the Temple and would merely have had to deposit the sum with a preceptory in England. The reason he did not do so was perhaps because a transfer of 4,000 marks would have required the Temple at Acre to have available for withdrawal the equivalent of a staggering 640,000 sterling pennies. The Templars of England may not have deemed it prudent or indeed fair to commit their eastern brethren to such an arrangement.

### Summary

The money secured by crusaders took a variety of forms. Ingots probably made up a significant portion of many crusaders’ treasuries. This is hardly surprising. Ingots had a variety of benefits. Nonetheless, coin was doubtless the most common form of money used by crusaders. Ingots became less practical the further one went down the social scale; the Church appears to have preferred to collect, and by implication disburse, coin; and during the thirteenth century the supply of coinage in England increased dramatically. Specie was, in other words, the easiest form of wealth to acquire. Yet it came in many guises. Most of the coinage obtained in England would have been in

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<sup>812</sup> Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 65.

<sup>813</sup> Brewer died that very year and an entry in the papal registers claims that the 4,000 marks he allocated that year to his nephew was a bequest, see *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 117.

<sup>814</sup> *PR (1225-32)*, 89-90; *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 117.

<sup>815</sup> *PR (1225-32)*, 90.

sterling and its denominations, but other forms of silver coin, such as the *denier Tournois* and crockards and pollards, also found their way into coffers. Crusaders also sought-after precious objects and gold. The former had a high intrinsic value, while crusaders believed that the latter would help them operate in the eastern economy.

To a certain extent, crusaders always moved money over land. However, in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries there emerged two additional methods of conveyance. The first was the sea route. This enabled crusaders to transfer sums relatively quickly to the East, both in preparation for an expedition and during the course of one. It was also used by international organisations, such the Templars, Hospitallers and Italian bankers, to transport sums raised by the Church. Yet the sea route was not without its downsides, for ships might sink and pirates could seize cargo. The second was credit transfer. As far as the evidence allows, the Temple was, until its dissolution in the early fourteenth century, the organisation that most crusaders used to make such transfers, although it is likely that Italian bankers were, to a certain extent, also employed. It is difficult to ascertain why crusaders did not use credit transfer more. One possible explanation is that banking organisations, fearing problematic ramifications, often refused to accept the large sums of money that crusaders wished to deposit.

## Chapter 6: Aftermath

This chapter provides the first detailed analysis of the economic after-effects of crusading on participants in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>816</sup> Not surprisingly, crusaders were often hard-pressed after expeditions. One consequence of this was that many had to raise money to balance the books, with most successfully doing so; indeed, such fundraising constitutes the main focus of this chapter. Yet it is no good pretending that post-crusade careers are easy to study. Our sources are largely uninterested in how crusaders were affected by their journeys.<sup>817</sup> The present chapter therefore ends with a case study of Edward I, whose post-crusade experience can be reconstructed in unusual detail.

### Returning Crusaders

As far as the evidence allows, no crusaders returned to England wealthy. On the contrary, it appears crusaders were often hard-pressed after expeditions. Many must have lacked ready cash. The most striking example of this is provided by Guy de Lusignan. According to Matthew Paris, Guy, who joined the crusade of 1250 with, on parchment, a war chest of £1,000 and 500lt,<sup>818</sup> returned to England in a “state of poverty” travelling on foot.<sup>819</sup> Paris speculated that Guy was in such a condition because he was a “fugitive from battle” or had “made his escape from prison” in Egypt.<sup>820</sup> Guy’s plight was so bad, in fact, that he had to beg for support from the abbey of Faversham. The plea was successful. The abbey provided Guy with accommodation and entertainment. Moreover, the abbot lent Guy horses and servants for his journey to London, on the condition that as soon as he arrived there, he would send the horses and servants back. In the event, however, Guy appears to have reneged on the agreement, with Paris, admittedly a hostile commentator,

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<sup>816</sup> For current historiography, see Introduction.

<sup>817</sup> As Hurlock, “A Transformed Life? Geoffrey of Dutton,” 15 observed: “very little was written about how crusaders responded to taking part in an overseas campaign which mixed the height of spiritual endeavour with extreme violence.”

<sup>818</sup> *CPR (1247-58)*, 4-5; *CR (1247-51)*, 400. Not all of this money was transferred before the crusade, see *CPR (1247-58)*, 84; *CLR (1245-51)*, 328.

<sup>819</sup> MP, *CM*, V, 204-05; English trans. *Matthew Paris’ English History*, II, 417.

<sup>820</sup> MP, *CM*, V, 204-05; English trans. *Matthew Paris’ English History*, II, 417.

claiming that Guy, “not fearing” the “charge of ingratitude,” sent back only the servants.<sup>821</sup>

In addition to lacking cash, crusaders could encounter problems with their properties. Some came home to find that their lands had been ransacked or seized. According to an entry in the papal registers, William Brewer, bishop of Exeter, “on his return from Syria, found the goods of [his] see much wasted.”<sup>822</sup> In 1219 Amabilis, wife of Aunfrid Brito, claimed in the *curia regis* that, after her husband had set out for Jerusalem, Gilbert, son of Ailidus, and his wife and sister-in-law had “thrust themselves” into three parts of six acres and two parts of a croft.<sup>823</sup> It is not known if Amabilis was successful in recovering the lands before her husband’s homecoming, but the final entry in Curia Regis Rolls concerning the matter suggests she was not: it describes how the justices were unable to assemble a jury.<sup>824</sup> In September 1273 Roger de Clifford, who appears to have recently completed his passage, brought an assize of novel disseisin against John de Breuse, claiming that John had seized a tenement in Glabiry.<sup>825</sup> In February 1274 Edward I granted his wife, Eleanor of Castile, then travelling through western Europe to England, sixteen oaks to repair her houses of Long Bennington; presumably Eleanor’s representatives in England had brought news of the damage to her and her husband’s attention.<sup>826</sup>

Furthermore, some crusaders had to deal with cases of disinheritance. An entry in the cartulary of Darley Abbey recorded how William of Long Eaton, at some time in the thirteenth century, discovered that, while he was in the East, his sister, Juliana, had been given a tenement due him from his grandfather, Richard. This had happened because William had “remained” for “so long” in

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<sup>821</sup> MP, CM, V, 204-05; English trans. *Matthew Paris’ English History*, II, 417.

<sup>822</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 176.

<sup>823</sup> *CRR (1219-20)*, 21.

<sup>824</sup> *CRR (1219-20)*, 102.

<sup>825</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 54-55. For Roger’s participation on crusade, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440, 443, 448.

<sup>826</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 71. It is, of course, possible that this damage was the result of bad weather or general decay. For Eleanor’s return journey, see Hamilton, “Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement,” 101-02.

the Holy Land that “his return was despaired of” by his family; thus, Richard made Juliana his heiress. When William eventually came home, Richard had died and Juliana had inherited. William’s initial reaction was unsympathetic: he claimed right of inheritance. However, this course of action was, at some point, abandoned, for William and Juliana reached an agreement, whereby William quitclaimed his right to the tenement and Juliana kept it, rendering William 20d annually.<sup>827</sup> In a similar vein, in 1310 the lands of John de Roches, who had left for the East the previous year,<sup>828</sup> were taken into the hands of the Crown.<sup>829</sup> This was done because royal officials believed that John had died on his journey. But they were mistaken. John was still undertaking his passage. The mistake was, however, corrected before John’s return. On 20 August 1311 the escheator south of the Trent was instructed to restore the lands to John, since John was “still alive” and “staying in parts beyond sea.”<sup>830</sup>

In a similar vein, some crusaders had to recover properties which had been alienated without their consent, or come to terms with the fact that they had been permanently offloaded. When Robert Ruffus was in the Holy Land, his wife, Helewisia, transferred, in two discrete deals, one perch and four-and-a-half-perches of arable land in Harmston to James, weaver of Lincoln, for ½d and 1d, respectively.<sup>831</sup> However, it was agreed that if Robert wished, he could revoke the transactions when he returned from the Holy Land, although James would have all his chattels handed back to him and receive the crops of the perches.<sup>832</sup> Likewise, when a certain Ralph was in the Holy Land, his aunt, Matilda, transferred six acres of land owned by him in the fields of Edgefield to Binham Priory. However, it was stipulated that, if Ralph returned, he would be able to repossess the land after the death of Matilda, providing

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<sup>827</sup> *The Cartulary of Darley Abbey*, ed. Reginald R. Darlington, 2 vols. (Kendal: Titus Wilson & Son, 1945), I, 25.

<sup>828</sup> *CPR (1307-13)*, 115, 121.

<sup>829</sup> *CPR (1307-13)*, 379.

<sup>830</sup> *CCR (1307-13)*, 366.

<sup>831</sup> *The Thurgarton Cartulary*, ed. Trevor Foulds (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1994), 405-06, nos. 667-68.

<sup>832</sup> *Thurgarton Cartulary*, 405-06, nos. 667-68.

he paid Binham Priory a “reasonable” sum of money; if Ralph did not return, the monks would hold the land in perpetuity.<sup>833</sup>

Not every issue involving property was as dramatic as the above examples. Many individuals simply had to redeem land they had pledged to fund their journeys. Still, this could prove onerous if property had been mortgaged rather than *vifgaged*.<sup>834</sup> In the early thirteenth century Robert de Hilderesh, preparing to set out for the Holy Land, pledged some land to Bartholomew, son of Philip; in return Robert received 8 marks. The record of the transaction stipulated that, in order to receive the land back, Robert had to repay the 8 marks within 7 years of 3 June 1218 and give Bartholomew a sum not exceeding £10 for repairs of the property.<sup>835</sup> Thus, the maximum total cost of recovery stood at £15 6s 8d – a large sum for a non-aristocratic *Jerosolimitanus* to raise.

A lack of cash and issues with properties would have been significant burdens in themselves. But *Jerosolimitani* were often plagued by a further problem: the repayment of simple loans – the moratorium on crusader debts expired at the end of an individual’s passage.<sup>836</sup> An entry in the Patent Rolls in 1275 described how Eleanor of Castile had to repay debts which she had “incurred by reason of her pilgrimage... in the Holy Land.”<sup>837</sup> An entry in the Close Rolls in 1275 referred to the loans John de Verdun and Geoffrey de Joinville owed to Edward I; these presumably had been secured from the king on crusade.<sup>838</sup> Repayments were not always straightforward. In May 1273 William de Valence came to an agreement with Thomas de Clare about how a loan of 600 marks

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<sup>833</sup> *The Cartulary of Binham Priory*, ed. Johanna Margerum (Norfolk Record Society 80, 2016), 110-11, no. 144. That Ralph was the holder of the property is confirmed by *Cartulary of Binham Priory*, 121-22, no. 161.

<sup>834</sup> If land was mortgaged, the loan attached to it had to be paid off in a lump sum. If land was *vifgaged*, the loan attached to it was paid off from the revenues of the property, thus greatly reducing the burden on the debtor, see Chapter 4.

<sup>835</sup> *Chertsey Abbey Cartularies*, ed. Hilary Jenkinson, 3 vols. (Surrey Record Society 12, 34; 1933-58), II, 393-94, no. 1322.

<sup>836</sup> See Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 179-83.

<sup>837</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 79.

<sup>838</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 176. For the participation of John and Geoffrey on the crusade of 1270, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440, 443; *CR (1268-72)*, 293; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, App. 4.

made by the former to the latter in the East was to be repaid. Thomas was to pardon William of 400 marks which William owed him for the custody of lands in Ireland. Moreover, Thomas was to transfer back to William 200 marks which he had recently received from him, thereby satisfying the loan entirely.<sup>839</sup> Thus, Thomas paid-off his crusade loan by acquitting his creditor of non-crusade related debts. Individuals could struggle to cope with repayments. In 1238 Gregory IX ordered the cardinal and legate, Otho, to “induce the creditors” of William Brewer, bishop of Exeter, to “wait for their money,” since, almost a decade after his return from the East, Brewer had not yet recovered from the impact of his crusade; Gregory claimed that if Brewer’s see was “longer exposed to the fangs of creditors,” it “would be swallowed up” by the “abyss of usury.”<sup>840</sup> On 5 April 1273, perhaps just over a year after his return to England,<sup>841</sup> Alexander de Balliol, along with his wife Eleanor, sought to replevy lands in Mitford, Molesdon and Felton; these had been taken into the hands of the Crown because Alexander and Eleanor had defaulted on a debt to Robert de Nevill and Ida, his wife.<sup>842</sup> In light of such cases, one finds it hard to disagree with Housley’s wry observation: “In his masterpiece *The Seventh Seal* Ingmar Bergman depicted a homecoming crusader struggling to escape the clutches of Death, but in practice they had more to fear from their creditors.”<sup>843</sup>

### **Fundraising**

Many crusaders, then, were “hard-up” after campaigns. While some must have recovered, if they recovered at all, through ordinary incomes, others were forced to be more proactive, raising money through extraordinary revenues – a theme almost entirely overlooked in the current historiography.<sup>844</sup> There is

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<sup>839</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 45

<sup>840</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 176. Brewer returned to England in 1229, see *Theokesberia*, 73.

<sup>841</sup> Alexander appears to have returned from crusade in January 1272. The records of central government record Alexander receiving protection to go on crusade on 12 May 1270, *CPR (1266-72)*, 426; the next reference to Alexander in the records came on 25 Jan 1272, *CPR (1266-72)*, 618, and an entry on 23 February 1272 referred to “Alexander de Balliolo, who went to the Holy Land with Edward the king’s son,” *CPR (1266-72)*, 628.

<sup>842</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 44.

<sup>843</sup> Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 273.

<sup>844</sup> The only previous discussions are Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 152-53; Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 194-97.

little evidence of returnees taking the most drastic step: the realisation of assets.<sup>845</sup> But those that were fairly often taken were nonetheless significant, both for the crusaders themselves and the economy at large.

For some individuals the first step would have been to secure unpaid crusade grants. When Richard of Cornwall completed his passage on 7 January 1242,<sup>846</sup> he had received only a portion of the sum promised him by the papacy.<sup>847</sup> Richard did not immediately demand satisfaction for the arrears.<sup>848</sup> However, he had done so by 1244. In that year Innocent IV wrote to the clergy of England, ordering them to assign to Richard “whatever of the said money is now held collected” in the kingdom. They were, furthermore, to cause “the remainder” of the money to be “collected diligently and faithfully.”<sup>849</sup> Yet this instruction did not have much impact, with many ecclesiastics appearing to have ignored it.<sup>850</sup> Thus, on 13 March 1246, Innocent appointed Giles de Wocumb, archdeacon of Berkshire, and John Sarracenus, dean of Wells, to ensure that, if the arrears were not collected within three months, they would be thereafter; on 13 October Giles was replaced by Berard of Nimfa.<sup>851</sup> John and Berard were good at their job. Matthew Paris claimed that in 1247 Richard of Cornwall received £600 from a single archdeaconry.<sup>852</sup> Yet the collection dragged on: the final reference to it in our sources came in the late 1250s.<sup>853</sup> It is not known how much money Richard received from the arrears (or indeed the original grant itself). However, the records of disbursement suggest it was a fairly handsome figure. Richard is recorded as receiving £89 10s from the dignities and prebends of Salisbury,

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<sup>845</sup> For an example of a returnee doing so, see the case of John Ferre, *CPR (1272-81)*, 156. For John’s participation on the crusade of 1270, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440.

<sup>846</sup> MP, *CM*, IV, 180.

<sup>847</sup> See Chapter 4; *Papal Revenues*, II, 489. For a more detailed account of Richard’s pursuit of the arrears, see *FR*, I, 432-34, to which the present discussion is indebted.

<sup>848</sup> *FR*, I, 432-33.

<sup>849</sup> *Papal Revenues*, II, 488-89.

<sup>850</sup> *FR*, I, 433. This is not to say there is no evidence of payment; indeed, on 21 December 1244 the bishopric of Salisbury handed over £89 10s, *Papal Revenues*, II, 489.

<sup>851</sup> MP, *CM*, VI, 117-18, 134-38 (esp. 135), nos. 63, 71.

<sup>852</sup> MP, *CM*, IV, 635.

<sup>853</sup> *FR*, I, 434.

£277 6s from the dean and chapter of Chichester, and £25 from the archdeacon of St. Albans.<sup>854</sup>

A generation after these events, in 1273, Payn de Chaworth and Robert de Tiptoft informed Gregory X that they had not received a penny of the 600 marks promised them by the papacy for their crusade. They claimed that the money was needed because they had “hasten[ed]” on their journeys, “spent much more” than the said figure and, one presumes, run into financial difficulties. As a result, Gregory instructed the archbishop of Canterbury to pay them the outstanding sum, providing their claim was true.<sup>855</sup>

Not surprisingly, the Crown, a significant if less important financier than the Church, was subject to similar demands. In 1275, over two years after completing his passage,<sup>856</sup> Edmund Crouchback claimed that he had received only £600 (900 marks) of the 2,600 marks promised him by his late father, Henry III.<sup>857</sup> As a result, on 6 June Edward I wrote to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, instructing them to inspect their rolls and writs to verify the claim; if they found it valid, they were to pay to Edmund as speedily as possible the outstanding sum.<sup>858</sup> However, the prosecution of the order was sluggish. It was not until late 1276 that Edmund received a portion of the arrears: on 13 November the Italian banker, Luke de Lucca, was ordered to pay Edmund £833 6s 8d (1,250 marks) of the outstanding 1,700 marks.<sup>859</sup> There is, as far as the present author is aware, no evidence of when, if at all, the remaining 450 marks were paid.

In addition to collecting outstanding crusade grants, returnees called in debts. On 20 April 1274 Hugh, son of Otto, who participated in the crusade

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<sup>854</sup> *Papal Revenues*, II, 489; *FR*, I, 434; *MP*, *CM*, VI, 134-138 (esp. 138), no. 71.

<sup>855</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, I, 445.

<sup>856</sup> Edmund returned to London from the Holy Land on 10 December 1272, see Arnold fitzThedmar, *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, 156.

<sup>857</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 182-83. For the original grant, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 514 (2,000 marks), 518 (£400, 600 marks).

<sup>858</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 183.

<sup>859</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 167.

of 1270, secured a recognisance for £50 from Nicholas Tregoz and Hugh de Crepping; however, the securement had come at a price: Hugh had had to restore to Nicholas the manor of Tolleshunt Tregoz.<sup>860</sup> When staying in Paris in July 1273, presumably *en route* to England from the Holy Land, Nicholas de Sifrewast established the terms of repayment for 25 marks from Walter de Furneus.<sup>861</sup> Several months later, in December, Nicholas, now in *Anglia*, got Walter to acknowledge that he owed (a presumably additional) 26 marks,<sup>862</sup> and John de Merley, Geoffrey de la Hawe and John Warehayn to agree to repay 26 marks, 9 marks and 15 marks, respectively.<sup>863</sup> Acts like these placed a good deal of stress on debtors across England. An entry in the Close Rolls under 26 September 1274, for instance, described how the abbot of Fountains Abbey was seeking to replevy a property which had been taken into the hands of the Crown because he had defaulted on a debt owed Richard de Bosco,<sup>864</sup> who, it seems, had recently completed his passage.<sup>865</sup>

If there were no outstanding sums to secure, individuals could seek new windfalls. They may have been helped in this pursuit by the fact that they were returned pilgrims, for grantors may have wished to reward them for their service to God. After completing his passage in early 1251, Geoffrey de Lusignan received the vacant barony of Hastings.<sup>866</sup> In November 1274 Antony Bek, who appears to have come back to English shores some four

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<sup>860</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 119. For Hugh's participation, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440. It is not clear when exactly Hugh returned from the crusade. However, the last reference in the records of central government to Hugh before 1274 came on 2 Aug 1270, see *CChR (1257-1300)*, 149. The first reference to him in 1274 was the aforementioned entry in the Close Rolls in relation to the recognisance. Thus, it is likely that Hugh left for crusade in c. August 1270 and returned in c. April 1274.

<sup>861</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 58. For Nicholas' participation on the crusade of 1270, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 480.

<sup>862</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 110.

<sup>863</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 113.

<sup>864</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 130.

<sup>865</sup> The last mention of Richard in the rolls of central government before 26 September 1274 came on 13 July 1270, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440, when Richard received protection to go on crusade. Thus, it is likely that Richard was on crusade between the summer of 1270 and c. September 1274.

<sup>866</sup> *MP, CM, V*, 205. For Geoffrey's participation on crusade, see *CPR (1247-58)*, 58.

months before,<sup>867</sup> was granted all the debts, fees, usuries and penalties owed to Fountains Abbey by the Jewry.<sup>868</sup> In June 1275, around half a year after completing her passage,<sup>869</sup> Eleanor of Castile was granted all the debts, goods and chattels of Cok Hagin, Jew of London, and in 1276 she was accorded as a means of debt relief some of the proceeds of the fines of the recent embargo on wool exports.<sup>870</sup>

### Outcomes

By employing some or all of these measures, the hard-pressed appear to have, generally speaking, overcome the economic hangover of the crusade. Certainly, many went on to undertake acts that did not befit the cash strapped. The crusade of 1270 provides several examples. In November 1275 Nicholas de Sifrewast stood surety for a loan, promising to repay a creditor 10 marks if the debtor failed to meet his obligations.<sup>871</sup> In May 1276 Robert de Tiptoft purchased some land for 100s.<sup>872</sup> In 1279-80 John of Brittany began preparations to undertake another crusade, going to the papal curia to propose a new expedition and ordering servants to conduct business in parts beyond seas.<sup>873</sup> Furthermore, there are many examples of individuals undertaking the traditional act of the returned crusader: religious patronage.<sup>874</sup> Matthew of Braham gave St. Leonard's Hospital in York some land near "Bodacstern," his rights in the wood of Loxley in Plompton, the mill in Braham and all the lands which Walter, his son, was seized "on the day

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<sup>867</sup> Bek's last mention in the records of central government before the crusade came on 13 July 1270, when he received a royal protection to go on crusade, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440; the next reference to him came on 7 July 1274, see *CPR (1272-81)*, 54.

<sup>868</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 63.

<sup>869</sup> Eleanor presumably returned with her husband, Edward I, on 1 August 1274, see *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, 57.

<sup>870</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 180; *CPR (1272-81)*, 146.

<sup>871</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 251.

<sup>872</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 421.

<sup>873</sup> *Foedera*, I/II, 573; *CPR (1272-81)*, 316, 362.

<sup>874</sup> In 1147, for example, William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, a participant on the Second Crusade, gave the priory of St. Pancras at Lewes half his land of "Rottingedena" as it "was divided in the year in which [he] went to Jerusalem," *Chartulary of the Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes*, I, 37; see also Hurlock, "A Transformed Life? Geoffrey of Dutton," 18; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 150-54.

they went together to Jerusalem.”<sup>875</sup> Geoffrey de Dutton appears to have gifted a piece of the True Cross to the canons at Norton Priory in Cheshire,<sup>876</sup> while Ranulf, earl of Chester, may have given a portion of the Cross to St. John’s in Chester.<sup>877</sup> Peter des Roches gave a book by William of Tyre to the monks of St. Albans, and may also have founded Titchfield Abbey.<sup>878</sup> Nigel of Amundeville gifted half a bovate of land to the brethren of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem at Burton Lazars.<sup>879</sup> Finally, as Hurlock has noted, relics of the True Cross were kept at Bromholm Priory, Salisbury Cathedral and Bar Covent in York, some of which had come to England as a result of crusading.<sup>880</sup>

Nevertheless, for all the examples of recovery, crusading did produce long-suffering, in some cases permanent, victims. Those who sold all their property before departing must have seldom, if ever, reaccumulated anything close to what they offloaded. Even Robert Charles, to whom in 1270 the Crown had promised 400 marks in compensation for his alienations, appears to have failed to do so. Of the promised 400 marks, only £100 (150 marks) appear to have been disbursed as of 1276.<sup>881</sup> Moreover, in that year Robert, almost certainly under pressure from the Crown, quitclaimed his right to the remainder, although in return he was granted land to the value of £40.<sup>882</sup> This may have done much to improve his lifestyle and status. Nevertheless, when he died in c.1278, he appears to have done so a diminished man, leaving, it

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<sup>875</sup> *The Cartulary of St Leonard’s Hospital, York: Rawlinson Volume*, ed. David X. Carpenter, 2 vols. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 163, 2015), I, 358. This transaction probably occurred after the Fifth Crusade or the Bishops’ Crusade, for, as David X. Carpenter noted, the witnesses of the charter underpinning the transaction largely match those of a charter drawn up by Matthew sometime between 1218 and 1230, see *The Cartulary of St Leonard’s Hospital*, I, 358.

<sup>876</sup> Hurlock, “A Transformed Life? Geoffrey of Dutton,” 18-20.

<sup>877</sup> Hurlock, “A Transformed Life? Geoffrey of Dutton,” 20.

<sup>878</sup> Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, 156-57.

<sup>879</sup> *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. William Farrer and Charles T. Clay, 12 vols. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 1-10, 1914-65), XI, 175; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 205-06.

<sup>880</sup> Hurlock, “A Transformed Life? Geoffrey of Dutton,” 20-21. See also the case of Laurence, Englishman and monk of the Holy Valley of Jehoshaphat, who brought a piece of the True Cross to England, *Exeter, 1186-1257*, 248, no. 277; *Winchester, 1205-1238*, 101, no. 131.

<sup>881</sup> After the transfer of £100, *CPR (1266-72)*, 435, no further sums are mentioned as being disbursed before the grant was rescinded in 1276, see *CPR (1272-81)*, 170.

<sup>882</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 170.

seems, only the manor to Ayleston (presumably worth some £40) to his family.<sup>883</sup>

Yet it was not only the reckless who suffered. Despite having been, as far as one can tell, financially stable before his departure, Thomas de Fenwick, a knight of Northumberland, came into great difficulties as a result of his passage; when he died a year or so after his return, he had apparently leased or sold most of his property in an attempt to balance the books.<sup>884</sup> The investigation into crusade vows in Holland (South East Lincolnshire) in 1197 appears to provide further examples, although it is possible that the documented individuals had always been extremely poor, their pilgrimages having little to do with their current state.<sup>885</sup> Robert, son of Bruman, the investigators recorded, “took the cross and set off,” but returned “without accomplishing his journey”; he was now “scarcely able” to depart again. John Burchart, who had gone to and returned from Jerusalem, was characterised as “very poor,” while Richard, son of Thurstand, who claimed he had been to Jerusalem but had no proof of his journey, was likewise described as “very poor,” although this was possibly a result of the fact that he had fathered five children.<sup>886</sup>

Thus far this chapter has presented a rather unattractive picture of crusading, with individuals at best absorbing costs and at worst suffering a severe and permanent diminution of wealth. Yet a small number of participants, even if they faced short-term instability, benefitted in the long-term. This was because crusading enabled them to improve their social status. There is evidence of villeins securing manumission as a result of crusades. In c.1190 Hugh Travers secured freedom from his lord, William de

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<sup>883</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 454.

<sup>884</sup> See Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 195-96.

<sup>885</sup> *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, 8 vols. (London: HMSO, 1901-13), I, 235-36; for English trans., see Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, 124-25; for discussion of the source, see Michael R. Evans, “‘A Far from Aristocratic Affair’: Poor and Non-combatant Crusaders from the Midlands, c.1160-1300,” *Midland History* 21 (1996): 26-28.

<sup>886</sup> *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, I, 235; English trans. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, 124.

Staunton, in exchange for going on crusade as his lord's proxy.<sup>887</sup> In a slightly different vein, a *crucesignatus* might raise himself within the social hierarchy by getting close to a powerful lord on crusade. An excellent example is provided by Antony Bek (c.1245-1311). Born into a petty noble Lincolnshire family,<sup>888</sup> Bek first appeared in the historical record in 1264, when he helped convey a message for Henry III.<sup>889</sup> Throughout the remainder of the 1260s Bek occasionally offered his service to the king.<sup>890</sup> However, it was not until the summer of 1270, following a three-year period of study at Oxford, that he became a fully-fledged servant of the Crown.<sup>891</sup> He was attached to the household of the Lord Edward, setting out with the prince for the Holy Land.<sup>892</sup> Seizing the opportunity for advancement in a court which had recently expanded greatly as a result of the crusade, Bek fashioned a role for himself as a key administrator.<sup>893</sup> By 1272 he was keeper of the prince's wardrobe and, when Edward drew up his testament at Acre in June, Bek was named, alongside such councillors as Robert Burnell and Otto de Grandson, as one of the executors.<sup>894</sup> Furthermore, Bek's central role continued after Edward's ascension. A document of April 1274 referred to Bek as the chancellor of the king,<sup>895</sup> and in January 1275 he assumed the role of constable of the Tower of London.<sup>896</sup> Over the next eight years Bek also worked as a diplomat, tax collector and general councillor and administrator.<sup>897</sup> In 1283 Bek received his great reward: the bishopric of Durham.<sup>898</sup> This vastly

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<sup>887</sup> Evans, "Poor and Non-Combatant Crusaders from the Midlands," 25. Another example of crusade-related manumission is provided by Hubert, son of Reginald, although Hubert did not himself take the cross. Sometime before 1201 Hubert secured his freedom because of the decision of his lord, Guy of Creoun, to go on crusade. It was agreed that Hubert would be remitted servile dues for four years in Guy's absence and freed if Guy did not return within that period; Evans speculated that this agreement "formed part of the process by which Guy raised the means of subsistence for his expedition," see Evans, "Poor and Non-Combatant Crusaders from the Midlands," 25-26.

<sup>888</sup> Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 4.

<sup>889</sup> *CPR (1258-66)*, 310.

<sup>890</sup> *CPR (1258-66)*, 490, 553, 649.

<sup>891</sup> Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 10.

<sup>892</sup> *CPR (1266-72)*, 440; *CChR (1257-1300)*, 151; Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 10.

<sup>893</sup> For lists of individuals who secured royal protections to set out with Edward, see *CPR (1266-72)*, 440, 480.

<sup>894</sup> Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 11; *Foedera*, I/I, 495.

<sup>895</sup> Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 12.

<sup>896</sup> *Calendar of the Fine Rolls (1272-1307)*, 39; Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 12-13.

<sup>897</sup> Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 13-27.

<sup>898</sup> See Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 28-49.

increased his status and fortune. The position of constable of the Tower had paid £100 per annum; between 13 June and 4 September 1283 alone the see of Durham produced a revenue of £2,620 7s 9¾d.<sup>899</sup> None of this is to say that every success Bek enjoyed was the immediate consequence of the crusade. But it was the crusade that first enabled Bek to establish himself in Edward's household, and this was the foundation upon which his future accomplishments were built. Over a generation ago Constable suggested that the crusades contributed to the "breakup" of the "social and economic order."<sup>900</sup> These examples begin to bear out that claim, for they confirm that the business of the cross was, if only to a minor extent, an engine of social mobility.

### **The Lord Edward (Edward I): A Case Study**

The Lord Edward (Edward I) is by far the best documented *crucesignatus* of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the rolls of central government, along with various chronicles, enable us to build up a detailed case study of how he fared after his expedition. Yet Edward was, of course, by no means typical. By the time of his homecoming in 1274, Edward was the (uncrowned) king of England. This meant that he had access to fundraising mechanisms – national taxation and the tallage of the Jewry – unavailable to lesser individuals. Add to this, Edward's crusade had been extremely expensive and, it seems, unusually dependent on credit.<sup>901</sup> Nevertheless, if we should not think of Edward as the quintessential returnee, neither should we view him as profoundly atypical. Many of the problems he faced, as well as his responses to them, reflected, albeit in heightened form, those of lesser men. Thus, in spite of his peculiarity, Edward provides us with a valuable insight into the post-crusade experience.

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<sup>899</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 168; Fraser, *Antony Bek*, 13, 34.

<sup>900</sup> Constable, "The Financing of the Crusades," 141.

<sup>901</sup> The best discussion of Edward's crusade is Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 113-53. For Edward's heavy dependence on credit, see Chapter 1.

Edward set out from Acre for England in August 1272.<sup>902</sup> The journey was no swift affair; it took two years, with Edward spending extended periods in Italy and France on political affairs.<sup>903</sup> Thus, when Edward finally returned on 2 August 1274, it was widely remarked upon, with one contemporary proclaiming thus: “behold, he shines like a new Richard!”<sup>904</sup> High praise was soon matched by grand spectacle. On 19 August Edward’s coronation took place at Westminster.<sup>905</sup> It was a well-organised and expensive affair. Great amounts of foodstuffs were procured.<sup>906</sup> The sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, for instance, was instructed to supply 5,200 capons and hens, 100 oxen, 110 swine, 110 sheep and 62 “bacon-pigs,” while 5,050 hens, 100 oxen, 110 swine, 110 sheep, 62 “bacon-pigs” and 4 brawns were requested from the justice of Chester.<sup>907</sup> Moreover, the bishops, abbots and priors of the realm were asked to provide swans, peacocks, cranes, rabbits and kids, and attempts were made to stop fishmongers profiteering from the high demand for pikes (*lupes aquatici*), eels, lampreys, “lamprey-fry” (*lampredulae*) and salmon.<sup>908</sup> Furthermore, in order to prepare Westminster, over £1,100 was spent on various works, such as new lodges, kitchens and stables.<sup>909</sup> On the day of the coronation, wine was handed out along Cheapside.<sup>910</sup>

This was an impressive display of wealth and power. Yet it disguised an uncomfortable reality. The coffers of the Crown were in an unhappy state. Edward had likely spent some £90,000-£100,000 on his crusade and must have been, relatively speaking, low on specie; the chief justice was said to have declared, perhaps without much exaggeration, that Edward had spent

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<sup>902</sup> *Itinerary of King Edward the First Throughout His Reign, A.D. 1272-1307*, ed. Henry Gough, 2 vols. (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1900), I, ii.

<sup>903</sup> See *Itinerary of King Edward the First*, I, ii-iii, 17-38.

<sup>904</sup> Trans. modified from *Thomas Wright’s Political Songs of England from King John to King Edward II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 128. For other comment on Edward’s return, see, for example, *CCR (1272-79)*, 97; *CPR (1272-81)*, 55-56; *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, 57; *Wintonia*, 118; *Bermundeseia*, 465; *Wykes*, 259.

<sup>905</sup> For a more detailed account of the coronation, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, 89-91.

<sup>906</sup> See *CCR (1272-79)*, 68, 70-71.

<sup>907</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 71.

<sup>908</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 70-71; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 89.

<sup>909</sup> Arnold fitzThedmar, *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, 172-73; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 89.

<sup>910</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 90.

both his and his father's treasury on the crusade.<sup>911</sup> Add to this, Edward was in a mountain of debt, although it is not possible to ascertain the precise figure. Certainly, Edward owed the Capetians 70,000lt (around £17,500).<sup>912</sup> He also had to repay the lion's share of the £23,364 4s 5d borrowed from the Riccardi between November 1272 and August 1274, the £7,687 13s 8d loaned by the Riccardi to Robert Burnell when he was "carrying on the king's affairs in England during his absence," and several thousand pounds from other creditors, such as the Templars.<sup>913</sup> A clerk of the Chancery perhaps put it best when he wrote that the king owed "great sums of money" for his "heavy expenses in parts beyond sea."<sup>914</sup>

All this presented the Crown with a serious problem. Yet Edward did not have to start tackling it from scratch. For the king, in conjunction with his councillors and the papacy, had already taken measures to improve the royal finances. In 1272 the pope had secured a biennial tenth from the English Church to help meet the cost of both Edward and Edmund Crouchback's expeditions; at the very least it yielded some £22,000, with 3,355 marks 3s 4d being used to pay off a loan from the Templars.<sup>915</sup> In February 1273 the debts owed the late king, Henry III, had been called in to cover Edward's expenses in the Holy Land.<sup>916</sup> And in early 1274 a tallage of the Jewry had been instigated, almost certainly for the same purpose. This did significant harm to Jewish communities. There are entries in the rolls of government permitting Jews to sell their houses in order to pay their share.<sup>917</sup> Jews were also imprisoned for not making payment, with Sampson Bunting, a Jew of Lincoln, being confined in the Tower of London for defaulting on £21.<sup>918</sup> Moreover, Jews may have been expelled from the realm because they resisted collectors or were unable to make payment: on 1 November 1274 collectors

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<sup>911</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, II, 281. For Edward's crusade costing £90,000-100,000, see Chapter 1.

<sup>912</sup> *Diplomatic Documents... 1101-1272*, 293-95, no. 419; *Foedera*, I/I, 481.

<sup>913</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 131-32, 353; Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown*, 81-82.

<sup>914</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 21.

<sup>915</sup> See *FR*, I, 230-38; *CPR (1272-81)*, 353.

<sup>916</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 5.

<sup>917</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 42-43

<sup>918</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 162.

were instructed to assign Jews who failed to pay, along with their wives and children, to the port of Dover for permanent exile.<sup>919</sup> Though severe, the tallage was successful. Entries in the Patent and Close Rolls refer to the collection, deposit and disbursement of fairly substantial sums, the largest being the £2,000 sent to Paris in June 1274 in advance of Edward I's arrival in the city.<sup>920</sup> Nevertheless, as of winter 1274-75, none of these revenues had proved lucrative enough to balance the books, and Edward needed to raise more money. There were various ways of doing this. Among other things, land could be realised, liberties could be granted in exchange for cash, and gifts could be procured. Yet Edward eschewed such measures, probably because they would not have raised sufficient funds.<sup>921</sup> Instead, the king secured a new custom duty and tax.<sup>922</sup>

### Custom Duty

The first major fiscal act Edward took after his return was a custom duty on the wool trade.<sup>923</sup> This was not without precedent. King John had implemented custom duties in 1202-06 and 1210-11.<sup>924</sup> More significantly, in 1266 Edward himself had secured the right to levy duties on the imports and exports of alien merchants, although upon implementation these proved extremely unpopular and collection of them was abandoned after Edward's ascension.<sup>925</sup> Add to this, at the time of Edward's return, the authorities were enforcing 10s fines for sacks of wool found to have been illegally traded during

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<sup>919</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 62-63.

<sup>920</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 51. It is possible that another £2,000 was sent shortly afterwards, for *CPR (1272-81)*, 52 contains an order for such a sum to be transferred. However, it seems likely that the £2,000 referred to on page 52 was the same as the £2,000 referred to on page 51.

<sup>921</sup> It is true that Edward ordered the leasing of the royal demesne in Cheshire in 1277, but this was almost certainly motivated by the war in Wales not the crusade, see *CPR (1272-81)*, 190.

<sup>922</sup> Edward also reconfigured the financial administration of the government, but this was not particularly successful in raising revenue, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, 102-03.

<sup>923</sup> This duty has been discussed at length by Terrence H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 60-66; Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown*, 135-51.

<sup>924</sup> Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown*, 135.

<sup>925</sup> Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, 60-61; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I*, 195-96.

the recent embargo on wool exports.<sup>926</sup> Indeed, it was perhaps this revenue that turned the thoughts of the king to a custom duty on wool, although the Dunstable annalist claimed that the idea originated with a certain Poncius de Ponto.<sup>927</sup>

The “new custom,” as it came to be known, was proposed at – and granted by – the Westminster parliament of April 1275, the first such meeting of Edward’s reign.<sup>928</sup> The assembly, which contained a large number of urban representatives,<sup>929</sup> agreed that the following sums would henceforth be paid on all exports of wool from England, Wales and Ireland: ½ mark for each sack, ½ mark for each 300 woolfells and 1 mark for each last of hides.<sup>930</sup> The assembly also gave orders about how collection was to be conducted. Each county was to appoint in the largest port of the region two “upright” and “influential” men, who were to ensure that the duties were collected. In addition, in every port, two men were to be appointed to prevent the export of wool, unless those wishing to export such goods had a letter from the largest port of the county stating that they had paid their dues.<sup>931</sup>

Collection soon got underway. In June Luke de Lucca and Leoninus, son of Leoninus, were sent to various places in the kingdom to implement the custom, and in July Bartholomew Beudyn, attorney of Luke de Lucca, was ordered to deliver 500 marks from the revenues of Boston to the king.<sup>932</sup> Indeed, the custom proved lucrative. Up to 1279 it averaged a yearly income

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<sup>926</sup> See Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, 25-39 (esp. 34); Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown*, 142-46; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 99.

<sup>927</sup> *Dunstaplia*, 258; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 99. It is not clear who Poncius de Ponto was, but Prestwich, *Edward I*, 100 note 39 speculated that the Dunstable annalist may have meant Orlandino da Poggio, one of the heads of the Riccardi.

<sup>928</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 99.

<sup>929</sup> The summons of parliament requested attendance from four knights from each county and four or six citizens, burgesses or other good men from each city, borough and market town, see William Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 9<sup>th</sup> edn., ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 441-42.

<sup>930</sup> *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, ed. Francis Palgrave (London: Record Commission, 1827), I, 1, no. 2; for English trans., see *English Historical Documents, 1189-1327*, 410, no. 48.

<sup>931</sup> *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, I, 1, no. 2.

<sup>932</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 97, 101.

of around £10,000.<sup>933</sup> However, as of autumn 1275, the custom had not raised enough specie to resolve the financial problems of the Crown. Thus, Edward sought and indeed secured a new revenue: the fifteenth of 1275.

### Fifteenth of 1275

The fifteenth of 1275 has been almost entirely ignored by historians of the crusades and largely ignored by those of medieval England; there exists no lengthy discussion of it.<sup>934</sup> This is surprising. Not only was the tax well documented; it was a direct consequence of the crusade. Wykes wrote that the fifteenth was instigated so that Edward might recuperate the “inestimable cost” of his expedition to Syria and alleviate the “exactions of creditors.”<sup>935</sup> The Worcester annalist recorded that the tax was granted to cover the expenses incurred in the Holy Land, while the continuator of Gervase of Canterbury framed the levy in a similar way.<sup>936</sup>

The tax was proposed at the parliament of Westminster in October 1275. The meeting is well documented, with accounts in various chronicles and administrative records.<sup>937</sup> Taken together, these make it clear that the parliament, which despite lacking urban representatives was well attended, consented to a fifteenth on the temporalities of the laity and clergy.<sup>938</sup> The attendees displayed remarkably little resistance to the levy. As the continuator of William of Newburgh recorded, “no one cr[ie]d out in protest

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<sup>933</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 100.

<sup>934</sup> The best discussion of the tax hitherto is Prestwich, *Edward I*, 101-02, who recognised its link to the crusade. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade*, 145 showed an awareness that the fifteenth was related to Edward's crusade, as too did Beebe, “Edward I and the Crusades,” 363-64 and Jurkowski, Smith and Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales*, 20.

<sup>935</sup> Wykes, 265.

<sup>936</sup> Wigornia, 467; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, II, 281.

<sup>937</sup> Wintonia, 119; Waverleia, 384; Dunstaplia, 266; Oseneia, 265; Wykes, 265; Wigornia, 467; *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 571; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, II, 281; *Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*, 154; *CCR (1272-79)*, 250-51.

<sup>938</sup> There is no explicit reference to the duration of the fifteenth, but it was clearly a single year. It is true that there was a first and second moiety, see for instance *CCR (1272-79)*, 524. However, it is likely that this referred to the fact that taxpayers were to hand over what they owed for a one-year fifteenth in two discreet payments. This, after all, was how the first year's payment of the biennial tenth of 1272 was collected, see *FR*, I, 233.

but unanimously consent[ed].”<sup>939</sup> However, Edward’s proposal for the tax to also be levied on the spiritualities of clergymen was not well-received, since the clergy was already paying the tenth for the Holy Land announced by the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. The matter was dropped for the time being, with the prelates in attendance promising to reconsider it by Easter; however, as of 8 July 1276 spiritualities were still exempt from the fifteenth.<sup>940</sup> Nevertheless, given the overall ease with which the fifteenth was granted, it is worth asking: why did Edward not pursue the tax, or a tax like it, sooner? It is probable that the king thought it unwise to instigate a general levy in the months immediately after his coronation, since such a move might have caused political unrest. It is also possible that Edward did not think it fair to burden the realm with another tax – as we have seen, the laity and clergy had granted a twentieth in 1270, the clergy had consented to a tenth in 1272, in 1274 the pope had ordered churchmen to pay a tenth for the Holy Land and in April 1275 a custom duty had been instigated on the wool trade – but realised in the autumn of 1275 that he needed to do so in order to replenish the royal coffers.

Whatever the reason for the tax not being pursued sooner, it was quickly implemented after the October parliament. The continuator of William of Newburgh noted that assessors [*taxatores*] and collectors [*collectores*] were appointed “at once.”<sup>941</sup> This is confirmed by records of government. On 24 October the Crown appointed assessors and collectors by letters close.<sup>942</sup> Not surprisingly, the fifteenth was organised along secular, rather than ecclesiastical, lines. Counties were placed under the jurisdiction of “superior” taxers. Beneath such individuals were additional taxmen, who presumably handled the day-to-day business of the levy. In Norfolk and Suffolk, for example, the “superior” Robert de Typtoft oversaw John de Lovetot and Geoffrey de Neubaud.<sup>943</sup> Furthermore, in each county knights and lawful men

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<sup>939</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 571.

<sup>940</sup> *Wykes*, 265; *CCR (1272-79)*, 301; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 102.

<sup>941</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 571.

<sup>942</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 250-51.

<sup>943</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 250.

were appointed to assist with the tax, with sheriffs, drawing upon their knowledge of local communities, providing advice on appointments.<sup>944</sup>

All this appears to have been effective. The assessors produced a handsome valuation: £81,054 2s 8¼d.<sup>945</sup> By way of comparison, the valuation of the fifteenth of 1301 was £49,755 7s 3½d, although that of 1290 was £116,346 12s 11½d.<sup>946</sup> Furthermore, money soon began to be collected, with both fines and assessed payments being accepted and deposits being made with a variety of institutions but often with the Riccardi of Lucca, presumably as a means of directly repaying the crusade loans as well as other debts.<sup>947</sup> The annals of Dunstable recorded how the priory paid its share in 1275:

In [that] year we paid a fine of ten marks to the king for the fifteenth on our lands, if the king should later dispute that this had been done. We paid to [William] abbot of Ramsey at St Neots five marks for this fifteenth, and we received a tally for the payment... by a writ of the lord king we paid the same money to merchants. And then we paid to the collectors themselves five marks for our fifteenth.<sup>948</sup>

After Nativity 1275 the Cistercians paid a fine of £1,000.<sup>949</sup> In July 1276 the collector and sheriffs of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire were ordered to deposit with the Riccardi of Lucca all the money they had received as well as everything they would accumulate up to 8 September.<sup>950</sup> In November the Chancery recorded that £1,127 6s 8d had been paid to the Riccardi of Lucca from the proceeds of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire.<sup>951</sup> In January 1277 the prior of Worcester and Thomas de Neuton were acquitted of £500 which they deposited as payment for the first instalment of the fifteenth in Worcester.<sup>952</sup> In May the abbot of Malmesbury and the sheriff, Hildebrand of

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<sup>944</sup> The structure of collection has been deduced from *CCR (1272-79)*, 250-51.

<sup>945</sup> Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I*, 179.

<sup>946</sup> Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I*, 179.

<sup>947</sup> For the acceptance of fines, *CPR (1272-81)*, 136; for range of deposits, see, for example, *CPR (1272-81)*, 191-92 (Wardrobe); *CPR (1272-81)*, 197 (Riccardi); *CPR (1272-81)*, 261, 269 (Tower of London); *CCR (1272-79)*, 524 (Exchequer).

<sup>948</sup> *Dunstaplia*, 268; English trans. *The Annals of Dunstable Priory*, 185.

<sup>949</sup> *Continuation of William of Newburgh*, 571.

<sup>950</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 153.

<sup>951</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 172

<sup>952</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 191.

London, were acquitted of £1,417 13s 4d which they had deposited from the fifteenth in Wiltshire.<sup>953</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly, the government, at least at the highest level and in some instances, was not rapacious. An entry in the Patent Rolls on 25 May 1276 described how a group of individuals, clearly merchants, had, after paying their share of the fifteenth, taken their goods and chattels to sea to make a profit from them.<sup>954</sup> However, when at sea, a storm (*intemperies*) had sunk all the goods and wares, worth £400. After hearing this news, Edward I, wishing to provide indemnity to the seafarers, ordered his collectors, providing they confirmed the veracity of the story about the sunken cargo, to search their records and deduct the value of the cargo from the sum paid by the merchants for the fifteenth. In other words, Edward ordered his collectors to reimburse the merchants for their loss.<sup>955</sup> In a slightly different vein, on 4 June 1276 the Crown ordered taxmen in Cambridgeshire to not distraint Charles, son of Charles, for money until the quinzaine of Michaelmas because he had been granted respite from the fifteenth.<sup>956</sup> On 22 October 1276 the bishops of Winchester and Exeter were discharged from paying the fifteenth on their own goods.<sup>957</sup> On 6 July 1279 Robert of Acre, merchant, was pardoned 25 of 30 marks he owed for the fifteenth.<sup>958</sup>

Furthermore, the Crown exhibited what might be termed a “social conscience.” On 1 November 1276 the abbot and convent of St. Edmunds, along with their tenants, were granted quittance from the fifteenth in exchange for a fine of £100. However, it was stipulated that the fine would only be accepted if the tenants contributed in such a manner that the rich were not “unduly spared nor the poor burthened.”<sup>959</sup> In other words, the

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<sup>953</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 209.

<sup>954</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 291.

<sup>955</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 291.

<sup>956</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 294.

<sup>957</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 164.

<sup>958</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 533.

<sup>959</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 165.

government appears to have wanted contributions to be commensurate with income.

Although the collection appears to have been generally effective, there were problems. Almost inevitably, there were arrears. On 23 March 1279 the Crown sent letters to collectors, instructing them to bring to the Exchequer the arrears of a variety of counties within fifteen days of Easter. These ranged widely in size. For example, £500 was expected from Norfolk and Suffolk and £403 from Buckingham and Bedford, but only £32 from Cumberland and £80 from Gloucester. Later that year, on 8 July, the citizens of Worcester were acquitted of arrears of £21 13s 4d.<sup>960</sup> There were, furthermore, cases of administrative confusion and malpractice. On 17 November 1276 the king's steward, Ralph de Sandwico, was commissioned to hear complaints about the errors alleged to have been made by taxmen and, when necessary, correct such errors.<sup>961</sup> On 29 May 1278 the sheriff and collectors of Suffolk were ordered to stop demanding £6 6s 6d from Nicholas Pecche, since it had been shown that Nicholas owed only 8s 6d.<sup>962</sup>

The fifteenth raised a large sum of money. The total yield was probably close to the assessed figure of some £81,000.<sup>963</sup> Needless to say, this would have done much to improve the finances of the Crown. Many debts were clearly paid off. The Riccardi were paid a sum approaching £60,000 from the fifteenth.<sup>964</sup> Other bankers also received money; some merchants of Pistoria, for example, were paid 1,000 marks.<sup>965</sup> There is evidence, furthermore, of proceeds being spent on other aspects of government. In January 1277 500 marks were accorded Ralph de Besages, king's clerk, to fund "certain business of the king."<sup>966</sup>

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<sup>960</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 319.

<sup>961</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 183.

<sup>962</sup> *CCR (1272-79)*, 459.

<sup>963</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 102.

<sup>964</sup> TNA, E101/126/1; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I*, 182-83.

<sup>965</sup> Edward A. Bond, "Extracts from the Liberate Rolls, relative to Loans supplied by Italian Merchants to the Kings of England, in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries," *Archaeologia* 28 (1840): 280, no. 83.

<sup>966</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 190.

### Outcomes and Religious Patronage

Through the implementation of the above measures, Edward appears to have overcome the financial impact of the crusade by 1276-77. There are a few indications of this. First, on 12 November 1276 Edward formally announced his first war against the Welsh; the following year saw the prosecution of the campaign.<sup>967</sup> This would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, if the Crown was reeling from the cost of the crusade. Second, in December 1276 Edward wrote to the pope, declaring that the abbot of Westminster, along with a clerk of the household, had been given the power to bind himself or his brother, Edmund, to go on the next passage to the Holy Land.<sup>968</sup> Finally, in 1277 Edward began spending significant sums on religious patronage; presumably he had been too hard pressed to do so until then.

The object of Edward's piety was Vale Royal. As we saw in Chapter 1, in 1270 Edward created a community of Cistercians at Darnhall in the Delamere Forest. However, on 13 August 1277 the king founded Vale Royal for the monks on a plot of land some four miles north of Darnhall, with construction work beginning immediately. As the ledger-book of the abbey recorded:

Edward... most illustrious King of England... with his own hands put the first stone in the place where the great altar was to be built. Eleanor, also, the Queen of England, who was likewise present there, placed two stones...<sup>969</sup>

The foundation was clearly motivated, at least in part, by the crusade. The ledger-book claimed that Edward vowed to build the abbey during a storm at sea on his return voyage from the Holy Land.<sup>970</sup> However, the author appears to have been confused, for it is likely that Edward in fact vowed to establish such an institution during a sea-storm of 1263-64.<sup>971</sup> Nevertheless, this was not the only instance in which the ledger-book linked Vale Royal to the

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<sup>967</sup> See Prestwich, *Edward I*, 170-82.

<sup>968</sup> *Foedera*, I/II, 537; *CPR (1272-81)*, 186.

<sup>969</sup> *The Ledger-Book of Vale Royal Abbey*, ed. John Brownbill (Manchester: The Record Society 68, 1914), 5.

<sup>970</sup> *The Ledger-Book of Vale Royal Abbey*, 2-3.

<sup>971</sup> *The Ledger-Book of Vale Royal Abbey*, vii-viii; *The History of the King's Works*, ed. Howard M. Colvin, 6 vols. (London: HMSO, 1963-82), I, 248.

crusade. It also recorded how Edward endowed the institution with a piece of the True Cross which he had seized “violently” in the Holy Land.<sup>972</sup>

Edward continued to support Vale Royal until 1290, when he lost interest in the project.<sup>973</sup> In 1277, for example, he gave the abbey 1,000 marks from the issues of Chester as well as seisin of land in Wirral.<sup>974</sup> In 1279 he ordered Isabella, late the wife of John, son of Alan, to transfer £200 a year to Vale Royal for as long as she held from the Crown the town and hundred of Oswestry.<sup>975</sup> In 1281 Edward gave the abbey £100 from the amercements of Cheshire.<sup>976</sup> In 1283 he ordered that £1,000 should be transferred annually to the abbey. The money was to be provided by both the county of Chester and the Crown, with the former providing 790 marks and the latter 710 marks.<sup>977</sup> The Pipe Roll demonstrates that the Crown paid a substantial share of its annual dues for the next seven years; for instance, in 1288-89 and 1289-90 it paid £570 and £260, respectively.<sup>978</sup>

### Summary

Insofar as the evidence allows, no crusaders returned to England wealthy. On the contrary, it appears crusaders were often hard pressed after expeditions. Many must have lacked ready cash. Add to this, individuals could return to find that their properties had been ransacked, seized and offloaded in their absence. They might also have to redeem pledged lands and pay off crusade debts, both of which could prove onerous. Some crusaders were so hard-up that they had to raise more funds. There is little evidence of individuals taking the most drastic step: the realisation of assets. But it was not uncommon for such individuals to pursue outstanding crusade grants, call in debts and secure new windfalls of cash and assets.

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<sup>972</sup> *The Ledger-Book of Vale Royal Abbey*, 9.

<sup>973</sup> See *The History of the King's Works*, I, 248-53 (esp. 252).

<sup>974</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 247; *CCR (1272-79)*, 408.

<sup>975</sup> *CPR (1272-81)*, 311. The entry in the Patent Rolls refers to the hundred of Oswaldestre, but this was simply another name for Oswestry, see *CPR (1272-81)*, 578.

<sup>976</sup> *CCR (1279-88)*, 89.

<sup>977</sup> *The History of the King's Works*, I, 251.

<sup>978</sup> See Charles Farris, “The Pious Practices of Edward I, 1272-1307” (PhD diss., Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London, 2013), 242-43.

By employing some or all of these measures, the hard-pressed appear to have generally overcome the economic hangover of the crusade. Yet the business of the cross did have its victims. Those who sold-up entirely before departure probably never recovered fully. Yet even the prudent suffered, with some crusaders falling into permanent financial straits, despite being financially stable prior to departure. However, the impact of crusading was not wholly negative. Some individuals improved their social status as a result of campaigns. There is evidence of unfree peasants securing manumission due to an expedition, while some individuals climbed up the social hierarchy by getting close to a powerful lord on crusade.

The Lord Edward (Edward I) offers an interesting, if not wholly typical, case-study of the post-crusade experience. Edward returned from the crusade in honour and glory, being crowned shortly after his homecoming. However, this grandiose display of wealth and power hid an uncomfortable reality: the king's finances were in an unhappy state. Edward's crusade had cost him some £90,000-£100,000. Moreover, he was in a mountain of debt, owing the majority of some £30,000 to the Riccardi and several thousands of pounds to other creditors, such as the Templars. This presented the Crown with a serious problem. However, Edward did not have to start tackling it from scratch. This was because the king, along with his councillors and the papacy, had already taken measures to improve the royal finances. In 1272 the pope had instigated a biennial tenth to help Edward and his brother, Edmund Crouchback, meet the cost of their crusades. In 1273 the debts owed the late king, Henry III, had been called in to cover the cost of Edward's crusade alone. And in 1274 a tallage of the Jewry had been instigated, almost certainly for the same purpose. However, though lucrative, as of winter 1274-75, these revenues had not proved profitable enough to balance the royal books. Thus, Edward sought new revenues. First, in April 1275 he instigated a custom duty on the wool trade. Second, in October he secured a fifteenth on the temporalities of the laity and clergy. This tax has been almost entirely overlooked by historians of the crusades. Yet it was well documented and

explicitly linked to the business of the cross. Moreover, it was very successful, probably raising close to £80,000, with the Riccardi receiving a sum approaching £60,000 from it. Through the implementation of these measures, Edward, like most other *crucesignati*, appears to have overcome the financial impact of the crusade. Indeed, there are a few indications that the king's recovery was complete by 1276-77. First, it was in those years that Edward announced and undertook his first war in Wales. Second, in December 1276 Edward informed the pope that he was ready to commit to joining the next passage to the East. Finally, it was in 1277 that Edward, at least in part as a result of his recent crusade, began spending a good deal of money on religious patronage, founding the abbey of Vale Royal.

## Conclusion

The central aim of this study has been to explore how crusades were financed and the economic impact of the business of the cross on participants and wider society. A systematic analysis of the costs of crusades, how funds were raised, the form of funds, how sums were transferred and how participants fared after expeditions has shown that crusades were funded in a wide variety of ways and had a profound impact on the finances and assets of both crusaders and non-crusaders alike.

Crusades were costly enterprises, requiring great supplies of money. Yet the scale of individual expenditure varied significantly, for it was profoundly influenced by, among other things, social status. Aristocratic expenditure was by no means uniform, ranging from near £100,000 to a few thousand marks, while knights typically had to expend between £30 and £70 per annum. Bishops could also spend significant sums if they led hosts. The high cost of crusades was partly a result of the fact that expeditions required a variety of outlays. *Crucesignati* often faced spiritual and legal costs. However, it was the military aspects of expeditions that truly drained treasuries, especially those of leaders, since such men were expected to provide both financial and material support to followers. Wages were a great expense, although leaders were never expected to subsidise hosts entirely. The materials of war, such as equipment, victuals, horses and ships might also require substantial outlays, although leaders did not necessarily have to foot the bill for all these goods.

Le Goff thought that the “creativity of the Middle Ages” did not lie in the economy.<sup>979</sup> This view is belied, to a certain extent, by developments in crusade finance, for the cost of the *negotium crucis* was covered in an almost bewildering variety of ways, some of which were strikingly original, born of the crusading movement.

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<sup>979</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages: An Essay in Historical Anthropology*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 150.

Collective revenues were an important source of funds, at times producing enormous yields. But the significance of such revenues must not be overstated. Those instigated by the Crown played only a limited role in the financing of crusades. Although national taxes for crusades were, to varying extents, effective, they were rare, occurring on only three occasions, in 1188, 1201 and 1270. Nor did the tallage of the Jewry provide much additional support. True, Richard I received substantial sums from the Jewry during the course of his expedition, and Henry III's extractions from the Jewry in the early 1250s were likely motivated by his planned crusade. However, there were few other instances of Jewish money being used to fund expeditions.

The Church was a more important fundraiser than the Crown, although its revenues were far from perfect. The alms of the faithful were collected from the late twelfth century onwards, while legacies only began to be widely collected in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Conversely, redemptions had always been part of the crusade movement. Yet it was not until the Fifth Crusade that they became a significant revenue, with Innocent III permitting ecclesiastics to redeem vows throughout England. At this point clergymen were, it seems, generally handing out partial indulgences to crusaders who fell under the category of non-combatant. This all changed in 1234, when Gregory IX appointed the mendicant friars to administer redemptions. The friars went on to undertake their task with fervour, seemingly handing out full indulgences to potential combatants and non-combatants alike. This undoubtedly increased revenues, but aroused criticism. Nevertheless, it became commonplace, bringing in fairly large yields.

Taxation of the Church was the most lucrative – and most volatile – revenue organised by the papacy. Valuations were wide-reaching and, at times, controversial, while collections were often plagued by issues, such as resistance and poor organisation. The result of this was that some taxes failed, bringing in paltry revenues or nothing at all, although others yielded great sums of money, doing much to finance expeditions to the East. The disbursement of such taxes and other central funds was not without

problems. The transfer of funds was often delayed and crusaders were generally not able to access the funds they had secured until their arrival in the eastern theatre. But there were also deeper issues with disbursement. There was not enough money to finance everyone. Indeed, the competition for funds was stiff, with aristocrats proving the most likely to secure funds.

Due to the limitations of collective finance, individual fundraising continued to be the lifeblood of the crusade movement throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The first step many crusaders took when preparing to set out was reducing expenditure. However, to raise a substantial amount of money crusaders had to take additional measures. Gifts from family, friends, lords and other connections were an important – and hitherto underappreciated – source of specie and materials, while the exchange of service for payment and the securing of loans were also significant. If sufficient funds could not be raised through such revenues, crusaders had to turn to their own resources. For many the first step would have been to call in outstanding debts. Another option was to sell renunciations, liberties and rights. However, it was the realisation of assets that offered the best hope of raising sizeable funds, with many crusaders leasing, pledging and selling land.

The funds of crusaders took a variety of forms. Ingots of silver formed a part of some treasuries. For the most part, however, it was the silver penny, mostly in the form of sterling, that filled coffers, although gold and precious objects were also acquired. Funds were moved in various ways. The rise of the sea-route and credit transfer in the late-twelfth century enabled money to be sent ahead before departure or imported from the West when in the eastern theatre. The sea-route proved the more popular of the new methods. Indeed, credit transfer appears to have been used infrequently.

From a financial perspective the impact of crusading on participants was generally negative. Not surprisingly, many crusaders returned home in dire straits, with some actively raising funds to balance the books. The most

common methods were, it seems, pursuing unpaid crusade grants, calling in debts, and securing new windfalls of cash and assets. Through these and other methods, most crusaders recovered. Nevertheless, the crusade movement did have its victims. Those who had sold all their lands to fund their journeys appear to have never recovered fully. Yet even those who were prudent before departure could find themselves permanently impoverished. On the other hand, crusading aided, if only to a minor extent, social mobility.

All in all, the financial aspects of the crusades were both important and complex. Expeditions could not be undertaken without money, while the economic effects of the business of the cross were both profound and widespread. To put it another way, the crusades were, to invoke Powicke's famous phrase, an "economic function of society."<sup>980</sup>

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<sup>980</sup> Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 81.

## Postscript

For the most part, the present thesis has demonstrated how the crusade movement economically affected wider society in England by looking at how funds were raised for expeditions. As a result, an important way in which the crusade movement affected the inhabitants of England has been overlooked: taxation for the Crusader States. This postscript seeks to rectify this state of affairs.<sup>981</sup>

### Taxation for the Crusader States

The first levy in England in support of the Crusader States was made in 1166, when Henry II, in response to the appeal of Alexander III to the princes of western Europe for a subsidy for the defence of the Holy Land, which had been recently taken up by Louis VII of France, announced a five-year tax for “the defence and aid” of the Church and “the eastern lands.”<sup>982</sup> The tax encompassed the whole of Christian society, namely, archbishops, bishops, abbots, clerics, earls, barons, undertenants [*vavasores*], knights, townsmen [*cives*], burgesses and peasants.<sup>983</sup> For the first year, the rate was set at two pence per pound (equivalent to 2/240, 0.8%); for the next four years, it was dropped to one pence per pound (1/240, 0.4%). Various types of property were liable: moveable goods, gold, silver, animals, cash and the produce of vineyards and fields. Cut clothes and gems (*lapidia*), however, were exempt. Assessments were made by taxpayers themselves; funds were deposited in parish churches.<sup>984</sup> A similar levy was, it seems, issued in 1185, with the rate of taxation ranging from 1/240 (0.4%) to 1/100 (1%)<sup>985</sup> Unfortunately, it is impossible to know how much money these taxes brought in: accounts do not survive. Yet they probably raised respectable sums, possibly large ones: it has been suggested, somewhat optimistically, that the tax of 1185 accrued some

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<sup>981</sup> Other economic themes, such as the impact of crusading on trade, have been overlooked, too, but this is due to lack of evidence.

<sup>982</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 198-99; Cazel, “Financing the Crusades,” 125-26.

<sup>983</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 198.

<sup>984</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, I, 198-99.

<sup>985</sup> See William E. Lunt, “The Text of the Ordinance of 1184 concerning an Aid for the Holy Land,” *English Historical Review* 37 (1922): 235-42; Fred A. Cazel, “The Tax of 1185 in Aid of the Holy Land,” *Speculum* 30 (1995): 388 note 18.

30,000 marks in England.<sup>986</sup> However, though tantalising, the question of yield is not the most interesting thing about these sequestrations. It is their frequency that fascinates: there were two within a period of nineteen years. It must have seemed to the people of *Anglia* in the late-twelfth century that their lives and their children's lives would be punctuated by such events. But this was not the case. Only a single levy was ever again issued: the tax of 1222 in aid of the kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>987</sup>

A comparatively large amount of administrative material has survived for this tax and, as such, it can be studied in greater detail than its predecessors. The origin of the levy can be traced to 1221. In the autumn or winter of that year the crusader Philip Daubeny, residing in the East following the collapse of the Fifth Crusade, wrote a letter to Lincoln and the former *crucesignatus* Ranulf of Chester. Although mostly concerned with the failure of the campaign in Egypt, Philip ended the missive with a heartfelt plea and what is surely the first reference to the tax in our sources:

[John of Brienne,] the lord king of Jerusalem is about to come to your part of the world; therefore, I ask you to provide him with aid in accordance with the promises made to him... for his debts are so great that it is a wonder to describe them.<sup>988</sup>

This appeal, wrote Perry, “may well have served as the catalyst for the collection” of the subsidy.<sup>989</sup> This is certainly possible. As a former tutor of Henry III and a magnate of significant wealth, Philip had considerable influence at the royal court.<sup>990</sup> However, Perry is probably too generous. While

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<sup>986</sup> Cazal, “The Tax of 1185 in Aid of the Holy Land,” 392.

<sup>987</sup> For previous accounts the levy, to which the present discussion is greatly indebted, see Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation*, 141-42; Guy Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England: The Visit of John of Brienne in 1223,” *History* 100 (2016): 627-39 (esp. 631-37).

<sup>988</sup> Wendover, *Flores*, II, 263; English trans. Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 631; the full letter has been translated in *Crusade and Christendom*, 228-229, although, as Perry noted, the passage cited here – “*quod dominus rex Hierusalem in partes vestras venturus est; ideo vobis precor, quod super promissa ei facta erga regem et alios maguates auxilium praebeat, debitum enim ejus tam magnum est quod mirum est enarrare*” - is questionably translated, with “debts” reading as “merits.” For John of Brienne’s visit to England and his tour of the West, see Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c.1175-1237* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 123-35; Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 627-39.

<sup>989</sup> Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 631.

<sup>990</sup> Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 630; *ODNB*, II, 903-04.

the letter – which survives thanks only to a transcription by Roger of Wendover<sup>991</sup> – undoubtedly contributed to the initial gestation of the tax, its impact was unlikely to have been crucial. The text itself alludes the fact that “promises” had been made already. Moreover, there was a delay of over half a year between the plea and the promulgation of the levy: during this period various interested parties must have taken further action to secure political support.

Whatever the role of the letter, a tax in aid of the king of Jerusalem was announced on 24 June 1222 at a great council in Westminster.<sup>992</sup> There was no single rate; rather, the sum owed was determined by socio-economic status. Earls had to pay three marks, barons one mark, knights twelve pence and free tenants and anyone who held no land, but who had chattels to the value of half a mark, a penny. The process of assessment and collection was to be conducted by chaplains, sergeants of local lords and good men of law.<sup>993</sup> Funds were to be deposited with local monks or the Templars or Hospitallers; the deposits were then to be transferred to London and housed in the New Temple, and this was to be done by 1 November.<sup>994</sup> Aware that Englishmen might resist an extraction in support of a distant land, writs of collection stressed the consensual nature of the levy: “[This has been] granted and conceded... in the presence of... the archbishop of Canterbury, bishops, earls, barons and great men of all our community.”<sup>995</sup> Moreover, as Perry noted, a “vener of voluntary donation” was maintained, with the writs stating that “[anyone], wishing to give more, may do so, in the name of the Lord.”<sup>996</sup>

Such experiments in public relations were, however, in vain. As a contemporary chronicler observed,

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<sup>991</sup> Wendover, *Flores*, II, 262-63.

<sup>992</sup> For the context and aims of this council, see Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 631.

<sup>993</sup> *RLC*, I, 516.

<sup>994</sup> *RLC*, I, 516-17; Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 631.

<sup>995</sup> *RLC*, I, 516.

<sup>996</sup> *RLC*, I, 516; “vener of voluntary donation” quote and English trans. from Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 631.

that grant brought in nothing or too little to have been useful, because afterwards it had been quickly gainsaid, and to the effect that little had been delivered.<sup>997</sup>

Evidently, there was, as has been noted elsewhere, widespread disapproval of, and resistance to, the coercive nature of the levy.<sup>998</sup> However, the Crown, unwilling to settle for such an outcome, attempted to reinvigorate collection. On 24 November the tax was promulgated again, with some amendments.<sup>999</sup> Naturally, the schedule was rearranged: the deadline for assessment was now December, while that for payment was February 1223.<sup>1000</sup> More interestingly – and doubtless largely as a result of clerical resistance – ecclesiastics and tenants of religious houses were henceforth exempt;<sup>1001</sup> villeins were now expected to contribute;<sup>1002</sup> and the clause about those who owned chattels was clarified, with the relevant passage stressing that it referred to those who lived in “cities and boroughs and beyond.”<sup>1003</sup>

The new deadlines came and went, with few, it seems, making deposits. Undeterred, the government renewed its efforts; it was, however, more flexible in its approach. In April 1224 the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk were encouraged to secure receipt from the bishop of Ely; however, the cleric was permitted to undertake collection himself.<sup>1004</sup> Around the same time it was ordered that the Templars were, “with regard to the Holy Land,” no longer to be “distrain[ed]”; the implication is that they were encouraged to make

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<sup>997</sup> *Waverleia*, 296.

<sup>998</sup> Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 632; William E. Lunt, “The Consent of the English Lower Clergy to Taxation During the Reign of Henry III,” in *Persecution and Liberty: Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr*, ed. George L. Burr and John F. Jameson (New York: The Century, 1931), 119.

<sup>999</sup> *RLC*, I, 567; for discussion of emendations, see Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 632; Lunt, “The Consent of the English Lower Clergy to Taxation During the Reign of Henry III,” 119.

<sup>1000</sup> *RLC*, I, 567; Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 632.

<sup>1001</sup> The following clause was inserted: “*exceptis omnibus illis qui solummodo de domibus religionis vel personis ecclesiasticis tenent*,” see *RLC*, I, 567.

<sup>1002</sup> The new promulgation replaced “each free tenant” (*quilibet liber tenes*) with “each cultivator of land” (*quilibet terram excolens*), thereby “rendering villeins as well as free tenants liable,” see Lunt, “The Consent of the English Lower Clergy to Taxation During the Reign of Henry III,” 119.

<sup>1003</sup> The following clause was inserted: “*civitates et burgos qua extra*,” see *RLC*, I, 567.

<sup>1004</sup> *RLC*, I, 593.

voluntary donations.<sup>1005</sup> Lastly, on 12 December the authorities announced a final deadline for the tax, January 1225, and stated that self-collection was allowed.<sup>1006</sup>

All these measures were sensible and well-intentioned. But they were largely ineffective. For a start, in spite of repeated notifications about rates, there was confusion among taxpayers. The Dunstable annalist thought that knights were required to pay 6d.<sup>1007</sup> More significantly, the eventual yield was strikingly low, amounting to £324, 500 marks and 10s.<sup>1008</sup> Moreover, it is not certain how much of this money reached John of Brienne in particular or the Holy Land in general. In fact, a fair share of it may have been embezzled.<sup>1009</sup> As has been noted elsewhere, this is certainly the impression given by the French chronicler William of Andres: “finding in England only English foxes, [John, king of Jerusalem] ... swiftly departed.”<sup>1010</sup> The final tax in England in support of the Crusader States was, in short, perhaps the least successful and, by implication, the least burdensome on the inhabitants of England.

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<sup>1005</sup> *RLC*, I, 594.

<sup>1006</sup> *RLC*, I, 630.

<sup>1007</sup> *Dunstaplia*, 67.

<sup>1008</sup> *PR* (1216-25), 512, 527-28; *RLC*, II, 21. Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 637 agrees with these figures. However, Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation*, 142 disagrees, accounting for 800 marks, although the present author cannot understand how this figure was arrived at.

<sup>1009</sup> See Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, 238; Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 637.

<sup>1010</sup> Perry, “A King of Jerusalem in England,” 637; William of Andres, “Chronica,” in *MGH SS*, XXIV, 763; see also the suggestive comments of *Dunstaplia*, 85.

### Appendix 1: The Gifts of Henry III in Support of Crusades, 1227-72

Certain, or almost so

	Recipient	Gift	Date	Status / Relation to Henry	Source (Gift)	Source (Status / Relation to Henry)	Notes
<b>Group 1</b>							
1	Edmund Crouchback	2,000 marks	1271	Son	<i>CPR (1266-72), 514.</i>	Various	
2	Hugh le Brun (Hugh X de Lusignan)	A bed	1248	Step-father	<i>CR (1247-51), 49.</i>	Various	
3	Hugh le Brun (Hugh X de Lusignan)	A cup worth 6 marks	1248	Step-father	<i>CR (1247-51), 49.</i>	Various	
4	Lord Edward	1,000 marks	1270	Son	<i>CPR (1266-72), 436; CR (1268-72), 213.</i>	Various	
5	Richard of Cornwall	Ships	1240	Brother	<i>CLR (1226-40), 473.</i>	Various	
6	William Longespee	Ships	1240	Illegitimate Cousin	<i>CLR (1226-40), 473.</i>	Various	
7	William Longespee	£100	1248	Illegitimate Cousin	<i>CPR (1247-58), 19.</i>	Various	
<b>Group 2</b>							
8	Amaury de Sancto Amando	50 marks	1240	Steward	<i>CLR (1226-40), 471.</i>	<i>CPR (1232-47), 235.</i>	
9	Gervase de Meyni Froger	£10	1246	Serjeant	<i>CLR (1245-51), 48.</i>	<i>CLR (1245-51), 48.</i>	
10	Giles de Clifford	£45	1241	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1240-45), 29.</i>	Kenneth W. B. Lightfoot, "The Household Knights of Henry III, 1216-1236" (PhD diss.,	

						University of Wales, 2006), 495.	
<b>11</b>	Guy Ferre	£50	1271	Knight	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 512.	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 512; Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , App. 4.	
<b>12</b>	Herbert de Gwaret	£50	1247	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1245-51)</i> , 159.	<i>CLR (1245-51)</i> , 159.	For annual fees as reliable indicators of household knights, see Lightfoot, "Household Knights of Henry III," 14-17.
<b>13</b>	Hugh de Pageham	40 marks	1267	Unknown	<i>CLR (1267-72)</i> , 3, no. 23.	<i>CLR (1267-72)</i> , 3, no. 23.	
<b>14</b>	Joldewin de Doe	£100	1228	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 81.	Lightfoot, "The Household Knights of Henry III," 495.	
<b>15</b>	Oliver Daubeny	100s	1235	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1267-72)</i> , 249, no. 2225.	Lightfoot, "Household Knights of Henry III," 492.	
<b>16</b>	Osbet de Augo	Wardship	1270	Unknown	<i>CR (1268-72)</i> , 191; <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 428.	N/A	
<b>17</b>	Peter des Roches	Two palfreys	1227	Bishop	<i>RLC</i> , II, 190.	Various	
<b>18</b>	Philip Daubeny	500 marks	1228	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 93.	Lightfoot, "Household Knights of Henry III," 492.	
<b>19</b>	Philip Daubeny	50 marks	1235	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1267-72)</i> , 249, no. 2225.	Lightfoot, "Household Knights of Henry III," 492.	
<b>20</b>	Reynold (Reginald) de Bernevall	£10	1240	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 471.	Lightfoot, "Household	

						Knights of Henry III," 493.	
<b>21</b>	Robert de Govyz	£60 imprest	1239	Landholder, almost certainly a knight	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 373.	For service to Crown, see <i>PR (1225-32)</i> , 329. For an example of landholding, see <i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 65.	
<b>22</b>	Robert de Musters	£80	1239	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 379.	<i>CR (1231-34)</i> , 179.	
<b>23</b>	Robert de Sabloil	400 marks	1239	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 378.	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 378.	For annual fees as reliable indicators of household knights, see Lightfoot, "Household Knights of Henry III," 14-17.
<b>24</b>	Roger de Clifford	Wardship	1270	Knight	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 448.	Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , App. 4.	
<b>25</b>	Roland de Bray	20 marks	1239	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 380.	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 384.	For annual fees as reliable indicators of household knights, see Lightfoot, "Household Knights of Henry III," 14-17. It is possible that Roland received an extra 10 marks for his crusade from Henry III, but the grant of those marks was not explicitly associated with the crusade, see <i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 384.
<b>26</b>	Semeine	10 marks	1233	Crossbowman	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 217.	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 217, 219.	
<b>27</b>	Semeine	5 marks	1233	Crossbowman	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 219.	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 217, 219.	
<b>28</b>	William de Chaeny	5 marks	1235	Knight	<i>CLR (1267-72)</i> , 249, no. 2228.	<i>CLR (1267-72)</i> , 249, no. 2228.	

<b>29</b>	William de Columbars	£30	1271	Yeoman	<i>CLR (1267-72), 167, no. 1491.</i>	<i>CLR (1267-72), 167, no. 1491.</i>	
<b>30</b>	William de Fendles (Fienes)	40 marks	1245	Knight	<i>CLR (1240-45), 313.</i>	For service to Crown, see <i>CPR (1232-47), 297</i> ; for knightly status, see <i>CR (1237-42), 21.</i>	
<b>31</b>	William de Pecco	£10	1270	Serjeant	<i>CLR (1267-72), 151, no. 1340.</i>	<i>CLR (1267-72), 151, no. 1340.</i>	
<b>32</b>	William de Turberville	£40	1240	Knight of the Household	<i>CLR (1226-40), 464.</i>	<i>CLR (1226-40), 464.</i>	For annual fees as reliable indicators of household knights, see Lightfoot, "Household Knights of Henry III," 14-17.
<b>Group 3</b>							
<b>33</b>	Idinevet	A cup worth 5 marks	1235	Seneschal of the prince of Aberffraw	<i>CR (1234-37), 101.</i>	<i>CR (1234-37), 101.</i>	
<b>34</b>	Ralph Paganus	10 marks	1239	Unknown	<i>CLR (1226-40), 384.</i>	N/A	
<b>35</b>	Robert Charles	400 marks from wardships, escheats or marriages	1270	Unknown	<i>CPR (1266-72), 434-35.</i>	N/A	

Probable

	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Gift</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Status / Relation to Henry</b>	<b>Source (Gift)</b>	<b>Source (Status / Relation to Henry)</b>	<b>Notes</b>
<b>Group 1</b>							
<b>36</b>	Edmund Crouchback	£400	1271	Son	<i>CPR (1266-72), 518.</i>	Various	This gift was made in February 1271, just before Edmund set sail for the East.

<b>37</b>	Edmund Crouchback	Aaron, son of Vives, Jew	1270	Son	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 450, 471.	Various	This gift was made in August 1270 at the instance of the Lord Edward, who was about to set sail for the eastern theatre. Edmund had taken to cross two years before and, like Edward, was preparing to depart for the East. Thus, the timing of the grant, along with Edward's involvement, makes it likely that it was linked to the crusade.
<b>38</b>	Eleanor of Castile	4 oaks	1270	Daughter-in-law	<i>CR (1268-72)</i> , 210.	Various	This gift was made around a month after Eleanor secured a protection because she was going on crusade and around a month before she set out for the East, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 479.
<b>39</b>	Lord Edward	5,000 marks	1270	Son	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 457.	Various	This gift was made just over a week after Edward set sail for the East. For Edward's departure date, see Prestwich, <i>Edward I</i> , 73.
<b>40</b>	William Longespee	£100	1249	Illegitimate Cousin	<i>CLR (1245-51)</i> , 239.	Various	This gift was made in the same year William set out for the eastern theatre, see MP, <i>CM</i> , V, 76-77.
<b>41</b>	William de Valence	£3,196 7½d and £250	1270	Step-Brother	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 446, 452.	Various.	This gift was made after William took the cross and shortly before he appointed attorneys because he was going on crusade, see <i>Wykes</i> , 217-18; <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 485
<b>42</b>	William de Valence	Land worth £500	1270	Step-Brother	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 449.	Various.	This gift was made after William took the cross and shortly before he appointed attorneys because he was

							going on crusade, see <i>Wykes</i> , 217-18; <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 485
<b>Group 2</b>							
<b>43</b>	Hugh, son of Otto	100 marks	1270	Knight	<i>CR (1268-72)</i> , 216-17.	Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , App. 4.	This gift was made around a month after Hugh secured a protection because he was going on crusade, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 440.
<b>44</b>	Joldewin de Doe	“Necessities” from wood	1228	Knight of the Household	<i>CR (1227-31)</i> , 49.	Lightfoot, “The Household Knights of Henry III,” 495.	This gift was made one day before Joldewin was given £100 in aid of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, see <i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 81.
<b>45</b>	Laurence de Seymour	4 oaks	1270	Knight	<i>CR (1268-72)</i> , 216.	Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , App. 4.	This gift was made over a month after Laurence secured a protection because he was going on crusade and a few months before he secured another protection and appointed attorneys for the duration of his journey, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 480, 588, 589.

## Appendix 2: Sales of Property

Certain, or almost so

	Crusader	Purchaser	Property	Money Raised	Date/ Expedition	Source(s)	Notes
1	Alexander Luttrell	John Byrun	Wife's land in Ryton (out.)	Unknown	1270	<i>CR (1268-72), 278-79.</i>	
2	Aubrey, son of Eustace de Madingley	Chatteris Abbey (c.)	One acre of land in Madingley	7s	13th century	<i>Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey, 58, 225-26, no. 110.</i>	
3	Bertram le Gros	Henry III	Land of the count of St. Pol	40 marks	1239	<i>CLR (1226-40), 400.</i>	
4	Edmund Crouchback	Monks of St. Mary de Pratis (c.)	Manor of Melbourne (out.)	£120	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 502.</i>	This manor had been leased previously, see <i>CPR (1266-72), 236.</i>
5	Everard, son of Robert de Toft	Hospital of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge (c.)	Eleven acres of land in the fields of Toft	6½ marks	13th century?	<i>The Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge, ed. Malcolm Underwood (Cambridgeshire Record Society 18, 2008), 130, no. 228.</i>	This transaction probably took place in the thirteenth-century, for the Hospital of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge, was only founded in the late twelfth century, see <i>Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge, ix.</i>
6	Geoffrey Brun, son of Alexander Brun	John Romeyn, canon of York (c.)	Orchard in Barkergate (out.)	Unknown	Early 13th century; possibly 1217 or 1226	<i>Charters of the Vicars Choral of York Minster, 13-14, no. 21.</i>	This has been deemed an outlier because it is woodland.

<b>7</b>	Hamund de Brockhurst	Southwick Priory (c.)	All Hamund's land in Brockhurst and 2½ acres in "Brodecrofte"	10 marks and 1 mark for clothing each year Hamund lived	c.1240-45	<i>The Cartularies of Southwick Priory</i> , ed. Katharine A. Hanna, 2 vols. (Hampshire Record Series 9-10, 1988-89), II, 96-97.	
<b>8</b>	Henry, son of Henry	Abbingdon Abbey (c.)	Two carucates, a virgate and a house in Abingdon; a hide in Dry Sandford; eight virgates in East Drayton; and one virgate in "Babhanger."	1,000 marks	1247	<i>Chronicle of the Monastery of Abingdon, 1218-1303</i> , 6; Lloyd, <i>English Society</i> , 184-88.	The transaction is not explicitly linked with the crusade, but Lloyd has demonstrated convincingly that it was, see Lloyd, <i>English Society</i> , 184-88.
<b>9</b>	Henry, son of Henry	Robert Hastang	Hill in Leamington Hastings (out.)	24 marks	1248	<i>Warwickshire Feet of Fines, 1195-1284</i> , 142, no. 679; Lloyd, <i>English Society</i> , 184.	The transaction is not explicitly linked with the crusade, but Lloyd has demonstrated convincingly that it was. For outlier status, see Lloyd, <i>English Society</i> , 184-85.
<b>10</b>	Henry, son of Henry	Simon de Walton	Carucate in Alkerton and two virgates in Balscott (out.)	300 marks	1247	<i>Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire, 1195-1291</i> , 141, no. 36; Lloyd, <i>English Society</i> , 184.	The transaction is not explicitly linked with the crusade, but Lloyd has demonstrated convincingly that it was. For outlier status, see Lloyd, <i>English Society</i> , 184.
<b>11</b>	Herbert de Boyvill	Roger Skerning, bishop of Norwich (c.)	Manor of Terling	500 marks	1270	<i>CChR (1257-1300)</i> , 146; <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425; <i>Norwich, 1215-99</i> , IV, App. 2, no. 15.	

<b>12</b>	Injugo de Boun	Unknown	Wood (out.)	Unknown	1218-19	<i>RLC</i> , I, 383, 385, 429.	Licence.
<b>13</b>	John II, duke of Brittany, earl of Richmond	Fountains Abbey (c.)	Vill of Ainderby	£40	1269	<i>Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains</i> , I, 11.	
<b>14</b>	John Arundel	Boxgrove Priory (c.)	Houses and yard in Chichester	8 marks	c.1266	<i>Chartulary of Boxgrove Priory</i> , 88, no. 152.	
<b>15</b>	John de Mares	Unknown	Beasts and chattels	Unknown	Before 1223	<i>CRR (1223-24)</i> , 262, no. 1309.	
<b>16</b>	John Pacche	Geoffrey de Wotton	Land in "Kiboldestrete"	Unknown	c.1247-48	<i>Cartulary of Oseney Abbey</i> , I, 319-20, nos. 363-64.	
<b>17</b>	John, son of Robert de Herdislawe	Gundreda daughter of Richard the Priest	Land in Micklegate	12 marks	Unknown	<i>The Chartulary of the Augustinian Priory of St. John the Evangelist of the Park of Healaugh</i> , 156-57.	
<b>18</b>	John, son of William de Gardino	Henry, son of Gilbert de Leukenore	Messuage	40s	First quarter of 13th century?	<i>Two Cartularies of Abingdon Abbey</i> , 221, no. c255.	
<b>19</b>	Oliver, illegitimate son of John, king of England	Thomas de London	Wardship (out.)	100 marks	Fifth Crusade	<i>CRR (1220-1220)</i> , 359.	
<b>20</b>	Philip of Badger	Thomas of Badger (f.)	Estate of Beckbury	5 marks	Probably 1227	<i>Antiquities of Shropshire</i> , II, 71-72; <i>Victoria County History, Shropshire</i> , X, 242.	
<b>21</b>	Philip Clerk	Walter, vicar of Walberton (c.)	Virgate	6 marks	c.1237	<i>Chartulary of Boxgrove Priory</i> , 122, no. 260.	
<b>22</b>	Philip Daubeny	Jocelin, bishop of Bath and Wells (c.)	Corn	£40	1235	<i>CChR (1226-57)</i> , 202-03.	

<b>23</b>	Ralph Bolebec	Malton Priory (c.)	Fulstow Marshland	40 marks and a horse worth 3 marks	1240-45	Owen, <i>Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire</i> , 125.	
<b>24</b>	Ralph de Cotum	John de Cotum (f.)	Wardship (out.)	Unknown	c.1270	<i>Calendar of the Inquisitions Post Mortem</i> , I, 234-35, no. 736.	
<b>25</b>	Ralph of Ringstone	Hugh of Ringstone (f.)	Land in Clopton	100 marks	c.1240	<i>Northamptonshire Miscellany</i> , ed. Edmund King (Northamptonshire Record Society 32, 1983), 9, 45.	
<b>26</b>	Robert Charles	Unknown	All his land	400 marks	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 434-35.	
<b>27</b>	Roger of Montaut	The prior and convent of Coventry (c.)	Rents and woods in Coventry (out.)	“a great sum of money”	1250	MP, CM, V, 98.	
<b>28</b>	Simon de Montfort	The Hospitallers (c.)	Wood in Leicester (out.)	£1,000	1240	MP, CM, IV, 7.	
<b>29</b>	Thomas, son of William	Geoffrey de Dutton	Estate in Great Budworth	Unknown	1271	John Rylands Library, Arley Charters, GB 133 ARL/1/66A.	
<b>30</b>	Thomas, son of William de Malham	Bolton Priory (c.)	2 bovates in Malham	30 marks	1231-43	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , VII, 151.	
<b>31</b>	Walter, son of Henry the dean	Peter, son of Ingram and Eustacia (f.)	Tenement	21 marks	Early 13th century, probably soon after 1210	<i>Cartulary of Darley Abbey</i> , I, 44.	
<b>32</b>	Walter le Tayllur	Matthew of Caddeleg	1 mesuage in New Salisbury (out.)	Unknown	Before 1249	<i>The Civil Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre 1249</i> , ed. Michael T. Clanchy (Wiltshire	The message was, it seems, the dower of Walter’s wife, Christian.

						Record Society 26, 1971), 141, no. 483.	
33	William Godbaud	Walter de Bures	Nineteen acres of land	Unknown	Before 1229	<i>CRR (1227-30)</i> , 298, no. 1371.	
34	William Joy	Evelyn (f.)	Half an acre of land	2d	c.1235-47, probably c.1245	<i>The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England</i> , ed. Michael Gervers, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982-96), I, 70.	
35	William Pollat	Thomas, father of Philip de Wilie	Thirty-eight acres of land	Unknown	Before 1225	<i>CRR (1225-26)</i> , 155-56, no. 755.	
36	William, son of Nigel of Dean	Church and canons of St. Frideswide (c.)	Meadow below the field of "Elmereswill"	10 marks 10s	c.1220-30	<i>Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide</i> , I, 418, no. 594	

### Probable

	<b>Crusader</b>	<b>Purchaser</b>	<b>Property/ Properties</b>	<b>Money Raised</b>	<b>Date/ Expedition</b>	<b>Source(s)</b>	<b>Notes</b>
37	Edmund Crouchback	Convent of Bridlington (c.)	Vill of Little Kelk	£80	1270-71	<i>Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington</i> , 168, 171.	The land was sold after Edmund took the cross and shortly before his departure.
38	Edmund Crouchback	Nuns of Blessed Mary (c.)	Manor of Bere Regis	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 498.	The land was sold after Edmund took the cross and shortly before his departure.

39	John de Booun	Convent of Lanthony, Gloucester (c.)	Half acre of land in Haresfield	Unknown	1290	<i>CPR (1281-92)</i> , 372.	The land was sold very shortly before John nominated attorneys and secured a protection to go to the Holy Land, see <i>CPR (1281-92)</i> , 371, 373.
40	Lord Edward	Unknown	Manors in Ireland (out.)	Unknown	1268	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 246.	The alienations were made shortly after Edward took the cross, see <i>Wykes</i> , 217-18. These manors have been deemed outliers because they were in Ireland, hardly the most important territory of the Lord Edward.
41	Richard Maylard	Unknown	Land in Bradwell	Unknown, but the land was worth 6 marks per year	1271	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 503.	Licence. Richard certainly secured the licence because he was going to the Holy Land; however, it is not clear whether he sold or leased the land.
42	Robert de Munteny	John le Ferun	Elmdon manor	£200	1269	TNA, KB 26/191/6 (dorse); Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , 188.	This transaction was made the year before Robert departed on crusade, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 440, 443 and the year before he leased his manor of Mounnessing ( <i>Guine Munteny</i> ) because he was “going with Edward the king’s son

								to the Holy Land," see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 454.
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**Key**

(c.) = clergy / Church

(f.) = family

(j.) = Jew

(out.) = outlier

### Appendix 3: Pledges and Leases of Property

Certain, or almost so

	Crusader	Purchaser	Property	Form	Duration	Money Raised	Date	Source(s)	Notes
1	Bertram de Gartlip	William de Waltham	Manor of Ginge	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1235-36	<i>CPR (1232-47), 99, 101; CR (1234-37), 391.</i>	
2	Edmund de Kendale	Unknown	Manor of Lyndon	Lease	Six years	Unknown	1317	<i>CPR (1313-17), 628.</i>	Licence.
3	Eustace de Balliol	Unknown	Manor of Gamelsby	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 441.</i>	Licence.
4	Eustace de Balliol	Unknown	Manor of Glassonby	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 441.</i>	Licence.
5	Eustace de Balliol	Unknown	Manor of Kirklington ( <i>Levyngton</i> )	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 441.</i>	Licence.
6	Eustace de Balliol	Unknown	Manor of Whorlton ( <i>Quorlyngton</i> )	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 441.</i>	Licence.
7	Eustace de Balliol	Unknown	Manor of Skelton	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 441.</i>	Licence.
8	Geoffrey (c.)	Unknown	Vicarage	Lease	Three years	Unknown	1225	<i>Register, or Rolls, of Walter Gray, 4.</i>	Licence.
9	Geoffrey de Dutton	Herbert de Orreby	Land in "Lide" beyond the Dee and in Sutton	Unknown	Until return from Jerusalem	Unknown	c.1218-48	John Rylands Library, Arley Charters, ARL/1/94.	
10	Geoffrey de Malolacu	Unknown	Lands, rents and possessions	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1221	<i>PR (1216-25), 302.</i>	Licence.
11	Hasculf de Suliny	Farmer	Tenement	Unknown	Three years (after	Unknown	Early 13th century	<i>Somersetshire Pleas, I, 65.</i>	For the dating of the transaction, see Tyerman, <i>England</i>

					Hasculf's death)				<i>and the Crusades</i> , 200.
<b>12</b>	Henry le Archer	Roger de Forde (f.)	Tenement	Lease	Unknown	Unknown	Late 12th century-1256-57	<i>Somersetshire Pleas</i> , I, 77.	
<b>13</b>	Hugh de Mortuo Mari	Unknown	Manor	Pledge	Unknown	Unknown	1227	<i>PR (1225-32)</i> , 169.	Licence. The land was to be pledged to fund a substitute.
<b>14</b>	Hugh de Neville	Hawisa de Neville (f.) and John de Neville (f.)	Lands and tenements	Lease	Five years	Unknown	1266	<i>CR (1264-68)</i> , 254.	
<b>15</b>	Hugh, son of John	Unknown	Lands	Lease	Ten years	Unknown	1290	<i>CPR (1281-92)</i> , 340.	Licence.
<b>16</b>	John de Ingoldisthorpe	Unknown	Manor of Ingoldisthorpe	Lease	Five years	Unknown	1271	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 517.	Licence.
<b>17</b>	John de Ingoldisthorpe	Unknown	Manor of Kenwick	Lease	Five years	Unknown	1271	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 517.	Licence.
<b>18</b>	John de Ingoldisthorpe	Unknown	Manor of Raynham	Lease	Five years	Unknown	1271	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 517.	Licence.
<b>19</b>	John Lovel	Henry Lovel (f.)?	Manor of Docking	Lease	Ten years	Unknown	1270-71	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425, 514.	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 514 does not make it clear which purchasers leased which manor.
<b>20</b>	John Lovel	Martin de Southmere?	Manor of Elcombe	Lease	Ten years	Unknown	1270-71	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425, 514.	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 514 does not make it clear which purchasers leased which manor.
<b>21</b>	John Lovel	Unknown	Manor of Titchwell	Lease	Ten years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425.	Licence.

<b>22</b>	John Lovel	William de Caune?	Manor of Southmere	Lease	Ten years	Unknown	1270-71	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425, 514.	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 514 does not make it clear which purchasers leased which manor.
<b>23</b>	John de Verdun	Philip de Whichecote	Manor of Stokesay	Lease	Three years	£24	1270	<i>Antiquities of Shropshire</i> , V, 35.	
<b>24</b>	John de Vescy	Unknown	Manor of Winteringham	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 439.	Licence.
<b>25</b>	Joldewin de Doe	Unknown	Land in Piddington	Unknown	Three years	Unknown	1228	<i>PR (1225-32)</i> , 188.	Licence.
<b>26</b>	Joldewin de Doe	Unknown	Land in Wrestlingworth	Unknown	Three years	Unknown	1228	<i>PR (1225-32)</i> , 188.	Licence.
<b>27</b>	Nicholas de Greiwill	Richard Cumin	Wife's dowry (out.)	Lease	Term of the crusader	Unknown	c.1234	<i>CR (1231-34)</i> , 510-11.	
<b>28</b>	Nicholas de Lettes	Unknown	Lands	Pledge	Term of the crusader	Unknown	1217	<i>PR (1216-25)</i> , 25.	Licence.
<b>29</b>	Nicholas Russell	Robert Russell (f.)	Land in Harpsfield	Unknown	Half a year	Unknown	Before 1228	<i>CRR (1227-30)</i> , 259-60, no. 1173.	
<b>30</b>	Oliver de Saint George	Unknown	Land in Brocton	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1235	<i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 99, 101.	Licence.
<b>31</b>	Peter de Lettes	Unknown	Lands	Pledge	Term of the crusader	Unknown	1217	<i>PR (1216-25)</i> , 25.	Licence.
<b>32</b>	Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester (c.)	Unknown	Episcopal income	Pledge	Until the time included in the general indult of crusaders	Unknown	1227	<i>Cal. Pap. Reg.</i> , I, 116.	Licence.

<b>33</b>	Philip Daubeny	Abbot of Cirencester (c.)	Manor of Bampton (out.)	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1235	<i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 93; <i>CR (1234-37)</i> , 390.	For outlier status, see <i>CChR (1226-57)</i> , 54; Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , 194.
<b>34</b>	Philip Daubeny	Jocelin, bishop of Bath and Wells (c.)	Manor of Petherton (out.)	Pledge	Seven years	£280	1235	<i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 93; <i>CR (1234-37)</i> , 25; <i>CChR (1226-57)</i> , 202-03.	For outlier status, see Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , 194.
<b>35</b>	Philip Daubeny	Unknown	Manor of Chewton (out.)	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1221	<i>PR (1216-25)</i> , 287.	Licence. For outlier status, see <i>PR (1216-25)</i> , 287; Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , 194.
<b>36</b>	Philip Daubeny	Hugh Vivona	Manor of Chewton (out.)	Pledge	Three years	£122	1235	<i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 93, 106.	For outlier status, see <i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 93; Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , 194.
<b>37</b>	Philip Daubeny	Richard of Cornwall	Manor of Wighton (out.)	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1234-35	<i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 74; <i>CR (1234-37)</i> , 385.	For outlier status, see <i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 74; Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , 194.
<b>38</b>	Ralph de Rouen	David of Oxford (j.)	House and chamber in Oxford (out.)	Lease	Five years	Unknown	1227-28	<i>CChR (1226-57)</i> , 76; <i>PR (1225-32)</i> , 111, 120.	The house and chamber were given to Ralph by the king, see <i>CChR (1226-57)</i> , 76.
<b>39</b>	Ralph de Rouen	Unknown	House in Northampton (out.)	Pledge	Five years	Unknown	1227	<i>PR (1225-32)</i> , 122.	Licence. The house was given to Ralph by the king, see <i>PR (1225-32)</i> , 122.
<b>40</b>	Reynold de Pavily	Unknown	Manor of "Broc"	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 450.	Licence.

41	Reynold de Pavily	Unknown	Manor of Westbury	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 450.</i>	Licence.
42	Richard, son of Ralf	Edith of Navenby	Two parts of a bovate	Pledge	Term of the crusader	Unknown	c.1218	<i>Rolls of the Justices in Eyre... Lincolnshire 1218-19 and Worcestershire 1221, 70, no. 159.</i>	
43	Robert de Hildresh	Bartholomew, son of Philip	Land (out.)	Pledge	Seven years	8 marks	c.1218	<i>Chertsey Abbey Cartularies, II, 393-94, no. 1322.</i>	Robert originally received the land as a bequest from a certain William Germanus.
44	Robert de Munteny	Unknown	Manor of Mountnessing ( <i>Guine Munteny</i> )	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 454.</i>	Licence.
45	Robert de Vallibus	Unknown	Lands, rents and possessions	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1221	<i>PR (1216-25), 320.</i>	Licence.
46	Robert de Veteri Ponte	Unknown	Lands, rents and possessions	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1221	<i>PR (1216-25), 320.</i>	Licence.
47	Thomas de Alneto	Unknown	Land in Panton	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1221	<i>PR (1216-25), 320.</i>	Licence.
48	Thomas de Alneto	Unknown	Land in Wykeham	Pledge	Three years	Unknown	1221	<i>PR (1216-25), 320.</i>	Licence.
49	Thomas Maudut	Unknown	Manor of Warminster	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72), 440.</i>	Licence.
50	Walter de Gugate	John de Okhurst	Tenement	Lease	Five years	Unknown	Before 1242	<i>CRR (1242-43), 75-76, no. 301.</i>	
51	Walter de Lettes	Unknown	Lands	Pledge	Term of the crusader	Unknown	1217	<i>PR (1216-25), 25.</i>	Licence.

52	Walter de Wyginton	Unknown	Lands	Unknown	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 443.	Licence.
53	William Brewer, bishop of Exeter (c.)	Unknown	Episcopal income	Unknown	Until the time included in the general indult of crusaders	Unknown	1227	<i>Cal. Pap. Reg.</i> , I, 117.	Licence.
54	William de Cley	Thomas, son of Herlewin	Land in Gateley	Lease	Three years	6 marks	1240	<i>The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory</i> , ed. Barbara Dodwell, 2 vols. (Pipe Roll Society, NS40, NS46; 1974-85), II, 84, no. 140.	
55	William de Detling	Unknown	Manor of Throwley ( <i>Rowele</i> )	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 441.	Licence.
56	William Eure	Aaron (j.)	Land	Lease	Three years	Unknown	Before 1227	<i>Bracton's Note Book</i> , III, 598-99, no. 1770.	For Aaron's status as a Jew, see Tyerman, <i>England and the Crusades</i> , 204.
57	William de Mastac	Henry III	Land in England	Lease	Three years	£180	1239	<i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 384.	
58	William with the Beard	Richard (f.)	Half a messuage	Pledge	Unknown	Unknown	Before 1244	<i>The London Eyre of 1244</i> , 120, no. 295.	

Probable

	<b>Crusader</b>	<b>Purchaser</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Money Raised</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Source(s)</b>	<b>Notes</b>
<b>59</b>	Edmund Crouchback	Nicholas, son of Martin	Castles and Counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen	Lease	Three years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 516.	These properties were offloaded after Edmund took the cross and shortly before he set out for the East.
<b>60</b>	Edmund Crouchback	Roger de Meyland, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (c.)	Manor of Newcastle under Lyme	Lease	Three years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 428.	The manor was offloaded after Edmund took the cross and shortly before he set out for the East.
<b>61</b>	Lord Edward	Unknown	The custom of Bordeaux and rents and issues of the lands of Gascony and Oleron	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1269-70	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 396.	Licence. These revenues were offloaded after Edmund took the cross and shortly before he set out for the East.
<b>62</b>	Henry de Perry	Luffield Priory (c.)	Assart	Lease	Twelve years	2 marks and a quarter of corn	1240	<i>Luffield Priory Charters</i> , ed. Gerald R. Elvey, 2 vols. (Buckinghamshire Record Society 15, 18; 1968-75), I, 169-171, no. 175.	The charter of the transaction states that the lease was to start when Richard, earl of Cornwall, set out for the Holy Land. Thus, it is likely that Henry de Perry intended to join the Richard's host.

<b>63</b>	John de Ardern	John de Colecestre (c.) and Walter, brother of John de Colecestre	Manor of Willingale and land in "Plessingho"	Unknown	Three years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 483-4; <i>CChR (1257-1300)</i> , 165.	This transaction took place in the same year that John appointed attorneys because he was going on crusade, see <i>CCR (1268-72)</i> , 282.
<b>64</b>	John de Vescy	Unknown	Manor of Alnham	Lease	Three years	Unknown	1269	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 371.	Licence. John leased the manor shortly before making preparations to go to the Holy Land, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 438, 480, 588.
<b>65</b>	John de Vescy	Unknown	Manor of Alnmouth	Lease	Three years	Unknown	1269	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 371.	Licence. John leased the manor shortly before making preparations to go to the Holy Land, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 438, 480, 588.
<b>66</b>	John de Vescy	Richard de Vescy (f.)	Manor of Gribthorpe	Lease	Six years	Unknown	1271	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 518.	This property was offloaded after another was done so explicitly due to the crusade, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 439.
<b>67</b>	Otto de Grandson	Richard de Burgo	Lands in Estermoye and Oheny (out.)	Lease	Term of Otto's life	Unknown, but £72 was to be rendered yearly to Otto	1290	<i>CCR (1288-96)</i> , 137.	The transaction was made shortly after Otto secured a protection to go to the Holy Land, see <i>CPR (1281-92)</i> , 363. The lands have been deemed an outlier because they were in Ireland.

<b>68</b>	Peter de Wyppeyns	Henry de Newerk, dean of York (c.)	Manor of Thornton	Lease	Five years	£100	1290	<i>CPR (1281-92)</i> , 363.	The confirmation of the lease was enrolled some four weeks before Peter nominated attorneys because he had gone to the Holy Land, see <i>CPR (1281-92)</i> , 376.
<b>69</b>	Richard Maylard	Unknown	Land in Bradwell	Sale or Lease	Unknown	Unknown, but land worth 6 marks per annum	1271	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 503.	Licence. Richard certainly secured the licence because he was going to the Holy Land; however, it is not clear whether he sold or leased the land.
<b>70</b>	Robert de Govyz	Unknown	Land in Dewlish	Lease	Five years	Unknown	1238	<i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 227.	The licence to lease the land was issued less than a year before Robert received a £60 imprest from the Crown because he was going to the Holy Land, see <i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 373.
<b>71</b>	Robert de Govyz	Unknown	Land in Winterburn	Lease	Five years	Unknown	1238	<i>CPR (1232-47)</i> , 227.	The licence to lease the land was issued less than a year before Robert received a £60 imprest from the Crown because he was going to the Holy Land, see <i>CLR (1226-40)</i> , 373.

<b>72</b>	Robert de Turberville	Unknown	Manor of Minsterworth (out.)	Lease	Three years	Unknown	1271	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 515.	Robert was given the manor by Edmund Crouchback, with whom he was about to set sail for the Holy Land. Edmund permitted Robert to demise the land, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 515.
<b>73</b>	Simon de Laton (c.)	Unknown	Benefice	Lease	Three years	Unknown	1309	<i>Register of John de Halton</i> , 322.	Licence. It is not clear if Simon was a crusader or simply wished to contribute financially to the crusade.
<b>74</b>	Stephen of Glemsford	Robert of Glemsford (f.)	Land and messuage in Glemsford	Lease	Four years	Unknown	Be-fore 1240	<i>The Civil Pleas of the Suffolk Eyre of 1240</i> , 156, no. 767	The source only stated that Stephen went on a journey, although the editor suggests rightly that this probably referred to a crusade, see <i>The Civil Pleas of the Suffolk Eyre of 1240</i> , 156, no. 767.
<b>75</b>	Thomas de Fenwick	Richard de Middelton	Manor of Fenwick	Lease	Six years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 683.	Thomas went on the crusade of 1270, see Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , App. 4; thus, the timing of the transaction suggests it was made with the crusade in mind.

<b>76</b>	Thomas de Fenwick	Richard de Middelton	Manor of Matfen	Lease	Six years	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 683.	Thomas went on the crusade of 1270, see Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i> , App. 4; thus, the timing of the transaction suggests it was made with the crusade in mind.
<b>77</b>	Walter de Percy	Percy de Greyleye	Manor of Manchester (out.)	Lease	Unknown	Unknown	1270	<i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425.	Licence. Walter secured a licence to lease the manor three days before receiving a protection to go on crusade, see <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 479.
<b>78</b>	William Longespee	Unknown	Manor of Amesbury	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1248	<i>CPR (1247-58)</i> , 25.	Licence. The licence to lease was secured the year after William took the cross and the year before he departed for the East, see <i>Cal. Pap. Reg.</i> , I, 232; <i>MP, CM</i> , V, 76-77.
<b>79</b>	William Longespee	Unknown	Manor of Aldbourne	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1248	<i>CPR (1247-58)</i> , 25.	Licence. The licence to lease was secured the year after William took the cross and the year before he departed for the East, see <i>Cal. Pap. Reg.</i> , I, 232; <i>MP, CM</i> , V, 76-77.

<b>80</b>	William Longespee	Unknown	Manor of Canford	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1248	<i>CPR (1247-58), 25.</i>	Licence. The licence to lease was secured the year after William took the cross and the year before he departed for the East, see <i>Cal. Pap. Reg.</i> , I, 232; <i>MP, CM, V</i> , 76-77.
<b>81</b>	William Longespee	Unknown	Manor of Trowbridge	Lease	Four years	Unknown	1248	<i>CPR (1247-58), 25.</i>	Licence. The licence to lease was secured the year after William took the cross and the year before he departed for the East, see <i>Cal. Pap. Reg.</i> , I, 232; <i>MP, CM, V</i> , 76-77.

**Key**

(c.) = clergy / Church

(f.) = family

(j.) = Jew

(out.) = outlier

#### Appendix 4: Graph 1 – The Evidence

Sales made between 1266 and 1271 by participants in the expeditions of the Lord Edward and Edmund Crouchback

1266	1267	1268	1269	1270	1271
		<p>Name: Lord Edward</p> <p>Property: Manors in Ireland</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 246.</p>	<p>Name: John, duke of Brittany, earl of Richmond</p> <p>Property: Vill of Ainderby</p> <p>Source(s): <i>Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains</i>, I, 11.</p>	<p>Name: Alexander Luttrell</p> <p>Property: Wife's land in Ryton</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CR (1268-72)</i>, 278-79.</p>	<p>Name: Edmund Crouchback</p> <p>Property: Vill of Little Kelk</p> <p>Source(s): <i>Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington</i>, 168, 171.</p>
			<p>Name: Robert de Munteny</p> <p>Property: Elmdon manor</p> <p>Source(s): TNA, KB 26/191/6 (dorse); Lloyd, <i>English Society and the Crusade</i>, 188.</p>	<p>Name: Edmund Crouchback</p> <p>Property: Manor of Bere Regis</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 498.</p>	<p>Name: Richard Maylard</p> <p>Property: Land in Bradwell</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 503.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>
				<p>Name: Edmund Crouchback</p> <p>Property: Manor of Melbourne</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 502.</p>	<p>Name: Thomas, son of William</p> <p>Property: Estate in Great Budworth</p> <p>Source(s): John Rylands Library, Arley</p>

					Charters, GB 133 ARL/1/66A.
				<p>Name: Herbert de Boyvill</p> <p>Property: Manor of Terling</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CChR (1257-1300)</i>, 146; <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 425; <i>Norwich, 1215-99</i>, IV, App. 2, no. 15.</p>	
				<p>Name: Ralph de Cotum</p> <p>Property: Wardship</p> <p>Source(s): <i>Calendar of the Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>, I, 234-35, no. 736.</p>	
				<p>Name: Robert Charles</p> <p>Property: All his land</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 434-35.</p>	

Pledges and leases made between 1266 and 1271 by participants in the expeditions of the Lord Edward and Edmund Crouchback

1266	1267	1268	1269	1270	1271
<p>Name: Robert de Turberville</p> <p>Property: Manor of Abington</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1258-66)</i>, 653.</p>	<p>Name: Lord Edward</p> <p>Property: Land in Gascony</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 109.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>	<p>Name: Edmund Crouchback</p> <p>Property: Manor of Melbourne</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 236.</p>	<p>Name: Lord Edward</p> <p>Property: Customs of Bordeaux and rents and issues of the lands of Gascony and Oleron</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 396.</p> <p>Notes: Licence, and the lease was to begin in midsummer 1270.</p>	<p>Name: Edmund Crouchback</p> <p>Property: Castles and Counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 516.</p>	<p>Name: John de Ingoldisthorpe</p> <p>Property: Manor of Ingoldisthorpe</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 517.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>
	<p>Name: John de Greyly</p> <p>Property: Customs of Bordeaux</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 24.</p> <p>Notes: John was seneschal of Gascony and thus would have been acting on behalf of the Crown.</p>		<p>Name: John de Vescy</p> <p>Property: Manor of Alnham</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 371.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>	<p>Name: Edmund Crouchback</p> <p>Property: Manor of Newcastle under Lyme</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 428.</p>	<p>Name: John de Ingoldisthorpe</p> <p>Property: Manor of Kenwick</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 517.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>
			<p>Name: John de Vescy</p> <p>Property: Manor of Alnmouth</p>	<p>Name: Eustace de Balliol</p> <p>Property: Manor of Gamelsby</p>	<p>Name: John de Ingoldisthorpe</p> <p>Property: Manor of Raynham</p>

			Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 371. Notes: Licence.	Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 441. Notes: Licence.	Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 517. Notes: Licence.
				Name: Eustace de Balliol Property: Manor of Glassonby Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 441. Notes: Licence.	Name: John de Vescy Property: Manor of Gribthorpe Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 518. Notes: Licence.
				Name: Eustace de Balliol Property: Manor of Kirklington ( <i>Levyngton</i> ) Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 441. Notes: Licence.	Name: Richard Maylard Property: Land in Bradwell Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 503. Notes: Licence.
				Name: Eustace de Balliol Property: Manor of Whorlton ( <i>Quorlyngton</i> ) Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 441.	Name: Robert de Turberville Property: Manor of Minsterworth Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 515.

				Notes: Licence.	
				Name: Eustace de Balliol Property: Manor of Skelton Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 441.	
				Notes: Licence. Name: John de Ardern Property: Manor of Willingale and land in "Plessingho" Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 483-4; <i>CChR (1257-1300)</i> , 165.	
				Name: John Lovel Property: Manor of Docking Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425, 514.	
				Name: John Lovel Property: Manor of Elcombe Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425, 514.	

				<p>Name: John Lovel</p> <p>Property: Manor of Titchwell</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 425.</p>	
				<p>Name: John Lovel</p> <p>Property: Manor of Southmere</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 425, 514.</p>	
				<p>Name: John de Verdun</p> <p>Property: Manor of Stokesay</p> <p>Source(s): <i>Antiquities of Shropshire</i>, V, 35.</p>	
				<p>Name: John de Vescy</p> <p>Property: Manor of Winteringham</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 439.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>	
				<p>Name: Reynold de Pavily</p>	

				<p>Property: Manor of "Broc"</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 450.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>	
				<p>Name: Reynold de Pavily</p> <p>Property: Manor of Westbury</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 450.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>	
				<p>Name: Robert de Munteny</p> <p>Property: Manor of Mountnessing (<i>Guine Munteny</i>)</p> <p>Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i>, 454.</p> <p>Notes: Licence.</p>	
				<p>Name: Thomas de Fenwick</p> <p>Property: Manor of Fenwick</p>	

				Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 683.	
				Name: Thomas de Fenwick Property: Manor of Matfen Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 683.	
				Name: Thomas Maudut Property: Manor of Warminster Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 440. Notes: Licence.	
				Name: Walter de Percy Property: Manor of Manchester Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 425. Notes: Licence.	
				Name: Walter de Wyginton Property: Lands	

				Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 443. Notes: Licence.	
				Name: William de Detling Property: Manor of Throwley ( <i>Rowele</i> ) Source(s): <i>CPR (1266-72)</i> , 441. Notes: Licence.	

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