Popular Religion in Norwich with special reference to the evidence of wills, 1370-1532

by

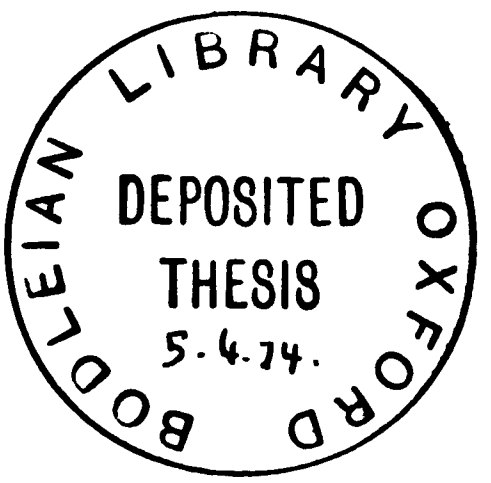
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Abstract

The thesis covers new ground in several ways. It is over two hundred years ago that Blomefield first published his monumental survey of Norwich. Since then much work has been done on individual aspects of the Church in late medieval Norwich. However, no attempt had been made to synthesize these later researches. This thesis tries to make the synthesis. Blomefield used wills extensively in his survey of the Church in Norwich. He used them, almost exclusively, as evidence that various things happened: for example, as evidence that a certain hermit lived in the city, or that a particular person was buried in one of the friaries. This thesis, too, makes extensive use of the factual information which wills provide, but it also tries to use wills as evidence of thought and of intentions. Thus, Chapter 3 of the thesis analyses how the citizens of late medieval Norwich left their money in their wills, and from this analysis an attempt is made to estimate what the citizens thought about various aspects of their religion. Wills have never been used extensively in this second way in a study of Norwich. Indeed, few other English or Continental towns have been, or can be, the subjects of similar studies. In as much as it uses wills in this second way, Chapter 3 of the thesis parallels the recent work of Mlle de Nucé on Toulouse and that of Dr Thomson on London. Dr Thomson's work on London is the only other comparable study of a late medieval English town which has so far been made, and there are only two more English cities - York and Canterbury - for which enough wills survive from the late Middle Ages to permit studies of this kind.

As well as trying to fill these specific gaps, the thesis hopes to contribute to the study of the late medieval Church in more general ways. Namely, by throwing a little more light on three inter-connected questions

about the late medieval Church which are receiving increasing attention from ecclesiastical historians. First, movement in the Church from below: that is to say, how the mass of the faithful (as distinct from those who were the official rulers and teachers of the Church) affected and were affected by Christianity. Secondly, the impact of new religious movements which were the product of the late Middle Ages. And thirdly, the question of 'lay piety', or the religion of the laity.

Two reasons why the Church in late medieval Norwich merits study, have just been mentioned: no synthetic study of the topic has recently been made, and secondly, so many wills of the citizens survive. In addition, Norwich is of intrinsic interest since the records of the subsidies of 1523-7 show that it was then the second most populous and wealthy city in England (after London). Furthermore, the religious institutions of the early and high Middle Ages abounded in the city. Thus, Norwich was an episcopal city, unlike the next most populous city in the 1520's, Bristol; Norwich had a Benedictine monastery and four friaries, and a nunnery nearby, and it had more parish churches than any English city other than London and possibly Lincoln. Yet at the same time Norwich was especially likely to have been in contact with the new religious currents of late medieval Christendom. Thus, Norwich was a major European city, and it was the cities which seem to have been the chief centres of the new religious movements; Norwich was also the provincial capital of one of the most advanced areas of the kingdom; and geographically and through trade Norwich was close to the Low Countries and the lower Rhineland, which were then the most fertile areas for religious movements this side of the Alps.

The starting point of the thesis has been the wills of the citizens of late medieval Norwich. These wills survive in large numbers from 1370. Most of them are preserved in the will-registers of the Norwich Consistory

Court, though many of the most interesting ones are in the will-registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. As has just been said, these wills are the basis of Chapter 3 of the thesis. They also provide much information for other chapters of the thesis. For example, they provide information about where the citizens wanted to be buried, and about whom they chose as executors and witnesses of their wills as their confessors - points which are discussed in Section (a) of Chapter 1. They provide information about those sons and daughters of the testators in question who were priests or members of religious Orders, and about the books which the secular clergy of the city owned, and about their wealth - points which are discussed in Section (b) of Chapter 1. They also provide information about the books which the laity owned, about the numbers and some of the activities of the guilds and confraternities and the recluses of the city, about Christian names and patron saints, about the shrines to which testators dispatched pilgrims, about the religious objects, such as rosaries and vestments, which the citizens owned, and about the Masses and prayers which the citizens wanted to be said for them when they died - points which are discussed in Chapter 2.

After the wills, four collections of records have been of special value. First, the records of the dean and chapter (then the prior and convent) of Norwich. As well as containing the records of visitations of various parishes in the city, these documents provide valuable information about tithe disputes and about other conflicts in which the Benedictine Cathedral Priory was involved; and the obedientiary rolls of the priory record offerings to various shrines in the Cathedral, which are discussed in the section of pilgrimages. Secondly, Norwich City Records. The Private Deeds in these records have provided information about a number of chantries, and the Account Rolls of the Guild of St George have provided

considerable knowledge about the guild of St George, as well as about other guilds and confraternities. The other records of the City Government have provided information about a multitude of topics, and they have been specially useful for the section in Chapter 4 which discusses the disputes between the citizens and the Cathedral Priory. Thirdly, the bishops' registers. As well as showing who were the patrons of the parochial benefices in the city, the registers provide valuable information about the careers of the beneficed clergy of the city, and especially about how many of them had university degrees. And fourthly, the record of Bishop Goldwell's visitation of the parishes of Norwich, which is a very full record of how many members of the parish clergy there were in the city in 1492, and of how they were distributed among the parishes.

Of the printed sources, Hudson and Tingey's edition of The Records of the City of Norwich stands in a class of its own for its usefulness. It has been especially valuable for Section (a) of Chapter 4, which deals with the disputes between the citizens and the Cathedral Priory, and the editors' introduction to the book has been most useful. The various works in which the 1389 returns of the guilds and confraternities of Norwich are printed, and Miss Grace's edition of the Records of the Gild of St George in Norwich, provided much of the knowledge used in Section (c) of Chapter 2, which discusses the guilds and confraternities of the city. Dr Jessopp's edition of the records of visitations of religious houses in the diocese of Norwich has provided considerable information, especially for the section on the morals and behaviour of the clergy. Much information, as well as knowledge about the views and mentality of contemporaries, has been provided by three books and one collection of letters which were written by people who lived in Norwich or in East Anglia during the late Middle Ages, namely: The Book of Margery Kempe, John Bale's Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytannie Catalogus, the Revelations of Divine Love of Julian of Norwich, and the

letters of the Paston family. Finally, the calendars of Close and Patent rolls, and the Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Papal Letters, have been exceptionally useful on a variety of topics.

Of the works of secondary authority, Dr Emden's biographical registers of Oxford and Cambridge graduates have been used much in Section (b) of Chapter 1, chiefly to trace the careers of the clergy of the city. The following works of research on particular aspects of the history of late medieval Norwich have been especially useful: a variety of books and articles on the Benedictine Cathedral Priory, particularly Saunder's book on the obedientiary rolls of the priory; V. Doucet's article on the Franciscan Studium in Norwich; The Mayors of Norwich by B. Cozens Hardy and E. Kent; D. Harford's article on Richard Caistor; Professor Jacob's articles on Bishop Brown; and Walter Rye's book on Carrow Nunnery, and his article on the riot of 1272.

Much of the significance of the thesis lies in the overall or 'total' description which it gives of the Church in Norwich, especially of the Church conceived of as the communio fidelium. The most striking particular conclusions are first, that the older and more clerical religious institutions and ideals, which had blossomed in the early and high Middle Ages, continued to flourish in the late Middle Ages; and secondly that, simultaneous with the continued vitality of the old order, there was a remarkable development in the city of new religious movements which were largely directed towards the laity, and which were for the most part products of late medieval Christianity. The older religious organisation is discussed in Chapter 1. It consisted chiefly of the parishes and their churches and their clergy, and the religious houses. Its continued vitality was demonstrated by the huge programme of re-building the parish churches of the city, by the remarkably large proportion (at least ten per cent) of

the sons of the will-making class who became secular priests or who joined religious Orders, by the improvement in the educational standards of at least the beneficed clergy of the city, and by the number and value of the bequests which the citizens left in their wills to the parish churches and religious houses of the city. Chapter 2 discusses the newer religious movements. Their development was demonstrated by the books which a number of the laity are known to have owned, by the growth in the number and activities of the craft guilds and pious confraternities of the city, by evidence of various devotions to the saints, by the volume of Masses and prayers which were requested for the souls of the dead, and above all by the anchorites, hermits and 'béguines' who are known to have lived in the city. Section (b) of Chapter 2 shows that during the period in question, more anchorites and hermits are known to have lived in Norwich than in any other city in England, and that Norwich was the only city in England which is known to have contained quasi-religious communities of women which resembled the continental béguinages. The findings about the anchorites, hermits and 'béguines' of the city are among the most significant conclusions of the thesis. The evidence of testamentary bequests, which is discussed in Chapter 3, shows that popular support for the older religious institutions - particularly the parish churches and the friaries - remained remarkably strong, but that at the same time there was growing support for anchorites and hermits and for guilds and confraternities, which were products of the newer religious movements. Chapter 4 discusses various conflicts within the local Church. Much the most important of these was the prolonged dispute between the citizens and the Benedictine Cathedral Priory over their respective temporal jurisdictions, and over various economic privileges which these jurisdictions entailed. This dispute was less serious after about 1450 than before, and it was settled

in 1524 largely in favour of the citizens. The other conflicts, too, seem to have been much less serious after about 1450 than before. Furthermore, heresy never seems to have made much impact on the city in the late Middle Ages. For these and other reasons, it seems more correct to see the Reformation in Norwich as resulting from a vacuum in the religion of the city, rather than as the inevitable culmination of growing conflicts.

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Notes and Abbreviations

A. Notes

Mayors

Unless otherwise stated, all references to men being mayors of Norwich, to the years of their mayoralties and to the names of their wives are based on, B. Cozens Hardy and E. Kent, The Mayors of Norwich, 1403-1835 (Norwich, 1938).

Norwich

The boundaries of Norwich were a much disputed question during the late Middle Ages. The usage of this thesis is that Norwich means the area bounded by the river Wensum and the medieval city walls. Carrow, Bracondale, Lakenham, Eaton, Earlham, Heigham, Catton and Thorpe - which lay immediately outside this boundary - have been called suburbs of Norwich.

Quotations

The spelling of the originals has been kept except that 'i' and 'j' have been altered, where necessary, to fit modern use. Capitals and punctuation have been introduced or omitted so as to accord with modern use. Abbreviations have been silently expanded when the expansion is evident; conjectured expansions are bracketed; ' signifies that no expansion has been attempted.

Wills

The folio reference to an unpublished will is followed by the testator's surname in brackets spelt as it appears in the appropriate published or unpublished index of the will.

B. Abbreviations

A.Nw.C.	Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Probate Records, Registered copies of wills proved in the archdeacon of Norwich's court.
Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus	J. Bale, Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytannie Catalogus (Basle, 1557).
Blomefield, Norfolk	F. Blomefield and C. Parkin, An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk (11 Vols., London, 1805-1810).

Cal. Close Rolls	Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1892-).
Cal. Papal Letters	Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, ed. W.H. Bliss, C. Johnson and J.A. Twemlow (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893-).
Cal. Pat. Rolls	Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893-).
D. and C., Reg. 1461-1559	Dean and Chapter Muniments, Norwich Cathedral: Registered copies of wills proved in the court of the dean and chapter (then the prior and convent) of Norwich, Reg. 1461-1559.
Dean and Chapt. Mun.	Dean and Chapter Muniments, Norwich Cathedral.
Dict. Nat. Biog.	Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (63 Vols., London, 1885-1900)
Emden, Cambridge	A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500 (C.U.P., 1963).
Emden, Oxford	A.B. Emden, A. Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 (3 Vols., Oxford, 1957-9).
English Gilds, ed. Smith	English Gilds, ed. Toulmin Smith (Early English Text Society, xl, 1870).
'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey	'The Hitherto Unpublished Certificates of Norwich Gilds', ed. J. Tingey, Norfolk Archaeology, xvi (1905-7), pp. 267-305.
Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns'	W.G. Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, vi (1956), 1-19.
Inventory of Church Goods, ed. Watkin	Inventory of Church Goods temp. Edward III, ed. A. Watkin (Norfolk Record Society, xix 1947-8).
Margery Kempe, The Book (ed Meech)	Margery Kempe, The Book of Margery Kempe (ed. S. Meech and H.E. Allen, Early English Text Society, ccxii, 1940).
N.C.C.	Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Probate Records, Registered copies of wills proved in the Norwich Consistory Court.
Norf. Arch.	Norfolk Archaeology
Norf. Rec. Soc.	Norfolk Record Society
Norw. City Rec.	Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Norwich City Records.

Norwich Depositions, ed. Stone	Norwich Consistory Court Depositions, 1499-1512 and 1518-1530, ed. E. Stone and B. Cozens Hardy (Norfolk Record Society, x, 1938).
Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner	The Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509, ed. J. Gairdner (6 Vols., London, 1904).
PROB/11	Public Record Office, PROB/11 (Registered copies of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury).
Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace	Records of the Gild of St George in Norwich, 1389-1547, ed. M. Grace (Norfolk Record Society, ix, 1937).
Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson	The Records of the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson and J. Tingey (2 Vols., Norwich 1906-1910).
Reg.	Register
REG	Norfolk and Norwich Record Office: Norwic Diocesan Archives, REG (Bishops' Registers).
Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob	The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbisho of Canterbury, 1414-43, ed. E.F. Jacob (4 Vols., Oxford, 1938-1947).
Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls	H. Saunders, An Introduction to the Obedientiary and Manor Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory (Norwich, 1930).
Thomson, 'Piety in London'	J.A.F. Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Lat Medieval London', Journal of Ecclesiastic History, xvi (1965), 178-195.
Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp	Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich, 1492-1532, ed. A. Jessopp (Camden Society 2nd Series, xliii, 1888).

Introduction

The thesis examines the local Church in one English city - Norwich - from the age of Wycliffe until the eve of the Henrician Reformation. The thesis pays special attention to three inter-connected questions about the late medieval Church in the particular context of Norwich.

First, movement in the Church from below. Most of the extant records of the medieval Church are concerned with the administration of the Church as an institution and with how Christians ought to have behaved and with what they ought to have believed; for example: papal and episcopal records, the records of ecumenical and local councils and works of Canon Law and of theology. These records of the Church as a hierarchically governed _regnum_ provide a somewhat monolithic picture of a church in which movement came from above. However, the Church was the _communio fidelium_ as well as a _regnum_ and the faithful had a very wide range of choices about how they practised their religion within the bounds of an orthodoxy whose fringes were much more loosely defined than they may appear to one who looks at the late medieval Church through the Council of Trent. This thesis does examine heresy but it is much more concerned with what forms of religion the inhabitants preferred within the wide spectrum of orthodoxy.

Secondly, the newer movements in the late medieval Church. The late medieval Church is often examined in terms of the Reformation which followed. This thesis does examine the extent to which the Church in Norwich became ripe for the Reformation, but more attention is paid to examining the Church in Norwich as a development of the early and high Middle Ages. Special attention is paid to the questions of how

far Norwich participated in the religious movements which are known to have become popular in many advanced areas - especially the towns - of late medieval Christendom, how far these newer movements displaced the religious forms and ideals of the early and high Middle Ages, and how far there was tension between the older and newer movements.

Thirdly, lay piety. Many of the developments in the late medieval Church offered a deeper religious life to the laity and much of the movement in the Church 'from below' came from the laity rather than from the clergy and religious. This thesis examines the extent to which the laity of Norwich took advantage of these opportunities to lead deeper religious lives, how far the laity were becoming independent of the clergy in the conduct of their religious lives, and the attitude of the laity towards the clergy and religious.

For a number of reasons Norwich is of particular interest to historians concerned with these three questions. Norwich is of intrinsic interest since the records of the subsidies of 1523-7 show that it was then the most populous and wealthiest provincial capital in England.[1] The religious institutions of the early and high Middle Ages abounded in the city: Norwich was an episcopal city - unlike the next most populous city in the 1520's, Bristol[2] - and the city had a Benedictine monastery and four friaries, and a nunnery nearby, and more parish churches than any English city other than London and possibly Lincoln.[3] At the same time Norwich was especially likely to have been in contact with the newer religious currents of late medieval Christendom: Norwich was a major European city and it was the cities which seem to

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(1) Cf., p. 11.
(2) Cf., p. 11.
(3) Cf., pp. 11-12.

have been the chief centres of the new religious movements; Norwich was also the provincial capital of one of the most advanced areas of the kingdom, and geographically and through trade Norwich was close to the Low Countries and the lower Rhineland which were then the most fertile areas for religious movements this side of the Alps. Julian of Norwich, the anchoress, mystic and author of the Revelations of Divine Love, provides an intriguing glimpse of just how far the citizens of Norwich may have been participating in the new religious movements of late medieval Christendom. Finally, Norwich is one of the only four English cities - Norwich, London, Canterbury and York - for which sufficient numbers of wills survive to permit studies based upon large numbers of wills.[1]

1370 has been chosen as the earliest date in order to include the age of Wycliffe and because the wills survive in numbers from that year; other relevant records, including those of the City Government, also become much more copious at about the same date. 1532 has been chosen as the terminal date so as to include the period between the beginning of the Reformation on the Continent and the beginning of the Henrician Reformation in England while avoiding detailed consideration of the English Reformation. No special significance is attached to the actual year 1532.

Chapters 1 and 2 of the thesis are largely descriptive of what religious activities were going on. Chapter 1 considers the state in the late Middle Ages of those branches of the Church which had their origin in earlier periods, namely: the parishes and their churches and clergy; the religious Orders, both monastic and mendicant; the colleges

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(1) Cf., pp. 217-8.

of secular priests; and the clerical proletariat. The chapter is specially concerned with the question of the continued vitality of the older religious organisation, and of the priesthood and the religious life as religious ideals, in an age full of new religious movements and at a time when an increasing emphasis was being laid on the laity's role in the Church. Chapter 2 considers a number of religious activities which were either largely new phenomena in late medieval England or which became especially important in the late Middle Ages, namely: the religious education of the laity; hermits and anchorites and lay persons living in quasi-religious communities; craft guilds and pious confraternities; devotions to the saints, pilgrimages, and the private chapels and chaplains of townsmen; and chantries and Masses and prayers for the dead. These religious activities were, too, expressions of lay piety and the result of movement in the Church 'from below'; though they were also the result of movement in the Church 'from above', namely of the movement which had been begun by twelfth century popes and which had been developed in England by bishops and writers of pastoral theology in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the purpose of which was to provide a better educated clergy which, in its turn, would be able to offer a fuller and deeper religious life to the laity. The chapter is particularly concerned with the questions of how important these newer religious movements really were and how far they displaced the older religious organisation. Chapter 3 uses the evidence of bequests in wills to discuss the attitudes of the inhabitants of Norwich towards many of the religious institutions and activities which were discussed in the two previous chapters, and changes in these attitudes during the period 1370 to 1532. The testators

have been divided into clerics and lay persons. Thereby it is possible to compare the ways in which the two orders left their money, and to discuss the attitude of the laity towards the secular and regular clergy and that of the clergy towards various expressions of lay piety such as craft guilds, pious confraternities, anchorites, hermits and 'béguines'. The chapter also discusses charitable bequests and bequests for civic projects, and the extent to which these two types of bequests were displacing religious bequests during the period in question. The Church was the communio fidelium and therefore in a sense all disputes between Christians were conflicts within the Church. Chapter 4 is concerned first with all the disputes of whatever nature within the Church in Norwich which involved the secular and regular clergy and secondly with those involving the laity which were concerned with religious issues, namely: the disputes between the citizens and the Benedictine Cathedral Priory, and those between the other religious houses and the secular clergy of the city on the one hand and the citizens on the other; the disputes between the secular clergy and the religious of the city and those within both groups; the disputes between the Cathedral Priory and the bishops of Norwich; and finally heresy. The chapter examines how far the conflicts were inherited from the high Middle Ages rather than were products of the late Middle Ages, and how far they were gradually resolved during the period in question rather than grew to reach an inevitable climax in the Reformation.

Chapter 1. The Older Religious Organisation

a. The Parish and the Parish Church

i. Numbers and Patrons

Norwich was one of the half-dozen largest and most important cities in England throughout the late Middle Ages,[1] and by the 1520's it had established itself as the greatest city in the kingdom after London in terms of both wealth and population.[2] The importance of Norwich was matched by the number of its parish churches. The late medieval city had more parish churches than any other in England except London and possibly Lincoln, and a higher proportion of parish churches to parishioners than any English city except Lincoln and possibly York. There were not less than forty-six parish churches in Norwich in the 1520's[3] when the city's population was probably between twelve and twelve and a half thousand.[4] At the same date London had just over a hundred parish churches[5] for a population of about sixty thousand.[6] Bristol, with about ten thousand inhabitants,[7] was probably the most populous English city after London and Norwich at that date but Bristol had only about seventeen parish churches.[8] In the 1520's York still had between thirty-three and thirty-nine parish churches[9] for a

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(1) J.C. Russell, British Medieval Population (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 142, 285 and 292-3; Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', pp. 4-5.
(2) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', pp. 4-5.
(3) Cf., columns 1 and 2 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(4) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.
(5) J.A.F. Thomson, 'Clergy and Laity in London, 1376-1531' (Oxford University D. Phil. thesis 1960), pp. 446-9.
(6) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.
(7) Ibid., p. 5.
(8) The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester (London, 1907), ii. 27.
(9) The Victoria History of the County of York, The City of York, ed. P.M. Tillott (O.U.P., 1961), p. 365.

population which had shrunk to under eight thousand.[1] Lincoln had about forty-six parish churches[2] for a smaller population than York's.[3] The proportion of parish churches to parishioners in Norwich was high for any area of England but was specially striking in comparison with the two major towns closest to Norwich - Yarmouth and Lynn. Each town had only one parish church for populations which had reached about four and six thousand respectively by the 1520's.[4]

The number of parishes[5] in Norwich was remarkable for any provincial capital in Europe outside Italy. Lyons, the largest city in late medieval France other than Paris, had only about twelve parishes for a population which was over thirty thousand in 1417[6] and Bruges, the largest or second largest[7] city in the Low Countries in the fourteenth century with a population which may have reached forty thousand in 1340,[8] had only twelve parishes during the late Middle Ages.[9] Among provincial capitals with populations similar to Norwich's, fifteenth century Toulouse had only seven parishes for a population of about twenty thousand[10] and fifteenth century Ypres had seven or eight parishes for a population which was fluctuating between seven and ten thousand.[11] Norwich did not, however, have the large number of chapels-

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(1) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.
(2) J.W. Hill, Medieval Lincoln (C.U.P., 1948), p. 147.
(3) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.
(4) Ibid., pp. 4-5.
(5) Norwich contained about four fewer parishes than parish churches since a few were united parishes containing more than one parish church (cf., columns 1 and 2 of Appendix 1 (p. 315)).
(6) A. Kleinclausz, Histoire de Lyon (Lyons, 1939-1952), i. 270.
(7) After Ghent.
(8) J. Toussaert, Le Sentiment Religieux en Flandre à la Fin du Moyen-Age (Paris, 1960), p. 27.
(9) Ibid., p. 46.
(10) P. Wolff, Commerces et Marchands de Toulouse (Paris, 1954), pp. 70 and 73.
(11) J. Toussaert, Le Sentiment Religieux en Flandre, op. cit., pp. 27 and 46.

of-ease belonging to parish churches, which was characteristic of many continental cities.

The main reason for the large number of parish churches in Norwich seems to have been that Norwich, like Lincoln and York but unlike Yarmouth and Lynn, had already become a major town by the eleventh century when a particularly large number of parish churches and chapels were being built all over England. According to the Domesday Survey there had been twenty churches in Norwich in the reign of Edward the Confessor and there were two churches and forty-three chapels at the time of the Survey.[1] Norwich's problem of redundant parish churches, which had its origin in the large number of chapels built in the middle of the eleventh century, was being felt well before 1370, probably by about 1250. Sts Simon and Jude and St Swithin,[2] St Edward and St Julian,[3] St Michael of Berstreet and St Martin in the Bailey,[4] and possibly St Cuthbert and St Mary the Less[5] had all become united rectories before the Black Death. St John the Baptist in East Wimer ward[6] and St Michael of Conisford[7] had been absorbed into the Dominican and Augustinian friaries in the thirteenth century and in 1368 respectively and had lost their status as parish churches. St John the Evangelist and St Christopher had been destroyed by the end of the

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(1) Domesday Book (London, 1733-1816), ii. 116-7. It is not clear whether the two churches and forty-three chapels (capelle) were in addition to, or whether they included, the twenty churches (ecclesie) which had existed in Edward the Confessor's reign.
(2) REG/1, Book 2, fol. 30d.
(3) REG/1, Book 1, fol. 16.
(4) Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291 (1802), p.78.
(5) Inventory of Church Goods, ed. Watkin, Part 1, p. 26.
(6) W. Hudson, 'The Norwich Taxation of 1254', Norf. Arch., xvii (1908-1910), 107.
(7) Inventory of Church Goods, ed. Watkin, Part 1, p.24.

thirteenth century;[1] and St Margaret of Newbridge and St Ethelbert had been reduced from the status of parish churches to that of chapels-of-ease of other parish churches before 1370.[2]

The problem of superfluous parish churches in Norwich, which is still acute today, continued to be felt during the period 1370 to 1535. Between these two dates St Clement of Conisford was united to the united rectory of St Edward and St Julian; St Olave's, St Margaret at Fye Bridge and possibly St Catherine's were reduced from the status of parish churches to that of chapels-of-ease of other parish churches; and St Anne's and St Michael of Conisford were demolished, as were St Cuthbert's and St Matthew's either during the period or just outside it.[3]

There are several general reasons why rectories were united, parish churches were demoted to chapels-of-ease and parish churches and chapels were demolished in late medieval Norwich. The small number of parishioners and the poverty of livings were clearly two reasons. There are no reliable guides to the numbers of inhabitants of the parishes of the late medieval city, but even twelve thousand five hundred inhabitants when divided among over forty parishes meant that many parishes had few parishioners.[4] Paucity of parishioners seems to have been the reason why St Matthew's parish was incorporated into the parish of St Martin at the Palace Gates and why the church ceased to be a parish church and was eventually pulled down. According to the

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(1) W. Hudson, 'The Norwich Taxation of 1254', Norf. Arch., xvii (1908-1910), 107; Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 319.
(2) Cf., columns 1 and 2 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(3) Cf., columns 1 and 2 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(4) Mancroft, the newest of the four wards of the city, was something of an exception since it had only three parishes for about a quarter of the city's population (Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. page cxix).

records of the archdeacon of Norwich's visitation in 1368, St Matthew's church was in ruins and the parishioners had been receiving the sacraments at the parish church of St Martin at the Palace Gates since the Black Death.[1] Rectors of St. Matthew's continued to be instituted until 1377 when Henry de Limpenhowe, the last rector, was instituted.[2] Henry de Limpenhowe died in that or the next year[3] and no more is heard of the church of St Matthew; Blomefield said that it was pulled down afterwards.[4] According to Blomefield, the depopulation caused by the Black Death was also the reason why St Margaret of Newbridge was reduced from the status of a parish church to that of a chapel-of-ease and why its parish was incorporated in the parish of St George of Colegate.[5] The poverty of many of the parochial livings in Norwich had been pointed out by the author of the Bury copy of the Norwich Taxation of 1254,[6] and the majority of the livings remained poor throughout the later Middle Ages.[7]

However, the importance of the poverty of the livings and of the paucity of parishioners as reasons for the union of rectories, the demotion of parish churches to chapels-of-ease and for the demolition of parish churches and chapels in late medieval Norwich, should not be exaggerated. The visitation of Norwich Deanery in 1492 showed that even the parish churches of poor livings and of parishes which must have contained few parishioners, were comparatively well staffed with priests.[8] Furthermore, the number of parish churches in Norwich did

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(1) Inventory of Church Goods, ed. Watkin, Part 1. pp. 26-7.
(2) REG/3, Book 6, fol. 51.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 141d (Limpenhowe).
(4) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 375.
(5) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 474.
(6) W. Hudson, 'The Norwich Taxation of 1254', Norf. Arch., xvii (1908-1910), 106-7.
(7) Cf., columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(8) Cf., column 4 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).

not follow general fluctuations in the population of the city. The decline in the number of parish churches began before the first half of the fourteenth century, when the population of the city was reaching a pre-Plague peak,[1] and it continued during the period 1370 to 1532 despite the fact that the population rose by perhaps as much as a hundred per cent.[2] Probably the most important general reason why parish churches in late medieval Norwich became redundant was that the nature of the parish churches of the city changed radically between the Domesday Survey and the early sixteenth century. The Domesday Survey said that burgenses tenebant sixteen churches (ecclesia) in Norwich in the time of Edward the Confessor, and that at the time of the Survey in burgo tenent burgenses xliii capellas.[3] Between the fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries almost every parish church in Norwich was extensively re-built on a larger scale.[4] The development of the parish churches of the city from the small quasi-private churches and chapels of the eleventh century to the much larger buildings of the late Middle Ages inevitably meant that fewer parish churches were needed.

In at least two cases between the 1360's and 1532 the immediate reason for a church ceasing to be a parish church and for the union of two rectories was the particular decisions of various groups of people. First, St Michael of Conisford ceased to be a parish church and was eventually demolished because the Augustinian friars acquired the church

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(1) J.C. Russell, British Medieval Population (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 142 and 292-3.
(2) Ibid., p. 142; Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.
(3) Domesday Book (London, 1733-1816), ii. 116-7.
(4) Cf., 'Report of the Summer Meeting of the Institute at Norwich, 1949', Archaeological Journal, cvi (1949), 95-8.

in 1368 in order to extend their site.[1] It is somewhat surprising that there is no evidence of any opposition to the acquisition of the parish church by the friars from citizens of Norwich, from the Central Government or from the bishop of Norwich. Secondly, St Clement of Conisford was united with the united rectory of St Edward and St Julian because the City Government of Norwich, which was the patron of St Clement of Conisford, apparently wanted the union and because Carrow Nunnery, the patron of the united rectory of St Edward and St Julian, agreed to it.[2] The City Government said that it wanted the patronage of the united rectory of St Clement, St Edward and St Julian to belong to itself and to Carrow Nunnery alternately,[3] but in fact the City Government never presented to the rectories while they were united. From the bishop's point of view the union was justified by the poverty of the livings.[4] It is interesting that the City Government of Norwich should have wanted the only parochial living in the city of which it was patron to be united with a rectory of which a religious house was patron, especially since the City Government was often involved in disputes with the religious house in question, Carrow Nunnery.[5]

Canon 32 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and English bishops

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(1) Inventory of Church Goods, ed. Watkin, Part 1, p. 24; Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 84, said that the friars bought the church from William de Middleton, the previous patron.
(2) The City Government's unanimous decision in favour of the union in 1473 (Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 95/99) and the fact that Carrow Nunnery presented to its rectory of St Edward and St Julian after this decision (REG/7, Book 12, fol. 51d) suggests that the initiative came from the City Government.
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 95/99.
(4) REG/7, Book 12, fol. 97d.
(5) Cf., pp. 293-4.

from the thirteenth century onwards had tried to ensure that parish churches were served by rectors or vicars who were instituted to their cures for life and who had endowed incomes.[1] The most remarkable aspect of the patronage of the parochial benefices of late medieval Norwich was the extent to which the benefices were unaffected by this legislation and the efforts of the English episcopacy. There were properly instituted rectors in only about two in five of the city's parochial livings,[2] and the only vicarage was St Stephen's. One vicarage out of about forty-four livings was a very low proportion of vicarages to parochial benefices even for Norwich Diocese, which had one of the lowest proportions of vicarages to the total number of parochial benefices of all the English dioceses.[3] The remaining three-fifths of the parochial benefices of the city, which were largely made up of the rectories[4] appropriated to the Benedictine Cathedral Priory, were served by parish chaplains who may have been without any security of tenure or independently endowed income. (Saunders thought that the parish chaplains of the churches appropriated to the Cathedral Priory were paid by their automatically receiving the lesser tithes

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(1) C.J. Hefele and H. Leclerq, Histoire des Conciles (Paris, 1907-), Vol. 5, Part 2, pp. 1359-1360; D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (C.U.P., 1948-1959), ii. 290.

(2) Column 4 of Appendix 1 (cf., p. 315) states accurately the parish churches which had rectors whose institutions were recorded in the episcopal registers, apart from those churches which had ceased to be parochial by 1492 and apart from St Edward and St Julian and St Clement of Conisford (which had been a united rectory since 1483), whose rector had probably died or vacated the benefice shortly before the visitation in October 1492 (REG/7, Book 12, fos. 97d and 163).

(3) R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages (C.U.P., 1930), pp. 79 and 204.

(4) It is something of a misnomer to describe them as rectories since they had no rectors. But the only description of them other than that of 'church' or 'parish church' was the description contained in the Valor Ecclesiasticus where they were referred to as 'rectories' (Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII, ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter (London, 1810-1834), iii. 284 and 493).

and offerings.[1]) The proportion of about three in five of the benefices being without a properly instituted rector or vicar was exceptionally high for any area in England,[2] and in a sense it represents a triumph of primitive organisation over episcopal efficiency: the parishes of Norwich had been laid out before the conciliar legislation, and many of the livings must have been too poor and insignificant for the bishops of Norwich to worry about them; possibly they were left alone for the additional reason that so many were owned by the powerful Cathedral Priory, with which most of the bishops were probably anxious not to clash. The patronage of the parochial benefices in late medieval Norwich is also remarkable in that religious houses or Oxford or Cambridge colleges owned the advowsons of about thirty-eight of the approximately forty-four benefices at any given time between 1370 and 1532;[3] this proportion was also exceptionally high for any area in England.[4]

Norwich Cathedral Priory owned the advowsons of nearly half the parochial livings of the city, and far more than any other single proprietor. In 1532 the priory owned the advowsons of nineteen rectories and of the vicarage of St Stephen. The priory had owned all these advowsons in 1370 when it had also possessed the advowsons of St Margaret at Fye Bridge (if it was a rectory) and of St Olave's - the churches of which were mere chapels-of-ease by 1532 - and the priory had owned most of them since the end of the reign of Henry I.[5] Only three of these nineteen rectories were served by rectors; the remainder

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(1) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 61.
(2) A.H. Thompson, The English Clergy (Oxford, 1947), pp. 115-6.
(3) Cf., column 3 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(4) A.H. Thompson, The English Clergy, op. cit., p. 115.
(5) W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (London, 1817-1830), iv. 17-8.

were served by chaplains.[1] Most of the Cathedral Priory's livings in Norwich were of little value and cared for few parishioners; St Stephen's which was in Mancroft ward, and St Mary in the Marsh and St Augustine's were partial exceptions.[2] Nevertheless, the Cathedral Priory was nominating the priests who officially had the care of the souls of probably at least a third of the population of Norwich. Nominating these priests must have given the Cathedral Priory great influence over the religion of the laity, as well as formidable power over the secular clergy of the city since so many of the secular clergy must have held or sought to hold jobs dependent upon the priory.

The College of St Mary in the Fields in Norwich, which was a college of secular priests, owned the advowsons of five rectories in late medieval Norwich and was the largest proprietor of advowsons in the city after the Cathedral Priory. The college had acquired the advowson of St Peter Mancroft, which was the most valuable living and had by far the most populous parish in Norwich,[3] from the abbey of Gloucester in 1384[4] and kept it until the dissolution of the college. The church of St Peter Mancroft was re-built in the middle of the fifteenth century[5] to become the finest parish church in Norwich and the one which must have compared most favourably in splendour with the large churches of the friaries.[6] In 1492 the church had the very large staff of a parish

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(1) Cf., column 4 of Appendix 1 (p. 315), and p. 18, note 2.
(2) Cf., columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315), and p. 14, note 4. Appendix 1 should be referred to passim for the remainder of Chapter 1, Section a, Sub-section i (pp. 20-25).
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 17b, Domesday Book, fos. 45-46d.
(4) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-1385, p. 406 (where the college is incorrectly said to be in London).
(5) 'Report of the Summer Meeting of the Institute at Norwich, 1949', Archaeological Journal, cvi (1949), p. 95.
(6) William Worcestre, Itineraries (ed. J. Harvey, Oxford, 1969, pp. 186, 236, 238, 254 and 256).

chaplain, two chantry and nine stipendiary priests.[1] The church was only a hundred yards from her appropriator, the College of St Mary in the Fields, which had a staff of fourteen priests in 1492.[2] The complex of St Peter Mancroft and the College of St Mary in the Fields must have provided the secular clergy's chief rival attraction for the laity to the friaries and the Cathedral. The four other rectories the advowsons of which were owned by the College of St Mary in the Fields were: St Andrew, which was one of the more valuable livings in the city; St George at Tombland; St Mary Unbrent, though bishops of Norwich, who were the patrons of the College of St Mary in the Fields, collated to this rectory more or less alternately with the presentations of the college;[3] and St Peter Hungate until 1458 or possibly a little later, when the advowson was acquired by the Paston family.

The Benedictine nunnery of Carrow, which was in the southern suburbs of the city, owned the advowsons of three rectories in the southern ward of the city: All Saints of Berstreet, St Catherine or St Winewaloy, which was sometimes referred to as a free chapel,[4] and the united rectory of St Edward and St Julian. The advowsons of several rectories in Norwich were owned by religious houses outside the city and its suburbs. The advowson of the united rectory of St Michael of Berstreet and St Martin in the Bailey was owned by the Benedictine priory of Horsham St Faith in Norfolk, and the priory acquired the advowson of St Botulph from John Qweyntrell of Norwich sometime between 1446 and 1456.[5] The Cluniac priory of Mendham in Suffolk owned the advowson of

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(1) Cf., p. 321 . No rectors were instituted to St Peter Mancroft after the college had acquired the advowson in 1384.
(2) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 11-12.
(3) E.g., REG/5, Book 10, fol. 11d and REG/7, Book 12, fol. 137d.
(4) E.g., REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fol. 93.
(5) REG/6, Book 11, fos. 5d and 91.

St Clement at Fye Bridge, and the priories of Augustinian Canons of Buckenham and Coxford in Norfolk owned the advowsons of St Benedict's and St Mary of Coslany respectively. The abbot of Bury St Edmund owned the advowson of St Laurence's until shortly before the abbey's dissolution in 1539; by 1538 it had been acquired by Robert Leche, an alderman of Norwich.[1] The Benedictine priory of Wymondham in Norfolk owned the advowson of St Bartholomew's, though from 1449 all the rectors were collated by the bishops of Norwich.[2] Similarly, the advowson of St Peter Southgate was owned by the Benedictine abbey of St Benet of Hulme in Norfolk but bishops of Norwich collated to the benefice on a number of occasions after 1419.[3] Most of the eight rectories the advowsons of which belonged to religious houses outside Norwich and its suburbs were of moderate value by the standards of the city, though by the standards of the country as a whole most were poor livings and must have cared for few parishioners.

The advowson of the united rectory of Sts Simon and Jude and St Swithin in Norwich and of Crostwick in Norfolk was the only one in late medieval Norwich which belonged to the bishop of Norwich.[4] However, bishops of Norwich collated to a number of other rectories in the city, especially from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. As has been said, bishops of Norwich frequently collated to the rectories of St Mary Unbrent, St Bartholomew's and St Peter Southgate.[5] Various bishops of Norwich also collated on several occasions to St Edward and St Julian and to St Clement of Conisford both before and after they

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(1) REG/11, Book 17, fol. 39d.
(2) E.g., REG/6, Book 11, fos. 22d, 135 and 142.
(3) E.g., REG/6, Book 11, fol. 142 and REG/7, Book 12, fol. 48d.
(4) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Islip (1349-1366), fol. 339.
(5) Cf., pp. 21-22.

were made into a united rectory.[1] Frequently the bishops said that they were collating in virtue of the lapse of time and occasionally they said explicitly that they were collating in virtue of the canons of the Lateran Council;[2] presumably the bishops had in mind Canon 8 of the Third Lateran Council of 1179 which instructed bishops to appoint to benefices which had been vacant for six months.[3] It is therefore less likely that the bishops of Norwich were aggressively trying to build up ecclesiastical patronage for themselves in Norwich than that they were fulfilling their canonical duties and that the patrons were simply negligent in presenting candidates to benefices which were, for the most part, of little value.

The advowsons of St Michael of Coslany and St John's Maddermarket were the only ones in Norwich which were owned by Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and the advowsons of both were acquired by the colleges in the middle of the fifteenth century. The advowson of St Michael of Coslany, which was one of the most valuable livings in Norwich, had been acquired by the master of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, and others by 1464,[4] and by 1505 it was the exclusive property of the college.[5] The advowson of the moderately valuable living of St John's Maddermarket had been seized by the king sometime between 1361 and 1386 from the Benedictine cell of Newton Longville in Buckinghamshire, which was a dependency of Longueville Priory in Normandy. Henry VI gave the

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(1) E.g., REG/5, Book 10, fol. 20d, REG/6, Book 11, fol. 118 and REG/9, Book 14, fol. 177d.
(2) E.g., REG/6, Book 11, fos. 135 and 142 and REG/7, Book 12, fol. 48d.
(3) C.J. Hefele and H. Leclerq, Histoire des Conciles (Paris, 1907-), Vol. 5, Part 2, p. 1094.
(4) REG/6, Book 11, fol. 140d; Emden, Cambridge, pp. 70 (Thomas Boleyn) and 194-5 (Thomas Drentall).
(5) REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fos. 48-48d.

advowson to New College, Oxford, in 1441.[1]

Apart from the Castle Chapel, which was in the king's hand, the advowsons of only three rectories in Norwich were owned by the laity throughout the period 1370 to 1532. The advowson of St Edmund's remained in the hands of the Clere family of Ormesby in Norfolk. The advowson of St Margaret of Westwyk seems to have been attached to the manor of Yoxford in Suffolk[2] and a variety of families presented to the rectory. Similarly, a variety of families presented to St Michael at Plea,and Blomefield said that the advowson belonged alternately to the lords of Horsford and of Sprowston.[3] The advowsons of several other rectories in the city were in lay hands for periods between 1370 and 1532. However, during the period as a whole there was no general trend for the advowsons of the parish churches of the city to pass from the hands of religious houses into those of citizens of Norwich or into those of other lay persons, as happened at the Dissolution. As has been said, the advowson of St Peter Hungate was acquired by the Pastons from the College of St Mary in the Fields in 1458 or a little later,[4] and the advowson of St Laurence's was acquired by an alderman of Norwich from the abbot of Bury St Edmund in about 1538.[5] But on the other hand, during the second half of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries the priory of Horsham St Faith obtained the advowson of St Botulph's from a succession of laymen of Norwich;[6] Gonville Hall, Cambridge, acquired the advowson of St Michael of Coslany[7] from a succession of lay patrons many of whom were citizens

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(1) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, p. 558; REG/6, Book 11, fol. 26.
(2) REG/4, Book 8, fol. 6 and REG/5, Book 10, fos. 32-32d.
(3) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 327.
(4) Cf., p. 21.
(5) Cf., p. 22.
(6) Cf., p. 21.
(7) Cf., p. 23.

of Norwich; and the City Government seems to have effectively lost the advowson of St Clement of Conisford.[1] Therefore none of the churches and chapels owned by the citizens in the eleventh century[2] had remained in the hands of citizens of Norwich throughout the Middle Ages.[3]

1370 to 1532 was part of a somewhat longer period which formed a nadir for lay patronage of parochial benefices in Norwich. The period was bounded at the one end by the Dissolution when in Norwich, as in other English towns, a number of advowsons belonging to religious houses passed to inhabitants of the town or to other laymen. The period was bounded at the other end by the eleventh century when nearly all the churches and chapels of the city seem to have belonged to the citizens. It is not clear how these lay-controlled churches and chapels of the eleventh century became the city's parish churches with, in the large majority of cases, religious houses as patrons. But the process had been completed well before 1370 and, as has been said,[4] much of it had been completed by as early as the reign of Henry I. In fact, despite a few changes of owners of advowsons and a slight contraction in the patronage available through one union of rectories and the disappearance of a few parish churches, the patronage of parochial benefices in Norwich remained largely static between 1370 and 1532.

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(1) Cf., p. 17.
(2) Cf., p. 16.
(3) N.B., the abbot of Wendling had owned the advowson of St Clement of Conisford before the City Government had acquired it (REG/1, Book 3, fol. 42d).
(4) Cf., p. 19.

ii. The Importance of the Parish to the Parishioner

According to Canon Law the parish was the primary context within which the religious needs of lay men and women were cared for. The primary religious needs of lay men and women ought to have been met by the parish and their most tangible religious duties were towards their parish. The parish priest had the official care of the souls of his parishioners, he was expected to provide various essential religious services for his parishioners - notably the Main, the Sacraments (except Confirmation and Ordination) and funeral services - and he was obliged to teach them, principally by preaching to them.[1] For their part,lay men and women were obliged to hear Mass on Sundays and feast-days in their own parish churches;[2] they were obliged to confess to their own parish priest and to receive the Eucharist (from their own parish priest at least in the case of those who lived in the province of Canterbury[3]) at least once a year;[4] and their most onerous financial obligations to the Church - tithes and offerings - were paid to the incumbent of their parish church.

Many towns possessed a number of extra-parochial religious institutions and activities which were liable to diminish the importance of the parish and its church and clergy and which were absent, or only present to a much lesser extent, in the countryside: religious houses and possible a Cathedral where the Mass and other religious services

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(1) P. Heath, The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation (London, 1969), pp. 4-8.
(2) Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretales Gregorii Papae IX, Lib. III, Tit. 29, cap. ii (ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879-1881, ii. 554); C.R. Cheney, 'Rules for the Observance of Feast Days in Medieval England', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xxxiv (1961), 145-6.
(3) Councils and Synods, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), ii. 895.
(4) C.J. Hefele and H. Leclerq, Histoire des Conciles (Paris, 1907-), Vol. 5, Part 2, p. 1350.

and sermons could be attended, where people could ask to be buried and which had staffs of priests who could act as confessors and even as executors of wills; craft guilds and pious confraternities with their own religious activities; and the private chapels of individual citizens. Norwich possessed in abundance almost all these extra-parochial religious institutions and activities which could attract the laity away from their parish church and from their parish clergy. Therefore of late medieval English towns, Norwich was perhaps one in which a person's own parish was least likely to have been the all-important focus of his religious activities. Furthermore, most of these extra-parochial religious institutions had not grown up with the growth of the parochial system in Norwich, but had started after Norwich had already reached her maximum number of parish churches. Therefore to some extent they must have displaced the functions of the parish churches.

On the other hand, the sheer abundance of parish churches in Norwich must have impressed their importance upon the citizens. The general signs of life in the parishes are also striking. Religious services and a clerical staff seem to have been maintained in almost all the parish churches of the city. When the archdeacon of Norwich visited almost all the parishes of the city in 1368,[1] which was only twenty years after the Black Death, he found in nearly all the parish churches which he visited an impressive amount of liturgical equipment and all, or almost all, the service books which archbishops Winchelsey and Reynolds had regarded as obligatory for parish churches

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(1) Inventory of Church Goods, ed. Watkin, Part 1, pp. 1-27.

in the province of Canterbury to possess.[1] At the time of the bishop of Norwich's visitation of all the parishes in Norwich in October 1492, there was at least one priest attached to all but two[2] or three[3] of the forty-three parishes and an average of just over two priests attached to each parish.[4] Furthermore, as has been said,[5] almost every parish church in the city was extensively re-built during the late Middle Ages. This re-building must have required of parishioners considerable financial support for their parish churches,[6] especially since many of the parishes contained so few inhabitants. There was a slight decline in the number of parish churches in Norwich between 1370 and 1532,[7] but a slightly smaller number of larger and much grander parish churches implied development rather than decay in the city's parishes.

A parishioner felt his parish most concretely in his obligation to pay tithes. The extent to which tithes were paid is a much debated[8] and largely unanswerable question. A bequest to the high altar of a parish church 'for unpaid tithes' was contained in the wills of many citizens of Norwich, as in the wills of many inhabitants

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(1) Councils and Synods, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964) ii. 1387-8.
(2) I.e., St Clement of Conisford (cf., p. 323) and St Helen's (cf., p. 324). The rector of St Clement of Conisford had probably died or vacated the rectory shortly before the visitation and there were a parish chaplain and three stipendiary priests attached to St Edward and St Julian's, to which St Clement's had been united (cf., pp. 323 and 18 note 2). St Helen's was also the church of St Giles Hospital where there was a staff of several priests (cf., p. 47).
(3) St Saviour's and St Mary Unbrent had only one priest for the two parishes (cf., p. 319).
(4) Cf., column 4 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(5) Cf., p. 16
(6) Cf., pp. 251-3.
(7) Cf., p. 14
(8) G. Constable, 'Resistance to Tithes in the Middle Ages', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, xiii (1962), 172-5.

of late medieval London.[1] These bequests appeared regularly in the wills of the inhabitants of Norwich only after about 1490, and they usually amounted to only between 1/- and 3/4d and rarely to more than £1. So they probably represent a change of fashion in the phraseology of wills[2] or scruples on the part of people close to death that they may have been somewhat negligent in paying their tithes, rather than evidence of extensive failure to pay them.

Evidence about a number of tithe disputes concerning late medieval Norwich survive among the records of the Benedictine Cathedral Priory[3] and of the Norwich Consistory Court, though the records of the latter survive only from 1499.[4] The disputes whose records have survived are too few to permit statements about any general developments in the problem in Norwich between 1370 and 1532. Since it was heretical to deny the parishioner's duty to pay tithes and the incumbent's right to receive them, it is not surprising that none of the known tithe disputes concerning late medieval Norwich involved such a denial. The point at issue in every case was one of fact: whether the tithes had been paid or, more often, to which priest or religious body they were due. None of the disputes is of special interest but they illustrate a number of points. First, the boundaries

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(1) S. Thruppe, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 185.
(2) Before about 1490 the normal phrase was simply 'to the high altar'.
(3) Dean and Chapt. Mun.: Box 'Disputes and Agreements, v Carrow, v Carmelites', numbers 1582, 1584, 1590, 2418 and 4081-3, and Box 'Disputes, Ecclesiastical Courts, Norwich', numbers 573, 956, 4089 and 4124.
(4) Norwich Depositions, ed. Stone, number 115; Norwich Diocesan Archives, ACT/1, Book 1 (1508-1512), fos. 157-8. Dr Houlbrooke has discussed the importance of tithe disputes in the whole of Norwich Diocese during the period 1519 to 1570 (R. Houlbrooke, 'Church Courts and People in the Diocese of Norwich, 1519-70' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis 1970), Chapter 6).

of at least some of the parishes of the city and its suburbs were not clear; the principal point at issue in several disputes was which parish a particular titheable property was in.[1] Secondly, the disputes were as frequently, if not more so, among the members of the secular and regular clergy and Carrow Nunnery as they were between the laity and the clergy. The reason is that many of the disputes were primarily concerned with to which cleric or religious body the tithes from a particular person or piece of property were due. Thirdly, the Benedictine Cathedral Priory appears to have been,and most probably was,involved in considerably more tithe disputes than any other party. The priory's own records of the tithe disputes form a considerable portion of all the records of tithe disputes concerning late medieval Norwich. But the priory's greater involvement in tithe disputes with the secular clergy of Norwich, with religious houses and with the laity is likely to have been not just an appearance resulting from the documents which have survived, but also a reality due to the very large proportion of the city's inhabitants who owed their tithes to the priory; at least greater tithes must have been due to the priory from the inhabitants of about a third ot the city's parishes since there were no rectors or vicars but only parish chaplains in about seventeen of the approximately twenty rectories and one vicarage in Norwich of which the Cathedral Priory was patron.[2] It would be interesting to know how far the priory's position as recipient of tithes from so many of the citizens of Norwich was

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(1) E.g.: Norwich Depositions, ed. Stone, number 115; Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Disputes and Agreements, v Carrow, v Carmelites', numbers 1582, 1584, 1590, 2418 and 4801-3.
(2) Cf., pp. 18-20.

responsible for the general state of conflict between the Cathedral Priory and the citizens of Norwich which lasted almost continuously during the period 1370 to 1532;[1] unfortunately there is no evidence which bears directly on the question.

Since tithes were so important and since the records of the Cathedral Priory and of the Norwich Consistory Court show that disputes about them did occur in Norwich, it is rather surprising that at the late medieval visitations of parishes in Norwich of which records survive,[2] only one person was accused of failing to pay his tithes. At the visitation of the deanery of Norwich in 1492 the two lay inquisitors of the parish of St James said that Robert Senior 'iniuste detinet et non solvit decimas personales curato'.[3] However, accusations of withholding tithes were also fairly rare in the extant records of late medieval visitations of Lincoln and Hereford dioceses.[4] The comparative silence in this matter in Norwich as elsewhere may have been because tithes were in fact paid, or alternatively because

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(1) Cf., Chapter 4, Section a (pp. 274-292).
(2) The extant records of any completeness of late medieval visitations of Norwich parishes are:
   i. Bodleian Library, MS. Norfolk, Roll 18 (Visitation of Norwich Deanery in 1333).
   ii. Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta', Rolls 1, 1a, 3, 4, 6 and 8-10 (Visitations of parishes in the Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Cathedral Priory of Norwich, 1416-1437).
   iii. Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner 100, fos. 40-42d (Bishop Goldwell's visitation of Norwich Deanery in 1492). The record of this visitation is printed as Appendix 3 of this thesis (pp. 317-324).
   iv. Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury Reg. Morton 2 (1485-1500), fos. 78-78d (Visitation of four parishes in Norwich in 1499).
(3) Cf., p. 319.
(4) Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531, ed. A.H. Thompson (Lincoln Record Society, xxxiii, xxxv and xxxvii, 1940-7), iii. 288 under 'tithes withheld'; 'Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397', ed. A.T. Bannister, English Historical Review, xliv (1929), 284 and 452 and xlv (1930), 446 and 457.

non-payment or partial payment was so prevalent as not to merit comment; more probably the lay people who were the delators at these visitations simply disliked reporting their fellow men concerning a matter in which they too were probably vulnerable.

Beside their duty to pay tithes, parishioners were expected to attend Mass on Sundays and feast-days in their own parish church.[1] failure to do so was a moderately common charge in the late medieval visitations of Lincoln and Hereford dioceses.[2] The records of the Norwich Consistory Court from 1499 to 1532 mention nobody from Norwich who was accused of this failure but quite a few people were accused of it at various visitations of parishes in the city, though it is often not clear whether they were being accused of missing Mass altogether or merely of not attending it in their own parish church. At the visitation of all the parishes in Norwich in 1492, seven men and two women were accused of not attending their parish church on Sundays and feast-days or simply of absenting themselves from their parish church tempore divinorum.[3] Two other women and one man were accused of the connected offence of keeping open a public tavern tempore divinorum,[4] and it was alleged against the wife of Richard Palys that 'servat malam normam cum diversis familiaribus proximorum qui ibi sedent et bibunt tempore divinorum'.[5] During the

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(1) Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretales Gregorii Papae IX, Lib. III, Tit. 29, cap. ii (ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879-1881, ii. 554).
(2) Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531, ed. A.H. Thompson (Lincoln Record Society, xxxiii, xxxv and xxxvii, 1940-7), iii. 286, under 'Service, divine, absence from'; 'Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397', ed. A.T. Bannister, English Historical Review, xliv (1929), 281, 287-8, 445, 448 and 452 and xlv (1930), 92, 101, 445-7, 450, 452, 455, 458 and 460.
(3) Cf., pp. 318, 320 and 322-4.
(4) Cf., pp. 318 and 321-2.
(5) Cf., p. 322.

Cathedral Priory's visitations between 1416 and 1437 of the parishes in Norwich which were within the priory's peculiar jurisdiction, half a dozen different persons were also accused by their fellow parishioners of not going to church on Sundays or feast-days, or simply of not going to church. Weakness of the flesh was the most likely reason for the failure but more wilful obstinacy was alleged against Ralph Parve and Hugh Kodon of Catton, which was a suburb of Norwich. It was alleged that they "derident serv'is divinu' et nolunt audire Miss' diebus festivis sed quod garulant semper et impediunt divinu' servic'". Both denied the charge and Hugh Kodon purged himself and was dismissed; the fate of Ralph Parve was not recorded.[1]

Two further obligations of parishioners were to receive the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist from their own parish priests at least once a year.[2] Not many were accused of failing in these obligations in the late medieval visitations of parishes in Lincoln and Hereford dioceses,[3] and only two persons from late medieval Norwich are known to have been accused of such failures. John Harneys, a parishioner of St Mary in the Marsh in Norwich and a cook (probably a cook at the Cathedral Priory[4]), was accused by his fellow parishioners sometime in the 1430's not only of absenting himself from his parish church but also of not receiving the Sacraments of Confession and the Eucharist from his

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(1) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta', Rolls 8 (1430-1433).
(2) Cf., p. 26.
(3) Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531, ed. A.H. Thompson (Lincoln Record Society, xxxiii, xxxv and xxxvii, 1940-7), iii. 277, under 'Communion, neglected' and 'Confession'; 'Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397', ed. A.T. Bannister, English Historical Review, xliv (1929), 451-2.
(4) John Harneys was described as cocus conventalis and his parish was within the precincts of the Cathedral Priory.

parish chaplain.[1] The fate of John Harneys is not known. The second case, that of Thomas Charles, a tailor and parishioner of St Edmund's in Norwich, is interesting because he seems to have argued that receiving the Eucharist at a parish church other than his own sufficed to fulfil one of his two Easter duties. It was alleged against Thomas Charles in 1499 that 'non recepit Sacramentum Eukaristie ad festum Pasche per duos annos nec confessus fuit a proprio curato per dictum tempus prout Christianis tenetur'. He admitted that he was a parishioner of St Edmund's in Norwich but said that he had received the Eucharist at both Easters, once at a parish church in London and once at the parish church of Winterton in Norfolk. Thomas Charles submitted himself to correction but the judgment was not recorded.[2]

Beside the obligations of parishioners which have been discussed, lay men and women and also the secular clergy could show a preference for their own parish church and its clergy in a number of matters which did not involve any obligation for them. The little evidence that exists concerning the laity's choice between the parochial clergy and the regular clergy as preachers in Norwich will be discussed later,[3] but parishioners must have at least given their parish priests the opportunity of preaching to them when they fulfilled their obligation of attending Mass at their parish churches on Sundays and feast-days.

Parishioners could also show a preference for their own parish church by asking to be buried in it or in its cemetery, though they were under no obligation to do so.[4] Inhabitants of Norwich could conveniently

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(1) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta', Roll 9 (1432-7).
(2) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Morton 2 (1485-1500), fol. 78.
(3) Cf., pp. 111-3.
(4) Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretales Gregorii Papae IX, Lib. III, Tit. 28, cap. i (ed. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879-1881, ii. 548).

choose to be buried in any one of a large number of different places: beside their own and a number of other parish churches nearby, there were four friaries, the Cathedral, several secular colleges and Carrow Nunnery in Norwich and its suburbs. Whereas far more of the nobility of late medieval England seem to have chosen to be buried in a religious house than in a parish church,[1] with the inhabitants of late medieval Norwich parish churches were much the more popular: three out of four of the secular clergy[2] and between eight and nine out of ten of the laity of the city whose wills have survived and were written and proved between 1370 and 1532 asked to be buried in a parish church or, more frequently, in its cemetery.[3] Almost all the testators of the city who asked to be buried in a parish church or its cemetery and whose parishes are identifiable, chose their own parish church or its cemetery; people like Agnes Split, who said that she was a parishioner of St Stephen's in Norwich but asked to be buried in the churchyard to the city's fashionable parish church of St Peter Mancroft,[4] were very rare.

The right of the friars to bury the laity in their own churches and cemeteries and to receive burial offerings had been one of the chief complaints of the parish clergy against the friars throughout Christendom since the thirteenth century.[5] There would have been some

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(1) J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), pp. 82, 85 and 92.
(2) No wills of the regular clergy of Norwich survive (cf., p. 223).
(3) In addition to those who asked to be buried in the church or cemetery of a religious house (cf., pp. 36-40), a few testators simply said that they wanted a christian burial or used some similar phrase without specifying the church or cemetery in which they wished to be buried or, in a very few cases, did not mention their burial in their wills.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 111d (Split).
(5) D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (C.U.P., 1948-1959), i. 184-7.

justification for the complaint in late medieval Norwich.[1] Nine per cent of the laity of the city whose wills survive and were written and proved between 1370 and 1532 asked to be buried in one of the four friaries in Norwich;[2] though this was a much lower proportion than in late medieval Toulouse where, according to Mlle de Nucé, between a quarter and a third of about four hundred and fifty testators asked to be buried in one of the city's four friaries (Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite and Augustinian).[3] The English parish clergy had complained in particular that the friars had acquired a clientele among the well-to-do laity,[4] and it is significant that in the late Middle Ages the proportion of the English nobility who asked to be buried in friaries[5] seems to have been considerably larger than that of the citizens of Norwich. The laity of late medieval Norwich whose wills survive came very largely from the upper ranks of urban society,[6] and so it is difficult to compare the proportion of those from the upper ranks of the city's society who asked to be buried in the friaries with the proportion of those from the lower

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(1) In fact in the only disputes of this nature in late medieval Norwich for which there is concrete evidence, the chief opponent of the friars seems to have been the Benedictine Cathedral Priory - on account of its position as appropriator of so many of the city's parochial livings which were not served by a rector or a vicar - rather than the secular clergy. Records of the priory, most in the form of settlements, show that it was involved in a dispute with Carmelite friary over burial fees in the second half of the fourteenth century and possibly as late as 1460, and that the priory may have been involved in similar disputes over burial rights and burial fees with the other friaries in the city in the early fifteenth century. (Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Disputes and Agreements, v Carrow, v Carmelites', numbers 939, 1898, 3859 and 3866)

(2) Cf., Appendix 2 (p. 316).

(3) M-S. de Nucé de Lamothe, 'Piété et Charité Publique à Toulouse de la Fin du 13e au Milieu du 15e Siècle d'après les Testaments' (Toulouse University Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures 1961), p. 63.

(4) D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (C.U.P., 1948-1959), i. 184.

(5) J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), pp. 82 and 84

(6) Cf., p. 221-2.

ranks. What conclusions can be reached are rather ambivalent. Only three out of the hundred and nineteen testators whose wills were copied into the registers of the archdeacon of Norwich and who should therefore have been the least wealthy of the testators in question[1] asked to be buried in one of the friaries in Norwich. Yet the proportion among testators whose wills were copied into the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and who should therefore have been the wealthiest group of testators[2] was eight out of seventy-seven, which was only a slightly higher proportion than that of all the lay testators. Furthermore, of the approximately forty-five mayors of Norwich who died before 1533 and whose wills survive, only Thomas Wetherby asked to be buried in a friary.[3] The proportion of the laity in question who asked to be buried in one of the friaries in Norwich remained fairly constant at around ten per cent between 1370 and 1517 but dropped to four per cent between 1518 and 1532.[4] There is no obvious reason for this drop but if it reflected declining support for the friaries on the eve of their dissolution, then it is significant that it was paralleled by a drop in testamentary bequests from the laity to the Norwich friars during the same period.[5]

Beside citizens of Norwich, many from prominent East Anglian families asked in their wills to be buried in one of the Norwich friaries. For example, Lady Anne Morley, daughter of Edward, Lord Despenser, and wife of Sir Hugh Hastings of Elsing and then of Thomas, Lord Morley and baron

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(1) Cf., p. 221.
(2) Cf., p. 221.
(3) Thomas Wetherby, mayor in 1427 and 1432, asked to be buried in the Augustinian friary in Norwich (N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 30 (Wetherby))
(4) Cf., Appendix 2 (p. 316).
(5) Cf., pp. 231 and 359.

of Rye of Hingham in Norfolk,[1] asked to be buried in the church of the Augustinian friary next to her second husband;[2] Sir Thomas Kerdeston also asked to be buried in the Augustinian friary,[3] and Margaret Howard, widow of Sir Robert Howard, asked to be buried in the choir of the Franciscan church;[4] and Blomefield has listed many more.[5] Members of important East Anglian families choosing to be buried in the Norwich friaries in preference to their local parish churches may not have caused tension between the friars and the parish clergy of Norwich, but it seems likely that their choice caused some ill-feeling towards the Norwich friaries on the part of the parish clergy of the countryside.

It was not unknown for members of the secular clergy of Norwich to ask to be buried in the church or cemetery of one of the friaries, but it was much rarer for them than it was for the laity.[6] The most popular place for burial with clerical testators who chose somewhere other than a parish church was the secular college of St Mary in the Fields in Norwich. The popularity of the college is not surprising since all the Norwich clerics whose wills survive were members of the secular clergy and since a number of them were members of the college;[7] but it contrasts with the fact that in terms of testamentary bequests the friars were much more popular with the secular clergy of the city than was the College of St Mary in the Fields.[8]

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(1) W. Rye, Norfolk Families (Norwich, 1911-3), i. 568.
(2) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 366.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 137 (Kerdeston).
(4) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, iii. 417.
(5) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 88-90, 109-111, 335-9 and 417-8.
(6) Cf., Appendix 2 (p. 316).
(7) E.g., John Brown and John Neel, both of whom were deans of the college and both of whom asked to be buried in the college's church (N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fos. 281-281d (Brown); N.C.C., Reg. Wight, fol. 4d (Neel)).
(8) Cf., pp. 231 and 359.

A number of clerics and lay persons from Norwich also asked to be buried in their Cathedral or its cemetery in preference to a parish church;[1] in all but two cases[2] burial was requested in the Cathedral Church rather than in its cemetery. The fourteen clerics who chose the Cathedral included all the five men who died as bishops of Norwich between 1370 and 1532 after reasonably long tenures of the see and whose wills survive,[3] two masters of the college of secular priests called the Carnary College[4] and one dean of Norwich.[5] It was rare but not unknown for an unbeneficed priest to ask to be buried in the Cathedral. John Bippis, who was one of the few to do so, left £16 for a new window in the chapel in the Cathedral in which he wished to be buried, a further £4 for the expenses of the chapel, and bequests to the prior and each monk of the Cathedral Priory who attended his Exequies.[6] Possibly the unwritten price of burial in the Cathedral deterred more of the unbeneficed clergy from asking for it.

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(1) Cf., Appendix 2 (p. 316).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 28d (Secheford); N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 113d (Holme).
(3) Alexander Tottington, 1406-1413 (Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Arundel 2, fol. 165 (Totington)); John Wakeryng, 1415-1425 (Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 312); Thomas Brown, 1436-1445 (E.F. Jacob, 'Two Documents Relating to Thomas Brouns, Bishop of Norwich, 1436-45', Norf. Arch., xxxiii (1962-5), 433; Walter Lyhert, 1446-1472 (PROB/11/6 (Reg. Wattys, 1471-1480), fol. 7 (Lyhert)); and James Goldwell, 1472-1499 (PROB/11/11 (Reg. Horne, 1496-1500), fol. 35 (Goldwelle)).
    Henry Dispenser, who was bishop of Norwich from 1370 to 1406 and who died intestate, was buried in Norwich Cathedral (Emden, Oxford, iii. 2170); Richard Courtenay, 1413-5, who also died intestate, was buried at the command of Henry V in the chapel of St Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey (Emden, Oxford, i. 501-2); William Alnwick, 1426-1436, who was subsequently bishop of Lincoln, was buried in Lincoln Cathedral (Emden, Cambridge, p. 11); Thomas Jane, 1499-1500, who was bishop of Norwich for barely a year, and Richard Nykke, 1501-1535, who died after 1532, were both buried in Norwich Cathedral (Emden, Oxford, ii. 1014 and 1382).
(4) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 9; N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fos. 208 and 209 (Pulvertoft); N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fol. 156d (Wether).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 104 (Thornham).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 154 (Bippis).

Most of the lay men and women from Norwich who asked to be buried in the Cathedral were persons of importance who also left substantial bequests to the Cathedral Priory. Sir Robert Norwich was living with the prior of the Cathedral Priory when he wrote his will in 1444. He asked to be buried in the Cathedral as well at to be received as a brother of the Chapter, and he left "minus collar' meum de argento cum liberatura Imperatoris" to the great image of the Holy Trinity in the Cathedral.[1] John de Berney was a very wealthy Norwich merchant who had been a member of Parliament on several occasions.[2] He left over £10 to the Cathedral in his will yet even he feared that the Cathedral Priory might refuse his request for burial. He asked to be buried in the Cathedral in St Anne's chapel,where one of his wives already lay buried, if the prior and monks permitted it; if they did not, then he wanted to be buried in St Anne's chapel in the parish church of Burgh.[3]

Burial in the Cathedral was evidently an honour for which the great were prepared to pay and yet upon which not even they could rely. John de Berney succeeded in his request.[4] At least one other member of his family was later buried in the chapel,[5] and it seems to have become a kind of private chapel of the family.[6] In so far as their requests for burial are known, considerably fewer lay people from Norwich asked to be buried in the Cathedral than in any of the Norwich friaries,[7] but

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 5 (Norwich); and cf., p. 134.
(2) W. Rye, Norfolk Families (Norwich, 1911-3), i. 43-4; Blomefield, Norfolk, i. 480, v. 203, vi. 475, viii. 305-6, xi. 175 and xi. 123-4.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 42 (Berney).
(4) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, iii. 409; Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 38 and viii. 306.
(5) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, iii. 409.
(6) Cf., Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 38.
(7) Cf., Appendix 2 (p. 316).

conversely even more members of East Anglian county families asked to be buried in the Cathedral than in the friaries. Two examples are Sir Thomas Erpingham and Justice William Paston[1] both of whom also left money or property to the Cathedral Priory to found a perpetual chantry in the Cathedral,[2] and Blomefield has listed many more who were buried in the Cathedral.[3] Prominent citizens of Norwich and members of East Anglian county families choosing to be buried in the Cathedral in preference to their parish churches doubtless caused some ill-feeling towards the Cathedral Priory on the part of the parish clergy of the city of Norwich and of the countryside in the same way as the choice of the Norwich friaries as places for burial probably caused some animosity against the friars.

Parishioners could also express a preference for their parish clergy by choosing them as executors and witnesses of their wills. The customs and statutes of some dioceses insisted that parish priests be among the executors or witnesses of the wills of their parishioners,[4] but so far as is known the citizens of late medieval Norwich were not bound in either of these ways. During the period 1370 to 1517 between a quarter and a third of the laity of Norwich whose wills survive chose at least one member of the secular clergy among the executors and supervisors of their wills (between 1518 and 1532 the proportion fell to about one sixth), and a number of them are clearly identifiable as the parish priests of the testators. Members of the secular clergy

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(1) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 380; Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, vi. 189.
(2) Cf., pp. 190-1.
(3) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 7-40.
(4) Councils and Synods, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), i. 512 and ii. 1046.

were also quite frequently mentioned among the witnesses of the wills of the laity. The will of David Blake, a parishioner of St John and the Holy Sepulchre in Norwich, provides an interesting example of the close ties that might exist between a layman and his parish priest when the layman was near death and making his will. David Blake was within three months of his death when he made his will and the only person whom he wanted to help and advise his wife in her role as sole executor of his will was his parish priest, Sir Richard Skypp. Sir Richard was the only witness to the will mentioned, and he was David's 'gostelyfader'. David Blake asked to be buried in the churchyard of his parish church, which was the only church to which he left a bequest.[1]

The laity's choice of friars as executors of their wills was a lesser issue in the general dispute between the friars and the parish clergy.[2] It is unlikely that the issue was a major one in late medieval Norwich since only about two per cent of the lay persons whose wills survive chose a friar among the executors and supervisors of their wills; a further one per cent chose members of other religious Orders as executors or supervisors. The wills of lay persons which noted that a religious had been a witness to the will were fewer still - less than one per cent, though many wills did not list any witnesses. Christine Savage's will provides an interesting example, which balances the case of David Blake, of a lay person who was closely under the influence of a friar rather than of her parish priest when

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(1) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fos. 52d-53 (Blake).
(2) A. Williams, 'Relations between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy in England in the Later Fourteenth Century', Annuale Mediaevale, i (1960), 73.

she wrote her will. Christine Savage appointed a Carmelite friar as one of her only two executors. She actually sealed her will in a chapel in the Carmelite friary in Norwich and she asked to be buried in the same chapel.[1]

It is interesting that the religious of late medieval Norwich who seems to have come closest to being a 'professional' executor and witness of the wills of the laity was Friar Brackley, the Franciscan, even though members of his Order were forbidden by their Rule to act as executors of wills.[2] Friar Brackley was a well-known preacher and close friend of the Pastons who was attached to his Order's friary in Norwich.[3] He was with Sir John Fastolf when Sir John was dying[4] and it seems likely that he influenced Sir John Fastolf to favour John Paston in his will.[5] He was also named a subsidiary executor in one of Sir John Fastolf's wills.[6] Friar Brackley was also one of the executors or supervisors chosen by Robert Londesdale of Norwich, armiger,[7] by Thomas At Yates, a Norwich dyer,[8] and by John Braklee, who was also a Norwich dyer and probably the father or a relative of the friar;[9] all three of these men also asked to be buried in the church of the Franciscan friary in Norwich.

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fos. 167-167d (Savage).
(2) 'Ordinationes Capituli Generalis Argentinae anno 1362 Celebrati', ed. G. Fussenger, Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, lii (1959), 10-11.
(3) H.S. Bennett, The Pastons and their England (C.U.P., 1932), pp. 246-7.
(4) Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, iii. 144-5.
(5) D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (C.U.P., 1948-1959), ii. 203.
(6) Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, iii. 165.
(7) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Stafford and Kempe (1443-1454), fol. 138d (Londesdale).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 103 (At Yates).
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fos. 177d (Braklee) and 103 (At Yates).

Parishes with their churches and their clergy do seem to have remained the most important context within which the large majority of the laity of late medieval Norwich lived the religious aspects of their lives. This conclusion agrees with what Dr Thomson found for later medieval London.[1] The most formidable challenge before the fourteenth century to the parish and its church and clergy had come, especially in the towns, from the houses of religious Orders and particularly from those of the mendicant friars. In late medieval Norwich the houses of religious Orders had fine churches[2] and large staffs of priests. It is infortunate that there is almost no direct evidence which suggests how far the laity of the city attended the liturgy and sermons in these churches and sought out their priests as confessors in preference to attending their own parish churches and going to their own parish clergy. Court and visitation records show that at least a few parishioners did not fulfil their minimal parochial duties. Yet there are no recorded instances of parishioners being accused of fulfilling their parochial duties at the friaries or at other religious houses in the city instead of at their own parish churches. Where the laity chose to be buried and who they chose as executors of their wills were minor matters compared with which churches they chose to attend, which priests they sought as confessors and to which priests they paid their tithes; their choices in these matters are important because they are to some extent quantifiable and because they may have paralleled the ways in which they chose in other more important matters between their parish church

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(1) J.A.F. Thomson, 'Clergy and Laity in London, 1376-1531' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis 1960), pp. 18-19.
(2) William Worcestre, Itineraries (ed. J. Harvey, Oxford, 1969, pp. 234, 236, 238, 254 and 256).

and their parish clergy on the one hand and the churches and clergy of the religious houses on the other. Wills suggest that in late medieval Norwich a significant number of the laity wanted to be buried in the church or cemetery of a religious house and wanted the regular clergy to be executors of their wills, but that a far greater proportion preferred their parish church and their parish clergy. Furthermore, the large programme of re-building the parish churches of the city and the fact that religious services and staffs of priests seem to have been maintained at the parish churches are further indications of the continuing vitality of the parish. Newer religious movements in Norwich which were largely the product of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and were largely independent of the parish are discussed in Chapter 2. However, interesting though these newer religious movements are, they seem to have made either a deep impression on the religious lives of relatively few of the citizens - as in the case of anchorites, hermits and 'béguinages' and probably in the case of literate and pious laymen.- or they made a relatively shallow impression upon the religion of considerable numbers of the citizens - as in the case of craft guilds and pious confraternities. These newer religious movements do not seem to have supplanted the parish as the primary context within which the large majority of the citizens practised their religion.

b. The Clergy and Religious Orders

i. Numbers

Bishop Goldwell made a visitation of the forty-three parishes in the deanery of Norwich in 1492. All forty-three parishes were within the city of Norwich and they constituted all the parishes in the city. A list of the names of those who were cited to appear before the bishop was drawn up for the visitation.[1] The names of not only the beneficed clergy and parish chaplains but also of those chantry and stipendiary priests who were attached to the parish churches were included in the list. The list therefore seems to include all the parish clergy of the city, except the parish clerks. Fourteen rectors,[2] one vicar, twenty-five parish chaplains,[3] two chantry priests, forty-six stipendiary priests and Master John Styward,[4] who was in fact rector of St Mary in the Marsh,[5] were listed. Probably four of the eighty-nine men were members of the regular clergy;[6] the remainder were members of the secular clergy.

Bishop Goldwell also visited the three colleges of secular priests in Norwich in 1492: the College of St Mary in the Fields, St Giles Hospital and the Carnary College.[7] There were a master, seven

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(1) Appendix 3 (pp. 317-324) is a transcript of the record of the visitation.
(2) One of the fourteen, Walter Goos, was rector of two churches (cf., pp. 319 and 321); a second, John Owdolff, was also parish chaplain of another church (cf., p. 319).
(3) Excluding John Owdolff (cf., last footnote).
(4) Cf., p. 324.
(5) REG/6, Book 11, fol. 179 and REG/7, Book 12, fol. 195d.
(6) Cf., pp. 319 and 323-4. William Arnold, canonicus (cf., p. 322), and Dompnus John Castelacr' (cf., p. 324) may also have been members of the regular clergy.
(7) The college of three, and later two, chantry priests in the Bishop's Palace had been dissolved in 1449 (cf., p. 53). There is no evidence that Beck College existed, other than Blomefield's statement (Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 96). If the college existed, its supposed two dozen members were drawn from, and so would not have been additional to, the unbeneficed clerics of the city who are known about from other evidence (Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 96).

prebendaries[1] and six stipendiary priests at the College of St Mary in the Fields.[2] The records of the bishop's visitation do not mention all the priests at St Giles Hospital and at the Carnary College.[3] There were a master, five priest-fellows and three stipendiary priests at the hospital in 1499[4] and the Carnary College probably consisted of a master and three other priests in the late fifteenth century.[5] Other members of the secular clergy of Norwich in 1492 were the bishop of Norwich, the dean of Norwich, the Official Principal of the Norwich Consistory Court,[6] the master of Hildebrond's Hospital[7] and the masters of one or two of the city's three schools.[8] There were, therefore, about one hundred and seventeen members of the secular clergy in the city in 1492, exclusive of an unknown number of parish clerks who may or may not have been in minor orders.

Throughout the period 1370 until the Dissolution, Norwich contained five houses of religious Orders: the Benedictine Cathedral Priory and houses of Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite and Augustinian friars. Forty-six monks were listed as belonging to the Cathedral Priory when Bishop Goldwell visited it in 1492.[9] The forty-six almost certainly included some or all of the monks living in the priory's five cells -

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(1) Master Robert Calton, one of the seven, was also vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich (cf., p. 322).
(2) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 11-12.
(3) Ibid., pp. 9-10 and 13.
(4) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Morton 2 (1486-1500), fol. 83.
(5) H. Saunders, A History of the Norwich Grammar School (Norwich, 1932), p. 41.
(6) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 1; B. Burnham, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Norwich in the Later Middle Ages' (Oxford University B.Litt. thesis 1971), pp. 36 and 200.
(7) REG/7, Book 12, fol. 154.
(8) REG/5, Book 10, fol. 62 and REG/7, Book 12, fol. 47.
(9) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 8.

St Leonard's in the suburbs of Norwich, Lynn, Yarmouth, Aldeby and Hoxne - which were not visited separately by the bishop.[1] Saunders's calculation that between thirty-eight and forty monks were resident at the Cathedral Priory itself in 1492 is therefore probably correct.[2] The precise population of none of the four friaries in Norwich after the Black Death is known, but they were probably among the most populous friaries in the country.[3] There had been forty-seven friars at the Franciscan friary in 1326[4] and according to the Victoria County History, which does not quote its source, there had been fifty-three friars at the Dominican friary in 1326.[5] Dispensations to hold a benefice and to change the religious habit show that there were a minimum of ten Dominicans, twenty-one Franciscans, fourteen Carmelites and seventeen Augustinians at the Norwich friaries when they were dissolved.[6] If the Norwich friaries followed the national trend of declining numbers in the early sixteenth century,[7] the most likely estimate is that there were about one hundred and twenty friars in the city in 1492. If the estimate is correct, there were about one hundred and sixty male religious and between two hundred and seventy and two hundred and eighty male religious and members of the secular clergy - exclusive of parish clerks - in the city in 1492. Assuming that the city's population was no larger

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(1) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 72-3 and 320.
(2) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 161.
(3) D. Knowles and R. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales (2nd edn., London, 1971), pp. 218, 227, 236 and 242; Faculty Office Registers, 1534-1549, ed. D.S. Chambers (Oxford, 1966), pp. 125, 140, 149, 160 and 180.
(4) A.G. Little, The Grey Friars in Oxford (Oxford Historical Society, xx, 1891), p. 44, note 1.
(5) The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk (London, 1901-), ii. 429.
(6) Faculty Office Registers, 1534-1549, ed. D.S. Chambers (Oxford, 1966), pp. 125, 140, 149, 160 and 180.
(7) D. Knowles, Medieval Religious Houses, op. cit., p. 494.

in 1492 than in the 1520's, when it was probably between twelve thousand and twelve thousand five hundred,[1] then about four and a half per cent of the male population of the city and a correspondingly greater proportion of the adult men were members of the secular or regular clergy.

Far fewer members of the secular and regular clergy were living in Norwich at the end of the fifteenth century than in London, where there had been nearly seven hundred secular clerics in 1381,[2] or in Oxford and Cambridge. Apart from these three special cases, the numbers of the secular and regular clergy in late fifteenth century Norwich were similar to or greater than the numbers in the other major towns of England. Canterbury had more male religious than Norwich[3] but almost certainly fewer members of the secular clergy since it had far fewer parish churches. Over a hundred members of the secular clergy had been living in Lincoln in 1380,[4] but there were probably rather fewer male religious than in Norwich since Lincoln had no large Benedictine monastery. York, which had a large Benedictine abbey, four friaries, a large staff of secular priests attached to the Cathedral[5] and at least thirty-three parish churches,[6] probably had a similar number of secular clerics and male religious to that which Norwich had in the late fifteenth century. However, the proportion of secular and regular clerics to the total male population in Norwich was probably lower than the proportion in all

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(1) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.
(2) S. Thruppe, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 186.
(3) D. Knowles and R. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales (2nd edn., London, 1971), pp. 61, 152, 215, 224, 230-1 and 241.
(4) A. McHardy, 'The Crown and the Diocese of Lincoln during the Episcopate of John Buckingham, 1363-98' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis 1972), p. 327.
(5) D. Knowles, Medieval Religious Houses, op. cit., pp. 82, 220, 229, 237, 245 and 445.
(6) The Victoria History of the County of York, The City of York, ed. P.M. Tillott (O.U.P., 1961), p. 365.

these other towns, at least at the end of the fifteenth century, since all of them (except London) had considerably fewer inhabitants.[1]

For no other year in the late Middle Ages can the numbers of the secular and regular clergy in Norwich be estimated as accurately as they can be for 1492. It is therefore difficult to estimate how the numbers varied between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. The extant evidence suggests that the secular clergy increased considerably during the period and that the increase offset any decline that there may have been in the number of the regular clergy. However, if Professor Russell and Dr Hoskins were both right in their calculations and the population of Norwich doubled between 1377 and 1524,[2] then the proportion of the secular and regular clerics to the total population of the city went down considerably during the period.

The difficulty of estimating how many friars there were in Norwich at any time after the Black Death has been mentioned.[3] However, records of ordinations of the regular clergy of Norwich Diocese suggest that the Norwich friaries were still getting considerable numbers of new members on the eve of their dissolution. During the two years from March 1532 to February 1534 inclusive, twenty-seven Franciscan, twenty Dominican, sixteen Carmelite and seven Augustinian friars 'of Norwich' were ordained to one or more of the major or minor orders.[4] Only a handful of ordinands

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(1) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', pp. 4-5.
(2) J.C. Russell, British Medieval Population (Albuquerque, 1948), p. 142; Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.
(3) Cf., p. 48. The statement in the Victoria County History that all the Dominicans in Norwich were killed by the Black Death is without the support in Tanner's Notitia Monastica which the History alleges (The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk (London, 1901-), ii. 241; T. Tanner and J. Nasmith, Notitia Monastica (C.U.P., 1787), Norfolk, li, 13 and 16).
(4) Norwich Diocesan Archives, ORR/1 (1531-1561), fos. 1-20. The usual description of the ordinand was: 'frater ..... ordinis (e.g., St Augustini) Nor^{ci}'.

were described as belonging to other friaries in the diocese. Therefore those who were described as 'of Norwich' almost certainly included friars who had come to stay at their houses in Norwich, where the ordinations were held, as well as those who were living more permanently in the friaries of the city. Nevertheless, the figures were high for a diocese which had seven Franciscan, seven Dominican, six Carmelite and six Augustinian friaries,[1] and the friaries in Norwich were almost certainly among those with the most friars.[2] There were said to be at least sixty monks at the Benedictine Cathedral Priory in 1309.[3] How far the population of the priory was affected by the Black Death is obscure.[4] However, the obedientiary rolls of the priory show that there were about fifty monks at the priory in 1389, between fifty-one and fifty-five monks in 1430 and still between forty-eight and fifty in 1460. After 1460 the numbers declined slowly until the 1530's, when they dropped sharply from about thirty-five until there were only twenty-two monks left in 1536.[5]

The secular clergy in the city of Norwich, as in the rest of the diocese, seems to have been badly affected by the Black Death. Institutions to twenty-two parochial benefices in Norwich were being regularly recorded in the episcopal registers, and the exceptionally high

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(1) D. Knowles and R. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales (2nd edn., London, 1971), map 'The Friars'.
(2) The only earlier period for which records of the ordinations of friars of Norwich Diocese survive is 18 September 1406 to 17 September 1407 inclusive. All but four or five of the ordinands were similarly described as 'of the Norwich convent', and twenty-three Dominicans, twenty-four Franciscans, four Carmelites and eleven Augustinians 'of the Norwich convent' were ordained to one or more orders (Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Arundel 1 (1396-1414), fos. 544-549d).
(3) E. Carter, Studies in Norwich Cathedral History (Norwich, 1935), p. 20.
(4) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, pp. 146 and 186-7.
(5) Ibid., p. 161.

number of twelve of these benefices had new incumbents in the year ending 24 March 1350.[1] The unbeneficed clerics of the city were almost certainly reduced in number by the plague, and probably also by their promotion to benefices in the city and in the rest of the diocese: in October 1349 Bishop Bateman obtained a papal dispensation to permit twenty-one-year-olds to hold rectories in the diocese of Norwich,[2] and during the year ending 25 March 1350 institutions to parochial benefices in the diocese numbered about nine hundred, which was over eleven times the annual average of the preceding five years.[3] In spite of the Black Death, two tax assessments, which were probably made during the reign of Richard II, show that Norwich had a fairly large population of unbeneficed secular clerics by the end of the fourteenth century. Under the deanery of Norwich, the boundaries of which coincided almost exactly with those of the city of Norwich, forty-five unbeneficed chaplains were listed in one of the assessments and fifty-two or fifty-three in the other.[4] Even so, about fifty was well below the corresponding figure for 1492, especially since the fifty presumably included the unbeneficed clerics attached to the colleges of secular priests.

The increase in the number of secular priests in Norwich between the late fourteenth and the late fifteenth centuries must have been largely an increase in the members of the parochial clergy since the total number of secular priests attached to the secular colleges of the city remained fairly constant during the period. The clerical population

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(1) REG/2, Book 4, fos. 77, 86, 92d, 95, 95d, 100, 102d, 104, 111, 113, 113d, 116d and 117d (two benefices had two new incumbents each).
(2) REG/2, Book 4, fol. 118d.
(3) A. Jessopp, 'The Black Death in East Anglia', The Nineteenth Century, xvi (1884), 930 and 932.
(4) Public Record Office, E.179/45/8 and 11.

of St Giles Hospital seems to have remained very constant at nine or ten priests from the early fourteenth century until at least 1526.[1] The episcopal registers show that there had been a master or dean and seven prebendaries at the College of St Mary in the Fields in the second half of the fourteenth century[2] just as there were in 1492,[3] but the number of stipendiary chaplains at the college almost certainly grew during the same period; all but one of the six chantry priests attached to the college in 1492[4] were serving perpetual chantries which had been founded after 1370.[5] However, the increase in the number of priests at the College of St Mary in the Fields was offset by a decrease in the number at the Carnary College and by the dissolution of the college of chantry priests in the Bishop's Palace. There had been six priests at the Carnary College from the foundation of the college in the early fourteenth century until sometime between 1421 and 1440 when the number was reduced to four,[6] and there were only three when the college was dissolved in 1547.[7] The college of chantry priests in the Bishop's Palace had been reduced by the bishop of Norwich from three to two priests in 1369 and in 1449 the college was dissolved by the bishop. The alleged reason for both decisions was that the endowments of the Carnary College did not suffice to pay the chaplains' stipends.[8]

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(1) Norw. City Rec., Case 24a, Great Hospital Account Rolls, 1319/1320 and 1396/7; Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Morton 2 (1486-1500), fol. 83; Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 207.
(2) REG/2, Book 4, fol. 148; REG/2, Book 5, fol. 62; REG/3, Book 6, fos. 6, 18, 29d, 52d, 74d, 148d and 201.
(3) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 11-12.
(4) Ibid., p. 12.
(5) Cf., pp: 350, under '1388'; 351, under '1406'; 352, under '1412'; 353, under '1460; and 355, under '1479'.
(6) H. Saunders, A History of the Norwich Grammar School (Norwich, 1932), p. 41
(7) Public Record Office, E.315/68, fol. 325d.
(8) Norw. City Rec., Case 24b, 'Writings relating to St Giles Hospital', number 52.

In Norwich, as throughout England,[1] there were far fewer nuns than male religious and secular clerics. The only house of nuns in or near Norwich was the Benedictine nunnery of Carrow which lay in the suburbs of the city. The number of nuns at Carrow remained fairly constant from the late fourteenth until the early sixteenth century. Fifteen were living at the nunnery in the 1380's, thirteen when Bishop Goldwell visited the nunnery in 1492 and still thirteen in 1532; a peak of seventeen nuns had been reached in 1444/5.[2]

ii. Geographical and Social Origins

Norwich certainly contained a larger concentration of secular and regular clerics than any other town in the diocese, but it also produced far more vocations to the secular priesthood than any other town in the diocese. Between 1413 and 1445 the home towns of the large majority of the secular ordinands were listed in the registers of the bishops of Norwich or, during vacancies in the see, in those of Archbishop Chichele. During these thirty-three years, eighty-seven men 'of Norwich' were ordained to one or more major orders. In the large majority of cases the priesthood was one of the orders conferred. Eighty-seven was nearly three times the number from the next most productive town, Lynn, nearly nine times the number from any other town in the diocese and five per cent of all the secular ordinands of the diocese who were ordained in the diocese between 1413 and

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(1) D. Knowles and R. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales (2nd edn., London, 1971), p. 494.
(2) W. Rye, Carrow Abbey (Norwich, 1889), pp. 37-8; Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 17 and 273.

1445.[1] If somewhat more[2] than eighty-seven individuals from Norwich were ordained to one or more of the major orders during the thirty-three years between 1413 and 1445 and if there were about one hundred and seventeen members of the secular clergy in the city in 1492,[3] then Norwich was producing in the first half of the fifteenth century roughly as many secular clerics during the average life in orders of a priest as there were secular clerics in the city half a century later in 1492.

Chaucer and Langland had described London as a magnet attracting a clerical proletariat.[4] Unfortunately it is not possible to know at all accurately what proportion of the secular clergy of Norwich had their origins outside the city rather than within it because no fifteenth century lists of the unbeneficed clergy of the city earlier than the list of 1492 are known to have survived; the list made in 1492 does not give the place-names of the clergy[5] and nearly all those who were ordained between 1413 and 1445, when the episcopal and archiepiscopal registers were recording the home towns of ordinands, would have died by 1492. However, at least quite a substantial proportion of the secular clergy of Norwich originally came from the city. Registers of the bishops of Norwich and of Archbishop Chichele mention a total of one

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(1) J.F. Williams, 'Ordinations in the Norwich Diocese during the Fifteenth Century', Norf. Arch., xxxi (1955-7), 347-9 and 358. The figure of five per cent is based on the assumption that the average annual number of ordinands was approximately the same between 1413 and 1445 as between 1413 and 1486 (cf., ibid., pp. 347-9 and 358).

(2) Because the home towns of some ordinands were not mentioned and because a few ordinands from the city of Norwich were probably ordained outside the diocese.

(3) Cf., p. 47.

(4) G. Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales, General Prologue, lines 507-511 (The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd edn., O.U.P., 1957, p. 22); W. Langland, Piers Plowman, B Text, Prologue, lines 83-6 (ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Oxford, 1972, p. 3).

(5) Cf., Appendix 3 (pp. 317-324).

hundred and seventeen individuals 'of Norwich' who were ordained to one or more major orders between 1413 and 1486.[1] About twenty-seven of them,[2] or between a fifth and a quarter, are identifiable with varying degrees of certainty as men who spent parts of their priestly lives attached to the parish churches or secular colleges of their native city. Of the secular clergy, those who were university graduates are comparatively easy to identify in their later careers because so many of them held benefices and institutions to benefices were recorded in the episcopal registers. It is therefore surprising that only two or three of the twenty-seven were university graduates,[3] and only one or two more men can be identified with any degree of probability by other evidence as graduate secular priests who were natives of Norwich and who spent substantial portions of their priestly lives in the city between 1370 and 1532.[4] Indeed, of the other thirty-five graduate secular priests who lived in Norwich during this period and whose home towns or home dioceses have been identified by Dr Emden, as many as twenty - or just over half - came from outside the diocese of Norwich. Members of the secular clergy of the city who can be identified from wills as the sons of citizens of Norwich will be discussed shortly.[5]

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(1) In addition to the home towns of the ordinands mentioned between 1413 and 1445, those of some of the ordinands were mentioned between 1446 and 1486. Almost no records of the ordinations for the diocese before 1413 and between 1487 and 1530 are known to have survived.
(2) This is a minimum figure since evidence concerning the careers of the unbeneficed clergy is very hap-hazard.
(3) Geoffrey Champeneys (REG/5, Book 10, fos. 71d, 72 and 73d; Emden, Cambridge, p. 130); Richard Poringland (REG/4, Book 8, fos. 107 and 108; cf., p. 97); and Thomas Massenger (REG/5, Book 10, fos. 83, 84 and 85; Emden, Cambridge, p. 395).
(4) John Aylesham (Emden, Cambridge, p. 25); and Thomas Bevis (cf., p. 61).
(5) Cf., pp. 61-2.

The places of origin of very few of the Norwich friars are known. The few who can be identified by their parents' wills as sons of citizens of Norwich will be discussed shortly.[1] In addition, Friar Brackley, the Norwich Franciscan, preacher and friend of the Pastons, had a relative[2] who was a citizen of Norwich,[3] and he may well have been the son of John Brackley, a Norwich dyer.[4] Some are known to have come from elsewhere in East Anglia. John Bale, the Norwich Carmelite who later became a Protestant reformer and bishop of Ossory, came from Cove near Dunwich in Suffolk.[5] No doubt as members of centralised Orders more of them than of the secular clergy of the city or of the monks of the Benedictine Cathedral Priory came from outside East Anglia. The international character of the friaries in Norwich is suggested by the records of the ordinations of the sixty-two friars 'of the Norwich convents' in 1406 and 1407.[6] Four of the ordinands were apparently foreigners: Brother Reginald de Monteferrando, a Dominican, and brothers John de Wesfalia, John de Austria and Theodoric de Saxonia, all Franciscans.[7] That these young Franciscans from other countries may have been at the friary in Norwich is particularly interesting since it suggests that the Franciscan Studium at Norwich, which is known to have been functioning in the middle of the fourteenth century,[8] may still have been running and continuing to attract students from abroad half a century later.

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(1) Cf., p. 62.
(2) germanum.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 103 (At Yates).
(4) Cf., p. 43.
(5) Dict. Nat. Biog., John Bale.
(6) Cf., p. 51, note 2.
(7) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Arundel 1 (1396-1414), fos. 545, 545d, 548 and 549.
(8) Cf., p. 74.

Surnames suggest that the monks of the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Norwich, like the monks of Westminster Abbey,[1] came predominantly from outside the city in which the monastery was situated. Three of the forty-six monks of the priory in 1492 were called Norwich.[2] The surnames of most of the remainder were the names of East Anglian towns and villages, several of which were in or near the estates and property of the priory.[3] (Westminster Abbey seems to have recruited its monks even more heavily from its estates.[4]) The surnames of the obedientiaries of the Cathedral Priory from the late thirteenth until the early sixteenth century support these conclusions.[5] That so few of the monks of the powerful and wealthy Cathedral Priory came from Norwich must have helped to make the priory appear an alien body within the city, and this appearance may partly explain why at times there was such hostility towards the priory on the part of the citizens.[6]

The wills of the inhabitants of late medieval Norwich provide some indication of how many children from families in the upper ranks of Norwich society became priests or religious, and of where these children led their priestly or religious lives. Between ten and eleven per cent of the sons who were mentioned in their parents' wills were secular priests or religious and two per cent of the daughters were nuns.[7] These

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(1) E.H. Pearce, The Monks of Westminster (C.U.P., 1916), pp. 36 and 38.
(2) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 8.
(3) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, map facing page 1.
(4) E.H. Pearce, The Monks of Westminster, op. cit., p. 38.
(5) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, pp. 193-201.
(6) Cf., Chapter 4, Section a (pp. 274-292).
(7) No children were mentioned in the wills of about forty-five per cent of all the one thousand five hundred and fifteen lay men and women from Norwich whose wills survive and were written between 1370 and 1532. The average size of the families of those who did mention one or more of their children was just under two and a quarter children.

figures do not allow for sons and daughters who became secular priests or religious after their parents had written their wills, and wills show that many were too young to become priests or religious when their parents wrote their wills. Testators from late medieval Norwich whose wills survive were predominantly from the upper ranks of urban society.[1] Therefore it is not possible to compare the proportion of their sons and daughters who became secular priests and religious with that of the sons and daughters of the citizens who were lower in society. The need to be literate, the expense of sending children to study and of entering some religious houses probably meant that the proportion was higher among the upper ranks of urban society and than among the lower. Nevertheless, the remarkably high proportion of sons of the upper bourgeoisie of Norwich who became priests and religious is very significant. It shows that the older and more clerical religious ideals and the more institutional forms of religious life still had considerable appeal in the later Middle Ages for a class of young men which might be expected to have been more than usually anti-clerical. The proportion of the sons who were priests or religious showed no signs of declining on the eve of the Reformation. Indeed, the proportion went up slightly between 1490 and 1532 compared with the period 1370 to 1489.

Only half a dozen testators mentioned more than one of their children who were clerics or religious. Anne Blickling, the widow of a citizen of Norwich, was the only one who mentioned more than two. One of her daughters was a nun at the Franciscan abbey of Bruisyard in Suffolk; a second was a nun at the Franciscan abbey of Denney in Cambridgeshire; and the only other child that she mentioned was a

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(1) Cf., pp. 221-2.

Benedictine monk at St Benet of Hulme in Norfolk.[1] A few of the families containing a child who was a cleric or a religious were fairly large, with four, five or six children. But the average size of the families with children who were clerics or religious was only marginally larger than that of the families which contained one or more children none of whom was a cleric or a religious.[2] Usually nothing indicates whether the cleric or religious was a younger son or younger daughter. However, John Carter, a monk at the Benedictine priory of Horsham St Faith, was the eldest of the at least three and probably five sons of Geoffrey Carter, a sherman and bookbinder of Norwich;[3] and Friar John Kempe, the son of a citizen of Norwich, was probably the eldest child in his large family of one brother and four sisters since his brother and at least three of his sisters were under fourteen years old when their father made his will.[4]

Several of the most prominent families in the city contained children who were clerics or religious, including the families of probably five or six of the forty-five mayors of Norwich who died before 1533 and whose wills survive.[5] Thomas Bewfeld, who had been mayor in 1488, was one of the half-dozen testators who are known to have had more than one child who was a cleric or a religious. His family of six children included a daughter who was a nun at the Benedictine priory at Bungay in Suffolk and a son, 'dann' or 'dawn' Nicholas, who

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 95d (Blickling).
(2) Cf., p. 58, note 7.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 195d (Carter).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 94 (Kempe).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fos. 492-492d (Bewfeld) and Reg. Ryxe, fol. 88 (Bowfeld); N.C.C., Reg. Gylys, fol. 2 (Burgh); N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 31d (Wetherby); PROB/11/10 (Reg. Vox, 1493-1496), fol. 5 (London), and cf., p. 62; PROB/11/8 (Reg. Milles, 1487-1490), fol. 4 (Cooke); PROB/11/9 (Reg. Dogett, 1491-1493), fol. 17 (Bokenham).

was probably a monk.[1] The fathers of sons and daughters who were clerics or religious represented a broad spectrum of crafts and trades. Of those whose livelihoods are known, there were five weavers of various sorts, three barkers and one or two from twenty-five other crafts and trades.

There was an almost exactly equal division between the sons of Norwich testators who were members of the secular clergy and those who were members of the regular clergy. Few parents mentioned the parish churches or religious houses to which their sons were attached, but about a third of the sons who were members of the secular clergy are known to have spent considerable periods of their priestly lives in Norwich. Master Thomas Bevis and the brothers John and Thomas Oudolff are three examples. Master Thomas Bevis was mentioned in the will which his mother made in 1479, when she described herself as a widow of Norwich.[2] Thomas Bevis was a fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, in that year and in 1483 he was instituted to the rectory of St Clement at Fye Bridge in Norwich. St Clement's was apparently the only benefice which he subsequently held and he died, still rector, thirty-two years later in 1515.[3] Thomas and John Oudolff were two of the family of five or more children of Henry Oudolff, a wealthy citizen of Norwich who left about £80 and a considerable number of messuages and tenements in the will which he made in 1473.[4] Thomas Oudolff was married before he became a priest since he mentioned his dead wife and his daughter in his will. As a priest Thomas probably lived in his native city and he died within

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fos. 492-492d (Bewfeld) and Reg. Ryxe, fol. 88 (Bowfeld).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 234 (Bevis).
(3) Emden, Cambridge, p. 60; N.C.C., Reg. Spurlinge, fos. 76d and 80d (Bevis).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fos. 92d-93d (Oudolff).

a short time of his father's death.[1] Thomas Oudolff's brother, John, was rector of the parish church of St Mary Unbrent in Norwich from 1489 until sometime before 1503.[2] In 1492 he was also parish chaplain of another parish in Norwich, St Saviour's.[3] Eighteen years later in 1510 and then aged sixty-nine, John Oudolff was rector of Clippesby in Norfolk, and had been for the last ten years parish chaplain of a third parish in the city - St Martin of Coslany - in which parish, he said, he had spent the first eighteen years of his life.[4]

The religious houses of most of the sons who were members of the regular clergy are not identifiable. Only four of the sixteen sons whose monasteries are identifiable with any degree of certainty belonged to the religious houses in Norwich: Brother Andrew, the son of a Norwich fishmonger, was at the Carmelite friary;[5] Brother Thomas, the son of a brewer of the city, almost certainly belonged to the Franciscan friary;[6] Brother Richard Ingworth, whom Joan Gedney, a widow of Norwich, called her son, was probably at the Dominican friary;[7] and 'dann' William, the son of William London[8] who had been mayor of Norwich in 1482 and 1491, was probably the same person as the William London who was a monk at the Benedictine Cathedral Priory in 1492.[9] Of the other twelve sons, three were monks at the Benedictine abbey of St Benet of Hulme in Norfolk,[10]

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fos. 97d-98 (Oudolff).
(2) REG/7, Book 12, fol. 137d and REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fol. 17d.
(3) Cf., p. 319.
(4) Norwich Depositions, ed. Stone, number 115.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 51 (Rash).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 400d (Glanville).
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 90 (Gedney).
(8) PROB/11/10 (Reg. Vox, 1493-1496), fol. 5 (London).
(9) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 8.
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 95d (Blickling); N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 220 (Ryder); N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 230d (Blackdam).

and one or two belonged to each of six more religious houses in the diocese: the Benedictine priories of Horsham St Faith in Norfolk and Eye in Suffolk,[1] the priories of Augustinian canons at Walsingham and Hickling in Norfolk,[2] the Augustinian friary at Clare in Suffolk[3] and the Premonstratensian abbey at Langley in Norfolk.[4] William Shouldham, the son of John Shouldham who was a wealthy citizen of Norwich, was the only one of the twelve who belonged to a religious house outside the diocese of Norwich. William was a monk at the Benedictine abbey at Walden in Essex.[5]

The nunneries of all the daughters who were nuns were mentioned in their parents' wills. Like the relatives of testators from London,[6] almost all belonged to nunneries in the city or in the surrounding counties. Five - or nearly half - belonged to the only nunnery in Norwich and its suburbs, Carrow Priory.[7] The daughters of citizens of Norwich who were nuns at Carrow illustrate one of the social functions which the nunnery provided for the city. The nunnery also housed a number of lay men and women from the city, and girls from Norwich may have been sent to board and to be educated at the convent.[8] Of the other daughters, all but one belonged, in one's and two's, to four nunneries in Norfolk and Suffolk: the Benedictine priories of Bungay[9] and

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 85 (Harrowe alias Wyghton); N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 195d (Carter); N.C.C., Reg. Aubry, fol. 26d (Shelton).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fos. 173d-174 (Farewell); N.C.C., Reg. Aubry, fol. 63 (Buckingham); N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 202d (Wallis).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 146 (Renter).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Betyns, fol. 164d (Derby).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fos. 294-5 (Shouldham).
(6) E. Power, Medieval English Nunneries (C.U.P., 1922), pp. 12-13.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fos. 159d (Welan) and 350 (Folkard); N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 188 (King); N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 31d (Wetherby); PROB/11/9 (Reg. Dogett, 1491-1493), fol. 17 (Bokenham).
(8) W. Rye, Carrow Abbey (Norwich, 1889), pp. 48-52; and cf., p. 135.
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fos. 492-492d (Bewfeld).

Redlingfield,[1] the Franciscan abbey of Bruisyard[2] and (probably) the Augustinian priory of Campsey Ash.[3] Johanna Blickling, who was a nun at the Benedictine abbey of Denney in Cambridgeshire, was the only one at a nunnery outside the diocese of Norwich.[4]

Wills provide interesting evidence of a number of late vocations among the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich. The wives, sons or daughters of eight secular priests of the city were mentioned in wills.[5] In no case is it clear that the wife was alive while her husband was a priest, and the assumption must be that the wives had died before their husbands were ordained. Thomas Oudolff, who was the son of a wealthy citizen of Norwich and who became a priest after his wife's death, has been mentioned.[6] Unfortunately nothing is known about the earlier lives of the others. Certainly none had been as eminent as William Canynges, the Bristol merchant who became a priest and a canon of Westbury after his wife's death.[7] None of the eight is known to have had a university degree and all seem to have remained unbeneficed clerics. The layman who became a priest after his wife's death is an interesting aspect of lay piety, and shows that lay piety was not necessarily opposed to the more traditional and clerical religious ideals. In as much as he probably said Masses and prayers for himself, his dead wife and his relatives, he was also a kind of do-it-yourself chantry. No widow or

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Wight, fol. 2 (Smyth).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 294d (Shouldham); N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 95d (Blickling).
(3) PROB/11/8 (Reg. Milles, 1487-1490), fol. 9 (Cooke).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 95d (Blickling).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 321 (Clement); N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 103 (Lomynor); N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 37d (Hamonde); N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 92 (Sampson); N.C.C., Reg. Cobald, fol. 11 (Stalon); N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 97d (Oudolff); N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 86 (Gilbert); N.C.C., Reg. Platfoote, fol. 100 (Peket).
(6) Cf., pp. 61-2.
(7) Dict. Nat. Biog., William Canynges.

widower from late medieval Norwich is known to have joined a religious Order.

iii. Education and Training

The two most striking points about the education of the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich are first the increase during the course of the fifteenth century in the number of beneficed clergy who were university graduates, and secondly the apparent scarcity throughout the period of graduates among the unbeneficed clergy of the city.

Between 1370 and 1449 less than one in thirteen of the incumbents of the rectories and one vicarage in Norwich the rectors and vicars of which were recorded in the episcopal registers,[1] were graduates. During the second half of the fifteenth century the proportion of those who were graduates rose to about a third, and during the first thirty-three years of the sixteenth century the proportion was about two in five.[2] The figures for Norwich support the claim which Mr Heath has made for England as a whole that from 1450 onwards a substantial proportion of the parish clergy were graduates, and his guess that their numbers grew gradually thereafter.[3] Mr Heath found that during the early sixteenth century just over one in six presentees to parish livings in the whole diocese of Norwich were graduates.[4] The proportion in the city was

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(1) The parish chaplains who served the other rectories (cf., p. 18) were not recorded in the episcopal registers.
(2) The figures - based chiefly on the registers of the bishops of Norwich and, during vacancies in the see, on those of the archbishops of Canterbury - are: twelve out of one hundred and fifty-eight for 1370 to 1449, twenty-three out of seventy-one for 1450 to 1499, and twenty-five out of sixty for 1500 to 1532. The date of institution has been taken when the dates of institution and vacation spanned two of these periods.
(3) P. Heath, The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation (London, 1969), p. 81.
(4) Ibid., p. 81.

therefore over twice as high as in the diocese as a whole, but well below that in London where in 1522 thirty-nine out of fifty-two incumbents of parish livings were graduates.[1] The increase of graduates in Norwich was not spread evenly over the parishes. The seven livings the advowsons of which were in lay hands[2] had a much lower proportion of graduates than the average. In this respect Norwich followed the national pattern.[3] Two of the sharpest rises in the proportion of incumbents who were graduates occurred at St John's Maddermarket and St Michael of Coslany. These were the only two parish livings in Norwich the advowsons of which belonged to Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and the rises coincided with the acquisition of the advowsons by New College, Oxford, and Gonville Hall, Cambridge, respectively in the middle of the fifteenth century.[4]

Very few graduates can be identified among the unbeneficed clergy attached to the parish churches of late medieval Norwich. This is to be expected since the unbeneficed clergy cannot be traced in the episcopal registers. However, the record of Bishop Goldwell's visitation of the deanery of Norwich in 1492 shows that Mr Heath's claim that graduates among the unbeneficed parochial clergy were almost unknown in late medieval England outside London,[5] is pessimistic for Norwich at that date (though the proportion of graduates was still much lower than the

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(1) P. Heath, The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation (London, 1969), p. 81.
(2) I.e.: St Botulph's (before about 1450), St Clement of Conisford, St Edmund's, St Margaret of Westwick, St Michael of Coslany (before about 1464), St Michael at Plea, and St Peter Hungate (after about 1458).
(3) E.F. Jacob, 'On the Promotion of English University Clerks during the Later Middle Ages', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, i (1950), 183.
(4) Cf., pp. 23-24.
(5) P. Heath, The English Parish Clergy, op. cit., p. 81.

proportion among the beneficed clergy of the city) and it suggests that there may have been considerably more at other times than surviving evidence suggests. One of the twenty-five parish chaplains and four of the forty-eight chantry and stipendiary priests attached to the parish churches of the city were magistri at the time of the visitation.[1] In London, by comparison, one sixth of the unbeneficed clergy were graduates in 1522.[2]

A marked increase around 1450 in the number of graduates among the beneficed clergy at the College of St Mary in the Fields paralleled the increase of beneficed graduates among the parochial clergy. Seventeen out of forty-two masters and prebendaries were graduates between 1370 and 1449, and thirty-eight out of forty-seven between 1450 and 1532.[3] There was an even more marked contrast at the college between the education of the beneficed and that of the unbeneficed clergy than there was among the parochial clergy. None of the stipendiary chaplains attached to the college is known to have been a graduate,[4] and none was when the college was visited by bishops of Norwich in 1492, 1526 and 1532.[5] Apart from the masters of St Giles Hospital after 1430, very few members of the other three secular colleges in Norwich are known to have been graduates.

Professor Jacob argued that the constitution of the Convocation of Canterbury Province in 1421 which urged the promotion of more university

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(1) Cf., pp. 318, 320, 321 and 323.
(2) P. Heath, The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation (London, 1969), p. 81.
(3) Institutions to the mastership and seven prebends were recorded in the episcopal registers. The date of institution has been taken when the dates of institution and vacation spanned the two periods.
(4) Their appointments were not recorded in the episcopal registers.
(5) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 12, 208 and 270.

clerks to benefices, and its re-issue in 1438 did have a noticeable effect.[1] The increase which began around 1450 in the number of graduates among both the beneficed parochial clergy of Norwich and the beneficed members of the College of St Mary in the Fields is local support for Professor Jacob's argument; though the effect seems to have been been longer delayed in Norwich than elsewhere.[2] The increase in Norwich is interesting too because it coincided with an increase in the number of testators from the city who are known to have left bequests for priests or for prospective priests to go to a university. All the bequests came after 1440,[3] which was also just about the time that Thomas Gascoigne was urging the need of providing scholarships for young men to go to university.[4] There is no apparent reason for the decline in the number of bequests after 1517.[5] Most of the bequests were to help secular priests or persons intending to become secular priests to spend time at Oxford or (much more frequently) Cambridge, though a few were to help members of the regular clergy to do the same. Quite frequently the recipient was the son or a relative of the testator: Philip Curson, an alderman of Norwich who described himself as a gentleman, said in the will which he made in 1502 that if his son 'will be a preste' then he, Philip Curson, would pay for his son to 'befownd to Cambrige scolis to lerne y^{t} faculte y^{t} his mynde is most disposed on and till he is bacheler in y^{e} law or of art'.[6] Bequests for scholarships are significant because

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(1) E.F. Jacob, 'On the Promotion of English University Clerks during the Later Middle Ages', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, i (1950), 181-2.
(2) Ibid., pp. 181-2.
(3) Cf., Appendix 4 (p. 325).
(4) Thomas Gascoigne, Theological Dictionary, Religio (Loci e Libro Veritatum, ed. J. Rogers, Oxford, 1881, p. 222).
(5) Cf., Appendix 4 (p. 325).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 386 (Curson).

they reveal support from lay persons for young men, including their own sons, to become priests. They also show that a number of lay men and women were ready to make financial sacrifices to secure a better educated parish clergy, and they must have had an effect upon the education of the parochial clergy of Norwich if the beneficiaries returned as priests to the city; though, as has been said,[1] few natives of Norwich are known to have joined the parish clergy of the city once they had acquired their degrees. The bequests must, too, have helped to solve the problem, which seems to have been especially acute in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries,[2] of maintaining clerks at Oxford and Cambridge universities.

In about 1360 the Cathedral Priory of Norwich was providing two of the handful of Benedictine monks studying theology at Oxford.[3] However, one of the complaints at Bishop Goldwell's visitation of the Cathedral Priory in 1492 was that "commonachi non sunt ad studium litterarum inventi in universitate Oxon'".[4] The bishop had enjoined that two monks should be sent to Gloucester College, Oxford,[5] but in 1532 the complaint that monks were not being sent to Oxford was again being made.[6] These complaints give an unbalanced view of the whole. According to Saunders, between one and four monks from the Cathedral Priory were at Oxford or Cambridge every year for which the relevant obedientiary rolls survive

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(1) Cf., p. 56.
(2) E.F. Jacob, 'English University Clerks in the Later Middle Ages: the Problem of Maintenance', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xxix (1945-6), 313-4.
(3) Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, ed. W. Pantin (Camden Society, 3rd Series, xlv, xlvii and liv, 1931-7), iii. 28-9.
(4) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 4.
(5) Ibid., p. 7.
(6) Ibid., pp. 266-7.

between the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the names of the monk-scholars began to be recorded, and the Dissolution, except 1492.[1]

The two monks from Norwich Cathedral Priory studying at Oxford in about 1360 were the priory's most distinguished products in the late Middle Ages: Adam Easton,[2] later a cardinal and author of the Defensorium Ecclesiastice Potestatis, and Thomas Brinton,[3] later bishop of Rochester and a famous preacher. John Bale should have known the local scene since he had been a friar at the Carmelite friary in Norwich. He mentioned in his Catalogue of famous British writers a remarkable number of other, lesser known authors who were monks at the Cathedral Priory or friars at one of the four friaries in the city: four monks of the Cathedral Priory beside Easton and Brinton, twelve Carmelites, five Franciscans, four Augustinians and one Dominican were included among those who flourished between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries.[4] According to Bale and Dr Emden's researches,[5] most of these men studied at Oxford or Cambridge. A few, like Adam Easton and Thomas Brinton, as well as Bale himself, achieved their national fame after they had passed out of the orbit of Norwich, though Easton seems to have already been making an impact in Norwich as a preacher when he returned to the Cathedral Priory during a break in his Oxford studies, and before he went to the Roman Curia.[6] Many of the others were well known writers while they were living in Norwich. They

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(1) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 185.
(2) Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, ed. W. Pantin (Camden Society, 3rd Series, xlv, xlvii and liv, 1931-7), iii. 28.
(3) Ibid., iii. 29.
(4) Cf., Appendix 5 (pp. 326-7).
(5) Emden, Oxford; Emden, Cambridge.
(6) W. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (C.U.P., 1955), pp. 175-7; and cf., p. 112.

are powerful proof of the effect of the universities upon the standard of religious education in an English provincial city. Bale included only one member of the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich in his Catalogue,[1] compared with a total of twenty-eight members of the regular clergy. It would be interesting to know how far this apparent disparity in intellectual standards made itself felt in the laity's choice between the secular and regular clergy as preachers and confessors.

The Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Norwich sent all its monk-scholars to Oxford until towards the end of the fifteenth century, when it began to send some of them to Cambridge.[2] Dr Emden's researches indicate that most of the Norwich friars who had degrees were graduates of Cambridge but that a sizeable minority, particularly among the Carmelites, were graduates of Oxford. Among the secular clergy of the city, the proportion of Cambridge graduates to those of Oxford was about three to one, which was slightly higher than the proportion among the beneficed clergy of the whole diocese.[3] Of the secular priests of late medieval Norwich whose places of origin have been identified by Dr Emden, almost all the graduates of Cambridge came from within the diocese of Norwich while conversely almost all who were graduates of Oxford originally came from outside the diocese, though a number of the Oxford graduates had also studied at Cambridge.

For Norwich, as for elsewhere, there is very little evidence about the education and training of the large majority of the secular and regular clergy who were not university graduates or, indeed, about the proportion of the clergy who studied at a university without taking a

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(1) Cf., p. 327.
(2) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 184.
(3) Emden, Cambridge, p. xxx.

degree. Norwich contained three schools in which prospective priests could get a rudimentary education: the Song School and the Almery School, both of which were attached to the Cathedral Priory, and the Grammar School.[1] Several clerics who were not priests and boys were attached to both the College of St Mary in the Fields and St Giles Hospital. One of their functions was to sing in the choirs of the churches of the college and of the hospital, and they may have been receiving some form of training to be priests.[2] The records of the worstedweavers of Norwich contain an interesting entry which shows how even an apprentice could become a priest. In 1496 in the presence of the mayor of Norwich Walter Shane, an apprentice grocer of Norwich, was dispensed from his apprenticeship by his master so that he could study to become a priest. The condition of the dispensation was that Walter should go to school with a view to becoming a priest with a clerk called John Russell, who lived in Norfolk, during the time that he would otherwise have spent as an apprentice.[3] A few of the testamentary bequests for people to study to become priests seem to have envisaged study at a school rather than at a university. For example, Robert Elys of Norwich willed that his wife should 'kepe litil Reynold to the skole if he wulle abyde with hir to the tyme she knowe whethir he will be a man of Churche or none'.[4] The will of Master Thomas Bower, vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich, is particularly interesting because it points

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(1) H. Saunders, A History of the Norwich Grammar School (Norwich, 1932), p. 85; A. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England (London, 1915), pp. 224-5.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 89d (Hunt); N.C.C., Reg. Sayve, fol. 23 (Billern); N.C.C., Reg. Typpes, fos. 17d, 18d and 19 (Smyth); D. and C., Reg. 1461-1559, fol. 74 (Peerse).
(3) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 154-5.
(4) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Morton 2 (1486-1500), fol. 23d (Elys).

to the type of extra-university education of a prospective priest by an older and well-to-do priest which was probably very common but about which so little evidence exists: he asked to be buried 'by the grave of my specyall master Doctor Chaumpnes (who had died as vicar of St Stephen's in 1472,[1] twenty-nine years before Thomas Bower's own institution as vicar[2]), whiche brought me up of a chylde and made me preiste'.[3]

The education and training for the priesthood of members of religious Orders who did not go to university would almost certainly have been more systematic in the religious houses in Norwich, as in other large religious houses, than that of those members of the secular clergy who did not go to university. The Cathedral Priory had a school for its junior monks who were not at university, even though it was complained that the juniors were remiss in attending it and that the teaching was insufficient.[4] The Carmelite friary in Norwich seems to have educated its prospective priests from a very early age. John Bale had joined the friary at the age of twelve[5] and Edmund Ouldhall, bishop of Meath, complained in 1452 that he had been persuaded by the bland words of the Norwich Carmelites to join the friary and to make his profession when he was only twelve years old[6] - an interesting re-appearance in the fifteenth century of a stock fourteenth century criticism of the friars. Friar Brackley, the Norwich Franciscan, provided an interesting description of a young friar's training at his friary which combined,

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(1) REG/6, Book 11, fol. 184; cf., p. 379.
(2) REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fos. 2d-3.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fol. 81d (Bower).
(4) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 77 and 269.
(5) Dict. Nat. Biog., John Bale, p. 41.
(6) Cal. Papal Letters, x (1447-1455), p. 229.

or should have combined, studies in the house with service of, and supervision by, an elder friar - a relationship similar to that between the young Thomas Bower and Doctor Geoffrey Champeneys,[1] and similar to the pupil-cum-servant relationship of some sixteenth century English university students with college fellows. In 1460 Friar Brackley recommended a friar, who bore one of his letters to John Paston, as:

> 'meus spiritualis filius, eo quod in Ordinem per me indutus et professus et ad gradum sacerdotii promotus, jam per biennium continuum fuit socius et servitor meus satis solaciosus in tempore meae gravissimae infirmitatis in laboribus et vigiliis continuis tam diurnis quam nocturnis, quorum occasione a suo libro et studio fuit multiformiter impeditus.'[2]

Studies at the Franciscan friary in Norwich had been well organised in the middle of the fourteenth century. The friary in Norwich was one of the Order's seven friaries in England which had been established by Pope Benedict XII's Ordinance of 1336 as studia generalia where theology was to be taught to student friars at a pre-university level. The manuscript notebook of an Italian Franciscan, Nicholas of Assisi, which contains notes of lectures and disputations attended at the Franciscan friary in Norwich in about 1337, shows that the friary was fulfilling its function as a studium generale immediately after Pope Benedict's Ordinance, and that the studies were of a sufficiently high standard to attract a student friar from Italy.[3] The friary was still functioning as a house of studies over twenty years later when the Franciscan, Peter de Candia, who became Pope Alexander V, came from Italy to study there before he went on to Oxford University.[4] As has been said, the possible presence

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(1) Cf., pp. 72-3.
(2) Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, iii. 220-1.
(3) V. Doucet, 'Le Studium Franciscain de Norwich en 1337', Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, xlvi (1953), 87-8.
(4) Emden, Oxford, i. 346.

of young foreign Franciscans at the friary in Norwich in the early fifteenth century suggests that the friary was still acting as a pre-university school of theology, and that the school was continuing to attract students from abroad.[1]

Some further indications of the education of the clergy are provided by the books which they are known to have owned. The Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Norwich had one of the finest libraries in late medieval England. The library was considerably augmented by probably at least two hundred and twenty-eight books bequeathed by Cardinal Adam Easton,[2] a former monk of the priory, which were transported from Rome to Norwich in six barrels in 1407,[3] and the library probably contained at least thirteen hundred and fifty volumes at the Dissolution.[4] Bale and Leland listed a number of books which belonged to the friaries in Norwich,[5] and the number of writers who lived at the friaries[6] suggests that they must have had good libraries. It would be interesting to know how far the libraries of the religious houses in Norwich were open to members of the secular clergy. In the will which he made in 1462 Master John Leystofte, vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich, made the interesting request that if a 'librarium' was begun in Norwich within two years of his death, then his book called 'Repyngton' - presumably Bishop Repingdon's Sermons - was to be given to the library.[7] Presumably the

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(1) Cf., p. 57.
(2) H. Beeching and M.R. James, 'The Library of the Cathedral Church of Norwich', Norf. Arch., xix (1915-7), 71 and 79.
(3) Cal. Close Rolls, 1405-1409, p. 299.
(4) H. Beeching, 'The Library of the Cathedral Church', op. cit., p. 79.
(5) Ibid., pp. 106-116; cf., also, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, ed. N. Ker (2nd edn., London, 1964), pp. 139-140.
(6) Cf., p. 70.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 272d (Leystofte).

library envisaged was a kind of public library for the use of the secular clergy and possibly also for the laity, but it never materialised. When the archdeacon of Norwich visited the parishes of the city in 1368, the parish churches possessed standard service books in abundance and a few standard works of Canon Law, but very few other books.[1] So if the secular clergy of Norwich did not use the libraries of the religious houses of the city, they must have depended upon their private collections of books for more advanced reading.

Almost all the evidence about the books owned by the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich is contained in their wills and in one inventory. Appendix 6 lists the books mentioned in these wills and in the inventory of the goods of John Baker,[2] which is the only surviving inventory of the goods of a cleric of late medieval Norwich. The inventory is interesting because it describes the library of a middle-aged[3] rector of two urban parishes[4] who had probably not been to

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(1) Inventory of Church Goods, ed. Watkin, pp. 1-27; and cf., above, pp. 27-8.
(2) Cf., pp. 328-333; John Baker's books are also listed on page 385.
(3) Both his parents were alive when he wrote his will (cf., p. 383), and cf., the next footnote.
(4) John Baker was described as a priest in the inventory of his goods (cf., p. 383). He wrote his will in August 1518 (cf., p. 382) and had died by 8 September 1518 (cf., p. 383). He indicated in his will that he had been made an executor of the wills of a priest called Richard Baxter and of Geoffrey Carter (cf., pp. 382-3). A John Baker, rector of St John's Maddermarket, was named as an executor in both their wills (N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fos. 457d (Baxter) and 195d (Carter)). Therefore he must have been this John Baker, who had been instituted to the rectory of St John's Maddermarket in 1503 and who had died, still rector, sometime before 27 November 1518 (REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fol. 23d; REG/10, Book 16, fos. 48d-49). The date of his death and his bequest to the parish church of 'Alhalows in Bestrett in Norwich' (cf., p. 383), make it almost certain that he was also the John Baker who was instituted to the rectory of All Saints of Berstreet in Norwich in July 1510 and who had died, still rector, sometime before 22 December 1518 (REG/9, Book 15, fol. 10; REG/9, Book 14, fol. 150d).

university[1] and who lived at a time when printed books were becoming widely available.

The inventory mentioned twenty-six volumes by name beside 'xx other small boks'. About half of the twenty-six were legal works, mostly of Canon Law. The Decrees, the Decretals and Sext; 'a bok, Lynwod' was presumably Lyndwood's Provinciale and the Institutes may have been those of Justinian. The 'iiii bokys of Abbott' were probably the commentaries on Canon Law of Nicholas de Tudeschi, the early fifteenth century Sicilian and Italian canonist who was often called Abbas Modernus. The Casus Longi Bernardi must have been the Casus seu Notabilia, which was a commentary on the Decretals by Bernard of Compostella, the chaplain of Innocent IV. "W. de Speculat'" was probably the Speculum Iudiciale in four books of William Durandus, the thirteenth century canonist who was sometimes called Speculator, and the iii^{a} pars Speculi, which immediately followed the "W. de Speculat'" in the inventory, was probably the third book of it, bound separately. The Vocabularius (Utriusque) Iuris and the Modus Legendi were anonymous legal manuals. Five of the works were sermon manuals: Sermones Dominicales et de Sanctis, 'Dormi Secure' Nuncupati, which was first printed in the late fifteenth century and which has been ascribed to the fourteenth century English Carmelite, Richard Maidstone; the anonymous Sermones Parati de Tempore et de Sanctis; the Sermones Discipuli of the fifteenth century German Dominican, John Herolt; the Sermones Vincencii, which was probably a book of sermons of St Vincent Ferrer, the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Spanish

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(1) John Baker was referred to as magister when his death as rector of All Saints of Berstreet was noted in the register of Bishop Nykke (REG/9, Book 14, fol. 150d), but all other documentary references to him do not mention a university degree and he has not been identified as a student of Oxford or Cambridge University.

Dominican; and the Sermones Magistri ffysher, which must have been the sermons of John Fisher, who had been bishop of Rochester since 1504. The ii di' portuas presumably formed one complete breviary. The remaining books were: the Legenda Aurea, a thirteenth century collection of lives of the saints by James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa; liber, Preceptor', which was presumably the Preceptorium Divine Legis of the early fifteenth century Dominican theologian, John Nider; a work of Albert the Great, the thirteenth century Dominican theologian; the Ortus Vocabulorum; and a 'Bybill', though it cannot be assumed that the Bible was in the vernacular since the inventory also recorded the Decrees, of which there were no translations into English, in its vernacular form. John Baker's books, except possibly Bernard of Compostella's Casus and the Speculum Iudiciale of Durandus, were not rare in England at the time: all except the Casus and the Speculum and the Legenda Aurea appeared in the day-book of John Dorne, the London bookseller, in 1520.[1] John Baker's collection kept an interesting balance between well-known, old works and fairly modern works, though none was remotely unorthodox or humanist, and also a balance between works of foreigners and those of Englishmen. Unfortunately the inventory does not indicate which were printed books, though all the titles are known to have been in print by this date. The estimated values recorded in the inventory were generally slightly less than the prices at which John Dorne was selling the same works in London two years later.[2]

Apart from John Baker's collection and those of Master John Steke

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(1) 'Day-Book of John Dorne', ed. F. Madan (Oxford Historical Society, Collectanea, i, 1885), pp. 79-135.
(2) Ibid., pp. 79-135.

and bishops James Goldwell and John Wakeryng,[1] the largest known collection of books of a member of the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich was the eleven books mentioned in the will of Doctor Geoffrey Champeneys.[2] Geoffrey Champeneys was vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich from 1462 until his death in 1472[3] and lived before printed books were readily available in England. Unlike John Baker's, Geoffrey Champeneys's known collection contained no legal works except possibly the unspecified Rosarium. Also unlike John Baker, Geoffrey Champeneys is not known to have owned a complete Bible, though he owned several commentaries on parts of it which would have contained the relevant sections of the text: the commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra, the fourteenth century French Franciscan, on the New Testament and on the Psalter; the Common Gloss or Glossa Ordinaria on the Psalter of the ninth century German, Walafrid Strabo; and the Common Gloss on the five books of Wisdom with a further gloss by the thirteenth century Dominican cardinal, Hugh of Vienne or, de Sancto Caro. Like John Baker, Geoffrey Champeneys owned a Legenda Aurea and a breviary. The 'Repyngton' was presumably a book of sermons by the early fifteenth century bishop of Lincoln, Philip Repingdon. Oredo

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(1) Bishops clearly formed a special category of the secular clergy, and only the books mentioned in the wills of the two bishops will be discussed. Dr Emden has listed over forty books which belonged to Bishop Goldwell (Emden, Oxford, ii. 785-6); three of them were mentioned in his will (cf., p. 81). All the nineteen books which Bishop Wakeryng is known to have owned were mentioned in his will (cf., pp. 80-86), which has been published by Professor Jacob (Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 311-314). Master John Steke's known connections with Norwich were confined to his four-year spell as rector of St Laurence's in Norwich between 1480 and 1484. He later entered the Brigettine monastery of Syon and died as a monk in 1513. The seventy-five books which he is known to have owned during his life have been listed by Dr Emden (Emden, Cambridge, p. 553).

(2) Cf., pp. 380-1.

(3) Emden, Cambridge, p. 130.

Pacisiens' may have been a scribal error for Credo Parisiensis and so possibly it was a work of the thirteenth century scholastic and bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne, who was often called Parisiensis. The Tractatum Versificand' and the Cronica are unidentifiable.

No books were mentioned in John Baker's will, as distinct from the inventory of his goods. No doubt the books mentioned in the wills of other members of the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich represent only the tip of the iceberg of their private collections. But even if the books mentioned are a very inadequate guide to the numbers of copies of individual books in private hands, taken together they give some idea of which individual works were owned and read. The most frequently mentioned were liturgical or service books, especially Breviaries, Missals, Processionals and Psalters; though in a number of cases it is impossible to know whether the testator was leaving his own book, or whether he expected his executors to buy the book with his money and then to give it to the beneficiary. It is interesting that John Barker, rector of St Margaret of Westwick from 1467[1] until his death in 1500 or 1501, owned "qwayers with the newe service of the Visitacion of Our Lady, and of the Transfiguracion of Our Lord God and of the Blessyd Name of Jhu'".[2] According to Dr Pfaff, these were three of the new feasts which first became generally observed in England as official liturgical feasts in the second half of the fifteenth century.[3] The two owners of the great thirteenth century guide to the liturgy, the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durandus, were Bishop Wakeryng[4]

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(1) REG/6, Book 11, fol. 160.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Cage, fol. 155d (Barker).
(3) R. Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1970), p. 129.
(4) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 313.

and Henry Mountford, who described himself as a clerk of Norwich and who may have been a stipendiary chaplain attached to the parish church of St Edmund in Norwich in 1492.[1]

Of legal works, Edmund Wether, bachelor of law and master of the college of secular priests in Norwich called the Carnary College, owned 'all the hole cowyrs[2] of Canon, that is to say the Decretalis, the Decreys and the Sexte and the Clementynes' when he wrote his will in 1525.[3] A few others, including John Baker, are known to have owned one or more of these four great compilations of canons. However, with the notable exception of John Baker, surprisingly few are known to have owned commentaries on Canon Law, and John Baker was the only one known to have owned the most important commentary on English provincial Canon Law, Lyndwood's Provinciale. The Super Decretalibus of Abbas and the work of Henry de Bohic, the early fourteenth century canonist, were owned by Bishop Goldwell, who left them in his will, together with the Decretals, to the Carnary College in Norwich "cathenand' in libraria ibidem ad utilitatem eorundem qui in Consistorio[4] laborant in decisionibus causarum et aliorum studere volencium".[5]

The wills of the clergy in question mentioned several Bibles and parts of, or commentaries on, the Scriptures. Four clerics beside John Baker are known to have owned Bibles, though there is no conclusive evidence that any was in the vernacular, and a few others owned parts of

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Gylys, fol. 83 (Mountford); cf., p. 318.
(2) I.e., corse = corpus.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fol. 157 (Wether).
(4) The Consistory Court of Norwich Diocese normally met in the Baucham Chapel in the Cathedral (B. Burnham, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Norwich in the Later Middle Ages' (Oxford University B.Litt. thesis 1971), p. 36). The Carnary College was within the Cathedral Close.
(5) PROB/11/11 (Reg. Horne, 1496-1500), fol. 35 (Goldwelle).

the Scriptures. The commentaries on Scripture owned by Doctor Geoffrey Champeneys, which included two commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra, have already been mentioned.[1] Two others owned commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra: John Buxton, who was described as a clerk of Norwich, owned 'the Newe Testament glosed with Lyra the doctor' when he made his will in 1547,[2] and Bishop Wakeryng owned Lyra's book of allegorical and tropological interpretations of the Scriptures called Moralia or Moralitates.[3] Master William Savage, rector of St Clement at Fye Bridge in Norwich, owned or had the use of the Super Epistolas et Evangelia of Acton,[4] who was probably the obscure fourteenth century English scripture scholar, Ralph Acton; and Master John Leystofte, a former fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich from 1457 until his death in 1461 or 1462, owned a commentary on the Psalter by the thirteenth century Dominican, Nicholas of Gorran.[5] William Billern, who was a chantry priest attached to the parish church of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich in 1492,[6] owned a commentary of the Canticle of Canticles which was wrongly attributed to Pope St Gregory I;[7] and John Cheese, a chaplain of Norwich who died in 1449, owned the commentary on various books of the Old Testament by the early fourteenth century Italian Franciscan, Philip de Monte Calerio.[8]

Comparatively few works of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church were mentioned in the wills. Master John Savage, rector of St Clement

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(1) Cf., p. 79.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Wymer, fol. 90 (Buxton).
(3) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 312.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 12 (Savage).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 272d (Leystofte); Emden, Cambridge, p. 367.
(6) Cf., p. 321.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Sayve, fos. 23-23d (Billern).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 24d (Cheese).

at Fye Bridge, owned works of Eusebius - presumably Eusebius of Caesarea - as well as the Confessions of St Augustine.[1] Doctor Edmund Rightwis, rector of St Michael at Plea, owned various unspecified works of St Augustine,[2] and Master John Leystofte, vicar of St Stephen's, owned the Dialogues of Pope St Gregory.[3] John Reading, who was described simply as a cleric, owned the Scintillarium,[4] which was a collection of extracts from the Bible and the Fathers compiled by the seventh century monk of Liège who was commonly called Defensor. John Baker, as has been mentioned,[5] owned a work of Albert the Great. Bishop Wakeryng and Doctor Edmund Rightwis both owned the Dieta Salutis,[6] which was a treatise on moral theology by the thirteenth century Italian Franciscan, St Bonaventure, and Doctor Richard Poringland, a former vicar of St Stephen's,[7] owned St Bonaventure's Sermones de Sanctis.[8] The Flores Doctorum owned by Doctor Edmund Stubbes, rector of St Michael of Coslany,[9] was probably an anthology of extracts from the writings of various Doctors of the Church. It is interesting that so many of the commentaries on Scripture and works of Fathers and Doctors of the Church were owned by clerics who were graduates even though they formed only a small fraction of all the clerics whose wills have survived.

Almost all the remaining books mentioned in the wills of the clerics

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 12 (Savage).
(2) PROB/11/9 (Reg. Dogett, 1491-1493), fol. 28 (Rightwis); Emden, Cambridge, p. 481.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 272d (Leystofte).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 176d (Reading).
(5) Cf., p. 78
(6) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 312; PROB/11/9 (Reg. Dogett, 1491-1493), fol. 28 (Rightwis).
(7) Cf., pp. 97-8.
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 92 (Poringland).
(9) Emden, Cambridge, p. 563; PROB/11/17 (Reg. Fetiplace, 1511-1514), fol. 31 (Stubb)

were theological works of one kind or another. The Summa Angelica owned by Master Edward Hewettson, bachelor of law and apparently an unbeneficed priest of Norwich,[1] was probably the Summa de Casibus Conscientiae of the fifteenth century Italian Franciscan, Angelo Carletti di Chivasso, which was sometimes called Summa Angelica, though it may have been the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas, the 'Angelic Doctor'. Some unspecified works of the early thirteenth century English Franciscan theologian, Alexander of Hales, were owned by Doctor William Buckingham, rector of St Michael of Coslany, when he wrote his will in 1547.[2] Rather surprisingly, no text of or commentary on the Sentences of Peter the Lombard were mentioned. Ecclesiastical or scriptural history was represented by the Magister Historiarum which was owned by John Brown, dean of the College of St Mary in the Fields in Norwich,[3] and which was almost certainly the Historia Scholastica of the twelfth century Frenchman, Peter 'Comestor'; and by the Fascic' Temporum owned by Doctor Edmund Stubbes[4] if, as seems likely, it was the Fasciculus Temporum of the fifteenth century Carthusian of Cologne, Werner Rolewinck. Ascetical works were represented by two books owned by John Reading, cleric: the lives and sayings of the Desert Fathers called Vitae Patrum and by the Formula Noviciorum,[5] if it was the work of this title by Hugh of St Victor; and possibly by the Hugo de Claust° Anime owned by John Cheese, a chaplain of Norwich,[6] which may have been the De Arrha Anime of Hugh of St Victor. It is interesting that no works of late medieval English or continental mystics were mentioned in the wills of the clergy in question.

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Johnson, fol. 141d (Hewettson).
(2) REG/9, Book 15, fol. 22; N.C.C., Reg. Cooke, fol. 88d (Buckingham).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fos. 281-281d (Brown).
(4) PROB/11/17 (Reg. Fetiplace, 1511-1514), fol. 31 (Stubb).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 176d (Reading).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 24 (Cheese).

Ten clerics in addition to John Baker and Geoffrey Champeneys mentioned the Legenda Sanctorum or Legenda Aurea of James de Voragine in their wills, and six others mentioned a 'Legend', which was probably the same work. The exceptional popularity of this work is interesting since it emphasises the important place which rather curious ideas about the saints must have occupied in the religious outlook of the clergy and, through them and especially through their sermons, in that of the laity. The apparent popularity of the Pupilla Oculi is also interesting. The Pupilla Oculi, which had probably been written by John de Burgo, chancellor of Cambridge, in about 1385, was perhaps the most thorough and up-to-date manual of instruction written by an Englishman in the late Middle Ages. Robert Arderne, who wrote his will in 1422, was the first cleric from Norwich known to have owned the book.[1] The occurrence of the book in five later wills suggests that it did supersede earlier manuals of instruction by Englishmen: the anonymous mid-fourteenth century Regimen Animarum was not mentioned in any wills, and the early fourteenth century Oculus Sacerdotis of William of Pagula was mentioned in only one will.[2] It is interesting that Qui Bene Presunt, the early thirteenth century manual of instruction by Richard Wethershed, chancellor of Cambridge University, was still being used by a member of the clergy in the first half of the fifteenth century.[3]

Collections of sermons or what were probably works of pastoral theology were mentioned in the wills of a number of the clerics beside John Baker and Geoffrey Champeneys.[4] Bishop Wakeryng mentioned libros

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 97d (Arderne).
(2) Described as pars Oculi (N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 255 (Gardener)).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 176d (Reading).
(4) Cf., pp. 77-79.

meos de Abstinencia, Vicio Lingue et Oculo Morali, the last of which was probably the work by Peter of Limoges; the Sermones of an unspecified Prior Bartholomew and the Sermones Sanctorum of an unspecified author; the Suma Predicancium, which was probably the work of that title by John de Bromyard, the fourteenth century Dominican preacher and chancellor of Cambridge University, and an unknown volume of his own sermons, quaternum meum sermonum meorum.[1] Henry Gardener, a chaplain, owned a Colleccio Virtutum[2] and Master Richard Waller, the chantry priest of Thorpe's chantry in the parish church of St Michael of Coslany,[3] owned a "Quat' Novissimarum",[4] which may have been a treatise on the four last things; and William de Eston, chaplain, owned a book which began Suma Justicie Christi Fidelium.[5] It is significant that almost all these works of pastoral theology and the collections of sermons, as well as the large majority of the Legenda Aurea's and all but one of the manuals of instruction, were owned by clerics who were not graduates. The apparently greater popularity among the non-graduate clergy of works of pastoral theology over commentaries on the Scriptures and works of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church is an indication of their theological knowledge. It also suggests that the clergy of later medieval Norwich were translating into practice the directives for educating the laity in their religion which had been made by the Lateran Council of 1215 and by the consititutions of English bishops in the thirteenth century.[6] And the books of pastoral theology mentioned, provide an interesting indication of the kind of knowledge which was passed on to the laity.

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(1) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 312-3.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 255 (Gardener).
(3) Cf., pp. 181-2
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 306 (Waller).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 61d (Eston).
(6) W. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (C.U.P., 1955), pp. 189-195.

A third of the clerics from late medieval Norwich whose wills survive mentioned in their wills one or more books which belonged to them.[1] That none of John Baker's books was mentioned in his will, shows that this is a minimum rather than an accurate figure of the number of clerical book-owners. There is almost no positive evidence about the effect of printing on the education of the clergy of the city; only a handful of books were described in wills as printed, and the proportion of clerics who mentioned books in their wills did not rise as printed books became more widely available.[2] Very few books were mentioned which were unconnected with Christian theology: a few books of Grammar; the twelfth century philosophical poem of Alan of Lille, De Planctu Nature, which was thought of as a book of rhetoric by its owner;[3] a 'Cato',[4] which was probably the book of apophthegms called Disticha, then wrongly attributed to Cato the Elder; and the thirteenth century romance, Bevis of Hamton.[5] Furthermore, almost all the books were, by the later Middle Ages, traditional in the theology which they presented. None of the books was unorthodox, even though many of the testators were alive on the eve of the Reformation or after it had begun.[6] Few were mystical works and none was the work of a late medieval mystic. The De Remediis Utriusque Fortune of Petrarch, which was owned in 1471 by Doctor Richard Poringland,[7] a former vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich,[8] was about the

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(1) Cf., Appendix 6, Section A (p. 328).
(2) Cf., Appendix 6, Section A (p. 328).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Spurlinge, fol. 78d (Bevis).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 62 (Eston).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 113 (Stathe).
(6) Cf., p. 328, under 'Abbreviations'.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 92 (Poringland).
(8) Cf., pp. 97-8.

only indication of the impact of humanism on the secular clergy of the city in the late Middle Ages. In some senses, therefore, their mentality may well have been medieval and narrow as was, according to Professor Dickens, the mentality of the early Tudor parish clergy as a whole.[1] But even if the books were traditional in their theology, few were out of date; many were by quite recent authors and many of the older works were still classics in their fields. Perhaps the most striking point was the high proportion of the books which were by foreign writers, and this does not indicate a mentality which was narrow in the sense of provincial.

iv. Pluralism and Non-residence.

A high level of pluralism and non-residence might be expected among the beneficed clergy of late medieval Norwich. Many of the parochial livings were worth very little,[2] and there should not have been any shortage of priests in the city who would have been ready to be hired as curates for absentee incumbents, since there were so many unbeneficed priests in the city[3] and since the work of curates in parishes with so few parishioners[4] would have been light. However, in 1366, the last year for which comprehensive returns of pluralists survive, only two clerics of the city declared themselves pluralists and neither had two benefices with cures of souls. John de Merston said that he was the rector of St Michael of Coslany in Norwich as well as a prebendary of the College of St Mary in the Fields in Norwich, and John de Henneye

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(1) A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (London, 1964), pp. 1-8.
(2) Cf., Columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(3) Cf., pp. 46 and 52.
(4) Cf., p. 14.

said that he was a prebendary of the same college as well as the priest of a perpetual chantry in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich.[1]

For the period after 1366 it would be necessary to go systematically through the registers of the bishops of Norwich[2] and of other English bishops in order to know how many of the beneficed clerics of Norwich who were not graduates[3], were holding other benefices outside the city. Papal registers and those of the bishops of Norwich provide very incomplete information by way of dispensations for benefices to be held in plurality. The records of Cardinal Morton's visitation of Norwich Diocese during the vacancy in the see in 1499 provide a full list of the parish clergy of Suffolk and Sudbury archdeaconries,[4] but only very fragmentary lists for Norfolk and Norwich archdeaconries.[5] The surviving records of Bishop Goldwell's visitations in 1492 show how many of the clergy, including the unbeneficed, held more than one ecclesiastical position within Norwich but unfortunately they do not cover the parishes of the rest of the diocese, and so they do not indicate how many of the clergy of the city held benefices and other ecclesiastical positions elsewhere in the diocese. In 1492, as in 1366, two clerics were mentioned as holding more than one ecclesiastical position in the city, excluding those who were the incumbents of two or more livings which had been officially united.[6] One of the two, John

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(1) Registrum Simonis Langham Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, ed. A. Wood (Canterbury and York Society, liii, 1956), pp. 9-10.
(2) None of them has been indexed according to persons.
(3) For graduates, cf., pp. 90-93.
(4) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Morton 2 (1486-1500), fos. 94-121d.
(5) Ibid., fos. 75-78d.
(6) Cf., Columns 1 and 2 of Appendix 1 (p. 315). Walter Goos was listed separately as rector of Sts Simon and Jude and rector of St Swithin's (cf., pp. 319 and 321), but the two rectories had been officially united by the early fourteenth century (cf., p. 13) and Walter Goos had been instituted to the united rectory (REG/7, Book 12, fol. 157).

Oudolff, held two positions with the cure of souls: he was parish chaplain of St Saviour's as well as rector of St Mary Unbrent's.[1] The other, Robert Calton, was treasurer of the College of St Mary in the Fields as well as vicar of St Stephen's.[2]

Dr Emden's researches make possible more general estimates about the level of pluralism among the graduate clergy of Norwich. Of the university graduates whose careers Dr Emden has traced, almost all the prebendaries of the College of St Mary in the Fields and masters of St Giles Hospital held other benefices concurrently; though as collegial dignities without the cure of souls, tenure of one of these benefices was 'compatible' with that of another benefice which did have a cure.[3] The bishop of Norwich had the right to collate the prebends of the College of St Mary in the Fields and the mastership of St Giles Hospital. Having no cathedral dignities to confer,[4] the bishops frequently conferred these benefices on their officials[5] or on great ecclesiastics. Occasionally royal civil servants were appointed, though apparently no foreigners were appointed and none was provided by the pope. Several of the prebendaries of the college and of the masters of the hospital held many benefices in plurality. To take three examples: Doctor Nicholas Goldwell was collated to the deanery of the College of St Mary in the Fields in 1498 by his brother, Bishop James Goldwell. At the time of his collation Nicholas Goldwell was also archdeacon of Suffolk, canon of

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(1) Cf., p. 319.
(2) Cf., p. 322 ; Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 11.
(3) The College of St Mary in the Fields had received a special motu proprio from the pope to this effect in 1401 (Cal. Papal Letters, v (1396-1404), 419).
(4) The monks of the Cathedral Priory were the Cathedral Chapter.
(5) B. Burnham, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Norwich in the Later Middle Ages' (Oxford University B.Litt. thesis 1971), p. 5.

at least four collegiate churches, rector of at least four churches and free chapels, and master of St Mary Magdalen Hospital in the suburbs of Norwich.[1] Doctor Thomas Hare, a former fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, was collated chancellor of the College of St Mary in the Fields in 1502. At the time of his appointment, he was also vicar-general and chancellor of the bishop of Norwich, vicar of one parish, rector of another and shortly afterwards rector of a third.[2] In October 1472 Master John Davyson, keeper of the Hanaper of Chancery, was presented to the prebend of the Mass of St Mary in the College of St Mary in the Fields, which was in the king's gift on account of a vacancy in the bishopric of Norwich.[3] At that time Master John Davyson was also dean of St Goerge's Chapel, Windsor, and a canon of both St Paul's, London, and Salisbury.[4]

Of the members of the parish clergy who were graduates, only about seventeen are known to have held concurrently other benefices which had the cure of souls, though a few more held other benefices which were without a cure. Rather surprisingly almost all the livings in Norwich of the seventeen graduates were among the more valuable livings of the city, though they were not especially valuable by national standards. Most of the pluralists were concentrated in a few of the city's livings. Three of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century graduate rectors of St Mary in the Marsh, which was valued at £5-0-8 in 1535,[5] held concurrently other parochial benefices;[6] so did a fourth, Henry Sharpe,

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(1) Emden, Cambridge, p. 263.
(2) Emden, Oxford, ii. 872 and iii. page xxvi; REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fos. 6-7d.
(3) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-1477, p. 357.
(4) Emden, Oxford, i. 552 and iii. page xx.
(5) Cf., Column 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(6) Emden, Cambridge, pp. 57 (William Bernham), 220 (John Farewell) and 522 (Peter Shelton).

who was not a graduate;[1] and another non-graduate rector, Edmund Beche, was dispensed to do so.[2] Two of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century vicars of St Stephen's, which was one of the most valuable livings in the city,[3] held concurrently other benefices with cures of souls,[4] and two more held other benefices which were without the cure of souls.[5] St Laurence's, which was valued at £4-14-0 in 1535,[6] was another of the parochial benefices which was held by a number of graduate pluralists. Three of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century rectors who were university graduates held concurrently other benefices which had the cure of souls.[7] One of the three, Master Robert Thompson, was one of the very few clerics beside John Baker[8] who are known to have held simultaneously two parochial benefices in the city which had not been officially united. Robert Thompson was rector of St Peter Hungate from 1490 until he died in about 1507, and he was also rector of St Laurence's from 1505 until his death.[9] The advowsons of the fairly valuable livings of St John's Maddermarket and of St Michael of Coslany, which had been acquired respectively by New College, Oxford, in 1441 and Gonville Hall, Cambridge, sometime between about 1464 and 1505, were the only two advowsons of parochial benefices in Norwich which belonged to Oxford and Cambridge colleges.[10] Several graduates or fellows of New

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 125d (Sharpe).
(2) Cal. Papal Letters, xi (1455-1464), pp. 574-5.
(3) Cf., Columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(4) Emden, Cambridge, pp. 57 (William Bernham) and 118 (Robert Calton).
(5) Emden, Cambridge, p. 123 (Thomas Cappe). And for Master Thomas Bower: REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fos. 2d-3 and 93-93d; REG/9, Book 14, fos. (at end of register, for 1529-1538) 4 and 9; and REG/9, Book 15, fol. 25d.
(6) Cf., Column 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(7) Emden, Cambridge, pp. 20 (William Asshefeld) and 347 (William Lakyngham); Emden, Oxford, iii. 1862-3 (Robert Thompson).
(8) Cf., p. 76.
(9) Emden, Oxford, iii. 1862-3 (Robert Thompson).
(10) Cf., pp. 23-4.

College - beside John Baker, who was not a graduate[1] - held St John's Maddermarket in plurality with other benefices which had the cure of souls,[2] and John Barley, master of Gonville Hall, held concurrently the rectory of St Michael of Coslany, at least one other rectory and the mastership of Gonville Hall between 1502 and his death in 1505.[3] The number of graduate pluralists among both the collegial and the parochial clergy of Norwich rose after about 1450, reflecting the sharp rise in the proportion of both types of secular clerics who were graduates.[4]

Master John Davyson may not have spent any time in residence during his short spell of just over a year as a prebendary of the College in the Fields.[5] Still, there is little to suggest that the overall level of residence at the college was as low as it appears to have been at the rather larger and grander Cathedral Chapter of Lincoln.[6] The prebendaries of the college who were officials of the bishops of Norwich[7] must have lived for some of the time in the episcopal city, and all the prebendaries were in residence when Bishop Goldwell visited the college in 1492.[8] Furthermore, several rather grand ecclesiastics who held non-parochial benefices in Norwich as well as other benefices outside it, are known to have owned town-houses in the city. The only house mentioned in the will of Doctor Nicholas Goldwell, whose benefices have been discussed,[9] was his mansio in St Edmund's parish in Norwich.[10]

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(1) Cf., pp. 76-7.
(2) Emden, Oxford, i. 76 (Thomas Audley), ii. 726 (John Fremantle) and iii. 2099 (John Wyche).
(3) Emden, Cambridge, p. 38.
(4) Cf., pp. 65 and 67.
(5) Emden, Oxford, i. 552 and iii. page xx; and cf., p. 91.
(6) M. Bowker, The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520 (C.U.P., 1968), pp. 155-9.
(7) Cf., pp. 90-1.
(8) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 11.
(9) Cf., pp. 90-1.
(10) PROB/11/14 (Reg. Holgrave, 1504-1506), fol. 40 (Goldwell).

So he probably lived for at least part of the time in Norwich even if not in the College of St Mary in the Fields, of which he was dean. William Westacre, bachelor of Canon Law, who in 1415 was concurrently archdeacon of Norwich, keeper of the spiritualities of the bishopric of Norwich during a vacancy in the see and rector of Watlington in Norfolk,[1] had his domus habitacionis in Norwich in that year,[2] and he was still living in the same house three years later when he made his will.[3] This house had earlier belonged to Doctor John Derlyngton,[4] who had held various non-parochial benefices in Norwich concurrently with parochial benefices outside the city.[5] Another example, that of Doctor Thomas Hare, will be discussed shortly.[6] It would be interesting to know how many of the other graduates who held non-parochial benefices in Norwich together with parochial benefices outside the city, spent their time in the more congenial surroundings of the provincial capital rather than in their country parishes. Where they lived must have affected their parishioners in the countryside as well as the quality - intellectual and otherwise - of clerical society in Norwich; but it would not have affected the cure of souls in the city since their parochial livings were outside it.

However, the cure of souls in Norwich would have been affected if the graduates who held parochial benefices in the city lived outside Norwich rather than in their parishes in the city. There may have been

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(1) Emden, Cambridge, pp. 629-630.
(2) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, iii. 351.
(3) REG/4, Book 8, fol. 143 (Westacre).
(4) Ibid..
(5) Emden, Cambridge, p. 185.
(6) Cf., p. 100.

plenty of other priests ready to be hired as substitutes.[1] But much of the advantage, in terms of intellectual standards, of an increase in the number of graduates among the parish clergy of Norwich[2] would have been lost if they did not live in the city. Some graduates with parochial benefices in Norwich almost certainly did not reside. As has been mentioned,[3] Doctor John Barley was still master of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, while he held the Hall's living in Norwich, St Michael of Coslany; and at the end of his life when he was rector of St John's Maddermarket in Norwich, John Fremantle, bachelor of both Canon and Civil Law, was probably living in Chichester where he held several other benefices.[4] Others almost certainly did reside in Norwich: for example, when he wrote his will in 1493 Doctor Edmund Rightwis, who was rector of St Michael at Plea in Norwich and vicar of a country parish in Norfolk,[5] said that he lived in Norwich.[6] In most cases the important question of where the graduate clergy lived is unanswerable.

It seems likely that fewer of the non-graduate, as well as of the graduate parish clergy, resided in their parishes more or less permanently, than appeared at visitations. It is therefore interesting that as many as seven of the parish clergy - two of whom were graduates - did not appear for Bishop Goldwell's visitation in 1492:[7] the parish chaplains of St Etheldrede's,[8] St Vedast's,[9] and St Martin at the Palace Gates,[10] and

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(1) Cf., p. 88.
(2) Cf., p. 65.
(3) Cf., p. 93.
(4) Emden, Oxford, ii. 726.
(5) Emden, Cambridge, p. 481.
(6) PRO B/11/9 (Reg. Dogett, 1491-1493), fol. 28 (Rightwis).
(7) In addition Walter Goos, rector of the united rectory of Sts Simon and Jude and St Swithin (cf., p. 89, note 6), appeared for the visitation of Sts Simon and Jude (cf., p. 319) but not for the visitation of St Swithin's (cf., p. 321).
(8) Cf., p. 323.
(9) Cf., p. 324.
(10) Cf., p. 324.

Master John Styward,[1] the rector of St Mary in the Marsh,[2] at each of which churches there were no other clergy; and Master Thomas Bowde and another stipendiary priest at St Edward and St Julian's.[3] On the other hand it is interesting that the laity, who felt the effects of clerical non-residence, are only known to have complained once that one of the parish clergy of Norwich was absenting himself from his parish: at a visitation of the parish of St Martin at the Palace Gates in 1416, the five lay inquisitors complained that their parish chaplain non pernoctat within the parish.[4]

v. Upper and Lower Clergy

There was no clear dividing line between the upper and lower secular clergy of the late medieval Church. In so far as tenure of a benefice defined a member of the upper clergy, the preceding sections of this chapter have indicated several points about the upper and lower clergy of late medieval Norwich. First, graduates and pluralists were concentrated among the prebendaries of the College of St Mary in the Fields and the masters of St Giles Hospital and among the beneficed clergy of a fairly small number of the city's parochial livings.[5] Secondly, those of the beneficed parish and collegial clergy who were graduates increased in number sharply after about 1450.[6] Thirdly, there were far more unbeneficed than beneficed clerics.[7] The inequality was partly on account of the unusual fact that over half of the parishes had no rectors or

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(1) Cf., p. 324.
(2) Cf., p. 46.
(3) Cf., p. 323.
(4) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta', Roll 1 (1416).
(5) Cf., pp. 66-7 and 90-3.
(6) Cf., pp. 65 and 67.
(7) Cf., pp. 46-7 and 51-3.

vicars but only parish chaplains in charge.[1] Fourthly, there were graduates among the unbeneficed clergy, though they were much rarer than among the beneficed clergy.[2] It might be expected that members of the upper clergy had once been members of the lower clergy; yet the surviving evidence suggests that there was comparatively little movement between the upper and lower ranks of the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich. None of the unbeneficed clerics in question, including the unbeneficed graduates, is known to have acquired a benefice in Norwich or elsewhere later, and two-thirds of the two hundred and eighty-nine clerics whose wills survive were still without a benefice in their old age.[3] Doctor Richard Poringland is the only known case from Norwich of a cleric who may have moved down from the ranks of the beneficed to those of the unbeneficed clergy. Richard Poringland came from Norwich or from the village of Poringland near Norwich. He was a fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, then master of St Michael's Royal, London, and then vicar of Worstead in Suffolk.[4] Probably from between 1442 and 1445 until 1457 he was vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich,[5] which was one of the most valuable livings in the city.[6] But he is not known to have held any benefice from 1458 until his death,[7] which occurred sometime between 1471 and 1475,[8]

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(1) Cf., p. 18.
(2) Cf., pp. 66-7.
(3) Cf., pp. 223-4.
(4) Emden, Cambridge, p. 478.
(5) Neither his institution to the vicarage nor his vacation of it were recorded in the bishops' registers, but he was vicar in 1448 (N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 12 (Savage)) and in 1449 (N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 24d (Cheese)). The last known incumbent had died sometime between 1442 and 1445 (N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fos. 227-227d (Bernham)) and the next vicar was instituted in 1457 (REG/6, Book 11, fol. 96d).
(6) Cf., columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(7) Emden, Cambridge, p. 458, and discounting Dr Emden's error as to when Richard Poringland held the vicarage of St Stephen's (cf., the penultimate footnote).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fos. 91d and 92d (Poringland).

- though he may have returned to Cambridge for a while[1] - and he described himself as a chaplain when he wrote his will in 1471.[2]

The lack of inventories of goods belonging to priests of late medieval Norwich makes it difficult to estimate how far the division of the clergy into upper and lower on the criterion of tenure of a benefice was reflected in differences in their wealth. The inventory of the goods of John Baker, which is the only surviving inventory of the goods of a cleric of late medieval Norwich, listed 'all the goods moveable .... apperteynyng and belongyng in tyme of .... dethe'[3] to this middle-aged rector of two parishes in Norwich.[4] John Baker's moveable goods were valued at £21-18-1 - exclusive of some clothes and riding-gear the values of which were not recorded[5] - and they must have made him a man of reasonably comfortable means. His books have already been discussed.[6] He owned two feather-beds and plenty of bed-clothes for them. His wardrobe was quite extensive: four gowns beside a riding-gown and a coat, three tippets, three doublets, two pairs of hoses and two shirts. He had enough furniture and tableware to provide meals in comfort for several persons beside himself, and he had evidently possessed a horse at some stage of his life since he owned two saddles, a bridle, and a riding-gown and a riding-hood when he died.[7]

John Baker's will and the inventory of his goods show that a testator may have been considerably wealthier than his will alone would

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(1) Cf., Emden, Cambridge, p. 458.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 91d (Poringland).
(3) Cf., p. 383.
(4) Cf., p. 76. His two rectories - St John's Maddermarket and All Saints of Berstreet - were valued at £7-17-0 and £3-14-8 respectively in 1535 (cf., column 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(5) Cf., p. 386.
(6) Cf., pp. 77-8.
(7) Cf., pp. 383-6.

suggest; John Baker's goods were valued at about twice the total amount which he bequeathed in his will.[1] Still, in the case of the clergy there was not usually the possibility that they had left money to their wives and children outside their wills and probably there was a fairly constant proportion, overall, between the total values of testators' legacies and those of their goods. Assuming the last point, wills suggest that there was a difference between the wealth of the upper or beneficed clergy and that of the lower or unbeneficed clergy of late medieval Norwich, but that the difference was less than might be expected and that many of the unbeneficed clergy were comfortably off.

At the top of the pyramid, for the most part in a separate class, were the bishops of Norwich and their wills did not include the wealth which was tied to the bishopric but which they enjoyed while they were alive. Except Alexander Tottington, each of the five men who died as bishop of Norwich between 1370 and 1532 after reasonably long tenures of the see and whose wills survive,[2] left bequests worth at least £500 in cash,[3] besides bequests in kind; Bishop Tottington had been a monk and then prior of the Cathedral Priory in Norwich and he left somewhat more than £100 in bequests in cash, a manor which he reckoned to be worth £10 per annum and many liturgical items which he gave to his Cathedral. The numerous and complex bequests of Thomas Brown, bishop from 1436 until his death in 1445, probably amounted to more than those of any of the other four bishops: he left bequests in cash worth about £1,250 besides jewels, a considerable number of vestments and household goods and six horses.

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(1) Cf., pp. 382-3.
(2) Cf., p. 39, note 3.
(3) This and subsequent figures include payments for Masses and chantry services at the standard rates of pay (cf., pp. 209-213) when no sums of money for them were mentioned in the wills.

At the next level of wealth, in some cases with fortunes comparing with those of some of the bishops, were a number of priests who held various non-parochial benefices in the city in plurality with other benefices outside it. The benefices which Doctor Thomas Hare held in 1502 have already been mentioned.[1] He was promoted from chancellor to dean of the College of St Mary in the Fields in 1514 and he remained dean until his death in 1520.[2] He remained chancellor of the bishop of Norwich until his death[3] and vicar-general until at least 1514,[4] and until his death he was always holding concurrently at least two parochial benefices outside Norwich.[5] He seems to have been living in Norwich towards the end of his life.[6] He left in his will bequests worth at least £450 beside a hundred ewes, a manor, one hundred and sixty acres of land and a considerable amount of other property.[7] William Westacre, whose benefices have also been mentioned and who was also living in Norwich towards the end of his life,[8] left bequests worth nearly £200 in addition to a number of vestments and clothes and his mansus in Norwich.[9] Master John Smyth, who had earlier been vicar-general of the bishop of Norwich, was master of St Giles Hospital from 1479 until his death in 1489 and rector of two Norfolk parishes throughout this period; he left in his will enough lands to found one perpetual chantry

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(1) Cf., p. 91.
(2) REG/9, Book 14, fos. 113 and 157 (first of two folios marked 157).
(3) Emden, Oxford, ii. 872.
(4) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 71.
(5) Emden, Oxford, ii. 872.
(6) Norwich Depositions, ed. Stone, number 188.
(7) PROB/11/20 (Reg. Maynwaring, 1520-1522), fol. 8 (Hare).
(8) Cf., p. 94.
(9) REG/4, Book 8, fos. 142d-143d (Westacre). The mansus seems to have been his personal property since, although he said that it had belonged to his predecessor as archdeacon of Norwich, he ordered his executors to sell it.

and two expensive perpetual anniversary services, besides a number of other bequests.[1] Several other men such as John Rickinghall, dean of the College of St Mary in the Fields and later bishop of Chichester, and John Morton, archdeacon of Norwich and later archbishop of Canterbury, were almost certainly wealthy men when they held their non-parochial benefices in Norwich; but their other occupations and benefices make it unlikely that they ever spent much time in the city.[2]

With the possible exception of those pluralists who are unlikely to have lived in Norwich, none of the beneficed parish clergy of Norwich is known to have been anything like as wealthy as the bishops of Norwich or Doctor Thomas Hare. But in spite of the poverty of many of the livings,[3] half of the sixty-two whose wills survive[4] - and two in three of those who wrote their wills between 1440 and 1432 - left legacies worth at least £10, which was about the amount which John Baker left in his will. Several were rich men. The most valuable bequests left by one of the sixty-two were those left by Master Roger Medilton, rector of St Peter Mancroft from 1361 until his death in 1375.[5] The rectory, which was valued at £16-13-4 in 1368, was the most valuable living in the city[6] and Roger Medilton left bequests worth about £100.[7] Henry Bony, who was not a university graduate, was rector of St Edmund's in Norwich for fifty years until his death in 1467.[8] The rectory of St Edmund's was

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(1) Emden, Cambridge, p. 534; N.C.C., Reg. Typpes, fos. 17d-19d (Smyth); and cf., pp. 188 and 201.
(2) Emden, Cambridge, pp. 412 and 480.
(3) Cf., Columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(4) Cf., p. 224.
(5) REG/2, Book 5, fol. 54d; N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 54d (Medilton).
(6) Cf., Columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 54d (Medilton).
(8) REG/4, Book 8, fol. 23d; N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fos. 67d-68 (Bony).

valued at only £1 in 1368 and £4-6-6 in 1535,[1] and Henry Bony is not known to have held any other benefice. He left bequests worth over £80.[2] Master Thomas Bevis, whose origins and career have already been mentioned,[3] left about £70 in bequests in cash and his 'place with a renter', which were probably in Norwich.[4]

Bequests worth £10 or more were left in the wills of between a third and two-fifths of the two hundred and one unbeneficed clerics in question.[5] The proportion among those who died between 1440 and 1532 was between two-fifths and a half. The proportions were lower than those of the clergy who had parochial benefices in the city. But the differences were not as great as might be expected, and a number of the unbeneficed clergy left as much in their wills as the wealthier members of the beneficed clergy. Master John Excestre, a citizen of Norwich and a married clerk in minor orders who served continuously as registrar to bishops Wakeryng, Alnwick and Brown, left the most of the unbeneficed clerics. He left bequests worth about £100 in cash in addition to an unspecified amount of property in land, tenements and messuages.[6] John Bippis, an unbeneficed chaplain of Norwich, left bequests worth over £40 in the will which he made in 1477.[7] Peter de Welborne, who was probably the parish chaplain of St George at Tombland, bequeathed about £35 in the will which he wrote in 1390, and he mentioned four messuages and a garden of his (which he wanted to be sold, at least partly to pay for his

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(1) Cf., Columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fos. 67d-68 (Bony).
(3) Cf., p. 61.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Spurlinge, fos. 76d-80d (Bevis).
(5) Cf., p. 224.
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fos. 107-107d (Excestr); E.F. Jacob, 'Thomas Brouns, Bishop of Norwich, 1436-1445', Essays in British History Presented to Sir Keith Feiling, ed. H. Trevor-Roper (London, 1964), p. 70.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fos. 154-154d (Bippis).

bequests).[1] Thomas Oudolff, a widower priest whose earlier life has already been discussed,[2] left bequests worth about £20 in cash and he mentioned a tenement of his and his farm at Frettenham, which is six and a half miles from Norwich.[3]

With some exceptions, chiefly before 1440, the wills of the unbeneficed clergy of Norwich do not give the impression of a clerical proletariat living at subsistence level; and since the wills of such a large proportion of the secular clergy of the city survive,[4] it is unlikely that such a proletariat of poverty-stricken priests existed among those priests who either did not make wills or whose wills have not survived. Where they acquired their wealth, and how they spent their time, remains something of a mystery. There is no evidence that any of them was engaged in a trade or craft, though John Oudolff's will shows that he owned a farm, even if he did not farm himself. A number of the unbeneficed clergy were the official parish priests of parishes which had no properly instituted rectors or vicars.[5] Presumably they were paid by receiving either the lesser tithes and offerings or a stipend from either the religious house to which the parish church was appropriated or the farmer of the benefice.[6] Founders of perpetual and temporary chantries offered comparatively good stipends for remarkably little work. Their foundations and bequests for other forms of religious services seem to have provided a very important and regular source of income for the stipendiary priests of Norwich while at the same time not burdening them with much to do.[7]

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 123d (Welborne); Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 361.
(2) Cf., pp. 61-2.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fos. 97d-98 (Oudolff).
(4) Cf., pp. 223-4.
(5) Cf., p. 18.
(6) Cf., pp. 18-19.
(7) Cf., pp. 211-3.

vi. Morals and Behaviour

The chief sources of information about the morals and behaviour of the religious and the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich are the records of a number of visitations of the religious houses, secular colleges and parishes of the city, and the records of the Norwich Consistory Court which survive from 1499. These records are not a quantifiable barometer of fluctuations in the standards of behaviour of the religious and the secular clergy of the city: they are not sufficiently continuous, especially before 1492, and visitation records are very dependent upon the moods of the visitor and of the interrogated. Nevertheless, they throw interesting light upon the behaviour of various religious and clerics. The records of the visitations of religious houses and secular colleges, in which the complaints were made by the members of the institutions, are also indicative of the attitudes of the inmates towards one another and of the kind of behaviour which they thought to be wrong; and the records of visitations of parishes are indicative of the attitudes of lay people towards their parish clergy, since they could bring complaints against the latter at these visitations.

Records of seven late medieval visitations of the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Norwich survive. The records of the visitations of 1309 and 1347 survive only in the form of the bishops' general injunctions to the whole priory. The most serious complaint that Bishop Salmon made in 1309 was that scarcely seven or eight of the community of sixty or more monks were attending the Divine Office in the Cathedral,[1] and he issued a number of injunctions against the slovenly performance

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(1) E. Carter, Studies in Norwich Cathedral History (Norwich, 1935), p. 20.

of the Cathedral services.[1] Bishop Bateman's injunctions of 1347 were mainly concerned with the financial efficiency of the priory. However, he also forbad the prior to give lightly dispensations to eat meat, and vagrant and ill-disciplined monks were to be kept in the priory and were not to be sent to the outlying cells of the priory.[2] The monks were forbidden to wear fine or colourful clothes,[3] and Bishop Bateman tried to moderate the amount of money that the monks could receive for their personal expenditure.[4] The only suggestion of sexual immorality in the records of either visitation was Bishop Bateman's injunction that women should not spend the night within the monastic precincts.[5]

The records of the other five visitations of the Cathedral Priory, which were made between 1492 and 1532,[6] are more informative than those of the visitations of 1309 and 1347 because they contain the comperta of the individual monks, as well as the bishops' injunctions. There were complaints of too close contacts with women at all five visitations. More specific charges of unchastity were made at the visitations of 1514 and 1526; though the evident split of the monastery at these dates into two factions makes the evidence of the witnesses suspicious. In 1514 Brother Robert Worsted was accused by three monks of begetting a child by a girl from the city, and the sub-prior and two other monks were suspected by several monks of committing adultery with various women.[7]

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(1) E. Carter, Studies in Norwich Cathedral History (Norwich, 1935), pp. 19-23.
(2) C.R. Cheney, 'Norwich Cathedral Priory in the Fourteenth Century', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xx (1936), 106.
(3) Ibid., p. 109.
(4) Ibid., p. 110.
(5) infra cepta monasterii (ibid., p. 113).
(6) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 1-8, 71-9, 192-4, 196-206 and 262-270.
(7) Ibid., pp. 74-6 and 78.

In 1526 the third prior complained that 'uxor scissoris, videlicet the wardroper's wiff, suspectos habet accessus ad Doctorem Reppis (the sub-prior) et amplexatur illum praesentibus aliis'.[1] The statutes of the late medieval provincial chapters of the English Benedictines suggest that many of the lesser faults which were complained of were prevalent throughout the English Congregation.[2] Many monks were accused of wearing shoes and clothes which were fancy or against the Rule.[3] Junior monks were said to be idle, too talkative and insufficiently devoted to their studies,[4] and to play dice and cards![5] Some monks were accused, too, of dancing in the guest-hall at night with the permission of the guest-master![6] Visitations of religious houses necessarily involve accusations against a man's fellow religious. Nevertheless, perhaps the most striking fact which the visitations of 1514, 1526 and 1532 revealed was the bitterness between the two factions into which the monastic community seems to have been split, largely on the basis of age.

There are no extant records of visitations of the four Norwich friaries, which were exempt from episcopal visitations, but records survive of a number of visitations of Carrow Nunnery, which was in the suburbs of Norwich, and of the secular colleges of the city.[7] All these visitations were carried out between 1492 and 1532, and they seem to have been made much more cursorily than the corresponding visitations of

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(1) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 200.
(2) Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, ed. W. Pantin (Camden Society, 3rd Series, xlv, xlvii and liv, 1931-7), Vols. 1-3, passim.
(3) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 74, 201, 263 and 269.
(4) Ibid., pp. 266 and 268-9.
(5) Ibid., p. 198.
(6) Ibid., pp. 75 and 78.
(7) Ibid., pp. 9-13, 15-17, 145, 206-210 and 270-5.

the Benedictine Cathedral Priory. Almost all the complaints were concerned with relatively minor matters. Various nuns of Carrow complained of the food and drink,[1] and of the failure to observe various feast-days.[2] Two nuns complained in 1532 that their annual pensions were not being paid,[3] and in the same year several nuns complained that the absence of a door allowed lay people to look at and approach the nuns in the choir![4] Nearly all the small number of complaints made by members of the secular colleges of Norwich were concerned with the poor material and financial state of the colleges; the most serious was the complaint that Master Robert Ipswell, a former master of the Carnary College, had absconded with £20 and some jewels belonging to the college.[5]

Almost all the recorded complaints which were made by the laity against the secular clergy at visitations of parishes[6] were concerned with sexual faults. No complaints against the clergy were noted in the records of the visitations of 1333 and 1499. However, one or more priests were said to have committed adultery or fornication at five of the nine early fifteenth century visitations of four areas which were within the liberties of the Cathedral Priory: Holmstreet, and the parishes of St Martin at the Palace Gates, St Mary in the Marsh and St Paul's.[7] The worst year was 1428, for which only the records of the visitation of St Paul's parish survive: three priests were said to have committed adultery or fornication.[8] The laity also made several

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(1) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 16, 17, 145 and 209.
(2) Ibid., pp. 209 and 274-5.
(3) Ibid., pp. 274-5.
(4) Ibid., pp. 274-5.
(5) Ibid., p. 10.
(6) Cf., p. 31, note 2.
(7) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta', Rolls 1 (1416), 1a (1417), 3 (1421-3) and 10 (1437 and 1428).
(8) Ibid., Roll 10 (1437 and 1428).

accusations or suggestions of immorality on the part of clerics or religious at Bishop Goldwell's visitation of the parishes of the city in 1492. The two lay inquisitors of the parish of St Peter Parmentergate said that 'ffrater Johannes Caster novitur super crimine incontinencie cum Isabella Chapman juniore';[1] Brother John Caster may have been a Franciscan since the Franciscan friary lay within the parish of St Peter Parmentergate. The two lay inquisitors of the united parish of St Cuthbert and St Mary the Less claimed that a certain Agnes Saunder 'fovet lenocinium inter presbiteros, mulieres, ffratres, canonicos et ex omni genere',[2] and the four inquisitors of the parish of St Peter Mancroft claimed that a certain Helen "manens in tenur' prioris Norwic'" was known to have committed adultery with various persons.[3] The visitation records give no details beyond the accusations, except in one case in which the priest denied the charge of adultery brought against him and he was ordered to purge himself.[4] If many of the accusations were true, immorality among the clergy, at least in the isolated years for which records survive, must have been fairly common. Even if most were untrue, it is interesting that the laity were prepared to accuse religious and secular clerics, directly or indirectly, of immoral behaviour; though such accusations were nothing like as rife as they were in the more primitive diocese of Hereford when it was visited in 1397.[5] None of the priests from Norwich who was involved was a member of the beneficed clergy of the city; presumably those who were accused

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(1) Cf., p. 324.
(2) Cf., p. 324.
(3) Cf., p. 322.
(4) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta', Roll 10 (1437 and 1428).
(5) 'Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397', ed. A.T. Bannister, English Historical Review, xliv (1929), 279-289 and 444-453 and xlv (1930), 92-101 and 444-463, passim.

directly (and not just indirectly mentioned as the men with whom the accused women had had intercourse) were priests living in the parish which was being visited. The surviving records of the Consistory Court of Norwich Diocese mention no direct accusations of sexual immorality on the part of the clergy of Norwich; the only suggestions of their immoral behaviour were in a few cases of defamation, and the point at issue in these cases was whether the defamatory statements - that various priests were adulterers or fornicators - had been made, not whether they were true.[1]

Only two charges which did not involve sexual morality were brought against the clergy by parishioners at the visitations of parishes. In 1416 the five lay inquisitors of the parish of St Martin at the Palace Gates complained that their rector failed to maintain the lampas in the chancel of the parish church;[2] presumably the sanctuary lamp was meant. And, as has been mentioned, the inquisitors at this visitation also complained that their parish chaplain did not spend the night within the the parish.[3] The paucity of complaints that the parochial clergy were not performing their duties, contrasts with the large numbers of such complaints which were made by the laity at late medieval visitations of Lincoln and Hereford dioceses;[4] one of the reasons may well have been that such failures were much less felt by the laity in a town like Norwich, where there were plenty of other priests, than in country

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(1) Cf., p. 126.
(2) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta', Roll 1 (1416).
(3) Cf., p. 96.
(4) Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531, ed. A.H. Thompson (Lincoln Record Society, xxxiii, xxxv and xxxvii, 1940-7), i. 1-140 and ii. 1-70, passim; 'Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397', ed. A.T. Bannister, English Historical Review, xliv (1929), 279-289 and 444-453 and xlv (1930), 92-101 and 444-463, passim.

districts. Apart from the suggestions of sexual immorality implied in the cases of defamation, the only charges brought against priests of Norwich in the Consistory Court of the diocese were two accusations of interference in wills. In 1502 John Wyllet deposed that John Dannok, parish chaplain of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich, had urged John Fenn, of the same parish, to make another will and to nominate himself, John Dannok, as the executor. The deponent said that John Fenn had refused to agree to his parish chaplain's proposal.[1] In 1520 the wife of Robert Tiler of Hales in Norfolk said that eight years ago she had gone to Norwich to try to get her deceased husband's will, which had been proved nineteen years earlier, altered. She said that two clerics from Norwich whom she had approached had refused to alter her husband's will but that a third, Master Godsalve, had agreed and had altered it.[2] The record of the judgment on neither case survives.

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(1) Norwich Depositions, ed. Stone, number 18.
(2) Ibid., number 188.

Chapter 2. Newer Religious Movements

a. A Note on the Religious Knowledge of the Laity

The development of an educated and devout laity in later medieval England was partly the result of lay men and women wanting to lead deeper religious lives without becomiming priests or entering religious Orders. If was affected, too, by the increasing literacy of the laity, especially in the towns. But the development was also the result of initiatives in the Church from above: in particular, the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and consitutions of English bishops, especially in the thirteenth century, which were directed at producing a better educated and more devout laity, and the translation of this legislation into practice by the clergy through the media of sermons, religious instruction and devotional literature.[1] Therefore what has been said about the education of the secular and regular clergy[2] must have had an important bearing upon the religious education of the laity.

Something has already been said about some of the means by which the laity were instructed in their religion: the liturgy,[3] the Sacrament of Penance[4] and the advice which was given to the laity in one form or another by the clergy.[5] Apart from the liturgy, preaching was probably the most important source of instruction for the large majority of the laity. But there is almost no immediate evidence about the sermons of the parochial clergy of late medieval Norwich beyond that provided by

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(1) W. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (C.U.P., 1955), pp. 189-195.
(2) Cf., Chapter 1, Section a, Sub-section iii (pp. 65-88).
(3) Cf., p p. 27-8 and 32-3.
(4) Cf., p p. 33-4.
(5) Cf., p p. 41-3.

the books concerned with preaching which they are known to have owned.[1] The prior of the Cathedral Priory in Norwich, writing to the prior and monks of Gloucester College, Oxford, in about 1360, said that the mendicant friars used to preach many sermons of God's word to the people in Norwich Cathedral, but that the monks of the Cathedral Priory had decided to take over the preaching in the Cathedral from the friars. He went on to say that certain friars had brought forward matters contra sane doctrine iusticiam et Ecclesie libertatem and that Adam Easton, the leader of the team of monks preaching in the Cathedral, had, by true doctrine, restrained the friars from their erroneous ways and would soon triumph over them.[2] The prior's letter certainly suggests that preaching by the Benedictine monks and the mendicant friars in Norwich was lively, up-to-date and popular with the laity. At least during Lent regular Sunday sermons were being preached in the Cathedral or in the 'Greenyard' next to it in the early fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries;[3] but there is no evidence later than the prior's letter to Gloucester College of theological controversies being conducted from the pulpits of Norwich. As well as Adam Easton, Thomas Brinton, the famous late fourteenth century preacher and bishop of Rochester, had been a monk at the Cathedral Priory in Norwich, though he had left Norwich before he achieved national fame; and Friar Brackley, the well known fifteenth century preacher, belonged to the Franciscan friary in Norwich. Considering the importance of, and popular demand for, sermons which

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(1) Cf., pp. 77-9 and 85-6.
(2) Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, ed. W. Pantin (Camden Society, 3rd Series, xlv, xlvii and liv, 1931-7), iii. 28-9.
(3) Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ed. D. Wilkins (London, 1733-7), iii. 282; Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, numbers 317, 328 and 330.

The Book of Margery Kempe reveals,[1] it is rather surprising that only two of the laity from late medieval Norwich are known to have endowed a sermon or course of sermons in their wills. John Swayn, an alderman of Norwich, offered the priest who was to be hired to perform a two-year chantry service 6/8d a year extra if he preached, or arranged to be preached, one sermon during the course of each of the two years in the parish church of St Peter Parmentergate in Norwich, in which he had asked to be buried,[2] and Margaret Felbrigge left 13/4d to a friar - probably a Dominican from Norwich - to preach a sermon to the people on the day of her burial.[3] The paucity of testamentary bequests for sermons contrasts with the considerable number of bequests from the laity for scholarships,[4] most of which were also aimed at producing a better educated laity (through a better educated clergy).

The literate could improve their religious education also through reading books. Even the illiterate could profit from books by having them read to them, as Margery Kempe and Cicely, duchess of York, are known to have had.[5] The only surviving inventory of the goods of a lay man or woman from late medieval Norwich is that of Robert Wausse, and it lists no books.[6] But a number of the laity mentioned books in their wills,[7] though in a number of cases it is not clear whether the testator owned the book or whether he wanted it to be bought by his executors after his death and to be given by them to the beneficiary. The large majority of books

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(1) Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 61-2 and 67-9 (ed. Meech, pp. 148-152 and 165-7).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fos. 124d-125 (Swayn).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 185 (Felbrigge).
(4) Cf., pp. 68 and 325.
(5) W. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (C.U.P., 1955), pp. 254 and 260.
(6) D. and C., Reg. 1461-1559, fos. 31-31d (Wausse).
(7) Cf., Appendix 6 (pp. 328 and 333).

mentioned were standard liturgical and service books - especially Missals, Breviaries, Primers and Psalters. In almost every case it is not clear whether the book was in the vernacular or in Latin: almost always the title of the book was in the same language as the rest of the will. The books suggest that there were a number of pious and literate men and women who, while remaining in the lay state, took an active part in the Mass and in the Divine Office, participation in which were the two main duties of priests and religious.

Few books of less conventional or less clerical tastes were mentioned. John de Cove, an advocate of the Norwich Consistory Court, owned the compilation of canons called Sext and a work of the thirteenth century canonist, Henry of Segusio, commonly called Hostiensis;[1] and Master John Eastgate, another advocate of the Norwich Consistory Court, owned 'John Acton',[2] which was presumably a work of Canon Law by the early fourteenth century English canonist of that name. William Cannered, a butcher of Norwich who wrote his will in 1542, was the first and only lay man or woman from late medieval Norwich who is known to have owned a complete Bible.[3] In 1444 Robert Norwich, a knight who seems to have been living in Norwich,[4] left a 'kalendar', which may have been a liturgical calendar, a book of the meditations of Sts Anselm and Bernard and several secular books: an unnamed book of Hoccleve; a quaternum de regibus Anglie versificatum; and an unnamed book made by the household of the duke of York.[5] Catherine Kerr, who was a widow living in Norwich, left a 'book of St Kateryn' in 1497;[6] and another widow, Isabel Liston, left to her

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 33d (Cove).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 64 (Eastgate).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Cooke, fol. 195 (Cannered).
(4) Cf., p. 134.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 5 (Norwich).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 90d (Kerr).

daughter in 1491 "myn Englysshe boke of Seynt Margaret' lyfe" and the early fifteenth century English romance, Partonope of Blois.[1] The most interesting collection of books was left by a third widow of the city, Margaret Purdans, who wrote her will in 1481.[2] She owned a Psalterium anglicanum, and she left her parvum Psalterium to her son. She left to the Franciscan nuns of Bruisyard in Suffolk, Le Doctrine of the Herte, which was a translation of the De Doctrina Cordis - usually ascribed to Bishop Grosseteste - which was a devotional treatise addressed to a woman on how to lead a devout life. She bequeathed to the Benedictine nuns of Thetford her liber anglicanus Sancte Brigitte, and to Alice Barly a liber vocatus Hylton, which was presumably a book by the fourteenth century English mystic, Walter Hilton. The books of Margaret Purdans are especially interesting because they suggest that she was a kind of bourgeois equivalent of the devout aristocratic lay woman, Cicely, duchess of York: Cicely used to recite the Breviary daily and she had read to her, among other books, works of Walter Hilton and the Revelations of St Brigit.[3] Margery Kempe also read, or had read to her, works of Hilton and St Brigit.[4] It is interesting, too, that the work of Hilton, the book of St Brigit and the book of St Catherine (probably St Catherine of Siena), which were the only books by or about late medieval English or Continental mystics known to have been owned by clerics or lay persons from Norwich, were owned by lay women.

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Wolman, fol. 171d (Liston).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fos. 163d-164d (Purdans).
(3) W. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (C.U.P., 1955), p. 254.
(4) Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 17 (ed. Meech, p. 39).

b. Anchorites, Hermits,[1] 'Béguines' and 'Lay Religious'

Anchorites, hermits and lay persons living in quasi-religious communities similar to the Continental béguinages were another aspect of the movement in the late medieval Church whereby Christians sought to lead fully religious lives outside the priesthood and religious Orders; (though some of the anchorites and hermits were priests or members of religious Orders). For several reasons Norwich is of exceptional interest to the study of these newer styles of religious life. First because Norwich was the only late medieval English town known to have had lay women living in semi-religious communities which resembled the Continental béguinages. Secondly because more anchorites and hermits are known to have lived in Norwich than in any other late medieval English town. Thirdly, Norwich was geographically and by trade particularly close to the Low Countries and the Rhineland, which were then the most fertile and sophisticated centres outside Italy for religious movements involving the laity. Fourthly, the excellence of the Revelations of Divine Love of the mystic and anchoress, Julian of Norwich, the paucity of manuscripts through which the Revelations survived[2] and the obscurity of her life raise the question of how many other people in the city were leading similar profoundly religious but largely unknown lives.

Anchorites had been living in Norwich at least since the middle of the

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(1) The terms anchor and anchoress have been used to denote male and female recluses who were attached to particular anchorages; hermit refers to a male recluse who was not attached to an anchorage. Anchorite has been used to denote an anchor or an anchoress indifferently. This usage follows the general practice of the copyists of wills in late medieval Norwich and their use of the corresponding Latin words, anchor, anachorissa, heremita and anachorita, though these copyists did not draw the distinctions with complete consistency.

(2) Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love (ed. G. Warrack and P.F. Chambers, 13th edn., London, 1949, pp. ix and xi).

thirteenth century: John Bonde left bequests to four anchorites in Norwich when he wrote his will in about 1250,[1] and two anchorites were mentioned in the Leet Rolls of Norwich in 1287/8 and 1312/3.[2] However, no anchorite or hermit is known to have lived in the city between the 1320's and Julian of Norwich at the end of the century. There is no obvious reason for the apparent gap; but if Julian of Norwich was not the product of a continuous tradition of recluses in the city, then she was all the more remarkable.

From Julian of Norwich until the 1540's between thirty-four and about forty-five anchorites and hermits are known to have lived in Norwich.[3] (Only a small minority of them are known by only one or two documentary references each, and so the true number of recluses in the city is unlikely to have been much greater than forty-five.) Julian is not known to have gathered a school of recluses around her. But the increase in the number of recluses in the city from Julian alone to perhaps as many as ten at one time dates from the last years of her life. It therefore seems likely that it was partly her example that persuaded a number of men and women to lead similar lives in the city. At any given time between the 1420's and the 1470's there were probably at least eight hermits and anchorites living in Norwich. A will written in 1529 implied that they had been reduced to two anchors and four anchoresses by that year,[4] and they seem to have disappeared from the city by 1549.

There were probably considerably more anchorites and hermits living in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Norwich than in any other English

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 358-9.
(2) Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson (Selden Society, v, 1892), pp. 6 and 60
(3) Cf., Appendix 7, Section A (pp. 334-340). Appendix 7 should be referred to passim for the remainder of this section.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fol. 67 (Burgh).

city during the same period, and the number was remarkable for any city in Christendom. No figures for the total number of recluses living in England have been produced since Miss Clay's rather incomplete list.[1] Miss Clay counted about twenty-four anchorites and hermits who lived in Norwich after 1369,[2] which is at most about two-thirds of the total now known. According to Miss Clay, London and Lynn came next after Norwich as the towns with the most hermits and anchorites after 1369; about twelve are known to have lived in each after this date and a further half-dozen are known to have lived in the suburbs of London.[3] It is interesting that there was a comparatively large number in Lynn, which was probably the largest town in Norfolk after Norwich,[4] while none is known to have lived in late medieval Yarmouth,[5] which was the next most populous town in the county.[6] A number are known to have lived in other parts of Norfolk,[7] and from the late fourteenth century until the Reformation Norfolk probably contained more anchorites and hermits than any other county in England with the possible exception of Yorkshire.[8]

A number of the male anchorites and hermits of late medieval Norwich were priests or members of religious Orders or both. At least two of the five anchors at the Carmelite friary were Carmelite priests, a third was a friar - presumably a Carmelite - and a fourth was a priest and so may well have also been a Carmelite friar.[9] These Carmelite anchors are interesting

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(1) R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), Appendix C (pp. 203-263).
(2) Ibid., pp. 232-7.
(3) Ibid., pp. 228-233.
(4) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', pp. 4-5.
(5) R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England, op. cit., p. 236.
(6) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', pp. 4-5.
(7) R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England, op. cit., pp. 232-7.
(8) Ibid., pp. 254-261.
(9) Cf., p. 334.

since they represent a return to the earlier traditions of the Carmelites, who had been a primarily contemplative and eremitical Order until the modifications to the Rule introduced in the thirteenth century during the generalate of St Simon Stock, had changed the Order into a more active and communitarian one.

The colourful Thomas Scrope is the only one of the five anchors of Carmelite friary about whom anything further of importance is known. Thomas Scrope may well have been the son or the bastard of one of the sons of Richard le Scrope, first Baron Scrope,[1] and if so he was one of the few anchors or hermits in England who are known to have been of aristocratic birth. He entered the Carmelite friary in Norwich as an ordinary friar[2] but, according to Bale, he left the friary and 'Evangelium regni Dei sacco & cilicio, cathena ferrea cinctus, predicabat circa annum Christi 1425. Clamabatque novam Hierosolymam, agni nuptam, e coelo brevi decensuram & mox in adventum sui sponsum paratum fore .... Atque addidit illam se cum ingenti gaudio in spiritu vidisse.'[3] According to Bale his eccentric behaviour angered Thomas Netter of Walden, the Carmelite prior provincial, and a frightened Thomas Scrope became an anchor at the Carmelite friary.[4] He remained an anchor at the Carmelite friary, probably for about twenty years.[5] During this time he probably wrote several books,[6] and then he returned to a more active life. He went to Rhodes as Pope Eugenius IV's legate,[7] was consecrated as bishop of Dromore in Ireland,[8] acted as a

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(1) Dict. Nat. Biog., Thomas Scrope, p. 147.
(2) Ibid., p. 147.
(3) Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, pp. 629-630.
(4) Ibid., p. 630.
(5) Cf., p. 334.
(6) Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, p. 630; Dict. Nat. Biog., Thomas Scrope, pp. 147-8.
(7) Dict. Nat. Biog., Thomas Scrope, p. 148.
(8) Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke and E. Fryde (2nd edn., London, 1961), p. 317.

suffragan bishop in the diocese of Norwich for twenty-eight years[1] and, according to Bale, spent each Friday of the last years of his life as a barefoot itinerant preacher in the diocese of Norwich before he died in 1492 aged almost a hundred.[2]

Beside the anchors at the Carmelite friary, three priests or religious were anchors attached to religious houses: the anchor of the Franciscan friary was a priest and so possibly also a Franciscan friar;[3] the anchor attached to the secular college of St Mary in the Fields in the early fifteenth century was a monk of 'a fer cuntre';[4] and Dominus Roger was a recluse at Carrow Nunnery in the suburbs of Norwich in the early fifteenth century.[5] The only anchors or hermits in Norwich who are known to have been priests or male religious but who were not attached to religious houses were Robert, a priest who was an anchor attached to St Edward's parish church,[6] and possibly also a priest called Master William Clyffe who was a hermit.[7] Probably most if not all of the remaining anchors and hermits, who numbered between twelve and nineteen, were lay men.[8]

Between twelve and fifteen women were anchoresses in late medieval Norwich, and there were no female hermits in the sense of recluses who were not attached to anchorages. A Domina Margaret Kidman was a nun at Carrow

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(1) Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke and E. Fryde (2nd edn., London, 1961), p. 317.
(2) Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, p. 630. Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke, op. cit., p. 317, says that he died in 1499.
(3) Cf., p. 335.
(4) Cf., p. 335.
(5) Cf., p. 336
(6) Cf., p. 336
(7) Cf., p. 340.
(8) The distinction between anchors and hermits who were lay men and those who were priests or religious has been based on the fact that the titles dominus and frater were used or omitted fairly consistently with respect to an individual anchor or hermit. Independent support for the validity of this distinction is provided by the fact that several of those who were styled dominus or frater, but none of those who were not so styled, were left money to say Masses.

Nunnery in 1514[1] and she may well have been the 'mastres Kydman' who was referred to as 'somtime ancras of Carowe' in 1546,[2] but there is no conclusive evidence that any of the other anchoresses were or had been nuns at Carrow or at other nunneries. Besides 'mistress Kydman', about eight of the anchoresses were sometimes styled *domina* or dame and one of the eight, *Domina* Julian Lampett, anchoress at Carrow Nunnery,[3] had a relative who was a nun at Carrow.[4] Furthermore, five or six of the eight were anchoresses attached to Carrow Nunnery or to the parish churches of St Edward's or St Julian's,[5] the advowsons of which belonged to the nunnery.[6] Some of the anchoresses who were sometimes styled *domina* or dame may well therefore have been nuns, but it cannot be assumed that they were since the title *domina* or dame was not used exclusively for nuns. The point bears on what is known about Julian of Norwich, the author of the *Revelations of Divine Love* and anchoress attached to St Julian's parish church. There is no direct evidence in her *Revelations* or elsewhere that Julian had ever been a nun. But Father Molinari thought that there was considerable indirect evidence of Benedictine influence in the *Revelations*,[7] and the advowson of the parish church to which her anchorage was attached belonged to Carrow Nunnery. Furthermore, Margery Kempe described Julian as 'dame'.[8] However, references in wills to Julian of Norwich invariably omitted the title *domina* or dame, and whether Julian had ever been a nun must remain an open question. The question of the sources upon which Julian drew to write her

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(1) *Visitations of Norwich*, ed. Jessopp, p. 145.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Wymer, fol. 77 (Waterman).
(3) *Cf.*, p. 336.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 24d (Cheese).
(5) *Cf.*, pp. 336-7.
(6) *Cf.*, columns 1 and 3 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(7) P. Molinari, *Julian of Norwich* (London, 1958), p. 8.
(8) Margery Kempe, *The Book*, i. 18 (ed. Meech, p. 42).

Revelations and to lead the life of an anchoress and a mystic is all the more puzzling if she had never been a nun, especially since she does not seem to have been preceded by a continuous tradition of anchorites and hermits in Norwich.[1]

The somewhat ambiguous title of domina or dame is almost the only indication of the earlier lives of all the late medieval anchoresses of Norwich except Emma Stapleton. Emma Stapleton, who was an anchoress attached to the Carmelite friary in the city in the early fifteenth century,[2] was also called domina but this was almost certainly on account of her parents and not because she was or had been a nun. Bale said that she was the daughter of Sir Miles Stapilton,[3] who was presumably one of the Stapletons of Ingham in Norfolk.[4] If Bale was correct, she was one of the few women of knightly or aristocratic birth who are known to have become anchoresses in late medieval England; earlier, anchorites of gentle or noble birth like Loretta, the thirteenth century countess of Leicester, seem to have been more common.[5] Emma Stapleton is interesting also because she was one of the few anchoresses about whose reception as an anchoress something is known. Bale said that she was one of several women received by Thomas Netter of Walden as anchoresses attached to various Carmelite friaries in England.[6] He said that she became an anchoress attached to the Norwich Carmelites in 1421,[7] when Netter was prior provincial of the English

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(1) Cf., p. 117.
(2) Cf., p. 334.
(3) Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, p. 565.
(4) Dict. Nat. Biog., Miles Stapleton, p. 98.
(5) F.M. Powicke, The Christian Life in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1935), p. 162.
(6) Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, p. 565.
(7) 'Waldenus .... 1421 Carmelitarum in Anglia sectae, cujus ille magister erat, Papa concedente sorores dedit, sub anachoretarum titulo, Nordovici Dominam Emmam, Milonis Stapiltoni equitis aurati filiam ...' (Ibid., p. 565).

Carmelites,[1] and Blomefield said that she dwelt in an anchorage in the grounds of the Carmelite friary in Norwich until her death in 1442.[2]

One of the most striking things about the recluses of late medieval Norwich is the remarkably long time which some are known to have spent as anchorites or hermits. Thomas Scrope and Emma Stapleton proably spent about twenty years each as anchorites at the Carmelite friary;[3] Elizabeth Scott and a certain Agnes are known to have lived as anchoresses attached to St Julian's parish church for about thirty years each;[4] Richard Ferneys was a hermit for about thirty-five years;[5] Julian Lampett was an anchoress at Carrow Nunnery for fifty years;[6] and Julian of Norwich, the author of the Revelations of Divine Love, probably lived as an anchoress attached to St Julian's parish church for between twenty-two and fifty-six years.[7] Their state of life seems to have been regarded by at least some of them as being of similar permanence to that of life in a religious Order. To become an anchorite required in law a licence from the diocesan bishop.[8] But it is not clear whether anchorites and hermits in the diocese of Norwich usually made some form of permanent profession or took vows, as happened in some cases outside the diocese[9] and as the author of the Ancrene Riwle had recommended.[10] The registers of the bishops of Norwich contain no vow formulae of anchorites or hermits; though Bishop Nykke's register mentions

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(1) Emden, Oxford, ii. 1344.
(2) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 420-1. Blomefield did not quote his source; if he was correct, it is strange that Emma Stapleton was neither mentioned in any wills as a beneficiary nor mentioned in any other evidence.
(3) Cf., p. 334.
(4) Cf., p. 337.
(5) Cf., p. 339.
(6) Cf., p. 336
(7) Cf., p. 337.
(8) W. Lyndwood, Provinciale (Oxford, 1679), p. 214.
(9) R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), pp. 86 and 94-5.
(10) Ancrene Riwle (ed. E.J. Dobson, Early English Text Society, cclxvii, 1972, pp. 4-5).

that a certain John Tourney, who does not seem to have had any connection with the city of Norwich, made the profession of a hermit,[1] and Bishop Goldwell's register recorded a licence permitting an old and infirm recluse at Lynn to spend the rest of her life in Denney Abbey in Cambridgeshire,[2] which suggests that the recluse had been tied to her anchorage by some vow of stability. Up to the beginning of the Henrician Reformation, Thomas Scrope was the only anchorite or hermit from Norwich who is known to have left his state of life; and he left, it could be argued, only at the command of religious obedience - to become a papal legate and a bishop.[3] Richard Ferneys seems to have left his hermitage at Newbridge in Norwich in his old age, but he still regarded himself as a hermit when he wrote his will a few months before he died.[4] In the 1540's the last three recluses living in Norwich abandoned their states of life; in two of the three cases the reason was almost certainly the dissolution of the religious houses to which their anchorages were attached. In 1546 John Waterman, who was the rector of All Saints of Berstreet in Norwich, left 6/8d to mistress Kydman 'somtime ancras of Carowe (Nunnery)' and 3/4d to 'the chast woman in St Julyans (parish church), somtime ancras'.[5] Two years later the City Government of Norwich granted a pension of £1 to Katherine Manne, 'late recluse in the house of the late Blak Freres', provided she relinquished her rights in the anchorage.[6] The City Government had acquired the church and the site of the Dominican friary and evidently it wanted to be rid of the still resident anchoress. An interesting note concerning her change of

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(1) REG/9, Book 14, fol. 54.
(2) REG/7, Book 12, fol. 245d.
(3) Cf., p. 119.
(4) Cf., p. 377.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Wymer, fos. 76 and 77 (Waterman).
(6) R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), p. 185.

occupation is the last that is heard of Katherine Manne: in 1550 the City Government 'agreed and graunted that Katheryn Manne, syngle-woman, shall have fre libertye to occupie within this cittie so long as she shall kepe her shoppe and be soole and unmarryed'.[1]

Even if they were under some form of vows, anchorites and hermits - at least those who were lay persons - were not bound by the kind of detailed Rules to which members of religious Orders were subject. It is therefore difficult to reconstruct in detail and with any certainty what those anchorites and hermits in Norwich who were lay men or women did during their many years as recluses, especially as so little other evidence exists about their lives. Even in the case of anchorites who were Carmelite friars or Benedictine nuns of Carrow, little can be said about their lives since neither the Carmelite Rule nor the Rule of St Benedict specified in detail how anchorites who remained members of the religious Order, but who lived apart from any community, were to live.[2]

The author of the Ancrene Riwle recommended anchoresses to spend most of the day in a round of liturgical and private prayers.[3] The Revelations of Divine Love of Julian of Norwich suggest that at least one anchoress in Norwich spent much time in prayer, but Julian said nothing about her daily life as an anchoress, and it is quite possible that she did not become an anchoress until some time after she had received the revelations.[4] The author of the Ancrene Riwle also recommended anchoresses to have one or two maidservants who could tend to their external needs so that they might

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(1) R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), p. 185.
(2) Monumenta Historica Carmelitana, ed. B. Zimmerman (Lavino, 1905-7), pp. 12-189; Benedict, Sancti Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum, Chapter 1 (ed. C. Butler, 2nd edn., Fribourg, 1927, p. 10).
(3) Ancrene Riwle (ed. E.J. Dobson, Early English Text Society, cclxvii, 1972, pp. 15-38).
(4) Cf., p. 337, note 2.

devote themselves more exclusively to prayer and to the interior life.[1] The succession of anchoresses attached to St Julian's parish church as well as Julian Lampett, who was an anchoress at Carrow Nunnery, are known to have had one or two maidservants each.[2] The only anchor or hermit in Norwich who is known to have had a servant was Richard Ferneys;[3] he left bequests in his will to a woman whom he described as his custos and to his puer.[4]

None of the recluses of late medieval Norwich is known to have been married. In a case in the Norwich Consistory Court in 1520 a certain Robert Evane was accused of defaming the character of Master Hugh Kestryn, who was the anchor at the Franciscan friary in Norwich, by saying to several people that Kestryn had a son, and the context implies that a bastard was meant. However, the points at issue were whether the statement had been made and whether the words had been spoken maliciously; none of those involved in the case maintained that the statement was true.[5]

When Emma Stapleton was received as an anchoress at the Carmelite friary in Norwich, Thomas Netter, who was the prior provincial of the English Carmelites, appointed the prior, the subprior and three other friars of the house to instruct her.[6] Julian of Norwich said that her revelations had been showed to her directly by God,[7] but her Revelations of Divine Love give the impression that she had received earlier and more natural

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(1) Ancrene Riwle (ed. E.J. Dobson, Early English Text Society, cclxvii, 1972, p. 311).
(2) Cf.: Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, iii. 413, for the two successive servants of Julian of Norwich; and, N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 91d (Poringland), for the two servants of Julian Lampett and for those of Agnes, anchoress of St Julian's parish church.
(3) Cf., p. 339.
(4) Cf., p. 377.
(5) Norwich Depositions, ed. Stone, number 216.
(6) R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), p. 137.
(7) Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love, ii. and iv. (ed. G. Warrack and P.F. Chambers, 13th edn., London, 1949, pp. 3 and 8).

instruction. She described herself as unlettered[1] and so she, like Margery Kempe,[2] may have depended for her instruction partly upon priests reading to her. Presumably the other anchorites received some sort of instruction from, and were to some extent dependent upon, the priests of the religious houses or parish churches to which their anchorages were attached; though presumably the anchorites who were priests or members of religious Orders were literate and so able to instruct themselves from books, and at least one hermit and an anchoress who were lay people appear to have been literate: Richard Ferneys, hermit of Newbridge, left his glossed Psalter in his will[3] and Katherine Manne, anchoress at the Dominican friary, was presented with two books in 1531.[4] The anchoresses attached to Carrow Nunnery and to the parish churches of St Edward and St Julian, which belonged to the nunnery, may well have depended upon the nuns of Carrow more than upon priests for their instruction and material support.

Miss Clay has emphasised that many hermits kept bridges, repaired roads and performed other civic functions.[5] The clearest case of a hermit who was engaged in such work in Norwich was Robert Godard. In 1483 the City Government appointed him keeper of the ditches in the 'aldermanry' of St Stephen's; in return it gave him lodgings above one of the gates in the city walls - St Stephen's or Nedham Gate - and so possibly he also acted as a gate-keeper.[6] The hermits of St Giles Gate,[7] of Bishopsgate[8] and of

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(1) 'that cowde no letter' (Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love, i (ed. G. Warrack and P.F. Chambers, 13th edn., London, 1949, p. 3)).
(2) Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 58 (ed. Meech, p. 143).
(3) Cf., p. 378.
(4) Cf., p. 307.
(5) R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), pp. 57 an 71.
(6) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 122.
(7) Cf., p. 336.
(8) Cf., p. 338.

Berstreet Gate[1] also may well have acted as gate-keepers for the city, and the succession of hermits attached to Newbridge[2] may well have acted as keepers of the bridge of that name which crosses the river Wensum in the middle of the city. Hermits were not necessarily tied to a particular spot in the way that anchorites were, but a number of hermits were attached to Norwich for a long time. As has been said, Richard Ferneys was mentioned as the hermit of Newbridge over a period of about thirty-five years,[3] and John Martin may have been a hermit attached to the same bridge for a similar number of years;[4] and John Felton and probably also Thomas, hermit of Berstreet Gate, each lived in Norwich for at least part of the time during eighteen years.[5] Possibly these and other hermits did not reside in Norwich permanently but simply used the city as a base. An interesting example of how this might have been the case is provided by a bequests which Robert Baxter, who was a former mayor of the city, left to Richard Ferneys, the hermit of Newbridge. Robert Baxter left him £40 in the will which he made in 1429 "ad peregrinand' pro me ad civitatem Romanam ibidem quindecies circumeundo magnum circulum quam ad civiatatem Ierosolomitanam in eisdem faciendo ut verus peregrinus".[6]

There are no extant wills of anchorites who lived in Norwich during the period in question, but three of the hermits of the city made wills which have survived: Thomas Bassett, who was a hermit in St Stephen's parish and whose undated will was proved in 1435; John Levot, who wrote his will in 1509; and Richard Ferneys, the hermit of Newbridge, who wrote his

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(1) Cf., p. 338.
(2) Cf., p. 339.
(3) Cf., pp. 123 and 339.
(4) Cf., p. 339.
(5) Cf., pp. 338-9.
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 86d (Baxter).

will in 1464. The three wills show that at least some of the hermits of Norwich owned personal property. Thomas Bassett left bequests in cash worth 4/-, an image of St Anthony and his utensilia, and he evidently had some kind of a permanent residence since he mentioned his camera.[1] John Levot left bequests worth about £2, and he may have come from a Norwich family since he asked to be buried next to his sister in the churchyard of one of the parish churches in the city.[2] When he wrote his will Richard Ferneys was still a hermit and was almost certainly living in Norwich, but he had retired from his position of hermit of Newbridge. His retirement and possibly his earlier life as hermit of Newbridge must have been reasonably comfortable since, besides having a woman and possibly a boy to look after him,[3] he was able to leave a number of clothes and household articles as well as bequests in cash worth about £3.[4]

It is difficult to estimate the impact of the recluses upon the religious life of late medieval Norwich, especially since they would doubtless have seen their effect as working through prayer rather than through visible good works. The number of testamentary bequests to the recluses of the city[5] show that they were well known, and bequests to individual ones show many were known to the citizens by name. Possibly some acted as counsellors to individual citizens, as Julian of Norwich had acted to Margery Kempe[6] and as the anchorite of Westminster Abbey had acted to Richard II and Henry V at crucial moments in their lives.[7] The will of

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fos. 169-169d (Bassett).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 224d (Levot).
(3) Cf., p. 126.
(4) Cf., pp. 377-8.
(5) Cf., p. 360.
(6) Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 18 (ed. Meech, pp. 42-3).
(7) K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), p. 124.

Richard Ferneys is interesting in this respect since his bequests suggest that he had quite a wide circle of friends and acquaintances among both the clergy and the laity.[1] His bequests to other hermits and anchorites are of interest, too, because they suggest that there was a kind of 'recluse society' in Norwich similar - albeit in a minor key - to the 'clerical society' of the city.

In late medieval England the solitary life of anchorites and hermits seems to have been more popular than the communal life of semi-religious communities as a form of specifically religious life outside the religious Orders and outside the priesthood, whereas in the Low Countries and the Rhineland semi-religious communities such as béguinages seem to have enjoyed the greater popularity. Norwich is of exceptional interest because it was the only late medieval English town known to have had groups of lay women living in semi-religious communities which resembled the Continental béguinages. The two groups in Norwich whose dates are known flourished briefly in the mid-fifteenth century, which was more than a century later than the spectacular growth of béguinages on the Continent. An unknown number of women are known to have lived in the tenement of a certain John Pellet (or Pyllet) in St Swithin's parish from about 1427 until 1444.[2] The women were described as sisters living together,[3] and as sisters dedicated to chastity.[4] Three women who formed a second group are known to have been living in a tenement in St Laurence's parish shortly before the earlier group disappeared from trace. This second group had been

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(1) Cf., pp. 377-8.
(2) Cf., p. 340.
(3) sorores pariter comorantes (N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 153d (Wilby)), or sorores simul comorantes (N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 86 (Baxter)).
(4) sorores castitati dedic' (? dedit') (N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 55 (Christian).

reduced to two sisters by 1457 and it too disappeared from trace after 1472.[1] The women of this second group were described as sisters[2] or mulieres paupercule,[3] as dedicated to God,[4] and as dedicated to chastity[5] or under a vow of chastity.[6] The tenement in which the second group lived had belonged shortly before to a certain John Asger.[7] Asger was then a very uncommon name in Norwich and in East Anglia,[8] and it therefore seems likely that he was either the John Asger who had been a merchant of Bruges, who was mayor of Norwich in 1426 and who died in 1436, or his son, also called John, who had been born in Zeeland, who was a citizen of Norwich and who died in the same year as his father.[9] It would therefore be very interesting to know whether the initiative in introducing béguinages into Norwich and into England had come mainly from a family from the Low Countries, which was a long-established centre of béguinages. According to Blomefield and Taylor, who did not quote their sources, a third group of sisters were living together under a religious vow at an unknown date in a house in the north-west corner of the cemetery of the parish church of St Peter Hungate.[10]

These semi-religious communities in Norwich began much later than most of the béguinages on the Continent. They also followed a different path. The groups in Norwich seem to have been informal communities of women

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(1) Cf., p. 340.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 59 (Veautre).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 160 (Child)
(4) Deo dedicate (N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 177d (Braklee)).
(5) castitati dedit' (N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 59 (Veautre)).
(6) votum castitatis admitten' (N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 123 (Horsley)).
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fos. 112d-113 (Estwegt).
(8) Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich, 1370-1550, and Wills among the Norwich Enrolled Deeds, 1298-1508, ed. M. Farrow (Norf. Rec. Soc., xvi, 1943-5), p. 13.
(9) B. Cozens Hardy and E. Kent, The Mayors of Norwich, 1403-1835 (Norwich, 1938), p. 20; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-1436, p. 112.
(10) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 333-4; R. Taylor, Index Monasticus (London, 1821), p. 65.

leading primarily religious lives - like the early béguinages on the Continent - but they did not develop into convents or charitable institutions, such as hospitals and almshouses, as many of the Continental béguinages did in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[1] That the second group, which lived in St Laurence's parish, was reduced from three to two sisters and then disappeared from trace suggests that the group faded away through lack of recruits. There is no evidence that the ecclesiastical authorities brought pressure to bear on the groups in Norwich to dissolve, as happened in the case of some of the béguinages on the Continent.[2]

Anchorites, hermits and béguines were people who tried to lead specifically religious lives outside the normal framework of the established religious Orders, and in this sense they were anti-Orders. But there is little evidence of serious conflict in Norwich between these less officially approved forms of religious life on the one hand and the religious Orders or, more broadly, the established Church on the other. Of the anchorites, hermits and béguines of late medieval Norwich, Katherine Manne, the anchoress at the Dominican friary, was the only one to be suspected of heresy and none other of them is known to have clashed with any ecclesiastical authority.[3] Father Molinari has argued at length for the orthodoxy of Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love.[4] It is true that the Revelations show little interest in the institutional Church, but a mystical treatise can scarcely be expected to, and Julian did explicitly praise obedience to the teaching of the Church.[5] There were

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(1) R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Penguin, 1970), pp. 330-1.
(2) E. McDonnell, The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture (New Brunswick, 1954), pp. 521, 563 and 573.
(3) Cf., p. 307. Thomas Scrope's clash with the prior provincial of the English Carmelites occurred before he became an anchor (cf., p. 119).
(4) P. Molinari, Julian of Norwich (London, 1958), p. 197.
(5) Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love, lxxx (ed. G. Warrack and P.F. Chambers, 13th edn., London, 1949, pp. 193-4).

never enough anchors and hermits in late medieval Norwich to be able to affect seriously the populations of the male religious houses in the city; the population of Carrow Nunnery, which was the only nunnery in or near Norwich, might have been considerably affected by the number of its nuns who became anchoresses and by the number of possible recruits to the nunnery who became anchoresses or béguines instead. But far from showing hostility towards anchorites, Carrow Nunnery and the religious houses of men - especially the Carmelite and Dominican friaries - seem to have encouraged them by providing anchorages both for members of their own Orders and for other men and women.

While anchorites, hermits and béguines represented a movement away from the official religious Orders of the Church, a number of lay men and women in Norwich sought the status of 'lay religious' in the other direction; namely, by a closer association with religious Orders while stopping short of formally entering one.

Wills provided several means whereby the laity could hope to become more closely associated with a religious house or Order posthumously. Many of the laity of Norwich asked in their wills to be buried in the churches of the religious houses of the city.[1] Some said in their wills that they wanted to be received into a religious house as a kind of confrater when they died; for example, Thomas Trowse left half the money from the sale of all his messuages and tenements in Norwich to the Cathedral Priory so that in return the priory might write his name in its martyrology, keep his anniversary for ever and ad faciend' sicut pro uno confratre suo defuncto.[2]

Other citizens secured a more formal association with a religious

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(1) Cf., pp. 35-40.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 20 (Trowse).

house or Order during their lives by becoming lay members of it and thereby participating in life and in death in the merits and prayers of the house or Order. For example, Agnes Thorpe, who was the widow of an alderman of Norwich,[1] mentioned in her will her letters of confraternity with the London Charterhouse;[2] Agnes Paston, the wife of Justice William Paston, described herself as a sister of the Carmelite friary in Norwich;[3] a widow from Norwich called Margery East described herself as a sister of the Franciscan friary in Norwich;[4] and William Cusshon of Hengham in Norfolk referred to himself as a brother of the Franciscan friary in Norwich.[5] Probably these were cases of simple confraternity, rather than of tertiaries who were bound by some form of the appropriate Order's Rule.

Several of the laity are known to have been living in the religious houses of the city, though their reasons may well have been economic and the desire for a comfortable retirement rather than religious. John Molicourt, a citizen and yeoman of Norwich whose wife was still alive when he wrote his will, was described by the person who copied his will into the bishop's register as dwelling in the Carmelite friary in Norwich.[6] Sir Robert Norwich was described as living with the prior of Norwich Cathedral Priory by the copyist of his will,[7] and he begged the prior and monks to receive him as a brother of their Chapter.[8] The Patent and Close Rolls show that the priory gave corrodies to a number of other lay persons, though it seems to have given them against its own wishes and only when under pressure

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(1) PROB/11/12 (Reg. Moone, 1500-1501), fol. 19 (Thorpe).
(2) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 26 (Thorpe).
(3) Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, iv. 253.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 203d (East).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Norman, fol. 40 (Cusshon).
(6) comoran' infra fratres Carmel' (N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 206 (Molicourt)).
(7) c'morant' cum priore Norwici.
(8) peto intuitu caritatis ut recipiant me in fratrem capituli sui (N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 5 (Norwich)); cf. also, p. 40.

from the Crown to do so.[1] Others of the laity seem to have preferred the Benedictine nunnery of Carrow. For example, in about 1445 Thomas Wetherby, who had earlier been mayor of Norwich, and his wife, Margery, acquired what was in effect a corrody in the nunnery, where a daughter of theirs was a nun;[2] the prioress of Carrow had granted Thomas Wetherby and his wife in survivorship a dwelling within the nunnery which two other inhabitants of the city, a certain Thomas Fyncham and his wife, had previously held, and in 1445 the Crown ratified the Wetherby's estate in the dwelling.[3]

The types of association which the laity of Norwich sought with religious houses varied considerably, but all the types were common throughout late medieval Christendom and were in no way peculiar to Norwich. Except for requests to be buried in the churches of religious houses,[4] the known cases from Norwich of such associations are too few to be able to conclude from them to any statistically significant statements about trends in their frequency during the late Middle Ages. But the cases are interesting in themselves and show from one angle that the laity's search for a deeper religious life was not exclusively a movement away from the official religious Orders of the Church.

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(1) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345-1348, p. 539; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1446-1452, p. 134; Cal. Close Rolls, 1461-1468, p. 164; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476-1485, p. 307.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 31d (Wetherby).
(3) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-1446, p. 366.
(4) Cf., pp. 35-40 and 316.

c. Craft Guilds and Pious Confraternities[1]

Most of the reasons why the guilds and confraternities of late medieval Norwich are of significance for the religious history of the period are not peculiar to the guilds and confraternities of Norwich, but are common to those of other major late medieval European towns. Guilds and confraternities were growing in numbers and in importance throughout Europe in the late Middle Ages.[2] Both, and especially guilds, were primarily urban phenomena, and Norwich was a major European city containing many crafts. Furthermore, guilds (in their religious capacities) and confraternities were a challenge to the older religion in two ways: many cut across the parochial structure, and many were controlled by the laity - often to some extent by the governing bodies of towns - rather than by the clergy. The returns made by English guilds and confraternities in 1389 in response to the Guild Ordinance of 1388[3]

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(1) Contemporary documents did not distinguish consistently between guilds and confraternities. The following distinction has been used in this thesis in order to avoid confusion: confraternity signifies a primarily pious or religious confraternity which was not connected with a craft or trade, and guild signifies the guild of a craft or trade. The membership of guilds in Norwich, as in other English towns, is a vexed question. There is no evidence that any of the crafts in Norwich had more than one guild, as was the case with at least one craft in London (G. Unwin, The Gilds and Companies of London (London, 1908), p. 106), nor is there any evidence that in Norwich people could belong to the guild of a craft or trade which they did not practise. It is not clear whether in Norwich all the members of a craft or trade, including apprentices, could take part in the religious activities of their guilds or whether participation in these activities was restricted to a few members of the craft or trade. The distinction between guilds as institutions and ad hoc arrangements or activities of crafts or trades are also often unclear. No doubt many of the obscurities actually existed, and are not just the result of poor understanding of the extant evidence.

(2) E. Delaruelle, E-R. Labande and P. Ourliac, L'Eglise au Temps du Grand Schisme et de la Crise Conciliaire (Histoire de L'Eglise, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, xiv, 1962-4), Part 2, pp. 666-7.

(3) Cal. Close Rolls, 1385-1389, p. 624.

suggest that few English towns had more guilds and confraternities than Norwich at the beginning of the period in question. Norwich had nineteen guilds and confraternities which made returns,[1] and only Lynn, London and Lincoln with fifty-one, forty-one and thirty respectively had more.[2] But the returns of 1389 also suggest that few of the guilds and confraternities of Norwich - like few of those of other English towns[3] - had existed long before 1350. The confraternities of St Catherine,[4] of Corpus Christi[5] and of the Annunciation of St Mary[6] were the only three guilds or confraternities in Norwich which claimed in their returns to have been founded before 1350. There were also guilds of cobblers, tanners, saddlers and fullers in the city at the end of the thirteenth century, though they are not known to have had any religious activities at that time.[7] The Tudor dissolution of guilds and confraternities came shortly after the end of the period in question. 1370 to 1532 therefore covers almost the entire period when confraternities and the religious activities of guilds were important in Norwich and in England as a whole.

Of the nineteen returns from Norwich made in 1389, seven were from guilds of the city: the artificers and operators', the barbers', the candlemakers', the carpenters', the peltiers', the saddlers and spurriers', and the tailors'.[8] The returns of these seven guilds suggest that they

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(1) Cf., Abbreviation A (p. 341) and pp. 342-349 of Appendix 8
(2) H. Westlake, The Parish Guilds of Mediaeval England (London, 1919), pp. 167-174, 180-8, 192-200 and 236-8.
(3) Ibid., pp. 138-238.
(4) Cf., p. 349.
(5) Cf., p. 347.
(6) Cf., p. 347.
(7) Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson (Selden Society, v, 1892), pp. 13, 39, 42 and 43.
(8) Cf., pp. 342-5.

were almost exclusively religious rather than economic organisations, just as the other returns suggest of the other English guilds.[1] According to the returns, the chief purpose of all seven guilds was to perform various religious functions on the annual guild-days. In almost every case a guild-mass was said on the day, and one or more votive candles were offered to the church in which the Mass was said. It is interesting that none of the seven guilds held its guild-mass in a parish church: two were held in the Cathedral, one was held in the Carmelite friary, one in the College of St Mary in the Fields, one in the Carnary College, one in Carrow Nunnery in the suburbs of Norwich and one in St Michael's Chapel, a non-parochial chapel in the suburbs of the city which was attached to a cell of the Cathedral Priory. Some of the seven guilds said that they provided funerals, Requiem Masses and other religious services for dead members of the guild, and the Peltiers' Guild claimed to maintain two chaplains for the service of God in the Cathedral,[2] where their guild-mass was held. Some of the guilds said that they provided financial assistance to members who had fallen into poverty. Semi-religious pageantry and feasting, which seem to have later become such integral parts of the lives of guilds and confraternities in Norwich and elsewhere, were mentioned only in the return of the Peltiers' Guild, which was dedicated to St William, the boy from Norwich who was allegedly murdered by the Jews of the city in the twelfth century: at the peltiers' annual guild-mass there was to be 'a knaue chyld, innocent, beren a candel yat day, ye wyghte of to pound, led be-twyxen to gode men, tokenyng of ye gloryous marter', and (probably on the same day) the members of the guild were to have a feast together.[3]

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(1) H. Westlake, The Parish Guilds of Mediaeval England (London, 1919), pp. 138-238.
(2) Cf., p. 350, under 1376.
(3) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 30-31.

It is doubtful whether the guilds of Norwich, like those of other English towns, were the almost purely religious organisations which are suggested by the returns made by the guilds in 1389. The returns were made in reply to the Guild Ordinance of 1388, which the king had issued on the authority of the Cambridge Parliament of 1388.[1] The monk of Westminster who wrote a continuation to Ralph Higden's Polychronicon said that the Cambridge Parliament of 1388 had wanted to suppress guilds and to use their goods for the war.[2] For this reason and taking into account the general atmosphere of civil disturbances in the 1380's, it is not surprising that the guilds of Norwich, like those of other English towns, claimed that they owned almost no wealth and that they scarcely mentioned their economic and political importance in towns. The returns of 1389 probably also understate the number of guilds in Norwich, as elsewhere, since there was little incentive for guilds to make returns, apart from the risk of detection by the Central Government. However, even if the returns of 1389 understate the number of guilds in Norwich and their economic and political importance (with which this thesis is not directly concerned), there is no reason to think that the returns of 1389 do not accurately describe the religious activities of at least some of the guilds of the city.

The guilds of Norwich, unlike many of those of London, were not incorporated bodies the constitutions of which can be learnt from their charters. The fullest descriptions after 1389 of how the late medieval guilds of Norwich functioned are contained in two sets of general ordinances for all crafts which were issued by the City Government of

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(1) Cal. Close Rolls, 1385-1389, p. 624.
(2) Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, ed. C. Babington and J. Lumby (Rolls Series, 1865-6), ix. 191.

Norwich in 1449[1] and 1543.[2] As ordinances issued by the City Government, they were descriptions of how the City Government wanted the guilds to function. But in so far as they were codifications of existing practices, they also describe how the guilds were functioning in practice. The ordinances of 1449 and 1543 show that the guilds of Norwich were by these dates primarily economic organisations for the regulation of particular crafts. Most of the religious functions which had featured so prominently in the returns of 1389 were mentioned in one or both sets of ordinances, but their importance was clearly secondary to that of the economic functions. Both sets of ordinances ordered crafts to provide for each member of their craft who died a Dirge and a Mass, which the living members were to attend,[3] and the ordinances of 1543 also ordered members of crafts to attend a Mass for the living and dead members of the craft on the Monday after their annual guild-mass.[4] The ordinances of 1449 had ordered crafts to keep an annual day 'of solempnite in worshipp of ther avowe'.[5] Those of 1543 and a list of the guild-days of the various crafts of the city which follows them, provide a fuller description of the religious services which were to be performed on the annual guild-days. Sixty-one crafts, singly in the case of the worstedweavers and the tanners but otherwise in small groups, were to hold their annual guild-days on fifteen days (thirteen Sundays, the feast of Corpus Christi and, in the

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 278-296.
(2) Ibid., ii. 296-310.
(3) Ibid., ii. 294 and 304.
(4) Ibid., ii. 299.
(5) Ibid., ii. 284.

case of the parish clerks, sextens, waits and minstrels, the Thursday before Pentecost) between the Thursday before Pentecost and the end of October each year in the Common Hall, which had been the church of the Dominican friary until the Dissolution. The wardens of the particular craft were to offer candles to burn before the Blessed Sacrament in the chapel of St John in the Common Hall and the members of the craft were to attend a guild-mass, which in most cases was to be celebrated in the Common Hall but which in a few cases was to be celebrated in the Cathedral and in the case of the tanners in the parish church of St Swithin.[1] By 1543, therefore, the majority of crafts in Norwich had guild-days,[2] whereas only a small minority had admitted to having them in 1389.[3] The ordinances of 1543 also provided for the support of a common chantry priest for all the crafts: every member of a craft was ordered to pay 1d yearly to support a chantry priest who was to 'sing' in the Common Hall for the king and the queen, the prince and the King's Council, the living and dead members of the guilds and for the prosperity of the city of Norwich.[4] It is interesting that this chantry should have been confirmed or founded at such a late date. Possibly it was the product of an amalgamation of several chantries maintained by individual guilds, but the reference to the two chaplains maintained by the Peltiers' Guild between 1376 and 1389[5] is the only evidence that individual guilds of the city had been maintaining their own daily chantry services.

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(1) Cf., Abbreviation D (p. 342) and pp. 342-6.
(2) The list of the sixty-one crafts of Norwich which had guild-days is followed by a list of eighteen crafts which did not have them (Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 310-312).
(3) Cf., p. 138.
(4) Cf., p. 356, under 1543.
(5) Cf., pp. 138, and 350, under 1376.

Beside the provision of religious services for living and dead members on the annual guild-days and at other times, the religious functions of the guilds of Norwich were including, by the middle of the fifteenth century, participation in semi-religious processions. The earliest extant evidence of such processions organised by the guilds[1] of the city is contained in the ordinances for the craft guilds of Norwich which were issued by the City Government in 1449. These ordinances enacted that 'all tho persones that shall be clad in the clothing of craftis ..... shall at all tymes be charged to all walkings, ridyngs to worshipp of the avowe of the crafte on the principall day' (i.e., the craft's annual guild-day),[2] and crafts were also to be ready to process in their livery with the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of Norwich to the Cathedral, or to any other place as the mayor should direct, on the feasts of All Saints, Christmas and the Epiphany.[3] Unfortunately the ordinances of 1449 do not give any further details about these religious-cum-civic processions. Probably by about 1489 and possibly as early as 1449 thirty-two crafts of the city were also taking part in a procession to the College of St Mary in the Fields on the feast of Corpus Christi.[4] The procession was headed by the Body of Christ surrounded by torch-bearers. Then followed each of the thirty-two crafts with a banner, the sheriffs, the mayor and finally the aldermen with 'bokes or beds[5]' in their hands.[6] The procession seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity since in 1543 over seventy crafts of the city were taking part in a similar Corpus

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(1) For earlier processions organised by confraternities, cf., pp. 154-6 and 160-1.
(2) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 287.
(3) Ibid., ii. 288.
(4) Cf., Abbreviation B (p. 341) and pp. 342-6.
(5) I.e., rosary beads.
(6) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 230.

Christi procession which went through part of the city, starting and finishing at the Common Hall (formerly the church of the Dominican friary).[1]

By the end of the period in question some of the guilds of Norwich were involved in a religious carnival-procession round the city on the Monday and Tuesday of Pentecost. It seems to have been out of this procession that the Norwich cycle of mystery plays performed by the guilds of the city developed. In 1527 the guild of St Luke, which was described in 1543 as composed of the pewterers, braziers, plumbers, bellfounders, glaziers, stainers and other unnamed occupations,[2] claimed that every year 'of long tyme past' on Pentecost Monday the guild had performed 'many and diuers disgisinges and pageauntes as well of the liff and marterdams of diuers and many hooly sayntes as also many other lyght and feyned figures and pictures of other persones and bestes ..... in tyme of procession than goyng aboute a grete circuitt of the said citie'.[3] The guild of St Luke claimed that many people from the surrounding countryside had been attracted into Norwich to watch the pageants, but that the cost of producing them fell on the guild alone and had ruined it as a result. In order to relieve itself of this burden, the guild asked the City Government of Norwich to enact that each craft of the city should produce one pageant during the procession on Pentecost Monday. The City Government, no doubt bearing in mind the economic value of the pageants as a tourist attraction, agreed to the guild's request;[4] once again the

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 312-3, where c. 1453 should read c. 1543 (cf., ibid., i. 312, note 1).
(2) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 311.
(3) Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, ed. N. Davis (Early English Text Society, Supplementary Text, i, 1970), p. xxvii.
(4) Ibid., pp. xxvii-xxviii.

initiative in the expansion of the religious activities of the guilds of Norwich came partly from the City Government.

The records of the City Government also contain a list of the crafts of the city which were performing twelve pageants or mystery plays. The date of the list is about 1530 and so it was probably compiled as a result of the City Government's decision in 1527 that each craft should perform a pageant during the procession on Pentecost Monday. Sixty-three crafts were listed as performing twelve mystery plays: 'Creacion off the World; Helle Carte; Paradyse; Abell and Cayme; Noyse Shipp; Abraham and Isaak; Moises and Aron with the Children off Israell and Pharo with his Knyghtes; Conflicte off Dauid and Golias; The Birth of Crist with Sheperdes and iii Kynges off Colen; the Baptysme of Criste; The Resurreccion; The Holy Gost'.[1] The plays were probably performed on Pentecost Monday,[2] in accordance with the decision which the City Government made in 1527, rather than on the feast of Corpus Christi, which was the more common day in England for mystery plays to be performed.[3] If the plays formed part of a 'procession than goyng about a grete circuitt of the said citie', as the City Government had directed in 1527, then the plays were probably performed on moveable floats, as was the usual custom in England;[4] 'Helle Carte', the second play in the cycle, must have been literally a play, representing the fallen angels entering hell, which was carried round on a cart.

'Paradyse', performed by the grocers and probably also by the raffmen,[5]

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(1) Cf., Abbreviation C (p. 341) and pp. 342-6.
(2) Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, ed. N. Davis (Early English Text Society, Supplementary Text, i, 1970), pp. xxxi-xxxii.
(3) E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (O.U.P., 1903), ii. 138.
(4) Ibid., ii. 95-6.
(5) Non-Cycle Plays, ed. N. Davis, op. cit., pp. xxiv and xxix.

is the only one of the twelve plays in the Norwich cycle the text of which is known, and Professor Davis has recently published a critical edition of it.[1] It is like plays of the same or similar titles in other cycles. Plays corresponding to ten of the other eleven titles in the Norwich cycle existed in other cycles;[2] the exception is the 'Conflicte of Dauid and Golias', which does not appear in any other cycle. The Norwich cycle of twelve plays is a complete cycle, though it is an unusually short one, containing only half as many plays as the Chester cycle, the shortest of the four great cycles. The Norwich cycle is also peculiar in that the unusually large proportion of eight out of the twelve plays were taken from the Old rather than from the New Testament; the proportion of Old Testament plays in each of the four great cycles of York, Towneley, Chester and Coventry was less than a quarter.[3] The absence of a Passion play in the Norwich cycle is, too, unusual, since the medieval cycles of mystery plays developed out of the liturgical representation of the Passion in the Easter liturgy and since several plays depicting the Passion were included in each of the four great cycles.[4]

The religious activities of guilds in Norwich grew considerably during the period 1370 to 1532. It is true that the guilds of the city were not the almost exclusively religious organisations in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that the seven guilds of Norwich had declared themselves to be in the returns which they made in 1389. However, while the economic functions of the guilds of the city were more

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(1) Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, ed. N. Davis (Early English Text Society, Supplementary Text, i. 1970), pp. 8-18.
(2) E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (O.U.P., 1903), ii. 407-436.
(3) Ibid., ii. 408, 410-1, 413-4 and 417-8.
(4) Ibid., ii. 408, 411, 414 and 417-8.

apparent from 1449 onwards, yet most of the religious activities mentioned by the seven guilds in their returns of 1389 continued to be performed by the guilds of Norwich in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, the number of guilds known to have had annual guild-days which involved religious activities grew from seven in 1389 to sixty-one in 1543. The crafts of the city and their guilds extended their religious activities in the middle of the fifteenth century to participating in a number of religious processions and, in the early sixteenth century, to performing a full cycle of mystery plays. Guilds needed the clergy to perform some of their religious services - especially to say Masses - and various of their religious functions were performed in the churches of the city. However, they were composed of and controlled by the laity and they were largely independent of the clergy in their choice of religious activities and in performing many of them, especially in their participation in religious processions and in their performance of religious plays; and much of the growth in the number of them and in their activities was the result of the initiatives of the City Government. Furthermore, the guilds of Norwich were largely independent of the parish structure; those of the fishmongers, of the fishers and of the tanners were the only guilds of the city which are known to have been connected with parish churches.[1] Nevertheless, the importance of the religious activities of the guilds of late medieval Norwich, and (partly) in consequence the extent to which the guilds were a challenge to the older religious organisation of parishes and religious houses with their churches and clergy, should not be exaggerated. The guilds of the city did not compare in importance with the livery

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(1) Cf., pp. 141, 343 and 345.

companies and craft guilds of fifteenth century London nor do they seem to have been as impressive or to have had as many charitable activities as the craft guilds of York, which was a provincial capital of similar standing to Norwich: several of the craft guilds of York, unlike any of those of Norwich, had their own guild-halls[1] and at least two of the craft guilds of York, again unlike any of those of Norwich, ran an almshouse or a hospital.[2] The annual guild-days with their mixtures of feasting and religious services attended by the members of the crafts, the religious-cum-civic processions and the mystery plays of the guilds of Norwich were colourful activities which must have made an impression upon the religion of the city, but these religious activities were confined to a relatively few days in the year and nothing suggests that guilds supplanted the parish as the primary context within which the inhabitants of late medieval Norwich conducted the religious aspects of their lives.

Late medieval Norwich possessed a considerable number of pious confraternities which were not attached to crafts or trades. These confraternities fall into two main categories: those which were attached to religious houses or to various non-parochial churches in the city such as the Cathedral,[3] and secondly those which were attached to parishes or parish churches in the city.[4] A few pious confraternities are not known to have been attached in any of these ways,[5] but the reason may be simply lack of evidence.

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(1) The Victoria History of the County of York, The City of York, ed. P.M. Tillott (O.U.P., 1961), pp. 481-2.
(2) Ibid., pp. 96 and 482.
(3) Cf., pp. 346-7.
(4) Cf., pp. 347-9.
(5) Cf., p. 349.

Twelve of the nineteen returns from Norwich made in 1389 in reply to the Guild Ordinance of 1388, were made by pious confraternities.[1] Three of these confraternities will be discussed at the end of this section: the confraternity of Corpus Christi or the Priests' Confraternity, the confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary and the confraternity of St George. According to their returns, the remaining nine differed from the seven guilds of the city which made returns in little except that they were not attached to particular crafts and that more of them were held in parish churches. Like the confraternities from other towns which made returns in 1389, the nine from Norwich described themselves as almost exclusively religious organisations with little or no wealth. The main obligation of each confraternity seems to have been to attend an annual Mass in one of the parish churches of the city, in the Cathedral or in the church of one of the friaries. All except the confraternity of St James claimed to maintain one or more votive lights in the churches in which they held their annual Masses, and most of them claimed to provide various religious services for dead members and to provide alms for members who fell into poverty. The confraternities of St Catherine and of St Christopher were the only two to mention an annual feast.[2] The return of the confraternity of St Catherine contained the interesting rule that quarrels between members had to go before other members of the confraternity before they were taken to the Common Law courts.[3] The return of the confraternity of St Christopher contained an interesting prayer which reflected popular

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(1) Cf., Abbreviation A (p. 341) and pp. 346-9.
(2) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 21 and 23.
(3) Ibid., p. 21.

support for the Crusade and for efforts aimed at healing the Schism: whenever the aldermen and brethren of the confraternity met together they were to pray for the pope, the king and most other ranks of secular and ecclesiastical society - including the patriarch of Jerusalem - for the Holy Land, for 'ye Holy Crosse yat Godd for his myght and his mercy bryng it oute of hethen power into reule of holy Chirche and yat Godd of his mercy make pes and vnytee in holy Chirche'.[1]

Beside the confraternities from Norwich which made returns in 1389 in reply to the Guild Ordinance of the previous year, some thirty-six other confraternities are known to have existed in the late medieval city. The Bachelery Confraternity, one of the thirty-six, will be discussed later.[2] Ten of the remaining thirty-five were attached to the Cathedral, to the four friaries, to the College of St Mary in the Fields, or to Carrow Nunnery in the suburbs of the city.[3] Twenty were attached to various parishes and parish churches in the city,[4] and a further five are not known to have been attached in any of these ways.[5] Wills are almost the only source of information about these thirty-five confraternities and about the existence after 1389 of the nine confraternities which made returns in that year and which have just been discussed.

Perhaps the most striking thing about these forty-four[6] confraternities is how short-lived many of them were.[7] None is known to have had a

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(1) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 22-3.
(2) Cf., pp. 157-8.
(3) Cf., pp. 346-7.
(4) Cf., pp. 347-9.
(5) Cf., p. 349.
(6) I.e., thirty-five and nine.
(7) The argument is ex silentio but the longer established confraternities were mentioned sufficiently frequently in wills to make the argument valid.

continuous existence throughout the period in question. Apart from the confraternity of St Luke, which was probably a craft guild,[1] only the confraternity of Our Lady held in the parish church of St Stephen (1440 until after 1532)[2] and the confraternity of the Mass of Jesus in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft (1458 until after 1532)[3], are known to have had continuous existences approaching a hundred years within the period 1370 to 1532. The number of the forty-four confraternities which are known to have existed at any given time between 1370 and 1532, remained fairly constant until the very end of the period: thirteen are known to have existed at some time between 1370 and 1400, ten between 1440 and 1470 and twenty-one between 1510 and 1532. The increase at the end of the period is significant because it shows that there was no decline in anticipation of the dissolution of confraternities. The proportion of confraternities attached to parishes and to parish churches compared with those attached to religious houses and to non-parochial churches did not vary significantly during the period 1370 to 1532.

Assuming that testators usually left bequests only to those confraternities of which they were members, then it was quite common in late medieval Norwich for people to belong to more than one confraternity. On the same assumption, membership of at least many of the confraternities was open to both men and women and to the clergy. Unfortunately there is no direct evidence of the role that the clergy played in these confraternities - the large majority of the members of which must have been lay persons - and of what kind of control the clergy had over them; some of the clerics who belonged to the confraternities are known to have

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(1) Cf., pp. 143 and 349.
(2) Cf., p. 349.
(3) Cf., p. 349.

been attached to the same churches as the particular confraternities were attached, and for this reason they presumably exercised a measure of control over the lay members. On the same assumption, too, many people belonged to confraternities which were attached to their own parishes or parish churches, but others belonged as well or only to confraternities which were attached to the religious houses of the city or to the Cathedral; confraternities of the latter kind, of course, cut across parish loyalties. Some, too, belonged to confraternities in Norwich which were attached to parishes other than their own and a number belonged to confraternities outside the city. By far the most popular of these confraternities outside Norwich was the confraternity of Our Lady at Boston in Lincolnshire; Boston's connections with Norwich through the wool trade may explain this. To take some examples. A widow of Norwich called Alice Ballis left a bequest to the confraternity of St Anne in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft; she left bequests to no other confraternities and St Peter Mancroft was the parish in which she lived.[1] Master Thomas Bower left a bequest to the confraternity of Our Lady in the parish church of St Stephen, of which church he was vicar, and he also left a bequest to the confraternity of Corpus Christi (sometimes called the Priests' Confraternity).[2] Another widow from Norwich, Margaret Radcliffe, left a bequest to the confraternity of St Anne in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft, which was probably her parish church, but she also left bequests to the confraternity of another parish in the city - the confraternity of Our Lady in St Stephen's parish church - as well as to the confraternity of St Barbara held in the

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fos. 379d-380 (Ballis).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fos. 81d-82 (Bower).

Carmelite friary and to the confraternity of St Luke.[1] And finally John Fraunces, a mercer who lived in the parish of St Mary of Coslany in Norwich, left no bequests to confraternities in Norwich but he left bequests to the confraternity of St Christopher in York and the confraternity of Our Lady at Boston in Lincolnshire.[2]

Wills indicate the dates at which they existed but provide little further evidence about the activities after 1389 of the nine confraternities from Norwich which made returns in that year or of the other thirty-five confraternities of the city which have been mentioned. It seems likely that members of these confraternities had to attend an annual Mass on or near the feast-day of the confraternity's patron and in the church to which the confraternity was attached - as the members of the confraternities from Norwich which made returns in 1389 had to do.[3] There are a few suggestions in wills that members were expected to attend various religious services when a member of the confraternity died,[4] and two or three of the confraternities employed their own chantry priests whose duties presumably included saying Masses and prayers for the living and dead members of their confraternities: the confraternity of Our Lady in the parish church of St Stephen was employing a chantry priest in the parish church of St Stephen from at least 1524 and probably earlier;[5] the confraternity of the Mass of Jesus in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft maintained a chantry service of the Mass of Jesus in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft from about 1458 onwards;[6] and the

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fos. 247-247d (Radcliffe alias Curteys).
(2) PROB/11/12 (Reg. Moone, 1500-1501), fol. 7 (Fraunces).
(3) Cf., pp. 148, 154-5 and 160.
(4) E.g., N.C.C., Reg. Robinson or Fedymontt, fol. 6 (Swan).
(5) Cf., p. 355, under 1483.
(6) Cf., p. 353, under 1453.

confraternity of the Mass of Jesus in the Cathedral is known to have been maintaining a similar chantry service in the Cathedral from about 1466 until 1525.[1] The two confraternities are of interest as further indications of support for the Mass of the Name of Jesus at a time when the votive Mass was becoming officially recognised throughout the country.[2]

The confraternity of Corpus Christi (sometimes called the Priests' Confraternity) said its return of 1389 that it had been founded in 1278,[3] which was only fourteen years after Pope Urban IV had established Corpus Christi as an official feast of the universal Church. If the confraternity's statement was correct, it was the oldest confraternity in Norwich with the possible exception of the confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary,[4] and the oldest confraternity in England known to have been dedicated to Corpus Christi.[5] The Norwich confraternity of Corpus Christi is of interest, too, because its members were exclusively clerics - both beneficed and unbeneficed - and it was therefore a kind of craft or 'professional' guild for priests; the York confraternity of Corpus Christi was governed exclusively by the clergy but, unlike the Norwich confraternity, it included the laity among its members;[6] late medieval London had confraternities all of the members of which were clerics but they seem to have been either exclusively for the beneficed clergy or exclusively for the unbeneficed.[7]

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(1) Cf., p. 353, under 1466.
(2) Cf., pp. 80 and 202.
(3) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, p. 300.
(4) Cf., p. 155.
(5) H. Westlake, The Parish Guilds of Mediaeval England (London, 1919), p. 49.
(6) Ibid., pp. 53-5.
(7) G. Unwin, The Gilds and Companies of London (London, 1908), p. 300.

According to the return which it made in 1389 the Norwich confraternity of Corpus Christi was similar in most respects to the other confraternities of the city apart from its antiquity and its apparently exclusively clerical membership. Its members were obliged to attend an annual Mass of Corpus Christi in the church of the secular college of St Mary in the Fields on the octave of the feast of Corpus Christi, and Exequies and a Mass for the Dead on the same evening and the following morning respectively. They were also obliged to attend various religious services when a member of the confraternity died, and wills show that this practice continued throughout the period in question.[1] On the day of the confraternity's annual Mass of Corpus Christi, the members were to attend a dinner to increase their love[2] for one another and the Mass was to be preceded by a procession of the members of the confraternity.[3]

Wills show that the confraternity of Corpus Christi had a continuous existence after 1389 until 1546,[4] and it was apparently revived briefly during Queen Mary's reign.[5] Its membership seems to have remained exclusively clerical: it was frequently described in wills as the Priests' Confraternity and not a single lay person is known to have left a bequest to it. The confraternity said in its return of 1389 that it had been founded by the chaplains of the secular college of St Mary in the Fields[6] and the confraternity held its religious services in the college. Its connections with the college and the fact that none of the regular clergy is known to have been a member of the confraternity,[7] suggest that it was

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(1) Cf., N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 142d (Bolytowth).
(2) dileccio.
(3) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 300-302.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Wymer, fol. 6 (Pennyman).
(5) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, p. 285.
(6) Ibid., p. 300.
(7) Though admittedly the membership of the confraternity is known almost exclusively from wills and there are no surviving wills of the regular clergy of Norwich.

the preserve of the secular clergy. On the assumption that testators usually left bequests only to those confraternities of which they were members, then a high proportion of the secular clergy of late medieval Norwich were members of the confraternity of Corpus Christi: about a quarter of those whose wills were written between 1440 and 1489 and survive left a bequest to the confraternity, and between 1490 and 1532 the proportion was as high as a half. On the same assumption, the beneficed and unbeneficed clergy belonged to the confraternity in roughly the same proportions as their total numbers in the city, though none of the men who were bishops of Norwich between 1370 and 1532 is known to have been a member. The confraternity was another aspect of the 'clerical society' of Norwich.

The confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary, the Bachelery Confraternity and the confraternity of St George are of special interest partly because they succeeded each other as the most important confraternity in Norwich and partly on account of their close connections with the City Government. The return which the confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary made in 1389 suggests that it was the most important confraternity in Norwich at the time and that it was a kind of lay equivalent to the exclusively clerical confraternity of Corpus Christi. The confraternity claimed in its return to have been founded before time immemorial[1] and, like the confraternity of Corpus Christi, it held its annual Mass and its annual Exequies and Mass for the dead members of the confraternity in the College of St Mary in the Fields.[2] It was like the confraternity of Corpus Christi, too, in that it conducted

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(1) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, p. 289.
(2) Ibid., pp. 292-3 and 295-6.

its own annual procession. The brothers and sisters were to make their procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, starting from and returning to the College of St Mary in the Fields; those who could afford to buy a torch were to surround the Body of Christ during the procession, carrying their lighted torches.[1] It may well have been out of this procession that the very similar Corpus Christi procession of crafts developed in the mid-fifteenth century.[2] The two wardens of the confraternity in 1389 were Walter Bixton and Henry Lomynour, both of whom were bailiffs of Norwich and members of Parliament for the city several times and who were possibly the two most prominent citizens of Norwich.[3] Furthermore, the amounts of various fees and fines imposed on members and the scale of the confraternity's undertakings suggest that other members must have been fairly wealthy.[4] The confraternity also seems to have claimed that the duke of Lancaster was a member.[5] The confraternity was the only one from Norwich which claimed in 1389 to have its own perpetual chantry: it claimed to employ two chantry priests to say Mass and the Office for the king and the duke of Lancaster and their forbears and for the living and dead members of the confraternity in the College of St Mary in the Fields, and a Carmelite priest to perform similar chantry services in the Carmelite friary.[6] The confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary may have been the laity's equivalent to the clergy's confraternity of Corpus Christi but it was not in rivalry with the latter or with the clergy in general. It

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(1) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 296-7.
(2) Cf., p. 142.
(3) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 274-5.
(4) Ibid., pp. 292-9.
(5) Ibid., pp. 277-8 and 300.
(6) Cf., p. 351, under 1389.

described itself in its return of 1389 as founded to support the College of St Mary in the Fields and its clerical staff,[1] and the employment of two chantry priests in the college was seen as part of this support;[2] furthermore, the confraternity said that it had a custom of annually offering a cup or a book or vestment to the college.[3]

The confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary disappeared from trace after 1402.[4] It may have become absorbed into the Bachelery Confraternity, which appeared in records shortly after and which was also held in the College of St Mary in the Fields; or possibly, as Hudson and Tingey thought, the two were identical.[5] The Bachelery Confraternity was first mentioned in 1414 when it was described as a group of citizens who were allied by oath with the oligarchs of the city and who, together with the oligarchy, prevented the Commons of Norwich from freely electing the mayor and sheriffs of the city.[6] At the same time the confraternity was accused, together with the oligarchy, of spoiling the Worsted Seld of Norwich by diverting business from the Seld to the private houses of its members.[7] It seems, therefore, to have been a confraternity for prominent citizens, just as the confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary had been earlier. It was again involved in the internal politics of Norwich in the early 1440's, on the side of the citizens and the City Government and against an alliance of ecclesiastics and Thomas Wetherby's faction.[8] In 1443 the Bachelery Confraternity was

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(1) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 290 and 292.
(2) Ibid., pp. 293-4.
(3) Ibid., p. 297.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 294 (Shouldham).
(5) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. page xlii.
(6) Ibid., i. 72.
(7) Ibid., i. 74-5.
(8) Ibid., i. 341. For the disputes between the citizens and the City Government on the one hand and the ecclesiastics and Thomas Wetherby's faction on the other, cf., pp. 280-7.

described, in its defence, as a meeting of citizens immemorially held on certain days in the College of St Mary in the Fields in honour of St Mary the Virgin.[1] Despite the paucity of the documentary evidence about it, the Bachelery was clearly an important - possibly the most important - confraternity in Norwich during its apparently brief existence, though it was probably more a political and social organisation than a religious one. The Bachelery in its turn disappeared from trace after 1443. Hudson and Tingey thought that it was probably absorbed into the confraternity of St George.[2]

The confraternity of St George claimed to have been founded in 1385[3] and it was the only confraternity in Norwich known to have survived the Tudor dissolution of guilds and confraternities: after changes in its constitutions in about 1547,[4] it survived as 'The Company of St George' down to the early eighteenth century.[5] The return which it made in 1389[6] suggests that it did not have the special status enjoyed by the confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary at that time, and that it was very similar to the other confraternities of Norwich which made returns in that year. However, in 1417 the confraternity of St George became the only confraternity in late medieval Norwich to acquire a royal charter[7] and it seems to have taken over, together with the Bachelery Confraternity for a while, the position of honour among the confraternities of the city - a position which seems to have been vacated

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 341-2.
(2) Ibid., i. page c, and ii. page cxlii.
(3) English Gilds, ed. Smith, p. 17.
(4) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, p. 25.
(5) 'Account of the Company of St George in Norwich', Norf. Arch., iii (1852), 372-4.
(6) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 17-18.
(7) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, pp. 28-9.

by the demise of the confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary. The confraternity of St George is also unique among the confraternities of late medieval Norwich in the extent of its surviving records. Its account rolls for many years between 1420 and 1547[1] and the minute book of its assemblies between 1451 and 1547[2] survive. These records show that the confraternity conducted, for the most part on a rather more exalted scale, almost all the religious and other activities which are found scattered among the other confraternities of the city. The records are significant, too, in showing how little the activities of the confraternity changed during the period 1420 to 1547.

The royal charter granted in 1417 said that the confraternity had maintained a perpetual chantry of one priest in the Cathedral for the previous thirty years, and this perpetual chantry continued until the 1540's.[3] According to the return which it made in 1389, the confraternity provided various religious services for individual members who died and alms for members who fell into poverty,[4] and the confraternity's records show that both functions were performed. In some cases the alms were quite substantial: Robert Clifford, a brother of the confraternity who was said to have fallen into poverty, received 6d a week for three years between 1530 and 1533;[5] and in 1533 two men and a 'Fader Clifford', all three of whom were members of the confraternity, were each granted 6d a week for a year on the ground that they had fallen into poverty.[6]

The confraternity's annual festivities, which were a combination of religious services, feasting and pageantry, centred around its patronal

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(1) Norw. City Rec., Cases 8e and 8f, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George: 1420/1 to 1546/7.
(2) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, pp. 43-157.
(3) Ibid., p. 28; and cf.,
(4) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 17-18.
(5) Norw. City Rec., Case 8f, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George: 1530/1, 1531/2 and 1532/3.
(6) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, p. 134.

feast-day, unless the feast of St George fell in the week before or the week after Easter, in which case other dates were chosen.[1] The members were to attend a Mass in the Cathedral on the feast-day itself[2] and various religious services on that and the following day for King Henry V, who had granted the confraternity's charter in 1417, and for the benefactors and dead members of the confraternity.[3] An annual dinner was not mentioned in the return which the confraternity made in 1389, but the right to hold one was granted by the charter of 1417.[4] The dinner, which took place after the annual Mass in the Cathedral, was held in the Dominican Friary until 1473 when it was decided to hold it in the palace of the bishop of Norwich, if this was possible,[5] and on at least a few subsequent occasions it was held in the palace.[6] The feast was evidently a costly and elaborate meal,[7] and in the early 1530's the four members whose duty it was to bear the cost of the feast for one year were prepared to pay up to £9 between them to be discharged from this duty.[8] A procession was not mentioned in the confraternity's return of 1389, but by the early fifteenth century the confraternity was conducting an impressive procession on its patronal feast-day. The centre-piece of the procession was a pageant depicting the exploits of St George. The pageant included a man on horseback playing St George and a man in a model dragon, which was sometimes made more fiery by using gunpowder, and in 1532 a maiden on horseback called Margaret was added to the pageant.

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(1) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, p. 15.
(2) Ibid., p. 18.
(3) Ibid., p. 19
(4) Ibid., p. 28.
(5) Ibid., pp. 18 and 72.
(6) Ibid., pp. 86 and 90.
(7) Ibid., pp. 18-19.
(8) Norw. City Rec., Case 8f, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George: 1532/3.

In addition to the pageant, the procession included the mayor and aldermen of Norwich, the members of the confraternity mounted on horseback and clothed in the livery of the confraternity,and a number of priests, of whom twelve were clad in red copes and twelve in white ones. Throughout this impressive procession the bells of the Cathedral were rung.[1]

The confraternity of St George was also conspicuous for the quality and number of its members. There were at least one hundred and twenty members in 1468/9[2] and nearly two hundred members in 1521/2,[3] but the peak years were probably in the 1430's and 1440's since an average of twenty-three persons a year were joining the confraternity from 1430/1 to 1434/5.[4] No doubt most members of the confraternity came from Norwich but a considerable number are known to have belonged to knightly and even noble families of East Anglia, including William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Sir John Fastolf, Sir Thomas Erpingham and several members of the Paston family.[5] Miss Grace noted that members of humble trades became members of the Common Council of the confraternity in spite of an apparent attempt in 1463 to exclude craftsmen and persons of humble rank from the confraternity, or at least from the government of it;[6] (the failure of the attempt may explain why the entrance fee to the confraternity went down from 6/8d to 1/8d at about the same time).[7] Nevertheless, the cost of entry, the considerable number of financial

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(1) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, pp. 16-18.
(2) Norw. City Rec., Case 8e, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George: 1468/9.
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 8f, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George: 1521/2.
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 8e, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George: 1430/1, 1431/2, 1432/3, 1433/4 and 1434/5.
(5) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, pp. 23-4.
(6) Ibid., pp. 13 and 23.
(7) Norw. City Rec., Case 8e, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George: 1447/8 and 1461/2.

contributions which members had to make each year, and especially the cost of the annual dinner, which four members had to meet out of their own pockets each year, must have excluded the lowest ranks of society from the confraternity. The confraternity was governed exclusively by lay men but there are several interesting cases of clerics who were members of it, including several bishops of Norwich and several of the Norwich Carmelites;[1] and, rather surprisingly for a recluse, the anchor attached to the Carmelite friary, who was probably Thomas Scrope,[2] joined the confraternity in 1445 or 1446.[3] A number of women were also members of the confraternity.[4]

In 1452 the confraternity of St George was united to the City Government of Norwich in a way which was unique for Norwich and remarkable for any city in England. The reason for the union is not clear. It came at a time when several conflicts in the city were easing.[5] There is no evidence that the confraternity of St George as a body had been involved in the conflicts, as the Bachelery Confraternity had been;[6] but many of the confraternity must have been involved in them as private individuals since the confraternity counted among its members so many prominent citizens of Norwich and county magnates.[7] The union of 1452 may therefore form part of the settlement of the disputes. By the union, the outgoing mayor of Norwich automatically became alderman of the confraternity for the following year, aldermen of the city were automatically members of the confraternity and common councillors of the city had an automatic right

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(1) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, p. 24.
(2) Cf., p. 334.
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 8e, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George: 1445/6.
(4) E.g., ibid.: 1432/3 and 1433/4.
(5) Cf., pp. 287-8.
(6) Cf., pp. 157-8.
(7) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, pp. 12 and 23-4; and cf., above, pp. 161-2.

to become members of the confraternity if they so wished. Dismissal from the office of alderman or common councillor automatically entailed dismissal from the confraternity and conversely dismissal from the confraternity brought loss of the city's liberties.[1] In a sense the confraternity of St George became a department of the City Government, though the confraternity was so important by 1452 that the agreement of that year was probably more a union of two equals than a take-over of one by the other. The union was effective at least to the extent that every outgoing mayor until at least 1546 became alderman of the confraternity.[2] As a result of the union, the religious and other activities of the confraternity of St George from 1452 onwards were not just the activities of the confraternity, they were also the semi-official activities of the City Government of Norwich.

Pious confraternities in Norwich were relatively numerous for late medieval English towns: forty-eight in Norwich, of which twenty-five are known to have been attached to parish churches and most of the remainder to the Cathedral or to religious houses, compares with the sixty-eight confraternities attached to parish churches which Unwin found in late medieval London[3] and the total of about fifteen confraternities which are known to have existed in late medieval York.[4] With the notable exception of the confraternity of Corpus Christi, the forty-eight confraternities of late medieval Norwich were largely composed of lay persons and probably largely controlled by them rather than by the clergy. Nevertheless, confraternities in Norwich cannot be described as

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(1) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, pp. 13 and 39-43.
(2) Ibid., p. 14.
(3) G. Unwin, The Gilds and Companies of London (London, 1908), pp. 367-370.
(4) The Victoria History of the County of York, The City of York, ed. P.M. Tillott (O.U.P., 1961), pp. 482-3.

fundamentally opposed to the older religious institutions, or to the clergy, since they depended upon them at least to the extent that almost all are known to have been attached to a parish church or a religious house, and since they required priests to perform almost all their known religious activities. Furthermore, with the partial exception of the confraternity of St George, their activities are not known to have been extensive, and it seems likely that records would have survived if their activities had been much greater; certainly their activities did not compare with those of the confraternities or 'Scuole' of Venice at the end of the period in question.[1] Like the craft guilds of the city, the pious confraternities of Norwich were optional extras, so to speak, in the religious scenery of the city; certainly they were never sufficiently important to supplant the parish as the primary context of the religious aspects of the lives of the citizens.

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(1) B. Pullan, Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice (Oxford, 1971), Part 1.

d. Devotions to the Saints, Pilgrimages and Private Devotions

Devotion to the saints appears to have been especially popular in late medieval Christendom and to have reached a climax on the eve of the Reformation.[1] At the same time many aspects of it were much criticised by orthodox and unorthodox reformers both before and after the beginning of the Reformation. The official teaching of the Church encouraged devotion to the saints, to St Mary, the mother of Christ, and to the mysteries of Christ's life and of the Trinity; and to some extent it specified the forms of these devotions, for example with regard to the liturgy, relics and pilgrimages. Nevertheless, the faithful enjoyed considerable choice as to the persons whom they wished to honour and as to the forms in which they expressed their devotion.

i. Christian Names, Patrons and Votive Lights

Devotion to a saint was probably one among a number of factors in the choice of most christian names. John, the name of the Baptist, was by far the most popular male baptismal name in late medieval Norwich and wills suggest that almost a third of the men were called by this name.[2] It was followed in popularity by William, which was chosen for about fifteen per cent of the men. John and William enjoyed an international

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(1) E. Delaruelle, E-R. Labande and P. Ourliac, L'Eglise au Temps du Grand Schisme et de la Crise Conciliaire (Histoire de L'Eglise, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, xiv, 1962-4), Part 2, p. 787; R. Aubenas and R. Richard, L'Eglise et la Rénaissance (Histoire de L'Eglise, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, xv, 1951), p. 344.

(2) The following figures are based on the names of all the one thousand, one hundred and nineteen lay men and three hundred and ninety-six women from Norwich whose wills survive and were written and proved between 1370 and 1532 (cf., p. 362).

popularity,[1] and William was also the name of the boy from Norwich who was allegedly crucified by the Jews of the city in the twelfth century, and who was venerated as a saint. Thomas and Robert were the other two names chosen for over ten per cent of the men, and Richard was the only other name chosen for five per cent or more. Therefore probably more than three out of every four men in late medieval Norwich were called by one of only five christian names: John, William, Thomas, Robert or Richard. Henry, which was popular well before the death of King Henry VI, Nicholas and Edmund were each chosen for between two and three per cent of the men. Richard was the only name the popularity of which changed noticeably during the period 1370 to 1532: the proportion of testators with this name increased sharply after 1440. The pattern of male christian names in Norwich between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries was similar to what it had been in the country as a whole during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, except that a much larger proportion in Norwich were called Edmund, the name of the eighth century East Anglian king and martyr, and a much smaller proportion were called Roger, than in the country as a whole.[2] The names of internationally popular medieval saints such as Francis and Dominic were almost never chosen; except for John and Thomas, Teutonic or English names which were neither Biblical nor, in most cases, the names of important saints were usually preferred. Considering how Christianity pervaded so many aspects of life, it is surprising how little devotion to the saints seems to have influenced the choice of christian names for men in late medieval Norwich, as elsewhere in England.

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(1) Cf., N. Hue, 'Les Noms de Personnes à Castres à la Fin du XIV^e Siècle', XI^e Congrès d'Etudes de la Fédération des Sociétés Académiques et Savantes Languedoc-Pyrénées-Gascogne (1955-6), pp. 198 and 200.
(2) Emden, Oxford, iii. 2233-2242; Emden, Cambridge, pp. 689-695.

In the case of christian names for women, there was not such a concentration on a few names, and rather more of the popular names were those of well known saints. Taken together, Margaret and Margery were chosen for about one in five of the women, and Agnes, Alice and Joan were each chosen for between one in ten and one in eight. Catherine, Cecilia, Elizabeth, Matilda and Isabel were each chosen, in descending order of frequency, for between seven and two and a half per cent of the women. Julian does not seem to have been chosen after Julian of Norwich, the anchoress and author of the Revelations of Divine Love: only one testator had this name. It is surprising that not a single testator was called Mary; possibly this was the result of hyper-devotion, just as in most countries boys are not called Jesus.

Testators from Norwich followed the common practice of beginning their wills by recommending their souls, in varying phrases, to God, to St Mary, the mother of Christ, and to all the saints. St Mary and all the saints did not drop out of these commendatory clauses during the period 1370 to 1532, as happened in the diocese of York in the 1540's.[1] But the description of St Mary as a virgin began to disappear from these clauses around 1490; probably this is to be explained by the coincident change from Latin to English as the language of wills, rather than by any doubts on the part of testators or the scribes of wills about the virginity of St Mary. Towards the end of the fifteenth century an increasing number of testators from Norwich also recommended their souls to special patron saints. Those most frequently mentioned in this way were, in descending order of frequency, Peter, Michael, Martin, George,

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(1) A.G. Dickens, Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558 (O.U.P., 1959), p. 172.

Laurence, John the Baptist, Stephen, Gregory, Margaret, Andrew, Paul and Clement.[1] Of these, only John and Margaret were also popular as christian names. In most cases the saint chosen seems to have been the patron saint of the testator's parish church. Therefore the significance of which saints were chosen should not be emphasised: the inclusion in the wills of the patron saints of the testators' parish churches as the testators' own patron saints may well reflect little more than a change of fashion in the phraseology of wills.

No scope for showing preferences for particular saints was offered in the choice of patron saints for churches between the late fourteenth century and the Reformation, since there were no new dedications of churches in Norwich during this period. St Mary seems to have been the saint which was much the most frequently chosen as patron of the guilds and confraternities which were founded in Norwich between 1370 and 1532. Eight guilds and nine confraternities are known to have been dedicated to her,[2] and this was more than the number dedicated to Christ and the Trinity (under various aspects).[3] Three were dedicated to St Anne,[4] three or four to St Augustine,[5] and two to St Barbara,[6] to St James[7] and to St William[8] (at least one of the last two, the Peltiers' Guild, being dedicated to St William of Norwich[9]). The names of none of these saints except St William's was popular as a christian name and none, except

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(1) This statement is based on the sample of nine hundred and four wills which is used in Chapter 3 (cf., pp. 218-224 and 364).
(2) Cf., pp. 342-9.
(3) Cf., pp. 342-9.
(4) Cf., pp. 348-9.
(5) Cf., pp. 345 and 347-9.
(6) Cf., pp. 346-7.
(7) Cf., pp. 347-8.
(8) Cf., pp. 344 and 349.
(9) Cf., p. 344.

St Mary, was mentioned frequently as a patron saint when testators began their wills by recommending their souls. Of the saints whom many mentioned in their wills as their patrons or whose names were popular as christian names, Sts John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Michael, George, Peter and Margaret each had one guild or confraternity dedicated to him or her.[1]

Bequests to votive lights of saints in parish and conventual churches became increasingly frequent in the wills of the citizens of Norwich at the end of the fifteenth century;[2] (these bequests also give some idea of the number of images of saints accompanying the lights which there must have been in the churches). St Mary was by far the most popular saint in this form of devotion.[3] St John - whether the Baptist or the Evangelist was not usually specified - came next but with less than a quarter of the bequests to votive lights of St Mary. Enjoying a more modest popularity were, in descending order, Sts Anne, Margaret, Christopher, Thomas, Peter, Catherine, Clement, George and Michael. All except St Christopher were among those who were popular as patron saints of testators or of guilds and confraternities, or as saints whose names were common as christian names. Very few bequests were to votive lights dedicated to St William or to St Edmund and none to lights dedicated to the other East Anglian saints: Felix, Wulstan, Etheldreda and Withburga. The lack of enthusiasm exhibited in the wills of the citizens of Norwich for East Anglian saints - with the possible exception of the frequency of St Edmund as a christian name - contrasts with the many representations

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(1) Cf., pp. 342, 346-7 and 349.
(2) Cf., pp. 229 and 359.
(3) These statements are also based on the sample of nine hundred and four wills which is used in Chapter 3 (cf., pp. 218-224 and 364).

of local saints, especially St Edmund, on the rood-screens, pulpits, walls and stained glass of East Anglian churches. Concerning other saints, wills from Norwich generally support the iconographic evidence of East Anglia and both types of evidence agree on the pre-eminent popularity of St Mary. The only important difference was the greater popularity of St Edward in East Anglian iconography.[1]

A number of bequests, which, however, totalled only slightly more than bequests to lights dedicated to St Mary, were left to votive lights in honour of Christ (under various aspects). Nearly all were left to what were probably sanctuary lamps burning before the Sacrament. They were variously described as Sepulchre Lights, Rood or 'Perke' Lights, lights of St Saviour, or simply lights burning before the Body of Christ or before the Sacrament. These bequests for sanctuary lamps support the thesis that throughout late medieval Christendom the Sacrament was increasingly kept permanently in tabernacles or aumbries in churches for the adoration of the faithful,[2] and they show popular support for the practice.

ii. Pilgrimages

The charge of opposing pilgrimages was frequently brought against suspected Lollards, including some of those accused at the heresy trials

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(1) W. Williamson, 'Saints on Norfolk Rood-Screens and Pulpits', Norf. Arch., xxxi (1955-7), 299-346; E. Tristram, English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century (London, 1955), pp. 295-302; C. Woodforde, The Norwich School of Glass-Painting in the Fifteenth Century (O.U.P., 1950), pp. 228-9; M.R. James, Suffolk and Norfolk (London, 1930), pp. 232-6.

(2) E. Delaruelle, E-R. Labande and P. Ourliac, L'Eglise au Temps du Grand Schisme et de la Crise Conciliaire (Histoire de L'Eglise, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, xiv, 1962-4), Part 2, pp. 751-2.

which were conducted in Norwich by Bishop Alnwick between 1428 and 1430.[1] At the same time even orthodox reformers like Erasmus and Colet were very sceptical of the value of pilgrimages.[2] No testators from Norwich are known to have given departure on a pilgrimage as the reason why they made their wills, as happened often in late medieval Toulouse.[3] But thirty-one people from late medieval Norwich are known to have left money in their wills for other people to make pilgrimages on their behalf to various shrines outside the city or, in a few cases, simply to have left money or a gift to the shrines.

Our Lady of Walsingham was the most popular of all, and by far the most popular of the East Anglian pilgrimage-shrines: nearly half of the thirty-one either left money for pilgrimages to be made on their behalf to it or left something to the shrine. Pilgrims were ordered by various testators to be despatched to over twenty other shrines in East Anglia, though only one or two were sent to each. Several testators each wanted a number of shrines to be visited. A priest from Norwich called Thomas Oudolff[4] instructed his executors in the will which he made in 1473 to hire one man to make a pilgrimage for him to the Holy Rood at Beccles in Suffolk 'nakyd in his shyrte', and another to make a pilgrimage barefoot to Our Lady of Walsingham.[5] Gregory Clerk, a former mayor of Norwich, said in the will which he made in 1517 that he wanted somebody to make pilgrimages on his behalf to the following places:[6] Our Lady of

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(1) J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards (O.U.P., 1965), pp. 245-6.
(2) F. Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers (3rd edn., London, 1896), pp. 287-292.
(3) M-S. de Nucé de Lamothe, 'Piété et Charité Publique à Toulouse de la Fin du 13e au Milieu du 15e Siècle d'après les Testaments' (Toulouse University Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures 1961), pp. 9 and 134.
(4) Cf., pp. 61-2 and 103.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 97d (Oudolff).
(6) PROB/11/18 (Reg. Holder, 1514-1517), fol. 28 (Clerk).

Grace at Ipswich, St Edmund of Bury, Our Lady of Grace at Cambridge, St Audry of Ely, Our Lady of the Mount at Lynn, St Philip's Arm at Castle Acre in Norfolk, Our Lady of Walsingham, the Holy Cross of Bromholm in Norfolk, the Holy Rood at Recclys,[1] Our Lady of Redybone,[2] Our Lady of 'Armeburghe',[3] St 'Tebald' and St 'Wandred',[4] and St 'Hede' of Cremyngham.[5] Alice Winter asked in the will which she made in 1448 that a man should be hired to make a pilgrimage for her soul and for the souls of the people to whom she was bound to the Cross of Newton,[6] St Felix of Babingley in Norfolk, the Cross of Reydon in Suffolk, the Holy Trinity and All Saints of Lynn and St Margaret of Lynn, the Cross of Terrington and the chapel of St John of Terrington in Norfolk, St Thomas of Canterbury, the Cross of the North Door in London,[7] St Leondard of Norwich and Our Lady of Walsingham.[8] Other shrines in East Anglia to which testators from Norwich paid for pilgrimages to be made were the Image of Sts Peter and Paul at Sustede in Norfolk[9] and St Nicholas of Tibbenham in Norfolk.[10] With a few exceptions the shrines in East Anglia to which pilgrimes were sent are indicative of the decline in late medieval England of local cults of local saints and the concentration upon the cults, albeit local, of widely known saints (e.g., St Mary) and of general objects (e.g., roods and crosses).

St Thomas of Canterbury was much the most popular English shrine

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(1) Sic; presumably a scribal error for Beccles in Suffolk.
(2) Probably either Redbourne in Lincs. or Redbourne in Herts.
(3) Unidentifiable.
(4) The places of these two shrines were not stated.
(5) Sic; probably a scribal error for Cressingham in Norfolk.
(6) There were three Newton's in Norfolk alone.
(7) Possibly the preaching-cross in the cemetery of St Paul's Cathedral.
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 150d (Winter).
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 25d (Sistede).
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Cobald, fol. 10d (Veer).

outside East Anglia and seven testators from Norwich sent pilgrims or left bequests to it. In the will which she made in 1484 Margaret East, a widow from Norwich, reminded her cousin, Thomas Thurkeld, who was a shoemaker in the city, of his promise to make pilgrimages on her behalf to 'ye holy Seynt Wandrede' during her life and to St Thomas of Canterbury after her death, and to pray for her at the shrines, in order to release her from the vows which she had made to make pilgrimages to the places herself. Margaret also left money to Thomas Thurkeld to extend his journey to the tomb of King Henry VI at Chertsey Abbey.[1] The bequest confirms other early indications of devotion to Henry VI as a saint,[2] but it was unique among testators from Norwich. The Holy Blood of Hailes in Gloucestershire[3] and St Anthony of Camber in Sussex[4] were the other English shrines to which pilgrims were sent or bequests were left by testators from Norwich.

The considerable number of citizens of late medieval Norwich who provided in their wills for pilgrims to be sent to shrines abroad illustrates from one angle how the faithful of the city transcended their own local and national churches. Twelve are known to have left money for their executors to hire men - almost always priests - to make pilgrimages on their behalf to Rome. Usually the priests were instructed to sing - presumably Mass(es) - and pray for the souls of the testators and of various other people while they were in Rome. Three of the pilgrim-priests were told to make the Stations in Rome,[5] and two were told to say Mass at

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 203d (East).
(2) Dict. Nat. Biog., Henry VI, p. 67.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Wolman, fol. 223d (Osborn).
(4) Referred to as Caumb'rston in Sussex (N.C.C., Reg. Cage, fol. 112 (Aylemer) and as Camberton in Sussex (N.C.C., Reg. Gylys, fos. 99-99d (Thursby)).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 210d (Norwich); N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 245d (Phillip); N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 70 (Brystomer).

the specially indulgenced altar of Scala Caeli in Rome.[1] In addition to pilgrims sent to Rome by testators from Norwich, a monk of the Cathedral Priory of Norwich and five lay men and women from the city were among the approximately five hundred Englishmen known to have made pilgrimages to Rome and to have stayed at the English Hospice there between 1504 and 1507.[2] Pilgrimages to Rome were expensive, and those who journeyed themselves or sent others to the city are interesting examples of a residual attachment to the Papacy on the eve of England's break with it, and in an age in which the Papacy apparently had little that was attractive to offer Englishmen. Robert Baxter's bequest to a hermit of Norwich to make a pilgrimage on his behalf to Jerusalem as well as to Rome has already been mentioned.[3] Edmund Brown, a Norwich merchant, also provided in his will for ambitious pilgrimages abroad to be made on his behalf. In the will which he made in 1446 he instructed his executors to hire a man for £3-6-8 to make a pilgrimage to St James of Compostella during the next Year of Grace. (Two other citizens of Norwich left bequests for pilgrimages to be made to this shrine.[4]) As well as hiring a second man for 7/- to go on foot to St Thomas of Canterbury, Edmund Brown's executors were to hire a third pilgrim, for a sum which was to be negotiated by the pilgrim and the executors, to make a pilgrimage "a Selond aut extra Selond ultra mare usque peregrinacionem Sanguinis Domini Nostri Jesus Christi vocat' ye Holy Blood of Wihenhak".[5] 'Ye Holy

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(1) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 12 (Lathe); N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 71 (Brystomer).
(2) Public Record Office, P.R.O., 31/10/8, Part 2, fos. 3, 9, 60, 61 and 71.
(3) Cf., p. 128.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 332d (Joye); N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 118d (Iselham).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fos. 116-117 (Brown).

Blood of Wihenhak' was probably the Precious Blood at Wilsnack in Brandenburg to which Margery Kempe had also travelled.[1]

Nobody from Norwich is known to have left money in his will for someone to be sent on a crusade but Henry Sharpe, rector of St Mary in the Marsh in Norwich and of St Mary of Fulmodestone in Norfolk, left 6/8d in the will which he made in 1507 "to the crysten wars agayns the unfathefull Turk'".[2] The records of the worstedweavers of Norwich also provide an interesting example of support at a popular level for the crusades as late as the end of the fifteenth century. According to the records, in 1499 a yeoman called John Davy and a certain John Ocle, both of whom were from Norwich, vowed to God, St Mary and all the saints to go to the Holy Land under the protection of King Henry VII to fight God's enemies. The two men were probably responding, rather belatedly, to Pope Innocent VIII's call for a crusade which Henry VII had ordered to be proclaimed throughout England in 1487.[3] Their vows evidently had the support of the ecclesiastical and secular establishment of Norwich: they were administered by the rector of St Michael of Coslany in Norwich, and approved and witnessed by the mayor, the two sheriffs and two of the aldermen of the city.[4]

Norwich itself, principally the Cathedral, was an important centre for pilgrimages. Margery Kempe came to Norwich to 'offer at the Trinity' before she set out for the Holy Land and again when she returned.[5] 'The Trinity' was Norwich Cathedral, which was dedicated to the Holy

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(1) Margery Kempe, The Book, ii. 4-5 (ed. Meech, pp. 232-5).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 126 (Sharpe).
(3) Bernard Andreas, Historia Regis Henrici Septimi a Bernardo Andrea Tholosate Conscripta (ed. J. Gairdner, Rolls Series, x, 1858, p. 54).
(4) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 156-7.
(5) Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 26 and 43 (ed. Meech, pp. 60 and 102).

Trinity, and the account rolls of the sacrist of the Cathedral Priory show that many others made similar offerings to it, though unfortunately there are no indications of where the donors came from. Offerings to the high altar of the Cathedral fluctuated between about £20 and £50 a year between the late thirteenth century, when the surviving account rolls begin, and the late fourteenth century,[1] and between £55 and £85 from the 1390's until the 1440's,[2] except for three years at the turn of the century. During each of the three financial years between 1399 and 1402 offerings to the high altar of the Cathedral were increased to about £120 by offerings made to the Cathedral on its patronal feast-day, Trinity Sunday. An unspecified indulgence had been acquired for those who made an offering to the Cathedral on Trinity Sunday during these three years, and each year between £49 and £85 had been given in this way.[3] The offerings to the high altar as well as those given to gain the indulgence must have been an important source of income for the Cathedral Priory, since £120 represents over twelve per cent of the priory's taxed income, and about six per cent of what Saunders calculated to be its actual income exclusive of receipts in kind.[4] Offerings to the high altar declined rapidly during the 1450's and 1460's to about £20 a year, and they remained at this level until the 1520's and 1530's when they fell off to about £5 a year.[5] In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the priory was again able to offer special indulgences to those who gave to the Cathedral on certain days. Two indulgences were offered. The first had been acquired by Bishop Goldwell from Pope

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(1) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, numbers 210-248.
(2) Ibid., numbers 249-289.
(3) Ibid., numbers 252-254.
(4) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, pp. 29-30.
(5) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, numbers 290-334.

Sixtus IV in 1473:[1] twelve years and twelve quadragenae of penance were remitted to all who, penitent and having confessed, visited and helped to repair[2] the Cathedral on the feasts of the Trinity and the Annunciation. The second, offerings to gain which were first recorded in 1504/5, was the indulgence De Portiuncula.[3] However, these two indulgences evidently did not have the attraction of those which had been offered a century earlier: except in 1473/4, the first year of the indulgence acquired by Bishop Goldwell when they totalled £21,[4] the offerings for the indulgences never came to more than £7.

The sacrist of the Cathedral Priory recorded offerings at a variety of other shrines in the Cathedral, and the account rolls of St Leonard's, a cell of the priory in the suburbs of the city, record offerings at a number of shrines at the cell from the mid-fourteenth century until the Dissolution.[5] The most valuable offerings were those to the image of St Leonard at the cell, and those in the Cathedral to St William (presumably the boy-martyr of Norwich), to the chapel of St Mary, to some unspecified relics and to a cross: offerings to each totalled more than £10 in some years;[6] though their value declined in the fifteenth century just as offerings to the high altar did, only rather sooner - declines which must have affected the economy of the priory. In so far as the various offerings were made by pilgrims, the decline in their

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(1) REG/7, Book 12, fol. 206.
(2) ad .... reparacionem, restauracionem et conservacionem manus adiutrices porrexerunt (ibid., fol. 206); evidently an offering in cash could be substituted (ibid., fos. 206-206d).
(3) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 317.
(4) Ibid., number 303.
(5) W. Bensly, 'St Leonard's Priory, Norwich', Norf. Arch., xii (1893-5), 193.
(6) Ibid., p. 193; Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, numbers 224-225, 239, 244 and 246.

value is a local contradiction of Aubenas and Richard's claim that pilgrimages retained their popularity throughout Christendom during the century before the Reformation;[1] and, in so far as the shrines were dedicated to saints, it is an indication of a decline in one particular brand of devotion to the saints.

In addition to the shrine of St William, there were two shrines of local men in the Cathedral. Offerings in a trunk ad capud Johannis Episcopi began to be recorded in the sacrist's account rolls the year after the death of John Salmon, who was bishop of Norwich from 1299 until his death in 1325,[2] and those in a trunk ad caput Walteri Episcopi - presumably Walter Suffield, bishop of Norwich from 1244 to 1257 - were recorded from the late thirteenth century.[3] The offerings were sufficiently large for a time to suggest that there was a genuinely popular devotion to the two bishops, but the devotion does not seem to have been sustained since the offerings disappeared during the second half of the fourteenth century. The cults resembled the brief ones of bishops Grosseteste and Dalderby of Lincoln.[4] There are no records of pilgrimages being made to the grave or to a shrine of Julian of Norwich, the anchoress and author of the Revelations of Divine Love, nor indeed of a posthumous cult of her during the late Middle Ages, despite the reputation for holiness which she seems to have enjoyed while she was alive.[5] Pilgrimages which were made to the grave of Richard Caistor, the early fifteenth century vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich, and other

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(1) R. Aubenas and R. Richard, L'Eglise et la Rénaissance (Histoire de L'Eglise, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, xv, 1951), p. 345.
(2) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 231.
(3) Ibid., numbers 216, 219 and 220.
(4) Dict. Nat. Biog., Robert Grosseteste, p. 277, and John Dalderby, p. 384.
(5) Cf., pp. 117 and 129.

indications of his very interesting cult are discussed in the introduction to his will.[1]

iii. Objects of Piety and Private Chapels

It is not possible to describe at all fully the pious objects which were privately owned by the citizens of late medieval Norwich because the inventories of the goods of only two people who lived in the city during the period survive.[2] Apart from books, the 'Sentt John hed in alleblaster',[3] which had belonged to John Baker, the rector of two parishes in Norwich, was the only object of piety mentioned in the two inventories. However, a number of testators bequeathed various pious objects in their wills. Their bequests give some idea of the kind of objects which were owned and indirectly reflect on the religious devotions of their owners.

About five per cent of the clergy and the laity whose wills survive left one or more rosaries[4] in their wills, and some evidently owned quite a number: John Stathe, a chaplain of Norwich, left ten rosaries in the will which he made in 1451[5] and William Underwood, a goldsmith of the city, left six in the will which he made in 1470.[6] A few left Agnus Dei's, Paxes and crucifixes. A number left images, usually on cloth or on rings, of saints - most frequently St Mary - or of scenes from the life of Christ - most frequently his crucifixion. For example, in the will which she made in 1383 Mabel Maloysel left unum anulum aureum cum uno lapide

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(1) Cf., pp. 373-6
(2) Cf., pp. 76 and 113.
(3) Cf., p. 384.
(4) The usual terms were: par precarum, par precularum, 'pairs of beeds' or, occasionally, simply 'beeds'.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fos. 113-113d (Stathe).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 182 (Underwood).

vocato diamaunt ymag' Sancte Marie de Walsyngham[1] and in the will which he made in 1468 William Harbald, the parish chaplain of St Martin at the Palace Gates in Norwich, left i cloth steyned cum crucifixo in medio & ii imagin', viz.: Sancte Marie et Sancti Johannis.[2] Catherine Kerr was one of the very few who left in their wills a relic or something which had touched a holy object: she left a gold ring which had touched Christ's grave 'as it is said'.[3]

One in six or seven of the clergy whose wills survive bequeathed items - for the most part vestments or chalices - which were needed for saying Mass. So did a number of the laity; in most cases it is not clear whether the donor owned the object or whether he or she wanted it to be bought, but a few of the laity said explicitly that the articles were their own. Some of the laity as well as some of the clergy, in addition to the bishops of Norwich, are known to have had their own private chapels. Papal indults to possess portable altars were obtained by eight lay men and their wives[4] - one of whom, Robert Brasier,[5] later became mayor of Norwich - and by two unbeneficed priests of the city,[6] though the three surviving wills of the recipients do not mention altars or equipment for saying Mass.[7] The altar which Adam Kerbrook, an unbeneficed priest of the city, had in his camera is discussed in the introduction to his will.[8] Nicholas Ingham, a Norwich mercer, mentioned an altar in his

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 213d (Maloysel).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 127d (Harbald).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 90d (Kerr).
(4) Cal. Papal Letters, v (1396-1404), p. 568, vi (1404-1415), pp. 345 and 406, vii (1417-1431), pp. 300 and 450, viii (1427-1447), pp. 128 and 129, and ix (1431-1447), p. 243.
(5) Cal. Papal Letters, v (1396-1404), p. 568.
(6) Cal. Papal Letters, vi (1404-1415), p. 15, and viii (1427-1447), p. 129.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fos. 42d-43 (Cock) and 177-8 (Brasier); N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fos. 118d-119 (Iselham).
(8) Cf., pp. 368-9 and 371.

'chamber at Norwich' in his will,[1] and in the will which he made in 1424 Walter Daniel, a merchant and former mayor of Norwich, mentioned an altar in his 'warechaumbyr'.[2] Robert Allen, an alderman of Norwich, owned an altar and he also mentioned his chalice, vestment and other ornaments belonging to it.[3] Robert Baxter, another merchant and former mayor of the city, had a private chapel at Hackford in Norfolk where he had a manor;[4] and Elizabeth Drake, who had been the wife first of a Norwich vintner and then of a mercer of the city, as well as William Norwich and Gregory Clerk, both of whom had been mayors of Norwich, had private chapels in houses of theirs which were probably in Norwich.[5] The private chapels of these prominent citizens are interesting because they must have made their owners to some extent independent of their parish churches. But none of the owners is known to have been independent of his parish clergy to the extent of employing a (full-time) private chaplain. The only families of late medieval Norwich for which there is evidence to suggest that they had their own private chaplains, in the way that the Pastons employed Sir James Gloys,[6] were the Segryms and the Thorpes; and neither family is known to have had a private chapel in its house. Agnes Segrym, the wife of Ralph Segrym, a former mayor of Norwich, bequeathed a feather-bed to 'myn prest', Sir John Smyth,[7] who was not her parish priest.[8] Master Richard Waller was referred to as

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Wight, fol. 2d (Ingham).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 150 (Daniel).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 157 (Allen).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fos. 86-87 (Baxter).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 68d (Drake alias Davy); PROB/11/5 (Reg. Godyn, 1463-1468), fol. 30 (Norwich); PROB/11/18 (Reg. Holder, 1514-1517), fol. 28 (Clerk).
(6) H.S. Bennett, The Pastons and their England (C.U.P., 1932), pp. 226-231.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fos. 81d-82 (Segrym).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fos. 81-82 (Segrym); REG/6, Book 11, fol. 162d and REG/7, Book 12, fol. 136.

'my priest' in the will which Robert Thorpe, alderman of Norwich, wrote in 1501[1] and in the will which his wife, Agnes Thorpe, wrote in 1503.[2] Richard Waller was also the priest of the perpetual chantry which Robert Thorpe had founded in the parish church of St Michael of Coslany in Norwich.[3]

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(1) PROB/11/12 (Reg. Moone, 1500-1501), fol. 19 (Thorpe).
(2) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 26 (Thorpe).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 305 (Waller); and cf., p. 355, under 1497.

e. Chantries and Masses and Prayers for the Dead

The efficacy of Masses and prayers for the dead, as means of mitigating the sufferings of souls in Purgatory, had been clearly explained as a part of Christian doctrine in the profession of faith which Pope Clement IV had prepared for the Emperor Michael Palaeologus, and which the emperor had made at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.

> 'Credimus .... ad poenas huiusmodi (i.e., of the souls in Purgatory) relevandas prodesse eis fidelium vivorum suffragia, Missarum scilicet Sacrificia, orationes et eleemosynas et alia pietatis officia, quae a fidelibus pro aliis fidelibus fieri consueverunt secundum Ecclesiae instituta.'[1]

And the doctrine was stated again, almost verbatim, in the Council of Florence's bull, Laetentur Caeli, which proclaimed union with the Greek Church.[2] The multiplication of Masses for the dead, particularly in the form of perpetual and temporary chantries, was especially characteristic of late medieval Christianity. Perpetual and temporary chantries were also an aspect of lay piety: unlike houses of religious Orders, they gave the laity who founded them considerable control over the religious services which were to be performed and over the clergy who performed them, and they were also within the financial means of the middle classes. At the same time the doctrine of Purgatory and the efficacy of Masses and prayers for the dead were among the chief targets of the Reformation, and even orthodox reformers criticised the multiplication of Masses for the dead. Three main topics will be discussed in this section: first, how many and what kinds of chantries and Masses and prayers for the dead were founded or said; secondly, the mentality and the theology expressed by

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(1) Enchiridion Symbolorum, ed. H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer (34th edn., 1967), DS. 856.
(2) Ibid., DS. 1304.

those who gave money for these purposes; and thirdly, the social and economic functions - particularly the employment of priests - of chantries and bequests for Masses and prayers.

No houses of religious Orders or colleges of secular priests were founded in Norwich after the first third of the fourteenth century. Perpetual chantries, each of which requried more or less daily services of a priest, were the most ambitious and expensive religious foundations made in Norwich or by the inhabitants of the city in the later Middle Ages. Between twenty-seven and thirty-four individuals, groups of individuals or corporate bodies are known to have at least tried to found between thirty-six and forty-five such perpetual chantries after 1369.[1] In a number of cases it is not clear that the desired foundation was realised; several of the chantries, particularly those maintained by guilds and confraternities, do not seem to have survived until the Dissolution; and in two cases two foundations seem to have been united by the monks of the Cathedral Priory into single chantries.[2] About twenty-six more perpetual chantries are known, with varying degrees of certainty, to have been founded in Norwich before 1370, all after 1240;[3] two-thirds of them were included in the foundations of three secular colleges: St Giles Hospital, the Carnary College and the college of three chantry priests in the Bishop's Palace. Several of these older foundations, too, were later either united into fewer chantries or were dissolved. As has been said, the insufficiency of the endowments was the alleged reason why the college of chantry priests in the Bishop's Palace founded by Bishop Ayremine (1325-

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(1) Cf., Appendix 9 (pp. 350-6).
(2) Cf., p. 190.
(3) Blomefield, Norfolk, iii. 512, and iv. 48, 55, 57, 125, 163, 174, 201, 381, 386 and 387; J. Kirkpatrick, History of the Religious Orders of of Norwich (Yarmouth, 1845), p. 136.

1336) was reduced from three to two chantry priests in 1369 and why the two remaining chantries were dissolved in 1449;[1] and probably the same reason partly explains why the priests who celebrated in the Carnary College for the soul of their founder, Bishop Salmon (1299-1325), were reduced from six to four in the first half of the fifteenth century and to three before the Dissolution.[2] It was the reason, too, why the two chantries founded in 1313 by Lettice, the widow of William Payn of Norwich,[3] had been united into a single chantry (which survived until the Dissolution[4]) by 1368.[5] The inadaequacy of the endowments of many chantries in Norwich after 1350, and the resulting need to unite them into fewer chantries or to dissolve them, were local examples of a problem which was widespread in late medieval Christendom and which seems to have been caused chiefly by the fall in value of fixed incomes from endowments and, especially in England, by the rise in chaplains' wages after the Black Death.[6]

The number of perpetual chantries founded in Norwich did not compare with the number founded in London: the Valor Ecclesiasticus listed forty-four chantries in St Paul's Cathedral and a further one hundred and eighty-five in sixty-four London parishes.[7] Even in York substantially more chantries are known to have been founded than in Norwich.[8] In London

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(1) Cf., p. 53.
(2) Cf., p. 53; and cf., Cal. Papal Letters, vii (1417-1431), p. 566.
(3) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-1317, p. 31.
(4) Public Record Office, E.315/67, fol. 647d.
(5) Inventory of Church Goods, ed. Watkin, Part 1, p. 19.
(6) A. Molinier, Les Obituaires Francais au Moyen Age (Paris, 1890), p. 149; K. Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain (C.U.P., 1965), p. 93.
(7) J.A.F. Thomson, 'Clergy and Laity in London, 1376-1531' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis 1960), p. 207.
(8) The certificates of the commissioners appointed to survey the chantries, guilds, hospitals, etc., in the county of York, ed. W. Page (Surtees Society, xci and xcii, 1894-5), i. 5-84 and ii. 428-473.

far fewer chantries seem to have been founded after 1400 than before,[1] and foundations by the English nobility also seem to have declined after 1400.[2] In Norwich about the same number of individual chantries were founded after 1400 as before, and there were considerably more individual founders after 1400: before 1400 more of the founders had founded several chantries each.

Citizens or corporate bodies of Norwich who founded perpetual chantries after 1369, and others who founded them in the city, fell into five main groups. First, craft guilds and pious confraternities. Their chantries have already been discussed.[3] In addition, a few references in wills were made in the 1520's and 1530's to a Mass of Jesus which was probably said in St Stephen's parish church in Norwich,[4] a Mass of Jesus in St Gregory's parish church,[5] and a Mass of St John in St Peter Mancroft parish church.[6] These chantry services or votive Masses were probably maintained by confraternities attached to the parish churches or by the individual parishes. They do not seem to have survived long and it is doubtful whether the votive Masses were said daily.

Like numerous other bishops, five bishops of Norwich who died after 1369, or their executors, founded or attempted to found perpetual chantries. (In addition, three of the executors of Thomas Percy, who had died as bishop of Norwich in 1369, obtained a licence of Mortmain in 1373 to found a perpetual chantry for the bishop's soul,which was to be performed by monks of the Cathedral Priory in the Cathedral.[7]) Bishops

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(1) The Victoria History of London (London, 1909-), i. 205.
(2) J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), pp. 32-5.
(3) Cf., pp. 138, 141, 152-3, 156 and 159.
(4) Cf., p. 356, under 1521.
(5) Cf., p. 356, under 1531.
(6) Cf., p. 356, under 1531.
(7) Cf., p. 350, under 1373. Bishop Percy made no mention of the chantry in his will (Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Whittlesey, fos. 105d-106 (Percy)).

Alexander Tottington (1406-1413),[1] John Wakeryng (1415-1525),[2] Thomas Brown (1436-1445)[3] and Walter Lyhert (1446-1471)[4] all provided in their wills for priests - in most cases monks of the Cathedral Priory - to say daily Masses in the Cathedral, usually near the respective bishops' tombs, for their souls and the souls of various other people. The executors of the wills were to found the chantries but afterwards the chantries were apparently to be managed by the Cathedral Priory. Bishop Wakeryng's was the only one of the four foundations which is definitely known to have been realised, and it was probably united into a single chantry with Sir Thomas Erpingham's sometime in the early sixteenth century. Bishop Lyhert made the interesting stipulation that his chantry priest was to preach to the people of the diocese each year during Advent and Lent; (this was one of the very few provisions made in wills for the preaching of sermons[5]). Directly or through his executors, Bishop James Goldwell (1472-1499) was the most prolific founder of perpetual chantries from late medieval Norwich.[6] He obtained a licence of Mortmain in 1475 to found a perpetual chantry in the parish church of his home town, Great Chart in Kent, though it is not clear that the foundation was then made since six years after the bishop's death Nicholas Goldwell, his brother and one of his executors, obtained another licence, apparently to found the same chantry and to add to its endowments. According to Anthony Wood, the bishop's executors founded a second chantry for him at his former college, All Souls, Oxford. In 1503 his executors contracted with the

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(1) Cf., p. 351, under 1412.
(2) Cf., p. 352, under 1425.
(3) Cf., p. 353, under 1445.
(4) Cf., p. 354, under 1471.
(5) Cf., p. 113.
(6) Cf., p. 354, under 1475.

master and priest-fellows of St Giles Hospital for the hospital to find three more chantry priests to celebrate for the bishop's soul. It is interesting that instead of performing all three chantries itself, the hospital immediately sub-contracted two of them out to the Cathedral Priory and the College of St Mary in the Fields. Five chantry priests would have sufficed to constitute a college. Since colleges of chantry priests were particularly characteristic of the late Middle Ages, it is surprising that neither Bishop Goldwell and his executors nor anyone else from Norwich during the period in question founded such a college or even grouped priests of existing chantries into one, as Thomas Thoresby did at Lynn.[1] Instead they preferred to attach their chantries to existing institutions.

Four other clerics of the city formed the third group of founders. Unlike the bishops, none chose the Cathedral for his foundation. In his will Master John Smyth left property for eighty years to St Giles Hospital, of which he was master, provided the hospital in its turn had a chantry for his soul performed for eighty years or, if it could obtain a licence of Mortmain, it was to keep the property forever provided the chantry was performed in perpetuity.[2] It is not clear whether John Smyth's wishes were translated into practice, and there is no evidence that the licence was obtained. The perpetual chantry for the soul of Doctor John Derlyngton was also to be in and managed by St Giles Hospital, of which he, too, had been master.[3] That the hospital paid £60 to obtain the licence for various clerics and laymen to found the chantry for his

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(1) The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk (London, 1901-), ii. 455.
(2) Cf., p. 355, under 1489; for Master John Smyth, cf. also, pp. 100-1.
(3) Cf., p. 351, under 1410; for Doctor John Derlyngton, cf. also, p. 94.

soul[1] suggests that the foundation was made. Doctor John Wygenhale also chose a secular college in the city of which he had been master - the College of St Mary in the Fields - for his perpetual chantry.[2] The foundation deed was a tripartite indenture by which the college bound itself to pay £10 a year to the mayor and Commonalty of Norwich if it ever failed to perform the chantry service; in the event of such a failure, the mayor and Commonalty pledged themselves to get the chantry performed with the money.[3] Miss Wood-Legh has provided many instances of the laity using civic authorities as guarantors of their chantries;[4] John Wygenhale's foundation is an interesting case of a cleric getting the civic authorities to act as guarantors against failure on the part of his old college. However, there is no evidence that the guarantee was ever tested, and the chantry was still being performed by the college thirty-two years later in 1492. Doctor John Wygenhale, Doctor John Derlyngton and Master John Smyth were all prominent ecclesiastics. The obscure Master Ralph Churchman, who was described in his will as a cleric and citizen of Norwich, is not known to have even held a benefice. He left in his will property of his in Norwich to found a perpetual chantry in the College of St Mary in the Fields for his soul and for the soul of Alice Renter, of whose will Ralph had been an executor.[5] The chantry was not being performed in 1492,[6] and it is doubtful whether it had ever been founded.

Several members of East Anglian county families founded perpetual

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(1) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1408-1413, p. 187.
(2) Cf., p. 353, under 1460.
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds: Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.
(4) K. Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain (C.U.P., 1965), Chapter 7.
(5) Cf., p. 351, under 1391.
(6) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 12.

chantries in their provincial capital. Four of them founded, or tried to found, their chantries in the Cathedral and left the management to them to the Cathedral Priory: Dionisia de Tye, the widow of Sir Peter de Tye;[1] Sir Thomas Erpingham;[2] Justice William Paston;[3] and Elizabeth Clere, the widow of Sir Robert Clere of Ormesby in Norfolk.[4] Although their main interests lay outside Norwich, the first three are known to have owned town-houses in Norwich,[5] the Clere's of Ormesby owned the advowson of St Edmund's rectory in Norwich,[6] and, as has been said, Sir Thomas Erpingham and Justice Paston asked to be buried in the Cathedral.[7] Dionisia de Tye's chantries were still being performed, probably as a single united chantry, on the eve of the Dissolution; and so was Sir Thomas Erpingham's chantry, though it had probably been joined with Bishop Wakeryng's to form a single united chantry. Elizabeth Clere was one of the few founders who specified a number of Collects and prayers which the chantry priest was to say within or after his daily Mass, and the priest was instructed to remind the congregation that they could gain an indulgence - the value of which was not specified - if they said a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria for the souls of Robert and Elizabeth Clere and of all Christians during the Mass; (it is interesting that a daily congregation should have been expected at a chantry Mass). However, there is no evidence to suggest that Elizabeth Clere's intended foundation was made, and Justice Paston's chantry seems to have been performed daily only

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(1) Cf., p. 350, under 1375.
(2) Cf., p. 353, under 1428.
(3) Cf., p. 353, under 1444.
(4) Cf., p. 355, under 1478.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 95 (Tye); J. Druery, 'The Erpingham House', Norf. Arch., vi (1864), 144; Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, vi. 207.
(6) Cf., columns 1 and 3 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(7) Cf., p. 41.

for a short time because the money which had been deposited with the priory to pay for it was smuggled out of the priory.[1] Sir John Wodehous, another East Anglian magnate who also had a town-house in Norwich and who was one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer,[2] obtained a licence to found a chantry in the Carnary College in Norwich,[3] though Saunders doubted whether the foundation was ever made.[4] His attempted foundation is of interest for several reasons. He intended to present the priests of the chantry himself while he was alive, but he wanted subsequent presentations to be in the hands of his successors as Chamberlains of the Exchequer and not in the hands of the Carnary College.[5] Also he gave his chantry priest unusually heavy duties, especially in what had to be performed before nine o'clock in the morning, and he hoped to buy the prayers of poor people attending the daily Mass. Sir Thomas Kerdeston of Claxton[6] left money in his will to the Augustinian Friary in Norwich for three perpetual chantries to be performed for himself and for his family.[7] Another East Anglian magnate who chose the Augustinian Friary in Norwich was Sir James Hobart of Hales Hall by Loddon in Norfolk, the Attorney General of Henry VII,[8] who claimed in his will that he had already founded a perpetual chantry of one priest in the friary.[9] Sir Edmund Buckingham of Snetterton in Norfolk,[10] who said that he lived in his house

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(1) Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, iv. 252 and vi. 96-8.
(2) Blomefield, Norfolk, ii. 544-8; Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 442.
(3) Cf., p. 352, under 1421.
(4) H. Saunders, A History of the Norwich Grammar School (Norwich, 1932), pp. 42-3.
(5) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1416-1422, p. 377.
(6) W. Rye, Norfolk Families (Norwich, 1911-3), i. 433; Blomefield, Norfolk, x. 114.
(7) Cf., p. 353, under 1446.
(8) Dict. Nat. Biog., James Hobart.
(9) Cf., p. 356, under 1516.
(10) W. Rye, Norfolk Families (Norwich, 1911-3), i. 74-5; and cf., N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fos. 36-39 (Buckingham).

in Norwich,[1] wanted his chantry to be in and managed by the College of St Mary in the Fields.[2] Similarly, the perpetual chantry which seems to have been founded jointly by and for a group of East Anglian squires and knights, a master of St Giles Hospital and a mayor of Norwich, was to be performed in and managed by the College of St Mary in the Fields;[3] and the mayor and Commonalty of Norwich were made guarantors of the chantry[4] in the same way as they were made guarantors of Doctor John Wygenhale's chantry in the college.[5]

Several prominent lay men of Norwich formed the last group of founders. In contrast to the other foundations by private individuals, only half of theirs were entrusted to the management of a religious house or to that of a secular college. That none was entrusted to the Cathedral Priory, while four of those founded by county magnates were, may reflect from one angle the hostility between the citizens of Norwich and the priory,[6] in contrast to the much better relations which seem to have existed between the priory and the county families.[7] William Setman, who was later mayor of Norwich, entrusted his perpetual chantry to the College of St Mary in the Fields, and the daily Mass was to be said on alternate weeks in the college and in St Peter Mancroft parish church,[8] of which the college was patron.[9] Of this chantry, too, the mayor and Commonalty were made guarantors[10] in the same way as they were of Doctor

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 38 (Buckingham).
(2) Cf., p. 355, under 1479.
(3) Cf., p. 351, under 1406.
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds: Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.
(5) Cf., p. 189.
(6) Cf., Chapter 4, Section a (pp. 274-292).
(7) Cf., pp. 41 and 282.
(8) Cf., p. 352, under 1412.
(9) Cf., columns 1 and 3 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).
(10) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds: Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.

Wygenhale's foundation. Bartholomew Appleyard, a very prominent citizen of Norwich who died before the office of mayor had been created, and his son, William, who was later mayor six times, also founded a perpetual chantry in the college;[1] and again, the college bound itself to forfeit a large sum of money to the City Government if it failed to perform the chantry.[2] The priest of the perpetual chantry founded by the executors of Richard Brown and Ralph Segrym, both formerly mayors of Norwich, for their own souls and those of various other people was also to act as a kind of chaplain to the prison in the Guildhall,[3] which had been built shortly before. The management of the chantry was entrusted to the master and priest-fellows of St Giles Hospital, and the hospital bound itself to forfeit a sum of money to the mayor and Commonalty if it failed in its obligations.[4] It is significant that all the perpetual chantries, including this one, of which the mayor and Commonalty were made guarantors were performed for at least a while. The other three perpetual chantries founded by lay men of Norwich were the only foundations[5] by private individuals which were made or attempted in parish churches. The brothers John and Walter Daniel, both prominent merchants and former mayors of Norwich, asked in their joint will that a perpetual chantry should be founded for them in the parish church of St Stephen in Norwich,[6] in which they both wanted to be buried,[7] but there is no evidence that their wishes were realised. Robert Thrope, a very wealthy citizen and

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(1) Cf., p. 350, under 1388.
(2) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds: Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.
(3) Cf., p. 354, under 1472.
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 17b, Liber Albus, fos. 53-53d.
(5) Apart from William Setman's, cf., p. 192.
(6) Cf., p. 352, under 1418.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fos. 32 (Daniel) and 148d (Daniel).

alderman of Norwich, acquired a licence in 1497 to found a perpetual chantry of one priest in the parish church of St Michael of Coslany in Norwich, in which he wanted to be buried. The chantry was being performed when Robert wrote his will in 1501 and it survived until the Dissolution.[1] Robert Jannys, a former mayor of Norwich, left money in his will for his executors to found a perpetual chantry in the parish church of Aylesham in Norfolk, where he had been born. He also wanted the chantry priest to keep a free grammar school in Aylesham. His intended foundation is of interest, too, on account of the machinery by which he wanted the priests to be appointed. They were to be chosen by the executors of his will until the last one died, and subsequently by a kind of committee of clerics and lay men: the vicar of Aylesham, the 'bayly-churchewardes' and four substantial men of the town.[2] However, the intended foundation does not seem to have been realised, perhaps because it was overtaken by the Reformation.

As has been said,[3] the City Government agreed to act as guarantors of a number of perpetual chantries. But the only chantry which it initiated was the one founded in the church of the former Dominican friary at the remarkably late date of 1543; and the chantry was primarily for the benefit of, and to be financially supported by, the craft guilds of the city, not the City Government.[4]

Few inhabitants of any town could afford to found a perpetual chantry. Every Christian who died within the Church had a right to a christian

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(1) Cf., p. 355, under 1497; and cf., PROB/11/12 (Reg. Moone, 1500-1501), fol. 19 (Thorpe).
(2) Cf., p. 356, under 1530, and p. 399.
(3) Cf., pp. 189 and 192-3.
(4) Cf., p. 356, under 1543, and p. 141.

burial.[1] In late medieval Norwich, as in the country as a whole, almost all the people whose wills survive asked to be buried in a church or in a churchyard. Doubtless the bequest which almost every testator from Norwich left to the church in which, or in the churchyard of which, he asked to be buried was intended partly as an indirect payment for his funeral. In addition quite a large number of testators left bequests specifically for their Exequies or funeral expenses or, more frequently, asked for them to be paid out of the residue of their estates. Some provided in their wills for fairly elaborate funerals. Thomas Snellyng, a Norwich butcher, wanted a Dirge to be said for him the evening before his burial, and he left 4d to each priest, 2d to each clerk and ½d to each child who attended the service. He wanted to have a hearse, and eighteen poor men were each to hold a torch or a wax taper - presumably during the funeral - for which they were to be rewarded with a dinner and 1d each. He also provided for a feast on his burial day to which all his neighbours and parishioners, both rich and poor, were invited; and every other poor man, woman and child who came along after his funeral Mass was to be offered a halfpenny-worth of bread.[2] However, considering the large amounts of money left by the inhabitants of Norwich in their wills for Masses and prayers for their souls,[3] the number of testators who provided in their wills for elaborate and costly funerals was small. Several explicitly said in their wills that they wanted their funerals to be simple affairs. Doctor Edmund Stubbes, who was rector of St Michael of Coslany in Norwich from 1505 until his death in 1514,[4] said

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(1) Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretales Gregorii Papae IX, Lib. V, Tit. 3, cap. xlii (ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879-1881, ii. 766); Councils and Synods, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), i. 116.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fos. 383d-384 (Snellyng).
(3) Cf., Appendix 10, Section B (p. 357), and pp. 209-212.
(4) Emden, Cambridge, p. 563.

that he wanted his miserum body to be buried pauperime et sine pompa, and that he wanted no more than 13/4d to be spent on his burial.[1] Bishop Walter Lyhert asked in the will which he made in 1472 that his funeral expenses 'non sint superflui vel excessivi, sed adeo moderati quod non sint divitum aut habundancium solacia, sed pocius egentibus et debilibus recreacio et refeccio'.[2] Bishop John Wakeryng expressed similar sentiments in the will which he made in 1425: 'volo quod vigilie mortuorum communi modo immediate post mortem meam fiant, cessantibus pomposis exequiis et arraiatibus, qui pocius sunt, secundum beatum Augustinum, solacia vivorum quam subsidia mortuorum'.[3] Catherine Felbrigge asked in the will which she made in 1460 to be buried in the choir of the Dominican church, and she continued: 'nolo, sed expresse prohibeo, ne executores mei faciant magna convivia seu vanas expensas ad mundanam gloriam, sed ordinent discrete et honeste pro meis funeralibus modo meliori quo valeant magis Deo placere et anime mee prodesse';[4] and Sir James Hobart, the founder of a perpetual chantry in the Augustinian friary,[5] asked to be buried in Norwich Cathedral 'as shall accorde with my degree, with oute worldly pompe or pride'.[6] According to Mr McFarlane injunctions against funeral pomp were characteristic of Lollard wills.[7] None of the men or women who have just been mentioned is known to have been tainted in any way with the heretical aspects of Lollardy, but their wills do suggest that they were influenced by various radical (albeit orthodox) religious views which were also shared by a number of Lollards.

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(1) PROB/11/17 (Reg. Fetiplace, 1511-1514), fol. 31 (Stubb).
(2) PROB/11/6 (Reg. Wattys, 1471-1480), fol. 7 (Lyhert).
(3) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 312.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 185 (Felbrigge).
(5) Cf., p. 191.
(6) PROB/11/19 (Reg. Ayloffe, 1517-1520), fol. 33 (Hobart).
(7) K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), p. 210.

Funerals were intended to help the deceased's soul as soon after death as possible. Perpetual chantries were intended to help the souls of their founders and of various other persons with a regular stream of intercession which would continue into the indefinite future; the stream was composed principally of a daily Mass, probably of the daily or frequent recital of the Office of the Dead,[1] and in some cases of other prayers specified by the founder. Christians sought to secure the advantages of either immediate or enduring intercession for their souls, or of both, by a multitude of other arrangements. Among the inhabitants of late medieval Norwich whose wills survive, the most popular of these other arrangements and the one upon which much the largest amounts of money were spent, was the employment of a priest to 'celebrate' or to 'sing and pray' for the testator's soul for a specified period of time, or - the phrase which was normally used before 1425 but which was very rare thereafter - to 'say an annual of Masses'. In late medieval Norwich £5-6-8 was normally left to a priest to 'celebrate' or to 'sing and pray' for a year, whereas usually rather less - often between £3-6-8 and £4 - was left for an annual of Masses. The difference may have represented merely an increase in wages in the early fifteenth century, and not a difference in duties; but possibly 'celebrating' or 'singing and praying' for a specified period of time, which can be called a temporary chantry, involved the recitation of the Office of the Dead, to which, according to Miss Wood-Legh, most priests of perpetual chantries were bound,[2] in addition to the daily Mass which may have been all that was demanded of the priest saying an annual of Masses.

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(1) K. Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain (C.U.P., 1965), pp. 296-7.
(2) Ibid., pp. 296-7.

Between one in three and two in five of both the clergy and the laity of late medieval Norwich whose wills survive left bequests in their wills for annuals of Masses or for temporary chantries.[1] Using a sample which included a much larger proportion of the wealthiest testators,[2] Dr Thomson found that the corresponding figure for late medieval London up to the mid 1520's was about two in five of all testators.[3] Dr Thomson found that the peak years in London were the early fifteenth century, when the figure was about forty-five per cent of all testators.[4] In Norwich the peak decades were later - those on the eve of the Continental Reformation, when the figures were fifty-five per cent of the clergy and forty-four per cent of the laity. Compared with the preceding decades, there was a slight decline in the proportion of lay testators from Norwich who were leaving bequests for annuals of Masses or temporary chantries during the period between the beginning of the Reformation on the Continent and that of the Henrician Reformation in England, and the decline was accentuated by a drop in the average number of priest-years of service required.[5] The decline was even more marked among clerical testators.[6] Possibly reformers' criticisms of chantries were making their future and their value appear doubtful; though the decline in Norwich does not seem to have been as sharp as in London, where by 1529 to 1530 only one in five of Dr Thomson's sample was leaving a bequest for a chantry.[7] Between one and four years of service was the most popular amount with testators from Norwich who wanted temporary chantries or annuals of Masses; though

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(1) Cf., Appendix 10, Section C (p. 358).
(2) Cf., pp. 217-8.
(3) Thomson, 'Piety in London', p. 191.
(4) Ibid., p. 191.
(5) Cf., Appendix 10, Section C (p. 358).
(6) Cf., Appendix 10, Section C (p. 358).
(7) Thomson, 'Piety in London', p. 191.

considerable numbers - especially of the laity - wanted five or more priest-years of service, and on the other hand periods of less than a year were frequently requested by the laity after 1517.[1] Most wanted their chantry services or annuals of Masses to be performed consecutively by one or more priests, but a few wanted them to be said by several priests concurrently, for example: John Shouldham wanted twelve annuals of Masses to be said for his soul in the year after he died,[2] and Thomas de Bumpsted wanted annuals of Masses to be said by twenty priests as quickly as possible after his death.[3]

Surprisingly few founders of temporary chantries, as of perpetual chantries, were more explicit about the services and prayers which they wanted to be said, than simply to instruct the priest to 'celebrate' or to 'sing and pray' for their own souls and those of various other people. Robert Belton was one of the few who were more specific. He instructed the Dominican friar to whom he left £37-6-8 to perform chantry services for his soul for seven years, to say Vespers and Compline of the day and Vespers and Matins of the Dead in the afternoon, as well as Mass in the morning.[4] Several were instructed to go to Rome during their employment as chantry priests.[5] Nicholas Lathe, a Norwich parchmenter, directed his executors in the will which he made in 1499 to find an honest priest to sing and pray for his, his wife's and their friends' souls for a year, during which the priest was to go to the 'Court of Rome'. (It is curious that he should have thought of Rome simply as the Curia.) Having arrived the priest was to 'goo the Stacions of Rome' for Nicholas and his friends

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(1) Cf., Appendix 10, Section C (p. 358).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 294d (Shouldham).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 54 (Bumpsted).
(4) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 8 (Belton).
(5) Cf. also, p. 173.

and to sing five Masses for Nicholas during Lent at the indulgenced altar called Scala Caeli: one Mass 'in worship of' the Holy Trinity, another 'in worship of' Our Lord's Resurrection, a third 'in worship of' Our Lady's Assumption, a fourth 'in worship of' all the saints and a fifth of Requiem Aeternam.[1] Robert Gardener, an alderman of Norwich who wrote his will in 1508, wanted his priest to spend a quarter of his year's chantry service in Rome where, if he could purchase it for less than £5, the priest was to buy a Bull which granted three hundred days pardon to every well disposed person who prayed for the souls of Robert and his two wives at Robert's grave.[2]

Daily chantry services and annuals of Masses provided a regular stream of Masses for the founders' souls over a given number of years. Many testators from Norwich simply asked for a certain number of Masses - sometimes Requiem Masses - to be said for their souls, though they often wanted them to be said on specified days such as the day of their burial or of their anniversary. Frequently the number of Masses requested was quite small. For example, the only request for Masses or prayers contained in the will which John Wrane, a Norwich mason, made in 1504 was for six Masses to be said on his burial day for his soul and for those of all Christians.[3] Thirty Masses, usually called a 'trental' and for which 10/- was normally offered, was a popular number. A few asked for many more. Very demandingly, Bishop John Wakeryng said that he wanted a thousand Masses to be celebrated for him on the day of his death if it could possibly be managed.[4] William Setman, a former mayor of the city, came

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(1) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 12 (Lathe).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 94 (Gardener).
(3) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 26 (Wrane).
(4) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 312.

well at the top of the list of people from Norwich. In the will which he made in 1429 he asked for four thousand Masses to be said for his soul immediately after his death,[1] and they were in addition to the perpetual chantry which he had founded in 1412.[2] Four thousand was a very large number for even the greatest in the land to request: of all the people from the province of Canterbury whose wills were registered in the first volume of Archbishop Chichele's register, the only one who asked for more Masses to be said in a bunch straight after his or her death than William Setman, was Joan Beauchamp, lady of Abergavenny, who asked for five thousand Masses.[3]

Requests for individual Masses were frequently coupled with requests for other religious services. William Norwich, a former mayor of the city, left money to the following religious houses so that they might celebrate for his soul Solemn Exequies and Masses with ringing of bells and other appropriate solemnities: the four friaries in Norwich, the College of St Mary in the Fields and St Giles Hospital in Norwich, four other monasteries and three nunneries.[4] Master John Smyth, who was master of St Giles Hospital in Norwich and probably a former fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge,[5] and who also tried to found a perpetual daily chantry in the hospital,[6] left property for eighty years to both the hospital and the college so that they might keep anniversary services for his soul for eighty years or, if licences of Mortmain could be obtained, they were to keep the property forever provided they performed the services in perpetuity; the services requested were Exequies, Matins and Vespers of the Dead, Commendation and a Requiem Mass.[7]

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(1) Cf., p. 391
(2) Cf., p. 192.
(3) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 535 and 811.
(4) PROB/11/5 (Reg. Godyn, 1463-1468), fol. 30 (Norwich).
(5) Emden, Cambridge, p. 534.
(6) Cf., p. 188.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Typpes, fos. 17d-18d (Smyth).

Various votive and indulgenced Masses were quite frequently requested by testators from Norwich after 1440,[1] though their popularity never approached that of ordinary Masses and Masses for the Dead. A number left money for Trentals of St Gregory, which were thirty Masses said on thirty consecutive days after the example of the thirty Masses which, according to St Gregory's Dialogues, had been successfully said on the saint's instructions to free the monk Justus from Purgatory. (The many other testators who simply asked for thirty or a trental of Masses may well have had the same example in mind.) The bequests to the Mass of Jesus, or of the Name of Jesus, all of which were after 1450, are further evidence of the popularity of this votive Mass at a time when the feast of the Name of Jesus was being officially approved.[2] Most of the bequests took the form of bequests to the chantry of the Mass (of the Name) of Jesus in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich, which was maintained by a confraternity, and most of the remainder were bequests to similar chantries in other churches in the city.[3] There was also some demand after 1490 for the Mass of the Five Wounds of Jesus, which was another of the votive Masses whose first appearance in English missals in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries has been noted by Dr Pfaff.[4] As has been mentioned, two inhabitants of Norwich are known to have left money in their wills for specially indulgenced Masses to be said for their souls at the altar of Scala Caeli in Rome.[5] A few religious institutions in England, of which the Augustinian friary in Norwich was apparently one

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(1) Cf., Appendix 10, Section D (p. 358).
(2) Cf., pp. 80 and 152-3.
(3) Cf., pp. 152-3 and 186.
(4) R. Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1972), pp. 84-6.
(5) Cf., pp. 173-4.

of the first, had acquired the important and probably lucrative right of having an altar endowed with the same indulgences as those attached to the altar of Scala Caeli in Rome.[1] Margaret Norman, a widow of Norwich, asked in the will which she made in 1516 for three Masses to be said at the altar of Scala Caeli at Westminster;[2] and beginning in 1517[3] (or possibly as early as 1464[4]), half a dozen testators left money for Masses to be said at the altar of Scala Caeli in the Augustinian friary in Norwich. Apart from these few bequests and one other case which has been mentioned,[5] the inhabitants of Norwich showed remarkable little interest in their wills in having indulgences acquired for them posthumously. Considering the evidence of the account rolls of the sacrist of Norwich Cathedral Priory[6] and the important part played by indulgences in the Reformation controversies, the lack of interest is surprising.

Masses, funeral services, the Office of the day and the Office of the Dead were all religious services which belonged to the official liturgy of the Church and which were always or normally performed or said by clerics. A number of people from Norwich left money in their wills for lay persons to attend these services, or for the laity or the clergy to say for them prayers which did not form part of, or were only on the fringe of, the official liturgy of the Church. The most common form was a bequest to some person or persons 'to pray for my soul', though the request for such prayers - as distinct from the money given - was probably often little

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(1) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 90; John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments (ed. J. Pratt, 4th edn., London, 1877), v. 364-5; Sources for a History of the English Austin Friars, ed. F. Roth (Augustiniana, Supplement), pp. 408, 418, 430 and 437.
(2) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 48d (Norman).
(3) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 50 (Norwich).
(4) D. and C., Reg. 1461-1559, fol. 8 (Wedyrfeld).
(5) Cf., p. 200.
(6) Cf., pp. 176-7.

more than a conventional phrase. Another popular form was a bequest to poor people on condition that they attended various services connected with the funeral or the anniversary of the testator, and such a bequest was also a form of charity. For example, William Kynges, a wealthy Norwich barker who made his will in 1484, left a tenement in the city to his parish church so that the iconomi of the parish - presumably the churchwardens - would, among other things, distribute 1/4d worth of food and drink to the poor people and beggars who attended the Vespers and Matins of the Dead and the Requiem Mass which were to be said for him in the parish church each year forever.[1] The attendance of the poor at the funeral of Thomas Snellyng, the Norwich butcher, has already been mentioned.[2] A few arranged for ambitious programmes of prayers for poor people to say. For example, in the will which he made in 1497, Bishop Goldwell left 4d a week for three years to each of twenty poor men who were to go to Norwich Cathedral each Sunday during the three years to pray for the bishop's soul beside his tomb throughout the High Mass. The arrangement was to continue indefinitely after the three years but thereafter the poor men were to be paid only 1d each a week.[3] Robert Belton left £31-17-0 in the will which he made in 1502 to three poor men who were to pray daily for his, his wife's, his friends' and all christian souls in the parish church of St Andrew in Norwich in the following manner. If they were learned they were to say the Rosary in the morning, and Vespers and Matins of the Dead and Commendation in the afternoon. If they were not learned, they were to say just a daily Rosary. They were also to attend - presumably partly to fulfil the previous requirements -

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(1) PROB/11/10 (Reg. Vox, 1493-1496), fol. 5 (Kynges).
(2) Cf., p. 195.
(3) PROB/11/11 (Reg. Horne, 1496-1500), fol. 35 (Goldwelle).

Mass in the morning, and in the afternoon Vespers and Compline of the day together with Vespers and Matins of the Dead, all of which he wanted to be sung by a Dominican friar in the parish church[1] - a most unusual wish and one which might well have led to tension between the friary and the parochial clergy. The whole arrangement was to last seven years, and each of the poor men was to receive 7d a week.

The most striking point about the mentality and theology which lay behind the bequests for Masses and prayers for the souls of the testators and of various other people, is the belief which they imply in several doctrines which were central to Christian theology in the late Middle Ages, but which were also principal targets of the attacks of many reformers from Wycliffe onwards, namely: the existence of Purgatory and the possibility of other people helping souls suffering in Purgatory, and the value in themselves of various religious services which had the official approval of the Church - above all the Mass - and their value as means of relieving the sufferings of souls in Purgatory. In many ways belief in such doctrines cannot be measured. It is true that a considerable number of the testators, especially before 1440, left no specific bequests for Masses and prayers;[2] though almost all of them at least said that they wanted a christian burial and that they wanted the residue of their estates to be disposed 'for my soul'. It is also true that the wills of a few prominent inhabitants of the city such as Richard Caistor, vicar of St Stephen's, and John Terry, a former mayor of Norwich, were conspicuous for an absence or paucity of bequests for Masses and prayers.[3] But much more striking were the large amounts of money which so many of the

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(1) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 8 (Belton).
(2) Cf., Appendix 10, Section A (p. 357).
(3) Cf., pp. 375 and 388.

testators left for Masses and prayers for their souls and which were far too big to be merely conventional gestures. Excluding from consideration what they left to members of their families,[1] the inhabitants of Norwich in question left more money in their wills for Masses and prayers than for any other type of bequest. One in three of all the lay persons in the sample - two out of five of them after 1489 - left for such purposes at least £5,[2] which was roughly the equivalent of a year's wages of a building labourer in south-east England in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[3] That perpetual chantries were peculiarly characteristic of the later Middle Ages is something well known; the evidence from Norwich is further local evidence of the fact, and it shows that perpetual chantries continued to be founded right up to the eve of the Henrician Reformation. What is specially interesting about the evidence from Norwich is that it shows the degree of support for Masses and prayers for the dead - particularly in the form of temporary chantries - from those ranks of the middle class which could not afford to found perpetual chantries. This degree of support outside the highest ranks of the bourgeoisie is interesting also because it was almost as strong as - in terms of the proportion who left bequests for temporary chantries and annuals of Masses (albeit weaker in terms of the average number of priest-years of service requested[4]) - and reached a peak much later than, the equivalent support from the much wealthier group of testators from London

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(1) This is impossible to quantify because so much of it was left in kind, and probably much of what they left to their families was not mentioned in their wills.
(2) Cf., Appendix 10, Section B (p. 357).
(3) E. Phelps Brown and S. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', Essays in Economic History, ed. E. Carus-Wilson (London, 1954-1962), ii. 177.
(4) Thomson, 'Piety in London', p. 191; and cf., Appendix 10, Section C (p. 358).

which was studied by Dr Thomson and which is the only similar group in England with which comparisons can at present be made.[1]

The council of the province of Canterbury held at Lambeth in 1281 had summed up the theological problems involved in the multiplication of Masses, albeit in a somewhat contradictory manner.

> Licet enim dicat capitulum (De consec. di. v, Non mediocriter[2]) quod nichil minus accipitur cum Missa pro cunctis una dicitur quam si pro uno quolibet ipsorum diceretur, loquitur tamen de hiis Missis que anxiato corde dicuntur.
>
> Absit enim ne a quoquam catholico credatur tantum intensive proficere Missam unam devote celebratam mille hominibus pro quibus forsan dicitur quantum si pro eis mille Misse devotione consimili canerentur.
>
> Licet enim ipsum sacrificium, quod est Christus, sit infinite virtutis, non tamen in sacramento vel sacrificio in sue inmensitatis summa plenitudine operatur, alioquin pro uno mortuo nunquam oporteret Missam dicere nisi unam.[3]

Nobody from Norwich explicitly faced up in his will to the problem of the value of large numbers of Masses; though the fact that almost all those who left money for Masses wanted more than one Mass, clearly implies that they thought that the more the Masses, the greater would be the merit which they gained. Comparisons between the groups of wills proved in the different courts show that for Norwich there was in general a fairly direct correlation between the wealth of testators and the number of Masses which they requested.[4]

Testators were not purely selfish in their desire for Masses and prayers. Many from Norwich, as throughout the country,[5] said explicitly that they wanted them to be said for their families, relatives and friends,

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(1) Cf., pp. 217-8.
(2) Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretum Gratiani, Pars III, Dist. 5, cap. xxiv (ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879-1881, i. 1418).
(3) Councils and Synods, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), ii. 896.
(4) On the assumption that in most cases the testator's wealth determined which court proved his will (cf., pp. 221-2).
(5) J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), pp. 15-28.

and 'for all the faithful departed', as well as for themselves. Many from Norwich wanted them to be said also for those for whom they were bound.[1] Clearly the phrase was to some extent merely conventional, but it also reflects the strong medieval sense of justice: both that Christians ought to pay their financial and other debts and that they would be punished if they did not: (a sense of justice, partly conventional and partly genuine, which was also reflected in the comparatively unrisky and inexpensive request, which almost every will contained, that the testator's debts should be paid from the residue of his estate). A few were more concrete. For example, Walter Daniel, a merchant and former mayor of Norwich, said in his will that he wanted three annuals of Masses to be celebrated for the souls of all the faithful departed and especially for those of carpenters and other tradesmen whom he had knowingly or unknowingly cheated in the course of his business.[2] Similarly John Pilly said that he wanted two annuals of Masses to be said just for those with whom he had traded to make up for his faults and sins against them.[3]

Testators from Norwich, like those from the rest of the country, showed considerable concern over the timing of the Masses and prayers which they wanted to be said for their souls, and this concern implies that life after death, at least life in Purgatory, was thought of as temporal. Most wanted a combination of a large number of Masses and prayers immediately after death with smaller numbers continuing at regular intervals for a long time, but the former was usually preferred when a choice between the two was made. As has been said, several founded or tried to found perpetual chantries which were to begin functioning before

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(1) omnibus pro quibus teneor was the normal phrase.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fos. 149-149d (Daniel).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 197d (Pilly).

their founders had died.[1] The mechanics of executing a will did not, strictly speaking, allow the possibility of the religious services requested in the will being performed before the testator's death. However, a priest called Thomas Love requested in his will that the first ten Masses of a trental should be said for him on the day he lay _in extremis_, but he was the only one who (seems to have) asked for the services to be begun before his death. What has already been said shows that testators from Norwich showed some concern over the types of religious services that they wanted to be performed, but that their concern over the quantity of services to be performed was much greater. Most stuck to a few forms of service - above all ordinary and _Requiem_ Masses - and in their lack of imagination in this respect testators from Norwich were following the example of wealthy men throughout the kingdom.

The most important economic and social effects of bequests for Masses and prayers were the endowments received by various religious institutions and the employment of priests to say them. The amount of money left to found a perpetual chantry varied considerably. Sir Thomas Kerdeston hoped that the Augustinian friars of Norwich would found three perpetual chantries for £200;[2] and _per_ chantry this was the smallest sum known to have been left for a foundation in late medieval Norwich. At the other end of the scale, Bishop Lyhert left £266-13-4 for the foundation of a perpetual chantry which was to be performed by the Benedictine Cathedral Priory,[3] and the executors of Bishop Goldwell's will were licenced to give endowments worth £35-6-8 a year to St Giles Hospital to found three perpetual chantries.[4] The amount normally given to found one perpetual

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(1) _Cf._, pp. 187 and 191-4.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 137 (Kerdeston).
(3) _Cal. Close Rolls, 1485-1500_, p. 245.
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds: Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.

chantry was at least £100, or property worth between £8 and £10 a year. For the College of St Mary in the Fields, and probably also for St Giles Hospital, the advantages of the endowment received for the foundation of a perpetual chantry was matched by the expense of hiring a priest who was not already a member of the college or hospital to perform it, and often of providing him with accommodation in the college.[1] Those who founded perpetual chantries in the houses of religious Orders in Norwich usually expected the chantries to be performed by religious of the houses, and so the expense to the religious houses of hiring extra priests was excluded, or was less. It is therefore interesting that it was the Cathedral Priory, not the College of St Mary in the Fields (possibly owing to the City Government acting as guarantor[2]), which seems to have been remiss in performing the perpetual chantries entrusted to its care: negligence in performing them was complained of several times during the visitation of the priory in 1514[3] and, as has been said, several unions of chantries were made by the priory.[4] The reason seems to have been a combination of the facts that the livelihoonds of individual monks of the Cathedral Priory, unlike those of other chantry priests, did not depend upon their performing the chantries, and secondly that there was little machinery to ensure that the monks were paid something for their services as chantry priests; certainly the records of the visitation of the priory in 1492 suggest that failure to pay monks their pensions for performing chantry services and the failure to perform the chantries themselves, were causally connected.[5]

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(1) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 12; and cf.: p. 350, under 1388; p. 351, under 1406; p. 351, under 1410; p. 352, under 1412; p. 353, under 1460; p. 355, under 1479; and p. 355 , under 1489.
(2) Cf., pp. 189 and 192-3.
(3) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 73, 74 and 78.
(4) Cf., p. 190.
(5) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 4 and 6.

Besides the endowments of perpetual chantries, many of the testamentary bequests left by the inhabitants of late medieval Norwich for Masses and prayers were left to houses of religious Orders or to colleges of secular priests - usually to those in the city.[1] But the large majority of the bequests for temporary chantry services and annuals of Masses - which accounted for by far the largest portion of the money spent on religious services other than perpetual chantries, and which were the most important in terms of the employment of priests - were left not to houses of religious Orders or colleges of secular priests but to what might be termed 'freelance' priests who were at most attached to parish churches as stipendiary priests. Thus between 1490 and 1517, when bequests for temporary chantries and annuals of Masses reached a peak, only sixty-seven of the four hundred and forty-four years of such religious services which were requested (by those of the sample of two hundred and eighty-eight testators[2] who wanted at least three months of such services), were left to houses of religious Orders or to colleges of secular priests. In the case of nearly all the remaining three hundred and seventy-seven years of service requested, the testators were explicit that the celebrants were to be secular priests or, much less commonly, they suggested the same by saying that the priests were to perform the chantry services in parish churches. Three hundred and seventy-seven years of such religious services would have occupied between thirteen and fourteen priests full-time during the twenty-eight years between 1490 and 1517. Admittedly the two hundred and eighty-eight people in the sample were drawn disproportionately from the upper ranks of Norwich society,[3] and so

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(1) Cf., pp. 233-243.
(2) I.e., two hundred and twenty-six lay persons and sixty-two clerics (cf., Appendix 13, Section B (p. 364)).
(3) Cf., pp. 221-2.

per capita they must have paid for considerably more years of services than was the average. Nevertheless, the bequests of these two hundred and eighty-eight people show that employment as the priest of a temporary chantry must have been a regular form of employment for many priests in the city, and not just an occasional windfall. The bequests go a considerable way towards explaining how the numerous unbeneficed secular priests in Norwich who did not belong to the secular colleges but who were attached to the parish churches in the rather obscure relationship of stipendiary priests,[1] found employment.

As has been said, £5-6-8 was normally offered by testators from Norwich for a priest to 'celebrate' or to 'sing and pray' for a year whereas for annuals of Masses, which were very rarely requested after 1425, rather less was usually offered.[2] £5-6-8 was 13/4d more than what Archbishop Sudbury and his suffragans had prescribed as the maximum annual wage of a chantry priest when they re-issued the constitution, Effrenata, in its third and final form in 1378.[3] £5-6-8 was also a little more than what is thought to have been the average annual earnings of a building labourer in south-eastern England in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[4] It was remarkably generous payment, considering that the duties were so light - daily Mass and possibly the Office of the day or the Office of the Dead - and that therefore the wage could presumably be supplemented by other earnings. The wage also helps to explain why many of the unbeneficed clergy of the city seem to have been comparatively

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(1) Cf., pp. 46 and 317-324.
(2) Cf., p. 197.
(3) B. Putnam, 'Maximum Wage-Laws for Priests after the Black Death, 1348-1381', American Historical Review, xxi (1915-6), 13-14.
(4) E. Phelps Brown and S. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', Essays in Economic History, ed. E. Carus-Wilson (London, 1954-1962), ii. 177.

well-off towards the end of their lives.[1] That the customary fee in Norwich seems to have remained fixed at £5-6-8 from the 1420's until the 1520's reflects two factors: the overall stability of wages and prices throughout the country during this period;[2] and secondly - and probably of more importance - the fact that during this period, unlike the years immediately after the Black Death,[3] the supply of stipendiary priests probably matched the demand for chantry services. After 1520 quite a few testators offered slightly more than £5-6-8 a year; but since the demand for chantry services seems to have declined at about the same time,[4] the increase presumably reflects the beginning of the sixteenth century price-rise. If Norwich was like other major European cities, then the testamentary bequests of its citizens for temporary chantries throw considerable light on the general problem of the employment of the clerical proletariat in towns. Perhaps the most remarkable thing in Norwich was that the laity's desire for, and belief in, large numbers of Masses being said for their souls was so great that they were prepared to pay considerable salaries to these unbeneficed priests for doing so little work, and so to allow them to lead lives of what could have been considerable idleness. By providing such attractive employment, their bequests for Masses must have helped to create the unbeneficed clerical proletariat as well as to support it. Particularly in a town like Norwich most of whose parochial livings were not valuable,[5] it is very strange

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(1) Cf., pp. 102-3.
(2) E. Phelps Brown and S. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage Rates', Essays in Economic History, ed. E. Carus-Wilson (London, 1954-1962), ii. 188 and 194.
(3) B. Putnam, 'Maximum Wage-Laws for Priests after the Black Death, 1348-1381', American Historical Review, xxi (1915-6), 13-14.
(4) Cf., p. 198.
(5) Cf., columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).

that more of the bequests for Masses were not left to the parish priests - to whom such bequests are usually left today - and so to help to support those who were doing more obviously worthwhile work.

Besides stating whether the celebrant was to be a secular priest, many testators added moral and other considerations which they wanted to be considered when the priests were chosen for their chantries - especially that the priest should be honest or suitable or of good repute, qualifications upon which many of the English nobility also insisted.[1] (Such requirements were probably expressing the wish that the deserving, even if poor, priest should find employment,rather than the belief that the merit of the Mass comes ex opere operantis.) For example, a priest of the city called Alexander Penny said that he wanted the celebrant of his year's chantry services to be a presbiter secularis, ydoneus et discretus et bene gubernatus,[2] and Bishop Lyhert said that he wanted his chantry priest to be learned in Holy Scripture.[3] The qualifications laid down in the will which a raffman of the city called John Smyth made in 1503 are interesting as an expression of hostility towards foreign labour and because they suggest that priests were coming from afar, perhaps even from abroad, to find work in Norwich. He wanted for his chantry services an 'honest yong preest, a seculer man newly made preest, of wysdam and reason and noon owtlondisshman'.[4]

Some testators combined the advantages of Masses and prayers for themselves with those of employing their clerical relatives, sometimes even as part-time domestic servants. For example, Thomas Glanville, a Norwich

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(1) J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), p. 29.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 89 (Penny).
(3) PROB/11/6 (Reg. Wattys, 1471-1480), fol. 7 (Lyhert).
(4) PROB/11/14 (Reg. Holgrave, 1504-1506), fol. 1 (Smyth).

brewer, wanted his year's chantry services for his own and his wife's souls to be performed by his son, Thomas, who was a friar at the Franciscan friary in Norwich.[1] Richard Ferrour, who was a priest and the nephew of a former mayor of the city who was also called Richard Ferrour, was left £46 by his uncle (which he was to receive only if he did not obtain a benefice) so that he would sing for his uncle's soul and for those of his uncle's two wives and of various other people for twelve years, and the uncle wanted his nephew to 'waite' upon his wife and to go to board with her or with some other person in the parish during the twelve years.[2]

A number of testators wanted their chantry priests to combine their religious duties with studying at a university,[3] and sometimes these positions as 'chantry-scholars' were offered to the sons or relatives of the testators.[4] But, as Miss Wood-Legh found with perpetual chantries in the country as a whole,[5] only a small minority of all the perpetual and temporary chantries which were founded in late medieval Norwich, or which were founded outside the city but by its inhabitants, were also concerned with educational projects. Robert Jannys, a former mayor of the city who tried to found a perpetual chantry combined with a grammar school,[6] was unique for late medieval Norwich. Certainly Dr Hughes's claim that chantry priests 'generally' had the obligation of keeping a grammar school is simply not true for Norwich.[7]

Finally, bequests to the poor of Norwich to say prayers or to attend

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 400d (Glanville).
(2) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 7 (Ferrour).
(3) E.g., PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 26 (Thorpe).
(4) E.g., N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fos. 183-183d (Goose).
(5) K. Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain (C.U.P., 1965), p. 269.
(6) Cf., p. 194.
(7) P. Hughes, The Reformation in England (London, 1950-4), ii. 151.

religious services must have had a limited social and economic function as a form of poor relief. But few of the known bequests of this kind can have amounted to more than small and occasional windfalls for the recipients; certainly bequests on the scale of those of Sir John Wodehous,[1] Bishop Goldwell[2] or Richard Belton[3] were quite exceptional.[4]

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(1) Cf., pp. 191, and 352, under 1421.
(2) Cf., p. 204.
(3) Cf., pp. 204-5.
(4) For bequests which involved distributions of money to the poor on burial days or on anniversaries, but which did not involve attendance at religious services or saying prayers, cf., pp. 264 and 267.

Chapter 3. Testamentary[1] Bequests

a. Introduction

Norwich is one of only three or four English towns for which a sufficiently large number of wills survive to permit reasonably significant statements about trends in bequests to various branches of the Church during the century and a half from the era of Wycliffe to the eve of the Henrician Reformation. The wills of at least eight thousand Londoners who died between 1370 and 1530 survive among the records of the three courts which proved most of the extant wills of the citizens: the London Court of Husting,[2] the Commissary Court of London[3] and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.[4] Dr Thomson has discussed the religious and charitable bequests contained in these wills.[5] He used principally a sample of the wills which were proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury between

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(1) Testators from late medieval Norwich, as in the rest of the country, did not draw a clear distinction between will (dealing with real property) and testament (dealing with personal property). In Norwich 'testament' was the term normally used until the last quarter of the fifteenth century, but these testaments frequently dealt with real property. 'Testament and last will' was the term normally used from the last quarter of the fifteenth century onwards, but the 'testament and last will' was almost always a single unit which did not distinguish where the testament ended from where the will began. In this thesis 'will' (not 'testament') is always used as the noun and 'testamentary' as the adjective, and both words are intended to include the meaning of both will and testament. 'Will' has been used to include both register copy wills and original wills.

(2) Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258 - A.D. 1688, ed. R.R. Sharpe (London, 1889-1890), i. page xxvi, and ii. pages 134-649.

(3) The London Guildhall Library, where there is a manuscript index; no published index exists.

(4) Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383-1558, ed. J. Smith (Index Library, x, 1893, and xi, 1895), ii. 646-656.

(5) Thomson, 'Piety in London', pp. 178-195; J.A.F. Thomson, 'Clergy and Laity in London, 1376-1531' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis 1960), Chapter 3. The samples of wills used in the two works vary slightly; comparisons in this chapter are with the first work.

between 1400 and 1530. It is therefore important to remember that his sample contained a much larger proportion of very wealthy testators than the sample of testators from Norwich which has been used for this thesis.[1] There are extant wills of at least three thousand citizens of York from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century,[2] and of about fifteen hundred inhabitants of Canterbury from before 1530, though most of the Canterbury wills were written after 1480.[3] No analyses of the religious and charitable bequests in the Canterbury and York wills have yet been made.

The wills of eighteen hundred and four inhabitants of Norwich which were written and proved between 1370 and 1532, survive.[4] Nearly five-sixths of them were proved in the Norwich Consistory Court, whose surviving will-registers date back to 1370. All of the eighteen hundred and four wills have been examined for the purposes of this chapter, but the statistics of the chapter are based on a sample of nine hundred and four of them, and these have been divided into four periods: 1370 to 1439, 1440 to 1489, 1490 to 1517 and 1518 to 1532.[5] The nine hundred and four comprise all the wills of clerics - two hundred and eighty-nine - and the wills of six hundred and fifteen lay people. The wills of the six hundred and fifteen lay people are contained in the records of the four most important officials or bodies which proved the wills of the inhabitants of

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(1) Cf., pp. 218-224.
(2) Index of Wills in the York Registry, 1389-1514 (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Records Series, vi, 1888-9), pp. 1-192.
(3) Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383-1558, ed. J. Smith (Index Library, x, 1893, and xi, 1895), ii. 636; Calendar of Wills and Administrations Now Preserved in the Probate Registry at Canterbury, 1396-1558 and 1640-1650, ed. H.R. Plomer (Kent Archaeological Society, Records Branch, vi, 1916-9), pp. 1-535.
(4) Cf., Appendix 13, Section A (p. 362).
(5) Cf., Appendix 13, Section B (p. 364).

Norwich:[1] the will-registers of the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishops' own registers; secondly, the will-registers of the archdeacons of Norwich; thirdly, the will-registers of the prior and convent of Norwich Cathedral Priory (later the dean and chapter of Norwich Cathedral), and the Acta et Comperta of the priory's visitations of its liberties; and fourthly, the will-registers of the Norwich Consistory Court. All the wills proved by the first three authorities have been included in the sample and, in addition, three hundred and thirty-nine wills from the registers of the Norwich Consistory Court. These three hundred and thirty-nine wills fall, in roughly equal numbers, into the four periods into which 1370 to 1532 has been divided: all the wills of the inhabitants of the city in the first four surviving registers of the court, which cover the period 1370 to 1436; all the wills in register Jekkys (1464-1472) and in the second half of register Cobald (1465-1468); all the wills in register Ryxe (1504-1507); and all the wills which were written and proved between 1526 and 1532. (A cursory examination of the wills of the laity not included in the sample as well as a priori reasons suggest that the sample is, from the point of view of statistical statements, representative of the surviving wills excluded from it: over half of the wills in the sample, like almost all those not in it, were proved in the Norwich Consistory Court; while, judging by the courts in which their wills

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(1) There survive only one will (written in 1304) which was proved under the jurisdiction of the Castle Fee (Norw. City Rec., Case 17b, Book of Pleas, fol. 75), and only two (written in 1313 and 1491) which were proved by the dean of Norwich (B. Burnham, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Norwich in the Later Middle Ages' (Oxford University B.Litt. thesis 1971), pp. 182-183; Norw. City Rec., Case 16c, Assembly Minute Book, 1 (1492-1510), fos. 135d-136 (Spycer)). The Court of the Mayor and Commonalty of Norwich only claimed probate over the parts of wills which devised tenements in the city (Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 154-5) and, for the most part, only those parts of wills survive among the court's records (cf., p. 363, note 11).

were proved[1] and the number of wills involved, the average wealth of the testators in the sample whose wills were not proved in the Norwich Consistory Court should have been similar to that of the testators whose wills were proved in the Consistory Court.)

The following criteria, sometimes in combination, have been used to decide whom to regard as inhabitants of Norwich. First, where the testator was described as a citizen of Norwich, or as 'of Norwich', or as the wife of such a person. Secondly, where the testator held a benefice or an ecclesiastical position in Norwich, provided that the benefice or position was not merely one among many others which were held outside the city. Thirdly, where the house in which the testator lived, or his only capital messuage, or the bulk of his known property, was in the city. Fourthly, in the absence of the preceding criteria and paying particular attention to the parish church in which the testator asked to be buried, where the will strongly suggests that the bulk of the testator's interests lay in Norwich. External evidence or, much more commonly, evidence internal to the will almost invariably show conclusively whether the testator was a cleric.

For the period 1370 to 1439 the wills of one hundred and sixty-eight lay persons survive, of which one hundred and thirty-three have been included in the sample. A hundred and sixty-eight over seventy years is an average of just under two and a half a year. It means that there are extant wills of about one per cent of the total lay population of the city during this period, which was probably between about six and eight thousand;[2] or, since just under a quarter of the lay testators were women,

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(1) Cf., p. 221.
(2) J.C. Russell, British Medieval Population (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 142 and 285; Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.

of about three per cent and between a half and one per cent respectively of the adult men and women. By 1524 the population of the city had grown considerably, probably to between twelve and twelve and a half thousand.[1] Proportionally the number of surviving wills grows much more rapidly; though, very surprisingly, the number drops slightly for the period after about 1517. There are extant wills of about ten per cent of the adult men and of about two to three per cent of the adult women for the period 1440 to 1489, and a quarter of them are included in the sample; of nearly twice as many adult men and women for the period 1490 to 1517, of which about two in five are included in the sample; and of slightly fewer than for the period 1490 to 1517, for the fifteen years from 1518 to 1532, of which half are included in the sample.[2]

In theory the lay men and women in the sample, like all those from Norwich whose wills survive, should not have been proportionally representative of the social and economic classes in the city since almost all their wills were proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in the Norwich Consistory Court or in the Archdeacon of Norwich's Court, for whose probates testators theoretically needed substantial goods in more than one diocese, in more than one archdeaconry and in more than one deanery respectively; while none of the wills in the sample was proved by the dean of Norwich who had, in theory, the probate of the wills of lesser men.[3] However, the probates of about one-fifth of the wills of the laity included in the sample - mostly those proved after 1490 - were accompanied

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(1) Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 5.
(2) Cf., Appendix 13 (pp. 362-4).
(3) B. Burnham, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Norwich in the Later Middle Ages' (Oxford University B.Litt. thesis 1971), p. 182. For the two surviving wills (which are not included in the sample) known to have been proved by the dean of Norwich, cf., p. 219, note 1.

by the marginal note, dimiss' est in forma pauperis, or its equivalent. According to a law of the province of Canterbury, the note indicates that the goods mentioned in the deceased's inventory were worth less than 30/-, though the law itself implied that the acquittance fee could be waived even if the goods mentioned in the inventory were worth 30/- or more.[1] Dr Woodcock found that in other parts of Canterbury Province in the 1520's, the absence of an acquittance fee was a reliable indication that the goods mentioned in the inventory were worth less than 30/-;[2] though whether this was the case in Norwich Diocese cannot be verified directly because too few inventories from the diocese survive. However, even if more of the testators from Norwich came from lower down the social scale than might be expected, it seems certain that the majority, and far more than was proportional with their actual numbers in the city, were from the upper ranks of the city's society.

Certainly the top of Norwich society was well represented. Of the sixty-six men who were mayors of Norwich between 1403, when the office was created, and 1532 and who had died by 1532, forty-five made wills which survive and twenty-nine of them are included in the sample. A further twenty-six of the sample described themselves as aldermen of Norwich, and a dozen described themselves as knights, gentlemen or armigeri. Two hundred of the men in the sample named their trades or crafts. A wide spectrum of about sixty crafts and trades were mentioned, but one which reflected Norwich's position as a centre of the cloth trade. Worstedweavers, who accounted for twenty-one of the two hundred, were the most common; nine more described themselves as various other types of

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(1) W. Lyndwood, Provinciale (Oxford, 1679), pp. 181-2
(2) B.L. Woodcock, Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury (O.U.P., 1952), p. 73.

weavers, and there were sixteen tailors and nine mercers. Ten described themselves as merchants, eight as carpenters and seven as cordwaners. Very few specifically lower class occupations were mentioned: two described themselves as labourers[1] and three as cooks,[2] though the will of one of the three cooks, John Foster, illustrates the danger of trying to assess a man's social and economic status from his occupation; he left bequests worth over £37, and his executors had to pay an acquittance fee of 17/- so that in theory he should have owned goods worth at least £100.[3] All but a handful of the one hundred and forty-seven women in the sample said that they were widows when they made their wills. The scarcity of women who made wills while their husbands were alive reflects the victory of English Common Law over the efforts of Canon Law to preserve the testamentary rights of women during their marriages.[4] In so far as they were described, the former husbands of these widows formed a spectrum of Norwich society similar to that formed by the lay men included in the sample.

All the two hundred and eighty-nine clerics from late medieval Norwich whose wills survive were members of the secular clergy; the absence of wills of the regular clergy is to be expected since members of the regular clergy were not supposed to own anything and since their Rules, as well as the council of Canterbury Province held at Oxford in 1222,[5] forbade them to make wills. Since Norwich's population of secular priests seems to

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fol. 77d (Cowper); A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 42d (Crosse).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 164d (Peyto alias Kechon); N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fos. 230d (Southwode) and 389d (Foster).
(3) W. Lyndwood, Provinciale (Oxford, 1679), p. 182.
(4) M.M. Sheehan, 'The Influence of Canon Law on the Property Rights of Married Women in England', Mediaeval Studies, xxv (1963), 119-120.
(5) Councils and Synods, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), i. 124.

have fluctuated between about ninety and one hundred and twenty during the period 1370 to 1532,[1] the secular clerics whose wills survive must account for the very high proportion - which varied little during the period[2] - of about two in three of the secular clergy of the city. Their wills therefore provide a picture of the testamentary wishes of the clergy which is perhaps uniquely full for any late medieval city. The clerics in question were five bishops of Norwich, twenty-one clerics with non-parochial benefices in Norwich, sixty-two clerics with parochial benefices in the city, a hundred and ninety-seven unbeneficed clerics, most of whom were probably stipendiary priests attached to the parish churches and secular colleges of the city, one cleric in minor orders[3] and three parish clerks.[4] Their wealth and backgrounds have already been discussed.[5]

Most of the people from Norwich were facing death when they made their wills; in over four-fifths of the cases in which both the will and the note of probate were dated, the time between the two dates was less than a year. The approach of death concentrates the mind and, no doubt, it concentrated the minds of many medieval Christians upon the future of their souls. Since the transference is not made until after the testator's death, so money and property can be disposed in a will at rather less personal cost than at other times. No doubt, therefore, the wills of medieval Christians reflect a rather more religious outlook than many of these men and women possessed earlier in their lives. On the other hand, a man is in many ways at his most serious and authentic in the face of death, so that his will in some respects sums up his whole attitude to life.

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(1) Cf., pp. 47 and 52-3.
(2) Cf., p. 364.
(3) Master John Excestre; cf., p. 102.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 454 (Stalon); N.C.C., Reg. Gylys, fos. 79 (Bowen) and 172d (Gilbert).
(5) Cf., pp. 61-103.

The testator's freedom to dispose of his goods was, however, limited by a number of factors. Henry Swinburne, who wrote at the end of the sixteenth century and was the earliest national authority on the subject, said that in many parts of the country custom required that after a man's funeral expenses and debts had been paid, a third of his goods must pass to his wife, if she survived him, and another third to any surviving children, and that only the last third, which was sometimes called the "Death's Part", could he dispose of as he wished.[1] There are suggestions in a few wills that the custom did prevail in late medieval Norwich;[2] though it was not mentioned in the city's fourteenth century Custumal, which dealt with other aspects of wills,[3] and Dr Houlbrooke has found no evidence that the mid-sixteenth judges of the Norwich Consistory Court upheld possible customary limitations on the testator's freedom of decision in favour of his family, and he believes that they were very careful not to allow wills to be impugned on other grounds without good proofs.[4] Secondly, wills made by citizens of Norwich, like those made in the rest of the country, followed to a considerable extent conventional patterns. It is not clear whether there was a class of professional writers of wills - as distinct from those who copied proved wills into registers - akin to modern solicitors. But it seems certain that the phraseology of the will and some or many of the bequests were suggested to testators either by such professional scribes or, perhaps, by their parish priests.

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(1) H. Swinburne, A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Willes (London, 1590), pp. 104-6.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 54 (Bumpsted); N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 32d (Daniel).
(3) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 154-163.
(4) R. Houlbrooke, 'Church Courts and People in the Diocese of Norwich, 1519-70' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis 1970), p. 215.

In spite of these restrictions, testators had considerable freedom to give, within the limits of their financial means, to some branches of the Church and for some religious or charitable purposes rather than to others; and the variety of wills[1] shows that this freedom was exercised. Wills are invaluable evidence of how large numbers of Christians chose in these matters, and therefore indirectly of their attitudes towards Christianity. They are especially important for the Middle Ages because there are so few other records surviving from this period, such as letters and diaries, which directly and in first-person terms express the attitudes of Christians - particularly of large numbers who were below the topmost rungs of lay society - towards their religion.

Testamentary bequests for Masses and prayers,[2] for pilgrimages[3] and for scholarships[4] have already been mentioned. In the following section testamentary bequests are discussed under the following headings: votive lights; religious houses; parish churches; anchorites, hermits and 'béguines'; craft guilds and pious confraternities; hospitals, prisoners and other charitable works; and civic projects. Including bequests for Masses and prayers, for pilgrimages and for scholarships, these categories cover nearly all the bequests made by the testators apart from bequests to their relatives, friends and servants, and they form a spectrum from the purely religious through the charitable to the secular. They also cover from another angle most of the branches of the Church and religious activities which have been discussed in Chapters 1 and 2: namely, from the angle of the attitude towards them of people who, for the most part,

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(1) Cf., Appendix 14 (pp. 365-402).
(2) Cf., Chapter 2, Section e (pp. 183-216).
(3) Cf., pp. 171-5.
(4) Cf., pp. 68-9.

were not directly involved in them. A combination of the proportion of testators who left bequests to a given beneficiary or for a particular purpose, and the amount of money normally left to it by the testators, provides some indication of the extent to which the testators thought that the beneficiary or purpose was worthy of their support, and in this sense it is a measure of the object's popularity. The bequests are examined from the point of view of their importance to the beneficiaries, but they are considered primarily as indications of how popular various branches of the Church and various religious and charitable activities were with the secular clergy and with the laity.

b. Analysis of the Bequests

i. Votive Lights

The saints and the mysteries of Christ to which almost all of these votive lights were dedicated, have already been discussed.[1] In addition, a few bequests were for lights to burn near the testator's corpse, or during religious services being performed for his soul. A very few of the bequests for votive lights were of considerable value. For example, Robert Belton left £2-10-0 in the will which he made in 1502 to 'find' a light which was to burn continuously for a year before the Blessed Sacrament in the parish church of St Andrew in Norwich, in which he wanted to be buried;[2] Robert Kerr, a chaplain of Norwich who made his will in 1444, left half an acre of his land in Shipdam to keep the light of St Mary in Shipdam parish church burning forever;[3] and Thomas Bokenham, a former mayor of the city who made his will in 1492, left all his tenements in a certain street in St Stephen's parish in Norwich to the churchwardens and parishioners of the parish 'unto thuse' of a lamp which was to burn day and night forever over his grave before the 'patible' of the church.[4] (It is interesting that Thomas Bokenham entrusted his bequest to the churchwardens and parishioners, and not to the clergy of the parish.) These were, however, exceptionally large bequests; few lights were left more than 3/4d by a single testator and most were left only 1/- or a few pennies, though many testators - particularly from 1490 onwards - left bequests to several lights each. Margery Dogett, a widow of Norwich, was among those who left

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(1) Cf., pp. 169-170.
(2) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1502), fol. 8 (Belton).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 6d (Kerr).
(4) PROB/11/9 (Reg. Dogett, 1491-1493), fol. 17 (Bokenham).

bequests to many votive lights. In the will which she made in 1516 she left 1/- to the Sepulchre light in the parish church of St Michael at Mustowe (i.e., St Michael at Plea) in Norwich, at whose door she wished to be buried. She left 6d to each of five other, and 4d to each of three other lights in the same church, and in addition she left 1/- to the light of Jesus Mass in the Cathedral and 1/- to the light of St Mary in St Stephen's parish church in Norwich.[1]

The most significant thing about bequests to votive lights is that during the period 1370 to 1532 more and more testators - especially the laity - were leaving bequests to them, until between 1518 and 1532 almost one in two of the lay testators were leaving bequests to one or more of them.[2] That the popularity of this form of bequest went on growing even after the beginning of the Reformation on the Continent is significant because devotion to the saints was attacked by many reformers, and votive lights could be considered as one of the more superstitious forms of such devotion. Nearly all the lights to which the bequests were made were in the parish churches of the city, and not in the churches of religious houses. The lights must have been a significant source of income for the parish churches, especially if people also gave money to them before they made their wills. Presumably the votive lights dedicated to saints stood in front of shrines which had pictures or statues of the saints. If this was the case, the numerous shrines in many of the parish churches of the city - to which Margery Dogett's and many other wills bear witness - must have made the interiors of the churches remarkable sights and similar, though on a smaller scale, to the interior of the Cathedral.[3]

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(1) Cf., p. 372.
(2) Cf., Appendix 11 (pp. 359-360). Subsequent statistical statements in this chapter are based on this appendix.
(3) Cf., pp. 177-8.

ii. Religious Houses

The two most significant things about bequests to religious houses are first the large numbers of both clergy and laity who left bequests to the houses of religious Orders in the city throughout the century and a half before the Reformation, since the period is generally regarded as one of decline for these older religious institutions and of loss of public support for them; and secondly that far more of the clerical testators, all of whom were members of the secular clergy, left bequests to the houses of religious Orders than to the colleges of their fellow secular clergy.

Between forty-four and forty-seven per cent of both the clergy and the laity left bequests to each of the four friaries in Norwich during the period 1370 and 1532. Bequests to friaries were a common feature of late medieval wills everywhere, but they seem to have been unusually numerous in the wills of the inhabitants of Norwich. Only thirty-six per cent of the much wealthier group of testators from London which Dr Thomson studied gave something to one or more friaries,[1] and only about one in eight of the surviving wills proved in the court of the chancellor of Oxford between 1436 and 1538 contained a bequest to the Franciscans.[2] The proportion of the nobility of late medieval England who are known to have left bequests in their wills to the friars is no more than one third.[3] In Oxford the proportion of those who gave to the Franciscans seems to have declined in the course of the late Middle Ages,[4] whereas Dr Thomson found that the proportion of those in London who gave to one or more Orders of

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(1) Thomson, 'Piety in London', p. 189.
(2) A.G. Little, The Grey Friars in Oxford (Oxford Historical Society, xx, 1891), p. 101.
(3) J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), p. 122.
(4) A.G. Little, The Grey Friars in Oxford, op. cit., p. 101

friars rose somewhat as the Reformation approached;[1] in Norwich the proportion of testators who left bequests to the friars of the city remained fairly constant, except that it dropped between the beginning of the Reformation on the Continent and that of the Henrician Reformation in England.

That few bequests were left by the clergy to the Carnary College or to the college of chantry priests in the Bishop's Palace, which was dissolved in 1449,[2] is to be expected since they were small colleges of secular priests out of the main stream of life and notice. That only half as many of the secular clergy gave to St Giles Hospital or to the College of St Mary in the Fields, which were considerably larger and more important institutions, as gave to each of the friaries is, however, surprising. It is particularly so since St Giles Hospital could hope to attract benefactions in its capacity as a hospital, as well as in its capacity as a college of secular priests, and since the church and cemetery of the College of St Mary in the Fields were far more popular with the secular clergy of the city as places of burial than were those of the friaries.[3] The colleges of secular priests in Norwich had endowed incomes, and many of the prebendaries of the College of St Mary in the Fields and of the masters of St Giles Hospital were prominent and wealthy ecclesiastics many of whom were pluralists and probably absentees from their colleges in Norwich.[4] These factors may explain why the clerical testators, most of whom were members of the lower or unbeneficed clergy, thought that the friaries, which had little or no endowed incomes, were

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(1) Thomson, 'Piety in London', pp. 179 and 189-190.
(2) Cf., p. 53.
(3) Cf., p. 38.
(4) Cf., pp. 90-1, 93-4 and 100-1.

more worthy of their legacies than those members of the secular clergy who had collegial benefices. Certainly the number of their bequests to the friaries indicates generally good relations between the friars and the secular clergy of the city, and not the hostility which seems to have existed between the two groups in some areas of late medieval England.

Most of those who left something to one of the four friaries in Norwich left bequests, which in about two-thirds of the cases were equal amounts, to each of the four friaries. Numerically preferences for one friary rather than the others, which were often for the friary in which the testator wanted to be buried, almost exactly balanced themselves out among the four friaries. The amount usually left to a friary was between 3/4d and £1, though quite a number of testators left several pounds. This regular stream of moderately valuable bequests must have been an important item in the incomes of the four friaries, especially if they had few or no revenues from endowments, and it is a local illustration of the mendicants' dependence upon and connections with townspeople all over medieval Christendom. A few of the testators left their bequests to individual friars rather than to the friary, and sometimes different amounts were left according to the status of the various friars. For example, in the will which he made in 1471 William Lokwode, a chaplain of Norwich who asked to be buried in the middle of the choir of the Dominican church, left the following sums to the members of the friary: 1/8d to the prior and to each friar who was a doctor of theology, 1/- to each priest, 6d to each deacon, 4d to each subdeacon, and 2d to each novice at the friary.[1] A few left their bequests for specific purposes: for example, Edmund Wright left a sheep to each of the four friaries for a pittance.[2]

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 231 (Lockwood alias Clynelond).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 175d (Wright).

More frequently, though still in only a minority of the cases, the bequests were made conditional upon the friars saying Masses or prayers or performing various religious services for the benefactors; sometimes temporary chantry services were asked for, but the most common request of this type was for the friars to say a Requiem Mass and part of the Office of the Dead - services which were particularly suited to being sung by religious in choir. For example, John Burgh, a citizen of Norwich who made his will in 1529, left £1 to each of the four friaries in the city provided the friars came to the parish church in which he was to be buried - St Clement at Fye Bridge in Norwich - and performed the following services for his soul during the week before his 'thirtieth day' was kept: the Dominican friars were to say Matins of the Dead at two o'clock in the afternoon on the Monday and a Requiem Mass at nine o'clock in the morning on the Tuesday; the Carmelites were to do the same on the Tuesday and Wednesday, and the Franciscans and Augustinians on the following days.[1] A very few of the testators left very large bequests to the city's friaries. For example, Robert Thorpe, a wealthy alderman of Norwich, left £20 to each of the four friaries to be paid at the rate of £1 a year for twenty years.[2] As has been said, Sir Thomas Kerdeston, who was not an inhabitant of Norwich, left £200 in his will to the Augustinian friary in Norwich to found three perpetual chantries[3] and, according to Blomefield, it was another East Anglian magnate, Sir Thomas Erpingham, who built the magnificent new church for the Dominicans in the early fifteenth century.[4] The largest testamentary bequest known to have been left to one of the friaries by an inhabitant of the city was left by Margaret Wetherby, the

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fol. 66d (Burgh).
(2) PROB/11/12 (Reg. Moone, 1500-1501), fol. 19 (Thorpe).
(3) Cf., p. 209.
(4) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 344.

widow of the former mayor of Norwich, Thomas Wetherby. In the will which she made in 1458, she asked to be buried alongside her husband in the church of the Augustinian friary in Norwich and she left £66-13-4 to the friars to enable them to build a new library, provided that they said various Masses for her and her husband's souls and provided the friars stained the glass windows of the library with her and her husband's names and wrote their names in all the books in the library ad memoriam futurorum.[1]

The main difference between bequests to the Cathedral Church and Priory and bequests to the friaries was that whereas the latter were almost always left to the friary or to the friars, and scarcely ever to the churches of the friaries, the majority of the former were left to the Cathedral Church and only a minority were left to the priory or to its monks. Bequests to the Cathedral Church went to the Cathedral Priory, but the wills give the impression that it was primarily the Cathedral Church - often referred to as 'my mother church' - rather than the monks of the priory that the testators wanted to support; a further reason for thinking this is that similarly phrased bequests to the Cathedral Church were common in the wills of people who lived in other parts of the diocese, and who therefore might well have wanted to support the mother church of their diocese but who would have had little reason to want to support the monks of the priory. Like bequests to the friaries, most of those left to the Cathedral Church or Priory were sums varying between 3/4d and £1, though after about 1490 quite a large proportion of them were smaller sums, sometimes only a few pennies. There were a few large bequests from the inhabitants of the city in addition to those left by

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fos. 83d-84 (Wetherby).

several bishops of Norwich to found perpetual chantries.[1] For example, John Gilbert, a former mayor of the city, left £13-6-8 to 'the modir chirch of Norwich' in the will which he made in 1466,[2] and the fairly large bequests of John de Berney and John Bippis, which may have been conditional upon their being buried in the Cathedral, have already been mentioned.[3] Over the whole period 1370 to 1532 fewer bequests were left to the Cathedral Church and Priory than to any of the friaries but, unlike those to the friaries, bequests to the Cathedral Church and Priory grew in number considerably during the period. Much of the increase is accounted for by small bequests of under 3/4d, many of which may have been little more than conventional gestures and almost all of which were left to the Cathedral Church rather than explicitly to the priory. Even so, the increase was one of the few significant changes during the period in question in the way the citizens left their money in their wills, and it may have been a reflection of the better relations which seem to have existed between the Cathedral Priory and the citizens after about 1450.[4]

As has been said, surprisingly few of the clergy left bequests in their wills to the colleges of secular priests in the city.[5] The proportion of lay testators who left bequests to the colleges was even smaller; this scarcity, too, is surprising since three of the perpetual chantries founded by lay men of the city were entrusted to these colleges of secular priests, while none had been entrusted by them to the friaries or to the Cathedral Priory.[6] Possibly the laity as well as the clergy

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(1) Cf., pp. 186-7 and 209.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 47d (Gilbert).
(3) Cf., pp. 39-40.
(4) Cf., pp. 287-290.
(5) Cf., p. 231.
(6) Cf., pp. 192-3.

felt that the colleges of secular priests with their endowed incomes were sufficiently well-off not to need alms. Or possibly the reason was that because the statutes of the colleges and the founders of perpetual chantries in them had laid down in detail for which intentions the priests of the colleges were to say their Masses and prayers, so the laity felt that the priests had little freedom to say them for other intentions.

Like bequests to the friaries and to the Cathedral Church and Priory, most of those left to St Giles Hospital were sums ranging between 3/4d and £1. A very few were worth more than £1, and by far the most valuable were those left to it by one of its masters, Master John Smyth, principally to found a perpetual chantry and perpetual anniversary services for his soul.[1] From being 'The Hospital of St Mary and St Giles' founded in the middle of the thirteenth century 'for aged priests and poor scholars of Norwich, receiving daily thirteen poor men and sick persons, with a master, brethren and minister',[2] St Giles Hospital had become by the late Middle Ages primarily a college of secular priests with other stipendiary priests who were not on the foundation attached to it; but it was still a hospital for old or sick men, it was also a kind of (choir) school or seminary,[3] and the parish church of St Helen had been incorporated into the hospital. Bequests to St Giles Hospital reflected its rich variety of functions. For example those left in 1382 by a widow of the city called Isabel de Brook expressed her support for its functions as an almshouse and as a parish church: she left 1/8d to be divided among the bedridden poor of the hospital, 1/- to the three sisters who looked after them and 3/- for the upkeep of the chancel of the church.[4] While those left in 1521 by John

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(1) Cf., pp. 188 and 201.
(2) Cal. Papal Letters, i (1198-1304), 312.
(3) Cf., p. 72.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 196d (Brook).

Varies, a priest who was probably a member of the clerical staff of the hospital, showed his support for its functions as a college of secular priests and as some kind of a school, and for its domestic staff. He left 10/- to 'my maister', 6/8d to each priest-fellow and 5/- to each 'conducte' (i.e., stipendiary) priest of the hospital on condition that each one said five Masses of the Five Wounds of Christ for him; and he gave sums ranging from 1/- to 2d to the clerk, the porter, each 'childe of the chappell', the butler, the cook, the brewer and his wife, and the brewer's man.[1]

The College of St Mary in the Fields, like the Carnary College and the college of chantry priests in the Bishop's Palace, was simply a college of secular priests without an almshouse or a parish church attached to it; though clerics who were not priests, and boys were attached to the college,[2] as they were to St Giles Hospital. Although testamentary bequests to the College of St Mary in the Fields were much fewer than those to the friaries, on the whole they were of considerably larger sums of money: nearly half of the clergy and two in three of the laity who left bequests to the college, left £1 or more, and several left very large sums. For example, in the will which he made in 1429, William Setman, a former mayor of the city who had founded a perpetual chantry in the college seventeen years earlier,[3] left £20 to lead the roof of the college church provided the college entered his name in its register of the dead, kept his obit annually and continued to perform his perpetual chantry.[4] Two messuages in the city were left to the college in the will

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 107 (Varies).
(2) Cf., p. 72.
(3) Cf., p. 192.
(4) Cf., p. 390.

which the obscure cleric of the city called Master Ralph Churchman made in 1391, so that the college would found a perpetual chantry for his soul.[1] The most valuable and perhaps the most practical testamentary bequests known to have been left to the college were the ones left to it by two of its former deans. Nearly half of the money left in the will of Nicholas Carre, who was dean of the college from 1520[2] until his death in 1531, was left in bequests connected with the college. He left up to £40 to the college to make a fence and a ditch round a heath at Bowthorpe, which presumably belonged to the college; he left a further £13-6-8 to "schoote the lede of the twen' yeler"[3] of the college; he left 10/- to each priest of the college to 'keep' Mass and Matins of the Dead for him in the college for eight days after his burial, 5/- to each 'seculer in the qwere' and 1/- to each chorister of the college; he left £33-6-8 for a priest to 'sing' for him in the college and 'to helpe to kepe all dyvine service as a conduct' of the college for five years; and finally he forgave the college various debts which it owed him.[4] Doctor Thomas Hare,[5] who was dean of the college from 1514 until his death in 1520, asked the college to pray for him, his friends and his benefactors; in return, rather like Nicholas Carre, he cancelled all the debts which the college owed him. He also left a hundred ewes to the college, and £40 to repair various of its houses in Norwich and one of its barns in the country. Like Nicholas Carre he wanted the priests and clerks of the college to 'keep' Matins of the Dead and a Requiem Mass for his soul on the first eight days after his death, and he left 6/8d to every priest, 3/4d to every 'seculer' and 1/8d

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 158 (Churchman); and cf., p. 189.
(2) REG/9, Book 14, fol. 157.1.
(3) Sic; the meaning in unintelligible.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Attmere, fos. 181-182 (Carre).
(5) Cf., pp. 91 and 100.

to every child who 'kept' the services. He left £66-13-4 to pay for ten years of chantry services which were to be performed by a priest who was to become a 'conduct' or stipendiary priest of the college during the ten years; and finally he wanted 10/- to be spent each year for twenty years on his 'year day', which he wanted to be kept within the college.[1]

Bequests from both the clergy and the laity to the Benedictine nunnery of Carrow in the suburbs of Norwich, which was the only nunnery in or near the city, were also much fewer than bequests to the friaries of the city. The comparative scarcity of bequests to the nunnery is somewhat surprising since the nunnery must have been well known through its variety of contacts with the citizens.[2] Possibly the reasons were that the nunnery was another of the religious houses in the city which were known to have endowed incomes and so did not seem to need alms, and secondly that benefactors could not hope for Masses from the nuns. Even so, that eighteen per cent of the clergy and sixteen per cent of the laity from Norwich left a bequest to Carrow Nunnery compares favourably with Dr Thomson's sample of Londoners, of whom only eleven per cent left bequests to nunneries inside or outside their city.[3] Most of the bequests left to Carrow Nunnery were worth between 3/4d and £1, and only a few were worth more than £1. Sometimes the bequests were to the nunnery as an institution, but more often they were left to each nun. Occasionally quite large annuities were left to friends and relatives in the nunnery. The growth of private incomes of religious, who were vowed to owning nothing, is generally regarded as part of the decline in discipline in religious Orders in England during the late Middle Ages.[4] The bequests in wills to

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(1) PROB/11/20 (Reg. Maynwaryng, 1520-1522), fol. 8 (Hare).
(2) Cf., pp. 63 and 135.
(3) Thomson, 'Piety in London', p. 189.
(4) D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (C.U.P., 1948-1959), ii. 240-4; E. Power, Medieval English Nunneries (C.U.P., 1922), p. 331.

individual nuns of Carrow Nunnery, as well as those to individual monks and friars, show how real private incomes of religious were in late medieval Norwich. Among the most valuable testamentary bequests known to have been left to the nunnery by an inhabitant of the city were those left by Agnes Thorpe in 1503, and her will illustrates the different types of bequests which were left to the nunnery. She left £1 to the 'reparacion' of the nunnery; to a nun who was a goddaughter of hers she left 6/8d a year as long as the nun lived; and she left £1 to be distributed equally among the nuns provided they 'kept' Vespers and Matins of the Dead and a Requiem Mass for her and her friends' souls 'as they kepe for other their benefactours'.[1]

About one in six of the clergy and about one in eight of the laity left bequests to religious houses outside the city and its suburbs. Their bequests are another aspect of the way in which the Church in Norwich transcended its own local boundaries. Nearly all the bequests to religious houses of women were left to the other ten nunneries (besides Carrow) in the diocese of Norwich. Several left equal bequests to all or nearly all of them. For example, Bishop Tottington left £1 to each of the nunneries in the diocese except the Augustinian priory of Campsey Ash, to which he left £2;[2] and in the will which he made in 1386 Bartholomew Appleyard, who was a wealthy and prominent citizen,[3] left £4 to each of the ten nunneries closest to the city, half of which was to be spent ad usum et proficuum domus and the other half of which was to be divided among the nuns.[4] Only a handful of bequests were left to nunneries outside the diocese: three to

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(1) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 26 (Thorpe).
(2) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Arundel 2 (1396-1414), fol. 165d (Totington).
(3) Cf., p. 193.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 67 (Appleyard).

the Franciscan abbey of Denney in Cambridgeshire,[1] one to each of the Benedictine priories at Cambridge,[2] Swafham Bulbeck in Cambridgeshire,[3] Langley in Leicestershire (possibly),[4] and Stratford-at-Bow in Middlesex,[5] one to the Cistercian priory at Gokewell in Lincolnshire,[6] and one to the nuns and sisters at Lincoln-without-the-Gates,[7] who were probably the women who looked after St Sepulchre Hospital, which was attached to the Gilbertine priory in Lincoln.

Bequests were left to over forty religious houses for men which were within the diocese of Norwich but outside the city. Most of them were left bequests by only one or two testators, and the only houses which received as many bequests as any of the nunneries in the diocese were the Benedictine priory of Horsham St Faith, with bequests from nineteen testators, and the Benedictine abbey of St Benet of Hulme, with bequests from eight testators; their proximity to Norwich presumably explains why these two houses were favoured. Bequests were also left to about forty religious houses for men outside the diocese, though only half a dozen received bequests from more than one testator. Nine of these religious houses were colleges or halls at Oxford and Cambridge, and one of the nine, Gonville Hall, Cambridge, which had been founded in the mid-fourteenth century by Bishop Bateman of Norwich partly to provide clerics for his diocese, was left bequests by seven testators. Most of those who left

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 95d (Blickling); N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 214 (Corpusty); and cf., p. 390.
(2) Cf., p. 390.
(3) Cf., p. 390.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fos. 87 and 88 (Baxter).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 24d (Cheese).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Johnson, fol. 141d (Hewettson).
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 143 (West).

bequests to these colleges and halls were priests who are known to have been members of them earlier in their lives, and in a number of other cases the testators' connections with the religious houses to which they left bequests are identifiable. For example, in the will which he wrote in 1375 Master Roger Medilton, rector of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich, left £40 to the Benedictine abbey of Gloucester,[1] which had presented him to his valuable living fourteen years earlier;[2] and in the will which he made in 1402 John Shouldham left £5 to his son who was a monk at the Benedictine abbey of Walden in Essex.[3]

It is interesting that three of the half-dozen religious houses for men outside the diocese of Norwich to which more than one testator left a bequest,were the London Charterhouse with bequests from five testators, and the Charterhouse at Sheen and the Brigettine abbey of Syon in Middlesex with bequests from two testators each; and the Charterhouse at Mountgrace in Yorkshire was left a bequest by one testator. The figures are too small for much to be read into them, but the bequests are interesting indications of support from the laity and secular clergy of Norwich, similar to though less marked than that shown by Londoners,[4] for monasteries which were recent foundations and whose monks led, or were thought to lead, austere lives. The bequests also indicate the value set upon Masses and prayers being said by the monks, and upon being confraters of such monasteries. The testators in question form an interesting cross-section of Norwich society. John Cowper, a tailor of the city, left 3/4d to the London Charterhouse in 1503 and he asked the monks to pray for

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 54d (Medilton).
(2) REG/2, Book 5, fol. 54d.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fos. 294-294d (Shouldham).
(4) Thomson, 'Piety in London', pp. 189-190.

him.[1] William Ashwell, a merchant and former mayor of Norwich, left 6/8d in 1458 to the London Charterhouse and 6/8d to the Charterhouse at Mountgrace in Yorkshire.[2] Agnes Thorpe, the widow of a wealthy alderman of the city,[3] left £1 to the prior and monks of the London Charterhouse so that they would 'keep' Vespers and Matins of the Dead and a Requiem Mass for her and her husbands' souls; she also left 6/8d to one of the monks and £1 for the 'reparacion' of the house; and she said that she had letters of confraternity with the house, which she wanted to be 'delivered' to the monks.[4] William Hemming, an unbeneficed priest of the city, left his Missal to Syon Abbey in 1486 in order that the monks might pray for him and his parents.[5] Doctor Richard Poringland, who had earlier been vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich,[6] left 13/4d in 1471 to the London and Sheen Charterhouses and to Syon Abbey, of each of which he claimed to be a confrater.[7] And Doctor Geoffrey Champeneys, who was vicar of the same parish from 1462 to 1472,[8] left 2/- to dominus meus the prior of the London Charterhouse, 1/- to each of the monks, and various books to the house; and he also left 1/- to pater meus the prior of Syon vulgariter vocat' Shene[9] and 4d to each monk there.[10] (The bequests of Richard Poringland and Geoffrey Champeneys are one of the things which make them - like their predecessor as vicar of St Stephen's, Richard Caistor[11] - very unusual parish priests of seemingly radical views.[12]) The apparent popularity of

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(1) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 27d (Cowper).
(2) PROB/11/4 (Reg. Stokton, 1454-1458), fol. 12 (Ashwell).
(3) Cf., pp. 181-2, 193-4 and 240.
(4) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 26 (Thorpe).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 294d (Hemming).
(6) Cf., pp. 97-8.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 92 (Poringland).
(8) Emden, Cambridge, p. 130.
(9) Presumably Sheen Charterhouse, since there was an abbot of Syon.
(10) Cf., p. 380.
(11) Cf., pp. 373-6.
(12) Cf., pp. 97-8 and 378-9.

the Carthusians with testators is one reason why it is rather surprising that a Charterhouse was never founded in Norwich or in East Anglia.

Three priests[1] and two lay men[2] left bequests ranging from 6d to £5 to the hospice of St Thomas in Rome, which was a quasi-religious house which provided accommodation for English pilgrims in the Eternal City. The bequest of 6d was left by Master Richard Waller, the priest of Robert Thorpe's chantry,[3] to the collector of the hospice, and presumably the other bequests were to be conveyed by the hospice's collectors in England.[4] Bequests to the hospice are another aspect of popular support for pilgrimages to Rome and therefore indirectly of support for the Papacy. No other religious houses abroad were left bequests, though there were interesting bequests of 6/8d from Thomas Sistede in 1428 ad defensionem castri Sancti Petri[5] - presumably for the wall around St Peter's Church or for the Castel Sant'Angelo - and of £10 in 1521 from Doctor Thomas Hare[6] for the building of the 'hooly church of Rome'[7] - presumably St Peter's.

iii. Parish Churches

Bequests to parish churches fell into two main categories: those to the clergy of the parish churches and secondly those to the churches. In

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 235d (Couteshale); N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 126 (Sharpe); N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 305d (Waller).
(2) PROB/11/10 (Reg. Vox, 1493-1496), fol. 3 (Smyth); N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 195 (Carter).
(3) Cf., pp. 181-2.
(4) F.A. Gasquet, A History of the Venerable English College, Rome (London, 1920), pp. 40-1.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 26 (Sistede).
(6) Cf., pp. 91, 100, 238-9 and 247.
(7) PROB/11/20 (Reg. Maynwaring, 1520-1522), fol. 8 (Hare).

terms of the number of bequests and especially in terms of the amount of money given, the greater part of the bequests from both the secular clergy and the laity to the parish clergy - chiefly to those members of it who were attached to the parish churches in the rather obscure relationship of stipendiary priests - were left to its members so that they would perform various religious services, especially temporary chantry services, for the donors' souls. These bequests have been discussed.[1] The parish clergy also received bequests in the wills of both the laity and the clergy so that they would act as executors or supervisors of wills; between a third and a quarter of the laity[2] and about three-quarters of the clergy in question chose at least one member of the secular clergy as executors or supervisors of their wills, and they were rewarded in the same way as lay executors with bequests which usually ranged between 3/4d and £1. Only a few of the lay testators left to the parish clergy bequests which were not conditional upon their performing religious services or upon their acting as executors or supervisors, but a rather higher proportion of their fellow secular clerics left them such unconditional bequests. Some clerics left clothes and household equipment to the parish clergy and others left articles which might be especially useful to them as priests. For example Doctor Geoffrey Champeneys, who was vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich and had previously been vicar of Cromer in Norfolk,[3] left his best surplice and all his wax in the chancel of St Stephen's to his successor as vicar; he left 1/- to the then vicar of Cromer, forgave him any debts and left to him and his successors a Rosarium in papiro, which may have been the legal text-book called Rosarium; and he left 4d to every priest

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(1) Cf., especially pp. 211-3.
(2) Cf., p. 41.
(3) Emden, Cambridge, p. 130.

in Cromer and to every priest in St Stephen's parish.[1] Bequests left by members of the parish clergy to each other and the frequent choice of each other as executors are indicative of their support for and trust in each other, and they are another aspect of the 'clerical society' which undoubtedly existed in the city.

More of both the clergy and the laity left bequests to parish churches (even when bequests to the parish clergy are excluded) than to or for any other beneficiary or purpose, and only bequests for Masses and prayers were worth on average more.[2] Eighty-five per cent of the clergy and ninety-five per cent of the laity left at least one bequest to a parish church; the slightly lower proportion of the clergy is largely explained by the fact that a number of them were members of colleges of secular priests to which parish churches were not attached. The parish church was not an institution which religious reformers attacked, and it is noticeable that the drop in some other types of religious bequests after about 1517[3] was not paralleled by any significant decline in bequests to parish churches. The very large proportion of the wills of both the clergy and the laity which contained bequests to parish churches is a feature of wills from all over late medieval England, and it indicates the extent of popular support for these older religious institutions. It is, no doubt, partly to be explained by the importance of the parish church in the lives of both the laity and the secular clergy, and partly by the feeling of parishioners as they made their wills that their parish church belonged to them and was their responsibility - as it had been throughout their lives - in a closer way than religious houses or hospitals were.

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(1) Cf., pp. 379-381.
(2) Cf.: Appendix 10, Section B (p. 357); and Appendix 12, Section B (p. 361)
(3) Cf., pp. 198 and 231.

The feeling that a parish church belonged to and was the responsibility of its parishioners was expressed by the fact that testators almost invariably showed a preference in their wills for their own parish church over other ones. Many left bequests to more than one parish church, but they almost invariably gave more to their own than to the other ones; testators like Thomas Rawson, who left 8/8d to his own parish church and £3-10-0 to another one - the fashionable St Peter Mancroft -,[1] were very rare. And often the churches other than their own to which they left bequests can be identified as the churches of parishes in which they had formerly lived, or in whose parishes they had various interests. For example, in the will which he made in 1504 William Burstymer left 4/4d to his own parish church - Sts Simon and Jude in Norwich - and 1/- to the parish church of Gateshead, where he had been born.[2] (It would be interesting to know how this and other bequests to distant parish churches and religious houses were conveyed.) William Mayne, who was the parish chaplain of St James in Norwich, also left bequests to his own parish church and to the church of the parish in which he had been born, and he left 1/8d to St Stephen's parish church in Norwich, in which he had sung his first Mass.[3] John de Berney, the wealthy merchant, left bequests to the parish church of St Martin at the Palace Gates in Norwich and to eight parish churches outside the city, in several of whose parishes he is known to have owned property.[4] And the wealthy Doctor Thomas Hare[5] left bequests to the churches of three parochial benefices in Norfolk which he had held concurrently while he was chancellor and later dean of the College of

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fos. 63d-64 (Rawson).
(2) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 28 (Burstymer).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fos. 72-72d (Mayne).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 42 (Berney); and cf., p. 40.
(5) Cf., pp. 91, 100, 238-9 and 244.

St Mary in the Fields in Norwich.[1] Some testators were more indiscriminate. The most prolific of all in the number of parish churches to which he left bequests was Robert Toppes, who was mayor of Norwich four times between 1435 and 1458 and who was one of half a dozen testators who left bequests to every parish church in the city. He left £13-6-8 to St Peter Mancroft, which was the church in which he wanted to be buried, 3/4d to every (other) parish church in Norwich and sums ranging from 3/4d to £2 to seventeen other East Anglian parish churches.[2]

Testamentary bequests to parish churches, other than those left to the clergy of the churches and those left to the churches for the performance of religious services, were of two main types: bequests to the high altar and bequests to the fabric and upkeep of the church. Most testators left both kinds of bequests to the same parish church, and the distinction between the two was probably as much a distinction in the legal phraseology of wills as one of substance. As has been said, after about 1490 bequests simply 'to the high altar' became bequests 'to the high altar for unpaid tithes',[3] and bequests couched in both these phrases were usually worth between 1/- and 3/4d, rarely more than £1. Bequests to the fabric and upkeep of parish churches were also often expressed in set phrases - phrases which were standard in wills throughout late medieval England - such as emendacioni or 'to the reparation of' or 'to the fabric of'. Such bequests were usually worth rather more than those left to the high altar of a church and quite frequently they were large sums of money. For example Robert Brown, who had been mayor of the city, left £20 simply to the 'reparacion' of St Stephen's parish church in Norwich,[4] and

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(1) PROB/11/20 (Reg. Maynwaring, 1520-1522), fol. 8 (Hare); Emden, Oxford, ii. 872.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fos. 97-98 (Toppe).
(3) Cf., pp. 28-9.
(4) PROB/11/24 (Reg. Thower, 1531-1533), fol. 3 (Browne).

William Setman, also a former mayor of Norwich, left £26-13-4 simply to the emendacio sive reparacio of another parish church in the city, St Peter Mancroft.[1]

Many, however, were much more specific as to how they wanted their bequests to the fabric and upkeep of parish churches spent. Sometimes this was the case with quite small bequests. For example, in the will which she made in 1515 Margaret Wright left, in addition to a bequest to the high altar of her parish church in Norwich, 1/- towards making the rood-loft in the parish church of Sprowston near Norwich, 1/- to the repair of the bells of the parish church of Hemsby in Norfolk, and 4d to the 'holy yemage of Sent Savyor' in Ludham in Norfolk (possibly an image in the town's parish church).[2] But usually the sums left for specific purposes connected with the fabric and upkeep of parish churches were fairly large, to meet the high cost of buying vestments, service books and other liturgical items; and much of the large amount of money left to parish churches[3] was bequeathed in this way. For example, John Copping, a Norwich mercer, said in the will which he made in 1430 that he wanted the parish church of St Andrew in Norwich to buy with his money a Missal costing up to £13-6-8 and a vestment costing up to £20;[4] John Terry, a former mayor of the city, left £26-13-4 in 1524 to St John's Maddermarket so that it could buy a silver and gilt cross;[5] and John Gilbert, another former mayor of Norwich, left £66-13-4 in 1466 to St Andrew's so that it could buy a vestment or an ornament.[6] Liturgical items could have the added advantage of serving as memorials of the donors: thus Thomas Daywell, who was the

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(1) Cf., p. 389.
(2) D. and C., Reg. 1461-1559, fol. 30 (Wryght).
(3) Cf., Appendix 12, Section B (p. 361).
(4) PROB/11/3 (Reg. Luffenam, 1423-1449), fol. 15 (Copping).
(5) Cf., p. 393.
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 47d (Gilbert).

parish chaplain of St Martin at the Palace Gates,[1] left to his parish church in 1505 a new lectern and a double cloth for it 'withe one image of Sainte Martyn of the one side and upon the other side Mary Maghdeleyn, my silffe kneling to the one image and Robert Shynbone to the other'.[2] Unless the executors of wills went to London or abroad to buy the articles, Norwich must have had quite a large and high-quality liturgical industry to meet the demands of testators.

Many of the clergy and a few of the laity left their own vestments, books and other liturgical items to their parish churches. For example, a priest of the city called William Bruyn left his Legenda Aurea in 1477 to St Stephen's parish church and his "boke of ye Dowt' of ye Legend both Temporall and Sanctorum" to St Gregory's parish church, and the two books were to be kept respectively in the choir and the chancel of the two churches for the benefit of anybody who wanted to come and read them;[3] and William Swetman, who was the rector of All Saints of Berstreet, wanted his Breviary to be chained in the chancel of his church after he had died.[4] Though no doubt intended primarily for poor clerics, these books were presumably also available to literate and interested lay people. A former mayor of the city called Robert Baxter left his gold thurible to the parish church of St Giles in Norwich,[5] and the thurible may have come from the contents of his private chapel.[6] Alice Carre left her best coral beads to St Stephen's parish church to beautify it's images of St Mary and of various other saints on their feast-days, and she left

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(1) Cf., p. 324 ; N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fos. 193d-194 (Daywell).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 193d (Daywell).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 106d (Bruyn).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fol. 549 (Swetman).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 88 (Baxter).
(6) Cf., p. 181

her small coral beads to be 'daily about the image of St Anne' in the same church;[1] and John Basse wanted his best tippet to be decorated at his cost with four buttons and with tassels, and to be given to the parish church of St Martin of Coslany in Norwich 'to kwer ye Sacrament upon ded dayes and terment dayes'.[2] Certainly these bequests in kind were much more personal than those in cash, and they illustrate further the feeling of parishioners that their parish church belonged to them in a particularly close way.

As has been said, almost all of the many parish churches in Norwich were extensively re-built during the late Middle Ages.[3] The number of testamentary bequests known to have been left to the different parish churches, and the total values of these bequests, differed widely.[4] Many of the churches received too little from the known bequests for them to have seriously affected the re-building of the churches; and much of the money, as has just been said, was left to the parish churches specifically for the purchase of vestments, service books and other liturgical items. Furthermore, the importance of testamentary bequests in the re-building of the city's parish churches depends partly upon the unanswerable question of how far the bequests which were couched in such vague phrases as 'to the emendation' or 'to the repair' of the churches, were in fact spent on the re-building of the churches and were not swallowed up in their running costs or appropriated by the parochial clergy for their own use. However, enough large bequests were left in wills for specific building projects to suggest that they did play an important part in the re-building of at

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Groundesburgh, fol. 8 (Carre).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 340d (Basse).
(3) Cf., p. 16.
(4) Cf., columns 7 and 8 of Appendix 1 (p. 315).

least some of the city's parish churches. Large bequests of this kind were given for a wide variety of projects but they were concentrated on relatively few of the churches, namely: St Andrew's, Holy Cross, St Edmund's, St George at Tombland, St Gregory's, St Laurence's, St Martin at the Palace Gates, St Michael of Coslany, St Peter Mancroft and St Stephen's. To take some examples: Master John Excestre, the married clerk in minor orders and registrar to several bishops of Norwich,[1] left £20 in 1447 to his parish church, St George at Tombland, to lead the roof;[2] the wealthy Bartholomew Appleyard left £20 in 1386 to lead the roof of his parish church, St Andrew's;[3] John Moore, who had been rector of St Edmund's from 1467 until his death in 1507,[4] said in his will that he wanted the roof of the chancel of his church to be 'ledyd up' at his cost;[5] and John Jowell, an alderman of the city, left £20 in 1500 to lead the new chancel of St Laurence's and a further £10 to make the new 'parke'[6] in the same church.[7] A former mayor of the city called Richard Brown left £26-13-4 in 1461 'to the making of' the steeple of Holy Cross parish church 'for to be remembrid and my brother Sygrim and alle my good frendes';[8] and another former mayor, Robert Jannys, left £10 in 1530 'towards the making of' the high altar in St Andrew's parish church.[9] Robert Pert left £20 to the yconomi of St Peter Mancroft so that they could build a new gable at the east end of the church;[10] 1445 was in the middle of the period during

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(1) Cf., p. 102.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 107 (Excestr).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 67 (Appleyard).
(4) REG/6, Book 11, fol. 162; REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fol. 86.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 469d (Moore).
(6) I.e.?, perk(s) = beam(s).
(7) PROB/11/12 (Reg. Moone, 1500-1501), fol. 2 (Jowell).
(8) PROB/11/4 (Reg. Stokton, 1454-1458), fol. 23 (Browne).
(9) Cf., p. 400.
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 58 (Pert).

which St Peter Mancroft was completely re-built,[1] and it is interesting that Robert Pert entrusted his bequest to lay parishioners, and not to the clergy of the church. William Rees left £13-6-8 in 1410 to be spent on the bell-tower of St Peter Mancroft;[2] and in 1467 John Swan, an unbeneficed priest of the city, left to St Stephen's parish church a small bell (which was presumably to be bought by his executors) which was to harmonise with the other four bells in the belfry; the bell was given on condition that nothing was charged for his burial in the church.[3] Master John Savage, who was the rector of St Clement at Fye Bridge, left £2-6-8 in 1448 for a (stained glass) window in the chancel of his church which was to represent the story of St John the Baptist.[4] A grocer called John Reynold said in the will which he made in 1499 that if the parishioners of St Andrew's built a new church, they were to have £6-13-4 of his money to build one of its windows;[5] it is interesting that he expected the initiative for building the new church to come from the parishioners and that he, like Robert Pert, entrusted the money to them and not to the clergy. William Haywarde also made a bequest which was conditional upon contributions by others; in the will which he made in 1506 he said that he was willing to pay for the glazing of the east window and of a side window in his parish church, St Peter Parmentergate, provided that the chancel of the church was built within four years.[6]

Overall the wills of the laity and clergy of late medieval Norwich give a remarkable impression of their enthusiasm for their parish

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(1) 'Report of the Summer Meeting of the Institute at Norwich, 1949', Archaeological Journal, cvi (1949), 95.
(2) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Arundel 2 (1396-1414), fol. 51 (Rees).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 71d (Swan).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 12 (Savage).
(5) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Morton 2 (1486-1500), fol. 44 (Reynold).
(6) PROB/11/15 (Reg. Adean, 1506-1508), fol. 7 (Hayward).

churches - to re-build and beautify them and to provide them with the liturgical items which are needed for celebrating Mass and performing other religious services. Their enthusiasm for their parish churches indicates the continued vitality in the late Middle Ages,and right up to the eve of the Reformation,of what were by then the oldest type of religious institution in the city, in spite of the successive arrivals in the city of houses or religious Orders, colleges of secular priests and various new religious movements directed towards the laity.

iv. Anchorites, Hermits and 'Béguines'

Norwich was exceptional among late medieval English towns in the number of its anchorites and hermits, and in having two or three 'béguinages'.[1] The city seems to have been correspondingly exceptional in the proportion of its inhabitants who left bequests in their wills to them. In late medieval London and Chester, for example, there seems to have been no steady stream of bequests from testators to recluses such as there was in Norwich after about 1440, nor do many of the English nobility seem to have left bequests to them in their wills;[2] though it is interesting that in fourteenth century Toulouse - a major provincial capital like Norwich which also had a number of recluses - bequests were given to the city's recluses by a similar proportion of the citizens whose wills survive as in Norwich a century or so later.[3] It is particularly significant that the

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(1) Cf., pp. 117-8 and 130.
(2) Cf.: Thomson, 'Piety in London', pp. 178-195, D. Jones, The Church in Chester, 1300-1540 (Chetham Society, 3rd Series, vii, 1957), Chapter 5, and, J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), where bequests to recluses are not mentioned.
(3) M-S. de Nucé de Lamothe, 'Piété et Charité Publique à Toulouse de la Fin du 13e au Milieu du 15e Siècle d'après les Testaments' (Toulouse University Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures 1961), pp. 72-3.

clergy of Norwich were as keen as the laity in supporting in their wills these men and women who were leading newer styles of religious life which were primarily for the laity and which represented, in part, a movement away from the older forms of religious life led by the secular clergy and by members of religious Orders.

All but seventeen of the bequests were to anchorites or hermits rather than to 'béguines'. Robert Baxter's bequest of £40 to Richard Ferneys, the hermit of Newbridge in Norwich, has already been mentioned,[1] and it was by far the largest sum known to have been left by an inhabitant of Norwich to an anchorite or hermit. Before about 1470 bequests were normally left by a particular testator to between one and four individually named anchorites or hermits; usually between 6d and 6/8d, occasionally as much as £1, was left to each. After about 1470 bequests were usually 'to each anchor and anchoress in Norwich', and between 4d and 1/8d was normally left to each. The change was a significant development whereby bequests to recluses, from being occasional and seemingly dependent upon the express wishes of a particular testator, became almost customary in at least the longer wills in the way that bequests to the four friaries or to parish churches always were; and it marked the development, albeit rather belatedly, whereby recluses, from being rare and exceptional figures, became established pieces in the religious scenery of the city.

Most of the bequests were unconditional. Just a few of those left to recluses who were priests were conditional upon Masses being celebrated for the donors' souls.[2] A few testators left small bequests to the servants of the recluses,[3] and one left a bequest to provide spiritual

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(1) Cf., p. 128.
(2) E.g., N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fos. 39d (Furbisshor) and 91d (Machon).
(3) E.g., N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 108 (Colman); N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 91d (Poringland).

services for an anchoress: Agnes Thorpe left £1-6-8 in 1503 for a priest to 'sing before' the anchoress attached to St Julian's parish church;[1] (presumably the priest was to say Mass in the parish church and the anchoress was to attend through a squint connecting her anchorage with the parish church). If bequests in wills to the recluses of late medieval Norwich are a guide to the money given to them at other times, then it is quite intelligible how even poor people could have become recluses in the city and lived off the alms of the faithful without needing to work for a living. It is paradoxical that the most ambitious bequest aimed at providing the recluses of the city with some sort of a secure income was left shortly before they began to disappear: in the will which he made in 1530 Robert Jannys, a former mayor of the city, said that he wanted each anchor and anchoress in the city to have 1/1d of his money every three months during the next twenty years.[2]

Bequests to the 'béguinages' in Norwich never attained the popularity of those left to the anchorites and hermits of the city, and it would be interesting to know whether lack of financial support from the faithful was a cause of their disappearance.[3] Seventeen bequests, varying from 4d to 10/-, were left to the two communities which are known for certain to have existed.[4] For the reasons which have just been mentioned,[5] it is significant that seven of the seventeen bequests were left by clerics. The seven were: John Riche, who was rector of St Michael of Coslany,[6] and John Dyra, who was rector of St John's Maddermarket;[7] four unbeneficed

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(1) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 26 (Thorpe).
(2) Cf., p. 402.
(3) Cf., p. 132.
(4) No bequest was left to the community which was alleged to have existed in the cemetery of the parish church of St Peter Hungate (cf., p. 131).
(5) Cf., last line of page 254 to fifth line of page 255.
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 151d (Riche).
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 61 (Dyra).

priests of the city,[1] and Master John Excestre, the bishop's registrar.[2] It is interesting that six of the remaining ten bequests to 'béguinages' were left by four men who had been mayors of the city[3] and by two of their wives.[4]

v. Craft Guilds and Pious Confraternities

Craft guilds and pious confraternities were the only beneficiaries of a religious or charitable nature, other than the College of St Mary in the Fields, to which the clergy and laity gave in noticeably differing proportions. The remarkably strong support of the clergy for the exclusively clerical confraternity of Corpus Christi explains why after 1440 a much larger proportion of the clergy than of the laity left something to a guild or confraternity. A quarter of the clergy left a bequest to the confraternity between 1440 and 1489, and a half between 1490 and 1532. Some of the clergy simply left a sum of money - usually between 3/4d and 6/8d and never more than £1 - to the confraternity; much more commonly they left sums varying from 2d to 8d to every member of the confraternity who attended various religious services for their souls - Exequies, a Requiem Mass and sometimes Matins of the Dead - which they expected the confraternity to arrange. The clerical gatherings attracted by these financial inducements must have been another feature of the 'clerical society' of late medieval Norwich.

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 88 (Parlet); N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fol. 59 (Veautre); N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fos. 102 (Goodsweyn) and 160 (Child).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 107 (Excestr); and cf., p. 102.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 86 (Baxter); cf., p. 390; N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 48 (Gilbert); PROB/11/4 (Reg. Stokton, 1454-1458), fol. 23 (Browne).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Cobald, fol. 68 (Brown); N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 49d (Gilbert).

Bequests to the confraternities of the Mass of Jesus in St Peter Mancroft parish church and of the Mass of Jesus in the Cathedral were probably intended for the chantries which the two confraternities maintained,[1] and a few of the bequests to the confraternity of Our Lady in St Stephen's parish church were left specifically to the chantry priest of the confraternity or so that religious services would be performed by the confraternity.[2] But apart from these bequests and those to the confraternity of Corpus Christi which have just been mentioned, bequests from the clergy and the laity of Norwich to guilds and confraternities very rarely specified whether the money was to be spent on their religious, their charitable or their civic activities. Nearly all the bequests were left to confraternities rather than to guilds.[3] Most of the bequests were worth between 1/- and 10/- though very occasionally as much as £1 or even more was left to a confraternity. Henry Salter, an alderman of the city who left £10 in 1530 to the confraternity of Our Lady in St Stephen's parish church to help pay the wages of the confraternity's chantry priest over the following ten years, left more money than anyone else;[4] and Robert Browne, another alderman of the city, who left an 'encloase' and a barn of his in Norwich to the same confraternity in the same year so that it might keep an annual obit for his soul,[5] was the only person who left real estate rather than cash to a guild or confraternity.

Even though it received no bequests from the laity, the confraternity of Corpus Christi received far more bequests than any other guild or

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(1) Cf., pp. 152-3.
(2) E.g.: PROB/11/24 (Reg. Thower, 1531-1533), fos. 3 (Browne) and 4 (Salter); and, N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fol. 81d (Bower).
(3) For the difference between the two, cf., p. 136, note 1.
(4) PROB/11/24 (Reg. Thower, 1531-1533), fol. 4 (Salter).
(5) PROB/11/24 (Reg. Thower, 1531-1533), fol. 3 (Browne).

confraternity. Apart from it, the confraternities of Our Lady in St Stephen's parish church and of St Anne in St Peter Mancroft parish church received the most bequests, and they and the confraternity of St George were the most popular with the laity. The confraternity of St George, probably on account of its wealthy membership,[1] and the confraternity of Our Lady in St Stephen's parish church also received more than the normal proportion of bequests worth £1 or more. As has been mentioned, many testators left bequests to more than one confraternity and a number left them to confraternities outside the city, sometimes to ones which were quite a distance away.[2] On the whole it is rather surprising that only about one in seven of the laity of the city, and at no time as many as one in four, left bequests to guilds or confraternities. Primarily a product of late medieval lay piety, guilds and confraternities were largely composed of and controlled by the laity rather than the clergy; and they were the only religious bodies, apart from the parish, of which the majority of the laity were or could be members. The comparative lack of support for them in the wills of the laity of late medieval Norwich, compared with the support for parish churches and houses of religious Orders, is another indication that at least in Norwich the new religious movements of the late Middle Ages, in spite of their novelty and limited importance, did not usurp the major role played by the older religious institutions.

vi. Hospitals, Prisoners and other Charitable Works

Testators could hope for the two-fold advantage of helping others in need and of thereby benefiting their own souls, by leaving money in their

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(1) Cf., pp. 161-2.
(2) Cf., pp. 150-2.

wills for corporal works of mercy which were to be performed after they had died. Bequests to St Giles Hospital, which seems to have been primarily a college of secular priests and only secondarily a hospital during the period in question, have already been discussed.[1] Daniel's Almshouse was the only hospital or almshouse founded in Norwich between 1370 and the Reformation; in the will which they made jointly in 1418 the brothers John and Walter Daniel, both of whom were mayors of Norwich several times, said that they wanted the almshouses which they had recently built in St Stephen's and St Catherine's parishes to be supported and repaired at their cost as the need arose.[2] With the possible exception of a bequest left by the same Walter Daniel in another will which he made in 1424,[3] no further bequest to the almshouse is known and it is doubtful whether it survived for long.[4] The apparent failure of Daniel's Almshouse may have happened because the abundance of older hospitals and almshouses in the city and its suburbs meant that there was no need for it. Certainly most of the older foundations which were still running between the late fourteenth century and the Reformation were well supported by bequests in wills. (The two exceptions were Hildebrond's Hospital - sometimes called Ivyhall - and Magdalen Hospital, which was in the suburbs of the city; and the scarcity of bequests to the two hospitals is not surprising since both were small and outside the main stream of life and notice.)

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(1) Cf., pp. 231-2 and 236-7.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 32d (Daniel). The syntax of the sentence does not make it absolutely clear whether the recently built almshouses were simply to be supported at the brothers' cost in the future, or whether they had also been constructed at their cost; as Blomefield and later writers have thought, the latter is the more likely interpretation (Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 164).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 148d (Daniel).
(4) For the only evidence of its survival, cf., Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 164.

Individually the five sick-houses situated just outside five of the city gates - St Stephen's or Nedham Gate, St Giles Gate, St Benet's or Westwick Gate, St Augustine's Gate, and Fye Bridge or Magdalen Gate - were probably no larger than either Hildebrond's Hospital or Magdalen Hospital. That they were well known collectively - testators usually left bequests of equal value to every house or to each inmate of each house - may partly explain why the remarkably high proportion of nearly two in five of both the clergy and the laity left bequests to them. By the late Middle Ages the five houses were probably almshouses for old or sick men (they were quite often called sick-houses), and no longer leper-houses (as which they had been founded and which they continued usually to be called). Bequests to them were always modest sums: usually between 6d and 1/8d to each house or between 1d and 4d to each inmate of each house.

There was also a steady stream of bequests, from about one in three of both the clergy and the laity, to St Paul's Hospital (sometimes called Norman's Hospital) which, with the possible exception of St Giles, was the grandest hospital in the city. As was the case with St Giles Hospital, the church of St Paul's Hospital was also a parish church and a few of the bequests were left to the church. But during the period in question the hospital was primarily a kind of almshouse for apparently fairly well-off women - possibly elderly widows - who numbered twenty-four in the mid-fifteenth century but only ten or twelve by the early sixteenth century, and who were divided roughly equally into 'whole sisters' and 'half sisters';[1] until the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century the hospital also took in men - who were called brothers[2] - and at least from

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(1) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, numbers 1399-1404; Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, pp. 15 and 273.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 67 (Appleyard); Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 432.

1462 it maintained a subsidiary almshouse for poor people.[1] The large majority of the bequests were to the sisters and usually between 1d and 1/-, but in one case as much as 6/8d,[2] was left to each of them. Very occasionally the sisters were explicitly asked to pray for the testator's soul in return for the bequest: for example, in the will which he made in 1485, a draper of the city called John Awbry left 4d to every sister in the hospital so that each would say the Rosary 'with good devocion' for his soul.[3]

The inhabitants of Norwich seem to have been rather reluctant to give money in their wills to religious institutions, such as Carrow Nunnery, the colleges of secular priests and possibly the Cathedral Priory, which had endowed incomes or whose members seemed to live comfortably or could not say Masses for their benefactors.[4] Therefore the proportion of testators - nearly a third of them - who left bequests to the sisters of St Paul's Hospital is surprisingly high for a variety of reasons: Masses could not be hoped for from them; the hospital had quite a substantial income from endowments;[5] the sisters were paid some sort of a weekly allowance by the hospital,[6] (in 1433/4 it was 8d a week for each 'whole sister' and 3d a week for each 'half sister'[7]); and women evidently had to be reasonably well-off to become sisters - one of the complaints made at the visitation of the hospital in 1492 was that nobody could become a sister unless she paid an entrance fee of at least £6-13-4.[8] Certainly the proportion of

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(1) D. and C. Reg. 1461-1559, fos. 7 (Martyn) and 15 (Narborgh).
(2) PROB/11/12 (Reg. Moone, 1500-1501), fol. 19 (Thorpe).
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 1d, Court Roll 20 (1483-1508), membranes 14d-15 (Awbry).
(4) Cf., pp. 231-2, 234-6 and 239.
(5) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 147.
(6) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 1399; Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 14.
(7) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 1399.
(8) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 14.

testators who left bequests to hospitals was much higher in Norwich than in late medieval London where less than one in five of the much wealthier group of testators examined by Dr Thomson left bequests to them.[1]

On the other hand Norwich compares unfavourably with London in bequests to prisoners; more than a quarter of Dr Thomson's sample left some form of a bequest to prisoners[2] whereas the proportions in Norwich between 1370 and 1532 were only about one in nine of the clergy and about one in six of the laity, though in Norwich both proportions rose during the period. Bequests from the inhabitants of Norwich were invariably left to the prisoners in Norwich Castle, which was for criminals from the county of Norfolk, or to those in the prison in the Norwich Guildhall, which was for criminals from the city of Norwich; they were never left to those in the gaols in the city of the bishop of Norwich and of the prior of the Cathedral Priory,[3] which were probably used only occasionally. In the will which he made in 1424 Walter Daniel, the wealthy merchant and former mayor of the city, said that he wanted £10 of his money to be spent on releasing poor people imprisoned for debt in the Castle or in the Guildhall by paying their debts at the rate of up to £1 a person;[4] and an alderman of the city called Thomas Aldriche left £4 for the same purpose in 1529.[5] But these bequests were exceptionally large; usually between 6d and 3/4d - normally in cash but occasionally the value in food and drink - was left to all the prisoners collectively in each of the two prisons, or between 1d and 3d to each individual prisoner.

Besides those to hospitals and prisoners, a wide variety of other

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(1) Thomson, 'Piety in London', p. 187.
(2) Ibid., p. 185.
(3) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-1446, p. 233.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 149d (Daniel).
(5) PROB/11/23 (Reg. Jankyn, 1528-1530), fol. 9 (Aldriche).

charitable bequests were left by the citizens of late medieval Norwich in their wills. The most popular form was for testators to order the residues of their estates, or part of them, to be disposed 'for their souls' in alms to the poor, or in works of mercy and charity, or in some similar way; though these customary phrases probably depended as much on fashions in the phraseology of wills as on the express wishes of testators. As has been mentioned, a number of testators left money to poor people so that they would pray for them or attend various religious services for their souls.[1] Many others simply left money which was to be distributed by their executors to the poor and needy, often on the day of their burial or on that of their anniversary; (no doubt naming the days on which they wanted the money to be distributed partly reflects their desire that the distributions should be made and not quietly forgotten about, and partly their feeling that the timing of posthumously performed works of charity - like that of Masses and prayers - somehow affected deliverance from Purgatory). Considerably fewer testators left such miscellaneous bequests to the poor and needy - at least if the bequests of this kind which were to be paid from the residues of testators' estates are excluded - than left bequests to hospitals, yet much larger sums of money were left in the former bequests than in the latter; many left over £1, a considerable number left over £10 and a few left £100 or more in such bequests. For example, in the will which he made in 1429 William Setman, a former mayor of the city, said that he wanted £20 of his money to be distributed immediately after his death to the poor and needy of Norwich and of the surrounding towns, a total of £26-13-4 to be distributed immediately after his death to the poor and needy of a dozen other towns in East Anglia, and

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(1) Cf., pp. 204-5.

a further £40 to be distributed to the poor and especially to the blind, the deaf and the infirm of Norwich at the rate of 3d a head per week during the three years after his death;[1] and another former mayor of the city, Robert Jannys, said in the will which he made in 1530 that he wanted his executors to give 1d of his money to each of eighty poor people every Friday for twenty years - a bequests which would have cost £346-13-4 - and he left for the marriages of 'maydens', presumably as dowries for poor brides, a further £20 which was to be given out at the rate of £1 a bride.[2]

The important question of the effects of these various kinds of charitable bequests upon the poverty of the city is not the concern of this thesis. What is relevant is that, however right Professor Jordan may be in arguing that charitable bequests in the wills of Englishmen increased during the century after the beginning of the Reformation and that the increase was due to the Reformation,[3] charitable bequests to the poor and needy, to hospitals and to prisoners were prominent and regular features of at least the wills of the inhabitants of Norwich well before the beginning of the Reformation and, except for bequests to prisoners, from as early as the wills survive in any numbers, namely from the late fourteenth century. Yet despite the importance of charitable bequests, there were very few testators from late medieval Norwich who did not leave nearly as much or more in their wills by way of bequests of a more directly religious nature. Thus besides their extensive charitable bequests,[4] William Setman, Robert Jannys and the brothers John and Walter Daniel all founded or attempted to found perpetual chantries,[5] and William Setman wanted in addition four

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(1) Cf., pp. 390-1.
(2) Cf., pp. 398 and 402.
(3) W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660 (London, 1959), p. 368
(4) Cf., pp. 260, 263-5 and 387-8.
(5) Cf., pp. 192-4.

thousand Masses to be said for his soul immediately after his death.[1] Those whose wills were much more concerned with charitable bequests than with religious ones are interesting because they were so exceptionally rare in a way that they were not by the second half of the sixteenth century. By far the most notable exceptions were Richard Caistor, who was the incumbent of the fairly valuable vicarage of St Stephen's in Norwich from 1402 until his death in 1420, and John Terry, a wealthy mercer and mayor of the city in 1523,who made his will in 1524 and had died by January 1525. Richard Caistor's brief will contained no bequests for Masses or prayers and he wanted his wealth, apart from a legacy of £10 to buy two Antiphonars for his parish church, to be given to the poor on the grounds that bona Ecclesie, secundum Canones, sunt bona pauperum.[2] His will is discussed later in the context of his life and cult.[3] John Terry left considerably more money in his will by way of charitable bequests than any other inhabitant of late medieval Norwich - including the bishops - is known to have left, and in many ways he was Norwich's closest equivalent to Francesco di Marco Datini, the merchant of Prato in Italy who made his final will in 1410. The wills of both John Terry and Francesco di Marco Datini contained some traditional religious bequests to churches and religious houses and for Masses, as well as bequests to members of their families, but the bulk of the wealth of both men was left in charitable bequests.[4] John Terry left small, customary bequests of 8d to each 'whole sister' and 1/- to each 'half sister' of St Paul's Hospital and 6d to each of the five sick-houses near the gates of the city, and a further £866-13-4

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(1) Cf., pp. 200-1.
(2) Cf., p. 376.
(3) Cf., pp. 373-6.
(4) I. Origo, The Merchant of Prato (London, 1957), pp. 336-8.

by way of the following charitable bequests. £200 was to be lent free of interest to 'suche indigent and nedefull persones as merchaunts, craft men or other occupiers or artificers, citezenis being of the said citie of Norwich,' at the rate of up to £40 a head and for periods of up to three years. The management of the scheme was entrusted to the three executors of his will, who were a notary and two laymen, and, after their deaths, to the mayors of Norwich and two Justices of the Peace of the city. Another £200 was to be disposed by his executors 'in dedes of charitie and pitie' for his and his friends' souls. A total of £266-13-4 was to be spent, presumably by his executors, 'in dedes of charitie' on the day of his burial and on the following ten anniversaries of his death. And £200 was to be spent by his executors on buying property in Norwich, the income from which was to be used to discharge the poor of the city from paying royal taxes. In addition John Terry wanted the money coming from the sale, after his wife's death, of an unspecified number of houses, tenements and lands to be 'doon in dedes of charite'.[1] It is noticeable that whereas Francesco Datini had founded a hospital,[2] John Terry avoided charitable institutions - either founding one or giving more than token sums to those which already existed; possibly he felt that money so given was liable to be swallowed up in their administration or by their staff, without much ever reaching the poor. It is also noticeable that John Terry entrusted his bequests to laymen and a notary, and not to priests or to a corporate religious body; in this respect he agreed with Francesco Datini who had stipulated that his hospital was in no way to be controlled by the Church or by ecclesiastics.[3]

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(1) Cf., pp. 393-6.
(2) I. Origo, The Merchant of Prato (London, 1957), p. 337.
(3) Ibid., p. 337.

vii. Civic Projects

Bequests for civic projects - chiefly the repair of streets, walls, gates, bridges and rivers (principally those in Norwich) - were rare in the wills of the inhabitants of Norwich throughout the period 1370 to 1532, although there was a slight increase in their number in the second half of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They were considerably rarer in Norwich than in London, where over twelve per cent of Dr Thomson's sample left bequests for the repair of roads alone;[1] though they do not seem to have been noticeably rarer in late medieval Norwich than they remained in the country as a whole between the late fifteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries.[2] Bequests left by the citizens of Norwich for civic projects were usually quite large sums: normally more than £1 and ofter as much as £10. For example, in the will which he made in 1499 or 1500 an alderman of the city called John Jowell left £20 to the City Government which was to be spent on the (city) walls and on the river (Wensum).[3] Almost all the bequests were left by the wealthiest testators - mostly by those whose wills were proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury - and in no case did their bequests for civic projects approach in value their bequests of a religious and charitable nature. On the whole it is surprising that th enormous increase in the power and activities of the City Government of Norwich from the mid-fourteenth century[4] and its partial victory over the most formidable arm of the Church in Norwich - the Cathedral Priory[5] - was not paralleled by a more marked switch on the part of the testators, many of whom had been members of the city oligarchy, towards bequests to the cit and away from bequests to the Church.

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(1) Thomson, 'Piety in London', pp. 179 and 187-8.
(2) W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660 (London, 1959), pp. 368 and 372.
(3) PROB/11/12 (Reg. Moone, 1500-1501), fol. 2 (Jowell).
(4) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages xl-lxxiv, and ii. pages xxxiv-
(5) Cf., pp. 287-292.

c. Conclusion

From a religious point of view, by far the most striking thing about the wills of the inhabitants of late medieval Norwich is the sheer number of bequests of a directly religious nature, and the very large amounts of money which were left by way of these bequests. That wills, of their nature, provide positive evidence of piety and not of irreligion or anti-clericalism,necessarily highlights one side of the coin at the expense of the other. But it is only necessary to look at the wills of the citizens of Norwich which were written in the 1530's and 1540's to realise how much wills could change within a very short time, and by contrast how much more concerned with religion and the Church the pre-Reformation wills were than were those which were made slightly later: one after another bequests to houses of religious Orders and colleges of secular priests, for Masses, to votive lights, to recluses and to guilds and confraternities - in fact almost all bequests of a directly religious nature except those to parish churches and to the Cathedral - faded out of the wills during the two decades after 1530. It is difficult to say how far the interest in religion shown by the pre-Reformation wills from Norwich was exceptional. English wills which have been printed[1] and Dr Rosenthal's study of the testamentary bequests of the nobility of late medieval England,[2] show that a similar range of religious bequests to that left by the citizens of Norwich was left by men and women from all over late medieval England, and Mlle de Nucé's study of Toulouse suggests that the same was the case abroad;[3] (the

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(1) Cf., P. Heath, The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation (London, 1969), pp. 218-9.
(2) J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), passim.
(3) M-S. de Nucé de Lamothe, 'Piété et Charité Publique à Toulouse de la Fin du 13e au Milieu du 15e Siècle d'après les Testaments' (Toulouse University Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures 1961), passim.

one notable exception is that few Englishmen outside of Norwich are known to have left bequests to recluses or to 'béguinages'). Dr Thomson's sample of Londoners is the only group of testators from another English city with which even quasi-statistical comparisons are at present possible, and it is significant that the citizens of Norwich at least kept pace with and in some respects outstripped the Londoners in their religious bequests, even though the Londoners were a much wealthier group and so would be expected to leave more bequests all round: more of the testators from Norwich than from London were leaving bequests for Masses from the end of the fifteenth century onwards,[1] and more of them left bequests to friars,[2] to nuns[3] and, almost certainly, to hermits and anchorites[4] throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

It is particularly significant that the wills from Norwich indicate so much popular support for many of the institutions, activities and doctrines of the late medieval Church which were attacked by many religious reformers from the time of Wycliffe until the Reformation. Belief in Purgatory and in the efficacy of multiples of Masses - as expressed in bequests for Masses, prayers and other religious services - has already been discussed,[5] and belief in Purgatory was also expressed by the explicit concern of many testators that their other bequests, whether of a religious or a charitable nature, should be performed 'for their souls'; (this concern underlines the point that for medieval Christians charitable bequests had religious dimensions). Devotion to the saints, and belief in their intercession, were expressed by bequests to votive lights; and the houses of religious Orders, particularly the four friaries in the city,

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(1) Cf., p. 198.
(2) Cf., p. 230.
(3) Cf., p. 239.
(4) Cf., p. 254.
(5) Cf., pp. 205-6.

were well supported by testamentary bequests.

The Church in Norwich represented remarkably many of the facets of late medieval Christianity. Wills provide such an overwhelming impression that the whole structure of the Church in Norwich had solid foundations in the support of the people, that it is amazing how so much of the edifice could have been destroyed so quickly and with so little apparent opposition, and how by the reign of Elizabeth Norwich had become a Puritan stronghold.[1] The fifteen years between 1518 and 1532, compared with the previous decades, saw small but noticeable drops in the proportion of testators who left bequests for chantry services and in the number of years of service which they required,[2] as well as in the proportions of testators who left bequests to houses of religious Orders (except the Cathedral Priory) and to colleges of secular priests. Possibly the outbreak of the Reformation on the Continent and the beginning of the Reformation Parliament in England made testators feel insecure about the future and the value of chantries and religious houses. And possibly it was a continued feeling of insecurity, rather than any virulent opposition to the old order, which explains why so many kinds of religious bequests gradually disappeared from the wills of the inhabitants of Norwich in the 1530's and 1540's in anticipation of the various Dissolutions.

Apart from the decline in bequests for chantry services and to religious houses at the very end of the period in question, there were several other important changes in the way the citizens of Norwich left their money in their wills: bequests to votive lights, especially from the laity, were increasing considerably throughout the period; bequests to

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(1) P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London, 1967), pp. 127, 186-7 and 213.
(2) Cf., p. 198.

hermits and anchorites were much more common after 1440 than before, a rise which reflected the increase at about the same time in the number of recluses in the city; bequests to the Cathedral Church and Priory were growing in number throughout the fifteenth century; and during the same century the number of clerics who left bequests to confraternities rose considerably. In general religious and charitable bequests were rather fewer before 1440 than after, reflecting the fact that wills were altogether briefer before 1440; the bequests reached a peak at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they declined slightly between the beginnings of the Reformation on the Continent and of the Henrician Reformation in England. But much more striking than these fluctuations is the overall consistency, throughout the period from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, in both the proportions of testators who left bequests to various beneficiaries and in the amount of money which they usually left to each - a consistency which has also been noticed in the wills of the nobility of late medieval England.[1] The similarity in the proportions of the clergy and of the laity of the city who left bequests to a given beneficiary is also striking; especially that the clerical testators, all of whom were members of the secular clergy, were as keen as the laity in their support of the regular clergy and (since they were leading lives which were primarily expressions of lay piety) of anchorites and hermits. The only significant exceptions to this similarity were the much larger proportion of clerics who gave to confraternities, which is accounted for by their bequests to the exclusively clerical confraternity of Corpus Christi, and the rather larger proportion of them who left bequests to one of the colleges of their fellow secular priests, the

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(1) J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), p. 112.

College of St Mary in the Fields. Overall the support of testators for various people and institutions devoted to religion reflects fairly accurately their importance in the religious scenery of the city: parish churches and the houses of religious Orders were especially well supported, and there were smaller streams of bequests to pious confraternities and to hermits and anchorites; the difference reflects the fact that at least in Norwich confraternities and recluses, despite their importance as representing the newer movements of the late medieval Church, never usurped the major role played by the older religious institutions, and that the latter seem to have retained their vitality and appeal.

Chapter 4. Conflicts

a. Disputes between the Cathedral Priory and the Citizens

Norwich did not have an ecclesiastic who was temporal lord of the whole town, as Lynn or Bury St Edmunds or St Albans did, (and with which ecclesiastics these towns at times clashed so violently). Although Norwich was the seat of a bishopric, the most formidable religious body in the city was the Benedictine Cathedral Priory. The disputes between the priory and the citizens formed by far the most important conflict involving the clergy in medieval Norwich.

The attack of the citizens on the priory in 1272 was one of the most violent clashes between townsmen and a religious institution anywhere in medieval England. This great event, which was recorded by many of the national chroniclers,[1] had escalated from a minor scuffle between servants or tenants of the priory and some townsmen at a quintain held on Tombland, which was an area just outside the precincts of the priory.[2] Further acts of provocation were committed by both sides though chiefly, it seems, by the priory.[3] Finally a crowd[4] from the city, including three of the four bailiffs and a number of other prominent citizens,[5] attacked the priory, burnt some of its buildings and part of the Cathedral, and killed at least thirteen people, though none of the monks is known to have perished.[6] The reprisals taken against the citizens were equally savage: the bishop of

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(1) W. Rye, 'The Riot between the Monks and Citizens of Norwich in 1272', Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany, ii (1883), 73-83.
(2) Ibid., pp. 19-20.
(3) Ibid., pp. 20-21.
(4) Of which one hundred and seventy-three people, including fifteen clerics, are identifiable. Bartholomew Cotton said that the crowd numbered thirty-two thousand. (Ibid., pp. 22-3.)
(5) Ibid., p. 32.
(6) Ibid., pp. 22-3.

Norwich and then the pope excommunicated those citizens who had taken part in the attack and laid Norwich under an interdict;[1] the liberties of the city were seized by King Henry III;[2] the city was condemned to pay £2,000 towards repairing the damage done to the Cathedral;[3] and about thirty citizens are known to have been punished by being hung.[4] The clash of 1272 was the climax of a number of earlier incidents,[5] and in its turn it heightened the tension between the two parties. It is against this background of long-standing tension and violence that the disputes between the citizens and the priory after 1370 must be seen.

The general context of the disputes, which had its parallel in many other medieval English towns, was the growing power and ambitions of the City Government on the one hand and the formidable and well-entrenched power of the Cathedral Priory in the economy, politics and religious life of the city on the other. The Cathedral Priory appointed the parish priests of nearly half the parishes in the city.[6] Employing at least a hundred and fifty lay men and women in the monastery alone,[7] the priory must have been the largest employer in the city, and it was by far the most extensive owner of land and property in the city and its suburbs.[8] Indeed the city seems to have been almost totally surrounded by the lands of religious houses and ecclesiastics - chiefly by those of the priory,[9] but also by those of Carrow Nunnery in the southern tip of the city and in the suburb of

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(1) W. Rye, 'The Riot between the Monks and Citizens of Norwich in 1272', Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany, ii (1883), 67-70.
(2) Ibid., pp. 24-7.
(3) Ibid., pp. 80-1.
(4) Ibid., p. 27.
(5) Ibid., pp. 17-19.
(6) Cf., p. 19
(7) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, pp. 162-3.
(8) Cf.: Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Colman MS. 115, fos. 4-4d; and, Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, map facing page 1.
(9) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, map facing page 1.

Carrow,[1] by those of the bishop of Norwich in the suburb of Thorpe,[2] and by those of the abbey of St Benet of Hulme in the suburb of Heigham.[3] That the large majority of the monks of the Cathedral Priory seem to have come from outside the city,[4] probably made the citizens jealous of this wealthy establishment for the additional reason that it was an alien body. On the other hand the dramatic growth in the power and ambitions of the City Government between the mid-fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries,[5] which was marked by the creation of the County of Norwich and its mayor and by the building of the Guildhall, brought the City Government into conflict with a number of parties: for example, with Yarmouth in the fourteenth century when the City Government successfully contested Yarmouth's claims to exact tolls on Norwich goods as they passed through the port;[6] and with the Crown, also in the fourteenth century, over the area of the Castle Fee, which was exempt from the jurisdiction of the City Government.[7] The Cathedral Priory was, therefore, only one among several bodies, albeit the most powerful, with which the expanding power of the City Government clashed.

The disputes between individual citizens and the priory which arose from the priory's position as appropriator of so many of the parish churches in the city, have already been discussed.[8] Separate from these disputes, though possibly exacerbated by them, was the prolonged conflict between the citizens and the priory over their respective temporal

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(1) W. Rye, Carrow Abbey (Norwich, 1889), pp. xxxi and xxxiv, under 'St Peter Southgate'.
(2) Blomefield, Norfolk, vii. 258-261.
(3) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 503-5.
(4) Cf., p. 58.
(5) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages lii-lxxiv, and ii. pages xxxiv-xl.
(6) Ibid., i. page xli.
(7) Ibid., i. page xlii.
(8) Cf., pp. 39-34.

jurisdictions and over certain economic benefits which flowed from them. This section is concerned with the latter conflict. The crux of the problem was that successive charters granted to the priory and to the citizens had defined in incompatible terms both the exempt liberties of the priory within the city and the jurisdiction of the City Government in the suburbs of Norwich, much of which were grazing lands of the priory. On the one hand charters granted to the citizens had given them jurisdiction within the city and, from 1305 onwards, in its suburbs without explicitly exempting the priory's lands from their jurisdiction.[1] In particular by the charter of 1403, which had made the city a county and had given it a mayor, Henry IV had granted to the citizens

> 'quod dicta civitas ac tota terra infra dictam civitatem et libertatem eiusdem cum suburbiis et hamelettis suis ac precinctu eorundem et tota terra in circuitu eiusdem civitatis infra libertatem dictae civitatis nostrae Norwici .... ab eodem comitatu (i.e., Norfolk) separata sint .... et quod dicta civitas Norwici ac suburbia (etc.) sint decetero comitatus per se et comitatus civitatis Norwici nuncupatus imperpetuum.'[2]

On the other hand the priory rightly claimed that the late eleventh and early twelfth century charters which had given the priory its lands and liberties in Norwich and its suburbs,[3] antedated the charters given to the citizens and had not been revoked by them; and the Crown was still confirming the priory's liberties in the fifteenth century.[4] Furthermore, none of the charters which had granted jurisdiction in the suburbs of Norwich to the citizens - including the charter of 1403 - had defined the

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 11-43.
(2) Evidences Relating to the Town Close Estate, Norwich (Norwich, 1887), p. 32.
(3) W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (London, 1817-1830), iv. 13-18; The First Register of Norwich Cathedral Priory, ed. H. Saunders (Norf. Rec. Soc., xi, 1939), pp. 25-63.
(4) E.g., Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, pp. 552-3.

boundaries of the suburbs, or said that the suburbs included the priory's grazing lands. At no time did the citizens seriously try to do away with the priory's franchises altogether. In practice the disputes centred on three points. First, whether the following areas were within the priory's exempt liberties: Tombland - upon which the quintain had been held in 1272 - Ratonrowe and Holmstreet, which were three small pieces of land lying just outside the priory precincts; St Paul's parish - sometimes called Normansland - which was a separate enclave in the Northern Ward of the city and which included St Paul's Hospital; and Magdalen Hospital, which was in the northern suburbs of the city. Secondly, the priory's rights in holding an annual fair on Tombland over Pentecost, from which the priory and not the City Government received the tolls and at which the priory held its own court. Thirdly, the extent of the citizens' and the priory's rights in the grazing lands in the south-western suburbs of the city called Lakenham and Eaton.[1] (At least after 1205[2] neither side in practice denied to the other all grazing rights in these lands; the issue seems to have been a combination of the boundaries of their respective areas and the number of sheep which each could graze.)

The particular unresolved issues on top of the more general rivalry provided endless, if usually petty, opportunities for friction between the Cathedral Priory and the citizens, especially the City Government. The records of the City Government and the Patent Rolls show that there was scarcely a decade between 1370 and the Dissolution during which the two parties were not involved in frequently bizarre clashes over the particular issues which have been mentioned, or in clashes of a more personal nature. For

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages lxxix-lxxxi, and ii. pages cxxxvii-cxl; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, pp. 552-3.
(2) Evidences Relating to the Town Close Estate, Norwich (Norwich, 1887), p. 4.

example, in 1373 a quarrel developed over the capture of an unnamed woman in St Paul's parish church, which was within one of the areas which both the City Government and the Cathedral Priory claimed to be subject to its jurisdiction. The bailiffs of the city had arrested the woman but, to the fury of the City Government, some monks from the priory together with a group of men had forcibly seized her from the bailiffs and had carried her off.[1] In 1380 and in 1441 the City Government was threatening with disenfranchisement any citizen who impleaded anyone in the prior's court during the priory's annual fair or at other times.[2] In February 1436, according to a jury of fifteen people, John Heverlond, who was the prior of the Cathedral Priory, and one of his servants had forcibly entered a house of the then mayor, Robert Chapeleyn, and had also cut down and carried off twenty of his willow trees.[3] In 1486 the mayor and the aldermen, with the assent of the Common Assembly, had fixed two large oaken posts at one end of Holmstreet to assert their claims that Tombland, Ratonrowe and Holmstreet were subject to the city's jurisdiction and were not exempt liberties of the priory. Tenants of the priory had then pulled the posts up, and a long and costly suit between the priory and the City Government followed when the latter indicted the tenants for riot.[4] And in 1506 the prior and three monks together with a band of about two dozen men fought with the keeper of the city's gaol (i.e., the prison in the Guildhall) and with one of the

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(1) Norw. City Rec., Case 8d, Rolls of the City Assembly, Roll 46-47 Edward III.
(2) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 84; Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 14d/17d.
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 8a, Presentments of Assault 1439-1441, membrane 4.
(4) Blomefield, Norfolk, iii. 175, is the only evidence for the details of this incident, though an entry in the proceedings of the Common Assembly of the city suggests that an incident had occurred (Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 128/133).

sheriffs of Norwich in order to rescue a certain William Herries - possibly a servant or tenant of the priory - whom the keeper of the gaol and the sheriff had arrested.[1]

The most serious clash during the period in qeustion came in 1443. That it occurred then and not in 1381 or in 1450, just as the most violent clash of all had occurred in 1272 and not in the preceding baronial wars, underlines how local and comparatively unconnected with national events the conflict was. For several reasons relations between the Cathedral Priory and the City Government were more than usually strained in the 1430's and early 1440's. The citizens resented as too generous to the priory parts of an agreement on the various issues in dispute which had been reached by the priory and the City Government in 1429. Though the priory had made some important concessions to the City Government, two terms of the agreement seem to have especially rankled with the citizens: an annual rent of 4/- which was to be paid by the city to the priory; and secondly recognition of the priory's liberties in the suburbs, possibly because this recognition seemed to deny the citizens' rights of pasture in the suburbs.[2] Secondly, the Crown had prejudiced peace between the two parties by fining the mayor and various citizens for some much earlier breaches of its own rights and of those of the priory in the suburbs,[3] and by upholding against the City Government the more extreme claims of the priory to jurisdiction in parts of Norwich and its suburbs.[4] In addition John Heverlond, who was the prior of the Cathedral Priory from 1436 until his death in 1453,[5] seems to have

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 368-9.
(2) Norw. City Rec., Case 17b, Liber Albus, fos. 45d-47d. For the dissatisfaction of the citizens with the two terms, cf., p. 285.
(3) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages lxxxi-lxxxii and 320-4.
(4) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, pp. 552-3.
(5) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 190.

been an unusually aggressive man. His clashes with the bishop of Norwich will be discussed shortly.[1] His attack on the property of Robert Chapeleyn has already been mentioned;[2] (Hudson and Tingey do not seem to have been aware of this last incident, and it shows that Prior Heverlond was earlier and more actively involved in the dispute with the City Government than they thought[3]). In addition, it was stated by juries that in 1440 the prior and a band of men had insulted, beaten and ill-treated the city sergeant and had rescued a debtor whom he had arrested;[4] and that in the following year the prior and Thomas Wetherby had instigated a band of over forty men, including some servants of the prior, to beat and imprison the mayor, both the sheriffs and various other citizens.[5]

In addition to its own quarrels with the City Government, the priory allied itself with a remarkable combination of other parties which had grievances with the City Government, and the alliance was the main reason why matters came to a head in 1443. The Crown's anger at breaches by the citizens of its rights in the suburbs of Norwich, and its consequent support for the priory against the City Government has just been mentioned.[6] The Crown was further incensed against the citizens by their request in 1440 that the £100 which the city had lent to the king should be repaid, and by their refusal of a further loan in the following year.[7] Thomas Wetherby's alliance with Prior John Heverlond in 1441 has also just been mentioned.[8] A very wealthy man, Wetherby had been mayor of the city in

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(1) Cf., pp. 301-2.
(2) Cf., p. 279.
(3) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. page lxxxvii.
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 8a, Presentments of Assault 1439-1441, membrane 3.
(5) Ibid., membrane 1.
(6) Cf., p. 280.
(7) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages lxxxvii and 283.
(8) Cf., p. 281.

1427 and 1432. He had tried unsuccessfully to get his nominees elected mayor in 1433 and in 1437, and he had led a minority party in the city oligarchy into increasingly bitter opposition to the majority party. The prior and Wetherby had progressively collected the support of many East Anglian magnates, a number of whom had old scores with the city to settle and who included the earl of Suffolk and the duke of Norfolk. They also obtained the support of Bishop Brown, despite the prior's clash with the bishop over other matters.[1] And the alliance was joined by the abbots of two Norfolk monasteries, the Benedictine abbey of St Benet of Hulme and the Premonstratensian abbey of Wendling. The two abbots were probably persuaded by Thomas Wetherby to join the alliance so as to be able to prosecute their grievances against the city more effectively.[2] The grievance of the abbot of St Benet of Hulme centred around some new mills which were evidently very important to the bakers of Norwich[3] and which had been built by the city in 1429[4] on the northern stretch of the river Wensum within the city walls. The abbot claimed that the mills obstructed the flow of water from his own mills in Heigham - the north-western suburb of Norwich - and threatened his lands in Heigham with flooding, and that they prevented his boats from passing freely up and down the river. As the citizens pointed out, the abbot's complaints were rather tenuous since the city's new mills were further down-stream from the abbot's mills and lands, and so were less likely to affect them, than its old ones, and since the old mills had obstructed the free passage of the abbot's boats as much as

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(1) R.L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (London, 1966), pp. 217-221; Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages xcii and 344-7. For the prior's clash with the bishop, cf., pp. 301-2.
(2) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages lxxxvii and 348.
(3) Ibid., i. pages 350 and 352.
(4) 'Chronolological Memoranda touching the City of Norwich', ed. G. Johnson Norf. Arch., i (1847), 141.

the new ones did.[1] Possibly the real reason for the abbot's hostility was that the city's new mills were taking business away from his mills. The abbot of Wendling complained that the city had defaulted in paying the rent which it owed him for the lease on some property in the parish of St Clement of Conisford in Norwich, which included the advowson of the parish church and a quay on the river Wensum. On the grounds that the rent had not been paid, the abbot had seized the property - including the advowson and the quay - in 1438.[2]

The grievances of the two abbots, together with complaints of Prior Heverlond that the City Government had violated various of the priory's rights in its liberties and during its annual Pentecost fair, were first heard by a commission of Oyer et Terminer at Thetford in July 1441.[3] Then the disputes and some obscure complaints of the bishop of Norwich against the citizens[4] - possibly connected with his rights in the liberties of the Cathedral Priory[5] - were submitted by both sides to the arbitration of the earl of Suffolk.[6] The earl made his award sometime in 1442.[7] The whole of it is not known, but it evidently went in favour of the ecclesiastics; Part of it demanded that the citizens destroy their new mills[8] and that they give bonds of £100, £50 and £50 to the abbot of St Benet of Hulme, to Prior John Heverlond and to Bishop Brown respectively,[9] presumably as guarantees that they would carry out the earl's award.

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 350 and 354.
(2) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 9/12; Cal. Close Rolls, 1441-1447, p. 99.
(3) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages lxxxvii-lxxxviii, 325-7 and 349.
(4) E.F. Jacob, 'Two Documents Relating to Thomas Brouns, Bishop of Norwich 1436-45', Norf. Arch., xxxiii (1962-5), 432.
(5) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-1441, pp. 552-3.
(6) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 349.
(7) Ibid., i. page lxxxix.
(8) Ibid., i. 349-350.
(9) Ibid., i. 352.

In spite of considerable pressure from their opponents to accept the earl's award, the City Government refused to do so.[1] Their refusal finally broke out into one of the most remarkable anti-clerical riots in England during the fifteenth century - "Gladman's Insurrection". There are two rather different accounts of the riot. Defending the conduct of the citizens, the City Government said,about five years after the event,that there had not been a riot but only a 'disporte as is and ever hath ben accustomed in ony city or burgh thrugh al this reame on Fastyngong Tuesday', in which a certain John Gladman rode through the city on a horse crowned as King of Christmas, with some form of representations of the seasons of the year carried before and after him.[2] The second account is that given by a jury of twelve men from Norfolk before an inquisition held on 28 February 1443, which was only just over a month after the riot. The jury's account may well exaggerate the riot and the extent to which it was premeditated,but for several reasons, in addition to the fact that it was given sooner after the event, it seems nearer the truth than the account of the City Government. The riot certainly took place on either 25 January, as the jury said,[3] or on the next day;[4] the City Government offered no explanation of why a 'disporte' such as was customary on Shrove Tuesday took place six weeks before it.[5] Furthermore, although it only mentions the build-up to the riot, the account written into the city's official chronicle, the Liber Albus, in 1482 correlates much better with the description given by the Norfolk jury than with the one given by the City Government. According to the Liber Albus,Thomas Wetherby and the

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 350-1.
(2) Ibid., i. pages xc and 345.
(3) Ibid., i. 340.
(4) Ibid., i. pages xc and 350-1.
(5) Shrove Tuesday was 5 March in 1443.

'Councell' of the abbot of St Benet of Hulme, in their efforts to get the bond of £100 sealed for the abbot with the common seal of the city, had persuaded the mayor to call an Assembly on 25 January, but the 'Comons' of the city had come in great numbers to the Assembly and had removed the common seal to prevent the bond being sealed with it.[1] The Norfolk jury vividly described the events as follows.

> '.... the mayor, William Hempstead, merchant, and the Commonalty of the city on Tuesday next before the feast of the Conversion of St Paul in the said 21st year (22 January 1443) in the said city, having in purpose to make common insurrection and commotion of all the lord king's lieges in the city and country adjacent, were so violent that they made Thomas, bishop of Norwich, John, abbot of St Benet of Hulm, and John, prior of the Church of Holy Trinity of Norwich, by threats of burning, release divers actions of theirs which they had against the said mayor and Commonalty and very many more of the said city. And caused that the lord king did not dare nor had the power to punish John Gladman of the aforesaid city, merchant, for riding there as king with a crown and sceptre and sword carried before him by three men unknown and Robert Suger of Norwich, souter, Robert Hemmyng of the same, osteler, Richard Dallyng, coteler, and others to the number of twenty-four persons for riding there in like manner before John Gladman, with a crown upon their arms and with bows and arrows as valets of the crown of the lord king. And they ordered a hundred other persons, now unknown, with swords, bows and arrows as well on foot as on horseback then and there to follow John Gladman. And on the day of the Conversion of St Paul in the aforesaid year (25 January 1443) .... they struck and caused to be struck divers bells in turn, and the said mayor and Commonalty, with many other unknown persons of the city to the number of three thousand gathered to them by the striking of the bells, by force and arms caused them to cross over to the priory of the Cathedral Church shouting and saying, "we will burn the priory and kill the prior and monks thereof". And then they dug under the gates of the priory to enter in, and they carried logs there to burn the gate and they placed engines, viz. guns, against the priory
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> And from the day of the Conversion of St Paul (25 January) to the fourth hour after noon on Tuesday then next following (29 January) with force and arms they continued such insurrection, whereby by threats they made Richard Walsham and John Wichyngham, fellow monks of the prior, there to deliver to them a certain evidence sealed with the common seal of the city, by which the mayor etc. were bound to William Worstead, prior, to pay a rent of 4/-, and also to hold no plea nor any sheriff's tourn in Conisford meadows or in Brakendale, Eaton, Lakenham and Earlham.[2] And they carried off the evidence, and from

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 350-1.
(2) This was part of the agreement made in 1429 (cf., p. 280).

> the Monday next after the Conversion of St Paul (28 January) to the Monday then next following (4 February) they kept the city with gates closed and with armament, as a city warring against the lord king. And they kept outside the city John, duke of Norfolk, from Tuesday after the feast of the Conversion of St Paul (29 January) for one week thereon following, and John Veer, earl of Oxford, and other ministers of the lord king from the Monday after the feast of St Matthias in the aforesaid year to the Wednesday next following,[1] whom the lord king, by his letters patent of commission, assigned to take the insurgents and rioters; and would not permit the said duke and earl to enter the city for those times.'[2]

As in 1272 the Church and the Crown struck back with both the temporal and the spiritual swords, though the bishop of Norwich, in spite of being involved in the quarrels, seems to have acted as a conciliator. Archbishop Chichele excommunicated the citizens, though Bishop Brown said that he had tried to dissuade the archbishop and though the bishop refused to interdict the city.[3] On the king's orders William Hempstead, the mayor, was imprisoned in the Fleet in London for six weeks from 13 February to 26 March 1443 and he was fined £50.[4] During the mayor's imprisonment Wetherby and his faction seem to have controlled the city and to have carried out the earl of Suffolk's award: according to the Liber Albus they wrecked the city's new mills to such an extent that they were useless for many years, and Wetherby sealed the three bonds of £100, £50 and £50 with the common seal of the city and gave them to the abbot of St Benet of Hulme, to Prior John Heverlond and to Bishop Brown.[5] Finally in March 1443 a commission appointed to inquire into the riot declared the liberties of the city forfeit, imposed a collective fine of £2,000 on the city and fined

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(1) I.e., 25 to 27 February. The two dates can scarcely be correct since the statement was part of a presentment made at Thetford on 28 February 1443 (cf., p. 284).
(2) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 340-1, is the above translation.
(3) E.F. Jacob, 'Two Documents Relating to Thomas Brouns, Bishop of Norwich 1436-45', Norf. Arch., xxxiii (1962-5), 432.
(4) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 351 and 355.
(5) Ibid., i. 352.

individual rioters a total of just over £1,500; the city's liberties were not restored until November 1447, by which time the collective fine, reduced to £666-13-4, had been paid.[1]

Gladman's insurrection was similar to the riot of 1272 in as much as both were popular revolts of townsmen which were connived at and possibly led by the oligarchs and which were directed against the Church on account of its temporalities, and in as much as both found expression in an assault on the Cathedral Priory. Gladman's insurrection began as dangerously as the riot of 1272, but unlike the latter nobody is known to have been killed during it or in punishment for it; that the monks showed prudence rather than valour in 1443 helps to explain the less violence. It is significant that none of the secular clergy is known to have been involved in Gladman's insurrection, as some had been in the riot of 1272.[2] Nor are the friars known to have taken part,though the complaint, which the prior of the Cathedral Priory made in about 1360, that the friars of the city had been preaching contra .... Ecclesie libertatem[3] may just possibly refer to encouragement which the friars may have been giving the citizens at an earlier date.

As has been said the Cathedral Priory and the citizens went on quarrelling after 1443,[4] at least until 1524. But for several reasons the conflict was never again as fierce as it had been in the early 1440's, nor did the Cathedral Priory ever again enjoy such an ascendancy over the city. John Heverlond died in 1453 and his successors as priors, at least until Robert Catton (1504-1530),[5] do not seem to have been such aggressive men.

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(1) R.L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (London, 1966), p. 224.
(2) Cf., p. 274, note 4.
(3) Cf., p. 112.
(4) Cf., pp. 279-280.
(5) Saunders, Obedientiary Rolls, p. 190.

Thomas Wetherby died in 1444 or 1445.[1] At least one other important citizen who had fallen out with the City Government - Robert Curteys, a former sheriff,[2] - subsequently joined the priory's party against the citizens, but no citizen after Thomas Wetherby produced such a deep split within the City Government or was able so successfully to unite such diverse parties against it. Nor indeed does there ever seem to have been an occasion after the 1440's for such an alliance against the citizens. Less tangible but perhaps of most importance was the change in the attitude of the Central Government to the priory and to the citizens. Until the 1440's the Crown in the last resort always seems to have supported the Cathedral Priory against the citizens, just as in Oxford it always ultimately upheld the university against the town. But later the Crown seems to have been less willing to rescue the priory. The change of attitude initially came about during the reign of Edward IV, and it may have been in return for the support which citizens of Norwich gave to the Yorkist cause on a number of occasions;[3] it was confirmed by Wolsey's determination to make the priory as well as the citizens compromise in order to reach a lasting settlement to the disputes.

Indeed between 1450 and 1530 the City Government's quarrels with the Cathedral Priory and with the abbeys of St Benet of Hulme and of Wendling were resolved largely in favour of the City Government, so that in a sense it had obtained most of what it wanted from these religious houses before the Dissolution. In 1459 the City Government re-purchased from the abbot of Wendling the quay and some property in the parish of St Clement of Conisford and the advowson of the parish church; though since the City

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fos. 30d and 32 (Wetherby).
(2) Blomefield, Norfolk, iii. 175; Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 128/133.
(3) R.L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (London, 1966), p. 225.

Government claimed that the abbot had unlawfully seized the properties from it, the £66-13-4 which it apparently paid to the abbot was a high price.[1] Sometime after 1447 the citizens repaired their mills which had been wrecked in 1443, and two actions which a later abbot of St Benet of Hulme took against the city in 1481 failed: the judges of the Common Pleas and of the King's Bench ruled in 1481 that the abbot's plea that the city owed him £100, to which Thomas Wetherby had bound it in 1443, was invalid because, as the city urged in its defence, the mayor had been in prison by covin of the abbot when the bond had been sealed;[2] and on losing this suit the abbot dropped his complaints,[3] which he had been making since 1468,[4] that his mills and lands in Heigham were being flooded as a result of the repairing of the city's mills.

One of the citizens' grievances against the Cathedral Priory was partly removed in 1482 when Edward IV gave them the right to hold two fairs each year; though the fairs do not seem to have been a success, and the priory continued to hold its annual fair over Pentecost.[5] In the early 1490's the Central Government began to put pressure on both the priory and the City Government to reach a lasting settlement to all the issues in dispute.[6] The efforts failed, apparently because both parties refused to compromise over their claims to jurisdiction within the priory and, probably of more importance, within the three areas just outside the precincts of the

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(1) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fos. 30d/33d and 38d/41d.
(2) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 353.
(3) Ibid., i. 353-4.
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fos. 74d/77d, 100d/104d, 103/107, 107d/111d, 110d/114d and 114/118.
(5) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. page cxxxvi.
(6) Norw. City Rec., Case 18a, Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 2 (1470-1490), fos. 223d-226; Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 137d/142d and Book 2 (1491-1553), fos. 4d/23d, 5/24 and 9d/28d.

priory - Tombland, Ratonrowe and Holmstreet.[1] But the efforts were renewed by Cardinal Wolsey in 1517.[2] After long and costly negotiations[3] the final agreement was reached in 1524. By it the City Government very reluctantly[4] made the greater concession over the matter of grazing rights in the suburbs of the city. The priory gave the city eighty acres of land - subsequently called the Town Close - in the two suburbs called Eaton and Lakenham, for which it was to pay the priory £13-6-8 a year. In return the city surrendered its claims to grazing rights elsewhere in the two suburbs. But the other concessions came from the priory. It surrendered to the city its right to hold a fair over Pentecost and the profits and jurisdiction involved in the fair, and its claims to exempt jurisdiction in Tombland, Ratonrowe and Holmstreet and in all its other liberties within the 'County of Norwich' except within the precincts of the priory.[5] The agreement was ratified by two royal charters which were granted in 1524 and 1525,[6] and it does seem to have ended the quarrels between the two parties until the Dissolution.

Hudson and Tingey, who have provided the best account of the conflicts between the priory and the citizens which have been the subject of this section, argued that the disputes were largely if not exclusively concerned with the profits of jurisdiction and that they were in no sense religious.[7]

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(1) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book (1434-1491), fol. 137d/142d and Book 2 (1491-1553), fol. 9d/28d.
(2) Norw. City Rec., Case 16c, Assembly Minute Book 2 (1510-1550), fos. 46d-47; and cf., Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1862-1932), iv (1524-1530) page 2562.
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 16c, Assembly Minute Book 2 (1510-1550), fos. 46d-101d, passim.
(4) Ibid., fos. 98d-99.
(5) Evidences Relating to the Town Close Estate, Norwich (Norwich, 1887), pp. 52-61.
(6) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 43-4.
(7) Ibid., i. pages lxxxvi-xc and cix-xci, and ii. pages cxxxvi-cxxxix.

Apart from the disputes which arose from the priory's position as appropriator of so many of the parish churches in the city,[1] the disputes between the Cathedral Priory and the citizens were about the temporalities of the priory; though the defence of even the temporalities of the Church was seen, at least by their defenders, as a religious and not merely a secular matter; and of course the Cathedral Priory, like any religious house, was identified in a specially close way with the Church on earth. Bishop Brown was pointing to both senses in which the conflict was religious when he said of the citizens who had assaulted the priory in 1443, that they 'have offend God, ... doeth violacion to the liberty and fredome of the Chirche .... (and) dide rebellion ayenst the Church of Norwich wich is therre moder chirche'.[2] Dr Jones saw the disputes between the Benedictine abbey and the citizens in Chester, which were almost identical in content to those between the Cathedral Priory and the citizens in Norwich, as fostering among the middle classes 'that anti-clerical spirit which was to culminate in the protestant revolution';[3] and Mrs Green drew the same conclusions about the effects of disputes between ecclesiastics or religious houses and townsmen throughout late medieval England.[4] Up to a point their conclusions are applicable to the disputes between the citizens and the Cathedral Priory of Norwich. The assaults on the priory in 1272 and in 1443, as well as the numerous lesser incidents, were expressions of popular anti-clericalism, and not just attacks on an economic corporation. On the other hand, as has just been said, the citizens obtained much of what they

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(1) Cf., pp. 39-44.
(2) E.F. Jacob, 'Two Documents Relating to Thomas Brouns, Bishop of Norwich, 1436-45', Norf. Arch., xxxiii (1962-5), 432.
(3) D. Jones, The Church in Chester, 1300-1540 (Chetham Society, 3rd Series, vii, 1957), p. 39.
(4) A. Green, Town Life in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1894), i. 382-3.

wanted from the Cathedral Priory, as well as from the abbeys of St Benet of Hulme and of Wendling, during the eighty years before the Dissolution,[1] so that in a sense the Dissolution was unnecessary, rather than an inevitable culmination. The increase in the proportion of the laity who left bequests in their wills to the Cathedral Church and Priory during the second half of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries[2] is another indication that hostility towards the monks of the priory was declining, not mounting, on the eve of the Reformation.

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(1) Cf., pp. 288-290.
(2) Cf., pp. 235 and 359.

b. Other Areas of Conflict

The Benedictine nunnery of Carrow in the suburbs of Norwich had a series of disputes with the City Government which were not only very similar in content to those of the Cathedral Priory, even though on a much smaller scale, but which were also resolved shortly before the Dissolution in favour of the City Government. The nunnery's disputes dated back at least to the thirteenth century: to settle the outstanding issues and in return for various concessions and confirmation by the City Government of various of its rights,including holding its annual fair, the nunnery had agreed in 1290 to surrender to the City Government its view of frank-pledge of its tenants in an area in Norwich called Little Neugate, and its right to receive a toll on all corn sold in the city during the nunnery's annual three-day fair.[1] The two parties were again quarrelling in the 1430's, though it is not clear what the issues were;[2] in 1443 as part of a wider judgment the Crown had declared that the nunnery was in Norfolk and not part of Norwich,[3] and possibly the point at issue in the 1430's was whether the nunnery and its lands in the suburb of Carrow were subject to the jurisdiction of the City Government.[4] By 1488 the conflict centred on the nunnery's grazing lands called 'Butterhills', which were at the southern tip of the city (within the city walls).[5] The City Government seized the lands from the nunnery in 1495 or 1496 and kept hold of them, paying the

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 254-8.
(2) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 4d/7d.
(3) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 328.
(4) And cf., Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 267. Though earlier in the fifteenth century, in order to avoid two lawsuits, the prioress of Carrow had claimed that her nunnery lay within Norwich and not within Norfolk (Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 319-320).
(5) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 132d/137d.

nunnery an annual rent of about 10/-.[1] A settlement, which was largely a victory for the City Government, was not reached until 1523 - just a year before its settlement with the Cathedral Priory: in return for an unspecified sum of money and an annual rent of 10/-, the nunnery surrendered the grazing lands to the city.[2] In the agreement of 1523 the prioress of Carrow styled herself 'Isabella, prioress of the house of nuns or priory of the Blessed Mary of Carrow in the county of the city of Norwich and the convent of the same place';[3] if the question of whether the nunnery was within the city of Norwich or within the county of Norfolk had been an issue between the two parties, then the prioress was yielding on this point too. Despite their similarities, Carrow Nunnery's disputes with the City Government were carried on independently of those of the Cathedral Priory; and the former were apparently restricted to the City Government: they do not seem to have every provoked the hostility of the mass of the citizens, as the priory's disputes at times did. The smaller scale of Carrow's disputes reflects the less serious nature of the points at issue and the fact that the nunnery was much smaller, less powerful and further distant from the city than the Cathedral Priory.

In contrast to the Cathedral Priory and Carrow Nunnery, the College of St Mary in the Fields and the four friaries in Norwich were noticeably free during the period in question of disputes with the City Government over their temporalities. The college was probably guarded from these disputes by the fact that it had been founded in the middle of the thirteenth century, which was over a century later than Carrow Nunnery and

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(1) W. Rye, Carrow Abbey (Norwich, 1889), p. xxxiv.
(2) Evidences Relating to the Town Close Estate, Norwich (Norwich, 1887), pp. 51-2.
(3) Ibid., p. 51.

the Cathedral Priory had been founded, and by which time the City Government was already fairly well established, so that it never acquired the extensive rights and property in the city of which the citizens could become jealous; and guarded also by its specially close ties with the City Government: thus William Setman and Bartholomew and William Appleyard, all of whom were very prominent members of the City Government, had founded their perpetual chantries in the college;[1] the confraternities of the Annunciation of St Mary and of the Bachelery, both of which seem to have been specially closely connected with the City Government, were held in the college;[2] the City Government frequently met in the college before the Guildhall was built;[3] and it was the college in which the City Government decided in 1456 to hold its official annual obit service for the benefactors of the communitas.[4]

Like friaries throughout England, the four friaries in Norwich had acquired many pieces of property to enlarge their sites during the second half of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries,[5] and the acquisitions of at least the Dominican friars of Norwich had brought them into conflict with the citizens and with the Crown in the early fourteenth century.[6] But no complaint against any of the Norwich friaries is known to have been made at the inquisition which was held in the city as one of a series of royal inquisitions held throughout the country in the

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(1) Cf., pp. 192-3.
(2) Cf., pp. 155-8.
(3) E.g., Norw. City Rec., Case 8d, Rolls of the City Assembly, Roll 39-42 Edward III, Roll 47 Edward III and Roll 8 Richard II.
(4) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 92.
(5) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 85-6, 108, 336-7 and 415-6; Norw. City Rec., Cases 3g-4b, Private Deeds, Box 1, 'Friars Preachers in St Andrew', Box 5, 'Friars Preachers in St Clement', Box 10, 'St John Maddermarket', Box 11, 'St Mary Unbrent', and Box 12, 'St Peter Hungate'.
(6) Cal. Close Rolls, 1330-1333, pp. 430 and 433-4.

middle of the fourteenth century to inquire into acquisitions of property by the friars.[1] Local records and the Patent and Close Rolls mention few pieces of property which were acquired by Norwich friaries after 1368,[2] in which year the Augustinians had incorporated the parish church of St Michael of Conisford into their site.[3] By the mid-fourteenth century the Norwich friars seem to have rounded off their sites, and during the period in question their energies were directed rather towards putting up new buildings on their sites; neither the citizens nor the Central Government seem to have objected to the latter pursuit. Indeed, the City Government had a special relationship with the Carmelites of the city, similar to that which it had with the College of St Mary in the Fields. In 1488 the Communitas of Norwich had agreed, apparently at the invitation of the Carmelites,[4] to become the second founder of the friary in succession to Philip Cowgate, a Norwich merchant who had originally founded it in the thirteenth century, and the mayor of Norwich was to be the capit' ffundator of the friary.[5] And in 1499 the mayor and community of Norwich, on the grounds that they were the founders of the friary, exempted the Carmelites from all tolls in the city.[6]

Something has already been said about friction between parishioners and their parish clergy over their paying tithes, attending Mass in their parish churches and receiving the Eucharist and Penance from their parish

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(1) A.G. Little, 'A Royal Inquiry into Property Held by the Mendicant Friars in England in 1349 and 1350', Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, ed. J.G. Edwards, V.G. Galbraith and E.F. Jacob (Manchester, 1933), pp. 186-7.
(2) I.e.: Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-1381, p. 496; Cal. Close Rolls, 1385-1389, p. 279; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-1436, p. 119.
(3) Cf., pp. 16-17.
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 4a, Private Deeds, Box 10, 'St James'.
(5) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 132/137.
(6) Norw. City Rec., Case 16c, Assembly Minute Book 1 (1492-1510), fol. 73d.

priests.[1] But there is evidence of only isolated instances of conflict in these matters. Indeed, widespread and deep hostility among the citizens of Norwich towards the clergy seems to have confined itself to hostility towards the monks of the Cathedral Priory; nothing suggests that it extended itself to a more general anti-clericalism which embraced the friars and the secular clergy. The bequests which the laity left in their wills to the friars and to parish churches,[2] as well as the remarkable number of sons of the citizens who joined the secular and regular clergy,[3] are more positive evidence against the existence of widespread anti-clericalism in the city.

In addition to their various conflicts with the laity of the city, the religious and the clergy of late medieval Norwich quarrelled over a number of issues among themselves. In these disputes, too, it is noticeable how frequently the Cathedral Priory was one of the parties. Those which involved the rights and emoluments of the parochial clergy,[4] in many of which the Cathedral Priory was involved as the appropriator of a parish church, and those between the Cathedral Priory and the friars over preaching in the Cathedral,[5] have already been discussed. A quarrel had also been going on in the late fourteenth century between the Sacrist of the Cathedral Priory and all the rectors and parish chaplains of Norwich over a procession into the Cathedral which the rectors and parish chaplains made each year on the first Sunday after Trinity. The only surviving record of this curious dispute is the settlement imposed by Bishop Henry Dispenser in 1390.[6] The

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(1) Cf., pp. 29-34.
(2) Cf., pp. 230-4 and 244-254.
(3) Cf., pp. 58-9.
(4) Cf., pp. 30 and 36-43.
(5) Cf., p. 112.
(6) REG/3, Book 6, fol. 204d.

dispute was said to have been going on for a number of years, but exactly what the points at issue between the two parties were was not made clear by the terms of the settlement. The bishop ordered all the rectors and parish chaplains of the city to participate in the annual procession and he emphasised the need for orderliness and quiet; possibly a once great procession had become a shambles with many of the clergy absenting themselves from it. There was also disagreement among a group of the secular clergy as to who should read a Collect during the procession and as to whether the procession should start from the parish church of St Michael at Plea; it is not clear whether the parish priests were vying with each other for the privileges of having the procession start from their own parish churches and of reading the Collect, or whether they wanted to avoid the responsibilities. The opposition over the procession was the only semblance of collective opposition to the Cathedral Priory which is known to have come from the secular clergy during the period in question. The priory, as the appropriator of so many of the parish churches in the city, exercised much control over the parishes; yet many regarded the parish as the preserve of the secular clergy. It is therefore rather surprising that there was not more collective opposition to the priory from the secular clergy, as there was from the citizens over the temporalities of the priory. Possibly the priory's extensive ecclesiastical patronage in the city made the secular clergy more subservient than (openly) hostile to it.

The Cathedral Priory also clashed with Carrow Nunnery on several occasions during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The quarrels resembled those of both parties with the City Government in as much as the issues were their respective jurisdictions over certain areas

of the City and its suburbs, and the economic profits which flowed from them. The priory and the nunnery received the tithes of the inhabitants of the suburban parishes of Bracondale and Carrow respectively, and during the fourteenth century they disputed the boundary common to the two parishes and consequently they quarrelled over who should receive the tithes of various inhabitants.[1] Another dispute over their suburban jurisdictions had arisen by 1416. In that year the prior and another monk were brought to court by the prioress of Carrow for seizing some of the nunnery's cattle which had been grazing within the suburb of Carrow, and for driving it off to the neighbouring lands of the Cathedral Priory in the suburb of Lakenham.[2] At the same time the two parties were disputing their rights of leet and view of frank-pledge over the inhabitants of areas in the southern tip of the city and in the adjoining suburb of Trowse.[3] A settlement to the last dispute was reached in 1418, when both parties agreed on a boundary to divide their respective jurisdictions.[4] It is significant that there is no evidence of conflict between the priory and the nunnery at a later date.

The Cathedral Priory's most serious conflicts, apart from its disputes with the citizens, were those which it had with several bishops of Norwich. The prior in many ways eclipsed the bishop in importance in his own episcopal city, and the bishop needed the consent of the prior and chapter of the Cathedral Priory for all major diocesan acts.[5] As was the case with

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(1) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Disputes and Agreements, v Carrow, v Carmelites', numbers 1582, 1584, 1590, 2418 and 4801-3.
(2) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. pages lxxx and 319.
(3) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Disputes and Agreements, v Carrow, v Carmelites', numbers 1583 and 1595.
(4) Ibid., numbers 1583 and 1595.
(5) B. Burnham, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Norwich in the Later Middle Ages' (Oxford University B.Litt. thesis 1971), pp. 80-1

other bishops and their Cathedral chapters, the inevitable rivalry between the bishop of Norwich and the monks - especially the prior - provided plenty of scope for quarrels. The actual disputes centred around two issues: the bishop's rights in the government of the priory and its property, and secondly the reverencialia due to the bishop. The first issue was contested chiefly during the latter years of Henry Dispenser's episcopate (1370-1406), when the bishop's rights in a number of matters was disputed, namely: the admission of novices, and the profession of monks, their promotion to and removal from offices and their punishment; the disposal of the priory's property and of corrodies; visitations of the priory, and of the Carnary College and of St Paul's Hospital, which belonged to the priory; and payments of tithes and dues by the bishop to the priory.[1] Bishop Dispenser's aggression seems to have been the main cause of the dispute[2] and of its escalation. In the course of an enormous amount of litigation, the case was brought before the Crown, the archbishop of Canterbury and the pope.[3] A settlement was not reached until Alexander Totington, who had been prior of the Cathedral Priory during the quarrels, succeeded Dispenser as bishop of Norwich. The settlement, which was reached in 1411 through the arbitration of Archbishop Arundel, saved the appearances for the bishop but went in the priory's favour on most points of substance.[4] One of the points - the bishop's rights in appointing monks to and removing them from offices - reappeared briefly during the episcopate of Walter

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(1) E. Carter, Studies in Norwich Cathedral History (Norwich, 1935), p. 40; Cal. Papal Letters, iv (1362-1404), p. 525 and v. (1396-1404), pp. 586-7.
(2) E. Carter, Studies in Norwich Cathedral History, op. cit., pp. 37-9; and cf., REG/3, Book 6, fos. 89, 89d and 90d.
(3) E. Carter, Studies in Norwich Cathedral History, op. cit., p. 37; Cal. Papal Letters, iv (1362-1404), pp. 518 and 525, and v (1396-1404), pp. 11-12, 273-4, 318-9, 526-7 and 586-7.
(4) E. Carter, Studies in Norwich Cathedral History, op. cit., pp. 49-57.

Lyhert (1446-1472). In 1467 Pope Paul II appointed a commission of three abbots to adjudicate the claim of John Molet, who was the prior of the Cathedral Priory, that Bishop Lyhert had openly threatened to deprive him of his office without reasonable cause.[1] John Molet was not removed from office and no more is heard of the matter.

The reverencialia due to the bishop from the monks of the priory became an issue during the episcopate of Thomas Brown (1436-1445). Bishop Brown complained that the monks - especially Prior John Heverlond - were not paying him various marks of respect which were due to his superior status, when he was celebrating the liturgy in the Cathedral, when he was visiting the priory, and on various other occasions.[2] Prior Heverlond yielded to the bishop's demands in 1441,[3] but two years later Bishop Brown was appealing to the archbishop of Canterbury and to the pope that the prior had broken the agreement of 1441 by failing to minister the crucifix or the kiss[4] to him when he entered the Cathedral.[5] The settlement which was reached in 1444 was a compromise on the issue which had been the immediate cause of Bishop Brown's appeal to Rome in 1443: the crucifix or the kiss was only to be administered to the bishop by the prior if the bishop had been away from the Cathedral for two months or more. Otherwise it was a victory for the bishop. The priory agreed that the prior, if present, should minister the following things to the bishop in a reverent manner: the crucifix after the Confiteor, the book of the Gospels after the Gospel had been read, the kiss and the Pax when the bishop celebrated Mass in the Cathedral, and the crucifix and the Pax when he heard Mass in the

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(1) Cal. Papal Letters, xii (1458-1471), p. 560.
(2) REG/5, Book 10, fos. 101, 102, 102d and 108.
(3) REG/5, Book 10, fol. 108.
(4) crucifixum vel osculatorium.
(5) REG/5, Book 10, fos. 110-110d.

Cathedral or elsewhere. The priory also agreed that the prior should walk slightly behind the bishop, not level with him, and should hold the hem of his cope during processions in the Cathedral, and that the bishop should be incensed by a monk at certain points while he was celebrating Pontifical Vespers and Matins in the Cathedral. And finally the priory agreed to ring the bells of the Cathedral in the same way as those of the parish churches of the city were rung when the bishop entered the Cathedral after an absence of two months, and to pay the bishop various marks of respect when he entered the Cathedral to begin his septennial visitations of the priory.[1] Bishop Brown died a year after the settlement, but the reverencialia were still an issue in 1492. When Bishop Goldwell visited the priory in that year, he annulled all the statutes made by an unnamed former prior (John Heverlond?) and the senior monks whereby marks of reverence, which should have been reserved for the bishop, were to be paid to the prior. And he ordered, under pain of excommunication, the leaves which contained the offending statutes to be destroyed without delay, and he forbade the present and future masters of novices to teach their charges the offending customs.[2]

The disputes between the Cathedral Priory and the bishops of Norwich were typical of struggles all over medieval Christendom between bishops and their Cathedral chapters. They raised important canonical and theological points about the powers of bishops over religious houses in general and over their chapters in particular. Even the disputed reverencialia, which may appear trivial, were obviously taken very seriously by both the bishop of Norwich and the Cathedral Priory. But important though the principles

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(1) REG/5, Book 10, fos. 110d-111.
(2) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 5.

at stake were, the disputes were primarily personal clashes. In this respect it is noticeable that the most bitter clashes seem to have been caused chiefly by two men who are known to have been aggressive in other spheres: Bishop Henry Dispenser, whose war-like qualities were famous, and Prior John Heverlond, whose activities against the citizens of Norwich have been mentioned.[1] It is paradoxical that though these two men, and possibly also Bishop Lyhert, seem to have been the chief aggressors, yet Bishop Dispenser posthumously and the other two men during their lives lost those phases of the dispute in which they were involved. Neither the bishops nor the priory achieved outright victory; each side scored its points and anyway endless opportunities remained for re-opening the quarrels if either party wished to do so. Mr Burnham has argued that outside the fairly short periods of conflict, relations between the bishops and the priory were on the whole good.[2] That so many of the bishops entrusted their chantries to the priory[3] also indicates that good rather than bad relations were the norm. The disputes were probably common knowledge among the citizens, especially those between Prior Heverlond and Bishop Brown which involved public services in the Cathedral. No doubt seeing the two most important pillars of the Church in Norwich quarrelling was a disedifying spectacle and one which contributed towards the laity's scepticism of ecclesiastical authority. But probably the disputes were neither grave enough nor sufficiently unusual for the contribution to have been great.

The Church in Norwich was not in a state of prolonged crisis between

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(1) Cf., pp. 279-287.
(2) B. Burnham, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Norwich in the Later Middle Ages' (Oxford University B.Litt. thesis 1971), p. 187.
(3) Cf., pp. 186-7.

the late fourteenth century and the eve of the Henrician Reformation. During this period the conflicts of the local Church were sufficiently numerous and varied to affect most of its members, but they were either about peripheral questions or were insufficiently sustained to threaten the existence of any branch of it, let alone the local Church as such. By far the most serious conflict was the one between the Cathedral Priory and the citizens, and the priory was one party in most of the other known disputes. Yet the disputes were about the borders of the priory's authority and never threatened the priory's existence, except possibly during the momentary excesses of 1443. Most of the conflicts in which the Church in Norwich was involved in the later Middle Ages were continuations or developments of conflicts which had their origins in the high Middle Ages. In general the period in question, particularly after 1450, witnessed the gradual solution of many of the disputes, and not the growth of tensions which inevitably culminated in the Reformation.

c. Heresy

Norwich appears to have been remarkably untouched by heresy in the later Middle Ages. During this period only a handful of isolated cases of heresy in the city are known of, and nothing suggests that Norwich had a continuous tradition of Lollardy such as London had. The prior of the Cathedral Priory had accused the friars of the city in about 1360 of bringing forward certain matters contra sane doctrine iusticiam et Ecclesie libertatem.[1] The offending views, which were too early to be Wycliffite, may well have been connected with the FitzRalph controversy,[2] in which the friars remained more or less within the bounds of orthodoxy. Apart from Bale's largely unsubstantiated claim that Richard Caistor, vicar of St Stephen's, was a Wycliffite,[3] no connections between the city and early Lollardy are known, nor is anybody from Norwich known to have taken part in Oldcastle's rising.[4]

The earliest known case of heresy in the city after Oldcastle's rising was that of Thomas Wade, who was a tailor from the parish of St Mary of Coslany in Norwich and who was charged with holding various unspecified heresies during the trials of Lollards which were conducted by Bishop Alnwick in Norwich between 1428 and 1431. Thomas Wade confessed to the charges and he was sentenced to be flogged in front of the solemn procession of the prior and monks of the Cathedral Priory on each of the three following Sundays, to be flogged round his parish church in front of its solemn procession on each of the six subsequent Sundays, and to be

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(1) Cf., p. 112
(2) W. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (C.U.P., 1955), p. 177.
(3) Cf., p. 375.
(4) K.B. McFarlane, John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity (London, 1952), pp. 172-3.

flogged at each of four spots in the market-place of Norwich on each of the three Saturdays which preceded the Sundays on which he was to be flogged in the Cathedral.[1] Joan Cliffland, who lived in the parish of St Mary the Less in Norwich, and her two servants, Joan Grymle and Agnes Bethom, as well as Joan West, who was described as living in the cemetery of the parish church of St Mary in the Marsh in Norwich, had some connections with a certain Margery Baxter, who was from the village of Martham - which is some fifteen miles north-east of Norwich - and who was another of those charged with heresy during Bishop Alnwick's trials. The evidence of the connections of these women from Norwich with Lollardy are the depositions of Joan Cliffland and her two servants against Margery Baxter, and earlier they may well have been more committed Lollards than they pretended at the time. The three women deposed that Margery Baxter had preached various heresies to them in Joan Cliffland's house,[2] and that Joan Cliffland and Joan Grymle had been asked by Margery to come to her house to listen to her - Margery's - husband reading the book Lex Christi.[3] Joan Cliffland also accused Margery of speaking to Joan West about the Lex Christi.[4] There is no evidence that Joan Cliffland or her two servants or Joan West were themselves prosecuted.

The next case was not until the sixteenth century. According to Foxe, a priest from Norwich called Thomas was degraded from the priesthood and burnt in the village of Eckeles[5] in 1510,[6] presumably for heresy. Bishop Nykke thought that heresy was spreading in the diocese of Norwich just

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(1) Westminster Diocesan Archives, MS. B.2., fos. 216-7.
(2) Ibid., fos. 273-7.
(3) Ibid., fol. 276.
(4) Ibid., fol. 276.
(5) Possibly Eccles in South Norfolk.
(6) John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments (ed. J. Pratt, 4th edn., London, 1877, iv. 773).

before the end of the period in question. In a letter which he wrote in 1530, he complained of the influx into his diocese of 'arronious boks in Englishe', which, he seems to have thought, included New Testaments in English; and he thought that merchants and those that lived near the sea were especially infected with them.[1] Bishop Nykke may well have had his episcopal city in mind. But the nearest to concrete cases up to 1532 of heretics who were closely associated with Norwich were Thomas Bilney and his followers, and it is doubtful whether Bilney was more than an orthodox radical and whether his connections with Norwich were close. According to Blomefield he was a native of Norfolk, probably of Norwich or of East Bilney,[2] but there is no evidence to support the claim. According to Foxe, Bilney had preached much in Norfolk, and so possibly in Norwich, before his arrest by Bishop Tunstall of London in 1527.[3] He was in Norwich when he was arrested for the last time in 1531,[4] and Sir Thomas More said that Bilney had 'enfected divers of ye citie (i.e., Norwich) before'.[5] His only identifiable disciple in the city was, rather interestingly, the anchoress attached to the Dominican friary - presumably Katherine Manne[6] - and he gave her Tyndale's translation of the New Testament and his Obedience of a Christian Man; though to calm her qualms of conscience, he said that he had never taught her anything heretical.[7] After his arrest in Norwich by Bishop Nykke's officers in 1531, Bilney was degraded from the priesthood

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(1) British Museum, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. V., fos. 389-389d (old folios 360-360d).
(2) Blomefield, Norfolk, iii. 199 and ix. 461.
(3) John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, Book 8 (ed. J. Pratt, 4th edn., London 1877, iv. 620).
(4) Ibid., Book 8 (iv. 462).
(5) Thomas More, The Confutacion of Tyndale's Answere made Anno 1532, Preface (The Workes of Sir Thomas More, London, 1557, p. 349).
(6) Cf., p. 335.
(7) John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments (ed. J. Pratt, op. cit., iv. 642 and Appendix 'Documents relating to Thomas Bilney, Martyr', III).

and handed over to the secular arm for execution as a lapsed heretic.[1] Before he was burnt just outside one of the gates of the city, he publicly recanted some of his errors, though it was hotly disputed whether he had made a full recantation.[2]

That heresy seems to have made so little impact on late medieval Norwich is significant for several reasons. As a large city and a provincial capital, it might be expected to have had a similar position in East Anglia to that which London had in the kingdom as a whole - either producing its own heretics, or attracting them from other parts of the country.[3] Furthermore, the success in the city of newer religious movements which were directed primarily towards the laity,[4] the great increase during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the proportion of its clergy who had university degrees,[5] and its close connections geographically and through trade with the Low Countries, which were then the most fertile and sophisticated areas for religious movements this side of the Alps, show that Norwich was no conservative back-water in its religion. But the comparative absence of heresy from the city is remarkable above all because Norwich had become a noted Puritan stronghold by the second half of the sixteenth century,[6] and remained one.

The apparent absence of heresy can scarcely be explained by any lack of vigilance in detecting it on the part of the bishops of Norwich. Henry

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(1) John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, Book 8 (ed. J. Pratt, 4th edn., London, 1877, iv. 652).
(2) Ibid., Book 8 (iv. 643 and Appendix 'Documents relating to Thomas Bilney, Martyr', IV).
(3) J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards (O.U.P., 1965), p. 139.
(4) Cf., Chapter 2, passim (pp. 111-216).
(5) Cf., pp. 65-7.
(6) P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London, 1967), pp. 127, 186-7 and 213.

Dispenser (1370-1406),[1] John Wakeryng (1415-1425),[2] William Alnwick (1426-1436),[3] Thomas Brown (1436-1445),[4] and Richard Nykke (1501-1535)[5] were all noted for their opposition to heresy either during their episcopates or beforehand. The strongest evidence that late medieval Norwich was actually, and not just apparently, little affected by heresy are the records of the extensive heresy trials which were conducted by Bishop Alnwick in the city between 1428 and 1431.[6] In showing that Lollardy was widespread in East Anglia at the time, the records reveal its comparative absence from Norwich as all the more remarkable. It might be expected that Norwich would have yielded an unusually large number of suspects since it was the site of the trials and since the bishop might be expected to have been especially vigilant in his own episcopal city; yet of the fifty-five individuals who were accused of heresy at these trials - thirty-nine from Norfolk, fourteen from Suffolk, one from Essex and one (originally) from Kent - only Thomas Wade was from Norwich,[7] and the depositions of Joan Cliffland and her two servants[8] were the only other indications to emerge from the trials that heresy had spread into the city. In addition to Thomas Wade, a number of the other people who were found guilty during Bishop Alnwick's trials were ordered floggings in the Cathedral or in the market-place of Norwich,[9] and

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(1) Thomas Walsingham, Historia Anglicana (ed. H.T. Riley, Rolls Series, 1863-4, ii. 188-9).
(2) John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments (ed. J. Pratt, 4th edn., London, 1877, iii. 584-6 and 848 under 'page 584 note (2)').
(3) Cf. below, p. 309.
(4) E.F. Jacob, 'Thomas Brouns, Bishop of Norwich, 1436-1445', Essays in British History Presented to Sir Keith Feiling, ed. H. Trevor-Roper (London, 1964), p. 66.
(5) Dict. Nat. Biog., Richard Nix, p. 74.
(6) Westminster Diocesan Archives, MS. B.2., fos. 205-362; J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards (O.U.P., 1965), pp. 120 and 122.
(7) Cf., pp. 305-6.
(8) Cf., p. 306.
(9) J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards, op. cit., pp. 231-2.

three of the fifty-five were burnt in Norwich.[1] And in addition to Thomas Bilney, four people otherwise apparently unconnected with Norwich are said to have been burnt as heretics in the city during the first third of the sixteenth century.[2] The sight of these punishments and the known vigilance of the bishops of Norwich may well have had a deterrent effect upon the spread of heresy in the city. But the findings of this thesis would also suggest that one important reason for the lack of interest in Lollardy in Norwich was simply that the religion provided by the local Church was sufficiently rich and varied to cater for the tastes of most of the citizens.

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(1) J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards, op. cit., pp. 122 and 236 note 1.
(2) Blomefield, Norfolk, iii. 182; John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments (ed. J. Pratt, 4th edn., London, 1877, iv. 126 and 773); Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, pp. 644 and 648.

Conclusion

This thesis is important for the study of English and European history because it is the most detailed study so far made of the Church in late medieval Norwich, which was the second city of England - at least by the early sixteenth century - and which was one of the few English cities of major European importance; and secondly because it is the only study of the Church in a late medieval English city, other than Dr Thomson's study of London,[1] which uses large numbers of wills. Much of the significance of the thesis lies in the overall or 'total' description which it gives of the Church in Norwich, especially of the Church conceived of as the communio fidelium.

The most striking particular conclusions are first, that the older and more clerical aspects of the Church in Norwich, which had blossomed in the early and high Middle Ages, continued to flourish in the late Middle Ages; and secondly that, simultaneous with the continued vitality of the old order, there was a remarkable development in the city of new religious movements which were largely directed towards the laity, and which were for the most part products of late medieval Christendom. The result was a religion of considerable richness and variety - a kind of High-Church, almost Baroque, Christianity.

The continued vitality of the older and more clerical religious institutions and ideals manifested itself in a number of ways. The parishes of the city and their churches and clergy - an organisation which for the most part dated back to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries - still seems to have been in the late Middle Ages the branch of the Church which was most important to the large majority of the citizens, and the one which touched their lives most closely. Popular support for the parish churches was demonstrated by the huge programme of re-building them which was carried out during the period in question, and by the number

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(1) Thomson, 'Piety in London', pp. 178-195; J.A.F. Thomson, 'Clergy and Laity in London, 1376-1531' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis 1960).

and the value of the bequests which were left to them in the wills of the citizens. Support for the priesthood and the religious life as religious ideals was demonstrated by the remarkably high proportion (at least ten per cent) of the sons of the will-making class who became secular priests or who joined religious Orders, and, with rather less ambiguity, by the high proportion of both the clergy and the laity who left bequests in their wills to religious houses. Furthermore, in so far as it can be measured by the proportion of priests who had university degrees, the education of at least the beneficed secular clergy of the city was improving very markedly after about 1450. Evidence which would answer the crucial question of whether and how far the populations of the four friaries in the city rose or fell during the period in question, is almost entirely missing. The number of monks at the Cathedral Priory may have been declining to a significant extent after 1460, but the secular clergy of the city almost certainly rose in number considerably between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, (even if in turn this increase was matched by an increase in the total population of the city). Certainly the evidence for Norwich, at least up to the outbreak of the Reformation on the Continent, provides opposition from one locality to the general thesis that the religious institutions and ideals of the early and high Middle Ages were in a state of marked decline, if not actually on the point of disintegration, in the late Middle Ages.

The continued vitality of the older religious organisation in the late Middle Ages is all the more interesting in a city in which the newer religious movements of late medieval Christendom flowered. The religious education of the laity, craft guilds with their guild-days, processions and mystery plays, pious confraternities, various forms of devotion to the

saints and to Christ, pilgrimages, and saying many Masses and prayers for the dead were all religious activities which were specially characteristic of late medieval Christendom, and which flourished in Norwich, even if not on a scale which was exceptional for a major provincial city in England or in Europe. Anchorites and hermits and, for a brief period, 'béguinages' also flourished in Norwich and they did so in a way which was quite exceptional for any late medieval city in England: Julian of Norwich, the anchoress, mystic and author of the Revelations of Divine Love was remarkable by any standards; there seem to have been considerably more anchorites and hermits living in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Norwich than in any other English town during the same period, and the proportions of both the clergy and the laity who left bequests in their wills to the hermits and anchorites of the city also seems to have been exceptionally high; and Norwich was the only English town which is known to have had groups of lay women living in semi-religious communities similar to béguinages, which were so popular in many towns on the Continent. The discoveries concerning the anchorites, hermits and 'béguinages' of the city are among the most important findings of the thesis.

Conflicts involving the Church in Norwich became less rather than more serious between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, and this is another reason why Norwich does not support the general thesis that the Church was disintegrating in the late Middle Ages. The dispute between the Cathedral Priory and the citizens, which was by far the most serious conflict involving the Church in Norwich, was settled in 1524 largely to the advantage of the citizens; and between 1450 and 1523 the citizens settled their disputes with Carrow Nunnery and with the abbeys of St Benet of Hulme and of Wendling almost entirely to their own advantage. These

settlements removed important reasons why the citizens might have welcomed the dissolution of religious houses which the Reformation brought. Furthermore, disputes among the secular and regular clergy, the nuns of Carrow and the bishops of Norwich seem to have been much fewer and less intense after about 1450 than before. The extent to which the laity left money in their wills to both the secular and the regular clergy, and the extent to which the secular clergy left bequests to religious houses and to lay persons who were living as recluses, are further indications that for the most part relations between the secular and regular clergy and the citizens were harmonious rather than in conflict. Finally, that heresy seems to have made so little impression in Norwich, at least until the second decade of the sixteenth century, suggests that the local Church was not rent by doctrinal controversies.

The Church in Norwich appears to have been remarkably healthy right up to the first decade or two of the sixteenth century, but some signs of decay and portents of the Reformation were appearing in the decade and a half between the beginnings of the Reformation on the Continent and of the Henrician Reformation in England. Bequests in wills for chantry services and to religious houses were falling off in the fifteen years after 1517, and the number of monks at the Benedictine Cathedral Priory was declining rapidly in the early 1530's. The evidence for these fifteen years does not suggest a mounting crisis which would lead to violent and positive changes, but rather a creeping insecurity about the future and value of the old religion which was preparing the way for a vacuum in the religion of the city.

St Martin at the Palace Gates	Ry.	United par. from 1349 onwards	Nw. Cathedral Py. (B)	Cap. Par.	8-0	£1	50	£34
St Matthew	Ry. (last Rr. died in 1377 or 1378,[21] church later demolished[22])		Archdeacon of Norwich					
St Paul	Ry. (also church of St Paul's Hospital)		Nw. Cathedral Py. (B)	Cap. Par. & Stip.	£1-13-4	£1-6-8	46	£21
St Helen								

PULL OUT

Appendix 2

Burials in the Churches and Cemeteries of Religious Houses

Abbreviations: a = 1370–1439, b = 1440–89, c = 1490–1517, d = 1518–32.

Numbers of testators who asked to be buried in the churches or churchyards of the following:

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period	a	b	c	d	total	total	d	c	b	a
number of testators:[1]	96	104	62	27	289	1515	277	546	525	167
Dominican friary, Norwich:	1	2			3	45	5	22	16	2
Franciscan " , " :	1	1			2	39	1	14	19	5
Carmelite " , " :	1	1			2	20	3	5	9	3
Augustinian " , " :	1		2	1	4	28	3	9	12	4
Total in Norwich friaries as percentage of all testators:	4%	4%	3%	4%	4%	9%	4%	9%	11%	8%
Cathedral Priory, Norwich:	6	4	3	1	14	6		1	4	1
College of St Mary in the Fields, Norwich:	4	9	9	1	23	9		1	6	2
(St Giles Hospital, Norwich[2])										
Carnary College, Norwich				2	2	1			1	
Carrow Nunnery in the suburbs of Norwich:						3		1	1	1
Houses of religious Orders and secular colleges outside Norwich:	1		1		2	2				2
Total:	15	17	15	5	52	153	12	53	68	20
Total as percentage of all testators:	16%	16%	24%	19%	18%	10%	4%	10%	13%	12

(1) I.e., all those whose wills survive (cf., Appendix 13, Section A (p. 362)).

(2) The hospital, which was also a college of secular priests, has been excluded because its church was also the parish church of St Helen's parish.

Appendix 3

Bishop Goldwell's Visitation of Norwich Deanery in 1492[1]

Visitacio ordinaria generalis reverendi in Christo patris et domini Jacobi Dei et Apostolice Sedis gratia Episcopi Norwicensis, in ecclesia parochiali Sancti Petri in Norwico, pro civitate et decanatu Norwic', personaliter per eum exercita, sequitur sub hac verborum serie. In nomine Domini, Amen. Die lune, viz. octavo die mensis Octobris anno Domini millesimo CCCC nonagesimo secundo, prefatus pater, ad dictam ecclesiam visitaciones suas huiusmodi exercendi causa, ad portam occidentalem eiusdem ecclesie accedens, ibidem a singulis capellanis eiusdem ecclesie solenni cum processione receptus fuit. Et deinde, responsorio 'Summe Trinitati' a cantore incepto, vexilloque sancte crucis in aiere[2] erecto, campanis pulsantibus, organis eciam psallentibus, usque summum altare venit. Ubi, precibus in immortali Deo devote porrectis, aliisque ceremoniis in ea parte peractis, suaque episcopali benediccione astantibus solemniter impensa, Verboque Dei per Magistrum Henricum ffall', dicti reverendi patris commissarium generalem, publice proposito; ad statim comparuit personaliter quidam Magister Johannes Wyteratt, officialem se pretendens domini archidiaconi Norwici, et quasdam litteras certificatorias sigillo officii sui sigillatas una cum quadam scedula eisdem annexa, in qua singula nomina et cognomina citatorum sunt inserta, que apud registrum predicti reverendi patris remanent, realiter exhibuit. Quibus quidem litteris certificatoriis ad tunc et ibidem publice perlectis, et omnibus ac singulis citatis huiusmodi preconizatis, nomina tam comparencium quam non comparencium inferius sequuntur.

Ecclesia Sancti Augustini[3]

Dominus[4] Nicholaus ffale, rector; p' o', et ex^{t}.[5]

Ecclesia Sancti Martini in Coslany

Prior et conventus Norwic', proprii ibidem, comparuerunt per Magistrum ffuller, procuratorem.
Dominus Thomas Plowman, capellanus parochialis, p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Edwardus Hoole, stipendarius, p' o', et ex^{t}.
Willelmus Brown, Robertus ffox } Inq'[6] recesserunt sub nova monicione.

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(1) Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner 100, fos. 40-42d.
(2) Sic.
(3) In the original the names of the churches are in the left-hand margin, and they are not underlined.
(4) Here and throughout the document, except where otherwise noted, the abbreviation d' was used.
(5) The clause, which appears whole or in part here and throughout the document, is: comparuit p^{o}. o. et ex^{t}. The ex^{t} has always been added later. The most likely meaning is: comparuit pre officiali, et examinatus.
(6) I.e., Inquisitores or Inquisiti.

Ecclesia Sancti Botulphi

Dominus Johannes Julyan, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Ricardus Hervy) Inq' nihil dicunt sed recesserunt sub nova
Robertus Swaffham) monicione.

Ecclesia Sancte Marie de Coslany

Prior et conventus de Cokkesford, propriet' ibidem, comparuerunt per Magistrum ffuller.
Dominus Robertus Malyn, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Willelmus Knyght, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Johannes Brewyn) Inq' ibidem comparuerunt et examinati dicunt
Robertus Derne) quod: Thomas Cak, nuper de parochia Sancti Martini ad Portas Palacii, adheret suspiciose Marione Deynes, nuper de parochia; Henricus Spark absentat se ecclesia tempore divinorum; Margareta, uxor Roberti Brewyn alias Pulham, notatur quod est communis litigatrix cum vicinis suis, et eadem Margareta servat continue publicam tabernam tempore divinorum.

(fol. 40d) Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis in Coslany

Magister[1] Thomas Drantall, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Dominus Alanus Holcham) ex^{t}.
Magister Johannes Dykeman) stipendarii ibidem ex^{t}.
Dominus Ricardus Grene) comparuerunt p' o', ex^{t}.
Dominus Ricardus fferror non ex^{t}.
Ricardus Lemman) Inq' ibidem comparuerunt et
Johannes Skott) habent prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Georgii de Colgate

Prior et conventus Norwici, proprii ibidem, comparuerunt per Magistrum Willelmum ffuller.
Dominus Johannes Corpusty, capellanus parochialis ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Georgius Conyngham, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Johannes Smyth) Inq^{i} ibidem comparuerunt et habent
Willelmus Budde) prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Clementis ad Pontem

Magister Thomas Bevyse, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Prior de Mendham pro porcione in eadem non comparuit.
Prior de Stoke pro porcione ibidem non comparuit.
Robertus Gylmyn) Inq^{i} ibidem comparuerunt et habent
Robertus Pye) prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Edmundi

Dominus Johannes Moor, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Henricus Munford, stipendarius, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Robertus Sywhat comparuit et habet prox' sub nova monicione.

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(1) The abbreviation m' or M' was used here and throughout the document.

Ecclesia Sancti Jacobi

Dominus Thomas Cartvn, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o'.
Johannes Myleham) Inq^{i} comparuerunt examinati dicunt quod
Nicholaus Burman) Ricardus Senior iniuste detinet et non solvit decimas personales curato, et habent prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris

Dominus Johannes Owdolff, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o'.
Willelmus Stevens, inquisit', non comparuit.

Ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum in ffybryggate

ffrater Ricardus Rene, capellanus parochialis ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Edmundus Barnard) Inq^{i} comparuerunt et habent prox'
Walterus Plomer) sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancte Marie Combuste

Dominus Johannes Owdolff, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Johannes Andrews, inquisit', non comparuit.

Ecclesia Sanctorum Simonis et Jude

Dominus Walterus Goos, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Willelmus Burnham, capellanus parochialis ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Dominus Thomas Kele, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Willelmus Patynmaker) Inq^{i} non comparuerunt.
Galdridus Crome)

(fol. 41) Ecclesia Sancti Georgii ad Portas Palacii

Decanus et capit'li[1] Capelle Beate Marie de Campis in Norwico, propriet' ibidem, non comparuerunt.
Dominus Galdridus Newman, capellanus parochialis ibidem, p' o', et ex^{t}.
Johannes Bowche) Inq^{i} (non[2]) comparuerunt et habent
Willelmus Samson) prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Petri de Hungate

Magister Robertus Thompson, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
ffrater Thomas Somerton, capellanus parochialis, non comparuit.

Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis ad Placita

Magister Edmundus Rightwis, rector ibidem,
Dominus Thomas Cornewayle) stipendarii ibidem comparuerunt p' o',
Dominus Robertus Lenys) et ex^{t}.
Johannes Havyr) Inq' (non[3]) comparuerunt et habent
Johannes Aylward) prox' sub nova monicione.

---

(1) Sic.
(2) non crossed out.
(3) non crossed out.

Ecclesia Sancti Andree

Decanus et capit'li[1] Capelle de Campis, proprii ibidem,
Dominus Jacobus Wardolk[2]) stipendarii comparuerunt non ex[t].
Dominus Willelmus Qwyntyn) p' o', et ex[t]. non ex[t].
Dominus Robertus Est)
Robertus Crowche) Inq' ibidem comparuerunt et habent
Ricardus Pertryk) prox' sub nova monicione

Ecclesia Sancte Crucis

Dominus Robertus Playford, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o', et ex[t].
Willelmus Wulcy) Inq' non comparuerunt.
Willelmus Mador')

Ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Madermarkett

Magister Johannes Awdeley, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex[t].
Prior de Longa Villa pro porcione in eadem non comparuit.
Ricardus Coton) Inq' comparuerunt examinati dicunt quod:
Johannes Basse) Johannes Andrws absentat se ab ecclesia sua parochiali diebus festivis atque dominicis; et idem Johannes notatur quod divertit se a societate uxoris sue et non adheret sibi prout tenetur, sed dimittit uxorem suam in mancione sua ibidem et ipse conduxit aliam domum in parochia Sancti Petri de Mancroft et ibidem pernoctat pro maiore parte.

Ecclesia Sancti Gregorii

Magister Robertus Balle, –[3] parochialis, comparuit p' o', et ex[t].
Magister Thomas Halle)
Dominus Thomas Gryme) stipendarii ibidem
Dominus Willelmus ffoster) comparuerunt p' o'.
Dominus Thomas Toly)
Johannes Reed)
.) Inq' non comparuerunt.
.)
.

(fol. 41d) Ecclesia Sancti Laurencii

Magister Thomas Nevyle, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex[t].
Abbas Sancti Edmundi de Bury pro porcione in eadem non comparuit.
Dominus Johannes Haydon) stipendarii ibidem et ex[t].
Dominus Willelmus Murkyn) comparuerunt p' o'.
Johannes Maydysse) Inq' comparuerunt et habent
Johannes Kyng) prox' sub nova monicione.

---

(1) Sic.
(2) Possibly Wardolf.
(3) Hole in document; presumably capellanus is to be supplied.

Ecclesia Sancte Margarete de Westwyk

Dominus Johannes Barker, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Dominus Willelmus Canon) stipendarii ibidem et ex^{t}.
Dominus Alexander Johnson) comparuerunt p' o'.
Robertus Curle) Inq' ibidem comparuerunt et habent
Robertus Lushere) prox' sub nova monicione

Ecclesia Sancti Swythuni

Dominus Walterus Goos, rector ibidem, non[1] comparuit.
Dominus Willelmus Cabyll, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Willelmus Goor, capellanus parochialis ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Henricus Stawn) Inq' comparuerunt et habent
Thomas Avelyn) prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Benedicti

Prior et conventus de Bokenham, proprii ibidem, non comparuerunt.
Dominus Willelmus Norwich, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Johannes Smyth, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Willelmus ffox) Inq' comparuerunt et habent
Johannes Kyng) prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Egidii

Dominus Ricardus Lyster, capellanus parochialis ibidem, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Johannes Luston, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Thomas Glannvyle) Inq' ibidem comparuerunt et
Johannes Carter, senior) habent prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Petri de Mancroft

Abbas Gloucestr' pro porcione in eadem non comparuit.
Dominus Robertus Beverle, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o', et ex^{t}.
Dominus Willelmus Billern) capellani cantar' comparuerunt p' o'
Dominus Robertus Cuteler) et ex^{t}.
Magister Thomas Warne)
Dominus Davyd Cardyn) et ex^{t}.
Dominus Johannes Palmer) et ex^{t}.
Dominus Willelmus Purdy) et ex^{t}.
Dominus Philippus Johnson) et ex^{t}. stipendarii ibidem
Dominus Robertus Purdy) comparuerunt p' o'.
Dominus Johannes Deraunt) et ex^{t}.
Dominus Johannes Hogon) et ex^{t}.
Dominus Thomas Curson)
Thomas Philipps)
Johannes Sotheryngton) Inq' comparuerunt examinati et dicunt quod:
Henricus Jakson) Johanna -[2], manens in tenur' Alicie Balles,
Robertus Belle) notatur quod est communis meretrix cum diversis personis; item quod Katarina Grey

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(1) non inserted above the line.
(2) Blank in text.

notatur quod tenet publicam tabernam tempore divinorum; item quod Willelmus Bloker absentat se ab ecclesia sua parochiali diebus dominicis et festivis tempore divinorum; item quod Willelmus Qwiney absentat se ab ecclesia sua parochiali tempore divinorum; item quod Thomas Newhaw absentat se ab ecclesia sua parochiali tempore divinorum diebus dominicis atque festivis; item quod Nicholaus Wattys notatur quod fovet lenocinium; item quod Anna Abbat notatur super crimine adulterii cum quodam Massenger; item quod Robertus Balles, cowper, notatur quod fovet lenocinium et quod sustentat publicam tabernam tempore divinorum; item quod Helena manens in tenur' prioris Norwici notatur super crimine adulterii cum diversis.

(fol. 42) Ecclesia Sancti Stephani

Magister Robertus Calton, vicarius ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Infirmarius Ecclesie Cathedralis Norwici pro pencione in eadem non comparuit.

Dominus Robertus Buschell)
Dominus Nicholaus Bervyle) stipendarii ibidem comparuerunt p' o'.
Dominus Willelmus Barowe)
Dominus Thomas Gleymesford)

Johannes Brown)
Thomas Smert) Inq' comparuerunt examinati dicunt quod:
Robertus Brown) Johanna Qwyk notatur quod est communis
Johannes Gyrdeler) meretrix cum diversis hominibus; item quod Margareta Crow notatur quod est communis lenona et sustentat domum lenocinii; item quod Adrianus Spectaclemaker notatur super crimine adulterii cum dicta Margareta Crow; item quod Johannes Herner absentat se ab ecclesia sua parochiali tempore divinorum diebus dominicis et festivis.

Ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Berstrete

Dominus Willelmus Arnold, canonicus capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o'.

Dominus Stephanus Chaunbr)
Dominus Laurencius Aleyn) stipendarii ibidem comparuerunt p' o'.
Dominus Johannes Mareys)

) Inq' non comparuerunt.

Ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum de Berstrete

Dominus Willelmus Swetman, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o'.

Willelmus Norfolk) Inq' comparuerunt examinati dicunt quod: uxor
Johannes Lovett) Ricardi Palys servat malam normam cum diversis familiaribus proximorum qui ibi sedent et bibunt tempore divinorum; et habent prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Sepulcri

Dominus Ricardus Tompson, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o'.
Edwardus Norman) Inq' comparuerunt et habent prox'
Willelmus Milner) sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Bartholomaei

Dominus Thomas Pekke, capellanus parochialis ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Robertus Kempe) (comparuerunt et[1]) Inq^{i} comparuerunt
Johannes Metford) et habent prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Petri de Southgate

Dominus Willelmus Swan, rector ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Dominus Nicholaus Clerk, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Abbas Sancti Benedicti de Hulme pro pencione in eadem non comparuit.
Thomas Barton)
Georgius Watton) Inq^{i} non comparuerunt.

Ecclesia Sancte Etheldrede

ffrater Willelmus Davy, capellanus parochialis ibidem, non comparuit.
Robertus Umfrey) (Inq^{i})[2] Inq^{i} comparuerunt examinati dicunt
Robertus Osburn) quod: Hawisia Kyrkehows notatur quod fovet lenocinium in domo sua in tantum quod quedam mulier vocata Elizabeth Lylburn ibidem bina vice peperit, et proles erant mortui ante sepultura' quia non erant baptizati.

(fol. 42d) Ecclesia Sanctorum Edwardi et Juliani

Dominus Thomas Lyng, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Dominus Thomas Antyngham, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o'.
Magister Thomas Bowde)
Dominus Johannes Porter) stipendarii ibidem non comparuerunt.
Thomas Smyt)
Johannes Adred) Inq' ibidem comparuerunt examinati dicunt quod: quidam Willelmus Drake notatur quod custodit quamdam mulierem ibidem (pregnantem[3]) pregnatam et nescitur per quem.

Ecclesia Sancti Clementis in Conesford

Johannes Spylman) Inq' comparuerunt et habent prox'
Walterus Wellys) sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Petri Permantergate

Dominus Willelmus Nele, capellanus parochialis ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Dominus Edmundus Southwell, stipendarius ibidem, comparuit p' o'.
Johannes Knott) Inq' comparuerunt examinati dicunt quod:
Willelmus Caster) Johanna Clerk absentat se ab ecclesia sua parochiali diebus dominicis et festivis tempore divinorum; item quod Matilda Godewyn notatur quod fovet lenocinium inter diversis;

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(1) comparuerunt et crossed out.
(2) Inq^{i} crossed out.
(3) pregnantem crossed out.

item quod eadem Matildo[1] notatur super crimine adulterii cum Thoma Gyrdyng alias Thoma Cook; item quod -[2] Vyncent et uxor sua absentant eos ab ecclesia sua parochiali tempore divinorum diebus dominicis et festivis; item quod ffrater Johannes Caster notatur super crimine incontinencie cum Isabella Chapman juniore.

Ecclesia Sancti Vedasti

Dompnus[3] Johannes Castelacr', capellanus parochialis, non comparuit.
Stephanus Godewyn)
David Johnson) Inq' comparuerunt et habent prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Cuthberti et Marie Parve

Dominus Galfridus Cottyng, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o'.
Johannes Hyrdeler)
Johannes Baddyng) Inq' comparuerunt examinati dicunt quod: Agnes Saunder fovet lenocinium inter presbiteros, mulieres, ffratres, canonicos et ex omni genere; item quod Katarina May notatur super crimine adulterii cum quodam Tylere.

Ecclesia Sanctorum Michaelis et Martini

Prior et conventus (ibidem[4]) de Horsham Sancte ffidis, proprii ibidem, non comparuerunt.
ffrater Thomas Balbroke, capellanus parochialis, comparuit p' o'.
) Inq[i] non comparuerunt.

Ecclesia Sancti Martini ad Portas Palacii

Dominus Thomas Daywell, capellanus parochialis, non comparuit.
Robertus Gyles)
Aylward) Inquisit' comparuerunt et habent prox' sub nova monicione.

Ecclesia Sancti Pauli

Dominus Ricardus Castr', capellanus parochialis, (non comparuit[5]) comparuit p' o', et ex[t].
Dominus Johannes Gyremond, stipendarius, comparuit p' o' et ex[t].
Inquisit' non comparu't.

Ecclesia Sancte Helene

Robertus Dervy, inquisit', non comparuit.

Ecclesia Sancte Marie in Marisco

Magister Johannes Styward comparuit per Magistrum ffuller.
Inquisit' non comparu't.

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(1) Sic.
(2) Blank in text.
(3) Sic.
(4) ibidem crossed out.
(5) non comparuit crossed out.

Appendix 4

Testamentary Bequests for People to Study

Abbreviations: a = 1370-1439, b = 1440-89, c = 1490-1517, d = 1518-32

	clerics:				lay persons:			
period:	a	b	c	d	d	c	b	a
number of testators:[1]	96	104	62	27	277	546	525	167
Numbers of testators who left bequests in their wills for people to study:	-	5	7	-	8	33	17	-

(1) I.e., all those whose wills survive (cf., Appendix 13, Section A (pp. 317-324)).

Appendix 5

Writers from Norwich who were included in Bale's Catalogus[1] and who Flourished between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth Centuries

Abbreviations: cl. = claruit
+ = died
Roman numerals represent centuries

	Date[2]	Reference to Catalogus
Monks of the Benedictine Cathedral Priory		
Thomas Brinton, later bishop of Rochester	+ 1389[3]	ii. 80
Adam Easton, later cardinal	cl. late XIV	i. 516-7
Casterton	cl. late XIV	i. 495
Richard Folsham	cl. early XV	ii. 59
John Stowe	cl. mid XV	ii. 61
Robert Veyse	?	ii. 88
Friars of the Carmelite Friary		
William de Sancta Fide	+ 1372	i. 478
Robert de Sancta Fide	cl. late XIV	ii. 156
Thomas Colby	cl. 1400	i. 534-5
Walter Dysse	+ 1405	i. 527-8
Adam Hemlyngton	cl. early XV	ii. 62
Robert Rose	+ 1420	i. 555
John Torpe	+ 1440	i. 579
Henry Wichingham	+ 1448	i. 585-6
John Kenyngale	+ 1451	i. 592-3
Peter de Sancta Fide	+ 1452	i. 593

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(1) J. Bale, Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytannie Catalogus (Basle, 1557).
(2) The dates are those given by Bale, except where other references are given.
(3) Emden, Oxford, i. 269.

Thomas Scrope *alias* Bradley; earlier a Benedictine and a Dominican, later an anchor[1] and bishop of Dromore.	+ 1492	i. 629-30
Thomas Wichingham	?	ii. 155

Friars of the Franciscan Friary

John Wichingham	cl. 1362	ii. 53
? Simon de Tunstede	+ 1369	i. 473-4
Reginald Langham	cl. 1410	i. 539-40
Robert Colman	cl. 1428	i. 563
Robert Finyngham	alive *c.* 1440	i. 597

Friars of the Augustinian Friary

Richard Chefer	cl. early XV	i. 532
John Sloley	+ 1477	i. 612-3
John Tonneys	(cl. late XV (+ 1514[2]	i. 630
John Langham	?	ii. 87-8

Friars of the Dominican Friary

John Somerton	cl. 1469[3]	ii. 91

Others

Richard Caistor, vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich	+ 1420	i. 556
? John Seguarde, poet	cl. early XV	i. 553-4

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(1) *Cf.*, p. 119.
(2) Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 591
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 541.

Appendix 6

Books Mentioned in Wills, 1370-1549

Note: The titles of books mentioned in several wills have been standardised. The titles of books mentioned in only one will are as in the original.

The books have been listed alphabetically by author or, if no author was mentioned, by the first word of the title.

Abbreviations: a = 1370-1439, b = 1440-89, c = 1490-1517, d = 1518-32, e = 1533-49.

	clerics:					lay persons				
period:	a	b	c	d	e	e	d	c	b	a
numbers of testators:[1]	96	104	62	27	24	190	277	546	525	167
A. Number of testators who mentioned one or more books of theirs in their wills:	30	40	22	8	4	5	5	17	29	9
B. Number of testators who mentioned in their wills, and who owned, the following books:										
1. Liturgical and Service Books										
Antiphoner / Antiphonarium	3	3	3					3	2	1
Breviary / Coucher / Breviarium / Portiforium / Portos	12	9	6	1	1			2	5	1
Dirige Book		2	1							
Glosa Sequenciarum	1									
Grail / Graduale	1	3	3					3	2	
De Invitator' de Venite	1									
Jurnall Book	1									
Kalendar									1	
Letania secundum Ordinale	1									

(1) All the testators from Norwich whose wills survive have been included for the periods between 1370 and 1533 (cf., Appendix 13, Section A (p. 362)). For the period 1533 to 1549, all the testators from Norwich whose wills were proved in the Norwich Consistory Court during the period, have been included.

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	e	e	d	c	b	a
Manual / Manuale	4	1	1	1					2	
Martyrology / Martilogium	1		1							
Missal / Mass Book / Missale	10	8	1	3			1	4	4	3
Qwayers with the Newe Service of the Visitacion of Our Lady, and of the Transfiguracion of Our Lord God, and of the Blessyed Name of Jhu'			1							
Ordinale									1	
Liber cum Placebo et Dirige et Devocionibus		1								
Prick-song Book		1	1	1		1	1			
Primer / Primarium	1	6					1	1	12	1
Processional / Processionarium	6	8	3	1			1	3	2	1
Psalter / Psalterium	7	4	1	1	2	1	1	3	8	6
Psalterium Glossatum cum Glossa Communi	1									
Pye			1							
Rationale Divinorum	1			1						
Salve Book			1							
Song Book		1								
Temporale		1								
Troperium	2									
Ympnarium	1									

2. Other Works

Abbas super Decretalibus			1							
iiii bokys of Abbott				1						
De Abstinencia	1									
John Acton										1
Acton super Epistolas et Evangelia		1								
A book of rethorike called Alanus de Planctu, of ye whiche booke ye secunde leaf begynneth Sic Igitur			1							
Albertus Magnus				1						
Books of Alexander of Halye					1					
Summa Angelica			1							
Meditaciones Anselmi										1
Diversi libri Augustini			1							

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	e	e	d	c	b	a
Confessiones Sancti Augustini		1								
Sermones Prioris Bartholomaei	1									
Casus Longi Bernardi				1						
Meditaciones Bernardi									1	
Beve de Hampton		1								
Bible / Biblia	1	1		2	1	1				
Henricus Bohyc	1									
Liber Boicii	1									
Sermones Boneaventure de Sanctis		1								
Liber anglicanus Sancte Brigitte									1	
Cartula	1									
Catholicon		1								
Cato	1									
Clementines	1			1						
Prynted Cofre			1							
Colleccio Virtutum		1								
Communis Glosa super Psalterium		1								
Communis Glosa super Quinque Libros Sapienciales et Hugo de Vienna in margine		1								
Cronica		1								
Decrees					2					
Decretals	1		1	2						
Dieta Salutis	1		1							
Distinctionarium			1							
Le Doctrine of the Herte									1	
Donatus	1									
Boke of ye Dowt' of ye Legend both Temporall and Sanctorum		1								
Opuscula Sancti Eusebii		1								
Evangelia										1
Libri mei prapticorum ex labore meo (i.e., Master John Excestre[1]) facti et perquisiti	1									

(1) Cf., p. 102.

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	e	e	d	c	b	a
Fasciculus Morum		1								
Fascic' Temporum			1							
Sermones Magistri ffysher				1						
De Fide Catholica		1								
Flores Doctorum			1							
Formula Novicorum		1								
Gorham		1								
Gorham super Psalterium		1								
Liber de Graciis			1							
Dialog' Sancti Gregorii		1								
The Story of Saynt Gregory in Explanacione Cantaci Canticorum			1							
Le Grene Bok									1	
Hocclef									1	
Liber papireus factus de hospicio ducis Eboraci' cum ceteris contentis in eodem									1	
Hostienc'										1
Hugo de Claust^{o} Anime		1								
Liber vocatus Hylton										1
Institutes			1	1						
Ye book of St Kateryn								1		
Lac Parvulorum	1									
Legend / Legenda / Legendarium	1	5								
Legenda Aurea / Legenda Auri	2	2	1	1						
Legenda Sanctorum / Sanctorum	2	3	1							
Newe Testament Glosed with Lyra the Doctor					1					
Lira super Novum Testamentum		1								
Lira super Psalterium		1								
Moralia Lire	1									
Lynwod				1						
Magister Historiarum	1									
Englysshe boke of Seynt Margaret' Lyfe								1		
Modus Legend'				1						
Pars Oculi		1								
De Oculo Morali	1									

	clerics:					lay persons:				
	a	b	c	d	e	e	d	c	b	a
Oredo Pacisiens'[1]		1								
Ortus Vocabulorum				1						
Englysshe boke called Partonope								1		
ffranciscus Petrartha de Remediis Utriusque Fortune		1								
Philippus de Monte Calereo, Postill' super libros Genes', Isaye, Danyell et Tren'		1								
Liber, Preceptor'				1						
Pupilla Oculi / Pupilla	2	1	2	1						
Liber vocatus a Qualit'		1								
Liber vocatus Quat' Novissimarum			1							
Qui Bene Presunt		1								
Quaternum papireum de Regibus Anglie versificatum									1	
Repingdon		2								
Repertorium Utriusque (i.e., of Sext and of the Clementines	1									
Rosarium		1								
Liber de Sacra Scriptura		1								
Scintilla'		1								
Sermones Discipuli				1						
Sermones Dormii				1						
Sermones Parati				1						
De Sermonibus Sanctorum	1									
Sext	1			2						1
iii^{a} pars Speculi				1						
Liber incipiens Suma Justicie Christi Fidelium	1									
Suma Predicancium	1									
Liber vocatus a vangeler		1								
Tractatum Versificand'		1								
De Vicio Lingue	1									
Sermones Vincencii				1						

(1) Sic; possibly a scribal error for Credo Parisiensis (cf., pp. 79-80).

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	e	e	d	c	b	a
Vitae Patrum		1								
Vocabularius Iuris				1						
W. de Speculat'				1						
Quaternum Sermonum Meorum (i.e., John Wakeryng, bishop of Norwich, 1415-25)	1									

Appendix 7

Anchorites, Hermits and 'Béguinages' in Norwich, 1370-1549

A. Anchorites and Hermits

1. Attached to Religious Houses

a. Carmelite Friary

anchor of and/or at the Carmelites	c. 1425 or 1441 - 1522[1]
- Thomas Scrope alias Bradley (Carmelite priest)	c. 1425 or 1441 - c. 1446[2]
- John Castelacre (Carmelite priest)	1460-1469[3]
- Thomas Barton (friar)	1479[4]
- Benper	1491[5]
- Buknham (priest)	1519[6]
Domina Emma, daughter of Sir Miles Stapleton, anchoress of	1421-?1442[7]

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(1) Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, pp. 629-630; Cal. Papal Letters, ix (1431-1447), 241; N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 132d (Reed). Dates refer to the first and last known dates of the persons's existence as an anchor, hermit, etc..

(2) Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, pp. 629-630; Cal. Papal Letters, ix (1431-1447), 241; N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 5 (Norwich); N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 79 (Ball). Thomas Scrope must have stopped leading the life of an anchor by 1450, in which year he was consecrated bishop of Dromore in Ireland and started to act as a suffragan bishop in the diocese of Norwich (Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke and E. Fryde (2nd edn., London, 1961), p. 317), and it was probably before his consecration that he was sent as a papal legate to Rhodes (Dict. Nat. Biog., Thomas Scrope, p. 148).

(3) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 91d (Machon); N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 206 (Molicourt).

(4) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 201d (Gladen).

(5) Norw. City Rec., Case 8f, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George, 1491/2.

(6) N.C.C., Reg. Groundesburgh, fol. 24 (Foster).

(7) Bale, Scriptorum Catalogus, p. 565; Monumenta Historica Carmelitana, ed. B. Zimmerman (Lavino, 1905-7), p. 408; Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 421.

b. Dominican Friary

anchoress at	1472 - c. 1548[1]
- Domina Katherine Foster	1472-1486[2]
- Katherine Manne	1530 - c. 1548[3]
anchor of	1514[4]

c. Franciscan Friary

anchor of/at (priest)	1511-1537[5]
- Magister Hugh Kestren	1520[6]

d. Secular College of St Mary in the Fields

'an ankyr whech was a monke of a fer cuntre & dwellyd in the Chapel of the Felde'	1415[7]
Richard, hermit of Norwich, dwelling at	1455[8]

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 69d (Joye); N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 294d (Hemming); R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), p. 185.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 69d (Joye); N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fos. 163d (Purdans) and 294d (Hemming).
(3) Cf., p. 401. Katherine Manne was referred to as 'late recluse in the house of the late Blak Freres' in 1548 (R. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England, op. cit., pp. 184-5.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Spurlinge, fol. 103d (Godfrey).
(5) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 37d (Chaunt); N.C.C., Reg. Underwoode, fol. 62d (Essod).
(6) Norwich Depositions, ed. Stone, number 216.
(7) Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 43 (ed. Meech, p. 103). Meech and Allen assigned Margery's meeting with this anchor to 1415 (ibid. (p. xlix)). Margery said that 'be-for-tyme' the anchor had loved her 'ryth meche' (ibid., i. 43 (p. 103)), which suggests that he had been in the neighbourhood for some time. The anchor may have been the same person as the anchor called Sir Thomas who, according to Taylor (who did not quote his source), was living in the anchorage near the Chapel in the Fields in Norwich in about 1410 (R. Taylor, Index Monasticus (London, 1821), p. 65).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 1 (Brosyard). Richard may have been the Richard, hermit in the parish of St Giles (cf., p. 336), or the Richard Ferneys, hermit of Newbridge (cf., p. 339), who asked to be buried in the church of the College of St Mary in the Fields (cf., p. 377), or both.

e. Carrow Nunnery (in the suburbs of Norwich)

Dominus Roger, recluse at	1404[1]
anchoress of/at	1427 - c. 1546[2]
- Domina Julian Lampett	1428-1478[3]
- Mistress Kydman	c. 1546[4]
'each anchor or anchoress in'	1499[5]

2. Attached to Parishes and to Parish Churches

a. St Edward's

anchorite of	1420-1493[6]
- Robert (priest)	1465-1478[7]
anchoress of	1485-1531[8]
'thanktare' of	1537[9]

b. St Etheldred's

anchoress of	1472-1518[10]

c. St Giles

Richard, hermit in the parish of, recently dwelling at St Giles Gate (in the city walls)	1429[11]

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(1) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Arundel 1, fol. 540d (Emund).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 151d (Riche); N.C.C., Reg. Wymer, fol. 77 (Waterman).
(3) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 380; N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 195 (Hales).
(4) In the will which he made in 1546, Thomas Waterman left a bequest to Mistress Kydman, 'somtime ancras of Carowe' (N.C.C., Reg. Wymer, fol. 77 (Waterman)).
(5) PROB/11/13 (Reg. Blamyr, 1501-1503), fol. 12 (Lathe).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 95d (Blickling); N.C.C., Reg. Aubry, fol. 132d (Gibson).
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Cobald, fos. 68 (Brown) and 90 (Nythe); N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fos. 195 (Hales) and 186d (Frances).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 110d (Fack); N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fol. 63d (Benham).
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Underwoode, fol. 62d (Esood).
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 4d (Norwich); N.C.C., Reg. Gylys, fol. 164 (Worlich).
(11) Cf., pp. 390 and 392. For other places to which Richard may have been attached as an anchor or as a hermit, cf., p. 335, note 8.

d. St Julian's

anchoress of/at	1373 or 1394 - c. 1546[1]
- Dame Julian (author of the Revelations of Divine Love)	1373 or 1394 - 1416 or 1429[2]
- Domina Agnes/Anneys	1445 or 1449 - 1475[3]
- Domina Elizabeth Scott	1481-1511[4]
- Domina Agnes Edryge	1524[5]
the priest anchor of	1472[6]

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(1) Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love, ii. (ed. G. Warrack and P.F. Chambers, 13th edn., London, 1949, p. 3); N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 194d (Reed); N.C.C., Reg. Wymer, fos. 64d (Swayn) and 76 (Waterman).

(2) Julian said that the revelations were shown to her in 1373 (Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love, ii. (ed. G. Warrack, op. cit., p. 3)), but there is no evidence that she was an anchoress at that date. The first known reference to her as an anchoress is in a will which was written in 1394 (N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 194d (Reed)). The only conclusive documentary evidence that her anchorage was attached to the parish church of St Julian in Norwich is in the hitherto unnoticed will of Thomas Emund, who was a chaplain of Aylesham in Norfolk: in 1404 he bequeathed 1/- Juliane anachorite apud ecclesiam St Juliane in Norwico (Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Arundel 1, fol. 540d (Emund)). Probably in 1413, Margery Kempe visited an anchoress in Norwich who was called 'Dame Ielyan' (Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 18 (ed. Meech, pp. 42 and xlix)). Julian was evidently still alive and still an anchoress in 1416 (Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 95), and she was probably alive in 1429 since testamentary bequests to an unnamed anchoress of St Julian's church continued until that date (e.g., N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 86 (Baxter)). No references to an anchoress of St Julian's are known between 1430 and 1438 inclusive. The Juliana, anchoress of Conisford (cf., p. 338), who was referred to in a will which was written in 1443 (N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 233 (Blomvyle)) and who was probably the same person as the recluse of the parish church of St Julian's referred to in a will written in 1439 (N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 99 (Holme)), was probably a different person since Julian, the author of the Revelations, was born in 1342 (Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love, ii and iii. (ed. G. Warrack, op. cit., pp. 3 and 5)) and therefore she would have been over a hundred years old by 1443. Blomefield's statement that Julian of Norwich, the author of the Revelations, was still alive in 1442 (Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 81) was the result of misreading MCCCCXLll for MCCCCXlll (Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love (ed. G. Warrack, op. cit., pp. ix-x)).

(3) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 26 (Tuke); N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fos. 24d (Cheese) and 130 (Blickling); N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 183 (Spendlove)

(4) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 164d (Purdans); A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 37d (Chaunt).

(5) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fol. 216 (Catelyn).

(6) N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 69d (Joye).

e. St Peter's

recluse in the parish of St Peter	1472[1]) same
anchorite of St Peter in Hungate	1493[2]) person?[3]

f. St Stephen's

Thomas Basset, hermit of the parish of	c. 1435[4]

3. Other Anchorites and Hermits

a. Berstreet Gate

Thomas, hermit at	1446 or 1455 - 1459 or 1464[5]

b. Bishopsgate

hermit of	?1400/1 - ?1435/6[6]

c. Conisford[7]

anchoress of Conisford	1429-1511[8]
- Domina Johanna	1429[9]
- Juliana	1443[10]

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(1) Cf., p. 380.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Aubry, fol. 132d (Gibson).
(3) Four parish churches in Norwich were dedicated to St Peter; one of the four was called St Peter Hungate.
(4) His undated will was proved in 1435 (N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fos. 169-169d (Basset)).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 78d (Ball); N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fos. 1 (Brosyard) and 156 (Allen); cf., p. 377.
(6) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, numbers 999, 1012 and 1014.
(7) Conisford Great Ward was divided into the small wards of South Conisford, North Conisford and Berstreet. Anchorites are known to have been attached to three of the parish churches in Conisford Great Ward: St Julian's, St Edward's and St Etheldred's, all three of which were in South Conisford Ward. The anchors and anchoresses of Conisford probably belonged to the anchorages which were attached to these three parish churches, and they were probably identical with some of the unnamed anchorites which have been listed under the three churches (cf., pp. 336-7).
(8) Cf., p. 389; A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 37d (Chaunt).
(9) Cf., p. 389. Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 70, said that she was anchoress of St Edward's parish church.
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 233 (Blomvyle). She probably succeeded Julian of Norwich, the author of the Revelations of Divine Love, as anchoress of St Julian's parish church (cf., p. 337, note 2).

the two anchoresses in	1468-1511[1]
the anchor/hermit of	1455-1479[2]
- John, hermit of	1455[3]

d. Nedham (or St Stephen's) Gate

Robert Godard, hermit of	1483[4]

e. Newbridge[5]

hermit of	1428 - 1464 or 1465[6]
- John Martin	1429[7] } same
- John	1464[8] } person?
- Richard Ferneys, hermit of	1429 - 1464 or 1465[9]

f. John Felton, hermit	1457-1475[10]
g. John Levot, hermit	?1503 - 1509 or 1510[11]

4. Other Hermits who probably (but not certainly) lived in Norwich

a. Peter, hermit	1479[12]
b. Thomas, hermit	1509[13]

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 115 (Fyce); A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 37d (Chaunt).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 1 (Brosyard); N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 36d (Buckingham).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 1 (Brosyard).
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 16d, Proceedings of the Municipal Assembly, Book 1 (1434-1491), fol. 122.
(5) Newbridge was later called Black Friars' Bridge and is now called Duke's Palace Bridge.
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 26 (Sistede); cf., p. 339, footnote 9.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 86d (Baxter).
(8) Cf., p. 377.
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 86d (Baxter). Richard Ferneys described himself in the will which he wrote in 1464 and which was proved in 1465 as heremita quondam de Newbrigg (cf., p. 377). For other places to which Richard Ferneys may have been attached as a hermit, cf., p. 335, note 8.
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 58d (Brasier); N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 183 (Spendlove).
(11) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fol. 548d (Swetman); N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 224 (Levot).
(12) N.C.C., Reg. Aubry, fol. 21 (Everard).
(13) PROB/11/16 (Reg. Bennett, 1508-1511), fol. 28 (Haydon).

c. Master William Clyffe, hermit and priest 1516[1]

B. 'Béguinages'

1. Sisters dedicated to chastity, living in the tenement of John Pellet (Pyllet) in St Swithin's parish 1427 or 1430 - 1444[2]

2. Three sisters (two after 1457) dedicated to chastity, living in a tenement in St Laurence's parish which had recently belonged to John Asger 1442-1472[3]

3. (Sisters living under a religious vow in a house at the north-west corner of the churchyard of St Peter Hungate[4])

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(1) William Clyffe, priest and hermit, witnessed a will which was written in Norwich in 1516 (cf., p. 373). In the will which a man from Norwich called William Elsy wrote in 1516, a bequest of 1/- to 'Maister Clyff', hermit, immediately followed a bequest of 1/- to each anchor and anchoress in Norwich (N.C.C., Reg. Briggs, fol. 19d (Elsy)). Dr Emden's Biographical Registers of Oxford and Cambridge graduates do not mention him, and the Master William Clyffe who had been instituted as rector of North Lynn in 1505 had died by 1509 (REG/8, Book 13, second series of folios, fos. 55 and 91d).

(2) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 151d (Riche); N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 55 (Christian); N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 31 (Wetherby); PROB/11/3 (Reg. Luffenham, 1423-1449), fol. 15 (Copping).

(3) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 177d (Braklee); N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fos. 112d-113 (Estwegt); N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 61 (Estwegt); N.C.C., Reg. Gelour, fol. 69d (Joye).

(4) The statements of Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 333-4, and R. Taylor, Index Monasticus (London, 1821), p. 65, are the only evidence that these sisters existed.

Appendix 8

Craft Guilds and Pious Confraternities in Norwich, 1370-1532

Abbreviations:

A = a guild or confraternity which made a return in 1389[1] to the Guild Ordinance of 1 November 1388[2]. The guilds and confraternities claimed to do one or more of the following:
- 1 = have an annual 'guild-day' or 'day of the confraternity' on which religious services were held.
- 2 = maintain a votive light.
- 3 = provide religious services individually for each deceased member.
- 4 = provide alms for poor members.

B = processed with a banner behind the Body of Christ on the feast of Corpus Christi to the Chapel in the Fields (i.e., the College of St Mary in the Fields) in Norwich, probably c. 1489 and possibly as early as c. 1449.[3]

C = occupation or craft which was performing one of the following pageants c. 1530:[4]
- 1 = Creacion off the World.
- 2 = Helle Carte.
- 3 = Paradyse.
- 4 = Abell and Cayme.
- 5 = Noyse Shipp.
- 6 = Abraham and Isaak.
- 7 = Moises and Aron with the Children off Israell and Pharo with his Knyghtes.
- 8 = Conflicte off Dauid and Golias.
- 9 = The Birth of Crist with Sheperdes, and iii Kynges off Colen.
- 10 = The Baptysme of Criste.
- 11 = The Resurreccion.
- 12 = The Holy Gost.

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(1) The returns of these guilds and confraternities are printed in one or more of the following: English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 14-44; 'Norfolk Guilds', ed. J. L'Estrange and W. Rye, Norf. Arch., vii (1872), 109-121; 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 288-305. The last article contains a table which correlates the returns from Norwich in the three above-mentioned works (Ibid., p. 287).
(2) Cal. Close Rolls, 1385-1389, p. 624.
(3) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 230. The date of the procession is discussed in, Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, ed. N. Davis (Early English Text Society, Supplementary Text, i, 1970), p. xxx.
(4) Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, ed. N. Davis, op. cit., pp. xxix-xxx.

D = craft having a guild on a specified day (usually a Sunday) assigned to it or to a group of crafts, c. 1543. These guild-days were to be held in the Common Hall (formerly the Blackfriars' church) in Norwich; the wardens of the crafts were to offer candles to burn before the Blessed Sacrament in the Chapel of St John there; a guild-mass was to be said there and attended by the members of the craft (the pewterers, braziers, plumbers, bellfounders, glaziers, stainers and some other (unnamed) crafts, who all together comprised St Luke's Guild, were to have their guild-mass in the Cathedral, not in the Common Hall, and so were the worsted-weavers; the tanners were to have their guild-mass in St Swithin's parish church); a feast was to be eaten, and on the following Monday the members of the craft were to attend a Mass for the living and dead members of the craft in the Chapel of St John in the Common Hall.[1]

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1. Concerning Crafts and Occupations

Craft or Occupation	Guild dedicated to:[2]	Guild held at:[3]	A	B	C	D
artificers and operators	St Michael	St Michael's Chapel in the suburbs of Norwich	A12?[4]			
bag-makers					C10	
bakers				B	C5	
barbers	God, St Mary and St John the Baptist	Carnary College	A12	B	C10	
barkers	Our Lady (in 1504[4])			B		
basket-makers						D
bed-weavers				B		
bellfounders						D
bowers				B		D
braziers				B	C9	D
brewers				B	C5	
broiderers					C6	D

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(1) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. pages liv, 298-9 and 310-311.
(2) Except where other references have been given, the dedications of the guilds are based on the returns which the guilds made in 1389 (cf., p. 341, footnote 1).
(3) Except where other references have been given, the places where the guilds were held are taken from the returns which the guilds made in 1389 (cf., p. 341, footnote 1).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fol. 188d (Stalon).

Craft or Occupation	Guild dedicated to:	Guild held at:	A	B	C	D
butchers				B	C11	D
calenderers					C9	D
candlemakers	St Mary	Carmelite Church	A?12			
cappers					C10	
cardmakers					C10	
carpenters	Holy Trinity	Cathedral	A1234	B	C2	D
carriers					C2	D
claymen						D
cobblers[1]						D
collar-makers					C2	D
cooks					C5	
coopers					C5	
cordwaners					C7	D
coverlet-weavers/makers					C4	D
curriers				B	C7	D
dornick-weavers						D
drapers				B	C1	D
dyers				B	C9	D
fishers / freshwater-fishers		St Peter Southgate parish church (in 1479[2])		B		D
fishmongers		St Peter Mancroft parish church (in 1470[3])		B	C11	D
fletchers				B		D
fullers[4]				B	C4	D
girdlers					C10	D
glaziers					C2	D
glovers					C10	D
gold-beaters					C9	
goldsmiths				B	C9	D

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(1) A guild of cobblers existed in 1292/3 (Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson (Selden Society, v, 1892), p. 42.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Aubry, fol. 34d (Hood).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 174 (Petiston).
(4) A guild of fullers existed in 1292/3 (Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson, op. cit., p. 43.

Craft or Occupation	Guild dedicated to:	Guild held at	A	B	C	D
gravers					C2	D
grocers				B	C3	
haberdashers					C1	
hardwaremen					C10	D
hatters					C10	
hosiers						D
innkeepers					C5	
joiners						D
keelmen						D
lime-burners					C4	D
linen-weavers						D
litsters (guild of mentioned in 1502[1])						
masons				B	C4	D
mercers		? College of St Mary in the Fields (in 1526[2])		B	C1	D
millers					C5	
minstrels	Our Lady (in 1504[3])					D
parchment-makers / parchmenters					C2	D
parish clerks						D
patyn-makers				B		
peltiers	Holy Trinity, St Mary, St William of Norwich and All Saints	Cathedral	A1234			
pewterers				B	C9	D
physicians					C10	
pinners					C10	
plumbers						D
point-makers					C10	
pursers					C10	
raffmen				B	C3	

(1) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fol. 326 (Warren).
(2) PROB/11/22 (Reg. Porche, 1525-1528), fol. 11 (Fuller).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 58 (Barwyke).

Craft or Occupation	Guild dedicated to:	Guild held at:	A	B	C	D
reders				B	C6	D
redesellers						D
saddlers[1]	) St Mary and			(	C9	D
spurriers	) All Saints	Carrow Nunnery	A123	(	–	–
sawers						D
scriveners					C2	D
sextons						D
shearmen				B	C4	D
shoemakers	St Augustine	Augustine Friary (in 1492[2])		B		
sieve-makers						D
skeppers					C10	
skinners				B	C10	D
smiths				B	C8	D
stainers					C2	D
surgeons					C10	
tailors	Ascension of Christ and Blessed Virgin Mary	College of St Mary in the Fields	A1234	B	C6	D
tanners[3]	Our Lady (in 1522[4])	St Swithin's parish church (in 1522[5])			C7	D
thatchers						D
thickwoollen-weavers					C4	
tilers					C6	D
turners						D
vintners					C5	
waits						D
watermen					C11	
wax-chandlers				B	C10	
wheelwrights					C2	D
wire-drawers					C10	

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(1) A guild of saddlers existed in 1292/3 (Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson (Selden Society, v, 1892), p. 43
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Wolman, fol. 195d (Southwell).
(3) A guild of tanners existed from 1287/8 to 1290/1 (Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich, ed. W. Hudson, op. cit., pp. 13 and 39.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 164 (Fuller).
(5) Ibid..

Craft or Occupation	Guild dedicated to:	Guild held at:	A	B	C	D
wool-chapmen						D
woollen-weavers				B		D
worsted-weavers	Holy Ghost (in 1505[1])			B	C12	D

2. Pious Confraternities and the dates of their known existence down to 1532

a. Held in the Cathedral or in a Religious House

Name	Held in	A	Dates
St George's	Cathedral	A1234	1385 - after 1532[2]
Trinity	"	A1234	1364-89 and 1516-27[3]
Trinity and St Mary	"	A1234	1366-1389[4]
Of the Mass of Jesus	"		?1466 or 1468 - ?1525[5]
St Christopher's	Augustinian Friary	A1234	1384-1389[6]
Holy Cross	" "		1492-1506[7]
St Margaret's	" "		?1509-1530[8]
St Barbara's	Carmelite "		1502-1522[9]
St Gation's	" "		1530[10]
Holy Roode	Dominican "		1527[11]
Our Lady's	" "	A12	1360-1389[12]

(1) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 271d (Richeman).
(2) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 17-18; Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, p. 134.
(3) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 25-6; N.C.C., Reg. Briggs, fos. 19d-20 (Elsy); D. and C., Reg. 1461-1559, fol. 55d (Markes).
(4) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 302-4.
(5) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 299; N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 115 (Fyce); N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fos. 156d-157 (Wether)
(6) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 22-4.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Wolman, fol. 195d (Southwell); PROB/11/15 (Reg. Adean, 1506-1508), fol. 7 (Hayward).
(8) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fos. 34 (Payne) and 64 (Thirkill).
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fol. 247 (Radcliffe alias Curteys); N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 179 (King).
(10) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fol. 64 (Thirkill).
(11) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fol. 17d (Boleyn).
(12) English Gilds, ed. Smith, p. 14.

Name	Held in	A	Dates
St Barbara's	Franciscan Friary		1497-1521[1]
St John the Evangelist's	" "		1503-1522[2]
Our Lady's	" "		c. 1498[3]
Of Carrow) same? (St James's) same? (	Carrow Nunnery (in the suburbs of Norwich)		1429/1430[4] 1493[5]
Corpus Christi, or The Priests'	College of St Mary in the Fields	A123?4	1278 - after 1532[6]
Annunciation of St Mary, called the Great Guild	College of St Mary in the Fields	A1234	said in 1389 to have been founded before time immemorial - 1402[7]
The Bachelery	College of St Mary in the Fields		1414-1443[8]

b. Attached to Parishes or to Parish Churches

Name	Parish or Parish Church to which it was Attached	A	Dates
Our Lady's	St Andrew's		1514-1527[9]
Of the Poor Men of St Augustine's Parish	St Augustine's	A1234	1380-1389[10]
Of the Parish Church of St Bartholomew'	St Bartholomew's		1384[11]

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 55 (Peterson); N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 150d (Marchant).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fol. 508d (Styward); N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 148d (Boys).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Multon, fol. 91d (Barnard).
(4) Norw. City Rec., Case 8e, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George, 1429/30.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Norman, fol. 34d (Cock).
(6) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 300-2; N.C.C., Reg. Wymer, fol. 6 (Pennyman).
(7) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 288-300; N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 294 (Shouldham).
(8) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, i. 72 and 341-2.
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Coppinger, fol. 112d (Todde); N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fol. 0 (Holley).
(10) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 40-1.
(11) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 115 (Buckingham).

Name	Parish or Parish Church to which it was Attached	A	Dates
St Bartholomew's	St Bartholomew's	A123	1365-1389[1]
St Botulph's	St Botulph's	A1234	1384-1389[2]
Our Lady's	St Giles's		1463-1466[3]
Our Lady's	? Holy Cross		1528[4]
St James's	St James's	A?134	1389, 1528[5]
Our Lady's	St John the Baptist of Berstreet		1442-1482[6]
Of the Parish of (St John and) the Holy Sepulchre	St John and the Holy Sepulchre		1384[7]
Of the Parish of St Margaret at Fye Bridge	St Margaret at Fye Bridge		1521[8]
St Anne's	St Martin in the Bailey		1373[9]
St Thomas the Martyr's	St " of Coslany		1522[10]
St Anne's	St " at the Palace Gates		1505-?1506[11]
Of the Parish of St Mary the Less	St Mary the Less		1442[12]
Of the Parish of St Mary in the Marsh	St " in the Marsh		1508[13]
Of the Parish of St Mary of Coslany	St " of Coslany		1436/7[14]
St Austin's	? St Michael of Berstreet		1501[15]

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(1) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 304-5.
(2) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 15-16.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 315 (Multon); N.C.C., Reg. Cobald, fol. 89 (Cannwold).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fol. 34 (Browse).
(5) 'Norfolk Guilds', ed. J. L'Estrange and W. Rye, Norf. Arch., vii (1872), 111-2; N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fol. 116d (Westgate).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 206d (Mowt); N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 123d (Rusburgh).
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Harsyk, fol. 115 (Buckingham).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 116d (Webster).
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 24d (Ladde).
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 216d (Richeman).
(11) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fos. 194 (Daywell) and 449 (Blomfield).
(12) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 206d (Mowt).
(13) N.C.C., Reg. Spyltymber, fol. 66 (Weston).
(14) Norw. City Rec., Case 8e, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George, 1436/7.
(15) N.C.C., Reg. Popy, fol. 365d (Taylor).

Name	Parish or Parish Church to which it was Attached	A	Dates
St Anne's	St Peter Mancroft		1479-1529[1]
Of the Mass/Name of Jesus	St " "		1458 - after 1532[2]
St Peter's	St " "		1474[3]
Of the Parish of St Peter Southgate	St " Southgate		1506[4]
Our Lady's	St Stephen's		1440 - after 1532[5]
St Catherine's	Sts Simon and Jude	A1234	1307-1389[6]
Our Lady's	St Swithin's		1505 - after 1532[7]

c. Other Pious Confraternities

Name	A	Dates
St Augustine's (possibly the same as the confraternity of the Poor Men of St Augustine's Parish, or as the confraternity of St Austin of St Michael of Berstreet Parish, q.v.)		1525[8]
St Eligius's / Leoy's		1470-1528[9]
St Luke's (in c. 1543 was a guild composed of pewterers, braziers, plumbers, bellfounders, glaziers, stainers and 'other occupations'[10])		1429 - after 1532[11]
St Olave's		1490-1516[12]
St William's (possibly held in the Dominican friary in 1521)		c. 1397-1436, 1521[13]

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Aubry, fol. 32 (Kempe); N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fol. 149 (Petifer).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 192 (At Fen); N.C.C., Reg. Underwoode, fol. 56 (At Mere).
(3) PROB/11/6 (Reg. Wattys, 1471-1480), fol. 19 (Shareman).
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 444d (Swanton).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Doke, fol. 153d (Burgony); N.C.C., Reg. Underwoode, fol. 19 (Loveday).
(6) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 19-20.
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 262 (Whitlake); N.C.C., Reg. Mingaye, fol. 79 (Walter).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Groundesburgh, fol. 111 (Baddyng).
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Gilberd, fol. 36d (Swan); N.C.C., Reg. Godsalve, fol. 47 (Larke).
(10) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 311.
(11) Norw. City Rec., Case 8e, Account Rolls of the Guild of St George, 1429/30; Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 334.
(12) N.C.C., Reg. Wolman, fol. 151 (Radbode alias Bewflowr); N.C.C., Reg. Briggs, fol. 20 (Elsy).
(13) Norw. City Rec., Case 17b, Domesday Book, fos. 36 and 43d; N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fol. 200d (Baningham); N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 116d (Webster).

Appendix 9

Perpetual Chantries which required daily services of a priest and which were founded in Norwich or by the Inhabitants of the city between 1370 and 1547

1373: founded by three of the executors of the will of Thomas Percy, bishop of Norwich from 1356 to 1369; a monk of the Cathedral Priory daily to celebrate divine service in the Cathedral for the soul of Bishop Percy.[1]

c. 1375: founded by Dionisia, the widow of Sir Peter de Tye, knight, and by her son, Robert; the Cathedral Priory to find two capellani scolares[2] to celebrare for the souls of John de Hoo and Dionisia, his wife, of William, their son, and of all the faithful departed;[3] still being performed, probably by only one priest, in 1535/6.[4]

1376: founded by the Peltiers' Guild; the guild claimed to have been founded, among other reasons, 'ad .... sustentacionis duorum capellanorum Deo ibidem (i.e., the Cathedral) serviencium relevamen'; presumably the two chaplains were still being maintained by the guild in 1389.[5]

c. 1387: founded by the confraternity of St George; a chaplain to divina celebrare daily in the Cathedral; from 1417 onwards, the chaplain was to do the same for the good estate of King Henry V and of the brothers and sisters of the confraternity while they were alive, and for their souls when they were dead, and for the souls of the king's ancestors and of all the faithful departed; still being performed in 1547.[6]

1388: a secular priest to become a member of the College of St Mary in the Fields, and to divina celebrare daily for the souls of Bartholomew Appleyard, citizen of Norwich, and of William, his son, who was later mayor of Norwich, and for the souls of their ancestors and descendants and of all the faithful departed;[7] still being performed in 1492.[8]

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(1) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1370-1374, pp. 373-4; Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Whittlesey (1368-1374), fo 106 (Percy).
(2) Sic; possibly a scribal error for seculares.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fos. 94-94d (Tye); The will strongly suggests tha John de Hoo was earlier a husband of Dionisia de Tye.
(4) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 1134.
(5) English Gilds, ed. Smith, pp. 1 and 29.
(6) Records of the Gild of St George, ed. Grace, pp. 28-29, 142 and 156-157
(7) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds, Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.
(8) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 12.

1389 or earlier: founded by the confraternity of the Annunciation of St Mary; two chaplains, elected by the brothers of the confraternity, to attend daily the canonical hours with the canons of the College of St Mary in the Fields, and to divina celebrare and to pray for the good estate of the king and of the duke of Lancaster, for the souls of their ancestors, for the living and dead brothers and sisters of the confraternity, and for the souls of all the faithful departed; a similar chantry service to be performed by a Carmelite priest in the Carmelite friary.[1]

1391: founded by Master Ralph Churchman de Neketon, clerk and citizen of Norwich; a chaplain to divina celebrare forever in the church of the College of St Mary in the Fields, for his soul and for the souls of Alice Renter, of whose will Ralph had been an executor, and of those people to whom he was bound.[2]

1406: founded by John Alderford, knight, and Alice, his wife; and further endowed in 1422 by the same John Alderford, by Simon Felbridge, knight, Roger Prat, formerly master of St Giles Hospital in Norwich, and by Walter Daniel, who was the mayor of Norwich; a secular priest was to become a member of the College of St Mary in the Fields and to say Mass and alia divina officia within the college forever for the souls of Robert Kenton and William Rees and their wives and parents, and for the good estate of John Alderford and his wife, and of Roger Prat, Walter Daniel, Simon Felbridge and William Paston, and for their souls when they died; the chaplain was to perform various annual obit services for the Kenton's and the Rees's;[3] still being performed - as the chantry of William Rees - in 1492.[4]

1410: founded by William Westacre, archdeacon of Norwich,[5] William Rees, esquire, John Thornham, clerk, Edmund Perke, clerk, William Setman, who was later mayor of Norwich, and Walter Eton of Norwich; a chaplain to celebrate divine service in St Giles Hospital for the souls of Doctor John Derlyngton, formerly master of the hospital[6] and archdeacon of Norwich, and of his parents, brothers and sisters.[7]

1412: founded by Alexander Tottington, bishop of Norwich from 1406 to 1413; each professed monk of the Cathedral Priory was to take it in turns, a week at a time, to celebrate daily at 6 a.m. in the chapel of St Mary the Virgin in the Cathedral, in which he wanted to be buried, for his soul, and for the souls of his father and mother, of his parishioners, of Henry Dispenser (bishop of Norwich, 1370-1406), and of all the faithful departed; after Mass the priest was to say at the bishop's tomb the De Profundis and the prayers Deus qui inter apostolicos sacerdotes famulos tuos H'bertum et Alexandrum etc. and Inclina etc. pro fidelibus defunctis; once in the week the priest was to say a Requiem Mass for the above-mentioned souls.[8]

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(1) 'Hitherto Unpublished Certificates', ed. Tingey, pp. 293-5.
(2) N.C.C. Reg. Harsyk, fos. 158 (Churchman) and 146 (Renter).
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds, Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.
(4) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 12.
(5) Emden, Cambridge, p. 630.
(6) Ibid., p. 185.
(7) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1408-1413, p. 187.
(8) Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury, Reg. Arundel 2 (1396-1414), fos. 165d-166 (Totington).

1412: founded by William Setman, who was later mayor of Norwich, and possibly also by Roger Prat, who was the master of St Giles Hospital; a secular priest who was without the cure of souls was to become a member of the College of St Mary in the Fields, and was to say the Office in the college, and Mass in the college and in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft on alternate weeks, for the good estate of William and Margaret, his wife, and for their souls when they died;[1] still being performed in 1492.[2]

1418: founded by John Daniel and his brother, Walter, merchants and former mayors of Norwich; a priest was to celebrare forever in the parish church of St Stephen for their souls and for the souls of their wives, of various relatives, of those to whom they were bound, and of all the faithful departed; for the first forty years a light was to burn during each Mass until[3] the elevation of the Host; John Barsham, the proposed first chantry priest, was to say the De Profundis for the above-mentioned souls at John Daniel's tomb after each Mass.[4]

1421: founded at the request of Sir John Wodehous, one of the chamberlains of the Exchequer; a chaplain who was without any other benefice or stipend was to say daily in the chapel of the Carnary College Matins, Mass, the other Hours and the seven penitential psalms with a litany before 9 a.m., and after 9 a.m. Vespers and Matins of the Dead, Lauds and Commendation, for the good estate of King Henry V and Queen Catherine and of Sir John Wodehous, and for their souls after their deaths, and for the souls of their ancestors; every Friday the priest was to distribute a penny to each of five poor persons in honour of the five wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and every other day he was to distribute a penny to each of three poor persons in honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, and these poor people were to attend the priest's Mass and to say fifteen 'orisons' and fifteen 'salutations' for the above-mentioned persons and souls; on the feast of St Blaise the chantry priest and the principal and fellows of the Carnary College were to say Vespers and Matins of the Dead and Lauds, and a Requiem Mass on the following morning, for Henry V's grandfather, John, duke of Lancaster; the same services were to be performed for Henry IV over the feast of St Cuthbert, for the parents and benefactors of Sir John Wodehous over the first Sunday of Lent, and for the souls of King Henry V, Queen Catherine and Sir John Wodehous over the anniversaries of their deaths.[5]

1425; founded by John Wakeryng, bishop of Norwich from 1415 to 1425; either a monk or a secular priest was to celebrare for his soul forever in the Cathedral;[6] still being performed in 1496/7[7] and - probably as a united chantry with Sir Thomas Erpingham's[8] - in 1535/6.[9]

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(1) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds, Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.
(2) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 12.
(3) ad.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 32d (Daniel).
(5) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1416-1422, pp. 376-7.
(6) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 312.
(7) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 1105a.
(8) Cf., p. 353, under 1428.
(9) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 1134.

before 1428: founded by Sir Thomas Erpingham, knight; a monk of the Cathedral Priory was to sing Mass daily for him and for his family forever at the altar of the Holy Cross in the Cathedral, and to keep his anniversary;[1] still being performed in 1496/7[2] and - probably as a united chantry with Bishop Wakeryng's[3] - in 1535/6.[4]

1444:[5] founded by Justice William Paston; according to his wife, Agnes, he had wanted provision to be made 'to paie dayly for ever to the monke that for that day singeth the Mass of the Holy Goste in Our Lady chapell in Norwiche (Cathedral), where he purposed to leye his body, every day iiiii^{d}, to sing and pray for his sowle and myn (Agnes's), and al the sowles that he and I have hade any goode of or be beholdyn to pray for';[6] almost certainly the Mass was said daily only for a short while.[7]

1445: founded by Thomas Brown, bishop of Norwich from 1436 to 1445; a monk was to say forever a daily Mass at 7 a.m. for Thomas's and his parents' souls in front of his tomb in the Cathedral; the monk was to say an annual Requiem Mass for his soul on the day of his death.[8]

1446: founded by Sir Thomas Kerdeston, knight; three Augustinian friars were to celebrate forever for his soul and for the souls of his two wives and of his ancestors.[9]

by 1458: founded by the confraternity of the Mass of the Name of Jesus of St Peter Mancroft parish church; a chantry service of the Mass of the Name of Jesus; still being performed in the 1540's;[10] it is not clear whether the Mass was said daily.

1460: founded by Doctor John Wygenhale, archdeacon of Sudbury and formerly canon and dean of the College of St Mary in the Fields in Norwich;[11] a secular priest who was without the cure of souls, was to become a a member of the college and was to say Mass and the Office for the good estate of John, and for his soul when he died, and for the souls of his parents, of all his friends and benefactors, and of all the faithful departed;[12] still being performed in 1492.[13]

by 1466 or 1468: founded by the confraternity of the Mass of Jesus in the Cathedral; a chantry service of the Mass of Jesus;[14] it is doubtful whether the Mass was ever said daily, and by 1525 it was being said only once a week.[15]

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(1) Blomefield, Norfolk, iv. 39, is the only evidence of its foundation.
(2) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 1105a.
(3) Cf., p. 352, under 1425.
(4) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 1134.
(5) Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, ii. 65.
(6) Ibid., iv. 250.
(7) Ibid., iv. 252, and vi. 98.
(8) E.F. Jacob, 'Two Documents Relating to Thomas Brouns, Bishop of Norwich, 1436-45', Norf. Arch., xxxiii (1962-5), 437.
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Wylbey, fol. 137 (Kerdeston).
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 192 (At Fen); Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1548-1549, p. 215.
(11) Emden, Cambridge, p. 655.
(12) Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds, Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'
(13) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 12.
(14) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Obedientiary Rolls, number 299; N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 115 (Fyce).
(15) N.C.C., Reg. Haywarde, fol. 157 (Wether).

1471: founded by Walter Lyhert, bishop of Norwich from 1446 to 1472; a secular or a regular priest, learned in Scripture, was to celebrate daily service forever at the altar in the Cathedral to the north of his tomb, for his soul and for the souls of his parents, of John Lyhert, his relative, of Richard Hedge, his servant, and of all his predecessors, particularly Thomas Brown, late bishop of Norwich; each week the priest was to say the Exequies of the Dead and a Requiem Mass for the above-mentioned souls, and he was to preach to the people of the diocese each year during Advent and Lent.[1]

1472: founded by the executors of Richard Brown and of Ralph Segrym, both of whom were former mayors of Norwich; a secular priest who was without a benefice or the cure of souls or other stipendiary services, was to be appointed by the master and brethren of St Giles Hospital to say forever Vespers and Matins on Sundays and feast-days and Mass every day in the chapel of St Barbara in the Guildhall, for the relief and comfort of the prisoners (there), for the good estate of the mayor and community of Norwich, and for the souls of Richard Brown and Ralph Segrym, for those of their wives, and for the soul of John Wilby, who had formerly been an alderman of Norwich and at whose expense the chapel of St Barbara had been built, and for the souls of his wife and of all benefactors;[2] still being performed in 1478/9.[3]

1475: founded by James Goldwell, bishop of Norwich from 1472 to 1499; a chaplain was to pray at the altar of the Holy Trinity in the parish church of Great Chart in Kent, which was the bishop's home town,[4] for the good estate of King Edward IV and Queen Elizabeth and their children, and for the bishop and his parents, and for their souls after they had died;[5] in 1505 Nicholas Goldwell, formerly archdeacon of Norwich and dean of the College of St Mary in the Fields[6] and a brother and executor of Bishop James Goldwell, was still trying to found this chantry, having added himself and King Henry VII and the king's parents and children, and their souls after their deaths, to those who were to be prayed for.[7]

1502: founded by the executors of Bishop Goldwell, who had formerly been a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; the fellows of the college were to take it in turns, a month at a time, to celebrate service forever for the souls of Bishop James Goldwell and of his brother, Nicholas.[8]

1503: founded by the executors of Bishop Goldwell; St Giles Hospital was to find three secular or regular priests who were to divina celebrare forever for the souls of Bishop Goldwell, of his parents and of all the faithful departed; the hospital sub-contracted one of the three chantries out to the College of St Mary in the Fields and a second one out to the Cathedral Priory.[9]

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(1) PROB/11/6 (Reg. Wattys, 1471-1480), fol. 7 (Lyhert).
(2) Norw. City Rec., Case 17b, Liber Albus, fol. 53.
(3) Norw. City Rec., Case 24a, Great Hospital Account Rolls, 'General' 1478
(4) Emden, Oxford, ii. 783.
(5) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-1477, p. 568.
(6) Emden, Oxford, ii. 786.
(7) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1494-1509, p. 416.
(8) A. Wood, The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford, All Souls (ed. J. Gutch, Oxford, 1786, p. 262).
(9) Norw. City Rec., Case 24b, 'Writings relating to St Giles Hospital', number 66, Parcel 'Licence for Executors of Bishop Goldwell'; Norw. City Rec., Case 3i, Private Deeds, Box 7, 'Chapel Field College'.

1478: founded by Elizabeth Clere, the widow of Robert Clere of Ormesby, knight; the monks of the Cathedral Priory were to take it in turns, a week at a time, to say a daily Mass forever at the altar of St George (in the Cathedral); before the Confiteor, the celebrating priest or his cleric was to say palam in English 'alle men that will praye and seye a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria devoutely for the soules of Robert Clere and Elizabeth and for alle crysten soules in the tyme of this Messe folowyng shall have _____[1] dayes of pardon'; while Elizabeth and her son and various other people were alive, the monk was to say in his Mass the Collect, Deus qui Caritatis Dona etc.; and after their deaths he was to say the Collect, 'Inclina, Domine, autem tuam ad preces nostras quibus misericordiam tuam supplices deprecavimus ut animam famuli tui Roberti et animam famule tue Elizabeth hic quiescentis (etc.)'; after Mass the priest was to say the De Profundis and the prayer Fidelium Deus Omnium Conditor at Elizabeth's tomb.[2]

1479: founded by Edmund Buckingham, knight; an honest priest of good conversation was to 'sing and pray' for his soul, and for his wife's and all his friends' souls in the church of the College of St Mary in the Fields; the priest was also to attend divine service in the choir of the college, and to obey the rules of the college;[3] still being performed in 1492.[4]

1483: the Mass of St Mary in the parish church of St Stephen;[5] still being said, at least every Saturday, in 1543;[6] probably the same as the chantry of the confraternity of St Mary of St Stephen's parish church, which was being performed at least from 1524[7] - and possibly from 1465[8] - until 1540.[9]

1489: founded by Master John Smyth, who was master of St Giles Hospital and rector of two parishes in Norfolk, Yaxham and Coltishall; the master and brethren of the hospital were to find a priest to celebrare for his soul and for the souls of his parents, of Master Peter Shelton, of various relatives and other people, of his benefactors, and of all the faithful departed, for eighty years or, if a licence of Mortmain could be obtained, forever.[10]

1497: founded by Robert Thorpe, alderman of Norwich; a perpetual chantry of one priest in the parish church of St Michael of Coslany in Norwich, for the good estate and the souls of the king, of Reynold Bray, knight (at whose request the licence to found the chantry was granted), of Robert Thorpe and of his three wives, his brother and his son, and of all the faithful departed;[11] dissolved in 1548.[12]

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(1) Blank in text.
(2) Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Chantries', number 1835 (Indenture between Elizabeth Clere ....).
(3) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 38 (Buckingham).
(4) Visitations of Norwich, ed. Jessopp, p. 12.
(5) N.C.C., Reg. A. Caston, fol. 147 (Grime).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Mingaye, fol. 277 (Godsalve).
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Reg. Groundesburgh, fol. 7d (Carre).
(8) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 24 (Kerbrook).
(9) N.C.C., Reg. Attmere, fol. 390d (Grene).
(10) N.C.C., Reg. Typpes, fol. 17d (Smyth).
(11) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1494-1509, p. 84.
(12) Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1547-1548, pp. 272-3.

by 1516: founded by Sir James Hobart, knight; a perpetual chantry of one priest within the Augustinian friary.[1]

1521: the Mass of Jesus, probably in the parish church of St Stephen;[2] it is doubtful whether the Mass was said daily.

1530: founded by Robert Jannys, who had earlier been mayor of Norwich; a priest was to 'sing' for Robert and his friends in the parish church of Aylesham in Norfolk, where he had been born, and he was to keep a free grammar school in the town; the priest was to exhort his pupils to say the De Profundis daily for the souls of Robert and of his friends.[3]

1531: the Mass of Jesus in the parish church of St Gregory;[4] still being said in 1537;[5] it is doubtful whether the Mass was said daily.

1531: the Mass of St John in the parish church of St Peter Mancroft;[6] it is doubtful whether the Mass was said daily.

1543: founded by an ordinance of the City Government; a priest was to 'sing' in the Common Hall (formerly the Blackfriars' church) for the king and the queen, the prince and the King's Council, for the living and dead members of the craft guilds and for the prosperity of Norwich; the priest was to be supported by a yearly contribution of one penny from each member of each craft in the city.[7]

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(1) PROB/11/19 (Reg. Ayloffe, 1517-1520), fol. 33 (Hobart).
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Alblaster, fol. 69 (Catelyn).
(3) Cf., p. 399.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Alpe, fol. 69 (Barker).
(5) N.C.C., Reg. Godsalve, fol. 242 (Cory).
(6) N.C.C., Reg. Palgrave, fol. 119 (Brown).
(7) Records of Norwich, ed. Hudson, ii. 310.

Appendix 10

Testamentary Bequests for Masses, Prayers and Religious Services

Note: the following figures exclude from consideration bequests which were to be paid out of the residues of the testators' estates, and the requests to be buried, which are to be found at the beginning of almost every will.

Abbreviations: a = 1370-1439, b = 1440-89, c = 1490-1517, d = 1518-32.

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	total	total	d	c	b	a
number of testators:[1]	96	104	62	27	289	615	138	226	118	133
A. % of testators who left one or more bequests for Masses, prayers or religious services:	35	71	89	81	64	62	68	73	54	47
B. Approximate[2] amounts of money left by testators for Masses, prayers and religious services:										
% of testators leaving £100 or more:	3	3	2		2	2	2	3	1	3
% leaving £50 - less than £100:		1	2	7	1	3	1	3	5	4
" " £20 - " " £50:	1	7	5	7	4	7	5	9	8	5
" " £10 - " " £20:	3	15	21		11	8	7	9	8	6
" " £5 - " " £10:	6	20	25	11	16	13	12	19	11	8
" " £1 - " " £5:	6	5	16	15	9	11	15	7	9	14
" " " " £1:	17	20	18	41	20	18	25	23	13	7

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(1) They are the same as the nine hundred and four testators who formed the sample which was used in Chapter 3 (cf., Appendix 13, Section B (p. 364 and pp. 218-224).

(2) When no sum of money was specified, it has been assumed that the normal fee for the particular religious service was left. When money was left to an unspecified number of persons to, e.g., say a Mass, a multiplier at the lower end of the likely range has been used.

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	total	total	d	c	b	a
number of testators:	96	104	62	27	289	615	138	226	118	13
C. % of testators who left bequests for perpetual or temporary chantries, or for annuals of Masses:	18	47	55	30	37	36	38	44	34	2
% leaving bequests for perpetual chantries:	2	3			2	½	1	½		
% leaving bequests for between 10 years of service and less than in perpetuity:	1			4	1	4	3	3	4	
% leaving for 5 - less than 10 years:		3	2	7	2	6	3	8	5	
" " " 2 - " " 5 " :	5	20	26	4	15	10	7	12	9	
" " " 1 - " " 2 " :	9	21	23	11	17	13	12	18	13	
" " " ¼ - " " 1 " :			5	4	1	4	12	2	3	
D. Number (not as a %) of testators who left bequests for the following votive and indulgenced Masses:										
of the Trinity / of the Holy Trinity	1	1	1					1	1	
of Jesus / of the Name of Jesus	8	8	3			20		32	5	
of the Five Wounds of Jesus			3			10		6		
of the Holy Cross	1									
of Our Lord's Resurrection								1		
of the Holy Spirit	1					1				
of St Mary	1	1				1		2	1	
of the Assumption of St Mary								1		
of the Angels	1									
of St Peter the Apostle	1									
of St John the Evangelist	1									
of St Benedict									1	
of St William									1	
of All Saints		1						1	1	
trentals of St Gregory	3	2	3			12		15	7	
Mass at an altar of Scala Caeli			1			4		4	1	

Appendix 11

Analysis of Testamentary Bequests

Note: The following figures exclude from consideration bequests which were to be paid out of the residue of the testator's estate, since probably such bequests were usually little more than conventional phrases with which the testator, or the scribe, ended the will. They also exclude from consideration payments to executors.

In general, single bequests which fall under two of the following categories (e.g., a bequest to a hermit so that he would pray for the testator's soul) are included under both categories, except that bequests to votive lights are not also included under the institution which owned the light.

Abbreviations: a = 1370-1439, b = 1440-89, c = 1490-1517, d = 1518-32.

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	total	total	d	c	b	a
number of testators:[1]	96	104	62	27	289	615	138	226	118	133
Percentages of testators who left bequests to or for the following:										
Masses, Prayers or Religious Services:	35	71	89	81	64	62	68	73	54	47
Votive Lights:	5	11	18	33	12	28	48	35	13	8
Houses of Religious Orders and Colleges of Secular Priests:										
Cathedral Church and Priory:	17	38	61	52	37	35	49	46	23	12
Dominican friary in Norwich:	36	48	53	33	44	46	41	48	43	51
Franciscan " " " :	36	49	52	33	44	46	39	47	46	52
Carmelite " " " :	43	48	52	33	46	47	40	49	47	52
Augustinian " " " :	43	45	55	44	46	47	42	50	42	51
College of St Mary in the Fields in Norwich:	14	21	32	15	21	6	4	5	6	
St Giles Hospital in Norwich:	22	23	23	22	22	15	5	11	14	3
Carnary College " "	4	1	3	11	3	1	1	½	-	

(1) Cf., Appendix 13, Section B (p. 364), and pp. 218-224.

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	total	total	d	c	b	a
number of testators:	96	104	62	27	289	615	138	226	118	133
College of Chantry Priests in the Bishop's Palace in Norwich:	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Carrow Nunnery in the suburbs of Norwich:	4	21	35	19	18	16	14	17	19	11
Religious Houses and Secular Colleges outside Norwich and its Suburbs:	13	17	26	15	17	13	7	14	14	18
Parish Churches:	78	89	89	89	85	95	95	97	92	94
Anchorites, Hermits and 'Béguines':	5	32	27	19	21	18	25	21	18	8
Guilds and Confraternities:	7	31	61	56	32	15	14	22	11	6
Works of Charity:										
St Giles Hospital in Norwich (q.v. above, under Houses of Religious Orders etc.)										
St Paul's Hospital in Norwich	24	40	53	22	36	31	22	32	34	36
Hildebrond's " " "	-	-	-	-	-	½	1	-	1	1
Daniel's Almshouse " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Five Sick-houses at the Gates of Norwich:[1]	31	40	50	33	39	38	30	39	41	43
Magdalen Hospital in the suburbs of Norwich:	-	3	3	4	2	3	-	4	7	3
Prisoners in the Guildhall or in the Castle in Norwich:[2]	1	10	27	19	11	20	18	22	14	8
Other Works of Charity	23	34	35	44	31	20	18	20	23	19
Civic Projects	1	-	3	-	1	5	3	8	3	1

(1) The figures are based on the numbers who gave to at least one of the five sick-houses, but almost all who gave to one gave to all five.
(2) The figures are based on the numbers who gave to the prisoners in at least one of the two prisons, but almost all who gave to those in one gave to those in both.

Appendix 12

Testamentary Bequests to Parish Churches

Note: the following figures exclude from consideration bequests to parish churches which were to be paid out of the residues of the testators' estates (which were very rare), bequests to parish churches for the performance of religious services (which were also very rare) and bequests to the parish clergy.

Abbreviations: a = 1370-1439, b = 1440-89, c = 1490-1517, d = 1518-32.

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:	a	b	c	d	total	total	d	c	b	a
number of testators:[1]	96	104	62	27	289	615	138	226	118	133
A. Percentage of testators who left bequests to parish churches:	78	89	89	89	85	95	95	97	92	94
B. Amounts of money left by testators to parish churches:[2]										
% of testators leaving £50 or more:						1			1	2
% leaving £20 - less than £50:		3	3	4	2	3	4	4	3	3
" " £10 - " " £20:	3		3		2	3	3	4	5	1
" " £5 - " " £10:	3	4	2	4	3	6	6	8	5	3
" " £1 - " " £5:	22	35	39	41	32	21	21	22	17	23
" " 5/- - " " £1:	33	34	27	22	31	31	30	27	36	33
" " " " " 5/-:	17	15	15	19	16	30	30	33	25	29

(1) Cf., Appendix 13, Section B (p. 364), and pp. 218-224.
(2) No attempt has been made to evaluate in cash terms bequests in kind.

Appendix 13

Documentary Sources of the Wills of Inhabitants of Norwich

Abbreviations: a = 1370-1439, b = 1440-89, c = 1490-1517, d = 1518-32.

A. Documentary sources of all the surviving Wills of inhabitants of Norwich which were written and proved between 1370 and 1532:

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:[1]	a	b	c	d	total	total	d	c	b	a
number of wills:[2]	96	104	62	27	289	1515	277	546	525	167
PROB/11:[3]		1	6	1	8	77	13	46	15	3
Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury:[4]	3	2	1		6	24		4	9	11
Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library, Registers of the Dean and Chapter:[5]			1		1					
N.C.C.:[6]	91	101	52	21	265	1230	219	390	486	135
REG:[7]	2				2	1				1
A.Nw.C.:[8]						119	37	81	1	
D. and C., Reg. 1461-1559:[9]			2	5	7	39	8	22	9	
Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta':[10]						17				17
Norw. City Rec., Cases 1c-1d, Court Rolls 19 (1461-1483) and 20 (1483-1508):[11]						6		2	4	
Norw. City Rec., Case 3g, Private Deeds, Box 1, 'Friars Preachers in St Andrew';[12]						1			1	
Norw. City Rec., Case 16c, Assembly Minute Book, 1 (1492-1510):[13]						1		1		

(1) The wills are dated from when they were written, not from when they were proved, unless only the date of probate survives.

(2) With one partial exception which was provided by the Daniel brothers, each will was made by one testator: John Daniel made a testamentum

to which the joint ultima voluntas of John and his brother Walter was appended (N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fos. 32-33 (Daniel)), but Walter Daniel made a testamentum et ultima voluntas of his own six years later (N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fos. 148-150 (Daniel)). A few wills were copied into more than one of the above-mentioned documentary sources; the figures above record only one of the copies. Therefore the numbers of wills indicated above are the same as the numbers of testators.

(3) Cf., Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383-1558, ed. J. Smith (Index Library, x, 1893, and xi, 1895), ii. 661-2.

(4) Cf., 'Calendar of Lambeth Wills', ed. J. Challoner Smith, Genealogist, New Series, xxxiv (1917-8), 53-64, 149-160 and 219-234, and xxxv (1918-9), 45-51 and 102-126.

(5) I.e., Register F, fol. 154 (Catton or Calton). For a few other wills of inhabitants of Norwich in these registers (wills which are also in others of the above-mentioned documents), cf., Sede Vacante Wills, ed. C.E. Woodruff (Kent Archaeological Society, Records Branch, iii, 1914), p. 54.

(6) Cf., Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich, 1370-1550, and Wills among the Norwich Enrolled Deeds, 1298-1508, ed. M. Farrow (Norf. Rec. Soc., xvi, 1943-5), pp. 1-412.

(7) Cf., ibid., pp. 413-423.

(8) A manuscript index of these wills is kept in the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office in Norwich.

(9) A manuscript index of these wills is kept in the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office in Norwich.

(10) A manuscript index of these wills is kept in the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office in Norwich.

(11) I.e., the wills of John Awbry, John Calowe, William Lyndys, John May, Thomas Moos and Elizabeth Styward. For these wills, for a few other complete wills of inhabitants of Norwich (which are also in the will-registers of the Norwich Consistory Court), and for extracts - relating exclusively to tenements in Norwich - of many other wills of inhabitants of Norwich, cf., Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich, 1370-1550, ed. M. Farrow, op. cit., pp. 413-423.

(12) I.e., number 17 (Smyth). Number 18 (Ingham) is the same as, N.C.C., Reg. Aleyn, fos. 107-108 (Ingham).

(3) I.e., fos. 135d-136 (Spycer). Folios 133 (Sharyngton) and 142-142d (Radbode alias Bewflour) are the same as N.C.C., Reg. Wolman, fos. 102-102d (Sharington) and 151 (Radbode alias Bewflowr).

B. Documentary Sources of the Sample of Nine Hundred and Four Wills used in Chapter 3 and elsewhere:

	clerics:					lay persons:				
period:[1]	a	b	c	d	total	total	d	c	b	a
number of wills:[2]	96	104	62	27	289	615	138	226	118	133
PROB/11:[3]		1	6	1	8	77	13	46	15	3
Lambeth Palace Library, Registers of archbishops of Canterbury:[4]	3	2	1		6	24		4	9	11
Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library, Registers of the Dean and Chapter:[5]			1		1					
N.C.C.:[6]	91	101	52	21	265	339	80	73	84	102
REG:[7]	2				2					
A.Nw.C.:[8]						119	37	81	1	
D. and C., Reg. 1461-1559:[9]			2	5	7	39	8	22	9	
Dean and Chapt. Mun., Box 'Acta et Comperta':[10]						17				17

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(1) Same as footnote 1 of page .
(2) " " " 2 " " " .
(3) " " " 3 " " " .
(4) " " " 4 " " " .
(5) " " " 5 " " " .
(6) " " " 6 " " " .
(7) " " " 7 " " " .
(8) " " " 8 " " " .
(9) " " " 9 " " " .
(10) " " " 10 " " " .

Appendix 14

Introductions to, and Transcripts of, Twelve Wills and One Inventory

A. Guy de Burdeux, citizen of Norwich (1371); John Honing, chaplain of Norwich (1419); Adam Kerbrook, chaplain of Norwich (1445); Edward Ive, citizen of Norwich (1513); and Margery Dogett of Norwich, widow (1516).

Introduction

The wills of Guy de Burdeux, John Honing, Adam Kerbrook, Edward Ive and Margery Dogett have been selected primarily to illustrate the typical features of short and medium-length wills. The substantial majority of all the surviving wills of both the clergy and the laity of late medieval Norwich fall within the categories of short and medium-length wills, and exceptional wills must be seen against the background of such ordinary ones.

The wills of John Honing and Edward Ive illustrate the typical features of short wills in which only two or three bequests were left. Almost every will contained at least one bequest to a parish church, and these two wills illustrate the most common forms of such bequests: a bequest to the high altar and one for the repair or upkeep of the church in which, or in whose graveyard, the testator wanted to be buried. After bequests to parish churches, the most popular bequests were those left for the performance of religious services: Edward Ive wanted a number of Masses and Dirges said, and John Honing wanted his funeral expenses to be paid for out of the residue of his estate.

The wills of Guy de Burdeux, Adam Kerbrook and Margery Dogett illustrate the kind of pious and charitable bequests which were most popular with those who could afford more than the bare minimum of legacies.

Bequests to votive lights were represented by those - an unusually large number[1] - left by Margery Dogett. Both Margery and Guy de Burdeux left 3/4d to each of the four friaries in Norwich - Guy gave the money specifically so that in return the friaries might 'celebrate' for his soul - and Margery also left 3/4d to the Cathedral Church. All three left something to the religious of a house outside the city walls: Adam Kerbrook and Margery Dogett left something to the nuns of Carrow and Guy de Burdeux left something to the Knights Hospitallers at Carbrooke in Norfolk. Bequests to recluses were represented by Adam's bequest of 1/- to the recluse of Carrow and by Margery's bequests of 4d to each anchor and anchoress in Norwich. Bequests to guilds and confraternities were represented by the various objects used to say Mass which Adam Kerbrook left to one of the confraternities of his parish church, and by his bequest to the confraternity of Corpus Christi, which was such a popular beneficiary among clerical testators after 1440.[2] Most of the popular types of charitable bequests were mentioned in one or more of the three wills: thus, bequests were left to the inmates of St Giles Hospital, to those of St Paul's Hospital and to those of the leper- or sick-houses at the gates of the city; a variety of bequests were left to other poor and needy citizens who were not cared for by institutions; and the bequests to 'either howse in the Castell and the Gilde Halle'[3] may have been intended for the prisoners of the two buildings.

The wills of Guy de Burdeux, John Honing, Adam Kerbrook, Edward Ive and Margery Dogett also illustrate the typical features of the beginnings and ends of almost all the surviving wills of the inhabitants of late

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(1) Cf., pp. 228-9.
(2) Cf., p. 257.
(3) Cf., p. 373.

medieval Norwich. After the invocation In Dei nomine, Amen, almost all testators commended their souls. The phrases which John Honing and Adam Kerbrook used to commend their souls are typical of the period before the late fifteenth century, during which period almost all wills were written in Latin. Neither Edward Ive nor Margery Dogett commended their souls to patron saints - a practice which was becoming increasingly common when they were writing their wills[1] - but the phrases which they used illustrate the point that the change from Latin to English as the language of wills coincided with the gradual omission from testamentary commendations of St Mary's title of Virgin.[2] The extent to which the phraseology of commendatory clauses in wills was conventional is indicated by the etc' in the commendation in Guy de Burdeux's will. Guy de Burdeux was one of the very few testators who did not provide for their burials after they had commended their souls. Most, like the other four testators in question, asked to be buried in a parish church or in its cemetery.[3] Having dealt with specific bequests, almost every will contained a clause about the disposal of the residue of the testator's estate. John Honing's will contained many of the features most typical of these clauses: he committed the residue of his goods to his executors so that they might take care of his funeral, pay his debts and do other works of pietas - (and of charity, was often added) - for his soul according as they thought would please God and profit his soul.

The five wills indicate the extent to which the pious and charitable bequests of the clergy were similar to those of the laity.[4] They also

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(1) Cf., p. 167.
(2) Cf., p. 167.
(3) Cf., p. 35.
(4) Cf., pp. 273 and 359-360.

indicate the extent to which wills had already become standardised in form by the late fourteenth century, and the extent to which they kept the same standardised form - apart from the change from Latin to English - throughout the period in question.[1]

The five wills show that convention played an important role in dictating the form of wills. Nevertheless they also illustrate the extent to which even the shortest wills could be subject to the personal wishes of testators. Thus John Honing specifically mentioned that he wanted to be buried ante crucifixum, and Edward Ive's very short will contained a highly individualistic clause detailing the kind of religious services which he wanted to be performed. Also the sums of money bequeathed by the two men varied considerably. Slightly longer wills, like those of Guy de Burdeux, Adam Kerbrook and Margery Dogett, gave more scope to testators to pick and choose within a range of possible beneficiaries. The bequests of Adam Kerbrook to confraternities and to the poor, and those of Margery Dogett to votive lights and to the poor and needy illustrate the point.

Most of the surviving wills of the inhabitants of late medieval Norwich were written when death was approaching the testators.[2] Adam Kerbrook was one of the very few whose wills were proved long after they had been written - in his case over twenty years after.[3] In his case the lapse of time was not the result of inefficiency on the part of his executors or of the court providing probate. A touching note stated that over twenty years after he had written his will Adam, now seriously ill, had confirmed that the will, which had been placed upon his alter in his room, was his;[4] the only changes concerned his executors, perhaps because his

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(1) Cf., p. 225.
(2) Cf., p. 224.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fol. 24d (Kerbrook).
(4) Cf., p. 371.

mother and Robert Hawes - the original executors - had died in the meantime. The note is interesting as throwing light on the making of wills and, incidentally, as showing that even an unbeneficed cleric had a private altar - probably a portable one - in his house.

Will of Guy de Burdeux[1]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Gwido de Burdeux, civis Norwic', in bona memoria condo testamentum meum apud Norwicum xvi die Aprilis anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} lxxi in hunc modum. In primis commendo animam meam etc'. Item lego summo altari ecclesie Sancti Petri de Southgate in Conesford pro defectibus meis x^{s}, et emendacioni eiusdem xl^{s}. Item lego cuilibet ordini fratrum mendicancium Norwic' xl^{d} ad celebrand' pro anima mea. Item lego pauperibus in hospitali Sancti Egidii Norwic' ii^{s}. Item lego pauperibus hospitalis Sancti Pauli Norwic' xl^{d}. Item lego ad distribuend' inter leprosos Norwic' xl^{d}. Item lego fratribus domus Sancti Johannis de Kerbrok' xl^{d}. Item lego Isabelle uxori mee, heredibus et assignatis suis totum mesuagium meum cum edificiis et sibi pertin' suis quod est in Norwico in parochia Sancti Petri de Suthgate predicta. Item lego xx^{s} ad expensas meas funerales faciend'. Residuum vero bonorum meorum mobilium et immobilium lego et do dicte Isabelle uxori mee ad inde faciendum et disponendum pro voluntate sua. Huius autem testamenti executores meos Jacobus Yne et (Nicholaum[2]) Rogerum Nichol, cives Norwic', ordino et constituo per presentes die et anno supradictis.

Will of John Honing[3]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Johannes Honyng, capellanus de Norwico, in bona memoria mea condo testamentum meum apud Norwicum xxv^{to} die mensis

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Heydon, fol. 20 (Burdeux).
(2) Nicholaum crossed out.
(3) N.C.C., Reg. Hyrnyng, fol. 52d (Honing).

Octobris anno Domini CCCC^{mo} xix^{no} (ap'[1]) in hunc modum. In primis commendo animam meam Deo omnipotenti, Beate Marie Virgini et omnibus sanctis, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Sancti Georgii ad Portas Sancte Trinitatis Norwici ante crucifixum. Et lego summo altari eiusdem ecclesie iii^{s} iiii^{d}, et emendacioni eiusdem ecclesie vi^{d}. Item lego summo altari ecclesie Cathedralis Sancte Trinitatis Norwicensis vi^{s} viii^{d}. Residuum vero omnium bonorum do et lego in manus executorum meorum ad funeralia mea peragend', debitaque solvend' ac ad cetera opera pietatis pro anima mea faciend' prout melius viderint sibi Deo complacere et anime mee prodesse. Huius autem testamenti mei executores meos Dominum Johannem Thornegg, capellanum, et Ricardum Axme, sadeler, cives Norwic', eligo et constituo per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui. Dat' die, loco et anno Domini supradictis.

Will of Adam Kerbrook[2]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Vicesimo die mensis Julii anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} quadragesimo quinto, ego Adam Kerbrok, capellanus de parochia Sancti Stephani in Norwico, compos mentis et sane memorie existens, condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis commendo animam meam Deo omnipotenti, Beate Marie et omnibus sanctis, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum infra cimiterium ecclesie Sancti Stephani predicte. Item lego emendacioni dicte ecclesie vi^{s} viii^{d}. Item lego gilde Beate Marie in eadem ecclesia meum vestimentum rubeum et unam mappam de diaper ad serviend' altari Beate Marie in dicta ecclesia. Item lego dicte gilde unum corporale cum duobus coopertoriis, unum de purpyll velwete et aliud de purpill damaske. Item lego priorisse monialium de Carhowe xx^{d}. Item lego cuilibet moniale[3] de Carhowe iiii^{d}. Item lego recluse de Carhowe xii^{d}. Item lego emendacioni ecclesie Sancti Andree in Norwico ii^{s}. Item volo ut celebretur unum annual in dicta ecclesia (fol. 24d) Sancti Andree pro anima mea et pro animabus parentum meorum. Item lego sacerdoti gilde Corporis Christi existenti in obsequiis meis iiii^{d}. Item lego Thome Smyth de Bury Sancti Edmundi unum

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(1) ap' crossed out.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fos. 24-24d (Kerbrook).
(3) Sic.

par precum de jete. Item volo ut duo annualia celebrantur in dicta ecclesia Sancti Stephani pro anima mea et animabus parentum meorum. Item lego filie Johannis Karr xii^{d}. Item lego filiole mee, filie Gybsone, xii^{d}. Item lego Johanni Brasyer, filio Ricardi Brasyer, xii^{d}. Item lego Alicie Colman ad portas de Nedham viii^{d}. Item cuilibet leproso ad portas de Nedham i^{d}. Item cuilibet mendico iacenti in lecto in parochia Sancti Stephani i^{d}. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum, post debita mea soluta et legata mea perimpleta, volo ut vendatur per manus executorum meorum, et pecunia inde proveniente do et lego matri mee ad sustentacionem suam. Executores meos constituo matrem meam, Robertum Hawes.

Item prefatus Adam Kerbrok, xxvii^{o} die mensis Aprilis anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} lxvi^{to} in Civitate Norwici gravi infirmitate detentus, suprascriptum testamentum pro suo testamento et ultima voluntate in camera sua super altare suum positum verbaliter affirmavit et declaravit; ac Magistrum Galfridum Chaumpeneys, Ricardum Bumpsted, Thomam Kynggessey et Dominum Johannem Dowe, capellanum, ad exequendum testamentum predictum et administrand' bona sua, executores nominavit, elegit et constituit.

Will of Edward Ive[1]

In Dei nomine, Amen. I, Edward Ive, beynge of good and hooll memory the xi day of December in the yer of Our Lord God Mill' CCCCCxiii make my laste will. ffirste I bequeth my sowle to God allmyghty, to Our Lady Seynt Mary and to all the compeny of hevyn, and my body to be buryed in Seynt Clement' chircheyerd of Norwic'. To the wiche heigh autyer I bequeth viii^{d}; to the reparacion of the same chirche xii^{d}; and to have v Masses (all[2]) att my buryall day of the v wonds of Our Lord Jhu'; and so the space of iiii yeres a dirige and a Masse of Requiem with v Masses De Quinque Vulneribus. The residue of all my goods I geve into the hands of myn executrice, whom I make Margarett, my wiff, and William Wright to be help to my wiff and to have for his labor xx^{d}.

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(1) A.Nw.C., Reg. Gloys (1509-1519), fol. 110d (Ive).
(2) all probably crossed out.

Will of Margery Dogett[1]

In the name of God, Amen. I, Margery (Dok'[2]) Dogett of Norwich, wedou', the xxiii day of ffebruary in the yer of Our Lord God Mill' CCCCCxv in my good mynde at Norwich aforseid make my testament in this wise. ffirste I commende my sowle to allmyghty God, Our Lady Seynt Mary and to all the holy compeny of hevyn, and my body for to be buryed att the chirche dore in Seynt Myghell of Mustowe in Norwiche. To whos highe autyer I bequeth ii^{s}, and to the reparacion of the same chirche iii^{s} iiii^{d}, and my beste coverlyght to lye before ye highe autyer.

Item I bequeth to the sepultur light in the same chirche xii^{d}. Item to the light of Seynt Myghell, to the perke light, to the light of Our Lady, to the light of Seynt Anne, and to the light of Seynt Nicholas in the same chirche, to iche of them I bequethe vi^{d}. Item to the (laml[3]) lampe afor the highe autyer, to the common light that brenneth over Myghellmes Evyn and Myghelmes Day, and to the light of Seynt Cristofir in the same chirche, to iche of them iiii^{d}. Item to the Cathedrall Cherche of Norwiche iii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item to the light of Jhesus Messe in the same chirche xii^{d}. Item I bequeth to ye chirche of Bowthorpp xii^{d}. Item to the chirche of Colney xii^{d}. Item to the chirche of Seynt John of Bestrete xii^{d}. Item to the chirche of Seynt Bartilmewe in Bestrete xii^{d}. Item I bequeth to Seynt Julyans chirche my coverlight nexte the best. Item I bequeth to the light of Our Lady in Seynt Stevyns parisshe xii^{d}.

Item to the hole susters of Normans iiii^{d}, and to the halff susters vi^{d}. Item I bequeth to eiche anker and ankeresse in Norwiche iiii^{d}. Item to iche of the v howses of syke men by Norwiche gates iiii^{d}. Item to every person beynge bedred withinne the parysshes of Seynt Myghell of Mustowe, Seynt Andrewes, Seynt Mary Litill and Seynt Petir of Hundegate, to yche of them ii^{d}. Item to iche of the iiii orders of ffreres in Norwiche iii^{s} iiii Item to the nunnes of Carrowe xii^{d}. Item I will that ther be disposed at m beryenge day xiii^{s} iiii^{d} to prests and clerks. Item I will ther be delte i brede to poore ffolk for my sowle to the value of xiii^{s} iiii^{d}, and every poor howse in Seynt Petir's and Seynt Vast' parysshes to have an halpeny.

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(1) A.Nw.C., Reg. Cook (1503-1538), fos. 46d-47 (Dogett).
(2) Dok' crossed out.
(3) laml crossed out.

Item in wynter to poore ffolkes in woode xiii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item to either howse in the Castell and Gilde Halle in Norwiche iiii^{d}. Item I will that the poor parysshener̄s of Seynt Myghell of Mustowe have iche (of[1]) howse iiii^{d}. Item to iiii^{re} prestes to bere my body to the chirche, to iche of (fol. 47) them iiii^{d}.

Item I bequeth to John Dogette, my sonne, iiii marcs, vi silvere spones, a masere, my gret brasse potte, my beste ffetherbed, a donge, a ffyne shete, ii tramisonnes and all my brasse laton and pewter in my howse. Item a chayer of esement. Item I bequeth to Agnes, his wiff, my beste gownne, my beste girdill and my beste bedes. Item I bequeth to yche of my susters an harneysed gyrdell of sylver. Item to Alice Hendrye of Taverham a grene gownne. Item to Margery Appulton a tukkyng lace with silver aglettes. Item I will that Willdes wiff have my ffurred gowne. Item I wulle that Anne Lyston have my werser cloke. Item to Bretens wiff my best kyrtill. Item to blynde Margaret my next best kertill. Item to Medilgat' doughter my kertill that I were every day. Item I will that a certeyne be founde for my sowle by the space of oon yer.

The residue of all my goods I commytte to the good disposicion of myn executors, whom I make and ordeyne John Dogett, my sone, and Ser William Breten, and I bequeth to either of them for ther labor vi^{s} viii^{d}. Yoven the day, yer and place above seyd, theis berynge wittnes: Ser William Clyffe, preste, heremyte, and John Bett'.

B. Richard Caistor, vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich (1420)

Introduction[2]

Richard Caistor, who was sometimes called Richard of Caistor, probably came from the village of Caistor, which is some three miles from Norwich.

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(1) of crossed out.
(2) Richard Caistor's will and most of the documents concerning his life and cult have been printed in, D. Harford, 'Richard of Caister, and his Metrical Prayer', Norf. Arch., xvii (1908-1910), 221-244. Except where other references are given, the introduction uses this article.

Nothing suggests that he ever studied at a university. He was probably the Richard Caistor who had been tonsured by 1385 and who was instituted vicar of Sedgeford near Lynn in 1397. He was vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich from 1402 until his death in 1420. Bale and Pits said that he was the author of a book on the Ten Commandments, a book of or on (the meditations of) St Bernard, and of several homilies. They both said that all these works were written in English. The only extant work of his is the short English hymn 'Jesu, lord, that madest me', which survives in numerous manuscripts,[1] though eight of the twelve stanzas of this extremely popular hymn already existed in an earlier poem.[2]

Richard Caistor is of interest principally on account of the local and even national reputation for holiness which he enjoyed while he was alive and after his death. Margery Kempe had sought him out as a holy man and as a spiritual director, and later she went to pray at his grave.[3]

Nine years after Richard Caistor's death, Sir Thomas Colpepper, a Kentish knight, asked his son to make a pilgrimage to Norwich to offer 'a le seint vicair[4] un coer quest en mon chapel door',[5] and in 1458 or 1459 a certain John Falbeck, who probably came from Thorndon in Suffolk, left money in his will for a man to make a pilgrimage[6] to St Stephen's church in Norwich.[7] Master John Leystofte, a later vicar of St Stephen's, began his will in 1462 by recommending his soul to Richard Caistor sacre recordationis,[8] and

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(1) Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1939), p. 313.
(2) Ibid..
(3) Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 17, 43 and 60 (ed. Meech, pp. 38-40, 102 and 147).
(4) St Stephen's was the only vicarage in Norwich.
(5) Reg. Chichele, ed. Jacob, ii. 385.
(6) ad peregrinand'
(7) N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 124 (Falbeck).
(8) The sentence was: animam meam lego .... Deo .... beato Stephano sacr' recordationis Ricardo de Castr' et omnibus sanctis (N.C.C., Reg. Brosyard, fol. 272d (Leystofte)).

as late at 1500 a mercer from Norwich called John Stalon left a cloth of red tissue, which he had woven, to St Stephen's church to lie on 'the good vekers grave'.[1]

Bale and Pits said that Richard Caistor had a reputation for holiness in life and after death. They said that he was called 'the Good' during his life and they described him as a simple, apostolic priest and a preacher - a description with which Margery Kempe would have agreed.[2] Bale went further, saying:

> 'Wiclevisticae doctrinae (potius Christianae) impense, sed tacito favebat, propter metum Papistarum, eorum in aliis expertus tyrannidem. Clericorum impudicos mores et exempla foedissima modesta correptione in concionibus deflebat, cum alias non posset curare'.

There is no other positive evidence to suggest that he was a follower of Wycliffe. His will contains none of the features that Mr McFarlane regarded as characteristic of Lollard wills,[3] and he began it by recommending his soul to St Mary the Virgin and to the saints. Even so, his will is very unusual, especially for a man who had been vicar of one of the most valuable livings in the city for eighteen years. It is very brief. It contains no requests that Masses or prayers be said for his soul; and he wanted his wealth - apart from £10 which he wanted to be spent on buying two Antiphonars for his parish church - to be given to the poor on the grounds that bona Ecclesie secundum Canones sunt bona pauperum.[4] The will certainly suggests a priest who sympathised with certain views which were also shared

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Wight, fol. 94 (Stalon).
(2) Margery Kempe, The Book, i. 17, 43 and 60 (ed. Meech, pp. 38-40, 102 and 147).
(3) K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), p. 210.
(4) Possibly he had in mind, quicquid habent clerici pauperum est (Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretum Gratiani, Pars II, Causa XVI, Quest. 1, cap. lxviii (ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879-1881, i. 784)). For the thoughts of other canonists on the topic of the Church's property and the poor, cf., B. Tierney, Medieval Poor Law (University of California Press, 1959), pp. 39-44.

by some Lollards. Richard Caistor is perhaps unique in late medieval England as a parish priest who had a reputation for sanctity both during his life and long after his death; John Felton, the early fifteenth century vicar of St Mary Magdalen's in Oxford, was in some ways similar but his cult does not seem to have flourished after his death. It is interesting that the reputation should have stuck to a priest who held views which were radical and possibly even regarded as marginally heretical.

Will of Richard Caistor[1]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Ricardus Castr', perpetuus vicarius ecclesie Sancti Stephani in Norwico, in bona memoria mea condo testamentum meum apud Norwicum vicesimo septimo die mensis Marcii anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} vicesimo in hunc modum. In primis comendo animam meam Deo omnipotenti, Beate Marie Virgini et omnibus sanctis, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in cancello Sancti Stephani supradict'. Item lego ad emend' duo antiphonaria ad serviendum Deo in dicta ecclesia in divinis x^{li}. Item exquo bona Ecclesie secundum Canones sunt bona pauperum, omnia cetera bona mea pro maiori parte lego pauperibus sic quod pauperes parochie mee preferantur. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum do et lego in manus executorum meorum ut ipsi disponant et ordinent pro me prout melius viderint Deo complacere et anime mee prodesse. Huius autem testamenti mei executores meos Dominum Johannem Barsham, rectorem Sancti Michaelis in Coslane, Dominum Henricum Brisslee, capellanum, et Dominum Johannem Riche, capellanum, eligo et constituo per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui. Dat' die, loco et anno Domini supradictis.

C. Richard Ferneys, quondam hermit of Newbridge in Norwich (1464)

Introduction

Richard Ferneys and his will have already been fully discussed.[2]

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(1) REG/4, Book 8, fos. 135-135d (Castre).
(2) Cf., pp. 126-130.

Will of Richard Ferneys[1]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Ricardus fferneys, heremita quondam de Newbrygg, gravi langore corrpetus sed Dei gratia sane memorie et compos mentis, anno Domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} (lxvii^{to} lxii^{do} die)[2] lxiiii^{to} secundo die mensis Maii, condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primo lego animam meam omnipotenti Deo, Beate Marie Virgini et omnibus sanctis, corpusque meum sepeliendum in ecclesia collegiata Beate Marie de Campis in Norwico, ad cuius reparacionem lego vi^{s} viii^{d}. Item decano eiusdem ii^{s}, et singulis consociis eiusdem ibidem tempore obitus mei presentibus xii^{d}. Item singulis aliis sacerdotibus ibidem tunc comorantibus xii^{d}. Item cuilibet alteri clerico tunc ibidem ii^{d}. Item singulis pueris tunc ibidem i^{d}. Item cuilibet (fol. 16) servienti tunc ibidem ii^{d}. Item eidem ecclesie unum psalterium magnum pro choro ibidem cathenandum.

Item lego ecclesie Cathedrali Sancte Trinitatis Norwici ii^{s}. Item fraternitati (Jol)[3] Jhu' in ecclesia Sancti Petri de Mancroft ii^{s}. Item fraternitati Beate Marie in ecclesia Sancti Stephani ii^{s}. Item cuilibet sorori et dimidie de Normannis ii^{d}. Item cuilibet pauperi et sorori de hospitali Sancti Egidii ii^{d}. Item lego priorisse de Carrowe et conventui ibidem iii^{s} iiii^{d}.

Item Domine Juliane Lampett, recluse ibidem, xii^{d} et i par lintheamentorum. Item Domine Margarete Purdaunce unum pannum deputatum cum ymagine Christi. Item (Item)[4] Alicie Kyngessey unam tabulam deputatam. Item Katerine Moryell unam patellam de laton et i parvam ollam eneam. Item Cristine Veyl, sorori eius et custodi mee, i par lintheamentorum, i ollam eneam, unum cocliarium parvum et vi^{s} viii^{d}. Item lego Johanni Sylver, puero meo, i par lodicum, i donge, i par lintheamentorum, unam cistam de Prusia et vi^{s} viii^{d}. Item lego Johanni, heremite de Newbrigg, optimum epitogium meum, optimum capicium, unum scapularium. Item Johanni ffelton, heremite in Norwico, vi^{d}. Item Thome, heremite ibidem, iiii^{d}. Item Basilie de parochia Sancti Gregorii i armilausam et vi^{d}. Item Agneti Shotesham de Normann' aliam armilausam.

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fos. 15d-16 (Ferneys).
(2) lxvii^{to} lxii^{do} die crossed out.
(3) Jol crossed out.
(4) Repeated sic in text.

Residuum vero bonorum meorum et debitorum quorumcumque do et lego in manus Magistri Ricardi Porynglond, quem constituo et ordino executorem meum, pro oneribus et expensis citra sepulturam meam faciend', missasque celebrand', et in pios usus benefactorum meorum et aliorum pauperum, siquidem superfuerit, distribuendum prout anime mee viderit expedire; cui pro labore suo lego iii^{s} iiii^{d} et unum psalterium glosatum ad terminum vite sue, ita quod postea remaneat collegio supradicto. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum presens est appensum. Dat' anno, loco et die supradictis.

D. Doctor Geoffrey Champeneys, vicar of St Stephen's in Norwich (1472)

Introduction

All the points of interest in Doctor Geoffrey Champeneys's will have already been discussed,[1] except the commendatory clause, which is the third sentence of the will. The clause is an interesting example outside the will-registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury - and an example which is very rare among the wills of inhabitants of late medieval Norwich[2] - in which the unworthiness of the testator and the corruption of his body were emphasised. Such emphases, according to Mr McFarlane, were characteristic features of the wills of known Lollards as well as of those of several prominent men whose orthodoxy is apparently impeccable.[3] The clause complements the evidence from Norwich of injunctions against funeral pomp,[4] which Mr McFarlane regarded as the third characteristic of Lollard wills,[5]

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(1) Cf., pp. 79-80, 243 and 245-6.
(2) For other examples, cf.: N.C.C., Reg. Ryxe, fol. 305 (Waller); and, Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library, Registers of the Dean and Chapter, F, fol. 154 (Catton or Calton).
(3) K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), p. 210.
(4) Cf., pp. 195-6.
(5) K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, op. cit., p. 210

and it throws further interesting light upon Geoffrey Champeneys in particular and upon the late medieval vicars of St Stephen's in general as independent-minded and radical parish priests.[1]

Will of Doctor Geoffrey Champeneys[2]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} lxxi Sancti Gregorii Lucis in Obitu, ego Galfridus Chaumpneis, ecclesie Sancti Stephani Norwic' vicarius, hominis utriusque sospitate fruens veluti, spem gero divine pietatis in visceribus, in Norwico predict' mea in prelibata parochia meam voluntatem ultimam conficio in hunc modum. Primo, Trinitati individue sicuti creatrici sue animam meam flebilem qualiter plasma suum (in visceribus in Norwico predicta)[3] commendo miseracionis in signum inibi perpetuo collocandam, corpus item putridum, q'[4] (sicut)[5] cinis est et in cineres convertibile, terra feculente vermibus esca fiat. Unde si mea dicta in parochia vel saltem prope dummodo quadriginta non excesserit milia me emori contigerit, illic in cimiterio vel in ecclesia prout melius videatur executoribus delego sepultura'.[6]

Item successori meo, quicunque fuerit, optimum superpelicium meum et totam ceream meam in cancello remanentem. Volo insuper pro me et parentibus meis et pro quibus teneor, ut sit[7] pro eis coram Deo satisfaciam si in aliquo eis indebitatus fuero, habere duos presbiteros seculares qui in ecclesia Sancti Stephani prelibata celebrent et instanter exorent, quod ut diligencius faciatur do eorum cuilibet viii marcas vi^{s} viii^{d}; quod si Dominus Nicholaus Gyldensleve et Dominus Johannis Dowe exequi voluerint, ipsos pre eligo universis. Item lego summo altari ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis x^{s}. Item do Dompno Johanni Chaumpneys, fratri meo, xl^{s} et preculas meas de gete et nigrum epitogium meum cum capico meo, et domino priori xii^{d}, et cuilibet monacho infra monasterium vel in suis cellis sive in universitate alterutra manenti v^{d}.

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(1) Cf., pp. 97-8, 275 and 373-6.
(2) N.C.C., Reg. Jekkys, fos. 275d-276 (Champeneys).
(3) in visceribus in Norwico predicta crossed out.
(4) Presumably quia or quod.
(5) sicut crossed out.
(6) Sic.
(7) Sic; presumably a scribal error for sic.

Item domino meo priori de Chartr'hous prope London do ii^{s}, et cuilibet confratri suo xii^{d}, et domui eiusdem de Chartr'hous do Liram meam Super Novum Testamentum in duobus voliiii^{t},(1) ut ipsis promiseram, et Lira' Super Psalterium et Communem Glosam super Psalterium. Item patri meo priori de Syon, vulgariter vocat' Shene,[2] xii^{d}, et cuilibet confratri suo iiii^{d}. Item vicario de Crowmer xii^{d}; et si quid mihi debuerit, remitto ei; ac sibi et successoribus suis do Rosarium in papiro, et cuilibet presbitero eiusdem ville iiii^{d}. Item Willelmo Coye ii^{s}. Item filiolo meo, filio carnificis, xii^{d}. Item Johanni Abbot, si vixerit, ii^{s}. Item emendacioni ecclesie vi^{s} viii^{d}. Item emerentur pere vi^{s} viii^{d}, et in distribucion' pauperum xl^{s}. Item Collegio de Gunvyle do ad reparacionem necessariorum capelle vel librarie, ut illis magis indigere videatur, xl^{s}, et cuilibet socio xii^{d}. Item librarie eorum do meum Repyngton, si ipsum non habuerint, quem si habuerint do eidem librum vel libros quem vel quos habuerint[3] equalis valoris, s'[4] vi marc'. Do interea librarie communi universitatis librum notabilem s'[5] Communem Glosam super Quinque Libros Sapienciales et Hugonem de Vienna in margine, quem librum si quis vendicet et sufficienter probet esse suum, universitatem requiro coram Deo ut ipsum sibi liberent. Item do Magistro Stephano et sorori mee si quid un^{i}(6) debuerint pro persona mea, et do illis xx^{s}. Item Johanni Brasyer, nepoti meo, Primarium meum. Item Katerine Conyn' xx^{s} vel valorem et clamidem meum et le blew cusshon' et cathedra'. Item amite mee de Beccles iii^{s} iiii^{d}. (fol. 276) Item cuilibet de consanguineis meis iiii^{d}. Item do cuilibet confratri gilde Corporis Christi ad Exequias meas et ad Missam venienti, si licite venire valeat, iiii^{d}. Item Domine Juliane xii^{d}, et domui de Carhowe ii^{s}.

Item Domino Roberto, recluso, ii^{s}, et recluso fratrum Carmelit' xii^{d}. Item recluse in Conesford ii^{s}, et cuilibet domui fratrum mendicancium iii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item in distribuc' pauperum parochie mee xl^{s}. Item cuilibet lazaro ad port' eiusdem parochie mee iiii^{d}. Item cuilibet lazaro ad alias portas ii^{d}. Item cuilibet sorori de Normanns et semisorori ii^{d}, et Dominę Katerine eiusdem domus xii^{d}. Item recluse in parochia Sancti Petri xii^{d}.

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(1) Sic; presumably a scribal error for voluminibus.
(2) Cf.,
(3) Sic; no non before habuerint.
(4) Probably scilicet, possibly seu.
(5) Probably scilicet, possibly seu.
(6) Possibly undique.

Item Domino Johanni Spendlose ii^{s}, et Domino Willelmo (Th)[1] ii^{s}. Item Ricardo Gronger viii^{d}, vel valorem. Item Waltero, famulo nostro, ii^{s}. Item Johanni Berlburd iii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item volo quod quilibet sacerdos mee parochie ad obitum meum habeat iiii^{d}. Item equaliter ad diem septimum vel octavum, cum pro me exequatur, cuilibet virilis etatis homini ii^{d}, et cuilibet eiusdem parochie puero in suppeliciis i^{d}. Item do Domino Thome Skenen' meam Legendam Auream. Item libellum quem emi de Domino Willelmo Balle, Oredo Pacisiens'[2]. Item quaternum quem dedit michi Dominus Willelmus. Item satisfecit mihi pro portiforio meo. Item do sibi Tractatum Versidicand', et unam de dong' meis eliget et pilium meum cum quo equito. Item do Magistro Johanni Palm' vi^{s} viii^{d}. Item Magistro Stephano et uxori eius, sorori mee, le ffedyrbed quem iam occupo, et optimum par lintheamentorum, coopertor' blod' cum appendenc' eiusdem lecti et tocius camere. Volo ut rector ecclesie Sancti Michaelis de Coslen' habeat Cronicam meam si velit equaliter dare sicut quiscumque alius, et tunc do sibi iii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item Margar' Bryxy do par precularum, quondam Domini Rogeri, et xii^{d}. Item Domino Thome Pern' le paxbrede. Item Henrico Gronger viridam superlectilem meam et par lintheamentorum et par lodicum iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum. Item do successori meo et successoribus suis magnam patellam. Item Capelle de Campis magnam ollam eneam. Item domui hospitalis Sancti Egidii vi^{s} viii^{d}, et cuilibet sorori et pauperi eiusdem domus i^{d}.

Huius voluntatis ultime executores constituo et ordino Magistrum Stephanum Brasyer et Thomam Kyngesey, ut si quid mihi debuerint illis remitto. Item Dominum Johannem Dowe et supervisorem Magistrum Ricardum Porynglond, quorum cuilibet do pro labore suo xiii^{s} iiii^{d}. Si quid comparere velint predict' supervisor et executores mei de bonis meis, volo ut emant sicut consciencia dictat ita quod rem[3] quam unus emat pecuniam aliis de suis sociis persolvat. Item volo quod omnia bona mea habita et debita post discessum meum, et pecunie que ex tunc pervenerint de vendic' eorum, reponant in custodiam dicti supervisoris mei ad terminum vite sue quousque per consensum eius et executorum meorum fuerint iuxta voluntatem meam disponend'. Et si contigerit aliqua bona mea vel debita mea post eius discessum relinqui indisposita, tunc volo quod per communem consensum

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(1) Th crossed out.
(2) Sic; possibly a scribal error for Credo Parisiensis (cf., pp. 79-80).
(3) Sic.

executorum meorum in aliquo loco tuto serventur et disponantur. Item si, quod absit, bona (et)[1] mea et debita non sufficiant ad disposicionem et execucionem voluntatis mee (presentis)[2] predicte, tunc diminucionem et moderacionem legatorum meorum predictorum committo consciencie et discrecioni supervisorum et executorum meorum, non obstante quovis iurato eorum facto vel faciendo pro adimplecione voluntatis mee predicte.

E. John Baker, rector of St John's Maddermarket in Norwich and of All Saints of Berstreet in Norwich (1518)

Introduction

John Baker, his will and the inventory of his goods have already been fully discussed.[3]

Will of John Baker and the Inventory of his Goods[4]

In the name of God, Amen. I, John Baker, clerk, in good and hole mynde, beinge at Pulham Mawdelen the last day of August in the yere of Owre Lord God Mill' CCCCC xviiith, make my testamentt and last will in this forme folowing. ffirste I commend (fol. 181d) my soull to almyghtti God, Owr Lady Seint Mary and to all the seynts in hevyn. My bodi to be buriede as shall please to purvay for it in sume holy sentuary. Item I bequeith to the high altar of o^{r} moder church in Norwich ii^{s}. Item I bequeith to the fraternitie of the prest' gilde present being at my dirige and Mase for me to donne of the same bretherne v^{d}.[5] Item I will that myn executors do kepe a dirige with Mase in the Chappell of ffeld for the soule of Richard Baxter, prest, whan thei have convenient leysor; and the same to be donne accordinge to the will of the said Richard; also all the other legatts

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(1) et crossed out.
(2) presentis crossed out.
(3) Cf., pp. 76-8 and 98.
(4) N.C.C., Reg. Gylys, fos. 181-181d (Baker).
(5) Sic; presumably 'be' is to be supplied before 'donne'.

expressed in the said will or testamentt of the said Richarde Baxter, I will thei be fulfillede as it may reise and growe of the payments of the obligacion' in the wich Master Robert Bell stondith bownde to me. Item I bequeith to the reparacyon of the founte in the church of Alderford xx^{s}, and that to be paid as may ryse and come of the paymentts of the obligacion in the which William Phillippis, baxster, stondith bounde. Item I bequeith to the church of Alhalows in Bestrett in Norwich xxxiii^{s} iiii^{d} for to bye a cope therwith and to be paid as it may be born of my goods. Item I will ther be disposide after tenor and legatt' of the will of Jaffray Carter iii^{li} as in the same mor playnly apperith, and that to be donn and fulfilled as it may be leved of my goods in processe of tym'. Also I will that myn executors doo call to theme one Andrew Gyllis, sherman of Norwich, to serche and seik the books of his maister. Item I bequeith to (ich of my)[1] (fol. 182) my father and to my mother xxxiii^{s} iiii^{d} to be delyveryd to them as they nede itt. Item I bequethe to iche of my systers vi^{s} viii^{d}. The residew of my goods I committe in too the handys of myn executores whome I orden and make Sir Robert Cirling, person of Brokdishe, and John Alen' of Norwiche, hoser, and I geve to the same Sir Robert Cirlyng my lynyd gowne and alsoo to iche of my sayd executores for their labores x^{s}. Theis wittnes: Sir Robert Edwarde, preist, my gostly father, William Wattys and Thomas Brown dwellyng in Pulham.

The inventary of all the goods moveable of Sir John Baker, preist, to hym apperteynyng and belongyng in tyme of his dethe apprisid, the viii day of the monythe of (Octobir)[2] Septembyr in the yere of O^{r} Lord God Mill' CCCCC xviii by Thomas Cony and John Norma' of the parishe of Sancte Petirs of Mancroft in Norwiche.

In primis a violet goun ffurride with calabre	v^{li}
Item a russett gown ffuryd' with foxe	xl^{s}
Item a violett goun fured with shanks	xxx^{s}
Item a russett gown fured with blake lambe	xvi^{s}
Item a worsted cote furred parte with white lambe	viii^{s}
Item a hood furred with white lambe	v^{s}

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(1) ich of my crossed out.
(2) Octobir crossed out.

Item a tipett furred with blak cony	xvi^{d}
Item a singell tipett of puyke	iiii^{d}
Item a doblet of satten old	ii^{s}
(fol. 182d) None of his. Item a lute with[1]	
Item a remanentt of new canvas	xv^{d}
Item a carpet	xx^{d}
Item a old coverlet	vi^{d}
Item a coverynge of taptri worke	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Item a fetherbede with a bolster of teike	viii^{s}
Item a donnge	iii^{s}
Item a coverlett of	xvi^{d}
Item a bolster of canvas with floke	iiii^{d}
Item ii old blanketts	xvi^{d}
Item a donge	viii^{d}
Yeven.[2] Item a tawny gown	xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item ii paire of hoses	xiiii^{d}
Item ii shirtts	ii^{s}
Item a pillow of canvas	vi^{d}
Item a bolster of lether	ii^{d}
Item a old fetherbed with a bolster	vi^{s}
Item (a)[3] ii blanketts	ii^{s}
Item a peire of shets	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item a old blankett	iiii^{d}
Item a doblet of worsted	xii^{d}
Item a parlot of damaske	iiii^{d}
Item ii shetts	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item a towell	ii^{d}
Item ii pillows	xvi^{d}
Item an old coverlett blew	xii^{d}
Item iiii chosyns with eglis	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item a pare sleppers	vi^{d}
Item viii stenyde clothis	iiii^{s}
Item a Sentt John hed in alleblaster	xii^{d}

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(1) None of his in the left margin of the document alongside Item a lute with, and no sum of money opposite Item a lute with.
(2) Yeven in the left margin of the document alongside Item a tawny gown.
(3) a crossed out.

Item a lectarne cofer	vi^{d}
Item ii^{li} of wexe	xii^{d}
Item a brois	i^{d}
Item a cover of a maser with a knopp of silver	vi^{d}
Item a towell of playn cloth	xii^{d}
(fol. 183) Item a diapre tabil clothe	xii^{d}
Item a large shete	ii^{s} viii^{d}
Item iii peyre of shetes	iiii^{s}
Item ii wypyng towell and ii white cortens	xvi^{d}
Item ii playn tabill clothes	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item a diapre towell	xx^{d}
Item v playn napkyns	vi^{d}
Item a pyllough with ii beres	viii^{d}
Item a cheist a countes	xi^{s}
Item iiii bokys of Abbott	x^{s}
Item the Sext, Decretalles and Decreis	xii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item ii di' Portuas	ii^{s}
Item a boke callyd W. de Speculat'	iiii^{s}
Item a boke, iii^{a} pars Speculi	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item a Bybill and Institutes	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item a boke callyd Sermones Discipuli	xx^{d}
Item a boke, Ortus Vocabulorum	xii^{d}
Item a boke, Vocabularius Iuris	xii^{d}
Item Legenda Aurea	xvi^{d}
Item iiii small boks: Casus Longi Bernardi, Sermones Vincencii, Sermones Parati, Sermones Dormii /	xl^{d}
Item xx other small boks	iiii^{s}
Item liber, Preceptor'	xii^{d}
Item a litill falt tabyll	iiii^{d} (xii^{d})[1]
Item iiii turned chayres	xvi^{d}
Item a boke, Modus Legend'	iiii^{d}
Item Sermones Magistri ffysher	iiii^{d}
Item a bok, Lynwod	v^{s}
Item a bok, Albertus Magnus	iiii^{d}
Item a olde cofer	iiii^{d}

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(1) <u>xii^{d}</u> crossed out.

Item ii sydes for bedd'	xii^{d}
(fol. 183d) Item a old chayre with ii formes	viii^{d}
Item ii peyre of trostoles	iiii^{d}
Item a stole with a peyre of bellons	iiii^{d}
Item xxiii peces of pewter of xxxvi pounde wheight	ix^{s}
Item a tryvet with chaynes	iiii^{d}
Item a chafyng-dishe	viii^{d}
Item a stons and a payle	iii^{d}
Item a panne with a sterte	iiii^{d}
Item a mowse snache with a fyrefork	ii^{d}
Item a lathe panne	iiii^{d}
Item a spete, a rake, a peyre tonges	xii^{d}
Item a hangyng rake	iiii^{d}
Item a sadill	xvi^{d}
Item xii tronchers	i^{d}
Item a almery	iiii^{d}
Item a olde cofer	iii^{d}
Item a awndiron	iiii^{d}
Item iii brokyn iron'	ii^{d}
Item iii old brasse and laton'	ix^{s}
Item a maser parsell gylt	xii^{s}
Item iii spones xv unces	xlv^{s}
Item a dobylett of velvett[1]	
Item a typett of velvett	
Item a short ridyng gowne	
Item a ridyng hoode of cha'belet	
Item a sarcinet tipett	
Item a sadyll and a brydill	

F. William Setman (1429), John Terry (1524) and Robert Jannys (1530), all three of whom had been mayors of Norwich.

Introduction

Individual points of special interest in the wills of William Setman,

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(1) No sums of money were mentioned opposite the last six items.

John Terry and Robert Jannys have already been discussed.[1] Their wills are also very interesting examples of the wills of the greatest citizens of late medieval Norwich. All three were very wealthy men as well as important figures in the government of the city. William Setman, who was a mercer, was a bailiff of Norwich in 1402, a sheriff in 1413, three times burgess in Parliament and mayor in 1421.[2] John Terry, who was also a mercer, was a sheriff of Norwich in 1514 and mayor of the city in 1523;[3] and Robert Jannys, who was a grocer, was a sheriff of Norwich in 1509 and mayor of the city in 1517 and again in 1524.[4] Each of the three wills is highly individualistic and illustrates the extent to which wills could depend upon the personal wishes of testators, rather than upon convention. It is interesting to compare how each of the three men left his money in his will. William Setman left a total of about £350 and rents from two houses. He left £16-13-4 to his executors, in the region of £20 to £30 to his executors, £13-6-8 to two of his servants, and about £90 and rents from two houses - or just over a quarter of the total - in charitable bequests. He left the remaining £200 or so - or well over half of the total - in bequests of a directly religious nature, namely: about £100 for Masses, prayers and religious services; about £80 to religious houses; about £35 to parish churches and to the parochial clergy; and about £5 to anchorites and their servants, to hermits and to 'béguines'.[5] John Terry left about

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(1) For points of special interest in the will of William Setman, cf., pp. 192, 200-1, 237, 241 notes 1, 2 and 3, 249, 257 note 3 and 264-5; for those in the will of John Terry, cf., pp. 249 and 266-7; and for those in the will of Robert Jannys, cf., pp. 194, 252, 256 and 265.
(2) B. Cozens Hardy and E. Kent, The Mayors of Norwich, 1403-1835 (Norwich, 1938), pp. 18-19.
(3) Ibid., p. 45.
(4) Ibid., p. 42.
(5) Here and sometimes subsequently the individual sums add up to more than the total because some bequests fell under more than one category: e.g., bequests left to friars so that they would say Masses.

£1,300 and an unspecified amount of jewels, household furnishings, houses, tenements and lands. He was exceptional in that he left the bulk of his huge fortune in charitable bequests, namely about £868 - or two-thirds of the £1,300 - and the money coming from the sale after his wife's death of the houses, lands and tenements. He left £30 to his executors, £200 for seven years to one of his servants, and £20 to a boy; and to his wife he left £200, £40 worth of plate, all his jewels and 'stuffe of housholde', and the houses, tenements and lands for the duration of her life. His religious bequests totalled about £145 - or only about eleven per cent of the £1,300: namely, rather more than £100 which he left for the saying of Masses and prayers, £8 which he left to religious houses, about £30 which he left to parish churches, and about 10/- which he left to anchorites. Robert Jannys left in his will bequests in cash worth over £2,700, his house and a few other bequests in kind. He said, with amazing vagueness, that he wanted the huge sum of £800 - or over a quarter of the total - to be disposed for his soul and for all christian souls during twenty years, and a further £40 was to be 'dispoasid' by his executors on the first anniversary of his death. He left £26-13-4 and four gowns to his executors and to his wife he left £666-13-4, and the house in which she lived for the duration of her life. He left about £20 to various relatives and he left his brother, who was a priest, up to £120 to perform chantry services for his soul. He left a further £45 and three gowns to servants of his and to various lay people, and £20 for civic projects - repairing the streets and walls of the city. His charitable bequests totalled about £400 exclusive of a bequest to the city of as much money as would buy land yielding £8 a year, which was to be spent on discharging the tolls and customs at the fairs and gates of the city. His religious bequests totalled nearly

£600, which was more than one-fifth of the total: namely, over £420 which he left for the saying of Masses and prayers and which included £200 which he left for the foundation of a combined perpetual chantry and grammar school; about £160 which he left to religious houses; about £65 and two copes which he left to parish churches and to the parochial clergy; and about £20 and a tenement which he left to anchorites.

Will of William Setman[1]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Willelmus Setman, civis Norwici, compos mentis die Conversionis Sancti Pauli anno Domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} xxviii condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam omnipotenti Deo, Beateque Virgini Marie, matri eiusdem, et omnibus angelis eius gerarchiam curie celestis quovismodo occupantibus, et corpus meum sepeliendum in ecclesia Sancti Petri de (Mans)[2] Mancroft civitatis Norwici coram altari vocato Brondysawter.

Item lego summo altari eiusdem ecclesie xl^{s}, et emendacioni sive reparacioni eiusdem ecclesie xxvi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item lego cuilibet capellano in Collegio Beate Marie comoranti et exequiis meis interessenti ii^{s}. Item lego capellano parochiali dicte ecclesie Sancti Petri sacramenta ecclesiastica mihi conferenti iii^{s} iiii^{d}, et cuilibet capellano in dicta ecclesia et exequiis meis interessenti xii^{d}, et clerico parochiali eiusdem ecclesie ii^{s}, ac sacriste eiusdem ecclesie xii^{d}. Item lego emendacioni hospitalis Sancti Egidii in Norwico xiii^{li} vi^{s} viii^{d}, et cuilibet debili sive decrepito ibidem ii^{s}. Item Matilde Upgate, ibidem converse, xx^{s}. Item lego cuilibet converse ibidem et apud Normannes, cuiusque status fuerit, ii^{s}.

Item lego Dompne Juliane, anachorite de Carrowe, xx^{s}, et cuilibet servienti eiusdem Juliane xl^{d}; et Dompne Johanne, anachorite de Consford, xx^{s}, et utrique famularum eiusdem iii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item lego cuilibet domui quatuor ordinum fratrum mendicancium in Norwico lxvi^{s} viii^{d}. Item lego

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(1) N.C.C., Reg. Surflete, fos. 124d-125d (Setman).
(2) Mans crossed out.

cuilibet leprosorum ad quascumque portas civitatis Norwici xii^{d}, et cuilibet heremitarum in Norwico lego xii^{d}. Item lego cuilibet sorori quasi converse in parochia Sancti Swithuni iii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item lego Ricardo, heremite in parochia Sancti Egidii, xl^{s}.

Item lego (cuilibet monialium)[1] priori ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis Norwici x^{s}, et cuilibet ibidem gerenti habitum monachalem lego ii^{s}. Item lego cuilibet monacho Sancte ffidis vi^{d}; et cuilibet canonico de Bokenham ii^{s}, et reparacioni eiusdem prioratus de Bokenham xl^{s}. Item lego cuilibet monialium de Carrowe, Bosyerd, fflyxton, Bungeye, Thetford, Denneye, Marram, Scholdham, Crawows, Camppeseye, Cawnbregge, Swaffham in comitatu Cantabrigie et Redyngfeld in comitatu Suff' et Blakberwe ii^{s}. Item lego ad sustentacionem Johannis, fratris mei, per manus executorum meorum disponend' vi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item lego cuilibet consanguineorum meorum in secundo gradu consanguinitatis a me distancium xx^{s}. Item lego emendacioni librorum et aliorum ornamentorum in ecclesia de Skottowe magis necessariorum lxvi^{s} viii^{d}. Item lego Johanni Cok, servienti meo, vi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item lego Emme, famule mee, vi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item lego Roberto Setman, filio Roberti Setman, vi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}. Item lego Domine Alicie Blakeneye, moniali de Brosyerd, xx^{s}.

Item lego cooperture cancelle ecclesie collegiate Beate Marie in Camp' Norwici cum plumbo cooperiend' xx^{li} condicione et forma subsequentibus, videlicet: si decanus et canonici ibidem qui nunc sunt et qui in eventu erunt singuli per se in sua admissione corporale prestiterint iuratum quod statim post mortem meam naturalem obitum meum in suo mortilegio et nomen meum in libro dominicali in quo nomina defunctorum die dominica recitantur et recitaverint cum effectu inserant et inscribant, ipsumque (fol. 125) obitum annuatim observent, et quod cantariam meam[2] ibidem per me factam fideliter observabunt et facient observari futuris temporibus perpetuo duratur'.

Item volo quod statim post obitum meum distribuantur inter pauperes magis egentes in civitate Norwici et aliis villis circumiacentibus xx^{li}. Item volo quod inter pauperes et presertim claudos, cecos vel notabiliter debiles in civitate Norwici continue comorantes per tres annos continuos

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(1) In the document there is a line immediately above and another immediately below cuilibet monialium.
(2) Cf., pp. 192, and 352, under 1412.

(prios)[1] proximos post obitum meum distribuantur xl^{li} sub hac forma, videlicet, quod quelibet persona claudorum, cecorum sive debilium precedencium habeat septimanatim iii^{d}. Item volo quod adstatim post obitum meum distribuantur inter pauperes magis egentes in villis de Skottowe, Lamesse, Cowteshale, Ryston, Slolee, Worstede, Swantone, Walsham, Skeyton, Totyngtone, Horstede, Holbesse Magna et Parva et Westwyk xxvi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}.

Item volo quod septem celebrent sacerdotes per unum annum integrum in ecclesia Sancti Petri de Mancroft si comode fieri poterit, alioquin successive quousque summa xl librarum de bonis meis plenarie persolvantur. Item volo quod prior de Scholdham, qualiscumque pro tempore fuerit, habeat de bonis meis post obitum meum xx^{li} sub ista condicione, videlicet: quod si executoribus meis faciat securitatem sufficientem quod annuatim solvet seu solvi faciat Margarete et Margarete Page, monialibus sive conversis eiusdem domus, equaliter x^{s} quousque dicta summa xx^{li} plenarie fuerit persoluta, tunc presens legatum in suo robore permaneat vigore et effectu, alioquin in pios usus distribuatur (scdi'u)[2] secundum discrecionem executorum meorum. Item volo quod Alicia Colman, leprosa, habeat de bonis meis per annum quamdiu vixerit vi^{s} viii^{d}.

Item volo quod tractetur cum magistro de Ivyhalle, nuper vocat' le hospital in Conysford in Norwico, si magister qui pro tempore fuerit velit subire et cum effectu observare onus antiquum dicto hospitali impositum, quod tunc redditus ex antiquo prevenientes de duabus domibus, quarum una situatur ad finem venelle que ducit ad ecclesiam Collegii Beate Marie ex parte boriali et alia domus nuper Johannis Spycer in Ou'nenport in Norwico, restituatur[3] hospitali predicto.

Item volo quod de bonis meis inveniatur unus cereus continue ardens die nocteque coram Corpore Christi in cancella ecclesie Beati Petri de Mancroft predicta imperpetuum. Item volo quod statim post obitum meum celebrentur pro anima mea et animabus omnium quibus teneor iiii milia missarum.

Residuum vero bonorum meorum (mobl)[4] mobilium legata mea predicta excedens, ac omnia terr' et tenementa mea cum pertinenc' suis infra civitatem Norwici et extra ubicumque iacent', lego executoribus meis ad

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(1) prios crossed out.
(2) scdi'u crossed out.
(3) Sic in the singular.
(4) mobl crossed out.

vendend' et distribuend' simul (cum aliis bonis meis)[1] cum aliis bonis meis supra non legatis pauperibus - videlicet, cecis, claudis, paraliticis, languentibus in lectis, decrepitis, leprosis, viduis, orphanis et aliis egenis maiorem necessitatem habentibus - secundum discrecionem executorum meorum, quos rogo et in quantum possum exortor in visceribus Ihu' Christi, exconsciencias coram Summo Judice onorando, quod omnia predicta fiant modo et forma supradict' secundum quod viderint magis Deo placere et anime mee ac animabus omnium benefactorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum expedire.

Huius autem testamenti mei executores Magistrum Thomam Ryngstede, decanum Collegii Beate Marie de Campis in Norwico, Dominum Rogerum Prat, magistrum Hospitalis Sancti Egidii de Norwico, Dominum Edwardum Hu'tte, Dominum Johannem Bokebynder, clericos, ac Willelmum 'ymme, civem Norwici, ordino et constituo per presentia. Volo (fol. 125d) eciam quod Ricardus, heremit' nuper manens ad portas Sancti Egidii, sit intendens et adiutor executoribus meis, maxime in distribucione elemosinarum et in aliis agendis. Cuilibet executorum meorum administracionem huius testamenti mei accipienti lego pro labore suo v marcas. Item lego predicto Ricardo, heremito, pro labore suo secundum discrecionem executorum meorum. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui. Dat' apud Norwicum die et anno supradict'.

Will of John Terry[2]

In Dei nomine, Amen. The xxx^{ti} day of December in the yere of Our Lord God a thousande fyve hundred and xxiiii, I, John Terry of Norwich, merchaunt, in my parfite and constant mynde, lawd and thanks be to almighty God, make this my present testament conteynyng my true and last will in the forme and condicion folowing. ffirst I commende my soule to my savyor and maker, Lord God omnipotent, Jesu Criste, and his moder mylde Mary, Saint John Baptist, myn advowy, and to all the celestiall company of hevyn. My body to be cadaver, yf it fortune me to depart this wrecched worlde within Norwich, to be buried within the chapell of Saint John Baptist called

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(1) cum aliis bonis meis crossed out.
(2) PROB/11/21 (Reg. Bodfelde, 1523-1525), fol. 29 (Terry).

Mathermarket in Norwich aforsaid, orells where it shall please God to provide for the same.

To whose high awter for my tithes necligently forgotten and witholden I bequeth xl^{s}. Item I bequeth to the same church of Saint John Baptist a crosse of silver and gilt to the summe and value of fourty marcs, and also towards the making of a frame for an hersse to the sepulcre forto sett tapers upon whansoever the parish mynde and entende to endever themself to do make the same xl^{s}. Item I bequeth to ech house of the four orders of ffreres in Norwich, that is to sey Prechours, Mynors, Augustynes and Carmelits, xl^{s}. Item I bequeth to every parsone beyng anchor or anchores within Norwich xx^{d}. Item I bequeth to every and singuler hoole suster beyng in the place of Normans viii^{d}, and to every half suster of the same place xii^{d}. Item I bequeth to every and singuler house of lazers aboute the gats at Norwich vi^{d}. Item I woll have a seculer prest to synge and serve for me and my frends in the churche of Saint John Baptist aforsaid by the space and tyme of twenty yeres next and immediatly after my deth. Item I bequeth to the reparacion of the church of Saint Petir in the Market in Norwich x^{s}. Item to the sustentacion of the Masse of Jesu in the same church xx^{d}.

Item I bequeth and will thre hundred marcs of my goods in corant money of Inglond be by my executours delivered unto suche indigent and nedefull persones as merchanunts, craftmen or other occupiers or artificers, citizenis being of the said citie of Norwich, as they in the tyme of their life thinke and mynde best in maner and fourme, use and condicion folowyng: that is to sey and to be understande yf any yong man, merchaunt, artificer and craftisman beyng of the said citie of Norwiche, nede having and indigent beyng of comforte, helpe, releve or ayde of worldly substaunce as money and coyne at his nede and necessitie to be releved, socored and holpen, I woll he shalhave of the said thre hundred marcs for his releve, mayntenaunce and comforte suche summe or summes of money as shalbe by my said executours their lyves or lyve during, and after their decesse by maister mayer and two Justice of Peax of the said citie ever after perpetuall in tyme tocome and for tyme beyng thought convenient, requisite and oportune to suche parsone or parsones to enioye, exercise and occupie to their own propre and singuler use, commoditie and profite so aslong tyme daies and yeres as the forsaid myn executors lyving or maister mayer and ii Justice of Peace tyme after beyng will assigne and limite; so it be not

over and above the tyme, space and terme of thre yeres, but he or they the said citizenis suche summe or summes of money of the said thre hundred marcs so having and occupyng, those same summes by them so taken and receyved unto my said executours lyving or, after their deth, maister mayor and two Justice of Peax than beyng, in good corant golde of Inglond shall repaye, deliver and content without delacion, collusion or delaye; provided alway that suche persones having and procuryng suche summes of money for his releve, helpe and comforte shall not have of the said thre hundred marcs over and above the summe of fourty pounds; and over that the same parson or parsones, citizenis, before the tyme of the havinge or receyving of the said summes of the said money with sufficient suertie in writing obligatory after the course and fourme of the King's Lawe to be bounde unto my said executours, their lyves enduring, and after deceas to the mayor and two Justice of Peas of the said citie ever after in tyme comyng and than beyng as shalbe thought able and sufficient for suche summes of money to be repaide and delivered agayn at suche day and dayes as by them abovenamed shalbe limited, ordred and assigned.

Item I woll that my servaunt, Robert Rugge, have delivered him after my deceas two hundred pounds in money or to the value in good wares; he therunto agreable and consenting the same to enioye and exercise and occupie to his propre advantage and profite by the terme and space of sevyn yeres next and immediatly folowing my deceas; ffirst leying in unto the withinnamed John Marsham, John Curat sufficient and goode suertie for the repayment of the same as shalbe by the said John and John thought to the King's Lawe according and requisite; and thies yeres complete and passed, finisshed and ended, the said Robert Rugge to redeliver and repaye the said two hundred pounds or like moche in good and corant money of Englonde unto the said John Marsham and John Curat, or to either of theym than lyving, within two yeres next and immediatly folowyng and ensuyng in maner and forme as afterward doth appere: that is to sey, oon hundred pounde by yere unto the said two hundred pounds be paide, and than myn executours to dispoase the same in dedes of charitie and pitie for the helth of my soule and my frends' soules as they shall thinke most pleasure to God and profite to my soule.

Item I woll that at my buriall day be expended in dedes of charitie oon hundred marcs at the leest; and so yerely at my memoriall day, called

yere day, every and singuler yere during the tyme and space of ten yeres next and immediatly after my deth twenty pounds.

Item I bequeth to Letyce, my wife, thre hundred marcs of good corant and redy money immediatly after my decesse to be delivered with fourty pounds worth of plate suche as she shall think best and necessary for her, and all my juells, ryng, owches and cheynes and all apparell bilonging to hir body in any wise. Item I bequeth to the same Letice, my wife, all and singuler my stuffe of housholde to occupie and enioye to thuse of this my will and testament: that is to sey, she shall not at any tyme yeve nor bequeth suche stuffe of housholde as is to hir by me bequethed to any persone or persones but unto such as were to me tyme of my lyfe loving, frendfull and kynde; for yf she doo, I will her bequest be noo bequest but stuffe by hir so bequethed and gevyn to be solde by myn executours or thexecutours of myn executours longest lyving. Item I woll my said wife, Letice, have, enioye, occupie and exercise during tyme, space and terme of hir lyfe naturall all suche houses, tenements and lands free and bonde of myn in Norwich or without to hir propre use and profite; fynding and keping due, necessary and nedefull reparacions upon the same tyme and terme abovewritten; and after the decesse of my said wife out of this wrecched worlde or in the meane tyme during hir lyfe, as it shalbe thought moost expedient and requisite by myn executours, - my said wif's interest and title as it[1] abovesaid during the terme and tyme abovewritten alway reserved and excepted - the said houses, tenements and lands abovespecified I woll shalbe solde and the money therof comyng doon in dedes of charite by my said executours or the executours of them lengest lyving after their discrecion and wisdom.

Item I require, desire and exorte all my cofeoffees in the honor and in the wounds of Our Savyor, Jesu Crist, to yeve and deliver state and seasor laufull, as shalbe thought by lerned counsell good and nedefull, to myn executours to thuse of this my testament and last will at all tymes whan' they or any of theym shalbe therunto required and desired.

Item I bequeth to Ranf Sponer xx^{li} whan he come to thage of xviii yeres; and yf he dye or departe afore he come to that age, I woll the same xx^{li} be dispoased after the discrecions of myn executors or thexecutors of them lengest lyving.

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(1) Sic; presumably a scribal error for is.

Item I woll there be bought by myn executours asmoch landes or rents in Saint Peter's parishe in the Market, orells nygh unto the same, as may be possible obteyned and procured to the summe and value of thre hundred marcs at the lest; and that lands, tenements or rents so bought to be orderd and set in fourme - in condicion yf the King's Lawe woll therto permite - for to bere, acquite and discharge the pour people of the said citie of Norwich of and upon the king's taxes and talag' whansoever it be layde upon them within the said citie asfarr as the rents, fermes and money receyved of the said lands and rents woll extende and surmount; and yf it cannot be brought aboute by councell lerned without the daunger of the king's lawes, than I woll the said lands, renters and tenements be solde by myn executours lyving or by thexecutours of him myn executor lengest lyving, and the money therof comyng to be dispoased for my soule after their discrecions and wisdoms.

The residue of all my goods not bequethed I will be ordred and rewled as it shall please myn executours, whom I ordeyn, constitute and make of this my present testament John Marsham of Norwiche, alderman, John Curat, notary, and Robert Rugg, my servant, or thexecutors of my said executors lengest lyving, to order and to rewle. To the which my said executours I bequeth thirty pounds: that is to say, to eche of them tenne pounds and all their costs, charg' and expenses of them and any of them doon and expended or to be doon and expended in any parte or in hool executing and fulfilling this my present testament and last will after their own good mynde and discrecion ever to be doon and expended; provided alwey and ever to be noted that if goods, detts and catalls that comyth to my said executours' hands, or shall come, will not amount and extende to the summe or summes forto fully discharge and fulfill this my testament and last will in legat' and bequests in every poynte and parte in the same, I will then my said executours defalcat and dymynishe the same my said legat' and bequests after their discrecions and wisdoms, and to fulfil the residue after the quantitie after their receyts as will answere at the day of jugement.

Present at the making of this my testament and last will and to the reding and repeting of the same therunto speciallye required: Richard Gryme of Norwich, inholder, and Robert Goye of the same, ffishemonger.

Will of Robert Jannys[1]

In the name of God, Amen. The xx^ti day of Apryll, the yere of Owr Lorde mill' v^c xxx^ty, I, Robert Jannys, cytyzen and alderman of Norwich, in my good and hole mynde, God be lauded, make my testament and last will in manir and forme following - and all other willes that I have made to be voyde and frustrat and of none effect, and this to be my last will and testament. ffirste I bequeth my soule to allmighty God, my maker and creatour, and to Our Blessed Lady Sainte Mary, his blessid mother, and to all the blessid company of hevin. And my body to be buried in the chaunsell of Saint George in Norwich aforesaid before Sainte George, my advoury, aforesaid.

To the whiche high aulter for my tithes negligently forgottyn and not trewly content and paied I bequeth five pounds. Item I will and instantly require myn executors before all things that my bodye be buried - all necessaries had and dom aboute the same - than that they trewly content and pay my debts and recompense all wrongs, mysse prysonments, mysseréconyngs by me doon, yf anny be provydd, before my legacies be fulfillid; I will restitucion be made to the uttermost. Allso I bequeth to thonour of God and to the churche of Saint George a new redd coope of tyssew very lyke to the best cope. Allso I bequeth to the said churche a newe white coope as good as the best white coope or better. Item I will have at my burying day vii solempne Diriges, that is to say at Christ Churche[2] and at the Chappell of the ffeld, at thospital of Sainte Gyle and at the iiii ordres of ffreres Item I give unto the priour of Christe Churche iii^s iiii^d, and to every monke being preest viii^d, and to every novis iiii^d. Item I give to the master of the Chappell of ffeld, yf he be at Dirige, xx^d, and to every preest viii^d, and to every clerke of the same place ii^d. Item I give to the master of thospital xx^d, and to every preest viii^d, and to every clerke and child ii^d. And in every of the saide plac' the morning aftir Masse of Requiem, and allso to be offrid at every of the said Masses eche place vii^d by oon of myn executors or their assignes. Item I give to the iiii ordres of freres: every priour and doctour xii^d, and to every preest iiii^d, and

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(1) PROB/11/24 (Reg. Thower, 1531-1533), fol. 1 (Jannys).
(2) I.e., Norwich Cathedral.

to every novis ii^{d}; and I will that every of the said ordres of freres sing a Masse of Requiem as is aforesaid, and there to be offerid in every place vii^{d}. Item I will have at my buriall C Masses, and to every preest that saithe the said Masses iiii^{d}.

Item I give at my burying day to blynde, lame and sore with bedred within the cytie and at every gate abowte Norwich, to the susters of Normans, to every prysonier in the castell and the guyldhall, to every oon of thes iiii^{d}. Item I will that ther be delt at my burying day to every personne that will take allmes within their paroch i^{d} to pray for my soule and all christen soules. Item I will there be given for me at my buryall day to xl poore men and women xl gownes lynyd and made. Item I will have every warking daye next after my burying during xxx dayes a Dirige over night and Masse of Requiem the next day in the parisshe of Sainte George aforesaid: that is to say, I will have iiii secular preests and iiii ffreres - of eche place of religion oon - for the whiche I give to them iiii^{d}, and to the clerke and sexten for their labours, eche of them iiii^{d}, and to ii children i^{d} a pece. Item I will ther shalbe given at my xxx day to every paroche within Norwiche a certeyne to poore creatures that hathe most nede and lest helpe, as it shalbe thought nedefull by myn executours. Item I will have given at my xxx day xl gownes to poore men and women. Item I will that my executors shall give every weke to lxxx poore folke, men and women, i^{d} a pece of them every Fridaye during the space of xx^{ty} yeres.

Item I will have a Dirige at the nonnes of Carow; and I will that the priores have xii^{d}, and every nonne iiii^{d}, and every suster iiii^{d}, and every preest iiii^{d}; and a Masse of Requiem the next day. Item I will have a Dirige and a Masse at thabbey of Saint ffaithes. And I will the prior have xii^{d}, and every monke and preest iiii^{d}, and every novis ii^{d}. Item I give to the saide abbey of Saint ffaithes v^{li} to pray for my soule, my ffrends' and all christen soules.

Item I give to eche of the plac' of the iiii ordres of ffreres within Norwiche to the reparacion of the said houses xx^{li} to be paid to them under this manier: that is to say, at my buryall day xl^{s} to eche place, and so forthe yerely xl^{s} a yere to eche of them tyll the sum aforesaid be fully content and paied; and they to pray for my soule and all christen soules. Item I will that myn executours shall assigne at eche of the said

ordres of freres a good and weldisposed frere to syng yerely for me by the space of v yeres, and he to have for his stipend iiii marks to pray for me and my frends.

Item I will have an honest preest and a good quere man to syng and pray for me and my ffrends and them that I am bound to pray for in the church of Saint George by the space of xx yere, and he to have for his stipend ix marks. Item I will that my brother, Sir Thomas Jannis, have the service before expressid: that is to say, to be song in Saynt Georg paroch, where I do dwell, for the terme before expressid, yf he live so long, so that he will resigne his benefice, or els not; and that doon I will he syng the terme expressid before.

Item I will have given and dispoasid at my twelve moneth day xl^{li} by the discretion of myn execut'. Item I give bothe to the castell and gildhall x^{s} a yere by the space of xx^{ti} yeres. Item I will that my executors shall dispose for my soule and all christen soules every yere during xx yeres the sum of xl^{li}.

Item I will that my executours shall purchase iii C marks worth of land, or as moche land as is worthe x^{li} by yere, for a preest's service to sing for me and my frends in the churche of Aylesham, wher I was borne. And the forsaid preest to syng and kepe a free grammerscole within Ayleshm foresaid. The saide preest to take no wag' of no man nor scole hier of no scoller, nor noon of his frends, nor of non other man, but freely to give to the said scollers their lerning. And the said master to exorte his scollers to say De Profundis for the soule of me, the said Robert Jannis, and my frends ones a daye. Provided allwey that if the saide master take anny wagis or scole hier of anny scoller or any other man, that then the said scole master so provyd to restore the said partie or partes doble the valour of the som so takyn. Allso I will that the saide preest shalbe at the nominacion and assignement of myn executours, and after the decease of the longest lyver of myn executours, then I will that the said preest shalbe at the nominacyon of the vicar of the towne, the bayly churchewardes and iiii of the substauncyall of the towne of Aylesham aforesaid.

Item I will have in the paroche church of Sainte George, where as my bodye shalbe buried, iiii quarters Diriges: that is to say, every quarter oon; and that they shalbe lyke in every condicyon according as thother (xx

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(1) xxx inserted above the line.

Diriges afore expressid: viz., xxx. And I will have xii poore men at every quarter Diriges, and I will that they shalhave i^{d} a pece. Item I will have the next day after every of thes quarters Diriges a Masse of Requeim song for all thos personnes that wer present at Dirige. Item I will that oon of the churche wardens shall offer for me and all christon soules i^{d}, and I will that he shall have for his labour iiii^{d} at eche of the quarters Diriges before rehersid. Item I bequeth to the reparacions of the churche of Saint George iii^{s} iiii^{d} by yere during the space of xx yere. Item I give to the paroche preest of the said paroche for a certeyne iii^{s} iiii^{d} for xx yeres. Item to the clerk' wag' of the said paroche iii^{s} iiii^{d} by yere by the space of xx^{ti} yere. Item to the light in the saide paroche churche iii^{s} iiii^{d} by the space of xx yeres. Item I give to every parisshe church within Norwich vi^{s} viii^{d} a pece. Item I give and bequeth to the churche of Saint Andrew in Norwiche towards the making of the high aulter tenne pounds. Item to the reparacions of Sainte Olave's chappell x^{s}.

Item I will that my executours shall purchase as moche lands as shall amount to the yerely valewe of eyght pounds or better for the cytye of Norwiche forto discharge tolles and custumes in the faires and all the gat' of the cytie of Norwiche aforesaid.

Item I will that Margarett, my wyfe, shall have my place that I dwell in, the whiche is callid the ii Rammes, for terme of her lyf, yf she kepe her sole unmaryed; and yf she, the said Margarett, by maryed, then I will that the said place be sold by myn executours imediatly after her mariage, and the mony of the payments therof to be dispoasid in almes and in deds of charitie for my soule, my wyf's soule and all my ffrends' soules. Provydid allwey that myn executours shall have free ingate and owtgate to and froo within the said place at all tymes for to accomplisshe and fulfill all suche things and busines concerning my testament withowt any contradiction, disturbaunce or lett or the said Margaret or anny other in her name. And yf the saied Margarete, my wyf, willnot doe suffic[1] my executours to have free ingate and outegate to and fro at all tymes for reparacions of the saied place or otherwise, then I will the said Margaret, my wyf, shalbe dispossessid of the said place by myn executours for ever. Item I give an bequeth to the said Margarete, my wyf, oon thowsand marks: that is to say

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(1) Sic; presumably the 'c' of 'suffic' is a scribal error for an 'r'.

in mony, plate, stuff of howshold and merchauntdises at it shalbe praysid by indifferent personnes to be paied within oon yere next after my decease. Item I give and bequethe to the said Margaret, my wyf, all her morning clothes.

Item to the reparacions of the towne wales within the warde that I am allderman of x^{li} to be expendid by myn executours. Item I give to the paving of the streets within the said warde wher as most nede ys x^{li} to be dispendid by myn executours.

Item I give to Cycely Lege, my nece, v^{li}, and a gowne clothe for her husband, and an other for her. Item I give to John Tracye five pounds. Item to Robert Gray, some tyme my servant, v^{li}. Item to Henry Bacon, my servant, three pounds. Item to Richard Goodwyn, my servant, xl^{s}. Item to Alice Calle, my mayde, xl^{s}. Item to Ele Smyth, my maide, xx^{s}. Item I bequeth to Cycely Sebett, my mayde, xx^{s}. Item to Robert Mundis xl^{s}. Item to Robert Gates xl^{s}. Item to Anthony Waren xl^{s}. Item to Ranf Austen xl^{s}. Item to John Hall, sherman, xl^{s}. Item to Thomas Burley xl^{s}. Item to Thomas Warde xl^{s}. Item to Andrew Giles xx^{s}. Item to Robert Day, sherman, xx^{s}. Item to John Apariche v^{li} and a gowne clothe. Item I give to Thomas Basley xl^{s} and a gowne clothe. Item I give to John Petchet, loder, xl^{s} and a gowne clothe. Item I will that other of my custumers shalhave, eche of them, a gowne cloth suche as myn (E[1])executours shall appoynt.

Item I give to Katherynne Manne, the anchores at the Blacke Freires, for terme of her lyf a tenement in Sainte Georg' paroche that Robert Gat' dwellith in; and the said Katheryn to bere all reparacions, rents and charg' of the said tenement by all the terme aforesaid; and after the decease of the said Katheryn I will the said tenement be sold by myn executours to the performaunce of this my last will.

Item I will that all my mese and tenements in Saynt Mary's parisshe of Coslany, and all my meses and tenements in Saynt Georg' parrishe of Muspole, and my mese and tenements in ffaynt[2] Martyn's at thoke, item I will that all thos my meases and tenements aforesaid, and all other els where within the cytye or countrye, be sold by myn executours to the performaunce of this my testament and last will. Item I requyre and charg all my cofeoffes that be enfeoffed in anny parcell of lands or tenements

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(1) Sic; i.e., Eexecutours.
(2) Sic; presumably a scribal error for 'Saynt'.

within the cytye or countrey that they delyver a sufficyaunt and laufull astate of and in all the sayde lands and tenements at all tymes or seasons when they shalbe requyred by myn executours to thuse of this my last will.

Item I bequeth to every ancre and ancres within Norwiche xiii^{d} a quarter the space of xx yeres. Item I bequeth to John Jannys of Aylesham, my brother, tenne pounds and a gowne clothe for hym and a gowne cloth for his wyf. Item to eche of his doughters xx^{s}. Item I will that my apparrell, plate, stuff of houshold and my other wares and merchaundyses be sold by myn executours. Item I give to maydens' mariag' xx^{li}, xx^{s} apece Item to every oon of my godchildren ii^{s} a pece. Item I bequethe to Sir Henry ffaier, parrisshe preest of Saint George, xvi^{li} to be payde viii marks by yere till the sum of xvi^{li} be full content and payed.

Item I will that yf anny of my executours do expend or geve anny money or be at anny man's costs and charg' or losse of tyme for thexecution of this my last will and testament, I graunt and will that they be alowid every penny of my good - rather more then lesse.

The residew of all my goods, lands and tenements not before bequetheid nor assignid I put them unto the disposicion of my executours, whome I ordeyne and make Nicolas Sywhat, Edmund Wood, Willyam Rogers and John Trase And I give to eche of them for their labour x marks and a gowne that my executours see my debts and legat' fulfillid and paied to the most pleasur of God and proffyt of my sowle. Moreover I ordeyne and make of this my present testament and last will my supervisour John Jannys, my brother. And I will that my executours shall accompt before my said supervisor every yere the weke after Easter, and that the said supervisor shalhave knowlege of thaccompte iiii weks before the day of thaccompt, and that he shalbe alowid his reasonable expens' by myn executours. By me, Robert Jannis. Hiis testibus: per me, Willelmum Buckingham, clericum; per me, Johannem Whiteacres, clericum; per me, Henricum Faire, confessorem et curatum predicti Roberti testatoris; per me, Dominum Willelmum Thompson.

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