The University of Reading

The Leper and the King:
The Patronage and Perception of Lepers and Leprosy by King Henry III of England and King Louis IX of France

PhD Thesis

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Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the connections between leprosy and kingship in thirteenth-century England and France. The kings of England and France, through the anointment they received at their coronation ceremonies, were granted a particular connection with God, and with Jesus Christ. Lepers, because of the extremity of their suffering, which was believed to be purgatorial, were valued for their spirituality. Their intercessory prayers were sought by kings and queens throughout the Middle Ages.

This thesis takes a comparative approach as far as is possible with the nature of the available source material. Beginning with the disease of leprosy, it considers the position of lepers in society, both within the religious enclosure and in secular society. The responses of both religious and lay groups towards leprosy were ambiguous, being at once inclusive and exclusive. Kings Henry III and Louis IX went beyond the contemporary expectations of kingship, which would have been sufficed by the provision of charity. They were both reported to have knelt before lepers, and kissed them as though praising and kissing Christ. In this they imitated the behaviour of some of their ancestors. There are connections also to the historic belief in the royal touch, for the cure of scrofula.

The patronage of the kings to lepers and leper-houses sheds light on their piety, as well as on their sense of tradition. Leper-houses which had been the beneficiaries of royal patronage in the twelfth century continued, mostly, to receive alms in the thirteenth century. The nature of patronage is also discussed, as the concern for lepers' material and spiritual welfare is very clear, particularly in the English sources.

Although it is only Louis who has traditionally received recognition for his piety, Henry's actions demonstrate that he too epitomised thirteenth-century spirituality in his reverence for lepers and their spiritual value.

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Introduction

More than any other disease in the Middle Ages, leprosy represented sin, God's love, and the hope of salvation. These ideas, as well as concepts of kingship, duty, tradition, disease, contagion, and penance, are all present in the contacts between the thirteenth-century kings of England and France, Henry III and Louis IX, and lepers and leper-houses. The aim of this thesis is to examine the connections between leprosy and Christian kingship during this period. The complex relationship between the anointed king and the leper who represented Christ will be analysed, in an attempt to understand how the kings perceived individual lepers, and leprosy in general. This study will also illuminate wider perceptions of, and attitudes towards, leprosy in the thirteenth century. The tradition of patronage towards lepers by the English and French kings pre-dated Henry and Louis by more than a century; evidence of their predecessors' acts thus serve to highlight how either of these kings behaved differently to former kings. I will begin this introduction by discussing each king, and then give an overview of the medical, theological, and social aspects of leprosy.

King Henry III and King Louis IX

The choice of these individuals as the focus for this thesis was made because of the similarities between them. They were at times both friends and rivals, and ruled at a time when attitudes to both leprosy and spirituality were developing rapidly. Henry was born in 1207, and succeeded to the throne in 1216, aged nine, after the unexpected death of his father, King John. He began his personal rule in 1227, at the age of 20. Louis was born in 1214, and took the crown in 1226 aged twelve after his father Louis VIII, too, had died at a relatively young age. The point at which Louis began to rule in his own name is unclear, but is believed to have probably been in 1234, when he was around 20 years old. He ruled France until his death on his second crusade, in 1270; Henry died in 1272 after an illness of several months. The two kings were related: Louis was the great-grandson, and Henry the grandson, of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine. In 1234, Louis married Margaret of Provence, the eldest daughter of Raymond, count of Provence. Two years later, Henry married Eleanor of Provence, the count's second daughter. Henry's brother Richard and Louis' brother Charles married the queens' sisters Sanchia and Beatrice respectively. Thus both kings were crowned as minors; they were of a similar age; their rules were almost contemporaneous; and their wives were sisters. They met five times between 1254 and 1264 when Henry travelled to France (Louis did not travel to England); their respective almsgiving has been described by both Carole Rawcliffe and David Carpenter as an act that united them. Rawcliffe suggests that Louis was 'at once an inspiration and rival to Henry

III', while Carpenter argues that 'their mutual attachment to the poor constituted a deep bond' between the two kings.[1]

Beyond these many similarities, however, were differences which informed the nature of their reigns. The starting point for these differences was undoubtedly the respective political situation in each country. Louis VIII had only ruled for three years before succumbing to illness whilst returning from the Albigensian Crusade. Louis IX's grandfather Philip Augustus – Philip II of France – however, had ruled for 44 years, during which period he had succeeded in capturing from King John of England the vast majority of the French parts of the Angevin Empire, held by the English kings since 1154, including the strategically important duchy of Normandy. Philip had defeated King John also at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214 – a defeat which resulted, for John, in heightened discontent amongst the English barons and led only a year later to the issuing of the Magna Carta. Aside from these military victories, Philip succeeded in reforming governmental administration, and was adept at using patronage and diplomacy to gain the loyalty of his subjects. The early years of Louis IX's reign saw a number of challenges to the crown, notably from members of the extended Capetian family, but these were successfully quelled by Louis' mother, Blanche of Castile, by both military and diplomatic means.[2]

Blanche acted as regent for Louis during his minority, and continued to exert influence until her death in 1252. Even after the beginning of Louis' personal rule and his marriage, it is difficult to discern the exact level of this influence or when, indeed, Blanche may have been in full control of particular situations. Having been actively involved in her husband's short reign, Blanche became responsible for her son's education as well as the government of the country, providing vital continuity both for the king and the kingdom. Louis was also fortunate to have what appears to have been a close relationship with his siblings. He was joined on his first crusade (1248-1254) by his next oldest brother Robert of Artois (who died during the crusade), and his youngest brother, Charles of Anjou. His second brother, Alphonse of Poitiers, initially remained in France assisting Blanche in the government of the kingdom, but later joined his brothers on crusade. Alphonse became count of Toulouse through his marriage to Joan of Toulouse, but spent most of his life residing in, or near, Paris, rather than in his own Poitevin lands or in Toulouse.[3] Charles later acquired the county of Provence through his marriage to Beatrice, who inherited the county from her father. With the support of the papacy, Charles later became king

[1] Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul : the Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital, St Giles's, Norwich, c.1249-1550*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 4; D. A. Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings Henry III and Louis IX', in *Thirteenth Century England X: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2003,* ed. by M. Prestwich, R. Britnell, and R. Frame, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 1-30, (19).
[2] Jean de Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, (Paris: le Grand livre du mois, 1998), 37-39 §72-§87; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 102-12.
[3] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 109.

of Sicily. Louis' only sister, Isabella of France, refused to get married, and instead remained close to Paris, devoting herself to religious life, albeit without taking vows.

This sense of continuity and stability, both political and familial, was markedly lacking in the early years of Henry's reign. His mother, Isabella of Angoulême, returned to France in 1217, leaving behind four of her children, and taking with her one of her daughters, Joan. Isabella and John had one other son together, Richard of Cornwall. Richard remained in England until the 1260s, when he became King of the Germans (as with Charles of Anjou's kingship of Sicily, Richard's coronation was promoted and supported by the papacy), although he did not succeed in being crowned as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome. Richard was actively involved in English politics, but not always on the king's side. He was the 'richest earl in England' and Henry came to be financially dependent on his brother.[4] Henry had three sisters: Joan, who had been taken to France by her mother, returned and was married to Alexander II, king of Scotland, but died in 1238 aged 27. Isabella was married to the much older Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor; she died in 1241, also aged around 27. Both women were childless. Henry's youngest sister Eleanor, to whom he remained close, married William Marshal, son of the elder William. He died before they had children, after which she took a vow not to marry again.[5] The subsequent wedding of Eleanor and Simon de Montfort in 1238, in a secret ceremony in Henry's private chapel, led to immediate political opposition created by the fear of the royal family being infiltrated by foreigners.[6]

This fear was exacerbated in the 1240s, with the arrival of Henry's half-siblings from France. In 1220, having left England the year after John's death, Isabella of Angoulême had married count Hugh X of Lusignan, to whom Joan had previously been betrothed; prior to this Isabella herself had been betrothed to Hugh's father, Hugh IX, before she had been 'carried off' by John to England.[7] Isabella and Hugh had nine children together, a number of whom later arrived at the royal court in England.[8] Aymer of Lusignan was elected Bishop of Winchester, by order of the king, in 1250, while William of Valence gained the lordship of Pembroke through marriage in 1247. In the same year their sister Alice was married to John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey.[9] Two

[4] Nicholas Vincent, 'Richard, first earl of Cornwall and king of Germany (1209–1272)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, O.U. Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23501/23501>, (accessed 27 January 2017).
[5] Louise J. Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort : a Rebel Countess in Medieval England*, (London: Continuum, 2012), 36.
[6] Ibid., 61.
[7] Nicholas Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel', in *King John: New Interpretations,* ed. by S.D. Church, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 165-219, (172).
[8] H. W. Ridgeway, 'Valence, William de, earl of Pembroke (d. 1296)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29481/>, (accessed 26 January 2017).
[9] Scott L. Waugh, 'Warenne, John de, sixth earl of Surrey (1231–1304)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28734/>, (accessed 26 January 2017).

other brothers, Guy and Geoffrey, returned to France with pensions.[10] Henry did not see his mother again until 1230.[11]

As a minor, Henry was assigned as regents the well-respected William Marshal, and after Marshal's death in 1219, the papal legate Pandulf. The already entrenched divisions in the country had been exacerbated shortly before John's death by the arrival of the future Louis VIII of France in England, who had been invited by some of the English barons to assert his right to the throne in order to replace John.[12] Despite much of the south of England submitting to him, John's death, and the accession of a new king, prevented Louis from successfully claiming the land for his own, and he returned to France in 1217. The differences in opinion amongst the English nobility about how, and by whom, the kingdom should be ruled did not disappear during Henry's reign, however, and were a constant source of difficulty for him.

Henry, therefore, was far less fortunate than his French counterpart in respect of both his family environment and the internal politics of the kingdom he inherited. The make-up of his royal court changed frequently depending on quarrels and differences in opinion. Henry was rarely able to enforce his will against others; the arbitrary nature of John's reign had made many people in England wary of a king overriding their perceived rights. Several historians have suggested that Henry was not a strong king: Ralph V. Turner described his 'weakness'; David Carpenter argued that Henry was constantly in need of support, and also that he displayed a 'lack of real power and ability'; Suzanne Lewis viewed his personal piety as being 'shaped by popular fashion.'[13]

These different political situations may have had an effect on the kings' religious patronage, and on the way in which they demonstrated their public piety. There were perhaps differing degrees of agency within the long-held expectations of royal patronage and practice of piety. With the authority of the French king now established in the old ducal domain of Normandy, and Louis' brothers controlling the extensive regions of Poitiers, Angers, Toulouse and Provence, Louis enjoyed the freedom of choosing his own spiritual advisors. He did not need to rely upon the support of religious houses and the established Church in the way that Henry was forced to. Although there was some evident continuity in Henry's public religiosity, the fluctuations of his

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[10] Ridgeway, 'Valence, William de, earl of Pembroke (d. 1296)',
[11] H. W. Ridgeway, 'Henry III (1207-1272)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12950>, (accessed 12 December 2016).
[12] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, 7 vols., (London: Longman, 1872-83), ii, 647-8.
[13] Ralph V. Turner, *The King and his Courts : the Role of John and Henry III in the Administration of Justice, 1199-1240*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1968), 333; D. A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: the Origins of the Cult', *The English Historical Review,* 122 (Sept. 2007), 865-91, (891); Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings Henry III and Louis IX', (29); Suzanne Lewis, 'Henry III and the Gothic Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey: the Problematics of Context', *Traditio,* Vol. 50 (1995), 129-72, (145-6).

court caused a frequent shift in the balance of royal support, and also of those people and institutions upon whom he was obliged to bestow favours for political pragmatism, rather than according to his own spiritual beliefs.

Leprosy

Leprosy is now usually called Hansen's Disease, after the nineteenth-century Norwegian microbiologist who identified the pathogen responsible for its transmission. There are two forms of leprosy: tuberculoid leprosy causes localised discoloured lesions, and the body's attempts to fight the disease can result in nerve damage, leading in turn to loss of feeling in the body's extremities, with drying of the skin, infections and eventual loss, or reshaping, of fingers and toes.[14] This form of the disease can eventually disappear without treatment, however individuals may remain susceptible to secondary infections.

Symptoms of the second form, lepromatous leprosy, include nerve and tissue damage, resulting in ulcers, thickening of the skin, and a change in facial appearance, such as damage to the mouth, nose and the eyes, with consequent difficulties of speaking and eating. The disease can also affect the bone marrow, weakening the skeletal frame. Individuals affected with this form of leprosy are highly prone to secondary infections, which are far more likely to be a cause of death than the leprosy itself.[15] However, if a sufferer is able to keep their wounds clean and dressed, either at home or in a hospital environment, they may live for many years with the disease. Even today, the exact manner in which leprosy is spread is not known, although it is thought that the most likely method of contagion is airborne.[16] It is most likely to be through the respiratory system, by coughing and sneezing.[17]

The two different forms of the disease, and the variety of symptoms presented by each, meant that in the Middle Ages, accurate diagnosis, particularly in the early stages, was difficult even for those familiar with symptoms. Other conditions such as psoriasis, eczema and syphilis may have presented many of the same changes in appearance. The disease appeared across all sections of the population, from the aristocracy to peasants. Research in the north of France indicates that until 1550 all social classes there were affected, but after this date, it was principally the poorer classes who suffered.[18] This was probably due to their more cramped living conditions, enabling

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[14] Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 2.
[15] Ibid., 3.
[16] World Health Organization, 'Transmission of Leprosy', *Leprosy Elimination*, <http://www.who.int/lep/transmission/en/>, (accessed 29 April 2016).
[17] Piers D. Mitchell, 'The Myth of the Spread of Leprosy with the Crusades', in *The Past and Present of Leprosy : archaeological, historical, paleopathological and clinical approaches,* ed. by C.A. Roberts, M.E. Lewis, and K. Manchester, (Oxford: BAR International Series, 2002), 170-77, (171).
[18] Albert Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries du Pas-de-Calais : (Xe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Mémoires de la Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, (Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1972), 167.

the easier spread of an airborne disease. It is probable that many individuals who were called lepers during the thirteenth century were not suffering what we would now identify as Hansen's Disease. In this thesis I will not attempt to diagnose these individuals. That they were called lepers by contemporaries is the important factor, due to the social and cultural repercussions that were attached to such a label.

Biblical leprosy

What distinguished leprosy from other diseases were its biblical connotations of immorality and spirituality. The lengthiest discussion of leprosy in the Old Testament is chapters 13 and 14 of Leviticus. This part of the Bible, which is concerned with the law, ordered that anyone declared to be leprous was unclean, and should 'dwell alone without the camp' (Leviticus 13:46). This text was cited in the twelfth-century regulations from the leper-house of St Julian at St Alban's, justifying the lepers' removal from society:

> Since amongst all infirmities the disease of leprosy is held in contempt, those who are struck down with such a disease ought to show themselves only at special times and places, and in their manner and their dress more contemptible and humble than other men. As the Lord says in Leviticus 'Whosoever is disfigured with leprosy should wear his clothes open, his head bare, his mouth covered with a cloth and call out that he is unclean and contaminated; and when he is leprous and unclean he is to dwell alone without the camp.'[19]

The history of translations of medical texts, however, suggest that the descriptions in Leviticus did not originally apply to the condition now known as Hansen's Disease – or at least, not specifically to those with leprosy.[20] The Hebrew word used in Leviticus, *tsara'at*, was imprecisely defined in Old Testament law as a non-life threatening skin condition, perhaps similar to psoriasis or eczema.[21] The translation of the Septuagint from Hebrew into Greek, in the second century BC, used another vague term, *lepra*. Used by Hippocrates, this term was also applied to a number of other benign skin conditions.

Hansen's Disease was recognised by the Greeks and Romans in the first and second centuries AD, and described in three different stages, the most severe of which was *elephantiasis*. Before the Middle Ages, there was thus a recognised difference between the superficial ailments described under the umbrella term of *lepra*, and the incurable, disfiguring *elephantiasis*.[22]

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[19] Peter Richards, *The Medieval Leper and his Northern Heirs*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1977), 131.
[20] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 73.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Luke Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine : A Malady of the Whole Body*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 87.

Muslim scholars identified four sub-types of leprosy, based on the Hippocratic theory of the four natural humours – blood, yellow bile, black bile, phlegm.[23] Their translation of the variant of leprosy caused by an excess of black bile was *elephancia.* However, Constantine the African, a Benedictine monk at Monte Cassino who translated an Arabic treatise on leprosy into Latin in the eleventh century, contributed to a confusion in the terminology. The original treatise, Luke Demaitre has proposed, was probably written around the turn of the millennium in Cairo, by Ibn al-Jazzār. Although Constantine named his translation as *Liber de Elephancia*, two manuscript copies instead used the term *lepra*.[24] The confusing labelling of the two conditions continued, and the ambiguity meant that the term previously used to describe a superficial skin condition now became associated with a chronic, disfiguring illness, with additional moral implications.[25]

The book of Leviticus includes God's detailed instructions to Moses and Aaron, about how to deal with men in whom leprosy appears. The biblical descriptions of leprosy vary from discoloured, or blistered, skin; leprosy below the skin; shining whiteness; warnings of confusion with ulcers or burns. Those with suspected, but not confirmed, leprosy, were to be shut up by the priest for seven days, after which they would be reassessed. If the whiteness has decreased, or has not spread, he 'shall be clean.' But if the whiteness covers all the skin, the man will be clean, because it is 'all turned to whiteness'. But if 'live flesh' should appear with the whiteness he will be 'unclean'. The final passages discuss the process for judging whether or not a garment, or anything made from a skin, is leprous; if it has white or red spots it shall be shut up for seven days, and if found to be unclean, should be burnt in the fire (Leviticus 13:47-59).

The following chapter of Leviticus describes what should be done in the case of a house being infected with leprosy; how the household garments, and clothes of anyone who has slept in the house, should be cleansed (Leviticus 14:1-56). Houses, like men and clothes, were deemed to have physical symptoms – spots which may reappear after walls have been scraped down and re-plastered with fresh earth. It is generally now agreed that the *tsara'at* described in relation to inanimate objects was in fact a form of 'fungal infestation', which could obviously in turn affect the health of the household's residents.[26]

The symptoms described in relation to a person's skin are far more reminiscent of ailments such as vitiligo or psoriasis than Hansen's Disease. But nowhere is it suggested that these 'lepers' are sick. The leprosy described here is thus a form of impurity, not a physical disease in the sense that we would understand. Further Old Testament references to leprosy conferred upon the

[23] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 75; Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 178.
[24] Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 87.
[25] Michael Dols, 'Leprosy in Medieval Arabic Medicine', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* 34.3 (1979), 314-33, (326); Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 76.
[26] Elinor Lieber, 'Old Testament "Leprosy", Contagion and Sin', in *Contagion : Perspectives from Pre-modern Societies,* ed. by L.I. Conrad and D. Wujastyk, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 99-136, (104).

disease moral implications which were to have long-standing repercussions. In these instances, sufferers are shown to have contracted leprosy through the exhibition of greed, arrogance and doubt. Physical symptoms were external manifestations of internal impurity. In the Book of Kings, Naaman, the commander of the army of the king of Syria, took the advice of Elisha and travelled to Israel, where he immersed himself seven times in the River Jordan in order for his flesh to be cleansed (4 Kings 5:14). How Naaman contracted leprosy in the first place is not specified, but this passage shows leprosy (*lepra*) to be 'curable' following a form of ritual cleansing, acting as a precursor to the Christian practice of baptism as a means of achieving spiritual cleanliness. Gehazi, Elisha's servant, contracted the disease through greed. Naaman offered money to Elisha in return for the cure; Elisha refused. Gehazi followed Naaman and lied in order to procure silver and clothing (4 Kings 5:1-23). Elisha consequently decreed to Gehazi that '"the leprosy of Naaman shall also stick to thee, and to thy seed forever". And he went out from him a leper as white as snow' (*Et egressus est ab eo leprosus quasi nix'*) (4 Kings 5:27).

The Second Book of Chronicles includes the story of King Uzziah of Judah, whose pride led him to burn incense in the church, a duty reserved for priests. He was called upon by a large group of priests to cease burning incense; but when he became angry and threatened these priests:

> … there rose a leprosy in his forehead before the priests, in the house of the Lord at the altar of incense. And Azarias the high priest, and all the rest of the priests looked upon him, and saw the leprosy (*lepra*) in his forehead, and they made haste to thrust him out. Yea himself also being frightened, hasted to go out, because he had quickly felt the stroke of the Lord. (2 Chronicles 26:19-21)

Uzziah's pride caused him to remain leprous until his death, with his son ruling in his stead.

Another instance of leprosy as punishment appears in the story of Miriam, the sister of Moses. Miriam angered the Lord after speaking against her brother; after the Lord went away: [27]

> The cloud also that was over the tabernacle departed: and behold Mary appeared white as snow with a leprosy (*Maria apparuit candens lepra quasi nix*). And when Aaron had looked on her, and saw her all covered with leprosy, he said to Moses: I beseech thee, my lord, lay not upon us this sin, which we have foolishly committed: Let her not be as one dead, and as an abortive that is cast forth from the mother's womb. Lo, now one half of her flesh is consumed with the leprosy. And Moses cried to the Lord, saying O God, I beseech thee heal her. And the Lord answered him: If her father had spitten upon her face, ought she not to have been ashamed for seven days at least? Let her be separated

[27] The Douay-Rheims Bible translates *Mariam* as Mary, although Miriam is a more widely used name for Moses and Aaron's sister.

> seven days without the camp, and afterwards she shall be called again. Mary therefore was put out of the camp seven days: and the people moved not from that place until Mary was called again. (Numbers 12:9-15)

Unlike Gehazi and Uzziah, Miriam's affliction was temporary – she was 'put out of the camp' for seven days, but readmitted after prayers by Aaron. The text does not suggest that she received any form of physical 'cure', but does suggest leprosy was a form of living death that could be healed with faith – a notion perpetuated by theologians such as Hugh of Saint-Victor, a canon at the abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris (died 1141), who stated that lepers, because of their sins, should be segregated spiritually from the faithful.[28]

These excerpts illustrate the explicit relationship between leprosy and sin. Henry and Louis would have been familiar with these examples, and thus perhaps harboured a fear of contracting disease through the exhibition of arrogance or greed. The example of Uzziah was given by Thomas Becket to King Henry II, in a letter written in 1166. Cautioning Henry against his interference into spiritual affairs of the church, Becket warned Henry about Uzziah's arrogance, burning incense which was 'a duty which did not belong to his office, but to that of the priests. And for that he was struck by the Lord with leprosy and cast out of the Lord's Temple…'[29] Around the same time, the English writer, and later bishop of Chartres, John of Salisbury described pride and 'passionate desire' as a 'form of leprosy, indeed, which is more incurable than any other sort of leprosy. Is one ignorant of whether passionate desire is a leprosy? Consult Gehazi… Certainly passionate desire is a wretched and pitiful leprosy… Whoever, therefore, does not temper his self-love may fear leprosy…'[30]

The New Testament portrayed leprosy in a very different light; Christ's dismissal of the earlier Hebrew teachings meant that leprosy was no longer to be condemned as a symbol of immorality. Lepers served instead as a means by which Christ, through his healing, was able to demonstrate his holiness, and thus the power of the Christian faith. Jesus sent his apostles out to the 'lost sheep of the house of Israel', to 'Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils' (Matthew 10:5). Lepers were clearly marked as distinct from other 'sick' members of society. In the New Testament, leprosy is equated with the old faith – with Judaism, and therefore, a form of heresy – rejection of the Christian doctrine, and 'sufferers' were to be loved in order to bring

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[28] Hugh of Saint-Victor. 'Allegoriæ in Evangelia', in *PL*, 221 vols., clxxv (1879), cols.751-924, (col.790). *'Quicunque modo est a coetu sanctorum segregatus per culpam'.*

[29] *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162-1170*, ed. and trans. by A. Duggan, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), i, 335.

[30] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus : of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. and trans. by C.J. Nederman, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 17.

them into the Christian Church. This is epitomised in Christ's healing of ten lepers as recounted in Luke:

> And it came to pass, as he was going to Jerusalem, he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee. And as he entered into a certain town, there met him ten men that were lepers, who stood afar off; And lifted up their voice, saying: Jesus, master, have mercy on us. Whom when he saw, he said: Go, shew yourselves to the priests. And it came to pass, as they went, they were made clean. And one of them, when he saw that he was made clean, went back, with a loud voice glorifying God. And he fell on his face before his feet, giving thanks: and this was a Samaritan. And Jesus answering, said, Were not ten made clean? and where are the nine? There is no one found to return and give glory to God, but this stranger. And he said to him: Arise, go thy way; for thy faith hath made thee whole. (Luke 17:11-19)

Hugh of Saint-Victor specifically equated leprosy with mortal sin, which could only be cured by the Lord; venial sins resulted in scabies, but no spiritual segregation, as was caused by the sin of leprosy.[31] The healing of lepers by Jesus signified not freedom from disease, but the miracle of conversion, and the welcoming into the body of the faithful.[32] The process of conversion from Judaism to Christianity was actively encouraged by both Henry and Louis, who were supported in this by the mendicant friars. In 1232, Henry founded the *Domus Conversorum* in London, providing accommodation and instruction in the Catholic faith to converted Jews.[33] Louis, probably influenced by Blanche, evinced real hostility to Jews and could not bear to look at them, feeling so strongly about them that, according to William of Chartres, he considered the money they earned from usury to be 'poison'.[34]

Patristic biblical exegesis continued to emphasise this view of leprosy. Writing in the late fourth or early fifth century, St Jerome (died 420) described leprosy as a form of doctrinal sin. By refusing to acknowledge the truth of the Christian faith, heretics and Jews were a danger to Christian society, the danger of moral infection being a threat to the unity of God. In the sixth or seventh century, Isidore of Seville, whose texts continued to influence theologians for centuries, understood the contagion of the plague to be medical, but leprosy to be medical and

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[31] Hugh of Saint-Victor. 'Allegoriæ in Evangelia', (col.790).
[32] François-Olivier Touati, *Maladie et société au Moyen âge: la lèpre, les lépreux et les léproseries dans la province ecclésiastique de Sens jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle*, Bibliothèque du Moyen âge, (Paris Bruxelles: De Boeck Université, 1998), 104-5.
[33] *CCR, 1231-34*, 37; William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum : a history of the abbies and other monasteries, hospitals, frieries, and cathedral and collegiate churches, with their dependencies, in England and Wales; also of all such Scotch, Irish and French monasteries, as were in manner connected with religious houses in England*, 6 vols., (London: Bohn, 1817-30), vi, 683.
[34] William of Chartres. 'Vita et actibus', in *RHF*, xx (1840), 28-44, (34). *'Judaeos autem Deo et hominibus odibiles abominabatur in tantum, quod eos videre not poterat, nec aliquid de bonis eorum in usus suos converti volebat, asserens se nolle eorum retinere venenum, nec eos exercere usuras…'*

metaphorical, although, as has been suggested, it is perhaps misguided to distinguish between the two.[35] Isidore made a clear distinction between leprosy and elephantiasis.[36]

St Ambrose (died 397) discussed Naaman's healing in *De mysteriis*; Ambrose explained that Naaman, although doubtful about Elisha's advice of bathing himself in the River Jordan, went ahead anyway on advice of servers, at which point he was 'purified immediately'; he thus realised that it was not the water that purified each person, but grace.[37] St Augustine (died 430), who was influenced by Ambrose, described leprosy in his text *Quaestionum Evangeliorum*, as 'a false doctrine that the good teacher can cleanse.'[38] There was in this period a continued repetition of the association of leprosy with sin and heresy, but 'curable' through a process of spiritual purification.

St Jerome influenced later theologians and intellectuals with his production of the Latin vulgate Bible, translated from Hebrew. In the book of Isaiah, Jerome, describing Christ's abjection and rejection, wrote of the Messiah: 'we have thought of him as a leper, and as one struck and afflicted by God. But he was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his bruises we are healed' (Isaiah 53:4-5).[39] The original Greek text did not refer to leprosy, only the 'likeness of sinful flesh'. Jerome made the association between sin and physical deformity more specific by associating sin with a particular disease. He thus further differentiated leprosy from other diseases within what Piera Borradori has described as a 'hypothetical spiritual hierarchy'.[40] The association of a heretical disease with Christ centred around Christ's physical pain and rejection at the time of his crucifixion. The suffering of lepers was compared to the pain endured by Christ, and the implication, certainly in the thirteenth century, was that like Christ, their suffering served a spiritual purpose which benefited others.

The association of leprosy and sin or heresy continued throughout the Middle Ages. Gregory the Great (died 604), recording the miracles of St Benedict, reported that a boy had been healed of leprosy by 'a man of God', a miracle redolent of the New Testament, in which lepers were

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[35] Justin K. Stearns, 'Infectious Ideas : Contagion in Medieval Islamic and Christian Thought', (unpublished PhD Thesis, Princeton University, 2011), 60.
[36] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and trans. by S.A. Barney, and others, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 112-3 (IV.viii.7-12).
[37] Ambrose of Milan, *Des sacrements ; Des mystères*, Sources chrétiennes, Nouv. edn., (Paris: Cerf, 1959), 164. *'... mundatusque ilico intellexit non aquarum esse quod unusquisque mundatur, sed gratiae.'*
[38] St Augustine. 'Quæstionum Evangeliorum', in *PL*, 221 vols., xxxv (1902), cols.1321-64, (col.1354). *'... puto significare lepram falsam esse doctrinam, quam bonus præceptor abstergit.'*
[39] *'Nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum, et percussum a Deo, et humiliatum. Ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, attritus est propter scelera nostra'*; Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 61.
[40] Ibid.; Piera Borradori, *Mourir au monde : les lépreux dans le pays de Vaud, XIIIe-XVIIe siècle*, Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médiévale, (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1992), 8.

advised to visit a priest.[41] Separately, in his *Moralium Libri*, he explained that 'lepers thus indicate heretics, because when corrupt virtues are mixed together, stains defile the healthy pigment.'[42] Those who are 'wholesome' inside do not show signs of illness.[43] Leprosy was thus intricately linked to morality; external blemishes represented internal impurity. Later biblical exegesis repeated this, such as that by Bede, who in his homilies stated that the absurdities of lepers could not be understood; not having knowledge of the true faith, they were susceptible to various doctrines of error.[44]

An increased prevalence of leprosy?

Evidence for leper-houses in England and France can be found from the late eleventh century onwards, and the numbers of houses grew in both countries throughout the following 200 years. At least one strain of leprosy had been in England since the fifth or sixth century; however there appears to have been an increase after the late eleventh century, which continued for at least 200 years.[45] Piers D. Mitchell has argued against any epidemic, and while acknowledging that a few people travelling back from the Latin East during this period may have contracted leprosy and transmitted it, he refutes the idea that returning crusaders were responsible for introducing the disease to Europe.[46] Archaeologists who have analysed a number of skeletons with leprosy found in East Anglia have posited that the numbers there could be linked to Anglo-Saxon and Viking trade and population movement.[47]

The first documented house in England was at Harbledown, near Canterbury, founded by Archbishop Lanfranc, and Carole Rawcliffe has calculated that 320 houses were founded in England before 1320.[48] From the late thirteenth century onwards, some larger leper houses began to decline, and fewer lepers were reported as being resident. A rapid decline occurred in

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[41] Gregory the Great. 'Prolegomena S. P. Benedicti', in *PL*, 221 vols., lxvi (1859), cols.125-214, (col.184). *'Sed neque hoc silendum puto, quod illustri viro Antonio narrante cognovi, qui aiebat patris sui puerum morbo elephantino fuisse correptum, ita ut jam pilis cadentibus cutis intumesceret, atque increscentem saniem occultare non posset. Qui ad virum Dei ab eodem patre ejus missus est, et saluti pristinæ sub omni celeritate restitutus.'*

[42] Gregory the Great. 'Moralium Libri', in *PL*, 221 vols., lxxv (1879), cols.509-1162, (col.694). *'Leprosi itaque hereticos exprimunt, quia dum rectis prava permiscent, colorem sanum maculis aspergunt.'*

[43] Gregory the Great. 'Homiliæ XL in Evangelia', in *PL*, 221 vols., lxxvi (1878), cols.1075-312, (col.1091). *'Aegrotanti autem fideli socio exhibenda foris signa non fuerant qui salubriter intus vivebat.'*

[44] Bede. 'Homiliæ XL in Evangelia', in *PL*, 221 vols., lxxxvi (1862), cols.267-516, (col.296). *'Leprosi non absurde intelligi possunt, qui scientiam verae fidei non habentes varias doctrinas prolitentur erroris. '*

[45] Sarah A. Inskip, and others. 'Osteological, Biomolecular and Geochemical Examination of an Early Anglo-Saxon Case of Lepromatous Leprosy', *PLOSOne,* 10.5 (2015). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0124282>, [accessed 6 March 2015].

[46] Mitchell, 'Myth', (173).

[47] Sarah Inskip, and others. 'Leprosy in pre-Norman Suffolk, UK: biomolecular and geochemical analysis of the woman from Hoxne', *Journal of Medical Microbiology,* 66.11 (2017), 1640-49. <http://jmm.microbiologyresearch.org/content/journal/jmm/10.1099/jmm.0.000606>, [accessed 13 March 2018].

[48] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 106.

the house at Gournay-en-Bray (Seine-Maritime) for example, where in 1264, Eudes Rigaud, the Archbishop of Rouen, reported the presence of 12 lepers, but in 1268 only one remained.[49] The course of Hansen's Disease is difficult, if not impossible, to trace, however the increased provision of care offers some suggestion that it did spread during this period. There was certainly a contemporary belief that this was so; a charter from Saint-Omer in 1106 commented on the growth of the disease locally.[50] Archaeological excavations, such as the work carried out on the site of the leper-house of St Mary Magdalene in Winchester since 2007 has also proven the existence of Hansen's Disease, with the disease having been found in over 85% of the skeletons in the cemetery there.[51]

The pattern of foundations of leper-houses is almost identical to that of 'normal' hospitals, as well as other religious houses, particularly abbeys and priories, suggesting instead a wider change in attitudes towards social care for the sick and the poor.[52] Whether or not the residents in these leper-houses suffered from what we would understand as Hansen's Disease is not important; what matters is that their contemporaries believed that they did and treated them accordingly. This can be linked also to the growing interest in both the physical suffering of Christ, to a rise in humanism and care for the individual, and more eschatological ideas about redemption and salvation.

Purgatory

The concept of purgatory, developed largely from the teachings of St Augustine, was thought of as both a concept of trial and purgation for one's sins, and also a 'space' which would be inhabited after death and before Heaven, by souls who were neither wholly evil nor wholly good.[53] Jacques Le Goff argued that it was Parisian scholars such as Peter Lombard and Peter Comestor who were the key individuals in the changing ideas about purgatory, particularly the latter who, Le Goff says, was the first to use *purgatorium* to refer to a 'geographical' space.[54] Barbara Newman has argued for its existence as a concept dating back to antiquity, and places Hildegard of Bingen, the twelfth-century mystic, as a central figure in the development of

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[49] Odo Rigaldus, *Regestrum Visitationum Archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. by T. Bonnin, (Rouen: A. Le Brument, 1852), 499. *'... in ipsa erant sex tam leprosi quam leprose, et septem sani, tam conversi quam converse.'*; ibid., 620. *'Invenimus quod ibi erat unicus leprosus.'*

[50] Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 301. *'Cum apud castellum sancti Audomari morbus leper in multis more inconsueto succresceret*...'

[51] Katie Tucker, 'A Blessed Punishment : Evidence for Leprosy at St Mary Magdalen, Winchester', *Purifier, soigner ou guérir ?*, Cérisy-la-Salle, 1-5 October 2014; Simon Roffey and Phil Marter, 'Excavations at the Medieval Leprosy Hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Winchester, 2008-2013', *Church Archaeology,* 16 (2014), 39-44.

[52] Edward J. Kealey, *Medieval Medicus : A Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine*, (Baltimore ; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 2.

[53] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death : Ritual and Representation*, (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 183-86.

[54] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, (London: Scolar Press, 1984), 157.

purgatory.[55] Newman defines purgatory as 'the condition of suffering, both punitive and redemptive, undergone by elect souls between the moment of death and their eventual admission to heaven.'[56] This definition provides a clear connection with leprosy, the sufferers of which were in a transitional state between being able to live life fully in society, and physical death. This applied particularly to lepers in leper-houses, but, as will be discussed below in relation to Louis IX, the importance of recognising the suffering of lepers extended to those begging in the street. The concept of purgatory was emphasised particularly in the early thirteenth century by Innocent III and, later, by popular preachers.[57] Sermons given to beguines in this period, for example, portrayed purgatory as 'God's prison'; a symbol of solidarity between the living and the dead; and as something that was closely related to the practice of penance.[58]

A less theoretical connection between leprosy and sin can be found in the *Historiae Ecclesiastica* written by Orderic Vitalis. Orderic was an English monk at the Benedictine abbey of Saint Evroul in Normandy, who died around 1142. An entry in this Anglo-Norman chronicle tells of a monk at Marmoutier, who developed leprosy after he prayed to God to be afflicted with the disease. As a youth, the monk had occupied himself in military exercises and in levity; later on, desiring redemption for his previous way of life, he 'humbly implored God to afflict his body with an incurable leprosy so that his soul might be cleaned from its foul sins.'[59] There is no reference to purgatory, but there is a suggestion that the physical suffering caused by leprosy would be a purgatorial suffering, whereby the monk would be wholly, morally cleansed by the time of corporeal death.

The belief in spiritual leprosy, caused by sin, also persisted in theological texts into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Hugh of Saint-Victor wrote a commentary on Jesus' healing of ten lepers in the New Testament. He explicitly equated the lepers with people who live contrary to the Ten Commandments, and who polluted themselves with mortal sin. The leprosy could be healed, Hugh believed, through the act of vocal confession, through which an individual would receive divine grace.[60] In a more detailed commentary on the healing of leprosy, Hugh suggests that lepers include, amongst others, fornicators, concubines, those guilty of incest, adulterers, the greedy, usurers, false witnesses and perjurers; 'as long as a man is impious, he is inflicted

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[55] Barbara Newman, 'Hildegard of Bingen and the "Birth of Purgatory"', *Mystics Quarterly,* 19.3 (1993), 90-97, (91).
[56] Ibid., 90.
[57] Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 174; ibid., 298.
[58] Ibid., 319-20.
[59] Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. by M. Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts, 6 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), ii, 28-9. *'... monachus factus Deum suppliciter rogavit ut insanabilis leprae morbo in corpore foedaretur, quatinus a peccatorum sordibus in anima emundaretur.'*
[60] Hugh of Saint-Victor. 'Allegoriæ in Evangelia', (col.823). *'Decem leprosi significant eos, qui contra præcepta Decalogi vivunt, et diversis, et damnabilibus peccatis male agendo semetipsos polluunt.. per vocis confessionem, sanantur a lepra transactæ iniquitatis'*

with leprosy'.[61] This moral teaching extended into the thirteenth century, with Hugh of Saint-Victor's text *De institutione novitiorum*, written for monastic novices, being adopted by the Parisian mendicant orders.[62] In the later twelfth century, William of Canterbury, one of Thomas Becket's hagiographers, specified for his audience that just as the external symptoms of leprosy stained one's body, thus one's soul was also defiled.[63]

The suffering of Christ

From the eleventh century onwards, the humanity, and thus the physical body, of Christ, began to be emphasised. While His divinity was of course always central, the image of Christ became more complex. Giles Constable has traced the gradual shift from early Christianity through to the thirteenth century, highlighting the changing nature of depictions of Christ, and the form in which He was venerated. Early Christian texts emphasised Christ's 'superhuman' qualities; man made in the image of Christ imitated the Lord simply by 'being' rather than 'doing' anything in particular.[64] Iconography and texts from the Carolingian era offer models of Christ as king, and a leader – an exemplar for peace. He was often shown wearing a crown, and sometimes seated on a throne. This king was victorious, and thus served as a useful model for temporal kings with which they could reinforce their own authority following their anointment during the coronation ceremony.[65] Images of Christ on the cross became more common, however in these He was often still wearing a regal crown, and His suffering was not emphasised.[66] By the thirteenth century, though, images of the dead Christ on the cross, having been made to suffer physically, became more dominant than previous depictions of a 'victorious saviour'.[67] Emily Guerry's research suggests that representations of Christ as a judge, wearing the Crown of Thorns, were not seen before the 1240s.[68] Louis IX and Blanche of Castile's acquisition of the Crown of Thorns led to them building the magnificent Sainte-Chapelle in Paris as a reliquary 'dedicated to divine suffering.'[69]

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[61] Ibid., col.790. *'Quandiu autem homo est impius, tandiu est leprosus: quando vero justificatur, tunc mundatur.'*
[62] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 607.
[63] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, (canonized by Pope Alexander III, AD 1173)*, ed. by James Craigie Robertson and J. Brigstocke Sheppard, 7 vols., Rolls Series, (London: Longman, 1875-85), i, 333. *'Sicut enim exterior lepra corpora variando commaculat sic decor animarum sua lepra deturpatur.'*
[64] Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 148.
[65] Ibid., 160-1.
[66] Ibid., 164.
[67] Ibid., 181.
[68] Emily Guerry, 'New Reflections on the Lost Design of the Sainte-Chapelle Tympanum', *Capetian Sanctity*, University of Bristol, 15 March 2017.
[69] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 883.

Consideration of the needs of those who were sick formed part of the corporal works of mercy, which stemmed from Christ's teaching on the subject of the Last Judgement:

> For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in: Naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me. Then shall the just answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry, and fed thee; thirsty, and gave thee drink? And when did we see thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and covered thee? Or when did we see thee sick or in prison, and came to thee? And the king answering, shall say to them: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me. (Matthew 25:35-40)

The suffering of the poor and the sick was thus equated with the suffering of Christ, and Christians were expected to relieve such suffering by feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, providing shelter to strangers, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, visiting the imprisoned, and burying the dead. Those who failed in this duty would be damned (Matthew 25:41-45). The giving of alms to the sick and the poor, along with religious observance, was believed to shorten the period a soul spent in purgatory.[70]

The thirteenth century also saw an increased interest in the body of Christ and the adoption by the Church of the Feast of the Holy Blood, also called the Feast of Corpus Christi.[71] Theological debate that had been ongoing for many centuries culminated in the approval of this feast, through the influence of scholarship at the University of Paris, the authority of Pope Innocent III, and the theological ideas proposed by Juliana of Cornillon, in Liège, later adopted by Thomas Aquinas. Although the feast, founded officially by the papacy in 1264, was not widely celebrated until the fourteenth century, it was representative of a trend in religiosity that had been developing since the twelfth century, with an increased devotion to the host as Christ's body.[72]

One of Henry III's defining religious acts was the acquisition of the Holy Blood relic for Westminster Abbey. The relic was given to Henry by the Patriarch of Jerusalem as an attempt (in vain, as it transpired) to persuade him to provide assistance in the form of crusade.[73] Although the authenticity of the blood was doubted, and its hoped-for role in the creation of a cult centre at Westminster failed, the appearance of a relic of Christ's body is typical of this period. Henry's

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[70] Rawcliffe, *Medicine*, 5.
[71] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi : the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 168.
[72] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast : the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1987), 53-4.
[73] Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood : King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 23.

nephew, Edmund, acquired a more successful blood relic for his own Cistercian foundation at Hailes.[74]

Chapter outlines

This thesis will begin by providing an overview of the place of lepers and leprosy in the religious milieu in England and in France. Because leprosy was understood to be both a physical and a spiritual affliction, the foundation and administration of leper-houses by religious orders across England and France bestowed upon leprous inmates of these houses a particular religious status not accorded to other members of the laity. With this status came a code of conduct akin to that of lay brothers in monasteries. Lepers who did not enter a leper-house, however, were not bound to such restrictions. The second chapter will address ways in which secular communities dealt with lepers, using medical, legal, and some literary evidence to demonstrate their presence and status in society, and to show how tolerance from others depended on the extent of the lepers' disease. These two chapters will set the context for Henry's and Louis' meetings with lepers, as well as for the evidence of their patronage and alms-giving to both leper-houses and individual lepers.

The third chapter provides an overview of the traditional connection between kingship and sickness, and briefly examines the understandings of the body politic and the king's duty to those lower down the 'body'. This naturally includes the phenomenon of the royal touch, and its tradition in both kingdoms with a fundamental connection to the anointing of the coronation process. This chapter also considers the intellectual and religious environments of the French and English courts, and places the kings' outward religious devotion into these contexts.

The fourth chapter looks in detail at Henry's and Louis' meetings with lepers. This will concentrate principally on Louis, as most evidence for this type of interaction is found in the French king's hagiographies. The king's relationship with lepers will be analysed in the context of both the kings' and the lepers' connections to Christ. This complex theological hierarchy is demonstrated in the descriptions of the kings' gestures and body language. This chapter will also look at the language used to describe the symptoms of leprosy in the context of Louis' sanctity. In addition, it will highlight the parallels between the two kings; despite the imbalanced quantity of source material, it appears Henry and Louis were not very different in their approaches to lepers. The final three chapters concentrate on the kings' patronage, starting with a consideration of the wider concept of patronage and the place and the duty of the monarchy as part of this practice, including a brief survey of the patronage of both kings' predecessors since the early twelfth century. Henry and Louis are then discussed individually for their own patterns

[74] Ibid., 79.

of patronage to leper-houses and lepers, using evidence drawn from charters, cartularies, royal accounts and hagiographies.

Methodology and Sources

One of the initial motivations behind this topic of study was to attempt a direct and personal comparison between Henry and Louis. The numerous similarities and connections between them have the potential to offer insights into the differences between the two monarchs. The ability to make such a comparison is slightly limited due to a marked difference in the nature of surviving source material available from each of their reigns; however judicious use of these sources has allowed for interesting assessments of their patronage, of their perceptions of leprosy as a disease, and their attitudes towards individual lepers.

The English chancery records offer a wealth of information on all aspects of Henry's reign, and are a vital source for a study of Henry's patronage. The chancery usually followed the king as he travelled around the country, so the charters, grants and letters recorded in these rolls were issued at various placed depending on the king's itinerary.[75] Letters were authorised with the king's seal.[76] The Calendar of Patent Rolls (CPR), consists of grants made by letters patent, issued to individuals or institutions. In the case of leper-houses these were almost always letters of protection. More important grants were issued in charter form, and enrolled in the Charter Rolls (CChR). The *Liberate* Rolls (CLR) recorded warrants for the issue of money; these warrants were made to the Treasurer and Chamberlains, holders of the keys of the Treasury. The Close Rolls (CLR) recorded all letters close issued by the crown, and the Fine Rolls (CFR) recorded promises of money to the crown in return for concessions and favours. This form of administrative record keeping began in earnest in the early thirteenth century. The Close, Patent and Fine Rolls are complete for the whole of Henry's reign, while the Charter and *Liberate* Rolls start in 1226. As Henry did not begin his personal rule until 1227, the absence of some records from the early years of his reign is not highly significant. The wealth of information in these sources allows for patterns of royal patronage to be quantified for the course of Henry's reign. Further insight for this period can be found in chronicle sources, the most comprehensive of which is Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*. Paris, a Benedictine monk at St Albans Abbey, was not a wholly objective chronicler. He clearly disapproved of behaviour of the mendicants, disagreed with some policies

[75] David Carpenter, David Crook, and Louise J. Wilkinson, 'Introduction', in *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 1-6.
[76] David Carpenter, 'The English Royal Chancery in the Thirteenth Century', in *English Government in the Thirteenth Century,* ed. by A. Jobson, (Woodbridge; Rochester, NY: National Archives; Boydell Press, 2004), 49-69, (49).

of the papacy, and appeared to prefer Louis IX to Henry III, but his account is nevertheless a rich source for the political and social history of this period.[77]

In France, by contrast, very little has survived from the royal household accounts and, of the extant evidence, the accounts for only one year from the period after the death of Blanche of Castile. Before this date, as will be argued in Chapter 7, it may not be possible to differentiate between Louis' patronage and alms-giving and that of his mother. The lack of chronicles from France is balanced out, albeit unevenly, by hagiographies and biographies of the king written after his death. The nature of these texts was obviously dictated by the start of the canonisation process, and, as such, offers a portrait of a saintly man at the very least, and do not provide the more 'human' aspect provided by the English chroniclers about their own king.

The first hagiography to be written after Louis' death was by his confessor, the Dominican friar Geoffrey of Beaulieu, who composed the *Vita sancti Ludovici*.[78] Geoffrey was asked by Pope Gregory X to write this text immediately after the king's death, in anticipation of Louis' canonisation. Gregory asked Geoffrey to 'inform him as soon as possible of the manner in which he behaved in all matters and each of his acts and on the practice of religious matters.'[79] After Geoffrey's death a few years later, Louis' chaplain, William of Chartres, another Dominican, was asked to continue the confessor's work, and subsequently produced *De vita et actibus inclytae recordationis regis francorum ludovici et de miraculis*.[80] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean Field have described William's *Vita* as having been 'self-consciously constructed… as an addendum to Geoffrey's', but also, given the difference in the two men's positions and therefore their relationship with the king, William's text was also 'less concerned with spiritual unburdenings.'[81]

A later text was produced by William of Nangis in the late thirteenth century, prior to the canonisation of 1297. William was a monk at the abbey of Saint-Denis, and his *Gesta Sancti Ludovici* has been praised by Le Goff as being an 'objective' account of the king's life and deeds.[82] Another text, the *Gesta Sancti Ludovici Noni*, was written by a monk at Saint-Denis; nothing is known of the monk himself, but this text was also completed by 1297. The monk's situation at Saint-Denis suggests that he may have known the king, perhaps witnessed some of the king's acts of charity towards the poor, or at least heard about them from those who had. The *Gesta*

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[77] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*.
[78] Geoffrey de Beaulieu. 'Vita', in *RHF*, xx (1840), 1-27.
[79] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 333.
[80] William of Chartres. 'Vita et actibus'.
[81] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean L. Field, 'Introduction', in *The Sanctity of Louis IX : early lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014), 1-57, (18-20).
[82] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 349-50.

repeats a lot of the information from previously-written hagiographies, but does include two anecdotes regarding Louis' meetings with lepers which are not present in the other accounts of Louis' life.[83]

After 1297, William of Saint-Pathus, a Franciscan friar who had been confessor to Louis' widow, Margaret, compiled the proceedings from the canonisation. Although William had probably never met Louis, he was asked to complete the text at the request of Louis' daughter, Blanche.[84] Rather than drawing on personal recollections, as Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres had done, William of Saint-Pathus based his text on the canonisation proceedings, to which he had access. Although the text survives only in a French translated manuscript, its resemblances to other sources shows it to be an accurate recording of the witnesses at the canonisation.

After William of Saint-Pathus, the next account of Louis' life to be produced was by Joinville. Joinville was a seneschal of Champagne, who had spent a considerable amount of time with Louis and his family, including travelling to the Holy Land with the king on crusade between 1248 and 1254. Written at the request of Louis' grand-daughter, Joan of Navarre and Champagne, wife of King Philip IV, Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* is more narrative than hagiographical, and is a far from objective account of Louis's life. It is, however, rich in anecdotes regarding the king's crusades, his family life and his religious outlook. Joinville recorded many conversations between himself and the king, some of which provide illuminating insights into the king's personality and relationships with those around him.[85]

I had anticipated at the outset of this research that archival research would be necessary; however it became clear very soon that abundant material regarding Henry and Louis has already been transcribed and published. I have not identified any manuscripts in archives that would have added significant value to the research for this thesis. It became apparent also that there was no requirement either for any archaeological research. Neither of these kings founded, or even provided significant sums for new building projects, for leper-houses. The lack of foundations or building work, however, is in itself useful, particularly in the context of royal patronage by each of their predecessors. This thesis does not place Henry's and Louis' patronage of lepers and leper-houses into a wider study of their religious patronage, but does provide some comparison with their ancestors. Their patronage towards hospitals and some religious orders will, however, be discussed where relevant to the evidence for lepers, or in the context of ideas about their individual piety.

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[83] 'Gesta Sancti Ludovici Noni'. in *RHF*, xx (1840), 45-57.
[84] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', in *RHF*, xx (1840), 58-121, (60).
[85] Joinville, *Vie*.

Historiography

This thesis encompasses a wide range of disciplines, all of which must be addressed in order to address the topic in full. It includes medical history; the role of the monarchy, both charitable and political; the image and expectations of rulers; patronage; and the ongoing development of religious orders, particularly the mendicant orders. Although this thesis focuses on leprosy, the medical aspects of the disease are not considered in detail. Instead, these many themes will be brought together to offer a new perspective within the context of thirteenth-century monarchy.

Any study of leprosy in medieval France must begin with François-Olivier Touati's 1995 book, *Maladie et société au Moyen Âge*.[86] Although his research covers only the province of Sens, the breadth of his study is incredibly impressive – by his own definition, an attempt at *histoire totale*, influenced by the Annales school of historians. Touati uses textual, archaeological, and topographical evidence to create a rich and complicated story of lepers in the province of Sens over the course of the middle ages. He places the disease in the context of social, religious and economic developments, echoing the arguments of earlier historians that the evolution of an illness can act as a reflection of the society in which it prevails. The changing attitude of a society towards the sufferers in its midst are necessarily shaped by a shifting environment, and regional and chronological variations result in a variety of experiences on the part of lepers.

Carole Rawcliffe reinforces this argument, stressing that attitudes to leprosy were rarely 'monolithic'.[87] In *Leprosy in Medieval England*, published in 2006, Rawcliffe uses an interdisciplinary approach to investigate medieval reactions to those believed to be lepers. Acknowledging the difficulty of diagnosis caused by similarities to other diseases and ambiguous translations of biblical and medical texts, Rawcliffe places the disease in a social and religious context, from which it is impossible to detach the process of diagnosis and treatment. In this book she demonstrates how perceptions of the disease changed over the course of the Middle Ages. Using medical texts, cartularies, statutes and legal documents, Rawcliffe demonstrates the complexity behind attitudes towards lepers, and the consequent difficulty in attempting to discern the motivation behind lay pious gestures towards sufferers. Rawcliffe describes the motivations behind foundations and donations as ranging 'from compassion to fear and self-promotion to humility.'[88] Although royal donations to leper-houses are discussed, the question of royal attitudes towards lepers is not directly addressed.

Rawcliffe identifies key changes in perceptions over the course of the centuries: increased identification with the suffering of Christ; changes in the fashion of lay piety; and, later, the

[86] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 16.
[87] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 110.
[88] Ibid., 357.

impact of the Black Death, all meant that attitudes were constantly shifting, both temporally and geographically.[89] The changing understanding of the disease is discussed; Rawcliffe demonstrates the evolution of attitudes in England over the course of the thirteenth century, with leper-houses requiring increased protection due to a difficult economic climate, and growing theories of contagion from 1250 onwards contributing to the desire to isolate sufferers.[90] The book also argues that sweeping generalisations must not be made - and particularly not in comparing England and France, despite their proximity and a great deal of shared history. Differences are evident in diagnosis, law and provision of care. The superiority of the medical universities in France over Oxford and Cambridge ensured a greater professionalism amongst medics; however the link between leprosy and heresy was far more apparent in France due to the rise of Catharism in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

Both Rawcliffe and Touati successfully demolish nineteenth- and early twentieth-century conceptions of medieval leprosy - lepers forcibly ostracised from society, shunned with horror and fear by their contemporaries. Although the horror remained, as will be shown throughout this thesis, lepers were not rejected from society as a matter of course. This assumption prevailed until very recently - the argument in Françoise Bériac's book, *Histoire des lépreux au Moyen Âge: une société d'exclus*, published in 1988, is evident from the title alone.[91] Despite overwhelming evidence, Bériac perpetuates the myth of the social outcast. A similar conclusion was drawn by Saul Brody's analysis of leprosy as depicted in medieval literature, which neglected to consider the more subtle conclusions to be drawn from cartularies and chronicles, but which however is of some use in its portrayal of social attitudes.[92] As this thesis will demonstrate, lepers were frequently present in towns, and their removal to a leper-house was a considered process – often a voluntary one. Nevertheless, there remained a horror at their appearance, and other people would commonly try to avoid them, especially if their disease had progressed to the more advanced stages.

Although the existence of so many variables mean that a comparison between practices in England and those in France may be challenging, Touati argues that such a study still needs to be done, and this thesis aims to rise to this challenge. Most published research on the topic of medieval leprosy in recent decades has tended to be based on localised studies, and in some cases, tending towards a narrower disciplinary approach than that adopted by Touati and Rawcliffe. Exceptions to this include Max Satchell's unpublished thesis, which traces the

[89] Ibid., 61; ibid., 347; ibid., 281-2.
[90] Ibid., 349.
[91] Françoise Bériac, *Histoire des lépreux au Moyen Âge : une société d'exclus*, (Paris: Imago, 1988).
[92] Saul Nathaniel Brody, *The Disease of the Soul : Leprosy in Medieval Literature*, (Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 1974).

appearance of leper-houses throughout England up to the middle of the thirteenth century, and includes a very useful gazetteer of known English leper-houses and their origins.[93]

Stephen Werronen's 2014 article on the leper-house of St Mary Magdalene in York demonstrated the way in which a particular leper-house was able to adapt following a decline in the number of local lepers.[94] The leper-house at Southampton has been the focus of a study using both documentary and archaeological evidence.[95] In Winchester, on-going excavations of the site of the leper-house have resulted in a number of articles based on archaeological and osteo-archaeological evidence.[96] Further excavation in the south of England has been reported in regard to skeletons unearthed at the leper-house at Chichester.[97] David Marcombe has approached attitudes towards the disease by studying the establishment and purpose of the military Order of St Lazarus in England.[98]

In France, studies have been made of specific leper-houses, most notably in Normandy, due to the chance of surviving documentation and archaeological remains. Damien Jeanne's article, '*Le roi charitable. Les politiques royales envers les établissements d'assistance de la Normandie centrale et occidentale, XIIIe–XVe siècle*', is a specific study of royal gifts to leper-houses in Normandy, addressing Louis IX's almsgiving in central and western Normandy, and comparing the data to that from the rule of Henry V of England.[99] He addresses the nature of royal charity and uses archival evidence to show how the nature of alms-giving changed over the centuries. The leper-houses of Saint-Gilles at Pont-Audemer and Mont-aux-Malades at Rouen have both been the subject of doctoral studies, based on surviving documentary evidence.[100] Simone

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[93] Max Satchell, 'The Emergence of Leper-houses in Medieval England, 1100-1250', (unpublished D Phil, University of Oxford, 1998).
[94] Stephen Werronen, 'The Hospital of St Mary Magdalene and the Archbishops of York, c. 1150–1335', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 58 (2014), 115-36.
[95] A.D. Morton and Vaughan Birbeck, 'Documentary and Archaeological Evidence of Southampton's Leper Hospital', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society,* 67:1 (2012), 209-17.
[96] Simon Roffey, 'Medieval Leper Hospitals in England : An Archaeological Perspective', *Medieval Archaeology,* 56:1 (2012), 203-33; Simon Roffey and Phil Marter, 'Excavations at St Mary Magdalen, Winchester, 2008-2010', *Monastic Research Bulletin,* 16 (2010), 43-9; Simon Roffey and Katie Tucker, 'A Contextual Study of the Medieval Hospital and Cemetery of St Mary Magdalen, Winchester, England', *International Journal of Paleopathology,* 2 (2012), 170-80.
[97] J. R. Magilton, Frances Lee, and Anthea Boylston, *"Lepers Outside the Gate" : Excavations at the Cemetery of the Hospital of St James and St Mary Magdalene, Chichester, 1986-87 and 1993*, (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2008).
[98] David Marcombe, *Leper Knights : The Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c.1150-1544*, (Woodbridge ; Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, 2003).
[99] Damien Jeanne, 'Le roi charitable. Les politiques royales envers les établissements d'assistance de la Normandie centrale et occidentale, XIIIe–XVe siècle', in *Une histoire pour un royaume, XIIe-XVe siècle, Actes du colloque Corpus Regni organisé en hommage à Colette Beaune,* ed. by A.-H. Allirot, (Paris: Perrin, 2010), 103-23.
[100] Simone Carol Mesmin, 'The Leper Hospital of Saint Gilles de Pont-Audemer : an Edition of its Cartulary and an Examination of the Problem of Leprosy in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century', 2 vols, (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 1978); Elma Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity in Medieval Rouen*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015); Elma Brenner, 'Leprosy, Exclusion and Social Identity in

Mesmin traced the aristocratic foundation and patronage at Pont-Audemer, while Elma Brenner demonstrated how the locations of leper-houses in Rouen supports the idea of their inclusion in the geography of the area around the city, rather than their exclusion. Jeanne has published the evidence of archaeological research carried out at Bayeux, and has also studied the thirteenth-century cartularies of Norman leper-houses.[101] The remains of another Norman leper-house, at Aizier, have been studied by Joël Blondiaux and others, while Bruno Tabuteau has written extensively about the leper-house of Saint-Nicolas at Evreux, in addition to publishing articles about wider aspects of historical research about leprosy.[102]

The more general development of hospitals in England and France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been analysed most recently by Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, and Sheila Sweetinburgh. Orme and Webster resume the work carried out in previous studies by Rotha Mary Clay, and by David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, tracing the post-conquest development of hospitals in England and the religious nature of these establishments, whilst also emphasising the great variety in the nature of institutions.[103] By concentrating on the south-west of England, they demonstrate the lacunæ in the research presented by Knowles and Hadcock. Sweetinburgh uses evidence of benefactions to hospitals, and reciprocal donations, to illustrate the relationships between hospitals and their benefactors, and hospitals' place within the 'spiritual economy' of medieval England.[104]

Sethina Watson argues that hospitals in post-conquest England differed greatly from those in France, and that unlike monasteries, they were founded in such a way that they were intended

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Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Rouen', in *Difference and identity in Francia and medieval France,* ed. by M. Cohen and J. Firnhaber-Baker, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 139-55.

[101] Damien Jeanne, 'Quelles problématiques pour la mort du lépreux? Sondages archéologiques du cimetière de Saint-Nicolas de la Chesnaie, Bayeux', *Annales de Normandie,* 47 (1997), 69-90; Damien Jeanne, 'Une «machina memorialis». Les cartulaires des léproseries de la province ecclésiastique de Rouen', *Tabularia, «Etudes»,* no. 12 (2012), 29-62.

[102] Joël Blondiaux, and others, 'The Leprosarium of Saint-Thomas d'Aizier: The Cementochronological Proof of the Medieval Decline of Hansen Disease in Europe?', *International Journal of Paleopathology,* Vol. 175 (2015); Bruno Tabuteau, 'De l'expérience érémitique à la normalisation monastique: étude d'un processus de formation des léproseries aux XIIe–XIIIe siècles. Le cas d'Evreux', in *Fondations et œuvres charitables au Moyen Age: Actes du 121e congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, section histoire médiévale et philologie, Nice,* ed. by J. Dufour, (Paris, 1999), 89-96; Bruno Tabuteau. 'Vingt mille léproseries au Moyen Âge ? Tradition française d'un poncif historiographique', *Memini. Travaux et Documents,* 15 (2011), 115-24. <http://memini.revues.org/417>, [accessed 27 April 2017]; Bruno Tabuteau, 'Historical Research Developments on Leprosy in France and in Western Europe', in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice,* ed. by B.S. Bowers, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 41-56.

[103] Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital 1070-1570*, (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1995); Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediæval Hospitals of England*, The Antiquary's Books, (London: Methuen & Co., 1909); David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, (London: Longman Group, 1971).

[104] Sheila Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England : Gift-giving and the Spiritual Economy*, (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2004).

to remain dependent on their patrons.[105] Watson has highlighted also the great variation in the way that hospitals and leper-houses were run and managed, due to an almost complete absence of legislation in canon law. Ecclesiastical and lay authorities had a significant amount of leeway in the administration of these houses.[106] The introduction to Léon Le Grand's collection of some of the most important statutes from French hospitals and leper-houses cites the widespread adoption of the Rule of Saint Augustine as the basis for hospital regulations, influenced in part by the Cistercians, Benedictines and the Friars Preachers.[107]

One chapter in Rawcliffe's book concerns the relationship between the healthy and the sick, including the nature of aristocratic patronage towards leper-houses and some discussion of the attitudes of royalty towards lepers. In particular, the actions of Henry I's first and second wives, Matilda and Adela of Louvain, and Matilda's mother, Queen Margaret of Scotland are found to have been used to project a 'powerful image of medieval queenship.'[108] The same chapter refers to donations and foundations by Henry I and Henry II, but does not explore this concern in the context of their kingship. The patronage of Henry III is cited with regard to particular leper-houses, but no connection is made between his role as king and his attitude towards the sick. Touati, however, has analysed the many connections between leprosy and French kings throughout the middle ages with regard to ideas about the legitimacy of power, governance, coronation and sanctity. His discussion of these connections is addressed in detail below, in Chapter 3.

The idea that the kings of England and France perhaps possessed either sacerdotal or supernatural powers was discussed throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; these ideas are addressed further in Chapter 4. Marc Bloch's analysis of evidence from both countries suggested that ideas of 'sacred royalty' were primitive, and a belief in the monarch's ability to cure scrofula was real, despite this being a 'collective error.'[109] The sacrality was allegedly bestowed through the rite of anointing; Andrew Lewis suggests that by the 1220s, 'old ideas' of the French king's special relationship with God had resurfaced.[110] Janet Nelson attributes the increased use in anointing in the early middle ages to the clergy, the church's involvement in the coronation of kings serving to increase its role in government.[111] Nelson has also argued that the

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[105] Sethina Watson, 'The Origins of the English Hospital', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 16 (2006), 75-94.
[106] Sethina Watson, 'Hospitals and the Law: the Problem of Charities for a Church in the World', *Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies seminar*, University of Reading, 18 January 2018.
[107] *Statuts*, iii-viii.
[108] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 147.
[109] Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch : Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. by J.E. Anderson, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 243.
[110] Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France : Studies on Familial Order and the State*, (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 129.
[111] Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, (London: Hambledon, 1986), 294.

very act of anointing actually 'desacralised' the king, in that he became subject to the authority of the clergy.[112] Any 'supernatural' powers a king might possess could only be exhibited in the form of posthumous miracles.[113] Philippe Buc understands the belief in the healing power of kings to have been part of a politically-charged ideology; such powers were used to justify increases in royal taxation and government in France.[114] Geoffrey Koziol makes a clear distinction between the nature of the monarchies in England and France, despite many similar royal rituals.[115] He argues that England's monarchy needed to stress their legitimacy, and were therefore not as successful, or popular, as the Capetians were. Judging by the contemporary popularity of references to Melchesidech, the concept of 'priest-kings' was well-known by those in senior ecclesiastical and governmental roles.[116] How the kings perceived themselves in this role is difficult to judge, although primary source material may provide some clues, particularly correspondence between Henry III and Bishop of Lincoln Robert Grosseteste, and accounts by Louis's confessor, Geoffrey de Beaulieu, of the king's contact with the sick.[117] Grosseteste, responding to a letter from Henry, insisted that royal power should not involve itself in pastoral care in the manner of priests.[118]

A comprehensive study of royal religious donations has not yet been produced. Jeanne's research, cited above, while addressing some of the broader concepts of kingship, focusses solely on part of Normandy. Research into the wider topic of royal charity tends to be found in broader studies concerning the aristocracy, monasticism or within biographies of royal individuals. Elizabeth Hallam's doctoral thesis, 'Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses, c.1130-1270', has proved to be a very useful resource for this thesis, particularly with its exploration of the ways in which royal patronage differed from other lay patronage, and how expectations were attached to the role of monarch.[119] Marjorie Chibnall discussed the changing tone of royal patronage in the twelfth century by focussing on the

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[112] Janet L. Nelson, 'Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship', in *Studies in Church History, 10,* ed. by D. Baker, (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1973), 39-44, (42).
[113] Ibid., 43.
[114] Philippe Buc, 'David's Adultery with Bathsheba and the Healing Powers of Capetian Kings', *Viator, Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* 23 (1993), 101-20, (118).
[115] Geoffrey Koziol, 'England, France and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', in *Cultures of Power : Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth-century Europe,* ed. by T.N. Bisson: Pennsylvania University Press, 1995), 124-48.
[116] Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 36.
[117] *Roberti Grosseteste, episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolae*, H.R. Luard (ed.), Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1861), 348-9 §CXXIV; Geoffrey de Beaulieu. 'Vita'.
[118] *Roberti Grosseteste, episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolae*, 349 §CXXIV. '*Quapropter regia potestas, sacerdotii juvativa, nullo modo in cura constitutos pastorali secularibus potest negotiis implicare'*
[119] Elizabeth M. Hallam, 'Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses, c.1130-1270', 2 vols, (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1976).

patronage of Henry II.[120] Emma Cownie discusses aristocratic (including, but not specifically, royal) patronage in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, arguing that the aristocracy was far from being a homogenous group, therefore the motivations behind gift-giving to monastic institutions varied immensely.[121] Royal patronage to important abbeys, Cownie argues, 'transcended community patterns', an argument that may also apply to other types of institutions such as leper-houses and hospitals.[122] Sweetinburgh's study of hospitals argued that the type of patron that any hospital had was fundamental to its success or otherwise, and that the crown 'often displayed much less regard' than other patrons.[123]

There is a great variation in the nature of biography written about members of the thirteenth-century French and English royal families. Louis IX has been most widely considered, undoubtedly due to his canonisation. Jacques Le Goff's hugely impressive *Saint Louis*, goes beyond the remit of a traditional biography.[124] After a discussion of his life, Le Goff traces the development of the memory of Louis, through hagiographies, exempla, and chronicles. The third section of the book shows Louis as an 'ideal and unique' king in the context of his time, through his images, words, gestures, his family and religion, conflicts and criticism, and finally depicting Louis as '*Le roi souffrant, le roi Christ*'. His book does not set out to compare him to his contemporaries, or to his predecessors or successors; however Le Goff argues that Louis's sanctity, as well as his distinction as the first and last canonised king of France, places him above all others - his failures only making him more human. The memory of Louis has been further examined by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin.[125] In *The Making of Saint Louis*, Gaposchkin studies sermons, manuscripts and iconography to trace the development and dissemination of his reputation as a saint-king.

Various aspects of Henry III's religious outlook have been studied. This does not include his interest in hospitals and leper-houses, although certain of the hospitals with which he was involved have been studied in their own right. Most notable among these are the hospitals at Oxford and at Ospringe, in Kent. Ospringe has been the subject of archaeological excavation, and the use of this research, along with surviving documentary evidence and administrative records provides a great deal of information regarding the establishment, although many questions

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120 Marjorie Chibnall, 'The Changing Expectations of a Royal Benefactor: The Religious Patronage of Henry II', in *Religious and laity in western Europe, 1000-1400 : interaction, negotiation, and power,* ed. by E. Jamroziak and J.E. Burton, (Turnhout: Brepols ; Abingdon : Marston [distributor], 2007), 9-21.
121 Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135*, (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1998).
122 Ibid., 169.
123 Sweetinburgh, *Role of the Hospital*, 241.
124 Le Goff, *Saint Louis*.
125 M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis : Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

regarding its use remain unanswered.[126] In order to gain further insight into this hospital, comparisons have been made with other hospitals to which Henry was a benefactor, particularly those at Dover and Oxford.[127]

Hilda Johnstone's in-depth analysis of thirteenth-century alms-giving highlights Henry's concern for the poor, and his eagerness to fill his palace at Westminster with those in need.[128] Johnstone describes Henry's character as 'pious, impressionable and impulsive' and 'docile' when it came to religion, suggesting that attempts to determine his personal piety are futile, and that his decisions were made either fully or partly in response to those around him.[129] By contrast, Sally Dixon-Smith praises his piety, citing in particular his alms-giving and feeding of paupers, but also his generosity towards the Mendicant Orders and his donations to hospitals and leper-houses.[130] Her article draws on records of payments made for the decoration of Henry's halls; iconography of kingship, paintings of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, and images of Henry's patron saint, St Edward, were used to depict the ideal of charitable monarchy which would ensure Henry's place in heaven. Other studies of Henry's piety have tended to concentrate on particular aspects, such as his support for the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, placing his veneration for Edward the Confessor and the acquisition of the Holy Blood relic in the context of the political atmosphere of the time, or his veneration for the Virgin Mary.[131]

Henry's devotion to hearing mass was recorded by an anonymous chronicler in 1262, who described the English king's visit to France in 1259.[132] On his journey to meet Louis IX and the French nobility at parliament, Henry visited every church en route to hear mass, causing such a delay that no business could be discussed that day. The following day, Louis ordered all the

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[126] Hasted, E. (ed.). 'Parishes: Ospringe', *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 6 (1798): 499-531*, British History Online, 1798 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=62988&strquery=ospringe>, accessed 18 November 2014; Page, W. (ed.). 'The Hospital of Ospringe', in *A History of the County of Kent: Volume 2*, Victoria History of the Counties of England, (London: St Catherine Press, 1926), 222-24; Andrew Margetts, and others, 'The Medieval Hospital of St Mary The Blessed Virgin, Ospringe (Maison Dieu): Further Details of its Original Layout Revealed by Excavations at The Fairways', *Archaeologia Cantiana,* Vol. 131 (2011), 129-42.
[127] Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'Royal Patrons and Local Benefactors: The Experience of the Hospitals of St Mary at Ospringe and Dover in the Thirteenth Century', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400 : Interaction, Negotiation, and Power,* ed. by E. Jamroziak and J.E. Burton, (Turnhout: Brepols ; Abingdon, 2007), 111-29; S E Rigold, 'Two Kentish Hospitals Re-examined: S Mary, Ospringe and SS Stephen and Thomas, New Romney', *Archaeologia Cantiana,* Vol. 79 (1964), 31-69.
[128] Hilda Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth Century England', *Speculum,* 4.2 (1929), 149-67.
[129] Ibid., 153.
[130] S. Dixon-Smith, 'The Image and Reality of Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* CLII (1999), 79-96.
[131] Vincent, *The Holy Blood*; Lewis, 'Henry III'; Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward'; Nicholas Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary', *Studies in Church History,* 39 (2004), 126-46.
[132] *Lettres de Rois, Reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII. jusqu'à Henri IV., tirées des archives de Londres par Bréquigny et publiées par M. Champollion-Figeac*, ed. by J.J. Champollion-Figeac and L.G. Oudart Feudrix De BréQuigny, 2 vols., (Paris: Imprimerie royale 1839-47), 140-2. See Appendix 1 for a full translation of this account.

churches to be closed, leading Henry to believe that the country was under interdict. After Louis explained what he had done, the two kings teased each other – Louis teased Henry because he enjoyed attending mass so often, and Henry responded citing Louis' fondness for listening to sermons. Louis liked to hear about his Creator, while Henry preferred to see Him. This is an anecdote that portrays the kings as equally pious. It also demonstrates that they had a genuine admiration for each other that was imbued with friendly rivalry.

Chapter 1: Lepers in Religious Institutions

This chapter addresses the status of lepers within the religious framework of the thirteenth century. An analysis of contemporary papal attitudes towards lepers, and canon laws issued with regards to lepers, highlights the important role of leper-houses as religious institutions. The administration of these houses, and the regulations that governed the behaviour of their residents, were designed to maintain a purity of life appropriate for an individual who had chosen to enter such an institution. The examination of this way of life is crucial for understanding the context of Henry's and Louis' patronage and alms to lepers, which will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis.

In addition to discussing leper-houses, this chapter will also consider the matter of lepers within the contemporary religious orders. A gradual shift in spiritual practice is evident from the increased number of monastic houses of the twelfth century to the more flexible milieu of the mendicant orders and the beguines, lay religious women, of the thirteenth century. Although the kings' broader religious patronage is beyond the scope of this thesis, religious houses of all orders were potentially responsible for caring for the leprous in their communities within their own monastic compounds, and the way in which different orders addressed this problem is discussed in this chapter. The Order of Saint Lazarus, founded with the particular purpose of caring for leprous knights, is discussed in its own right as an important institution of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, offering a place to lepers who may otherwise have struggled to find a place for themselves in the Latin east.

The initiative of the beguines, particularly in north-west France and the Low Countries, who were not initially affiliated with a religious order, had a potentially far-reaching impact on ideas about caring for lepers. These women especially influenced Franciscan ideals of good works, sin, salvation and sanctity. In order to offer further insight into the status of lepers in thirteenth-century religion, this chapter also briefly reflects on the influence of both Islamic and Jewish ideas about leprosy, particularly relevant in a period of frequent contact between East and West, and between northern and southern Europe.

Leprosy in Medieval canon law

The nature of care offered to lepers who lived within the confines of a leper-house was informed to some extent by papal decrees, but the way in which these were enforced depended largely upon the will of a house's guardian, which could be a cathedral, an abbey or a lay person. Papal rulings relating to lepers were infrequent and, despite centuries of Old Testament exegesis connecting leprosy to sin, not as concerned about the contagion of leprosy as might be expected.

An example of this exegesis can be seen in a letter from Pope Gregory II to St Boniface, written in the year 726. Gregory stated that 'Lepers who belong to the Christian faith should be allowed to partake of the body and blood of the Lord, but they may not attend sacred functions with people of good health.'[1] Lepers were very much part of the Christian Church, and their access to communion was not to be impeded; they were, however, to partake of these services separately from the non-lepers. This tension between simultaneous inclusion and exclusion continued into the later Middle Ages. Pope Alexander III formalised this separation at the Third Lateran Council in 1179, at which he confirmed the right of lepers to be allowed their own churches and cemeteries, so as not to be denied the sacraments or Christian burial:

> Although the Apostle says that we should pay greater honour to our weaker members, certain ecclesiastics, seeking what is their own and not the things of Jesus Christ, do not allow lepers, who cannot dwell with the healthy or come to church with others, to have their own churches and cemeteries or to be helped by the ministry of their own priests. Since it is recognized that this is far from Christian piety, we decree, in accordance with apostolic charity, that wherever so many are gathered together under a common way of life that they are able to establish a church for themselves with a cemetery and rejoice in their own priest, they should be allowed to have them without contradiction. Let them take care, however, not to harm in any way the parochial rights of established churches. For we do not wish that what is granted them on the score of piety should result in harm to others. We also declare that they should not be compelled to pay tithes for their gardens or the pasture of animals.[2]

This canon, the only one about leprosy from the central Middle Ages, was issued apparently in response to complaints that lepers were being prevented access to churches and cemeteries, and reflects Alexander's wider concern about the spiritual welfare of lepers. Writing in 1175 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Pope confirmed that 'lepers were separated from the community by general custom' to solitary places away from towns.[3] Although he does not mention the fear

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[1] *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: being the lives of SS. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin, together with the Hodeporicon of St. Willibald and a selection from the correspondence of St. Boniface*, ed. and trans. by C.H. Talbot, (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954), 82.
[2] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, N.P. Tanner (ed.), 2 vols. (London; Washington, DC: Sheed & Ward; Georgetown University Press, 1990), i, 222-4.
[3] *Corpus iuris canonici*, A.L. Richter and E. Friedberg (eds.), 2 vols. (Lipsiae: Ex Officina Bernhardi Tauchnitz, 1879), ii, 690-91, x.4.8.1. *'Pervenit ad nos, quod, quum hi, qui leprae morbum incurrunt, de consuetudine generali a communione hominum separentur, et extra cicitates et villas ad loca solitaria transferantur...'*

of infection here, it is implied by the description of the locations to which the lepers are removed. This letter entered the canon law collections.[4]

In the same letter, Alexander confirmed that a marriage was indissoluble in the case where one party had contracted leprosy – men and women were to be enjoined to care for their spouses with marital affection.[5] When men or women were removed from society 'by general custom', their spouses did not join them; writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander 'commanded' him in 'earnestly inducing' the couples to live together, and if they would not do this, they were to either vow to a life of continence, or else face excommunication.[6] Alexander himself founded a leper-house for women in Veroli, in Italy, the place which he had established as the papal summer quarters.[7] The pope performed this house's dedication himself, and gave the house gifts of wax for candles, land and vines.[8] He also founded a leper-house for men in the same location; by the end of his pontificate a total of seven leper-houses had been established in the region.[9] Brenda M. Bolton has suggested that Veroli gained a reputation for healing during this period, particularly for 'elephantiasis and other similar diseases.'[10] Furthermore, he wrote to the bishop of Reims regarding the leper-house at Epernay, which was at the time lacking a priest, expressing his concern that the lepers of the house were dying without the opportunity to make confession or for the viaticum to be administered.[11] With this evidence of Alexander's interest in lepers, it is unsurprising that the only medieval canon law regarding lepers should have been issued during his papacy.

The issue of leprous priests was raised during the papacy of Alexander's successor, Pope Lucius III. Lucius wrote to Walter, bishop of Lincoln, apparently in response to a request for advice from this same bishop, instructing him that priests in his diocese should be given a coadjutor if they were '… infected with leprosy in such wise that they cannot reasonably serve at the altar

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[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., ii, 690, x.4.8.1. *'Lepra superveniens non dissolvit matrimonium, nec matrimonii effectum, ideo adiuvicem maritali affectione coniuncti se tractare debent, aut ad perpetuam continentiam vovendam induci.'*
[6] Ibid., ii, 691 x.4.8.1. '*Si vero ad hoc induci non poterunt, eis arctius iniungas, ut uterque altero vivente continentiam servet. Quodsi mandatum tuum servare contempserint, vinculo excommunicationis adstringas.'*
[7] *Italia pontificia, sive, Repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a Romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXXVIII Italiae ecclesiis monasteriis civitatibus singulisque personis concessorum / iubente Regia Societate Gottingensi congessit Paulus Fridolinus Kehr.*, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 10 vols., (Weidmann: Berolini, 1906-1975), ii, 162; Brenda M. Bolton, 'The Absentee Lord? Alexander III and the Patrimony', in *Pope Alexander III (1159-81): the Art of Survival,* ed. by P.D. Clarke and A.J. Duggan, Church, faith, and culture in the Medieval West, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 153-80, (164).
[8] *Italia pontificia*, ii, 162.
[9] Bolton, 'The Absentee Lord?', (178).
[10] Ibid., 178-9.
[11] 'Alexandri III: Epistolæ et Privilegia'. in *PL*, 221 vols., cc (1855), 69-1520, (col.830); ibid., cols.978-9.

nor go into church without grave scandal to those who are whole ...'[12] There was no doubt a concern that a leper, with bleeding or weeping pustules, might desecrate the Host. An equal concern, however, is that the parishioners should not wish to even see the priest in the church. The tone suggests that once a priest's leprosy had advanced to a certain point, his status as a priest would not be removed, as this was not possible in canon law, but he should be able to delegate his responsibilities to another, healthy, priest.

Leper-houses as religious institutions

The concern for lepers' welfare shown by the papacy and the ecclesiastical authorities was significant, for it was monasteries and bishops who often assumed responsibility for managing leper-houses. Following the First Lateran Council in 1123, monks and abbots were ordered to 'abstain from public visitations to the sick', in a move designed to limit the involvement of monks in the secular world, and to clarify the demarcation between the Church and the laity, a particular concern following the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century.[13] Monasteries that built infirmaries for the laity succeeded in fulfilling their Christian duty of caring for the sick by employing lay brothers and sisters to serve the sick, the poor and the leprous.

It was not until late in the Middle Ages that leper-houses began to provide some form of medical care that would be recognised today. With no knowledge of a cure for the disease, the focus of leper-house administrators was instead on spiritual and palliative care. Spiritual wellness and physical wellness were inextricably linked, so the provision of an appropriate diet along with a chapel and a chaplain was sufficient to provide for most of the lepers' perceived needs.

Simone Mesmin, having studied a number of cartularies, found evidence for medical personnel at only one leper-house at this time, at Deux-Eaux in Troyes, where a *medicus* witnessed one charter, and donations were made by another.[14] François-Olivier Touati understood this particular doctor, Aubert, to have been a permanent member of the community – notably rare during this period – who represented hope for the relief of the lepers' suffering.[15] Touati has identified two further doctors connected to the leprosarium in the thirteenth century. Charles Talbot has identified evidence of physicians being available on call for monasteries from the thirteenth century, and suggested that hospitals may have also used external physicians rather

[12] *Papal Decretals relating to the Diocese of Lincoln in the Twelfth Century*, W. Holtzmann and E.W. Kemp (eds.), Lincoln Record Society, Publications (Hereford: Lincoln Record Society, 1954), 52-3.
[13] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 192-3.
[14] Mesmin, 'Leper Hospital of Saint Gilles', i, 35.
[15] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 458.

than employing them in-house.[16] It seems likely that leper-houses would also have adopted this practice too.

Barbers begin to appear in the records of leper-houses from the thirteenth century. A reference to a barber is cited from the leper-house of Grand-Beaulieu at Chartres, in 1237, which Touati ascribes to the 'progressive medicalization of the surrounding society', rather than a defined need within the leper-house.[17] A barber at Reading Abbey received regular payments by the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and the French leper-houses at Lens and Saint-Omer both also employed barbers at this time; they would have been responsible for blood-letting and administering to minor medical conditions.[18] The female lepers at the Salle-aux-Puelles in Rouen were supposed to have access to a female blood-letter in the middle of the thirteenth century.[19] Albert Bourgeois' study of the leper-houses of the Pas-de-Calais found the first evidence of the provision of a surgeon at Saint-Omer occurred only in the late fifteenth century.[20] That such a large house only employed a surgeon towards the end of the medieval period suggests that this was not a common practice elsewhere.

The variation of care and administrative practices seen between different houses was addressed in the early thirteenth century in France. Councils held in Paris and Rouen in 1213 with the purpose of addressing ecclesiastical discipline, ordered the establishment of a rule for all hospitals and leper-houses which housed religious congregations, although this was often already happening in practice.[21] In the early thirteenth century, the Augustinian theologian Jacques de Vitry recorded that many leper-houses and hospitals for the poor were run according to the Rule of St Augustine; the lepers at Compiègne were being cared for by the canons by 1133 at the latest.[22] In England, no such universal ruling was applied and although hospitals did tend

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[16] C. H. Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England*, (London: Oldbourne, 1967), 179.
[17] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 458; *Cartulaire de la léproserie du Grand-Beaulieu et du prieuré de Notre-Dame de la Bourdinière, formé et annoté par René Merlet et Maurice Jusselin*, M. Jusselin and R. Merlet (eds.) (Chartres: impr. de E. Garnier, 1909), 34 §74; ibid., 65 §164.
[18] British Library, Cotton Vespasian E v. , f.80r [Cartulary of the Almoner]; Orme and Webster, *English Hospital*, 59.
[19] Rigaldus, *Regestrum*, 102. *'Sorores suis temporibus minuant, sibi si placet, et minutricem habeant competentem.'*
[20] Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 61.
[21] *Sacrosancta Concilia ad regiam editionem exacta*, 17 vols., (Paris: Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1672), xi:1, col.73. *'De domibus leprosorum & hospitalibus infirmorum, & peregrinorum, salubri consilio statuimus: ut si facultates loci patiantur quod ibidem manentes possint vivere de communi, competens eis regula statuatur.'*; Watson, 'Short Hospitals and the Law: the Problem of Charities for a Church in the World'
[22] *Statuts*, 2. *'Sunt insuper alie tam virorum quam mulierum seculo renunciantium et regulariter in domibus leprosorum, vel hospitalibus pauperum… Vivunt autem secundum sancti Augustini regulam, absque proprio et in communi sub unis majoris obedientia; et, habitu regulari suscepto, perpetuam Domino promittunt continentiam.'* ; *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France : (1108-1137)*, ed. by J. Dufour and R.-H. Bautier, Chartes et diplômas relatifs a l'histoire de France, 4 vols., (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1992), ii, 220-23. '*Hac igitur habita consideratione, clerus Compendiensis vulgo ecclesiae ac per eum ejusdem loci populus universus de infirmis, qui et leprosi vulgo autem lazari nominantur…'*

to have written statutes based on similar principles, these were often devised on a regional basis rather than following a national pattern, and were hence far more varied than their French equivalents.[23]

The Rule of St Augustine allowed for flexibility in its application, and allowed the brothers to be more involved with the laity than the cloistered monastic orders. The Augustinians were not cloistered monks, but Canons Regular who vowed the usual precepts of poverty, chastity and obedience, but who also, in accordance with the key text of St Augustine, lived a 'full common life' amongst the laity, providing pastoral care to their local communities.[24] The Augustinian rule was brief, far less prescriptive than the Rule of Saint Benedict, and open to a great deal of interpretation, offering more of a 'general guide' than a strict rule for living.[25] This flexibility made it possible for Augustinians to undertake roles involving contact with the laity, thus making the Rule suitable for houses with charitable, rather than purely monastic, functions.[26] This process of formalisation, which began in the twelfth century, continued into the next century, with the Augustinian rule being adopted both by existing institutions and new foundations.[27]

Matthieu Arnoux's survey of Normandy has identified a number of leper-houses – Bayeux, Pont-Audemer, Bellencombre, Val-au-Gris, Bois-Halbout and Mont-aux-Malades – which became associated with the Augustinian canons, but emphasises the difficulty of pinpointing the date at which the canons took charge, and thus when a definitive rule may have been imposed upon the inmates.[28] A similar example from England is the leper-house at Maiden Bradley, in Wiltshire, which was founded by Manasser Biset, a steward of King Henry II.[29] Later accounts from Henry III's reign contain several references to the female lepers at the house; however at some later date it certainly became an Augustinian priory, housing canons only. The date of its conversion

[23] Orme and Webster, *English Hospital*, 74-5.
[24] J. C. Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons and their introduction into England*, Church History Society Publications, (London: S.P.C.K., 1950), 8.
[25] *Statuts*, vii; Nicole Bériou and François-Olivier Touati, *Voluntate dei Leprosus: Les lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles*, (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'altro medioevo, 1991), 12.
[26] Orme and Webster, *English Hospital*, 70; *Statuts*, vi.
[27] Orme and Webster, *English Hospital*, 70.
[28] Mathieu Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme : études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen*, Bibliotheca Victorina, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 21-2.
[29] Brian Kemp, 'Maiden Bradley Priory, Wiltshire, and Kidderminster Church, Worcestershire', *Reading Medieval Studies,* XI (1985), 87-120, (87).

is unknown, as is the process by which this happened – either a deliberate change, or a more gradual process as a result of a decline in the number of leprous women requiring care.[30]

Lepers were expected to profess vows upon admittance to a leper-house, promising to abide by certain rules, and, in particular, to promise obedience to the master of the house. As will be shown in more detail in the following chapter, not all lepers were in leper-houses. These vows were not as strict as those for ordained monks, but the restrictions were sufficient to separate lepers spiritually and physically from the lay population. The status of these lepers was informed by their marginal position – close to, but not in, urban centres, and the professors of quasi-monastic vows. Guy Geltner has argued that the role of leper-houses was not to segregate lepers, but instead, by permitting them this space and status, symbolic of a wider medieval policy of 'social semi-inclusiveness'.[31] Inmates were expected to take vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and to wear a religious habit; those who did not live religiously were to be punished or expelled.[32] The set-up of leper-houses varied greatly; some houses accommodated both men and women, while others were single-sex. The staff – mostly lay brothers and sisters – attending to the lepers may have comprised of both men and women also; the statutes of leper-houses published by Léon le Grand are evidence of the variety of houses and the ways in which the staff and the lepers interacted.

The imposition of codes of behaviour, the emphasis on participation in the *opus Dei,* and the permanence of a leper's residency, put leper-houses in the same category as monastic houses and friaries. There were barriers to entry (financial, such as the need to bring one's own furniture and utensils; the promise to obey) and serious transgressions could lead to expulsion.[33] Beyond the basic vows, the most common features of statutes for leper-houses were: compulsory participation in the divine office; abstention from fornication, gambling, and drunkenness; renunciation of property; disbarment from inheriting or endowing property or land; prohibition from leaving the enclosure of the leper-house without appropriate permission and without a companion; and upholding of propriety by avoiding unnecessary contact with the opposite sex.

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[30] Pugh, R. B. and Crittall, E. (eds.) 'The Priory of Maiden Bradley', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3,* Victoria History of the Counties of England, (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1956), (299).
[31] Guy Geltner, 'Social Deviancy: A Medieval Approach', in *Why the Middle Ages Matter : Medieval Light on Modern Injustice,* ed. by C.M. Chazelle, (London: Routledge, 2012), 29-40, (29).
[32] *Sacrosancta Concilia*, xi:1, col.73. *'Unde statuimus ut in habitu religionis religiose vivant, vel de domibus eiiciantur'*
[33] *Statuts*, 188.

The registers of Eudes Rigaud, the thirteenth-century Franciscan who was appointed as Archbishop of Rouen in 1248, show that rules were not always adhered to.[34] These registers record episcopal visitations to religious houses within Rigaud's diocese, and offer a wealth of detailed information about the administration and welfare of individual establishments. Leper-houses not run by monasteries usually fell under the jurisdiction of the local bishopric. The lay house at Auffay had its chaplain appointed by the local bishop.[35] The *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, however, acknowledged that some houses were in the custody of secular lords and were able to 'admit and exclude whatever people they want for the good of the establishment'.[36] Eudes' enquiries were concerned with the spiritual welfare of lepers, ensuring that: a suitable chaplain was available; each house had sufficient provisions, particularly to last through the winter season; lepers were receiving their due allowances of supplies; and houses were not overburdened with financial debt.[37] The archbishop's concern for lepers extended to plans to build a house for them at Aliermont, the location of one of his own manor houses.[38]

The importance of proper behaviour was emphasised in sermons given in leper-houses, which would have been delivered with the purpose of exhorting lepers to live as purely as possible. Their sickness (not just leprosy, but other conditions also) was caused by sin, and through their suffering they were undergoing a process of purification. A number of sermons written for lepers and the sick have survived. As Adam J. Davis has stated, while it cannot be known if or when these sermons were preached, and the extant Latin texts provide only a template for preachers to deliver in the vernacular, they nevertheless indicate the type of messages being transmitted within leper-houses.[39] One preacher whose sermons have survived is Jacques de Vitry, a disciple of the twelfth-century French theologian Peter the Chanter. Vitry was appointed Bishop of Tusculum, near Rome, and later served as a canon at the papal court.[40] Prior to his bishopric, he was located in Oignies, in the Pas-de-Calais region of France. Two of his sermons, addressed *ad leprosos et alios infirmos*, distinguish between lepers and the sick, but deliver similar themes of patience and suffering to both groups. The first sermon begins with the

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[34] Adam J. Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat : Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-century Normandy*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 31.
[35] Rigaldus, *Regestrum*, 28; Odo Rigaldus, *The Register of Eudes of Rouen*, ed. by J.F. O'Sullivan, trans. by S.M. Brown, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 32 n.100. Sullivan highlights the fact that Auffay, as a lay foundation, came under the jurisdiction of the local bishop, who was in this instance Eudes.
[36] *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis of Philippe de Beaumanoir*, ed. by P.d. Rémi, trans. by F.R.P. Akehurst, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), §1620.
[37] Rigaldus, *Regestrum*, 15; ibid., 28; ibid., 114.
[38] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 127-8.
[39] Adam J. Davis, 'Preaching in Thirteenth-Century Hospitals', *Journal of Medieval History,* 36.1 (2010), 72-89, (75).
[40] John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants : The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 39.

suffering of Job, then progresses to the concept of sickness as a means of both purging the body of sin, and also protecting against future sins. The example of Job is used throughout the sermon in order to emphasise the message. [41]

Other individuals who wrote sermons for lepers include Eudes of Chateauroux and Gilbert of Tournai. Eudes was a theologian at the University of Paris, later promoted to cardinal by Pope Innocent IV.[42] Alexis Charansonnet has noted Odo's 'privileged relations' with the French royal family, which dated back to his appointment as chancellor of the university in 1238; this close relationship is made evident by Louis' requests to Eudes to preach at the consecration of relics at the Sainte-Chapelle, and to arbitrate in a succession dispute relating to Flanders.[43] Eudes was also, according to Matthew Paris, appointed as legate for Louis' crusade, at the king's own request, and accompanied the king to Egypt.[44] Gilbert of Tournai was another Franciscan, who studied at Paris, and possibly also went on crusade with Louis; he was certainly close to the king.[45] Like both Eudes of Chateauroux and Jacques de Vitry (from whom he 'often' borrowed, according to David d'Avray), Gilbert used the example of Job when preaching to lepers, citing the temptations put before him by the devil, and the consequent proof of his worthiness to God through the resistance to such temptations.[46] Gilbert of Tournai's second sermon informed lepers that worldly temptations could be vanquished by voluntary poverty.[47] The third sermon adopts a different theme, expanding instead on the parable of Dives and Lazarus. In this, Gilbert

[41] Jacques de Vitry, 'Sermo 1', in *Voluntate dei Leprosus: Les lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles,* ed. by N. Bériou and F.-O. Touati, (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'altro medioevo, 1991), 101-16; Jacques de Vitry, 'Sermo 2', in *Voluntate dei Leprosus: Les lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles,* ed. by N. Bériou and F.-O. Touati, (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'altro medioevo, 1991), 117-28.
[42] Alexis Charansonnet, 'L'évolution de la prédication du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?-1273): une approche statistique', *8éme Symposium d'études du sermon médiéval, Louvain-la Neuve* (1992), 103-42, 105.
[43] Ibid., 106.
[44] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iv, 488. *'Eodemque anno, postquam rex Franciæ, quem Dominus quasi redivivo spiritu suscitaverat, cruce signabatur, eodem rege postulante, missus est a domino Papa [note : Odo de Château Roux] legatus quidam in Franciam, quo prædicante negotium crucis efficacius promoveretur.'* ; ibid., vi, 153. *'Et confidentes de Dei misericordia, ac auxilio crucis triumphalis, quam dominus legatus in vexillo juxta dominum regem gestabat…'*
[45] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 409.
[46] David L d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 41 n.1; Gilbert of Tournai, 'Sermo 2', in *Voluntate dei Leprosus: Les lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles,* ed. by N. Bériou and F.-O. Touati, (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'altro medioevo, 1991), 136-45, (137).
[47] Tournai, 'Voluntate', (141). *'Temptationem dyaboli uincimus per orationis instantiam, mundi per paupertatem uoluntariam…'*

stated that 'continued bodily health and prosperity is a sign of divine reprobation'; as stated in the parable, it would be 'holy paupers and lepers who would be carried to Abraham's bosom.'[48]

The recurrent themes in these sermons stem from the creation of *ad status* sermons, collections of sermons which would be used to provide preachers with 'à la carte' sermons, a format that dated back to Gregory the Great's manual in the sixth century.[49] d'Avray has identified three, or possibly four *ad status* collections from the thirteenth century: three of those by Jacques de Vitry, Eudes of Châteauroux and Humbert of Romans.[50] As d'Avray has said, these collections were 'tailor-made for particular walks of life', a fact which fits in with these three preachers all producing sermons for hospitals and leper-houses.[51]

Eudes of Chateauroux's sermon also called for lepers to be patient; leprosy was 'inflicted' by God, so that sufferers would segregate themselves from healthy people – a divine act motivated by love.[52] Sickness should be endured without complaint, else one risked the punishment of Gehenna.[53] The messages put forward by all of these preachers underline the religious nature of leper-houses and the need for regulations to govern both the minds and bodies of inmates. Another preacher, Humbert of Romans, preached to brothers and sisters in leper-houses, referring to those caring for the lepers, not the lepers themselves. Humbert was the master general of the Dominican order, who died in 1277.[54] His sermons emphasised both the difficulty and the value of the work of the lay brothers and sisters, telling them that to live with lepers and to serve them was 'very burdensome' because of the danger of contagion, and because of the impatience and ingratitude of the lepers themselves, and so it was 'greatly commendable according to God' and 'the greatest work of piety.'[55]

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[48] Tournai, 'Voluntate', (151). '*Continuatio corporalis sanitatis et prosperitatis signum est diuine reprobacionis, et infirmitas corporalis signum est diuine dileccionis'*; ibid., 154. *'… pauperes et leprosi sancti ab angelis portabuntur in sinum Abrahe.'*

[49] Bériou and Touati, *Voluntate*, 37.

[50] d'Avray, *Preaching*, 127 n.4. The fourth possible collection suggested by d'Avray is by John of Wales, who did not produce similar sermons tailored for the sick.

[51] Ibid., 127-8.

[52] Bériou and Touati, *Voluntate*, 98. *'Sic et leprosis dat Dominus domum in solitudine. Eo enim ipso quod infligit eis Dominus ut sequestrentur ab aliis et soli et quasi soli maneant a corsortio sanorum…'*

[53] Ibid., 99. *'Sed aliqui murmurant et contra se Deum prouocant murmurando, et unde deberent sibi acquirere regnum celorum, acquirunt sibi penam Gehenne.'*

[54] Davis, 'Preaching', (75).

[55] Bériou and Touati, *Voluntate*, 48; ibid., 157. *'… propter periculum contagii et propter impatientiam ipsorum et ingratitudinem ipsorum ualde graue est cum eis habitare et eis seruire.'* ; ibid.*'Notandum autem quod huiusmodi modus uiuendi cum talibus infirmis ualde est commendabilis secundum Deum'* ; ibid., 158.*'… maximum opus pietatis est talibus infirmis assistere…'*

There was little difference between statutes for hospitals and those for leper-houses.[56] Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster have suggested that hospitals and priories were at times 'interchangeable' – there was little distinction between some of the smaller houses of religion and small hospitals.[57] The different purposes of these two types of institutions is occasionally made clear within the statutes, however. At Troyes, for example, lepers were specifically barred from being admitted to the hospital, although the reason for this is not stated; the dismembered, the paralysed, the crippled and the blind were permitted but only if they were suffering an illness that was not related to the afore-mentioned conditions. Once they had recovered they had to leave.[58] The exclusion of lepers may well have been due to a fear of contagion; however, concerns about long-term residency of people whose condition would not improve may also have been considered. These regulations emphasise the short-term nature of residency offered – those with chronic conditions were not permitted to stay in the hospital. At Angers also, lepers were barred from being received in the hospital, along with those with fevers, the paralysed, orphans, recently marked or mutilated criminals, and abandoned children.[59] Here, too, those in need of long-term care were denied admission, although the inclusion of the feverish might also indicate a potential fear of contagious diseases.

In some cases, the process of leper-houses becoming recognised establishments may have merely formalised existing arrangements, whereby lepers had already grouped together in small communities for mutual support. Bourgeois suggests, however, that it was rare for a leper-house to owe its initial foundation to an ecclesiastical body.[60] John of Gaddesden, the physician of King Edward I, suggested that once certain symptoms of leprosy began to appear, individuals would naturally become solitary, fearing the onset of the disease – perhaps as a form of self-protection from the reactions of others as their disease progressively got worse.[61] A particular example of an informal group becoming part of a more structured community is the group of lepers who lived at the location that would later become the leper-house of Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Chesnaie, at

[56] The term 'hospital' is difficult to define precisely for this period. Edmund Kealey has described the term as 'vital and flexible; encompassing hostels for travellers and indigent students, dispensaries for poor relief, clinics and surgeries for the injured, homes for the blind, the lame, the elderly, the orphaned, and the mentally ill, and leprosaria for people of all ages and classes … custodial care and rehabilitation' in Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, 82.
[57] Orme and Webster, *English Hospital*, 35.
[58] *Statuts*, 115. *'Nullo modo recipiantur leprosi; deemembrati, contracti, manci, ceci non recipiantur, nisi sint gravi infirmitate detenti, quia debilitas membrorum non est infirmitas in uno imotenti; et statim cum valuerint recedant.'*
[59] Ibid., 25. *'Item iste persone non recipiantur in domo: leprosi, ardentes, contracti, orbati, latrones de novo mutilati vel signati, pueri expositi.'*
[60] Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 36.
[61] Johannes de Gaddesden, *Rosa anglica practica medicinae /* ed. by N. Scillacio, (Venice: Boneto Locatelli, 1502), f.45v. *'Et apparent mores melancolici et mali et dolosi et sollicitudo et solitarietas, et imaginante frequenter se esse leprosus et timeat.'* ; Henry Patrick Cholmeley, *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa medicinae*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 45.

Bayeux, in Normandy. Early charters refer only to *leprosi,* and not to the *domus leprosorum* that came later, suggesting that, initially, lepers were not part of any formalised institution.[62]

Monastic care for lepers

Many leper-houses in England and France were run under the aegis of abbeys and monasteries. Most monastic orders of this period, notably the Benedictines, Cluniacs and Cistercians, based their customs upon the Rule of Saint Benedict, which was interpreted with varying degrees of severity. Although these monks were all theoretically cloistered, urban settlements tended to grow around Benedictine and Cluniac monasteries, in response to increased trade and the frequent arrival of travellers and pilgrims, meaning that monks extended their charity and care for the sick beyond their own monastic communities to the local population. Cistercian abbeys, on the other hand, deliberately chose remote, rural locations in order to avoid contact with the laity. The Rule of Saint Benedict emphasised the Christian duty of caring for the sick. Items in the chapter 'The Tools of Good Work' include 'To relieve the poor. To clothe the naked. To visit the sick… To help the afflicted. To console the sorrowing.'[63] Chapter 36 of the Rule is concerned specifically with the needs of sick monks, citing Matthew 25:36 and 25:40: 'Before all things and above all things care must be taken of the sick, so that they may be served in very deed as Christ himself; for he said: *I was sick and ye visited me*; and, *what ye did to one of these least ones, ye did unto me*.'[64] For the Benedictine order, this rule applied to those within and those outside the monastery. Monastic compounds frequently included a hospital or hospice building, which catered for the needs of the sick and for pilgrims and travellers.[65] These hospitals invariably employed lay brothers and sisters, or servants who performed the day-to-day care, allowing the monks to fulfil their duty of care of the sick by providing administrative and financial support, but without getting personally involved with the infirm.[66] In addition, monasteries frequently had their own infirmaries, in which sick monks would be cared for.

If a monk became leprous, he would often – but not always – be cared for within the precinct of his monastery, even if that monastery did not have its own leper-house. A report by Eudes Rigaud from the Benedictine abbey at Bec, in Normandy, records that a monk was sent away from the abbey:

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[62] Jeanne, 'Quelles problématiques pour la mort du lépreux? Sondages archéologiques du cimetière de Saint-Nicolas de la Chesnaie, Bayeux', (72).
[63] *The Rule of St. Benedict, in Latin and English*, ed. and trans. by J. McCann (London: Burns and Oates, 1969), 26-27.
[64] Ibid., 90-91.
[65] Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality : the Benedictines in England, c.1070-c.1250*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 151-53.
[66] *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, D. Knowles and C.N.L. Brooke (eds.), (Rev.), Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 132-35.

> … since the community suspected Brother Nicholas of Lendy of leprosy, and abhorred and abominated him because of this, we advised the abbot privately … to send the Brother N[icholas] away. The abbot told us that he would send him to St-Lambert, where there is no great concourse of men and where he might receive the benefit of the air and considerable mitigation of his ailment.[67]

This is unusual, for it shows that the monks were not willing to countenance this leprous monk remaining among them; regardless of their rule's stipulation that sick monks should be cared for, the fraternity at this time were unwilling to comply, and preferred to send Brother Nicholas elsewhere. It is maybe pertinent that Eudes' advice to the abbot was given 'privately' – this suggests that this was not normal practice. If the monks at Bec were so hostile to lepers, a transfer elsewhere was evidently seen to be in this particular leper's best interests.

In the fourteenth century, Richard of Wallingford, the abbot at the Benedictine Abingdon Abbey, was alleged to have developed leprosy.[68] His monks attempted to have him removed, citing the abbot's leprosy as a reason, although the real reason for their antipathy was actually resentment of his programme of internal reform.[69] The leprosy alone was obviously an insufficient cause for removal of an abbot from his duties. The difference between the cases of Richard and of Brother Nicholas may have been due to their status within the monastery – it would be far easier to remove a monk than an abbot. Alternatively, the description of Nicholas' situation, being already 'abhorred and abominated' despite the disease only being 'suspected', may have been a factor also in his removal. The text suggests that his disease was highly visible to his fellow monks, in a manner that Richard's was not.

Elsewhere, leprous monks were provided for in a dedicated space within the monastery. At Cluny, for example, in the twelfth century, a leprous monk named Robert was placed not in an infirmary but in an isolated cell.[70] At Royaumont, a Cistercian abbey built by Louis IX and Blanche of Castile, leprous monks were separated (there were at least two at the same time during Louis' reign – see Appendix III), although it is not exactly clear how. Pope Boniface VIII's

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[67] Rigaldus, *Regestrum*, 623. '*Item, quia conventus habebat fratrem Nicholam de Lendy suspectum de lepra, et abhorrebat eum propter hoc et abhominabatur, consuluimus abbati secreto, in camera ubi consuevimus iacere, quod dictum fratrem N. abinde amoveret ; et dixit nobis quod ipsum ad locum Sancti Lamberti mitteret, ubi non est frequentia hominum, ubique beneficium aeris et multa infirmitatis sue levimenta habere posset.'*

[68] John David North, *Richard of Wallingford : an edition of his writings*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 7.

[69] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 253.

[70] *Studi Gregoriani per la storia della "libertas ecclesiae" / Two Studies in Cluniac History 1049-1126*, H.E.J. Cowdrey (ed.), (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1978), 89. *'Rotberto cuidam honesto fratri et erudito ac piis commendato moribus medicus uitalis Deus leprae morbum immitti consenserat… ei quemtenere in conuentu infirmorum non potuit propter scandalum fecit propriam domunculam extremo in angulo infirmariae.'*

sermon celebrating Louis' canonisation describes a leper being 'segregated from others in a particular room.'[71] William of Saint-Pathus' description of the same leper records that he was in a house away from the others – possibly a separate infirmary for leprous monks.[72]

The Grandmontine Order was unusual in that it accommodated lepers. This order, founded near Limoges in 1076 by St. Stephen of Muret, initially followed teachings based on the Rules of St Basil, St Benedict and St Augustine; its own rule was written down after Stephen's death, but was apparently the founder's own instruction.[73] Despite their desire for seclusion, Elizabeth Hallam has established that at least some of their houses served additionally as leper-houses; in 1188, Clement III granted protection to the house of La Haie near Angers, for both the healthy and the leprous.[74] The house at Bois Rahier, founded by Henry II and in receipt of an annual pension of £300 plus forest rights from the king, received a confirmation of a charter by King Richard which specified the grant to be 'for the use of the leprous and healthy brothers'.[75] At one stage of his life, Henry II expressed his desire to be buried at Grandmont, although he was eventually interred at Fontevrault.[76] Henry's own interest in lepers and leper-houses (see Chapter 5) is reflected in his interest in the Grandmontine Order.

Lepers were forbidden, however, along with men under the age of 20 and the infirm, from being admitted to the order for fear of the 'scandal' that they represented – language reminiscent of the concerns of the bishop of Lincoln discussed above.[77] It is likely that the lepers in these houses were ordained monks, who remained within the monastic precinct after their diagnosis. The eremitical nature of the order suggests that it is unlikely that they offered hospitality or infirmary spaces to laity as the abbey at Reading did, for example.

An individual abbey that provided care for lepers was that of Fontevrault, which was founded in the early twelfth century by Robert d'Arbrissel, who had previously founded a house for Augustinian canons at La Roë, in north-west France. The account of his life written by Baudry of

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[71] 'Bonifaci VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione'. in *RHF*, xxiii (1894), 148-60, (157). *'... manebat segregatus ab aliis in quadam camera positus monasteriis... '*; Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Les enquêtes pour la canonisation de saint Louis — de Grégoire X à Boniface VIII — et la bulle *Gloria laus*, du 11 août 1297', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France,* 57.158 (1971), 19-29, (27).

[72] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (96). *'... estoit en une meson desseuré des autres ...'* and *'... il issi de leglise et ala vers lenfermerie a la meson ou li moines domoroit einsi mesel'*

[73] *Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis*, J. Becquet (ed.), Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis (Turnholt: Brepols, 1968), 66; Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929), 209.

[74] Elizabeth M. Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I and the order of Grandmont', *Journal of Medieval History,* 1.2 (1975), 165-86, (175).

[75] Ibid., 177. '*ad opus leprosorum et sanorum fratrum*.'

[76] Ibid., 168.

[77] *Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis*, 88. *'Quemlibet etiam leprosum manifeste cognitum in nostra religione recipi prohibemus. Quippe membra Christi scandalizaret, et maledictionem Domini incurret dicentis: Vae autem homini illi, per quem scandalum venit*.'

Borgueil, archbishop of Dol, in Brittany (died 1130), records that the Fontevrault precinct included a monastery, a nunnery, and separate houses for reformed prostitutes (St Mary Magdalene) and for lepers (St Lazare).[78] Baudry suggests that Robert had Christological powers, being in the custom of healing the sick, cleansing lepers and raising the dead.[79] The published cartulary contains no references to lepers there, indicating that the abbey probably administered all the houses through its central almonry, as was the case at Reading, for example.[80] The *Cartulary of the almoner of Reading Abbey* includes information about the leper-house there alongside similar information regarding the abbey itself, indicating that the abbey's almoner was responsible for both. Nevertheless, one charter issued by Henry II donated land specifically to the leprous nuns there – *sanctimonialibus Sancti Lazari Fontis Ebraudi.*[81] The patronage directed towards Fontevrault by kings and queens may have stemmed from Robert d'Arbrissel's holy reputation and his own attention to the leprous and the sick.

The Cistercian order, founded at the very end of the eleventh century, emphasised devotion to prayer in solitude, choosing rural locations for their abbeys, purposefully distancing themselves from lay society as much as possible. This isolation, both spiritual and geographic, ensured that the only sick for whom the monks cared were members of their own order, and, like the Grandmontines, they refused to admit novices with leprosy. A statute issued in 1191 ordered that any novices found to be leprous could be discharged, but that 'mercy' could be provided to them in a secular environment, suggesting that accommodation would be found for them in a leper-house outside the monastic compound.[82] Furthermore, lepers who wished to live near to the monastery were to be 'absolutely forbidden, lest by chance any of them should be seen in person by someone associated with the monasteries, whatever should happen as a consequence, everywhere where lepers are, damage and trouble will come to the whole order.'[83] Should one of

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[78] Baudry of Borgueil. 'Vita', in *PL*, 221 vols., clxii (1889), cols.1043-68, (col.1050); ibid., clxii, col.1050; *Les deux vies de Robert d'Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud = The two lives of Robert of Arbrissel, founder of Fontevraud*, ed. by Jacques Dalarun, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006), 175-77.
[79] Dalarun (ed.), *Les deux vies*, 78; Baudry of Borgueil. 'Vita', (clxii, col.1055). *'Quis enim nostri temporis tot languidos curavit, tot leprosos mundavit, tot mortuos suscitavit?'*; Dalarun (ed.), *Les deux vies*, 179-81.
[80] Jean-Marc Bienvenu, 'Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud Tome II avec la collaboration de Robert Favreau et Georges Pon', *Collection des archives historiques du Poitou* (Poitiers: Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest, 2005); British Library, Cotton Vespasian E v. .
[81] *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, ed. by L. Delisle and E. Berger, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France, 4 vols., (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909-27), i, 499.
[82] *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786. Opus in lineamentis ab eximio A. Trilhe ... non ita adumbratum suscepit ... et edidit D. Josephus-Mia Canivez*, ed. by J.M. Canivez and A. Trilhe, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 8 vols., (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933), i, 145, §80. '*Novitii qui in probatione leprosi inveniuntur de jure emitti possunt, sed de misericordia eis provideri potest in habitu saeculari'* (1191)
[83] Ibid., 269, §5. '*De leprosis pro quibus petitur ut permittuntur habitare prope domos ordinis, omnino ne fiat interdicitur, ne occasione eorum qui ad praesens videntur aliquid conferre quibusdam monasteriis,*

their own ordained monks become leprous, however, provision was obviously made on-site for their continued care, as per the example cited above from Royaumont.

Some monasteries also founded and controlled their own leper-houses, which were usually based outside the town, but only a short distance away from the monastery, and probably outside of the monastic compound.[84] In 1215 a statute of the synod of Coutances ordered that:

> Any abbey may have a house against its walls where the leprous may be placed, wherever by chance this may happen, so that it is neither outside nor inside the religious house, since the house itself becomes vile from this, and through it the brotherly bond itself is lost.[85]

The specific order that these leper-houses were to be placed against the abbey's walls and definitely not 'outside' the religious house suggest that these were designed to house leprous monks. The lepers were, however, not to be seen to be 'inside' the religious house either; the leper-house's situation as part of the wall would have made it effectively part of the demarcation between the religious precinct and the outer secular environment. It was evidently important that leprous monks were still allowed to feel part of the monastic fraternity, as far as could be decently permitted, but at enough of a distance to mitigate the fear of physical contagion. There is also here, however, the belief that leprosy brought with it a danger of spiritual infection, which could, if not properly managed, damage the close-knit nature of the fraternity, and therefore the well-being of the monastery as a whole.

While the Coutances statute discussed leper-houses as part of the abbey, other leper-houses founded by abbeys were sited further away, and their separation was emphasised by being dedicated to different saints.[86] Evidence from Reading suggests that these houses accommodated relatively wealthy local townspeople who could no longer be cared for at home, who could afford to make a donation upon entry, and who wished to adopt a quasi-monastic

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quamlibet trahatur in consequentiam, ut passim leprosi veniant in totius ordinis detrimentum et gravamen.' (1204)

[84] British Library, Cotton Vespasian E v. , f.38r; Richards, *Medieval Leper*, 129; William Dugdale, and others, *Monasticon Anglicanum: or, The history of the ancient abbies, monasteries, hospitals, cathedrals and collegiate churches, with their dependencies, in England and Wales: : also of all such Scotch, Irish, and French monasteries, as did in any manner relate to those in England*, 3 vols., (London: R. Harbin, 1718), i, 159; Joseph Avril, 'Le IIIe Concile de Latran et les Communautés des lépreux', *Revue Mabillon,* lx (1981), 21-76, (46).

[85] *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, ed. by E. Martène, and others, 5 vols., (Paris: n.pub., 1717), iv, col. 804. *'Item, praecipimus ut quaelibet abbatia domum habeat juxta muros ad leprosum ponendum, ubi si forte contigerit, ita non extra nisi in loco religioso quia et domus inde vilescit et per hoc mutua fraternitas erga ipsum amittitur.'* ; Mesmin, 'Leper Hospital of Saint Gilles', i, 39.

[86] For example, the abbey at Reading was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist, while the leper-house was dedicated to St Mary Magdalene. At St Albans, the abbey was dedicated to St Alban and the leper-house to St Julian.

lifestyle to ensure their salvation. In the thirteenth century, a woman made a donation of land to Reading abbey when her husband joined the 'religion of the lepers.'[87]

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis (page 18), the number of lepers in leper-houses began to decrease in the late thirteenth century. The evidence from the twelfth and early thirteenth century, however, shows the concern of religious authorities during this period to provide care for lepers, and to persuade the residents of these leper-houses of the positive aspect of their illness. Although these lepers may have renounced their role in secular society – perhaps simply in order to procure food and accommodation for the rest of their days – they were still able to provide a service to others from within the leper-house, through the act of prayer and intercession.

Order of St Lazarus

A similar picture emerges from the Christian lands in the East, where the Order of St Lazarus had been founded in the twelfth century for the care of leprous knights. The exact foundation date is unclear, however its house outside the walls of Jerusalem certainly existed by 1172.[88] The Order was initially focused solely on care, and those for whom it provided welfare included knights from other military orders in the East. The regulations of the Knights Templars, another military order, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, offered leprous knights the opportunity to transfer to the Order of Saint Lazarus; if they did not wish to leave the Templars, they were to be housed and maintained within the order, apart from other knights.[89] After 1260, it became compulsory for knights to transfer to the Order of Saint Lazarus.[90] The Order of St John did not implement such a rule.[91] Legislation from the *Assises de la Haute Cour*, the legal code of the Latin kings in the East, also instructed that any knight who became leprous should be taken to the Order of Saint Lazarus.

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[87] British Library, Cotton Vespasian E v. , f.77r. '*post conversionem… ad religionem leprosorum*'; Brian Kemp, *Reading Abbey cartularies : British Library manuscripts, Egerton 3031, Hovley 1708 and Cotton Vespasian E XXV*, 2 vols., (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), i, 63 §758.

[88] Rafaël Hyacinthe, 'De Domo Sancti Lazari milites leprosi: Knighthood and Leprosy in the Holy Land', in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice,* ed. by B.S. Bowers, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 209-24, (211).

[89] *La Règle du Temple*, H.d. Curzon (ed.), (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1886), 239-40. *'Quant il avient a aucun frere que par la volenté de nostre Seignor il chiet en meselerie et la chose est provée, li prodome frere de la maison le doivent amonester et prier que il demande congié de la maison et que il se rende a saint Ladre, et que il preigne l'abit de frere de saint Ladre ; et le frere malade se il est home de bien lor en doit obeir, et encores lor seroit plus bele chose que il requist le dit congié par sei meisme devant que l'on l'eust amonesté ne prié. Et se le frere requiert ledit congié, le Maistre ou celui a qui il afiert li doit doner ledit congié, mès il le doit faire esgart des freres…'*

[90] 'Un nouveau manuscrit de la Règle du Temple', ed. by J.D. Le Roulx, *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France,* 26.ii (1889), 185-214, (197-8). '*El est use de la nostra maiso que si nuil frere esdevent mesel, l'enfermer li doit dire au maestre. Eu maestre deit comander a .ij. freres or a .iij. que menen selui frere au maestre de Sent Ladre o a celui qui te son loc …'*

[91] Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, 11.

> If it should happen that by the will of the Lord a knight becomes leprous, but cannot be cured of this leprosy that has taken hold of him, the law judges and orders that he should be taken to the Order of Saint Lazarus, there where it is established that people with such sickness should be; … if this knight has a wife, reason and the law judges that these marriages should be split, so that they should no longer be together, so it must be that his wife should be taken to an order of nuns, because if other men should touch her carnally they could be disfigured by this disease, because she has been with her husband carnally since he was afflicted with this disease, and because of this she must live in a religious order like her husband.'[92]

There was evidently a real concern about leprosy being transmitted through sexual contact (ideas about the transmission of leprosy are discussed in the following chapter). The order that the married couple should be separated echoes Pope Alexander III's order that if a couple could not stay together – which they could not, in this case, as the knight was obliged to join the Order of Saint Lazarus – then both partners must lead a religious life. The importance of sexual continence is paramount.

It is unclear whether or not lepers were allowed to continue in their chivalric function. Although the order maintained a leper-house for those in the more advanced stages of the disease, it is possible that there was little distinction between the healthy and the sick in the field of battle. In 1255 Pope Alexander IV referred to 'active knights and others both healthy and leprous'.[93] Rafäel Hyacinthe has noted however that not all knights of the order were lepers, and that those participating in fighting had to swear that they had no disease.[94] The order continued to exist beyond the death of all of its knights during a military defeat at La Forbie, near Gaza, in 1244, after which recruitment would necessarily have been focused on healthy men.[95] In 1253, Pope Innocent IV permitted the order to appoint a healthy knight as master-general, replacing the previous requirement for a leper; previous masters such as Walter of Chastel Neuf and Rainaud

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[92] *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Lois : Assises de Jérusalem; ou, Recueil des ouvrages de jurisprudence, composés pendant le XIIIe siècle dans les royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre*, ed. by Arthur Beugnot, 2 vols., (Farnborough: Gregg, 1967), i, 636. *'S'il avient que par la volenté de nostre Seignor un home lige devient mesel, si que mais ne puisse garir de sele meselerie qui fort s'est prise sur luy, le dreit juge et commande que il deit estre rendue en l'order de saint Lasre, là où est estably que les gens de tel maladie deivent estre; … se celuy home lige avoit feme, la raison et le dreit juge que celui mariages det estre partis, si que mais de devent estre ensemble, ains det estre sa moiller rendue en l'ordre des femes nounains, por ce que ce autres homes touchassent à luy charnelment, si porreent estre mahaignés de cele maladie, puis que elle a esté charnaument o ces maris despuis qu'il ot cele maladie ; et por ce det estre en ordre auci com ses maris.'*

[93] *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, B. de la Roncière, A. Coulon, and J. de Loye (eds.) (Paris: Thorin & fils, 1895), i, 122; Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, 14.

[94] Hyacinthe, 'De Domo Sancti Lazari', (220-21).

[95] Malcolm Barber, 'The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades', *The Catholic Historical Review,* 80.3 (1994), 439-56, (449).

of Fleury had been members of the Latin aristocracy.[96] This attitude was probably borne out of necessity; in the continuing struggle against the Saracens, the Christian armies may have been in need of as many knights as were physically able to fight, and discrimination against lepers would have been detrimental to the Christian ideal of reclaiming the Holy Land.[97]

The Order had bases also in England and in France, but with what appears to have been a focus on fund-raising rather than care for lepers. They received their house at Burton Lazars in England in the late twelfth century, following a donation by Sir Roger Mowbray; by the fifteenth century, the order had a total of 15 houses in England, none of them very significant according to David Marcombe's research.[98] Marcombe has suggested that very few lepers were in fact cared for at Burton Lazars, citing the belief to the contrary as a 'myth' that developed from the seventeenth century onwards.[99] The house instead served principally as a preceptory, the function of which was the financial support of the order in the Holy Land. Marcombe has argued furthermore that the Order's daughter houses in England, by the end of the thirteenth century, had all had their charitable functions removed, and their lands served only to earn money to send to the Latin kingdom.[100] Running a network of hospitals was expensive; converting the usage of lands to granges better fulfilled the order's purpose of raising funds.[101] A similar picture emerges from the order's existence elsewhere in Europe. The order's principal property in France was at Boigny-sur-Bionne (Loiret), given to them by Louis VII. This was by no means an unimportant piece of land – Louis VI had held court there, and Louis VII himself had married Constance of Castile there in 1153.[102]

The Mendicant Orders

The behavioural model represented by Robert d'Arbrissel at Fontevrault became more widespread from the early thirteenth century, with a shift towards more personal contact with the poor and the sick becoming a common theme in the hagiographies of thirteenth-century saints. St Francis epitomised this form of sanctity, and his interest in lepers emphasised the importance of their role in conversion and faith. The nature of St Francis' conversion is well-known; as a wealthy, young man, riding his horse one day, Francis met a leper. He dismounted

[96] Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, 13-14; Barber, 'The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades', (443).
[97] Shulamith Shahar, 'Des lépreux pas comme les autres. L'ordre de Saint-Lazare dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem', *Revue Historique,* T.267.1(541) (1982), 19-41, (35).
[98] Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, 73-4.
[99] Ibid., 153.
[100] Ibid., 160.
[101] Ibid., 161.
[102] Rene Pétiet, *Contribution a l'histoire de l'ordre de St.-Lazare de Jérusalem en France*, (Paris: E. Champion, 1914), 101.

from his horse with some reluctance, gave the leper some money, kissed him, and rode away. When he turned around to look again, the leper had entirely disappeared, and Francis was:

> … filled with wonder and joy as a result, after a few days, he took care to do the same thing again. He went to the dwelling places of the lepers, and after he had given each leper some money, he kissed his hand and his mouth. Thus he exchanged the bitter for the sweet, and manfully prepared himself to carry out the rest.[103]

This motif of the leper as Christ, who either disappeared or was transformed following an act of charity, became common around the end of the twelfth century, and miracles of this kind continued to be reported throughout the thirteenth century, as in the life of St Elizabeth of Hungary (discussed further in Chapter 5).

The Franciscan order thus became associated with lepers and leprosy in the thirteenth century, as Christ's teaching of charity and love to lepers was reinforced. The Franciscan and the Dominican orders became highly influential early in the century, their members being present at the royal courts in both England and in France. Until his death in 1226, St Francis took particular interest in the leprous and attempted to instil this practice into his followers. Humbert of Romans, who served as Master General of the Dominican order from 1254 until his retirement in 1264, placed Francis' devotion alongside that of Christ and of St Martin, both of whom had healed lepers, as an example to others of the sacred nature of this type of work.[104] The Franciscans' reputation for caring for lepers may have survived, although this practice was not maintained by his followers outside of Assisi; Pope Honorius' III rewriting of the order's rule in the early 1220s omitted Francis' references to caring for lepers, and also removed the words 'They must be happy to be among people of low condition and of no account, among the poor and the weak, the sick, the lepers and the street beggars.'[105] Thomas of Eccleston's contemporary account of the first Franciscans to arrive in England gives no indication of any such work being performed.[106] Pietro Maranesi has argued that the inclusion of Francis' service to lepers in the story of the saint's life was not there to exhort other friars to do the same, but

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[103] *St. Francis of Assisi, Writings and Early Biographies : English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, ed. by Marion A. Habig, Raphael Brown, and John R. H. Moorman, (London: S.P.C.K., 1979), 369-70.
[104] Bériou and Touati, *Voluntate*, 159. *'Et ideo exemplo Christi et beati Martini et beati Francisci animandi sunt homines ad seruiendum et assistendum eisdum.'* The miracle of St Martin is discussed in Chapter 4.
[105] Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Francis of Assisi*, (London: Routledge, 2004), 48.
[106] Thomas of Eccleston, *The Friars and how they came to England : being a Translation of Thomas of Eccleston's "De adventu F.F. Minorum in Angliam"*, ed. by Fr. Cuthbert, (St. Louis ; London: B. Herder ; Sands, 1903).

instead to make them consider how they live in the world, taking the part of the marginalised and treating them with mercy.[107]

Instead, preaching and pastoral care became a primary concern, and because of the order's traditional emphasis on poverty, Franciscans themselves became recipients of the same kind of alms as those directed towards leper-houses and hospitals. Providing institutional care for the sick was therefore impossible for them, as they were theoretically bound to renounce all property except that which was necessary for their own living: accommodation; a place to worship and pray; victuals; and, later, books in order to teach.[108] The Dominican Order was not associated in the same way with caring for the sick. The order was authorised by Pope Innocent III to preach and to teach the laity in the ways of Christianity, and had become the principal instructors of faith by the middle of the thirteenth century. Their reach spread from urban populations to the highest echelons of society. The order established itself as the primary order for confession and penitence, with the creation of a number of Confessors' Manuals in the thirteenth century.[109] As discussed in the Introduction of this thesis, there existed still in the thirteenth century a perceived connection between heresy and leprosy, and between sin and leprosy. The pastoral care offered by the mendicant orders was intended to steer the laity away from incorrect beliefs and behaviour, and increase the chances of their salvation.[110] Those who heeded the friars' advice would therefore be less susceptible to sickness, including leprosy; the connection between physical illness and sin was made explicit in 1215, in canon 22 from the Fourth Lateran Council, which emphasised the prioritisation of spiritual welfare over physical welfare.[111]

Female Religious

In north-east France and the Low Countries in the early thirteenth century, there were some notable female religious figures who took it upon themselves to care for lepers and the sick, and who may in turn have influenced St Francis to do the same. Discerning the role of the female religious in the care of the sick is more difficult than for male religious, due to the less formal and less institutionalised nature of female congregations, particularly during the early part of

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[107] Pietro Maranesi, 'Il servizio ai lebbrosi in san Francesco e nei francescani', *Franciscana: Bollettino della Società internazionale di studi francescani* (X, 2008), 19-81, 35.
[108] Nicole Bériou, 'Introduction', in *Économie et religion : l'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIIIe-XVe siècle),* ed. by N. Bériou and J. Chiffoleau, (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2009), 7-22, (15).
[109] Georges Minois, *Le confesseur du roi : les directeurs de conscience sous la monarchie française*, (Paris: Fayard, 1988), 159.
[110] Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars*, (London: Allen and Unwin [etc.], 1975), 99; R.N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-century Renaissance*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 149.
[111] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 245-6.

the century.[112] Many began as discrete groups, or were only loosely affiliated to existing monastic orders, even though this affiliation was sometimes against the wishes of the monks themselves.[113] As the century progressed, the church became more interested in these groups, and, by attempting to bring them into the fold, placed restrictions on the manner in which they could practice their devotion.[114] The most obvious example among these women is Clare of Assisi. Clare was born in the late twelfth century to a noble family.[115] Inspired by the example of St Francis, Clare chose a religious life, residing near the church of S. Damiano, near Assisi, where she was joined by other women, and in 1212, received agreement from St Francis that the male and female religious would grant each other mutual support.[116] Despite the ruling from the Fourth Lateran Council that no new religious orders were to be approved, in 1228 Clare received the *privilegium paupertatis* – a privilege of poverty which allowed them to be forced to receive gifts or endowments – from Pope Gregory IX, for herself and her companions – the Poor Clares, or Poor Ladies.[117] Along with this permission, however, the pope insisted that they should be enclosed, and not carry out the pastoral care in the community as practiced by Francis and his male followers.[118] Caroline Walker Bynum has suggested that Clare was thereafter 'virtually forced to retain income and servants'.[119]

Tanya Stabler Miller has argued that the only form of *imitatio Christi* – the living of life based on the acts and teachings of Christ – deemed acceptable for women was a life of suffering and prayer; leaving the cloistered environment to interact with the laity as the male Franciscans were able to do was not to be desired.[120] Bynum has argued, however, that the female mendicant orders in Italy did commonly care for the poor and the sick.[121] Sean Field has suggested that Clare of Assisi's rule was 'not widely adopted in the thirteenth century', but it was an important influence for the rule devised by Louis IX's sister, Isabelle, for her foundation at Longchamp [122]. Indeed, Isabelle insisted upon, and eventually received approval for, the name of *Sorores Minores*

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[112] Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 24.
[113] Constance H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution : the Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-century Europe*, The Middle Ages series, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 233-4; Brenda M. Bolton, 'Mulieres sanctae', in *Studies in Church History, 10,* ed. by D. Baker, (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1973), 77-95, (79-80).
[114] Berman, *Cistercian Evolution*, 233.
[115] Joan Mueller, *A Companion to Clare of Assisi: Life, Writings, and Spirituality*, (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010), 11.
[116] Ibid., 68.
[117] Maria Pia Alberzoni, *Clare of Assisi and the Poor Sisters in the thirteenth century*, Franciscan Institute publications, (St. Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 2004), 17.
[118] Mueller, *Companion to Clare of Assisi*, 77.
[119] Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 24.
[120] Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris : Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 117.
[121] Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 26.
[122] Sean L. Field, *Isabelle of France : Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century*, (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 62.

for the nuns at Longchamp, connecting her newly-founded order through its name to the *Fratres Minores* – the Franciscan order.[123]

Evidence from northern France and Flanders shows that a number of disparate groups of women were assuming the care of the sick and of lepers. The affiliation of these groups is not always clear – in some instances affiliation may have been formally recognised some time after they had begun to congregate together. Constance Berman, for example, having researched the province of Sens, has argued that a number of Cistercian nunneries had their origins in, or had connections to, leper-houses. Les Isles-Sainte-Marie, founded by Matilda of Courtenay, had previously been a leper-house. The nunnery at Villuis was created for women who had nursed lepers; after their community was moved, it continued to be involved in the leper-house. The nuns at Nemours were 'sent to oversee' a nearby community of lepers at Berneuil.[124]

Anne Lester has also traced similar connections between these two types of institution in the north-east of France and in Flanders. In many cases, Lester has identified evidence of geographical proximity between Cistercian nunneries and leper-houses.[125] Other Cistercian houses began as communities inhabiting existing hospitals and leper-houses, meaning that a wealthy patron did not need to be sought to provide new buildings.[126] Lester argues for the presence of a co-ordinated drive to achieve a union between groups of religious women and lepers. The close contact with the diseased and the risk of contracting leprosy was, she suggests, an attempt to achieve the 'ideal' of penitential purity.[127] Through the act of ministering to lepers, in close proximity and with the possibility of becoming infected, these women were performing the ultimate penance, and serving Christ with utmost humility. There is some evidence also to show that the female religious of the Premonstratensian Order – an order based on the Rule of Saint Augustine – were involved in the care of lepers. In 1241, the prior of the women's monastery of Reichenstein was appointed as administrator of the leper-house at Malmedy, approximately 25 miles away.[128] The prior was a man (although prioresses were recorded at the house too), but his issue of a letter asking other ecclesiastic men in the diocese of archbishop of

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[123] Ibid., 102.
[124] Constance H. Berman, 'Abbeys for Cistercian Nuns in the Ecclesiastical Province of Sens. Foundation, Endowment and Economic Activities of the Earlier Foundations', *Revue Mabillon,* 8 (1997), 83-113, (91).
[125] Anne Elisabeth Lester, 'Cares Beyond the Walls: Cistercian Nuns and the Care of Lepers in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Northern France', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400 : Interaction, Negotiation, and Power,* ed. by E. Jamroziak and J.E. Burton, (Turnhout: Brepols ; Abingdon : Marston [distributor], 2007), 197-224, (200).
[126] Anne Elisabeth Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns : the Women's Religious Movement and its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne*, (Ithaca, N.Y. ; London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 97.
[127] Lester, 'Cares Beyond the Walls', (219).
[128] *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy*, J. Halkin and C.G. Roland (eds.), 2 vols. (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1909), 39, §325; Shelley Amiste Wolbrink, 'Women in the Premonstratensian Order of Northwestern Germany, 1120-1250', *The Catholic Historical Review,* 89.3 (2003), 387-408, (398).

Cologne to give generously to the alms-collectors from the leper-house, suggests a connection between the two houses. Shelley Amiste Wolbrink has placed this connection in the context of other known hospitals attached to Premonstratensian convents in the same region, arguing that it demonstrates an element of 'freedom for female leadership'.[129] Juliana of Cornillon, who was instrumental in the middle of the thirteenth century in persuading the Church to officially adopt the feast of Corpus Christi, was herself at a leper-house attached to a Premonstratensian house in Liège.[130]

In reality, the association of some of these women with a particular religious order is difficult. Groups of women desiring to live communal lives without taking religious vows – known as beguines – appear particularly from the early thirteenth century in Flanders and in the north-east of France, at the same time as the mendicant orders began to flourish. The motive of the beguines was the *imitatio Christi* in the form of a life of 'contemplative care and charitable action', without the restrictions associated with the taking of religious vows.[131] Their influence from Flanders, one of the 'main centers' of the beguines, into France, may have been facilitated by Louis IX, who founded the first beguine house in Paris, following a visit he made to Ghent in 1254.[132] Blanche of Castile had been supporting the beguines at Crépy-en-Valois since 1239.[133]

The lives of two women – Marie of Oignies and Ivette of Huy – are particularly informative with regard to the lives of these groups. Both women cared for lepers and the sick, and were regarded locally as *mulierae sanctae*, despite never being canonised by the papacy.[134] Ivette, after being widowed, left her children and moved into a leper-house. She expanded this into a 'flourishing hospital with a church and convent', and founded one of the first beguine communities with her followers.[135] Marie also began her religious life caring for lepers; later in life both women adopted a more reclusive, contemplative way of life.[136] Marie's influence was important as she may have influenced St Francis, who travelled to the Low Countries in 1217; Bynum has described her as a 'precursor in many devotional practices of Francis of Assisi', whose own

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[129] Wolbrink, 'Women in the Premonstratensian Order', (397).
[130] 'Vita B. Juliana virgine priorissa Monis-Cornelii apud Leodium. Promotrice festi corpus Christi.', in *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis Tomus Primus,* ed. by G. Henschenius and D. Papebrochio, (Paris; Rome, 1866), 435-42, (438); Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 169.
[131] Miller, *Beguines*, 25.
[132] Ibid., 26-27.
[133] Lindy Grant, *Blanche of Castile: Queen of France*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 206.
[134] A Mulder-Bakker, 'Ivetta of Huy (1158-1228)', *Women in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, 2004, <http://search.credoreference.com.idpproxy.reading.ac.uk/content/entry/abcwma/ivetta_of_huy_1158_1228/0?institutionId=158>, (accessed 19 June 2015); *Two Lives of Marie d'Oignies*, ed. by Margot H. King, 4th edn. (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing, 1998), 9.;
[135] Mulder-Bakker, 'Ivetta of Huy (1158-1228)',
[136] Miller, *Beguines*, 117.

practices can themselves be seen as having influenced Louis IX.[137] Marie's *Vita* was written by Jacques de Vitry, who himself had been drawn to Oignies by Marie's reputation, and who served as her confessor.[138]

Both Marie and Ivette later had local leper-houses 'dedicated' to them – evidently not an official dedication as the women's sanctity was not officially recognised – but the association between them and the houses at which they served persisted.[139] Miller has argued that the beguines' active charity ceased in Paris in the same way that the activities of the followers of Saint Clare of Assisi had stopped, and that the Parisian women were restricted by 'social norms' imposed upon them by concerned male theologians, who believed that women should remain cloistered in order to concentrate on spiritual matters, and not perform the type of pastoral work entailed in the corporal works of mercy.[140] The *vitae* of Marie d'Oignies and other *mulierae sanctae* show a shift away from the active life, towards the contemplative, and a withdrawal from personal ministering to the poor and the sick.

Beyond Christianity

Although this thesis is focussed on the experience of lepers in England and in France, it is worth also briefly considering the experience of the leper in the context of Judaism and Islam. Approaches to leprosy in the Latin East are important when considering leprosy in western Christendom during the era of crusades to the Holy Land. The beginning of the crusades at the very end of the eleventh century magnified the contact that had been taking place for centuries, contact which had facilitated the exchange of ideas and knowledge, including medical texts. Recent investigation has dismissed the idea that leprosy only arrived in Europe because of crusaders and pilgrims travelling back and forth; however the attitudes of Islamic societies towards lepers may have become apparent to European Christians because of this constant contact.[141] Leprosy was certainly present in Europe before the promulgation of the First Crusade, and the growth in the number of leper-houses occurred contemporaneously with the growth of hospitals and other religious foundations in the same geographical areas. It is, however, necessary to explore possible connections between these events in light of individuals from western Christendom being exposed to other ways of dealing with disease.

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[137] King (ed.), *Two Lives of Marie d'Oignies*, 10; Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 115.
[138] King (ed.), *Two Lives of Marie d'Oignies*, 10.
[139] Jean-Joseph Tricot-Royer, 'Les saints protecteurs des lépreux', *Bulletin de la société française d'histoire de la médecine,* vol.26 (1932), 245-8, (246-7).
[140] Miller, *Beguines*, 117.
[141] Mitchell, 'Myth', (174-5).

Michael Dols has examined Arabic medical texts in order to understand what physicians described as leprosy, and has also studied the status of the leper within Muslim societies.[142] Dols' analysis of medical texts, some of which were to have a wide influence in western society from the thirteenth century onwards, demonstrates that, for the most part, a distinction was drawn between variant forms of leprosy, as well as other skin diseases which presented similar symptoms in their early stages.[143] Dols argues that the experience of lepers in Islamic society was somewhat different to Christian society. Although lepers were separated from society, as they sometimes were in Europe, they did not suffer the same kind of stigmatisation.[144] The horrific leper who became a literary trope in Western texts such as *Tristan and Isolde*, did not arise in equivalent texts produced in Islamic societies.[145] Although society understood the contagious nature of the disease, tradition taught that the disease came from God alone, and was therefore not to be reviled.

Dols argues that Islamic society was perhaps more tolerant than Christian society, with little evidence of segregation and no governmental legislation, although as his article pre-dates more recent interpretations of lepers' experiences, particularly those by Touati and Carole Rawcliffe, the difference may be less marked than he has suggested. He states that leprosy was 'often invoked as a curse on those guilty of immoral behaviour', a fact that perpetuates the western connection between immorality and leprosy.[146] Another distinction that Dols makes is that leper-houses were probably far more liberal than their western counterparts, and there is far less evidence for separation than can be found in Europe.[147] The idea of leprosy as a curse suggests that Islamic ideals were rather more complex, sharing some parallels with Christian ideas about disease and sin.[148]

Shulamith Shahar suggests that a general acceptance of lepers may have been influenced by Muslim culture; the *Hadith*, the laws of purity, contain no references to leprosy, in contrast to the extended precepts regarding the disease in the book of Leviticus.[149] Attempting to draw a contrast with the experience of lepers in the west, Shahar has highlighted that none of the legislation emanating from the Christian east – the crusader states founded by Christians

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[142] Dols, 'Leprosy'; Michael Dols, 'The Leper in Medieval Islamic Society', *Speculum,* 58.04 (1983), 891-916.
[143] Dols, 'Leprosy', (333).
[144] Dols, 'Leper', (914).
[145] Ibid., 916; Béroul, *Tristan and Iseult : a Twelfth-century Poem*, trans. by J.H. Caulkins and G.R. Mermier, (Paris: Libraire H. Champion, 1967), v.1155-255.
[146] Dols, 'Leper', (895).
[147] Ibid., 915.
[148] Justin K. Stearns, *Infectious Ideas : Contagion in Premodern Islamic and Christian Thought in the Western Mediterranean*, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011) <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/reading/detail.action?docID=4398382.> [accessed 8 August 2018], 112.
[149] Shahar, 'Des lépreux', (34).

following the First Crusade at the end of the eleventh century – imbued the disease with any moral judgement, nor is there any horror expressed of the appearance of the disease.[150] She highlights the fact that laws in Europe 'imposed isolation' on lepers, although as will be discussed in the following chapter, the legal situation was more nuanced than this, and 'isolation' was interpreted in various ways.[151] One factor that does suggest that Islamic attitudes towards leprosy influenced the Christians living in the Latin East is the ability of King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem to accede to the throne in 1174 and to rule for twelve years, many years after having been diagnosed with leprosy.[152] This suggests a far more relaxed attitude than was then prevalent in the west. It is difficult to imagine that either Henry III or Louis IX would have been permitted to rule their kingdoms in such circumstances.

The connection between the Jewish community and leprosy is far more complex than for other identifiable groups in thirteenth-century England and France. Jewish communities were found in both countries, despite experiencing increasing financial and religious pressure from Christian society during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including from both Henry and Louis. Jews formed a small minority of the population, consequently the number of Jewish lepers was almost insignificant. This was so much the case that Christian writers alleged, pejoratively, that Jews were immune to leprosy; indeed some Jewish writers also made the same claim, either as rhetoric, or to suggest their own superiority to their Christian neighbours.[153] That writers from both communities made these suggestions indicates that Jewish lepers were barely visible. Non-Jewish sources have attested to the existence of only two Jewish leper-houses in France; the low frequency of the disease meant that sufferers probably remained within family groups throughout their illness, as the establishment of dedicated institutions would not usually have been worthwhile. [154] They did exist, however, and Ephraim Shoham-Steiner has used the little extant evidence to show that while Jews and Christians based ideas about leprosy on the same Old Testament passages, Jews were far less likely to project moral judgment onto sufferers. He argues also that Jews were driven in this by the very fact of their own minority status. It was

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[150] Ibid., 41.
[151] Ibid., 21.
[152] Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, AD 732-1201*, Rolls Series, 4 vols., (London: Longman, 1868-71), i, 275.
[153] Peter of Poitiers, *Petrus Pictauiensis Summa de confessione, Compilatio praesens*, ed. by J. Longère, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 51, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980). *'Iudaei, quoniam ad menstruatam non accedunt, leprae macula rarius resperguntur.'*; *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages : a Critical Edition of the Nizzahon Vetus*, Judaica Texts and Translations (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 211 §217; Irven Michael Resnick, *Marks of Distinction : Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages*, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 127; Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, *On the Margins of a Minority : Leprosy, Madness, and Disability among the Jews of Medieval Europe*, trans. by H. Watzman, (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 2014), 186.
[154] E. Shoham-Steiner, 'An Ultimate Pariah?: Jewish Social Attitudes toward Jewish Lepers in Medieval Western Europe', *Social Research: An International Quarterly,* 70.1 (2003), 237-68, (252).

vital for Jews to look after their own and to maintain the cohesion of their community without further alienating individual members.[155]

Despite their minority status, Jews became highly prominent physicians – one of the occupations not prohibited to them. They were particularly active in thirteenth-century Sicily, southern Italy and in Muslim Spain, where contact across Mediterranean lands to Muslim and Byzantine societies ensured an ongoing and successful transmission of knowledge, which enhanced the reputation of Jews in the medical milieu.[156] Alphonse of Poitiers sought the advice of a Jewish physician to treat an ophthalmic problem that he had contracted while on crusade; by the fourteenth century, Jews were administering to the popes in Avignon.[157] Despite this, in 1246 the Council of Béziers ordered Christians to be excommunicated should they receive medical treatment from Jewish doctors.[158]

Suspicion of Jews had grown since the call for the First Crusade in 1095. In the thirteenth century, Christian interest in the Talmud, the Jewish book of law, led theologians to label the text as heretical and a threat to Christian society.[159] This hardening of attitudes towards Judaism spread as far as the French court, resulting in Louis IX actually placing the book on trial in 1240, indicating a deep-rooted fear and suspicion of the Jewish faith.[160] Robert Moore has argued that Christians associated the Jewish community with heretics and lepers, as threats to the Christian faith.[161] David Nirenberg has also drawn comparisons between the way the two groups were treated in France, in the context of events the Shepherds' Crusade in 1320, and the Lepers' Plot in 1321.[162] Heretics and Jews were both understood to deny biblical teaching, and lepers and

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[155] Shoham-Steiner, *On the Margins*, 69.
[156] Robert Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom, 1000-1500*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 92.
[157] Edgard Paul Boutaric, *Saint Louis et Alfonse de Poitiers. Étude sur la réunion des provinces du Midi & de l'Ouest à la couronne, et sur les origines de la centralisation administrative, d'après des documents inédits*, (Paris, 1870), 87; Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 137.
[158] *Sacrosancta Concilia*, xi:1, col.686. *'Præterea excommuinicentur Christiani, qui in infirmitate positi, causa medicinæ se committunt curæ Iudæorum.'*; Kay Peter Jankrift, ' Jews in Medieval European Medicine', in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages : (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries) : Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20-25 October 2002,* ed. by C. Cluse, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004), 331-40, (337).
[159] Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews : the Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, (Ithaca ; London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 66-7.
[160] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 805; *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240*, ed. by R. Chazan, trans. by J. Hoff and J. Friedman, Mediaeval sources in translation, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012).
[161] R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society : Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, 2nd edn., (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 83.
[162] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence : Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996), 43-68.

Jews both threatened the Christian faith with their connotations of 'filth, stench and putrefaction, in exceptional sexual voracity and endowment.'[163]

The alleged conspiracy by Jews and lepers to poison wells in France in 1321, and the subsequent 'massacre' of both groups, ensured the simultaneous condemnation of both Judaism and leprosy.[164] Although, as this thesis will show, this was not a standard response to leprosy in the thirteenth century, some recent historiography has continued to use this massacre as an example of showing that medieval European society widely persecuted lepers.[165] The conflation of Jews and heretics is complicated. Because heretics did not conform to the 'correct' faith taught by the Church,, they were to be either corrected or destroyed. Jews, meanwhile, were to be protected so that a Remnant would be saved at the Last Judgement. The simultaneous condemnation of Jews and lepers therefore highlights the fact that popular prejudices could reflect very different fears and ideas from those articulated by official legislation, and Nirenberg has placed the attacks against both groups in 1321 in the wider context of grievances against royal 'extortion', and competing jurisdictions over property, such as that owned by leper-houses.[166]

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the presence of lepers in churches, and in the vicinity of abbeys, was a cause for concern on the part of ecclesiastical authorities. The potential 'scandal' resulted in the issuing of guidelines for the management of this issue, for the avoidance of any damage to fraternities, or to an individual's participation in church services. However, despite the continued association of leprosy with heresy, lepers had an important role to play in Christian life, reflecting the message of compassion and inclusivity of the New Testament. Bishops and abbots were aware of their duty towards the sick. It is clear that religious houses of all kinds displayed some level of concern for lepers, whether merely for their own leprous members, or providing both physical and spiritual care for the wider community. The statutes of leper-houses show how important it was for resident lepers to adhere to a spiritual regime of prayer alongside their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, as a means of securing both their salvation, and the salvation of others. The spiritual importance of caring for lepers is made clear

[163] Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 60; Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, 'Introduction', in *Christendom and its Discontents. Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1000-1500,* ed. by S.L. Waugh and P.D. Diehl, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-15, (2-3); Robert Chazan, 'The Deteriorating Image of the Jews', in *Christendom and its Discontents. Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1000-1500,* ed. by S.L. Waugh and P.D. Diehl, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 220-33, (230).
[164] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 41.
[165] Timothy S. Miller and John W. Nesbitt, *Walking Corpses : Leprosy in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, 2014), 98; Shoham-Steiner, *On the Margins*, 39.
[166] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 50; ibid., 56.

by the actions of the individuals who took this service upon themselves, driven to do so by their faith and biblical teaching of service to Christ.

Whilst this chapter has considered the religious aspect of caring for lepers, and ecclesiastic and monastic perceptions of leprosy, the following chapter will address secular attitudes, particularly in the fields of medicine and the law. As will be discussed, entry to a leper-house was not always compulsory, or possible, and lepers remained visible in urban society. These lepers, the subject of the following chapter, represented a challenge for secular authorities, who had to navigate a path between charitable obligation, the horror generated by lepers' appearance, and fears and concerns about contagion.

Chapter 2: Dealing with Leprosy

The focus of this chapter is the status of lepers who were not resident in leper-houses in the thirteenth century. This aims to complement the previous chapter by providing a rounded study of social attitudes towards lepers and leprosy, outside of formalised religious institutions, and will demonstrate how much lepers were – or were not – integrated into everyday society. The examination of contemporary ideas about leprosy is important for understanding the ways that the environments in which Henry and Louis matured and reigned would have affected the kings' own beliefs and actions.

Medical knowledge and interest in medicine and surgery in this period were expanding, due in part to the contemporary translation of Greek and Arabic medical texts, and also to the growth of universities in western Europe. Although the problem of distinguishing leprosy from other conditions remained, these texts tended to adopt a rational approach towards leprosy, not addressing the moral judgements discussed by theologians. There was clearly a high degree of caution in the process of diagnosis; the importance of being diagnosed was taken seriously enough that courts, even the royal court, or groups of confirmed lepers were assembled to make judgement about individuals' health. Despite this there remained an element of choice on the part of the leper as to whether or not he or she should renounce their secular life. As is evident from laws issued after the thirteenth century, lepers remained in urban society, and a decision to enter a leper-house may have been a personal one. There was, however, serious consideration of the progression of the disease, and facial disfiguration was significant in diagnosis and decisions regarding a leper's status, as the sight of lepers in the more advanced stages of the disease became intolerable.

Medical knowledge

Medical ideas about causes, diagnoses and treatments for leprosy were increasingly transmitted throughout the medical schools of Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as translators began to produce Latin versions of ancient Greek and Arab texts, particularly in the cities of Toledo and Salerno. Toledo, in central Spain, was a multi-cultural centre, with Jews, Arabs and Christians all living in the city, and was known for scientific learning by the eleventh century.[1] By 1150, Charles Burnett has argued, it was the 'principal centre' for the translation of texts, including an edition of Galen's *Tegni*, produced by Gerard of Cremona, a canon at Toledo Cathedral.[2] Other texts translated included those by Aristotle, Avicenna and Hippocrates. Other

[1] Charles Burnett, 'The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century', *Science in Context,* 14.1-2 (2001), 249-88, (249).
[2] Ibid., 251; Cornelius O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine : Medical Teaching at the University of Paris, 1250-1400*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 9, (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 95.

important centres for textual translations were Salerno and Monte Cassino.[3] Salerno, situated to the south-east of Naples, had developed as a centre for learning in the ninth and tenth centuries, by adopting a novel approach which included using empirical evidence, and updating old ideas.[4] The Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino developed an important reputation as a centre of learning, with the arrival of Constantine the African. Constantine was an Egyptian merchant, who arrived at Salerno with Arabic medical texts. He later became a monk at Monte Cassino, where he continued his translations. Vern Bullough has described his collection, the *Ars medicinae*, a canon of books used for teaching medical students throughout Europe, as 'the foundation of university medical education in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.'[5]

No university developed at Toledo despite the high number of translations emanating from the city. Burnett explains this by suggesting that scholars from other centres of learning would travel to the city and copy manuscripts, enabling a wide dissemination of ancient knowledge throughout Europe.[6] The most significant centres of medical education in France were the universities of Montpellier and Paris. Students were studying medicine at Montpellier from the early twelfth century.[7] Being in the south of France, the city was open to influence from Salerno, Muslim schools in Spain, and Jewish schools in the south of France.[8] Paris became a very important centre of learning also, equalled by Montpellier and Bologna, in Italy. Medical students were present in Paris in the late twelfth century, and by 1251, the university had a dedicated faculty and a 'systematic' programme.[9] No university in England offered a similar level of medical education; although there is evidence of medical practitioners at Oxford, the faculty was 'subordinated' to the faculty of arts.[10] English medical students, such as Gilbertus Anglicus, who wrote his *Compendium* in about 1240, and John of St Giles (discussed below), travelled to the continent in order to pursue their learning.[11]

In the late thirteenth century, Paris benefited particularly from the network of knowledge created by the foundation of the universities and the travelling of scholars. Charles of Anjou was instrumental in the transmission of knowledge from southern Europe to the French court; after he had gained the kingdom of Sicily, he commissioned a translation of an encyclopaedia by Abu

[3] O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*, 25.
[4] Vern L. Bullough, *Universities, Medicine and Science in the Medieval West*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 781, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 7-8.
[5] Ibid., 9.
[6] Burnett, 'Coherence', (254).
[7] Bullough, *Universities*, 15-16.
[8] Ibid., 17.
[9] O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*, 9; ibid., 13.
[10] Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England*, 66-7; Bullough, *Universities*, 62-3.
[11] Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England*, 72-3; Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 78.

Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya' al-Razi, a ninth-century Arabic scholar.[12] It was from the thirteenth century also, that the teaching of medicine became more professionalised, and that English and French physicians, and others, began to transmit their own ideas about the causes, symptoms and remedies of common ailments.[13]

Medical texts produced between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries concentrated on the disease's symptoms, causes and cures. Contagion was rarely cited as a potential cause; Luke Demaitre found only three fourteenth-century texts that warned physicians to 'avoid the leper's breath' while treating patients.[14] The way in which leprosy was approached by medical practitioners varied little from the approaches made towards other diseases, and could also cover a wide variety of ailments. In the twelfth century, Hildegard of Bingen, an abbess and mystic in the Rhineland, wrote extensively about cures for a number of diseases, including leprosy; her use of the word however, covered any type of 'scaly' skin disorder, not just leprosy.[15] The eighteen cures for 'leprosy' describe symptoms brought on by lust, and by excess drinking and eating. In the thirteenth-century text *De Retardatione Accidentium Senectutis : cum aliis opusculis de rebus medicinalibus,* which has been historically, but perhaps incorrectly, ascribed to the Franciscan scholar Roger Bacon, leprosy was discussed in the context of old age and the preservation of youth.[16] This text, which relies heavily on Avicenna for its source material, offers a recipe for pills which were supposed to be useful for 'easing nerve pain, helps the sight, and is useful against leprosy and all infections and spleen disorders and dropsy.'[17] Another recipe is given which also had the aim of acting against leprosy.[18] While the symptoms of leprosy are not discussed, in a section which discusses the cleaning of blood, the author suggests that two possible causes are excessive sexual intercourse, or insufficient blood-

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[12] Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 230.
[13] Luke Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine : The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe*, (Santa Barbara, Calif. ; Oxford, England: Praegar, 2013), 4.
[14] Luke Demaitre, 'The Description and Diagnosis of Leprosy by Fourteenth Century Physicians', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* 59 (1985), 327-44, (333).
[15] Hildegard von Bingen, *Physica : liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum : Textkritische Ausgabe*, ed. by R. Hildebrandt and T. Gloning, 3 vols., (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), i, 121-2, I-18; ibid., i, 320, VI-58; ibid., i, 348, VII-18; Hildegard of Bingen, *Hildegard von Bingen's Physica : the Complete English Translation of her Classic Work on Health and Healing*, trans. by P. Throop, (Rochester, Vt.: Healing Arts Press, 1998), 6.
[16] George Molland, 'Bacon [Bakun], Roger (c. 1214–1292?), philosopher and Franciscan friar', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1008>, (accessed 19 December 2017); Roger Bacon, *Fratris Rogeri Bacon: De Retardatione Accidentium Senectutis : cum aliis opusculis de rebus medicinalibus*, ed. by A.G. Little and E.T. Withington, British Society of Franciscan Studies, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 135; ibid., 177.
[17] Bacon, *De Retardatione Accidentium Senectutis*, xxxiv; ibid., 100.
[18] Ibid., 101.

letting.[19] He suggests that if an 'old lean ox' can renew its youth by changing its diet, so can men, including lepers, whose flesh can break up into small pieces, causing it to drop off.[20] In this vein, the author also suggested 'serpentine' drugs, in other words the flesh of snakes, as the manner in which they shed their skin and thus rejuvenated themselves, was believed to work also for leprosy and other skin disorders.[21]

John of Gaddesden, a fourteenth-century English physician who treated the Black Prince in the 1330s, offered very detailed descriptions of the signs and causes of leprosy, apparently cautioning against hasty diagnoses, as he advised that no one should be separated from society until the appearance of their face has been destroyed.[22] François-Olivier Touati has suggested that from the twelfth century onwards, medical texts concentrated increasingly upon facial symptoms, perhaps due to a change in the most commonly seen form of leprosy.[23] Gaddesden specifically cites cancer of the feet and scabies as conditions that might be confused with leprosy. There is no indication that he feared contagion from those who may have been in the early stages of the disease. When leprosy was diagnosed, it is not clear whether Gaddesden advises segregation because of the risk of infection to others, because their appearance would be too horrific for others to bear, or because at this late stage of the disease sufferers would no longer be able to contribute to society, and would be in need of palliative care.

Lanfranc of Milan, who died in 1306, did discuss the contagious nature of leprosy. Lanfranc, an Italian surgeon who was in Paris by the late thirteenth century, is credited with the transmission of surgical knowledge from Italy to France. His *Chirurgia Magna* was completed in 1296 and dedicated to the king of France, Philip IV.[24] He warned that healthy people should not sleep with lepers, but also stated that there were various causes and signs, and thus various cures.[25] This vagueness suggests that Lanfranc too placed a number of conditions under the umbrella term of leprosy. A different tone was adopted by the French surgeon Henri de Mondeville, who wrote his book *Chirurgie* in the early fourteenth century. Mondeville had studied at Montpellier and Paris, and also taught at Montpellier. At the very beginning of the century he had the responsibility of

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[19] Ibid., 124.
[20] Ibid., 135.
[21] Ibid., 177; ibid., xl.
[22] Johannes de Gaddesden, *Rosa anglica*, 46. *'Non est iudicandus esse leprosus et ab omnibus separandus quousque figura et forma faciei corrumpatur et ideo cancer in pedibus et scabies fetida non debent arguere istum morbum nec nodositates: nisi fiant ista in facie.' ;* Martha Carlin, 'Gaddesden, John (d. 1348/9)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, O.U. Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10267>, (accessed 16 October 2017)
[23] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 128-33.
[24] Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England*, 102; James J. Walsh, *Old-time Makers of Medicine*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1911), 261.
[25] Lanfranc of Milan, *Alanfranc en cyrurgie*, (n.p.: Le Dru, Pierre; Gerlier, Durand, 1508), Ch.III f.lix. *'Et pource que les causes et les signes se diversifient les cures dicelles selon la variete sont diverses.'*

caring for the royal children at the French court.[26] In his book *Chirurgie*, Mondeville stated his belief that physicians should only treat lepers after 'most urgent prayers and at a considerably higher fee', and that such physicians who did treat lepers were vilified, and were considered 'corrupted and repulsive.'[27] Mondeville's 'brusque' and 'venal' attitude has been attributed by Talbot to the surgeon's experience of having failed to receive payment for serving the King Philip IV for long periods.[28] It may also be the case that Mondeville was writing from subjective experience rather than from a theoretical understanding of leprosy.

Later in the fourteenth century, Guy de Chauliac, surgeon to the popes of Avignon, produced widely-distributed work on medicine and surgery.[29] Chauliac, like Gaddesden, warned for caution in diagnosis, stating that the physician responsible for diagnosis should be sure to judge only after having noted a number of symptoms, not just one of the many.[30] This caution is emphasised by the surgeon's opinion that it would be wrong to confine those who should not be confined; and equally wrong to leave lepers in society due to the risk of contagion and infection, although he does not state how he believes the disease to be contagious.[31] Lepers should be comforted by their purgatorial suffering, and by the guaranteed love of God, no matter what the feelings of their fellow men.[32] Chauliac is unusual in addressing the theological aspect of disease, acknowledging the spiritual benefits of suffering. He also acknowledges the fact lepers would have a difficult time in the social sphere, from their 'fellow men', as other people were unlikely to welcome their presence – either because the sight of them could not be borne, or because they presented a health risk to others.

A number of questions regarding the transmission of leprosy by sexual intercourse were addressed in *The Prose Salernitan Questions*, a collection of answers to medical questions,

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[26] Simone C Macdougall, 'The Surgeon and the Saints: Henri de Mondeville on Divine Healing', *Journal of Medieval History,* 26.3 (2000), 253-67, (255).
[27] Henri de Mondeville, *Chirurgie de maître Henri de Mondeville, chirurgien de Philippe le Bel, Roi de France, composée de 1306 à 1320 : traduction française, avec des notes, une introduction et une biographie*, ed. by E. Nicaise, (Paris: Germer Baillière et Cie, 1893), 618. *'… ni le médecin ni le chirurgien ne doivent se mêler de cas semblables, s'ils n'y sont engagés par les plus vives prières et un prix très élevé, et après avoir fait connaître leur pronostic, car c'est une maladie très vile et contagieuse. Enfin, les lépreux aiment beaucoup s'entretenir avec leurs médecins et les approcher, et les médecins qui les soignent sont, si on vient à le savoir, vilipendés et considérés comme corrompus et repoussants.'*
[28] Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England*, 103.
[29] Ibid., 116.
[30] Guy de Chauliac, *La Grande Chirurgie de Guy de Chauliac ... composée en l'an 1363. Revue et collationnée sur les manuscrits et imprimés latins et français. Ornée de gravures. Avec des notes, une introduction sur le Moyen Âge, sur la vie et les œuvres de Guy de Chauliac ... et une table ... par E. Nicaise*, ed. by E. Nicaise, (Paris, 1890), 404-5. *'le Medecin qui les doit iuger, les doit souuent regarder, en en soy-mesme penser et remuer les signes… et qu'il ne iuge par vn signe, ains par la concurrence de plusieurs.'*
[31] Ibid., 404. *'… car c'est tres grande injure de sequestrer les non sequestrables, et de laisser les ladres auec le peuple. Car le mal est contagieux, et qui infecte.'*
[32] Ibid., 405. '*… inuoquant l'aide de Dieu, il les doit conforter, que cette passion est sauuement de l'ame et qu'ils ne doutent point de dire la verité : car s'ils estoyent trouuez ladres, ce seroit le purgatoire de leur ame, et si le monde les a en hayne, non pas Dieu, ains a plus aimé Lazare lepreux, que les autres*'

written by an Englishman around the beginning of the thirteenth century. These suggested that while a woman could not contract leprosy from a male leper, she would be able to transmit the disease if she were to later have intercourse with a healthy man.[33] This was explained by the humoral differences between men and women; women's cooler humours meant that they would not develop the disease themselves. Another reference to leprosy in these questions suggests that leprosy could be contracted through conversation with a leper, as the disease could be transmitted through the air.[34]

This knowledge of the causes, symptoms and cures of disease may have been transmitted to the royal courts through the medical men present there. Surgeons identified in England include Master William (served c.1233-54), Henry of Saxby (c.1250-71), and Thomas de Weseham (1252-72).[35] Henry and Thomas in particular received favours from the king, although where they received their medical training is not known. Numerous royal physicians have also been identified. One of these, Nicholas of Farnham, who had been a professor of medicine at the University of Bologna, served both Henry and Eleanor, in a medical capacity but also as a chaplain; he later became bishop of Durham.[36] Another physician who held a dual role was John of St Giles, who had possibly studied and taught at Montpellier. He later joined the Dominican Order, was close to Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, and was also one of Henry's confessors.[37] Another individual named Richard, about whom little is known, in 1246 received funding from the king to study in Montpellier, which, according to Talbot and Hammond, was most likely to have been for medical training.[38] The royal physicians, like the surgeons, were the beneficiaries of gifts and favours from the king.

Far less is known about the physicians at the French court. Jacques Le Goff does not name any, even in connection with Louis' ailments. Lindy Grant has identified a Master James, possibly a Spaniard, who was with Blanche and Louis when their children were young.[39] The 1239 household accounts cite payments to Louis the convert, a physician, and further sums directed towards medical treatment for 'Master Robert' and for other physicians.[40] Another royal

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[33] *The Prose Salernitan Questions : Edited from a Bodleian Manuscript (Auct.F.3.10.)*, ed. by Brian Lawn, (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 18 §B-33; ibid., 101 §B-87; ibid., 185 §Ba-92; ibid., 249 §B-116.
[34] *The Prose Salernitan Questions : Edited from a Bodleian Manuscript (Auct.F.3.10.)*, B. Lawn (ed.), Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 98 §B-179. *'Nonne ex collocutione fit aliquis leprosus? Unde hoc? Non nisi ex infectione aeris.'*
[35] C. H. Talbot and E. A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: a biographical register*, Wellcome Historical Medical Library Publications, (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1965), 375; ibid., 82; ibid., 359-60.
[36] Ibid., 209-10.
[37] Ibid., 180-1. See Chapter 3 for more information about Robert Grosseteste, and about John of St Giles' role as confessor.
[38] Ibid., 273.
[39] Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 47.
[40] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. in *RHF*, xxii (1865), 583-615, (605).

physician who can be partly identified is Master Dudo – *physicus et clericus domini Regis* – who was the beneficiary of a miraculous healing from a tumour by Louis himself, after the king's death.[41]

Fear of infection

Chauliac's warning for restraint in diagnosing leprosy reflects the serious consequences of such a diagnosis. In the Pas-de-Calais, the right to be admitted to a leper-house depended on a leper's birth-place and occupation; if an individual was not eligible, he or she would become a mendicant leper.[42] In this part of France in the fourteenth century, lepers would serve on 'leper juries', travelling around the region (with their expenses covered by their own leper-house) in order to assist in the diagnosis of suspected lepers, as those with the disease were believed to be best-placed to recognise it in others.[43] In the fifteenth century, the lepers of Saint-Omer, for example, would be charged with a fine if they refused to participate at an examination.[44] If a case was uncertain, the suspected leper might be left for up to a year before being re-assessed.[45] The diagnosis was reversible, however – it was possible for individuals to launch an appeal and, if successful, to be reintegrated into their community.[46]

There is some evidence from leper-house statutes, also, that suggests a fear of getting too close to the lepers. The staff at leper-houses would have served lepers in a manner that would have necessitated close proximity, particularly to the more infirm. Fourteenth-century regulations from St Albans stipulated that lepers were to live apart from the healthy members of the community because of the 'risk of contagion'.[47] They were to only show themselves at 'special times and places', due to the contempt in which the disease was held.[48] At Brives, in France, lepers were separated from the healthy in the refectory and dormitory, in case the healthy should be 'infected by proximity.'[49] These rules were unusual however – mixing in healthy

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[41] William of Chartres. 'Vita et actibus', (39); Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres, *The Sanctity of Louis IX : early lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, trans. by L.F. Field, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014), 153-55.
[42] Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 32.
[43] Ibid., 102.; ibid., 115.; ibid., 140.
[44] Ibid., 163; ibid., 311.
[45] Ibid., 30.
[46] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 186; Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 31.
[47] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani : a Thoma Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem ecclesiæ præcentore, compilata*, H.T. Riley (ed.), Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), ii, 484. *'propter contagionis periculum'*; Richards, *Medieval Leper*, 130.
[48] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ii, 503. *'singulis locis et temporibus … se debent repræsentare'*; Richards, *Medieval Leper*, 131.
[49] *Statuts*, 209. '*Et ne forte contingat sanos aliorum propinquitate infici, volumus quod in illo refectorio et in illo dormitorio, que fuerunt ab antiquo demarcata infirmis, idem infirm utantur, nec santorum se immiscenat officiis, nec passim discurrant per eas, nec coquinam intrent donec fuerint cibaria distributa, sint infirmi de deomo aut undecumque contingat eos ibi aliunde divertere quacumque de causa.'*

company appears to have been a rare enough concern for those running leper-houses that it seldom needed to be regulated against. The thirteenth-century statutes from the leper-house at Reading forbade lepers from entering the laundry alone – but this appears to have been a concern about propriety only, and the modesty of the laundress, for lepers were not banned altogether.[50] In Exeter, even as late as the fifteenth-century, there were no restrictions that could be connected to contagion.[51] This absence in the statutes could perhaps be explained by the fact that the lay brothers and sisters staffing the leper-houses were doing so voluntarily, and were fully aware of the potential risk (see previous chapter regarding the staffing of leper-houses). The spiritual reward associated with the vocation chosen by these men and women may have outweighed the danger to their physical well-being, and so partly negated the need for behavioural regulation.

At Reading, and many other leper-houses, lepers were allowed to leave the enclosure, as long as they had permission from the master and their community, and were accompanied.[52] At St Albans, lepers were allowed out of the precinct, but forbidden from loitering near the 'royal road', probably so as not to inconvenience any important visitors.[53] Lepers often had to wear distinctive clothing, akin to a monastic habit, reflecting their spiritual status. Clappers and bells were sometimes used by lepers with damaged vocal cords, in order to attract attention when seeking alms, rather than to warn people of their presence.[54] The use of clappers for begging, rather than alerting others to stay away, is illustrated in an account of Louis IX meeting a leper at Compiègne (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4; see page 134) – the leper 'who could hardly speak, sounded his clapper very loudly', in order to ask the king for alms.[55] Christine M. Boeckl has argued that the depiction of a leper with a horn, from c.1000 CE, means that lepers were probably required to carry such items in order to warn of their approach.[56] Evidence for this

[50] British Library, Cotton Vespasian E v. , f.39r.
[51] John Hooker, *A pamphlet of the offices, and duties of euerie particular sworne officer, of the citie of Excester: collected by Iohn Vowell alias Hoker, Gentleman & chamberlaine of the same*, (London: Henrie Denham, 1584), H.i; Richards, *Medieval Leper*, 140-1.
[52] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 316-7; Bériac, *Histoire des Lépreux*, 185; *Statuts*, 192. '*Duo tantummododo leprosi ad petendas transeuntium elemosinas a fratribus eligentur…'* [Règlement de la maladrerie de Chateaudun] ; ibid., 195. '*4. Item se aucuns frères ou sereures se partent de l'ostel sans le conjié du maistre, il perderont se prouvende de vin III jours. 5. Item que nulz de menuche horse de l'ostel sans le congié du maistre, et s'il y menjue, il perdera sa provende de III jours au vin.'* [Statuts de la léproserie de Noyon].
[53] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ii, 487. *'Prohibemus ne fratris leprosi in via regia'*; Richards, *Medieval Leper*, 134.
[54] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 760.
[55] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (102). *'… un mesel qui estoit de lautre part de la voie, qui a poines pooit parler, sonna mout forment son flavel…'* ; 'Gesta Sancti Ludovici Noni'. (54). *'videns leprosum pulsato flabello petentem regis eleemosynam'*
[56] Christine M Boeckl, *Images of Leprosy: Disease, Religion, and Politics in European Art*, Early Modern Studies, (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2011), 35.

practice in the thirteenth century is, however, scarce, and no statutes from French leper-houses from this period make any mention of clappers or similar items.[57]

A further indication of the lack of fear of contagion is the fact that some houses ordered for the expulsion of non-lepers who attempted to take up residence in leper-houses.[58] Of course, attempts to gain residence in a leper-house may have been driven by a need for food and shelter, in which context the fear of infection may have been lessened. By the later middle ages, poor people had started to use ointments and cosmetics to fake the symptoms of leprosy, in order to acquire a beggar's license, or to gain entry to a leper-house, where they would receive food and shelter.[59] This was likely to have been an opportunistic strategy; with fewer lepers being diagnosed, these beggars may have known of leper-houses with spare capacity.

Lepers and the law

The caution advised by physicians and surgeons in the process of diagnosing suspected lepers was practiced also in the law. Writing in the last half of the thirteenth century, the English jurist Henry of Bracton confirmed that a leper could be excluded from society, but only at the point at which '… he is … so deformed that the sight of him cannot be endured, so that he is put outside the community of mankind …', evidently fearful of the negative impact upon one's vision, but not afraid of leprosy in the current sense of contagion.[60] In twelfth-century France, however, the Bishop of Chartres, Geoffrey of Lèves, had to represent the leper-house of Grand Beaulieu in a case involving the transfer of property, as the lepers were forbidden from presenting themselves at the episcopal hall 'because of their infectious state.'[61] There was then a shared view that lepers should not consort with the healthy, but for different reasons. There was an idea that the effect of seeing lepers was potentially more detrimental to society than being physically close to them; however there existed a fear also of physical infection. The consequences of diagnosis could be highly significant in a familial context, a fact that no doubt encouraged the use of caution in these cases. Lepers could be forced to renounce goods and property, affecting inheritance and ownership of land and titles.

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[57] *Statuts*, 181-252; Richards, *Medieval Leper*, 125-41.
[58] *Statuts*, 198. '*Item que, se un bourgeois est jugiés pour malade et on puet trouver le contraire que il ne soit mie malades, nous commandons que il soit mis hors de le maison et que on li fache paier ser frais de tout que il y aura esté'* [Statuts de la léproserie de Noyon]; ibid., 202. *'Item qui pro leproso receptus fuerit et postea non esse leprosus convinci poterit redire debet unde venit ; ita tamen quod pro pastu suo, quod primo dedit, redire poterit si postea veraciter fuerit leprosus.'* [Statuts de la léproserie de Lille].
[59] Luke Demaitre, 'Skin and the City: Cosmetic Medicine as an Urban Concern', in *Between Text and Patient: the Medical Enterprise in Medieval & Early Modern Europe,* ed. by F.E. Glaze, B. Nance, and M.R. MacVaugh: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011), 97-120, (119).
[60] Henry de Bracton, *On the Laws and Customs of England*, ed. by G.E. Woodbine, trans. by S.E. Thorne, 4 vols., (Cambridge (Mass.): Belknap Press in Association with the Selden Society, 1977), iv, 309.
[61] Lindy Grant, 'Geoffrey of Lèves, Bishop of Chartres: "Famous Wheeler and Dealer in Secular Business"', in *Suger en question : regards croisés sur Saint-Denis,* ed. by R. Große, Deutsches Historisches Institut, and German Historical Institute in London, (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2004), 45-56, (48).

In 1227, a widow by the name of Agnes de Westwick brought a case with the assistance of an attorney, seeking to secure her dower from her son, John, who claimed that she could not have the dower, and he did not wish to give it to her unless the court ordered it, 'because she was a leper.'[62] Her attorney argued that, because at no time had she lived apart from her husband nor from the 'common people', she should not be deprived of her dowry.[63] When she presented herself before the court, it was decided that she was 'not so leprous' that her dowry should be removed, therefore her son should return it to her.[64] Agnes was presumably judged based on the appearance of her face, which was found to be not yet affected by her disease. As a result she was, for the time being at least, permitted to retain rights to her property.

At the beginning of the same decade, a youth named William Malesmains (whose surname may suggest a hereditary disposition to leprosy or another skin condition) was taken before the barons of the Exchequer for his leprosy to be decided upon.[65] The absence of mention of any doctor indicates that the barons were deemed to be sufficiently qualified to make a diagnosis, which was again probably an examination of the boy's face. The appeal to such a high court was due no doubt to his father's status and the fact that the crux of the case rested on an accusation of theft from the land of Radulph Tablel, who was in the king's service. William's guardian, Richard de Broom (accused of the theft), later removed the boy from the leper-house to which he had been sent, doubting their ability to care for him properly. After he came of age William sold his land and travelled to the Holy Land; at a later court hearing to which Richard de Broom had been summoned, William's whereabouts and health were unknown.[66]

The impact of a diagnosis of leprosy is also recorded in the English *Curia Regis Rolls*. In 1223, Salomon de Whepsted brought a claim against Thomas de Gerbodesham and his wife Maria, claiming ownership of five acres of land, which he believed to be his right by a charter given by Maria's father, John de Whepsted. Thomas and Maria defended the claim, arguing that as 'the charter was made at the time at which John was leprous and outside common society, so could not give anything away; and he therefore removed himself to his native place.'[67] The resolution of the case is not recorded here, and it is not clear whether John de Whepsted was still alive at

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[62] *CRR, Henry III 11-14, vol. 13*, 56 §247. *'Postea venit Agnes et visa est, et non est adeo leprosa quod debeat amittere dotem; nec Johannes aliud dicit. Et ideo consideratum est quod Agnes recuperavit seisinam suam; et Johannes in misericordia.'*
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] *CRR Henry III 3-4, vol.8*, 308-10. *'Dicit etiam idem Radulfus quod, quando habuit custodiam filiorum et primogenitus fuit commissus in obsidem in custodia sua pro Odone Dammartin per dominum regem, devent idem filius leprosus; et quia dubitavit inde, eo quod fuit fuit in custodia sua, duxit eum ad scaccarium domini regis et coram baronibus de scaccario adjudicatus fuit pro leproso…'*
[66] Ibid., 310. *'… et postea ut crucesignatus ivit in peregrinatione sua et commisit terram suam ad firmam. Et quesitus si Willelmus sit leprosus et ubi sit, dicit quod nescit.'*
[67] *CRR, Henry III 7-9, vol. 11*, 204. '*Et preterea carta facta fuit eo tempore quo Johannes fuit leprosus et extra communion gentium, quo nullam dare potuit; et inde ponit se super patriam.'*

the time of the hearing of this case, but there was evidently a legal argument that a leper, once he had joined a community of lepers and, presumably, taken a form of religious vows, was no longer able to endow property.

Similar laws were enacted in France also. In 1222 Philip Augustus authorised a grant of dowry to a daughter after a male heir had become leprous.[68] The man had probably taken up residence in a leper-house, and was consequently not permitted to accept property. The *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* stipulated that a leper no longer had the rights to own 'any real property, either his own or what may pass in his lineage.'[69] The only property of which he had the rights to dispose, was one-fifth of his possessions, which could be given to the leper-house in which he was taking up residence.[70] The *Coutumiers de Normandie,* the texts of which were most likely produced between 1189 and 1285, also placed restrictions on lepers' inheritance.[71] Importantly, this was to occur immediately when the disease was publicly visible – *dum tamen eorum egritudo publice fuerit manifesta* – suggesting again that facial damage was the principal means of diagnosis. Lepers were prevented from legally inheriting property or titles, but were permitted to retain possession of their goods for the remainder of their life.[72]

As Rawcliffe has stated, lepers would often only be moved to leper-houses when either medical treatment or diet (although it is perhaps wrong to distinguish between these) became too expensive for their friends and family to provide.[73] In the case of wealthy aristocracy, this meant that lepers could remain at their family home, a significant advantage if they wished to avoid having the transfer of land and title ownership away from the rightful heirs. Ralph II, count of Vermandois, who died at some point between 1167 and 1176, was one such individual. Instead of being confined to a leper-house, Ralph remained at home, and retained his comital title.[74] The Vermandois family would not have faced the difficulty that others may have faced, of not being able to afford for their family members to be cared for outside of the home. In both England and France, the responsibility for providing care for a leper fell either to his or her own family, or to

[68] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, v, 468 §1795.
[69] *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, 589, §1617.
[70] Ibid., §1617.
[71] *Coutumiers de Normandie*, J. Tardif (ed.), 2 vols. (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1896), vol.ii, ii.
[72] Ibid., 91 chap.xxv §10. *'Leprosi autem alicui in hereditatem succedere non possunt, dum tamen eorum egritudo publice fuerit manifesta; possessam tamen hereditatem ipsi totalis vite tempore retinebunt.'*; ibid., 240. *'Sciendum autem est quod bastardi, et religionem professi, et ex damnato sanguine procreati, et omnes damnati, licet propinquiores sint in genere, nullam antecessorum suorum saisinam poterunt reclamare, nec eciam leprosi, quod superius in capitulo* De successione *plenius est distinctum.'*
[73] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 211.
[74] Louis Duval-Arnould, 'Les dernières années du comte lépreux Raoul de Vermandois (v.1147-1167...) et la dévolution de ses provinces à Philippe d'Alsace', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes,* 142.1 (1984), 81-92, (89). ; Ralph's sisters, Elizabeth and Eleanor, appear to have been remarkably generous towards leper-houses, perhaps as a commemoration of their brother's illness. Charlotte Pickard, 'Leprosy and the Counts of Vermandois', *International Medieval Congress*, Unversity of Leeds, 1-4 July 2013.

the leper-house in one's home town. In England in 1220, two lepers, Richard of Walford and Vincent, were accused of raping a woman called Matilda. The case was not pursued, and so the men could not be found guilty, but because they were of 'ill repute and not without family', they were ordered to return to the area from which they originated.[75] The accused were evidently not local to the (unnamed) town in which the court case was held, and they were therefore not the responsibility of the authorities there.

The *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* made it clear that leper-houses were established for 'men and women stricken with this sickness, who are born in the town, or who have married there or settled down there with no expectation of their departing, for example if they have bought houses or inherited them.'[76] A stranger stricken with leprosy would be required to 'go to the town where he has his own house, and if he does not own a house or anything else anywhere, he should be accepted in the town where his father lived, if he was born or raised there.'[77]

Laws in the thirteenth century regarding the presence of lepers in towns varied in different regions. In Paris, lepers were permitted to beg on one of the city's bridges each week.[78] In the Agenais, a region south of Périgord, a late thirteenth-century law ordered that lepers should live outside the town, but permitted them to enter the marketplace on market days, to seek alms and to make purchases, and to enter part of the cemetery in Bouglon on Sundays and feast days, to seek alms while the divine service was being performed.[79] The *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, however, ordered that lepers could be prohibited from entering towns, due to a fear of infection: '… it would be a dangerous thing to mix lepers with healthy people, because the healthy might become lepers, and for this reason leper-houses were built outside the towns', where they could still be given charity by those who wished to do so.[80]

Laws issued by the monarchy regarding the movement of lepers did not appear in either England or France until much later in the Middle Ages. In England, the first law was issued in

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[75] *CRR, Henry III 4 & 5, vol. 9*, 199. *'Matillis filia Radulfi appellavit Ricardum de Walford' et Vincentium leprosos de rapo; et non est prosecuta. Et quia sunt de male retto nec sine secta possunt dampnari, dimittant patriam.'*
[76] *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, 590, §1618.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Jean Imbert, *Les hôpitaux en France*, Que sais-je ?, 6 éd. mise à jour edn., (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1994), 15.
[79] *Les coutumes de l'Agenais*, P. Ourliac and M. Gilles (eds.), 2 vols. (Montpellier: Société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit, 1976), ii, 44. *'E nulhs gaffetz ni mezel, privatz ni estranh, ni persona toquada d'aquela malauzia, no deu habitar din la vila ni en los barris, si no una vetz lo jorn, cum persona strani queren aumoyna et anan una vetz la carrieyra. Pero tant quant dura lo marcat, poden los ditz malaus demorar a part pres deu marcadilh, queren aumoyna et crompan e venden causas degudas, ho fesan convent de hobras degudas, si far les poden e saben. Pero es assaber que per rason de caritat e de aumoyna, als dimentges e a las festas, a l'una part del semeteris de las gleysas de Boglo, poden estar et querer caritat tant cum lo devinal si ditz en la glieysa.'*
[80] *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, 591, §1623.

1346, when Edward III barred 'all those who are found infected with leprous spots' from the city of London.[81] This was prompted partly by a concern that lepers wished to deliberately infect the healthy citizens with leprosy 'so that they may have companions in misfortune.'[82] A similar injunction was issued in Paris in 1371 and reissued in 1413, when the king was concerned not about contagion, but about the fact that the lepers were everywhere eating and drinking in crowded places, so much that 'they quite often bother people, and hinder them in passing through and in going to their businesses.'[83] Later medieval legislation in northern France tried to forbid the giving of alms to lepers within towns, or barred lepers unless they wore specific clothing.[84] Some concern about contagion may have motivated these laws, but they appear to have been designed also to maintain a peaceful urban environment, by attempting to ensure that townspeople did not have to see lepers.[85]

Social consequences of diagnosis

Contact between the healthy and the leprous was maintained through the situation of leper-houses close to major routes into towns. Although they were almost always constructed outside city walls, lepers were often ideally situated to seek alms outside their house. Statutes of leper-houses from both England and France did not forbid lepers from leaving their houses. Restrictions were often placed on them leaving alone – a companion was usually necessary, probably to lessen the chances of any immoral behaviour, and in some locations, the places to which the lepers could go were specified. At Châteaudun and Amiens, for example, punishment was prescribed for any lepers visiting the town without permission.[86] Likewise, at Meaux and Lisieux, the visiting of taverns was prohibited. As discussed earlier, however, these statutes were designed principally to govern moral behaviour rather than to guard from infection. In the statutes collated by Léon Le Grand, only at Brives, in 1259, was there a specific caution about the healthy being infected by 'proximity to the others.'[87]

Statutes from English and French leper-houses sometimes detailed the clothes to be worn by their resident lepers – clothing that resembled a monastic habit, and that would identify the leper as a member of a religious house when they were outside the house's precinct.[88] These

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[81] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 275; *CCR, 1346-1349*, 54; ibid., 61-2.
[82] *CCR, 1346-1349*, 62.
[83] *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, ed. by L.-G. de Vilevault and L.G.O.F. de Bréquigny, (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1763), x, 139; Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 143.
[84] Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 87; ibid., 117; ibid., 133.
[85] Ibid., 152.
[86] *Statuts*, 192-3; ibid., 225.
[87] Ibid., 209. See above, p.72
[88] Ibid., 203. *'Item aliquis leprosorum seu leprosarum non debet ire sine capa clausa aut habitu rationabili.'* [Lisieux, 1256]; ibid., 208. *'Pannis albis, brunis, nigris, tamen non multum preciosis utantur.'* [Brives, 1259]; Richards, *Medieval Leper*. 'As for clothing, it was laid down that each of them have every year three ells of woollen cloth white or rust-coloured, six ells of linen cloth and six ells of canvas for making towels for

regulations served, as Carole Rawcliffe has argued, to distinguish them 'from vagrant and ill-disciplined beggars'.[89] There was no universal ruling regarding lepers' dress code as there was for Muslims and Jews; the Fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, prescribed distinctive symbols to be worn by these groups.[90] Lepers were not ordered to identify themselves in the same way. As stated above, (see page 73), clappers may have been used, but these were not an essential part of a leper's identity.

An unusual poem written at the very beginning of the thirteenth century illustrates the experience of a leper in Arras before his entrance into a leper-house. Jean Bodel was a troubadour who had taken the cross to travel to the Holy Land, but then could not go with his companions because the leprosy that he had previously hidden had become obvious. His poem about his illness, *Li Congié*, describes his leave-taking of his friends, all of whom have been kind and generous throughout his illness, despite his body being 'half healthy and half decomposed.'[91] The verses name his friends individually, and state Bodel's intention to take up residence at a leper-house, either at Meulan or Beaurains.[92] Bodel informs his audience that, because he is a leper, he can no longer remain among the healthy.[93] This suggests some type of obligation for a leper to remove himself from society; in a later verse, Bodel confirms that it is better that he should go himself than he should be forcibly removed.[94] This decision may have been prompted by the knowledge that he would need looking after as his disease developed, or it may have been informed by the fear of how others would treat him once the leprosy became apparent. In the twelfth-century, the English writer Walter Map described how lepers were 'more utterly despised and the more intolerantly abused' than anyone else.[95] Similarly, Jean-Louis Roch has used twelfth-century texts such as Chrétien de Troyes' *Guillaume d'Angleterre* and Béroul's *Tristan* to suggest that beggars, including lepers, were abused and laughed at.[96]

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general use.' [Sherburn, 1181-1316]; British Library, Cotton Vespasian E v. . '*Ad uestiendum autem suscipiunt quicumque annum ibi compleuerint; capam, tunicam et pallium, duo etiam langeola et omnia lanea. Deinceps uero quociens et quantum opus habuerint; de hiis que premissa sunt. Scilicet ad capam tres ulnas, ad tunicam tres ulnas, ad pallium; duas ulnas et quadrantis ad langeolum; duas ulnas et quadrantis. Accipiunt etiam singuli eorum omni anno decem virgas linee tele et unam virgam de saigio ad caligas.'* [Reading, 13th century]

[89] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 266.

[90] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 266.

[91] Gaston Raynaud, 'Les Congés de Jean Bodel', *Romania,* XI (1880), 216-47, (235). *'Moitié sain et moitié pori !'* §60

[92] Ibid., 217.

[93] Ibid., 236. *'Quar je ne puis nape tenir / Entre sains, puis que jo mesale.'* §95-6

[94] Ibid., 237. *'Mieus m'en vient aler qu'en m'en bote.'* §156

[95] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by C.N.L. Brooke, and others, Oxford Medieval Texts, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 462.

[96] Béroul, *Tristan and Iseult*, v.3642-49; Jean-Louis Roch, 'Le jeu de l'aumône au Moyen Age', *Annales,* 44.3 (1989), 505-27, (508).

In 1272, another poet, Baude Fastoul, also struck with leprosy, wrote a similar poem of *Congés*, bidding farewell to his associates. Rather than expressing any bitterness at their plight, both men understood their situation to be a gift of God.[97] Bodel referred to the impossibility of his illness being cured by physicians, acknowledging that 'all the best of Salerno could not reduce this torment', but through the penitence of his pain, his soul would soon be out of debt.[98] The concluding lines of the poem confirm that through the abundant suffering of his flesh he has provided a service to God.'[99] Bodel's poem suggests that he was able to keep his illness secret for some time (*tant repuse*), but it had evidently developed to such an extent that he could no longer deny it. It is possible that it had now affected his face and hands – parts of the body visible to others. Faustel foresaw the point at which he would have no 'feet or hands / mouth or nose'.[100] The laws referred to above, particularly that of Bracton, may have also been customary in Arras, where both of these men resided. As their disease progressed and affected their faces, understanding the necessary change in their circumstances, they voluntarily separated themselves from their healthy friends.

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the status of the leper outside of the leper-house remained ambiguous, but there was a widespread understanding that the diagnosis of leprosy should be done with the utmost caution, showing that while there remained a fear of contagion, the social effects of diagnosis were potentially significant. There was evidently, in both England and France, a social stigma attached to diagnosed lepers, acknowledged in the medical sphere by Guy de Chauliac, as well as in law, and in the verse composed by lepers. There was a widespread concern that once a leper's face had been damaged by the disease, her or his status changed. The consequences of being labelled as a leper were potentially far-reaching, particularly where property and inheritance were concerned.

Nevertheless, it is clear that not all lepers were separated from their communities. Those who secured a place in a leper-house were able to come and go, while those who did not were able to continue to interact with their healthy contemporaries. Whether or not the healthy population perceived the leper as being blessed through the disease is not clear; outside of the leper-house,

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[97] Pierre Ruelle, *Les Congés d'Arras: Jean Bodel, Baude Fastoul, Adam de la Halle*, (Brussels: Presses Universitaires, 1965), 123; Michèle Gérard, 'Quand la lèpre fleurit...: Corps et écriture dans les "Congés" de Jean Bodel et Baude Fastoul', *Littérature,* 102 (1996), 14-28, (18).

[98] Raynaud, 'Les Congés de Jean Bodel', (238). *'Que tuit li mire de Salerne / N'abaisseront cheste lime'* §200-1 ; *'Que il cheste dolor m'estanche, / Ains doinst al cors tel penitanche / Par quoi l'ame soit fors de dete.'* §214-16

[99] Ibid., 244. *'De quanqu'il pot fist Dieu servise, / Si que sa chars fu toute mise / En grant souffrance d'abondance.'* §562-4

[100] Ruelle, *Les Congés d'Arras: Jean Bodel, Baude Fastoul, Adam de la Halle*, 109 v.82-83. *'Quant je n'arai ne pié ne main, / Bouce ne nés'* ; Gérard, 'Quand la lèpre fleurit...', (27).

their intercessory potential may have been seen as limited. The leper did have a particular status, however, and this spirituality was recognised by the kings of England and France throughout the Middle Ages.

This chapter and the previous chapter have placed the leper in the context of both religious and secular society in the two kingdoms. The later chapters in this thesis will, using evidence regarding Henry and Louis, show how royalty perceived these lepers, and how lepers were used in the support of monarchy, sanctity, and salvation.

Chapter 3: Leprosy and Kingship

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the connections that existed between royalty and leprosy in thirteenth-century England and France. These connections will provide the context for the following chapters, which will focus on Henry and Louis as individuals, their encounters with lepers and their patronage towards lepers and leper-houses. Beginning with a brief study of what was expected of a king, based upon the *vitae* of the kings' ancestors, and also thirteenth-century texts, this chapter will also consider a broader view of the influences surrounding the king, particularly the individuals present at the royal courts. The ideals of kingship and rulership were subjects addressed by twelfth- and thirteenth-century writers, who reprised the interest taken by writers in the Carolingian era. An important aspect of a king's role was his protection of the poor and the weak in his kingdom. Only through universal spiritual and physical welfare could a society be healthy, and a king's reign be successful. References to thaumaturgy (discussed in the Introduction to this thesis – see page 31) arose during Henry's and Louis' reigns, although neither king was confirmed to have performed this miraculous healing. However, the weight of tradition and the ongoing belief in this royal power inarguably had a bearing upon the way in which kings approached those with leprosy and other diseases, and reports of kings touching the sick reflect belief in the power. Finally the direct connection between leprosy and the French monarchy is discussed, in the context of the miraculous consecration at Saint-Denis, dating from the reign of Louis, in which a leper is portrayed as a vital figure in the history of French-Christian kingship.

The ideal king

Ideas about desired virtues of a king stemmed from the coronation ceremonies, during which the kings of England and France were anointed with oil. In France, this oil was itself imbued with spiritual significance, believed to have been delivered by the Holy Spirit to the bishop of Reims, for the coronation of Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks.[1] An eleventh-century text, the Norman Anonymous, proposed that kings' natures were transformed by the coronation ceremony, making them both *Deus* and *Christus*.[2] They were both *rex imago Dei* and *rex Dei gratia*. Although the Norman Anonymous had little effect at the time, due to the strength of the Gregorian reform movement, the ideas contained within it reflect some of the contemporary debates of the time regarding the struggle between lay and ecclesiastical power. The phrase *Dei gratia* was found on twelfth-century royal French charters, and on charters issued by the English

[1] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 829.
[2] Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies : a Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, (Princeton ; Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1970), 47-9.

kings after 1172-73.[3] Andrew Lewis has argued, however, that the idea of the king having a special relationship with God was 'old' by the 1220s.[4] This was possibly, as Geoffrey Koziol has suggested, due to a move towards administrative kingship during the course of the twelfth century; it was during this century that the church confirmed that coronation was not a sacrament, although Le Goff has argued that the perception that the king was an 'elect' chosen by God persisted.[5] There was, however, a continued lay belief in a royal spiritual power; as both Marc Bloch and Janet Nelson have stated, the power of the royal touch, which continued to be reported beyond the thirteenth century, could only persist with this belief.[6]

The ability to heal certain diseases by the royal touch, discussed in more detail below, is only one aspect of Christomimetic kingship. Further examples were to be found in *miroirs des princes,* texts written by educated men, such as ecclesiasts, jurists or courtiers, often for a specific individual, whose acceptance of such books indicated acceptance of the ideas within it.[7] The morals and ideas promoted therein obviously sometimes reflected the ideals of the institutions to which the authors belonged, particularly, in France during the thirteenth-century, of the mendicant ideals. The intention behind these *miroirs* was to 'provoke self-examination on the part of the ruler by providing him (or her) with standards of conduct and examples of virtuous leaders to imitate.'[8] These books instructed kings and princes in how to imitate both Christ and God in their rulership. This type of manual had been popular in France in the Carolingian era, containing examples by which they extolled the virtues of an ideal king, through an emphasis on monastic virtues.[9] The popularity of this form of literature was revived in the twelfth, and especially the thirteenth, centuries with the increase in royal power in France.[10] The *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* written by a Dominican friar, William Perault, in the middle of the thirteenth-century, spelt out how kings should follow God in the administration of justice, and of Jesus Christ in their compassion.[11]

The early thirteenth century also saw the production of Gerald of Wales' *Liber de Principis Instructione*, in which the archdeacon and royal clerk outlined his ideal of a king. Gerald's

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[3] H Prentout, 'De l'origine de la formule 'Dei Gratia'dans les chartes de Henri II', *Memoires de I'Academie Nationale des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen,* (1918), 341-93, (349).
[4] Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 129.
[5] Koziol, 'England, France and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', (124); Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 403.
[6] Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 243; Nelson, *Politics and Ritual*, 304.
[7] Lisa Blaydes, Justin Grimmer, and Alison McQueen, *Mirrors for princes and sultans: advice on the art of governance in the medieval Christian and Islamic worlds*, Working Paper, (2013), 4.
[8] Ibid., 3.
[9] Paul Hyams, 'What did Henry III of England think in Bed and in French about Kingship and Anger?', in *Anger's Past : the Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages,* ed. by B.H. Rosenwein, (Ithaca, N.Y. ; London: Cornell University Press, 1998), 92-124, (99).
[10] Lydwine Scordia, 'Le roi, l'or et le sang des pauvres dans Le livre de l'information des princes, miroir anonyme dédié à Louis X', *Revue Historique,* 306.Fasc. 3 (631) (Juillet 2004), 507-32, (508).
[11] Hyams, 'What did Henry III', (111-12).

experiences, of once having been present at the royal court and then, at the time of writing this text, becoming *persona non grata* in royal circles, appear to have turned him against the English kings. Parts two and three of the text are critical of the Plantagenets, and Gerald's preface cites the French prince Louis, later Louis VIII, as the ideal prince, endowed with learning and nobility.[12] The unconcealed criticism of Henry II and 'almost treasonable admiration' for the French monarchy may have restricted its potential audience in England, particularly after the losses of French land suffered during King John's reign.[13] The first part draws on classical and biblical examples, proposing the ideal qualities to be found in a king. Although Henry III may not have read this, the ideas contained within it were, according to Robert Bartlett, 'derivative', and reflected the ideas found within other contemporary books.[14]

A significant book that addressed the duty of a king was John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. Salisbury was at the time of the text's creation in late 1159 secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury.[15] Within this, Salisbury drew an analogy between the body of society and the human body. He understood the political ruler as the 'head', and just as the head of a human body cannot survive without its torso and limbs, a ruler should acknowledge that he 'owes his life… to others', and is 'duty bound' to all, including 'to the wise and to the foolish, to the insignificant and the great', echoing Paul's words to the Romans.[16] In a later chapter, John expanded this idea, reiterating the idea of the prince as a 'head', while the peasants at the lowest level represented the feet. The importance of the feet to the rest of the body was emphasised; without their assistance, the head would not be able to function. It was therefore the prince's duty to provide charity and support to everyone, no matter their status: '… those who erect, sustain and move forward the mass of the whole body are justly owed shelter and support. Remove from the fittest body the aid of the feet; it does not proceed under its own power, but either crawls shamefully, uselessly and offensively on its hands or else is moved with the assistance of brute animals.'[17] Ensuring the strength of the feet was essential in order for the other parts of society to continue.

The health of each part of the body was fundamental to the health of the prince. If his most vulnerable subjects were troubled or plagued, this would reflect poorly upon the head, and suggest that the head, too, was sick.

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[12] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Liber de Principis Instructione*, ed. by G.F. Warner, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores, (London: Longman & Co., 1891), 6-7; Michael Richter, 'Gerald of Wales: A Reassessment on the 750th Anniversary of His Death', *Traditio,* 29 (1973), 379-90, (389.
[13] Baldwin, *Masters*, i, 252; Hyams, 'What did Henry III', (111).
[14] Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223*, Oxford Historical Monographs, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 70.
[15] Cary J. Nederman, 'The Liberty of the Church and the Road to Runnymede: John of Salisbury and the Intellectual Foundations of the Magna Carta', *PS: Political Science and Politics,* 43.3 (2010), 456-61, (458).
[16] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 33.; (Romans 1:14).
[17] Ibid., 67.

> '… an afflicted people is like proof and irrefutable demonstration of the prince's gout. The health of the whole republic will only be secure and splendid if the superior members devote themselves to the inferiors and … each believes what is to his own advantage to be determined by that which he recognises to be most useful for others.'[18]

The prince and others at the uppermost levels of society were thus only believed to be able to fulfil their function effectively, and maintain a stable society, by reflecting carefully upon their duty to the other parts of the 'body' of society.[19] Salisbury expanded this idea of caring for others by stressing the necessity of humility and charity in the form of good works. These were necessary virtues if princes wished to maintain their dignity. It was vital for a prince to 'accord fraternal affection to all his subjects.'[20] This affection, if translated into 'works of peace and charity', would lead to harmony in society.[21] In turn, this unity of nation, also a unity of the body, is the 'most solid … and subsists solely upon the foundation of virtue.'[22]

Nicholas Orme has suggested that *Policraticus* was found in religious rather than noble libraries, and does not appear to have been present in England; however Cary J. Nederman has argued that it was in fact widely read in England after the late twelfth century.[23] Amnon Linder traces the arguments about political legitimacy in thirteenth-century England to Salisbury's own theories, suggesting significant dissemination.[24] The text's legacy in France included its use in the production of an anonymous fourteenth-century *miroir des princes* written for Louis IX's great-grandson, Louis X.[25] Louis X was also the dedicatee of an anonymous *miroir*, in which Saint Louis' love of the poor and churches was cited as a model for princely conduct.[26] Further evidence of *Policraticus* being read in France can be traced to an early thirteenth-century text by Hélinand of Froidmont. Hélinand, a Cistercian monk, repeated and extended Salisbury's metaphor of the body politic as a physical body, in *De Regimine Bona Principium*.[27] Although this was for a long time believed to have been written at the request of Philip Augustus, as an instruction for his son, more recent scholarship has suggested that this was not the case, and the text was written solely for inclusion in Hélinand's *Chronicon*, as part of an exegesis of

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[18] Ibid., 126.
[19] Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 209; Jacques Krynen, *L'empire du roi : idées et croyances politiques en France : XIIIe-XVe siècle*, Bibliothèque des histoires, (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1993), 169.
[20] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 48.
[21] Ibid., 51.
[22] Ibid., 77.
[23] Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry : The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530*, (London: Methuen, 1984), 90; Nederman, 'Liberty of the Church', (458).
[24] Amnon Linder, 'John of Salisbury's Policraticus in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Ms Cambridge Corpus Christi College 469 ', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 40 (1977), 276-82, (282).
[25] Scordia, 'Le roi, l'or et le sang', (509).
[26] Ibid., 520, n.57.
[27] Helinand of Froidmont. 'De Bono Regimine Principis', in *PL*, 221 vols., ccxii (1865), cols.735-46, (col. 740).

Deuteronomy.[28] He described the prince as the head; the ruling council at its heart; judges and provincial officials as the eyes, ears and tongue; officials and soldiers serving as hands; treasurers and stewards fit the roles of the stomach and intestines and, finally, the peasants, as in *Policraticus*, at the feet of the body. Hélinand's ideal prince would provide charity to the lowest members of society, 'with love.'[29] The text was not widely distributed, but was used extensively by Vincent of Beauvais for his *Speculum Historiale*.[30] Vincent was a Dominican friar, born in the late twelfth century, who met Louis through one of the abbots at Royaumont; in 1246 Vincent was appointed as a teacher at Royaumont, and he was commissioned by Louis to compile the *Speculum Historiale*.[31] Jacques le Goff has described him as the intellectual who was closest to the king.[32] Vincent's position meant that his work would at least be known about in the Cistercian houses around Paris – evidently at Royaumont, and also at Chaalis, where Louis spent much time.

Vincent wrote his own theory of kingship, *De morali principis institutione*, in the later thirteenth century. This text, written for Louis, was intended to instruct on the purpose of political power. Vincent was appointed as *lector* to the royal family in 1246, and his sermons were heard by Louis and his family.[33] He repeated John of Salisbury's Plutarch metaphor of the commonwealth as a body, with the king at its head and the paupers as the feet.[34] Gilbert of Tournai, the Franciscan friar (discussed above, page 44), developed Vincent of Beauvais' concept further. Gilbert wrote his tract at Louis' request; A. de Poorter argues that Gilbert's influence upon Louis was reciprocated, with Gilbert believing Louis to be *un prince idéal*. Poorter, the editor and translator of a published version of Gilbert's text, suggested that the motivation behind the text was the education of a saint, although this suggests that Louis' potential sanctity was discussed long before his death.[35] The text is thus partly a reflection of Louis' own kingship. Gilbert also described society in the form of a body, but rather than merely stating the duty of the head towards the limbs, he turned this idea around, by stating that 'as the head is afflicted by the sickness of the limbs, so by the failings of the populace, punishment is inflicted on temporal

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[28] Krynen, *L'empire du roi*, 170; Meindert Geertsma, 'Helinand's De Bono Regimine Principis: A Mirror for Princes or an Exegesis of Deuteronomy 17, 14-20?', *Sacris Erudiri,* 52 (2013), 385-414, (393).
[29] Helinand of Froidmont. 'De Bono Regimine Principis', (col. 739). '*Charitas autem minime servatur, cum amore...*'
[30] Geertsma, 'Helinand', (412).
[31] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 588.
[32] Ibid., 587.
[33] Robert J. Schneider, 'Introduction', in *De Morali Principis Institutione,* ed. by R.J. Schneider, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, (Turnholt: Brepols, 1995), i-lxxxi, (xxi).
[34] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 66-8; Vincent of Beauvais, *De Morali Principis Institutione*, ed. by R.J. Schneider, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, (Turnholt: Brepols, 1995), 8. '*... pedes autem agricole sunt.*'
[35] Alphonse de Poorter, 'Introduction', in *Le Traité Eruditio Regum et Principum de Guibert de Tournai*, ed. and trans. by A. de Poorter, Les philosophes Belges. Textes et études, (Louvain, 1914), i-xv, (xi).

kings and princes.'[36] It was thus incumbent upon a king's subjects to behave with propriety and to avoid sin. For Henry and Louis, for whom salvation was of the utmost importance, this represented a challenge – it was not enough that they should reflect upon their own behaviour, but they needed also to ensure that others considered the greater good. This concern is evident in France in the late 1240s and the 1250s. Prior to his crusade, Louis established an inquisition, which resulted in the issuing of ordinances in 1254, after his return.[37] These acts were designed to effect administrative reform of the royal bailiffs and administrators.[38] The improvement of administration within Louis' kingdom would assist him in his role as a Christian king, and serve to increase his own chances of salvation.

The Kings' Counsellors

Further influence on the kings' behaviour would have come from the individuals who formed their entourages. Many of these men were members of religious orders; others had at least studied theology, probably at Paris. The growth of the mendicant orders in both England and France was reflected in the make-up of the royal entourages, with Franciscans and Dominicans fulfilling prominent roles on both sides of the channel. The relationship between Louis and the friars has been described by Lester K. Little as a '*de facto* alliance.'[39] C. H. Lawrence cites the friars' 'apostolic zeal' as coinciding with Louis' 'own sense of pastoral obligations', influencing the king's benefactions towards hospitals and leper-houses.[40]

Henry's and Louis' confessors, to whom the king would have revealed their closest secrets, were all drawn from the mendicant orders. Henry chose two Dominicans – John of St Giles, then John of Darlington. John of Darlington was in the king's service from 1256, where he enjoyed Henry's confidence and, according to C.H. Lawrence, probably influenced a number of royal gifts to Dominican houses in England.[41] The friar was involved in the 'political turmoil' of the barons' rebellion in the late 1250s and early 1260s. John of St Giles was a physician (discussed in Chapter 2) as well as a friar, who had studied at Paris and Toulouse. [42] He was in the retinue of

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[36] Guibert de Tournai, *Le Traité Eruditio Regum et Principum de Guibert de Tournai*, ed. and trans. by A. de Poorter, (Louvain, 1914), 15. '*Sic pro membrorum aegritudine caput affligatur, sic pro delictis populi poena temporalis regibus et principibus irrogatur.*'
[37] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 216-17.
[38] Louis Carolus-Barré, 'La grande ordonnance de 1254 sur la réforme de l'administration et la police du royaume', in *Septième centenaire de la mort de saint Louis: Actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21-27 mai 1970),* ed. by L. Carolus-Barré, (Paris: Les Belles-lettres, 1976), 85-96, (86).
[39] Lester K. Little, 'Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars', *Church History,* vol. 33.issue 02 (June 1964), 125-48, (135).
[40] C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars : the Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*, (London: Longman, 1994), 166.
[41] C. H. Lawrence, 'Darlington, John of (*d.* 1284)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, O.U. Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7159>, (accessed 18 November 2016).
[42] Danielle Jacquart, 'St Giles, John of (*d.* 1259/60)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, O.U. Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14851>, (accessed 18 November 2016).

Henry's sister, Isabella, at her marriage to Emperor Frederick II, and announced her pregnancy to Henry on a visit to England, after which he retained connection to the royal court until his death in 1260. The friar was in the service of the Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, who availed John of both his religious and medical knowledge. Grosseteste was not himself a friar, but had close connections to the Franciscan Order, particularly those at the school at Oxford.[43] The bishop was born in the 1160s, probably studied theology in Paris, but returned to England, being present at the foundation of the University of Oxford in 1214.[44] During his time at Oxford he taught theology to members of the Franciscan Order, before being appointed bishop of Lincoln in 1235, a position he held until his death in 1253. James McEvoy has suggested that he died 'with a reputation for sanctity.'[45]

One friar to whom Grossetese was particularly close was Adam Marsh; the two men enjoyed a close friendship, agreeing on pastoral, political and doctrinal matters.[46] Grosseteste supported St Francis' teaching regarding the renunciation of personal property, supporting almsgiving 'for God's sake'.[47] Marsh was on occasion present at the royal court, at the request of Queen Eleanor. As well as attending parliamentary assemblies, Marsh participated in diplomatic business for Henry and was granted his own quarters at the royal palaces.[48] In 1257, he was part of a delegation sent to France to negotiate a peace treaty with Saint Louis; in the same year he was commanded by the Archbishop of Canterbury to assist in quietening seditions in England.[49] The Franciscan was close to Henry's youngest sister, Eleanor, and her husband Simon de Montfort. John Maddicott has described both Marsh and Grosseteste, along with Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, as 'father figures' to Simon, shaping his religious education.[50] Eleanor enjoyed a close friendship with the friar, and received both spiritual advice from him in several letters.[51]

Louis' long-serving confessor, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, a Dominican, wrote the earliest hagiography of the saint-king, very shortly after Louis' death, having been commissioned to do so by Pope

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[43] Henry Richards Luard, 'Preface', in *Roberti Grosseteste, episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolae,* ed. by H.R. Luard, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1861), ix-xcviii, (22).
[44] James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), xi.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid., 58.
[47] Ibid., 54.
[48] C. H. Lawrence, 'Introduction', in *The Letters of Adam Marsh,* ed. by C.H. Lawrence, 1, (Oxford: Clarendon, 2006), (xvii); ibid., xxxviii.
[49] Ibid., xlii.
[50] John Robert Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 83-4.
[51] Adam Marsh, 'Ade de Marisco epistolae', in *Monumenta Franciscana,* ed. by J.S. Brewer, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores, 2 vols., i, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), 75-489, (293-301).

Gregory X.[52] Geoffrey reported that after his return from crusade in 1254, Louis chose to have one Dominican and one Franciscan confessor in his retinue at all times; one of the Franciscans in this role was Jean of Mons, who also served Louis' wife, Marguerite, and daughter Isabelle.[53] Louis advised Isabelle to choose her confessors carefully, selecting one 'who leads a holy life and who was sufficiently instructed to teach you the things you should avoid and those that you should do', words which provide an insight into the king's own choices.[54] Vincent of Beauvais also served as Louis' confessor and wrote a text for Louis' son Philip, entitled *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, whilst Philip himself commissioned another friar, the Augustinian Giles of Rome, to compose a treatise for his own son, entitled *De Regimine Principum*.[55] The mendicant friars were so important to Louis that he chose their members to teach his sons.[56]

Louis' chaplain and hagiographer, William of Chartres was another Dominican friar. The role of Louis' chaplains is described in William of Saint-Pathus' hagiography; Louis would choose chaplains to sing Mass or to read the Gospel from amongst those who had advised him, judging each man carefully on the counsel he was able to offer.[57] Saint-Pathus also noted that Louis accorded so much respect to the clerics that the chaplains' table was often higher that Louis' own table.[58]

Jacques le Goff suggests that Louis, at least, knew to listen to his advisors.[59] The closest of these men was the Franciscan Eudes Rigaud, whose relationship with the king dates, possibly, to the period before Louis' first crusade.[60] They spent a great deal of time together after Louis' return in 1254, with Eudes being frequently absent from his diocese. He served as master at the Franciscan house in Paris, before becoming a Master of Theology at the University, and in 1247 was appointed as archbishop of Rouen. After Louis' return from crusade in 1254, Eudes became a regular advisor to Louis, and was invited to preach at the royal chapel, Sainte-Chapelle, in 1261. The archbishop was present at a number of events relating to Louis' immediate family: in 1255 he celebrated the marriage of Louis' daughter Isabelle to Theobald of Champagne, and also

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[52] Gaposchkin and Field, 'The Sanctity of Louis IX', (31).
[53] Geoffrey de Beaulieu. 'Vita', (10). *'... quod postquam de transmarinis partibus est reversus, semper duos voluit confessores, unum de ordine Fratrum Minorum, alium de ordine Praedicatorum...'*; William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (83). *'... frere Jehan de Monz, de lordre des freres Meneures, adoncques confesseur de cele roine et aucune foiz du benoiez roy...'*
[54] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (82). *'... eslisiez touziors confesseur qui soit de sainte vie et qui soit soufisamment letré...'*
[55] Vincent de Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, ed. by A. Steiner, (Cambridge, Mass: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1938); Giles of Rome Archbishop of Bourges, *Egidius de regimine principum / [Giles]*, (Venice: Guerralda, Bernardino, 1502); Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 591; Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, 93.
[56] Lawrence, 'Introduction', (xxxvii).
[57] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (73). *'... a ceus desquex il li estoit avis ...'*
[58] Ibid., 78. *'la table de ses chapelains... estoit aucune foiz plus haute que la table du benoiet roi, ou au moins egal.'*
[59] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 220.
[60] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, 158.

an anniversary mass for Louis' father in 1258; in 1260 he consoled Louis after the death of his eldest son. Eudes was also commissioned to perform diplomatic work for the king, including negotiating the 1259 treaty with England.[61]

Eudes' relationship with the king was a close one. Adam Davis has argued that Eudes would certainly have been known, or at least known of, by the king, before his appointment as archbishop.[62] During Eudes' archbishopric, Louis ceded the archdeaconry of Pontoise to the archbishop, the archbishopric thus being 'greatly enlarged' and extending closer to Paris.[63] Eudes was involved, with Louis, in the improvement of the hospital at Rouen during the 1260s, both men being concerned about the 'weakest members' of society.[64] Aside from their shared concern about the poor and the sick, Louis undoubtedly admired Eudes for his *vita apostolica*. Interpretations of how to imitate the life of the apostles varied, but in the early thirteenth-century, Jacques de Vitry cited the qualities of the Franciscan order in this context: poverty, humility and preaching, in the manner of Christ's apostles.[65] Spurning all the material benefits potentially available to a man of his position, Eudes continued to maintain a mendicant lifestyle, embracing poverty and chastity, throughout his career.[66] The archbishop's influence extended further into the Franciscan order also. One of Eudes' pupils was Saint Bonaventure; this friar, who was canonised in the fifteenth century, produced many philosophical texts and an account of St Francis' life, and was also invited to preach sermons of a pastoral nature to Louis.[67]

Eudes' reputation has survived in part due to the survival of his visitation records in his archdiocese; these records detail some of the problems and short-comings found by Eudes and his men in the religious houses, hospitals and leper-houses that fell under his jurisdiction. Although these records evidently show the more exceptional happenings at the houses (if a house was well-run, Eudes' administrators had little to record), they illustrate the archbishop's concern for propriety. The principal concerns raised with regard to leper-houses were about debts, provisions for the winter seasons, and the behaviour of clerics and chaplains assigned to the spiritual care of the lepers.

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[61] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 749.
[62] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, 159.
[63] Ibid., 162.
[64] Ibid., 162-4.
[65] *The Historia occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition*, J.F. Hinnebusch (ed.), (Fribourg: The University Press, 1972), 158-9. *'Adeo autem primitive ecclesie religionem, paupertatem et humilitatem in se diligenter reformare procurant... Regulam autem ipsorum dominus papa confirmavit et eis auctoritatem predicandi ad quascumque venerint ecclesias concessit...'*; d'Avray, *Preaching*, 46; ibid., 43.
[66] Little, 'Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars', (132).
[67] Ibid., 130; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 592-3.

Touching the sick

One factor that connected both monarchies to leprosy was thaumaturgy, the tradition by which the kings of England and France were able to heal their subjects of *morbus regius* – the 'king's evil' – by the power of their touch. The definition of *morbus regius* changed over time, and may have had different meanings in different places. In the fourth century, Latin texts used *morbus regius* to refer to leprosy, as well as other disfiguring diseases.[68] Isidore of Seville, two or three centuries later, equated its symptoms instead with jaundice.[69] In the late twelfth century, William of Malmesbury described a leper as having the king's disease, '*morbum… qui regium vocant*' – a slow rotting of the body, infecting all limbs and the voice, an accurate description of leprosy.[70] In the early thirteenth century, Gilbertus Anglicus cited the symptoms of scrofulas and swollen glands as being the same as the symptoms of leprosy, naming the condition as *morbus regius* 'because kings cure this disease.'[71] A book of miracles written at Savigny, in Normandy, prior to 1250 shows general uncertainty about symptoms, but no mention of scrofulas or strumas.[72] Frank Barlow has argued that later in the thirteenth century, *morbus regius* began to be used less frequently in relation to leprosy, with scrofula becoming more commonly associated with the Latin term.[73] Philippe Buc suggests, however, that 'one hardly distinguished' between scrofula and benign forms of leprosy.[74]

Barlow bases his argument for this change on a decreased number of lepers, with sufferers having been moved into leper-houses. This is perhaps a simplistic understanding in view of more recent scholarship regarding leprosy; leper-houses were still being founded at this date, and lepers were not being forcibly segregated. The change may have been influenced instead by the increased presence of expert physicians during the thirteenth century in the diagnosis of leprosy.[75] The slow shift in the terminology of the disease and its definition over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shows that during the reigns of Henry and Louis, leprosy would still have been associated with the idea of royal healing, although neither king was directly credited with such power.

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[68] St Jerome. 'Genealogia Regum Anglorum', in *PL*, 221 vols., xxii (1845), cols.639-47, (col.641). '*Ille putrefactus, morbo regio, …'*; Rufinus. 'Genealogia Regum Anglorum', in *PL*, 221 vols., xxi (1878), cols.465-632, (col.496). *'Eumomius, vir corpore et anima leprosus, et interius exteriusque morbo regio corruptus.'*; Frank Barlow, 'The King's Evil', *The English Historical Review,* 95 (1980), 3-27, (7);
[69] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 113 (IV, viii, 13); Barlow, 'The King's Evil', (4).
[70] William of Malmesbury, *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury, to which are added the Extant Abridgements of this Work and the Miracles and Translation of St. Wulfstan*, Camden Third Series, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1928), 30-1; Barlow, 'The King's Evil', (6-7).
[71] Gilbertus Anglicus, *Compendium medicine Gilberti Anglici tam morborum vniuersalium quam particularium nondum medicis sed et cyrurgicis vtilissimum*, ed. by M. de Capella, (Lyon: Jacobum Saccon, 1510), f.clxxiiii; Barlow, 'The King's Evil', (12-13).
[72] Barlow, 'The King's Evil', (10).
[73] Ibid.
[74] Buc, 'David's Adultery', (102).
[75] Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 35.

Marc Bloch's substantial survey of the use of thaumaturgy in England and France, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, discovered no evidence of the practice prior to the eleventh century. In France, the first evidence found by Bloch dates from the reign of Robert the Pious (996-1031), in the *Vie de Robert le Pieux*, written by the Benedictine monk, Helgaud of Fleury (died c.1048), at the abbey of Fleury. Whilst not claiming explicitly that Robert cured leprosy, Helgaud noted his ability to deliver sufferers from pain, or wounds (*vulnera*), and to heal their bodies.[76] This commentary immediately preceded Helgaud's observation of Robert's love for lepers – how he eagerly hurried towards leper-houses, offering money to the lepers, and kissing their hands.[77] Robert may not have healed lepers, but Helgaud's placement of these two aspects of the king's life in such close proximity implies a connection between *morbus regius* and leprosy. No such evidence survives from the short reign of Robert's successor, Henry I, but Gilbert of Nogent credited both Henry's son and grandson, Philip I and Louis VI, with having healed their subjects of *scrophas*, claiming to have often seen Louis perform the ritual of touching sufferers and making the sign of the cross.[78] Gilbert suggested that the English kings did not dare to perform such acts. In recent historiography, Geoffrey Koziol has suggested that the Plantagenet kings were unable to perform any such healing, being prevented from doing so by a lack of legitimacy as they were not rightful kings; however Edward I, Henry III's son, was reported to have touched the sick frequently – up to 1736 individuals in 1290.[79] In the *Vita Wulfstani*, the twelfth-century historian William of Malmesbury revealed that the disease could be healed by saints as well as kings. He described how a leper was healed after bathing in water in which Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, had rinsed his hands. William describes the individual as '*miser*', having 'that [which] is called the royal disease.'[80] When writing about the miracles performed by Edward the

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[76] Helgaud de Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux, Epitoma vitae Regis Rotberti Pii*, ed. by R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory, Sources d'histoire médiévale, (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1965), 128. '*Tantam quippe gratiam in medendis corporibus perfecto viro contulit divina virtus ut, sua piissima manu infirmis locum tangens vulneris et illis inprimens signum sancte crucis, omnem auferret ab eis dolorem infirmitatis.'*

[77] Ibid., 126. '*Ad hos avida mente properans et intrans, manu propria dabat denariorum summam et ore proprio figens eorum manibus oscula…*'

[78] Gilbert of Nogent. 'De Pignoribus Sanctorum', in *PL*, 221 vols., clvi (1880), cols.607-80, (col.616). *'Ludovicus Grossus seu sextus, scrophas curat. Quod Philippo patro criminibus obvoluto negatum est. Id Anglicus rex potestatis minime habet. – Quid quod dominum nostrum Ludovicum regem consuetudinario uti videmus prodigio ? Hos plane, qui scrophas circa jugulum, aut uspiam in corpore patiuntur, ad tactum ejus, superadditio crucis signo, vidi catervatim, me ei cohaerente et etiam prohibente, concurrere. Quos tamen ille ingenita liberalitate, serena ad se manu obuncans, humillime consignabat. Cujus gloriam miraculi cum Philippus pater ejus alacriter exerceret, nescio quibus incendentibus culpis amisit. Super aliis regibus qualiter se gerant in hac re, supersedeo ; regem tamen Anglicum neutiquam in talibus audere scio.'*

[79] Koziol, 'England, France and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', (145); Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 56; ibid., 310. Bloch calculated the sums recorded in the exchequer rolls such as '*pro xxx ergotis egritudinis Regis*' and '*pro … ergotis de morbo regio curatis.'*

[80] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, 30-1. '*Miser, cui preter egestatis incomodum morbus irrepserat, quem regium uocant; et ita lenta tabe, omnes artus infecerat; ut non diceres eum uero uti corpore ; sed uiuo circumferri cadauere. Horrori erat omnibus eum cernere ; qui totus uirulenta stillabat sanie. Fastidio sermones eius audire ; qui non putaretur loqui sed raucum ululare... Eius fuit occasio aqua ; qua post missam*

Confessor, William stated that some of his contemporaries believed incorrectly that the power of healing came from the heredity of royal lineage, rather than holiness.[81]

As a saint, Edward the Confessor's power to heal by touch is not exceptional, as it is in the cases of other kings. His ability to cure sickness was described in an account of the king's life, which was written by an anonymous monk written at the monastery of St Bertin, in Saint-Omer.[82] The scribe reported how a woman whose face and chin that had been corrupted by disease (*corruperant morbo*) dreamt that if she could be washed by her king, she would be cured.[83] Edward anointed the woman's face, and other parts of her body where the disease was present, 'made the sign of the cross, put pressure on the sores, drew out the pus', and the woman was cured. Edward performed further miracles, particularly restoring sight to the blind, but this is the only miracle in which the signing of the cross is made, suggesting that although the disease was not specified as *morbus regius*, it could only have been cured by an individual who had been anointed or ordained. Frank Barlow suggests that the monk was thinking of scrofula as he wrote the text, but included symptoms (particularly the worms that exited her body because of Edward's touch) that were taken from reports of leprosy.[84]

This gift of healing was not reported again in England for over two centuries after Edward the Confessor, and then it was not in a manner which gave much credit to the king. In the twelfth century, a girl called Margaret, daughter of a knight, was healed of scrofula by Henry II – 'troubled by swellings of the throat, in what are usually called glands, which are said to begin to be cured by the touch of the king's hands.'[85] Her disease was described in Matthew Paris' *Estoire de Seint Ædward le rei* as two weeping, malodorous tumours on her neck, as a result of which no one would approach her because 'she was wretched and looked like a leper.'[86] The healing by Henry II was recorded among the miracles of St Frideswide, which were written in the late

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sacras dilueret manus. Hanc presbiter ministro supradicto datam, iussit infundi balneo egroti. Lauit leprosus, uisu horridus; carne maculosus. Sed mirum in modum, continuo pustularum tumor desedit; letiferum uirus effluxit; et ne plura; omnis car in puerilem puritatem refloruit.'

[81] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Gesta Regum Anglorum : atque Historia novella*, ed. by T.D. Hardy, English Historical Society. Publications, 2 vols., (Londini: Sumptibus Societatis, 1838), i, 375. *'... unde nostro tempore quidam falsam insumunt operam, qui asseverant istius morbi curationem non ex sanctitate, sed ex regalis prosapiae haereditate, fluxisse.'*

[82] *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster : Attributed to a Monk of St. Bertin*, F. Barlow (ed.), (London: Nelson, 1962), 92-3.

[83] Ibid., 92.

[84] Barlow, 'The King's Evil', (9).

[85] 'Miracula S. Frideswide', in *Acta Sanctorum Octobris Tomus VIII,* ed. by J. Bolland, and others, (Paris, 1853), 568-90, (575-6, col.37). '*sub faucibus scrophulis, quas vulgo glandulas vocant, vexari cœpit, quæ contactu regiæ manus curari dicuntur*'

[86] Matthew Paris, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, ed. by K.Y. Wallace, Anglo-Norman Texts, (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983), 74; Matthew Paris, *The History of Saint Edward the King*, trans. by T.S. Fenster and J. Wogan-Browne, Medieval and Renaissance texts and studies, (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 87.

twelfth century by Philip, a prior at the Oxford priory named after the saint.[87] The girl in question was taken to the king by her father, the scrofulas were 'driven away' after being touched by Henry's hand.[88] Unfortunately for Margaret she was paralysed soon after, and had to travel to the tomb of St Frideswide in Oxford in order to be fully healed. Thus in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, there remained a connection between leprosy and the healing power of the king.

Reports of actual healing using the royal touch by Henry III and Louis IX are non-existent, although Louis did touch the sick. Even after Louis' death, in the period in which his miracles were recorded, no 'direct reference' was made to any ability of the king to heal.[89] Nelson has argued that the phenomenon of the royal touch could only prevail as something 'ecclesiastically conceived and purveyed', which reflected lay sentiments in order to maintain the superiority of the anointed king.[90] Buc explains the silence of the thirteenth-century sources by describing the new connections between royal ideology and political administration.[91] Whilst there appears to have been a universal acceptance of the royal miracle in the 1170s, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, divisions in support of this miracle had occurred, split between those who supported the enlarged administration and increased taxation of Philip Augustus' government, and those who opposed them.[92] Andrew Lewis has suggested that in France there was more openness toward the idea from the 1240s onwards, possibly due to a renewed idea of the Capetian king being in a special relationship with God, 'anointed with oil from heaven.'[93]

Another possible reason for the absence of such miracles can be traced to the theological reform that took place in Paris in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. Centred around Peter the Chanter, a canon and theologian at Notre-Dame, theologians discussed 'practical morality', one aspect of which was the meaning of the anointment of a king during the consecration ceremony, and the relationship between temporal and spiritual authority.[94] Although there was no consensus on the specifics, these theologians generally agreed that a king's power – the *regnum* – was subservient to priestly power – the *sacerdotum*.[95] Peter Comestor, another Parisian theologian in the circle of Peter the Chanter, credited kings with healing power which was

[87] 'Miracula S. Frideswide', (567).
[88] Ibid., 575-6, col.37., '… *contactu manus ejus scrophulæ fugatæ sunt*.'
[89] Barlow, 'The King's Evil', (13).
[90] Nelson, *Politics and Ritual*, 304.
[91] Buc, 'David's Adultery', (103).
[92] Ibid., 115.
[93] Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 129-31.
[94] Petrus Cantor, *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis: Troisième partie (III, 2a) - Liber casuum conscientiae*, ed. by J.-A. Dugauquier, Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia 16, 5 vols., (Louvain; Lille: Editions Nauwelaerts; Libraire Giard, 1954), III (2a), 101-3 §85; Baldwin, *Masters*, i, 173-4.
[95] Petrus Cantor, *Summa*, 101 §85.

'conferred' to them by Christ's anointing.[96] Philippe Buc has argued, however, that a belief in the royal touch did not mean that theologians also believed that kings had sacerdotal powers.[97] It follows that if priests would shy away from claiming the power to heal, kings could not be credited with this ability. The influence of Peter the Chanter and his associates spread throughout Europe, particularly to England with the presence of Englishmen such as Stephen Langton and Robert of Courçon.[98] There was also at this time a demand for stricter evidence in canonisation procedures, meaning that sanctity was increasingly awarded on the basis of good works – 'social service' in the words of Michael Goodich, to the sick, lepers, widows and orphans – during a saint's life-time, with miracles occurring only after death.[99] The idea that such healing was possible did not disappear, however; evidence from the thirteenth century will be addressed in the following chapter.

Further examples of the interest of former French kings in the sick may also have been transmitted to Louis as part of his education. The *miroirs des princes* produced under the Carolingians had defined just kingship as 'piety, humility, chastity, clemency, wisdom, and so forth…', values which, as M. Cecilia Gaposchkin has stated, described Louis IX as he was 'fulfilling age-old requirements of the ideal king.' [100] An early Capetian king with whose life parallels can be drawn with Louis' life was Robert the Pious who, although not canonised, had his life presented in a hagiographical rather than historical fashion.[101] Helgaud of Fleury placed great emphasis on Robert's piety, listing his monastic foundations.[102] He recounted how Robert would welcome lepers, give them money, and kiss them, while praising God. Helgaud continues the text with a description of Robert's ability to heal the sick, through the power of divine virtue; in addition, he was hospitable to lepers in the same way that Christ had been.[103] The only extant

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[96] Peter Comestor. 'Historia Scholastica', in *PL*, 221 vols., clxxxviii (1855), cols.1045-722. *'Quidam tradunt eam tunc menstruatam esse, et ad tactum regis cessasse menstruum.'*; Baldwin, *Masters*, i, 44; Buc, 'David's Adultery', (109).
[97] Buc, 'David's Adultery', (114).
[98] Baldwin, *Masters*, i, 17.
[99] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. by J. Birrell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 36; Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta : The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982), 175.
[100] Hincmar of Rheims. 'De regis persona', in *PL*, 221 vols., cxxv (1852), cols.803-56, (col.839). *'Nihil relicius quam si regnent regnandi scientiam habentes.'*; ibid., 844. *'Quod reges regum Domino serviant, etiam leges dando pro ipso.'*; ibid., 846. *'De discretion in habenda misericordia'*; ibid., 856. '*… sit pietas, sed non plus quam expediat …'*; Jonas d'Orléans, *Le métier de roi (De institutione regia)*, ed. by A. Dubreucq, Sources chrétiennes, (Paris: Cerf, 1995), 184. *'… et dictis atque exemplis ad opus pietatis et iustitiae et misericordiae sollerter excitet…'*; Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 46; Krynen, *L'empire du roi*, 168.
[101] Helgaud de Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux*, 36.
[102] Ibid., 130-2.
[103] Ibid., 126-8. '*Tantam quippe gratiam in medendis corporibus perfecto viro contulit divina virtus ut, sua piissima manu infirmis locum tangens vulneris et illis inprimens signum sancte crucis, omnem auferret ab eis dolorem infirmitatis. Caritatis integro non inmemor, servus Dei considerabat preciosa Martirii monachi facta qui proprio leprosum adstringens vestimento illumque suo levans humero, dum ei servitutis officia dare*

copy of Helgaud's manuscript, apparently the original, is not known to have been discovered prior to the sixteenth century, and Sarah Hamilton has stated that 'there is an absence of evidence to suggest it was ever read or used, either at Fleury or elsewhere.'[104] The text was not included in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, a compilation of Latin texts translated by the monks of Saint-Denis and completed in 1274, suggesting that the monks of Saint-Denis were unaware of its existence.[105] Jacques Le Goff, however, has suggested that the abbey of Fleury endeavoured to become the 'historiographical and ideological centre, as well as publicity agents' that Saint-Denis became in the twelfth century.[106] The story may have been communicated orally to Louis – the anecdote is one that would have been useful and important in enhancing the reputation of the Capetian monarchy, and Louis' own hagiographies describe behaviour so similar to Robert's that it is highly plausible that he was consciously imitating Robert's piety. Louis visited Fleury 'rarely' according to Le Goff, but did travel frequently to the nearby Lorris, where Blanche and Louis VIII spent a lot of time until 1223.[107]

A more circumspect account of a French king meeting lepers was written by Odo of Deuil about Louis VII. Odo was a monk, then abbot, at Saint-Denis, who served as chaplain to Louis VII on the Second Crusade.[108] He recorded the king's acts as he departed Paris on his way to the Holy Land, recounting that:

> Upon setting out, he did a praiseworthy thing, which few, perhaps no one of his lofty rank, could imitate; for, first having visited some monks in Paris, he went outside the gates to the leper colony. There I myself saw him enter, with only two companions, and shut out the rest of his great retinue for a long time.[109]

These two brief sentences raise questions regarding the king's relationship with the lepers at Saint-Lazare. Odo does not give any indication that he knows what happened inside, neither does he explain how long *longam moram* was. Having already visited the monks, the insinuation

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voluit, repente ad ethera rediit et ei ascendens dixit Christus, qui in specie leprosi fuerat susceptus: "Martiri, tu me non erubuisti super terram, ego te non erubescam super caelos."

[104] Ibid., 50; Sarah Hamilton, 'A New Model for Royal Penance? Helgaud of Fleury's Life of *Robert the Pious*', *Early Medieval Europe,* 6.2 (1997), 189-200, (200).

[105] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Les débuts français de l'historiographie royale: quelques aspects inattendus', in *Saint-Denis et la royauté : études offertes à Bernard Guenée,* ed. by F. Autrand, C. Gauvard, and J.-M. Moeglin, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 395-404, (395).

[106] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 466.

[107] Ibid., 535; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 47.

[108] Virginia Gingerick Berry, 'Introduction', in *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem: The Journey of Louis VII to the East,* ed. by V.G. Berry, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), (xiv-xv).

[109] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem: The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, trans. by V.G. Berry, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 16-17. *'Dum vero pergeret rem fecit laudabilem, paucis imitabilem et forsitan suae celsitudinis nulli ; nam cum prius religiosos quosque Parisius visitasset, tandem foras progrediens leprosorum adiit officinas. Ibi certe vidi eum cum solis duobus arbitris intrasse et per longam moram ceteram suorum multitudinem exclusisse.'* English translation copied from Berry's edited volume.

is that Louis was seeking more prayers as blessing for his impending journey, and the lepers were able to provide these for him. Odo does not state that he himself, and the others in the retinue, were excluded from the visits to the Parisian monks, a fact which suggests that this was quite a different type of visit. Neither does he suggest that the retinue volunteered to remain outside rather than enter the lepers' residence – instead the king excluded them. The private nature of the visit shows that the king did not want his companions to witness his behaviour; this may mean that he, like Robert the Pious before him and Louis IX after him, kissed the lepers, a gesture intended to show recognition of their spiritual status.[110] Although the only known existing manuscript version of this text is now in Montpellier, Virginia Gingerick Berry, who has published an edition and translation of the text, believed it to be a copy owned by the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux, which was copied directly from material borrowed from the abbey of Saint-Denis.[111]

Henry's exemplar for much of his reign was Edward the Confessor. Although the motivation behind his veneration for Edward is unclear and disputed, it was genuine.[112] In the 1230s, the abbot at Westminster Abbey, which was originally founded by Edward the Confessor, appealed to the king for financial assistance in the repair of their Lady Chapel. What began as a donation of funds turned into a long-term rebuilding project, the highlights of which for Henry were the translation of the confessor's relics to a new shrine, and the presentation of the Holy Blood relic. Henry's attempt to identify himself with Edward may have been founded on a number of factors – some commonalities, and some aspirational. Both kings had come to the throne after a period of turbulence; both had been 'abandoned' by their mothers at a young age, and both were, in the words of David Carpenter, 'betrayed by treacherous ministers.'[113] In addition, both were described as *simplex* – an epithet that, as Carpenter has suggested, could be either a compliment or a criticism; for Henry it would have been 'immensely re-assuring to discover … that the Confessor too had been similarly abused.'[114]

Henry's veneration for Edward extended beyond Westminster Abbey; a recurrent image used in his chapels, and also in his halls at Winchester and Guildford, was that of Edward the Confessor and the Stranger, an image which encouraged the act of charity towards the poor. Sally Dixon-Smith identifies a number of aspects of the saint's kingship that Henry could have chosen to adopt, including use of the royal touch, the 'Christ-like nature of the office of kingship', or good

[110] The act of kissing lepers is discussed further in Chapter 4.
[111] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII*, xxxv.
[112] For different opinions of Henry's involvement with Westminster Abbey see: Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets : Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400*, (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1995); Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward'; Lewis, 'Henry III'; Vincent, *The Holy Blood*.
[113] Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward', (878).
[114] Ibid., 891.

government, but above all of these, Henry opted for Edward's practice of generous alms-giving.[115]

Leprosy and the French monarchy

François-Olivier Touati has described the connection between lepers, leprosy and the French monarchy as a 'permanent relationship' which lasted into the fourteenth century.[116] Touati traces the association of leprosy with the French monarchy, citing the perpetual remembrance of St Martin of Tours, who healed a leper when he kissed him outside one of the gates of Paris (see Chapter 4), and the baptism of Clovis in 508 as the foundations of this myth.[117] Clovis promised to convert to Christianity if he was successful in his battle against the Visigoths; after his baptism he became the first Christian king of the Franks. Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*, written later in the sixth century, when describing this baptism, referred to the baptism of Constantine, when the emperor was cleansed of leprosy (see below).[118] Gregory described also how after his conversion Clovis took 'many gifts to the holy church of the blessed Martin.'[119] Furthermore, the abbey of Saint-Denis possessed a porphyry bath which was recorded in the *Grandes Chroniques de France* to have been a gift of Dagobert, and which was shown in a fifteenth-century painting by the anonymous artist the Master of Saint Giles, being used for the baptism of Clovis by St Remi.[120] There was thus a connection with leprosy that was many centuries old by the time that Louis IX came to the throne.

Touati outlines the development of the theory of sacred monarchy throughout the Capetian era, beginning with the healing of a leper by Robert the Pious in the late eleventh century. In the following century, Gilbert of Nogent credited Robert's descendants, Philip I and Louis VI with the healing of *écrouelles*.[121]Later in the century, and early in the thirteenth century, the practice of

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[115] Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', (83).
[116] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 221.
[117] Ibid., 215.
[118] Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, ed. and trans. by E. Brehaut, (New York: Norton, 1969), 40-1 (Book ii, c.31). (Book ii, c.31).
[119] Ibid., 47 (Book ii, c.37).
[120] *Les grandes Chroniques de France. De Clotaire II à Pépin le Bref*, ed. by J. Viard, 10 vols., (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1920-53), ii, ii, 141; *Le trésor de Saint-Denis [exposition], Musée du Louvre, Paris, 12 mars-17 juin 1991*, ed. by Musée du Louvre, Bibliothèque nationale, and Réunion des musées nationaux, (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991), 69; Herman Th. Colenbrander and Pierre-Gilles Girault, 'The Master of Saint Giles: A New Proposal for the Reconstruction of the London and Washington Panels', *The Burlington Magazine,* (1997), 684-89, (684).
[121] Gilbert of Nogent. 'De Pignoribus Sanctorum', (col.616). *'Ludovicus Grossus seu sextus, scrophas curat. Quod Philippo patro criminibus obvoluto negatum est. Id Anglicus rex potestatis minime habet. – Quid quod dominum nostrum Ludovicum regem consuetudinario uti videmus prodigio ? Hos plane, qui scrophas circa jugulum, aut uspiam in corpore patiuntur, ad tactum ejus, superadditio crucis signo, vidi catervatim, me ei cohaerente et etiam prohibente, concurrere. Quos tamen ille ingenita liberalitate, serena ad se manu obuncans, humillime consignabat. Cujus gloriam miraculi cum Philippus pater ejus alacriter exerceret, nescio quibus incendentibus culpis amisit. Super aliis regibus qualiter se gerant in hac re, supersedeo ; regem tamen Anglicum neutiquam in talibus audere scio.'*; Touati, *Maladie et société*, 223.

alms-giving and donations to leper-houses became more evident under Philip Augustus and Louis VIII. Touati suggests that Louis IX surpassed the 'mission' expected in his role as king towards lepers, citing his predilection for getting close to lepers rather than simply providing alms, a duty expected of a monarch.[122]

There was a particular relationship between the Capetian monarchy and the Parisian leper-house of Saint-Lazare. The patronage of the kings to these lepers will be discussed in later chapters of this thesis, but the connection is highlighted in the *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, written by Rigord, a monk at Saint-Denis. In 1191, when Philip's son, the future Louis VIII, was almost four years old, the boy became ill, with a condition said by Rigord to be called dysentery by doctors.[123] Despairing for his life, a procession of clergy (including Maurice of Sully, bishop of Paris), canons, scholars and a 'multitude' of people walked from the abbey at Saint-Denis to the church at Saint-Lazare, carrying the relics of the nail from the Holy Cross, a thorn from the crown of thorns, and the arm of St Simeon; at Saint-Lazare prayers and offerings were made to the Lord. The relics were subsequently taken to the king's house and used to trace the sign of the cross on the boy's stomach, after which Louis was delivered from any imminent danger; on the same day, at the same time, Philip Augustus, who was overseas, was cured of a similar illness. This episode epitomises the connection between leprosy and the suffering body of Christ. The use of Crucifixion relics and the choice of the lepers' church as the most powerful location in which to pray for the deliverance from sickness of a member of the royal family, demonstrates a veneration for the suffering being endured by the lepers and a belief in the ultimate power of their prayers. Saint-Lazare was situated on the route between Notre Dame and Saint-Denis, and thus served a purpose, both geographically and spiritually, for kings travelling between the two sites.[124] The leper-house is also believed to have been one of the stations at which Louis IX's body was carried to by his son, Philip III, before arriving at Saint-Denis for burial.[125]

The ultimate expression of the relationship between leprosy and the monarchy can be understood from the legend of the consecration of the abbey church at Saint-Denis.[126] The church's divine consecration was recorded to have taken place the night before the bishops' planned consecration, in February 636, during the reign of King Dagobert I. On the eve of the

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[122] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 225-6.
[123] *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by H.F. Delaborde, 2 vols., (Paris: Libraire Renouard, 1882-1885), i, 111-12.
[124] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 223.
[125] *Les grandes Chroniques de France. Philippe III le Hardi, Philippe IV le Bel, Louis X le Hutin, Philippe V le Long*, ed. by J. Viard, 10 vols., (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1920-1953), viii; Jules Boullé, 'Recherches historiques sur la maison de Saint-Lazare de Paris depuis sa fondation jusqu'à la cession qui en fut faite en 1632 aux prêtres de la Mission', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France,* iii (1876), 126-91, (180-1).
[126] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.f. 1098, ff.23v-25r [Vie de saint Denys, etc.]. See Appendix 1 for complete translation.

consecration, while everyone else was leaving the church, a 'foreign' leper, who was a 'true, simple Christian' remained inside, hiding himself in a secret place, in order to spend the night praying and in holy vigil. At some point during the night, a great radiance filled the church, after which the leper saw Christ appear, accompanied by SS Peter and Paul, and St Denis and his companions. As the leper watched, Christ, dressed in white, went to all the altars around the church, performing the office of dedication at each one. Once this had been completed, Christ approached the leper, and told him to inform the bishops that they did not need to perform the office the following day, as this had been done.

The leper asked Christ who would deign to believe anything he would say; he was the most despised man on earth. 'I have not the voice to give witness before any nobleman because I am plain and corrupted and deformed with the terrible leprosy, as you yourself clearly see.' Christ touched the leper all over, and by touching him, removed the leper's face and skin, thus making the leper healthy, with a complexion like that of a beautiful child. Christ placed the leprous skin on a nearby stone, and instructed the leper that if his word was not believed, he should show the discarded skin as proof of the miracle. The following day, when the healed leper was found in the church, he asked to be taken to King Dagobert, for he had a secret to tell him. He reported the event to Dagobert, who doubted the man's word until he saw the skin and hair from the leper's head, with its features – ears, eyebrows, eyelids, mouth – all in place. Crowds of people pressed into the church to see the skin, and to see the marks on the walls where Christ had placed his hand during the office of consecration.[127]

The first written reference to the miraculous consecration is found in *Gesta Sugerii Abbatis*, in which Abbot Suger wrote about the administrative works at Saint-Denis. In his account of the rebuilding of the church, he cites the necessity of 'conserving as much as possible of the ancient walls upon which the Supreme Pontiff, the Lord Jesus Christ, by the witness of ancient writers, placed his hand, in order that the reverence for the ancient consecration should be preserved.'[128] Anne Lombard-Jourdan has asserted that this myth cannot be dated earlier than the late eleventh century, a period of 'imaginative cultural activity', during which churches were producing texts to justify their origins.[129] Suger did not mention any involvement of a leper

[127] Ibid.
[128] Suger, *Oeuvres*, ed. and trans. by F. Gasparri, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge, 2 vols., (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1996), i, 120-2. *'reserva tamen quantacumque porcione de parietibus antiquis, quibus summus pontifex Dominus Jesus Christus testimonio antiquorum scriptorum manum apposuerat, ut et antiquæ consecrationis reverentia et moderno operi juxta tenorem ceptum congrua cohærentia servaretur.'*
[129] Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Saint-Denis, lieu de mémoire*, Études et documents, (Saint-Denis: Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France, 2000), 193.

during the consecration, and his description of a number of the church's ornaments and relics did not include the leper's skin.[130]

The earliest record of this myth can be dated to the late twelfth century, in a manuscript probably created at Saint-Denis (BNF ms. lat. 12710), which included within it the life of Dagobert, as well as Suger's fragment of the life of Louis VII.[131] This manuscript is written in Latin, on parchment that is damaged and misshapen in places, with corrections made to the text, and with no illumination. Charles J. Liebman has argued that it was this manuscript that was used as a basis for the later *Vita et Actus beati Dionysii*, produced at Saint-Denis in 1250. This latter manuscript, *Vie de saint Denys* (BNF n.a.f. 1098) was mostly written in French, made on fine quality parchment, with numerous illustrations with explanatory verses in Latin. Léopold Delisle proposed that it was therefore created by the monks in order to 'satisfy the curiosity of the noble pilgrims to whom the abbey often opened its doors', and served to demonstrate St Denis' protection of the kingdom and the kings of France.[132] Gabrielle M. Spiegel described this as 'the first work to … project, in its totality, the new version of the legend of St Denis that had been in the process of fabrication at the same time.'[133] Furthermore, she states that this new *Vita* placed the history of the abbey, and of the saint's protection of the French kings, firmly into the history of France itself.[134] The importance accorded to the leper in the narrative is evident in the images in BNF n.a.f. 1098, in which the faces of Christ and of the leper have been partially erased, suggesting that they were frequently touched or kissed by visitors to the abbey.[135] Such interaction with devotional books was certainly found in the later Middle Ages, as images featuring the face of Christ, or his suffering body, were worn away by readers treating the page as a relic which retained the power of the individual it portrayed.[136]

The production of this impressive book, firmly in the middle of Louis' reign, and in the period during which he was on crusade, may have been to emphasise the protection of St Denis, of

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[130] Suger, *Oeuvres*, i, 141-5.
[131] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 12710, f.69r [Matériaux pour une histoire des Mérovingiens, des Carlovingiens et des premiers Capétiens, jusqu'en 1180 ou environ. Extraits de diverses chroniques, de Grégoire de Tours, de Turpin, de Guillaume de Jumièges, de différentes vies de saints, etc.]; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis : a Survey*, Medieval Classics : Texts and Studies, (Brookline, Mass.: Classical Folio Editions, 1978), 41; Jules Lair, 'Mémoire sur deux chroniques latines composées au XIIe siècle a l'abbaye de Saint-Denis', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* 35 (1874), 543-80, (544).
[132] Léopold Delisle, 'Notice sur un livre à peintures éxécuté en 1250 dans l'abbaye de Saint-Denis', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes,* 38 (1877), 444-76, (452).
[133] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship', *Journal of Medieval History,* 1.1 (1975), 43-69, (148).
[134] Ibid., 149.
[135] See Appendix II
[136] Kathryn M Rudy. 'Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Badges and Carrying Talismans: Considering some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals they Reveal', *Electronic British Library Journal,* Essay V (2011), 1-56. <https://www.bl.uk/eblj/2011articles/article5.html>, [accessed 2 April 2018], 21.

which the king was very much in need while in Egypt. Robert Branner has compared the production of this manuscript, with evidence of multiple artists involved, to contemporary Moralised Bibles, unlike many psalters of the same period, which places the manuscript in the same milieu as books being produced for the royal family.[137] The consecration myth gained legitimacy, appearing in other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts. In the fourteenth century, another *Vie de Saint-Denis* (BnF Mss Fr. 2090-2092) was produced for King Philip V, in which the myth was again represented in both text and imagery.[138]

The inclusion of the leper reflects the continuing relationship between kings and lepers, particularly Robert the Pious and Louis VI, but also in more recent memory, Louis VII and Philip Augustus. There is an allusion to leprosy as heresy, the leper's cleansing happening at the same time as the consecration of the church, both acts signifying a transformation of status from profane to sacred. While the leper obviously benefited from being physically healed, an act which immediately improved his social status, the greater beneficiaries were the French kings and the abbey itself, whose prestige was increased immeasurably by the intervention of Christ.

The leper's initial identity in the myth is unimportant; he is merely described as 'foreign', and a 'true' Christian, but he gains an identity after Dagobert has been convinced of the truth of his story. At this point, after his transformation, he is given a name – St Peregrinus. Who he was prior to the miracle did not matter, but the importance of his previous leprosy is recognised in the new identity. His faith is also important; because he chose to hide in the church in order to pray, he served as a witness to Christ's consecration, and was thus able to relate the miraculous events to the king, which in turn enhanced the abbey's reputation and justified its royal connections. The leper's role is not the same as is found in other miracle accounts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as Walter Map's account of Theobald of Champagne, or St Francis' conversion, in which Christ appears disguised as a leper. Nonetheless, the connection remains clear – it is the leper's presence which allows the miracle to be known. In addition, Christ demonstrates his ultimate power by healing the leper, the most abject member of society. The awfulness of the leper's condition, so vividly described, is a necessary part of the legend.

The marks on the wall that served as testimony to Christ's dedication survived into the thirteenth century, and were witnessed by Vincent of Beauvais.[139] In the previous century, Abbot

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[137] Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis : a Study of Styles*, California Studies in the History of Art, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 134-5.
[138] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 2090-2092 [Yves de Saint-Denis , Vie et martyre de saint Denis et de ses compagnons]; Charles J Liebman, *Étude sur la vie en prose de Saint Denis*, (Geneva, N.Y.: The WF Humphrey Press, 1942), xxxiii.
[139] Matthias M. Tischler, *Die Christus- und Engelweihe im Mittelalter : Texte, Bilder und Studien zu einem ekklesiologischen Erzahlmotiv*, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 121. *'Parietes, divinis insigniti manibus, rei geste testimonium perhibebant : que signa, nec abolita nec abolenda, usque hodie totum ita factum proclamant.'*

Suger had struggled with his project of rebuilding the abbey church because of the need to preserve these divine marks. By the reign of Louis IX, however, the extent of deterioration was such that in 1231, Louis appealed to Pope Gregory IX for permission to restore the church, in a letter which underlines the importance of the abbey's royal connections. The pope replied granting permission for the necessary building work to go ahead:

> Blessed dear son, if our Lord Jesus Christ visited the church for the love of the blessed martyr and his companions, it was not his intention to make the wall eternal and without end. And you should know that all things, which are included under the circle of the moon, are corruptible and cannot remain in one state. By which we command you that the church should be rebuilt in such a manner that one can serve and honour Our Lord there.[140]

The letter did not refer to the leper, or the skin relic; however this request to the pope was made at around the same time as the production of the illuminated manuscript version of the *Vita et Actus Beati Dyonisii*. A few years later, the myth was repeated in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*. The king's endorsement of this oeuvre shows royal support for the myth, a fact which would have helped it to gain widespread acceptance and longevity. The representation of the leper as disfigured, with reference to his white spots and ulcerous skin, but also as a man of faith, reflects other thirteenth-century ideas about the ambiguity of lepers, particularly those included in Louis' hagiographies – individuals horrible in appearance to most people, but who nevertheless possess a unique spiritual cachet. The identity of the leper is not important, for he serves instead as a tool for the creation of sanctity. In Louis' hagiographies, lepers serve as a tool for lauding Louis' behaviour towards the less fortunate. In the case of the Saint-Denis legend, the leper's condition is necessarily horrific in order to show Christ's healing power, which endures as testimony to the divine consecration.

It is very possible that this myth had a formative influence on Louis' later attitude towards lepers. Louis certainly displayed a concern for the church of Saint-Denis and its connection to the monarchy and the kingdom. As Léopold Delisle stated, for both the abbey of Saint-Denis and for the Capetian court, the history of the martyr St Denis and of the monastery dedicated to him were conflated with the history of France; Gabrielle M. Spiegel has described a 'special relationship' between the abbey and the throne, and St Denis himself as the 'patron saint of the

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[140] *Les grandes Chroniques de France. Louis VIII et St Louis*, ed. by J. Viard, 10 vols., (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1920-53), vii, 62. *'Biaus chiers filz, si nostres sires Jhesu Crist visita l'eglise pour l'amour du beneoit martir et de ses compagnons, ne fu s'entencion de parfaire le moustier pardurable et sanz nule fin. Et devez savoir que toutes les choses, qui sont souz le cercle de la lune encloses, sont corrompables ne ne pueent demourer en I estat. Par quoi nous vous mandons que l'eglise soit refaite en tel manier que l'en i puisse Nostre Seigneur servir et honorer.'*

monarchy.'[141] Touati has suggested that the legend of the consecration attached itself to royal power, and the two became inseparable.[142] He argues also that the connection between Saint-Denis, leprosy and royal power can be dated to the ninth century, with the production of the gospel book, the *Codex Aureus*, for Charles the Bald, a book which Touati describes as 'both emblem and instrument of his legitimacy.'[143] The sumptuous cover of this book, of gold with inset gems, features four scenes from the New Testament, one of which is an image of Christ healing a leper. Georgia Sommers Wright has argued that 'perhaps no other institution identified its own welfare and prestige with that of the royal house as consistently as did Saint-Denis.'[144] Wright proposes that the reorganisation of the royal tombs in the abbey, which took place during Louis IX's reign and is traditionally associated with the king, was in fact an initiative undertaken by the monks of the abbey. The purpose of this program, she believes, was to 'strengthen the interdependence of Crown and Abbey.'[145] The tombs were those of 16 kings and queens dating from the seventh century to the twelfth century, as well as the bodies of Louis' father and grandfather.[146] Following Louis' own burial there, after his bones were brought back from Tunisia, nearly all future kings were to be buried at the abbey.[147]

Saint-Denis was also the holder of relics of the Crucifixion. Prior to Louis and Blanche's acquisition of the Crown of Thorns in the thirteenth century, the abbey possessed a nail, and a thorn from the crown, believed to have been brought by Charlemagne from Constantinople.[148] The Holy Cross itself was, as legend reported, found by Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, and the account of the emperor's conversion to Christianity was recorded in twelfth- and thirteenth-century books, as a moral lesson which portrayed leprosy as a heresy.[149] The story of the conversion, which appeared in the fifth-century text *Vita S. Silvestri,* related that the emperor suffered from leprosy which could not be cured by physicians. When recommended to bathe in the blood of 3,000 infants, he refused, and instead spent a week fasting and praying, after which he was baptised into the Christian faith and thus cured of his leprosy.[150] The connection to the first of the Christian emperors was increased with the inclusion of Constantine

[141] Delisle, 'Notice', (452); Spiegel, 'Cult', (147).
[142] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 220.
[143] Riccardo Pizzinato, 'Exitus et Reditus: The "Codex Aureus" of Saint Emmeram as pictorial exegisis', (unpublished PhD Thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, 2012), 1; Touati, *Maladie et société*, 216.
[144] Georgia Sommers Wright, 'A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis', *The Art Bulletin,* 56.2 (1974), 224-43, (224).
[145] Ibid., 226.
[146] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 273.
[147] Wright, 'Royal Tomb Program', (243).
[148] Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis : Church and State in Early Twelfth-century France*, Medieval World, (London: Longman, 1998), 66.
[149] Hans A. Pohlsander, *The Emperor Constantine*, (London ; New York: Routledge, 1996), 60.
[150] Ibid., 27-8.

and Helena in the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle.[151] Such a powerful narrative emphasised the necessity of compassion to sufferers. In an example where leprosy was equated with heresy, the remedy was to be found in the true faith. Constantine's leprosy was included in Gerald of Wales' *De Principibus Instructione*; Gerald described how 'imbued with the squalor of leprosy', Constantine spurned the advice of his council of senators, and was cured through Christian baptism.[152] This legend was also included in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* along with the Saint-Denis legend. Touati has argued that Louis was strongly influenced by Vincent, and the inclusion of both of these stories in a text commissioned by the king himself confirms Louis' awareness of the legends and the lessons intended by their creators.[153]

No such connection existed between the English monarchy and lepers or leprosy. A similar consecration myth to that of Saint-Denis arose at the Benedictine Westminster Abbey, and was included in Aelred of Rievaulx's Life of St Edward, in which Saint Peter himself was said to have miraculously performed the church's dedication, but the witness to this was a fisherman (as was St Peter), and the saint did not perform any form of healing miracle.[154] As with that of Saint-Denis, the source of this legend is not known.[155] First written by the monk Sulcard in his *Prologus de Construccione Westmonasterii*, shortly after the Norman conquest, it may have been transmitted through oral tradition within the monastery. The myth spread through its repetition in texts by Sulcard's contemporary, Goscelin of Saint Bertin, and in 1125 by William of Malmesbury.[156] Bernhard W. Scholz maintains that Sulcard's text was not produced in order to justify independence from the bishop of London, so the purpose of this may have been to emphasise the spiritual importance of an abbey with royal connections, ensuring continued royal patronage, just as had happened at Saint-Denis.[157] Further consecration myths were created at a similar time, at Saint-Maur-les-Fosses and Figeac; the motivation behind the myths may have varied, but Saint-Denis was evidently part of a pattern of a process of abbeys needing to legitimise themselves, their property and their income, a process that involved the confirmation of charters, forgeries based on original documents, and structural and aesthetic improvements.[158] Scholz has argued that the monks at Westminster forged charters which freed

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[151] Alyce A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 59.
[152] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, 86.
[153] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 225.
[154] Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 55; ibid., 63-6; Lombard-Jourdan, *Saint-Denis*, 197.
[155] Bernhard W. Scholz, 'Sulcard of Westminster: *'Prologus de Construccione Westmonasterii"*, *Traditio,* 20 (1964), 59-91, (63).
[156] *The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete*, ed. by J. Armitage Robinson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 5-7.
[157] Scholz, 'Sulcard of Westminster', (73).
[158] Lombard-Jourdan, *Saint-Denis*, 196-7; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, 218; ibid., 234; ibid., 258.

them from episcopal jurisdiction, based on existing charters at Saint-Denis.[159] The French abbey had been the first to enjoy the privilege of being under the sole authority of the Pope, and other abbeys were keen to acquire the same independence.[160] The Saint-Denis legend was distinctive, however, as the church's consecration and its connection to the monarchy became part of the narrative of its country's history, in a way the legend from Westminster did not.[161] The appearance of the full text of the myth in the thirteenth century places a leper in a central role in France's history at a time when the crown was gradually, but resolutely, extending its control over previously semi-autonomous duchies and counties outside of the old royal domain.

Conclusion

There was then, as Touati has suggested, an undeniable connection between the French kings and lepers and leprosy, which was not present in England. The consecration myth of Saint-Denis reflects the ambiguity of perceptions of lepers in the thirteenth century, as it details the physical effects which would have appalled most people, but which were healed by Christ not only as a sign of His power, but also as a confirmation of the power of the abbey. The use of the leper fits in to the narrative of the Capetian kings and lepers, from Robert the Pious' compassion and, perhaps, healing, through to the prayers said at Saint-Lazare for the health of the future Louis VIII. The care taken with regard to the use of the royal touch, and the ambiguity contained with Geoffrey of Beaulieu's hagiography of Louis, indicates that his entourage were wary about challenging contemporary ideas about royal power, as miracles and canonisation depended increasingly upon evidence and witnesses.[162]

Henry and Louis were both surrounded by men whose religious vows allowed them to be active in secular society, and who would have been exposed to the plight of lepers, and also aware of their spiritual status. These friars were well-placed to suggest courses of action for the kings to take with regard to charity and compassion, and conduct appropriate for a king. The proliferation of *miroirs des princes* at this time also stressed the importance of providing for the well-being of people at all levels of society in order to achieve stability within a kingdom. However, although these messages were widely considered at this time, there was in fact very little difference between the ways in which Henry and Louis addressed these issues and the way their predecessors had acted, as will be shown in the following chapter. The *vitae* of earlier kings show that alms-giving and compassion towards the poor and the sick were displayed as a matter of course, through the practice of foundations of charitable institutions.

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[159] Bernhard W. Scholz, 'Two Forged Charters from the Abbey of Westminster and Their Relationship with St. Denis', *The English Historical Review,* 76.300 (1961), 466-78, (467); ibid., 469.
[160] Ibid., 472.
[161] Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 52.
[162] Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 36; Goodich, *Vita Perfecta*, 175.

This chapter has established the historical context of Henry's and Louis' ancestors, and the traditional form of attitudes towards lepers shown before the early thirteenth century. The following chapter will examine how Henry and Louis fit into these traditions, as can be understood by their behaviour towards lepers and leprosy. As will become clear, the spiritual aspect of lepers' disease and its Christological connotations were used by both kings in the name of salvation. In France, however, just as Saint-Denis used a leper to enhance its prestige and legitimacy, lepers played an important role of the creation of Louis' sanctity.

Chapter 4: Henry's and Louis' Perceptions of Lepers and Leprosy

Following the previous chapter's discussion of the context of kingship and leprosy in England and in France, this chapter examines the relationship between Henry and Louis as kings, ostensibly at the very top of the social hierarchy, and lepers, who were in a sense, because of their abjection and deformity, at the lowest level. Lepers and kings were both representative of different aspects of Christ. Anointed kings reflected the majesty of Christ, having been endowed with the authority of God, whilst lepers, *pauperes Christi*, embodied Christ's rejection, and the suffering that he endured for mankind. His crucifixion ensured the possibility of salvation for all Christian souls.[1] The constantly evolving ideal of how best to imitate Christ – *imitatio Christi* – had by the thirteenth century led to a focus on Christ's Passion, with a veneration for His suffering, and public displays of humility and self-abasement. This type of behaviour was exhibited by both Henry and Louis towards lepers, in the manner of giving alms and providing charity, and also by feeding, washing, and kissing lepers, recalling Christ's teaching of the corporal works of mercy (Matthew 25:35-40). In this manner the kings at once imitated and venerated Christ. François-Olivier Touati positions this Christological attitude as underpinning the ideology of the French monarchy, setting it apart from the surrounding nobility.[2] As will be discussed below, however, this type of attitude was evident also outside of the Capetian court.

Contemporary theological texts and moralised bibles developed and repeated older ideas about leprosy and sin, and more recent thought about the concept of Purgatory shaped beliefs about lepers and their place in temporal and spiritual spheres. This chapter will expand upon the theological notions of leprosy discussed in the introduction to this thesis, and the idea that lepers suffered certainly for their own sins, but that they were also able to assume suffering on behalf of other people. Jacques le Goff describes Louis as an 'essential link' in a chain of 'moral shaming and symbolic use of the suffering body of the leper as an image of leprosy of the soul.'[3] The truth is more complex than that, however. Louis did equate leprosy with mortal sin, but equally he was part of a pattern in which lepers were revered as they came to fulfil an important role in sanctity, through their affliction and their penitence. This belief is reflected in Henry's and Louis' interactions with lepers whose suffering, more extreme and despicable than other poor and sick, offered a powerful means of intercession, as will be seen in Chapters 6 and 7. Le

[1] Gavin I. Langmuir, 'The Tortures of the Body of Christ', in *Christendom and its Discontents. Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1000-1500,* ed. by S.L. Waugh and P.D. Diehl, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 287-309, (288); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity : the First Three Thousand Years*, (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 95.
[2] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 226-7.
[3] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 882; Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, 36; Borradori, *Mourir au monde : les lépreux dans le pays de Vaud, XIIIe-XVIIe siècle*, 8; Brody, *The Disease of the Soul : Leprosy in Medieval Literature*, 173-75.

Goff argues also that Louis' concept of Christianity as a body led to a desire to 'exclude all those who could pollute it, corrupt it, weaken it, dissolve it'; this included lepers, albeit in a less straightforward way than heretics or Jews.[4] However, although the stigma of sin continued to be associated with leprosy, Louis and Henry respected and revered lepers for what their suffering meant for Christianity.

Christus quasi leprosus and royalty

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, there had been, since before the Middle Ages, a connection between Jesus Christ and lepers, and this connection was understood by members of the royal families in both England and in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the middle of the twelfth century, Aelred of Rievaulx, an English Cistercian monk, included in his *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* an incident concerning Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I.[5] It was something which he said he had heard often and never forgotten. Matilda was found one day in the company of lepers; the queen was washing and kissing their feet. When her brother, David, later king of Scotland, expressed his horror, she replied 'Who does not know that the feet of the eternal king are preferable to the lips of the king who must die?', and proceeded to suggest that David should follow her example. Thus, at the very early stages of widespread interest in the welfare of lepers and the foundation of leper-houses, Aelred had placed the idea of lepers as incarnations of Christ into the milieu of the Anglo-Norman royal court.

This idea was emphasised in miracles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although few lepers were healed at saints' shrines, lepers appeared in miracle stories which served to portray the sanctity of an individual through their remarkable contact with lepers.[6] One such exemple was Theobald II, count of Champagne (died 1152), who provided accommodation, food and clothing for lepers on his own lands. Theobald was related to both French and the English royal families; he was the son of Adela of Blois, sister of Henry I of England, and his daughter Adèle of

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[4] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 893; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 52-3; Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*; Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 40-3; Waugh and Diehl, 'Introduction', (4).

[5] Aelred of Rievaulx. 'Genealogia Regum Anglorum', in *PL*, 221 vols., cvc (1855), cols.711-40, (col.736). *'Et ecce domus plena leprosis et regina in medio stans, depositque pallio cum se linteo praecinxeisset, posita in plevi aqua coepit lavare pedes eorum et extergere, extersosque utrisque constringere manibus et derotissime osculari. Cui ego: "Quid agis, inquam, o domina mea? Certe si rex sciret ista, nunquam ostuum leprosorum pedum tabe pollutum suis dignaretur labiis osculari." Tunc ipsa subridens: "Pedes, ait, Regis aeterni quis nesciat labiis regis morituri esse praeferendos ? Ego certe idcirco vocavi te, frater charissime, ut meo exemplo talia discas operari : sumpta proinde pelvi fac qud me facere intueris."*

[6] Thomas Becket was notable for the large number of posthumous miracles in which lepers were healed; however in the context of the substantial number of miracles attributed to him overall, lepers only constituted approximately one-fifth of the total, comparable to saints with far fewer miracles such as Gilbert of Sempringham, who healed one leper in his five miracles. Robertson and Sheppard (eds.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, i, 213; i, 14; i, 15; i, 16; i, 17; i, 19; i, 20; i, 21; i, 22; i, 330; i, 32; i, 34; i, 37; i, 38; i, 39; i, 49; i, 416; i, 29; i, 31; i, 57; i, 58; i, 79; i, 80; ibid., ii, 182; ii, 83; ii, 203; ii, 42; ii, 43; ii, 44; ii, 45; ii, 59; Raymonde Foreville and Gillian Keir, *The Book of St. Gilbert*, Oxford Medieval Texts, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 283.

Champagne married King Louis VII of France. According to the English commentator Walter Map, Theobald 'used to support lepers more willingly and with more pleasure than other pure persons', building houses for them and providing food, because the service he offered to them was a means of serving God.[7] The count became accustomed to visiting one particular leper, whose 'profitable advice' he valued. Arriving one day, Theobald received no answer at the door, so dismounted from his horse,

> … and knocking again humbly, said: 'Your friend Theobald desires, if it be possible, that the door may be opened to him.' The other arose and showed himself, with good words and a cheerful face; he received him courteously, and whereas he had been used to annoy him by the stench of his the sores, used to annoy him, he was now refreshed with a sweet odour of spices. The count marvelled, but forbore to speak of it. He asked if he had made a good recovery. 'The best possible,' replied the other, and asked earnestly that the reeve of the place might be rewarded, because he had been assiduous in helping him.[8]

Theobald discovered shortly after this that the leper had previously died, and he 'rejoiced that he had beheld Christ.'[9] This event was known at court; Map recorded that Louis VII had recounted this miracle to 'our king', Henry II of England, the count having told Louis about it himself, but demanded that the story be suppressed until after his death. Theobald was known for his charity towards the poor, particularly to the Cistercians, and was remembered even decades after his death as a 'real-life model prince… religious and pious, conspicuous supporter of the poor.'[10] After his death, his tomb was placed on top of the tomb of St Theobald of Provins, who had died in 1066 and was canonised in 1073.[11] St Theobald, the son of one of the counts of Champagne, died from an illness which had covered his body with ulcers – maybe not leprosy, but a skin complaint that shared symptoms with leprosy.[12] Theodore Evergates cites John of Salisbury, Robert of Torigni and Gerald of Wales as contemporaries who extolled the virtues of

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[7] Map, *De nugis curialium*, 462-4. '*Leprosos lecius et libencius exhibebat quam alios paupers, cum omnibus esset amicus: illos autem ideo precipue quia quanto sunt despicabiles abiectius et intolerabilius improbi, tanto se sperat obsequium prestare placencius, et affectuosius acceptari; pedes eis lauat et tergit, magneque memor Magdalene, quod ipsa compleuit in corpore dominico, deuotus hic membris eius exequitur.'*

[8] Ibid. *'… et iterum pulsans humiliter intulit: 'Amicus uester Teogaldus petiti, si fieri, potest, ut apertum sit ei hostium.' Surgit ille bonisque uerbis et uultu letus apparuit, benigne suscipit, et quem afficere fetore solebat ulcerum suauissimo reficit odore pigmentorum. Miratur consul, et supprimit hoc. Querit utrum bene conualuerit. Ille respondit 'Optime', petitque suppliciter ut preposito benefiat, eo quod deuotus ei fuerat.'*

[9] Ibid. '*Obstipuit comes, et siluit a uisis, uisitatoque seulcro redit ad tugurium, et nichil preter domum uacuam inueniens, gauisus est se uidisse Christum.'*

[10] Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal : Count of Champagne, 1127-1181*, The Middle Ages Series, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc., 2016), 32.

[11] Ibid., 30.

[12] 'Vita S. Theobaldi Eremitæ', in *Acta Sanctorum Junii tomus septimus,* ed. by J. Bolland, and others, 27, (Paris; Rome: Apud Victorem Palme, 1853), 543-46, (546). *… vulneribus corporis undique obsitus fuit, ut neque gressum figere, neque manum etiam ad os ducere valeret… Ingravescente ergo ulcerum valetudine…'*

Theobald II. This was then an incident that connected both the English and the French courts to the miracles that could arise through service to lepers.

Another individual associated with lepers was the Blessed John of Montmirail (1165-1217). John was a member of an aristocratic family close to the French monarchy, whose step-mother, Alice of Courtenay, was the grand-daughter of Louis VI of France and the mother of Isabella of Angoulême, King John's wife. John of Montmirail served as a knight for Philip Augustus before taking religious vows and entering the Cistercian abbey of Longpont.[13] John was beatified in the nineteenth century; however his *Vita*, written by a monk from the same abbey, was produced as early as 1230.[14] An entire chapter of this *Vita* detailed John's devotion to lepers, including a miracle in which John encountered a leper who wished to sell his 'pitiable' horse as he had no money.[15] John himself was carrying no money, having already given it all away, and was 'violently grieved'.[16] Suddenly a miracle occurred, and John was able to give the leper a generous sum of money for the horse, which John then proceeded to ride into the middle of the crowd.[17] This miracle follows the hagiographer's comparison of John with St Martin; John exchanged tunics with a poor leper, imitating St Martin's act of cutting his tunic in half for the benefit of a pauper.[18] On another occasion John visited a leper who was afflicted with such horrible leprosy that no-one could look at him without horror; nevertheless, John knelt before the man, kissed him, and spent the day with him.[19] The accounts of both Theobald and John of Montmirail demonstrate that this type of Christological attitude towards the poor, although still remarkable, existed outside of the royal court in France – it was not only kings who were able to approach the sick in such a manner.

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[13] Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême', (176).
[14] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 207.
[15] 'Vita B. Joannis de Monte-Mirabili', in *Acta Sanctorum Septembris Tomus VIII,* ed. by J. Stilting, and others, 48, (Paris, 1762), 219-35, (223). *'Altera vice cum iter carperet Servus Dei, obvium habuit leprosum, gradientem super equum, parvum quidem et despectum; sed in auro vel argento ad manum nihil habens, quod ei largiretur, doluit vehementer. Verumtamen labentia pro æternis, terrena pro cœlestibus ferventi desiderio cupiens commutare, animal magni pretii, a quo portabatur, ipse statim leproso tribuit, bestiam contemptibilem suscipiens ab eo, ambulavitque super eam coram omni populo et gente sua.'*
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 222-3. *'Perpendens itaque leprosus, ipsum adesse, quem expectabat, illum obsecrare cœpit, ut eleemosynam suam largiendo miseriæ ejus subvenire dignaretur. Sanctus vero auri vel argenti penes se nihil habens (totam namque pecuniam suam egenis distribuerat) hujusmodi leproso fertur dedisse responsum: Te, inquit, rogo, ut tunicam tu ipse mihi largiaris… In quo facto Virum istum S. Martino non immerito similem dixerim.'*
[19] Ibid., 223. *'In oppido Pruvini leprosus quidam populi eleemosynis sustentabatur, tam deformis, tamque abominabilis lepræ contagione persusus, ut, nisi cum horrore nimio, nullus eum intueri potuisset. Cujus fama, quæ ubique diffundebatur, cum ad Dei famulum Johannem pervenisset, subiit animum ejus, ut leprosum visitaret. Nec mora, longum satis arripiens iter, ad eum denique pervenit; ingressusque cellulam ipsius, salutavit eum, quem etiam flexo genu deosculans, pristinam consuetudinem prosequi non neglexit. Unius quoque diei spatio apud eum manens, devotus et humilis eidem ministravit: inde vero recessurus, largitus est dona, ex abundantia sua supplens inopiam indigentis.'*

Another miracle that connected leprosy and royalty emanated from Hungary. A princess who was widowed at the age of 20, St Elizabeth of Hungary was canonised in 1235, only four years after her death. Elizabeth's support for the Franciscans in Hungary led to St Francis himself sending her a hair-shirt; Elizabeth later dedicated a hospital chapel to Francis.[20] The princess's reputation had reached France; Joinville reported that when a young man, reported to be her son, arrived at the French court, 'Queen Blanche kissed him on his forehead out of devotion, thinking that his mother had kissed him there often.'[21] Elizabeth's life as described by her handmaids in the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum*, resembled that adopted by the beguines in northern Europe, supported by Blanche and Louis, with parallels to both Marie d'Oignies and Ivetta of Huy.[22]

Elizabeth was reported to have invited a leper into her house one day, and allowed him to rest in her bed.[23] When her irate husband heard this, he pulled back the covers to find only sweet-smelling roses. A later variation of this miracle was embellished at the end of the thirteenth century, with Christ himself appearing in the bed instead of the roses. Gábor Klaniczay has deconstructed this miracle thus: 'Elizabeth, the bride of Christ puts the leper, that is, Jesus Christ, into her marital bed; and Jesus Christ himself disarms the irate husband – and proves the purity of their love – with the miracle of the roses, or by manifesting himself as the crucified Saviour.'[24] The first written example of this miracle was recorded by Jacques de Vitry with regard to an unnamed woman, along with the exemplum of Theobald of Champagne, in a sermon written for Hospitallers or confraternities serving in hospital institutions in the 1230s.[25] Other preachers, such as Stephen of Bourbon and Thomas of Cantimpré repeated the account in their own sermons later in the thirteenth-century, although neither of them named Elizabeth as the woman involved.[26] Sharon Farmer has argued that both accounts were designed to emphasise the importance of visiting the sick, as one of the seven works of mercy.[27] She suggests also that

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[20] Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses : Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. by É. Pálmai, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 294; *The Life and Afterlife of St. Elizabeth of Hungary : Testimony from her Canonization Hearings*, ed. by Kenneth Baxter Wolf, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 31.
[21] Joinville, *Vie*, 49 §96.
[22] Wolf (ed.), *Life*, 62-3. Marie d'Oignies and Ivetta of Huy are discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[23] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 371-2.
[24] Ibid., 372.
[25] Jessalynn Bird, 'Texts on Hospitals: Translation of Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis* 29, and Edition of Jacques de Vitry's Sermons to Hospitallers', in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages,* ed. by P. Biller and J. Ziegler, (Woodbridge, Suffolk ; Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 2001), 109-34, (120-21).
[26] Ottó Gecser, 'Miracles of the Leper and the Roses: Charity, Chastity and Female Independence in St. Elizabeth of Hungary', *Franciscana: Bollettino della Società internazionale di studi francescani.,* 15 (2013), 149-71, (157).
[27] Sharon Farmer, 'The Leper in the Master Bedroom: Thinking through a Thirteenth-Century Exemplum', in *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods,* ed. by R. Voaden and D. Wolfthal, (Tempe Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 79-100, (82).

the ambiguity of the Christ/leper figure represents, for pious married women such as Elizabeth, the concept of being 'wedded to – and caught between – two spouses.'[28]

The connection between lepers and Christ was reiterated by clerics and moralists connected to the royal courts, in a way that emphasised lepers' status. In Aelred's text, the abbot describes the lepers as *pauperes Christi*, words that were also used in contemporary charters, such as that from Ardres (Pas-de-Calais) for example, written in the middle of the twelfth century.[29] The lepers served in these miracle stories, and in the chronicles, not as individuals in need of a cure for their horrific physical symptoms, but a means by which the sanctity of others was proven, by caring rather than curing. This epithet was, however, also used in a more general sense regarding the poor. On an occasion when Louis had invited paupers - *les poures [de] Nostre-Seigneur* – to eat with him, noticing that one man in particular was not eating well, the king insisted on his own bowl being placed before this man, so that the pauper could first eat what he could, and Louis would eat the remains, because 'he who could see Our Lord Jesus Christ in this pauper, showed no horror in eating the leftovers from this old man.'[30] This is a marked reversal of the usual custom of providing alms in the form of food, where royal leftovers would have been given to the poor and the sick.

Leprosy and purgatory

The ideas of the twelfth-century theologian Hugh of Saint-Victor (see Introduction) may have been assimilated by people close to the French royal court in the lifetime of Louis IX. Saint-Victor, the Augustinian abbey at which Hugh was based for the last twenty years of his life, had been founded by King Louis VI in the early twelfth century.[31] The equation of leprosy with heresy was also evident in biblical exegesis in the thirteenth century in France, as is clear in moralised bibles from this period. This form of bible, a number of which were produced for the French royal family between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, used images alongside excerpts from the bible, which same image and text were accompanied by a moralising image and text.[32] Harvey Stahl has argued that although these bibles served a purpose as mirrors of princes, they were also used, by their lay audience as a 'kind of historical handbook and living

[28] Ibid., 89.
[29] Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 190. *'Sub eodem temporis cursu Comes Arnoldus non dissimili penes Christi pauperes …'*
[30] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (101). *'… il vrais humbles la fist arriere aporter devant li, porce que il en menjast apres ce viel homme poure; car cil qui Nostre-Seigneur Jhesus-Crist regardoit en ce poure, ne douta pas ne not despit de mengier des remanans de ce pour viellart desus dit.'*
[31] *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, i, 173-80 §80.
[32] John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées. 1, The Manuscripts*, (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 1-2.

guide.'[33] Stahl emphasises the extent of the influence of Old Testament teachings upon Louis by drawing parallels with the king's behaviour in certain circumstances, in particular imitation of the kings David and Solomon.[34] These two kings were both included in a thirteenth-century coronation *ordo*, which may have been, or provided a template for, the ceremony used at Louis' coronation. David's elevation to become a 'supreme royal power' with the gift of wisdom and peace, and his humility, along with the wisdom of Solomon, all provided valuable examples for Louis to aspire to in his own kingship.[35]

One example of a moralised bible from this period, the *Codex Vindobensis 2554*, an edition of which has been reproduced with translation by Gerald Guest, includes a number of examples of leprosy being depicted as a result of sin. This Bible was written in French, and produced between 1215 and 1230; there is a possibility, as Lindy Grant has tentatively suggested, that some parts of the bible may have been used for the education of Louis IX and his siblings.[36]

In the Book of Exodus in this bible, God is shown asking Moses to hold out his hand, and upon doing so his hand became leprous; when Moses returned his hand, as commanded, it became healthy once again. The gloss written in regard to these images states that the hand signifies those that distance themselves from the Holy Church; they are wicked and turn leprous, until the sinners return to the church in repentance and 'cry out to her for mercy', upon which they are cleansed (Exodus 4:6-7).[37] The connection between leprosy and heresy is repeated in the commentary on Leviticus; the expulsion of lepers by a 'priest of law' is said to signify 'all usurers and miscreants and all those who do not wish to keep the commandments of God' (Leviticus 13:1-3).[38]

Another moralised bible from the thirteenth century, *Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 1179*, which was created for Louis VIII, contains a similar message of leprosy equated with incorrect faith.[39] Who commissioned it is not known; John Lowden has suggested that it was possibly a gift from Blanche to her husband, while Grant has suggested that both of these bibles were commissioned by both Blanche and Louis.[40] This bible also stresses the connection between

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[33] Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship : History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 163.
[34] Ibid., 164.
[35] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 395.
[36] Gerald B. Guest, 'Commentary', in *Bible Moralisée : Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek,* ed. by G.B. Guest, (London: Harvey Miller, 1995), (3); ibid., 17; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 241.
[37] *Bible Moralisée : Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. by Gerald B. Guest, Manuscripts in Miniature, (London: Harvey Miller, 1995), f.18r / p.72.
[38] Ibid., f.29r / p.86. '*Et qe Dex commande Moyses qil meist sa main fors et ele devint lepreuse senefie cels qi se metent fors de sainte eglise et se desouirent de li et sa compaignie, et devienent mauves et liepreus cum la mains qu devint lepreuse.'*
[39] Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 240.
[40] Lowden, *Making*, 94; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 240.

leprosy and heresy; the order for lepers to move to outside the camp is equated with Jesus Christ ordering all Jews and money-lenders out of the Temple.[41] Sara Lipton has highlighted the frequency with which the moralised bibles connected Judiasm and heresy, with 'apparently random mention of Jews and heretics together in the text.'[42] The same association is apparent here with leprosy. Elsewhere on the same folio is a description of how Moses instructed the sons of Israel to wash and then enter the tabernacle, an act which represents, the moralising text explains, the cleansing of one's sins through baptism and confession. This bible also includes the lesson of Mary, Moses' sister, becoming leprous (in the Introduction to this thesis – see page 14).[43]

As discussed above in Chapter 1, in the medieval model of purgatory, lepers' physical suffering was believed, despite the negative connotations of sin attached to the disease, to be a mark of God's favour. There were probably few lepers who welcomed the disease in this manner, but the hagiography of Alice of Schaerbeek is an extreme illustration of one individual's gratitude for being inflicted with leprosy. Alice, who died in 1250 was a nun at the Cistercian abbey of La Cambre, near Brussels. The author of the hagiography is unknown; Martinus Cawley, who has published a translation of the text, has suggested that it may have been Arnulf, who was abbot of the nearby monastery of Villers between 1270 and 1276, although this cannot be confirmed based on the evidence currently available.[44] Cawley describes the text as having been written with the purpose of celebrating the way in which Alice bore her illness, and how God had blessed her with this.[45] The author states that God endowed her with leprosy 'as a sign of his perfect love', reflecting the theologian Eudes of Châteauroux's sermon describing the 'infliction' of leprosy as a divine act (see page 45).[46] Because of her disease, Alice was able to suffer penance for the souls of those who had died and who were suffering in purgatory. While lepers in leper-houses performed the *opus Dei* collectively in order to benefit the souls of their benefactors, the account of Alice's life is of one individual assuming this task for all the sinners of

[41] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fr. 1179, f.48r [Bible moralisée].
[42] Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance : the Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée*, The S. Mark Taper Foundation imprint in Jewish studies, (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1999), 84.
[43] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fr. 1179, ff.54r-v.
[44] Fr. Martinus Cawley O.C.S.O., *Life of St. Alice of Shaerbeek*, (Lafayette, OR: Our Lady of Guadalupe Abbey, 2000). This book is not widely available, but Fr. Martinus Cawley very kindly emailed me a draft electronic copy; because of this format I do not have page numbers for direct references to his text.; Alicia Spencer-Hall, 'Christ's Suppurating Wounds: Leprosy in the Vita of Alice of Schaerbeek (†1250)', in *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture,* ed. by L. Tracy and K. DeVries, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 389-416, (395).
[45] Cawley O.C.S.O., *Life of St. Alice*.
[46] 'De B. Aleyde Scharembekana', in *Acta Sanctorum Junii Tomus II,* ed. by J. Bolland, and others, (Paris; Rome, 1853), 471-77, (473). *'... et more sponsi, sponsae suae arrham tribuentis in signum perfectae dilectionis'*; Bériou and Touati, *Voluntate*, 98. '*Eo [leprosis] enim ipso quod infligit eis Dominus talem plagam facit ut sequestrentur ab aliis et soli et quasi soli maneant a consortio sanorum, et hoc facit Dominus ex amore'.*

the world – *pro peccatoribus mundi*.[47] There is a sense here of her awareness of the extent of her affliction and her desire to put this to good use. She welcomed the opportunity to be able to take upon herself the suffering of the souls of the living and the dead – a vivid example of Christomimetic behaviour by means of personally taking on the suffering of others.[48]

The imitation of Christ is taken even further in the account of Alice's illness, and the author connects her directly to Louis IX in a manner that suggests that she had a measure of agency in deciding who might benefit from her suffering. A week before she died, having already lost the use of her right eye, she lost the sight in her left eye too:

> This would have its own *fruit of penance* (Matthew 3:8), a fruit she assigned to the King of France, who at that time had exposed himself to be a tool in the hand of Fortune and to be useful for Jerusalem against the pagan enemies of the Cross of Christ. She assigned him this *fruit* of her own eye that he might himself have an eye divinely bright to enlighten him, and that what he had begun with good intent, he might bring to an even better conclusion, and that, after finishing the course of his toil, he might relish the promised joy of everlasting happiness.'[49]

Alicia Spencer-Hall has described Alice's sacrifice of her eye as a means by which the nun 'redefines her corporeal losses as other's spiritual gains', rather than being concerned about her increasing afflictions.[50] It is not entirely clear, however, whether Alice felt that she was sacrificing her eye, or, having lost her sight, that she was sacrificing to Louis the spiritual reward – *cujus fructum poenitentiae* – that she received as a result of this additional misfortune, for the good of Christianity.

This vignette combines some common factors of leprosy and of kingship in relation to Christianity. Louis' crusade was undertaken as a response to his recovery from illness. To commit to a crusade was in itself a form of penitence, with which one offered oneself in the service of Christianity.[51] Alice's sacrifice was repentance for herself and her own sins, in the manner that leprosy was often understood, but by embracing her leprosy so fully, she was able

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[47] 'De B. Aleyde Scharembekana', (476). *'non autem me putes pro peccatis meis hujusmodi exponi tormentis, sed pro defunctis in locis poenalibus diu cruciandis; et pro peccatoribus mundi, a laqueis venantium jamjam miserabiliter irretitis…'.*

[48] Ibid., 475. *'Sancta Aleydis tantam in se patiebatur caritatis violentiam, tantamque pro humani generis salute gestabat solicitudinem …'* ; Bériou and Touati, *Voluntate*, 98. *'Dominus talem plagem facit… et hoc facit Dominus ex amore'.*

[49] 'De B. Aleyde Scharembekana', (476). *'Hebdomada ante festum Pentecostes, per gravem infirmitatem, nulli membrorum sui corporis deferentem, ab oculo privatur sinistro: cujus fructum poenitentiae assignavit Regi Franciae, qui in illo tempore, contra Paganos Crucis Christi inimicos, Hierosolymis utile se exposuerat fortunae; ut oculo divinae claritatis illuminatus, quod bona incepisset intentione, fine meliore posset terminare; et postmodum cursu laboris sui completo, gaudio felicitates aeternae perfruit repromisso.'*; Cawley O.C.S.O., *Life of St. Alice*, chap. xxvii.

[50] Spencer-Hall, 'Christ's Suppurating Wounds', (408).

[51] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades : a History*, 2nd edn., (London ; New York: Continuum, 2005), 149.

to use the power of her suffering to assist others who were putting themselves at risk for Christendom. At the very end of her life, Alice made her final sacrifice for the spiritual success of the French king.

The bull issued by Pope Boniface VIII for Louis' canonisation suggests that the king's piety increased after his release from captivity while he was on his first crusade, and this was apparent from his way of life and his conversation. He would dress not like a king, but like a man of religion; he was not a soldier, but a simple man; he built churches, and visited the sick, the blind and the leprous.[52] As the exact date of Alice's *Life* is not known, it is impossible to say whether or not this was written before or after Louis' death. If it was written after 1270, the author has attributed to Alice prophetic vision of Louis' future sanctity, and created a connection between the nun and the king, who, by dying on crusade, also suffered and died for the Christian faith. Sean Field has argued that Louis was not recognised by others as a saint prior to his death, suggesting that while Louis fulfilled the duties expected of him as a king, it was his sister Isabelle whose sanctity was recognised during her life, although efforts to secure papal recognition for this were not successful until the 16th century.[53] If this was the case, it adds weight to the argument that the Life was written after 1270, and after the call for Louis' canonisation. Alice's experience reinforces the idea that the divine gift of leprosy can be welcomed when the sufferer can embrace the sense of their disease as a means of serving human-kind through spiritual service.

Louis' ideas about the connections between leprosy and purgatory were recorded by Joinville, in a conversation he recalled having with the king. Louis asked Joinville, in front of a number of friars, which he would prefer – to be a leper or to have committed a mortal sin. Joinville, who 'never lied', replied that he would prefer to have committed thirty mortal sins than to be a leper.[54] After the friars had left, Louis spoke to Joinville alone, made Joinville sit at his feet, then asked how he could have said that, telling the seneschal:

> You spoke like a thoughtless person in a hurry, because you should know that there is no leprosy as awful as being in a state of mortal sin, because the soul that is in a state of mortal sin is like the devil; that is why there cannot be leprosy as awful. And it is very

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[52] 'Bonifaci VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione'. (150). *'Item, postquam a carcere fuit liberates, non visit nec indutus fuit sicut prius: licet vita et conversatio ejus prius fuisset satis honesta. Vestes enim quas postea habuit, non erant regiæ, sed religiosæ : non erant militis, sed viri simplicis. Vitam etiam ejus, qualiter in ædificationibus ecclesiarum, et visitationibus infirmorum, cæcorum et leprosorum, continuaverit, nullus enarrare sufficit.'*

[53] Sean Field, 'Isabelle of France and the Crystallization of Capetian Sanctity in the 1250s', *Capetian Sanctity*, University of Bristol, 15 March 2017; Sean Field, 'Introduction', in *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt : the Life of Isabelle of France & the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp*, ed. and trans. by S.L. Field, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), (3).

[54] Joinville, *Vie*, 13-15, §27-28.

> true that, when man dies, he is healed of leprosy of the body, but when a man who has committed mortal sin dies, he does not know and is not certain that he has had in his life a repentance such that God will have pardoned him; that is why he should be fearful that this leprosy does not last as long as God will be in heaven. I ask you, he said, as much as I can, to induce your heart, for the love of God and of me, to prefer that any misfortune happens to your body, leprosy or any other sickness, than mortal sin should enter your soul.[55]

A slightly different version of this conversation was related by Joinville during the canonisation proceedings, and recorded by William of Saint-Pathus:

> On one occasion the holy King asked the said knight which he would like better, either to be in a state of mortal sin or to be a leper; and the knight replied that he would like better to have committed thirty mortal sins, than he should be a leper; and so the holy King criticised him greatly, and said to him and showed him that it was better to be a leper; because mortal sin is leprosy of the soul, from which man does not know if he can be healed, because he does not know when he should die; and if he dies without honest contrition and without true confession, which he does not know if he can have, as these things depend on and come from the grace of God, the soul will remain forever leprous if he dies in mortal sin, and like the devil; but from leprosy of the body everyone should be certain that he will be healed by corporeal death; that is why the holy King said that it was by far better for a man to be a leper, than he should be in mortal sin.[56]

In Joinville's text, the king compares the two conditions of mortal sin and of leprosy, but does not make an explicit connection between the two to suggest that are related to each other. This may be due to the differing purposes of the texts. As discussed (see page 26), Joinville's book was written for entertainment; the purpose of the text produced by Saint-Pathus, emphasising the king's sanctity, meant that the spiritual understanding attributed to Louis had to be made absolutely clear. In Joinville's text, leprosy is a purely physical condition, better than mortal sin, but not caused by it. Repentance before God is essential, to cleanse the soul of its sins; the leprosy of the body will be removed at the time of death. This leprosy does not affect the soul. At

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[55] Ibid.

[56] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (87). *'Et une fois avint einsi que li sainz rois demanda audit chevalier lequel il vodroit miex, ou avoir fait un pechié mortel ou estre mesel ; et li chevaliers respondi que il vodroit miex avoir fet trente pechiez mortex, que ce que il fust mesel ; et donques li sainz rois le blasma mout, et le dist et moustra que miez vaudroit estre mesel; car pechié mortel est meselerie de lame; de laquele home ne set comment il en puist estre gueri, car il ne set quant il doit mourir; et se il muert sans droite contricion et sans vraie confession, que il ne set se il porra avoir, comme cele chose depende et viegne de la grace Dieu, lame remaindra touziors mesele se il muert en pechié mortel, et semblable au deable; mès de la meselerie du cors doit estre chascun certain que il en doit estre gueri par la mort corporele; pourquoi li sainz rois disoit que de trop loing il valt miex a homme estre mesel, que ce que il soit en pechié mortel.'*

the end of this conversation, the king tells Joinville that 'leprosy or any other sickness' would be better than sin, as if the seriousness of leprosy was equal to other diseases.[57] The choice of leprosy as the primary example, however, suggests either that Louis believed, or Joinville believed, or even that Joinville thought that Louis believed, that leprosy was the most severe form of physical suffering that one could endure. Louis did not, however, allude to the form of repentance embraced by Alice, in which as an individual she could atone for the 'sinners of the world'.[58]

Louis would have been familiar with the symptoms of the disease, being accustomed to associating with lepers in and around Paris. The number of leper-houses in existence in thirteenth-century France unfortunately tells us little about lepers outside of these institutions – how many there were, where they were, how they lived, for example – but as one of Louis' closest associates, it is highly probable that Joinville would also have seen lepers, in Paris, in his own lands in Champagne, or in the Holy Land, knew of the effects of the disease on the body in its advanced stages, and was sufficiently repulsed by the thought of being thus affected that he preferred mortal sin. The additional thought, of being confined to a leper-house, or, as a wealthy man, to being cared for within his own home, unable to continue to mix in the social circles to which he was accustomed, may have affected Joinville just as strongly. Joinville, unfortunately, neglects to pursue the idea and to state whether or not he changed his opinion as a result of the conversation.

The many years that would have elapsed between the actual conversation (the date of which is not known), the hearings for Louis' canonisation in 1282 at which he was a witness, and the writing of Louis' *Vie* may have clouded his memory of the exact content of the conversation, and may also explain the slight differences in nuance.[59] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin suggests that the *Vie* was written in two stages – the first stage in the period between Louis' death and canonisation, and the second stage probably in the first decade of the fourteenth century.[60] It is possibly true that many elements of Joinville's *Vie* were not remembered clearly, but in this instance at least there is contrasting evidence to call the texts into question.

The account from the canonisation makes a more explicit connection between leprosy and mortal sin, which highlights the different nature of these two texts – one written by a layperson

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[57] Joinville, *Vie*, 13-15, §27-28.
[58] 'De B. Aleyde Scharembekana', (476). *'non autem me putes pro peccatis meis hujusmodi exponi tormentis, sed pro defunctis in locis poenalibus diu cruciandis; et pro peccatoribus mundi, a laqueis venantium jamjam miserabiliter irretitis…'.*
[59] Carolus-Barré, 'Les enquêtes pour la canonisation de saint Louis — de Grégoire X à Boniface VIII — et la bulle *Gloria laus*, du 11 août 1297', (25); J. Monfrin, 'Introduction', in *Vie de saint Louis,* ed. by J. Monfrin, (Paris: le Grand livre du mois, 1998), i-cxxxix, (xvii). The canonisation was not confirmed by the papacy until 1297, however depositions had been heard as early as 1282.
[60] Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 19.

recalling events from many years beforehand, the other written by a churchman for the purpose of obtaining canonisation for the king. In this version, Louis describes mortal sin as 'leprosy of the soul'. He intimates that leprosy is both a physical *and* a spiritual condition, reflecting the views of theologians such as Gregory the Great, who believed that the external marks of leprosy indicated internal impurity.[61] Leprosy of the body is separated from leprosy of the soul; the first is guaranteed to be healed at the time of death, the second is not. As Carole Rawcliffe has argued, Louis' frequent visits to leper-houses show how he distinguished between these two conditions.[62] His encounters with lepers indicate that he believed they were in a more advanced state of internal purification due to the purgative nature of their disease.

The latter excerpt is the one that most accurately reflects the ideas present in the holy books and Bibles which, according to William of Saint-Pathus, constituted the king's reading material.[63] With the gradually shifting spiritual beliefs of the central Middle Ages, particularly the increased certainty of purgatory, the fear of mortal sin was ever-present. This fear was probably inculcated in Louis by his mother. Joinville recorded that Blanche taught Louis to love and to believe in God, and surrounded her son with religious men; Louis recalled to Joinville that Blanche had occasionally declared that she would prefer Louis to be dead than to have committed a mortal sin.[64] For both mother and son, to have carried out a mortal sin was the most awful state to contemplate; the suffering of leprosy, or even death, was preferable. The dualistic notion of leprosy is also reflected in Louis' meeting with a leprous monk at Royaumont, which was also recorded by William of Saint Pathus, during which Louis linked leprosy to purgatory, thereby confirming his understanding of the suffering of the leper to have an important spiritual, not just physical, aspect.

At this meeting (see Appendix III for a full translation of this account), not an isolated incident, for Louis met with him and another leper at Royaumont on several occasions, Louis fed the monk himself, despite the leper's horrific appearance. Because his lips were cracked as a result of the leprosy, eating was painful and difficult. Louis advised the monk that he should 'suffer this illness with good patience, and that it was his purgatory in this world; and that it was better that

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[61] 'Sancti Gregorii Moralium Libri'. in *PL*, 221 vols., lxxv (1902), cols.509-1162, (col.694). *'Leprosi itaque hereticos exprimunt, quia dum rectis prava permiscent, colorem sanum maculis aspergunt.'*
[62] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 55.
[63] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (75). *'... quand complie estoit dite de ses chapelains en la chapele, il sen raloit en sa chambre ; et adoncques estoit alumee une chandele de certaine longueur, cest a savoir de trois piez ou environ ; et endementieres que ele duroit, il lisoit en la bible ou en un autre saint livre.'*
[64] Joinville, *Vie*, 37, §71. *'Il rappelait que sa mère lui avait quelquefois déclaré qu'elle aurait mieux aimé qu'il fut mort plutôt qu'il ait commis un péché mortel.'*; William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (64). *'...ele me lesseroit ainçois morir que ele vousist que je courouçasse mon créateur dampnablement.'* ; Geoffrey de Beaulieu. 'Vita', (5). *'... si dictus filius suis rex, quem super omnes creaturas mortales diligebat, infirmaretur ad mortem, et diceretur ei quod sanaretur, semel peccando cum muliere non sua ; prius permitteret ipsum mori, quam semel peccando mortaliter suum offendere Creatorem. Hoc ego ab ore ipsius domini regis audivi.'*

he should suffer this illness here, than he should suffer otherwise in the after-life.'[65] This perception of disease as spiritual penance reflects Jacques de Vitry's sermons to lepers and the sick, in which the preacher called for patience in suffering, as sickness purged the body of sin. Although all types of illness were forms of suffering inflicted by God, leprosy represented the ultimate form of suffering and penance.

The need to embrace suffering in this world was made explicit by Louis in his *Enseignement* to his daughter Isabelle, in which he spelled out his concept of the relationship between physical health and spiritual wellbeing:

> Dear daughter, if you have any persecution or illness, or other things for which you cannot get helpful advice, suffer it graciously, and be grateful to him for it, because you should believe that it is for your own good, and that you have deserved it and more if he wanted, because you loved him too little and served him too little and did a great many things against his will. If you have any prosperity or bodily health or any other thing, thank Our Lord humbly for it; and take care that you are not the worse for it, either through pride or some other failing, because it is a great sin to be hostile to Our Lord as a result of these gifts.[66]

There is a sense in these sources that if Louis had contracted leprosy as a result of his many meetings with lepers, the disease would have been, if not welcome, then at least not wholly unwelcome. The king himself was practiced at suffering patiently through illness for the good of one's soul. When explaining the king's patience in relation to his illness whilst on his first crusade, Saint-Pathus states that Louis would suffer the bitterness and discomfort of illness with good will, 'with the intention of having the love of Our Lord and in the hope of having eternal salvation.'[67]

The fear of becoming leprous remained a serious threat despite its potential spiritual benefits. Indeed, the accusation of being a leper was allegedly made against Henry III by Hubert de Burgh, the Earl of Kent. Hubert had been one of King John's men before 1216 and continued to serve under Henry, acting as regent during the young king's minority, then as his justiciar, but amidst the factions at Henry's court, Hubert fell out of the king's favour in 1232 during a coup, after

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[65] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (97). '*… li disoit que il soufrist en bonne pacience cette maladie, et que cestoit son purgatoire en cest monde ; et que il valoit miez quil soufrist cele maladie ici, que il soufrist autre chose eu siecle avenir.'*

[66] Ibid., 83; Kathleen M. Ashley, 'The French *Enseignemenz a Phelippe* and *Enseignement a Ysabel* of Saint Louis', in *Medieval Conduct Literature: An Anthology of Vernacular Guides to Behaviour for Youths, with English Translations,* ed. by M.D. Johnston, Medieval Academy Books, (Minneapolis, MN ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 3-22, (19).

[67] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (103). *'il soufri de sa bonne volenté aspreces et griés en entention davoir lamour de Nostre-Seigneur, et en esperance davoir salut pardurable'*

presiding over a regime described by Robert Stacey as a 'dismal failure.'[68] Matthew Paris recorded the many charges made by the king against Hubert, most of which pertained to political manoeuvring and abuse of office, but also included Hubert's slurs regarding Henry's physical appearance and well-being, including the allegation that Henry was 'squint-eyed, foolish and useless, that he had some form of leprosy.'[69] These words reflect the ancient connections between immoral behaviour and leprosy, and were likely to have been concocted by Hubert's enemies. In fact, Paris records that Hubert successfully defended himself against all of the charges, to the satisfaction of everyone present. The idea of accusing a king of being leprous, with the associated moral judgements that would occur, reflects the malice behind the fabrication. The use of leprosy in an attempt at defamation also reflects the connection of the disease with sin, and the allegation would have constituted a very serious criticism of Henry's kingship.

Royal gestures

The idea of the leper and the sick as individuals to be venerated is borne out by descriptions of both kings towards these individuals. One example of this can be found in the account of the refounding of the hospital at Compiègne in 1257 by Louis and Theobald V of Champagne, husband of Louis' daughter Isabelle. The first *poure malade* was carried into the hospital, in a manner described by Le Goff as a form of 'enthronement' or coronation, covered with a silk sheet, by Louis and Theobald, who placed him in a freshly prepared bed, and left with him the silk sheet in which he had been carried.[70] The carrying of a body in this manner is paralleled in another account from William of Saint-Pathus. Louis built a church in Senlis for the abbey of Saint-Maurice, which was to house the bodies of 24 martyrs – the companions of St Maurice. The king arranged for these bodies to be transferred to the new church in the presence of many barons and a great multitude of people, and Louis and Theobald themselves carried one of the coffins, draped in a silk sheet, on their own shoulders. Following Louis and Theobald, barons and knights carried in other coffins; the king arranged this because the saints themselves had been knights of Jesus Christ, and it was therefore right that they should be carried by knights.[71] The

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[68] Robert C Stacey, *Politics, Policy, and Finance under Henry III, 1216-1245*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 33.

[69] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iii, 619. *'... quod rex strabo et fatuus nequamque fuerat, et speciam leprae habere ...'*

[70] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (98). *'Et quant la meson-Dieu de Compiègne fu fete, li sainz rois dune part, et monseigneur Tiebaut jadis roy de Navarre son gendre qui li aidoit, dautre part, sus un drap de soye porterent et mistrent le premier pour malade qui onques fust mis en la meson-Dieu nouvelement fete, et le mistrent en un lit nouvelement apareillié, et lessierent adonc sus luis le drap de soie en quoi il le porterent.'* ; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 877. '*... une sorte d'intronisation, du "sacre" du premier malade ...*'

[71] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (76). *'... et furent les diz cors sainz mis en pluseurs chasses, coverz sollempnelment de dras de soie; et adonques les fist porter a grant procession en la cite a la mere eglise, en tele maniere que li benoiez rois meesment portoit seur ses propres espaules la derreainne chasse, ensemble avecques home de noble remembrance Tiebaut roy de Navarre, de la meson a levesques jusques a leglise*

carrying of the sick man, with the expensive silk sheet, indicates a reverence for the sick man who was also, through his sickness, suffering for others. This reverence is evident in many of both Henry's and Louis' actions and gestures toward the sick and the poor.

Kneeling

Kneeling before the sick is an obvious means by which one's humility can be demonstrated, and this type of action is recurrent in Louis' hagiographies. Jacques le Goff describes Louis' physical actions towards the poor as a means of placing himself at their level, but the act of kneeling and feeding suggests instead that Louis was actually placing himself *below* the sick, in a position of subservience and reverence.[72] This is clear in a report from the text of the Anonymous of Saint-Denis, in a chapter which described Louis' devotion to prayer, and how he would also rely on the prayers of those with whom he chose to surround himself:

> 'Moreover the king was humbly not content with his merits and prayers, he sometimes requested on bended knees the prayers of others, also which is admirable, before the lepers congregated in his house, judging that nothing is started well without prayers, as the desired outcome is not achieved.'[73]

The emphasis placed on the king's veneration before the lepers is evident in the language used. Not only did Louis show his humility by seeking their prayers, indicating their spiritual value, but he also placed himself 'on bended knees' before them in order to further emphasise his reverence with the use of physical gestures.[74] A further example of Louis' kneeling before lepers comes from William of Chartres' hagiography; before embarking on his second crusade in 1248, Louis visited both the Dominican and the Franciscan houses in Paris, and the leper-house of Saint-Lazare to the north of the city. Inside the leper-house, Louis 'knelt before the assembled lepers, and the blessed king asked them humbly and devotedly that they should pray to Our Lord for him.'[75] The visit to Saint-Lazare is a re-enactment of the visit made by King Louis VII prior to his own embarkation on the Second Crusade in 1147, almost exactly one century previously (see page 96).[76] The only notable difference between the two events is that Louis VII visited the

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devant dite; et fist les autres chasses porter ausi devant lui par autres barons et par chevaliers. Et estoit lentente du benoiet roy tele, si comme len croit, que cestoit bonne chose et honeste que les dis sains qui avoient esté chevaliers de Jhesu-Crist, fussent portez par chevaliers.'

[72] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 620.

[73] 'Gesta Sancti Ludovici Noni'. (51)., '*Suis autem meritis et orationibus rex humiliter non contentus, orationes aliorum humilium nonnunquam flexis genibus, etiam quod mirandum est, coram leprosis in domo sua Parisius congregatis, postulabat, sestimans etiam nihil sine oratione bene inchoari, ad finem debitum non perduci.'*

[74] Ibid., '*flexis genibus*'

[75] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (81). *'... et alors il sen ala a la meson de saint Ladre de Paris et sagenoilla devant les mesiax assemblez, et leur requist li benoiez Rois humblement et devotement que il priassent Nostre-Seigneur pour lui. Et ces choses devant dites furent fetes presente sa mesniee, chevaliers et autres.'*

[76] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII*, 16-17.

lepers alone, whilst Louis IX met with them in front of members of his household, his knights and others.

William of Saint-Pathus' hagiography contains numerous instances of Louis kneeling before lepers and the sick. One of the most notable of these accounts concerned Louis feeding a leprous monk at Royaumont. Louis entered the room where the leper was, and after greeting him, he 'knelt before him. And then, on his knees, he began to cut the meat before him…'[77] The king placed the cut up food into the mouth of the leper, remaining on his knees, while the abbot knelt also, in reverence of the king.[78] Louis asked his men to fetch partridges and chickens from his own kitchen for the leper, 'All the time that the officers were going to and from the kitchen, bringing two chickens and three roast partridges, the king remained on his knees before the leper, and the abbot also with him.'[79] William of Saint-Pathus refers to this incident again in the following chapter (the excerpt above is taken from the eleventh chapter of the hagiography, discussing the king's works of mercy; the twelfth chapter discusses his humility), stating that he would visit the poor and sick often and kneel before them, and again saying that when Louis was with the leper 'he was on his knees for a long time.'[80]

The multiple hagiographical references to Louis' supplicant body language portray the saint-king as unworthy before the sick man. The two mentions of the abbot's gesture of kneeling are illuminating, indicating a hierarchy of reverence among the three individuals. Since the resolution of the Investiture Controversy in the twelfth century, bishops and abbots were no longer obliged to pay homage to their king.[81] Nevertheless, the abbot of Sainte-Geneviève (Paris), agreed to pay homage to King Philip III at the end of the thirteenth century, showing that the tradition had not been completely eradicated.[82] In the act of homage itself, the vassal would usually have 'knelt bareheaded, placed his joined hands between those of his lord, and declared that he was the lord's man in return for a specified fief.'[83] As the abbot of an institution founded

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[77] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (97)., *'… et sagenoilla devant lui; et lors commença a trenchier a genoz…'*
[78] Ibid., *'Et a la parlin, quant li sainz rois fu einsi a genouz devant ledit mesel, et li diz abés aussi a genoz pour la reverence du saint roi'*
[79] Ibid., *'et toutes voies tant comme li diz huissiers mist a aler et a venir de ladite cuisine, qui aportoit deux gelines et trois perdriz rosties, li diz rois fu touziors a genouz devant le malade, et li abés avecques lui.'*
[80] Ibid., 101. *Que il visitoit les malades et les poures familierement et ententivement, en sa propre persone, et especiaument les servoit a genouz… Ce que il servoit au mesel si tres horrible, si tres serviablement et si tres amiablement, et estoit si longument a genoz devant lui.'*
[81] Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises: période des Capétiens directs*, Reprint of 1892 edn., (Bruxelles: Culture et civilsation, 1964), 510 §276; Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy : the Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford History of the Christian Church, (Oxford ; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1989), 158.
[82] *Le règne de Philippe III, le Hardi*, ed. by C.V. Langlois, (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1887), 438. *'In parlamento sequenti, circa festum Ascensionis Domini, venit d. abbas ad regem in camera sua et fecit hommagium sub his verbis gallice: "Sire, je eviens vostre hom liges et vous promes leauté jusque à la mort."'*
[83] J Russell Major, '"Bastard Feudalism" and the Kiss: Changing Social Mores in Late Medieval and Early Modern France', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 17.3 (1987), 509-35, (509-10).

by Louis IX himself, the abbot of Royaumont may have acknowledged the power held by the king in his capacity as founder and patron, but William of Saint-Pathus stresses the king's sanctity by stating that the abbot was kneeling out of reverence for the 'saint-king', suggesting, with hindsight, that the abbot already considered Louis to be worthy of canonisation.[84] The abbot's reverence towards Louis emphasises the nature of Louis' own reverence towards the leper. The French kings did not answer to any higher temporal authority, thus such deference towards the leper indicates the presence of someone in whom the king recognised a higher level of sanctity than he himself held. As Touati has argued, in this model, 'the person surpassed the function.'[85]

Taking this incident in isolation, the leper represents *Christus quasi leprosus*, Christ appearing before the king. Further reading of the hagiographies show, however, that this type of body language, in which the king was apparently subservient, was also exhibited by Louis frequently before other groups of society. In the same chapter of the hagiography, concerning the king's humility, William of Saint-Pathus records Louis' visits to the poor and the sick in the hospitals of Paris, Compiègne, Pontoise, Vernon, and Orléans. As with the leper at Royaumont, Louis would break food up, and serve it, while on his knees before them.[86]

Without attempting to digress too far from the topic of this thesis into Louis' relationships with the religious orders, other reports of his humility reinforce the comparison between the sick and the poor, and the religious. When visiting the Cistercian abbey at Chaalis, having arrived late, Louis sat on the floor to hear the sermon, and would not allow the monks to sit on the floor with him.[87] This may have been pure modesty and a desire not to inconvenience the monks; it may also indicate that Louis felt comfortable being on a lower physical level to men who had professed religious vows. Geoffrey de Beaulieu highlights Louis' body language before groups of monks: 'He frequently and devotedly visited religious congregations, and from them, for himself and for his family both living and dead, asked for prayers and masses, humbly and on bended knees in the chapter, such that the religious were frequently moved to tears by his humility.'[88]

Touching the sick

One theme in Louis' hagiographies which places him in a tradition of *imitatio Christi* is of his custom of touching the sick, in the manner of his predecessors, as discussed in the previous

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[84] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (97)., *'Et a la parlin, quant li sainz rois fu einsi a genouz devant ledit mesel, et li diz abés aussi a genoz pour la reverence du saint roi'*
[85] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 228; Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 550.
[86] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (97). *'… en trenchant leur pain et char et les autres viandes, et estoit a genouz devant eus …'*
[87] Ibid., 102. *'et ja fust ce que les moines qui ilecques estoient, qui virent que li benoiez rois seoit a terre, descendissent de leur sieges et vosissent seoir a terre, il ne le volt soufrir'*
[88] Geoffrey de Beaulieu. 'Vita', (14). *'Congregationes religiosorum frequenter ac devotissime visitabat, et ab eis pro se et pro suis vivis ac defunctis piarum orationum et missarum suffragia, humiliter et flexis genibus, in capitulo postulabat, ita quod ex humilitate sua personae religiosae frequenter ad lacrymas movebantur.'*

chapter. His hagiographers, however were very careful about the way they related Louis' actions, no doubt mindful of the contemporary theological debates about the power of kings and the definition of sanctity.[89]

William of Saint-Pathus described how, each morning, after Louis had heard mass, he would return to his chamber, and call in 'his' scrofulous subjects, who had passed the previous night in the king's household dedicated to that purpose, and touched them.[90] The use of the possessive pronoun indicates that Louis felt a sense of ownership over this particular group of the sick, due to their specific illness and its traditional connections to the monarchy. William passes no comment about whether or not their condition was improved or healed by this contact with the king. Geoffrey of Beaulieu was similarly circumspect, although more explicit about the ritual performed. Whereas previous kings had been thought to only touch the site of the disease, and to speak 'usual and fitting words', Louis also traced 'a small sign of the Holy Cross above the afflicted area, so that the ensuing cure would thereby be attributed to the power of the Cross rather than to the majesty of the king.'[91] Two years after the king's death, Geoffrey stated in a sermon that the kings of France were able to cure scrofula 'because God had given them, and them alone, this power.'[92] This may have been a careful attempt to appease those who were cautious about what, if any, power a king was endowed with after being anointed.

That this belief was widespread is affirmed in the life of the Blessed Thomas Hélie of Biville, written prior to 1257. In this, a girl suffering from scrofula was healed at the tomb of the former priest and missionary; prior to her return to health, medical doctors had been fearful of operating on the girl because it was known that scrofulas were only cured by the king.[93] The cautious allusion to Louis IX's ability to heal the sick may have been prompted by the desire of those around the monarchy to secure his canonisation. The reclamation of the power of healing emphasised the holy lineage of the Capetians – the *beata stirps* promoted by Louis' brother, Charles of Anjou, as part of the bid for Louis' canonisation.[94]

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[89] See Chapter 3, pages 94-5

[90] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (98). *'Chascun jour au matin, quant il avoit oy ses messes et il revenoit en sa chambre, il fesoit apeler ses malades des escroeles et les touchoit'*

[91] Geoffrey de Beaulieu. 'Vita', (20).; *The Sanctity of Louis IX : early lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, ed. by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean L. Field, trans. by L.F. Field, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014), 112.

[92] Gaposchkin and Field (eds.), *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, 32.

[93] 'Vita et miracula beati Thomæ Heliæ'. in *RHF*, xxiii (1894), 557-68, (565)., '*… quia morbus erat scrophularum, a quo rex Franciæ tactu manuum suarum divinitus curat.'*

[94] P-E. de Riant, 'Déposition de Charles d'Anjou pour la canonisation de saint Louis', in *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa foundation*, (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1884), 155-76, (175). '*… sancta illa anima soluta est, unde sancta radix sanctos ramos protulit, non solum regem sanctum, sed et comitem Atrebatensem, martirem glorosum, et comitem Pictavensem …'*

The suggestion that Louis' ritual of signing the cross was new was spurious, as Gilbert of Nogent's account of Louis VI, discussed in the previous chapter (page 92), shows that this was not in fact a new practice.[95] Marc Bloch notes, however, that the inclusion of this detail shows that Louis was carrying out the ritual with the 'strictest orthodoxy'.[96] Lepers may or may not have been included in these groups of the 'scrofulous'. As discussed in previous chapters, there was not necessarily a clear diagnostic difference between leprosy and scrofula, or other skin ailments, particularly in the earlier stages of the diseases. The physical similarities of these may have meant that a wide range of diseases were present in the chosen gatherings of the king's subjects.

Touching the sick was not confined to the occasions when the scrofulous would be brought to Louis' chamber, however; when visiting the infirmary at Royaumont, he would check the pulse of the sick monks, and touch their temples, even when they were sweating; and for those who were most afflicted, he would even touch their hands and the places of their sickness.[97] The eleventh chapter of William of Saint Pathus' hagiography contains many references to Louis touching the sick in various ways. These do not suggest that any healing occurred through the process of physical contact, but instead emphasise Louis' willingness, even desire, to be close to the sick, however abominable the symptoms of their illness. This chapter contains no fewer than 17 instances of the phrases *ses propres mains* or *sa propre main*, as the king placed food in front of the sick, placed morsels in their mouths, held cups to their lips and gave them money. The physical proximity of the anointed king to the disfigured and infirm underscores Louis' veneration for the suffering and the infirm. Louis was also in the custom of carrying rose water with him when he visited infirmaries, with which he would sprinkle the faces of the sick. This may have helped to mask the smell of disease, but may also have been intended to serve a further purpose, as it was later used as an ingredient in recipes to treat the Black Death.[98]

The emphasis placed by William of Saint Pathus on the importance of Louis' touch indicates the privilege of these patients to have had contact with this saint-king. Furthermore William recalls how Louis would give to the sick and the poor items that he had either touched or worn. He would often give his own clothes to priests, but also to religious women.[99] In addition, he would

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[95] Gilbert of Nogent. 'De Pignoribus Sanctorum', (col.616).
[96] Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 74.
[97] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (96). *'... touchoit a aucuns le poux, et a aucuns les temples, neis quant il suoient ... et atochoit neis les mains des malades et les lieus de la maladie...'*
[98] Ibid., 98. *'... il fesoit avecques soi porter yaue rose, et arrousait de ses propres mains les visages des malades.'* ; Shona Kelly Wray, 'Boccaccio and the Doctors: Medicine and Compassion in the Face of Plague', *Journal of Medieval History,* 30.3 (2004), 301-22, (308); Christiane Nockels Fabbri, 'Treating Medieval Plague: The Wonderful Virtues of Theriac', *Early Science and Medicine,* 12.3 (2007), 247-83, (251).
[99] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (95). *'... il fesoit donner ses propres robes souvent as bonnes religieuses et as autres, et as prestres...'*

leave with patients the towels that he had, for example, used to wipe blood from their nostrils.[100] When Louis and his son-in-law, Theobald, carried the first patient into the hospital at Compiègne, they placed the silk sheet over the patient and left it with him.[101] The way that these donations are described is somewhat suggestive of contact relics being given to worshippers or cure-seekers for the purpose of worship or for healing. Louis' belief in the importance of such objects can be traced back to the 1220s, when he and his mother had been given the pillow that St Francis had used until his death.[102] Le Goff has described Louis as a 'great lover' of relics, and this custom of giving others items that he had touched perhaps fits in to a wider belief in the special nature of his own kingship and, perhaps, its ability to affect others – either physically, emotionally or spiritually.[103]

Washing lepers' feet

The glimpses offered by contemporary sources regarding Henry's contact with lepers are tantalisingly brief, and one of these two accounts was actually recorded by Joinville, from a conversation he had had with the French king. Louis asked Joinville if he washed the feet of the poor on Good Friday, to which Joinville replied that he would 'certainly not' wash the feet of these peasants. 'Truly', replied Louis, 'you have spoken wrong, for you should not mistrust that which the Lord has done for our teaching. I ask you, firstly for the love of God, and for love for me, to take up the habit of washing them.'[104] Joinville later recounted the same conversation, but on this occasion recorded that when he replied that he would not want to wash the feet of paupers, Louis bluntly told Joinville 'you would struggle to do what the king of England does, who washes the feet of lepers and kisses them.'[105]

It is not clear whether or not Louis had personally witnessed Henry doing this. Henry and Louis met on five occasions during their reigns, all meetings taking place in France. On one known occasion, Louis and Henry jointly washed the feet of *fratres* together, on Maundy Thursday in 1260. Henry had been staying in St Omer before returning to England and Louis joined him

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[100] Ibid., 98. *'Or avint une foiz comme li benoiez rois servist, si com il est di par desus, un malade en la meson-Dieu de Paris et le sanc li decorust par les narines; il li terdoit les narines a ses propres mains a une touaille que il se fist bailler ses seues, et lessa ilecques ceste touaille; et les autres toailles que il se faisoit aporter quant il aloit a tel servise, il les lessoit ilecques.'*

[101] Ibid. *'… et lessierent adonc sus lui le drap de soie en qui il le porterent.'*

[102] *Annales Minorum, seu trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum. ... Editio secunda*, L.O.F.M. Wadding, J.M.d.B.o.P. Fonseca, and S. Melchiorri De Cerreto (eds.), (2nd) (Rome: Bernabo, 1732), 162. '*Matri & filio transmiserunt ex Assisio Minores in mense Decembri cervical humile sancti Francisci, quo sub morte usus, quod illi pro magno dono venerati sunt.'*

[103] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 155.

[104] Joinville, *Vie*, 13-14, §29. *'Il me demande se je lavoie les piez aus povres le jour du grant dudi. "Sire, diz je, en mal eur les piez de ces vilains ne laverai je ja. – Vraiement, fist il, ce ful mal dit, car vous ne devez mie avoir en desdaing ce que Dieur fist pour nostre enseignement. Si vous pri je, pour l'amour de Dieu premier et pour l'amour de moy, que vous les acoustumez a laver."'*

[105] Ibid., 343, §688. *'vous auriez bien de la peine à faire ce que fait le roi d'Angleterre, qui lave les pieds aux lépreux et les leur baise.'*

there, and would thus have witnessed Henry washing the feet of 321 *fratres*, and may have participated also in the maundy – the *mandatum*.[106] The question of whether or not this group may have included lepers is discussed below.

The frequency with which Henry performed the maundy generally for paupers, suggests that washing the feet of lepers was not an unusual occurrence. The chancery rolls contain multiple references for Henry ordering shoes to be provided for the poor. In 1245, the sheriffs of London were ordered to 'buy and deliver', on the Tuesday before Christmas, 300 pairs of shoes (at the various values of 4.5*d*, 5*d* and 6*d* – these were presumably stipulated to cater for different size feet), 'for the king's Christmas Maundy.'[107] In 1246, 268 pairs of shoes were provided in London at Easter, and a further 300 in Winchester, for Christmas Maundy.[108] In 1247, while the king was at Reading, an order was issued to the bailiffs of Winchester again to make 315 pairs of shoes for Christmas, and in 1248, the king's almoner, Roger, was ordered to provide 330 pairs of shoes, 'to distribute to the poor for the king's maundy against Easter.'[109] Wherever the king was on these occasions (including the periods during which he was in France), the king and his family would wash the feet of huge numbers of paupers, and provide shoes.[110] The comment cited above, from Louis to Joinville, indicates that Henry went beyond merely providing shoes, and actually washed the feet of paupers himself.

The *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* includes one entry relating to an occasion at which several groups of the poor were given alms at the same time; in 1245, to commemorate the soul of the countess of Flanders, 14*l* 17*s* 8.5*d* was 'spent in feeding friars preachers, friars minors, nuns, lepers and all the poor of all the hospitals of London.'[111] It is possible that the entries on the household roll of 1259-60 were written in abbreviated form, but fully intended to include all of these groups – a highly plausible theory considering Henry's very devout sense of duty to the poor. It seems just as likely, therefore, that the groups of 'paupers' whose feet Henry washed and kissed also included the infirm and the leprous. The kissing of lepers' feet may, then, have been something that Henry performed frequently.

Returning to Louis' conversation with Joinville about Henry, and leaving aside the king's assessment of Joinville's character and capabilities, it is worth considering how much modesty was encapsulated into this statement. Louis did not tell Joinville that washing the feet of lepers

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[106] *CCR, 1259-61*, 282. *'Sciatis quod dominus rex Francie venit ad nos usque Sanctum Audomarum in vigilia palmarum et morabatur ibi usque ad diem Jovis sequentem…'*; Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings Henry III and Louis IX', (22).; S. Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor to Commemorate the Dead : the Pro Anima Almsgiving of Henry III of England, 1227-72', (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 2003), 277.
[107] *CLR, 1245-51*, 16.
[108] Ibid., 46; ibid., 94.
[109] Ibid., 155; ibid., 173.
[110] Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', (89); *CLR, 1260-67*, 45; ibid., 71; ibid., 83; ibid., 190; ibid., 206.
[111] *CLR, 1240-45*, 306.

was something he did himself, and the extensive time that Joinville spent with Louis suggests that if he personally had seen the king washing the feet of lepers, he would have included such instances in his text at this point. It is probable that Joinville did not accompany the king into monasteries, and certainly not into the rooms where Louis fed lepers – regarding the meeting at Royaumont, William of Saint-Pathus reported that only the abbot was with the king, while the king's men remained outside the room.[112] William of Chartres, however, did record Louis doing this for the monk at Royaumont – very likely to be the same monk discussed above:

> Other worthy men asserted that they had seen this, that in his monastery of Royaumont, the king knowingly washed the feet of a certain leper, and carefully drying them in his customary manner, kissed them humbly and devoutly.[113]

There are many other references to Louis washing the feet of the poor, suggesting that the monk at Royaumont was not the only leper whose feet the king washed. The following chapter in William of Chartres' text describes how he washed and kissed the feet of a pauper. The man asked the king (although he did not know who it was) 'to wash and clean between the toes where the grime was hiding… our pious king kindly acquiesced to his request and benignly fulfilled this duty of humility, washing and drying with his own fingers inserted between his toes, and finally bent down with a kiss of charity.'[114] Every Maundy Thursday, Louis washed the feet of 13 paupers, before feeding them at table (also instructing his sons Philip and Jean Tristan in works of mercy by encouraging them to do the same).[115] Each Saturday, he would choose three of the poorest or oldest paupers of the 13 whom he had invited to share his table with him, and he would kneel before them to wash their feet; having washed them, he would wipe them dry and 'devotedly' kiss the feet of each of them.[116] Still kneeling, he would give them water to wash their hands, afterwards supplying them with a towel, then give them money and kiss their hands.[117] The act of washing lepers' feet was referred to also in an account of St Elizabeth's life,

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[112] *RHF XX*, 97. '*mès il nentroient pas avecques lui en la meson dudit malade, mès li abés ou li prieurs de cel lieu.'*

[113] William of Chartres. 'Vita et actibus', (35). *'Caeterum asserunt qui viderunt hoc fide digni, quod in monasterio suo Regalis montis cuidam leproso scienter Rex humilis lavavit pedes, et eos more solito diligenter extergens, osculatus est humiliter et devote.'*

[114] Ibid.; Gaposchkin and Field (eds.), *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, 145.

[115] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (83). *'Et tozjors au jour du juesdi assolu, li benoiez rois lavoit les piez a treize poures et donnoit a chascun dels quarante deniers, et apres il proprement les servoit a table; et ce meesme fesoit il fere par monseigneur Phelipe and par Monseigneur Jehan et par monseigneur Pierres ses fiuz'*

[116] Ibid., 90-1. '*les plus poures … ou avugles ou malvoianz… il leur lavoit leur piez, ceint dun linceul et agenoillié devant els … et quant il les avoit lavez il les essiouit et puis les besoit chascun es piez mout devotement….'*

[117] Ibid. '*… apres il leur donnoit liaue a genouz a laver leur mains, et leur apareilloit la toaille a essiuer leur mains; et apres il metoit quarante deniers parisis en la main de chascun, par grant devocion, et besoit la main de chascun.'*

written by a Franciscan in northern France around 1250.[118] This version of her life described how she would wash the feet of lepers '… as if another Magdalene, crowned by humility, always ready to bath the poor at the Lord's supper, washing their feet with her tears, like the feet of the Lord sitting in the house of Simon the leper, and drying their head with her veil.'[119] As Ottó Gecser has stated, this places the lepers 'alongside Christ himself', and the individual performing the act of washing in a lower, subservient position.[120]

Kissing the Leper

The motif of kissing lepers was recurrent in hagiographies and miracles stories even before St Francis – from St Martin of Tours in the fourth century through to St Hugh of Lincoln in the twelfth century.[121] St Martin, who was elected bishop of Tours in 371, kissed and blessed a leper at the gates of Paris, healing him of his disease.[122] St Hugh, who was said to have modelled himself on St Martin, also washed the feet of lepers, and 'kissed the men one by one, bending over each of them and giving a longer and more tender embrace to those whom he saw worse marked by the disease'.[123] His hagiographer wrote 'Your servant, whose eyes You had completely blinded to external superficiality, saw clearly the internal splendour... Our Saviour... when He declared that Lazarus with his sores was borne by angels to Abraham's bosom, and that He Himself shared the afflictions of the afflicted.'[124]

Jacques Fontaine, in his commentary on the miracles of St Martin, has described the act of kissing as a 'ritual and familiar gesture of greeting between Christians.'[125] He points out that while Jesus only touched a leper, Martin went a step further by kissing him, and Fontaine attributes this to the development of sanctity. Julie Orlemanski has analysed the understandings of Augustine and of Thomas Aquinas of the act of kissing as a transformative process, by which the physical action affects an individual's emotions.[126] The social meaning in the interaction under discussion here, between a leper and a king, is one that transcends the traditional hierarchy of society, placing the veneration of Christ's suffering at the centre of the act.

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[118] Gecser, 'Miracles', (162).
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis : the Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, Oxford Medieval Texts, Corr. edn., 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), ii, 13; Clare Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer : History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 366.
[122] Jacques Fontaine, *Vie de Saint-Martin*, Sources chrétiennes, 3 vols., (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), i, 292 §18. *'Apud Parisios vero, dum portam civitatis illius magnis secum turbis euntibus introiret, leprosum miserabili facie horrentibus cunctis osculates est atque benedixit. Statimque omni malo emundatus, postero die ad ecclesiam veniens nitenti cute gratias pro sanitate, quam receperat, agebat.'*
[123] Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* 199; ibid., 13.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Fontaine, *Vie de Saint-Martin*, iii, 867.
[126] Julie Orlemanski. 'How to Kiss a Leper', *Postmedieval,* 3.2 (2012), 142-57. <https://doi.org/10.1057/pmed.2012.11>, [accessed 9 March 2018], 147.

Orlemanski has also described lepers as representing a 'particularly charged possibility' for the individual bestowing the kiss, especially after St Francis, when the leper/Christ miracle became widespread.[127] In her consideration of what a kiss meant, culturally, in this period, Orlemanski refers to Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote of the reciprocal nature of the gesture.[128] Bernard associated kissing with repentance and renewal, and, like Bede before him, with the expectation of the Incarnation of Christ.[129] He viewed this repentance as a 'spiritual progression', which was marked by the part of the Lord's body that was kissed. Kissing the feet signified the forgiveness of sins; the hand represented the granting of the grace to live correctly; a kiss on the mouth indicated the presence of Christ.[130]

The leper received, at the very least, physical comfort from contact with the king, and a confirmation of their place in society. They may even have recognised the significance of being attended to by a crowned monarch. William of Saint-Pathus recorded how a sick sister in the hospital of Vernon would only eat if the king fed her with his own hands.[131] Louis and Henry were, by kissing lepers, experiencing bodily proximity to Christ. In the same way that feeding paupers was equated to feeding Christ, so physical contact with lepers implied physical contact with Christ. The humility in this was necessary due to the lepers' status; Catherine Peyroux has argued that, in his account of Queen Matilda, Aelred of Rievaulx made 'Christ and the leprous interchangeable… that they shared a status above that of kings, the further implication of the tale is that in kissing the leper, one joined in union with God.'[132] The leper, in his or her extreme suffering, could be seen as a representative of Christ's own suffering more readily than other poor or sick. Furthermore, the humility cited by Peyroux was at its most obvious when the individual giving the kiss was so far removed, socially, from the recipient.

Joinville's account, discussed above, highlighted Louis' knowledge that Henry kissed the feet of lepers. There is an additional reference to Henry kissing lepers, found in *De gestis Britonum*, a chronicle that was probably written by a Franciscan friar at Hereford, during the thirteenth century – thus either during Henry's lifetime or shortly after his death. Although the identity of the author is unknown, Michael Robson, who has published an edition of this manuscript, highlights that the author was 'very well informed' with regard to the conflict between Henry

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[127] Ibid., 143.
[128] Ibid., 146; Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, trans. by K.J. Walsh, Cistercian Fathers Series, 3 vols., (Spencer, Mass: Cistercian Publications, 1979), ii, 18-19.
[129] Neil Mancor, 'Tradition in Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons *On The Song of Songs*', *Reading Medieval Studies,* xx (1995), 53-67, (61-2).
[130] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, 20; Mancor, 'Tradition', (62).
[131] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (98). *'Len dist que une suer de cele meson de Vernon fu une foiz malade, laquele suer dist que jamès ne mengeroit se il meesmes ne la pessoit de ses propres mains…'*
[132] Catherine Peyroux, 'The Leper's Kiss', in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts : Religion in Medieval Society : essays in honor of Lester K. Little,* ed. by S.A. Farmer and B.H. Rosenwein, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 172-88, (183).

and Simon de Montfort.[133] It could probably be assumed, therefore, that the account of Henry's visit to Brittany in 1230 reported in the same manuscript, was also based on either first-hand, or very reliable second-hand, experience. The author writes that upon Henry's arrival in Brittany, when he was attempting to reclaim the French lands formerly held by his ancestors, 'The same day that he embarked on the ship, guided by the spirit of humility, all the paupers and sick and even lepers were led there and he kissed them, and he caused many goods to be given to them, but nothing worthy was done there.'[134]

The Latin phrasing of this event does not make it wholly clear how unusual this behaviour was. The author uses the words 'and even lepers' – *et eciam leprosos*. This use of *eciam* could merely mean that there were lepers there alongside the paupers and the sick; the distinction between the leprous and the infirm would not necessarily have been unusual in a society that created different institutions for the care of each group. There appears, however, to have been more emphasis intended by the word *eciam.* The message conveys the sense of the king kissing '*even* lepers', separating this group out from the others present. Understood in this sense, the writer is stressing Henry's humility, reflecting the tone used by Louis' hagiographers and biographers. Regardless of Henry's status as a king, the act of kissing a leper was a notable one.

The excerpt from William of Chartres' hagiography of Louis, discussed above, described how Louis would kiss the feet of the leper at Royaumont. Another account, recorded by both William of Saint-Pathus and the Anonymous of Saint-Denis, also relates Louis kissing a leper. One year on Good Friday, in Compiègne, Louis went on 'pilgrimage' in his bare feet, to the churches in the town. This is the account from the canonisation proceedings, written by William of Saint-Pathus:

> And as the holy King went down a street, a leper who was on the other side of the street, who could hardly speak, sounded his clapper very loudly; and then when he noticed and saw the leper, he crossed over to him, and placed his foot in the dirty and cold water which was in the middle of the street, because he could not easily cross otherwise, and he gave alms to the said leper and kissed his hand. And there was there a great crowd of people around; and many of those who were around the holy King signed themselves

[133] Michael Robson, 'A Franciscan Contribution to the *De gestis Britonum* (1205-1279), and its continuation to 1299', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* 107.1-2 (2014), 265-314, (291). The manuscript containing this text is British Library Cotton MS Nero A.ix.
[134] Ibid., 296. *'Hic postea anno scilicet, anno domini 1230 regni vero sui 14 anno in paschali tempore ad revocandas terras suas quas predicti regis abstulerant cum robore magno et virtute valida versus Britanniam mare transfretavit. Eodem autem die quo navem ascendit spiritu humilitatis ductus omnes pauperes et infirmos et eciam leprosos osculatus est et multa bona illis erogare fecit, sed ipse nichil dignum ibi operatus est.'*

> with the sign of the holy Cross, and said to one another: Look what the king has done, he has kissed the hand of a leper.[135]

The account from the Anonymous of Saint-Denis is very similar:

> One particular Good Friday, at the church of the castle of Compiègne, as was his custom, in bare feet, setting out to give money to the poor, seeing a leper on the other side of the street sounding his clapper asking alms of the king, who humbly crossed to him through the muddy and cold water, and gave him money with a kiss to the leper's hand; at this all those who were nearby were signing themselves with admiration and saying: "See what the king has done, who kissed the hand of the leper." Countless people testify to the humility of the holy king, whose grace I am not able to recount in this short book.[136]

The fact that the king willingly stepped through cold and dirty water to reach the leper is highlighted in both accounts. In the first, William of Saint-Pathus suggests that there was no other easy way of Louis reaching the leper, and so this was necessary; in the latter the Anonymous of Saint-Denis places a slightly different emphasis on this action, using the word *humiliter*, stressing the king's lack of pretension as he endured such discomfort in his determination to reach the leper. The reaction of the onlookers suggests that the king's subjects believed in Louis' worthiness even before his death, his humility prompting them to make the sign of the cross. This reaction is a clear indication that approaching lepers in such a manner was not common practice, and that what Louis had done was truly something remarkable.

Other reports of Louis' encounters with lepers appear to have taken place in private: the meetings with the monk at Royaumont, when Louis excluded all but a very small number of people from the room, or the lepers invited into his own house in Paris, which, again, would have only had a limited audience. This incident, however, outside church on Good Friday, occurred before a large crowd of people, consisting not only of his close associates and members of his household and entourage, and was evidently a rare opportunity for the king's subjects outside of Paris to see first-hand the true extent of his humility. This evokes the miracle of St Martin, as on

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[135] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (102). '*Et comme li benoiez rois alast einsi par une rue, un mesel qui estoit de lautre part de la voie, qui a poines pooit parler, sonna mout forment son flavel; et donques quant il saverti et vit ce mesel, il passa a lit et mist son pié en liaue boeuse et froide qui estoit enmi la rue; car il ne pooit pas passer autrement en bonne maniere, et ala audit mesel et li donna saumosne et besa sa main. Et ilecques avoit grant presse de ceus qui environ estoient; et mout de ceus qui estoient entor le benoiet roy se seignoient du signe de la sainte Croiz, et disoient lun a lautre: Esgardez que li rois a fet, qui a besié la main du mesel*'

[136] 'Gesta Sancti Ludovici Noni'. (54). *'Quodam die Veneris sancto, per ecclesias castri Compendij, ut sibi moris erat, nudis pedibus, cum pecunia pauperibus eroganda peregre profiscens, ex altera vici parte videns leprosum pulsato flabello petentem regis eleemosynam, per aquam lutosam et frigidam, quæ erat in medio vici, humiliter transivit ad eum, et cum osculo manus leprosæ pecuniam dedit illi, his qui prope aderant, cum admiratione se signantibus et dicentibus : «Videte quid Rex fecit, quia osculatus est, manum leprosi.» Innumera sunt et alia sancti hujus regis humilitatem declarantia, quæ in hoc libello breviandia gratiam scribere non valemus.'*

both occasions the crowd witnessed a 'lesson in charity.'[137] Louis clearly took many opportunities to provide such lessons; Pope Boniface VIII's canonisation bull stated that the king frequently tended to patients in the *Domus Dei* in Paris, 'which many people saw many times'.[138] The public display of kissing recalls Henry's actions in Brittany. The reactions of the chroniclers imply that the kissing of lepers was not something that was frequently seen; both Henry and Louis, however, as 'public' figures, made their piety public, acting as exemplars in a manner that would help in the quest for salvation for both the king himself and for his nation.

The physical appearance of the leper in Compiègne is not described, but he was obviously in the more advanced stage of leprosy; the first account states that he was unable to speak, and both point out that he was asking for alms by using his clapper loudly in order to gain the king's attention. Although the various possible symptoms of leprosy presented by different people can vary greatly, it is possible that this leper, in the advanced stages, had deformities showing in his face or his hands, and may also have been ulcerous. The symptoms that are so vividly described in some of the other hagiographical accounts of Louis meeting the sick are used to emphasise Louis' sanctity, and it was probably Louis' willingness to get so close to a leper with similar symptoms that in this instance provoked such an awed reaction from the assembled crowd. Although the king may have seen in the leper a form of sanctity, other people saw the sanctity in the king himself, due to his imperviousness to the leper's corrupt body. François-Olivier Touati suggests that this incident was 'as much an attempt at *one-upmanship* over his predecessors, as a competition with the other thaumaturgical monarchy, the king of England.'[139] Touati uses the example of Henry kissing the feet of lepers as a comparator, but with such scant evidence for Henry it is difficult to judge whether or not Louis truly felt that he could be outdone by his contemporary or if, indeed, he felt the need to compete with another Christian king.

Feeding the leper

The act of feeding another person is also another means of displaying humility. Most significantly, this represented the first of the seven corporal works of mercy. The leper, in his or her purely physical abject state could be one of the 'least brethren', but the disease also endowed the sufferer with a connection to Christ; feeding the poor equated 'nourishing the mystical body of Christ.'[140] Louis in particular fulfilled this duty by feeding the poor and the sick with his own hands. There is no evidence of Henry acting in such a manner. He was known for providing alms to feed large numbers of paupers – including lepers – and this will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

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[137] Fontaine, *Vie de Saint-Martin*, iii, 867.
[138] 'Bonifaci VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione'. (150). *'Talia namque et consimilia consuevit facere in domibus Dei et leprosariis, et specialiter in domo Dei Parisius, quod multi et multotiens viderunt.'*
[139] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 226. [Author's own italics]
[140] Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', 15.

There is a lot of emphasis in William of Saint-Pathus' text on the way in which Louis would personally serve food and drink to the sick – *a ses propres mains*. The most famous of these incidents is Louis' visit to the leprous monk at Royaumont. This abbey was a Cistercian foundation of Louis and Blanche, established shortly after the death of Louis' father, Louis VIII. Louis was a frequent visitor to Royaumont. The account of the meeting with this particular monk was recorded in the king's canonisation proceedings, and is thus in both Pope Boniface VIII's canonisation bull as well as William of Saint-Pathus' *Vie*, written in the early fourteenth century. It is not known which of the witnesses provided the evidence; although the most likely witness was Adam de Saint-Leu, abbot of Royaumont, who had either been present at the time, or had heard it told from an older monk.[141] Brother Laurence, the abbot of Chaalis, where Louis spent considerable time, was also one of the witnesses, as were Louis' cook, and valets – they too may have been in attendance at the time, or have heard reports from others. The report from the canonisation bull states that the account was given by a worthy man (*fide dignis*), when the commission visited France. Louis' visits to the monk were semi-secret; according to William of Saint-Pathus, the king was accompanied only by the abbot and did not want even his private advisors to know that he was there, even ordering one of his attendants to keep the rest of his retinue back.[142]

Pope Boniface VIII recounted this in his canonisation sermon, given at the palace at Orvieto in 1297, on the eve of the feast of St Laurence.[143] This report illustrates the care taken by Louis to ensure that the leper was content despite his discomfort, and one of the means employed by the king was to provide him with appetising food, from the king's own kitchen. William of Saint-Pathus recorded this in great detail:

> … he found the leper eating at a low table and eating pork, for it was the custom of the lepers in the abbey to eat meat. And the saint-king greeted this sick man and asked him how he was, and knelt before him; and then he began, on his knees, to cut the meat before him, with a knife that he found on the leper's table. And when he had cut the meat into pieces, he placed these pieces into the leper's mouth, and he received from the hand of the blessed king and ate them… and the blessed king asked the leper if he would like to eat partridge or chicken, and he said, yes. Then the king had one of his officers called by one of the monks who was looking after the leper, and he ordered that he should have brought some partridges and chickens from his kitchen, which was quite far from this place. And all the while that the said officers set to coming and going from the kitchen,

[141] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (61-3).
[142] Ibid., 96. *'et quant il i volt aler, il comanda a un de ses huissiers que il feist ceus qui estoient avecques lui trere arriere; et einsi il prist labé de Roiaumont'*
[143] 'Bonifaci VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione'. (148).

> bringing two chickens and three roast partridges, the said king was still on his knees before the leper, and the abbot also with him. And after the saint-king asked the leper which he would like to eat, either the chicken or the partridge, and he replied the partridge; and the blessed king asked him with which sauce, and he replied that he would like to eat them with salt. And then he cut the wings of a partridge, and salted the pieces, and then placed them in the mouth of the leper… And afterwards the blessed king asked the leper if he would like to drink, and he said, yes; and he said, what wine he had; and the leper replied that it was good. And then the blessed king took the cup and the pot of wine which were on the table, and placed the wine in the cup with his own hands, and then placed the cup to the leper's mouth and he drank it.[144]

There is a great amount of detail recorded here from this particular visit, but it is made clear in the account that Louis visited this, and another leper at the same abbey, often, so much so that he referred to this leper as *nostre malade* – 'our very own leper'.[145] These words suggest a sense of possession, perhaps as a king might towards any of his subjects, but also more than this. The leper being present at the monastery founded by Louis and Blanche, where Louis visited frequently, no doubt increased the sense of a connection. Louis evidently felt a close affinity to this leper, built up over the course of their several meetings. With hindsight, this leper can be seen to have served a purpose for the king, by contributing towards his canonisation simply by being present and available for the king's attention. Louis' establishment and maintenance of this relationship recalls Walter Map's account of Theobald of Champagne, and the leper whom he visited frequently (see pages 102 and 109).

The frequency of Louis' visits, and his relationship with these lepers, suggests that the ordering of food from the king's own kitchen was not a unique incident. Louis ensured that, during his visits at least, the lepers had access to the best quality food and drink – whatever they desired, no doubt giving them a feeling of being appreciated and valued despite, or rather because of, their suffering and their despicable appearance. This may have been a very different experience to the times when the king was not there, as the testimony in the canonisation bull states that this monk was 'infected horribly with leprosy, so much that because of the fetid and abominable ulcers, that hardly anyone who wished to approach him was able to: but any necessary items were given or thrown to him from a distance. The pious king, hearing this of him, visited him often, and humbly ministered to him.'[146] Whilst others did not dare to get close to the leper,

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[144] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (97).
[145] Ibid.
[146] 'Bonifaci VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione'. (150). *'apud abbatiam Regalis Montis erat quidam monachus lepra abominabiliter infectus, in tantum quod propter fœtorem et abominationem ulcerum, vix inveniebatur qui ad eum accedere vellet: sed quæ necessaria errant a long eidem projiciebantur seu dabantur. Rex vero pius audiens hoc de illo, pluries visitavit eum, et eidem humiliter ministravit.'*

Louis, in a manner that was later used to demonstrate his sanctity, showed no fear, revulsion, or disgust, and with apparent willingness, performed acts of charity that few others would consider.

Sally Dixon-Smith has drawn a parallel between the use of the Eucharist, as a form of 'spiritual food for the faithful', and Henry's feeding of the poor, which can also be applied to Louis' practice of personally serving individuals: 'In the halls, the devout king provides physical sustenance for the body of Christ in the form of the paupers, to create the same connection. Perhaps we may postulate a reciprocity between the two meals: Christ nourishes man and man nourishes Christ. The spiritual and physical combine 'in a united ritual effort in pursuit of a single spiritual goal.'[147]

Desiring the company of lepers

It is obvious from the evidence discussed above that Louis actively desired the company of lepers, through his visits to leper-houses, and to individual lepers, and crossing the street to kiss them. The account discussed above, written by the Anonymous of Saint-Denis, offers further evidence of this, as the monk states that Louis would invite lepers into his own house, imitating the actions of Queen Matilda.[148] Louis invited lepers to his own house in order that they could offer prayers for him – an important insight into the value he placed in their prayers. The account does not say where these lepers came from; they may have been brought in from the streets of Paris, or they may have been invited from one of the Parisian leper-houses, probably Saint-Lazare. This excerpt does not say, either, whether Louis imitated Matilda by washing and kissing the feet of the lepers, however he was accustomed to feeding paupers in his own house, often serving them himself. Each Saturday, 'in a secret place', he would wash the feet of three old men, and wash and kiss their feet.[149] These particular paupers were not necessarily lepers, but it may have been that lepers were included in these groups. This makes it credible that Louis would have also washed and kissed the feet of lepers in his house.

As has been discussed (see page 24), the nature of the available evidence for Henry and Louis is very different, and so there is no hagiographical narrative of Henry which might have recorded him behaving with the same humility towards lepers. It does appear, however, that he, too, may have sought to be in the company of lepers. When he washed their feet, this would not have been an impulsive act; like his performance of the maundy at Easter, Whitsun and Christmas, this would probably have been a carefully-managed affair, ordered by the king. There is only one

[147] Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', (90-91).
[148] 'Gesta Sancti Ludovici Noni'. (51).
[149] William of Nangis. 'Gesta sanctæ memoriæ Ludovici', in *RHF*, xx (1840), 309-461, (402).*'Quolibet Sabbato consueverat pedes abluere in loco secretissimo, humiliter et devote, flexis genibus, trium pauperiorum hominum seriorumque qui poterant inveniri; et post ablutionem, pedes extergere et humiliter osculari.'*

slight suggestion in the English chancery rolls that Henry actually visited a leper-house which, if true, implies that his perceptions of and attitudes to lepers and leprosy were far closer to Louis' own perceptions than might previously have been thought. Henry visited Chester in late August or early September 1241, during a period in which the earldom of Chester had been vacated, and so had reverted to the king. The chancery rolls include a number of records which indicate that Henry ensured that the customary assistance for the leper-house, which had been founded by Ranulph III, earl of Chester in the twelfth century, was maintained. Later in the same month of Henry's visit, the following was entered in the *Liberate* rolls:

> To John le Strange, justice of Chester. *Contrabreve* to cause the brethren of the hospital of St Giles, Chester, to have 70*s* out of the issues of co Chester as two parts of the alms of the expenses of the king's household while he was at Chester.[150]

It is unclear, but likely, that Henry promised these alms to the lepers while he was at Chester. One other religious house, the Benedictine priory of nuns also founded by the earls of Chester, received alms too at this time; they were given 35*s* – one-quarter of the alms.[151] Henry's patronage to leper-houses will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7, but the fact that half of his allocated alms from his visit were given to the leper-house, despite the abundance of other monasteries, friaries and hospitals in the area, implies that the king had a particular concern for the lepers, and this money may well have been promised to them during a visit to this leper-house. The king also passed by the leper-house at Bridport, in Devon, probably in 1232; the lepers there wrote to him after his visit asking for his assistance.[152]

'The most contemptible'

What is stressed in Walter Map's account of Theobald of Champagne, in the hagiography of St Elizabeth of Hungary, and in Thomas of Celano's account of St Francis, are the unpleasant symptoms of leprosy.[153] Theobald believed he served God more pleasingly, the more 'despicable, abject and unbearable' the lepers were.[154] St Elizabeth ministered to a leper who was 'fetid, leprous, and covered with sores and pus, whom anyone else would have abhorred even from a distance.'[155] Sanctity is confirmed not by the power of healing, but by the ability of an individual to withstand the terrible appearance and smell of lepers without complaint, and this is also evident throughout Louis' hagiographies. This veneration can be linked to the contemporary

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[150] *CLR, 1240-45*, 75.
[151] Ibid., 71.
[152] The National Archives, TNA SC1/2/185 [The lepers of St Mary Magdalene, Bridport, Devon, to Henry III]; *CPR, 1225-32*, 495.
[153] Habig, Brown, and Moorman (eds.), *St. Francis of Assisi, Writings and Early Biographies : English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, 369-70.
[154] Map, *De nugis curialium*, 463.
[155] Gecser, 'Miracles', (159).

admiration for the suffering body of Christ.[156] The most obvious sign of this devotion was the construction of the Sainte-Chapelle, designed as a reliquary for the Crown of Thorns, which was acquired by Louis and his mother in 1238. At the dedication ceremony for Sainte-Chapelle, Louis apparently placed the crown on his own head, and put three of the thorns onto his own crown.[157] William of Saint-Pathus described Louis as having a 'fervent devotion' to the Sacrament of the body of Christ, and took communion at least 6 times a year; the Fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, had decreed the taking of communion just once a year was sufficient for the laity.[158] The veneration for the suffering of an individual who is able to redeem their own sins as well as the sins of others is a constant theme in Louis' hagiographies, and these texts emphasise the horrific physical afflictions of these individuals.

William of Saint-Pathus vividly portrayed the monk at Royaumont, as being 'so despicable and so horrific, that because of the serious illness his eyes were so damaged that he couldn't see a thing, and he had lost his nose, and his lips were so cracked and swollen, and the sores around them were red and hideous to see.[159] When Louis placed too much salt on the leper's food, the effect was described thus: 'But because the leper's lips were so cracked, the salt hurt him, and pus run out of them so that it ran down his chin, at which the leper said that it hurt him too much.'[160] Boniface VIII's canonisation bull also refers to Louis' visits to this monk, and includes the detail that the king would carefully clean the leper's weeping ulcers.[161]

On another occasion, Louis again placed too much salt in the leper's soup, causing his mouth and lips to bleed.[162] The descriptions of hospital patients with other ailments are also described in such graphic detail, such as the man at Compiègne, who was suffering from the disease called Saint-Eloi (ulcers) on two places on his face:

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[156] Guerry, 'Short New Reflections on the Lost Design of the Sainte-Chapelle Tympanum'; Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, 181.

[157] P-E. de Riant, *Exuviæ sacræ constantinopolitanæ : Fasciculus documentorum minorum, ad byzantina lipsana in Occidentem sæculo XIII translata, spectantium, & historiam quarti belli sacri imperijque gallo-græci illustrantium*, 2 vols., (Genevae, 1877), i, 47. *'Honoratum enim gestis insignibus per multa tempora regnum Francie, tempore nostro per sedulam regis Ludovici, nec non & religiose matris sue Blanche vigilantiam, Corona capitis sui cum multa gloria & honore multiplici dignatus est coronare.'*; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: The Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris', *Gesta*, 39.1 (2000), 58-72, (66)

[158] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (74). *'Li benoiez sainz Loys esboulissoit de fervant devocion que il avoit au sacrement du vrai cors Nostre-Seigneur Jhesu-Christ, car trestouz les ans il estoit acommenié a tout le moins six foiz'* ; *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, i, 245.

[159] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (96). *'qui estoit si despiz et si abominables, que pour la grant maladie ses ieux estoient si degasttez que il ne veoit goute, et avoit perdue le nez, et ses levres estoient fendues et grosses, et les pertuis des iex estoient rouges et hisdens a veoir.'*.

[160] Ibid., 97. *Mès porce que les levres du malade estoient fendues, si com il est dit desus, il sainnioit, pource que le sel li entroit es levres qui estoient fendues ; si il fist mal le sel, et en issoit li venins si que il li couloit par le menton, pour laquele chose li malades dist que le sel le bleçoit trop'*.

[161] 'Bonifaci VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione'. (150). *'saniem ulcerum ejus studiose detergendo'*.

[162] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (97). *'et pource que li benoiez rois mist une foiz en ces soupes, trop de sel, la bouche et les levres du malade commencierent a sainnier pour le sel'*.

> And then the blessed king sat on this patient's bed and peeled a pear for him, and he placed the pieces with his own hands in his mouth; and while he was doing that, the pus or discharge that ran from the sores either side of his nose ran over the hand of the blessed king, so that the blessed king had to wash his hand twice while he was feeding him, until the patient had eaten all of the pear.[163]

The emphasis is placed on the horrific appearance of these individuals, and the detailed descriptions of the blood and the pus, which Louis faced with equanimity. Aside from the lepers, the hagiographies do not concern themselves with the actual ailments suffered by the patients, or indeed their identities; they are 'the sick and the poor', 'a sick man', 'a man suffering from scurvy' and so on.[164] The exact affliction does not matter – what is important is the physical manifestation of suffering, and Louis' willingness to approach it.

When visiting the sick, 'when the illness was more serious, or a fistula or another thing, he touched it more willingly.'[165] When choosing the three paupers to eat with him at his table, he would ensure the most 'contemptible' ones be brought to him, and he served them more willingly and more often than he served the others. [166] Some of the infirm to whom he ministered were so despicable that his private sergeants were horrified and stayed behind.[167] William of Chartres recorded how, on one occasion, Louis gave food to a pauper, who placed his 'filthy and ulcerous' hands into the bowl; when he had eaten enough, Louis took the bowl back and began to eat out of it, 'to the amazement of all.'[168] This incident parallels an account from the life of St Francis, who also shared a bowl of food with a leper who was 'completely covered with sores and ulcerated' and who had 'deformed and bloody' hands.[169] St Francis performed this work of

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[163] Ibid., 98. *'un malade qui avoit le mal que len apele le mal saint Eloy, en deux lieus eu visage; et adoncques li benoiez rois sassist seur le lit de cel malade et li para une poire, et li metoit les morsiax a ses propres mains en la bouche; et tandis que il fesoit ce, la porreture ou lordure qui couroit des plaies dudit malade, qui estoient de chascune partie du nés, couloit sus la main du benoiet roi ; pour quoi il convint que li benoiez rois lavast deux fois san main dont il le pessoit, ainçois que li diz malades eust toute mengiee la poire.'.*

[164] Ibid., 90. *'… car tout son cuer decoroit as malades et as poures…'*; ibid., 98. *'… porterent et mistrent ausi lautre malade en ladite meson-Dieu…'*; ibid. *'…il regarda entour lui et vit un malade qui avoit le mal que len apele le mal saint Eloy…'*

[165] Ibid., 96. *'… et quant la maladie estoit plus grieve, ou apostume ou autre chose, tant plus volentiers latouchoit.'*

[166] Ibid., 91. *'… et fesoit apeler a cest servise fere les plus despiz poures qui pooient estre trovez, et servoit plus volontiers et plus souvent devant tells que devant autres …'*

[167] Ibid., 97-8. *'… et aucuns de ces malades estoient si despis, que les privez serganz du benoiet roi en estoient abominables et se treoient arriere…'*

[168] 'Gesta Sancti Ludovici Noni'. (35). *'Ille cum manibus ulcerosis et immundis jam partem comedisset ex eis nec amplius vellet comedere petens quod amoverentur omnino: hoc videns rex inclytus ex innata sibi humilitatis virtute petiit illud pauperis residuum, in quo sordidas manus intinxerat, sibi dari, dicens: Reddite mihi offas meas; et mirantibus cunctis, quantumcumque animus abhorreret, cœpit tamen ex eis sic sapide, sic libenter comedere, ac si nullus eas penitus contigisset.'*

[169] *Francis of Assisi : Early Documents*, R.J. Armstrong, J.A.W. Hellmann, and W.J. Short (eds.) (Hyde Park, N.Y. ; London: New City, 1999), 166-67; *I fiori dei tre compagni*, J. Cambell and N. Vian (eds.) (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1966), 204. *'Et factum est, dum sederet b. Franciscus ad mensam cum leproso et aliis Fratribus,*

mercy as penance for having criticised a certain 'Brother Christian' for taking lepers with him to church; the saint felt that in doing so, he had shamed the leper, and he wished to 'make amends to God'.[170]

In a further example of Louis' behaviour as a trope of thirteenth-century sanctity, this emphasis on a saint's ability to face lepers with composure is also found in the life of St Elizabeth of Hungary. The *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum*, the collection of depositions taken from four of her close companions, states that 'Whenever she found lepers, she sat next to them, consoling them and exhorting them to patience – no more horrified by them than she was by healthy people.'[171] Elizabeth's biography was included by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*, showing that her reputation had spread to the Capetian court by the middle of the thirteenth century.[172] Gábor Klaniczay has described her as the 'second most important saint of the Franciscan order after St Francis of Assisi'; she was therefore an accessible and worthy role model for Louis.[173]

It was not only the disfigurement of lepers that Louis was able to bear far more easily than his companions. William of Chartres recorded how Louis and his men buried the bodies of slain crusaders in Sidon. Louis picked up the rotting bodies and limbs, 'as though having and sensing no repulsion… as though lingering in a perfumed chamber.'[174] This apparently genuine lack of disgust at others' deformities was used in the hagiographies to emphasise the saint-king's holiness. In the papal canonisation bull, the report of Louis washing the leper's ulcers and feeding him was used by the pope as an example of the holy king's compassion and piety. The more an individual's torment could be judged by the outward manifestation of illness, the closer they were to the ultimate suffering – that of Christ's Passion. Thus the king could pay the greatest penance by paying attention to these individuals, in return gaining the greatest possible spiritual reward.

M. Cecilia Gaposchkin has described the act of Louis feeding the leper as showing 'at once Louis' charity, his compassion, and his humility and obedience.'[175] The event was later represented in imagery at Sainte-Chapelle, Saint-Denis, Fécamp and at Lourcines.[176] Lourcines, an abbey for

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apposite est scutella inter ambos. Nam leprosus erat totas vulneratus et ulcerates, et maxime digitos, cum quibus comedebat, habebat contractos et sanguinolentos, ita ut semper, cum mitteret ipsos in scutellam, deflueret in eam sanguis. Videns autem hoc, fr. Petrus et alii Fratres contristati sunt valde, sed nichil audebant dicere propter timorem sancti Patris.'

[170] *Francis of Assisi : Early Documents*, 166-67; *I fiori dei tre compagni*, 202. *'Et, iis dictis, b. Franc iscus statim reprehendit se et dixit inde culpam suam fr. Petro Cathanii, Generali ministro, qui tunc erat, maxime quia b. Franciscus credidit de reprehensione fr. Iacobi leprosum verecundari; et propter hoc dixit culpam suam, ut Deo et leproso inde satisfaceret.'*

[171] Wolf (ed.), *Life*, 201.

[172] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 421.

[173] Ibid.

[174] William of Chartres. 'Vita et actibus', (32); Gaposchkin and Field (eds.), *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, 138.

[175] Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 213.

[176] Ibid., 229.

Franciscan women was founded in Troyes by Louis' daughter and son-in-law, Isabelle of Champagne and Theobald V of Champagne, and was moved to Saint-Marcel in Paris in the 1280s with the assistance of Louis' widow, Marguerite.[177] Jacques Le Goff emphasises the way in which Louis sought physical contact with the sick, with his 'attitude of the physician', providing a service of nourishing and feeding.[178] The leper represented a model of the crucified Christ, while the king, as Touati has argued, was himself an 'exact replica' of the models which could have inspired him or his biographers, particularly Robert the Pious.[179] Louis was serving the poor in the role of *Christus medicus*, by following St Augustine, displaying his own humility as an example to others, for the good of humankind.[180] St Augustine's sermons described Christ as a healer of 'mankind's spiritual diseases', the healing of the ten lepers being an obvious example of this kind of healing.[181] Christ, the divine physician, promised further healing in the form of eventual salvation in the afterlife; attendance at mass and participation in communion allowed Christ to heal souls, and therefore simultaneously alleviate physical suffering.[182] Louis embodies the inclusiveness of Christ who has rejected the Old Testament ideas of exclusion and punishment, and embraces those who might be rejected by others. Touati has described this incident as indicative of a spiritual hierarchy – the leper at the top of this model, followed by the king ministering to him, and the abbot kneeling, out of reverence for the king.[183]

Henry's devotion to the poor and, probably, to lepers, is evident also in the imagery he chose to have displayed in some of his residences. The parable of Dives and Lazarus was illustrated opposite the dais in the great halls at Ludgershall, Northampton and Guildford.[184] In this parable, the poor man, Lazarus, covered in sores, appears at the door of the rich man, Dives, begging for food. Dives refuses; Lazarus lies outside, his sores being licked by dogs, before dying, when he was 'carried by angels into Abraham's bosom' (Luke 16:22). Dives, meanwhile, was 'buried in hell', and refused comfort by Father Abraham, who tells him 'Son, remember that thou didst receive good things in thy lifetime, and likewise Lazareth evil things, but now he is comforted; and thou art tormented' (Luke 16:19-25). The identification of Lazarus, with his sores, as a leper was common in the Middle Ages, and continental leper-houses were commonly dedicated to this

[177] Field, *Isabelle of France*, 117.
[178] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 879.
[179] Ibid., 882; Touati, *Maladie et société*, 226.
[180] Rudolph Arbesmann, 'The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine', *Traditio,* 10 (1954), 1-28, (11).
[181] Ibid., 1.
[182] Guenter B Risse, *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals*, (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 74; Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England*, (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1995), 18-9.
[183] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 227.
[184] Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', (79).

saint.[185] As Dixon-Smith has commented with regard to this parable, 'it is the leper who is given the highest place in Heaven, whilst Dives becomes the outcast beggar.'[186]

Dixon-Smith emphasises also that the space in which this image was displayed was the 'most public arena for display in royal residences.'[187] The location of these images opposite the dais, however, meant that the intended audience was the royal family themselves as they entered from the royal chamber, and those who ate at his table with him, the image being 'no doubt intended to prick the consciences of other rich men as they enjoyed the greatest delicacies.'[188] The prominent use of this imagery in Henry's palaces is a public expression of the king's esteem for lepers' status.

Conclusion

In the way that they approached lepers, Henry and Louis fulfilled, and exceeded, the expectations set out in *miroirs des princes*. By ministering to them, they offered protection and affirmation, and showed respect for the body of society, the whole of which had to be supported in order for the maintenance of social order, and the spiritual wellbeing of both the kingdom and of the king. The evidence discussed in this chapter does not support Le Goff's view that Louis – or Henry – believed that lepers should be excluded from society. The approach to lepers is instead shown to be one of 'semi-inclusiveness'.[189]

The quantity of evidence discussed in this chapter is obviously biased towards Louis. The number of hagiographies and lives written after his death skew the balance unfairly in his favour, as Henry did not receive this level of posthumous recognition, despite his unquestionable piety. This raises the question of what acts went unrecorded, for both kings. What Henry did appears to have been in the context of family tradition, fulfilling what was expected of him as king. Louis' actions were a mixture of very public – in the street at Compiègne, and very private – washing a pauper's feet incognito. Others were semi-private – inviting lepers into his house, and visiting the monk at Royaumont, for example. The privacy of many of his acts indicate that setting an example to others was not always a motivation. The reactions of onlookers described in the hagiographies, and Joinville's own account, inform the reader that the kings' subjects were not likely to be influenced into emulating the same level of humility.

Rather, it was the kings who were influenced by exemplars both royal and saintly. Queen Matilda and Louis VII represented lay examples, while St Francis and St Elizabeth provided

[185] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 115.
[186] Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality', (82).
[187] Ibid., 79.
[188] Ibid., 83.
[189] Geltner, 'Social Deviancy: A Medieval Approach', (29).

inspiration through their sanctity. To a lesser extent, Theobald II of Champagne can also be included here; he was neither canonised nor crowned, but was a 'model prince' noted for his piety.[190] The account of Theobald's concern for lepers, and the associated miracle, weakens the connection made by Touati between this manner of *imitatio Christi* and the French monarchy; this form of behaviour was not confined only to anointed kings. Furthermore, it is apparent that, although Le Goff presented Louis as playing an 'essential' role in the symbolic use of lepers and suffering, Louis was by no means unique in his approach. Henry acted towards lepers in a very similar way – perhaps not to the same extent, but certainly to some degree, showing that this behaviour was not confined to France, despite the French kings' reputations as the most Christian kings.[191] Theobald and John of Montmirail in France were both lauded for similar conduct. No hagiographies were written about Henry III, but he too was willing to wash and kiss lepers' feet. St Elizabeth was perhaps the ultimate model for Louis, however, in her position as a royal saint. As with Elizabeth, lepers played a vital part in the creation of Louis' sanctity.

While the connection between leprosy and sin prevailed, the idea of lepers as *pauperes Christi* dominated. To the kings, lepers were motifs of spiritual superiority – hierarchically above the crowned monarch, creating a complex relationship with regard to Christ and Christological kingship. The greatest beneficiary in this relationship was the king; his servitude towards lepers provided perhaps the ultimate opportunity for repentance, as he revered those who were undergoing the most horrible form of suffering. The greater the physical suffering, which inspired disgust in most people, the more amazed were those around the king. While acts of patronage, by means of financial and other tangible gifts, encouraged others to imitate their king, the narrative sources suggest that these same people were not similarly encouraged to approach lepers in the same way.

[190] Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 32.
[191] Krynen, *L'empire du roi*, 345; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v, 133; ibid., v, 147; ibid., v, 203.

Chapter 5: Royal Patronage

This chapter will discuss acts of patronage by royalty, and show how these differed from similar patronage exercised by the other members of the laity. This will include a brief overview of the patronage towards lepers and leper-houses by previous kings and queens of England and France, which will help to put Henry's and Louis' own patronage in context. Although this chapter will focus as far as possible on leper-houses, hospitals will also be discussed where relevant. It is not possible, however, to discuss here all forms of religious patronage, or even all religious houses that housed lepers, for instance monasteries and convents that provided accommodation for the leprous members of their own communities.

The word patronage can refer to a wide range of support. In the first instance, it includes the act of foundation, whereby a patron founds a new establishment or re-founds an existing one. Patronage may then continue in the form of gifts, which may have been financial, or material, such as food, drink, firewood, building materials, or chalices or cups for use in a leper-house's chapel. Patrons were also able to grant rights, such as: rights of pasturage for grazing animals; rights to collect firewood; or rights of passage. The king was also able to grant letters of protection to, for example, a leper-house and its representatives, as they travelled away from their house to seek alms. Patronage may have been granted in the form of one-off benefactions, or by the establishment of a pattern of regular gifts to be continued by descendants, or through the continuation of a tradition already initiated by an ancestor.

The evidence for patronage in the middle ages is found in a variety of sources. Charters issued with the purpose of founding a new establishment are valuable for dating the appearance of an establishment, and understanding the purpose behind its foundation. Unfortunately this type of document is very rare in the case of leper-houses. Charters issued for the purpose of gift-giving can also be informative, particularly when they include the names of those whose souls are intended to benefit from the gift. Unfortunately, the calendared text in the Charter Rolls usually provides only a summary of a charter's details, the preamble and list of witnesses, for example, having been omitted in favour of brevity. Very few documents of this type have survived in France. Further evidence for patronage can be found in hagiographies and chronicles. These sources are also useful, but more problematic when used in an attempt to analyse patterns of gift-giving or interest in an establishment over time. They are invaluable for France, however, due to the loss of most of the household accounts for this period, and provide information that is not recorded elsewhere.

Historiography

Elizabeth Hallam has argued that royal patronage was very different from that bestowed by churchmen, aristocrats or townspeople, due in part to the political environment at any time, but also in the way that the 'king was seen as Christ's anointed', giving him 'importance and influence of a different nature' to the rest of society.[1] The 'special sanctity' of the English and French kings also had the potential to endow their patronage with an importance that could not be equalled by others. Further work needs to be done to explore the ways in which kings understood their obligations to religious institutions within their lands, and also the way in which the many different religious institutions might have viewed this relationship. Leper-houses may have expected royal support or protection, particularly they were accustomed to receiving the same from a king's predecessors. Expectations may also have differed depending on the identity of the warden of a particular leper-house, and the relationship, if any, between the warden and the king or other authority, be it secular or ecclesiastic. Damien Jeanne has argued that royal gifts were an important way in which a king could assert his domination, maintaining social order within his kingdom.[2]

There were, however, differences between England and France. Authority in England centred around the royal court, while authority in France remained much more devolved during the thirteenth century. The dukes of Burgundy and the counts of Champagne, for example, were vassals to the French king, yet were autonomous rulers within their own lands. They were able to offer protection and substantial grants to religious houses, and influence others in their locality, in the same way that the king of France would within the royal domain.

Specialised works on the subject of royal patronage, not specific to leper-houses or to hospitals, include Hilda Johnstone's study, which analyses alms-giving to the poor by the thirteenth-century English monarchy, while Marjorie Chibnall has focussed on the Angevin monarchy during the twelfth century.[3] On the topic of patronage towards leper-houses, Carole Rawcliffe's *Leprosy in Medieval England* examines the nature of aristocratic patronage and includes some discussion of the attitudes of royalty towards lepers, but does not discuss the subject extensively.[4] The actions of Henry I's wives, Matilda of Scotland and Adela of Louvain, and Matilda's mother, Queen Margaret of Scotland (who was canonised in 1250), towards lepers and the sick, were used, Rawcliffe argues, to project a 'powerful image of medieval queenship.'[5] The same chapter refers to donations and foundations by Henry I and Henry II; however this topic is

[1] Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 10.
[2] Jeanne, 'Roi charitable', (104).
[3] Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief'; Marjorie Chibnall, *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
[4] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 146-7.
[5] Ibid., 147.

not explored in the context of their kingship. The patronage of Henry III is cited in the context of particular leper-houses, but no connection is made between his role as anointed king, and his attitude towards the sick. Elma Brenner's fascinating study of leprosy in Rouen is valuable for its background about patronage to lepers provided by the Anglo-Norman royal family in the twelfth century.[6]

The royal example

One of the factors that makes royal patronage so important is the impact monarchs had on patterns of patronage among their subjects. Edward J. Kealey used Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I, as an example in this context, commenting on her appreciation of the fact that 'a founder's protection, prestige and fund-raising potential were often the most valuable contributions. As expected, her example inspired other gifts.'[7] Another example concerned Froger, the almoner of Henry II, who built a chapter house and cloister at Mortemer following the king's financing of the nave and choir.[8] A monarch could thus establish a new leper-house in the knowledge that members of the nobility and wealthy locals would follow suit and ensure the maintenance of its residents, an effect described by Damien Jeanne as 'aristocratic emulation.'[9] Sheila Sweetinburgh has argued that the type of patron that any hospital had was fundamental to its success or otherwise, but that the crown 'often displayed much less regard' than other patrons, a theory that would benefit from further exploration with regard to leper-houses, but that will not be tested in this thesis.[10] Royal patronage of the leper-house at Mont-aux-Malades in Rouen continued alongside local support from clergy and burgesses, the three groups 'cooperating in order to assist the city's lepers.'[11] This shared obligation shows that the tradition of patronage to particular institutions was, in some places, remarkably long-standing across generations.

As well as securing their own salvation, the actions of a king had an additional impact on their subjects. By serving the poor and sick, a ruler would be benefiting not only himself but the well-being of his country.[12] Henry II made this connection in charters which explicitly linked the stability of his kingdom to his construction of religious buildings.[13] It is important also to consider the impact that royal patronage may have had upon a leper-house's residents. There

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[6] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*.
[7] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, 18-20.
[8] Lindy Grant, 'Le patronage architectural d'Henri II et de son entourage', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale,* 37.145 (1994), 73-84, (75).
[9] Damien Jeanne, 'Les léproseries du diocèse de Bayeux', in *Archéologie et architecture hospitalière de l'antiquité tardive a l'aube des temps modernes,* ed. by F.-O. Touati, (Paris: La Boutique de l'histoire, 2004), 327-89, (333).
[10] Sweetinburgh, *Role of the Hospital*, 241.
[11] Elma Brenner, 'The Leper House of Mont-aux-Malades, Rouen, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Histoire médiévale et archéologie,* 20 (2007), 219-46, (223).
[12] Christopher Holdsworth, *The Piper and the Tune : Medieval Patrons and Monks*, The Stenton Lecture, (Reading: University of Reading, 1991), 8.
[13] Grant, 'Le patronage architectural', (80); *Actes de Henri II*, 233-34 §CXXVIII.

may have been a psychological, and therefore perhaps also physical, benefit for lepers, arising from the knowledge that a king or a queen was taking an interest in their welfare. This may have been made clear through the use of architecture. Lynn T. Courtenay, discussing the hospital of Notre Dame des Fontenilles at Tonnerre, describes the extant building as a 'synthesis of secular and sacred architectural features and decoration that communicate an elite, seigniorial concept of temporal assistance.'[14] The hospital was founded by Margaret of Burgundy (1250-1308), countess of Tonnerre and Queen of Sicily, after the death of her husband Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily. As countess, Margaret was the local lord. She founded the hospital for the soul of her late husband, built herself a residence adjacent to the hospital, attached to the *salle des malades* – the great hall where the infirm were housed – by a passageway.[15] Later in her life, Marguerite took up residence at the hospital, and chose to be buried there. The coats of arms of Burgundy and Anjou were used extensively in the stained glass in the great hall, as well as images of the heads of the king and queen.[16] Environmental factors, either tangible or emotional, and an awareness of the importance of one's benefactors, would have served as 'spiritual medicine' to the residents.[17]

On a more pragmatic level, a ruler as patron could serve as a 'lay-advocate', and offer forms of protection that other aristocrats and laity could not.[18] Henry III's chancery rolls include 135 letters of protection to 81 different leper-houses (these are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6). Christopher Holdsworth has suggested that 'very few' religious houses 'could afford not to get the protection afforded by royal charter at some stage or other of their life', thus creating an unavoidable relationship with the ruler.[19] This relationship in turn allowed a king to extend his authority and enabled him to 'exact prayers' from all houses who looked to him for security and confirmation of gifts.[20] As suggested above, outside the royal domain in France this protection would probably have come from a duke or a count, rather than the king himself.

Why patronage to lepers?

The reasons behind a patron's decision to either found, or make grants to, leper-houses and individual lepers are varied. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, lepers carried a

[14] Lynn T. Courtenay, 'The Hospital of Notre Dame des Fontenilles at Tonnerre: Medicine as *Misericordia*', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400 : Interaction, Negotiation, and Power,* ed. by E. Jamroziak and J.E. Burton, (Turnhout: Brepols ; Abingdon 2007), 77-106, (105).
[15] Meredith Parsons Lillich, 'The Queen of Sicily and Gothic Stained Glass in Mussy and Tonnerre', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 88.3 (1998), i-131, (74); ibid., 75.
[16] Ibid., 80-83.
[17] Peregrine Hordern, 'A Non-natural Environment: Medicine without Doctors and the Medieval European Hospital', in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice,* ed. by B.S. Bowers, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 133-45, (142).
[18] Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 9.
[19] Holdsworth, *Piper and the Tune*, 25.
[20] Ibid.

particular spiritual importance among the poor and the sick, with the more prestigious leper-houses being on a level with monastic houses. Gifts and concessions were therefore made with the expectation of spiritual payment. The type of benefits that would have been anticipated can be found in an unusual extant manuscript roll owned by Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, the wealthy grand-daughter of Henry II. This document did not show what gifts she gave to religious houses, but instead what she received from them in return, particularly prayers, masses and remembrance, all of which served to secure the countess's eternal salvation. This salvation, as Emilie Amt has described it, 'depended on her contract with the religious… helping her through purgatory and into heaven.'[21] Although no such document exists for any monarch, kings, either implicitly or explicitly, expected this kind of spiritual payment from lepers in leper-houses. Jeanne has described this as a 'moral obligation', which ensured social equilibrium.[22] A charter of Louis IX's in favour of the leper-house at Pontfraud (near Château-Landon), for example, confirmed the pious nature of the gift: 'Louis, by the grace of God king of the French, to the forester of Paucourt, greeting. Know that we wish to concede to the lepers of Pontfraud in the name of piety…'[23] As Jacques le Goff noted, in the distribution of alms, it was not the paupers who received the greatest benefit, but the alms-giver; the act of giving represented an effort on the donor's part, and thus a form of renunciation.[24]

In some instances, the foundation of a new leper-house was prompted by personal interest, particularly when a family or household member was ill. The research carried out for this thesis has not uncovered any examples of this happening within royal households, but there were occurrences in the high nobility. The leper-house at Spon, near Coventry, was founded by Hugh, earl of Chester (died 1181) for one of his knights, William de Auney, who had become leprous.[25] The grants he made to the house, which included a chapel and land, were sufficient to provide for local lepers also, which 'therefore promised the additional spiritual credit he devoutly sought', as the lepers and the healthy staff were to pray to God 'for the good estate of all their Benefactors.'[26] In Ireland, the seneschal Sir David Latimer similarly founded a house for his daughter which also accommodated other local lepers.[27] The leper-house at Saint-Omer, in

[21] Emilie Amt, 'Ela Longespee's Roll of Benefits: Piety and Reciprocity in the Thirteenth Century', *Traditio,* 64 (2009), 1-56, (13).
[22] Jeanne, 'Roi charitable', (103).
[23] 'Recueil des Chartes de la Maladrerie de Pontfraud près Château-Landon', ed. by H. Stein, *Annales de la Société historique & archéologique du Gâtinais,* 26 (1908), 37-109, (71 §XLI).
[24] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 759.
[25] William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated; From Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, and Armes: Beautified With Maps, Prospects and Portraictures*, (London: Thomas Warren, 1656), 125.
[26] Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated; From Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, and Armes: Beautified With Maps, Prospects and Portraictures*, 125; Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 108.
[27] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 108.

northern France, was founded in 1106 by a rich man, Winredus, because of his own sickness.[28] Gifts of land and income to the lepers at Saint-Omer continued into the fifteenth century, while the house at Chester survived the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, at which time it was still functioning as a hospital.[29] The wealth of a founder was therefore a possible indicator of a house's longevity.

The spiritual aspects of patronage are often impossible to detach from wider motivations of political advantage and power. Although many leper-houses, particularly in France, were small, rural houses, those close to large urban centres were frequently placed on an important road or waterway. The building of a highly visible leper-house ensured the continued remembrance of a patron's importance, wealth and generosity, as well as providing advantages for the inhabitants. Françoise Bériac has argued that the laity (which would include royalty) were able to show their own importance – to lepers and to others – by making lepers dependent on them.[30]

It is also important to remember that some forms of patronage, including that directed towards lepers, had material and financial benefits for the patron. An example of this is the establishment of fair at the leper-house of Mont-aux-Malades in Rouen, by Henry II. The charter confirming this fair stated the benefits for both the leper-house and for the king, with profits and customs to be split between them.[31] Furthermore, as the royal court travelled around the kingdom, the king may have been petitioned by wardens and masters of hospitals and leper-houses, either for new charters to be issued, or for pre-existing grants and rights to be re-confirmed. These were often transactions in which both parties had an interest – the issuing of a royal charter to a religious house cannot be attributed solely to a king's piety, as a king could charge a petitioner a considerable sum of money in return for agreeing to their request.[32] In 1204, King John 'restored' the manor of Islip, where Edward the Confessor had been born, to Westminster Abbey, a deed for which he charged the monks a 'hefty' 200 marks.[33] Cirencester Abbey received a general confirmation of rights from John for the price of 100*l*.[34] When Henry III granted Westminster Abbey rights to hold a market, he charged the monks 'a routine £10'.[35] Receiving

[28] Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 34.
[29] Ibid., 301-07; Elrington, C.R. and Harris, B.E. (eds.).'The Hospital of St. Giles, Chester', in *A History of Cheshire: Volume 3,* Victoria History of the Counties of England, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research 1980), 178-80, (179).
[30] Bériac, *Histoire des Lépreux*, 176.
[31] Pierre Langlois, *Histoire du prieuré du Mont-aux-malades-lès-Rouen et correspondance du prieur de ce monastère avec saint Thomas de Cantorbéry (1120-1820)*, (Rouen: Fleury, 1851), 399-401; Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 153.
[32] Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 11.
[33] Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward', (866).
[34] Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 25.
[35] Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward', (870).

confirmation of existing charters was also an expensive business for a religious house.[36] The Abbot of Furness owed ten palfreys in return for King John having confirmed possession of lands, while the prior of Cartmel Priory owed one palfrey for 'buying' his charter of liberties.[37] This practice certainly continued during Henry III's reign; the monks at Dunstable had to pay 100*l* for the king to confirm charters previously issued by Henry I and Richard I.[38]

David Bates has suggested that the practice of charters being prepared in advance and being presented to the king for confirmation was 'very widespread.'[39] Nicholas Vincent's assessment of the charters of Henry II has led him to believe that a number of charters were in fact written by the beneficiary rather than a scribe attached to the king, although he does acknowledge that this may be explained by differing local requirements, of which the beneficiaries themselves would have been most aware.[40] Bates proposes that all 'royal documents' were 'the products of negotiation.'[41]

Unfortunately, the scarcity of surviving documents from leper-houses means that it is rarely possible to see both sides of transactions between these houses and the king. One rare insight comes from 1207, when the lepers of Chesterfield sought from King John confirmation of their annual income of 6*l*, and for the receipt of a charter confirming this income. They were obliged to pay the significant sum of 20 marks (13*l* 6s 8d) in order to receive this privilege – the equivalent of over two years' income.[42] In addition, they were required to pay the king 6*l* for the right to hold their fair.[43]

Whilst royal patronage had the ability to influence others in society, it is also important to acknowledge that in some instances the reverse was true, and kings were prompted to grant gifts and concessions through either the direct or indirect influence of others. Brenner has noted this particularly in the case of the leper-house of Mont-aux-Malades at Rouen, suggesting that

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[36] Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 20.
[37] Ibid., i, 25-6., '*Abbas de Forneis debet x palefridos pro habenda confirmatione R.J. de terra de Bordhal' quam habet de dono Alicie de Rumeilli. Prior de Kertmell debet I palefridum pro emenda carta sua de libertatibus suis'* [Pipe Roll 1218]
[38] *Annales Monastici*, H.R. Luard (ed.), Rolls Series, 5 vols. (London: Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865-9), iii, 106., '*Nos autem pro prædictis dedimus regi centum libras…*'
[39] David Bates, 'Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland: Problems and Possibilities', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland,* ed. by M.T. Flanagan and J.A. Green, (New York ; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1-14, (4).
[40] Nicholas Vincent, 'Regional Variations in the Charters of King Henry II (1154-89)', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland,* ed. by M.T. Flanagan and J.A. Green, (New York ; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 70-106, (71); ibid., 95.
[41] Bates, 'Charters', (8).
[42] *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati, tempore regis Johannis*, T. Hardy (ed.), (London: Record Commission, 1835), 379.
[43] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the ninth year of the reign of King John : Michaelmas 1207 (Pipe Roll 53)*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society (London: Printed for the Pipe Roll Society by J. W. Ruddock & Sons, 1944), 115. *'Et fratribus leprosis de Cestrefeld vj li. que assignate fuerit eis in escambio ferie sue.'*

'the Anglo-Norman elite quickly supported [Thomas] Becket's cult, a trend which may have motivated Henry II's own acts in veneration of the martyr.'[44] The king's guilt, allied to the nascent cult, persuaded him to build a new church for the leper-house, dedicated to the recently canonised archbishop. On a more individual level, C. H. Lawrence has argued that although Henry III was a generous patron to the Dominican order throughout his reign, his confessor, a Dominican friar, was 'instrumental' in securing particular gifts from the king to the Dominican houses at Bamburgh and Ipswich.[45] Thus, a leper-house which gained the support of individuals in the royal entourage could subsequently have secured patronage from the king himself. However, priors and wardens of leper-houses would generally have been unlikely to be at court, unless the position was a royal appointment, as at Ospringe (see below, Chapter 6).

Patronage by Henry's and Louis' predecessors

Rulers in thirteenth-century England and France inherited a wealth of tradition in the form of royal religious patronage. The number of religious houses, including leper-houses and hospitals, had grown radically throughout western Europe during the twelfth century, and kings and queens had been instrumental in encouraging this growth. Institutions that had benefited from the patronage of the ancestors of Henry and Louis expected such relationsips to continue, and sought confirmations of previously issued benefits and rights. As will be shown below, although the English monarchy founded several leper-houses between the early twelfth and very early thirteenth century, there is no firm evidence to show that the French kings did the same.

King Henry III descended from a royal lineage of generous patrons to lepers and to leper-houses. The kings and queens of England had shown such patronage since the early twelfth century, shortly after the appearance of the first leper-houses in the country. King Henry I founded the houses of St Bartholomew in Oxford, St Giles at Shrewsbury, St Mary Magdalen at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and, possibly, St James at Bridgnorth.[46] In addition, he supported the leper-house at Harbledown, near Canterbury, and the Grand-Beaulieu at Chartres, which his sister, Adela of Blois, had placed under comital protection and to which she offered exemptions to those caring for the sick there.[47] Judith A. Green has described Henry I as being 'consistently loyal to the

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[44] Brenner, 'Mont-aux-Malades', (228).
[45] Lawrence, 'Darlington, John of (*d.* 1284)',
[46] Page, W. (ed.). 'The Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Oxford', in *A History of Oxfordshire: Volume 2,* Victoria History of the Counties of England, (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1907), 157-8, (37); Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 391; ibid., 378; Gaydon , A.T. and Pugh, R.B. (eds.). 'The Hospital of St. James, Bridgnorth', in *A History of the County of Shropshire: Volume 2*, Victoria History of the Counties of England, (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1973), 100-01, (100).
[47] Page, W. (ed.). 'The Hospital of Harbledown', in *A History of the County of Kent: Volume 2,* Victoria History of the Counties of England, (London: St Catherine Press, 1926), (219); Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 25; Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c.1067-1137)*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 145.

houses favoured by his parents'; although this cannot be measured for leper-houses, as these were few and far between prior to his reign, but this loyalty was assumed by later kings.[48] Henry's successor, King Stephen, confirmed Henry's grants to St Bartholomew's at Oxford.[49] Stephen also granted the church of Lessness, in Erith, Kent, to the leper-house of Pont-Audemer in Normandy.[50]

Both of Henry I's wives also supported lepers, particularly his first wife, Matilda of Scotland. Aelred of Rievaulx famously reported the disgust of Matilda's brother, king David of Scotland, when he saw that she had invited lepers into her room, and was sitting amongst them, washing and kissing their feet (see page 109).[51] Furthermore, she founded the prestigious house of St Giles, in Holborn, may have founded the house of St James and St Mary Magdalene at Chichester, and supported the female lepers at the house of St James at Westminster.[52] Henry's second wife, Adeliza of Louvain, founded the house of St Giles at Wilton, also for female lepers.[53]

Henry I's daughter, the Empress Matilda, showed a notable concern for lepers. As well as giving land to the leper-house at Argentan, in Orne, the Empress gave the silk mattress upon which she had given birth to her second son, Geoffrey, in 1134, to the lepers at the house of St James, at Mont-aux-Malades in Rouen, to be sold to provide alms for the infirm.[54] As Brenner has argued, this gesture was a hugely significant act – not only would it have raised a considerable amount of money, but it also represented a connection with healing. Brenner suggests also that Matilda's mother, Queen Matilda, may have founded the leper-house at Holborn after a difficult pregnancy, thus suggesting a pattern of female devotion within the family.[55] The Empress Matilda's grand-daughter, Eleanor of England also founded a hospital, with her husband Alfonso VIII of Castile, the "Hospital del Rey" in Burgos. Miriam Shadis has noted that royal charters to this house began after the death of the Infante Fernando in 1211 at the age of 22, and the deceased's name features prominently in the charters of this year.[56]

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[48] Judith A. Green, 'The Piety and Patronage of Henry I', *Haskins Society Journal,* x (2001), 1-16, (12).
[49] Oriel College, EST E 15/1 [Confirmation by King Stephen of grants to the hospital made by Henry I].
[50] Mesmin, 'Leper Hospital of Saint Gilles', ii, 136-9.
[51] Aelred of Rievaulx. 'Genealogia Regum Anglorum', (col.736).
[52] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 25.
[53] Pugh, R.B. and Crittall, E. (eds.). 'The Hospital of St Giles and St. Anthony, Wilton', in *A History of Wiltshire: Volume 3*, Victoria History of the Counties of England, (London: Oxford U.P. for the Institute of Historical Research, 1956), 362-4, (362); Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 25.
[54] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 25; Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda : Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 188.
[55] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 26.
[56] *El reino de Castilla en la epoca de Alfonso VIII*, ed. by J. González, 3 vols., (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1960), iii, 549-54 §885, §86, §87; ibid., iii, 602-4 §917; Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 40.

The Empress Matilda's youngest son, William, was a benefactor to the Mont-aux-Malades also.[57] Her eldest son, King Henry II, however, was probably the most generous of all the English kings towards lepers. Aelred of Rievaulx, who wrote the account of Queen Matilda attending to lepers in her own room, dedicated his Life of Edward the Confessor to Henry II; it is very possible, therefore, that Henry knew of this incident, and was influenced by his grandmother's perceptions of leprosy and of the manner in which she approached lepers.[58] His mother's influence is clear; two charters issued before Henry became king of England were issued in the joint names of Matilda and Henry, confirming income of 10*l* to the lepers of Grand-Beaulieu, Chartres, which income had been established by Matilda's father.[59] A charter in favour of the lepers of Rouen, issued shortly after the death of King Stephen, before Henry travelled to England, was made at the request of Henry and his mother, as well as of the archbishop and townspeople of Rouen.[60] Later in the 1150s or early 1160s, Henry confirmed gifts made by Matilda and Henry's brother, William Longespee, to the lepers of Dieppe.[61] Paternal influence may also have been a significant factor in Henry's patronage, as his father, Geoffrey of Anjou, founded a leper-house at La Flèche. Henry confirmed this house's possessions in the 1150s, but no further interest is evident from his surviving charters.[62]

Henry's own most significant foundation was the Salle-aux-Puelles, a house for leprous women which was built within the grounds of the royal house at Quevilly, south of the River Seine at Rouen.[63] His mother had often spent time at this house, and the foundation may thus have been a gesture in honour of her soul.[64] The house was particularly unusual for being located within the grounds of the royal precinct, instead of at a short distance from the town. The desire to keep the lepers close indicates a concern for their welfare, but also a desire to benefit as much as possible from their prayers.

This new foundation did not, however, prevent him maintaining a keen interest in the lepers at Mont-aux-Malades, on the hill above Rouen. Indeed, Brenner has stated that Henry was 'undoubtedly the most prominent twelfth-century patron', and has noted that this house was amongst his most favoured of all religious houses during his reign.[65] After the death of Thomas Becket, and after his pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1174, Henry re-founded the house, financing a number of buildings including a new church, and re-dedicated the leper-house to the martyr-

[57] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 27.
[58] Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 55.
[59] *Actes de Henri II*, i, 41-2 §XXXV; ibid., i, 50 §XLV.
[60] Ibid., i, 93-94 §I.
[61] Ibid., i, 259 §CXLIX.
[62] Ibid., i, 211-2 §CVI.
[63] Ibid., ii, 296-7 §DCLXXVIII.
[64] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 26.
[65] Ibid., 27.

saint.[66] He gifted to the lepers a purpresture in the forest of Lillebonne and 6,000 herrings each year.[67] A separate charter awarded the house a week-long annual fair in September, in addition to an annual rent of 60 livres, and a further 3,000 herrings per annum, along with further rents and lands.[68] Furthermore, Henry awarded protection to the lepers and their keepers, as well as for their rents, men and possessions.[69] As generous as these gifts were, as Elma Brenner has argued, all his patronage after 1170 must be understood in the context of this link with Becket and the king's penance for the archbishop's murder.'[70] Becket's death was a pivotal event in Henry's reign, and his subsequent patronage cannot be dissociated from his penance for this act.

His benefactions to lepers extended beyond Rouen. The house of St Nicolas de la Chesnaie at Bayeux received confirmation of land and liberties allegedly granted by William the Conqueror and others, although the claim that the house existed already in the middle of the eleventh century seems unlikely.[71] Further grants were made to Harbledown, outside Canterbury, and confirmation of two fairs to the leper-house at Le Desert, near Evreux.[72] In addition, Henry confirmed previous gifts made to the house at Wilton by Adeliza, granted protection to the lepers at Grand-Beaulieu at Chartres, and confirmed gifts made to the lepers at the house of Saint Gilles at Pont-Audemer, from the house's founder, Count Waleran of Meulan, and others.[73] The lepers at Saint-Gilles received a further benefit in the form of an annual three-day fair, to take place from the 'eve of the feast of Saint Giles to the evening of the day after the festival.[74] Other houses that benefited from Henry II's patronage and protection included those at La Flèche, Dieppe, Bolleville, Bellencombre and Champeaux in Normandy, and Maiden Bradley in England.[75] Although Henry was eventually buried at Fontevraud, his initial choice of burial location was at the priory of Grandmont, a religious house which took a particular interest in

[66] Ibid., 30-1.
[67] J. C. Holt and Richard Mortimer, *Acta of Henry II and Richard I : hand-list of documents surviving in the original in repositories in the United Kingdom*, (Kew: List & Index Society, 1986), 113; *Actes de Henri II*, ii, 296.
[68] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, 87; Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 152-3.
[69] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, 310.
[70] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 29.
[71] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, 313-16 §DCLXXXIX; Damien Jeanne, 'Les lépreux et les léproseries en Normandie moyenne et occidentale au Moyen Age. Orientations de recherches', *Cahiers Léopold Delisle,* 46.1-2 (1997), 19-48, (28); François Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux: villes épiscopales de Normandie à la fin du Moyen Âge*: (Caen : Editions du Lys, 1996), 62.
[72] Holt and Mortimer, *Acta of Henry II*, 83 §78; ibid., 84 §79; ibid., 65 §49.
[73] Ibid., 143 §78; *Actes de Henri II*, ii, 324 §DCXCIX; ibid., i, 326 §CXCV; ibid., ii, 340 §DCXXVII; Mesmin, 'Leper Hospital of Saint Gilles', ii, 38-44.
[74] Mesmin, 'Leper Hospital of Saint Gilles', ii, 97-100.
[75] *Actes de Henri II*, i, 211-2 §CVI; ibid., i, 259-60 §CXLIX; ibid., i, 260-61 §CL; ibid., i, 261 §CLI; ibid., i, 287-8 §CLVI; ibid., ii, 125-6 §DXLVIII; ibid., ii, 346 §DCCXXIV; ibid., ii, 390 §DCCXLVIII; ibid., i, 484 §CCCLX.

caring for lepers (the Grandmontine Order's accommodation of lepers is discussed above on page 49).[76]

Henry's youngest son, King John, also showed particular concern for leper-houses, particularly while he held the title of Earl of Mortain, prior to his kingship. Although Paul Webster, in his recent book *King John and Religion*, argues that John's mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, had a 'striking influence' upon him until her death in 1204, John's charity for lepers appears to have come solely from his father's side. If Eleanor did provide gifts to leper-houses, these have not been significant enough to have been recorded by her recent biographers.[77] John, as earl, founded the leper-house of St Lawrence's at Bristol, and was also believed to have founded St Leonard's at Chesterfield.[78] He may also have founded the leper-house of St Leonard's at Lancaster.[79] The display of charity was important to John, and this, with the added weight of royal tradition dating back over 100 years, was adopted by Henry III during his own kingship. John's interest in lepers was also evident in Normandy, both before and during his kingship. As earl, he confirmed to the lepers at Pont-Audemer the grant made by Henry II of 'of the tithe of the revenues of the castlery of Sainte-Mère-Eglise' (Eure).[80] As king of England, John granted the same lepers 'freedom from all custom on wines from their demesnes throughout his lands.'[81]

The patronage of the Capetian kings was very similar to that of the Angevin kings, apart fro being less active in founding new houses. Achille Luchaire emphasised the concern of Louis VI the Fat (died 1137) towards the sick and the less fortunate members of society, particularly the leprous. With the agreement of his son, Philip, he gave the lepers at Étampes a carucate of arable land.[82] To the lepers at Bourges he granted a three-day fair at the feast of St Lazarus (22 May), as well as one *muid* of wheat from the royal mill and three *muids* of wine from the royal cellar.[83] The lepers of Montaigu at Melun received one *muid* of wheat and six *setiers* of grain to be taken annually from the royal mills, while those at the Grand-Beaulieu at Chartres received two *muids*

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[76] Chibnall, 'Changing Expectations of a Royal Benefactor', (15); Françoise Bériac, 'Les fraternités des lépreux et lépreuses', in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter,* ed. by K. Elm and M. Parisse, (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992), 203-11, (203).
[77] Marie Hivergneaux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine 1137-1189', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine : Lord and Lady,* ed. by B. Wheeler and J.C. Parsons, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 55-76; Ralph V. Turner, 'The Role of Eleanor in the Governments of Her Sons', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine : Lord and Lady,* ed. by B. Wheeler and J.C. Parsons, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 77-95.
[78] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, pt. ii, 670; Paul Webster, *King John and Religion*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), 78; Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 151; Webster, *King John*, 79; Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 118.
[79] Farrer, W. and Brownbill, J. (eds.). 'The Hospital of St. Leonard, Lancaster', in *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 2,* Victoria History of the Counties of England, (London: Constable & Co, 1908), 165, (165); Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 368.
[80] Mesmin, 'Leper Hospital of Saint Gilles', ii, 150.
[81] Ibid., ii, 54-5.
[82] *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, i, 359-61 §174.
[83] Ibid., ii, 223-4 §344.

of wheat annually from the royal oven of Dourdan.[84] At Compiègne, Louis abandoned his rights over land upon which the Augustinian canons at the abbey of Saint-Corneille wished to construct a leper-house.[85]

Louis VI also began a tradition of royal patronage to the lepers at Saint-Lazare at Paris. Although this was later claimed to be a royal foundation, there is unfortunately a lack of conclusive evidence to support this. Simone Lefèvre has suggested that the first written evidence of this house, which dates from 1122, was probably authentic rather than being a retrospective claim of the house's existence, whilst the next mention, two years later was definite.[86] In 1124, Louis confirmed to the house an annual gift of two *muids* of wine and a *muid* of barley, given by the king's seneschal, William de Garland.[87] In the 1130s, Louis granted the house an annual fair, for the soul of his son Philip who had died in 1131, offering protection to all those travelling to and from the fair.[88]

Louis the Fat's son, Louis VII, continued this concern for the lepers of Paris. In 1137 he extended the duration of the fair granted by his father, from three to eight days; in 1176 this was extended again to 15 days, at a cost to the lepers of 30*l* per annum.[89] He gave to the lepers the use of two townsmen; granted an annual rent of 10 pigs or hams and 3*s* per person, paid for by the master butcher of Paris, and five *muids* of wine from the royal wine presses.[90] Further concessions included additional wine, wheat, money, the right to take firewood from the forest at Vincennes, and confirmed possession of lands granted to the house by his older brother, Philip the Young King.[91] The affection in which he held the lepers at Saint-Lazare is made clear from the account of his visit there – perhaps not his only visit, but one that was recorded because of its context (discussed further in Chapter 3). Following his crusade, this king allowed the Order of Saint Lazarus to install themselves in France in the middle of the twelfth century. [92] He may also have founded La Saussaie, south of Paris, for leprous women (this house is discussed in the context of Louis IX's patronage, on page 196).[93]

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[84] Ibid., ii, 366 §426; ibid., ii, 366-7 §427.
[85] Ibid., ii, 220-3 §343.
[86] Simone Lefèvre and Lucie Fossier, 'Histoire', in *Recueil d'actes de Saint-Lazare de Paris 1124-1254 sous la direction de Lucie Fossier,* ed. by S. Lefèvre and L. Fossier, (Paris: CNRS éd., 2005), (x).
[87] *Saint-Lazare de Paris*, 3.
[88] Ibid., 4; *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, 336-7 §402.
[89] *Saint-Lazare de Paris*, 5; ibid., 39.
[90] Ibid., 11; ibid., 15.
[91] Ibid., 5; ibid., 39; ibid., 6; ibid., 11; ibid., 15; ibid., 18; ibid., 22; ibid., 23; ibid., 28; ibid., 30.
[92] André Mutel, 'Recherches sur l'ordre de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem en Normandie', *Annales de Normandie,* 33.2 (1983), 121-42, (121).
[93] Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 24967, 27 [Histoire de l'Ordre hospitalier régulier et militaire de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem et de l'ordre militaire et régulier de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel, par M. de Guénégaud, chevalier, seigneur des Brosses, conseiller du Roy en ses conseils, ancien maître des requêtes,

Philip Augustus, king of France from 1180 to 1223, demonstrated extensive interest in the welfare of lepers, both by assuming the traditions of his father and his grandfather, and by issuing new grants and gifts. He was praised by the theologian Peter the Chanter for fining those at court who swore oaths on God or saints, 'by fining [them] five shillings to be paid to the lepers.'[94] As well as confirming generous gifts from other individuals to the lepers at Saint-Lazare in Paris, he granted the house 300*l* a year, to be given in instalments of 20*l* each month, with the remaining 60*l* given, for the sustenance of 'their brothers', in the week after the annual fair.[95] The relationship between the house and the monarchy was emphasised in a charter issued by Philip in 1197, in which the king instructed that force or violence was not to be used in the admittance of anyone to the house, except by the king's own authority.[96] This reinforces the sense of royal oversight of the house, but also suggests that the king could insist on the institutionalisation of an individual against their will.

Aside from the grants to Paris, much evidence for Philip's patronage comes from Normandy, following his conquest of the duchy. Jeanne has stated that the alms issued in the days after the conquest were more than double the alms for the whole domain prior to 1204.[97] In 1195, shortly after Richard I of England had ceded Vernon to the French king, Philip granted the lepers there one measure of wheat.[98] In 1204, after the whole of Normandy had been annexed by the French, a long list of alms given to religious houses in Evreux included 104 *sous andegavensium 'in prepositura*', 30*s* for the dedication of their church, and 20*s* for the sheriff, in the first week of Lent.[99] The Norman Pipe Rolls from 1197-98 show that the 104*s.* was not a new payment instigated by Philip; further sums of 50*s* and 30*s* are also given to the same lepers.[100] In 1206, the same lepers were granted lands next to their house, at a cost of 2*s* per annum.[101] In 1210, a list of alms and liberties granted to Rouen included 8*l* 2*s* 8*d* for the lepers at Mont-aux-Malades; 10*l* for the lepers at Chartres, and 2*l* for the female lepers at the house of Salle-aux-Puelles at

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commandeur de la commanderie de Saint-Antoine de Grattemont, chancelier garde des sceaux desdits Ordres]. This leper-house is discussed further in Chapter 7.

[94] Baldwin, *Masters*, i, 254; ibid., ii, 181-2. *'Item in hoc valde commendandus est rex noster qui ignominiosa iuramenta de deo vel de sanctis ab aula sua eliminat puniendo divites in v solidos leprosis dandies, pauperes et minors qui unde solvent non habent in aquam vestitos proiciendo.'*

[95] *Saint-Lazare de Paris*, 49; ibid., 56.

[96] Ibid., 67; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, 113 §563. '*Philippus Dei gratia Francorum rex. Noverint universi ad quos littere presentes pervenerint quod non volumus et inhibemus ne aliquis vim vel violentiam inferat priori et conventui Sancti Lazari Parisiensis de aliquo recipiendo, nisi per nos, in domo sua, que de elemosinis nostris et antecessorum nostrorum fundata est et sustentatur.'*

[97] Jeanne, 'Roi charitable', (106).

[98] *Cartulaire Normand*, 278.

[99] Ibid., 21.

[100] *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy for the Reign of Richard I, 1194-5 & 1197-8 : Printed from the Originals in the National Archives*, ed. by V. Moss and J. Everard, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, (London: Pipe Roll Society, 2016), 260.

[101] *Cartulaire Normand*, 291.

Quevilly, established by Henry II.[102] The payment to Mont-aux-Malades was established alms that was being paid to the same lepers in 1197-98; the women at Quevilly had received 200*l* in 1194-95 and 1197-98.[103] The lepers at Chartres had also received an identical sum in the 1190s.[104] Philip's charter in favour of the lepers at Rouen, Quevilly, and Chartres, is not dated; however the charter printed immediately after this one in the *Cartulaire Normand*, compiled by Léopold Delisle, re-confirms Henry II's annual grant of 60*l* per annum, as well as a three day fair at the feast of St Giles.[105]

As John Baldwin has argued, Philip's relationship with the church in Normandy was very much focussed upon keeping the peace and buying the loyalty of the ecclesiastical authorities.[106] Leper-houses reliant on bishops for protection and income would thus have formed part of this strategy. This is particularly evident in the extensive alms given to Rouen, but also elsewhere. Shortly after the town of Falaise had surrendered to Philip's army, a charter was issued granting the lepers there a seven-day fair, to take place at the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in September.[107] The charter states that it has been issued in accordance with the 'good men of Falaise'.[108] At the same time as this, a separate charter confirmed the privileges of the towns-people. Not all lepers in Normandy were so fortunate, however; during the *enquêtes* ordered by Louis IX in 1247, the lepers at Bernay complained that they had previously had three markets, given to them by King John, but which had been withdrawn by Philip Augustus' sheriff, Cadoc, immediately after the conquest.[109] Likewise, the leper-house at Moulin de Serans had to petition for the return of two acres of land, also lost to them since the conquest, and the complaint from the lepers at Lieury was based upon the loss of 3*d* income which they had received annually prior to 1204.[110] Further acts explicitly confirmed the rights granted by Philip's Angevin predecessors. The *baillis* of Normandy were charged with the continued protection of the rights and goods of the lepers of the Holy Land, and the revenue and alms due to them, 'as they had possessed in the times of the kings of England Henry and Richard.'[111] Further protection was granted – possibly at the request of the lepers themselves – to the lepers at Mont-aux-Malades in

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[102] Ibid., 33.
[103] *Pipe Rolls 1194-5 & 1197-8*, 139; ibid., 24; ibid., 139.
[104] *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy for the Reign of Henry II, 1180 and 1184: Printed from the Originals in the National Archives: Public Record Office and the Archives Nationales, Paris*, ed. by V. Moss, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, (London: Pipe Roll Society, 2004), 50; *Pipe Rolls 1194-5 & 1197-8*, 23; ibid., 139.
[105] *Cartulaire Normand*, 33. '*Leprosi de Monte dimidiam septimanam de feria Sancti Egidii.'*
[106] John W. Baldwin, 'Philip Augustus and the Norman Church', *French Historical Studies,* 6.1 (1969), 1-30, (2).
[107] F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204: Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire*, 2nd edn., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), 261.; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, 370 §791.
[108] Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, 261.; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, 370 §791.
[109] 'Chronologie des baillis et sénéchaux royaux'. in *RHF*, xxiv (1904), (i, 42).
[110] Ibid., i, 59; ibid., i, 13.
[111] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, 458-9 §869.

1207, again with reference to kings Henry and Richard.[112] References to John's kingship and patronage to lepers are conspicuously absent in these Norman charters – a deliberate omission on the part of the new government.

The evidence for Philip's patronage prior to the surrender of Normandy, and to other houses elsewhere in the kingdom, is extensive, however, suggesting that Philip's patronage was not purely motivated by political factors. In the 1180s, he granted to the houses of Survilliers (Val-d'Oise), Linas (Essonne) and Senlis the rights to take dead wood from nearby forests.[113] Further rights to the usage of forests were granted to the houses at *Evree, Hyquilla,* Orléans, *Ingeneria,* Artenay (Loiret), and Soisy-sur-Seine (Essonne).[114] In 1186, the house at *Chastres* was given the right to hold an annual fair around the feast of Saint Bartholomew.[115] Income – in the form of money, wheat or wine – was given to the lepers at Vitry-aux-Loges (Loiret) in 1190; to Melun in 1211; to Reims (money taken from the town's money-changers); and to the lepers at Pontfraud in 1202.[116] Revenues which the lepers of Creil (Oise) and their chaplain had been used to receiving from Raoul, former count of Clermont and constable of France, were confirmed by Philip in 1219.[117] The lepers at Lorris were given the right to use the royal mill to grind their own wheat in 1190, while the lepers at La Saussaie were given permission to keep the gold and wax seals attached to the letters they received.[118] In the same year, the leper-house at Pontfraud was granted the right of milling at the royal mill, on condition that they milled only their own wheat, and only as much as they needed for their own consumption.[119] The lepers at Melun were given the right to allow usage of a piece of land next to their house to anyone they chose, provided that it was not given to any member of one of the king's towns, or those who resided on his domain.[120] The lepers at Château-Landon in 1183, and at Melun in 1193, were granted the tithes of bread and wine used by the royal family during their stays in these towns; in the case of Melun, the gift originated from the reign of Louis VII.[121]

The collection of acts issued by Louis VIII, Philip's son, contains no gifts or confirmations to any leper-houses, although the king did confirm a number of grants made previously by Philip Augustus and by the Angevin kings.[122] His will included a sum of 10,000*l* to be distributed to

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[112] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 45; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, 67-8 §1006.
[113] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, 136 §08; ibid., i, 153 §24; ibid., i, 183 §52.
[114] Ibid., v, 236-8
[115] Ibid., i, 231 §192.
[116] Ibid., i, 379-80 §16; ibid., iii, 321-2 §1210; ibid., v, 15-16 §1833; ibid., v, 42 §1854.
[117] Ibid., iv, 207-8 §1569.
[118] Ibid., v, 20-1 §1838; ibid., iii, 91-2 §1028.
[119] Stein (ed.), 'Maladrerie de Pontfraud', (40 §IV).
[120] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, 1 §958.
[121] Ibid., v, 9-10 §1828; ibid., v, 27 §1844.
[122] Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (1187-1226)*, (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1894), 449-508.

2,000 leper-houses in his will, stating that each should receive an equal sum of 100*s*. Which leper-houses were to receive this money was not specified; this was undoubtedly left to his advisors to decide upon.[123] By contrast, Philip Augustus did not allocate a sum of money to be given only to lepers; his will includes an amount of 21,000*l,* to be distributed by his executors to paupers, orphans and widows, as well as lepers.[124] Blanche of Castile, Louis VIII's wife and mother of Louis IX, will be discussed in chapter 9 in context with her son's patronage.

Conclusion

There was, then, by the early thirteenth century, a long tradition of royal patronage to lepers in both England and in France. Both Henry's and Louis' predecessors had established relationships with particular houses, and the maintenance of these relationships, through the giving of concessions and gifts, was expected of both of them. The types of grants issued were alike – fairs and markets, money, protection, and rights, such as for the collection of firewood. Some of these would have incurred royal expenditure, such as the income given by Philip Augustus to Saint-Lazare, while others would have had little or no impact on royal finances. The confirmation of existing rights or income, granted by earlier kings, could however result in a payment made to the king, suggesting that this type of renewal was a formal transaction.

Not all patronage was business as usual, however, as is clear from the response of Henry II to the murder of Thomas Becket, which prompted significant payments to the lepers of Rouen, made as a form of penance. Also in Normandy, lepers and other religious houses received generous grants from Philip Augustus in a bid to maintain peace after his conquest of the duchy. These two examples alone show that there were a great number of reasons why Henry and Louis might have directed their own patronage towards lepers. Spiritual salvation, political control, social order, and royal tradition were all important factors.

The significant difference between England and France that emerges from this evidence can be seen in the history of the foundations of royal leper-houses. Philip Augustus claimed that Saint-Lazare had been founded by his predecessors, and his father Louis VII was reported to have founded La Saussaie, but there is no solid evidence to support either of these claims. By contrast, Henry I, Henry II and John, as well as Henry I's queen, Matilda, had all been actively involved in founding numerous leper-houses. The trend for founding important new leper-houses had mostly passed by the early thirteenth century, but these royal houses maintained their status and their connection with the monarchy.

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[123] 'Gesta Ludovici VIII'. in *RHF*, xvii (1878), 302-11, (310-11). '*Item donamus et legamus duobus millibus domorum leprosorum decem millia librarum, videlicet cuilibet earum centum solidos*'. The likelihood of 2,000 leper-houses receiving this money is discussed below, in Chapter 7.

[124] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, 468-72 §1796. '*Item donamus et legamus pauperibus et orphanis et viduis et leprosis XXI milia librarum parisiensium distribuenda per manum testamentariorum nostrorum.*'

The following two chapters will examine Henry's and Louis' patronage, and will situate them into the context of their predecessors. As will be shown, despite the rise of a number of new religious orders, particularly the mendicants, established traditions were not entirely abandoned. Both kings maintained, to some extent at least, the custom of payments to the leper-houses which had been favoured by their predecessors, but also made their own choices with regard to these existing payments and the issuing of new gifts, reflecting their own ideas about kingship and salvation.

Chapter 6: King Henry III's patronage to lepers

This chapter will focus specifically on the patronage of Henry III to leper-houses and to individual lepers. There is a wealth of evidence available for this, due to the careful record-keeping performed in the thirteenth century, and the fortunate survival of those records. Although alms and grants were distributed by different parts of the royal administration, and recorded on separate rolls, the collation of these records creates a rich picture of Henry's reign. It is clear, initially, that Henry had particular institutions which he favoured above others. In some instances this was due to a tradition of royal patronage, with houses founded by his predecessors receiving special attention. Other houses such as Windsor and Guildford, for example, appear to have benefited due to their proximity to royal palaces.

The nature of the contemporary record-keeping means that many records are abbreviated from their original form, and it is impossible now to understand the full intent behind some of the gifts. But it is evident, from glimpses within the sources, that Henry viewed his benefactions to lepers as a spiritual gift, and the reciprocal prayers and intercession was fundamental to these grants, regardless of the form they took. The most obvious gifts for spiritual benefit were in the form of assistance to lepers' chapels, chaplains and churches, but gifts of money, clothes, food, firewood and construction materials also feature prominently.[1]

Administration

Money given in the form of religious benefactions was distributed either by the royal almoner or other officials. Sally Dixon-Smith discusses the role of the almoner at the English court in her thesis, *Feeding the Poor to Commemorate the Dead : the Pro Anima Almsgiving of Henry III of England, 1227-72*. She traces the earliest recorded almoner to the first half of the twelfth century, under King Henry I. This was an important position at court, with the almoner working alongside the Treasurer's scribe, attesting to writs, acting as keeper of the wardrobe and keeper of the seal, and also charged with responsibility for religious foundations, such as the hospital at Ospringe founded by Henry III (see page 168). Almoners served also as financial administrators, messengers, and diplomats. Before 1255, the court sourced its almoners from the Temple; after this date, two royal chaplains, Simon of Offam and John of Colchester, successively held the post.[2] Dixon-Smith has identified the presence also of sub-almoners, who would sometimes be 'sent ahead of the king's party to arrange to feed the poor in a location before the king's arrival.'[3] As only two almoners' rolls survive from this period, it is, as Dixon-Smith has stated, fortunate

[1] A full list of Henry's patronage from the chancery rolls is included in Appendix IV
[2] Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', 32.
[3] Ibid., 35.

that much almsgiving was carried out by castellans, sheriffs and bailiffs, and the records of this have thus survived in the Close, *Liberate* and Patent rolls.[4]

There is strong evidence in these rolls to show that Henry's patronage was often dictated by his itinerary as he travelled around the country. Excluding the grants and letters issued while he was at Westminster, a total of 38 out of 250 were issued when Henry was in the same town as the recipient leper-house. These included the locations of his palaces, such as at Guildford and Windsor, but also the towns of Thetford, Canterbury, Hereford, Lichfield, Dunstable and Bristol. Accounting for the masters or wardens of leper-houses travelling to the king's court to petition for alms, 121 of these 250 were issued within 30 miles of the king's location at any time. The leper-houses in which Henry showed the greatest interest continued to receive grants regardless of the location of the royal entourage. Of the eleven records for Oxford, for example, only two were issued while he was in the town; the others came from various locations including Westminster, Woodstock and Doncaster. Only four of the 22 records for Maiden Bradley were issued at Clarendon, the closest royal residence to this particular leper-house.[5] The location at which a transaction was recorded, however, was not necessarily the location at which it had been agreed – there may have been a delay on occasion before the records were entered upon the roll. In 1241 while at Westminster, Henry issued a *contrabreve* to John le Strange, justice of Chester, ordering him to pay 70*s* from the issues of the county 'as two parts of the alms of the expenses of the king's household while he was at Chester.'[6]

Of the 422 records in the Chancery, Close, *Liberate* and Patent Rolls pertaining to lepers and leper-houses, very few record the spiritual beneficiaries of a grant, but this is due to the nature of this form of record-keeping. Fuller charters were edited, condensed and copied, perhaps a number of times, before being recorded in these registers.[7] For example, the confirmation in the Patent Rolls of the grant in 1267 of two cartloads of hay to the leper-house of St Bartholomew's at Oxford, was recorded thus: 'As the king is informed by inquisition made by the constable of the castle of Oxford that the master and leprous brethren of the hospital of St Bartholomew without Oxford have hitherto used to take yearly two cartloads of hay in the king's meadow near Oseney of the gift of Henry I; he has granted that they shall continue to take it.'[8] The original charter is much fuller, stating that the donation was made '… for us and our heirs to the

[4] Ibid., 41.
[5] *CPR, 1225-32*, 468; ibid.; *CChR, 1257-1300*, 85; *CPR, 1266-72*, 609.
[6] *CLR, 1240-45*, 75.
[7] Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 152-3.
[8] *CPR, 1266-72*, 166.

aforesaid master and brothers for the salvation of my soul and the souls of my ancestors and predecessors…'[9]

An analysis of the dates upon which grants were issued to leper-houses shows no obvious patterns that can be linked to Henry's piety, or any association with particular saints. Using a calendar of suggested feast days celebrated at the court of King John, compiled by Paul Webster, no significant dates appear to have been chosen by Henry, although major feasts were used for other important ceremonies such as knighting.[10] Nearly four-fifths (79%) of all chancery records cannot be associated with any of the feast days listed by Webster, or the vigils or morrows of these feasts. Even the feast of St Edward the Confessor, celebrated regularly by Henry after 1235, was not a date on which Henry bestowed particular patronage to leper-houses.[11] This suggests that Henry's patronage was largely reactive, responding to appeals from wardens and custodians. There is no pattern that suggests that Henry went out of his way to offer grants to lepers or leper-houses at any particular time or on any particular occasion.

The trend of patronage to leper-houses during the course of Henry's reign shows a significant spike in 1232, followed by a fairly consistent trend of peaks and troughs after 1236. The earliest years of his reign show very little activity – prior to 1224, only two letters patent were issued.[12] The beginning of confirmations of previous grants from the mid-1220s onwards appears to have been part of an exercise to restore peace to the country following the civil war between royalists and their baronial opponents. Two entries in particular in the chancery rolls, both dated July 1226, refer to this. The leper-house of St Leonard's at Nottingham received royal confirmation of their right to take an allowance of firewood from the forest at Nottingham, as they had had during the reigns of Henry II, Richard and John, until 'our father was provoked into war by his English barons.'[13] A few days later, the lepers of St Leonard's at Lancaster received a grant allowing them pasturage in the royal forest there; like those at Nottingham, the lepers here had been accustomed to this right in the reigns of the three previous kings, until the war.[14] This

[9] Oriel College, Shadwell [640] [Confirmation by King Henry of the Hospital's right to two cartloads of Hay from Osney meadow]., '*pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis magistro et fratribus pro salute anime nostre et animalibus antecessorum et heredum nostrorum…'*
[10] Webster, *King John*, 194; Antonia Shacklock, 'Sacred Place and Sacred Time: Henry III's Use of the Sacred in His Kingship', *International Medieval Congress*, University of Leeds, 4-7 July 2016.
[11] Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward', (869).
[12] *CPR, 1216-25*, 319; ibid., 429.
[13] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. 1224-27*, ed. by T.D. Hardy, 2 vols., (London: Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1837), ii, 130.
[14] Ibid., 131.

reflects the situation in Normandy, where Philip Augustus confirmed to leper-houses the rights that they had held before the war between the English and French kings.[15]

Leper-Houses

Henry did not found any new leper-houses, as his predecessors had done. The only religious foundations of his were two hospitals, in Oxford and in Ospringe, near Faversham in Kent, and the *Domus Conversorum*, a house for converted Jews built in the centre of London – a surprisingly small number of foundations considering the length of his reign. Henry's greatest legacy was the vast sums of money directed towards the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey; he did not found any new abbeys, priories or friaries. His decision not to build a new leper-house therefore fits the pattern of his wider religious patronage. It is also important to consider the number of leper-houses already in existence. Their appearance in England had begun approximately 120 years prior to Henry's accession to the throne, and they had been popular recipients of royal patronage ever since. By the early thirteenth century, lay people from all levels of society were choosing to direct their charity towards leper-houses, some of the aristocracy and members of the royal court undoubtedly influenced in part by the monarchy's own actions. A new royal foundation, which would have had to have been important and impressive to reflect its founder's status, would likely have been superfluous by the time of Henry's reign. In addition, well-established houses had already been endowed with financial and other donations, and were no longer in need of large gifts of land or new sources of income in order to maintain their residents. Finally, a gradual decrease in the number of lepers during the course of the thirteenth century would also have reduced the need for new houses and significant new donations.

Henry did assume responsibility for leper-houses founded by aristocracy, when their principal sources of income were no longer available. Between the years 1237 and 1251, the earldom of Chester was vacant following the death of John of Scotland without children, and was subsequently absorbed by the crown, with Henry assuming the patronage of the leper-house at Chester founded by Ranulph III, earl of Chester, in the twelfth century.[16] Elizabeth Hallam has suggested that kings – and especially Henry and Louis – were 'often anxious' to claim founder's rights of religious houses for the benefits of intercession that became available to them.[17] Henry took his responsibility towards the house at Chester seriously during this period. In 1243, he

[15] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, 31-2 §981. *'Philippe Auguste mande à ses baillis de garantir contre tout trouble la maison du Mont-aux-Malades de Rouen qu'il a prise sous sa protection, et de la laisser en possession des privilèges dont elle jouissait au temps des rois d'Angleterre Henri et Richard.'*
[16] Elrington and Harris (eds.).'The Hospital of St. Giles, Chester', (178).
[17] Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 12.

gave the house 30*s* 'of the king's gift' to buy clothes and other necessities.[18] In 1245, the king confirmed the obligation of the justice of Chester, John de Grey, to ensure that the lepers received their penny tithe (*decimo denario*) from the sale of pigs from the king's larder 'as they received them in the times of the counts of Chester.'[19] Seven years later, Henry made a significant gift 'of the king's favour', of £10, towards buying further clothes for the lepers there.[20] Henry showed a similar concern for St Peter's leper-house at Bury St Edmunds after the death of their principal benefactor; this house had been founded in the early twelfth century, and in 1240, Henry confirmed an allowance of 30*s* 4*d* per annum from the farm of Thetford, 'as they were wont to receive in the time of W. earl of Warenne'; the earl had died a few months previously.[21]

Henry III's hospital foundations

The hospital founded by Henry at Ospringe was not a dedicated leper-house, although, as will be discussed below, it probably accommodated lepers as well as the poor sick or travellers who were the usual residents, hence its inclusion in this study. A reference in the charter rolls from 1237 describes the hospital as having been founded by the king 'for the support of the poor', and a letter patent from 1263 specifies that the hospital was founded 'for the maintenance of the poor.'[22] The lands on which it was built had been held in demesne by Henry II and King John, and John was known to have stayed there, referring to his own house there – *domus sue* – in 1215.[23] In 1225 Henry III granted the lands to Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, along with the earldom of Kent. After de Burgh's death, the lands reverted to the crown, and the king subsequently transferred them to the trustees of his wife-to-be, Eleanor of Provence. It is evident that Henry had an affiliation to the land; he was close to de Burgh, and included it in his wife's dower, although Eleanor's name appears only once in the chancery rolls in relation to this hospital. The first references to the hospital, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, appear in 1234.[24] Importantly, its location lay on the route between London and Canterbury, and so was accessible to pilgrims, and to those travelling beyond Canterbury towards Dover and the continent.

Henry took a keen interest in this establishment. Between 1240 and 1252 the hospital is referred to on six occasions as either the king's hospital (*hospitali regis*) or 'my' hospital

[18] *CLR, 1240-45*, 205.
[19] *CCR, 1242-47*, 378.
[20] *CLR, 1251-60*, 93.
[21] *CLR, 1226-40*, 495.
[22] *CChR, 1226-57*, 315; *CPR, 1258-66*, 304.
[23] Hasted, 'Parishes: Ospringe'; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. 1204-1224*, ed. by T.D. Hardy, 2 vols., (London: Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1831), i, i, 237.
[24] *CCR, 1231-34*, 488; ibid., 492.

(*hospitali nostri*), and one of the rooms there was, in later years at least, referred to as the *camera regis*.[25] In 1265, Henry paid for a tun of wine 'of the king's gift on his entry into the hospital.'[26] In 1272, following mismanagement of the hospital, the king ordered one of the brethren to take charge 'until the king's next coming there.'[27] None of the chancery records relating to this hospital were issued at Ospringe, although a few were issued at the nearby locations of Faversham, Rochester, Havering and Canterbury.[28]

One of the references to lepers at this place occurs in the 1244 Close Rolls. In this, the Bishop of Winchester is ordered to let brother John, the almoner (who in 1243 was cited as the hospital's custodian), have 15 cows for the use of the infirm of the hospitals of Ospringe and Oxford, by gift of the king.[29] The text describing this gift – *de vaccis datis pauperibus leprosis* – suggests that both of these hospitals sheltered poor lepers. A further entry in the *Liberate* rolls, dated 1253, records a gift from the king of 'sacerdotal vestments and two small bells' for the lepers' chapel at Ospringe, showing that the lepers had their own space for worship, in line with canon 23 of the Third Lateran Council (discussed in Chapter 1; see page 37).[30] In the later Middle Ages, the purpose of the Ospringe hospital was believed to have been to shelter 'poor and needy passengers and pilgrims', but 'especially to relieve poor lepers.'[31] The text suggests that the lepers may have had separate accommodation from the religious brothers, with their own building across the lane from the rest of the hospital. A recent archaeological survey of the site shows a number of buildings on either side of the main road, Watling Street, as well as further buildings on the other side of the stream.[32] With separate buildings and marked divisions of water and a road, the theory that one of these was used for lepers is plausible, although no definite evidence has been traced.

The hospitals of Ospringe and Oxford were closely connected, despite the geographical distance between them. Both were given money in 1238 for the construction of their infirmaries; £10 to Ospringe and £20 to Oxford, the money coming from the bishopric of Winchester.[33] In 1242, John the almoner was given the considerable sum of £208 6*s* 8*d* to feed 50,000 poor at Oxford and Ospringe, for the soul of Henry's sister Isabella, who had died the previous year.[34] In 1244

[25] Hasted, 'Parishes: Ospringe; Sweetinburgh, 'Royal Patrons and Local Benefactors: The Experience of the Hospitals of St Mary at Ospringe and Dover in the Thirteenth Century', (117).
[26] *CLR, 1260-67*, 160.
[27] *CPR, 1266-72*, 707.
[28] *CPR, 1247-58*, 194; ibid., 393; *CLR, 1251-60*, 118; *CCR, 1261-64*, 359.
[29] *CCR, 1237-42*, 214.
[30] *CLR, 1251-60*, 133.
[31] Hasted, 'Parishes: Ospringe'.
[32] Margetts, and others, 'The Medieval Hospital of St Mary The Blessed Virgin, Ospringe (Maison Dieu): Further Details of its Original Layout Revealed by Excavations at The Fairways', (130).
[33] *CLR, 1226-40*, 438.
[34] *CLR, 1240-45*, 124.

Henry gave each of the hospitals a 'silver-gilt' cup, and another to the *Domus Conversorum*, 'to contain the Eucharist.'[35] A royal clerk, Henry de Wingham, was appointed vicar of Headcorn, a benefice of Ospringe, in 1251, and master at Oxford in 1254.[36] In 1253, Henry appointed another of his clerks, William of Kilkenny, archdeacon of Coventry, as keeper of both hospitals.[37] In 1266, Henry gave one set of garments (*unam robam*) each to the masters at Oxford and at Ospringe.[38] The queen and Richard, earl of Cornwall confirmed alms of 3,000 herrings to each hospital in 1253.[39]

Leper-houses with a tradition of royal patronage

It is less likely that Henry's hospital at Oxford, St John without the East Gate, housed lepers than the hospital at Ospringe, due to its proximity to the existing leper-house of St Bartholomew's. Both were on the east side of the town, very close to each other, and St Bartholomew's was one of the leper-houses towards which Henry paid considerable attention. St John without the East Gate was founded in the 1230s, around the same time as the hospital at Ospringe. The chancery rolls indicate that he spent a considerable amount of time in Oxford, the location of one of his residences. St Bartholomew's was another royal foundation, having been founded by King Henry I in the early twelfth century.[40] In 1150 King Stephen confirmed the grants given by Henry I, and it received a letter of protection from King John in 1200.[41]

Henry's awareness of the royal history of St Bartholomew's is evident in the confirmations he made of earlier royal charters. In 1231, he ordered Henry de Neville to permit the lepers to take their allowance (*estoverium*) of wood from the wood at *Gerieswod*, a right originally granted to them by King John.[42] Further confirmations were made towards the end of Henry's reign. In January 1267, Henry granted to the lepers '19*l* 15*s* 5*d* a year from the farm of the town of Oxford, for their maintenance and of 65*s* a year for cloth from the same farm, of the king's alms; as it appears by inspection of the rolls of the Exchequer that by grant of the king's progenitors they ought to receive and have been accustomed to receive the same.'[43] This was apparently not a new gift; the record states that the grant is being made 'as it appears by inspection of the rolls of the Exchequer that by grant of the king's progenitors they ought to receive and have been

[35] Ibid., 268.
[36] Rigold, 'Two Kentish Hospitals', (35).
[37] *CPR, 1247-58*, 185.
[38] *CCR, 1264-68*, 278.
[39] *CCR, 1253-54*, 33.
[40] Page, 'The Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Oxford'.
[41] Oriel College, EST E 15/1.
[42] *CCR, 1227-31*, 485.
[43] Oriel College, Shadwell [464] [Confirmation by King Henry of the payment to the hospital of 23l 0s 5d from the fee-farm of the City]; *CPR, 1266-72*, 27.

accustomed to receive the same.'[44] It does not appear, nor does this wording suggest, that this payment had been made at any time previously during Henry's reign. The grant was probably given at the request of the leper-house rather than by Henry's initiative. Considering Henry's constant financial difficulties, this was a large sum for the Treasury to be paying out in the first place, and also to be committing itself to for the future.

In November of the same year, Henry confirmed a grant of two cartloads of hay (see page 165), which the lepers were accustomed to receiving since having been granted the same by King Henry I.[45] This confirmation had been prompted by an inquisition by the constable of the castle of Oxford; perhaps the house of St Bartholomew's had been struggling to obtain that which was due to them. New gifts made to the house by Henry included firewood to be taken from the forest at Shotover, and six oaks from Panshill.[46] The king also confirmed to the house financial assistance in the form of regular alms, from the profits of the farm of Oxford. The lepers received 10*s* weekly; this sum was referred to three times in the early months of 1248, with each entry confirming that the lepers were used to receiving this money.[47]

Another leper-house that appears frequently in the records for Henry III's reign is Maiden Bradley, which was situated near Warminster, in Wiltshire. The house, dedicated to St Mary and St Matthew, was founded between 1155 and 1158 as a house for leprous women by Manasser Biset, a steward of Henry II.[48] Known originally simply as Bradley, the house acquired the 'Maiden' as a consequence of the women living there. At some date, possibly as early as the thirteenth century, the house gained a priory of Augustinian canons.[49] For the most part, the chancery rolls refer to the lepers or the leprous women there, however two records do not mention the lepers. In 1245, the prior of Maiden Bradley was granted the right to freely take wood in order to build a tower.[50] In 1271, a record relating to their houses at Totehull (discussed further below) refers only to the 'prior and convent', and not to lepers.[51] Henry II had confirmed gifts made to the house by Biset, including churches in Kidderminster and Rockbourne.[52] In 1204, King John had taken the house under royal protection.[53] Henry III was therefore continuing a long-standing royal tradition of care for the lepers here, probably due to an ongoing connection to the founding family, whose members continued to serve at court.

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[44] *CPR, 1266-72*, 27.
[45] Oriel College, Shadwell [640]; *CPR, 1266-72*, 166.
[46] *CCR, 1227-31*, 568; *CCR, 1231-34*, 162.
[47] *CCR, 1247-51*, 29; *CLR, 1245-51*, 173; *CCR, 1247-51*, 50.
[48] Kemp, 'Maiden Bradley Priory', (87).
[49] Ibid., 114.
[50] *CCR, 1242-47*, 294.
[51] *CPR, 1266-72*, 609.
[52] Kemp, 'Maiden Bradley Priory', (107-8).
[53] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1224-27*, i, 140b.

Biset's daughter Margaret served in Queen Eleanor's household, and saved Henry from an assassin at Woodstock in 1238.[54] She later built herself a house in the court at Maiden Bradley, and retired there.[55]

In May 1227, Henry issued a confirmation of the house's royal protection; on the same day he also confirmed the original gifts made to the house by Manasser Biset and others, as well as reconfirming the rights of the 'leprous women, prior and brethren' to enjoy pasturage in 'the wood of Richard le Bigod in Merton' for their 'beasts and pigs', and the right to collect old and dead wood.[56] Rather than being an indication of Henry's interest in the house, however, these entries in the Charter Rolls are recorded next to a number of other confirmations of charters previously issued by both King Richard and King John. The recipients of these charters are diverse: the church of St Mary in Stanley, Wiltshire; the church and canons at Mottisfont, Hampshire; the citizens of Winchester; the church of St Nicholas in Spalding, Lincolnshire; the abbot of St Nicholas, Angers; and an individual and his heirs who were in receipt of grants of land in Lincolnshire. This variety suggests a general trend of charter inspection at this time, with no focus on a particular social group or geographical region.

In fact, Henry gave very little to Maiden Bradley, only two tuns of wine – a tun of 'good wine' to be provided by the bailiffs of Southampton, out of the farm of the town in 1241, and the other tun by the bailiffs of Bristol in 1247.[57] In 1267, whilst staying at Clarendon Palace, approximately 30 miles away from Maiden Bradley, Henry granted the house permission to hold a weekly market.[58] This would have been profitable for the house, at very little cost to the king.

Maiden Bradley was one of the leper-houses, along with St Giles at Holborn, Harbledown, St Lawrence's in Bristol, and for the Order of St Lazarus, and St Thomas the Martyr in Bolton, Northumberland that Henry allowed to be quit of two particular royal taxes in the early 1230s.[59] At the beginning of the decade, the income from the fortieth was intended to cover the costs incurred by the king on his recent campaign in France.[60] The thirtieth tax was raised in 1237 with the purpose of financing the marriage of Henry's sister, Isabella, to Emperor Frederick II, and also to contribute towards the costs of Henry's own marriage to Eleanor.[61] The most

[54] Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, 3 vols., (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), ii, 412-3; *Annales Monastici*, iv, 431.
[55] *CPR, 1225-32*, 468.
[56] *CChR, 1226-57*, 41; ibid., 41-2; ibid., 41.
[57] *CLR, 1240-45*, 37; *CLR, 1245-51*, 126.
[58] *CChR, 1257-1300*, 85.
[59] *CCR, 1231-34*, 285; ibid., 303; ibid., 292; ibid., 303; ibid., 291; *CCR, 1234-37*, 114.
[60] F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, The Oxford History of England, 2nd edn., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 32.
[61] Ibid.

important quittance for leper-houses was issued in May 1237 when the king asserted that none of them should be expected to pay this tax:

> For hospitals of lepers and the sick - The king concedes generally through his whole land of England that all hospitals of lepers and their men should be quit of the thirtieth. And the sheriff of Lancaster and his assessors and collectors of the thirtieth that collect in the lands of the hospital of the lepers of Lancaster or their men should not demand or collect the thirtieth, and if perhaps the thirtieth should be demanded in the lands of the said lepers or of their men, no thirtieth should be collected there.[62]

Later the same year, similar orders were issued in the county of Somerset, for the lepers of Maiden Bradley, and for the sheriff of Buckinghamshire; in both instances Henry stipulated that the tax should not be collected unless he ordered otherwise.[63] In the order to the sheriff of Buckinghamshire, however, the hospitals of Lincoln and York were to be exempt from the quittance.

The final record regarding Maiden Bradley during Henry's reign was made in December 1271 'at the instance of Queen Eleanor', and granted the 'prior and convent' full use of some of their houses free from interference by the king's men: 'they shall have for ever their houses at Totehull by the houses of William le Knight quit of all livery of the king or his stewards, marshals and other bailiffs, so that none of these or of the king's household in harness be lodged therein without their special licence.'[64] 'Totehull' referred to Tothill, near Westminster, where the prior of Maiden Bradley between 1260 and 1286, John of Heytesbury, had acquired property.[65] The location appears to have been attractive to the king's officers for the purposes of stabling their horses, causing the prior to call upon the queen for her assistance in preventing such unauthorised use of the property. Eleanor herself rebuffed a royal escheator who questioned a grant to the house, with the queen emphasising the sense of royal ownership and a 'long-standing love' for the house.[66]

Henry was far more generous to the leper-house of St Peter's, at Windsor, probably because of his frequent visits to the town and his use of the castle. The leper-house was founded at some point prior to 1169; David Lewis has suggested that the building may have formed part of Henry

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[62] *CCR, 1237-42*, 2.
[63] *CCR, 1234-37*, 569; ibid., 570; *CCR, 1237-42*, 8.
[64] *CPR, 1266-72*, 609.
[65] Pugh and Crittall (eds.), 'The Priory of Maiden Bradley', (297).
[66] British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 14 [Writ of Queen Eleanor of England (d. 1291), addressed to Sir Roger de Clifford, justice of the forest south of the Trent (d. × 1286), concerning Maiden Bradley Priory: Marlborough, 3 September 1270]. *'Valores vos non latere quod tardi nobis sunt vehementer comoda et promotiones domus nostre religiosis de Maydenbradelegh ratione affectiones quam gessimus iam est diu erga predictam domum ac priorem et conventum predictem domum.'*; Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 22.

II's town improvements, which included the building of walls around the castle's upper yard, and the construction of a new bridge over the river Thames, during the years 1170 and 1173.[67] Lewis has argued that the dedication of the hospital, to St Peter, was an important reason for King Henry III's benefactions. The first mention of this dedication dates from 1232, when the king granted a letter of protection to the brothers of the house.[68] Lewis highlights the connection between Edward the Confessor and St Peter (the Confessor built St Peter's Abbey at Westminster, and gave land, including some at Windsor, to the abbey) and proposes that Henry's involvement in Westminster Abbey and his devotion to Edward the Confessor may have prompted him to exhibit a personal interest in the house at Windsor.[69]

St Peter was a relatively rare dedicatee for leper-houses in England. The opportunity for patronage may have presented itself to Henry as a means of improving his standing with the saint, and also with the monks at Westminster, whose political support was so important to the king. As the dedication occurred prior to 1232, before Henry began financing the building of the Lady Chapel at Westminster, it is unlikely that the king himself had any influence on the naming of the house. The evidence suggests that Henry was so generous towards the house not because the inmates were lepers, or women, but because of its situation in relation to the royal castle, and its association with Edward the Confessor. His benefactions to the house relate closely to his patronage of Westminster Abbey.

Out of eleven entries in the chancery rolls, eight were issued while Henry was staying at Windsor. In 1241, Henry confirmed the leprous women's rights to 'fixed alms from the issue of the manor of Windsor', supporting them in their subsistence by providing a regular stream of income.[70] These fixed alms were provided also to the Benedictine nuns of Broomhill (*Bromhal*) in Sunningdale, a daughter-house of Chertsey Abbey, whose nuns staffed the leper-house.[71] This nunnery may have been founded by King John.[72] In late 1249 Godfrey de Lyston, keeper of the king's forest at Windsor, was charged with constructing a new building, worth 40 marks, for the use of the lepers; in February 1251, he was ordered to spend an additional ten marks for a house for the chaplain serving there.[73] The following month, Godfrey was ordered to allow the leprous

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[67] David Lewis, 'The Medieval Hospital of St Peter, New Windsor', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal,* 81 (2013), 99-106, (100).
[68] *CPR, 1225-32*, 465.
[69] *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. by J.M. Kemble, 6 vols., (London: English Historical Society, 1839), 178 §824; Lewis, 'Medieval Hospital of St Pete**r**', (101); Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 2nd edn., (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1997), 260.
[70] *CLR, 1240-45*, 47.
[71] Ibid.; Lewis, 'Medieval Hospital of St Pete**r**', (100).
[72] Webster, *King John*, 71; Ditchfield, P.H. and Page, W. (eds.).'The Priory of Bromhall' in *The Victoria History of the County of Berkshire. Vol 2,* Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), (80).
[73] *CLR, 1245-51*, 252; ibid., 334.

sisters to enclose 120 acres of land.[74] Further gifts included cattle, and timber for fencing their courtyard.[75] In addition, in 1263, the house was granted a quarter of the annual fee farm from the town of Windsor.[76] Lewis has calculated that this would have been worth approximately £12 10s (the average hospital income at the time being around £6) which, along with the large area of the forest granted to the house, meant that St Peter's was the 'largest and wealthiest landowner in Windsor after the Crown.'[77] Queen Eleanor also demonstrated an interest in the lepers at Windsor. In 1250, Henry ordered his clerk to provide the queen's almoner, brother Robert, with a cup of the value of five marks, and a chalice of the weight of 20*s*, for the use of the leprous sisters.[78]

The esteem in which Henry held this house is further emphasised by the wording of the grant of the 120 acres in 1251. The details of the grant are recorded in the *Close Rolls*, but the corresponding entry in the *Charter Rolls* emphasises that this was not a one-way transaction. The grant was made 'for the souls of King John, Queen Isabel, Queen Eleanor and the king's children… to be held free of all secular service by finding a chaplain to say mass daily in the said hospital for the souls of the said King and Queen.'[79] In return for a material donation, Henry expected spiritual compensation. The trading of 'secular service' for lepers' participation in the mass was something that Henry had already offered earlier in his reign. In 1231, in a charter issued while the king was at Blaye in the Gironde, he granted freedom from military service, escort service and guard service to Bernard, citizen of Bordeaux.[80] In return for this quittance, Bernard and his heirs were obliged to collect alms for the use of the lepers of Bordeaux, who would in turn be expected to offer prayers for their benefactors. Hallam has compared this form of prayers for a patron to feudal service.[81]

Another leper-house with royal connections was the house of St Giles in Holborn, founded in the early twelfth century by Queen Matilda, first wife of King Henry I of England. Matilda endowed the house with 60*s* yearly income, a sum which was doubled by King Henry II later in the century in order to provide clothes and lighting for the lepers.[82] Henry III continued to endow the house, issuing eleven confirmations of the regular payment of 60*s* from the king's

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[74] *CCR, 1247-51*, 421.
[75] *CCR, 1259-61*, 338; *CCR, 1254-56*, 309., '*duas quercus ad faciendum inde palos ad clausturam curie'*
[76] *CCR, 1261-64*, 258-9., '*unum quadrantem de firm ville regis de Windes' de elemosina regis constituta'*
[77] Lewis, 'Medieval Hospital of St Pete**r**', (102).
[78] *CCR, 1247-51*, 264.
[79] *CChR, 1226-57*, 361.
[80] *CPR, 1225-32*, 391-2.
[81] Hallam, 'Aspects', i, 12.
[82] Cockburn, S., King, H.P.F., and McDonnell, K.G.T. (eds.). 'The Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Holborn', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 1,* Victoria County History, (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1969); *CChR, 1327-1341*, 192-4; John Parton, *Some Account of the Hospital and Parish of St. Giles in the Fields, Middlesex*, (London: L. Hansard, 1822), 6-7.

'appointed', 'established' or 'fixed' alms.[83] He did not, however, endow the house with any additional funds or possessions. Henry merely reconfirmed gifts which had previously been confirmed by Henry II, allowed them a quittance of the fortieth tax on their movable goods, and provided them, along with other hospitals and the poor in London, with 1,000 herrings in February 1260.[84] Two English houses which may have been founded by King Henry II – St Leonard's at Derby, and St Giles at Maldon – do not feature significantly in Henry III's chancery rolls. The lepers at Derby, along with a number of other religious houses, received a gift of 15 pigs (*bacones*) as a gift from the king in 1246, while the lepers at Maldon received only a letter patent offering protection in 1235.[85]

The leper-houses founded by King John, however, were more important to Henry. As more recent foundations, they may have been more in need of material assistance than houses established a century or more earlier. St Lawrence's at Bristol was founded in the late twelfth century, while John was count of Mortain.[86] As well as providing letters of protection to the house, Henry granted quittance from suits of court and of hundreds in 1224, then from the fortieth tax in 1233 (discussed above on page 172).[87] In 1248, the king confirmed a gift from Robert Top, of a stall or shop (*seldam*) in the suburb of Bristol.[88]

John is also believed to have founded the leper-house at Lancaster, dedicated to St Leonard, at a date between 1189 and 1194; the first mention of this house comes from a charter granted by John to the priory of Lancaster.[89] The rights of pasturage issued to the house by John were re-confirmed by Henry in 1226, 1229 and 1235.[90] The earliest of these confirmations suggests, however, that the house was older than has been thought. Permission granted to the lepers to graze their animals was ordered to be given 'as they had there in the times of King Henry, grandfather, King Richard, uncle, and King John, father of the Lord King.'[91] This belief in long-standing royal patronage was compounded in 1229, when the same rights were re-confirmed 'as they used to have in the time of King John', and in 1235, the reigns of King Henry II, Richard and

[83] *CLR, 1226-40*, 2; ibid., 107; ibid., 153; ibid., 253; ibid., 296; ibid., 361; ibid., 438; *CLR, 1240-45*, 161; ibid., 225; ibid., 284; *CLR, 1267-72*, 255.
[84] *CChR, 1226-57*, 435; *CCR, 1231-34*, 292; *CCR, 1259-61*, 239.
[85] *CCR, 1242-47*, 425; *CPR, 1232-47*, 96.
[86] Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 347.
[87] *CPR, 1216-25*, 429; *CPR, 1247-58*, 73; ibid., 489; *CPR, 1216-25*, 428; *CCR, 1231-34*, 291.
[88] *CPR, 1247-58*, 20.
[89] Farrer and Brownbill (eds.). 'The Hospital of St. Leonard, Lancaster'; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 368.
[90] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1224-27*, 131b; *CCR, 1227-31*, 182; *CCR, 1234-37*, 121.
[91] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1224-27*, 131b.'*… sicut ea ibidem habuerunt temporibus Henrici Rex avi, Ricardi Rex avunculi et Johannes Rex patris domini Rex usque ad guerram tunc.*'

John are referenced again.[92] These pasturage rights were also re-confirmed without reference to Henry's predecessors, but with additional concessions. In 1227, the king granted to the house the right to take wood for both 'fuel and timber', as well as being quit from the obligation of paying 'for winter pasture one ox and for summer pasture one cow, during the king's pleasure'.[93] These confirmations were probably prompted by the interruption of the house's rights during the civil war in John's reign; the 1226 confirmation refers to their rights of pasturage that they held 'until the war at that time.'[94] In 1229, Henry confirmed that the house should enjoy these same rights, and the rights to collect dead wood, for a further 15 years.[95] Despite the numerous confirmations and grants to the house in the early part of Henry's reign, however, the chancery rolls contain nothing for this house later than 1237, suggesting that Henry's relationship with this particular leper-house was reactive. If the house had been founded by John, Henry may well have been more interested in its welfare.

Chesterfield was another house founded by King John as count of Mortain, and again this leper-house featured regularly in the chancery rolls in the early part of Henry's reign.[96] The house was originally endowed by John with the issues of a fair and market in the town; this was later amended to a payment of £6 from the manor of the town, re-confirmed by Henry on several occasions.[97] Further grants from Henry to the house included timber from the royal wood at Carburton, for repairing their chapel, and the rights of pasturage over an area of six acres in the High Peak forest in Derbyshire.[98] Not all of the beneficiaries of John's charity saw a similar continuation, however. In 1197, John had granted the rights to a fair to the leper-house at Stourbridge Common, outside Cambridge; this leper-house did not feature at all in the chancery records during his son's reign.[99]

The details of the foundation of the leper-house at Guildford are unknown, but the records from the thirteenth century hint at a royal background. The house was dedicated to St Thomas Becket, suggesting a late twelfth-century foundation, although an existing house may have been re-dedicated following the archbishop's canonisation. The first known reference to the leper-house is found in the *Memoranda Roll* from 1199, which mentions a man named Willelmus Norrensis

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[92] *CCR, 1227-31*, 182.'*… sicut ea habere consueverunt tempore domini J. regis patris nostrio et nostri…*'; *CCR, 1234-37*, 121. '*… temporibus Henrici regis, avi nostri, Ricardi regis, avunculi nostri, et domini Johannis regis patris nostri …*'
[93] *CLR, 1226-40*, 23; *CFR*, 11 Henry III, m. 8.
[94] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1224-27*, 131b.
[95] *CCR, 1227-31*, 182.
[96] Webster, *King John*, 195; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 351.
[97] *CFR*, 9 Henry III, m. 3; *CChR, 1226-57*, 177; *CCR, 1231-34*, 215; ibid., 454; *CPR, 1232-47*, 57.
[98] *CCR, 1227-31*, 12; ibid., 277.
[99] National Archives, SC 5/CAMBS/TOWER/1, m.5 [Cambridge Hundred Rolls].

as being resident in the *domo leprosorum Geldef'*.[100] The house's royal connections are suggested by its importance to Henry III, particularly in the fact that he paid for the chaplains there to serve the lepers, and these chaplains were associated with the royal chaplains. In 1252, Henry granted 50*s* to the sheriff of Surrey to pay the wages of three chaplains.[101] Two of these were to serve in the king's own castle, and the other in the leper-house (or hospital) dedicated to St Thomas Becket in the town. This payment was confirmed twice in 1255, in January and October, and also in 1257 and 1259.[102] The continued association of the castle's chaplains with the leper-house's chaplains suggests that Henry viewed the house with considerable regard, and the prayers of the lepers there to be spiritually important. The funding of altars and chaplains was a means of ensuring that one's requests for prayers were fulfilled.[103] The leper-house only appears once more in the chancery rolls, although this does not relate to Henry himself giving to the lepers; in 1229, he confirmed a gift made by Ralph le Broc, in the time of Henry II, of land without the east gate of the town.[104]

Order of Saint Lazarus

In addition to leper-houses providing care for lepers throughout England, Henry's benefactions extended to the Order of Saint Lazarus. As discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis (see page 52), the principal purpose of the order's presence in England was to raise funds to send back to Jerusalem, to provide for lepers there. The provision of care in England was minimal. In 1217 Henry, while still a minor, granted the order letters of protection, to enable them to fulfil their role of alms collection; two further letters patent were issued in 1271.[105] Henry made some effort to ensure the continuing annual payment of 40 marks 'pursuant to the charters of Henry II and King John.'[106] Payment of this sum was sporadic until 1240; for the next two decades it appears to have been made reasonably regularly, after which it disappears from the records for the rest of Henry's reign.[107] David Marcombe has noted that petitions were sent to Henry after 1260, asking the king to either confirm Henry II's charter, or to 'discharge it with the long-awaited grant of property.'[108] The payment appears again during the reign of Edward I, when

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[100] *The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas term of the first year of the reign of King John (1199-1200)*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society (London: Printed for the Pipe Roll Society by J. W. Ruddock & Sons, 1943), 19.
[101] *CLR, 1251-60*, 62.
[102] Ibid., 194; ibid., 243; ibid., 374; ibid., 492.
[103] Erin L. Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 99.
[104] *CChR, 1226-57*, 94.
[105] *CPR, 1216-25*, 67; ibid., 443; ibid., 536; *CPR, 1266-72*, 526; ibid.
[106] *CChR, 1226-57*, 94.
[107] *CLR, 1226-40*, 104; ibid., 144; ibid., 235; ibid., 238; ibid., 500; *CLR, 1240-45*, 182; ibid., 285; *CLR, 1245-51*, 44; ibid., 115; ibid., 178; ibid., 232; ibid., 283; ibid., 343; ibid., 383; *CLR, 1251-60*, 124-5; ibid., 172; ibid., 213; ibid., 284; ibid., 370; ibid., 485.
[108] Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, 49.

Henry's son renewed the payment of 40 marks 'which the Lord King Henry, our father, by his charter, (which we have seen,) granted to the lepers aforesaid yearly… of his appointed alms.'[109] In addition to the fixed alms, in 1241 Henry ordered the 'men of Staunford' (Stamford, Lincolnshire), to pay the 'brethren of the Hospital of St Lazarus, Jerusalem… 1 mark yearly which they used to receive in the time of earl Warenne.'[110] This occurred a year after the death of William de Warenne, the fifth Earl of Surrey; the fact that this mandate does not recur in the *Liberate* rolls suggests that William's heir was again making the customary payments to the order. As mentioned above (page 172), in 1233, Henry mandated that the order should be quit of the king's fortieth tax, alongside a number of other leper-houses.[111]

Spiritual sustenance

As is clear from the discussion above, there were many ways in which the king could support leper-houses. For the king, hopeful for his salvation, one important way in which he could help the leper-houses to fulfil their potential was to provide them with the necessary means for prayer and worship. This could be through the provision of chapels, chaplains, or liturgical items to be used in services.

The fabric of lepers' churches and chapels, and their building and repair, occurs on several occasions in the chancery rolls. The donation of oaks to the leper-house at Chesterfield has been referred to above (see page 177).[112] The leper-house of St Giles at Wycombe was given a special letter patent of protection in 1228, instructing people to be generous to the lepers as they sought alms for the repair of their church.[113] In 1233, Henry gave the same lepers ten oaks from his forest at Brill, for the repair of their chapel, and in the same year the lepers at Wallingford received one oak for making shingles, for the repair of their church.[114] In 1232, the lepers at Marlborough received 15 oaks to allow them to rebuild their chapel, and one oak was given to the lepers at Crowmarsh for shingles, to repair the roof of their church.[115] Marlborough, like Windsor, Oxford and Guildford, was the site of a royal residence. In 1234, a sum of 40 *sous tournois* was given by the king to the lepers of St Nicholas, at Grouville, Jersey, for a light in their church.[116]

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[109] *Issues of the Exchequer : being a collection of payments made out of His Majesty's revenue, from King Henry III to King Henry VI inclusive.* , F. Devon (ed.), Pell Records (London: John Murray, 1837), 101.
[110] *CLR, 1240-45*, 39.
[111] *CCR, 1231-34*, 291.
[112] *CCR, 1227-31*, 12.
[113] *CPR, 1225-32*, 233.
[114] *CCR, 1231-34*, 235; ibid., 238.
[115] Ibid., 44; ibid., 75.
[116] Ibid., 411.

Henry was also concerned about the presence of chaplains. The leper-house of St James and St Mary Magdalene at Chichester was not close to any royal residences, but the house itself benefited from a tradition of royal patronage. It may have been founded by Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I; later in the twelfth century Henry II issued a charter confirming existing gifts of land, tithes and other property.[117] One of the witnesses to this charter was Manasser Biset, Henry II's steward who had founded the house at Maiden Bradley. Henry III was thus continuing this tradition of royal patronage. In 1244, William Burdun was appointed chaplain there, after the death of the previous chaplain, Thomas; Henry granted William custody of the hospital, while also issuing a 'mandate to the dean and chapter to admit him.'[118] The chaplain at Chichester was paid 2*d* a day as 'fixed alms.'[119] This payment continued following the death of William Burdun later in the 1240s, when Henry granted custody of the house to the new chaplain, Leger de Hampton, and ordered the sheriff of Sussex to continue to issue the payment.[120] In 1248, the king confirmed the yearly stipend of 60*s* for the chaplain at 'St James' hospital without Chichester', to be paid 'without fail.'[121] In 1249, the king provided a house for the chaplain at Windsor (see page 174).[122] As discussed above (pages 169 and 175), the women at Windsor also received a cup and a chalice by the king's gift, and the hospitals at Ospringe and Oxford, as well as the *Domus Conversorum* in London, also received a silver-gilt cup for the Eucharist.[123]

Material assistance

More tangible support was provided in the form of financial aid, wood for construction or for fuel, food and livestock. Monetary grants to leper-houses were by far the most common type of grants, forming over one-sixth of the total. Many of these pertain to royal alms that pre-dated Henry's reign. These regular alms are referred to on several occasions, with the terms 'established', 'fixed', 'appointed', *constituta,* and *statuta,* although not all were recorded regularly in the chancery rolls. The annual alms of 60*s* due to the house of St Giles in Holborn, discussed above (page 175), were supposed to be paid each year 'for Michaelmas' term.[124] This sum was recorded in the *Liberate Rolls* several times between 1225 and 1240, but not after this date.[125] The double entries in 1237, in February and November, suggest that payment was not always issued by the Treasury when it should have been. The lapses in payments in the 1240s may have

[117] *CPR Edward III, 1343-1345*, 119.
[118] *CPR, 1232-47*, 425.
[119] *CLR, 1240-45*, 236.
[120] *CPR, 1247-58*, 50; *CLR, 1245-51*, 208.
[121] *CLR, 1245-51*, 208.
[122] Ibid., 252; ibid., 334.
[123] *CCR, 1247-51*, 264; *CLR, 1240-45*, 268.
[124] Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 365.
[125] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1224-27*, 36; ibid., 203; *CLR, 1226-40*, 107; ibid., 2; ibid., 153; ibid., 296; ibid., 361; ibid., 253; *CLR, 1240-45*, 225; *CLR, 1226-40*, 438; *CLR, 1240-45*, 284; *CLR, 1267-72*, 255; *CLR, 1240-45*, 161.

been due to Henry's need to direct money towards the more pressing political problems he was facing at the time.

Delays in receiving money were incurred also by the leper-house at Harbledown, which was accustomed to receiving 20 marks of the king's alms. The payment appears to have been neglected for the first two decades of Henry's reign; in 1236, he ordered the bailiffs of Canterbury to allocate this sum, which 'is in arrear for the 20th year.'[126] The lepers at Harbledown were also accustomed to receiving £40 each year from the archbishopric of Canterbury, the house itself having been founded by archbishop Anselm in the late eleventh century. During periods when the archbishopric was vacant, Henry attempted to ensure this money was paid. The leper-house at Otford, in Kent, was given 35*s* in 1228 after the election of archbishop Walter d'Eynsham at Canterbury had been quashed at the papal Curia.[127] Similarly, the lepers at Winchester received 25*l* from the bishopric in 1239 after the election of Ralph Neville was also quashed by the Pope.[128] In 1257, regular payments of 20*s* a year to the lepers of Stourbridge, near Cambridge, were in arrears, leading the king to instruct John Walerand, keeper of the bishopric of Ely, to make the customary payments.[129]

Chesterfield's alms of £6 per annum from the king's alms (see page 177), were paid out in two instalments – half at the feast of St Michael, and the other half at Easter.[130] The house of St Mary Magdalene at Bristol was paid 20*s* per annum from the town of Carmarthen; in 1235, Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, was instructed to ensure the lepers received this money, as they used to receive before the town was in the king's hands.[131] Another payment of fixed alms in arrears was the sum due to the house of Burton Lazars, the hospital of the Order of Saint Lazarus in England. In 1259, Henry's treasurer and chamberlains were ordered to pay 30*s* to the house, a sum which only constituted 'part payment' of the arrears due, although neither the total amount owed, nor the regular sum which ought to have been paid are cited.[132] The lepers at Windsor received, each day, a quarter of the fee farm of the town (see page 175).[133] The assistance given to St Bartholomew's at Oxford is not clear. In 1248, the weekly 10*s* due to them (see page 171) was in arrears, prompting Henry to instruct the bailiffs of the town to pay the outstanding sums and ensure that future alms were paid as had been the custom to date.[134]

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[126] *CLR, 1226-40*, 246.
[127] Ibid., 110; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iii, 169-70; Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 72.
[128] *CLR, 1226-40*, 371; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iii, 495.
[129] *CCR, 1256-59*, 170.
[130] *CCR, 1231-34*, 215; ibid., 454.
[131] *CCR, 1234-37*, 102.
[132] *CLR, 1251-60*, 485.
[133] *CCR, 1261-64*, 258; *CCR, 1264-68*, 75.
[134] *CCR, 1247-51*, 29.

Financial support also took other forms, such as the market granted to the lepers at Maiden Bradley, and their successors, 'at their manor' (see page 172).[135] The hospital at Ospringe had been granted the rights to a weekly market at Headcorn, with the additional grant of an annual three-day fair to be held on the vigil, day and morrow of the feast of SS Peter and Paul.[136] The rights to markets and fairs was profitable for religious houses, who were able to secure money from tolls and also from gifts of alms from attendees, particularly if they were entitled to keep all the profits.[137] There is no stipulation from Henry III that the funds received should be split, as Henry II had ordered when granting a fair to the lepers in Rouen (discussed in the previous chapter).[138] Henry confirmed existing rights to hold fairs: to the lepers at Chesterfield 'pursuant to a charter of King John' (discussed above on page 177), and an *inspeximus* of a charter of King Richard to the lepers of St Mary Magdalene, Colchester, for a fair on the vigil and feast of St Mary Magdalene.[139] A fair was granted also to the leper-house at Clothall, by Baldock in Hertfordshire; this was permitted to be held during Henry's minority, for two days each year on the vigil and feast of St Bartholomew.[140] This permission was granted when the king was at Baldock, suggesting that a personal request had been made by the warden of the leper-house. This fair is unusual for being held at the feast of St Bartholomew, when the hospital was dedicated to St Mary Magdalene. The fairs granted to the leper-houses of St John the Baptist at Thetford, and St Margaret's at Wycombe, as well as the aforementioned fair at Colchester, were all held around the respective feast days of the hospitals' dedicatees.[141] The lepers in Bristol received confirmation of a gift of a stall (see page 176).[142] The specifics of what was sold on the stall, or how it was used, are not elaborated upon, but the very fact of its gift suggests that it would provide financial profit to the benefit of the lepers.

Timber for the construction of buildings was given to leper-houses by the king on numerous occasions. The building of chapels and churches has been discussed above (page 179), but additional gifts of building material were also made by the king, without any specification of its particular purpose. The lepers at Marlborough received eight tree-trunks and 16 branches, for making shingles, and the lepers at Oxford received six oaks for the same purpose.[143] Many

[135] *CChR, 1257-1300*, 85.
[136] *CChR, 1226-57*, 362.
[137] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 314.
[138] Brenner, 'Mont-aux-Malades', (225).
[139] *CChR, 1226-57*, 177; *CChR, 1257-1300*, 99.
[140] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1224-27*, 107.
[141] *CChR, 1226-57*, 168; ibid., 96; *CCR, 1227-31*, 176.
[142] *CPR, 1247-58*, 20.
[143] *CCR, 1231-34*, 6; ibid., 162.

houses also received either gifts of wood to be used as firewood, or, for the lepers at Bridgnorth and Maiden Bradley for example, the liberty to collect their own firewood unhindered.[144]

Gifts of food were relatively rare, but did occur on occasion. A gift made in 1224 to lepers in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire may have been less than welcome, however. Following a siege of the castle by royalist forces against the king's enemy Falkes de Breauté, the castle and its contents were seized. Henry ordered the sheriffs of the two counties to give any 'rotten or old' bacons found in the store of the castle to be given 'in alms to the lepers and paupers where it will seem to him to be most useful. He is to reserve safely those which are good to the use of the king until the king orders otherwise.'[145] In January 1246, Henry confirmed the annual gift of a carcase of bacon for the lepers of Chichester.[146] In May of the same year, a number of poor religious houses were given a quantity of bacons, including 15 to the lepers at Alkmonton; 15 to the lepers at Chesterfield; 20 to the lepers outside Tutbury, and 15 to the lepers at Lichfield.[147] As discussed above (page 169), Henry issued an order in 1244 for 15 cows to be given to the *pauperibus leprosis* at Oxford and at Ospringe.[148] Finally, in 1269, Henry directed to the leprous women at Windsor a gift of 100 eggs and 10 'good cows'.[149] The distribution of food as a form of alms-giving is evident in February 1260; while in Thérouanne, in the Pas-de-Calais, Henry ordered for the distribution of four lasts of herrings to a number of poor religious houses, including 1,000 each to the lepers of St Giles, London; St James at Westminster; and to the leprous nuns at St Mary de Pré near St Albans.[150] The poverty of this latter house was attested to by Matthew Paris in 1254, when he commented that they had barely enough to live on.[151]

Feeding the poor

More frequent than the giving of food was the granting of money in order to feed lepers and the poor. This money was intended to be distributed generally to those in need in a particular location, rather than directed towards particular leper-houses. Lepers in London benefited particularly from this charity. Henry frequently filled the halls at Westminster with paupers, and ordered money to directed towards feeding the poor and the sick both in London and elsewhere in his kingdom on many occasions. Even when visiting King Louis IX and his family in Paris,

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144 Ibid., 67; *CCR, 1234-37*, 282; ibid., 288; *CCR, 1251-33*, 358.
145 *CFR 1224-1225*.
146 *CLR, 1245-51*, 19.
147 *CCR, 1242-47*, 425.
148 Ibid., 214.
149 *CCR, 1259-61*, 338.
150 Ibid., 238-9. A last of herrings is the equivalent of 12 barrels of fish; a last of red herrings or pilchards was between 10,000 and 13,200 fish. Oxford English Dictionary, '"last, n.2"', <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/106002?rskey=Yz6FSm&result=2>, (accessed 10 April 2018).
151 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v, 452. *'... ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Pratis ubi misellæ vix habent vitæ necessaria ...'*

Henry was noted for his munificent almsgiving.[152] In December 1244, the king ordered his treasurer, William de Haverhull, to pay £14 17*s* 8.5*d* feeding 'Friars Preachers, Friars Minors, nuns, lepers and all the poor of all the hospitals of London', in memory of Joanna, countess of Flanders, who had died a few weeks earlier.[153]

This generous payment was the only one of Henry's many significant acts of almsgiving that specifically included lepers, and sums were probably distributed to all the leper-houses in London, and especially to the houses of St Giles in Holborn, and St James at Westminster. The allocation of over £200 to feed the 50,000 poor in Oxford and Ospringe (see page 169) occurred at the same time as another donation of a further £8 to feed 2,000 poor at Ankerwycke and Broomhill.[154] As discussed above (page 174), the nuns at Broomhill were associated with the leper-house of St Peter's at Windsor; the nuns at Ankerwycke (near Runnymede) may also have been involved in staffing the leper-house. Both of these nunneries were also included in the groups of religious that received herrings from Henry's alms in 1260 (see page 176).

Lepers who were not resident in a leper-house also had the opportunity to benefit from the king's almsgiving, by attending the palace of Westminster on the occasions when the king distributed alms. At Queen Eleanor's coronation in 1236, the royal almoner, William of Beauchamp, was given powers 'over the quarrels and faults of the poor and the lepers, to this point, that if one leper strikes another with a knife, he may adjudge him to be burnt.'[155] This suggests that these were tumultuous events, with all the poor and sick scrambling for charity, and lepers were not excluded from the alms-giving. Aside from pittances for food, Henry also frequently gave out great quantities of shoes and clothes.[156]

The king's practice of feeding the poor has been discussed extensively by Sally Dixon-Smith, and so a full examination of this will not be included here.[157] One aspect of her research that offers an insight into Henry's regular practice of feeding the poor is an analysis of the expenditure of the royal household during the regnal year from October 1259 until October 1260 – the only surviving household roll from Henry's reign. Almost every day of the year contained an expense record for the provision of food for at least 100 *fratres*; on most days the figure was 150, whilst on more significant dates the numbers rose dramatically, such as 1,500 on the feast of St Edward

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[152] Ibid., v, 481. *'Et splenduit fama ejus, quam sustulerunt Franci ad sidera, tum propter largitatem munerum suorum, tum propter dapsilitatem illius diei et copiosam elemosinam …'*
[153] *CCR, 1242-47*, 279; *CLR, 1240-45*, 306; Jordan, *Women, Power and Patronage*, 111.
[154] *CLR, 1240-45*, 124.
[155] *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, H. Hall (ed.), 3 vols. (London: HMSO, 1896), 759. *'De elemosina colligenda servivit Willelmus de Bello Campo ad quem illud officium de jure spectat ; qui ea die habet omnem jurisdictionem circa rixas et delicta pauperum et leprosorum ; adeo quod si leprosus alium cultello percusserit, judicare eum ut comburatur.'* ; Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief', (156).
[156] *CLR, 1240-45*, 276; ibid., 279; *CLR, 1245-51*, 52; *CLR, 1251-60*, 16 et al.
[157] Dixon-Smith, 'Image and Reality'; Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor'.

the Confessor (6 January) and 450 on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day.[158] The majority of these entries refer solely to *fratres*; however a number of entries include '*etc*' after the word '*fratres*', suggesting that the language used in this roll was abbreviated for the sake of convenience, and does not reveal the full range of people who benefited from Henry's charity.[159] David Carpenter, in his discussion of Henry's and Louis' meeting at St Omer (the French king visited Henry there in April 1260, while Henry, concerned about his safety, was delaying his return to England after visiting Paris) translates *fratres* simply as 'paupers', opening up the possibilities of all the local poor and needy – including lepers – being included in this group.[160]

Protection and Liberties

The final form of patronage to be discussed is that of protection, quittances and liberties. Although these did not constitute tangible gifts, the granting of such privileges allowed leper-houses to profit in a number of ways. Leper-houses were not entirely dependent on income from land or regular alms payments, either from the king or from other individuals, and lepers, or representatives of leper-houses, therefore had to leave their houses in order to request alms. Letters patent, which promised protection to those seeking such alms, were issued on many occasions to leper-houses, in different forms. Those placed under protection might have been the master and brethren, the warden, the messengers (*nuncii*), or the lepers themselves. Some hospitals employed proctors or agents to carry out collections of alms.[161] There were 86 different recipients of letters of protection, out of a total of 137 leper-houses and individuals that appear in the chancery rolls, so the majority were evidently in need of royal protection at some point. Leper-houses varied greatly in size and income, and the additional revenue collected through alms-giving would have been essential for the survival of some houses; the king's protection ensured their livelihood and safety. These letters served to distinguish the agents of leper-houses from vagrant beggars, allowing alms-collection to be carried systematically.[162]

Some of the recorded entries are very brief, for instance 'Protection without term for the lepers of the hospital of St Giles, Stamford.'[163] Others were far more expansive in the detail of the lepers' possessions being protected, what rights were given to them by the letter, and also the duration of the term of protection. A letter issued to Dunstable in 1227, for example, placed the

[158] Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', 275; The National Archives, TNA E101/349/27, m.4 [Account of expenses of the household. 42, 44 Hen III.]; ibid., m.3.
[159] Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', 273-83.
[160] The National Archives, TNA E101/349/27, m.5; Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings Henry III and Louis IX', (22); *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267*, ed. by R.F. Treharne and I.J. Sanders, Oxford Medieval Texts, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 180-1.
[161] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 288.
[162] Ibid., 290.
[163] *CPR, 1232-47*, 430.

house, and all of its residents and its possessions, under the king's custody and protection.[164] The leper-houses of St Edmund's at Blyth in Nottinghamshire, Holy Cross at Woodstock, and the lepers in Lincoln were also placed under royal protection.[165] The timing of these letters, during the late 1220s and early 1230s, suggests that the houses were facing difficulties during the ongoing disputes between baronial and royalist forces. Furthermore those who were approached by messengers of the house asking for alms were instructed: 'We ask you also that as their messengers come to you asking for your alms, that you receive them in the name of God and our favour, and you should give to them generously and charitably.'[166]

This instruction was abbreviated in the majority of entries in the patent roll simply as, for example, 'Protection with clause *rogamus'*.[167] A number of letters patent issued in the latter years of Henry's reign, between 1253 and 1271, were issued for protection, or 'simple protection' without clause.'[168] The use of the phrase *intuiti Dei* in the clause offers insight into the perceived nature of this form of patronage. The promise of spiritual reward – eternal mercy or recompense from God – in return for alms-giving is made more explicit in other letters patent, issued to leper-houses in Wycombe and Aylesbury, and to two leper-houses in Blyth.[169] Although this promise occurs rarely in the records, it was understood in all the other letters that included the 'clause *rogamus'*. In all other entries, it was there implicitly, reflecting the nature of alms-giving and charity at this time.

The duration of validity of the letters patent varied greatly. Many were 'without term' (*sine termino*). Two letters patent, issued while the king was still a minor, were offered only for the duration of the king's minority (*ad etatem domini regis*); both of these houses were founded by Henry's father.[170] The house of St Lawrence at Bristol, which received this protection in 1224, also had issued to it letters of 'simple protection' for three years in 1249, and a further seven

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[164] *CPR, 1225-32*, 118-9.
[165] Ibid., 321; ibid., 321-2; ibid., 481.
[166] Ibid., 118-9. '*Rogamus etiam vos quatinus cum ipsi vel eorum nuntii ad vos venerint pro elemosinis vestris petendis, eos intuitu Dei et nostro benigne recipiatis, et eis de bonis vestris caritative largiamini.*'
[167] Ibid., 493; ibid., 500; *CPR, 1232-47*, 41; *CPR, 1247-58*, 488.
[168] *CPR, 1247-58*, 194; ibid., 411; ibid., 415; ibid., 420; ibid., 488; ibid., 653; *CPR, 1258-66*, 92; ibid., 159; *CPR, 1266-72*, 261; ibid., 537.
[169] *CPR, 1225-32*, 174. *'cum predicti nuncii ad eos venerint ad sustentationem predictorum infirmorum elemosinas ab eis petituri, benigne eos admittant et de bonis suis eis caritative succurrant; ita quod preter mercedem eternam a nobis grates reportare debeant.'*; ibid., 485. *'cum ipsi vel eorum nuncii ad vos accesserint elemosinas petituri, de bonis vestris eis caritatem velitis impertiri; ita quod a Deo dignam inde debeatis retributionem exspectare.'*; ibid., 233. *'cum nuncii predictorum leprosorum ad vos venerint elemosinas a vobis petituri ad emendationem ecclesie sue et ad sustentation suam, de bonis vestris eis karitative largiamini; ita quod preter grates quas a nobis inde reportabitis temporales, retributionem a Deo debeatis expectare.'*; ibid., 321. '*cum nuncii ipsorum fratrum ad vos venerint a vobis elemosinas petituri, ipsos benigne suscipientes, eis de bonis vestris caritatis intuitu liberaliter erogare velitis; ita quod a Deo retributionem eternam exspectare et a nobis grates reportare possitis'.*
[170] *CPR, 1216-25*, 319; ibid., 429.

years in 1256.[171] Similarly, Chesterfield, the other recipient, was granted further protection 'without term' in 1235.[172] The leper-house at Maiden Bradley was offered specific protection in 1232, for access to the forest of Selwood in Somerset in order to collect wood and timber; this particular letter patent was declared to be valid for the term of the life of Margaret Biset (discussed above on page 172), sister of that house.[173]

Another form of patronage beneficial to lepers was the granting of rights, such as pasturage. As discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis (see page 37), Pope Alexander III had decreed at the Third Lateran Council that lepers 'should not be compelled to pay tithes for their gardens or the pasture of animals.'[174] This decree was repeated in the thirteenth century, as the papacy agreed not to demand taxes from leper-houses and hospitals.[175] Only three leper-houses were granted free pasturage by Henry, despite this being a form of grant that would not involve any expenditure or financial loss from royal funds. The pasturage rights of the lepers of St Leonard's at Lancaster, which they had enjoyed since the reign of Henry II, have been discussed above (page 166).[176] In 1229, the lepers of Chesterfield, also discussed above (page 177), were granted permission to use up to six acres for feeding their cattle.[177] In 1227, Henry granted free pasturage to the 'leprous women and the prior and brethren' at Maiden Bradley; they were permitted to take their 'beasts and pigs' into the common wood.[178]

The rights of the leprous women of Maiden Bradley were evidently questioned later in Henry's reign. In 1269, an inquisition was set up to establish whether or not King Henry II, when he founded the priory of Witham, had made provision for the pasturage of the animals belonging to Maiden Bradley.[179] It is not clear whether this permission was given because of the Lateran decree, emphasising the leper's rights, or whether they were granted these pasturage rights as an exception. The leper-houses that did have their rights confirmed by Henry, however, were all houses with royal connections – Lancaster and Chesterfield both founded by King John, and Maiden Bradley which was founded by Henry II's steward, and which enjoyed a history of royal patronage. The quittance granted to the leper-house of St Lawrence, at Bristol (see page 176), valid for two years, related to three acres of land that the house held directly from the king, for

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171 *CPR, 1247-58*, 73; ibid., 489.
172 *CPR, 1232-47*, 118.
173 *CPR, 1225-32*, 468.
174 *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, i, 222-4.
175 Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 257-8; William Edward Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1934), i, 278; ibid., ii, 162, 75, 82, 424.
176 *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1224-27*, 131b; *CLR, 1226-40*, 23; *CCR, 1227-31*, 182; ibid., 195; *CCR, 1234-37*, 121.
177 *CCR, 1227-31*, 277.
178 *CChR, 1226-57*, 41.
179 *CPR, 1266-72*, 378.

payment of 32*d*, and for which they had been pursued for the obligations attached to the land.[180] Henry ordered that they should be able to use the land with 'no trouble or annoyance.'[181]

Support for individual lepers

One of the residents at the house of St Giles at Chester, until 1241 at least, was a lady named Amice de Costentin. In this year, Henry ordered the justice of Chester, John le Strange, to pay 1*d* a day to Amice, a leper, for her maintenance, the same sum allocated by Henry to feeding individual paupers at his palace at Westminster.[182] Amice had evidently been in the leper-house for four years at least, as she had been accustomed to receiving this sum 'in the time of earl John.'[183] The earls of Chester had held a 'significant' amount of land in Normandy the twelfth century, which was further augmented in 1199 through a gift of land in western Normandy from King John, as a reward for the earl's support of the monarch and also through the marriage in 1204 of Earl Ranulph IV to Clemence of Fougères.[184] It is probable that Amice was a native of the Cotentin, western Normandy, who was connected to the earls, and had arrived in England with the household after the fall of Normandy and the earl's loss of lands there in 1204.

The chancery rolls show also that Henry supported members of his own retinue who had been afflicted with leprosy. In 1236, Henry granted to the leper-house of St Nicholas, Portsmouth, the house of the late William de la Wike.[185] This house had previously been granted by the king to Philip the Clerk, 'to maintain him for his life'.[186] The condition of this grant was that the master and brethren at St Nicholas would 'minister to the said Philip necessaries for his life, or find him in their goods wherewith to go to the Holy Land.'[187] The granting of Philip's house to the leper-house suggests that he was no longer physically capable of living alone, and was in need of care. It seems unlikely, therefore, that he would have been able to make the arduous journey to the Holy Land. Nevertheless, this may have been his desire and something that he requested of the king prior to the transfer of property. The fact that Henry made such provision suggests either that the two had a close relationship, or that someone close to Henry persuaded him to make this grant.

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[180] *CPR, 1216-25*, 428.
[181] Ibid.
[182] *CLR, 1240-45*, 90; Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', 90.
[183] *CLR, 1240-45*, 90.
[184] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154, Vol. 3: 1135-1154*, ed. by H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, Reprint. edn., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 64 §180; Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 215; ibid., 34; Nicholas Vincent, 'Twyford under the Bretons 1066-1250', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 41 (1997), 80-99, (85).
[185] *CPR, 1232-47*, 134.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.

Another individual whose relationship to the king is not made clear is a man named only as Robert, who in 1230 entered the leper-house of St Katherine's, Lincoln. Robert was given 20*s* 'of the king's gift' towards a pittance for the lepers when he entered the house.[188] This was a relatively common practice – new entrants would provide a meal for all the resident lepers upon their arrival.[189] Like Philip, Robert must have been in the king's favour, for the king had specifically 'requested the dean and chapter of Lincoln to introduce him as a brother of the hospital.'[190] Another individual had also been admitted to the same house at Lincoln, two years earlier, with the king's assistance. Henry Armagant, whose name suggests he may have been a squire or attendant to the king, was granted 1*d* a day – the same sum received by Amice de Costentin – for as long as he remained at St Katherine's.[191] In 1256, Walter Wastehus, 'who has long served the king and is infected with the stain of leprosy' was given 20*s* 'of the king's gift', when he entered the leper-house of St Julian by St Alban's, 'where he proposes to end his days'.[192] As this amount is the same as that given to Robert, it was possibly intended for the same purpose, to provide a meal for the other lepers.

Other individuals were given support to be able to live outside of a leper-house. In 1254, Simon de Lardario, who had been struck with leprosy – *lepra percusso* – was given 2*d* a day of the king's alms, for as long as he lived.[193] His name suggests that he worked in the larder in the royal household. This is twice as much as Amice de Costentin and Henry Armagent received, but the payment was ordered to be taken at the Exchequer - *percipiendum ad Scaccarium* – suggesting that Simon was free and able to attend the Exchequer in order to receive his alms, and the extra payment was to allow to him to live independently. Simon also had letters patent, which would have granted him protection when he asked for alms. Another named leper was also granted protection by Henry – Peter le Puleter, who may have supplied poultry to the king, received 'simple protection' in 1267.[194]

That these individuals were part of the royal household is very likely, as other entries in the chancery rolls state explicitly the status of other lepers. In 1244, Brito, 'the king's yeoman', was granted 10 marks a year, four years' worth of which was to be paid in advance, after he was 'tainted', or 'stricken' with leprosy, and probably leaving royal service as a result of his illness.[195]

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[188] *CLR, 1226-40*, 163.
[189] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 296; Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 54; ibid., 317. *'A chacun des dix ladres le jour de reception de Marguerite Falecque "pour leur droit accoustumé"'* [Saint-Omer]; ibid., 266. *'Item pour aultre despense de bouche fait le jour du service de ladite Lussette LXXVI s.'* [Hénin-Liétard]
[190] *CLR, 1226-40*, 163.
[191] Ibid., 63.
[192] *CLR, 1251-60*, 303.
[193] *CCR, 1253-54*, 302.
[194] *CPR, 1266-72*, 52.
[195] *CLR, 1240-45*, 211; *CPR, 1232-47*, 418.

The advance payment (£26 13*s* 4*d*) was probably enough to buy a corrody in a leper-house. His very generous daily allowance from 10 marks a year would be over 4*d* – far more than Henry Armagant or Simon de Lardario. It is probable that it was deemed no longer appropriate for these individuals to continue with their duties in the royal household (this may have applied particularly to those involved in the provision of food, as Simon de Lardario's name suggests). The sums of money may have been provided as a form of pension to sustain them until they were in need of day-to-day care in a leper-house. A further gesture towards an individual appears in the Fine Rolls in 1250. An individual named 'William de Hay of Hertford' was pardoned a sum of 10 marks for which he had previously been amerced. William is described as being 'sick (*morbo*) with leprosy'.[196] Although his illness is not explicitly given as a reason for the pardon, the reference to it suggests that because of his condition he was unable to pay the monies owed.

Conclusion

Whether or not Henry was more or less generous than his ancestors in the practice of giving to leper-houses and lepers is not possible to say with absolute confidence, principally because of the increased amount of evidence available for Henry's reign compared to earlier English kings. The various chancery rolls include many details not provided by charters, the principal form of evidence of patronage from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. One factor which would have made a difference was Henry's presence in England for most of his reign, unlike the twelfth-century kings. The chancery records show that he was in the habit of making grants and concessions to leper-houses when his itinerary took him within their vicinity, as wardens and masters would have been able to petition the king directly. The increased visibility and personal contact might have enabled certain leper-houses to achieve more frequent concessions than they could have during the reigns of Henry II and Richard, for example. This applies particularly to leper-houses which were located close to Henry's palaces.

The acts of Henry's predecessors, however, were important. Throughout Henry's reign, there is a strong sense of his awareness of the tradition of royal patronage. The founders of royal houses are referred to in charters, and fixed payments are made with reference to long-standing custom. While this applies to leper-houses founded in the early twelfth century, such as St Bartholomew's in Oxford and St Giles in Holborn, for example, Henry was also particularly mindful of his father's foundations at Lancaster, Chesterfield and Bristol. Tradition was not his only concern however, as can be seen in his interest in Windsor and Ospringe, both of which received particular royal attention. Eleanor appears in these records only very occasionally, but she was certainly involved in patronage to Windsor and Maiden Bradley, displaying an interest

[196] *CFR*, 34 Henry III (1249–50), m.15.

in the welfare of leprous women, and may have prompted Henry to provide further gifts to which her name was not attached in the records.

There is a clear sense of royal duty throughout Henry's reign, but his personal concern is demonstrated also by the attention paid to the individuals around him who contracted leprosy. The manner in which they were treated, either maintained in the comfort of a leper-house or given sufficient money to be able to live independently, is illustrative of contemporary reactions towards leprosy. Although Henry was far less likely to seek the company of lepers than Louis was, as has been discussed earlier in this thesis (page 138), in the matter of patronage his actions reflect the expectations of a pious king.

Chapter 7: King Louis IX's patronage to Lepers

In the practice of alms-giving, Louis exceeded royal tradition, and this was recognised in contemporary hagiographies and biographies. Jean de Joinville noted that the king was generous to religious houses, including leper-houses, wherever he travelled within his kingdom.[1] In addition, he gave food to a great number of paupers. William of Saint-Pathus recorded Louis' custom of assisting the poor religious, of the Cistercian order and other orders, as well as the 'lepers being cared for in the hospitals of all parts of France and to other people who were in poverty …'[2] Joinville lists his hospital foundations too – at Paris, Pontoise, Compiègne and Vernon, and describes how he gave generously to each of them.[3] Geoffrey of Beaulieu, in his chapter on Louis' works of mercy and other expansive alms-giving, wrote that he would give frequently and generously to the poor religious, including leper-houses. Geoffrey did not list all the alms-giving, or all the recipients because he did not think that anyone could recount them all – *quis enarrare sufficeret* – a sentiment expressed also in Boniface VIII's canonisation bull and in the *Vita* of William of Nangis.[4] William recognised that he could not remain 'silent' on the matter, but also that he was not capable of fully describing Louis' charitable acts.[5]

Elizabeth Hallam has described the amount of money distributed by Louis IX to the religious orders as being 'exceedingly high compared with that of his predecessors.'[6] Jacques Le Goff suggests that this level of alms-giving was an 'obsession' of Louis', and an 'ambiguous solicitude that wavered between charity and imprisonment.'[7] He refers also to the criticism directed towards the king for his excess in this area.[8] C. H. Lawrence cites the friars' 'apostolic zeal' as coinciding with Louis' 'own sense of pastoral obligations', influencing the king's benefactions towards hospitals and leper-houses.[9]

Sources

In contrast to the abundant evidence for thirteenth-century England, very few accounts survive from the French treasury from this period. Part of the reason for this is the approach to record-keeping adopted by the French royal chancery. Whereas the English courts had begun using registers, or rolls, to record copies of all documents at the time at which they were issued, the administration in France instead kept loose copies which were not centrally stored. Storage

[1] Joinville, *Vie*, 345, §690; ibid., 359-63, §722-§29.
[2] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (92).
[3] Joinville, *Vie*, 359 §723.
[4] Geoffrey de Beaulieu. 'Vita', (11); 'Bonifaci VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione'. (157).
[5] William of Nangis. 'Gesta sanctæ memoriæ Ludovici', (406).
[6] Hallam, 'Aspects', 39.
[7] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 52; ibid., 776.
[8] Ibid., 818.
[9] Lawrence, *The Friars*, 166. An extensive list of Louis' patronage from the household accounts and royal alms rolls is included in Appendix V.

itself was also a problem until the early fourteenth century; until the building of the Trésor des Chartes in the royal palace on the Île-de-la-Cité was completed, the monarchy had no permanent storage repository. As Jean Dunbabin has suggested, it is likely that a number of documents would consequently have been mislaid before this time.[10] A further difficulty for the historian is that the royal chancery was in the habit of recording only documents which were deemed to be of permanent interest; those which were believed to be more transient were not retained, unfortunately removing potentially valuable information about the day-to-day life of the royal court.[11] The laxity of the French administration is surprising considering that the royal chanceries in England and Sicily, and the administration in Poitou, were already ensuring that copies of all documents issued were being recorded and stored. A number of accounts that did survive from this period were burnt during a fire in the Chambre des Comptes in 1737, and further documents were destroyed during the French Revolution.[12]

The royal household accounts that have survived, mostly in parchment form, from Louis' reign, have been published in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (*RHF*). All accounts were returned three times a year, on the first days of January, May and September, a tradition dating back to the Roman empire, and one which was adapted to fit Christian festivals.[13] After 1190, payments and receipts were recorded in three terms throughout the year – Candlemas, Ascension, and All Saints.[14] Those that contain references to gifts of alms are the *Recepta et Expensa* for the period between Candlemas and Ascension in 1233; the *Itinera, Dona et Hernesia* receipts and expenses for the period between Ascension and All Saints in 1239; and the accounts of the Bailiffs and Provosts for the terms beginning at Ascension in 1234 and 1248. Finally, the *RHF* also contains accounts of Jean Saracen, Louis IX's chamberlain, for the period between Candlemas 1256 and All Saints in 1257, which have surprisingly survived in their original wax tablet form, and the contents of which have been recently published and analysed by Élisabeth Lalou.[15]

Robert-Henri Bautier has shown, using evidence from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that the royal almoner would have kept two sets of accounts: one for regular donations to hospitals and religious houses, and another for 'casual' alms, which were distributed by the king

[10] Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305*, 254.
[11] Ibid., 255-6.
[12] Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Le premier budget de la monarchie française*, 2 vols., (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 1932), i, 2.
[13] Ibid., i, 6.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Les comptes sur tablettes de cire de Jean Sarrazin, chambellan de saint Louis*, ed. by Élisabeth Lalou, Monumenta palaeographica medii aevi Series gallica, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

on his travels.[16] Bautier has studied a collection of accounts from the royal almonry between 1351 and 1422, which lists payments made by the sub-almoner to hospitals, leper-houses and other poor religious establishments.[17] Although this is far later than Louis IX's reign, the provenance of the list, as will be discussed below, has been dated to the late twelfth century, with additions in the early thirteenth century. The payments on the list correspond to a charter issued by Louis in 1260, for alms to be distributed each year at Lent.

Administration

The French royal almonry was one of six *métiers* established by Philip Augustus, who in the late twelfth century copied the household organisation instituted by Henry II in England.[18] It is known that he met Henry's almoner, Frère Roger, in 1187, and the idea of a dedicated royal almoner may have stemmed from this meeting. Xavier de la Selle has suggested that the almoner, along with the royal confessor, held an 'eminent' position at the royal court.[19] Unfortunately little is known of the role of the almoner in the French court in the thirteenth century, other than that they were always members of the Knights Templars – the military order acted as the royal bankers, and their members were known to be experts in banking and financial management.[20] The Head of the Almonry would have been responsible for the distribution of regular alms within the royal domain as ordered by the king, and for keeping and returning accounts. One thirteenth-century royal almoner, Frère Chrétien, a Templar, has been identified in an act dating from 1220, concerning the leper-house at Melun.[21] His name appeared also in an act of 1230, indicating that he was still active during the early years of Louis' reign.

Louis's confessor, Geoffrey de Beaulieu, recorded that he himself would sometimes distribute alms on behalf of the king; the accounts of Jean Saracen contain seven references to alms given '*per fratrem G de Bello Loco*'.[22] Those afflicted with scrofula, who travelled to the royal court in order to receive the king's touch, would receive payment from the porter, a bailiff or the servant, but never the almoner.[23] During the peregrination of the royal entourage in 1234, a gift of 12*l* 8*s* to the poor at Issoudun, and another of 19*l* worth of bacons given to the poor at Lorris, were witnessed by a cook – *'teste A., coco*'.[24] In 1248, a royal cook by the name of Adam, who was in charge of the royal kitchens in the early years of Louis' reign, left money in his will to lepers of

[16] Robert Bautier, 'Les Aumônes du Roi aux Maladreries, Maisons-Dieu et Pauvres Établissements du Royaume', in *Assistance et assistés jusqu'à 1610*, (Paris: CTHS, 1979), (38).
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 48.
[19] Xavier de la Selle, *Le service des âmes à la cour : confesseurs et aumôniers des rois de France du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Mémoires et documents de l'Ecole des chartes, (Paris: École des chartes, 1995), 9.
[20] Ibid., 161.
[21] Ibid., 284.
[22] Geoffrey de Beaulieu. 'Vita', (6); Lalou (ed.), *Comptes*, 84-6.
[23] de la Selle, *Service des âmes*, 177.
[24] 'Recepta et expensa AD 1234'. in *RHF*, xxi (1855), 226-51, (231); ibid., 232.

Saint-Germain-des Prés at Paris and a number of other leper-houses including Saint-Lazare of Paris, Charlevanne and Poissy.[25] Having spent time with the royal court, Adam may have been influenced by the gifts of kings and queens to lepers and leper-houses; alternatively his charity may have been prompted by more personal reasons, perhaps the illness of a relative or friend.

Due to the scant survival of household accounts, and a near-complete absence of dates in the hagiographies, there is no indication as to whether Louis' patronage in the latter part of his reign, after his years away on crusade and the death of Blanche, was in any way different to the first 22 years. Louis' experience on crusade, between 1248 and 1254, affected him greatly. Le Goff noted that all those who subsequently wrote about Louis' life noted the marked change in him upon his return to France.[26] From being a king who had always ruled with 'simplicity', he became more austere, a trait which manifested itself both in his personal behaviour, and in the way in which he ruled his kingdom. During his time in the Holy Land, Louis experienced being held captive, the death of his brother Robert, the deaths of many of his compatriots, and finally the death of his mother, who had remained in France. Louis' generosity of alms, however, preceded his crusade. Joinville stated that 'from the moment that he took possession of his kingdom and he could take account of things, he started to build churches and several religious establishments, among which the abbey of Royaumont holds itself in honour and in grandeur…'[27] Thus, although the efficiency of his administration improved in the latter years of his reign, following the reforms implemented throughout his kingdom in the 1250s, in the practice of alms-giving, little changed.[28] Indeed, Damien Jeanne has suggested that royal gifts in Normandy decreased significantly after 1250, with the number of gifts in Louis' reign having peaked between 1230 and 1235 (the same pattern seen in England for Henry's patronage), a trend he attributes to poor harvests.[29]

Leper-houses with a tradition of royal patronage

Surprisingly, there is no firm evidence that Louis – or any other French kings or queens, for that matter – founded any leper-houses. As argued in the previous chapter, it is probable that the reason for Henry III of England not founding a new leper-house was that a number of royal foundations had already been made by his predecessors, and there was no need for a new royal house; previous kings and queens of England had founded at least eight, possibly eleven, leper-houses. In the case of the French monarchy, there was no clear precedent of royal foundation. The fact that Louis did not establish any new houses fits into the patterns of both his

[25] Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 171; Touati, *Maladie et société*, 503-4, n.79.
[26] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 334.
[27] Joinville, *Vie*, 359, §723.
[28] Carolus-Barré, 'Grande ordonnance', (85).
[29] Jeanne, 'Roi charitable', (107).

predecessors' patronage, and also of the changing needs of lepers over the course of the Middle Ages.

A detailed report of a leper-house on the outskirts of Pontoise, written in the nineteenth-century, suggested that its founder was Louis IX; however there is no solid evidence to support this claim; Léon le Grand stated that it was built by the townspeople.[30] Although le Grand described this leper-house as large, by the middle of the fourteenth century it housed only six lepers.[31] It is possible that local tradition had conflated the leper-house with the hospital in the same town, which Louis re-founded in the 1260s.[32] None of Louis' hagiographers suggest that he founded a leper-house either, although they all name the hospitals founded by the king, at Pontoise, Vernon and Compiègne. If he had founded a new leper-house, this would have been mentioned either with the hospitals, or else in the context of Louis' meetings with lepers.

The leper-house of Saint-Lazare in Paris, with its history of royal patronage (discussed fully in chapter 5), was the recipient of only one charter from Louis IX, and this was merely a *vidimus* of a charter issued by Philip Augustus prohibiting the leper-house from admitting individuals whose entry was insisted upon through the use of violence or aggression, unless this was by the king himself.[33] The belief in royal authority over the house continued in the thirteenth-century, however, as in 1249 Blanche of Castile appointed three prosecutors to the house to manage its temporal affairs.[34] The lepers here did continue to benefit regularly from established royal alms. The provost and bailiff accounts record that Saint-Lazare received the large sum of 80*l* each term, in both years.[35] This was a far greater sum than was given to other leper-houses – the lepers at Chinon, for example, received only 19*l* in the same terms; this may have been the continuation of an Angevin gift.[36]

La Saussaie also claimed a number of royal privileges, which they were unable to prove but which Louis nevertheless confirmed for them. This leper-house, located a few kilometres south of Paris, housed leprous women, and may have been founded by Louis VII, although this is not

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[30] Denis Trou, *Recherches Historiques, Archéologiques et Biographiques sur la Ville de Pontoise*, (Pontoise: Imprimere de Duffy, 1841), 74-76; Léon Le Grand, 'Les Maisons-Dieu et léproseries du diocése de Paris au milieu du XIVe siècle, d'après le registre de visites du délégué de l'évêque, 1351-1369', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et l'Île de France,* 25 (1898), 47-178, (115).
[31] Le Grand, 'Maisons-Dieu et léproseries', (136).
[32] *Cartulaire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise : publié avec des notes d'après les originaux*, ed. by Joseph Depoin, Documents édités par la Société historique du Vexin, (Pontoise: Société historique et archéologique de l'arrondissement de Pontoise et du Vexin, 1886), 1.
[33] *Saint-Lazare de Paris*, 245. *'… nos volumus et inhibemus ne aliquis vim vel violentiam inferat priori et conventui Sancti Lazari Parisiensis de aliquo recipiendo…'*
[34] Lefèvre and Fossier, 'Histoire', (xiii-xiv).
[35] 'Compotus ballivorum et præpositorum Franciæ AD 1234'. in *RHF*, xxii (1865), 565-78, (566); 'Compotus præpositorum et ballivorum AD 1248'. in *RHF*, xxi (1855), 260-84, (261).
[36] 'Compotus ballivorum et præpositorum Franciæ AD 1234'. (576); 'Compotus præpositorum et ballivorum AD 1248'. (281).

certain.[37] Le Grand has described it as having been founded for women of the king's household, although the royal charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries do not refer to this.[38] If this were true, it would explain the close relationship between the women there and the royal household; alternatively, the close relationship may have been the origin of the belief in a royal founder. In 1162 Louis VII had granted the women at this house, and to the religious women at Gif-sur-Yvette (Essonne), the tithe of all the wine destined for his cellar which was coming in to Paris for use, and also that of the queen.[39] He also granted them an income of 30*l* 18*s* from the toll of the Petit-Pont in Paris, in place of the weekly income of 18*d* which he had assigned to them, and the tithes of bread and wine consumed at La Ferté-Alais by the king, the queen and their son Philip (later Philip Augustus), as well as packhorses deemed incapable of working.[40] These donations were confirmed by Louis in 1245, with the additional concessions of the remains of candles and torches from the king's chamber, old linen from the chambers of the king, the queen and their children, and old coffers.[41] In addition, he confirmed their rights to have the gold seal of Philip Augustus, as well as the wax attached to all the letters they had from him; Philip had, prior to his death, promised the leprous women the wax from all of his seals which should be broken in the chancellery after his death.[42]

Another important leper-house in this period was the Grand-Beaulieu, at Chartres. Founded by Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, between 1090 and 1107, the leper-house benefited from the patronage of the French kings throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[43] Ivo worked closely with Adela of Blois, the sister of King Henry I of England, to support the leper-house; Adela herself placed the house under protection and granted exemptions.[44] Consequently, Kings Henry I, Stephen and Henry II of England were benefactors to the lepers there, as were Kings Louis VII

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[37] Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 24967, f.27r.
[38] Le Grand, 'Maisons-Dieu et léproseries', (95).
[39] *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, A. Luchaire (ed.), (Paris: A. Picard, 1885), 244 §449.
[40] Ibid., 251 §472; ibid., 330 §738.
[41] Jacques Du Breul, *Le Théâtre des antiquitez de Paris*, (Paris: Pierre Chevalier, 1612), 1216-17. *'Notum facimus universis tam præsentibus quam futuris, quod cum mulieres leprosæ de Salceya prope Prope Parisius, ex dono inclytæ recordationis Regis Ludovici proavi nostri haberent & perciperent medietatem decimæ totius vini… Insuper & decimam panis & vini… Item omnimodum parvum lineum veterem cameræ nostræ, & cameræ Reginæ, & liberorum nostrorum… Item veteres Cofros cameræ nostræ, hospitii Reginæ, Capellæ nostræ, scriptorum nostrorum, & omnes alios veteres Cofros emptos de denariis regiis in hospitio nostro…'*
[42] Ibid., 1215; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, 91 §1028. *'Philippe Auguste accorde aux lépreuses de la Saussaie, près Paris, es sceaux en or et en cire attachés aux lettres qu'il reçoit.'* ; Du Breul, *Le Théâtre des antiquitez de Paris*, 1216. '*Insuper & sigilla aurea, quæ eidem Regi Philippo cum literis transmittuntur. Insuper & omnem ceram, in qua literæ prædecessorum nostrorum, quas dictæ mulieres super his habent confectas, vidimus contineri'*
[43] François-Olivier Touati, *Archives de la lèpre: atlas des léproseries entre Loire et Marne au Moyen âge*, Mémoires et documents d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, (Paris: Éd. du CTHS, 1996), 259.
[44] LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c.1067-1137)*, 145.

and Philip Augustus of France.[45] Louis IX granted only one charter to the house, in February 1258, in which he re-confirmed the annual income of three *muids* of wheat previously given by his predecessors, which suggests that he had little personal interest in this house.[46] Despite its history of royal patronage the Grand-Beaulieu was included in a group of 'poor monasteries, hospitals, leper-houses', which received annual alms from the king (see page 202).[47] The leper-house was not poor – it even loaned money to other people – so its inclusion on this list suggests some sort of preferential treatment by the king rather than a sign of its poverty.[48] The house had since its inception been the recipient of donations from the French and Angevin monarchies, as well as the counts of Champagne and Blois.[49] These connections may have ensured the continued receipt of alms.

The leper-house at Pontfraud, in Château-Landon, is another house that received royal patronage. In 1190, Philip Augustus granted to the lepers the right to use the royal mill at Chantereine; three years later his queen, Adela of Champagne, mediated in a dispute between the leper-house and two individuals, Hosanna d'Égreville and Bertrand de Nonville, all of whom were disputing ownership of land at Tranconville.[50] Charters confirming gifts were notified by Nicholas d'Auvilliers, one of the king's bailiffs, and Walter Cornut, the archbishop of Sens who had previously served as a royal clerk during the reign of Philip Augustus.[51] Cornut was one of the counsellors instructed by the dying Louis VIII to assist Blanche during Louis IX's minority, and his sister, Regina, was in Blanche's retinue.[52] Only one charter was issued in favour of this house during Louis's reign; in 1256, the king permitted the lepers there to take a weekly allowance of wood from the royal forest of Paucourt.[53] A wider royal interest in this house is evident in the charter issued by Louis' brother, Alphonse, recommending an individual called Harchepin, or Alexander, for admittance to the leper-house.[54] This was not, however, one of the houses to which Alphonse regularly gave alms.[55]

A notable exception in the category of leper-houses with royal connections is Mont-aux-Malades, in Rouen. This house had benefited from many years of support from the kings of England until

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[45] *Cartulaire de la léproserie du Grand-Beaulieu et du prieuré de Notre-Dame de la Bourdinière, formé et annoté par René Merlet et Maurice Jusselin*, 1; ibid., 2; ibid., 5; ibid., 17; ibid., 28; ibid., 31; ibid., 51; ibid., 58.
[46] Ibid., 148. One *muid* was equivalent to approximately four bushels.
[47] *Layettes du Trésor des chartes 3 [Louis IX, 1247-1260]*, ed. by Jean Guérout, Joseph de Laborde, and Archives Nationales, Inventaires et documents, (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1977).
[48] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 485; ibid., 521.
[49] Ibid., 484.
[50] Stein (ed.), 'Maladrerie de Pontfraud', (40-41).
[51] Ibid., 50-51; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 48.
[52] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 111; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 48.
[53] Stein (ed.), 'Maladrerie de Pontfraud', (71).
[54] Ibid., 67.
[55] Boutaric, *Saint Louis*, 460-68.

1204.[56] Three acts for the house survive from Philip Augustus' reign, in which the king confirmed the house's possessions and incomes.[57] This support was probably partially strategic; John Baldwin has described Philip's gaining of the support of the church in Normandy an act that 'not only completed the conquest [of the duchy], it also helped to secure it from future Plantagenet attempts at recovery.'[58] From Louis IX's monarchy, however, only one act was issued, in which, in 1269, the king confirmed the house's possessions.[59] Although the lepers may have benefited from Louis' generosity when he visited Rouen, like the lepers at Grand-Beaulieu, he did not increase their regular income or grant them any further concessions or protection beyond that which they already enjoyed.

Louis also issued a confirmation charter to the leper-house of St Giles at Pont Audemer, in Normandy, for their patronage of the church of St-Paul-sur-Risle.[60] This leper-house was founded by Count Waleran of Meulan in around 1135.[61] This is the only royal charter pertaining to the lepers there in the *Cartulaire Normand*, and Simon Mesmin's edition of the house's cartulary contains no further royal charters issued in its favour, despite Mesmin suggesting an association between Louis and the town.[62]

There is little indication of any great interest on Louis' part in any of these houses, and what he did grant to them was, compared to both his Anglo-Norman and Capetian predecessors, not highly significant. These leper-houses had, however, received important grants of income and land in the years after their foundation, and by the time that Louis had acceded to the throne, they were not probably not in need of more large grants. The trickle-down effect of patronage ensured continued gifts from other sectors of society, including local townspeople. Many leper-houses were also in receipt of established royal alms as part of their income, but Louis was apparently not persuaded to offer further gifts to them.

Regular alms

Two other leper-houses appear in the accounts of the provosts and bailiffs. The lepers at Gournay-en-Bray – the *leprosi Trium Domorum* – were given 49*s* for a third part of the year (*pro tertio*) in both years.[63] Gournay-en-Bray lies at the far east of Normandy; the leper-house here was small, but the town itself was significant, being the location of one of the castles seized by

[56] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 24-30.
[57] Ibid., 45.
[58] Baldwin, 'Philip Augustus and the Norman Church', (2).
[59] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, 161; *Cartulaire Normand*, 342 §1226.
[60] *Cartulaire Normand*, 313 §1145.
[61] Mesmin, 'Leper Hospital of Saint Gilles', i, 79.
[62] Ibid., ii, 352.
[63] 'Compotus ballivorum et præpositorum Franciæ AD 1234'. (569); 'Compotus præpositorum et ballivorum AD 1248'. (265).

Philip Augustus in 1201.[64] The regular payments do not appear in the Norman exchequer rolls from the 1190s or 1203. Having been founded by a local lord – probably the Gournay family, who fared badly after the Norman conquest – the house may have lost its principal benefactor and suffered as a result.[65]

In his visitation records of 1251, Eudes Rigaud noted that the chaplain there had 'neglected' the leper-house.[66] Later records from the archbishop's visitations describe a house in need of far more funds than the king was providing; in 1259 the house had debts of 15*l*, and by 1261, the chaplain having died, it was 'miserably desolate, that is to say, overburdened with debts and with people.'[67] In 1264 there were twelve lepers in the house, but by 1267 this number had been reduced to two, and only one in the middle of the following century, a change reflective either of the neglect mentioned above, or of a decline in local cases of leprosy.[68]

The only other leper-house to appear in the accounts of the provosts and bailiffs was at Chinon, which was allocated 19*l* 16*s* 6*d* for half of the year (*pro mediatate*). Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier have indicated that not all payments were made according to the three prescribed terms; the payments to Chinon indicate that the money was instead received twice yearly.[69] This may, however, be due to the different accounting terms used by the Anglo-Norman administration, indicating that this was a continuation of a long-standing regular payment. Lot and Fawtier suggest also that these alms were made out of a moral duty rather than to provide actual sustenance, and that the payments were often made at only one of the three terms.[70] The recipients in Chinon are described as *leprosi chinonis*; whether this was to one particular leper-house or distributed between a number of them is not specified. Two leper-houses have been recorded in this town; one dedicated to St Lazarus, the other to St John the Baptist. The Maladrerie Saint Jean-Baptiste was also known as the Maladrerie Royale du Saint-Jean de Désert, making it the most obvious recipient of the king's alms.[71] A history of Chinon written at the end

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[64] John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus : Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages*, (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1986), 166.
[65] Le Grand, 'Maisons-Dieu et léproseries', (118); Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, 359.
[66] Rigaldus, *Regestrum*, 114. '*Iniunximus decano de Brayo ut vocet capellanum leprosaria de Gornaio, qui firmas accipit et dimittit leprosariam…'*
[67] Ibid., 361. '*Ipsa die, inquisivimus de statu leprosaria, dicti loci, et invenimus quod quidam clericus leprosus volebat interesse portionibus faciendis, et quod non habebant bladum ad vescendum, nec avenum ad serendum, et debebant XV libras.'*; ibid., 413. *'Die autem precedenti, feceramus visitari leprosariam de Gornaio per decanum de Brayo et per elemosinarium nostrum. Qui quidem invenerunt domum miserabiliter desolatam, ut pote debitis oneratam et personis, et victualibus ad annum non munitam, et erat de novo capellanus eorum mortuus.'*
[68] Ibid., 499; ibid., 620; Le Grand, 'Maisons-Dieu et léproseries', (136).
[69] Lot and Fawtier, *Premier budget*, 6.
[70] Ibid., 94.
[71] Paul Piquet and Jean Meunier, 'Chinon d'autrefois: Foires et marchés', *Bulletin de la Société des amis du Vieux Chinon,* X.5 (2001), 467-86, (467).

of the nineteenth century suggests that this house was founded between 1121 and 1129 by Fulk V, count of Anjou, grandfather of King Henry II of England, who became King of Jerusalem through his marriage to Melisende.[72] The money given to the lepers here is much less than that received by the lepers of Saint-Lazare in Paris, but it does exceed by far that given the lepers at Gournay-en-Bray. Another leper-house that had formerly been in receipt of regular income was at Bellême. The priest and lepers of this house made a complaint in 1247 which referred to 6*l.t.* which a certain Berruerus had received from the 'hand of the lord king', and ten years had passed; unfortunately the original manuscript was damaged so further details are not known, but it would appear that this payment was no longer being made.[73]

Evidence for Louis' support for the Order of Saint Lazarus is scarce. The only surviving record of a donation by Louis while he was at Paris, to the Order of Saint Lazarus, appears in the 1234 *Itinera, dona et hernesia*, when he made a gift of 10*l* to 'the leper-house of St Lazarus overseas.'[74] The knights accompanied Louis in Egypt between 1248 and 1250 and according to André Mutel they were with the king at the battle of Mansourah in 1248.[75] They were also with Louis at Jaffa, witnessed by Joinville, who recounted an incident where the master of the order saw some of his men killed by Muslims after the Christians had stolen some of their opponents' animals.[76] Mutel's research on the order's presence in Normandy attests to charters from the Angevin dukes of Normandy and from Philip Augustus, but no association of Louis' name with the order – the next charter cited chronologically by Mutel is dated to 1304, in the reign of Philippe le Bel.[77] René Pétiet also found that Richard I of England and Philip Augustus had both commanded the knights of the order to be protected, but did not offer any suggestion that Louis IX had done the same.[78]

The alms rolls of Louis' brother, Alphonse of Poitiers, offer some indication of the possible extent of royal alms-giving. Edgard Boutaric argued that Alphonse adopted some practices of the king's administration for his own apanages; Gaël Chenard, who has studied Alphonse's inquests, suggests that the count was not so 'ambitious' as to copy Louis, but did attempt to reform his administration.[79] Two of his alms rolls, from 1263 and 1269, have survived and illustrate the extent of his alms-giving, which may reflect the king's own practices. These rolls show that

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[72] Gustav de Cougny, *Chinon et ses environs*, (Tours: Imprimerie A Mame et fils, 1898), 271.
[73] 'Chronologie des baillis et sénéchaux royaux'. (17).
[74] 'Recepta et expensa AD 1234'. (234).
[75] Mutel, 'Recherches', (121); Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v, 196.
[76] Joinville, *Vie*, 267-69 §540-42.
[77] Mutel, 'Recherches', (127).
[78] Pétiet, *Contribution a l'histoire de l'ordre de St.-Lazare de Jérusalem en France*, 111.
[79] Gaël Chenard, 'Les enquêtes administratives dans les domaines d'Alphonse de Poitiers', in *Quand gouverner c'est enquêter: les pratiques politiques de l'enquête princière (occident, XIIIe - XIVe siècles): actes du colloque international d'Aix-en-Provence et Marseille 19-21 mars 2009,* ed. by T. Pécout, (Paris: De Boccard, 2010), 157-68, (157-58).

Alphonse gave regularly to 57 leper-houses within his domains of Poitou and Toulouse (which he acquired through marriage), and to 13 leper-houses in other parts of France, particularly those in Paris.[80] Although the sums given were reduced in the late 1260s, probably due to expenditure for the planned crusade of 1270, the payments were not stopped. The same leper-houses that received these regular alms were also named in his will.[81] Alphonse thus fulfilled the expectation of a lord, funding religious institutions both within and beyond his domain.

The fourteenth century roll from the royal almonry (see page 193) shows that regular alms-giving to leper-houses was being carried out by the kings throughout the thirteenth century. This alms roll included 340 named leper-houses, as well as 80 hospitals. The relatively high number of leper-houses would have been due to the nature of these establishments – many were small, rural establishments, caring for only a few lepers. Albert Bourgeois' study of 150 leper-houses in the Pas-de-Calais, found that approximately 80 of those were 'simple refuges', with no fixed income, and may have been temporary residences.[82] These figures illustrate the diversity of the forms of leper-houses. Analysis of the alms roll, published by Bautier, has argued for a date of 1193-94 for the compilation of most of this list, shortly after the return of Philip Augustus from crusade.[83] He has based this date on the inclusion in the roll of towns and villages in the Vermandois, Arras, and the Vexin, for example, which Philip Augustus had by 1193 gained from the Plantagenet kings and the French nobility, and the absence of towns such as Saint-Quentin, Graçay and Issoudun, which were not claimed by the French king until after 1194.[84]

Bautier has suggested that the final list, as detailed in an enquiry carried out into the royal almonry during the reign of Philippe le Bel, also showed the addition to the original list of Blanche of Castile's alms roll, which included a number of Cistercian houses and houses of female religious.[85] The roll does not include Louis' own hospital foundations, or any mendicant houses established after the beginning of Louis' reign. This list, Bautier argues, had been fixed for a number of years before 1226, and therefore does not reflect any initiative of Louis'.[86]

Louis IX ratified these alms, by means of a charter issued in 1260, which specified quantities of money and food to be distributed at the beginning of Lent. The recipients of these alms were those listed in the above-mentioned enquiry, and match those on the alms roll from the late

[80] Boutaric, *Saint Louis*, 460-8; *LTC*, iv, 119; ibid., iv, 210.
[81] *LTC*, iv, 453 §5712.
[82] Bourgeois, *Lépreux et Maladreries*, 42.
[83] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (47).
[84] Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987-1328*, 2nd edn., (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 166.
[85] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (46).
[86] Ibid., 45.

fourteenth century.[87] Louis' charter recorded that this distribution of alms was not new, but that he was confirming that which had been carried out previously in the time of his predecessors. The charter specified that 2,119*l*, 63 *muids* of wheat, and 68,000 herrings were to be distributed to unnamed 'poor monasteries, hospitals, leper-houses, and other religious houses, and to other poor and destitute people.'[88] This was in addition to 100*s p.* distributed each day during Lent by the king's almoner. Overall, this was a very significant amount of money to be committing on an annual basis.

The charter does not reference a previous charter issued by Louis VIII or Philip Augustus, so it appears that Louis IX used this in order to formalise the alms-giving, and perhaps to ensure its continuation. The donation of these alms continued after Louis's death, as instructed by the king. Bautier has shown that identical amounts of money, wheat and herrings were listed in accounts in 1299 and 1300.[89] Although Louis did not compile the alms roll himself, he was particularly meticulous regarding the exact amounts of money, food and clothing to be distributed by the almoner to the poor, the leprous and the sick, and was precise about which parts of his household should be providing the alms.[90] This also emphasises that lepers were a discrete group, recognised separately from other sick and poor.

Although the recipients listed on the alms-roll were not chosen by Louis, a brief overview of the leper-houses included within it provides some insight into the establishments that had been traditionally important to the kings of France. As Bautier has emphasised, the list includes leper-houses within the traditional royal domain, as well as some of the areas of Normandy which were in dispute at the end of the twelfth century, but excluded those leper-houses which were reliant on other authorities for financial assistance – for example the archbishops of Reims and Laon, the abbot of Saint-Denis, or the lords of Montmorency and Coucy.[91]

The places that received the largest sums, of 20*l*, were the Grand-Beaulieu at Chartres (discussed above on page 197) and the leper-house at Vernon.[92] This latter house appears to have been founded by the towns-people, and was therefore not a high-status royal, aristocratic, or ecclesiastic foundation.[93] Nevertheless, the generous contribution indicates the town's importance to the monarchy. Philip Augustus had built a castle here during his fight for

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[87] *LTC*, iii, 551 §4639; Bibliothèque national de France, Fr. 11709, ff.147-59 v [Recueil de règlements des métiers et corporations de Paris, connu sous le nom de Livre des métiers, d'Étienne BOILEAU.]; Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi'.
[88] *LTC*, iii, 551 §4639.
[89] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (42).
[90] Ibid., 44.
[91] Ibid., 49.
[92] Ibid., 79; ibid., 89.
[93] Bénigne-Ernest Poret de Blosseville, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Eure : comprenant les noms de lieu anciens et modernes*, (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques, 1877), 197.

Normandy against the English kings, one of the 'major fortresses' along the eastern part of the duchy.[94] The town became one of Louis' favoured places to stay, and this was one of the three towns in which Louis founded a hospital.[95]

The leper-houses near most of the thirteenth-century royal residences appear on this alms list. The lepers at Fontenay-sous-Bois, near the royal palace of Vincennes, received 10*l* every year. The details of this house's foundation are not known, but its proximity to the palace meant that it was ideally placed to receive royal patronage.[96] Louis also granted to the house one *muid* of grain in 1260, from the royal grange at Gonesse.[97] There is additional evidence of the leper-house's connections with the royal household. Adam, the royal cook mentioned above (see page 194), had left 20*s* to the house, and further bequests to other leper-houses, and in 1265 Alphonse of Poitiers was giving the house 30*s* in regular alms, and also bequeathed the lepers there 30*l tournois* in his will, in which he named it as 'Fontenay les Vincennes'.[98]

Another significant royal town was Poissy, which had been given to Louis VIII by Philip Augustus in 1209, and which was the birthplace of Louis IX.[99] The leper-house here was in receipt of 10*l* of regular alms each year.[100] This leper-house, founded in the twelfth century, was the most generously endowed of all the 70 leper-houses given regular alms by Louis' brother, Alphonse, who gave it 140*s* (7*l*) in 1265.[101] The other leper-houses in royal towns on the alms roll included Compiègne, which received 7*l*, and Mantes, Pontoise, Corbeil, Étampes, Samois (close to Fontainebleau), and Sens, all of which received 5*l* each.[102] Compiègne was the location of another of Louis' hospital foundations. Jacques Le Goff has described Louis as having been 'particularly attracted' to Pontoise, because it was close to the abbey of Maubuisson, founded by Louis and his mother.[103]

The Salle-aux-Puelles at Rouen also received an annual sum of 10*l*.[104] This house was founded by King Henry II of England within the grounds of his own palace. It was visited on several occasions by Eudes Rigaud; discipline was lax, but the house seems to have been generally wealthy. In March 1248, it was noted that the prioress did not audit the accounts; the following year, the prioress was instructed to 'make a monthly audit of expenses and receipts in the

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[94] Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, 167.
[95] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 73.
[96] Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, (Paris, 1897), XXIV, 79-80.
[97] Ibid., 80.
[98] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 503-4; Boutaric, *Saint Louis*, 461; *LTC*, iv, 453.
[99] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 31.
[100] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (92).
[101] Boutaric, *Saint Louis*, 460.
[102] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (95); ibid., 92; ibid., 84; ibid., 85; ibid., 82.
[103] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 534.
[104] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (99).

presence of the community and … have the account written out and certified. When the computation has been made, let each retain his (or her) own accounts, so that whenever required by a superior they may be able to give a more certain report on the state of the monastery.'[105] At the beginning of 1250, the house's income was 'about four hundred *libras*' and their servants were owed 60*s* (3*l*).[106] In 1258, the lepers' income from the ducal or royal income of Rouen was 200*l*, with further income from their grange, and no debts; in 1263 they owed a total of 25*l*.[107] The 200*l* annual income was a long-standing payment – the Norman Exchequer Rolls show that the same amount was directed towards the female lepers during the reign of the Angevin kings.[108] The annual additional royal alms of 10*l*, which was far more than most leper-houses received, would thus in some years have been insufficient even to clear their debts.

Other leper-houses that also received sums of 10*l* each year included Saint-Lazare at Orléans, the first evidence of which house is a charter of Louis VI's from 1112, confirmed by Louis VII in 1172.[109] No charters were issued to the house by Louis IX, who rarely visited the town, but the lepers did receive royal protection from King Philip IV in 1314.[110] The Parisian house of Saint-Lazare was not in this group of alms recipients, perhaps because of its dependence on the bishop of Paris. The bishop had reserved the right to appoint the prior of the house, despite the right of the king and queen to appoint other individuals to serve the lepers (above, page 196).[111] Other leper-houses around Paris were on the alms roll – La Roule, situated just outside the city walls, to the north-west, on the route towards the royal residences of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Poissy, received 10*l* each year, as did the leper-house at Banlieue, to the south of the city.[112] Another Parisian house, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, received only 20*s*, even though le Grand has suggested this was probably quite a large house, considering the density of the local population.[113] La Saussaie (discussed above on page 196) received 100*s* – 5*l* – each year.[114]

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[105] Rigaldus, *Regestrum*, 34; ibid., 102. *'Item, prior cum priorissa, astante conventu, super expensis et receptis, sub certa scriptura, fideliter computet omni mense, et collacione facta compoti, uterque retineat compotum suum, ita quod, coram superior suo, cum requisiti fuerint, super universali statu domus sue cerciorem valeant reddere rationem.'*

[106] Ibid., 101. *'Debent circa LX solidos servientibus suis… Habent in redditibus circa CCCC libras.'*

[107] Ibid., 325. *'… percipiunt in vicecomitatu annuatim ducentas libras…'*; ibid., 319. *'… debebant XX libras.'.* An English translation of Eudes' *Registrum* has these figures translated as 'five hundred pounds annually' and 'twenty-five pounds of Paris' respectively: Rigaldus, *Register*, 371; ibid., 531.

[108] Vincent Moss and Judith Everard, *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy for the reign of Richard I 1194-5 & 1197-8*, The publications of the Pipe Roll Society, (London: Pipe Roll Society, 2016), 24; ibid., 139.

[109] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (84); Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais, 'La Maladrerie (Hôtel Saint-Ladre) d'Orléans', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de l'Orléanais,* 35 (1919), 195-259, (228-29); ibid., 196.

[110] l'Orléanais, 'La Maladrerie (Hôtel Saint-Ladre) d'Orléans', (236-38); Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 535.

[111] *Statuts*, 242.

[112] Touati, *Archives*, 52; Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (79); ibid., 80.

[113] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (80); Le Grand, 'Maisons-Dieu et léproseries', (101).

[114] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (81).

The least significant leper-houses received as little as 5*s* each year. The question of how many of the smaller leper-houses actually received their payments, however, is moot. Bautier has identified that many place names changed through the repeated making of copies of the roll. As clerks would have been ignorant of the names of some of the small villages, these names were often incorrectly transcribed. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Bautier has argued, it would have been 'clearly impossible' to identify these places.[115]

In addition to this charter, the results of Philippe le Bel's enquiry shed further light onto Louis' almsgiving to lepers. In a section listing the alms 'established by monsignor Louis', two paragraphs are concerned with food to be given to '*pauvres aus meriaux*'; the word *meriaux* was probably a spelling mistake, and should have read *mesiaux*, an old French word meaning lepers. The word does not appear elsewhere in the enquiry results, and other paupers are referred to separately. One hundred and twenty two individuals are specified in the first paragraph, and 60 in the second.[116] Bautier, in his essay preceding the transcription of this enquiry, differentiated these two paragraphs, suggesting that they related to 122 lepers, and then 60 other poor, but he has not elaborated upon his reasoning for distinguishing the two groups.[117] In fact, the wording is the same for each; what is different is the quantity of assistance given, and the household department from which it was to be allocated:

> In addition, 122 paupers in leper-houses (*povres aus meriaux*), who should all be served by the pantry and the cup-bearers (*eschançonniers*) and the cooks each day: each of the aforesaid should have two pennies' worth of bread, one quart of wine, 1 penny for pottage, for every two people one piece of meat to be shared equally between them. If there is among them any woman who has one or more children who are being nursed, they should each have one penny's worth of bread.
>
> In addition, 60 paupers in leper-houses (*povres aus meriaux*), who should be given by the almoner or by his order each day: the bread for each of them should be taken from the pantry; each should have two pennies' worth of bread and 4 pennies. The total cost: 20*s* of which 10*s* are taken from the cup-bearers (*eschançonnerie*), 6*s* 8*d* from the coffers, 3*s* 4*d* from the hand of the clerk of the kitchen.[118]

Separately, Louis ordered that that 40*s* was to be spent on paupers – 'every day, 40*s p.* to be taken from the coffers, to be taken to the streets (*voyes*) of the paupers or another place as the almoner wishes.'[119] This was in addition to money allocated for woollen garments (*burel*), shoes,

[115] Ibid., 40.
[116] Ibid., 57.
[117] Ibid., 44.
[118] Ibid., 57.
[119] Ibid.

and surplus food, wine and candles from the king's table, although the destination of these alms is not specified. It would thus appear that Louis was indeed in the habit of giving food and money to 182 lepers in leper-houses, each day. The reason for the two separate paragraphs is not to distinguish groups of individuals to whom charity should be given, but is instead a reflection of Louis' careful management of his household, ensuring that the correct quantities of alms were taken from the correct places. Although more money in total was directed towards general groups of paupers, a more specific interest is shown in the number of lepers to be fed.

The locations at which these alms were to be given is not specified, suggesting that Louis was seeking a form of personal relationship with the lepers, by giving alms that they would receive directly from the king, rather than a more impersonal gift of money to the warden or master of the leper-house. This would have ensured that the lepers were aware of the provenance of their food and pittance, emphasising to them the king's recognition of their suffering, and what it represented.

In addition to these daily alms, Louis would also give to the local leper-house wherever he was when he travelled:

> In all the places that the king comes to dine, a healthy man or a healthy woman from the leper-house should come to the same place and receive each day in the morning: 6 pennies' worth of bread, a half-sester of wine, 6 pieces of meat or fish or herrings or eggs of the same value, and should be given these alone. If it is not a feast day, they should have just as much in the evening; otherwise not.
>
> In addition, they should have a bowl of food from the king (*escuelle le roy*)and 5*s p.* If mons. the king should have lampreys, of which he gives the tails; or if the sergeant keeps them, the messenger of the leper-house should have for each tail, 12*d p.* If there should be no leper-house where our lord king should dine, the almoner should give all the above-mentioned items to paupers in the place he wishes.[120]

This is interesting for, despite Louis' interest in meeting lepers, this insists that it should be a healthy person who came to collect the food – perhaps because they would be collecting this from the almoner rather than the king, or that it was not appropriate for a leper to be carrying food which may have been shared between the healthy and the lepers within the leper-house. The final clause of this paragraph really emphasises Louis' concern for lepers above all other groups in need – other paupers would only be provided with these alms in the absence of lepers. Also significant is the choice of food; lampreys were expensive, and have been described as

[120] Ibid., 58.

being 'the object of something approaching adoration by the aristocracy.'[121] The king was willing to share this delicacy with those who would normally not have had access to such food. Considering the number of leper-houses, both large and small, in the *domaine royale* and Normandy, the principal areas around which Louis travelled, it is unlikely that other paupers were often fortunate enough to be the recipients of these alms.

The insistence on a healthy member of the leper-house being invited to collect the alms shows that despite Louis' numerous meetings with lepers (discussed in Chapter 4, see pages 123, 124, 133) on these occasions he did not invite lepers into his household, nor apparently did he visit the lepers themselves as a matter of course. This may have been because these instructions were to be implemented by his household staff, particularly his almoner, and were not part of his own routine when travelling. It is also curious that the leper-house's representative was to be served alone – this suggests that they were not to be included with the other paupers, and did not join the 13 or 16 (the number depending on whether the day was a fasting day or not) paupers who were invited daily to dine at the king's table.[122] This again indicates a clear distinction on the king's part for the provenance of different forms and quantities of alms for different groups.

William of Saint-Pathus detailed some of the alms given out by Louis, to the nuns and other poor religious of the Cistercian and other orders, to lepers in hospitals 'in all parts of France' and other people in poverty. At the beginning of winter, he would arrange for them to have logs, robes of heavy woollen fabric, fur-lined coats and shoes, which he 'gave to the poor in great quantities.'[123] The fabric, coats, and shoes have been referred to above (page 206) –1,000*l* was allocated for the fabric, and 60*l* for shoes. Saint-Pathus also confirmed that Louis provided different forms of food – 'herrings, almonds, peas, and everything that was necessary to them in that season.'[124] This detail is not included in the other existing evidence, but does provide more proof of Louis' concern for the poor.

Louis' will also sheds light onto his preferences for alms-giving.[125] In this, he granted 2,000*l* to 800 leper-houses, to be distributed according to the discretion and orders of his executors; no particular leper-houses are named. The amount actually received by each probably depended on

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[121] Paul Freedman, 'Some Basic Aspects of Medieval Cuisine', *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica,* 11 (2007), 45-60, (45).
[122] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (90). *'Premierement chascun jor de mecredi, de vendredi et de samedi en quaresme et en lavent, il servoit en sa persone a treize poures, que il fesoit mengier en sa chamber ou en sa garderobe'*
[123] Ibid., 92. *'Encore fu la coustume du saint roi, de porveoir as poures religieuses persones, cest a savoir as nonnains de lordre de Cystiax, et a autres nonnains et a autres persones religieuses dautres orders, et as poures mesiax des mesons-Dieu des parties de France, et as autres persones qui estoient en misere, chascun an a lentree de quaresme, de harens, de deniers por amandes, pour pois et pour autre chose de tele maniere qui en cele seson leur estoient necessaires.'*
[124] Ibid.
[125] *LTC*, iv, 419-21 §5638.

the size of the house, its location, and any history of royal connections – it is likely that the houses listed in the alms roll, to which the almoner already had a process for distributing alms, were included in this larger number. Bautier has suggested that even in the fourteenth century, the royal almoner, although claiming to distribute alms throughout the kingdom, in reality limited donations to an area that roughly corresponded to the old *domaine royale*; the only 'rare exceptions' of beneficiaries outside Paris were in Champagne, Loire, Normandy, the north of the Vermandois, and the lands held by Alphonse of Poitiers.[126]

The figure of 800 leper-houses is less than half of the total cited in his father's will; Louis VIII bequeathed 10,000*l* to be given to 2,000 leper-houses.[127] Which leper-houses were the intended recipients of this sum is not known. While some historians have used this figure as evidence of the number of leper-houses in France at the time, Bruno Tabuteau has argued that the figure is 'too round', and although their location within the royal domain is 'implicit', no research is able to confirm the number.[128] The total far exceeds the number included in the fourteenth-century alms roll. The executors of the king's will were no doubt expected to find enough leper-houses to which they could distribute the money. If the number was inflated, perhaps in order to emphasise royal generosity, this could explain the much lower number in Louis IX's will – a more realistic evaluation of the number of deserving leper-houses may have been made. Bautier has attributed the lower figure to fewer incidents of leprosy in the later thirteenth century, leading to the closure of a number of institutions and money being directed towards hospitals instead.[129] Whatever the reason for the change, the recipients were probably still located within the old royal domain and not situated in the apanages controlled by the king's brothers. Louis IX's will granted a far greater sum of money to hospitals than to leper-houses – perhaps because hospitals provided a form of 'medical' care that was not needed at leper-houses. Aside from individual bequests made to his own hospital foundations at Paris, Pontoise, Compiègne, and Vernon, 2000*l* was to be given to 200 hospitals 'in great need' – four times as much as each of the leper-houses received. This also reflects his habit of giving more money to general groups of paupers than to lepers.

Casual alms

In addition to the regular sums distributed by Louis' household to leper-houses, Louis also gave considerable amounts of money to leper-houses in the form of casual alms as he travelled around his kingdom. William of Saint-Pathus described the way that paupers would approach the king as he rode through his kingdom, in the hope of receiving alms – the more they appeared

[126] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (40).
[127] *LTC*, ii, 54-5 §1710.
[128] Tabuteau. 'Vingt mille léproseries'.
[129] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (53).

to be in need, the more money they would receive.[130] Alms given to leper-houses on the court's itinerary were recorded in the *Itinera, dona et hernesia* accounts, although there does not seem to have been clarity about which section they were to be recorded in. The records from 1233 include gifts to leper-houses, hospitals and mendicants in the *Itinera* section only; in 1239 similar expenses were itemised under *Dona et Hernesia*. Lalou has identified that in Jean Saracen's 1256 accounts, the sections recording gifts and of alms are almost interchangeable, the method of keeping royal accounts evidently not having been updated despite the intervening years and Louis' administrative reforms.[131] Saracen was a royal chamberlain, charged with the responsibility of looking after the king's money. The inconsistency in accounting was no doubt compounded by a lack of organisation within the royal household. The offices created by Philip Augustus continued to be refined throughout the thirteenth century, and even at the end of Louis' reign were not yet fully rationalised.

It is known that Louis gave generously to a variety of religious houses in each place that he stopped on his itinerary. In 1234 for example, when staying at Issoudun, money was distributed to the leper-house, to the Friars Minors and the hospital, and alms were distributed to the poor of the town.[132] The same behaviour is visible in 1239, in his gifts to the hospital, the Friars Minors and the Friars Preachers at Rouen, and to the Friars Preachers, Friars Minors, the hospital and the leper-house at Sens.[133] Aside from his visits to Normandy, and his journeys between Paris and the south of France on his way to and from crusade, the vast majority of places visited by the king were within a short distance of Paris, meaning that the religious houses closest to the city were the most fortunate in securing royal alms. Pope Boniface VIII's sermon given at Orvieto in honour of Louis' canonisation stated that each time the king returned to Paris, new alms would be given to the religious, and especially to the mendicant friars; and therefore he left frequently, so that he could give money in this manner often.[134]

How much credit can be given to Louis for most of the donations for which we have evidence is uncertain, however. Although he had, technically, achieved his majority by the earliest of these accounts, his mother continued to wield considerable influence over him and his kingship. Hallam has argued that Louis 'clearly followed Blanche in her example of giving generously to the poor', and this is supported by the difficulty of separating the king and his mother in the

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[130] William of Saint-Pathus. 'Vie', (95). *'Et quant li benoiez rois chevauchoit par le roiaume, les poures venoient a lui, et il fesoit donner a chascun un denier ; et quant il veoit aucuns plus besoigneus, il fesoit donner a lun cinq sols, a lautre dix sols, et encores a un autre vint sols, et aucune foiz plus et moins, selon ce que bon li sembloit.'*

[131] Élisabeth Lalou, 'Introduction', in *Les comptes sur tablettes de cire de Jean Sarrazin, chambellan de saint Louis,* ed. by É. Lalou, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), (17).

[132] 'Recepta et expensa AD 1234'. (231).

[133] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (596-7); ibid., 600.

[134] 'Bonifaci VIII sermones et bulla de canonisatione'. (150).

accounts.[135] All of the surviving records, except for John Saracen's 1256 accounts, date from Blanche's lifetime, and her presence makes itself clear in relation to a number of these gifts. In the 1234 accounts, prior to Louis' marriage, two gifts of alms for the poor are specified as being given by the king and queen.[136] The 1239 accounts include four instances of gifts being given to leper-houses in Normandy – at Rouen, Le Vaudreuil, Gournay-en-Bray, and Lyons-la-Forêt – which were witnessed by Richard of Tournay.[137] Richard was one of Blanche of Castile's chief administrators, so there is a strong likelihood that these gifts were made at her behest.[138] He was also the witness for the 100*s* given to the leper-house at *Bordiniaco*, discussed below (page 212). Another donation, to the lepers at Chambly in 1239, was made by William de Bray, also a member of Blanche's household.[139]

Two excerpts from Blanche's own household accounts have survived; the receipts from 1226, printed in Charles Petit-Dutaillis' life of King Louis VIII, and Blanche's expenses as queen mother from 1241, published by Étienne Bougenot.[140] The former accounts do not include any reference to lepers, however the latter document provides valuable material for comparison to Louis' expenses. Blanche's accounts contain numerous payments for feeding paupers, as well as financial contributions to hospitals, including money for the repair of the building of one hospital. Just as Louis gave gifts of money to all religious houses at each place he stayed, this practice is evident also in Blanche's accounts. Paupers, friars, abbeys, nuns and hospitals all appear on the expenses account, as well as numerous gifts to individuals. Also prominent are gifts to lepers; the lepers of Étampes, Dourdan and Melun all received the generous sum of 10*l* each.[141] This is the largest gift to leper-houses recorded in the accounts, and was the same amount as the gifts witnessed by Richard of Tournay for Le Vaudreuil and Gournay-en-Bray. The only other gift of 10*l* was given to the lepers of Sens.[142] This was witnessed by the almoner, not by Richard, but another gift recorded shortly after this one in the accounts, to *Magister Chevelerius* of Sens, was witnessed by Blanche herself, clear evidence of her presence there at the same time. Blanche's reputation for concern towards lepers was perhaps widespread; during Louis' *enquêtes* of 1247, the lepers at Bernay complained about the loss of the markets they had once enjoyed, and appealed to 'the lord king who now is and his dearest mother' for their

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[135] Hallam, 'Aspects', ii, 248.
[136] 'Recepta et expensa AD 1234'. (229); ibid., 231.
[137] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (596-8).
[138] Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 118.
[139] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (604); Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 373.
[140] Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (1187-1226)*, 522-5; 'Comptes de dépenses de Blanche de Castille', ed. by E.S. Bougenot, *Bulletin du Comite des Travaux historiques et scientifiques. Section d'histoire et de philologie,* (1889), 86-91).
[141] Bougenot (ed.), 'Comptes de dépenses', (90).
[142] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (600).

restoration.[143] Although Louis gave to lepers frequently, his gifts were often in kind, or were of far smaller sums of money, whereas his mother gave generous amounts of money as a grand gesture.

The only sum larger than this, and one which can be definitely ascribed to Louis, was given to the leper-house at Bellencombre, approximately equidistant between Rouen and Dieppe, in order to pay for construction work. Eudes Rigaud recorded an account of a visit there in 1264, during which a Brother Thomas reported that he had received 100*l tournois* out of a total of 120*l tournois* from the king 'for the improvement of their buildings'; the remainder was yet to be provided by the authorities (*ballivus*) of Caux. This money hadn't yet been spent at the time of Eudes' visit, so the house was ordered to spend money on repairing the roofs of the buildings in which the lepers lived 'and to be more solicitous and considerate than he [the prior] had been in providing them with the necessities of life.'[144] The sum of 120*l tournois*, equivalent to 96*l parisis*, was a vast sum of money, particularly considering that the house at the time housed, in addition to four canons and the prior, only 'eight lepers, three healthy lay brothers, and four lay sisters.'[145] Matthieu Arnoux's research has indicated that this was one of several leper-houses that became an Augustinian priory, the canons having arrived there by 1248, so the repaired roof would have benefited the canons as well as the small number of lepers present.[146] It is possible that the donation of money was intended to assist the house during its transition period from leper-house to priory.

Two other houses that needed assistance for repairs and construction also feature in the accounts, although they received far less money than the lepers and canons at Bellencombre. The leper-house at *Bordiniaco* near Rouen, was given 100*s* in July 1239, and described as *combusta* – destroyed by fire.[147] The same word is used later in the same set of accounts to describe the leper-house at Villeneuve-la-Guyard, close to Fontainebleau, when an even smaller sum of 60*s* was granted.[148] The buildings at both of these locations had evidently suffered fire damage and the wardens or masters had sought funds from the royal purse in order to carry out repairs. The former donation was granted while the royal entourage was travelling around to

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[143] 'Chronologie des baillis et sénéchaux royaux'. (i, 42).
[144] Rigaldus, *Regestrum*, 496. *'Item, frater Guillelmus receperat de VI^xx libras turonensibus, quas dederat eis rex pro meliorandis edificiis suis, centum libras, et alias viginit libras debebat eis adhuc, ut dicebant, ballivus Calleti ; nos vero iniunximus dicto fratri Guillelmo, quod coram priore suo, canonicis et leprosis, debitam redderet rationem de illis centum libris quas recepit. Item, iniunximus prior quod domos in quibus habitabant leprosi faceret congrue reparari et recooperiri, et quod eis studiosius solito et congruentius de necessariis providerit.'*
[145] Ibid. *'Ibi erant quatuor canonici cum priore… item, octo leprosi, tres conversi sani, quatuor converse.'*
[146] Arnoux, *Clercs*, 22.
[147] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (598).
[148] Ibid., 600.

the north-west of Paris, between Gisors, Mantes and Pontoise.[149] The exact location of the house at *Bordiniaco* is not known, but a site to the south-west of Rouen, towards Paris, would be likely, given the royal itinerary at the time of the gift. This was authorised by Richard of Tournay, again suggesting Blanche's input. The latter donation, to Villeneuve-la-Guyard, was made while the entourage was in the town itself, in early August 1239.[150] The royal court's travels provided an opportunity for wardens of leper-houses in need to petition for much-needed funds, as has been shown to be the case in England also.

Many of the entries in the accounts from the 1230s merely state that the money is being given *de dono*, rather than being given for a specific purpose. The leper-houses at Samois, Gisors, Banlieue of Paris, Charlevanne and Chambly each received the sum of 100*s* (5*l*) in 1239.[151] In 1234, smaller gifts, of 3*l* and 4*l* had been given to the houses of Bray-et-Lû and Chailly respectively, suggesting that in the intervening years an increase had been made in the amount of money allocated to such establishments.[152] The three gifts to lepers noted in Saracen's 1256 accounts indicate a more formalised manner of alms-giving, or perhaps a more formalised manner of record-keeping. The three gifts are to the lepers of Melun, Corbeil and Roye, and were all given as tithes for bread and wine. The lepers at Melun received 8*l* 2*s* 1*d* for four days' worth, Corbeil received 4*l* 11*s* 3*d* for two days, and those at Roye were given 42*s* 9*d* for one day.[153] The amount given to the Roye lepers is approximately one quarter of the sum provided for Melun – very possibly because it was not a royal town, unlike Corbeil and Melun. This calculation and the detail given regarding these payments indicate a more structured form of casual alms-giving in the latter part of Louis' reign.

Alms to individuals

Like Henry, Louis also showed concern for individuals with leprosy. The French accounts contain less detail than the English records, so it is unclear whether or not these people had connections to royal household. Although names are not provided, the identification in several instances of 'a certain leper' does suggest that Louis was providing funds for the sustenance of someone he knew either personally or by association. The first such gifts appear in the *Itinera, dona et hernesia* accounts from 1234, around the time that Louis was beginning his personal rule. In March of that year, 100*s* was paid in alms to provide clothes for a 'certain boy' (*quodam guarcione*) who had been placed in the leper-house at Charlevanne, the leper-house situated close to the royal residence at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, founded by, and managed by, the local

[149] *RHF XXII*, xxxvi.
[150] Ibid.
[151] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (589); ibid., 597; ibid., 599; ibid., 604.
[152] 'Recepta et expensa AD 1234'. (234).
[153] 'Tabulæ ceratæ Johannis Sarraceni'. in *RHF*, xxi (1855), 284-392, (353); ibid., 354.

towns.[154] The connection between this house and the monarchy is evident from the fact that in 1365, the king's almoner put forward a candidate for the position of master of the house.[155] This leprous boy may have previously served in the royal household – this word was used also to refer to servants, including those in the royal household.

Other gifts for clothing, of only 60*s* each, were given to a leper at Saint-Lazare in Paris, a 'young leper' (*leprosi parvi*) in Rouen, and to a leprous cleric in the leper-house at Crépy-en-Valois.[156] Other gifts of 100*s*, to another leprous cleric, in the leper-house at Juvisy, and another leper in one of the Parisian leper-houses (unspecified), were intended to provide both clothing and food.[157] Another gift of 60*s* for food (*ad victum*) was made to an individual, with neither name nor location recorded, but granted when the royal entourage was around Fontainebleau or Melun.[158] Henry III had given individual lepers in leper-houses an allowance of 1*d* a day to provide for food; this sum of 60*s* could either have thus fed this individual for two years, or else have provided a far richer daily diet than was provided in England.[159] Touati has argued that the giving of alms created for the king – or other lay patron – a 'moral and administrative springboard' for placing their own people in leper-houses when necessary.[160] This pattern can be traced for all of these houses: Saint-Lazare received regular alms through the provosts and bailiffs; Charlevanne featured in the alms of the royal itinerary; Juvisy-sur-Orge (Essonne) and Crépy-en-Valois (Oise) were both included in the alms roll established by Philip Augustus.[161]

Further donations were made without a specified purpose, for instance a sum of 100*s* granted to a 'certain leper' from Normandy in the leper-house at Vernon.[162] As discussed above (see page 203), this leper-house was one of those that received 20*l* in alms each year from royal alms. The *Itinera, dona et hernesia* accounts from 1239 include several occurrences of individual lepers receiving varying sums of royal alms. A female leper in the leper-house at Boissy l'Aillerie, close to Pontoise, received 20*s*; a male leper at Boiscommun in the Gâtinais received 40*s*.[163] Another male leper, from the hospital at Asnières 'with the lepers of Chambly', also received 40*s*; Asnières was the location of a royal residence, situated close to the abbey at Royaumont, and a little over 10km from Chambly.[164] This entry suggests that a diagnosis of leprosy was made while the man was in hospital, necessitating his removal to another institution. A substantial

[154] 'Recepta et expensa AD 1234'. (233); Le Grand, 'Maisons-Dieu et léproseries', (112).
[155] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 738.
[156] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (593); ibid., 596; ibid., 602; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 117.
[157] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (601); ibid., 605.
[158] Ibid., 607.
[159] *CLR, 1226-40*, 63.
[160] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 662.
[161] Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (81); ibid., 97.
[162] 'Recepta et expensa AD 1234'. (233).
[163] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (590); ibid., 588.
[164] Ibid., 591.

sum of 6*l* was recorded, in a single entry, for a male leper in the leper-house at Longjumeau and a female leper in the leper-house at Étréchy; it is possible that these donations were put together because the two individuals were related to each other.[165] There is no indication that the houses themselves were connected in the same way that some other houses were; a charter issued in 1201 by the bishop of Sens, for example, ordered that all leprous men and women in the diocese should be accommodated at the houses of Melun and Corbeil respectively, although Touati has argued that this separation was never fully accomplished.[166]

As these donations were apparently made on an ad hoc basis, it isn't clear how long the money was supposed to last, or, in some cases, what it was to be used for. At first glance, the sums appear to be far more generous than those given by Henry to individuals – this was frequently a sum of 1*d* a day for those residing in leper-houses.[167] Louis' gifts, by contrast, range from 20*s*, or 400*d*, for the unnamed woman in Boissy-l'Aillerie, to five separate gifts of 100*s* (2000*d*).[168] The woman at Boissy-l'Aillerie was given noticeably less money than the 13 individual men and boys; the next smallest donation – to individuals at Asnières and Boiscommun - was double the amount that she received.[169] This may have been because of a perception that women were in need of less assistance, or it may be that the money was intended for a different purpose. The brevity of these accounts do not offer any further detail. While Henry's accounts stated that a leper was being given a certain sum for a year, for example, the details of these donations are not elaborated upon here. There is also no indication regarding the frequency of these payments – the nature of the record-keeping suggest that they were one-off sums.

One entry confirms that some of these individuals, at least, were known to Louis. A sum of 100*s* was paid at Mantes, to 'Gilbert, son-in-law of Garin of the pantry, leper'.[170] Garin was clearly an individual working for the royal household and his relation benefited financially from this connection. The accounts do not say whether or not he was resident in a leper-house. In the provosts and bailiffs accounts, only one payment appears to an individual with leprosy; in 1248, another 'certain leper' at Amiens was given 100*s*.[171] This payment did not appear in the only other surviving account from the provosts and bailiffs, from 1234, so this man had probably entered the leper-house at some point in the intervening 14 years. Other payments – to the leper-houses at Gournay-en-Bray, Paris and Chinon, for example – appear on both sets of

[165] Ibid., 604.
[166] *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. by Benjamin Guérard, and others, 4 vols., Collection des cartulaires de France, (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1850), i, 86-88; Touati, *Maladie et société*, 650.
[167] *CLR, 1226-40*, 63; *CLR, 1240-45*, 90.
[168] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (590); 'Recepta et expensa AD 1234'. (233); 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (596); ibid., 601; ibid., 605; 'Compotus præpositorum et ballivorum AD 1248'. (264).
[169] 'Itinera, dona et hernesia AD 1239'. (588); ibid., 591.
[170] Ibid., 596.
[171] 'Compotus præpositorum et ballivorum AD 1248'. (264).

accounts, suggesting that these were payments that continued to be made on a regular basis, perhaps without any regular review of outgoings being made. The individual at Amiens may also therefore have received this sum regularly.

Conclusion

Although Louis was lauded by his hagiographers for his alms-giving, a fact that has been more recently supported by Hallam and Le Goff, this is not reflected in the charters of leper-houses, or in the regular payments made by the king's bailiffs and provosts. The charter issued in 1260, as Bautier has shown, does not show any new alms-giving by Louis. There is instead a clear sense of continuity, as payments were made in the same manner that they had been prior to Louis' reign. The absence of any significant gifts recorded in charters to leper-houses reflects the patronage of Henry III in England; by the middle of the thirteenth century, larger gifts of land and important new forms of income were not as necessary as they had been in the twelfth century. Although Saint-Lazare, a possible royal leper-house, continued to receive regular alms, the lack of other royal foundations meant that, unlike in England, there were fewer houses towards which the king may have felt an obligation.

As argued above (page 210), it is somewhat difficult to differentiate between the itinerant alms from Louis and those given by Blanche, and this is made harder by the fact that most evidence that survives pre-dates Blanche's death. While there is absolutely no doubt that Louis recognised the spiritual benefits of regular alms and gifts to religious houses, where Louis really distinguishes himself is in his daily allocation of food, money and drink to 182 lepers, and in the money and food given to each local leper-house as he travelled around the kingdom, showing his preference for a more personal form of alms-giving. The 182 lepers were not in named leper-houses – Louis' concern was for the individual lepers, but not for the welfare of any particular leper-house.

The lepers in the leper-houses that benefited from the food and drink donated on Louis' itinerary probably did not meet the king – at least, not as a matter of course – but their proximity was important to him, particularly if they were offering prayers in gratitude. This reflects the occasions discussed in chapter 4, when he would voluntarily approach lepers, no matter their condition. The more awful the disease, the keener he was to meet them. The recognition and reverence of the extreme suffering endured by lepers is further confirmation of Louis' place within the ideals of thirteenth-century sanctity.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the connections between leprosy and kingship in thirteenth-century England and France. It has also addressed the role that the suffering of lepers played in the creation of sanctity during this period, and the ways that Louis' behaviour in particular fitted into contemporary ideals. The two kings examined here differed in many respects in their lives, as a result of their upbringings, and because of the very different kingdoms they each inherited. There is also a great contrast in the source material available from each country. Lastly, their reputations today are very different – Louis' sanctity has elevated him to a status unattainable by Henry, both during life and in the centuries since his death. What this thesis has shown, however, is that despite these differences, Henry and Louis perceived, and reacted to, lepers and leprosy in very similar ways.

The first two chapters of this thesis set the context for the position of lepers and ideas about leprosy in thirteenth-century England and France. Although the negative connotations of Old Testament leprosy persisted, with the disease's association with sin being perpetuated in the production of moralised bibles and sermons, for example, lepers were never shunned by the Church. Pope Gregory II's insistence that lepers were to be permitted to receive communion was reinforced in the twelfth century at the Third Lateran Council, confirming the right of communities of lepers to have their own church. The contemporary perception of disease as a spiritual infliction is underlined by the similarities between leper-houses and monasteries. The obligation to take vows, to dress uniformly, to practice abstinence and to participate in the *opus Dei* regularly meant that lepers were, by entering a leper-house, fulfilling a religious commitment which was likely to last for the rest of their lives. Institutional statutes stressed the importance of good conduct, both inside and outside the leper-house.

The contents of sermons preached in leper-houses further emphasise the lepers' status. Leprosy was a divine gift allowing sufferers to atone for their sins on earth, and a gift for which they should be grateful. This spiritual concern was of utmost importance: salvation was the ultimate goal, and the milieu of a leper-house was an environment in which this end could be achieved. The proliferation of leper-houses, beginning in the late eleventh century, mirrored the foundation of new hospitals at the same time. The twelfth century in particular was a period when interest in lepers' welfare, and the consequences of leprosy, increased in both England and France, with kings and queens involved in founding and funding new leper-houses. By the thirteenth century, the largest of the leper-houses in these countries had already been established, and newer foundations were smaller, and less likely to be connected with the monarchy. The interest in lepers' welfare was widespread, with individuals such as St Francis

and the beguines in the Low Countries taking it upon themselves to care for them, thus creating a new form of connection between leprosy and sanctity.

As the second chapter showed, leprosy was mostly treated dispassionately in both medical and legal texts. Few medical texts of this time referred to the disease's moral aspect, showing their writers to be more interested in treatments and possible cures. In both these texts and in legal evidence, the appearance of a leper's face (see page 69) was fundamental in the process of successfully diagnosing leprosy. At the point of diagnosis, the leper would be treated differently – expected to remove themselves from society, and their legal rights limited. As becomes clear later in the thesis, a leper's facial symptoms were used in order to highlight the horrific nature of the disease, and thus the special nature of those who could bear to be near a sufferer. The Introduction and the first two chapters thus show that leprosy in the thirteenth century was different to other diseases because of its theological implications. It is shown additionally that although lepers were in a sense excluded from everyday society if they entered a leper-house, this may have been a voluntary decision. They remained visibly present throughout the Middle Ages, although the idea of approaching them elicited horror from bystanders.

Having established this context, the third chapter examines the connections between leprosy and kingship, looking initially at what was expected of a king during this era. The expectations surrounding Henry and Louis were articulated in texts which described society as a body, of which the king represented the head. Although the detail of the theories varied, there was a universal understanding of the king's duty as the head to consider the rest of the 'body', which included the most abject, at the feet. In addition to these books, the kings' behaviour was influenced by the counsellors whom he chose to attend his court. Henry, because of the many political challenges he faced throughout his reign, had a less stable entourage than did Louis, but both kings used the mendicant orders for both spiritual and temporal duties.

With regard to leprosy, in both England and France there existed accounts of kings having touched for the King's Evil, and in some cases having healed their subjects. In England, Edward the Confessor and Henry II were reported to have used this power, while in France, a *vita* of Robert the Pious suggested that he had done the same – both Henry and Louis thus had ancestors who were able to perform miraculous healing. Descriptions of the Kings' Evil varied, but the forms it took included leprosy alongside scrofula and jaundice. This tradition emphasises the importance of studying the instances when Henry and Louis were known to have touched lepers, particularly when the lepers' physical symptoms were described. Although there are no reports of either of them healing, the wider knowledge of this potential enhanced their kingship and meant that the touch of a king entailed a measure of symbolic power.

The historic link between leprosy and kingship was greater in France – the consecration myth from Saint-Denis gave the French kings a connection with the disease that could not be claimed by their English counterparts. The full description of the awful symptoms of disease in this myth were used to associate the abject leper with Christ, demonstrating the importance of lepers in miracles at this time, serving as a reminder to others of Christological suffering and rejection.

Nevertheless, the connection between the French monarchy and leprosy, described by François-Olivier Touati as a 'permanent relationship', was not unique.[1] The evidence discussed in the fourth chapter, of Henry's and Louis' meetings with lepers, demonstrates that although evidence may be scarce, the king of England did also get close to them, kissing and washing their feet just as Louis did. The kings' meetings show that there was no real attempt to prevent these interactions on the grounds of medical contagion, although the reactions of the witnesses, described by Louis' hagiographers, show that willingly approaching lepers whose disease was in the advanced stages was exceptional behaviour. Lepers played a fundamental role in the hagiographical tropes of sanctity during this period. Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I, was the daughter of a saint and known as Matilda the Good. Theobald of Champagne was revered for his piety. In the thirteenth century, St Elizabeth and St Francis were both admired for their attention to lepers, and Louis' hagiographers recalled similar behaviour by the saint-king. Henry's piety was rarely praised by contemporaries, but the brief accounts of his actions show that there is scope for rehabilitation of his image. He approached lepers with the same humility, and his motivation was no less pious.

Louis' concern for lepers, like Henry's, was centred around the idea of salvation. For these kings this meant the salvation of the lepers' souls, but mostly of their own souls, and those of their family members. In this respect, Jacques le Goff has described Louis as 'emblematic' of the age.[2] The suffering of the lepers is described in great detail – and it is the suffering that proves that lepers are undergoing purgatory, and are therefore to be revered. This leads to the 'spiritual hierarchy' as described by Touati, which places Christ at the top, followed by the leper, and the king last of all. This hierarchy is evident in the accounts of both kings – Louis frequently kneeling before lepers, and Henry washing and kissing their feet.

Having examined the theological connotations between leprosy and kingship, chapters five, six and seven move on to patronage to lepers, beginning with an overview of what patronage meant, particularly when performed by royalty. Acts of patronage by kings and queens were emulated by others – a trickle-down effect through the aristocracy to other laity. This meant that if a king chose to found a leper-house, or to make gifts to an existing house, he could be sure that

[1] Touati, *Maladie et société*, 221.
[2] Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 865.

others would provide for the lepers there also. In order to provide an understanding of patronage to lepers prior to Henry's and Louis' reigns, chapter five includes a brief study of previous kings and queens, and the patronage performed by them in favour of leper-houses. For the English kings, but less so for the French kings, this included founding new houses. In both countries certain leper-houses were clearly favoured above others.

In addition to emulation by a king's subjects, it was probable that royal successors would also adopt the tradition of favours to particular leper-houses, and to established forms of patronage. While the difference in extant source material makes a direct comparison between the two kings problematic, there are a number of evident similarities between the two. In both England and in France, the decline in the number of lepers meant that there were no significant leper-houses founded after the start of Henry's and Louis' reigns, although Henry's hospital at Ospringe is likely to have accommodated lepers as well as pilgrims and the sick. Those that were already well-established, such as St Giles in Holborn, or the Grand-Beaulieu at Chartres, no longer needed large gifts of land or money, having already received plenty in the years following their foundations in the twelfth century. Both kings appear to have continued the payment of alms by their predecessors, however, as is clear from the chancery records in England and by the fourteenth-century French alms roll.

As stated above (see page 210), it is difficult to separate Louis' patronage from that of his mother in the years before her death. He was undoubtedly influenced by her, and she herself had perhaps adopted the Angevin traditions exemplified by ancestors such as Empress Matilda and Henry II. Nevertheless, what evidence does remains from Louis' reign provides insight into his ideas about lepers. While he continued to pay alms that had been established by his Capetian or Anglo-Norman predecessors, his greater generosity is evident in the alms he gave to leper-houses as he travelled – the proximity of the recipients was important to him. The level of alms given is significant not only for the quantity, which Carole Rawcliffe has described as an 'appropriate royal response to Christ's sermon on the Last Judgement', but furthermore for the attention to detail paid by the king to what they should receive, and the parts of his household which were to be responsible for providing these alms, a reflection of Louis' 'finicky' personality.[3]

The reasons behind Henry's and Louis' patronage were manifold. There was of course the royal duty to provide for one's subjects, as described in contemporary political texts, and this duty was performed visibly as alms and gifts were granted as the kings travelled. This was a duty that Henry continued even while in France, giving alms and feeding the poor outside of his own kingdom. To some extent, kings were able to provide for lepers' material concerns, with money

[3] Rawcliffe, *Medicine*, 5; Bautier, 'Aumônes du Roi', (44).

for food, clothing and building repairs, although royal alms would never have been enough to fully provide for a leper-house and its occupants. There was a definite requirement for both kings to uphold established traditions of alms-giving; this was particularly true in England for leper-houses founded by Henry's Angevin ancestors.

But the over-riding motivation for both Henry and Louis was spiritual rather than temporal, and above all it was the salvation of their own, and their family's souls, more than the souls or bodies of the recipients of their charity. This need is made clear in extant charters, but also in the hagiographical accounts of the French king, in which his concern about salvation is made clear through his behaviour to the sick and the poor and lepers – the *pauperes Christi*. The act of gift-giving to lepers served as a form of penance for which the kings expected to receive spiritual reward. This reward was to be made in the form of powerful intercessory prayers from lepers who had taken quasi-monastic vows, and who were already suffering in purgatory. Patronage and the granting of royal protection asserted a king's authority over leper-houses, and ensured that the lepers were dependent on their king. Lepers acknowledged this dependence and authority by praying for the royal souls. These acts in favour of lepers have been described by Rawcliffe as creating a 'powerful image of medieval queenship', but it is an image that is equally true for kingship.[4]

The initial scope of this study was to include the royal entourages in England and France; however it soon became apparent that this would be unfeasible within the given constraints. More research into the kings' family would be rewarding, particularly an expansion of Rawcliffe's commentary about leprosy and queenship. As has been touched upon briefly in this thesis, the acts of Matilda I of England and the Empress Matilda were powerful and significant, and the influence of Blanche of Castile on Louis is undeniable. Further research into this facet of leprosy would complement the findings of this thesis, by providing a richer picture of leprosy and monarchy in the medieval ages.

This thesis has only touched on the connections between leprosy and kingship during a short period of the Middle Ages. The changing perceptions of disease in general, leprosy in particular, and sanctity throughout the medieval period mean that a study of fourteenth-century kings would provide further insight into contemporary ideas about lepers and leprosy, particularly after the massacre of lepers and Jews in 1321 in France, and after the Black Death in England.[5] Such research may present more challenges, with fewer lepers in both countries, but it would serve to show whether or not there was an increased fear of lepers in the century after Louis

[4] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 147.
[5] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 93-6; Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages*, (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 1990), 161-2; Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 49; ibid., 60; Waugh and Diehl, 'Introduction', (1).

and Henry, or if a king's desire for spiritual salvation continued to be important enough to face the risk of contagion.

The findings of this thesis have highlighted the extent to which lepers were used as a means for gaining spiritual salvation in the thirteenth-century. Despite continued reminders of the Old Testament's message of sin as a cause of leprosy, the more recently articulated ideas about purgatory and the importance of remembering Christ's physical suffering were more important. The fact that lepers were, throughout the century and in both England and in France, the recipients of royal benefactions, highlights an important aspect of kingship, and reflects wider patterns of charity in the thirteenth century.[6] Kings knew that their patronage would be copied by others, and they thus ensured the welfare of lepers throughout their kingdom. Their willingness to approach lepers, to kiss them, to feed them, to wash their feet, and ultimately to be able to bear the sight and smell of the disease, distinguished them from their contemporaries in a remarkable manner. What other people's reactions to the kings' actions emphasise is the ambiguity of lepers' status during the thirteenth century, at once reviled and revered. The kings' behaviour was associated with sanctity. Lepers and kings had a particular status that associated them with Christ, and both Henry's and Louis' interactions with lepers show a recognition of the lepers' special status in the matter of salvation.

[6] Orme and Webster, *English Hospital*, 11; Holdsworth, *Piper and the Tune*, 4; Karen Stöber, 'Bequests and Burials: Changing Attitudes of the Laity as Patrons of English and Welsh Monasteries', in *Religious and laity in western Europe, 1000-1400 : interaction, negotiation, and power,* ed. by E. Jamroziak and J.E. Burton, (Turnhout: Brepols ; Abingdon : Marston [distributor], 2007), 131-46, (136-7).

Abbreviations

AASS – Acta Sanctorum

Actes de Henri II - Recueil des Actes de Henri II., Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France, L. Delisle and E. Berger (eds.), Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France, 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909).

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Actes de Saint-Lazare – Recueil d'actes de Saint-Lazare de Paris 1124-1254 sous la direction de Lucie Fossier, ed. by S. Lefèvre, Prieuré Saint-Lazare, and L. Fossier, Documents, études et répertoires, (Paris: CNRS éd., 2005).

CChR – Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office

CCR – Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office

CFR – Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office

CLR – Calendar of the Liberate Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office

CPR – Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office

CRR – Curia Regis Rolls

Cartulaire Normand – Cartulaire Normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint-Louis et Philippe-le-Hardi, L. Delisle (ed.), (Genève: Mégariotis, 1978).

LTC – Layettes du Trésor des chartes, ed. by J. Guérout, A. Teulet, and Archives Nationales, Inventaires et documents, 5 vols., (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1977).

PL – Patrologiae Cursus Completus Latina, ed. by J.P. Migne, 221 vols., (Paris: 1841-66).

RHF – Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France. 24 vols., published under the direction of Léopold Delisle, new edn., (Paris, 1869-1904).

RLC – Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum

Statuts – S*tatuts d'hôtels-Dieu et de Léproseries. Recueil de textes du XIIe au XIVe siècle*, ed. by L. Le Grand, (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1901).

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Appendices

I: Henry's visit to the French *parlement* in 1259[1]

Around the same time there were two Catholic kings, Louis in France and Henry in England, cousins, of which one, that is Louis, delighted in hearing sermons of God daily between solemn masses, and the other three masses or more, he liked to hear, most devotedly delighting many times in beholding the body of Christ, and he could be occupied for much time in the office of the mass. When the same Henry, king of England, one time also duke of Aquitaine, at the request of the said king of France had come to the parlement at Paris, set out for several days to the parlement, when the king of France and other powerful men, nobles and magnates of the same rank had waited for a considerable time, however because of occupying himself in extensive masses, both in his house at Saint-Germain-des-Pres, as well as // in churches on his itinerary to the king's residence, of which he did not wish to pass by any where a priest dressed in sacred robes was prepared to celebrate the mass, but dismounting from his horse, he reverently entered the churches in the same devotion and remained until the end of each mass celebrated there, he came so late to the parlement that nothing happened that day. Because of this, the king of France with other noble men asked him that the following day he could come quickly in order to speed up the discussions of business. He promised to hear the divine office in a timely manner, and to come as quickly afterwards as he was able. Which, he had promised, he had risen before dawn, to hear office and his masses as usual. But when he made the journey towards the king's palace past the city's churches, he expected so much to hear the mass there, that he came so late to the palace, as he had done the previous day. And so that day he had been impeded, as before. At which the king of France with those with him, not at the time having other advice about this matter, except that in secret they would send through the city of Paris to all churches past which the king of England would make his journey, that in his journey no priest should be found nearby to perform the divine office. But that all those churches should remain closed, until the king of England had come past each of them to parlement. And this was done: so the king of England, on the following day, came with the nobles to the place of the parlement. The king of France, considering with his nobles, greatly commended him for his quick arrival, at once wishing to enter parlement with him. But the king of England, with a perturbed expression, said to the king of France: "My (lord) and most dear relation, I do not wish to discuss in a place under interdict, or with people who are under interdict." And when the king of France asked him what he had said, he replied: "Coming here I did not see any church open, but in the manner of interdict, all are closed." And then the king of France, to ease his mind, replied that nowhere was

[1] *Lettres de Rois, Reines et Autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusquá Henri IV, tirées des archives de Londres par Bréquigny et publiées par M. Champollion-Figeac*, M. Champollion-Figeac and L.G.O.F.d. BréQuigny (eds.), 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimérie Royale, 1839-47).

under interdict, but the churches where he had expected to interrupt his journey for their mass, and parlement was delayed because of this, adding as a question to him: "My dear relation, why do you like to hear so many masses?" To which he replied: "And why you so much preaching?" The king of France replied: "It appears to me much more pleasant and salutary to hear about my creator." And the king of England joking at this replied: "And to me it seems more pleasant and salutary to see him more than to hear him." And so the sacred kings wishing to impede each other's devotion, when the nobles ordered that, notwithstanding the absence of a sacred king, the other nobles discussed and ordered the actions and accounts of the kingdom and the people, and reported these to the kings on their arrival with great approval.

II: The Consecration Myth of Saint-Denis[1]

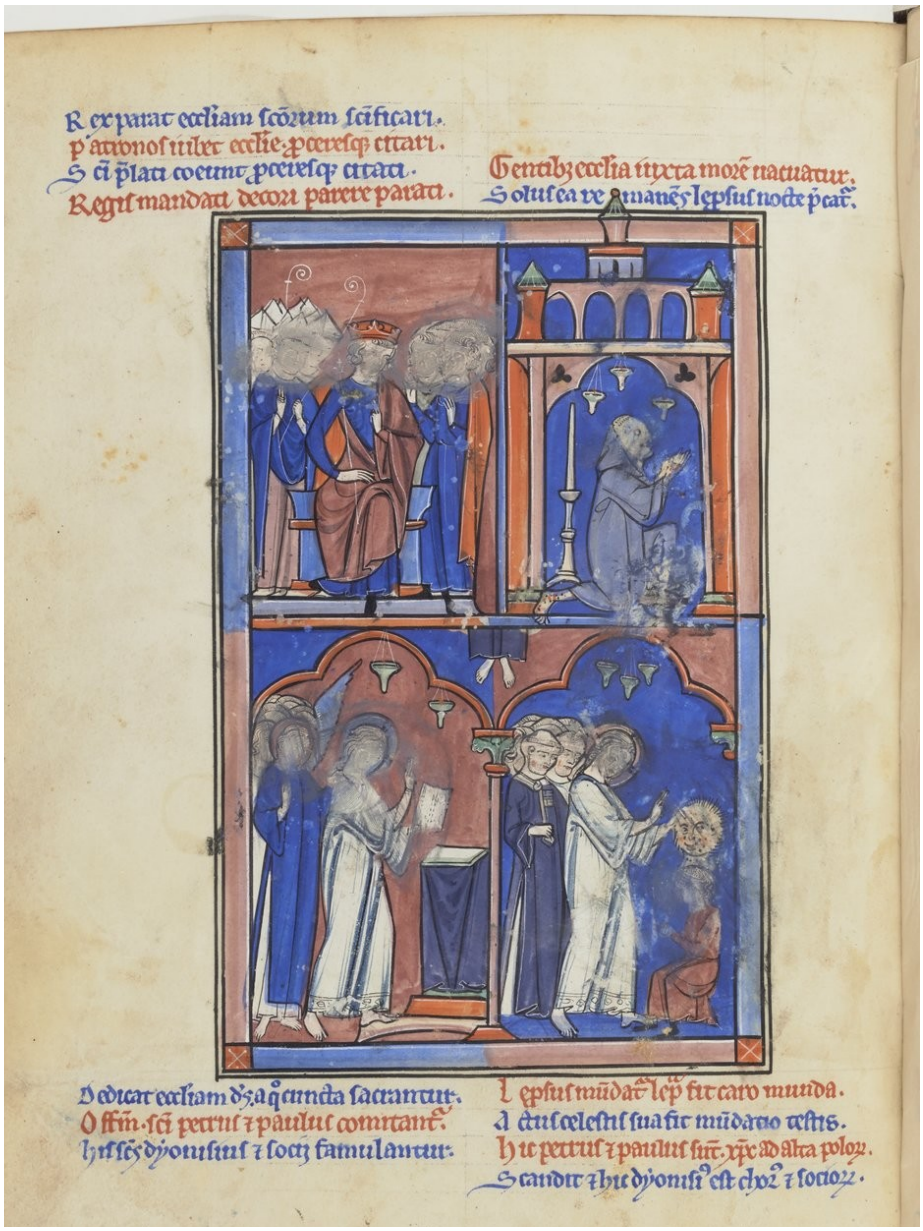
That same night, a glorious event took place, which was not made on earth, and so I must make it known and announce it to all good people. While the church was being emptied as I have said, a foreign, unknown leper, a true, simple Christian, stayed in the church in a secret, hidden place, and remained the entire night in prayers and in holy vigils. On this night a little after spring, a great and glorious light illuminated the whole church, so that tapers and candles and other earthly lights were reduced to nothing. And he did not doubt the wonder. Because it was the son of God who caused the windows to shine from the sky. The leper's prayers were such that he barely slept, but so much was bathed by a very great radiance, and he watched attentively, that something might happen after this light. It was He who was the sovereign bishop, and He had in His company His close friends, St Peter and St Paul, and with them the three glorious martyrs, his Grace St Denis and his companions.

And the leper did not watch this vision as if it should happen often while he was sleeping, but assuredly, and with his eyes open and watching. Because he clearly saw our Lord dressed in white with decoration, who went before all the altars, and He made and marked the walls of the church with the signs and symbols of his dedication, and rapidly completed in order the office which belonged to the bishop. Then he watched this noble procession of the glorious company who went humbly and served devotedly, especially among the altars of the twelve apostles, and the three precious martyrs who I named above. When the office of the dedication was completed according to order, the blessed Jesus went towards the leper and spoke to him in such language that he could understand well and said to him, "Don't be afraid, be completely confident, and go and tell the bishops who are outside, what you have seen and what I have asked you to do. Tell them that they should not involve themselves with dedicating this church. Because I have placed my hand to consecrate and, just as you have seen, I have done the whole office of consecration by order." The leper who was most comforted from the joy of this vision and more heartened because our Lord had come so kindly, responded to Him, "My good sweet Lord, and who is it who will deign to believe anything I say. I am the most afflicted man who is made on earth. The people reject me from their company. I have not the voice to give witness before any nobleman because I am plain and corrupted and deformed with the terrible leprosy, as you yourself clearly see, and who angers you by talking for so long." The sweet Jesus held the leper and His benign hand removed his face and he touched him and all over his face and his head. Then you could see a very great miracle. Because by the touching with His blessed hand, all the skin of the head of the leper was removed, and all the leprosy and from all the skin, and the leper was made completely healthy, and all new like the skin of a beautiful child. The skin of his head, when he had removed it, our Lord placed it on a stone which was there, and he formed it in the same shape that it had previously. And know that this skin was completely nude of flesh and bone

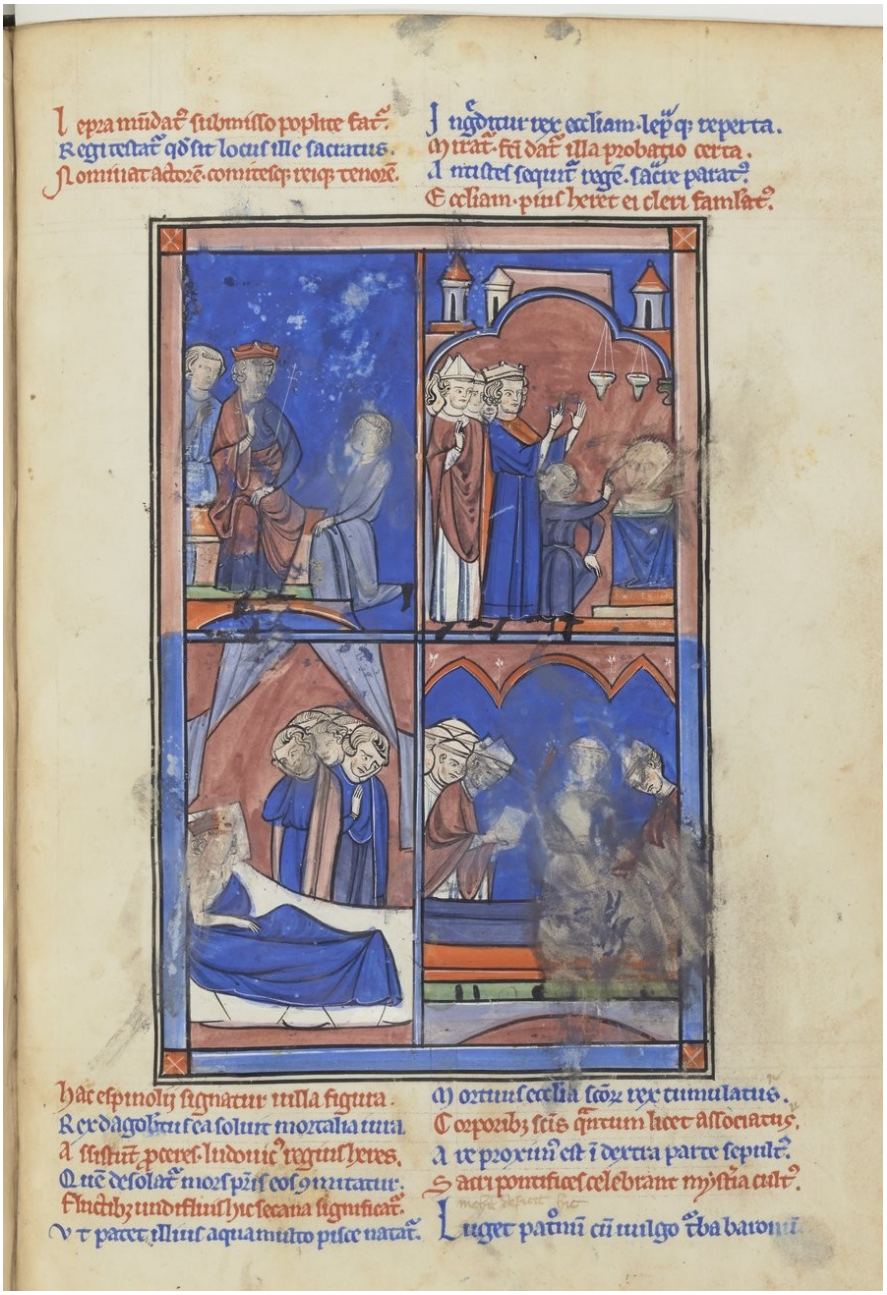
[1] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.f. 1098, ff.23v-25r.

nevertheless you believed without doubt that this was the skin of a leper. Then Our Lord said to him, “Go courageously, and if someone does not believe your word, they will believe you by this sign.” After these words Our Lord left him and the very great light which had appeared with him disappeared.

The night passed and then the churchwardens entered the church and found the good man who had been leprous in the holy house, and praising Our Lord greatly. As soon as he saw them he asked to be taken before their king. Because he knew a great secret which he wished to describe. He was soon taken before my Lord Dagobert, and he recounted the message of Our Lord and said, Truly, know that during this night I saw and I heard this church being consecrated through the coming and by the presence and by the hand itself of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and by this the health of my body was restored. The king then entered to see, and he pointed with his finger to the window through which the son of God and all his company had entered the church. And if you do not wish, he said to believe the words, at least come and believe the deeds. When he took him to the stone where Our Lord had placed the skin of his head, as you have already heard. When the king saw this he marvelled greatly at it, because he had still doubted the truth, as if he saw and heard a strange man and looked at him with animosity because of his poverty. The skin and hair of the former leper, and the miracle of the leprous form removed all doubt from him, and led him to true belief. Because he clearly saw and heard clear testimony in the leprous skin which was on the stone where Our Lord had placed it. And to tell the truth, the shape of the features of the head such as the ears, the eyelids, the eyebrows, the nose, the mouth, were each in their own place, so that the most sceptical in the world were moved to true belief by the true part of the miracle. The news of this great event spread quickly amongst all the people and the bishops and the barons who were assembled at the solemnity of the dedication, and the people themselves assembled to attend and to celebrate the great kindness of the works of Our Lord. Everyone pushed forward in a great crowed to see the shape of the leprous head, and the more people who saw it, the more they marvelled, and the more they rejoiced. Even the walls of the church where the fresh sign and marks that Our Lord had placed His blessed hand gave clear witness of the consecration that had taken place. The bishops sermonised and spoke to the people, and to entirely remove all doubt from all hearts they showed communally and openly to everyone the skin and hair of the head of the leper. Afterwards, they placed they placed this skin honourably among the other relics of the church, and for the joy of the miracle, and principally because the son of God had touched it with His hand. From then and thereafter because the people did not know the name of the blessed leper, they called him Saint Peregrine. Afterwards they departed, their hearts in great joy, and the poor and the rich, each returned to their home, and announced it around and about with such great joy, and by such a great miracle the church of my Lord Saint Denis had been dedicated and consecrated.



BnF n.a.f. 1098, f.55v [Vie de Saint Denys etc]



BnF n.a.f. 1098, f.56r [Vie de Saint Denys etc]

III: Saint Louis and the leper at Royaumont[1]

In the abbey at Royaumont there was a monk called Brother Leger, a deacon of the order, who was leprous, and was in a house apart from the others. He was so hideous and horrific, that because of his severe illness his eyes were so damaged that he could not see a thing, and he had lost his nose, and his lips were cracked and swollen, and the sockets of his eyes were red and hideous to look at. One Sunday around the feast of St Remi [January], the blessed king arrived at the abbey, and heard several masses, as he was accustomed to. With him were the Count of Flanders and many other noble men. And when the masses had been said, he left the church and went to the infirmary, in the house where the leprous monks lived. And when he wanted to go to the place where the said leper, who he had met before on other occasions, lived, and he wished to visit him. And after the abbot went first and the blessed king went behind, and they entered the place where the infirm were, and they found him there eating at a low table and eating pork, because such was the custom of the lepers at the abbey, that they ate meat. And the blessed king greeted this leper and asked him how he was, and knelt before him. And then, on his knees, he began to cut the meat before him, with a knife that he found on the leper's table. And when he had cut the meat into pieces, he placed these pieces in the mouth of the sick man, and he received them from the hand of the blessed king and ate them. And at the same time, while the blessed king was thus on his knees before the leper, and the abbot also on his knees out of reverence for the blessed king; the abbot was nevertheless horrified.

And the blessed king asked the leper if he would like to eat some partridge or chicken, and he said, yes. So the king had one of his officers called by one of the monks who was looking after the leper, and he ordered him to have brought chickens and partridges from his kitchen, which was quite a distance from this place. All the time that the officers were going to and from the kitchen, bringing two chickens and three roast partridges, the king remained on his knees before the leper, and the abbot also with him. Then the blessed king asked the leper which he would prefer to eat, either the chicken or the partridge, and he replied partridge; and the blessed king asked him which sauce, and he replied he would like to eat them with salt. Then he cut for him the wings of a partridge and salted the pieces, and then placed them in the leper's mouth. But because the lips of the leper were cracked, as was stated above, he bled, because the salt entered the cracked lips, and the blood ran down his chin, and so the leper said that the salt hurt him too much. And so after that the blessed king placed the pieces in salt, but wiped the grains of salt from the meat, so that they would not enter the cracks in the leper's lips. And during all this the blessed king comforted the leper, and told him that he was suffering this illness with good

[1] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, Tome XX*, M. Bouquet (ed.), (Paris: L'Impremerie Royale, 1840), 96-7.

patience, and that it was his purgatory in this world, and that it was better that he suffered this illness here, than he should suffer something else in the afterlife.

And then the blessed king asked the sick man if he would like to drink, and he said yes; and he said what wine do you have; and the sick man replied, good; and so the blessed king took the cup in his own hands, and then put it to his mouth and he drank; and when this was done, the blessed king asked the sick man to pray to Our Lord for him. And then the blessed king and the abbot left, and the blessed king went to eat in his own house which he had at the abbey; and he visited the said sick man often in this manner, and often said to his knights: let us go and visit our sick man, and he was speaking of the leper; but they did not enter the house of the sick man with him, only the abbot or the prior of the place. And one time when he had entered to visit the said leper and the table was set before him, the blessed king served him himself and he had spoonfuls of broth, and he placed some on a wooden spoon in his mouth; and because the blessed king one time placed too much salt in the spoonful, the mouth and the lips of the sick man began to bleed because of the salt, as one would expect; to which someone who was there, said to the blessed king: You are making his mouth bleed, because you have placed too much salt in his soup; and the blessed king replied: I have done for him as I would do for myself, and he said to the sick man that he was sorry. And at this same abbey of Royaumont was another leprous monk, whom he visited many times.

IV: Henry III's patronage to lepers and leper-houses

The following pages include all the entries relating to lepers, leprosy and leper-houses in the Calendar of Fine Rolls, the Calendar of Charter Rolls, the Calendar of Close Rolls, the Calendar of *Liberate* Rolls, and the Calendar of Patent Rolls.

The Calendar of Close Rolls have been printed in Latin for the entirety of Henry's reign; the Calendar of Patent Rolls for the years until 1232 were printed in Latin, and thereafter in English. All other calendars are in English, and the transcriptions below are taken directly from those translations. Personal and place names, where abbreviated in the original transcriptions, have been modernised where appropriate.

General grants for lepers

08/11/1224, Westminster *CFR*

Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. Order to the sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire that, by the view and testimony of trustworthy and law-worthy men, he is to make the king's advantage from all corn formerly of Falkes de Bréauté in his bailiwick and of other enemies of the king who were against him in Bedford castle. Order to the same sheriff to cause those bacons which were found in the stores of the same castle and were deposited at Newnham by the order of the king, and are rotten or old, to be given in alms to lepers and paupers where it will seem to him to be most useful. He is to reserve safely those which are good to the use of the king until the king orders otherwise.

5/07/1235, Westminster *CCR 1234-1237*, 114

For the prior of Bolton - The king, to Michael de Rihill and his associates, assessors of his fortieth in the county of Northumbria, greeting. Know that we concede to all lepers in our kingdom that nothing should be taken from them or their men for our use in the name of the fortieth. And therefore I order you that no fortieth should be demanded from the prior of Bolton, keeper of the hospital of the lepers of St Thomas the Martyr of Bolton, or their men, nor should you demand anything from them for our use in the name of the fortieth. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 5 July. [duplicated below – see Bolton]

Leper-houses

Albo Fossato - St Nicholas

01/06/1253, Rochester *CPR 1247-1258*, 194

Simple protection without clause, and without term for the brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Nicholas de Albo Fossato.

Alkmonton -

26/05/1246, Westminster *CCR 1242-1247*, 425-6

Concerning bacons given - The constable of Nottingham is ordered that of the king's bacons that he has in the castle of Nottingham he should allow the canons of Dale to have 20 pigs; the canons of Flaxley, 15; the nuns of Langley, 20; the lepers of Alkmonden, 15; the hermit of Breadsall, 6; the lepers of Chesterfield, 15; the hospital of St John's, Nottingham, 15; the lepers of Derby, 15; the hospital of St Helen's of Derby, 15; the canons of Newstead in Swerdwud, 20; the monks of Rufford, 20; and the lepers outside Tutbury, 10; the nuns of Heclonwood, 20; the nuns of Polesworth, 20; the lepers of Lichfield, 15, and the nuns of Pillesleg', 15 bacons, by gift of the king. [copied below: see Chesterfield; Derby; Lichfield; Tutbury]

Alton - St Mary Magdalene

05/01/1235, Winchester *CCR 1234-1237*, 36

For the lepers of Alton - John de Venuz is ordered to allow the lepers of Alton to have one tree-trunk from his district for their firewood by gift of the king. Witnessed by the king as above. By Godfrey de Craucumbe.

16/06/1261, Guildford *CPR 1258-1266*, 159

Protection without clause for two years for the warden of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene, Alton.

04/04/1262, Westminster *CPR 1258-1266*, 208

Protection without clause, for seven years, for the master and brethren of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene for lepers, Alton.

Andover - St Mary Magdalene

06/06/1248, Winchester — *CPR 1247-1258*, 18
[Protection without term] for the master and brethren of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene, Andover.

17/05/1258, Winchester — *CPR 1247-1258*, 630
Simple protection, for three years, for the lepers of the hospital of St Mary, Andover.

08/10/1258, Winchester — *CPR 1247-1258*, 652
Simple protection, for five years, for the master and brethren of the hospital for lepers of St Mary Magdalen, Andover.

03/09/1260, Clarendon — *CPR 1258-1266*, 92
[Protection with clause rogamus, for three years] for the hospital of St Mary Magdalene, Andover.

12/09/1265, Winchester — *CPR 1258-1266*, 449
Simple protection until Easter for... The master and brethren of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene, Andover.

16/11/1267, Marlborough — CPR 1266-1272, 167
Simple protection for three years for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Mary Magdalen without Andover.

Ashbourne (Derbyshire) - St John's

21/11/1251, Lichfield — *CPR 1247-1258*, 119
Simple protection, for three years, for the lepers of the hospital of Ashburn.

15/07/1255, Oakham — *CPR 1247-1258*, 418
Simple protection for three years for the lepers of the hospital of Ashbourne.

21/06/1258, Oxford — *CPR 1247-1258*, 636
Simple protection for three years for the lepers of the hospital of Ashbourne.

Aylesbury - St Leonard's

20/06/1232, Berkhamsted — *CPR 1225-1232*, 485
Concerning protection - The brothers of the hospital of St Leonard's of Aylesbury have letters of protection without term, with this clause: 'We ask you that when they or their representatives come to you to ask for alms, to willingly bestow your goods to them charitably; so that you should expect worthy recompense from God.' Witnessed by the king at Berkhamsted, 20 June.

Banbury - St Leonard's

15/10/1269, Westminster — *CPR 1266-1272*, 369
Protection with clause *rogamus* for the brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Leonard, Banbury.

Bath - St Mary Magdalene

16/07/1256, Bristol — *CPR 1247-1258*, 488
Protection, without clause and without term, for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Mary Magdalene without Bath.

Beaumund (Essex) - St Margaret's

18/07/1272, Oxford — *CPR 1266-1272*, 666
Protection with clause rogamus, for five years, for the master and brethren of the house of lepers of St Margaret, Beaumund, or their messengers collecting alms.

Beccles (Suffolk) - St Mary Magdalene

13/08/1270, Clarendon — *CPR 1266-1272*, 454
Simple protection, without clause, for one year, for Robert de Flixton, brother of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene, Beccles.

10/09/1270, Woodstock — *CPR 1266-1272*, 459
Protection with clause *rogamus*, for three years, for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Beccles.

Blyth (Nottinghamshire) - St Edmund's

03/01/1228, Blyth — *CPR 1225-1232*, 174

Concerning protection - The representatives of the lepers of the hospital of St Edmund's outside Blyth have letters of protection without term with this addition: 'the same lord King asks the sheriffs and his faithful, when the aforesaid representatives come to them for alms to be requested from them for the sustenance of the aforesaid infirm, admit them kindly and aid them from your wealth charitably; so that you will be owed eternal reward from our gratitude.' In testimony of these items, we cause the same lepers to have our letters patent. Witnessed as above.

Blyth (Nottinghamshire) - St John the Evangelist

05/01/1230, Newark *CPR 1225-1232*, 321

For the brothers of the lepers of St John the Evangelist of Blyth - Henry, by the grace of God king of England etc, to all those who will see this present letter, greetings. Know that we support in the defence and protection of our brothers of the hospital of the lepers of St John the Evangelist of Blyth, and their men, lands, goods, incomes and possessions. And therefore we ask you that you should guard, protect and defend those brothers and their men, lands, goods, incomes and possessions, not interfering with them or permitting any injury, damage, loss or trouble; and if they should be forfeit, to cause repair to them without delay. We ask also that, when the representatives of those brothers come to you to ask for alms, to support them kindly, to give willingly for the sake of charity; such that you should expect eternal recompense from God and you should be able to report our thanks. In testimony of these matters we order these letters patent to be made for them. Witnessed by myself, at Newark, 5 January, 14 year of our reign.

Bolton (Northumberland) - St Thomas the Martyr

17/04/1227, Westminster *RLC*, 182

For the hospital of Bolton - The Lord King by his charter has confirmed to the brothers, chaplains and leprous brothers of the hospital of St Thomas the Martyr of Bolton that Robert de Ros confirmed all lands and concessions that the same Robert made to them, just as is reasonably testified by his charter which they have. And the sheriff of Northumberland is ordered to cause the aforesaid confirmation to be read and published in full in his county. Witnessed as above.

04/04/1233, Canterbury *CCR 1231-1234*, 303

[The king concedes to the lepers of Harbledown that they should be quit of the king's fortieth to be paid. And the assessors and collectors of the fortieth in the county of Kent are ordered that they should not extract the payment of the fortieth.]

In the same manner it is written to the assessors of the fortieth in the county of Northumbria for the prior and leprous brothers of Bolton. [duplicated below – see Harbledown]

15/04/1233, Croydon *CCR 1231-1234*, 208

For St Thomas of Bolton and the brothers there - The king concedes to the prior and leprous brothers of the hospital of St Thomas the Martyr and Bolton by his charter, that of his own moor and Bolton, they can stub and cultivate 120 acres towards our perch neighbouring the aforesaid hospital on the eastern side and on the northern side between the aforesaid hospital and their wood of Birchefald, so that the aforesaid concession of the king in Gilwelaw is included to them in the aforesaid 120 acres assigned to them. The king concedes also to them that the aforesaid 120 acres should be quit in perpetuity of regard, and that they can enclose them by ditch and hedge, so that wild animals can enter and exit without impediment. And Thomas de Stratton, forester in fee of the forest of Northumbria, is ordered that, selecting with him foresters, verderers and other discreet and lawful men, in his presence and by their sight, to cause the aforesaid 120 acres to be measured towards the king's perch by certain markers and divisions in the same moor of the prior and the leprous brothers, and thereupon allow them to have full seisin, so that, by this calculation the cultivation they have already done and developed before the aforesaid concession of the king of the aforesaid moor, they should have in total 120 acres towards the king's perch, as is stated. Witnessed by the king at Croydon, 15 April.

15/04/1233, Croydon *CPR 1232-1247*, 14

Protection, without term, for the prior and leprous brethren of Bolton.

15/04/1233, Croydon *CChR 1226-1257*, 176

Grant to the prior and leprous brethren of the hospital of St Thomas the Martyr of Bolton, of licence to stub eighty acres of their moor of Bolton by the king's perch, adjoining the hospital on the east side, and lying on the north side of the hospital between it and their wood of Birchefald, together with forty acres by the king's perch of alder-wood and ozier-bed between the hospital and the wood of Birchefald on the east, all which lands lie in the forest of Northumberland, the said lands to be quit

of waste and regard and to be enclosed with a dike and hedge, so that beasts of the chase may have entrance and egress.

12/10/1233, Westminster *CCR 1231-1234*, 279

Bolton. Concerning cultivating the moor - The king to Brian de Insula, greeting. We have remembered that we have conceded to the prior and leprous brothers of the hospital of St Thomas the Martyr of Bolton, that in their own moor of Bolton, which is below our forest of Northumbria, they can stub and cultivate 120 acres by our neighbouring perch from the aforesaid hospital on the east side, and from the northern part between the aforesaid hospital and their wood of Birchefald. Because indeed the aforesaid wood is barren nor is it sufficient to stub and cultivate so many acres there, we concede that on the aforesaid moor they can stub and cultivate 80 acres up to our perch, to the neighouring aforesaid hospital on the eastern part, and to the northern part between the said hospital and the aforesaid wood; and from the alder-holt and thicket, which are between that hospital and the aforesaid wood towards the east, they can stub and cultivate 40 acres by our perch; and that all the aforesaid acres are in perpetuity quit of waste and regard, and that they can enclose by ditch and hedge, such that they can allow wild animals to enter and exit freely and without impediment. And therefore I order you that these 120 acres in the aforesaid place, you permit the said prior and brothers without impediment to stub and cultivate, as is stated, quit of waste and regard, and to enclose them by ditch and hedge, so that wild animals can enter and exit, as is stated. Witnessed as above.

19/03/1235, Bury St Edmunds *CChR 1226-1257*, 197

Grant to brother Walter, the prior, and the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Thomas the Martyr, Boulton, that one hundred and twenty acres of moor previously granted to them by the king to stub and cultivate by their wood of Bolton, which is in the forest of Northumberland, and one hundred and fifty acres of the said wood of Bolton by the king's perch shall in future be disafforested and quit of waste and regard and view of foresters, verderers, and their ministers, and that the said prior and brethren may till the said moor and stub and cultivate the wood, and do therewith what they will.

19/03/1235, Bury St Edmunds *CCR 1234-1237*, 61

For the prior of Bolton - Henry, by grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland etc, to his esteemed and faithful Thomas de Stratton, greeting. Know that we concede and by this our charter confirm on behalf of us and our heirs to Walter, prior, and the leprous brothers of the hospital of St Thomas the Martyr of Bolton and their successors in perpetuity, that 120 acres of moor with its appurtenances, which we had formerly conceded for cultivating and developing, next to their wood in Bolton which is below our forest of Northumbria, and 150 acres of their aforesaid wood in Bolton up to our perch, and the whole manor of Bolton with appurtenances, which the same prior has by gift of Robert de Ros, and 40 acres of land with appurtenances, which the same prior holds in the same town in fee farm from the monks of Rievaulx, and half a carucate of land, which Adam son of William of Kemoketun holds from the same prior in the same town of Bolton with its appurtenances, henceforth should be and should remain from deforestation in perpetuity; so that both their aforesaid moor and their aforesaid wood and the whole aforesaid manor of Bolton, as is stated and as such fully contained in our charter which they have thenceforth, should be quit of waste and regard and from the examination of the foresters and verderers and all their ministers and from all those pertaining to the forest and the foresters; and that the aforesaid prior and leprous brothers and their successors in perpetuity, when they wish, can develop the aforesaid wood and can clear the aforesaid woodland, to stub and cultivate and otherwise dispose of thenceforth according to their wish freely and without impediment.

And therefore I order you that you should keep the aforesaid moor and all the aforesaid manor of Bolton with the aforesaid 40 acres and half a carucate of land with its appurtenances deforested, and quit of the waste and regard and of the examination of the foresters and verderers and from all those who pertain to the forest and foresters, to be permitted, as is stated. Witnessed by myself at St Edmund's, 29 March, 19th year of our reign.

In the same manner it is written to the justiciar recently travelling for the pleas of the forest in the county of Northumbria.

05/07/1235, Westminster *CCR 1234-1237*, 114

For the prior of Bolton - The king, to Michael de Rihill and his associates, assessors of his fortieth in the county of Northumbria, greeting. Know that we concede to all lepers in our kingdom that nothing should be taken from them or their men for our use in the name of the fortieth. And therefore I order you that no fortieth should be demanded from the prior of Bolton, keeper of the hospital of the lepers

of St Thomas the Martyr of Bolton, or their men, nor should you demand anything from them for our use in the name of the fortieth. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 5 July.

Bordeaux -

10/08/1230, Blaye (Gironde) *CPR 1225-1232*, 0

For quittance of military and escort service. The King, to his seneschal of Gascony and all bailiffs and his faithful men who will read this present letter, greetings. Know that for the salvation of my soul and the souls of my ancestors and our successors, I concede for us and our heirs to Bernard of our city of Bordeaux and his heirs that the same in perpetuity are quit of military service and escort service and guard service, as long as our citizens of Bordeaux owe service to be done to us in this way; thus he and his heirs for the aforesaid service should collect in perpetuity in our city of Bordeaux alms for the use of the lepers of Bordeaux, and if he or his heirs should cease to collect the said alms for the work of these lepers, as it is stated, they will immediately be held to performing the said service to us and to our heirs as they were held earlier. In these matters etc. Witnessed by the king, at Blaye, 10 August.

Boroughbridge (Yorkshire)? - St Thomas

08/11/1258, Westminster *CPR 1258-1266*, 4

Simple protection without term for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Thomas, Boroughbridge.

Boughton -

23/09/1239, Clarendon *CLR 1226-1240*, 416

Liberate… to the Lepers of Boughton 100s of the king's gift. [Vacated,] because [it is enrolled] in another form for a computabitur in the 24th year.

05/12/1240, Windsor *CLR 1240-1245*, 13

To the justice of Chester. Contrabreve to cause the nuns of Chester to have 10 marks out of the issues of Cheshire of the king's gift, and the lepers of Boughton 10 marks.

Brackley - St James

13/09/1226, Woodstock *RLC*, 137

Concerning wood granted - Hugh de Neville is ordered to allow the prior of the hospital of SS John & James of Brackley to have 4 dried oaks in Haselborough for their firewood, by gift of the lord King. Witnessed by the King at Woodstock, 8 September.

Bradford (Wiltshire)? - St Margaret's

04/08/1235, Malmesbury *CPR 1232-1247*, 115

Protection with clause *rogamus*, without term, for the brothers and sisters of the lepers' hospital of St Margaret, Bradford.

Bretford (Warwickshire) -

21/02/1265, Westminster *CPR 1258-1266*, 409

Simple protection until Michaelmas for the master and brethren of the house of lepers, Bretford.

Bridgnorth - St James

04/06/1232, Worcester *CCR 1231-1234*, 67

For the lepers of Bridgnorth - The king, for the sake of God and for the salvation etc, concedes to the lepers of the hospital of St James of Bridgnorth, that they should have in perpetuity once every day, one horse travelling in the forest of Morfe, for dried wood for their fuel. And John de Monemue is ordered to permit the aforesaid lepers to have etc, as above. Witnessed as above.

05/06/1232, Worcester *CChR 1226-1257*, 155

Grant to the lepers of the hospital of St James, Bridgenorth, that they may have once every day a horse journeying in the forest of Morfe to collect dead wood for fuel.

18/07/1236, Feckenham *CCR 1234-1237*, 288

For the brothers of the hospital of Bridgnorth - Hugh son of Robert is ordered that he should permit the brothers of the hospital of St John the Evangelist of Bridgnorth to have one horse every day to travel once a day to collect dead and dried wood in the forest of Morfe for their firewood, and he should similarly permit the brothers of the leper-house of Bridgnorth to have one horse every day to travel once a day for dead and dried wood in the same forest for their firewood, just as those brothers and the aforesaid hospital and house that they have by charters of the king, which the king concedes. Witnessed as above.

14/10/1259, Westminster *CPR 1258-1266*, 45
Protection with clause *rogamus* for five years for the brethren and sisters of the lepers of St James, Bridgnorth; with this clause et *de bonis* etc

21/08/1267, Wenlock *CPR 1266-1272*, 99
Simple protection for three years for the leprous brethren and sisters of the hospital of St James, Bridgnorth

Bridgnorth - St Lazarus

23/05/1231, Kidderminster CCR 1227-1231, 509
Concerning tree-trunks given - Hugh son of Robert is ordred that he should allow the lepers of St Lazarus of Bridgnorth to have four old tree-trunks from the king's forest of Morfe, for their firewood, by gift of the king. Witnessed as above.

Bridport - St Mary Magdalene

28/07/1232, Oxford *CPR 1225-1232*, 495
Concerning protection - The lepers of St Mary Magdalene of Bridport have letters of protection without term, with the clause: '*Rogamus*' etc.

Bristol - St Lawrence's

06/03/1224, Bristol *CPR 1216-1225*, 429
The lepers of St Lawrence outside Bristol have letters of protection lasting until the Lord King is of age. Witnessed by the king, at Bristol, 11 March, year etc. 8.

08/03/1224, Bristol *CPR 1216-1225*, 428
Of quittance of the obligation of hundreds and courts. The king to the constable of Bristol, greetings. Know that I concede to the lepers of St Lawrence of Bristol that they should be quit of the obligations of the hundreds and the courts, which have on occasion demanded from them three acres of land which they directly hold from us in Barton for payment of 32d. And I also instruct you that you should cause them to have peace of the obligation of the hundreds and the courts, inflicting no trouble or annoyance to them. This letter should endure for two years from Easter of the 8th year of our reign. Witnessed by the king, at Bristol, 8 March.

18/12/1233, Saint Brieuc *CCR 1231-1234*, 291
The king does not wish that any fortieth should be demanded on the goods of the hospital of St Lawrence near Bristol or its men. And the assessors and collectors in the county of Gloucester are ordered that they should allow them to be quit, so that nothing in the name of the fortieth should be demanded or taken from them. Witnessed as above.

22/06/1248, Clarendon *CPR 1247-1258*, 20
Confirmation to the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Laurence in the suburb of Bristol, of a stall (seldam) in the said suburb, which Walter de Kaerdif held, to hold in frank almoin as they obtained it of the gift of Robert Top, as is said.

01/09/1249, Worcester *CPR 1247-1258*, 73
Simple protection for the master and brethren of the lepers' hospital of St Lawrence without Bristol, to be invalid after three years.

20/07/1256, Gloucester *CPR 1247-1258*, 489
[Simple protection, for seven years] for the master and brethren of the lepers of St Lawrence without Bristol.

Bristol - St Mary Magdalene

12/06/1235, Reading *CCR 1234-1237*, 102
For the lepers of St Mary Magdalene, Bristol - Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, is ordered to cause the lepers of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene to have 20s annually, which they used to receive from the vill of Carmarthen from the king's fixed alms, just as they were accustomed to receive before the aforesaid town was in the hand of the king. Witnessed by the king at Reading, 12 June.

Brook Street (Essex) - St John's

01/08/1233, Westminster *CPR 1232-1247*, 22
Protection, without term, for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St John, Brook Street.

27/06/1234, Kempton *CPR 1232-1247*, 57

Protection with clause *rogamus*, without term, for the lepers of the hospital of St John, Brook Street. By Walter de Kirkeham

Broom, South, nr Devizes - SS James & Denis

16/03/1231, Winchester *CPR 1225-1232*, 426

Concerning protection - The lepers of the hospital of SS James and Denis of Broom, South near the town of Devizes, have letters of protection without term.

Buckingham - St Lawrence's

04/05/1266, Northampton *CPR 1258-1266*, 593

Simple protection for seven years for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Lawrence, Buckingham.

Burton - St Lazarus

02/11/1259, Westminster CLR 1251-1260, 485

Mandate to the treasurer and chamberlains to let the brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus at Burton have 30 marks in part payment of the arrears of the fee which they receive as fixed alms, for which sum writs of liberate were delivered at the Exchequer

By K. and H. le Bigod, justiciar.

14/09/1271, Windsor *CPR 1266-1272*, 575

Quittance to the master of the hospital of Burton St Lazars, because he has satisfied the king and Edward his son of the twentieth incident to him and his villeins, and his said villeins of the said twentieth.

Bury St Edmunds - St Nicholas

23/06/1232, Bury St Edmunds *CPR 1225-1232*, 486

Concerning protection - The lepers of the hospital of St Nicholas outside the town of St Edmund's have letters of protection without term, with this clause: '*Rogamus vos*' etc. Witnessed by the king, at St Edmund's, 23 June.

Bury St Edmunds - St Peter's

28/09/1240, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 495

To the sheriff of Norfolk. Contrabreve to cause the master and brethren of the lepers' hospital of St Peter at Bury St Edmund's to have 30s and 4d yearly out of the ferm of Thetford, as they were wont to receive in the time of W. earl of Warenne.

Calne - St John the Baptist

16/09/1260, Marlborough *CPR 1258-1266*, 93

[Simple protection for three years] for the master of the hospital of St John the Baptist, Calne.

Calne - St John the Baptist

03/09/1265, Marlborough *CPR 1258-1266*, 447

Simple protection for… the goods of the hospital of St John the Baptist, Calne, for two years.

Chesterfield -

11/09/1235, Castleton *CPR 1232-1247*, 118

Protection, without term, for the master and leprous brethren of the hospital of Chesterfield.

26/05/1246, Westminster *CCR 1242-1247*, 425

Concerning bacons given - The constable of Nottingham is ordered that of the king's bacons that he has in the castle of Nottingham he should allow the canons of Dale to have 20 pigs; the canons of Flaxley, 15; the nuns of Langley, 20; the lepers of Alkmonden, 15; the hermit of Breadsall, 6; the lepers of Chesterfield, 15; the hospital of St John's, Nottingham, 15; the lepers of Derby, 15; the hospital of St Helen's of Derby, 15; the canons of Newstead in Swerdwud, 20; the monks of Rufford, 20; and the lepers outside Tutbury, 10; the nuns of Henwood, 20; the nuns of Polesworth, 20; the lepers of Lichfield, 15, and the nuns of Pillesleg', 15 bacons, by gift of the king. [see also: Almonkton; Derby; Lichfield; Tutbury]

Chesterfield - St Leonard's

13/11/1221, Westminster *CPR 1216-1225*, 319

For protection - The lepers of the hospital of St Leonard of Chesterfield have letters patent of protection until the Lord King is of age. Witnessed as above.

16/02/1225, *CFR*

Concerning the farm of Chesterfield. To William Brewer junior. It is clear to the king by the charters of King John, which he has inspected, that he made for the keeper and lepers of St. Leonard of Chesterfield while he was count of Mortain, and which he later corroborated and confirmed, that the said keeper and lepers were accustomed to have £6 a year from the farm of Chesterfield in pure and perpetual alms of the gift of the same King John etc., although William Brewer, his father, withheld the aforesaid £6 from them for a certain amount of time. Order to cause the aforesaid keeper and lepers to have the aforesaid £6 a year henceforth from the aforesaid farm because the king does not wish, nor by right is able to tolerate, that his alms are lost in such a way. By the justiciar.

03/01/1228, Blyth *CCR 1227-1231*, 12

Concerning oaks given - the King, to the sheriff of Nottingham, greetings. We ask you to cause the leprous brothers of the hospital of St Leonard's, Chesterfield, to have two oaks in our wood in Carburton by our gift, for the repair of their chapel. Witnessed by the king at Blyth, 3 January.

16/12/1229, Blyth *CCR 1227-1231*, 277

For the lepers of St Leonard's of Chesterfield - Brian de Insula is ordered that in a certain corner of our forest of High Peak, and with minimal damage to the same forest, he should provide the lepers of the hospital of St Leonard's of Chesterfield with pasturage up to the value of six acres for feeding their cattle, and release this pasturage to them. Witnessed as above.

26/04/1233, Lambeth *CChR 1226-1257*, 177

Grant to St Leonard, and the sick men of Chesterfield, of £6 receivable yearly at Chesterfield of the farm of the said manor by the hands of the bailiffs thereof, which King John, while count of Mortain, granted to them in exchange for the toll of the fair and market there, to hold pursuant to a charter of King John.

05/05/1233, Westminster *CCR 1231-1234*, 215

For the lepers of Chesterfield - Peter de Rivallis is ordered that of the issues of the lands which belonged to William Briwer' and that are in his custody, he should allow the lepers of Chesterfield to have 60s which are overdue for the Easter term in the 17th year, of the 6 pounds which they receive each year from the manor of Chesterfield of the king's fixed alms. Witnessed as above.

09/06/1234, Tewkesbury *CCR 1231-1234*, 454

For the lepers of the hospital of Chesterfield - Because information is given to the lord king that the lepers of the hospital of Chesterfield are often troubled and impeded with regard to the receipt of the 6l that they receive from the manor of Chesterfield, from our fixed alms; Hugh Wake is ordered to allow them to have the aforesaid alms and others in two terms freely and without delay, that is one half at the feast of St Michael and the other half at Easter. Witnessed by the king at Tewkesbury, 14 June, year etc.

18/06/1234, Tewkesbury *CPR 1232-1247*, 57

Grant to the lepers of the hospital of St Leonard, Chesterfield that they shall receive the 6l a year which they have of the gift of King John from the manor of Chesterfield, at two terms, to wit one half at Michaelmas and the other half at Easter, by the hands of those who hold the manor of the king for the time being.

Chester - St Giles

30/09/1241, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 75

To John le Strange, justice of Chester. Contrabreve to cause the brethren of the hospital of St Giles, Chester, to have 70s out of the issues of co Chester as two parts of the alms of the expenses of the king's household while he was at Chester.

12/12/1243, Windsor *CLR 1240-1245*, 205

To John le Strange, justice of Chester. Contrabreve to cause the leprous brethren of St Giles's, Chester, to have 30 marks out of the issues of co Chester to clothe themselves and to buy other necessaries of the king's gift.

12/12/1243, Windsor *CLR 1240-1245*, 205

To John le Strange, justice of Chester. Contrabreve to cause the leprous brethren of St Giles's, Chester, to have 30 marks out of the issues of co Chester to clothe themselves and to buy other necessaries of the king's gift.

16/12/1245, Westminster *CCR 1242-1247*, 378

For the lepers of Chester – John de Grey, justiciar of Chester, is ordered to cause the lepers' hospital of St Giles, Chester, to have their part that is produced from the penny tithe of the sale of the king's bacons that becomes due from the king's larder, to the full extent that they had been owed if the king's larder had been from the same pigs and as they received them in the times of the counts of Chester.

18/12/1252, Bittern *CLR 1251-1260*, 93
To Alan la Zuche, justice of Chester. Contrabreve to pay 10l of the king's favour to the master and brethren of the lepers of St Giles's without the walls of Chester to buy clothes.

28/03/1266, Westminster *CPR 1258-1266*, 572
Simple protection for one year for the master and brethren of the hospital of St Giles, Cottesmore.

Chestnuts (Kent?) -

07/10/1256, Rochester *CPR 1247-1258*, 502
Simple protection, for five years, for the hospital of lepers without the wood of Chestnuts (Chastynners).

Chichester - St James

12/04/1231, Westminster *CCR 1227-1231*, 491
For the chaplain of the hospital of Chichester - John of Gaddesden is ordered to allow Thomas, chaplain of the hospital of the lepers of Chichester, to have that which remains for the paying of the king's fixed alms from the time of the sheriff of Surrey. Witnessed as above.

14/05/1244, Reading *CPR 1232-1247*, 425
Grant to William Burdun, chaplain, of the custody of the lepers' hospital without Chichester to celebrate divine service therein as Thomas the chaplain, who is dead used to have it; with mandate to the dean and chapter to admit him.

15/05/1244, Reading *CLR 1240-1245*, 236
To the sheriff of Surrey. Contrabreve to cause William Burdun, chaplain, appointed warden of the leper hospital without Chichester, to have the 2d which Thomas his predecessor used to receive daily as fixed alms.

08/01/1246, Westminster *CLR 1245-1251*, 19
To the keeper of the bishopric of Chichester. Contrabreve to cause the warden of the house of lepers without Chichester to have 24s and a carcase of bacon yearly for the lepers, as they used to have in the time of the bishops.

02/11/1248, Westminster *CLR 1245-1251*, 208
To the sheriff of Sussex. Contrabreve to cause Leodegar, the chaplain celebrating divine service in the hospital of st James without Chichester, to have 2d daily for his wages out of the issues of that county

02/11/1248, Winchester *CLR 1245-1251*, 208
To the sheriff of Sussex. Contrabreve to let Leger the king's chaplain in St James' hospital without Chichester have his yearly stipend of 60s with arrears without fail.

04/10/1249, Windsor *CPR 1247-1258*, 50
Grant to Leger de Hampton, chaplain, of the wardenship of the hospital of lepers without Chichester to celebrate divine service therein, as William Burdun, chaplain, who is dead, had the same; with mandate to the dean and chapter of Chichester to admit him.

Clothall, by Baldock - St Mary Magdalene

23/04/1226, Baldock *RLC*, 107
The king concedes to the leprous brothers of St Mary Magdalene of Baldock that they should have each year during the minority of the lord King, one fair at their hospital outside Baldock lasting for two days, that is the vigil and the day of St Bartholomew. Only at that time. And it is ordered to the sheriff of Hertford that that fair should be proclaimed throughout his whole bailiwick as in time it was stated before. Witnessed by the king at Baldock, 22 April.

Colchester - St Mary Magdalene

22/06/1268, Woodstock *CChR 1257-1300*, 99
Inspeximus and confirmation of a charter dated at Dover, 1 Richard I, granting to the lepers of St Mary Magdalene, Colchester, a fair on the vigil and the feast of St Mary Magdalene.

Cottingham (Nottinghamshire) -

07/12/1229, Geddington *CPR 1225-1232*, 319

The lepers of Cottingham near Rockingham have letters of protection without term with this clause: '*Rogamus etiam*' etc. Witnessed by the king, at Geddington, 7 December.

Coventry - St Leonard's

22/08/1256, Woodstock *CPR 1247-1258*, 498

Simple protection, for five years, for the lepers of St Leonard's, Coventry.

03/07/1260, Westminster *CPR 1258-1266*, 80

Simple protection, for three years, for the master and brethren of the lepers of St Leonard, Coventry.

20/05/1265, Hereford *CPR 1258-1266*, 427

Simple protection for three years for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Leonard, Coventry.

12/06/1266, Northampton *CPR 1258-1266*, 605

Simple protection for seven years for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Leonard, Coventry.

Crowmarsh - St Mary Magdalene

17/06/1232, Brill *CCR 1231-1234*, 75

Concerning oaks given - Hugh de Neville is ordered to allow the master of the hospital of the sick of St Mary Magdalene of Crowmarsh to have one oak in his district for making shingles for roofing the church of the same hospital, by gift. Witnessed as above.

Derby -

11/10/1229, Westminster *CCR 1227-1231*, 218

For the nuns of Derby - The king to Brian de Insula, greeting. Know that we concede to the nuns of Derby one messuage and 12 acres of land with appurtenances in Bistallegh and Asshope, that Orm the leper had from the sheriff William count of Derby in the time when he had the stewardship of the Peak. And therefore I order you to allow the nuns to have full seisin of the aforesaid messuage and 12 acres. Witnessed as above.

26/05/1246, Westminster *CCR 1242-1247*, 425

Concerning bacons given - The constable of Nottingham is ordered that of the king's bacons that he has in the castle of Nottingham he should allow the canons of Dale to have 20 pigs; the canons of Flaxley, 15; the nuns of Langley, 20; the lepers of Alkmonden, 15; the hermit of Breadsall, 6; the lepers of Chesterfield, 15; the hospital of St John's, Nottingham, 15; the lepers of Derby, 15; the hospital of St Helen's of Derby, 15; the canons of Newstead in Swerdwud, 20; the monks of Rufford, 20; and the lepers outside Tutbury, 10; the nuns of Henwood, 20; the nuns of Polesworth, 20; the lepers of Lichfield, 15, and the nuns of Pillesleg', 15 bacons, by gift of the king. [see also: Almonkton; Chesterfield; Lichfield; Tutbury]

Derby -

10/10/1229, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 101

Gift, in frank almoin, to the prioress and nuns of Derby of a messuage and twelve acres of land in Bistallegh and Hashop, which Orm, the leper, had of the bail of William, earl of Derby, when the said earl had the keeping of the Peak

Derby - St Leonard's

21/10/1256, Derbyshire *CFR*

Derbyshire. The master of the lepers of St. Leonard's, Derby, Adam of Derby and Robert of Derby give the king one mark for having a writ [for a plea] of trespass before the justices at York. Order to the sheriff of Derbyshire etc.

Devizes - St James

16/09/1260, Marlborough *CPR 1258-1266*, 93

Simple protection, for three years, for the master of the lepers of the hospital of St James, Devizes.

Dunstable - St Mary Magdalene

15/04/1227, Westminster *CPR 1225-1232*, 0

For the lepers of Dunstable - The King to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, officials, deacons, sheriffs, provosts, minsters and all bailiffs and his faithful to whom etc., greetings. Know that the leper-house of Dunstable and the brothers of the same house and all their goods and possessions are in our charge and protection. And therefore I order and firmly request you to watch over the same brothers and their goods and possessions, maintain, protect and defend them, and do not, or allow to be done to them or their representatives, any injury, trouble or annoyance. And if

they should be in forfeit in any way, this should be repaired without delay. I ask you also when they or their representatives come to you asking for your alms, receive them kindly for the sake of God and for us, and give to them bountifully and charitably from your goods; such that you will receive back from the mercy of God and our thanks. Witnessed by myself, at Westminster, 15 April, year etc 11.

18/04/1259, Merton *CPR 1258-1266*, 20
[Simple protection with clause *rogamus*, for five years] for the warden and brethren of the hospital of lepers of Dunstable.

24/11/1264, Dunstable *CPR 1258-1266*, 389
Protection for seven years for the brethren of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene for lepers, Dunstable, their men, lands, goods, rents and possessions.

Enfield - St Leonard's

15/06/1270, Waltham *CPR 1266-1272*, 436
Simple protection without clause, for three years, for the poor lepers of the house of St Leonard without Enfield.

Freeford (Staffordshire) - St Leonard's

30/07/1257, Lichfield *CPR 1247-1258*, 572
[Protection with clause *rogamus*] for five years, for the lepers of the hospital of St Leonard's, Freeford.

12/09/1266, Kenilworth *CPR 1258-1266*, 637
Simple protection for one year for the master and brethren of the hospital of St Leonard, Freeford.

Gloucester - St Margaret's

12/12/1264, Pershore *CPR 1258-1266*, 393
[Simple protection] for two years for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Margaret without Gloucester.

Gonalston (Nottinghamshire) -

26/08/1268, Nottingham *CPR 1266-1272*, 253
Protection, without term, for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers, Gonalston.

Grouville (Jersey) - St Nicholas

25/04/1234, Kempton *CCR 1231-1234*, 411
Jersey. Concerning the income conceded to the lepers - The king concedes to the lepers of St Nicholas of Grouville on the island of Jersey, 40s for their sustenance, and 20s tournois to light their church in the same place, receiving this every year through the hands of the sheriff of Jersey who should be there at the time, from the issue of the mill of Ruaval at three terms in the year, that is, at Easter, 20s, and at the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul 20s, and at the feast of St Michael 20s, which same 60s they formerly were accustomered to receiving from the issues of the same mill by concession of lord King John, father of the lord king, by his wish, and later by concession of the lord King, by his wish, as is fully contained in their charter. And the sheriff of Jersey is ordered that he should allow the aforesaid lepers to have full seisin of the aforesaid 60s, as is stated. Witnessed as above.

Guildford - St Thomas the Martyr

18/04/1229, Guildford *CChR 1226-1257*, 94
Grant to the lepers of Guildford of the gift, made to them by Ralph de Broc, of land without the east gate of Guildford, pursuant to a charter of King Henry II

16/07/1252, Ludgershall *CLR 1251-1260*, 62
To the sheriff of Surrey. Contrabreve to pay 50s yearly as wages to each of two chaplains ministering in the chapel of the king's castle of Guildford, and to one in the hospital of that town, as long as he shall retain his office.

27/01/1255, Windsor *CLR 1251-1260*, 194
To the sheriff of Surrey. Contrabreve to pay 50s a year so long as he is sheriff to a chaplain ministering the chapel of the hospital of St Thomas at Guildford for his usual wages.

20/10/1255, Westminster *CLR 1251-1260*, 243

To the sheriff of Surrey. Contrabreve, so long as he is sheriff, to pay to two chaplains ministering in the chapel of the king's castle at Guildford and one in the hospital of St Thomas in the town their wages of 50s each yearly, as they used to have them in the times of former sheriffs.

21/05/1257, Westminster *CLR 1251-1260*, 374
To the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex. Contrabreve to let the king's three chaplains of Guildford, two celebrating in the king's court there and the third at the leper hospital outside Guildford, have their wages of 50s each yearly from this Easter so long as he is sheriff.

14/12/1259, Westminster *CLR 1251-1260*, 492
To John de Wauton, sheriff of Sussex and Surrey. Contrabreve to let the king's two chaplains of Guildford, the one celebrating divine service in the chapel of St Katherine in the king's court there, and the other in the leper hospital outside the town, have their wages of 50s each yearly from Michaelmas last so long as he is sheriff.

Harbledown - St Nicholas

04/04/1233, Canterbury *CCR 1231-1234*, 303
The king concedes to the lepers of Harbledown that they should be quit of the king's fortieth to be paid. And the assessors and collectors of the fortieth in the county of Kent are ordered that they should not extract the payment of the fortieth. [duplicated above – see Bolton]

25/01/1235, Westminster *CFR*
25 Jan. Westminster. For the lepers of Harbledown . To the barons of the Exchequer. The king has assigned his citizens of Canterbury , to whom he granted his vill of Canterbury to hold from him at fee farm, to render to the lepers of Harbledown 20 m. each year from the farm of the aforesaid vill, as they were previously accustomed to receive by the hand of the sheriff of Kent before the citizens had the aforesaid vill in their hand, as aforesaid. Order to cause the aforesaid 20 m. to be allowed each year in the body of the county of Kent, as they were accustomed to be allowed for as long as the sheriff rendered them by his hand.

25/01/1235, *CFR*
For the lepers of Harbledown . Order to the aforesaid citizens of Canterbury to cause the aforesaid lepers to have the aforesaid 20 m. each year, as they were accustomed to have from the same farm by the hand of the sheriff of Kent before the king granted the aforesaid vill to the aforesaid citizens of Canterbury.

18/11/1236, Reading *CLR 1226-1240*, 246
To the bailiffs of Canterbury. Contrabreve to cause the lepers of Harbledown to have 20 marks of the king's established alms, which sum is in arrear for the 20th year, and to cause them to have henceforth 20 marks yearly of the said alms.

13/07/1241, Marlborough *CLR 1240-1245*, 63
To the keepers of the archbishop of Canterbury. Contrabreve to cause the lepers of Harbledown and the sick of Northgate to have 20l of the issues of the archbishopric for this year, which they used to receive as fixed alms in the church of Reculver.

10/09/1251, Woking *CPR 1247-1258*, 107
Simple protection, for five years from Michaelmas, for the leprous brethren and sisters of St Nicholas, Harbledown.

25/10/1270, Westminster *CLR 1267-1272 with appendices*, 143
Allocate to master Richard de Clifford, king's clerk, 40l delivered to the masters of the hospitals of Harbledown and of Canterbury without Northgate for Michaelmas term last of the £140 which they receive of the archbishopric of Canterbury for their maintenance, as during previous vacancies...

06/04/1271, Westminster *CLR 1267-1272 with appendices*, 165
Allocate to the same Richard de Clifford, keeper of the archbishopric of Canterbury, £40 delivered to the masters of the hospitals of Harbledown and Northgate, Canterbury, for Christmas last.

20/03/1272, Westminster *CLR 1267-1272 with appendices*, 209
Allocate to the same Richard in the issues of the archbishopric (the issues of the last eyre in Kent which have come to him for summons of the Exchequer by reason of the liberties of the archbishopric) £10 for the term of St John Baptist last and £40 for Easter and Michaelmas terms last, delivered to the brethren and sisters of Northgate hospital of the money they receive yearly for their maintenance of the fixed alms of the archbishopric; the like delivered to the prior and brethren of Harbaldoune hospital; and 40l for the same Easter term for the pittances which the said prior,

brethren and sisters receive yearly of the issues of the archbishopric, provided that these allowances are made as usual during vacancies…

28/06/1272, Woodstock *CLR 1267-1272 with appendices*, 221
Allocate to master Richard de Clifford, keeper of the archbishopric of Canterbury, 40l delivered to the brethren of Harbledown and 40l to the brethren of Norgate for Christmas and [(?)Easter] terms this year of the fixed alms of the archbishopric…

15/11/1272, Westminster *CLR 1267-1272 with appendices*, 239
Allocate to the same [Richard de Clifford] 20l for the term of St John Baptist last and 40l for Michaelmas term following, delivered to the brethren of the hospitals of Harbledown and Northgate of the archbishop's fixed alms, as allowed during other vacancies, unless already allowed.

Haverford West - St Mary Magdalene

02/11/1246, Reading *CLR 1245-1251*, 91
To the constable of Haverford. Contrabreve to pay to the lepers of St Mary Magdalen of Little Haverford a rent of 33s 4d yearly at the fixed terms as long as the castle there and the lands belonging to it are in the king's hand, with arrears since they have been in the king's hand, which rent was given them by Gilbert, formerly earl of Pembroke.

Hereford -

03/08/1256, Hereford *CLR 1251-1260*, 315
Allocate to John le Bretun, sheriff of Hereford, in the farm of the county… 5s to the lepers of the hospital of St [name omitted] Hereford…

Hereford - St Giles

22/05/1265, Hereford *CPR 1258-1266*, 427
Simple protection, for two years, for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Giles, without Hereford.

Hertford - St Mary Magdalene

10/02/1237, *CFR*
[No date]. Order to Adam son of William that, for as long as the land formerly of Robert fitz Walter will be in the king’s hand, he is to cause the lepers of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene of Hertford to have six loads of corn each year in five bushels from the mill of Hertingfordbury, formerly of the aforesaid Robert, from the time when that land was in the king’s hand and henceforward, as they were accustomed to receive them in the last years of the life of the same Robert.

Hungerford - St Lawrence's

16/10/1232, Reading *CPR 1225-1232*, 507
Concerning protection - The leprous sisters of St Lawrence of Hungerford have letters patent of protection without term, with the clause: '*Rogamus*' etc. Witnessed as above.

Huntingdon -

28/06/1244, Huntingdon *CPR 1232-1247*, 430
[Protection] The like for the lepers of the hospital without Huntingdon.

Ilchester - St Margaret's

15/06/1258, Oxford *CPR 1247-1258*, 634
Simple protection, for five years for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Margaret, Ilchester.

Ilford - St Mary the Virgin

17/06/1231, Westminster *CCR 1227-1231*, 516
Richard of Mountfichet is ordered to allow the lepers of the hospital of Ilford to have four tree-trunks for their firewood, by gift of the king. Witnessed as above.

09/09/1249, Westminster *CCR 1247-1251*, 200
For the lepers of Ilford - The sheriff of Havering is ordered that from outside the king's wood of Havering he should allow the lepers of Ilford to have two tree-trunks for their firewood, by gift of the king. Witnessed as above.

26/08/1251, Waltham *CCR 1247-1251*, 495
Concerning tree-trunks given - R. Fillol, seneschal of the forest of Essex, is ordered to allow the lepers of Ilford to have one tree-trunk for their firewood, by gift of the king. Witnessed as above. By the king.

Ipswich - St Mary Magdalene

09/03/1235, Butley *CPR 1232-1247*, 96

Protection, without term, for the master and leprous brethren of the hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Ipswich.

Kingston - Domus Dei

06/04/1227, Westminster *CPR 1225-1232*, 116

The lepers of the hospital of Kingston have letters of protection without term. Witnessed by the king, at Westminster, 6 April.

Lancaster -

05/05/1237, Wallingford *CCR 1237-1242*, 2

For hospitals of lepers and the sick - The king concedes generally through his whole land of England that all hospitals of lepers and their men should be quit of the thirtieth. And the sheriff of Lancaster and his assessors and collectors of the thirtieth that collect in the lands of the hospital of lepers of Lancaster or their men should not assess or collect the thirtieth, and if perhaps the thirtieth should be assessed in the lands of the said lepers or of their men, no thirtieth should be collected there. Witnessed as above.

Lancaster - St Leonard's

05/05/1225, Westminster *CPR 1216-1225*, 525

Concerning protection - The lepers of the hospital of St Leonard's of Lancaster have letters patent of protection, lasting until two years from the day of Pentecost in this 9th year etc. Witnessed by the king, at Westminster, 5 May, in the same year, before the justiciar.

28/07/1226, Ledbury *RLC*, 0

For the lepers of St Leonard's of Lancaster - Roger Gernet is ordered to permit the lepers of the hospital of St Leonard's, Lancaster, to have their beasts in our pasture in our forest of Lancaster, just as they had in the times of King Henry, our grandfather, King Richard our uncle and King John, father of the Lord King, until the war at that time. Witnessed as above.

16/03/1227, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 23

The king has granted to the lepers of St Leonard's, Lancaster, that they may take in the forest of Landeshale brushwood for their fuel and timber for their own buildings, and that they may have their own beasts and cattle in the same quit, so that they shall not give for winter pasture one ox and for summer pasture one cow, during the king's pleasure. And R. Gernet is ordered to permit them to take brushwood and timber and to have their beasts and cattle in the forest as above.

17/03/1227, *CFR*

For the lepers of St. Leonard. The king has granted to the lepers of St. Leonard's, Lancaster, that they may take brush in the king's forest of Loudscales for their fires and timber for their own buildings, and that they may have their beasts and cattle in the same forest quit, so that they are not to give one ox for their winter pasture and one cow for their summer pasture for as long as it pleases the king. Order to Roger Gernet to permit them to take brush for their fire and timber for their buildings in that forest and to permit them to have their beasts and cattle therein without taking an ox or cow, as aforesaid.

12/07/1227, Westminster *CPR 1225-1232*, 133

The lepers of St Leonard's of Lancater have letters of protection without term. Witnessed as above.

07/06/1229, Banbury *CCR 1227-1231*, 182

For the lepers of St Leonard's, Lancaster - Roger Gernet is ordered that the lepers of the hospital of St Leonard's of Lancaster should have their own beasts in the forest of Lancaster, just as they were accustomed to have in the time of the Lord King John, our father. So that they should pay or do nothing therefore for having that pasturage, from Easter recently past in the eighth year of our reign until 15 years from now, and that they should have dead wood from the forest for their fuel; and permit the lepers to have that pasturage for their own beasts in the said forest, just as they were accustomed to have in the aforesaid time, and nothing should be taken from them in the aforesaid term for that pasturage, and allow them to have the dead wood from the same forest for their fuel. Witnessed as above.

25/07/1229, Northampton *CCR 1227-1231*, 195

For the lepers of Lancaster - Roger Gernet is ordered that along with the sheriff of Lancaster and through the sight of the tree-plantation of the forest of Lancaster, which is in his stewardship, and

through the sight of other good and lawful men, he should cause to be assigned from the same forest to the lepers of the hospital of Lancaster, a certain fixed and appropriate portion for the pasturage of their animals, for having and holding as long as it should please the king; and for the pasture no one should take any money from them. Witnessed as above.

07/11/1229, Westminster *CPR 1225-1232*, 313
The lepers of St Leonard's of Lancaster have letters of protection without term. Witnessed as above.

29/07/1235, Woodstock *CCR 1234-1237*, 121
For the brothers of the hospital of St Leonard's - Henry, by the grace of God king of England, etc. to his esteemed and faithful man, Roger Gernet, greeting. We order you that through the inquiry of good and lawful men of your district, both of foresters and verderers and others, through whom the best truth of matters can be enquired, you should diligently inquire which liberties and customs the brothers of the hospital of St Leonard's, Lancaster, had in your districts in the time of King Henry, our grandfather, of King Richard, our uncle, and of King John, our father, and afterwards in our time, until our esteemed and faithful Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, held that area in his hands by our wish, both of dead wood for their fuel and pasturage for their animals and beasts, and of having their horses and carts and chickens in that place, and for the purpose of discovering what they have from elsewhere; and liberties and customs, which you discover through enquiry those aforesaid brothers there to have, as is stated above, permit them to have the use of those without impediment, until we order otherwise. Witnessed by the king at Woodstock, 29 July.

Lichfield -

26/05/1246, Westminster *CCR 1242-1247*, 425
Concerning bacons given - The constable of Nottingham is ordered that of the king's bacons that he has in the castle of Nottingham he should allow the canons of Dale to have 20 pigs; the canons of Flaxley, 15; the nuns of Langley, 20; the lepers of Alkmonden, 15; the hermit of Breadsall, 6; the lepers of Chesterfield, 15; the hospital of St John's, Nottingham, 15; the lepers of Derby, 15; the hospital of St Helen's of Derby, 15; the canons of Newstead in Swerdwud, 20; the monks of Rufford, 20; and the lepers outside Tutbury, 10; the nuns of Henwood, 20; the nuns of Polesworth, 20; the lepers of Lichfield, 15, and the nuns of Pillesleg', 15 bacons, by gift of the king. [see also: Almonkton; Chesterfield; Derby; Tutbury]

Lincoln -

10/01/1230, Waddington (Lincs) *CPR 1225-1232*, 0
For the lepers of Lincoln - The king to the justiciars, sheriffs, provosts and all his bailiffs and faithful men, greetings. Know that we support the guardianship, protection and defence of our house of lepers of Lincoln, and they and all their lands and holdings and men and possessions. And therefore we order you to guard, protect and defend the aforesaid lepers of Lincoln and all their possessions as if it were our Lord's; and do not permit any injury, damage or trouble to be caused to them; and if they should be forfeit, this should be repaired to them without delay. And we prohibit any brothers or their clerics from preaching to them or to trouble them, impede them or annoy asking for alms for their work. Witnessed by myself, at Waddington, 10 January, 14 year of our reign.

10/01/1230, Waddington *CChR 1226-1257*, 111
Grant to the lepers of the hospital of Lincoln of a carucate in Norcot, in the soke of Horncastle, which they have of the gift of King Henry, the king's grandfather, and of £13 of silver, which they have of the gift of King Henry, the grandfather of that king, of the rent of the church of Lincoln, and of all subsequent gifts, viz.-

of the gift of [William son of Fulk], and oven with its appurtenances, and the land of Everard, in Hundegate in Lincoln city:

of the gift of earl Ranulph of Chester, 2 1/2 marks of silver from the mills of Bracebridge; and the rent they have of the land of Richard son of Houtus, and the rent they have of the gift of William de Fuleteby:

of the gift of brother Alan son of Elfy, 5s yearly from his mansion in the parish of St Cuthbert in Lincoln:

of the gift of Master Mauger de Newark, two mansions in Newark without the east gate

Lincoln -

27/11/1237, Rochester *CCR 1237-1242*, 8

For hospitals. Except the hospitals of Lincoln and York - The sheriff of Buckinghamshire, the assessors and collectors of the thirtieth of the same county, are ordered that, on the occasion of the order of the lord King for the assessment and collection of the thirtieth in the aforesaid county, no thirtieth should be assessed in the lands of hospitals of the sick, the lepers or other men unless the king orders otherwise. Witnessed as above. By William de Raley. [duplicated below – see York]

London -

21/12/1244, St Albans *CCR 1242-1247*, 279

Concerning feeding the poor - William of Haverhull, the king's treasurer, is ordered that all Friars Preachers and Minor of London and all poor in all the hospitals of London, and poor nuns and all lepers in London this next Friday before Christmas, for the soul of the countess of Flanders should be fed, and as the king has written, to order that to be done. Witnessed as above.

04/06/1245, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 306

Liberate... 14l 17s 8.5d spent in feeding friars preachers, friars minors, nuns, lepers and all the poor of all the hospitals of London, on the Friday before Christmas in this year for the soul of the countess of Flanders.

London - St Giles

05/05/1225, Westminster *RLC*, 36b

... and to the brothers of the Hospital of St Giles London, 30s for the Easter term in this year ninth from our fixed alms

21/10/1226, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 2

Liberate... to the brethren of St Giles's hospital, London, 60s of the king's appointed alms.

25/10/1227, Westminster *RLC*, 203b

The sheriffs of Queenhithe, London are ordered to allow the lepers of the hospital of St Giles, London, to have 30s which is owed to them from the Easter term in the eleventh year, from the alms of the lord King fixed of the same Queenhithe. Allow them also to have 30s for the term of St Michael in the same year from the same fixed alms. Witnessed as above.

15/11/1228, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 107

Liberate... to the infirm of St Giles's hospital, London, 60s for Michaelmas term aforesaid, of the king's established alms.

05/11/1229, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 153

Liberate... to the infirm of St Giles's Hospital, London, 60s for the said [Michaelmas] term, which they receive yearly at the exchequer of the king's established alms.

04/01/1233, Westminster *CCR 1231-1234*, 292

The king concedes to the master of the hospital of St Giles of the lepers outside London, that they should be quit of the fortieth on their movable property and their men. And the assessors and collectors of the fortieth in the county of Middlesex are ordered that they should not admit payment of the aforesaid fortieth, and that if anyone thenceforth should accept or take hold on the pretext of their beasts, they should expect to be questioned. Witnessed by P. bishop of Winchester at Westminster, 31 January.

05/02/1237, Kempton *CLR 1226-1240*, 253

Liberate to the lepers of St Giles hospital without London 60s for Michaelmas term last, which they receive yearly at the exchequer at that term of the king's established alms.

17/11/1237, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 296

Liberate to the prior of the hospital of lepers of St Giles without London 60s for Michaelmas term, in the 21st year, for the maintenance of the lepers, which they receive at the exchequer yearly of the king's established alms.

14/01/1239, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 361

Liberate to the master of the Lepers' hospital of St Giles without London 60s for Michaelmas term, in the 22nd year, which they receive of the king's established alms.

01/01/1240, Westminster *CLR 1267-1272 with appendices*, 255

To the leprous brethren of St Giles without London 60s of the king's fixed alms.

09/01/1240, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 438

Liberate to the leper brethren of St Giles without London 60s, which they receive yearly at the king's established alms.

08/11/1242, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 161
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Giles without London 60s for Michaelmas term in the 26th year, which they receive yearly as fixed alms.

28/03/1244, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 225
Liberate to the master of the hospital of St Giles without London 60s arrears of the king's fixed alms for Michaelmas term in the 27th year.

14/01/1245, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 284
Liberate to the master of the hospital of St Giles without London 60s for Michaelmas term in the 28th year of the king's fixed alms.

18/06/1253, Winchester *CChR 1226-1257*, 435
Grant to the master, brethren and lepers of the hospital of St Giles without London of all the gifts, grants, liberties and quittances contained in a charter of King Henry II, which the king has inspected, provided that they have hitherto made use of them.

12/02/1260, Thérouanne CCR 1259-1261, 239
For the king. Concerning herrings being given to the poor… Lent… alms… The hospital of St Giles, London, 1,000. [see also – London – St James; St Albans – St Mary de Pré]

London - St James

29/04/1242, Winchester *CChR 1226-1257*, 269
Grant to the leprous maidens of St James without London, by Westminster, of all their lands and holdings, with soc and sac, tol and theam, and infangenethef, and with all liberties and free customs and quittances; moreover the king thanks all men for all the gifts made (que fecists) to them, and if any one will give to them of his land or other substance, it shall be confirmed; and their wardens are to make profit for the said maidens of this; moreover the said wardens and all their property are to be maintained (manuteneatis) pursuant to a charter of King Henry II.

- Grant also of a hide of land in Hamstead, demised to them by Alexander de Barentin:

- and of forty acres of land in Northesel, demised to them by William filius Domine:

- and of a tenement in the Chepe of London at the head of Bread Street, demised to them by Stephen Blundus.

06/03/1253, Westminster CCR 1251-1253, 326
Concerning the guardian engaged at the hospital of St James outside Westminster - The king engages Philip Luvel, his treasurer, and his successors in the treasury of the Exchequer in perpetuity, guardianship of our hospital of St James outside Westminster. And the barons of the Exchequer are ordered that this should be enrolled and maintained. Witnessed by the king at Westminster 6 March. By the king.

12/02/1260, Thérouanne *CCR 1259-1261*, 239
For the king. Concerning herrings being given to the poor… Lent… alms… The hospital of St James' near Westminster, 1,000. [see also – London – St Giles; St Albans – St Mary de Pré]

Ludlow - St Giles

24/08/1267, Shrewsbury *CPR 1266-1272*, 99
Simple protection for two years for the master and brethren of the hospital for lepers, Ludlow.

Luton - St Mary Magdalene

27/05/1271, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 537
Protection without clause, for three years, for the lepers of the house of St Mary Magdalene, Luton.

Lynn (Norfolk) - St Mary Magdalene

04/07/1232, Walsingham *CPR 1225-1232*, 488
Concerning protection - The lepers of Lynn have letters patent of protection without term, with the clause: '*Rogamus*' etc. Witnessed by the king, at Acre [Norfolk], 4 July.

07/07/1232, Walden *CPR 1225-1232*, 489
Concerning protection - The leprous brothers of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene of Lynn have letters patent of protection without term.

Macclesfield -

18/04/1259, Merton *CPR 1258-1266*, 20

[Simple protection] for five years, for the warden of the leper hospital of Macclesfield.

Maiden Bradley - SS Mary and Matthew

17/07/1226, Owston *RLC*, 130

Concerning burial at Bradley - the Lord King concedes to the prior and brothers of Bradley whose house is located in the limits of the parish of Medbourne [Leics], which is from the gift of the lord King, that de coni' agreement of the Bishop of Lincoln and the parson of the church of Medbourne they should have the burial of their own brothers of their house. And they should not receive anyone else for any burial, except by the wish of the people of the parish and without any damage to the aforesaid church of Medbourne which the lord King gives to the power of the bishop of Lincoln. Written by the same Bishop. Witnessed by the King at Owston, 17 July.

15/05/1227, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 0

Grant to St Mary and the leprous women of Bradele and the brethren of that house of the following possessions:

Of the gift of Manasser Biset, the manor of Bradele and the churches of Kideminster and Rokeburn:

Of the gift of Robert Mauduit, a mark of land in Bissopeston:

Of the gift of Henry Biset, 10s. of land and 100s. in the manor of Burgat:

Of the gift of Richard the chaplain, a hide of land in Cumton:

Of the gift of Agnes de Mara, late the wife of Robert Mauduit, a virgate, messuage and curtilage in Tarent:

Of the gift of William Crespyn, a virgate of land in Rokeburn:

Of the gift of Geoffrey de Nevill, all the land which Eilward son of Segin held at Gorleg, with Eilward himself and all his suit:

Of the gift of Margaret Biset, all the service and rent which John Forester of Wicheford owed for his land in Wichefort, with 6s. 6d. rent in Kideminstre. the service and rent of Andrew le Chanceler at Burton and land in Bradele called Wulsiescroft:

Of the gift of Roger la Suche, a half-virgate in Tudeuurth and Hugh Denge with all his suit:

Of the gift of Ralph de Auxevill, four virgates and a half in Aldington and two in Cumbrinton, 13s. rent from the great mill of Kideminstre and the whole mill of Mutton:

Of the gift of the same, two virgates and a half in Cumbrinton and three virgates and a half in Aldinton:

Of the gift of Halenald de Syfrewarst, a virgate in Hamsted:

Of the gift of Cicely daughter of William Sewal, two virgates in Orkeston, one acre in Forcumbe, one in Cranefurlong, one 'super Rugge' and one in Gerston, and pasture for sixty sheep:

Of the gift of Richard de la Folie, a half virgate and messuage in Chisingebur with eight and a half acres of land there and pasture for four oxen, twenty sheep, six pigs and one horse.

15/05/1227, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 41

Protection for the house of the infirm women of Maiden Bradley, pursuant to a charter of King John.

15/05/1227, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 41

Further grant to the said leprous women and the prior and brethren there that they and all their demesnes and men of Maiden Bradley shall be quit of all amercements; grant also of common of pasture in the wood of Richard le Bigod in Merton for their own beasts and pigs with the right to take a sumpter-beast into the said wood four times each day to take old and dead wood standing or fallen pursuant to a charter of R... le Bigod brother of the said Richard.

16/11/1228, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 84

Grant to the leprous women of Bradley and the prior and brethren of the same place, that their wood of Bradley be quit of waste and regard of the foresters, saving to the king his venison, and that they may stub , till and enclose 50 acres of heath in the same manor, called Jernefeld.

18/11/1228, Westminster *CCR 1227-1231*, 128

For the leprous woman of Bradley - The lord King concedes by his charter for himself and his heirs, to the leprous women of Bradley and the prior and brothers at the same place, that his wood at Bradley should be in perpetuity quit from waste and regard of the foresters, except only from our hunting, and that they can lawfully and without charge cultivate, develop and ditch any 1 acre of heathland in the same manor in the place which is called Yarnfield, similarly quit of regard in perpetuity. And Hugh de Neville is ordered to cause the aforesaid charter to be read, and the aforesaid concession in its contents should be permitted. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 18 November.

30/03/1232, Clarendon *CPR 1225-1232*, 468

Concerning protection - The prior and brothers and sisters of Bradley have letters patent of protection without term.

31/03/1232, Clarendon *CPR 1225-1232*, 468

For the lepers of Bradley - All the foresters of the king's forest of Selwood are ordered that the leprous women of Bradley should be permitted without impediment to have free chiminage through the forest of Selwood with their horse and cart, going and returning, for acquiring wood and charcoal and timber in the same forest for the use of the same women and the brothers and poor of the same house, both by gift and by purchase, taking them up to their aforesaid house of Bradley. In this etc, the king orders to be done, for the whole life of Margaret Biset, sister of the same house. Witnessed by the king, at Clarendon, 31 March.

06/06/1232, Gloucester *CCR 1231-1234*, 68

For the lepers of Maiden Bradley - The king to John de Monemue, greeting. Know that we concede to the leprous women of Maiden Bradley and the prior and brothers of the same place, that they should be allowed to cultivate and develop 50 acres of heathland in the place called Yarnfield, quit of inspection in perpetuity. And therefore I order you to permit them to cultivate and develop those 50 acres freely and without impediment, and allocate to them from this 50 acres, the 12.5 acres which they have cultivated and developed already. Witnessed as above.

09/11/1232, Lambeth *CCR 1231-1234*, 285

The king does not wish that any fortieth should be demanded on any movable goods that the lepers of Bradley have. And the assessors and collectors of the fortieth in the county of Wiltshire are ordered, that no fortieth should be demanded nor anything taken from them on their movable goods on the chance of taking the same fortieth. Witnessed by the king at Lambeth, 9 November. It is written in the same manner to the assessors in the county of Norfolk for the lepers of the hospital of West Somerton. [duplicated below – see West Somerton]

29/06/1236, Bristol *CCR 1234-1237*, 282

For the leprous women of Bradley - The king concedes to the leprous women of Bradley that they have free chiminage through the king's forest of Selwood with their horse and cart, going and returning, to acquire wood and charcoal and timber, for the use of the same women and the brothers and the poor of the same house, both by gift and by purchase, taking them up to their aforesaid house of Bradley. And Richard de Wrotham is ordered that this should be permitted without impediment. Witnessed as above.

07/10/1237, Nottingham *CCR 1234-1237*, 0

The assessors and collectors of the thirtieth in the county of Somerset are ordered that in the lands and possessions of the hospital of lepers of Bradley the thirtieth is to be assessed, but this tax should not be collected from this unless the king orders otherwise. Witnessed by the king at Nottingham, 7 October.

Afterwards it was ordered that from that assise that was the thirtieth in the lands of the leper-house and their men, it should not be collected because the king has forgiven it.

The lepers of the counties of Worcestershire and Wiltshire have similar letters. [duplicated below – see Wiltshire and Worcestershire]

23/03/1241, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 37

To the bailiffs of Southampton. Contrabreve to buy out of the farm of the town a tun of good wine and deliver it to the bearer of these presents for the leprous women of Bradley of the king's gift.

09/03/1245, Royston *CCR 1242-1247*, 294

For the prior of Bradley - Richard of Wrotham is ordered to permit the same prior to obtain six tree-trunks in his district, and to remove them quit of chiminage, for the building of their tower. Witnessed as above.

01/06/1247, Windsor *CLR 1245-1251*, 126
To the bailiffs of Bristol. Contrabreve to pay for a tun of wine, and cause the sisters of the lepers of Bradley to have it.

07/11/1250, Winchester *CCR 1247-1251*, 375
Concerning the hambling of dogs - The king gives due consideration to the leprous women of Maiden Bradley and their men with regard to the hambling of their dogs until the Christimas, 35th year etc; and Geoffrey de Langele, justice of the forest, is ordered that he should permit the same to have this due consideration. Witnessed as above.

24/05/1253, Windsor CCR 1251-1253, 358
For the leprous women of Maiden Bradley - William de Plessetis, steward of the forest of Selwood, is ordered to permit the leprous women of Maiden Bradley to have free chiminage through the forest of Selwood for the 20 oaks given to them from other woods in the same forest. Witnessed as above.

Also Adam de Grenvill, steward of Selwood forest, is ordered for the same lepers for ten oaks. Witnessed as above.

12/12/1267, Clarendon *CChR 1257-1300*, 85
Grant to the leprous women of Maiden Bradley and the prior and brethren of the same place, and their successors, of a weekly market on Monday at their manor of Maiden Bradley, co Wilts.

23/02/1269, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 378
To Martin de Litlebiry and Masters Edward de la Knolle, dean of Wells, Walter Scamel, treasurer Salisbury, the abbots of Sherborne and Stanley, William de Dun and William de Caune. Whereas at the instance of the prior and leprous sisters of Bradley, the king caused an inquisition to be made by Henry de Brayton, sometime the king's justice, whether King Henry II when he founded the priory of Witham of the Carthusian order made satisfaction to the said prior and leprous women out of his demesne wood of Witham for the common of pasture which they were accustomed to have in the samd wood as appurtenant to their manor of Yarnfield; and if not, how much the said common was worth to them by the year and where with the least damage to the king, an exchange could be made for the said common of pasture; the king, desiring to be more fully certified of the premises, has appointed them to enquire by jurors of the counties of Somerset and Wilts whether the said prior and women and their men of Jernefeud had common in the said wood of la Holte, which is within the said demesne wood of Witham, for all the beasts of them and their men of the said manor, and whether they had used seisin thereof, and for what time; whether King Henry II made satisfaction to them as to others who had lands and pasture in the said wood of Witham, or they were not heard because they kept silence for two years and a half; and if satisfaction was made, where and in what manner; and whether the said prior and women and their men of the said whole manor used to have in the said wood of la Holte old dead wood, called 'eldewodundrefote' before the foundation of the priory of Witham and afterwards until licence was given to the prior and brethren of Witham to enclose their lands lately, and the yearly value thereof; and within what metes and bounds the priory of Witham was founded by Henry II and what manner of lands, tenements, commons and woods, assigned to them in that foundation, were within the close there, and what without, and what lands and woods were without the close in the time of Henry II, and whether they have enclosed anything afresh of the said lands etc; and whether the priors of the Carthusian order can plead or be impleaded.

03/09/1270, Marlborough *CChR 1257-1300*, 151
Grant to the leprous women of Maiden Bradley and the brethren there of the following gifts:

[long list]

11/12/1271, Clarendon *CPR 1266-1272*, 609
Grant, at the instance of Queen Eleanor, to the prior and convent of Maiden Bradley that they shall have for ever their houses at Tothill by the houses of William le Knight quit of all livery of the king or his stewards, marshals and other bailiffs, so that none of these or of the king's household in harness be lodged therein without their special licence.

Maldon - St Giles

05/03/1235, Colchester *CPR 1232-1247*, 96

Protection, without term, for the leprous brethen of the hospital of St Giles, Maldon.

Malmesbury - St Mary Magdalene

05/08/1235, Bradenstoke *CPR 1232-1247*, 115
Protection with clause *rogamus*, without term, for the lepers of Malmesbury.

Marlborough - St Thomas the Martyr

20/02/1231, Marlborough *CPR 1225-1232*, 425
Concerning protection - The lepers of the hospital of Marlborough have letters patent of protection without term, with this clause - '*Rogamus*' etc.

17/11/1231, Great Faringdon *CCR 1231-1234*, 6
Concerning tree-trunks given - Geoffrey Esturmy is ordered to allow the leprous brothers of Marlborough to have 8 tree trunks and 16 branches, for making shingles, from the forest of Savernake, by gift of the king. Witnessed by the king at Great Faringdon, 17 November.

22/03/1232, Marlborough *CCR 1231-1234*, 44
Concerning oaks given - Geoffrey Esturmy is ordered to allow the lepers of the hospital outside Marlborough to have 15 oaks from the forest of Savernake for rebuilding their chapel, by gift of the king. Witnessed as above.

16/09/1260, Marlborough *CPR 1258-1266*, 93
Simple protection with clause *rogamus*, for three years, for the hospital of lepers of St Thomas the Martyr without Marlborough and the brethren thereof.

21/11/1267, Marlborough *CPR 1266-1272*, 167
[Simple protection for two years] for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Thomas the Martyr without Marlborough.

30/11/1269, Marlborough *CPR 1266-1272*, 397
Protection with clause *rogamus* for the hospital of lepers of St Thomas the Martyr without Marlborough and the brethren thereof, begging alms.

Newbury (Berkshire) - St Mary Magdalene

26/07/1232, Reading *CPR 1225-1232*, 493
The lepers of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene of Newbury have letters patent of protection without term, with the clause: '*Rogamus*' etc.

Newcastle - St Mary Magdalene

08/01/1252, Bishopthorpe *CPR 1247-1258*, 123
Simple protection, without term, for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of Newcastle on Tyne.

Newport Pagnell - SS Margaret & Anthony

20/10/1272, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 682
Protection with clause *rogamus* for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Margaret and St Anthony without Newport Pagnell, or their messengers, collecting alms.

Newport Pagnell - St Margaret's

30/06/1255, Northampton *CPR 1247-1258*, 415
Simple protection without clause for five years for the brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Margaret without Newport Pagnell.

21/02/1265, Westminster *CPR 1258-1266*, 409
[Simple protection] without term for the leprous brethren of St Margaret's, Newport Pagnell.

05/11/1265, Westminster *CPR 1258-1266*, 499
[Protection] for five years for the hospital of lepers of St Margaret's without Newport Pagnell.

18/12/1270, Winchester *CPR 1266-1272*, 500
Protection with clause *rogamus* for the master and brethren of St Anthony and St Margaret without Newport Pagnell.

21/04/1272, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 645
Protection with clause *rogamus* for the master and leprous brethren of the hospital of St Margaret, Newport Pagnell, or their messenger.

Northampton - St Leonard's

11/03/1234, Biddlesden *CPR 1232-1247*, 41

Protection with clause *rogamus*, without term, for the lepers of St Leonard's, Northampton, and their men.

06/02/1267, St Edmunds *CPR 1266-1272*, 32

Simple protection without term for the master and brethren of the lepers of St Leonard, Northampton.

Norwich - St Mary Magdalene

01/04/1245, Chippenham *CPR 1232-1247*, 450

Protection with clause *rogamus*, without term, for the brethren of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene by Norwich.

20/06/1252, *CFR*

The master of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene outside Norwich gives the king one mark for a writ ad terminum. Order to the sheriff of Norfolk to take etc.

Nottingham - St Leonard's

20/07/1226, Nottingham *RLC*, 0

For the lepers of Nottingham - Hugh de Neville is ordered to permit the lepers of the hospital of St Leonard's of Nottingham to have their estover of dead wood from the forest of Nottingham, for collecting without an axe, for their firewood, just as they had in the times of King Henry and King Richard and King John, until our father was provoked into war by his English barons. Witnessd as above. Before the justices.

27/08/1268, Nottingham *CPR 1266-1272*, 255

Protection, with clause *rogamus*, for three years, for the master and lepers of St Leonard, Nottingham, collecting alms.

Order of St Lazarus -

31/05/1217, Oxford *CPR 1216-1225*, 67

For protection. The brothers of the house of St Lazarus, Jerusalem, in England, have letters patent of protection, without term, added to by this, that it is ordered that all those who owe monies to them and do not wish to pay them, are compelled to pay those monies to them. Witnessed by the official, at Oxford, 31 May, our first regnal year.

02/06/1224, Winchester *CPR 1216-1225*, 443

Concerning protection. The preceptor of the house of St Lazarus in England has letters of protection lasting until one year from the day of Pentecost, year etc 8. Witnessed as above, before the justiciar and the bishop of Bath.

14/04/1225, Westminster *RLC*, 72

The King, to the Bishop of Coventry, greetings. Know that it has been foreseen by our council that the king's fifteenth of should be guarded by the Master of the Hospital of St Lazarus in England and his men, through the hands of the sheriffs of the aforesaid Master and one of our clerks, in your bishopric. And I also order you to ask so that one of your clerks to whom you have assigned full trust for the fifteenth in your See to assess with the aforesaid Master's sheriffs, and of the fifteenth, you do not allow it to be ordered otherwise than the lord Archbishop of Canterbury orders you to do so. Such that the clerk that you have assigned to this has one roll and the sheriff of the aforesaid Master the other. Witnessed by the King at Westminster, 14 April.

It is written in the same way to the Bishop of Winchester, the Officer of the Bishop of Norwich, Ely and the Bishop of Lincoln.

It is written in the same way to the Archbishop of Canterbury, York, the Bishop of Durham by the same except for this clause. 'And of the fifteenth that etc.'

It is written in the same way to the Bishops of Coventry and Lincoln and the Officers of Norwich and the Bishop of Carlisle and the Archbishop of York, sending Adam of Staveley, clerk, for the collection of the fifteenth from according to the masters of the Order of Sempringham and their men.

23/06/1225, Canterbury *CPR 1216-1225*, 536

The preceptor of the house of St Lazarus in England has letters of protection lasting from the day of Pentecost in the year etc 9, until 1 year. Witnessed by the king, at Canterbury, 23 June, in the same year, before the justiciar and the bishops of Bath and Salisbury.

08/11/1228, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 104

Liberate to J. bishop of Bath for the use of the prior of La Chartreuse 25 marks for Michaelmas term, in the 12th year, of the king's established alms; and to the brethren of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for the said term, of the king's established alms.

20/04/1229, Windsor *CPR 1225-1232*, 247

For the hospital of St Lazarus - The brothers of the house of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England have letters deprecatory freely supporting them and their other men, directing that appropriate assistance should be given to them according to their debt to be discharged.

24/04/1229, Windsor *CChR 1226-1257*, 94

Grant to the lepers of S. Lazarus of Jerusalem, in frank almoin, of 40 marks a year out of the Exchequer, pursuant to the charters of King Henry II and King John

03/10/1229, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 144

Liberate... to the brethren of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for the said term, which they receive yearly at the exchequer of the king's appointed alms.

16/10/1233, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 235

Liberate to the master and brethren of the Hospital of St Lazarus in England 40 marks for this Michaelmas term, which sum they receive yearly at the exchequer at that term of the king's established alms. By the justiciary.

18/10/1233, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 238

Liberate to the master and brethren of St Lazarus in England 40 marks for Michaelmas term, which they receive yearly at the exchequer of the king's established alms.

31/12/1233, Tewkesbury *CCR 1231-1234*, 291

The King concedes to the brothers of St Lazarus in England that they should be quit of the king's fortieth given concerning their own property. And the assessors in the county of Sussex are ordered that the same have been quit, so that the king's should remain the fortieth of their men. Witnessed by the king at Tewkesbury, 31 December.

15/10/1240, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 500

Liberate... to the prior of the hospital of St Lazarus, for the use of the brethren of the hospital, 40 marks [for Michaelmas term] of the 40 marks yearly that they receive at the exchequer of the said alms...

05/04/1241, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 39

To the men of Stamford. Contrabreve, so long as they hold the town at farm, to cause the brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem to have 1 mark yearly which they used to receive in the time of earl Warenne as fixed alms.

20/05/1243, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 182

Liberate to the friars of St Lazarus 40 marks for Michaelmas term in the 26th year of the king's fixed alms.

28/01/1245, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 285

Liberate to Philip de Insula, messenger of the master and brethren of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, to the use of his principals, 40 marks at the coming Easter Exchequer for Michaelmas term last, as they receive that sum yearly of the king's fixed alms.

22/04/1246, Windsor *CLR 1245-1251*, 44

Liberate to Roger de Reresby of the hospital of St Lazarus 40 marks to the use of the brothers of that hospital for Michaelmas term in the 29th year, of the 40 marks which they receive yearly of the king's fixed alms.

11/04/1247, Westminster *CLR 1245-1251*, 115

Liberate to the brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus 40 marks for last Michaelmas term of the 40 marks which they receive yearly at the Exchequer of the king's fixed alms.

06/05/1248, Windsor *CLR 1245-1251*, 178

Liberate to the brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for Michaelmas term last year, which the king granted yearly to the master and brethren thereof as his fixed alms.

07/05/1249, Westminster *CLR 1245-1251*, 232

Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus at Jerusalem 40 marks for Michaelmas term in the 32nd year of the like fee [king's fixed alms].

27/04/1250, Westminster *CLR 1245-1251*, 283
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for Michaelmas term in the 33rd year of the yearly fee of 40 marks granted to them of the king's fixed alms.

30/03/1251, Ely *CLR 1245-1251*, 343
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for last Michaelmas term, granted to them yearly of the king's fixed alms. By K.

22/10/1251, Windsor *CLR 1245-1251*, 383
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for the same [Michaelmas] term of the king's fixed alms.

07/05/1253, Westminster *CLR 1251-1260*, 0
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for Michaelmas term in the 36th year of the 40 marks granted to it yearly of the king's fixed alms.

20/07/1254, Oxford *CLR 1251-1260*, 172
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England 40 marks for Michaelmas term in the 37th year of the 40 marks granted to them yearly of the king's fixed alms. By Earl Richard.

02/05/1255, Merton *CLR 1251-1260*, 213
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for Easter term in the 39th year which they receive yearly of the king's fixed alms.

29/04/1256, Windsor *CLR 1251-1260*, 284
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem 40 marks for Easter term in the 40th year, which they receive yearly of the king's fixed alms, after payments to Count Thomas of Savoy specially enjoined.

Vacated quia redditum fuit breve.

03/02/1257, Huntingdonshire *CFR*
The master of the Hospital of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England gives the king half a mark for a writ ad terminum. Order to the sheriff of Huntingdonshire to take security etc.

03/05/1257, Chertsey *CLR 1251-1260*, 370
Liberate to the master and brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, after payments as above, 80 marks, being 40 marks for Easter term in the 40th year and 40 marks for Easter term following, of the 40 marks granted to them yearly of the king's fixed alms.

02/11/1259, Westminster *CLR 1251-1260*, 485
Mandate to the treasurer and chamberlains to let the brethren of the hospital of St Lazarus at Burton have 30 marks in part payment of the arrears of the fee which they receive as fixed alms, for which sum writs of liberate were delivered at the Exchequer. By K. and H. le Bigod, justiciar.

25/05/1261, Cambridgeshire *CFR*
The master of the hospital of St. Lazars in England gives one mark for taking an assize before Gilbert of Preston. Order to the sheriff of Cambridgeshire.

27/02/1262, Yorkshire *CFR*
The master of the hospital of St. Lazars in England gives one mark for having a pone [to remove a plea before the justices] at the Bench. Order to the sheriff of Yorkshire.

28/03/1271, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 526
Protection with clause *rogamus* for the brethren of the hospital of the military order (milicie) of St Lazarus, Jerusalem, and their attorneys collecting alms pursuant to an indult of the pope that once a year they be received in churches to collect such; and the king requires all persons of the realm to arrest any unauthorised persons collecting alms in their name.

28/03/1271, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 526
Simple protection without clause, for three years, for the brethren of the hospital for lepers, Jerusalem.

Orford (Suffolk) - St Leonard's

09/03/1235, Butley *CPR 1232-1247*, 96

[Protection] The like for the master and leprous brethren of the hospital of St Leonard, Orford.

Ospringe - St Mary's

31/07/1234, Westminster *CCR 1231-1234*, 488

For the hospital of Ospring - The lord King concedes to brother Geoffrey, his almoner, warden of the hospital of Ospring, all grain that he has caused to be grown in the lands of the same manor, and that he has conceded previously to Joldewin de Doway, for the improvement of the same hospital, the keeping of the seed sown on the aforesaid lands as it should be necessary, from the same grain, and similarly as it should be necessary for the acquittal of the labourers of the aforesaid land. And Richard de la Lade and Adam son of William are ordered to cause the king's almoner to have all the surplus of the aforesaid grain, keep from the same grain sown on the aforesaid land and for the acquittal of the labourers, as is stated, and that they should cause the same almoner to have the storing of the aforesaid grain saved in the king's granges, and by the customs of the king to have the reaping and collecting of the debts owed by the men of the same manor in this autum from the same grain. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 31 July.

08/08/1234, Sandleford *CCR 1231-1234*, 492

For the hospital of Ospring - Richard de la Lade and Adam son of William are ordered to allow brother Geoffrey, the king's almoner, all grain planted in the manor of Ospring, which the lord King conceded to him for the improvement of the hospital of Ospring, to collect by his own hand and to store in the lord King's grange of the same manor, and for the planting of that grain and for the liberties of Ely, those serving in the manor of Ospring and of the labourers, as it should be necessary, to provide the necessaries by his hand. Witnessed by the king as above.

08/02/1237, Kempton *CChR 1226-1257*, 226

The like of an agreement whereby Roger de Crest demised to the brethren of the hospital of St Mary, Ospring, all his land in Merewe for a term of thirty years.

08/02/1237, Kempton *CChR 1226-1257*, 226

Confirmation of an agreement, whereby Alice, the prioress, and the nuns of St Margaret, Ivinghoe, demised to the brethren of the hospital of the St Mary Ospring, all their land in Merewe, which they have of the king's grant, to hold for a term of thirty years.

17/07/1238, Winchester *CCR 1237-1242*, 76

For the hospital of Ospringe - The sheriff of Ospringe is ordered to cause the brothers of the hospital of Ospringe to have 13 quarters of grain for their sustenance, by gift of the king. Witnessed as above by letters etc.

03/11/1238, Woodstock *CLR 1226-1240*, 347

To the guardians of the bishopric of Winchester. Contrabreve to cause the keeper of the hospital at Ofspringe to have 10l and the keeper of the hospital at Oxford to have 20l, out of the issues of the said bishopric, to the construct certain fermeries (infirmarias) in the said hospitals.

20/01/1239, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 238

Grant to the same of the gift made to them by Hugh de Windsor of all his land and the capital messuage in Everland:

- and of the gift of Richard son of Robert de Neirford of all his land called Ryde in the Isle of Sheppey

20/01/1239, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 238

Grant to St Mary and the brethren of the hospital of Ospring, in frank almoin, of a house in the parish of St Mary, Colecherch, in the city of London, which Matthew Blund sold to Roger le Duc, who afterwards sold it to Isaac of Norwich, a Jew, from whose heirs the king purchased it

27/12/1239, Reading *CLR 1226-1240*, 436

To the sheriff of Oxford. Contrabreve to cause a suitable chaplain to be engaged to celebrate divine service daily in the chapel of the hospital without the east gate of Oxford for the soul of William, late elect of Valence, and to cause him to have 50s yearly for his stipend for so long as he shall thus celebrate.

The like to the sheriff of Kent for a chaplain in the chapel of the hospital of Ospring.

12/01/1240, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 440

To Walter de Burgo. [Contrabreve] to search for a chaplain who shall celebrate divine service for one year in the chapel of the hospital of Ospring for the soul of William the late elect of Valence, the king's uncle, and to assign to him 50s from the issues of the king's manor of Ofspring for his stipend.

24/01/1240, Westminster *CCR 1237-1242*, 0

For Elyas le Evesk', Jew - The king to the sheriff of Kent, greeting. Know that Elyas le Evesk', Jew of London, has conceded to brother Geoffrey our almoner and warden of our hospital of Ospringe, for the fine which the same brother Geoffrey made with him, the whole debt that Andrew Bukerel and Robert of Cyryton' owed to the aforesaid Jew. And therefore I order you to cause the same brother Geoffrey to have full seisin of the manor of Great Delce with appurtenances, which is surety of the same Jew for the said debt, and support the same brother Geoffrey in seisin of the aforesaid manor unless you have an order otherwise from us. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 24 January.

01/08/1240, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 0

Gift to the hospital of St Mary, Ospring, and the brethren there, in frank almoin, of all the land called La Denne in Headcorn which the king had to assign to whom he would of the gift of Roger de Leyburne, with the advowson of the church of Headcorn:

- also land in Twitham, which Richard Derekyn, of London, gave the king to assign to whom he would, being the land which Stephen Haringod recovered in the king's court against Sibyl de Icklesham:

- also land in Twitham and Staple, which the said Richard gave to the king in like manner, and which he held by a fee farm of 100s yearly of the gift of Ralph Haringod:

- also land in Twitham, which the said Richard gave to the king in like manner, being the land which he held of the gift of Nicholas de Blakedon:

- all the above to be held by the said hospital by rendering the services due to the lords of the fees:

- gifts also to the same of the land of La Dune, being the land which is of ... the fee of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem, and which the king had of the gift of Alexander de Gloucestria:

- also the land which the said Alexander had of the fee of the priory of Holy Trinity ...., in Edesham, and a rent held by him of the same fee in that manor:

- also the land, which the said Alexander had of the fee of ... in Wingham, adjoining the said land of La Dune:

- also the land which the said Alexander had of the fee of William Haket in Hammewolde...

all the foregoing to be held bythe said hospital by rendering the services due to the lords of the fee; and the land in Hedecrune and the advowson of the church there to be held quit of all secular service

07/08/1240, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 487

Computate... a cope [of cloth del Arest] with orphrey and all manner of fittings... delivered to Brother Geoffrey for the use of the king's hospital of Ospring, of the king's gift.

28/04/1241, Westminster *CCR 1237-1242*, 269

For the hospital of Ospringe - The barons of the Exchequer are ordered that by the opportunity of the debt that Matthew le Blund, former citizen of London, owed to the king and which was extracted from the lands that belonged to Matthew by the summons of the Exchequer, they should not distrain the house which belonged to Matthew in London, which the king gave to the hospital of Ospringe in pure and perpetual alms, but to cause the aforesaid debt to be extracted from other lands which belonged to the aforesaid Matthew. Witnessed as above.

30/05/1241, Westminster *CCR 1237-1242*, 305

The keeper of the archbishopric of Canterbury is ordered that from the wood of Betenhamme he should cause brother John the almoner and his appointees to have 12 oaks for making timbers, for the use of the king's hospital at Ospringe, by gift of the king. Witnessed as above.

20/06/1241, Marlborough *CLR 1240-1245*, 58

To the keepers of the archbishopric of Canterbury. Contrabreve to give the king's keeper of his hospital of Ospringe 12 tree-trunks in the wood of Tenham for fuel of the king's gift, and to have them felled and carried to the hospital.

20/09/1241, Westminster *CCR 1237-1242*, 333

For the hospital of Ospringe - The king to the sheriff of Kent, greeting. The warden of our hospital of Ospringe has shown to us that when Thomas Bukerel assigned to the same hospital £6 of income

from Delce in the act of holding until he had assigned to the same hospital 6 marks' worth of land in perpetuity in the same town, on the occasion of the death of the aforesaid Thomas, you seized those £6 of income along with the manor of Delce from our hands. And therefore I order you that, if it is as such, to cause the aforesaid hospital to have seisin of the aforesaid £6 income, as they had in the time of the aforesaid Thomas, and you should henceforth allow to them the same £6 income. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 20 September.

1241, Westminster *CPR 1232-1247*, 249
Protection, without term, for the hospital of Ospring.

30/04/1242, Winchester *CLR 1240-1245*, 124
Liberate to brother John the almoner 208l 6s 8d to feed 50,000 poor, each person to have 1d for food, for the soul of the Empress, late the king's sister, one-half of them at Oxford and the other at Ospring; and 8l 6s 8d to feed 2,000 poor for the same cause, one half at Ankerwike and the other at Broomhall.

20/07/1243, Bordeaux *CCR 1242-1247*, 68
The king to the bishop of York, the bishop of Carlisle and William de Cantilupe, greeting. By the report of our dear brother John, our almoner, warden of the hospital of Ospring, it has reached us that when a certain piece of land had been occupied by the farm of Henry of Cornhill for the use of the said hospital, the prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, in whose fee this land is, it is said, expelled the brothers of our said hospital from this land, with regard to not only the said warden and brothers but also ourselves, who are patrons of the said hospital, appearing to be gravely insulting. And therefore I order you that the whole truth of these matters should be investigated as far as you can according to the law and custom of our kingdom, so that you can show justice to be done for the said warden. Witnessed by myself at Bordeaux, 20 July.

09/09/1243, Bordeaux *CCR 1242-1247*, 44
For Adam of Worcester, chaplain - Brother John the almoner is ordered that Adam of Worcester, chaplain, should be admitted to the hospital of Ospringe, and necessary victuals to be found for him. Witnessed as above.

24/07/1244, Doncaster *CCR 1242-1247*, 214
Concerning cows given to poor lepers - The keepers of the bishopric of Winchester are ordered that by the order of the same bishop they should cause brother John the almoner to have 15 cows for the use of the infirm of the hospitals of Oxford and of Ospringe, by gift of the king. Witnessed at Doncaster, 24 July.

10/10/1244, Westminster *CLR 1240-1245*, 268
Computate to William Hardel, keeper of the mint of London, in the issues thereof... 7l 8s 5d for 3 silver-gilt cups, whereof two were delivered to brother John the king's almoner for the hospitals of Oxford and Ospringe, and the third to the church of the Converts of London, to contain the Eucharist.

01/07/1245, Westminster *CCR 1242-1247*, 320
For Reginald le Hauberger - The barons of the Exchequer are ordered that henceforth they should make no distraint for the debts that Isaac of Norwich owed to the king regarding the house which belonged to the aforesaid Jew in the parish of St Mary of Colechurch in the city of London, which the king conceded by his charter to the brothers of the hospital of Ospringe, and which Reginald le Hauberger' held from the aforesaid hospital, but carry out that distraint on other lands and holdings which belonged to the aforesaid Jew. Witnessed as above.

26/07/1245, Gloucester *CCR 1242-1247*, 331
For the master of the hospital of Ospringe - The sheriff of Kent is ordered that of that messuage that Maria, who was wife of Adam, dyer, held in Canterbury from the hospital of Ospringe, he should cause the warden of the same hospital to have full seisin for the use of the same hospital. Witnessed as above.

02/12/1245, Windsor *CLR 1245-1251*, 10
To the sheriff of Oxford. Contrabreve to cause the warden of the hospital without the east gate of Oxford to have 50s yearly out of the farm of the county to find an honest chaplain to celebrate divine service there for the soul of the countess of Provence.

The like to the sheriff of Kent to find a chaplain in like manner in the hospital of Ospringe.

24/06/1246, Clarendon *CLR 1245-1251*, 61
To the keeper of the exchange. Contrabreve to cause Reyner de Luk to have 103s 4d of the issues thereof for a large piece of purple samite which the king offered at the high altar of the church of St

Mary at Salisbury, and 66s 8d for a smaller piece of red samite which he sent to Edward son of Odo to make a cope and chasuble to be placed in the minster of Westminster of the king's gift; and to make two great silver candlesticks worth 100l to place in the same church of the king's gift, a silver book of the Gospels (textum) worth 10 marks for the prior and convent of Mottisfont, and a silver censer worth 40s to place in the hospital of Ospringe of the king's gift.

29/06/1246, Clarendon *CChR 1226-1257*, 0

Grant to St Mary and the sick and brethren of the king's hospital of Ospring of the following liberties; they shall be free of suits of counties and hundreds, wapentakes, aids of sheriffs and bailiffs, of view of frank pledge and murder; they shall safely receive and buy all lands given to them by any donors within the bounds of the king's forest; and no forester, sheriff or bailiff shall take lodging at the houses of the said hospital or their men, or take aught from them against their will; and they and their men shall be quit of the common amercement, when the county is amerced before the king or his justices of the bench or of assize; and they and their men shall be quit of toll in every market and in all fairs, and in all passage of bridges, ways, and the sea through all the realm, and in all lands in which the king can grant such liberties; all animals called 'Weyf' found in the fee of said hospital shall belong to the brethren, unless someone who can prove his right to them have followed them within a proper time according to the custom of the country; they shall have the chattels of fugitives being their tenants and the amercements of their men, whether they are amerced before the king or before his justices of the bench or in eyre, or before commissioners to take an assize or deliver a gaol, or before sheriffs or other bailiffs, provided that the said bailiffs shall first receive the amercements and immediately deliver them without diminution to the said brethren; moreover none of the above liberties shall be abrogated by non-user.

22/01/1247, Windsor *CPR 1232-1247*, 496

Licence for William Gracyen, warden of the hospital of Ospring, to sell to whomsoever he will the land which he bought of Walter de Hok to the use of the said hospital, to make profit thereof for the hospital.

01/04/1247, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 0

Grant to the master and brethren of the hospital of Ospring of the following gifts:

[long list]

01/04/1247, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 0

Grant to st Mary and the master and brethren of the hospital of Ospring, which the king has founded for the support of the poor, of the following gifts:

[list]

08/04/1247, Merton *CPR 1232-1247*, 500

Protection with clause *rogamus*, without term, for the brethren of the hospital of St Nicholas without Ospring.

21/11/1247, Westminster *CCR 1247-1251*, 42954

For the hospital of Ospringe - Because that house with appurtenances in the parish of St Mary of Colechurch in our city of London, which the king caused to be bought from the heirs of Isaac, Jew of Norwich, he gives in pure and perpetual alms to the hospital of Ospringe and the paupers residing in the same hospital, the barons of the Exchequer are ordered to cause that the same house with appurtenances to be quit of all extraction of debts that the same Isaac owed to the king, and those debts should be sought henceforth from the incomes of other houses and chattels which belonged to the same Isaac, which are in the hands of the Jews, because the King wishes that house with appurtenances, which is the king's alms, to be totally exempt. Witnessed as above.

17/10/1248, Westminster *CCR 1247-1251*, 93

For the hospital of Ospringe - Because the king notices that one of the two knight's fees in the land of Trienston, for which the barons of the Exchequer caused Nicholas de Hadlou to be distrained, for scutage for the use of the king for the king's army of Deganwy, he formerly gave by his charter to the king's hospital of Ospringe in pure and perpetual alms, the same barons are ordered that if for one knight's of that scutage the said Nicholas should satisfy them for the aforesaid land, then the scutage for the other knight's fee that the same hospital has by the king's alms, as is aforementioned, they should cause both the aforesaid Nicholas and the warden and the brothers of the said hospital to be quit. Witnessed as above.

30/11/1249, Clarendon *CCR 1247-1251*, 243

Concerning the liberties of the brothers of the hospital of Ospringe - Because the king has conceded to the master and brothers of the hospital of Ospringe certain liberties and quittances by his charter, which the king caused to be made for them recently, the sheriff of Kent is ordered that that charter should by read in full in the county, and cause the liberties and quittances contained within in it to be firmly observed throughout the whole area. Witnessed by the king at Clarendon, 30 November.

03/06/1251, Winchester *CChR 1226-1257*, 362

Grant to the master and brethren of the king's hospital of Ospring of a weekly market on Thursday at their manor of Headcorn, co. Kent, and of a yearly fair there on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of SS. Peter and Paul.

17/12/1251, Conisborough *CPR 1247-1258*, 121

Presentation of Henry de Wengham to the church of Headcorn, in the king's gift by reason of a grant of land in Headcorn which with the advowson of the said church Roger de Leyburne made to the king for the hospital of Ospreng, which is in the king's hands' directed to the official of the archbishop of Canterbury.

24/05/1252, Merton *CChR 1226-1257*, 391

Gift to the king's hospital of Ospringe, and the master and brethren there, of all the land in Trehaunston in the Romney Marsh co. Kent, which Robert son of Hugh Trian sometime held, and which King John took into his hands as an escheat of the lands of the Normans and delivered to Aubrey de Marinis at the king's will, and which the present king granted to Jordan de Monte Martini to hold at will, after whom the said master and brethren held it of the king's bail; to be held by the said master and brethren, in frank almoin, by finding a chaplain to celebrate daily in the said hospital the mass of the blessed Edward, king and confessor.

28/03/1253, Westminster *CPR 1247-1258*, 185

Appointment, during pleasure, of Master William de Kilkenni, king's clerk, archdeacon of Coventry, to the keeping of the hospital of Ospringe and of the hospital of St John without the east gate of Oxford.

Mandate to the brethren of the said hospitals to be intendant to them.

04/04/1253, Havering *CLR 1251-1260*, 118

To the sheriff of Kent. Contrabreve to pay 27 marks to Roger de Lindestede, chaplain of the king's hospital of Ospringe, of the king's gift to the use of the hospital.

02/06/1253, Faversham *CPR 1247-1258*, 194

Release to the brethren of the hospital of Ospring of all suit at the court of Redlevet which belongs to the honour of Haughly; by reason of the lands which they hold in Trienstone

04/06/1253, Canterbury *CLR 1251-1260*, 133

To the sheriff of Kent. Contrabreve to buy a set of sacerdotal vestments and two small bells and give them to the lepers of Ospringe of the king's gift for their chapel.

02/03/1254, Windsor *CCR 1253-1254*, 33

Concerning herrings to be allocated to make the king's alms. - Philip le Hare is ordered that from the king's herrings which are in his keeping, to cause 3,000 to be given to the hospital of St John without the East Gate in Oxford, and 3,000 to the hospital of Ospringe, for fulfilling the king's alms. Witnessed as above [Queen Eleanor and Earl Richard]. By the Queen.

01/01/1255, Rochester *CPR 1247-1258*, 393

Confirmation of a covenant made between the master of the hospital of Ospring and the brethren there and Geoffrey le Sauvage touching a messuage in Ospring which lies between that of Robert de Lond' towards the east and the watercourse towards the west.

20/01/1255, Merton *CPR 1247-1258*, 395

Confirmation to Absalom of Ospring, clerk, and his heirs, of a covenant between him and Reynold de Lindested, chaplain, proctor of the hospital of St Mary, Ospring, and the brethren thereof, touching all the tenements which Absalom possesses in the tenure of Ospring together with 7s of free rent in the parish of Throwley, and money granted to the said Absalom yearly by the said proctor and brethren for the maintenance of the said Absalom and Cecily his wife, and other things contained in the said covenant, as more fully appears there.

23/09/1256, Canterbury *CLR 1251-1260*, 322

Allocate to Reynold de Cobham, sheriff of Kent, in the issues of the county, 40s delivered to the brethren of the king's hospital of Ospringe of the king's gift to buy a silver cup to reserve the Lord's body….

10/05/1262, Westminster *CCR 1261-1264*, 48
For the master and brothers of the hospital of Ospringe - The king has pardoned the master and brothers of Ospringe of 20s for which they were amerced before John de Wyvill and his associates of the Court of the King's Bench for wrongful detention. And the barons of the Exchequer are ordered to cause them to be quit thenceforth. Witnessed.

10/10/1263, Rochester *CPR 1258-1266*, 284
Commitment to El[lis] son of Hervey, chaplain of the hospital of Ospringe, of the wardenship of the said hospital, to hold it in the same manner as Roger de Lindested, sometime warden, held it; with mandate to the brethren and tenants of the hospital to be intendant to him.

13/12/1263, Windsor *CPR 1258-1266*, 304
Commitment to Ellis son of Hervey, brother and chaplain of the hospital of Ospringe, for the said hospital for the maintenance of the poor, for which the hospital is founded; with mandate to the brethren and tenants thereof to be intendant to him as master and warden.

26/08/1264, Canterbury *CCR 1261-1264*, 359
For the master of the hospital of Ospringe - The king to the sheriff of Kent, greeting. As recently we gave to the master of St Mary's Hospital of Ospringe six good oaks suitable for timbers, from our wood at Marden belonging to our manor of Milton by Canterbury, and the same master has not yet had those oaks as stated, we order you to cause the same master to have those aforesaid six oaks from the aforesaid wood, unless he has already had them by another of our documents to the sheriff of Milton thenceforth directed elsewhere. Witnessed by the king at Canterbury, 26 August.

06/11/1265, Westminster *CCR 1264-1268*, 144
Concerning oaks give - to the master and brothers of the hospital of Ospringe, six oaks for timbers, by gift of the king.

1265, Westminster *CLR 1260-1267*, 160
Allocate to Geoffrey le Sauvage, bailiff of Ospringe, in his farm of the town, 4 marks for a tun of wine bought and delivered to Richard de Funtenay, formerly the king's knight, of the king's gift on his entry into the hospital of St Mary at Ospringe.

24/11/1266, Kenilworth *CCR 1264-1268*, 271
Concerning oaks given - to the master and brothers of the hospital of Ospringe, six oaks for timbers, by gift of the king.

28/11/1266, Kenilworth *CPR 1266-1272*, 12
Commitment to the master of the hospital of Ofspring of the manor of Ofspring for six years from the feast of St Andrew the Apostle, 51 Henry III, so that he render at the Exchequer as much as Geoffrey le Sauvage, the late keeper, used to render.

Writ *de intendendo* to the tenants.

Mandate to the said Geoffrey to deliver the manor to him with the stock.

25/12/1266, Oxford *CCR 1264-1268*, 278
Concerning robes given - to the master of the hospital of St John outside the East Gate, Oxford, one robe, and to the master of the hospital of Ospringe, one robe… by gift of the king.

1266, Westminster *CLR 1260-1267*, 253
Allocate to the bailiff of the manor of Ospringe, in the issues of his bailiwick, £16 5s for Easter term in the 50th year and £16 5s for Michaelmas term following, which he delivered to the master and brethren of God's House at Dover, as granted to them out of the issues of the manor in lieu of the toll which they used to receive of crossings at Dover, which they have surrendered to the king.

25/01/1268, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 184
Confirmation of a grant by the master and brethren of the hospital of St Mary, Ofspringe, to Roger de Lindestede, chaplain, of all the lands which they had in the Isle of Sheppey, to wit, Hokeling, Rodismersh, and Ryde, with the lands, messuages, houses, marshes, homages, rents, reliefs, waters, fisheries, a mill and all other appurtenances and easements, for life.

27/05/1268, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 232

Commitment to John de Stapele, chaplain, of the hospital of Ospringe, of the said hospital; and mandate to the brethren and tenants thereof to be intendant to him as master during the pleasure of the king or the chancellor, to whose ordinance the said hospital belongs.

20/10/1268, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 265
Commitment to John de Stapele, brother and chaplain of the hospital of Ospringe, to keep for the maintenance of the poor for which the said hospital was founded; with mandate to the brethren and tenants to be intendant to him as master and warden.

04/03/1269, Westminster *CFR*
For the Master of the Hospital of Ospringe. The king of his special grace has, on this occasion, pardoned the Master of the Hospital of Ospringe the tallage assessed upon the same and his tenants of the king's manors of Ospringe and Middleton in the king's latest tallage. Order to the barons of the Exchequer to cause the same Master and his aforesaid tenants to be quit of the aforesaid tallage.

24/01/1270, Westminster *CFR*
For the Master of the Hospital of Ospringe. The king has pardoned the Master of the Hospital of St. Mary of Ospringe 6s. 8d. at which he was amerced before the justices at Westminster for unjust detention. Order to the barons of the Exchequer to cause the same Master to be quit of the aforesaid 6s. 8d.

22/03/1271, Westminster *CFR*
22 March. Westminster. Concerning the custody of hospital of God's house of Ospringe which has been committed. The king has committed to Henry de Bokingham brother of the king's hospital of God's house of Ospringe custody of the same hospital, vacant by the death of John de Stapele late keeper of the same, to have to the same Henry for his whole life with everything pertaining to that custody, for as long as he holds himself faithfully and honestly in the aforementioned custody.

22/03/1271, *CFR*
Concerning the custody of hospital of God's house of Ospringe which has been committed. And order to the knights, free men and all others holding of the aforesaid hospital to be intendant and respondent to the same Henry as his keeper in everything which pertains to that custody.

10/08/1272, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 707
Commission to William de Faukham and Thomas de Rowell, reciting that, because by Henry de Rukingham, master of the hospital of Ospringe, daily dispersals, dilapidations and destructions of the goods of that hospital have been made, the king has appointed them to take the said hospital into the king's hand, to view and enquire in what state it is, as in stock and other things, and to commit it to one of the brethren by common counsel of the brethren to keep until the king's next coming there or at least until further order; provided however that the brother to whom the keeping of it is so committed lets the brethren and infirm have in the meantime of the goods of the hospital necessary sustenance without making dispersal or destruction thereof.

19/09/1272, Norwich *CPR 1266-1272*, 677
Whereas because of the delapidations and destructions done by Henry de Bukingham, late warden of the king's hospital of Ospringe, the king has removed him from the wardenship and by the common counsel of the brethren thereof has committed it to brother Walter de Taneth to keep during pleasure; and whereas, so the king hears, the said hospital has been so burdened with debt by the said Henry that its ruin is inevitable unless a remedy be found; grant to the said Walter, that with the counsel and assent of the said brethren, and with the counsel of Thomas de Rowell, king's clerk, if he can be present in this matter, he may dispose of the goods of the hospital for the benefit of the hospital as he the said clerk and the brethren deem to be expedient.

20/10/1272, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 683
Mandate to the tenants of the hospital of Ospringe and the brethren of that hospital, that, whereas on account of dilapidations done by Henry de Bukingham late warden, the king caused him to be removed, and with the common counsel of the brethren committed the hospital to Robert de Taneth, to keep, during pleasure, and whereas the hospital, as he now learns, is burdened with debt to its irremediable damage unless a remedy be found, the king grants that the said Walter by the common counsel and assent of the brethren and the counsel of Thomas de Rouwell, king's clerk, if he can be present, may order and dispose of the goods of the hospital as shall be most to the advantage of the same; and therefore he commands them to be intendant to Walter as master and warden of the hospital.

Otford -

26/11/1228, Westminster *CLR 1226-1240*, 110

To Bertram de Cryoil and Alan Poignant. Contrabreve to cause the keeper of the lepers of Otford to have, out of the issues of the archbishopric of Canterbury, 35s for the use of the lepers, which sum they were wont to receive in the times of the archbishops of established alms.

Oxford -

29/07/1244, Doncaster *CCR 1242-1247*, 214

Concerning cows given to poor lepers - the keepers of the bishopric of Winchester are ordered by that by the order of the same bishop they should allow John, almoner, to have 15 cows for the use of the sick of the hospitals of Oxford and of Ospringe, by gift of the king. Witnessed by the king at Doncaster, 24 July.

Oxford - St Bartholomew's

28/03/1231, Marlborough *CCR 1227-1231*, 485

For the hospital of St Bartholomew's, Oxford - Hugh de Neville is ordered to permit the lepers of the hospital of St Bartholomew's Oxford, to take their estovers from the wood of Gerieswod, which they have by gift of King John, just as they were accustomed to take in the time of King John. Witnessed as above.

08/10/1231, Oxford *CCR 1227-1231*, 568

And of 5 tree trunks given to the lepers of St Bartholomew's, Oxford.

29/10/1232, Wycombe *CCR 1231-1234*, 162

Peter de Rivallis is ordered to allow the lepers of the hospital of St Bartholomew outside Oxford to have six oaks from the forest of Panshill for shingles etc. As above.

12/02/1248, Westminster *CCR 1247-1251*, 29

For the lepers of the hospital of St Bartholomew outside Oxford - The bailiffs of Oxford and ordered that that which is in arrears to the lepers of the hospital of St Bartholomew's outside Oxford, namely from each week while the town of Oxford was in the hands of the king, fully restore to them 10s from the king's fixed alms, paying to them henceforth in this manner 10s each week, just as they were earlier accustomed to receive. And at the same time the aforesaid arrears from their farm of the town should be allocated to them, just as they were accustomed to be allocated until now.

20/04/1248, Westminster *CLR 1245-1251*, 173

To the sheriff of Oxford. Contrabreve to pay without delay to the lepers of the hospital of St Bartholomew without Oxford 30s arrears of the 10s which they receive weekly of the farm of the town of Oxford, which was in the king's hand and in the sheriff's keeping.

18/05/1248, Woodstock *CCR 1247-1251*, 50

For the lepers of St Bartholomew's outside Oxford - The sheriff of Oxford is ordered that from the issues of the town of Oxford from the time that it was in the hands of the king because of the death of Gilbert of Dunfermline, clerk of Scotland who was killed, he should without delay allow the lepers of St Bartholomew's to have that which they were used to receiving for their sustenance each week from the same town. Witnessed as above.

20/07/1254, *CFR*

For the brothers of St. Bartholomew outside Oxford. Concerning a pardon. The king has pardoned the brothers of the hospital of St. Bartholomew outside Oxford half a mark which is exacted from them by the bailiffs of the king’s forest of Shotover for a coal-pit that they caused to be made in the aforesaid forest. Order to Arnald de Bosco, justice of the forest this side of the Trent, to cause the same brothers to be quit of the aforesaid half a mark. Witness R. earl of Cornwall.

16/01/1267, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 27

Grant to the lepers of the hospital of St Bartholomew without Oxford of 19l 15s 5d a year from the farm of the town of Oxford, for their maintenance and of 65s a year for cloth from the same farm, of the king's alms; as it appears by inspection of the rolls of the Exchequer that by grant of the king's progenitors they ought to receive and have been accustomed to receive the same.

07/10/1267, Oxford *CPR 1266-1272*, 114

Confirmation of a grant which the king has inspected, made by Ralph son of Thomas Ascil, chaplain, to the master and leprous brethren of the king's hospital of St Bartholomew without Oxford, of a messuage and 2 acres of land in the parish of St Clement without the little bridge of Oxford.

10/11/1267, Winchester *CPR 1266-1272*, 166

As the king is informed by inquisition made by the constable of the castle of Oxford that the master and leprous brethren of the hospital of St Bartholomew without Oxford have hitherto used to take yearly two cartloads of hay in the king's meadow near Osney of the gift of Henry I; he has granted that they shall continue to take it.

Oxford - St Giles (possibly a mistake - St Bartholomew's?)

02/04/1268, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 216

Protection with clause *rogamus* for five years for the lepers of St Giles, Oxford.

Preston - St Mary Magdalene

09/10/1259, Westminster CCR 1256-1259, 445

For the leprous brothers of Preston in Amounderness - It has been shown to the king on behalf of the leprous brothers of Preston that, while they exist because of the patronage of the king and are accustomed thus far to having the wardenship of the deputy of the king through the escheat of the place, the men of the aforesaid town of Preston claim to be responsible for providing wardenship in this manner, aggravating and troubling these brothers in many different ways, taking and holding their goods by which they do not have in their peace, from which they prevail to endure. And because the king does not know whether to extend the command of the wardenship of the same place to himself or to the aforesaid men, William le Latimer, escheator north of the Trent, is ordered that, through the outcomes of this careful inquisition, if he should discover that through the escheator of the king they were accustomed to have this wardenship, then he should cause this to be done and the goods of the aforesaid brothers detained by the aforesaid brothers to be caused to be restored to them, in such a way that not through a defect of justice should such an outcry reach the king again. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 9 October.

Radford (Stafford) - Holy Sepulchre

17/10/1258, Westminster *CPR 1247-1258*, 653

Protection without clause, for five years, for the master and brethren of the hospital for lepers of St Sepulchre's, Retford without Stafford.

Romney - SS Stephen & Thomas

09/08/1232, Wenlock *CPR 1225-1232*, 497

Concerning protection - The lepers of the hospital of Romney have letters patent of protection without term, with the clause: - '*Rogamus*,' etc.

Sherburn - SS Lazarus, Martha & Mary Magdalene

25/06/1237, Woodstock *CCR 1234-1237*, 463

For the hospital of Sherburn - The keeper of the bishopric of Durham is ordered to maintain the hospital of Sherburn and all the goods and possessions of the same hospital in the manner that they were in the time of the deceased R[ichard Poore] former bishop of Durham, and to not permit and damage or trouble to the same hospital. Witnessed as above.

Shrewsbury - St Giles

11/08/1232, Wenlock *CChR 1226-1257*, 167

Grant to the lepers of the hospital of St Giles without Shrewsbury that they may have a horse journeying once a day to gather dead and dry wood in the wood of Brewood for fuel.

01/08/1245, Worcester *CPR 1232-1247*, 459

[Protection] The like for: The brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Giles without Shrewsbury.

Sittingbourne - St Leonard's

06/09/1232, Rochester *CPR 1225-1232*, 500

Concerning protection - The lepers of the hospital of St Leonard's of Sweynestre near Sittingbourne have letters patent of protection without term, with the clause: '*Rogamus*' etc.

07/09/1232, Faversham *CChR 1226-1257*, 167

Grant to the lepers of the hospital of St Leonard of Sweynestr by Sittingbourne of the following gifts:

- of the gift of Oliver, late rector of the church of Bakechild, and the confirmation (const') of Reginald de Cherchegate sixteen acres in Bakechild parish:

- of the gift of Thomas son of Bartholomew de la Hale, one acre and a half of land at Sweynestr':

- of the gift of William son of Thomas de Moriston, an acre lying by the demesne land of the church of Moriston on the south side in the place called Sutland:

- of the gift ofJames son of Thedwin Luting, 2d which James Cole was used to pay to him:

- of the gift of Thomas son of Bartholomew, an acre and a half and eight day-works of land at Sweinestre

South Weald, Essex - St John the Baptist

26/10/1270, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 470

Protection for the master and brethren of the lepers of the hospital of South Weald their men, lands, rents and possessions.

Southampton - St Mary Magdalene

07/05/1242, Portsmouth *CPR 1232-1247*, 289

Protection, without term, for the lepers of the hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Southampton.

16/12/1268, Southampton *CPR 1266-1272*, 307

Simple protection without clause, for four years, for John de Barra, warden of the hospital of lepers of St Mary Magdalene, Southampton.

Southwell (Notts) - St Mary Magdalene

01/08/1255, Nottingham *CPR 1247-1258*, 420

Simple protection without clause, for five years, for the brethren of the hospital of lepers, Southwell.

St Albans - St Mary de Pré

18/10/1243, Westminster *CCR 1242-1247*, 49

Concerning pardoning - The king pardons the brothers and leprous sisters of St Mary de Pré outside St Albans of 3 marks and 3s, which were demanded from them by the summons of the Exchequer for the debts of Richard son of Alexander. And the barons of the Exchequer are ordered that they should be quit of this. Witnessed as above.

21/05/1252, Merton *CPR 1247-1258*, 139

Confirmation of a grant which Robert de Passelewe made to the leprous brethren and nuns of St Mary de la Pré by the town of St Albans of a virgate of land in the town of Swanbourne with a messuage, toft and croft and all appurtenances.

12/02/1260, Thérouanne *CCR 1259-1261*, 0

For the king. Concerning herrings to be given to the poor. - The king to Hugh Bigod, justiciar of England, and John de Crachal, his treasurer, greeting. Because we are accustomed each year to create goodwill to the poor religious by the giving of herrings in Lent, we cannot, nor would it be right, to withdraw our usual alms while we are at present driven abroad, we ask you that without delay you should cause to be purchased four lasts of herrings, and for them to be distributed and shared between the poor religious houses according to that which is fully enclosed in this schedule by our appointed almoner, J [John de Colecestr']. And you should by no means disregard this, as you hold us dear. Witnessed etc at Thérouanne, 12 February, year etc.

Nuns at Broomhall, 2,000 herrings
Nuns at Ankerwyke, 2,000 herrings
St James' Hospital, near Westminster, 1,000
St Giles' Hospital, London, 1,000
Leprous nuns of St Mary de Pré near St Albans, 1,000
[and other religious houses] [see also – London – St Giles; London – St James;]

1270, Westminster *CCR 1268-1272*, 271

The king, according to his particular favour, gives to the prioress and nuns of St Mary de Pré outside St Albans due consideration with regard to the twentieth of their goods to be paid to the king at the next feast of St Michael.

1252, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 139

Confirmation of a grant which Robert Passelewe made to the leprous brethren and nuns of St Mary de la Pré by the town of St Albans of a virgate of land in the town of Swanbourne with a messuage, toft and croft and all appurtenances.

Stamford - St Giles

03/03/1234, Fotheringhay *CCR 1231-1234*, 383

Concerning oaks and oaks given - Peter de Rivallis is ordered that in the forest of King's Cliffe where it can be done with minimal damage to the same forest, he should allow the prior of Huntingdon oaks

for timber; the prioress of St Michael of Stamford 5 oaks similarly for timber; the prior of the hospital of St Thomas the Martyr of Stamford two oaks for their fuel; the keeper of the bridge of Wansford one oak for the operation of the same bridge; and to the Friars Minor of Stamford three oaks for their fuel; and to the leprous brothers of Stamford 1 oak for their fuel, by gift of the king. Witnessed by the king at Fotheringhay, 3 March. By the same king.

28/06/1244, Huntingdon *CPR 1232-1247*, 430
Protection without term for the lepers of the hospital of St Giles, Stamford.

18/08/1249, Ramsey *CLR 1245-1251*, 248
Allocate to Henry de Beyvill, escheator in co. Rutland, in the issues of the lands of the abbot of Cluny… half a mark delivered to the lepers of Stamford, all of the king's gift.

28/08/1258, King's Cliffe *CCR 1256-1259*, 262
Concerning tree-trunks given - The keeper of the forest of King's Cliffe is ordered that he should allow the brothers of St Giles of Stamford one old tree-trunk for their firewood from the same forest by gift of the king. Witnessed by the king at King's Cliffe 28 August.

10/08/1268, Sempringham *CPR 1266-1272*, 251
Simple protection, without clause, for two years] for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Giles, Stamford.

Stony Stratford - St John the Baptist

21/08/1258, Silverstone *CPR 1247-1258*, 651
[Simple protection] for seven years, for the leprous brethren of the hospital of St John the Baptist, Stony Stratford.

Stony Stratford - St John's

02/03/1257, Windsor *CPR 1247-1258*, 544
Simple protection, for seven years from Easter for the lepers of the hospital of St John without Stony Stratford.

16/01/1266, Northampton *CPR 1258-1266*, 538
Simple protection for five years for the leprous brethren without Stony Stratford.

08/10/1268, Dunstable *CPR 1266-1272*, 261
Simple protection, without clause, for seven years, for the lepers of the hospital of St John without Stony Stratford.

13/03/1271, Westminster *CPR 1266-1272*, 522
Simple protection without clause, for five years, for the brethren of the hospital of St John without Stony Stratford.

Stourbridge - St Mary Magdalene

09/12/1257, Westminster *CCR 1256-1259*, 170
For the lepers of Stourbridge - John Walerand, keeper of the see of Ely, is ordered that 20s, which the lepers of St Mary Magdalene of Stourbridge were accustomed to receiving in the times of the bishops of Ely each year from their fixed alms, to cause this to be paid without delay to the same years the aforesaid lepers along with the aforesaid arrears of 20s. And the king will cause the aforesaid payment along with the arrears to be allocated to them. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 9 December.

07/12/1258, Ely *CCR 1256-1259*, 351
[For the nuns of Chatteris - As the king recently wrote to Robert Walerand and his brother John, former keepers of the bishopric of Ely while it was vacant and in their custody, that they should pay from the issues of the same bishopric to the abbess and nuns of Chatteryz 14s which were in arrears to them from the annual income which they should and are accustomed to receiving at the Exchequer of Ely and nothing thereof has been paid to them; the seneschal of the bishopric of Ely is ordered that from the arrears which are owed to the king from the issues of the aforesaid bishopric from the aforesaid time, to cause the same abbess and nuns to have the aforesaid 14s: and the king to be quit of this money to the aforesaid Robert and John, and the king will cause the same money to be allocated to the same Robert and John at the Exchequer. Witnessed as above.]

For the brothers of the hospital of Stourbridge - The brothers of the hospital of Stourbridge have similar letters from the aforesaid seneschal 30s of arrears arranged from the mill of Stourbridge.

Taunton - St Margaret's

22/06/1236, Milton *CPR 1232-1247*, 151

Protection with clause *rogamus*, without term, for the master and leprous brethren of the hospital of St Margaret, Taunton.

Thetford - St John the Baptist

03/08/1229, Thetford *CPR 1225-1232*, 261

Concerning protection - The lepers of the hospital of St John of Thetford have letters of protection with this clause: 'And we ask you that when they come to you to ask for alms' etc. Witnessed as above.

05/07/1232, Thetford *CChR 1226-1257*, 168

The master of the hospital of the lepers of St John the Baptist, Thetford, has a charter for a yearly fair at the said hospital on the vigil and feast of the decollation of St John the Baptist.

Tickhill (Yorkshire) - St Leonard's

08/09/1236, Doncaster *CPR 1232-1247*, 158

Protection with clause *rogamus* for three years from the Nativity of St Mary, for the lepers of the hospital of St Leonard, Tickhill.

Towcester - St Leonard's

02/02/1252, Woodstock *CPR 1247-1258*, 127

Simple protection without term for the lepers of St Leonard's, Towcester, and their men.

Tutbury -

26/05/1246, Westminster *CCR 1242-1247*, 425

Concerning bacons given - The constable of Nottingham is ordered that of the king's bacons that he has in the castle of Nottingham he should allow the canons of Dale to have 20 pigs; the canons of Flaxley, 15; the nuns of Langley, 20; the lepers of Alkmonden, 15; the hermit of Breadsall, 6; the lepers of Chesterfield, 15; the hospital of St John's, Nottingham, 15; the lepers of Derby, 15; the hospital of St Helen's of Derby, 15; the canons of Newstead in Swerdwud, 20; the monks of Rufford, 20; and the lepers outside Tutbury, 10; the nuns of Henwood, 20; the nuns of Polesworth, 20; the lepers of Lichfield, 15, and the nuns of Pillesleg', 15 bacons, by gift of the king. [see also: Almonkton; Chesterfield; Derby; Lichfield]

Walcot - St Leonard's

25/02/1261, Tower of London *CPR 1258-1266*, 142

Simple protection, for five years, for the brethren of the lepers of St Leonard's, Walcot.

12/01/1266, Northampton *CPR 1258-1266*, 534

Simple protection for two years for the brethren of the house of lepers of St Leonard, Walcot.

Wallingford - St Mary Magdalene

10/07/1233, Windsor *CCR 1231-1234*, 238

[Concerning oaks given - Peter de Rivallis is ordered that from the forest of Windsor he should cause the nuns of Broomhall to have two oaks for making shingles for covering their church at Broomhall, by gift of the king. witnessed by the king, 10 July.]

In the same manner it is written to them: for the lepers of Wallingford of 1 oak in the forest of Brill for making shingles for covering their church. Witnessed as above.

Warwick - St Lawrence's

30/10/1255, Westminster *CPR 1247-1258*, 445

Simple protection, without term, for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Laurence, Warwick.

16/05/1256, Reading *CPR 1247-1258*, 474

[Protection, with clause *rogamus*, without term] for the master and brethren of the lepers' hospital of St Laurence, Warwick.

West Somerton (Norfolk) - St Leonard's

09/11/1232, Lambeth *CCR 1231-1234*, 285

The king does not wish that any of the fortieth should be assessed on any movable goods that the lepers of Maiden Bradley have. And the assessors and collectors of the fortieth in the county of Wiltshire are ordered that on their goods, no fortieth should be assessed, nor anything on occasion

taken from them of the same fortieth. Witnessed by the king at Lambeth, 9 November. It is written in the same manner to the assessors in the county of Norfolk for the lepers of the hospital of West Somerton. [duplicated above – see Maiden Bradley]

Wilton - SS Giles & Anthony

29/11/1252, Clarendon *CPR 1247-1258*, 166

Simple protection without term for the master and brethren and sisters of the hospital of St Giles and St Anthony, Wilton.

21/05/1255, Clarendon *CPR 1247-1258*, 411

Protection without clause, for four years from St Barnabas, for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Giles, Wilton.

06/12/1256, Clarendon *CPR 1247-1258*, 532

[Simple protection] without term, for the brethren of the hospital of SS. Giles and Anthony, Wilton.

06/09/1260, Clarendon *CPR 1258-1266*, 92

Simple protection without clause, for two years, for the hospital of lepers of St Giles and St Anthony, Wilton, and the brethren thereof.

Wiltshire

07/10/1237, Nottingham *CCR 1234-1237*, 570

[The assessors and collectors of the thirtieth in the county of Somerset are ordered that in the lands and possessions of the hospital of lepers of Bradley the thirtieth is to be assessed, but this tax should not be collected from this unless the king orders otherwise. Witnessed by the king at Nottingham, 7 October.

Afterwards it was ordered that from that assise that was the thirtieth in the lands of the leper-house and their men, it should not be collected because the king has forgiven it.]

The lepers of the counties of Worcestershire and Wiltshire have similar letters. [see also Maiden Bradley, and Worcestershire]

Wimborne Minster - St Margaret's

14/12/1256, Clarendon *CPR 1247-1258*, 533

Simple protection, for five years from Christmas, for the poor lepers of the hospital of St Margaret without Wimborne Minster.

Winchester - St Mary Magdalene

16/03/1239, Kempton *CLR 1226-1240*, 371

Computate to the guardians of the bishopric of Winchester 200l that they paid to brother G[eoffrey], keeper of the king's wardrobe, at Westminster by the king's order, on Passion Sunday; and 20s that they paid to the chaplains of Marwell for a pittance of the king's gift; and 110s that they paid to the lepers outside Winchester for the Mid-Lent term of the 25l yearly that the lepers receive of the established alms of the bishops of Winchester.

03/11/1250, Marwell *CCR 1247-1251*, 372

For the infirm of St Mary Magdalene outside Winchester - Peter Chaceporc, keeper of the see of Winchester, is ordered that while that bishopric should be vacant and in the hands of the king, he should allow the infirm of St Mary Magdalene outside Winchester to have that which they are accustomed to receive from the fixed alms each year by the terms established in the time of William de Raley, former bishop of Winchester: and the king, when he has ordained how much should be released to them, will allocate that to him. Witnessed as above.

07/05/1259, Westminster *CCR 1256-1259*, 383

For the lepers of Winchester - As the lepers of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene outside the east gate of Winchester were accustomed to received in the times of the bishops of Winchester 30l each year from established alms, Nicholas de Haudlo, keeper of the see of Winchester is ordered that, while the same see should be in the hand of the king, he should pay to the same lepers from the issue of the same see, all revenues that they were accustomed to receiving annually in the name of alms from the said bishop. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 7 May.

16/11/1268, Guildford *CLR 1267-1272 with appendices*, 55

To the master and brethren of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene without Winchester 5l 3s 8d due for Easter 52 Henry III by reason of the vacancy of Winchester bishopric then in the king's hand.

Windsor - St Peter's

29/02/1232, Kempton *CPR 1225-1232*, 465

The brothers of the hospital of St Peter's, Windsor, have letters of protection without term with this clause - '*Rogamus vos*' etc. Witnessed by the king, at Kempton, 24 February, year etc 16.

25/04/1241, Windsor *CLR 1240-1245*, 47

To the bailiff of Windsor. Contrabreve to cause the nuns of Broomhall and the lepers of Windsor to have their fixed alms out of the issues of the manor of Windsor, and the king's porter of Windsor, the chaplain ministering in the castle chapel and the gardener to have the liveries which they used to receive out of those issues.

23/09/1249, Windsor *CLR 1245-1251*, 252

To Godfrey de Lyston. Contrabreve to spend up to 10 marks out of the issues of his bailiwick in repairing the stew of the nuns of Broomhall, and another 10 marks in building a house for a chaplain ministering in the leper hospital at Windsor.

23/09/1249, Windsor *CLR 1245-1251*, 334

To Godfrey de Lyston. Contrabreve to make a building worth 40 marks in the court of the leprous women dwelling outside the king's town of Windsor, for their use of the king's gift.

19/02/1250, Windsor *CCR 1247-1251*, 264

For the leprous sisters of Windsor - Edward of Westminster is ordered that he should allow brother Robert, the queen's almoner, to have one cup at the price of 5 marks, and one chalice of the weight of 20 solidos, for the use of the leprous sisters of the hospital of Windsor, by gift of the king. And the king will make payment for the price of the same cup and chalice. Witnessed as above.

18/02/1251, Windsor *CLR 1245-1251*, 334

To Godfrey de Lyston. Contrabreve to make a building worth 40 marks in the court of the leprous women dwelling outside the king's town of Windsor, for their use of the king's gift.

08/03/1251, Stratford *CCR 1247-1251*, 421

For the lepers of Windsor - Godfrey de Lyston is ordered that the leprous brothers of Windsor should be allowed to have full seisin of 120 acres of land by those measures and divisions by which they cause to be understood and extended, by the enquiry of good and lawful men of the purpresture of the king's forest of Windsor, by inspection of those men by whom that extension is done. Witnessed as above. By the king.

28/04/1251, Windsor *CChR 1226-1257*, 361

Gift, for the souls of King John, Queen Isabel, Queen Eleanor and the king's children, to the leprous maidens and brethren of the hospital of Windsor, in frank almoin, of six score acres of land with free access thereto, being part of a purpresture in the forest of Windsor, bounded as follows: ... to be held free of all secular service by finding a chaplain to say mass daily in the said hospital for the souls of the said King and Queen.

16/05/1251, Windsor *CPR 1247-1258*, 96

Appointment during pleasure of Warin, vicar of Clifware, as warden of the hospital for the leprous girls of Windsor, on condition that he behave faithfully and honestly.

By brother Roger the almoner.

22/10/1252, Westminster *CCR 1251-1253*, 170

For the abbot of Waltham - The constable of Windsor is ordered that by honest oaths etc he should diligently enquire if the essart that we concede to the leprous women of Windsor, and our park in the forest of Windsor should be located below the markers of the abbot's parish of Waltham of Windsor, or not. And if they should be below the aforesaid markers,then he should allow the same abbot to have the tithes of the aforesaid assart and from the mill which is in the aforesaid park, without any trouble. Witnessed as above.

20/05/1256, Windsor *CCR 1254-1256*, 309

Concerning oaks given - the keeper of the king's forest of Windsor is ordered to allow the lepers outside Windsor to have from the same forest two oaks for making fencing for the enclosure of their court by gift of the king. Witnessed as above.

29/01/1261, Windsor *CCR 1259-1261*, 338

For the master of the hospital of St Peter's outside Windsor - Nicholas de Haudlo and Walter de Burges, guardians of the see of Winchester, or any other who by the order of the aforesaid bishop,

should cause the master of the hospital of St Peter's outside Windsor to have 100 eggs and 10 good cows by gift of the king. Witnessed by the king at Windsor, 29 January.

03/09/1263, Westminster *CCR 1261-1264*, 258-9

For the leprous brothers outside Windsor - On the part of the leprous brothers and sisters of the hospital of St Peter's outside Windsor it is shown that, as they and their predecessors were accustomed to receive each day one quarter of the farm of the king's town of Windsor as the king's fixed alms, Aymo Thurumberd, recently constable of the aforesaid alms from the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist from the year etc 46 until recently it was withdrawn from them, the king wishing to be fully apprised regarding this, the constable of the castle of Windsor is ordered that through an honest oath and of legal men through whom etc, you should diligently enquire in what manner and at what time the aforesaid brothers and sisters were accustomed to receiving these alms. And, if by that inquiry he should discover that they and their predecessors were accustomed to receiving each day from the aforesaid farm as is stated above until the aforesaid feast of St John, then they should cause them to have those alms henceforth in the same manner that they were accustomed to receiving them along with the arrears of the same from the feast of the Nativity of St John stated above. Witnessed by the king at Westminster, 3 September.

08/10/1265, Windsor *CCR 1264-1268*, 75

For the chaplain Ralph, keeper of the hospital of St Peter's outside Windsor - The king to the sheriffs of Windsor greeting. The chaplain Ralph, keeper of the hospital of St Peter's outside Windsor, has shown us that, as he and his predecessors are used to receiving of old, one quarter of the aforesaid town each day, through the hands of the bailiffs of Windsor who were for a time; the keeper is now in arrears of the same of 23s 9d for the three years recently past; wishing that the said money should be paid to the aforesaid keeper from the aforesaid farm, we order you to allow the same warden to have 23s and 9d, and thus hereafter each day one quarter as they used to receive before. And you should not omit to do this in any way. And we will cause this to be allocated to you at the Exchequer, from the aforesaid farm.

Woodstock - Holy Cross

09/01/1230, Woodstock *CPR 1225-1232*, 419

The leprous brothers outside Woodstock have letters of protection, lasting until Easter year etc 16, with the clause - '*Rogamus*' etc.

14/06/1232, Woodstock *CPR 1225-1232*, 481

For the lepers of Holy Cross outside Woodstock - The king to all his sheriffs and all the faithful who see this letter, greetings. Know that we support in the defence and protection of our leprous brothers of the hospital of Holy Cross outside Woodstock, and their men, lands, goods, incomes and possessions. And therefore we ask you that you should support, protect and defend the aforesaid brothers, their men, lands, goods, incomes and possessions, not interfering or permitting any injury, trouble, loss or annoyance to be inflicted to them. And when they come to you to ask for alms, you should desire to pay money to them charitably, so that you should receive from God eternal favour and from us our temporal gratitude. In testimony of these matters, we have had these letters patent produced for them. Witnessed by myself, at Woodstock, 14 June.

22/06/1234, Woodstock *CCR 1231-1234*, 457

For the leprous women of Woodstock - Thomas of Langley is ordered to allow the leprous women of Woodstock to have one dried oak in the forest of Wychwood for their firewood, by gift of the king. Witnessed by the king as above.

Worcestershire

07/10/1237, Nottingham *CCR 1234-1237*, 570

[The assessors and collectors of the thirtieth in the county of Somerset are ordered that in the lands and possessions of the hospital of lepers of Bradley the thirtieth is to be assessed, but this tax should not be collected from this unless the king orders otherwise. Witnessed by the king at Nottingham, 7 October.

Afterwards it was ordered that from that assise that was the thirtieth in the lands of the leper-house and their men, it should not be collected because the king has forgiven it.]

The lepers of the counties of Worcestershire and Wiltshire have similar letters. [see also Maiden Bradley, and Wiltshire]

Worcester - St Mary's

29/09/1257, Woodstock *CPR 1247-1258*, 580
Simple protection without term for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of St Mary without Worcester.

15/12/1264, Worcester *CPR 1258-1266*, 394
[Simple protection] for five years, for the master and leprous brethren of the hospital of St Mary without Worcester.

Wycombe - St Giles

23/12/1228, Wallingford *CPR 1225-1232*, 233
For the lepers of Wycombe - the lepers of St Giles of Wycombe have letters of protection without term, with this clause: 'We ask you whenever representatives of the aforesaid lepers come to you asking alms from you for the improvement of their church and for their sustenance, to give generously to them in charity; such that in addition to the temporal gratitude that you receive from us, you should expect to receive recompense from God.' - Witnessed by the king, at Wallingford, 23 December.

02/07/1233, Wallingford *CCR 1231-1234*, 235
Concerning tree-trunks given - Peter de Rivallis is ordered that he should cause the lepers of the hospital of St Giles outside Wycombe to have 10 oaks in the forest of Brill, for the repair of the chapel of their hospital, by gift of the king. Witnessed as above. By R. son of Nicholas.

18/04/1259, Merton *CPR 1258-1266*, 20
Simple protection with clause *rogamus*, for five years, for the lepers of St Giles, Wycombe.

Wycombe - St Margaret's

07/05/1229, Westminster *CCR 1227-1231*, 176
For the lepers of Wycombe - The lord King concedes and by this charter confirms to the leprous brothers of the hospital of St Margaret of Wycombe that they should have in perpetuity a fair at the aforesaid hospital each year, lasting for two days; that is, on the vigil and on the day of St Margaret, except etc. And the sheriff of Buckinghamshire is ordered etc. Witnessed as above.

13/05/1229, Westminster *CChR 1226-1257*, 96
Grant to the leprous brethren of the hospital of St Margaret, Wycombe, of a yearly fair at the said hospital on the vigil and feast of St Margaret.

York

27/11/1237, Rochester *CCR 1237-1242*, 8
For hospitals. Except the hospitals of Lincoln and York - The sheriff of Buckinghamshire, the assessors and collectors of the thirtieth of the same county, are ordered that, on the occasion of the order of the lord King for the assessment and collection of the thirtieth in the aforesaid county, no thirtieth should be assessed in the lands of hospitals of the sick, the lepers or other men unless the king orders otherwise. Witnessed as above. By William de Raley. [duplicated above – see Lincoln]

Individual lepers

Amice de Costentin

17/11/1241, Windsor *CLR 1240-1245*, 90
To John le Strange, justice of Chester. Contrabreve to cause Amice de Costentin, a leper dwelling at the house of lepers without Chester, to have 1d daily of the king's alms as she used to have in the time of earl John.

Brito

16/01/1244, Canterbury *CLR 1240-1245*, 211
Liberate to Brito the king's yeoman, tainted with leprosy, 40 marks for the four years next to come, of the 10 marks a year which the king has granted him for life.

18/04/1244, Westminster *CPR 1232-1247*, 418
Grant for life to Brito the king's yeoman, said to be stricken by leprosy, of 10 marks a year at the exchequer of Easter for his maintenance.

Henry Armagant

10/01/1228, Lincoln Heath *CLR 1226-1240*, 63

To the sheriff of Lincoln. Contrabreve to cause Henry Amargant to have 1d a day, for so long as he shall be in St Katharine's hospital, Lincoln.

Peter le Puleter

06/04/1267, Cambridge *CPR 1266-1272*, 52

Simple protection for one year for... Peter le Puleter, a leper.

Philip the Clerk

09/01/1236, Reading *CPR 1232-1247*, 134

Licence for the master and brethren of the hospital of St Nicholas, Portsmouth, to receive the house late of William de la Wike in Portsmouth, which the king granted to Philip the Clerk, a leper, to maintain him for his life, freely and without any hindrance by the said Philip, to hold for ever; on condition that they minister to the said Philip necessaries for his life, or find him in their goods wherewith to go to the Holy Land.

Radulph Mauger

29/03/1251, Dereham *CCR 1247-1251*, 425

For Radulph Mauger - The king pardons Radulph Mauger with regards to the transgression that he made of the buying of a pig from a certain leper, and the sheriff of Jersey is ordered that he should be quit of that and his goods confiscated on this occasion should be restored to him. Witnessed by the king at Dereham, 29 March.

Robert son of Eyward

24/01/1230, Havering *CLR 1226-1240*, 163

To the sheriff of Lincoln. Contrabreve to cause Robert son of Eywrad, a leper, to have 20s of the king's gift to make a pittance to his lepers of the hospital without Lincoln at his entrance into the hospital, for whom the king has requested the dean and chapter of Lincoln to introduce him as a brother of the hospital.

Simon de Lardario

01/01/1254, Meilham *CCR 1254-1256*, 302

For Simon de Lardario - Philip Luvel, treasurer of the Exchequer, is ordered to arrange for Simon de Lardario, struck by leprosy, 2d daily for his sustenance, as long as he should live, to be taken at the Exchequer, from the king's alms. Witnessed etc. And he has letters patent.

Walter Wastehus

12/06/1256, Westminster *CLR 1251-1260*, 303

Liberate to Walter Wastehus, who has long served the king and is infected with the stain of leprosy, 20s of the king's gift for his expenses in entering the leper hospital at St Albans, where he proposes to end his days.

William de Hay

13/01/1250, *CFR*

Pardon. For William de Hay. The king has pardoned to William de Hay of Hereford, who is sick (morbo) with leprosy, those 10 m. at which he was amerced before the justices last itinerant in Herefordshire. Order to the barons of the Exchequer to cause him to be quit therefrom.

V: Louis IX's recorded alms to lepers and leper-houses

The below list contains all the references to leper-houses and lepers in the various accounts printed in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*. These accounts are discussed in further detail in Chapter 7.

Abbreviated references:

CBP – Compotus ballivorum et præpositorum

CPB - Compotus præpositorum et ballivorum

JS – Tabulæ ceratæ Johannis Sarraceni

IDH – Itinera, dona et hernesia

RE – Recepta et expensa

Leper-houses

Bordiniaco — *IDH AD 1239, 598*
To the leper-house of *Bordiniaco* near Rouen, destroyed by fire, similarly 100s witnessed by the same [Richard of Tournay]

Bray-et-Lû — *RE AD 1234, 234*
To the lepers of Bray-et-Lû, by gift, 60s witnessed by the almoner.

Cepoy — *RE AD 1234, 235*
Alms for religious garments (*infula et stolis*) for the leper-house of Cepoy, 57s.

Chailly — *RE AD 1234, 234*
To the lepers of Chailly, by gift, 4l witnessed by the almoner.

Chambly — *IDH AD 1239, 604*
To the lepers of Chambly, by gift, 100s witnessed by William de Bray. 1

Charlevanne — *IDH AD 1239, 599*
To the lepers of Charlevanne, by gift, 100s witnessed by the almoner.

Charlevanne [Bougival] — *IDH AD 1239, 594*
And for the lepers of Charlevanne 100s.

Chaumont — *RE AD 1234, 234*
To the lepers of Chaumont, and alms by Herbert, between Gisors and Chambly, 40s 8d.

Chinon — *CBP 1234, 576*
To the lepers of Chinon, for a half term, 19l 16.5s.

CPB AD 1248, 281
To the lepers of Chinon, for a half term, 19l 16.5s.

Corbeil — *JS, 353*
To the lepers of Corbeil, for tithes of bread and wine for 2 days, 4l 11s 3d.

Cuissy — *IDH AD 1239, 610*
To the lepers of Cuissy, by gift, 60s.

Giennes — *RE AD 1234, 231*
To the hospital and leper-house of Giennes, by gift, 40s witnessed by the almoner.

Gisors — *IDH AD 1239, 597*
To the lepers of Gisors, by gift, 100s witnessed by the almoner.

Gournay-en-Bray — *CBP 1234, 569*
To the lepers of the Three Houses [*Trium Domorum*], 49s.

CPB AD 1248, 265
To the lepers of the Three Houses [*Trium Domorum*], 49s.

IDH AD 1239, 597
To the lepers of Gournay-en-Bray, by gift, 10l witnessed by master Richard of Tournay.

Issoudun — *RE AD 1234, 231*
For an empty house of the leper-house of Issoudun i…l witnessed by Hugh, scutifer,

Jerusalem — *RE AD 1234, 234*
The leper-house of Saint Lazarus overseas, by gift, at Paris, 10l witnessed by the almoner.

Le Vaudreuil — *IDH AD 1239, 596*
To the lepers of Le Vaudreuil by master Richard of Tournay, 10l.

Lions-la-Forêt — *IDH AD 1239, 597*

To the lepers of Lyons-la-Forêt, by gift for their sustenance, 60s, witnessed by master Richard of Tournay.

Melun *JS, 353*

To the lepers of Melun, for tithes of bread and wine for 4 days, 8l 2s 1d. 8l 2s 1d

Paris *CBP 1234, 261*

Saint-Lazare, for a third term, 80l.

CBP 1234, 566

Saint-Lazare, for a third term, 80l.

Paris (Banlieue) *IDH AD 1239, 599*

To the lepers of Banlieue near Paris, by gift, 100s witnessed by the almoner.

Roye *JS, 354*

To the lepers of Roye, for tithes of bread and wine for 1 day, 42s 9d.

Samois *IDH AD 1239, 589*

To the lepers of Samois, by gift, 100s witnessed by the almoner.

Sens *IDH AD 1239, 600*

To the lepers of Sens, by gift, 10l.

Villeneuve-la-Guyard *IDH AD 1239, 600*

To the lepers of Villeneuve-la-Guyard, by gift for their house destroyed by fire, 60s, witnessed by the almoner.

Individual lepers

Amiens *CPB AD 1248, 264*

For a certain leper, by gift, 100s.

Asnières *IDH AD 1239, 591*

For a certain leper of the hospital of Asnières placed with the lepers of Chambly, 60s witnessed by the almoner. 60s

Boiscommun *IDH AD 1239, 588*

For a certain leper placed in the leper-house of Boiscummun, 60s witnessed by Theobald Culpi.

Boissy-L'Aillerie *IDH AD 1239, 590*

A certain leprous woman of Boissy-l'Aillerie by gift, at Asnières, 20s witnessed by Lubino.

Charlevanne [Bougival] *RE AD 1234, 233*

Alms for a certain boy placed in the leper-house of Charlevanne, for clothing. 100s

Crépy *IDH AD 1239, 602*

A certain leprous cleric in the leper-house of Crépy, by gift for clothing, 60s witnessed by the almoner.

Issoudun *RE AD 1234, 231*

And for a certain woman who owned a part in that. 32s

Juvisy *IDH AD 1239, 601*

For the clothing of a certain leprous cleric, placed in the leper-house of Juvisy and for his food 100s witnessed by lord Peter, chaplain.

Longjumeau / Etrechy *IDH AD 1239, 604*

For a leper placed in the leper-house of Longjumel, and a leprous woman placed in the leper-house of Etrechy, by the almoner, 6l.

Mantes *IDH AD 1239, 596*

Gilbert, son-in-law of Garin of the pantry, leper, by gift, the same day, at Mantes, 100s witnessed by the almoner.

Paris *IDH AD 1239, 605*

A certain leper in the leper-house of Paris, by gift for his food and his clothing, 100s witnessed by the almoner.

Paris (St Lazare) *IDH AD 1239, 593*

For the clothing of one leper, by the almoner, at Saint-Lazare, Paris, 60s.

Rouen *IDH AD 1239, 596*

For clothing of a certain young leper, now placed in the leper-house of Rouen, 60s witnessed by the almoner.

Vernon *RE AD 1234, 233*

For a certain leper of Normandy, situated in the leper-house of Vernon, on the day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, 100s witnessed by the almoner.

\- *IDH AD 1239, 607*

For the assigning of a leper [that is for a gift for the food of one leper to be offered by arrangement] 60s.