

# ELA LONGESPEE'S ROLL OF BENEFITS: PIETY AND RECIPROCITY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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*Ipsa autem, bonorum temporalium liberalissima ac spiritualium avida beneficiorum . . .*

— 1293 charter of Oxford University, describing Ela Longespee

In 1293, the elderly and twice-widowed Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, or someone acting on her behalf, gathered together eighteen charters that had been issued to her over the past dozen years and sent them to the bishop of Lincoln, to be confirmed and copied into a single roll. The original charters have long since vanished, but the enrolled copy survives in The National Archives at Kew.<sup>1</sup> Its component documents, all of them detailed grants to Ela by religious institutions in the Oxford area, are highly unusual; even when compared to the few surviving parallels, they stand out for their specific content. The roll itself, comprising eighteen such documents in a private archive created for a thirteenth-century laywoman, is unique. And when it is examined along with other surviving evidence of Ela's religious activities, it provides us with an extraordinary perspective on the reciprocal nature of religious patronage at this time. What is especially unusual about Ela's case is that we know much more about what the religious promised to Ela than what she granted to them. Thus Ela Longespee's records tell us the side of the story that is seldom told when we look at records of religious patronage; they reveal the return that donors expected in the late thirteenth century, with increasing precision and urgency. Using a chronological framework, this essay will examine the surviving documents, tell the story of Ela's life, and explore the most interest-

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<sup>1</sup> Kew, The National Archives (TNA), PRO E132/2/18. Three of the component documents in the roll, the three charters from Oxford University, also survive in a register made for the University (*Munimenta Academica, or Documents Illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford*, ed. Henry Anstey, 2 vols. [London, 1868], 1:62–67). The roll was not copied into or noted in the bishop's register that survives (Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, Bishop's Register 1).

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ing dimension of that story: her startlingly explicit reciprocal relationships with religious institutions.

#### FAMILY BACKGROUND AND FIRST MARRIAGE

Ela's parents were two of the most prominent members of the early thirteenth-century English aristocracy. Her father, William Longespee, or Longsword, was an illegitimate son of King Henry II. Born in or before 1167, William received from his half-brother King Richard I the hand of the well-known Ela, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Earl William of Salisbury (d. 1196). Succeeding, by this marriage, to the Salisbury earldom himself, William Longespee earned fame in the service of Kings John and Henry III.<sup>2</sup> Later in her life, William's daughter Ela would choose to employ her father's surname Longespee, thus signaling her paternal lineage and by extension her royal blood. Kings Henry III and Edward I would acknowledge her as their kinswoman.<sup>3</sup>

Countess Ela of Salisbury — our Ela's mother — was born in or after 1190 and was betrothed to William Longespee at a very young age in 1196. After William's death the elder Ela served as sheriff of Wiltshire for seven years, the only woman ever to occupy the medieval office of sheriff. Yet she is perhaps better known for her religious patronage. In 1220 she and her husband took part in the foundation of the new cathedral church at Salisbury, William ceremonially laying the fourth foundation stone and Ela the fifth. The couple founded a Carthusian monastery at Hatherop (Glos) in 1222, which the elder Ela moved to her own lands at Hinton (Som) after William's death. In the early 1230s she founded a priory for Augustinian nuns at Lacock (Wilts); she would later take the veil there and (when Lacock was raised to the rank of abbey) become its first abbess.<sup>4</sup>

William and Ela of Salisbury had eight children: four sons and four daughters. William II, the eldest son, had come of age by 1230, and so was presumably born in 1209 or earlier.<sup>5</sup> Another son, Nicholas, would later be bishop of Salisbury. According to a fourteenth-century history of Lacock and its founder, the younger Ela — our subject here — was their third daughter. If this information is correct, the earliest possible birthdate for the

<sup>2</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004), 34:385–88.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols. (London, 1903–27), 2 (42 Henry III–28 Edward I, 1257–1300): 29, and *The Early Rolls of Merton College Oxford*, ed. J. R. L. Highfield (Oxford, 1964), 447.

<sup>4</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 18:1, and David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd ed. (Harlow, 1971), 134, 281.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 34:388–89.

younger Ela is around 1207, the latest perhaps around 1219; it is likely that she was born some years after 1209.<sup>6</sup> At any rate she was still quite young when her father died in 1226, and she was most likely in her teens when, three years later, she married Thomas de Newburgh, heir of the recently or soon-to-be deceased earl of Warwick. The capable countess of Salisbury mortgaged two manors to fund her daughter Ela's marriage.<sup>7</sup> The bride's dowry seems to have included the manors of Hatherop (Glos) and Chitterne (Wilts).<sup>8</sup>

Although the earldom of Warwick was in something of a decline in the early thirteenth century,<sup>9</sup> the marriage was a suitable one for the younger Ela, giving her a comital rank to match that of her parents. Henceforth Ela would be known as "countess of Warwick" on all occasions, even after being widowed and marrying another man. Her new husband, Thomas de Newburgh, was old enough to pay relief for his father's estate in the year of his marriage, but he had not yet been knighted.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, virtually no evidence survives of Ela's own activities during the fourteen years of this first marriage.<sup>11</sup> She and Thomas had no children.

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<sup>6</sup> W. L. Bowles and John Gough Nichols, *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*. . . (London, 1835), app., p. ii. If the elder Ela (who bore her eldest surviving son ca. 1209) reached puberty around age fourteen, in 1204, and immediately bore three surviving daughters at intervals of a year or so, her third daughter, the younger Ela, could have been born as early as 1207 or 1208, but this scenario is improbable. If, at the other extreme, the son born ca. 1209 was the first child, followed by three more sons and then three daughters, all at two-yearly intervals, Ela the younger could have been born as late as 1219, and married at age ten in 1229.

<sup>7</sup> The manors were Canford (Dorset) and Chitterne (Wilts) (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III*, 6 vols. [London, 1901–13], 2 [1225–32]: 255).

<sup>8</sup> Bowles and Nichols, *Annals and Antiquities*, 305, 321.

<sup>9</sup> Emma Mason, "The Resources of the Earldom of Warwick in the Thirteenth Century," *Midland History* 3 (1975–76): 67–75, and David Crouch, "The Local Influence of the Earls of Warwick, 1088–1242: A Study in Decline and Resourcefulness," *Midland History* 21 (1996): 1–22.

<sup>10</sup> *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 14 vols. (London, 1902–38), 1 (1227–31): 220, 2 (1231–34): 219; G. E. C[ockayne], *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom*, 13 vols. (London, 1910–59), 12.2:365.

<sup>11</sup> She acquired land in Wiltshire in a settlement with the earl of Hereford in 1228–29 (*Complete Peerage*, 6:460). Her husband was knighted and belted as an earl in 1233; her mother entered Lacock as a nun in 1237 and then was appointed to the abbacy of that house around 1239 (*Complete Peerage*, 12.2:365, and *Close Rolls Henry III*, 2 [1231–34]: 219).

## FIRST WIDOWHOOD

When Thomas de Newburgh died in 1242, the dower owed to the newly widowed Countess Ela was a rich one, despite the fact that an earlier dowager (Philippa Basset, d. 1265) was already enjoying her third of the Warwick estates.<sup>12</sup> Ela Longespee's dower included the manors of Tamworth, Claverdon, and Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire; Hook Norton in Oxfordshire (which her husband had inherited from his mother, Margery d'Oilly); Bradenham in Buckinghamshire; land at Lydney (Glos); and holdings in other parts of the country, including the north. Legal action was required to secure some of these dower lands.<sup>13</sup> Especially if Ela was a young teenager when she married, the struggle to gain her dower may have been a formative experience for her, as she used the courts to obtain her widow's third and strengthen her economic position.

In 1246 the king made Ela a temporary grant of the manor of "Neweton" in Hampshire; in 1249 he exchanged Neweton for the manor of Dymock (Glos), which she was to hold, at a rent of 60s. per annum, as long as she remained a widow and a laywoman.<sup>14</sup> Ela received other marks of the king's favor in this period as well, including oaks and bucks from the royal forests.<sup>15</sup> In 1247 she was farming the lands of a royal ward for more than £200 yearly; in 1252 she received royal permission to put Dymock to farm, as well as to assart and enclose three virgates of land there.<sup>16</sup> Secure by now on her dower and her royal estate, Ela was apparently trying to improve her income. That she had cash flow problems may be indicated by the fact that in 1255 she owed £200 to the Jew Abraham of Berkhamstead.<sup>17</sup>

Ela's relations in this period with her birth family have left some traces in the record, and these are the first faint hints, too, of possible religious patronage, with some transactions involving (but no clear gifts to) her moth-

<sup>12</sup> Mason, "Earldom of Warwick," 73.

<sup>13</sup> *Close Rolls Henry III*, 4 (1237-42): 454-55, 5 (1242-47): 10, 69; *Curia Regis Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 20 vols. (1922-2006), 17 (1242-43): 103, 116-17, 227-28, 257-59, 431, 437, 18 (1243-45): 22-23, 30-32.

<sup>14</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls Henry III*, 3 (1232-47): 505-7, 509, 4 (1247-58): 42. "Neweton" cannot be identified.

<sup>15</sup> *Close Rolls Henry III*, 6 (1247-51): 86, 378, 471; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1 (11-41 Henry III, 1226-57): 369.

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls Henry III*, 3 (1232-47): 510, 4 (1247-58): 133; *Close Rolls Henry III*, 7 (1251-53): 136.

<sup>17</sup> *Close Rolls Henry III*, 9 (1254-56): 170. Abraham of Berkhamstead was one of the Jews whose debts were to be collected and assigned to Richard of Cornwall, and among the Jews Abraham was especially close to Richard (N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* [Oxford, 1947], 22 n. 1, 69-70, 108). It is possible that Ela's marriage to Richard's associate Philip Basset at about this time led to the eventual forgiveness of her debt.

er's house at Lacock.<sup>18</sup> It is also in this time of widowhood that we find Ela associated for the first time with Oxfordshire — a region that was increasingly to become her geographical orbit as she grew older. In February 1247, Ela was staying or living at her dower manor of Hook Norton, about twenty miles northwest of Oxford. Several members of her household were named as witnesses to a charter she issued at this time: Sir Thomas Golafre, her steward; Richard her dispenser; and Henry, her chaplain. Thomas Golafre would still be at her side thirty-four years later.<sup>19</sup>

## SECOND MARRIAGE AND WIDOWHOOD

Ela married for the second time in late 1254 or early 1255.<sup>20</sup> Her husband this time was the baron Philip Basset, a widower with a daughter by his first marriage. Though not of comital rank, Philip was a man of national standing, frequently at court and serving the king in many roles. He was a tenant and close associate of the king's brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, with whom he had been on crusade; Ela's brother William had also been a member of that expedition. Philip had landed interests in many counties, concentrated in East Anglia and in the South Midlands around the Oxford region. He and Ela were neighbors of a sort in Buckinghamshire, where Ela's dower manor of Bradenham lay next to the Basset family's major holding of Wycombe.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> In 1242x48 Ela quitclaimed to her brother William land in Chitterne (Wilts), which he then granted to Lacock (*Lacock Abbey Charters*, ed. Kenneth H. Rogers [Devizes, 1979], nos. 266, 269). In 1249, the two Elas, mother and daughter, made a legal arrangement concerning the manor of Hatherop (Glos) — the countess of Warwick recognizing it to be Lacock's by right and leasing it back from the abbess for 100s. per year (*Lacock Abbey Charters*, nos. 418–19). No. 419 is dated 1249; no. 418, undated, is witnessed by Philip Basset and some of his associates, suggesting a possible date after Ela's second marriage. Hatherop certainly belonged to the younger Ela, so this agreement may be the remaining trace of a benefaction by her to the nuns (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1 [11–41 Henry III, 1226–57]: 369). In 1287, the younger Ela would quitclaim Hatherop to Lacock, receiving an annual income of £20 in return (*Lacock Abbey Charters*, no. 423).

<sup>19</sup> *Lacock Abbey Charters*, no. 271, and *Calendar of the Close Rolls of Edward I Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 5 vols. (1900–1908), 2 (1279–88): 139. In 1255, Ela was listed among the "Oxfordshire and Berkshire" debtors of Abraham of Berkhamstead (*Close Rolls Henry III*, 9 [1254–56]: 170). In 1287, Ela exchanged her dower manor of Sutton Coldfield (Warwick) for Spilsbury in Oxfordshire (*Victoria County History, Warwickshire*, 4:233).

<sup>20</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, vol. 1 (1198–1304), ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893), 307, 312–13, 345–46.

<sup>21</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (n. 2 above), 4:267–68, 34:389, and *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. Lewis C. Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton (Oxford, 1950), no. 437 and note. Philip may also have been acquainted with Ela because of an earlier association of his with Lacock Abbey (*Lacock Abbey Charters*, no. 418).

Soon after the marriage, Richard of Cornwall secured the king's confirmation of the manor of Dymock to Philip and Ela for life.<sup>22</sup> The royal favor continued in various forms, no doubt as much because of Philip's role in government as because of Ela's blood kinship with the king. In 1261 Philip began a two-year stint as justiciar, and in the same year the king granted the couple the manors of Kirtlington (Oxon) and Uphaven and Mereden (Wilts).<sup>23</sup> Ela's second marriage must have been dominated to a large extent by the royal politics of the late 1250s and the 1260s. As relations between Henry III and his barons deteriorated, Philip remained what his most recent biographer has called "a moderate royalist," loyal to the king but trusted by both sides, and eventually helping to curb the king's more vengeful impulses. Philip was wounded at Lewes in 1264 and imprisoned afterwards with the king — undoubtedly a time of anxiety for Ela.<sup>24</sup> Like her first marriage, this one too was childless.

During this second marriage we see Ela clearly acting as a patron of religion, often — though not always — in partnership with her husband. The couple seems to have taken a special interest in the various orders of friars, and all the surviving records of the gifts they made to the friars bear some mark of particular association with Ela or her family. In 1261 Ela gave the London Franciscans a piece of land in Stinking Lane;<sup>25</sup> in 1262 she spent 160 marks to arrange a gift of land in St. Bride parish to the London Dominicans. Together she and Philip granted, and later confirmed, to the London Dominicans land near Fleet Bridge that had belonged to Richard Longespee, probably her brother.<sup>26</sup> They also seem to have given land in the town of Warwick to the Dominicans there.<sup>27</sup> In 1262, at Ela's request, the Augustinian abbey of Oseney, just outside Oxford, gave the Friars of the Sack permission to build on land that Oseney controlled.<sup>28</sup> (Interestingly, though, there is no evidence that Ela's patronage of the friars continued after Philip's death.) When Ela acted alone in the interests of religion during

<sup>22</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls Henry III*, 4 (1247–58): 529, 539, and *Close Rolls Henry III*, 10 (1256–59): 54–55.

<sup>23</sup> *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 2 (42 Henry III–28 Edward I, 1257–1300): 35. In 1257 Ela was granted five dead oaks from the royal forest of Wychwood (Oxon) (*Close Rolls Henry III*, 10 [1256–59]: 72).

<sup>24</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 4:267–68.

<sup>25</sup> Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, 150, and Jens Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221–1539* (Berlin, 2004), 46, 389–90.

<sup>26</sup> William A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951), 24, and Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, 32–33.

<sup>27</sup> They specifically exempted the land that the friars had appropriated and enclosed when they quitclaimed land in Warwick to a third party in 1268x71 (BL Add. 28,024 [Warwick Register], fol. 63r).

<sup>28</sup> *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. H. E. Salter, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1929–36), 2:401, no. 993.

the period of her second marriage, it was often to urge others to do good deeds. In 1260 King Henry III made a grant to Lacock at the urging of Ela, and in 1267x68 Oseney granted the proceeds of one of its Oxford properties (at least 4s. annually) to the Benedictine nuns of Godstow Abbey, about three miles upriver from Oxford, again at Ela's urging.<sup>29</sup> Her husband Philip also made a gift to Godstow (40s. for the nuns' clothing) at Ela's request.<sup>30</sup> The other known beneficiary of Ela and Philip's joint patronage was the house of scholars that would soon become Merton College, Oxford. Ela and Philip were acquaintances of its founder Walter de Merton, and in 1266 they granted him the manor of Thorncroft in Leatherhead (Surrey), worth £20 a year.<sup>31</sup> Although the land had been an acquisition of Philip's, the connection with Merton that seems to have begun with this gift would become an important relationship for Ela, lasting long after Philip's death and even after her own.

Philip Basset died in 1271, leaving Ela a widow again. This time there seems to have been no legal difficulty over dower. Instead we find Ela emerging into the public record in routine administrative matters; for example, she was acting as co-executor for Richard Longespee (probably her brother) in 1281.<sup>32</sup> In the late 1280s a jury accused her of wasting her manor of Aston Clinton (Bucks) for the past fourteen years.<sup>33</sup> In the period from 1287 to 1290, the king arranged to take back Dymock and granted Ela an annual revenue of £50 in exchange.<sup>34</sup>

However, the better documented aspect of Ela's second widowhood has to do with her religious patronage and piety, and this is where she becomes an extraordinary figure for the historian. From the years immediately following

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<sup>29</sup> *Lacock Abbey Charters*, no. 23; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1 (11–41 Henry III, 1226–57): 29; *Oseney Cartulary*, 1:192, no. 206; *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery, Near Oxford*, ed. Andrew Clark (London, 1905–11), no. 645; Kew, TNA, PRO E164/20 (Godstow Latin Cartulary), fol. 115.

<sup>30</sup> *Godstow English Register*, no. 105; PRO E164/20, fol. 160–160v.

<sup>31</sup> *Early Rolls of Merton College*, 27, 41, 52; Oxford, Merton College Archives, nos. 646, 647, 648.

<sup>32</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls Edward I*, 2 (1279–88): 139. She owed a debt of wool to a London merchant in 1276; complained in 1278 that her reeve had been imprisoned when she sent him to collect a relief owed to her in Warwickshire, and of a break-in and poaching at a park of hers in Hampshire; and appointed attorneys in lawsuits in 1279 (*Cal. Close Rolls Edward I*, 1 [1272–79]: 355, 570; *Victoria County History, Warwickshire*, 6:276; *Cal. Patent Rolls Edward I*, 1 [1272–81]: 287).

<sup>33</sup> Kew, TNA/PRO E40/45.

<sup>34</sup> The revenue was augmented by a royal grant of a daily cartload of firewood from old oaks in either Bernwood (Berks) or Wychwood (Oxon) forest, at pleasure. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward I Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 4 vols. (1893–1901), 2 (1281–92): 269, 338, 349. She had received ten live deer from Odiham park in 1276 (*Cal. Close Rolls Edward I*, 1 [1272–79]: 365).

Philip's death there are only a few such records, but over time the evidence of religious activity increases, and after about a decade the trickle becomes a flood. By the 1280s Ela had become a very active patron of numerous religious institutions in Oxfordshire and nearby counties. In an unusual reversal of the normal situation, however, the surviving records give us a very full account of what Ela received in return for her patronage, and only a very fragmentary idea of what that patronage was. Ela Longespee's records (and for the most part these are records that she herself preserved) tell a story that usually cannot be told or has, indeed, been lost.

#### THE LONGESPEE ROLL: AN INTRODUCTION

Let us turn now to Ela Longespee's extraordinary roll of charters, with which I began this article. The roll itself is written on six sheets of parchment, approximately 37 cm wide and measuring approximately 320 cm in length when stitched together. The top portion of the roll is both very worn and heavily damaged, but it is possible to discern that there is an introductory section by the bishop of Lincoln. Here we learn that this is an *in-speximus*. At the end, after the last of the copied documents, the bishop confirms all of them, with the consent of the dean and chapter. The roll is dated at Lincoln on 17 August 1293, and then further dated at Eynsham (by the abbot) and at Oxford (by the archdeacon of Oxford) on 11–12 October of the same year. The roll is pierced at the bottom for two seals on cords and has pieces of one red cord remaining, on the left, but no seals. Each of the eighteen individual documents on the roll is also dated, with the sixteen legible dates ranging from 1282 to 1293, the year of the roll itself. The roll contains three charters from the Augustinian Oseney Abbey; two from the Augustinian canons of St. Frideswide's, Oxford; six from Benedictine Godstow (a royal abbey closely connected with Ela's grandfather Henry II); one from Rewley Abbey, a Cistercian house just outside Oxford (founded in 1281 by the son of Richard, earl of Cornwall, in his memory); one from Thame Abbey, a Cistercian house twelve miles east of Oxford that had supplied the first monks for Rewley; one from Bicester, an Augustinian priory twelve miles northeast of Oxford (and a Basset family foundation numbering Philip Basset and William Longespee among its benefactors); one from Studley Priory, a house of Benedictine nuns seven miles northeast of Oxford; and three from Oxford University. None of the monastic charters appear in the cartularies or other surviving records of the respective houses, nor do any documents that can be connected with these charters. The three University charters do appear in University registers.<sup>35</sup> With one exception

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<sup>35</sup> They are printed in *Munimenta Academica* (n. 1 above), 1:62–67.

(the second St. Frideswide's charter, which appears to be out of place), the documents are grouped by granting institution, and the institutional groups are arranged chronologically by the dates of their earliest charters. Within each institutional group (where the dates are legible) the charters are also arranged chronologically.<sup>36</sup> Most of the documents are concerned primarily with masses and other spiritual privileges, and many of them are very similar in content and form; indeed, some are clearly virtual copies of others. It will therefore be useful to begin by examining one fairly representative document from the roll.

The first charter from St. Frideswide's Priory, Oxford, is the fourth document on the roll and the first document on the roll to survive without much damage through wear. It is quite long (at a little under 1100 words) and thus contains much of the material found in the other charters; with a date of 12 June 1282 it is also one of the earliest documents in the collection. In this charter, John, prior of St. Frideswide's, first promises Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick (who is called both "our beloved sister in Christ" and "noble matron"), that one canon of St. Frideswide's will always be specially appointed each week (via a written rota) to say a daily mass for her at the altar of the blessed Edmund the Confessor and the blessed Richard (i.e., of Chichester), as long as she lives. The document then goes on to give lengthy and detailed liturgical instructions for these services. (The daily mass will be the mass of the Trinity on Sundays, the mass of All Saints on Wednesdays, and on other days either the mass of the Holy Spirit or the mass of the Virgin, as the celebrant chooses. Once a month the mass of All Saints will be chanted for Ela by the whole convent, with collects that are specified in the charter; on the feast days of Edmund the Martyr and Edmund the Confessor the mass will be celebrated for Ela with specified collects and other specified liturgy, and in addition all the canonical hours will be said at the saints' altar; on other principal feasts the mass will also be said for Ela.) Second, after Ela's death, there will be a daily requiem mass for her, except on the principal feasts, when the festal mass will be said for her, as before her death; again, the collects are specified. Third, St. Frideswide's parish chaplain will announce publicly, every Sunday in perpetuity, all indulgences granted to those who pray for Ela. Fourth, all canons of the house, including the prior himself and his successors, are to remember Ela in every mass they celebrate and in their prayers, and her name is to be written in every missal belonging to the house, as well as in the *martyrologium*. Fifth, she will

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<sup>36</sup> Except the last three Godstow charters, all from the same year, but enrolled in reverse order. The three Oseney charters, two of whose year-dates are illegible, appear to be out of chronological order; as they come first in the roll, this may indicate that the scribe had not yet decided on the chronological scheme.

be honored with the house's founder and benefactors in the chapter. Sixth, when Ela dies the house will treat her death like that of their prior: all the bells will be rung; a *placebo* (vespers of the dead), *dirige* (matins of the dead), and mass will immediately be said by the whole community; and St. Gregory's Trental will begin for her on the following day. Seventh, following her death each canon who is a priest will say thirty masses for her; each non-priest canon will say the entire psalter ten times for her; and each lay brother will say 1500 Our Fathers and 1500 Hail Marys for her (it is not clear whether these benefits, too, were the same ones accorded to a deceased prior). Eighth, each year the anniversary of Ela's death will be commemorated in every way like that of any prior of the house, with observances including the office of the dead sung by the community and private masses said by all canon-priests. Ninth, Ela is also made a participant in all other spiritual benefits of the house, including fasts, vigils, psalms, prayers, penance, and other activities (in other words, she is implicitly granted confraternity; see below). Finally, the document ends with various assertions of its permanence, a promise to transcribe it in the house's martyrology, a sealing clause, and a dating clause.

Except for the first charter from Godstow, this first St. Frideswide's charter is the fullest set of benefits contained in a single charter in the whole roll, but it is representative of the main charters from all the religious houses. Ela obtained a certain subset of these benefits — specifically the daily masses before and after death, being remembered in all the masses said in the house, the writing of her name in the house's missals and martyrology, some sort of special memorial at the time of death, individual memorials by every religious after her death, and a daily naming in chapter — from each of the other religious houses represented in the roll except Studley (see Table 1). Studley was a female house, and poor:<sup>37</sup> it would have few resources to support or hire the necessary male priests to say masses, and indeed its charter promised Ela only one mass a month and a share in all the benefits of the house. Female Godstow, on the other hand, promised more masses than any of the male houses: two daily masses (one in the nuns' infirmary), plus two special masses a month, and the thirty masses of St. Gregory's Trental beginning not only on the day after the nuns received notice of her death, but also again each year on the morrow of her anniversary.<sup>38</sup> Instead of the thirty psalters and 1500 Our Fathers and Hail Marys

<sup>37</sup> *Victoria County History, Oxfordshire*, 2:77–79.

<sup>38</sup> Longespee Roll, no. 6: Godstow charter 1 (see Appendix 1). Because the thirty masses of St. Gregory's Trental, as it was practiced in England, were spread out over the course of a full year, this would amount to a continuous state of St. Gregory's Trental being sung for Ela at Godstow. Given that this "great" trental, in which the masses were accompanied by a demanding regime of additional devotional practices, was sometimes confused with the

to be said by each non-priest canon and lay brother respectively at St. Frideswide's (and a similar undertaking by Oseney Abbey in its third charter), Godstow promised that each nun, lay brother, and lay sister would say twenty-five Our Fathers and twenty-five Hail Marys for Ela every Saturday, both during her life and after her death, in perpetuity. In additional charters, Godstow undertook to distribute alms and pittances on Ela's behalf. A particularly close relationship was clearly being forged between Ela and Godstow, the results of which will be seen below. The other houses that granted Ela additional charters and benefits were (1) St. Frideswide's, which in addition to its very full initial charter arranged for a monthly mass for her in St. Margaret's chapel, and (2) Oseney, which promised a monthly mass at the church of St. George in Oxford Castle. Oseney and Godstow both also duplicated some of the other less common benefits found in the first St. Frideswide's charter (a share in the benefits of the house; public announcements of Ela's indulgences) and added others. The charters from Rewley, Thame, and Bicester contain only the basic subset of privileges (which were nevertheless quite full) and are virtually identical to each other.<sup>39</sup> Among the monastic charters, some of the Godstow documents (of which there are also the greatest number) are quite different in content from those of the other monasteries, while the University documents differ quite a bit from the monastic ones. Only the University documents and some of the Godstow ones mention Ela's benefactions.

#### ELA'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER HOUSES

In addition to the charters in the roll, a number of similar and complementary surviving records document the widowed Ela Longespee's multifaceted relationships with these and other religious institutions. Most notable is a series of charters relating to Reading Abbey, since these, unlike most of the Oxfordshire documents, give a good sense of Ela's actual benefactions.

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simple or "lesser" trental of thirty masses on consecutive days, one might suspect the latter here, except that the Godstow charter notes after each mention of the trental "quod plenarie sine omissione celebrare faciemus," as if to emphasize its length or complexity. All three of Ela's charters promising her St. Gregory's Trental were issued in 1282, suggesting that it was a devotional idea in which she was interested that year. For the Trental, see Richard Pfaff, "The English Devotion of St. Gregory's Trental," *Speculum* 49 (1974): 75–90, and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), 370–75. The references to the trental in the Longespee roll predate most of those adduced by Pfaff.

<sup>39</sup> The latter two were certainly copied from the Rewley document. This, along with the general standardization of phrasing from one charter to the next, suggests that Ela's own clerk or clerks wrote many, if not all, of these documents, just as the beneficiary's scribe often wrote the charter in the case of donation to a religious house.

One, perhaps the first in the series, is a charter from Ela, giving the monks her manor of Southwood, in Doddington (Cambs), and mentioning that in return she has been received into the fraternity of the house.<sup>40</sup> In the second, dated 1280, Ela confirms her grant of Southwood and adds additional gifts; the revenue of one of these additional gifts (in an unspecified amount) is designated to provide a “good” pittance for all the monks of Reading every Sunday (in honor of the Trinity) and every Thursday (in honor of the Ascension).<sup>41</sup> In the third document, dated 1284, the abbot guarantees that Reading’s monks will indeed receive, for the sake of Ela’s soul (and in honor of the Trinity), the Sunday pittance first mentioned in the second charter; he notes that this is because of the gift of Shenstone manor that Ela has given them, from which they have received 210 marks. He further says that two monks celebrate a mass daily for Ela at Reading, mentions that this arrangement is detailed in another charter (which does not survive, and which was probably similar to the Oxford-area documents in Ela’s roll), and promises that the two monks will have a daily pittance in the refectory.<sup>42</sup>

Another set of records comes from Selborne Priory in Hampshire. Here one original document from Ela (dated 1285) survives, promising 100 marks to support a canon who will say a daily mass for her in perpetuity. The two reciprocal documents from Selborne (surviving in fifteenth-century copies) promise the usual range of masses (with collects, altars, and vestments specified), commemoration at time of death, and anniversary commemorations; these charters are very like those in the Oxford-area roll.<sup>43</sup> There is (non-

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<sup>40</sup> BL Harl. Ch. 54 D.15; printed in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, 6 vols. (London, 1846), 4:45, no. xxvi, and *Victoria County History, Cambridgeshire*, 4:112. A near-duplicate, now lost, is printed in *Book of Seals*, no. 327, where the editors argue for a date of December 1284x90. However, B. R. Kemp assumes the grant was shortly before 6 January 1280 (*Reading Abbey Cartularies*, ed. Kemp, 2 vols. [London, 1986–87], 1: no. 84 n.).

<sup>41</sup> “unde totus conventus . . . habeat singulis diebus dominicis unam bonam pietanciam per quoquinarium domus et conventus Rading’ in honorem Sancte Trinitatis, et aliam bonam pietanciam singulis diebus Jovis per eundem quoquinarium in honorem sacrosancte Assencionis inperpetuum” (Kew, TNA/PRO C146/3589). Another of the additional gifts in this second charter to Reading was a revenue of 20s. to be put toward the perpetual observation of Ela’s anniversary at Reading.

<sup>42</sup> “duo monachi . . . pro predicta domina Ela celebrantes cotidie et inperpetuum celebraturi, prout sibi per scriptum nostrum communi sigillo nostro signatum concessimus” (BL Add. Ch. 19,633). The two chaplains celebrating masses for “the countess” were mentioned in an account written at Reading in 1305 (BL Harl. 82, fol. 2v).

<sup>43</sup> *Calendar of Charters and Documents Relating to Selborne and Its Priory, Preserved in the Muniment Room of Magdalen College, Oxford*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (London 1891), 72. What prompted Ela to forge a relationship with Selborne is unknown, though Oseney charter 3 in the Longespee Roll mentions Selborne as a house in close relationship with Oseney.

charter) evidence to suggest that by 1276 Ela had promised 300 marks to Stanley Abbey in Wiltshire, where her husband Philip Basset was buried.<sup>44</sup> In addition, later medieval evidence indicates that Ela was also a benefactor of the priory of St. Sepulchre in Warwick, a foundation of the earls of Warwick. In the fifteenth century the Warwick family chronicler John Rous remembered Ela in these words:

Sho gave to the help of pore scolars of Oxneford to borow by pleggyys in ther nede frely vij score marke put in a cofer to ther be houe afre there behaure to borow which is callyd unto thys day Warrewik voucher and she has for that and odre benefetes ij masses solemp by the univerte doon in the yere. Sho was a devout lady and large in Gestys to collagis of her dayes in Oxneford an religious placis as the sepulchris of Warrwik Osney and Godstow by Oxnford Redyng lacok and many odre.<sup>45</sup>

It is clear that Ela's network of piety and reciprocity was by no means confined to the Oxford area, but extended more widely across the southeastern and midland counties in which she held the bulk of her lands.

#### SPIRITUAL BENEFITS

Although exchange is not explicit in most of Ela's documents, the reciprocal nature of the relationship between benefactor and religious is implicit in every one of them. The exacting nature of the charters, as well as the very fact that they were created, makes it clear that the actions of the religious on her behalf were matters in which she had an important stake. It was not enough for her to have given a gift for pious purposes, or even to obtain spoken or general promises that she would receive prayers in return. Ela's eternal salvation, as she saw it, depended on her contract with the religious — that they, in perpetuity, would honor the detailed agreements they made to pray for her, say masses for her, and remember her in other ways, thus helping her through purgatory and into heaven. The stipulation of liturgical and other ritual details, like the very existence of the Longespee

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<sup>44</sup> The evidence is a debt of 300 marks owed by Ela to Stanley, recorded in the Close Rolls (*Cal. Close Rolls Edward I*, 1 [1272–79]: 338). In documents where Ela makes gifts to other houses, the language is sometimes that of debt, with enforcement clauses, e.g., at Selborne Priory, where she indebted herself to Selborne, promised to pay within five years, and authorized the distraint of her lands and goods in Oxfordshire and Hampshire to guarantee the debt (*Calendar of Charters and Documents Relating to Selborne*, 72). Alternatively, the debt to Stanley may simply be in connection with Philip's burial. Philip had been a benefactor of Stanley, whereas Ela does not appear in its muniments (W. de G. Birch, "Collections towards the History of the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley in Wiltshire," *The Wiltshire Magazine* 15 [1875]: 239–307, at 256, 268, 274).

<sup>45</sup> John Rous, *The Rous Roll*, ed. Charles Ross (Gloucester, 1980), cap. 36, and William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 2nd ed., ed. W. Thomas (London, 1730), 383.

roll, emphasizes that Ela was urgently concerned with acquiring, recording, and maintaining some control over the spiritual benefits she received in return for her patronage. Moreover, the religious who received her gifts permitted her to participate vicariously in the life of their communities — to be, as Susan Boynton has put it, “virtually present” through “ritual commemoration.”<sup>46</sup> The charters painstakingly constructed the means by which Ela’s presence would be felt, persistently and actively, in some cases on a daily basis: in the monastic church through liturgy, in the chapter through confraternity, in the refectory through pittance, even in the cloister through almsgiving.

### *Masses*

Ela lived at a time when the doctrine of purgatory had become prominent in Christian understanding of salvation. Instead of the stark alternatives of heaven and hell after death, the individual soul would have a chance to continue the penitential process begun during life and eventually purge its sins sufficiently to enter heaven. This belief had developed fully by the end of the twelfth century and was now firmly ensconced in the western Christian mentality. In addition, the living could — through prayers, alms, and other good works — assist the dead in their posthumous purging of sin, and in this process the eucharist had come to play a significant role. Like prayers, masses were believed to aid the soul in its journey through purgatory and speed it on its way to heaven. All good works offered for a soul assisted in this, but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the mass was coming to be seen as the most efficacious of good works.<sup>47</sup>

These shifts in belief prompted the founding of chantries, endowed daily masses said for the health of the donor’s soul during his or her lifetime and for its welfare after death. These could be limited in duration or perpetual. In England, chantries are generally thought to have emerged in the first half of the thirteenth century, with the practice growing in the following

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<sup>46</sup> Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, 2006), 144.

<sup>47</sup> Clive Burgess, “‘A fond thing vainly invented’: An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England,” in *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350–1750*, ed. S. J. Wright (London, 1988), 56–83; Howard Colvin, “The Origin of Chantries,” *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000): 163–73, at 169; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), 130–208, 289–333; R. W. Southern, “Between Heaven and Hell,” review of *The Birth of Purgatory*, by Jacques Le Goff, *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 June 1982, 651–52; Rosemary Horrox, “Purgatory, Prayer and Plague: 1150–1380,” in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings (New Brunswick, NJ, 1999), 90–118, at 109–12.

decades.<sup>48</sup> While the best known form of chantry is the independent benefice in a parish church or separate chapel, endowed masses in monastic houses were a common type as well.<sup>49</sup> The numerous daily masses that Ela Longespee established in Oxfordfordshire religious houses were chantries of this sort. Although K. L. Wood-Legh believed that monastic chantries were “never numerous” in Britain, the chance survival of the Longespee Roll and a few parallel documents suggests they may have been more numerous than she thought, and that the documentary evidence may simply no longer exist in most cases.<sup>50</sup>

Charters are not the only surviving evidence of Ela's chantry foundations. In the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford there is a stone, dug up at Rewley in 1705, with an inscription that reads, “Ela Longesp' comitissa Warew' hanc capellam fecit cuius premium sit Christus in gloria. Amen” (“Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, made this chapel; may Christ be her reward in glory. Amen”).<sup>51</sup> This chapel may not have been a chantry chapel, but given the fact that Ela did endow a daily mass at Rewley, the likelihood that it was said in this chapel is strong.<sup>52</sup> According to the sixteenth-century antiquary John Leland, “Ela gave sum landes” to Rewley, and she “gave many rich jewelles to Oseney, but no landes.”<sup>53</sup> Other evidence of Ela's chantry-founding concerns the parish church of Maplederwell (Hants); the witnesses in a 1314 dispute over a chantry here testified that “bone memorie domina Ela de Longespe, Comitissa Warewykie, . . . primo dictam cantariam constituit,

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<sup>48</sup> Colvin, “Origin of Chantries,” 163–73; K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), 5; G. H. Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London, 1947), 6, 17; Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1979), 72–76; Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250–1550* (Oxford, 1995), 33–34, 93–95. Cf. David Crouch, “The Origin of Chantries: Some Further Anglo-Norman Evidence,” *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 159–80.

<sup>49</sup> Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 8–11, and Colvin, “Origin of Chantries,” 171.

<sup>50</sup> Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 11. Crouch adduces evidence of lay demand for daily commemorative masses in monasteries from the eleventh century on (Crouch, “Origin of Chantries,” 162–63, 170–71). Similar to Ela's enrolled charters (though much less detailed) is an early thirteenth-century charter from Waltham Abbey promising a daily mass for a layman (Kew, TNA, PRO DL 36/1/247, printed in L. C. Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* [London, 1966], 110 [transcription] and plate 5[a] [p. 73]).

<sup>51</sup> *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1770), 2:125–28, and Julian Munby, Andy Simmonds, Ric Tyler, and David R. P. Wilkinson, *From Studium to Station: Rewley Abbey and Rewley Road Station, Oxford* (Oxford, 2007), 8, plate 1.

<sup>52</sup> Longespee Roll, no. 12, Rewley charter (see Appendix 1).

<sup>53</sup> John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Carbondale, IL, 1964), 1:124. Leland also recorded, accurately, that Ela gave “riche giftes” to Reading Abbey.

et terras ad eandem pertinentes ad ipsam perpetuo sustentandam adquisivit” (“Lady Ela Longespee of good memory, countess of Warwick, . . . first established this chantry, and acquired the lands belonging to it for its perpetual maintenance”).<sup>54</sup> This is clearly the same chantry provided for in two royal licenses of 1284x85, permitting Ela to alienate land to endow a chaplain.<sup>55</sup>

Living as she did in the thirteenth century, Ela participated in what was still the early phase of widespread chantry-founding, but she was a prolific founder of chantries. By the end of her lifetime, at least ten masses were ostensibly being said specifically for her every day across Oxfordshire and elsewhere; six more were being said monthly; and she was being remembered in prayers during an incalculable number of additional masses said daily by the clergy of at least six houses. In the months following her death the number of masses said for Ela would swell still further. The cost of her known chantry foundations can be roughly calculated. One of the Selborne documents tells us that Ela paid 100 marks to endow the chaplain saying a daily mass for her there, and the evidence from Godstow reveals that a similar amount had been necessary to endow each of two masses there.<sup>56</sup> Thus the ten daily masses alone may represent a total investment of some 1000 marks (more than £650), probably in a combination of cash, land, and goods.

Strikingly, the charters in Ela Longespee’s roll also contain a great deal of liturgical material. Like some other founders of chantries,<sup>57</sup> Ela often specified which masses were to be said on certain days. The masses to be said for her during her lifetime were nearly always to be the mass of the Trinity on Sundays, the mass of All Saints on Wednesdays, and the mass of the Holy Spirit and the mass of the Virgin on all the other days; after her death, most were to be requiem masses instead.<sup>58</sup> These choices were fairly stand-

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<sup>54</sup> One of the witnesses recalled that “cartam de feoffamentam . . . vidit, et in presencia dicte domine Ele, et parochianorum de Mapeldrewelle, eandem cartam verbis Anglicis audivit exponi” (*The Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio, Bishops of Winchester [A.D. 1316–1323]*, ed. Francis Joseph Baigent [London, 1897], 143, 145).

<sup>55</sup> The land was in Natley Eastrop, now known as Up Natley; the village is a mile from Maplederwell. Kew, TNA, PRO C143/8/16 and C143/9/30. Ela was granted the manor of Maplederwell by her stepdaughter Alina Basset in 1272 (*Victoria County History, Hampshire*, 4:150).

<sup>56</sup> *Calendar of Charters and Documents Relating to Selborne*, 72. In the Longespee Roll, Godstow charter 5 says that the two chaplains saying mass for Ela are supported by a combined revenue of £7 7s.; in Godstow charter 3, an endowment of 200 marks purchases an annual revenue of 15 marks (£10).

<sup>57</sup> Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 281–90, using mostly fourteenth-century examples.

<sup>58</sup> Of these, the designation for Wednesday is the one made least often in Ela’s documents. Additionally, in one case the Sunday mass was to be the mass of the day (Longe-

ard ones.<sup>59</sup> In addition, Ela prescribed or negotiated various other aspects of the masses: especially the collects, but also location (chapels, altars) and occasionally the use of music and the wearing of certain vestments. Although most of the specified collects occur repeatedly throughout the documents, it is impossible to tell whether they were chosen because Ela or her clerical staff had a personal affinity for them, or because they were the suitable ones for a woman, or for some other reason. (For the specific collects and other prayers, see Appendix 2 below.) In one case, however, we are given a reason for a liturgical choice. The third University charter explains that although the University normally would not have deacons and subdeacons at its masses, the countess “modicis non contenta missis per nos celebrandis, solempnitatem expatit adhiberi” (“not content with the plain masses we would celebrate, asked for ritual to be added”); therefore the masses celebrated for her would have deacons and subdeacons, and one mass would be “adorned” with a sequence and the creed. This passage clearly shows Ela actively seeking and obtaining certain changes in the masses that will be said for her, because what would normally have been on offer was not elaborate enough for her. It is difficult to detect much of the personal through the formulaic language of the rest of documents, but perhaps we can conclude that Ela took a similarly personal interest in those liturgical details, especially when, in similar elaboration, a charter specifies that a given monastic house will celebrate a particular mass for her with vestments and music: “[cum] dalmatica et cum cantu,”<sup>60</sup> “cum tribus reves-titis et cum cantu,”<sup>61</sup> “cum eadem solempnitate [et] cantu et nota,”<sup>62</sup> or “cum nota.”<sup>63</sup> The Longespee Roll is an early and extraordinarily detailed set of examples of such liturgical specifications by a donor.<sup>64</sup>

### *Confraternity*

Many of the documents in the roll state that Ela has been granted a share of all the spiritual benefits of the house (“in omnibus aliis et singulis beneficiis nostris . . . specialem et generalem habeat participationem,” or

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spee Roll, no. 6: Godstow charter 1 [see Appendix 1]), and in another case the Saturday mass was to be that of the Virgin after Ela's death (Longespee Roll, no. 5: St. Frideswide's charter 1 [see Appendix 1]).

<sup>59</sup> Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* (n. 48 above), 282, 284, 288. Most of the evidence is from later centuries.

<sup>60</sup> Longespee Roll, no. 3: Oseney charter 2 (see Appendix 1).

<sup>61</sup> Longespee Roll, nos. 6, 16: Godstow charter 1 and Studley (see Appendix 1).

<sup>62</sup> Longespee Roll, nos. 7, 9: Godstow charters 2 and 4 (see Appendix 1).

<sup>63</sup> Longespee Roll, nos. 5, 6, 15: St. Frideswide's charters 1 and 2 and Godstow charter 1 (see Appendix 1).

<sup>64</sup> See Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 290, for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples.

similar language): in other words, she has been received into its fraternity. This was already, in the thirteenth century, a venerable custom in many monasteries, by no means extended to most benefactors, but far from unusual.<sup>65</sup> A lay member of a monastic fraternity was entitled to be remembered in monastic prayers; he or she was believed to benefit from the fasts, alms, and other spiritual practices of the monastic community; and, perhaps most important of all, the occasion and anniversary of his or her death would be observed as if one of the monks or nuns had died. The purpose of such membership was to allow the individual benefactor a share in the spiritual power of the religious house, for the salvation of his or her soul. Although nearly all benefactions to monastic houses were made for the good of the donor's soul,<sup>66</sup> those charters of gift that mention confraternity for the donor are the ones that most clearly demonstrate the reciprocal nature of the relationship between benefactor and religious community.<sup>67</sup>

Ela received the privileges of confraternity at Oseney, St. Frideswide's, Godstow, Studley, Reading, and Oxford University. At most of the institutions specific sample benefits (such as fasts, vigils, psalms, prayers, pilgrimages, and so on) are listed; at Oseney she was also to share in the confraternity that the abbey shared with thirty-six other houses. At Reading, her charter declared, "recepterunt me dicti abbas et conventus in orationibus et beneficiis suis . . . in domo sua de Rading' secundum quod continetur in quadam carta quam penes me habeo de predictis abbate et conventu" ("the said abbot and convent have received me into their prayers and benefits . . .

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<sup>65</sup> W. G. Clark-Maxwell, "Some Letters of Confraternity," *Archaeologia* 75 (1926): 19–60, esp. 23–26, for examples of confraternity granted to lay benefactors in return for their gifts, and noted in the charter of gift, sometimes in language similar to that used in Ela's charter; Clark-Maxwell, "Some Further Letters of Fraternity," *Archaeologia* 79 (1929): 179–216; David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1966), 472–79; H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Unions and Confraternity with Cluny," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 16 (1965): 152–62; James G. Clark, "Monastic Confraternity in Medieval England: The Evidence from the St. Albans Abbey *Liber Benefactorum*," in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. Emilia Jamrozak and Janet Burton (Brepols, 2006), 315–31. For some attempts to quantify the proportion of donors granted confraternity and other benefits, see Christopher Holdsworth, *The Piper and the Tune: Medieval Patrons and Monks* (Reading, 1991), 12–14.

<sup>66</sup> See discussions in Brown, *Popular Piety*, 32–33; Benjamin Thompson, "From 'Alms' to 'Spiritual Services': The Function and Status of Monastic Property in Medieval England," *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. Judith Loades, vol. 2 (Ipswich, 1991), 227–61, esp. 227–37, 250–54; Thompson, "Monasteries and Their Patrons at Foundation and Dissolution," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1994): 103–25, at 107–11.

<sup>67</sup> For example, *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, nos. 803, 1079, 1193, and *Stoke by Clare Cartulary: BL Cotton Appx. xxi*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Richard Mortimer, 3 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1982–84), 1: nos. 11, 14.

in their house of Reading, as is contained in a certain charter which I have in my possession from the said abbot and convent").<sup>68</sup> Here Ela refers to a document that she has received from the abbot and monks, apparently laying out more fully the terms of her membership in the fraternity.<sup>69</sup> This more detailed charter from Reading to Ela does not survive, but presumably it would have contained terms similar to some of those in the Oxford-area documents that Ela had copied into her roll, or even similar to those in a twelfth-century letter of confraternity issued by Reading to Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>70</sup> At Reading there seem to have been several grades of confraternity, granted to donors according to their importance, and it would be interesting to know which level Ela attained.<sup>71</sup>

### *Pittances*

Ela established pittances only at Godstow and Reading (and later, as we shall see, at Merton College), but the documents making and following up on these arrangements are extraordinarily detailed. By the thirteenth century, pittances were portions of special food and drink provided for monks and nuns on certain occasions by means of specific benefactions.<sup>72</sup> Typically a donor gave a revenue with the stipulation that the religious would enjoy a pittance on a particular saint's feast day during the donor's lifetime, with the commemoration to move later to the anniversary of his or her death. For the donor, the provision of a pittance was in itself a pious benefaction, akin to alms; for the religious, the pittance was linked with the prayers they offered for the donor on that day. Paying for a pittance was the simplest way to endow the prayerful commemoration of one's anniversary, since prayers in themselves cost nothing.

Two of the Longespee documents related to Reading Abbey mention pittances; the second one, dated 1184, is the more interesting. In this charter the abbot promised Ela that the monks would receive the weekly Sunday pittance she had funded, and went into some detail about how the chief

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<sup>68</sup> BL Harl. Ch. 54 D.15; printed in *Monasticon Anglicanum* (n. 40 above), 4:45, no. xxvi, and *Victoria County History, Cambridgeshire*, 4:112; for its date, see *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, 1:84 n.

<sup>69</sup> It is not unusual for charters to refer in this way to a fuller document in the donor's hands, but as far as I know this is the only such existing reference in the context of confraternity.

<sup>70</sup> C. R. Cheney, "A Monastic Letter of Fraternity to Eleanor of Aquitaine," *English Historical Review* 51 (1936): 488–93.

<sup>71</sup> Colvin, "Origin of Chantry" (n. 47 above), 167.

<sup>72</sup> Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), 10–11; Harvey, "Monastic Pittances in the Middle Ages," in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. C. M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson, and T. Waldron (Oxford, 2006), 215–27, at 216, 219–20.

cellarer would find the necessary 15 marks for the pittance each year, with contingency plans for an alternate cash flow in case of difficulties. The abbot stressed that the pittance was not to be diminished over time — something that must have happened with some frequency. The charter also provided that Southwood manor, one of Ela's gifts to Reading, would remain in the chief cellarer's custody, and from it he would distribute 20 marks among all the monks of Reading each year on Ela's anniversary. At nearly 700 words long, the charter is a fairly lengthy one, and most of it is taken up with the minutiae of administering these benefits for the monks and guaranteeing the agreement.<sup>73</sup>

The pittance documents from Godstow are shorter but even more idiosyncratic. In 1289 the abbess issued a notice that she would spend on an annual pittance certain monies including an annual revenue of 15 marks that the nuns had purchased with a one-time gift of 200 marks given by Ela (another 10 marks of annual revenue from a separate source would make up the balance); the pittance would be enjoyed on the feast of St. Hilary during Ela's lifetime and on her anniversary after her death.<sup>74</sup> Three years further on, in January 1292, came another notice about dietary matters, again addressed generally, but explicitly paid for by Ela in the amount of £100 and 10 marks ("Pro hac autem nostra concessione . . . dedit nobis predicta domina . . . centum libras et decem marcas sterlingorum"). In this document the abbess guaranteed both the weight of a standard loaf of bread at Godstow and the daily allowance of herrings that the nuns would receive during fasting seasons; while pittances were not explicitly mentioned, the charter went straight from food to prayer, promising that every day each nun of Godstow would say five Our Fathers and five Hail Marys for Ela, and also confirming to her all the spiritual benefits previously granted by Godstow.<sup>75</sup> Two years later, in March 1294, the abbess assigned the (unspecified) revenues of Pattishall church to the annual St. Hilary pittance, mentioning 225 marks that Ela had given Godstow; this document, which post-dated Ela's roll, stated that the arrangement had the approval of the bishop of Lincoln.<sup>76</sup>

Apart from the interesting nuggets of information about monastic diet and finance that emerge from these documents, we can also learn something of the cost of pittances to the community and to a donor. Ela gave Reading land worth more than 200 marks and seems to have been thanked specifically for that gift with a "good" weekly pittance that cost the monks 15

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<sup>73</sup> "nichil eisdem causa predictae pietancie in cibatus discreseat nec sit diminutum" (BL Add. Ch. 19,633).

<sup>74</sup> Longespee Roll, no. 8: Godstow charter 3 (see Appendix 1).

<sup>75</sup> Longespee Roll, no. 11: Godstow charter 6 (see Appendix 1).

<sup>76</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ch. Northants. 53.

marks per year.<sup>77</sup> At Godstow the sum of 25 marks allocated to the annual pittance is too high to have been its annual cost (especially because Godstow was a much smaller house than Reading)<sup>78</sup> and may instead have been an amount that the nuns invested to endow the pittance. Because Ela's gifts to Godstow that are mentioned in the charters are gifts of money instead of land, it is difficult to know whether the different documents refer to discrete or to overlapping sums; but it does seem that she received less return for her money, in terms of pittances, at Godstow than at Reading. She may have made up the difference in other benefits received, including alms to the poor (see below).

Of all the matters laid out in detail in Ela's charters, these practical arrangements for pittances are least obviously connected to the donor's spiritual needs. But both the substantial sums of money involved and the detailed records preserved by Ela emphasize their significance. The Godstow and Reading pittances were important cogs in an elaborate machinery of personal salvation that Ela was constructing with the help of nuns, monks, canons, priests, and lay brothers and sisters across a broad geographic area. She wanted to know, even dictate, what each piece was and how it worked, and its proper and eternal functioning was of the greatest personal concern to her.

#### *Assistance to the Poor*

Most of the beneficiaries of Ela's gifts were the religious themselves, but at Godstow she also arranged for a donation to the poor. In 1284 she received a charter in which the abbess promised that on Maundy Thursday each year the nuns would give a penny to each of 260 poor boys and girls, for Ela's soul; apparently these alms came out of an annual revenue of 10 marks that Ela had given to Godstow, which also provided an annual allowance of 10d. for each nun.<sup>79</sup> In addition, Ela gave 120 marks to Oxford University in 1293, to be used for loans to poor scholars (*scholaribus indigentibus*); this fund was located in a special chest and was later known as the Warwick Voucher. For this act of generosity Ela was named a benefactor of the University and earned a yearly mass, special commemorations after her death, and special prayers in masses and elsewhere; in particular, scholars who borrowed from the fund were enjoined to say certain prayers, on

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<sup>77</sup> BL Add. Ch. 19,633.

<sup>78</sup> Godstow was founded for twenty-four nuns and is never recorded as having that many, whereas Reading had at least sixty-five monks in 1305; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (n. 4 above), 74, 259.

<sup>79</sup> Longespee Roll, nos. 7, 9: Godstow charters 2 and 4 (see Appendix 1).

Ela's behalf, in honor of the Trinity and the Virgin.<sup>80</sup> In each of these two cases of charity to the poor, then, Ela received in return a spiritual benefit that was spelled out in the document acknowledging her gift. No doubt she anticipated a similar, though voluntary, return from the alms which, in her 1280 charter to Reading, she mentioned her executors would distribute from her estate to the poor on the day of her burial ("largicionem seu distribucionem die sepulture me pauperibus erogandam").<sup>81</sup> It is fair to say, though, that charity for the poor (even when broadly defined to include poor scholars) made up a very small part of Ela's overall program of piety, so far as we know.

### *Indulgences*

As belief in purgatory became widespread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so indulgences granted to individuals by episcopal or papal authority, which had previously been intended to remit earthly penance, came to be understood to remit time in purgatory.<sup>82</sup> Among the many types of indulgence available was that whereby an individual secured a pardon for those who prayed for her or him — what R. N. Swanson calls a "devotional" pardon;<sup>83</sup> Ela Longespee was interested in this kind of indulgence. In charters in the roll, Oseney and St. Frideswide's both promised to make weekly public announcements of all indulgences granted to those who prayed for Ela; Godstow promised to announce them on feast days and certain other special occasions.<sup>84</sup> Two of Ela's charters from Oxford University also mention public notice of indulgences for those who would pray for her.<sup>85</sup> One original indulgence granted to Ela survives, a 1282 promise of forty days' pardon (the legal maximum) granted by Nicholas, bishop of Kildare, to anyone praying at the altar of St. Mary, St. Bridget, and All Saints at Oseney Abbey for the health of Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, while

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<sup>80</sup> Longespee Roll, 17, 18, University charters 1 and 2 (see Appendix 1); *Munimenta Academica* (n. 1 above), 1:62–64, 66–67; and Rous, *The Rous Roll*, cap. 36. Ela's fund is the third such endowment known to have been established in the medieval University, and was modeled on the first loan chest, established in 1240 and located at St. Frideswide's (T. H. Aston and Rosamond Faith, "The Endowments of the Universities and Colleges to circa 1348," in *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto, vol. 1 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston [Oxford, 1984], 267, 275–79).

<sup>81</sup> Kew, TNA, PRO C146/3589.

<sup>82</sup> R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge, 2007), 11–15.

<sup>83</sup> Swanson, *Indulgences*, 56–57, 224–28.

<sup>84</sup> Longespee Roll, nos. 3, 5, 6; Oseney charter 2, St. Frideswide's charter 1, and Godstow charter 1 (see Appendix 1).

<sup>85</sup> Longespee Roll, nos. 17, 19; University charters 1 and 3 (see Appendix 1); *Munimenta Academica*, 1:62–63, 65.

she is alive, and for her soul after she dies.<sup>86</sup> Ela's designation of this particular altar may imply that she had donated funds to its building, or at least to improvements in the monastic church at Oseney.<sup>87</sup> Although the Oseney indulgence to Ela is the only such original to survive, in 1284 Ela obtained from Archbishop John Pecham of Canterbury a confirmation of all indulgences she had received in the past or might receive in the future.<sup>88</sup> Both the confirmation and the references in the roll to "all" of Ela's indulgences suggest that she probably collected a fair number of them. While each of Ela's various pious actions benefited both herself and another party, indulgences of the type described here were by their nature particularly circular: the person praying for Ela's spiritual welfare earned a spiritual privilege for doing so. In obtaining indulgences for others who prayed for her, Ela hoped to appeal to the same desire in others for salvation that motivated her own collection of spiritual privileges.

#### ELA LONGESPEE'S LAST YEARS

The dates of Ela's known religious activities suggest that her concern with salvation became more pressing in the 1280s. She was at least in her sixties during this decade, and probably entering her seventies; in the thirteenth century this was an age at which a person should reasonably be planning for the end of life. In this period, as we have seen, Ela went through an intensive period of founding chantries, arranging for other masses to be said, obtaining confraternity in multiple houses, and collecting related spiritual benefits (prayers, pittances, alms, and so on). These were appropriate preparations for a Christian death. But in fact Ela lived through the 1280s and most of the following decade. Whereas her relationships with religious institutions in the 1280s were wide-ranging, after the early 1290s she seems to have focused most of her pious attention on her close relationships with three institutions, one near Oxford and two in the city itself: Godstow Abbey, Balliol College, and Merton College.

Ela spent the last years of her life in residence at Godstow, arriving there in or before April 1295.<sup>89</sup> It was of course not uncommon for noble individuals to retire into monastic houses at the end of life, with or without taking vows. Godstow was an obvious choice for Ela: it was the wealthiest and

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<sup>86</sup> Denholm-Young, *Medieval Archives of Christ Church* (Oxford, 1931), 7, and *Oseney Cartulary* (n. 28 above), 3:24. Denholm-Young dates the indulgence to 1272, Salter to 1282; Nicholas Cusack became bishop in 1279. Cusack was probably acting here as a suffragan bishop in an English diocese (Swanson, *Indulgences*, 36–37). There is no indication of what Ela paid for or did to earn this privilege.

<sup>87</sup> Swanson, *Indulgences*, 57.

<sup>88</sup> *Book of Seals* (n. 22 above), no. 339.

<sup>89</sup> *Early Rolls of Merton College*, 445–46.

most prestigious female house in the Oxfordshire region, with a strong historical connection to her royal grandfather Henry II.<sup>90</sup> In addition, Ela had an unidentified kinswoman (*consanguinea*) among the nuns of Godstow in 1290.<sup>91</sup> Ela's documented relationship with Godstow had begun during her second marriage, with some indirect patronage; then in 1282 she had obtained a full set of spiritual privileges from Abbess Rose Oxhay.<sup>92</sup> The next abbess, Mabel Wafre (1283–94), may have courted Ela more actively, for during her tenure Godstow issued at least six more charters to Ela, promising special alms on Maundy Thursday for Ela's soul and special pittances for the nuns, and laying out various financial and other arrangements to ensure the continuation of these benefits.<sup>93</sup>

Living at the abbey, Ela continued to manage her affairs; the surviving evidence is of her business with two Oxford colleges, Balliol and Merton. At Balliol, in 1293, she paid for the establishment of the College's first chapel; in return her name was recorded among the College's benefactors, and we may assume that she insisted on other benefits as well.<sup>94</sup> At Merton, among other lesser benefactions, she endowed a pittance of drink for the scholars in 1295, with a onetime gift of £100 and 23 marks; in return she asked for a requiem mass for her soul and the souls of all Christians.<sup>95</sup> Merton was

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<sup>90</sup> The fact that Ela retired to Godstow rather than her mother's foundation of Lacock is not surprising, given the overall shape of her religious patronage, with its focus on the Oxford area, and her apparent residence in or near that city in the later part of her life; she also seems to have had relatively little interest in Lacock or in her mother.

<sup>91</sup> Ela's kinswoman was one of two anonymous nuns involved in the elopement of a third Godstow nun in 1290 in what the bishop later determined had been a staged abduction, on the road near High Wycombe in 1290 (*The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280–1299*, ed. Rosalind M. T. Hill, [Lincoln, 1954], 3:132–33). We do not know who this kinswoman was, but there was a nun named Isolda Lovel at Godstow in 1283, and Philip Basset's sister Katherine had married into the Lovel family (strictly speaking, though, a Lovel woman could not be called Ela's *consanguinea*) (*Cal. Patent Rolls Edward I, 2* [1281–92]: 89). Alternatively, the nun who was Ela's kinswoman may have been a Longespee, related to Ela through one of her many siblings; in 1445 there would be a nun at Godstow named Alice Longspey, possibly indicating a continuing family connection (*Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, vol. 2, part 1, *Records of Visitations Held by William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1436–1449*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson [Lincoln, 1919], 114).

<sup>92</sup> Longespee Roll, no. 6: Godstow charter 1 (see Appendix 1).

<sup>93</sup> Longespee Roll, nos. 7–11: Godstow charters 2–6 (see Appendix 1); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ch. Northants. 53.

<sup>94</sup> John Jones, *Balliol College: A History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1997), 13–14; *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280–1299*, ed. Rosalind M. T. Hill, vol. 4 (Lincoln, 1958), 83–85, 94–95, 97, 132; A. B. Emden, "The Last Pre-Reformation 'Rotulus Benefactorum' and List of Obits of Balliol College," *Balliol College Record* (1967), supplement, 6.

<sup>95</sup> *Early Rolls of Merton College*, 445–46, and *Merton Muniments*, ed. P. S. Allen and H. W. Garrod (Oxford, 1928), plate 8c.

attentive to “the countess” (as Ela is called in the Merton records) in many small ways: sending her gifts including kids, sending a boat to Godstow for timber at Ela’s request, and in 1297 paying Ela’s men 6d. to work on a room at the abbey.<sup>96</sup>

#### DEATH AND BURIAL

Ela died on 9 February 1298; her obit was written in a calendar that survives from Oseney, and among those who attended her funeral was the recently consecrated bishop of Salisbury, who had succeeded her brother Nicholas.<sup>97</sup> Her body was divided for burial in at least two, and possibly three, places. Divided burial was a common practice in Ela’s social milieu.<sup>98</sup> When her brother Nicholas, bishop of Salisbury, died the previous May, his heart had been buried at Lacock, his entrails at Ramsey, and his body at Salisbury.<sup>99</sup> More famously, Queen Eleanor’s entrails had been interred at Lincoln when she died in 1290; her heart and body had been brought south in procession (with its stopping-places marked by the Eleanor crosses) to be buried at Blackfriars and Westminster Abbey respectively.<sup>100</sup> In practical terms, the removal and immediate burial of the entrails might be necessary

<sup>96</sup> *Early Rolls of Merton College*, 223, 254, 258–59. As Ela had already been in residence for some years, the last item (“in datis hominibus Comitisse operantibus circa cameram construendam apud Godestowe”) may have meant she was remodeling her own rooms, or that she was helping with some other work at the abbey.

<sup>97</sup> *Oseney Cartulary* (n. 28 above), 1:xix, and *Early Rolls of Merton College*, 262. Allen and Garrod (*Merton Muniments*, 28) stated without attribution that she died at Headington, but I have been unable to find any evidence for this, and I believe it is probably an error resulting from a confusion of Ela with Philippa Basset, lady of Headington, and also a dowager countess of Warwick (see, e.g., *Victoria County History, Oxfordshire*, 5:160). Ela almost certainly died at Godstow.

<sup>98</sup> Danielle Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2008), 75–95, 141–49; Brian Golding, “Burials and Benefactions: An Aspect of Monastic Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England,” *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1985), 64–75, at 66–70, 73; Charles Angell Bradford, *Heart Burial* (London, 1933), 22–25, 38–52, 63–101; Horrox, “Purgatory, Prayer and Plague” (n. 47 above), 99–100; Katharine Park, “The Life of the Corpse: Division and Dissection in Late Medieval Europe,” *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 50 (1995): 111–32; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Authority, the Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France,” *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990): 803–32, at 809–14. Pope Boniface VIII banned the practice in 1299; see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse,” *Viator* 12 (1981): 221–70; Brown, “Authority, the Family, and the Dead,” 824–29.

<sup>99</sup> *Book of Lacock*, appendix, p. ii.

<sup>100</sup> John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York, 1998), 59–60, 208–9.

if the body, like Queen Eleanor's, was to be moved a distance after death; this would not have been a factor in Ela's case.<sup>101</sup> But the choice of more than one location as a final resting place had an obvious advantage over the limitations of a single tomb, if only in sentimental terms or for political reasons.<sup>102</sup> Similar reasons would apply in Ela's planning, given her close ties to numerous religious institutions, any of which could be strengthened by an agreement for burial there. Danielle Westerhof has recently explored the ways in which thirteenth-century multiple burial expressed and reinforced ideas about noble identity while also "proclaiming one's personal spirituality."<sup>103</sup> Rank and an image of piety were no doubt both important to Ela. But in the specific religious context of the thirteenth century, there was also a spiritual benefit to divided burial: having multiple tombs increased the number of prayers likely to be said for the deceased at those tombs.<sup>104</sup> The potential multiplication of prayers would certainly have held great appeal for Ela Longespee, who went to such lengths during her lifetime to ensure that large numbers of masses and prayers would be said for her soul in perpetuity. So for several reasons, but especially for this last one, a divided burial is exactly what we would expect for her. Yet, while her tomb is fairly well known, its multiple nature has either gone unnoticed or has been misunderstood.<sup>105</sup>

Ela's body was buried at Oseney Abbey, as noted by John Rous in the fifteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Although the abbey church no longer exists, Ela's tomb was described by the antiquary John Leland in 1542. After noting the tomb of Henry d'Oilly in "the middle of the presbytery" at Oseney, he wrote that "Ela, Countes of Warwik, a woman of very great riches and nobilite, lyith buried at the hedde of the tumbre of Henry Oilley, undre a very fair flat marble, in the habite of a woues, graven yn a copper plate."<sup>107</sup> Funeral

<sup>101</sup> Horrox, "Purgatory, Prayer and Plague," 99–100.

<sup>102</sup> See, e.g., Golding, "Burials and Benefactions," 66–70.

<sup>103</sup> Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, 75–77.

<sup>104</sup> Brown, "Authority, the Family, and the Dead," 820, and Horrox, "Purgatory, Prayer and Plague," 100.

<sup>105</sup> The exception is a passing but correct reference by E. A. Greening Lamborn, "Suum Cuique," *Notes and Queries*, 188 (1945): 158–61, at 161. Ela is not included in published lists of multiple burials such as that by Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, 141–49.

<sup>106</sup> "Ele dowghter to sir Wm. Lonspe Eorl of Salisbury . . . is buried a fore the hygh aluttere of Osney of Oxneforde" (Rous, *The Rous Roll*, cap. 36).

<sup>107</sup> Leland, ed. Toulmin Smith (n. 53 above), 1:124. The tomb at Oseney was no doubt Ela's corporal tomb, given its depiction of her whole body on the metal plate. Leland's description of the plate as "copper" should probably not be taken literally, as the words "copper" and "brass" were sometimes used interchangeably in the early modern period; see, e.g., Deut. 8:9; Frederick William Burgess, *Chats on Old Copper and Brass* (London, 1914; repr. 2008), 27–28; *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath (Ann Arbor, MI, 1959),

brasses were just coming into use in England in the second half of the thirteenth century, so this tomb of Ela's at Oseney, a flat stone featuring an engraved figural plate, was very up-to-date.<sup>108</sup> It is also well and truly lost. However, a tombstone of Ela's does survive and is currently displayed in the north transept of Oxford Cathedral. This stone was known to antiquaries in the eighteenth century, when a "disjointed partition wall" in a brewhouse built among the ruins of Rewley Abbey contained a stone inscribed "Elae de Warwik comitissae viscera sunt hic" ("The viscera of Ela countess of Warwick are here").<sup>109</sup> Several early antiquaries interpreted *viscera* as referring to Ela's heart, and there was a bit of controversy in the eighteenth century as to whether her heart had been buried at Rewley.<sup>110</sup> This stone then disappeared until the early years of the twentieth century, when a piece of it was found in the Osney neighborhood, serving as a cottage doorstep.<sup>111</sup> The proximity of its discovery to Ela's well-established burial site at Oseney seems to have led scholars into connecting this stone with her tomb there,<sup>112</sup> but the existing fragment (now in the cathedral) is clearly part of the Rewley stone, as it contains the right-hand side of a two-line horizontal inscription reading, ". . . de Warwik . . . isse viscera sunt hic." Moreover, its shape, design, and small size are clearly incompatible with its ever having had a figural metal plate attached to it. This is Ela's second tombstone, and it refers to her entrails, not to her body or her heart. Given the eighteenth-century evidence, it seems almost certain that this stone was originally located at Rewley Abbey — where, as we have seen, the other

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3:590. Nor need we take seriously Leland's description of Ela as being depicted "in the habite of a woues." This is the only evidence for Ela as a vowess (i.e., a widow vowed to chastity), and it seems to be a sixteenth-century misinterpretation of a thirteenth-century image of a widow. Medieval vowesses wore mantles, but no other special habit. While it is possible that Ela took vows, there is no credible evidence that she did, and even without vows she could have been a valued member of the community at Godstow. See Mary Erler, "English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages," *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995): 155–204, at 156, 162 (for the confusion of widows and vowesses on memorial brasses), 174–75, 177, 181; Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2002), 9.

<sup>108</sup> Horrox, "Purgatory, Prayer and Plague" (n. 47 above), 108, and Nigel Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and Their Monuments, 1300–1500* (Oxford, 2001), 61–67.

<sup>109</sup> William Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum, or An Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels through Great Britain* (London, 1776), 1:45. For the conversion of Rewley into a brewhouse, see Munby et al., *From Studium to Station* (n. 51 above), 9.

<sup>110</sup> Hearne, *Itinerary*, 2:128; Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum*, 1:45; Munby et al., *From Studium to Station*, 8.

<sup>111</sup> *Merton Muniments* (n. 95 above), 28.

<sup>112</sup> *Merton Muniments*, 28.

surviving commemorative inscription to Ela (the chapel dedication; see above) also originated.

The existence of a visceral tombstone suggests that there may well also have been a heart burial.<sup>113</sup> But no trace of this survives in stone or in the written record. Given the close relationship forged between Ela and Godstow in the last decade of her life, one might well have expected her to be buried at Godstow, yet she was buried at Oseney, a house with fewer obvious connections to her and her family. Did Ela choose Oseney because she valued the prayers of a male house more highly than those of nuns, or because she had more faith in the ability of canons to guarantee her masses in perpetuity? Had she already made her burial arrangements before she decided to take up residence at Godstow? Or did Godstow too have a part in her burial, receiving her heart in an as yet unknown burial? The answers to these questions cannot be known at present. Merton College should also be borne in mind as a possible burial location for her heart. Merton's records show expenditures for *oblationibus* to the warden and fellows at Ela's burial (*infuneratio*), for a gift for the bishop of Salisbury while attending the funeral (*sepeliendum*), and in gifts to her executors.<sup>114</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Medieval historians are very familiar with the records kept by religious institutions of the gifts they received from their lay benefactors, but that the other half of the transaction may have been just as carefully recorded in writing, and as carefully guarded, is a less familiar idea. In Ela's case, she not only acquired detailed charters, but she kept them, organized them, and then had at least those from Oxford-area institutions (probably all she had received regarding the diocese of Lincoln) confirmed and enrolled — two procedures that each speak to the esteem in which she held the originals. Indeed, it is rather hard, from a modern perspective, to imagine the circumstances in which such a roll would be needed or useful. What was its purpose?

We may be tempted to look first at the legal situation. Spiritual services promised in return for gifts of land could be enforced in court after 1285,

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<sup>113</sup> When a body was divided for burial in two places, the second burial was usually of the heart (unless the entrails were removed only because the body had to be transported a long distance, which was not the case for Ela); Bradford, *Heart Burial* (n. 98 above), *passim*. However, Westerhof assumes that the heart and viscera were often buried together and that the latter included the former (*Death and the Noble Body* [n. 98 above], 88).

<sup>114</sup> *Early Rolls of Merton College*, 261–62. John Wanting, the College's warden, was one of Ela's executors (G. H. Martin and J. R. L. Highfield, *A History of Merton College, Oxford* [Oxford, 1997], 70).

according to a statute enacted that year.<sup>115</sup> The timing here is more than coincidental, for the legislation tells us that Ela's collecting occurred in a period when concern over spiritual benefits had reached such a level that there was a perceived need for an enforcement mechanism. But of course Ela's charters would have been useless in a court proceeding under this statute, as they mention no grants of land, and thus her roll could not have been intended as an aid for legal purposes. Perhaps having a file copy to keep at home would be reassuring if Ela thought of sending someone, charter in hand, to make sure a particular house was fulfilling its obligations to her, or of sending one copy out on the road as a model to be used in the acquisition of yet more such privileges.

One of the Oxford University charters includes a sentence clearly describing Ela's concern with the permanency of her benefits, as the chancellor states that he has agreed to copy all the University's promises to her into the University register "quia eadem domina, pro concessionis nostre observatione perpetua non modicum gerens zelum, processu temporum sibi per nos concessa in oblivionem transire veretur" ("because that lady, bearing no little zeal for the perpetual observance of our grant, fears that with the passage of time the things we promised her will pass away into oblivion"). But having been copied into the official record, the agreement would be always be remembered and read aloud.<sup>116</sup> This anxiety of Ela's no doubt lay behind the boilerplate clause found at the end of most of her charters from religious houses, promising in each case that the document will be copied into the house's *martyrologium*.<sup>117</sup> This same impulse for remembrance and permanency may well have been behind the compilation of Ela's own copies of the charters into as official a roll as she could cause to be made on her own behalf.

But there is also another way to think of the roll, as a personal religious object. The second half of the thirteenth century was the time when the book of hours was emerging in England for personal use, and Oxford is the place where the earliest surviving books of hours were created — many of them for women.<sup>118</sup> We know nothing of Ela Longespee's private devotional

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<sup>115</sup> Benjamin Thompson, "From 'Alms' to 'Spiritual Services,'" 236, 252, and *The Statutes of the Realm (1225–1713)*, ed. A. Luders, T. Edlyn Tomlins, J. France, W. E. Taunton and J. Raithby, 9 vols. (1810–22), 1:91–92.

<sup>116</sup> Longespee Roll, no. 19: University charter 3 (see Appendix 1).

<sup>117</sup> No copies of the charters have been found in surviving books from any of the religious houses.

<sup>118</sup> Claire Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (Toronto, 1991), 132–43, and Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven, 2006), 8–11.

life, other than the fact that she had a chaplain in 1247.<sup>119</sup> But it is not unlikely that Ela owned a manuscript like the Egerton Hours, a book of hours made, probably in Oxford, for an unknown female patron, in about 1260.<sup>120</sup> Devotional reading by women from the thirteenth century onward is an activity that is being documented and studied with increasing intensity.<sup>121</sup> It is possible that Ela's roll played a part in her reading life, evoking for her the liturgy being said for her in so many places, and helping her to participate vicariously in it. The worn condition of the roll indicates that it was heavily used at some point. Even if it was not actually read in detail, a sense emerges from the roll of the almost magical value of duplication (similar to that of the duplication of masses and prayers described in the charters themselves), as the roll, the originals, the privileges they contained were all hoarded and pored over. Having a duplicate of the charters may have been in some way comforting, a reminder of the much greater and eternal assurance that their contents represented.

Altogether, some twenty religious institutions (including monasteries, friaries, hospitals, and schools) can be linked to Ela in one way or another. Yet in many of these cases — and especially for some of the houses with which she was most intimately connected — there is little or no evidence of her patronage, outside of roll that she herself kept. Ela makes two fleeting appearances in the Godstow cartulary, as the person urging her husband to make a modest gift to the nuns and urging Oseney to make a favorable settlement with Godstow, yet Godstow was the house that heaped the most generous spiritual benefits on her, clearly treating her as a major benefactor.<sup>122</sup> There is no direct record of any gifts Ela made to Oseney, yet she also received substantial spiritual benefits from Oseney and was buried there in a place of honor. She does not appear at all in the six published volumes of the St. Frideswide's cartularies, but that house too promised her ample privileges. There is good documentation of her transactions with Reading, but her gifts are barely mentioned in the Reading cartularies, and she herself is not mentioned there at all. Nor does Ela appear in the (admittedly

<sup>119</sup> *Lacock Abbey Charters*, no. 271.

<sup>120</sup> Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours*, 136–43, 148–49, 155–56. Alternatively, Ela may have preferred to delegate her devotions to those saying masses and prayers on her behalf.

<sup>121</sup> See, for example, Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety* (n. 107 above); C. Annette Grise, "Women's Devotional Reading in Late-Medieval England and the Gendered Reader," *Medium Ævum* 71 (2002): 209–25; Carol M. Meale, "'... alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, english, and frensch': Laywomen and Their Books in Late Medieval England," in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 128–58.

<sup>122</sup> In addition, charters in the Longespee Roll record these donations to Godstow by Ela: an annual revenue of 10 marks (Godstow no. 2), a one-time gift of 200 marks (Godstow no. 3), a one-time payment of 25 marks (Godstow no. 4), and a one-time payment of £100 and 10 marks (Godstow no. 6).

meager) records that survive for Bicester and Studley.<sup>123</sup> Taken together, these facts provide an important warning. Were it not for the chance survival of the Longespee Roll (and the two sets of parallel documents from Reading and Selborne), we would know next to nothing of Ela's patronage of these houses — despite the fact that many of them are very well documented institutions — and could confidently dismiss her as having been at best a minor patron of any of them, were the question to arise at all. But Ela's roll demonstrates the extent to which each of these houses was willing to rearrange its routines for her benefit, and some of the other surviving documents (from Reading, Godstow, Selborne, and Merton) show the scale of benefactions (in land or cash) that was necessary to obtain such privileges. Historians who use monastic records need to remember that cartularies are not comprehensive records of monastic patronage. Particularly in the case of women and others who may have been more likely to make gifts of money and goods (such as the "rich jewelers" that Ela gave to Oseney) rather than land, spiritually *and economically* significant transactions may be invisible in the cartulary record.<sup>124</sup>

An obvious and important question is whether the documents preserved in Ela's roll were unusual ones at the time they were written. It is clear that chantry foundations were growing more common at the end of the thirteenth century, but just how common we do not know. I have suggested above that a substantial number of additional documents like Ela's<sup>125</sup> may have been written but lost, suffering the even more uncertain fate of medieval documents in private, as opposed to monastic, custody. The highly formulaic nature of the individual documents in the Longespee Roll, as well as the phrases found both there and in non-Longespee documents (for example, the promise to copy the document into the martyrology), also suggests that the writer or writers were following a known procedure, producing a standard type of document. Still, the scale on which Ela collected spiritual privileges was probably unusual. As a wealthy and childless dowager countess, she had uncommon resources at her disposal and no direct heir either to

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<sup>123</sup> For Bicester, only individual charters remain: *Victoria County History, Oxfordshire*, 2:93–94; *Monasticon Anglicanum* (n. 40 above), 6.1:434–35; White Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities Attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and Other Adjacent Parts in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks* (Oxford, 1818), 185–226, 241–305, 327–42, 386–407. Extracts of a lost Studley cartulary are found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Twyne MS. 24, 642–61; some Studley charters are printed in John Dunkin, *History and Antiquities of the Hundreds of Bullingdon and Ploughley* (London, 1823), 130–40.

<sup>124</sup> For another example of significant non-land donations, see Clark, "Monastic Confraternity in Medieval England" (n. 65 above), 324–25.

<sup>125</sup> And like the one given by Waltham Abbey to Hugh de Neville, Kew, TNA, PRO DL 36/1/247.

inherit her earthly wealth or to take responsibility for the care of her soul. The concentration of sources that remain seems to betray a particular dedication on her part to this kind of religious activity, confirming that she was indeed, in the words of one of the University charters, “spiritualium avida beneficiorum” (“eager for spiritual benefits”).<sup>126</sup> But others in her position — rich and without descendants either to remember them or to be provided for — may have devoted similar care and resources to reaching heaven as quickly as possible.

The evidence of Ela’s patronage may also reveal something of her character and interests. While we should be cautious in drawing conclusions from such limited evidence, there are some striking patterns. Most obvious is her interest in education, which seems to be well established. Her focused patronage of Merton and Balliol in her later years and the provision of funds for poor scholars at the University both speak to something other than a conventional piety; she seems to have taken a genuine interest in university education. The second detectable pattern, however, is less positive. Donors to monastic houses frequently included in their charters a clause stating that the gift was made for the health of the donor’s soul, and for the souls of various named or unnamed relatives, living and dead. For example, when Ela and her second husband Philip Basset gave land in London to the Dominicans, it was “pro salute animarum nostrarum et antecessorum nostrorum” (“for the health of our souls and of those of our ancestors”).<sup>127</sup> So ubiquitous was the practice of including someone else — at least one’s ancestors in general — along with oneself in this clause that it could be argued that donors generally felt that the inclusion of others in the spiritual benefits of a gift was a duty incumbent upon them. Similarly, in two rare surviving documents from Ela’s contemporaries that partially parallel the documents in Ela’s roll of charters, the lay recipients included others as co-beneficiaries of the masses to be said; in later chantry foundations this was also common.<sup>128</sup> Yet Ela never, in any of the surviving documents she executed by herself, names or refers to any other person as a spiritual beneficiary — not either of her late husbands, not her parents, not her royal grandfather. Nor, in all the astonishing number of prayers and masses that were promised to her, was a single one ever recorded as intended for the benefit of someone

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<sup>126</sup> Below, Longespee Roll, no. 17, University charter 1.

<sup>127</sup> Kew, TNA, PRO DL25/138.

<sup>128</sup> In a charter of Waltham Abbey to Hugh de Neville, 1229x30, Hugh’s late wife and their heirs are co-beneficiaries (Kew, TNA, PRO DL 36/1/247, printed in L. C. Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* [London, 1966], 110 [transcription] and plate 5[a] [p. 73]). A charter from Ankerwyke Priory, 1239x41, promised masses for Master Nicholas of Farnham and others (Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* [n. 48 above], 285–86, and for later examples see 288–90).

else's soul as well as hers, until in 1295 she asked Merton to say a requiem mass for her and for all Christian souls ("pur m'alme, et pur totes les almes cristienes").<sup>129</sup> In the context of the thirteenth century, when the living looked after the dead — and indeed Ela was ensuring that she would be cared for after her death — this overall lack of explicit attention to others' souls is startling indeed. We see from other evidence that Ela maintained what seem to be normal business contacts with her mother and siblings, but that she was not as much engaged with her mother's house of Lacock as one might expect. While it is easy to assume that Ela's upbringing instilled in her both strong religious feeling and pride in her lineage, she does not seem to have felt much responsibility to family in later life. Taken together, this evidence may imply a certain self-centeredness, or on the other hand it may suggest that Ela was more anxious about her own spiritual welfare than about that of her family members.<sup>130</sup>

Ela's main documented concern about her death had been for the continuation of masses and prayers for herself after it. There is some evidence that her careful arrangements bore fruit, at least for a while. An account written at Reading in 1305 mentions two chaplains celebrating masses for her.<sup>131</sup> In the mid-fourteenth century or later, Oxford University listed two annual masses for Ela among its obligations to its benefactors.<sup>132</sup> When the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was compiled in 1535, with entries for some English monastic houses listing alms or other annual expenditures on long-dead benefactors, the lists for Bicester, Oseney, and St. Frideswide's made no mention of Ela, but Godstow was still spending £7 7s. per annum on two chaplains to say daily masses for Ela's soul, as well as 25s. in alms on Ela's behalf on Maundy Thursday, and Rewley was spending 2s. annually in alms for her.<sup>133</sup> A few years later, of course, all these monastic houses were gone; such of Ela's plans for permanent commemoration and intercession as had endured to this point were swept away with the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The University, which may have gone on remembering her after the Reformation, eventually stopped praying for its medieval patrons. But at Merton College, Ela Longespee's name is still included today in the prayer for benefactors.<sup>134</sup> Ela wove a wide net of patronage and privileges, dependent on

<sup>129</sup> *Early Rolls of Merton College*, ed. Highfield, 446.

<sup>130</sup> I owe the latter suggestion to Bruce Venarde.

<sup>131</sup> BL Harl. 82, fol. 2v.

<sup>132</sup> *Munimenta Academica* (n. 1 above), 2:370–72.

<sup>133</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 4:370, and *Valor ecclesiasticus tempore Henrici VIII auctoritate regia institutus*, ed. John Caley and Joseph Hunter, 6 vols. (London, 1810–34), 2:187, 215, 250, 255.

<sup>134</sup> Julia Walworth (Fellow Librarian, Merton College), personal communication to author, 21 November 2006.

religious institutions and intended to ensure her eternal salvation. In a world that she could have not have imagined, where most of those institutions lie in ruins, she might be pleased to know that one strand of that spiritual safety net still holds.

### *Hood College*

#### APPENDIX 1: THE LONGESPEE ROLL (TNA/PRO E132/2/18)

In the texts, sets of ellipsis points (. . .) represent words illegible or missing through damage to the roll. Material that has been supplied by the editor is enclosed in angle brackets (< >). Incipits of collects and other liturgical texts are italicized.

1. Prologue. Bishop [Oliver Sutton] of Lincoln's *inspeximus* for the entire roll, severely damaged, mostly illegible. The institutions whose charters are contained in the roll were listed, but are now mostly illegible.

2. Oseney 1. Charter from Oseney, severely damaged, with extensive sections illegible. William abbot of Oseney promises Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, that a monk of Oseney will be appointed via a written rota to say a mass for her daily while she lives (the mass of the Trinity on Sundays; on other days either the mass of the Holy Spirit or of the Virgin, as the abbot chooses; with collects specified). After her death it will be a daily requiem mass, with specified collects. Every canon of Oseney will also remember her in every mass he celebrates; her name will be written in the abbey's books; and she will be remembered in chapter among the benefactors. Dated at Oseney on 27 December [year missing through damage].

Date: 1271x85, perhaps 1282. After Ela was widowed and before death of William abbot of Oseney. Perhaps before June 1282, given the chronological ordering of the groups of charters in the roll; this would have a date before both St. Frideswide's 1 below and Oseney 3 below. But note this charter is dated 27 December, like Oseney 3 below, suggesting they may date from the same occasion.

Note: The wording appears to be nearly identical to the charters of Rewley, Thame, and Bicester, below, except that the clauses found in those charters about marking Ela's death appear not to have been included here.

3. Oseney 2. Damaged with parts missing. The abbot of Oseney promises Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, in perpetuity, that a [monthly?] mass will be said [for her] at Oseney, with dalmatic, chant, and specified collects; that she will be remembered in the monthly mass celebrated by a canon of Oseney at the high altar in the church of St. George in Oxford Castle, with specified collects; that upon her death she will be treated like an abbot of Oseney (notwithstanding that Oseney has already agreed in another charter to treat her after death as one of its own canons); and that a clerk will announce her indulgences every Friday and feast day, and among the poor at almsgivings, so that they may pray for her. Dated at Oseney, the Friday before May 19 [year illegible through damage].

Date: 1271x85, probably 1283x85. This document makes reference to another, earlier charter, probably the following one.

4. Oseney 3. Damaged with parts missing. William, abbot of Oseney, promises Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, that she will share in all the spiritual benefits of the house in perpetuity, including hospitality and all other regular observances. Upon her death, the canons will treat her as one of them: they will ring the bells; sing the *placebo*, *dirige*, and mass; and begin St. Gregory's Trental. Every canon who is a priest will say thirty masses for her; every non-priest canon will say ten psalters; every lay brother will say 1500 Our Fathers and 1500 Hail Marys. Her name will be sent throughout England, Scotland, and Wales in letters [i.e., a mortuary roll]; she will be named in chapter annually on the day before her anniversary; and the office of the dead will be said for her as for a canon. He also grants her all these benefits, insofar as possible, on behalf of Walton' (Waltham?), Moderffente (Mottisfont?), Selborne, and St. Oswald's Gloucester, and on behalf of thirty-two unnamed houses that are in confraternity with Oseney. Dated at Oseney, 27 December 1282.

5. St. Frideswide 1. John, prior of St. Frideswide's, promises Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, a daily mass as long as she lives and a daily requiem mass after her death, with specified collects. In addition, St. Frideswide's parish chaplain will announce publicly, every Sunday in perpetuity, all indulgences granted to those who pray for Ela; all canons of the house are to remember Ela in every mass they celebrate and in their prayers; her name is to be written in the house's missal and *martyrologium*, and she will be honored with the house's benefactors in the chapter. When she dies the house will treat her death like that of their prior, with bells, *placebo*, and *dirige*; mass will immediately be said by the whole community; St. Gregory's Trental will begin for her on the following day; each priest canon will say thirty masses for her; each non-priest canon will say the entire psalter ten times for her; and each lay brother will say 1500 Our Fathers and 1500 Hail Marys. Each year her anniversary will be commemorated like that of any prior of the house, and she is also made a participant in all other spiritual benefits of the house. Dated at St. Frideswide's, 12 June 1282.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit frater Johannes prior sancte Fredeswyde et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius capituli nostri concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris dilecte sorori nostre in Christo nobili matrone domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod unus canonicus de conventu nostro semel per ebdomodam<sup>135</sup> ad hoc specialiter in tabula scriptus singulis diebus inperpetuum unam missam specialiter celebrabit pro dicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' ad altare<sup>136</sup> beati Edmundi confessoris et beati Ricardi quoad vivat, scilicet die dominica de trinitate et die mercurii de omnibus sanctis, aliis autem diebus per ebdomodam de sancto spiritu et de sancta Maria alternatim ad voluntatem celebrantis, set et in quolibet mense missa de omnibus sanctis semel cum nota celebratur conventu capituli ingrediente cum officio *gaudeamus* et secunda collecta *adesto quesumus domine famule tue* pro dicta domina

<sup>135</sup> MS ebdomododomam

<sup>136</sup> MS altari

Ela, et tertia collecta *omnipotens sempiternus deus qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum* et cum sequentia, in festis vero natalium et in translationibus beati Edmundi martyris et beati Edmundi confessoris misse cum officio *gaudeamus . . . adesto nobis* et *credo in unum deum* et postcommunio, scilicet *ave rex gentis Anglorum* et *ave gemma confessorum* festive et solemniter celebrentur sicut in die magne solemnitatis et idem vespere matutine et alie hore canonicæ in predictis festis ad altare predictorum sanctorum festive et solemniter dicantur in perpetuum presente et coadiuvante ad minus uno canonico de predicto conventu cum aliis clericis secularibus et specialis collecta in omnibus missis predictis dicatur pro predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr', videlicet *adesto quesumus domine famule tue de tua misericordia confidenti* cum *secreta hostias quesumus domine quas tibi pro famula tua offerimus*, et postcommunione *proficiat quesumus domine ad salutem famule tue*, set et in principalibus festis, sicut in die nathalis domini, ascensionis, trinitatis, nativitatis beate Marie, annunciationis, purificationis, assumptionis, apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac omnorum sanctorum, missa de festis dicatur cum speciali collecta predicta pro dicta domina Ela. Et hoc ut predictum est quoad vixerit, et post eius obitum missa de requiem cum collecta *quesumus domine pro tua pietate vel miserere quesumus domine anime famule tue* pro anima ipsius [Mem. 2] ad altare beati Edmundi confessoris singulis diebus celebrabit sine omissione inperpetuum exceptis diebus festivis ut predictum est, in quibus festis specialem predictam collectam *quesumus domine* vel *miserere* pro anima ipsius dicetur, set et missa de trinitate die dominica et die mercurii de omnibus sanctis et die sabbati de sancte Marie celebrabit cum predicta speciali collecta pro anima dicte domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr', scilicet *quesumus domine vel miserere* et semel in mense quolibet missa de omnibus sanctis cum nota celebretur cum officio et collectis et sequentia ut predictum est inperpetuum, misse in honore beati Edmundi martyris celebrature ad altare predicti Edmundi martyris celebrentur, et omnes alie messe predictæ ad altare beati Edmundi confessoris celebrentur inperpetuum. Et in omnibus missis de sancto spiritu et de sancta Maria et de requiem celebrandis pro dicta domina Ela ut predictum est propria collecta de beato Edmundo confessoris<sup>137</sup> dicatur inperpetuum. Et indulgentias a predicta domina Ela perquisitas et concessas omnibus pro ea devote supplicantibus populo denunciare et publicare faciemus in ecclesia nostra de sancta Fredeswyda per capellanum parochialem omni die dominica inperpetuum ut affectus orent pro predicta domina Ela in vita et in morte sua inperpetuum. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod quolibet canonicus domus nostre de sancti Fredeswida in vita et in morte ipsam dominam Elam comitissam Warr' memoriter habeat in illo memento serie canonis <contento in omnibus> missis suis summis et privatis inperpetuum et quod nomen suum scribatur in quolibet missali ecclesie nostre de sancta Fredeswyda similiter et in martyrologio nostro. Et . . . . . capitulo nostro una cum fundatoribus et benefactoribus nostris nominatim absolvetur. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod ipsa collecta pro ea inperpetuum dicatur in vita . . . . . bus *adesto quesumus domine*, et post mortem suam pro anima ipsius scilicet *quesumus domine* vel *miserere* in singulis missis nostris summis et privatis inperpetuum ubi propria collecta dici poterit et debeat post primam collectam. Et similiter in omni placebo et dirige nostro et in omnibus letaniis nostris summis et privatis inperpetuum. Preterea eidem concessimus

<sup>137</sup> MS sconfessoris

pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod cum audierimus obitum ipsius faciemus pro ea in spiritualibus sicut pro aliquo priore domus nostre unquam fiebat, videlicet quod pulsetur classicum eius <cum> omnibus campanis maioribus et minoribus et fiet pro ea placebo et dirige et missa in conventu solempniter ab omnibus, et in crastino incipietur tricenale sancti Gregorii pape. Et unusquisque canonicus qui sacerdos fuerit triginta missas pro ea celebrabit, ac quilibet canonicus non sacerdos decem psalteria pro ea dicere debet. Insuper unusquisque frater laycus mille et quingenta pater noster cum totidem ave Maria pro ea persolvat totaliter. Concessimus etiam eidem pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum anniversarium suum singulis annis ita in omnibus plenum et solempne sicut pro aliquo priore domus nostre pro quo in missis orationibus devotionibus plus ac devotius et in omnibus solempniis unquam agebatur cum officio defunctorum in choro a conventu decantando, una cum missis aliis a singulis canonicis sacerdotibus eodem die privatim celebrandis, a ceteris vero inferioris ordinis psalteriis. Volumus etiam et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum pro eadem venerabilis domina non solum in premissis set etiam in omnibus aliis et singulis beneficiis nostris, videlicet in jeuniis, vigiliis, sacris, meditationibus, missis, psalmis et orationibus, disciplinis privatis, pauperum et peregrinorum susceptionibus, et aliis operibus bonis que per nos et successores nostros in prioratu et monasterio nostro sancte Fredeswyde fiunt et fient inperpetuum specialem et generalem habeat participationem. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum ut omnia prenotata in omnibus et singulis plenarie et absque ulla calumpnia fideliter faciemus et etiam illa eandem benevolentiam ad vitam suam et post decessum eius ad animam suam quam facere tenemur et de iure debemus durante seculo et usque in sempiternam. Et ad hec facienda sicut sunt predicta in parte et in toto et in singulis articulis responsuri sumus ante faciem Jesu Christi. Et ad perpetuam huius rei geste memoriam littere huius transcriptum in martyrologio nostro annotari fecimus. Et ut hec nostra concessio rata sit et stabilis inperpetuum sigillum prioris una cum sigillo communi conventus et capituli nostri <presentibus est><sup>138</sup> appensum. Dat' Oxon' apud sanctam Fredeswydam in crastino sancti Barnabe apostoli, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. octogesimo secundo.

6. Godstow 1. Abbess Roysia de Oxhay of Godstow promises Ela Longspee, countess of Warwick, that Godstow will maintain two chaplains to say daily masses for her both during her life and after her death, one at the altar of St. Leonard in the convent infirmary, and one in the chapel of St. Thomas the martyr; and she promises other liturgical and spiritual benefits, similar to those granted by Oseney and St. Frideswide's. Dated at Godstow, 5 November 1282.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, soror Roysa permissione divina abbatissa de Godestowe et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius conventus et capituli nostri concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris dilecte sorori nostre in Christo nobili matrone domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod nos providebimus inveniemus et sustentabimus in omnibus duos capellanos eo modo quo nobis providemus inveniemus et sustentamus capellanum nostrum omnibus diebus maiorem missam in nostro monasterio

<sup>138</sup> *missing through damage*

ad nostrum maius altare celebrantem, quorum unus omnibus et singulis diebus inperpetuum missam specialiter celebrabit pro dicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' ad altare beati Leonardi confessoris in firmario nostro de Godestowe, scilicet semel in septimana de sancto spiritu et semel de sancta Maria, pro predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr', aliis autem diebus per ebdomodam ad voluntatem abbatisse et conventus, et specialis collecta in omnibus et singulis missis suis dicitur pro predicta domina Ela, videlicet *adesto quesumus domine famule tue* cum secreta *hostias quesumus domine quas tibi per famula tua offerimus*, et postcommunione *proficiat quesumus domine ad salutem famule tue* vel collecta *omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famule tue*, set et in principalibus festis sicut in die natalis domini, ascencionis, trinitatis, nativitatis beate Marie, annunciationis, purificationis, assumptionis, apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac omnium sanctorum missa de festis dicitur cum speciali collecta pro predicta domina Ela, et hoc quoad vixerit. Et post eius obitum missa de requiem cum collecta *quesumus domine pro tua pietate* vel *miserere quesumus domine anime famule tue* pro anima predictae domine Ele ad predictum altare beati Leonardi bis in septimana celebrabit, sine omissione inperpetuum, aliis autem diebus ebdomodam ad voluntatem abbatisse et conventus. Et specialis collecta pro anima predictae domine Ele in omnibus missis suis dicitur. Reliquus<sup>139</sup> vero capellanus singulis diebus inperpetuum missam specialiter celebrabit pro predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' in capella beati Thome martyris, videlicet die dominica de die, die mercurii de omnibus sanctis, aliis autem diebus per ebdomadam de sancto spiritu et de sancta Maria ad voluntatem celebrantis. Et specialis collecta in omnibus missis predictis dicitur pro predicta domina Ela, videlicet *adesto quesumus domine famule tue* cum secreta *hostias quesumus domine* et postcommunione *proficiat quesumus domine ad salutem famule tue* vel collecta *omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famule tue*, set et in principalibus festis sicut in die natalis domini, ascencionis, trinitatis, nativitatis beate Marie, annunciationis, purificationis, assumptionis, ac omnium sanctorum missa de festo dicitur cum predicta speciali collecta<sup>140</sup> pro predicta domina Ela, et hoc quoad vixerit. Et post eius obitum missa de requiem cum collecta *quesumus domine pro tua pietate* vel *miserere* pro anima ipsius in capella beati Thome martyris singulis diebus celebrabit sine omissione inperpetuum, exceptis diebus festivis ut predictum est, in quibus festis specialem predictam collectam *quesumus domine* vel *miserere* pro anima ipsius dicitur set et die dominica missam de die, et die mercurii de omnibus sanctis, et die sabbati de sancta Maria celebrabit, cum predicta speciali collecta pro anima predictae domine Ele, scilicet *quesumus domine* vel *miserere*. Misse vero in capella beati Thome martyris celebrantur<sup>141</sup> quotiens comode poterimus cum nota celebrare faciemus, et propria collecta de beato Thoma martyre dicitur in omnibus missis in predicta capella a predicto capellano celebrandis inperpetuum. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum predictae domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod singulis mensibus inperpetuum celebrare faciemus solempniter in choro a conventu unam missam de omnibus sanctis ad maius altare in ecclesia nostra de Godestowe cum tribus revestitis et cum cantu et cum officio *gaudeamus*, secunda collecta *adesto quesumus domine famule tue* vel *omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famule tue* pro predicta domina Ela, et tertia

<sup>139</sup> MS Reliquus

<sup>140</sup> MS colecta

<sup>141</sup> MS celebratur

collecta *omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vivorum dominaris*, et cum sequencia, ad quam missam semper dicitur specialis collecta pro predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' tam in vita quam in morte inperpetuum, scilicet in vita sua *adesto quesumus domine famule tue* vel *omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famule tue*, et post decessum eius pro anima ipsius dicitur collecta *quesumus domine pro tua pietate* vel *miserere quesumus domine anime famule tue*. Item concessimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum eidem domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod a singulis capellanis in abbatia de Godestowe ad celebrandum assignatis dicatur propria collecta pro predicta domina Ela tam in vita quam in morte in perpetuum in omnibus missis suis summis et privatis ubi propria collecta dici poterit et debet post primam collectam, scilicet in vita sua *adesto quesumus domine famule tue* vel *omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famule tue*, et post mortem suam pro anima ipsius *quesumus domine pro tua pietate* vel *miserere quesumus domine anime famule tue*, et similiter propria collecta dicitur pro predicta Ela tam in vita quam in morte inperpetuum in omni placebo et dirige nostro et in omnibus letaniis nostris summis et privatis inperpetuum. Et quod singuli capellani abbacie nostre in omnibus et singulis missis suis in vita et in morte ipsam dominam Elam Long' comitissam Warr' et ipsius animam memoriter habebunt in illo<sup>142</sup> memento in serie canonis contento in omnibus missis suis summis et privatis inperpetuum. Et quod nomen suum scribatur in quolibet missali abbacie nostre de Godestowe, similiter et martyrologio nostro. Et quod cotidie faciemus orationes speciales pro predicta domina Ela in vita et in morte sua in capitulo nostro inperpetuum. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successores nostris inperpetuum predicte domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod singulis mensibus inperpetuum celebrare faciemus solempniter ab omnibus capellanis et clericis abbacie nostre in capella beati Thome martyris una missam de omnibus sanctis cum tribus revestitis et cum cantu et cum officio gaudeamus et secunda collecta *adesto quesumus domine famule tue* vel *omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famule tue* et tertia collecta *omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vivorum dominaris* et cum sequencia, ad quam missam semper dicitur specialis collecta pro predicta domina Ela tam in vita quam in morte sua inperpetuum, scilicet in vita sua *adesto quesumus domine* etc. vel *omnipotens sempiterne deus* etc., et post decessum eius pro anima ipsius dicitur collecta *quesumus domine* vel *miserere*. Preterea concessimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum predicte domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod quelibet monialis domus nostre omnibus et singulis diebus sabbati inperpetuum dicet viginti quinque pater noster cum totidem ave Maria pro dicta domina Ela tam in vita quam in morte sua sine omissione inperpetuum, et similiter quolibet frater laycus et soror viginti quinque pater noster cum totidem ave Maria omnibus et singulis diebus sabbati inperpetuum pro dicta domina Ela tam in vita quam in morte sua persolvat totaliter. Preterea denunciare faciemus indulgencias domine Ele concessas per clericum nostrum qui denunciaret indulgencias nostras ad monasterium nostrum accedentibus in omnibus et singulis festis principalibus domini et beate Marie et sancti crucis et beati Johannis baptiste et in omnibus aliis festis principalibus inperpetuum. Et etiam denunciare faciemus indulgencias predictas inter pauperes in singulis generalibus distributionibus que fient in domo nostra inperpetuum. Et etiam denunciare faciemus predictas indulgencias per predicationes in singulis predicationibus que fient in abbatia nostra inperpetuum ut sic in orationibus suis

<sup>142</sup> followed by me cancelled

tam dicti pauperes quam <alii?> ad dictum monasterium et predicationem venientes ipsam et ipsius animam devotius habeant recomendatam. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum predicte domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod cum audierimus obitum ipsius faciemus pro anima eius in missis et in omnibus aliis et singulis articulis beneficiis et solempnis sicut pro aliqua abbatissa domus nostre unquam fiebat, videlicet quod pulsetur classicum eius omnibus campanis maioribus et minoribus, et fiet pro ea placebo et dirige et missa in choro a conventu solempniter ab omnibus, et in crastino incipietur tricennale sancti Gregorii pape quod plenarie celebrare sine omissione faciemus, una cum missis aliis a singulis sacerdotibus nostris eodem die vel quamcitus potuerunt privatim celebrandis. Preterea concessimus eidem pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum anniversarium suum singulis annis ita in omnibus et singulis articulis beneficiis et solempnis plenum et solempne sicut pro aliqua abbatissa domus nostre pro qua in missis orationibus et devotionibus plus ac devotius et in omnibus solempnis unquam agebatur cum officio defunctorum in choro a conventu decantando, una cum missis aliis a singulis sacerdotibus nostris eodem die vel quamcitus potuerunt privatim celebrandis, et quod pulsetur classicum eius omnibus campanis maioribus et minoribus, et fiet pro ea placebo et dirige et missa in conventu solempniter ab omnibus, et in crastino incipietur tricennale sancti Gregorii pape quod plenarie sine omissione celebrare faciemus. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum predicte domine quod in die depositionis sue et in omnibus et singulis diebus anniversarii sui qualibet monialis et frater laycus et soror domus nostre facit pro anima dicte domine Ele in orationibus beneficiis et in omnibus aliis et singulis articulis, sicut pro aliqua abbatissa unquam facere consuevimus et debemus. Item concedimus eidem pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod in die depositionis et in omnibus et singulis diebus anniversarii predicte domine Ele dicetur ab omnibus capellanis et clericis abbacie nostre de Godestowe placebo et dirige et missa sollempniter in capella beati Thome [Mem. 3] martyris, et in firmario dicetur placebo et dirige et missa in die depositionis et in omnibus et singulis diebus anniversarii predicte domine Ele a capellano ibidem ad celebrandum assignato et de monialibus ibidem existentibus. Dicti vero capellani per predictam dominam Elam in firmario et in capella beati Thome martyris ad celebrandum assignati dicetur cotidie plenarie officium defunctorum, scilicet placebo et dirige ad vespervas et post matutinas commendationem pro anima predicte domine Ele omnibus et singulis diebus inperpetuum. Volumus etiam et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod eadem venerabilis domina in vita et in morte sua non solum in premissis set in omnibus aliis et singulis beneficiis nostris, videlicet jejuniis, vigiliis, sacris, meditationibus, missis, psalmis et orationibus, disciplinis privatis, pauperum et peregrinarum susceptionibus, ac aliis operibus bonis que per nos et successores nostros in abbacia et in monasterio nostro de Godestowe fiunt et fient, inperpetuum speciale et generalem habeat participationem. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum predicte domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod omnia prenotata in omnibus et singulis articulis plenarie et absque ulla calumpnia fideliter faciemus. Et etiam illam eandem benivolentiam<sup>143</sup> ad vitam suam et post decessum eius ad animam suam quam facere tenemur et de iure debemus durante seculo et usque in sempiternum. Et ad hec omnia et singula sine omissione facienda sicut sunt predicta in parte et

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<sup>143</sup> sic

in toto et in omnibus et singulis articulis responsure sumus ante faciem Jhesu Christi. Et ad perpetuam huius rei geste memoriam littere huius transcriptum in martyrologio nostro annotari fecimus. Et ut hec nostra concessio rata sit et stabilis inperpetuum, sigillum abbatisse una cum sigillo communi conventus et capituli presentibus est appensum. Data apud Godestowe die jovis proxima post festum omnium sanctorum, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. octogesimo secundo.

7. Godstow 2. Abbess Mabel Wafre of Godstow promises Ela Longspee, countess of Warwick, that the nuns will, for Ela's soul, give a penny annually to each of 260 poor children who appear at Godstow on Maundy Thursday; the nuns will do the maundy and service in their cloister before mass, as they were accustomed to do in chapter; the abbess and prioress will do the maundy in the abbess's chamber. The abbess guarantees to each nun an allowance of 10d. from the annual revenue of 10 marks given by Ela, to be supplemented from another source if necessary. Dated at Godstow, 28 June 1284.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit soror Mabilia permissione divina abbatissa de Godestowe et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius conventus et capituli nostri concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum dilecte sorori nostre in Christo nobili matrone domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod tresdecim viginti pauperes tam masculorum infra etatem septem annorum existentium ad honorem humanitatis domini nostri Jhesu Christi quam feminarum in domo nostra de Godestowe singulis annis inperpetuum die cene domini recipiemus et cuilibet pauperi unum denarium argenti pro deo et pro salute anime domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' predicto die cene domini singulis annis inperpetuum erogabimus per manus abbatisse et cuiuslibet monialis ac sororis nostre domus et successorum nostrarum inperpetuum. Et quod singulis diebus in cena domini mandatum et servitium faciemus in claustro domus nostre pauperibus ante missam singulis annis inperpetuum in omnibus et singulis articulis et cum eadem solempnitate cantu et nota prout consueti sumus qu' mandatum facimus in capitulo nostro singulis diebus in cena domini inperpetuum. Et nichilominus faciemus mandatum pauperibus in camera abbatisse post missam ab abbatissa et priorissis nostris in omnibus articulis inperpetuum prout consueti fuimus antequam mandatum in claustro ante missam facere consuevimus. Concedimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod si quelibet monialis domus nostre non poterit habere decem denarios de decem marcis nobis a predicta domina Ela annuatim inperpetuum assignatis de quadraginta denariis residuis de predictis viginti quinque solidis ultra viginti s. et viginti d. predictis tresdecim viginti pauperibus assignatos modo predicto eisdem de predictis quadraginta denariis satisfiet. Et ad hec omnia et singula sine omissione inperpetuum facienda sicut sunt predicta in parte et in toto et in omnibus et singulis articulis nos abbatissa et conventus de Godestowe et successoribus nostre inperpetuum responsur' sumus ante faciem Jhesu Christi. Et ad perpetuam huius rei geste memoriam habere huius transcriptam in martyrologio nostro annotari fecimus. Et ut hec nostra concessio rata sit et stabilis inperpetuum sigillum abbatisse una cum sigillo communi conventus et capituli nostri presentibus apposiumus. Data apud Godestowe in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. octogesimo quarto.

Note: The number of children (260) to be fed here seems very large, especially for a relatively small abbey located more than two miles outside the city. It is possible the number is symbolic and was never intended literally. However, Godstow charter 4, below, makes practical provision for this number of children. For examples of large numbers of the poor being fed, see John R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), 206 and note. In the second part of the charter, part of a perpetual annual revenue of 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) is to provide the nuns with personal allowances of 10d. each. The abbess will supplement the allowances from another source in case of a shortfall; since the amount of the revenue should have easily provided for more nuns than are known to have lived at Godstow, it must have been going toward other purposes as well. Godstow was founded for twenty-four nuns; on the few occasions when the number of nuns was recorded, there were fewer than that.

8. Godstow 3. Abbess Mabel Wafre of Godstow arranges a pittance, to be paid for with a revenue of 10 marks from Pattishall and a revenue of 15 marks purchased with a gift of 200 marks from Ela Longspee, countess of Warwick; to be enjoyed on feast of St. Hilary while the countess lives, and on her anniversary after her death. Dated at Godstow, 28 March 1289.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Mabilia permissione divina abbatissa de Godestowe et eiusdem conventus salutem in domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius conventus et capituli nostri concessisse<sup>144</sup> et sententialiter confirmasse pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod nos predicta abbatissa et conventus et successores nostre recipiemus inperpetuum singulis annis ad pietanciam, scilicet die sancti Hyllarii, decem marcas sterlingorum de redditus et pensione de Pateshull', una cum quindecim marcis annui redditus emptis pro ducentis marcis quas domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' nobis dedit premanibus ad predictum redditum quindecim marcarum emendum pro anima predictae domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' dum vixerit. Et post decessum predictae domine Ele comitisse predictae viginti quinque marce fideliter sine fraude vel diminutione predicto conventui et successoribus suis solventur singulis annis inperpetuum die anniversarii predictae domine Ele comitisse. Concedimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod hoc presens scriptum singulis annis in pleno capitulo coram conventu die anniversarii predictae domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' videatur et legatur inperpetuum. Et ad perpetuam rei geste memoriam huius scripti in martyrologio nostro transcriptum annotari fecimus. Et ut hec nostra concessio pro nobis et successoribus nostris rata sit et stabilis inperpetuum huic presenti scripto sigillum nostrum commune una cum sigillo abbatisse apposimus. Data apud Godestowe die lune proxima post festum annunciationis beate Marie virginis, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. octogesimo nono.

9. Godstow 4. Abbess Mabel Wafre assigns an annual revenue 25s. from three properties in St. Mary's parish, Oxford, to be distributed at Godstow for the soul of Ela Longspee, countess of Warwick, every Maundy Thursday to 260 poor

<sup>144</sup> MS concessisse

boys and girls, as specified in another charter [i.e., Godstow 2 above]; each year the nuns will do the maundy and service to the poor in their cloister before mass. For this agreement Ela has given Godstow 25 marks in advance. Dated at Godstow, 17 June 1292.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos soror Mabilia permissione divina abbatissa de Godestowe et eiusdem loci conventus unanimi concensu et assensu totius conventus et capituli nostri concessimus et assignavimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris viginti quinque solidos annui redditus<sup>145</sup> de tribus celariis cum tribus solaris de novo constructis super mesuagium quod aliquando fuit Thome de Sutham in parochia sancte Marie Oxon' in vico qui vocatur Sydard inter domum Johannis de Weston' ex parte australi et cornarium versus altum vicum ex parte boreali ad conferendum et distribuendum pro anima domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' in die cene domini tresdecim viginti pauperibus tam masculorum infra etatem septem annorum existentium ad honorem humanitatis domini nostri Jhesu Christi quam feminarum in domo nostra de Godestowe per manus abbatisse et cuiuslibet monialis et successorum nostrarum inperpetuum, videlicet cuilibet pauperi unum denarium argenti et pro anime dicte domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' predicto die cene domini singulis annis inperpetuum, prout in quadam carta inter nos confecta et in martyrologio nostro conscripta plenius continetur. Et quod singulis diebus in cena domini mandatum et servicium faciemus in claustro domus nostre pauperibus ante missam singulis annis inperpetuum in omnibus et singulis articulis et cum eadem solempnitate et cantu et nota, prout consuete sumus quando mandatum facimus in capitulo nostro singulis diebus in cena domini inperpetuum. Et si contingat quod predicti viginti quinque solidi de predictis seldis levare non potuerunt, volumus et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris quod de ceteris bonis nostris et redditibus nostris in villa Oxon' existentibus ad predictam distributionem dictis pauperibus faciendam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum levantur. Et si occasione aliqua predicte selde ruinam minantur vel in totum deprimantur sumptibus nostris propriis releventur et inperpetuum sustententur. Pro hac autem concessione et assignatione et presentis carte nostre confirmatione dedit nobis predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' viginti quinque marcas premanibus. Ut hec autem nostra concessio et assignatio et presentis carte nostre confirmatio pro nobis et successoribus nostris rata sit et stabilis et inperpetuum inconcussa huic presenti carte nostre sigillum nostrum commune una cum sigillo abbatisse apposuimus. Hiis testibus domino Ricardo de Harecourt, domino Johanne de sancto Johanne domino de Barton', domino Rogero de Novers, domino Johanne Golafre militibus, Willelmo de Blebur', et multis aliis. Datum apud Godestowe die sancti Botulphi abbatis, anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici vicesimo.

Note: This charter makes new financial provisions for feeding the 260 poor children first mentioned eight years earlier, in Godstow charter 2, above. At one penny each, 260 children will require 260d., or 21s. 8d., which is 40d. short of the 25s. in revenue being assigned to the purpose here. This is a closer fit than the revenue which by implication was associated with the maundy in the 1284 charter.

<sup>145</sup> MS redditus

10. Godstow 5. Abbess Mabel Wafre assigns an annual revenue of £7 7s. purchased with the money of Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, to the perpetual maintenance of two chaplains celebrating mass in the abbey for Ela's soul, one in the infirmary and the other in the chapel of Thomas the martyr, according to the charter made between them and written in Godstow's martyrology. The revenue is partly from properties in Oxford and partly from Godstow's manors of Broad Blunsdon and "Hantewrthe" (Huntworth, Som?). Dated at Godstow, 20 February 1292.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit soror Mabilia permissione divina abbatissa de Godestowe et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius conventus et capituli nostri concessisse et presenti scripto nostre confirmasse pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum septem libratas et septem solidatas annui redditus emptas de denariis nobilis matrone domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' ad sustentationem duorum capellanorum pro anima dicte domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' divina celebrantium in abbatia nostra de Godestowe, videlicet unius illorum in capella firmarie nostre de Godestowe et alius in capella beati Thome martyris inperpetuum, secundum quod in quodam scripto inter nos confecto et in martyrologio nostro conscripto plenius continetur, qui quidam redditus sunt in villa Oxon' pro parte, videlicet quadraginta et septem solidi de aula que quondam fuit magistri Philippi le Waleys in parocia sancte Fredeswyde, et viginti quinque solidi annui redditus de domibus que aliquando fuerunt Petri de Middelton in parochia sancti Egidii, et viginti solidi annui redditus de domibus que fuerunt empte de Johanne de Weston' et uxore eius in alto vico in parochia sancte Marie Oxon', et pro alia parte quinquaginta solidi annui redditus de maneriis nostris de Bluntestdone et de Hantewrthe percipiendi ad sustentationem predictorum capellanorum inperpetuum. Et ut hec nostra concessio et presentis scripti nostri confirmatio rata sit et stabilis et inperpetuum inconcussa huic presenti scripto sigillum nostrum commune una cum sigillo abbatisse nostre presentibus apposimus. Data apud Godestowe die mercurii proxima ante festum cathedre sancti Petri apostoli, anno domini M<sup>a</sup>. ducentesimo nono- gesimo<sup>146</sup> secundo.

Note: There is no other evidence that Godstow had any holdings in the manor of Huntworth, Som.

11. Godstow 6. Abbess Mabel Wafre promises that a standard loaf at Godstow Abbey will always be made of four pounds of dough; that each nun will always have a daily allowance of two herrings in Lent, with three herrings on Sundays in Lent; that they will have the same allowance of herrings when fasting during Advent; and that every nun will say five Our Fathers and five Hail Marys daily for Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick. She also confirms all spiritual benefits previously granted to Ela. For this charter Ela has given the nuns £100 and 10 marks. Dated at Godstow, 20 January 1292.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit soror Mabilia permissione divina abbatissa de Godestowe et eiusdem loci comitissa salutem in

<sup>146</sup> sic

domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius conventus et capituli nostri concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis et successoribus nostris quod michia nostri conventus de Godestowe sit in pastu de pondere quatuor librarum argenti inperpetuum sine aliqua diminutione contradictione fraude vel impedimento a nobis seu a successoribus nostris inperpetuum. Volumus insuper et concedimus quod omnes et singule moniales conventus nostri habeant et percipiant singulis diebus in quadragesima duo allecia et singulis diebus dominicis in quadragesima tria allecia inperpetuum. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris quod omnes et singulis moniales conventus nostri adventum domini jeunantes habeant et percipiant singulis diebus in predicto adventu duo allecia et in diebus dominicis tria allecia inperpetuum sine aliqua diminutione contradictione fraude vel impedimento seu retentione a nobis seu a successoribus nostris inperpetuum. Et insuper concessimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris quod omnes et singulis moniales nostri conventus singulis diebus dicent pater noster cum totidem ave Maria pro anima domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr'tam in vita sua quam in morte, sine aliqua omissione inperpetuum. Preterea omnia beneficia spiritualia per scripta nostra seu per cartas nostras que in martyrologio nostro sunt scripta predictae domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' prius a nobis concessa per presentem cartam nostram pro nobis et successoribus ratificamus et confirmamus inperpetuum. Pro hac autem nostra concessione et presentis carte nostre confirmatione dedit nobis predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' centum libras et decem marcas sterlingorum. Et ut hec nostra concessio ratificatio et presentis carte nostre confirmatio rata sit stabilis firma et inconcussa pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum huic presenti carte nostre sigillum commune capituli nostri una cum sigillo abbatisse nostre apposuimus. Et ad perpetuam huius rei geste memoriam huius carte transcriptum in martyrologio nostro fecimus annotari. Data apud Godestowe die dominica proxima post festum sancti Vincentii martyris, anno domini millesimo ducesimo nonagesimo<sup>147</sup> secundo.

12. Rewley. Richard, abbot of Rewley, promises Ela Longespee, countess of Warwick, that a monk of Rewley will be appointed via a written rota to say a mass for her daily while she lives (the mass of the Trinity on Sundays; on other days either the mass of the Holy Spirit or of the Virgin, as the celebrant chooses; with collects specified). After her death it will be a daily requiem mass, with specified collects, and a mass of the Virgin once a week. Every monk of Rewley will also remember her in every mass he celebrates; her name will be written in the abbey's books; and she will be remembered in chapter among the benefactors. When she dies, the convent will say the office of the dead; each monk will say thirty masses for her within the year; and the convent will say the office of the dead annually on her anniversary. Dated at Rewley, 17 January 1283.

[Mem. 4] Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit frater Ricardus dictus abbas de Regali Loco iuxta Oxon' et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius conventus et capituli nostri concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris dilecte sorori nostre in Christo nobili matrone domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod unus monachus de conventu nostro semel per ebd-

<sup>147</sup> sic

modam ad hoc specialiter in tabula scriptus singulis diebus inperpetuum unam missam specialiter celebrabit pro predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' quoad vivat, scilicet die dominica de trinitate, aliis autem diebus per ebdomodam de sancto spiritu et de sancta Maria alternatim ad voluntatem celebrantis, cum speciali collecta pro predicta domina Ela, videlicet *adesto quesumus domine famule tue de tua misericordia confidenti* cum secreta *hostias quesumus domine quas tibi pro famula tua offerimus* et postcommunione *proficiat quesumus domine ad salutem famule tue*, exceptis festis principalibus maioribus dupplicibus et minoribus dupplicibus in quibus predictam collectam *adesto quesumus domine famule tue* in missa de festo dicet. Et hoc ut predictum est quoad vixerit, et post decessum eius missam de requiem cum oratione *quesumus domine pro tua pietate* pro anima ipsius singulis diebus celebrabit sine omissione inperpetuum, exceptis festis diebus ut predictum est, in quibus festis specialem predictam orationem *quesumus domine* pro anima ipsius in missis suis dicet, set et missam de sancta Maria semel per ebdomodam celebrabit cum predicta collecta pro anima predictae domine Ele, scilicet *quesumus domine pro tua pietate*. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod quilibet monachus domus de Regali Loco iuxta Oxon' in vita et in morte ipsam dominam Elam Long' comitissam memoriter habebit in illo memento in serie canonis contento in omnibus missis suis summis et privatis inperpetuum. Et quod nomen suum scribatur in quolibet missali ecclesie de Regali Loco iuxta Oxon', similiter et in martyrologio. Et quod cotidie in capitulo una cum fundatoribus et benefactoribus dicti loci specialiter absolvatur. Ad hoc concessimus et fideliter promissimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris eidem domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod cum in fata decesserit faciemus pro anima eiusdem domine Ele plenarie et solemniter officium defunctorum in choro a conventu, et quilibet monachus de predicto conventu nostro triginta missas pro anima predictae domine Ele celebrabit infra primum annum sui decessus quamcitus comode fieri poterit. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod faciemus anniversarium predictae domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' singulis annis solemniter et plenarie in choro a conventu cum officio defunctorum sine omissione inperpetuum. Et ad perpetuum huius rei geste memoriam littere huius transcriptum in martyrologio nostro annotari fecimus. Et ut hec nostra concessio rata sit et stabilis inperpetuum, sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum. Dat' apud predictum Regalem Locum, die sabbati proxima ante festum sancti Vincentii martyris, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. octogesimo tercio.

13. Thame. Roger, abbot of Thame, grants masses and other spiritual benefits to Ela Longspee. The text is identical with that of the preceding charter from Rewley, except where Thame is named instead of Rewley, and in one place where the name of a collect is further shortened. Dated at Rewley (sic), 29 March 1284.

Note: This is the only charter in the roll that is dated at a place other than the issuing institution. If the Rewley charter was used as a model for this one, as seems likely, the place-date could be a mistake in the original. However, Thame and Rewley had close ties (see Munby et al., *From Studium to Station* [n. 51 above], 6), so it is quite possible that this Thame charter was issued at Rewley.

14. Bicester. Walter, prior of Bicester, grants masses and other spiritual benefits to Ela Longspee. The text is identical with that of the preceding charter from Thame, except that (a) Bicester is named instead of Thame, (b) it specifies that

the daily mass for Ela will be said at the altar of SS. Nicholas and Katherine, and (c) it adds the words "et die mercurii de omnibus sanctis." This charter continues onto Membrane 5 of the roll. Dated at Bicester, 8 December 1286.

15. St. Frideswide 2. John, prior of St. Frideswide's, grants a monthly mass for Ela Longspee in the chapel of St. Margaret named for the holy well at Binsey, at the high altar. Dated in the chapter at St. Frideswide's, 17 May 1283.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit frater Johannes prior sancte Fredeswyde et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius capituli nostri concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum dilecte sorori nostre in Christo nobili matrone domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod unus canonicus de conventu nostro semel in quolibet mense unam missam de omnibus sanctis cum nota celebrabit pro predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' inperpetuum in capella beate Margarete que dicitur ad fontem de Bunseye ad summum altare, ad quam missam dicetur secunda collecta *adesto quesumus domine famule tue de tua misericordia confidenti* pro predicta domina Ela, et tertia collecta *omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum*, et cum sequentia *sit laus summe trinitati*, et post eius obitum ad predictam missam collecta *quesumus domine pro tua pietate vel miserere quesumus domine anime famule tue* pro anima ipsius dicetur singulis mensibus sine omissione inperpetuum. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris quod omnia prenotata plenarie et absque ulla calumpnia fideliter faciemus inperpetuum. Et ut hec nostra concessio rata sit et stabilis inperpetuum sigillum prioris una cum sigillo communi conventus et capituli nostri presentibus est appensum. Dat' in capitulo nostro, xvj<sup>o</sup> kal' Junii, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. octogesimo tercio.

16. Studley. Mabel, prioress of Studley, grants a monthly mass for Ela Longspee at the high altar in the church at Studley, along with a share in all spiritual benefits of the house. Dated at Studley, 14 July 1287.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit soror Mabilia permissione divina priorissa de Stodleye et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu et assensu totius conventus et capituli nostri concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris dilecte sorori nostre in Christo nobili matrone domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quod singulis mensibus inperpetuum celebrare faciemus solemniter in choro a conventu unam missam de omnibus sanctis ad majus altare in ecclesia nostra de Stodleye cum tribus revestitis et cum cantu et cum officio *gaudeamus*, secunda collecta *adesto quesumus domine famule tue de tua misericordia confidenti* vel *omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere*, pro predicta domina Ela, et tertia collecta *omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vivorum dominaris*, et cum sequentia, ad quam missam semper dicetur specialis collecta pro predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' tam in vita quam in morte inperpetuum, scilicet in vita sua *adesto quesumus domine famule tue vel omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famule tue*. Volumus insuper et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod post decessum eius pro anima ipsius dicetur collecta *quesumus domine pro tua pietate vel miserere quesumus domine anime famule tue*. Volumus insuper et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum quod eadem vene-

rabilis domina in vita et in morte sua non solum in premissis set etiam in omnibus aliis et singulis beneficiis nostris, videlicet jejuniis, vigiliis, sacris, meditationibus, missis, psalmis et orationibus, disciplinis privatis, pauperum et peregrinorum suscepcionibus, ac aliis operibus bonis que per nos et successores nostros in prioratu et in monasterio nostro de Stodleye fiunt et fient in perpetuum, specialem et generalem habeat participationem. Et ad perpetuum huius rei geste memoriam littere huius transcriptum in martyrologio nostro annotari fecimus. Et ut hec nostra concessio rata sit et stabilis in perpetuum sigillum priorisse una cum sigillo communi conventus et capituli nostri presentibus est appensum. Dat' apud Stodleye die lune proxima ante festum sancte Margarete virginis et martyris, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. octogesimo septimo.

17. Oxford University 1. Inspeximus from Oliver [Sutton], bishop of Lincoln, of a charter of Simon [de Gandavo], chancellor of Oxford University, granting Ela Longespee a share in all their good works. Because she has donated an (unspecified) amount of money to supply loans to poor scholars, each loan recipient is to say on her behalf three Our Fathers in honor of the Trinity and five Hail Marys; Ela will be named after King Henry [III] among the University's benefactors when prayers are requested for them, and the indulgences granted to those praying for her will be announced; a mass of All Saints will be celebrated for her on St. Clement's day, in perpetuity, with specified collects for her lifetime and after her death; during her lifetime a mass will be said on the feast of St. Peter *in cathedra* for all the faithful departed, with the same collects for Ela; after her death a mass for the dead will be celebrated for her in perpetuity; the specified collects will be recited for her in every University mass for benefactors; and when she dies her death will be commemorated like that of a master of the University. Dated at Oxford, 14 May 1293. Printed and calendared from a copy in a university register in *Munimenta Academica* (n. 1 above), 1:62–64.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Oliverus permissione divina Lincoln' ecclesie minister humilis salutem in amplexibus salvatoris. Noverit nos inspexisse scripta dilectorum in Christo filiorum cancellarii et universitatis Oxon' sigillo ipsorum munita de verbo ad verbum sub tenore continencie infrascripte:

Inspecturis et auditoris presentes litteras Christi fidelibus universis Simon cancellarius Oxon' cetusque magistrorum eiusdem unanimis salutem in omnium salvatore. Ampla caritas nobilis domine et reverende domine Ele Long' comitis Warr' inopiam scholarium Oxon' studentium nullatenus passa suorum operum misericordie inexpertem ipsius subvenire studuit larga manu, ipsa autem bonorum temporalium liberalissima ac spiritualium avida beneficiorum universitatis nostre amplium sibi prestari participium devotissime postulavit. Nos igitur attenta consideratione diligentius advertentes ipsius devotionem nobilitatem ac caritativam liberalitatem necnon et nostri ne dum temporalis, verum etiam pre-textu indulgentiarum pro ea exorantibus concessarum spiritualis comodi incrementum, quamquam propter caritatis communionem eam non solum nostri verum etiam omnium deum timentium participem estimemus ex intentione tamen nostra in eam caritative directa operum nostrorum, videlicet in lectionibus, orationibus, missis, processionibus, et aliis quibuslibet meritoriis laboribus in pensorum specialius et propensius eam esse participem concedimus et optamus. Quia vero dicta domina Ela quamdam summam pecunie scholaribus indigentibus tradendam mutuo, secundum formam tactam in quibusdam aliis nostris litteris,

liberaliter erogavit, concorditer ordinaverimus ut quicumque mutuo de pecunia recipiet antedicta, in honore sancte trinitatis ter orationem dominicam et in honore beate virginis quinquies salutationem eiusdem pro ea specialiter dicere teneatur. Cumque annis singulis soleat sacerdos cum serviente publico singulas scholas circuiens, recitatis nominibus quorundam benefactorum universitatis, orationum suffragia a scolarium multitudine postulare, volumus et concedimus ut ipsius nomine post nominationem bone memorie domini Henrici quondam regis Angl', cuius extitit *consanguinea, cum nominibus benefactorum universitatis specialiter* recitato iuxta morem etiam ab universis scolaribus pro ea oretur. Quodque summa dierum indulgentie orantibus pro ea concessa, dum tamen dyocesani non refragetur auctoritas, cum memoratorum benefactorum nominatione per scholas singulas recitetur. Insuper missa de omnibus sanctis in eorum honorem pro predicta domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' die sancti Clementis pape ab universitate inperpetuum solempniter celebretur, in qua quidam missa pro ipsa fiet memoria specialis, diceturque post orationem de omnibus sanctis ea supertite oratio *omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famule tue N. et in secretis proficiat quesumus domine hec oblatio quam tue suppliciter offerimus magestati*, et in post-communione *sumentes domine perpetue sacramenta salutis tuam deprecamur clemenciam*. Ipsam vero viam universe carnis ingressa, fiet pro ea memoria cum hac oratione, *quesumus domine pro tua pietate*. Die siquidem beati Petri in cathedra, dum superstes fuerit, pro fidelibus defunctis generaliter cum prefata memoria, ipsa vero defuncta, missa solita pro defunctis pro ea specialiter una cum precedentibus exsequiis devotius etiam ab universitate inperpetuum solempniter celebretur, utque in missis pro benefactoribus in principio resumptionis magistrorum et instante cessatione ac in processionibus faciendis et in omnibus aliis missis communibus universitatis pro ea collecte predictae, que supra pro eadem domina in missis specialibus memorantur et inperpetuum recitentur, quodque magistri qui mortis sue tempore regentes fuerint exequias missam cum singulis psalteriis velud pro magistro defuncto solet fieri decere teneantur, bona fide promittimus et tenor presentium nos arctamus<sup>148</sup>. In quorum omnium evidens testimonium sigillum universitatis nostre necnon et sigillum officii cancelarii<sup>149</sup> presentibus sunt appensa. Dat' Oxon' pridie idus May, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. nonagesimo<sup>150</sup> tertio.

18. Oxford University 2. Simon [de Gandavo], chancellor of Oxford University, announces that he has received 120 marks from Ela Longespee, which are to be deposited in a special chest and kept by two masters, and are to be used for loans to poor scholars. The bishop of Lincoln has prescribed procedures for loans from another chest, which will be followed in this case, and he will enforce the behavior of the keepers; the money will not be used for any other purpose. Dated at Oxford, 14 May 1293. Printed and calendared in *Munimenta Academica* (n. 1 above), 1:66–67.

Inspecturis et audituris presentes litteras Christi fidelibus universis Simon cancelarius Oxon' cetusque magistrorum eiusdem unanimis salutem in omnium salvatore. Cum nobilis domina et reverenda domina Ela Long' comitissa Warr' eterno-

<sup>148</sup> MS arcamus

<sup>149</sup> sic

<sup>150</sup> sic

rum intuitu plurima seminaverit in terris que multiplicato fructu retribuente domino recolligere possit in celis, inter cetera pietatis opera ad scholarium indigentias, qui ut in agro domini scientie margaritam inquirent, laboribus et erumpnis variis se exponunt, compassionis et misericordie oculos sic convertit, ut absque sue caritative munificentie participatione eorum inopiam manere non finat. Noveritis igitur nos sexies viginti marcas a predicta venerabili domina recepisse, quas seorsum reponere in cista ad hoc specialiter deputanda, ac per duos magistros fidedignos et ydoneos eiusdem ciste custodie assignandos, pro quorum fidelitate, si, quod absit, casus adversus acciderit, respondere et satisfacere tenore presentium nos arctamus,<sup>151</sup> scholaribus indigentibus mutuo tradere fideliter promittimus, sub cautionibus ydoneis, secundum formam domini Lincoln' episcopi in traditione pecunie<sup>152</sup> in altera cista nostra contente hactenus observatam. Si vero per nos aut magistros dicte ciste custodie deputandos secus in fraudem vel elusionem tam pie voluntatis prefate domine fuerit attemptatum, coercioni domini Lincoln' episcopi qui pro tempore fuerit nos subicimus per presentes. Nos autem Simon, cancellarii officium tunc gerentes, predictam pecuniam nullatenus alienandam, set in prefatos pios usus et non in alios convertendam diffinitive et sententialiter pronuntiamus, communicato nobis juris consilio peritorum insuper eorundem ac universitatis regentium accedente, consensu omnes et singulos primo secundo et tertio monemus, sub pena maioris excommunicationis quam ferimus in hiis scriptis, ne de<sup>153</sup> dicta pecunia quicquam maliciose auferre diminuere vel in alios usus vertere quoquomodo presumat aliquis aliquive presumant. In quorum omnium evidens testimonium sigillum universitatis nostre necnon et sigillum officii cancellarii presentibus sunt appensa. Dat' Oxon' pridie idus Maii, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. nonagesimo<sup>154</sup> tertio.

19. Oxford University 3. Simon [de Gandavo], chancellor of Oxford University, moved by Ela Longespee's many good works, promises that she will be named after King Henry [III] among the University's benefactors and the indulgences granted to those praying for her will be announced; that she will be specially prayed for by all; that the University will celebrate a mass for her on St. Clement's day, and another on the day of St. Peter *in cathedra*, and remember her in all its other masses, in perpetuity; that when she dies, the University will commemorate her like one of its own masters, as is more fully contained in another charter. Because Ela desires greater solemnity, a deacon and subdeacon will minister at both of the masses celebrated for her, and the mass of All Saints will include a sequence and the creed. Dated at Oxford, 30 June 1293. Printed and calendared in *Munimenta Academica* (n. 1 above), 1:64–66.

Inspecturis et auditoris presentes litteras Christi fidelibus universis Simon cancellarius Oxon' cetusque magistrorum eiusdem unanimis salutem in omnium salvatore. Fervor devotionis et caritatis nobilis domine et reverende domine Ele Long' comitisse Warr' quem multipliciter ipsius pia opera protestantur nos in tantum accendit ut nuper ad eius devotam instanciam unanimiter conce- [Mem. 6] deremus eidem quod eius nomine post nominationem celebris memorie domini Hen-

<sup>151</sup> MS arcamus

<sup>152</sup> MS pecuniam

<sup>153</sup> de *inserted above line*

<sup>154</sup> sic

rici quondam regis Anglie, cuius exstitit consanguinea, cum benefactorum nostrorum nominibus, ac summa dierum indulgencie orantibus pro ea concessa per scolas singulas recitatis pro ipsa specialiter oretur a cunctis,<sup>155</sup> ac ut missa una in omnium sanctorum honore die beati Clementis, et alia pro defunctis die beati Petri in cathedra, una cum speciali pro ea memoria, tam in dictis quam in aliis nostris missis communibus, pro ipsa ab universitate inperpetuum solempniter celebrentur. Quodque pro ipsa eadem domina cum de eius obitu nobis constiterit tanquam pro magistro regente in exequiis psalteriis et missa solempnitas habeatur, prout in aliis nostris litteris patentibus plenius continetur. Verum quia eius generositas modicis non contenta missis per nos celebrandis, solempnitatem expatit adhiberi, quamvis igitur nobis ex more convenientibus sine diacono et subdiacono misse nullatenus soleant celebrari, advertentes tamen pium fore cultum divinum et fidelium devotionem augere, et ad hec teneri non esse servile, ad prefate domine petitionem devotam premissa omnia per nos prius ei concessa ratificantes, et tenore presentium confirmantes, preconcessis adiicimus et concedimus per presentes quod ambe misse pro ea concessa dyaconi et subdiaconi ministerio, et earum altera de sanctis videlicet omnibus celebranda, sequencia et symbolo solempniter adornentur. Et quia eadem domina pro concessionis nostre observatione perpetua non modicum gerens zelum processu temporum sibi per nos concessa in oblivionem transire veretur, premissa omnia fecimus inseri communi registro, que ad perpetuam eius memoriam volumus et concedimus recitari, saltem summarie et sententialiter coram nobis cum statuta nostra nobis adunatim<sup>156</sup> contingerit recitari. In quorum omnium evidens testimonium sigillum universitatis nostre necnon et sigillum officii cancellarii presentibus sunt appensa. Dat' Oxon' pridie kal' Junii, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. nonagesimo<sup>157</sup> tertio.

20. Confirmation of all the preceding charters by the bishop [Oliver Sutton] and chapter of Lincoln. Dated at Lincoln, 17 August 1293. Also dated by Abbot Thomas [de Welle] of Eynsham at Eynsham, 12 October 1293, and by Archdeacon [Simon de Gandavo] of Oxford at Oxford, 11 (*sic*) October 1293.

Nos igitur omnes et singulas cartas suprascriptas ac omnia et singula contenta in eisdem rata et grata habentes ea omnia et singula de unamimi et concordii consensu decani et capituli nostri Lincoln' confirmamus perpetuis temporibus valitura. In quorum omnium testimonium et ad perpetuam memoriam futurorum tam sigillum nostrum quam sigillum prefati capituli nostri presentibus sunt appensa. Data apud Lincoln' sextodecimo kalendas Septembris, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. nonagesimo<sup>158</sup> tercio, et anno pontificatus nostri quartodecimo. In quorum omnium evidens testimonium sigilla nostra presentibus sunt appensa. Data per nos Thomas abbatem de Eynesham in monasterio nostro quarto idus Octobris, et per meum<sup>159</sup> archidiaconum Oxon' apud Oxon' v<sup>o</sup>. idus Octobris, anno domini M<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>o</sup>. nonagesimo tercio.

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<sup>155</sup> MS cuncis

<sup>156</sup> MS adunatis

<sup>157</sup> *sic*

<sup>158</sup> *sic*

<sup>159</sup> MS meus

## APPENDIX 2: PRAYERS AND HYMNS FROM THE LONGESPEE ROLL

This appendix extends, where possible, the Latin incipits found in the Longespee Roll. Not all of the prayers whose opening words are quoted in the roll can be positively identified or fully extended. Although most of the incipits are familiar ones, the collects and other prayers they signify were in widespread use in many variations. The celebrants at each institution patronized by Ela probably just said the version of the prayer that was in use locally; alternatively, they may have been free to use some favorite version of the prayer being generally indicated by the incipit. In some cases the prayer may have been customized for Ela by the insertion of the words *famula tua* (“your handmaid”).

The incipits are arranged here alphabetically. Shorter versions are placed beneath longer ones.

*Adesto nobis . . .*

This is a common incipit, although it occurs only once in the Longespee Roll. It is impossible to say to which prayer it may refer.<sup>160</sup>

*Adesto quesumus domine famule tue de tua misericordia confidenti . . .*

*Adesto quesumus domine famule tue . . .*

“Adesto quesumus domine” is a common incipit. Of the prayers in the *Corpus Orationum*, the longer incipit here most closely matches this one:

Adesto, quaesumus, domine, supplicationibus nostris et, in tua misericordia confidentes, ab omni nos adversitate custodi.<sup>161</sup>

*Ave gemma confessorum . . .*

Several medieval hymns begin with this line, but the clear candidate here is the hymn to St. Edmund of Canterbury:

Ave, gemma confessorum;  
ave, dux et doctor morum . . .<sup>162</sup>

<sup>160</sup> See *Corpus Orationum*, ed. Eugene Moeller, Joanna Maria Clément, and Bertrand Coppieters 't Wallant, 14 vols. (Turnhout, 1992–2004), 1:84–88.

<sup>161</sup> *Corpus Orationum*, 1:94, no. 174.

<sup>162</sup> *Repertorium hymnologicum: Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage de l'église Latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1892–1912), 1:108, no. 1812.

*Ave rex gentis Anglorum . . .*

This is the opening of a well-known hymn to St. Edmund:

Ave rex gentis Anglorum,  
miles regis angelorum  
O Edmunde, flos martyrum  
velut rosa vel lilium,  
funde preces ad Dominum  
pro salute fidelium.<sup>163</sup>

*Hostias quesumus domine quas tibi per famula tua offerimus . . .*

Secrets with wording similar to this are found in wide use, although this exact incipit is not found in the *Corpus Orationum*, where the "quesumus" wording does not occur in conjunction with the phrase "tibi offerimus." Two examples with similar wording are:

Hostias, domine, quaesumus, quas immolamus, placatus assume et pro nostri expiatione peccati et pro acceleratione caelestis ausilii.

Hostias, domine, quas tibi offerimus, respice et per haec sancta commercia vincula peccatorum nostrorum absolve.<sup>164</sup>

*Miserere quesumus domine anime famule tue . . .*

This is very similar to several prayers printed in the *Corpus Orationum*:

Miserere, quaesumus, domine, animabus omnium benefactorum nostrorum defunctorum et pro beneficiis, quae nobis largiti sunt in terris, praemia aeterna consequantur in caelis.

Miserere, quaesumus, domine, animae famuli tui illius episcopi et, quem, in corpore constitutum, sedis apostolicae gubernacula tenere voluisti, in electorum tuorum numero constituas sacerdotum.

Miserere, quaesumus, domine deus, famulis tuis, pro quibus hoc sacrificium laudis tuae offerimus maiestati, ut per haec sancta supernae benedictionis gratiam obtineant et gloriam aeternae beatitudinis acquirant.<sup>165</sup>

*Omnipotens sempiternus deus miserere famule tue . . .*

Omnipotens sempiternus deus, miserere famulo tuo illi et dirige eum secundum tuam clementiam in viam salutis aeternae, ut, te donante, tibi placita cupiat et tota virtute perficiat.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>163</sup> *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1886), 3:1073.

<sup>164</sup> *Corpus Orationum*, 4:275, 279, nos. 2956b, 2958b.

<sup>165</sup> *Corpus Orationum*, 5:164–65, nos. 3366, 3367.

<sup>166</sup> *Corpus Orationum*, 6:73, no. 3859.

*Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum . . .*  
*Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui vivorum dominaris . . .*

Omnipotens sempiternus deus, qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum omniumque misereris, quos tuos fide et opere futuros esse praenoscis, te suppliciter exoro, ut, pro quibus effundere preces decrevi quosque vel praesens adhuc saeculum in carne retinet vel futurum, iam exutos corpore, susceperit, pietatis tuae clementia delictorum suorum veniam consequantur.<sup>167</sup>

*Proficiat quesumus domine ad salutem famule tue . . .*

Proficiat quesumus domine ad salutem famule tue divini celebratio sacramenti, ut presentem vitam sub tua protectione transcurrens, mereatur invenire perpetuam, et desideratam, tua pietate percipiat.<sup>168</sup>

*Quesumus domine pro tua pietate . . .*  
*Quesumus domine . . .*

Quaesumus, domine: pro tua pietate miserere animae famulae tuae illius et, a contagiis mortalitatis exutam, in aeternae salvationis partem restitue.<sup>169</sup>

*Sit laus summe trinitati . . .*

This is a line from a verse in a hymn to St. Nicholas:

Sit laus summe Trinitati,  
 virtus et victoria;  
 qui det nobis et beati  
 Nicholai gaudia;  
 assequamur laureati,  
 post vitam in patria.<sup>170</sup>

*Sumentes domine perpetuae sacramenta salutis tuam deprecamur clementiam . . .*

Sumentes, domine, perpetuae sacramenta salutis, tuam deprecamur clementiam, ut per ea famulum tuum illum ab omni adversitate protegas.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>167</sup> *Corpus Orationum*, 6:165–66, no. 4064.

<sup>168</sup> *Missale Romanum: Mediolani, 1474*, ed. Robert Lippe, 2 vols. (London, 1899–1907), 2:287.

<sup>169</sup> *Corpus Orationum*, 7:260, no. 4843.

<sup>170</sup> Prosper Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year: Advent*, trans. Laurence Shepherd, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1870), 361–62.

<sup>171</sup> *Corpus Orationum*, (n. 160 above), 9:9, no. 5553a.

TABLE 1: LONGESPEE ROLL COMPARATIVE BENEFITS

	Date	Masses in life	Masses after death	Each religious will . . .	At news of death . . .	Observances after death	Anniversary	Confraternity, etc.	Other
<b>Oseney 1</b>	1271 x June 1282	Daily, with specifics.	Daily, with specifics.	Remember in every mass.				Named in chapter like benefactor.	Named in books.
<b>Oseney 2</b>	1271 x 85	Monthly at Oseney, with specifics. Remember in monthly mass at St. George's, with specifics.	Monthly at Oseney, with specifics. Remember in monthly mass at St. George's, with specifics.		Treat as abbot.				Announce indulgences weekly, on feasts, and at almsgivings.
<b>Oseney 3</b>	Dec. 1282				Treat as canon: all bells ring; <i>placebo, dirige</i> , requiem mass; St. Greg. Trental starts next day.	Priests say 30 masses. Non-priests 10 psalters. Lay brothers say 1500 OF's + 1500 HMs.	Observed in chapter on eve; office to be said as for canon.	Share in all benefits of house. Benefits of 4 named houses + 32 others.	Name to be sent through Britain in mortuary roll.
<b>St. Frid. 1</b>	June 1282	Daily, with specifics.	Daily, with specifics.	Remember in every mass and in prayers.	Treat as prior: all bells ring; <i>placebo, dirige</i> , requiem mass; St. Greg. Trental starts next day.	Priests say 30 masses. Non-priests 10 psalters. Lay brothers say 1500 OF's + 1500 HMs.	Observed like prior's, with office and private masses.	Share in all benefits of house. Named in chapter with benefactors.	Announce indulgences weekly. Name in books.
<b>St. Frid. 2</b>	May 1283	Monthly, with specifics.	Monthly, with specifics.						

Date	Masses in life	Masses after death	Each religious will ...	At news of death ...	Observances after death	Anniversary	Confraternity, etc.	Other
<b>Godstow 1</b> Nov. 1282	Daily in infirmary and in Th. martyr chapel, with specifics. Monthly at high altar. Monthly in Th. martyr ch.	Daily in infirmary and in Th. martyr chapel, with specifics. Monthly at high altar. Monthly in Th. martyr ch.	Chaplain remember in each mass. Nuns, lay brothers and sisters 25 OFs + 25 HMs every Saturday.	Treat as abbeß: All bells ring; <i>Placebo, dirige</i> , requiem mass; St. Greg. Trental starts next day.	Chaplain remem. in each mass, <i>placebo, dirige</i> . Nuns, lay brothers/sisters 25 OFs + 25 HMs every Saturday.	Observed like abbeß's: prayers, office of dead, masses by all priests, bells ring; <i>placebo, dirige</i> , requiem mass, St. Greg. Trental	Share in all benefits of house. Prayers in chapter every day.	Announce indulgences on major feasts, at almsgivings, & at preachings. Name in books. Burial day like abbeß's.
<b>Godstow 2</b> June 1284								Alms to 260 poor children.
<b>Godstow 3</b> Mar. 1289						Pittance for nuns.		
<b>Godstow 6</b> Jan. 1292			Nuns say 5 OFs + 5 HMs daily.					Confirmation of all previous benefits.
<b>Rewley</b> Jan. 1283	Daily, with specifics.	Daily, with specifics.	Remember in every mass.	Full office of dead in choir.	Each monk 30 masses within a year.	Full office of dead in choir.	Remembered in chapter with benefactors.	Name in books.
<b>Thame</b> Mar. 1284	Daily, with specifics.	Daily, with specifics.	Remember in every mass.	Full office of dead in choir.	Each monk 30 masses within a year.	Full office of dead in choir.	Remembered in chapter with benefactors.	Name in books.
<b>Bicester</b> Dec. 1286	Daily, with specifics.	Daily, with specifics.	Remember in every mass.	Full office of dead in choir.	Each monk 30 masses within a year.	Full office of dead in choir.	Remembered in chapter with benefactors.	Name in books.
<b>Studley</b> July 1287	Monthly, with specifics.	Monthly, with specifics.					Share in all house's benefits.	
<b>Univ. 1</b> May 1293	2 per year, with specifics. Remember in all masses for benefactors.	2 per year, with specifics.	Borrowers 3 OFs + 5 HMs once.				Share in all Univ. benefits; named with benefactors.	Announce indulgences.
<b>Univ. 3</b> June 1293	Above masses enhanced.	Above masses enhanced.		Commemorated as a master.				Repeats earlier benefits.