

WILL OF RICHARD DE LA WYCH,

BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, COMMONLY CALLED SAINT RICHARD,
WHO DIED A.D. 1253.

PARTLY READ AT THE CHICHESTER MEETING, JULY 1, 1847.

By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq.

THE Will of Bishop Richard de la Wych has been twice printed, first by Dallaway, in his 'West Sussex,' v. i, p. 47, and afterwards in the 'Testamenta Vetusta,' p. 762, but with so many inaccuracies and omissions that it has not hitherto illustrated the manners of the times, and the circumstances of his life, so well as it might have done. There is a much fuller copy of the will at p. 5, in Bishop White Kennett's MSS., now forming No. 1000 of the Lansdowne MSS., in the British Museum; but I am indebted for the present more complete copy to the kindness of James Bennet Freeland, Esq., who has extracted it from one of the registers under his charge at Chichester (Regist. Episc Rede E, p. 176), the same MS. from which Dallaway professes to have "copied in length," but most erroneously. Mr. Freeland considers the copies of documents in Regist. Rede E. to have been made in the time and under the direction of William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, from 1369 to 1385. I have collated his copy with the original MS., which is very clearly written, though with contractions, and has red initial letters, and I should have been glad to collate the Chichester MS. with the other copy of the will, which is referred to by Dallaway and Sir H. Nicolas as being among the Lambeth MSS. 1. 35. On applying, however, personally at the Library of Lambeth for this purpose, I was assured by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, the keeper of the MSS., that no such copy existed there, and that he did not believe

it ever had been there. It appears that the MSS. have been lately rearranged, and unfortunately the references of the only index produced do not apply to the present arrangement, but to a former one. Any further search was therefore at once discouraged. It has not been thought necessary to preserve the contractions of the original Latin MS., nor to point out all the numerous errors and omissions of former copies. A translation has been added.

A life of Bishop Richard, by Ralph Bocking, will be found frequently mentioned in the following pages. It was written about twenty-five years after his death. The author was a Dominican monk, and had been for several years his friend and attendant. It is printed among the *Acta Sanctorum*, under April the 3d; to the Antwerp edition of which work, in 1643 and ann. seq., the references are made.

I was gratified in being able to collate the Chichester MS. in company with the Rev. Mr. Valentine, of Cocking, who had been a material contributor to Dallaway's 'Sussex,' and I am also happy gratefully to acknowledge my obligations to Albert Way, Esq., W. S. Walford, Esq., and T. Hudson Turner, Esq., Secretary of the Archæological Institute, for their various contributions to the Notes of this paper.—

“ In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, Amen.

Ego Ricardus secundus¹ permissione divina Cicestrensis episcopus testamentum meum ordino et facio in modum subscriptum.

In primis summe Trinitati et beate Marie animam meam commendo et lego, et corpus meum sepeliendum in majori ecclesia Cicestrensi in navi ejusdem ecclesie prope altare beati Edmundi² confessoris juxta columpnam.³

Item ad fabricum⁴ ejusdem ecclesie xl libras.

¹ Although the testator appears in the will with his episcopal title, yet, according to Bocking, he always preferred calling himself presbyter. He was the second bishop of the name of Richard, as Richard Poor had occupied the see of Chichester for two years, 1215-17, until translated to Salisbury.

² It appears from Bocking that, after being nine years bishop, he fell sick at Dover, March 30, and died there at midnight, on April 3, in his 56th year. His wish to lie near the altar of St. Edmund arose naturally from his gratitude and intimacy with him during many years. On Richard de la Wych's return to England, having completed his education at Paris, Boulogne, and Oxford, he was solicited at once, both by Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, here mentioned, and by the famous Robert Grossthead, Bishop of Lincoln, to become their Chancellor, and he accepted the archbishop's offer. In this office he was intrusted with full power over the diocese, and the free use of the archbishop's seal, while his learning, equity, and simplicity of manners gave him great influence. He adhered steadfastly to Edmund throughout all his troubles and exile; for in 1240 the primate had retired to a monastery at Pontigny, in Burgundy, and died there in 1242. In his will he bequeathed to Richard a goblet, with affectionate terms: "To my beloved Chancellor, whom I have long heartily loved (invisceravimus)." The interval between death and canonization was then often short, and at Christmas, 1246, this honour was paid him, November 16 being appointed as his feast-day. Richard was present at Pontigny when the translation of his remains took place; and so associated was the memory of Edmund with that of Richard, that Ralph Bocking, writing after they had both been canonized, compares them to "Two cherubin of glory looking at each other and protecting the ark of Canterbury." (cap. 1.)

³ That the burial took place in the spot here so minutely specified is proved by Bocking, who describes it to have been "in a humble place before the altar of St. Edmund, which he himself had there erected in the north part of the church, (in ipsa ecclesia coram altare B. Edmundi Confessoris, quod ipsemet ibidem ad Aquilonarem ecclesie partem erexerat, in humili loco sepultus est, p. 308, C.) His body however was not long allowed to remain here in peace, for having been proclaimed a saint by Pope Urban at Viterbo, Jan. 22, 1261, his remains were removed with great pomp into a silver gilt chest (in capsula argentea et deaurata honorifice collocatum," Th. Walsing. p. 47), on June 16, 1276, in the presence of

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen.

I, Richard the second,¹ by divine permission Bishop of Chichester, ordain and make my Testament in the underwritten manner.

In the first place, to the Most High Trinity and to the Blessed Mary I commend and bequeath my soul, and my body to be buried in the great church of Chichester, in the nave of the same church, near the altar of the Blessed Edmund² the Confessor, against the column.³

Also to the Fabric⁴ of the same church 40 pounds.

King Edward I and all his court, as well as the Archbishop Robert Kilwardby and several bishops. (Mat. Westm. p. 408; Ann. Waverl. p. 231; Harpsfeld. Hist. Angl. p. 462.) It appears that there was formerly a stone altar attached to the great north-east column of the cross of the cathedral under the spire. This was cleared away about twenty years ago, and would seem to answer to the position indicated for St. Edmund's altar. It is not mentioned by any authority to what part of the cathedral his remains were thus translated in 1276. The usual place of honour allotted to the principal saint of a church was behind the high altar at the east end, as is seen at Durham, St. Albans, Westminster, Beverley, Canterbury, &c., and a raised platform, of which the pavement has evidently been disturbed and renewed, is found in this position at Chichester. The jewelled chasse containing his bones must have been placed in some conspicuous situation, such as this would have been, and there is no ancient mention of any effigy of the bishop on his tomb. The monument, however, with its recumbent effigy, which has been long pointed out as that of Saint Richard, is under an arch in the south transept. It is said that "St. Ricardus" was formerly sculptured over it, and the walls near it covered with paintings; not far off there stood also the ancient oaken cabinet, or cupboard, with Gothic panels, now in the vestry, in which is seen the slit sloping to the inside, for the receipt of money offerings. Whether this was the spot chosen for the translation of 1276, or for a subsequent removal, may be a fit subject for the investigation of local antiquaries, and in determining the point, attention must be paid to the date of the surrounding architecture, and of the style of the tomb, as well as to the probability of the monument and effigy having escaped the destruction so expressly ordered by Henry VIII, Dec. 4, 1538. "Take away the shrine and bones of that Bishop called Saint Richard, with all ornaments to the said shrine belonging, and all other the reliques and reliquaries of the bones and reliques, the silver, the gold, and the jewels belonging to the said shrine. Also ye shall see the place where the same shrine was kept destroyed even to the ground." (Wilkins's Conc. v. iii, p. 840.)

⁴ This very large bequest to the building fund would seem to imply some considerable works being then carried on. The bishop during his life had already contributed largely to this fund; "the churches of Stoughton and Alciston, and the advowson of the church of Mendlesham, and a pension of forty shillings in the

Item ministrantibus in Choro⁵ v libras.

Item reliquias⁶ meas ecclesie Cicestrensi.

Item fratribus minoribus⁷ Cicestrensibus psalterium meum glosatum⁸ et xx solidos.

Item fratribus minoribus de Lewes⁹ librum evangeliorum, videlicet Lucam et Johannem et xx solidos.

same;" and one of his statutes opened another source of profit to the fabric, arising out of the scandalous bequests found in the wills of the clergy. "We decide that the concubines of clerks, with whom, to the scandal of the church, they have sinned, should not be capable (of receiving bequests), and if anything should be left to them, it shall be contributed to the fabric of Chichester church." (Dallaway, quoting from MSS. Coll. Univ. Oxon, 148.)

⁵ Ralph Bocking, p. 316, dedicates his "Life of Saint Richard" to the then Bishop and Chapter of Chichester, and requests them to allow it to be read in the cathedral, after they had corrected the MS. at their discretion. It is remarkable that the testator makes no provision for any masses or other religious ceremonies to accompany his funeral, or to preserve his memory in his cathedral, nor is any wish expressed for a tomb.

⁶ The testator does not specify what collection he had made of relics. In after times, some real or pretended bones of Richard himself became the subjects of bequests, as well as other articles that had belonged to him. Thus the will of Edmund de Mortimer, Earl of March, who died in 1381, leaves to the Abbey of Wigmore, "a bone of St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester." (Test. Vet. p. 111.) There were also among the reliques at the priory of Selbourne, Hampshire, according to the inventory taken in the time of Henry VI, "Also a joint (junctorium) of St. Richard; also a comb of St. Richard; also a chafing-dish (calefactorium) of St. Richard." (White's Selb.) These had been probably treasured up by John, the Prior of Selbourne, who had been born in the same village as Richard de la Wych, and had shared with him the same study as his scholar companion. Bocking tells us of Richard's visit to his friend at Selbourne, and of his catching a great pike, three feet long, in the prior's fishponds. (c. vii.) Many other instances occur of the reverence paid to St. Richard. The bed on which he had slept during a visit to Bayham Abbey, was many years after used by one of the Præmonstratensian canons there to cure him of an affection of his limbs; and Helen, the Prioress of St. Helen's nunnery in London, founded in 1212, a lady "of no mean fame among English nobles, and dear to and intimate with St. Richard during his life," considered herself cured of a toothache, which kept her from sleep or food, by her damsel Rosa bringing her a cloth sprinkled with his blood at the time of preparing his body for the grave. (Bocking, p. 310.) The Prioress Helen is not mentioned in Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' where the earliest prioress named is in 1334.

⁷ On the spot previously occupied by the Castle of Chichester, after its demolition by order of Henry III, 1216, stood the Franciscan monastery, near the north gate of the city. Its beautiful chapel is now used by the corporation as a Guild-hall, and there are traces of more of its buildings.

Also to those who serve in the Choir⁵ 5 pounds.

Also my relics⁶ to the church of Chichester.

Also to the Friars Minor⁷ (Franciscans) of Chichester my Psalter with comments,⁸ and 20 shillings.

Also to the Friars Minor of Lewes⁹ a book of Gospels, namely, Luke and John, 20 shillings.

⁸ After bequests to his cathedral, and to those officiating in it, the bishop commences the disposal of his books, and in those times of laborious MSS. books were highly valued. The difficulties which Richard had himself endured from penury, when a student at Paris, may account for his anxiety to spread knowledge, by the subdivision of his books into so many separate bequests, and it is probable that the newly established orders of Franciscans and Dominicans were at this time ill provided with works of literature or even religion. Bocking's description of the manner of living which Richard adopted in Paris is very striking. "He and two comrades lived in one room, and had but one cape and one gown between them, and each a lowly bed. While one therefore went out with the cape to hear the lectures, the others staid at home, and so each went out by turns. Bread and a little wine sufficed them with broth for food, their poverty not permitting them to eat meat or fish, except on Sundays and holidays, and yet the bishop often said that 'he had never in his life passed so cheerful and pleasant a time.'" With respect to the glosses on the Psalter, it must be remarked that the will in no case mentions the authors of any of the expositions on parts of the Scriptures bequeathed. Bede wrote a gloss on the Psalms, but the one most in repute in the bishop's time was that of Peter Lombard, who died in 1164, and whose work was mentioned in his epitaph. (Cave's Hist. Lit. ii, 221.) Dante alludes to his theological writings as a treasure given to the church.

"Quel Pietro fu, che con la poverella
Offerse a santa Chiesa il suo tesoro."

(Parad., x, 106.)

Leland mentions a gloss on the Psalter by Odo, Abbot of Battle, and bequests of similar books were frequent. In 'Test. Vet.' p. 367, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, the great judge, in 1481 says "Also I bequeth my glosset saulter to the Priorie of Worcester."

⁹ Of this monastery at Lewes very little is known, and the notices by Dugdale and Tanner are very scanty. (Dugd. Monast. vi, 1533; Tanner Not. Mon. xx, 4.) Its situation is pointed out by the name of "The Friars," where the railway station now is. The bishop, however, knew it personally, and to its poor brethren he preferred to send, as a gift, the four beautiful mullets which he had helped a fisherman to catch at Lewes bridge (an incidental proof of the freer access of the sea to that point), even though the steward of the archbishop was standing by. (Bock. c. vii.) During the evening of the battle of Lewes, Prince Edward took refuge here for a time, before he joined his father in the priory. The bishop had on two occasions conspicuously exerted his power at Lewes; once, when the townspeople had violently dragged a thief out of a church and hanged him, he

Item fratribus minoribus de Wynchelsea¹⁰ Marcum et Matheum, et xx solidos.

Item fratribus predicatoribus de Arundel¹¹ librum Sentenciarum et xx solidos.

Item fratribus predicatoribus Cantuarie¹² Ozeth glosatum et xx solidos.

Item fratribus minoribus¹³ ejusdem ville Ysaiaam glosatum et xx solidos.

Item predicatoribus do London¹⁴ librum Job actuum (li. Job actum) epistolas canonicas apocalypsin glosatam in uno volumine,¹⁵ et 20 solidos.

Item fratribus minoribus¹⁶ ejusdem ville epistolas Pauli¹⁷ glosatas et xx solidos.

compelled them to carry the putrid body on their shoulders back to the same church more than a fortnight afterwards. (Bock. p. 281.) Another time he insisted upon a knight, who had imprisoned a priest, exhibiting himself in the market-place of Lewes (which Bocking, c. v, calls "the navel of the diocese") with a wooden log tied to his neck, in the manner that an unruly brute would be treated.

¹⁰ The Franciscans of Winchelsea are alluded to by Dugdale (Mon. vol. vi, p. 1533) and by Leland.

¹¹ Richard was himself a Dominican, and a powerful preacher, using many Scriptural quotations in his discourses. Bocking (c. viii) says that "he endeavoured to bend the wild necks of the seamen to the Cross by showing them the abominations of sin," and "by the ploughshare of his tongue he clave earthy hearts." In Dugdale's 'Monasticon' (vol. vi, p. 1495), the Dominican convent at Arundel is supposed to have been founded in the time of Edward II, but this earlier notice proves such an opinion to be erroneous, and they must have been, in fact, established soon after their first introduction to England in 1221. No trace of them is afterwards recorded, until in 1324 Edmund, Earl of Arundel, granted them two acres of land to enlarge their dwelling, "the very site of which has now become a matter of conjecture," though probably it was near where the Custom House now stands, near which position a small church is shown in Hollar's 'View of Arundel,' 1642; Tierney's 'Arundel,' p. 673. Dugdale's 'Mon.' does not mention them. Two authors of Sentences, or a digest of Christian divinity, were principally in repute, St. Bernard and Peter Lombard. (Cave, ii, 221.) The latter, indeed, acquired the title of "Il Maestro delle Sentenze," from the estimation of his work, on which it is said there were 244 commentators. In Dugd. Mon. i, 537, mention is made of 'Ockam on the Books of the Sentences,' and at Ramsey, among other books, is recorded 'Sentencie of Peter Lumbard.'

¹² It is said that the Dominicans of Canterbury were established soon after 1221, by Henry III, in the parish of St. Peter (Dugd. Mon. vi, 1486), though Leland, Stow, and Speed, make Henry VII the founder. The only known gloss

Also to the Friars Minor of Wynchelsea¹⁰ Mark and Matthew and 20 shillings.

Also to the Preaching Friars (Dominicans) of Arundel¹¹ the book of Sentences and 20 shillings.

Also to the Preaching Friars of Canterbury¹² Hosea with comments, and 20 shillings.

Also to the Friars Minor¹³ of the same city Isaiah with comments, and 20 shillings.

Also to the Preachers of London¹⁴ the book of Job, of the Acts, the Canonical Epistles, the Apocalypse with comments, in one volume,¹⁵ and 20 shillings.

Also to the Friars Minor¹⁶ of the same city the Epistles of Paul¹⁷ commented, and 20 shillings.

upon Hosea separately extant in the time of Richard, was by St. Jerome, but the glosses upon the minor prophets would have extended to this book.

¹³ Of the original immigration of nine Franciscans in 1224, five remained at Canterbury, a city called "our Jerusalem," by Bocking (c. viii). The site of their convent was, in 1270, moved to the west of the city by John Digges. It is most probable that the book here bequeathed was the 'Commentaries on Isaiah,' the recent work of Archbishop Stephen Langton. (Cave, ii, 282.)

¹⁴ A convent situated near where Lincoln's Inn now stands, founded soon after 1221, and afterwards moved to near Castle Baynard. It was under the jurisdiction of the king alone. Parliaments often sat in it. The Emperor Charles V was lodged here, and the proceedings of the divorce of Queen Catherine of Arragon took place in this convent.

¹⁵ 'A Commentary on Job,' by Archbishop Langton, was extant, and another by Bede, mentioned by himself in his Eccles. History. In Harl. MSS. No. 3075, there is a work called 'Bede on the Canonical Epistles,' and at No. 233, 'The Book of the Apocalypse, with the Exposition of Bede,' in which the text of Scripture is not distinct, but embodied in the continuous comment. Bede also alludes to his works on the Acts of the Apostles, and the fact of Bede having written glosses on all the books here bequeathed in one volume, favours the notion of his being its author. At a visitation of St. Paul's, in 1295, there were found twelve copies of the Gospels, all adorned with silver plates, and in the wooden binding of one were eleven small cavities with relics. (Dugd.)

¹⁶ The memory of this convent is still preserved by the street of the "Minories." Its situation is frequently described in old documents as being "in Styngkyng Lane, in the parish of St. Nicolas in the Shambles." (Dugd. Mon. vi, 1514.) It was founded in 1224, by four of the first Franciscans who came into England. A chapel had been built for them, in 1239, by the mayor, William Joyner. Many illustrious persons, including two queens, were afterwards buried here at their own desire.

¹⁷ There were then extant several commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, written

Item fratribus predicatoribus Wyntonie Summam Magistri Willelmi Altisiodorensis¹⁸ et xx solidos.

Item fratribus minoribus¹⁹ ejusdem ville xii prophetas glosatos et xx solidos.

Item in subsidium terre sante lego L marcas solvendas et tradendas Roberto Chaundos fratri meo, ut pro me si velit proficiscatur, vel alii si dictus Robertus nolit proficisci.²⁰

Item domui de Wyndeham²¹ xxx marcas, non computato debito in quo eis teneor in dictis xxx marcis.

by Lanfranc, by Peter Lombard, and by John of Salisbury, and by others. (Cave, ii, pp. 148, 221, 243.) The subject of the bequest was probably by Lanfranc.

¹⁸ This summary of theology, beginning "Faith, as the Apostle says," has been attributed to two authors: one, William of Auxerre, was a Cistercian monk of Trois Fontaines, and died at Rome, 1230 (Moreri); the other the Bishop of Auxerre, died at St. Cloud in 1223. Bocking relates (c. vii) that, when Richard was abroad in his poverty, the Bishop of Auxerre endeavoured to persuade him to remain on the continent, in order to economise, but "he refused to desert his flock, answering, that his services were pledged to Chichester, not to Auxerre." It is not improbable that Richard procured this work when he went to attend the translation of his patron, the Archbishop Edmund, at Pontigny. The canonization of Edmund had been applied for by Bernard, Bishop of Auxerre (1234-45), by his letters to the Pope, Innocent IV, but it was soon after Guido II had become bishop that the translation took place at Pontigny, June 8, 1247 (Gall. Christ. xii, 262), where Richard met him. The Dominicans of Winchester were founded by the bishop, Peter de Rupibus, within the city to the north. (Dugd. Mon.) Among the works of William de Hotoft, Abbot of Peterborough, 1246, in the library, was 'Antissiodorensis abbreviatus.' (Dugd. Mon. i, 356.)

¹⁹ The convent dedicated to St. Francis stood within the east gate of Winchester (Dugd. Mon. vi, 1512), and is said by Speed to have been founded by Henry III. There was a work by Archbishop Langton, entitled 'Exposition of the Twelve Minor Prophets,' which was probably the one here bequeathed. (Cave, ii, 251.) A copy of this work was at Ramsey monastery. Besides the proof of the testator's study of the Scriptures, furnished by the possession of so many comments upon them, there is strong evidence in his statutes of his great anxiety to promote the instruction of laymen in sound knowledge. He therein desires "that laymen be admonished to learn the Lord's Prayer, and the Symbol of the Apostles (the Creed), and the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin; and let the parish priests diligently and frequently teach these things, at least in the mother tongue (in lingua saltem materna), and in church let them attend to sermons, and not dwell upon idle fables (otiosis fabulis non intendant)." (Wilkins's Conc. i, 688.) Bocking too reports, expressly, that in his visits to the poor and sick "he fed them with the aliment of the word of God," and indeed Bocking's own narrative is full of quotations, more or less apposite, from Scripture. In the same spirit, Archbishop

Also to the Preaching Friars of Winchester the Summary of Master William of Auxerre¹⁸ and 20 shillings.

Also to the Friars Minor¹⁹ of the same city the Twelve Prophets commented, and 20 shillings.

Also I bequeath in aid of the Holy Land 50 marcs (£33 6s. 8d.), to be paid and delivered to Robert Chaundos, my brother, in order that he may go there, if he is willing, for me, and to be paid to another, if the said Robert should be unwilling to go.²⁰

Also to the house of Wyndeham²¹ 30 marcs (£20), the debt for which I am bound to them not being computed in the said 30 marcs.

Peckham, a native of Sussex, provides in his statutes of 1281, that "every priest should, four times a year, either by himself or another, expound to the people in the vulgar tongue, and without the fantastic interweaving of any sort of subtlety, the fourteen articles of faith (that is, seven on the Godhead, and seven on the Humanity of Christ), vulgariter absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica." (Wilkins's Conc. vol. ii, 37.) The readers of Ralph Bocking's 'Life of St. Richard,' which he was so anxious to have read in Chichester Cathedral, may judge for themselves whether some of the tales there related ought to have excluded it under the above-mentioned restrictions.

²⁰ The Council of Lyons, held in 1246, had decreed the preaching of a new crusade in aid of the Holy Land, and the bull of Pope Innocent IV was issued in 1250, directing the Bishop of Chichester to raise money and soldiers for the purpose. (Rymer, Fœd. i, 485.) Richard was also specially appointed by the king, in 1252, to preach to the citizens of London and exhort them to take the Cross. Robert Chaundos was probably the husband of his sister, for whose daughter's marriage the testator subsequently provides. Bocking calls Richard Bachedene, who acted as the bishop's steward, his brother (*frater carnalis*), "a prudent man and a knight." The permission of this vicarious crusade was often a device to raise money from the rich more easily. Sir Richard Arundel's will (July 8, 1417) has a similar bequest. "I will that my executors find one man, who for the good of my soul shall go to the court of Rome, and to the Holy Land, and to the Sepulture of our Lord, and to the Holy Blood in Germany," meaning the Chapelle du Saint Sang at Bruges. (Test. Vet. p. 196.)

²¹ Wymondham, or Windham monastery, in Norfolk, was founded by William de Albini, in the time of Henry I. Thomas Mead, who was prior here from 1224 to 1257, had accompanied Hugh de Albini, Earl of Arundel, abroad, and was with him at his early death, in May, 1243, in his 29th year. He brought home the corpse for burial at Windham, where a great part of the beautiful conventual church still remains. The widowed Countess Isabella, a friend of Bishop Richard, and well known for her spirited interview with Henry III, claimed the right of nominating the prior at Windham, but afterwards agreed to present two of the monks

Item Abbathie de Lacoc²² cupam meam magnam de Mazera.²³

Item Abbathie de Marham²⁴ in Nortfolch aliam cupam meam de Mazera.

Item Fratri Garino libros Damasceni²⁵ cum quibusdam aliis quaternis.²⁶

Item Fratri Willelmo de Colecestria predicatori libellum Anselmi²⁷ (Cur d̄s h̄o) Cur Deus homo.

Item Fratri Hunfredo incluso²⁸ de Pageham xl solidos.

Item incluse de Hoghton dimidiam marcam.

Item incluse de Stopeham dimidiam marcam.

Item incluso de Heringham²⁹ dimidiam marcam.

of St. Albans for the choice of one by the abbot. Bocking refers to the collection of books which the countess had, the Sacred Scriptures and the Lives of Saints in abundance. (Quæ penes vos copiose habentur, p. 283.)

²² The Augustine nunnery of Lacock, in Wiltshire, was founded in 1222 by Ela, the widow of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, from whose son Stephen the testator received the gift of a cup subsequently bequeathed. The foundation charter was witnessed by William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey. Ela became the abbess in 1240, and was a friend of Archbishop Edmund. Just previous to the testator's death, her son William had been killed in the crusade near Damietta, in 1250, and she affirmed that she had seen him in all his armour, in a vision on the very day of his death, welcomed into heaven by angels.

²³ Cups of maple were in frequent use, and much valued. (See Mr. A. Way's note to Mr. Davis's paper on Archbishop Scrope's Cup. York vol. of Archæol. Institute.)

²⁴ The Cistercian nunnery of Marham, in Norfolk, had been recently founded, in 1249, by Isabella de Warenne, the widowed Countess of Arundel, mentioned in note 21, and on her death without issue the patronage reverted to the Earl de Warenne. The conventual church was consecrated by the testator, Jan. 27, 1249.

²⁵ An Arabian author of the name of Mansur, who lived in the middle of the eighth century, was usually called John of Damascus. He wrote many works in Greek and Latin, which have been published in two folio volumes, Paris, 1712. He was canonized, and his feast kept in May. Among his works was one 'On the Orthodox Faith,' a MS. of which is now in the king's library, having formerly belonged to Bury monastery. (Dugd. Mon. iii, 132.)

²⁶ It does not appear whether these books of paper or vellum, formed by folding the sheet into four leaves, were written upon or not, in this instance. Possibly they contained the bishop's own MS. diary, for he was in the habit of noting down anything good that was said, and he told Bocking (c. iii), "What you said yesterday I put down in this book with my own hand last night."

²⁷ These, though not the initial words, form the title of a work on the Incarnation by Archbishop Anselm. There is a MS. of it in the Harl. MSS. No. 3074, p. 84. Anselm and Bede are among the few connected with English history admitted into Paradise by Dante. (Par. x, 130; xii, 137.)

Also to the Abbey of Lacock²² my great cup of maple.²³

Also to the Abbey of Marham,²⁴ in Norfolk, my other cup of maple.

Also to Friar Garin (Warren) the books of Damascenus,²⁵ with some other paper books.²⁶

Also to Friar William of Colchester, Preacher, the book of Anselm,²⁷ "Cur Deus homo." (Cur d̄s h̄o.)

Also to Friar Humphrey, the recluse²⁸ of Pageham, 40 shillings.

Also to the female recluse of Houghton half a marc (6s. 8d.).

Also to the female recluse of Stopeham half a marc.

Also to the recluse of Heringham²⁹ half a marc.

²⁸ The recluse, when once inclosed within his cell (inclusorium), was locked in for life, and frequently even walled up. This could only take place by the special licence of the diocesan bishop, who put his seal upon the cell, with certain solemnities. The probability of the recluse receiving sufficient nourishment from the alms of the pious, was always taken into consideration on permitting a cell to be devoted to this purpose, and it was therefore usually fixed in populous towns, and commonly near a church, and sometimes, if not generally, so placed that the altar might be seen from it. (See Lyndwode, 214-15, and Fosbrooke's *Monachism*, p. 371 et seq.) There are, for example, the remains of such a cell, so situated, in the south transept of Norwich Cathedral. These devotees were also called anchorites, and sometimes hermits; but the latter differed essentially from them in being at liberty to go out of their cells. The loss of that liberty in the recluse was recognised even by the common law, so that in certain cases, where persons under no such restraint must have acted in person, he might act by proxy. Littleton, writing on this subject, temp. Edw. IV, speaks of a recluse as one "que ne poit per cause de son order aler hors de sa meason" (sect. 434); and Coke, commenting on these words, says, "he is so much mured or shut up, quod solus semper sit, et in clausura sua sedet, and can never come out of his place; seorsim enim et extra conversationem civilem hoc professionis genus semper habitat." All which agrees with what is found in Lyndwode respecting recluses. Instances of *inclusion* occurred in the 15th century. A MS. in the Harl. Coll. (No. 873) gives the ceremony, and MS. rules for female recluses of the 14th and 15th centuries exist. If the testator had assisted at the inclosure of the recluses of both sexes in the small villages here mentioned, Pagham, Houghton, Stopham, and Hardham, he may naturally have felt an interest in their support by his bequests. Walter, the Bishop of Norwich, to whom a bequest is presently made by Richard, bequeathed in his will £10 to the recluses of his diocese, besides a marc to others specially named; and also to his niece Ela, and her attendant "in reclusorio," at Massingham, 20s. (Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ii, 345.)

²⁹ At Heringham, Heriedham, now Hardham, there was an Augustine priory, dedicated to the Holy Cross, of which there are some remains visible.

Item incluse Beate Marie de Westoute^{29*} apud Lewes v solidos.

Item fratribus Domus Dei de Dovorr³⁰ xx solidos ad pitanciam.³¹

Item monachis Sancti Martini³² ejusdem ville unam marcam.

Item lego *Hugoni de Camera*³³ x libras.

Item Roberto de Crocherst xx libras.

Item Willardo quondam coco³⁴ meo x marcas.

Item Waltero de Wyke³⁵ x marcas.

Item Ade, botelario,³⁶ x marcas.

Item Ricardo, pistori, x marcas.

Item Radulfo, mariscallo, c solidos.

^{29*} This parish has been since united with that of St. Peter, under the appellation of St. Ann's, in the upper part of the town of Lewes.

³⁰ During the testator's progress from Chichester preaching the Crusade, he passed along the coast of Sussex, and arrived on the tenth day at Canterbury, and then went on to lodge in this very "Maison Dieu," as the name is still retained, and there he died, after consecrating a cemetery and a church dedicated to St. Edmund, to which the bishop on his deathbed desired his bowels to be carried, in fond memorial of his patron. Henry III granted to the Maison Dieu a tithe of the profits arising from passengers to the continent. It had been founded by Hubert de Burg, Earl of Kent.

"A pittance (pietancia, pictancia) was a small repast of fish or flesh for the refreshment of monks who were celebrating divine offices for the dead on those days." (Cowell's Interp.) This bequest of a funeral repast seems to lead to the conclusion that the will was written at Dover in the immediate contemplation of death. Ralph Bocking also implies this when describing his funeral. "As he had before the day of his death bequeathed his body to be buried at Chichester, which was distant by the interval of no mean journey from the place of his migration." According to the authorities quoted by Ducange, the pittance consisted in some cases of "two eggs, in broth well seasoned with pepper and saffron, in others of a bit of cheese, or four eggs, or fish." In a charter of St. Bertin (1278) is this rule: "On every day on which the said pittance shall be used, a special mass for our soul shall be celebrated in the church." During the building of the cloisters at Norwich Cathedral (1289-99), the salary of the pittancer (whose office was suspended) was applied to the new works. (Britton's Norwich, p. 24.)

³² The Benedictine convent of St. Martin at Dover, of which considerable remains may be traced, was much esteemed by Archbishop Edmund. The prior, William, had presented himself at the archbishop's election, claiming the right of entering the chapter, but had been excluded by the monks of Canterbury, imprisoned, and suspended, before he was allowed to return to Dover. Archbishop Boniface restored him in 1250.

³³ Hugh of the Chamber had probably no large wardrobe to look after, for the

Also to the female recluse of the Blessed Mary of Westoute^{29*} at Lewes 5 shillings.

Also to the brethren of the House of God at Dover³⁰ 20 shillings for a pittance.³¹

Also to the monks of Saint Martin³² of the same town one marc (13s. 4d.)

Also I bequeath to *Hugh of my Chamber*³³ 10 pounds.

Also to Robert of Crocherst (Crowhurst) 20 pounds.

Also to Willard, formerly my cook,³⁴ 10 marcs (£6 13s. 4d.)

Also to Walter de Wyke³⁵ 10 marcs.

Also to Adam, the butler,³⁶ 10 marcs.

Also to Richard, the baker, 10 marcs.

Also to Ralph, the marshal, 100 shillings.

bishop's clothes and shoes were very moderate ("vestimenta et calceamenta nec nitida nimis nec abstracta plurimum"). A gouty man, however, in later times considered himself cured by touching his boots, which had been treasured up. Under his alb, linen ephod, pall, and cope, he wore a hair shirt, and used lambswool instead of rich furs. (Bocking, c. iv.) The bishop, however, was very attentive to the dress and cleanliness of his clergy. Among his synodal statutes there are these provisions: "Let no priest officiate in dirty or worn-out vestments, nor without a chalice either silver or gold, and not broken, and in very clean body clothing." "By the dress of clerks, which does not appear clerical but rather military, great scandal is generated among the laity." "Let not clerks cherish their hair, but let them be shorn in a regular manner, circularly and decorously." (Wilkins's Conc. vol. i, p. 688.)

³⁴ Bocking informs us that it was his frequent habit to put aside the choicest dishes, and content himself with bread dipped in wine or beer, and after dinner he thanked God with hands and eyes raised, finishing with the prayer, "May God help us as he knows our need." Pope Urban, in his Bull of Canonization, says that "he fed upon fastings" (pavit jejuniis). It was his custom during meals, even on feast-days, to listen to reading, or to discourse upon the subject matter, if the reader stopped. This Bocking affirms to have seen (de visu), c. iii.

³⁵ There can be no doubt that the bishop always bore the name of de la Wych, Wyke, or Witz, from his birthplace near a salt-spring, as Droitwich, Nantwich, &c. Matthew Paris, the Waverley Annalist, and Bocking, all so term him. Walter de Wyke was probably his relation, and Nicholas de Wick, canon of Chichester, is also mentioned as such (consanguineus) by Bocking, c. vii, and was sent to the Pope to procure his canonization.

³⁶ Though himself abstemious, the number of cups possessed denote Richard to have had all proper means of hospitality for his friends. He is said, but on what occasion is not recorded, to have enticed a supply of water out of a hill (elicuit fontem de monte) at West Marden, Sussex, which never failed, when all those in the plains were dry.

Item Alexandro, custodi palefridorum, vi marcas.

Item Laurencio, ferrario,³⁷ c solidos.

Item Waltero Gray³⁸ c solidos.

Item Willelmo, nuncio meo, c solidos.

Item Willelmo de Kemesia, xx libras.

Item Henrico puero, nepoti Domini Simonis de Terryng,³⁹ xl solidos.

Item pueris qui mihi servierunt non nominatis superius executores mei pro rata servicii sui et personarum qualitate, et pro suo arbitrio, vices rependant.

Item Domino Simoni de Terryng lego meliorem palefridum meum et libellum de Virtutibus,⁴⁰ scilicet Distinciones super Psalterium.

Item eidem ciphum quem Dominus Stephanus de Langespeya⁴¹ dedit mihi.

Item Domino Waltero de Campeden unam cupam et duas pelves de argento.

³⁷ Bocking gives but a bad character to the carters of his time. He tells an anecdote of John, a child of two years old, being left by his parents, Walter and Juliana, in the street of Winterbourne Earls, near Salisbury, and being there run over by the wheel of a cart, the driver "being fresh from a market and drunk, as is usual with that class of men" (ut assolet illud genus hominum). The rector, Gilbert, pronounced him dead, and "his body was left unmoved until the arrival of the coroner, according to English custom" (de more Anglicano), but the child very unexpectedly recovered. (l. 2, c. ii.) This occurrence at such a distance from the diocese of Chichester, seems a proof of the wide extension of the fame of St. Richard, for it was to his influence that the recovery was attributed.

³⁸ Walter may have been the attendant upon his person, whom the bishop cured, when he observed him on duty very ill and with bad eyes. (Bock. c. vii.)

³⁹ This bequest and the two subsequent ones to Simon de Terring himself are pleasing proofs of the bishop's gratitude to his best and most useful friend, whose roof became his only shelter during the king's persecution. Bocking highly praises Simon de Terring as "a man after God's own heart, who had known Richard in prosperity, and who, during his misery, placed himself and all his household at his disposal. Though not affluent, he was contented with his one benefice, and would never accept any additional dignity." (p. 283.) As the living of Tarring was in the archbishop's gift, it is probable that Richard's earlier acquaintance with Simon began while he was acting as chancellor under Archbishop Edmund, and he may possibly have been instrumental in procuring the living for this excellent man. When Richard was on his deathbed, Simon was allowed to approach nearer to him than others, with a familiar boldness (ausu familiari), and was addressed by his failing voice: "Though you cannot now well hear my words, yet I retain all my memory and all my senses perfectly, as well as I did seven years ago, and I shall, by God's bounty, retain them to the end" (p. 307); thus gracefully alluding to Simon's

Also to Alexander, the keeper of my palfreys, 6 marcs (£4.)

Also to Lawrence, the farrier,³⁷ 100 shillings.

Also to Walter Gray³⁸ 100 shillings.

Also to William, my messenger, 100 shillings.

Also to William of Kempsey 20 pounds.

Also to the boy Henry, nephew of the Sir Simon de Terryng,³⁹ 40 shillings.

Also to the youths who have waited on me, not named above, let my executors requite their services, in proportion to their service and to the quality of their persons, and at their own discretion.

Also to Sir Simon de Terryng I bequeath my best palfrey, and the book on 'Virtues,'⁴⁰ that is to say, Annotations upon the Psalter.

Also to the same the goblet, which the Lord Stephen de Langespee⁴¹ gave me.

Also to Sir Walter de Campeden a cup and two bowls of silver.

kindness with his dying breath. The name, disguised in Dallaway's Sussex as "Sunoniæ de Ferring" and "Simon de Clymping," is invariably Terring (not Ferring) in all the older authorities, and it was in that village that Richard employed his leisure in grafting fruit trees with his own hands. On one occasion, when his graft had been destroyed by some animals breaking into the garden, Richard replied to Simon's lamentation on the loss, when he came back in June after an absence, by again putting in a fresh graft so successfully, though not at the usual season, that it bare fruit that very year. The village is still famous for its almost unique garden of standard fig-trees.

⁴⁰ A book with the title 'De Virtutibus et de Vitiis' is mentioned by Cave, i, 38, and Moreri, as belonging to the ninth century; and among the works of William Alvernus, Bishop of Paris, 1228-49, are two works on the same subject (Cave, ii, 292), which were probably the subjects of the bequest. These works were published at Orleans in 1674. The other portion 'de Vitiis,' forms a subsequent bequest to the testator's chaplain. There seems, however, a difficulty in considering these as annotations on the Psalter. In the monastic library at Depyng, county Lincoln, there were "In primis Biblia—Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis. (Dugd. Mon. iv, 167.) There is also a bequest of "a book of Vices and Virtues to my son Humphrey," in the will of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, who died 1399. (Test. Vet. 148.)

⁴¹ Stephen Longspear was the son of the Earl of Salisbury, and grandson of the Fair Rosamond and Henry II. He filled many important offices in the state, having been Seneschal of Gascony in 1255, Justiciary in Ireland, and one of the four counsellors appointed by the Oxford Statutes in 1258, to ensure Prince Edward's observance of them. He became Earl of Ulster by right of his wife Emmeline, and was buried at Lacock, where his widowed mother was then abbess (v. note 22), and his sister Lora a nun. (Annal. Burton, Dugd. Baron.)

Item Domino Willelmo de Selesey, capellano,⁴² Bibliam⁴³ meam et quaternos⁴⁴ meos sub coopertorio piloso.⁴⁵

Item Magistro Roberto de Hastyng Decreta mea.⁴⁶

Item Magistro Philippo unum ciphum cum pede, quem dedit mihi Dominus Hugo Bygod⁴⁷ et xx libras cum runcino ad harnes⁴⁸ (Runcñō ad hñes).

⁴² The bishop seems to have had three chaplains of the name of William. William de Bramber will be presently mentioned; and there was also William de Radinges, who was sent to the Roman court afterwards, when he was a canon of Chichester, in order to attest some of the incidents of the bishop's life which he knew, as having been his chaplain. To one of these, Richard, during his last mortal sickness, gave instructions to make preparations for his approaching funeral quietly, in order not to sadden the others of his household by any outward evidence of his consciousness of the coming event.

⁴³ The value set upon a Bible at this time is well illustrated by the resolution of the Carthusians of Macour, near Valenciennes, never to alienate it, on receiving the bequest of one in twelve volumes, in the year 1296. "We promise in good faith neither to sell this Bible, nor to give it away, nor pledge it, nor lend it, unless we should receive some equivalent property, whatever necessity may impel us." (Martene, i, 1314.) Books, however, were so highly prized, that they strangely escaped from custody, however guarded. The Bishop of Exeter, in 1327, when he found himself possessed of a book now in the Bodleian library, inscribed 'Liber S. Mariæ de Ponte Roberti,' and bespeaking heavy curses on whosoever should remove it from that house, entered the following memorandum beneath the original writing: "I John, Bishop of Exeter, do not know where the said house is, nor have I taken away this book, but acquired it in a lawful manner." (See Maitland's Dark Ages, p. 270.) The bishop's ignorance of the Cistercian priory of Robertsbridge, Sussex, may have been sincere in those times of difficult intercourse. There are scattered notices in ancient chronicles of more collections of books than are generally supposed. At Peterborough, in A.D. 870, "a large library of sacred books was burnt" by the Danes. (Ingulph.) In 1044, Ælfward, Bishop of London, on leaving Evesham for another monastery, "took away with him those books which he had contributed to Evesham, and, as is said, some also which others had contributed." (Dugd. Mon. ii, 546.) Matthew Paris says of Abbot Simon of St. Alban's, in 1167, that "he ceased not to write excellent books and accurate volumes of both the Old and New Testament, both exact and glossed, than which I have never seen nobler, and to prepare them with an unexceptionable nicety (ad unguem irreprehensibiliter)." Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, gave a church in 1205, in order to provide books for the library of Christ Church at Canterbury. (Dugd. Mon. i, 85.) John, the Abbot of Taunton, in 1274, gave a large collection of books to Glastonbury. (Dugd. Mon. i, 6.) Robert Grosthead, the learned Bishop of Lincoln, gave all his books to the Franciscans of Oxford (Trivet), and the University there had no library till the next century.

⁴⁴ The word quaterni here has been interpreted by some as meaning a breviary divided into four, according to the services for each quarter of a year; but it more probably means some other religious MSS., as in the catalogue of the books at

Also to Sir William de Selsey, chaplain,⁴² my Bible,⁴³ and my books⁴⁴ under a hairy cover.⁴⁵

Also to Master Robert de Hastyng my Decretals.⁴⁶

Also to Master Philip the goblet on a foot, which Sir Hugh Bygod⁴⁷ gave me, and 20 pounds, with a hackney fit for harness⁴⁸ (a sumpter-horse).

Windsor in the time of Richard II, the word is used thus: "Item duo novi quaterni, unus de servicio Corporis Christi, et alius S. Annæ." In the same catalogue are, among "Books chained in the Church, the Book of Sentences, a glossed Psalter, a pair of Decretals." (Dugd. Mon. vi, 132.)

⁴⁵ By this rough binding we may suppose that the bishop agreed with the Abbot Esaïas as to the cover of his books. "If you should bind a book for yourself, do not labour in ornamenting it, for that is a puerile vice." (See *Dark Ages*, p. 214.) Rich bindings had, however, already been introduced. In 1215, the Abbot of St. Alban's had given to Redburne, county Hants, a Psalter bound and enriched in a costly manner. (Dugd. Mon. iv, 525.) In the same Windsor catalogue, above quoted, there is "A new text of the Gospel, covered with silver on each side, and it is broken on one side."

⁴⁶ The bishop, having been an accomplished canonist, probably here selected some lawyer or student for this bequest of the Decretals, or collection of canon laws, which he had himself used. Two collections had been made, one by Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, and the other by Gratian, which had preceded the Decretals published in 1230.

⁴⁷ Hugh Bygod, and Roger, Earl of Norfolk, were the half-brothers of the widowed Countess of Arundel, before mentioned (note 21), by their mother's first marriage. Hugh was appointed justiciary by the barons after the Oxford Statutes in 1258. An interesting domestic incident is related by Bocking as having occurred to Hugh Bygod some years after the bishop's death, at Lewes Castle, where he and his sister, the countess, were residing with their brother, the Earl de Warenne. The son of Hugh Bygod, who had been baptised by Bishop Richard, fell so dangerously ill, that the father, unable to support the sight of his expected bereavement, left Lewes, after giving directions for the funeral. The Countess of Arundel too retired from her nephew's sick chamber to her oratory, on learning from the physicians that signs of death were manifest; when a noble lady, named Joanna, remembered in her prayers the virtues of him who had christened him, and took the measure of the youth's length by a thread, which, according to the custom of the times, was to form the wick of a waxen taper of equal length, as a thank-offering in case of recovery, to be burnt at the shrine of the newly canonized St. Richard. Happily the youth did rally from his critical state, and recovered entirely. The name of the son is not mentioned. Roger, the eldest son of Hugh Bygod (by his wife, Joan de Stuteville, probably the noble lady Joanna above mentioned), succeeded his uncle Roger as Earl of Norfolk, and, dying childless in 1297, made the king, Edward I, his heir, to the exclusion of his own brother John.

⁴⁸ This seems an abbreviation for ad harnessiam, ad harnes, a horse fit for harness or baggage.

Item Domino Willelmo de Brembre, capellano, unum ciphum de argento et libellum de vitiis.

Item Henrico, clerico de capella,⁴⁹ x marcas.

Item Ricardo, ballivo de Cacham,⁵⁰ c solidos.

Item Nigello, ballivo de Aldyngborne,⁵¹ c solidos. (Que omnia ab illo loco Hugoni de Camera pocius reputo debita⁵² quam legata.)

Item volo quod anuli mei⁵³ eis liberentur quibus assignavi, prout in cedula anulorum apponi (?) inspicitur.

Item Domine Regine⁵⁴ unum anulum cum Henrico clerico.

Item Episcopo Norwicensi⁵⁵ sigillum in anulo cum Hu-

⁴⁹ The beautiful chapel, in which Henry must have officiated, in the bishop's palace at Chichester still remains perfect, and in daily use. Richard was very lenient to his clerks, and if, when he got up at sunrise for matin prayers, he found his clerks had overslept themselves and were not ready, as often happened (ut solet contingere, gravatos somno pausantes), he would return to his own chamber without disturbing them, and say his prayers in private. (Bocking.)

⁵⁰ The manor of Cakeham (called Catham by Bocking), in the parish of West Wittering, was an episcopal residence which Richard had frequently occupied. There are still some remains, the ancient chapel being now used as a dairy, and there is also a brick tower of later date, built by Bishop Sherborne. It was here that, during a great dearth, Richard fed a multitude of the poor, even to the amount of 3000, with beans (Bocking, c. iii); and indeed Pope Urban, in his letter of canonization, asserts that they were so fed by the food intended for a third of the number. The bishop sent some boots he had worn to Richard, a native of this place, who was suffering so much from bad fits of the gout, that he could not move his feet, and he declared that his gout was perfectly cured by wearing them, reminding us of Horace Walpole's continual praises of his tight "bootekins," as suppressing his gout.

⁵¹ Aldingborne was an ancient manor of the see, having been part of the endowment of the bishopric of Selsey, a few miles east of Chichester. The palace here was destroyed in the civil wars of the 17th century. The injunctions of the bishop to his bailiffs strictly prohibited them from procuring anything for him from the tenants unjustly, as was then usual (sicut assoletur), and he often disregarded their advice by forgiving debts due to him, saying, that "it would prove them to be fools who had thought him worthy of the see, if he was to be governed by the will or authority of his stewards." On the occasion of a visit to the Benedictine nunnery of Rusper (of which there are now no remains), he found the nuns there greatly in need of victuals, and Richard de Bachedene, his brother, tried to avoid dispensing the alms immediately ordered by the bishop. He was, however, not only reproved, but remained permanently out of favour afterwards, while double alms were then ordered from another of the episcopal manors. (Bock. c. iii.) His steward of the prebend of Dale, which he appears to have had before he was bishop, had, by bad management, lost him five horses, but Richard took it very kindly, paid him his salary as usual, and gave him a horse. (c. iv.)

Also to Sir William de Bramber, chaplain, a silver goblet and a book on Vices.

Also to Henry, clerk of the chapel,⁴⁹ 10 marcs (£6 13s. 4d.)

Also to Richard, the bailiff of Cacham,⁵⁰ 100 shillings.

Also to Nigel, the bailiff of Aldingborne,⁵¹ 100 shillings, (all which from those words "*To Hugh of the Chamber,*" I consider rather as debts⁵² than legacies.)

Also I will that my rings⁵³ should be delivered to those persons to whom I have assigned them, as is seen to be appointed in the schedule of Rings.

Also to the Lady the Queen⁵⁴ a ring with Henry the clerk.

Also to the Bishop of Norwich⁵⁵ a seal in a ring with

Dale must have been the single benefice to which he confined himself (c. v), and its vicinity to Chichester may perhaps account for his acquaintance with Simon de Terring, and his unanimous election by the chapter of Chichester.

⁵² The number of his personal attendants, so kindly remembered in his will, must have been felt by the bishop as strongly contrasting with the time of his younger days, when he ploughed and drove a cart for his own elder brother. There is something particularly pleasing also in his desiring all these bequests to his household to be considered not so much gifts, as debts due to them for their faithful services.

⁵³ The bishop was a free giver of rings. On one occasion, when paying a visit, he asked for water to wash at the dinner hour, and when his host, as was the custom (*ut moris erat*), held the towel for him, Richard gave him a ring from his finger to hold, but after washing his hands refused to take it back, saying, "You see I have got another."

⁵⁴ Considering the way in which the king had treated him, this bequest to the queen may be held as a proof of her not having joined in his persecution.

⁵⁵ Walter de Suffield, Bishop of Norwich from 1243 to 1257, was an intimate friend of the testator, and did not scruple to acknowledge to Bocking orally, how much he had profited in zeal and spirituality by such intimacy. Having enjoyed the patronage of the Earl de Warenne, he adopted the same arms, with the difference of a fess ermine upon the chequy or and azure, his family name being Calthorp; and his gratitude appears by a bequest of alms in his will, for the benefit of the soul of Matilda, Countess of Warenne. Like Richard, he was much attached to Archbishop Edmund, and bequeathed twenty marcs to finish the work he had begun at his shrine at Pontigny. He was also actively engaged in promoting the crusade, and was authorized by the Pope to collect money from those who wished to redeem their vows. His will, like Richard's, contains legacies to all his household, including his washerwoman, scullions, and bedmaker. (Blomefield's Norfolk, ii, 345.) It was in the presence of this bishop that Richard reproved a priest of good family (*generosi stemmatis*), who came in on some business with his hair drawn up from behind, so as to hide a bald forehead. Richard took off his own cap to shame him by displaying his own baldness.

gone⁵⁶ et linguas meas serpentinas⁵⁷ que ante me in mensa steterunt.

Item Episcopo Arelatensi⁵⁸ justam⁵⁹ argenteam, quam dedit mihi Abbas de Bello.⁶⁰

The tonsure indeed does not seem to have been popular with the clergy, and required repeated decrees. "Oh, shame!" exclaims Archbishop Peckham, in his statutes dated from Slindon, 1281, "many clerks, while they feel shame in appearing as clerks, cover themselves with an apparel that they may please fools, and hide their tonsure with fillets, and whenever they show themselves abroad, they wear these fillets hanging down, except perhaps on a journey." (Wilkins's Conc.) Walter de Suffield was never canonized, but was esteemed so nearly a saint, that his tomb was much visited.

⁵⁶ The expressions "cum Henrico," "cum Hugone," &c., probably signify that the rings, &c. bequeathed, were in the custody of those of his personal attendants so named, or they might possibly be interpreted as a mode of transferring their services to new masters with the compliment of a bequest.

⁵⁷ This passage is translated in Test. Vet. p. 762, as "the salt-cellars placed before me when at table." The subject of the bequest may indeed have been a salt-cellar, or a cup, or a standing ornament, a standard for the table, but the subject is curious enough to merit a fuller explanation. These "serpents' tongues" were, in fact, the fossil teeth of sharks, and from their peculiar shape were called glossopetræ or tongue-stones. These sharp-pointed teeth, of a glossy light brown enamel, are sometimes as much as three inches long, and belonged to a species of shark now extinct, which must have been about sixty feet long. They are found in abundance in the Miocene of the tertiary formation at St. Paul's Bay, in Malta; and as this was the spot where St. Paul shook off the serpent from his hand, these stones were supposed to be serpents' teeth, and acquired in consequence a medical and superstitious value, as a preservative against the venom of serpents. In the 'Ichnographia of the Ashmolean Museum,' by Edward Lloyd (8vo, 1760), they are thus described: "Glossopetra eburnea serrata maxima Melitensium: ex Melita attulit clarissimus Raius. Glossopetrarum nomine jamdudum innotuere." In the 'Historia di Sicilia,' by T. Fazello (Palermo, 1628, folio), he describes in Malta, "Un antro, d'onde non solamente gli isolari ma i forestieri ancora ne cavan certe pietre. Et i ciurmadori si servono di queste pietre quasi in tutta l'Europa a medicare i morsi degli scorpioni et delle serpi." A more modern authority, Onorato Brees, in his 'Malta Antica Illustrata' (4to, Roma, 1816, p. 444), adds another wonder to the cave which supplies the stone, called La Grazia di San Paolo; for he asserts, as a thing known and observed by all, that though stone is taken out of the cave daily, enough to load many ships, yet the cave always preserves the same size. He quotes also from Cornel. a Lapid. a similar statement of the stone's efficacy, and of his having received "a particle of it at Rome, as a rare and distinguished gift." The old traveller Sandys (folio, 1615, p. 230) gives a similar account of the value put on this stone: "they say, that being drunk in wine it doth cure the venom of serpents." (See also Warcup's Italy, p. 326.) The super-

Hugh,⁵⁶ and my serpents' tongues⁵⁷ which stood before me at table.

Also to the Bishop of Arles⁵⁸ (Orleans?) a silver jug,⁵⁹ which the Abbot of Battle gave me.⁶⁰

stitious regard therefore for these "serpents' tongues" seems from these passages to have extended itself even to the quarries of stone in which they were found. Other notices occur of the custom of framing these serpents' tongues into ornaments. From the accounts of Edward I, in 1296-7, it appears that, on the occasion of the marriages of his daughters, the Duchess of Brabant and the Countess of Holland, he employed his jeweller, Adam of Shoreditch, to prepare for his offerings "three pair of golden branches with serpents' tongues, which branches had been found in the Castle of Edinburgh," allowing him 13s. 4d. for his expenses ("circa tria paria ramorum auri cum linguis serpentinis." Rot. Misc. in Turr. Lond. No. 71.) It is remarkable that the Bishop of Norwich did not make any particular mention of these serpents' tongues in his own will, though he described so many of his cups and other jewellery. He died four years after Richard, and it would seem that he must have given it during his life to the king; for in the Wardrobe accounts of Edward I, for the year 1300, we find the very subject of this bequest among the royal treasures, described as "five serpents' tongues in one silver standard, which belonged, as is believed, to Saint Richard, in a painted wooden case." ("Quinque lingue serpentine in uno standardo argenti que fuerunt ut credebatur Sancti Ricardi, in uno casso ligneo depicto.") These singular objects continued in estimation even to the age of Queen Elizabeth; for we read in the list of jewels presented to that queen in 1586-7, "At Newyere's tide—Item a juell, being a serpent's tongue set in gold, enamelled, garnished with three sparks of rubies, two sparks of emeralds, and three very little perles pendente; given by Mrs. Blanche Parrye." (Nich. Progresses of Queen Eliz. vol. ii, p. 499.)

⁵⁸ In this and the following bequest, there is every reason to think that there is some mistake in the bishop's see, which though clearly written "Arelatens," and "Aurelatens" in the Chichester MS., must have been wrongly transcribed from the original. John de Baucio was Archbishop of Arles at this time, from 1232 to 1257 (Gallia Christ. i, 567); but this name does not agree with the bequest, as Richard would not have been likely to forget the proper title of an Archbishop. The word must have been originally "Aurelianensis," and the person intended was William de Bussy, who was Bishop of Orleans from 1237 to 1258. (Gall. Christ. viii, 1465.) After the death of his patron, Archbishop Edmund, Richard retired to Orleans in order to study divinity, and there he received the orders of priesthood from this Bishop William, which makes the interchange of gifts the more probable. This Bishop of Orleans had been to the Holy Land in the crusade, and returned in 1249, but still kept up his interest about the crusaders, and in 1252 wrote letters to Richard, then Bishop of Chichester, describing the disastrous campaign of St. Louis. (Mat. Paris; Nic. Trivet; Nic. Harpsfeld; Hist. Angl. Eccl.)

⁵⁹ Justa was a vessel calculated to hold sufficient for one person, according to

Item Domino Johanni Mancell⁶¹ et Magistro Hugoni de Sancto Edmundo⁶² pannum, quem dedit mihi Episcopus Aurelatensis (Aurelianensis).

Item crucem meam quam Comes de Lincoln⁶³ mihi dedit, Edmundo de Lacy cum Willelmo de Kemesya.

Item ad maritandam filiam unam⁶⁴ sororis mee xx marcas.

Volo etiam et dispono et executores meos adjuro sub obtestationem divini judicii, quod, solutis debitis,⁶⁵ in quibus ecclesie

Ducange, a just portion; but one of his authorities says, "let each of the monks receive daily two jugs (justas) of beer." (Mon. Angl.) Lanfranc mentions, "All vases of the cellar and the kitchen, and cups and jugs (justas), and other vessels of the refectory." Although the bishop had several silver articles, yet many of them were gifts to him, and they do not appear more numerous than his station required, and were indeed much fewer than those of his friend the Bishop of Norwich. In a time of famine, when many even of his clergy came to him secretly in distress for food, after he had exhausted all his money, he gave them his gilt cups to raise money upon, and promised to redeem them afterwards. "Alas, alas!" he said, "the poor indeed are in grief, but to me the greatest grief is to feel that I have nothing to give them."

⁶⁰ The Abbot of Battle from 1235 to 1251, and probably later, was Ralph de Coventry. Richard had been a benefactor to Battle Abbey, having given it the church of Westfield and the tithes of Alciston. (Hayley's MSS. 6343, vol. ii, col. 193.)

⁶¹ John Mancell, or Mansell, the Provost of Beverley, who is subsequently named the executor of this will, is notorious, as having been the largest pluralist on record, holding 700 benefices at once. He was Chancellor to Henry III in 1246, and till 1249; and Lord Campbell (Lives of Chanc. i, 136) presumes, "that he presented himself to all that fell vacant, and were in the gift of the crown;" but even this would not account for such a number in three years. He had been an eager soldier in early life, and had his leg broken in the Gascon wars. Though he was one of the twenty-four barons appointed by the Oxford Statutes, he was always much trusted and employed by the king, and readily surrendered the castles of Pickering and Scarborough on his demand. His seal is affixed to the original treaty of peace with France in 1258, in the Archives of Paris, having on one side an antique head, with an inscription from a Roman imperial coin, while the other side exhibits an armed man on a tower, beneath which is a kneeling figure. He died in exile and poverty, never having risen to higher dignity in the church, on account of his immoral habits. (Chr. Mailr.)

⁶² Hugh de St. Edmund, when subsequently named by the testator one of his executors, is styled Canon of St. (Paul), in London.

⁶³ John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, in right of his wife, Margaret de Quincy, the donor of this cross here bequeathed to his son, had been dead some years, in 1240, and his son Edmund, then a minor, 12 years old, seems to have been taken under the especial care of Richard, who was probably a friend of the family. Edmund is

Also to Sir John Mancell,⁶¹ and to Master Hugh de Saint Edmund⁶² the cloth which the Bishop of Arles (Orleans) gave me.

Also my cross which the Earl of Lincoln⁶³ gave me, to Edmund de Lacy with William de Kempsey.

Also towards the marriage⁶⁴ of a daughter of my sister 20 marcs (£13 6s. 8d.)

I also will and dispose and adjure my executors on the injunction of divine judgment, that, after paying the debts⁶⁵

described as being from his boyhood of excellent disposition, and had accompanied Richard to Pontigny at the translation of St. Edmund, the account of which journey Bocking had from his own mouth. (c. vii.) The bishop's urgency to return home to his diocese was so great, that after sailing from Witsand, then the usual place of embarkation for Dover, in the face of a violent storm, the vessel was so much tossed about, that his chaplain William was terrified, and wanted to steer back, but this was found impossible, and to the wonder of all they arrived safe at Dover. At the age of 29, Edmund founded a Carmelite monastery at Pontefract, and on dedicating the first stone "to the Virgin, to St. Domenic, and to St. Richard, bishop and confessor, formerly my lord and intimate friend," the foundation stone suddenly broke into three parts, which was interpreted as favorable to this triple dedication. (Dugd. Mon. vi, 1581, Bocking.) He was a benefactor also to the monastery of Stanlaw, in Cheshire (afterwards transferred to Whalley by his son), and was buried there by his own desire. (Dugd. Mon. v, 647.) His mother, the heiress of the earldom, having survived him, he never bore the title of the Earl of Lincoln, and on his early death, June 5, 1258, Bocking, alluding to the civil dissensions of those times, considered that "he had been snatched away by the Lord from the world, lest he should see the woes of England, or lest malice should pervert his intellect." He left, however, a son Henry, who was the last Earl of Lincoln of the Lacey's.

⁶⁴ It is agreeable to find the bishop thus promoting matrimony among his kindred, though he had shown such an aversion to it in his own youth, long before he took priestly orders. His admiring friend and biographer uses very startling phrases, in relating the deceit which Richard employed to avoid marriage, when offered the alliance of the daughter of a professor of law at Bologna, in whose place he had himself been reading lectures with great success. "Richard, devising other matters, *inspired by the Holy Ghost*, humbly thanked him, and offering certain civil excuses, and the reason of his journey, promised to fulfil their pleasure on his return." He went away and never came back. In his statutes, Richard expressly forbade either of a married couple to assume a religious habit without the leave of the archbishop (Wilkins's Conc. i, 688); but, on the other hand, he is said to have persuaded unwilling fathers in two instances to devote their marriageable daughters to a convent.

⁶⁵ His debts had arisen principally from the withholding the revenues of the see from him for two years by the king, and also from his profuse liberality in the famine of 1245. Bocking confesses to have urged the bishop (*fateor ego miser*)

Cicestrie teneor per cartam et Domino Wyberto de Kancia, et Domino Nicholao de Dovorr, et Domine Clavemunde,⁶⁶ prout in literis meis patentibus eis confectis continentur, et etiam aliis debitis meis et legatis familiariorum meorum et domesticorum, que debitis equipono et ascribo, predicta omnia secundum dispositionem meam superius ordinatam exequantur.

Volo etiam quod ad premissa perficienda per executores meos a Domino Rege⁶⁷ exigantur fructus provenientes de Episcopatu Cicestrensi, quos per biennium injuste percepit, et qui ad me de jure spectant, de ipsis etiam coram altissimo solutionem proponam, nisi executionibus meis ad votum satisfecerit.

Volo etiam quod executores mei ad executionem premissorum, si viderint expedire, equos meos non assignatos superius, et vasa mea argentea escaria, et ciphos superius non assignatos distrahant, et si hæc omnia non sufficiant, pro rata⁶⁸ legatorum prius assignatorum, et qualitate personarum, executores

to retrench his alms subsequently, in order to diminish the debts of the diocese, but he was met by a refusal. "I will not," he answered, "bring parsimony into my own house, for such becomes not a bishop. These debts are not my iniquity or sin; why should I be punished for the sin of others, so as to withdraw due honour from guests, or alms from the poor." (c. v.)

⁶⁶ Nothing has been ascertained as to these creditors of the bishop. The legacies to his attendants and household are here again made equivalent to debts with an affectionate kindness.

⁶⁷ King Henry III confiscated and appropriated to his own uses the revenues of the see during the two years following the bishop's election, in spite of his solemn consecration at Lyons by Pope Innocent IV; and after at length yielding to the threat of papal excommunication, the king had promised, in the presence of the bishop, before the assembled parliament, in October, 1248, to repay him in money for all that he had withheld or damaged. (Bocking, p. 280.) Neither such promise however, nor this bold threat of the testator, procured restitution from him. Henry III, perhaps, considered that he had done enough by establishing two chaplains at Chichester to pray for the souls of his father, King John, and himself. (Dallaway, p. 128.) The claim took effect at a later period on King Edward I, who, in a deed dated at Chichester, at the time of the translation of St. Richard in 1276 (Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. I, m. 19), recites, "that the debt of £200, which had been lent to King Henry by the bishop (as he delicately describes the transaction), had been, after dispute, now fully paid to the executors, William de Selsey and Robert de Purl, for the unburthening (ad exonerationem animæ) of the soul of my said father, as was right to do." (See Dallaway, p. 47.) One of the offerings of Edward I to Chichester appears in the accounts of his jeweller, Adam of Shoreditch, in 1294, when four large golden brooches (firmacula) were made for the shrines of St. William of York, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Richard of

for which I am bound by deed to the Church of Chichester, and to Sir Wybert of Kent, and to Sir Nicholas of Dovorr, and to the Lady Clavemunda,⁶⁶ as they are recited in my letters patent to them executed, and also after paying my other debts and the legacies of my household and domestics, which I put on the same level as debts, and so reckon them with them, they shall execute all the matters before named, according to my disposal above appointed.

I will also that, for the fulfilment of the foregoing, there be demanded by my executors from my lord the King⁶⁷ the profits arising from the Bishopric of Chichester, which he for two years unjustly took, and which of right belong to me, for, concerning them, I will even require the payment before the Most High, unless he shall have satisfied my executors according to their wish.

I will also that my executors for the execution of the foregoing shall, if they see fit, sell my horses not previously assigned, and my silver vessels for food (dishes) and goblets not previously assigned; and if all these shall not suffice, let my executors, according to the proportion⁶⁸ of the legacies previously assigned and the quality of the persons, diminish, augment,

Chichester, and St. Atheldreda of Ely, which brooches were made out of a golden vase of the weight of 19s. 6*d.*, found in the castle of Edinburgh. Some of the jewels which he had before added to the shrine of St. Richard had been taken away and recovered providentially (*divinitus*), as the king states in his order for replacing them, dated Feb. 17, 1280. (*Rymer Fœd.* i, pp. 2, 578) The bishop had been as ready to resist the extortionate pretensions of the Pope as of the king. When the Bishop of Lincoln, in 1252, led the opposition to the scheme of collecting the tithes for three years for the king's use, by papal authority, the Bishop of Chichester, without delay or hesitation (*alacriter et incunctanter*), eagerly concurred with him, even though the collection purported to be for the crusade. (*Mat. Paris.*) In most cases Richard was a very mild adversary. He received with the utmost hospitality John Fitz Alan (who succeeded the Albinis as Earl of Arundel in 1243, and who was afterwards a prisoner at the battle of Lewes), although he had been wronged by him. This courtesy extorted from the knight the observation, that "he had never met with such a man, who loves his adversaries, and does good to those who put troubles on him." He treated in a similar manner the Abbot of Fescamps in Normandy, Robert de Tregoz (1244-1270), who was perhaps of a Sussex family.

⁶⁶ The total of the legacies specified in money by the testator would amount to £262 15s. 4*d.*, the expressed doubt of his property being able to raise such sum, does not justify any reproach of wealth selfishly accumulated.

detrahant adjiciant et ordinent, prout anime mee melius eis visum fuerit expedire. Et si post dispositionem meam superius ordinatam aliquid de bonis meis super fuerit, per executores meos in subsidium pauperum religiosorum⁶⁹ Episcopatus mei, et hospitalium et refeccionem poncium et itinerum, viduarum, orphanorum et pupillorum, prout eis visum fuerit expedire, convertatur.

Excommunico et Anathematizo omnes illos qui testamentum meum maliciose impediunt, ut juxta apostolum "tradantur in interitum carnis ita quod spiritus eorum salvus fiat in die judicii."⁷⁰

Hujus testamenti mei executores ordino et constituo venerabiles viros Dominum Johannem Mansell, præpositum Beverlancensem, Dominos Decanum⁷¹ Cicestrie, Precentorem Cicestrie, Magistrum Hugonem de Sancto Edmundo, Canonicum Sancti (*Pauli*⁷²) London, Dominum Simonem de Teryngg, Walterum de Campeden, Willelmum de Seleseya, eos devote rogans quatenus caritatis intuitu voluntatem meam superius scriptam diligenter et fideliter exequantur. Et si sine offensus fieri possit, venerabilem patrem et Dominum meum Archiepiscopum Cantuarensensem⁷³ devote requiro, quod tanquam executor principalis et bonorum meorum conservator quem executorem meum principalem et bonorum conservatorem petita venia con-

⁶⁹ The Hospital of St. Mary, and also that of St. James, for lepers, both existed at Chichester at this time. Richard was always compassionate to the sick. On one occasion, being at Orpington, Kent, when Reginald, the mayor of Chichester, who was with him, pointed out to his notice a crippled beggar boy, he caused him to be brought into the house and cured. (Bocking, c. vii.) He also himself established a hospital, according to Capgrave, f. 269, "for poor priests worn out with age (presbyteris senio confectis, cæcis vel alias corpore impotentibus), blind, or otherwise impotent in body, and mercifully provided the necessary food and clothing for them, lest they should be exposed to public mendicity." Of this foundation, however, no other trace has been observed.

⁷⁰ St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, 1, v, 5. "To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

⁷¹ There does not appear to have been any bequest to the dean, nor to the precentor, the only ones of the executors so omitted. Geoffrey was the dean from 1250 to 1262, and the precentor was probably Robert de Purle, who is named in King Edward's deed (see note 67) as one of the surviving executors in 1276, but who does not otherwise appear in the will. At the beginning of Richard's episcopacy, Thomas de Lichfield was Dean of Chichester, and, with the rest of the chapter,

and arrange in the manner that shall seem to them most expedient for my soul. And if, after the disposal previously appointed, there should remain anything from my effects, let it be converted by my executors in aid of poor religious persons⁶⁹ in my bishopric, and of hospitals, and towards the repair of bridges and roads, and in aid of widows, orphans, and fatherless wards, as may seem to them most expedient.

I excommunicate and anathematize all those who may maliciously impede my will, in order that, according to the Apostle, "they may be delivered over to the destruction of the flesh," so that their soul may be saved in the day of judgment.⁷⁰

I appoint and constitute as executors of this my testament the venerable men, Sir John Mansell, Provost of Beverley, the Lords the Dean⁷¹ of Chichester, the Precentor of Chichester, and Master Hugh of St. Edmund's, Canon of St. (Paul⁷²) in London, Sir Simon de Teryngg, Walter de Campeden, William de Selesey, earnestly entreating them, as much as possible with attention to charity, diligently and faithfully to execute my above-written will. And if it may be done without offence, I earnestly call upon my venerable Father and Lord, the Archbishop of Canterbury,⁷³ that he (whom, having asked permission, I constitute my principal executor and conservator of my effects) will, as principal executor and conservator of my effects, direct,

met the bishop, when repelled with insult from the king's court, with sad and troubled countenances. Richard, however, exhibited more cheerfulness, and told them, "I know very well, like my father before me, how to eat and drink from an earthen platter and cup. Let my gold and silver ones be sold." (Bocking, p. 280.)

⁷² The word "Pauli" seems omitted in the MS.

⁷³ By the strongly exerted influence of the crown upon the chapter, Boniface, a prince of Savoy, and uncle to the queen of Henry III, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1241, and being desirous of retaining the experienced services of Richard, he replaced him in the office of his chancellor on his return from Orleans. Though Boniface was very unpopular among the English laity and clergy, as being both negligent of his episcopal duties, a foreigner, and an adherent of the court, yet Richard, of whom it was said that "he never suspected any one until proved guilty," appears to have had a better opinion of him. This earnest appeal to the archbishop to support his will, was probably dictated by the consideration of the difficulties he foresaw that his executors would have in recovering their claim from the king without some such powerful advocate. Though monks were expressly forbidden to act as executors by Archbishop Peckham, in his statutes, yet this prohibition did not extend to the secular clergy.

stituo, subscriptam voluntatem meam dirigat, defendat, et contra adversantium conflictum conservare dignetur.

In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum meum presenti scripto precepi apponi.

Nos B(*onifacins*) Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus tocius Anglie primas ad petitionem executorum presenti Instrumento sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus, &c. &c. (*Sic in MS. Cicest.*)

defend, and deign to uphold against the opposition of disputants this my will subscribed.

In witness of which matter, I have directed my seal to be affixed to this present writing. We B(*oniface*) Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, on the petition of the executors, have caused our seal to be affixed to this present Instrument, &c. &c.
