

HAREHOPE HOSPITAL AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE ORDER OF ST LAZARUS IN ENGLAND*

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The Knights of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, though less well known than the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, developed a significant presence in several European countries from the middle of the twelfth century onwards. The order had its roots in a leper hospital and church next to the walls of Jerusalem, first mentioned in 1142. In that year Fulk, king of Jerusalem, with the consent of Millicent his wife and Baldwin his son, confirmed to ‘the church of St Lazarus and the convent of the infirm, called *miselli*’, the land that Baldwin of Caesarea had given ‘between the Mount of Olives and the red cistern, in the road that leads to the River Jordan’. Deeds given later in the decade speak of the ‘leper brethren of St Lazarus which is in Jerusalem’, the ‘leper brethren of Jerusalem’, and the ‘infirm of Saint Lazarus below the walls of Jerusalem’.¹ When the city fell to Saladin in 1187 the organisation moved to Acre, though it continued to be known as Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem. In its early years St Lazarus appears to have been a purely charitable institution, but in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century it took on the role of a military order, including, apparently, both healthy and leprous knights in its ranks. In 1255 Pope Alexander IV wrote of ‘a convent of noble men, of vigorous knights and others both healthy and leprous, to attack the enemies of Christianity’ (*conuentus nobilium, strenuorum militum et aliorum tam sanorium quam leprosorum pro expugnandis inimicis christiani nominis manere solebat*).² Houses belonging to the order were soon established in France, England, Germany, Italy, Hungary and elsewhere. The hospital at Burton Lazars, in Leicestershire, where Roger de Mowbray had given land in c. 1158 × 1162, stood at the head of the English branch of the order. David Marcombe counted eleven subsidiary houses in England. All fell with the monasteries during the reign of Henry VIII.³

The leper hospital at Harehope, a mile north-west of Eglingham in Northumberland, not far from the Scottish border, was once one of St Lazarus’s most northerly outposts. Standing at the edge of Bewick Moor, its nearest substantial neighbour was Alnwick, some nine miles to the south-east, where there was already a stone-walled castle in the mid-twelfth century. Little if any trace of the hospital is now visible in the landscape. Fragmentary earthworks to the north and west of Harehope Farm are held to represent the remains of the hospital and its enclosures, and it has been suggested that an old stone cistern, cut into a sandstone outcrop some distance to the north, was used by its brethren. In the late nineteenth century dressed stone in the grounds of Eglingham hall ‘of late thirteenth century work’ was said to have come from Harehope, though no suggestion was made as to when and why the stonework had been moved.⁴ The hospital’s archive too has vanished almost without trace, but its earliest deed has recently come to light through two seventeenth-century copies. The deed, printed in the appendix below, reveals that the land at Harehope was given by a notorious Northumbrian rebel, Edgar son of Gospatric, otherwise Edgar Unnithing,⁵ in c. 1149 × 1162, rather than by Edgar’s nephew Waldeve son of Edward some twenty-five years later, as has hitherto been supposed.

The new deed significantly changes our understanding of the foundation of Harehope hospital and has prompted a reexamination of the introduction of the order of St Lazarus to England. A rereading of contemporary evidence allows parallels to be drawn with the introduction of the order to France, clarifies the founding role of Roger de Mowbray, and

opens the possibility that the order's first establishment in England was at Harehope rather than at Burton Lazars. The question as to why the original donor of Harehope was quickly forgotten is also examined.

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The early history of the order of St Lazarus in England has been obscured by the misdating of deeds, and by the assumption that the house at Burton Lazars in Leicestershire had stood at the head of the order from the beginning. All the early gifts and grants were made to 'the lepers of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem', or similar, and do not mention a particular establishment in England, though some refer to brethren resident in England.⁶ There is no twelfth-century evidence for the organisation of the English branch of the order, nor is it clear exactly when any of the English hospitals were founded. Entries in the pipe roll for the year to Michaelmas 1162 show that the brethren of St Lazarus then had interests in Leicestershire and Sussex, for they were allowed 18d. in the former county and 2s. in the latter, but this does not prove they had establishments in either place.⁷ Similarly the entry in the Northumberland sheriff's account for 1174–5 whereby the 'lepers of Jerusalem' were pardoned 5s. by the king's writ does not prove that Harehope hospital was then in existence. The 'infirm of St Lazarus of Jerusalem' received another pardon for the same amount in Northumberland in 1178–9. An entry in the account for 1187, however, does provide a hint that the order had established a permanent presence in the county. Richard of Harehope owed 2s. for an unjust attachment (*pro injusta attaccatione*), and Robert of Harehope 12d. for a transgression against the vert (*pro uiridi*). The two men, presumably brethren at Harehope, were acquitted by the king's writ giving 3s. to 'the infirm of St Lazarus of Jerusalem'.⁸

The first certain evidence that the order in England was organised under a single master dates from 1235, when 'Tyric Aleman the master and the brethren of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England' made an agreement with Pontefract priory in Yorkshire.⁹ At about the same time we first hear of the men in charge at Harehope. In 1236 Thomas 'master of the hospital of Harehope' made a claim against Walter prior of Tynemouth, invoking an agreement made between their respective predecessors master Osbert and prior German. German was no longer prior in February 1235, so Osbert was master at Harehope before that.¹⁰ In 1293 it was the 'master of the hospital of Burton St Lazarus', rather than the master of Harehope, who was summoned to show by what warrant he claimed rights in specified places in Northumberland including Harehope, so it is clear that Harehope was entirely subsidiary to Burton at that time.¹¹

A single document indicates how the order of St Lazarus was introduced to France. There, it seems, the driving force was King Louis VII, leader of the French forces on the Second Crusade of 1147–49. Louis's charter, dated 1154 at Paris, notes that while he was in Jerusalem he had given the *miselli* of St Lazarus of Jerusalem an annual rent of 10 *livres*. Now, at the brethren's request, he gave his demesne at *Balliuacum* (Boigny-sur-Bionne, near Orléans) in place of the annual rent.¹² Boigny remained at the head of the order in France for several centuries. It is unclear whether Louis had intended from the first to establish the order in France. Perhaps he brought representatives of St Lazarus on his return from Palestine: alternatively there may have been a later deputation.

How, though, did the order arrive in England? Circumstantial evidence suggests that Roger de Mowbray was the vector, even though his gift of land in Burton came after benefactions made by others. Roger was a prodigious benefactor of religious houses and was himself the founder of Byland Abbey in c. 1142 and Newburgh Priory in c. 1145. John of Hexham records Roger de Mowbray's presence on the Second Crusade, mentioning his victory in single combat against *quodam pagano tyranno*.¹³ In one of Roger's own deeds for

Garendon Abbey he confirms a gift made by his mother Gundreda ‘before I started out for the first time on the journey to Jerusalem, with King Louis of France’ (*antequam ego primo arriperem iter eundi Ierosolimam cum rege Francorum Ludouico*).¹⁴ It is likely that Roger too had encountered the Lazarites while he was in Jerusalem. We know that he returned to the city not many years after he had given Burton to the order, for as ‘Rogerius de Monbrai’ he was witness to an act of Almaric, king of Jerusalem, in favour of ‘the church of the lepers of St Lazarus’, given in Jerusalem in April 1164.¹⁵ Diana Greenway, who was unaware of Roger’s visit of 1164, shows that he was contemplating a return to the Holy Land in 1175–77, though she could find no evidence that he had actually travelled with the count of Flanders’ expedition of 1177.¹⁶ Roger was again in Jerusalem in 1186 and died in the Holy Land, or on the way back, in 1187.¹⁷

We can place two gifts to St Lazarus within four or five years of Roger’s return from the Second Crusade. An original deed survives in the name of Roger’s cousin William d’Aubigny, who had married King Henry I’s widow Adeliza in c. 1138. As W(illiam) earl of Chichester he gave 120 acres in Wymondham (in Norfolk) to ‘God and St Mary and the church of St Lazarus in Jerusalem and the brethren there serving God’ for ‘King Stephen and Queen Matilda and their children and for me and for Queen Adeliza and our children, and for the souls of my father and mother and their children’. The deed is addressed to W(illiam Turbe), bishop of Norwich, so was given after his nomination in 1146 or 1147, and before the death of Queen Matilda in May 1152.¹⁸ At about the same time, it seems, King David I of Scotland (d. 1153) gave the church of St Giles in Edinburgh to the order. This is apparent from Pope Innocent III’s general confirmation of 1216 to the master and brethren of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem, which includes ‘the church of Edinburgh’, but does not name the donor, and Walter Bower’s account, written in the 1440s, of the expulsion of English clerks from Scotland in the 1330s. Bower refers to ‘the monks of Harehope, otherwise Holme, founded by a gift of King David of honoured memory, son of St Margaret the queen, to which were attached certain lands in Lothian near the royal town of Edinburgh, namely Spitalton and St Giles Grange’ (*monachi de Harehope alias Holme per recolende memorie David regis filii sancte Margarite regine dotacionem fundati, cui annexae erant certe terre in Laudonia prope uillam regiam de Edinburgh uidelicet Spitalton et Sant Giligrange*).¹⁹ Until the discovery of Edgar son of Gospatric’s deed Bower’s account could safely be dismissed, as it was thought that the order acquired its interest in Harehope only a quarter of a century or so after David’s death in May 1153. We should beware, however, of taking Bower as an unimpeachable authority. His *Scotichronicon* has only a tangential interest in the foundation of Harehope, and was written almost three hundred years afterwards. Bower’s description of the brethren as ‘monks’ and the alias of ‘Holme’ do not inspire confidence. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that King David was involved in the foundation of Harehope hospital.²⁰ Northumberland was under Scottish control during most of the years possible for Edgar Unnithing’s gift. Henry, son of King David, was earl of Northumberland from 1139 until his death in June 1152; Henry’s son William followed him as earl until c. Easter 1157, when William’s older brother Malcolm, now king of Scotland, surrendered the earldom to Henry II of England.²¹ King David was in a position to encourage Edgar to give Harehope to the order, and to compensate him with other lands. Indeed we may doubt that Edinburgh church would have been given to Harehope were Northumberland not in Scottish hands, though it is likely that this gift, like others of the period, was made to the brethren in Jerusalem rather than any particular English establishment.

Roger de Mowbray himself made two substantial gifts to the order.²² His gift of two carucates of land at Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, where the leading house of the order in England was to be established, has already been mentioned.²³ The date of this gift appears to be c. 1158 × 1162. The deed is witnessed by Roger’s two sons Nigel and Robert: Roger had

married their mother Alice de Gant in February 1141 × June 1143²⁴ and it is unlikely their sons would normally have attested before *c.* 1158. The *terminus ad quem* is set by the entry in the pipe roll for 1162, which shows St Lazarus then had interests in Leicestershire.

Greenway assumed that Roger's other substantial gift, three marks annually from the rents of the mills in Thirsk castle,²⁵ was made after he had established the brethren at Burton Lazars, but it is much more likely that it was made beforehand. Had the order taken root at Burton he would surely have given more convenient lands or rents in Leicestershire. The deed is datable only to *c.* 1148 × 1166, i.e. after the earliest likely date for English interest in the order, and before the death of Herbert of Queniborough, who witnessed with his brother Ralph, and whose gift of half a mark rent from the mill of Coxwold (Yorks, NR) was mentioned in the attestations. Not infrequently a gift of a money rent was made on the understanding that the donor would replace it with lands to the same value when he could: indeed Roger gave 5s. from the same mills at Thirsk to Newburgh Priory 'until I shall give in alms half a carucate of land in Brignall or elsewhere'.²⁶ There is no such stipulation in Roger's deed for St Lazarus, so we cannot know whether this was his intention. How long St Lazarus enjoyed the payment from the mills is unknown. The rent had certainly been extinguished by the end of the thirteenth century.²⁷

The deeds marking the gifts of the rent in Thirsk and land in Burton show that Roger was encouraging further gifts to St Lazarus by his tenants. The Thirsk deed notes gifts in Coxwold (Yorks NR) by his tenants Herbert and Ralph of Queniborough; the Burton deed confirms 'whatever my men have given or will give to them'. The wording of both is unusual in English deeds of the period. The opening words of the Thirsk deed, 'In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus . . .' ('In the name of the father and of the son and of the Holy Spirit Amen. Be it known to all whether future or present . . .') were used frequently in contemporary acts for the order given in Jerusalem. The Burton deed also starts 'In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen', but continues in more conventional fashion 'Rogerus de Moubrei omnibus hominibus suis et amicis francis et anglis tam futuris quam presentibus salutem' ('Roger de Mowbray, to all his men and friends French and English whether now or in the future, greeting'). Greenway's edition of Roger's acts prints no others with the invocation of the Holy Trinity. It is likely that both deeds were drawn up by a clerk or clerks with little experience of English drafting, perhaps visitors from Jerusalem.²⁸

The precise circumstances in which the early gifts in England and Scotland were made are unlikely to be discovered, but some speculation might perhaps be forgiven. The date of Roger de Mowbray's return to England from the Second Crusade is unknown. King Louis lingered in Palestine until late spring or early summer 1149, but most of his nobles are thought to have returned home in the autumn of 1148.²⁹ In the meantime Henry of Anjou, the future King Henry II, had returned to England from Normandy. In April 1149 he was at Devizes in Wiltshire, and by Pentecost (22 May) he was at the court of King David in Carlisle. Also at court were David's son Henry, earl of Northumberland, and Ranulf earl of Chester, who with King David invested Henry of Anjou as a knight.³⁰ The *Gesta Stephani* reports that after Henry was knighted King David and 'a vast number of Scots, with the earl of Chester and some adherents of his party . . . approached the city of York as though he intended to storm it'. King Stephen's sudden arrival 'with a highly equipped body of knights' caused a rapid withdrawal of the invading forces.³¹ Greenway surmises that Roger was a member of the alliance apparent at the Carlisle court and participated in the subsequent advance on York, and that it was this participation that restored to him his Burton in Lonsdale estates and gave rise to the references in deeds to his depredations on the church of York while campaigning on behalf of Henry of Anjou.³² It is possible, then, that Roger de Mowbray was with King David and Edgar son of Gospatric in 1149 and shared with them his

memories of the Second Crusade, and of the leper hospital and church beneath the walls of Jerusalem. Whether the three men acted together to establish St Lazarus in England is impossible to say. It is clear from the wording of Edgar's deed that St Lazarus had men in England when he made his gift of Harehope, but whether they were visitors, or had settled, is another open question.³³

Harehope may have seemed an attractive location when Scotland controlled Northumberland and Cumbria, whether or not a Scottish–Angevin alliance planned to push the boundary of their area of control to York and beyond. The new geo-political reality after the accession of Henry II, however, changed things completely. King Malcolm's surrender of the northern counties in 1157 restored English control of Northumberland. Harehope was a backwater, always at risk of being caught up in border hostilities, and the order of St Lazarus soon began to focus its attention on Leicestershire and the land in Burton given by Roger de Mowbray. We cannot say for certain whether Harehope or Burton Lazars was the first establishment of the order of St Lazarus in England. The deeds of gift of the respective places both have a *terminus ad quem* of 1162. If we accept Bower's evidence, Harehope came first, but this is a late and perhaps tainted source. The later ascendancy of Burton Lazars ensured that Roger de Mowbray and his descendants retained a pre-eminent position among the benefactors of the order: Roger's deed giving land at Burton is the first document in the Burton Lazars cartulary. Marcombe counted fourteen deeds by five members of the family in the cartulary, and the Mowbray arms of a lion rampant were depicted on the common seal of the order.³⁴

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When J.C. Hodgson came to write his brief history of the manor of Harehope and its leper hospital in 1922, he could find no deed giving Harehope to the order, and so relied on an inquisition of 1247, which says that Harehope had been given to the brethren by Waldeve, or Waltheof, son of Edward son of Earl Gospatric of Dunbar.³⁵ The same inquisition was cited by M.H. Dodds, in her history of the township of Harehope published in 1935.³⁶ Knowles and Hadcock, following these accounts, assigned the gift to a date between 1178, the earliest date for Waldeve's succession, and 1189, when Walter of Newcastle is said to occur as master of Harehope hospital.³⁷ The recently rediscovered deed, however, tells a different story. It records that Edgar son of Earl Gospatric gave 'all the land of Harehope, with all its belongings, without any retention, from Troutford as far as Sandford' to the 'leper brethren outside the walls of the holy city of Jerusalem and their brethren dwelling in England'. Why, then, did the enquiry of 1247 assign the gift of Harehope to the wrong man? An examination of the tenure of the family lands in Northumberland following the death of Earl Gospatric I in 1138 provides the answer.³⁸ Gospatric brother of Dolphin, as he was known before gaining the title of earl, had acquired these lands, later known as the serjeanty of Beanley, during the reign of Henry I. They were confirmed to him by King Stephen in February 1136.³⁹ Earl Gospatric I died at or shortly after the battle of the Standard in 1138, where he fought on the Scottish side against Stephen. He was succeeded as earl by his son, also called Gospatric, who died in 1166. The inquisition of 1247 was ordered by the king to determine what alienations had been made from the serjeanty of Earl Patrick in Northumberland.⁴⁰ The jurors found that Gospatric, *atavus* (great-great-great-grandfather) of Earl Patrick, gave specified lands, including Harehope, to Edward [his son]. Waldeve son of Edward gave Harehope to the brethren of St Lazarus. Several further alienations made by Gospatric, Edward, and Waldeve son of Edward are described, but no mention at all is made of Edgar.⁴¹ This account does not fit well with the twelfth-century evidence. While the pipe rolls show that Gospatric II paid scutage on six knights' fees in Northumberland in 1160–61,⁴² there is no evidence for

his practical possession of the land, and the interest of his brother Edward and nephew Waldeve is first noticed in 1175–76. By contrast, there is substantial evidence for Gospatric II's other brother Edgar son of Gospatric's tenure in Northumberland between the death of Earl Gospatric I in 1138 and the mid-1170s. Richard of Hexham records how he pillaged villages near Hexham in 1138, calling him Edgar, bastard son of Earl Gospatric (*Eadgarus, filius nothus Cospatrici comitis*).⁴³ It was Edgar who confirmed the Northumberland lands given by his father to Ranulf de Merlay in frank-marriage with Juliana, daughter of the earl and sister to Edgar;⁴⁴ it was Edgar who made an agreement to rent lands in Northumberland from St Albans Abbey⁴⁵ and confirmed to St Albans the church of Edlingham;⁴⁶ and we now know it was Edgar who gave Harehope to the lepers of St Lazarus.⁴⁷ We learn from a charter of Henry II, datable May 1175 × April 1179, that Edgar's lands at Eglingham, Bewick and Lilburn were taken into the king's hands 'on account of Edgar's flight into Scotland and the war with the king of Scotland'. An inquisition had found that the lands were the escheat of the monks of St Albans at their dependent priory of Tynemouth.⁴⁸ The 'war with the king of Scotland' was the invasion of northern England by the Scots, part of the wider rebellion of 1173–4. Roger de Mowbray was among the rebels. Traces of Edgar's rebellion and flight are visible in the pipe rolls. In the year to Michaelmas 1174 the sheriff of Northumberland accounted for 46s. 8d. from the land of Edgar Unnithing, who had gone 'into Scotland to the king's enemies'.⁴⁹ Edward son of Gospatric and Waldeve his son accounted for 80 marks 'for having right concerning his inheritance, of which Edgar had disseised him' in the year to Michaelmas 1176. The money was paid in 1177–79.⁵⁰ The claim that Edward and Waldeve had been disseised by Edgar was almost certainly untrue, and designed to prevent the land remaining permanently in the king's hands.

The evidence suggests that Edgar held the whole of the Northumberland lands after the death of his father Earl Gospatric I in 1138, as a tenant of his older brother Earl Gospatric II. Edgar held in Northumberland until he was forfeit in the aftermath of the rebellion of 1173–4. Here is the reason that Edgar does not feature in the inquisition of 1247. A tenure that relied on the gift of a man who was later forfeit was highly insecure, so the convenient fiction was adopted that Edgar's alienations from the serjeanty had been made by his brothers Gospatric II and Edward, and by his nephew Waldeve.

APPENDIX

Edgar son of Earl Gospatric gives his land of Harehope to God and St Mary and the leper brethren outside the walls of Jerusalem and their brethren in England, for the soul of Earl Gospatric his father [c. 1149 × 1162]

COPIES: Bodleian Library, MS Dugdale 18, f. 43rb [B, from the original loaned to William Dugdale by Robert Bruce, son of Thomas Bruce earl of Elgin, 1659]; British Library, MS Lansdowne 203, f. 21v (no. 11) [C, from the original then in the possession of Elias Ashmole, copied 1659 × 1679].

TEXT:

Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Ædgarus^a filius Cospatrici comitis dedi^b concessi et hac carta mea confirmaui^b deo et sancte Marie et leprosis fratribus extra muros sancte ciuitatis Ierusalem et eorum fratribus in Anglia commorantibus totam terram de Harope cum omnibus pertinentiis suis sine aliquo retenemento a Truueiteford^c usque ad

Sandeford^d in perpetuam et puram et liberam elemosinam pro amore dei et salute anime mee et pro anima Cospatrici comitis patris mei et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum meorum in bosco et plano ^eet pratis et pascuis in uiis in semitis in stagnis in uiuariis in molendinis in omni emendatione et acquisitione quam possunt facere in predicta terra. Et ego et heredes mei warantzabimus predictam terram prenominitis fratribus contra omnes gentes. Volo itaque quod predicti fratres prenominatam terram habeant et teneant cum omnibus libertatibus ita liberam et quietam de omnibus seruiciis et exactionibus et consuetudinibus secularibus sicut aliqua elemosina melius et plenius et liberius habetur et tenetur et possidetur^e. His t(estibus) Iohanne decano, Florentio monacho, magistro Rogero Tusard, Alicia uxore mea, Alex(andro) filio meo, Waltero filio Yuonis, Willelmo fratre suo, Alano dapifero, Siwardo de Benlehe, Thom(a) milite, Ric(ardo) de Canci, Hugone filio Vlchil, Simone filio Lesing, Agnete, Giua, Matilde, filiabus meis.

The text is printed from the more complete transcript C.

^a Eadgarus B ^{b-b} &c B ^c Truveitesford B ^d Sandesford B ^{e-e} &c B

TRANSLATION:

Be it known to both present and future men that I Edgar son of Earl Gospatric have given and granted and by this my charter have confirmed to God and St Mary and the leper brethren outside the walls of the holy city of Jerusalem and their brethren remaining in England, all the land of Harehope with all its belongings without any retention, from Troutford as far as Sandford, in perpetual and pure and free alms for the love of God and the salvation of my soul and for the soul of Earl Gospatric my father and for the souls of my predecessors and successors in wood and plain and meadows and pastures in ways in paths in millponds in fishponds in mills in all improvement and acquisition that can be made in the foresaid land. And I and my heirs will warrant the foresaid land to the above-named brethren against all people. I will therefore that the foresaid brethren shall have and hold the above-named land with all liberties, so free and quit of all services and exactions and secular customs just as any grant-in-alms may most well and fully and freely be had and held and possessed. These witnesses, John the dean, Florence the monk, master Roger Tusard, Alice my wife, Alexander my son, Walter son of Ivo, William his brother, Alan the steward, Siward of Beanley, Thomas the knight, Richard de Canci, Hugh son of Ulchil, Simon son of Lesing, Agnes, Giva, Maud my daughters.

DATE: After the death of Earl Gospatric I at or shortly after the Battle of the Standard in 1138; before the death of the witness Walter son of Ivo, probably in the year to Michaelmas 1162.⁵¹ The second half of the period is likely, as English and Scottish interest in the order of Saint Lazarus appears to have followed the Second Crusade of 1147–49.

WITNESSES: John the dean is doubtless to be identified with John dean of Berwick, who witnessed Edgar's confirmation to his sister Juliana of the land given by their father to her in marriage.⁵² Florence the monk has not been identified. He was perhaps a monk of Tynemouth priory, which had an interest in Harehope. Roger Tusard witnessed several deeds,⁵³ but nothing seems to be known of him. Alice, Edgar's wife, was a sister of Walter son of Ivo, of the Greystoke family, as is shown by Walter's confirmation of ten manors to Edgar and his sister in marriage.⁵⁴ Alexander, the grantor's son, may have died before his father. Another son, Patrick, appears to have succeeded to some of the Greystoke lands.⁵⁵ Walter son of Ivo and William his brother were sons of Ivo son of Forn, ancestor of the Greystoke family. Walter son of Ivo and William his brother attested a deed of Gilbert de Gant in 1143 × 1148.⁵⁶ As discussed under Date, Walter appears to have died in the year to Michaelmas

1162. Alan the steward, Siward of Beanley, Thomas the knight, Richard de Canci, Hugh son of Ulchil, Simon son of Lesing, and the three daughters of Edgar occur only here.

SOURCES: The deed appears in two seventeenth-century transcripts. The earlier of these was made by William Dugdale (1605–1686), the herald and antiquary, ‘ex diuersis autographis mihi accomodatis per . . . dominum Bruse primogenitum comitis de Elgin, mense nov(embris) anno 1659’ (‘from various originals loaned to me by [blank] lord Bruse, firstborn son of the earl of Elgin, November 1659’). A later copy of the deed appears in a book of transcripts of a collection of documents which, according to a note on a flyleaf, was assembled by Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), antiquary and collector, though the transcripts themselves are not in Ashmole’s hand. The note, written by the herald John Anstis (1669–1744), makes reference to Ashmole’s armorial bookstamp on the book’s cover and his handwriting ‘in several parts of this book’. Anstis also drew attention to Ashmole’s biography in which he describes his loss of a large collection of ancient evidences and seals of the English nobility and gentry in a fire at Middle Temple.⁵⁷ It seems therefore that Ashmole acquired the deed from Bruce’s collection, perhaps via Dugdale, and lost it in the fire of 26 January 1679.⁵⁸ Ashmole was Dugdale’s son-in-law, having married his daughter Elizabeth in 1668.

* I am grateful to Professor Richard Sharpe, of the Faculty of History, University of Oxford, for his useful comments on an early draft of this paper, and to Professor Nicholas Vincent, of the University of East Anglia, for providing access to his forthcoming edition of the acts of Henry II.

¹ ‘Fragment d’un cartulaire de l’ordre de Saint Lazare, en Terre-Sainte’, ed. A. de Marsy, *Archives de l’Orient Latin*, 2 vols (Paris, 1881–84), II, 121–57, at pp. 123–27 (nos ii–vi); Latin abstracts at *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCXCI)*, ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893), pp. 53, 57, 62–63 (nos 210, 227, 246, 251–52). For the churches of St Lazarus at Jerusalem and Acre, see D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1993–2009), III, 215–17 (Jerusalem); *ibid.*, IV, 121–23 (Acre).

² *Les Registres d’Alexandre IV*, ed. C.B. de la Roncière, J. de Loye & A. Coulon, 3 vols in 8 pts, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, ser. 2, no. 15 (Paris, 1895–1959), I, 122a (no. 404).

³ D. Marcombe, *Leper Knights: The Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c. 1150–1544* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 9–12, 17–25, 102–3, 214–46.

⁴ A map of the remains at Harehope is given in Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 158. For the dressed stone at Eglingham Hall, see ‘Report of the meetings of the Berwickshire Naturalist’s Club for 1893: Eglingham, Harehope, Old Bewick’, *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists’ Club*, XIV (1894), 207–19, at pp. 208, 214; for the cistern, S. Holmes, ‘Trough on Harehope Moor, Northumberland’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 2nd series, IX (1901), 142–43.

⁵ For the nickname *Unnithing*, ‘Unyielding’, see E. Bateson, A.B. Hinds, J.C. Hodgson, H.H.E. Craster, K.H. Vickers, & M.H. Dodds, *A History of Northumberland*, 15 vols (1893–1940) [henceforth *NCH*], VII, 39, n. 3.

⁶ The Burton Lazars cartulary, BL MS Cotton Nero C. xii, compiled early in the fifteenth century and calendared in *The Burton Lazars Cartulary: a Medieval Leicestershire Estate*, ed. T. Bourne & D. Marcombe (Nottingham, c. 1987), is the source of most of the surviving deeds for the order, but these overwhelmingly relate to Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. A few royal acts were copied to the charter and cartae antiquae rolls, including four of Richard I (L. Landon, *The Itinerary of Richard I*, Pipe Roll Society, NS XIII (1935), nos 65–67, 87). Henry II’s acts in favour of the order (H2/1390–97 in Nicholas Vincent’s forthcoming edition) include a quittance in toll and passage and other customs, a gift of an annual pension of 40 marks, a general confirmation of lands ‘as the deeds of the donors bear witness’, and a confirmation of specified lands and churches in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire. One of Henry II’s charters mentions ‘all their land and men throughout England’ (H2/1390), but his confirmation of lands and churches describes the beneficiary as ‘God and St Mary and the church of Saint Lazarus outside the walls of Jerusalem and the leper brethren of the same place’ (H2/1395). Over thirty documents, drawn from the cartulary, the charter and cartae antiquae rolls, and other sources, were printed in J. Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 4 vols in 8 pts (1795–1815) [henceforth Nichols, *Leicestershire*], II, pt 1, Appendix, 128–32 (no. xvi). Deeds given by members of the Mowbray family were printed in *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, 1107–1191*, ed. D. Greenway (London, 1972) [henceforth *Mowbray Charters*], nos 23–31. Marcombe provides a facsimile of an

original deed given by the ‘prior of the hospital of St Lazarus’ in the second half of the twelfth century (*Leper Knights*, p. 111).

⁷ *Pipe Roll*, 8 Henry II, pp. 2, 30.

⁸ *Pipe Roll*, 22 Henry I, p. 140; *ibid.*, 25 Henry II, p. 28; 31 Henry II, p. 153; 33 Henry II, p. 183.

⁹ R.H. Holmes, *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract: from the original document in the possession of Godfrey Wentworth, of Woolley Park*, 2 vols, Y(orkshire) A(rchaeological) S(ociety) R(ecord) S(eries), xxv, xxx (1899–1902), i, 199–200 (no. cliiii).

¹⁰ *Curia Regis Rolls*, xv, 443–44 (no. 1758). Boutflower reports that Walter of Newcastle was master of the hospital at Harehope in 1189, but gives no reference, and it is probable that there is some confusion here (D.S. Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, S(urtees) S(ociety), CXXXIX (1926), 195).

¹¹ *Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I. II. III. in curia receptae scaccarii Westm. asservata*, ed. W. Illingworth (1818), p. 586a.

¹² Marsy, ‘Fragment’, p. 132 (no. xii). The charter marking Louis’s original gift of 10 *livres* annually does not survive.

¹³ ‘Historia Johannis prioris Hagustaldensis ecclesiae xxv. annorum’ [continuation by John of Hexham of Simeon of Durham, *Historia regum*], in *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols, Rolls Series 75 (1882–85) [henceforth John of Hexham], ii, 284–332, at p. 319.

¹⁴ *Sir Christopher Hatton’s Book of Seals*, ed. L.C. Loyd and D.M. Stenton, Northamptonshire Record Society, xv (1950), 6–7 (no. 8); *Mowbray Charters*, p. 118 (no. 160).

¹⁵ Marsy, ‘Fragment’, p. 140 (no. xxii); also at *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, pp. 104–5 (no. 397).

¹⁶ Greenway assumed deeds which refer to Roger’s ‘first’ visit must have been given when he was contemplating a return to the Holy Land in 1175–77 or afterwards, rather than in 1164 or later (*Mowbray Charters*, pp. xxxi–xxxii, lv). As James Tait pointed out in 1894, the attestation of Roger’s son Nigel to the constitutions of Clarendon in January 1164 indicates Roger’s absence from England at that time. Roger was probably still overseas in 1166, for his return of fees was made on his behalf by his men (*DNB*, s.n. Mowbray, Roger (I) de; H2/2964; *Select Charters*, ed. W. Stubbs & H.W.C. Davis (9th edn, Oxford, 1913), p. 164; *Mowbray Charters*, pp. xxxi–xxxii, 256, no. 401).

¹⁷ *GEC*, ix, 370–71.

¹⁸ *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library*, ed. A.S. Napier (Oxford, 1895), p. 31 (no. xiv). Marcombe’s claim that William d’Aubigny was ‘the first English benefactor’ of the order rests on his erroneous date of ‘before 1146’ for the deed (*Leper Knights*, pp. 34, 37). The date is doubtless taken from *Victoria County History, Norfolk*, ii, 453, in turn from F. Blomefield and C. Parkin, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk . . .* [2nd edn], 11 vols (1805–10), ii, 504–5.

¹⁹ *The Charters of King David I*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 166 (no. 256); *The Letters of Innocent III (1198–1216) concerning England and Wales: a Calendar with Appendix of Texts*, ed. C.R. & M.G. Cheney (Oxford, 1967), pp. 184, 278 (no. 1115); Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. J. & W. McQueen, D.E.R. Watt & S. Taylor, 9 vols (Aberdeen, 1987–98), vi, 62–63. Bower’s account is taken from the same sources as a plea of 1442 for Dunfirmline Abbey, printed in *The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls, and Law Proceedings, of the Priory of Coldingham*, ed. J. Raine, SS, xii (1841), 246–58. The abbey was seeking to have their nominee appointed prior of Coldingham, rather than Durham’s man, and so was attempting to undermine the claim of an English institution over a Scottish priory. R.B. Dobson called the plea ‘propagandist material’. The passage concerning Harehope is almost identical in Bower and the plea. No convincing explanation can be offered as to why the institution is referred to as ‘Harehope alias Holme’. The editors of Bower speculate that ‘the alternative name “Holme” may refer to nearby Hulne’ (Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vi, 220, 223). Hulne, site of a Carmelite friary founded c. 1240, is some eight miles south-east of Harehope, next to Alnwick. I.B. Cowan, ‘The early ecclesiastical history of Edinburgh’, *Innes Review*, xxiii (1972), 16–21, at pp. 18–19, gives further references showing that land in Edinburgh was in the hands of Harehope hospital.

²⁰ It is worth noting that Earl David, brother of King William I of Scotland and grandson to King David, was a benefactor of the order, to which he gave rights in meadow in Whissendine in Rutland, probably in the last quarter of the twelfth century (K. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152–1219* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 228, no. 15; Nichols, *Leicestershire*, ii, pt 1, Appendix, 128, no. xvi. 6; W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights’ Fees*, 3 vols (London & Manchester, 1923–25), ii, 357).

²¹ *GEC*, ix, 706–7.

²² There were also two minor gifts made somewhat later: 2s. from the rent of the mill of Masham ‘for the soul of Walter Buher’; and a meadow and twelve acres between Melton Mowbray and Thorpe Arnold in Leicestershire (*Mowbray Charters*, nos 27–28, 31).

²³ *Mowbray Charters*, pp. 22–23 (no. 23).

²⁴ D.X Carpenter, *The Cartulary of St Leonard’s Hospital, York: Rawlinson Volume*, YASRS, CLXIII (2015) [henceforth Carpenter, *Ctl. St Leonards: Rawlinson*], 956).

²⁵ *Mowbray Charters*, p. 23 (no. 24).

²⁶ *Mowbray Charters*, pp. 140–41 (no. 198).

²⁷ An inquisition at Thirsk, held in 1298 after the death of a later Roger de Mowbray, valued the two mills at Thirsk, with an oven, market tolls, and borough pleas, at £44. From this sum four annuities were due, two of them said to date from ancient times (*a tempore antiquo*), leaving only £13 clear. The beneficiaries did not include St Lazarus (*Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I*, ed. W. Brown, 4 vols, YASRS, XII, XXIII, XXXI, XXXVII (1892–1906), III, 78, no. lvi). Nevertheless it seems that the order continued to hold some interest in Thirsk at the end of the thirteenth century. In 1293–94 the master and brethren claimed freedom from toll and other liberties for their lands and men in thirteen vills in Yorkshire, including Thirsk (*Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls*, ed. B. English, YASRS, CLI (1996), 266–67).

²⁸ Marsy, ‘Fragment’, passim; *Mowbray Charters*, passim. It is tempting to imagine that Roger’s gift of the rent in Thirsk, like King Louis’s gift of an annual sum, was made in Jerusalem, but the acts for St Lazarus made there all include a dating clause, which Roger’s deed does not.

²⁹ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (1951–54), II, 285–86; J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (2007), p. 227.

³⁰ D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135–1154* (2000), pp. 241–43; John of Hexham, II, 323.

³¹ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K.R. Potter & R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1976), pp. 216–17.

³² *Mowbray Charters*, p. xxvi.

³³ It is unlikely that William d’Aubigny’s gift of land in Norfolk was associated with the gifts by King David and Edgar son of Gospatric. As far as is known, William remained loyal to King Stephen throughout the reign. As has been noted, William was Roger de Mowbray’s first cousin; he witnessed Roger’s gift to Richard de Camville of ‘1143 × 1150’ (*Mowbray Charters*, p. 225, no. 350). His gift may have been made independently at a different time.

³⁴ Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, pp. 37, 112.

³⁵ J.C. Hodgson, ‘The hospital of St Lazarus and the manor of Harehope’, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, XIX (1922), 76–82, at p. 77.

³⁶ *NCH*, XIV, 419–20.

³⁷ D. Knowles & R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, 2nd edn (Harlow, 1971), pp. 322, 362. See note 10 above for the doubtful reference to Walter of Newcastle in 1189. Hodgson (p. 77) gave 1230 as the latest possible date for the foundation of the hospital at Harehope, but this rests on a misdating of an entry in the Testa de Neville, which merely says ‘the brethren of St Lazarus hold Harehope in pure grant-in-alms and do no service’ (*fratres de sancto Lazaro tenent Harhop’ in puram elemosinam, et nullum faciunt seruicium*) and should more properly be assigned to 1242–43 (H.C.M. Lyte et al., *Liber feodorum: the Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill* [henceforth *Bk of Fees*], 3 pts (1920–31), p. 1122).

³⁸ There are several detailed accounts of the descendants of Earl Gospatric: W. Greenwell, ‘The house of Gospatric’, in J.C. Hodgson, ‘The parish of Edlingham’, *NCH*, VII, 14–106; ‘Dunbar, Earl of Dunbar’, *The Scots peerage: founded on Wood’s edition of Sir Robert Douglas’s peerage of Scotland: containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom*, ed. J.B. Paul, 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1904–1914), III, 240–300; ‘Dunbar’, *GEC*, IV, 503–10; ‘Northumberland’, *ibid.*, IX, 704–5; E. Hamilton, ‘The acts of the Earls of Dunbar relating to Scotland c.1124–c.1289: a study of lordship in Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, DPhil diss. (Glasgow, 2003); eadem, *Mighty Subjects: The Dunbar Earls in Scotland c. 1072–1289* (Edinburgh, 2010).

³⁹ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154*, ed. H.W.C. Davis, R.J. Whitwell, C. Johnson, H.A. Cronne, & R.H.C. Davis, 4 vols (1913–69) [henceforth *Regesta*], III, 144 (no. 373a). For discussion of the lost acts of Henry I, see the author’s draft for Gospatric on the website of the ‘Acts of William II and Henry I’ project, actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com, H1-Gospatric-2016-1.

⁴⁰ Patrick, fifth earl of Dunbar, had succeeded his father Patrick, fourth earl, in 1232. Patrick, fourth earl, was son of Waldeve, third earl, son of Gospatric II.

⁴¹ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, London*, I, 1108–1272, 316–17 (no. 1712); also at *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) preserved in the Public Record Office*, I, 1219–1307, 12–13 (no. 47). The inquisition conflates Gospatric I and Gospatric II.

⁴² *Pipe Roll*, 7 Henry II, p. 23; see also *ibid.* 9 Henry II, p. 44; 11 Henry II, p. 30. Scutage was not normally paid on Beanley, as it was held by service of *inborh* and *utborh* between England and Scotland rather than military service (I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies: a study of their Origin and Descent 1086–1327* (Oxford, 1960), p. 106b).

⁴³ *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments and Annals*, ed. J. Raine, 2 vols, SS, XLIV, XLVI (1864–65), I, 95.

⁴⁴ *Chartularium abbatiae de Novo monasterio ordinis cisterciensis, fundatae anno M.C.XXXVII*, ed. J.T. Fowler, SS, LXVI (1878) [henceforth *Ctl. Newminster*], 269.

⁴⁵ W.S. Gibson, *The History of the Monastery founded at Tynemouth in the Diocese of Durham*, 2 vols (1846–47) [henceforth Gibson, *Tynemouth*], I, 48–9; *ibid.*, II, Appendix, pp. xxi–xxii (no. xxxi), from BL MS Lansdowne 863, fol. 79b, where Gibson erroneously implies that it appears in a Durham cartulary, confusing it with DCM 2. 2. Spec. A. 1.

⁴⁶ Gibson, *Tynemouth*, II, Appendix, pp. xxii–xxiii (no. xxxii). For the author’s discussion of these documents, see actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com, H1-Tynemouth-2016-1, p. 16.

⁴⁷ Edgar’s tenure in Northumberland is also referred to in various lawsuits of the early thirteenth century. These are discussed in W. Greenwell, ‘The house of Gospatric’, pp. 40–43

⁴⁸ H2/2705; *NCH*, VIII, 62 (no. 9).

⁴⁹ *Pipe Roll*, 20 Henry II, p. 107; see also the Yorkshire account for the following year, *ibid.*, 21 Henry II, p. 173. Nothing is known of Edgar’s career after his flight into Scotland in 1173–4. For his sons Alexander and Patrick, see Greenwell, ‘The house of Gospatric’, p. 43.

⁵⁰ *Pipe Roll*, 22 Henry II, p. 140; *ibid.*, 23 Henry II, p. 83; 24 Henry II, p. 60; 25 Henry II, p. 27.

⁵¹ William Farrer observed that Walter son of Ivo appeared in the Northumberland account of 1161–62, but it was his son Ranulf who was named in the Yorkshire account of that year. He concluded that ‘this seems to indicate that Walter died during the fiscal year’. Walter was certainly dead in 1168 (*Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C.T. Clay, 12 vols in 13 (I–III, Edinburgh, 1914–16; index to I–III, IV–XII, YASRS, Extra Series, 1935–65), II, 506).

⁵² *Ctl. Newminster*, p. 269, from the ‘Merlay Roll’.

⁵³ *English Episcopal Acta*, XXIV, *Durham 1153–1195*, ed. M.G. Snape (Oxford, 2002), 76–77 (no. 88), an act of the bishop of Durham, as master, ‘c. 1158 × 1162’; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I, 475 (no. 605), ‘1180 × 1200’; *ibid.*, IV, 144 (no. 111), ‘1168 × 1184’; *ibid.*, V, 129 (no. 226) ‘1161 × 1184’; *ibid.*, 329 (no. 380), as master, ‘ante 1184’.

⁵⁴ *Ctl. Newminster*, pp. 117–18.

⁵⁵ *Ctl. Newminster*, p. 118; *Bk of Fees*, p. 1114.

⁵⁶ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, II, 469–70 (no. 1181); also at Carpenter, *Ctl. St Leonards: Rawlinson*, pp. 649–50 (R596).

⁵⁷ In his draft of a reply to Anthony Wood’s enquiries of 25 August 1683, Ashmole writes ‘His chambers in the Middle Temple were burnt in the great fire there [. . .] A large collection of ancient evidences and seales of the English nobility and gentry. All the great seales of England from the Conquest hitherto, with many of the religious houses, both in England and Scotland, those of England depending at their severall instruments [. . .] All these, and many other things of worth, perished, for nothing was saved in those fatall flames’ (C.H. Josten & M.A. Hennings, *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): his Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and other Contemporary Sources relating to his Life and Work*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1966), IV, 1635).

⁵⁸ Several other documents appear both in Dugdale’s transcripts from Bruce deeds and in Ashmole’s collection: see, for example, *Regesta*, II, 218 (no. 1550); H2/1776, 1778; and *English Episcopal Acta*, XXXI, *Ely 1109–1197*, ed. N. Karn (Oxford, 2005), 84–5 (no. 57).