



HELEN J. NICHOLSON*
Cardiff University (emerita)
United Kingdom
Nicholsonhj@cardiff.ac.uk

THE INVENTORIES, ACCOUNTS, AND RECORDS
OF DEBTS FOR THE TEMPLARS' ESTATES IN ENGLAND
AND WALES, 1308–1313, AS A SOURCE
FOR THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF THE TEMPLARS

KEYWORDS

history; the Middle Ages; military orders; Knights Templar; Templar trial; England; Wales; archives

ABSTRACT

Although the inventories, accounts, and records of debts payable and receivable produced for King Edward II of England's government after the arrests of the Templars in England at the beginning of 1308 are incomplete, they preserve some information on the Templars' built environment and material culture, the persons living in or associated with Templar properties, religious observance, estate management, and transactions with outsiders. This article uses these data to reconstruct details of the day-to-day lives of the Templars in England just before their arrests, and particularly their relations with non-Templars. Given that the charges brought against the Templars in 1307 alleged that the brothers acted secretly and that non-Templars were unaware of their daily behaviour, evidence they were in fact in daily contact with outsiders undermines the charges and adds to the increasing volume of evidence that the Templars were not guilty as charged. The information from these documents presents a picture of busy communities in which the Templars formed a minority and whose immediate concerns were focussed on local matters, such as employing a priest to support a chantry for a wealthy donor, rather than the distant Holy Land.

* ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1715-1246>.

When the Templars in England and Wales were arrested early in January 1308, royal officials made detailed inventories of each of their properties, with input from local men and the Templar commander of each house.¹ King Edward II of England then entrusted the properties to his own appointed officials. These royal custodians produced regular accounts while the estates remained under royal control; from January 1308 until December 1313 when they were officially handed over to the Hospitallers.² In 1308 and 1309 the king also ordered further investigations into debts due by and to the Templars. The bulk of these inventories, estate accounts, and records of debts are preserved in the National Archives of the UK and provide a detailed description of the estates and their management.³

Although the records were made after the Templars' arrest, it is unlikely that the royal custodians would have changed the operation of the estates during the first few months. Hence the inventories of January 1308 and the first set of ac-

¹ Clarence Perkins, "The Trial of the Knights Templars in England," *English Historical Review* 24 (1909): 432–447, at 432; Clarence Perkins, "The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the Disposition of it after their Dissolution," *The American Historical Review* 15, no. 2 (1910): 252–263, at 252.

² The transfer was a lengthy process and several properties were never handed over: see Simon Phillips, "The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England," in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf, Paul F. Crawford, and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 237–246.

³ This article was originally written for the 22nd "Ordines Militares" conference in 2023, to present a summary and development of the initial findings from my research on the unpublished records of Templar properties in Britain and Ireland during the years of the trial, 1307–1312, which are preserved in the National Archives of the UK at Kew (henceforth as: TNA). Some of the material in this article has been previously published in Helen J. Nicholson, "The Surveys and Accounts of the Templars' estates in England and Wales (1308–13)," in *Crusading Europe: Essays in Honour of Christopher Tyerman*, ed. G. E. M. Lippiatt and Jessalynn L. Bird, Outremer: Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 181–209; ead., "Evidence of the Templars' religious practice from the records of the Templars' estates in Britain and Ireland in 1308," in *Communicating the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Sophia Menache*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Michel Balard, Crusades Subsidia 11 (London: Routledge, 2018), 50–63; ead., *The Everyday Life of the Templars: The Knights Templar at Home* (Stroud: Fonthill Media, 2017); ead. and Philip Slavin, "'The Real Da Vinci Code': The Accounts of Templars' Estates in England and Wales during the Suppression of the Order," in *The Templars and their Sources*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Karoline Döring, Philippe Josserand, and Helen J. Nicholson, Crusades Subsidia 10 (London: Routledge, 2017), 237–247; and ead., *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308–1311* (Stroud: History Press, 2009). At the time of first writing this article I had not yet seen Alan J. Forey, "Aspects of Templar Conventual Life in Western Europe circa 1250–1307," *Revue Mabillon* 31 (2020): 29–80, which covers much of the same ground.

counts produced by the royal custodians relating to the operation of the estates in 1308 offer an insight into the Templars' own operations, and a general guide to the Templars' everyday lives in the first decade of the fourteenth century.

That said, inventories, accounts, and records of debts do not survive for every Templar property, and it is clear that some information was lost or omitted even in the process of recording.⁴ For example, when the royal custodians' detailed reports of revenue and expenditure for each accounting period (the 'particulars of account') were enrolled at the king's Exchequer they were put into a standard form, omitting some details. At Upleadon, Herefordshire, in 1308 the particulars of account recorded by Sheriff Walter of Haklut included six quarters⁵ of oats for potage (a thick soup or porridge, sometimes mixed with peas or barley), for the farm workers and *aliorum supervenient'* – other people "coming over," that is, visitors to the house. But there is no mention of potage for visitors at the corresponding point in the account recorded on the Exchequer roll. The six quarters of oats were listed as an expense, but the enrolled account states that the whole quantity was used to feed the farm workers, not visitors.⁶ Presumably the Exchequer officials did not regard hospitality as an allowable expense, so these costs were reallocated to workers' wages. Regrettably, most of the particulars of account were discarded after they had been copied into rolls by the Exchequer clerks, so such details are lost.

However, although the evidence is incomplete, it does present sufficient information for analysis of the built environment, the persons living in or associated with Templar properties, religious observance, estate management, and transactions with outsiders.⁷ Given that the charges brought against the Templars in 1307 alleged that the brothers acted secretly and that non-Templars were unaware of their daily behaviour, evidence they were in fact in constant contact with outsiders undermines the charges.

⁴ For further discussion of the limitations of these records see Nicholson, "The Surveys and Accounts," 183–185.

⁵ A quarter = 8 bushels; a bushel = 8 dry gallons. A quarter of wheat weighed almost 400 pounds or just over 180 kilograms (see Phillip Schofield, *Peasant and Community in Medieval England, 1200–1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 141).

⁶ TNA, E 199/18/4 dorse: particulars of account for Upleadon, 10th January 1308 – 29 September 1308.

⁷ The question of in what ways and to what extent Templars were in regular contact with outsiders is also discussed by Forey, "Aspects of Templar Conventual Life," 69–79.

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND MATERIAL CULTURE

The inventories of the Templars' English houses indicate what rooms each house contained – such as the hall, the chamber, the kitchen and the chapel – what out-buildings existed – such as granges or barns, mills, a dovecote, the cowshed, the stables, the smithy, the brewhouse, the larder – and what objects were found in each of these (see Figure 1 for the locations of these houses). They do not provide a plan of each house or a drawing of the layout of the site. The information about which buildings existed on a site and the rooms within each has been used by archaeologists attempting to identify the different buildings excavated on former Templar sites, as at Aslackby and South Witham in Lincolnshire, Temple Cressing in Essex, and Temple Laugherne in Worcestershire, although many identifications remain speculative.⁸ Apart from the luxurious objects found in some chapels the majority of the objects recorded were utilitarian, such as clay pots, plates, basins of various sizes, bowls and cups in the kitchen, tables (static and trestle) and benches in the hall, storage chests in the hall and bedchamber, food and drink such as beef, bacon, pork, and cider in the larder, and brewing equipment in the brewhouse – indicating that the Templars lived a simple, non-ostentatious lifestyle.⁹ There was hardly any mention of armour or weapons: only what would have been needed for

⁸ Studies comparing the information in these inventories to the findings of archaeological excavations include Christer Carlsson, "Aslackby Templar Preceptory: A 2021 Research Excavation to Establish its Location and Layout," in *The Military Orders*, vol. 8, *In a Wider World*, ed. Emanuel Burttieg and Clara Almagro Vidal (London: Routledge, 2025), 249–255; Philip Mayes, *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965–67* (Leeds: Maney, 2002), 30, 31, 37, 49–50; Eileen Gooder, "South Witham and the Templars. The Documentary Evidence," in Philip Mayes, *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory*, 92–93; ead., *Temple Balsall: The Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their Fate* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1995), 141–143; Worcestershire Archaeology for Orion Heritage, *Archaeological evaluation and excavation of land at Temple Laugherne, Phase 1 West of Worcester, Worcestershire* (York: Archaeology Data Service, 2021), 3, 29, accessed 11 November 2023, <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/issue.xhtml?recordId=1189992>. See also Roberta Gilchrist, "Militia Christi: the archaeology of the Military Orders," in ead., *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995), 62–105; George Marshall, "The Church of the Knights Templars at Garway, Herefordshire," *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (no number) (1927): 88–101.

⁹ For examples of the 'deadstock' (farm equipment, household furniture and utensils) included in these inventories see J. Michael Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire, 1185–1565. Agriculture and Economy* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020), 237–248. Studies of the Templars' material culture based on archaeological excavation and on documentary sources include Adrian Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)* (London: Routledge, 2006),

civil defence, as required by the Statute of Winchester of 1285.¹⁰ In contrast, the inventories indicate that some Templar chapels were richly decorated, as will be described below.



Fig. 1: Map of England and Wales, showing the Templars' major properties and some smaller Templar properties mentioned in this article. Drawn by Nigel J. Nicholson.

¹⁰ 197–207; Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 34–35; Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 60–62; for comments on the inventory contents see also Perkins, “The Wealth of the Knights,” 254.

¹⁰ Helen J. Nicholson, “Holy Warriors, Worldly War: Military Religious Orders and Secular Conflict,” *Journal of Medieval Military History* 17 (2019): 76–78.

MEMBERS, GUESTS AND LODGERS

These documents record who was living in or dependent on the Templars' properties at the beginning of 1308. At first analysis, it appears that not many people lived there. As shown in the second column of Table 1, of 35 inhabited Templar houses in England, only four houses housed more than four brothers (so, only four would have held the weekly Sunday chapter meetings of brothers prescribed in the Rule)¹¹ and ten had only one resident brother.¹²

Tab. 1: Numbers of persons resident in or associated with Templar properties in January 1308.

Property where Templars or others were resident in January 1308.	Number of Templars resident in January 1308.	Number of corrodians associated with the property, according to claims made. ¹³	Total persons resident or associated with the property.
Aslackby, Lincolnshire	2	2 ¹⁴	4
Balsall, Warwickshire	5	9 ¹⁵	14

¹¹ *La Règle du Temple*, ed. Henri de Curzon, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: Renouard, 1886), 215 (clause 385); *The Rule of the Templars: the French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. Judith M. Upton-Ward, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 4 (Woodbridge–New York: Boydell, 1992, 1st ed.), 53; *Il Corpus normativo templare: Edizione dei testi romanzati con traduzione e commento in Italiano*, ed. Giovanni Amatuccio (Galatina: Congedo, 2009), 82 (III.93).

¹² Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, 70–72. Houses which had recently been occupied but were not by 1308 were Cranford St John, Middlesex (a brother was received there in around 1296–1297); Etton, Yorkshire (Brother Ivo of Etton may have been connected to this house); and Sowerby, Cumberland (Brother Michael of Sowerby had been the commander of this house: it was probably abandoned due to Scottish raids): *The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson, vol. 2 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 589, 591, 598.

¹³ For these figures, see the claims submitted to the English royal Exchequer in TNA, E 142/9, published as: "Corrodia petita de domibus Templariorum, annis I^o & II^o Edwardi II," in *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer*, ed. Henry Cole (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1844), and summarised in Appendix 1.

¹⁴ Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 258.

¹⁵ Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 28–30, gives a slightly different list: Adam de Westerdale, John de Birmingham, John de Sibeford, Richard the Carpenter of Balsall, Richard de Poleford, William de Alton, William Dering of Faxfleet, and William of Hotham, clerk.

Tab. 1 continued

Property where Templars or others were resident in January 1308.	Number of Templars resident in January 1308.	Number of corrodians associated with the property, according to claims made.	Total persons resident or associated with the property.
Bisham, Berkshire	1	3 (including the church priest)	4
Bruer, Lincolnshire	4	14 ¹⁶ (11 ate in the house)	18
Chingford, Essex	0	1 (vicar's salary)	1
Combe, Somerset	3	1	4
Cowton, Yorkshire	3	0	3
Cressing, Essex	2	3	5
Denny, Cambridgeshire	12	3	15
Dinsley, Hertfordshire	3	6 (one of whom was also at New Temple)	9
Dunwich, Suffolk	0	1 (vicar's salary)	1
Duxford, Cambs.	1	0	1
Eagle, Lincolnshire	8	7 ¹⁷	15
Ewell, Kent	2 plus 3 visitors	2 (1 is the vicar)	7
Faxfleet, Yorkshire	4	0	4
Foulbridge, Yorks.	2	0	2
Garway, Herefordshire	2	5 ¹⁸ (includes the church priest)	7

¹⁶ Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 255, gives thirteen; his figures are based on the royal keeper's accounts for Michaelmas 1308 and show what was actually paid from the Bruer receipts rather than what was claimed by corrodians.

¹⁷ Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 257–258, gives eight.

¹⁸ Helen J. Nicholson, “The Templars’ estates in the west of Britain in the early fourteenth century,” in *The Military Orders*, vol. 6.2, *Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe*, ed. Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr (London: Routledge, 2017), 134, gives a total of four, based on the royal keeper's accounts for Michaelmas 1308 which set out what was actually paid from

Tab. 1 continued

Property where Templars or others were resident in January 1308.	Number of Templars resident in January 1308.	Number of corrodians associated with the property, according to claims made.	Total persons resident or associated with the property.
Guiting, Gloucs.	2	1	3
Hirst, Yorkshire	2	1	3
Keele, Staffordshire	1	0	1
Lydney, Shropshire	3	2	5
Newsam, Yorkshire	3	0	3
New Temple, London.	8	32 (8 ate in the house)	40
Penhill, Yorkshire	1	0	1
Roydon, Essex	0	1 (vicar's salary)	1
Ribston, Yorkshire	3	1	4
Rockley, Wiltshire.	1	0	1
Rothley, Leicestershire	1	1	2
Sandford, Oxfordshire	4	5 (one is a nun, resident at Littlemore)	9
Shipley, Sussex	2	1	3
Sompting, Sussex	0	1 (vicar's salary)	1
Sotherington, Hants.	0	1 (priest's salary)	1
Strood, Kent	1	0	1
Sutton, Essex	1	2	3
Thornton, Northumb.	4	0	4

the Garway revenues rather than what was claimed by corrodians assigned to Garway in the corrodies grants was paid from the revenues of Upleadon after the Templars' arrests.

Tab. 1 continued

Property where Templars or others were resident in January 1308.	Number of Templars resident in January 1308.	Number of corrodians associated with the property, according to claims made.	Total persons resident or associated with the property.
Thorpe iuxta Stowe St Mary ('Thorpe in the Fallows), Lincs.	0	1 (vicar's salary)	1
Upleadon, Herefords.	2	3 ¹⁹	5
Westerdale, Yorkshire	1	0	1
Weedley, ²⁰ Yorkshire	1	0	1
Wendy, Cambs.	0	1 (vicar's salary)	1
Wetherby, Yorkshire	0	1 (priest's salary)	1
Wilbraham, Cambs.	2	1 (vicar's salary)	3
Willoughton, Lincs.	3	3 ²¹	6
Total	103	116	219

Taking these 35 houses and the 100 Templars who are known to have lived in them (the normal locations of the remaining 24 Templars in England are not known), we find that the median number of brothers in a house was two, and the average was 2.9. Some brothers were attached to more than one house: Brother Thomas of Burton, chaplain, had a room at New Temple in London but was also chaplain-brother at Cressing in Essex; Brother Thomas Totty of Thoraldby was commander of two Templar houses, Balsall and Dinsley.²² The number

¹⁹ Nicholson, "The Templars' estates," 136, gives a total of four, as the figures in the royal keeper's accounts include a corrodian who was originally assigned to Garway.

²⁰ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, and earlier studies identify this house – named Withele in the manuscripts – as Whitley near Selby, but John Lee has shown that it was at Weedley near South Cave: John S. Lee, "Weedley not Whitley: Repositioning a Preceptory of the Knights Templar in Yorkshire," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 87 (2015): 101–123, see 107–108 for the earlier studies.

²¹ Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 257.

²² Brother Thomas of Burton: *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 2: 554, Evelyn Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain* (Harlow: Pearson, 2002), 30. Brother Thomas Totty of Thoraldby: TNA, E 142/119 mem[brane]. 6; TNA, E 142/119 mem. 29.

of Templars assigned to a house was not linked to its value: only one Templar was resident in the arguably most valuable house, Rothley in Leicestershire, on the day of the arrests.²³ Many significant estates, such as Bulstrode in Buckinghamshire, north-west of London, housed no Templars in 1308, and were run by a manager: the 'servant' or 'sergeant of the manor,' or bailiff.²⁴

The custodians' accounts show that most Templar houses in England did not have a resident Templar priest-brother, but that at some of their houses and parish churches the Templars employed priests and vicars through the corrodies system, receiving daily food and annual clothing and sometimes an annual cash payment.²⁵ A record of these is preserved in the National Archives of the UK at E 142/9, which contains the results of Edward II's enquiry into claimants to corrodies and other income from the various Templar properties in England (summarised below in Appendix 1).²⁶ If we add these salaried priests at Templar houses to the list of Templar properties with other corrodians – of whom more shortly – we find that at the beginning of January 1308 there were 43 properties in England and Wales where either a Templar brother or a priest paid through the Templars' corrodies system was resident and, including all corrodians, the average number of residents was just over five, with a median of one (see the final column of Table 1).

Some of these corrodies-holders would have been only temporary if regular visitors to Templar houses, but others lived within the house, creating a community of religious people even in houses which housed only a handful of brothers. For example, the Templars' house at New Temple on the outskirts of west Lon-

²³ Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 148. On the value of Rothley in comparison to the other commanderies in England and Wales see Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, 133.

²⁴ Bulstrode: TNA, E 358/18 rots 6–6d[orse], 7; E 358/19 rot[ulus] 36d; E 358/20 rots 12, 24; British Library Harley Roll A 25–27; Dunwich: TNA, E 358/18 rots 3, 38; E 358/20 rots 11, 24d, 44 d; E 142/112 mem. 2; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, 70–72.

²⁵ On Templar corrodies and corrodians see Alan Forey, "Provision for the Aged in Templar Commanderies," in *La Commanderie. Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2001), 175–185; Alan Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 127; Forey, "Aspects of Templar Conventual Life," 69–72, 74, 76; Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 28–30; Jochen Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France c. 1120–1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 65–67.

²⁶ "Corrodia petita," ed. Cole, 145 (New Temple), 154 (Garway), 160 (Dinsley), 165 (Sotherington), 166 (Aslackby), 177 (Guiting), 186 (Bisham), 203–204 (Sompting), 205 (Roydon), 208 (Wilbraham), 208 (Dunwich; see also TNA, E 358/18, rot. 3v), 223–224 (Ewell), 225–226 (Donington church, Lincolnshire), 227–228 (Sompting), 229 (Sherbourne).

don housed only eight brothers in January 1308, but also employed six chaplains, a clerk or three, a gardener, a *garcio* (a 'lad' or male servant), a janitor or porter, and also provided for 31 or 32 people who received corrodies of meals, money and clothing at the New Temple for their lifetime. These corrodians included chaplains, clerks, two married couples, a widow, a knight, a clerk who had attended the Templars' chapter meetings at Paris in connection with the accounts of the Templars' revenues, a notary public who worked for the Templars in his professional capacity, and three clerics to whom the Templars had promised ecclesiastical posts.²⁷ At least eight of them ate within the house: four received their meals at the brothers' table, one at the priests' table and three at the clerks' table.²⁸ If eight Templars and eight corrodians were eating together, listening to a reading from the Bible as they ate (as laid down in the 1129 Rule)²⁹ and attending services in the chapel, there would have been a full religious community at the New Temple, in the sense of a group of people living in the same place with shared attitudes and aims.

To take another example: at the important house of Temple Bruer in Lincolnshire there were only four brothers at the time of the arrests, but there were also eleven corrodians eating in the house with the brothers and their servants. William Revel *de Wyma* ate at the brothers' table and also received support for a male servant; four others were also entitled to eat with the brothers each day. Another five could eat with the squires, and another ate with the servants. Alice the daughter of Robert de Swinesthorp (who also held a corrodoy at Bruer) did not eat with the brothers but received each Saturday an allocation of food for the week.³⁰ If these corrodians also attended chapel with the brothers, there would have been a religious community of 15 persons at Bruer.

²⁷ "Corrodia petita," ed. Cole, 145, 146–148, 151–152, 159, 164–165, 167, 170–171, 175, 178, 179, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188–194, 195–196, 198, 220–222, 224–225 (edition of TNA, E 142/9); TNA, E 358/18 rot. 23 (1–2) (New Temple corrodies paid from the revenues of Temple Dinsley); *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 2: xxix (Robert of Gunwardby, the clerk-accountant).

²⁸ *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 2: 595; TNA, E 358/18 rot. 7(1) under "Exp"; E 358/20 rot. 3; "Corrodia petita," ed. Cole, 145, 146–147, 159, 170, 185, 188, 194.

²⁹ *La Règle du Temple*, ed. de Curzon, 34 (clause 24); *The Rule of the Templars*, transl. Upton-Ward, 26; *Il Corpus normativo templare*, ed. Amatuccio, 408 no. 9.

³⁰ TNA, E 358/18 rots 19 (1–2), 16 (2); "Corrodia petita," ed. Cole, 148–149, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 168–169, 175–176, 177, 190.

This would not necessarily have been the case at every Templar house which supported corrodians, as corrodians did not invariably eat their meals in the Templars' house and they may have been segregated from the brothers within the chapel – if the chapel were large enough for segregation to be possible.³¹ Nevertheless, other evidence indicates that associates of the Order could act as if they were full members of the community of the house. The proceedings against the Templars in England record that before he was admitted as a full brother of the Order Brother Hugh of Tadcaster, a brother at Denny in Cambridgeshire, had held the office of *claviger* – literally ‘keyholder’, an administrative and managerial officer within each house who was responsible, for example, for excluding non-members of the Order from chapter meetings.³² Jochen Schenk found a number of examples in France of Templar associates acting as administrators or representing the Order.³³

There would also have been guests passing through, although the evidence is fragmentary. As already mentioned, in 1308 at Upleadon potage was provided to people “coming over.”³⁴ The accounts for Temple Guiting in Gloucestershire mention a *hosp'*, presumably short for *hospitalis*, which could have been a guest house, a lodging house for workers, or a hospice for the sick, but there is no indication of who stayed there.³⁵ At Strood in Kent there were two *lintea pro hospit'* (two linen sheets for guests, unfree tenants, or inmates of an infirmary: the first seems most likely) in the chamber where the Templar brother slept.³⁶

Any personal servants of the Templars would have been made redundant when the Templars were arrested, and hence are not mentioned in the royal custodians’ accounts. However, some household servants were still required to look after the property and provide food for the farm labourers, who continued to be employed working on the Templars’ estates. For example, at Faxfleet, the Templars’ largest house in Yorkshire, the royal custodian John de Crepping reported in 1308 that he had paid wages in cash and grain to a reeve (*prepositus*) who was servant-custodian (that is, bailiff) of the manor, and to a granger, a carpenter, a smith, a miller,

³¹ Forey, “Aspects of Templar Conventual Life,” 43, 70–74, 79.

³² *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson, vol. 1 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 21, 2: 23, 512 (MS A, fol. 12v).

³³ Schenk, *Templar Families*, 67–68.

³⁴ TNA, E 199/18/4 verso: particulars of account for Upleadon, 10th January 1308 – 29 September 1308.

³⁵ TNA, E 358/19 rot. 53d: *Idem r[edit] [com]p[otum] de ix pec' cepi ponder' iij petr' invent' ibid[em]. De quibus in expensis hosp'* + *circa agnell' ij petr'*.

³⁶ TNA, E 358/18 rot. 8: + *in Camera de J Materag' J Coopertor' lecti, iiij linc' pro / lecto fiatis prec' di' marc' iiij tapet' ij linc' pro hospit', prec' iiij s.*

eight shepherds, fourteen ploughmen, two carters, an oxherd, a custodian of the horses, a swineherd, a harvest-overseers, a cook and a dairy-man or woman (the word used, *daya*, could refer to a dairy-worker of either sex). He had also employed a chaplain to celebrate Mass in the chapel and a clerk serving the chaplain. Other employees included twelve women who milked the ewes for various periods between March and June, a shepherd from nearby Etton, who looked after the sheep from the Templars' commandery of Etton that were grazing on the pastures of Faxfleet, and a roofer employed to repair the roofs of the buildings.³⁷

The women working at Faxfleet were not exceptional: during 1308 women were employed at Guiting in Gloucestershire, Garway in Herefordshire and at Swanton in Bedfordshire to milk the sheep, at Balsall in Warwickshire to collect straw after harvest and at Bulstrode in Buckinghamshire to gather up the crop after reaping.³⁸ There was also a maid (*ancilla*) employed at Gislingham on the Norfolk/Suffolk border, and an *ancilla domus* or house maid at Stanton Long in Shropshire.³⁹ In January 1308 ten of the Templars' estates employed an *ancilla* or maid to make the farm-workers' potage.⁴⁰

Where did these workers live? Eileen Gooder established that at Balsall three of the labourers (the reeve and two foresters) had their own homes, but judged that the rest of the farmworkers lived in lodgings within the "precincts of the manor".⁴¹ In fact, the English inventories and accounts do not specifically mention lodgings for the workers. However, all farm workers received food as part of their wages and such evidence as can be drawn from the documents indicates that this was probably eaten in the hall of the house.⁴²

³⁷ TNA, E 358/20, mem. 40r[ecto].

³⁸ Guiting (Gloucestershire): TNA, E 358/18 rot. 5; Garway (Herefordshire): TNA, E 358/18 rot. 2; Swanton (Bedfordshire): TNA, E 358/18 rot. 2.4; Balsall (Warwickshire): TNA, E 358/19, mem. 40(1) recto; Bulstrode (Buckinghamshire): TNA, E 358/18 rot. 6d.

³⁹ Gislingham: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 3; Stanton Long: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 4.

⁴⁰ Bulstrode: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 6d; Chelsing (Hertfordshire), Cressing, Witham, Roydon, Chingford (Essex): TNA, E 358/19 rot. 52 and 52d; Hill Croome and Broughton (Worcestershire): TNA, E 199/46/21 and E 359/19 rot. 47d; Lydney (Shropshire) TNA, E 358/20 rot. 5d; Thornton (Northumberland): TNA, E 358/18 rots 6d and 52d. See also the published account in J. C. Hodgson, "Temple Thornton farm accounts, 1308," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 17 (1895): 40–53. My thanks are due to Craig Young for drawing this edition to my attention.

⁴¹ Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 31–32.

⁴² Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 126–127, citing Christopher Dyer, "Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: the Case of Harvest Workers," *Agricultural History Review* 36, no. 1 (1988): 28; Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 32–33, 68; Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 58, citing TNA, E 348/18 rot. 22 (2); see also Forey, "Aspects of Templar Conventual Life," 76–77.

In any case, the records in these documents indicate that the Templars' properties supported substantial communities. Although the Templar brothers would have been a minority, at many houses corrodians ate with the brothers and could have worshipped with them. The servants of the house would not necessarily have been pious people who took part in the Templars' prayers, but the Templars would have been in everyday contact with them, especially with the cook and the bailiff.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

The Templars' rule laid down a daily round of prayer in the chapel.⁴³ The inventories of the Templars' English houses reveal that most Templar houses where Templars lived had a chapel, and record the chapel contents as they were on the morning of the arrests, although not all were assigned monetary values. The records do not include inventories of every church that the Templars possessed, as the contents of parish churches were omitted because these were ecclesiastical property. However, I have identified inventories of chapel contents from 55 Templar chapels and churches in England, of which 31 related to Templar houses where at least one Templar was resident, allowing some assessment of the material environment within the Templars' chapels.⁴⁴ As the records of the proceedings against the Templars also indicate that outsiders entered Templar chapels on business or to attend mass, outsiders as well as Templars would have experienced this environment.⁴⁵

Most chapels in England had a collection of altar cloths and some also had "tapets," carpets or hangings (at Bisham in Berkshire, Strood, the Great Church of the New Temple in London and Rockley in Wiltshire), and other decorated cloths: Bisham and New Temple were particularly well provided. There were few

⁴³ *La Règle du Temple*, ed. de Curzon, 21–22, 26–27, 37, 71–74, 195–206 (clauses 9–10, 15–16, 29, 74–76, 340–365); *The Rule of the Templars*, transl. Upton-Ward, 21–22, 23, 27, 37–38, 95–101; *Il Corpus normativo templare*, ed. Amatuccio, 8–11, 12–15, 18–19, 42–45, 178–189 (I.1, 5, 16, II.1–2, VII.43–68), 407–09 (nos 1–2, 7, 14).

⁴⁴ For all references to the chapel inventories cited in this article, see Appendix 2. The data discussed below are analysed in greater detail in Nicholson, "Evidence of the Templars' religious practice."

⁴⁵ *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 1: 106, 197–198, 385; 2: 97, 214–215, 441; discussion in Helen J. Nicholson, "Relations Between Houses of the Temple in Britain and their Local Communities, as Indicated during the Trial of the Templars, 1307–12," in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. Norman Housley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 198–201.

images recorded, although Bisham had a silvered image of the Blessed Mary, New Temple church in London had ivory images and there was a painted panel at Temple Bulstrode in Buckinghamshire. Some chapels contained holy relics, such as the relics of Saints Cosmas and Damian at Bisham and at New Temple the sword which “as it is said,” killed the blessed Thomas of Canterbury, although generally the inventories did not identify the saint which they represented – as was the case at Temple Bulstrode, Dunwich in Suffolk, Denny, Eagle in Lincolnshire, Sandford in Oxfordshire and Sotherington in Hampshire. The relics held at Denny and Eagle, where elderly and sick Templars lived, might possibly have been used as an aid in cures.⁴⁶

Only nine of the chapel inventories mention crosses (Bisham, Templeton in Berkshire, Temple Bulstrode, Dunwich, Eagle, New Temple, Sandford, Sotherington, Foulbridge in the North Riding and Temple Hirst in the West Riding of Yorkshire), but a cross or crucifix could have been painted or fixed on the wall of the chapel and so was not recorded in the inventory because it was part of the building’s fabric.⁴⁷ It is also possible that, where there was no resident Templar priest, the priest who served the chapel brought his own portable cross.

These chapels contained some fine church plate. Gold, silver or silver gilt chalices are recorded at all but the four most poorly equipped chapels (Millbrook and Swanton in Bedfordshire, Togrynd in Norfolk and Chiriton (probably Chirton) in Wiltshire), where no Templars were living in January 1308. There were also silver censers, phials, basins, and cruets (at Bisham, Temple Bulstrode, Denny, Duxford, Cambridgeshire, Cressing and Sutton in Essex, Ewell and Strood in Kent, Temple Combe in Somerset, Temple Mill in York, Faxfleet and Ribston in Yorkshire, and New Temple). A few chapels (at Bisham, Strood, the church of the Blessed Mary

⁴⁶ Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, 63–64, 78; Jochen Schenk, “Some Hagiographical Evidence for Templar Spirituality, Religious Life and Conduct,” *Revue Mabillon* new series 22 (2011): 108–109; *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 2, *Januarii II*, ed. Joannes Bollandus SJ and Godefridus Henschenius SJ (Antwerp: Apud Iohannem Meursium, 1643), 413, miracle 21.

⁴⁷ On the significance of the symbol of Christ’s Cross to the Templars’ contemporaries and to the Templars see: John Munn, *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016); Sebastián Salvadó, “Icons, Crosses and the Liturgical Objects of Templar Chapels in the Crown of Aragon,” in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf, Paul F. Crawford, and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 188–193; Alain Demurger, *Les Templiers: une chevalerie chrétienne au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2005), 179; Jochen Schenk, “The cult of the Cross in the Order of the Temple,” in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros Actas do VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, ed. Isabel Christina Ferreira Fernandes, vol. 1 (Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2012), 207–219.

outside the door of the hall at New Temple,⁴⁸ Togrynd in Norfolk, and possibly at Cressing) had “pax boards” to pass around for the congregation to kiss at the passing of the peace, suggesting some active involvement from the congregation.

Virtually all chapels possessed clerical vestments, and at a fifth of the chapels where all items were assigned a value the vestments were significantly the most valuable item: Balsall, Chiriton, Dunwich, Ewell, New Temple, Warpsgrove in Oxfordshire, and Westerdale in the North Riding of Yorkshire. New Temple and Bisham were the best equipped, but even Combe in Somerset, which had no Templar priest, was well supplied with four pairs of vestments and six other liturgical garments including a silk choir cope.

At over half of the 40 chapels where all items were given a monetary value, the books comprised the most valuable category. Books comprised at least half of the total value at Rothley, Upleadon, Dinsley in Hertfordshire, Lydney in Shropshire, and Penhill in the North Riding of Yorkshire; and also in four houses where no Templars were living in January 1308: Saddlescombe in Sussex, Cowley and Sibford Gower in Oxfordshire and Sotherington in Hampshire. Denny had almost 20 books, Bisham had 23, and New Temple at least 25, similar quantities to the Templars’ houses in France and Italy.⁴⁹ These were almost exclusively liturgical books with just a few exceptions such as Shipley’s “book of beasts” (presumably a bestiary), and “book of kings” (possibly a copy of the Old Testament Book of Kings or a history of monarchs like the *Brut* at Clontarf in Ireland). A few books could have related to pastoral care and parish work. The inventory of the church of the Blessed Mary outside the door of the hall at New Temple includes a book called *Cabeham* or *Chabeham*, which was probably Thomas of Chobham’s very influential *Summa de penitentia et officiis ecclesiae*, a handbook for the pastoral care of souls.⁵⁰ Although this was not a parish church, given that the commander of

⁴⁸ The *ecclesia beate Marie* or *sancte Marie extra hostium aule* is listed in the inventory after two altars dedicated respectively to St John and to St Nicholas within the *magna ecclesia* (great church) at New Temple: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 7(2); E 358/20, rot. 3(2). It appears that there were two chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary connected to the Great Church at New Temple, and that this one was at the south end of the cloister and had originally been dedicated to St Thomas Becket: see Nicole Hamonic, “Jerusalem in London: The New Temple Church,” in *Tomb and Temple: Re-imagining the Sacred Buildings of Jerusalem*, ed. Robin Griffith-Jones and Eric Fernie (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), 394–395, 407.

⁴⁹ Jochen Schenk, “The Documentary Evidence for Templar Religion,” in *The Templars and their sources*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Karoline Döring, Philippe Josserand, and Helen J. Nicholson (London: Routledge, 2017), 201–203.

⁵⁰ Joseph Goering, “Chobham, Thomas of (d. 1233–6),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004);

New Temple deposed during the trial of the Order that any person could attend early morning mass at New Temple (*circa hora prime dicta missa ad quam potest venire quilibet de populo*), and that this church possessed a pax board which would be most appropriate for use in a larger and mixed congregation, perhaps the clergy employed by the Templars here were undertaking pastoral work among the wider lay population, as Templar clergy did elsewhere in Europe.⁵¹ At Combe in Somerset there was a *liber infirmorum*, a “book of the sick,” which might have been a book of medical cures, or – more likely, as there were no such books recorded at Denny or Eagle, the houses for elderly and sick Templars in England – a list of sick people who had requested the brothers’ prayer. Of course such books could simply have been donations to the Templars by well-meaning donors and never used by the brothers, but in that case we might expect the brothers to have sold them for much-needed cash.

The inventory taken at Denny points out that there were two missals *de usu Templar'*, indicating that here the Templars used their own liturgy.⁵² Elsewhere nothing was added, suggesting that the Templars followed the diocesan liturgical use. This would not be surprising: as in January 1308 there were only ten Templar priest-brothers in England and Wales, the majority of these chapels could not have been served by Templar priest-brothers.⁵³ As already mentioned, at some of their houses and parish churches the Templars employed priests and vicars through the corrodry system,⁵⁴ and the testimonies taken during the proceedings against the Templars in Britain indicate that the mendicant friars regularly performed priestly functions for the Templars.⁵⁵ Where the Templars appointed their own priests to their parish churches, these priests had to be approved by the diocesan bishop and

online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman (May 2005), accessed 6 May 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5007>.

⁵¹ *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 1: 106; 2: 97; Jochen Schenk, “Aspects and Problems of the Templars’ Religious Presence in Medieval Europe from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Century,” *Traditio* 71 (2016): 288–302.

⁵² Cristina Dondi, “Manoscritti liturgici dei templari e degli ospedalieri: le nuove prospettive aperte dal sacramentario templare di Modena (Biblioteca Capitolare O. II. 13),” in *I Templari, la guerra e la santità*, ed. Simonetta Cerrini (Rimini: Il Cerchio Iniziative Editoriali, 2000), 85–131; ead., *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: a Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 39, 40–41.

⁵³ *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 1: 23, 58, 66, 94, 103, 221, 227, 228, 265; 2: 26, 56, 63, 85, 93, 245, 253, 254, 297, 542; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, 208–212, 217; Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 149; TNA, E 358/18, rot. 18d.

⁵⁴ See footnote 25, above.

⁵⁵ *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 2: xxxvi.

would have followed local practice; and if the Templars employed a local priest in their own chapel, he would also follow local practice.⁵⁶

At some houses the employment of additional priests indicates that these chapels served a wider community than the Templars. At the beginning of January 1308 at New Temple six priests were employed to celebrate mass for the souls of the kings' ancestors, former kings of England.⁵⁷ There were two chaplains employed in the Templars' chapel at Rothley in Leicestershire (where one Templar was resident), saying mass for the souls of past benefactors: King Henry III and William Knocte.⁵⁸ At Temple Bruer (where four Templars lived, including a priest-brother) a priest was employed to say mass for the souls of Andrew Le Marshal and his ancestors.⁵⁹ Templar brothers at these houses would have been constantly reminded that their chapels served their patrons and the wider Christian public rather than simply the brothers. Of the inventoried chapels, 24 belonged to houses with no resident Templars, but nevertheless mass was celebrated daily for the souls of the patrons of the house (as at Lannock in Hertfordshire, *Wythefeld* in Surrey, and Temple Mill in York), and sometimes holy relics were maintained (as at Temple Bulstrode, Dunwich and Sotherington), which would have attracted pilgrims.⁶⁰ These chapels would therefore have played a significant role in the Templars' public-facing work.

ESTATE MANAGEMENT, AGRICULTURE AND EMPLOYING THE WORKERS

Although the royal officials' accounts show that by 1308 the Templars in England had leased out some of their former commanderies, Philip Slavin calculated that

⁵⁶ Sebastián Salvadó, "Templar Liturgy and Devotion in the Crown of Aragon," in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson, Crusades Subsidia 4 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 37–39; Schenk, "Aspects and Problems," 298, 301.

⁵⁷ TNA, E 358/18 rot. 7: *Et in vadis vj capellanorum divina celebrant' pro animabus progenitorum Regis quondam Regum Angl' in domo Novi Templi London' [...] vid' per CCxxj dies cap' per diem ut supra: xxxvj s. x d.*

⁵⁸ TNA, E 358/19, rot. 27.

⁵⁹ TNA, E 358/18, rot. 19; E 358/20, rot. 15.

⁶⁰ TNA, E 358/18, rots 6, 24; E 358/20, rot. 13d; Helen J. Nicholson, "The Military Religious Orders in the Towns of the British Isles," in *Les Ordres Militaires dans la Ville Médiévale (1100–1350)*, ed. Damien Carraz (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2013), 121.

they retained over a hundred estates as demesnes under their direct control, managed either by a Templar or a bailiff.⁶¹ In England by the early fourteenth century most large estates employed a bailiff, also called a *custos manerii* or *serviens manerij*, the servant or sergeant of the manor. The bailiff and his assistant reeve would be responsible for day to day decisions on the running of an estate, but generally the employer – in this case the Templar commander – would set the overall strategy and have the final word over doubtful matters.⁶²

The accounts from 1308 reflect the essential maintenance that the Templar commanders and the bailiffs would have had to carry out on a day-to-day basis, repairing roofs, walls, buildings, doors and gates, mills and mill ponds. The environment itself required constant management, especially against flooding.⁶³ The accounts also record food production on the estates. In England and Wales the Templars' preferred crop was wheat, grown on virtually all their estates.⁶⁴ It is not possible to know how much of the harvest the Templars, their household and their livestock would have consumed themselves and what value would have been sold. After January 1308 the royal officials who ran the estates sold all produce except what was needed for consumption by the farm workers and the portion of their wages that was paid in grain, and to feed the livestock.

The Templars' most valuable animal product was sheep's wool, the most important export product produced in England from the late thirteenth to the late fifteenth century.⁶⁵ But not all estates kept sheep; for instance, the Templars' only Welsh estate, at Llanmadoc on the Gower peninsula, produced wheat rather than

⁶¹ Philip Slavin, "Landed Estates of the Knights Templar in England and Wales and their Management in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Journal of Historical Geography* 42 (2013): 38; Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 31; Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 70–71, 76, 108, 129, 197–198.

⁶² See, for example, Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 20, 23, 71, citing David Stone, *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 63–70, 47, 49, 50, 53, 195, and see also 13–14, 32–33.

⁶³ For examples see Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 46–47, 89; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, 85–86.

⁶⁴ For sources and further discussion of what follows see Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 80–83, 142 footnote 2, for the primary sources; Nicholson, "The Surveys and Accounts," 186–188; Slavin, "Landed Estates," 40–43; Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 22–23, 65–82. On wheat as the premier crop in late medieval England see Bruce Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 214, 218.

⁶⁵ This paragraph is summarised from Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 85–86; and Nicholson, "The Surveys and Accounts," 190–192; see also Slavin, "Landed Estates," 44–45; Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 96–122; Adrian R. Bell, Chris Brooks, and Paul R. Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market, c. 1230–1327* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 8, 58–59, 63, 149, 178, 182.

wool. The Gower is one of the few regions of Wales where wheat may be grown, and clearly the Templars chose to concentrate on producing this high-value grain rather than wool. The only animals kept and bred at Llanmadoc were those required for traction: draught-horses and oxen.⁶⁶ In short, the Templars produced whatever was most profitable: wheat or wool.

Whether an estate specialised in growing grain or raising sheep, the lives of the Templars resident there would have focused on – after their daily round of prayers – overseeing the farm and ensuring the well-being of the crop or the livestock on a day-to-day basis throughout the year. This would have required them to have daily dealings with the workers on the estates and their tenants. The Exchequer records show that the Templars had both free tenants paying money rent and unfree tenants paying money rent and undertaking labour services in return for their holdings.⁶⁷ In some regions, such as Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and at Dinsley in Hertfordshire, the labour services due from unfree tenants had been fully commuted to cash, whereas in south Wales and in Oxfordshire (for instance) labour services were still required.⁶⁸ The English and Welsh estate accounts from 1308 list the collection of various servile dues from the Templars' unfree tenants: heriots, other death duties and various customary levies. Eileen Gooder calculated that on balance the Templars' tenants at South Witham in Lincolnshire, for instance, appear to have held their land on better terms than both the bishop of Lincoln's tenants at nearby Sleaford and the abbot of Ramsey's unfree tenants to the south in Huntingdonshire. Although some rents were higher and there were additional dues to pay, the Templars' unfree tenants at South Witham did not have to perform boon-work, week-work or the other labour dues that fell heavily on the other tenants.⁶⁹

There were also waged *famuli* or farmworkers, some in ongoing named roles and others taking on seasonal work such as harrowing, weeding and harvesting. Nearly all farmworkers – both those who were tenants and those who were employed – received a daily handout of oat potage, made on the estate by the male or female cook. They also received stipends of cash and a payment or “livery” in

⁶⁶ John Poutok, sheriff of Carmarthen, accounts for Llanmadoc in Gower [Glamorgan], 10 January 1308 – 29 September 1308: TNA, SC 6/1202/3.

⁶⁷ Gooder, “South Witham and the Templars,” 82–83, 85, 86–88; Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 55–56, 136; Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 124–125; Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 88–89, 97–98; Nicholson, “The Surveys and Accounts,” 195–196.

⁶⁸ Nicholson, “The Templars’ estates,” 134, 136–138; TNA, E 358/18 rot. 23 (Dinsley, Hertfordshire); TNA, E 142/13 mem. 15 (Horspath, Oxfordshire).

⁶⁹ Gooder, “South Witham and the Templars,” 82–83.

grain, at differing rates depending on their roles.⁷⁰ The content of the grain *mixtura* (mixture) distributed to the workers varied regionally, but overall it appears that the Templars were very generous to their farmworkers, paying them at a good rate in higher quality grain.⁷¹ Perhaps the Templars gave their workers wheat rather than the more usual barley or rye because it enabled them to attract and retain good workers; if they were in competition with other landowners this ensured that their workers did not go elsewhere. As Walter de Haklut, sheriff of Herefordshire, observed in his accounts for the period to Michaelmas 1308, stipends were paid to the workers *quare aliter noblebant ibidem moram facere* (because otherwise they did not wish to remain there).⁷² The farm workers' cash stipends were worth less than their grain livery, but the fact that the Templars paid both grain and cash reflected the growing cash economy in England and Wales.

Farmworkers also received other benefits. Gloves were bought for the workforce in autumn at Bruer, Bulstrode, Combe, Guiting, the Shropshire houses (Lydley, Stanton Long, Holt Preen) and Keele in Staffordshire, although at Hill Croome in Worcestershire only the plough holders and animal drivers received gloves.⁷³ At Upleadon the sheriff also paid for tallow for the farmworkers' lamps in winter.⁷⁴ Presumably in 1308 the workers demanded these benefits because they had previously been provided by the Templars. The costs of employing workers helps to explain why in some areas in the west and Midlands of England and in Wales – Cornwall, Devon, Glamorgan, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Westmorland – the Templars leased out their lands and simply collected the rent.

⁷⁰ See, e.g. Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 31–33; Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 126–127; Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 89–96; Nicholson, “The Surveys and Accounts,” 196–208.

⁷¹ Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 79–80, comparing Ian Rush, “The Impact of Commercialization in Early Fourteenth-Century England: The Evidence from the Manors of Glastonbury Abbey,” *Agricultural History Review* 49, no. 2 (2001): 126, 133; Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 89–95; Nicholson, “The Surveys and Accounts,” 197–203. For grain liversies to farmworkers by other employers at other locations in eastern and southern England see Dyer, “Changes in Diet,” 31–34 and Rush, “The Impact of Commercialization,” 123–139; for the average requirements for a medieval peasant family see Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England, c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, revised ed.), 134–135.

⁷² TNA, E 358/18 rot. 2.

⁷³ Bruer: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 19; Bulstrode: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 7; Combe: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 26; Temple Guiting: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 5; Lydney, Stanton Long, Holt Preen and Keele: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 4 and E 358/20 rot. 5; Hill Croome: TNA, E 358/19 rot. 50.

⁷⁴ TNA, E 199/18/5.

TRANSACTIONS WITH OUTSIDERS

In addition to receiving rents from their tenants, the Templars themselves owed rent to a large number of secular and ecclesiastical landlords for their own estates, many of which they leased rather than owning outright. For example, at Horspath in Oxfordshire on 25 March each year they owed rent to five different landlords, including the abbot of Abingdon and Piers Gaveston, earl of Cornwall, while at Sandford they owed the prioress of Littlemore rent for various tenements there. At Garway in Herefordshire rent was paid for five different holdings, in Llanrothel, Harewood, Kempewe, Staunton and land in the lordship of Striguil.⁷⁵

Thanks to the exemptions and privileges granted by the papacy, the Templars were exempt from paying tithes on their newly-cultivated lands, and collected the tithes due to their appropriated parish churches.⁷⁶ A few of their houses paid tithes to other religious houses on some produce.⁷⁷ Again, a few of their parish churches were subject to diocesan visitation by the archdeacon.⁷⁸

Regarding secular dues and taxes, successive English kings had exempted the Templars and their *homines* (literally, “people”) from a wide range of secular dues such as attendance at shire and hundred courts, services due to the king such as castle and bridge works, and paying scutage, geld, tolls and customs duties.⁷⁹ *Homines* may have initially meant only the Templars’ household, but came to include their tenants – so these exemptions could have made them very attractive landlords.⁸⁰

Although the Templars’ London house of New Temple was an important financial centre, there was little sign of financial activity in other Templar houses

⁷⁵ TNA, E 338/19 rot. 26 and 26d (Horspath); E 358/18 rot. 2 (Garway). For the Benedictine abbey of Abingdon, Berkshire, see David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (Harlow: Longman, 1971, 2nd ed.), 52, 58.

⁷⁶ Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Knights Templar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 57–59.

⁷⁷ Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 100–101, 148 (footnotes 155–156).

⁷⁸ For example at Garway, Guiting, Rothley and Broadwell. Garway: TNA, E 358/19 rot. 25(1) (custodian’s accounts for Garway, 5 Edw. II); E 358/19 rot. 47d (year 6); E 358/19 rot. 25(2) (2 Edw. II); E 358/19 rot. 50d (3 Edw. II and 4 Edw. II). For Guiting, see TNA, E 358/18 rot. 5. For Rothley and Broadwell see “Corrodia petita,” ed. Cole, 179, 211.

⁷⁹ *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents*, ed. Beatrice A. Lees (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 139–140, Royal Charters no. 3; Nicholson, “The Military Religious Orders in the Towns,” 113, 122–125; Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars*, 100.

⁸⁰ Clarence Perkins, “The Knights Templars in the British Isles,” *The English Historical Review* 25 (1910): 216–217; Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 61 figure 20.

in England and Wales at the start of 1308. Few accounts mention cash (Clarence Perkins calculated that only £36 12s. 2d. was found), and what was found was probably intended for paying the farmworkers.⁸¹ At Dunwich Robert de Seffeld, parson of Brampton, had deposited over £100 with the Templars for safekeeping. The king's official who took charge at Dunwich returned the money to its owner.⁸² The surviving records of the sheriffs' investigations into debts due to the Templars at Christmas 1307 (see Appendix 3) present no evidence of any large-scale money-lending: there were just a few small loans of around a pound or half a pound. It is possible that these figures were not typical, as the news of the Templars' arrest in France the previous October could have discouraged the Templars in England from making loans, just as it could have led those seeking a safe-deposit for their money to deposit it with a different institution. Nevertheless these records offer an insight into the brothers' local activities, recording purchases of cattle, sheep, horses, grain, and linen cloth from the Templars that had not yet been paid for, and rents and tithes that had been collected on behalf of the Templars but not yet handed over to them.⁸³

CONCLUSION

Despite the gaps in the records and the omissions outlined at the beginning of this article, the inventories, accounts, and other financial records of the Templars' estates in England and Wales from 1308 provide a snap-shot of the material state of these properties in January 1308, their income and expenditure, and the people associated with them as members of the Order, corrodians, employees, creditors and debtors. No weekly accounts survive from the Templars' own occupation of these houses, and royal officials' accounts lack some of the detail of the surviving French accounts from Normandy and Champagne, but these records do permit estimates of how large the community was at each house and how far the Templars could have maintained a religious lifestyle within their houses. This evidence sug-

⁸¹ For example: Bisham: TNA, E 142/119 mem. 19 (11 marks); Dunwich: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 3d (35 golden florins worth four pounds seven shillings and six pence at an exchange rate of 2 shillings and six pence per florin); Garway: TNA, E 358/18 rot. 2 (40 shillings and 10 pence); Upleadon: TNA, E 199/18/4 (six pounds). Perkins, "The Wealth of the Knights Templars," 255, 257.

⁸² TNA, E 358/18 rot. 3d.

⁸³ TNA, E 142/119 mem. 23; TNA, E 142/119 mems. 3, 5, 6, 8d, 12d, 19, 20d, 28d, 29, 31.

gests that these were vibrant communities employing a wide range of people from skilled and unskilled farmworkers to priests and even an accountant, with chapels providing spiritual support to the brothers and outsiders. Although their vocation of defending Christendom underlay all that they did and provided the justification for the Order's existence, it was this local community that would have been the Templars' focus on a day-to-day basis and which absorbed much of their resources.

APPENDIX 1: CORRODIES, DEBTS, AND OTHER DUES PAYABLE AT THE TEMPLARS' PROPERTIES

The surviving records of the submissions made by various individuals and institutions who claimed to have corrodies or income at the various Templar properties in England, which were in the king's hands after the Templars' arrests in January 1308, are preserved in TNA, E 142/9. They have been published as "Corrodia petita de domibus Templariorum, annis I^o & II^o Edwardi II," in *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer*, ed. Henry Cole (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1844), 139–230, to which all page references in the summary list below refer.

The Templars' properties have been listed alphabetically under the county in which they are located, reflecting the administration of these properties after the Templars' arrest. For each property, corody-holders are listed first, followed by dues payable and other debts. To save space, the names of corody-holders and vicars employed by the Templars are listed without details of the corody or annual payment; other regular dues payable and debts are summarised. Clearly these records do not include every debt owed by the Templars, as many regular rental payments that are included in the royal custodians' accounts do not appear (such as the rental payments to the abbot of Abingdon, the prioress of Littlemore, and the lordship of Strigil mentioned above); possibly these records include only claims that were disputed or required additional verification.

So far as they can be identified, the names of properties are given in their modern spelling. Unidentified locations are given in italics. Personal names are given as in the printed edition followed by a modern English translation in brackets where this differs from the Latin. Uncertain translations are indicated by a question mark.

Bedfordshire

Melbrook

Hugo de Stocton (of Stockton) (177–178).

Stockton

Ricardus de Reyndon (of Roydon), *clericus* (clerk), claims 11 pigs worth 16 *solidi* that were in the hands of the Templars at Stockton for feeding and were confiscated in error with the Templars' chattels (176). See also his cow at Chingford, Essex, below (146).

Berkshire

Bisham

Adam de Char or Chaar (of Charlbury?) (205–206).

Galfridus, vicar of the church of Bisham (186).

Johannes de Upleden or Opledene (of Upleadon) (158).

Cambridgeshire

Denny

Radulfus Bonet (156).

Thomas de Gyselingham (of Gislingham) (159).

Willelmus de Sutton (158).

Wendy

Hugo de Blomham (of Blunham), vicar of the church of Wendy (193).⁸⁴

⁸⁴ This individual's name is given as Hugh de Blounham in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Edward II*, vol. 1, 1307–1313 (London: HMSO, 1894), 113, which records his presentation to the vicarage of the church of Wendy on 7 May 1309. Wendy is now in the parish of Shingay cum Wendy, south Cambridgeshire.

Wilbraham

Johannes, vicar of the church of Wilbraham (208).

*Essex**Chingford*

Reginaldus vicar of the church of Chingford (184–185).

Alex' de Balliol is owed an annual payment of £40 for the manor of Chingford which was due to his late wife Isabel, who had previously been the wife of Earl David of Athol (179–180).⁸⁵

Ricardus de Reyndon (of Roydon), clerk, claims his cow, worth 13 *solidi*, which was confiscated in error from the Templars' pasture at Chingford with the Templars' chattels (146); see also his pigs at Stockton in Bedfordshire, above (176).

Cressing

Hobekynus de Moune (174–175).

Johannes Crudde de Kersing (of Cressing) (174).

Theoudricus (Thierry) son of Guillaume Picard de Alintotonia⁸⁶ (173–174).

Purfleet

Johannes de Brianzon or Brianzoun is due seven marks per annum from Purfleet, due to him and his ancestors from time immemorial (218).

Johannes Vynter de Thurrok (Thurrock) has received five *solidi* and six pence per annum from Purfleet from time immemorial (204).

Willelmus Breanzon or de Bryenzoun has received seven marks per annum from Purfleet from time immemorial (202–203).

⁸⁵ In 1270 the Templars leased the manor and church of Chingford from Isabel de Chilham, the heir, and her husband David de Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl: "The parish and borough of Chingford," in *A History of the County of Essex, vol. 5, Metropolitan Essex since 1850, Waltham and Beacontree Hundreds*, ed. W. R. Powell (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1966), 97–114. *British History Online*, accessed 31 August 2023, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vols5/>, pp. 97–114, at footnote 78. It did not pass to the Hospitallers after the dissolution of the Templars.

⁸⁶ In Cole's edition, 173, this name is followed by: [?].

Roydon church

Willelmus, vicar of Roydon (205).

Sutton

Johannes de Aumbreis or Ambroys (155).

Willelmus le Paumer (154–155).

Gloucestershire

Guiting

Henricus de Biddebrok, chaplain (177).

The abbot of Funteyns or Funtayns (Fountains?) should be paid the tithes of Bradwell parish (Broadwell, Oxfordshire, where the Templars held the church) from the income of Guiting (209–210).⁸⁷

The abbot of St Peter's Gloucester is owed four marks a year for a messuage and all the land that the abbot and convent had at Temple Guiting, which the abbot and convent had conceded to the Templars (216–217).⁸⁸

The prior of SS Peter, Paul, and Guthlac at Hereford is owed tithes from Guiting (210–211).⁸⁹

Hampshire

Sotherton

Henricus de Tirefeld (of Therfield), chaplain (165).

The prior of Selborne is due payment of 10 *solidi* a year (201–202).⁹⁰

⁸⁷ For the Cistercian abbey of Fountains in the West Riding of Yorkshire see Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 113, 119.

⁸⁸ For the Benedictine abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester, see *ibid.*, 54, 66.

⁸⁹ This was a dependent priory of the abbey of Gloucester, comprised of two collegiate churches in Hereford: *ibid.*, 54, 67.

⁹⁰ The house of Augustinian canons of Selborne in Hampshire was founded by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, in 1233/1234: *ibid.*, 143, 173.

Herefordshire

Garway

Davidus de Lantheudy (of Llanddewi), chaplain (154).
 Gilbertus de Penbrigg' (of Pembridge) (156–157).
 Johannes Person de Garway (155–156).
 Robertus de Neubolt (of Newbolt), clerk (157).
 Willelmus de Eycle (of Eagle) (155).

Upleadon

Nicholaus de Stounesby (163–164).
 Ricardus de la Felde, chaplain (153–154).
 Walterus son of Ranulphi Childe (175).

Hertfordshire

Dinsley

Andreas de Berugholt or Bergholte (of Bergholt) (147).
 Hugo de Aylesbur' (of Aylesbury), clerk (145–146) – also appears under Rothley
 in Leicestershire, below.⁹¹
 Ricardus de Bykeleswade or Bikeleswade (of Biggleswade), chaplain (160).
 Rogerus de Hunsingovere (of Hunsingore?) (144).
 Willelmus de Wengrave (143–144) – also appears under London, below.
 Willelmus de Sharnebrok (of Sharnbrook) and Johanna his wife (208).

Kent

Ewell

Henricus de Driffeld (of Driffield), vicar of Ewell (223–224).
 Johannes de Waltham Coco (209).

⁹¹ On this individual see *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 2: xxix–xxx.

Johannes de Blebury (of Blebury) claims timber at Ewell which was confiscated when the Templars' property was taken into the king's hands (180–181).

Leicestershire

Rothley

Hugo de Aylesbury, clerk (141) – also appears under Dinsley in Hertfordshire, above.

The abbot of Croxton is owed 27 *solidi* a year for assarts the Templars of Rothley made in the fields of Rothley (206–207).⁹²

The archdeacon of Leicester: since Bishop Robert of Lincoln gave Rothley church to the Templars, the archdeacons of Leicester have received annually four marks at Michaelmas in perpetuity in addition to the archdeacon's procura-tion for his annual visitation (179).

Lincolnshire

Aslackby

Radulphus de Thorgarton (of Thurgarton), chaplain (166).

Ricardus de Garewy (of Garway) (166).

The prior and convent of Belvoir are owed two marks a year for the tithe on the demesne land of Aslackby and some other small offerings and tithes from the same vill (219–220).⁹³

The abbot of Thornton claims two *solidi* per annum as rent for the manor of Cabourne (183).⁹⁴

The prior and convent of Holy Trinity, York, should receive a tithe due annually from Aslackby (200).⁹⁵

⁹² Croxton abbey in Leicestershire was a house of Premonstratensian canons: Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 184, 187.

⁹³ Belvoir was a Benedictine abbey in Lincolnshire: *ibid.*, 52, 59.

⁹⁴ Thornton in Lincolnshire was a house of Augustinian canons: *ibid.*, 144, 176.

⁹⁵ Holy Trinity at York was a Benedictine house: *ibid.*, 58, 82.

Beckingham, mill of⁹⁶

Loretta, widow of Johannes de Useflet (of Ousefleet), claims five *solidi* and four pence annual render from Beckingham mill *juxta Sutton* (229–230).

The abbot of Notley should receive 23 *solidi* and four pence annually from the mill of Beckingham by reason of his manor of *Stragathorp* (Stragglethorpe, North Kesteven?) in Lincolnshire (202, 203).⁹⁷

Bracebridge

The abbot of Bardney is owed two *solidi* a year in rent for a messuage and a bovine of land here (215).⁹⁸

The brothers and sisters of the Leper Hospital of the Holy Innocents at Lincoln claim the income from the six mills at this manor that is due to them from the endowment by Ranulf earl of Chester (169).⁹⁹

The prior of St Katherine *extra* Lincoln should receive six *solidi* and eight pence each year from the manor of Bracebridge by a concession from Ranulf earl of Chester (222–223).¹⁰⁰

Bruer

Adam Dortuarius (le Dortsurer) (156).¹⁰¹

Alicia, daughter of Robertus de Sweynesthorp (of Swinethorpe) (149).

Egidius de Wytham (Giles of Witham) (158).

Henricus Jubel, cook (177).

Ricardus de Mohun (152).

Robertus de Carleton (of Carlton) (153).

Robertus vicar of the church of Donington in Holland, Lincolnshire (225–226).

⁹⁶ Dependent on Eagle: Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 61, 193.

⁹⁷ For the Augustinian canons of Notley or Nutley in Buckinghamshire, see Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 142, 169.

⁹⁸ On the Benedictine abbey of Bardney, Lincolnshire, see *ibid.*, 52, 59.

⁹⁹ On this hospital see *ibid.*, 371; Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 61, 192.

¹⁰⁰ St Katherine's at Lincoln was a Gilbertine house responsible for the hospital of St Sepulchre, with both canons and lay sisters to care for the sick: Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 196, 198.

¹⁰¹ He also gave evidence during the Templars' trial: *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 1: 114; 2: 107–108.

Robertus called le Mareschal de Rouston (of Rowston) (168–169).

Robertus de Sweynesthorp (of Swinethorpe) (148).

Robertus de Everwykschire (of Yorkshire) (148).

Walterus son of Robertus de Calwarthorp (of Culverthorpe) (190).

Walterus de Thorp, clerk (153, 169).

Willelmus son of Ricardus de Templo (154).

Willelmus Ryvel de Wyma (of Witham) (175–176).

Willelmus, former vicar of Rowston (173).

Eagle

Agneta, widow of Ricardus de Weston (140–141) – the mother of Johannes de Weston?

Alanus de Snaynton or Snainton (153).

Johannes, son of Ricardus de Weston knight (139–140) – the son of Agneta?

Nigellus de Northscharle (of North Scarle), *faber* (carpenter) (149).

Ricardus de Northscharle (of North Scarle) (151–152).

Robertus de Gunwardeby or Gunwardby, clerk (151); he also should receive for himself and his heirs and assignees in perpetuity the water mill at Harrowby for an annual rent of half a mark (170).¹⁰² See also under London and Middlesex, below.

Thomas de Wygesle (of Wigsley), chaplain (149–150).¹⁰³

The abbot and convent of Bec-Hellouin had given the Templars all the tithes *garbarum* which they had within the parish of Eagle and all the service of free tenants which they held in North Scarle, in exchange for 20 *solidi* that the Templars held in Wilsford in Lincolnshire; the abbot and convent now claim the 20 *solidi* (228–229).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 257, notes that in the Michaelmas 1308 accounts of the royal keeper William de Spanneby, Robert de Gunwardeby's corrodry was paid from the income of Bruer, not Eagle. For this individual see also *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 2: xxix.

¹⁰³ For this individual see Jefferson, *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire*, 55–56, 131.

¹⁰⁴ The Abbey of Le Bec or Bec-Hellouin in Normandy, founded by St Herluin in 1034, and closely linked to the dukes of Normandy and their ecclesiastical reform programme: Jean-Hervé Foulon, "The Foundation and Early History of Bec," in *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th–13th Centuries)*, ed. Benjamin Pohl and Laura Gathagan (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 11–37; David Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1964), 115–118, 126–127. For a survey of its properties in England, see Marjorie Chibnall, *The English Lands of*

South Witham

Willelmus son of Rogerus le Crescy de Claypol is owed rent of 10 *solidi* a year for a messuage, two carucates of land and 20 acres of wood at Temple Witham (207–208).

Tealby

Johanna, widow of Ricardus de Cornubia (of Cornwall),¹⁰⁵ claims five *solidi* per annum due to her from the Templars for the manor of *Tywelby* (Tealby) which they have held from time out of mind from her husband and his ancestors, lords of the manor of Thonock, and which has come to her as part of her dower payment on her husband's death (198–199).

*Thorpe juxta Stowe St Mary (Thorpe in the Fallows)*¹⁰⁶

Nicholaus, vicar of the church of Thorp' *juxta Stowe St Mary* (225).

Johannes de Whitington claims a messuage and a carucate at Thorpe *juxta Stowe St Mary* that he had been granted by the Templars in return for a sum of money *in subsidium Terre Sancte* and paying an annual rent of 40 *solidi* (185–186).

Willoughton

Petrus de Beeford (167).

Johannes de Whytington, clerk (167–168).

the Abbey of Bec (London: Oxford University Press, 1946); and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 83–85, 87–94.

¹⁰⁵ Richard *de Cornubia* was an illegitimate son of Earl Richard of Cornwall, younger brother of King Henry III of England. He died during the storming of Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1296: Nicholas Vincent, "Richard, First Earl of Cornwall and King of Germany (1209–1272)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman (May 2005); accessed 24 November 2025, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23501>. For Joan's defence of her right to the manor of Thonock as her dower see *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared Under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, vol. 3, *Edward I* (London: HMSO, 1912), 483, 486 no. 604.

¹⁰⁶ Thorpe in the Fallows lies in the parish of Stowe, in the West Lindsey district of Lincolnshire. Stowe Minster is dedicated to St Mary: Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *Buildings of England: Lincolnshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), 380.

Walterus de Cotewell (157).

The abbot and convent of Barlings Abbey claim nine *solidi* a year for two bovates of land (173).¹⁰⁷

London and Middlesex

New Temple

Ada' de Osgoteby (Adam of Osgodby?), clerk (178).

Ermeiarda, widow of Henry de Sancto Mauro (of Saint-Maur) (195–196).

Galfridus de Cave, clerk (182).

Galfridus de Stanewell (194).

Galfridus Taylfer or Tailfer de Huchendon (Hughenden?) (142).

Gilbertus de Roubury (221–222).

Henricus Spigurnel (187).

Johannes de Benstede, clerk (164).

Johannes de Braye (222).

Johannes de Foxlee (of Foxley) (181).

Johannes called le Mareschal (146–147).

Johannes de Skelton (167).

Laurencius de Ebor' (of York), clerk (191).

Philippus de Hermodesworth (Harmondsworth?), chaplain (145).

Ricardus de Gloucester (170–171).

Robertus and Gaillarda Blome (164–165).

Robertus de Bardelby (198).

Robertus de Gunwardeby, clerk (151, 152) – and see Eagle, Lincolnshire.

Robertus de Insula (de l'Isle) (224–225).

Rogerus called Love (185).

Rogerus de Stifford, clerk (159).

Thomas son of Rogerus de Hegham knight (179).

Willelmus de Dokesworth (of Duxford), chaplain (145).

Willelmus le Dorturer, clerk (220–221).¹⁰⁸

Willelmus Inge (175).

¹⁰⁷ Barlings was a Premonstratensian abbey in Lincolnshire, also known as Oxeney: Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 184–185.

¹⁰⁸ On William le Dorturer see also *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 2: xxix.

Willelmus Lambert and his wife Caorsette (165–166).¹⁰⁹

Willelmus de Lauvar, clerk (190).

Willelmus de Wengrave (143–144) – and see Dinsley in Hertfordshire, above.

Willelmus West le Borne Anglicus (147–148).

Margaria de Pelham or Pelleham, nun, claims an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary which she lent Brother John of Stoke (215–216).

Michael atte Green or de la Grene de Wycoumbe (of Wycombe) claims the land which he gave to the Templars in return for a corrodoy, but which the Templars returned to him when they were unable to fulfil the terms of the corrodoy (188–190, 191–193).¹¹⁰

The prior of St Mary of Southwark is due four *solidi* a year for a garden in the parish of St Clements in Westminster (213–214).¹¹¹

The abbot of Westminster is owed rent of four *solidi* a year on three shops in Fleet Street in the suburb of London (219).¹¹²

The master and brothers of the Hospital of St James *juxta* Westminster are owed an annual payment of 32 pence for a tenement in the parish of St Mary le Strand, Middlesex, which the Templars held from them (218–219).¹¹³

Oxfordshire

Broadwell

The abbot of Funteyns or Funtayns (Fountains?) should be paid the tithes of Bradwell parish (Broadwell, Oxfordshire, where the Templars held the church) – this is payable from the income of Guiting (209–210).

The archdeacon of Oxford claims seven *solidi*, seven and a half pence and a farthing for his procuration for visiting Broadwell church each year (211).

¹⁰⁹ A *Willelmus Lamberd, nuncius olim Templi*, gave evidence at London during the trial of the Templars in England: *Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, 1: 115; 2: 108 – this may or may not have been the same person.

¹¹⁰ For a summary see Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial*, 77.

¹¹¹ The priory of St Mary Overy in Southwark, Surrey, was a house of Augustinian canons: Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 143, 174.

¹¹² For Westminster Abbey, a Benedictine house, see *ibid.*, 58, 79–80.

¹¹³ The Hospital of St James at Westminster, originally set up to care for lepers, had both brothers and sisters to care for the sick: *ibid.*, 336, 402.

Cowley

Ricardus de Chissebech (of Chisbridge?) is owed 15 *solidi* a year for a tenement in Temple Cowley (226–227).

Sandford

Johanna de Hameldene, nun in the religious house of Littlemore (142–143).¹¹⁴
Nicholaus Swalewe (182–183).

Robertus son of Walterus Edwardus de Meriton, Meryton or Miriton (of Mer-ton?) (187, 227).

Stephanus de Sautre (159–160).

Willelmus Pateryk (182).

*Shropshire**Holt Preen*

The abbot of Haughmond is owed seven shillings and four pence for land at Holt Preen that the Templars rented from the abbey (187–188).¹¹⁵

Lydley

Johannes de Bolestrode (of Bulstrode) (150–151).

Ricardus de Neville (150).

*Somerset**Combe*

Alexander de Hunsingovere (of Hunsingore?) (212–213, 217–218).

¹¹⁴ Littlemore in Oxfordshire was a house of Benedictine nuns: *ibid.*, 253, 260.

¹¹⁵ For the Augustinian abbey of Haughmond in Shropshire see *ibid.*, 140, 159.

Suffolk

Cavenham

The prior of Stoke-by-Clare is due five *solidi* and half a penny from the mills held by the Templars in Cavenham which are called Twygrynd (214).¹¹⁶

Dunwich

Ricardus Osmond, chaplain (208).

Surrey

Elfold

Robertus de Sellyngg (of Selling), recently bailiff at Elfold: four *boves* of his were confiscated in error with the Templars' land and chattels (141–142).

*Wydeley (Wideflete)*¹¹⁷

The prior and convent of Bermondsey state that the Templars owe them rent of 10 marks a year for a hide of land with people, mills and pools of water on the Thames, near the New Temple, London, which they hold from the prior and convent in fee farm (179, 183–184).¹¹⁸

Sussex

Shipley

Robertus de Burstow (172).

¹¹⁶ For the Benedictine priory at Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk, dependent on Bec-Hellouin, see *ibid.*, 85, 92.

¹¹⁷ On the manor of Wideflete see "The borough of Southwark: Manors," in *A History of the County of Surrey: vol. 4*, ed. H. E. Malden (London, 1912), 141–151. *British History Online*, accessed 31 August 2023, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol4/>, pp. 141–151, at footnotes 142–150.

¹¹⁸ For the Benedictine house at Bermondsey, Surrey, see Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 96, 98.

The prior and convent of La Sele are owed an annual payment of six *solidi* from the Templars of Shipley following the papal settlement of a dispute between the two (196–197).¹¹⁹

Sompting

Johannes vicar of the church of Sompting (203–204, 227–228).

The abbot of Fécamp is owed two marks per annum from the manor which the Templars hold at Sompting, for the customary tithes in Sompting conceded to the Templars by the abbot (224).¹²⁰

Warwickshire

Balsall

Adam del Oke (170).

Adam de Westordale (of Westerdale) (162).

Guillelmus de Alton (161).

Guillelmus Dering de Faxflete (of Faxfleet) (161).

Guillelmus de Howum, clerk (160–161).¹²¹

Henricus vicar of the church of Shireburn (Sherbourne) in Warwickshire (229).

Johannes de Bonyngton (of Bonnington) (161–162).

Johannes de Sybeford (of Sibford) (163).

Ricardus Carpenter de Belesale (Carpenter of Balsall) (163).

Ricardus de Poleford (162).

¹¹⁹ The Benedictine house at Sele in Beeding, Sussex, was founded before 1096 and dependent on the abbey of Saint Florent de Saumur: *ibid.*, 84, 91.

¹²⁰ Originally founded in the seventh century as a nunnery, reformed in the late tenth century as a house of canons, and re-established as a house of Benedictine monks at the beginning of the eleventh century, like Le Bec the abbey of Fécamp on the coast of Normandy was closely linked to the dukes of Normandy and their ecclesiastical reform programme. Following the Norman conquest of 1066 the abbey had received property in England, at Steyning in Sussex (around five miles from Sompting): Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 23, 105, 110, 117, 125–126, 162, 166, 186, 209, 321; Cassandra Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 26–32; “Alien Houses: Ballivate of Warminghurst,” in *A History of the County of Sussex*, vol. 2, ed. William Page, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: Constable, 1973), 124.

¹²¹ Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 30, renders this cognomen as Hotham.

The canons of the church of St Mary of Arbury should receive two marks a year for the fee farm of the old mill of Wolvey with the *secta* of the whole of the manor of Wolvey (206).¹²²

Guido de Bello Campo (Guy de Beauchamp), earl of Warwick, is owed nine *solidi* a year for two mills which the Templars held in fee from him in Warwick and tenements in the vills of *Coton* and *Stodlegh* which paid the Earl six pence a year (223).¹²³

Philippus de Gayton, knight, is owed a chantry (172).¹²⁴

The prior of St Andrew's, Northampton, is owed a mark of silver each year from the commander of Warwickshire for the agreement made over the advowson of the church of *Herdewyk* (Hardwick) (211–212).

Robertus de Northampton, canon of the church of St Mary of Warwick, is owed six *solidi* and eight pence in pension at the church of St Mary of Sherbourne which the Templars hold *in proprios usos* (214).

The prioress and nuns of Wroxall claim for rent on land in the manor of *Bechia* which they lease to the Templars (199).¹²⁵

Worcestershire

Hill Croome

Christina, widow of Sampson de Hull, is owed rent on land that belonged to her husband Samson and which had come to her as part of her dower: the rent comprises grain, hay, forage, wood, and the right to pasture two cows with their calves, plus she has for life “a certain house” with sufficient curtilage next to the gate of the Master and Brothers of the Temple at Hill Croome (200–201).

¹²² The Augustinian house at Arbury, also known as Erdbury or Ordbury, lay in the parish of Chilvers Coton in Warwickshire, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, founded early in the reign of Henry II by Ralph de Sudley: Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 137, 145. On the canons' land agreements with the Templars of Balsall see also Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 16.

¹²³ For Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and the Templars see Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, 41, 60, 121, 138, 157.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹²⁵ Wroxall was a Benedictine house in Warwickshire, founded possibly around 1135: Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 255, 268.

Yorkshire

Hirst

Willelmus Coufk¹²⁶ de Hibernia (of Ireland) (194–195).

Isabella de Bella Aqua (de Belewe) is owed two *solidi* a year for cultivated land which the Templars hold from her manor of *Birne* (Kirkburn?) (226).

Newsam

The abbot and convent of Selby should be paid ten marks a year for five bovates of land in Halton in the parish of Whitkirk that the Templars hold from them (197–198).¹²⁷

Ribston

Johannes de Hoperton (171).

Wetherby

Robertus de Walton, chaplain (181).

¹²⁶ In Cole's edition, 194, this word is followed by: [?].

¹²⁷ Selby Abbey was a Benedictine house in the West Riding of Yorkshire. See Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 57, 76.

APPENDIX 2: CHAPEL INVENTORIES

The analysis of chapels in this article is based on the following inventories, in county order:

Bedfordshire

Millbrook: TNA, E 358/18, rot[ulus] 24.

Swanton: *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer*, ed. Henry Cole (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1844), xi–xii.

Berkshire

Bisham: TNA, E 142/13 mem[brane] 9d[orse]; E 358/18 rot. 9d.

Templeton: TNA, E 358/20, rot[ulus] 20d.

Buckinghamshire

Temple Bulstrode: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 6d.

Cambridgeshire

Denny: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 10(2)d.

Duxford: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 10d.

Wilbraham: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 9.

Essex

Cressing: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 52d.

Sutton: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 52d.

Hampshire

Sotherington: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 51d.

Herefordshire

Upleadon: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 2.

Hertfordshire

Chelsing: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 52.

Dinsley: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 52.

Lannock: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 52.

Huntingdonshire

Sibson: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 9d.

Kent

Ewell: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 1.

Strood: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 8.

Leicestershire

Rothley: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 42.

Lincolnshire

Aslackby: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 39; E 358/19, rot. 30d.

Eagle: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 39d; E 358/19, rot. 31.

Willoughton: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 31d.

London

New Temple: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 7; E 358/20, rot. 3.

Middlesex

Lisson: TNA, E 358/20, rot. 3d.

Norfolk

Gislingham (now Suffolk): TNA, E 358/18, rot. 3.

Togrynd (Cavenham: now Suffolk): TNA, E 358/18, rot. 3d.

Northumberland

Thornton: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 6d.

Oxfordshire

Cowley: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 26.

Merton: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 26d.

Sandford: *ibid.*

Sibford Gower: TNA, E 358/19, rot. 26.

Warpsgrove: *ibid.*

Shropshire

Lydney: TNA, E 358/20, rot. 5d.

Somerset

Combe: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 35.

Staffordshire

Keele: TNA, E 358/20, rot. 5d.

Suffolk

Dunwich: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 3.

Sussex

Saddlescombe: TNA, E 358/20, rot. 14.

Shipley: TNA, E 142/15 mem. 5.

Warwickshire

Balsall: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 43.

Wiltshire

Chiriton: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 52(1); E 358/20, rot. 38.

Rockley: TNA, E 358/18, rot. 52(2); E 358/20, rot. 38.

Yorkshire

Allerthorpe: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 3.

Coupmanthorpe: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 12.

Cowton: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 16.

Etton: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 9.

Faxfleet: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 13.

Foulbridge: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 14.

Hirst: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 17.

Newsam: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 7.

Penhill: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 4.

Ribston: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 15.

Temple Mill, York: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 6.

Westerdale: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 10.

Wetherby: TNA, E 142/18 mem. 11.

Wythele (Weedley): TNA, E 142/18 mem. 8.

APPENDIX 3

Summary of debts due to the Templars in England at Christmas 1307 from TNA, E 142/119

The Table 2 below lists the Templars' debts by county, reflecting the organisation of the records. The first document for each county is a standard writ from King Edward II to the sheriff of the county, dated 31 December 1308 at Westminster, instructing the sheriff to investigate what debts were due to the Templars at Christmas 1307 and later, and commanding him to send this information to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer by the close of business at Easter 1309. The sheriff wrote his response on the dorse of the writ and returned it as instructed. Where a formal inquiry took place with sworn jurors giving evidence, a record of this was appended to the returned writ.

There is no record for some counties where the Templars held considerable property: Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Lincolnshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire, and Yorkshire. As it is unlikely that their sheriffs were not instructed to submit a report, these returns have either been lost or are not yet identified.

Tab. 2: The Templars' debts.

Counties in which Templars held prop- erty	Source reference	Debts due to Templars?	Detail
Bedfordshire	TNA, E 142/119 mm. 28–29.	Yes.	See 1 below.
Berkshire (combined with Oxfordshire)	TNA, E 142/119 m. 19.	Yes.	See 2 below.
Buckinghamshire (combined with Beds.)	TNA, E 142/119 m. 3.	Yes.	See 1 below.
Cambridgeshire	No record.	–	–
Cornwall	TNA, E 142/119 m. 22, 24.	No.	–
Derbyshire (combined with Nottinghamshire)	TNA, E 142/119 m. 35.	No.	–
Devon	TNA, E 142/199 mm 1, 38.	No.	–

Tab. 2 continued

Counties in which Templars held property	Source reference	Debts due to Templars?	Detail
Dorset (combined with Somerset)	TNA, E 142/119 m. 20.	Yes.	See under Somerset.
Essex	No record.	—	—
Gloucestershire (including Bristol)	TNA, E 142/119 mm. 25, 26, 27, 32, 33, 34.	No.	—
Hampshire	TNA, E 142/119 m. 9.	No.	—
Herefordshire	TNA, E 142/119 mm 21, 23.	Yes.	See 3 below.
Hertfordshire	No record.	—	—
Huntingdonshire	No record.	—	—
Kent	TNA, E 142/119 m. 11.	No.	—
Leicestershire (combined with Warwickshire)	TNA, E 142/119 mm. 4, 5.	Yes.	Thomas de Berteville of Loughborough owed ten pounds for 200 sheep bought from Brother Thomas of Walkington, commander of Rothley; and John the Palmer of Grimston owed 12 marks for a tithe he bought from the commander.
Lincolnshire	No record.	—	—
London & Middlesex	TNA, E 142/119 m. 12.	London: yes; Middlesex: no.	One Nicholas owes the prior of the Temple in London for a certain Thomas of Hampstead who leased a house from the prior, and a certain Ralph owes 10 <i>solidi</i> for a loan.

Tab. 2 continued

Counties in which Templars held property	Source reference	Debts due to Templars?	Detail
Norfolk	TNA, E 142/119 m. 13.	No, with one exception.	Only what the king's custodian in Norfolk owes the king from the Templars' estates.
Northamptonshire	TNA, E 142/119 m. 2.	No.	–
Northumberland	TNA, 142/119 mm. 36, 37.	No, with one exception.	Robert of Fandon, who administered the manor for the king from 11 January until 16 November 1308, took a substantial volume of wool, lambs, milk and eggs from the manor.
Nottinghamshire	TNA, E 142/119 m. 35.	No.	–
Oxfordshire	TNA, E 142/119 mm. 17, 18, 19.	No; but see Berkshire.	–
Rutland	TNA, E 142/119 mm. 30, 31.	Yes.	Two debts, one pertaining to the church at Stretton and one to the church at Thistleton.
Shropshire	No record.	–	–
Somerset	TNA, E 142/119 m. 20.	Yes.	Robert of Stalbridge owes a loan to the Templars, which the sheriff has instructed him not to pay yet.
Staffordshire	No record.	–	–
Suffolk (combined with Norfolk)	TNA, E 142/119 m. 13.	No.	–
Surrey	TNA, E 142/119 m. 10.	No.	–
Sussex	TNA, E 142/119 m. 10.	No.	–

Tab. 2 continued

Counties in which Templars held property	Source reference	Debts due to Templars?	Detail
Warwickshire	TNA, E 142/119 mm. 4, 6.	Yes.	Thomas atte Mersch owes the commander of Balsall 16 <i>solidi</i> in mortuary payment for his brother William.
Westmorland	TNA, E 142/119 m. 7.	No.	—
Wiltshire	TNA, E 142/119 m. 8.	Yes.	Roger Smith owed Brother William de Sautre, commander of Sandford, 60 <i>solidi</i> for grain he bought from him; but he has already paid the debt to the previous sheriff of Wiltshire.
Worcestershire	TNA, E 142/119 mm. 15, 16.	No.	—
Yorkshire	No record.	—	—

Detail of longer debt records

1. Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire

TNA, E 142/119 mem. 28 dorse

(The sheriff's summary of his actions following the two investigations below.) The sheriff has made an investigation, and states that he has taken into the king's hands the two silver marks that Nicholas Fermeraud owed the master of the Knights Templar from the time he was custodian of Bristol; he has also taken into the king's hands the oxen, draught horses and cows that Hugh of Staughton owed; but he has not been able to take the four oxen owed by Peter of Croft, because Peter has taken them to Huntingdonshire. He had taken into the king's hands the 20 pence owed by Christiana Stet. He has not taken the 20 quarters of dredge

owed by John of Croft or the 20 quarters of dredge taken to Robert de Wanton's demesne because he does not know whether this account has already been paid; there are also four *libri* and eight *solidi* which his predecessor Gilbert de Holm received and paid to the king.

TNA, E 142/119 mem. 29

Investigation held at Bedford on the Tuesday in Easter week, 1309, in the presence of Walter de Molesworth, sheriff. The jurors set out the debts due: Hugh of Staughton, when he leased the manor of Millbrook from the Templars for life, also took over four oxen each worth eight *solidi*, two affers each worth five *solidi*, and four cows each worth five *solidi*. After Hugh's death, his executors were due to return the animals to the Templars; they were to be repaid to Brother Thomas Totty, the former commander of Dinsley, to whom they had been assigned by the master of the Temple (presumably meaning Brother William de la More, grand commander of England). Peter de Croft of Huntingdon owes the same Thomas Totty, former commander of Dinsley, four oxen each worth 15 *solidi*, total value 60 *solidi*. Christiana Stet owes 20 pence for dredge (a mixture of barley and oats) that she had bought and not paid for. John de Croft had received from the commander of Staughton 20 quarters of dredge worth a total of 26 *solidi* and eight pence which he has not yet paid in full. Directly after Michaelmas Brother William de la More, master of the knighthood of the Temple in England, had had carted from Staughton manor 20 quarters of dredge worth two *solidi* and six pence per quarter, but the jurors do not know whether this has been paid for.

TNA, E 142/119 mem. 3

Inquisition taken at Aylesbury in the presence of Walter of Molesworth, sheriff of Buckinghamshire, on the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, 1309. The jurors state that no one knows of any debts due to the Templars, except for four pounds eight *solidi* due from Richard le Hurley of Wycombe for cows he had bought at Wycombe from Brother Michael of Baskerville, then commander of London; which he has since paid to Gilbert de Holm, sheriff of Buckinghamshire.

2. *Berkshire*

TNA, E 142/119 mem. 19

On the Saturday in Easter week, 1309, Richard Damory, sheriff of Berkshire, held an investigation at Maidenhead into the debts due to the Templars at Christmas 1307 and their goods and chattels that have not yet been taken into the king's hands. Two of the jurors owe Brother Thomas Wonhope, the commander of Bisham, seven pounds for horses and sheep they purchased before Christmas 1307; John of Hurley owes four *solidi* for a horse he purchased; also Walter and his mother Mabel owe four (word lost) for the purchase of six oxen and three mares; none of which debts have yet been paid. Ralph of Hurley has in his keeping 11 marks which Brother Thomas entrusted to him before Christmas 1307, and the prior of the Benedictine priory of Hurley owes Brother Thomas nine marks, six *solidi* and four pence for sheep and other small things that he bought from him, and has in his custody a mazer cup with a silver base worth half a mark and a variety of other objects, including a hauberk, gauntlets, cuisses and gorgets, which were entrusted to the prior by Brother Thomas for safekeeping.¹²⁸

3. *Herefordshire*

TNA, E 142/119 mem. 23

Inquisition held at Hereford Castle before the sheriff of Hereford, Monday before the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, 2 Edward II (24 March 1309) to establish what debts were owed to the Order of the Temple or any of its members as of Christmas 1307. The jurors state that at Christmas 1307 Walter Caperon owed Brother Thomas de Tolous, commander of Upleadon, nine silver marks for oxen sold to him and Roger Bacon owed the same 10 *solidi* for arrears of his final account when he was his receiver; Thomas de la Hull owed the same Thomas 5 silver *solidi* as he was removed from the office of reeve. Robert Tope, Agn' le Pies-tur and Richard Monibord owed Brother Philip de Meaux, commander of Garway, four *solidi* for rents of assise from tenements in Hereford; Henry of Lancaster owed Philip twenty *solidi* and eight pence at the same date for a loan; Euan ap

¹²⁸ For Hurley Priory in Berkshire, see Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 54, 68.

Meurig owed Philip four silver *solidi* for linen cloths he bought from him. Roger de la Stoue (or Stone) of Stowe Lacy owned Brother Thomas de Toulouse ten *solidi* for a loan.

PRIMARY SOURCES:

Kew. The National Archives of the UK, E 142/10–18 and /89–118: extents and inquisitions of the properties of the Knights Templar, 1308–1313.

Kew. The National Archives of the UK, E 142/119: sheriffs' investigations into debts due to the Templars at 25 December 1307; 31 December 1308–2 April 1309.

Kew. The National Archives of the UK, E 199/18/4–5: particulars of account for Upleadon, 10 January 1308–3 August 1309.

Kew. The National Archives of the UK, E 358/18–21: enrolled accounts from the Templars' former estates, 1308–1313.

Kew. The National Archives of the UK, SC 6/1202/3: John Poutok, sheriff of Carmarthen, accounts for Llanmadoc in Gower, Glamorgan, 10 January 1308–29 September 1308.

Acta Sanctorum. Vol. 2, *Januarii II*. Edited by Joannes Bollandus SJ and Godefridus Henschenius SJ. Antwerp, Apud Iohannem Meursium, 1643.

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared Under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Vol. 3, Edward I. London: HMSO, 1912.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Edward II. Vol. 1, 1307–1313. London: HMSO, 1894.

Il Corpus normativo templare: Edizione dei testi romanzi con traduzione e commento in Italiano. Edited by Giovanni Amatuccio. Galatina: Congedo, 2009.

“Corrodia petita de domibus Templariorum, annis I^o & II^o Edwardi II.” In *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer*. Edited by Henry Cole. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1844.

The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles. Vol. 1–2. Edited by Helen J. Nicholson. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents. Edited by Beatrice A. Lees. London: Oxford University Press, 1935.

La Règle du Temple. Edited by Henri de Curzon. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris: Renouard, 1886.

The Rule of the Templars: the French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar. Translated by Judith M. Upton-Ward. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

"Alien Houses: Ballivate of Warminghurst." In *A History of the County of Sussex*, vol. 2, edited by William Page, 124. Victoria History of the Counties of England. London: Constable, 1973.

Barber, Malcolm. *The New Knighthood: A History of the Knights Templar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Bell, Adrian R., Chris Brooks, and Paul R. Dryburgh. *The English Wool Market, c. 1230–1327*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Boas, Adrian. *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Campbell, Bruce. *English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250–1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Carlsson, Christer. "Aslackby Templar Preceptory: A 2021 Research Excavation to Establish its Location and Layout." In *The Military Orders*. Vol. 8, *In a Wider World*, edited by Emanuel Buttigieg and Clara Almagro Vidal, 249–255. London: Routledge, 2025.

Chibnall, Marjorie. *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*. London: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Demurger, Alain. *Les Templiers: une chevalerie chrétienne au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Seuil, 2005.

Dondi, Cristina. "Manoscritti liturgici dei templari e degli ospedalieri: le nuove prospettive aperte dal sacramentario templare di Modena (Biblioteca Capitolare O. II. 13)." In *I Templari, la guerra e la santità*, edited by Simonetta Cerrini, 85–131. Rimini: Il Cerchio Iniziative Editoriali, 2000.

Dondi, Cristina. *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: a Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Douglas, David. *William the Conqueror*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1964.

Dyer, Christopher. "Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: the Case of Harvest Workers." *Agricultural History Review* 36, no. 1 (1988): 21–37.

Dyer, Christopher. *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England, c. 1200–1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, revised edition.

Forey, Alan. "Provision for the Aged in Templar Commanderies." In *La Commanderie. Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, edited by Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre, 175–185. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2001.

Forey, Alan. *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.

Forey, Alan J. "Aspects of Templar Conventual Life in Western Europe *circa* 1250–1307." *Revue Mabillon* 31 (2020): 29–80.

Foulon, Jean-Hervé. "The Foundation and Early History of Bec." In *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th–13th Centuries)*, edited by Benjamin Pohl and Laura Gathagan, 11–37. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Gilchrist, Roberta. *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995.

Goering, Joseph. "Chobham, Thomas of (d. 1233–6)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition edited by Lawrence Goldman. May 2005. Accessed 6 May 2016. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5007>.

Gooder, Eileen. "South Witham and the Templars. The Documentary Evidence." In *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965–67*, edited by Philip Mayes, 80–95. Leeds: Maney, 2002.

Gooder, Eileen. *Temple Balsall: The Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their Fate*. Chichester: Phillimore, 1995.

Hamonic, Nicole. "Jerusalem in London: The New Temple Church." In *Tomb and Temple: Re-imagining the Sacred Buildings of Jerusalem*, edited by Robin Griffith-Jones and Eric Fernie, 387–412. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018.

Hodgson, J. C. "Temple Thornton farm accounts, 1308." *Archaeologia Aeliana* 17 (1895): 40–53.

Jefferson, J. Michael. *The Templar Estates in Lincolnshire, 1185–1565. Agriculture and Economy*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020.

Knowles, David, and R. Neville Hadcock. *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*. Harlow: Longman, 1971, 2nd edition.

Lee, John S. "Weedley not Whitley: Repositioning a Preceptory of the Knights Templar in Yorkshire." *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 87 (2015): 101–123.

Lord, Evelyn. *The Knights Templar in Britain*. Harlow: Pearson, 2002.

Malden, H. E. "The borough of Southwark: Manors." In *A History of the County of Surrey*, vol. 4, edited by H. E. Malden, 141–151. London: Victoria County History, 1912.

Marshall, George. "The Church of the Knights Templars at Garway, Herefordshire." *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (no number) (1927): 86–101.

Mayes, Philip. *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965–67*. Leeds: Maney, 2002.

Munn, John. *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016.

Nicholson, Helen J. "At the Heart of Medieval London: the New Temple in the Middle Ages." In *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, edited by Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park, 1–18. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010.

Nicholson, Helen J. *The Everyday Life of the Templars: The Knights Templar at Home*. Stroud: Fonthill Media, 2017.

Nicholson, Helen J. "Evidence of the Templars' religious practice from the records of the Templars' estates in Britain and Ireland in 1308." In *Communicating the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Sophia Menache*, edited by Iris Shagrir, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Michel Balard, 50–63. Crusades Subsidia 11. London: Routledge, 2018.

Nicholson, Helen J. "Holy Warriors, Worldly War: Military Religious Orders and Secular Conflict." *Journal of Medieval Military History* 17 (2019): 61–79.

Nicholson, Helen J. *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308–1311*. Stroud: History Press, 2009.

Nicholson, Helen J. "The Military Religious Orders in the Towns of the British Isles." In *Les Ordres Militaires dans la Ville Médievale (1100–1350)*, edited by Damien Carras, 113–126. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2013.

Nicholson, Helen J. "Relations Between Houses of the Temple in Britain and their Local Communities, as Indicated during the Trial of the Templars, 1307–12." In *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, edited by Norman Housley, 195–207. Ashgate: Aldershot, 2007.

Nicholson, Helen J. "The Surveys and Accounts of the Templars' estates in England and Wales (1308–13)." In *Crusading Europe: Essays in Honour of Christopher Tyerman*, edited by G. E. M. Lippiatt and Jessalynn L. Bird, 181–209. Outremer: Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.

Nicholson, Helen J. "The Templars' estates in the west of Britain in the early fourteenth century." In *The Military Orders. Vol. 6.2: Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe*, edited by Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr, 132–142. London: Routledge, 2017.

Nicholson, Helen J., and Philip Slavin, "'The Real Da Vinci Code': The Accounts of Templars' Estates in England and Wales during the Suppression of the Order." In *The Templars and their Sources*, edited by Karl Borchardt, Karoline Döring, Philippe Josserand, and Helen J. Nicholson, 237–247. Crusades Subsidia 10. London: Routledge, 2017.

Perkins, Clarence. "The Knights Templars in the British Isles." *The English Historical Review* 25 (1910): 209–230.

Perkins, Clarence. "The Trial of the Knights Templars in England." *The English Historical Review* 24 (1909): 432–447.

Perkins, Clarence. "The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the Disposition of it after their Dissolution." *The American Historical Review* 15, no. 2 (1910): 252–263.

Pevsner, Nikolaus and John Harris. *Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964.

Phillips, Simon. "The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England." In *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, edited by Jochen Burgtorf, Paul F. Crawford, and Helen J. Nicholson, 237–246. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Potts, Cassandra. *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.

Powell, W. R. "The parish and borough of Chingford." In *A History of the County of Essex, vol. 5, Metropolitan Essex since 1850, Waltham and Beacontree Hundreds*, edited by W. R. Powell, 97–114. London: Victoria County History, 1966.

Rush, Ian. "The Impact of Commercialization in Early Fourteenth-Century England: The Evidence from the Manors of Glastonbury Abbey." *Agricultural History Review* 49, no. 2 (2001): 123–139.

Salvadó, Sebastián. "Icons, Crosses and the Liturgical Objects of Templar Chapels in the Crown of Aragon." In *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, edited

by Jochen Burgtorf, Paul F. Crawford, and Helen J. Nicholson, 183–197. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Salvadó, Sebastián. “Templar Liturgy and Devotion in the Crown of Aragon.” In *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, edited by Helen J. Nicholson, 31–43. Crusades Subsidia 4. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Schenk, Jochen. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France c. 1120–1307*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Schenk, Jochen. “The Cult of the Cross in the Order of the Temple.” In *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros Actas do VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, vol. 1, edited by Isabel Christina Ferreira Fernandes, 207–219. Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2012.

Schenk, Jochen. “Aspects and Problems of the Templars’ Religious Presence in Medieval Europe from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Century.” *Traditio* 71 (2016): 273–302.

Schenk, Jochen. “The Documentary Evidence for Templar Religion.” In *The Templars and their sources*, edited by Karl Borchardt, Karoline Döring, Philippe Josserand, and Helen J. Nicholson, 199–211. Crusades Subsidia 10. London: Routledge, 2017.

Schenk, Jochen. “Some Hagiographical Evidence for Templar Spirituality, Religious Life and Conduct.” *Revue Mabillon*, new series 22 (2011): 99–119.

Schofield, Philipp. *Peasant and Community in Medieval England, 1200–1500*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Slavin, Philip. “Landed Estates of the Knights Templar in England and Wales and their Management in the Early Fourteenth Century.” *Journal of Historical Geography* 42 (2013): 36–49.

Stone, David. *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Vincent, Nicholas. “Richard, first earl of Cornwall and king of Germany (1209–1272).” In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition edited by Lawrence Goldman. May 2005. Accessed 24 November 2025. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23501>.

Worcestershire Archaeology for Orion Heritage. *Archaeological evaluation and excavation of land at Temple Laugherne, Phase 1 West of Worcester, Worcestershire*. York: Archaeology Data Service, 2021. Accessed 11 November 2023. <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/issue.xhtml?recordId=1189992>.