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The hospital of St John the Baptist, Dublin *c.* 1188–1539: a historical and prosopographical analysis

Grace O'Keeffe

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

University of Dublin

2012

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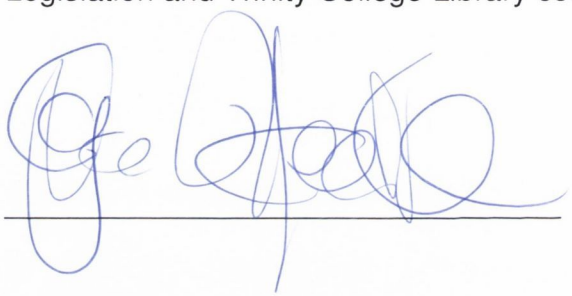

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Summary

The hospital of St John the Baptist was founded *c.* 1188 by Ailred Palmer and his wife. The hospital was located in the western suburb of medieval Dublin, an area which had seen much expansion and development following the settlement of the city by the English, beginning in 1170. The hospital was of the order of the Fratres Cruciferi, canons regular who followed the rule of St Augustine. It was the first known foundation of this kind in Ireland, though the origins and spread of this order throughout Europe are somewhat obscure. In many ways it was a foundation of its time, a hospital for the sick and poor, located outside the city walls and run by the Augustinians. As much as its experiences in its early years mirrored those of other similar institutions, so too did its demise. It was closed in 1539 as part of the sweeping changes brought about by Henry VIII's policy of dissolution.

Like many other religious houses the hospital kept a register of its muniments. This was compiled in the late fourteenth century from original deeds, some of which at least were kept boxed according to the parish they concerned. The information contained in this register forms the basis of much of the thesis, which is both a historical and prosopographical analysis of the hospital. The main aim of the thesis is to use the register, and other contemporary sources to examine its place in the society of medieval Dublin. Chapter one is an exploration of the manuscript of the register, housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It also builds on the palaeographic scholarship previously carried out on the register, while also comparing it to other contemporary muniment collections.

In order to gain an insight into why these men and women chose to patronise St John's, this thesis also examines the nature of the hospital itself and attempts to compare it with similar contemporary institutions. Evidence exists that some hospitals had trained, university educated medics on their staff, though this does not appear to have been the case in St John's. As expressed in chapter two, the lack of professional medical care should not detract from the importance of the sustenance that was provided in the hospital to the sick and poor.

Who were its benefactors and their associates? Can their motivation for granting land and rent to the hospital be determined? Can piecing together their family history and origins add any more depth to our understanding of those who settled in Dublin from the 1170s on? Chapter three addresses these questions. By populating a database with the names of the Dublin-based benefactors and their associates, it proved possible to demonstrate the close links between many of Dublin's citizens, irrespective of their origins. This thesis has also furthered what was known about the connections between medieval Dublin and Bristol, leading to the conclusion that the numbers of Bristolians settling in Dublin was much higher than previously thought.

An examination of the lands held by the hospital in the Dublin region forms the basis of chapter four. The prosopographical study of the priors in chapter five is the first which attempts to add some depth to what is known of the men in whose hands responsibility for the hospital was placed. The final chapter, or epilogue, covers the years when the hospital's fortunes began to wane, and attempts to place this in its contemporary social and political setting.

Acknowledgements

Although this thesis is ascribed to just one author, there were many others who, in both a professional and a personal sense made it possible for me to undertake this research. That said, I am solely responsible for any and all errors within the thesis.

To my supervisor, Professor Seán Duffy, I owe a great deal of gratitude. His criticisms of and suggestions for my work have always been thorough and exacting. While it has not always been easy to hear or accept them, it has always proven prudent to adopt them. In addition to his meticulous supervision of the thesis, he was also instrumental in encouraging me to give papers, and introducing me to others in this field. While encouraging creative thought, he contained the worst of mine with a nod of the head, and a 'Yes, I see...but do you not think...' I can but apologise to him that I still have not learned how to use a colon or semi-colon.

The staff of the Department of Medieval History in Trinity have been consistently encouraging and helpful. Thanks are due in particular to Dr Katherine Simms, Professor Terry Barry and Dr David Ditchburn. I am also grateful to Dr Ditchburn for giving me the opportunity to be a teaching assistant on his junior freshman 'History of Medieval Britain' course.

The many postgraduates of medieval and modern history, both colleagues and friends, who have assisted me over the years, deserve thanks. There have been too many to list all of them here, and it is to the credit of the staff of the medieval history department in Trinity that such a strong collegiate environment exists among the students – knowledge and sources are readily shared and the achievement of milestones celebrated by all.
Some people helped by getting me out of the library for a pint, leaving all thought of medieval Dublin behind, while others encouraged me out of the pub, back into the library and into the world of religious hospitals.
Over the four years of the production of the thesis many people did both, others gave me a roof over my head, fed me spectacular roast chicken dinners, read my work and despite putting them through all that, they still remained my friend.
So cheers: Dr Kate O'Malley, Dr John Gibney, Sparky Booker, Eoin O'Flynn, Alice Coyle, Joe Charles, Sam Warbrick, Dr Linda Shine, Dr Stuart Kinsella and finally for reading draft chapters of my work thanks to Emma Arbuthnot, Anthony Tierney, Colm Flynn, Cherie Peters and Dr Kimm Curran.
Dr Peter Crooks, Dr Stephen Harrison and Dr Arlene Hogan have graciously assisted with specific queries and given their time generously.

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Thanks are also due to the staff of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Royal Irish Academy Dublin (in particular to Sarah Gearty of the Irish Historic Towns Atlas), National Monuments, OPW, National Archives of Ireland and David Hamill of Information Systems Services in Trinity College for his help with the database.

Dublin City Council provided a grant in the first year of research and the remaining three years of research were funded by a post-graduate scholarship from the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences. Without the assistance of both these institutions this research would not have been possible.
Thanks are due also to the Trinity Trust for awarding me a travel grant on two occasions to give papers at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds.

The value of the financial and emotional support given unconditionally by my family has been enormous. Simply thanking them seems so inadequate but hopefully they know how much I appreciate them. Thank you to Anne-Maria and David, and my goddaughter Simona; to Eugene, Una, Oisín and Annie; to Nick (who, many years after he was finished reading his little sister bedtime stories got lumbered with reading a chapter of her thesis), Nicola and Gregory; and Paul.

John McGeever, your love and support have made this year better than I could have imagined.

And finally, my parents, Tom and Margie, to whom this thesis is dedicated: while some of my decisions may have raised eyebrows over the years, thank you for always having 'Grace's room' ready at home.

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Abbreviations

Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*	Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum: or a history of the abbies, priories and other religious houses in Ireland* (Dublin, 1786).
Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs'	H.F. Berry's 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs of Dublin city A.D. 1229 to 1447', in Howard Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1990), pp 153–62.
Cal Arbp Alen's Reg	*Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c. 1172–1534*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1950).
CARD	*Calendar of ancient records of Dublin* eds John T. and Lady Gilbert (18 vols, Dublin, 1889–1922).
Cal Chancery Rolls	*Calendar of the patent and close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. James Morrin (Dublin, 1861).
Cal Close Rolls	*Calendar of the close rolls...1272–1509* (47 vols, London, 1892–1963).
Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus	*Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin*, ed. H.J. Lawlor, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 27 (1908–9), section C, pp 1–93.
CDI	*Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, ed. H.S. Sweetman (5 vols, London, 1875–86). i (1171–1251) ii (1252–84) iii (1285–92) iv (1293–1301) v (1302–07)

Calendar of the Gormanston Register	*Calendar of the Gormanston Register c. 1175–1397, from the original in the possession of the Right Honourable the Viscount of Gormanston*, eds James Mills and M.J. McEnery (Dublin, 1916).
Cal Papal Reg	*Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal Letters*, ed. W.H. Bliss and others (13 vols, London, 1893–1955).
Cal Pat Rolls	*Calendar of the patent rolls...1232–1509* (52 vols, London, 1891–1916).
Cal State Papers	*Calendar of state Papers relating to Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth*, eds various (22 vols, London, 1860–1910).
Cal Just Rolls, 1295–1303/1305–1307	*Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of proceedings in the court of the Justiciar of Ireland*, ed. James Mills (2 vols, Dublin, 1905–14).
Cal Just Rolls, 1308–1314	*Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of proceedings in the court of the Justiciar of Ireland, I to VII years of Edward II*, eds Herbert Wood and Albert Langman, revised by Margaret Griffith (Dublin, 1956).
Chartul St Mary's	*Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (Rolls Series 80, 2 vols, London, 1884).
Christ Ch Deeds	*Christ Church Deeds*, eds M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé (Dublin, 2001).
Extents Irish monastic possessions	*Extents Irish monastic possessions, 1540–1541*, ed. Newport White (Dublin, 1943).
Hist Mun Docs	*Historic and municipal documents of Ireland, A.D. 1172–1320, from the*

	archives of the city of Dublin, etc., ed. J.T. Gilbert (London, 1870).
IHTA, Dublin 1	Howard Clarke (ed.), *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* No. 11. Dublin, Part 1, to 1610 (Dublin, 2002).
Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds'	'Old (Latin) deeds in the library of Trinity College' ed. J.G. Smyly, *Hermathena*, 66 (1945), pp 25–39, 67 (1946), pp 1–30, 69 (1947), pp 31–48, 70 (1947), pp 1–21, 71 (1948), pp 36–51, 72 (1948), pp 115–20, 74 (1949), pp 60–7.
Red Book of the Exchequer	*Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (Rolls Series 99, 3 vols, London, 1896).
Reg HSJB	*Register of the Hospital of St John the Baptist, without the New Gate, Dublin*, ed. Eric St John Brooks (Dublin, 1936).
Reg of Wills Dublin	*Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457-1483*, ed. Henry F. Berry (Dublin, 1898).
Reg St Thomas	*The Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (Rolls Series 94, London, 1889).
Rotuli Chartarum	*Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1837).
Rotuli de oblatis et finibus	*Rotuli de oblatis et finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati tempore Regis Johannis*, ed. Thomas Duffy Hardy (London, 1835).
Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum	*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (2 vols, London, 1833).

Rotulorum patentium et clausorum	*Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium*, ed. Edward Tresham (Dublin, 1828).
Twiss, 'Some ancient deeds of the parish of St Werburgh, Dublin'	'Some ancient deeds of the parish of St Werburgh, Dublin, 1243–1676', ed. H.F. Twiss, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 35 (1918–20), section C, pp 282–309.
Statute Rolls Ire	*Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, twelfth and thirteenth to the twenty-first and twenty-second years of the reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. James Morrissey (Dublin, 1939).
The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns	*The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary and Elizabeth I* (4 vols, Dublin, 1994).
Cal pat rolls Ire., Jas I	*Irish Patent Rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish record commissioners' calendar prepared prior to 1830* (Dublin, 1966).
Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum	*Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustantia Quae ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentiae Tabularis Depromsit et Ordine Chronologico Diposuit, 1216–1547*, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Rome, 1864).

Note regarding the numbering of charters in the register:
In St John Brooks's edition of the register there are 585 numbered charters. There are four additional charters in the addenda et corrigenda (pp xxiii–xxiv) that St John Brooks did not number. To facilitate their entry into the database, I have numbered them 586, 587, 588 and 589 in the order they appear on those pages.
There are also four deeds which appear within other charters, legal disputes which refer to another deed not contained elsewhere within the register. I also numbered them for their database entry. Charter 57 contains a deed I numbered as 591; charter 99 contains a deed I numbered as 592; charter 100 contains deed no. 593; charter 101 contains no. 594.

Introduction

The hospital of St John the Baptist was the first known foundation in Ireland of the Fratres Cruciferi, regular canons under the rule of St Augustine. Located outside the Newgate, in the western suburb of medieval Dublin, it was in existence by *c.* 1188 and was suppressed in 1539 as part of Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries. The site of the hospital is today largely occupied by the Augustinian church of SS Augustine and John on Thomas Street. The hospital was founded by Ailred Palmer and his wife; they also donated to it their burgage plot in the city of Dublin.[1] Ailred's name might indicate Hiberno-Norse or Anglo-Saxon/English heritage; he is discussed at greater length in chapters two and three. The register of this foundation is comprised of approximately six hundred deeds; these are a combination of land grants made to St John's, provisions for the sick of the hospital, agreements between citizens concerning ownership or rents of land, and a couple of wills.

An edition of the register was published in 1936. Transcribed and edited from the original Latin manuscript by Dr Eric St John Brooks, it provides an excellent foundation from which to begin a thorough study of the hospital.[2] To date, however, only relatively tangential studies arising from the published register have appeared.[3] None have attempted to use the register as the sole

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[1] *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustantia Quae ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentiae Tabularis Depromsit et Ordine Chronologico Diposuit, 1216–1547*, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Rome, 1864), p. 215.

[2] *Register of the Hospital of St John the Baptist, without the New Gate, Dublin*, ed. Eric St John Brooks (Dublin, 1936) (hereafter *Reg HSJB*). The fourteenth-century manuscript, MS Rawlinson, B 498, is housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Bodleian Library have digitized most of the manuscript and it is available for view at [http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msrawlb498]. The register as a manuscript and a source is examined in chapter one.

[3] Publications concerning the order to which St John the Baptist's in Dublin belonged include: H.F. Chettle, 'The friars of the Holy Cross in England', *History*, 34 (1949), pp 204–20, which makes points of comparison between the success of the order in Ireland, and its relative failure in England; R. Neville Hadcock, 'The order of the Holy Cross in Ireland' in J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall and F.X. Martin (eds), *Medieval studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn* (Dublin, 1961), pp 44–53; more general studies include, Charles McNeill, 'The de Verdons and the Draycots', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, 5:3 (1923), pp 166–72, where McNeill uses evidence from

focus of study, to interrogate the charters contained in it, or to compile a comprehensive record, with accompanying historical analysis, of those Dublin citizens who made provision for the hospital or witnessed the grants it received.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the register to allow an assessment of the hospital itself, how it functioned, its wealth, resources and influence, predominantly in Dublin (the hospital also held lands further afield). Without a doubt, the understanding of medieval Dublin will be greatly enhanced by the use of this extraordinarily rich charter-collection, as it provides a wealth of information to help us reconstruct the history of church and people in the medieval city.

Medieval hospitals were institutions with responsibilities and functions far removed from their modern equivalents. Any examination of a medieval hospital must encompass several themes: medicine, religion, charity and poverty, politics and social history. For studies such as this one, which focus on a single institution, it is also imperative that the wider social and political world into which it emerged be understood. The history of medieval hospitals in Ireland is still an under-examined area of scholarship. As ever, part of the reason for this lacuna is because the type of sources which would make it possible to put together an exhaustive study, are few and far between. The two largest and wealthiest monasteries in medieval Dublin, St Thomas's and St Mary's, have extant registers both of which have been transcribed from the original manuscripts.[4] Although these registers have been raided for smaller studies, either about Dublin or about their land-holdings, they have not been systematically examined

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the register to trace some of the holdings of these families; idem, 'Some early documents relating to English Uriel, and the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, 5:4 (1924), pp 270–77; idem, 'Hospital of S. John without the New Gate, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 55 (1925), pp 58–64; *Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540–41*, ed. Newport White, (Dublin, 1943), pp 55–68, lists what remained of the possessions of the hospital by the time of the dissolution; Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, 'The medieval church lands of Co. Dublin' in J.A.Watt, J.B. Morrall and F.X. Martin (eds), *Medieval studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn* (Dublin, 1961), pp 54–73, of which those held by the hospital comprises pp 67–8; Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), pp 208–16.

[4] *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, London, 1884) (hereafter *Chartul St Mary's*); *Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (London, 1889) (hereafter *Reg St Thomas*); RIA 12 D 38 (Register of the abbey of St Thomas (transcript) and extracts from the memoranda rolls relating to the abbey).

in their own right.[5] This thesis will attempt to redress the relative neglect of monastic registers in Irish historiography by an examination of a similar and contemporary institution, the hospital of St John the Baptist.

The central research questions and aims of this thesis can be divided into four categories. Firstly, the physical make-up of the register itself will be assessed, with attention also being given to its palaeographic details. Secondly, what do the register and the history of the hospital reveal about the development of Dublin as a city: what place do monastic charters have in chronicling this and what can they tell us about urban organization, planning and development? Thirdly, the contents of the charters will be explored, focusing on the provisions. The main questions are: how large are the grants, on average? Do they contain any provisions regarding the use of the land or property donated? In relation to land outside Dublin that was granted to Dublin houses – how was this administered and monitored? What, other than land was provided for? Fourthly, regarding persons, whence did the grantors/witnesses come? Can they be traced to estates in England, elsewhere in Britain, or even the Continent? Can a selected group of citizens (those who made donations or who regularly witnessed deeds, for example) be traced through grants made to various monasteries? Is it possible to trace the elevation in status of individuals through the land they grant, by charting its value, proximity to Dublin or previous owner, for example? Is it possible to trace the relationship between English and Irish (or Hiberno-Norse) Dubliners?

The thesis itself is comprised of six chapters. The first assesses the manuscript of the register, its compilation and post-dissolution history. Although the edition published by Eric St John Brooks is an excellent work of scholarship,

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[5] Some of these studies include: Aubrey Gwynn, 'The early history of St Thomas's abbey, Dublin' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 84 (1954), pp 1–35; Virginia Davis, 'Relations between the abbey of St Thomas the Martyr and the municipality of Dublin, *c.* 1176–1527', *Dublin Historical Record*, 40:2 (1987), pp 57–65; Cathal Duddy, 'The western suburb of medieval Dublin: its first century' *Irish Geography*, 34:2 (2001), pp 157–75; idem, 'The role of St Thomas's abbey in the early development of Dublin's western suburb in Seán Duffy (ed.) *Medieval Dublin IV: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2002* (Dublin, 2003), pp 79–97 and for St Mary's see Colmcille Ó Conbhuí, 'The lands of St Mary's abbey, Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 62 (1961–3), section C, pp 21–86.

the manuscript he used is extant and available for consultation in the Bodleian Library in Oxford University. This has provided an opportunity not only to view first-hand the work of the fourteenth-century scribes who compiled the cartulary, but also to compare St John Brooks's remarks on the manuscript with the original. The second chapter is an assessment of the hospital as a place of care and refuge. The primary source material currently available for the hospital is overwhelmingly administrative in function, but unfortunately does not provide evidence for the physical maintenance of the patients, and indeed the buildings, granges and lands of the hospital. This chapter instead therefore places the hospital in its contemporary setting, seeking to compare it with other urban, Augustinian hospitals founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, mostly using English hospitals as a point of comparison. The third chapter is an in-depth examination of the people associated with St John's and in particular the evidence for their relationships with each other – by marriage or social contact through the holding of public office. The fourth chapter is an exposition of the provisions of those charters in the register which relate to the Dublin area – essentially its role as a landlord and tenant.[6] The priors of the hospital are the subject of chapter five, where a prosopographical examination of them attempts to cast some light on the men who held this important office. The latter years of the hospital are detailed in the final chapter, a time when mismanagement and changing attitudes towards charity widely affected the large monastic hospitals. Following the official dissolution of the hospital in February 1539, much of what remained of St John's was granted to Henrician and later Tudor administrators in Ireland. Though it continued to exist throughout the next century as a poor-house, it no longer held a prominent position in Dublin. Despite the slow decline towards its closure in the sixteenth century, and perhaps its less than salubrious

[6] Mark Hennessy has previously examined the acquisition by the hospital of lands in Tipperary and Meath, and the corresponding role the hospital played in providing pastoral care in Tipperary. Mark Hennessy, 'Parochial organisation in medieval Tipperary' in William Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary, history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1985), pp 60–70; idem, 'The priory and hospital of the New Gate: the evolution of a medieval monastic estate' in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common ground: essays on the historical geography of Ireland, presented to T. Jones Hughes* (Cork, 1988), pp 41–54.

position among the institutions of early-modern Dublin, for just under four hundred years the hospital of St John the Baptist, and those people connected to it, were part of one of the city's largest social and religious institutions, and part of the development of beliefs in charity, welfare and religion which stretched across medieval Europe.

Methodology

There are three main areas of current research with which this project corresponds. The first is the methodological development of sophisticated prosopographical analysis to enable a more comprehensive reconstruction of the bonds of medieval Irish society. In the context of this thesis what is understood by the term prosopography? Lawrence Stone defined it thus:

> 'Prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then to ask a set of uniform questions–about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education, amount and source of wealth, occupation...'[7]

Stone identified two main prosopographical schools, what he termed the 'elitist' and the 'more statistically-minded mass school'. The former concentrates on 'small-group-dynamics' and the interplay of those connected by family, marriage and occupation, while the latter usually involves both much larger numbers of subjects and a difference in how the data on these numbers is correlated. Using the register of St John the Baptist as a source produces results which can accommodate both schools. It fulfils the 'elitist' requirements by being focused on a limited number of individuals, in this case those citizens of Dublin who either

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[7] Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography' in Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (eds), *Historical studies today* (New York, 1972), p. 107. For other definitions see also K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, identity and names: understanding the pursuit of the individual in prosopography' in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed), *Prosopography approaches and applications: a handbook* (Oxford, 2007), p. 143; Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A short manual to the art of prosopography' in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed), *Prosopography approaches and applications: a handbook* (Oxford, 2007), p. 69; Dion C. Smythe, ''A whiter shade of pale': issues and possibilities in prosopography' in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed), *Prosopography approaches and applications: a handbook* (Oxford, 2007), p. 129.

donated or received the lands or rents of the hospital in Dublin, or witnessed such transactions. The interaction of these individuals, in terms of family, society and economy, is what forms the basis of one of the main strands of this examination into the hospital. But, like the 'mass-school' approach, it is also concerned with social history, if by this is meant an examination of a society which is comprised of more than simply the 'great men'. It cannot entirely fulfil the requirements for an elite study as this would require some personal documentation to facilitate an insight into the motivation of the benefactors, and it is not a pure 'mass-school' approach because it involves more historical than statistical analysis.

Online databases such as the 'The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England' (PASE), which 'aims to cover all of the recorded inhabitants of England from the late sixth to the end of the eleventh century', act as templates to show what is possible when disparate sources are collectively combed for information about the individual. Information is then systematically integrated to provide a complete 'picture' of an individual's life.[8] Although a study of a slightly different kind, the Paradox of Medieval Scotland (PoMS) also allows the user to search through the records of over 6000 charters.[9] The activity of the Prosopographical Research Unit of Linacre College, Cambridge gives an indication of the wide breadth of research that has been undertaken in this field, and the possibilities available for the application of its methods. One of the most obvious sources for a prosopographical study of early English history is the Domesday Book. Katharine Keats-Rohan, one of the leading scholars in the study of medieval prosopography in England, completed such a study, and it is an excellent

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[8] [http://www.pase.ac.uk/index.html, accessed 25 April 2011]. Some of those who worked on the project have discussed the processes involved: Janet L. Nelson, David A.E. Pelteret and Harold Short, 'Medieval prosopographies and the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England' in Averil Cameron (ed.), *Fifty years of prosopography: the later Roman Empire, Byzantium and beyond* (Proceedings of the British Academy, 118) (Oxford, 2003), pp 155–67.

[9] [http://www.poms.ac.uk/index.html, accessed 25 April 2011]. These are only two examples of the type of online databases currently available. Others include a study of the Byzantine world (Prosopography of the Byzantine World, PBW, http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk), and of the clergy of the Church of England, 1540–1845 (Clergy of the Church of England Database, http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk) and of the Domesday Book (http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk).

example of how an examination of land ownership can be used to gain an understanding of the people who held that land.[10]

In relation to Dublin, there are no published prosopographical studies on the scale of those mentioned above. In 1999 Dianne Hall published a short prosopographical study of nuns in medieval Ireland, though in actuality it amounts only to a list of names and the sources in which they can be found, which is one method by which the results of a prosopographical examination can be presented.[11] The list system is usually employed as a result of the all too obvious limitations of attempting a reconstruction of a part of society which left but a slight imprint on the sources. While historians of medieval Ireland rightly bemoan the widespread loss of medieval sources caused by a fire in the Public Record Office in June 1922 during the Civil War, the sources we do have, either in the original or in calendars created from the original by antiquarians, have not yet been fully exploited for the material they contain. The difficulties presented by lacunae in source material are undoubtedly frustrating, but it is not an excuse to avoid a thorough examination of what that material has to offer.

There is a discernible gap between the numbers of prosopographical studies concerned with English history and those concerned with Irish history. The reasons for this are, as Beth Hartland has pointed out, twofold. One is simply the smaller numbers of historians working on the history of medieval Ireland. The second is the vast difference in scale between the available sources for both countries.[12] That is not to say that such evidence is entirely lacking. Prosopographical methods can be applied to existing sources in ways which may not previously have been considered. For example, in the University of Durham and under the direction of Robin Frame, Hartland was the senior research

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[10] K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people: a prosopography of persons occurring in English documents, 1066–1166: i, Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1999); eadem, *Domesday descendants: a prosopography of person occurring in English documents 1066–1166: ii: Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (Woodbridge, 2002).

[11] Dianne Hall, 'Towards a prosopography of nuns in medieval Ireland', *Archivum Hibernicum*, 53 (1999), pp 3–15.

[12] Beth Hartland, 'Population selection: English landholders in Ireland and their attorneys, *c.* 1270–*c.* 1360', in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography approaches and applications: a handbook* (Oxford, 2007), p. 351.

associate on a project which undertook a study of the English landholders of Ireland and their attorneys in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which forms part of a wider study of English landlords in that period who held land on both sides of the Irish Sea.[13]

The same principle can be applied to the main source of this study. The register of St John the Baptist's was created for the benefit of the hospital, to record both those grants received and given, and, apart from anything else, to protect it against legal disputes related to ownership of land and property or rental payments. But it also contains thousands of names, of citizens of Dublin and of others beyond the Dublin region extending into the rest of Ireland, and, like the Domesday Book is therefore capable of supplying much more information than simply the identities of those who owned property: it is fertile ground for a prosopographical examination of the hospital's benefactors and those with whom they mixed, professionally and socially, in medieval Dublin. It is also potentially one of several sources (other chartularies, guild and franchise rolls, and so forth) which could be exploited to construct a full prosopographical study of the benefactors of religious houses in Dublin: such a study would demonstrate much about the population of medieval Dublin and land ownership in the city but would also reveal networks of community and kinship throughout the English-controlled areas of Ireland, and perhaps further reveal the extent to which the non-elite among English settlers (meaning those who were not royal appointees and comprised the majority of colonists) maintained any type of sustained contact with England and Wales. It might also allow an opportunity to assess to what extent the majority of those settlers maintained contacts beyond England into Normandy and perhaps make a meaningful contribution towards the debate surrounding the continental origins of those settlers. Many of the benefactors of the hospital studied in this thesis would have known each other in ways which

[13] The publication of the findings of the prosopographical study entitled 'English landholding in Ireland, *c.* 1200–*c.* 1360' has been halted due to funding difficulties. It is mentioned again in chapter three. For another example of a prosopographical study see Seán Duffy, 'The first Ulster plantation: John de Courcy and the men of Cumbria' in Terry Barry, Robin Frame and Katherine Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland: essays presented to J.F. Lydon* (London, 1995), pp 1–27.

had nothing to do with the hospital. But it is their involvement with St John the Baptist's which is, for the purposes of this study, the crucial link and the method by which all these other ties can be investigated.

Prosopography has a close relationship with biography and onomastics, with differing opinions as to the degree to which these elements should be considered in a prosopographical study. Prosopography has been described as collective, or group biography, although the aim is not necessarily to highlight what is unusual about one particular person, but rather to study a group which comprises those individuals. It is not a study of onomastics, or names, but clearly it must concern itself with names as these are the basic starting point for a prosopographical study. Medieval names in particular are troublesome. Spelling was inconsistent and 'if it is true that every personal name signifies one and only one person, the converse, that one person will always be designated by the same personal name, is not.'[14] This variation in names caused planning and interpretation difficulties when deciding which form to use in the database. Unless a citizen held public office, the same name in the same period does not necessarily mean the same man. In the context of the register, the majority of the benefactors were of Anglo-Norman descent, which is reflected in the names.[15] English cities like Bristol, Nottingham, Gloucester and Coventry appear as toponyms. Names linked to occupation provide another interpretative dilemma. The surname of one subject of the prosopographical study, Roger Cordwainer, implies that he was engaged in leather-working. However, while there is no evidence to say that he or his family were not at some point leather-workers, research revealed no evidence that Roger was himself in the leather-working business; clearly, making assumptions based on occupational surnames alone can be erroneous.[16] That is not to discard the potential value of these names.

How were names treated in this thesis? The main purpose of standardisation in this instance was to ensure that database searches would capture every entry of a particular name, surname or forename. There are three

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[14] Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, identity and names', p. 155.
[15] For the treatment of names in this thesis see below.
[16] See chapter three for Roger and his family.

types of names which have been amended: occupational names, toponymics or names which occur in two or more forms. The latter can include patronymics, matronymics or nicknames. Where two or more versions of a surname appear these have been standardised to one common version. Where occupational or toponymic names have been translated it is not the intention to ascribe that occupation to the individual, nor is the intention to assume that the toponymics refer to a place of origin, unless further evidence reveals this to be true.

Just as each charter contains personal name evidence, most also have a place-name reference. In addition to transcribing the register, St John Brooks undertook the considerable task of attempting to identify the places named in the charters. Such a task was necessary for two reasons: not only are medieval Irish place-names not always consistent with their modern counterparts, but the transcription of them by scribes unfamiliar with the Irish language meant that phonetic rendering might further confuse identification.[17] Many charters describe the location of the land in the grant in a variety of different ways; the example below, one of many which might have been chosen to illustrate the point, has eight different descriptors.

> 'Let it be known that I, Philip of Birmingham, son of Osbert of Birmingham have given to John le Sergeant, citizen of Dublin, [1] *certain land of mine*...in the [2] *parish of St James*, [3] *next to Dublin*, and [4] *lying between the land which was formerly Gregory Merchant's on the east and* [5] *land which the said Philip's on the west*, and [6] *extending on the King's Way on the south*, [7] *up to the meadow of the house St John outside the New Gate towards the north* and [8] *contained in the front by 53 feet and behind by 60 feet.*'[18]

In undertaking a comprehensive analysis of the Dublin constituent of the register, the methodology has to be capable of encompassing a variety of data sets. The approach taken was to populate a Microsoft Access database with all these data sets, each categorised based on the role which they fulfil in the charter itself

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[17] For an explanation as to how the original meaning of Irish place-names can be ascertained see P.W. Joyce, *The origin and history of Irish names of places* (3 vols, Dublin, 1869–1913), i, pp 1–17.

[18] *Reg HSJB*, no. 4.

(personal names, place-names, dates, titles). Creating a database involved first learning how to create a database. A decision also had to be made as to what the database was intended to do – what questions would be posed and in what format the answers should appear. It is crucial to remember also that the database can only do what it was created to do. In practice this entailed entering as much information as was available to hand, and then editing it as the database was refined. The benefit of this, I have found, is that once the material is all gathered, patterns or avenues of possible research appear which had not been obvious when the data was in its original format. This approach results not only in every relevant name in the register being recorded, but also facilitates the creation of specific queries using a combination of names, dates and locations. It assists the population of family trees, from direct lineages to marriage ties.

The capture of the location details of the charters was the most problematic. Although the primary focus was on Dublin, a record of all named places, and the reason for their inclusion in the charter (rent, property), also needed to be captured to facilitate as thorough a digital record of the register as possible. This table was the last to be planned, primarily because of the difficulties in deciding how it should be organised. The completion of this table, which was initially envisaged as encompassing a secondary role in the research of the thesis, actually became as important to the study as the people connected to the hospital.

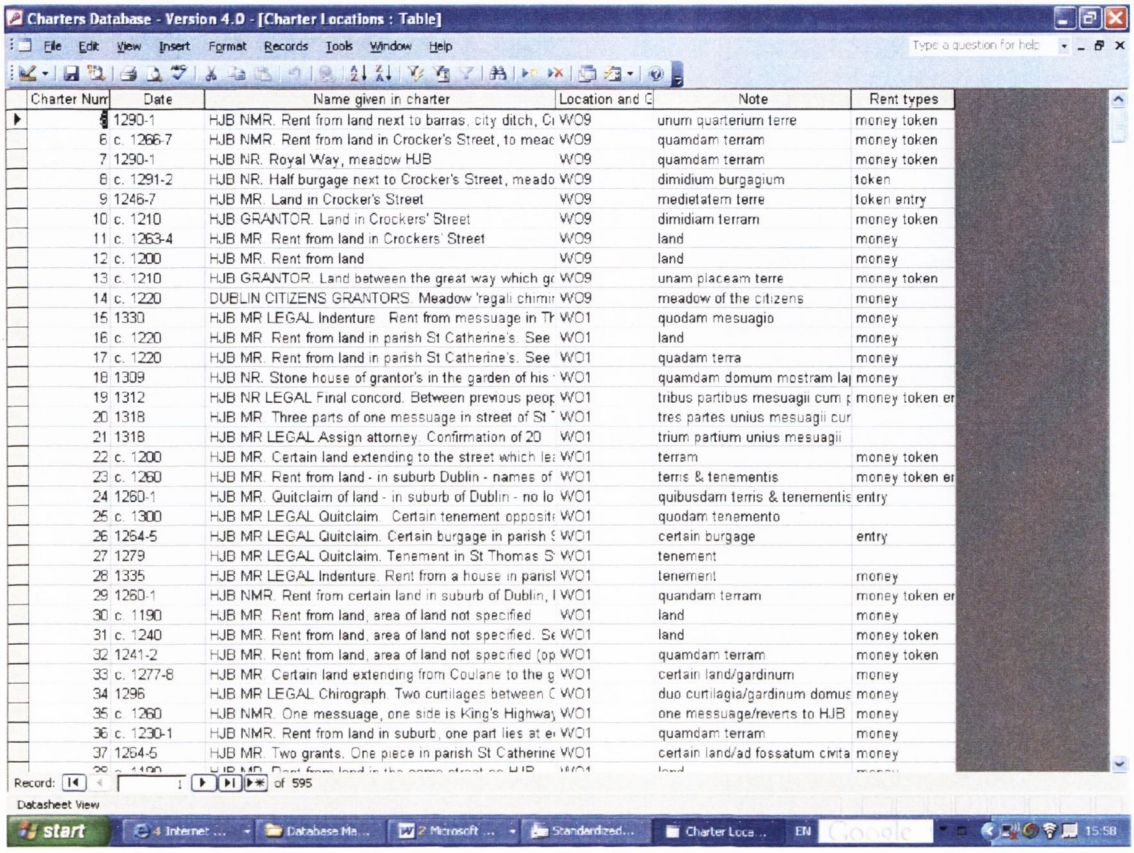

Fig 1. An image taken from the database showing the charter locations table.

Any study of this kind is possible only because of the technological advantages that modern scholars have over their predecessors. What are the implications of the ability to use technology for research of this kind? Indeed, are there dangers and limitations in using prosopography as a methodology? Firstly, while prosopography allows for the extraction of material from sources in a manner which can result in the creation of a composite picture of a group or section of society, very differing results can be achieved depending on how the data is analysed: 'one common hazard which faces [the prosopographer] is the possibility that that portion of the total population about which he can discover reliable information does not represent a random sample of the whole.'[19]

[19] Stone, 'Prosopography', p. 122.

Those who are examined in this thesis are a small selection of the whole population, for they were in fact one strand of a relatively complex post-conquest Ireland. In this context it might be the case that the men and women whose lives and links with each other are highlighted here were representative of their community in Ireland, the post-invasion inhabitants of Dublin largely of English blood. Given the complex political and social circumstances in contemporary Ireland, where the 'two nations' vied for control, no claim is made that they are representative of the total population of the island of Ireland. They were 'family, followers and friends.'[20]

Other than attempting to locate and identify those for whom definite names are known, there is also the matter of names, mentioned above, and the danger of incorrectly identifying individuals as family members, based on a shared surname. One example of this is the de Livets, Geoffrey, Gilbert and Elena. While Elena was named as Gilbert's daughter, the relationship between them and Geoffrey was not explicitly mentioned in any of the available sources.[21] As such, no definite conclusions can be reached about the extent of the familial connection between Geoffrey and Gilbert, though given the dates when both men were active as mayor (Geoffrey) and provost (Gilbert) it has been postulated in this thesis that a family connection did exist between them. Because of the character of the sources, and because specific references to the nature of the relationship between named individuals in charters is intermittent (partly because within a community their contemporaries would have known the nature of those relationships and in many circumstances would have found it unnecessary to record it), a certain amount of speculation is necessary. Despite the care one must take when making assumptions without irrefutable evidence, it is also the case that 'an unspecified relationship, or even the probability of one, is almost always worth knowing than nothing at all.'[22]

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[20] The phrase is taken from John P. Meddings, 'Family, followers and friends: the socio-political dynamics of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy' (unpublished PhD, University of Leeds, 1998).
[21] *Reg HSJB*, no. 85.
[22] George Beech, 'Prosopography', p. 160.

The issue of terminology also includes what might be called the ethnicity or country of origin of those examined in this thesis. Terms such as Anglo-Norman, and to a lesser degree others such as Anglo-French or Cambro-Norman, have been widely deployed to describe the ethnicity of those involved in the settlement and conquest of Ireland. As John Gillingham has demonstrated, modern historiography is beginning to complete the circle in terminology, in reverting to the use of 'English', in place of any other. As Gillingham states, the 'best reason for saying that the invaders were English is that this is what contemporary narrative sources say they were.'[23] Although the time frame of this thesis includes those here from the earliest days of the conquest, it is only incidentally concerned with those who might be considered to have been its initial leaders, men like Hugh de Lacy or Strongbow.[24] The focus is more on those who populated the settlement, particularly in Dublin - men like Adhelm, brother of Haim, who was granted land outside the eastern gate of Dublin by Henry II during the latter's sojourn in the city in the winter of 1171–2.[25] Adhelm, his contemporary settlers and their descendants are, in this thesis, referred to as English. That is not to deny that some, such as Gilbert de Livet, have names which would clearly point to a family ultimately originating in Normandy or elsewhere in France, since for the present purposes, it is their immediate English origins and connections which are of most relevance. Because the evidence available suggested that the benefactors were, initially at least, of English origin, the thesis has used primary source material related to England, rather than, say, Wales or Scotland, to construct the histories of these people. Later generations

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[23] John Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland' in *The English in the twelfth century: imperialism, national identity and political values* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 151. The same author further examines this theme in 'Normanizing the English invaders of Ireland' in Huw Pryce and John Watts (eds), *Power and identity in the middle ages: essays in memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford, 2007), pp 85–97.

[24] For a recent examination of how families such as de Lacys operated, with varying degrees of success, within the Plantagenet empire see Colin T. Veach, 'Nobility and crown: the de Lacy family in Ireland, England and Normandy, 1172–1241' (unpublished PhD, University of Dublin, 2010).

[25] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 118*g*, pp 140–2.

of benefactors, and their associates, were again either mostly from England, or were the English of Ireland.

It is important to be aware that I am using a source for a purpose other than that for which it was created. The register was never intended to be used as a means by which to build a history of the hospital of St John the Baptist or as the foundation for a study of the people and society of medieval Dublin. However, because of the nature of the source material itself (each entry being either a land/rent grant or lease or decisions of legal cases taken by or against the hospital) the deconstruction necessary for my analysis does not radically alter the nature of the material. The gaps in the register caused, possibly, by a less than conscientious administrative system in the hospital into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, impact on the interpretations that can be made. This has been brought to light in a very unambiguous way by the creation of the database. In the extent of its possessions, carried out in the 1540s, after the dissolution of the monasteries by King Henry VIII, the hospital had lands which do not appear in the register. Conversely, lands which appear in the register, given in perpetuity to the hospital, do not appear in the extent. The likelihood of unearthing these missing charters, with a view to correcting these anomalies, is slim, but it impacts on the conclusions drawn.

Prosopography as a methodology is suited to examining a particular subject group, even where there is a distinct lack of sources, or where they are incomplete. It might be argued that its greatest merit is that it allows for conclusions (even tentative ones) to be drawn even in cases where there exists a lacuna in source material. The register which forms the main constituent of my research has hitherto been used, perhaps not extensively, but regularly enough, in research into medieval Dublin, or landholding in Ireland. It is probably only by using a methodology such as prosopography, and by constructing the type of database that the method requires, that this source can be utilised to the full, and the work of the fourteenth-century clerks in copying the original charters wholly appreciated.

Secondary subjects: Dublin

Since work began on this thesis four years ago the academic study of medieval Dublin has expanded greatly both through historical and archaeological research. The annual publication of the *Medieval Dublin* series, based on the symposia of the Friends of Medieval Dublin, demonstrates the depth and breadth of research currently being undertaken on the city and its hinterland. In some instances this new research challenges long-held beliefs and assumptions about the city: a much greater level of interaction between English settlers and Gaelic-Irish natives in the city has been demonstrated by Sparky Booker and a combination of archaeology and cartography has been used to shed light on the evolution of property boundaries in the medieval city.[26] The *festschrift* published in honour of Professor Howard Clarke drew together an illustrious gathering of archaeologists and historians who offered research on the social, religious and architectural aspects of the Viking and medieval city.[27] The Discovery Programme commissioned a study of Dublin and its wider region, the publication of which in 2010 has afforded those engaged in study of the history of Dublin an expansive reference source covering society, land use and agriculture, foreign trade and internal economic activity.[28]

In addition scholars have raised awareness of the fact that between Viking and Georgian Dublin whole generations of Dubliners, both native and 'blow-in', were all crucial participants in the development of the city. It is my contention that St John the Baptist's was very much of its time in the evolving story of Dublin, as it was founded in the immediate aftermath of the English invasion and helped to forge the new close-knit community of settlers in Ireland. Because of its role in

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[26] Sparky Booker, 'An English city? Gaelicization and cultural exchange in late medieval Dublin' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin X: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2008* (Dublin, 2010), pp 287–98; Linzi Simpson, 'John Rocque's map of Dublin (1756): a modern source for medieval property boundaries' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin VII: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2005* (Dublin, 2006), pp 113–51.

[27] John Bradley, Alan J. Fletcher and Anngret Simms (eds), *Dublin in the medieval world: studies in honour of Howard B. Clarke* (Dublin, 2009).

[28] Margaret Murphy and Michael Potterton, *The Dublin region in the middle ages: settlement, land-use and economy* (Dublin, 2010).

the colonising process, any examination of the hospital necessarily differs from an ostensibly similar study of a contemporary counterpart in England.

Without the work previously done on the register by St John Brooks it is doubtful if this current work could even have been undertaken, but this study will build on the existing scholarship. St John Brooks made the hospital more accessible to other scholars, as John T. Gilbert did with Dublin in a wider sense through his many editions of the charters and deeds of Dublin institutions.[29] Although this is not a history of medieval Dublin, it is a history of one of its institutions and a history of its people, streets and land and so the city is omnipresent.

Secondary subjects: Charity and care

The question of the precise nature of medical and charitable care provided in the hospital must be addressed from several angles. The discussion must encompass the connection between the church and charity and the obligation of the church to provide care for the needy. It should also examine the concept of regular or secular clergy as medics themselves, assessing how realistic is the concept of cloistered monks or mendicant friars providing care for those with actual physical injuries and complaints. Lastly, it should address the question of what constituted medical care in the middle ages. How accessible were physicians, and the less well-thought-of barber-surgeons, to different strata of Dublin society, particularly those who did not have the means to pay them?[30] What of those poor and infirm who turned to the hospital as an escape from long-term vagrancy or as temporary shelter and for provision of food?[31]

The study by Orme and Webster of medieval English hospitals is the most wide-ranging in its themes and extensive in the actual number of hospitals

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[29] Among the most widely consulted are: *Historic and municipal documents of Ireland, 1172–1320*, ed. John T. Gilbert (London, 1879); *Chartul St Mary's*; *Reg St Thomas*; *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin*, eds John T. and Lady Gilbert, (18 vols, Dublin, 1889–1944) (hereafter *CARD*).
[30] Roy Porter, *The greatest benefit to mankind; a medical history of humanity from antiquity to the present* (2nd edn, London, 1999), esp pp 106–34 covers medicine in the middle ages.
[31] This issue is dealt with in chapter two.

examined.[32] Although it only comprises English institutions, it is relevant to the current study because St John the Baptist's was a product of English rule in Dublin, and shared many characteristics with English foundations. These in turn were shared with other such institutions on the Continent. In its basic functioning, St John the Baptist's was a typical medieval hospital, from its dedication to St John the Baptist to its adherence to the Augustinian Rule and even to its period of existence. When reading histories of medieval hospitals it quickly becomes apparent that they must be examined under many themes. Though in some instances this is simply due to a paucity of sources, this is not the case for all hospitals, particularly in the case of England, as many hospitals there have left extensive records. Rather it is because these hospitals were so often much more than simply a place of refuge. They were a social institution of some standing in the community, a place 'in which a whole array of non-medical activities took place.'[33]

In Winchester a hospital also dedicated to St John the Baptist has been examined as part of a wider study of the city itself.[34] How does it compare to its Dublin contemporary? Although the first record of it dates from the early thirteenth century, both hospitals were well established by the middle of that century. Both provided care for the sick and poor but the more extensive records for the Winchester hospital allow for analysis of expenditure.[35] It would seem that life for the brothers and sisters of both the Dublin and Winchester hospitals was also comparable. The names and dates of the priors of the Dublin St John's were collated by Sir James Ware and St John Brooks while only a few references to brothers within this hospital can be found in its register.[36] Winchester again benefits from extensive record survival which provided Derek Keene, an authority on Winchester, with names and also personal details regarding clothing and

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[32] Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English hospital, 1070–1570* (New Haven, CT, 1995).
[33] Miri Rubin, 'Imagining medieval hospitals; considerations on the cultural meaning of institutional change', in Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones (eds), *Medicine and charity before the welfare state* (London, 1991), p. 15.
[34] Derek Keene, *Survey of medieval Winchester* (2 vols, Oxford, 1985), ii, pp 813–22.
[35] Ibid., p. 815.
[36] *Reg HSJB*, pp xx–xxi.

individual sums of money received from citizens.[37] One of the big differences between these two hospitals was in the matter of those by whom they were controlled. The Dublin St John's was a private institution, if extensively supported by the community. In Winchester the hospital was under civic control, albeit in conjunction with the hospital's fraternity.[38] Although this is just one small example of how St John the Baptist's in Dublin compared with a contemporary hospital in England, it demonstrates how critical those studies of other hospitals are to gaining a full understanding of how exceptional or ordinary it was for its time.

One area where nearly all studies of medieval hospitals are lacking is in understanding the patients themselves. This is most likely connected to social status. The highest percentage of patients attending those institutions which offered general care were those least likely to leave records. Through various appeals to the English crown, we have some idea of the numbers housed in St John the Baptist's, but no source providing anything more than mere numbers has yet surfaced. In 1334 St John the Baptist's had 155 inmates, although the prior and brethren claimed that the current unsettled political conditions were making it impossible to sustain these numbers.[39] By 1362 the numbers requiring sustenance in the hospital had fallen to 115.[40] The number of patients was the same in 1373 when the prior and brethren were still complaining that their 'goods and possessions in the suburb of Dublin and elsewhere...in Ireland have been so destroyed by hostile attacks of the Irish', and as such needed the aid of the crown.[41] In 1400 these numbers were apparently still being maintained.[42] In St Leonard's hospital in York, another Augustinian foundation, the patient numbers at this time fluctuated around the 200 mark.[43] Was 155 the highest number that

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[37] Keene, *Survey of medieval Winchester*, p. 816.
[38] Ibid., p. 818.
[39] *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1232–1509* (52 vols, London, 1891–1916), Edward III, p. 552 (hereafter *Cal Patent Rolls*).
[40] *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium*, ed. Edward Tresham (Dublin, 1828), no. 9, p. 155 (hereafter *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*). I am indebted to Dr Peter Crooks for highlighting the 1362 date.
[41] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1370–74, June 20 1373, p. 302.
[42] *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*, no. 9, p. 155.
[43] Patricia Cullum, 'Hospitals and charitable provision in medieval Yorkshire, 936–1547' (unpublished PhD, University of York, 1989), p. 158.

had ever been maintained in St John's? This is a significant number, and it excludes the religious and lay brethren who also resided at St John's. In 1400, when the hospital had passed its most successful days, there were four priests charged with hearing confessions, presumably of both patients and brethren.[44] When St John the Baptist's finally closed there were, according to the extent, fifty beds for the sick.[45] This has usually been perceived as evidence of the decline in numbers, though, in comparison to many other similar institutions, fifty is actually still quite a high number. Alleyn's Hospital, a poor house connected to St Patrick's Cathedral from the early sixteenth century, was intended for only ten poor men.[46] It is also worth noting that bed numbers might not always equate with patient numbers, as in medieval hospitals one bed might commonly be used to accommodate two or three persons.

While increased scholarship on medieval hospitals has greatly improved our understanding of how hospitals functioned and the poor were maintained in medieval society, caution must be observed in assuming that the conclusions drawn by these scholars can be easily and immutably applied to medieval Dublin, and, by extension, Ireland. One of the first points of reference for medieval hospitals in Ireland should be the evidence compiled by Gwynn and Hadcock.[47] This publication demonstrates that hospitals of all kinds existed throughout Ireland, for many of which unfortunately little is known beyond their name, location and whether it catered for lepers or the general sick and poor. Publications covering more specific aspects of disease and medical care in medieval Ireland also exist. Because of its prevalence and perhaps also partially because of its association with the medieval period in popular thinking, leprosy commonly appears more than any other specific disease.[48] Caution must be

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[44] *Calandar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; papal letters,* ed. W.H. Bliss and others (13 vols, London, 1893– 1955), v, p. 303.
[45] *Extents of Irish monastic possessions*, p. 55.
[46] Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 350.
[47] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, pp 344–57 for shorter entries and under individual religious orders for more detailed entries. For St John the Baptist's see p. 212.
[48] Eileen Murphy and Keith Manchester, 'Evidence for leprosy in medieval Ireland' in Charlotte A. Roberts, Mary E. Lewis and Keith Manchester (eds), *The past and present of leprosy: archaeological, historical, palaeopathological and clinical approaches* (Oxford, 2002), pp 193–8.

exercised regarding some of the interpretations in these publications. In naming the various Dublin-based leper hospitals Murphy and Manchester incorrectly credit St John the Baptist's as being the oldest.[49] Their source is John Fleetwood, but he actually states that *unlike* (my italics) many other many monastic hospitals, St John the Baptist's was for the sick in general.[50] Another similar mistake seems to have occurred based on P.W. Joyce's inclusion of St John the Baptist's in his discussion of leper hospitals as Gerard Lee then quotes him and includes the hospital among his own work on leper hospitals.[51] Was this a simple error where St John the Baptist's became associated with leprosy? Certainly in the many and frequent references in the register to the patients, leprosy was not mentioned. Sickness and poverty certainly were and given the contagious nature of leprosy it would be unlikely that the hospital would have been principally a leper hospital without this being mentioned in sources. St Stephen's was a leper hospital in medieval Dublin and is clearly stated as such in the sources. In 1230 the 'Master and the lepers of the house of Saint Stephen at Dublin' accepted a 'surrender of the town of Balygyregan'.[52] Another source which might lead those interested in the hospital astray is Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*. Within its fairly extensive entry on St John the Baptist's can be found some entries with dubious dating. Under 1313 the grant of Cecilia de Stonehouse of lands in Rowlagh, Co. Dublin is mentioned, which must relate to Cicilia daughter of Jordan the clerk who *c.*1265 gave lands in this area to the hospital.[53] This grant is again given under the year 1359 in *Monasticon* where it is stated that the grant was given 'about this time'.[54] The purpose of these examples, of which there are

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[49] Ibid., p. 194.
[50] John F. Fleetwood, *The history of medicine in Ireland* (Dublin, 1983), p. 14.
[51] P.W. Joyce, *A social history of ancient Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1903), i, p. 618; Gerard A. Lee, *Leper hospitals in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1996), p. 49.
[52] *CARD*, i, pp 168–9. For St Stephen's see also; Myles V. Ronan, 'Lazar houses of St Laurence and St Stephen in medieaeval Dublin' in John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill; essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill* (Dublin, 1995), pp 480–9; Lauren Buckley and Alan Hayden, Excavations at St Stephen's leper hospital, Dublin: a summary account and an analysis of burials' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin III: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2001* (Dublin, 2002), pp 151–73.
[53] *Reg HSJB*, no. 299.
[54] Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum; or a history of the abbies, priories and other religious houses in Ireland* (Dublin, 1786), p. 203.

more, is merely to indicate the propensity that exists to repeat errors when a subject has not been thoroughly investigated, as this hospital has not hitherto been. What this study can offer then is a chance either to dispel or confirm some myths which surround the hospital.

One final area where previous scholarship has been crucial to this study relates to philanthropy. In examining the benefactors of the hospital it is important to understand their motivations for supporting it. This is difficult because the sources available are administrative and legal and by their very nature tend not to explain why an action was being carried out but rather how it should be executed. There are two instances in which the type of charter in this collection can record personal motivations or wishes; the first is by specifying to whom the grant is being made, usually in the form:

> 'Priori & fratribus Hospitalis sancti Johannis extra Novam Portam Dublinie & eorum successoribus ad sustentationem infirmorum ibidem decumbentium'.[55]

The other way in which a benefactor can personalise a gift is by linking it with his or her family, in the form:

> 'Hoc autem concessimus pro salute animarum nostrarum & pro animabus partum nostrorum & matrum & parentum nostrorum & omnium fidelium defunctorum'.[56]

Several schools of thought exist in relation to the concept of motivation. Again, the first point to reiterate is that this is largely a theoretical debate. Although the two examples above might be used to explain what motivated benefactors, this is an interpretation imposed on them, due to the recurrence of variations of these phrases throughout this and many other similar registers and cartularies – although they are stock phrases, that alone should not result in their outright dismissal. The debate on this issue will be covered from various angles. Were the motivations of benefactors charitable, religious or pious or, on the other hand, did they arise ultimately from social and economic considerations?

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[55] *Reg HSJB*, no. 96.
[56] Ibid., no. 38.

Peregrine Horden warned that the archives of the larger hospitals 'cannot by themselves provide an adequate basis for grand theory.'[57] I would apply this to St John the Baptist's in respect of its wider place in society. To understand the motivations of benefactors it is not enough simply to debate the level of their piety or lack thereof, but rather what it was in their wider society that might have compelled them to donate property, land and money to this institution. In the Ireland of the late twelfth century and onward, political circumstances made a huge difference to those who were in a position to make charitable gifts, and also to those who were likely to be receiving them. Mark Hennessy touched on this point with his suggestion that by 'imposing his cultural identity' an English lord in Ireland might forge connections with that community.[58] If the 'history of medicine in Ireland falls naturally into two divisions: the pre-Norman and the post-Norman' St John the Baptist's represented the latter.[59]

Secondary subjects: Land and property

And finally, in addition to being a hospital, St John the Baptist's was both a landlord and a tenant. Examining it in this capacity is entirely different to attempting to address its medical purpose. As a land owner and rent collector St John's was part of a social stratum quite different to that of those poor and infirm lying on its beds awaiting sustenance. Mark Hennessy has examined the Tipperary lands of the hospital in some detail, including its role in the creation of parishes in Tipperary.[60] In 'The priory and hospital of the New Gate' he highlighted the subinfeudation process in Tipperary by which the large grants, made by the greater English lords, were divided up among the lesser lords, several of whom were then responsible for granting parts of their new

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[57] Peregrine Horden, 'A discipline of relevance: the historiography of the later medieval hospital', *The Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, 1:3 (1988), p. 366.
[58] Hennessy, 'The priory and hospital of the New Gate', p. 49.
[59] Rev Francis Shaw, 'Medicine in Ireland in mediæval times', in William Doolin and Oliver Fitzgerald (eds), *What's past is prologue; a retrospect of Irish medicine* (Dublin, 1952), p. 10.
[60] Hennessy, 'Parochial organisation in medieval Tipperary' pp 60–91; idem, 'The priory and hospital of the New Gate', pp 41–54.

acquisitions to the hospital. For the Co Dublin area Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven calculated the lands held there by St John the Baptist's. This comprises only one page in a short but crucial study of medieval church holdings. In 1962 Rev Colmcille Ó Conbhuí published a magisterial study of the lands of St Mary's Abbey, which was also dissolved in 1539.[61] Ó Conbhuí employed a variety of sources to examine how and from whom the Cistercians of St Mary's came to hold their extensive lands. In many cases these are the same sources that will hold information about St John the Baptist's. Like the hospital, St Mary's kept a record of its holdings in a cartulary. At the demise of the religious houses an extent, or survey, was carried out which was designed to assess the value of each house. Despite some shortfalls in the manner in which this information was recorded, they are an invaluable record of the level of wealth and property of these houses in the mid-sixteenth century. Using the register, the extent of the hospital, and later administrative records, it will be possible to present a more extensive study of the Dublin lands of the hospital throughout its existence and beyond than any previous study has done.

Conclusion

The thesis is comprised of two main strands: a prosopographical examination of the benefactors, witnesses and miscellaneous names which are contained within those charters which comprise the Dublin section of the hospital's register and a historical examination of the lands of these charters and the institution itself. Each of the themes of this thesis has been addressed in previous studies. It is not the first prosopographical study, the first examination of a medieval hospital, nor the first to re-construct an urban society. What it does offer is the first large-scale reconstruction of Dublin society using the medium of a register of one of its medieval hospitals. St John the Baptist's has been examined by academics in short essays, as part of the wider religious community and as an important landlord. The people who made its existence possible have, as a group, been

[61] Ó Conbhuí, 'The lands of St Mary's abbey', pp 21–86.

largely ignored. As these individuals perhaps supported the hospital for more diverse reasons than would have been the case for the monasteries it is also imperative to see St John's as a crucial part of medieval Dublin life. Despite all the similarities between it and hospitals in medieval England and the Continent, it was a product of local circumstances in Ireland and as such needs to be understood on its own terms. This study will seek to add to that understanding.

Chapter 1

The register of the hospital of St John the Baptist: analysis of its creation, survival and value as a source

Introduction

> 'Records...only speak when they are spoken to, and they will not talk to strangers.'[1]

A cartulary can be a daunting collection of records. Even those compiled by a conscientious clerk, with rubricated titles and an easily deciphered order to the deeds, can overwhelm by the sheer volume of names, both principal actors and those contained on lengthy witness lists. Even a brief examination of G.R.C. Davis's catalogue of medieval British cartularies would attest not only to the high number of cartularies produced but the range of categories into which they can be divided.[2] Whether concerned with royal and episcopal privileges or the preservation of the muniments of a family or religious house, the collections are themselves an invaluable source for the time in which they were produced, apart altogether from the contents. The cartulary of St John the Baptist's in Dublin carries no scribal autograph which might perhaps help to define the period of time during which the main clerk was at work transcribing the original muniments in the hospital's possession. However, a note from Sir James Ware, in whose possession the manuscript rested briefly, would seem to indicate that the prior responsible for commissioning the cartulary was one of the late fourteenth-century holders of that office, William Gerard.[3] This particular cartulary has the

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[1] C.R. Cheney, *Medieval texts and studies* (Oxford, 1973), p. 8.
[2] G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval cartularies of Great Britain: a short catalogue* (London, 1958).
[3] This manuscript, MS Rawlinson, B. 498, is currently housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Its features will be discussed in greater detail throughout this chapter. This is the MS on which *Register of the Hospital of St John the Baptist*, ed. Eric St John Brooks (Dublin, 1936) was based (hereafter *Reg HSJB*). Ware and his attached list of priors will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

potential then to disclose much about who its benefactors and their social counterparts were, and about the type and number of tenements, messuages, burgage plots and other landholding types granted to and by the hospital. Even its creation, though, tells us something of the hospital at that time, while the register's journey from the Newgate of Dublin to the Bodleian Library in Oxford in itself provides a revealing insight into how the muniment collections of dissolved religious houses were dispersed.

This chapter will have two main strands: its primary role is an examination of the cartulary of St John the Baptist's in all its facets - its contents and indeed lacunae, its date of compilation, including a discussion of the physical make-up of the manuscript. In tandem with this will be a wider discussion of the phenomenon of medieval cartularies and in what category that of St John's should be placed. This will comprise both a definition of what a cartulary actually is, and how this differs from a register, the two terms often seeming synonymous when used to describe charter collections. How much thought was given to the internal arrangement of these collections – whether by date, street, parish or by any other system which might be followed easily and which would allow for ease of consultation? One of the most pertinent questions is that of why these collections were commissioned, all the more so because there are so few instances when an answer is provided by those involved. By the late fourteenth century the *fratres* in a Dover priory had become so concerned about the various nefarious elements troubling their muniments - arsonists and robbers actively destroying their collection and the slow rot of decay reducing what was not stolen - that they decided to compile a cartulary to ensure that a least a copy existed if the originals were destroyed.[4] Such experiences were common to many religious houses, and it is likely that they each had similar reasons for undertaking the considerable task of organising and copying a house's entire muniments.

[4] Trevor Foulds, 'Medieval cartularies', *Archives*, 18:77 (1987), p. 23.

Definition of a cartulary/register

Firstly then to clarify what a cartulary is and what one should expect to find in such a collection. Davis wrote that cartularies

> 'are registers of muniments, that is to say of the title-deeds (*carte*), charters of privilege (*privilegia*) and other documents which are kept by landowners as evidence of their personal or corporate rights. They are made primarily for purposes of reference and information; their name derives from the Latin word *c(h)artu(l)arium*, or *registrum cartarum*, by which in the Middle Ages they were commonly known.'[5]

Davis then categorises the cartularies, of which those most relevant for this discussion include: general (containing the entire muniments of a house); special (where a general cartulary might, due to size, need to be divided into several volumes, each volume perhaps containing deeds of a specific nature such as papal or royal); cartularies of rights and privileges (perhaps decisions relating to disputes or final concords, but rarely the deeds themselves); chronicle cartularies (the chronicle of a particular house but also containing copies of the house's most important charters); and inventories (essentially a finding list for the muniments, with perhaps a short description of the deeds listed).[6] M.T. Clanchy defined cartularies as 'a collection of title-deeds copied into a register for greater security'. He suggests that their emergence in England as a form of record-keeping was brought about by the political and social upheavals caused by the events of 1066 and then by the uncertainty of the reign of King Stephen less than a hundred years later.[7] This raises the question then as to the distinction between a cartulary and a register and if perhaps their individual peculiarities have been somewhat lost over time. Trevor Foulds suggests that the now interchangeable nature of the two terms may in part be because the

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[5] Davis, *Medieval cartularies*, p. xi.
[6] Davis, *Medieval cartularies*, pp xii–xiii.
[7] M.T. Clanchy, *From memory to written record: England, 1066–1307* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1993), p. 101.

'great seventeenth-century antiquarians appear to have had a predilection for the term 'register', and perpetuated confusion...by applying it to both cartularies and registers indiscriminately.'[8]

A register, relative to a cartulary, contains a greater variety of documents relating to the management or maintenance of a religious house, or of a family estate. While it may contain title-deeds, these do not predominate among the contents, whereas in a cartulary, title-deeds 'must predominate almost to the exclusion of all other material', hence the derivation of the name of the collection from *cartae*.[9] The distinction then between the two is clear, though how the terms lost this is also easy to see, given that ultimately both are collections of the original documents that those who commissioned them considered important enough to have copied. So what of St John's and its register? The collection of deeds which survives as MS Rawl. B. 498 is primarily a collection of the hospital's title-deeds, copied from the originals which were, in some instances at least and according to the main scribe, held in hanapers or baskets.[10] It is not a collection exclusively concerned with title-deeds, but is certainly predominantly so. Those entries which are not copies of charters testifying to grants made to or by the prior and brethren relate to disputes between parties concerned with other such grants, or confirmation by ecclesiastical authorities regarding the granting of tithes in their jurisdictions.[11] Why then is it known as a register and not a cartulary? The answer would seem to lie in what happened to the manuscript following the dissolution of the hospital and would perhaps support Foulds's

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[8] Foulds, 'Medieval cartularies', p. 5.
[9] Ibid., p. 7. This is a much simplified summary of Foulds's analysis of the distinction between the two types of record collections.
[10] This will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.
[11] *Reg HSJB*, no. 521 is a confirmation by Matthew, archbishop of Cashel, of the church of Clogher in Co Tipperary. The preceding charter in the register is the original grant of this to the hospital by William le Bret. *Reg HSJB*, no. 21 is a letter noting the appointment of John Chamberlain (*Camerarius*) as John le Marshal's attorney in his bid to assign part of a messuage to the hospital.

assertion regarding those antiquarians who drew no great distinction between the two, the antiquarian in this instance being Sir James Ware.[12]

From Newgate, Dublin to the Bodleian Library, Oxford

In the 1920s and 1930s Charles McNeill and Eric St John Brooks examined the manuscript in detail and published their findings, the former in the *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society* and the latter in the introduction to his edition of the manuscript.[13] McNeill undertook the task of tracing the owners of the manuscript from the date of the hospital's closure to its present home, a task aided by the predilection of these various owners to leave, in some instances, quite significant physical marks on the manuscript. Perhaps the earliest traceable user, aside from the priors and brethren, was Archbishop John Alen.[14] As the archbishop died in 1534 he must have consulted the manuscript while it was still presumably in active use in the hospital. However, several known grants made in the sixteenth century failed to find their way into what is now the extant manuscript, meaning that the register as it exists today is not the definitive record of the hospital's transactions.[15] As the man who held the archbishopric when the hospital was ceded to diocesan control in 1531, it is conceivable that Alen would also have wanted to consult the hospital muniments, most of which by then must have existed only in the form of the copy in the register.[16] McNeill refers to Alen's

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[12] Graham Parry, 'Ware, Sir James (1594–1666)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28729, accessed 31 Jan 2011].

[13] Charles McNeill, 'The de Verdons and the Draycots', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, 5:3 (1923), pp 166–72; 'Some early documents relating to English Uriel, and the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, 5:4 (1924), pp 270–77.

[14] James Murray, 'Alen, John (1476–1534)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/277, accessed 1 Feb 2011]; Francis Elrington Ball, *The judges in Ireland, 1221–1921* (2 vols, London, 1926), i, pp 195–6.

[15] Two of these deeds now form part of the Talbot collection held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Talbot c. 96/4 dates to 1520 and MS Talbot c. 96/5 dates to 1536. They will both be discussed later in the chapter. Another indenture dated to 1513 can be found in *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c. 1172–1534*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1950), p. 261 (hereafter *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*).

[16] *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, p. 276. See chapter 5 for more details on the relinquishment of diocesan control.

'characteristic markings' appearing on some of the inserted charters (which are examined in detail below), from which he deduced that these inserts were in place before the dissolution when ownership changed hands.[17] There are several drawings throughout the manuscript, such as that of a hand pointing from the margins to the title of charter no. 37 and another pointed finger midway through charter no. 122, drawing attention to the reference to St Francis's church in the western suburb of Dublin. Beside this extended finger is written a reference to the church, almost certainly by the same writer, but it cannot be stated with any certainty that these are the markings referred to by McNeill.[18]

Following the closure of the hospital the register found its way into the hands of the Draycott family of Mornington, Co Meath. A Derbyshire native, Henry Draycott began his career in Ireland in 1541 as the comptroller of the pipe in the Irish exchequer. Four years later he was appointed to the office of chief remembrancer in the exchequer.[19] As one of that group of new Tudor administrators in Ireland, such as Chief Justice Luttrell or under-treasurer of Ireland, William Brabazon, Draycott also benefited personally from the dissolution of the monastic houses, receiving among other grants, some of the lands of the Cistercian house of Dunbrody in Co Wexford and the site of the old Verdun foundation of St Leonard's hospital near Dundalk, including its demesne lands.[20] In 1553 he also secured for himself the site of Llanthony Secunda at Duleek, in addition to lands at Mornington in Meath.[21] As part of his library he acquired various items, including the Black Book of Llanthony and what McNeill calls the books (perhaps meaning their registers or items from their libraries) of St Leonard's hospital, Dundalk and Our Lady's in Duleek and the register of St John's. Draycott's name does not appear among the many who, at various times following the dissolution, were granted by the crown rights of ownership over

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[17] McNeill, 'Some early documents', p. 271.
[18] *Reg HSJB*, no. 37 (MS Rawl. B. 498, fol. 11r); *Reg HSJB*, no. 122 (MS Rawl. B. 498, fol. 56v).
[19] Stephen B. Barnwall, 'Henry Draycott and the Draycotts of Mornington, Co Meath', *Ríocht na Mídhe*, 6:3 (1977), p. 68. Ball's entry on Draycott gives his earliest date in Ireland as 1544: Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, i, pp 209–10.
[20] Barnwall, 'Henry Draycott and the Draycotts of Mornington', pp 68–9.
[21] Arlene Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172–1541: lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008), p. 222.

either the site of the former hospital of St John's or its acquisitions. In light of this, McNeill suggested that the explanation for Draycott's acquisition of these records must be found in his place of employment in the Irish exchequer and perhaps also that interest in these deed collections waned as the lands of religious houses were gradually dispersed.[22]

That more records such as these did not survive may in part be due to a lack of interest on the part of those who acquired the estates of the dissolved religious houses in retaining proof of a third-party claim to their new lands. Any records not containing title-deeds (kitchen accounts or patient-lists, for example) may not have been considered of significant importance to maintain. It may even be possible that the remaining priors and brethren of these houses kept some of these original or transcribed deeds as mementos for themselves.

Following his death in 1572 Henry's successor at Mornington was his son John, whose marriage into the Barnewall family secured the Draycotts' place, though perhaps a minor one, among the recusant Old English of Ireland.[23] John also inherited his father's library, or at the very least he retained ownership of the register of St John's, which became almost a working document for him as he filled several pages with the results of his own historical research, which included the genealogies of some of the earliest English settlers in Ireland, beginning with Bertram de Verdun.[24] The amount of blank space used by this writer to commit to writing his interest in these early English conquistadors (he also includes a copy of Henry II's grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy) is slightly problematic. Some, like the entry on Bertram de Verdun, simply fill in space, in that particular instance at the bottom of an entry in the section on the place in Dublin known as Bertram's Court, and thus the placing is appropriate, and the space simply that which was left empty by the main scribe of the register. The real issue concerns those full-page entries, where it is more difficult to ascertain whether the folios were left blank by the original scribe, and if so why, or alternatively whether the original

[22] McNeill, 'Some early documents', p. 273.
[23] Barnwall, 'Henry Draycott and the Draycotts of Mornington', pp 74–5.
[24] McNeill, The de Verdons and the Draycots', p. 167: MS Rawl. B. 498, fol. 60v ('under which the Abbot and Convent de Bello Becco in Normandy were empowered to transfer to the Abbey of Furness in England the manor of Ballibecco near Drogheda').

contents were erased by the later users of the register. A full page entry on fol. 66v contains an extract taken from the roll of Common Pleas at Dublin.[25] This page has, according to McNeill, been cleared by erasure to allow room for both the roll extract and a copy of a quitclaim from Joan de Mortimer to her uncle, Simon de Geneville. St John Brooks was unconvinced that these pages had been cleared by erasure, and in the introduction to his edition of the register he mentions that an examination of these pages had been made for him by the Bodleian Library staff using ultra-violet light. My own examination of these pages with the Bodleian's ultra-violet lamp led me to the same conclusion as St John Brooks; having said that, the pages would seem to have been treated, for in several places the parchment is certainly not the same texture as those containing the work of the original scribe, but, without more extensive physical analysis, St John Brooks's reservations would seem to hold still nonetheless. McNeill gave no indication as to what brought him to the conclusion that the original contents of these pages had been cleared or indeed why he thought that Draycott, having preserved the register, would then destroy part of its contents to allow for his own entries. That said, St John Brooks suggests that the Draycott insertions were made at 'the ends of completed sections where blank pages are commonly found', which is certainly a phenomenon found in other parts of the register, but does not explain why the scribe would have left several folios empty between the sections containing the grants relating to Bertram's Court and those in the next section which covered Donore and the Coombe. Although the pricking of folios is not consistent throughout the entire register (this will be discussed later) those folios which contain both the details on the Verduns, de Lacys and particulars of the earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgh, are pricked and are foliated by the original scribe. They may have been left blank if the scribe believed that there were other charters which needed to be copied into the section on Bertram's Court, charters which perhaps were not yet in his possession.

Draycott also included on a blank folio at the back of the register (fol. 185v) an index of sorts, making reference to particular figures such as Theobald

[25] *Reg HSJB*, p. 100.

Walter and the Barnewalls. Similar additions to the Llanthony Prima cartulary might suggest that it too had temporarily been in John Draycott's hands. In Arlene Hogan's description of the Llanthony Prima manuscript she noted that on two of the folios a genealogy of Hugh de Lacy's descendants was added, in English, which she speculated were added onto folios which had been left blank in its original compilation.[26]

Nicholas Bernard wrote an account of Phelim O'Neill's unsuccessful siege of Drogheda in 1642 and included information on the fate of the Draycott library (John Draycott having died in 1639).[27] In this, Bernard recounts how the house of the Draycotts in Mornington, east of the town of Drogheda, was burned. Those parts of the Draycott library saved from the fire were 'brought in hither and sold us at very easy Rates; a very fair large parchment Manuscript of an old Missal consecrated to that Church of Marlington came to my Hands'.[28] McNeill suggests that the register of St John's must have been among the items saved and that following this then came into the hands of Sir James Ware, the earl of Clarendon and the duke of Chandos, and was then subsequently bought by Richard Rawlinson for 11s.[29]

Following its use by Archbishop Alen, John Draycott, and perhaps to a lesser extent the anonymous artist, it is to Ware that the remainder of the markings on the text should be ascribed. It is possibly to him also that the designation of the manuscript as a register rather than a cartulary (as it is named in the Bodleian catalogue) is to be credited. On one of the first few blank folios is written '*Regestum Chartarum Hospitalis Sci Johannis Baptistæ extra novam portam civitatis Dublin*' in what would appear to be Ware's writing. The register as it exists today has no other title, although when referring to St John's register in his edition of Archbishop Alen's register, Charles McNeill refers to it as '*Registrum cartarum hospitalis S. Johannis Baptistæ extra novam portam civitatis*

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[26] Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, p. 29.
[27] McNeill, 'Some early documents', p. 274.
[28] Nicholas Bernard, *The whole proceedings of the siege of Drogheda. To which is added, A true account of the siege of London-Derry* (Dublin, 1736), p. 76.
[29] McNeill, 'Some early documents', p. 270.

Dublin, tempore Edwardi III concinnatum'.[30] This title is not to be found in the register. In addition, McNeill and St John Brooks originally believed that one folio from the extant manuscript was entirely missing, but, not long after St John Brooks published his edition of the register, he was made aware by Herbert Wood of the presence of the missing folio in MS. British Library Additional 4797. This was included as addenda et corrigenda in the published register.[31] As the collection in which it now exists was part of Ware's, St John Brooks speculated that it may have been separated from the remainder of the register when in Ware's hands. If there was another, more complete reference to a title here, such as that given by McNeill in Archbishop Alen's register, none of those who have commented on the discovery of the additional folio have made reference to its presence, and given the thoroughness of both commentaries this makes it certain that there is none.

Ware's other contributions to the register, if its current designation as a register is indeed due to him, include the index he provided, the list of priors, the binding and the rather intriguing inside cover. On the cover of the leather binding is an engraving of the Ware family coat of arms, two lions (possibly passant but the low quality makes it difficult to be certain) surrounded by eight shells. The coloured plate pasted onto the inside board defeated McNeill's considerable research powers, but St John Brooks was able to identify somewhat the meaning of the plate which bears in the centre the legend 'Academia Leonardi Vi[n]ci' while also noting that it can also be found in Ware's copy of the Annals of Ulster.[32] A.M. Hind dismissed the suggestion that they relate to an actual academy presided over by da Vinci, or were designed as admission to lectures or as an ex-libris for the library of the academy. He instead suggested that they were intended as a 'decorative puzzle' for artists, similar designs appearing

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[30] *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, p. 69.
[31] *Reg HSJB*, pp xxii–xxv. A more detailed transcription of the folio is given by Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'An unpublished fragment of the Register of the Hospital of St John the Baptist, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 92 (1962), pp 67–9.
[32] *Reg HSJB*, p. xv.

throughout other works related to Leonardo.[33] If it was Ware who placed the plate in the two manuscripts (and McNeill was of the opinion that it had been placed there before the manuscript reached Ware), it can only be speculated as to how he acquired them, perhaps during one of his continental visits, and they may have no significance in this setting other than their decorative purpose.

The list of priors compiled by Ware, affixed to the manuscript, provided the basis for St John Brooks's updated list, and both of these were invaluable for the prosopographical analysis of the priors in this thesis.[34] Ware's list in the register contains the names of more priors than the modern edition, as St John Brooks published a heavily edited version of the list, omitting several of Ware's comments. However, several of these comments are far from the random musings and marks made by most of the users of the register, where they mention a name or note a date in the margin of a particular charter. That St John Brooks omitted some details from Ware's list, but failed to mention this in his edition demonstrates the desirability of being able to check an original manuscript against a published edition. For instance, under Thomas de Landa's name (prior 1331–40), Ware noted that other than the chaplains and lay brethren there were 155 poor and infirm being fed in the hospital.[35] Ware's next entry, and the next prior, was William Gerard. He had in fact already held the position before de Landa, possibly only for a short time during 1331. Following de Landa's death in 1340, Gerard once again assumed the position of prior, which he held until 1363. As will be seen in chapter five, in April of that year the archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Minot, was ordered to investigate 'rents, lands, vineyards, rights and goods thereof, which prior William and his predecessors are said to have alienated and wasted, to the injury of the men, women, and

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[33] Arthur Mayger Hind, *Catalogue of early Italian engravers preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawing in the British Museum*, ed. Sidney Colvin (London, 1910), pp 404–5.
[34] All references to Ware's list are taken from MS Rawl. B. 498, fol. iii, affixed to the register.
[35] This most likely refers to a grant of deodands received by the hospital in 1334 when it was claimed that due to 'hostile attacks of Scots and Irish' the hospital was unable to support the 155 patients in its care. *Cal Pat Rolls*, 1330–34, p. 552.

orphans living therein' and to remove the prior if he was found guilty.[36] This is the last official date for Gerard which has emerged to date, although the next recorded date for a prior is almost twenty years later, when Ware simply notes that John, the prior, *vixit*. Ware however notes that it was during Gerard's time as prior that the register was written, allowing then for a date range of 1340 to 1363, at least, for his time as prior, which St John Brooks omitted.

If Ware is correct in stating that it was during Gerard's time as prior that the register was commissioned, it might possibly have been related to the complaints being made about the mismanagement of the hospital, perhaps in an attempt to gather together all the surviving deeds of the hospital and make a transcription should disputes about the hospital's right to lands or rents arise in the future. Gerard may have been attempting to counter the claims made against him: it is known that priors and other head of houses 'who hoped to exploit a potentially lucrative source of income at the expense of staff and patients, moved quickly to confiscate documents of title, statutes and...common seals'.[37] This may have been Gerard's attempt to prove that he at least had done no wrong. It may even be the case that he was not himself responsible for setting the scribes their task and that the creation of the register came about as a result of Archbishop Minot's investigations. The head of a religious house did not always of course commission a cartulary for negative reasons – fear of theft, fire or legal disputes – they could also be a source of pride for a house, the opportunity to demonstrate the many acquisitions made by it. In this capacity it might have functioned almost as a brochure for prospective benefactors, who might see at an easy glance the illustrious citizens whose souls were being prayed for by the infirm within the hospital.

Ware also however records that at that time the hospital had the care of 130 weak or ill paupers (*pauperum languidorum*), noting the close rolls of 21 Edward III (1347–8) as the source. If these numbers were accurate, and

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[36] *Cal Papal Reg*, iv, p. 87. Minot is not named in the letter; see F.J. Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111–1534' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, ix: maps, genealogies, lists* (Oxford, 1984), p. 310 for his name and dates.

[37] Carole Rawcliffe, 'Passports to paradise: how English medieval hospitals and almshouses kept their archives', *Archives*, 27:106 (2002), p. 14.

allowance must be made for the possibility that the 155 patients quoted in the 1330s may have been an embellishment, numbers of patients cared for in the hospital did then begin to fall rapidly throughout the fourteenth century, the last official figure for patient numbers occurring in the 1370s when the numbers had fallen to 115.[38] William Talbot was prior in the 1450s, replaced by Richard Hediane in the 1460s and reinstated again in the 1470s, until his death in 1475. Ware made no mention of Hedian, but he does note that on his death in 1475 Talbot was an old man. Talbot also, according to Ware, travelled to England to visit the tomb of Thomas Becket, the martyred archbishop of Canterbury. Finally, Ware makes a point of noting that that the hospital had been governed by six priors over the course of only five years, indicating a relatively rapid turnover

Scribal hands and physical characteristics

As both St John Brooks and McNeill have commented to varying degrees on the hands and the physical make-up of the register the observations made here will be confined largely to other aspects of the manuscript not noted by either of these authors in their publications on the register.[39] The manuscript has 'sixteen gatherings, each usually of six sheets, folded in the middle so as to make twelve leaves or folios.' In some instances these numbers vary, usually when the scribe has added an extra folio to allow him to complete a partiular section within one gathering, for example the seventh gathering has thirteen folios, the additional one allowing the scribe to complete the section on Fingal. The register is, as St John Brooks noted, mostly in two hands.[40] The script is English cursive documentary script (*cursiva anglicana*), which 'emphasizes the regularity and compactness of the head and base-lines and the bodies of letters, with

[38] *Cal Pat Rolls*, 1370–74, p. 302.
[39] In the introdution to his edition of the register St John Brooks gives a detailed description of the manuscript. While researching in the Bodleian I checked the description against the manuscript and as I found no discrepencies, the summary given here in the main text is taken from St John Brooks: *Reg HSJB*, pp viii–ix.
[40] *Reg HSJB*, p. xi.

lengthening of selected ascenders and descenders.'[41] The secondary hand is in the same script, but is not as small and compact as the main hand. The secondary scribe may not have been the most observant of clerks for in two instances he includes charters which had previously been recorded by the main scribe. The first example is that of a charter of Brother Osbert, prior of St John's, which was then crossed through with *scripitur in principio libri* written in the margin beside it, in a more compact hand which may indicate that the main scribe had noticed the error and directed the reader to his original entry.[42] A similar occurrence can be found on fol.11v where again the larger of the two hands has included a charter which is also to be found written by the main scribe on ff 8r and 8v. Again there is a contemporary note - *scribitur superious in viii folio* - to demonstrate that the entry is a repeat of an earlier charter.[43] There is no discernible reason why the secondary scribe would have chosen to repeat either of these, or the location. In the entire register there are 211 charters which mention a clerk (*clericus*) in the witness list. Many of these names are repeated over the course of many years, and deeds. In most instances the clerk is the final named witness on the list (followed by the standard refrain *et multis aliis*), but occasionally it is noted that the named clerk was responsible for writing the charter. Alan, not simply a clerk but called a *rithmatore* (one who composes rhymes), appears named as such in two charters where it was stated that he had written those deeds.[44] Robert de Bedford, chaplain, was noted as having written one charter and appears as last witness in another.[45] William, *notarius Dublinie* was probably William fitz Robert, clerk of the city, granted a plot of land by the Newgate for his services to the city.[46] Occasionally two clerks appear together; in charter 36, William the city clerk is listed, followed by Henry, who wrote the

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[41] Michelle Brown, *A guide to Western historical scripts from antiquity to 1600* (London, 1990), p. 96.
[42] *Reg HSJB*, no. 8: MS Rawl. B. 498, fol. 5v.
[43] This warning appears also to have been written in two hands, 'scribitur superius' in one not well formed hand and 'i viii folio' in that of the main scribe.
[44] *Reg HSJB*, no. 72 (*c.* 1190) and no. 458 (*c.* 1200).
[45] *Reg HSJB*, nos 91 and 93 (both dated *c.* 1230).
[46] *Reg HSJB*, no. 13 as *notarius*; *CARD*, i, no. 3, p. 82 for the grant to William fitz Robert. For William and his career see Mary Clark and Gráinne Doran, *Serving the city: the Dublin city managers and town clerks, 1230–1996* (Dublin, 1996), pp 2–3 and 16.

charter. While some of the scribes who wrote the original charters may have identified themselves, this is in stark contrast to the lack of any scribal signature for those who gathered them together into St John's register. This is not the case with all such registers, and in some instances the scribes actually supply both their name and the purpose of their task. The scribes of the Llanthony cartulary explained that an Adam Elmeley and William Temset, both proctors in Ireland, had worked on the document.[47] Following Elmeley and Temset several other scribes took up the work, perhaps enough to allow us to imagine 'a small staff working on the records of Llanthony'.[48] The cartulary of St Bartholomew's hospital in London was begun in the first few decades of the fifteenth century, when several of the deeds were transcribed by John Cok, who identified himself as the scribe.[49] Occasionally a scribe working on behalf of the archbishop of Canterbury would find that neither the original nor the transcript he needed for a particular register was available and would need assistance from one of the houses in the archbishop's jurisdiction, suggesting a level of 'administrative co-operation between the clerks in the service of these religious corporations, exchanging information and providing each other with the documents they wanted.'[50]

Duplicated deeds

Twenty-three charters in total are duplicated throughout the register. A chirograph of Roger de Ashbourne which appears on fol. 10r has been crossed through and in the margin is written *scribitur in parochia Sancti Patricii inter copias cartarum*. In a footnote St John Brooks notes that the charter is not to be found in that section but it in fact is, at the point where the section detailing those

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[47] Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, p. 32.
[48] David Walker, 'The organization of material in medieval cartularies' in D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey (eds), *The study of medieval records* (Oxford, 1971), p. 148.
[49] *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital, founded 1123*, ed. Nellie J.M. Kerling (London, 1973), p. 3. Cok had been a servant to one of the hospital's masters prior to becoming a brother himself and he later became the hospital's renter. Ibid., p. 8.
[50] F.R.H. Du Boulay, *The lordship of Canterbury: an essay on medieval society* (London, 1966), p. 6. Chapter one is concerned with the composition and arrangement of the archives of the medieval archbishopric.

charters relating to the parish of St Patrick's moves into the section on Bertram's Court, and curiously enough St John Brooks has himself repeated it in that section.[51] Charters nos 47 and 48 were also duplicated and again there appears to be no discernible reason why this would have been done, especially as the original charters, both of which relate to holdings on Rochelle Street, are in the correct section of the register. The first entry was written by the main scribe and appears to be in sequence as the preceding charter (no. 46) also concerns Rochelle Street. Both duplications appear again to have been entered by the secondary scribe as they are in the larger hand which appeared again in the bottom half of fol. 15v for the entry of charter no. 49. The duplication of no. 47 was not crossed out, but that of no. 48 was, and in the margin beside it was written in brackets, fol. 15v, to refer the reader to the original entry. This would not seem to have been a contemporary entry, and from a similar instruction in the margin of fol. 37r was probably written by a Bodleian librarian.

Occasionally a reason for duplicated charters can be speculated upon. Also part of the section on St Audoen's is charter no. 55. With a rubricated first initial in both the title and first word of the charter itself, and with another couple of touches of red ink throughout the text, it stands out as perhaps having a special significance. In the margin is another drawing, this time of what can perhaps best be described as a three-leaf clover. Stitched to the previous folio is what was probably the original of the deed, written in a hand entirely different to the two main hands of the register, with the same three-leaf clover in the margin. The presence of the two is then perhaps due to the later discovery of the original, which was then attached to the register once it was unearthed. That it was not available at the time of the compilation of the register can probably be deduced from the fact that it was not stitched over the entry in the register as this folio had already become home to an extra, inserted folio. The same was probably true for three more deeds where an insert – probably the original – was attached to the register and the contents also entered into the register. The first was a final concord between one of the priors, Walter de Southwell, and Robert de Alemania

[51] *Reg HSJB*, nos 34 and 169.

(charter no. 240), which was stitched onto fol. 103r (more on this chirograph below) and was also an entry in the register on fol 105r. The second is charter no. 320, a grant from Robert de Pulla, which is on the dorse of an insert before fol. 105 but also was written into the register on fol. 121r, where his other deeds and those of his uncle were also located.[52] The third is no. 98, stitched to fol. 39 and covering the same charter in the register, including the drawing of an ornate cross found on the original. The two copies are not in the same hand, the stitched version probably being the original as it has a small hole where the thread for the seal would have gone.

Another duplication was more than likely the result of the scribe wishing to include a deed with property in two parishes in each relevant section for that parish. Nicholas de Beverly's grant to the hospital was of rent from a property on Fishamble Street in the parish of St John of Bothe Street and rent from a property on Skinner's Row in the parish of St Werburgh. The two charters appear to be in different hands (neither is in the small script of the main hand) and the duplicated copy has a much more detailed rubricated title but also refers to where the original deeds can be found: *Require istam cartam in cophino parochie sancti Johannis de Bouestret* directs those seeking the original to look for it in the hanaper containing those deeds relating to that parish – an indicator also as to how the deeds themselves were kept within the hospital, a point which will be examined in greater detail below. The same reason for duplication can perhaps be proffered for deed number fifty-five, from Agnes Goymund, daughter and heir of Walter, whose donations were from three different areas, Bertram's Court and the parishes of SS Olaf and Andrew. It comprises in fact the only charter in the section for the parish of St Olaf, but when repeated in the section on Bertram's Court the scribe noted in a rubricated note in the margin that the charter could be found in the hanaper for the parish of St Olaf.[53] For completeness of course it should really have been entered a third time, but it is not to be found in the section covering the parish of St Andrew. Finally, a third duplication of this kind

[52] *Reg HSJB*, nos 377–79.
[53] MS Rawl. B. 498, fol. 54r.

appears to have been the reason for the inclusion of William Gascoin's sale to the hospital in both the section relating to the parish of St Kevin (fol. 74r) and again that of Terenure (fol. 108r). William's charter (no. 153) concerns two burgages in the vicinity of St Kevin's and sixteen acres of land he held of the archbishop of Dublin. The repetition of this charter in the later section of the register is because charter number 339 amounts to a confirmation of this grant by the then archbishop, Luke, and though this latter contains other material unrelated to William's sale, it was clearly thought prudent that these should be placed together.

Although the two scribes were clearly working on the compilation of the main register at the same time, in one instance they both had a hand in copying the same charter. On fol. 20r (charter fifty-seven) an assise of fresh force between Elias de Ashbourne and the hospital, made in 1342 in the presence of the then mayor and bailiffs, was begun in the hand of the secondary scribe, but only eleven lines in was taken over by the main scribe who then continues for the next few folios. Contained within this long entry is a reference to a thirteenth-century agreement made between Roger de Ashbourne and the hospital, which formed the basis of the dispute between his son Elias and the hospital. This portion of the entry was written by the main scribe, but was not separated, or distinguished as a separate charter, by any type of heading or markings. It was however included as a separate entry on fol. 83r (St John Brooks did not include or number the duplicated charters, simply noting the number he had given the original), where the rubricated title mentions Elias de Ashbourne, although the charter itself related solely to his father, Roger. The scribe must have been aware of its use in the court proceedings (hence the reference to Elias) although he does not draw the reader's attention to this duplication.

The importance placed on the hospital's dispute with Elias de Ashbourne can perhaps be gleaned from the prominent place given to the various details of the dispute in the register. Over three full folios, fol. 40r to fol. 43r (leaving fol. 43 v blank) the main scribe lays out the various judicial cases between de Ashbourne and the hospital, in addition to providing a copy of the deeds upon

which the various disputes were based.[54] The judicial cases all date to the mid-fourteenth century while the three deeds on which they are based are all late thirteenth-century – these latter were incorporated by the main scribe into the body of his text, with no markings to differentiate between them. These three deeds were later duplicated, with rubricated titles, and by a different scribe.[55]

In addition to being unnecessary, some duplications were also put into an entirely different section from the original. Charter numbers sixty-three and sixty-four both concerned land in Rochelle Street, the former a charter from Mariota Ranolf to Thomas de Crofton while the latter charter was Thomas de Crofton granting the hospital rent from his new acquisition. Both deeds are repeated in a different hand several folios later, in the section covering the parish of St Nicholas's. Two deeds in which the hospital were the grantors of land in Donore, to the south-west of the city, were both placed in the section relating to Donore but were then crossed out and can be found again, almost twenty folios later, between the end of the section on Bertram's Court and that on St Patrick's, with no discernible reason for the move. Five indentures, one from the parish of St Michael, one from St Kevin's, and three from that of St Nicholas's were repeated toward the end of the register on folios which had not been numbered by the main scribes and are in an entirely different hand – the purpose was perhaps to gather into one section, presumably for ease of reference, those indentures between the hospital and various parties which were dotted throughout the remainder of the register.[56]

Inserted deeds (free-standing and sewn on)

Another feature of the register, which further demonstrates that it was repeatedly updated and very much part of the administration of the hospital, are the many inserts found throughout. They tend to be of two kinds, either stitched on to the top of a folio or free-standing, meaning that they were inserted firmly into the gathering of the quire, where, depending on the size of the piece of parchment, a

[54] *Reg HSJB*, nos 99, 100 and 101.
[55] MS Rawl. B. 498, fol. 86r and fol. 86v.
[56] *Reg HSJB*, nos 68, 78, 79, 80 and 150 were all repeated.

small piece of the inserted parchment can be found on the other side of the quire. The presence of the inserts is one of the two contributing factors to the variance in foliation between that of the scribes, that of the Bodleian and St John Brooks's own foliation, which, as it is the system most easily accessible due to his publication, has been the system adhered to in this thesis. The register was foliated by one of the main scribes, probably all in the one hand, in Roman numerals, written on the top of the recto of each folio. This numbering was carried up to fol. 176r, after which the hand changes entirely and the scribal foliation follows as 177, in Arabic rather than Roman numerals – it continues in this fashion until fol. 184, which contains the drawing of the crucifix mentioned above. Who was responsible for the change in how the folios were numbered? The number of hands through which the register passed means that it would probably require much more detailed parchment analysis than has been done to date.

Although the majority of the manuscript was foliated in the same fashion, and probably by the same scribe, there were idiosyncrasies which St John Brooks noted in his introduction. To summarise: on reaching folio 119, rather than follow it with 120, he returned to one hundred – as St John Brooks describes it the 'scribe reckoned a 'long' hundred of 120.'[57] Another slip meant that 130 led to 140, rather than 131. Fol. 67 is incorrectly numbered as 68 and fol.115 was numbered twice. St John Brooks follows these scribal variances, and, once aware that they exist, they do not cause a user of the document particular difficulties. Where confusion might arise however is where a user consults the manuscript housed in the Bodleian Library or views its digital version online.[58] From ff 1 to 24 the Bodleian numbering of the folios (in Arabic numbering, also on the top of the recto side of the folio) follows that of the scribe, the insert between ff 24 and 25 the starting point for the discrepancy. For manuscripts to which later inserts have been added (what St John Brooks called 'bills' in his introduction), and where those have not been foliated by the scribe,

[57] *Reg HSJB*, p. ix.
[58] Available at [http://image.ac.uk]. An excellent, if incomplete resource.

as is the case with those in the register, a clear system exists for how these should then be numbered. Where an entire manuscript is unfoliated, the Bodleian would number the main folio, then number the attached leaf. As the register of St John's was fully foliated, the method would be to follow that numbering system, only altering the main folio from 25 to 25a, and then number the stitched insert as 25b, the alphabetical additions being the only alterations.[59] Had this been followed there would be only a slight and easy-to-follow differentiation between the two systems. Where an insert was free-standing (inserted into the quire, with a corresponding 'stub' at the other side of the quire) the same system would be followed. Hence, where a folio, say fol.1 had both an attachment stitched to it and a free-standing insert, the folio would become fol. 1a, one insert would be 1b and the second insert 1c. The pattern of foliation that was used by the Bodleian was however not consistent and now means that where the scribal foliation ends at fol. 176, the corresponding Bodleian foliation is numbered 203. The system of foliation described above has, according to Dr Kauffmann, only been in place since the 1980s, and for those manuscripts catalogued in the nineteenth century, during what he called the 'large-scale cataloguing campaigns' of the time, a consistent and uniform approach was unlikely to have been in place.

So, how did the Bodleian approach the task of numbering the free-standing and stitched inserts? And what else can these additions reveal about the register or the scribes? The first insert is stitched to fol. 6v. It is what seems to be the lower right-hand half of an indentured chirograph, which would then possibly indicate that this was the original deed.[60] The deed itself does not directly concern the hospital: it is a final concord, dated 1312, between John le Mareschal and Richard Freynshe and his wife Agnes, regarding rent and land on Thomas Street. Its place in the register is explained by the charter which lies beneath it, in the main body of the text (no. 20) as this is a deed from le Mareschal to the hospital, six years later, in which the three parts of one messuage on Thomas Street, over which he had reached agreement with

[59] Personal communication from Dr Martin Kauffmann, curator, medieval manuscripts, Bodleian Library, January 2011.
[60] *Reg HSJB*, no. 19.

Richard and Agnes, were now passed on to the prior and brothers of St John's. Either the scribe did not have this in his possession at the time of compilation or, if he did, decided simply to attach the original to the appropriate folio rather than transcribe it. Having such deeds in its possession was advantageous for the hospital should disputes ever arise about its right of possession. In this instance, the deed was not foliated in any way by either the scribe of the register, or the Bodleian.[61]

St John Brooks	Bodleian
Sewn over fol. 6v	Not digitised or foliated
Inserted over fol. 13v	Foliated as fol. 14ar 14av
Stitched to fol. 18v	Foliated as fol. 18ar 18av
Inserted between ff 19 and 20	Foliated as fol. 19ar 19av
Inserted between ff 24 and 25	Foliated as 25r 25v
Stitched onto fol.35	Not shown in digitised version but foliated by them on the MS as fol. 36a
Inserted before fol. 38	Foliated as 40r 40v
Stitched in front of fol. 39	Not digitised. By their foliation it is stitched onto fol. 42r
Stitched in front of fol. 47	Not digitised. By their foliation it is stitched onto fol. 50r
Inserted before fol. 72r	Foliated as fol. 74r 74v
Inserted between ff 74 and 75	Foliated as fol. 77r 77v
Inserted folio, unnumbered. Between ff 90 and 91	Foliated as fol. 94r 94v
Inserted folio. Between ff 92 and 93	Foliated as fol. 97r 97v
Deed stitched to fol. 93	Not digitised or foliated

[61] The following table is intended as a guide to the variances in the foliation of inserts between St John Brooks's edition of the register, and the Bodleian Library's digitised version of the manuscript, as it was at the time of the completion of this thesis.

Inserted between ff 94 and 95	Foliated as fol. 100r 100v
Inserted in front of fol. 97	Foliated as fol. 103r 103 v
Inserted before fol. 97	Foliated as fol. 106r 106v
Inserted before fol. 100	Foliated as fol. 108r 108v
Inserted before fol. 102	Foliated as fol. 111r 111v
Stitched in front of fol. 103	Not digitised or foliated
Inserted before fol. 102 (long hundred of scribe changes numbering here)	Foliated as fol. 133r 133v
Stitched in front of fol. 102	Not digitised or foliated
Inserted before fol. 105	Foliated as fol. 137r 137v
Inserted before fol. 124	Foliated as fol. 157r 157v
Inserted in front of fol. 144	Foliated as fol. 169r 169v
Inserted in front of fol. 149	Not digitised or foliated
Inserted, not foliated, between ff 150 and 151	Foliated as fol. 176r 176v
Insert before fol. 151	Not digitised
Insert before fol. 161	Foliated as fol. 188ar 188av
Insert before fol. 170	Foliated as fol. 197ar 197av

Charter number forty-three is a free-standing insert, lined on both sides and is unlikely to have been an original deed as its palaeographic style matches the register, both in hand and rubricated title. It is very faded with a lower case 'a' in the margin, which may be intended to indicate that a corresponding charter 'b' should be found in the register, and a small 'b' in the margin beside the rubricated title of charter number forty-five would seem to affirm this; the insert is a 1238–9 charter from Laurence Blund to Thomas Blund of land just inside the city walls while its corresponding charter dates to forty years later and is a grant of this same land from Thomas Blund and his wife, Elene, to the hospital.

Four inserts were also copied into the register's main text and were discussed above as examples of duplicated deeds; nos 55, 98, 240 and 320. The first was sewn on, and not given a separate number by the Bodleian, the second was also stitched and again not given a separate number, the third also stitched and unnumbered and lastly number 320, which unlike the others is one of three deeds written onto an insert which is almost the same size as the main parchment folios. It was probably inserted after the folios had been numbered by the scribe as there is no remaining evidence for how it may have been numbered and although the very top seems to have been cut (a word, possibly 'Rowlegh' written there has been partially removed), the preceding and following folios were numbered in sequence.

Eight of the inserts are possibly original deeds. Numbers one, 55, 98 and 240 have been examined above. Numbers 87 and 90 are on a stitched insert, damaged on the right-hand margin and in a different hand to that of the main scribes of the register. This is itself stitched to a free-standing insert (containing charters eighty-eight and eighty-nine). This also was clearly added after the register had been foliated as the numbering goes from fol. 34 to fol. 35 and excludes the insert. The Bodleian have foliated the insert as fol. 36 and the stitched insert fol. 36a. Again the scribe identifies that one charter should be associated with another – in this instance charters eighty-eight and eighty-nine with number ninety-one – by marking the former with 'a' in the margin and the latter with 'b'. Though separated by a century they refer to a stone house and cellars held in the thirteenth century by the Cordwainer family, then by Gilbert de Livet and which by the early fourteenth century were in the hands of Robert Peel. A grant from William Coterel (with the agreement of Prior Daniel of St John's) to his son Robert of land in Palmerstown, north county Dublin, was stitched in front of other charters relating to this part of Dublin. It remains unnumbered and from the creases in the parchment had previously been folded, perhaps a sign of an original deed. An early fifteenth-century deed concerning a grant from Robert King and his wife Elena to John Saundre and his wife Joanne (number 303) is stitched to fol. 102 and as it was created so much later than the register it may

have been copied by the scribe then in the employ of the hospital or it might be the original simply added to the then existing register. The same can be said for no. 582, stitched to fol. 181. The front of the parchment is a lease by the then prior – Adam O'Hethe – of the hospital's share of the Liffey in Palmerston. It is sewn on, not numbered by the Bodleian, has no title and the quality of writing is very inconsistent. On the dorse is the drawing, mentioned above, of a soldier with a sword and shield and a type of gargoyle.

Other additions appear to have been written by one of the principal scribes, and added perhaps when deeds had been misplaced in their hanaper or were only unearthed following the completion of their particular section. Charter number sixty-nine is a free-standing insert on a small piece of parchment, with a rubricated title. This is the first insert foliated by the Bodleian with an entirely new number, fol. 25. The discrepancy between the two began at this point; although the Bodleian had initially followed the scribe by numbering fol. 25 (the full parchment page) as fol. 25, this was clearly then changed to fol. 26, and the insert then numbered as fol. 25. Deed number ninety-five is a grant of rent *c.* 1272–3 from Geoffrey de Selwode to Nicholas de Beverley, from land in Fishamble Street. This rent was later granted to the hospital by de Beverley, and so it was beneficial for the hospital to have proof of de Beverley's claim to the rent. The slip of parchment is lined, and the title rubricated, while the 'r' in *reddendo* has a small rubricated decoration. The slip was foliated by the Bodleian as fol. 40.[62] Deeds 156 and 157 (inserted between ff 74 and 75) were both similarly most likely copied by a scribe associated with the register (or scribes as there are differences between the two styles of writing) and both have titles: no. 157 is rubricated with a note indicating that it relates to the parish of St Peter de la Hull. That due care and thought was put into where it was placed can be shown from the 'c' added to the margin of number 156, the 'b' added to number 157 and the 'a' written beside number 158, which had been written into the main body of the text. As the three charters are unrelated, it would seem that

[62] St John Brooks dated no. 95 as 1272–3 and no. 96 as *c.* 1270. The former can be dated from the witness list as it names the then mayor and bailiffs whereas the latter has no titled witnesses.

the purpose of this was simply to indicate that the three charters were part of one group, and in fact these three are the only in the register which relate to that particular parish.[63]

The use by the scribes of this system of noting that certain charters were to be considered in conjunction with each other occurs on several occasions. Deed number 502 is a final concord (inserted in front of fol. 161 and dated as 1251 at the top of the slip of parchment, possibly by the scribe who wrote the deed), between the then prior of the hospital, Walter de Southwell, and Richard Bretnach. In the margin the scribe has included an 'a', though no corresponding charters were marked. This though was probably simply an oversight as one of the entries on fol. 161 (deed number 503) is the grant from Richard to the hospital which was the subject of the legal agreement contained in the concord. The same is true of charter number 542, from William of Worcester of the ecclesiastical benefices connected with his lands in Co Tipperary: in the charter this is one of two charters on a very small parchment insert in front of fol. 170, again with an 'a'. The corresponding 'b' can again be found in the margin of the deed on fol. 170, although the reason for this is unclear. This does not occur only with the smaller inserted parchment slips: charters 188 to 191, although written into the text in the order in which St John Brooks subsequently numbered them, were then ordered as 191 (a), 188 (b), 189 (c) and 190 (d), which corresponds with their order by date, and all relate to the same area. These are all on a full-page insert, clearly created by one of the principal scribes, but not foliated by the scribe.[64]

Finally, if work on the register can be dated to the 1360s, how do those charters dated later than this compare to the main body of the collection? Is it possible to determine a point at which the main scribes ended their work, and a

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[63] Other deeds which would seem to fit in this category – inserted deeds copied by one of the register's scribes, rather than an original deed - include nos 211, 217, 218, 225, 229, 236, 301, 302, 388, 456, 459, 464.

[64] The Bodleian have foliated it as fol. 94; St John Brooks leaves it as an insert between ff 90 and 91, as per the scribe. A similar instance of a contemporary attempt to signify an order can be found on an unnumbered folio (possibly not an insert) which contains charter nos 199–201, foliated by the Bodleian as fol. 97. Again on a slip inserted before fol. 97 containing charter nos 217 (a), 218 (b) and then 216 (c) which is written onto fol. 97 itself.

different group of scribes began to add to the register? One very obvious change in the style was the ending of the rubricated titles. The deed of Rose de Capella (number 323, *c.* 1275) was the last in the register to have its marginal title duplicated as a rubricated one, from there on, although titles exist for many of the deeds, they are present only in dark ink, in the margins.[65] There are two categories in these later deeds; firstly, final concords, all dated in the thirteenth century, but prior to the date of compilation of the main body of the register and secondly, various deeds, dated later than 1363, which are scattered throughout the register. The section containing the final concords was noted above as having duplicated many deeds already entered by the main scribes. It would appear though that either they had been kept in a hanaper which wasn't entirely transcribed by the main scribe, or they were unearthed at a later date. There was however a clear plan to keep these together in one section.[66] The second category is more varied. Deed no. 437 was dated to the Thursday following the feast of St Dunstan, bishop and confessor (19 May), in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Edward III, hence 1364. It is in a later hand, and added to an insert before fol. 144r. Charter numbers 380 and 389 (both dated *c.* 1370) are in what appears to be the hand of the secondary scribe, and are part of the main text of the register, meaning that if St John Brooks's dating is correct, the register was still in production at that time. Deed number 145 (April, 1380) was probably added to a blank space at the bottom of fol. 170r. Although it is dated roughly contemporaneously with the compilation of the register, the hand would appear to be a later one (perhaps cursive document hand).The section covering those deeds relating to the parish of St Patrick's ends on this folio, and the next parish begins not on fol. 170v but on fol. 171r (also the start of a new quire). At the top of fol. 170v is another charter in that same cursive document hand (number 146), which is dated to 1435. It seems likely that the same hand entered both of these

[65] It may be possible that one scribe was responsible for the rubricated headings and their ending might indicate his death/move to another house.
[66] For a study of the language used in quitclaims and final concords see Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, 'Changing legal terminology in dated private documents in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: a case study – quitclaims' in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Resourcing sources* (Oxford, 2002), pp 195–207.

in an available blank space, neither of them being connected to the parishes of St Patrick or St Kevin. The remainder of that folio has been used by Sir John Draycott for some of his Drogheda-related entries. Numbers 586 (dated 1395) and 587 (*c.* 1431) are on the folio in the British Library, on which neither St John Brooks nor Mac Niocaill make any commentary regarding the date of the hand, though very little of the latter is still visible. Deeds 582 (dated 1407) and numbers 303 and 304 (both 1421) are all on inserts. Deeds 583 (1445), 583 (1428) and 585 (1480) are all on fol. 183 and all bear signs of having been added to what was then a blank folio. It wasn't lined or pricked, and the document hand is of a much more uneven quality than the careful script of the earlier principal scribes. Using again what appears to have been an empty space left by the original compilers, a later scribe added number 428 (fol. 142r); the page was lined and the hand is neater than many of the other later entries. The latest of the dated charters, Prior Walter Ludlow's 1486 grant of an acre of meadow (no. 581), was again added to a blank space on one of the folios toward the back of the register.

Organisation of the register

> 'Archive sense, an appreciation of documents for their own sake, and an understanding of the shape of any particular archive, are not essential for the compiler of a register or a cartulary. That can be a clerical exercise, a job for the conscientious administrator who is not alarmed by the bulk of documents to be handled.'[67]

The organisation of the inserted deeds in this register, and some of the duplicated ones, demonstrates that the scribes were aware of their role in presenting the deeds to prospective users of the manuscript, and not merely to transcribe the muniments of the hospital. Though this is the only surviving manuscript from the hospital it can safely be assumed that it would not have been the only set of documents in the hospital's possession. It is probable that each facet of the hospital had its own set of documents – certainly those

[67] Walker, 'The organization of material in medieval cartularies', p. 132.

collecting rents on behalf of the prior would have had to document from whom the rents in their area were due, the value, and the date of payment, or if a delay in receipt had been encountered. The records that survive from other medieval hospitals give clues as to the type of administration which was common. Separate records survive from Bury St Edmund for the cellarer's lands, and those of the hostiller and infirmarer.[68] Portions of an early fourteenth-century almoner's cartulary survive in Canterbury, while the lands of a pittancer were recorded in a Colchester cartulary and from Durham various fragments survive for cartularies relating to the chamberlain, almoner and sacristan.[69] In God's House at Ewelme, Oxfordshire, an almshouse founded in the fifteenth century, the annual audited accounts, written on a single sheet of parchment, demonstrate the amount held in the coffers, rental income raised from its landholdings and such details as the salaries of the master and the poor men.[70] The various accounts, administrative records and patient lists of the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, Florence were regulated by the hospital's statutes.[71]

The *fratres* of Dover were mentioned above, in the context of compiling a cartulary after the slow destruction of their muniments. Funded by their prior, Robert de Welle and John Whitefield consciously created an incredibly well organised cartulary where each:

> 'chest containing charters was given a letter as its *signum*, and each charter a number, and these were written in the margin of the cartulary and on the dorse of each document. Where no reference was cited in the volume, the reader was to understand that the original had been lost and the text supplied from a copy.'[72]

In most cartularies the order given to the deeds as they were transcribed was not a random occurrence; the register of St John's in Dublin was arranged, where

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[68] Davis, *Medieval cartularies of Great Britain*, p. 15.
[69] Ibid., pp 22 (Canterbury), 31 (Colchester) and 40–1 (Durham).
[70] John A.A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: life, devotion and architecture in a fifteenth-century almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001), pp 257–65 (Appendix II).
[71] Rawcliffe, 'Passports to paradise', p. 5.
[72] Walker, 'The organization of material in medieval cartularies', p. 149.

appropriate, either by parish or by location, and hence it is a mostly topographical arrangement. Within the city of Dublin the parish system mostly prevailed, other than for well-known areas, like Bertram's Court or Donore. There were many ways in which a house could organise its cartulary: in the cartulary of the fraternity and guild of the Holy Cross, the deeds were 'arranged and numbered in sections, apparently by grantors' and it includes 'copies of royal charters, pleas, inquisitions and other miscellanea.'[73] Although a cartulary was mostly a collection of title-deeds, in many instances there were additional documents added to these collections, which necessitated 'deviation from a topographical plan' by providing 'special sections for such documents.'[74] Walker mentions in particular the care shown to final concords; in the register of St John's these were included at the time of compilation into the topographical plan but as mentioned above a later scribe did attempt to gather together these agreements into one dedicated section. The register begins with the parish of St James, indicated by the presence of a partially rubricated heading, followed by its neighbouring parish of St Catherine, again marked with a clear, but unrubricated heading. It would seem likely that the register had been compiled from original documents, which themselves had been arranged by parish, certainly in the section relating to Dublin. In the case of two parishes, St John of Bothestreet and St Olaf, a marginal entry notes that hanapers containing deeds existed for these parishes.[75] The scribe, or one of his assistants, may have checked the originals against the transcribed deeds, which might explain why at either the beginning or end of a parish's section the phrase, *ista parochia examinata est*, appears. In most cases attempts were made to erase this, and at times the only indication that this existed is the sign of slight erasure at the bottom of the page. There was no mention made of the type of hanaper or container that was used in St John's; the

[73] Davis, *Medieval cartularies of Great Britain*, p. 3.
[74] Walker, 'The organization of material in medieval cartularies', p. 135.
[75] MS Rawl. B. 498, fol. 48r for St John of Bothestreet and fol. 54r for St Olaf.

vas used to hold the archbishop of Canterbury's collection was capable of holding charters and other hanapers.[76]

Even muniment collections less salubrious than those of the archbishopric of Canterbury were well housed; an almshouse in Stamford was home to a large wooden chest whose lid was a single piece of timber 'reinforced with no fewer than nine iron bands' and was locked with three locks, the keys held by a vicar, warden and bedesman.[77] In God's House at Ewelme, the chest containing its muniments was also fitted with three locks.[78] The danger of having three key-holders was demonstrated in the same house in the late seventeenth century when the then grammar teacher, Mr Everard, took his key with him, rendering the chest inaccessible to all.[79]

Conclusion

> 'The cartulary expresses the identity of the house as a landholding institution'.[80]

Ultimately then, how valuable, and reliable, a source is the transcribed collection of the muniments of the hospital of St John the Baptist of Dublin? It shares many of the qualities of the collections from similar religious houses, hospitals or otherwise. From the references to the hanapers it can be deduced that the scribes used the original charters which had already been arranged by parish – hence the topographical arrangement of the register was simply a logical continuation of the existing muniment system. The various hands demonstrate that the register continued to be used and added to, as was likely the intention,

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[76] Jane E. Sayers, 'The medieval care and custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury's archives' in Jane E. Sayers (ed.), *Law and records in medieval England: studies on the medieval papacy, monasteries and records* (London, 1988), p. 96.
[77] Rawcliffe, 'Passports to paradise', p. 2.
[78] Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p. 117. See also notes nos 46 and 47, p. 314 for further references to muniment chests, including one with four locks and the arrangements regarding the holding of keys.
[79] Ibid., p. 202.
[80] Foulds, 'Medieval cartularies', p. 11.

even after the two principal scribes appear to have finished their work. It is primarily a collection of title-deeds, although other important documents do appear, such as final concords, episcopal approval for the receipt of tithes or benefices from various grantors, and letters appointing attorneys with the intent to implement the conditions of their employers' grants.

As noted above, it is very unlikely that the surviving register was the sole collection of the hospital's charters. The founders, Ailred Palmer and his wife would most likely have granted their new hospital a foundation charter, and it would have been highly likely that a set of statutes would have been drawn up to govern how the hospital was to be managed, to outline the duty of care that the patients might expect and to regulate how the lay brothers and sisters were to divide their work. But none of these important documents have survived. Even aside from the loss of the hospital's other administrative records, how do the lacunae in the extant register affect its value? Two deeds missing from the register, both dating from the sixteenth century and both grants from the then priors of lands in Rochelle Lane, opposite St Audoen's church, might indicate that the upkeep of the register was no longer a priority for the hospital.[81] There is also the possibility however that a second register contained the transcripts of these deeds, and indeed the hospital's copy of the crown's various grants of deodands throughout the fourteenth century. It cannot be stated with any certainty that the register as it exists today presents anything like a comprehensive insight into the hospital and priory, and indeed that is not why it was commissioned. St John Brooks noted that the register was of value to political historians, church historians, historical geographers and those interested in genealogy.[82] Perhaps then, even considering its lacunae, lack of scribal signatures and variety of hands, its strength and value as a source is the sheer variety of information it

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[81] Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Talbot c. 96/4 and MS Talbot c. 96/5. The originals are both in good condition, are both indentured with remnants of cord, but no seal. MS Talbot c. 96/4 contains a reference to the charter being sealed in the chapter house with the common seal. They are currently stitched together with a single stitch. Both are in sixteenth-century English. A transcription was made of them by A.J. Otway-Ruthven and kindly made available to me by Dr Peter Crooks: Medieval History Research Centre, TCD: Draft calendar of Talbot deeds in typescript (2 boxes), ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, Box 1, nos 139 and 146.

[82] *Reg HSJB*, pp xvii–xviii.

contains: it is both a source for the history of the hospital and of the times in which the hospital operated, the people who gave to and received from it and the medieval city which lay outside its doors.

Chapter 2

When is a hospital not a hospital? An evaluation of the care and ethos of St John the Baptist's

Introduction

> 'What should I here speake of their charitable almes, dailie and hourelie extended to the needie'

Richard Stanihurst, in describing Dublin and its citizens in the sixteenth century, appears to have believed the inhabitants of his native city to be greatly munificent. He opined that 'there are so manie other extraordinarie beggars that dailie swarme there, so charitablie succored, as that they make the whole civitie in effect their hospital'.[1] An earlier and perhaps less charitable response to those who threw themselves upon the mercy of the city was made in a speech reportedly given by an early fourteenth century archbishop of Dublin, Alexander de Bicknor. In this he condemned the many beggars in the city's environs, particularly the 'sloth and idleness' they displayed. The mayor of Dublin responded so enthusiastically that even the begging of the mendicants was under threat.[2]

But despite this suspicion of those without trade and the means to support themselves, Dubliners had been displaying a high level of social and municipal responsibility towards the needy for many years before Stanihurst's eulogistic

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[1] Richard Stanihurst, 'A treatise conteining a plaine and perfect description of Ireland; with an Introduction to the better understanding of the histories apperteining to that iland', in Raphael Hollinshed, *The...chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande* (London, 1577), p. 34. Not everyone was as welcoming towards the swarming beggars as Stanihurst; in the late fifteenth century, resulting from a report of 'dungheaps, swine, hog-sties, and other nuisances in the streets, lanes and suburbs of Dublin', the mayor of the city was ordered to 'expel all Irish vagrants and mendicants from the city' – the racial bias in this lack of charity cannot be ignored. *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin*, eds John T. and Lady Gilbert (18 vols, Dublin 1889-1922), i, pp 139-40. (hereafter *CARD*).

[2] *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, London, 1884), ii, pp xiv–xv. (hereafter *Chartul St Mary's*).

commendation of his city. The twelfth-century saintly archbishop of Dublin, Laurence O'Toole, had himself been a provider to the poor, allegedly daily feeding 'never less than thirty, often sixty'.[3] And from the late twelfth to the mid-sixteenth century, the hospital of St John the Baptist, located outside the Newgate, in the western suburb of Dublin, mediated between some of those who had, and some of those who needed.

By 1610, when John Speed mapped Dublin, the institution known to previous generations of Dubliners as the hospital of St John the Baptist without the Newgate, or to an even earlier generation as Palmer's Hospital, was listed simply as 'Johns House'.[4] By this date the foundation, which on Speed's map comprised a still significant enclosed area outside the Newgate, had changed entirely in character and purpose from that which had first appeared in the western suburb of Dublin in the late twelfth century. Following the decision taken by parliament in 1536 to force the closure of religious houses, the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII resulted in the granting of a lease of the entire site of the hospital in September 1539 to Edmund Redman, a surgeon, for the term of twenty-one years.[5]

In the previous year, in a prohibition order against the use of the public water system in St Thomas Street for the washing of 'foull clothes', St John the Baptist's was referred to as 'Seynt John ys pore house'.[6] Less than twenty years later it was necessary for the city to order that whichever 'person or persons be found putting, casting or leyign any dong or other filthret fro hensforthe in Seynt John's churchyard' would be fined 6*s.* 8*d.*, half to the 'fynder and spier' of said deed, half to the city treasury.[7] Such treatment of the once sacred grounds of St John the Baptist's was far removed from the days when it was paid an annual visit by Dublin's mayor 'on the Saints eve...on which a great bonfire was made

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[3] L'Abbé Legris, *Life of St Laurence O'Toole* (Dublin, 1914), p. 37.
[4] Dublin, 1610, by John Speed in *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, No. 11; Dublin, Part 1, to 1610*, ed. Howard Clarke (Dublin, 2002).
[5] *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary,and Elizabeth I* (4 vols, Dublin, 1994), i, no 85, p. 15 (hereafter *The Irish faints of the Tudor sovereigns*).
[6] *CARD*, i, no. 3, p. 404.
[7] Ibid., p. 36.

before the hospital.'[8] What actually *was* St John the Baptist's? What was the original intention on its foundation and what did it actually become? Was it a hospital, alms-house, poor-house, traveller or pilgrim refuge? Some, or perhaps all, of these? Just as Dublin evolved between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, so too obviously did the hospital of St John the Baptist, from a vital and integral part of the city, to its place on the margins, reflected both in its physical location, and in those it maintained.

Although it was considered one of the duties of the church to provide for the poor, the 'institutionalization of charity was made necessary by the urgency of the need'.[9] Alleviation of the suffering of the poor required the donation of alms by the rich, either directly by feeding the poor at their door on feast days, or through the medium of the church, where the brothers and sisters of institutions such as the hospital of St John the Baptist could decide who would benefit from the benefaction of its donors. By consulting the register of the hospital, a collection of almost 600 deeds compiled from original documents in the fourteenth century, greater understanding of how this hospital functioned within the society of medieval Dublin can be obtained.[10] There are many unanswered questions surrounding the hospital's history, due primarily to the nature of the sources which prevents detailed illumination of, for example, how the internal administration of the hospital was organised, or how its granges were managed. This chapter will investigate aspects of the history that can be elucidated, beginning with a brief investigation of the background to the establishment of the hospital of St John the Baptist, before examining the purpose of its foundation, how it functioned, and how it was maintained.

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[8] Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum; or a history of the abbies, priories and other religious houses in Ireland* (Dublin, 1786), p. 205.
[9] Michel Mollat, *The poor in the Middle Ages; an essay in social history*, trans Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, CT, 1986), p. 50.
[10] *Register of the Hospital of St John the Baptist, without the New Gate, Dublin*, ed. Eric St John Brooks (Dublin, 1936). Where a number is quoted this relates to the charter number as given by St John Brooks in his edition (hereafter *Reg HSJB*).

Foundation

Though there are many lacunae in what is known about the hospital, several basic facts concerning the hospital are certain; the first, that Ailred Palmer was the founder. This is known from the confirmation given in 1188 by Pope Clement III when he confirmed the rule and possessions of the hospital and referred to Ailred as the master.[11] Fourteen of the earliest charters in the register refer to the hospital as specifically that which was founded by Ailred Palmer, or simply Palmer.[12] Who was Ailred? Why did he found this hospital, one which secured a significant amount of support in donations of land and rental payments? And in what sense was it a medical hospital, or is this nomenclature misleading?

St John the Baptist's was not, despite the support shown to it by the citizens, a civic-run institution. It was a religious hospital, run in accordance with a monastic Rule. In this way it conformed to the norms of contemporary hospital foundations. As Carole Rawcliffe noted:

> 'Generally speaking, the older, larger houses founded before 1300 either followed or took their inspiration from monastic rules, especially those of the Augustinians, which placed particular stress upon the integration of charitable work with divine worship.'[13]

The efficient running of the hospital required that it adopted a rule that would allow the brethren to maintain a presence in the wider community; for, although not mendicants, the hospital relied entirely on the support of the community in which it functioned. The Rule of St Augustine provided such a framework: in the chapter relating to the community and care of the body, it stresses that 'respect...is to be shown for the uniqueness of each person' and that the sick

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[11] Augustinus Theiner (ed.), *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustantia Quae ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentiae Tabularis Depromsit et Ordine Chronologico Diposuit, 1216–1547* (Rome, 1864), pp 214–5. (hereafter *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*). For a brief discussion of its contents, especially the grants, see *Reg HSJB*, pp v–vii.

[12] *Reg HSJB*, nos 30, 38, 41, 191, 251, 268, 306, 362, 363, 409, 418, 421, 422 and 464.

[13] Carole Rawcliffe, 'Medicine for the soul: the medieval English hospital and the quest for spiritual health', in John R. Hinnells and Roy Porter (eds), *Religion, health and suffering* (London, 1999), p. 318.

'should find themselves in an environment of the greatest care' where treatment would be given irrespective of their social standing.[14]

However, at some point after its foundation St John's became organized as an institution of *fratres cruciferi* (friars of the cross, or crutched friars). These were canons regular of the order of St Augustine who operated almost exclusively as hospitallers in Ireland.[15] The hospital, though, may have had religious ties which stretched beyond the Augustinians and their association with charitable care. In Francis Elrington Ball's history of the parish of Palmerstown (west Co Dublin), lands which belonged to the hospital until the dissolution, it is stated that the name Palmerstown 'has been given by the members of a religious house founded in connection with the Crusades in the Middle Ages'.[16] Also, Thomas Butler's study of the Augustinians in Dublin places Ailred Palmer in the Holy Land in 1179, though he fails to provide a source.[17] The canons of Palmer's hospital were neither mendicants nor military hospitallers. Ailred's own charter to the hospital, dated by Brooks as *c.* 1190, refers to the '*fratribus & sororibus ibidem deo servientibus*' which indicates not only that there were sisters present from the very early days, but also that the founder thought of them as fraters, brother or friar.[18] This styling though does not indicate when the hospital became anything other than of the Augustinians. Egerton Beck sounded a note of warning that

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[14] *The Rule of Saint Augustine*, trans. Raymond Canning (London, 1984), pp 68–70.
[15] The precise date of the adoption by St John the Baptist's of this specific branch of the Augustinian observance is unclear, as is much about the organization of the Order of the Holy Cross, which had various, apparently unrelated, chapters across Western Europe. Studies to consult include Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), pp 208–16; R. Neville Hadcock, 'The order of the Holy Cross in Ireland' in J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall and F.X. Martin (eds), *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn* (Dublin, 1961), pp 44–53; Egerton Beck, 'The order of the Holy Cross (Crutched Friars) in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3:7 (1913), pp 191–208; *Annales Canonicorum Regularium S. Augustini, Ordinis S. Crucis*, ed. Cornelius Rudolphus Hermans (3 vols, Silvae-Ducis, 1858).
[16] Francis Elrington Ball, *A history of the County Dublin: the people, parishes and antiquities from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century* (6 vols, Dublin, 1902–20), iv, p. 84.
[17] Thomas C. Butler, *John's Lane* (Dublin, 1993), p. 12.
[18] *Reg HSJB*, no. 40.

> 'the Latin 'frater' is no guide whatsoever in the settling as to who should be styled 'friar; for 'frater' is applied not only to mendicants but to monks, hospitallers, and canons regular.'[19]

Hadcock's suggestion was that the Irish branch was, if not actually of the Italian congregation, at least modelled on them.[20] The Italian congregation, as the *Annales* indicate, was not the same as the other orders of the same name.[21] According to this same source, the Italian congregation did not spread beyond Italy itself, so while the Irish congregations may have been similar to the Italian, they were not daughter houses.[22] In addition, it would appear that those styled as being of the 'Holy Cross' were more likely to be the order as it appeared in England, otherwise popularly referred to as Crutched Friars. These were not of the same origin as those styled '*cruciferi*'.[23] The Flemish order, founded by Theodore de Celles in 1211, a result of Theodore's experiences in the Holy Land, was entitled the Order of the Holy Cross and the houses of the order in England have been associated with the Flemish congregation.[24] It was to this order that Innocent III granted a constitution in 1216, which appears to be the reason for Hadcock's statement that if 'Dublin was not of Cruciferi from the first, the order was introduced probably before 1216.'[25] This date was then based on the formal recognition of a new order with similar name and foundations. But this order was different to the Italian, the most likely source of inspiration for the Irish, and hence the various dates of confirmation of de Celles's order are irrelevant here. The origins of these various congregations, according to their own histories, can be

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[19] Beck, 'The order of the Holy Cross', p. 192. See also the entry at [http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06280b.htm, accessed 20 August 2008].
[20] Hadcock, 'The Order of the Holy Cross in Ireland', p. 44.
[21] *Annales Canonicorum Regualrium*, i, p. 3.
[22] This though does not take into account their presence in Acre.
[23] J. Michael Hayden, 'Religious reform and religious orders in England, 1490–1540: the case of the Crutched Friars', *Catholic Historical Review*, 86:3 (2000) p. 423. There is the suggestion that there may have been a house in Scotland of Crutched Friars originating from Poland, but it has been deemed that it 'is highly improbable that this order was represented in Scotland'. Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson (eds), *Medieval religious houses: Scotland. With an appendix on the houses in the Isle of Man* (2nd edn, London, 1976), p. 113.
[24] David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales* (2nd edn, London, 1971), p. 208.
[25] Hadcock, 'The Order of the Holy Cross in Ireland', p. 50.

traced back to the Holy Land, and to the search for 'la Croix du Sauveur du monde'.[26] The Italian congregation was the most commonly associated with hospital maintenance, and as such is the most obvious choice as inspiration for the Irish congregation. They are also the order with the earliest dates; they were granted a rule and constitutions by Pope Alexander III in 1169, in recognition of the refuge and support given to him by the brothers of this order during his struggles with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.[27] Pope Clement IV (1265–8) ordered that the monastery and hospital of St Marie de Morello in Bologna was to be recognised as the head of the order.[28] In France, where three houses were founded in the thirteenth century, they were known as the *Croisiers* and were canons regular rather than mendicants.[29] The restrictions placed on the foundation of new orders by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 were updated in 1274 by the Council of Lyon. In a chronicle of St Catherine *de Monte* in Rouen a list of orders which were discontinued or dissolved after the Fourth Lateran Council

> 'were several contemporary groups calling themselves by names associated with the cross or crucifix (the Friars of the Holy Cross, Crucifers, *Crociferi*, *Croisiers* or Crutched Friars), but whether those referred to in the chronicle are those of Belgian or Italian origin or those who reached England is unclear'.[30]

If Ailred's *fratres* were of the *Ordo Cruciferorum* from the beginning, it is to the Italian congregation one must look. But there is another possible clue. The Italians ran the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Acre, as an *Ordo Cruciferorum* hospital.[31] Although the dates of the hospital in Acre are probably later than possible dates for Ailred's pilgrimage, he might already have been exposed to the much-lauded St John the Baptist's in Jerusalem, standing within sight of the

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., pp 4–5.
[28] Ibid., p. 5.
[29] Richard W. Emery, *The friars in medieval France: a catalogue of French mendicant convents, 1200–1500* (New York, 1962), p. 12.
[30] F. Andrews, *The other friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 209.
[31] *Regsta regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. Reinhold Rohricht (2nd edn, New York, 1900), p. 258.

Holy Sepulchre. St John the Baptist's is not normally discussed in relation to crusading history, primarily as it was not part of the military hospitaller movement (although the *fratres cruciferi* might be called Augustinian hospitallers).[32] In addition, studies of the hospital have tended to view it within the confines of its landholdings in Ireland, as a source for information on ecclesiastical disputes or the patronage of the English communities in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland. But the references to the Holy Land and the Crusades suggest that St John the Baptist's should instead be viewed as part of the great wave of hospital foundation in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century,[33] and possibly as reflecting the influence of Eastern ideas brought back by religious pilgrims or military crusaders.[34] The impetus to found St John the Baptist's, the place in which it was founded, and those whose charity supported it, were possibly all part of a deliberate plan, one that anticipated the needs of English settlers in Dublin. The foundation of other hospitals throughout Ireland can then be viewed as symptomatic of this general policy of what might be termed the deliberate Anglicization of the country, the attempt to bring it into line with current trends in England.

The founder

What do we know of Ailred Palmer's career? The earliest known date for Ailred's involvement in public life is 1174, when he appeared as one of the witnesses to a charter of Strongbow to Hamund Mac Turcaill.[35] The latter was a member of the Hiberno-Scandinavian family which had ruled Dublin before its conquest in 1170,

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[32] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, p. 208.
[33] Miri Rubin, 'Development and change in English hospitals, 1100–1500' in Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (eds), *The hospital in history* (London, 1989) p. 43.
[34] While disagreement may exist as to the extent of the influence of the East on the development of medieval medicine in the West, some studies which investigate this phenomenon include: Piers D. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades; warfare, wounds and the medieval surgeon* (Cambridge, 2004), esp chapter 7; idem, 'The infirmaries of the order of the Temple in the medieval kingdom of Jerusalem', in Barbara S. Bowers (ed.), *The medieval hospital and medical practice* (Aldershot, 2007), pp 225–34; Timothy S. Miller, 'The knights of Saint John and the hospitals of the Latin West', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), pp 709–33.
[35] *Christ Church Deeds*, eds M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé (Dublin, 2001), no. 1 (hereafter *Christ Ch Deeds*). Ailred is discussed again in chapter three in the wider context of his contemporaries.

and Ailred may also have been one of these Ostmen, although his Anglo-Saxon name may indicate an English origin. In a charter relating to the abbey of St Thomas he appears along with what are termed 'omnibus burgensibus de Dublinia (all the burgesses of Dublin)'.[36] This was a grant made by Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin and must be dated in or before 1180, the year the archbishop left Ireland, and the penultimate year of his life. Combined with his early appearance on Strongbow's charter and his later success in attracting donations from the burgess community towards St John the Baptist's, this indicates that Ailred was a burgess of some standing in the community. An Aelric Palmer of Dublin also appears as witness in a Llanthony Prima charter, again indicating that he was well integrated with the new English settlers.[37] In another charter to the same canons, we meet 'Martin, a chaplain of the hospital of the house of Palmer [and] Edred Palmer [and] Ralph Palmer', all as witnesses.[38] What, if any, is the significance of 'Palmer' in relation to the foundation of the hospital?

A common descriptor for pilgrim was *peregrinus*; one who undertook a *peregrinatio*.[39] By contrast, palmer appears to have a more specific meaning. The palm was a symbol of a completed pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the same way as the scallop-shell was for the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Men and women who undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem collected the palm as proof of the completion of penance:[40] William of Tyre, for example, remarked that the count of Flanders 'assumed the palm, which is with us the sign of a completed pilgrimage'.[41] In sources relating to Dublin, the surname Palmer is not

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[36] *The Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (London, 1889), no. 331, p. 285 (hereafter *Reg St Thomas*).
[37] Arlene Hogan, *The Priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172–1541; lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008), no. XXIV, p. 242. To gauge how Dublin itself made the transition see, James Lydon, 'Dublin in transition: from Ostman town to English borough' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin II: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2000* (Dublin, 2001), pp 128–41.
[38] Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, no. XXV, p. 243.
[39] J.F. Niermeyer and C. Van de Kielft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (2 vols, 2nd revised edn, Leiden, 2002), ii, p. 1026.
[40] Ibid., ii, p. 985.
[41] William of Tyre, *A history of deeds done beyond the sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey (2 vols, New York, 1943), ii, p. 423.

confined to Ailred's family; it appears regularly in other contemporary records and in the hospital's register. A William de Aincurt appeared as a witness to a charter of Strongbow's sister, Basilia: in this he is styled as 'palmerio Dublinensi'.[42] A William Deincurt also appeared as witness to several charters relating to St Mary's abbey, but without being described as palmer, which suggests that the addition of palmer was intended to indicate more than a family name.[43] Palmer, as a family name, appears in various other instances throughout the register, not least in the name of one of the fourteenth-century priors, John. There are also various Palmers listed in the Dublin Guild Merchant Roll.[44]

Pilgrimage itself was a costly affair. In addition to the long distances covered, pilgrims had to support themselves financially, and have resources to donate alms along the route and at their final destination. Whether it was as a crusader or pilgrim, the decision to travel East carried with it great implications for those undertaking the journey. As many of the routes were dangerous, there was always the possibility that there would be no return journey, and for that eventuality a pilgrim had to arrange his affairs before departure, which for those with any possessions of value meant the making of a will.[45] Those who made a successful return from the Holy Land sometimes resumed life as it had been before their departure, while for others the journey represented the beginning of a permanent change in their life circumstances. For both pilgrims and crusaders the usual method of renouncing the world was to enter a monastery on their return. It is possible then that the foundation in Dublin of a hospital for the sick and poor was inspired by the pilgrimage of Ailred to Jerusalem, for the pilgrimage

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[42] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 128, pp 111–12.
[43] *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, London, 1884), i, no. 92, pp 110–11, no. 94, p. 112 and no. 96, pp 113–14 (hereafter *Chartul St Mary's*).
[44] *The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, c. 1190–1265*, ed. Philonema Connolly and Geoffrey Martin (Dublin, 1992). Palmers given with an English toponym include, Willelmus Palmer de Wigornia, p. 3 (1st column) and one of the free citizens, a Radulphus Palmerus de Duraham, p. 113 (1st column).
[45] A William de Stafford made his will before departing for the Holy Land, see *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus*, ed. H.J. Lawlor, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 27 (1908), section C, no. 58, p. 31. For similar provisions see *Reg St Thomas*, no. 428, p. 376; *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 222, p. 237 and no. 178, p. 435.

or crusading experience 'created an atmosphere that enveloped rich and poor, laymen and clerics, voluntary and involuntary paupers alike'.[46]

Function

> I chanced to come by a certain spital
> Where I thought best to tarry a little...
> As chanced to be,
> The porter of the house stood also by me
>
> ...And as we gathered there at the gate
> People as methought of very poor estate,
> With bag and staff, both crooked, lame and blind,
> Scabby and scurvy, pock-eaten flesh and rind,
> Lousy and scald, and peeled like as apes
> With scantily a rag for to cover their shapes.[47]

Despite the sometimes idealized image of the poor as representing Christ, it is clear that those who sought alms were themselves representative of a wide and diverse social group. The porter of the hospital of Saint Bartholomew's, London, to whom the above extract refers, had the onerous task of deciding which of the destitute presenting themselves at the door of that hospital deserved assistance. Some in medieval society (like the mendicant friars) saw merit in emulating Christ:

> "I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me...". Whereupon he casts aside those who did not, saying "...as you did it not to one of the least of these, you did it not to me",[48]

but others chose alms-giving and the support of the poor as their means by which to gain a place in the 'Kingdom of Heaven'. Thus, the élite of Dublin

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[46] Mollat, *The poor in the Middle Ages*, p. 53.
[47] Robert Copland, 'The highway to the spital-house', in A.V. Judges (ed.), *The Elizabethan underworld* (2nd edn, London, 1965), pp 3–5. As quoted in Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English hospital* (New Haven, CT, 1995), pp 151–4.
[48] *Saint Matthew's gospel in the revised standard version and the New Vulgate*, with a commentary by members of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Navarre (3rd edn, Dublin, 2005), Matthew 25:35.

society were willing to patronize the hospital of St John the Baptist, but it is likely that they were also eager that those alms be bestowed on a place where those thrown upon the mercy of society did not interfere with life within the walls: city walls, after all, were designed to protect those within from the unexpected or unwanted beyond the walls.

That is why the physical location of the hospital of St John the Baptist in relation to the city is of importance. The location of the hospital is frequently referred to in the charters, usually as a variant of 'domus Hospitalis sancti Johnannis extra Novam Portam Dublinie' ('the Hospital of St John without the New Gate, Dublin') or, in a small number of earlier charters, as being outside the western gate of the city, this the forerunner of the Newgate.[49] This precise wording was most likely employed to avoid any confusion with the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, run by the Knights Hospitaller in nearby Kilmainham.[50] But the emphasis on St John's setting, outside the Newgate, is not insignificant. The Newgate entrance to Dublin was one place where both provost and pauper converged. The setting was, it appears, typical of early medieval hospitals and not only of those which were built to house lepers, but of those which cared for the poor and sick within a community.[51] Though the marginal were often associated with walls, and especially the placing of them outside the civilised habitation within, as the western suburb in Dublin was the newest and home to merchants as well as St Thomas's abbey is it possible that St John the Baptist's escaped the stigma of the marginalised?[52]

The site of the hospital outside the city walls was certainly advantageous to the institution it supported.[53] Free of the physical constraints of intramural

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[49] *Reg HSJB*, nos 16, 17, 32, 33.
[50] C.L. Falkiner, 'The Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 26 (1906–7), pp 275–317; Gregory O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460–1565* (Oxford, 2005), pp 226–57.
[51] Orme and Webster, *The English hospital,* p. 45. They point to the advantages of placing hospitals near bridges or main roads where travellers can be encouraged to part with alms.
[52] For further discussion of the collection of the marginals at city walls see Michael Camille, *Image on the edge: the margins of medieval art* (London, 1992); Bronislaw Geremeck, *The margins of society in late medieval Paris*, trans Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1987).
[53] For an exploration of the relationship between hospitals and their suburban surroundings see Carole Rawcliffe, 'The earthly and spiritual topography of suburban hospitals' in Kate Giles and

confinement, the hospital had room to expand outside the walls. This must also have been advantageous for the health of the inmates: the proximity of habitation within the walls would not have been conducive to the improvement of the health of those who were ill. Also, located beside the Newgate, on what Howard Clarke has called 'the great artery for food and other necessities entering the city',[54] it was very visible to both visitor and citizen: this 'passing trade' may have wished, or been compelled, to donate alms as thanksgiving for a safe journey made, or in the expectation of one to come. The Hôtel-Dieu in Paris had two collection boxes[55] while in the city of Zamora, in Spain, confraternities

> 'of the Souls in Purgatory reserved special places for their boxes along the stone bridge leading into the city from the south, converting the roadway into a sacred passage reminding travellers of the transportation of souls through charity from one world to the next.' [56]

And the proximity to St Thomas's abbey on one side and the Fair Green on the other, both places that attracted visitors and money, increased the hospital's access to alms.[57] In its later incarnation as a city gaol, Newgate itself became an even more concentrated focus for those who existed on the fringes of society; Charles McNeill suggested that the reason for the gaol's relocation from the Werburgh Street neighbourhood to the Newgate was to give the prisoners the

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Christopher Dyer (eds), *Town and country in the middle ages: contrasts, contacts and interconnections, 1100–1500* (Leeds, 2005), pp 251–74. In this Rawcliffe studies the impact of the siting of a hospital near water (streams, rivers), markets, main roads and bridges.

[54] Howard Clarke, '*Urbs et suburbium*: beyond the walls of medieval Dublin', in Conleth Manning (ed.), *Dublin and beyond the Pale: studies in honour of Patrick Healy* (Dublin, 1998), p. 50.

[55] Geremeck, *The margins of society*, p. 190.

[56] Maureen Flynn, *Sacred charity: confraternities and social welfare in Spain, 1400–1700* (London, 1989), p. 37.

[57] By 1215 the fair was of fifteen days' duration, having been extended in that year from the original eight days granted by King John in 1204: *CARD*, i, p. 7; *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, ed. H.S. Sweetman (5 vols, London, 1875–86), i, no. 226, p. 35 (hereafter *CDI*). The fair referred to as being at the bridge of St John the Baptist was possibly in Drogheda, rather than Dublin: Seán Duffy, 'Town and crown: the kings of England and their city of Dublin' in Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame (eds), *Thirteenth century England X. Proceedings of the Durham conference 2003* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 110.

possibility of receiving alms from those entering and exiting through the busy gate.[58]

If the location of the hospital is to be thought of as suitable for a place of rest and recuperation, what is known of those housed within? Despite the large collection of documentation relating to the hospital in its register, there is a lack of material relating to those for whom it was intended, mirroring the records of most contemporary institutions. A striking exception to this are patient records from the Florentine Ospedale Di Santa Maria Nuova which include names, places of origin and as evidence for how organised these hospitals might be, admission numbers for the male patients.[59] The two categories of attendee most regularly mentioned in the charters of St John's are the sick and poor, either as a collective body or in a single specification. Those patients referred to as awaiting the mercy of God were presumably facing death, though it is also possible that in light of the association of illness with sinfulness, they might have been awaiting a sign of forgiveness from God.[60] Some grantors were even more specific in the detail of their benefaction, indicating, for example, that milk was to be provided from the proceeds of their donation.[61] An even more generous donation was the grant of salmon on behalf of the citizens.[62]

What happened to those unable to seek refuge in St John the Baptist's? By the very nature of their circumstances, the poor did not leave records. Those who were forced on the charity of others were recorded only because by entering an institution they became part of an administrative body. In addition to the poor and sick Dublin catered for one of the few groups who were even more marginalised, lepers. St Laurence's in Chapelizod was in existence by the

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[58] Charles McNeill, 'New Gate, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 51 (1921), p. 157. For the development of this western suburb, especially the influence of St Thomas' Abbey on this expansion, see Cathal Duddy, 'The western suburb of medieval Dublin: its first century', *Irish Geography*, 34:2 (2001), pp 157–75. For further examination of the expansion of all suburban areas in Dublin see, Clarke, '*Urbs et suburbium*: beyond the walls of medieval Dublin'.

[59] Katharine Park and John Henderson, '"The first hospital among Christians": the Ospedale Di Santa Maria Nuova in early sixteenth-century Florence', *Medical History*, 35 (1991), p. 175.

[60] *Reg HSJB*, no. 45.

[61] Ibid., nos 56, 64, 151, 237, 317, 358, 374 are a representative sample.

[62] *CARD*, i, p. 170.

thirteenth century and was endowed with land by the Hospitallers of Kilmainham.[63] St Stephen's, also a house for lepers, was a civic institution. Both were suppressed under the same sweeping changes as St John the Baptist's. St James of Compostella, founded by Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin, appears to have been less a hospital than an alms-house or a stopping point en route to a pilgrimage.[64]

Although the Augustinian Rule may have been considered particularly adaptable to the management of medieval hospitals, hospitality was of course not confined to hospitals as all religious houses were expected to provide some level of hospitality. Analysis of skeletal remains from excavations on burial grounds associated with St Thomas's abbey yielded evidence of 'well-nourished individuals from wealthy backgrounds.'[65] This cemetery was not that of the canons but was for individuals who had either requested burial in the prestigious abbey but may also have been high-status visitors who died while under the hospitable care of the abbot. From a dispute between the canons of St Thomas's and the city of Dublin we gain insight into a particular provision granted to the abbey which caused much consternation to the city, as represented by the mayor and bailiffs. A grant to the abbey by King John of the custom of tolboll, a 'toll of ale and mead which he has by custom from the taverns of Dublin' was later contested by the city, which claimed that due to low production the brewers were unable to supply the abbey with the amount it was attempting to exact. [66] That Henry II had originally granted this custom was known, but the intention came to be the crux of the dispute. A late fourteenth-century chancery plea unearthed that the alcohol supplied by royal writ to the abbey was 'so that the institution might find and keep sixty poor people and scholars, in food, drink and clothing, in a

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[63] Myles V. Ronan, 'Lazar houses of St Laurence & St Stephen in mediaeval Dublin' in John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* (Dublin, 1995), pp 480–1.
[64] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, p. 350.
[65] Laureen Buckley, 'Health status in medieval Dublin: analysis of the skeletal remains from the abbey of St Thomas the Martyr' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin IV: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2002* (Dublin, 2003), pp 98–9.
[66] *CARD*, i, no. 143, pp 165–7 at part v, p. 166.

house called the King's Alms House, for ever'.[67] The jurors in the case found that Henry's grant had been for the canons to aid others, while John's had been directly for the benefit of the canons themselves, while the said Alms House had at this point fallen into disrepair. In the course of the investigation the abbot had claimed that from their own supplies they had supported scholars and the poor. How many of the sixty were from either category is not clear, and neither is it clear whether the scholars brought their own benefits thorough contact and further alms from grateful and wealthy families, but the numbers stated are significant when compared with those available for the hospital, as discussed below. The destitute had more than one option in the city when seeking assistance, as did those benefactors wishing to supply alms.

The level of provision depended at times on the relationship between the host and the guest, or where the hospitality was sought. 'Commercial hospitality', such as that provided at an inn and in exchange for payment obviously differed in form to 'charitable hospitality', such as that provided by St John's and again from the type of compulsory hospitality provided to an itinerant king.[68] Hospitality in Ireland had a similarly long tradition which continued in Gaelic society following the 1169 invasion. The responsibility for provision was divided among 'the churchmen, the professors of Irish learning, and certain wealthy lay landowners.'[69] The law tracts professed that 'every free law-abiding Irishman...was entitled to receive hospitality...when travelling throughout the country.'[70] That the recipient could not be a criminal and was by law entitled to hospitality demonstrates the compulsory nature of hospitality, though it is conceivable that there were instances when it was refused or contested. The providers may have also hoped that provision would have been recognised in the next life. Irrespective of any motivations borne out of the piety or self-interest of its supporters, the hospital was also a source of organised hospitality, familiar to

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[67] H.F. Berry, 'The custom called tolboll, 1308–1385', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 28 (1909–10), section C, pp 170–2.
[68] Alban Gautier, 'Hospitality in pre-viking Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 17:1 (2009), pp 25–6.
[69] Katherine Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medieval Ireland*, 108 (1978), p. 74.
[70] Catherine Marie O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in medieval Ireland, 900–1500* (Dublin, 2004), p. 31.

both the Gaelic Irish and English immigrants. In the same way as a stranger was welcomed into a household, bed and sheltered, the hospital welcomed the collective strangers, the marginals of society. In her division of the recipients entitled to hospitality into ecclesiastical and secular, Simms included the poor in the former category as their assistance might be seen as 'a form of religious exercise.'[71]

If Gaelic Irish medical scholars were connected to families, what effect did the rise in the number of towns, or proto-towns have on access to refuge of any kind? The change in settlement type must have impacted an individual's right and access to care. Anngret Simms identified three main stages in the development of Dublin as town; Viking proto-town, then town without a charter (the Hiberno-Norse town) and finally the Anglo-Norman chartered town.[72] Although large settlements, essentially monastic in character, did exist before the Vikings developed their trading centres, the expansion of Ireland as an urbanised country really only began in the twelfth-century. While the English clearly did not introduce towns to Ireland, they, like the Vikings, changed the character of those towns utterly.[73]

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[71] Simms, 'Guesting and feasting', p 75. The practice of medicine in Ireland and the highly regarded position of physicians in Gaelic society was attested by various law tracts. A sample of publications on this include: D.A. Binchy, 'Bretha Crólige', *Ériu*, 12 (1938), pp 1–77; idem, 'Sick-maintenance in Irish law', *Ériu*, 12 (1938), pp 78–134; Fergus Kelly, *A guide to early Irish law* (Dublin, 1988); Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Irish medical writing, 1400–1600' in Angela Bourke, Siobhan Kilfeather, Maria Luddy, Margaret Mac Curtain, Gerardine Meaney, Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, Mary O'Dowd and Clair Wills (eds), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing* (5 vols, Cork, 1999–2002), iv, pp 341–57.

[72] Anngret Simms, 'Medieval Dublin in a European context: from proto-town to chartered town' in Howard Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the making of a metropolis* (Dublin, 1990), p. 40.

[73] Some scholarship on towns in early medieval Ireland includes: Charles Doherty, 'The monastic town in early medieval Ireland' in H.B. Clarke and Anngret Simms (eds), *The comparative study of urban origins in non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century* (2 vols, Oxford, 1985), i, pp 45–75; John Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland', in H.B. Clarke and Anngret Simms (eds), *The comparative study of urban origins in non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century* (2 vols, Oxford, 1985), ii, pp 411–67; idem, 'Urbanization in early medieval Ireland' in Catherine E. Karkov, Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley and Bailey K. Young (eds), *Spaces of the living and the dead: an archaeological dialogue*, *American Early Medieval Studies*, 3 (1999), pp 133–47.

The patients and their care

A paucity of records detailing the patients, their personal details or treatment in the hospital extends to the food eaten in the hospital. The records for St Leonard's Hospital in York provide details of various meats, bread and ale for the wider community in the hospital, while the infirmary also received honey and beans, presumably for the infirm in their care.[74] A corrody provided for Robert, son of William Gerard in St John the Baptist's recommended that he should have a

> 'loaf of white bread, of the same size and quality as those allowed to the prior and brethren, and a flaggon of the best ale, on every Sunday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, weekly; on each of the other days a dish of fish; and to have yearly a suit of the same cloth that was made use of by the brethren. This corrody not being regularly paid, Robert sued the prior for the same.'[75]

The whole question of the precise nature of care encompasses *inter alia* the connection between the church and charity and the obligation of the church to provide care for the needy. But what of the notion of regular or secular clergy as medics themselves? How realistic is it to imagine cloistered monks or mendicant friars providing care for those with actual physical injuries and ailments? Additionally, it raises the question of what constituted medical care in the middle ages: how accessible were both physicians and the less well-thought-of barber-surgeons to anyone in society, much less those who did not have the means to pay them?[76] What of those poor and infirm who turned to the hospital as an escape from long-term vagrancy or as a temporary shelter and for provision of food? As Nancy Siraisi put it:

> 'With or without medical guidance, patients practiced self-help in the form of self-medication, visits to medicinal baths, pilgrimages, or prayer; and religious shrines offering alternative forms of healing were omnipresent. In

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[74] Cullum, 'St Leonard's Hospital, York, in 1287', p. 19.
[75] Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 58.
[76] Roy Porter, *The greatest benefit to mankind; a medical history of humanity from antiquity to the present* (2nd edn, London, 1999), esp pp 106–34 covers medicine in the middle ages.

> many instances, any of these endeavours was as likely to be successful–or unsuccessful–as the most skilled medical attention.'[77]

The body of work concerned with this topic, either in a broad conceptual and ideological sense, or in place-specific studies, is vast and growing.[78] While the work of these scholars has brought about a greatly increased understanding of how hospitals functioned and how the poor were maintained in medieval society, caution must be observed in assuming that the conclusions drawn by these scholars can be easily and immutably applied to medieval Dublin and, by extension, Ireland.

Efforts to cure the sick or dying in the middle ages centred on two competing and mostly incompatible approaches: scholarly medicine and thaumaturgic or miracle-working beliefs, what might be called the difference between learning and luck. Those who undertook the study of medicine had to compete with the promotion of saints' relics as possessors of healing qualities.[79] Contemporaneous with the rise in hospital foundation was a marked attempt by the papacy to regulate how closely clerics and canons might involve themselves in the provision of non-spiritual sustenance. In addition the papacy was closely gauging how those deemed to be possessed with thaumaturgical qualities were henceforth to be assessed. These amendments may have been nothing more than the influence of a series of 'lawyer-popes' who sought to bring cohesion

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[77] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and early renaissance medicine; an introduction to knowledge and practice* (Chicago, 1990), p. 137.

[78] A small selection covering this area in England alone would include: Elaine Clarke, 'Social welfare and mutual aid in the medieval countryside', *Journal of British Studies*, 33:4 (1994), pp 381–406, discusses how the community cares and provides for the sick within its midst and includes elements of ecclesiastical thinking on the subject; P.H. Cullum, *Cremetts and corrodies: care of the poor and sick at St Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages* (York, 1991), especially useful as St Leonard's was probably the largest hospital in the north of England in the Middle Ages; Martha Carlin, 'Medieval English hospitals' in Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (eds), *The hospital in history* (2nd edn, London, 1990), pp 21–39 provides a helpful categorization of hospitals and their functions; in the same publication, see Miri Rubin, 'Development and change in English hospitals, 1100–1500', pp 41–59 for the rise and fall of hospital creation; see Orme and Webster, *The English hospital,* for a more extensive study, especially concerning areas similar to most hospitals.

[79] The struggle between the secular and temporal healers was of course more than disputed theory–both sides risked losing financially to the other and for patients the choice of one over the other could literally involve risking their lives. For the opinions of one fourteenth-century surgeon, see Simone Macdougall, 'The surgeon and the saints: Henri de Mondeville on divine healing', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26:3 (2000), pp 253–67.

across the Western church, most pronounced in the pontificate of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), though initiated by Pope Alexander III (1159–81). In the Second Lateran Council of 1139, a fiery directive was issued against the practice of law and medicine by monks and canons regular. It was, according to the canons of the council, an 'evil and detestable practice', carried out by those 'burning with the fire of avarice'.[80] As an 'immodest eye manifests an immodest heart', those for whom religion is the first calling should not neglect the values they have vowed to uphold.[81] In a letter written a decade earlier, Bernard of Clairvaux had admonished the abbot and monks in the abbey of Flay for their use of one of their monks as a doctor, and this same monk sought refuge in Clairvaux, having begged them to 'admit him for the safety of his soul' after he had been forced to 'attend tyrants, robbers, and excommunicated persons.'[82] Writing to the brethren of St Anastasius, Bernard was even more emphatic on the dangers of earthly medicine. Though he had the 'greatest sympathy for bodily sickness...to buy special kinds of medicines, to seek out doctors and swallow their nostrums, this does not become religious' and believed that the 'sickness of the soul is much more to be feared and avoided.'[83]

It is possible that the increase in the number of religious hospitals following the Third Lateran Council of 1179, coupled with the influence of experiences in the East, forced the papacy to address the direct involvement of the various classes of religious in these institutions. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 legislated for the provision of care in several ways. A sentence concerned with the shedding of blood forbade subdeacons, deacons or priests from practising surgery, specifying that which 'involves cauterizing and making incisions'.[84] The concern underlying this canon appears to be the danger of death

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[80] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (2nd edn, 2 vols, Washington DC, 1990), i, p. 198.
[81] Ibid.
[82] *The letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans Bruno Scott James (2nd edn, Stroud, 1998), no. 70, pp 95–6.
[83] Ibid., no. 388, pp 458–9.
[84] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, p. 244.

at the hands of a religious person once a cut was made and blood was spilt.[85] Surgery though comprises only one of the many ways in which medical care can be provided. When they were needed by the sick, 'physicians of the body' were warned that they should first 'call in physicians of the soul so that after their spiritual health has been seen to they may better respond to medicine for their bodies'.[86] Put simply, before the body was to be attended to, confession must be heard. And if there was any doubt, the assertion that 'the soul is more precious than the body' would ensure no physician of the body could misunderstand their position.[87] The third sentence which bears directly on hospitals and care of the body attempted to aid those who sought alms on behalf of a hospital. By recognizing that 'the resources of a hospital may not suffice for the support of the brethren and the needy to flock to it', all those who could were called upon 'to give pious alms and charitable assistance'.[88] In 1400 indulgences were granted to penitents who both visited and gave alms to St John the Baptist's.[89] Clearly a little more active encouragement was sometimes needed to attract donations. As the influence of the papacy increased from the late twelfth century on, 'the authority of the church over the individual was broadening through its increasingly efficient mechanisms of moral coercion and social control.'[90] By allowing orders such as the Augustinians to care for the marginal in society, it is possible that the papacy was effecting a means by which it reached to all sections of society. R.W. Southern suggested that Pope Urban II appeared to hold the view that the Augustinian 'canons had revived a neglected primitive tradition of the church–a tradition in which practical service had a dominant place'

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[85] Darrel W. Amundsen, *Medicine, society, and faith in the ancient and medieval worlds* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 197. Amundsen addresses not only papal legislation in this area but also tackles the oft-repeated claim that the church was against the practice of medicine, tracing the historiography of these claims.
[86] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp 245–6.
[87] Ibid., p. 245.
[88] Ibid., pp 263–4.
[89] *Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal Letters, v, 1396–1404*, eds W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow (London, 1904), p. 303 (hereafter *Cal Pap Letters*).
[90] Amundsen, *Medicine, society and faith*, p 177.

and they 'picked up the broken pieces in an already settled world.'[91] It is apparent that as the papacy exerted more control over how the members of its church should be healed, a less intrusive but more clearly Christian method of church involvement in healing developed — the religious hospital.

The high-point of the foundation of hospitals run by religious orders matches the period during which tighter controls were placed by various popes on the whole area of church and healing. Miri Rubin described the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries as witnessing the 'great wave of hospital foundation'.[92] In essence, institutions such as the hospital of St John the Baptist in Dublin were a compromise between reliance on thaumaturgical healing by saints' relics, and any further involvement of monks or canons (those who, in theory, are removed from secular society) in the shedding of blood. St John the Baptist's was not then an anomaly, but clearly a product of its time. Does this apply also to the provision of physical care to those housed within the hospital? There appears to have been a parting of the ways in hospital management generally at this juncture, which led to some hospitals becoming more of a civic than a monastic or religious institution. It may even be the case that within monastic foundations the hospital became a separate entity to the priory, and something of a rival for resources.[93] Within the hospitals that had some separation of function between religion and medicine, the appearance of physicians is better documented, whereas others, like St John the Baptist's in Dublin, in so far as can be determined, appear to have maintained the ethos of Christian charity over the development of medical theory.

The thirteenth century was the period of growth *par excellence* of the medical schools on the Continent and contemporaneous with the rise in hospital foundation.[94] While the spirit of learning in the field of human physiology and anatomy was flourishing, it seems, though, that there was no great rush of newly qualified physicians back to Dublin to take up positions in St John the Baptist's. If

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[91] R.W. Southern, *Western society and church in the middle ages* (4th edn, Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 244.
[92] Rubin, 'Development and change in English hospitals', p. 43.
[93] *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, ed. Nellie J.M. Kerling (London, 1973), p. 2.
[94] Porter, *The greatest benefit to mankind*, p. 113.

the Italians did not definitively export the *fratres cruciferi* as they appeared in Ireland, they do appear to have been at the forefront of the type of hospital which provided comprehensive and consistent trained medical care. Even if the Santa Maria Nuova was not, as has been claimed, the 'first Western European hospital in the modern sense of the word', it clearly attended to its sick and poor in a manner quite different to St John's.[95]

It has been noted that 'much of the attention of medieval hospital historians used to be absorbed by the question of whether or not hospitals had doctors on their staff'.[96] While such confined parameters are clearly not helpful to any attempt at a comprehensive study of medieval hospitals or medicine, they are important considerations. What is a hospital if not a place where medical attention, by medical professionals, is received? If the inmates of institutions such as St John the Baptist's were not attended by doctors (such as those attending crusading hospitals would have been), should they even be considered medical centres at all? Throughout the register, men whose occupation is given as a *medicus* do appear, though this does not prove that they had any closer professional association with the hospital than any of the other numerous professions listed.[97] In addition, the almost complete lack of sources relating to the actual patients of most medieval hospitals results in only speculative discussion about their possible origins, either locals or 'outsiders' who found themselves thrown upon the mercy of the urban community to which they had moved. Not knowing how infirm the patients were on their entry and exit from these hospitals only confounds the lack of knowledge about direct medical intervention. Where the hospital's benefactors did specify how their donation was to help the infirm, it refers less to the provision of a physician and more to the provision of milk for the sustenance of the sick lying within the hospital.[98] Other

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[95] Katharine Park and John Henderson, '"The first hospital among Christians": the Ospedale Di Santa Maria Nuova in early sixteenth-century Florence', *Medical History*, 35 (1991), p. 169.
[96] Peregrine Hordon, 'A non-natural environment: medicine without doctors and the medieval European hospital', in Barbara S. Bowers (ed.), *The medieval hospital and medical practice* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 140.
[97] In an undated charter, no. 257, Adam Medicus, with his wife Alice, granted land in Co Westmeath to the hospital: *Reg HSJB*, pp 176–7.
[98] *Reg HSJB*, nos 56, 151, 237 are a sample.

grants refer to the work of the brothers and sisters (though the latter are less frequently mentioned), serving God and caring for the infirm, but without signifying what exactly that work entailed.[99] From the evidence available from contemporary institutions it is known that the sisters who worked within medieval hospitals were actively engaged in the care of patients, from bathing them and providing clean clothes on first arrival, to their general physical maintenance during their stay. Through use of the herbs and plants in hospital gardens some sisters would have become experienced in the medicinal qualities offered by natural remedies – knowledge especially valuable in those houses which lacked access to trained medics.[100] As was sometimes the case with double monasteries, concerns in various institutions were raised about the level and type of physical contact between the brothers and sisters, but also between the sisters and male patients.[101]

By accepting that the presence of a trained *medicus*, either in a permanent position within the hospital or on a visitation basis, is probably unlikely, attention then focuses on the care given by the brothers and sisters. While this tends to be mostly dismissed as the mere provision of food and shelter, the importance of that alone should not be underestimated. Peregrine Horden's examination of 'medicine without doctors' helps to remedy the image of medieval hospitals, like St John the Baptist's, as places where little good was achieved, and it is perhaps also useful in explaining why these hospitals were able to secure such large endowments. For instance, balancing the four humours (blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile) was considered imperative to good bodily health. Horden, however, highlights that in addition to these, the *res naturales*, it was also considered important to balance the *res non naturales*, which are made up of 'ambient air, food and drink, exercise and rest, sleeping and waking, evacuation and repletion, and the *passions of the soul*'.[102] The latter

[99] Ibid., nos 73, 329 are again a sample.
[100] For an example of the range of herbs, plants and food grown in monastic gardens see John H. Harvey, 'Westminster Abbey: the infirmarer's garden', *Garden History*, 20:3 (1992), pp 97–115.
[101] Carole Rawcliffe, 'Hospital nurses and their work' in Richard Britnell (ed.), *Daily life in the middle ages* (Stroud, 1998), pp 43–64.
[102] Hordon, 'A non-natural environment', pp 134–5.

he explains as emotions. In other words, negative emotions can cause illness, while positive can prevent or limit it. To a modern observer this is not surprising, nor does it need explanation. But Horden's application of it to medieval hospital care, to '*non*-doctors doctoring',[103] elevates the status of hospitals, hospices and alms-houses from simply places of religious retreat and shelter to a place where within a contemporary medieval understanding of medical care, they were in fact preventing and curing illness, of body and soul. The brothers and sisters may have been non-interventionist medics, they did not surgically treat the patient, may have administered herbal, garden-grown treatments infrequently, but by providing the six *res non naturales*, St John the Baptist's, and other hospitals like it, did provide a type of medical care.

Maintenance

The maintenance of the hospital and its patients brought together three strands of Dublin society: the marginal who were cared for, the religious who provided the care and the benefactors who made it possible. Of this trio of inter-dependents, it is the patients and their carers who tend to be obscure, and of the religious it is usually only the prior who is named in a charter. In 1188 Pope Clement III referred to Ailred Palmer as master of the 'domus Hospitalis sancti Iohannis de Dubellinia'.[104] As master and prior, Ailred had secured for his house of hospitality, from its very beginnings, the type of support which would suggest that it was a very welcome, even necessary addition to the developing urban landscape of Dublin. There are several possible reasons for this support. Perhaps the Augustinians themselves were an attractive proposition but also because of 'benefactors who saw in the communities of Augustinian canons a type of foundation within their means, and a religious ideal within their understanding', families who had 'modest means but with instincts of great landlords.'[105] Not only should the question of the motivation of benefactors in general be considered, but the fact that St John the Baptist's was a post-invasion

[103] Ibid., p. 139.
[104] *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, p. 214.
[105] Southern, *Western society and church*, p. 245.

development also has implications for the support it was shown. Carole Rawcliffe remarked that the 'arrival of the Normans in England was marked by an enthusiasm for the construction of new hospitals, which tends...to be overshadowed ... by their achievements as military and ecclesiastical architects.'[106] Over a hundred years later, the arrival of their descendants in Ireland had a remarkably similar impact. That this is the case is perfectly understandable. Castles, cathedrals and churches were physical statements on the landscape. They make a point by their presence. They were 'impressive stone-built monuments to colonial power',[107] visibly marking the long-term intentions of the newly arrived. But so too were social institutions. St John the Baptist's demonstrated that Dublin, as a civic centre, was maturing and developing and that its citizens were now thinking beyond their own settlement and conquest of land to the maintenance of the less well off in their midst. Despite its role as a place of refuge for the sick and poor, it was also a sign of the prosperity and generosity of the settlers.

Within the first two decades of the settlement of the English in Dublin, the eastern and western expansion of the city had new, very visible additions. The expansion and development of Christ Church cathedral, although an eleventh-century foundation, was largely due to the first English archbishop of the cathedral, John Cumin.[108] The myth of the connection between Christ Church and Strongbow appears to have been debunked by Roger Stalley, who concluded that the evidence for this was 'fabricated at the end of the fourteenth century to enhance the prestige of the building.'[109] The commissioning of Dublin Castle, built for defensive purposes, made an even more indelible mark on the landscape of the city. By the 1180s, contemporaneous with the building of St John the Baptist's, the site of the present Upper Courtyard was an enclosed structure. In the early thirteenth century King John ordered the large-scale expansion of that development, ultimately to create a fortified structure within

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[106] Carole Rawcliffe, *The hospitals of medieval Norwich* (Norwich, 1995), p. 61.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Roger Stalley, 'The construction of the medieval cathedral, *c.* 1039–1250' in Kenneth Milne (ed.), *Christ Church cathedral, Dublin; a history* (Dublin, 2000), p. 62.
[109] Ibid., pp 60–1.

which the administration and treasury could be securely housed.[110] St Thomas's abbey, where work began in the late 1170s, was to have an enormous impact on the development of the western suburb of Dublin, eventually giving its name to the main highway into the city.[111] Is this then ultimately how the purpose for the foundation of St John the Baptist's should be judged? Was the hospital part of the regulation of the religious and administrative centres within Dublin? Was it part of the import of methods by which urban expansion was encouraged, and ultimately one of a variety of means by which control over the city might be extended? In addition, is it then possible that when attempting to discern the motivation of its benefactors, in trying to recreate the myriad of reasons why so many considered it an appropriate destination for their charity, should one consider the fact that it was itself part of the very means by which the first and second generation of English settlers were able to create a new type of society in Ireland?

In 1169 the struggle for land in Ireland between native and settler began. Can the hospital give any insight into what followed the initial capture and habitation of Irish land by the English of Ireland? While the patronage of St John the Baptist's by these English was commonly identified as being for reasons of piety, or not identified at all, it would seem possible that one of the reasons its wealth and property holdings increased so rapidly in the first three decades of its existence owed as much to policies of settlement, colonisation and identification as to piety.

As it was a religious institution, with obvious social benefits, piety had to be acknowledged as one of the primary motivators. Indeed the language of the charters themselves would suggest that this was the case. Just over 30% of the total charters give some version of personal or familial soul salvation as the

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[110] *Historic and municipal documents of Ireland, A.D. 1172–1320, from the archives of the city of Dublin, etc.*, ed. J.T Gilbert (London, 1870), pp 61–2.

[111] *Reg St Thomas*, pp xi–xviii; as before for a history of the development of the western suburb of Dublin see; Clarke, 'Urbs et suburbium'; Manning, 'The western suburb of medieval Dublin'; idem, 'The role of St Thomas's abbey in the early development of Dublin's western suburb' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin I: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 1999* (Dublin, 2000), pp 79–97.

reason for donation: '*pro salute animarum nostrarum & pro animabus partum nostrorum & matrum & parentum nostrorum & omnium fidelium defunctorum*'.

The appearance of these phrases is in common with other religious institutions, regardless of their rule and irrespective of what, if any, social role they undertook. Roughly another 25% of the charters cite the care of the sick and poor as the purpose of the charity. But that still leaves the majority of those surviving charters without an express purpose, and also some scepticism surrounding the piety of some of that 30%. Piety was perhaps at times the expedient public face of politics and a charitable act might not have charitable motivations. Joel Rosenthal commented that the 'giving of the gift activated a complicated mechanism of social exchange'.[112]

While piety and charity were certainly present, is there any evidence to support the hypothesis that an institution like St John the Baptist's would have been considered a suitable choice for the donation of lands by a first or second generation English settler in Ireland, with the aim or aspiration of creating an inclusive settlement for themselves. Regardless of where a person had originated in England, and regardless of where they lived in Ireland, by donating to a place which was of their own, which was well known and was situated in the colony's seat of royal administration, Dublin, certain bonds were created. For those who had been removed from their kin networks in England, some reconstruction of that was required in Ireland, even if it was partially artificial. Rees Davies noted that in the medieval world 'bonding agents were familial, hierarchical and dynastic'[113] Miri Rubin remarked that 'gift-giving was also part of the symbolic articulation of social and personal relations.'[114] Witness lists are perhaps one way to demonstrate the connections made by the giving of a gift to an institution and here the hospital does not disappoint. For instance, witnesses tend to arise from geographic proximity (they were associated with the same

[112] Joel Rosenthal, *The purchase of paradise* (London, 1972), p. 11.
[113] R.R. Davies, 'Presidential address: the peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100–1400. Identities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6:4 (1994), p. 3.
[114] Miri Rubin, *Charity and community in medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 1.

locality as the donation) or social grouping (i.e., the merchant and administrative class in Dublin) as examples.[115]

Those who led the invasion, the nobles and knights, and those who initially acquired the greatest lordships may have been of mixed nationality, but the settlement that soon followed was populated largely by English peasants, villeins and merchants and it is these who transformed the invasion of Irelard into the colony of Ireland.[116] In 1200 for example, Hamo de Valognes received letters patent of protection 'to lead his men to colonize his land (*ad terrram suam hospitandam*').[117] St John the Baptist's emerged in Dublin at a time of immense social change and urbanization. Among some of the characteristics of an urbanized environment one expects to find 'non-agrarian economic specialization...a street network...defensive works in the shape of ditches, walls, mural towers and gates...town privileges'.[118] King Henry II's still surviving charter relating to Dublin, granted during his 1171–2 sojourn, which bestowed Dublin on the men of Bristol, is a clear indicator that he had a plan to develop the city. However, if Henry II expected his men of Bristol to trade with and inhabit Dublin, their needs had to be anticipated, and provided for.[119] Some of these needs were religious, others defensive, while others were simply intended to enhance the quality of life of those settling in the city.[120]

By 1200 five royal charters had been issued to Dublin.[121] Administrative changes are an easy way to identify a city's expansion. Another is the way in which it physically changed, the way new buildings, walls and mural towers were built. The impetus to found St John the Baptist's, the place in which it was

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[115] The use of witness lists as evidence for social relations is discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

[116] A.J. Otway Ruthven, *A history of medieval Ireland* (2nd edn, London, 1980), chapter 3; eadem, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland' and 'The organization of Anglo-Irish agriculture in the Middle Ages' in Peter Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society of medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2008), pp 263–74 and 275–86.

[117] *CDI,* i, no. 120, p. 18.

[118] Howard Clarke, 'Decolonization and the dynamics of urban decline in Ireland, 1300–1550' in T.R. Slater (ed.), *Towns in decline AD 100–1600* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 163.

[119] *CARD*, i, p. 1. This charter and the impact it had on Bristolians settling in Dublin is examined in greater detail in chapter three.

[120] For instance the 1200 charter which 'granted to the citizens of Dublin a moiety of the water of Auenlith, with its appurtenances, for fishing.' *CARD*, i, p. 6.

[121] *CARD*, i, pp 1–6.

founded and those whose charity supported it, might all have been part of a deliberate plan, one that responded to the needs of English settlers to Dublin. James Lydon has argued for recognition of the continuity between existing institutions in Dublin and the new arrivals.[122] It is certainly true that a city which had been minting its own coins for *c.* 200 years had clearly already begun to organise itself in a municipal manner.[123] But there *were* differences which emerged in the early years of the English presence. One of those differences, as actively encouraged by King Henry's 1171 charter, was the increased number of merchants, adventurers and royal officials travelling to or settling in Dublin. This cosmopolitan mix in Dublin, the increased population, both transient and permanent, while a great boon to its urban development created much greater pressures on the facilities the city had to offer. In addition to the purely religious foundations, like St Thomas's abbey and the defensive, administrative foundations, like Dublin Castle, a need emerged for a place that would cater for all those for whom the city represented not so much a new financial opportunity, but a place where shelter, food and the ability to support oneself had become, however temporarily, impossible to provide. But if it was created by the citizens, it also had to be supported by the citizens.

The support of St John the Baptist's, then, was possibly one way in which the English of Ireland might foster a sense of commonality among themselves. It was a new addition to their new city and a very clear indication on one of the main routes into the city that the new citizens of Dublin were making the city their own. It provided something that statutes and charters might not have been in able to legislate for and by patronising the hospital those same citizens were buying their way into a part of that new identity. As already mentioned, the papal confirmation of the hospital, dating from 1188 lists the lands it held at that time, a modest list in comparison to what it would later hold. Among those listed as donors is Henry II, to whom the grant of the vill of Tacwer, or the modern

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[122] James Lydon, 'Dublin in transition: from Ostman town to English borough' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin II: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2000* (Dublin, 2001), p. 130.

[123] Michael Kenny, 'Coins and coinage in pre-Norman Ireland' in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, i: prehistoric and early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), p. 846.

Palmerston in western suburban Dublin was attributed. It seems an attractive proposition that not only was this grant a sign of Henry's approval for the foundation, it was also a standard for his English subjects in Ireland to emulate. Despite the nobler motivations of piety and charity, the possibility of the arousal of baser aspirant ideals, borne from association with the same institution as the king must surely be considered.

So where and when did they donate in the first few decades and can the numbers give any conclusions?

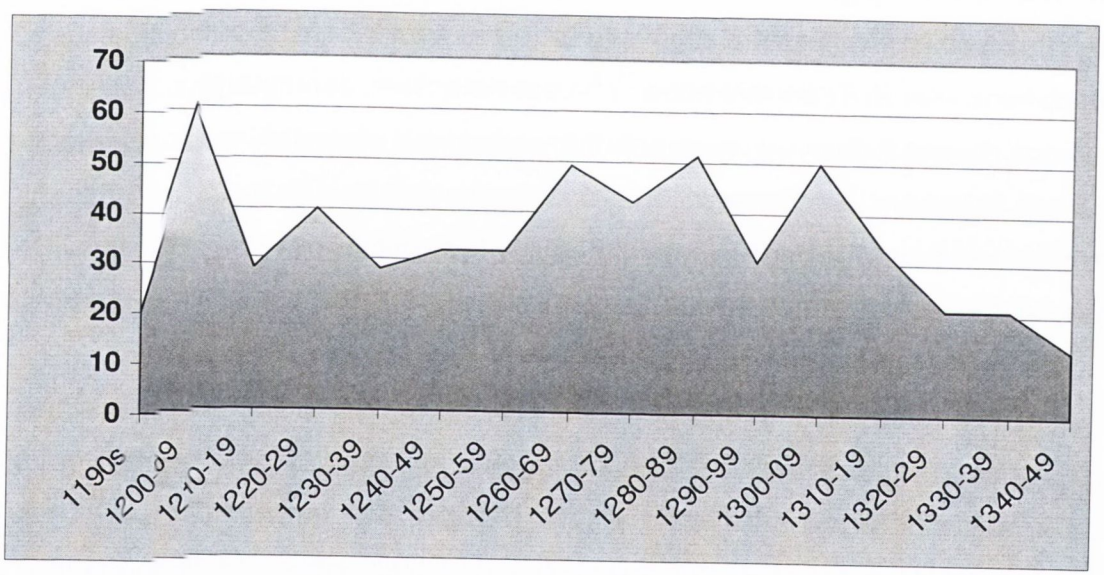

Fig 2. Charters in the register arranged by date.

It is immediately clear from this graph that the early years experienced the greatest numbers of donations. Out of a total number of 594 records in the register, 110 cover the period from foundation to 1220. Within that, 20% cover the years up to 1199, 57% relate to the 1200–09 year range while 23% covers the remainder. It is clear that the highest donation numbers match the dates of the first generations of settlement. The first generation acquired the lordships within the initial years of the invasion and the settlers they recruited followed in

larger numbers in the years which followed. It is also clear from the origin of the donations that they match the areas where the new English were settling and developing their communities. The attraction of a Dublin house was perhaps its place as the *caput* of the colonial party. Sandra Rabin noted that in the fourteenth century non-Londoners donated within the capital, attracted she noted 'by the prestige of the metropolis'.[124]

Other studies of medieval hospitals have thrown up some patterns of activity. As a hospital for the sick and poor, St John the Baptist's matched the prevailing trend in hospital foundation at the time.[125] As such it makes sense to believe that it was subject to the same variables as similar institutions, what Miri Rubin explained as an 'initial enthusiasm generated by the moment of hospital foundation' which was followed by a 'decline in interest after a generation or two.'[126] The numbers would seem to show that this was the case. But St John the Baptist's was not entirely similar in ideology to contemporary English hospitals. Though it was situated in a city held in fee-farm from the English crown, it was a colonial city, where local circumstances may have mirrored those of English cities, but were not an exact replication of them. In a city which was experiencing the settlement of what had been an invading force, association with new, charitable foundations gave much more than a remembrance on death. It cannot be denied that the legitimization of conquered lands by complete or partial donation to a charitable, religious institution was part of the motivation. That St John the Baptist's was a post-invasion addition to Dublin meant that it was free from association with the native Irish and Ostman population. It was new; it was founded by a burgess with connections to the highest level of Dublin society and this type of institution was a visible, active contributor to its surrounding environment.

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[124] Sandra Raban, *Mortmain legislation and the English church, 1279–1500* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 103.

[125] Miri Rubin, 'Development and change in English hospitals', pp 41–59 for the rise and fall of hospital creation.

[126] Miri Rubin, 'Imagining medieval hospitals: considerations on the cultural meaning of institutional change' in Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones (eds), *Medicine and charity before the welfare state* (London, 1991), p. 21.

If by the end of King John's reign, the 'foundations of Anglo-Ireland had...been firmly laid',[127] the establishment and support of St John the Baptist's must count as one of the, perhaps less obvious, means through which this had been achieved. The establishment of the hospital coincides roughly with John's first visit to Ireland, in 1185. Irrespective of the success or failure of that campaign for the expansion of the interests of the English crown in Ireland, the second official royal visit to Ireland was the beginning of the second wave of English interaction with Ireland. The granting of various parts of Munster by John to 'new men' created a new set of tenants and structure of ownership.[128] It is perhaps no coincidence that in a body of almost 60 charters in the register dated to *c.* 1200 (with a small margin of error on either side of that date), close to 40 are grants relating to Co Tipperary and bordering areas of Co Limerick. In his analysis of the reasons for the failure of John's 1185 expedition to Ireland, Gerald of Wales bemoaned that 'in this new realm of ours we have not bestowed any new gift upon Christ's church'.[129] St John the Baptist's gave these new men, who held new lands, new opportunities for patronage, and a chance to bestow a gift on the Augustinians, but one that had a practical social function. Mark Hennessy, in his study of the hospital's lands in Tipperary, has previously demonstrated that many of the donations relating to Tipperary were from sub-tenants of Philip of Worcester (whose lands were granted by King John between 1186 and 1200).[130] Hennessy was also of the opinion that the motivation of men such as Philip and his sub-tenants derived partially from a desire to impose 'their cultural identity' on a newly acquired region.[131] A date in or around 1200 also follows quickly on the accession of John to the throne of England, the third king to hold the English throne since the hospital had been founded. The one constant from 1185 to 1199 was John's position as lord of Ireland. Throughout his tenure Ireland was settled

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[127] James Lydon, *The lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), p. 74.
[128] Ibid., pp 61–2.
[129] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica the conquest of Ireland*, ed. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), p. 243.
[130] Mark Hennessy, The priory and hospital of the New Gate: the evolution and decline of a medieval monastic estate' in William J. Smyth and Kevin Nolan (eds), *Common ground; essays on the historical geography of Ireland* (Cork, 1988), p. 44.
[131] Ibid., p. 49.

by new tenants, who then began to search for ways to create ties within Ireland, based on more than conquest. Rather like the civil servants who run the country regardless of a change in government, these tenants continued the organization and expansion of their community irrespective of who held the English throne.

Do the donations given arise from areas which were the mostly heavily settled by the English of Ireland? James Lydon argued that the 'notion of community was to be of great importance in the emergence of a sense of nationality among the English of Ireland.'[132] This sense of community was encouraged by immigration into Ireland. As already mentioned Henry II actively encouraged Bristolians to settle in and trade from Dublin, but settlement in the rest of the country was initially conducted through the lordships and by subinfeudation. By the time the second generation of settlement was being undertaken, Leinster and Munster had been extensively subinfeudated along with midland areas.[133] Of the 110 hospital charters dating from the foundation to the early thirteenth century, 34% relate specifically to somewhere within Dublin city and county and 42% relate to Co Tipperary.

English control of the east coast was not confined to Dublin. A little less than 50% of donations in the first thirty years of the hospital's existence arose from a combination of the medieval liberty of Leinster, with Dublin city and county. Added to the Tipperary numbers (*c.* 40%) this gives an impressive 90% of donations which arise from or relate to the areas most heavily settled by the English. A grant in *c.* 1190 was in an area on the Cork/ Kerry/ Limerick border while two in *c.* 1200 were in Co Kerry.[134] Both of these tie in with King John's 'vigorous programme of westward expansion'.[135] One in particular is evidence of an interesting development stemming from St John's in Dublin. Meiler, son of Meiler granted to '*hospitalitati sancti Johannis Baptiste quam frater Willelmus fundavit in terra mea de Kerri*' all ecclesiastical benefices which the said hospital

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[132] James Lydon, 'Nation and race in medieval Ireland' in Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (eds), *Concepts of national identity in the middle ages* (Leeds, 1995), p. 107.
[133] Otway-Ruthven, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland', p. 263.
[134] *Reg HSJB*, nos 563 and 564.
[135] Seán Duffy, 'John and Ireland: the origins of England's Irish problem' in S.D. Church (ed), *King John: new interpretations* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 238.

should reasonably be given. Meiler is possibly a son of John's justiciar in Ireland Meiler fitz Henry.[136] Brother William's origins are unclear, and he may or may not have been from the Dublin house but it is a tempting proposition to see in the foundation of the Kerry hospital an expansion by Dublin to areas from which they may not have expected to receive grants. This might explain the inclusion of these charters in the register – though if it was of their foundation, by 1207 it had become Arroasian unlike the Dublin house which was organised under the Crutched Friars.[137]

Donations of land in Ulster are almost non-existent, although it too had been partially brought within the colonised part of Ireland before the hospital was founded. Only one charter in the register records a twelfth-century donation, and the location of the endowed land was less than helpfully described as simply being in Ulster.[138] The inclusion of Ulster though raises another angle on the involvement of the hospital in the early settlement of the English of Ireland. Seán Duffy's analysis of John de Courcy's conquest of Ulster demonstrated that several of John's men, or family members, can be identified as grantors or witnesses to charters relating to St John the Baptist's in Dublin. The aforementioned land in Ulster was donated by John of Chester, identified by Duffy as the son of Roger of Chester, who accompanied de Courcy from the early days of his Ulster campaign.[139] There are two points about this relevant to this subject. The first is that the lands in the charters witnessed and made by these men were not in Ulster (apart from John of Chester's grant). They were in Dublin and the wider Leinster region. The second is that although there appears to be no evidence of any of the other houses of *fratres cruciferi* in Ireland being

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[136] M.T. Flanagan, 'Meiler fitz Henry (*d.* 1220)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9599, accessed 23 April 2009]. Flanagan refers to the issue of Meiler's legitimate heirs – this Meiler may have been dead by 1210.

[137] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, p. 191.
[138] *Reg HSJB*, no. 271.
[139] Seán Duffy, 'The first Ulster plantation: John de Courcy and the men of Cumbria' in Terry Barry, Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland: essays presented to J.F Lydon* (London, 1995), p. 15.

founded directly from the Dublin house, the experience of the settlers in Dublin and with the Dublin house may have inspired the later foundation of their own hospitals, such as John de Courcy was to do in Downpatrick before the turn of the thirteenth century.[140]

This phenomenon may not have been restricted to de Courcy's followers. Hugh de Lacy, his family and associates were also responsible for the foundation of other *fratres cruciferi* hospitals in the period covered in this thesis. The founder of St John the Baptist's in Ardee, Co Louth, (*c.* 1207) was one Roger Pipard, married to Alice de Lacy (>1195) daughter of Hugh and part of the Pipard magnate family.[141] The hospital of St John the Baptist in Drogheda (Meath side) was possibly founded by Walter de Lacy during King John's reign; St Leonard's in Dundalk (Co Louth, archdiocese of Armagh) was founded by either Bertram de Verdon or his son Nicholas at the end or shortly after the end of Henry II's reign.[142] Bertram's Dublin accommodation, known as Bertram's Court, was situated across from St John's in Dublin and in several charters was used as a landmark. Around 1200 Nicholas de Verdon granted to St John's in Dublin land which had been his father's, 'dono domini Regis Anglie'.[143] St John the Baptist's in Nenagh (Co Tipperary) owed its existence to Theobald Walter, possibly using brethren from St John's in Dublin. His son, also Theobald, made a grant to St John's in Dublin of one carucate to provide for the maintenance of thirteen patients.[144] The house in Nenagh had been given a similar donation and the two donations share five of the same witnesses.[145] The Pipard, Verdon and de Lacy families were no strangers to each other prior to arriving in Ireland, but as Brendan Smith has indicated, 'a new dimension was added to their relationships soon after they crossed the Irish Sea.'[146] One of those new dimensions I would

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[140] For de Courcy's foundation charter to Downpatrick see, Gearóid MacNiocaill, Cartae Dunenses, XII–XIII Céad, *Seanchas Ardmhacha, Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 5:2 (1970), no. 2, p. 419.
[141] Smith, *Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland*, p. 41.
[142] Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 462.
[143] *Reg HSJB*, no. 127.
[144] Ibid., no. 222.
[145] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, ed. Edmund Curtis (5 vols, Dublin, 1932–41), i, no. 22, p. 10; *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, ed. Newport B. White (Dublin, 1936), C3, pp 227–9.
[146] Smith, *Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland*, p. 41.

assert was their experience as benefactors and witnesses to institutions such as St John's.

What of the names of the benefactors – can names provide a clue as to who the donors were and where they originated? Accepting all the limitations that apply to medieval surnames there is still value in attempting some conclusions. Susan Reynolds has argued that the 'use of surnames...at this period is too inconsistent... for them to be used statistically, but they can give useful impressions.'[147] How many of the donations given in this period can be attributed to English rather than Irish benefactors? Analysis of names does appear to confirm that this was a predominantly English institution. One early benefactor who was undoubtedly Irish, Domnall Mac Gilla Mo-Cholmóc, had been among those who had submitted to Henry II in 1171 and through his marriage to Diarmuid MacMurchada's daughter Derbforgaill was Stongbow's brother-in-law.[148] His appearance is notable due to the lack of other native Irish donors. If a colony is 'a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state' it seems clear that there are several ways in which that community can be fostered.[149] Maintaining a separate system of law[150], marrying within the English settlement, the appointment of executors[151] – these are but examples of the ways through which the new community of English in Ireland came to foster an inclusiveness among each other but a much more public, constructive and permanent way was to donate to a public institution.

The benefactors performed more than a simple charitable act, and secured more than prayers for themselves and their families: in the first generation of settlement following the English invasion, these benefactors used

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[147] Susan Reynolds, *An introduction to the history of English medieval towns* (Oxford, 1977), p. 70.
[148] *Reg HSJB*, nos 362–3; J.F. O'Doherty, 'Historical criticism of the Song of Dermot and the Earl', *Irish Historical Studies*, 1(1938–9), pp 16–17.
[149] 'colony, n.' OED Online. June 2011. Oxford University Press. [http://www.oed.com, accessed 5 July 2011].
[150] Lydon, 'Nation and race in medieval Ireland', p. 107.
[151] Brendan Smith, *Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland; the English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 128.

donations of parcels of this newly acquired land to establish links within communities. A cynic can easily question the motivation of donors, at least the standard refrain given in most charters, which suggests that it is purely the prayers of the religious that are being sought as reward for donation. Not every charter that seeks to bestow land or rent on the hospital gave a reason. In addition, it must be acknowledged that 'piety is not quantifiable...' as a 'gift to a religious foundation can mean a great deal to one person, very little to another.'[152] Presumably this does not lessen the spiritual value to the donor. Those that do explain the purpose of their gift vary from the brief to the quite verbose. A *c.* 1190 donation by Baldwin, son of Gille and Elias of Chester, his son-in-law, is almost entirely dominated by a precise description of the hospital itself;

> '...sancta domui Hospitali extra occidentalem portam civitatis Dublinie quam Ailredus Palmerius in honor dei & sancta Marie & sancti Johannis Baptiste fundavit & fratribus ibidem deo famulantibus & in vinculis dei ibidem requiescentibus...'

In addition, they are clear as to the spiritual purpose of the donation;

> '...pro amore dei & sancta Marie & sancta Johannis Baptiste & pro animus parentum nostrorum & dominorum nostrorum & antecessorum nostrorum & pro salute animarum nostrarum & ut confrates simus in illa sancta domo hosptiali tam in animabus quam in corporibus...'[153]

A more usual dedication simply references the souls of the grantor, spouse, parents, predecessors or descendants. Others specify the souls of all the faithful departed.[154] For those who did not have rent or land to gift to the hospital, another way to secure the salvations of souls, or ease the passage to heaven, was to leave a donation in one's will. In her analysis of Dublin wills, Margaret Murphy commented on the unfortunately low survival rate of such documents.[155]

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[152] M.G.A. Vale, *Piety, charity and literacy among the Yorkshire gentry, 1370–1480* (York, 1976), p. 8.
[153] *Reg HSJB*, no. 41.
[154] Ibid., nos 12, 16, 30, 38 62 are samples.
[155] Margaret Murphy, 'The high cost of dying; an analysis of *pro anima* bequests in medieval Dublin', *Studies in Church History*, 24 (1987), p. 111.

Within the register itself there are only two, both dating from the late thirteenth century.[156] Both testators requested burial in the cemetery of St John the Baptist's.

From the turn of the fourteenth century donations began a steady decline. Fourteenth-century Dublin was subjected to the impact of war and indeed famine coinciding with the years of Robert and Edward Bruce's attempts to supplant English control of Ireland with their own. St John the Baptist's, though very advantageously placed outside the Newgate, was unfortunately also in that part of Dublin which was subject to the most destruction as the Dubliners set fire to the suburbs in an effort to withstand attack by the Bruce army. In particular the churches of St John and Mary Magdalene were destroyed in the fire.[157] The combined effects of the Statute of Mortmain (1279), the decline in profitability of the Irish colony from the accession of Edward I (1272), the Bruce Invasion (1315-18) and the Black Death (from 1348) provide a clear distinction between the periods of growth and decline of the hospital.[158] Those who had any land or rights to rental payments were understandably more frugal with donations.

Conclusion

The early years of the hospital not only coincided with the development of canon law and papal power, and high numbers of hospital foundations, it was also a period of great urban development and expansion, bringing people from all levels of society into closer and more immediate contact with each other. In Dublin, the hospital of St John the Baptist was one very obvious example of these changes. It is tempting to see, in the hospital, interaction between the three orders of society: the church provided the care, the rich (nobility or merchants), through

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[156] *Reg HSJB*, nos 65 and 66.
[157] *Chartul St Mary's*, ii, p. 353.
[158] Although the Statute of Mortmain became law in England in 1279, the exact date of its introduction to Ireland is unclear. That it was introduced is without question, but the full extent of its influence on donations to religious institutions is uncertain. For an examination of its introduction see Paul Brand, 'King, church and property; the enforcement of restrictions on alienations into mortmain in the Lordship of Ireland in the later middle ages', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), pp 481–502.

their donations ensured the continuation of this care, and the poor were the recipients of the combined efforts of both. Even a rejection of this model cannot veil the obvious dependence of each upon the other. This becomes even clearer when the fortunes of the hospital are investigated. In 1334 the hospital had responsibility for the care of 155 sick and poor persons, apart from the brothers and sisters also resident.[159] The brethren were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain these numbers, 'because their goods and possessions in the suburb of the said city and elsewhere in Ireland are greatly wasted'.[160] These numbers may of course have been embellished to secure a higher level of compensation from the crown, though it must be assumed that patient records of some description would have been kept and would have been produced to support a claim of poverty. Less than forty years later these numbers had fallen to 115.[161] In 1287 St Leonard's Hospital in York housed over 250 patients (men, women and orphan children) and had just under 200 staff.[162] The same institution in the 1360s still had over 200 sick and poor patients, but by the late fifteenth century was caring for only 130.[163] It too had been forced upon the king's mercy due to debts.[164] In Florence the Ospedale Di Santa Maria Nuova, founded in the late thirteenth century, had by the late fourteenth century over 100 beds for sick men and women.[165]

In the extent made in 1540 of St John the Baptist's after the dissolution of the hospital, the area available for the care of the sick was described as

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[159] *Cal Pat Rolls*, 1330–34, p. 552.
[160] Ibid.
[161] *Cal Pat Rolls*, 1370–74, p. 302.
[162] P.H. Cullum, 'St Leonard's Hospital, York, in 1287' in David M. Smith (ed.), *The Church in medieval York: records edited in honour of Professor Barrie Dobson* (Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 24, York, 1999), p. 17.
[163] Barney Sloane, 'St Leonard's Hospital, York', *Medieval Life*, 14 (2000), p. 17; P.H. Cullum, *Cremetts and corrodies: care of the poor and sick at St Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages* (Borthwick Paper, 79, York, 1991), p. 39.
[164] Cullum, 'St Leonard's Hospital, York, in 1287', p. 17; eadem, *Cremetts and corrodies*, p. 39.
[165] Katharine Park and John Henderson, '"The first hospital among Christians": the Ospedale Di Santa Maria Nuova in early sixteenth-century Florence', *Medical History*, 35 (1991), p. 171.

> a house in which there are fifty beds (*grabata*) for the sick, with a small parcel of ground adjoining; these of no value beyond their use for the sick'.[166]

These numbers are themselves available only because the hospital had on numerous occasions petitioned the crown for assistance, claiming that

> their goods and possessions in the suburb of Dublin as well as elsewhere in the land of Ireland have been so destroyed by hostile attacks of the Irish that they do not suffice for the sustenance of the said brethren and paupers.[167]

St John the Baptist's clearly did not exist in a vacuum. From its foundation it was influenced by external events and trends. If Ailred Palmer brought from the Holy Land the inspiration to establish a hospital, he only achieved it, to begin with, following considerable assistance from the community of the English of Ireland. So it was also for the priors who succeeded him. Without doubt it was

> ...a very well done deed
> With devotion such people to feed. [168]

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[166] *Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540–41*, ed. Newport White (Dublin, 1943), p. 55.
[167] *Cal Pat Rolls*, 1370–4, p. 302.
[168] Copland, 'The highway to the spital-house', p. 5.

Chapter 3

Pioneering patrons and the social networks of St John's benefactors

Introduction

Over the course of an almost 400-year-long existence, it is likely that thousands of Dubliners came into contact with the hospital of St John the Baptist. Some were prominent members of the new English and Welsh community, others, though considered less socially important, played a vital role in the foundation and the social function of this hospital. As a group they defy definition: comprised of merchants, military adventurers, settlers, burghers and what might be called the gentry, those who were benefactors of and witnessed grants to St John's would appear to have represented a wide cross-section of medieval society in Ireland.[1]

As patrons they were united by their move, whole or in part, to Ireland, and as such were unlike those who migrated internally in England. A Herefordshire native moving to London for work might initially be viewed with suspicion as an outsider, but he was still a man who had the same king, same law, and, other than regional variations, the same customs as his new neighbours. In Dublin, this shared heritage and custom existed in an enclave, for outside the city and further into those parts of the county and country still under

[1] Establishing the status of the individuals in this chapter is relevant only where it aids identification of the person. It is not an examination of those who led the invasion of Ireland, but usually those who followed in its wake, and, in later chapters, their descendants. The debate as to definition of social status has been argued more thoroughly elsewhere than is relevant here. The cosmopolitan nature of towns meant that a wide variety of networks of varying social status can be detected. The county equivalent of those examined in this study has prompted much discussion of the terms gentry and community. See for example, Peter Coss, *Lordship, knighthood and locality; a study in English society, c. 1180–c. 1280* (Cambridge, 1991); Hugh M. Thomas, *Vassals, heiresses, crusaders and thugs; the gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154–1216* (Philadelphia, 1996); Anne Polden, 'The social networks of the Buckinghamshire gentry in the thirteenth century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), pp 371–94. Although this is a study of personal networks, those involved are mostly below the level of tenant-in-chief, and therefore the issue of the honorial system and the subject of personal service are largely avoided.

Irish rule, a very different law existed, unfamiliar customs were practised and recognition of that same king was born out of forced necessity, if recognition even existed. In Ireland though, as in England, those who were patrons of the hospital were 'at the centre of a network of connections with upward ties to magnates and the king, downward ties to peasants, and horizontal ties to monks, nuns, and clergy'.[2]

The first group under scrutiny here are those who were the earliest named in connection with the hospital. On the most basic level they would seem to have all shared the experience of not being originally from Dublin, and also of not being Irish. The first to be examined is *Alredo Magistro domus Hospitalis sancti Iohannis de Dubellinia*, or Ailred Palmer, founder of St John's.[3] Ailred was briefly discussed in chapter two and the known references to him in other sources were examined for clues as to his inspiration for the foundation of the hospital. In a prosopographical study of those associated with the hospital, Ailred, as founder and first prior, is the inevitable starting point. In chapter four the very first grants to the hospital will be investigated, but here it is those who initiated those grants who will be the focus. Apart from Ailred and Henry II, Pope Clement III's confirmation provides the names of six other donors, four other incidental names and two unnamed wives. By tracking the path of this small number of men through contemporary sources, it is possible to provide evidence for connections with many more, mostly men, who were merchants and adventurers in Ireland from the earliest days of the conquest. Some cannot be identified beyond their appearance in the papal confirmation: Augustine of Bristol could be any number of Augustines not otherwise identified by a toponym. Despite not being able to identify him as one particular individual, he is still significant for supplying one of many links between the patrons of St John's and Bristol.

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[2] Thomas, *Vassals, heiresses, crusaders and thugs*, p. 4.

[3] *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustantia Quae ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentiae Tabularis Depromsit et Ordine Chronologico Diposuit, 1216–1547*, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Rome, 1864), pp 214–5. This is the 1320 bull of Pope John XXII in which is contained Clement III's confirmation of the hospital's possessions (hereafter *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*).

In addition to the small group of those referred to by Pope Clement by name, those examined in this chapter extends to include a slightly larger nucleus of individuals who would appear to have been known to and to have been contemporaries of Ailred's fellow founding fathers. Though defying definition, can any general terms, like community, be applied to the roughly two hundred men who were witnesses and grantors in the first two decades of the hospital's history? The appropriateness of the use of the term 'community' has been questioned when applied to certain sections of English society.[4] Nonetheless, those new arrivals in Dublin whose properties neighboured each other, who patronised the religious houses which had existed prior to their arrival (like St Mary's and All Hallows, and those founded by their contemporaries, like St Thomas's and St John's) the term community does seem appropriate. That is not to say that it remained appropriate for their descendants, those who were born in Ireland and especially those whose connections with England may have been through their family history rather than personal experience. Nor were they a community confined within local boundaries; although it is their experiences in Dublin which are the subject here, they moved within a society whose boundaries were set by conquest, rather than kin. What of those who appear in the early administrative records of English-controlled Dublin and those who were listed as the earliest benefactors of the hospital? As the hospital was based in Dublin it is perhaps unsurprising to discover that both Bristol (one of the main English ports which traded with Dublin) and Hugh de Lacy (or at least some of the men associated with his lands in Meath and England) feature prominently.[5]

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[4] Christine Carpenter, 'Gentry and community in medieval England' *Journal of British Studies*, 33:4 (1994), pp 340–80.

[5] M.T. Flanagan, 'Lacy, Hugh de (d. 1186)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15852, accessed 22 March 2011]: Colin T. Veach, Nobility and crown: the de Lacy family in Ireland, England and Normandy, 1172–1241 (unpublished PhD, University of Dublin, 2010); Colin Veach, 'Henry II's grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy in 1172: a reassessment', *Ríocht na Midhe*, 18 (2007), pp 67–94.

The 1188 Bull

The first named donor in Clement's bull is Henry II, king of England, by whom 'totam villam Tacwer' was granted.[6] Ailred himself is listed as a donor; along with his wife he donated a burgage plot in the city of Dublin. And Andrew and his wife also donated a burgage plot, one then held by Warin and his uncle Richard. Given the paucity of details for these benefactors, further investigations into them have not been pursued. Richard *Camerarius*, Hugh de Lacy's chamberlain, was one of the largest of these early donors, who granted the vill of Glennuge, otherwise known as Glenuische, or Palmerstown in Fingal.[7] Gilbert Gude, donor of half his house in the archdiocese of Dublin, does make brief appearances in other sources. The donor of as much as the brethren could clear from 'terra nemoris Leonini' was identified by St John Brooks as Leoninus de Bromyard.[8] Of the final two names, Augustine of Bristol and Roger, brother of Haim, it is only the latter for whom sufficient information remains to allow an investigation into his participation in Dublin life.

Of those named in Pope Clement's confirmation, Ailred himself remains one of the more elusive. Previous scholarship speculated that Ailred had been a Norse citizen of Dublin who remained on following its capture by the English.[9] This is possible, just as it is also possible that he was English by birth, given that he bore an Anglo-Saxon name.[10] The most comprehensive source for the nomenclature of a certain swathe of medieval Dubliners, the Guild Merchant Roll, provides evidence of many Ailreds, or other variants such as Alured, Eilward. Additional difficulties lie in the fact that there is more than one Ailred Palmer listed. An Eilward Cornubiensis Palmer, Eilward Palmer, Ailwardus Frater and Ailward (and Alfwine) Palmer are all present in the roll.[11] Ailred could conceivably

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[6] This is discussed in greater detail in chapter four.
[7] The details of the grant itself is discussed in greater detail in chapter four.
[8] *Reg HSJB*, p. vi.
[9] Ibid., p. v.
[10] William George Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum: a list of Anglo-Saxon proper names from the time of Beda to that of King John* (Cambridge, 1897), pp 46–8.
[11] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 6 (2nd column), p. 10 (2nd column), p. 20 (1st column) and p. 27 (2nd column).

be any of those listed in the roll of the merchants' guild, such as Alured de Kermerdin (Carmarthen).[12] In the very earliest days of the English invasion an Alured of Lincoln and an Alured of Poitou are known to have sent goods from England to Ireland, probably as part of the preparation for the landing of Henry II.[13] He could possibly be the Alured of Wendover who with Reiner Palmer and Ralph of Norwich was granted a piece of land outside the western gate of the city by a W, styled clerk of Hamwoda.[14] Given the fluidity of naming practices at that time, an Ailred who was a merchant could also have been Ailred, a former pilgrim.

Not only do many Ailreds appear as part of the Dublin merchant scene, so too do several individuals listed as 'son of' Ailred. In previous scholarship it was believed that Ailred and his wife were childless, and hence the donation of their burgage plot to the hospital. It is not implausible however that they had raised a family but that once any children of theirs had reached maturity both parents wished to donate their life to God, in this instance inspired by the succour of the poor and sick. Ailred, the founder, is believed to have died *c.* 1202. Taking *c.* 1185–88 as the foundation date, it is clearly possible that he had adult children at that time. Nicholas Palmer, son of Aillarid, William, son of Aldred and Robert de [...] son of Alewardi could all be possible candidates.[15]

The earliest extant date for an Ailred Palmer is as one witness to a charter of Earl Richard, or Strongbow, to Hamund Mac Turcaill (*c.* 1174).[16] That this was in fact the Ailred Palmer of St John's is strengthened by some of his fellow witnesses, especially Roger, brother of Hern, who is probably the man more usually known as Roger, brother of Haim, listed among those whose donations

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[12] Ibid., p. 26 (2nd column).
[13] *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, ed. H.S. Sweetman (5 vols, London, 1875–86), i, nos 2, 28 and 30 (hereafter *CDI*).
[14] *The Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (London, 1889), no. 438, pp 384–5 (hereafter *Reg St Thomas*). By calling the gate Western, rather than New, the charter can probably be dated to the 1180s. For the dating of this and the expansion of this new area of medieval Dublin see Cathal Duddy, 'The western suburb of medieval Dublin: its first century', *Irish Geography*, 34:2 (2001), p. 159.
[15] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, for Nicholas p. 13 (1st column) who is listed after a Robert *gener* Aillard, for William see p. 14 (1st column) and same for Robert.
[16] *Christ Church Deeds*, eds M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé (Dublin, 2001), no. 1 (hereafter *Christ Ch Deeds*).

had been received by the hospital by 1188. Investigations into Roger, his wife Margaret, and his brothers Haim and Adhelm reveal the settlement of several generations of this Bristol family in Dublin.

The Bristol connection

A glance through any list of names from medieval Dublin (such as mayors and provosts, guild merchants' rolls, franchise rolls, or any number of witness lists) testifies to the representation in Dublin of settlers and visitors from throughout primarily England and Wales. One English town in particular, Bristol, has long been recognised as holding a particular significance in the history of transmarine relations and trade between England and Ireland.[17] Trade between the two cities had in earlier centuries included slaves, causing one visitor to Bristol in the early twelfth century to be apparently cautioned 'about the way in which Irish traders would suddenly raise anchor and sail away with unwary visitors'.[18] Indeed, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, and him alone, in 1171, two years after the first English settlers arrived in Ireland, an ecclesiastical council was held in Armagh at which the presence of these new conquistadors in Ireland was discussed, where it was held that 'because it had formerly been their habit [that is, the Irish habit] to purchase Englishmen indiscriminately from merchants as well as from robbers and pirates' the Irish had, 'by the stern judgement of divine

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[17] Aubrey Gwynn, 'Medieval Bristol and Dublin', *Irish Historical Studies*, 5:20 (1947), pp 275–86 may be over sixty years old but provides a good explanation of how the collation of Bristol's medieval records was completed. Chester was also an important port trading with Ireland, but Bristol featured much more prominently among those who had contact with St John's. This was no doubt due to King Henry II's 1171–2 charter (discussed later in the main text) granting Bristolians the same trading customs in Dublin as they enjoyed in Bristol. The merchants of Chester may have attempted to counteract the loss of privileged trading rights by securing from Henry II a confirmation of their trading rights with Dublin as they had been granted under Henry I. J.H. Round, 'Early Irish trade with Chester and Rouen' in idem, *Feudal England* (4th edn, London, 1964), pp 353–4. For an exposition of earlier trading practices in Ireland, up to this period, see Charles Doherty, 'Exchange and trade in early medieval Ireland', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 110 (1980), pp 67–80; Michael Richter, 'The European dimension of Irish history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), pp 328–45.

[18] David A.E. Pelteret, *Slavery in early mediaeval England: from the reign of Alfred to the twelfth century* (Woodbridge, 1995) p. 78. See Poul Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin, ninth to twelfth centuries', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), pp 317–45 for an examination of the practice.

vengeance', brought their new misfortune upon themselves.[19] For the remainder of the middle ages ships crossed the Irish Sea carrying goods for consumption. Large quantities of cloth were exported from Bristol to Dublin and other Irish ports while in return Bristol received foodstuffs (corn, fish and cattle) in addition to linen and timber and animal skins (deer, otter, squirrel, lamb etc).[20] Even before the 1169 invasion and certainly following it, pottery made its way from Bristol and the wider Gloucestershire region to Dublin. One particular type, called Ham Green ware takes its name from the kilns that operated in that area near Bristol, examples of which were found throughout Dublin.[21] Indeed, it was the, probably overstated, opinion of Giraldus that Ireland could not 'survive without the goods and trade which come to it from Britain.'[22]

In 1166 an Irish king, Diarmait Mac Murchada crossed the Irish Sea to Bristol in the hope of gaining assistance against his enemies in Ireland. Diarmait may initially have planned only to request aid from Bristol, whose inhabitants would have been familiar with Dublin and the east coast. Perhaps it was his host in Bristol, Robert Fitz Harding, then one of its leading citizens, who persuaded him to expand his operation, seeing in it further opportunities for the economic advancement of his city.[23] From Bristol Diarmait then travelled to King Henry II who gave the Irish king his permission to recruit support among his subjects. Diarmait returned to Bristol, and Fitz Harding who, one source tells us, Henry had ordered to give Diarmait all the assistance he needed.[24] King Henry II was himself long familiar with Bristol; during the reign of his predecessor, King Stephen, Henry had spent some time in Bristol and had apparently received

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[19] *Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, eds A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), pp 69–71.
[20] E.M. Carus-Wilson, *The merchant adventurer of Bristol in the fifteenth century* (Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1962), pp 2–3; Wendy Childs, 'Irish merchants and seamen in late medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32:125, (2000), pp 22–43.
[21] Patrick Wallace, 'North European pottery imported into Dublin, 1200–1500' in Peter Davey and Richard Hodges (eds), *Ceramics and trade: the production and distribution of later medieval pottery in north-west Europe* (Sheffield, 1983), p. 226; Clare McCutcheon, *Medieval Pottery from Wood Quay Dublin* (Dublin, 2006), pp 42–53.
[22] *Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica*, p. 253.
[23] John Cottrell, 'Leinster, South Wales, Bristol and Angevin Politics, 1135–72: some influences on the earliest English in Ireland' (unpublished PhD, University of Bristol, 2000), p. 33.
[24] *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland, La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande*, ed. Evelyn Mullally (Dublin, 2002), lines 304–6, pp 60–1.

some religious education from the canons in St Augustine's Abbey, founded by Robert Fitz Harding.[25]

If Fitz Harding had perhaps hoped to benefit himself from advancement in the relationship between kings Diarmait and Henry, and by extension trade between Bristol and Dublin, his death in 1171 meant that he didn't live long enough to benefit from King Henry's generous charter granted during his 1171–2 visit to Dublin, by which he granted the city of Dublin to his men of Bristol. The charter has been discussed at length elsewhere; in the context of this discussion its importance is perhaps more as an explanation for why certain individuals came to be found in Dublin.[26] If, as Seán Duffy has suggested, the charter has survived because it was believed by the men of Dublin to be of 'fundamental importance', for 'constitutional and commercial' purposes, might Bristolians like Haim of Bristol and his siblings, along with Thomas le Martre and the brothers William and Roger Cordwainer, all discussed below, have been directly influenced by Henry's charter of settlement?

In addition to being part of a group of citizens in the city who were immigrants and settlers, many of these men and their extended families were neighbours. An overwhelming number of charters in all institutional sources record the names of those who held properties neighbouring the land in question. In this way the names of the citizens of many medieval towns have been preserved, names which in many instances are not recorded in any other fashion. As will be seen in chapter four, where the holdings of the hospital in Bertram's Court will be examined, the area outside the western gate, in the neighbourhood of St John's, was one of high-density settlement. Undeveloped prior to the English conquest of Dublin, it would appear to have been an area

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[25] Robert B. Patterson, 'Bristol, an Angevin baronial capital under royal siege', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 3 (1991), p. 174.

[26] H.B. Clarke, 'The 1192 charter of liberties and the beginnings of Dublin's municipal life', *Dublin Historical Record*, 46:1 (1993), pp 5–14; Mary Clark, 'People, places and parchment; the medieval archives of Dublin city' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin III: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2001* (2002), pp 140–50; Seán Duffy, 'Town and crown: the kings of England and their city of Dublin' in Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame (eds), *Thirteenth century England X. Proceedings of the Durham conference 2003* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp 100–102; *Bristol Charters, 1378–1499*, ed. H.A. Cronne, *Bristol Record Society*, 11 (1946), pp 28–30.

inhabited primarily by the new arrivals into the city. While these men and women might not have shared a common background prior to arriving in Ireland, their decision to relocate to Dublin and the proximity of their living conditions meant that they would quickly have become acquainted with each other outside the Newgate. Roger, brother of Haim, had land outside the city walls, near the hospital, and St John's also had many property interests in its own vicinity; could this be one way by which Thomas le Martre and Roger (and extended family) became acquainted? From one of his donations to St Thomas's it is known that le Martre had land *versus pontem Osmannorum*,[27] while Roger, brother of Haim, would appear to have held substantial land *super ripam de Auenelif*, both of these properties located outside the north-western part of the city wall, by the river.[28] Like Roger, brother of Haim, Roger le Cordwainer also had land in the western suburb, which he gave to the hospital.[29] There was surely a practical purpose to neighbouring landowners witnessing each others' charters – though they may have been on friendly terms, a dispute concerning boundary properties was one definite way to provoke hostilities. By being aware of how land in one's locality was being managed, such disputes could potentially be kept at bay.

In addition to being neighbours, they may also have socialised with each other. In 1209, in an event known as 'Black Monday', later tradition has it that several hundred men, women and children, reportedly from Bristol, were killed in Cullenswood (today part of the Dublin suburb of Ranelagh) while taking a break on Easter Monday from the city air. These Bristolians, Sir James Ware reports, had flocked from their home city to inhabit Dublin as it had been left waste and desolate. On the day, the story goes that the Irish O'Byrnes and O'Tooles came

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[27] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 483, p. 414.
[28] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 188, pp 214–5 and no. 240, p. 250.
[29] Ibid., i, no. 213, p. 232. This was a grant of Nicholas de Castello to the Cistercians of land between the land given by him to the hospital, and the land given to St John's by Roger Cordwainer. Nicholas's charter of that grant to the hospital is in the register, and unsurprisingly was witnessed by Roger and his brother William: *Reg HSJB*, no. 1. A Roger le Cordwainer of (*de*) Hereford was an early member of the merchants' guild, *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 3 (2nd column) while in the early 1220s a Roger le Cordwainer was also listed: Ibid., p. 48 (2nd column). Although the name is corrupted a possible William Cordwainer can be found as a merchant's guild member: In the *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 1 it appears as *Willelmus de Cordava*, but in *Hist Mun Docs*, p. 3 it appears as *Willielmus – Cordaua*.

down from the Dublin mountains and attacked the group as they relaxed and socialised, killing 300 men, other than women and children who were 'led into their hands', perhaps meaning that they were taken as hostages. Apparently undeterred by the fate meted out to their fellow-citizens, more Bristolians arrived in Dublin following the massacre to repopulate the city.[30]

In his introduction to the *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll* Geoffrey Martin commented on the value of the topographical information provided from the surnames of those listed in the Roll, though noting that 'Bristol is quite modestly represented'.[31] Many years prior to this H.A. Cronne remarked that evidence 'of the extent of early Bristol colonization in Dublin is disappointing' due he noted to the 'small minority' of those named in records with the topographical designation, 'of Bristol'.[32] For all the advantages that topographical or occupational names provide, especially to the prosopographer, Martin's statement is indicative of the danger of relying on toponymic surnames alone to trace an individual's origins. The group of settlers from Bristol discussed in this chapter were rarely, and some never, identified by their English origins, and that only becomes clear when a study of contemporary English records demonstrates that their experiences as testators, benefactors and holders of civic offices were not confined to one side of the Irish Sea. The consequences of this approach suggest that although the presence of these early settlers, while long acknowledged and with the encouragement of their king, the numbers of settlers or stakeholders in the city may be much higher than previously thought. Patrick Wallace suggested that for

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[30] James Ware, 'The Annals of Ireland during the reigns of King John' in *Inquiries concerning Ireland, and its antiquities* (Dublin, 1705), pp 41–2. An earlier source, with the same details, Meredith Hanmer, *The chronicle of Ireland, collected by Meredith Hanmer in the year 1571* (reprinted, Dublin, 1809), pp 370–1. The O'Byrnes and O'Tooles of east Leinster had a changing and often difficult relationship with English settlers in the area. See Emmett O'Byrne, *War, politics and the Irish of Leinster, 1156–1606* (Dublin, 2003), esp pp 30–32; idem, 'Cultures in contact in the Leinster and Dublin marches, 1170–1400' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin V: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2003* (Dublin, 2004), pp 111–48, esp pp 119–20; for an archaeological study of the area see Linzi Simpson, 'Anglo-Norman settlement in Uí Briúin Cualann, 1169–1350' in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow, history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1994), pp 191–235.

[31] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. xix.

[32] *Bristol Charters, 1378–1499*, p. 30.

> 'about thirty years or so after the initial invasion, no major concerted effort was made to develop, improve and enlarge the city, though this impression could be due to the absence of historical data'.[33]

The construction of two new religious houses outside the western gate of the city, the Victorine house of St Thomas in the 1170s and the hospital in the 1180s would seem to negate this view. Possibly the manner of interpretation of surviving historical data may help to demonstrate that in Dublin the process of change began much earlier than Wallace concluded. Perhaps Henry's 1171–2 charter indicated an initial stage of the city's development; deliberate movement of people being one method of developing and improving a city, certainly in character. In many instances it was the choice of habitation of the earliest settlers, and the many Bristolians among them, that influenced the physical development of Dublin.

Roger, Haim and Adhelm[34]

In Clement's list, Roger's donation appears as follows:

> 'from a donation of Roger brother of Haim in his house which is next to St John, three marks, thus nevertheless that if the same Roger should die in the aforesaid hospital, or if he dies elsewhere, from the house of the same hospital to 20*s.* in the same house let it be gratefully withdrawn.'[35]

From this then it is known that Roger had a residence in the western suburb by St John's. A couple of years later Roger, this time with his wife Margaret, donated rent of 12*s.* to be paid in two instalments at Michaelmas and Easter from land which was in the same street as the hospital.[36] In this witness list another brother of Haim's, Adhelm, is listed.[37] Haim, his brothers and their own extended

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[33] Patrick Wallace, 'Anglo-Norman Dublin: continuity and change' in Donnchadh Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish antiquity: essays and studies presented to Professor M.J. O'Kelly* (Dublin, 1994), p. 249.
[34] See Appendix 1 for the family tree of those discussed here.
[35] *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, p. 215, '*ex dono Rogerii fratris Haimi in domo eius, que est propinquior sancto Iohanni tres marchas, ita tamen quod si predictus Rogerius moriatur in predicto hospitali, si autem alibi morietur, et gratus recedat de domo dicti hospitalis viginti solidos in eadem domo.*'
[36] *Reg HSJB*, no. 38.
[37] These names were, like Ailred's, probably Anglo-Saxon. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 279 for Haim and p. 41 for Adhelm (Æthelhelm). In his article on the connections between the Hereford Jewry and marcher lords in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Joe Hillaby

families would appear to have been part of Dublin city life from its earliest days as an English royal possession. Adhelm is the earliest English settler in Dublin recorded in an official capacity. During Henry II's sojourn in Dublin in 1171–2 and in a charter witnessed by Hugh de Lacy among others, the king granted Adhelm (noted as brother of *Hamundi de Bristowe*, which supplies the link to Bristol) land outside the eastern gate of Dublin.[38] As Seán Duffy has previously noted, the site of this grant held its own significance. These lands were those on which Dublin's Thingmoot had stood, prior to the establishment of Henry's temporary court there in 1171. By granting it to one of the city's new men, the transference of power from the old to the new order was easily displayed.[39] This same land was later granted by Adhelm's daughter, Elicia, with the consent of her husband, Stephen de Meisintun, to the Cistercians of St Mary's in Oxmantown.[40] In the early thirteenth century Elicia granted Germanus Dubeldai her lands outside the gate of St Mary del Dam, between the city wall and a mill, land which had been held of her father by William Dubeldai, Germanus's uncle.[41] The mill, in addition to its water, situated between the gate of St Mary del Dam and St Andrew's church had been granted to William Dubeldai by John (noted as the son of the king, hence it was probably when he was lord of Ireland and before becoming count of Mortain in 1189).[42] William later granted half of this mill, and his body, presumably for burial, with half his house beside St Olaf's, to the monks of St Mary's abbey.[43] In the early 1230s, Adhelm's granddaughter, Scolastica, along

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suggested that Hamo of Hereford, a prominent Jewish financier 'may have come from the continent in the recent wave of immigration. The name would suggest northern France, unless it is a corrupt form of the Hebrew, *Haim* or *Hayyim*, meaning 'life', but this was normally rendered Hagin in England.' Joe Hillaby, 'Hereford gold: Irish, Welsh and English land, parts 1& 2. The clients of the Jewish community at Hereford, 1179–1253: four case studies', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 45:1 (1985), p. 212.

[38] *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, London, 1884), i, no. 118*g*, pp 140–2 (hereafter *Chartul St Mary's*).

[39] Duffy, 'Town and crown', p. 102.

[40] *Chartul St Mary's,* i, no. 273, pp 325–6. Stephen de Mesintun (also spelled as Meisintun) makes several appearances in the register as a witness in the early thirteenth century, a Roger de Mesintun similarly so several decades later.

[41] Ibid., i, no. 202, pp 224–5.

[42] Ibid., i, no. 200, p. 223.

[43] Ibid., i, no. 198, p. 222.

with her husband David Albus, further gave to St Mary's all rights and claims which had been Adhelm's outside the eastern gate.[44]

In addition to being perhaps one of the earliest landowners in the eastern suburb Adhelm would appear to have also held land and a house in Donore, in the western suburb of the city.[45] Adhelm was also occasionally referred to as *divitis*, [46] and he and his two brothers, Haim and Roger, would appear to have been prominent landowners along Dublin's riverine walls.[47] Given the early date of Henry II's charter it seems safe enough to assume that this family were from Bristol, and may even have been members of a party of Bristolians who encouraged or petitioned for Henry's other more famous charter issued in Dublin, that of course being the granting of the city to Bristol, for the settlement of the former with merchants from the latter. This would certainly provide a link with another of the original donors, Augustine of Bristol. In Strongbow's charter of 1174, Ailred, Roger brother of Haim, and Augustine are listed in order while an Augustine the clerk can be found on several occasions sharing witness lists with Haim's family.[48] Roger and Adhelm are usually referred to by their fraternal link to Haim, but the latter is more difficult to identify. In the guild merchant roll a Robert brother of Heim (presumably a variant of Haim) is listed, most likely then from this same family. From his place in the roll his membership of the guild probably dated to the late twelfth century; this however is the only reference to him which has been unearthed.

Based on only the extant evidence of religious chartularies, Roger and his family were clearly actively involved in the life of medieval Dublin. The abbey of St Mary was, more than any other institution, their chosen destination for benefaction. This continued into the next generation, with donations and confirmations of their parents' donations by Stephen, Roger's son and Elicia,

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[44] Ibid., i, no. 203, pp 225–6. Made in the presence of Gilbert de Livet, as mayor. Gilbert is examined below.
[45] *Reg HSJB*, nos 136 and 137; *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c. 1172–1534*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1950), p. 32 (hereafter *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*).
[46] Ibid., nos 136 and 137; *Chartul St Mary's,* i, no. 203, pp 225–6.
[47] *Chartul St Mary's,* i, no. 178, p. 208; no. 240, p. 250.
[48] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 468*f*, p. 124; no. 471, p. 124; no. 472, p. 124.

Adhelm's daughter.[49] In a charter of Stephen's to St Mary's his brother John is listed as a monk, which may explain the link between the family and the abbey.[50] He was also among the benefactors to Holy Trinity as his grant of land in Crockers' Street to that institution was confirmed by King John.[51]

Other extended family can be traced through Roger's wife Margaret. In a charter of Margaret's in which she gave a part of her land opposite the church of St Nicholas in Dublin to Adam Palmer, the witnesses are listed as Richard Gillemichael, *genere meo*, and Simon, also *genere meo*.[52] A 1234 inspeximus of earlier charters of another Margaret, daughter of Richard Gillemichelle contain details of several rents and plots held by her in Dublin but also a messuage held of her in Bristol and ½ mark due from the same fee by a Richard Cordwainer.[53] The inspeximus gives an insight into the impressive number of land holdings claimed by Richard's daughter, land in Cornmarket by St Audoen's, in Bertram's Court, more by St Patrick's and in Oxmantown, in addition to her stone messuage in Bristol. Among those mentioned as owing her rent was Elena de Plumton, who may be the same Helena, wife of Elias Burel, four-time mayor of Dublin (of whom more below), and daughter of Richard de Plumton, who appears four times in the register as a witness. Margaret's grant was made to the nuns of St Mary's de Hogges, for her soul and that of Alexander, the anchorite of St Clement's. In the late 1230s this same Alexander made a grant to All Hallows Priory for the salvation of many souls, including those of his sister Margaret.[54] Although connected through marriage to a Bristolian family, Richard Gillemichael is perhaps a man of mixed-ethnic background himself. A man bearing that name is listed in the Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, as is another by the name Willekin Gillemichel.[55] Gille Mícheáil is a Gaelic name and he presumably originated from

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[49] See *Chartul St Mary's,* i, no. 287, pp 350–2 for a confirmation of St Mary's lands which lists several donations from the Haim family.
[50] Ibid., i, no. 177, pp 207–8. This witness list also includes a relative of his mother, Richard Gillemicheal, discussed in the next paragraph.
[51] *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, pp 28–9.
[52] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 432, pp 380–1.
[53] *CDI*, i, no. 2210, pp 327–8.
[54] *Registrum Prioratus Omnium Sanctorum juxta Dublin*, ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1845), no. 47, p. 49.
[55] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 17 (2nd column) for Richard and p. 23 (1st column) for Willekin.

a Gaelic-speaking milieu in Ostman Dublin, Man, Gaelic Scotland or even Cumbria.

The charter given to Adhelm by Henry II (mentioned above) does suggest that he, and perhaps his two brothers, were trusted Bristolians. Given their high status in Dublin, one could expect that the Haim siblings would be prominent landowners and burgesses of Bristol but surprisingly they do not appear to have left the same impact on Bristol's records as they have on Dublin's. Despite their relative importance in the early stages of the English settlement of Dublin, and the trust that Henry II must have had in Adhelm to grant him land beside one of the entrances into the city, the records for medieval Bristol are overwhelmingly silent regarding Adhelm, Haim and Roger, discounting the pipe roll references to Roger as previously noted.

Richard de Stottesdon

Another for whom subsequent references are scant is Richard de Stottesdon, also known as Richard *Camerarius*, who granted the vill of Glennuge, otherwise known as Glenuische, or Palmerstown in Fingal in return for the annual payment of six marks. Should he die without heirs, the six marks were to remain, freely and quietly with the brothers of the hospital. In the register this grant is from Richard de Stottesdon, named in the charter as Hugh de Lacy's chamberlain. In this he donated four carucates of land in Glenuische and Gradeloch with all pertinences, other than the homage due by three named men, Geoffrey de Stottesdon, William Coterell and Godfred, the details differing slightly from the papal confirmation.[56] It is possible that Geoffrey de Stottesdon was Richard's brother: a Henry de Stottesdon who was witness to a donation of John de Courcy's to St Thomas's may have been a third sibling.[57] Stottesdon, in Shropshire, had at various times under both Henry I and Henry II reverted to the crown and was granted to the Norman family of Gamages in 1159, who also

[56] *Reg HSJB*, no. 191.
[57] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 267, pp 221–2.

inherited two knights' fees in the de Lacy barony in Herefordshire.[58] As either Richard (the) Chamberlain or Richard de Stottesdon, he makes only one other possible appearance in the sources, surprising perhaps given his position in the de Lacy *familia*.[59] In an agreement made between the house of Llanthony and a Sampson concerning the vill of Sampson in Co Meath it was noted that the 'canons should grant to this same Sampson his chapel which was on the land of Richard Chamberlain which he had for his life'.[60] Around the same date, *c.* 1202, Llanthony Prima made a similar arrangement with Hugh de Waterville, granting him his chapel, again on the land of Richard Chamberlain and ensuring that the rights of the mother church at Colpe would be recognised. There is no guarantee of course that this Richard Chamberlain is one and the same as Hugh de Lacy's man, though the Meath connection and the early date make for a convincing suggestion.[61]

Leo de Bromyard

Another Herefordshire neighbour of Hugh de Lacy was Leo de Bromyard. He was the grantor 'of the woodland of Leonisus, which is next to Donaghmore, as much as the brothers of the said hospital are able to exact'.[62] Bromyard was noted in the Domesday Book as being in the Plegelgete Hundred, in which Roger de Lacy also had several holdings.[63] If Roger, brother of Haim, and his family can

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[58] John Corbet Anderson, *Shropshire: its early history and antiquities* (2nd edn, Manchester, 1972), p. 273; *The Victoria history of the counties of England* (London, 1900–), Shropshire, vol 1, p. 318 gives Domesday details for Stottesdon; E.W. Bowcock, *Shropshire place names* (Shrewsbury, 1923), pp 227–8. [For Matthew de Gamages see *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (3 vols, London, 1896) i, p. 114 (1196–7), p. 123 (1199–1200), p. 159 (1201–12) all for Hereford in Wales].

[59] A Richard *Camerarius* is listed in the Red Book of the Exchequer for 1166 as holding 6 ½ carucates in Keresby in Northampshire. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, p. 330.

[60] Arlene Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172–41: lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008), no. XLIV, p. 249.

[61] With particular thanks to Dr Arlene Hogan for drawing my attention to his presence in these charters.

[62] *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, p. 215, '*et de terra nemoris Leonini, quod est iuxta Danachnor, quantum fratres predicti hospitalis poterunt exartare.*'; for St John Brooks's discussion of this see *Reg HSJB*, p. vi.

[63] C.P. Lewis and F.R. Thorn (eds), *The Herefordshire Domesday* (London, 1988), fol. 182v; A.T. Bannister, *The place-names of Herefordshire, their origin and development* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 31.

perhaps be associated with St Mary's more than any other Dublin house, Leo and his son John were frequently associated with St Thomas's abbey in Dublin, especially, though not exclusively, involving land in Meath.[64] Though no record has come to light of Leo receiving his lands through Hugh de Lacy's subinfeudation of Meath, the regular appearance of both Leo and de Lacy in various witness lists, which continued with Hugh de Lacy II and Leo's sons, Thomas and John, would make it a safe assumption that they were closely associated. Although 'The Song of Dermot and the Earl' does not name Leo, he can be found in the company of those who were named, such as Geoffrey de Costentin, and others whose names have subsequently become associated with the earliest days of the English administration in Ireland.[65] In an early and highly important charter of Milo le Bret to the hospital, Leo is one name in an illustrious witness list including, Hamo de Valognes, Theobald Walter, Meiler FitzHenry, Geoffrey de Costentin and Warin de London.[66]

The exchange between St Thomas's and the hospital of St John the Baptist of the church of Donaghmore/Davagnore in Meath for the church of Stagory/Palmerstown will be discussed in chapter four. Further examination of the register of St Thomas's reveals continued Bromyard and de Lacy interaction involving Donaghmore. As the exchange of these churches required official ecclesiastical recognition, it is no surprise that St John's kept a record of the reaction of Archbishop John Cumin to the dispute between the two houses. As clerk to the archbishop the appearance of Audoen Brun's name in the accompanying witness list could be expected (he is discussed in greater detail below), as is Leo de Bromyard's name on the chirograph between St Thomas's

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[64] In one instance a Richard de Brumiard is listed with Leo; apart from Leo's sons this is the only other Brumiard identified as such. Though he may be no relation and simply from the same area, he could be the nephew, also called Richard, who witnessed, with Leo, a charter of Archbishop John Cumin to the canons of St Thomas's. *Reg St Thomas*, no. 38, pp 38–9.

[65] *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland*, lines 3152–3; Leo is listed as one of the witnesses in Hugh de Lacy's grant of Castleknock to Hugh Tyrell (late 1170s). For discussion of this see Eric St John Brooks, 'The grant of Castleknock to Hugh Tyrel', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 63:2 (1933), p. 215.

[66] *Reg HSJB*, no. 290.

and the hospital.[67] The church which was the subject of the exchange was of course on Leo's land.

Gilbert Gude

There is a notable absence of one name in particular, that of Gilbert Gude; his name has almost totally disappeared from the sources. Gilbert had generously granted a moiety of his house in the archdiocese of Dublin to the hospital, in addition to the chapel of Donaghmore (Co Meath) and its tithes. Despite the later contention between the hospital and St Thomas's regarding the church of Donaghmore, Gilbert made little obvious impact in later sources from Dublin, at least under that appellation.[68] He is listed as witness in a charter of Archbishop Laurence O'Toole.[69] Nowhere named in any of the surviving charters which related to the exchange, it seems possible that either he left Ireland or died in the 1180s.

The land of Donaghmore, aside from the church, was very much associated with the Bromyards. A series of related charters preserved by the canons of St Thomas's would suggest that Donaghmore was held by the Bromyards of the de Lacy family, but was further enfeoffed by Leo and his sons to a Walter Scot[ot], or de Escotot.[70] If Gilbert Gude had held the church from the de Lacys its reversion to them would have followed his death, especially if he was without issue. At some point after he had been made earl of Ulster, Hugh de Lacy II granted to the abbey of St Thomas's the burial-place of his mother Rose, the church of Donaghmore.[71] This was witnessed by Simon de Rocheford,

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[67] *Reg HSJB*, nos 291–2. Archdall cites a 1327 dispute concerning land in Donaghmore in Co Dublin. In this, fourteen acres of land were taken from St Thomas's into the king's hand, on suspicion that their acquisition did not satisfy the terms of the Statute of Mortmain. A jury found however that they had been in the hands of the abbots since the foundation of the abbey. Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum: or a history of the abbies, priories and other religious houses in Ireland* (Dublin, 1786), p. 193.

[68] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 47 (2nd column) has a reference to a Hugo son of Gilbert Goue. In a charter in *Reg St Thomas* a Gilbert Genda is listed alongside Ailred Palmer, Walter Goldsmith and Hugh de Lacy, no. 197, p. 166.

[69] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 468*a*, p. 123.

[70] In *Reg St Thomas*, no. 16, pp 22–3 John, son of Leo, confirmed to the canons all the land which Walter held of him in fee in Donaghmore, retaining for himself one third of the fee.

[71] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 2, pp 7–8.

bishop of Meath and Walter de Lacy, Hugh's brother. Several years later he granted to the same canons land in the tenement of Donaghmore which Walter de Escotot, who, with the agreement of John, son of Leo, had previously granted to the canons.[72] Leo's contact with the de Lacy's was not confined only to Donaghmore; when Hugh de Lacy II granted land next to Dunshaughlin to the canons of St Thomas for the soul of his mother and father, Leo was one of those listed as witness.[73]

In a lengthy charter of Walter de Escotot he granted to St Thomas's his land in Donaghmore.[74] The rent of 5 marks was to be paid at Michaelmas to him and his heirs, in the church of St Augustine, at Bristol. This abbey, like St Thomas's in Dublin, was composed of Victorine Augustinians, which may explain his choice of benefaction. The charter was witnessed in the Hundred Court in Bristol by several individuals who regularly appeared in charters across the Irish Sea in Dublin; Henry, archbishop of Dublin, Simon, bishop of Meath, Geoffrey Luttrell, sheriff of Dublin, Audoen Brun, John son of Leo, Roger Cordwainer and Geoffrey de Feypo, with other clerics and laity. The next charter in St Thomas's register is also one of Walter's and has an equally illustrious witness list: Geoffrey Luttrell (not named as sheriff), John, Nicholas and Henry, all sons of Leo, Gilbert de Livet, Roger Cordwainer, noted as then being mayor of Bristol and again Geoffrey de Feypo.[75] The de Escotot family held land in Herefordshire and Shropshire and this once again combines the de Lacy/ Bristol connection with the hospital through their associates.[76]

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[72] Ibid., no. 4, p 9–10. See p. 10, note 1 with reference to John Fitz Leo's later career. He also appeared with Geoffrey de Costentin and Milo le Bret as a witness to a quitclaim by the citizens of Dublin in *Chartul St Mary's,* i, no. 238, pp 248–9.

[73] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 7, pp 13–14.

[74] Ibid., no. 9, pp 15–17.

[75] Ibid., no. 10, pp 17–18; For Geoffrey Luttrell's career in Ireland see Francis Ellington Ball, *A history of the county Dublin; the people, parishes and antiquities from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century* (6 vols, Dublin, 1902–20), iv, pp 2–3. The Luttrell family appear to have had little contact with the hospital during its existence. In 1543 the site of the dissolved hospital was leased to Thomas Luttrell, Chief Justice, *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, i, no 374, p. 42.

[76] Robert Bartlett, 'Colonial aristocracies of the High Middle Ages' in Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (eds), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp 38–9. For the Escotot family see Lewis C. Loyd, Charles Clay and David C. Douglas (eds), 'The origins of some Anglo-Norman families', *The Harleian Society*, 103 (1951), p 39. A Walter de Scotot also makes an appearance

Leo de Bromyard was still alive into the reign of King John: in 1199 a Ralph de Bedford was demanding 9 marks against him; for the right to collect this he gave the king 20*s*.[77] Just as many of the other individuals studied here may have held land in one place, but make regular appearances in places other than their own estates, Leo was not confined to his holding in Meath. When granting the canons of St Victor resident in St Thomas's abbey their local church of St James, Archbishop John Cumin had as two of his witnesses Leo and his nephew Richard.[78]

Associates of pioneers and later patrons

Where it is possible to ascribe a definite origin, the earliest benefactors were overwhelmingly from western England, Gloucestershire and in particular Bristol. When their associates in Dublin, those not named in Clement's bull, are investigated, does this same geographic principle apply? Along with those named in Clement's confirmation were those who through family or social standing appear to have been associated. These individuals and their wider social circle are those others who were either grantors or witnesses to charters in the register in the first two decades of its existence. Twenty names are all that comprise the grantors in those documents dated by St John Brooks to the 1190s. There are many more regular attesters in the witness lists of the register and from the list of all those who attested these charters, another small group emerges. The use of the witness lists of private deeds (as opposed to royal ones) as evidence for social groupings within a particular society has not been universally accepted as a sound methodology. The difficulty has centred on the reliability of the assumption that all named witnesses to a particular deed were present when the transaction recorded in the deed was carried out. As part of Keith Stringer's study of the diplomatic of the late twelfth and early thirteenth-century deeds of David, earl of Huntingdon, he examined the witness lists to the

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in 1211–12 in the honor of Bergeveny in Hereford, owing the service of one knight. See *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ii, p. 602. The de Escotots were sub-tenants of the de Lacy family.

[77] *Rotuli de oblatis et finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati tempore Regis Johannis*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1835), p. 20.

[78] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 330, pp 284–5; *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, pp 31–2.

earl's *acta*.[79] He maintained that the terminology used by the scribes gave no particular indication that the witnesses were necessarily present when the 'substantive transaction' took place, but that they may have attended the 'issue of the written *acta*'.[80] In addition, he noted that the physical presence of the witnesses was not legally required.

A comprehensive study of the legalities of witness list attendance has been undertaken by Dauvit Broun, who noted that while it is generally accepted that those charters produced in Anglo-Norman Britain recorded witnesses who were physically present when their names were noted, there is still some lingering doubt about the security or reliability of assumptions based on witness lists.[81] Broun conducted analysis of the historiography of those who doubted the veracity of witness lists, coupled with a palaeographic analysis of charters where the witness list appears to have been added after the main body of the text. While there are some examples of witnesses being added to charters when they were not actually present at the time of the transaction of the gift, or the drawing up of the written deed, Broun concluded that the evidence, on the whole, for witnesses being present, and in fact actively desiring the recording of their name for posterity, outweighed the contrary.[82]

The approach taken in this study has been to take the witnesses as being present, and therefore where many of the same names appear on the witness lists of each other's charters to take this as evidence of a particular social grouping. Of all those whose names are recorded in this period, only those who were frequent attesters and who were regularly in each other's company have been chosen for more in-depth investigation here. These include William Brun and his son Audoen, the de Aveneys, the de Feypos and Milo le Bret. Others, such as Domnall Mac Gilla Mo Cholmóc have been examined at length

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[79] Keith Stringer, 'The charters of David, earl of Huntingdon and lord of Garioch: a study in Anglo-Scottish diplomatic' in idem (ed.), *Essays on the nobility of medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp 72–101, esp 92–4 for the section on witness lists.
[80] Ibid., p. 93.
[81] Dauvit Broun, 'The presence of witnesses and the writing of charters' in idem (ed.), *The reality behind charter diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain. Studies by Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davis, Richard Sharpe and Alice Taylor* [http://www.poms.ac.uk/ebook/index/html], p. 236.
[82] Ibid., pp 238 and 280.

elsewhere.[83] The surname de Marisco is represented at this time by Jordan de Marisco, who in the current context is perhaps notable only as the probable brother of the better-known Geoffrey de Marisco, justiciar.[84]

William Abbotstone

As Roger, brother of Haim, held land and a garden over the bank of the Liffey, it is possible that both Thomas le Martre and William Abbotstone were not only his neighbours in Dublin, but may have been known to him in Bristol. In the records of St Augustine's Abbey in Bristol, Roger son of William the Cordwainer, rector of St Mary-le-Port, confirmed to Dionisia, daughter of William Abbotstone all his land in Worship Street. For this Dionisia was to pay the landgable due and 5*s.* to St James's in Bristol. In exchange for these payments, Roger was to receive from Dionisia land in Dublin, land which was beside the Newgate and held by William de Abbotstone from Robert la Warre. In addition Roger, son of William the Cordwainer, was to receive a rental payment from her father's land by the bridge to Oxmantown.[85] These were not the only plots held by William de Abbotstone in Dublin; in memory of his father Walter and his mother Dionisia, William gave to the monks of St Mary's rent from his land between St Audoen's church and the house of William Blundel, who also attested the charter.[86] William also held part of a tenement in Rochelle Street, across from St Audoen's, a tenement which was noted as being Roger Cordwainer's (discussed in detail below). A William de Abbedestuna was an early member of Dublin's merchants' guild, and in what may be only a coincidence is only one place removed from a Roger le Cordwainer of (*de*) Hereford on the same list.[87] William de Abbedestuna

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[83] O'Byrne, *War, politics and the Irish of Leinster*, pp 20–24.

[84] Jordan was a grantor on only two occasions, *Reg HSJB*, nos 314 and 316. For Geoffrey's dates see Art Cosgrove, 'Chief Governors, 1172–1534' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, ix: maps, genealogies, lists* (Oxford, 1984), p. 471; for a study of the Marisco family see Eric St John Brooks, 'The family of Marisco', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 61:1 (1931), pp 22–38, 61:2 (1931), pp 89–112.

[85] *Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. David Walker, *The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 10 (1998), no. 547, p. 349.

[86] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 230, p. 243.

[87] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 3 (2nd column). In 1232–3 another William de Abbedestrune is listed. Ibid., p. 64 (2nd column).

also made payments in 1194 in the same honour in Gloucestershire as Roger and William Cordwainer.[88] As witness, William was less visible than as a landowner. He appears in the company of Adhelm and Roger, brothers of Haim and Roger's sons Haim and John in a charter of Thomas le Martre to St Mary's.[89]

In the charter of Roger, son of William the Cordwainer, the land held by de Abbotstone from Robert la Warre by the New Gate is described as *totam terram suam in Dublinia versus novam portam*, but it is unclear if this is the same land referred to as *apud Duuelinam* in an indenture between Walter, son of Herbert la Werra, and Thomas, his brother, witnessed in Bristol in March 1199.[90] In this, Walter was to have 20*s.* from William de Abbotstone's land *apud Duuelinam*, among other transactions. If this was not the land William held of Robert la Warre, it is probable that he is the Robert listed as one of the attestors, the first four being John la Werra, David la Werra, Robert la Werra, *clericus* and Roger Werra brother of John.[91] The wording suggests that while all were of the la Warre/Were family, they were perhaps of different branches, though if this is true both branches were represented in Dublin, and from the earliest days of the English colony there. In 1172 a William le Puhier and Hugh *pincerna* had been

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[88] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the sixth year of the reign of King Richard the first, Michaelmas 1194*, ed. Doris M. Stenton (The Pipe Roll Society, NS, 5, London, 1928) p. 240.

[89] *Chartul St Mary's,* i, no. 182, p. 211. In what may be only a coincidental reference a Hamo son of Roger appears in Essex in 1165–6. *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twelfth year of the reign of King Henry the second*, 1165–6 (The Pipe Roll Society, 9, London, 1888), p. 127.

[90] *Descriptive catalogue of the charters and muniments in the possession of Lord FitzHarding at Berkeley Castle*, ed. Isaac Berber T. Jeayes (Bristol, 1892), no 52, p. 24. Abbreviated version listed also in *Catalogue of the medieval muniments at Berkeley Castle*, ed. Bridget Wells-Furby (2 vols, *The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vols 17 & 18, 2004), p. 445.

[91] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 153, p. 181 refers to John le Warre of (*de*) Bristol. Dating from the time of the archbishopric of Henry of London (1213–28) this might be the John la Werre (or a son of same) who was involved in wine provision for the king in Bristol *c.* 1205. *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (2 vols, London, 1833), i, p. 38 (b). A John la Were can be found as witness to a charter of John as count of Mortain, in the company of the future chief governor of Ireland, Hamo de Valognes and also the recipient of a manor from the future king. See *Earldom of Gloucester charters: the charters and scribes of the earls and countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217*, ed. Robert B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), no. 72, p. 79 and no. 108, p. 106. A John le Warre was also mayor of Dublin on ten occasions, and provost once throughout the 1240s and 1250s. Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', pp 156–7. He may be the John de la Werre granted citizenship of Dublin 1227–8. *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 58 (2nd column). A John de la Warre is credited with founding St Bartholomew's hospital in Bristol, *c.* 1230. For this and more on the de la Warre family see Roger Price and Michael Ponsford, *St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol: the excavation of a medieval hospital: 1976–8* (CBA Research Report 110, Council for British Archaeology, 1998), pp 20–24. Even as late as 1306 the prior of Holy Trinity, Henry la Warre, was referred to as *de Bristol. Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 178, p. 68.

granted £4 to hire a ship to carry equipment and provisions (*ad portandum harnesium et guarnisonem*) of Robert Power (*Puherii*) in Ireland. Among those vouched were Jordan Were and his brother David.[92] This may be the same David listed as witness above. It certainly proves that this Bristol family would have been familiar with Dublin from at least the time of Henry II's visit to Dublin, his grant of the city to Bristol, and his grant of land there to that other Bristol native, Adhlem, brother of Haim.

Thomas le Martre

Thomas le Martre (at times also called la Martre) was another Bristolian who held land by Ostman's Bridge. One part of this land was granted to Richard Carpenter, while another one between the land he gave to his wife Margaret and the one he gave to the Hospitallers in Kilmainham, was granted to the canons of St Thomas's.[93] Like his fellow Bristolian, Adhelm brother of Haim, Thomas was a landowner in the Donore/Bertram's Court area.[94] There is evidence of land also being held by him in St Werburgh's parish,[95] and his ownership of a stall/shop (*selda*) which he gave to his son Jordan.[96] From extant records it seems that Thomas provided a single grant only to St John's, of land between the land of St Stephen and the street (*viam*).[97] In a grant of rent to the Cistercians in St Mary's abbey le Martre specifies that it was from land inside the walls, land *ex conquestu meo*, and witnessed by William Brun, Adhelm and Roger, brothers of Haim, Roger's two sons and William de Abbotstone.[98] This is a phrase which

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[92] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the eighteenth year of the reign of King Henry the second*, 1171–2 (The Pipe Roll Society, 18, London, 1894), p. 32. For brief discussion of this see *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the thirty-second year of the reign of King Henry the second, 1185–6* (The Pipe Roll Society, 36, London, 1914), pp xxvi–xxvii. It has been suggested that a Jordan La Were was a possible relative of Robert Fitz Harding. Robert B. Patterson, 'Robert Fitz Harding of Bristol: profile of an early Angevin burgess-baron patrician and his family's urban involvement', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 1 (1989), p. 115.

[93] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 483, p. 414; Ibid., no. 489, p. 418. Thomas also gave the Hospitallers land in Bertram's Court. *Reg St Thomas*, no. 430, p. 379.

[94] *Reg HSJB*, no.127 references it as in Donore, while *Reg HSJB*, no. 119 and *Reg St Thomas*, no. 430, p. 379 mentions Bertram's Court.

[95] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 18, p. 39.

[96] *Chartul St Mary's,* i, no. 184, p. 212.

[97] *Reg HSJB*, no. 158.

[98] *Chartul St Mary's,* i, no. 182, p. 211.

appears sporadically in Dublin charters from the late twelfth century, the use of which to describe their properties could mean that they were 'simply providing the technical clarification that they held them by acquisition rather than inheritance' while still allowing for the likelihood that they had been part of the initial conquest of the city.[99] Thomas was not the last Bristolian with this name to donate to the hospital; in 1259 a Peter le Martre (also known as le Mere) gave 8*d.* from land opposite the church of the Franciscans.[100]

Thomas's connections with Dublin's Bristolian population were not confined to his neighbours, the Haim siblings. In a grant from the Lord John to John Levesche of tenements in Dublin, Thomas le Martre was one of the attesters, in conjunction with William Cordwainer and Roger his brother.[101] In 1199 Roger Cordwainer and Jordan le Eveske (Levesche) were also part of that group which witnessed the indenture between Walter, son of Herbert la Werra, and Thomas, his brother. In a final concord dated November 1192 made in the Hundred Court of the city of Bristol, Thomas le Martre and William Cordwainer were both noted as being provosts.[102]

The Cordwainer family[103]

In 1194 the two brothers, William and Roger, are noted in the pipe roll for the Honor of Gloucester regarding several payments.[104] In the same decade they were both attesters to a grant by Nicholas de Castello to the hospital,[105] while Roger, without William, attested a charter of William Brun and his wife Susanna.[106] It is from a grant made by this Nicholas to the monks of St Mary's

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[99] Duffy, 'Town and crown', p. 104.
[100] *Reg HSJB*, no. 122. He had previously donated land in Bertram's Court to Walter Unred, whose career and that of his brothers is discussed below. Ibid., no 117. Peter is referred to as a burgess of Bristol. This may mean that he was related to Thomas and maintained the family's Bristol-Dublin connections. See also *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 163, pp 425–6.
[101] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 470, p. 124.
[102] *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*, ed. William Henry Hart (3 vols, London, 1863–7) i, no. 45, p. 172 (Thomas here named as Thomas *la Matire*).
[103] See Appendix 4 for the family tree of those discussed here.
[104] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the sixth year of the reign of King Richard the first, Michaelmas 1194*, ed. Doris M. Stenton (The Pipe Roll Society, NS, 5, London, 1928) p. 240.
[105] *Reg HSJB*, no. 1.
[106] Ibid., no. 30.

abbey that we learn of Roger Cordwainer's donation to the hospital. Nicholas described his donation as 'land which is between the land I gave to the Hospital of St John and the land which Roger Cordwainer gave the same Hospital, namely, opposite the church of Saint James to the south'.[107] William and Roger together made a grant to St Mary's in Dublin of half the land which Gille, son of Beorn, son of Haward, held in St Michael's Street.[108] In early 1200 letters of protection were issued for the brothers,[109] while in 1206 Roger was acquitted for 300 marks paid to King John on behalf of the justiciar.[110] This entry also refers to him as Roger Cordwainer of Bristol.

William and Roger owned land in St Michael's parish in Dublin which was held by Walter of Castleknock.[111] Roger again was one of a lengthy list of witnesses to a grant of a garden to the hospital by Baldwin, son of Gille, and his son-in-law Elias of Chester.[112] In this same list are Adhelm and Roger, brothers of Haim. Roger, brother of Haim, and Baldwin would appear to have had links which predated their patronage of St John's in Dublin as in 1179–80 a Roger, brother of Haim, Daniel and Baldwin, son of Gille, are noted in the pipe roll for Gloucester as owing 2 marks for the chattels of a Gillemichel (no indication if this is the Richard Gillemichael mentioned above) for the work of his wife and his heirs.[113] The same entry appears annually until 1183–4 and again in 1186–7. In a charter of Robert de Berkeley (1218–20) in which he granted to St Augustine's Abbey in Bristol all his lands within that city's walls, Robert la Warre and William Cordwainer are among those listed as being the holders of the tenements in question, while William's brother Roger was one of the witnesses.[114]

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[107] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 213, p. 232. There is no record of Roger's grant in the register.
[108] Ibid., i, no. 189, p. 216.
[109] *CDI*, i, no. 119, p. 18.
[110] Ibid., i, no. 304, p. 45.
[111] *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin*, ed. H.J. Lawlor, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 27 (1908–9), section C, p. 39. (hereafter *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus*).
[112] *Reg HSJB*, no. 41.
[113] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry the second, 1179–80* (The Pipe Roll Society, 29, 1908), p. 115.
[114] *Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, no. 123, pp 71–2. An abbreviated version can be found in *Catalogue of the medieval muniments at Berkeley Castle*, p. 442.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the continued importance of the Cordwainers, and Roger in particular, to life in Bristol into the thirteenth century is Roger's position as mayor of Bristol, as he was termed in Walter de Escotot's grant to St Thomas's.[115] This is supported by a reference in the close rolls in 1216 to Roger Cordwainer, again named as mayor of Bristol.[116] In the same year several other references in the same source mention a mayor of Bristol, but without specifically naming Roger.[117] That these all occur before Michaelmas of 1216 could mean that Roger had been appointed in Michaelmas 1215 and was mayor for the following year.[118] The entries further demonstrate that an important function of Bristol's medieval mayor was the care of the royal wine stores.[119]

While Roger was clearly referred to as the mayor, it is unclear if this meant that he was endowed with full mayoral privileges, or how he was elected. There is no extant record of Bristol receiving the right to a mayor, such as that given to Dublin by King Henry III in 1229, nor is there evidence of the citizens of Bristol being granted the right to select their mayor, as had been granted to Londoners by King John in 1215.[120] Given John's difficulties in the latter years of his reign it could simply be that he instituted a man who had proven himself to be a loyal servant over many years into an informal mayoralty. Bristol had shown itself loyal to John's family and John, through his marriage to Isabella of Gloucester, had

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[115] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 10, pp 17–18. For a short exploration of the beginnings of the mayoralty of Bristol and Roger's place in it see, *Bristol Charters, 1378–1499*, pp 74–6.
[116] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i, p. 283 (a).
[117] Ibid., pp 281 (b), p. 283 (a) and p. 285 (a). In 1236 both Cordwainers, Roger and William were noted as having held office as mayor of Bristol and provost of Bristol during John's reign. *Bristol Charters, 1378–1499*, p. 75.
[118] There is an entry in the close rolls for June 1216 in which Roger is named, but not as mayor, and again in early September. *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i, p. 275 (a) and p. 286 (b).
[119] This might explain his interaction with King John who was apparently, a 'discerning' purchaser of wine. M.D. Lobel and E.M. Carus-Wilson (eds), *Historic Towns, Vol 2: Bristol* (London, 1975), p. 6. See *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i, p. 283 (a) where Roger, as mayor of Bristol, was to deliver 15 dolia (earthenware jar or vessel) of wine to the earl of Chester, 2 to John of Monmouth and 3 to Colin de Ruetot.
[120] *Historic and municipal documents of Ireland, A.D. 1172–1320, from the archives of the city of Dublin, etc.*, ed. J.T. Gilbert (London, 1870), no. 24, pp 91–2; for King John's agreement to allow Londoners formally elect their mayor see *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1837), i, p. 207.

even more reason to secure the continued loyalty of the important port of Bristol.[121]

The issue is further complicated by a request in 1236 by Richard Ailard and the burgesses of Bristol to be able to elect their mayor.[122] That a formal charter had not been given prior to Roger being termed mayor need not mean that he was not accepted as such. H.A. Cronne states:

> 'A mayor was often set up without formal royal permission, as a result of communal self-assertion; and royal attempts to control the office took the form of insistence on the due presentation of mayors elect to the Exchequer or to a representative of the crown, to be sworn in.'[123]

This is not however the only view. Writing on the subject in the late nineteenth century, J.F. Nicholls maintained that Henry III had granted the mayor of Bristol 'the dignity of an Earl, by ordering the sword to be borne before him on public occasions.'[124] He does acknowledge that the title of mayor, though, had been in use prior to Henry's elevation of the mayoralty to an earldom.[125] In a record of Bristol's history, written between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by a town clerk, Robert Ricart, the first mayor is listed for 1217 and is an Adam Page.[126] Ricart does note though that it 'is so, that there hath been alweyes in this worshipfull toun seth the Conquest'.[127]

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[121] John Gillingham, 'John (1167–1216)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, September 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14841, accessed 12 June 2011].

[122] *Calendar of the close rolls...1272–1509* (47 vols, London, 1892–1963), 1234–7, at 1236, p. 363 (hereafter *Cal Close Rolls*). (*Rogerus Aylard et ceteri burgenses de Bristollo supplicant regi ut ad eorum electionem possint facere majorem et eum removere quolibet anno; et quod habere possint pondus London*).

[123] *Bristol Charters, 1378–1499*, p. 75.

[124] J.F. Nicholls, 'The ancient charter privileges of the Bristol freemen; whence derived, and how maintained', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 3 (1878–9), p. 264.

[125] Ibid., p. 265. Bristol City Council's website does however list Roger Cordwainer (though spelled as Cordewaner) as its first mayor, giving 1216 as the year of his office. [http://www.bristol.gov.uk, accessed 12 June 2011].

[126] *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar* by Robert Ricart, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, *The Camden Society*, NS, 5 (1872), p. 27. In John Latimer's update of Ricart's list, he does count Roger Cordwainer as the first mayor. John Latimer, 'The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar: its list collated with contemporary legal MSS', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 26 (1903), p. 115.

[127] Ibid., p. 68.

It is possible that the truth lies somewhere between all these assertions. As Ricart represents the year given as up to 14 September of that given year, and as Adam Page was listed by Ricart as being the mayor in 1217, it is possible that he was the successor to Roger Cordwainer in Michaelmas 1216 and was then mayor until Michaelmas 1217.[128] If Henry III's council in November 1216 in Bristol was indeed the point at which he (or the regent William Marshal) granted some formal structure to the office of mayor in Bristol, while re-issuing Magna Carta, Adam was hence the first mayor recognised under this system, and therefore the first 'official' mayor, and listed as such by Ricart.[129]

However, while both Cordwainer brothers, Roger and William, were clearly very much a continuing presence in the politics of Bristol, what of their wider family?[130] Roger's descendants are well represented as a result of their possession of land in Ballymadon.[131] Despite Roger's position as mayor of Bristol, and as an obvious trusted servant of the crown in England, it seems that his children were perhaps more prominent as Dubliners than Bristolians. From a 1270 inspeximus of the future Edward I in which the grant of Ballymadon by his grandfather John, as lord of Ireland, to Robert Ruffus in 1185, and Robert's subsequent grant of a moiety to both Roger and William Cordwainer is the subject, we derive much of what can be learned about both Roger and William's

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[128] [http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources/1408ricart/htm, accessed 6 June 2010].

[129] Roger might not have been the only mayor of Bristol to have business in Ireland: an Elias Long was mayor of Bristol *c.* 1251 while *c.* 1250 Elias and Roger Long are the first two witnesses to a charter in Drogheda. *Reg HSJB*, no. 236. As Waterford was also a prominent trading port it is unsurprising to find Bristolians also settling there – in fact, the mayor of Waterford 1284–5, Roger le Lom, may have been a Bristolian. See Eamonn McEneaney, 'The Golden Age: Roger le Lom, Mayor, 1284–5' in idem (ed.), *A history of Waterford and its mayors* (Waterford, 1995), pp 37–46. Roger, named as mayor of Waterford, appears as a witness on a grant of land in Waterford to St Mark's Hospital in Bristol, though this may have due to his status as mayor: *Cartulary of St Mark's Hospital, Bristol*, ed. C.D. Ross (Bristol, 1959), nos 443–4, pp 262–4.

[130] A Reginald Cordwainer also appears in the service of King John in Ireland, in the company of David, bishop of Waterford and Geoffrey Luttrell. *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi*, ed. Thomas Hardy (2 vols, London, 1835), i, p. 48 (a). The shared surname may simply be coincidence.

[131] Ballymadon (also referred to as Ballymacdon) was in the barony of Balrothery, north Co Dublin. The hospital had lands in various townlands in the barony. These are discussed in greater detail in chapter four. Here it is the people rather than the land itself which is the focus of discussion.

descendents.[132] While the details of the prolonged investigation into which descendant rightfully held seisin is not of particular relevance here, the names of those involved are of significant interest.

In return for the sum of 35 marks, Robert Ruffus granted Roger Cordwainer a moiety of his land of Ballymadon, *c.* 1204. It is likely that Robert Ruffus and Roger Cordwainer had become acquainted with each other through their involvement in serving the crown; in 1185, Ruffus, noted as being one of lord John's serjeants, was responsible for the transport of 1000 marks from London to Bristol, part of the preparations being made there for John's visit to Ireland.[133] It is possible then that the original grant of Ballymadon by John to Robert had been in recognition of his role in the 1185 visit. One of the witnesses on Ruffus's grant was a representative of the la Warre family, in this instance John, while another was Nicholas, son of Nicholas, with both of whom Roger can be found a year later engaged on the king's business.[134] In the same year, Ruffus also granted to William Cordwainer the other moiety of his land of Ballymadon, with the same conditions given to his brother Roger. Two years later, in turn, William, noted as being the son of Elias the Cordwainer, released to John the Cordwainer all rights and claims in a moiety of Ballymadon.[135] This John Cordwainer would appear to have been William's nephew, son of Roger. In the late 1230s William son of Alan, with the consent of his wife Agnes, sister and heir of John Cordwainer, and daughter of Roger Cordwainer, granted another

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[132] *Calendar of the Gormanston register c. 1175–1397, from the original in the possession of the Right Honourable the Viscount of Gormanston*, eds James Mills and M.J. McEnery (Dublin, 1916), pp 129. (hereafter *Calendar of the Gormanston Register).* The issue of who held right of *seisin* in Ballymadon involved many members of the extended Cordwainer family, the Trublevilles family and by extension, the many tenants further enfeoffed by all claimants. References can be found across many sources, examples include; *CDI*, i, no. 1899, pp 282–3; *CDI*, ii, no. 67, p. 10, nos 564–5, pp 92–3 and no. 696, p. 112; *Cal Close Rolls*, 1231–4, pp 111, 221 and 344; in a 1252 inquisition calendared in *Inquisitions and extents of medieval Ireland*, eds P. Dryburgh and B. Smith, List and Index Society, 320 (Kew, 2007), no. 7, p. 5, it is noted that the current tenants had all been enfoeffed by Roger Cordwainer.

[133] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the thirty-first year of the reign of King Henry the second, 1184–5* (The Pipe Roll Society, 34, 1913), pp 217–18.

[134] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, i, p. 54 (a). A decade later Roger Cordwainer and Nicholas son of Nicholas were still engaged in John's work in Bristol. Ibid, p. 136 (b) and 137 (a).

[135] *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, p. 129. See also *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i, p. 416 (a) for a 1220 mandate to the Irish justiciar regarding Robert Ruffus's land in Ballymadon, which had been Elias Cordwainer's.

prominent Dubliner, Gilbert de Livet, half a stone house with cellar.[136] It appears that on John's death, his sister Agnes had retained the right of *seisin*, which on her death passed to her daughter Matilda, and subsequently to John de la Hyde, for whom the 1270 inspeximus was intended.[137]

The dispute surrounding the rightful holder of both moieties in Ballymadon would seem to have begun with the grandchildren of those originally enfeoffed by Ruffus. Again, the actual details are outside the concerns of this study but it allows us to trace the Cordwainer descendents into the late thirteenth century, over a hundred years after they originally arrived in Ireland. In the 1240s, William, grandson of William Cordwainer claimed that he was rightfully enfeoffed with his grandfather's moiety.[138] From his grandfather the moiety had passed to Elias, his father and then to him but five years later Robert Ruffus, the original enfeoffer, had died. As Robert's legitimacy was in question, his lands had been taken into the king's hands as an escheat. One of the difficulties for the jurors in attempting to establish Robert's legitimacy was that he, not having been born in Ireland,

> 'they have not deposed with certainty concerning his bastardy or legitimacy, which can be more fully declared in England; but as many coming from England say he was a bastard, the jurors believe he was bastard rather than legitimate.'[139]

If Robert's legitimacy was confirmed, William's claim stood, if not it was the king's right to enfeoff, as he had done to Ralph de Trubleville.[140]

William was not the only claimant to part of the Cordwainer lands in Ballymadon. John Cordwainer's wife, Aufricia, held approximately 200 acres in

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[136] *Reg HSJB*, no. 83. In 1225–6 a John le Cordwainer was admitted to the merchant's guild of Dublin. *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 54 (2nd column). [John Palmer Cordwainer, p. 65, 2nd column]

[137] A John de la Hyde granted land in the parish of St Michael in Dublin to William de Stafford, *c.* 1253–4. TCD MS 1207/33.

[138] *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, p. 130.

[139] Ibid.

[140] The Trubleville family were also landholders in various English counties and provided household knights to several English kings. See S.D. Church, *The household knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999) and Beth Hartland, 'English landholding in Ireland' in Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame (eds), *Thirteenth century England X. Proceedings of the Durham conference 2003* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 121.

what the inquisition calls Cordwainer's town in the manor of Ballymadon. These she held as her dower.[141] Following the death of John Cordwainer, Aufricia married a Roger Oweyn; however John's grandnephew, John de la Hyde, was his heir, suggesting that John and Aufricia's marriage had not produced heirs.[142] John Cordwainer's sister Agnes had at least one daughter, Matilda, who appears to have married Roger de la Hyde. This marriage brought new connections and brought Roger Cordwainer's descendants into a new sphere of politics. Of this other Roger, St John Brooks stated plainly that he was 'an important man.'[143] The earliest reference to his presence in Ireland would appear to be 1223,[144] and he was certainly in the employ of Earl William Marshal the Younger, receiving letters of protection in 1228 for having gone to Ireland on Marshal's service,[145] possibly in his capacity as seneschal of Leinster.[146] In the 1230s he held a mill in Marshal land in Wexford,[147] and despite siding with Richard Marshal against King Henry III he was restored to his lands and chattels in 1234.[148] This Roger was then father to John de la Hyde, whose marriage did produce at least one heir, and four generations removed from Roger Cordwainer another Roger appears in the family.

As descendant of a man who had at one time been mayor of Bristol and a trusted servant of the crown, it was perhaps fitting that John de la Hyde had

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[141] There is an earlier reference (1228) following the king's grant of Ballymadon to Ralph de Trubleville. In this, Roger Cordwainer's son, Ralph, and his wife, unnamed, were both to receive a payment, while Roger's wife, who held the manor as her dower, was to have her chattels and corn. This is the only reference to Ralph and his mother's concerns in Ballymadon which has been uncovered. *CDI*, i, no. 1611, p. 241.

[142] Unless de la Hyde inherited following the death of any children - there is a reference to a John, son of John Cordwainer de Bristol in 1254–5. *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 95 (1st column).This Roger Oweyn may be the same Roger Owen/Audoen who was mayor *c.* 1234–5, provost 1236–7 and mayor again twice in the 1240s. For mayoral dates see Jacqueline Hill, 'Mayors and Lord Mayors of Dublin from 1229' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, ix: maps, genealogies, lists* (Oxford, 1984), p. 548; for dates for the provosts see *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, Appendix I, p. 111.

[143] *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny (13th–15th centuries)*, ed. Eric St John Brooks (Dublin, 1950), p. 24.

[144] *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, p. 24.

[145] *CDI*, i, no. 1597, p. 239.

[146] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, ed. Edmund Curtis (5 vols, Dublin, 1932–41), i, no. 75; *Reg St Thomas*, no. 384, p. 339.

[147] G.H. Orpen, 'Charters of Earl Richard Marshal of the forests of Ross and Taghmon', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 64 (1934), p. 56.

[148] *CDI*, i, no. 2129, p. 315 and no. 2136, p. 317.

married a daughter of Walerand de Wellesley.[149] His patronymic refers to Wellesley in Somerset and he first appeared in Ireland on the king's service in 1226.[150] Until his death, sometime before September 1276,[151] de Wellesley acted variously as justice itinerant and justice of the bench.[152] Not only would Roger de la Hyde and Walerand most likely have been familiar with each other as administrators and officials, they both had an interest in land in Dunoneghan (? near Arklow).[153] Walerand was also on one occasion a patron of the Hospital, in 1260–1 granting 5*s.*, four of which were owed to him from a tenement in St Patrick's Street in Dublin and another from a tenement Robert de Wayvill held of Elena de Bristol.[154] He too appears to have become embroiled in the Ballymadon affair; in 1260 William de Trubleville complained he had not received justice against John de la Hyde regarding land and rent in Ballymadon, 'owing to Walerand's influence.' It was ordered that 'two discreet and prudent men' should investigate.[155] Several years later Walerand acted in his capacity as justice itinerant between his son-in-law and Archbishop Fulk in a case which resulted in Amicia, prioress of Grace Dieu, and her successors receiving from John de la Hyde the advowson of the church of Ballymadon.[156]

Outside of the immediate family circle there are other Cordwainers whose exact relations with Roger, William and their descendants are unclear; one in particular, a Thomas Cordwainer, was called a burgess of Bristol in the 1230s.[157] That there was a connection between Thomas and Roger's family is probable; this grant describes the subject of the grant, a moiety of a stone house with

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[149] *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, p. 134 and 36 *PRI rep D. K.*, p. 63 name Roger as John's son; *CDI*, ii, no. 696, p. 112 notes that John had married de Wellesley's daughter, unnamed.

[150] Francis Elrington Ball, *The judges in Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1926), i, p. 46. In his entry on de Wellesley Ball notes that Walerand 'was mentioned as father of John Delahyde 1260' but does not note the source. He was in fact his father-in-law.

[151] *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1232–1509* (52 vols, London, 1891–1916), 1271–82, p. 161 (hereafter *Cal Pat Rolls*).

[152] Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, i, pp 46–7; H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The administration of Ireland, 1172–1377* (Dublin, 1963), p. 32.

[153] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, i, no. 77, p. 36.

[154] *Reg HSJB*, no. 141.

[155] *CDI*, ii, no. 696, p. 112. William had been granted seisin of the manor of Ballymadon in 1249–50, while still allowing John Cordwainer's widow, Aufricia, her dower. *CDI*, i, no. 3035, pp 452–3.

[156] *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, p. 100.

[157] *Reg HSJB*, no. 83.

cellar, having being held first by Roger Cordwainer, then his son John and then by Agnes, John's sister and heir, by right of her husband and grantor, William son of Alan, against Thomas Cordwainer (*quam quidem medietatem tenui jure dicte Angnetis...contra Thomam Cordewanerium, burgensem Bristollie*). The recipient was Gilbert de Livet, himself a prominent and important citizen of Dublin. This house may originally have been Thomas's as *c.* 1220 he granted de Livet two stone cellars in the same location.[158] If they were his, there is no record of how they came to be in the possession of Roger and his children over a decade later, but it does provide a possible link to a Thomas Cordwainer who makes several appearances around the same dates in Bristol.[159] This Thomas, son of a Roger Cordwainer, who himself had a son Roger, may be a cousin of Roger and William. By the 1240s Roger son of Thomas was in possession of at least a messuage, three shops and a cellar in Bristol.[160]

Writing about the Ireland-England-Normandy world of men such as Hugh de Lacy, his family and William Marshal, Robin Frame noted that in their involvement in events in each region 'not only does the scene switch back and forth across the sea, alliances and enmities span it, and the leading actors are in some cases identical.'[161] Though the men considered here are lower on the social scale than the de Lacys or Marshals, and consequently in neither England nor Ireland had the same impact on politics or society, the actions of many of them mirrored the great magnates in keeping business options alive on both sides of the Irish Sea.

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[158] Ibid., no. 84. The Cistercians were the recipients of the rent, *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no 176, p. 434.

[159] A Thomas Cordwainer can be found as witness in Bristol, see 'Original documents of the thirteenth century relating to Bristol', ed. F.W. Potto Hicks, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 58 (1936), no. 12, pp 233–4.

[160] *Abstracts of feet of fines relating to Gloucestershire, 1199–1299*, ed. C.R. Elrington, *The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 16 (2003), no. 415, p. 82; the same in more detail *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, ed. E.W.W. Veale (5 vols, Bristol, 1931–53), Intro Part I, no. 11, p. 183; *Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, nos 525 (pp 334–5), 542 (p. 345) and 558 (pp 355–6) all mention other sons of Thomas Cordwainer.

[161] Robin Frame, 'Aristocracies and the political configuration of the British Isles' in R.R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles, 1100–1500* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 147. Another study which examines the level of continued movement across the Irish Sea is Paul Brand, 'English royal justices in the lordship of Ireland *c.* 1300' in Howard B. Clark and J.R.S. Phillips (eds), *Ireland, England and the Continent in the middle ages and beyond* (Dublin, 2006), pp 128–43.

There are other examples of men retaining interests in both countries. This is supported by a charter in the register dated *c.* 1200, where Ralph Morin gave to Robert son of Brihtrici, citizen of London, his land in the parish of St Nicholas's in Dublin.[162] In addition to the rent due, Robert gave a cask of wine to Ralph and a falcon to his son, also Ralph. First on the witness list was Henry, son of Ailwin, mayor of London. By that date Henry had been mayor for about a decade and would continue to hold the office for another decade.[163] Much like Roger Cordwainer in Bristol, it may have been the case that Henry's earliest years as mayor lacked the formality that followed when the title was later bestowed by King John.[164] The second witness to Ralph's charter was Roger, son of Alan who was probably the Roger fitz Alan who succeeded Henry in 1212 as mayor of London.[165] That the rent for the grant was to be paid in London, and given the evidence of the calibre of the witness list, the charter may have been drawn up in London. A Norman Clatere, citizen of Dublin, for reasons unknown, fled Dublin and was known to have found refuge in Walter de Lacy's lands.[166] This prompted an order to the constable of Bristol to release him, 'to answer a charge of attempting to pass from the K's land by sea without the K's licence.'[167] Norman's son Henry was to be held in custody while the matter was being resolved.[168]

Roger brother of Haim did not restrict his social circle to fellow Bristolians. He appeared as witness to a charter of Milo le Bret,[169] and was noted in a charter of Milo's to the white monks as formerly holding the land which was the subject of

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[162] *Reg HSJB*, no. 75. From charters nos 76 and 77 it can be deduced that Robert was also known as le Bel; in these two charters his son and grandson, Henry le Bel and John le Bel, conceded the land to Gilbert de Livet.
[163] Christopher N.L. Brooke and Gillian Kier (eds), *London, 800–1216: the shaping of a city* (London, 1975), pp 245–48. See also Caroline M. Barron, *London in the later middle ages: government and people, 1200–1500* (Oxford, 2004), pp 311–2.
[164] Ibid., p. 246, esp fn. 3.
[165] Ibid., p. 376.
[166] *CDI*, i, no. 328, p. 48.
[167] Ibid., i, no. 334, p. 50.
[168] Norman held land in Dublin beside the New Gate, land which was passed to his son: *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin*, eds John T. and Lady Gilbert, (18 vols, Dublin, 1889–1944), i, no. 3, p. 82 (hereafter *CARD*); *Reg HSJB*, no. 591 (contained within no. 57).
[169] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 19, pp 25–6.

the donation.[170] Others who regularly occur on the same witness lists as Roger, his siblings and offspring include William Brun (and by extension his son Audoen), Walter Goldsmith and to a lesser extent, the de Feypo family. In one charter to St Mary's by which Roger gave the monks a garden over the bank of the Liffey, also on the list of witnesses were Walter Goldsmith, William Brun, Roger's brother Adhelm, his sons John and Hamo, another Hamo (or Haim, as the form of the name seems to have been interchangeable) who may have been Adhelm's brother, and an Augustine who may be the elusive Augustine of Bristol who gave the hospital some land neighbouring its own property.[171]

Brun and Goldsmith were certainly resident in Dublin by the late 1170s as Archbishop Laurence O'Toole (who died in 1180) confirmed to Brun land in Killester which the canons of Holy Trinity had given him in return for a rent of half an ounce of gold, a pair of boots and all tithes due from the land.[172] Unless the grant was made in Laurence's absence it must have been given prior to 1178 when the archbishop left Ireland to attend the Third Lateran Council.[173] The witnesses include Walter Goldsmith and Aelamus (Adhelm?) brother of Hamo. Included also is the only other direct reference to another person on Pope Clement's list, Gilbert Gude. William Goldsmith acted as benefactor to St John's on only one occasion, in a charter which was witnessed by Richard Gillemichael.[174]

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[170] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 108, p. 125.
[171] Ibid., i, no. 178, p. 208.
[172] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 468*a*, p. 123; Liam Howlett, 'The Killester Charter', *Dublin Historical Record*, 32:2 (1979), pp 69–71.
[173] Archbishop Laurence's involvement with the new settlers in Dublin has been well documented and examined. A selection would include; M.T. Flanagan, 'Laurence (*c.*1128–1180)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20934, accessed 12 July 2011]; for a more extensive treatise on Laurence's family background, and his family's links with Diarmaid Mac Murchada, see John Ryan, 'The ancestry of St Laurence O'Toole', *Reportorium Novum*, 1 (1955), pp 64–75; J.F. O'Doherty, 'St Laurence O'Toole and the Anglo-Norman Invasion', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 50 (1937), pp 449–77, 600–25 and 51(1938), pp 131–46.
[174] *Reg HSJB*, no. 157.

The Brun family[175]

From Archbishop John Cumin, Laurence's successor, William Brun received a carucate in Swords. William Brun is a much better documented figure in the Dublin sources than many of his contemporaries. Although not listed as one of the original grantors and making only one appearance in the register as a co-grantor to the hospital, with his wife Susanna, of two shillings, he can be found in nine charters in the register on a witness list.[176] Around the same date they made a similarly sized donation to the canons of Llanthony.[177] A William Brun appears in the Guild Merchant Roll and was part of numerous witness lists.[178]

The circumstances surrounding his death were more dramatic, though, than those known of his life in Dublin. In 1199 a number of prominent or well-known citizens became involved in what was apparently the 'first recorded appeal from Ireland to John since his accession to the English throne.'[179] A dispute had apparently arisen between William Brun and Warin de London which prompted William to request of the then justiciar, Peter Pipard, to force Warin and his associates, Elias Fitz Philip, Richard Fitz Gillemichael,[180] and others to keep the peace. On leaving Dublin castle, having been called there by the justiciar, William Brun was struck by a hatchet, fell into the castle ditch and died three days later. Brun's associates claimed that the guilty parties comprised of Warin, Elias, Richard and the others and that on raising a hue and cry Warin allowed the murderer on to his property where he gave him refuge. Warin claimed a broken leg, and an inquisition was ordered to establish if Warin's associates had pledged to keep the peace. The accused were ordered to defend themselves by various

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[175] See Appendix 2 for the family tree of those discussed here.
[176] Ibid., no. 30.
[177] Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, no. 67, p.243; *Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima & Secunda*, ed. Eric St John Brooks (Dublin, 1953), no. 67, p. 252.
[178] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 13 (1st column) as William Brun de Cardiff; p. 24 (2nd column); p. 41 (1st column).
[179] Doris Mary Stenton, *Pleas before the king or his justices, 1198–1212* (4 vols, Seldon Society vols 67, 68, 83 & 84, London, 1948–67), i, no. 3169, pp 309–10. See also, *CDI*, i, no. 116, pp 17–18; *Rotuli Curiæ Regis; rolls and records of the court held before the king's justiciars or justices*, ed. Francis Palgrave (2 vols, London, 1835), ii, pp 172–3.
[180] This Richard may be the same Richard Gillemichael (or a son of his) noted earlier who was listed as *genere meo* in a charter of Margaret, wife of Roger, brother of Haim (*Reg St Thomas*, no. 432, pp 380–1). The name continues to appear as a surname as late as 1261–2, see Robert Gillemychel. *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p 104 (2nd column).

ordeals and a day was set for them to defend themselves before the king, but no further record of this happening appears in the sources.

Audoen Brun, son of the unfortunate William and clerk to Archbishop John Comyn,[181] had clearly demanded justice, compelling Richard Gillemichael to give 66 marks 2*s*. 3*d*. toward licence for appeal. Though medieval Dublin was physically small, and those who traded with each other and appeared together in its administrative records were only one section of its population, it is still surprising to find Audoen and the accused, Warin of London, together witnessing a charter of Henry le Bel, son of Robert le Bel of London to Gilbert de Livet, roughly a decade after the latter had been accused of the death of Audoen's father. This might suggest that retribution or at least settlement of some kind had been found in the intervening years.[182] While William and Warin may have been associates, they actually appear only once in the same witness list in the register.[183] If Warin's reputation had suffered in any way from his dispute with William Brun, it was certainly sufficiently restored by 1211 for him to join Adam Saponarius in rendering to the crown the farm of Dublin on behalf of the citizens.[184] Whatever the outcome of the dispute between the supporters of William and Warin, it certainly did not hamper Audoen's career as he would seem to have been promoted from the office of Archbishop Comyn's clerk to holding the same position of the king and justiciar, and as such was granted two carucates of demesne lands.[185] Archbishop John also granted to Audoen, *c.* 1185, a moiety of tithes, alms and benefices in several areas in north Co Dublin.[186] Other than all having held administrative positions of varying levels and on both sides of the Irish Sea, Richard *Camerarius*, Audoen Brun and Roger Cordwainer were all holders of rights and land in Balrothery.

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[181] *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, pp 13–14.
[182] *Reg HSJB*, no. 76.
[183] Ibid., no. 191.
[184] 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211–12', eds Oliver Davies and David B. Quinn, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1941), Supplement, p. 13.
[185] *CDI*, i, no. 297, p. 45. (1206). Audoen's heirs, William le Bays and Hillary, were granted further lands by Archbishop Luke. *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, p. 73.
[186] *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, pp 13–14.

As chamberlain of the exchequer, and often in the company of a fellow chamberlain, Bartholomew de Camera, Audoen became even more involved in affairs of the state.[187] In one instance and as part of a group which included another prominent Dublin citizen, Gilbert de Livet, Brun had to intervene between King John and the king of Connacht (Cathal Crobderg Ó Conchobair).[188] Perhaps as thanks for and in recognition of his own involvement with Holy Trinity, Audoen Brun, along with Richard de Bedeford, granted a piece of land by the Liffey to the canons to erect a church in honour of St Saviour.[189] Archbishop Henry of London apparently forced the canons to relinquish the land to the newly arrived Dominican friars, as punishment for a quarrel with Holy Trinity.[190] In 1238 building work on the new Dominican church was finished, and it was indeed dedicated to St Saviour.[191]

William Brun and his wife Susanna had four documented children; Audoen, Susanna, Hilary and Alicia.[192] Following the generosity shown to the hospital by her father and mother, Hilary was herself the donor of 2*s.*, *c.* 1240, which she confirmed a year later.[193] From extra details given in the confirmation we learn that the land from which the donation arose was opposite the hospital's cemetery. This may simply be the continued payment of the 2*s.* donated by her father and mother approximately forty years earlier, and certainly, though William's charter only gives details of those who neighbour the property in question, rather than its location, the three charters are all placed in that part of the register which relates to the parish of St Katherine in the western suburb of

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[187] Richardson and Sayles, *The administration of Ireland,* p. 118. *CDI*, i, no. 357, p. 54; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i, p. 576 (a); 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', pp 25, 43, 45. For Bartholomew de Camera see Richardson and Sayles, *The administration of Ireland,* pp 24–5, 30; Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, i, pp 44–45.
[188] *CDI*, i, no. 656, p. 101.
[189] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 23 (*c.* 1218); Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 155.
[190] Benedict O'Sullivan, 'The Dominicans in medieval Dublin', in Howard Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1990), pp 83–4.
[191] Aubrey Gwynn & Richard Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 224.
[192] A Roger le Brun is mentioned as William le Brun's nephew and tenant, *CDI*, i, no. 116, p. 17. A Margaret Brun, married to William le Bas, was a grantor to the hospital in the 1230s but may be no relation. *Reg HSJB*, no. 73.
[193] *Reg HSJB*, nos 32 and 33.

the city.[194] The second daughter, Susanna, appears to be mentioned only in her sister Alicia's grant of her dowry lands to St Thomas's.[195] In this she refers to her father William, her brother Audoen and her sister Susanna, but not Hilary, or indeed her mother.

The Brun name continues to appear throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by holders of important offices. As the name was a relatively common one, it is difficult to say with certainty whether these later men were of the same Brun line as William and Audoen. A mid-thirteenth century clerk and baron of the Exchequer by the name of William Brun is listed by Ball as 'possibly descended from early Norman settlers in Ireland'.[196] An even better documented le Brun was Fromund who, among other positions, was chancellor in Ireland at various times throughout the 1260s and 1270s.[197] Like Audoen Brun at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a Geoffrey le Brun was appointed chamberlain of the exchequer at the end of the same century.[198]

The de Livets

In addition to providing the name of her second sister, the grant made by William le Brun's daughter Alicia to the Victorine canons is valuable also as she names herself as Gilbert de Livet's wife. She was Gilbert's first wife, Sibille his second.[199] The marriage of Alicia and Gilbert de Livet is quite typical of connections between families at this level of Dublin society; de Livet was mayor of the city on three occasions and although William de Brun does not appear to have been an office holder he was a prominent citizen and father of a chamberlain of the exchequer. The dates of their marriage can be speculatively calculated from the reference in 1199 to Philip de Livet as William le Brun's kinsman, assuming that the only connection between the Brun and de Livet

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[194] Ibid., no. 30.
[195] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 426, pp 374–5.
[196] Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, i, p. 48.
[197] Ibid., p. 51. Fromund appears only once in the register, as a witness while chancellor to a charter of Robert de Almania, no. 242. St John Brooks dated it to *c.* 1260 but it is more likely to have been 1266–7.
[198] *CDI*, iii, no. 750, p. 346.
[199] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 427, pp 375–6.

families was the marriage of Alicia and Gilbert.[200] Another de Livet, Matilda, was also a grantor to the hospital of a burgage in the parish of St Katherine's in the 1260s. It is likely that Gilbert, Geoffrey and Elena were all related.[201] Other de Livets include the free citizen of Dublin John del Ivet,[202] Robert, who gave to William, bishop of Glendalough and the abbey of St Thomas's his church of St Nicholas by the Barrow,[203] Thomas de Livet,[204] Jordan, his wife Alice (daughter of William de Angulo and Margaret), and his father Ugolin.[205] Like Roger, brother of Haim, Jordan was a landholder by the northern riverine wall.

The de Livet name originates from the village of Livet-en-Ouche in Normandy.[206] In Normandy the de Livets were originally tenants of the de Ferrers family from Ferrières-Saint-Hilaire who were among those Norman families who accompanied William the Conqueror across the English Channel in 1066. The de Livets may only have been tenants in England, rather than tenants-in-chief, but they appear as prolific landowners across several counties in England, and the name in Ireland was certainly intimately connected with the management of the English colony. Gilbert was the earliest member of this family to come to prominence in Dublin, but a Geoffrey de Livet held office in Dublin as a provost in the late 1260s.[207] His daughter, Elena was a generous benefactor to the hospital in the 1270s.[208]

Gilbert was an early arrival in Ireland following the English invasion; in 1178 he was witness to a charter of the prior of Holy Trinity to Audoen Brun.[209]

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[200] *CDI*, i, no. 116, p. 17.
[201] *Reg HSJB*, no. 26.
[202] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 114 (2nd column).
[203] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 194 and confirmation from his son, also Robert de Livet, no. 195, pp 164–5. Witnessing a charter of Henry Tyrell's, a Robert de Lynet is listed as mayor, Robert Pollard and Ralph le Porter as provosts. These provosts are usually associated with Gilbert de Livet's mayoralty in 1232–3. *Registrum Prioratus omnium Sanctorum*, no. 14, p. 22. For provost dates see *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 111.
[204] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 29 (2nd column).
[205] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 466, p. 403.
[206] Loyd, Clay and Douglas, 'The origins of some Anglo-Norman families', p. 55. It should be noted that various spellings of the name include de Lyvet, del Lyvet, Levet and many other variants of the same.
[207] H.F. Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs of Dublin city A.D. 1229 to 1447', in Howard Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1990), p. 157.
[208] *Reg HSJB*, nos 85, 86, 97 and 114.
[209] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 468*e*, p. 123.

Around twenty years later he joined Audoen Brun and the then prior of the hospital, Osbert, Ailred Palmer's successor, as witnesses to a charter of Isabella, Strongbow's daughter.[210] He again acted as witness for his brother-in-law in a grant of Audoen's to the Hospitallers.[211] But Gilbert was more closely associated with Holy Trinity than simply as a witness; with his second wife Sibille he granted to the canons there the land on which his stone hall was built, with the terrace and cellars, to be held by Sibille should he predecease her. Should they die in Ireland, their bodies were to be buried in Holy Trinity.[212] He frequently appears as witness in the company of men such as Warin de London,[213] William and Roger Cordwainer,[214] the sons of Leo de Bromyard,[215] and frequently as witness to donations to the hospital.[216] Sibille may have been a landowner in her own right in the suburbs of Dublin.[217] Based on Berry's dates Gilbert was mayor for the years 1233–4, and 1235–7.[218] Gilbert's occupation is not however revealed in any of the sources. There is one reference to his domestic affairs; it was claimed that a servant of his, Richard de Caunc, had obtained a ship which it was judged should rightfully be entered by Gilbert into the king's service.[219]

In 1215 Gilbert, along with Audoen Brun and several others, was instructed to collect money owed from Connacht.[220] At the later end of the thirteenth century Gilbert's namesake was sheriff of Connacht, and in that capacity makes regular appearances throughout the sources.[221] This Gilbert was

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[210] Ibid., no. 13, p. 38.
[211] *Historic and municipal documents of Ireland*, pp 499–500.
[212] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 47, pp 43–4. *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus*, p. 41. This is part of a discussion on stone building in Dublin in Linzi Simpson, 'Forty years a-digging: a preliminary synthesis of archaeological investigations in medieval Dublin' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin I: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 1999* (Dublin, 2000), pp 62–3.
[213] *Christ Ch Deeds*, nos 475 and 477, p. 125.
[214] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 189, p. 216.
[215] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 10, pp 17–18.
[216] *Reg HSJB*, nos 42, 59, 62, 73, 91, 135, 136, 144, 160, 161, 273, 274, 277, 279, 281, 282, 284 and 285.
[217] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 167, p. 429.
[218] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', p. 156.
[219] *CDI*, i, no. 1239, pp 188–9.
[220] Ibid., i, no. 656, p. 101.
[221] *CDI*, iii, no. 309, p. 141; no. 341, p. 153; no. 371, p. 169; no. 434, p. 188 are all samples of his activities in Connaught.

presumably either a descendant of the Dublin Gilbert, or part of a different branch of the de Livet family. The Connacht Gilbert came into possession of the fee of Robert de Livet, that which formed part of the grant made by Robert to the bishop of Glendalough and the Dublin abbey of St Thomas.[222] Around the same time as Gilbert was engaged in administrative duties in Connacht, in Dublin Geoffrey de Livet was acting as provost along with Walter Unred under Vincent Taverner as mayor.[223]

A series of charters in the register, resulting in a grant to the hospital in the late 1270s from Elena, Geoffrey's daughter, may supply the clue to the relations between them and Gilbert, but also a link between the de Livets and Cordwainers. For the sustenance of the infirm of the hospital, Elena donated two cellars with stone buildings outside the King's Gate, adjoining the old city wall.[224] These are noted as having been previously held by Gilbert de Livet from a donation and enfeoffment of Thomas Cordwainer. In *c.* 1220, Thomas Cordwainer gave these to Gilbert,[225] which was confirmed to de Livet almost twenty years later by Agnes Cordwainer and her husband, William son of Alan.[226] Elena's donation was a particularly generous one as in this one charter there are four sections of land given to St John's, in addition to the cellars there was also land in the parish of St Nicholas which had previously been held by Gilbert de Livet, given to him by Henry le Bel, land in Cook Street up to the old city wall and land in Castle Street.[227] As these stone cellars were described as outside the King's Gate, they must not be the same two stone cellars under the Guildhall of Dublin which in 1272–3 the executors of Geoffrey de Livet's will sold to a Eynulphus Clut, with a rent of ½ mark payable to the city of Dublin.[228]

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[222] *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, p. 41.
[223] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', p. 157.
[224] *Reg HSJB*, no. 86. In earlier charters the location is referred to as being by the city wall, the building of the newer wall later in the thirteenth century is reflected in the change in description.
[225] *Reg HSJB*, no. 84. This was noted above during the discussion of the Cordwainers.
[226] Ibid., no. 83.
[227] Ibid., nos 76 and 77 are a record of Gilbert receiving rent from le Bel and his son John from land in the parish of St Nicholas, presumably the land was in a later charter.
[228] TCD MS 1207/11. The deed can be dated from the witnesses, John Garget as mayor, Laurence Unred and Robert de Esseburn as provosts. This area was clearly highly developed as there is a third reference to a stone terrace and cellars by the King's Gate a decade prior to this.

Elena's husband, Thomas Blund was himself a grantor to the hospital on several occasions. Though listed as a citizen of Dublin, his occupation is not noted. With the consent of Elena, between the years 1277–9 Blund gave St John's land in the parish of St Katherine's,[229] land inside the city walls in the parish of St Audoen's,[230] rent from land in the great street (*magnus vicus*) opposite the church of St Michael's,[231] and finally one mark rent from land in Swords which had originally belonged to Elena's father.[232] Elena and Thomas were clearly a couple with extensive property holdings, which, considering Elena's background, is not unusual. What is notable is that all their grants were made in the same two year period, a short but sustained burst of patronage. Given the short period of time the repetitive nature of the witness lists should not surprise as they would appear to have called on the same group of people to witness their benefactions.

The Unred family

Also prominent on the Blund witness lists are the Unred family. Spanning the final four decades of the thirteenth century, Walter, Simon, Adam and Laurence held office as either mayor or provost.[233] The earliest reference in Dublin to an Unred is Walter Unred, who was a member of the merchant's guild *c.* 1200, and a Waring Unred in 1238–9.[234] Others with the same, uncommon surname include Robert Unred who witnessed a charter *c.* 1271 with Adam and Simon Unred.[235] A little over two decades later, Amicia, wife of Robert Unred sought justice

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TCD MS 1207/18. The Guildhall and 2 marks rent from the stone cellars were granted to Robert de Bristol in 1311 when this meeting place was moved to the Tholsel opposite Holy Trinity. Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 66 (1945), no. 16b, p. 35. By 1374 it was being referred to a vacant plot where the guildhall had once stood. Ibid., 69 (1947), no. 92, p. 39.

[229] *Reg HSJB*, no. 33. This may be the land mentioned as being Gilbert de Livet's in Hilary Brun's charter, *Reg HSJB*, no. 32. In Blund's charter the land extends up to Coulan up to the garden of the hospital, in Brun's charter her donation is described as opposite the cemetery of the hospital.

[230] Ibid., no. 45.

[231] Ibid., no. 67.

[232] Ibid., no. 229.

[233] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', pp 157–8.

[234] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 21 (2nd column), p. 73 (2nd column) while Waring is also listed in this same source as a free citizen in the same year, p. 116 (1st column). A William Hunred and Gerard Kunred are also listed. Ibid., p. 12 (2nd column). In 1242–3 Simon le Chepman son of Thomas Unred was admitted as a free citizen. Ibid., p. 117 (2nd column).

[235] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 98, pp 52–3.

regarding two crannocs of wheat from a Robert Beg of Clondalkin.[236] Although he does not seem to have held an official office, or at least surviving records do not reflect this, Robert, along with John Sergeant, was responsible in 1285 for the collection of debts from the citizens of Dublin.[237] In a partial charter in the register dated 1307, a Thomas Unred appears,[238] while in 1335 Elena, daughter of Henry Unred made a grant of two messuages opposite the hospital to a Thomas de Vestham.[239] A lay Cistercian brother, William Unred, was given sanctuary in St Mary's Abbey in 1277, having been accused of murder and spent the rest of his days in the abbey.[240] In 1259–60 three Unreds, Robert, Nicholas and Richard are listed together in the merchant's guild roll.[241] At no point in any of the numerous references to the Unreds is there a clue to the relationship between them. Acting as witness to charters in the register, Walter's dates span the 1250s to 1286, which is also the last year he acted as mayor.[242] Laurence similarly begins in the 1250s, the last date in the register is 1280–82, while the latest reference to him outside the register is when acting as executor to a will in 1282.[243] Simon has an even greater span as witness, from *c.* 1258 to 1291–2.[244]

Between them, Walter, Laurence, Simon and Adam held office as provost for thirteen years, while Walter was mayor on four occasions.[245] Unsurprisingly, apart from their function as frequent testators, other appearances in the sources tend to relate to their administrative roles. In 1280 Laurence Unred, with his fellow provost Hugh de Kersey, was responsible for collecting the farm of Dublin

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[236] *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls of Ireland*, i, p. 31.
[237] *CDI*, iii, no. 149, p. 50.
[238] *Reg HSJB*, no. 589 (P. xxiv).
[239] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 593, pp 148–9.
[240] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, p. xxx. This may be the same William Unred who was admitted to the merchant's guild in 1262–3, the same year that Walter Unred was provost. *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 107, (2nd column).
[241] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 101 (2nd column). This was the same year that Simon Unred acted as provost.
[242] *Reg HSJB*, no. 591 (p. 34) for the earliest date and no. 50 for the latest.
[243] *Reg HSJB*, no. 591 (p. 34) for the earliest date, no 178 for last date as witness, and *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus*, no. 58, p. 31 as executor.
[244] *Reg HSJB*, no. 60. St John Brooks dates this as [? *c.* 1267–7], though based on Philomena Connolly's provost list it is more likely to be 1259–69, *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 112. *Reg HSJB*, no. 8 for later date.
[245] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', pp 157–8. Alternative years to those given by Berry are given by Philomena Connolly, *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, pp 111–12.

from its citizens.[246] In 1283 Walter Unred was compensated for keeping the king's stamp (perhaps meaning a seal) for three years at his own expense.[247] Around the time that Edward I was completing his castles at Flint and Rhuddlan in Wales, Walter and the citizens of Dublin were allowed 10 marks from the farm of the city, in compensation for the conveyance of victuals to the king's new castles.[248] Over various years Walter was involved in issues regarding both customs and affairs of the king's mint.[249] Although this work may have arisen from his many years acting as either mayor or provost, Walter appears to have had a particular association with the mint, in a way that his fellow mayors did not, or whose association were not as well recorded as Walter's. In 1280–81 Walter, and his associates in the mint, was granted the considerable sum of £124 6*s.* for the manufacture of dyes.[250] As would be expected of a man of his position, he also held land in the city. In the parish of St Audoen's he granted his share in land he held there of Walter Man, in return for a payment of money, probably an entry fine.[251]

Seventy-one charters in the register of St John's were witnessed by a member of the Unred family, twenty-nine of these by more than one member of the family. This level of involvement in high-level activities within Dublin might suggest that re-creating a detailed family tree and property portfolio for the Unreds would be an easy task, but this is far from the case. In addition to only being able to speculate as to the exact nature of the relationship between those Unreds who held civic office in the late thirteenth-century, there is actually very little else surviving which alludes to any other part of their life, such as wives, children, occupations and all those details which provide a truer and more complete picture of a person's life. In the will of William de Stafford, made before

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[246] *CDI*, ii, no. 1740, p. 363.
[247] Ibid., ii, no. 2098, p. 485.
[248] Ibid., ii, no. 1984, p. 453.
[249] Ibid., ii, no. 1740, p. 365; no 2330, p. 551.
[250] *Irish exchequer payments, 1270–1446*, ed. Philomena Connolly (Dublin, 1998), p. 56.
[251] 'Old (Latin) deeds in the library of Trinity College' ed. J.G. Smyly, *Hermathena*, 66 (1945), no. 4, p.27. This is part of a collection in *Hermathena* which also includes, 67 (1946), pp 1–30, 69 (1947), pp 31–48, 70 (1947), pp 1–21, 71 (1948), pp 36–51, 72 (1948), pp 115–20, 74 (1949), pp 60–7. (hereafter Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds'). Walter had only received this land the previous year, in 1285. *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 141, p. 59.

his departure for the Holy Land and for whom Laurence acted as executor, reference is made to three booths or shops given to the daughter of Laurence Unred, '*filiole mee*', which could be translated as meaning godson.[252] William and Laurence appeared on witness lists together almost thirty years prior to the making of the will.[253]

A dispute between Simon Unred and William of Bristol, a four-time mayor of Dublin, provides some slight insight into the concerns of these men. A letter written to King Edward I from the mayor and commonalty of Dublin (sometime between 1272 and 1275) stated that a disagreement had arisen between Simon and William and that as a way of settling it, each, 'under penalty of one hundred pounds (*sub pena centrum librarum*), agreed that an inquisition should decide which of them was the more loyal to your excellency and your government.'[254] By this date, Simon had been provost on three occasions,[255] while William had been mayor once.[256] The judgement passed down was that although both had shown equal loyalty, Simon 'had thriven in proportion to the time during which he held the office of the bailiff of Dublin.'[257] The implicit suggestion is that Simon may have benefited rather too well from his years in office, which may explain the one hundred mark levy placed upon him. Having paid forty of the one hundred, Simon had 'scarcely enough for subsistence.' The commonalty requested that Simon be granted special grace. In May 1275 it was ordered that William's accounts be audited because of the dispute between him and the commonalty.[258] It would seem that of the two men William had fallen foul of the sympathy of the commonalty. It is surely no coincidence that in June of the same year Simon was pardoned by the king of the remaining sixty marks.[259]

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[252] *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus*, no. 58, p. 31.
[253] *Reg HSJB*, nos 61, 67 and 95 are a selection.
[254] *Historic and municipal documents of Ireland*, p. 202.
[255] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', p. 157. Alternative years are given by Philomena Connolly, *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 112.
[256] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', p. 157.
[257] Ibid.
[258] *Cal Pat Rolls*, 1272–81, p. 118.
[259] *Cal Close Rolls*, 1272–9, p. 193. In this the sum is given as marks rather than pounds.

William de Bristol and Elias Burel

William de Bristol, in addition to being a mayor himself, was also the son-in-law of one. William's wife was Juliana, daughter of Elias Burel and his wife Helena, daughter of Richard de Plumton.[260] Elias's civic record was more extensive than that of his daughter's husband, holding the office of mayor on four occasions, and being provost on six.[261] The hospital was the recipient of Elias's generosity on only one extant occasion. In a charter dated by St John Brooks as *c.* 1250, Elias and Helena granted the sick of St John's 16*s.* from a stone house in the parish of St Audoen's which had belonged to his wife's father.[262] Rather unusually for this date Elias's grant was not witnessed by a named mayor or bailiffs. Three of the participants in the transaction held offices *c.* 1242–3 (Philip de Duram, Richard Pel and Philip le Bel, also known as Philip fitzStephen).[263] Regardless, the six named witnesses (and the grantor) were all civic office holders in Dublin during the 1240s. Acting in an official capacity, as either mayor or provost, Burel witnessed eight charters in the register, and nineteen in a non-administrative position, including that of Hilary, Audoen Brun's sister.[264] He was also a benefactor of Holy Trinity, granting various rental payments, including 2 ½ marks from a holding on High Street, which was later reduced by the prior to just 20*s.* during the lives of the then holders of the property.[265]

From a grant of rent made to St Mary's we learn that Burel had interests in property on Fishamble Street, in the parish of St Nicholas and on Ship Street[266] and was given a grant of land in Castle Street by Geoffrey de Livet in the

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[260] 'Some ancient deeds of the parish of St Werburgh, Dublin, 1243–1676', ed. H.F. Twiss, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 35 (1918–20), section C, no. 2, p. 285. This is a grant made by William and Juliana of land in the parish of St Werburgh. This probably refers to the same land mentioned in *Reg HSJB*, nos 110–11, which was in Bothe Street. The neighbouring property was once owned by Geoffrey de Livet.

[261] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', pp 156–7. In Connolly's list Burel appears as provost on only three occasions and in once instance in a year which Berry does not. Connolly, *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, pp 111–12.

[262] *Reg HSJB*, no. 52. That Elias received this through marriage is made clear by a reference to land of St Mary's which neighboured it. *Chartul St Mary's*, i, p. 350.

[263] Hill, 'Mayors and Lord Mayors of Dublin from 1229', p. 548 and Connolly, *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 111.

[264] *Reg HSJB*, no. 31.

[265] *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus*, p. 40 for Burel's grant and *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 178, p. 68 for reduction.

[266] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 163, pp 425–6.

1240s.[267] He also appeared on at least one occasion as witness with his son-in-law. In a grant, *c.* 1271 from Richard de Gernumuta to Nicholas Fallynthewolle, William witnessed as provost in a list which included Elias, Walter Unred and Richard Olaf.[268] Given that he first held civic office in Dublin in the late 1230s, when he presumably would at least have been at least in his twenties, Burel must have lived into his sixties, a considerable age for his time. William de Bristol had much less contact with the business of the hospital than Elias Burel, acting as witness on only two occasions when not holder of a civic office.[269] William and his wife Juliana were parents to two sons (or two that are named in records), Elias and Robert.[270] William's dispute with Simon Unred and the commonalty of Dublin was not the only occasion when he fell out of favour with his fellow citizens. In 1299 it was claimed that William's son Robert, 'by collusion with his said father' brought a false assize of novel disseisin regarding a tenement in Kilresk. While William had enfeoffed Stephen de Fulbourn of this tenement, and Stephen put his nephew John in seisin, it was claimed that on hearing of John's capture while in Gascony on the king's business, Robert and his father had attempted to regain the tenement. In John's absence, it was his mother Sibilla who held seisin. Although William and Robert claimed there was no collusion, the jury disagreed and held that in John's absence, his mother was the rightful tenant.[271] Despite having more evidence for William's abrasiveness than perhaps

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[267] Twiss, 'Some ancient deeds of the parish of St Werburgh, Dublin', no. 57, pp 298–9.

[268] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 515, p. 133. In the previous year, Burel, Olaf, Walter and Simon Unred and Geoffrey de Livet had all witnessed Richard receiving this land on the strand, by the new city wall, in the parish of St Michael. Ibid., no. 514, p. 133. On an aside, the intriguingly named Fallynthewolle was enlisted as a member of the merchant's guild in 1250–1, *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 90 (2nd column) as was a Robert Falinthewolle in 1240–1, p. 77 (1st column).

[269] *Reg HSJB*, nos 2 and 47. In both charters Walter Unred was also another witness.

[270] *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, p. 135 mentions Elias as son and heir of William. In this instance he was engaged in 1278 in a quitclaim of land in Ballymadon to John, son of Roger de la Hyde. *Calendar of the justiciary rolls of proceedings in the court of the justiciar of Ireland*, ed. James Mills (2 vols, Dublin, 1905–14), i, 1295–1303, p. 263 for Robert. (hereafter *Cal Just Rolls,* 1295–1303, 1305–1307). Robert was a serjeant of law and later a justice of the Bench: Paul Brand, *The making of the common law* (London, 1992), pp 36–7 and p. 55. Possibly the same Robert de Bristol who was granted the old Guildhall in 1311. Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 66 (1945), no. 16b, p. 35. This Robert had a son John, who married Alicia, daughter of William Burnel. Ibid, 67 (1946), no. 21b, pp 6–7. Still in possession of old Guildhall tenement in 1326.

[271] *Cal Just Rolls*, 1295–1303, pp 263–4. Two years later the case was still before the justiciar, and had even more interested parties involved, not unusual for cases which involved proving or disproving seisin. Ibid., pp 404–5.

any other part of his character, he, along with his wife, did on at least one occasion demonstrate a different side to his character by granting as a marriage gift to Thomas le Blound and his wife Matilda a messuage by Crockers' Street.[272] He was also granted by the mayor and commonalty in 1285 a piece of ground by the Liffey.[273]

Richard Olaf

Contemporaneous with the careers of both Elias and William was that of Richard Olaf, who though he held office only once, as mayor in 1256–7, was clearly an active citizen.[274] He appeared thirty-one times in the register as witness, in a non-administrative role. In 1236–7 a Richard Olaf is listed as a free citizen of Dublin.[275] He would appear to have held particular responsibilities in the Exchequer, as in the 1270s he was named as 'custos of the exchange, Dublin'.[276] On that occasion he accounted for money received from silver plates which had been melted and sent to him at the Exchequer from the bishop of Waterford and silver sent from the custos of mines in Co Tipperary. He also received a repayment for 'hire of his houses for an Exchange'.[277] Richard was granted a rabbit warren by the city,[278] and himself granted land in Mac Giolla Mo Cholmóc's Street to a William Strafford.[279]

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[272] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 66 (1945), no. 6, p. 28. This later came into the possession of their son, John, and bordered a grant he made in 1324 to Elias de Ashbourne. Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 67 (1946), no. 19f, p. 4.
[273] *CARD*, i, no. 53, pp 105–6.
[274] Berry and Hill both date Olaf's mayoral year as 1256–7. Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', p. 157 and Hill, 'Mayors and Lord Mayors of Dublin from 1229', p. 548. A dated charter in the Register would suggest that it was 1257–8. *Reg HSJB*, no. 125. *Datum die lune quarto Idus Junii, anno regni regis Henrici quadragesimo secundo.* Henry III's 42nd regnal year ran from October 1257 to October 1258.
[275] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 115 (2nd column).
[276] Appendix to 36th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, p. 42.
[277] Ibid., p. 76.
[278] *CARD*, i, no. 19, pp 89–90.
[279] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 493, pp 128–9.

The de Ashbourne family[280]

It was also during Richard Olaf's reign that the de Ashbourne family make their first appearance in Dublin as city officials.[281] The family probably originated in either Devonshire or Derbyshire in England,[282] though as will be demonstrated Northampton also features prominently in the family history. In the year Michaelmas 1257 to Michaelmas 1258 Roger de Ashbourne served as provost with Thomas de Winchester.[283] He must have proved himself a capable administrator as several years later he was elected mayor, serving two terms in the early 1260s (1261–3) and again in 1268–9 and finally serving again as a provost 1286–7.[284] A Roger de Ashbourne also appears acting as custos of the archbisopric of Dublin in 1299.[285] Several years later a Roger de Ashbourne can be found officiating as a serjeant.[286] As there is almost a twenty year gap between the holding of these offices, in addition to the unlikehood that Roger would have trained as a serjeant at law later in life, starting a new career which involved travel around Ireland and over and back to England, it may be that this was in fact his son. Brand also speculated that Roger de Ashbourne, serjeant, was the son of Roger de Ashbourne, the former mayor.[287] An agreement between a Roger de Ashbourne and Dublin's city officials regarding the maintenance of his land refers to him as 'junior'.[288] Although no direct reference naming one as the son or father of the other has been unearthed, it has been assumed here that any reference from the 1280s onward is to the son. To avoid confusion, the father will be referred to as Roger (I) and the son as Roger (II).

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[280] See Appendix 3 for the family tree of those discussed here.
[281] The name variously appears as Assheborn, Esshebourne, Assebourn. I have used St John Brooks's spelling in the register.
[282] P.H. Reaney & R.M. Wilson, *A dictionary of English surnames* (3rd edn, London, 1991), p. 15.
[283] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 112.
[284] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', pp 157–8.
[285] *Cal Just Rolls,* 1295–1303, p. 233.
[286] *Cal Just Rolls*, 1305–7, p. 429. For an analysis of serjeants in medieval Ireland see Brand, *The making of the common law*, pp 21–56, with an appendix of Irish serjeants from 1290 to 1350 at pp 54–6. Brand speculates that the Roger de Ashbourne (II) acting as serjeant had been provost in 1287 and was a son of the Roger de Ashbourne (I) who had been mayor, p. 36.
[287] Brand, *The making of the common law*, p. 36. Brand also suggests that prior to becoming serjeant, Roger may have travelled to England for a legal education in the early 1290s: Paul Brand, 'Irish law students and lawyers in late medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32:126 (2000), p. 162.
[288] *CARD*, i, no. 61, p. 108.

Acting as witness Roger (I) makes nine appearances in the register, five of these when holding a city office, while his son is mentioned only twice. Though there are no extant records of either making a donation to the hospital, both were the recipient of grants from the hospital. The first was *c.* 1250 from the then prior of the hospital of land inside the Newgate of the city.[289] This is described as that land which had formerly been owned by William, city clerk, between that of Norman Clatere on one side and the city walls on the other. While the grant of this site by the hospital to Roger (I) would suggest that in the intervening years they had taken ownership or lease of it, William's widow Alice later confirmed to Roger what appears to be the same site, but without any reference to its possession by the hospital.[290] The second donation Roger (I) received from St John's was from the then prior Walter de Southwell, this was a meadow which lay between the door of the Priory of All Hallows and the green area around St Stephen's hospital.[291] From a chirograph dated to 1296 we learn that Roger (II) held two curtilages of St John's, lying between Coulane (probably Cow Lane) and the garden of the hospital.[292]

Both father and son would appear to have been considerable landowners, in particular to have had extensive holdings in the areas just inside and outside the Newgate of Dublin and on both sides of the western city wall. In possibly the same year as Roger (I) received William the clerk's tenement, he gained further land with buildings (edifices) by Gormund's Gate.[293] From Olbert de Bredon he

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[289] *Reg HSJB*, no. 591, pp 34–5. The prior may have been Walter de Southwell. In 1229–30, 'William FitzRobert, with the coif, clerk of the city' received a 'plot of land at the New Gate, between the wall and the land of Henry, son and heir of Norman Clater', probably in recognition for his assistance in applying for and establishing the mayor's office in 1229: *CARD*, i, no. 3, p. 82. For a short biography of William see Mary Clark and Gráinne Doran, *Serving the city: the Dublin city managers and town clerks, 1230–1996* (Dublin, 1996), pp 2–3 and 16.

[290] TCD MS 1207/24. The deed is undated but Walter Unred and Vincent the Taverner are named as provosts in the witness list. These two men served in this capacity in 1268–9 when Roger de Ashbourne was mayor, which would presumably explain why no mayor is named as witness, given that the recipient was mayor and could not attest his own deed. The deed itself is in good condition and retains part of its seal. William the clerk may have had two plots in this area, which could mean that one passed into the ownership of the hospital and the other to de Ashbourne. *CARD*, i, no. 42 (i), p. 100 refers to 'the house which William the clerk inhabits, and another ground lying between that which the latter held on one side, and the city wall on the other'.

[291] *Reg HSJB*, no. 594, pp 73–4.

[292] *Reg HSJB*, nos 34 and 169.

[293] TCD MS 1207/25.

received a curtilage 'next to the venell of Coulan', this a year before the hospital granted him curtilages in the same area.[294] In 1305 Roger (II) was granted by the then mayor and community of Dublin 'a fosse outside the walls next Bertram's Court', one which extended almost as far as St Patrick's Gate, between the market place and the city wall.[295] A year later he was granted a shop inside the Newgate, held by Agnes, daughter of Walter le Cotiller and former wife of the grantor, William le Lung de Wicklow, by English law.[296] The very next year he received yet another shop, on the other side of the Newgate.[297]

Roger (II) was not only a substantial property owner in the west of the city, he was also granted by the city the very towers of the Newgate, with all associated buildings, and two pieces of adjoining land. Given the importance of access routes to and from the city, it was given 'with reservation of free entry...for the safety of the city, if there should be a general war; but any damage so incurred is to be repaired by the city.'[298] Roger clearly had concerns about the standard of upkeep of the gate and towers as for four years the city remitted the 40*s.* rent Roger owed for the site, and agreed to 'build as much of the stone-work of the towers as may be requisite, and to provide for them any further security which may be desired by Roger de Assebourne.'[299] Not only was the maintenance of the Newgate area crucial for the defence of the city, it was also the point at which the Dominicans were given their access to the city's water supply, 'by there attaching their pipe to that of the citizens.'[300] Acting in his capacity as mayor, and as owner of those lands through which the Dominican

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[294] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 66 (1945), no. 8, p. 29.
[295] Ibid., no. 12, pp 30–31. The original deed of this grant also survives; see TCD MS 1207/71. Though slightly faded in places it is in relatively good condition and demonstrates that this was originally an indentured chirograph. It is further notable though for the seal attached. This is the city seal of Dublin and though the outer rim is missing, the castle and ship (with passengers) remains clear. For more on the seal see Seán Duffy, 'Ireland's Hastings: the Anglo-Norman conquest of Dublin' in Christopher Harper-Bill (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies xx: Proceedings of the Battle conference* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp 69–85.
[296] TCD MS 1207/13.The deed is undated but the term of the mayor and bailiffs named as witnesses was 1306–7. In the same year William's son John quitclaimed the property to Roger. Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 66 (1945), no. 13, p. 32.
[297] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 66 (1945), no. 14, p. 32.
[298] *CARD*, i, no. 42 (i), p. 100.
[299] Ibid, i, no. 42 (ii). Later agreements were made between Roger and the city regarding the maintenance of this area and the value of the land: nos 60 and 61, pp 107–8.
[300] Ibid, i, no. 46 (i), pp 101–2.

pipe would run, Roger granted authorization to the friars for the building work required for its construction, agreeing also not to cause the water to stop.[301]

Roger (II) was also one of the city officials who became embroiled in the Geoffrey Morton affair. An inquisition in 1306 testified that Roger had been chosen to travel to England 'to certify to the King's court that no suit which Geoffrey made there was with the will or assent of the citizens'.[302] Roger was unable to carry out the task as Geoffrey had retained the city seal, either at the behest of the citizens, as was claimed, or unlawfully. Neither Roger de Ashbourne is in what survives of the roll for Dublin's merchant guild, but Robert de Ashbourne is listed for 1237–8 and again for 1257–8.[303] Probably a brother of Roger (I), Robert too served Dublin, but as provost for two consecutive terms, 1271–3.[304] Robert de Ashbourne was a more prolific witness to the hospital's deeds, though unlike either Roger he appears to neither have granted to nor have been granted by the hospital any land or rent.[305] The Robert de Ashbourne who was leased land in Rochelle Street by the hospital in 1326 is probably Robert's son, also Robert, or, though less likely, perhaps Roger (I)'s grandson Robert, by his son Elias and his wife Elizabeth.[306] Though clearly respected enough by his fellow-citizens to serve as provost, Robert was not as extensive a landowner as Roger. He owned a stone house in the parish of St Audoen's, across from which Roger acquired land in 1302.[307] Later in the fourteenth century it was referred to as having a kitchen, though this could have been added after Robert's ownership.[308]

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[301] Ibid., i, no. 46 (ii), p. 102.
[302] *Cal Just Rolls*, 1305–7, pp 315–16. For the controversy surrounding Morton see Philomena Connolly, 'The rise and fall of Geoffrey Morton, mayor of Dublin, 1303–4' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin II: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2000* (Dublin, 2001), pp 233–51.
[303] *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll*, p. 71 (2nd column) and p. 99 (1st column).
[304] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs', p. 157.
[305] Robert appears as witness in the register twenty-one times in total, six of these as provost.
[306] *Reg HSJB*, no. 571. The Robert de Ashbourne senior who acted as witness in an assize of fresh force in 1334 is unlikely to have been the same Robert who was provost in the 1270s, so again must be one of the two sons. *Reg HSJB*, nos 70 and 71.
[307] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 66 (1945), no. 11, p. 30.
[308] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 69 (1947), no. 57, p. 26.

In 1316 Robert de Ashbourne's daughters Juliana and Agnes granted to their cousin Elias de Ashbourne a tenement 'containing three mounds' on Dublin's High Street, and a tenement on Thomas Street.[309] Despite perhaps being the second generation of this de Ashbourne family in Ireland, it is Elias de Ashbourne who features much more frequently in extant sources than his father or uncle.[310] Like the aforementioned Roger Cordwainer, records for a long lineage of intermarriage between his descendants and other high status families survive. Elias is not named among Dublin's medieval mayors and provosts, but he did serve the crown in an official capacity. By August 1326 he had already been engaged on the king's behalf in Ireland, being at that date granted as the king's yeoman, the considerable sum of 50 marks from the temporalities of the archbishopric of Dublin, in compensation for expenses incurred while tending to the king's affairs.[311]

Like his brother, Elias's name appears in connection with a fourteenth-century administrative scandal in Dublin, though like Roger (II), he was also an incidental actor in events. In 1325 during an otherwise routine examination of the Irish treasury accounts, it became obvious that the accounts of the previous holder of the office of treasurer of Ireland, Archbishop Alexander Bicknor, contained many forgeries.[312] Once a thorough examination of the accounts was undertaken, several others were implicated and Walter Islip, the current treasurer was removed from office. Islip was pardoned a year later, though fined 500

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[309] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 545, p. 138. From the following charter in the same source the tenement in High Street was known as the 'Ram', while the Thomas Street property was in the parish of St Katherine. In 1357 this was granted by Elias's son Robert to a Richard de Haygrave. Ibid., no. 672, p. 161.

[310] In the early fourteenth century a William de Ashbourne served as abbot of St Mary's Abbey in Dublin. Given the high status of this position, he may have been of the same family but despite James Mills's inclusion of him in his explanatory note on Elias de Ashbourne, no extant reference convincingly links William to Elias's family. For William see *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 253, p. 275. For Mills's entries on William and Elias see *Account roll of the priory of the Holy Trinity, 1337–46*, ed. James Mills (Dublin, 1891), pp 145 and 152. A William, son of Roger Ashbourne was also a landholder in Dublin in the early fifteenth century: *History of the religious gild of S. Anne, in S. Audoen's church, Dublin, 1430–1740, taken from its records in the Haliday Collection, RIA*, ed. Henry F. Berry, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 25 (1904–5), section C, p. 55 and p. 57.

[311] *Cal Close Rolls*, 1323–27, p. 603.

[312] James Lydon, 'The case against Alexander Bicknor, archbishop and peculator' in Brendan Smith (ed.) *Ireland and the English world in the late middle ages* (Basingstoke, 2010), p. 103.

marks.[313] The level of debt he had incurred as a result of his actions and the complications caused by the temporary seizure of his lands and property continued to cause complications for those with whom he had conducted personal business. Elias, for instance, had been granted lands (a messuage and three carucates) from Islip, which had been seized as part of the general confiscation of his land and property. In 1329 it was ordered that Elias was to be compensated for the loss cause caused by the time these lands spent in the king's hands.[314]

More than his father, brother or uncle, Elias appears to have maintained his affairs on both side of the Irish Sea throughout his adult life. His earliest appearances in administrative sources refer however not to his good conduct but were rather pardons for his outlawry.[315] By 1316 he had obviously overcome any earlier damage to his reputation as by then his good service in Ireland ensured that he was pardoned monies due to the exchequer in Dublin, and arrears of his father, Roger.[316] He was granted permission to 'go beyond the seas on the king's service' in 1316 with the bishop of Ely,[317] and was appointed the bishop's attorney in Ireland in 1321.[318] In 1322 and 1325 he was one of two attorneys appointed to represent Robert de Welle's affairs in Ireland[319], while a year later he was 'sent to Ireland for some business enjoined on him by the king', and noted as being the king's yeoman.[320] In March of 1329 he was in London, acting as a witness.[321] He was also a landowner in Northampton,[322] in 1335 receiving

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[313] Ibid., pp 106–7.
[314] *Cal Close Rolls*, 1327–30, p. 430; *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1334–38, p. 409. In 1318 Elias had also been granted lands in Clonmethan, Dublin by the archbishop. *CPR*, 1317–21, p. 204. He was at this date also acting as attorney in Ireland for Matilda, late wife of Richard Constatin. Ibid., pp 164 and 207. The 1318 confirmation was probably a continuance of the grant in 1313 of land in Clonmethan by Bicknor's predecessor, Richard de Feringes. *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1307–13, p. 596. *Inquisitions and extents of medieval Ireland*, no 177, p. 97 suggests that he had inherited these from his father, Roger.
[315] He was pardoned in November 1312 for previous transgressions in Northampton. *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1307–12, p. 508. For the complaints against him see pp 247 and 252.
[316] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1313–17, p. 469.
[317] Ibid., p. 570.
[318] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1321–24, p. 41. In the same month (December) he was also granted safe conduct for his servants and wheat being transported to Ireland for his maintenance.
[319] Ibid., p, 114 and 1324–27, p. 115.
[320] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1324–27, p. 311.
[321] Ibid., p. 525.

pardon for entering without licence the lands he acquired in Ashby Mears, Northampton from Thomas de Ashbourne.[323] Some of his Northampton lands were used to guarantee the 'fee of the seal of a certain charter' of the king's, granting Elias unnamed lands in Ireland.[324] In 1331 and again in 1337 he was appointed chief justice of the justiciar's court,[325] having travelled over and back to England in the intervening period.[326] Obviously concerned for his divine welfare he was granted in 1332 a mortmain licence for 20 marks to cover the payment of five chaplains to celebrate daily service in Dublin, for his soul and several others.[327] In May 1338 he was ordered, in what appears to have been a recurring theme with Elias, 'to intermeddle no further in the office.'[328] The previous month he had been rewarded for his good service by the king by being granted 20*l.* of lands which had been taken into the king's hands.[329] In September 1338 he was again appointed chief justice.[330] The same year he was one of two men considered for the custody of the castle of Arklow.[331] By March 1339 he was successful in this appointment, it being noted the 'good place he may hold in safeguarding the castle against the Irish enemies of the king.'[332] However, he for some reason appears either to have lost King Edward's confidence in him or was the unfortunate victim of a royal clerical error, for he was ordered in 1341 to allow

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[322] *Cal Close Rolls*, 1330–33, pp 133 and 548 (also named in the latter is a Thomas de Ashbourne).
[323] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1334–38, p. 392. Elias had a son, Thomas de Ashbourne, who appears in 1356 as a landowner in Dublin (*Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 662, p. 160), and was estimated to be aged around 30. *Inquisitions and extents of medieval Ireland*, eds Paul Dryburgh and Brendan Smith, List and Index Society, 20 (2007), no. 321, pp 191–2. The Thomas he received the Northampton land from is likely to be another relative. In 1334 and 1337 a Thomas de Ashbourne, referred to as a knight, appointed attorneys in England to cover two, two-year stays in Ireland. Ibid., pp 34 and 489. See also *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1330–34, p, 231 for a 1331 grant from Thomas and his wife Elizabeth to Elias. In 1316 Elias complained of having been assaulted in Ashby Mears, and of having his goods carried away. *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1313–17, p. 502. In 1319 he obtained rights in Ashby Mears from Edward II. *Cal Pat Rolls*, 1317–21, p. 338.
[324] *Cal Close Rolls*, 1330–33, p. 609.
[325] Ball, *The judges in Ireland*, i, pp 68–9; *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1334–8, pp 389 and 522; *Cal Close Rolls*, 1337–9, p. 168.
[326] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1334–38, p. 124.
[327] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1330–34, p. 303.
[328] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1338–40, p. 80.
[329] *Cal Close Rolls*, 1337–9, p 357.
[330] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1338–40, p. 127.
[331] *Cal Close Rolls*, 1337–9, p. 544.
[332] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1338–40, p. 211.

a Walter de Bonevill to have full custody of the castle, and to 'intermeddle no further in the custody.'[333] Though no longer custodian of the castle, he had sufficient cause that same year to appoint attorneys in England to maintain his affairs during an expected two-year stay in Ireland.[334]

Despite having spent so much time in Ireland engaged on both his own affairs and those of the king and acting as attorney for various families, Elias also managed to develop an extensive property portfolio, mostly in Dublin and the wider Leinster region, some in Meath and Tipperary. The lands held in the march of Leinster were at the mercy of attacks by the neighbouring Irish. In October 1332 Elias was granted 760 acres in the march of Leinster by Edward III.[335] Two years later Elias and his heirs were pardoned for seven years from the farm due from various lands in the march as he was unable to raise the required finance from these lands due to the frequent attacks by the Irish. During this period they were required to build a fort to repel these attacks.[336] Following Elias's death in 1356 an inquiry was held into his lands in Meath where it was determined that he held 220 acres of varying quality and value.[337] His Tipperary lands he granted to Walter de Bermingham.[338]

In 1323, one of the periods during which he was in Ireland acting as an attorney, Elias and his wife Elizabeth received a messuage and eight shops which were noted as having once 'belonged to the heir of Robert the Ashbourne' (presumably Elias's cousins, Juliana, Agnes or Robert), in addition to five shops in St Nicholas's parish.[339] Within Dublin Elias was a mill owner, in 1356 granting his son Robert two mills in the 'Poll',[340] but he had held land in this

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[333] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1340–43, pp 143 and 149.
[334] Ibid., p. 300.
[335] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1334–38, p. 397. In 1330 an inquisition had been held to determine if any damage would be caused by the grant of these lands to Elias. It was determined that no damage would be caused and that in fact the land had previously lain uncultivated. *Inquisitions and extents of medieval Ireland*, eds Paul Dryburgh and Brendan Smith, List and Index Society, 20 (2007), no. 244, p. 133.
[336] *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1334–38, p. 126.
[337] *Inquisitions and extents of medieval Ireland*, no. 321, pp 191–2.
[338] *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, p. 119.
[339] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 67 (1946), no. 19d, pp 3–4.
[340] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 659, p. 160.

neighbourhood for over twenty years.[341] His son Robert was also the recipient of his father's tenements in High Street.[342] In November 1338 Elias made a considerable grant to Walter de Mareschal de Dublin, a chaplain, one which included shops, cellars, land in Bertam's Court, Oxmantown, St Werburgh's Street amongst others.[343] Some of these were clearly inheritances from his father, but he had managed to maintain the numerous properties his father had accumulated and, using his own position and access, had added extensively to his family's wealth. Of all the properties he held perhaps the most iconic was the old Guildhall on Winetavern Street, the site until 1311 of Dublin's civic offices. In 1311 the site was granted by the mayor and community of the city to Robert de Bristol, including two cellars and a garden.[344] In 1326 Robert's son John, with his wife Alicia, daughter of William Burnel, granted all rights in this tenement to John de Grauntsete.[345] The following year de Grauntsete remitted to Elias de Ashbourne claim to three cellars, described as 'beneath the house which Elias recovered from Alicia',[346] and the very next day Elias remitted to the same John and Jordan son of William 'a messuage with all its cellars in Taverners street which messuage is called the old Guildhall.'[347]

Of Elias and Elizabeth's five children, Anne, Elizabeth, John, Thomas and Robert, it is the latter two who are the best represented in surviving sources, but none appear to have maintained the de Ashbourne family connection with the hospital. Thomas de Ashbourne held several properties in the city, most likely in his capacity as Elias's heir.[348] Elias's granddaughter Roesia held two messuages in Cook Street, which were leased to her in 1356 by her father, Robert.[349] Archbishop Alen records the lineage of Elias's daughter Elizabeth, stating that

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[341] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 615, p. 152. Refers to Elias's land in 1338 extending from the highway to St Brigid's church. The mills were also in his possession by this date. Ibid., no. 617, p. 152.
[342] Ibid., no. 660, p. 160.
[343] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 67 (1946), no. 44, pp 20–21.
[344] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 66 (1945), no. 16b, p. 35.
[345] Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 67 (1946), nos 21b, p. 6; 21c, p. 7 and no. 23, p. 7.
[346] Ibid., no. 27, p. 11.
[347] Ibid., no. 28, pp 11–12.
[348] *Christ Ch Deeds*, nos 662, 663, 664, 667 and 670 pp 160–1; Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 69 (1947), nos 61, 62, 63 and 64, pp 26–7.
[349] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 669, p. 161. Three years later she released one back to her father. Ibid., no. 678, p. 162.

she had a son 'William Marward, and his son, again, was Walter, whose offspring was Thomas, whose heir is James Marwarde, baron of Scryne.'[350] Elizabeth was not the only daughter whose marriage was linked to a prominent Anglo-Irish family: a Robert Luttrell of Luttrellstown inherited land from Elias de Ashbourne in Co Wicklow, which would appear to have been as a result of Robert's marriage to Elias's daughter Anne.[351]

Benefactors based outside Dublin

Although the focus here is primarily on those Dublin residents and citizens who were connected with the hospital, there are some others whose homes and business interests were based outside of Dublin but who, for various reasons, are appropriate to include here. The first, Manasser Arsic, was a considerable landholder in Co Tipperary but *c.* 1190 appeared on a witness list with two Dublin stalwarts, William Brun and Walter Goldsmith, in a charter which concerned the donation of a carucate in Meath.[352] The presence of Brun and Goldsmith may only have been due to their availability on the day of witnessing, but the grantor, Robert Smith and Manasser Arsic would probably have been known to each other.

Addressing all French, English and Irish in the opening preamble of his charter, *c.* 1200 Robert Smith granted to God and St John, the paupers and brothers and sisters serving them in Palmer's Hospital in Dublin, the church of Crohan in the barony of Slieveardagh in Co Tipperary, and with it five carucates.[353] This was then confirmed by Manasser Arsic, who was lord of the

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[350] *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, p. 201.

[351] Ball, *A history of the county Dublin*, iv, pp 3–4 for Robert Luttrell; for the marriage see John Lodge, *The peerage of Ireland or, a genealogical history of the present nobility of that kingdom.* Revised by Mervyn Archdall (7 vols, Dublin, 1789), iii, p. 407. Elias is referred to as a knight of Devon.

[352] *Reg HSJB*, no. 251. The other witnesses were not well-known contemporary Dubliners, although one of them, Roger de Tantun makes three other appearances in the register as a witness, once to a charter of William Brun's, once when Roger, brother of Haim was grantor (with William Brun and Walter Goldsmith as fellow testators) and once on behalf of Walter Goldsmith. *Reg HSJB*, nos 30, 38 and 157.

[353] *Reg HSJB*, no. 505.

barony.[354] Around the same date Arsic also granted to the hospital one knight's fee from a tenement in Slieveardagh.[355] From the same area he granted Archbishop Henry of Dublin five knights' fees.[356] When Henry's niece Maud married, the archbishop passed the fees on to her husband, Stephen de Hereford, son of Adam de Hereford, one of the earliest English settlers.[357] Roughly a decade after his initial grant to the hospital Arsic also made a gift of the tithes and ecclesiastical benefices of the church of Buolick or Bowleck (*Boulec*) of the tuath (*tohed*) called *Gortcorki*, which was then confirmed by the archbishop of Cashel.[358] Arsic was the sheriff of Oxfordshire, and as such makes regular appearance in twelfth-century English administrative sources, as early as 1160. As landholder he owed payments to the crown and record was kept of the knight's fees in his possession.[359] Arsic's connections with the hospital, and the archbishops of Dublin provides a clear example of those who settled outside Dublin, but who still managed to maintain contacts with the developing town. That the hospital was still in possession of the church of Buolick two hundred years after its original donation demonstrates how instrumental some of these early donations were to the continued maintenance of the hospital.

Outside Dublin two other families, de Feypo and de Aveney, like the Bromyards, were both closely associated with Meath. Of those men whose origins are certain, the areas of Shropshire, Herefordshire and Bristol are the best represented. Representations from the first two perhaps owe much to Hugh

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[354] Ibid., no. 506. Smith was also a witness to Arsic's two grants to the abbey of St Thomas, *Reg St Thomas*, nos 150–1, pp 129–30. *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, pp 215–16 for a short biography of Smith.

[355] *Reg HSJB*, no. 501. See *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, p. 217 where St John Brooks offers conjecture as to Arsic's receipt of these lands.

[356] *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, p. 53.

[357] *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, p. 206. John, son of Alexander Arsic later quitted claim of the fees to Archbishop Fulk de Sandford. He also confirmed the hospital in its rights to Buolick in 1308. *Reg HSJB*, no. 490.

[358] *Reg HSJB*, nos 486–9 and confirmed by his successor in Cashel, no. 453 and again in the fourteenth century, no. 484. The hospital continued to receive grants in this area, including from the later lord of Bouleck, William Laffyn. Ibid., no. 497. Grants outside Dublin, and especially in Tipperary tended to involve donations of ecclesiastical lands and tithes in addition to secular land and rents. For more on this, and Arsic's grants see Mark Hennessey, 'Parochical organisation in medieval Tipperary' in William Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin, 1985), pp 60–70, esp pp 63–4 for Arsic.

[359] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, pp 25 (1160–1), 47 (1167–8), 51 (1171–2) and 302 (1166).

de Lacy's presence in Ireland. De Lacy's dual position as lord of Meath and *custos* of Dublin is one reason why the donation of land in Meath, by the new holders of that land, to a Dublin-based institution is unsurprising. One scholar has noted that:

> 'Henry II's grant of Meath served to insulate the royal demesne town of Dublin against the native Irish, while also denying the strategic and prosperous midland kingdom of Meath to any of the established powers in Ireland.'[360]

The de Feypos were more prominent than the de Aveney's, though the latter provide one valuable and tantalising piece of evidence about the sisters of the hospital. From his tenement of Crioch uí Riagáin Robert de Aveney granted five acres of land to the hospital and half a carucate in his fee next to 'Rascunin' plus the tithes of the same fee, for the declared purpose of sustaining the paupers of God in the hospital.[361] The donation is made all the more important though as it was also for the benefit of his relative (*consanguine*) Emeline, whom God had called to his service in the hospital. This was witnessed by his brother Matthew and Amaury de Feypo junior. Apart from the names of the priors and occasional references to individual brothers, this is the only known name of one of the sisters which has survived in records. The de Aveney family held their lands in Meath of the de Feypos, and were not one of the most prominent families there, yet their name survived in the townland of Danestown. Originally a Welsh family, the de Aveneys, though the 'native dynasty of Afan' adopted 'the spurious Normanized surname, De Avene.'[362] In Ireland the family's assimilation into the new settler society was perhaps aided by association with the de Feypos and by extension the de Lacys. Although their association with the hospital appears relatively scant, it cannot have hindered them to have had such a definite familial connection.

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[360] For a convincing re-examination of the politics surrounding Henry II's trust in Hugh de Lacy see Colin Veach, 'Henry II's grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy in 1172: a reassessment', *Ríocht na Midhe*, 18 (2007), pp 67–94.
[361] *Reg HSJB*, no. 250.
[362] R.R. Davies, *The age of conquest: Wales, 1063–1415* (2nd edn, Oxford, 2000), p. 424; for this family in Ireland see also Elizabeth Hickey, *Skryne and the early Normans* (Meath, 1994).

Like the Bromyards, the de Feypo family came to Ireland from Herefordshire. The *Song* makes reference to the grant by Hugh de Lacy to Adam de Feypo of Skryne in Meath, establishing the family as one of the earliest of the *conquistadors*.[363] In her study of the de Feypos, Hickey established that in addition to Adam and his wife Lucy there were sons Richard, Geoffrey, Gerard and John as well as the two Amaurys, junior and senior.[364] The only de Feypo who would seem to have been a grantor to the hospital was the junior Amaury. In honour of his friends and benefactors and for the care of the paupers of God, Amaury gave ten acres of that land which he held of Adam de Feypo in Skryne and half a carucate of land *in primo conquesto meo ubi deus voluerit mihi dare*.[365] Robert and Matthew de Aveney are the first two witnesses listed. Amaury appears in several other charters in the register, but only as a witness. A Thomas de Ardiis granted the hospital his church in Grilly (Girly, Co Meath) to which is attached a witness list which includes three de Feypos, Richard, Amaury and Gerard, Milo le Bret and two familiar names from Dublin, Audoen Brun and Warin de London, again demonstrating that certain men, like these two latter men, can be found to have social contacts with others outside their Dublin-based milieu.[366] Richard and Amaury appear together again as witnesses to a charter of Osbert, son of Tancard who gave the right of patronage of his church in Clane to the hospital.[367]

Interaction between the men of Meath and Dublin may not have been entirely accidental, the result of required attendance in Dublin before the justiciar or merchants conducting business on the quayside. If de Lacy was responsible for the successful colonisation of Meath, and the peaceful development of the newly acquired royal city of Dublin, this responsibility may have been shared with the men he chose to reward with lands of their own, perhaps men such as Adam de Feypo, Geoffrey de Costentin and his own chamberlain, Richard de Stottesdon. If, as Colin Veach suggests, the intention was to capitalise on Hugh's

[363] *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland*, lines 3154–5.
[364] Hickey, *Skryne and the early Normans*, p. 41.
[365] *Reg HSJB*, no. 268.
[366] Ibid., no. 262.
[367] *Reg HSJB*, no. 464. See accompanying footnote by St John Brooks.

military experience in the Welsh marches, and the experience of his men, the presence in Ireland of those who successfully held their lands in Meath, and were clearly involved in the political and administrative life of Dublin, the plan then succeeded.[368] Under circumstances similar to the way in which he acquired Meath, i.e. through Henry II's forced early departure from Ireland, Hugh de Lacy was himself forced to be abroad not long after receiving his new lordship. In such circumstances, the men he left behind in Ireland had to be capable of moving freely between the political worlds of Meath and Dublin.[369]

What numbers of those men who are named by the *Song* as recipients of land from Hugh de Lacy are represented in the register?[370] Although the hospital received generous donations of land in Castleknock in the thirteenth century, its first lord, Hugh Tyrell, is named only once in the register, that being as a witness to one of Milo le Bret's charters.[371] Meiler fitz Henry was another of the witnesses to that same charter. A William Parvus, who is probably the same as the William le Petit who was enfeoffed by Hugh de Lacy and later justiciar, witnessed a charter of Geoffrey Cusack's, one of Adam de Feypo's tenants, when he granted the hospital four crannocs of wheat. Included among the witnesses were Richard de Feypo and Robert de Aveney.[372] As Hugh de Lacy was a more frequent benefactor of St Thomas's abbey, it is in his charters to the canons of St Victor that his tenants can be more frequently found in each others' company. When granting them the church of Dundalk his witnesses included Walter and Richard de Lacy, William Parvus and Richard de Tuit.[373] His son's grant of the church of Dunshaughlin was witnessed by Pipard and Parvus, both later justiciars, Tuit, Cusack and Bromyard, all beneficiaries of his father's position as lord of Meath.

Milo le Bret, already mentioned in conjunction with Roger, brother of Haim, the de Feypos and Leo de Bromyard's son, John, made four known donations to

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[368] Veach, 'Henry II's grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy', p. 75.
[369] Ibid., p. 84.
[370] *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland*, lines 3127–3276.
[371] *Reg HSJB*, no. 290. In *Reg St Thomas*, no. 297, pp 254–5, he also appears as witness only once, to a charter of Hugh de Lacy's, accompanied by a *Leonisio*, probably Leo de Bromyard.
[372] *Reg HSJB*, no. 232. A William Parvo also appears in the above charter in *Reg St Thomas*; for the dates of William as justiciar see Cosgrove, 'Chief Governors, 1172–1534', pp 470–1.
[373] *Reg St Thomas*, no. III, p. 9.

the hospital, of varying worth. From a later charter we learn that Milo was married twice, to Matilda le Poer (Power) and also to Angnetis.[374] As far back as 1944 St John Brooks commented that the 'precise English provenance of the Brets...has not so far been ascertained.'[375] That has not yet been amended. Milo le Bret is perhaps best known as the patriarch of the Rathfarnham le Brets, a grant he received in 1199 from King John.[376] It was a grant which was to bring him into dispute with Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin, regarding the advowson of the church of Rathfarnham.[377] He was respected enough in administrative circles to be one of the attestors to the mandate removing Geoffrey de Marisco from the post of justiciar.[378] As would be expected of a man operating in these social circles, Milo appears in the chartularies of Dublin's other ecclesiastical institutions along with several of the other men considered here. He witnessed a grant from Diarmait Mac Gilla Mo Cholmóc,[379] from Elicia, Adhlem's daughter, to St Mary's Abbey,[380] while as a donor himself his charters were witnessed by John de Courcy as justiciar,[381] and William Brun, Walter Goldsmith and Roger, brother of Haim.[382]

From his wood in Co Meath Milo donated timber, pannage and pasture to the hospital.[383] In addition to 20*s.* in rent, the brothers of St John's were granted a tenth of the bread, ale, cider, meat and fish of his house (*domo*) in Rathfarnham. They were also to receive a messuage and all the land held from Milo by a certain Gilbert, and the right to freely graze six cows on the common pasture along with his herd. Perhaps the most significant impact Milo had on the

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[374] *Reg HSJB*, no. 345. In several donations to St Mary's only Matilda is mentioned, suggesting that she was perhaps the first wife. *Chartul St Mary's,* i, nos 111 and 112, p. 127. Matilda may then be of the same le Poer family as William, whose donation to St Thomas's was witnessed by Milo. *Reg St Thomas*, no. 283, pp 234–5.
[375] Eric St John Brooks, 'Anglo-Irish mediæval genealogy', *The Irish Genealogist*, 2:2 (1944), p. 36.
[376] *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 20a.
[377] *CDI*, i, no. 1242, p. 189.
[378] Ibid., i, no. 1001, p. 153.
[379] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 9, pp 34–5.
[380] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 273, pp 325–6.
[381] Ibid., no. 108, p. 125.
[382] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 19, pp 25–6.
[383] *Reg HSJB*, no. 261. The contents of this charter are discussed in greater detail in the section on woodland in chapter four.

hospital was his donation of the vill of Stagory.[384] Again, this will be examined at length in chapter four. Milo's great-grandson Geoffrey confirmed the donation over a century later.[385] Milo's son Walter was also a donor to the hospital, granting in one instance the tithes of the produce from his orchard in Rathfarnam and Moyclar, Co Meath.[386] From the latter he repeated the donation of wood for cooking and heating.

One transaction in particular involving Palmerstown and Cottrelstown is worth noting for those involved. Around the turn of the fourteenth century Henry de Wotton quitclaimed in perpetuity the rights and claims he held in the land which the hospital had received through the grant and enfoeffment, discussed above, of Richard de Stottesdone, chamberlain of Hugh de Lacy, in Glenuische and Cottrelstown. It is followed in the register by a second, almost identically worded quitclaim. Although on first glance this could be dated to the turn of the thirteenth century, and linked to the Henry Wotton who along with his brother Robert was closely allied with the de Verdun family, the witnesses place it at the turn of the fourteenth.[387] John son of Riry, Nicholas de Netterville, Robert de Cruys and Richard de Cruys (Cruise, Crus) among others, appear as witnesses to both charters. Netterville may be the same Nicholas de Netterville who received 40*l.* in 1293–4 for his position as keeper of the castle of Athlone.[388] He is probably the same Nicholas Netterville who was sheriff of Uriel county and in 1282–3 was noted as having 'received nothing for the custody of the castle of Drogheda, because by grant of the justiciar he received the said county, a meadow, and the castle, to guard for 40*l*, yearly.'[389] Richard de Cruys was at that time chief sergeant, but was charged 20*s.* for contempt.[390] As bailiff of Louth in 1297 he had to make fine of 40*s.* under the pledge of John son of Riry (Riri), Nicholas de Cruis (his brother, later enfofeffed by Richard of the position) with

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[384] Ibid., no. 290.
[385] Ibid., no. 294.
[386] Ibid., nos 346 and 347.
[387] Brendan Smith, *Conquest and colonisation in medieval Ireland: the English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), pp 38–9.
[388] *CDI*, iv, no. 273, p. 122.
[389] *PRI, DK 36th Report*, p. 70
[390] *CDI*, iv, no. 20, p. 13.

several others.[391] In 1295 a Henry de Wylton was a juror in an inquisition which included Nicholas Skybras, another witness to the quitclaim.[392] In 1297 Henry de Wotton and Theobald de Verdun were amongst others in an assize of *novel disseisin* concerning Nicholas de Netterville in Louth.[393] This Henry then was possibly a descendant of the Henry de Wotton who in 1238 was appointed by Roesia de Verdun as one of her attorneys [394] and who granted to the abbey of St Mary's five carucates of land for the soul of Bertram and Thomas de Verdun.[395] The de Wottons were clearly tenants of the de Verduns, but this quitclaim also suggests involvement with the de Lacy family, unsurprising given the history of contact between these two great magnate families.[396] Both quitclaims mention de Stottesdon, suggesting a date prior to the thirteenth-century animosity which arose between the de Verdun and de Lacy families following the de Braose incident.[397] The de Wottons had closer ties to the de Verduns than the de Lacys and were unlikely to be further enriched by the latter when they were in dispute with the de Verdun family. The success of the de Wotton family line in Ireland has been suggested as having a link to their small landholding in England, hence presumably it was success driven by necessity.[398] That the de Wotton family had received land as early as the hospital's foundation is perhaps demonstrated by the existence of *Wotonrathe* in Dundalk, in place by 1191.[399] This is the only record of them in the register, either as grantors, witnesses. Considering the small number of charters in the register which relate directly to Louth, it is interesting to note the presence of prominent Louth magnates and tenants

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[391] *Cal Just Rolls*, 1295–1303, p. 81. Several of these witnesses appear again *c.*1308 in the confirmation of Geoffrey le Bret to the hospital for Palmerston. In this Nicholas Cruys appears with his brother Richard, and Geoffrey Tryvers.
[392] *CDI*, iv, no. 238, p. 100.
[393] *Cal Just Rolls*, 1295–1303, pp 86–7.
[394] *CDI*, i, no. 2446, pp 356–6.
[395] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 43, pp 66–7.
[396] Brendan Smith, 'Tenure and locality in north Leinster in the early thirteenth century' in T.B. Barry, Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), pp 32–3.
[397] Ibid.
[398] Mark S. Hagger, *The fortunes of a Norman family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066–1316* (Dublin, 2001), p. 201.
[399] Ibid., p. 199.

involved with the hospital's landed possessions outside of Louth.[400] The de Wotton's would appear to have been mostly associated with Louth, though it is possible of course that their acquisition of this grant was not contemporaneous with the hospital itself acquiring the lands.

Conclusion

Other cross channel careers include John son of Geoffrey, who held office as both constable of Bristol Castle and justiciar of Ireland.[401] John held office in Ireland from *c.* 1246–*c.* 1256 but was clearly maintaining his role in Bristol at the same time as fulfilling his functions in Ireland.[402] When the 'English Landholding in Ireland, *c.* 1200–*c.* 1360' project, begun under Professor Robin Frame in the University of Durham is completed, it should be expected that this will also reveal previously unknown Bristol residents who were landholders in Ireland.[403] For the prosopographer however, difficulties will occur where an individual fails to appear in specifically Bristol-centred records, or whose name is so common that false avenues of inquiry may adversely affect progress. The most obvious example of that in this inquiry is Haim, whose extended family made such an impact on the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century records in Dublin, but who himself remains an elusive figure.

There is also the presence of an area in Bristol called 'Irish Mead' awaiting proper examination. Located north of Bristol Castle, and immediately north of the

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[400] Twelve charters concern areas within Co Louth, three of these are grants made by the Hospital; *Reg HSJB* nos 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244 and 245. The last is undated by St John Brooks and no 235 is fourteenth century, the remainder are all thirteenth. The second prior of the hospital had links with Louth: see chapter five.

[401] *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle*, ed. Margaret Sharp, *Bristol Record Society*, 34 (1982), Appendix 2, p. 81 where he is noted as acting as constable by 1241; F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde (eds), *Handbook of British chronology* (2nd edn, London, 1961), p. 148 where John is given as arriving in Ireland before 8 August 1246; Cosgrove, 'Chief Governors, 1172–1534' p. 471 notes that he was appointed in November 1245 and held office until 1256, although he was quit of all demands in November 1254, both as justiciar and keeper of Bristol Castle. *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1247–58, p. 360. John was succeeded as keeper by his son, also John. *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1258–66, p. 32. For a short biography see Ralph V. Turner, *Men raised from the dust: administrative service and upward mobility in Angevin England* (Pennsylvania, 1988), p. 69.

[402] *Cal Close Rolls*, 1251–53, p. 40. John is named as constable of Bristol, in 1252 while in 1253 p. 460 he is noted as justiciar of Ireland.

[403] Hartland, 'English landholding in Ireland', p. 121 noted that women such as Margaret, daughter of Richard Gillemicheal would be one such subject.

Dominican Priory, Irishmead Street was situated in the area where Rosemary Street, Old King Street and Merchant Street meet in modern Bristol. The earliest reference appears to be in a deed dated *c.* 1167 x *c.* 1200,[404] but it is still named as such in 1279,[405] and as late as 1480, when William Worcester conducted his topographical measurement of Bristol.[406] If this is an indication of Irish settlers in Bristol in the twelfth century, it raises the question as to their own ethnic background – Gaelic Irish, Hiberno-Norse or repatriated locals from Bristol and Gloucestershire? William Worcester commented that 'cooks and sellers of provisions formerly lived in the said street in the old days' which might suggest a mercantile purpose.[407] It is only by a full prosopographical examination of such sources as the roll of the Dublin merchants' guild and deeds of ecclesiastical institutions that the full extent of this settlement can be determined. Wendy Childs conducted an examination of the settlement of Irish (predominantly Anglo-Irish) merchants in the Bristol and Chester regions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with interesting results.[408] Despite the much heralded trade between Dublin and Bristol, by the late fourteenth century, 'of 171 Irish ship movements recorded there' in Bristol, there were only eleven which were from the Dublin-Drogheda area.[409] The presence of the Anglo-Irish in Bristol was perhaps not only due to passing merchants but may also have been due to it being regarded as a place of refuge from Ireland in times of difficult economic circumstances, particularly in the fourteenth century.[410]

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[404] For the *c.* 1200 date see 'Original documents of the thirteenth century relating to Bristol', ed. F.W. Potto Hicks, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 58 (1936), no. 2, p. 221. The editor also refers to the presence of the phrase *corrigia hibernica* in an earlier deed but provides reference details. The same deed has been dated *c.* 1167 by the Bristol Record Office. Peter Fleming, 'Identity and belonging: Irish and Welsh in fifteenth-century Bristol' in Linda Clarke (ed.), *The fifteenth century vii: conflicts, consequences and the crown in the late middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 176 and for the same [http://archives.bristol.gov.uk/dserve/Irish, accessed 19 July 2010].

[405] Ibid., no. 15, p. 235.

[406] *William Worcestre: the topography of medieval Bristol*, ed. Frances Neale, *Bristol Record Society*, 51 (2000), no. 61, pp 39–41 and no. 167, p. 99.

[407] Ibid., p. 41.

[408] Wendy Childs, 'Irish merchants and seamen in late medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32:125, (2000), pp 22–43.

[409] Ibid., p. 24.

[410] Fleming, 'Identity and belonging: Irish and Welsh in fifteenth-century Bristol', p. 178.

If almost a quarter of settlers of in Bristol were from Ireland,[411] this might explain the distrust with which they were regarded and why attempts were made to exclude them. In 1439 an ordinance was made in Bristol forbidding the election of an Irishman to the Common Council, specifically,

> 'it is ordained that no Irishman begotten and born within the country of Ireland of an Irish mother and father (*nullus homo Hibernicus infra terram Hibernie de partre et matre Hibernicis procreatus et natus decetero*) be in future admitted to the Common Council either by entreaty of reward'.[412]

In an ordinance of 1479 the bowyers and fletchers of Bristol were ordered that 'no Rebelle of Irelonde no Alyen' was to be taken on as an apprentice, while the hoopers ordered the dismissal of Irish servants and aliens.[413] As a craft, cordwaining continued in Bristol, and its practioners too were concerned about the origins of their apprentices; in 1443 it was ordered that they should not 'receive any man born outside the power and allegiance of our Lord the King to serve and occupy in the aforesaid craft'.[414] Fifteenth-century ordinances regarding the Irish were not restricted to occupational guilds; in 1489 in Dunster,

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[411] Childs, 'Irish merchants and seamen', p. 36.
[412] *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, ed. Francis B. Bickley (2 vols, Bristol, 1900), i, p. 86. For any mayor who allowed such an election, a 'penalty of twenty pounds of good, lawful and usual money of England be levied and paid from the goods and chattels of the mayor'. By 'Irish', these Bristolian ordinances probably meant both the Gaelic and English of Ireland, though it is likely that the English of Ireland were present in Bristol in far greater numbers than their Gaelic counterparts. Fifteenth-century English sources are inexact in their terminology, and tend to use the term 'Irish' for both groups, while sources from Ireland for the same period take care to distinguish between the two. The English of Ireland objected strenuously to being called 'Irish' and demanded that they be treated as English subjects of the crown. Their lobbying resulted in getting an exemption for the English of Ireland from alien's subsidies after 1443, but the prejudice against them persisted. Bans against all those born in Ireland, English or Irish, were put in place in various English port towns and at institutions like Oxford university and the Inns of Court in London in the second half of the fifteenth century. See J.L. Bolton, 'Irish migration to England in the late middle ages', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32:125 (2000), pp 1–21; Brand, 'Irish law students and lawyers in late medieval England', pp 161–73.
[413] *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, Text (Part 1), p. 151 and note 1.
[414] *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, i, p. 176.

Somerset, it was ordered that 'nobody shall henceforth keep in his service any Irish servants, save one, under pain of 10*s*.'[415]

The significance of the grant made by Henry II to Adhelm, Haim's brother, has been discussed above. It may be worth noting a further aspect of this, the area of settlement by his siblings and their fellow émigrés from Bristol, although again a full investigation is needed and is beyond the scope of this thesis. If Henry II was anxious to demonstrate the change in city rule by granting one of his Bristol subjects land in the old Viking Thingmoot, thus ensuring the security of the eastern access route into the city, might the same deliberate settlement have been planned for the newly reclaimed area on the riverfront by the north-western section of the 1100 wall?[416] By the time Dublin received its third royal charter, from John as lord of Ireland in 1192, reference was already being made to 'buildings over the water' while more significantly, the citizens were given the right to build on the riverbank, once the city or citizens were not adversely affected.[417] The area from the King's Gate on Winetavern Street, west to Gormond's Gate became settled by several of the most prominent settlers from Bristol. Perhaps 'the building of revetments at Wood Quay was an attempt to provide better facilities for the merchants.'[418] One citizen who either did build, or at least acquired land in the region was Roger, brother of Haim. He donated this to St Mary's, in a charter witnessed by the one-time provost of Bristol, Thomas le Martre.[419] Not only was le Martre possibly a witness due to their common place of origin, he was probably a neighbour by the river, granting to Richard Carpenter

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[415] H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *A history of Dunster and of the families of Mohun and Luttrell* (2 vols, London, 1909), i, p. 308.

[416] This area has not undergone the same level of excavation as other water-front sections of the city. Simpson, 'Forty years a-digging', pp 51–2.

[417] *CARD*, i, nos 24 and 25, p. 5.

[418] Clare McCutcheon, *Medieval pottery from Wood Quay, Dublin: the 1974–6 waterfront excavations* (Dublin, 2006), p. 17. For a description of the revetments excavated in this site in the same publication see, Patrick F. Wallace, 'Context and location: Dublin's medieval waterfront at Wood Quay', pp 1–12.

[419] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 178, p. 208. Given the apparent lack of evidence in this area for the type of structures which denote habitation, the phrase, over the bank (*super ripam*), at this early stage might mean the area immediately outside the current Cook Street wall. Alternatively, as Roger also had land in Crocker's Street, this might refer to a riverine area in the western suburb.

his land towards Ostman's Bridge.[420] Roger's son, Stephen, also made a grant to the Cistercians from land next to the wall, which may have been his father's but given that he makes no reference to his father's donation in his own charter, it may be a separate property.[421] William de Abbotstone's land between the church of St Audoen's and the house of William Blundel may have been on the city side of the wall, rather than riverine.[422] This is not to forget Roger Cordwainer, who had a stone house outside the old wall around Winetavern Street.[423]

Although Roger Cordwainer is the only one of these early settlers for whom written evidence of occupation survives, and at that only long after he acquired a base in Ireland, the presence of these men on the merchants' guild roll and their relocation to Dublin from one of the city's main trading counterparts in England would make it highly likely that they were themselves merchants. Either living or owning property beside the newly expanding port would allow them ready access to inspection of a ship carrying their merchandise into the city.

The advantages for men such as Hugh de Lacy or John de Courcy in bringing trusted men of their acquaintance, or family members, with them to Ireland and settling them as tenants on their new estates were many.[424] A loyal retinue was an invaluable commodity when success was dependent on conquest in a foreign country, as was the task set by Henry II to Hugh de Lacy in Meath. The nexus of individuals connected to Hugh de Lacy, either as direct tenants or men who had been further subinfeudated by those tenants, made a distinct impact on the expansion of the hospital. The gentry might often be inclined to

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[420] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 483, p. 414.
[421] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 177, pp 207–8.
[422] Ibid., i, no. 230, p. 243. Attempts to locate a more precise description of Blundel's house were unsuccessful. While he did have land in that part of the city, it was described as stretching from the *magnus vicus* to Crocker's Street. In this instance the former probably refers to Thomas Street, rather than High Street, otherwise the land would have had to straddle the division of the city wall. *Reg St Thomas*, no. 469, p. 404.
[423] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 176, p. 434.
[424] Seán Duffy, 'The first Ulster plantation: John de Courcy and the men of Cumbria' in Terry Barry, Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland: essays presented to J.F. Lydon* (London, 1995), pp 1–27. In this article Duffy demonstrates that not only was de Courcy not the wanton adventurer previously thought, but also how his background in England, and his acquaintances there, impacted his advancement in Ireland.

donate to the same religious houses as their lords.[425] The change in personal ties between lords and their men evolved greatly throughout the twelfth century, as witnessed in the difficulties historians now face when attempting to give definition to the terms on which lords and their tenants negotiated their mutual dues. In the Norman-controlled parts of Britain those methods by which the relationship between kings, tenants-in-chief and their vassals were structured developed from those introduced following the Conquest in 1066 to the relationship which existed by the late twelfth century and into King John's reign, relationships which were less reliant on provision of military service.[426]

From the evidence presented by those pioneering patrons examined here, it would seem that having followed a personal lord, like de Lacy or de Courcy to Ireland, or having heeded the encouragement of King Henry II to settle his new Irish acquisition, the personal ties between the invading lords and their tenants in the final decades of the twelfth century continued to include patronage, to the particular benefit of new foundations such as St John's.[427] Not all new arrivals in Dublin in the late twelfth century were English or Welsh tenants encouraged to relocate to Ireland, many were merchants who were presumably motivated by opportunities they themselves recognised for expanding their business opportunities. But whether merchant or mayor, shoemaker, fisherman or baker, those that supported the hospital by granting it lands, rent, timber or milk for the sustenance of the patients, they created a community of benefactors. This community was drawn together by a pious, charitable or, in some instances, a calculated social desire to support and maintain a place of refuge for the poor and sick. They were drawn from many places, many social backgrounds, sometimes over several generations of the same family.

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[425] Thomas, *Vassals, heiresses, crusaders and thugs*, p. 40.

[426] Elizabeth Brown, 'The tyranny of a construct: feudalism and historians of medieval Europe', *American Historical Review*, 79:4, (1974), pp 1063–88 is a historiographical overview of feudalism; Scott L. Waugh, 'Tenure to contract: lordship and clientage in thirteenth-century England', *English Historical Review*, 101:401 (1986), pp 811–39 in which he examines bastard feudalism; David Crouch, 'From Stenton to Mcfarlane: models of societies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser, 5 (1995), pp 179–200.

[427] Duffy, 'The first Ulster plantation: John de Courcy', pp 13–14 for the links between men who witnessed grants de Courcy's *fratres cruciferi* foundation in Downpatrick and those who appear in connection with St John's in Dublin.

Chapter 4

Possessions of the hospital of St John the Baptist in Dublin: pepper, pence and property

Introduction

Two documents frame the history of the hospital of St John the Baptist. Neither is to be found in the register of the hospital, although in their own way they respectively mark the beginning and end of that institution. Both are official pronouncements on the status of the hospital; one papal and one royal, but both are concerned to varying degrees with the possessions of the hospital. A 1320 papal bull contains the 1188 bull of Pope Clement III in which he confirmed the hospital in its possessions. This is as close to a foundation charter as is now extant.[1] In 1539 King Henry VIII granted a surgeon, Edmund Redman, the site of the hospital, by then defunct by reason of Henry's dissolution of the

[1] *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustantia Quae ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentiae Tabularis Depromsit et Ordine Chronologico Diposuit, 1216–1547*, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Rome, 1864), pp 214–5 (hereafter *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*). For a brief discussion of its contents, especially the grants, see *Register of the Hospital of St John the Baptist*, ed. Eric St John Brooks (Dublin, 1936), pp v–vii (hereafter *Reg HSJB*). In Howard Clarke (ed.), *Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 11. Dublin, Part I, to 1610* (Dublin, 2002), topographical information, p. 28 (hereafter *IHTA, Dublin 1*) under the entry on the hospital reference is made to land being 'set aside for a hospital for males and females' in 1174, the source given as *The Irish cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, ed. Eric St John Brooks (Dublin, 1953), 33. Investigation as to the precise nature of this designation has been unsuccessful; the source given here appears to be incorrect. When contacted, Professor Clarke very graciously checked the reference and confirmed that it was incorrect. Until addenda of the volume are published the source remains unknown and any actual bearing on the hospital as it later became only speculative. In addition, the citation of a grant to Thomas Luttrell in 1609 may be an *inspeximus* of an original 1543 grant. The reference to the Hospital of St John the Baptist in Colm Lennon (ed.), *Irish Historic Towns Atlas no 19. Dublin, Part II, 1610–1756* (Dublin, 2008) is similarly beset with possible inaccuracies. The reference to 50 beds in 1612 (should be 1611 as it is dated June, 9 James 1) is a copy of the extent taken at dissolution, unlikely to reflect contemporary circumstances as the named occupiers of the four houses on the site are given as the same in 1540 and 1611. The allusion to the closure of the hospital in 1666 appears to be a misunderstanding of the habit of grants in the years following suppression of institutions to refer back to the original institutional owner.

monasteries.[2] On October 26 of the following year an extent was made of both the site of the former hospital and its possessions.[3] If the sick and poor were the reason for the hospital's foundation, its possessions were the reason it endured for almost four centuries. These possessions were granted by donors who, in approximately one quarter of the charters in the register, specified the poor and infirm, sick and poor or some other variation of the same as the designated recipient of their generosity.

Between its foundation and dissolution, St John the Baptist's was a significant holder of both land and revenue from rents arising from property and land. Each grant of land or rent made by a benefactor of the hospital had implications beyond simply adding to its property portfolio. New people and places came into contact with the hospital, and each other. As both a source of institutional charity and as an institutional landlord the hospital was connected to the world around it in a very tangible way. Just as any understanding of how it operated and developed must take into account the motivation of benefactors or the original purpose behind its foundation, so too it must be understood how crucial these property and monetary acquisitions were to its continued existence and how they may have influenced its development. And just as the city and its citizens contributed to the expansion of the hospital, it too had an impact on Dublin, socially and physically.

Although a Dublin-based institution, the hospital was also a significant landholder outside the Dublin city and county area. As previously stated, its register comprises those deeds which relate to both these categories. This chapter will focus almost exclusively on those that concern Dublin, both in land acquisition, rental dues and miscellaneous or token payments. It is not an examination of the property market in medieval Dublin, since such a task would require a more exhaustive comparative analysis than is possible or even relevant here; hence this study is concerned only with that specific portion which involved

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[2] *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth I* (4 vols, Dublin, 1994), i, no. 85, p. 15 (hereafter *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*).

[3] *Extents Irish monastic possessions, 1540–1541*, ed. Newport White (Dublin, 1943), pp 55–68 (hereafter, *Extents Irish monastic possessions*).

the hospital. As a religious institution, the hospital may not, on its own, provide clarity as to the intricacies of the rental market of Dublin. In Bristol it was noted that

> 'there was the rent charge, which was an annual payment imposed on a property by its owner, usually in favour of some religious body, a payment which did not imply the existence of any tenure between the grantor and the grantee'.[4]

This implies that the type of transaction carried out between two private individuals, in favour of a religious institution, differs to that in which the latter is excluded. A full and exhaustive examination of the patterns of property-holding in Dublin, including all private and institutional sources, would provide a 'street-level' view of medieval Dublin. It would provide the basis for an economic examination of the city and shed further light on the city as a domestic settlement.[5] From humble beginnings as a landowner, the hospital and its priors became a significant part of the property-owning class in Dublin society. Like other religious institutions, it was then in the anomalous situation of following a religious rule, but actually functioning like a secular lord. St John the Baptist's could at least maintain that it had a charitable purpose for acquiring property for the profits were to support the poor and sick, whereas the donations to other monastic institutions ultimately went to benefit that house. The hospital and Dublin were co-dependent; the hospital needed the continued development of the city, and the continued wealth of those citizens who were its benefactors, while the hospital provided a sort of relief function, taking in the infirm and poor, presumably reducing the numbers who found themselves dependent on casual alms-giving.

The expansion and growth of the hospital coincided with the expansion and growth of Dublin itself. In addition to examining the landed possessions of the hospital and the manner in which these enabled its expansion and conversely its decline, how the hospital and its possessions influenced the city must also be

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[4] E.W.W. Veale (ed.), *The Great Red Book of Bristol* (5 vols, Bristol, 1931–53), i, p. 29.
[5] Howard B. Clarke, 'Street life in Medieval Dublin' in idem and J.R.S. Phillips (eds), *Ireland, England and the Continent in the Middle Ages and beyond: essays in memory of a turbulent friar, F.X. Martin, O.S.A.* (Dublin, 2006), pp 145–63 is an example of this street-view approach.

considered. Unlike St Thomas's abbey, St John the Baptist's did not give its name to the street on which it was located, but it was certainly representative of how the western suburb changed, after the invasion.[6] Aside from excavations of St Thomas's abbey, the wider western suburb has yet to be entirely exploited for its archaeological remains.[7] An excavation carried out in 1998–9 to the east of the site of the former hospital uncovered many of the items that an area in constant use since the late twelfth century would be expected to yield; medieval pottery of the Ham Green variety, found extensively in other parts of the medieval city, a medieval floor tile fragment and a clay pipe fragment, in addition to post-medieval deposits.[8] Given its current highly developed state, it is unsurprising that a high level of truncation of archaeological deposits had occurred. In pre-excavation testing on Augustine Street / John Street West 'butchered animal bone, shell, post-medieval and medieval pottery' were discovered in the post-

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[6] For secondary reading on St Thomas' Abbey see: Aubrey Gwynn, 'The early history of St Thomas' Abbey, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 84 (1954), pp 1–35; for the role of the abbey in the expansion of that part of Dublin see; Howard Clarke, '*Urbs et suburbium*: beyond the walls of medieval Dublin' in Conleth Manning (ed.), *Dublin and beyond the Pale: studies in honour of Patrick Healy* (Dublin, 1998), pp 45–58; Cathal Duddy, 'The western suburb of medieval Dublin: its first century' *Irish Geography*, 34:2 (2001), pp 157–75; idem, 'The role of St Thomas' abbey in the early development of Dublin's western suburb' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin IV* (Dublin, 2003), pp 79–97. For the Newgate see Charles McNeill, New Gate, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 51 (1921), pp 152–65; idem, 'Hospital of S John without the New Gate, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1924), pp 58–64.For primary material see *The Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (London, 1889). (hereafter *Reg St Thomas).* For the parishes of St Catherine and St James see Henry F. Twiss, 'Some ancient deeds of the parishes of St Catherine and St James, Dublin, 1296–1743', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 35 (1919), section C, pp 265–81.

[7] The increase in construction work funded and precipitated by Ireland's economic boom throughout the 1990s and 2000s witnessed a resulting increase in the opportunity and funding for archaeological examination of the medieval Dublin. Two articles, which taken together give a comprehensive analysis of this work are, Linzi Simpson, 'Forty years-digging: a preliminary synthesis of archaeological investigations in medieval Dublin' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin I: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 1999* (Dublin, 2000), pp 11–67 and idem, 'Fifty years a-digging: a synthesis of medieval archaeological investigations in Dublin city and suburbs' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin XI: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2010* (Dublin, 2011), pp 9–112.

[8] Una Cosgrave, Report on Archaeological Testing at Augustine Street, 16/17 John Street West, Dublin, unpublished, Archaeological Development Services Limited, September 1997, Trench B; for more details on Ham Green pottery found in Dublin see Clare McCutcheon, *Medieval pottery from Wood Quay Dublin* (Dublin, 2006), pp 42–50.

medieval deposit while the medieval yielded pottery and bones from both humans and animals.'[9]

The excavation itself revealed extensive medieval and post-medieval material–pottery (not only the Ham Green variety from Bristol but also an entire pot of possibly Dublin ware), glass and coffin nails.[10] For the purposes of attempting any degree of historical analysis of those who used the hospital a more important discovery was that of the human burials found in two excavated blocks on the Augustine Street site. In one, 168 inhumations were found, amongst them skulls, legs, arms and a torso.[11] These were considered to have been medieval, and associated with the hospital. In addition, the metalled surfaces found on the site may be associated with the domestic use of the property when it was in the ownership of Ailred the Palmer.'[12] As the site was the domicile of not only the inmates but also the priors, brothers and sisters, it is possible that this may relate to a time span of several hundred years. The burials were of mixed orientation, both articulated and disarticulated. It was also suggested that there was evidence for 'spatial segregation on the basis of age'.[13] The skeletal remains were also a mix of adult, child and infant. In the other block, pits and post-medieval drains were found to overlay a minimum of 100 'extended inhumations'.[14] As the site had been home to the hospital and two churches, it is impossible to conclude that they were exclusively patients of St John's and may

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[9] Cosgrave, 'Archaeological Testing at Augustine Street, 16/17 John Street West, Dublin', p. 2.
[10] Una Cosgrave, Interim report in archaeological excavations in Block 1 at Augustine Street Dublin, unpublished, Archaeological Development Services Limited, March 1998, pp 6–8. A separate excavation behind (to the north of) the site of the former hospital revealed 'deposits containing sherds of line-impressed floor tiles' which may have been from the hospital and 'Saintonge polychrome wares and other fine table wares and included a group of Dublin glazed jugs with unusual and distinctive florally decorated spouts. The assemblage obviously derived from a wealthy household or institution.' Alan R. Hayden, 'Archaeological excavations at the west side of Augustine Street, Dublin: a summary' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin X: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium 2008* (Dublin, 2010), pp 246 and 249.
[11] Una Cosgrave and John O'Connor, Stratigraphic Report on Archaeological Excavations in Block 2 at Augustine Street Dublin, unpublished, Archaeological Development Services Limited, March 1999, pp 16–19.
[12] Cosgrave and O'Connor, Stratigraphic Report, p. 6.
[13] Cosgrave, Interim report on Archaeological Excavations in Block 1 at Augustine Street Dublin', p. 13.
[14] Cosgrave and O'Connor, Stratigraphic Report on Archaeological Excavations, p. 1. The final report with results of all testing has not been published and does not seem to have been submitted to the National Monuments Section, OPW.

have been associated with either of the churches. Burials were not always confined to cemeteries as there is at least one example of a Dublin citizen specifying the site of their burial, in a location other than the cemetery.[15]

Among the many medieval pits uncovered, several contained 'large quantities of disarticulated human bone ... in some instances ... associated with whole or partial extended inhumations'.[16] As an area associated with the sick and poor, it is possible that these pits may have been linked to the development of the site, burial of those unable to provide for the financing of their own funeral, or, given that this was outside the walls of the medieval city, may have been a mass Black Death burial site. Both post-medieval and modern development has resulted in disruption to and destruction of the medieval remains, but enough survives both in quantity and variety to demonstrate that this was a vibrant corner just outside the city, both in life and death.

The terminology of property

Both a lack of sources and an inconsistent rendering of place-names can hinder the calculation of medieval landholdings. Prior to the development of cartography, how accurate was the measurement of land and how reliable were the limits given in charters? There are several areas where challenges can occur. Firstly, where the donation is described as only 'land' or 'certain land' and the actual size or extent of land is not given, how can it be included in a calculation of holdings, and how can a comparison of property values be made? The first charter in the register is a typical example. Dated *c.* 1200, the granter is Nicholas de Castello with his wife Emeline, the grant given in free and perpetual alms, free from all service and secular extractions.[17] The object of the grant is termed only

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[15] John Hammond's 1388 stipulated that he wished to be buried in front of the church of St Mary Magdalene in the hospital: *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin*, eds J. T. and Lady Gilbert, (18 vols, Dublin, 1889–1944), i, no. 103, p. 129 (hereafter *CARD*).

[16] Cosgrave and O'Connor, Stratigraphic Report on Archaeological Excavations in Block 2, p. 5.

[17] *Reg HSJB*, p. 1. A.J. Scrase, 'Working with British property records: the potential and the problems' in Finn-Einar Eliassen and Geir Atle Ersland (eds), *Power, profit and urban land; landownership in medieval and early modern northern European towns* (Aldershot, 1996), pp 15–38.

as *teran* and is described purely in relation to land given by Nicholas to the monks of St Mary's, opposite the church of St James. In a contemporary grant to the Cistercians in St Mary's, that land is described as

> 'nter terram quam dedi Hospitali Sancti Johannis, et terram quam dedit eidem Hospitali Roger Cordewaner, scilicet, contra ecclesiam Sancti Jacobi ad austrum'.[18]

A Roger Cordewaner appears as a witness in two early charters in the register and c.1230 John le Cordewaner son of Roger makes an appearance as a grantor, but there is no surviving grant from Roger to the hospital in the register.[19] In fact Nicholas's grant is the earliest in the register which relates to the receipt of land in the parish of St James. Both of Nicholas's charters are concise, lacking the verbosity of other charters which seek to give all manner of reasons for their issuance. But in their brevity lies the very difficulty with medieval charters and their often inconsistent nature. By using what J.H. Andrews termed 'verbal boundary descriptions', the risk of incorrectly assigning the boundaries to these properties is immense.[20] The use of simply 'the land' or something similar as a descriptor appears strangely vague in what amounts to a legal document testifying the rights and obligations of all those named. Derek Keene observed that *terra* and *domus* were the terms 'most commonly used in defining Winchester properties'.[21] The use of *terra* in particular

> may often have been used in a non-specific sense to mean 'real estate', particularly since the need seems to have been to define the property as a whole, irrespective of any particular buildings which stood upon it.'[22]

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[18] *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, London, 1884), 1, no. 213 (hereafter *Chartul St Mary's*).
[19] *Reg HSJB*, nos 1, 30, 41 and 91. Roger Cordwainer and his extended family are discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.
[20] J.H Andrews, *Plantation acres; an historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps* (Ulster Historical Foundation, 1985), p. 3.
[21] Derek Keene, *Survey of medieval Winchester* (2 vols, Oxford, 1985), i, p. 137.
[22] Ibid.

Within Dublin's city boundaries the use of the term land, with or without any accompanying plot sizes, most likely refers to a burgage plot.[23] This may help to explain what was meant by those donations which describe the donation as a half or quarter piece of land.[24] One feature of the rental market was the price set for burgage plots. An annual rent of 12*d.* was common in boroughs established in the middle ages.[25] This practice was not confined to England; Walter de Lacy's charter of foundation of the borough of Drogheda, given in 1194 to the burgesses in Drogheda on the Meath side, stipulated that a burgage plot be of 50 feet in frontage, three acres of open field and each such plot he valued at a rent of 12*d.*[26] King John's 1192 charter to the citizens of Dublin allowed that

> 'tenures within and without the walls, to the extent of the before-named boundaries, shall be disposed of according to their pleasure by the common consent of the citizens, in messuages and in plantings, in buildings over the water and elsewhere in the city, to be held in free burgage, namely, by service of landgable rendered by the citizens within the walls.'[27]

The specific payment of landgable is raised usually when a donation is given free from all service and exaction, save for landgable due.[28] It may be assumed also that in some instances a messuage can also be taken to refer to a burgage plot.[29]

The second challenge arises in how to interpret property descriptions. Within the city boundaries the terms found in the register to describe properties would *inter alia* include, *quandam terram*, *domo lapidea*, *tenementa*, *selda*, *messuagium*, *quartam partem dimidii burgagii*, *quandam particulam terre*, *celaria*

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[23] Dr Mark Hennessy, *pers comm*, September 2009, with thanks. A definitive conclusion as to what was meant by these terms may only be decisively defined with a full comparative study of all records detailing property in medieval Dublin with accompanying archaeological evidence. From the plot sizes evident in the register these plots were generally of the rectangular length associated with burgage plots.

[24] *Reg HSJB*, nos 9 and 2 respectively.

[25] Scrase, 'Working with British property records', p. 19.

[26] Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *Na Buirgéisí* (2 vols, Dublin, 1964), pp 172–3. With thanks to Chiara Buldorini for making me aware of this reference.

[27] *CARD,* i, no. 4, p. 5 (entry 24).

[28] *Reg HSJB*, nos 46, 47, 50, 61, 94, 104 are a sample.

[29] Anngret Simms, 'Medieval Dublin: a topographical analysis', *Irish Geography*, 12 (1979), p. 36.

lapidea, *quamdam domum suam lapideam cum scelario subterius & curtilagio in posteriori*, *unam plasciam terre*, *unum mesuagium cum una vacua placea*, *medietate domus*, and *gardinum*. The frequency of the descriptor *cum edificiis & pertinentiis* when partnered with *quondam terram* indicates at least the level of development on such properties.[30] Those described as vacant or empty may then indicate that they were undeveloped. But while these terms appear in all areas of the country, there is no certainty that in each case where a term denoting actual size is used, all examples of it being used refer to the same size and/or that in each case it was ever correctly calculated. Could it even be presumed that every new English inhabitant on Irish lands would have perambulated the boundaries of his new acquisition to confirm the extent of his holdings in a language and in terms familiar to him? In 1192 as Lord of Ireland, John confirmed to the citizens of Dublin the boundaries of the city 'as perambulated on oath by good men of the city under precept from his father'.[31] The outer extent of these boundaries was then described. It would have been expected that Henry II, when confirming Dublin as his own, would want to know the limits of what in fact it was that he then owned. Surely every other lesser landlord would have taken his cue from him? But on a more localised level at what point and by whom this was done is not generally stated.

Knowing whether the land granted was arable, meadow or pasture affects its valuation, and significance to the hospital's portfolio. The 1540 extent does make some reference to the distinction between the three, but only by stating when any of the three were present, rather than the actual amounts of each.[32] By the time the Civil Survey was completed a century later the acreage assessed was divided into arable, meadow and pasture to allow a more accurate analysis of the area surveyed.[33] This means that one of the constant problems

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[30] C.A. Empey has explained one use of messuage in the following way: the 'cottiers...inhabited hovels (dignified by the term 'messuage' in the extents) standing on a plot of less than an acre.' Idem, 'Medieval Knocktopher: a study in manorial settlement', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 2:4 (1982), p. 337. For a detailed and instructive examination of the evolution of these terms in an English context see Keene, *Survey of medieval Winchester*, i, pp 137–47.

[31] *CARD*, i, p. 2.

[32] *Extents Irish monastic possessions,* p. 57 under Palmerston as one example.

[33] *The civil survey A.D. 1654–6*, ed. Robert C. Simington (9 vols, Dublin, 1931–53), iii, p. 9.

encountered when assessing the management of a portfolio such as that held by the hospital, or any other similar medieval institution, is in attempting to gauge just how realistic the evaluations given in each grant were. Charters tend not to give evidence for how the acreage given as the donation was calculated and when and by whom the area was perambulated. In the 1540 extent of St John the Baptist's, the 'true and lawful men of the neighbourhood of the possessions' were the jurors, locals who would have known the history of the area. Apart from civic spirit though, the jurors also benefited from being first in line to divide between them the land and possessions of the hospital assessed in the extent.

If medieval land terminology had changed even by the time cartography in Ireland was developing with the Tudor and later plantations, how should it be applied to this study? The question of modern comparisons and conversions may not have been definitively answered, but a sort of agreement has been reached on the most likely conversion rate. By these reckonings a medieval acre would convert to 2 ½ statute acres. The medieval acre is also not to be confused with the later plantation acre, or the use of 'Irish measure' or 'country measure'.[34] James Mills estimated that in the Dublin area especially, the statute acre was, as noted, 2 ½ times that of the medieval, which both Otway-Ruthven and Hennessy later adopted.[35] Similarly the carucate has usually been estimated as 120 medieval acres, based on its essential meaning, i.e., the plough land covered by one plough and eight oxen in one given year.[36] Due to the difficulties in applying a reliable and precise conversion, especially when even these numbers appear to vary between areas, all the acreage quoted here is the medieval, as given in the register. Otway-Ruthven sounded a note of warning about such mathematics,

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[34] *Irish Patent Rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish record commissioners' calendar prepared prior to 1830* (Dublin, 1966), 2 James 1, p. 54 (hereafter *Cal pat rolls Ire, Jas I*).

[35] James Mills, 'Notices on the manor of St Sepulchre, Dublin, in the fourteenth century', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 9 (1889), pp 31–41; Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, 'The organization of Anglo-Irish agriculture in the middle ages', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 81 (1951), p. 3; Mark Hennessy, The priory and hospital of the New Gate: the evolution of a medieval monastic estate' in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common ground: essays on the historical geography of Ireland, presented to T. Jones Hughes* (Cork, 1988), pp 41.

[36] Joy Bristow, *The local historian's glossary of words and terms* (reprint, Newbury, 2005), pp 33–4.

saying that it would even be 'unsafe to attempt' the conversion of her sixteenth-century church land calculations into modern acres.[37] Given that the divisions within the umbrella terms of acre or carucate are immensely technical and are by no means standard throughout the middle ages and into the modern period, to follow Otway-Ruthven's sage advice would seem wise.[38]

Original grants

What became of these grants and what role did they play in the later history of the hospital?[39] Of the eight donations given in detail in Pope Clement III's privilege, only two are to be found in the register, and one of these has a different grantor from that given in the privilege.[40] These eight were presumably the earliest donations made. Henry II's donation was listed as 'totam villam Tacwer'. Tacwer is possibly derived from 'Teach Guaire', otherwise known as Steach Guaire, 'Stagory' or more widely known as Palmerston, west of Dublin city.[41] Within the city, Ailred Palmer granted a burgage plot, one which was between the lands of William White and Daniel of Bristol. Along with his wife a certain Andrew donated a burgage plot, held at that time by Gwarin and Richard his uncle. In return for the annual payment of six marks Richard de Stottesdon, Hugh de Lacy's chamberlain, granted the vill of Glennuge, otherwise known as Glenn Uisce, or Palmerstown in Fingall. An extant charter in the register from this Richard specifies a donation of four carucates in Glenn Uisce and Gradeloch with all pertinences, other than the homage due from three named men, Geoffrey de Stottesdon, William Cotterell and Godfred.[42] Gilbert Gude's donation was comprised of half a house in the archdiocese of Dublin and chapel of Davaganor, with tithes and appurtenances. The donor of as much woodland as the brethren

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[37] Otway-Ruthven, 'The medieval church lands of Co. Dublin', p. 56, fn. 14.
[38] Andrews, *Plantation acres*, pp 12–16.
[39] James Mills, 'The Norman settlement in Leinster. The cantreds near Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 24 (1894), pp 161–75. This covers some of the lands mentioned but demonstrates the settlement and donation of some of the hospital's patrons.
[40] The named benefactors responsible for these grants formed the basis for the prosopographical study of the hospital and can be found in chapter 3.
[41] *Reg of Wills Dublin*, p. 219 for short description of the church.
[42] *Reg HSJB*, no. 191.

could clear from 'terra nemoris Leonini' was identified by St John Brooks as Leoninus de Bromyard.[43] If correct, this same individual appears twice again in the register as witness before the twelfth century ends.[44] This was next to Donachnor (Donaghmore/Davagenor) in Co Meath, not far from the modern Dublin/Meath border. This area, including Greenoge (Grenoc), also in Meath, formed part of a collection of lands in north Co Dublin and Meath which were original or early acquisitions of the hospital. The remainder of this collection was comprised of such townlands as Jordanstown, Clonmethan, Grallagh and Palmerstown. Augustine of Bristol gave land in the city which was worth 10*s.* annually. And finally there was the donation from Roger, brother of Haim, of three marks from his house with was next to St John's.

Palmerston (Teach Guire/Stagory)

Teach Guire and Glenn Uische, or Palmerston and Palmerstown respectively, were two properties strongly associated with St John the Baptist's. No doubt the appellations commemorated Ailred Palmer's foundation. Despite the illustrious grantor, the actual charter for the grant of Teach Guire/Stagory itself is not to be found in the register and is the only reference to Henry II endowing the hospital. However, a decade later Milo le Bret granted 'villam de Stagwori', in pure and perpetual alms.[45] The first witness is Hamo de Valognes and with Meiler FitzHenry as fifth witness it was probably executed before Meiler took over from Hamo as justiciar *c.* 1198.[46] Other witnesses include Hugh Tirel and Teberd

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[43] *Reg HSJB*, p. vi. Various latin terms were used in medieval sources to indicate different types of wooded areas. See Helmut Jäger, 'Land use in medieval Ireland: a review of the documentary evidence', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 10 (1983), pp 51–65, esp 57–63. This timber could have been used by the hospital or perhaps even sold on. See also Aidan O'Sullivan, 'Woodmanship and the supply of underwood and timber to Anglo-Norman Dublin' in Conleth Manning (ed.), *Dublin and beyond the Pale: studies in honour of Patrick Healy* (Bray, 1998), pp 59–69. For the management and trade in Irish timber see Peadar Slattery, 'Woodland management, timber and wood production, and trade in Anglo-Norman Ireland, *c.* 1170 to *c.* 1350', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*, 139 (2009), pp 63–79.

[44] Ibid., nos 290 and 292. (*Reg St Thomas*, p. 282 for grant from his son to St Thomas's abbey by Donaghmore); *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c. 1172–1534*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1950), p. 134 (hereafter *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*).

[45] *Reg HSJB*, no. 290.

[46] Art Cosgrove, 'Chief Governors, 1172–1534' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, ix: maps, genealogies, lists* (Oxford, 1984), p. 470.

Wautero (probably Theobald Walter). In content it is conventional and betrays no indication that it is connected to a grant made by the father of the then king.

The church of Stagory became a source of dispute between the hospital and the abbey of St Thomas, seemingly caused by Milo le Bret's grant of Stagory to the hospital. Into this dispute was brought the church of Davagenor, which, despite being one of their very first acquisitions, was given by the brethren of St John's to the canons of St Thomas's, in exchange for the church of Stagory.[47] Within a few years of the initial donation by le Bret, the abbot of St Thomas's wrote to John Cumin to relinquish his rights in the church of Stagory, mentioning that they had been in conflict with Milo le Bret about those rights.[48] The chirograph which signalled the exchange between the two contains the further stipulation that in receiving Davagenor, St Thomas's were required to pay 3*s.* to the church of Finglas, an annual payment which it seems was part of the conditions by which the hospital had held Davagenor.[49] St John Brooks's dating of this sequence produces a *c.* 1198 date for the original grant and *c.*1200 for all others. The confirmation given to the hospital by Archbishop John Cumin must presumably be the final in this sequence, given after the dispute between St Thomas's, Milo and St John's was settled by their ecclesiastical exchange.[50]

Once the exchange had been made, Palmerston or Stagory makes only intermittent appearances in the register. In *c.* 1228 Luke, Archbishop of Dublin confirmed the hospital in its possessions there,[51] while in 1308 Geoffrey le Bret, as lord of Rathfarnham and referring to Milo as his great-grandfather, confirmed the vill of Stagory to the prior of St John's.[52] Though the church is not mentioned in his charter, it was noted a decade earlier as being worth 10 marks to St John's, 'but the tithes not sufficient for the service of a chaplain'.[53] The

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[47] *Reg HSJB*, no. 292. *Reg St Thomas*, no. 371 pp 320–22.
[48] *Reg HSJB*, no. 291.
[49] Ibid., no. 292.
[50] Ibid., no. 301.
[51] Ibid., no. 311. See also; *Cal Abp Alen's Reg*, p. 287 and *Reportorum Viride* of John Alen, Archbishop of Dublin, 1533, ed. Newport White, *Analecta Hibernica*, 10 (1941), p. 189.
[52] *Reg HSJB*, no. 294.
[53] *Christ Church deeds*, eds M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé (Dublin, 2001), no. 150 (hereafter *Christ Ch Deeds*).

ecclesiastical taxation of 1302 valued the grange of Palmerston, together with the church, at 67*l.*[54] In his 1474 will Reginald Weston left 12*d.* to the church of Palmerston,[55] while two years later Agnes Lawless bequeathed 2*s.* to the church of the hospital and the same to the parish church of Palmerston.[56] In the same year as the hospital's dissolution the townlands of Palmerston and Irishtown were granted to Sir John Alen, then chancellor of Ireland.[57] William White held the tithes of Palmerston for a term of years as did Robert Coylok of Irishtown while it is noted that the tithes had been granted to Nicholas Bennett by Thomas Everard, prior, to be held after the expiry of White and Coylok's leases.[58] In 1543 however, John Ryan, a clerk, was granted both the tithes of Irishtown and (noted as part of the parish of Palmerston) the rectory of Palmerston itself in a twenty-one year lease for a rent of 47*s.*[59] Con O'Coffie (Coffey) in 1578 was granted the lease of the rectory of Palmerston, the tithes noted as 12 copies of corn for Palmerston and 3 ½ for Irishtown, the same as noted under the dissolution extent.[60] These leases make no mention of a chaplain and it seems that in the immediate years after the reformation it ceased to be a functioning church. By the seventeenth century a chaplain had again been appointed.[61] Palmerston changed hands through several noble families throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [62] while Palmerston House provides a fitting connection with the original Palmer; in 1869 the house became home to Stewart's Hospital, a centre for the care of those with intellectual disabilities.

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[54] *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, ed. H.S. Sweetman (5 vols, London, 1875–86), v, no. 711, p. 239 (hereafter *CDI*).
[55] *Register of wills and inventories of the diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457-1483*, ed. Henry F. Berry (Dublin, 1898), p. 90 (hereafter *Reg of wills Dublin*).
[56] *Reg of wills Dublin*, p.135.
[57] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 59.
[58] Ibid., p. 59.
[59] *The Irish fiants of the tudor sovereigns*, i, no. 367, p. 41.
[60] Ibid., ii, no. 3335, pp 456–7. For the surname see Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Families, their names, arms and origins* (Blackrock, Co Dublin, 1991), pp 56–7.
[61] Francis Ellington Ball, *A history of the county Dublin; the people, parishes and antiquities from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century* (6 vols, Dublin, 1902–20), iv, p. 100.
[62] Ibid., pp 86–99.

Palmerstown

Its namesake on the north of the river Liffey, also part of the original grants given to the hospital, was also to retain the name of the hospital's founder. It too was known by a different name (Glennuge/Glenn Usice) when it was included in the donation list confirmed by Clement III in 1188. In the barony of Balrothery, Palmerstown was later often associated in sources with its neighbouring townlands of Jordanstown, Clonmethan, Cottrelstown, Grallagh and Grenock.

In 1540 the suppression survey accounted for 309 acres in Palmerstown. These were divided between five men who each also held a messuage in addition to monetary and cheese or hen payments.[63] One of those men was Nicholas Harbard, also a juror on the extent. Grallagh at this time yielded only a house and enclosure held by Patrick Casey and due 2*s.* 4*d.* On original receipt of Richard de Stottesdon's grant, the hospital had gained 480 acres, and, despite a reduction of 171 acres this still represents an impressive feat in maintaining control of such a large area. The free tenants of Cottrelstown were required to do suit of court in Palmerstown, only three of whom were listed in the extent. Two held tenements (not specified as just land or including buildings), while one, William Rocheford, held 69 acres.[64] It is possible that this William Rocheford was the 'William Rychard of Cotterells Towne' also listed as juror.[65] Jordanstown amounted to 260 acres, in addition to three messuages. In total these three vills represented a holding of 638 acres for the hospital.

Within the register are thirty-six charters in the section assigned to Fingal. One of these charters concerns a border area more correctly in Co Meath,[66] two partially concern land in Lusk,[67] and one is the donation of one acre of meadow in the tenement of Coolock.[68] Of the remaining thirty-two charters, the hospital is the main recipient in twenty-three. Four final concords concerning lands or rent, four charters relating to a third party and one where the hospital is joint grantor

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[63] *Extents Irish monastic possessions,* p. 57.
[64] Ibid., p. 58.
[65] Ibid., pp 55 and 58.
[66] *Reg HSJB*, no. 221.
[67] Ibid., nos 222 and 223.
[68] Ibid., no. 224.

comprise the final numbers. They span the entire thirteenth century up to the mid- fourteenth and comprise many of the names of English magnate families, though not necessarily those associated with Dublin. However, as is clear from the table below and the accompanying discussion of several of these grants, the complicated business of medieval land-holding, with the many layers of ownership and claims to the physical property, and the rent and rights connected with both, often resulted in the production of numerous charters relating to one basic transaction.

Key: HSJB = hospital of St John the Baptist

MR= main recipient of the grant

Fingal

Charter no.	Date	Description	Note	Rent
191	*c.* 1187	**HSJB MR.** Four carucates of land in Glenn Uisce and Gradelach (Palmerstown and Grallagh)	From Richard de Stottesdon as per Pope Clement's confirmation.	5 marks & 40*d.*
224	*c.* 1230	**HSJB MR.** One acre of meadow in 'Hachtyrcork' in Coolock.		One pair white gloves or one obolus
202	*c.* 1240	**HSJB part-grantor.** 24 acres in Palmerstown which include a messuage in Cottrelstown.	Grantor is William Cottrel with agreement of his wife, son and Daniel prior of HSJB.	4*s.* One horse worth 6*s.*
218	*c.* 1240	**HSJB MR.** *Medietatem* mill in Grallagh with the pool and water	See charter 217 for related donation.	
201	1266	**HSJB MR.** **FINAL CONCORD** One carucate in 'Dunbouere'		Cost HSJB 20 marks
216	*c.* 1269	**HSJB MR.** Half a carucate in Cottrelstown	See also charter 215 (*c.* 1270) for a grant of rent to HJSB from same grantor, probably	For the charter a sum of money

			from the same ½ carucate. 20 marks given for charter.	given to help grantor's urgent needs.
220	1269	**HSJB MR.** **FINAL CONCORD**		10*s.* during life of Robert fitz Ailred and *post-mortem* 20*s.*
209	*c.* 1290	**HSJB MR.** Rent of 27*s.* from land in Glenuische (near Clonmethan, Grenoc and 'Glynsurd)		For the charter 26 marks.
205	*c.* 1300	**HSJB MR.** All rights of grantor in land in Glensuiche and Cottrelstown.	Same land held by HSJB of Richard de Stottesdon. See also charter 205.	
219	*c.* 1300	**HSJB MR.** Quiclaim of third of one messuage and two acres of arable land in Cottrelstown in the tenement of Palmerstown in Fingal.		
192	1302	**HSJB MR.** Messuage 132 acres Mortmain licence	See also charters 193, 194, 195, 196, 203, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213. Possibly 214.	
197	1310	**HSJB MR.** Messuage Curtilage 25 acres	See also charters 198 and 199.	
188	1327	**HSJB MR.** Grant of rent of 5 marks, 3*s.* & 4*d.*	See also charters 190 (1345) and 187 (1346).	

The details of one transaction in particular involving Palmerstown and Cottrelstown allow a glimpse into the intricacies of these land holding arrangements. Around the turn of the fourteenth century Henry de Wotton

quitclaimed in perpetuity the rights and claims he held in the land which the Hospital was given by the grant and enfoeffment of Richard de Stottesdon, chamberlain of Hugh de Lacy, in Glenn Uisce and Cottrelstown. It is followed in the register by a second, almost identically worded quitclaim. Although on first glance this could be dated to the turn of the thirteenth century, and linked to the Henry Wotton who along with his brother Robert was closely allied with the de Verdon family, the witnesses place it at the turn of the fourteenth.[69] John son of Riry, Nicholas de Netterville, Robert de Cruys and Richard de Cruys (Cruise, Crus) among others, appear as witnesses to both charters. Netterville may be the same Nicholas de Netterville who received 40*l.* in 1293–4 for his position as keeper of the castle of Athlone.[70] He is probably the same Nicholas Netterville who was sherrif of Uriel county and in 1282–3 was noted as having

> 'received nothing for the custody of the castle of Drogheda, because by grant of the Justiciar he received the said county, a meadow, and the castle, to guard for 40*l*, yearly.'[71]

Richard de Cruys was at that time chief sergeant, but was charged 20*s.* for contempt.[72] As bailiff of Louth in 1297 he had to make fine of 40*s.* under the pledge of John son of Ryri (Riri), Nicholas de Cruys (his brother, later enfofeffed by Richard of the position) with several others.[73] In 1295 a Henry de Wylton was a juror in an inquisition which included Nicholas Skybras, another witness to the quitclaim.[74] In 1297 Henry de Wotton and Theobald de Verdun were amongst others in an assize of *novel disseisin* concerning Nicholas de Netterville in

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[69] Brendan Smith, *Conquest and colonisation in medieval Ireland: the English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), p 38–9. *CDI*, i, no. 2226, pp 356–6.
[70] *CDI*, iv, no. 273, p. 122.
[71] *PRI, DK 36th Report*, p. 70
[72] *CDI*, iv, no. 20, p. 13.
[73] *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of proceedings in the court of the Justiciar of Ireland*, ed. James Mills (2 vols, Dublin, 1905–14), i, 1295–1303, p. 81. (hereafter *Cal Just Rolls,* 1295–1303, 1305–1307). Several of these witnesses appear again *c.*1308 in the confirmation of Geoffrey le Bret to the hospital for Palmerston. In this Nicholas Cruys appears with his brother Richard, and Geoffrey Tryvers.
[74] *CDI*, iv, no. 238, p. 100.

Louth.[75] This Henry then was possibly a descendant of the Henry de Wotton who in 1238 was appointed by Roesia de Verdun as one of her attorneys [76] and who granted to the abbey of St Mary five carucates of land for the soul of Bertram and Thomas de Verdun.[77] The de Wottons were clearly tenants of the de Verduns, but this quitclaim also suggests involvement with the de Lacy family, which is unsurprising given the history of contact between these two great magnate families.[78] Both quitclaims mention de Stottesdon, suggesting a date prior to the thirteenth-century animosity which arose between the de Verdun and de Lacy families following the de Braose family dispute with King John towards the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century.[79] The de Wottons had closer ties to the de Verduns than the de Lacys and were unlikely to be further enriched by the latter when they were in dispute with the de Verdun family. The success of the de Wotton family line in Ireland has been suggested as having a link to their small landholding in England, being presumably success driven by necessity.[80] That the de Wotton family had received land as early as the hospital's foundation is perhaps demonstrated by the existence of *Wotonrathe* in Dundalk, in place by 1191.[81] This is the only record of them in the register, either as grantors or witnesses. Considering the small number of charters in the register which relate directly to Louth, it is interesting to note the presence of prominent Louth magnates and tenants involved with the hospital's landed possessions outside of Louth.[82] The de Wottons would appear to have mostly been contained within Louth, though it is possible of course that their acquisition of this grant was not contemporary with the hospital acquiring the lands itself.

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[75] *Cal Just Rolls*, 1295–1303, pp 86–7.
[76] *CDI*, i, no. 2446, pp 356–6.
[77] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 43, pp 66–7.
[78] Brendan Smith, 'Tenure and locality in north Leinster in the early thirteenth century' in T.B. Barry, Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), pp 32–3.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Mark S. Hagger, *The fortunes of a Norman family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066–1316* (Dublin, 2001), p. 201.
[81] Ibid., p. 199.
[82] Twelve charters concern areas within Co Louth, three of these being grants made by the Hospital; *Reg HSJB* nos 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244 and 245. The last is undated by St John Brooks and no 235 is fourteenth-century, the remainder are all thirteenth.

Not long after Henry de Wotton's quitclaim, a donation to the hospital of further lands in the same area drew the attention of King Edward I. In July 1302 John le Mareschal, canon of Kildare, appointed David le Wodeward as his attorney, with the task of placing the hospital in seisin of all the land John held of John White in Glenuische, in the tenement of the prior and brothers in Fingal.[83] This followed John's acquisition of this land, for the term of twenty years from John White *c.* 1300.[84] In October 1302 Edward I ordered John Wogan, Justiciar, to enquire into the donation of 132 acres and one messuage in Glenuische and Jordanstown by John le Mareschal to the hospital and one messuage and 108 acres in the same area by Richard le Noble.[85] Also part of this inquisition was one William Alexander who was purported to want to donate eighty acres to St John's. William's case was abandoned though as the attorneys working on behalf of the prior of the hospital (at that time probably John Scot) stated that they had not received notice that the chief of those fees would agree to the hospital holding them in pure alms.[86] Le Noble and le Mareschal were more successful. The jurors concluded that Edward would not suffer a loss from the transaction as le Mareschal

> 'holds them immediately of the Prior by the service of 30*s.* a year, and by doing suit at the Prior's court at Palmerston in Fingal, and each acre is worth 8*d.* yearly. And they say that said master John hath not land or tenements elsewhere and is in holy orders, whereby he cannot be put on juries or inquests.'

Richard's actions were not deemed to impede upon the king either as

> 'said Richard holds immediately of the Prior...doing service at the Prior's court, and each acre is worth 8*d.* yearly. And said Richard holds elsewhere, at Clymethan in co. Dublin, lands whereby he can be put upon assises, juries, and inquisitions.'

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[83] *Reg HSJB*, no. 213.
[84] Ibid., no. 210.
[85] *Cal Just Rolls*, 1295–1303, pp 439–40.
[86] Ibid., p. 440.

As for the prior and brothers, their acquisition of these holdings was also not considered to disadvantage Edward I, although they could not be called upon for assises, juries or inquisitions. Despite that, 'aids, tallages, watches, fines, redemptions, amercements, contributions, and other burdens' could be placed upon these lands as they always 'remain charged towards the King.'[87] Although the judgement had been favourable, the mortmain licence was only granted six years later, dated close to the end of the first year of Edward II's reign, in 1308.[88] Two months later John le Marshal, for the salvation of his and his predecessors' souls, granted the messuage and 132 acres in Glenn Uisce, which he held of fee from John White. A familiar group of witnesses once again appears, including Nicholas de Netterville, John son of Riry, Richard and Nicholas de Cruys, Geoffrey Travers among others.[89]

Over the course of four months in 1302 Richard le Noble quitclaimed his rights to a messuage and land in Jordanstown, none of the charters specifying the 108 acres of the later mortmain licence. In March he quitclaimed one messuage with all land he held in fee of the prior and brothers in Jordanstown.[90] On Palm Sunday in April this was reinforced by two further charters detailing the specific rights he had held, including the dowry lands held by his mother Mathia in Jordanstown.[91] In May and again in June le Noble quitclaimed all his rights to the messuage and lands in Jordanstown.[92] Richard le Noble's land in Jordanstown was embroiled with the rights of others, which was also the case when it was his father's. In 1310 Simon de Montgomery gave to the hospital one messuage, one curtilage and twenty-five acres which he held of Richard le Noble, confirmed by his sister Avicia Croum a year later.[93]

Twenty years prior to this, in 1291, a judgement was sought between Alice and Philip de Crombe concerning lands in 'Knockilin' and 'Dermothyr' in co

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[87] Ibid., p. 440.
[88] *Reg HSJB*, no. 211.
[89] Ibid., no. 212.
[90] Ibid., no. 194.
[91] Ibid., nos 192 and 193.
[92] Ibid., nos 203 and 195.
[93] Ibid., nos 197 and 198.

Louth, Selioc (Silloge) and villa Palmeri in co Dublin.[94] Alice's complaint was against her brother Philip, querying both Philip's birthright and his right to his lands. The Dublin lands had belonged to her father, Roger de Crombe, held since Henry III had been in power. Alice claimed that as Philip had been born out of wedlock, of a different mother to her, he had no hereditary right to the land and rents of the four above-named townlands. The case was referred to the court of the archbishop of Dublin which was instructed to decide on the matter of Philip's legitimacy. Six years later 2*s.* were paid by a Philip Crombe from Silloge.[95]

In an assise of *novel disseisin* in 1306, both a Simon de Montgomery and Alice Crombe appear in connection with an inquiry into whether one John de Hacche had been disseised of land in Sylyok and rent in Palmerston. Among those accused were Philip de Crombe and Henry Chamberlain. As a pairing these two had previously been fined 20*s.* in 1287 for trespass.[96] The jurors concluded that Roger de Crombe had held the lands of Sylyok and Palmerston and had enfoeffed the prior of St John's with those in Palmerston, at a rent of 5 marks 40*d.* annually. His daughter Alice, as heir, had been in seisin of said lands and she enfoeffed her son Richard Athelard, noted as illegitimate in the assise. When Alice de Crombe married John de Hacthe they jointly held the lands of Richard. Problems emerged following Alice's death when it appears that John claimed he was then disseised.[97] Roger de Crombe's grant to the hospital is not in the register as it currently exists, though it must be supposed that evidence was presented to satisfy the jurors that the grant had been made. A Roger de Crumbe does appear in the register, in the 1240s as witness to a charter of Geoffrey de Turville, Bishop of Ossory, concerning land in the parish of St Kevin's and rent from a burgage in Grenock.[98] Around the same time, while still bishop, de Turville again made a grant to St John the Baptist's, this time of all rent due to him from the same burgage. Roger de Crumbe is again one of

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[94] *CDI*, iii, no. 883, pp 393–4.
[95] *CDI*, iv, no. 442, p. 209.
[96] *CDI*, iii, no. 309, p. 135.
[97] *Cal Just Rolls*, 1305–7, pp 311–12.
[98] *Reg HSJB*, no. 159.

several witnesses.[99] A John de Hacche in *c.* 1260 witnessed a charter to John White chaplain,[100] *c.* 1270 to a grant made by Brother Jordan, prior of the hospital[101] and when *c.* 1260 Brother Walter as prior of the hospital granted land in Drogheda to Adam son of Clement, John de Hache is noted as having originally donated that land to the hospital.[102] The areas with which these men were connected would suggest that the lands in Palmerston they both held and that one donated were Palmerstown, bordering Co Meath and on the Drogheda side of Dublin.

Around 1185 John Cumin as archbishop of Dublin granted to Audoen Brun, amongst other benefits, 'a moiety of all the tithes, alms and benefices of the whole land held by Richard Camerarius'.[103] From the wording this could be either Clonmethan or Palmerstown, the latter more usually associated with Richard, though they are in close proximity to each other. Geoffrey, prior of Llanthony in Gloucester, to avoid further disputes attempted to confirm what they and the see of Dublin held between them. This stated that the archbishop had granted Llanthony 'the chapel formerly of Richard Camerarius'.[104] In a charter dated 1199–1203 Cumin confirmed the church of Garristown to Llanthony Prima in which it was stated that John, as king of England, had divided the tithes of Balrothery between Llanthony in Gloucester and the see of Dublin. Included was the 'chapel of the vill which formerly belonged to Palmer' (*capella de villa que quondam fuit Palmerii*).[105] While the area was clearly associated with both Richard and Ailred, it is curious that there is no mention of the hospital. Based on Ware, St John Brooks estimated Ailred's death as *c.* 1202.[106] In 1211, in a charter of the abbot of Gloucester the churches of both Llanthonys in Ireland were categorised. Amongst all its other acquisitions, Llanthony in Wales was

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[99] *Reg HSJB*, no. 247.
[100] Ibid., no. 35.
[101] Ibid., no. 149.
[102] Ibid., no. 234.
[103] *Cal Abp Alen's Reg*, p. 14. Audoen Brun was discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Arlene Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172–1541: lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008), III, pp 246–7 and original Latin text in Eric St John Brooks, *The Irish cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda* (Dublin, 1953), no. III, pp 14–15.
[106] *Reg HSJB*, p. xx.

noted as having the churches of Garristown and Palmerstown.[107] Not long after his appointment to the Dublin see in 1212, Archbishop Henry of London confirmed to the church of St John the Baptist of Llanthony Prima the chapel of Palmerstown.[108] Around the same time a chirograph issued from Henry dealt with a dispute between the prior and canons of Llanthony Prima and the canons of St Patrick's cathedral in Dublin concerning the burial of parishioners in the chapel of Palmerstown and the respective rights of the two complainants and their churches of Garristown and Clonmethan. Henry concluded that the burial rights and the chapel of Palmerstown belonged to the church of Garristown, including the parochial rights of the chapel. In return, the vicar of the chapel of Palmerstown owed 5*s.* to Clonmethan. [109] That the hospital held land here did not of course mean that it would necessarily have jurisdiction over all the churches within the parish of Palmerstown. Both sixteenth-century compilations *Reportorium Viride* and the *Credi Mihi* refer to the chapel of Palmerstown '*pertinens ad ecclesiam de Baliogar.*'[110] This was in the deanery of Swords. Though it may be a co-incidental connection, the granting of Palmerstown to the hospital and the chapel of Palmerstown to Llanthony Prima both have a de Lacy connection based on Richard de Stottesdon's position as Hugh de Lacy's chamberlain and the strong ties between the de Lacy family and the Llanthony canons.[111]

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[107] Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, p. 96.
[108] Ibid., no. IV, p. 273; for Henry of London see Margaret Murphy, 'London, Henry of (*d.* 1228)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17036, accessed 29 July 2009].
[109] Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, no. V, pp 273–4 and pp 164–5.
[110] '*Credi Mihi': the most ancient register book of the Archbishops of Dublin before the Reformation*, ed. J.T. Gilbert (Dublin, 1897), p. 139; '*The Reportorium Viride of John Alen, Archbishop of Dublin, 1533*, ed. Newport White, Analecta Hibernica, 10 (1941), p. 194.
[111] Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, pp 47–71.

The Suburbs

The hospital and the western suburb

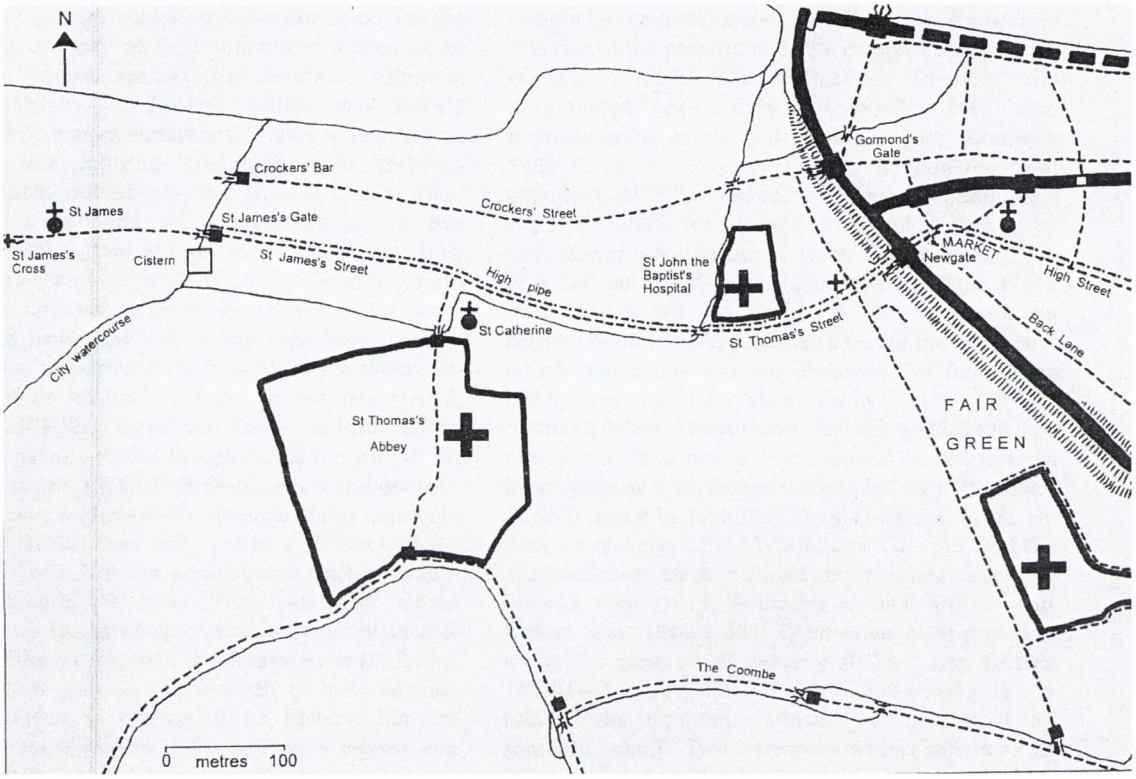

Fig 3. The western suburb of medieval Dublin. © Howard Clarke, '*Urbs et suburbium*: beyond the walls of medieval Dublin' in Conleth Manning (ed.), *Dublin and beyond the Pale; studies in honour of Patrick Healy* (Dublin, 1998), p. 51.

As a percentage of all records in the register those relating to suburban Dublin amount to 109/594 (18%). The western and south western suburbs of the walled city, namely those areas comprising Thomas Street, Crockers Street with the liberties of St Thomas (including Donore) and St Sepulchre (west of Patrick Street only) account for well over half of all suburban records 74/109 (68%). Of that number, the hospital was the main or secondary recipient in over half 46/74 (62%), was itself the donor in 15/74 (20%) of records, while the remainder either bear no direct relation to the hospital in their immediate contents or are previous transactions involving the same property or rent.

Chronologically there are distinct variances in the record pattern relating to the suburbs in general, which does not extend beyond 1435 when Prior James Coytif and Nicholas Woder reached agreement over an acre of land in Crockers Bars behind the hospital.[112] Between *c.* 1200 – *c.* 1220 only six records contained in the records relate to suburban Dublin. The hospital was donor in two,[113] had no immediate connection with three,[114] and in one only received a grant, in this instance of rent in the parish of St Patrick's.[115] One of the charters which appears to have no connection with the hospital, a collective grant from the citizens of Dublin to Edward Palmer, *c.* 1210, of land in Donore, was at some point in the next forty years passed to the hospital for *c.* 1256–7 Walter de Southwell, prior, donated it to Roger Sherman, though the citizens were still due a rent of 12*d.*[116]

By comparison, there are eight records from the 1230s, thirteen from the 1240s and fourteen from the 1260s. The total for the entire fourteenth century was fifteen, with a hundred year gap between the last, in 1435, and the penultimate in 1346.[117] Rental donations account for 35% of all suburban charters, the vast majority of which are to the hospital, divided roughly between the donation as main or secondary purpose of the charter. As discussed in the terminology section, the preponderance of the term 'terram' or 'quodam terram' renders a definite quantification of the physical holdings of the hospital difficult, and such is the case with suburban donations. Specifics do appear occasionally. In its early years of the hospital's existence Baldwin son of Gille and Elias of Chester granted *unum ortum quod habemus extra civitatem Dublinie*, presumably meaning 'hortum' or garden.[118] In *c.* 1215 a burgage was given by the Hospitallers in Kilmainham to a Master William, the explanation for the inclusion of the charter in the register unclear.[119] It was almost two decades

[112] *Reg HSJB*, no. 146.
[113] Ibid., nos 10 and 13.
[114] Ibid., nos 136, 123 and 133.
[115] Ibid., no. 129.
[116] Ibid., no. 137.
[117] Ibid., nos 146 and 580 respectively.
[118] Ibid., no. 41. This charter and its personnel were discussed in a different context in chapter 2.
[119] Ibid., no. 130.

before a deed provides a specification of the type of land involved in the transaction (a curtilage in Bertram's Court) and a further decade for this to be added to the hospital's portfolio.[120] In total, only 20% of suburban records specify the type or amount of land either being gifted, or from which rent arises.

Until *c.* 1200 all grants of land or rent emanating from the suburbs were from that in which the hospital itself was located. The western suburb, as discussed above, was perhaps dominated by the abbey of St Thomas, but, as settlement in Dublin expanded beyond the walled city, from the evidence of the register alone it would appear that this area became developed and inhabited and was certainly more than simply an access route to and from the city. Four charters are dated to the 1190s, in which one is a donation from Ailred as *magister* to Reginald Miro.[121] While several streets were variously granted the appellation 'great', in this instance Thomas Street is the most likely location.[122] The plot in question stretched from '*predicto magno vico usque ad vicum pottorum, duplici scilicet fronte.*' The grant itself is unremarkable, but it demonstrates two important points. As an early donation it is indicative of one of the failings of the register as it contains no record of St John the Baptist's receipt of this grant. The clerk transcribing the charter noted however that the tenement granted to Reginald was '*nunc tenet heres Willelmi Douce.*' Secondly, the early date of the grant (*c.* 1190) is a clear indicator that from its inception the hospital fulfilled a dual function as recipient of land and rent while also acting as landlord.

The chronology of those records relating to the western suburb in which the hospital was the main or secondary recipient indicates an even distribution over the first hundred years, with a notable increase in the 1260s. Only five exist in the register dated to the fourteenth century, while the last record associated with this area dates to 1335.[123] The division between land and monetary donations in this area does not suggest any particular trends. The highest number of rental donations was clearly in the 1260s when they comprised seven

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[120] *Reg HSJB*, nos 131 and 132.
[121] Ibid., no. 40.
[122] For various examples of several areas called great street see *IHTA, Dublin 1*, topographical information: p. 13 (Cornmarket), p. 15 (Nicholas Street), p. 16 (Thomas Street).
[123] *Reg HSJB*, no. 28.

of the ten for that decade. But as this decade has the highest number of donations of any kind it cannot be taken as the standard. Of the forty-six donations to the hospital, twenty-four arise from the Liberty of St Thomas and Donore, twelve from the eastern half of the Liberty of St Sepulchre and the remaining ten from the area immediately surrounding the hospital.[124]

Fifty-seven individual holdings of land and rent can be identified in the western suburb. Bearing in mind the difficulties in locating those properties identified only by parish and neighbouring properties the accompanying table is intended to cover the main criteria of each property: charter number in the published register, date, description of type, miscellaneous note, rent due and any plot sizes given.

Landed donations in the western suburbs

Key: HSJB = hospital of St John the Baptist

MR= main recipient of the grant

Measurements given as front x back x length or where different this is specified.

Charter no.	Date	Description	Note	Rent	Size
41	*c.* 1190	**HSJB MR.** One garden outside the city walls near the house (*atrium*)		*semi marcam* ? ½ mark?	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/

[124] The categorisations are based on *IHTA, Dublin 1*. For present purposes Thomas Street in its entirety has been included within the Liberty boundary. Due to the vague nature of some of the language of the charters and where a couple of options existed, a decision had to be taken to include the location in a particular category. One example of this is charter no. 116 which uses 'vico Curt Bertram' as its descriptor. Given the location of Bertram's Court on the junction of St Francis Street and St Thomas Street, it could fall logically into either category; here it has been classified with St Thomas Street and Liberty.

					streets.
40	*c.* 1190	**HSJB Grantor.** *Unam placeam terre* outside the New Gate in the great street towards Kilmainham.	From the great street up to Crocker's Street. Held as free burgage.	4*s.* and 1 lb pepper	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
22	*c.* 1200	**HSJB MR.** Land from the great street (Thomas St?) towards Donore.	Location in title given as Lovebourne (Lotebourne Lane? – title seems incorrect as this was on opposite side of Thomas St, *CARD*, i, no 90, p. 123). See also entries 19 and 21.	30*s.* (1 lb cumin)	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
126	*c.* 1200	**HSJB MR.** Land which lies beside the garden of the HSJB.	In the Bertram Court section of register. Lies between the land of master Helie le Macun and the garden of the same HSJB towards the orchard of Adam son of Simon.		Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
127	*c.* 1200	**HSJB MR.** Certain land from Thomas St to Donore.	From Nicholas de Verdun. Land which his father (Bertram) had been given by the king (probably Henry II).	5*s.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
1	*c.* 1200	**HSJB MR.** Land opposite the church of St James.	Land next to the land which the grantor gave to the white monks of St Mary's abbey. See *Chartul St Mary's*, no 213, p. 232.		Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
10	*c.* 1210	**HSJB Grantor.** Half land (*dimidiam terram*) in Crockers' St.		12*d.* (1 lb cumin)	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
13	*c.* 1210	**HSJB Grantor.** *Unam placeam terre*	This land had been given to	10*s.* (1 lb pepper)	25 perches (*percatas* –

		between the great street towards Kilmainham and the animal pasture of the citizens.	HSJB by John when lord of Ireland with the assent of the citizens – charter not in register.		*pertica*) in front and *in longitudine quantum est*
42	*c.* 1236–7	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain part of their land in Crockers' St.		21*d.*	28x31and in length same as adjacent land.
124	*c.* 1230–40	**HSJB MR.** Certain land in street called Bertram's Court.	See charter 123.	One pair white gloves	64x52
170	*c.* 1240	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Bertram's Court.		6*s.* (for this donation the recipient gave ½ mark)	20 x length same as neighbouri ng land.
132	1243–4	**HSJB MR.** Certain curtilage in Bertram's Court		40*d.*	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
9	1246–7	**HSJB MR.** *Medietatem* grantor's land in Crockers' St.		One pair white gloves or one obolus (2*s.* & 11*d.* paid for the grant)	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
137	*c.* 1256–7	**HSJB Grantor.** All rights in certain land outside St Patrick's Gate in Donore.	See charter 136 (*c.* 1210). Same land then given by citizens to Edward Palmer.	6*s.* and 12*d.* to the city	In front 20 feet towards south, rest of location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
125	1258	**HSJB MR.** Quitclaim of all rights in two burgages in Bertam's Court which grantor held of HSJB.	Stretching towards Donore.		Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
121	*c.* 1259–60	**HSJB MR.** Certain land opposite the church of St Francis.			Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.

134	*c.* 1259–60	**HSJB MR.** **17a** Certain land in parish of St Patrick in Donore. **17b** Certain land beside the rivulet of water which descends in to the mill of the canons of St Thomas'.	Also grant of rent, see rent table. **17b** might be Watte's Mill, see *IHTA*, p. 26.	2*s.* to canons St Thomas'.	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
35	*c.* 1260	**HSJB NMR.** One messuage in Bertram Court.	Grant to John White, chaplain. Rent 3*s.* to Richard de Camera and 12*d.* to grantor.	Messuage to revert to HSJB on death of grantor.	
138	*c.* 1260–61.	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land towards Donore.	(any relation to 125?)	12*d.*	16x20x40
24	1260–61.	**HSJB MR.** All rights and claims in lands and tenements	See charter 22 – not sure if same or different tenement	2 marks for this quitclaim	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
37	1264–5	**HSJB MR.** **20a** Certain land in the parish of St Catherine. **20b** certain land extending up to the city boundary (Kilmainham?)		10*s.* payable to the city.	19 feet *et extendit se in longitudine dicte ambe terre a vico usque ad foassatum civitatis.*
26	1264–5	**HSJB MR.** **RIGHTS OR BURGAGE?**		31*s.* 8*d.* for this quitclaim	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
39	1273–4	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Thomas St in parish St Catherine		1 mark	19 feet *et extendit se in longitudine a magno vico.* See no 15.
33	*c.* 1277–8	**HSJB MR.** Certain land extending from the lane called Coulan towards the garden of the HSJB.	Same as entry number 29? See p. 205 below for discussion of possible location.	12*d.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
27	1279	**HSJB MR.** All rights in a tenement in Thomas St opposite	See also charter 25 (*c.* 1300) for a quitclaim to the		Location given by neighbouri

		the HSJB.	HSJB of a neighbouring tenement.		ng properties/ streets.
105	1280–2	**HSJB MR.** Three pieces of land. One in Bertram Court.	See entry 16 on city grid and entry 15 on eastern for others	40*d.* (for the three)	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
168	1284	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land towards the Friars Minors		½ mark	36 *et extendit se in longitudine a vico…*
130	1284–5	**HSJB MR.** One curtilage extending to the royal street	In Bertram's Court area	*Unum granum cimini*	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
118	1284–5	**HSJB MR.** Land in Bertram Court.		Given to grantor in charter 117. Next to land in charter 33?	
166	1289–90	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Bertram's Court	Land granted again in 1298, see charter 167. Possibly related to entry 25.	1 mark	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
169	1296	**HSJB Grantor.** Two curtilages between Coulan and the garden of HSJB.	May be same as entry 23	10*s.* – 40*d.* of that being kept back.	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
25	*c.* 1300	**HSJB MR.** Quitclaim of a certain tenement opposite the great door/gate (*porte*) of the hospital.	Might be related to the tenement in charter 28.		Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
20	1318	**HSJB MR.** Three parts of one messuage in street of St Thomas the Martyr	See also charters 18, 19 and 21 for other transactions relating to same messuage.		Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
568	1335	**HSJB Grantor.** One open space land in 'Hiteburn' in St Thomas St opposite the HSJB	See entry 24 for possible connection but no mention of any	40*s.*	Location given by neighbouri ng

			previous tenants, unusual.		properties/ streets.
146	1435	**HSJB Grantor.** One acre of land over the ditch of Crocker's Bar and Cradock's meadow next to 'le gargetsmed'	For Garget's meadow see *IHTA*, p. 25. For Cradock's meadow see charters 5, 6, 7 and 8.		Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.

Much like personal names, medieval street names held a certain fluidity. In varying degrees this also applied to parish boundaries which have variously proven difficult to define conclusively in Ireland in many instances and which then raises queries concerning our understanding of 'the implications for a territorial community, territorial allegiance and identity.'[125] St Catherine's was associated with the abbey of St Thomas, intended to replace St Thomas's church, perhaps explaining its proximity to the abbey.[126] Between the fourteenth and early eighteenth centuries the parishes of St Catherine and St James with the church of St John the Baptist in Kilmainham were variously united and again separated.[127] Whether the parish boundary was related to the manor or to the payment of tithes, for present purposes it must be acknowledged that, when issued, each charter reflected conditions at the time, and also that the fourteenth-century scribe compiling the register, having organised the deeds by parish, did so based on his current understanding of them.[128] Within the register fourteen distinct parish names are provided. As no other details are provided to determine where these boundaries are considered to be, street names given in each charter are one possible method to identify those areas within each parish. Were each name restricted to one street only, this could be a fairly straightforward problem

[125] P.J. Duffy, 'The shape of a parish' in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland; community, territory and building* (Dublin, 2006), p. 33.
[126] *IHTA, Dublin 1*, topographical information, p. 18.
[127] Twiss, 'Some ancient deeds of the parishes of St Catherine and St James', p. 266.
[128] For parochial development in the Christian church see G.W.O. Addleshaw, *The beginnings of the parochial system* (3rd edn, York, 1970); for more local Irish circumstances see, A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development in the rural deanery of Skreen', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 94 (1964), pp 111–22; for examples of the taxation of the medieval Irish church in various guises see, *CDI*, v, nos 693–729, pp 202–32.

to overcome. But sometimes one appellation, like *magnus vicus* could variously refer to more than one street. Such is the case with Thomas and Francis Streets. Nor were these even the only two streets which were referred to as a *magnus vicus*.

Around 1195 Ailred oversaw the transfer of a quarter part of half a burgage of the hospital, given to them by Adam de Pudela and lying '*in magno vico versus Castellum.*'[129] This is clearly not either Thomas or Francis Street and is in the section of the register which relates to the parish of St Werburgh which makes Castle Street, Werburgh Street or Skinners Row the three most likely options. In the current context this lack of clarity impacts only in attempting to correctly locate the main areas within the city where the hospital held land. A charter dated *c.* 1277–8 and in that part of the register which relates to the parish of St Catherine was a donation of land which extended to the lane called 'Coulan' (Cow Lane) up to the garden of the prior and brothers.[130] There were five possible Cow Lanes in medieval Dublin: in the vicinity of Dublin Castle, in St Audoen's parish, by Francis Street or Crocker Street or Greek Street.[131] Francis Street then is the most likely option for the site of this garden, which then means it is not the garden of the hospital but a donated garden, of which the hospital held several in the street.[132] By the time of its demise most of the plots in the city (and this would include the four suburbs just outside the walls: the western where St John's was located, the southern, comprising the area around St Patrick's cathedral, the eastern, of Hoggen Green and the transpontine of Oxmantown and the environs of St Mary's abbey) were identified as being held within the Thomas and Francis Street areas, which is perhaps unsurprising as these two areas would appear to have yielded the most records in this suburb during the lifetime of the hospital. Though this could be coincidental, it would seem beneficial for the hospital to have local access to gardens, places where patients could rest and exercise, and places where the hospital could grow food and medicinal herbs for

[129] *Reg HSJB*, no. 175.
[130] Ibid., no. 33.
[131] *IHTA, Dublin 1*, topographical information, pp 13–14.
[132] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, pp 56–7.

the infirmary, assuming of course that they didn't simply rent or sell the gardens. The extent identifies twenty-five gardens in what is termed the city of Dublin, which in this instance is both inside the walled city and its suburbs.

Later royal grants yield much greater evidence for the distribution of hospital lands. In 1540 a garden held in Francis Street by a William Nele, worth only 16*d.*, was in 1578 granted to a Katherine Brereton, widow of Andrew Brereton again for 16*d.*[133] The garden was noted as having been part of the parcel of possessions of St John the Baptist's. Three years later the same garden, along with a shop which in 1540 had been leased to John Rocheford for 3*s.* 4*d.*, was leased to a surgeon by the name of William Kelly.[134] Nicholas Pipard's house and garden in St Francis Street, valued at 5*s.* in 1540 was leased almost four decades later to the same Katherine Brereton.[135] A vacant plot in Thomas Street in 1540 was possibly the same 'waste piece of land' by the Newgate which the earl of Kildare received in 1592.[136]

By its demise St John the Baptist's Francis Street holdings included at least five gardens, a house and a tenement worth a combined rent of 29*s.* 16*d.* On Thomas St a messuage and garden worth 10*s.* and a tenement worth 4*s.* were the only holdings there worth any money. Although an invaluable record of the land holdings of religious houses, the extent lacks what can at times seem to be frustratingly simple information. The Dublin city part of the survey is a perfect example of the lacuna in specifics. For that portion dealing specifically with the city and suburbs there are thirty five individual holdings given. Of these, only nine have a place name identifier, though a further two can be speculated. In the list of arrears, there are twenty-two listed names, some of which individuals hold multiple properties and involve some duplication with the previous list. Of a total of twenty-seven separate holdings, eighteen related directly to the city of which over half are again not given a location. As with the duplication of streets to which *magnus vicus* could refer, not knowing where, for example, Denis

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[133] *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, no. 3254, p. 444.
[134] Ibid., ii, no. 3747, pp 518–19.
[135] Ibid., ii, no. 3254, p. 444.
[136] Ibid., iii, no. 5779, pp 201–2.

Cowran's three gardens and tenement were, or even where within the parish of St Audoen's Walter Tirrell's messuage lay hampers the accuracy with which the hospital's encroachment into various parts of the city can be analysed.[137] Ideally one could simply locate the original charter in the register and use this to identify the location but these charters are either from the century and a half of the hospital's existence following the compilation of the register or the original deeds may not have been to hand when the scribes were at work.

The lack of locative details obviously hampers the accuracy of a parish by parish or street-by-street analysis of the hospital's landholding and the lack of register evidence throws in even more doubt. But apart from those names which it does provide, the extent provides a subtle source of vitally important evidence. That Edmund Redman, Nicholas Bennet, Thomas Stephens and the numerous other merchants and civic administrators who held various houses and gardens of the hospital are not in the register, but in the extent, is firm proof that the commercial transactions of the hospital continued after the period in which the bulk of this activity was captured. Using Thomas Street and its environs as an example, what can be gleaned from using a combination of the register and the extent about the change in ownership of land and rent in this one area during the years of the hospital's existence?

The earliest references to Thomas Street occur not long after the foundation of St John the Baptist's. With an illustrious list of witnesses testifying to his grant, Baldwin son of Gille and his son-in-law Elias of Chester gave a garden, one lying between St Thomas's and the garden of Richard de Dera.[138] This makes one of only five charters which specify the type of land being given to the hospital. Three more refer to rent granted from a messuage or land in or around the street.[139] Added to this are two in which the hospital is the grantor. In 1273/4 a clerk named Richard Brabasson received certain land in Thomas Street from the then prior, Jordan.[140] In 1335 an area called 'Hiteburn' which was

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[137] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 68.
[138] *Reg HSJB*, no. 41.
[139] *Reg HSJB*, nos 15, 29 and 49.
[140] Ibid., no. 39.

opposite the hospital was leased to Roger de Clifton.[141] Charters 15 to 42 in the register are classified as being in the parish of St Catherine. In two instances at least it was noted in charters that Thomas Street was within this parish.[142]

How does that then compare with what was held at the demise of the hospital? Thomas Stephens, a merchant who in 1540 occupied the rooms which had been used by the former prior, also held a messuage with garden in Thomas Street for a rent of 10*s.*[143] As there is no record in the register of the hospital receiving a messuage containing a garden in Thomas Street, it can be assumed that this was obtained at a point in the fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. The extent unfortunately does not record rental dues where the hospital was to receive the rent due from a property held by a third party. For instance what happened to the 1342 receipt of rent from two tenements in Thomas Street?[144]

The hospital and grounds

In addition to attracting the sick and poor, St John's outside the Newgate was home to two guilds, those of the barber-surgeons, known as the guild of St Mary Magdelene, and the smiths' guild.[145] The barber-surgeons' charter dates from 1446, its chantry held in the church of St Mary Magdalene on the grounds of the hospital. In 1308 the munificence of John le Decer was recorded in Pembridge's Annals where it was noted that in that year he had supplied Dubliners with among other structures, a marble cistern for the city's water, the '*capellam Sancte Marie Hospitalis Sancti Johannis*', the chapel of St Mary of the Friars Minor plus stone additions to the convent of the Dominicans.[146] In 1304 the

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[141] Ibid., no. 568.
[142] Ibid., nos 15 and 39. These charters are linked also by Roger Elys, though they are sixty years apart. The clerk when transcribing no 15 (1330) in the register was aware of the presence of no. 39 (1273–4) and referenced it in the title.
[143] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 56.
[144] *Reg HSJB*, no. 49.
[145] Henry F. Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber-surgeons, or gild of St Mary Magdalene, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 33 (1903), pp 217–38; T.B. Le Fanu, 'A note on two charters of the Smiths' Guild of Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 60 (1930), pp 150–64. For guilds in Dublin see, Mary Clarke and Raymond Refaussé (eds), *Directory of Dublin Guilds* (Dublin, 1993), esp p. 15 for the barber-surgeons and p. 27 for the smiths.
[146] *Chartul St Mary's*, ii, p. 337.

Domincans had been the unfortunate victims of a fire which also affected Bridge Street, the quay, the church of St Saviour and St Mary's abbey.[147] As the chapel of St Mary Magdalene was mentioned in 1260 as being in the cemetery of the hospital grounds, le Decer's assistance in 1308 must have been in the form of repairs.[148] A decade after le Decer's intervention, the western suburb, and the hospital, were disrupted by two different forces. Every house in the city was ordered to provide assistance on the tolling of the public bell

> 'while the land is troubled by the Scotch enemies, and by the hostile Irish, who daily threaten to burn the suburb and to do all possible damage to the city.'[149]

Thomas Street and its environs were destroyed by fire, but with the assent of the citizens rather than the enemies, the fire being intended to repel the Bruce brothers in their attempt to gain access to and control of Dublin.[150] This fire destroyed the western suburb and with it the church of St John's and the chapel of St Mary Magdalene.[151]

By 1319, and with support from Edward II, the task of rebuilding the church had begun.[152] It was also clearly rebuilt with the same dedication as, by 1388, John Hammond requested burial in front of the door of the chapel.[153] From the fifteenth century it became associated with the barber-surgeons, whose guild

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[147] Ibid., ii, p. 332.This also affected chancery documents which had been deposited in the abbey, *Chartul St Mary's*, i, p. xxxix.
[148] *Reg HSJB*, no. 103.
[149] *CARD*, i, no. 106, p. 132.
[150] *Chartul St Mary's*, ii, p. 299. A selection of material published on the Bruce invasion includes: James Lydon, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland', *Historical Studies*, 4 (1963), pp 111–25; Robin Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315–18', *Irish Historical Studies*, 19 (1975), pp 3–37; Seán Duffy (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars: the invasions of Ireland 1306–1329* (Stroud, 2002), esp James Lydon, 'The impact of the Bruce Invasion', pp 119–52.
[151] *Chartul St Mary's*, ii, p. 299. The site of the chapel of St Mary Magdalene was located to the east of the site of the Hospital, no visible surface remains. National Monuments Archive, SMR no DU018–020069 (G. Stout). St Margaret's Hospital was to the north and also no visible surface remains. National Monuments Archive, SMR no DU018–020067 (G. Stout).
[152] Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum: or a history of the abbies, priories and other religious houses in Ireland* (Dublin, 1786), p. 202.
[153] *CARD*, no. 103, p. 129.

also included both wig-makers and apothecaries.[154] Although the connection between surgeon and hospital is clearly fitting there appears to be no specific medical purpose for the location of the guild in the grounds of the hospital. When the hospital was suppressed in the sixteenth century the barber-surgeons moved their chantry to Christ Church cathedral.[155] Following the closure of the hospital the chapel was empty and considered of no value.[156] The chantry of the smiths was based in the chapel of St Eligius, patron of the smiths.[157] When the hospital was surveyed the chapel was found to be occupied by Edmund Redman, who had been granted the entire site to farm.[158] One additional contemporary connection existed between the two guilds and the hospital, that being Brother William, named as prior in both charters. A charter of the barber-surgeons dated 18 October 1446 in which they requested to be enrolled in the mayor's court includes Brother William, then prior of the hospital, as does the list of grantees to that of the smiths in 1474.[159] In April 1469 William had been admitted to the franchise of the city.[160]

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[154] Clarke and Refaussé, *Dublin Guilds*, p. 15.
[155] Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber-surgeons, p. 220.
[156] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 55.
[157] Le Fanu, 'A note on two charters of the Smith's Guild', p. 151. Le Fanu suggests a chapel 'would not have been dedicated to that Saint in Dublin except in connection with the smiths' craft, of which he was a patron.'
[158] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, pp 55–6. For a more detailed discussion of this see below, p. 44.
[159] Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber-surgeons, p. 218; Le Fanu, 'A note on two charters of the Smith's Guild', p. 151. William's time as prior is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.
[160] *The Dublin city franchise roll, 1468–1512*, eds Colm Lennon and James Murray (Dublin, 1998), p. 1.



Fig 4. A view of St John's tower, removed in 1800: Peter Harbison, *Beranger's views of Ireland with text by Peter Harbison* (Dublin, 1991), p. 96.

Southern, eastern and transpontine suburbs

The remaining suburbs yielded slightly fewer grants than the western and south-western. In total they amount for thirty-five records within the register, 35/594 (6%). These areas comprise two transpontine suburbs, Oxmantown and the Liberty of St Mary, the eastern area of Hoggen Green with the Liberties of St Patrick and St Sepulchre (east of St Patrick Street) and the Dubhlinn/St Stephen's Green areas in the south and south east of the city. Of that number the hospital was the main or secondary recipient in half, 17/35 (49%), was named as grantor in eleven, 11/35 (31%), while the remaining mix completes the

final six, 6/35 (17%). Geographically, transpontine records amount to only seven in total, all but one from the thirteen century. The Hoggen Green and Dubhlinn areas yield nine records while the remaining eastern areas amount to nineteen. Chronologically, by St John Brooks's dating, these records only began to emerge at the start of the thirteenth century. Other than the 1240s which has the highest number of records, between two and five records emerged from each decade of the thirteenth century, while only five deeds exist in the register from the fourteenth, with the final in 1346. Categorised into individual possessions these records amount to thirty holdings of rent (thirteen) and land (seventeen), but most of the records arising from these areas included little extraneous information.

Charter no.	Date	Description	Note	Rent	Size
158	*c.* 1200	**HSJB MR.** Land between the land of St Stephen and the street			Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
161	*c.* 1220	**HSJB MR.** All rights in land which grantor held of the city next the Hogges in the east of the city.	See charter 160 for the origin of this grant. See entry 11.		Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
155	*c.* 1225	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Kevin St.		3*s.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.

144	*c.* 1230	**HSJB MR.** Land next to the church of St Patrick.	See charter 143 for a previous donation of same land.	12*d.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
140	*c.* 1230	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in parish St Patrick.	Lies between the mill of Elias and Elena de Wavil and land of Thomas of Ulster. Possibly Talbot's Mill, see *IHTA*, p. 26. See *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, p. 33 for the mill which William de Wavill built on land of St Patrick's < 1212. Land given to HSJB by Laurence de Bedford, see charter 139 for his receipt of this land.	6*s.*	20x32 *in longitudine a vico regali usque ad anticum fossum* ..
185	*c.* 1240	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Oxmantown		40*d.* & ½ lb cumin	Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
186	*c.* 1240	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Oxmantown next to Dublin.		12*d.*	19x83 (length) Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
147	*c.* 1241–2	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in New St in parish St Kevin.	Originally given to HSJB by Gilbert *Grossi* and lying beside his bakery. See charter 148, land passed on (*c.* 1250) but rent still due to HSJB.	8*d.*	32 *et extendit se a via in longitudine usque ad terrram* ...
153	*c.* 1243–4	**HSJB MR.** Two grants.	See charter 339 for confirmation of the	To various	Location given

		2 burgages sold to HJSB in parish St Kevin. 16 acres sold next to the wood of St Thomas'.	acres (though here given as 6) in *c.* 1245 by Luke, Archbishop of Dublin. See *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, pp 83–4 for edited calendared version of 339 with comments.	: **a.** One pair white gloves or one obolus and **b.** 3*s.* 6*d.* and *c.* 3*s.* 6*d.* and **d.** One pair white gloves or one obolus. For the charter 15 marks.	by neighbouring properties/streets.
159	1244–50	**HSJB MR.** Land in parish St Kevin	Also 4*d.* rent in Grenok, Co Meath.		Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
594 (contained within charter 101 in Reg, pp 73–74).	1260–1	**HSJB Grantor.** Meadow by the king's street which passes the door of All Saints up to the green area called St Stephen's.	See also charter 101 for legal case of tenement next to the Hogges in parish St George the Martyr. See entry 2, lands neighbouring.	6*s.* 2*d.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
149	*c.* 1270	**HSJB Grantor.** Land in New St. (In margin: *de domo lapidea in novo vico quam Thomas de Snetirbi tenet, x solidos*)	See also *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*, p. 83 for edited calendared version with comments. See also charter 150 for a 1346 release of arrears of rent from this property.	10*s.* and 3*s.* towards the building/construction of St Patrick's (*fabrice ecclesie*). ?100*s.* for the charter.	30 *et extendit se a dicto vico usque as terram* …
164	*c.* 1277–8	**HSJB MR.** Certain land in Oxmantown	See charter 183 for a 1290 grant of this	One rose	Location given

			by the Hospital, rent then 2*s.*		by neighbouring properties/streets - 48 & *totidem vero posterius*
154	1280–2	**HSJB MR.** One messuage in Kevin St		12*d.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
105	1280–2	**HSJB MR.** Three pieces of land. Land in Thingmoat in parish St Andrew.	See entry 26 on western grid and entry 16 on the city grid for others.	40*d.* (for the three)	Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.
182	1280–2	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Oxmantown on parish St Michan's.		12*d.*	48x88 (long)
569	1337	**HSJB Grantor.** One garden in Oxmantown next to the abbey of St Mary.		8*d.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/streets.

From the evidence of the extent, the hospital did not retain much control over its properties in these areas, though again this must be qualified by the limited detail given in the extent. In 1540 Richard Burges and John Candell held a meadow near the *viridarium* of the Hogges for 6*s.* 2d.[161] Translated in the extent as the 'pleasure ground' this could perhaps refer to St Stephen's Green and could then possibly be linked with the grant of a meadow to Roger de Ashebourne, citizen of

[161] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 57.

Dublin *c.* 1260.[162] Eighty years later this grant was the subject of a court plea by Elias de Ashebourne, concerning a tenement in the suburb of Dublin next to the Hogges in the parish of St George the Martyr, two acres of meadow. Other than several references to Thomas Street, Francis Street and one to High Street, this is the only direct reference in the extent to an area inside or outside the walls of the city. The methods by which the surveys following suppression were carried out clearly varied from one to another. While that of the abbey of St Thomas was arranged within the city by parish, those completing that of St John the Baptist's were much less particular about their categorisation. In the extent of St Thomas's abbey under the quit rents the rent of three shops in Thomas Street, owned by the hospital, was noted, though listed as extinguished; these are not to be found in the hospital's survey.[163]

[162] *Reg HSJB*, pp 73–4. In H.F. Berry's 'Catalogue of the mayors, provosts and bailiffs of Dublin city A.D. 1229 to 1447', in Howard Clarke (ed.) *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1990), pp 153–62 Roger is listed twice in the role, 1261 to 1263. In this charter Peter Abraham and William of Chester are listed as provosts, a combination found in Berry's list as 1261–2, and Roger's first term as mayor. Philomena Connolly disagreed and placed this combination of provosts as 1260–1. In this charter Roger is noted as citizen, rather than mayor, which coincided with Brook's dating. There is no mayor listed as witness, unusual in this period and especially when both provosts were present. This would suggest that if this was carried out when Roger was mayor it was done in his capacity as a private citizen, rather than public representative.

[163] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 27.

The city inside the walls

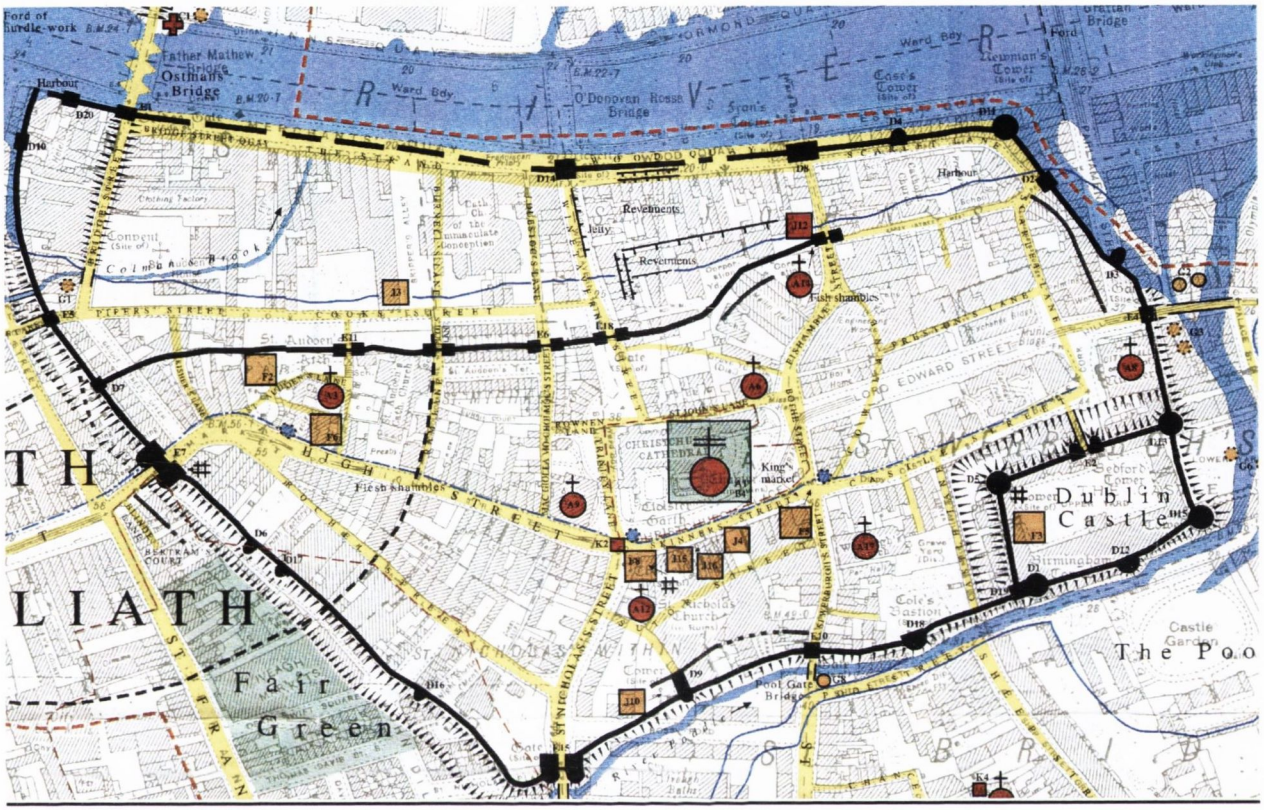

Fig 5. Image from *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* No. 11. Dublin, Part 1. By permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA

Charter no.	Date	Description	Note	Rent	Size
175	*c.* 1195	**HSJB Grantor.** Quarter part of same half a burgage bordering on the land in the Great Street towards the Castle.		8*s.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
74	*c.* 1220	**HSJB MR.** Land by Bothe St given by the grantor with agreement of sisters and mother.	This charter primarily concerns rent but mentions this grant for which there is no charter in the register.	1 mark.	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.

93	*c.* 1230	**HSJB Grantor.** Land in parish of St John of Bothe St, extending to the city walls, between the Guild Hall & land of other named persons.	See charter 92. Possibly the same or part of same land granted to Walter de Neweham by Elias son of Siward goldsmith in 1210. Rent lower in 93.	2*s.*	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
180	*c.* 1230	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in the parish of St Werburgh.		1 bezant or 2*s.*	30x60 (long)
62	*c.*1236 –7	**HSJB MR.** Certain land.	Uncertain location. Specifics not given, determined by the names of the men who held neighbouring properties. Based on references in charter 63 this could be Rochelle St.	3*d.* & 3 farthing	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
177	*c.* 1247–8	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in the parish of St Nicholas extending to Sutor St.	See charters 178, 78 and 79 for rent arising from same land.	12*d.*	18 & *extendit se in longitudin e a vico sutorum*
591 (contained within charter 57 in register, pp 34–5)	*c.* 1250	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land given inside the New Gate.	Land was formerly William the clerks (see *CARD*, i, no. 3, p. 82 for a grant to William from the city for services, possibly same land). See also charter 57 for legal query in 1342 where described as messuaage. See *CARD*, i, no. 25, p. 92, 1261 as Roger	6*s.* & 8*d.*	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.

			granted neighbouring land to William Passemer.		
60	*c.* 1256–7	**HSJB Grantor.** One land in suburb of Dublin in parish of St Audoen's in the street which leads to the bridge of the Ostmen.	See charter 59. In this John Tavernor was given this land, described as *quandam partam terre*. In 60 John is acknowledged as having given it to HSJB, that charter not in Reg.	2*s.* (10*s.* as per John's charter)	24 & *extendent em se in longitudin e a magno vico*
56	1258–9	**HSJB MR.** Certain land over the bank in the parish of St Audoen's beyond Coleman's Brook to the new wall towards the Liffey.			Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
45	*c.* 1277–8	**HSJB MR.** Certain land inside city walls.	Extending to city walls, beside lands of William the clerk. See charter 43 for the grantor in 45 receiving this land.	10*s.*	21x37x80
108	*c.*1277 –8	**HSJB MR.** Certain land in Castle St in the parish of St Werburgh.	Possibly neighbouring the land in charter 180.	1 mark	45 & *extendit se in longitudin e a vico anteriori*
176	1278–9	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land bordered by the land next to the church of St Nicholas, extending to the Great St to the rear of Sutor St.	See also charters 80 and 572 for rental queries from this land.	16*s.*	Location given by neighbouri ng properties/ streets.
592 (contained within charter 99 in register, pp 68–9)	1278–9	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in parish of St John of Bothe St.	See charter 99 in 1342 regarding legal case.	½ mark	16x36 (length)
86	1278–9	**HSJB MR.** Elena Lyvet daughter & heir of Geoffrey de Lyvet gave **14a** two stone	See charters 84, 85, 97 and 114 for related donations.	One rose	**14b** 33 & *extendit se in*

		cellars beyond the gate called the King's Gate adjoining the old city wall and **14b** land in Cook St up to the old city wall and **14c** land in St Nicholas' parish inside the city walls and **14d** land in parish St Werburgh.	No 88 for related rental transactions.		*longitudine a vico cocorum* **14c** 34 & *extendit se in longitudine ad vivum sutorum* **14d** 45 & *extendit se in longitudine a vico anteriori*
46	*c.* 1280–2	**HSJB MR.** Certain land in Rochelle St in parish St Audoen's.	See charter 570. Probably a 1324 onward grant by the HSJB, property descriptions the same with different neighbours.	4*s.* & ¼ of lb of cumin.	18 (octodecem) & *extendit se in longitudine a vico Rupelle*
105	1280–2	**HSJB MR.** Three pieces of land. One next to the bank in the parish of St Olaf.	See entry 25 on western grid and entry 15 on eastern for others.	40*d.* (for the three)	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
109	1281	**HSJB MR.** Certain land in Castle St in parish of St Werburgh.	See charters 11 and 109 for neighbouring properties.	2 marks.	45 & *extendit se in longitudine a vico anteriori*
593 (contained within charter 100 in register, pp 70–71).	1290	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Cook St.	Next to stone house of Gilbert de Livet. See charter 100 for legal case concerning this.	12*d*	16x16 (length)
573	1303	**HSJB Grantor.** Land in the parish of St Olaf.		4*s.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets.
571	1326	**HSJB Grantor.** Certain land in Rochelle	Rochelle St usually	2*s.*	18x95 (length)

		St in parish of St Nicholas.	considered to be in parish St Audoen's.		
145	1380	**HSJB Grantor.** One messuage with an open space (*cum una vacua placea*) in parish of St John of Bothe St extending to Lokot St.		40*d.*	Location given by neighbouring properties/ streets

Despite the differing geographical and topographical circumstances within medieval Dublin, the charters relating to properties inside Dublin's walls share many similar characteristics with those outside the walls. The numbers for the walled city are slightly higher than those pertaining to the suburbs, 87/594 (15%). Based on the criteria also used for suburban Dublin, the hospital was the main or secondary recipient in less than half of the urban records. In addition, despite the higher number of records, it would appear that this did not necessarily mean a higher number of actual grants but a more conscientious gathering of documentation relating to certain donations. Between land and rent fifty-six distinct possessions can be identified. Two in particular are striking.

The first involves the two wealthy and connected families of the city, de Livet and Cordwainer. Gilbert de Livet was mayor of Dublin three times in the 1230s while Thomas le Cordwainer was a burgess of Bristol.[164] Around 1220 Thomas the Cordwainer gave Gilbert de Livet two stone cellars along with the buildings overhead. One was situated in the corner outside what is called in the charter the 'King's Gate', otherwise known as Winetavern Gate, and the other was by the city wall next to the Liffey, and therefore on the northern border of the walled city. [165]

[164] Berry, 'Catalogue of the mayors', p. 156. In this charter Agnes and John are named as children of Roger Cordwainer, whose earliest appearances in the register were as witness *c.* 1190 (*Reg HSJB*, nos 30 and 41). For a prosopographical examination of the Cordwainer family see chapter 3.

[165] *Reg HSJB*, no. 84. In the margin of the manuscript this is given as Bothestreet but the description given in the charter would appear to relate to Winetavern Street. In a related charter (no. 86) the old wall of the city is given a reference point, again dictating Winetavern Street as the most likely location.

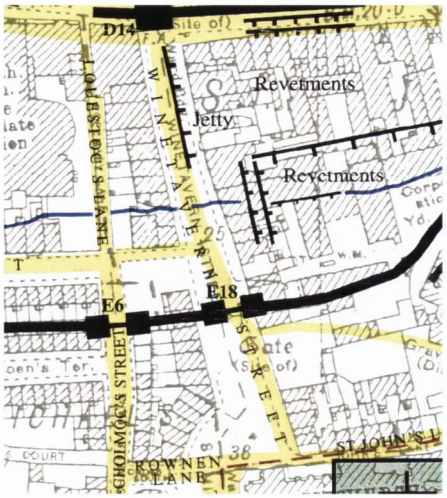

Fig 6. Image from the *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* No 11. Dublin, Part 1. By permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA

More than fifteen years later William, son of Alan, with the consent of his wife Agnes, named as sister and heir to John Cordwainer, granted Gilbert de Livet half a stone house with a cellar outside the King's Gate.[166] The two charters share three of the same witnesses, Ralph de Mora, Ingelbricht de Kermerdin and Ralph de Stanes, while the clerk in each was named William. This would appear to have been part of Agnes's marriage dowry, she being the daughter of Roger Cordwainer. This transaction reveals a personal link between the two families as Gilbert was named as John le Cordwainer's heir. This charter also reveals the Cordwainer connection with the townland of Balimadon (Balimacdon, Balimagdon) in Fingal, Co Dublin. For the donation of half the stone house and cellar, Gilbert paid the considerable sum of sixty marks of silver toward the debts of John Cordwainer for the land of Balimadun.[167]

The stone cellars clearly stayed within the de Livet family as it was Elena de Livet, daughter and heir of Geoffrey de Livet, wife of Thomas Blund who granted them to the hospital in the late 1270s.[168] By the 1240s the stone houses

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[166] *Reg HSJB*, no. 83.
[167] Again, see chapter 3 for a fuller version of events.
[168] Geoffrey served as provost in Dublin 1269–70 (no. 135). Elena and Thomas were generous benefactors of the hospital, making several appearances in the register, granting both land and rent throughout the 1270s in both the city and Swords. As benefactors they are discussed in chapter 3. Elena specified that these were same cellars held by Gilbert of Thomas. Elena is

were known as Geoffrey's.[169] Her father being deceased and with what appears to be genuine charity and compassion for the work of the hospital, she bestowed various grants on St Johns,

> ubi pauperes & languisi suscipuntur & pro juribus fratrum ibidem existentium consolantur per fidelium elemosinarum prestantiam.[170]

On her own authority Elena donated to the hospital the two cellars which Gilbert de Livet had received from Thomas le Cordwainer. Included was land in Cook Street, land in the parish of St Nicholas by Sutor Street and land in Castle Street in the parish of St Werburgh.[171] Contemporaneously she donated 20*s.* arising from land in Skinners' Street, land outside the New Gate and land opposite the church of St Michael in the city.[172]

Geoffrey de Livet was also involved in an exchange of land and rent between various citizens of Dublin in the 1260s, culminating in a donation to the hospital in the 1270s. During the mayoral year 1264–5 John Pollard donated to John de Hereford land in Bothe Street, between that of Geoffrey de Livet and William Leynach for 10*s.*[173]

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named as Geoffrey's daughter and heir and although there is no documentary evidence of the nature of the relationship between Geoffrey and Gilbert, that they were related seems certain.

[169] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 183, pp 436–7.

[170] *Reg HSJB*, no. 85.

[171] Ibid., no. 86. Repeated in no. 97.

[172] Ibid., no. 114.

[173] Ibid., no. 112.

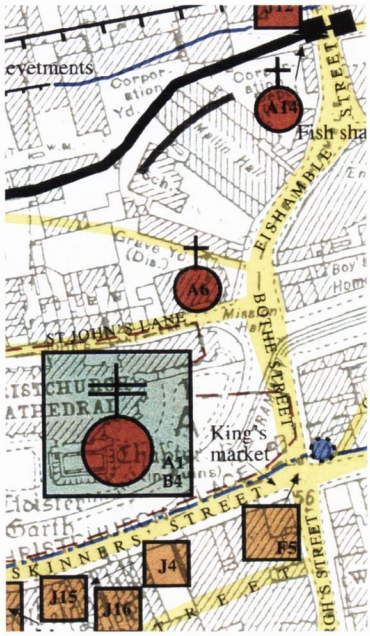

Fig 7. Image from *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* No. 11. Dublin, Part 1. By permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA

In the early 1270s de Hereford granted this on to Nicholas de Beverlaco.[174] Geoffrey de Livet donated to de Hereford, a stone mason and citizen of Dublin, land in the same part of the city for rent which was to be paid to the archbishop of Dublin and himself.[175] De Hereford then passed this to Nicholas de Beverlaco, the rental terms standing.[176] Around the same time, Roger Oweyn junior, citizen of Dublin, gave to Nicholas de Beverlaco, physician, land in Skinners' Street, for one rose on the feast of St John the Baptist.[177] This was followed by Nicholas's grant to the hospital of two marks, comprised of rent owed to him from various sources around the city. St John Brooks has dated this as *c.* 1270 and internal evidence suggests a date contemporary or later than 1272–3. The preceeding charter in the register concerns a grant from Geoffrey de Selwode to Nicholas de Beverlaco of 12*s.* rent from land in Fishshamble Street.[178] This land was neighboured by the church of St John of Bothestreet and Adam the fisherman's

[174] *Reg HSJB*, no. 113.
[175] Ibid., no. 110.
[176] Ibid., no. 111.
[177] Ibid., no. 106.
[178] Ibid., no. 95.

land. It can be dated to 1272–3 from the evidence of the witness list which comprises, in the first three places, the mayor and two provosts.

Exchanges of this kind are revealing for several reasons. Of seven charters dated over a decade, only one relates to the hospital. In theory the prior and brethren should only have had to keep record of that one deal, but that all prior transactions were also accumulated suggests a conscientiousness unfortunately lacking throughout the remainder of the register. Within just these seven charters forty-three citizens of Dublin can be identified, several individuals appearing up to seven times, either as repeat witnesses, grantors, recipients or men whose own properties border the donated land. The legal implications for even the smallest donation are drawn into sharp relief when it is clear how many interested parties could be identified should a dispute as to the legality of the donations be brought before the courts. These charters are also a good indication of the level of administration necessary for the hospital to manage its finances.

Within the city walls the hospital at one time or another held land or the right of rent in almost all the city's main streets.[179]

[179] High, Bridge, Cook, Rochelle, Nicholas, Sutor, Castle, Fishamble, Winetavern, Bothe, Werburgh all identified. Coulane (Cow Lane) also mentioned, could be an area behind the hospital or within the city.

Section of map showing Fishshamble, Bothe, Skinners' and Werburgh Streets.

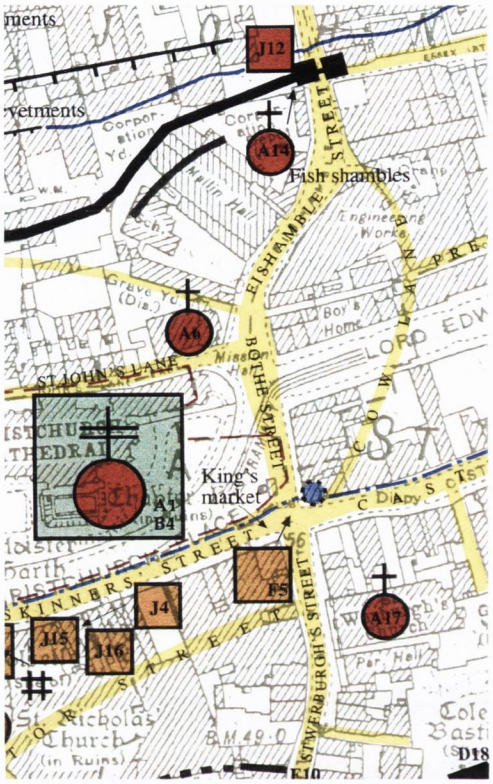

Fig 8. Image from *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* No. 11. Dublin, Part 1. By permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA

It was, then, affected by changes, such the erection of new structures or change in the ownership of neighbouring property throughout the entire city. The availability or otherwise of administrative records and especially uncertainty as to the provenance of those records can cloud the reliability of conclusions. Derek Keene noted that endowments to religious houses were subject to variations, in particular noting that new twelfth-century urban houses accumulated substantial portfolios, while the portion of 'urban rent' held by the older institutions seemed to stagnate.[180] In Dublin local circumstances differed from those of English cities and direct comparisons must be made with caution. Something similar can be seen with the pattern of endowment to St Mary's abbey, the largest and

[180] Derek Keene, 'Landlords, the property market and urban development in medieval England' in Finn-Einar Eliassen and Geir Atle Ersland (eds), *Power, profit and urban land; landownership in medieval and early modern northern European towns* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 103.

wealthiest of the pre-invasion religious houses: this had changed by 1236 to the extent that large benefactions were scarce, while the newer houses continued to receive these endowments.[181]

Rental payments

Non-monetary token payments are common, and tend to be of a standard nature. The handing over of a pair of white gloves, usually at Easter, was overwhelmingly the most popular method requested by benefactors. Not only was the colour usually specified, but quite often also the value, which varied between a halfpenny and a penny. In 1260 Agnes the widow of Maurice *tabernarius* was given land in the western suburb in return for three payments: the first, 10*d.* which she was to give St John's; the second to the grantor Albrida of either one pair of white gloves worth one obolus, or just one obolus itself; and finally, 8*s.* for the grant.[182] Pepper and cumin were the two most common spices, usually by the pound weight. While spices were prized as a means of preserving food and improving its taste, given that the value of these spices would have changed over time, it would not make for the most practical type of rental payment. Sore sparrowhawks also appear occasionally as a method of payment.[183] 'Sore' refers to the reddish colour of the sparrowhawk from birth to its first moult the November following its birth.[184] In 1312 a final concord between John le Marshal and Richard Freynshe and his wife Agnes, for example, concluded with the statement that John had given a sore sparrowhawk to Richard and Agnes.[185]

Token payments, while perhaps fulfilling a variety of purposes, comprised a relatively small number of items (or their equivalent value) such as roses, white gloves, wine and birds of prey. Down payments and entry fines might vary in

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[181] Colmcille Ó Conbhui, 'The lands of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 62 (1961–3), section C, p. 24.
[182] *Reg HSJB*, no. 29.
[183] Ibid., nos 19, 191, 199 and 75 (a falcon).
[184] 'The feet of fines for Oxfordshire, 1195–1291', ed. H.E. Salter, *Oxfordshire Record Society*, 12 (1930), ix.
[185] *Reg HSJB*, no. 19.

amounts but were recorded in standard phrases. A standard, annual payment, due from a named piece of land, owed by a named individual and payable at standard dates, most commonly Michaelmas and Easter, allowed for a precise management of the accounts of the hospital. By contrast, a physical grant of land or property could almost be viewed as cumbersome as it involved a much greater degree of management. Monetary grants were not, however, without their own pressures, as seen in the number of disputes involving the priors and civilian litigants. If the aim of the hospital was to maintain its patients and brethren then surely monetary donations would have been preferable to the maintenance of land. While it is tempting to conclude that money would have been more welcome than land, the 'quagmire that was medieval subletting' perhaps makes such a conclusion unwise.[186] Not all grants were as straightforward as the surviving charter might make them seem and without a full study comparing other religious institutions in medieval Dublin and transactions between citizens themselves, a definitive statement on the rental market in the city cannot be attempted.[187]

Donations of intramural rent

Charter Number	Date	Description	Amount	Note
73 (see also 72 – any relation?)	*c.* 1230	**HSJB MR.** From land in Sutor St.	3*s.* in perpetuity on the feast of Petrus ad vincula (Aug 1)	
64	*c.* 1232–3	**HSJB MR.** From land in Rochelle St.	32*d.* HSJB to give 1 pair white gloves or 1	

[186] Richard Goddard, *Lordship and medieval urbanisation; Coventry, 1043–1355* (Woodbridge, 2004), p.192.

[187] It has been suggested that it 'is rare, especially in the twelfth century, to have enough supplementary information to put into context a gift recorded by a charter.' Dauvit Broun, The charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the early and central middle ages. Quiggan pamphlets on the sources of medieval Gaelic history, 2 (Cambridge, 1995), p. 21. That a charter may document only one part, or reason for, a financial or property transaction indicates that much care must be taken when drawing conclusions. See Goddard, *Lordship and medieval urbanisation*, pp 192–209 for an analysis of the thirteenth-century land market and rents in Coventry and pp 239–46 for the fourteenth century.

			obulus. See charter 63 for prior grant of same rent.	
48	*c.* 1249–50	**HSJB MR.** From land in Rochelle St.	1 pound of cumin - also quitclaimed to HSJB 1 pair white gloves or 1*d.*	
52	*c.* 1250	**HSJB MR.** From stone house in parish St Audoen's.	16*d.* See also *Chart St Mary's*, i, no. 287, p. 350.	
53	*c.* 1256–7	**HSJB MR.** From land in Brugestreet (Bridge St Lower).	10*d.*	
82	*c.* 1256–7	**HSJB MR.** From house opposite the church of Holy Trinity.	40*d.*	
51	*c.* 1259–60	**HSJB NMR.** From land in parish of St Audoen's.	½ lb cumin	
94	*c.* 1259–60	**HSJB NMR.** From land in Fishshamble St	½ mark See charter 179 (*c.* 1276–7). This land was regranted, HSJB retained the right to this rent.	
103	1260	**HSJB MR.** From various locations in the city (including *una selda in draparia*).	3 marks	
96	*c.* 1270	**HSJB MR.** From various locations in the city.	2 marks (includes 12*d.* as given in charter 95)	
58	1272–3	**HSJB NMR.** From land in parish St Audoen's.	16*s.* Includes various other rent to related individuals.	
47	1272–3	**HSJB NMR.** From land in Rochelle St.	8*s.*	
69	*c.* 1276–7	**HSJB MR.** From land and	1 mark (½ mark also in	

		stone house in parish St Michael.	parish St Michael in exchange for stone house next to their cemetery?)	
67	*c.* 1277–8	**HSJB MR.** From land in parish St Michael	4*s.*	
114	1278–9	**HSJB MR.** From various locations (one outside Newgate).	20*s.* Includes 4*s.* as described in 67.	
178	1280–1	**HSJB NMR.** From a stone house in Sutor St	1 mark	See charter 78 (1338) for confirmation of same rent. ½ mark remitted to Philip Kenfare. See 79 for same of 12*d.*
174	*c.* 1281–2	**HSJB NMR.** From land in parish St Audoen's	½ mark	See no. 580 for a 1346 agreement concerning this rent, reduced due to arrears to 40*s.* for 20 years.
44	1283–4	**HSJB MR.** Quitclaim from St Mary's.	5*s.*	In exchange for 5s. from other rents of HSJB. See *Chart St Mary's*, i, no. 292, pp 362–3 for same. See also charter 61 (*c.* 1256–7) for possible grant of land from which 5*s.* arises.
181	1285	**HSJB NMR.** From land in Castle St in parish St Werburgh	12*d.*	
50	1285–6	**HSJB NMR.** From land in parish St Audoen's towards Newgate.	2*s.* 6*d.*	
54	1299	**HSJB MR.** From a messuage in Bridge St.	10*s.*	From this HSJB required to give Holy Trinity 2*s.* 6*d.* Following death

				of main recipient in charter, this rent to be paid to HSJB in perpetuity.
104	1302	**HSJB MR.** From land in parish St John of Bothe St.	6*s.* 8*d.*	
55	1308	**HSJB MR.** From a tenement over the quay (*Kayam*) in Dublin.	16*s.*	Assise of fresh force, found in favour of HSJB.
98	1308	**HSJB MR.** From a tenement in Fishamble St.	19*s.*	Assise of fresh force, found in favour of HSJB.
115	1309	**HSJB Grantor.** From land *infra curia* of de Exonia next to church St Mary del Dam next to Dublin Castle.	½ mark	To Richard de Exonia, knight. Amount released in return for a sum of money.
81	1311	**HSJB NMR.** From tenement in parish and street of St Nicholas.	3*s.*	
87	1315	**HSJB NMR.** From stone house with curtilage in Cook St in parish St Michael.	8*s.* 8*d.*	See charter 90 (1318) for quitclaim of same property.
68	1334	**HSJB MR.** From tenement in High St in parish St Michael.	11*s.*	See charter 70. Plea and complaint from prior. Jury found that Walter of Castleknock had paid rent and prior fined for false claim.
80	1338 (Feb)	**HSJB MR/Grantor.**	16*s.*	Arrears remitted. See 572 (March 1338)
88	1338	**HJSB MR.** From two stone cellars in Winetavern St. Not a new rent.	1 mark	See charters 84, 85, 86, 97 and 114 for related donations of land from which rent arises.
89	1338	**HJSB MR.** From stone	13*s*	May be part of same property in

		house in Winetavern St.		88. Ownership of house being transferred, stipulating rent must continue to be paid to HSJB.
49	1342	**HJSB MR.** From parish St Audoen's and Thomas St.	5*s.* 10*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.* from cellar next to grantors house (*juxta ostium aule mee*) in St Audoen's and 3*s.*4*d.* from two tenements in Thomas St.
586	1395	**HSJB Grantor.** From stone house in Winetavern St.	6*s.* 8*d.*	Partial charter, first charter in *addenda et corrigenda*, p. xxiii).

Donations of rent in all suburbs

Charter numbers 141, 142, 148, 151, 156, 163, 171 and 173 in south east
184 Oxmantown.

All others in western suburb.

Charter Number	Date	Description	Amount	Note
38	*c.* 1190	**HSJB MR.** From same street as HSJB.	12*s.*	
30	*c.* 1190	**HSJB MR.** From parish St Catherine.	2*s.*	
12	*c.* 1200	**HSJB MR.** From parish St James'.	12*d.*	
129	*c.* 1215	**HSJB MR.** From parish St Patrick.	6*d.*	
16	*c.* 1220	**HSJB MR.** From land in parish St Catherine.	2*s.*	See charter 17 for same.
36	*c.* 1230–1	**HSJB NMR.** From land in Bertram Court.	3*s.*	
119	*c.* 1230–1	Rent here given to Hospital St John of	12*d.*	

		Kilmainham, Hospitallers presumed.		
31	*c.* 1240	**HSJB MR.** From land opposite cemetery of HSJB.	2*s.* For this one pair white gloves or one obolus.	See charter 32 for later confirmation of same.
116	*c.* 1241–2	**HSJB MR.** From various locations.	7*s.*	4*s.* in Bertram Court, 2*s.* in same, 12*d.* Oxmantown.
163	*c.* 1249–50	**HSJB MR.** From land in Thingmoat.	5*s.*	One pair gloves or one obolus to Robert *tingtore de Droweda* who was prior grantor of same rent to current grantor. See charter 162.
148	*c.* 1250	**HSJB NMR.** From land in New St in parish St Kevin. Not new rent.	8*s.*	See charter 147 for HSJB ownership of this land.
151	*c.* 1250–1	**HSJB MR.** From land in parish St Kevin.	2*s.*	One pair white gloves or 1*d.*
122	1259	**HSJB MR.** From land opposite church St Francis.	18*d.*	HSJB used to pay this to Peter le Mere, he renounces it in return for a share of benefits of the hospital for him and his wife (this is perhaps a corrody)
134	*c.* 1259–60	**HSJB MR.** From land in parish St Patrick in Donore.	16*s.*	See entry 17 on land grid for western suburb.
23	*c.* 1260	**HSJB MR.** From various in parish St Catherine.	2 marks	Paid by HSJB: 10 marks in consideration of donation and 1*d.* paid to tenant-in-chief.
29	1260–1	**HSJB NMR.** From land in Coulane, opposite garden of abbey of St Thomas.	10*d.*	
141	1261–2	**HSJB MR.**	5*s.*	Split between

		From tenement in parish St Patrick.		two tenements.
11	*c.* 1263–4	**HSJB MR.** From land in Crockers' St.	2*s.*	
128	1264–5	**HSJB NMR.** From land in Bertram Court.	One pair of white gloves and 10*d.*	
6	*c.* 1266–7	**HSJB NMR.** From land in Crockers' St.	2*s.*	
135	*c.* 1269–70	**HSJB MR.** From land in Coombe.	4*s.*	
173	*c.* 1270	**HSJB NMR.** From land in parish St Patrick next to Coombe.	4*s.*	
142	*c.* 1270	**HSJB MR.** From two tenements in parish St Patrick.	12*d.*	From two tenements, one next to that in 173.
156	*c.* 1271–2	**HSJB NMR.** From garden in parish St Peter de Monte	18*d.*	
2	1275–6	**HSJB NMR.** From ¼ land in parish St James.	12*d.*	
4	1290	**HSJB NMR.** From land in parish St James.	2*s.*	
5	1290–1	**HSJB NMR.** From ¼ land in parish St James.	12*d.*	
3	1290–1	**HSJB NMR.** From land in parish St James.	6*d.*	
184	1293	**HSJB NMR.** From land in Oxmantown.	12*d.*	
34	1296			HSJB remitting 40*d.*portion of 10*s.* rent owed to them.
588	1297	**HSJB NMR.** From two acres in parish St James called 'Smalacre' and 'Kittegalisacre'.	15*d.*	Partial charter, third charter in *addenda et corrigenda*, p. xxiv).
15	1330	**HSJB MR.** From messuage in Thomas St.	1 mark	HSJB remitted all arrears and ½ of the 1 mark owed

				for 15 yrs, after which again owed 1 mark.
28	1335	**HSJB MR.** From tenement in parish St Catherine, opposite door of HSJB.	10*s.*	Arrears remitted. 2*d.* of 10*s.* remitted.
171	1324	**HSJB NMR.** Tenement in New St in parish St Patrick.	12*d.*	See charter 172 (1325) as land in passed on but rent remains to HSJB.
71	1334	**HSJB MR.** From tenement in parish St Catherine.	4*s.*	Plea and complaint from prior. Jury found that Walter of Castleknock had paid rent and prior fined for false claim. See charters 68 & 70 for similar.

External influences

The enactment of royal statutes concerning the ownership of land must have had a large influence on how the hospital acquired its portfolio. The most influential of these was the Statute of Mortmain. On the statute books in England in 1279 it was probably another two decades before it was published in Ireland, although its presence had been felt by then.[188] Designed to prevent valuable and productive land being held perpetually by the grantee, thus potentially remaining a lost source of taxation, it primarily affected the Church. The impact must have been felt in Dublin as, in the 1320s, the mayor and bailiffs requested that

> 'members of religious orders and others have acquired, in fee, lands, tenements and rents within the city boundaries since the promulgation of the Statute of Mortmain'

[188] Paul A. Brand, 'King, church and property; the enforcement of restrictions on alienations into mortmain in the Lordship of Ireland in the later middle ages', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), pp 486–7. For the Latin see, Sandra Rabin, *Mortmain legislation and the English church, 1279–1500* (Cambridge, 1982), pp 193–4. For an English translation see [http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/ed1-mortmain.html, accessed 14 August, 2009].

which they claimed had encroached on their own rights, prompting a perambulation of the boundaries.[189]

Prior to donation a potential benefactor was required to apply for a licence to alienate the intended donation. This allowed for an investigation into any potential and loss to the crown which might arise from the donation. As Brand indicated, the

> 'licensing system allowed lay donors of property to continue their endeavours to secure the salvation of their souls in the next world through the pious endowment of ecclesiastical bodies in this world.[190]

Its effect on the hospital is not entirely clear, not only because of the gaps in administrative records which might demonstrate such an effect, but also because other external influences may have resulted in a change in the type of endowments made to the hospital. One such effort to secure a licence was that of John le Mareshall and Richard le Noble in the early fourteenth century, as noted earlier in this chapter. Theirs is interesting for the protracted nature of the investigation. Another example, this from Clogher, Co Tipperary, where Simon Dynbegh and Henry Rowe attempted to donate sixty acres to the hospital also caught the attention of the king and justiciary. In 1308 John Wogan, the justiciar, was instructed to examine the possibility of any damage to the king by such a transaction.[191] The following year an inquisition carried out in Cashel outlined that Simon and Henry held the land of Herbert de Mareys, neither owing service. Edmund Butler was Herbert's mesne lord, next only to the king himself. Edmund also owed no service. Ultimately it was considered of no hindrance to the crown to allow the donation.[192] In January 1317, in a deed witnessed by Edmund Butler

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[189] *CARD*, i, no. 134, pp 156–8.
[190] Brand, 'King, church and property', p. 482.
[191] *Reg HSJB*, no. 523. For calendared version see *Cal Just Rolls*, 1308–14, pp 127–8. This fuller version is also valuable for the name of Brother Nicholas de Bedeford, attorney to the prior. For a brief reference to the inquisition, with dubious dating, see Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 201.
[192] *Reg HSJB*, no. 590 (my numbering, pp 334–5). *Cal Just Rolls*, 1308–14, p. 128.

as justiciar and Herbert de Marey, Simon and Henry donated half a carucate in the tenement of Clogher.[193]

Other than extant examples of inquisitions, licences and reinstatements evaluating the impact of the statute on St John's is difficult and stating firm conclusions is ultimately unwise.

Conclusion

In 1671 letters patent were granted for the establishment within the liberties of Dublin of a hospital and school, 'a place of abode for the sustentation and relief of poor children, aged and impotent people'. The city administrators requested the authority to 'purchase lands, tenements and hereditaments for the erecting and maintaining of such'.[194] Across the Liffey, and over the course of almost four hundred years, the priors, brothers and sisters of the hospital of St John the Baptist had themselves attempted to provide a secure financial basis for their charitable activities, much of it by their involvement in the property market of medieval Dublin. Without account rolls, patient numbers from at least each century of its existence or any significant insight into the daily life of the infirmary the cost of maintaining the patients cannot be estimated. How the hospital was spending its income can only be assessed in comparison to other similar religious hospitals, as previously examined in chapter two. [195]

From the fourteenth-century on the hospital would appear to have gone into decline. The numbers of patients fell, the priors increasingly relied on donations acquired directly from the crown, but circumstances in Ireland also changed. Based on the evidence of its Dublin properties and sources of income, and separated from any ideological or theoretical arguments evaluating how charitable their philanthropy was, the citizens of medieval Dublin provided the pepper, pence and property which sustained the poor and infirm in their midst.

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[193] *Reg HSJB*, no. 524. Reference to it was made in no. 527 which was a grant of 20 acres in Clogher from the same Thomas, also in 1317.
[194] *CARD*, i, no. XCVI, pp 55–6.
[195] *Reg HSJB*, nos 227, 232 (grain) and 56, 64, 151, 237 (milk).

Chapter 5

Devotion and deviation: an analysis of the priors of St John's

Introduction

> 'It happens now that those in charge of hospices, leper–houses, almshouses or hospitals disregard the care of such places and fail to loosen the hold of those who have usurped the goods, possessions and rights of these places. They indeed permit them to slip and be lost completely and the buildings to fall into ruin.'

Such was the proclamation of the Council of Vienne of 1311–12. In an effort to stop and presumably reverse this decline it recommended that they 'should compel the persons in charge to receive the poor people and maintain them in accordance with the resources and revenues of the places' and that these institutions were to be 'governed by prudent suitable men of good repute'.[1] It ends with a declaration that these recommendations were not intended to apply to the 'hospices of military or religious orders', which suggests that a recognised difference existed between these latter institutions and the leper-houses, almshouses and hospitals listed in the opening paragraph of the statute; the hospices were merely reminded that they were to abide by the discipline of their superiors and observe the rules of their order. Such a comprehensive reprimand can only have been prompted by reports reaching the papacy of the mismanagement of those charitable houses under its ultimate jurisdiction. From the fourteenth century, and probably earlier, not only were questions being raised about the quality of those in charge of the hospitals, but the quality of care offered and indeed the bona fides of those presenting themselves to these

[1] *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (2nd edn, 2 vols, Washington DC, 1990), i, no. 17, pp 374–5.

houses of charity increasingly came under scrutiny. A sixteenth-century literary source depicts the difficulties faced by hospitals in determining between those beggars and infirm arriving at the door who were genuine and those who were 'idle slouches' and 'deceivers of people'.[2] In 1536 St John the Baptist's in Dublin, once the source of donations from the wealthiest and most prominent of Dublin's citizens, was considered to serve no purpose and to be of no good.[3] A year later, when John Alen was recommending the suppression of St Thomas's abbey, All Hallows and St John's, it was again reiterated that in these were places 'where is nother greate hospytalytie kept, nor yet ther nedyth greatly.'[4] Those assessing these religious houses in the heady period prior to dissolution may have had their own personal and financial reasons for recommending their closure (this will be examined in greater detail later in the next chapter). However, that there were only three pensions issued to the hospital on its demise, presumably as there were only three brothers still living in the house (the final prior, Thomas Everard and brothers Robert Sex and Walter Cartan) would suggest a corresponding low number of domestic staff, as well as of those for whom the hospital had initially been founded, the poor and sick. It seems that by this point it no longer held its position as the largest house of charity in Dublin.

As head of the priory and hospital the priors must then come under scrutiny. Although no evidence of the minutiae of hospital administration has been unearthed, as the figurehead of the largest charitable institution in the city, the quality of leadership provided by the prior, his family, contacts, perhaps even his political allegiances cannot be ignored. How can we assess whether the hospital did enter a period of decline in the fourteenth century, and how much responsibility for this was down to the heads of the house? The clearest method of assessing this decline is by examination of the hospital's finances. In her study of St Giles's Hospital, Norwich, Carole Rawcliffe noted that

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[2] Robert Copland, 'The highway to the spital-house' in A.V. Judges (ed.), *The Elizabethan underworld* (2nd edn, London, 1965), pp 1–25.
[3] *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, Henry VIII* (21 vols, London, 1862–1932), xi, no. 1416, p. 564.
[4] *State papers, Henry VIII* (11 vols, London, 1830–52), ii, p. 484.

> 'the administrative structure...followed a model traditionally adopted on most lay estates of any kind' [as each] 'of the hospital's appropriated rectories, manors and other substantial properties was placed under the control of a bailiff, reeve, rent collector or farmer, who answered, in turn, to the receiver general.'[5]

Unlike St John's, the muniments of St Giles's allow for a relatively detailed financial analysis. Rawcliffe further warns against 'sweeping generalisations about indifference and lack of vocation' when assessing hospitals whose archives were either not managed well or destroyed following suppression. To that end, the conclusions reached here about any deterioration of service provided by St John's, and the merits of its priors, will be made by examining those sources which mention the hospital and an attempt will be made to determine trends in donation or quality of management.

The Priors

Despite having the names of (at least some of) the priors, very little attention has been given to them by those scholars who have written about St John's. As the head of the house, and presumably the most publicly visible of the *fratres et sorores*, the role of the priors in the hospital's fortune must be considered. Perhaps from a study of these men it might be possible to draw conclusions as to the changing fate of the hospital. Family links might provide further evidence for the activities and even the decisions of the priors.

Despite the prominent position of their institution as both a physical structure and the main house for care of the sick and infirm of Dublin, evidence for the priors is scanty. In his edition of the register, St John Brooks provides a list of the priors which combines both James Ware's list (attached to the manuscript, discussed in the chapter on the register) with his own investigations.[6] Where he could, St John Brooks provided the probable dates for each of the

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[5] Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the soul: the life, death and resurrection of an English medieval hospital, St Giles, Norwich, c. 1249–1550* (Stroud, 1999), p. 67.

[6] *Reg HSJB*, pp xx–xxi. All subsequent references to St John Brooks' dating of the priors refers to the list supplied on these two pages. Additional information unearthed through research will be fully footnoted.

listed priors. Given the patchy nature of the sources, many of these dates are only suggestions and there are many gaps in his succession list. One of the difficulties with the list is how best to interpret the gaps in dates. Some might mean that several years lapsed between the death of one prior and the election of his successor, while others may simply be due to a lack of evidence for those years. St John Brooks's list overlooks two men who were named elsewhere as priors, a John Walsh who it was claimed held the office in 1322 and a John Onextiffe who supposedly held the office the following year.[7] These will be dealt with in further detail below.

The founder and first prior, Ailred Palmer, his family and societal connections, have already been examined in chapter three. No record of his death has been unearthed but Ware has dated it to *c.* 1202. The second prior listed by St John Brooks is Osbert de Colesell whose dates are given as *c.* 1217–*c.* 1220. Osbert's own dates as prior are somewhat confusing. St John Brooks points to a charter in the Register of St Thomas's abbey which could suggest that until *c.* 1217 the hospital was in fact without a prior,[8] while simultaneously dating one charter which named Osbert as prior to *c.* 1210.[9] Another charter dated to the same year (*c.* 1210) was witnessed by 'O' as prior.[10] The confusion also extends to the date Osbert left office. The charter given as evidence for the 1220 date of his priorship (Osbert appears as one of the witnesses) is a charter from Strongbow's daughter, Isabel de Clare, for the salvation of his soul and that of

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[7] Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 202. Repeated in J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw, R. Walsh, *History of the city of Dublin*...(2 vols, London, 1918), i, p. 347. The date given for Onextiffe would appear to be wrong: this will be examined in greater detail below.

[8] *The Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (London, 1889), no. 371, part 3, p. 322. (hereafter *Reg St Thomas)*. In a deed in Gilbert's publication, no. ii, pp 321–2, Osbert de Colesell is named as prior of the hospital. The manuscript of this publication is housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In a later transcript of this, Osbert is named as Osbert de Colchester: RIA 12 D 2, fol. 33v. A copy of RIA 12 D 2 also repeats the Colchester topynom: RIA 12 D 38, fol. 33v. Without having the opportunity to check the Bodleian MS on which Gilbert based his publication, the decision was taken to follow both Gilbert and St John Brooks's rendering of this name.

[9] *Reg HSJB*, no. 13.

[10] Ibid., no. 443. Even if this speculative date is incorrect, the charter is a confirmation from Donat O'Lonergan, Archbishop of Cashel, who held the position 1208–16 which, if 'O' is Osbert, would support an earlier date than 1217 for his position as prior. F.J. Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111–1534' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, ix: maps, genealogies, lists* (Oxford, 1984), p. 290.

her husband, William Marshal, to Holy Trinity.[11] The editor of the charter, H.J. Lawlor, dated it not to 1220 but to *c.* 1210 with an explanation suggesting that the date can be no later than 1212. The calendared edition of the Christ Church Deeds dates the same deed as *c.* 1200.[12] Unfortunately the witness list is of limited assistance as those named with their official positions held them for well over a decade, such as Simon, bishop of Meath, the first witness, who held his position between 1192–1224,[13] and S[imon], abbot of St Thomas who was abbot for probably much of the first two decades of the thirteenth century.[14] Even William, baron of Naas could refer to William fitzMaurice (d. 1199) or his son, William fitzWillam (d. 1227). Other Dublin notables such as Audoen Brun and Gilbert de Livet were also active citizens in the early thirteenth century. That Isabel died in 1220 and Marshal a year earlier, may suggest that St John Brooks ignored Lawlor's dating and instead placed the grant, which was partially for the salvation of Marshal's soul, between the death of William and Isabel.[15] However this is not the earliest reference in Ireland to an Osbert de Colesell, nor indeed do the references refer solely to his religious activities.

Coleshill in Warwickshire was one of the manors which was home to the Clinton family, where one of the earliest of the family, Geoffrey de Clinton, was an administrator in Henry I's treasury in the 1120s.[16] The Clintons were also cousins of the de Verduns and it is in this capacity that they appear in Ireland,

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[11] *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Albus of Christ Church, Dublin*, ed. H.J. Lawlor, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 27 (1908–9), section C, no. 31, pp 18–19 (hereafter *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Albus*).

[12] *Christ Church Deeds*, eds M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé (Dublin, 2001), no. 13, p. 38. (hereafter *Christ Ch Deeds*).

[13] Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, ix, p. 285, Simon Rochfort.

[14] Aubrey Gwynn, 'Early history of St Thomas's abbey', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 84:1 (1954), pp 18–20.

[15] For a synopsis of Isabel's life see M.T. Flanagan, 'Clare, Isabel de, suo jure countess of Pembroke (1171x6–1220)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, September 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47208, accessed 8 November 2010]; for the same for William see David Crouch, 'Marshal, William (I), fourth earl of Pembroke (c. 1146–1219)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18126, accessed 8 November 2010].

[16] David Crouch, 'Clinton, Geoffrey of (*d.c.*1133)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5680, accessed 8 November 2010].

more particularly in County Louth where they were tenants of both the de Verduns and Pipards.[17] Prior to 1191 an Osbert de Coleshull (assumed here to be the later prior Osbert) began granting land to St Thomas's in Dublin.[18] One deed in particular demonstrates the early date of his settlement in Louth; he granted to the brothers all the tithes of the land of Heoth Mac Uballether and one carucate in the land of Macunekuleth and one other carucate of land of his conquest in Uriel, with the promise that if he failed to conquer this land he would provide an alternative for the house elsewhere.[19] Among the witnesses to his grant were Agatha, his wife and Alexander, his son. In a separate grant Osbert had initially granted St Thomas's tithes of only the vill of Macubalother[20] and it is from the confirmation of this by the bishop of Louth, Christian (or Gilla Críst Ua Mucaráin) that Osbert's activities in Ireland can be dated prior to 1191 as the grant was witnessed by Eugene, bishop of Clonard, who held the position 1177–91.[21]

Meanwhile in Coleshill itself, another Osbert was, in 1207, granted royal approval for a weekly market and an annual fair in the manor of Coleshill.[22] This same Osbert sided with the barons against King John but was restored to his lands by Henry III,[23] and following his death in 1222 his son Thomas and wife

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[17] Brendan Smith, *Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland: the English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 38. For the later history of the Clintons of County Louth see, James B. Leslie, 'The Clinton family in County Louth', *County Louth Archaeological Journal*, 2:4 (1911), pp 398–412.

[18] Mark S. Hagger, *The fortunes of a Norman family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066–1316* (Dublin, 2001), p. 199.

[19] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 60, pp 49–50. Hagger dates this charter to 1195, *The fortunes of a Norman family*, p. 199.

[20] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 39, p. 39.

[21] Ibid., no. 314, pp 267–8. See Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, ix, p. 285 for Eugene's dates. Christian held his bishopric 1187–93: Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, ix, p. 274. Other notables on the list include Ralph, archdeacon of Meath, who later became bishop of the same, 1227–30: Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, ix, p. 285. Aubrey Gwynn has also indicated that one of the other witnesses on this list, a Robert of Ardee, may be the same as Robert, parson of Ardee, and as such an indication of the Pipard organisation of parish life in their new settlement of Ardee. Aubrey Gwynn, 'Ardee in the middle ages', *County Louth Archaeological Journal*, 11:2 (1946), p. 82.

[22] *The Victoria history of the counties of England: a history of Warwick*, eds various (8 vols, London, 1904–69), iv, p. 50.

[23] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (2 vols, London, 1833), i, p. 311 (a). In addition to various members of the de Verdun family, the same list also mentions Henry of Wotton, also a de Verdun tenant in Ireland. In 1238 Henry de Wotton was appointed as attorney to Roesia de Verdun. *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, ed. H.S. Sweetman (5 vols,

Elysant survived him. Records of this Osbert make no mention of his holding any lands or having ambitions or a life outside England, while the Osbert de Coleshill who became part of his extended family's settlement in Louth would, based on the personal names of his wife and son, appear to have exclusively re-settled in Ireland, leaving whatever possessions he had in Warwickshire to the care of others. How closely could they have been related? Hagger's reference to Osbert de Clinton of Coleshill as the grantor of land in 1195 to St Thomas's abbey mentions also that he was Bertram de Verdun's cousin. This is the Bertram de Verdun whose Dublin home, opposite the hospital, became known as Bertram's Court. Osbert was a common name among the Warwickshire Clintons in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and while the Louth Osbert, later prior of the hospital, was certainly from Coleshill, which branch of the Clintons he represented cannot be stated with certainty. If he was born outside marriage, there is no record of an exemption being granted to allow his elevation to religious orders.

The de Verdun connection with St John the Baptist's in Dublin is not as strong as that of many of the earlier English families who came to own land in Dublin, as is also the case with the Pipard family, the other Clinton cousins. Despite this, Roger Pipard, younger brother of Gilbert who came to Ireland with the Lord John in 1185, is the ascribed founder in 1207 of a priory and hospital of Crutched Friars in Ardee, also dedicated to St John the Baptist.[24] In Dundalk, the foundation of the priory and hospital of St Leonard, also of the order of Crutched Friars, is attributed to the de Verduns, either Bertram or his son Nicholas. Considering that he then had family connections with the Ardee and Dundalk foundations it is perhaps surprising that Osbert came to be prior of the Dublin hospital. Conversely, it could be expected that under Osbert the three hospitals would have had some level of interaction, or that St John's in Dublin would have

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London, 1875–86), i, no. 2446, pp 356–6 (hereafter *CDI*). Hagger, *The fortunes of a Norman family*, p. 199 suggests that Bertram had granted land to the de Wottons, based on the existence by 1191 of a *Wotonrathe* in Dundalk.

[24] Gwynn, 'Ardee in the middle ages', p. 82; Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 210.

had a greater volume of donations from Louth-based magnates, which based on extant evidence is not the case.[25]

Osbert was succeeded in his post by Daniel, whose dates are *c.* 1220 to *c.* 1248. In addition, Daniel was the first of several priors who was also elected to a bishopric while simultaneously holding his position as prior. Before April 1238 Daniel was elected as bishop of Emly in the province of Cashel, but he was unsuccessful in getting possession of the temporalities.[26] One piece of evidence to suggest an earlier date than 1220 is a charter dated to November 1219 in the cartulary of the Augustinian abbey of Oseney in Oxfordshire where Daniel, prior of St John's in Dublin, is named as one of the witnesses.[27] Certainly Daniel was one of several heads of religious houses called upon by papal mandate to mediate in a dispute between Richard Warminster, a canon of St Patrick's in Dublin and the house of St Mary's abbey regarding tithes.[28] A decade later an anomaly appears in a charter detailing an agreement made between Llanthony Prima and Adam de Cusack concerning land in Killeen, County Meath. It mentions that it was made in the presence of, amongst others, a 'B' as prior of the hospital and, given that this was dated 1233–44, it would appear to be in the middle of Daniel's time as prior. This either represents a break in priors, and the only known reference to this 'B', or this was in fact Daniel, and a scribal error at some point mistook the 'D' for a 'B'.[29]

Although the latest date for Daniel in the role of prior is *c.* 1248, the next prior, Walter de Southwell, does not appear as his successor until 1251.[30] Four years later Walter was elected as bishop of Waterford.[31] There may have been some confusion within the papacy as Pope Alexander IV's letter of confirmation

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[25] Twelve charters concern areas within Co Louth, three of which are grants made by the hospital; *Reg HSJB* nos 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244 and 245. The last is undated by St John Brooks and no 235 is fourteenth-century, the remainder are all thirteenth.
[26] Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, ix, p. 297; Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 200.
[27] *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. H.E. Salter (6 vols, Oxford Historical Society, vols, 89–91, 97–8, 101), v, 612 B, pp 128–9.
[28] Arlene Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland: lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008), p. 131.
[29] Ibid., no. LXXXVIII, pp 304–5.
[30] *Reg HSJB*, no. 502.
[31] Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, *ix*, p. 297. St John Brooks, based on Ware, gives the date of de Southwell's death as *c.* 1268 whereas *NHI* gives *c.* 24 March 1271.

names William, rather than Walter as the bishop-elect.[32] The error was corrected as a bull of Alexander's issued in 1257 clearly names Walter as the bishop.[33] Like other ecclesiastical leaders, Walter was involved in acting on behalf of the papacy in dispute settlement, and at times causing such disputes, like that between Waterford and Lismore regarding respective claims to lands.[34] If the earliest date of the next prior, Jordan, *c.* 1269–c. 1276, is correct, then it would appear that Walter relinquished his role as prior while still retaining his status as bishop of Waterford.

Jordan's imprint on records has been light, as have those of his two successors, Bartholomew, prior *c.* 1278–90 and John Scot, *c.* 1297–1311.[35] Scot was followed by John Palmer [*c.* 1317–*c.* 1324–31]. In 1321 Palmer, on behalf of the hospital, granted Herbert de Marisco 'ninety-five acres of land and a mill in 'le Milleton' in the tenement of Cloghir.'[36] The precise date at which Palmer's time as prior ends and that of the next prior, William Gerard, begins is unclear. In 1331 Thomas de Landa was appointed prior, following Gerard. De Landa's appointment is the only record that Gerard had in fact ever held the position at this time.[37] It states that 'William Gerardi has resigned the said office, to which he was elected on the death of John called 'Palmer'.' De Landa was dead by 1340 at which point William Gerard was apparently back in the role of prior.[38] How successful that was is doubtful: in April 1363 the archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Minot, was ordered to investigate 'rents, lands, vineyards, rights and goods

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[32] *Pontificia Hibernia*, ed. Maurice Sheehy (2 vols, Dublin, 1962–5), ii, no. 401, pp 230–32. See related footnote.
[33] *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, London, 1884), ii, no. 15, pp 120–22. (hereafter *Chartul St Mary's*).
[34] Assumpta O'Neill, 'Waterford diocese, 1096–1363', *Decies: Journal of the Old Waterford Society*, 45 (Spring 1992), pp 36–7.
[35] Bartholomew may have been a brother in the hospital before becoming prior: in one of the two wills in the register a brother Bartholomew was appointed as co-executor to the will of Gilbert le Decer, who requested burial in the hospital: *Reg HSJB*, no. 66. Aside from the register, Scot was also named in an Ormond deeds: *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, ed. Edmund Curtis (5 vols, Dublin, 1932–41), i, no. 452, p. 177, which also appears in the *Oseney cartulary*, v, no. 618 B, p. 138. He may possibly be the same John Scot who in 1293 was given letters of attorney to cover Ireland and England on behalf of Cambinus del Pape, clerk. *CDI*, iv, no. 20, p. 8.
[36] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, ii, no. 555, p. 230.
[37] *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters*, ed. W.H. Bliss and others (13 vols, London, 1893–1955), ii, p. 343 (hereafter *Cal Papal Reg*).
[38] *Reg HSJB*, no. 577 (1341) and no. 578 (1346).

thereof, which prior William and his predecessors are said to have alienated and wasted, to the injury of the men, women, and orphans living therein' and to remove the prior if he was found guilty.[39] Who brought the charge to the attention of the papacy is not recorded in this, a single and highly important insight into the inner workings of the hospital. The last date for Gerard is the 1363 papal command, and for John the only date is 1380.[40] Complaints against priors regarding the mismanagement of their houses can be found in other areas in Ireland: the mid fifteenth-century archbishop of Armagh, John Mey, investigated the prior of the house of St Leonard outside Drogheda (also a hospital run by the Crutched Friars) on charges of having neglected 'to care for the sick and needy in accordance with the purpose of the foundation of his house.' The prior, Peter Clynton then suffered a sentence of deprivation.[41]

Happily, the next prior, Henry Randolph, left more of an impression in surviving records despite what would appear to have been a short tenure in office. In October 1381 he secured letters of attorney for Adam Oheth and John Motyng.[42] This is the earliest reference to Adam who was himself prior before the end of the fourteenth century.[43] Four years later Henry had either replaced Adam and John or had acquired additional attorneys as he was granted letters of attorney under the names John Rede and William Bernard.[44] Much like his predecessor William Gerard, Henry Randolph got himself embroiled in some personal legal issues. In 1384 he was apparently accused, along with Robert Grandon (called one of his monks, presumably meaning that he was a brother of St John's), of taking £200 worth of money and goods from a Thomas Gifford and

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[39] *Cal Papal Reg*, iv, p. 87. Minot is not named in the letter; see Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, ix, p. 310 for his name and dates.
[40] See chapter 1 for suggestion that Gerard had commissioned it at that time.
[41] *Registrum Iohannis Mey*: the register of John Mey Archbishop of Armagh, 1443–1456, eds W.G.H. Quigley and E.F.D. Roberts (Belfast, 1972), nos 341–2, pp 359–60.
[42] *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium*, ed. Edward Tresham (Dublin, 1828), no. 37, p. 110.
[43] Archdall, quoting King's *Collectanea* as his source, states that Adam O'Hethe was prior and in this year received a pardon for crimes. This would appear to be an incident which occurred *c.* 1400 and is the only reference to Adam being prior on this date. *Monasticon Hibernicium*, p. 203. This error was then repeated in Warburton, Whitelaw, Walsh, *History of the city of Dublin*, i, p. 348.
[44] Ibid., no. 143, p. 125.

his wife Maud.[45] The prior's defence seems to have been based on a technicality in how he was named in the writ.[46] He was prior still prior in late 1385 and according to Ware he remained so in 1386 and so perhaps his defence was a successful one.[47]

His successor is named only as 'Richard' by Brooks, and only the year 1395 is supplied. As Richard appears to have regained his position when Adam O'Hethe ran into difficulties the two will be considered together. Adam's surname, O'Hethe/Ua hAeda points to an Irish heritage, which, in a house well within the centre of the English colony in Ireland, might seem surprising. A clue to how he was able to attain the position may lie in a 1381 concession to 'Odoni, Willo, Edo Ohethe' giving them the right to use English law in Ireland.[48] This was a month after O'Hethe had been appointed attorney for the then prior, Henry Randolph. In 1398 Adam was still being called a brother in St John's [49] but by April 1400 Adam had been appointed prior and was afforded protection for travel to England. He may have been responsible for securing by July of that year indulgences granted by the papacy to those who would visit the hospital and 'give alms for the conservation of the church, and for the conservation of the poor'.[50] He was granted letters of attorney in the names Nicholas White of Clonmel, Richard Walsh and brothers John Watir and John Cormok. Even more interesting is the mention of a licence for Adam 'passing to the curia in Rome in the service of James Butler, earl of Ormond.'[51] This could perhaps indicate that he was somehow involved in the agreement made in 1399 between James and the bishop of Cloyne, Gerald Caneton, to act on Butler's behalf in Rome to secure a

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[45] Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicium*, pp 203–4, based on National Library Ireland MS 13, vol 13, p.55; TCD MS 579/2, 77r.
[46] 'The defence the prior set up was, that in the writ he was named prior of the house of St John without Newgate, and not prior of the house of St John the Baptist, or of St John the Evangelist.'
[47] Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*, no. 143, p. 125. In November 1285 Henry had letters of attorney under the names of brothers John Rede and William Bernard.
[48] Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*, no. 22, p. 110.
[49] *Cal Papal Reg*, v, p. 134. The description is 'Adam Ohette, brother of the Augustinian hospital of St John Baptist without the new gate, Dublin, priest, of the diocese of Dublin.'
[50] *Cal Papal Reg*, v, p. 303.
[51] Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*, nos 24–7, p. 156. John Watyr was also a future prior of the hospital.

papal dispensation for a marriage between him and Katherine of Desmond, the mother of four of his children, a marriage which never transpired.[52]

Adam's involvement with Ormond may have been the reason behind the complaints made against him which led to him being deprived of his office in 1401, having been found guilty of 'dilapidation, homicide and perjury.'[53] It was at this point that Richard Eirot, described as a brother of the house, was assigned the priory. As this Richard makes no other appearance, and as Adam was later restored as head of the house, it is possible that this Richard Eirot was the same Richard who preceded Adam. The nomination of James Coytyff and Nicholas White as attorneys acting on behalf of the prior in 1402 unfortunately fails to name the prior in question.[54] The entry, though, does prove an invaluable insight into difficulties the Dublin-based hospital administration faced in attempting to manage the resources of the hospital. The prior claimed that he was unable to personally attend to his business in Munster, Kilkenny and Wexford not only due to other business of his house in lower Leinster (*in inferiore Lagenie*), but also because of the danger of the roads. James and Nicholas were then appointed as attorneys to represent the prior in these three areas. They in turn had power to appoint other attorneys to attend to the hospital's affairs. These concerns can be found echoed in the 1392 complaints by Thomas Butler (illegitimate son of the same James Butler, third earl of Ormond who had employed Adam O'Hethe) that areas within the Ormond barony in Munster had been 'wasted by Irish and

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[52] C.A. Empey, 'Butler, James, third earl of Ormond (c. 1360–1405)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50022, accessed 10 November 2010]. For Caneton's dates see Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, ix, p. 294. For the agreement made between James Butler and Gerald Caneton see *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, ii, no. 337, pp 239–40.

[53] *Cal Papal Reg*, v, p. 372. In what could entirely be coincidence, a John and Odo Ohech, brothers and clerks in the diocese of Lismore, were in 1400 given a dispensation, in addition to a dispensation they had already received, to enter holy orders. The circumstance of their birth was the reason a dispensation was required as they had been born to an unmarried woman and a 'priest religious of the order of St Augustine': *Cal Papal Reg*, v, p. 302.

[54] Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*, no. 41, p. 211. With thanks to Dr Peter Crooks for correcting Tresham's identification of it as a close roll to the patent roll it in fact was, and for assistance with translating the entry.

English malefactors...so that the passage of merchants had been disrupted.'[55] However, Adam was certainly prior of the hospital again by 1407–8.[56]

By 1412 he had been replaced by one of the brothers, John Watyr, who had previously acted as his attorney. St John Brooks points to a date of 1414 for John but two years previously he had received letters of protection for travel to England.[57] St John Brooks also speculates that based on the evidence of a deed within the Ormond collection John Water may have temporarily replaced his successor, James Coytif, as prior.[58] In this, John, prior of the hospital presented to John Hedian, seneschal of the liberty of Tipperary in 1440, various deeds which had been granted in 1437 to several persons in Tipperary concerning lands in the county.[59] Ware places Coytif's earliest date as prior in 1425, and this is confirmed by a rent negotiation dated 20 January 1425 by James regarding land in St Nicholas Street.[60] He was certainly prior in 1435.[61] His time as prior was not without controversy however as a 1441 papal mandate depicts a prior considered far from the ideal. William River, the prior of St John's in Drogheda, also a Crutched Friar hospital, would appear to have informed the papacy that James Coytif 'has dilapidated the goods of the said priory and, being a public fornicator, has begotten offspring and cherished it', prompting the papacy to respond that William was to summon James and accuse him in front of a named canon of Dublin, and if all found James to be guilty of this behaviour, he was to be deprived of his office and replaced by his accuser, River.[62] If River was in

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[55] C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship in Ireland, 1185–1515' (2 vols, unpublished PhD, University of Dublin, 1970), i, p. 71. Empey also explains how attacks by the Irish in the Kilkenny region in these same years meant that 'the last land route between Dublin and Munster was seriously impeded.' Ibid., pp 215–16.

[56] Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*, no. 52, p. 188.

[57] Ibid., no. 95, p. 200.

[58] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, iii, no. 351, p. 387.

[59] Other pleas in the same year (1440) name the seneschal of the Liberty of Tipperary as Peter Hedian. The Hedian family appear widely in political and ecclesiastical records in Munster. As one of the family was prior of St John's in the fifteenth century they will be examined in detail below.

[60] *The Dublin city franchise roll, 1468–1512*, eds Colm Lennon and James Murray (Dublin, 1998), pp 64–5.

[61] *Reg HSJB*, no. 146; *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 286, p. 88. James was also involved in the sale of lands in Tipperary to various persons; the date is unclear but as it is the same group as in the previous reference it is probably 1437–40: *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, iii, p. 388.

[62] *Cal Papal Reg*, ix, pp 221–2. This would appear to also refer to the death of John Water.

some way motivated by ambitions to become prior in Dublin his ambitions would seem to have been frustrated as Coytif was again acting as prior in 1443.[63]

The next two priors were no less contentious, and there were further claims of sexual impropriety. William Talbot had succeeded Coytif by the late 1440s, as a Brother William, prior of St John without the Newgate is named in a charter of the barber-surgeons, dated 18 October 1446.[64] In 1451 he was granted leave to be absent for one year.[65] The Talbot name had a long association with Dublin. Henry II had bestowed Malahide on Richard Talbot 1184–5 and subsequently the Talbots became a prominent political and ecclesiastical family in the Dublin region and administration. In the fifteenth century the Talbot name was a particularly prominent one in the political governance of Ireland and the ecclesiastical governance of Dublin. Richard Talbot, son of the fourth Lord Talbot of Herefordshire and younger brother of John Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury, was consecrated archbishop of Dublin in 1418 and held the office until his death in 1449.[66] His brother John Talbot made a particularly lasting impression on the political scene courtesy of his feud with the Ormond Butlers.[67] Other Talbots who held similar positions in the fifteenth century were Nicholas Talbot, abbot of the nearby St Thomas's abbey in 1420,[68] and Brother Thomas Talbot, of the Hospitallers in Kilmainham.[69]

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[63] 'Old (Latin) deeds in the library of Trinity College' ed. J.G. Smyly, *Hermathena*, 70 (1947) no 154, pp 13–14. This is part of a collection in *Hermathena* which also includes 66 (1945), pp24–39, 67 (1946), pp 1–30, 69 (1947), pp 31–48, 70 (1947), pp 1–21, 71 (1948), pp 36–51, 72 (1948), pp 115–20, 74 (1949), pp 60–7. (hereafter Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds').

[64] Henry F. Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber-surgeons, or gild of St Mary Magdalene, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 33 (1903), pp. 218.

[65] Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*, no. 14, p. 267.

[66] Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI, ix*, p. 311. For Richard's varied and controversial career see Elizabeth Matthew, 'Talbot, Richard (d. 1449)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26939, accessed 11 November 2010]; John Henry Bernard, 'Richard Talbot, archbishop and chancellor (1418–49)', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 35 (1918–20), section C, pp 218–29.

[67] Peter Crooks, Factionalism and noble power in English Ireland, *c.* 1361–1423 (unpublished PhD, University of Dublin, Trinity College, 2007), pp 319–49 examines the causes of the dispute and the motives of those involved.

[68] Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicium*, p. 49.

[69] M.C. Griffith, 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government, 1414–47', *Irish Historical Studies*, 2:8 (1941), p. 389.

William Talbot was replaced by Richard Hedian by October 1462,[70] but it is only from the papal records of 1464 that the reason for the antipathy between them emerges. In this, William, named as prior of the hospital, argued that 'although he has always studied to be of good life and conversation, and has not been defamed of any crime' but this was not heeded as

> 'the present pope, circumvented by the false report of Richard Hediane, clerk, of the diocese of Cashel, to the effect that William had perpetrated a number of excesses and crimes then expressed, ordered the dean of Leighlin, his name not being expressed, if Richard accused William before the said dean, and if he found the said statements to be true, to deprive and remove William, and collate and assign the priory to Richard'.[71]

William's main complaint about this procedure appears to have been the meeting-place chosen for the hearing, claiming that 'said place was not safe for him', but the dean refused to concede to any changes. The abbot of St Thomas's and the prior of All Saints in Dublin were then to decide if William's claims were correct, and if so, to call Richard and William before them and judge the complaints of both men. The next we hear of the case is in 1469 when Richard Hedian, as prior, referred to a dispute arising between himself and William Talbot about the priory.[72] In the five years between this and the previous record it would appear that several hearings had taken place, in front of various judges, two hearings having been favourable to Richard and one to William, 'which however was null'. One settlement reached was to the effect that Richard was to 'receive and levy the fruits etc. of all the prior's benefices and goods etc. in the province and dioceses of Cashel and Leighlin for a period of seven years'. It also refers to Richard setting out on a journey to the Roman court. Although from this it would appear that Richard had been the victor in the dispute, William Talbot again

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[70] N. Donnelly, 'Incumbents of Killadreenan and archdeacons of Glendalough in the fifteenth century. With extracts from the Roman archives', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 23 (1893), p. 135.
[71] *Cal Papal Reg*, xii, p. 209.
[72] *Cal Papal Reg*, xii, pp 324–5. In April 1469, a William, named as prior of the hospital was admitted to the franchise of the city. *The Dublin city franchise roll, 1468–1512*, p. 1.

appears acting as prior in 1473.[73] In 1474, Brother William, named as prior, was listed in a charter of the smiths' guild, whose chantry was on the grounds of the hospital.[74] Presumably he had either successfully regained the position through an eventual settlement of the dispute in his favour, or had temporarily replaced Richard following the latter's death.

The only reference to the cause of the dispute was that it was 'about the said priory', though even something as vague as that could be a cover for a more personal or politically motivated disagreement.[75] The Hedians were part of an ecclesiastical dynasty centred around the province of Cashel and closely aligned to the Ormond Butlers. In 1403–4 a Richard son of Richard Ohedian was mentioned in connection with the prior of the hospital.[76] In 1432 a Richard O'Hedian, cleric, received the right to hold the chapel (*capella*) of Holy Trinity of Cork (*sce Trin de Cork*).[77] This was in fact probably a confirmation by Henry VI of a grant given to another Richard, cleric, of the same in August 1414.[78] In 1406 Richard O'Hedian (Risteárd Ó hÉidigheáin) was consecrated as archbishop of Cashel, a position he held until his death in 1440.[79] Prior to his elevation to the bishopric O'Hedian had been archdeacon of Cashel.[80] In 1439 a William O'Hedian, canon of Lismore, can be found in Rome acting in a dispute which arose over a vacancy in Killaloe.[81] In 1429 a Uilliam Ó hÉidigheáin was provided to the bishopric of Elphin in the province of Tuam,[82] before being transferred in October 1449 to the bishopric of Emly, in the province of Cashel which he held until his death in 1475.[83]

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[73] *Reg HSJB*, no. 428.
[74] T.B. Le Fanu, 'A note on two charters of the smiths' guild of Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 60 (1930), p. 151.
[75] *Cal Papal Reg*, xii, p. 324.
[76] Tresham, *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum*, no. 11, p. 179. The prior at the time was most likely Adam O'Hethe.
[77] Ibid., no. 96, p. 254.
[78] Ibid., no. 60, p. 205.
[79] Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, *ix*, p. 291.
[80] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, iii, no 175, pp 166–7.
[81] *Cal Papal Reg*, ix, p. 50.
[82] Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI*, *ix*, p. 326.
[83] Ibid., p. 298.

In a book written on behalf of Edmund macRichard Butler, nephew of James Butler, fourth earl of Ormond, known as the White Earl, can be found a blessing for the soul of Archbishop O'Hedian, 'for by him the owner of this book was fostered'.[84] The close family ties between the Gaelic archbishop and the Ormonds were not without repercussion. In the 1421 parliament in Dublin, O'Hedian found himself accused by the English bishop of Waterford-Lismore, John Geese (deprived of the office 1414–22), of 'prejudice against clerks of English origin and of harbouring an ambition to make himself king of Munster.'[85] As the White Earl was then the lieutenant for Ireland and in that capacity presided over the parliament, publicising the strong links between the Gaelic O'Hedians and the Butlers, while also implying links between Archbishop O'Hedian and the Desmonds, traditional rivals to the Ormonds, Geese clearly opted for maximum impact. If his intention was to gain the temporalities of Waterford-Lismore he was successful.[86]

The archbishop's namesake, Richard O'Hedian, was archdeacon in 1425 and most likely from 1437 until 1463.[87] As the 1464 description of the Richard Hedian involved in the dispute with William Talbot describes him as 'of the diocese of Cashel' it seems likely that the Richard who became prior of the hospital in the 1460s was at the time archdeacon of Cashel. In 1464, John, earl of Ormond, son of James le Botiller (Butler), late earl of Ormond, appointed Peter Neille to be keeper of his beds in the hospital.[88] Though this may simply have been a continuation of the family's connection with the hospital, going back to the thirteenth-century grant of one carucate to provide for the maintenance of

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[84] Myles Dillon, 'Laud Misc. 610', *Celtica*, 6 (1963), p. 151.
[85] Peter Crooks, 'Representation and dissent: 'Parliamentarianism' and the structure of politics in colonial Ireland, *c.* 1370–1420', *English Historical Review*, 125:512 (2010), pp 14–15.
[86] Ibid., pp 15–16.
[87] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, iii, pp 166–7; Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ: the succession of the prelates and members of the cathedral bodies in Ireland* (5 vols and supplement, Dublin, 1847–78), i, part 2, p. 53. In 1463 a John O'Hedian replaced Richard as archdeacon of Cashel, until 1479 when he became bishop of Ossory: Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*, i, part 2, pp 53–4; Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI ix*, p. 318 (Seán Ó hÉidigheáin) and *Cal Papal Reg*, xiii, part 2, pp 667–8. John O'Hedian was for a time archdeacon of both Cashel and Ossory: *Cal Papal Reg*, xiii, part 1, p. 208.
[88] The National Archives, London, C 47/10/28.

thirteen patients, but it may also have been reinforced by the close connections of the new prior, O'Hedian, with the Butlers.[89]

The decision to allow Richard O'Hedian to farm the priors' benefices in Cashel was not without its repercussions and his somewhat controversial legacy continued. In 1484 Richard Butler, of the diocese of Cashel, laid some serious claims against O'Hedian, which would suggest that he might not entirely have been the innocent party in his dispute with Talbot. Butler claimed that 'from time immemorial a number of rectories of parish churches and arable lands in divers dioceses and in the province of Cashel' had been in the possession of the hospital, but that some had begun 'to fall into ruin through neglect of their holders'.[90] His particular complaint was that the worst offender was Richard Hedian who, having been given 'a life grant to farm, or yearly pension...of a number of the said rectories', was then allowing them to fall into disrepair. Butler, who 'alleges that he is by both parents of noble birth', promised that if granted the churches he would use both his own resources and those of the churches to repair them. He had more serious claims about Hedian though, saying that he 'has committed simony, both in the obtaining of the said rectories, and also with divers other ecclesiastical persons and with the said prior, and is a notorious fornicator, perjurer and apostate'.[91] That Butler was clearly eager to gain possession of these churches may have encouraged him to exaggerate some of Hedian's faults, and certainly they cannot be automatically accepted as true. That said, the presentation in 1484 of a Robert Edian (*recte* O'Hedian) as archdeacon of Ossory might provide a clue as to the basis of Richard Butler's complaints about Richard O'Hedian. In April of that year, the archdeacon of Cashel, the precentor of Waterford and Richard Eluarde (Aylward) a canon of Cashel were ordered to collate and assign to Robert Edian, clerk of the diocese of Ossory, the archdeaconry of the same diocese.[92] The bishop of Ossory at the time was John O'Hedian, presumably a relative. This might further explain why Robert had been

[89] *Reg HSJB*, no. 222.
[90] *Cal Papal Reg*, xiii, part 1, p. 180.
[91] The claims were to be investigated and if found true the churches were to be transferred to Butler, if it was considered to the benefit of the hospital and the various rectories.
[92] *Cal Papal Reg*, xiii, part 1, p. 169.

given a dispensation by the bishop, despite his illegitimacy, 'as the son of the then archdeacon of Cashel and an unmarried or a married woman, to be promoted to all minor orders, and who in virtue thereof has been made a clerk'. The archdeacon of Cashel must have been one of the O'Hedians, either Richard or John. If it refers to John, then the bishop of Ossory was providing an archdeaconry for his son.[93] If the Richard O'Hedian who was archdeacon of Cashel was also the same who became prior, then the prior of the hospital had a son and Butler accusing O'Hedian of fornication might not be as unsubstantiated as would first appear.[94]

As previously mentioned, William Talbot appears to have regained office in the 1470s, being named as a witness in the 1474 charter of the smiths' guild. His successor by St John Brooks's list is Walter Ludlow. However there may have been a John Onextiffe who briefly held the position between Talbot and Ludlow. Ware reports Talbot's death as *c.* 1475,[95] and the earliest date located for Ludlow's time as prior is April 1477, so that Onextiffe's term must have been very brief.[96] Although Archdall gives Onextiffe's dates as 1323, quoting *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* as his source, the actual entry in this collection

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[93] John certainly 'kept a certain unmarried woman and had offspring by her', maintaining her from the archdeaconry of Cashel. John was himself the child of unmarried parents. To receive dispensation and to 'purify his conscience' John even travelled to Rome in 1474–5: *Cal Papal Reg*, xiii, part 1, pp 393–4.

[94] Richard would not have been the only O'Hedian in religious orders to have fathered a child. In 1474–5 a papal order commanded that an Edmund O'Hedian, clerk of the diocese of Emly, was no longer allowed to hold a benefice in the church, as dispensation had not been granted to him. Such a dispensation was required as Edmund was the son of the bishop of Emly and of an unmarried woman. The bishop at the time was one William O'Hedian. Edmund's successor was David de Burgo, son of a canon regular and of an unmarried woman. *Cal Papal Reg*, xiii, part 1, p. 387. A year later similar complaints were still being made against him. Ibid., part 2, p. 478. A Peter Hedian, son of a priest holding a dignity and an unmarried woman was in 1478–9 granted dispensation to be a clerk and hold the treasurership of Cashel: *Cal Papal Reg*, xiii, part 2, p. 670. For calculations of how widespread this phenomenon was in Ireland see Henry Jefferies, *The Irish church and the Tudor reformations* (Dublin, 2010), pp 28–30.

[95] *Reg HSJB*, p. xxi. Talbot appears in September 1447 (Thursday next before the feast of St Michael the Archangel, in the 26th year of the reign of King Henry VI) as witness to a charter of the guild of barber-surgeons whose chantry was on the hospital's grounds: H.F. Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber-surgeons, or gild of St Mary Magdalene, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 33 (1903), p. 218.

[96] Richard Caulfied, 'Early charters relating to Kinsale', *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review*, February (1863), p. 185. Acting as prior Ludlow granted various lands of the hospital in Kinsale to local merchants.

which mentions Onextiffe points to a date immediately prior to Ludlow.[97] In 1478 Nicholas Gaydon complained that although he had formerly held the office of the miller of St John the Baptist's mill by its cemetery, and as part of this office had the right to a third of the toll of the produce ground in the mill, he had been deprived of this by Walter Ludlow, prior of the hospital. Gaydon had apparently been appointed by Prior John Onextiffe.[98] In 1486 Ludlow granted an acre of meadow called St John in Coolock to a Richard Ludlow, merchant and presumably also a family member.[99]

The disputes between priors over the previous few decades would also seem to have taken their toll on the hospital. Within a short time of becoming prior, Talbot seems to have decided to make a full appraisal of the financial conditions of the hospital and attempted to regain some control over the resources of the institution for which he was then responsible. He complained that

> 'whereas the said house or hospital and the house in which the poor and sick remain, by the negligence and bad government of the priors of the same are so ruinous, in default of repair made before this time, that 100 pounds will not suffice to or for their repair'.[100]

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[97] NLI MS 13, vol 13, p. 56 (Harris, *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*). The National Library of Ireland copy is based on two volumes (MS 25 & 25) in the Cashel diocesan library. This in turn is based on TCD MS 579/1 & 579/2. Both the Trinity College original and the National Library copy suggest a date for Onextiffe immediately preceding Ludlow.

[98] TCS MS 579/2, 73v; NLI MS 13, vol 13, p. 56. Perhaps the same Nicholas Gaydon who was mayor of Dublin 1532–3. See Jacqueline Hill, 'Mayors and Lord Mayors of Dublin from 1229' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, ix: maps, genealogies, lists* (Oxford, 1984), p. 554.

[99] *Reg HSJB*, no. 581. Walter Ludlow may have been well integrated in Dublin society before his time as prior: in 1462 a Walter Ludlow, chaplain, was granted a house and garden in Oxmantown: 'On the ancient deeds of the parish of St John, Dublin', eds John L. Robinson and E.C.R Robinson, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 33 (1916–17), section C, no. 125, p. 200 (a receipt of *c.* 1477 mentions the rents paid by Ludlow for these properties, no. 133, pp 201–2). In 1471 a Walter Ludlow, chaplain, was bequeathed a blue gown and 20*s.* silver by John Wylde, merchant. In 1474 a Sir Walter Ludlow was owed 5*s.* by Dame Margaret Nugent and in the same year Walter Ludlow is noted as owing Nicholas Lok 4*s.* 8*d.*: *Reg of Wills Dublin*, pp 16, 79 and 114.

[100] *Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, twelfth and thirteenth to the twenty-first and twenty-second years of the reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. James Morrissey (Dublin, 1939), pp 505–6.

So many of the possessions of the hospital had been granted and alienated that 'divine service and hospitality must cease there and the aforesaid house or hospital forthwith fall to the ground, unless they be suitably remedied at this time.'

To that end all the grants and leases made by William, the late prior, presumably William Talbot, to James Cotyiffe, Brothers William Sewell and Thomas Broun of the said hospital and also to Richard Hedian, were to be restored to Walter Ludlow as prior, to 'enjoy henceforth according to his title and right.' The statute does not explicitly state that once restored to Ludlow the value of the lands and leases was to be used to repair the fabric of the hospital and provide maintenance to the sick and infirm, and, given the complaints made of it by the assessors some sixty years later, it is possible that they were at least partly correct about mismanagement.

William Fowle was prior from the late fifteenth into the early years of the sixteenth century, the last years in which the hospital existed as an Augustinian institution.[101] From 1516 to 1520 four priors held office: Robert Nangle,[102] John Theodoricus,[103] James Osbert and Thomas Nangle. Ware gives Osbert only one date, 1518 and Nangle only 1520.[104] A lease in May 1520 by a James Osborne as prior of the hospital would suggest that the James Osbert and Ware's list is the same man as Prior James Osborne named in the Talbot collection deed. Osborne granted a James Rere of Dublin, merchant, a messuage in Rochelle Lane for fifty-one years.[105] This would make Thomas Nangle's time as prior particularly short-lived.[106]

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[101] Ware gives Fowle's dates as 1496–1516: *Reg HSJB*, p. xxi. in 1487 a William Fowle, chaplain, granted to Holy Trinity a messuage and land in Roganstown, Swords: *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 1084, p. 219. In April 1516 William Fowle, noted as prior, was listed in the Kildare rental for the hospital's lands in Grange Clare: *Crown surverys of lands 1540–1, with the Kildare rental begun in 1518*, ed. Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1992), pp 238–9.

[102] TCD MS 579/2, 77r (16 October, 8 Henry VIII).

[103] *Reg HSJB*, p. xxi. He was dead by 1520: Donnelly, 'Incumbents of Killadreenan', p. 138.

[104] Ibid., p. xxi.

[105] Brian C. Donovan and David Edwards, *British sources for Irish history, 1485–1641: a guide to manuscripts in local, regional and specialised repositories in England, Scotland and Wales* (Dublin, 1997), p. 236. (Bodleian: MS Talbot c. 96/4).

[106] These two Nangles were not the only holders of this name to hold office as prior in Dublin in the sixteenth century: Richard Nangle was the last prior of the Augustinian friary situated in the eastern suburb of the city. Seán Duffy and Linzi Simpson, 'The hermits of St Augustine in medieval Dublin: their history and archaeology' in John Bradley, Alan J. Fletcher and Anngret

Thomas Nangle's replacement, Patrick Collyn (Pádraig Ó Cuilín) was yet another prior who was also a bishop. Appointed as bishop of Clogher in 1517 he held this position both before and after he became prior of the hospital, which he held from 1520 to 1531.[107] He was followed by Thomas Weston, whose most notable action as prior was to renounce its exemption from the jurisdiction of the archbishops of Dublin. In July 1531 when it was becoming clear that the independence of the hospital from diocesan control was no longer feasible, Weston, along with James Travers, sub-prior, and four others, was forced by the Archbishop of Dublin, John Alen, to surrender to him all 'liberties, immunities and apostolic privileges'.[108] In asserting his jurisdiction over the hospital Archbishop Alen was following a policy which saw him take several houses in Dublin under his personal control, perhaps acting in a similar vein to the way in which he had in England during the suppressions of the 1520s when his 'roughshod methods gained him notoriety'.[109] Echoes of the early fourteenth-century pleas to the crown following the destruction wrought on the western suburb can be found in a petition sent by the civic representatives to Henry VIII in the wake of the 1534 Silken Thomas revolt.[110] It speaks of ruin and decay, of the damage done to towers, bridges and houses. But rather than simply request vague financial assistance, the mayor and citizens had themselves decided how best to manage their difficulties. The hospital of St John the Baptist, valued by them at 110 marks 10*s.* or the Priory of All Hallows, valued at 84 marks, were considered ample compensation and the transfer of one of them to city ownership was touted as a possible means of recuperation of losses. It was the latter which was eventually to become city property and before the century was out had become the site of

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Simms (eds), *Dublin in the medieval world: studies in honour of Howard B. Clarke* (Dublin, 2009), p. 217.

[107] Byrne, 'Bishops', *NHI, ix*, p. 275. The only other reference unearthed for his decade as prior is an agreement made between him and a merchant in Dublin, Nicholas Hancock, regarding tithes: Smyly, 'Old Latin Deeds', 72 (1948), no. 212, pp 119–20. In 1507 a Patrick Culnyn was prior of another Augustinian house in Dublin, that of the hermits of St Augustine: 'On the ancient deeds of the parish of St John', no. 149, p. 205.

[108] *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c. 1172–1534*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1950), p. 276 (hereafter *Cal Arbp Alen's Reg*).

[109] Brendan Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 43.

[110] *CARD*, i, pp 500–1.

Trinity College. As will be seen, the site on which St John the Baptist's stood was to have a much less salubrious history.

The final prior, Thomas Everard, who finally surrendered the hospital on 22 February 1539, had perhaps sensed that change was on the way and several grants made by him through the 1530s were given for long periods. As early as 1532, probably only within his first year as prior, he negotiated a twenty-one year lease with Nicholas Hancoke and William Newman, merchants of Dublin, regarding the tithes of Straffan in Kildare.[111] In March 1536 Everard leased a messuage in Rochelle Lane in Dublin to a merchant named John Candell for sixty-one years.[112] In June of the same year he leased to Piers Butler, earl of Ossory and Countess Margaret a portion of the profits of two parsonages in Co Tipperary.[113] Everard's activities in Tipperary may have been carried out with two purposes: acting as prior he may have been attempting to protect the possessions of the hospital but as a member of a Tipperary family he may also have had an eye on how best to provide for himself and those associated with the Everards. Bradshaw suggests that Piers' son James, the future earl of Ormond, was just back from court and

> 'was close enough to Cromwellian circles, both in London and in Dublin, to be mildly protestant in sympathy, and to be aware of the direction in which policy was moving. There may very well be a link, therefore, between Prior Everard's property transactions from the summer of 1536 onwards, Pier's Butler's interest in the Tipperary possessions of the monastery, and the inclusion of St John's in suppression proposals by members of the Cromwellian group in the first half of 1537.'[114]

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[111] Smyly. 'Old Latin Deeds', 74 (1949), no. 218, p. 64; TCD MS 1207/277. According to Smyly a receipt for the initial payment for these tithes is in Everard's handwriting: 74 (1949), no. 219, pp 64–5; TCD MS 1207/278. Signed as *per me Thomas Euard Priorem predictum*, other signatures are in a different hand. One of those was Walter Cartan who was still a brother of the house on surrender and received a pension. This lease is mentioned in the extent of the hospital's possessions in Co Kildare made in November 1540: *Extents Irish monastic possessions, 1540–1541*, ed. Newport White (Dublin, 1943), p. 62. (hereafter, *Extents Irish monastic possessions*).
[112] Donovan and Edwards, *British sources for Irish history*, p. 236 (Bodleian: MS Talbot c. 96/5).
[113] *Irish monastic and episcopal deeds*, ed. Newport B. White (Dublin, 1936), pp 251–2.
[114] Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders*, p. 85.

Based primarily around Fethard, Co Tipperary from at least the early fourteenth century, the Everards can, perhaps inevitably, be found engaged with the Butlers.[115] The history of the family in Ireland may be connected to King John's visit in 1185.[116] As early as 1515 Thomas Everard, cleric, can be found acting as witness to John Everard of Fethard in a grant to St Canice's in Kilkenny.[117] In 1525 John Everard of Knokanstalyn, possibly the same as John Everard of Fethard, was one of the witnesses to a writ of Piers Butler.[118] In 1544 a Nicholas Everard of Fethard (perhaps a nephew of Thomas) admitted himself bound to James, earl of Ormond for £30, and bound to abide by the decision of both the justice of the liberty of Tipperary and Thomas Everard, vicar of Fethard, concerning payment.[119] Following what amounted essentially to his resignation as prior of the hospital, Everard clearly returned to his native Fethard and was maintained both by his pension from the hospital and from the joint lease with Walter Cowley of the rectories of Fethard and Grange.[120] Indeed, although crown officials such as Thomas Cusack and John Alen had expressed concerns about religious institutions in Ireland in the 1530s selling their possessions or leasing them over many years, that Everard would appear to have engaged in this practice was clearly no impediment to his participation in conducting an extent of the hospital's possessions in Tipperary, held in Clonmel on 15 January 1541.[121]

Over a decade after he surrendered the hospital, Everard found himself embroiled in a controversy about some of the decisions he had made in the last

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[115] Richard H.A.J. Everard, 'The family of Everard', *The Irish Genealogist*, 7(1986–9), pp 328–48, 505–42. For Fethard as a medieval settlement and the Everards in context see Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no 13, Fethard* (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 2003).

[116] Everard, 'The family of Everard', p. 329. Two main branches emerged in the fourteenth century, one in Co Meath, one in Co Tipperary, especially Fethard, and a junior line in Co Waterford.

[117] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, iv, no. 31, p. 22. In the fifteenth century a Richard Everard was a canon in Cashel.

[118] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, iv, no. 116, p. 101.

[119] Ibid., no. 314, part 3, p. 259.

[120] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 67. Cowley and Everard appear as witnesses together in 1543: *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, iv, no. 288, p. 242. In 1607 Sir John Everard was instrumental in securing a second royal charter for Fethard (the first in 1552–3 designated it a corporation) which was intended to attract more settlers to the town and increase its commercial appeal: Tadhg O'Keeffe, 'Townscape as text: the topography of social interaction in Fethard, county Tipperary AD 1300–1700', *Irish Geography*, 32:1 (1999), p. 15.

[121] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, pp 63–4.

years of the hospital. Nicholas Bennett held the three vills of Palmerstown, Cottrelstown and Jordanstown for £15 12*d*. He was challenged in 1553 to prove that he did in fact hold a lease for the three vills. Not only had this to be proven but three further conditions had to be satisfied: that he had acquired that lease from Thomas Everard, that he had presented the lease at court in Palmerstown and whether he had received rent from any tenants prior to suppression.[122] Alison Davy was named in the extent as the holder of one messuage and 130 acres. The queries concerned her receipt of the lease, the place, the witnesses and its author. Had she received the lease in June of 1538 and had an ante-date been applied? Bennett was found to have made suit at Palmerstown and received the rent while Davy's lease was considered to have been made by the prior for her but around Lammas Day (August 1). Everard then confirmed that Bennett's lease had been sealed prior to Davy's. The crux of the case seems then to have been whether Bennett or Davy held the lease first, the outcome here certainly indicating that it was Bennett, although she 'was long their farmer before.'[123] As will be seen, Bennett's support from the former prior may have been influenced by the many leases held by Bennett.

Although it has not been possible to determine why it was that any of the priors were chosen for the position, or if there was ever serious competition between any contenders for the role, in this instance Thomas Everard would probably have been aware of the early links between the hospital and Fethard. The foundation of the town itself was as a result of the settlement in the south east of Ireland by the new English arrivals. It was certainly sufficiently settled by *c.* 1208 when William de Braose, for his soul, that of his wife Matilda and his son, also William, made a substantial grant to the hospital. In this, de Braose impropriated the church in Fethard to the hospital, the tithes of his two mills there, as well as the mill of Adam de Abereskir in the *theodum* or tuath of

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[122] *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. James Morrin (Dublin, 1861), no. 45, pp 311–12.
[123] Ibid.

Fethard. He also gave one messuage and twelve acres of land *in burgo meo*.[124] The hospital retained the benefice for the next century until it came under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Cashel and the archbishop of the time, Maurice Mac Cerbaill.[125] O'Keeffe suggests that the grant of the benefice of the church in Fethard to the hospital, thus making it responsible for the supply of clergy to the church, indicates that de Braose was attempting to organise the parochial settlement of his borough. The architectural style of the parish he contends would 'not be inconsistent with a date in the first decade of the thirteenth century.'[126]

Conclusion

As scarce as the surviving information about the priors is in places, the same is even truer of the brothers and sisters of the hospital. No mention at all is made of the domestic staff who, when the hospital was caring for 155 people, must have constituted a significant number. Occasionally a name does appear in the sources; for instance, a Geoffrey is named as chaplain of the hospital, in the late twelfth century.[127] A John Cordon, of the poor hospital of St John was, in 1357, granted plenary remission by the papacy, but no further information is given to distinguish his ecclesiastical or lay status.[128] While our knowledge of the domestic staff of the hospital is of course hampered by the lack of any housekeeping records, such as account rolls for the kitchen, or details about the

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[124] *Reg HSJB*, no. 463. St John Brooks suggests a 1208–10 date. De Braose's Tipperary lands were confiscated by the crown in 1208, his son William and Matilda were imprisoned by 1210.
[125] Ibid., no. 459.
[126] O'Keeffe, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, topographical development, p. 1. One of the witnesses, Adam le Bret, was himself a grantor of benefices in County Tipperary earlier in the same decade. *Reg HSJB*, no. 483. De Braose was not the first to grant the hospital ecclesiastical rights in Fethard: *Reg HSJB*, no. 465. Fethard and surrounding areas were part of a network of parochial organisation in Tipperary at this time. For an examination of this, and the hospital's part in this see Mark Hennessy, 'Parochial organisation in medieval Tipperary' in William Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary, history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1985), pp 60–70.
[127] *Reg St Thomas*, no. 338, pp 291–2.
[128] *Cal Papal Reg*, iii, p. 587.

laundering of the bedclothes from the infirmary, it is perhaps more surprising that our knowledge of some of the priors is so scarce. Had more of the hospital's own records survived, a more complete understanding of the holders of this office, and indeed the office itself, could be achieved.

Chapter 6

Epilogue: decline and dissolution

From the evidence of the extent of the hospital carried out in October 1540, over a year and a half after the final prior, Thomas Everard, surrendered the house, the hospital clearly had claim to properties and rents, although the merit of those claims must be questioned, given the repeated requests for aid from the hospital to the crown. It is clear that as the fourteenth century progressed the hospital's fortunes declined. This chapter will attempt to determine why such a decline occurred, and whether it was inevitable, and examine to what extent local political and social circumstances were responsible. How much that decline was the responsibility of the hospital and how much was due to 'the shift from communal and cooperative forms of charitable organisation towards a more personal and individual search for religious and social benefits' will also be investigated.[1] In chapter two it was postulated that St John's was relatively typical in the circumstances of its foundation – a large religious hospital (especially Augustinian) for the sick and infirm, funded by local landowners, part of that 'great wave of hospital foundation' for which the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are famed.[2] It would seem, as we shall see, that the same holds true for its final years.

In England there is evidence to suggest that at least part of the reason for the decline of the larger monastic type of institutional charity was due to 'innovation, notably in the foundation of almshouses of a type which outlasted the Reformation'.[3] The same evidence does not seem to exist for Ireland. On what evidence does exist, St John the Baptist's would appear to have followed that

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[1] Miri Rubin, *Charity and community in medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 295.
[2] Miri Rubin, 'Development and change in English hospitals, 100–1500' in Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (eds), *The hospital in history* (London, 1989) p. 43.
[3] Ibid.

pattern of inspiring initial enthusiasm among its benefactors on its foundation while falling victim to a change in patterns of donation in the period after the Black Death. Smaller, more parish-centred charity became increasingly popular, the latter receiving donations which would previously have been granted to their hospitaller counterparts. There may also have been concerns that as many of the larger houses, like St John's, were landlords with substantial property portfolios, their focus on maintaining the charitable functions of their institution had become diluted. This might have led to donors feeling fearful for how well these houses would manage their benefactions.[4] Ireland of course had its own particular set of political circumstances, a country of divided allegiances which at times meant that the priors in St John the Baptist's in Dublin were unable to access their lands throughout Ireland. In 1334, prior to the Black Death, when the hospital claimed to have care of a 'hundred and fifty-five poor sick persons' they complained that they were unable to provide adequate care 'because their goods and possessions in the suburb of the said city and elsewhere in Ireland are greatly wasted by hostile attacks of Scots and Irish'.[5] Forty years later, in 1375, the hospital pleaded poverty, prompting Edward III to grant

> 'that the prior may be quit and exonerated of coming to the marches of co. Dublin or those of other counties... of coming to parliaments, musters, hues and cries in the said counties or the marches of the same'.[6]

It would seem then that the Black Death cannot be heralded as the turning point for the hospital, thus the explanation of its change from a wealthy and prestigious

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[4] Marjorie McIntosh, unpublished material. With thanks to Professor McIntosh for supplying me with early proofs for a forthcoming publication. McIntosh further indicates that not only could the charity provided by religious houses be compromised, but their range of concerns could mean that even their property may not be well managed.

[5] *Calendar of the patent rolls...1232–1509* (52 vols, London, 1891–1916), 1330–34, p. 552 (hereafter *Cal Pat Rolls*). The difficulties of travelling from Dublin to the south of Ireland meant that by the fifteenth century there existed a 'Dublin region that enjoyed close administration by exchequer officials and royal judges; and a southern zone that operated on an increasingly devolved basis.' Robin Frame, 'Munster in the late middle ages' in Roger Stalley (ed.), *Limerick and south-west Ireland: medieval art and architecture.* The British Archaeological Society Conference Transactions 34 (2011), p. 8.

[6] *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium*, ed. Edward Tresham (Dublin, 1828), no. 101, p. 92.

place of shelter and sanctuary for the sick and poor, to the pleas of poverty, must be found elsewhere. The putative motivation of the hospital's benefactors was examined in chapter two. As we have seen, the documents used to determine the levels of charity demonstrated by the medieval laity are not forthcoming about their motivations for the provision of such donations, other than naming the souls whose time in Purgatory was hopefully to be shortened in response to the act of charitable donation in their name. As will be seen later in this chapter, the survival of a number of wills of Dublin citizens provides some enlightenment in the otherwise relatively undocumented charitable provision available in the city in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Wills, like all legal deeds, have their limitations and should be approached with all the necessary cautions. However not only do they occasionally provide otherwise unavailable inventories of household items and personal effects, they also assist in charting the type and range of ecclesiastical institutions currently in favour.

Medieval paupers were not, of course, solely dependant on institutional charity. The aforementioned wills indicate that testamentary benefaction did occur: in 1471 Richard Boys, a merchant of Coventry, 'remaining and being in Ireland' requested that he be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers and among various bequests to other churches in the city he left '10 marks to buy woollen and linen cloth for clothing poor people in gowns and shirts.'[7] Cloth seems to dominate the inventory of Richard's goods, suggesting that as a cloth merchant it may have been more practical for him to provide clothing for the poor rather than indiscriminate alms distribution. Of course the most indiscriminate types of alms-giving are also, in Dublin, the least documented. Door-step charity must surely have existed, perhaps not only from private houses, churches and monasteries but also from taverns and public-houses and even from food-stalls with surplus produce at the end of a day's trading. It will be argued here then that while the hospital lost its prestige from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries there is no one simple reason why this was the case. Like their European

[7] *Register of wills and inventories of the diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457-1483*, ed. Henry F. Berry (Dublin, 1898), p. 9. (hereafter *Reg of Wills Dublin*).

counterparts the Crutched Friars in Dublin were at the whim of trends such as falling rents, inflation, evolving attitudes towards (and belief in the value and merits of) donation to those unable to support themselves, and ultimately then a shift in how one approached such matters as intercession with God, Purgatory and displays of wealth. St John's also had to contend with the added political uncertainty in Ireland which further affected its ability to raise funds. The religious and political world around St John's was turbulent, and perhaps it was the inability or unwillingness of these large institutions to adapt to these changes which, with hindsight, made a contraction of services inevitable. This contraction eventually led to closure when the lands and buildings of the hospital were considered more valuable than the services it had once provided.

Evidence for the decline: the register and other sources

> 'Historians of hospitals have usually seen as particularly distinctive the two hundred years between the Black Death of 1348–9 and the Reformation in the 1530s...this period has been discerned as a time of the decay of the twelfth-and thirteenth-century houses.'[8]

The general consensus among historians of hospitals is that the large monastic-type hospitals founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries failed to recover in any significant way following the upheavals of the Great European famine of 1315–17 and the Black Death thirty years later. Single events or slight shifts in religious fervour or fashions were not on their own significant enough to bring about what would appear to have been a Europe-wide repudiation of the category of institution into which St John's would have naturally fitted. In Dublin, as the various religious houses faced suppression, responses varied. As demonstrated with Prior Everard, attempts were made by the heads of some houses to circumvent the capture by the crown of all the lands of their respective institutions. John Rawson, prior of the Hospitallers at Kilmainham and Walter Hancock, prior of All Hallows, Dublin were both engaged in leasing out property

[8] Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English hospital* (New Haven, CT, 1995), p. 127.

prior to the closure of their houses.[9] In some instances direct appeals were made to the commissioners to permit a particular house to remain open, even if it meant agreeing to substantial change. A particularly deferential letter from the abbot of St Mary's abbey in Dublin to Cromwell in July 1539 pleaded against the closure of their house, a place where they claimed poor men, scholars and orphans still found hospitality. They offered to adapt to ensure their continuance, including even changing their 'habite and rule'.[10] In January 1538 the mayor and citizens of Dublin protested against the closure of Christ Church, arguing that the cathedral which stood in the centre of the city was comparable to St Paul's in London. To remove it would 'be a great desolation and a fowle waste and deformitie' of Dublin, giving encouragement to the king's Irish enemies.[11]

Opinions differ as to how important to society in general the hospitality provided by religious houses actually was by the time they closed, and ultimately then how crucial they were in their local areas. Other than evidence of various priors attempting to protect the assets of the houses, there would seem to have been little local resistance to the removal of hospitals and almshouses. One view is that a 'decline in hospital income was matched by a decline in the number of people seeking hospital services – there were fewer lepers, sick, poor and travellers'.[12] This may have been due to the 'rising levels of general prosperity in the century and a half following the Black Death',[13] or simple changes in social provisions, as 'travellers were increasingly able to lodge at inns.'[14] Not only were there apparently no protests at the closure of the hospital, it has already been shown that several years prior to its official closure, rather than trying to save their local *hospitium*, Dublin's city officials were in fact entreating for its closure.[15] Between 1531 and 1539 the number of brothers in the house had reduced from

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[9] Brendan Scott, *Religion and reformation in the Tudor diocese of Meath* (Dublin, 2006), p. 108.
[10] *State papers, Henry VIII*, iii, pp 142–3.
[11] *State papers, Henry VIII*, ii, pp 545–6.
[12] Orme and Webster, *The English hospital*, p. 129.
[13] Peregrine Horden, 'Small beer? The parish and the poor and sick in later medieval England' in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (eds), *The parish in late medieval England: proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton symposium* (Donington, 2006), p. 358.
[14] Elizabeth Prescott. *The English medieval hospital, 1050–1640* (Melksham, 1992), p. 23.
[15] *CARD*, i, pp 500–1.

six to three.[16] There may be a direct link between the desire of the city officials to have direct control of the hospital and the halving of the number of brothers, or it may simply have been the inevitable result of the hospital's lack of resources. It would seem that even before any official pronouncements were made, the hospital was steadily contracting in size.

If uncertainty exists about the true level of charity or alms being provided by the hospitals, almshouses and monasteries, can the social impact of the closure of these charitable institutions be properly assessed? Furthermore, if the foundations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had fallen out of favour, what was replacing them? Brendan Bradshaw has estimated that the 'reformation campaign reached no more than 55 per cent of the 140 or so monastic foundations in the country and 40 per cent of some 200 mendicant communities.'[17] If large numbers of beggars and vagrants were unleashed upon the Irish countryside and flocked into the towns one would expect to see this reflected in contemporary literature, as it is in England. But even in England there is disagreement about the effect the closures had on the provision of alms and charity to the poor. One view suggests that

> 'what evidence we have of the social results of the dissolution of the monasteries seems to suggest that their fall made relatively little difference to the numbers of either poor or vagrants.'[18]

In England, changing attitudes towards the poor and vagrancy in general had begun to formulate before the spectre of the suppression of religious houses was ever suggested. Fourteenth-century literary works like William Langland's *Piers Plowman* demonstrate that there was a distinction recognised between the deserving poor, or the 'traditionally idealized, transcendent notion of poverty as uniting the pauper with Christ' and those who were physically capable of work but

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[16] *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c. 1172–1534*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1950), p. 276 lists six, including the prior when the hospital was taken directly into diocesan control in 1531. *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 67 lists only the prior and two brothers as receiving pensions when the extent was made in 1540.

[17] Brendan Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 206.

[18] John Pound, *Poverty and vagrancy in Tudor England* (2nd edn, Harlow, 1986), p. 14.

who chose to beg or seek alms instead.[19] It was the struggle between 'the spiritual value of poverty and the material scandal of the poor'.[20] In the space of one year, from 1366 to 1367, the aldermen of London hardened their attitude towards beggars from initially deciding that all those capable should be engaged in work, to deciding that 'all vagrants, whether sturdy or impotent, were to leave the city.'[21] As an urban centre Dublin would seem to have had similar difficulties with false beggars and vagrants. A sermon apparently delivered by the archbishop of Dublin, Alexander de Bicknor, in the early fourteenth century saw him complain (as reported by a local chronicler)

> 'of the mischiefs arising from the stragglers and beggars that infested the city and suburbs of Dublin, and, so warm was he in his discourse, that he cursed every one that would not exercise some trade or calling every day, more or less. His sermon had such influence, that the then Mayor of Dublin exercised his authority upon the occasion, and would not suffer an idle person within his liberties, but such who spun or knit, as they walked the streets; even the begging Friars were not excused.'[22]

Following the reduction in population caused by the Black Death, those labourers who survived and were available for work were also in a position to demand higher wages, given the pressure on employers to find available employees. The Ordinance of Labourers of 1349 and its follow-up in 1351, the Statute of Labourers, attempted both to set a limit on what labourers could charge for their services, and to quash the giving of alms to those who could work but chose instead to exploit available charity.[23] The Cambridge Parliament of 1388 dealt

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[19] Anne M. Scott, *Piers Plowman and the poor* (Dublin, 2004), p. 22.
[20] Ibid., p. 25.
[21] Caroline M. Barron, *London in the middle ages: government and people, 1200–1500* (Oxford, 2004), p. 276.
[22] *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, London, 1884), ii, pp xiv–xv (hereafter *Chartul St Mary's*).
[23] *The Statutes of the Realm* (10 vols, London, 1810–29), i, pp 307–9. Concerns about the connection between vagrancy and work were a continual feature of English parliaments and crown policy from the time of the Black Death onward. 'Whether medieval, Elizabethan or later, the regulation of labour in England was closely tied to concerns about beggary, vagrancy and mobility. The 1349 ordinance concluded with an exceptionally harsh proscription against soft-hearted almsgiving to unworthy beggars. The 1351 statute sought to regulate transient labour.' Judith Bennett, 'Compulsory service in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 209:1 (2010), p. 12.

with the mobility of labourers, ordering impotent beggars to stay within their home vill, while able-bodied beggars were to suffer the same penalties as those labourers travelling without letters patent.[24]

The Tudor reaction was to formulate a political response by enacting poor laws, taking the casual element of private donation and alms-giving to the level of state responsibility. A 1495 Vagrancy Act in England legislated against suspect persons found wandering outside their own locality. The legal recourse directed them to be placed in stocks for several days and then sent home.[25] Strangers from outside the community were of course viewed with more suspicion than locals who had fallen on hard times. Urban poverty was perhaps more of a concern than its rural counterpart as large restless crowds without work or means to support themselves were more of a threat gathered together in an urban environment. Another response was to consolidate smaller hospitals and almshouses, a phenomenon also practised on the Continent; in Lisbon forty-three institutions were merged into one between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[26] Nothing suggests that similar moves were attempted in Ireland; indeed one can imagine the resistance offered by the larger, better-endowed houses to such a move, especially where lands and rents would also have been consolidated. The suppression of religious houses of hospitality does not seem to have triggered new and unmanageable crowds of beggars or vagrants, either genuine or able-bodied, putting pressure on existing resources.[27] There was however a marked political response in the Elizabethan period to poverty, which may have been due to a combination of, firstly, the suppression of religious houses, leaving to some degree both paupers and religious without one traditional place of refuge and employment, but secondly the gradual suppression of chantries and guilds, and the overhaul and disruption of the parish system. On a European level attempts have been made to determine how

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[24] J.A. Tuck, 'The Cambridge Parliament, 1388', *English Historical Review*, 84:331 (1969), p. 228.
[25] Paul Slack, *Poverty and policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (Harlow, 1988), p. 115.
[26] Linda Martz, *Poverty and welfare in Habsburg Spain* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 35.
[27] In Toledo in Spain one response to the high numbers of beggars entering the city in the 1540s looking for work was to petition citizens to take these paupers into private homes: Martz, *Poverty and welfare*, p. 127.

much the change in political and religious attitudes towards poverty in the sixteenth century was tied to the Reformation, thus indicating a clear demarcation between Catholic and Protestant policies dealing with poverty, begging, vagrancy and the whole spectrum of those dependant on what would today be called social welfare. They were of course different in some regards; for Protestant theologians the connection Catholic thinkers made between charity and the after-life, in many respects one of the most visible and easily documented Catholic doctrines around charity, was one to be avoided, or reformed. But,

> 'Catholics and Protestants discriminated in a broadly similar way between different categories of poor, prescribed in much the same manner a variety of treatments for them, sought in distributing relief to place them on like ladders of preference.'[28]

As the evidence from the Council of Vienne, quoted at the start of the previous chapter shows, the hospitals did little to help their own cause. From the little known about some of the fifteenth-century priors of St John's, the reputation of those at the helm was far from the monastic ideal. Before examining how the parish and chantries may have replaced the hospitals as the destination of choice for benefactions, we shall first consider what evidence exists for the type of donations St John's actually received in the final two hundred years of its existence.

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[28] Brian S. Pullan, 'Catholics and the poor in early modern Europe', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 26 (1976), p. 16. While rejecting earlier scholarship which determined that there was very little, or even no, continuation of Catholic-type charity into Protestant communities, Pullan also addressed the question of the existence of a distinctive Catholic approach, which may have been radically altered post-Reformation. He puts forward a theory which, amended, could apply to charitable provision in late medieval Ireland. He points out that there is 'the sensible reservation that a prominent determinant of philanthropy in any particular place may well have been the magistrate's concern with law and order, and not the preoccupations of religion...the arrangements of any particular Catholic society were liable to be determined by a very complex interplay of resources.' In addition, he suggests that the 'conclusions of every local study are clouded by the suspicion that its people were acting, not as Catholics, but as Parisians, or Lyonnais, or Venetians.' Ibid., p. 26. In Ireland, charitable donations from the English of Ireland were not usually simply for the poor, they were for the poor of one's own kind. Not only were the needy categorised by their needs, or why they had become so, but also by their very ethnicity.

The register is clearly where the largest bulk of information regarding the hospital's property ownership can be obtained, but it is imperative that it not be taken as the sole source. The register was compiled from documents which were presumably in the hands of the hospital at that time; the purpose then was to have a copy in case of disintegration or loss of the originals. The register itself is discussed in chapter one but there are several points which should be reiterated here, especially regarding the lacunae in the records held in the register and their impact on the conclusions reached in this chapter. When a donation was made to the hospital, it was clearly in the interest of both parties to have a copy of the relevant charter; disputes arising from the discrepancy between what each side expected to give and receive are a common feature in medieval cartularies. The absence of such charters can mean either that the hospital never received its copy, that it was lost before the current arrangement of the register was compiled, or that it had not been agreed upon by then. Even the status of the grantor appears not to have been enough to guarantee the preservation of a charter. Around 1210 the brethren of the hospital made a grant to Warin of London of land which

> 'dominus Johannes filius domini Henrici regis Anglie dedit in elemosinam supranominato Hospitali concessu & assensu civium Dublinie.'[29]

John used this style until he became Earl of Mortain in 1189 which makes it clear that this was a grant from the earliest days of the hospital, though the original is not in the register.

By the time of the compilation of the register (in the late fourteenth century) the welfare of the hospital was clearly declining. [30] That the number of charters after this date is significantly less is unsurprising in light of the wider political circumstances in Ireland from which no institution was immune. Nor was it the only Dublin institution whose status was reduced by exposure to the wider social and political circumstances. William, abbot of St Mary's, was restored to

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[29] *Reg HSJB*, no. 13.
[30] *Reg HSJB*, p. xi.

the king's peace in 1312 having previously negotiated with the enemy Irish for the return of animals and goods stolen by them from two of the abbey's granges. Indeed, it was claimed that the abbey was 'much impoverished by Irish felons very often invading the granges'.[31] In 1326 tenements in both New Street and St Patrick's Street in Dublin lay empty and wasted while the value of those that were occupied had fallen. The burgages on New Street had been worth 57*s.* 6*d.* annually, but at that time were only 32*s.* 2*d.*[32] This dilapidation of the city would seem to have continued: in 1510 the mayor and citizens of Dublin were allowed to hold back money of the fee farm of the city 'for repair of the walls and fortifications, which are in many places ruinous, in consequence of the decay of the city by pestilence, invasions of the Irish, and desertion of the inhabitants.'[33]

There are only fourteen charters in the register dated from *c.* 1350 to the dissolution. There were various factors that could explain the lack of charters, including wavering dedication to charter preservation, scandalous priors, or simply just fewer donations as the usual benefactors were under too much pressure holding on to their lands for themselves. Political and social circumstances affected not only the amount of land grant to the hospital but also the possessions already in the hands of the hospital. For instance, in 1312 David Loterel and his wife Agnes were charged with having unlawfully entered the granary of the prior of St John's, located in Palmerstown, six bushels of wheat at a value of 3*s.* The jury however judged them 'not of ill fame' and they were acquitted.[34]

Is it possible then that the hospital continued to exist for almost two centuries with just over a dozen records of it as grantor or recipient and nothing at all beyond 1486?[35] As an institution it was certainly active during these dates

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[31] *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of proceedings in the court of the Justiciar of Ireland*, I to VII years of Edward II, eds Herbert Wood and Albert Langman, revised by Margaret Griffith (Dublin, 1956), 1308–14, p. 246 (hereafter *Cal Just Rolls*, 1308–14). For a fuller version see *Chartul St Mary's*, i, no. 253, p. 275.

[32] *Cal Abp Alen's Reg*, p. 171.

[33] *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII* (21 vols, London, 1862–1932), xi, no. 6, p. 352.

[34] *Cal Just Rolls,* 1308–14, p. 245.

[35] The latest of the dated charters in the register, no. 581, a lease by Walter Lodlowe, the prior of St John's, to Richard Lodlowe, a Dublin merchant, presumably a relative.

but the information available may hinder how balanced the conclusions drawn can be. For this breach in knowledge the extent of possessions made in 1540 is an appropriate match. It provides the most reliable and comprehensive source for completing the gap between the hospital records and records of others (civic and religious institutions and individuals) whose own deeds were examined at the time of the dissolution. Despite its social function, St John the Baptist's was condemned to the same fate as Dublin's other religious houses, and it too ended its days by being picked apart and sold off piece by piece. The lands held by the tenants of the *fratres cruciferi* and those they held of others obviously retained value beyond the closure of the hospital in its original guise. These were divided up and under various Tudor monarchs were granted to loyal subjects in Ireland. Brought to an end by Henry VIII, the grants made by his daughter, Elizabeth I, up to the end of her reign still occasionally referred to the 'possessions of the late hospital of S. John'.[36]

Beyond the register, evidence for donations to the hospital can be found mostly in other cartularies or, following the dissolution, in state records. Wills have not survived well in Dublin but there are several apart from the two within the register that denote a desire among citizens of Dublin for the hospital, or more correctly its inhabitants, to benefit from the division of their *post mortem* possessions.[37] Testamentary donations usually, though not always, differ in one main regard from other donations; they were single payments rather than a continuous source of income. In three of the wills the testator requested burial on

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[36] *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, no. 4410, pp 621–2.

[37] Margaret Murphy, 'The high cost of dying; an analysis of *pro anima* bequests in medieval Dublin' in W.J. Shiels and Diana Wood (eds), *The church and wealth: studies in church history*, xxiv (Oxford, 1987), pp 111–22 should be the first point of contact for a secondary exploration of available material, although it is not a conclusive list. St John the Baptist appears in the following as beneficiary on some scale: *Reg HSJB*, nos 65 and 66; *Chartul St Mary's*, no. 13, pp 16–21, at p. 19; *Reg of Wills Dublin*, pp 12, 82, 98, 113 and 135; *Calendar of the Liber Niger and Albus*, no. 58, p. 31; *CARD*, i, no. 103, pp 129–30; *Christ Ch deeds*, nos 106, 239, 251, 290 refers to a church of St John but it is not clear which one, 327. In addition to full testamentary records, there are also references made in record collections to executors carrying out the wishes of testators which if collated would allow for a slighter better understanding of property ownership and inheritance in medieval Dublin. Murphy counts this collection as having seventy-four testaments but one, p. 59, is repeated on p. 124.

the grounds of the hospital. John Hammond's will in 1388 added the extra stipulation that this was to be in front of the church of St Mary Magdalene.[38] This church was bequeathed 20*s.* towards masses and £50 towards wax. William Paraventur, clerk, willed the patients of the hospital his stone house, after the payment of his debts and the continued payment of 4*s.* rent from a house/building called 'le Cutelery' inside the city walls.[39] The 20 pounds of wax in Gilbert le Decer's 1276 will was specifically for the illumination of his corpse. For the friars carrying the cross he bequeathed 3*s.* Aside from the 100*s.* received from John Taillour in 1370 the single bequest (here meaning one not related to rent or a continual payment) tended to be under 6*s.* In 1471 William Neill of Clondalkin bequeathed that the hospital 'have a threefold repast' based, he noted, on the custom of repast that was customarily given there by others.[40] The register contains a chirograph dating from 1259 between Brother John and Matilda, former wife of Alexander Corvisarii, which mentions that the house the hospital was to receive for the care of the sick had been bequeathed to it by Alexander in his will. On behalf of the hospital, Brother John granted the house to Matilda, in return for 2*d.* payable at the usual terms of Easter and Michaelmas.[41]

The scarcity of surviving wills renders any conclusion a tenuous one. Margaret Murphy calculated a total of ninety-eight surviving wills for medieval Dublin,[42] of which, fourteen certainly refer to the hospital of St John, with one unconfirmed. Of the fourteen, ten refer specifically to the donation being for the poor, infirm or sick of the hospital, while the remaining four are for the church or the work of the church of St John's. As we have seen, within the register approximately 39% of donations refer to the sick and poor as the desired destination for their charity and the wording of the wills seems to reflect the

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[38] *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin*, eds J. T. and Lady Gilbert, (18 vols, Dublin, 1889–1944), i, no. 103 (ii), pp 129–30 (hereafter *CARD*).
[39] *Reg HSJB*, no. 65. May have been in Cornmarket. See Howard Clarke (ed.), *Irish historic towns atlas no. 11. Dublin, Part 1, to 1610* (Dublin, 2002), topographical information, p. 29 (hereafter *IHTA, Dublin 1*).
[40] *Reg of Wills Dublin*, p. 98.
[41] *Reg HSJB*, no. 238.
[42] Murphy, 'The high cost of dying, p. 111.

formulaic nature of these stipulations.[43] An obvious point of course is that they were legal documents, as were the charters and as such were not the appropriate place for lengthy descriptions of how, for instance, one mark was to be distributed amongst the infirm of the hospital. Where the few surviving wills do perhaps provide something that the register does not is confirmation that throughout the fifteenth century the hospital continued to find favour with the citizens of Dublin. Five of the wills which mention the hospital are from the fifteenth century.

In addition to Murphy's list and among the deeds of St Anne's Guild there are three inventories and testaments, of Joan Douce, Richard Codde (listed as citizen and baker) and Alexander Beswick, merchant. [44] Six additional wills are noted as having been in the collection, but their details are no longer extant. Joan Douce's will, dated 22 May 1381, indicated her request to be buried in the grounds of the hospital. St John's received two donations from her will; 20*s.* for the feeding of the sick in the hospital and half a mark for the works of its church. Her charity extended also toward the misfortunate in the city; those incarcerated in the castle, the town prison and the Tholsel received 40*d.*, 18*d.*, and 12*d.* respectively while 12*d.* was set aside for 'the cripple who lies opposite Nicholas Seriaunt's inn'.[45] Her 20*s.* donation is almost four times the amount given to the hospital in contemporary wills and probably reflects the accommodation of her burial request by the prior. Richard Codde in 1438 bequeathed 'a meal to the poor of S. John' while his best clothes were to be altered to make a suit 'for the most needy person of the church'.[46] Of three additional wills not included in Murphy's calculations only one makes reference to St John's.[47] In 1348 Giliana de Moenis gave the hospital 5*s.* 6*d.* to feed the infirm.[48]

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[43] Based on a baseline of 404 charters where the hospital is the main or secondary recipient.
[44] *History of the religious gild of S. Anne, in S. Audoen's church, Dublin, 1430–1740, taken from its records in the Haliday Collection, RIA*, ed. Henry F. Berry, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 25 (1904–5), section C, nos 20–22, pp 47–51.
[45] Ibid., pp 47–8.
[46] Ibid., p. 49. The church here is either St Audoen's, the place of his burial or the church of St Thomas the Martyr, the beneficiary of the preceding donation.
[47] Smyly, 'Old Latin deeds', 69 (1947), 69, p. 31 (Giliana de Moenis); 71(1948), no. 180, pp 39–40 (Richard Rede) and no. 199, pp 48–50 (Richard Stanyhurst).
[48] Ibid., 69 (1947), no. 69, p. 31.

The importance of seeking the prayers of the sick and poor within the hospital's walls would seem to have waned, but souls still needed prayer and assistance in passing successfully through Purgatory, and the sick and infirm continued to need sustenance. The local parish and the rise of chantries and guilds bridged this gap. Each of these institutions provided a potential donor with more control over how their money was spent and distributed more so perhaps than the provision of land and rents to large monastic houses ever did. To judge from the increasing complaints emanating from the hospital about its decline into penury, it can be assumed that wealthy and pious members of Dublin society, the grandchildren perhaps of the hospital's earliest and most generous patrons, were no longer interested in benefaction, in fulfilling the role of pious and charitable donor, other than small testamentary donations. But examination of the wider ecclesiastical sphere would suggest that this was not the case.

Although the large and often generous donations of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries do not, on the surviving evidence, appear to have continued, St John's, as seen in the evidence of testaments, was not entirely forgotten by Dubliners. As previously mentioned, the patchy survival of wills in Dublin makes firm conclusions difficult and even unwise. Even accepting all the caveats that must accompany the use of such a small sample group as those surviving Dublin testaments, a simple exercise such as making a table of where each testator distributed his or her donations provides some unexpected answers. As Murphy herself indicates, by examining in detail the preferred burial-places of the laity, as indicated in their wills, the religious fashions of the time can be revealed.[49] What the exercise also revealed was how little the poor themselves were actually referred to, and on several of the few occasions when they were, they were to receive bread and ale more because it was part of funerary or anniversary arrangements than a genuine attempt to relieve contemporary need.[50]

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[49] Murphy, 'The high cost of dying, p. 114.

[50] Alexander Beswick donated 5 [ ] for the poor to have bread at his funeral: *History of the religious gild of S. Anne, in S. Audoen's church*, no. 22, p. 50. (The designated amount is a lacuna in the calendar).

Of the ninety-seven full testaments included in the table, only eleven did not request burial in the church, chapel or cemetery of a parish church.[51] Of that eleven, four chose the friars preachers, three the friars minor (two of whom were from the de Moenis family, a wealthy and well-connected Dublin family - Robert de Moenis also mentions that his wife was buried there),[52] one the Augustinian friars, two the Cistercians of St Mary's abbey and three chose the hospital outside the Newgate. Of the remainder who chose churches, Holy Trinity features in seven, specifically either St Mary's chapel, in the cloister or, in only one instance, the churchyard. The designated burial institution was of course financially compensated for the cost of burial, and in many instances received other donations of money for works of the church, repair of the fabric or bell, and even cloth for an altar.[53] In addition to assisting their burial institution, other churches were often the recipients of the testator's generosity. Clearly the wealthier the citizen, the greater the likelihood that their beneficence would be bestowed on a variety of institutions. Nicholas Barret of the parish of St Michan's, whose will dates to 1474, requested burial in St Mary's chapel in St Michan's. For the works of the chapel he allocated 40*d.*, to the high altar of the church of St Michan, 20*d*, for priests and clerks on the day of his funeral, 4*s.* and spices and wines, presumably also for the funeral, 40*d.* Having ensured that his burial institution was well covered for expenses, Nicholas then provided for each order of friars in Dublin, for the chancel in the church of Glasnevin, the church of Holy Trinity and the monastery of St Mary.[54]

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[51] Jefferies reaches different conclusions in his examination of these wills: Jefferies, *The Irish church*, pp 64–5.
[52] TCD MS 1207/128 for Giliana de Moenis and TCD MS 1207/85 for Robert.
[53] There are many examples of these types of bequest. In 1476 Richard Whitakyr requested burial in the church of St Peter, Balrothery. For his burial he designated 8 measures of wheat and fourteen of malt. He also bequeathed 3*s.* 4*d.* to the fraternity there and 8*s.* to the high altar: *Reg of Wills Dublin*, pp 118–20. In 1434 John Lytill left his linens to the altar of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of St John the Evangelist, the place of his burial: 'On the ancient deeds of the parish of St John, Dublin', no. 112, pp 197–8.
[54] *Reg of Wills Dublin*, pp 68–70.

Bequests to the various orders of friars are common, usually expressed as a single donation to the four orders, though the amounts vary.[55] None of the references stipulate how the money was to be allocated, if it was to support the friars themselves, or the assistance provided by them to the needy of the city. Clear references to provision of one's goods for the use of the city's paupers are surprisingly scarce. Joan White requested that her goods be distributed 'to pious uses for the health of my soul', so that although they may have benefited the poor, the intention would seem to have been more for her benefit than theirs.[56] The hospital, of course, was remembered, and not only by those who sought it as their burial-place. Patrick Kenane expressed the wish that his 5*s.* should go toward the 'support of the poor' in the Hosptial,[57] while Nicholas Ketyng specified 5*s.* 1 ½ *d.* to the same.[58] In 1380 John Foyll allocated money for both the poor of the hospital and 'the poor in the King's castle'.[59] The prisoners in the Castle, lepers, and the poor of St John's were again remembered by Nicholas Suttowne in 1478, a man wealthy enough to appoint Walter Champflour, abbot of St Mary's, as tutor to his children.[60]

Donations continued to be made to religious institutions, for their upkeep and for the sustenance of those within their walls. But a discernible change can be detected in the patterns of this donation. The evidence presented by fourteenth and fifteenth-century wills suggests that parish churches were by then increasingly the main beneficiaries of pious donations. Others who supported the wider community were still supported, but to a lesser degree. The wider topic of the evolution of parishes and guilds in England in the pre-Reformation period has seen a burgeoning in scholarship in recent years, much of it centred around churchwardens' accounts, their merits and dangers.[61]

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[55] Reginald Weston stipulated 4*s.*, Nicholas Ketyng gave 13*s.* 4*d.* while Peter Higley gave to each order of mendicants 6*s.* 8*d.* and Thomas Finglas left the extremely generous 26*s.* 8*d.* *Reg of Wills Dublin*, pp 90, 113, 131 and 153.
[56] *Reg of Wills Dublin*, p. 48.
[57] Iibd., p. 82.
[58] Ibid., p. 113.
[59] *Christ Ch Deeds*, no. 251, p. 83.
[60] Ibid., no. 327, pp 95–6.
[61] By no means a definitive list, this is a range of the scholarship on offer: Carole Rawcliffe, 'Dives redeemed? The guild almshouses of later medieval England' in Linda Clarke (ed.), *The fifteenth*

A fresh perspective on the pre-Reformation church is also being provided by scholars questioning just how derelict the church in pre-Reformation Ireland was, and finding that it was not in fact a place of total disorder. Despite that, as Adrian Empey has commented, there is 'no acknowledgement of the continuing evolution of the parish in the later Middle Ages, particularly in a period when the great monastic foundations were in a process of gradual decline.'[62] Colm Lennon's research into the role of confraternities in Ireland, and particularly Dublin, would seem to support the hypothesis that the laity were more organised and involved in their religious experience, including how their benefactions would be allocated to the works of the parish. These included both the maintenance of the nave of the parish church, traditionally supervised by the parishioners, but also the provision of alms to the parish community. Under the older monastic system the prior and brethren had control of the distribution of these funds, but increasing lay parochial independence and participation meant tighter controls on how, where and to whom these funds could be allocated:

> 'The parish offered humbler members of society a platform not only for the expression of their religious sentiments, but also for the exercise of an unusual degree of responsibility and political power.[63]

In his assessment of the pre-Reformation church in Ireland, Henry Jefferies covers areas such as church building, the size of the parish network, who the clergy were and how much they may have earned. He also examines how the laity interacted with the church, remarking that they 'exercised a considerable

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century VIII: rule, redemption and representations in late medieval England and France (Woodbridge, 2008), pp 1–27; Eamon Duffy, 'The end of it all: the material culture of the medieval English parish and the 1552 inventories of church goods' in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (eds), *The parish in late medieval England: proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton symposium* (Donington, 2006), pp 381–99; Beat Kümin, 'The English parish in a European perspective' in Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs and Beat Kümin (eds), *The parish in English life, 1400–1600* (Manchester, 1997), pp 15–32; in the same publication see Eamon Duffy, 'The parish, piety and patronage in late medieval East Anglia: the evidence of rood screens, pp 133–62; Beat Kümin, *The shaping of a community: the rise and reformation of the English parish, c. 1400–1560* (Aldershot, 1996).

[62] Adrian Empey, 'The formation and development of intramural churches and communities in medieval Dublin in a European context' in John Bradley, Alan J. Fletcher and Anngret Simms (eds), *Dublin in the medieval world: studies in honour of Howard B. Clarke* (Dublin, 2009), p. 253.

[63] Kümin, The English parish in a European perspective, p. 30.

degree of authority and influence over the Church in the parishes of late medieval Ireland', detailing some of the ways in which this occurred.[64] Appointing parishioners as churchwardens, who then managed such funds and properties as were made available to the parish, and the emergence of religious guilds or confraternities which were charged with remembering the souls of deceased members, were two of the most visible means by which parishioners involved themselves in the maintenance of their local church. Lennon's view that the increase from the mid fifteenth-century in these types of foundations in the Dublin region should be associated with the desire of the colonial community to draw together is challenged by Jefferies, who associates them more with the general increase of lay involvement in the late medieval Irish church.[65]

The Suppression and beyond

In 1543 the site of the hospital was leased to Thomas Luttrell, in addition to extensive lands in Dublin city, county and beyond.[66] In an *inspeximus* dating from 1609, the same grant, or a later amended one, appears: a third of the site was to be held at a rent of 11*s.* 8*d.*, for 20th of a knight's fee and a fine of Irish £100.[67] In 1541, as Chief Justice, Luttrell had been part of the group assigned by the crown to ascertain the value of the new acquisitions which had been accrued following the dissolution.[68] In addition to ensuring that the land and possessions within the site were made use of, they also ensured that 40*s.* which had previously been paid by the prior to the city for the use of a watercourse was to be paid from the crown coffers, including all arrears to date.[69] This most likely referred to the agreement which had been made in the 1450s between the mayor, commonalty

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[64] Jefferies, *The Irish church*, p. 56.
[65] Jefferies, *The Irish church*, p. 62. Using Colm Lennon, 'The confraternities and cultural duality in Ireland, 1450–1550' in Christopher Black and Pamela Gravestock (eds), *Early modern confraternities in Europe and the Americas: international and interdisciplinary perspectives* (Aldershot, 2006), pp 35–52, esp at 38–40.
[66] *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, i, no. 374, p. 42.
[67] *Cal pat rolls Ire, Jas I*, 7 James 1, 89, pp 146–7.
[68] *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. James Morrin (Dublin, 1861), no 102, p. 77.
[69] Ibid., p. 79.

and the prior and brethren of St John the Baptist's. For this 40*s.* and certain access to the water, the authorities had allowed the hospital to build a fosse from its own mill as far as the city ditch at Gormund's Gate.[70] The mayor and commonalty were however to remain 'supervisors and governors of the water'. The mills and water of the hospital were in its later history to become the most valuable part of the hospital grounds. The importance and value of mills perhaps suggests that those who were given leases were considered especially loyal and unlikely to attempt to alienate them for their own benefit.[71]

The earl of Thomond was granted the reversion of the site in 1543–4, and in 1552 the site and its mills were granted to James Sedgrave, a merchant.[72] Among other lands and possessions he also received those of the former nunnery of Hogges. In 1553 and for Irish £90 Sedgrave sold a third of the site to his cousin, Christopher Sedgrave.[73] In 1564 a Nicholas Sedgrave was pardoned and fined for alienating a third of the site.[74] The value in terms of rental payment seems to have diminished the further one moves from the date of dissolution. When Redman was first granted the site, the amount given was 43*s.* 4*d.*, excluding the three watermills which had been granted to Nicholas Bennett, one of the jurors for the extent, and mayor of Dublin in the 1539–40 term.[75] The entire value of the site was reckoned at being capable of producing rent of £13 3*s.* 4*d.* The mills alone though were £11. Bennett was excused from the payment of the specific water rate and the rent that was payable, wheat and malt, suggesting Bennett's involvement in the brewing trade.[76] The 1543 grant to Thomas Luttrell

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[70] *CARD*, i, no. 151, pp 170–71.
[71] National Monuments Archive, SMR nos DU018–020226, DU018–020227 and DU018–020230 refer to the three mills, having no visible surface remains.
[72] *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, i, no. 400, p. 46; *Cal pat roll Ire, HVIII–Eliz*,
[73] *Calendar of Inquisitions formerly in the office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer prepared from the MSS of the Irish Record Commission*, ed. Margaret Griffith (Dublin, 1991), p. 174. Noted as alderman and having died in 1589, his heir named as Walter, p. 314. In the seventeenth century the Sedgrave and Stephens families, probably descendants of those who took seisin of parts of the site of the hospital following its suppression, were embroiled in legal disputes concerning the legality of their respective actions concerning the site, p. 408.
[74] *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, no. 691, p. 79.
[75] Jacqueline Hill, 'Mayors and Lord Mayors of Dublin from 1229' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, ix: maps, genealogies, lists* (Oxford, 1984), p. 554.
[76] *Extents Irish monastic possessions, 1540–1541*, ed. Newport White (Dublin, 1943), p. 55 (hereafter, *Extents Irish monastic possessions*).

is extensive in detail and content and the only value given is the total for all named lands. It also does not specify what the site includes. Sedgrave's grant includes the precinct and mills, valued then in total at £10 2*s.* 10½*d.*[77] If this is the entire precinct as valued at the extent, it represents a drop of roughly £3 in value over a decade. The more detailed confirmation given several years later to Sedgrave gives a rent of only 15*s.* for the hospital, and his holdings include the three mills.[78] This value more or less held up to the early years of the reign of James I. When Francis Gofton, an auditor, was granted the site of the Hospital in 1609, the rent was 17*s.* 6*d.* This included 'three water-mills, and the watercourse adjoining, and all other messuages, lands and hereditaments, within, without, or near the said precinct'.[79] In 1611 Walter Sedgrave, alderman, was charged 16*s.* 3*d.*, 40th of a knight's fee and 40 marks as fine.[80]

What caused this drop in the post-dissolution value? Two possible reasons can be suggested. The first is that the site was not maintained and fell into disrepair. Although Thomas Everard had only surrendered the site in February 1539, by October of the following year when the extent was made there were clear signs that despite several people being resident in various houses on the site, the overall condition was not one of premium value. The then under-treasurer of Ireland, William Brabazon, sold the church (St John's church), though the amount raised by the sale of the physical building materials was not recorded. There is a record of the amount raised from 'the price of divers things, goods and chattels', that being £54 17*s.* 7*d.*[81] The impression given by the descriptions in the extent is of an overrun, derelict site, apparently then not holding much attraction for prospective lessees. The second possible reason is that the western suburb, which throughout the medieval period had been such an important access route to the city, gradually began to lose ground to the

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[77] *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery*, no. 15, p. 268.
[78] Ibid., p. 392.
[79] *Cal pat rolls Ire, Jas I*, 6 James 1, no. 75, p. 128.
[80] Ibid., no. 19, p. 199. For a prosopographical examination of Christopher, James and Walter Sedgrave see Colm Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1989), pp 267–9.
[81] Charles McNeill, 'Accounts of sums realised by sales of chattels of some suppressed Irish monasteries', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 52 (1922), p. 16.

expansion of the other suburbs. St Thomas's Abbey, a royal foundation and a monastic house of considerable wealth and influence would have been a large draw for visitors to the area outside the Newgate, as would St John the Baptist's. The loss of these two houses utterly changed the character of this suburb. The extent of St Thomas's in 1540 noted what remained of the house itself. A hall, tower, several rooms and other buildings which once would presumably have been of a high standard (considering that they are noted to have been 'suitable for the king's deputy and the king's commissioners repairing to Ireland') are listed along with gardens, orchards and other buildings but all 'are worth nothing above repairs.'[82] Newgate became more associated with the prison and the poorhouse.[83] In 1625 two aldermen of the city were ordered to examine the ruins of the hospital and also 'what orders and government the poore have amonge them, and of what number they be, and by whom preferred.'[84] The following year one of those aldermen, Robert Bennett, was to spend twenty pounds sterling erecting the walls and roof of the former hospital.[85] Before the end of the sixteenth century there were complaints that through 'the abuse and enchroching of the neighbores thereaboutes' the gutters around Newgate were full and the wall between it and Gormond's Gate was decayed in various places.[86] As the seventeenth century progressed and the walls further disintegrated, gated entrances were no longer the only access points into the city. The seventeenth-century completion of Ormond Bridge (now O'Donovan Rossa) and Essex Bridge (now Grattan) eased the reliance on the existing Ostmans' Bridge (now Fr Mathew). But this moved traffic away from the western side of the city, furthered by the growth of planned urban estates as the seventeenth century progressed.[87] The estate of St John the Baptist's, what remained after the dissolution, was no longer in one of the prime property-holding areas and its place at what would

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[82] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 26.
[83] Charles McNeill, 'New Gate, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 51 (1921), pp 152–65.
[84] *CARD*, iii, p. 184.
[85] Ibid., p. 195.
[86] *CARD*, ii, pp 302–3.
[87] *Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 19. Dublin Part II, 1610–1756*, ed. Colm Lennon (Dublin, 2008), p. 1.

have been one of the busiest gates in the city was lost to the newly expanded northern and eastern parts of Dublin.

Medieval legal disputes concerning the right to farm or lease any plot of land were frequent and were probably worsened by the confusion that clearly arose following the vast estates that became available following the Reformation. It is possible though that some of these cases emerged as a result of the speed with which property was transferred and the frequency with which it changed hands following the dissolution. There are no charters in the register for the sixteenth century, but there was clearly a level of activity in the movement of the ownership of property prior to the dissolution. It was clearly a period of such immense change that those who sought to acquire land must have considered it an opportunistic moment. This did not go unrecognised; neither did the donation of land by heads of religious houses prior to suppression. Under the act for suppression in 1537 it was enacted that these heads of houses

> 'determining the utter spoiling and destruction of their houses, and dreading the suppression thereof, for the maintenance of their detestable lives have lately fraudulently and craftily made feoffments, gifts, estates, grants, and leases under their convent seals'.[88]

The solution was to enact that grants or leases of any land usually held by the institution for its own maintenance that had been granted within the two years prior to the dissolution would be considered void.[89] Two extant deeds, both missing from the register and both dating from the sixteenth century referring to lands in Rochelle Lane, opposite St Audoen's church, demonstrate that such transactions were still taking place.[90]

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[88] *The statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland* (21 vols, Dublin, 1786–1804), i, pp 128–9.

[89] Ibid., pp 218–19.

[90] Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Talbot c. 96/4 (dated to 1520) and MS Talbot c. 96/5 (dated to 1536). The originals are both in good condition, are both indentured with remnants of cord, but no seal. MS Talbot c. 96/4 contains a reference to the charter being sealed in the chapter house with the common seal. They are currently stitched together with a single stitch. Both are in sixteenth-century English. A transcription was made of them by A.J. Otway-Ruthven and kindly made available to me by Dr Peter Crooks: Medieval History Research Centre, TCD: Draft calendar of Talbot deeds in typescript (2 boxes), ed. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, Box 1, nos 139 and 146.

In September 1539 Redman received his lease of the site of the hospital from Henry VIII and in October 1540 the surveyors found that Redman occupied a 'house lately the chapel of St Eligius' while other houses on the site were similarly occupied.[91] Brendan Bradshaw maintained that 'circumstances suggest that Redman already had the lease before the suppression and was maintaining the crutched friars' hospital.'[92] Had Redman taken control of the grounds prior to the suppression it must be assumed that he would not have taken up residence in a church while it was still functioning as such. But perhaps a more obvious reason is that the thirteen months between the suppression and the extent would appear to have been of sufficient length for the occupation of the site by the residents named in October 1540. The kitchen and auxiliary buildings were at the time of the extent occupied by Thomas Stephens, merchant, and as this had been previously occupied by the prior 'for his own use' it seems unlikely that these would have become Stephens's at any time before the dissolution.[93]

Several of the same names appear as recipients of the spoils of suppression. Nicholas Bennett, merchant, juror and mayor of Dublin 1539–40 is associated in the extent with the following: a house and three mills on the former site of the hospital, the farm of Palmerstown, Jordanstown and Cottrelstown, a meadow and three stangs and in the south of the city the tithes of Palmerston and Irishtown were to be held by him for forty years following the expiration of the current holder leases. Bennett's difficulties in Palmerston may have stemmed from his acquisition of a number of the hospital's properties prior to the suppression. The leasing of property by churches in advance of the dissolution was returned to in the statutes of 1542, at greater length. Presumably as the closure of monasteries became more widespread, the uncovering of this practice did also.[94] Without the benefit of surviving records from the period immediately prior to the dissolution, a comparison of the names of those who received land from the hospital before and after its closure is fraught with difficulties.

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[91] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 55.
[92] Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland*, pp 220–1.
[93] *Extents Irish monastic possessions*, p. 55.
[94] *The statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland*, i, pp 218–9.

Even before the dissolution itself the hospital had undergone a transformation in character, most likely brought about by financial constraints. In the 1470s the prior and brethren were concerned that as a result of 'negligence and bad government' of previous priors the very buildings in which the poor and sick were housed were themselves in dire need of assistance.[95] In 1500 a merchant by the name of John Blake was granted the 'cornell howse withowth Newe gate, the which is callyt a howse of Seynt Johannes'.[96] This suggests that the site itself was being encroached upon by buildings not related to the hospital. No longer in a position to afford the upkeep of the land on which it was built, and the various extended buildings which comprised the complex, the hospital seems to have leased out or sold part of the original foundation site. It is the civic assembly which granted Blake the land, not the prior or brethren. John Blake's name does not appear in the 1540 extent of the hospital, at which point there are several occupiers of houses on the site of the hospital, but none a Blake.

In 1539 Edmund Redman was granted the site to farm, and himself occupied what was formerly one of the site's churches. There were however several other tenants on the lands, also occupying buildings which had once formed part of the hospital complex. The chapel of St Margaret, built in 1308 by John le Decer,[97] was empty and like the cemetery was considered to be worth nothing.[98] The area containing the beds for the sick was similarly considered of value for no other use, despite having land attached.[99] The third church on the site had been destroyed following dissolution. Not named in the extent but most likely known as St John's church, there are scant references to it in other sources. Perhaps also due to a lack of differentiation between the appellations church and chapel one or other of the three ecclesiastical buildings may have been incorrectly identified with its neighbour. In a papal indulgence given in 1400

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[95] *Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, twelfth and thirteenth to the twenty-first and twenty-second years of the reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. James Morrissey (Dublin, 1939), p. 505. With thanks to Sparky Booker for making me aware of this entry.
[96] *CARD*, i, p. 386.
[97] *Chartul St Mary's*, i, p. 337.
[98] *Extents Irish monastic possessions,* p. 55.
[99] Ibid.

the church of the hospital is mentioned, but without a name.[100] As previously noted, in the *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* entry on the church a link was made between it and a St John's church in King John's confirmation to Holy Trinity of its possessions, but this appears tenuous.[101]

Conclusion

In all stages of its existence the hospital of St John the Baptist's would seem to have conformed to the picture that emerges from similar houses with more extensive records. Largely in favour with the merchant class for the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by the fourteenth, suspicions about both the quality of care provided and the moral qualities of those maintaining these houses led to complaints and a subsequent reduction in donations. As lay attitudes toward their places of worship changed, so too did the fortunes of those other churches and houses which from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries became the favoured destination for donations. As perceptions of the pauper evolved from being someone made in the image of Christ to being characterised as a vagabond or a threat to society, views on how they were to be cared for also evolved. By protecting their own, each parishioner acquired much greater control over those charged with praying for the speedy passage of his or her soul through Purgatory.

Whether the charity they provided arose from their own self-interest or for purely philanthropic reasons, Dubliners continued to provide for the paupers of their society throughout the later middle ages. How they did it simply changed. Did the hospital suffer because it no longer met the required standards, because disputes between the priors diminished its reputation or because it simply was not able to match the trend for increased donation to parish churches, chantries and guilds? Probably all apply to varying degrees. Its decline was not inevitable

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[100] *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters*, ed. W.H. Bliss and others (13 vols, London, 1893–1955), v, p. 303.
[101] Howard Clarke (ed.), *Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 11. Dublin, Part I, to 1610* (Dublin, 2002), topographical information, p. 18. Original source, *Cal Abp Alen's Reg*, p. 29.

but by maintaining its monastic structure, once the wave of Reformation closures began, it was inevitable that it too would be closed. By the mid-sixteenth century, Dublin appeared to value St John's much more for its lands and rents than for its charitable functions.

Conclusion

For over 800 years one area on Thomas Street has been variously home to a religious hospital, a poor house and currently a church. The foundation of the hospital in the 1180s, in what became a rapidly expanding suburb of the medieval city of Dublin, was a physical expression of the changes brought about by the settlement of the city by the English, beginning in 1170. Its demise in 1539 was similarly the result of political and religious changes in England which then spread to Ireland. Between those dates the hospital represented something different to all the various people who came into contact with it – be they pauper or patron. For the pauper it was a place of refuge, perhaps also providing some form of medical care, while for the patron a donation meant they engaged in an act of charity, securing prayers for the salvation of the souls of family and friends and was also perhaps a public demonstration of their wealth and success. St John the Baptist's was also representative of Dublin's civic spirit, by the continued (if not always consistent) support of an institution which had been founded to provide sustenance to the sick and poor.

The aim of this thesis has not been to produce an exhaustive history of the hospital of St John the Baptist's, as, for example, Carole Rawcliffe did for St Giles's in Norwich, nor has it been to examine charitable care *per se* in medieval Dublin, as Miri Rubin did for medieval Cambridge.[1] Such a study would require much more extensive sources for the hospital than have been unearthed to date – sources which would allow to be open to scrutiny such areas as the organisation and governance of the hospital, its physical dimensions, the level and type of care offered in the hospital, and even such rudimentary considerations as the numbers of patients and the numbers of brothers and sisters who constituted its staff. Rather the main object of the thesis has been to determine the role which the hospital played within the society of medieval

[1] Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the soul: the life, death and resurrection of an English medieval hospital, St Giles, Norwich, c. 1249–1550* (Stroud, 1999); Miri Rubin, *Charity and community in medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987).

Dublin, its impact as a landlord and tenant and also as a religious house of care. It was this latter function which differentiated it from two of the other largest monastic houses in Dublin, the Victorine abbey of St Thomas and the Cistercians in St Mary's. As with all religious houses, these too had a duty of care and hospitality, but it was certainly not as pronounced as that of the *fratres cruciferi* in St John's.

As outlined in the introduction, the hospital of St John the Baptist has been the subject of previous scholarship, but none hitherto on the lines explored in this thesis. Much is owed to those scholars, perhaps none more so than Eric St John Brooks, the man responsible for the transcribed edition of the register published in 1936. His work added to the earlier endeavours of Charles McNeill in tracing the history of the manuscript from Dublin to its current home in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, meant that much was known about the register. Chapter one brought all of this information together, but also aimed to establish how well this cartulary compared to its contemporaries. Without a clerical signature, or stated purpose, it was determined that in many ways the hospital's register was similar in its compilation to those of other, similar, institutions. Firstly, the muniments of the house were brought together and arranged either by parish or topographically. In most instances these would appear to have been stored in boxes as they were received from benefactors, both for safe-keeping and ease of access. These deeds were then copied into a single, bound manuscript which could be used as a point of reference when legal disputes arose, or simply as a convenient method of assessing the value and extent of the hospital's possessions in any one area. As in most other instances where the cartulary of a medieval religious house survives, the fate of the original deeds remains elusive.

Despite the high number of sick and poor patients that the hospital supported over its many years, very little remains which would allow for an insight into the type of care provided, or even tell us how sick those patients were on admittance. Chapter two was an exploration of what it was that the hospital offered to both those seeking it out as a place of refuge, and to those

who chose to donate to the hospital as part of the fulfilment of their Christian duty to perform charitable works. Founded by Ailred Palmer in the 1180s, St John's was part of the expansion and change brought about in Dublin under its new English occupants. Along with other new religious houses, such as St Thomas's abbey, St Patrick's cathedral and the expanded Christ Church cathedral, the hospital of St John the Baptist offered Dublin's citizens and visitors a place for worship. St John's also offered a chance for benefactors to display their civic pride and perform their civic duty. While making a large donation to the hospital may, for some, have been based more on the desire for an ostentatious public display of wealth than any particular desire to reduce the suffering of the poor in their midst, there were others for whom the motivation to donate was borne out of genuine compassion. The debate as to the motivation of benefactors is one which is still alive and evolving. The nature of the sources makes it difficult to take a definitive stance on whether one believes the benefactors to have been motivated by the belief that the prayers of those they supported eased their passage through Purgatory, or a genuine aspiration to share their financial well-being and success with others in their community. Unlike support they may have shown to similar Augustinian hospitals in England, many of them twelfth and thirteenth century foundations, the English who supported St John's were contributing to an institution which perhaps assisted in fostering a sense of community among the new arrivals, which in some instances, as we have seen, continued down through several generations of families. Donations were also of course received from those further afield, and the motivation for those benefactors may additionally have been the hope that although their own area of conquest and settlement was far from Dublin, their association with St John's, and other religious houses in the city, it would facilitate and enhance their association with the colony's centre of administration in Dublin.

Despite the limitations of the deeds contained in the register, predominantly relating, of course, to transactions involving land and rent, this and other cartularies constitute one of the greatest and hitherto largely untapped

resources for the history of Dublin and its religious houses, in the form of the names contained within these deeds. The prosopographical study undertaken in this thesis is an example of how much can be gleaned from the cross-examination of such ostensibly mute witnesses. One hopes that this may be taken as a call to arms to others working in the field of medieval Irish history as it demonstrates just how much more there is to be learned about those living and working within the medieval city. It is possible, for example, to imagine the adaption of the methodology used in this thesis to include all of Dublin's surviving medieval cartularies and the guild and franchise rolls. Although the survival of source material for medieval Ireland may not match that for other countries, this thesis, one hopes, has proven that it is still possible to exploit what exists to produce detailed knowledge about individual people and about their personal and professional networks. What may be even more significant about this is that in most instances these were not the great magnates, or their descendants, whose names are known to even those only partially familiar with the events of 1169 and later. They were the people who lived and worked in Dublin, some were part of the governing body, comprising mayors and bailiffs, while others owned and worked on the stalls that fed and clothed Dublin's citizens and visitors.

Crucial to this work was the manner in which available source material was exploited, by using it to demonstrate the links between various Dublin-based families, either through marriage or their shared business interests. In recent decades, historians of medieval Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England have begun to emphasise the advantages of examining political and social developments in these areas as a collective, which facilitates cross-border studies on the impact of the introduction of new laws, participation in wars and changes in political leadership.[2] For many of those benefactors studied in detail

[2] A select list of publications in this field would include: R.R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles, 1100–1500: comparisons, contrasts and connections* (Edinburgh, 1988); idem, *Domination and conquest: the experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100–1300* (Cambridge, 1990); Robin Frame, *The political development of the British Isles, 1100–1400* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1995); Brendan Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900–1300; insular responses to medieval European*

in this thesis it was necessary to use such sources as the pipe rolls, close rolls and the deeds of English religious houses to glean as much information as possible about their business dealings and family connections. From this it was then possible to demonstrate their continued, and direct, involvement with England. For others, no evidence for continued links with England was unearthed, but it should not be concluded from this that they had cut all ties. The group of people with which this thesis was concerned was a relatively small one, and the work involved in tracing them across the Irish Sea has often been labour-intensive and time consuming. By expanding the parameters of those chosen for study, for example by using the extant records of all religious houses in medieval Dublin to compile a list of names, and then categorising people by their toponyms, it may be possible to make a systematic search of Scottish, Welsh and English records to trace the origins and family history of Dublin's landowners and citizens. Such research into the people of medieval Dublin has much to recommend it, not least the fact that it has the potential to provide vastly more detailed information on patterns of migration to and from Dublin and Ireland in the Anglo-Norman era.

One facet in particular of that story which this thesis has demonstrated to be in need of is the re-evaluation the extent of the relationship between medieval Bristol and Dublin.[3] While historians have long recognised the importance of trade between Bristol and Dublin, and have cited Henry II's charter granting Dublin to his loyal men of Bristol, the depth and durability of the connections between the two cites is even greater than has been previously assumed. By demonstrating the extent of the links between those known

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change (Cambridge, 1999); John Gillingham, *The English in the twelfth century: imperialism, national identity, and political values* (Woodbridge, 2000).

[3] From the evidence presented in a recent article by Brendan Smith it would appear that widening the scope of this research to include towns other than Dublin, and extending the time period up to the later middle ages, would also prove fruitful: Brendan Smith, 'Late medieval Ireland and the English connection: Waterford and Bristol ca. 1360–1460', *Journal of British Studies*, 50:3 (2011), pp 546–65. Robin Frame has also drawn attention to a John Banbury of Limerick, who, in the fourteenth century, held property in and patronised the local churches of Limerick, while also holding several prestigious offices in Bristol, including bailiff and mayor: Robin Frame, 'Munster in the late middle ages' in Roger Stalley (ed.), *Limerick and south-west Ireland: medieval art and architecture*. The British Archaeological Society Conference Transactions 34 (2011), p. 11.

Bristolians who bought, sold and donated their lands in Dublin, it is apparent from this thesis that this is also an area which deserves greater scrutiny and which, if undertaken, could supply a more complete understanding of the numbers who followed the great magnates, like Hugh de Lacy, across the Irish Sea. As was noted in chapter three, there has at times been an over-reliance on the use of toponyms to determine the origins of those settling in Dublin. While no doubt a useful starting point, this should not be the only indicator. Within a city that had a relatively small population, such as that of late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Dublin, identifying people who appeared to be in the same social circles is not a hugely difficult task. People who held neighbouring properties, who were bailiffs in the same year, who married into each others families, all formed communities within the city. In some instances then they became acquaintances through their shared experiences in Dublin, but as was demonstrated in this thesis, some, like Thomas le Martre and William Cordwainer, provosts of Bristol, would already have known each other prior to their arrival in Dublin. From references to William and his brother Roger in Dublin-based sources, it was learned that they were from Bristol, as were the Haim siblings, searching Bristol's medieval records for the names of their social circle in Dublin provided the evidence for many more links between the two cities.

Any religious house, especially one so focused on the provision of charity, could not survive without donations, and without the successful management of those funds. Chapter four above is an exposition of the 'quagmire that was medieval subletting' and the land market.[4] While in many transactions it may ostensibly appear that a donor was simply granting St John's (as with other religious houses) the right to hold as their own a burgage plot perhaps, or a house, a cellar or several acres in a rural area, it would appear that this may have masked in some instances the mortgaging of properties, or the use of them as the basis for the provision of loans. In addition, although

[4] Richard Goddard, *Lordship and medieval urbanisation; Coventry, 1043–1355* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 192.

these deeds were legal documents, there appears to have been a certain level of ambiguity in the language used to describe some donations, in particular the use of *terra*. The prosopographical study of the hospital's benefactors and their associates demonstrated that the extension of that methodology to the remainder of Dublin's religious houses would allow for a greater understanding of Dublin's citizens. An expansion of the investigation into the property held by Dublin's religious houses (and private citizens) would make it possible to provide a much more extensive survey of how Dublin physically developed. By gathering together the deeds relating to a particular street, or series of burgage plots, it might be possible to detail various owners and the change in value of these properties. St John's was but one of many institutional landlords in Dublin and this thesis has shown how involved it was in the trade of property and rents within the medieval city; a study which included all such religious institutions might allow for an analysis of just how much property in the city was controlled by these houses, and how much they influenced the city's development.

Despite the generosity of its benefactors, and its own attempts to manage its property portfolio, it was not shielded from events both within the hospital and in the wider society in which it existed. Although it had managed to acquire land and rents both in Dublin and in other parts of English-controlled Ireland, as it became increasingly difficult for English settlers to maintain control of those lands, so too did the profitability of the lands decrease. In some cases they complained about the difficulty of administering their lands in Munster, citing the danger of having to pass through lands which were largely in control of the native Irish. Not all of the problems encountered by the hospital were forced upon them by external factors; evidence for internal disputes in the hospital suggests that the full attention of several of the priors may not have been focused on the careful management of the hospital's finances. Nor were the heads of St John's the only priors guilty of such misbehaviour: as is evident from the evidence presented in chapter five, this was a widespread problem, and one which must have weighed upon the minds of those deciding which religious house would benefit from their charity. As the religious transformations of the

sixteenth century progressed, St John's became part of the wave of closures of monastic houses, its provision of charity so depleted that it was not essential enough to save.

Why was the hospital of St John the Baptist chosen as the subject of this thesis, and what contribution does it make to historical studies? In essence, why does it matter that this research was undertaken? For historians, medieval religious houses provide a wealth of riches. From a study of their buildings, or what remains of them, historians of art and architecture can elucidate the influences which inspired their creation, even tracing the source of the very stone used in their construction. Those interested in the spread of various religious orders can examine the record of monastic foundations to determine how successfully a particular order penetrated a new territory with its ideals. Those who concern themselves with administrative records can exploit them to determine the quality of the management and maintenance of a house, in addition to the style and quality of the scribes and deeds themselves. By the nature of the type of institution it was, i.e., a religious hospital, a study of St John's falls into several categories. As stated above, it has not been the intention of this thesis to produce an institutional history in the style of Rawcliffe's publication on St Giles's hospital in Norwich. Histories of single institutions do exist for medieval Dublin, but these have tended to focus on the two cathedrals, Christ Church and St Patrick's.[5] Arlene Hogan's thesis, later published, also serves as an outstanding example of how much can be gleaned from the examination of a, perhaps lesser-known, Irish religious house.[6] While there are gaps in our knowledge of St John's, particularly regarding the internal organisation of the hospital, we now know how much a part of the city St John's

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[5] For the breadth of research possible on Christ Church see Kenneth Milne (ed.), *Christ Church cathedral, Dublin: a history* (Dublin, 2000); Stuart Kinsella, 'An architectural history of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin c. 1540–1870 (unpublished PhD, University of Dublin, Trinity College, 2009). Similarly for St Patrick's see John Crawford and Raymond Gillespie, St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin: a history (Dublin, 2009); Michael O'Neill, 'St Patrick's cathedral Dublin and its place in the history of Irish medieval architecture' (unpublished PhD, University of Dublin, Trinity College, 1995).

[6] Arlene Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172–1541: lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008).

was, as a place of care and hospitality, as a landlord and tenant, and as a social hub for its benefactors.

In summation, the hospital of St John the Baptist was for several hundred years a vital and integral part of city life in medieval Dublin, not only to those who lived here, but also to outsiders, either those in need of its services or benefactors who wished to have a tangible connection to the hub of English administration in Ireland. Its fortunes at times mirrored those of the city – when Dublin expanded and its population grew, so too did the wealth and prestige of St John's. However, the difficulties of the fourteenth century, the Great European Famine, the Black Death and political disruptions were to prove difficult to overcome. Despite this, it took Henry VIII's sweeping changes finally to bring about its closure. From that initial grant of their burgage plot, Ailred Palmer and his wife started an institution which was to impact many. To know a city, one must know its people, their social, religious and political predilections. The hospital of St John the Baptist was one of the ways in which medieval Dubliners expressed their ambitions, concerns and beliefs.

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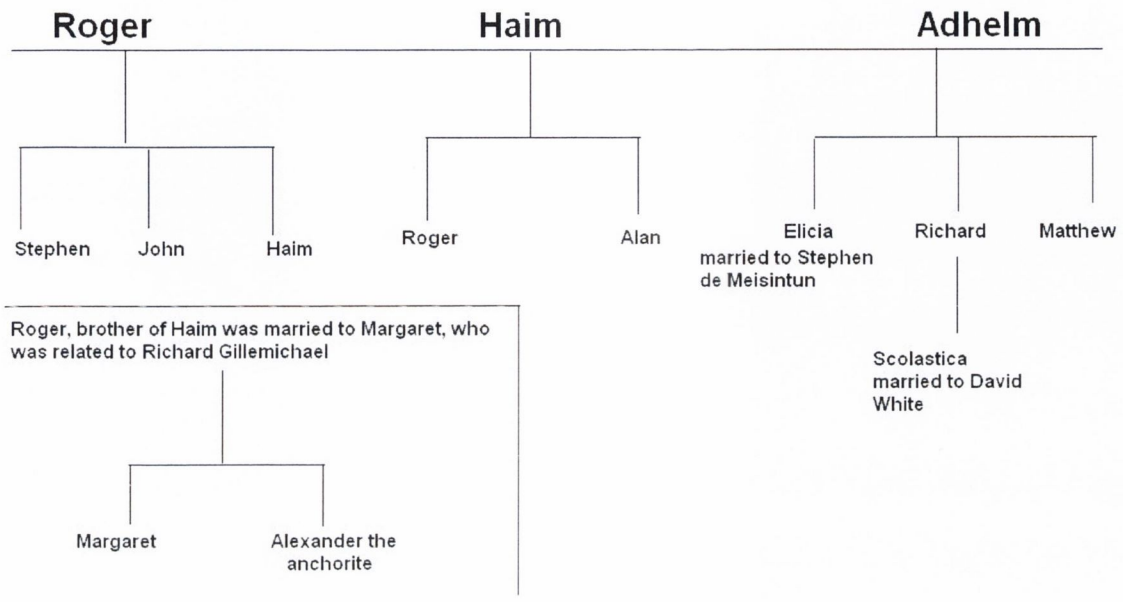
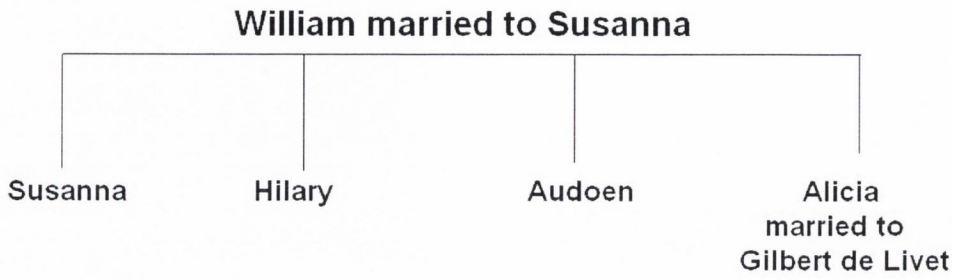
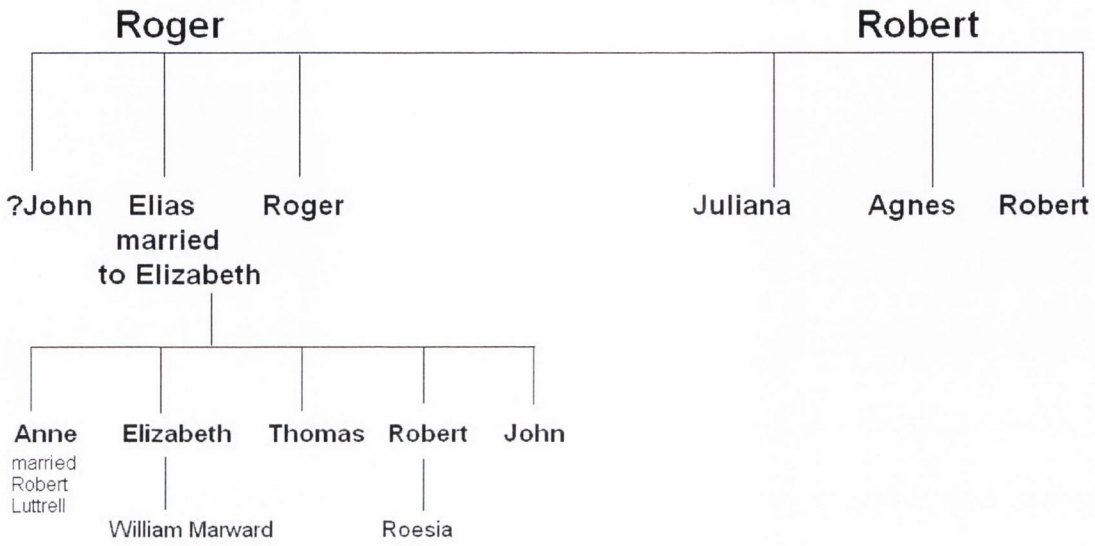
Appendix 1: The Haim Family



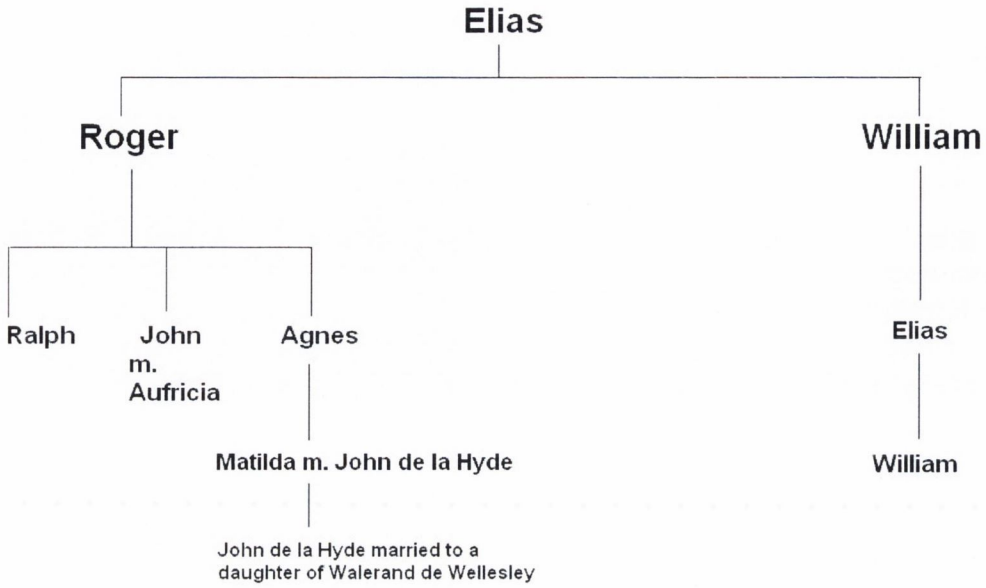
Appendix 2: The Brun Family



Appendix 3: The de Ashbourne Family



Appendix 4: The Cordwainer Family



Appendix 5: Database Excerpts

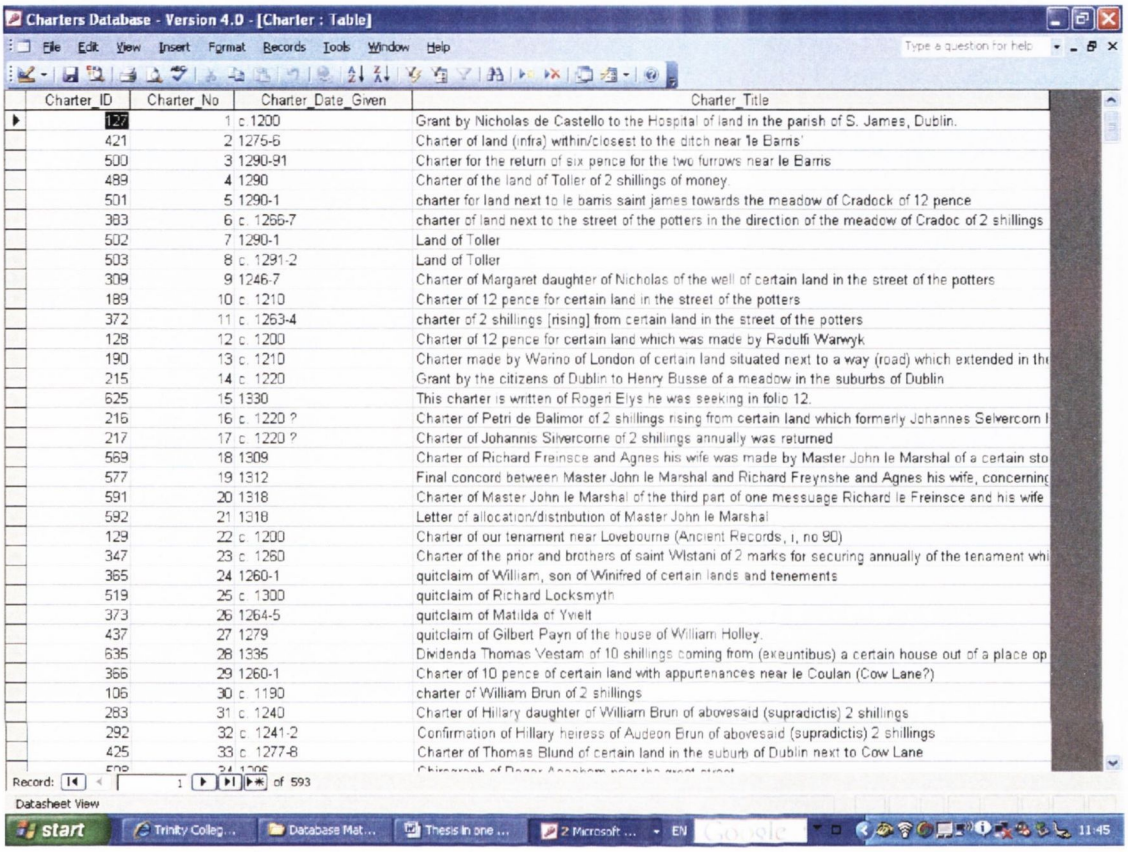


Fig 9. Table showing the charter number, date and title.

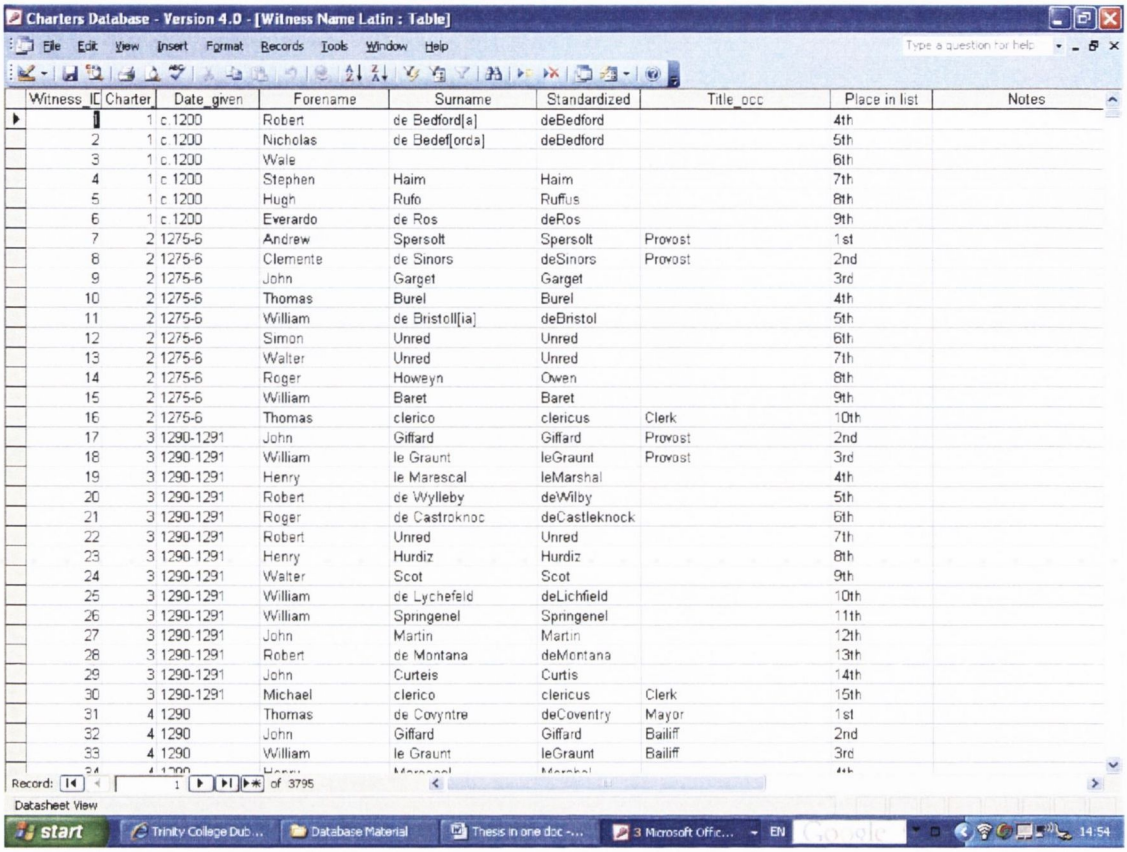


Fig 10. Table of witness names.

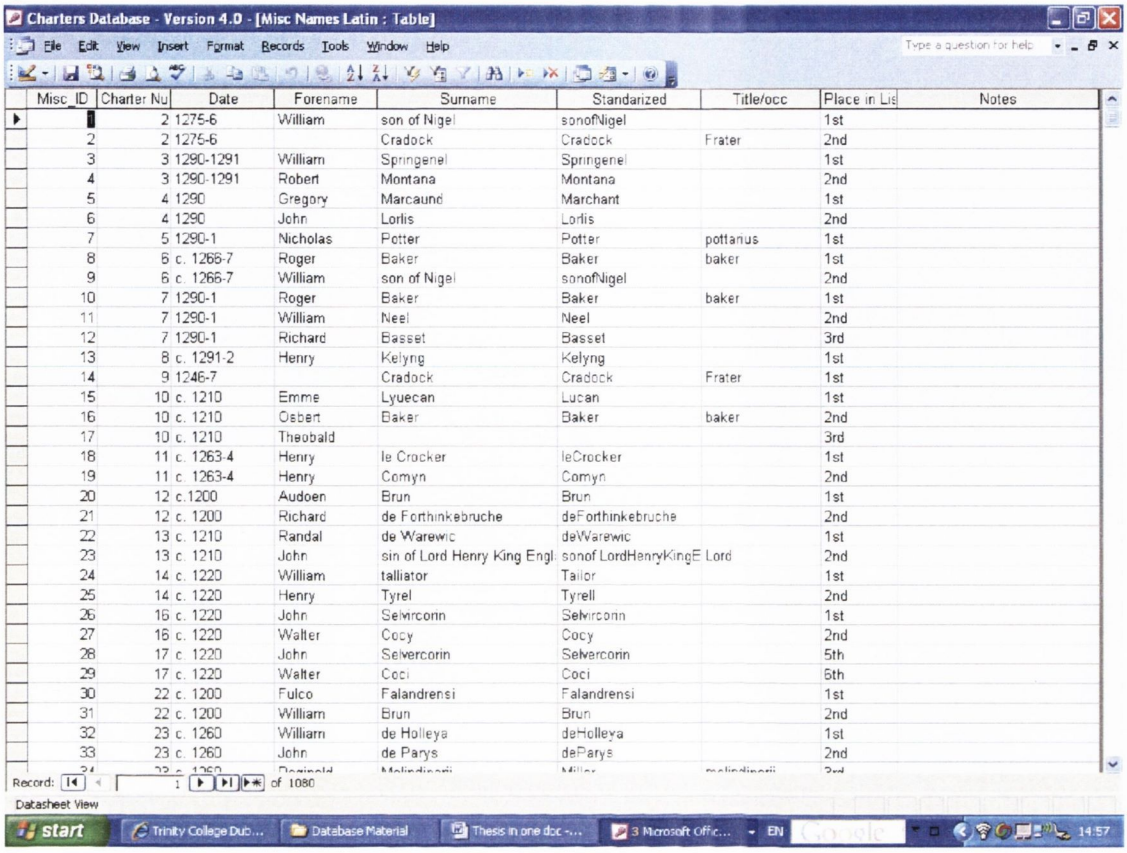


Fig 11. Table of miscellaneous names (meaning names mentioned throughout the charter, ie. those holding neighbouring properties etc.)

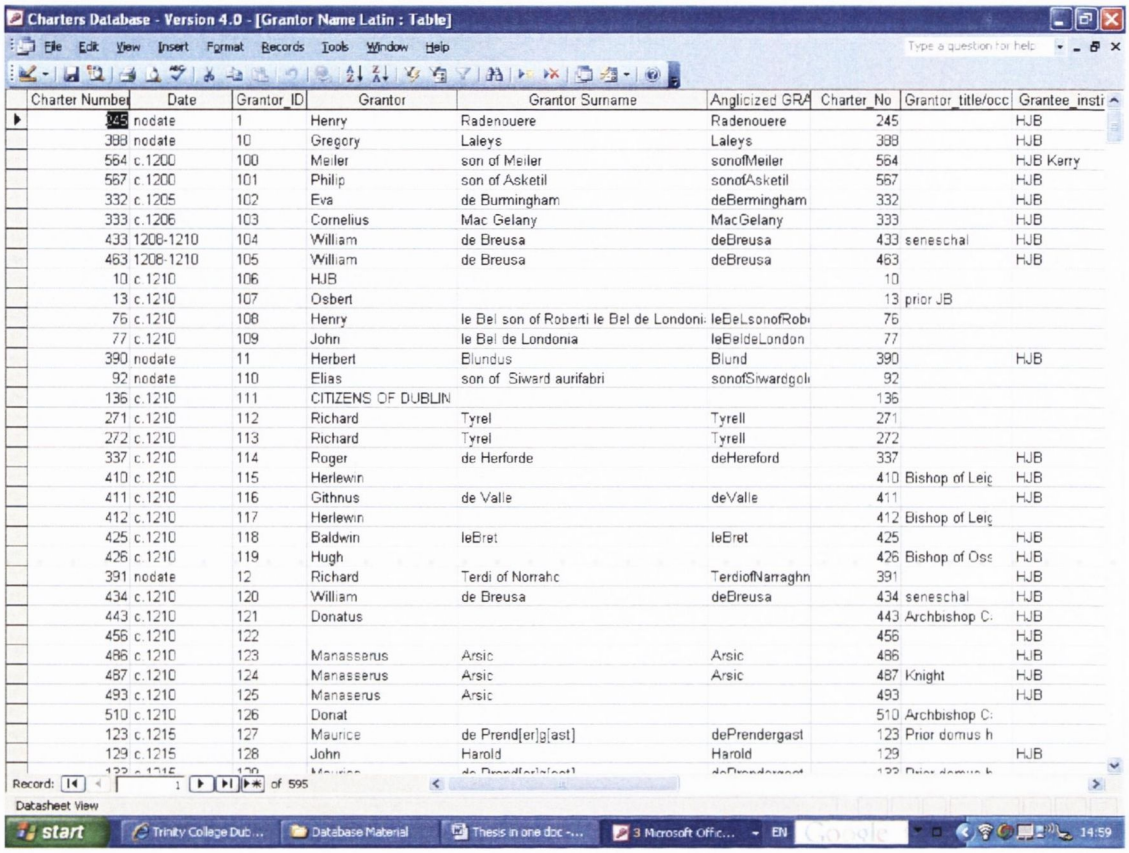


Fig 12. Table of grantor names.