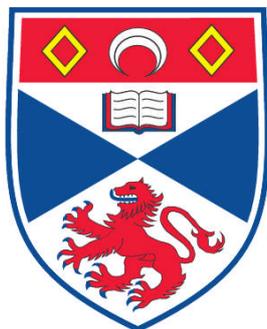


**THE JEWS IN ENGLAND, 1272-1290**

**Robin R. Mundill**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



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THE JEWS IN ENGLAND 1272 - 1290.

by

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August 1987



I, Robin R.Mundill M.A.Dip.Ed., hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 109,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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## ABSTRACT

Edward I's Jewish policy attempted to curb usury and transform the lives and financial practices of the Jews. Historians have claimed that the policy, which is embodied in the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275, was a failure and resulted in the Expulsion of 1290.

Although the Expulsion has received some attention from historians, very little work has been done on Edwardian Jewry as a whole and therefore it has not been possible to discern the exact effect of the Statutum within a general context. The best account and examination of the source material for the Expulsion still remains that of B.L.Abrahams. In the light of his work, the majority of historians have seen the Statute as an end to Jewish moneylending, a curtailing of Jewish livelihoods and an anti-semitic prelude to the Expulsion. It has not, however, always been clear how such historians have reached such conclusions.

This thesis re-examines the Statutum de Judeismo and analyses, from the records of over 2000 bonds, the shift in Jewish financial interests that it brought about. In doing so, it highlights the way in which, in Edward's reign, certain Jews tempered their moneylending activities with commercial concerns. The method used to illustrate this change is tripartite. Firstly, Anglo-Jewish society and its relationship with the host community in the late thirteenth century is examined. Secondly, the specific histories of the three Jewish communities of Canterbury, Hereford and Lincoln are scrutinised. Finally, a discussion of Jewish financial practices after 1275 attempts to identify the changes brought about by the Edwardian Experiment.

Such analyses will demonstrate that, in Edward's reign, some Jews were able to become commodity brokers and follow the letter of the Statutum de Judeismo despite competition from Christian merchants and all sorts of other pressures from the Gentile community. It will show that the Expulsion cannot be explained in terms of a Jewish community that had, as a result of the Statutum de Judeismo, totally lost its sole financial raison d'être and that the fortunes of the Jewish community were more varied than have been generally realised and are, therefore, deserving of a more sophisticated examination than they have hitherto received.

\*\*\*\*\*

'However careful be the harvest there is the forgotten sheaf and the aftergrowth, the perquisites of the poor. May they be worthy of the barn to which they are brought.'

Herbert Loewe,

Starrs and Charters in the British Museum, March 1930.

Loewe then went on to add, 'that there is always something left for the man who comes after the King'. I fully acknowledge my debts to many of the Kings of Anglo-Jewish history, men like B.L. Abrahams, Cecil Roth and Michael Adler, and hope that this work is worthy of the barn to which it is brought. There are also many other debts that have mounted up as this thesis has been produced. I would like to thank the staff of the many institutions up and down the country which were visited during the course of this research, and also staff here in the University of St Andrews, for their help.

I would like to thank others by name. My grandfather W.J. Wilkinson and Monsieur Josef Komkommer who nurtured my original interest in Jewish history and who, regrettably, both died whilst the initial ideas of this thesis were being formed. Many have helped by merely listening to and countenancing the possibilities of research of this type: Miss A.Kettle, Professor N.G.Parker, Dr J.Hatcher, Professor R.B.Dobson, Dr P.R.Hyams, and Mrs Z.E.Rokeah.

Financially, I would like to thank the University of St Andrews for a scholarship during the years 1980-1983, the Russell Trust for an award during the summer of 1983, the University Travel Fund and my father D.A. Mundill for financial support at other times.

However, the largest debt of gratitude, indeed the largest debt in connection with this thesis (both inside and outside the archae!), is owed to D.J. Corner who has, at all times, been approachable and whose advice and thoughts have been shrewd, balanced and constructive. Thanks are also due to my wife, Elaine, who when she married me in 1984 also married this thesis. Finally, I should like to dedicate this work to my mother, Anne Mundill, whose firm conviction in the idea, whose tenacity for starting the project, and whose personal enthusiasm, lived on well after she died in July 1981.

Robin R. Mundill. Lammas 1987. University of St Andrews.

Declaration and Copyright

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ABBREVIATIONS.

B.L.Mss.	British Library Manuscripts.
C.C.A.	Canterbury Cathedral Archives.
C.C.R.	Calendar of Close Rolls.
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
Ec.H.R.	Economic History Review.
H.C.A.	Hereford Cathedral Archives.
H.R.O.	Hereford Record Office.
Jacobs	Jacobs Joseph, <u>The Jews of Angevin England - Documents and records from Latin and Hebrew sources.....for the first time collected and translated</u> London 1893.
J.J.S.	Journal of Jewish Studies.
J.Q.R.	Jewish Quarterly Review.
L.A.O.	Lincoln Archive Office.
Lipman	V.D. Lipman, <u>Jews of Medieval Norwich</u> Jewish Historical Society of England 1967.
Misc.J.H.S.E.	Miscellanies of the Jewish Historical Society of England.
N.R.O.	Nottingham Record Office.
P.R.O	Public Record Office.
P.R.E.J.	Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Vol.I-IV.
R.E.J.	Revue des Etudes Juives.
Richardson	H.G. Richardson, <u>The English Jewry under Angevin Kings</u> London 1960.

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London 1930.
- T.J.H.S.E. Transactions of the Jewish  
Historical Society of England.
- W.A.M. Westminster Abbey Muniments.

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## Weights and measures.

### Dry Measure.

1 peck = 1/4 of a bushel

1 truge = 2/3 of a bushel

8 bushels = 1 quarter

1 soam = 1 quarter

Trugum was in common usage in the Welsh Marches from 1257. Ladum or summun normally represented a quarter. It was a recognized and legal measure for dry goods from Richard's assize in 1197.

### Avoirdupois.

16 ounces = 1 pound

7 pounds = 1 nail or clove

14 pounds = 1 stone

2 stones = 1 quarter

4 quarters = 1 hundredweight

20 hundredweight = 1 ton

Weights and measures varied not only from district to district but from merchant to merchant and from transaction to transaction. The author of Seneschausie claimed that the right stone of wool was 12 lbs but in Flanders it was 13 lbs. Peglotti claimed that the nail or clove was in common usage for wool, cheese and butter. The clove or nail was the weight carried either side of a horse's back. When the merchant wished to make up a larger denomination than the 14 lbs he carried either side of his horse he simply took two nails or cloves and sought and shaped a convenient looking natural stone and balanced it on an arm; this would weigh approximately 'one stone'.

However, in such circumstances, it will never be possible to trust medieval weights and measures entirely and it is unlikely that any standards really prevailed. The Eastern Daily Press recorded on 19th April 1921 that there were still 25 local corn weights and measures, 12 different bushels, 13 different pounds, 10 different stones and 9 different tons.

#### Cereal.

1 bushel of wheat would weigh 60lbs. 1 bushel of barley would weigh 56lbs. 1 bushel of oats would weigh 42lbs.

1 qtr of wheat would require approximately 1.5 acres in which to be produced. In 1987 1.5 acres would yield approximately 480 qtrs of wheat.

4 1/2 qtrs would be enough to feed one person for one year. 1 qtr of cereal would make approximately 400lbs of bread which would feed four people for approximately three weeks.

#### Wool.

1 sack of wool would normally comprise 300 fells. Medieval sheep yielded fleeces weighing approximately 2 1/3 lbs. To obtain enough wool for one sack it was necessary to have a flock of something like 175 sheep. In 1271 Isabella de Forz's estates sold 38 sacks of wool for £ 215-6s-8d. In 1277 Isabella de Forz's estates sold 37 1/2 sacks of wool for £ 275-0s-0d

Between 1284 and 1306 the abbot of Gloucester increased the abbey's sheep until they numbered 10,000 and he was able to sell 46 sacks of wool in a single year.

The Bishop of Winchester's estates yielded:

93 1/2	sacks of wool	in 1273
79	sacks of wool	in 1278
33	sacks of wool	in 1283
28	sacks of wool	in 1289
47	sacks of wool	in 1291.

1275 and 1276 saw an outbreak of scab. By 1279 prices began to level off but wool was a commodity with a value which was on the increase from an investor's point of view. A rough guide would be that a sack cost £4-13s-8d in 1272, rose to £6-2s-2d by 1280 and was at around £6-9s-8d by 1290.

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## Jewish nomenclature.

It was common amongst Ashkenazi to name a child after a deceased relative. Most Jewish children would probably have been given a Hebrew name at birth. Certainly males would be named by circumcision and females were usually named at any time during the first month of their lives. As they grew up an adjustment would be made from the Biblical name in Hebrew to the orthography of the language of the country of their residence. They would be careful to preserve their Hebrew names for 'sacred purposes' - marriage, blessings, bar-mitzvah. Ashkenazi Jews did not tend to use cognomens or surnames until the nineteenth century. However, some surnames do appear - Le Eveske, L'Evesk, Episcopus Le Blund, Le Petit, Mouton, Menahem, Levi (patronymic). Other names which reflect the offices of the community can also be found - Parnass, Hazzan, Gabbay, Capellanus. Interestingly Adler comments that most Jewesses appear to have been given French names whilst men were usually satisfied with Biblical names.

The orthography of Jewish names in either Latin, Anglo-Norman or, indeed, English is an extremely difficult problem. Because of this no attempt has been made to standardise Jewish names completely. Different versions of spellings exist for the following names and, at times, just the difference of one letter might or might not be enough to identify an individual:

Aaron Aron

Avigaye Avegaye

Belasset Bellasset Belassez

Bonami Bonamy

Bonefey Bonfy Bonefie

Bonne Bona

Cresse Deulecresse Dieulecresse

Diay Diey

Hak Hakelm Hake

Isaac Isac Izaak

Lumbard Lombard

Manasser Manser

Meir Mayre Meyre

Peytevin Pet

de Provyns de Provincia

Solomon Soloman

Jewish nomenclature is further complicated because of the use of further sacred names or Shem Hakkodosh and the use of business names Kimui.

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PART I

Chapter I

The Social Position of Anglo-Jewry

In compliance therefore with a Council assembled at London for the purpose of suppressing usury and its injurious consequences, and, as the members composing the assembly affirmed, of separating these goats from the sheep, the King gave his consent, doubtless with reluctance, to what was then and there propounded; and in obedience to the decrees of the council these rejected outcasts were doomed to disperse themselves, different ways, to quit England for ever and to perish by eternal misery in other lands till they should be entirely cut off.

It was with these words that John Ross, the author of the Annales Lincolniae, summed up the Expulsion of the Jews from England on 1 November 1290.[1]

The exodus of 'these rejected outcasts' has been seen by historians as being the first in a long chain of expulsions and was followed by exclusion from France in 1310 and eventually Spain in 1492. The Expulsion from England was noted by a large number of contemporary chroniclers normally in just a few curt lines along with the other notable events of 1290: the deaths of Eleanor and Margaret of Scotland. Similarly, it has been just as curtly noted by many modern historians and disposed of in merely a few words.

Some chroniclers who recorded the event merely presented cold fact. John de Oxenedes noted that:

Dominus rex omnes cuiscumque sexus aut aetatis per universam Angliam habitantes Judaeos absque spe remeandi perpetuo damnavit exilio. De tota vero illa Judaeorum turba, cuius numerus omnibus a minori usque ad seniore[m] computatis erat xvii millia quingenti et undecim Judaei, certo egressionis die statuto non remansit unus qui promisso vel blandimento ad fidem converteretur Christianam.[2]

Others juxtaposed Edward's return from Gascony and the Expulsion of the Jews from England and intimated that Edward needed to find a way to pay for his French campaign.[3] It does seem, as Richardson has observed, that the English Expulsion of 1290 follows on from the earlier expulsion from Gascony in 1287.[4] Another chronicler indicated that the Jews were a widespread feature of English society at the time:

Circa hos dies Judaeorum exasperans multitudo quae per diversas urbes et castra fortia habitabat per retroacta tempora inconfidenter iussa est cum uxoribus et parvulis suis una cum bonis suis mobilibus ab Anglia secedere circa festum Omnium Sanctorum quod eis pro termino ponebatur quem sub poena transgredi non est ausa. Exierat antea tale edictum a laudabili rege Anglorum in partibus Aquitaniae, a qua omnes Judaei pariter exulabant.[5]

A further commentator on the event does not bother to hide his approval of the decision to exile a whole people from these shores: 'Atque perfida multitudo Judeorum et incredula ab Anglia et a dominio regis uno die in exilium relegatur'.[6]

For almost three hundred years the Jews wandered, and references to their presence in British society almost disappear. Interest in the Jews seems to have only been stimulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Spanish Marrano Jews began to return.[7] But even then, antiquarians made nothing more than passing references to the Expulsion of 1290, even if they showed slightly more interest than some modern historians. John Speed noted that

To purge England from such corruptions and oppressions as it groaned under and not neglecting therein his own particular gaine the King banished the Jews out of the realme confiscating all their goods leaving them (as they by their cruel usuries had eaten his people to the bones) nothing but money to bear their charges.[8]

Stow remarked that 'the number of Jews now expulsed was 15,060

persons whose houses being sold the King made a mighty masse of money'.[9] Leland commented that the Jews' loss was the King's gain: 'Afterwards in the reign of this King Edward (Longshanks surnamed) all their riches were confiscated to the King's treasury and their persons banished.'[10] The anonymous seventeenth-century anti-Jewish pamphleteer also suggested that the Crown gained from the Expulsion:

Some say they had only money given them to bear their charges over into France. Others say that all goods not moveable with their Tallies and Obligations being confiscate -- all other movables as gold and silver they were licensed to carry over. The number of them when they departed was about 16,511. Many more than at their first coming, an increasing misery to the land where ere they came.[11]

In general, little comment apart from an agreement on the date of the Expulsion as being 1 November 1290 has been made since by Christian historians. The task of piecing together the evidence, musing on the fact that England was amongst the first to exile the Jews in the Middle Ages, and generally examining this sad epoch in their history has been left primarily in the hands of Jewish historians.

The Expulsion has thus tended to be neglected by Christians, and has even been treated as if it were in some ways a slightly taboo subject. Despite its obvious affinities to events such as the suppression of the Templars and the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the expulsion of this minority community has not therefore prompted any general questions -- sociological or otherwise -- about thirteenth-century English society. The apparent financial gain of the Crown has not stimulated many questions -- economic or otherwise -- about royal finances. The financial and legal records, prepared meticulously by government officials seven hundred years ago, which have survived in abundance, have not then inspired many Christian historians to look further into Jewish history. It is

therefore hoped that this thesis will prompt questions, stimulate discussion and inspire interest in what has become a backwater of mainstream thirteenth-century history. However, before proceeding, it is necessary to make one comment. This thesis will not set out to provide any reason or motive behind the decision to expel the Jews, for its main aim is an examination of the lives and the financial dealings of the Anglo-Jews during Edward I's reign.

### The Expulsion

The Expulsion of the Jews from England was accomplished in less than five months and the subsequent Dissolution of the Jewries was carried out within five years. Small Jewish colonies that had in some cases existed for almost 200 years were totally suppressed, sometimes leaving only a street name as evidence of their existence. The Expulsion and Dissolution were highly organised, systematic and thorough procedures which affected the lives of Englishman and Jew alike. The decision to dissolve the Jewries and exile the Jews was made in secret at Westminster sometime in June 1290. As Richardson observed, there was a prelude to the final edict of Expulsion; on 18 June 1290 instructions were issued to the sheriffs ordering them to seal the archae or the chests in which the Jews deposited their bonds.[12] The local officials were to be responsible for closing and sealing the archae by 28 June. For a month only a handful of administrators and sources close to the king knew of the expulsion order. The official edict of Expulsion, now lost, was issued on 18 July 1290. Dr Cecil Roth has referred to the irony of this date which, in the Jewish calendar, is the Fast of the Ninth of Ab, seeing it as an 'anniversary of manifold disasters for the Jewish people'.[13] On the same day, writs were also officially issued to the sheriffs which informed them that it had been decreed that all Jews were to leave England by 1 November. The Jews were given 105

days to leave the realm or be outlawed and subject to the wolf's head bounty. It seems likely that by late July the edict had been read in the synagogues and had become public knowledge to the general populace. However, it is particularly striking that, despite the impending expulsion, some Jews still continued to lend money and go about their business. At Devizes, Solomon of Devizes registered a debt in the archa as late as 27 October.[14] There is also evidence from Lincoln that Jews were still registering debts in August and September 1290.[15]

On 18 July the King also issued a firm declaration that the Jews were to be allowed to leave the country peaceably and entrusted the sheriffs to carry this order out:

Whereas the King has prefixed to all the Jews of his realm a certain time to pass out of the realm and he wills that they shall not be treated by his ministers or others otherwise than has been customary, he orders the sheriff to cause proclamation to be made throughout his bailiwick prohibiting any one from injuring or wronging the Jews within the said time. He is ordered to cause the Jews to have safe-conduct at their cost when they, with their chattels which the king has granted to them, direct their steps towards London in order to cross the sea, provided that before they leave they restore the pledges of Christians which are in their possession to those whom they belong.[16]

The safe conduct was issued again in late July when the bailiffs, barons and sailors of the Cinque Ports were ordered not to molest the Jews.[17] The Expulsion order was not to be a prelude to a general massacre. Some influential Jews managed to secure personal safe conducts from the Crown. On 8 August the citizens of the Cinque Ports were ordered to give Moses fil Jacob of Oxford, a Northampton Jew, a 'safe and speedy passage at moderate charges'.[18] On 24 August Bonamy of York, his son Josceus and other York Jews were ready to leave and given the same protection by order of the King.[19] The York community also received the protection of

Archbishop John le Romeyn, who wrote to his diocese threatening with excommunication any who molested the Jews.[20] Other, more fortunate, Jews who had Christian patrons managed to procure special licences to sell their property. On 28 July, Aaron fil Vives, who had the private property of Edmund the king's brother, managed to secure a licence to sell his houses and rents in London, Canterbury and Oxford.[21] Less than a month later, he was also formally banished.[22] During the summer of 1290 parties of Jews left their houses, sold off what they could, aided the Rabbi in taking the scrolls of the Law from the ark in the synagogue, and set out for London and the southern ports. There was little resistance and it seems that there was little ill-feeling on either side -- at least no records of any major outbreaks of violence have survived. The protection of the Crown for its Jewish subjects held good whilst they travelled to the ports of embarkation, although this did not in fact help a party of Jews who were beached at Queenborough and left to drown by the captain of their vessel, one Henry Adrian, who spent two years in Sandwich prison for his murderous deed.[23] After the Expulsion, the only Jews to remain in England were those who had become Christians or those who remained as illegal immigrants. The number of converted Jews does not seem to have risen dramatically.[24] The records are unhelpful with regard to the Jews who remained illegally.

#### The Dissolution of the Jewries

On 1 November 1290, all the bonds, financial instruments and chattels that had been left behind, together with the properties that the Jews had possessed, passed into the hands of the King. On 5 November, satisfied that the Jews had left the realm and could no longer destroy their bonds or houses, Edward stated what might well reflect his true reasons for the Expulsion. He claimed that the

motive for Expulsion was the Jews' persistence in practising usury in direct contravention of the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275. The Jews were cast as rogues in the affair:

and the Jews afterwards, maliciously deliberating amongst themselves, changed the kind of usury into a worse which they called 'curialitas', or courtesy, and depressed the king's people under colour of such by an error double that of the previous one.

Edward now cancelled all usuries, 'willing that nothing shall be exacted from the Christians except the principal debts that they received from the Jews.' [25] The Crown had no intention of losing the windfall which could be gained from the banishment: indeed, it never had as its organization of and preparation for the Expulsion proves. Where the Expulsion ended, the Dissolution of the Jewries and the sequestration of debts began. But the process of transferring Jewish wealth into the royal coffers was not as easy as the banishment of a few social outcasts.

In September 1290, William de Marchia, the treasurer, and a team of royal administrators, were appointed by the King to prepare what amounted to a list of the Jews' assets: a Valor Judaismus. The administration wished to know two basic pieces of information concerning the Jews: what financial debts the Jews were owed and what property they owned or administered. They sent out their writs making enquiries of the local officials of the major towns in which the Jews had been dwelling. [26] The local officials and, in particular, the two Christian chirographers or keepers of the archae were ordered to make sure that the archae were sealed, that all bonds were handed in, and that the archae were carried under safe and secure conduct to London by 26 November. The sheriffs having diligently enquired what houses and tenements had belonged to the Jews were also to present themselves in Westminster on the same day. The property returns were to stipulate what property the Jews had

held in fee, what value it was worth per annum and to whom the Jew had owed service. The archae were sealed, the Comperta were completed and the officials arrived in Westminster at the Treasury on 26 November.[27]

In order to assess the amount of debts owed to Jews, the Exchequer scribes meticulously recorded how many archae came in and from which towns they came, whose seals were on the archae, the names of all the officials concerned with the archae and who had accompanied the cavalcade on the long journey.[28] The archae from twenty-one different towns were delivered and deposited in the Treasury. In late November and early December the Treasury officials set about opening the archae and, under close scrutiny, made lists of all the bonds that had been sent to them. The lists for only eleven of the twenty-one archae towns have survived and details of 1106 bonds are known.[29] The surviving bonds had a face value which can be estimated to have been almost £9100. However, due to the fact that bonds from places like London and York have not survived, the total value of the Jews' bonds is unobtainable. The bonds which have survived might be taken to represent just under half the face value of all the bonds, which, after the Expulsion ad manus Regis devenerunt. Although it seems that originally Edward had every intention of trying to claim these debts, the Close, Patent, Fine and Plea Rolls do not reveal any concerted attempt to do so. In 1326, the Crown finally issued a general pardon of Jewish debts.[30]

Edward was, however, more able to realise a profit from the properties that he confiscated from the Jews. Many records of these properties have survived: the original extents which the local officials had sent back to Westminster in reply to the Chancellor's writ of 12 September 1290, the working copies of the local officials

who drew up the lists, the Exchequer scribes' lists of the Jewish properties in the various parts of England, an account of the sale of some of the property, and several copies of grants from the King to new owners.[31] The disposal of the Jewish properties was entrusted to another royal official who had had experience in Jewish affairs, Hugh of Kendal. He was appointed on 20 December 1290 to value and sell all the houses, rents and tenements which of late belonged to the Jews.[32] Kendal lost no time and by 27 December had drawn up a full list of the values of the properties and had found buyers for many of them. His account lists the value of ex-Jewish properties in sixteen different towns. The total value of the property included in his account was £1835-13s-4d, and he noted that he was to receive a further £15-0s-0d from the merchants of Lucca, possibly for some property or, more likely, for Jewish chattels.[32] It is clear that Kendal's account cannot be taken as the total value of all the properties which the Crown confiscated; a house in Devizes and houses at Cambridge and Hereford were not included in the valuation; in the case of the Hereford properties because it was not confirmed that they had belonged to Jews. However, by 27 December, a week after his appointment, Hugh had received £677-19s-4d as payment for ex-Jewish property which he paid into the Treasury. As further payments came in, Hugh paid off some royal debts: Master William Torel, the maker of the statue of King Henry, received a part payment of £26-13s-4d; John of Bristol received £64-13s-4d for making glass windows in the Palace of Westminster and £26-13s-4d for repairing and renovating Jewish houses in London; William de Ideshalle received £1-2s-4d and a payment of £1-2s-0d for sculpting the tomb of King Henry III. Hugh also noted in his accounts that various individuals still owed amounts totalling another £941-0s-0d.[34] By April 1291, twelve of them had made payments direct to the Treasury which amounted to £312-0s-0d and

Hugh of Kendal's accounts of the sales of properties  
formerly belonging to the Jews - 27th December 1290.

Town.	Value of ex-Jewish Properties.
London	£ 956 6s 8d
York	£ 243 13s 4d
Lincoln	£ 173 0s 0d
Oxford	£ 100 0s 0d
Canterbury	£ 85 13s 4d
Northampton	£ 50 13s 4d
Norwich	£ 47 0s 0d
Winchester	£ 44 0s 0d
Colchester	£ 38 13s 4d
Hereford	£ 26 13s 4d
Cambridge	£ 16 13s 4d
Bedford	£ 14 6s 8d
Nottingham	£ 13 6s 8d
Stamford	£ 13 6s 8d
Ipswich	£ 7 6s 8d
Sudbury	£ 5 0s 0d
Total value:-	£ 1835 13s 4d

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/1

B.L. Additional Manuscripts (Hunter) fos. 48-49

Peter de Appleby had also paid £6-13s-4d for various ex-Jewish properties in York.[35] Therefore, within six months, Edward had gained almost £1000 from the sale of former Jewish properties.

There were, of course, difficulties in disposing of all the properties. Some the Crown retained or could not find buyers for. Grants of properties which formerly belonged to the Jews in Colchester, Coventry and Cambridge were made as late as 1293, 1318 and 1319 respectively.[36] It was also some time before all the payments for the properties were received. In July 1291, Hugh of Kendal wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and reminded him that he still owed £53-6s-8d for his properties.[37] As late as September 1294, William la Vavassur of Hazelwood still owed £46-13s-4d for property he had bought in York.[38]

Despite these difficulties, the Dissolution of the Jewries of England was generally accomplished effectively and speedily. As Professor Dobson has observed, Hugh of Kendal did not experience any difficulty in finding a market for the Jewish houses in York amongst a wide range of social groups.[39] This was probably the case all over the country, for many Jewish properties were situated in the most important towns in the realm, as a glance at the table of Jewish properties, sold by Hugh of Kendal, illustrates. It is also quite clear that throughout the land, influential local men, royal favourites, churches and churchmen were glad to receive some of the better properties. Between 1291 and 1292 the King made eighty-five separate grants which disposed of the property of 113 Jews. In Cambridge, the mayor received one of the grants; in Northampton, William de Hamilton, the archdeacon of York, received another; in Lincoln, Robert le Venour, recently appointed Keeper of the royal city of Lincoln, managed to secure two properties; in London, Isabella de Vescy bought an expensive property in Wood Street; in

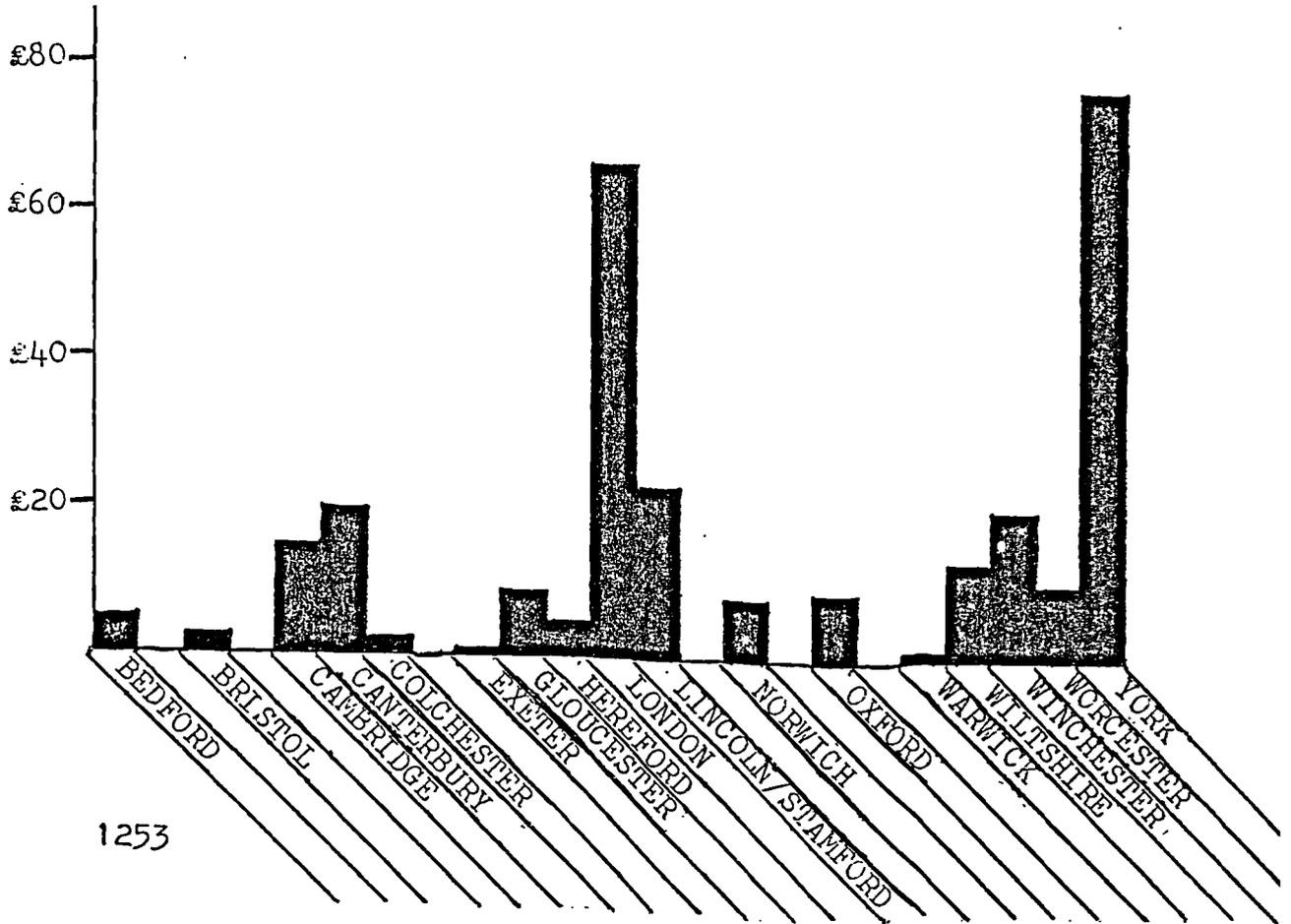
Canterbury, William de Somfeld, the queen's tailor, received the synagogue. The abbey of Chicksand bought property in London, the abbey of St Jacob bought property in Northampton, the abbey of Newham was granted property in Bedford, and Christ Church Canterbury received a grant of the majority of the Jews' property in Canterbury. All of the property which had been confiscated in Oxford was sold to the Chancellor William Burnell.[40] The evidence of the redistribution of Jewish property shows much about the possible motive of the Expulsion. But it also indicates a pattern of Jewish settlement at the end of the thirteenth century. However, in order to establish a more complete picture of Jewish settlement, it is now necessary to put this post-Expulsion evidence into context by considering earlier evidence.

#### The geography of Jewish settlement in the late-thirteenth century

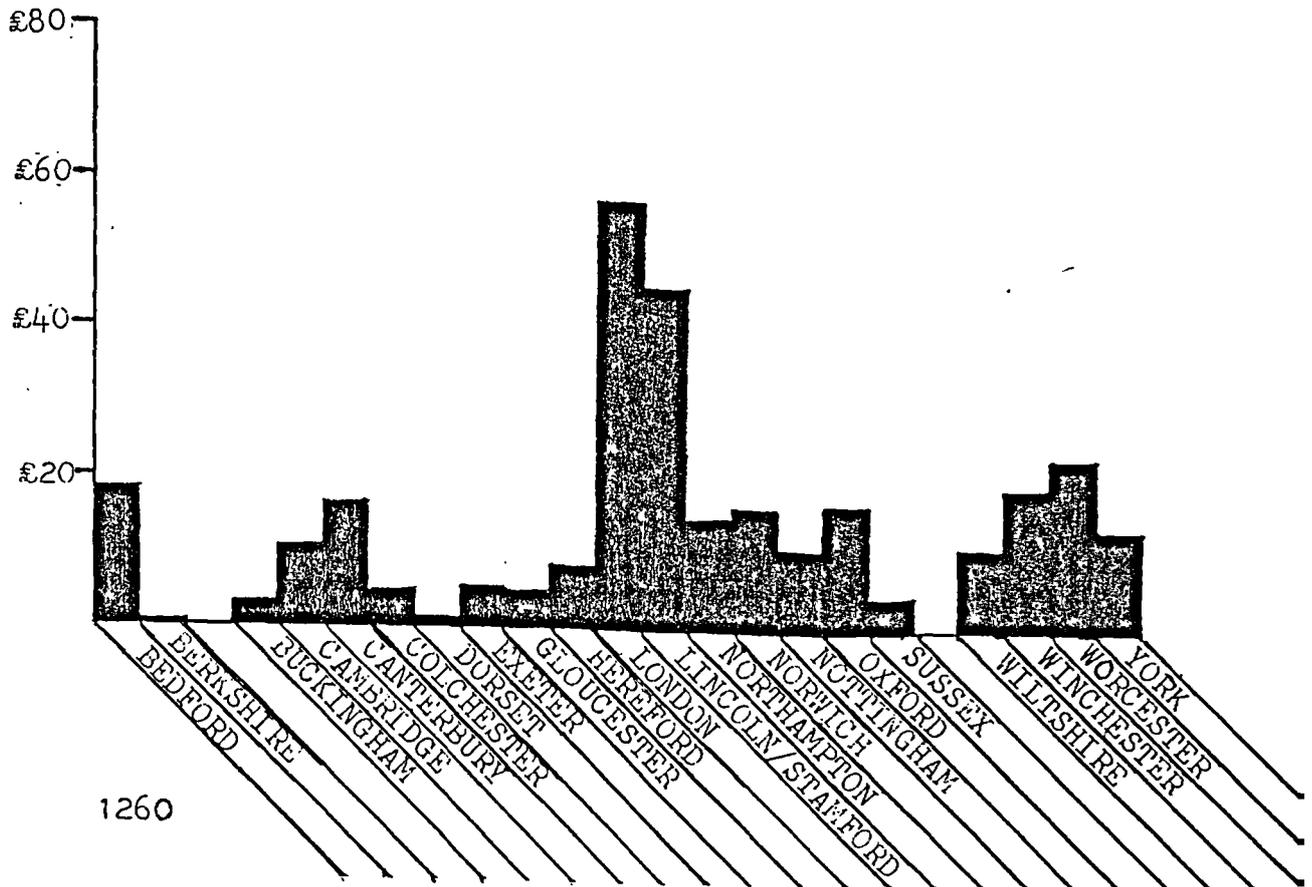
A very rough sketch of Jewish settlements in the mid-thirteenth century can be made from records of tallage assessments and collections. The tallage assessments of July and October 1255 reveal that there were Jewish communities in the following areas: Bedford, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, London, Lincoln and Stamford, Marlborough and Wilton, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Warwick, Winchester, Worcester and York.[41] The records of tallage receipts made in 1253 and 1260 also involve many of these same areas, but reveal some others. Payments were made by Jews in the following areas: Bedford, Berkshire, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Dorset, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, London, Lincoln and Stamford, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Sussex, Warwick, Wiltshire, Winchester, Worcester and York.[42] The graphs reflect the relative importance of these different communities in terms of tallage assessments and tallage receipts.

TALLAGE PAYMENTS MADE BY THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES  
OF ENGLAND IN 1253 AND 1260.

(Source:- P.R.O. E/401/20 and E/401/43)



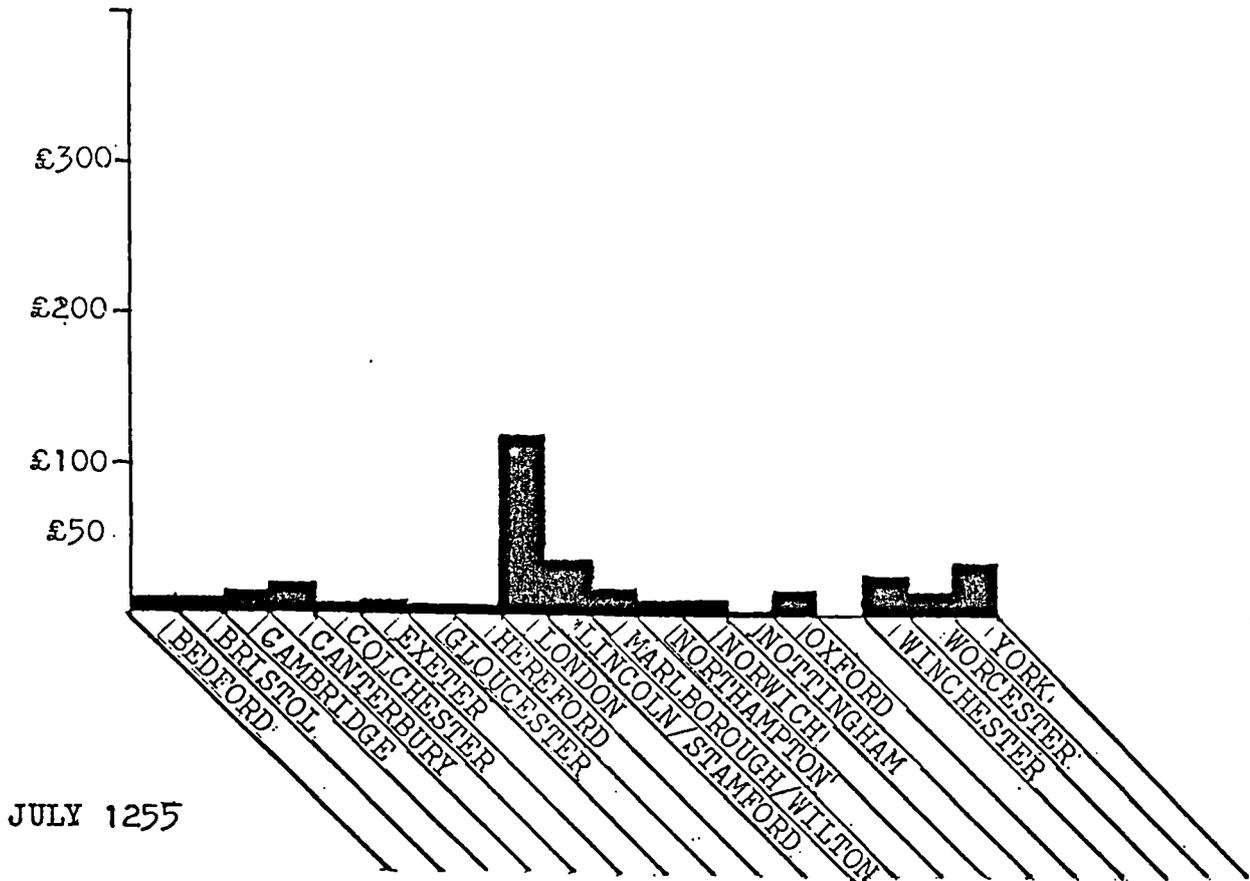
1253



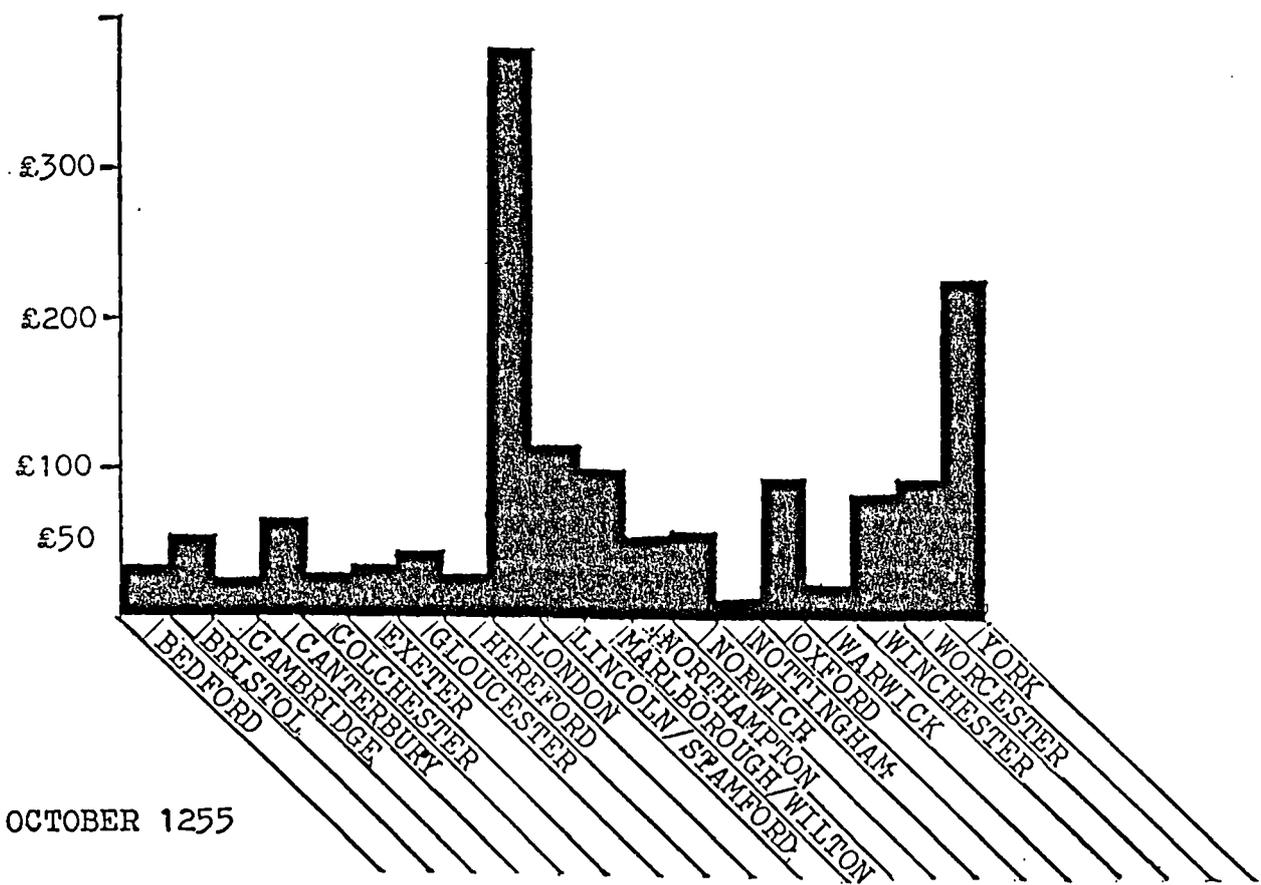
1260

TALLAGE ASSESSMENTS MADE ON THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES  
OF ENGLAND IN JULY AND OCTOBER 1255.

(Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1254-1256, Pages 439-444.)



JULY 1255



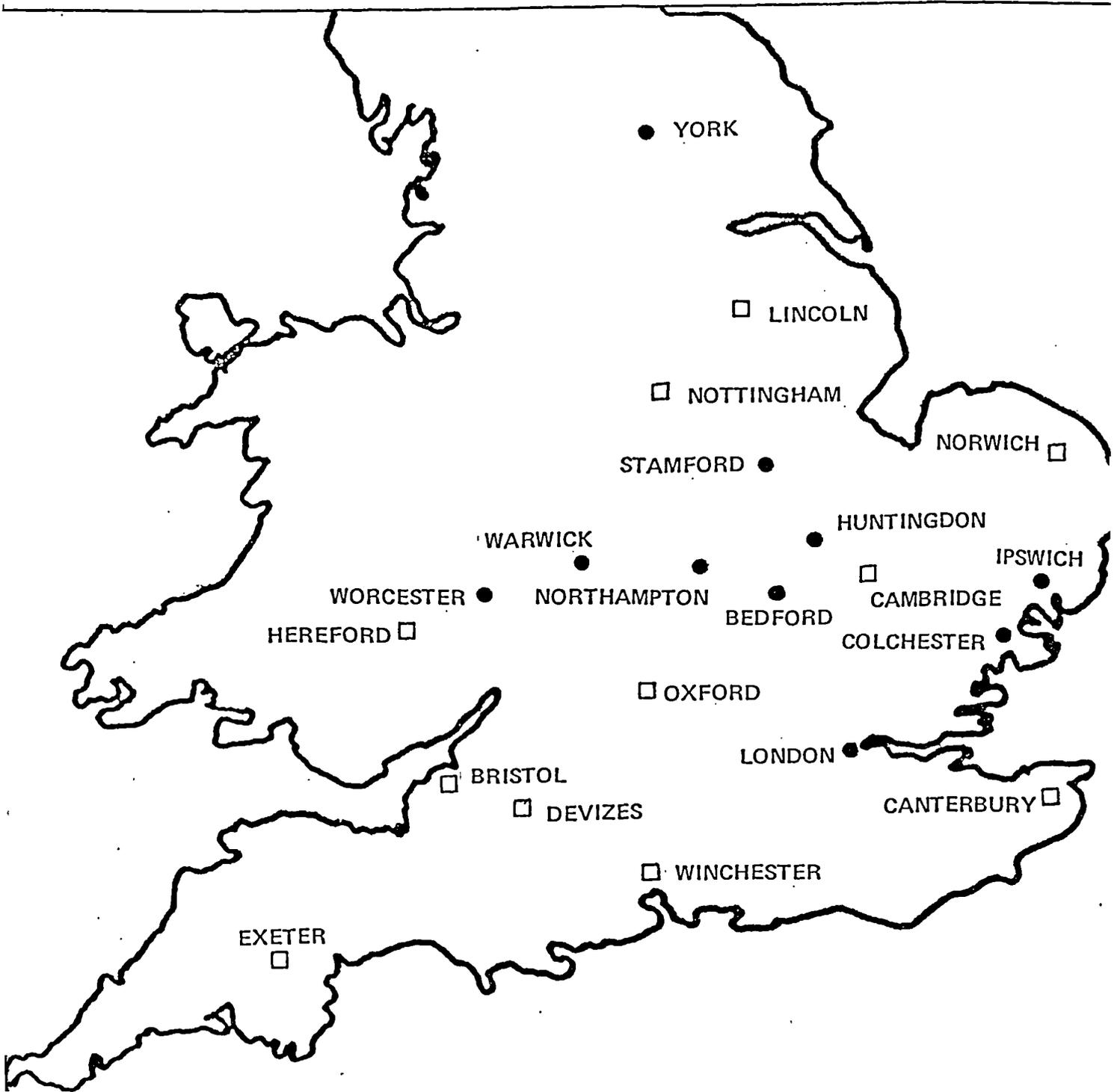
OCTOBER 1255

This tallage evidence suggests that the vast majority of Anglo-Jewry lived in the archae towns. This impression can be supported by other evidence. The Jewish properties mentioned in Kendal's account are situated in archa towns. The distribution of known Jewish synagogues and burial grounds, which will be discussed below, also confirms Jewish habitation in towns which had archae.<sup>[43]</sup> The relationship of the Jews with the archa towns clearly suggests that the Jew was essentially an urban phenomenon.<sup>[44]</sup> The archa towns of 1290 are depicted on the map below. From this map, it also becomes clear that archa towns in which the Jews were concentrated were often county towns, cathedral cities and, as Lipman has recently observed, towns with castles.<sup>[45]</sup> They were also virtually always the main mercantile centres of the surrounding district.

But, despite this evidence which suggests that the Jews lived in the more important towns, a few historians have acknowledged the possibility that Jews lived in small towns and villages in the countryside.<sup>[46]</sup> Dr Hyams, for instance, while accepting that the pattern of Jewish settlement was an urban-based one, at the same time gave credence to the possibility that the more rural settlements could have flourished.<sup>[47]</sup> His views have not been universally accepted. Dobson found it difficult to believe that small numbers of Jews could live harmoniously with Christians as isolated residents and stated that the traditional view, expressed by Parkes, that village Jewries were practically non-existent in England and France had still to be reversed.<sup>[48]</sup> Orthodox Jews have found it hard to accept that their forebears could live in the countryside for more religious reasons. They claim that a Jew must, of necessity, live close to a synagogue and that to have a synagogue, a large distinctive community is implied. However, medieval Judaism was flexible and it was acceptable and possible for

TOWNS WITH ARCHA IN LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND.

Sources:- P.R.O. E/101/249/19, E/101/250/2, E/101/250/3,  
E/101/250/4, E/101/250/5, E/101/250/6,  
E/101/250/7, E/101/250/8, E/101/250/9,  
E/101/250/10, E/101/250/11, E/101/250/12.



● TOWNS WITH ARCHA IN 1290

□ TOWNS WITH LISTS OF ARCHA CONTENTS EXTANT

Jews to live in rural areas and to use the burial grounds and synagogues of the larger communities for burials or high festivals. It can be proved that in thirteenth-century France there were places where only 'two Israelites' lived.[49] Even Dobson, despite his doubts, expressed an attraction to the work of Chazan on northern French Jewry, with its emphasis on this sort of rural settlement.[50]

In the light of such views, it is, therefore, inevitable that this problem must be rediscussed. Of course, any rediscussion of Anglo-Jewish settlement will involve a new analysis of toponymical surnames. Many historians have been attracted to Richardson's interpretation of Jewish toponyms in which he claims that the obviously rural surnames that the Jews often took originated not from their place of residence, but from the places where they pursued their business. Richardson backed this interpretation with his claim that permanent residence outside the archa towns was illegal without the king's licence.[51] This interpretation of Jewish toponymic surnames and Jewish settlement can be challenged. It is, however, inevitable that any challenge to it will have to be based on a detailed analysis of the evidence for smaller settlements and of the repeated attempts of the government to control Jewish settlement rather than on the sort of evidence which Richardson and Chazan have used in connection with toponyms.

The repeated attempts of the government in its legislation to limit the residence of Jews to archa towns in themselves suggest that some Jews were at least accustomed to live in communities which did not have archa. [52] The Crown had always monitored Jewish settlement and constant attempts before Edward's reign to restrict the Jews to the archa towns had been made. In 1253 the Jews were confined to live only in the towns where they had been accustomed to

live.[53] However special licences could be obtained to live in other places. In Edward's reign the pattern of Jewish settlement changed fairly drastically in 1275. In that year the Jews were expelled from the towns which were under the jurisdiction of the Queen Mother: provision was made for the Jews of Marlborough to be deported to Devizes, the Jews of Gloucester to move to Bristol, the community at Worcester to move to Hereford, and the Cambridge Jews to be moved to Norwich.[54] The Statutum de Judeismo issued in the same year stipulated that the Jews must live only in the archa towns.[55] It would seem that the provision did not work: Roth has pointed out that periodical orders to arrest Jews not residing in archa towns exist.[56] Hugh of Digneuton was commissioned in 1277 to investigate how far the new legislation was being observed -- unfortunately his report has not survived.[57] Again in 1284 new legislation confining Jewish residence to the archa towns was issued.[58] However, in 1275, having restricted the Jews to the archa towns, Edward made special exceptions and allowed several Jews 'to trade and ply merchandise and to live' in places like Southampton, Strapeston, Caversham near Oxford, Rochester, Ipswich, Dorchester, Royston and Retford.[59] Thus, evidence of the Crown's failure to restrict the Jews to the archa towns is available in its own legislation. The repeated attempts in 1253, 1275, 1277 and 1284 to control the settlement of Jews, the special exemptions for some Jews, and the periodical orders to arrest Jews not obeying the legislation all suggest that Jewish settlement was not as polarized as historians have believed.[60]

This evidence does not, of course, suggest that Jews necessarily lived in particularly rural communities. But there are other incidental references which demonstrate that this was the case. The accounts and surveys of the Wiltshire lands of Adam de Stratton reveal that Jews contributed to the farm and lived on the

manors of Cricklade from 1269 until at least 1281 and at Highworth from 1277 until 1281.[61] Various payments from Jews in remote places and special payments for residence in small towns appear in the Jewish Plea Rolls. On the receipt roll of the main Exchequer for the Easter term 1275, Belia and Ursell of Gloucester paid 12s-0d so that they could remain at 'Brocstred'; Vyves fil Moses of Clare paid 6s-8d to remain at Maldon; and Samuel fil Jacob and Samuel fil Manser paid 4s-0d to remain at Wickham.[62] The Salisbury gaol deliveries for 1275 record that William Page of Warminster who had stolen a green mantle, a woman's coat, a tapet and a linen sheet had sold them to Michael a Jew of Fisherton Anger for 5s-0d.[63] Other evidence shows that in 1278 Sampson of Norwich was killed by thieves and his goods were carried off from his house in 'Frenningham' in Kent.[64] Evidence from Herefordshire which will be discussed below clearly indicates that Jews were living on the manor of Much Markle as late as 1292.[65] In the early 1270s, there is evidence that Norwich Jews were dealing in the east coast port of Dunwich.[66] It is also clear that in 1275 Josce fil Aaron of Colchester and his wife were abiding at Dunwich because they were fined £22-16s-2d for having taken the chattels of Isaac Gabbay, a deceased Jew.[67] It seems that, despite Richardson's interpretation of Jewish toponyms, the Edwardian prohibitions of settlement, and scepticism concerning Jews living in rural areas, there is good evidence that some Jews did live, in small numbers, in the countryside.

#### The Jewish population of Edwardian England

It is clear that the contemporary estimates of the numbers of Jews who were expelled in 1290 are exaggerations. According to the chronicles of the day, the number of Jews who left England varies between 15,000 and 17,000.[68] More recently, it has been suggested that 2,000 is a more acceptable figure for the number of Jews who

were forcibly exiled.[69] There are several pieces of evidence which give clues as to the size of Jewish population during Edward's reign. The evidence which is considered below only offers very round figures, but it does seem to confirm that the lower estimate of the number of Jews who were expelled is correct, and it also demonstrates that a decline in the Jewish population occurred between 1272 and 1290.

It is claimed that during the coin-clipping allegations of 1278 and 1279 all Jewish householders, some 680, were imprisoned. If there were only 680 Jewish householders in the late 1270s, then a total Jewish population of about 2,720 (or more, if non-householders are considered) could be expected. If an allowance is made for Jews who were hanged or who possibly fled the country, then a figure of just under 4,000 for the total Jewish population might be proposed for the late 1270s. It is also quite clear that as a result of the coin-clipping allegations the Jewish population decreased. It can be confirmed that 293 Jews were executed in London alone for alleged coin-clipping. Lipman provides evidence of a population shrinkage in Norwich and repeated references to suspensi and damnati only serve to substantiate what might be termed a pogrom during those years.[70] Thus it can be assumed that by 1279 the total Jewish population did not exceed 4,000 but was probably above 2,000.

The only substantial evidence for the total population size of Anglo-Jewry in the 1280s comes from the poll-tax accounts made during the early part of the decade. This tax was to be paid by all male and female Jews over the age of twelve. The returns that survive for the period 1280-1283 indicate that between 1,135 and 1,179 Jews paid the tax each year. However, the returns occasionally exclude different communities, as in 1280 when the London and Canterbury communities do not appear to have paid.[71] It

is also likely that many Jews in rural areas escaped this particular tax or could not be found to pay it. Even making these exceptions, the size of the Jewish population during the 1280s would again confirm a figure of about 2,000.

The evidence of the governmental records at the time of the Dissolution of the Jewries gives some indication as to the assets held by the Jews, but it is not possible to use this evidence to reach any figure of total population. The Dissolution of the Jewries brought about the re-distribution of the lands of approximately 120 Jewish property holders. This might have indicated a population of 600 were it not for the fact that the surviving bonds suggest a higher figure.[72] The financial bonds in the archae at Bristol, Canterbury, Cambridge, Devizes, Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford and Winchester reveal approximately 262 Jews who had registered bonds.[73] Some of these Jews were already deceased, but an estimate which takes this into consideration and the fact that the number of Jews who had bonds in the archae at Bedford, Colchester, Ipswich, Northampton, Stamford, Warwick and Worcester, as well as the larger communities at London and York, is not known would put a total estimate of Jews who had bonds registered in the archae in 1290 at perhaps 500 and certainly no more than 600. Allowing for Jews who had perhaps fled or gone into hiding, and for Jews who did not make bonds, the figure of Jewish population prior to the Expulsion might again be about 2,000. Thus, although it is virtually impossible to enumerate the number of Jews who were exiled or to come to any firm conclusions about the size of the total Jewish community, it is possible to conclude that, in population terms, Edwardian Jewry was an insignificant minority. However, it was a minority that was under constant surveillance, regulation and harassment from the host society at large.

## Contemporary society's view of the Jew

Joshua Trachtenberg observed in 1943 that 'The most vivid impression to be gained from a reading of medieval allusions to the Jews is of a hatred so vast and abysmal, so intense that it leaves one gasping for comprehension.' [74] What has been correctly termed 'Jew hatred' rather than anti-semitism had many aspects. In the records of chroniclers, deep odium was reflected by constant references to Jews as 'perfidious'. Matthew Paris thought of them as in signum instar Caym maledicti. [75] Richard of Devizes referred to them as sanguisugae and vermes. [76] The Jew was also commonly referred to as the 'Devil's disciple' and this association had not died out by Shakespeare's day. [77] Was not Mephistophiles the Jew's master and the destruction of Christianity his mission? News of Joseph Cartaphilus, the Wandering Jew, and of strange happenings in the East reached England in 1228 when an Armenian archbishop visited St Albans. [78] Such news only confirmed the worst suspicions of Gentiles. [79] Then, as news of Mongol invasions reached the west, panic broke out and the belief that the Jewish legions were at hand was rife. [80] Was not Antichrist to be born of Jewish parents and Armageddon ushered in by the Jews? [81] The ritual murder allegations that first manifested themselves in medieval England are symptomatic of the vast, abysmal and intense hatred that the host majority had for the Jewish minority. As well as unpopular moneylender, the Jew was sorcerer, murderer, cannibal, poisoner, blasphemer, international conspirator and Devil's disciple.

Jew hatred caused by medieval racialism led to enforced segregation. The Jew was not only distinguished from society by his physical appearance but by what became the very marks of his Judaism -- the badge of shame or tabula and the spiked hat or cornutum pileum. [82] The caricatures of thirteenth-century

Anglo-Jews drawn by the Exchequer scribes as they laboured over Jewish matters bear these distinctions of hatred.[83] Even artists who portrayed biblical Jews began to depict them anachronistically.[84] Religious sculpture, whilst showing an awareness of the Jews' relationship to the Old Covenant, always depicted the Triumphant Church and the Broken Synagogue.[85] The hatred manifested itself almost throughout the medieval period, but the thirteenth century was a time when the distinctions between Jew and Christian were emphasized. Although set apart from society by physical appearance and the covering of their heads as well as their dress, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 decided to segregate the Jew further from Christian society.[86] As a result of the council, the tabula was enforced in England from 1218.[87] The Council of Oxford in 1222 restated papal policy and extended it to Jewesses.[88] The tabula was imposed again in 1253 in the mandate to the justices assigned to the Jews, and in 1275 Edward's Statutum de Judeismo extended the obligation to wear it to all persons of either sex above the age of seven.[89] Subsequent legislation in 1279 and 1281 as well as the ruling of the Synod of Exeter in 1287 kept the obligation for the Jews to differentiate themselves from Gentile society alive.[90]

Jew hatred was also manifest in what Trachtenburg termed 'popular subjective and non-natural beliefs'.[91] The belief of mystical powers and Jewish magic stirred by suspicion of the Kabbalah and particularly suspicion of the mazzuzah was common.[92] In 1240, the Synod of Worcester decreed that 'when men and women magicians shall be found and also such as consult Jews for the purpose of finding out by magic about their lives or actions, they shall be brought before the bishop to be punished.'[93] At about the same period, Alexander of Stavenby, Bishop of Coventry, claimed that within his diocese there were 'wicked Christians and Jews who on

account of their practice of magic are accustomed to try with outrageous daring shameful acts against the eucharist and holy oil.'[94] The common belief that before selling meat to Christians the Jews had their children urinate on it to induce sickness and death led to prohibitions against Christians buying food from Jews.[95] Tovey records how Innocent III, the theorist of transubstantiation, wrote to the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishop of Paris claiming:

Whenever it happens that on the day of the Lord's Resurrection the Christian women, who are nurses for the children to the Jews, take in the body and blood of Christ, the Jews make these women pour their milk into the latrines for the next three days before they again give suck to the children.[96]

The belief that Jews had a thirst for blood was prevalent, and was probably not helped by the fact that they used Calumus Draco, a gum obtained from a species of palm, in order to stem the wound of circumcision.[97] Circumcision was itself open to misinterpretation and provided more fuel for absurd accusations.[98] The belief that the Jew had a distinguishable smell was also common -- possibly due to the eating of garlic or the use of chemicals to remove hair because the Jew was forbidden by his religious law to use a blade on his beard.[99] Inevitably any unusual or inexplicable disaster could be blamed on the Jews.

#### The clerical view of the Jew

The Church was unlikely to play down any accusations or ill-feeling that popular belief lay at the door of the Jewish communities. Although it never classed them as heretics the Jews were regarded as perfidious and undesirable. The Papacy was slow to react and deny the numerous ritual murder accusations.[100] To the whole of Catholic Christendom the Jews were an embarrassment and a threat to its dogma and creed. Nevertheless, the Church's view of

the Jew was ambiguous. Trachtenburg observed that

Christian policy towards the Jews is a paradox. Bitterly condemned and excoriated they were yet to be tolerated on humanitarian grounds and indeed preserved on theological grounds as a living testimony to the truth of Christian teaching.[101]

Nowhere is this paradox more noticeable than in the views and actions of two thirteenth-century English prelates, Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln and Archbishop John Pecham. Grosseteste seems to have had a scholarly and benevolent view of the Jews.[102] In 1233, when writing to Margaret de Quinci, the countess of Winchester, on whose lands some Jews had settled he described them thus: 'Vagus est populus ille per dispersionem, et profugus a propria sede, scilicet Jerusalem, vagus per mansionis incertitudinem et profugus per mortis timorem'. He claimed that they were the Lord's reminder of the Passion and 'ad per hoc sunt testes fidei Christianae contra infidelitatem Paganorum'. He stated that they should be protected and should not be killed but should be made to work the fields and earn an honest living oppressing no one with their usuries for:

in ultimis vero temporibus, cum plenitudo gentium, sicut scriptum est, intraverit, videlicet ad fidem, tunc omnis Israel, id est, populus Judaeorum, per eandem Christi fidem salvus fiet, et ad veram libertatem de captivitate redibit.[103]

On the other hand, Pecham seems to have carried out a relentless and calculated campaign against the Jews.[104] In July 1281, he had secret discussions with the Bishop of London and was intent on stopping the building of a new London synagogue.[105] In November 1281, he railed against some apostate Jews who had 'redierunt ad vomitum'. [106] In August 1282, he ordered the Bishop of London to destroy all the synagogues in London except one,[107] and in December 1286, he even tried to remonstrate with the Queen and her councillors for acquiring property from the whirlpool of Jewish

usuries.[108] It is even possible that he played a larger role in the Expulsion than has been thought.[109] Thus, to contemporaries, the Edwardian Anglo-Jew was to be regarded as both the butt for abuse and the target for deep hatred and suspicion. To the general populace, the Jew was to be shunned and avoided. To the religious, the Jew was an anachronistic enigma neither to be declared heretic or oecumenically embraced. The Jew was to be preserved and to a certain degree accepted whilst at the same time he was to be persecuted and antagonized. Despite his obvious contacts with the Christian community, the Jew remained condemned and unacceptable to the Gentile. It is, therefore, no surprise that Edwardian Jewry became an introverted fraternity.

#### The individual nature of Edwardian Anglo-Jewish Society

That the Jew stood apart from the Gentile in the face of such bigoted persecution is also not surprising. The Jew was very conscious of his heritage and had little desire to forsake his traditions to be assimilated into Gentile society. As Cohn observed: 'they persisted through so many centuries of dispersion as a clearly recognizable community, bound together by an intense feeling of solidarity, somewhat aloof in its attitude to outsiders and jealously clinging to the Tabus which had been designed for the very purpose of emphasizing and perpetuating its exclusiveness.' [110] This aloofness and this enthusiasm for Judaistic culture distinguished the Jew from his contemporaries. In any consideration of the Edwardian Jewish community, the major barriers which separated the Jews from the rest of Edwardian society must be examined in some detail.

The majority of medieval Anglo-Jewry was tri-lingual in Latin, Norman-French and Hebrew. The Jews' legal language and the language of contracts was Latin and the fact that the majority of the documentary evidence regarding the Jews was in Latin is, in itself, evidence that they were fluent in it. However, it seems that they also spoke and wrote in French and it is possible that the majority were happier to use it as their everyday language.[111] Roth claims that it was necessary to translate the domestic service which was used on the Eve of the Passover into the vernacular for the benefit of women and children.[112] But it was not the Jews' ability to converse and write in both Latin and Norman-French which set them apart from society as Clanchy has observed:

At all social levels except that of the King's court native French speakers seem to have rapidly and repeatedly assimilated into the local population. The only exception to this rule are the Jews who remained separate because of their different religion and scriptural language and not because of their French origins.[113]

The major linguistic difference between Jew and Gentile was, therefore, the Jews' use of Hebrew. This was fairly widely used and is found in epitaphs and grafitti as well as inter-Jewish transactions and signatures.[114] Inter-Jewish loans must have been drawn up by Jewish scribes several of whom must have been employed in the Scaccarium Judaeorum because there was a copy of the Plea Roll recorded in Hebrew and the stocks of tallies often bear Hebrew characters, presumably as a means of easy reference for Jewish businessmen.[115]

Along with this one major linguistic difference, the Jews' use of nomenclature also set them apart from the host community. Jewish nomenclature was essentially different from Gentile forms. Normally the Anglo-Jew possessed a patronymic though it has been claimed that more Jewish matronymics exist than the equivalent in Gentile

society.[116] Jewish nomenclature is perhaps even more confusing and misleading than Christian usage due to the particular way in which the Jews used different names at different times. The Shem Hakkadosh or custom of changing one's name on the death bed to avoid the Angel of Death provides much confusion. Rabbi Menahem of London found it necessary to write the two names by which a Jew was known on Jewish records, 'For we find it with Jacob of whom it is written in the law, 'And thy name shall no more be called Jacob but Israel' and yet one finds him called Jacob several times in the law.'[117] The custom of Kimmui or of taking a business name confuses identification of a particular Jew even further. Different translations and linguistic difficulties lead to a Jew called 'Vives' in French becoming 'Haginus' in Latin and 'Chaim' in Hebrew, or for a Jewess 'Belassez' in French becoming 'Belia' or 'Belasset' in Latin and 'Rachel' in Hebrew. Surnames certainly existed and were based either on tribal names such as 'Levi' or 'Evesk' for 'Cohanim' (Cohen) or on occupations such as 'Gabbay' (treasurer), 'Chazan' (reader), 'Chantur' (cantor). Thus, although there are obvious toponymical and patronymical similarities between the Jewish and Christian use of nomenclature, the Jew could easily be identified by his quasi-Biblical, Hebraic, name forms, his greater use of matronymics, and the individual way in which he used different names at different times. These differences in nomenclature effectively distinguished and separated the Jew from Gentile society both in everyday usage and in the official records.

The Anglo-Jew's observance of the kosher laws was also a distinctive feature. There is evidence that the Edwardian Jew took care to observe the kosher laws.[118] For whilst more evidence is extant for the dietary practices of French Jewry, and Rabinowitz has produced what might be termed a diet sheet compiled from Rabbinical responsa, occasional glimpses show similar observance in

England.[119] Rabbi Benjamin of Canterbury forbade his followers to buy milk from a Gentile.[120] The prohibition even extended to the Gentile who had no unclean animals amongst his flocks. It was, however, deemed to be in order if a Jew was present when the animal was milked. Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg claimed that his teacher, Rabbi Leon of Paris, had heard that Rabbi Tam had directed implicitly that barnacle geese (which were widely believed to grow on trees) should be slaughtered after the Jewish fashion and had sent his decision on this to the 'sons of Angleterre'. [121] Rabbi Moses of London has left his recipe for charoseth or paste which the Jews ate on Passover to remind them of the mortar they used when in the brick-yards of the Pharoahs. He instructed his congregation to take some 'dates or figs or raisins and crush them into vinegar and make them into a paste like mortar.' [122] The Edwardian Jews' food was probably not only different but also better than that of his Gentile contemporaries. The more copious evidence from France would suggest that this was clearly the case. In France, Moses of Coucy regarded bread, fish, meat and wine as the minimum requirements for even poor Jews, and there were at least twenty different kinds of bread and cakes available to the French Jew, from a sponge cake fried in oil to a cake made with flour fermented in grape skins which Rabbi Tam had forbidden. [123] Perhaps such delicacies were available from a kitchen like that of Hagin of Lincoln. [124] Fish was widely eaten in France and Rabbi Tam had pronounced barbothe as being the best for Jewish consumption, however tunny, carp, herring and salmon were also eaten. [125] Some Anglo-Jews were implicated in a large herring robbery in Norfolk. [126] In France, meat was commonly eaten in the form of a pastida; whilst in England, the annual gift from Richard Foliot to Hagin of Lincoln (found in the Lincoln archa) of a beast of the chase and other references to Jews enjoying hunting must have meant that hunting and eating the spoils

was within the kosher laws.[127] Wine was of great importance to the Jews. The Kiddush after every meal was always recited over wine. It is clear that the London Jews and in particular Rabbi Elijah Menahem imported his wine from Gascony.[128] There were Jewish vintners in Oxford and Isaac of Colchester had his own vineyard.[129] It seems that in France cider and liquor made from berries and cherries was not regarded as wine and could be purchased from a Gentile.[130] Alcohol was not forbidden and the Tosafists give as an example of the partial abstinence enjoined on the Feast of the Ninth of Ab the advice that if a Jew was accustomed to drink ten glasses of beer a day, on this day he should drink only five.[131] Two continental Rabbis had noted with disapproval that 'It is surprising that in the land of the Isle they are lenient in the matter of drinking strong drinks of the Gentiles and along with them'. They claimed that this could lead to intermarriage but went on to add, 'But perhaps as there would be great ill-feeling if they were to refrain from this one must not be severe upon them.'[132] Thus, the *Jews'* diet set them apart from their host society.

It was not only in the matter of diet that the Anglo-Jew and his French counterpart were different from the host community. The Anglo-Jew was Ashkenazi in origin and as such shared the influences, culture, literature and ritual which his brethren in northern Europe had practised for centuries. When stressing these links, Rabinowitz went as far as claiming that 'for all practical purposes pre-expulsion Anglo-Jewry was but a branch of northern French Jewry with few distinctive or separate characteristics.'[133] In the twelfth century links between English and European Jews were certainly very close. Rabbi Tam was able to quote a scholar of Dover, Ibn Ezra dedicated his work, the Yesod Moreh to Joseph fil Jacob whilst he was in London; Rabbi Yomtob of Joigny died at York. York books ended up in Cologne.[134]

Continental influence and the shared roots of a common heritage therefore served to set the Anglo-Jew apart from his Edwardian contemporaries. But, although it is true that the gurus and mentors of Anglo-Jewry's customs, laws and practises were men like Rashi, Maimonides, Meir of Rothenburg, Moses of Coucy, Rabbi Tam and Gershom of Mainz, however it needs to be emphasized that the Jews of England had their own cultural achievements which set them apart from their Christian neighbours.[135] Moses of London (d. 1268) who wrote the Darkhe ha-Nikkud vaha-Neginah, the most competent work on Hebrew punctuation and accentuation for many centuries, had three sons who all produced scholarly works during Edward I's reign: Elijah Menahem, Benedict of Nicole and Jacob of Oxford.[136] In 1287, Jacob fil Jehudah of London produced his work, the Etz Chayim, a collection of the whole body of Jewish law which made available the Rabbinical responses of scholars such as Rabbi Elijah of Warwick, and of two of Moses of London's scholarly sons, Rabbi Joseph of Bristol and Rabbi Moses of Dover.[137] The poems of Meir of Norwich have also survived and bear witness to the events leading to the Expulsion -- the massacres, imprisonments and sequestration of property.[138] Thus, Edwardian Anglo-Jewry was not short of its own grammarians, poets and legal experts and their heritage still awaits further research.[139] The Edwardian Jew, therefore, actively perpetuated an intellectual and literary culture that also set him apart from Christian society.

Therefore, the Jews' linguistic ability, nomenclature, diet, literature and laws both separated them from Gentile society and gave them points of contact with their fellow Jews. It was these links with other Jews, both at home and far away, that were perhaps the most alarming factor for the Christian host society. Thus, some Gentile governments must have viewed the Jews' freedom of movement and contact with other communities both within England and abroad as

a realistic threat to Christendom, and it is clear that their enjoyment of such contacts again singled the Jews out.

It has been claimed by historians that under Henry III and Edward Jewish movement out of England was closely restricted.[140] However, there is evidence that contact with other communities did not cease. Whilst 1218 saw the last great influx of Jews into England, 1233 and 1240 saw Jews leave England and some departed even when, in 1255, they were actually forbidden to leave.[141] There is a little evidence that foreign contacts continued and that a total restriction on migration was never effectively enforced. During the period 1240-1260, Moses of Coucy gave express permission for a Jew to embark for England on a Friday because with a favourable wind the passage could be made before the start of the Sabbath.[142] In 1254, Salle fil Josce, a Canterbury Jew was overseas whilst his pregnant wife was cared for by the Sheriff of Kent.[143] In 1273, Jacob of Oxford went overseas and took the key to the Oxford archa with him.[144] Rabbi Elijah Menahem was not only given permission to import wine from Gascony but was summoned with his servant Abraham Mouton to the sick bed of the Count of Flanders in 1280.[145] Contact with the Continental Jewries was never entirely severed. Similarly, contacts between different Jewish communities in England were extremely close basically because to the Jew, contact with Jews outside their community was a vital life-line for existence. At times it would have been impossible to make religious or legal decisions, or even impossible to marry without these external links. Thus, whilst the individual Jewish community could be seen as merely offensive and unusual, the thought of a united Jewry or a large Jewish conspiracy did more to provoke fear in the hearts of Christians and to single out the Jews as a separate unit in society.[146]

But, of course, the most obvious difference between Jew and Christian was religious belief. Religion permeated every aspect of Judaism. The trademark of the Ashkenazi has been said to be 'not what a Jew must know but what a Jew must do'. [147] The fact that the only remains of Anglo-Jewry, apart from seals, yards of documents and a few houses that survive, are quintessentially religious objects -- the Bodleian ewer, a shofar, and a few prayer books -- suggest that the Anglo-Jew not only knew his religion but in all probability practised it fervently. [148] The Jew's conception of time and history was coloured by religion. His documents were dated by the Jewish calendar as laid down by Hillel II and he divided his year into thirteen months accordingly. [149] The Jew dated his transactions with the format a creationem seculi usque ad finem, reflecting the time at which, he thought, God created the world. [150] He celebrated his religious festivals throughout the year. Even when incarcerated in the Tower of London between 1275 and 1277, the Edwardian Jew still took solace in performing his rituals. It is clear that some Jewish prisoners paid bribes so that they might be outside on the Sabbath and also be free to celebrate Josana et Enna que Purim. [151] From the ritual murder accusations, it is evident that the Jews celebrated Seder, and it was perhaps a little unfortunate that this festival often caused offence to Christians, falling as it generally did close to Easter. [152] The Jews remembered the atrocities they had suffered, and elegies of their martyrs of Blois and York have survived as clear reminders of the sufferings of Israel for its religion which became incorporated into Jewish ritual. [153] It can safely be assumed that most Anglo-Jews were religious.

Thus, the main focal point for any Jewish community was the synagogue.[154] The synagogue was the centre of the cultural, social and religious differences between Jew and Christian and was also a tangible representation of these differences. The importance of the synagogue in Edwardian England is underlined by the fact that whenever the government wished to make proclamations or announcements to its Jewish subjects they were made in the synagogue or scola. [155] The synagogue was a multi-purpose building which was used as a place of prayer, study and assembly.[156] It often had accommodation for travellers and adjacent courtyards where law cases were heard, marriages held and sometimes markets allowed. It also had its ritual bath or mikvah. [157] It seems that the Anglo-Jewish synagogues were simple and far removed from the grandness and size of the continental synagogues at Cracow, Regensburg, Toledo and Worms.[158] However, all that was really necessary for a Jewish synagogue was an ark for the Torah and a partition, which might be represented by a curtain, to keep men and women apart. The surviving synagogue at Lincoln reflects the simplicity of Judaism's basic needs.[159] In some cases the synagogues or bethels were even small establishments maintained by wealthy patrons in private houses.[160] But, however small they might have been, the synagogues were also recognizable buildings to both Jew and Christian alike. In most of the major towns during the Barons' Wars the rebels singled them out and sacked them. The Church was well aware of the possible religious competition offered by the synagogue and at various times tried to shut them down or confiscate them.[161] After 1290 it is likely that several were sequestered for the benefit of the Christian church. Tradition has it that St Stephens and St Mary Colechurch in London, the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge and Moyses Hall at Bury St Edmunds and St Giles at Bristol were once synagogues.[162]

Documentary evidence of only fourteen synagogues has survived from Edwardian England, but there must have been more in existence at various times. At Canterbury in 1290 the synagogue was valued at 11s-8d a year and was situated in the very heart of the city in the parish of All Saints.[163] Its exact position is known: in 1640 the antiquarian William Somner claimed 'that the Stone Parlour of the Saracen's Head which was mounted upon a vault and ascended by many stone-steps is the remains of a good part of that which was our Canterbury Jews' school or synagogue.'[164] At Colchester and at Hereford the synagogues had adjoining shops perhaps rented by Jewish shopkeepers to provide victuals for the Jewish community at large.[165] At Lincoln there is evidence that there were at one time three synagogues in the town, of which one has survived and the site of a second is known.[166] The Northampton Jews' synagogue was situated close to their walled cemetery.[167] The Norwich Jews had a synagogue in 1290 which was valued at 5s-0d a year and was situated in the very centre of the town. It seems that it had at least three entrances and had possibly been constructed with stone columns and glazed roof tiles. It was certainly in every sense the focal point of the Jewish community for, as Lipman has observed, most of the Norwich Jewry lived within 250 yards of it.[168] At Nottingham, the synagogue was near the marsh on the edge of town on the south-west corner of Castle Gate and Lister Gate. It was reached by crossing the property of Jacob fil Menahem the Florid in the parish of St Peters. The plot of land on which it was situated was described in 1261 as a house and a courtyard with a cellar and a synagogue on it. It is possible that one of the stones, which was found during the last war, was either from its construction or from a nearby Jewish cemetery.[169] The Oxford synagogue was worth 18s-9d per annum in 1290 and was situated not far from the churches of St Aldates and St Frideswide.[170] The Winchester synagogue was valued at about 16s-6d

per annum and was near the present day Royal Oak Passage. Whilst the Winchester burial ground situated outside the Westgate in the area of St James had a yearly value of 2s-6d and possessed what is to the best of our knowledge a unique feature -- a laving stone for corpses worth 4s-0d.[171] At York it appears that there were at least two synagogues in existence during Edward's reign. The first was granted to John Sampson and Roger Basy on 15 November 1279 by Eleanor and was described as 'the whole land with buildings and appurtenances and with a school built therein and with steps leading to the entrance of the said land.' It apparently backed onto the River Ouse. The second synagogue was probably in a house adjoining Le Jewbury.[172] The geographical distribution of burial grounds and synagogues can help to strengthen the pattern of Jewish settlement under Edward I, but it seems it is not complete, as there are other references to synagogues during the thirteenth century in places such as Bristol, Stamford and Cambridge.[173]

These synagogues were important not only as centres of worship but also as centres of education. The synagogues or scolae were the seats of Jewish learning and the whole community was exposed to Jewish education from a young age until death. Jewish children were taught the very basics of religious knowledge by the hazzan or 'reader' in the Beth ha Sepher or the 'House of the Book'. [174] For the male adult's more advanced education there were the yeshiyahs or Beth Talmud of which the scola of Peytevin Magnus was presumably one.[175] As a result of the influence of the synagogues, the three basic precepts of Judaism, the Torah, Talmud and Responsa all circulated widely throughout the Anglo-Jewish colonies and were used every day of the year. The Torah or Scrolls of the Law aroused no anger from Gentiles. In fact, as Canon Stokes observed, 'We meet with it in the synagogue, the home, in public seats of learning, in private libraries as well as in courts of law and in various

tribunals as well as in the pledge shop.'[176] The Jew was allowed to swear on the Torah as the Christian was on the Vulgate. The Talmud, however, had a different reception from Gentile society. The Papacy strongly disapproved of it and as late as 1286 Archbishop Pecham received a papal command to pass on to his bishops: 'that the books commonly called Thalamud which the Jews of England were putting forth as of greater authority than the Law of Moses were to be confiscated.'[177] Suppression of some Jewish literature did take place and as Parkes has observed, 'It is evidence of the ruthless efficiency of the medieval Church that among the tens of thousands of medieval manuscripts which fill the libraries of Europe, America and Israel today there is only one complete medieval copy of the Talmud.'[178] The third precept, the Rabbinical Responsa, were not outlawed. Along with their cabbalistic writings, the Jewish communities presumably managed to conceal them or else Gentiles remained ignorant of them for many centuries. However, all the texts and tenets of Judaism as well as a religious education were widely available for the Anglo-Jew. Two Ketubboth that have survived from the thirteenth century bear witness to the importance Anglo-Jews placed on religious education. The contract made between Yomtob fil Moses and Solomon fil Eliab regarding the marriage of the former's daughter, Ziona, to the latter contains a promise that Yomtob will engage a teacher to instruct Solomon during the first year after his marriage as well as to provide clothes for the week-day and the Sabbath and to support the couple for a year in his house.[179] Another contract made in 1271 in Lincoln shows that the bride's mother gave the couple a monetary dowry and 'a volume on calf skin containing the whole 24 books of the Hebrew Bible properly provided with vowel points and the Masorah, each leaf containing six columns and also having a separate portion with the Targum of the Pentateuch and the Haftaroth.[180] Thus, Jewish education was

clearly paramount in Jewish social life, and the synagogue as purveyor of it was the basis of a significant difference between Jewish and Gentile culture.

The scola was also important as a centre for communal finance and local government. The internal administration of the Jewish communitas was dominated by the synagogue and the wealthier Jews or nadibs of the community.[181] The synagogue functionaries -- the Rabbi, the Hazzan, the Shamash and the Gabbai -- were probably the most influential men of the kahal. [182] It is possible that in Edwardian England they all received salaries and certainly Rahash payments were well-established in the continental communities.[183] At Purim another synagogue functionary, the cantor, received a special donation for reading the Megillah and many other Jewish festivals began with a collection.[184] The Kahal was also responsible for paying two different levies to the Gabbai -- a collection actually taken in the synagogue and a monthly contribution made by each member. Generally, the monthly contributions did not apply to visitors from other towns, although in northern France twelve months residence in a place established a liability to communal levy.[185] The synagogue officials had other funds to administer. These funds were gathered from payments for weddings, funerals, administration of oaths, reciting prayers for the sick or leading the mourners. Funds were also boosted by auctioning the ceremonial rites of the synagogue and selling seats. These communal funds were administered by the Gabbai or Treasurer who co-ordinated the collections made by the gubanim, paid the community officials, and even issued loans with the funds in order to augment the community's income.[186] The Gabbai worked closely with the sh'tallan or liaison officer whose business it was to modify and mollify any unfavourable taxes or legislation imposed by the state.[187] Tallage payments were sometimes paid en bloc from

communal funds and if more were required the Jewish bailiffs or talliators appointed by the state negotiated with the sh'tallan and the Gabbai and spread the financial burden over the whole community.[188] Sometimes synagogue officials were in charge of a bursa communis which would cover the general welfare of the community. It was often used to provide the wherewithal for very poor Jews to be married or buried.[189] Sometimes the community supported its synagogue financially as a corporate body. The Northampton community possessed a communal seal and had an income of an annual rent of 4s-0d from houses which it owned in Stamford. This income went toward the upkeep of the synagogue and the cemetery.[190]

As has been observed by Parkes, the Jewish community was independent and unable to take a lead from a functioning priesthood, a Patriarchal authority or a Jewish sovereign. It therefore attached 'considerable importance to the sanctity of their local customs and traditions within the overall framework of the Bible and the Talmud'. [191] Interpretation and adjustment of law had to be made by the local community. The Talmud puts it succinctly: 'customs-annals-law' and 'everything depends upon local custom'. [192] In terms of the local custom, the Jew was answerable to his peers or the Capitulum Judeis or Beth Din. The Beth Din normally comprised of three appointed officials from the Kahal who were responsible for arbitrating in a whole host of cases such as dowry rights, marriage settlements, the appointment of guardians, land and contract disputes.[193] Lipman's examination of the cases tried before the Norwich Beth Din between 1243 and 1267 shows that the appointments were only temporary.[194] Generally the most influential members of the community would serve on the tribunal. There was no right of appeal and the punishments that could be inflicted ranged from a fine or temporary suspension from access to

the community to full excommunication. Capital punishment did not exist, although flogging could be applied to a guilty party who had been tried by a Beth Din ha Godol or supreme court.[195] The Beth Din of Paris's decisions were considered to be more important than London's,[196] and it would therefore seem from this that the court at York may have been more important than that of Norwich and that the English courts had their own league of importance. For order and organization the Jewish communities had little need for recourse to the host community. The synagogue was thus the spiritual centre of the community which upheld its corporate identity, administered the Jewish law and was the focal point of Jewish life.

The constitutional position of the Jew and governmental legislation

Thus, within medieval English society, the Jew held a position of his own. It was in this context that probably, from their arrival, the Jews had their own charter of rights. Richardson has observed that a charter may have existed in Henry I's reign.[197] Although there were subsequent changes in the legal status of the Jew, in essence his position in relation to the Crown remained the same. The Jew was Crown property. Bracton claimed:

Judaeus vero nihil proprium habere potest,  
quid quicquid acquirit non sibi acquirit sed  
regi quia non vivunt sibi ipsis sed alius et  
sic aliis acquirunt et non sibi ipsis.[198]

Prynne's appraisal of the Jews' status is also helpful in understanding their position. He called them 'the King's most exquisite villeins and bondslaves'. [199] The relationship was also clarified by Maitland who saw the Jew as servus camerae regis. [200] Both Maitland and Prynne are here recognizing the ambiguity of the Jews' relationship to the Crown. Maitland illustrated this point further when he claimed that the Jew was a quasi-slave but that 'the servility was a relative servility -- in relation to all other men the Jew is free.' [201] The Jew was the King's Jew and it is clear

that this special status was often the cause of resentment. In 1164, the clergy complaining about their legal rights showed how liberal the Crown was in its attitude to lay citizens and Jews:

So that for the Jews by the proposed law their oath is the end of all lawsuits whether civil or criminal. Would it not seem to thee unworthy of my lord the King unless the clergy were granted a privilege which is indulged to lay citizens or Jews?[202]

The Crown even made pretence at protecting Jewish rights: 'If we have given our peace even to a dog,' wrote King John, in 1203, when rebuking the Londoners for having molested the Jews, 'it shall be inviolably preserved.'[203] In Edward I's reign, in 1282, the vanquished Welshmen, the sons of Mareduid of Penliti, wrote and complained to Archbishop Pecham that amongst the English even the Jews were allowed to have their own laws:

Significat vero quod omnes Christiani habet leges et consuetudines in eorum propriis terris; Judaei vero inter Anglicos habent leges, ipsi vero in terris suis et eorum antecessores habuerunt leges immutabiles et consuetudines donec Anglici post ultimam guerram ab eis leges suas abstulerunt.[204]

In 1287, when a knight whose manor had been mortgaged to a Jew went to Gascony to seek a judgement from the king himself, Edward, according to several chroniclers, replied, 'sed tibi ceterisque omnibus regni mei aequa lege, ne potior videatur Judaeus quam Christianus, indulgeo'.[205]

The constitutional status of the Anglo-Jew is evidenced by various pieces of legislation which were perhaps primarily concerned with the protection of his role as financier. The earliest surviving charter granted to the Jews by Richard at Rouen on 22 March 1190 illustrates this.[206] The Jews were to be allowed to 'reside in our land freely and honourably and to hold lands, fiefs, pledges, gifts and purchases.' It provided them with legal rights, to royal courts, as well as rights of burial and inheritance. It

also granted them the right 'to receive and buy at any time whatever is brought them except things of the church and blood stained garments.' They were allowed to swear oaths 'upon their book and on their roll' and to sell their pledges after a year and a day. There was no restriction of movement and they enjoyed exemption from customs. The charter finally clarified the Jews' status:

And we order that the Jews throughout all England and Normandy be free of all customs and of tolls and of modulation of wine just like our own chattels and we command you to ward and defend them and protect them.[207]

John re-confirmed this charter in 1201 confirming that any 'breeches of right' that should occur amongst them were to be 'examined and amended amongst themselves according to their law that so they may administer their own justice amongst themselves.'[208]

Richard not only tried to regulate the status of the Jews, but also, in the ordinances of the Jews in 1194, all financial dealings involving Jews. Due to the fact that much of the evidence of the Jews' loans had been burnt in the massacre of 1190 Hubert Walter took action to set up a series of royal archae or archives throughout the country.[209] It is only recently that the archa system has been correctly recognised as the first national public archive and Hubert Walter has been termed the 'Father of English archives'. [210] The Ordinances were mainly concerned with the Jews' financial affairs and provided that all bonds should be legally registered, copied and placed in archae or chests. It established official archivists or chirographers, two Jewish and two Christian in each of six or seven centres who were to witness the making of all loans and maintain lists of the transactions. The Ordinances also laid down the standard format of the bipartite bond which was to be a record of how much was lent and to whom it was lent. Standard charges of 3d for each bond were established; the two scribes were to receive 2d and the keeper of the roll 1d.[211]

The early Henrician legislation regarding the Jews contained in the Statute of 1233 was mainly confined to modifications of lending practice. The final clause of the Statute concerned pawnbroking and forbade any Jew to make a loan on security of church plate or blood-stained clothes or any clothes which had clearly been obtained by force. The Statute also made a reversal of policy over Jewish immigration since, whilst in 1218, the Crown had actually encouraged the Jew to settle in England it now banished him 'nisi talis sit quod regi possit servire et bonos plegios inveniatur de fidelitate'. Those Jews who were to be exiled were to leave by 29 September 1233 or be detained in prison at the royal pleasure.[212]

In 1239, government legislation seems to have been specially aimed at regulating the day to day running of the London archa. A copy of the legislation has survived because it was to remain in the London archa 'in custodia predictorum cirographorum, exemplar suorum agendorum'. It established that archa officials and clerks were to be appointed regularly. It stipulated that the pes of the tripartite chirograph must be placed in an archa within ten days of its date of execution to be valid. It forbade both Christian and Jew to withhold the chirograph from the archa after the tenth day -- the Christian to be in gravi misericordia nostra and the Jew to have his chattels forfeited if they did not comply. It stipulated that:

Item sigillum Christiani, qui debitum illud  
mutuo acceperat, contineat nomen proprium  
ipsius mutuantis, et eo singetur illa pars,  
que in archa debet reponi.

Profit was again regulated at 2d in the pound per week and the Crown now declared a moratorium on Jewish debts. Usury was not allowed to run upon debts payable between 24 June 1239 and Christmas Day 1240. The 1239 legislation also declared a restriction on residence -- all Jews were to remain wherever they lived with their whole family from 29 September 1239 for the period of one year and they were not to be

allowed to move without special licence from the King.[213] It seems that the Crown was trying to contain the Jews for a census. The Lincoln Roll of 1240 (examined below) shows that a scrutiny was taken in that year and the summoning of leading Jews to Worcester in 1240 in order to exact a tallage also points to an attempt to enumerate and evaluate all Jewish assets.[214]

By the mid-century, it was not only the Crown which had an interest in Jewish affairs. In 1244, the barons demanded that their council should be allowed to nominate one of the Justices of the Jews. By 1250, they demanded the reform of the Scaccarium Judaeorum. [215] It seems that as the Crown became unpopular, so the unpopularity of the Jew became greater and as a result, anti-Jewish legislation became harsher. Finally, at the end of January 1253 the Crown issued an official mandate to the Justices of the Jews which laid down edicts which firmiter teneri faciunt. It banished all Jews nisi servicium egis faciat, it stopped the erection of any new synagogues and ordered that suis celebrent submissa voce secundum ritum eorum, ita quod Christiani hoc non audiant. It made the Jews subject to paying parochial dues, forbade them to employ Christian wet-nurses or servants and banned Christians from eating or meeting with them. The sale of meat to Jews during Lent was forbidden. The Jew was banned from disparaging the Christian faith or entering any church or chapel except for the purpose of transit. Sexual intercourse between Christian and Jew was utterly forbidden and was likely to carry a charge of bestiality. The tabula was now officially enforced by the state. Jewish colonization was limited to the towns where they already lived except by special licence. Attempts to dissuade any potential converts to Christianity now carried a penalty. 1253 saw the 'Twenty-Five Points' of medieval England applied to the Anglo-Jew. This Hitlerian mandate is a legal turning point in the definition of the status of the Jew.[216]

Shortly after this, Edward became involved in Jewish affairs. From 1262 he played an increasing role in Jewish policy. Once peace was restored after the Baron's Wars, the Crown had to reconstruct the archa system and build a new confidence in its royal Jews in order to run them at a profit. In 1269, the Provisions of the Jewry drawn up by Edward and Sir Walter de Merton and endorsed by Henry III attempted to solve the complaints of the baronial lobby. The Provisions decreed that all debts to the Jews which were fees which had not been assigned or sold to Christians were to be quit to the debtors who had used them as security. The Jew was then banned from taking any other fee-debts and from selling off any existing ones he owned except with royal licence.[217] Two years later, on 25 July 1271, a special mandate issued to the Justices of the Jews forbade Jews to have a freehold in manors, lands, tenements, fees or tenures of any kind. This only left the Jews cash and commodities in which they could legally deal and possibly resulted in higher interest charges on loans. According to the same mandate, the Jews were allowed to continue dwelling in their own houses but any other houses in their possession were only to be let to Jewish tenants. The mandate also stipulated that all fee debts, lands and tenures which the Jews had been enfeoffed of before 1271 were to be discharged as quickly as possible and that the Christians involved were to pay off the principle only. A final clause forbade Christians to serve Jews as nurses, bakers, brewers and cooks quia Judei et Christiani in cultu fidei dispares sunt. [218] It was against the background of these legislative measures that Edward was to deal with Jewish problems in his reign. The story of the Jews' financial dealings under Edward I as will be examined below is but an example of how quickly they adapted to the two laws which have been called the Edwardian Experiment -- the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275 and the Chapitres Tuchauuz le Gewerie which revised the

position and status of the Jew in society as it had been established before Edward's reign. These laws will also be considered in some length and detail below.

#### Canonical legislation and the mission to the Jews

The Jews were not only a subject of concern to the Crown but also to the Papacy and the Church. The rulings against the Jews made at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 were introduced into England in 1222 at the Council of Oxford by Archbishop Langton.[219] Henceforth no cohabitation between Christian and Jew was to be allowed, no Christian was to be employed by a Jew in any capacity, the tabula was to be worn. There is evidence that these early anti-Jewish measures were strictly enforced in the dioceses of Lincoln and Norwich. And in fact, the English bishops seem to have been generally aware of Jewish presence in their sees and the problems which they thought this presence brought with it. The Bishop of Chichester, Richard de la Wich, issued orders that the Jews of his diocese should not build any new synagogues, and that they should wear the tabula. He also prohibited his Christian flock from living with Jews.[220] In 1240, Bishop William de Cantilupe of Worcester decreed that no Christian woman should be employed as a wet-nurse by the Jews, that no Christian should give money to the Jews to use for purposes of usury and that no Jews' goods should be kept or received in any church.[221] In 1256, the Bishop of Salisbury complained bitterly that the prohibition that stopped Christian women from acting as wet-nurses to Jewish children was not being observed and threatened future transgressions with excommunication.[222] In 1261, the Council of Lambeth tried to further the Church's power over the Jews and ruled that a delinquent Jew should reply in things ecclesiastical to Church Law.[223] Finally, three years before the Expulsion, in 1287, the Council of

Exeter once again banned Christians from working in Jewish households, forbade eating meals with Jews, prohibited sick Christians from accepting medicine from any Jew, restricted the Jews to their houses on Good Friday, even making them keep their windows shut, curtailed the erection of new synagogues and again enforced the badge.[224] The constant repetition by the Church of similar restrictions upon the Jews reflects both the Church's concern and the fact that the policy of segregation was not wholly successful.

In Spain, the Dominicans learnt Hebrew from converted Jews and under Raymond de Penaforte set about unravelling the mysteries of Judaism to assist them in their aim of mass conversion.[225] In France, the Talmud was explored by the University of Paris under the guidance of a converted Jew, Nicholas Donin, who reported his findings to Gregory IX.[226] In 1239, he induced the Pope to issue papal bullae ordering all copies of the Talmud in France, England, and Spain should be seized and a public inquiry concerning the charges against the book to be held.[227] Innocent IV later confirmed that the Talmud 'is an immense book, exceeding the text of the Bible in size in which there are blasphemies against God and His Christ and against the Blessed Virgin, fables that are manifestly beyond all explanation, erroneous abuses and unheard of stupidities.'[228] In England, the Oxford Franciscan, Roger Bacon, urged the study of Hebrew because he claimed that large numbers of Jews were being held back from Christianity because no one knew how to preach to them in their own language.[229]

However, the initial campaign against Judaism had no real effect on the Jewish problem. The papal bull Turbato corde, published in 1268, seems to intimate that things were going the other way and Christians were showing more than a healthy interest in Judaism.[230] The Papacy now opened a bitter conflict between the

two religions which involved granting the Inquisition powers to deal with the Jews, and in August 1278, Pope Nicholas III began a new crusade which was to be carried out largely by the Franciscans and the Dominicans with the bull Vinei Soreth velut, which prescribed sermons and other means for the conversion of the Jews.[231]

It was thus under Edward I that the English Church's mission to the Anglo-Jews gathered impetus. At the same time as the Statutum de Judeismo was issued, orders were given to enlarge the Domus Conversorum in London.[232] On 10 May 1279 Edward decreed that all relapsed converts from Judaism were to be subject to the secular arm.[233] In January 1280, he endorsed the Dominicans' wish for the forced attendance of Jewish communities at their religious instructions.[234] In mid-1280 he offered would-be Jewish converts to Christianity an attractive compromise in that, from now on, they would be allowed to keep half the value of their possessions with the other half going to the Domus Conversorum instead of all their possessions going into the royal coffers.[235] At the same time, although generally at loggerheads with Archbishop Pecham, Edward gave him support in his relentless pursuit of thirteen relapsed converts. Between 1281 and 1283 Pecham continued his anti-Jewish campaign.[236] And yet in 1285 the clergy complained in the Easter parliament that nothing was being done about the matter of apostate Jews.[237] In 1286, Pope Honorius IV addressed a letter to the English bishops in which he blamed apostasies not on hasty or forced conversions but on Jews who were still teaching the Talmud. [238] It seems that, despite its efforts, the Church was failing to bring about the mass conversion it desired and to assimilate the Jews into Christendom.

The fact that the number of inmates in the Domus Conversorum did not increase dramatically during this period and the absence of a body of conversi in late thirteenth-century England testify to the failure of the English Church's mission.[239] The Jewish communities had as much disregard for apostates as they had hatred for an informer.[240] An apostate was regarded by the Jews as having died and was openly mourned. All familial relationships were broken off and inheritance rights were made void.[241] Whilst Edward made it more attractive for a Jew to convert, it seems that the communal spirit could not be broken by the king's dole of 1 1/2d a day. Despite the mandate in 1253 that no Jew should impede any other Jew who wished to be converted, several instances of displeasure on the part of the Jewish communities can be found.[242] In 1274, the Canterbury Jews kidnapped Juliana, an unfortunate Jewess, who had converted.[243] In 1290, the Oxford Jews, in one of the few examples of Jews rioting, rose and attacked a converted Jew who was collecting the poll-tax for the Domus Conversorum. [244] As late as 1290 the London Jews objected vehemently to the baptism of a Jewish boy in St Clement's Church because they had not given their permission.[245] The more pressure used on the Jews the more their spirit strengthened. It is likely that their refusal to assimilate had a part in the final decision to expel them from England. The Jews of Edwardian England remained true to themselves and it is an irony that their memory is preserved not in any Memorbuch or martyrology but in their financial bonds and fines that are the main source of this study.

It has thus been established that in thirteenth-century England there were many socio-cultural differences between Jew and Gentile. By the reign of Edward I, it was clear that neither Church nor State had solved the Jewish problem. In defining a position in English society for the Jew, successive governments had been careful to bear

in mind the importance of the financial position that the Jew occupied. It is this unique financial position of the Jew which will now be examined in greater detail.

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- [1] J. Ross, Annales Lincolniensis, 3, pp.248-249, Lincoln Public Library (Ross Collection). For the original source of Ross's quote see also D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, 2, p180.  
 [2] Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes, p277.  
 [3] De Bloissiers Tovey, Anglia Judaica, p233 H.W., Anglo-Judaeus, p27.

'King Edward also cleansing his territories of the Jews as so many locusts, had before commanded whilst beyond the seas that the other parts of Aquitaine should likewise be swept of them.'

Thomas Walsingham, Historia Anglicana p31.

- [4] H.G. Richardson, The English Jewry under Angevin Kings (Hereafter Richardson), p213.  
 [5] British Library Manuscript Cotton Nero D II folio 183.  
 [6] Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, Commendatio Lamentabilis 2, 14.

'O magnanime rex Edwarde, tu primicerius noster in bello, tu dux in castris et bravium cursus nostri ut Moyses fide grandis, dum manus expandis ad sydera, a populo Israhelitico Amalech devincitur, a Josue Jericho subvertitur, et ab Edwardo villa Berewici super Twede una hora diei acquiritur necnon cum exercitu Pharaores Neustriae plebs tota nautica pelago uno die submergitur.....'.

- [7] C. Roth, 'The Middle period of Anglo-Jewish History 1290-1655 - reconsidered', T.J.H.S.E., 19, pp1-12. L. Wolf, 'Jews in Elizabethan England', T.J.H.S.E., 11, p1-91.  
 [8] J. Speed, History of Great Britain p545. De Bloissiers Tovey, Anglia Judaica p234.  
 [9] J. Stow, Annales, 1, p204.  
 [10] J. Leland, Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p321. H.W., Anglo-Judaeus, p25.  
 [11] H.W., Anglo-Judaeus, p25.  
 [12] Richardson, p228  
 [13] C. Roth, A History of the Jews in England (Hereafter Roth), p85.  
 [14] P.R.O. E/101/250/11  
 [15] P.R.O. E/101/250/12  
 [16] H.P. Stokes, 'Extracts from the Close Rolls 1289-1368', Misc. T.J.H.S.E. px.  
 [17] C.P.R. 1290, p378.  
 [18] C.P.R. 1290, p381.  
 [19] C.P.R. 1290, p382.  
 [20] The Register of John Le Romeyn 1286-1296, Surtees Society, 123, p109.  
 [21] C.P.R. 1290, p379.  
 [22] C.P.R. 1290, p381.  
 [23] Chronicon Domini Walteri de Hemingburgh, p21-22. Rapin, Acta Regia, 1, p364. C.C.R. 1293, p295.  
 [24] M. Adler, 'The History of the Domus Conversorum 1232-1290' in Jews of Medieval England, p306.  
 [25] C.C.R. 1290, p99.  
 [26] C.C.R. 1290, p145.  
 The majority of the original writs concerned with property have survived as P.R.O. E/101/249/27.  
 [27] Details of the arrival of the archae from the provinces have

- survived as P.R.O. E/101/249/29.
- [28] Ibid.
- [29] These lists form P.R.O. E/101/250/2 - E/101/250/12.
- [30] Statutes of the Realm - Statute 2 Edward III, p255.
- [31] Examples of different surviving sources can be found in: P.R.O. E/101/249/27, P.R.O. E/101/249/30, P.R.O. E/101/250/1 and B.L.Mss Additional 24511 and Lansdowne 826 fos.28-64.
- [32] C.P.R. 1290, p410.
- [33] P.R.O. E/101/250/1 and B.L.Mss. Additional 24511.
- [34] Ibid.
- [35] P.R.O. E/401/115, P.R.O. E/401/117, P.R.O. E/401/119.
- [36] Colchester C.P.R. 1293, p18. Coventry Calendar of Fine Rolls 1318, p388. Cambridge Calendar of Fine Rolls 1319, p397.
- [37] C.C.A. Eastry Correspondence IV No.13.
- [38] C.C.R. 1294, p368.
- [39] R.B. Dobson, 'The decline and Expulsion of the Medieval Jews of York' T.J.H.S.E., 26, p48.
- [40] B.L.Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64. Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviato, 1, p73-76.
- [41] The assessment made in July 1255 can be found in C.P.R. 1255, pp439-440. Details of the arrears and further assessments in October 1255 can be found in C.P.R. 1255, pp441-444.
- [42] Evidence for the tallage receipts in 1253 derived from P.R.O. E/401/20 and for 1260 P.R.O. E/401/43.
- [43] M.B. Honeybourne, 'The pre-Expulsion cemetery of the Jews in London' T.J.H.S.E., 20, p158.
- [44] P.R. Hyams, 'The Jewish minority in Medieval England 1066-1290' J.J.S., 25/26, p271.
- [45] V.D. Lipman 'Jews and castles in medieval England' T.J.H.S.E., 21, p67-68.
- [46] Richardson pp17-22. V.D. Lipman, 'The anatomy of Medieval Anglo Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, pp67-68.
- [47] P.R. Hyams, 'The Jewish minority in Medieval England 1066-1290' J.J.S., 25/26, p271.
- [48] R.B. Dobson, 'The Decline and Expulsion of the Medieval Jews of York' T.J.H.S.E., 26, pp37-38.
- [49] L. Rabinowitz, The social life of the Jews of Northern France in the XII to XIV centuries., p31.
- [50] R.B. Dobson, 'The Decline and Expulsion of the Medieval Jews of York' T.J.H.S.E., 26, p37. R. Chazan, 'Jewish settlement in Northern France 1096-1306' R.E.J., 128, p59.
- [51] Richardson, p13 and following.
- [52] Roth, p72. It appears that Jews did live in non-archa towns. For this privilege they had, of course, to pay for special licences. In 1272, Jews from Bottisham and Holm in Cambridgeshire paid fines, (Rigg, pp68-69). In 1272, there were at least two Jews living in Basingstoke, (P.R.E.J.1, p277). Another paid to live there in 1273, (P.R.E.J.2, p104). Hagin fil Isaac, qui vocat Benedict Bateman was also living in Basingstoke, (P.R.E.J.2, p297). Another Jew paid to reside at Berkhamstead, (P.R.E.J.2, p144). In 1275, Josce Bundy of Rayleigh in Essex was arrested for having dwelt there without a licence, (Rigg, p82). Again in 1275, at least one Jew lived in Abergavenny, (P.R.E.J.2, p144). C. Gross, 'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages' Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887, pp188-190.
- [53] Rigg, pxliv.
- [54] C.P.R. 1275, p76. Rigg, p85.
- [55] Statutes of the Realm, 1, pp220-221.
- [56] Roth, p72.
- [57] Ibid. C.P.R. 1277, p240.
- [58] C.C.R. 1284, p256.
- [59] C.C.R. 1275, pp259, 260. C.C.R. 1276, pp362, 370, 376, 382, 385, 389.

- [60] Three basic attempts have been made to list the places that Jews lived during the first Anglo Jewish colony. Jacobs, pp373-381, Roth, p277, M. Gilbert, Jewish History Atlas, p40.
- [61] M.W. Farr (edited) Accounts and surveys of the Wiltshire lands of Adam de Stratton Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 15, p xviii-xix, 14, 31, 39, 50, 62, 73, 83, 93, 102, 121, 202, 212, 221.
- [62] P.R.O. E/401/75.
- [63] R.B Pugh (edited) Gaol delivery and Trailbaston 1275-1306 Wiltshire Record Society, 33, p35.
- [64] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Crime and Jews in late thirteenth century England: some cases and comments' Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of Jewish Studies p14.
- [65] P.R.O. Justices Itinerant 1/303 m63 dorse. Kindly communicated by Mme. Z.E. Rokeah.
- [66] R. Parker, Men of Dunwich, p151.
- [67] P.R.E.J.3, p43.
- [68] See above notes [2],[9],[11].
- [69] V.D. Lipman, 'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, p65. See also Lipman's note 12 p76-77.
- [70] Ibid.
- [71] C.P.R. 1280, p371. M. Adler, 'The History of the Domus Conversorum 1232-1290' in Jews of Medieval England, p300. P.R.O. E/101/249/24.
- [72] P.R.O. E/101/249/27, P.R.O. E/101/249/30, B.L.Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64.
- [73] P.R.O. E/101/250/2 - P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [74] J. Trachtenburg, The Devil and the Jews, p12.
- [75] M. Paris, Historia Anglorum, 3, p103.
- [76] Richard of Devizes Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, 3, p383.
- [77] W. Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, Act II, Scene II, line 27 and Act III, Scene I, line 22.
- [78] M. Paris, Chronica Majora, 3, pp161-163.
- [79] Ibid.5, p341.
- [80] Ibid.4, pp131-133.
- [81] N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, pp19-20. J. Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews p34 and following.
- [82] R. Melinkoff, 'The round shaped hats depicted on Jews in B.M. Cotton Claudius Biv' Anglo-Saxon England, 2, pp155-167. R. Strauss 'The Jewish Hat as an aspect of social history' Jewish Social Studies, 4, pp59-72. G. Kisch, 'The Yellow Badge in Jewish History' Historia Judaica, 19, pp91-101. The cornutum pileum was supposedly never worn in England but it is clearly depicted on P.R.O. E/401/87. The tabula (In England the Ten Commandments) is clearly visible on P.R.O. Essex Forest Roll 1277 and B.L.Mss. Cottonian Nero D.2.
- [83] Z. Rokeah, 'Drawings of Jewish interest in some thirteenth century English Public Records' Scriptorium, 26, pp55-62. C. Roth, 'Portraits and Caricatures of Medieval English Jews' The Jewish Monthly, 4, Supplement, pp1-viii. V.D. Lipman, 'The Roth 'Hake' Manuscript' Remember the Days - Essays in Honour of Cecil Roth (edited J.M. Shaftesley), pp49-71.
- [84] Various examples of this genre are still extant. There are two statues on either side of the 'Judgement Porch' on the south side of Lincoln Cathedral which might have represented 'Church' and 'Synagogue'. In the summer of 1983 they were boarded up and protected but it seems likely that they did portray this genre. The Porch was begun in the late 1250s soon after the Little St Hugh Affair (1255) and was completed in 1280. There are also two statues dating from the fourteenth century on the Chapter House doorway at Rochester Cathedral. European examples are extant at Strasbourg (Cathedral) and Trier (Liebfrauenkirche). L. Edwards, 'Some English

- examples of the Medieval representation of Church and Synagogue' T.J.H.S.E., 18, pp63-75.
- [85] *Ibid.* Paintings on the roof of the Chapter House at York have also survived showing the Synagogue.
- [86] E.A. Synan, The Popes and Jews in the Middle Ages, p104.
- [87] Roth, p40.
- [88] D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae, 1, p591.
- [89] Rigg, pxliv. Statutes of the Realm, 1, pp220-221.
- [90] Roth, p78. D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae, 3, p155.
- [91] J. Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews, pp6, 12.
- [92] For Kabbalah see G.C. Scholem, On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism, Z'Ev ben Shimon, The way of the Kabbalah. For Mazzuzah see 'Mezuzah' Encyclopaedia Judaica, 11, pp1474-1477.
- [93] J. Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews, p68.
- [94] *Ibid.* p212.
- [95] *Ibid.* p100.
- [96] De Bloissiers Tovey, Anglia Judaica, p104.
- [97] J. Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews, p151.
- [98] Lipman, pp59-62. Jacobs, p216.
- [99] J. Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews, pp47-49, 116. The foetor Judaicus is a belief which lasted in Europe until the late 1950s.
- [100] E.A. Synan, The Popes and Jews in the Middle Ages, pp114-115. G. I. Langmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young St Hugh of Lincoln', Speculum, 47, pp479-480.
- [101] J. Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews, p164.
- [102] L.M. Friedman, Robert Grosseteste and the Jews, p22.
- [103] Bishop Robert Grosseteste, Epistolae, pp33-37.
- [104] F.D. Logan, 'Thirteen London Jews and Conversion to Christianity: problems of apostasy in the 1280s' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 45, pp214-229.
- [105] Archbishop John Pecham, Epistolae, 1, pp212-213.
- [106] *Ibid.* 1, p239.
- [107] *Ibid.* 2, pp407-410.
- [108] *Ibid.* 3, p937.
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## Chapter II

### The Financial Value of the Jew to the Crown

'There will come a Christian by  
will be worth a Jewesses' eye.'

Thus, quipped Shylock's servant in The Merchant of Venice. [1] Almost four hundred years after the Bristol tallage of 1210, the event to which this quip alludes, Shakespeare and the general populace seem to have considered the Jews to be uniformly wealthy. [2] Indeed this single misrepresentation linking wealth to Judaism has had its own influence in colouring our own society's view of the Jew. [3] It is therefore not surprising that the general preconception upon which Shakespeare's view was based has also influenced the historian's approach to the Jew. Many modern historians of thirteenth-century Anglo-Jewry have alluded to the financial importance of the Jews to the Crown's revenues. In this context, Jacobs, paraphrasing a seventeenth-century pamphleteer, referred to them as a 'financial sponge' which the Crown could squeeze when money was short. [4] Gross claimed that the king 'fleeced them to the quick', but was also eager to point out that the people would have 'flayed them to the bone'. [5] Roth referred to them as the 'King's Milch Cow'. [6] However, few historians have ventured further than the sort of cursory investigations of the financial importance of the Jews which gave rise to the above statements, and few have actually tested, in this respect, the Stubbsian/Sombartian linkage of Jews and capital. [7] The records of the Scaccarium Judaeorum, 'a judicial tribunal and a financial bureau' [8], have preserved a fairly complete picture of Jewish affairs both in terms of cases brought by Jews or against Jews and in terms of the financial aspects of taxation and tallage. When referring to these records, Sir Hilary Jenkinson noted that, 'it is remarkable that the records, dull, no doubt, and repetitious at times but plentiful and detailed, have not

been comprehensively worked.'[9] This chapter attempts to examine the evidence of the financial relationship between the Jews and the Crown from these records from the point of view of what the Jews had to pay the Crown during the reign of Edward I. The evidence is thus primarily concerned with the negative side of the Jew's financial activities: his overheads, deficits and payment of taxes. As has been observed already, the Jew was the property of the Crown and so were any valuables owned by him or any money saved by him. In paying money to the royal coffer, the Edwardian Jew was rendering unto Caesar that which was Caesar's in the truest sense.

Gross divided the fiscal operations of the Scaccarium Judaeorum, or the 'Engine of Extortion' as he preferred to call it, into four main categories: tallages, fines, reliefs and escheats.[10] It is important to consider each of these areas in order to build up a complete picture of Jewish overheads. An investigation of these categories has to be based on two kinds of sources: the Receipt and Plea Rolls of the highly specialized Scaccarium Judaeorum and the Receipt Rolls, Plea Rolls, Patent and Close Rolls of the other numerous governmental departments which had no specific responsibility for dealings with the Jews. The first sources abound with mentions of fines, tallages, amercements, confiscations, licences and other penalties imposed on the Jews. The latter sources only contain occasional mentions of Jewish revenues but this information can be isolated from the general records and can then be linked in with what is available from the more 'Jewish' records.

## Tallages

The thirteenth-century tallages on the Jews have been closely considered by Elman, Roth, Jenkinson, and more recently, Richardson.[10] A good starting point for any investigation into Jewish tallages can be made by examining Elman's work. He tried to break down the tallages into four phases and then drew conclusions concerning the average amount of tallage assessed per annum (see tables below). He was closely followed by Roth and they both used tallage assessments to reach conclusions about the financial burdens upon the Jews.[13] Elman thought that he detected a pattern in the assessments:

The imposition of tallage became severer and more frequent towards the forties of the century; it fell off during the Baronial wars to rise to its apex around the year 1275. There appears to have been a more or less close synchronization between the rise and fall of the Jewish tallages and the general history of the thirteenth century.'[14]

At first sight, Elman's synchronization theory seems to be correct and can be verified by a glance at the graph below, which breaks down the tallage assessments into annual figures. Certainly in Edward's reign -- the crusade, the works on the royal castles, and the Welsh wars can be used to explain increases in tallage assessment. There are, however, specific difficulties in Elman's approach. There is a danger that in placing the apex at around 1275 he undervalues the importance of the tallage of 1287.[15] There is also the difficulty that Elman, like so many others, generally relies too much on the evidence of the tallage assessed rather than the tallage collected. Richardson, in his investigation of tallages, was more cautious and tended to look at the actual amounts received by the Exchequer.[16] To gain a better idea of the Jews' financial value this must be done.

Annual Tallage Averages during the thirteenth  
century - according to Elman.

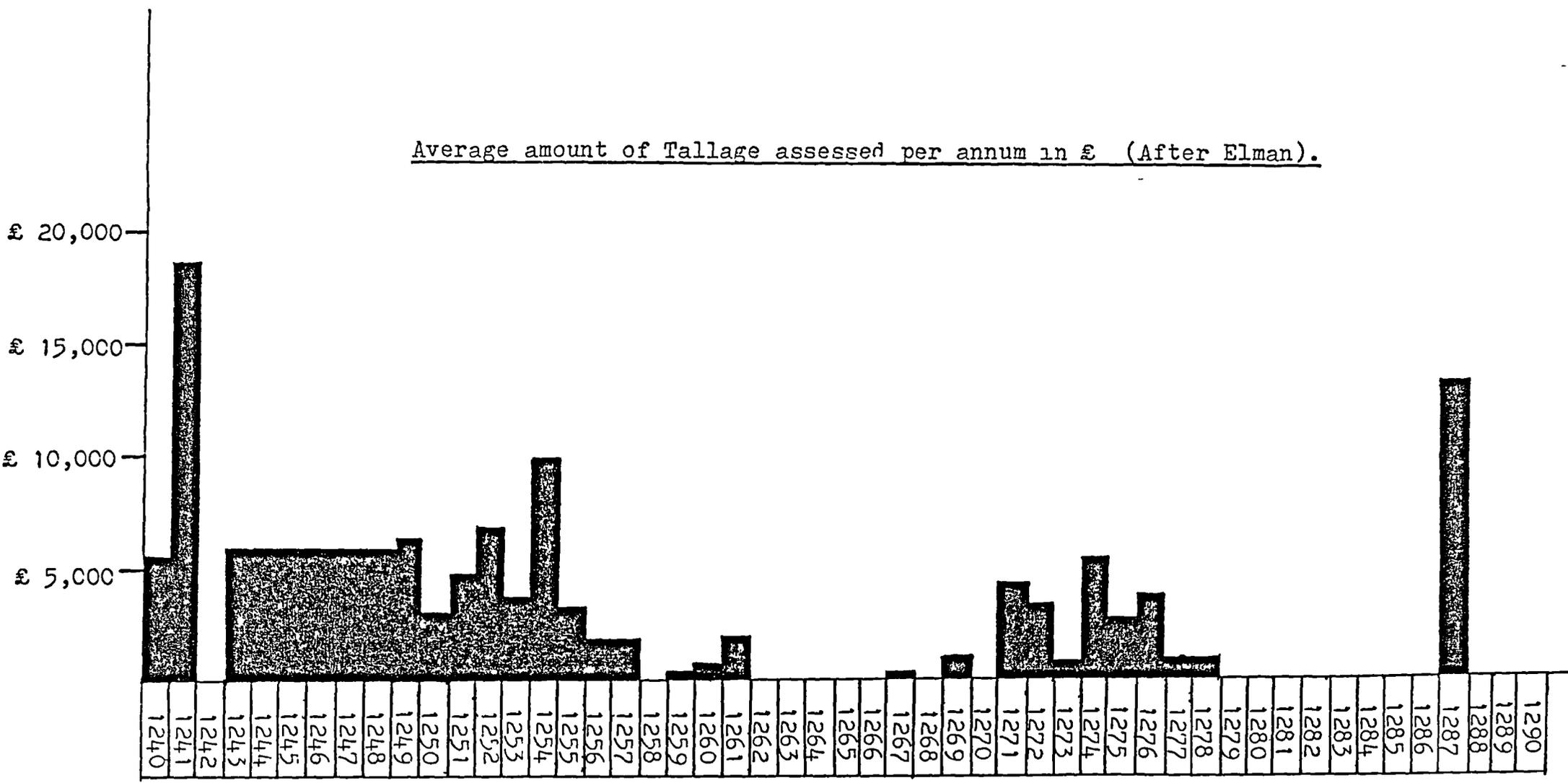
Period.	Amount Assessed in marks.	Amount Assessed in £ s d.
1221-1231	3000 marks	£ 2000 0s 0d
1233-1257	7000 marks	£ 4666 13s 4d
1259-1269	600 marks	£ 400 0s 0d
1271-1290	2500 marks	£ 1666 13s 4d

Edwardian Tallage Assessments - according to Elman.

Years.	Amount Assessed in marks.	Amount Assessed in £ s d.
April 1272	5000 marks	£ 3333 6s 8d
April 1273	1000 marks	£ 666 13s 4d
1274	4000 marks	£ 2666 13s 4d
1274-1276	12500 marks	£ 8333 6s 8d
September 1276	1500 marks	£ 1000 0s 0d
1277-1278	3000 marks	£ 2000 0s 0d
May 1287	20000 marks	£ 13333 6s 8d

Source:- P. Elman, ' The economic causes of the Expulsion  
of the Jews in 1290 ', Economic History Review  
7 pp 146,154.

Average amount of Tallage assessed per annum in £ (After Elman).



Between the opposite poles of 'tallage assessed' and 'tallage collected' there is a whole range of intricate dealings, mystery and unanswered questions. Payments for tallage do not necessarily appear on one special roll. Not all tallage payments were in cash. Payments for tallage could be hidden in payments made by officials and labelled by the Exchequer scribes as simply de debitis pluribus Judeis. However, despite these caveats, it is still worth while to try to pick out the relevant tallages and to attempt to examine the Crown's income. In any such investigation, it is also important to differentiate between tallage and non-tallage Receipt Rolls.[17] Thus, throughout, detailed attention must be given to the headings and context of each roll.

The sorts of evidence that testify to a tallage on the Jewry can be of four kinds. First, the actual document recording part or all of the financial gain for the Crown has in some cases survived.[18] Second, the Patent Rolls have preserved the orders and appointments of special commissioners for the tallage.[19] Third, since most of the scholars who have studied Jewish royal revenues seem agreed that the continued scrutinies of the archae nearly always preceded the tallage and as such the scrutiny represents the Crown's pulse on the state of Jewish finances, there is the evidence of some of the surviving scrutinies.[20] Fourth, in some cases chronicle and other evidence records that a tallage took place.[21]

A little is known of the actual mechanism of the tallage. It was a capricious tax which the Crown declared that it was going to levy, ordered officials to collect, and then simply took the money from its Jewish subjects and transferred it to royal coffers.[22] It is also known that the machinery for collection directly involved Jews who were appointed to aid the Exchequer officials.[23] In each town a talliator was appointed and he was to apportion the burden of

the tallage as fairly as he could upon his brethren.[24] The cash was paid either to a local official or a man of position, like the abbot or prior, or the sheriff of the county; in some cases, it was paid directly to the Scaccarium Judaeorum at Westminster.[25] Throughout the following examination of the Edwardian tallage collections, an attempt will be made to reveal the total recorded amount collected by each tallage, to highlight the contributions made by the Jewish communities of Kent, Herefordshire and Lincolnshire, and to comment on any points of interest arising out of the documentation which Jenkinson dubbed 'dull and repetitious'.[26] At the end of this survey of Edwardian tallage, it is hoped to have a better picture of 'national' Jewish tallage payments and those of the three different communities, which will be the subjects of more detailed study later in this thesis.[27]

#### The Last Henrician Tallage: 1272-1273

In the early months of 1272, Henry III had ordered a new tallage of the Jews to be made. This tallage was probably to contribute towards the expense of his son Edward's crusade. The tallage was assessed at five thousand marks or £3333-6s-8d.[28] It seems that many Jews were either unable or unwilling to pay and subsequently many were imprisoned in the Tower of London. By September 1272 only £1333-6s-8d had been collected.[29] On 20 November 1272, when Henry died, the royal council carried over a substantial balance of arrears of tallage upon the Jews. After January 1273 the arrears of the tallage were paid into the Receipt and some of the cash was used to pay royal officials by an authorization of the late king.[30] From Herefordshire there was only one contributor, Aaron Le Blund, who, at this period was imprisoned in the Tower. However he managed to contribute a total of £60-0s-0d in five payments. Four of the payments were made on

his behalf by William Sholle,[31] John of Norwich and Adam Beraud, clients of his who were forced to pay up the debts they owed him. From Kent came a total contribution of £71-0s-0d. Vyves of Canterbury paid £40-0s-0d whilst in three different payments the three sons of Salle gave £31-0s-0d. From Lincolnshire there were three Jewish contributors: Sampson fil Magri who gave £15-0s-0d at Lincoln; Elias fil Manasser who gave £10-0s-0d at Lincoln; and Diey of Stamford who gave £10-0s-0d at Stamford. However Sampson fil Magri and Elias fil Manasser were forced to make further contributions of £15-0s-0d and £10-0s-0d respectively at Stamford. The total Lincolnshire contribution was £60-0s-0d. The prominent Lincoln Jew Benedict (who is described in the roll as son of Hagin of Marlborough) paid three contributions in London totalling £9-19s-8d. In fact, this roll is particularly unusual because it is one of the few sources to reveal the payments made by London Jews who gave a total of £404-1s-3d and also included some of the wealthiest Jews in the land: Vyves fil Magister Moses, Jacob of Oxford, Magister Samuel de Loun, Leo fil Preciosa and Aaron Crespyn. A massive contribution of £304-0s-0d was made by Hagin fil Magister Moses and was paid in four installments by his Christian debtor Walter de Furneus. At the other extreme, the roll also reveals a rather small contribution made by the Northampton community of £1-0s-0d paid by 'two poor Jews of Northampton'.[32] While therefore this roll is a particularly informative one, it is, however, incomplete because it does not contain all the tallage payments made in response to the assessment, since the contribution of Benedict of Winchester remained unpaid until June 1275 when Edward himself allowed £60-0s-0d of Benedict's assessment of £100-0s-0d to be paid by a bond made between the Jew and William de Appletrefeld and which the king then acquitted. The bond was accepted as part payment 'for the £100 that remain to be rendered of his tallage of the 5000 marks

assessed upon the community of the Jews of London in the late king's time'. . . Once the king had accepted £60-0s-0d by bond he then ordered the Justices of the Jews 'to cause the remaining £40-0s-0d to be levied of the more clear debts of Benedict for the king's use'.[33]

#### The First Tallage of Edward's Reign

In December 1272 Edward's government ordered a scrutiny of the king's Chest of the Jewry at Westminster.[34] This scrutiny, made at the very hub of the organization of the king's Jewry, shows some of the administrative aids used by the officials concerned with the Jews. It reveals two large rolls of fines to be paid, two large rolls of various sheriff's accounts, six rolls of various debts to Jews in a certain bag and one large roll of the same debts which formerly had been sent to Henry III. It also refers to a canvas bag with all the charters from the Treasury, both sealed and unsealed, and one official seal pertaining to the Scaccarium Judaeorum. Finally, it mentions a pyx which contained the king's writ for levying the tallage (presumably the writ of Henry III for the previous tallage).[35] Soon after this inspection, in February 1273, special commissioners were appointed to make a scrutiny of the archae in nineteen different towns.[36] The first tallage of Edward I's reign followed soon afterwards. A list of the contributors to this tallage has survived as P.R.O. E/101/249/16. The executor of the tallage was the Bishop of Waterford, Stephen de Fulburn, who, it appears, also paid £6-13s-4d for the tallage contribution of Magister Elias, a Jew of London, presumably because he was indebted to him. The bishop was also aided in the collection of the tallage by two of the king's clerks, Adam de Stratton and William of Middleton, the officials who had made the scrutiny of the king's Chest of the Jewry in the preceding December.[37]

The roll recording the actual payments of the tallage is unique in form.[38] It contains a list of approximately 362 entries of payments. The entries are not under county headings as is normal with tallage collection but listed only by each contributor's name. The tallage was, as usual, highly organised and on the dorse of the second membrane there is a breakdown of the contributions of nineteen different towns. It is also clear that certain local officials were to collect the tallage in cash and then they were to make payment to the king. The Lincoln contribution was to be delivered by the prior of St Catherine's, the Wilton contribution was to be delivered by the abbot of Walton, the Hereford contribution was to be delivered by the Master of the Hospital of Dinmore.[39] The names of the Jewish contributors are of interest: occupational names such as Vyves le Romanger and Bonamy fil David le Romangur, Josce clericus Master Elias, Isaac of Norwich medicus and Samson le Bucher appear. It also records Jews who seem to have connections with places which were not significant towns like Dunmow, Marlowe, Newbury, Doncaster, Stratford, Horndon, Holme, Royston, Bridgenorth and 'Doggestrete'. It seems likely that some of the payments were made on behalf of the Jewish communities through the Jewish talliators: Isaac fil Abraham de Berkhamstead de tallagis Marlborough £1-0s-0d and Aaron fil Josce de tallagis de Stanford £1-0s-0d might perhaps indicate a collection made from the poorer Jews. The list also includes forty payments made by Christians for debts to Jews. The total amount collected from this tallage was £1434-6s-7d and the breakdown of contributions from the various towns is reproduced in the table below.[40] The tallage may have meant pecuniary difficulties for some Jews. In February 1274, Aaron de la Rye of London was granted a licence to sell some of his houses after he had already made a payment of over £18-6s-2d at the collection of the London tallage, and perhaps this was how he met

Receipts of a Tallage on the Jews paid at the  
New Temple, London in 1274.

Town.	Amount.
Canterbury	£ 327 2s 0 1/2 d
Winchester	£ 218 8s 1 d
Oxford	£ 180 10s 0 d
Exeter	£ 100 0s 0 d
Lincoln	£ 67 13s 3 d
Northampton	£ 64 16s 6 d
Nottingham	£ 60 13s 11 d
York	£ 60 0s 0 d
Norwich	£ 48 10s 11 d
Bristol	£ 46 10s 11 d
Cambridge	£ 43 0s 0 d
Hereford	£ 40 5s 4 d
Warwick	£ 39 0s 0 d
Colchester	£ 37 17s 7 d
Marlborough	£ 35 7s 1 1/2 d
Worcester	£ 27 14s 3 d
Bedford	£ 17 10s 0 d
Wilton	£ 10 0s 1 d
Gloucester	£ 9 6s 7 d
	£ 1434 6s 7d
	=====

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/249/16.

further tallage payments.[41] But despite this, by June 1274 Edward was again in need of money and he ordered Stephen de Fulburn to pay £2000-0s-0d to Luke de Lucca so that the king's merchant might send it to Paris to await the return of the triumphant crusader who had defeated the heretic.[42]

It was again Stephen de Fulburn, Stratton and Middleton whom the king ordered in October 1274 to levy the arrears of the tallage.[43] He granted them the power to levy the money on the Jews' debts and goods and to threaten them with exile. In November 1274 he appointed Stephen de Fulburn, Brother Luke of Hemmington and William de Middleton to levy the arrears of the tallage. This time non-payment was to be dealt with in the following manner:

And if any Jew fail to pay on the day appointed him, they shall cause him to leave the realm with his wife and children except those children which are in tallage and have paid; and they shall assign such Jews the Port of Dover within three days after the day of payment to depart never to return, their lands, houses, rents and all the goods of them and theirs to be saved to the king.[44]

### The Great Tallage

These orders were a sign of things to come in what both historians and contemporary documents refer to as the Great Tallage.[45] The Great Tallage has left behind it the largest amount of documentary evidence for any thirteenth-century tallage imposed upon the Jews. Four lists (excluding duplicates) of the receipts of tallage payments, two memoranda rolls which are primarily concerned with tallage payment and collection, many fragments of lists, and evidence that many Jews were imprisoned for failure to pay the tallage are reminders of the pressure put upon the Jews to fill the royal coffers.[46] One of the lists of the actual tallage collections in each county has also survived from this period. The return from Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire is extant, although in

bad condition.[47]

The four lists of tallage receipts reveal several different methods of payment. Cash payments were clearly preferred and they were made either directly by the Jew concerned on his own behalf or on behalf of the community or by one of his clients who was now obliged to pay up his debt in full because the Crown had in effect forced repayment to be made. Another type of payment was a lump sum paid either by a Jewish talliator, the community of Jews or by a local Christian official presumably acting as a collector. The first of these rolls testifies to the severity of the tallage in its title. It is headed Recepta de Tallagio Assesso ad tertiam partem omnium bonorum suorum de termino Sancti Michaelis A.R.R.E. Secundo incipiente Tercio.[48] The roll records a total payment of £1225-4s-7d. It records payments made between September 1274 and early 1275. From this source it is possible to construct the payments made by many of the Jewish communities of England. The Canterbury contribution was £87-15s-6d. It was paid by twenty-three Jews and seventeen Christians who were repaying their debts to their Jewish creditors by providing tallage payments on their behalf. Englesche filia Leonis made a personal contribution of £1-5s-3d, while her client, Henry Joce, paid 16s-0d for a debt which he owed her. Other Christians, like Master Jacob de Helles and Thomas his brother, paid £6-0s-0d of their debts to Hagin fil Magister Moses. Benjamin Brunning was forced to pay 13s-4d for his debt to Dyey fil Benedict and 10s-0d for his debt to Jacob of Oxford. Geoffrey Harloc paid two instalments totaling £1-12s-6d for his debts to Gamaliel of Oxford. Robert de la Forde paid £1-0s-0d, William Reynegod paid £1-16s-0d, and Richard Godibure, a carpenter, paid 4s-6d for their respective debts to Aaron de La Rye of London. The Canterbury Jews paid sums varying from Isaac fil Benedict's £40-0s-0d to Josce fil Samuel's 2d. Vyves of Winton paid £1-19s-0d,

Aaron fil Benedict paid £1-0s-0d and Miles of Doggestrete £4-14s-4d. In total the Jews paid £64-7s-9d and the Jews' Christian debtors contributed £23-7s-9d. For Herefordshire the tallage contribution was paid entirely by the Jews themselves. Thirteen Jews of Hereford raised a total of £16-7s-10d. Jacob fil Jacob paid one large contribution of £5-11s-1d, but Benedict fil Elye was only able to raise 1s-8d in cash and so the sheriff, John la Ware, sold his chattels and raised a further 10s-0d from this compulsory sale. Other Jews of Hereford had their chattels sold in this manner. Moses fil Isaac's chattels fetched only 5s-0d, Belia the widow's fetched 10s-0d, Blanche the widow's fetched 3s-0d, Elias le Andre's only 5s-0d and Bona the widow's 4s-0d. Lincolnshire Jewish communities seem to have been more affluent at this time and were able to contribute a total of £213-3s-2d. Two instalments were paid in lump sums by local officials -- the Prior of St Catherine's Lincoln paid 10s-1d for the Communa Lincolniae and the Prior of St Leonard's outside Stamford paid £60-7s-1 1/2d for the Communa Stamfordiae. Amongst the Lincolnshire tallage payments there were only two payments made by Christian clients: Robert fil Everard de Pylton paid 10s-0d towards the debt of Diey of Holme and Robert fil Simon de Boston also paid £5-4s-0d of his debt to the same Diey. The largest individual contribution was made by Isaac fil Benedict, a Lincoln Jew, who rendered £46-15s-4d. The other Jews made more modest contributions -- Tony fil Meyr paid £3-19s-11d, Elias fil Benedict of London paid £4-13s-4d, and Jacob genus Josce Bullock paid £1-13s-4d. Some Jews were forced to sell their chattels. The chattels of Elias de Doncaster realised £3-6s-1d whilst the goods of Bonefey fil Breton fetched £5-0s-0d. However Bonefey fil Breton was still able to supply a further £1-9s-3 1/2d in cash. Overall, twenty-two Lincolnshire Jews contributed.[49]

The second roll which adds a further sum of £284-3s-6 1/2d to the amount collected during the Great Tallage has survived as P.R.O. E/401/1569. Contributions from the Kentish Jewry were made entirely by Christian debtors. Master Jacob de Helles and his brother Thomas again paid £6-0s-0d for a debt to Hagin fil Magister Moses. Thomas fil Hamo de Wyvelsbere paid 6s-6d for a debt to Bonamy fil Benedict, William son of Robert the Forester paid £1-0s-0d for Deulecresse fil Aaron and William fil Richard of Harriotsham paid 13s-4d for Jacob Episcopus. The Herefordshire Jews' contributions included payments from five Jews who had not paid on the preceding roll. Elias fil Aaron paid £9-12s-5d, David fil Moses £3-0s-5d, Henna filia Elias £1-10s-1d, Aaron fil Bonamy £0-13s-4d, and Vyves fil Vyves of Hereford 2s-3d. A Christian, Walter de la Walle, paid 15s-0d towards Abraham fil Aaron's tallage. The other entries from places other than Herefordshire reveal that a Jew from Wales, Bonamy de Kaunce, paid £3-6s-8d, and under Warwickshire, Vyves fil Vyves de Hereford paid a further 11s-1d towards the tallage. The Lincolnshire contribution included payment by six Jews who had not contributed previously. A large contribution was made by Bonefey fil Breton whose chattels had been sold in the previous roll. At Stamford he paid a further £6-10s-6d. A Christian client, Robert fil Radulph, paid a debt of £2-16s-8d to Bonefey's daughter Juetta and this was taken as tallage. In an unusual entry for Rutland, Thomas de Normanvill paid £4-0s-0d for Roger de Fancourt's debt to Diey of Holme.[50]

The third roll pertaining to the Great Tallage is P.R.O. E/401/1570 and records only small payments from the three counties. The Kent contribution was made once more by Master Jacob de Helles and Thomas his brother for their debts to Hagin fil Magister Moses. The Herefordshire contribution of 4s-0d was made by Robert fil John Fabri for a debt to Aaron fil Bonamy, and in an

entry for Warwickshire Vyves fil Vyves de Hereford paid 6s-8d. The Lincolnshire contribution of 10s-0d was paid by Jacob fil Jacob. The payments recorded on the whole roll amounted to only £32-1s-4d.[51]

The fourth roll of tallage receipts from this period, P.R.O. E/401/1571, records a further £49-2s-2d. The Kentish Jews made four contributions: Aaron fil Elias paid £1-13s-4d, Aaron of Winchester paid 6s-8d, Hagin genus Leon 6s-8d and Benedict fil Elias 4s-5d. Again Master Jacob de Helles and his brother paid £6-0s-0d for their debt to Hagin fil Magister Moses. Thus in two years Master Jacob de Helles and his brother had been forced by the tallage to repay up to £24-0s-0d for their Jewish debts. The Herefordshire Jews made only one contribution which was made by Benedict fil Elye who rendered 8s-11d. However, another Warwickshire entry again records that Vyves fil Vyves of Hereford rendered another 2d towards the tallage. The Lincolnshire Jewry yielded three payments. One of them for £2-11s-0d was rendered by the abbot of Thornton who was the tenant of Simon de Veer. It appears that de Veer was indebted to Solomon fil Benedict and Manser of Bradeworth and presumably he could not pay so that his tenant, the unfortunate abbot, paid the bill. Bonefy fil Breton of Stamford was able to contribute a further £2-0s-0d and Sampson fil Solomon yielded £2-3s-4d.[52]

From these four rolls, it is clear that tallage was not a major imposition on all the Jews of any one community, and not all the Jews of any community were expected to pay the tallage. It is also apparent that many Christian debtors must have viewed the tallage commissioners with the same odium as the Jews because they were forced to pay up their debts as tallage payments for the Jewish creditors. The organization behind such an operation as the Great

Tallage was highly intricate. The tallage had been preceded by the scrutiny of the archae which had been ordered in February 1273.[53] During the collection of the tallage another scrutiny of the archae was ordered in November 1275.[54] In June, August and December of the following year officials were appointed to make a scrutiny of the London archa. [55] It is also very clear that the amounts recorded on these four rolls were not the total of the tallage collected. The Great Tallage of 1274 was still being levied in June 1278 when Joseph de Chauncy, Cobham and Willoughby were ordered to levy the arrears connected with it.[56] Thus any information derived from these rolls can only be used as an indicator of the total amount paid.

As has been shown, if the Jews could not pay their tallage and if Christian debtors could not be found to pay their debts for them, there were only two options: prison or an attempt to barter with the Crown and to pay their tallage in negotiable bonds. It is known that prison faced many before an agreement with the Crown could be made. On 13 May 1275 the commissioners of the Tallage were ordered to cause Bateman of Stamford to be acquitted of his tallage payment because he had offered the king his lands, goods and chattels throughout the realm for the king's personal use -- upon condition that the king caused him to be delivered from the Tower of London where he had been imprisoned.[57] On 10 July 1275 the Treasurers and Barons of the Exchequer were ordered to deliver Sampson fil Master Miles of Stamford, Samuel fil Manasser de Lincoln, Vives fil Garseyas, Abraham fil Diey of Holme, Elias fil Ursel of Lincoln and Abraham fil Samuel from their imprisonment at the Tower. Their tallage was to be levied from their more collectable debts and if it was still unpaid in September they were to be re-imprisoned.[58]

In a situation in which many tallage payments were made by the transfer of bonds either by the Jew paying in bonds or by the officials of the Scaccarium Judaeorum putting the Jews' Christian debtors under threat of distraint, in order to save the tallage collectors from becoming confused over which tallage payments had been paid it became necessary to have the most scrupulous records of the collection of the tallage. Two memoranda rolls recording the day to day running of these affairs have survived.[59] The first roll begins in January 1275 and it records much information to do with the collection of the Great Tallage. It records orders to the chirographers to produce certain bonds and documents to do with the tallage. It records the delivery of bonds from the provincial archae to the king's Treasury and even the names of the Jews who had no bonds registered in the archae. It registers the bonds which the Christians had paid up and records that the paid bonds are cancelled and returned to the debtor.[60] Once a Jew's tallage had been paid it lists the bonds which were returned to him -- for example, eight of Jacob of Brancegate's bonds were sent from Lincoln to London and six of them were returned to the Lincoln archa after he had satisfied the officials by the payment of his tallage.[61] It also records the legal suits and wrangles that ensued when the sheriffs distrained Christian debtors or a bond was hotly disputed.[62] It also notes the payments of officials into the Receipt. In January 1275, the Prior of Okeburn accounted for the tallage (£35-17s-1 1/2d) of the Jews of Marlborough by paying by tally at the New Temple. The Prior of St Nicholas Oxford accounted for £100-0s-0d of £109-16 s-3d in cash and it was noted that he still owed £9-16s-4d which he later paid into the Receipt by tally. The Prior of Dinmore appeared and paid his accounts for the Jews of Hereford. It was noted that the sum received was '£40-12s-6d of which £40-5s-4d was paid at the New Temple, London and 7s-2d is owing'. [63] The

.Memoranda Roll was also used to register Starrs of acquittance, the king's orders concerning the Jews, as well as the sheriff's personal account.

There is a second Memoranda Roll concerning the collection of the Great Tallage which has survived.[64] It has similar entries to the preceding roll; however, reports of inquests as to whether debts have been paid to the Jews predominate in this roll.[65] It includes a writ dated 18 May 1275 which tries to sort out the debts owed to certain Jews in Worcester, Gloucester and Hereford.[66] For instance, according to the Justices' records, a third part of a debt of £30-0s-0d in the names of Richard Pauncefoot and Aaron le Blund is owed to Ursel fil Isaac and a third of a debt of £12-0s-0d in the same names is owed to Belia of Gloucester. The justices were now ordered by this writ to levy the debts for the arrears of tallage and to acquit the Jews. Belia's arrears of tallage as well as Ursel's amounted to £18-13s-3d. The bonds in the king's hands amount to £22-0s-0d therefore Belia and Ursel are quit of their tallage and the sheriff is ordered to distrain Richard Pauncefoot.[67] And again, the findings of a jury in Essex set up to determine which of several people of the same name had borrowed six marks from Deulecresse fil Aaron and now owed his tallage are recorded.[68] This roll also records how some tallage payments were made by the transfer of bonds. It reports that Robert of Billesdon paid three bonds for the tallage of Sampson fil Rabbi and the cancelled bonds were delivered to him.[69] The same roll also reveals an argument about whether William of Appledore had bought four bonds from Hagin fil Magister Moses before the tallage was assessed.[70] It also reveals that Jacob of Oxford, who was imprisoned in the Tower, was now released and some of his bonds are returned to him.[71] The Memoranda Rolls thus serve to remind the historian that a large amount of tallage was paid by the simple

transfer of bonds from the archae to the king's Treasury.

### The Tallages of the Late 1270s

In his examination of Edwardian tallages, Richardson claims that fresh tallages were levied in 1276, 1277 and 1278.[72] Certainly a scrutiny of the archae was ordered in January 1276. Walter of Helyun was to inspect the archae at Gloucester, Hereford and Bristol. William of Middleton the archae of Norwich, Colchester and Sudbury. York was to be inspected by Nicholas Stapleton and the abbot of St Marys York. Robert de Ludham and William Girberd were to inspect Winchester, Wilton and Devizes. Exeter was to be inspected by John Wyger and Roger of Evesham. Hugh de Stapleford and Adam de Weterhale were to inspect the archae at Northampton and Oxford.[73] Some of the scrutinies of the archae dating from this period have survived. One of Walter of Helyun's earlier scrutinies of the Hereford archa, dating from December 1275, will be examined in detail later in this thesis.[74] A scrutiny made in Colchester on the feast of St Thomas the Martyr, 1275 by the Abbot of St John's Colchester and Walter of Essex in front of the chirographers of Colchester both Christian and Jewish has survived intact as the only record of Colchester Jewry's dealings and lists forty-four separate bonds belonging to eleven Jews. The value of the bonds is £584-3s-4d and they are all for cash payment.[75] Six of the actual bonds mentioned in the roll of this scrutiny have also survived, presumably passing from the king's Treasury to Westminster Abbey where they are now housed.[76] The scrutiny for York made by John de Stapleton and the Abbot of St Marys and dated early January 1276 has also survived in an incomplete manuscript which includes details of twenty-six bonds worth a total of £320-17s-4d belonging to fourteen Jews.[77] The scrutiny for Northampton has survived in a fragmentary form which records the debts of five Jews.[78] The scrutiny for

Jews and bonds in Colchester in 1276 compiled  
from the archa scrutiny.

Jew.	Number of bonds.	Amount
⊕ Isaac fil Ursell, Jew of Colchester	20	£ 165 16s 8d
Cresse fil Gente, Jew of London	3	£ 106 13s 4d
Samuel fil Aaron of Colchester	7	£ 69 13s 4d
Moses of Clare fil Samson	1	£ 50 0s 0d
Aaron fil Vives, Jew of London	1	£ 46 0s 0d
Leo fil Cresse, Jew of London	1	£ 46 0s 0d
Elias fil Jacob fil Floria of Colchester	4	£ 41 0s 0d
Vives fil Moses of Clare	3	£ 34 0s 0d
Jacob fil Samuel of Colchester	2	£ 16 0s 0d
Aaron fil Leo of Colchester	1	£ 5 0s 0d
◦ Vives fil Abraham	1	£ 4 0s 0d
<hr/>		
11	44	£ 584 3s 4d

⊕ Isaac fil Ursell is also owed one furriam of cereal.

◦ Vives fil Abraham's debt is owed by a tally.

Source:- P.R.O. C/47/9/48. Some of the actual bonds included in this scrutiny have survived, as W.A.M. 6698, W.A.M. 9017, W.A.M. 9031, W.A.M. 9052, W.A.M. 9056, W.A.M. 9059.

Jews and bonds in York in 1276 compiled  
from the archa scrutiny.

Jew.	Number of bonds.	Amount.
Benedict Crespin	6	£ 233 17s 4d
Deudone Crespin	1	£ 100 0s 0d
????? <u>Nepotis</u> Aaron	3	£ 43 6s 8d
Josce fil Jacob of London	1	£ 30 0s 0d
Samson fil Josce	5	£ 29 6s 8d
Magister Elias fil Magister Moses	1	£ 20 0s 0d
Josce fil Bonenfaunt	1	£ 20 0s 0d
Josce fil Bonami	1	£ 20 0s 0d
Sarra filia Isaac, Jew of York	1	£ 16 0s 0d
Moses fil Abraham	1	£ 10 0s 0d
Jacob	1	£ 5 0s 0d
Sarra filia Benedict Crespin	1	£ 4s 0d
????? fil Magister Moses	1	£ ? ? ?
Benedict fil Josce	2	£ ? ? ?
<hr/>		
14	26	£ 527 14s 8d

Source:- P.R.O. C/47/9/49. The manuscript is incomplete and illegible in places. It also has lacunae.

Exeter made by John Wyger and Robert de Evesham on 14 February 1276 has survived and runs to four membranes recording the debts to ten Jews who hold 136 bonds.[79] The scrutiny of the Oxford archa is extant but in bad condition; and it records details of ninety-five debts of the Jews.[80] Thus because of these new scrutinies it is reasonable to suppose that another tallage was to follow.

Richardson claimed that the tallage of 1276 was nominally £1000-0s-0d which was paid in cash by the Jews and with 'remarkable promptitude'.[81] Payment was due by September 1276 and at the end of September 1276 he claims only £27-0s-0d of the amount was still outstanding. The Receipt Roll for this tallage has survived. It is headed 'Rotulus Recepte de Tallagio Judaeorum totius Angliae de Mille Libra de Termino Sancti Michaelis A.R.R. E. Quarto Incipiente Quinto'. [82] It reveals that the London Jews paid their tallage to Giles de Oudenarde, the Constable of the Tower of London, and contributed over £115-0s-0d towards the tallage. For the Jews of Kent there are only two entries provided by the community of the Jews of Canterbury and totalling £120-0s-0d. The Jews of Hereford made two payments. The first was paid by the community of the Jews of Hereford and totalled £60-0s-0d, the second, which was not included in the total of the roll but was paid after 13 December 1276, was also provided by the Hereford community. They paid £3-6s-8d so that they should not be imprisoned in the Tower of London. The Jews of Lincolnshire paid several payments towards this new tallage. The community of the Jews of Stamford yielded £24-0s-0d, Master Benedict of London £5-0s-0d, Abraham of Kent Senior £20-0s-0d, and Isaac de Provyns £5-0s-0d, Isaac fil Isaac de Provyns £10-0s-0d and the Lincoln community £20-0s-0d. No Christians appear to have paid sums of money on this roll. It is most surprising that after the exactions of the Great Tallage which was still being levied that the Jews were able to find further

financial resources. By 13 December 1276, £954-8s-3d had been collected and a further £22-6s-8d as well as the Hereford fine was collected by 14 February 1277. For once a target assessed by the Crown had almost been realized.[83]

The Jews were again tallaged in 1277. However, Richardson notes that the amount of this tallage does not appear to be recorded either in specific records of the tallage or the Chancery Rolls.[84] For the first time during Edward's reign there appears to be a lacuna in the tallage evidence. Another roll headed 'Recepte de Tallagi Judaeorum XXV Millia marcarum de Termino Sancti Michaelis A.R.R. E. Quarto Incipiente Quinto' has survived, however.[85] It is similar to the previous roll, but only has three payments on it: in Worcestershire, Simon Alayn paid £1-10s-0d for debts to Isaac Jew of Worcester; in London, Mendaunt fil Isaac paid 13s-4d; and in Lincolnshire Saunte de Stamford paid £8-2s-3d. The sum total of the roll between September 1276 and February 1277 was £10-5s-7d. Thus for the 1277 tallage little evidence remains, although the Scaccarium Judaeorum was certainly kept busy that year. In April 1277, now preoccupied by the Welsh wars, Edward ordered the governmental departments of state to move to Shrewsbury.[86] It is known that sometime during the year the Scaccarium Judaeorum moved to take up residence in the abbey at Shrewsbury where it was situated by September 1277. It was also in May 1277 that the king empowered Hugh de Digneuton to make an enquiry throughout the land as to where the Jews were living and also to enforce the wearing of the tabula. [87] Later in the same month the king ordered John de Cobham, Philip de Willoughby and William de Middleton to assess a tallage on the Jews.[88] In June the king sent Roger of Northwood to Canterbury to re-open the archae which had presumably been sealed since the last scrutiny. Roger of Northwood was empowered to transcribe all the charters in it and to deliver those which were

quit to the Christian debtors.[89] However, even though the Scaccarium Judaeorum was active during this period, no other evidence of tallage returns has survived for 1277.

If there is little evidence of the collection of the tallage in 1277 there is even less for the tallage of 1278 which both Elman and Richardson claim was assessed at 3000 marks.[90] It is possible, even despite the upheavals of the Welsh wars, that it was collected, since, as Richardson points out, the London community whilst in the Tower paid a contribution towards a tallage of 3000 marks.[91] Further, there is an order dated 12 November 1278 to Antony Bek to pay 3000 marks that was lately assessed and received from a tallage on the Jews of England to Reynier de Lucca and Orlandinus de Podio.[92] Thus, although no actual records of the 1278 tallage survive, there can be little doubt that Edward did not let the opportunity to provide finance for the Welsh wars slip away without collecting money from his Jewish subjects.

Excluding the lack of evidence for the receipt of the 1277 and 1278 tallage and bearing in mind that the receipt rolls are clearly not comprehensive, it does emerge that by 1278 the Jews of England had paid at least a total of £5301-8s-8 1/2d into Edward's coffers in a period of just six years.[93] Although other sources indicate that during the same period a total of £18,000-0s-0d had been assessed on them, it is still possible to claim from the figures of tallage known to have been received by 1278 that the Jews' ability to pay tallage was not past its apex for the moment.[94] Richardson's summing up of Edward's early Jewish tallages demonstrates that the Jews were now left alone for a while:

In estimating the severity of the exactions of the 1270s it must have borne in mind that the total population of all the Jewish communities in the country at the time can scarcely have reached 3,000 souls, and that the great majority of them were poor and

moreover that the burden of taxation fell upon a small number of wealthy families who were deprived of a large part of their working capital by the 'great' tallage and whose business was further restricted by the prohibition of overt usury by the Statute of the Jewry of 1275. It is significant that the tallage of 1278 was the last for nearly a decade.[95]

However, it is clear that the late 1270s did not witness the last Jewish tallage, and that the Jews' ability to make tallage payments had not been completely eroded, and that at least in terms of the amount to be collected from a single tallage the apex had not yet been reached.

#### The Last Tallage of Edward's Reign

There is good evidence for one other Jewish tallage in the reign of Edward I. It is perhaps significant that this tallage coincides with the new rising in Wales. Elman refers to the tallage assessment of 1287 for 20,000 marks as the final turn of the screw but claims that there is little evidence that it was collected.[96] However, on 20 August 1287 Lumbard fil Cressaunt of Winchester was to be aided by the sheriff of Southampton in recovering debts due to him because he was indebted to the king for a large sum by 'reason of the king's Tallage lately made throughout the whole Jewry within the realm', and Roth claims that on 2 May 1287 there was a sudden reversion to the harsh methods of past reigns in that all the leading Jews were arrested and imprisoned as a preliminary to exacting a fresh tallage.[97] Richardson compromised in claiming that the tallage of 1287 and 1288 yielded £4023-8s-9d,[98] but remains sceptical about the imprisonment. But it seems there is no reason, in fact, to doubt that these well-used methods to extract money from the Jews were tried again.[99]

The actual payment of the tallage is recorded on two Receipt Rolls.[100] The first records payments made from September to December 1287 and the second from January to Ash Wednesday 1288. The rolls are predominantly records of amercements paid by Christians and Jews. However there are several entries recording the payment of tallage. The entries are preceded by Anglia in the margin and then follow the form 'Randulph de Sandwyco, Willelmus de Karlton et Gregorius de Rokesle dcxly l xvii s i i d de tallagio Judaeorum'. The total of the entries for Jewish tallage recorded in this roll amounts to £2430-0s-0d. The total sum of money received on the roll is £3281-10s-8 1/2d.[101] It is evident that tallage payments are found interspersed amongst the more ordinary business of the Receipt Roll of the Scaccarium Judaeorum.

The second roll records the receipts of amercements, perquisites and pleas of the Easter term 1288.[102] It includes four further payments made for the tallage on the Jews of England by the three commissioners. The payments are £645-17s-2d, £183-4s-11d, £30-0s-0d and £13-6s-8d -- a total of £872-8s-9d. Thus the tallage of 1287-1288 seems to have raised £4302-8s-9d in payment for tallage -- a very high payment indeed.[103]

Thus, it is possible to reconstruct not only the tallages assessed on the Edwardian Jews, but also the recorded payments they made to the Crown. The table below shows each of the surviving tallage rolls for Edward's reign, the amount paid by all the Jewish communities of England and the separate amounts paid by the Jews of Kent, Herefordshire and Lincolnshire. From the table it can be established that the tallage payments were high for the first three years of Edward's reign, that they increase in late 1276 and early 1277 and then do not feature for another ten years until the impositions of 1287-1288. Without any doubt the payments of 1287-88

Tallage payments received under Edward 1st.

P.R.O. Source.	Date of Roll.	Total payment for all England.	Payments from Kent.	Payments from Herefordshire.	Payments from Lincolnshire (Lincoln and Stamford.)
E/401/1567	1272	£ 1289 10s 0d	£ 71 0s 0d	£ 60 0s 0d	£ 60 0s 0d
E/101/249/16	1274	£ 1434 6s 7d	£ 327 2s 1 1/2d	£ 40 5s 4d	£ 67 13s 3d
E/401/1568	September 1274-1275	£ 1225 4s 7d	£ 87 15s 6d	£ 16 7s 10d	£ 213 3s 2d
E/401/1569	April to July 1275	£ 284 3s 6 1/2d	£ 7 19s 10d	£ 15 13s 6d	£ 12 15s 11d
E/401/1570	September 1275-February 1276	£ 32 1s 4d	£ 6 0s 0d	4s 0d	10s 0d
E/401/1571	April to July 1276	£ 49 2s 2d	£ 8 11s 1d	8s 11d	£ 6 14s 4d
E/401/1572	September 1276-1277	£ 976 14s 11d	£ 120 0s 0d	£ 63 6s 8d	£ 91 0s 0d
E/401/1573	September 1276-1277	£ 10 5s 7d	- - -	- - -	£ 8 2s 3d
E/401/1584	September 1287-December 1287	£ 2430 0s 0d	? ? ?	? ? ?	? ? ?
E/401/1585	January 1288-February 1288	£ 872 8s 7d	? ? ?	? ? ?	? ? ?

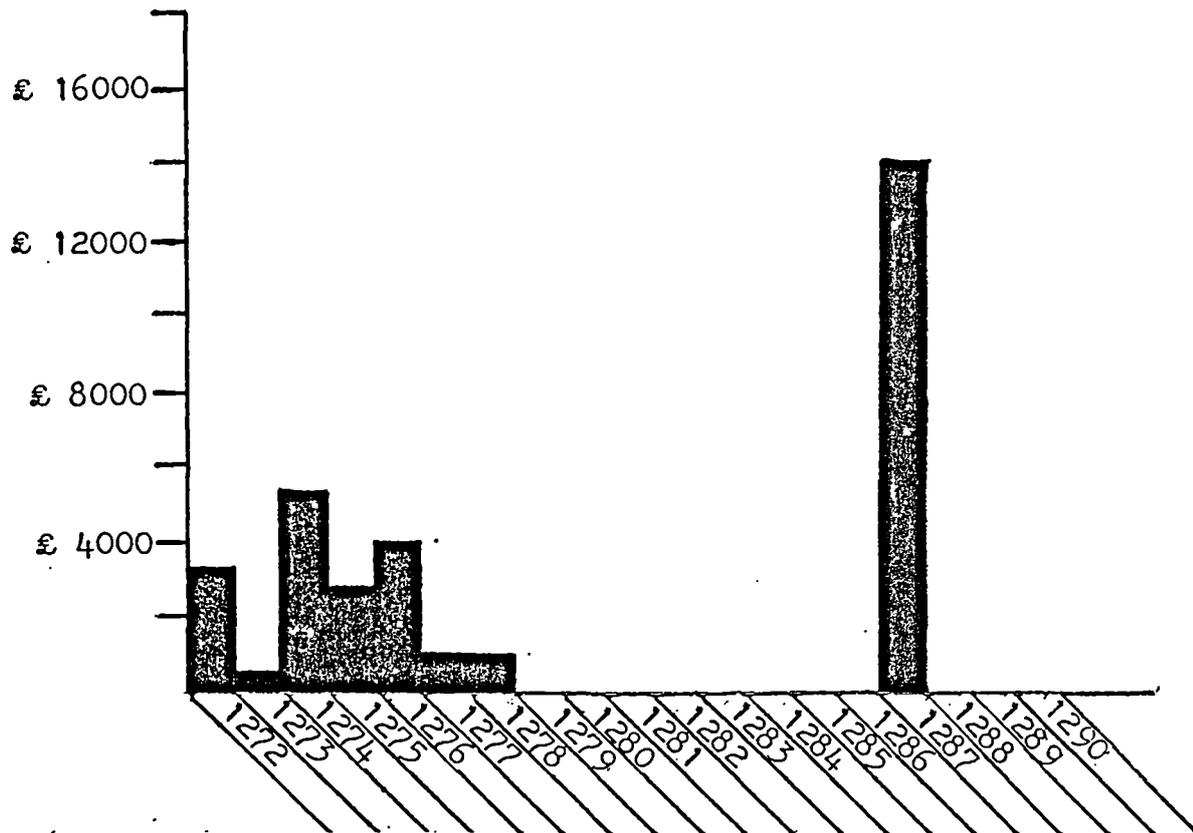
Total tallage received under Edward 1st £ 8603 17s 3 1/2d

Average annual tallage received by Edward 1st from 1272 until 1290 £ 477 19s 10d

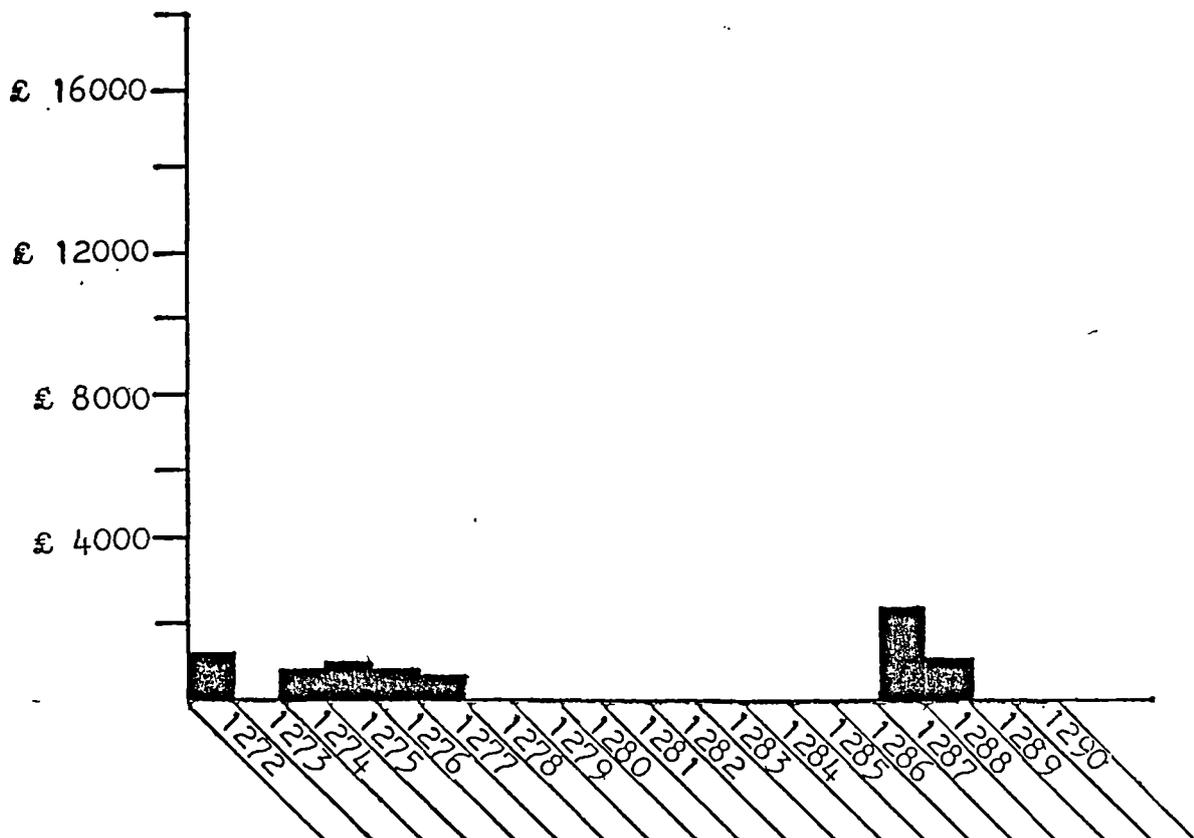
are the highest of the reign and indeed the highest for almost fifty years. It seems that the Jews' ability to pay tallage did not necessarily decline and that the Statutum de Judeismo did not reduce them to total poverty. By examining the graph below, the figures of tallage received can be compared with the long-accepted assessment figures of Elman. Elman's figures, which he used to determine Jewish ability to pay tallage, are therefore misleading and over exaggerated.[104]

It is also possible to consider the amounts contributed by the three different Jewish communities of Kent, Herefordshire, and Lincolnshire. Unfortunately, it is generally impossible to achieve separate figures for Lincoln and Stamford and also there is no chance of setting individual figures for any community for the tallage of 1287-1288. However, it is interesting to see that the Kentish figures demonstrate a high contribution of over £300-0s-0d in 1274, and remain under £90-0s-0d until 1276-77, when they increase to £120-0s-0d; how the Herefordshire contributions always remain under £60-0s-0d but produce large contributions in 1272 and 1276-1277; and how the Lincolnshire contributions remain under £90-0s-0d for most of the period but increase to over £200-0s-0d during the Great Tallage (1274-1275). They also show an increase in 1276-1277. The tallage contributions from the three local communities which will be studied in greater detail later in this thesis at times reflect the national trends and at other times seem to go against those trends. It will be necessary to look in detail at other aspects of these local communities in order to make any attempt to explain these divergences.

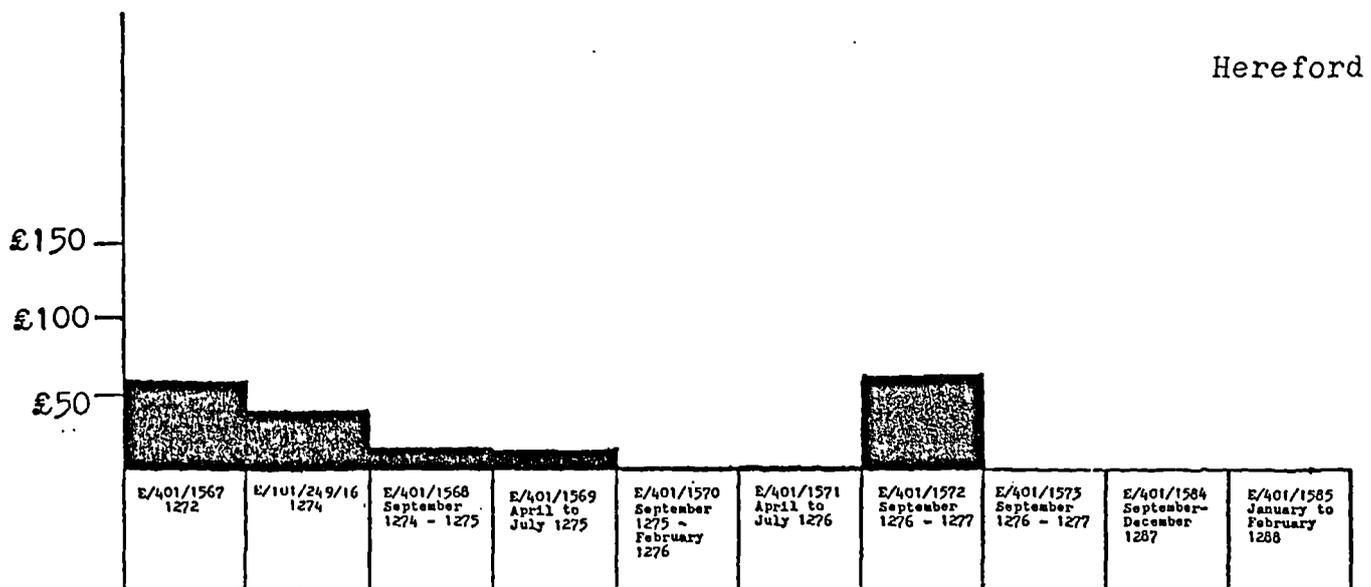
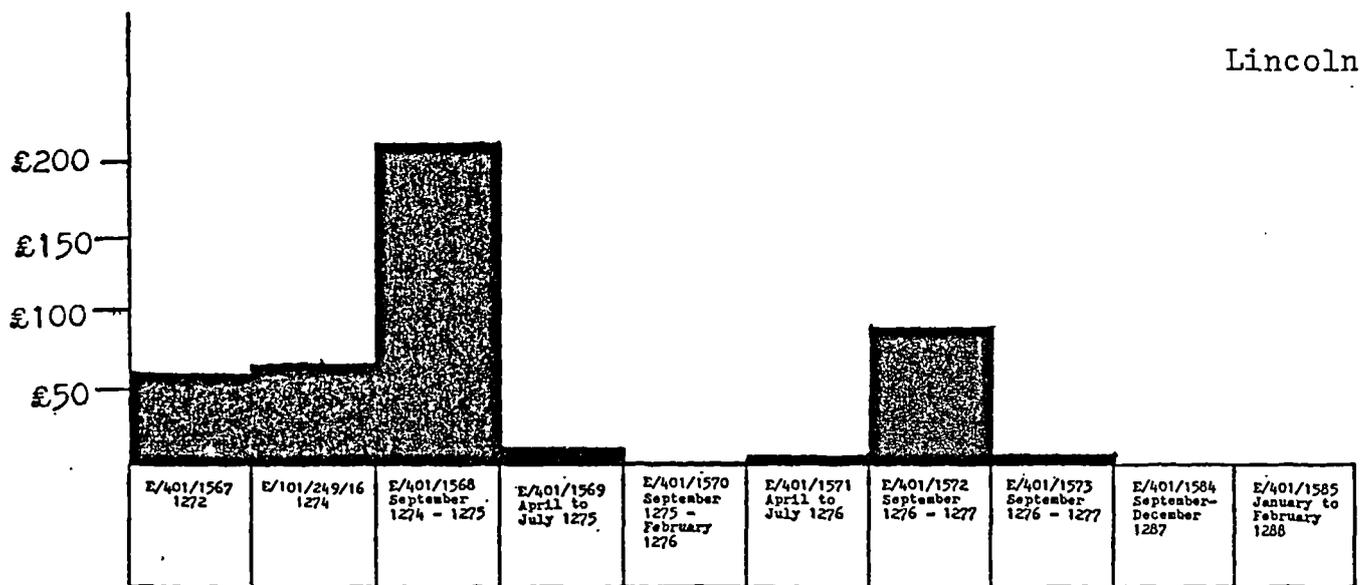
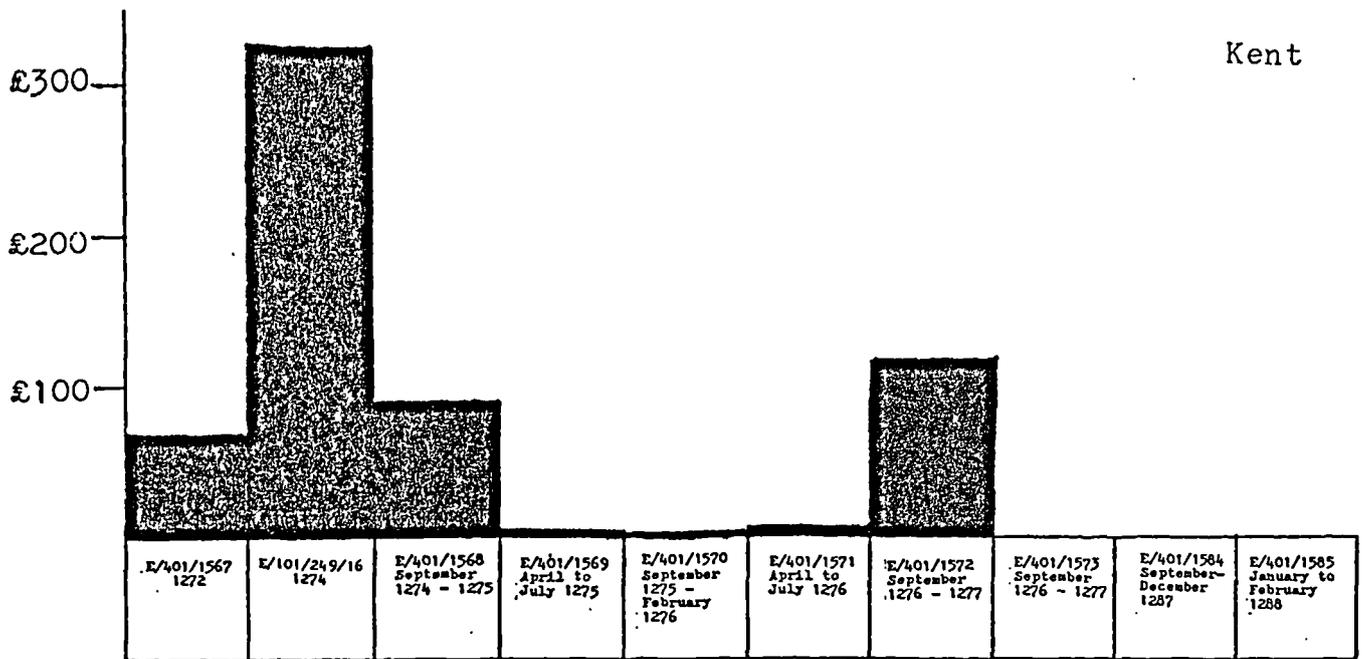
Annual amount of tallage assessed 1272-1290 (After Elman).



Annual amount of tallage collected 1272-1290 (Actual amount).



Tallage collected from Kent, Lincoln and Hereford.



Receipts from the proceedings in the Scaccarium Judaeorum

It is now time to consider the second category that Gross outlined as being one of the four cogs in the 'Engine of Extortion'. Gross described fines as 'small amercements for transgressions and payments for liveries and concessions'. [105] Many such payments can be found recorded in many different sources. Examples can be found in the Plea Rolls of the Scaccarium Judaeorum, the Receipt Rolls and occasionally in other manuscripts such as bailiffs' accounts. But it is however the surviving Receipt Rolls which contain and reflect the most consistent record of payment of this type. [106]

Generally these 'Rolls of Judeism', as they are commonly referred to, form a body of documents that are worth some examination and can be dealt with in their entirety. [107] The rolls contain details of payments that are explained by a series of phrases of which some of the most frequent are persona non habet, quia non habet, pro plegio suo, pro non est presens, per falsam clamam, and pro iniusta detentione. These payments arise from the fact that the payees failed to produce the person or the pledge that they stood surety for when the Justices of the Jews required them to, that they did not appear in front of the Justices when they were summoned, that they made a false claim, or that they unlawfully withheld goods and chattels. [108] The most common payment however is simply described as de debitis. This term is generally used in the case of a Christian, who owes money to a Jewish creditor, paying the Jew's debt to the Crown in return for acquittance of part or all his debt to the Jewish creditor. From the entries on the rolls it also seems that the Christian or the Jew who was now forced to pay up, by the Justices, sometimes had to make these payments by instalments. Christians were answerable to the Justices of the Jews as well as the Jews themselves. These rolls therefore refer to transgressions

committed in relation to the proceedings of the Justices of the Jews, and settlements made under the authority of the Scaccarium Judaeorum.

During Edward's reign these rolls commence with the period between January and February 1277.[109] The first records payments made by three Jews and two Christians. In an entry for Oxfordshire, Joya the wife of Sweteman of Burford paid £1-13s-4d de fine; in an entry for Leicestershire, Thomas de Clinton (miles) paid £2-13s-4d de debitis Jacobi de Oxon and 13s 4d pro Manser. Moses fil Leo paid 6s-8d on behalf of himself and his guarantor because he did not present himself in front of the Justices. Moses of Warwick paid 2s-0d for the same reason. In an entry for Somerset Richard Byssop paid £2-18s-4d de debitis John fil Robert de Bradeleye pro Moses Babelard. The whole roll only totals £8-7s-0d. The next roll records payments made at Shrewsbury between September 1277 and Easter 1278.[110] It includes payments from eleven counties and totals £24-0s-1 1/2d. Another roll lists payments made to the Scaccarium Judaeorum between May and July 1278 during which period £51 2s 2d was received.[111] Another similar roll records only the following two payments made between 6 and 18 May 1278.[112] In an entry for Norfolk, Colum, who was the wife of Isaac of Warwick a Jew of Norwich, paid 1s-8s de fine. In an entry for Yorkshire, Henna, who was the wife of Aaron of York, paid 6s-8d de fine. Thus, from the evidence of these four rolls, it is clear that between 13 January 1277 and 18 May 1278 the Crown received £84-7s-7 1/2d from this source of revenue.

There is then a gap in the records until the period from 1281 to 1282 when there are three rolls which record similar types of payment.[113] The first of these rolls covers the period from September 1281 to January 1282. From the entries on this roll it

becomes clear that occasionally sherriffs like Thomas de Bray of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire made lump payments of monies received locally to the Scaccarium Judaeorum. It is also very notable that amongst the names of the individuals who make payments Jews do not feature very much. In fact only three Jews are responsible for generating payments. Two Jews Moses fil Abraham and Isaac de Campeden who make payments in Herefordshire will be discussed below. The only other payment made directly by a Jew appears to be that of Moses fil Bonefy who paid 5s-4d in Yorkshire so that he might have his chattels. Thus, at this time it is predominantly Christians and not Jews who are making payments in the Scaccarium Judaeorum. The Kentish contributions reveal thirteen Christians who make payments totalling £2-17s-0d. Four of them pay sums ranging from 5s-0d to 1s-8d for quia non habet. John de Bylsinton, a clericus, paid 3s-6d quia non est presens. Five others paid fines quia non habuerunt, and William Godfrey paid 2s-0d per falsam clamam. John de Wyleston paid £1-0s-0d de debitis Jacob of Oxford and the heirs of David Bagge paid 6s-8d for debts to Jews. The entries for Herefordshire include payments by seventeen Christians and two Jews who rendered a total of £9-6s-8d. Walter fil Walter de la Mare paid £1-6s-8d de debitis Isaac fil Abraham, Nicholas of Wormelow paid 6s- 8d de debitis Isaac of Southwark. Roger Ketel, Milo de la Mare, Moses fil Abraham and Isaac de Campeden paid sums quia non habuerunt. William de Sholle paid 4s-0d quia non est presens. Walter de Balun paid £2-0s-0d per falsam clamam and £3-3s-4d pro iniusta detentione. The tenants of John fil Randolph of Kings Caple paid 13s-4d de debitis Jacob fil Jacob. There was only one payment from Lincolnshire -- William le Provost of Rowell and John fil Randolph who paid 4s-0d quia non habuerunt. The total value of payments from the shires was £67-17s-3 1/2d.[114]

The next roll records payments made between April and July 1281 from over a dozen shires.[115] There is only one payment made by a Jewess; the rest of the payments on the roll are paid by Christians. There is only one entry for Herefordshire where Richard de Bydyford paid 6s-8d for a licence of concord. The total of the payments on this roll is £67-9s-7d. The last roll, which covers the period, again predominantly records payments made by Christians rather than Jews.[116] The Herefordshire entries total £3-18s-4d which is paid by thirty-six Christians and three Jews - Moses of Gloucester, Leon of Worcester and Elias Le Ardre who each paid 3s-6d quia non habuerunt. Hector of Bredwardin and Hugh the Frenchman paid 1s-0d de exitu of Walter de Baskivill and William de Sholle paid 2s-0d pro pluribus defaultis, but the majority of the Herefordshire payments were made by one or more people quia non habuerunt. The Lincolnshire entry records that Randolph de Ingoldesby paid 13s-4d de debitis Abraham of Kent. In Kent the heirs of Daniel Bagge paid 6s 8d de debitis. The total of payments on this roll is £46-11-7 1/2d.

Once again there is a gap in the records but a further three rolls have survived for the period 1285-1286. On the first roll the record for Kent includes a payment of 7s-0d by Alexander, son of Beatrice, de debitis Deulecres fil Aaron. Similarly Thomas fil Walter Attecrouche of Chartham paid 5s-0d de debitis Sarra filia Jacob of Canterbury. Aaron of Winchester made two payments totalling 7s-2d because persona non habet. Hagin le Evesk and Moses fil Magister Aaron paid two sums totalling 7s-0d for similar reasons. Hagin le Evesk paid 4s-0d for a further similar offence. The payments from Kent totalled £1-10s-0d. In the entry for Lincolnshire, Belassez who was the wife of Elias of Doncaster paid £1-18s-4d for a settlement concerning her husband's chattels. There appear to have been no payments from Herefordshire on this roll.

Thus, the total of payments made between April 1285 and July 1285 was £92-3s-7 1/2d.[117]

The next roll records payments for the period from September 1285 to early 1286.[118] The entries for Kent include two lump payments made by the sheriff, Hamo de Gatton, totalling £12-17s-1d. This roll also records, 5s-0d paid by Richard Cristemasse de debitis Isaac of Canterbury, another payment of 5s-0d made by Thomas fil Walter Attecrouche of Chartham de debitis Sarra filia Jacob, and another payment from the heirs of Daniel Bagge of 6s-8d de debitis. Simon de Chylton also paid £3-6s-8d de debitis Moses of Doggestrete and Hagin le Eveske paid 5s-0d quia non habet. The sheriff paid £2-10s-6d for the tenants of the land of Hugh de Holeweye. The Kent payments totalled £19-15s-11d. The records for Herefordshire include two entries: one for £8-13s-4d, the other for £4-13s-4d paid for various transgressions, by Roger de Burghill, the Sheriff of Hereford. In this case further details of Roger de Burghill's accounts of his payments to the Scaccarium Judaeorum have survived in a separate document.[119] It contains payments for the same reasons - for non attendance, for not producing the person and for various debts to Jews. However, over and above the lump payments by this sheriff the Receipt Roll also reveals payments from Wenthlana de Kings Caple, who paid 11s-11d de debitis Jacob fil Jacob. Miles Pichard, a well known Jewish debtor, paid £3-6s-8d de debitis Isaac fil Aaron a Jew of Bristol. The Herefordshire payments totalled £17-5s-3d. The Lincolnshire entries include another payment of £1-18s-4d by Belassez, the wife of Elias of Doncaster, and Benedict of Lincoln and his son, Hagin fil Benedict, were again both made to pay 5s-0d respectively. The total of the Lincoln payments was £2-8s-4d. The total sum received from 14 January to late February 1286 was £69-6s-2d and the final total of the whole roll was £156-13s-1/2d.

The last of the rolls for this period is for the Michaelmas term 1286 and records payments up to the February of 1287.[120] In Kent, the sheriff made a lump payment of £3-12s-8d. A Jewess, Belia the wife of Coppe, paid 10s-0d. William of Chelsfield, the new sheriff, paid £2-0s-0d for various debts. Hamo fil Hamo de Wyelston paid £6-13s-4d de debitis Belassez filia Aaron. Thomas Sorang paid 6s-8d for Thomas Perpount de debitis Jacob fil Benjamin and Simon de Chylton a further £3-6s-8d de debitis Moses of Doggestrete. The Kent payments totalled £16-9s-4d. For Herefordshire a large lump sum was again paid by the sheriff Robert de Burghill who returned £23-13s-4d of various debts. For Lincolnshire, the sheriff Robert of Shaddeworth paid two instalments of various debts amounting to £32-9s-9d. Roger Banaster paid 6s-8d pro plurimis defaultis, Benedict of Lincoln and his son Hagin again paid 5s-0d respectively and Belassez the wife of Elias of Doncaster paid £1-18s-4d for her chattels. The Lincolnshire payments amounted to £35-4s-9d. The total of this roll came to £306-0s-1d.

The two rolls which recorded payments for late 1287 and early 1288 have already been referred to above because they also recorded payment of the tallage.[121] The first roll includes payments from Kent made by the sheriff of Kent, William of Chelsfield, who paid 6s-8d de debitis Jacob fil Benjamin and the heirs of Daniel Bagge who once again paid 6s-8d. In Lincolnshire, Robert of Shaddeworth, the sheriff, paid £20-10s-0d of various debts whilst Robert le Blund of Gayton paid 10s-0d de debitis Josce fil Benedict, Randolph of Ingoldesby paid 13s-4d de debitis Abraham of Kent and John fil John of Brancewell paid 10s-0d de fine pro debitis Deulecresse. On the second roll the entries for Kent show that lump pament was made through William of Chelsfield of £7-11s-4d for various debts, Edmund fil Thomas Sorang paid 6s-8d de fine pro debitis Thomas Perpount. In Lincolnshire the sheriff paid £9-12s-8d for various debts and

Gilbert de Appeldrefeud paid £10-0s-0d de fine pro debitis. Thus between September 1287 and early March 1288 the Kentish payments came to £5-7s-10d and the Lincolnshire payments amounted to £22-3s-4d. In early 1288 the Kentish payments came to £7-18s-0d and the Lincoln payments amounted to £19-12s-8d. There were no entries for Herefordshire recorded on either roll.

There are three other rolls which are dated before November 1290. These last three rolls cover the period from September 1289 to September 1290. The first of these, with entries from September to December 1289, records a total of £60-12s-2 1/2d.[122] The Kentish entries record that John Horn, Walter Le Ffore, William of Fordwich and John Aunsel were all fined 1s-8d each because persona non habet. Richard Cristemasse paid another 5s-0d de debitis Isaac of Canterbury, the heirs of Daniel Bagge paid another 6s-8d, the heirs of Benjamin Bruning paid 10s-0d de fine. The Kentish payments totalled £1-8s-6d. For Herefordshire, John Laumarc paid £1-17s-4d de debitis Jacob fil Jacob. For Lincolnshire, Nicholas de Ri paid 13s-4d.

The following roll records payments made between January and Ash Wednesday 1290.[123] The Kentish total came to £3-11s-2d. The sheriff made two lump payments totalling £2-5s-4d of various debts; again the heirs of Daniel Bagge paid 13s-4d and a John le Botiller paid 12s-6d de debitis Benedict Crespyn, a Jew. The entries for Lincolnshire record that Robert of Shaddeworth paid a lump sum of £14-8s-2d for various debts and John of Brauncewell again paid £1-0s-0d de debitis Deulecresse fil Cresse. The Lincolnshire total was £15-8s-2d. The total of this roll came to £90-2s-10d. No entries for Herefordshire appeared.

The final roll before the Expulsion records payments from Easter 1290 until late July of that year, and of thirty-nine entries on the roll only five are paid by Jews.[124] The Kentish entries record that John le Botiller paid another 12s-6d de debitis Benedict Crespin. The Herefordshire entries reveal that the sheriff again paid a lump sum of £1-10s-3d and that the following paid for debts to the Jews -- Walter Tregot paid £1-5s-0d de debitis Samuel genus Benedict of Monmouth, John Laumarc de Shutinton paid 6s-8d de debitis Jacob fil Jacob, Walter de la Mare paid 6s-8d de debitis Aaron of Caerleon and William Payn of Whiteburn paid 17s-6d de debitis Moses fil Benedict of Winchester. The Herefordshire payments totalled £5-6s-1d. The Lincolnshire entries show that the sheriff contributed £80-0s-0d of various debts which included a payment of £20-0s-0d in arrears of his account of Jewry. Thomas de Lek and his associates, the tenants of the land of Baldwin fil Master Luke, paid 13s-4d de debitis Manser of Bradeworth. Henry le Coystre of Kirkeby paid £1-0s-0d de debitis Abraham of London. The Lincolnshire entries amounted to £81-13s-4d.

The Expulsion of the Jews in November 1290 did not mean the end of payments to the Scaccarium Judaeorum. The king went on receiving money even after the Jews had left and the archae had been called in to Westminster. Another ten rolls recording payments made by Christians mainly in relation to debts contracted with the now exiled Jews are extant. The rolls cover the period from September 1290 until Easter 1295 when they terminate.[125] These extant rolls reveal that for their debts in the Jewry, John le Botiller, the heirs of Benjamin Bruning, the heirs of David Bagge continued to pay in Kent for at least another few years.[126] In Herefordshire the sheriff continued to make his lump payments as did Jewish debtors like Walter Payn and Miles Pychard.[127] In Lincolnshire Robert le Venour, now the custodian of the city of Lincoln, continued to

collect payments for debts to Jews and John de Brauncewell and Thomas de Lek and his associates continued to pay the crown's pound of flesh.[128]

Thus, payments resulting from proceedings before the Justices of the Jews made up another source of revenue for the Crown. From the surviving rolls the total amount yielded by this type of revenue between 1277 and 1290 can be determined by using the table below, which sets out the total collected on each roll and the amounts collected from the counties of Kent, Herefordshire and Lincolnshire. As will be seen the sum received remains well under £100-0s-0d per annum until 1285, it increases dramatically in 1286, 1287 and 1288, decreases in 1289 and early 1290, and increases from April to July 1290. Although a fairly complete run of these rolls has survived for the period 1277-1295 no payments from Kent, Herefordshire or Lincolnshire appear until 1281. On the earlier rolls payments from collectors in the counties of Bedford, Devon, Essex, Huntingdon, Leicester, London, Norfolk, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Southampton, Somerset, Warwick, Wiltshire and York appeared.[129] It is an enigma that payments from Kent, Herefordshire and Lincolnshire do not appear earlier, and it can only be assumed that the Justices did not deal with cases involving people from these counties during that period: or that payments arising from proceedings involving people from these counties were dealt with in some other way. After 1281 Kent, Hereford and Lincolnshire reflect trends which are similar to the national picture. The years 1285-1286 show fairly high payments in all three counties and then the payments diminish with the exception of Lincolnshire which, between April and July 1290, increases. This increase is probably due to the fact that the sheriff Robert of Shaddeworth made two payments of arrears of fines during this period.[130] It is however generally true that this category of Gross's 'Engine of Extortion' is hardly of any great

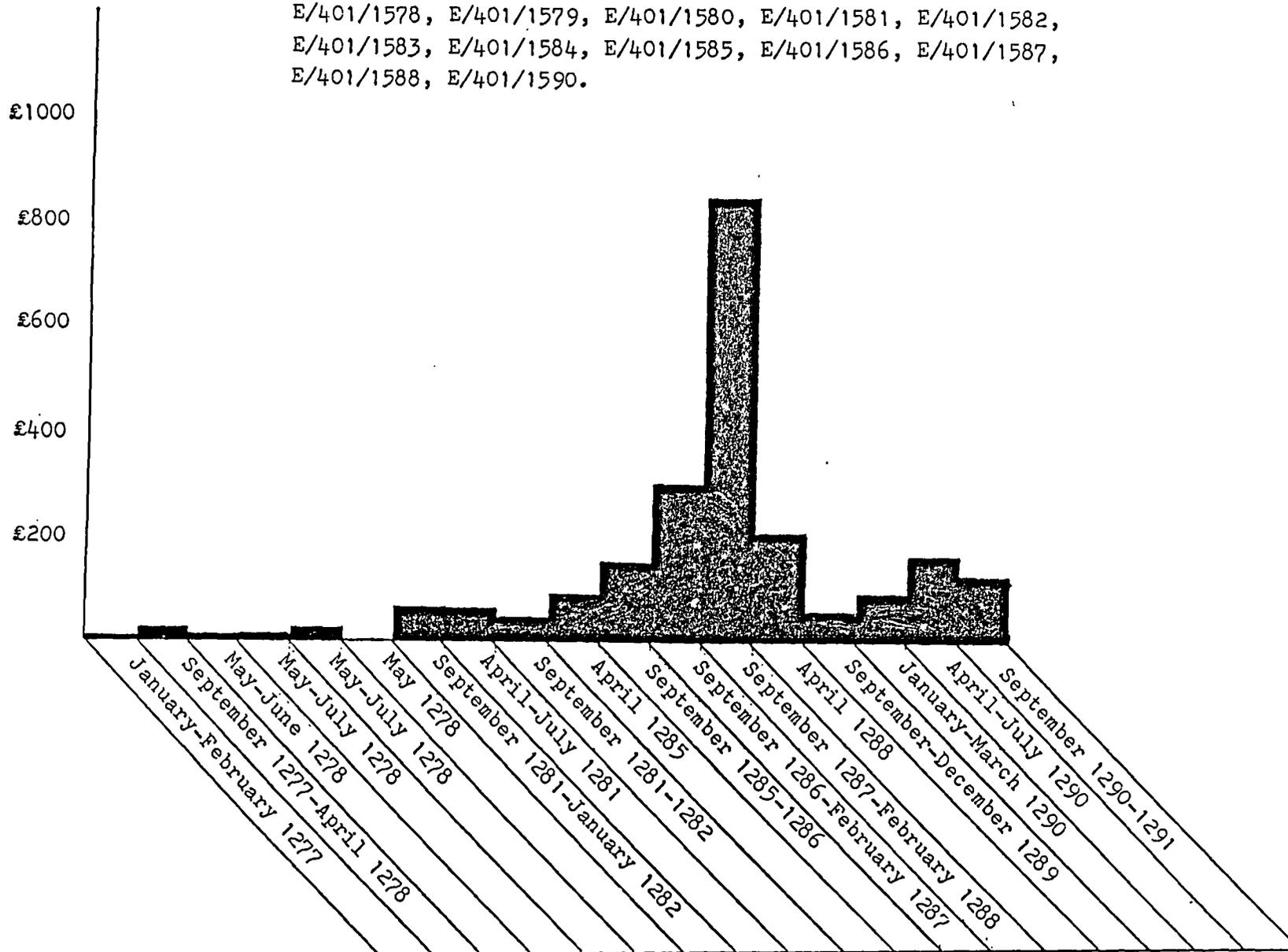
Receipts from the Jewry under Edward 1st.

P.R.O. Source.	Date of Roll.	Total payment for all England.	Payments from Kent.	Payments from Herefordshire.	Payments from Lincolnshire.
E/401/1574	January -	£ 8 7s 0d	£ - - -	£ - - -	£ - - -
E/401/1575	February 1277	£ 24 0s 1 1/2d	£ - - -	£ - - -	£ - - -
E/401/1576	September 1277	£ 11 4s 1 1/2d	£ - - -	£ - - -	£ - - -
E/401/1576	- April 1278	£ 14 11s 1 1/2d	£ - - -	£ - - -	£ - - -
E/401/1576	May to June 1278	£ 25 16s 1d	£ - - -	£ - - -	£ - - -
E/401/1577	May to July 1278	£ 8s 4d	£ - - -	£ - - -	£ - - -
E/401/1578	May 1278	£ 67 17s 3 1/2d	£ 2 17s 0d	£ 9 6s 8d	£ 4s 0d
E/401/1579	September 1281	£ 67 9s 7d	£ - - -	£ 6s 8d	£ - - -
E/401/1580	January 1282	£ 46 11s 7 1/2d	£ 6s 8d	£ 3 18s 4d	£ 13s 4d
E/401/1581	April 1285	£ 92 3s 7 1/2d	£ 1 10s 0d	£ - - -	£ 1 18s 4d
E/401/1582	September 1285	£ 156 13s 0 1/2d	£ 19 15s 11d	£ 17 5s 3d	£ 2 8s 4d
E/401/1583	- 1286	£ 306 0s 1d	£ 16 9s 4d	£ 23 13s 4d	£ 35 4s 9d
E/401/1584	September 1286	£ 851 10s 0d	£ 5 7s 10d	£ - - -	£ 22 3s 4d
E/401/1585	- February 1287	£ 207 12s 8d	£ 7 18s 0d	£ - - -	£ 19 12s 8d
E/401/1586	September 1287-	£ 60 12s 2 1/2d	£ 1 8s 6d	£ 1 17s 4d	£ 13s 4d
E/401/1587	February 1288	£ 90 2s 10d	£ 3 11s 2d	£ - - -	£ 14 8s 2d
E/401/1588	April 1288	£ 163 17s 8 1/2d	£ 12s 6d	£ 5 6s 1d	£ 81 13s 4d
E/401/1590	September 1290	£ 130 13s 11 1/2d	£ 2 15s 0d	£ - - -	£ 22 6s 8d
E/401/1591	- 1291				

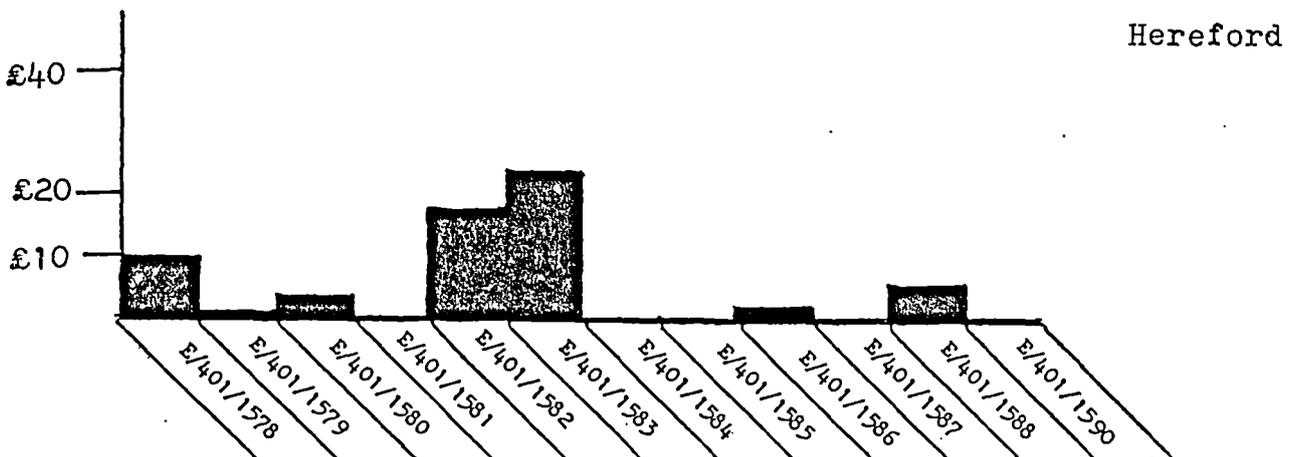
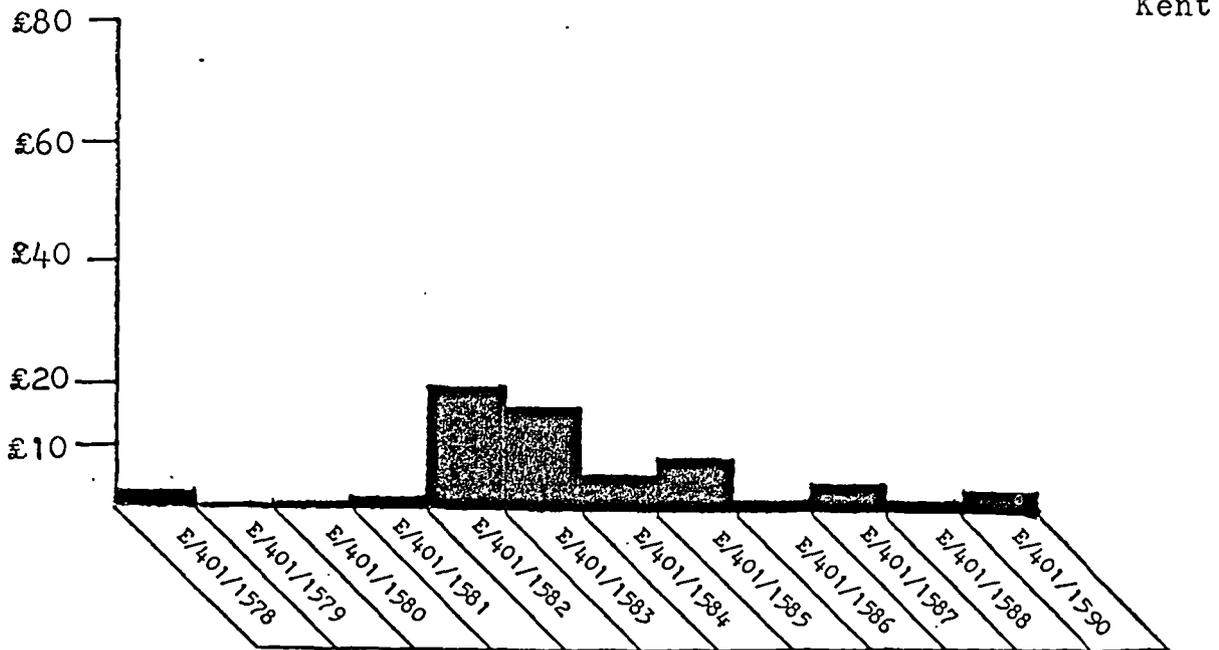
Total received from the Jewry under Edward 1st between 1277 and 1291 £ 2325 12s 3d

Receipts from the Jewry under Edward 1st 1277-1290.

Source:- E/401/1574, E/401/1575, E/401/1576, E/401/1577  
E/401/1578, E/401/1579, E/401/1580, E/401/1581, E/401/1582,  
E/401/1583, E/401/1584, E/401/1585, E/401/1586, E/401/1587,  
E/401/1588, E/401/1590.



Receipts from Kent, Lincoln and Hereford  
1282 - 1290.



financial significance to the Crown's annual finances.[131]

### Jewish Reliefs

In this examination of crown revenue from the Jews it is now time to consider the third category of the fiscal operations of the Scaccarium Judaeorum. Gross offered only one definition for what he termed reliefs, the death duty of one-third payable by Jews on the estates of the deceased.[132] A second example, the chevage imposed on the Jews of England for the upkeep of a Domus Conversorum in both London and Oxford, can be added to this particular category. The main source for evidence concerning the estates of deceased Jews is the Plea Roll of the Scaccarium Judaeorum. Although the Jews themselves were the property of the crown they were allowed to leave their possessions and property to their heirs. Generally after the king's third had been paid the beneficiaries of the dead Jew were allowed to have administration of the estate. A Jewish estate was important to the crown not merely because it enlarged the royal coffers but because it gave an opportunity to scrutinize all the Jews's clients and dealings. The opportunity to compile a record of a Jew's finances was particularly important because when a Jew died the natural tendency of his clients would be to try and destroy their bonds and deny that they were ever lent any money, possibly claiming that the bond in the archa was false, and because Jewish relatives might take into their own possession any objects of value. The crown therefore had to act quickly and thoroughly when a Jew died. Once the mandate to investigate an estate had gone out from the Justices of the Jews, the sheriff, chirographers, and if necessary, Jews and Christian townspeople would be consulted and a report of the estate would be sent to Westminster.

Clearly Jewish estates did not make a regular, stable income for the crown. It has therefore been decided to examine the sort of evidence that exists for just two years - 1274 and 1275. In 1274, the crown received over £155-6s-2d from its third part of four different Jewish estates.[133] In that year it was discovered at Northampton that the estate of Sadekyn of Northampton had been incorrectly administered and a jury of Christians and Jews was set up to investigate the affair. It was found that Sadekyn died intestate. They also testified that on the day of his death he had £20-0s-0d in coin and £10-0s-0d worth of moveables -- brooches, rings, ear-rings and the like. Gywa, his wife, took the cash and the chattels and soon married Leo of Norwich. Leo and Gywa were found, arrested and imprisoned in London. A few days after they had been imprisoned Leo was found walking at ease in Westminster Hall without a warder. Eventually, after the constable had been rebuked and Leo threatened with a long spell of imprisonment, he was coerced to organize the payment of £30-0s-0d in full. The chirographers of Bedford produced four charters worth a total of £63-6s-8d which Leo had contracted with Christians and the charters were placed in a pyx in the king's treasury.[134] In Oxford in the same year the Justices of the Jews discovered that Meyr fil Magister Meyr had died a long while ago and no relief had been paid for his chattels which had been concealed. An inquest was held and six local Jews testified that Meyr had died in 1270 and that when he fell ill he had only £10-0s-0d in gold which his wife, Rose, had taken. The sheriff of Oxford was immediately ordered to levy £10-0s-0d from Rose's goods.[135] In both these cases the whole estate was forfeited because of maladministration. At Cambridge, in 1274, it was discovered that three Christians including the prior of Royston and Abraham L'Eveske and Muriel, the widow of Saulot Mutun, had received the chattels of the late Saulot against the law. At first the

sheriff could only track down the prior of Royston. Finally he located the other Christians, but the two Jews had disappeared. Eventually the Christians paid £1-19s-6d into the Receipt.[136] Again, in 1274, in London, Antera, the widow of Abraham fil Vives, paid a relief to the king for her late husband's chattels £80-0s-0d which represented a third part of the estate.[137]

In 1275, the Crown acquired approximately £53-3s-6 1/2d from its portion of the third on all Jewish estates.[138] The sum of the moveable and unmoveable chattels of Leo of Burford deceased was 78s-4d of which the king's third was £1-6s-1 1/2d and for whose chattels Antera, Leo's widow, was to make a payment. The scribe of the Plea Roll noted that Antera came to the Receipt and paid it.[139] The constable of the Tower produced £1-0s-0d in cash which was the money found upon the corpse of Moses Babelard. It was duly delivered to Nigel the sergeant of the Scaccarium Judaeorum for payment into the king's Receipt. The constable also produced one silver spoon, one gold ring which was sold for 1s-8d and a brooch which was sold to him for 6s-6d. The constable also delivered a horse which was sold for 8s-0d -- all of this particular estate went straight to the royal coffers.[140] Later in the year the sum of the chattels of Isaac Crespin was found to be £3-6s-8d of which the king's third was £1-2s-3d. Upon enquiry it was found that he had nothing in any of the archae. The deceased's son, Germin, mainperned to pay the king's third on pain of a fine of £2-0s-0d.[141] In Lincoln, in 1275, the sum of the chattels of Isaac Gabbay, a Jew of Lincoln, 'moveables and unmoveables as well within the chest as without' was £136-17s-0d of which the king's part was £45-12s-4d. On closer inspection it was found that Isaac Gabbay had had twenty bonds in the Lincoln archa worth a face value of £313-12s-8d but it was proved that some were quit and that some had been bought by Master Thomas of Wainfleet.[142] Isaac Gabbay also

had another bond worth £13-0s-0d which was outside the chest and in the hands of his brother, Josce Gabbay. The king took his payment of a third in bonds and commanded that they should be delivered by the sheriff of Lincoln. If the bonds were not delivered the money was to be levied on the lands and property of Josce fil Aaron of Colchester and Rose, his wife, who was Isaac's daughter, and Isaac fil Isaac of Provyns and Floria, his wife, another of Isaac's daughters.[143] Again, in 1275, the sum of the chattels of Ermina, a widow who died in London, was £10-0s-0d and it was found she had nothing in the archae -- the king's third payable by the heirs was £3-6s-8d.[144]

Clearly the reliefs on the estates of dead Jews varied from year to year. It has already been seen from the Receipt Rolls of the Scaccarium Judaeorum how Belassez, the wife of Elias de Doncaster, paid in instalments a total of £5-15s-0d between 1285 and 1287 for her right to inherit her late husband's estate which was probably worth about £17-0s-0d.[145] The largest estate that fell into Edward I's pocket must have been that of Rabbi Elijah Menahem.[146] In June 1284, the enquiry into his estate was conducted in front of the Treasurer and the Barons and Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as the Justices of the Jews. It was found that he left personal property to the value of £260-13s-4d, a dwelling house in which he lived with an annual rental value of £5-0s-0d and other real estate worth £19-16s-0d yearly as well as credits worth £185-0s-0d.[147] However, in 1285, his widow, Floria, was fined £1000-0s-0d for concealing the true value of her husband's estate.[148] Men like Elijah Menahem did not die every day, but the crown had another slow trickle of cash, bonds and chattels from the death duty on Jewish estates.

Before turning to examine the second category of reliefs -- the chevage -- it is worth noting that, until 1280, all the property of Jews who converted to Christianity was forfeited to the crown. It seems likely that the crown used this income to make grants to the Domus Conversorum which in turn granted the conversi the king's bounty of 1 1/2d a day for men and 8d a week for women.[149] Although it is difficult to assess how many Jews converted to Christianity in Edward's reign it is known that between 1280 and 1308 there were only thirty-five ex-Jewish inmates of the Domus in London.[150] Despite the fact that, there were possibly more in the abbeys and cathedrals of England.[151] It is not likely that the number of estates and chattels forfeited in this way was very great.

#### The Poll Tax.

The chevage was a tax paid by Jews to run the Domus Conversorum and therefore cannot really be seen as royal income. It is best seen as another addition to the overheads and taxes that the Jewish communities continually paid. A few months before his death, Henry III, founder of the Domus Conversorum, sent an order to the mayor and sheriffs of London calling for a full report on the conditions of the institution. The report came back that privileges were being abused and that the finances were in an extremely precarious state.[152] In 1275, Edward I gave his consent to the chapel being enlarged. New houses were built for the converts and £100-0s-0d was granted towards these works as a special royal favour.[153]

It was probably in connection with these moves that, in the same year, Edward imposed a poll-tax of 3d per annum per head to be levied on all Jews and Jewesses above the age of twelve which he included in the Statutum de Judeismo of October that year.[154] Returns from a similar chevage for 1278 have survived and show a

yield of £11-3s-9d for 895 Jews; however, this chevage did not include Jews of Canterbury or London.[155] In the mid and late 1270s, the Welsh wars, the coinage and coin-clipping investigations, as well as the works at the Abbey, the Tower of London and provincial castles probably reduced the importance of the Domus Conversorum and thus the need for a chevage in Edward's mind.

In 1280, in a pious mood, Edward issued a decree to John de St Dionisio, the keeper of the Domus, which outlined further improvements. The preamble is worth considering for it surely reflects a pious concern for the conversion of the Jews, rather than the harshness of an anti-semite who expelled them:

Whereas the King believes that the conversion of Jewish depravity to the Catholic Faith would specially be to the increase of faith and worship of the name of Christ, he therefore, in order that those who have already turned from their blindness to the light of the Church may be strengthened in the firmness of their faith, and those who still persist in their error may more willingly and readily turn to the grace of the faith, [he therefore] has taken measures under divine guidance to provide healthfully for their maintenance.[156]

From 1280 to 1287 Edward granted four new sources of revenue for the Domus. He now allowed converts to keep a moiety of their goods:

Although all the goods of Jews who converted to the faith pertain to the King fully of right and custom he willingly nevertheless to do them special grace after they have become sons of the Church grants then for their maintenance a moiety of the value of their goods whatsoever in the realm.[157]

The Domus was also granted the property of Jews condemned to death for crime. He also granted it the 'king's alms called deodands' and once more a chevage was imposed on the king's Jews of England.[158]

Of these sources of revenue the most important in evaluating taxation pressures on the Jews is clearly the chevage. It seems that, in 1275, the mechanism had been established. The tax was to

be collected by converted chaplains who were to receive the help of the sheriffs and bailiffs of the shires. It does not seem that this necessarily happened annually -- in February 1290 the chevage for 1289 had apparently not been collected, but it is clear from the events of 1290 just how unpopular the tax was with the Jews -- the Jews of Oxford refused to pay and assaulted the unfortunate tax-collector, William le Convers.[159] The amounts of chevage collected from 1280-1283 are known because of a roll, noting the Domus's income, kept by John de St Dionisio, has survived.[160] In 1280, the income of the Domus was £50-19s-5d. This was made up by the chevage and various other takings and sales of goods presumably received from the possessions of condemned Jews. The chevage that year amounted to £14-14s-9d and represented a poll tax on 1,179 Jews of England. In the following year the income of the Domus was £146-5s-8d. This was composed of £21-12s-11d of receipts from deodands in Lincolnshire and £24-2s-0d of receipts from deodands in Devonshire as well as a sale of a horse which realised 12s-0d which had been bought and used to collect the chevage. The chevage produced £14-8s-3d from 1,154 Jews, and the rest of the total was made up from other sources. The chevage for 1282 was £14-5s-1/2d representing 1,135 Jews' contributions. In 1283, the income from the chevage dropped to £13-19s-11d from 1,151 Jews. In 1284, the last recorded chevage shows that it was farmed out and the Domus received a fixed income from this source of £11-0s-0d per annum. The chevage, although small, was yet another of the fiscal afflictions that the Jews of England were to suffer.[161]

#### Confiscations.

It is now time to turn to the last of Gross's categories which he defines as fines for false charters and for crucifying children.[162] Examples of both of these types exist but the more

general confiscations are more important than the incidents which Gross cited. The arbitrary confiscations which the Jews suffered are almost impossible to enumerate fully. Many are contained within the Plea Rolls. The threat of confiscation at any moment was one which hung over the Jews' everyday life and business transactions. The confiscations imposed upon outlawed or condemned Jews will be briefly considered below. Confiscations occurred in connection with individual cases and with concerted purges linked to particular offences. One particular individual case is that of Diey of Holme, a Lincolnshire Jew. On 16 March 1276, two officials were empowered to seize a sum of money which belonged to Diey.[163] In April, Diey of Holme, a Stamford Jew, was charged with the murder of Brother Richard of the priory of St Michael at Stamford, and it was further alleged that he had also killed a groom in the Earl of Warwick's wood outside Stratton.[164] He was officially indicted with murder and receiving from thieves. His body was 'attached' and his goods within the town of Stamford and elsewhere were seized. Amongst these was a sum of money which had been concealed within the walls of his house which was seized as treasure trove and delivered to Luke de Lucca, the king's merchant.[165] Generally, if a Jew committed any action which was in any sense the wrong side of the law, the confiscation and wholesale seizure of all his property would ensue. The crown only needed the slightest excuse. An example of confiscations associated with major purges can be found in connection with the coin-clipping allegations of 1278-1279 which provided another source of royal income which Gross did not consider.

### The 1279 Coin-clipping Allegations.

In 1278 and 1279, the Jews were caught up in Edward's campaign against the state of the currency and were in some cases, undeservingly, cast as the rogues in the affair.[166] Although it is important to consider the facts of the matter it is the actual financial result which must be emphasized. During these two years the sale of goods of condemned Jews, the sequestration of Jew's property and the confiscations of royal officials which accompanied the accusations brought in a total of over £11,000-0s-0d for the Crown.[167] For evidence that the currency in the late thirteenth century was in a disastrous state, there is no need to look far. Tovey noted that light-weight money from abroad was in wide circulation. The different currencies -- pollards, crockards, staldings, eagles, leonines and steepings -- which were made from a mixture of silver, copper and sulphur, and were cunningly stamped with mitres and lions to resemble Edward's coinage were debasing the value of the currency.[168] Coin-clippers equipped with forceps, melting facilities and false scales, were also defacing the coin of the realm. Langland's Covetousness referred to these methods as a way to make a quick penny.[169] It also seems that smugglers were profiteering by taking ingots or plateas out of the country.[170] The need for a re-coinage was clear; however, it is sad to note that the campaign against bad currency provided the excuse for what amounted to a well organized pogrom against the Jews although there is evidence that the Jews were not the only culprits. As early as June 1275, Roger de Hatfield was charged with coin-clipping or retonsione. [171] In February 1278, Simon de Ling, a Norwich man, was arrested for having clipped 3 1/2d.[172] In September 1278, another Christian was arrested for a similar offence in Bridgenorth.[173] At the height of the arrests for retonsione, in 1279, even the merchants of Lucca, who enjoyed royal patronage, were indicted for

the crime.[174] However, the references to Christians charged with retonsione are easily eclipsed by the evidence of Jews who were charged with the crime and subsequently executed for it, despite the fact that in Jewish law coin-clipping was deeply frowned upon and punishable by flogging.[175] There can however be little doubt that some Jews were indeed guilty of the crime and it is possible, as Roth has observed, that some might have been forced to make a living in this way as a direct result of the Statutum de Judeismo. [176] Certainly the re-coinage and the inquiry into coinage offences that preceded it gave the general populace an opportunity to rail against and to denounce the Jews for allegedly being responsible for this scourge.

Suddenly in November 1278, overnight it seems, many Jews were arrested for having clipped the coin. John de Oxenedes and many other chroniclers record this even as one of the key events of the Jews' history under Edward I:

Omnes Judei Angliae cuiuscunque conditionis, aetatis, aut sexus, in octavis sancti Martini subito capti sunt et per diversa Angliae castella salvae sunt deputati custodiae. Quibus sic retentis, eorumque interim diligenter scrutatis domiciliorum penetralibus, inventa sunt ad apud plerosque retonsionis monetae signa atque instrumenta, facta ipsius evidentissima.[177]

Another chronicler notes the speed with which the Jews were arrested:

Eodem anno ante Natale fuerunt omnes Judaei regni Angliae capti una nocte propter retonsionem monetae et incarcerati et plerique ex eis suspensi. Eodem anno alia nocte fuerunt omnes aurifabri capti propter eandem causam et propter consensum et incarcerati. Eodem anno fuerunt quamplures Judaei suspensi pro tonsione monetae.[178]

That many Jews were hanged in London needs little confirmation.[179] There is evidence all over the country that points to suspensi or

damnati. [180] The pogrom was finally stemmed in May 1279 when Edward ordered a sort of general amnesty for the Jews. He claimed that all Jews who had been charged, indicted, and convicted of clipping the coinage had now been punished with death. Those who were still imprisoned or who were accused of clipping after 1 May could appease the royal justice by paying fines. [181]

After the arrests, confiscations and hangings, the crown appointed the officials who had conducted the inquiries to collect and sell off all Jewish chattels and property that had become sequestered to the Crown. [182] The accounts of some of these officials have survived for the period 1278-1279. [183] Hugh of Kendal was responsible for realising the swoop on Jewish chattels in Northamptonshire, Rutland, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. [184] John le Falconer was the official receiver for Jewish chattels in Gloucestershire, Southampton and Wiltshire. [185] Philip of Willoughby was responsible for chattels in London, Kent, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire and Oxfordshire. [186] A slightly later account of William Gerberd has survived for the Jews of Exeter. [187] Another account of monies raised by the sale of ex-Jewish property in Norwich, Ipswich, Canterbury, London, Bedford and Oxford is also extant. [188] It seems that the receivers itemised the chattels and then sold them off as best they could. At least one English 'broker' Henry of Winchester, a converted Jew, bought goods 'en bloc' and received a special licence to resell them in England and France. [189] It seems that articles of a specific Judaistic nature were sold back to the Jews. [190] From the seizure and sale of Jewish chattels it appears that Hugh of Kendal accounted for £2252-12s-1d and also paid in Jewish gold worth £3-11s-4d. [191] John le Falconer realised £736-13s-2 1/2d. [192] The largest sum was paid in by Philip of Willoughby whose confiscations amounted to

£7500 paid into the Treasury.[193] William Gerberd paid £365-7s-8 1/2d and Walter of Helyun who sold off former Jewish properties, collected £38-1s-4d.[194]

It seems the royal officials were not the only ones who seized ex-Jewish chattels. Many Christians were also fined in the following years for receiving ex-Jewish goods which would suggest that the crown was not alone in seizing Jewish property. The crown also pursued a relentless campaign of fining these smaller entrepreneurs. Two rolls of these fines from the period 1283-1289 have survived. Although one of them is badly fragmented and they do not give a complete picture of all the fines, it is possible to assert that in the period of six years that the rolls cover, the Crown was able to add another £2026-6s-8d to its coffers.[195]

Thus, it would seem that an exaggerated picture of the financial importance of the Jew to the crown revenues has for many years been fostered by historians.[196] During Edward's reign, the surviving evidence for tallage collection indicates that approximately £8,600 was collected rather than the £31,333 worth of tallage that was assessed upon the Jews.[197] The surviving evidence for the amount brought in from small amercements and for transgressions and payments for concessions that are recorded on the non-tallage Receipt Rolls of the Scaccarium Judaeorum only amounts to £2325 for Edward's reign.[198] The evidence for similar payments on the Plea Rolls of the Scaccarium Judaeorum which has not been examined here suggests that the total of such payments might only be marginally greater if at all.

The examination of Jewish estates for 1274 (£155) and 1275 (£53) indicates that in the early years of Edward's reign this category of Jewish finance did not provide very much. Although it is of course true that the occasional windfall of a rich Jew's

estate such as that of Magister Elijah Menahem, in 1284, (approximately £1000) would boost the revenue from this source.[199] At a very liberal estimate the chevage which did not enter the crown coffers, but went towards the upkeep of the Domus Conversorum does not seem to have produced more than £15 per annum from 1278 onwards. The largest single amount of 'Jewish revenue' that did provide money for the crown has until recently been relatively ignored by historians. The results of the confiscations for coin-clipping brought in approximately £11,000 at a single point in time. However, when considered as a whole all these different incomes from the Jews seem only just to equal the amount of tallage assessed that Elman and Roth accept as being exacted from the Jews during Edward's reign.[200] The examination of Jewish revenues has therefore revealed that not only have the general financial burdens of the Jews been exaggerated but also that not all Jews contributed towards the tallage or even non-tallage receipts. Therefore the wealth of the Edwardian Jew and the significance of Jewish finance for Edward - 1st has been overstated. The age old association of the Jew with wealth has coloured the historian's view of the Jew's financial significance to the crown.[201] It is now time to examine the involvement and the association of the Jew with moneylending.

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- [1] William Shakespeare, 'The Merchant of Venice', Act ii, Scene v, The Complete works of Shakespeare, edited P. Alexander.
- [2] E. Brewer, Dictionary of Phrase and Fable. Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes, pp125-126. Bartholomew de Cotton, Historia Anglicana, p99. M. Paris, Historia Anglorum, 2, p121. M. Paris, Chronica Majora, 2, p528.
- [3] B.L. Abrahams, 'The Economic and Financial position of the Jews in Medieval England' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp171-173.
- [4] Jacobs, p xix. H.W. Anglo-Judaeus, p6.
- [5] C. Gross, 'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages' Papers given at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887, p206.
- [6] Roth, Chapter 3.
- [7] B.L. Abrahams, 'The Economic and Financial position of the Jews in Medieval England' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp176-177. W. Stubbs Constitutional History of England, 2, pp459, 580. P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp91-92. L. Rosten, The Joys of Yiddish, pp530-531. W. Sombart The Jews and Modern Capitalism.
- [8] A.J. Miller, 'The Exchequer of the Jews', Orthodox Jewish Life, 25, Part1, p65. A.C. Cramer, 'The Jewish Exchequer, an inquiry into its fiscal functions' American History Review, 45, 2, pp327-337. A.C. Cramer, 'Origins and functions of the Jewish Exchequer' Speculum, 16, pp226-229.
- [9] H. Jenkinson, 'The Records of Exchequer Receipts from the English Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 8, p20.
- [10] C. Gross, 'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages', Papers given at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887, pp192-194, 205.
- [11] P. Elman, Jewish Finance in Thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation. P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp145-154. Roth, Chapter 3. H. Jenkinson, 'The Records of Exchequer Receipts from the English Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp19-54. H. Jenkinson, 'Some Medieval Notes' and 'Tallies and Receipt Rolls' T.J.H.S.E., 9, pp185-192. H. Jenkinson, 'Medieval Sources for Anglo-Jewish History: the problem of publication' T.J.H.S.E., 18, pp285-293. Richardson, pp213-337.
- [12] P. Elman Jewish Finance in Thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation. P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp146-147, 150, 153-154.
- [13] Roth, pp272-273.
- [14] P. Elman, 'Jewish finance in thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 15, pp112.
- [15] Ibid. p113.
- [16] Richardson, pp214-215, particularly note 5.
- [17] H. Jenkinson, 'The Records of the Exchequer Receipts from the English Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp31-37.
- [18] These have been listed by H. Jenkinson, 'The Records of the Exchequer Receipts from the English Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp32-37. Jenkinson's list is still used as a guide to the special Jewish rolls within the P.R.O. E/401/ category in the Public Record Office today. P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp153-154.
- [19] C.P.R. 1274, p61, C.P.R. 1276, p154, C.P.R. 1278, p273.
- [20] Apart from the archa scrutinies taken after the Expulsion several other Edwardian partial scrutinies have survived: Hereford - P.R.E.J.3, pp230-23 8; Colchester - P.R.O.C/47/9/48; York (in part) - P.R.O. C/47/9/49; Exeter (in part) - P.R.O. E/101/249/31; Oxford - P.R.O. E/101/249/32; Northampton - P.R.O. E/101/249/33. The Memoranda Roll for Hilary 1275 (P.R.O. E/101/249/19) records

information from the 1276 scrutinies about bonds in eleven different archaee. Printed in P.R.E.J.4, pp13-70.

[21] References to early tallages can be found in Annales Monastici, 2, p300. M. Paris, Chronica Majora, 3, p543, 4, pp260, 373, 5, pp274, 458.

[22] C. Gross, 'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages' Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887, pp194-202.

[23] In a paper given by Dr P. Brand to the J.H.S.E. on 23rd March 1983 at the Gustave Tuck Lecture Theatre U.C.L. it was intimated that the Arch-presbyter of the Jews had an advisory capacity to the Scaccarium Judaeorum on all matters of finance. For further discussion of the role of Arch-presbyter see C. Gross, 'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages' Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887, pp178-179. Richardson, pp121-124.

[24] P.R.O. E/101/249/12. This documents the appointment of six Jewish assessors and six wealthy Jews who are responsible for assessing the tallage in 1219. It also names local Jews who are responsible for tallage collections in Bedford, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Somerset, Stamford, Warwick, Worcester and York. This document is printed in part in H.P. Stokes, Studies in Anglo-Jewish History, p250.

[25] P.R.E.J.4, pp33 and 47-49. P.R.O. E/101/249/25 and P.R.O. E/101/249/26.

[26] H. Jenkinson, 'The Records of Exchequer Receipts from the English Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp20.

[27] R.B. Dobson, 'The Decline and Expulsion of the Medieval Jews of York' T.J.H.S.E., 26, p49 note 16. This points out the fact that the existing lists of tallages by Roth and Elman have never been properly correlated with the surviving records. It is hoped that this study goes nearer to achieving this for the reign of Edward I.

[28] P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, p154.

[29] Richardson, p214. P. Elman, Jewish Finance in thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation, p30.

[30] P.R.O. E/401/1567.

[31] See Chapter V note [149] below and Appendix tables III-V.

[32] P.R.O. E/401/1567.

[33] C.C.R. 1275 pp199-200.

[34] S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 = Hilary 1279, pp civ - cix.

[35] P.R.O. E/101/249/15.

[36] P. Elman, Jewish Finance in thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation, p30.

[37] C.P.R. 1272-1281, p51, 52, 61, 62, 63. P. Elman, Jewish Finance in thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation, p31.

[38] H. Jenkinson, 'The Records of Exchequer Receipts from the English Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp37-38.

[39] P.R.O. E/101/249/16. P.R.E.J.4, p33.

[40] P.R.O. E/101/249/16.

[41] C.P.R. 1274, p43.

[42] C.P.R. 1274, p51.

[43] C.P.R. 1274, pp61-62.

[44] C.P.R. 1274, p62.

[45] S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 = Hilary 1279, pp cix.

[46] P.R.O. E/401/1568, P.R.O. E/401/1569, P.R.O. E/401/1570, P.R.O. E/401/1571 (a partial duplicate of P.R.O. E/401/1568 exists as P.R.O. E/101/249/18 and of P.R.O. E/401/1570 as P.R.O.

- E/101/249/21). The Memoranda Rolls are P.R.O. E/101/249/19 and P.R.O. E/101/249/20 and are printed in P.R.E.J.4, pp13-88. Some evidence of imprisonment can be found in P.R.O. E/101/249/22 which is also printed in P.R.E.J.4, pp148-195 cf. p157, 180.
- [47] P.R.O. E/101/249/17.
- [48] P.R.O. E/401/1568. Richardson, pp214-215.
- [49] P.R.O. E/401/1568.
- [50] P.R.O. E/401/1569.
- [51] P.R.O. E/401/1570.
- [52] P.R.O. E/401/1571.
- [53] C.P.R. 1273, p6.
- [54] C.P.R. 1275, p127.
- [55] C.P.R. 1276, pp148, 158, 184.
- [56] C.P.R. 1278, p51.
- [57] C.C.R. 1275, p166.
- [58] C.C.R. 1275, p201.
- [59] P.R.O. E/101/249/19 and P.R.O. E/101/249/20. Both are printed P.R.E.J.4, pp13-88.
- [60] P.R.E.J.4, pp13-15, 17, 25-27.
- [61] Ibid. p26 (For other similar examples see p29 and 62-63).
- [62] Ibid. pp28, 31, 34.
- [63] Ibid. p33. These entries list the payments in detail. It is interesting to compare these details with the breakdown on the dorse of P.R.O. E/101/249/16 which gives details of tallage payments at the New Temple London in 1274 and reveals the following facts: "The Tallage of Oxford delivered by the hand of the Abbot of Osney and the Sheriff of Oxford £180-10s-0d. The Tallage of Marlborough delivered by the hands of the Prior of Okeburn £35-7s-1 1/2d. The Tallage of Hereford delivered by the hand of the Master of the Hospital of Dimmore £40-5s-4d". It would seem that the Memoranda Roll probably refers to payments made in 1274 even though it is dated Hilary 1275. It is also puzzling that the medieval maths in the lists do not add up correctly. It would also seem that the local officials in Oxford who are responsible for tallage collection are now the Abbot of Osney and the Sheriff of Oxford rather than the Prior of St Nicholas.
- [64] P.R.O. E/101/249/20. Printed in P.R.E.J.4, pp70-88.
- [65] P.R.E.J.4, pp74, 75, 76, 77, 83.
- [66] Ibid. p71.
- [67] C.C.R. 1275, p169.
- [68] P.R.E.J.4, pp74.
- [69] Ibid. p83.
- [70] Ibid. pp83-84. C.C.R. 1275, p144.
- [71] P.R.E.J.4, pp84.
- [72] Richardson, pp215-216.
- [73] C.C.R. 1276, p263. C.C.R. 1276, p126.
- [74] P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. See Chapter V below.
- [75] P.R.O. C/47/9/48.
- [76] W.A.M. Nos. 6698, 9056, 9052, 9017, 9059, 9031.
- [77] P.R.O. C/47/9/49.
- [78] P.R.O. E/101/249/33. This lists some of the debts of Moses of Northampton, Solomon fil Sampson, Josce Babstar of Northampton and Avigaye filia Vives.
- [79] P.R.O. E/101/249/31. The roll consists of three membranes, two of which were added in 1974. It records the debts of Aunta the wife of Samuel fil Moses (35), Isaac fil Moses (1), Jacob Crespyn (13), Aaron de Caerlion (13), Solomon fil Solomon (4), Tertia the wife of Lumbard (3), Copynus fil Lumbard (2), Ursellus fil Manser (2), Jacob Copyn (36), Deulecresse capellanus (17). This new evidence contradicts Richardson's statement that in 1276 there were only two Jews involved in moneylending in Exeter cf. Richardson, p18.
- [80] P.R.O. E/101/249/32. Lists the debts of Isaac fil Leon de

Poli (46), Vives fil Bonenfaunt of Gloucester (4), Vives fil Bonefy (6), Mokke who was the wife of Benedict of the Synagogue (4), Benedict fil Abraham (2), Jacob of Exeter (2), A Jew of Lambourne (1), Vives fil Vives of Gloucester (1), Lumbard of Cricklade (23), Diay of Burford (5), Moses fil Abraham Parnass (1).

[81] Richardson, pp215-216.

[82] P.R.O. E/401/1572.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Richardson, p216.

[85] P.R.O. E/401/1573.

[86] P.R.O. E/401/1575. Select Cases in King's Bench - Edward 1st, 2, Selden Society, plxiii.

[87] C.P.R. 1277, p240.

[88] C.P.R. 1277, p211.

[89] C.P.R. 1277, p215.

[90] Richardson, p216. P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, p154. C.P.R. 1278, p274.

[91] Richardson, p216 note 3.

[92] C.P.R. 1278 p282. R.W. Kaeuper, Bankers to the Crown: the Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I., p182, note 29.

[93] P.R.O. E/401/1567, P.R.O. E/101/249/16, P.R.O. E/401/1568, P.R.O. E/401/1569, P.R.O. E/401/1570, P.R.O. E/401/1571, P.R.O. E/401/1572, P.R.O. E/401/1573.

[94] P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, p154. P. Elman, Jewish Finance in thirteenth century England with specific reference to royal taxation, p139.

[95] Richardson, p216.

[96] P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, p146.

[97] C.C.R. 1287, p456. Roth, p79.

[98] Richardson, p227.

[99] Roth, p275. J. Capgrave, The Chronicle of England, p167.

Annales Londoninienses in Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, p96.

[100] P.R.O. E/401/1584, P.R.O. E/401/1585.

[101] P.R.O. E/401/1584.

[102] P.R.O. E/401/1585.

[103] P.R.O. E/401/1584, P.R.O. E/401/1585.

[104] P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp146-147, 150, 153-154.

[105] C. Gross, 'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages' Papers given at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887, pp192-194, 205.

[106] P.R.O. E/401/1574 - P.R.O. E/401/1610.

[107] H. Jenkinson, 'The Records of Exchequer Receipts from the English Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp31-37.

[108] V.D. Lipman, 'The Roth "Hake" Manuscript' Remember the Days - Essays in honour of Cecil Roth, pp53-55.

[109] P.R.O. E/401/1574.

[110] P.R.O. E/401/1575.

[111] P.R.O. E/401/1576.

[112] P.R.O. E/401/1577.

[113] P.R.O. E/401/1578, P.R.O. E/401/1579, P.R.O. E/401/1580.

[114] P.R.O. E/401/1578.

[115] P.R.O. E/401/1579.

[116] P.R.O. E/401/1580.

[117] P.R.O. E/401/1581.

[118] P.R.O. E/401/1582.

[119] P.R.O. E/101/249/25 and P.R.O. E/101/249/26.

[120] P.R.O. E/401/1583.

[121] P.R.O. E/401/1584 and P.R.O. E/401/1585.

[122] P.R.O. E/401/1586.

[123] P.R.O. E/401/1587.  
[124] P.R.O. E/401/1588.  
[125] P.R.O. E/401/1589 - P.R.O. E/401/1610. Some of these are in fact duplicates.

P.R.O. E/401/1590 September 1290-1291 £130-13s-11 1/2d  
P.R.O. E/401/1591 April-July 1291 £ 64-8s-10d  
P.R.O. E/401/1593 September 1291-1292 £ 49-3s-6 1/2d  
P.R.O. E/401/1595 April 1292 £ 18-3s-4d  
P.R.O. E/401/1597 September 1292 £ 25-18s-6d  
P.R.O. E/401/1599 April 1293 £ 15-8s-0d  
P.R.O. E/401/1601 September 1294 £ 91-13s-6 1/2d  
P.R.O. E/401/1603 April 1294 £ 35-3s-4d  
P.R.O. E/401/1606 September 1294 £ 41-4s-5d  
P.R.O. E/401/1608 April 1295 £ 76-4s-10d.

[126] John Le Botiller makes payments on P.R.O. E/401/1588, P.R.O. E/401/1590, P.R.O. E/401/1591, P.R.O. E/401/1593. The heirs of Daniel Bagge make payments on P.R.O. E/401/1590, P.R.O. E/401/1591. The heirs of Benjamin Brunning make payments on P.R.O. E/401/1590.

[127] Roger de Burghill makes payments on P.R.O. E/401/1588 and P.R.O. E/401/1591. Walter Payn makes payments on P.R.O. E/401/1588 and P.R.O. E/401/1591. Miles Pychard makes payments on P.R.O. E/401/1591.

[128] Robert Le Venour makes a payment on P.R.O. E/401/1590. John de Brauncewell makes payments on P.R.O. E/401/1590, P.R.O. E/401/1593, P.R.O. E/401/1594, P.R.O. E/401/1597, P.R.O. E/401/1602. Thomas de Lek and his associates make payments on P.R.O. E/401/1588, P.R.O. E/401/1590, P.R.O. E/401/1591, P.R.O. E/401/1593, P.R.O. E/401/1594, P.R.O. E/401/1597, P.R.O. E/401/1599, P.R.O. E/401/1601.

[129] P.R.O. E/401/1574, P.R.O. E/401/1575, P.R.O. E/401/1576, P.R.O. E/401/1577.

[130] P.R.O. E/401/1588.

[131] C. Gross, 'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages' Papers given at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887, p192.

[132] P.R.E.J.2, pp174-175, 175, 179-180, 183-184. i) It appears that Sadekyn of Northampton's estate was £30-0s-0d. He died intestate and it would seem the Crown claimed the whole estate. For its part the Crown confiscated bonds to the value of £63-6s-8d from Leo of Norwich. Total revenue for the Crown £63-6s-8d. ii) Meyr of Oxford had an estate worth £10-0s-0d. No relief had been paid so the Crown confiscated the lot. Total revenue for the Crown £10-0s-0d. iii) Saulot Mutun's estate was unknown but the Crown received fines worth £1-19s-6d from various people. Total revenue for the Crown £1-19s-6d. iv) Abraham fil Vives' estate was worth £80-0s-0d. Total revenue for the Crown £80-0s-0d. Total revenue from known Jewish estates in 1274 = £155-6s-2d.

[134] P.R.E.J.2 pp174-175.

[135] P.R.E.J.2, p175.

[136] P.R.E.J.2, pp179-180.

[137] P.R.E.J.2, pp183-184.

[138] i) Leo of Burford's estate was worth 78s-4d. Total revenue for the Crown £1-6s-1 1/2d. ii) Moses Babelard's effects were worth £1-16s-2d. Total revenue for the Crown £1-16s-2d. iii) Isaac Crespin's estate was worth £3-6s-8d. Total revenue for the Crown £1-2s-3d. iv) Isaac Gabbay's estate was worth £136-17s-0d. Total revenue for the Crown £45-12s-4d. v) Ermina the widow's estate was worth £10-0s-0d. Total revenue for the Crown £3-6s-8d. Total revenue from known Jewish estates in 1275 £53-3s-6 1/2d.

- [139] P.R.E.J.2,p241
- [140] P.R.E.J.2,p239.
- [141] P.R.E.J.2,p250.
- [142] It is known that both of Isaac's debts which were owed to him by Richard le Bret, the son of John Le Bret, of Wrangle, were in fact sold to Thomas of Wainfleet. (cf. C.P.R. 1275,p83). It is also known from other sources that Thomas of Wainfleet dabbled in moneylending. Richard Le Bret of Wrangle is also identified below cf. Chapter VI notes [105] and [106] and Chapter VII notes [28] and [118] and Appendix Table VII.
- [143] P.R.E.J.2,pp266-269. J.P. Bischoff,Economic change in thirteenth century Lincoln - the decline of a cloth industry,pp113-115.
- [144] P.R.E.J.2,p269.
- [145] P.R.O. E/401/1581, P.R.O. E/401/1582, P.R.O. E/401/1583.
- [146] C. Roth,'Elijah of London' T.J.H.S.E.,25,pp38 and 59.
- [147] Ibid. Rigg,pp131-132. P.R.O. E/9/44. It is clear that Elijah Menahem's credits were worth much more than Roth estimated. He had ninety-six bonds in his possession of which forty were owed to him and the others had been acquired presumably from other Jews. The bonds range in date from 1236-1276. The majority were contracted between 1269-1272. The total face value of the bonds is £2012-8s-0d.
- [148] C.P.R. 1285,p193.
- [149] M. Adler,Jews of Medieval England,pp279-280,291-292. Roth,p98.
- [150] M. Adler,Jews of Medieval England,pp350-352.
- [151] M. Adler,Jews of Medieval England,pp280-281,341-347.
- [152] M. Adler,Jews of Medieval England,pp299.
- [153] C.C.R. 1275,p207.
- [154] Statutes of the Realm,1,pp220-221.
- [155] Rigg,p113.
- [156] C.P.R. 1280,p372.
- [157] Ibid.
- [158] Ibid.
- [159] C.P.R. 1290,p398. C. Roth,The Jews of Medieval Oxford,p162.
- [160] P.R.O. E/101/249/24.
- [161] P.R.O. E/101/249/24. M. Adler,Jews of Medieval England,pp302-303. V.D. Lipman,'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E.,21,pp64-65.
- [162] C. Gross,'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages' papers given at the Anglo Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887,pp193-194.
- [163] C.P.R. 1276,p137.
- [164] Ibid.
- [165] Ibid.
- [166] M. Prestwich,'Edward I's Monetary policies and their consequences' Ec.H.R.,22,p406. P. Elman,'Jewish Trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica ,1,p104. C.P.R. 1278,p285. M. Adler,'Inventory of the property of the condemned Jews - 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E.,2,pp56-57.
- [167] This total can be arrived at from the various accounts of property of condemned Jews. Z.E. Rokeah,'Some accounts of condemned Jews property in the Pipe and Chancellor Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,1,p21-25. Further amounts can be added from other sources.
- [168] De Bloissiers Tovey,Anglia Judaica,pp209-210.
- [169] W. Langland,Piers the Ploughman,translated by J.F. Goodridge,p68.
- [170] M. Prestwich,'Edward I's Monetary policies and their consequences' Ec.H.R.,22,p406. C.C.R. 1278,p518, C.C.R. 1283,pp56,81,98.

- [171] C.C.R. 1275,p188.  
 [172] C.C.R. 1278,p446.  
 [173] C.C.R. 1278,p475.  
 [174] C.C.R. 1279,pp530-531.  
 [175] A. Owen, 'The references to England in the Responsa of Rabbi Meir den Baruch of Rothenburg 1215-1293' T.J.H.S.E., 17,p76.  
 [176] Roth,p74.  
 [177] Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes p252. J. Capgrave, The Chronicle of England,p164 which incorrectly dates the event as 1274. Thomas Walsingham, Historia Anglicana,p172.  
 [178] B. Cotton Historia Anglicana,p157.  
 [179] Eulogium sine Temporis,p144. M. Adler, 'Inventory of the property of the Condemned Jews - 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E.,2,pp56-57.  
 [180] P.R.O. C/47/9/50. Lipman,pp168-171. J.Ross, Annales Lincolniae,3,pp219,252. C.P.R. 1279,pp360,443.  
 [181] C.C.R. 1279,p529.  
 [182] C.C.R. 1279,pp5,6,12,19,28,41. C.P.R. 1279,pp317,323,352. C.P.R. 1280,p364.  
 [183] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some Accounts of Condemned Jew' Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,1,pp19-42,2,pp59-82,3,pp41-66. M. Adler, 'Inventory of the Property of Condemned Jews - 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E.,2,pp56-71.  
 [184] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some Accounts of Condemned Jews' Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,1,pp21-22, 25-42,2,pp59-64.  
 [185] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some Accounts of Condemned Jews' Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,2,pp65-80.  
 [186] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some Accounts of Condemned Jews' Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,2,pp80-82, 3,pp41-64.  
 [187] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some Accounts of Condemned Jews' Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,3,pp64-66. M. Adler, 'Inventory of the Property of Condemned Jews - 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E.,2,pp56-71.  
 [188] P.R.O. C/47/9/50.  
 [189] C.P.R. 1279,p320. M. Adler, Jews of Medieval England,p292. C.P.R. 1279,p328.  
 [190] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some Accounts of Condemned Jews' Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,1,pp21-23.  
 [191] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some Accounts of Condemned Jews' Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,1,p21.  
 [192] Ibid. 1,p22.  
 [193] Ibid. 1,pp23-24.  
 [194] Ibid. 1,p25. P.R.O. C/47/9/50.  
 [195] P.R.O. E/101/119/12 and P.R.O. E/101/119/20.  
 [196] S.A. Singer, 'The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290' J.Q.R.,55,pp122-123. G.H. Leonard, 'The Expulsion of the Jews by Edward I - An essay in explanation of the Exodus A.D. 1290' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,5,p141.  
 [197] P.R.O. E/401/1567, P.R.O. E/101/249/16, P.R.O. E/401/1568, P.R.O. E/401/1569, P.R.O. E/401/1570, P.R.O. E/401/1571, P.R.O. E/401/1572, P.R.O. E/401/1573, P.R.O. E/401/1584, P.R.O. E/401/1585. P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R.,7,pp146,154.  
 [198] P.R.O. E/401/1574, P.R.O. E/401/1575, P.R.O. E/401/1576, P.R.O. E/401/1577, P.R.O. E/401/1578, P.R.O. E/401/1579, P.R.O. E/401/1580, P.R.O. E/401/1581, P.R.O. E/401/1582, P.R.O. E/401/1583, P.R.O. E/401/1584, P.R.O. E/401/1585, P.R.O. E/401/1586, P.R.O. E/401/1587, P.R.O. E/401/1588, P.R.O.

E/401/1590.

[199] See note [146] above.

[200] P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp146, 154. Roth, pp272-273 and p84. Roth states that the annual average tallage during the reign of Edward I is £700-0s-0d. Actual figures intimate a figure nearer £478-0s-0d.

[201] See note [7] above.

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### Chapter III

#### Moneylending

It is hoped that the previous chapters will have provided some background to what has always been the central question of Jewish moneylending activities in the reign of Edward 1st. Having examined some of the main threads of Edwardian Anglo-Jewish society and the financial contribution that it made to the royal coffers it is now time to turn to consider Jewish moneylending in greater detail. For Edward's reign these financial activities have generally been discussed in the context of the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275. Such an approach has represented a proper acknowledgement of the central role of the Statutum, but has been based upon what appear to be several misinterpretations of the Statute. This thesis will attempt to put the Statutum in a more realistic context by recognizing that, whilst the preponderance of evidence about the Medieval Anglo-Jew is financial, the Jew was not solely a moneylender; that the Expulsion was not a direct result of the Statutum of 1275; and finally that the Jew was not the only usurious moneylender at work in Edwardian society.

#### The extant Jewish bonds of 1290

The lists of bonds found in the archae in 1290 that form the documentary reservoir of this thesis have been presented and utilized on two previous occasions: by Abrahams and Elman.[1] Initially, the research for this thesis was aimed at the revision of Abraham's work, which was after all completed almost a century ago. It was felt that it might be in need of some revision and, indeed, in part it is.[2] However as research progressed, it became clear that it was the work of Elman, and not Abrahams, which needed the greater investigation and correction. In the 1950s, Elman was the first to try to interpret the valuable evidence, first investigated

by Abrahams, which appeared on the 1290 lists.[3] The Elman thesis drawn from his study of Henry III's Jewry and from what he termed 'a closer analysis of the rolls of extant Jewish bonds of 1290', has been wholeheartedly accepted and has coloured the work of other historians of the Jews for almost thirty years.[4] To Elman the Expulsion is largely a problem of economic history.[5] His thesis, in its basic form, is that the Statute of 1275 brought about a radical change which deprived the Jews of their ability to continue openly their moneylending activities (what he terms their 'sole economic raison d'être) and that therefore they either carried on lending money by clandestine means or became so impoverished that eventually the Crown, seeing no further economic reason for keeping them, sent them into exile.[6]

In order to examine Elman's view it is necessary to return to 'a closer analysis of the rolls of extant Jewish bonds'. In so doing it will become apparent that Elman only made a passing analysis rather than a close scrutiny of the rolls. As has been established, in 1290 the archae from twenty-one different towns were delivered to Westminster and their contents recorded.[7] The lists of bonds from eleven provincial towns have survived and preserve the contents of fourteen different archae. The lists provide details of 1,106 transactions made at various dates before the Expulsion. The approximate value of these transactions which passed into the Crown's hands was £9100-0s-0d - bonds to the value of £4000 were expressed in terms of money, bonds to the value of £2700 were expressed in terms of cereal and bonds to the value of about £2400 were expressed in terms of wool.[8] The distribution of these transactions is best explained by the tables below which show the contents of eleven 'new chests' and three 'old chests'. The immediate question to be posed is were these transactions the dealings of Jewish moneylenders who had been deprived of their 'sole

economic raison d'être? Indeed, were these the transactions of moneylenders?

Both the transactions ascribed to old and new chests were recorded on rolls which were made up for each town by the Exchequer scribes. The eleven rolls consist of forty membranes and contain only abbreviated records of the transactions conducted by provincial Jewry before the Expulsion. The Exchequer scribes recorded the name of the creditor, the name of the debtor, the amount owed and the date the agreement was made: the actual transactions, from which they took their information, have long since been destroyed. The lists recorded details of bonds as well as a few details of tallies which were treated in the same way -- preserving the name of creditor, debtor, the amount owed and in some cases the date the transaction was made. Thus, to refer to these lists of 'extant bonds', as Elman does, is technically wrong, although it will remain convenient to use Elman's terminology.[9]

In his analysis, Elman tried to categorize and divide the rolls under the headings which were used by the contemporary scribes. He went on to claim that the term 'new chest' covered all debts made after 1280, and that the term 'old chest' covered all debts made before 1276, noting that all the 'old chest' debts were repayable in money.[10] Elman's division of 'old chest' and 'new chest' bonds at 1276 and 1280 is not possible.[11] For example, the Cambridge archa is designated by the scribes as a nova cista, but contains, in the main, bonds made before 1275 when the Jews were expelled from the town. However, there are four bonds which date from the 1280s.[12] Similarly, the Oxford archa which is designated as a nova cista has bonds in it which date from 1274.[13] The Lincoln archa is described as a vetus cista, but has bonds which range in date from 1278-1290.[14] Thus, the terms vetus and novus mean nothing taken

out of their purely local context, and no great emphasis can be placed on their connotations.

Elman then proceeded to state that in the 'new chests' there were forty-eight transactions represented by tallies which are expressed in terms of money, 'the greater majority under forty shillings'.<sup>[15]</sup> It is true that the tallies represent cash repayments, but there are in what can be termed novae archae in total fifty-eight tallies, and it is perhaps worth noting that fifteen of them are worth over forty shillings and there is a tally in the Devizes nova cista dated 1282 which is for £10-10s-7d.<sup>[16]</sup> Elman goes on to claim that there are 646 'new chest' debts which include 138 for cash repayment and some in which there is a choice between the goods mentioned and their monetary value.<sup>[17]</sup> He then claims that the rest of the debts, some 475, are expressed solely in terms of either cereal or wool.<sup>[18]</sup> Further examination of the tables will show positively that there are 730 'new chest' debts. Of this 730, there are fifty-eight tallies, nine bonds in which there is a mixture of money and commodities stipulated in the repayment, 157 money bonds, 331 cereal bonds and 173 wool bonds. Contrary to Elman's view there are thus 504 commodity bonds, just under half of the total number of bonds represented in the lists, all of which were made some time after 1275. There are not as Elman claimed thirty-three bonds 'in which there is a choice between the goods mentioned and their monetary value'.<sup>[19]</sup> There are in what can be termed novae archae only nine bonds which stipulate money and commodities or more than one commodity. One of these is on the Winchester roll and is a bond dated October 1284 by which John Chelebalton owed Lumbard of Winchester forty quarters of wheat and two sacks of wool. There are two other similar examples in the Lincoln and Cambridge archae.<sup>[20]</sup> The remaining six commodity and money bonds are found in the Hereford Nova Cista.<sup>[21]</sup> It is,

Bonds and tallies in the 'Novae Archa' in 1290.

Town.	Date range of bonds.	Money bonds.	Cereal bonds.	Wool bonds.	Tallies. (Money)	Mixed Repayment.	Total of bonds.
Bristol	1284-1287	2	9	0	8	0	19
Cambridge	1268-1286	31	1	3	0	1	36
Canterbury	1280-1290	0	94	1	0	0	95
Devizes	1282-1290	2	15	0	12	0	29
Exeter	1284-1290	0	21	0	24	0	45
Hereford	1283-1290	30	34	4	3	6	77
Lincoln	1278-1290	40	73	136	0	1	252
Norwich	1280-1290	2	41	17	0	0	60
Nottingham	1284-1290	50	5	3	2	0	60
Oxford	1274-1290	0	30	8	9	0	47
Winchester	1281-1290	0	8	1	0	1	10

There are two agreements in the Lincoln archa which do not conform but have been included in the table.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/2, E/101/250/3, E/101/250/4, E/101/250/5, E/101/250/6, E/101/250/7, E/101/250/8, E/101/250/9, E/101/250/10, E/101/250/11, E/101/250/12.

Bonds and Tallies in the 'Veteres Archa' in 1290.

Town.	Date range of bonds.	Money bonds.	Cereal bonds.	Wool bonds.	Tallies. (Money)	Mixed Repayment.	Total of bonds
Devizes	1258-1275	28	0	0	0	0	28
Exeter	1237-1275	143	0	0	0	0	143
Hereford	1259-1276	172	0	0	0	33	205

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/2, E/101/250/5, E/101/250/11.

The total number of bonds revealed by the archae in 1290 is 1106.

Of these 1106 bonds only 28 do not bear the date of contract.

There are 2 duplicates in the Canterbury archa.

however, clear from closer examination that, again contrary to Elman's view, these bonds clearly stipulate repayment by money and a different commodity and that there is clearly no choice of payment -- it is a case of et not Elman's aut as is clearly also the case with the Winchester bond mentioned above.

It was from this inaccurate examination of the lists of extant bonds that Elman reached his most influential conclusions. Nevertheless, despite such inaccuracies, he concluded correctly that 'the post 1275 transactions were abnormal and a direct result of the cessation forced or otherwise of the "normal" Jewish moneylending'. [22] The bonds either side of 1275 are different and it is easy to detect the change. The Devizes 'old chest' contained twenty-eight money bonds; however, the 'new chest' contained only two for money, fifteen for cereal and twelve tallies (for money). [23] The Exeter 'old chest' contained 143 money bonds and the 'new chest' twenty-one cereal bonds and twenty-four tallies. [24] The Hereford 'old chest' and 'new chest' differ once again as will be shown below. [25] The details of the bonds in each of the 'new chests' clearly show the shift towards commodities. It was from this evidence that Elman finally concluded that 'these figures would seem to point to a very considerable trade in the goods mentioned were it not that a closer analysis of the rolls raises a number of serious complications all of which cannot be completely and satisfactorily unravelled.' [26] It is the main contention of this thesis that the mystery of the bonds can be solved, that the Jews, contrary to Elman's doubts, were becoming traders, and that the change effected by Edward's Jewish policy has been misinterpreted for years as a result of Elman's unfounded suspicions that led him to believe that the commodity bonds merely represent clandestine moneylending of the old style (banned by Edward I in 1275).

It is clearly impossible to come to any conclusions about the practice of Jewish bonding by using the information as Elman did or by using the aggregated information from the tables above. Each town was answerable to different chirographers, to different local authorities, and had local clients with different needs. The bonds themselves must be examined carefully and at length. Before passing to consider three Jewish communities in the following chapters and their bonding practice both before and after 1275, it is important to know how a professional moneylender of the Middle Ages worked. It is necessary to have some idea of how much profit the Jews were taking and also a little of the competition they might face in the money market. Once this information is known and the three communities have been examined, in terms of both Jewish moneylender and Christian debtor, it will then be necessary to reach a conclusion about the effects of the Statutum de Judeismo and to see if the Jews' financial role actually changed after 1275 and if the Jews really suffered financially as a result of the Statute and thereby lost their sole raison d'être. Then it will be possible to come to some conclusions about the effect of Edward's policy upon the Jews and to see if the Expulsion is indeed purely a 'problem of economic history' rather than the result of a social dislike for the Jew and of a rejection and fear of Judaistic culture, as was previously intimated.

It is now time to consider the profession of the moneylender and society's view of his trade. In order to be a successful lender one must, of course, charge interest or a handling charge. The principal objective of the moneylender is to emerge from a transaction with a gain. To the medieval world, as to our own society, there are varying degrees of profit that are acceptable, and some that are less so. Gain, profit, interest and usury are all results of successful loans. The attitudes to and methods of making

successful loans must now be examined in some detail.

The views of the Church and the Synagogue on usury and methods of evading usury

In their very basic forms, the views of the medieval Church and the medieval Synagogue on usurious moneylending are akin -- they both deplored it. The Church's view was inherent in the Decretum of Gratian which condemns the receiving of more than the sum lent -- not only of money, but of wheat, wine and oil -- as usurious. It saw any excess demanded by a creditor, though it be only a small gift, as usury.[27] This typified the Church's view - any gain or profit was usury. There were however some exceptions in that Ambrose declared that usury might be exacted from whomever one might rightfully injure in warfare. The rule of ubi ius belli ibi ius usure was a commonly quoted justification for taking profit which derived from Deuteronomy XXIII:20.[28] The problem of such an inflexible stance on moneylending has been pointed out by Raymond de Roover :

The social need for credit was not realized by the Church. The Church's doctrine on usury was inadequate -- based on a few theological concepts, legal principles, and maxims drawn from classical pagan authors and obscure biblical quotation. It overlooked the real economic and social conditions that allowed usury to exist. The fundamental truth is that people in need of financial help had to depend on the money-lender either because they had not been able to find a Christian soul willing to lend without interest or because they preferred to keep their troubles concealed from relatives and friends.'[29]

However, despite the difficulties and equivocation that its stand presented, the Church waged an active campaign against usury which began at the Third Lateran Council in 1179 and was to reach its high points at the Council of Lyons in 1274 and the Council of Vienne in 1312.[30] In a last effort to conquer usury, the Council of Vienne identified it with heresy and even went on to suppress the Templars because of it.[31] The campaign had been thorough. The

Third Lateran Council condemned usury because it claimed that many people were deserting other occupations to become moneylenders. The Fourth Lateran Council was more specific and launched an anti-semitic attack upon the Jews. It claimed that by taking usury the Jews were gradually acquiring all the property in Christendom. As a result, the Church was becoming impoverished because tithes and oblations were no longer being paid.[32] In general the continental councils of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were all committed to the destruction of usury. It was to be exterminated in all forms whether manifest or concealed, and measures were to be taken to put a stop to fraudulent transactions. The councils declared that anyone who engaged in buying and selling on credit was to be judged a usurer and those who practised usury under pretence of sale were to be punished in this world and the next. The Council of Narbonne enacted a canon which provided Ne judaei a christianis immoderatis usuris accipiant which was clearly inspired by the earlier Fourth Lateran Council, and echoed at Beziers in 1246. The Council of Sens and the Council of Lyon even forbade anyone to lease a house to a moneylender and declared that moneylenders' wills should be invalid. Such rulings also reached Britain. Councils held in Scotland in 1225 and in Worcester in 1240 issued decrees against usury. The Council of Exeter in 1287 pronounced perpetual suspension from office for a cleric involved either as a creditor or a debtor in usurious transactions.[33]

At the same time the Church and its representatives knew they were fighting a losing battle because of the impracticality of their attitudes. Archbishop Langton, for example, with a more worldly view, had made distinctions by claiming that it was a greater sin to seek credit from a novice usurer rather than an established one, just as it was more wicked to frequent a young rather than a seasoned prostitute.[34] The Church's view was rooted in a

contradiction. Chaucer's Pardoner might well decry money, but he himself was out to make it. In the Vulgate, even St Luke appeared to be torn, as in VI:35 he was happy to pronounce, 'But love ye your enemies and do good -- and lend hoping for nothing again (nihil inde sperantes)', and in XIX:14-26 he related the parable about the talents and the servant who was chastised by his master for not making a profit without adverse comment: 'Wherefore then gavest not my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury?'.[35] The laity were not only quick to turn to such Biblical precedents but also to other justifications based on Civil Law. The Justinianic law allowed interest, albeit, under certain restrictions. Its principle of inter-est allowed the creditor to take 'that which was between' his position when he made a loan and when it was paid back.[36]

In such a situation, it was unavoidable that the attitudes of the Christian State should become as ambiguous as the attitudes of the Christian Church. To a medieval king the exploitation of credit systems was a way of life and yet other pressures made it necessary for him to confiscate the property of a dead usurer (supposedly for it to be distributed to the poor), to see the usurer excluded from communion, his alms rejected, and a Christian burial refused to him. The usurer was ranked with witches, robbers, fornicators, and adulterers. The sin of usury and love of avarice became classed as equally serious as homicide, sacrilege, perjury, incest and homosexuality.[37] The usurer was an outcast, and, with these prevailing views it was little wonder that medieval credit operations were always practised in a shady, surreptitious manner that left few records.[38]

To avoid the stigma of usury and the subsequent penalties as well as to maintain at all times a Christian facade, many methods of usury evasion became common. The earliest method used by many monasteries during the twelfth century was the simple loan on security.[39] In this transaction the creditor enjoyed the use of something tangible -- land, a horse, a carpet, a suit of armour -- until the loan had been repaid. From this the mort gage and the vif gage developed. The mort gage or mortuum vadium was a contract where the creditor got the possession of the land and any profits he could make from it other than the rents, until the debt was paid off by the debtor. The vif gage or vivium vadium was where the object or land was made the creditor's possession but the rents and profits of it were allowed to the debtor and could be used to pay off his debts.[40]

Another method of avoiding usury was made possible by extending the concept of interest to include payments which were intended to act as guarantees to the creditor. Payments of this kind were of two basic types: damnum emergens and lucrum cessans. In the case of Damnum emergens interest was charged on the understanding that the loss was actually sustained by the creditor by the debtor's default. Lucrum cessans meant that interest could be charged when the loan had failed to be repaid.[41] Out of this wide acceptance of such concepts of interest, the legal device of penalty became common. It became procedure in the Middle Ages to attach penal clauses involving monetary fines in order to encourage the fulfilment of contractual agreement.[42] The penal clause did not necessarily go to either of the two parties involved in the agreement -- it could be payable to an altar, a shrine, an abbot, the king or a guild.[43] It could also, however, be used to cover the usurious element of moneylending. A further method was to deal in commodities or mixtures of commodities and money. Transactions

which involve the changeover of money for goods or commodities have been dubbed by Professor M. Postan as 'sale credits'. [44] According to Gregory's Decretals, a loan which was made in coin and repaid in crops worth more than the original capital layout was usurious -- unless the lender took a chance that the crops might bring in less than the sum loaned. [45] Thus, whether sale credits were judged to be usurious or not was conveniently in doubt.

There were many other variations and contrivances that were open to Christ's faithful so that they could remain within the bounds of the anti-usury laws. [46] Many would lend money indirectly through a Jew or an established moneylender so that the onus of usury would fall elsewhere and both creditor and debtor could maintain a clear conscience, which was based on the popular belief that a particular creditor like a Jew might make usury without committing a mortal sin. [47] Annuities were considered lawful because the giver did not know how long the receiver would live. [48] It seemed that moneylending had developed to allow certain forms of blatant usury to be turned into allowable gain. Parkes sums up Coulton's view of the tacit acceptance of gain: 'Only when the lending of money involved also sharing in the risks undertaken by the borrower was it not reckoned to be usury and allowed to be profit.' [49]

The view of the Synagogue on moneylending was similar in tone to that of the Church but more realistic in its application. In its basic tenets, the law of the Synagogue was against usury. However, Jewish law had been tempered by the adversities and the needs of its people and was prepared to modify its teachings on usury if necessary. The Torah gave rise to certain laws whilst the Talmud interpreted the laws concerning moneylending in its own way. The Torah could therefore prohibit interest in terms of Deuteronomy

XXIII:20-21, whilst Maimonides, in his Book of Civil Laws, which incorporated civil and religious teachings could define advanced (neshekh) or delayed (tarbit or marbit) interest as nothing more than quasi usury:

Advance or delayed interest is prohibited. How is this to be understood? If a man set his mind upon obtaining a loan from another and sent him gifts in order to induce him to make the loan it is advance interest. If a man borrowed money, repaid it, and then sent gifts to the lender on account of the money that was idle it is delayed interest. He who transgresses the prohibition is guilty of quasi-usury.[50]

Thus, although Jewish law was basically against usury, it is clear that usurious moneylending was just as much a part of everyday Jewish life as it was of Christian life. Under Jewish law certain types of usury were punishable by public flogging, but this did not deter Jews from practising usury by other methods such as annuities, mortgages, commodity bonding, and advance sale credits.[51] By the time Maimonides wrote his treatise in the twelfth century the odaita, or bond, was already thousands of years old.[52] The Jews were well-accustomed to the writing of agreements, the enrolment of business transactions, and the cloaking of usury long before western Christendom. The Synagogue had reached a compromise in that even though the Talmud and the Rabbinical responsa forbade Jews to take excessive interest the local Rabbi was empowered to decide the 'proper' rate of interest that was to be allowed.[53] The concept of ubi ius belli ibi ius usure was also inherent in Jewish teachings and attitudes. The Mishnah laid down that 'One may borrow from and lend to Gentiles on interest or to an alien resident'.[54] The Wezika Talmud allowed this only under certain conditions: 'A man shall not lend to Gentiles for interest when he is able to get a livelihood in any other way'.[55] Rabbi Eleizar of Mainz echoed this in his code, the Sepher ha Rokeah:

By this we understand that in the present time when Jews own no fields or vineyards whereby they could live lending money to non-Jews for their livelihood is necessary and therefore permitted.'.[56]

Jacob ben Meir Tam, Rashi's grandson, in his Sepher ha Yashar, written at Troyes in the late twelfth century, even spoke out in favour of moneylending:

Today people usually lend money on interest to Gentiles... because we have to pay taxes to the Kings and Princes and everything serves to sustain ourselves. We live among the nations and it is impossible for us to earn a living unless we deal with them. It is therefore no more forbidden to lend at interest because 'one might learn from their deeds' than it is to engage in any other business.[57]

Similarly Menahem ben Solomon Meiri gives a matter of fact account of the position in thirteenth-century Provence:

In our days nobody cares about refraining from business dealings with and loans to Gentiles, even on their feast days -- not a gaon [leader of the community], not a rabbi, not a scholar, not a pupil, not a hasid [pious man], and not one who pretends to be a hasid. All these laws refer only to idolators and their images, but all transactions with Christians are perfectly legal.[58]

Thus, despite similar views, it seems that usury was accepted as commonplace in thirteenth-century society whilst at the same time deplored universally. It seems that the situation can be summed up adequately by the fourteenth-century commentary of Benevenuto da Imola, on Dante's Divine Comedy: 'He who practiseth Usury goeth to hell, and he who practiseth it not tendeth to destitution.'[59] It would seem that medieval Hell, whether Jewish or Christian, must have been well-populated and very rich in bonds, coins, and shady transactions.

## The mechanics of Jewish moneylending before 1275

Although Church and Synagogue frowned on usurious activity, they generally had to accept it. One of the main reasons for this reluctant acceptance was the Crown's support for the practice of moneylending at interest. This support had been expressed with the introduction of the archae system in 1194, so that the Crown could test the pulse of Jewish moneylending, and until the mid-thirteenth century the Jews had been allowed by the Crown to take usury, give loans on pledges, grant mortgages and buy and sell their debts quite freely and openly.[60] By the end of Henry III's reign, however, this tide had turned, and the Statutum de Judeismo was also to change usurious activities dramatically. Miss Sarah Cohen put it succinctly:

The combined enactments of 1269, the restriction of rents of 1271 and the restriction of lapsed securities, the limitation of the sale of debts, in 1275 the prohibition of interest and the restriction of the recovery of the principal to a moiety of the debtor's lands -- these formed a background to the last twenty years sojourn of the Jews in England.[61]

These restrictions meant that in the last third of the thirteenth century Jewish moneylending became more and more involved with the use of only two devices: the simple bond and the simple pawn. Evidence for the latter is scarce because pawnbroking did not necessitate keeping records; however some minor evidence will be considered in a later chapter. It is of more immediate importance to examine the way Jews were accustomed to making bonds.

In the thirteenth century bonds were given a variety of Latin descriptions and could take on different forms such as tallies but, in practice, the arrangements they represented were of essentially three different types.[62] The 'simple bond' recorded that 'A' would pay 'B' a sum of money on a certain date and also recorded the date

the agreement was made. The 'conditional bond' recorded that 'A' would pay 'B' a certain sum of money or goods (or a mixture of the two), or whatever 'B' desired at the time of payment; the payment was to be made either by fixed instalments or all of it on a certain date. The 'penal bond' recorded that 'A' would pay 'B' a certain sum on a certain date and that if he did not he would pay lucrum on the money at a specified agreed rate until the bond has been paid off.[63] Examples of all three kinds of bonds, and bonds which represent different combinations of different types, will be encountered below. It is, however, important to note that in all three cases the bonds never contained the amount or quantity of what the creditor actually lent to the debtor. Thus, the task confronting the modern economic historian in interpreting the medieval bond is made exceptionally and frustratingly difficult.

Since 1194, the mechanism for making a bond had been well-established. Creditor and debtor would meet and decide upon the finer details of the transaction. On concluding it between themselves, they would proceed to the archa which was usually kept in the house of one of the chirographers or custodians of the local chest. The chirographer who, in return for his services, would receive a small fee from both parties, would then draw up the official bond. The bond would record all the necessary details such as the names of both parties, the sum of money to be repaid, the date it fell due to be paid and the date it was made.[64] The original bonds in use from 1194 to about 1230 were simply bipartite chirographs with a capitula and pes (head and foot).[64] The pes was kept in the archa, whilst the capitula remained in the hands of the creditor as proof of the transaction.[65] By the 1230s, a slight variation came into usage and the bond became tripartite and seals began to be used as proof of authenticity. The sealed part was kept in the archa whilst both the creditor and the debtor held a copy of

the bond.[66] It is clear that this was still the method used by Edwardian Jewry because of a judgement made by the Scaccarium Judaeorum in 1272. In that year, a Jewess brought a plea in the Court of the Scaccarium Judaeorum because she had lost her part of the bond. The court decided:

Be it had in remembrance that Floria, the widow of Bonefy of Newbury, came and said she had lost the middle part of a chirograph for £20-0s-0d under the names of Roger Russel and Aaron of Rye. It is granted her that she have a writ for the chirograph in the chest.[67]

Generally, if the archae were destroyed or carried off (as they were during the Barons' Wars) the Crown would allow the Jews to produce their copies of the bond and the transaction would be validated.[68]

On maturity, the Christian debtor went to the chirographer or the Jew and paid the debt. If the debt were settled in full the chirographer delivered the part of the bond which was in the archa to the debtor and the transaction was cancelled.[69] If the debtor wished to be sure of his debt being well and truly cancelled, he would press the Jew for a starrum or quit-claim (an official receipt) for the debt which it is more than likely the chirographer would draw up for a small fee. An interesting example of how a debt was acquitted is provided by a letter from David Lumbard to his son Moses, who lived in Nottingham. In about 1250, David wrote:

May thy welfare increase son Moses, Live Long! I am writing to inform thee that Nicholas of Wilton hath settled with all the Jews who shared his debts, and hath paid up the full sum. I desire thee therefore to deliver up to the bearer the three bonds and the corresponding indentures that are in the coffer -- two of my own, and a third from Deulecresse for five marks [£2-13s-4d] which thou wilt find amongst mine. Have thine eyes about thee, then and give them up to the person bearing this letter without delay, for so I have promised the Justiciars. There is no need for me to write more, excepting to wish thee peace, according to my desire - Father.

Shew the chirographers this acquittance of Deulecresse and his instructions to withdraw the indenture from the coffer.[70]

It seems that Nicholas of Wilton, although the bond had been deposited in Nottingham, paid David the money elsewhere. Therefore, David's attorney or the bearer of the letter was entrusted to get Moses to secure the acquittal with the chirographers of Nottingham.

If the debt was not paid on the date of maturity there were several courses of action open to the creditor. Firstly, the Jew could pass the word in the synagogue that the debtor had defaulted and the Christian debtor might well find himself subject to a boycott by Jewish moneylenders. The unfortunate debtor would then be forced to borrow from a Jew of another community or from Christian moneylenders if he could find any willing to lend him money. Secondly, during Edward's reign, the Jew had the right even according to the Statutum de Judeismo to sue the Christian in the court of the Scaccarium Judaeorum and to press the authorities to organize an extent or valuation of the debtor's property to gain legal repayment of the debt. Thirdly, Jew and Christian might make a private agreement to the effect that more time was to be allowed or that another 'work out' loan might be made by the same Jew to try and bolster the debtor's resources enough for repayment in the future. Fourthly, the debt might be liquidated at a lower price, although this was only likely to happen if the creditor was in need of capital. Fifthly, particularly in the period before Edward's reign, the bond might be sold to a third party who, in effect, paid off the original creditor and took the debt onto his own 'books' -- although outlawed, this practice was still possible during Edward's reign by obtaining a royal licence, and indeed many of Edward's household, and in particular Eleanor, aggrandized themselves by this method of buying up debts cheaply.[71] Lastly, the Jew might remain

patient and expect a larger repayment at a later date or in the meantime, he could always get rid of the bond by paying it towards his tallage -- in effect shifting bad debts into the Crown's coffers, hoping it might have more chance of claiming them. However, speculation and moneylending have always had their risks and it has always been the case that persons involved in the money market have justified their profits because of the possibility of bad debt.

It is important to consider how much profit and usury the individual Jewish moneylender could make from a single transaction. As has already been observed, the extracts of the extant 1290 bonds do not give enough information to come to any firm conclusions -- essentially they remain simple records of debt. They do not stipulate the sum lent, the amount of interest or the securities offered by the debtor. However, it must be accepted that these transactions were not entirely free from profit. Presumably the actual terms were agreed verbally between creditor and debtor and will never be known. However, in order to obtain some idea of Jewish profits from moneylending, some earlier and more detailed transactions will have to be examined. The picture that the pre-1275 transactions will provide will be clouded by the fact that in some cases the penalty interest which only came into force on the date of maturity passing will sometimes be confused and lumped together with the running interest that the transaction was subject to. It is however just possible to obtain some indication of pre-1275 profit margin obtained through the charging of interest.

The profit margin in pre-1275 bonds

The common view held by most historians is that the 'Jewish interest rate' was a flat rate of 43.3 percent per annum. [72] This figure has its attractions as will be seen below, but it does not really represent either the 'Jewish rate of interest' or 'profit margin'. It is merely the rate charged as a penalty for non-payment of a debt. [73] The actual charge for the loan in all probability is concealed in the sum lent to the debtor. Thus, the figure of 43.3 percent may not represent the actual interest charged on a loan, although historians have been prone to take it seriously through comparisons with other moneylenders. For example, the Lombards in Bruges, in 1306, were supposedly allowed by law to lend and charge weekly interest of 2d in the £1-0s-0d. [74]

Thus, to gain some impression of the real profit margin it is necessary to look at bonds which tell us more than just the rate of penalty interest to be charged. Several extant Henrician bonds made in different parts of the country reveal such information from which some impressions of the real profit margin from loans can be gained. In 1226, Alan de Senior of Norwich owed Isaac fil Jurnet £9-6s-8d and was to give as interest thereof £1-0s-0d every year. The interest was to be paid by instalments of 10s-0d at Easter and 10s-0d on 29 September. If the instalments were not paid, there was to be a penalty of 2d in the £1-0s-0d per week. At the end of five years Alan de Senior was to render £9-6s-8d, and if, in case of default, he had not, he again ran the risk of penalty. [75] Thus, for a loan of £9-6s-8d, he was to repay the principal, pay £5-0s-0d and risk penalty interest of 2d in the £1-0s-0d per week on it. The actual profit on the loan can therefore be seen, irrespective of penalty interest, to be of the order of 10 percent per annum. In another transaction the profit rate is higher. On 24 December 1226,

John fil Robert of Depham owed Samuel fil Isaac £4-13s-4d and agreed that by 2 February 1227 he would have paid pay him a first annual instalment of £1-6s-8d, the first of a series of repayments which were to last for fifteen years. After that date, John of Depham was to pay annually 8s-11d on 15 August, 8s-11d on 1 November and on 2 February 8s-10d, and finally, on 29 September two loads of wheat.[76] The three annual cash payments during this period added up to £1-6s-8d, and the wheat was extra. Thus, the annual interest rate seems to have been approximately 25.00 percent. Another bond shows yet a higher profit margin. On 26 May 1227, Andrew Wascelin acknowledged that he owed Aaron fil Jacob £2-0s-0d. He was to repay it according to the following terms: £1-0s-0d on 25 March 1228 and £1-0s-0d on 29 August 1228 and finally, to secure the withdrawal of the chirograph from the chest, a further £3-0s-0d.[77] If de Wascelin was to clear his debt of £2-0s-0d in one year the profit margin for Aaron fil Jacob would have been 150 percent per annum.

Other rates of interest and indicators of profit margins can be found in the complaints of debtors. In 1220, at Northampton Robert fitz Henry, clericus, complained to the Justices of the Jews that David of Northampton unlawfully and against the assize lent him on gage £1-0s-0d for 10d a week interest, a rate of approximately 216 percent per annum. In the same entry Cok of Northampton had a loan of £6-0s-0d from mid-Lent to Pentecost and from Pentecost to Michaelmas for which he demanded £11-13s-4d for his repayment.[78] If the loan was not using compound interest, then it would appear that for £6-0s-0d the total repayment of £11-13s-4d could only be arrived at by charging a rate of 7.8d per £1-0s-0d a week, approximately 167 percent per annum. Another type of transaction is represented by a debt made by Emma de Beaufou in 1236. In return for £160-0s-0d she promised to pay £6-13s-4d a year for the rest of her life. This, according to Roth, represents 'a yearly interest

rate of 4.16 percent'.[79] Another bond made in Hereford, in 1244, reveals the amounts that John de Balun, lord of the manor of Much Markle had to repay for a loan from Moses fil Hamo. In this case it indicates that he was to pay an interest rate of 17 percent per annum. [80] Clearly all transactions show different interest rates and profit margins, and agreements between creditor and debtor and it is not possible to estimate the rate of interest or profit charged by the Jews on most of their bonds. In general all the surviving bonds remain silent concerning the interest they contain.

The bonds, which reveal Jewish loans to Christians, that have survived from the 1250s, the 1260s, and the 1270s offer no hint as to whether usury was being practised, no hint of whether profit was inscribed with principal, and no hint of the interest rate charged.[81] They only give information regarding repayments arising from penalty interest. It is however possible in this period to consider certain Jewish loans which contain more information than those penalty clauses which Fuss has rightly described as not necessarily representative of the degree of interest attached to the original loan.[82] In a transaction made between Jacob fil Elias and his brother-in-law Moses, in 1251, Jacob promised to pay Moses £2-13s-4d. As security, Jacob's sister Hannah held a bond which was owed to her and Jacob by Robert Bataille from which Jacob promised to pay Moses the sum of £2-13s-4d. As further security for the loan Jacob deposited a bond for £4-0s-0d owed to him by Robert de Elmswell with the Rabbi, Jacob Gabbay. In order that Moses might be able to obtain interest on his loan of £2-13s-4d, it was passed through the hands of a Gentile (to avoid the stigma of usury). The actual amount of interest that should accrue was agreed to be at 4d in the £1-0s-0d a week, approximately 86 percent per annum. [83] There is one other inter-Jewish transaction which gives some indication of a lender's expected profit margin. The Ketubbah, or

betrothal contract, of 1271, gives details of a loan. In February 1271, Belassez undertook to marry her daughter Judith to Aaron fil Benjamin. A contract, which has survived, was duly drawn up, and, as a dowry, Belassez promised to give the bride and groom a Hebrew Bible and £13-6s-8d in money. Benjamin the father of the groom was to administer the money and promised to lend it out at interest to Gentiles. On the day of the marriage, in February 1275, he was to return the money to the bride and groom and promised to return £20-0s-0d or more if it had accumulated from the original £13-6s-8d.[84] Thus, in a space of four years Benjamin expected to turn twenty marks into thirty marks or more. Lipman has already observed that this would mean charging an interest rate of 12.5 percent per annum. [85]

Therefore, before Edward's reforms of Jewish moneylending, there were two methods of making a profit on a loan. The first was generally achieved by writing the usury or profit with the loan as the amount which was the stipulated repayment. The second was an interest or penalty charge which was made on the debtor's default and was generally charged at a rate of 43.3 percent per annum. There is therefore no easily identifiable interest rate on Jewish lending. The basis of Jewish moneylending, as Parkes has observed, 'was usury -- that is a charge for the loan beginning from the day on which the loan was made, calculated in the bond usually as a fixed sum due on the day appointed for repayment'. [86] The Henrician bonds that have been examined above clearly show that the Jew's profit fell into these two categories. Jewish loans to Christians in the 1220s, 1230s and 1240s vary from as much as 215 percent to as little as 4.16 percent. Inter-Jewish loans from the 1250s and 1270s seem to indicate that the expected rate of interest could vary between 12.5 percent and 86 percent. Thus, before Edward's reign usury was a fixed mutual agreement between creditor and debtor

together with penalty interest at a rate of approximately 43.3 percent. As Roth has pointed out this penalty interest on its own would be enough to double the principal lent in just a few years.[87] But, as has been demonstrated above, even greater if highly variable profit margins could be achieved during the normal course of the loan, by for example the writing of profit in the principal lent in the sum on the bond or by fixing conditional repayments which concealed the profit. This seems to have been the accepted mode of Jewish moneylending before 1275. It is now time to consider what terms the other major competitors in the money market could offer.

#### Other usurers, usury evasion, and Christian moneylenders

The historian does not have to look far for the common financial complaint of the thirteenth century. Inflation did not dog the medieval mind, whereas usury did. Usury caused financial and moral problems for both creditor and debtor alike. De Roover noted that:

While loans for consumption purposes are rarely the primary cause of financial trouble, one should not be blind to the fact that such troubles are certainly aggravated by the high interest rates wrested from the borrower. The result is to make the repayment much more difficult and painful. In many cases it requires threats of court action or other forms of pressure to make the debtor fulfil his commitments. Pitilessness is an integral part of a moneylender's business and resentment and wrath are the most common feelings amongst the borrowers.[88]

And of course it was not only the practices of the Jews which led to this problem. 'In these days,' railed Matthew Paris in 1235,

the abominable plague of Cahorsins raged so fiercely that there was scarce any man in all England, especially among the prelates, who was not entangled in their nets. The king himself was in debt to them for an incalculable amount. They circumvented the

indigent in their necessities, cloaking their usury under the pretence of trade and feigning not to know that whatsoever payment is added to the principal is usury, under whatever name it be called.[89]

In certain circumstances it indeed seems that despite the hatred towards usurers the Jew was more preferable than a Christian usurer. If the usurer were Jewish the Church could easily denounce him and try and prevent its flock from providing food or succour until usury were curbed. If the usurer were Jewish, the State was able to imprison, tallage or punish at will. However, if the usurer were Christian and unafraid or unconvinced of the fires of Hell that waited for him -- the Church and State were not so able to deal with him, particularly if he had powerful indebted allies.

This point is underlined by Bishop Grosseteste on his deathbed in 1253:

The whole world knoweth that Usury is held in detestation in the Old and New Testament and is forbidden by God. Yet now the Lord Pope's merchants or moneychangers practice their Usury publicly in London -- to the disgust of the Jews. They plot divers and grievous machinations against men of the Holy Church, and especially religious men, compelling men under pressure of penury to lie and to append their sign-manuals to false deeds, which is as it were to commit idolatory and to renounce Truth that is God.[90]

Grosseteste also reveals why he thought the Jews were preferred as moneylenders:

For instance I borrow a hundred marks [L66-13s-4d] for a hundred pounds (which I am to pay at the end of the term); I am compelled to execute and sign a deed wherein I confess that I have received a loan of a hundred pounds which I will repay at the end of the year. And if by chance thou wilt pay the Papal Usurer the principal of the money which thou hast now in possession within a month or less of the day of borrowing -- he will not accept it unless thou pay him the whole hundred pounds. This is worse than a Jew's conditions; for the Jew will receive the principal courteously whensoever thou shalt return it with only so much interest as

is proportionate to the time for which thou hast it in hand.[91]

Thus it is clear, to some observers, that the Jew was not the worst offender amongst the usurers who operated in thirteenth-century England. The Lombards, the Cahorsins and the Italians acting sometimes with the full knowledge of Crown and Papacy were all ignoring the smell of sulphur and brimstone and employing the 'biting dust' of usury. Jewish and Christian historians have been too fond of stating that the Jew became moneylender because it was an occupation forbidden to Christians by canon law. This is simplistic, naive, and unsupportable.[92] It must never be forgotten that the Jews were never without rivals in their pursuit of moneylending or usurious transactions. Their business was not the monopoly that historians sometimes intimate. Usury was not just the domain of unpopular aliens; there was, in fact, a strong element of Christian English moneylenders.[93]

For evidence of the methods used by such Christian English moneylenders there is no need to look far. The means which they used to repay their debts was a distant cousin of the Jewish money bond -- the recognizance. Postan has adequately defined this financial instrument as being:

the formal acknowledgement of the obligation of the debtor before a judicial tribunal. The recognizance so acknowledged and recorded upon the court rolls was not merely an enrolled obligation it was equivalent to a judgement. By recognizing the obligation before the court the debtor conceded to the creditor in advance the right to proceed with the execution (against the security of his lands, goods and person) as soon as he defaulted.[94]

Recognizances are plentiful during the thirteenth century, enrolled in Letter Books, Cartularies, and the Rolls of Chancery. From the London Letter Books of 1276-1284, it seems that the number of

English recognizances significantly increased between these dates.[95] From the Close Rolls, almost five hundred instances of these acknowledgements of debt can be found for the years 1272-1279. It is impossible to believe that these debts do not contain a profit for the creditor. If the hypothesis that these are some species of loan is correct, then many of these Christian creditors flouted the usury prohibitions and risked hell-fire and damnation in order to take a profit. The examination and a consideration of the more detailed lists below will hopefully provide some idea of the Jews' competitors amongst English society which will in turn help to see the Jewish moneylender in perspective. There were several social categories in thirteenth-century England that had access to large amounts of capital and might be expected to be involved in moneylending: the secular clergy, the merchants, the tax-collectors, the Crown, civil servants and the royal household, foreign merchants and provincial officials. Almost all these categories would seem to have been deeply involved in the lending of money in some way or other.

Before examining the sort of moneylending that these groups were involved in it will be necessary to look at these people who appear on the Close Rolls to be involved in financial transactions between 1272 and 1279 which might have involved elements of usury.

#### Christian recognizances on the Close Roll, 1272-1279

The regular and secular clergy can be considered as one group. Examples in which abbeys bought up land by buying off mortgages to the Jews will be illustrated elsewhere but the lending activities of the monasteries in the twelfth century are also well-known. Thus, the regular clergy was already highly involved in finance, which makes it ironical that they were amongst the first to denounce the Jewish moneylender who it seems might have been more popular with

Recognizances which reveal debts to Clergy 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Number of Recognizances Enrolled.	Total Amount of debt owing to Conusee..
Robert Burnell, Archdeacon of York, Bishop of Bath and Wells.	18	£ 695 6s 8d
Abbot of Vale Royal	1	£ 400 0s 0d
Master Ralph of Wickham, Archdeacon of Bath.	1	£ 375 0s 0d
Abbot of Stanley, Wiltshire.	1	£ 200 0s 0d
Walter Merton, Bishop of Rochester.	7	£ 113 6s 8d
John of Kirkby, Parson of Ingham Church Lincolnshire.	1	£ 100 0s 0d (To be paid in three annual instalments)
Abbot of Messenden	1	£ 86 13s 4d
John de Wytham,Chaplain.	1	£ 80 0s 0d
Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York.	1	£ 66 13s 4d
John de Sancto Dionisio and executors of Walter Merton's will	3	£ 65 0s 0d
Master Benedict of St. Quentin,Dean of Bruges.	1	£ 42 0s 0d
Abbot of Lesnes	1	£ 26 13s 4d
Abbot of St James without Northampton.	1	£ 26 13s 4d
Prioress of Goring near Wallingford.	1	£ 26 13s 4d
John de la Cliche, Parson of Barningham Church Norfolk.	1	£ 21 13s 4d
John de la Neylaund, Vicar of Asinton.	1	£ 20 0s 0d
Prior of New Hospital, Bishopsgate London.	1	£ 16 13s 4d
Robert de Longspee,Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.	1	£ 16 13s 4d

John de Sancto Dionisio, Archdeacon of Rochester.	1	£ 13 6s 8d
William, Bishop of Leicester	1	£ 12 0s 0d
Prior of Holy Trinity, London.	1	£ 10 0s 0d
Thomas de Verdun, Parson of Fernham Church	1	£ 7 6s 8d
Order of Friar Preachers, London	1	£ 3 8s 0d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages, 38,  
41,45,52,53,109,110,113,121,131,132,135,143,228,235,244,  
249,337,338,355,416,420,424,426,430,491,492,497,509,512,  
550,551,559,568,573,576,578.

his debtors than the monasteries or clergy were with theirs. A brief examination of the Close Rolls from 1272-1279 reveals that representatives of Holy Trinity London, Lesnes, Messenden, St James without Northampton, Stanley in Wiltshire, Vale Royal, the Order of Friar Preachers, and the New Hospital of Bishopsgate had recognizances enrolled which recorded debts owed to them.[96]

It seems that, far from avoiding monetary commitments, bishops like abbots actually welcomed the possibility of having a circle of debtors around them. Robert Burnell, whose ecclesiastical career made him archdeacon of York in 1274 and bishop of Bath and Wells in 1279 and who was Prince Edward's chancellor and was to become Keeper of the Great Seal, made eighteen recognizances, as a conusee, between 1272 and 1279 worth a value of £695-6s-8d.[97] Walter Merton, the bishop of Rochester, from the evidence on the Close Rolls of 1272-1279 was owed at least a total of £110-0s-0d.[98] Walter Gifford, the archbishop of York, Robert de Longspee, the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and William, the bishop of Leicester, were all owed various amounts of money.[99]

However, it was not only the monasteries and the leading clergy that were involved in what would appear to be moneylending transactions for several of the lesser clergy have also left their recognizances enrolled. In 1274, Bartholomew of Burleye owed John de Kirkby, the parson of Ingham Church in Lincolnshire, the sum of £100-0s-0d to be paid in three annual instalments.[100] Other lesser clergy such as Foucher, the parson of Thurlow Church in Suffolk, Thomas de Verdun, the parson of Fernham Church, and John de Witham capellanus have also left record of debts owed to them.[101] Ever conscious of the stigma of usury and the hypocrisy of their situation, it is unlikely that, if they charged interest or made a profit, it will ever be known.

The Crown itself was another large source of readily available capital for despite their own debts and financial problems, the royal family still had one of the largest incomes in the country. In 1273, Nicholas de Cranford, the archdeacon of Taunton, owed Eleanor, the queen mother, £20-0s-0d.[102] Similarly, her daughter-in-law, Eleanor of Castile, was owed over £180-0s-0d from debts recorded on the Close Roll during the period 1272-1279.[103] The king himself was also owed debts by various individuals. In 1276, Walter de Pedwardyn owed him £40-0s-0d.[104] In the same year, Walter de Valencia, later earl of Pembroke, owed him £200-0s-0d and a royal favourite, the archdeacon of Durham, owed him £400-0s-0d.[105] When the bishop of Rochester, William Merton, died, all his lands and chattels were taken into the king's hands because Merton's debts to the Crown were still outstanding.[106] Edmund, Duke of Cornwall, following in his father's footsteps, was owed £8000-0s-0d, in 1275, by ten influential members of the nobility: Humphrey de Bohun, Thomas de Verdun, Gilbert Pecche, Robert de Ufford, Hugh Pecche, Thomas Peche, William de Seye, Warin de Hereford, Eudo la Zusche and John de Bohun.[107]

Members of the royal household also appear to have had debts owed to them. Between 1273 and 1279, John de Ubbeston, the usher of the king's chamber, was owed £121-0s-0d for six transactions.[108] Arnettus, the king's butler, was owed £50-0s-0d.[109] Even the royal cook Master Robert was owed £3-6s-8d.[110] In 1277, William de Somerfeld, the royal tailor, was owed £150-0s-0d.[111] In 1279, John de Bohun owed William Harding, the king's baker, £16-0s-0d.[112] Walter of Kent, the queen's steward and an Exchequer clerk, was owed £51-0s-0d by Gilbert de Knovill and £38-13s-4d by Richard Taverner of Oakham, and £40-0s-0d by the Prior of St Andrews Northampton.[113] Thus, the royal family and the royal household were involved in commercial transactions which indicate that they

Recognizances which reveal debts to the Royal Family  
1272-1279.

Conusee.	Number of Recognizances Enrolled.	Total Amount of debt owing to Conusee.
Edmund Earl of Lancaster, Duke of Cornwall.	13	£ 8430 10s 0d
Edward 1st, King of England.	4	£ 730 3s 4d
Eleanor of Castile, Queen of England.	6	£ 187 3s 4d
Eleanor of Provence, Queen Mother.	1	£ 20 0s 0d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages,  
46,54,112,238,239,243,356,412,423,425,510,512,563,  
574.

Recognizances which reveal debts to members  
of the Royal Household 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Number of Recognizances Enrolled.	Total Amount of debt owing to Conusee.
Walter of Kent, Queen's Steward, and Exchequer Clerk.	4	£ 156 6s 8d
William de Somerfeld, Royal Tailor.	1	£ 150 0s 0d
Hugh son of Otto, The King's Steward.	1	£ 133 6s 8d
John de Ubbeston, Usher of the King's Wardrobe.	6	£ 121 0s 0d
Arnettus, The King's Butler.	1	£ 50 0s 0d
Sir Francis de Bononia, L.L.D. ,King's Councillor.	1	£ 18 0s 0d
William Harding, The King's Baker.	1	£ 16 0s 0d
Mathew de Columbariis, The King's Chamberlain.	1	£ 14 1s 4d
Master Robert, The Royal Cook.	1	£ 3 6s 8d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages,  
227,229,236,240,242,336,341,345,408,411,413,416,488,  
509,575,578.

were not short of capital to invest or possibly to lend. It seems hard to believe that they would lend 'expecting nothing in return'.

The recognizances on the Close Roll also indicate that many members of both the greater and minor nobility were engaged in similar financial transactions that might bear interest or profit.[114] The conusees who can be identified include Hugh of Kendal and Walter de Helyun, both royal officials whose duties included Jewish affairs, Humphrey de Bohun, the Earl of Hereford, Philip Burnell, Bartholomew de Brianzun, Isabella de Forz, the countess of Aumale, Adam de Stratton, the former's estate manager and a royal official who, in 1279, was charged with extortion and was later convicted as a traitor and sorcerer in 1290, Nicholas Peyson miles, Nicholas Cuggeho miles and steward of the Forest of Bristol, William of Middleton, a clerk of the Scaccarium Judaeorum who dabbled in Jewish debts, Robert de Tybotot, the constable of Nottingham castle who later borrowed from the Jews, Gilbert de Britteshale miles, Henry de Lacy, the Earl of Lincoln, Henry of Winchester miles, William de Cuggeho miles, Master Henry de Bray, a royal official, Lawrence de Preston miles, Hugh Burnel, Stephen de Edeworth, Nicholas de Sifrewast miles, who was owed almost £200-0s-0d for ten transactions registered during this period and John de Vescy who was owed £385-6s-8d by Peter le Taberur.[115] All the transactions of these men and others that have been recorded on the Close Roll are shown in the tables. One particular business that of William de Hamilton, a clerk, who became a knight and who was owed a total of £236-15s-4d from debts enrolled during this period is examined in closer detail in another table below.[116] It is particularly revealing because of the diverse areas from which his debtors came and because of the way in which he shared transactions with other conusees.

Recognizances which reveal debts to Nobility,  
Officials and Knights 1272 - 1279.

Conusee.	Number of Recognizances Enrolled.	Total Amount of debt owing to Conusee.
William de Valencia, Earl of Pembroke.	5	£ 816 13s 4d
John de Vescy, Lord of Alnwick.	1	£ 385 6s 8d
Nicholas de Cuggeho, Steward of the Forest of Bristol, and his wife Amice.	5	£ 376 6s 8d
<u>Nicholas de Sifrewast Miles.</u>	10	£ 220 13s 4d
William de Hamelton.	14ss	£ 151 17s 2d
<u>Philip Burnell Miles.</u>	4	£ 142 13s 4d
Robert de Tybotot <u>Miles</u> , Constable of Nottingham Castle.	2	£ 136 13s 4d
<u>Nicholas Peyson Miles.</u>	2	£ 133 6s 8d
Master Thomas Bek Archdeacon of Dorset, Keeper of the Wardrobe.	2	£ 124 0s 0d
Henry de Lacy of Colchester, Earl of Lincoln.	3	£ 106 13s 4d
Anthony Bek Archdeacon of Durham.	1	£ 100 0s 0d
Bogo de Clare	3	£ 70 0s 0d
<u>Walter de Helyun et sociis, Miles</u> and Royal Justice.	5	£ 66 6s 4d
Henry de Bray, Bailiff and Constable of Abergavenny Castle.	2s	£ 64 0s 0d
<u>Laurence de Preston Miles.</u>	1	£ 53 6s 8d
Stephen de Edeworth, Bailiff of Clarendon.	2	£ 46 0s 0d
Hugh of Kendal, Clerk of Chancery.	5	£ 41 13s 4d

Itherius Bochar, King's Clerk and envoy to Rome.	2	£ 36 13s 4d
Adam de Stratton	1	£ 33 6s 8d
Imbert de Monferaunt, Later Constable of Gloucester Castle.	1	£ 26 13s 4d
Michael de Hispania, Yeoman of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.	1	£ 20 0s 0d
John Bek, Royal Justice.	1	£ 20 0s 0d
Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and	1	£ 13 6s 8d
William de Cuggeho, <u>Miles.</u>	1	£ 13 6s 8d
Hugh Burnell, <u>Miles</u> , Nephew of Chancellor, Robert Burnell.	1	£ 13 6s 8d
Gilbert de Briteshale, <u>Miles.</u>	1	£ 10 13s 4d
Henry of Winchester, <u>Miles.</u>	1	£ 10 0s 0d
Isabella de Forz, Countess of Aumalle.	1	£ 8 6s 8d
Bartholomew de Brianzun, Assessor of the fifteenth in 1275.	1	£ 6 13s 4d
William de Middleton, Jewish official.	1	£ 2 0s 0d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages,  
45, 51, 57, 58, 110, 113, 114, 123, 126, 131, 232, 233, 234, 235,  
237, 238, 240, 242, 247, 251, 252, 253, 255, 331, 332, 336, 337,  
338, 340, 341, 345, 350, 357, 411, 420, 422, 423, 426, 427, 430,  
431, 448, 492, 497, 498, 499, 512, 533, 550, 559, 560, 563, 570,  
573, 574, 575, 578, 579, 582.

Recognizances which reveal debts to William de Hamelton  
1272 - 1279.

Date of Enrollment.	Conusor.	Security.	Amount of debt.
4th November 1275	Hugh son of William of Nottingham	Lands in Lincolnshire	£ 2 13s 4d
5th March 1276	William son of William of Nottingham	Lands in Lincolnshire	£ 2 13s 4d
12th May 1276	Master Ralph of Fremyngham	Lands in Kent	£ 33 6s 8d
16th May 1276	Payn de Carducis, Captain of the Garrison in West Wales.	Lands in Oxfordshire	£ 7 6s 8d
25th May 1276	Robert de Marteyn	Lands and Chattels	£ 3 6s 8d
21st July 1276 Also owed to William Le Semoner of Manchester.	Roger de Clifford, Senior, Royal Justice.	Lands in Shropshire and Worcestershire	£ 17 14s 4d
29th October 1276	William of Warrington	Lands in Lancashire	£ 7 6s 8d
4th November 1276	Philip de Paunto	Lands in Lincolnshire	£ 2 13s 4d
7th November 1278	Robert de Acovere	Lands in Derbyshire	£ 3 6s 8d
1st December 1279	Robert de Acovere	Lands in Derbyshire and Staffordshire	£ 4 0s 0d
1st December 1279	Roger de Beltoft	Lands in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire	£ 9 6s 8d
28th April 1279 Also owed to Master Henry de Bray.	Theobald de Verdun	Lands in Warwickshire and Leicestershire	£106 13s 4d
12th October 1279	Prior of Christ Church Canterbury	Lands in Kent	£ 6 13s 4d
9th November 1279	Laurence de St Michaelis	Lands in Kent and Essex	£ 12 0s 0d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages, 252, 332, 340, 357, 420, 422, 423, 427, 431, 512, 550, 563, 575, 582.

It would be expected that the merchant and artisan would have capital available which he might put to work to make a profit, and indeed this sort of person is well represented amongst the recognizances. To the trader or tradesman the mortgage or pledge were of little use: his business by its nature could involve a fair degree of mobility and a fast turnover. Such people would thus be more likely to prefer repayments and rewards in commodities or cash. The Close Roll reveals that John Adrian, Thomas de Basinges, Ralph de Alegate, Philip le Bret and Gregory de Rokesle, who are all described as either traders or citizens of London, had their transactions recorded.[117] Philip le Taillur of London was owed a total of £134-10s-0d by various clients during the period.[118] His contemporary Hugh le Taillur was owed £119-0s-0d.[119] A smaller debt of £5-13s-4d was owed to Peter the Goldsmith of London Bridge.[120] Of all the citizens of London who have debts recorded two stand out above the rest: Bartholomew de Castello, a clerk, and Stephen de Cornhull, a draper. It is clear that Bartholomew de Castello is a conusee on a very large scale -- his sixteen recognizances on the Close Roll for this period are worth almost £1100-0s-0d and might be an indication that his business interests were primarily concerned with the provision of capital.[121] His house in London was clearly a well-known landmark to men in search of credit or loans. In 1279, in a deed made between Andrew de Sackville and Henry de Lenn, the clerk of the bishop of Bath and Wells, the sum was to be paid 'in London in the house of Bartholomew de Castello on Mid-Lent day'.[122] The other prominent London citizen, Stephen de Cornhull, seems to have preferred more diverse methods of payment, which suggests that he was involved in the trading of commodities. During the period he was owed debts worth £514-15s-6d.[123] He was owed £418-2s-2d in cash repayments as well as 126 quarters of cereal, sixty quarters of barley, and eight sacks

Recognizances which reveal debts to Londoners 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Number of Recognizances Enrolled.	Total Amount of debt owing to Conusee.
Bartholomew de Castello, Clerk of London.	16	£ 1107 3s 8d
Stephen de Cornhull, Draper of London.	17	£ 418 2s 2d
(He is also owed 126 qtrs of well cleaned wheat, 60 qtrs of barley, and 8 sacks of wool at 8 marks the sack worth approx- imately a further £ 96 13s 4d.)		
	Total value of debt	£ <u>514 15s 6d</u>
Philip Le Taillur, Merchant of London.	3	£ 134 10s 0d
Hugh Le Taillur, Merchant of London.	6	£ 119 0s 0d
Ralph de Alegate, Clerk of London.	3s	£ 82 6s 8d
Gregory de Rokesle, Mayor and Chamberlain of London, Collector of Jewish Tallage, Purveyor of the King's wines, Keeper of the King's Exchange of London.	1s	£ 16 0s 0d
Thomas de Basinges, Wool merchant and Citizen of London.	2	£ 14 13s 4d
Peter the Goldsmith of London Bridge.	1	£ 5 13s 4d
John Adrian, Citizen of London.	1	£ 3 15s 0d
Philip Le Bret, Citizen of London.	1	£ 1 3s 8d

Gregory de Rokesle and Ralph de Alegate share a debt.

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages, 44, 51, 57,  
109, 110, 111, 113, 120, 126, 231, 235, 236, 247, 248, 250, 256, 336, 349,  
355, 356, 357, 358, 361, 418, 421, 422, 492, 497, 499, 513, 550, 568, 570,  
578, 579, 580, 581, 582.

of wool worth £96-13s-4d. The commodities were owed by provincial clients. In October 1275, Geoffrey de Suthorp miles, Hugh Ridel of Wittering, and William de Colewill, all of Lincolnshire, made an acknowledgement that they owed Stephen de Cornhull 'one hundred and twenty six quarters of wheat, well cleaned, and sixty quarters of barley which were to be rendered at Suthorpe at Christmas.' [124] There is no reason to suspect the validity of this recognizance as a genuine advance sale credit. In October 1276, Ela, the Countess of Warwick, in what appears to be a similar transaction, acknowledged that she owed Stephen eight sacks of wool at the fixed price of eight marks or £5-6s-8d per sack. [125]

The recognizances of provincial artisans and merchants are less easy to identify and the impression given from a brief examination of the Close Rolls is that men simply identified as clerici were useful sources of capital in provincial towns. [126] There are, however, examples of men who were clearly artisans or merchants operating in this capacity in such places. In 1274, Master Ralph the Salter was owed £66-13s-4d by Robert of Thurlesby. [127] In October 1276, a recognizance was enrolled in which Waleran de Muceus of Sussex acknowledged that he owed William the draper of Dover £12-13s-4d. As security on this loan William of Dover acknowledged that he had Waleran's chattels comprising a silver gilt cup and two silken girdles which he would return at mid-Lent when a moiety of the debt had been paid. [128]

These then are the sorts of people who appear with money owed to them in recognizances enrolled on the Close Roll. It is of course impossible to state categorically, from the evidence available, that they were all involved in usurious moneylending, but it is equally impossible to believe that in every instance these creditors did not gain something from the transactions in which they

Recognizances which reveal debts to provincial  
creditors 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Number of Recognizances Enrolled.	Total Amount of debt owing to Conusee.
John de Reda, <u>clericus.</u>	4	£ 85 0s 0d
Master Henry of Newark, King's clerk.	2	£ 76 6s 8d
Master Ralph the Salter.	1	£ 66 13s 4d
Master William of Louth.	3	£ 43 0s 0d
John Denys of Sandwich.	1	£ 14 14s 0d
William the Draper of Dover.	1	£ 12 13s 4d
William the Spicer of Oxford.	1	£ 9 15s 10d
Grimbald Pauncefoot	1	£ 6 19s 0d
Richard of Stamford, <u>clericus.</u>	1	£ 6 13s 4d
Master Peter, Warden of the Scholars of Merton.	1	£ 3 0s 0d
Robert of Scarborough, <u>clericus.</u>	1	£ 2 0s 0d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages 44,  
121, 231, 238, 240, 253, 339, 355, 417, 559, 565, 566, 573, 577, 581.

were involved. The problems of identifying moneylending in Christian society in the thirteenth century are manifold due to the fear of the accusation of usury. As Postan has observed, 'Medieval loans were always disguised into or regarded as species of other transactions with which the Middle Ages were more familiar -- especially those of purchase and sale.' [129] Indeed a thirteenth-century recognizance, like a thirteenth-century Jewish bond, presents the commentator with serious difficulties because of the things it does not record. A recognizance merely indicates the names of the creditor and the debtor and the amount owed. It does not stipulate the date at which the debt is to be repaid or the basic reasons for the debt having arisen. In order to establish that some of the transactions which lay behind the recognizances are parallel to the provision of the sort of credit facilities with which, as has been demonstrated the Jew was associated, it is necessary to attempt to identify the services rendered by the conusors and the price the conusees were being asked to pay for those services. This will be a difficult task, as R.B. Pugh observed, 'He who essays to reduce to intelligibility the credit instruments of the Middle Ages condemns himself to much drudgery without necessarily emerging from his labour with a clear mind.' [130] However, there are a few instances where a glimpse of the services rendered by the conusor makes it possible to decide what type of transaction is being represented by the recognizance, and whether it might bear profit. To get a better understanding of the Christian money market and commercial customs a few such cases will be examined.

An entry on the Close Roll for 25 June 1273 records that Peter de Nevill came into Chancery and acknowledged that he had received from William de Chawances £10-0s-0d which he was to repay William at the Octaves of Michaelmas next. Peter granted that if he did not,

the carucate of land in Carleton Curly with which he had enfeoffed William and of which he had given him seisin would remain to him forever. If Peter paid the money to William at the said term the carucate of land would refer to Peter quit of William.[131] This is quite clearly a mortgage agreement. Another example of this type of transaction where money is definitely seen to be lent on the security or pledge of land occurs in May 1276 when John de Middleton acknowledged receipt from Walter de Esturton and Juliana his wife of 40 marks (£26-13s-4d) as a 'loan' for which he mortgaged the manor of Middleton and the advowson of the church to them. John was to repay the £26-13s-4d on Le Hokeday (26 April) 1278 in the church of St Nicholas at Middleton. If John defaulted, the manor and advowson were to remain in fee and inheritance to Walter and Juliana according to the terms of the charter of feoffment. Until the day of John's default or successful repayment the charter was deposited with the prior of La Chauceye of Arundel. If John defaulted, the couple were to pay a further 60 marks (£40-0s-0d) and the manor would be theirs.[132] It is worth remembering that the Jews were forbidden to make this type of transaction by the legislation of 1269 and 1271.[133] It seems that Christians had followed the Jews and may have begun to fill the gap left in the mortgage trade.

As well as mortgages, advance sale credits appear amongst the recognizances. This is a form of lending money which was in keeping with the tenets of the church and the synagogue because it involved risk. Stephen de Cornhull's dealings, which were of this kind, with his provincial clients have already been referred to above. There are, however, other examples. In 1275, Hugh fil Otto, the king's steward, paid Walter de Colevill £133-6s-8d in a quasi-advance sale credit for the corn, stock, and all the issues on Walter's manors of Basham, Albourn, Kockerington, and Weston in Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire until the debt was repaid.[134] In November of the

same year Ralph Byl of Fileby acknowledged that he owed Master Adam of Fileby seventy quarters of barley 'to be levied in default according to the market price in County Norfolk at the time when it ought to be delivered from his lands in Norfolk.' [135] The service rendered by the conusor is not known but it is certain that the barley was not to be delivered for nothing. Another much quoted example of an advance sale credit also appears amongst the samples of recognizances. In September 1276, Brother Peter, the abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Fountains in Yorkshire, made a recognizance whereby he sold sixty-two sacks of wool to Dunelinus Jonte, Bernard Thethaldi, and his brother Theclinus and other citizens and merchants of Florence. The wool was to be of the crop collecta of the monastery without clack or lock, cot and breech wool, or black, grey inferior fleece and without pelt wool. The abbot was to deliver the wool at Clifton to the merchants or their attorney; it was to be prepared and weighed by lawful stipulation at the cost of the monastery. Instalments were to be rendered under the following terms: 'seventeen sacks at Midsummer 1277, seventeen sacks at Midsummer 1278, fourteen sacks in 1279 and fourteen sacks in 1280'. In return the conusors (the merchants) were to pay in advance in London 697 and a half marks 'of good, new and lawful sterlings -- 13s-4d being counted for each mark'. The abbot and convent of Fountains were to pledge that they would renounce all 'aid of canon and civil law, privilege of the clergy, letters, indulgences and inhibitions from the Pope or the King's court'. [136] This transaction is a form of moneylending. The Florentines paid 11 and a quarter marks per sack in 1276 probably in the hope that the price of wool would rise by 1277. It is interesting in the light of the other activities indulged in by foreign merchants, which are about to be discussed in greater detail, that this particular sale credit agreement made by Florentines is not dissimilar from the agreements

discussed above made by English Christian dealers.

Thus, in the more explicit recognizances it is possible to trace quasi-moneylending activities. In addition to such references there are, however, enrolled on the Close Roll, recognizances which reveal what might be termed straightforward moneylending transactions entered into by what might be termed professional moneylenders. These recognizances record the transactions of several Italian 'banking firms', the dealings of minor foreign moneylenders and even some transactions entered into by Jews. Of the larger moneylenders two distinct societas or partnerships of Italians can be identified: the Luccans and the Florentines (a table of their bonds has been provided). One group of Florentines was headed by Nutus Fulbert who worked closely in conjunction with his brother Burgesius and his colleague John and, during the period examined, made seventeen loans worth a face value of £770-16s-4d.[137] Another group of Florentines headed by Hugh Pape and including men like Torisanus Le Pape, Hugelino de Vecchio, Hugh de Postes, Toresanus Donatus and Donatus Pape contracted eight loans worth £310-3s-8d.[138] It seems that Hugh Pape had been operating in England with the royal approval for he was referred to in 1271 by Henry III as noster mercator. [139] The Luccans were represented by Luke de Lucca himself and after his death in 1279 by Orlandius de Podio. The records from the Close Roll show only three transactions worth £919-0s-0d but Dr Kaeuper's excellent study shows this to be the tip of the Luccan iceberg.[140]

Several minor foreign moneylenders can be identified from these recognizances. There are two Frenchman who seem to have entered into some kind of transactions - Peter Caku, merchant of St Malo, and John Vallet, merchant of Chartres.[141] Other foreigners can be identified such as Master Simon de Beauvais and John of Bruges who

Recognizances which reveal debts to the House of  
Nutus Fulbertus of Florence 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Date of Enrollment.	Conusor.	Amount of debt.
Nutus and Burgesius his brother.	10th November 1275	Roger Le Estraunge	£ 142 1s 8d
Nutus	28th May 1276	Roger de Clifford Senior	£ 53 6s 8d
Nutus	21st July 1276	Ralph Basset of Drayton	£ 25 6s 8d
Nutus	24th July 1276	John de Bohun	£ 16 13s 4d
Nutus	24th July 1276	John de Bohun	£ 40 0s 0d
Nutus	28th October 1276	William de Hawardyn	£ 8 0s 0d
Nutus and John his Fellow	4th November 1276	Walter de Huntercombe	£ 20 0s 0d
Nutus	4th November 1276	Robert de Muscegros	£ 46 0s 0d
Nutus	13th November 1276	Walter de Huntercombe	£ 16 0s 0d
Nutus	7th February 1277	Peter de Monteforti	£ 66 13s 4d
Nutus	1st January 1278	Roger Le Estraunge	£ 50 0s 0d
Nutus	1st January 1278	Roger Le Estruange, Owen fil Griffin	£ 20 0s 0d
Nutus	1st January 1278	Nicholas Baron of Stafford	£ 15 6s 8d
Nutus and Burgesius	20th January 1279	John of St John	£ 143 1s 4d
Nutus and Burgesius	10th May 1279	Adam de Cretting Miles	£ 20 0s 0d
Nutus	18th October 1279	John de Baskerville	£ 8 6s 8d
Nutus	9th November	William de Leyburn	£ 80 0s 0d

Recognizances which reveal debts to the Merchants  
of Lucca 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Date of Enrollment.	Conusor.	Amount of debt.
Luke Natal, and Opizo Malaspine.	11th June 1274	Sixty-eight Citizens of London.	£ 800 0s 0d
Orlandinus de Podio, Merchant of Luke of Lucca.	12th May 1276	Bartholomew of Suthlegh, Miles, (Justice of the Jews 1279.)	£ 100 0s 0d
Luke of Lucca, and his Fellows.	3rd June 1276	Roger de Mortimer, Captain of the King's Garrison in the West.	£ 153 6s 8d
Orlandinus de Podio, and his Fellows.	21st July 1276	Nicholas de Sedgrave.	£ 666 13s 4d

The sixty-eight citizens of London included John Adrian, Gregory de Rokesle, Thomas de Basing, Philip Le Taillur, and Peter the Goldsmith.  
Suthlegh was acquitted of his debt by the King (CCR p422.)

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages 123,342, 422,427.

Recognizances which reveal debts to Florentine  
merchants 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Date of Enrollment.	Conusor.	Amount of debt.
Hugh and Torisanus Le Pape.	25th October 1275	Nicholas de Bardefled	£ 10 0s 0d
Hugh Pape, Hugh de Vecchio, Hugh de Postes, Torisanus Donatus.	12th November 1275	The Abbot of Darnhall	£ 100 0s 0d
Hugh Pape, Donatus Pape.	16th November 1275	Eudo la Zouche	£ 16 13s 4d
Hugh Pape and Torisanus.	5th May 1276	Alexander de Balliolo	£ 80 3s 4d
Hugh Pape.	29th October 1276	William Le Columbers	£ 3 6s 8d
Hugh Pape, and Toresanus.	25th January 1277	John de Vaus	£ 66 13s 4d
Hugh Pape.	1st January 1278	John de Bello Campo	£ 6 13s 4d
Hugh Le Posts, Hugh Pape.	28th May 1278	Adam de Cretting, <u>Miles.</u>	£ 26 13s 4d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages 249,255, 256,412,431,489,497.

seem to have made small occasional loans.[142] There are also a few transactions which reveal the dealings of several Jews. It is particularly strange that these transactions should not be deposited in one of the archa but it could be that both creditor and debtor preferred to enrol the transaction on one of the central governmental records. All of the transactions are owed to Jews who seem to have had some sort of connection with London and it could be that the proximity of Chancery made it easier to get the transaction recorded. In May 1276, Humphrey de Veyl, miles, enrolled a deed by which he agreed to pay Moses de Clare £20-0s-0d at the house of Crasseus fil Magister Elias in London by the quinzaine of Michaelmas. If de Veyl did not make the payment he was to pay the king half a mark of gold. In fact he paid up on time, as the scribe noted on the roll, before going on to make a similar agreement with Crasseus for £80-0s-0d.[143] Deeds of this kind are also enrolled by two other Jews. On 4 November 1276, Henry fil Richard Abbotele of Huntingdonshire acknowledged that he owed Aaron fil Vives, a well known London Jew, £24-13s-4d and, as in the phraseology of a recognizance, acknowledged that his lands and chattels in County Huntingdon were to be the security for the debt.[144] On the same day Geoffrey de Langley (whose father had acquired many encumbered estates by paying off Jews) also acknowledged a debt of £25-0s-0d to Aaron and placed his lands and chattels in Norfolk as colateral.[145] Similar recognizances can be found which record debts to Benedict of Winchester, then an official of the Scaccarium Judaeorum and often in London. On 23 January 1276, Robert de Foxcoth acknowledged a debt of £44-0s-0d and two quarters of wheat. On 28 October 1276, Richard Bishop of Somerset acknowledged that he owed Benedict £3-6s-8d. Walter Wike of the parish of Gillingham in Dorset enrolled a recognizance in April 1276 which promised payment to Benedict of 200 quarters of wheat and 20 quarters of salt which

Recognizances which reveal debts to Jews 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Number of Recognizances Enrolled.	Total amount of debt owing to Conusee.
Benedict of Winchester.	4	£ 72 6s 8d
(He is also owed 202 qtrs of wheat and 20 qtrs of salt worth approximately a further £ 53 0s 0d.)		
	Total value of debt	£ <u>125 6s 8d</u>

Aaron fil Vives,  
Jew of London,  
Property of Edmund  
Earl of Cornwall. 2 £ 49 13s 4d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages,326,357,  
358,417,495.

Recognizances which reveal debts to Aliens 1272-1279.

Conusee.	Number of Recognizances Enrolled.	Total amount of debt owing to Conusee.
John Vallet, Merchant of Chartres	2	£ 411 3s 4d
Peter Caku, Merchant of St. Malo.	1	£ 46 0s 0d
Master Simon of Beauvais.	1	£ 13 6s 8d
John of Bruges	1	£ 2 0s 0d

Source:- Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1279 Pages,55,251,  
252,491,577.

was to be paid at Winchester at Michaelmas 1277. On 24 May, Walter again acknowledged a debt to Benedict of £25-0s-0d. A scribe's memorandum notes that Benedict himself came into Chancery and remitted all Walter's debts for the sum of £25-0s-0d.[146] Once again there is no hint of whether interest was charged or what service the conusor gave the conusee but the Jews were known to be professional moneylenders and as such would not be expected to do business for no return.

Thus, it is clear from the evidence of the recognizances that, where business and commerce were concerned, both Jew and Gentile, from the evidence of these recognizances, seem to have openly flouted and disregarded the pious prohibitions on usury either by way of such devices as the mortgage and the advance sale credit or by straightforward overt moneylending. Thus, the Jews who made bonds in the archae throughout England, and who were the main target for the accusation of 'usurer', were doing so whilst all around them Christians were making commercial contracts which must have borne some element of usury and profit. It is unfortunate for the historian that in general the evidence of both the extant Jewish bonds and the extant Christian recognizances remain silent about profit margins and rates of interest. It is, however, evident that the Jews did not have the money market at their feet. On the contrary it seems they had keen competition. It is now, therefore, important to examine how Edward I dealt with both the problems of Christian and Jewish usury. Before Edward ascended the throne he was well aware of such problems and during his reign he tried to tackle and solve them.

Edward I's reforms of moneylending and Jewish legislation

Soon after his return from his crusade in August 1274, Edward, although himself some £30,000 in debt to the Luccans, set about solving the problems that had been caused by debts and usury, and acted, in 1275, against both Christian and Jewish usurers.[147] In January of that year, he gave orders to his Treasurer, Prior Joseph de Chauncy, and others to enquire:

cautiously whether any merchant-usurers are found in the City of London or elsewhere in the realm and to cause their bodies and goods and chattels of any such to be arrested and kept safely until otherwise ordered, conducting themselves so circumspectly and diligently in this matter that the King may commend their diligence, as the King lately caused proclamation to be made that all merchant-usurers dwelling within the city and realm should quit the realm before the day now past under pain of grievous forfeiture and the King learns that some of them dwell in the city and elsewhere in the realm contrary to the inhibition.[148]

The attitude towards Christian usurers could not have been made more explicit. The policy towards Jewish usurers was to emerge from a parliament which on 25 April was summoned to Westminster. It was summed up by the Rochester chronicler as:

Inter que iudeis interdicta fuit effrenata licentia usurandi. Et ut possit a Christianis discernere rex precepit quod ad iustarum tabularum ad unam paline longitudinem signa ferrent in exterioribus indumentis.[149]

John de Oxenides gives further details of the parliament's deliberations:

Inhibitum est Judaeis per totum regnum Angliae ne de caetero pecuniam suam alicui darent ad usuram, sed viverent mercaturis suis, legem in emendo et vendendo Christianorum habentes mercatorum; et quod qualibet eorum cuicumque aetatis, status, aut sexus, regi pro capitae suo tres denarios daret annuatim.[150]

Such policies were embodied in the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275 which placed both financial and social restrictions upon the Jews

and in the end turned them towards a new role. It was through this legislation that Edward was trying to re-align the perfidious 'usury-tainted' Jew with the rest of Christian society in what has been dubbed the Edwardian Experiment.

On the financial side, the preamble to the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275 blamed usury for mouz de maus e deseritizons des prudes houmes de sa terre. The Statute then went on to ban it.[151] It ruled that Ke nul geu desoremes ne poste nen a usure ne sour terre ne sur rente ne sour autre chose. It restricted past usuries: E ke nules usures ne curgent del Seint Eaduard precheinement passee en avaunt. It also seems to have outlawed pawnbroking: Mes tuz ceus ke deivent dette as geus sur gages de meoble les aquitent entre cy e la Pasche e si noun, scient encoruz. Interestingly, however, it does not seem to have forbidden covenants of a non-usurious nature because the next clause dealt with Jewish debts, declaring that: E ka les destresses des dettes de gius ne seint desoremes si grevouses ka la meite des terres e de chateus al Crestien demeorge a lur sustenance, before going on to state that debts could not be claimed from tenants or heirs. Clearly a situation was envisaged in which Christians could become indebted to Jews. The Statute was, however, designed to ensure that the Jews did not profit from such debts by usury or unduly oppress the Christians to whom they offered credit facilities.

The Statute also imposed some social restrictions on the Jews. It re-established the wearing of the tabula and introduced a new Poll Tax on each Jew or Jewess over twelve years of age. It prevented a Jew from enfeoffing either a Jew or a Christian with rents, houses and tenements and from acquitting any Christian of his debts without the express permission of the Crown by royal licence. In granting the Jews the Crown's protection, it clarified their

constitutional position by stating E kil ne pleydent ne ne seient enpliedez en nuly curt, ne chalangez ne travaillez en nuli curt fors en la curt le Rey ky serfs yl sunt. Finally, it confined them to live in the archae towns where they were to be exempt from scot and lot and the taxes of their cities and boroughs for ou il meinent de ci cum il sunt taillables al Rey come ses serfs e a nul autres for a Rey.

Having placed financial and social restrictions on the Jews, two clauses of the Statute went on to define the most important change in the social role of the Jew envisaged by Edward E le Rey lor grante kil vivent de marchaundise leaus e per lor labor e kil communient ove les Crestiens per leument marchaunder en vendaunt e en echataunt. Those Jews who were to become traders were granted the right to buy the houses in which they lived to be held in chief of the king. Those Jews who were to live off the land were allowed to buy their farms for terms of ten years or less without homage and fealty for the next fifteen years.

The basic message of the Statutum de Judeismo was that the Jew was to earn his living by competing in Christian society like a Christian whilst at the same time being disadvantaged by discrimination. The Jewish reaction to this piece of legislation was recorded in a letter addressed to the king and his counsellors written by the Jewish community in 1276.[152] In respectful terms, the community begged for mercy and wished to have rulings on several points. It expressed its concern that the recent Statute which desired that the Jews should not be allowed seisin except on a moiety of the lands and rents which were their pledges was unjust. In this connection the Jewish community asked what security the Jewish creditor was to have for his debts if a debtor only had one house in which he lived. The Jews also described as unfair a

situation in which the purchaser of the land of a debtor who had died without heir might recover a pledge in lands and rents without paying off the debt connected with the pledge. In such a case the Jews felt that they should be allowed to have possession of the property until the debt was paid off. The letter also recorded Jewish fears about the emphasis placed in the Statute on their future involvement in trade. They suggested that some Jews who did not have the means to live by merchandise would have to sell their houses or their rents to other Jews who were richer but at the same time the poorer Jews were unable to do this without express royal permission. They did not see the harm in allowing poorer Jews to sell land or rents to richer Jews freely because the king would not lose out and it would prevent the demolition of the houses of the poorer Jews in order that they might sell the stone and timber to live. The Jews also made the point that they could not compete with Christian merchants because they had to buy dearer and could not manage to sell dearer. They claimed that Christian merchants could take their goods far and wide but if the Jews took their merchandise out of the archa town they would be robbed. In conclusion, the Jewish community begged to be allowed to live as it had done under Edward's ancestors since the Conquest.

It is not clear that the king or his government took any action on this particular plea.[153] The letter is, however, good evidence of the fact that the Jews were well aware of the Statute's implications and were worried by the prospect of having to make their traditional financial practices non-usurious and by the obvious difficulties which would be involved in moving into a more straightforwardly commercial kind of business. They realized that they were being ordered to act in ways in which society expected a Christian to act and knew that they would have to do this from a weaker position than their Christian competitors.

More evidence of Edward's desire to make the provision of credit facilities by Jews and Christians parallel comes from the Statute of Acton Burnell issued in 1283 which established a new system (clearly modelled on Jewish lines) for the formal registration of debts to Christians and for the speedier recovery of those debts.[154] Before 1283 one of the major problems facing a Christian creditor was proving and enforcing the repayment of his debt. The official recognizance certainly recorded a debt but it did not ensure that the debt was paid. The Statutum de Mercatoribus laments this fact in its preamble:

Pur ceo qu Marchantz, qi avaunt ces heures  
unt preste lur aver a diverse genz, sunt  
cheuz en poverte pur ceo qe il ni aveit pas  
si redde ley purvewe, par la quele il poeient  
lur dettes hastivement recoverir al jor asis  
de paye.[155]

It then sets up the mechanism that is to be used in future. The creditor and debtor were to acknowledge the debt and the day of payment in front of royally appointed officials. The reconisaunce was to be entered onto a roll and a clerk was to *make with his own hand* une lettre de obligaciun on which the seal of the debtor would be affixed as well as the royal seal. If the debt was not paid then the creditor who retained the bill obligatory was to appear in front of the officials and the mayor of the town and they would then take appropriate action against the debtor. If the debt could not be paid off by securities then the debtor was to be imprisoned and sustained on bread and water at the expense of the creditor until the debt had been paid off. Thus, from 1283, the certificate of Statute Staple or Statute Merchant was officially recognised in a manner which closely resembled the Jewish archa system.[156] However, the real significance of this Statute was that the Christian creditor was allowed greater access to his debtor's possessions than the Jew for if a Christian's debt was not paid it could mean prison for the debtor. The Statutum de Mercatoribus

stimulated commerce and legalised sale credits issued by Christians. However, there was no help for the Jew. The last clause reads: Cest ordeinement e establissement veut le Rei qe desoremes seit tenu, par tut sur reaume de Engleterre, entre qual gent, qe ceus seient, qe de lur ein degre voderunt tele reconisaunce fere, farpris Jews, as quels cest establissement ne se estent pas. A system which had been originally designed to assist the Jew was now being placed at the disposal of Christian creditors who were being given means of implementation not available to Jews.

By 1283, Edward had issued two statutes which had weakened the ability of the Jew to compete with his Christian equivalent in the provision of credit facilities. It is, however, possible that in the 1280s Edward decided that he had perhaps gone too far in the restrictions he had imposed on Jewish creditors. Thus, in the early 1280s, he drafted the Chapitles Tuchauuz le Gewerie[157]. Abrahams was the first to realise that the purpose of this 'legislation' was in part to revoke the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275 and to allow some moneylending and pawnbroking, albeit under stricter conditions, than in the period before 1275. He dated the Chapitles to the year 1283 when the Nova Cista at Hereford was opened.[158] Elman accepted the fact that after 1284 regulations concerning the Jews permitted the taking of usury within certain limits.[159] Roth, on the other hand, does not believe that the Chapitles were ever issued and in this is followed by Lipman.[160] Whether or not they were actually issued, it can, however, be easily demonstrated that the Jews, although for a time bound by the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275, were able to register money bonds and lend money from the mid-1280s to the Expulsion.[161] Something had evidently changed and the Chapitles, whether or not they represent the formal legislation, evidence the spirit of that change.

The preamble to the Chapitres explains what Edward had tried to achieve by his legislation in 1275:

Ja ceo ke aprest usurer par Gyus de nostre reaume en tens de nos auncestres Reys de Engleterre soleit estre fet e suffre, e a ceus nos auncestres kaunt a issue de nostre Gyuerie de ceo profitz eient venuz, e Nos pur amur de Deu amenes, e les traces de Seinte Esglise plus devotement aerdaunz eyums fetz defendre a tuz e chescuns Gyus de nostre reaume ki par teus maners aprests visiosement eient vesquy, ke nul de eus de cel hure usures ou prest usurer en aukune manere mespreyngnent haunter, mes par autres bosoyngnes e marchaundises congrees vivre e eus quereut e lur sustenaunces eient momement cum par favour de Seinte Esglise meyndre e vivre en Crestiens seient suffre.[162]

It then goes on to explain that the 1275 regulations had been abused and circumvented:

Eus, nekedent, apres, par le malure espirist esvugles, ke par seine pensee avom estable turnaunz en mal suz colur de marchaundises e de boyngnes contracts e covenauz, novelement e maueusement purpenseaunz funt od Crestiens par obligacions e divers estumenz ke vers les Gyus demurent, e en queus duble, treble ou quatreble plus mettent ke en enprest bayllent a Crestiens de une meysme dette ou contract, le noun de usure utre portaunz en peynes, de queus selement syut confusion e destruccion grant del puple e au dereyn deseriteson de plusurs.

In order to solve this problem moneylending was once more allowed, but stricter regulations than those in force before 1275 were proposed for the making of loans in the future. These even included a definition of the legal amount of profit the Jew was to take:

sur les douns e contracts entre Crestiens e Gyus a feres en teu manere ordinouns; ceo est a saver, ke Gyus pur aprest de vint souz des oremes ne resceyvent par an de Crestiens en noun de purvenue for demy marc ou viii souz e viii deners, e pur karante souz un marc ou diseset souz e quatre deners, e de plus, plus, e de meins, meins, pur ferm de contract e dette.

The method for the making of a bond was redefined and a similar

formula to that used in recognizances was to be employed. It set a time limit on a contract. A bond was to be valid for three years from the date of the making of the contract and after the term had passed the Jew was to be able to claim the principal debt and what had arisen from it during the three years. A year of grace was then to be given to the debtor if he or she could not pay. Other regulations stipulated that only one Jew and one Christian were to make a bond in their names; that a Jew could not lend money to a Jew to then lend to a Christian; that a Jew could not sell his debts without royal permission. It was also established that any lending on gages (forbidden in 1275) worth more than 20s was to be witnessed and recorded by a chirographer and a clerk. The Chapitles eventually break off with the clause: Ore est a parler de escrits obligatoires ke ore remeyngment vers les Gyus en lur garde. It is of course impossible to tell which of the particular recommendations embodied in the Chapitles played a significant part in defining Jewish practice.

Having clearly established that both Jewish and Christian debts and transactions were of great concern to the Crown in the early part of Edward's reign and that the King tried to combat quasi-usurious activities with the three pieces of legislation that have been examined above, it is now time to see if, in the case of the Jew, the new policies and restrictions on money-lending were effective. The consequences of the policies embodied in the Statutum de Judeismo and the Chapitles Tuchaunz le Gewerie (if issued) as with any legislation are best measured in a local context. By the Statute of 1275 the Jews were being encouraged to trade in direct competition with Christian merchants who themselves were given a boost in 1283 when they received exclusive access to new procedures aimed at the speedy recovery of debt. With the evidence of the three following local studies it will perhaps be

possible to make a judgement upon the success of this Edwardian Experiment. Was it carried through? Was it modified by the Chapitles? Were the Jews, as Elman claims, deprived of their economic function? Or, do the number of Jewish bonds of the late 1280s which are expressed in commodities suggest some degree of Jewish mercantile success along the lines of the Statutum de Judeismo?

When considering the three different Jewish communities it is important to remember that the legislation of the Edwardian Experiment was only one of the pressures that the Crown imposed on the Jews. It has already been shown how the Jews were subjected to frequent tallages in the period 1272 - 1277 and to the harsh tallage of 1287 - 1288. It is also important to note that the coin-clipping allegations of 1278 - 1279 and the pogroms associated with them had immense consequences for the Anglo-Jew. During this period over £11,000 0s 0d in Jewish property and movables were confiscated by the Crown and over 700 Jews were imprisoned. Many Jews were hanged as a result of these allegations. De Bloissiers Tovey when describing such pressures posed and answered the following question:

Did the forefathers of this miserable people think you meet with more rigorous taskmasters in Egypt? They were only called upon to make brick: but nothing less than making gold seems to have been expected from the Jews in England.[163]

Be that as it may it would certainly be wrong to take the Edwardian Experiment out of the context of the other difficulties with which the Jews were presented. The following local studies investigate how the Jews reacted to the legislative, social, fiscal and judicial pressures imposed upon them just before and during Edward's reign.

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- [1] B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, pp136-159. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, pp76-105. B.L. Abrahams, 'The Expulsion of the Jews from England' J.Q.R., 7, pp75-100, 236-258, 428-458. P. Elman, Jewish finance in thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation. P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp91-104. P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp145-154. P. Elman, 'Jewish finance in thirteenth century England' T.J.H.S.E., 16, pp89-96.
- [2] B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, pp76-105.
- [3] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp91-104.
- [4] The 'closer analysis' is presented in P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp96-97. Elman's other work as has been stated was to do with the Jews' fiscal capacity during the reign of Henry III.
- [5] P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp145-154. Richardson p108. E. Miller Review of Richardson Ec.H.R., 14, pp342-343.
- [6] P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp150 and 152.
- [7] P.R.O. E/101/249/29.
- [8] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p96. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, pp76-105. P.R.O. E/101/250/2, P.R.O. E/101/250/3, P.R.O. E/101/250/4, P.R.O. E/101/250/5, P.R.O. E/101/250/6, P.R.O. E/101/250/7, P.R.O. E/101/250/8, P.R.O. E/101/250/9, P.R.O. E/101/250/10, P.R.O. E/101/250/11, P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [9] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p97.
- [10] Ibid. p97.
- [11] Ibid. p97.
- [12] P.R.O. E/101/250/3.
- [13] P.R.O. E/101/250/9.
- [14] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [15] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p97.
- [16] P.R.O. E/101/250/11. The tallies in the novae archae are in the following archae: 8 in the Bristol archa (P.R.O. E/101/250/4, 12 in the Devizes archa (P.R.O. E/101/250/11), 24 in the Exeter archa (P.R.O. E/101/250/2), 3 in the Hereford archa (P.R.O. E/101/250/5), 2 in the Nottingham archa (P.R.O. E/101/250/8), and 9 in the Oxford archa (P.R.O. E/101/250/9).
- [17] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p97.
- [18] Ibid.
- [19] Ibid. As on the table, two Lincoln bonds have not been included in this numerical analysis of the bonds.
- [20] P.R.O. E/101/250/10, P.R.O. E/101/250/12, P.R.O. E/101/250/3.
- [21] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. See below Chapter V note [98]. There are, however, 33 bonds in the Hereford Vetus Cista and it can only be assumed that this is what Elman was mistakenly referring to. In the Nova Cista at Hereford there are 6 bonds which stipulate mixed commodity repayments. See Chapter V note [126]. B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, pp144-158, allowed for 41 mixed commodity repayments in his reckoning in both the Vetus Cista and the Nova Cista instead of

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- [22] P. Elman, 'Jewish finance in thirteenth century England' T.J.H.S.E., 16, p89.
- [23] P.R.O. E/101/249/11.
- [24] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [25] P.R.O. E/101/249/5. See Chapter V.
- [26] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p96.
- [27] T.P. McLaughlin, 'The teaching of the Canonists on Usury' Medieval Studies, 1, pp95-96.
- [28] J.W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants - the social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle, 1, p279.
- [29] R. de Roover Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges, p149.
- [30] J.W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants - the social view of Peter the Chanter and his circle, 1, pp296-311. R.H. Tawney, Religion and the rise of Capitalism, p58.
- [31] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, p289.
- [32] E.A. Synan, The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages, pp103-104. J.R. Marcus, The Jew in the Medieval World, pp137-138.
- [33] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, p283. D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, 2, p155.
- [34] J.W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants - the social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle, p273.
- [35] Luke 6:35 and 19:14-26. G. Chaucer, The Pardoner's Tale in The works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd edition, edited F.W. Robinson, p148. The Prologue to the Pardoner's Tale - "My theme is alwey oon and ever was Radix Malorum Est Cupiditas" Timothy 6:10. J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval World, p276.
- [36] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval World, pp294, 300, 301.
- [37] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, pp283-288.
- [38] W. Langland, Piers the Ploughman, translated J.F. Goodridge, pp68-69. When asked by Repentance "Have you ever in your life practised Usury?", the Crafty Old Codger Covetousness is quick to deny it and replies:

No certainly not except in my younger days. I did pick up a thing or two then, I admit, chiefly from Jews and Lombards. They showed me how to weigh coins with a balance and clip the heavier ones, and then to lend them all out, all for the love of the Cross - the one on the back of the gold piece !!!! The borrower would give me a pledge he was almost certain to lose and that was worth more to me than the clipped coins. And you should have seen the agreements I used to draw up in case my debtors didn't pay on the nail. I've acquired far more properties through arrears of debt, than I ever could have got by showing kindness and lending.

- [39] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, p308. T.P. McLaughlin, 'The teaching of the Canonists on Usury' Medieval Studies, 1, pp113-114.
- [40] J.W. Baldwin, Master, Princes and Merchants - the social view of Peter the Chanter and his circle, 1, pp275-278. J.L. Barton, 'The Common Law Mortgage' Law Quarterly Review, 83, pp229-239. J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, pp308-309. S.C.B.M., 2, pplxiii-lxiv.
- [41] J.W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants - the social view

of Peter the Chanter and his circle, 1, pp282-286. T.P. McLaughlin, 'The teachings of the Canonists on Usury' Medieval Studies, 1, pp145-147. J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, pp294-295.

[42] A.W.B. Simpson, 'The Penal bond with conditional defeasance' Law Quarterly Review, 82, pp392-422.

[43] W.A.M. 6859 is a partial transfer of a bond from a Jew to another Jew. If the debt arrangements were not honoured then there was to be a penalty payable to both Henry III and Earl Richard. W.A.M. Nos. 6783 and 6784 are other examples of partial transfers of bonds with a similar monetary penalty to be paid to the King and 'to our Lady the Queen' in case of default.

[44] M.M. Postan, 'Credit in medieval trade' Ec.H.R., 1, pp238-244.

[45] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, pp275-276.

[46] Cambium or money-changing is another method. Cf. J.W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants - the social view of Peter the Chanter and his circle, 1, pp291-295. P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp95-96.

[47] This was prevented in the Diocese of Worcester in 1240 by Bishop Cantilupe. See Chapter 1 note [221]. It is not known to what extent intermediaries were used when borrowing money. Certainly few historians have bothered with investigating these possible middle men. It does seem that Jews often had Christian attorneys working on their behalf (See Chapter IV note [29]), where Simon de Craye claimed that he was acting for a Jew. Walter of Cnolton, a Christian, was attorney for Aaron fil Vives, C.C.R. 1272-1279, p306. See also Chapter V note [37] where the Earl of Gloucester who needed money in 1248 to go on crusade got the monks of Tewkesbury to act as intermediaries. See also note [83] below where an inter-Jewish bond uses a Gentile as intermediary.

[48] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, p293.

[49] Ibid. Parkes cites G. Coulton, 'An Episode in Canon Law' History, VI, pp67-76.

[50] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, p340. Encyclopaedia Judaica, 16, pp27-28, 'Usury'. Deuteronomy 23:20-21

" You shall not lend on interest to your brother, interest of food or money or anything on which interest can be charged. You may charge interest to a foreigner but not to your brother that the Lord your God may bless you in all you put your hand to in the land into which you are going to possess it ".

M. Maimonides, Sepher Mispatim, The Code of Maimonides - the Book of Civil Laws, translated by J.J. Rabinowitz, pp88-93, 95-96. J.J. Rabinowitz, Jewish Law p251.

[51] M. Maimonides, Sepher Mispatim, The Code of Maimonides - The Book of Civil Laws, translated by J.J. Rabinowitz, p85.

[52] Encyclopaedia Judaica, 12, pp243-256, 16, pp27-28, "Usury" and "Moneylenders". J.J. Rabinowitz, Jewish Law, pp257-263.

[53] L. Rosten, The Joys of Yiddish, pp530-532.

[54] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, p340.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid. p341.

[57] Encyclopaedia Judaica, 12, p248, "Moneylending".

[58] Ibid.

[59] G. Coulton, Social life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation, p343. Coulton cites, Lacaia, Comentum super Dantis Comoedum, 1, p579.

[60] K. Scott, 'The Jewish arcae' Cambridge Law

Journal, 10, pp446-455.

[61] S. Cohen, Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277- Hilary 1279, pxlviii.

[62] Obligaciones, carta, chirographus, instrumentum. The rolls of details of extant bonds in 1290 are all headed Obligaciones et carta de Comitatu X P.R.O. E/101/250/2 - P.R.O. E/101/250/12. See also W.A.M. 6724. A.W.B. Simpson, 'The Penal bond with conditional defeasance', Law Quarterly Review, 82, pp394-395.

[63] M.M. Postan, 'Private financial instruments in medieval England' Vierteljahrschrift fur Sozial und wirtschaftsgeschichte, 23, pp26-75. A.W.B. Simpson, 'The Penal bond with conditional defeasance' Law Quarterly Review, 82, pp392-422.

[64] K. Scott, 'The Jewish arcae' Cambridge Law Journal, 10, p451.

[65] S.C.B.M.1, ppxiv-xv.

[66] De Antiquis Legibus Liber Cronica majorum et vicomitum Londoniniarum Camden Society, 34, pp237-238.

[67] S.C.B.M.1, ppxiv-xv. P.R.E.J.1, p311

[68] Rigg, pp76-77.

[69] S.C.B.M.1, ppxv-xix.

[70] W.A.M. 6744. Printed in F. Kohler, Letters of Jews through the Ages, pp223-224.

[71] H.P. Stokes, 'The relationship between the Jews and the Royal Family of England in the thirteenth century' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp164-167. Certainly before Edward's reign the trafficking in Jewish bonds had been on a much larger scale. Denholm-Young's study of Richard of Cornwall has shown him to be one of the largest credit operators in the thirteenth century and his involvement with Jews had helped him to achieve this. Walter of Merton had also dabbled with the Jews and their bonds. In Edward's reign, Adam de Stratton was deeply involved in buying up Jewish debts, P.R.E.J.1, p275, P.R.E.J.2, pp181, 239. The Bishop of Bath and Wells was also involved in buying up Jewish debts C.P.R. 1275, p98, 142. Master Thomas of Wainfleet who bought up Isaac Gabbay's debts was also involved in others C.P.R. 1275, p83, 1276, p41, P.R.E.J.3, pp201-202, Chapter II note [142]. Officials involved with the Jews clearly also lined their own nests. The Plea Rolls reveal that Ludham, Hauteyn and Middleton, Justices of the Jews, Thomas Bacun, an Exchequer Clerk, Nigel de Chatham and Roger de Kinton, Serjeants of the Scaccarium Judaeorum, and William de Croyden, Clerk of the Scaccarium Judaeorum, were all dabbling in Jewish debts.

[72] Roth, pp106-107. Richardson, p70. D.M. Stenton, English society in the Middle Ages, p194. J. Parkes, A History of the Jewish people, pp77-78.

[73] W.A.M. Nos. 6698, 6880, 9016.

[74] R. de Roover, Money, banking and credit in Medieval Bruges, p104. Richardson, pp293-294. It is clear from various royal orders to the chirographers that the penalty or lucrum varied. W.A.M. 6719 for example limits it to 2d in the £1-0s-0d per week 'because the King is unwilling that the assize formerly used of 3d in the £1-0s-0d to be kept any longer'. Similarly W.A.M. 9001 reveals that in November 1239 the Privy Council at Winchester made a decision 'for the betterment of the realm and the repression and malice of the Jews' that no Jew should lend any money save according to the assize. This same decision did not allow interest to run from 24th June to 25th December 1240 (25 weeks).

[75] S. Levy, 'The Norwich Day-Book' T.J.H.S.E., 5, pp248-249.

[76] Ibid. p261.

[77] Ibid. p263.

[78] P.R.E.J.1, p34.

[79] W.A.M. 6844. Roth, pp106-107.

[80] P.R.E.J.1, p68. See Chapter V note [57].

[81] P.R.O. E/101/249/5 Nos.1-14. P.R.O. E/101/249/7 Nos.1-18.

- [82] W.A.M.Nos. 6795, 6838, 6846, 6849, 6860, 6866, 6870. A.M. Fuss, 'Inter-Jewish loans in Pre-Expulsion England' J.Q.R., 65, pp235-240.
- [83] W.A.M. 6869.
- [84] W.A.M. 6797.
- [85] Lipman, p88.
- [86] J. Parkes, The Jew in the Medieval Community, p305.
- [87] Roth, p107.
- [88] R. de Roover, Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges, p149.
- [89] M. Paris, Chronica Majora, 3, p328.
- [90] M. Paris, Chronica Majora, 5, p405. J.W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants - the social view of Peter the Chanter and his circle, 1, pp296-311.
- [91] M. Paris, Chronica Majora, 5, p405.
- [92] J. Parkes, A History of the Jewish People, p76. D.M. Stenton, English Society in the Middle Ages, p194. H.P. Palmer, The bad abbot of Evesham and other medieval studies, pp47-62. Lady Magnus, Outlines of Jewish History, pp92-93.
- [93] H. Jenkinson, 'William Cade a financier of the twelfth century' English Historical Review, 26, pp209-227. M. Mate, 'The indebtedness of Canterbury Cathedral Priory 1215-1295', Ec.H.R., 26, pp187-188, 194-195, shows that Canterbury Cathedral Priory was borrowing from the Italians and the Jews throughout the second half of the thirteenth century. It also shows that they borrowed from the Archdeacon of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Armagh, Bartholomew de Castello in 1279, Gregory de Rokesle in 1279 and 1283 when he was an ex-mayor of London, the Archdeacon of Bath, Roger de Northwood in 1278 and Catherine Lovel. R.B. Pugh, 'Some medieval moneylenders' Speculum, 43, pp274-289. L.H. Butler, 'Archbishop Melton, his neighbours and his kinsmen 1317-1340' Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 3, pp54-67.
- [94] M.M. Postan, 'Private financial instruments in medieval England' Vierteljahrschrift fur Sozial und wirtschaftsgeschichte, 23, p36.
- [95] W.R. Childs, Anglo-Castilian trade in the late Middle Ages, p16.
- [96] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp41, 131, 228, 249, 338, 497, 551, 578.
- [97] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp38, 113, 121, 132, 228, 244, 337, 420, 424, 430, 512, 568, 576, 578. He was also a conusor C.C.R. 1272-1279, p39. His clerk Henry de Lenn was also a conusor C.C.R. 1272-1279, p554.
- [98] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp46, 52, 53, 110, 121, 491, 559. See also the advance sale credit owed by Walter de Gayton C.C.R. 1272-1279, p45.
- [99] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp492, 416, 573.
- [100] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p109.
- [101] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp121, 426, 550.
- [102] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p112.
- [103] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp46, 54, 119, 238, 412, 574.
- [104] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p356.
- [105] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp423, 425.
- [106] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp446, 447.
- [107] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp238, 510, 512, 563.
- [108] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp236 (Hugh Duket of Lincolnshire is also indebted to Lincolnshire Jews see below Chapter VII notes [103], [104], [105]), 242, 345, 413, 416, 509.
- [109] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p411.
- [110] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p488.
- [111] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p408. Recipient of Jewish property in 1290. See Chapter IV note [42].
- [112] C.C.R. 1272-1279, 578.
- [113] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp240, 336, 575.
- [114] It is extremely fascinating that amongst the conusors on the

Close Roll during this period appear the names of men who as will be seen are also indebted to the Jews during Edward's reign. Examples of the indebtedness of men like Stephen de Cheyndut, Hugh Duket, Ralph (Randolph) Basset, Jordan Foliot and William Devereus can be found C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp53,238,236,427,249,565. See Chapter VII and Appendix below.

- [115] See table, 'Recognizances which reveal debts to Nobility, Officials and Knights 1272-1279'. C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp45,51,57,58,110,113,114,123,131, 232-235,237,240,242,247,251-253,255,331,332,337,338,340,345,350,357, 411,422,423,426,427,430,431,448,492,497-499,512,533,550,559,560, 563,570,573-575,578,579,582. For Sifrewast's debt cf. C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp58,109, 113,123,253,357,426. For de Vescy's debt cf. C.C.R. 1272-1279, p563. For more information on Isabella de Forz cf. M. Mate, 'Profit and productivity on the estate of Isabella de Forz' Ec.H.R., 33, pp326-334. For further information on Adam de Stratton cf. W. Page, 'On Sir Adam de Stratton, Saer, son of Henry, Aldenham and Sherley, etc' S.C.B.M.2, pplxxv-lxxx. It is of interest that Hugh of Kendal, Walter de Helyun and William of Middleton are all officials who dealt with the Scaccarium Judaeorum.
- [116] William de Hamilton. 1274 He appeared as a witness to a document along with Merton (Chancellor), John de Kirkby and William of Middleton. 1275 He appeared as attorney for Walter de Merton. 1276 Acts for Iterius Bocharidi, King's envoy for Rome, who went 'beyond the sea' in January 1276. October 18th Witnesses a document as Sir William de Hamelton. 1278 June 22nd owed £6-4s-0d in a debt with Master Henry de Bray, his partner, to Bartholomew de Castello of London. 1279 May 9th He is given four good oaks from Shireburn wood by the King. As a witness he is described as miles. November 11th He acts on Eyre of the Forest with Roger de Clifford and Geoffrey de Pycheford. His debts can be found C.C.R 1272-1279, pp252,332,340,357,420,422,423,427,431,512,550,563,575,582.
- [117] C.C.R. 1272-1279, (John Adrian)p44, (Thomas de Basinges)pp51,336, (Ralph de Alegate)pp109,113,349,556, (Philip Le Bret) p57, (Gregory de Rokesle)pp109,231.
- [118] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp356,418,421.
- [119] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp356(bis),357,512,550,578.
- [120] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p248.
- [121] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp109,110,113,120,235,236,256,358,422,499,578,581,582.
- [122] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p554.
- [123] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p234,247,248,250,355,356,357(bis), 361,422,492,499,578,581,582.
- [124] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p248. Both Wittering and Southorpe are just a few miles south of Stamford.
- [125] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p355.
- [126] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp44,121,339,573,581.
- [127] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p121.
- [128] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p335.
- [129] M.M. Postan, 'Credit in Medieval Trade' Ec.H.R., 1, p235.
- [130] R.B. Pugh, 'Some medieval moneylenders' Speculum, 43, p288.
- [131] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p51.
- [132] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p421.
- [133] Rigg, ppxlviii-lv.
- [134] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p229.
- [135] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p284.
- [136] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp 354-355. For similar arras see C.C.R. 1272-1279 pp255-256,321-322.
- [137] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp253,342,349,350,357,358,413, 427,488,489,554,577,582.
- [138] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp249,255,256,412,431,489,497.
- [139] C.C.R. 1270, p525. C.C.R. 1271, p372.

- [140] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp342, 42, 427. R.W. Kaeuper, Bankers to the Crown = the Riccardi of Lucca and Edward 1st, pp12-13.
- [141] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp51, 251.
- [142] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp491, 576.
- [143] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp343-344.
- [144] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p357.
- [145] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p358. P.R. Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the crisis of the knightly class in thirteenth century England.' Past and Present, 68, pp2-37.
- [146] C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp326, 357, 417, 495.
- [147] M. Prestwich, The three Edwards = War and State in England 1272-1377, pp8-10.
- [148] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p144.
- [149] B.L.Mss. Cotton Nero D ii folio 179.
- [150] Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes, p247.
- [151] Statutes of the Realm, 1, pp220-221. This is the source of all the quotations which follow in the text.
- [152] P.R.O. SC/8/54/2655. The letter is also printed in Select cases in the court of the King's bench under Edward 1st Selden Society, 3, pcv.
- [153] In practice at least orders were given for officials to allow Jews to have distresses for debts and to take moieties of debtor's possessions as securities. C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp287, 306, 395, 496.
- [154] Statutes of the Realm, 1, pp53, 54, 100 (For the 1285 re-enactment). For the Statute in action cf. C.C.R. 1284, p297. L.F. Salzman, English Trade in the Middle Ages, pp101-103. T.F.T. Plucknett, Legislation of Edward 1, pp139-148. J.Rabinowitz, Jewish Law, pp257-263.
- [155] Statutes of the Realm, 1, p53.
- [156] The certificates of Statute Staple for Edward's reign can be found in the P.R.O. They run from P.R.O. C/241/1 to P.R.O. C/241/54. If a debt could not be settled locally then the certificate was delivered to Chancery where further action would be taken. The certificates which remain in the P.R.O. are examples of debtors not paying up and action being necessitated.
- [157] Rigg, pp1iv-lxi. B.L.Mss. Additional 32085 folios 120-121 are dated 1294. The document was purchased at Sotheby's on 12th June 1883. The Chapitles were first printed by C. Gross, 'The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages' Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition 1887, pp219-224.
- [158] B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews in Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, p140.
- [159] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth-century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p99.
- [160] Roth, pp81, 275. Lipman, p163.
- [161] Particularly the Jews of Nottingham P.R.O. E/101/250/8.
- [162] For this extract and those which follow see Rigg, pp1iv-lxi.
- [163] De Bloissiers Tovey, Anglia Judaica, p199.

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Part II.

In the following chapters the history of three Anglo-Jewish communities will be rigorously examined. In each study, three main areas will receive attention -- the geographical and historical position of each Jewry, its financial dealings and its social position in relation to its host environment. After the three Jewish communities have been studied separately, the nature of their Christian debtors and clients will be examined. Finally, it will be possible, in the light of this local information to judge whether Elman's view of communities which were declining in population, resources and financial ability and which were no longer of any use to the Crown can be sustained.

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## Chapter IV

### The Jews of Canterbury

'Drawn by extreme urgency,' wrote Peter de Blois in 1174, 'I am going to Canterbury in order to be crucified by the perfidious Jews who torture me by their debts and afflict me with their usury'.[1] Almost a century before Edward I's attempt to deal with the problem of Jewish usury and his attempt to bring the Jews into line with Christian society, it seems, in de Blois's anti-semitic opinion that, the Jews were a power to be reckoned with. It is now time to meet the Jewish communities in Kent and in particular the Canterbury community and to examine the crosses they had to bear.

Kent's role as the medieval gateway both to England, especially to London, and to the Continental dominions of its English rulers is obvious. During the thirteenth century, as indeed it is today, the county of Kent was divided into two religious sees based on Canterbury and Rochester. Both towns were linked by the ancient Roman road of Watling Street but were divided naturally by the Downs which stretch from Rochester to Folkestone. Geographically, commercially and economically, the two large towns were well-served by their environs. Both were major mercantile sites and enjoyed economic predominance over the countryside. Canterbury, the home of Dunstan, Augustine and Thomas Becket, was supplied by the River Stour which leisurely meandered through the Kentish countryside to the port of Fordwich. To the north, Canterbury had access to the Thames estuary and Essex beyond through the small seacoast ports of Herne, Tankerton, Whitstable and Seasalter. To the north-east, via the Stour and the Wantsum channel, it traded with the Isle of Thanet which was still divided from the mainland at Reculver and Richborough. To the north-west, it had links with the Isle of

Sheppey. In the south, it had direct access to Hythe, Saltwood and Lympne by the old Roman road of Stone Street and, to the south-east, it could communicate easily with Dover via another Roman road. To the west, the long-established Pilgrims Way and a second Roman road provided it with trade routes into Sussex via Ashford.[2] To the south-west, it had connections with the Romney and the Walland Marshes and the ports of Romney, Rye and Winchelsea. The Marshes were at this period subject to a large scale process of land reclamation.[3] Once this work was carried out their fertile soil provided good harvest yields and fat sheep. The Marshes therefore attracted medieval speculators and there can be little doubt that some of these speculators had links with Canterbury.

Rochester, the home of St William of Perth, was equally well-connected. To the north-east, lay the Isle of Grain. To the north, was a much used crossing-point on the Thames from Northfleet to Tilbury. To the north-west, lay the rich agricultural lands of Cray, Greenwich, Eltham, Bromley. To the south-west, lay the Pilgrims Way and Sevenoaks and, to the south, the market town of Maidstone. To the east, lay Sittingbourne and the road to Canterbury and the Cinque Ports. Rochester's importance was also boosted by its role as a convenient stopping place en route from Canterbury to London and its situation at the mouth of the River Medway and its tributaries, the Len, the Teise and the Beault. The north of Kent profited from trade on the Thames and the whole of Kent was well served by its seaboard and navigable channels. Kent was a rich and bounteous place in which the Jews could settle. For any group of immigrants from the Continent it was the obvious first staging post. It was to Kent that the Dominicans and Franciscans first came in 1221 and 1224 respectively.[4] It is, therefore, likely that many of the Jews entered England through the Channel ports and that a considerable number of them must have felt that

there was little need to look beyond Kent for a place in which to settle.

The history of the Kentish Jewry in the twelfth century is obscure.[5] On 22 May 1160, Richard of Anesty claims to have borrowed from a Jew of Canterbury:

And at the close of Pentecost when I pleaded at Canterbury that Dieu La crosse the Jew lent me forty shillings, which I kept two months, at a groat a week for the pound for which I rendered for usance five shillings and fourpence.[6]

Dieu La crosse was probably part of a Jewish community with its own synagogue which was certainly in the town by 1187. In that year, a conflict broke out concerning Christ Church. It was a conflict that was to involve the Crown and the Papacy but it also involved the Jews of Canterbury. The bellicose Archbishop Baldwin had not got his way in a dispute and had forceably blockaded the monks of Christ Church. In this situation the townspeople sided with the monks, and threw bread to them over the walls and by other means kept their kitchens stocked with fish and vegetables. The Jews of Canterbury even in their tenuous position helped the besieged monastery. As Gervase the chronicler of the event relates:

Sed nec Judaeis haec defuit miseratio. Nam et ipsi in pastum conventus parem miserunt et potum, et pro constantia conventus in sinagogis orabunt. Archiepiscopus non cessavit auferre, et Judaeis non distulit conferre. Archiepiscopus excommunicavit, et Judaeus oravit. Mira rerum commutatis.[7]

Thus, the Jewish community seems to have been well-established in Canterbury by 1187 and by 1190 it is clear that Jews had settled further afield in Kent for, although there is no mention of a massacre of Canterbury Jews, the Massacre of Shabbat Ha Gadol extended to the small Kent village of Ospringe where the Jewish community was exterminated.[8] In 1194, it is likely that the Jews

were also established at Rochester because in exchange for some meadows Bishop Gilbert of Rochester paid off debts owing to Jews which amounted to £30-0s-0d with arrears of interest on behalf of the Priory of Rochester.[9]

Thus, by the end of the twelfth century, Jewish colonies had begun to spring up in Kent and indeed the contributions made by the Jews of Kent in payment of the tallage of 1194 demonstrate that Kentish Jewry was a prosperous and important community. The Canterbury Jewry in fact paid the third highest figure in the country. The Kent contribution was made up of two parts the first was paid through Benedict of Rochester and by thirteen other Jews and amounted to £58-10s-1d with the promise of an extra £20-12s-4d to come. The second part was paid by fourteen Jews and yielded a total of £159-13s-2d. It included a further promise of 5000 marks. Kent also yielded one of the highest single payments made by an individual Jew that of Jacob of Canterbury who paid £75-6s-8d. The total collected from the Jews of Kent in 1194 was £218-3s-3d -- a very large amount.[10]

In the thirteenth century there is further evidence of the value of the Kentish Jewry to the Crown. In 1221, when paying towards the auxilium for the dowry of Joan, the eleven-year-old sister of Henry III, who was to be married to Alexander II of Scotland, the Kentish Jewry, represented by the Canterbury Jewry, were able to provide £52-0s-0d.[11] In 1223, twenty Kentish Jews managed to raise a further £81-6s-3d, and in 1225 fourteen contributed another £26-8s-0d in response to royal demands.[12] By this time a Jewish community capable of paying such sums was making its inevitable impact upon Kentish society. The availability of Jewish capital clearly had three effects: it allowed credit facilities to those who wished to use them; it created situations in

which individuals or institutions might buy up land which had been mortgaged to the Jews by paying off debts owed to them; and it provided a stimulus to the entrepreneurial spirits of both Christians and Jews in dealings concerning not only land but also chattels and bonds:

The existence of these credit facilities provided by the Jews inevitably led to the indebtedness of many institutions and individuals and to the deep involvement of the Jews in local economies. Evidence of such indebtedness in Kent begins to appear in the 1220s. By 1220, the monastery of St. Augustine's was also in debt to the Jews:

for this house was at that time so burdened with debts, that to the great scandal of the Church and the reproach of religion the daily allowances (corridia) of the monks were being sold to the enemies of the Cross of Christ - the Jews.[13]

St Augustine's was not free from Jewish debts until 1267 when Brother Adam of Kingsworth paid off the sum of 200 marks (£133-6s-8d) owing to Jewish creditors.[14] By 1223, Christ Church also owed several Jews £12-9s-4d.[15]

As well as institutions, individuals got into debt through their dealings with the Jews. This is perhaps best evidenced in the 1230s by the case of Peter de Bending who according to the Reverend Larking 'lost his all by dealings with the Jews'. Larking claimed that de Bending:

became entangled step by step with those merciless money-lenders, who exacted an enormous interest, and were ever binding his estates more and more; till he was driven to alienate them all to the Priory of Christ Church Canterbury to pay off his debts and release him from his thralldom.[16]

Before accepting Larking's rhetoric at face value it is important to look at the facts of the case which are preserved in the Pollard

In 1230, de Bending was forced, presumably through his indebtedness, to mortgage his manor of Westwell (near Ashford) to the priory of Christ Church Canterbury in return for £171-17s-0d and the manor of Little Chart which he was to hold at rent. By January 1234, de Bending was fifty marks (£33-6s-8d) in arrears with the rent for Little Chart: the priory in return for all rights to the manor of Westwell dissolved the debt. Still short of money, de Bending turned to Jewish financiers and a little later, in 1234, borrowed 44s from Moses Crispin at the rate of interest of two pence in the pound per week. In November 1234, he borrowed 100s a year for the next ten years at the same rate of interest from Benedict Crispin. In March 1235, by two bonds he borrowed another £19-0s-0d from Jacob Crispin. All the loans were made on the security of de Bending's land and chattels. Still insolvent in 1236, de Bending mortgaged the manor of Little Chart to Bonami, a Jew of Canterbury, reserving the right of a quit rent of one pound of pepper a year. Bonami paid de Bending £200-0s-0d. Finally in 1237, having mortgaged his property and having nothing to pay up his debts with, de Bending approached the priory of Christ Church and asked them in return for his seisin of the manor of Little Chart and 200 marks (£133-6s-8d) to release him from his debts. It seems that all de Bending's transactions with the Jews are not known because the Priory paid off his debts and received quitclaims from Benedict and Jacob Crispin, Isaac fil Benedict and Jacob fil Isaac, Aaron Blundin, Joseph fil Moses and Moses fil Jacob and Bonamicus and Cresselin (interestingly styled "of Little Chart"). In a period of about seven years the priory of Christ Church had gained Westwell and recovered Little Chart at a cheap price and the Jews had gained their interest.[18]

The Jews of course may have been responsible for Bending's initial indebtedness. There is, however, the possibility that they were only responsible for lending him the sort of money, from 1234 onwards, which allowed him to maintain a precarious hold on some of his property for a further three years. This case therefore does not justify Larking's diatribe against the Jews but does clearly demonstrate the extent to which they were involved in the complexities of the local land market. This is also evident from other debts to the Jews from which Christ Church profited in the 1230s for during this period the Priory paid off at least three other Jewish debts. The house gained the land of Adam de Garewinton which was near Adisham by paying off de Garewinton's debts to Isaac fil Mayer.[19] It gained the land of Nicholas de Borne in Hildinge by paying off his debt of 38 marks (£25-6s-8d) to Benjamin fil Mayer.[20] It also gained ten acres of land in Gare for paying off a debt of ten marks (£6-13s-4d) of Henry de Hok to Solomon fil Jesse.[21]

This wheeling and dealing in debts must have caused distress in the rural communities around the urban centres where business was conducted. It shows the so-called Jewish moneylenders in a different light as what might be termed 'real estate agents'. [22] To the Jews there was probably not much difference between a movable pledge and the use of land as a security, but it was in the pledging of land that Christian entrepreneurs, be they clerics, nobles or petty labourers, saw the opportunity for self-aggrandizement. Long ago, Maitland commented that Jewish business caused a reaction: 'land is being brought to the market and feudal rights are being capitalized.' [23] Richardson also saw this wheeling and dealing as having very serious consequences:

This complex system provided the solvent which broke down the apparent rigidity of the structure of feudal land tenure and

facilitated the transfer of estates to a new capitalist class, the religious communities or novus homo. [24]

Such views may be exaggerated but there is little doubt that Jewish activities did have an impact on the structure of land tenure and did cause financial difficulties for those individuals who unsuccessfully dabbled in debts. [25]

There were indeed many pitfalls to dabbling in debts. In 1267, the Crown demanded that the bishop of Rochester pay £118-10s-0d for a bond which had been made between Walter of Härkele and Abraham fil Aaron. The bishop had rashly offered to act as security possibly in the hope of being able to make on the deal by buying the manor of Härkele cheaply. However, he was now required to fulfil his obligations as security while the Crown seized the manor. [26] In 1276, an interesting case shows how indebtedness in the Jewry could lead not only to financial difficulties but also to legal complications. In that year, Simon de Craye brought an action in the Scaccarium Judaeorum against Stephen of Penecester and John de Mares who acted for the former. [27] De Craye claimed that he was owed 60 marks as well as another 20 marks in arrears of a land rent, and that in the future he had the right to charge 10 marks a year in respect of this land rent because he had bought this right in the form of bonds from Leo fil Preciosa. De Penecester and de Mares claimed that Simon de Craye had had seisin of the lands worth £10-0s-0d a year which belonged to William de Mores in Senthinghe for seven years, that he had received revenues from the lands to cover the debts owed to him and that he had taken, during a visit in Henry III's reign, crops from the land worth £20-0s-0d. Thus, the plaintiff was suing for debts worth approximately £60-0s-0d and the defendants were saying that he had received through his seisin over £70-0s-0d. Furthermore, the defendants claimed that de Craye had

actually worked the land contrary to the Assize of the Jewry:

He overthrew and cut down and sold houses and buildings that were in the same manor, to wit a hall with two upper chambers being at the end of the same hall, a chapel, a kitchen, two barns, an ox-house, a stable and an upper chamber at the gate and also oak and ash trees, apple trees, pear trees and other trees to the value of two hundred marks.[28]

They also claimed that de Craye 'sold for fifty-two marks the wardship and marriage of the heir of a certain free tenant of the same manor to wit William de Mares of Akemere'. The defence rested its case with its claims against de Craye for damages to the value of 400 marks and for any monies collected in what it regarded as an unlawful fashion in consequence of debts. Simon de Craye retorted with his side of the story. He claimed that he took seisin of the manor in the name of Leo fil Preciosa and that he did this in accordance with a mandate of King Henry which was enforced by the Sheriff of Kent. He claimed that he did no damage except to take reasonable estovers for the maintenance of houses and the fencing of the court and the wood called husbote and heybote. As for the sale of the rights of wardship and marriage over William de Mares, de Craye said that de Mares was an outlaw, who had fled, over whom he had such rights because they had been sold to him privately by Agatha, William's mother, in a separate transaction from that in which he had bought exclusive rights on the manor from the Sheriff of Kent for thirteen and a half marks. This complicated case remained unresolved, partly, no doubt, as a result of the confused state of affairs created by Leo fil Preciosa's financial activities.[29]

This sort of influence which came to bear on Kentish society through the activities of Jewish settlers in the county quite clearly developed in the thirteenth century. There is evidence for example that Jews, during that century, came to inhabit fairly small

Kentish settlements as well as the two mercantile towns of Canterbury and Rochester. Prior to the Edwardian Statute of 1275, there were Jews living in Faversham, Frenningham, Ospringe, Sandwich, Shoreham and Sittingbourne.[30] The Jews were also, it seems, not expelled from the south coast port of Winchelsea until quite late in the thirteenth century.[31] Apart from the small colonies, the Kentish Jews even began to acquire footholds in the countryside as the evidence from Little Chart has suggested. However, Canterbury was always the major centre of Jewish financial activity in Kent. This point is perhaps best evidenced by a document which was not available to Adler when he made his extensive study of Canterbury Jewry. It records the 'Receipts from the Jews of Canterbury' for the years 1251 to 1254 and reflects the significant part the Jews played in the affairs of Canterbury at this period.[32] The returns were made by the Sheriff of Kent, Reginald de Cobham, to whom the Jewish community and twenty-one individual Jews had made payments totalling £329-8s-4d during the three year period. The document itself is written in Norman-French which perhaps serves to illustrate that these are day-to-day payments more appropriately recorded in the vernacular rather than in the language of Latin officialdom. The document has eighty-seven entries and lists payments made by the Canterbury Jews for various offences or privileges.

From the information derived from this source it becomes clear that the Sheriff was responsible for the collection of Jewish fines and for the protection of the Jewish community. He was assisted in this work by an under-constable who obviously had a significant role to play in the running of Jewish affairs, for when John Alexander's term of office as under-constable was complete, the Jewish community paid 40s because they did not wish John of Northwood, the previous incumbent, to be re-elected as underconstable.[33] It would seem

likely that the governance of the local Jewry was a good supply of ready cash for various local dignitaries. Out of the collections of ready cash and valuable objects taken from the Jews the Sheriff paid himself and his officials. In 1254, he was even able to use £80-0s-0d collected from the Jews as a loan to John Geldewin and Richard Derde of Rochester.[34] Being a local official concerned with Jewish affairs could bring with it pecuniary benefits.

The Jews made payments to these local officials for a variety of reasons: for not attending inquests, for getting inquests held, for not attending the Justices of the Jews in London, for help with the payment of dues, for help in claiming their debts from Christians, for obtaining exeats from Canterbury to go to Higham, Cheriton and London, for marrying their daughters to Jews of other communities, for gaining official appointments, for obtaining justice, for special permission to eat the sheriff's lamb at Easter, and even for the right to employ what were presumably Christian wet-nurses.[35] Perhaps, however, the most significant feature of this record is the way in which the Jews of Canterbury can be seen to be acting as a community. It was in this communal capacity that the Jews of the town paid to have their bonds received and valued when the archa was sealed, paid to delay the payment of Queen's Gold, paid to obtain several concessions related to the collection of tallage, possibly paid to have their corn ground at the King's mill at Ospringe and paid for several other kinds of service rendered by the Sheriff.[36] It does seem that, by implication at least, the Canterbury Jewry had a bursa communis in order to be able to pay its fines and bribes.[37] It is similarly evident that the Jewish community in Canterbury was organized, that it had a degree of autonomy amongst its own brethren, and that it was effective when it came to bribing Christian officials.

In the early years of the 1250s, the period from which this document comes, there is evidence to suggest that the strength of the Canterbury Jewry was reflected in the diversity of Jewish settlements throughout Kent. It was, however, at just this time that the Jews of England including their Kentish brethren ran into difficulties as a result of Christian resentment. Canterbury did not escape such difficulties. In 1261, its Jewry was attacked and many of its inhabitants were violently assaulted.[38] In 1264, Gilbert de Clare, the earl of Gloucester, captured Canterbury and, like the rest of de Montfort's followers who captured towns from the Crown, sacked the Jewry and, according to Gervase, hoc eodem tempore omnes fere Judaei destructi sunt et exulati.[39] Certainly the archa was stolen for the Earl of Gloucester's followers entered the house of Simon Pabley, one of the Christian chirographers, and stole the chest. Such problems were to continue into Edward's reign.[40] Between 1275 and 1278 there were at least twenty Kentish Jews imprisoned in the Tower of London. These included Elias, the son-in-law of Aaron of Rye, Josce of Dartford, Jurnin of Kent, Moses of Doggestrete, Isaac of Kent, Isaac of Canterbury and Samuel of Rochester.[41] In 1278, William de Somerfeld, the Queen's tailor, was granted seven messuages in Canterbury, which had formerly belonged to Jews hanged for coin-clipping, for which he paid £53-6s-8d, and, as a result of similar allegations, the royal escheators on behalf of the Crown turned the screws and confiscated another £440-0s-0d worth of movables from the Jews of Kent.[42]

Canterbury reacted to the onset of such problems in the second half of the thirteenth century by planning to confirm its position at the centre of Kentish Jewry by protecting the interests of its existing members. This can be seen from a document which is referred to as the 'Canterbury Treaty of 1266'.[43] Its prohibition on Jewish settlement in Canterbury is unparalleled even amongst the

bounteous records of the continental Jewries. In 1937, L. Rabinowitz claimed that it was 'probably the only document extant giving the formula of an institution which persisted in southern France, Germany, Italy and eastern Europe for some seven centuries.' [44] The document itself, which was signed by seventeen Canterbury Jews, sets forth in solemn terms that:

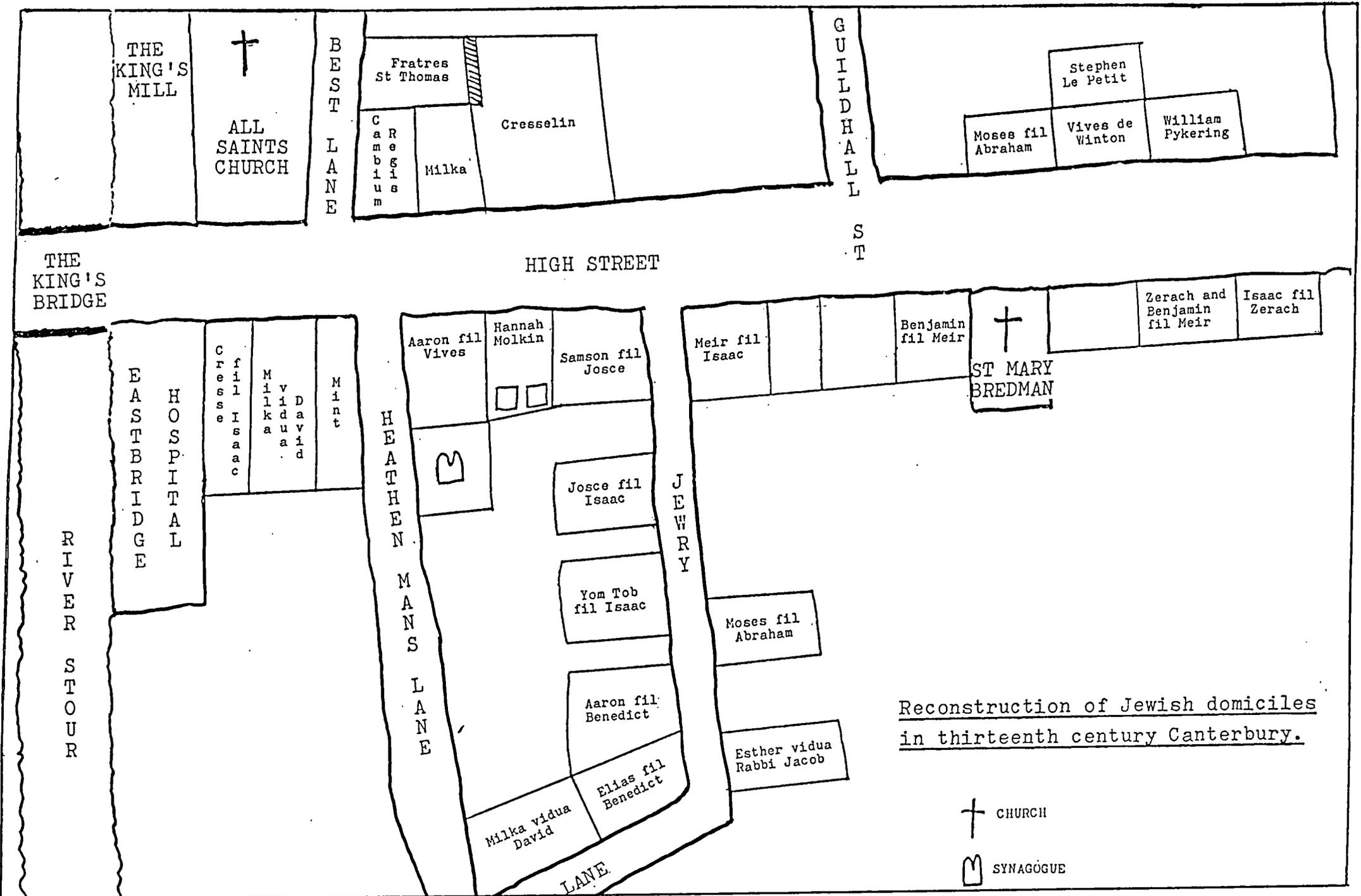
the Jews of Canterbury had come to the resolution and thereto bound themselves by oath, that no Jew of any other town than Canterbury shall dwell in the said town, that is to say, any liar, improper person or slanderer, and that should anyone come to dwell there by writ of their lord the king, the whole community shall pay to the king such sums as Salle fil Josce, Abraham fil Leo and Vives of Winchester, whose seals are attached to this shetar, shall lay upon the community in order that the person may be disqualified by the king from residing there; and if any of the community should oppose the disqualification of such a Jew who has shown himself a liar, an improper person and a slanderer, or has obtained such a writ from the king, let them be disqualified together. [45]

Adler saw this document as an attempt to deal with the problem of an influx of refugees from other Jewries which might have been devastated during the troubles of the early 1260s referred to above. [46] There is, however, no evidence of this prohibition having been used in Canterbury and there are indeed problems in assessing how it was likely to have been implemented for medieval Jews clearly had difficulties themselves in interpreting the rule. [47] Rabbi Tam, for example, in the twelfth century, had claimed that 'the Talmudic law forbidding strangers to settle in a town against the will of the inhabitants applied only to such persons who refused to pay their share of the taxes', and had gone on to rule in his responsa that no Jew could be refused admission into a Jewish community if he was willing to abide by the community's rules. [48] In Germany, on the other hand, the idea of the Herem was followed strictly until the

sixteenth century, and there seems to have been little bending of the rules. The problem as to whether the Canterbury Herem was ever implemented does not, however, prevent the document's significance as an expression of the wishes and fears of the Community of Canterbury at the time of its issue. Rabbi Cohn-Sherbok sees the Herem as basically an attempt to deal with certain unscrupulous members of the Jewish community in order to improve the image of Jewish financial dealings.[49] Such an interpretation supports Rabinowitz's view that it was not solely a reaction to a political emergency.[50] There can, however, be little doubt that the Herem was intended, in Rabinowitz's words, 'to bring about the economic protection of the community and the establishment of a virtual trading monopoly', in a time of difficulty.[51] Through the Herem the Jews of Canterbury were themselves attempting to deal with a situation which foreshadowed the circumstances created by the Statutum de Judeismo's limitation of Jewish residence to archa towns. Canterbury had always been the major centre of Jewish activity in Kent. There is clear evidence that in the second half of the thirteenth century its pre-eminence grew.

Having traced the general history of Jewish settlement in Kent and particularly in Canterbury, it is now time to look in more detail at the Canterbury Jews themselves. In this respect, there is considerable information about where they lived in the town. As Adler correctly observed, the buildings which constituted the Jewry 'lay in the small parish of St Mary Bredman, near the bread and the fish-market, a stone's throw from the great Cathedral of Christ Church whilst some Jews' houses were in the adjoining parish of All Saints'.[52] The Canterbury Jewry, although close knit in its geographical and social environment does not, however, seem to have been a 'closed-Jewry'. The Canterbury Jewish quarter was never exclusively Jewish and from the records of the land transactions it

becomes clear that Jew lived alongside Christian. In 1230, Elias fil Berechiah sold a plot of land to his brother Isaac for £5-0s-0d. The house which was 'in the Jewry' was bounded in the east by the house of Aaron fil Berechiah and in the west by the house and grounds of Malkah the widow of Rabbi David. To the north, however, lay the land belonging to a Christian goldsmith called Arnot.[53] In 1240, Thomas, the Prior of St Gregory's, granted a messuage to Milkana the Jewess. She was granted the whole messuage 'with the whole edifice erected therein in wood and stone'. The plot of land was bounded in the east by the land of Creselin the Jew and in the west by All Saints Lane. In the north, however, Milkana's new neighbours were to be the Brethren of St Thomas's Hospital.[54] In 1242, the deaths of Rabbi Zerach and his son Rabbi Meir meant that several Canterbury Jews had to sort out a complicated estate. The beneficiaries of this estate were Bona and Isaac fil Zerach, and Zerach fil Meir and Benjamin fil Meir, who as an orphaned minor had Moses fil Joseph acting as his guardian. Both sides eventually reached an 'amicable agreement' and a document was drawn up on Sunday 3 Sivan 1242. They had decided to settle the matter by partitioning the property. The total plot extended for 114 feet in length by 25 feet in width. The plot was divided and each beneficiary retained command of the full length. This agreement specifies the boundaries of the property which include the property of two Christians, Eadwin the Perfumer and Robert Monin.[55] In 1256, Hannah filia Joseph, the wife of Samuel Molkin, resigned her rights on two houses behind her house in the Jewry. In the south, the two houses were bounded by the house of another Christian, Nigel Talebot.[56] In 1258, Bona filia Isaac and her husband Samuel fil Benjamin sold some land in the parish of St Mary Bredman to Abraham fil Isaac who was Bona's brother. The messuage consisted of a house with a yard and appurtenances. The messuage was bounded in the east



Reconstruction of Jewish domiciles in thirteenth century Canterbury.

† CHURCH

Ⓜ SYNAGOGUE

by the property of Zerach and Benjamin who had inherited their land from their father Meir but in the west it was bounded by the land of Robert Pepper and in the north by the land of Gregory Palmer, two more Christian neighbours.[57] Finally, in an undated transaction, Samson fil Josce is seen selling Richard Specarius a house, land and appurtenances which was bounded not only by the house and grounds of two Jews but also by the property of the priest John de Verdun. For this transaction Richard was to pay six marks annually as gersuma and a rent of a nail of cloves per annum to Samson fil Josce.[58] Thus, in the centre of Canterbury, Jews lived in close proximity to Christians. Of course, when Jews lived in the outskirts of the town, it was even more likely that they would have Christian neighbours. There is at least one example during the thirteenth century of a Jew living in the parish of St Mary of the Castle with at least three Christian neighbours.[59]

In Canterbury where Jews and Christians were, therefore, neighbours, it is not at all surprising that the surviving records of property sales reveal considerable business activity involving the transfer of particular properties between Jew and Christian. Adler notes that, in 1231, the Crown forbade the monks of Christ Church, who had been selling property to the Jews, to sell them any more property in the Parish of St Mary Bredman or All Saints.[60] However, this prohibition does not seem to have affected the rate at which Jews and Christians did business with each other, transferring houses and plots in the two prime parishes in the town. Despite the prohibition a steady trade in properties seems to have continued. In 1249, Amice the widow of John Chicche quitclaimed her 'whole free-bench' of a house which had belonged to Ordeleue Monetarius (in the parish of St Mary Bredman) to Salle and Aaron, the two sons of Josce of Leicester.[61] In 1250, Geoffrey of Sturry granted all of his messuage in St Mary Bredman to Meir fil Isaac. Meir was to pay

2s-3d per annum in rent to various people and for the whole transaction he paid Geoffrey of Sturry £10-13s-4d.[62] In 1259, Adam Marshall granted his messuage in St Mary Bredman to Vives of Winchester.[63] In 1265, Mendaunt fil Josce, presumably one of the heirs of Josce fil Samson (mentioned above), leased his tenement to Richard Specarius for one clove of garlic annually.[64] In 1270, Richard Specarius leased a plot for three and a half years back to a consortium of three Jews -- Elyas fil Sampson, Benedict fil Isaac and Jurnet fil Milo. The lease was later extended to eight years and presumably ended in 1278. The plot which was leased consisted of a solar with some ground which had belonged to Pictavin le Fort and two other messuages with easements before the ropewalk or pavement. The site of this particular plot was in the parish of St Mary Bredman before the pillory.[65] In exchange for this lease Richard Specarius was to have the lease of a plot which had belonged to the late Isaac fil Jurnet and Milo his brother.[66] In 1272, Vives of Winchester acquired another messuage in the same parish from John and Justina Durant. In ground rent for this plot, Vives was to pay Jacobus de la Porta 4s-6d, the nuns of St Sepulchre 5s-6d, the heirs of Margery, the daughter of John Carbaylle, 1d per annum, and, as a token, John and Justina Durant a half-penny. It would seem that even after Vives' decease the properties remained in the hands of his widow Joye where they still were, although rented out to other Jews, when the Jews were expelled from Canterbury in 1290.[67] It is therefore possible from the surviving records of property transactions to gain a clear impression of a Jewry in thirteenth-century Canterbury which was one in which Jew lived next door to Christian, and in which Jews and Christians transferred properties with some degree of frequency.

The Valor Judaismus, taken in 1290, fills out the evidence for Jewish domiciles and makes it possible to examine the Jewry at the end of Jewish settlement in Canterbury.[68] The subsequent change of ownership of the land which occurred in 1291 must have been very noticeable to the ordinary citizens of Canterbury, for from the survey of the Jewish property which was ordered by the Crown and from the subsequent grants of these properties it is possible to trace the re-allocation of almost twenty houses which were situated in the very centre of Canterbury's congested cross-roads -- the High Street, Jewry Lane and All Saints Lane. Nevertheless, the Valor probably reflects a situation in which Jews held less property than they had in the pre-Edwardian era. This is the case because there is significant evidence to suggest that Christians had been acquiring the property of dead Jews on a large scale, possibly because Jewish families were unable to meet their obligations on the death of one of their members without alienating town properties. It was probably this fact that encouraged Edward, on his accession, to begin to take more interest in Jewish affairs particularly with respect to the Crown's assertion of its right to take over such property. From one of the clauses in the Statute of Jewry in 1275 it becomes clear that the Crown was worried about the disposal of Jewish property in the towns:

E ke nul geu neit poer de feffer autre geu ne  
Crestien de lormesons rentes ou tenenez kil  
eient eu apermemes, ne de aliener a nul autre  
mane[69]

The Crown had had problems in enforcing its rights to Jewish chattels and in particular over real estate. It seems that in Canterbury Jewish domiciles had come into the possession of Gentiles when they were rightfully the property of the Crown. In 1274, the Crown vigorously enforced its rights. In that year, the king sued Solomon de Campis and Christiana his wife for a house which the king

claimed as his by the trespass of Isaac fil Benedict and also another house that the king claimed was his by reason of the death and trespass of Pictavin fil Isaac. At the same time, he sued the Priory of Holy Trinity for a house which was Crown property by the death of Master Aaron. Three other Canterbury citizens were sued for wrongful possession of Jewish property -- William Talebot for a house which was his by reason of the death of Isaac fil Salle, Master Omer, a clerk, for a house which was the Crown's by reason of the trespass of Deubeney of Canterbury; Daniel le Draper for a messuage in the same place by reason of Josce of Kent's trespass.[70] Eventually, the Crown granted the defendants the right to have these messuages, but only after they had paid a fine.[71] In the same year, the Crown assigned Roger de Kinton, the sergeant of the Scaccarium Judaeorum, to take inquests touching houses and tenements which were 'at any time in the hands of Jews and thereafter alienated'.[72] More prosecutions and fines followed. Moyses Talyfer and Cecilia, his wife, and Philip fil Philip of Berkshire were sued touching a messuage late of Bonamy the Jew in Canterbury -- Philip was granted a royal licence for 20s. Bartholomew de Everle was sued for holding the house of Benedict le Rus, he was fined two marks for a release.[73] Matthew the Chaplain was sued for holding a messuage, house and place which had been the property of Isaac fil Benedict, Pictavin fil Isaac and his brother Cresse fil Isaac. Matthew craved replevin of his land and three messuages that the Crown had confiscated -- he was later granted a licence which cost him four marks.[74] It is highly probable that such attempts by the Crown to assert its rights over Jewish property reflect the fact that Jewish families were facing more difficult financial circumstances and were finding it increasingly difficult to meet their obligations without alienating urban real estate

Meanwhile, in 1278, the royal purge on coin clipping offences gave the Crown another excuse to gain more rights of interference in properties. Significant confiscations seem to have taken place. For example seven messuages, as has been seen above, which were confiscated were later granted to the queen's tailor, William de Somerfeld.[75] Such a change from Jewish to Christian ownership may reflect a trend contributed to by all sorts of circumstances. In 1278, the Crown granted Stephen Blacklocks a licence to free himself from a Jewish debt which had involved his property. He had, it seems, borrowed on the security of a house; he now conveyed the house to Agnes de Gores. She paid 35 marks (£23-6s-8d) to redeem the stone house from Moses de Doggestrete.[76] In 1285, the Crown granted Master Elias Baggard a licence to sell his house, in Canterbury, to John la Cordere of Northampton.[77] It was by such devices that the amount of property that had been in Jewish hands was probably somewhat diminished by 1290.

In 1290, therefore, the Crown confiscated the remaining Jewish domiciles which probably represented a diminished stock of Jewish real estate. Nevertheless, there were some considerable properties in Canterbury remaining in Jewish hands at that date. Such properties were described in the Valor in relation to their annual value.[78] There were three properties which were worth at least 25s. Elias of London had a stone house, with a solar, worth 30s for which he paid a ground rent of 6s-6d to the nuns of St Sepulchre and 4s-6d to the heirs of Jacob de Porta. Leo fil Elias had a property worth 25s, for which he paid a rental of 5s to Thomas Chiche and 4s to William Roper.[79] There was also a house which was shared between Cok Hagin and Aaron fil Vives worth a total of 40s.[80] In addition to these impressive properties there were five others worth between 10s and 25s. Moses le Petyt held two properties: one, which was built of stone, worth 13s-4d and the other 12s. Joye, the

wife of Vives of Winchester, held two properties: one worth 13s-4d and the other 16s-8d. Sarra la Bele held a property which was worth 15s. There were two properties worth between 5s and 10s. The synagogue, together with a plot of land, was estimated as being worth 6s-8d and Abba de Doggestrete had a house worth 6s-8d.[81] Only four Jews held property which was worth less than five shillings: Sara la Petite held a property worth 3s, whilst Isaac Top held a property worth 2s. The Jewish community held an empty plot which measured four feet by fifteen feet which was worth 6d. Samson le Chapelyn had a property which was worth 1s whilst Malkini had a property worth 3d.

All the land which was confiscated was resold. The Letters Patent dated February and August 1291 which granted the properties to the five new owners are still extant.[82] It was William de Somerfeld, the queen's tailor, who received the synagogue to add to his collection of seven ex-Jewish messuages.[83] But, it was the prior and convent of Christ Church who received the bulk of the property and were granted eleven ex-Jewish messuages.[84] It seems that the new owners received the property with sitting tenants and existing ground rents and that some of the owners of the ground rents later sold them privately to the new owners.[85] By 1307, incidentally, it seems that Christ Church had ignored the fact that it owed certain citizens of Canterbury ground rent and consequently a survey of its newly acquired property was taken.[86]

Despite such later difficulties it is, however, clear that the Crown had no difficulty in selling off the properties. Although their estimated annual value was only £9-5s-5d, by 27 December 1291, Hugh of Kendal had realised £85-13s-4d on the properties, despite the fact that three of the five recipients were behind with their payments.[87] In one case, Hugh of Kendal had facilitated the sale

by tipping off the archbishop that some properties were up for sale and politely suggesting a down payment of 24 marks.[88] By such means, the Dissolution of the Canterbury Jewry was executed speedily and effectively and the Crown no longer had the problem of enforcing its claims on ex-Jewish properties in the town, and receiving a lump payment for its troubles.

In turning from Jewish property to Jewish business practice in Canterbury it is necessary to consider three main sources. The first is a list of the bonds granted to the Crown by the Jews of Canterbury in order to pay their tallage for 1262.[89] The second is a collection of actual bonds made between 1261 and 1277 which have survived at Westminster Abbey.[90] The third is a list of the outstanding debts to the Jews of Canterbury which the Crown confiscated in 1290.[91] The evidence which can be derived from these sources is not complete, but it does indicate how the Canterbury Jews went about their business. The 1262 list has lacunae and is, in parts, illegible. It is not an archa scrutiny or a complete list of contemporary transactions, but is merely a list of bonds taken from the Canterbury and other Jews of England towards a tallage payment. Therefore it can be used as an indicator of Jewish business practice but because Jews might have been off-loading troublesome bonds it is perhaps not as representative as the other two samples which will be considered below and which inevitably present other methodological problems of their own.[92] From the 1262 list it is possible to identify fifty-two Jews who hold 102 bonds worth £210-2s-11d. The collection of actual surviving bonds identifies thirty-two Jews who hold forty-five bonds worth £183-6s-8d. The list of extant bonds in 1290 identifies sixteen Jews who hold 95 bonds worth £523-3s-8d.

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in Canterbury in 1262.

Number of  
Bonds.

Jewish Creditors.

12	Leon fil Moses.
8	Milkana filia Deubeneye.
6	Cresselyn fil Sampson.
5	Pictavin fil Isaac.
4	Diey fil Josce, Miriam widow of Sampson, Isaac fil Benedict.
3	Abraham fil Cresse, Josce fil Bona.
2	Diay fil Benedict, Jacob Crespyn, Aunterra widow of Abraham, Moses fil Deubon, Isaac fil Jacob, Pia fil Josce, Simon fil Josce, Jacob fil Floria, Bonamy.
1	Vinard fil Isaac, Josce fil Manser, Benedict genus Benedict, Jacob fil Benedict, Magister Salle fil Josce, Cress of York, Bonefy fil Cress, The son of Cressylyn, Isaac fil Meir, Amendaunt fil Josce, Isaac, Milon fil Isaac, Bonamy fil Benedict, Bonamy fil Isaac, The son of Isaac, Salot fil Josce, Miriame filia Josce, Cress fil Isaac, Unknown, Moses fil Josce, Floria, Benedict fil Samson and Josce his son, Diey fil Isaac, Benefy of Oxford, Benedict fil Isaac, The sons of Moses, The son of Floria, Milo, Slema filia Avegaye, Moses Presbyter, Josce fil Manasser, Avegaye filia Isaac.

(102)

(52)

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/249/10

From the 1262 list of bonds it is possible to get some idea of the financial transactions undertaken by different Jews. The numerical distribution of bonds owed to each individual Jew is important because it reveals the ability of certain Jews to lend money to various borrowers rather than commit themselves to single 'one off' transactions and by this and other means gives clues as to who, in one sense, may have been the more enterprising members of the Jewish community. Leon fil Moses had twelve bonds owing to him worth a total value of £26-7s-4d. A Jewess, Milkana filia Deubeneye, had eight bonds worth £13-16s-2d. Cressylin fil Sampson had six bonds worth £3-18s-6d. Pictavin fil Isaac had five bonds worth £1-18s-0d; Diey fil Josce had four bonds worth £4-1s-0d; Miriam the widow of Samson had four bonds worth £3-13s-0d; and Isaac fil Benedict four worth £7-11s-3d. Abraham fil Cresse had three bonds worth £3-1s-0d whilst Josce fil Bona had three bonds worth £1-11s-0d. There were ten Jews with only two bonds: Diey fil Benedict's were worth £33-6s-8d, Jacob Crespyn's £25-0s-0d, Moses Crespyn £14-13s-4d, Aunterra the Jewess's were worth £7-1s-0d, Moses fil Deubeneye's £6-15s-0d, Isaac fil Jacob's £4-3s-4d, Pia fil Josce's £2-12s-6d, Simon fil Josce's £2-0s-0d, Jacob fil Fluria's £1-10s-2d, and Bonamy's 17s-0d. Thirty-three Jews had a single bond and the value of the 'one-off' bond varied between Vinard fil Isaac's worth £10-0s-0d and Moses Presbyter's worth 3s-6d.

The 1262 list also demonstrates the different amounts of money which Jews were prepared to tie up in single transactions. The distribution of the value of the individual bonds reveals that thirty-two of the bonds (31.3 percent) were worth a face value of less than 10s-0d each, twenty-nine (28.4 percent) were worth between 10s and £1-0s-0d, twenty bonds (19.6 percent) were worth between £1-0s-0d and £2-0s-0d, eighteen (17.6 percent) were worth between £2-0s-0d and £10-0s-0d. There were only three bonds (2.9 percent)

The value of Jewish bonds in Canterbury in 1262.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount.	
2	Diay fil Benedict	£ 33 6s 8d	
12	Leon fil Moses	£ 26 7s 4d	⊕
2	Jacob Crespyn	£ 25 0s 0d	
2	Moses Crespyn	£ 14 13s 4d	
8	Milkana filia Deubeneye	£ 13 16s 2d	
1	Vinard fil Isaac	£ 10 0s 0d	
4	Isaac fil Benedict	£ 7 11s 3d	
2	Aunterra widow of Abraham	£ 7 1s 0d	
2	Moses fil Deubon	£ 6 15s 0d	
1	Josce fil Manser	£ 4 13s 4d	
2	Isaac fil Jacob	£ 4 3s 4d	
4	Diey fil Joce	£ 4 1s 0d	
6	Cresselyn fil Sampson	£ 3 18s 6d	
4	Miriam widow of Sampson	£ 3 13s 0d	
3	Abraham fil Cresse	£ 3 1s 0d	⊕
1	Benedict genus Benedict	£ 3 0s 0d	
1	Jacob fil Benedict	£ 3 0s 0d	
1	Mestr Jew of Canterbury	£ 3 0s 0d	
2	Pia filia Josce	£ 2 12s 6d	
1	Salle fil Josce	£ 2 0s 0d	
2	Simon fil Josce	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Cress of York	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Bonefy fil Cress	£ 2 0s 0d	
5	Pictavin fil Isaac	£ 1 18s 0d	⊕
3	Josce fil Bona	£ 1 11s 0d	
2	Jacob fil Floria	£ 1 10s 2d	
1	_____ fil Cresslynn	£ 1 10s 0d	
1	Isaac fil Meir	£ 1 9s 0d	

1	Amendaunt fil Josce	£ 1 1s 0d	⊕
1	Isaac Jew of Canterbury	£ 1 0s 0d	
1	Milon fil Isaac	£ 1 0s 0d	
1	Bonamy fil Benedict	£ 1 0s 0d	
2	Bonamy	17s 0d	
1	_____ fil Isaac	16s 0d	
1	Salot fil Josce	16s 0d	
1	Miriame filia Josce	15s 0d	
1	Cress fil Isaac	13s 4d	
1	Unknown	13s 0d	
1	Moses fil Josce	12s 0d	
1	Floria, a widow	11s 0d	
1	Benedict fil Samson and Josce his son	11s 0d	
1	Diey fil Isaac	10s 6d	
1	Benefy of Oxford	10s 0d	
1	Bonamy fil Isaac	10s 0d	
1	Benedict fil Isaac	10s 0d	
1	_____ fil Moses	10s 0d	
1	_____ fil Fluria	9s 6d	
1	Milo Jew of Canterbury	9s 0d	
1	Slema filia Avigaye	9s 0d	
1	Avegaye filia Isaac	4s 6d	
1	Moses Presbyter	3s 6d	
1	Josce fil Manasser	Amount Unknown	
(102)	(52)	£ 210 2s 11d	

⊕ Leon fil Moses is also owed 1 soam of oats  
Abraham fil Cresse is also owed for another starrum  
Pictavin fil Isaac is also owed 1 quarter of corn  
Amendaunt fil Josce is also owed 1 soam of corn

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/249/10

worth more than £10-0s-0d - one for £13-0s-0d, another worth £16-0s-0d and the largest for £20-0s-0d. Thus, the vast majority of the bonds were worth less than £10-0s-0d and indeed 77 percent were worth less than £2-0s-0d. The mean average value of a bond in this sample was £2-1s-2d and it is clear that most Jews held individual bonds worth well below this average. It would seem from these transactions that many Jews were involved in the making of comparatively small bonds.

The sample also clearly indicates that different Jews made different contributions to the payment of the 1262 tallage. Whether or not the ability of the individual Jew to make these different payments in existing bonds reflects different levels of involvement in moneylending is of course impossible to determine from this sample. What is, however, clear is that Jews could make very small loans indeed and that therefore, at this time, virtually every member of the Jewish community could act as a moneylender. Such is the evidence to be derived from the fact that while Jews like Vinard fil Isaac had one debt worth £10-0s-0d and the Crespyn brothers had in total four debts owing to them which amounted to a total of £39-13s-4d, Pictavin fil Isaac had debts owing to him totalling as little as £1-18s-0d from no less than five very small transactions and no less than twenty Jews may have had less than £1-0s-0d lent out.

There are also some debts which do not conform to the expected norm of cash or monetary debts. Three of the Jewish creditors are also owed small commodity repayments. Leon fil Moses is owed one soam of oats in a transaction he concluded with William de Egerdinden; Amendaunt fil Josce is owed one soam of corn by Stephen de Mewell; Pictavin fil Isaac is owed another quarter of corn by Stephen de la Wan. However, the Canterbury Jews in general, in

1262, seem to favour the cash transaction rather than the commodity bond. Normally, they lent money and expected to be paid back in money.

Evidence for the business practices of the Canterbury Jews can also be found from material in the archives of Westminster Abbey. At Westminster some eighty documents which relate to the Canterbury community have survived.[93] Amongst these are forty-five bonds which were contracted between 1261 and 1276.[94] The surviving bonds, many with their seals still attached, in some ways give more information than the registers of 1262 and 1290, but since it is possible that they represent a fraction of some bonds that were brought to Westminster in an archa before the Expulsion, probably like the similar collection of Colchester bonds in the Westminster Abbey Muniments referred to above, in 1275 or 1276, it has to be recognized that their evidence is essentially fragmentary.[95] However, the sample can provide a useful basis for making certain conclusions about Jewish lending practices.

Again it is possible to trace the number of bonds individual Jews were prepared to have out at any one time. Hagin fil Leon le Eveske had five bonds owing to him. Vives of Winchester, Isaac fil Abraham and Moses fil Rabbi Aaron had three. Aaron fil Cresse, Abba fil Aaron, and Floria filia Elias of Northampton had two bonds which had been contracted. Such cases are to be compared with the twenty-five Jews who only have single transactions which are referred to in this sample: Aaron fil Sampson, Aaron fil Samuel, Abraham fil Aaron, Belia the widow of Aaron, Benedict fil Bonami, Benedict fil Cresse, Cohke Hagin fil Cresse, Cresse fil Jacob, Cresse fil Isaac, Floria filia Josce, Hagin fil Rabbi Moses, a London Jew, Isaac fil Isaac, Jacob fil Cresse, Jacob fil Jacob, Josce fil Joynon, Josce fil Molekin, Josce of Shoreham, Leon fil

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in Canterbury  
in the Westminster Abbey Muniments.

<u>Number of</u> <u>Bonds.</u>	<u>Jewish Creditors.</u>
5	Hagin fil Leon Le Eveske
3	Vives of Winchester, Isaac fil Abraham, Moses fil Rabbi Aaron.
2	Aaron fil Cresse, Abba fil Aaron, Floria filia Elias of Northampton.
1	Cohke Hagin fil Cresse, Moses fil Salle, Moses fil Vives of Winchester, Hagin fil Rabbi Moses, a Jew of London, Popelina, Aaron fil Samuel, Salle fil Abraham, Moses fil Abraham, Josce of Shoreham, Josce fil Molekin, Cresse fil Isaac, Josce fil Joynon, Benedict fil Bonami, Aaron fil Sampson, Sampson Le Prestre, Mynne fil Benedict, Benedict fil Cresse, Isaac fil Isaac, Abraham fil Aaron, Floria Filia Josce, Jacob fil Jacob, Leon fil Jacob, Jacob fil Cresse, Cresse fil Jacob, Belia the widow of Aaron.

(45)

(32)

Source:- W.A.M. Nos. 9015, 9019, 9020, 9021, 9022,  
9025, 9026, 9028, 9034, 9036,  
9039, 9042, 9043, 9046, 9047,  
9057, 9058, 9086, 9088, 9089,  
9090, 9091, 9103, 9104, 9105,  
9116, 9118, 9119, 9120, 9121,  
9123, 9124, 9125, 9126, 9127,  
9139, 9156, 9157, 9158, 9159,  
9172, 9173, 9174, 9175, 9176.

Jacob, Moses fil Abraham, Moses fil Salle, Moses fil Vives of Winchester, Mynne fil Benedict, Popelina a Jewess, Salle fil Abraham and Samson le Prestre. The information from all these bonds identifies thirty-two Jews who are active moneylenders.

A brief examination of the distribution of the value of the individual bonds reveals that six of the bonds (13.3 percent) were worth less than 10s-0d, seven (15.5 percent) were worth between 10s-0d and £1-0s-0d, ten (22 percent) were valued at between £1-0s-0d and £2-0s-0d, five (11 percent) between £2-0s-0d and £3-0s-0d, six (13.3 percent) between £3-0s-0d and £4-0s-0d and eight (17.7 percent) between £4-0s-0d and £10-0s-0d. There were only three (6 percent) bonds worth more than £10-0s-0d, one for £15-0s-0d, another for £20-0s-0d and another worth £33-6s-8d. Thus, once again, the majority of the individual bonds were worth less than £10-0s-0d each and indeed 51 percent were worth less than £2-0s-0d each. The mean average value of a bond in this sample was £4-1s-4d, almost double the equivalent for the 1262 sample.[96] Thus, the bonds of this period are or seem to be larger than those of 1262. Nevertheless it would seem that, as in 1262, most of the bonds were concerned with fairly small amounts, although there are 24 percent of these bonds which are worth more than the mean average value - a slightly higher figure than was found in the 1262 sample.

Once again this sample suggests the possibility that certain Jews lent more money than others. Whilst Abba fil Aaron has two bonds worth £36-13s-4d and Cohke Hagin fil Cresse has one bond worth £20-0s-0d, other Jews have smaller debts like those of Aaron fil Samuel and Salle fil Abraham, who are both owed 5 marks or £3-6s-8d, and those of Jacob fil Cresse and Cresse fil Jacob, who are both owed 9s. Eight Jews have single bonds worth no more than £2-0s-0d. There would seem therefore to be the possibility that Jews with

The value of Jewish bonds in the Westminster Abbey  
Muniments - Canterbury bonds.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount.	
2	Abba fil Aaron	£ 36 13s 4d	
3	Vives of Winchester	£ 25 0s 0d	
1	Cohke Hagin fil Cresse	£ 20 0s 0d	
3	Moses fil Rabbi Aaron	£ 14 0s 0d	
2	Floria filia Elias of Northampton	£ 11 13s 4d	
1	Moses fil Salle	£ 10 0s 0d	⊕
1	Moses fil Vives of Winchester	£ 8 0s 0d	
1	Hagin fil Rabbi Moses, a London Jew	£ 6 13s 4d	
5	Hagin fil Leon Le Eveske	£ 6 4s 0d	⊕
3	Isaac fil Abraham	£ 5 16s 8d	
1	Popelina	£ 4 13s 4d	
2	Aaron fil Cresse	£ 4 13s 4d	
1	Aaron fil Samuel	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	Salle fil Abraham	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	Moses fil Abraham	£ 2 17s 0d	
1	Josce of Shoreham	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Josce fil Molekin	£ 2 6s 8d	
1	Cresse fil Isaac	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Josce fil Joynon	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Benedict fil Bonami	£ 1 14s 0d	
1	Aaron fil Sampson	£ 1 10s 0d	
1	Sampson Le Prestre	£ 1 10s 0d	
1	Mynne fil Benedict	£ 1 6s 8d	⊕
1	Benedict fil Cresse	£ 1 0s 0d	
1	Isaac fil Isaac	£ 1 0s 0d	
1	Abraham fil Aaron	13s 4d	
1	Floria filia Josce	10s 0d	

1	Jacob fil Jacob	10s	0d	
1	Leon fil Jacob	10s	0d	⊕
1	Jacob fil Cresse	9s	0d	
1	Cresse fil Jacob	9s	0d	
1	Belia, widow of Aaron	7s	0d	

(45)

(32)

£ 183 6s 8d

- ⊕ Moses fil Salle is owed half a bushel of wheat.  
 Hagin fil Leon Le Eveske is owed one bushel of wheat.  
 Mynne fil Benedict is owed one bushel of wheat.  
 Leon fil Jacob is owed one cart load of wood.

Source:- W.A.M. Nos. 9015, 9019, 9020, 9021, 9022,  
 9025, 9026, 9028, 9031, 9036,  
 9039, 9042, 9043, 9046, 9047,  
 9057, 9058, 9086, 9088, 9089,  
 9090, 9091, 9103, 9104, 9105,  
 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120, 9121,  
 9123, 9124, 9125, 9126, 9127,  
 9139, 9156, 9157, 9158, 9159,  
 9172, 9173, 9174, 9175, 9176.

little capital could involve themselves in moneylending although it is perhaps significant that there are fewer small bonds at this period.

Again there is a mixture of cash and commodity bonds among the Westminster survivals although there are only four bonds which are not expressed in terms of cash. Moses fil Salle has a bond which is endorsed to the effect that Master John de Wayhope who already owes £10-0s-0d also owes half a bushel of corn. Hagin fil Leon le Eveske and Mynne fil Benedict are owed one bushel of wheat each from their debtors. Leon fil Jacob had lent 10s to Hamo of Hoath and is also owed by his debtor one cart-load of wood.[97]

The evidence from the Westminster Abbey bonds is largely complemented by the register of extant Jewish bonds in 1290.[98] Early in 1291, the sheriff of Kent and the two Christian chirographers for Canterbury brought unam archam de novis debitis to Westminster. Since the Expulsion in November 1290 the archa had remained sealed. The officials also brought two keys for the chest which they duly deposited in the bag which held all the keys for the other Jewish archae. Presumably one set had been confiscated from the two Jewish chirographers before they left the country.[99] At the same time other officials from Canterbury arrived and deposited a small chest, unam pixidem, a starr under the names of John fil Solomon of Kennington and Moses le Petit, and two other small chests, pixides, full of documents pertaining to the Jews of Canterbury.[100] By 1292 the bonds had been examined and enrolled by the Exchequer scribes under the supervision of William de Marchia. There were ninety-five bonds which ranged in date from 25 September 1280 to 26 March 1290 and what is of course different about this sample is that it is a complete reflection of the state of Jewish business at one particular moment in time.[101]

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in Canterbury  
in 1290.

<u>Number of Bonds.</u>	<u>Jewish Creditors.</u>
16	Moses Le Petit fil Magister Aaron.
11	Josce fil Ursell, Jew of York <u>manens</u> in Canterbury, Aaron fil Benedict of Winchester.
9	Moses fil Salle, Leo fil Magister Elias.
8	Vives of Winchester, Cok fil Benedict of Winchester.
6	Aaron fil Cresse of Winchester.
4	Aaron fil Peytevin, Hagin fil Cresse.
3	Belia of Stamford.
2	Elias fil Hagin.
1	Bellaset filia Benedict, Josce Gileberd fil Aaron of Canterbury, Popelina, Hagin fil Popelina.
(95)	(16)

Cok of Winchester has a shared bond with Hagin fil Popelina.

Aaron fil Cresse of Winchester has a shared bond with his brother Hagin fil Cresse.

Although there are 95 bonds recorded by the scribe, two of these are in fact duplicates. The total number of bonds is therefore 93.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/6

Again it is possible to see different Jews with different numbers of bonds out. Moses le Petit had sixteen bonds still owing to him. Josce fil Ursellus of York who was described as a Jew manens in Canterbury, and Aaron fil Benedict of Winchester both had eleven bonds outstanding. Moses fil Salle and Leo fil Magister Elie had nine each. Vives of Winchester and Cok fil Benedict of Winchester had eight. Aron fil Cresse had made six different transactions whilst Aron fil Petevyn and Hagin fil Cresse were each owed four debts. Belia of Stamford was owed three and Elie fil Hagin two. There were only four Jews who were involved in single transactions: Belaset filia Benedict, Josce Gilbert fil Aaron of Canterbury, Popeline and Hagin her son.

The distribution of the monetary value of the individual bonds in this sample reveals that there weren't any bonds worth less than 10s-0d, there were three bonds (3.1 percent) worth between 10s-0d and £1-0s-0d, and six bonds (6.2 percent) worth between £1-0s-0d and £1-10s-0d. There were ten bonds (10.5 percent) worth between £1-10s-0d and £2-0s-0d, eleven bonds (11.5 percent) worth between £2-0s-0d and £2-10s-0d, twenty bonds (21 percent) worth between £2-10s-0d and £5-0s-0d and twenty five bonds (26 percent) worth between £5-0s-0d and £10-0s-0d. There were twenty individual bonds (21 percent) worth more than £10-0s-0d. Seven of these were worth between £10-0s-0d and £10-10s-0d, one worth between £10-10s-0d and £11-0s-0d, four between £11-0s-0d and £13-0s-0d, two between £13-0s-0d and £15-0s-0d and six between £15-0s-0d and £20-10s-0d. Thus, 79 percent of the bonds were worth less than £10-0s-0d but only 20 percent were worth less than £2-0s-0d, compared with 77 percent worth less than £2-0s-0d in 1262 and 51 percent worth less than £2-0s-0d in the Westminster sample. The mean average value for an individual bond at this period was £5-9s-3d.[102] It would seem possible from these transactions that during the 1280s Jews were

The value of Jewish bonds in Canterbury in 1290.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Quarters of Cereal.	Value.
9	Leo fil Magister Elias	270 qtrs	£ 84 9s 4d
16	Moses Le Petit	316 qtrs	£ 83 3s 4d
11	Aaron fil Benedict of Winchester	212 qtrs	£ 60 18s 0d
10 + 1	Josce fil Ursell, a Jew of York + 2 sacks of wool	160 qtrs	£ 41 0s 0d
			£ 10 13s 4d
8(s)	Cok fil Benedict	147 qtrs	£ 40 10s 0d
4(s)	Hagin fil Cresse	122 qtrs	£ 35 10s 0d
9	Moses fil Salle	124 qtrs	£ 32 10s 0d
3	Belia of Stamford	120 qtrs	£ 32 0s 0d
6(s)	Aaron fil Cresse	102 qtrs	£ 31 16s 8d
4	Aaron fil Peytevin	89 qtrs	£ 26 6s 8d
8	Vives of Winchester	86 qtrs	£ 22 3s 4d
2	Elias fil Hagin	35 qtrs	£ 10 8s 4d
1	Popelina	14 qtrs	£ 3 10s 0d
1	Josce Gileberd	10 qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1(s)	Hagin fil Popelina	10 qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
1	Bellaset filia Benedict	8 qtrs	£ 2 8s 0d
(95) (2 shared bonds and 2 duplicates)	(16)	(1825 qtrs + 2 sacks of wool.)	( £ 523 3s 8d)

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/6

getting involved in considerably higher valued loans but there were fewer Jews operating at the lower end of the market.

Once again consideration must be given to the way in which different Jews had different amounts of money owing to them. The 1290 evidence reveals, on the one hand, large scale operators like Leo fil Magister Elias who is owed for nine bonds worth a total value of £84-9s-4d, Moses Le Petit who is owed sixteen bonds worth a face value of £83-3s-4d, Aaron fil Benedict of Winchester who is owed eleven bonds worth £60-18s-4d, Josce fil Ursellus who is owed eleven bonds worth £51-13s-4d and Cok fil Benedict who is owed eight bonds worth £40-10s-0d. On the other hand there are smaller operators like Popelina, Josce Gileberd, Hagin fil Popelina, and Belaset filia Benedict who are all owed single debts worth less than £4-0s-0d. Such figures give a mean average Jewish outlay of £32-8s-11d for the 1290 sample which is considerably higher than the equivalent for the Westminster sample - £5-14s-6d and for that of the 1262 sample - £4-9s-0d. Much of this difference could well be due to the fact that the 1290 sample is a much fuller representation of Jewish lending practice at the time at which it was made.

In terms of the differences between cash and commodity bonds that have been identified in earlier samples, the 1290 bonds are quite exceptional in that all but one of them are expressed in terms of repayment in cereal. Since the exception is defined in terms of wool there are no cash bonds in this sample, it would seem that even after the possible revocation of the 1275 Statute by the Chapitres Tuchauz la Generie sometime in the 1280s the Canterbury Jews did not return to lending money in return for cash repayments but preferred to lend money in return for commodities.[103] The fact that it was money that was lent out is clear from the details of a bond made on 6 June 1281, which also provides some insight into how

transactions actually worked:

Bartholomew filius Thomas de Pymesdene debet  
Popeline Judee Cantuarie relicte Abraham  
Parvi de Bedeford xliii quarteria frumenti  
pro vi marcis receptis per unam obligationem  
cuius data est die veneris proxima ante  
festum Sancte Trinitatis Anno Regni Regis  
Edwardi ix.[104]

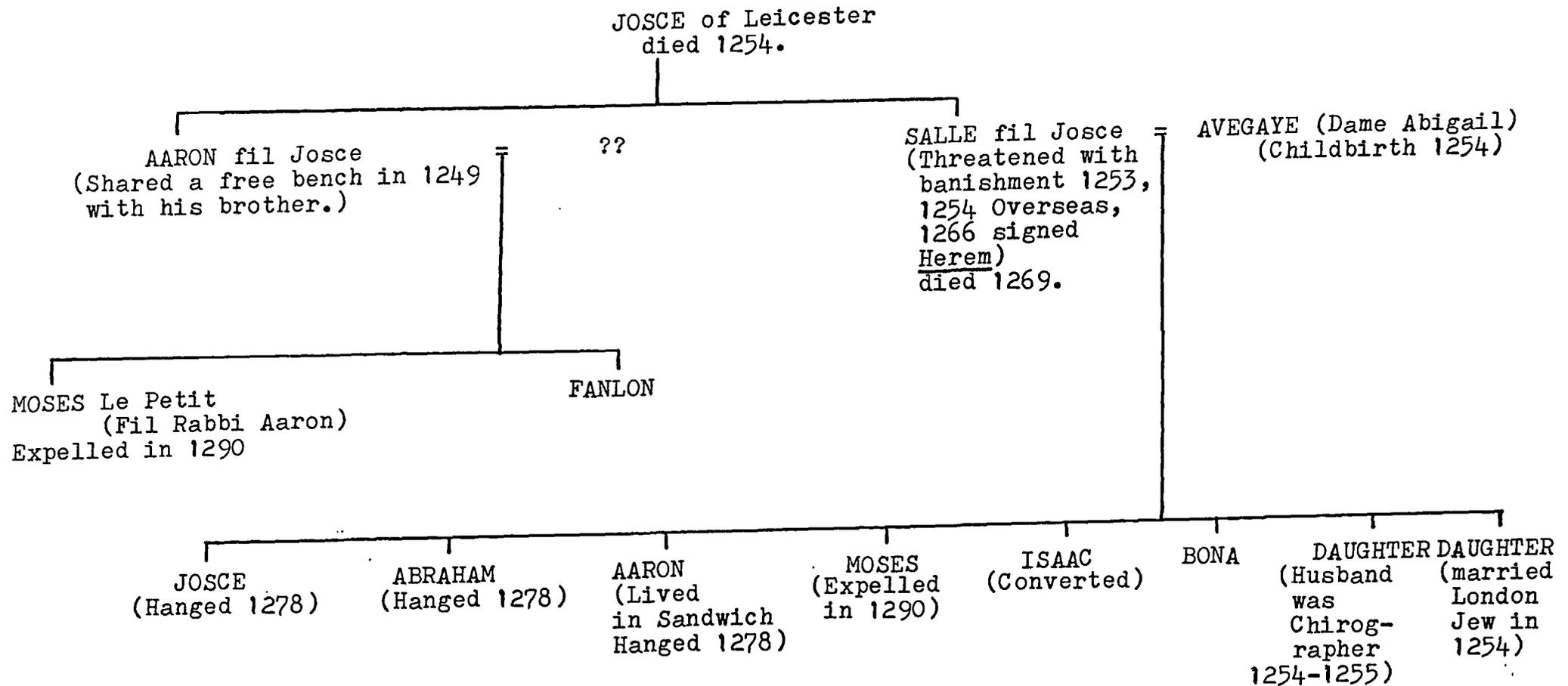
This bond would appear to be a genuine bill of promissory sale. The Jewess who made it was lending money as a legalis mercator. As such she clearly did not seek repayment in money.

In the preceding examinations, the number of bonds owing to each Jew, the value of each individual bond, the total amount of Jewish outlay and the question of whether the samples reveal Jews who are owed money or commodities have all been considered. From all three samples it is possible to make certain conclusions about Jewish business in Canterbury during the period 1262 to 1290. There are, however, caveats that must be adhered to, which prevent certain comparisons and block certain conclusions from being made from the samples. Both the 1262 sample and the Westminster sample are not a complete reflection of Jewish credit facilities at the time, whereas the 1290 sample is more complete. This basic difference would tend to invalidate a comparison of the number of bonds owing to each Jew and possibly a comparison of the mean average Jewish outlay for each sample. The fact that the 1262 sample is part of a tallage payment and therefore likely to involve Jews shedding their smaller bonds also makes it difficult to use it to compare the mean average value of a bond. Despite these difficulties it is, however, possible to make certain realistic comparisons between samples. It is firstly noticeable that, despite the fact that the 1290 sample is a complete reflection of Jews who still had bonds in the archa, it only reveals sixteen Jews who hold bonds, compared with thirty-two in the Westminster sample and fifty-two in the 1262 sample. Clearly

comparisons of this nature are difficult to explain without accepting the fact that there was a shrinkage in the Jewish population involved in the provision of credit facilities in this period. It is also possible, when comparing the Westminster sample with the 1290 sample, to notice significant differences in the evidence they provide as to the total outlay of individual Jews. It is not surprising that the mean average Jewish outlay of each of the two samples is very different for the Westminster sample is possibly an incomplete one. It is, however, worthy of notice that the proportion of individual Jews whose total outlay is below the mean average outlay in both samples is also very different. It is highly unlikely that the missing bonds from the Westminster sample would alter the picture provided by the extant bonds in relation to this difference. Thus, a comparison of these two samples points very strongly to the conclusion that there is a significantly smaller proportion of Jews in 1290 who have total outlays below the mean average than there is in the period covered by the Westminster sample. Given that the total number of Jewish creditors is smaller in the 1290 sample it is possible to conclude that there is a significantly smaller number of Jews who are operating as small scale creditors by 1290. The final difference which can be observed in any comparison of the three samples is that there was a significant shift from a preference for cash repayments to a preference for commodity repayments in the final sample. Given the other differences which have been perceived between the last two samples it is difficult not to see this change as the basic reason for the decrease in the total number of Jewish creditors and in the reduction of small scale operators.

The Jews of Canterbury have now been investigated from two different angles. They have been seen as ordinary residents of Canterbury and as individual creditors. From these two different studies it is possible to identify several Jewish families. However, the genealogical analysis of Jewish familial connections is extremely difficult due to difficulties over the Hebrew, Latin, and Anglo-Norman versions of Jewish names and aliases. In his study of Canterbury Jews, Adler identified several Jewish families.[105] There are some families that much is known about because they are well documented but some whose structure is not so clear since they are only identifiable through the survival of odd names which can only be tenuously connected. Amongst the better known Canterbury groupings were branches of families with London connections. Moses, Berechya, and Jacob Crespin lent money to Peter de Bendings in the 1230s.[106] Both Jacob and Moses were still transacting business in Canterbury in 1262.[107] Later, in Edward's reign, the Hagin family is identified by Adler as having property in Canterbury in the shape of Cok Hagin and Aaron fil Vives who are thought to have been cousins. Perhaps, Elias fil Hagin, who appears in the 1290 sample, was also a member of this family group.[108] The family of Benedict of Winchester, another important London Jew, can also be seen in Canterbury and was identified by Adler. Originally it was represented in the town by Aaron of Winchester who is still being mentioned in the 1290 sample, and who was the brother of the important Benedict of Winchester, after whose death in 1278, yet another younger brother, Isaac, and a sister, Belaset, who is also identified by the 1290 sample, moved from Winchester to Canterbury.[109] It is possible that there was some relationship between this family and that of Vives of Winchester, whose family must have been in Canterbury by the period covered by the Westminster sample.

The Family of Josce of Leicester.



Among the other important families identified by Adler were some without apparent London connections. These included that of Samson, the Jew who was to have 'tortured and afflicted' Peter de Blois, and who died in 1239 but had his interests maintained in mid-thirteenth century Canterbury by his four sons.[110] Unfortunately none of the representatives of this family or of the Zerach family whose land transactions survive at Westminster Abbey are identifiable in the three samples of Jewish creditors.[111] On the other hand the family of Salle fil Josce is given much attention because of the survival of the roll of Reginald de Cobham. This family may have two surviving representatives in Moses le Petit and Moses fil Salle who both have bonds in the 1290 sample.[112] Of the lesser families some like that of Moses de Doggestrete, the Molkin family and the Grubbe family are at least identifiable mainly through surviving records of their land transactions.[113]

It is, therefore, not possible to add much to Adler's study in the realm of Canterbury's Jewish families. This is basically because of the difficulties involved in making familial connections. In the 1262 roll of bonds there are for example five Jews who might have been part of one family: Dey fil Benedict, Isaac fil Benedict, Benedict genus Benedict, Jacob fil Benedict and Bonamy fil Benedict, and eight who might have been part of another: Dey fil Josce, Pia filia Josce, Salle fil Josce, Simon fil Josce, Amendaunt fil Josce, Salot fil Josce, Miriam filia Josce and Moses fil Josce. It remains impossible to prove this type of familial linkage. However, smaller links can be guessed at. Miriam, the widow of Samson, could well be the mother of Cresselyn fil Samson. Milkana filia Deubeneye could well be the sister of Moses fil Deubon. It is highly probable from a bond which is shared that Benedict fil Samson is the father of Josce. There would also seem to be a similar parental connection between Avegaye filia Isaac and Slemo filia

Avegaye.[114] Such hypotheses do not, however, allow anything like a complete family history to be arrived at. It is therefore unfortunately the case that the important changes which occurred within the Canterbury Jewry in the thirteenth century which must have been influenced by and had their influence upon dynastic politics, can not be fully observed. It is for instance quite possible that the change of business practice which is signalled by the 1290 evidence resulted in a change in the Jewish society of Canterbury to the extent that more 'outsiders' appear to have been among the large scale operators than had previously been the case. Only a more coherent understanding of family history would, however, establish such an interesting possibility at a level above that of mere hypothesis.

What conclusions can be drawn from this examination of Kentish Jewry in the thirteenth century? Firstly, it is clear that the Jews were better established in Kent during the twelfth century than either Lipman or Roth has implied.[115] Kentish Jews were lending money as early as 1160; by 1187 the synagogue in Canterbury was in full operation; by 1194 there were probably Jewish moneylenders living in both Canterbury and Rochester. Despite the prohibitive legislation of 1245 and 1253, the Jews lived in small communities spread all over Kent. Before 1275 it is very clear that Jews lived at Dartford, Faversham, Frenningham, Malling, Ospringe, Sandwich, Shoreham, Shorne, Sittingbourne, Higham and Cheriton. There might well have been archae at Rochester and Sittingbourne which did not survive after the 1275 legislation. Certainly in the case of Sittingbourne, it seems that before 1275 a strong-box placed in a church served as an archa. [116] After 1275 the mentions of Jews living in the countryside become less and their rights on land in the environs of Canterbury seem to dwindle. The Jewish community of Canterbury which these 'rural' Jews probably joined at this stage

acted communally and had its own officials. Apart from the religious leaders like the rabbi, cantor, teacher and scribe, there were officials who were appointed to the Beth-din. [117] The Jewish quarter was situated in the centre of the town and Jews had Christian neighbours. In Canterbury as opposed to elsewhere there only seem to have been two rifts in Judaeo-Gentile relations during the thirteenth century: a local riot in 1261 and de Clare's spoilation of the Jewry in 1264. There is an absence of the accusation of Jewish ritual murder in the whole of Kent.

Several major changes can be detected in Jewish business practice in thirteenth-century Canterbury. By the 1260s, when business suffered due to baronial unrest, it seems that the practice of lending money on the security of land had decreased. In the late 1270s after the polarization of Jewish residence in archa towns and after the Statute of the Jewry of 1275 again forbade the vis gage or mort gage and even the lending of money on pledge of moveables, the Jews were forced to find new methods to survive. Such pressures were increased in 1278 when the Crown swooped on Jewish moveables which it claimed had been received as pledges and arrested, on suspicion, many Jews who were later charged with coin clipping. Therefore from the late 1270s and increasingly in the 1280s the Jews began to bond for commodities either in an attempt to circumvent the law or simply because the speculation against the harvest offered a better investment. By such means it seems that the Jews who were expelled in 1290 had survived the business depression of the 1260s and 1270s. However, it was only the richer Jews who had survived: there are fewer small loans in the archa of 1290 than in previous registers. It seems that business and commodity bonding was for certain Jews an important and potentially profitable occupation when the order for expulsion came. Thus, it may well have been Abraham's plutocracy, perhaps even a plutocracy dominated by Jews whose most

important links were with places other than Canterbury, which was able to survive the Edwardian Experiment at the expense of fellow Jews with less financial resources.[118]

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- [1] P. Blessensis, Opera edited J.A. Giles, 2, p96 (Epistolae clvi). Cited by M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp19-97.
- [2] A. Way, 'The Pilgrim's Road' Historical memorials of Canterbury, A.P. Stanley, pp255-261.
- [3] M.M. Postan, The medieval economy and society, p21. H.E. Hallam, Rural England 1066-1348, pp77, 78, 83. E. Miller and J. Hatcher, Medieval England - rural society and economic change 1086-1348, pp35, 36.
- [4] H. Waddams, The City of Canterbury, pp17, 18.
- [5] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p25. Adler observes that the right for the Jews to have cemeteries outside the towns in which they lived which was granted by the Crown in 1177 might have acted as a spur to colonization. It does seem strange that neither Canterbury or Rochester Jews appear in the Donum of 1159 cf. Richardson, p9.
- [6] Jacobs, pp38-39.
- [7] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp21-22, 61, (note13). Gervase Chronicles of Canterbury, 1, p405. Jacobs, p93.
- [8] Roth, p21. Pipe Roll 1191-1192 pp147, 203, 213.
- [9] Registrum Hamonis Hethe, (edited C. Johnson), Canterbury and York Society, 48, p2. Jacobs, pp73, 90.
- [10] P.R.O. E/101/249/2. I. Abrahams, 'The Northampton Donum of 1194' Misc.J.H.S.E., 1, pplix-lxxiv.
- [11] H.M. Chew, 'A Jewish aid to marry 1221' T.J.H.S.E., 11, pp92-112.
- [12] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp106-107.
- [13] W. Thorne, Chronicles of St Augustine's Canterbury in Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Antiqui, edited R.Twysden, p1872.
- [14] W. Thorne, Chronicles of St Augustine's Canterbury in Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Antiqui, edited R.Twysden, p1916.
- [15] M. Mate, 'The indebtedness of Canterbury Cathedral Priory 1215-1295.' Ec.H.R., 26, p194. Mate also reveals borrowings from Jacob the Jew in 1240 and Bonamy in 1242 and 1244.
- [16] L.B. Larking, 'On the alienation of the manors of Westwell and Little Chart by Peter de Bending and the tenure of the former manor' Archaeologia Cantiana, 6, p306.
- [17] S.C.B.M.2, pp305-318.
- [18] S.C.B.M.2, pp305-318. L.B. Larking, 'On the alienation of the manors of Westwell and Little Chart by Peter de Bending and the tenure of the former manor' Archaeologia Cantiana, 6, pp305-318. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp31-32.
- [19] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua A.68.
- [20] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua A.90.
- [21] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua A.93.
- [22] G.I. Langmuir, 'Jews and archives of medieval England - reflections on anti-semitism' Traditio, 19, pp214-221.
- [23] F.W. Maitland, History of English Law, 1, p475. Cited by G.I.Langmuir, 'Jews and archives of medieval England - reflections on anti-semitism' Traditio, 19, p218.
- [24] Richardson, p94.
- [25] P.R. Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the crisis of the knightly class in thirteenth century England' Past and Present, 68, pp3-37.
- [26] P.R.E.J.1, p153.
- [27] P.R.E.J.3, pp182-185.
- [28] P.R.E.J.3, p183.
- [29] P.R.E.J.3, pp182-185.
- [30] Victoria County History of Kent, 2, p47. P.R.E.J.1, pp133, 134. P.R.E.J. 2, pp13, 187. W.A.M.9105.
- [31] W.H. Cooper, History of Winchelsea, p20.
- [32] P.R.O. E/101/249/8. Printed in P.R.E.J.4, pp139-143. V.D.Lipman, 'Jews and castles in medieval England'

- T.J.H.S.E., 28, pp12-13.
- [33] P.R.E.J.4, p142.
- [34] P.R.E.J.4, p143.
- [35] P.R.E.J.4, pp139-143. Higham is 2 miles north of Rochester and Cheriton is 14 miles south west of Canterbury.
- [36] P.R.E.J.4, pp139-143. P.R.E.J.3, p295 shows Moses de Doggestrete paying 10 bezants, in 1277, for the community so that they may have the sheriffs writ not to pay for the gates of Canterbury.
- [37] V.D. Lipman, 'The anatomy of medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, pp73-74.
- [38] C.C.R. 1258-1266, p229. D. Cohn-Sherbok, 'Medieval persecution in England: the Canterbury pogroms in perspective' Southern History, 3, p32. Gervase, Chronicles of Canterbury, 2, p235.
- [39] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p40. Rigg, p51.
- [40] P.R.O. E/101/249/22 Printed in P.R.E.J.4, pp148-171. It seems that some Jews were also imprisoned in the castle at Canterbury during this period. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp53, 78. H. Hasted, History of Kent, 11, p61.
- [42] P.R.O. C/47/9/50. Z.E. Rokeah, 'Accounts of Condemned Jews' property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies, 3, p45.
- [43] Rigg, pp35-36. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp47, 48, 77.
- [44] L. Rabinowitz, 'The origin of the Canterbury Treaty of 1266' Misc. J.H.S.E., 3, pp76-79.
- [45] Rigg, pp35-36.
- [46] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p43.
- [47] L. Finkelstein, Jewish self-government in the Middle Ages, pp13-15.
- [48] Ibid.
- [49] D. Cohn-Sherbok, 'Medieval persecution in England: the Canterbury pogroms in perspective' Southern History, 3, pp23-37.
- [50] L. Rabinowitz, 'The origin of the Canterbury Treaty of 1266' Misc. J.H.S.E., 3, p79.
- [51] L. Rabinowitz, 'The medieval Jewish counter-part to the gild merchant' Ec. H.R., 8, pp180-185.
- [52] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp22-23. Adler's description of the Canterbury Jewry can be partially revised. W. Urry, The House of Jacob the Jew, pp14-15. W. Urry, Canterbury under Angevin Kings, p30 note 3. The copy of Adler's article in the Dean and Chapter Library, Canterbury has Urry's personal annotations on it. Urry claimed that Adler did not have access to materials that he, himself, used before producing Canterbury under Angevin Kings. One document which was not, it appears, used by Adler was C.C.A. Charta Antiqua C80.
- [53] W.A.M.6829. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p33.
- [54] W.A.M.6703. The witnesses to this document are of interest. Amongst others it was witnessed by Nicholas de Herefordia, Godwin Specarius and Richard de Judeismo. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p33. C.C.A. Charta Antiqua 757b.
- [55] W.A.M.6819, W.A.M.6711, W.A.M.6788. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p35.
- [56] W.A.M.6806, W.A.M.6841. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p35.
- [57] W.A.M.6788, W.A.M.6812. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp35-36.
- [58] W.A.M.6841.
- [59] C.C.A. Charta Antiqua 779. A grant made to Peytevin fil Josce of a messuage in the Parish of St Mary in the Castle for a rental of 10d per annum (Circa 1230). M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p35.

- [60] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p33.
- [61] W.A.M.9080. Witnessed amongst others by the four chirographers of the Canterbury archa in 1249:- John Bodekere, William Jay, Salle and Bonamy.
- [62] W.A.M.6710. Interestingly Geoffrey of Sturry appears as a witness on W.A.M.9084 and Meir fil Isaac also appears as a witness on W.A.M.6819 and W.A.M.6771. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p35.
- [63] W.A.M.9083.
- [64] W.A.M.9081.
- [65] W.A.M.6700.
- [66] Ibid.
- [67] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p36. W.A.M.6704. P.R.O. E/101/249/30.
- [68] P.R.O. E/101/249/27, P.R.O. E/101/249/30. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp55-58. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, p89. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64. C.C.A.Charta Antiqua C80.
- [69] Statutes of the Realm, 1, pp220-221.
- [70] P.R.E.J.2, pp201, 208.
- [71] P.R.E.J.2, pp232, 249.
- [72] P.R.E.J.2, p232.
- [73] P.R.E.J.2, pp232, 301.
- [74] P.R.E.J.2, pp234, 251, 252, 254, 292.
- [75] P.R.O. C/47/9/50. He was granted the house of Josce fil Salle worth £1-6s-8d, Abraham fil Salle worth £1-0s-0d, Aaron fil Salle worth 10s-0d, Moses of Bedford worth £1-0s-0d, Solomon of Stamford worth 13s-4d, Aaron fil Josce Grubbe worth 10s-0d and Joynon the Jew.
- [76] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua 770a.
- [77] C.P.R. 1285, p214.
- [78] P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fol.28-64. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, p89. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury', T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp55-58.
- [79] It might well be that this is part of the property in the parish of St Mary Bredman which was granted to Vives of Winchester by John and Justina Durant in 1271 or 1272 - W.A.M.6704. Certainly Vives was to make annual payments to Jacob de la Porta (4s-6d), the Nuns of St Sepulchre (5s-6d), the heirs of Margery Carbaylle 1d and John and Justina Durant 1/2d. It was witnessed by Thomas Chicche and Simon Paable, the Bailiffs of Canterbury and Richard, 'clerk of the City and the Jewry' and the other Christian chirographers. It was also witnessed by Vives' new next door neighbours. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p36.
- [80] W. Urry, The House of Jacob the Jew, pp14-15. He situates this particular property where the County Hotel now stands in the High Street in Canterbury and also claims that this plot belonged to Jacob the Jew in the early thirteenth century. Later in the century half the property came into the hands of Aaron fil Vives. As Aaron fil Vives was the property of Edmund the King's brother, Edmund was allowed to dispose of Aaron's half of the property as he wished. He obtained a special licence to grant Aaron's half which was worth an annual value of 12s to his valet Nicholas Raven. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p57. C.C.A.Charta Antiqua 1160.
- [81] F. Haes, 'The Canterbury Synagogue' T.J.H.S.E., 4, pp230-232.
- [82] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua 1211 and C.C.A.Charta Antiqua 1213.
- [83] P.R.O. C/47/9/50. B.L.Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fol.28-64.
- [84] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua 1211 and C.C.A.Charta Antiqua 1213. B.L.Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fol.28-64.
- [85] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua 1115.

- [86] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua C80.
- [87] P.R.O. E/101/250/1.
- [88] C.C.A.Eastry Correspondence 4 13. Printed in Historic Manuscript Commission, 1, Various Collections, pp259-260.
- [89] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [90] W.A.M. Nos. 9015, 9019, 9020, 9021, 9022, 9025, 9028, 9034, 9036, 9039, 9042, 9043, 9046, 9047, 9057, 9058, 9086, 9088, 9089, 9090, 9091, 9103, 9104, 9105, 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120, 9121, 9123, 9124, 9125, 9126, 9127, 9139, 9156, 9157, 9158, 9159, 9172, 9173, 9174, 9175, 9176.
- [91] P.R.O. E/101/249/10. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, Appendix VIII.
- [92] P.R.O. E/101/249/10. A fragment was added to this roll in 1980 entitled Communa inventa in bagga. The roll is in bad condition.
- [93] See Bibliography where the majority of these items are listed.
- [94] See note [90] above.
- [95] Bonds with seals or fragments still attached W.A.M. Nos. 9020, 9021, 9025, 9026, 9028, 9034, 9039, 9042, 9046, 9047, 9057, 9058, 9088, 9090, 9091, 9104, 9105, 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120, 9121, 9123, 9124, 9125, 9127, 9139, 9156, 9157, 9172, 9175, 9176. See Chapter II above notes [75] and [76].
- [96] The mean average Jewish outlay in 1262 was £4-9s-0d. The mean average value of a bond in 1262 was £2-1s-2d. The mean average Jewish outlay from the W.A.M.sample is £5-14s-6d. The mean average value of a bond from the W.A.M.sample is £4-1s-4d.
- [97] W.A.M.9158, W.A.M.9124, W.A.M.9127, W.A.M.9123.
- [98] P.R.O. E/101/250/6.
- [99] P.R.O. E/101/249/19.
- [100] P.R.O. E/101/249/29.
- [101] P.R.O. E/101/250/6. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, pp88-89. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, Appendix VIII. Although there are in fact 95 bonds recorded by the scribe 2 are duplicates. Thus, the total number of bonds in the archa is 93.
- [102] The mean average Jewish outlay from the 1290 sample is £32-8s-11d. The mean average value of a bond is £5-9s-3d.
- [103] P.R.O. E/101/250/6.
- [104] It seems that Popelina must have paid 6 marks (£3-6s-8d) in return for the promise of 14 quarters of frumentum probably worth at least £3-10s-0d.
- [105] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp27, 28, 29, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 44, 47, 56, 57.
- [106] L.B. Larking, 'On the alienation of the manors of Westwell and Little Chart by Peter de Bendings and the tenure of the former manor' Archaeologia Cantiana, 6, pp303-321. S.C.B.M.2, pp306-319.
- [107] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [108] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp56-57. P.R.O. E/101/250/6.
- [109] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp51, 56. M. Adler, 'Benedict the gildsman of Winchester' Misc. J.H.S.E., 4, pp1-8. B.C. Turner, 'The Winchester Jewry' Hampshire Review, 21, pp17-21. P.R.O. E/101/250/6.
- [110] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp28-29.
- [111] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, p35. W.A.M.6771, W.A.M.6788, W.A.M.6812, W.A.M.6819.
- [112] P.R.E.J.4, pp139-143. See Genealogy and note [75] above. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp38, 39, 40, 41. P.R.O. C/47/9/50.
- [113] C.C.A.Charta Antiqua 770a. P.R.O. E/101/249/30. M. Adler, 'The Jews of Canterbury' T.J.H.S.E., 7, pp30, 38.

- [114] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [115] Roth,pp10-17. Lipman,pp4-7. Richardson,p2,9.
- [116] P.R.E.J.1,pp132,133.
- [117] W.A.M.6835.
- [118] B.L. Abrahams,'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E.,2,p82.

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## Chapter V

### The Jews of Hereford

Hereford was described by William of Malmesbury as 'not large, but such as appeared by the ruins of broken ditches to have been something great.' [1] A similar description might well be applied to the medieval Jews of Hereford. Their numbers were not large but from their ruins -- the records of their financial transactions and in particular the registers of the extant unredeemed bonds that they abandoned after their expulsion in 1290 -- they appear to have been 'something great'. [2] They seem to have been one of the wealthiest communities in England. This chapter attempts to examine the financial activities of the Jews of Hereford in some detail against the broader background of Jewish activity in the mid-west and Welsh borders.

To the Jew, Hereford must have made an attractive place of settlement, although in some senses a rather remote one. The city of Hereford is situated in the undulating lowland known as the Herefordshire basin. [3] Its environs in the thirteenth century were extremely fertile, its rivers well-stocked, and its hinterland still heavily wooded almost as it had been at the time of the Domesday survey. [4] Its communications were good, and in the thirteenth century it was probably still accessible by the old Roman roads which ran north to south from Chester to Caerleon and from west to east from Kenchester to Stretton Grandison. [5] In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Hereford was described as a port and its river communications were still intact in the thirteenth century through the Wye which provided links with Ross, Monmouth and Chepstow in the south, and the Lugg which ran from Hereford to Leominster and Presteigne. [6]

Despite such connections and despite the fact that the market towns of Gloucester, Hay, Ludlow, Monmouth, Tewkesbury and Worcester were all within a fifty mile radius, the physical features of a rugged countryside would have presented many problems for the medieval traveller. In the south, the Vale of Hereford was bounded by the thickly-wooded Forest of Dean and the River Severn; in the west were the inhospitable Black Mountains; and in the east were the Malvern Hills which acted as a great natural divider and effectively cut off the Jews of Hereford from their co-religionists in Gloucester and Worcester.[7]

Despite William of Malmesbury's comment about the small size of Hereford, the town itself was a thriving centre of activity during the twelfth century. The Normans considered the whole area as the gateway into Wales and castles sprang up at Clifford, Eywas Harold, Monmouth and Chepstow.[8] The castle at Hereford itself, which had been founded before the Conquest, was repaired in the early 1180s. By 1100, this castle was accompanied by a bridge with stone pillars across the Wye at Hereford.[9] By 1140, a new cathedral was under construction and Hereford was already a place of pilgrimage with its shrines to Ethelbert and Guthlac which attracted the faithful long before that of Thomas Cantilupe.[10] In the post-Conquest period too, William Fitz Osbern moved the market of Hereford to a larger site in front of St. Peter's church and a bishop's fair was introduced in 1121 which was extended to seven days in 1161.[11] It is clear from all this that Hereford in the twelfth century was a focus for Norman colonization and that its future was linked with the greater exploitation of those areas of the Welsh Marches to which it was adjacent.

In the thirteenth century, it was an extended commercial and military importance which confirmed Hereford's position. The thirteenth and fourteenth-century wool road which carried the fleeces from Abbey Dore through Gloucester, Northleach, Oxford and thence to London was almost certainly trodden by armies to fight the Welsh, by the baronial opposition, and by the Welsh themselves. Thus, for a long period in the thirteenth century, the town became a fortress as well as a trade centre. The town was given its first murage grant in 1224, and the city wall was completed in 1264.[12] In the 1250s it was found that the roof of the Great Tower in the castle was in disrepair and the steps to it needed to be rebuilt, that the Jews Prison below the ring wall of the keep was unroofed and that the castle was in need of re-fortification.[13] During the 1260s the improved castle and the town featured as the headquarters of the baronial party. Peter de Montfort, after the battle of Lewes, held the Lord Edward as a prisoner in Hereford.[14] Indeed, it was from Hereford that Edward escaped. During the Edwardian conquest of Wales, Edward returned and restored peace and prosperity to the area. Thus, Hereford had the atmosphere of a frontier town, a place where traders could pursue prosperity, where mercenaries might be recruited, where law was often martial law, and where Jews might profitably function in what must, however, have appeared at times to be a very strange and insecure place.

The history of the Hereford Jewry cannot be examined without considering the other Jewish settlements in the mid-west since the explanation of the Jews' motives for settling in the Herefordshire Vale must partly lie in their fortunes and fate in these other towns. It is clear that during the thirteenth century Jews lived in nearby towns like Bridgenorth, Caerleon, Gloucester, Ludlow, Tewkesbury, Warwick and Worcester.[15] It is even possible that they lived as far north as Shrewsbury because a reference to a special

toll on Jews using Montford Bridge has survived.[16] Nearer to Hereford itself it is evident that at some time Jews lived in Weobley and the small manor of Much Markle.[17] Throughout the period, migrations and local expulsions in this region dictated the Jews' place of abode. In 1262, after the capture of Worcester by Robert Lord Ferrers and Peter de Montfort, it is likely that many Worcester Jews fled to Hereford.[18] The baronial party had fiercely attacked and sacked the Jewry in Worcester; however, it seems that there were no pogroms in Hereford itself when the city fell to the barons. In 1274, the sheriff of Shropshire was ordered to remove certain Jews who were living in Bridgenorth.[19] During the mid-thirteenth century, a scandal had broken out in Gloucestershire which implicated the Jews in receiving *stolen religious books, vestments and ornaments which may have meant further migrations.*[20] All of these factors perhaps brought Jews to Hereford during the thirteenth century possibly because, as Richard of Devizes had noted in the twelfth century, life was cheap on account of the Welsh, possibly because they were welcome in the town owing to the fact that credit was difficult to obtain in a frontier area.[21] Certainly Jews arrived in Hereford at a time when its fortune was in the ascendancy and the city was beginning to recover from the economic and urban recession that William of Malmesbury had described in 1125.

Little is known of the Jews in Hereford during the twelfth century. Abrahams claimed that because Hereford was not mentioned in the contemporary chronicles which listed the places where the Jews were massacred during the uprising of Shabbat-ha-Gadol in 1190 that 'there is every reason to believe that at the accession of Richard I the Hereford Jewry was small in numbers and of recent foundation.'<sup>[22]</sup> This coincides with Roth's claim that by the end of Henry II's reign the Jews were already established in Hereford.[23]

Actual evidence shows that there were Jews in Worcester by 1158 because they were fined £1-6s-8d, and in Gloucester by 1168 because it was claimed that all the Jews of England gathered there to perform the ritual murder of a Christian called Harold.[24] It is clear from Gerald of Wales that by the end of the twelfth century Jews were already travelling the Welsh Marches as far as Chester because the writer met a Jew (just outside Wenlock) who was journeying to Shrewsbury.[25] So it would seem likely that the Jews had begun to settle in Hereford by the mid-twelfth century. It is also likely that the archa was established at Hereford by the 'Ordinance of the Jewry' in 1194.[26] However, the Northampton Donum of that year in fact provides the first actual reference to Hereford Jewry. In 1194, eight Jews paid a total of £11-1s-8d. One of them was described as being 'of Hereford'.[27] If the others mentioned in this context had indeed settled in what the Donum describes as Hereford in Wallia then it seems that they might well have come from other settlements over on the east coast, especially Colchester and Bungay.[28]

Evidence for the Jews' activities in Herefordshire becomes more plentiful in the thirteenth century. In 1210, Walter de Baskervill owed £390-5s-4d worth of Jewish debts to the Crown. He had it seems either borrowed heavily from the Jews or was engaged by the Crown as a debt collector.[29] In the same period the 'Mistress of Ludewic' and Peter Blund, a Jew of London, owed £1-18s-0d of profit which they had made from moneylending in Herefordshire.[30] In 1218, the Crown conceded certain rights to the Jews who had settled in Hereford and in other towns. In this privilege the Jews were allowed to remain in Hereford 'as they were accustomed to in the time of King John' and they were granted royal protection.[31] This special protection for the Jews caused some animosity against them. The Bishop of Hereford had possessed from early times extensive

jurisdiction over the Bishop's Fee in Hereford which was a district which included nearly half the city and a considerable portion of the suburbs.[32] Now, however, the Crown was making itself directly responsible for Jewish affairs and, in its order to the sheriff of Hereford, was asserting its authority rather than that of the bishop over the Jews non obstante aliqua prohibicione inde facta ab Episcopo Herefordiensi. quia nichil ad ipsum pertinet de Judeis nostris. By the same privilege the Crown also weakened the sheriff's control and appointed twenty-four burgesses to look after Jewish interests in Hereford.[33]

Clearly by the second decade of the thirteenth century Hereford was becoming a Jewry of major import. When, in 1220, Abraham Gabbay was accused of the murder of Solomon Turbe in Gloucester, he used the fact that he was in Hereford on business as his alibi.[34] An increase in Jewish activity in Hereford is reflected in the large contribution to the 1221 tallage which was made by the Jews for providing the dowry of Joanna, the king's sister. The Jews of Herefordia in Wallia were able to produce a contribution of £31-9s-3d. Four of the eighteen contributors were styled as Jews of Hereford. The largest contributor was Hamo of Hereford who alone paid £17-2s-4d -- just over half the contribution.[35] Clearly Hereford was a town where the Jewish moneylender could meet with a certain degree of success.

It seems that the advent of Jewish credit was welcomed. During the first half of the thirteenth century there is evidence from various places in the mid west of England that the mortgaging of land in rural areas became common as did trafficking in Jewish bonds. The ecclesiastical houses, whilst on the one hand condemning the Jews, were quite happy to do business with them. Leo, a Jew of Worcester, was arrested for forcible entry into the Hospital of

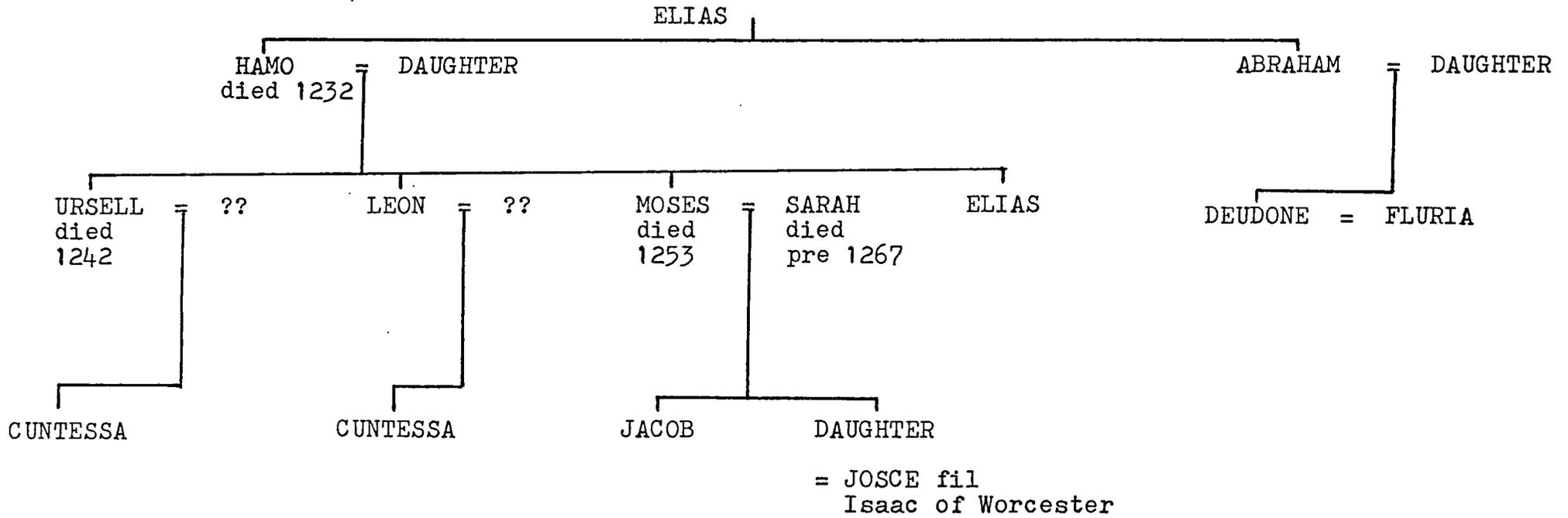
Worcester when he tried to get his 'partner', the Abbot of Pershore, to pay up.[36] Earl Richard de Clare of Gloucester is known to have allowed Jews to live on his estates and to have bought the exclusive right to collect the debts of another Jew in Gloucestershire. In 1248, he needed to borrow money to go on Crusade and so he went to the monks at Tewkesbury and got them to negotiate on his behalf with the Jews. However, the Church did not smile on these activities.[37] At a synod in Worcester, the bishop denounced Christians who, whilst not actually practising usury, entrusted their money to the Jews for the same purpose.[38] The Church in the sees of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester tried to enforce the decrees of the Lateran Councils and to see that no Christian might serve in a Jewish household, that no Christian should give his money to a Jew to lend for usury, that no Christian should receive a Jew's money so that it might be kept in safe custody in the parish church.[39] Despite the Church's prohibitions the Jewish financial activities continued.

By the 1230s, it is highly probable that Hereford's Jews were involved in business transactions similar to those occurring elsewhere in the mid west. For, from the surviving evidence, it is likely that Hereford's Jewry was responsible not only for granting mortgages on land but also for causing a shift of land as over-zealous borrowers were forced to mortgage or sell their land to meet payments. There are several transactions of this period which seem to reflect the acts of Jews based in Hereford. By the 1230s Hugh Freman of nearby Shelwick was in debt to the Jews. He was forced to grant his land in Shelwick to Thomas de Geyton for the low sum of 5 marks or £3-6s-8d so that he could be acquitted of a Jewish debt.[40] A little later he was forced to grant another five acres of land to Thomas de Geyton for 40s for a Jewish debt.[41] In Hereford itself land was pledged to the Jews, Emma, the widow of

Hugh le Tailleur, was obliged to release her land in the city to Isaac the Jew of Worcester.[42] In 1248, Philip de Kynemaresbur who was indebted to the Jews was forced to lease his land called Yondercumb to the Abbey of St Peter's Gloucester for a consideration of £6-13s-4d to pay off the Jews.[43] The trafficking in bonds was clearly becoming more common and was causing more confusion. In 1267, Leo fil Preciosa, a London Jew, possibly operating from Hereford, sold all rents and debts that he had contracted with James de Helyun in the county of Hereford to William de Chysulle. Leo also sold William the right to levy the debts on James de Helyun's land and offered to help William collect them.[44] Hereford was a county in which the Jews, with the Crown's protection and the collaboration of Christian laymen and clerics, were able to make a profitable living. Because of the survival of extensive material concerning the transactions of a single Hereford Jewish family in the early thirteenth century it is now proposed to examine their financial activities in some detail.[45] The financial House of Hamo of Hereford made its fortune almost entirely in Hereford between 1210 and 1260. While the connections of the other Jews mentioned above with Hereford can only be supposed, this single family clearly dominated Hereford Jewry for almost half a century.

In 1232, one of the richest Jews in England since Aaron of Lincoln, Hamo of Hereford, died.[46] This man who had been responsible for over half of Hereford's contribution to the auxilium of 1221 left an estate which must have been worth about £12000, for, his four sons, Ursell, Leo, Moses and Abraham, were to pay the Crown £4000 in order to meet the fine for having their father's chattels -- a fine which presumably represented one-third of Hamo's estate. The payments were to be made in instalments of £200 a year. They were ordered to pay £66-13s-4d twice annually to William fil Warin for maintaining the castles at Hereford and Painscastle, the

The House of Hamo of Hereford.



surplus of the payments was to be paid to the Treasury.[47] The activities of Hamo and his sons give an unusual insight into how a Jewish family based in Hereford pursued its business during the first half of the thirteenth century.

Most of what is known about the family's transactions concerns the career of Ursell, Hamo's eldest son, and from the surviving evidence it is possible to learn much about the way in which he conducted his dealings. Ursell's importance is perhaps made most obvious by the fact that he heads the list of talliators appointed by the Crown in 1241 to assess, collect and pay the tallage. Two of his brothers, Leon and Moses, and three other Hereford Jews are also included in that list.[48] Ursell's significance is, however, also clear from the careful attention which the Crown gave to his estate in 1242, when he died, in its appointment of a special enquiry to be headed by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle and William de Cantilupe, a local man.[49] In 1244, all the chattels of the heirs of Ursell and Hamo his father which were to be found in the Hereford archa were to be collected and sent to the Justices of the Jews at Westminster by the express order of the King. It seems that the commission had decided that Ursell's heirs were to be his brothers Moses, Leo and Abraham, if they were still to be found alive. The list of these chattels survives and reveals debts owed to Ursell and his family by borrowers from Lancashire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire and Hampshire as well as many local places. The total value of the bonds and chattels of the Hamo family in the Hereford archa in 1244 alone, was £2,531-14s-2d. Within this total owed to Ursell fil Hamo there are both big and small debts varying from a large single bond of £666-13s-4d to smaller bonds worth 13s-4d.[50]

Bonds in the Hereford archa in 1244.

Creditor.	Total number of bonds.	Money bonds.	Mixed Commodity bonds.	Cereal bonds.	Total value.
Ursell fil Hamo.	26	23	1	2	£ 1287 13s 8d
Ursell is also owed 70 qtrs of oats, 27 qtrs of mixed grain, 33 1/2 qtrs of corn and 7 qtrs of pease.					
Family Consortia.	5	5	0	0	£ 1035 6s 8d
Moses fil Hamo.	1	1	0	0	£ 70 0s 0d
Abraham son- in-law of Elias	2	2	0	0	£ 80 0s 0d
Hamo son-in- law of Elias.	10	7	0	3	£ 55 13s 10d
Hamo is also owed 6 qtrs of corn and 7 qtrs of oats.					
Elias fil Hamo.	1	1	0	0	£ 3 0s 0d
12 Jews (involved in bonding)	(45)	(39)	(1)	(5)	(£ 2531 14s 2d) + 77 qtrs of oats, 39 1/2 qtrs of corn, 27qtrs of mixed grain, 7 qtrs of pease.

Source:- Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews  
Volume 1 pages 65-68.

Such debts were on the surface owed to a number of different Jews, but, if the bonds are examined closely, it is clear that the creditors are all either related to Ursell and Hamo of Hereford or are close business associates. Not only this archa but also other sources reveal that Ursell worked with various consortia at different times. The Close Roll provides two instances of this dating from 1236 and 1237. In 1236, a consortium of Jews which included Ursell fil Hamo, David of Oxford and Samuel of Winchester was owed a debt by John de Balun, Lord of the manor of Much Markle, who had clearly used the manors of Much Markle and Much Cheverel as security.[51] Again, in 1237, it is clear that Gilbert de Lacy, using his lands as security, had borrowed from Ursell fil Hamo, who for this transaction appears to have been acting in partnership with Bonenfaunt, a Jew of Gloucester.[52] As for the archa itself, its debts owed to the deceased Ursell reveal, in five bonds which range in date from 1232 to 1234, other consortia of Jews involving Ursell fil Hamo in which he acts in association with Manasser le Evesk, his brother Moses fil Hamo, his brother-in-law Abraham fil Elias, his daughter Cuntessa filia Ursell, his cousin Deudone fil Abraham and his wife Floria. In another bond he acts with Cuntessa filia Leo, possibly his niece. Ursell's relationship with Benedict Crespin, a London Jew, perhaps reveals one reason for the House of Hamo's preference for working in consortia for Benedict seems to have been the House's London representative. For example, a bond made between John le Marshall of Northamptonshire and Ursell fil Hamo for £123-6s-8d was only substantiated when Benedict Crespin, a London Jew, delivered the seal personally to the Justices of the Jews in Westminster. Similarly Benedict Crespin delivered the seal of another bond made between Walter de Lacy and Ursell fil Hamo for £666-13s-4d.[53]

The evidence also reveals that when Ursell and his father lent money they were sometimes happy to receive repayment in cereal as well as cash. Amongst the bonds ranging in date from the 1220s and 1230s which had not been paid off by the time of Ursell's death are six promissory notes for six soams of corn and seven soams of oats owed to Hamo. In the bonds ranging in date from 1223 to 1238, which record details of debts to Ursell, are promissory notes for seventy-seven soams of oats, twenty-seven soams of mixed grain, thirty-nine and a half soams of corn, and seven soams of pease.[54]

Amongst the transactions there are several bonds which are worth examining as they give very fine details of the terms of repayment. The bonds which Benedict Crespin made legal and binding in 1244, when he delivered the missing seal to the Scaccarium Judaeorum, had agreed repayment stipulations written into them. Walter de Lacy owed Ursell fil Hamo £666-13s-4d which Walter was to pay off at the rate of £133-6s-8d per annum commencing in 1233 with presumably the final payment to be made in 1238, even if, from the evidence of the sample, it seems that 1238 had come and gone and the bond was still valid in 1244.[55] On a smaller scale specified repayment terms existed in the agreement made between John Hagurner and a consortium of Jews including the House of Hamo. He owed £18-6s-8d (27 1/2 marks) and was to make a repayment of £1-13s-4d (2 1/2 marks) at Easter and £1-13s-4d (2 1/2 marks) at Michaelmas until the debt was quit which, if the payments were upheld, would have been 1248 making this bond still outstanding in 1244.[56] A more problematic arrangement is revealed by the evidence of the agreed repayments of John de Balun, Lord of the manor of Much Markle, to Moses fil Hamo. In 1244, John de Balun owed Moses fil Hamo £70-0s-0d which was to be paid in instalments which were stipulated for 1244 as being £4-0s-0d on 2 February, £6-13s-4d on 3 April, £4-0s-0d on 24 June and £6-13s-4d on 29 September. He was to

pay similar instalments at similar times in 1245, when a total of £42-13s-4d would have been paid off. In 1246, he was to pay £4-0s-0d on 2 February, £6-13s-4d at Easter (8 April), £40-0s-0d on 24 June and £3-6s-8d on 29 September. It was further stipulated that on 3 February 1247 he should pay a further £3-6s-8d and a final payment of £3-6s-8d on 24 June 1247. Thus, John de Balun, who originally owed Moses fil Hamo £70-0s-0d, would have paid back a total of £106-13s-4d in fifteen instalments. If Moses had originally lent John £70-0s-0d and had received these payments he would have made a total profit of £36-13s-4d or 52 percent over three years.[57] It is little surprise that the de Baluns were still in debt to the Jews until the Expulsion. Other bonds carry similar repayment stipulations. Gilbert de Lacy of Frome for example borrowed £600 from a consortium of Jews, including the House of Hamo, and was to pay it back starting in 1243 at the rate of £53-6s-8d per annum payable at the two terms of Easter and Michaelmas. It would take until 1254 for him to redeem his loan.[58] In general, therefore, it seems that the stipulations concerning repayment varied, as different terms were agreed by creditor and debtor. The involvement of commodities created even further variations. In 1244, Richard le Seinner of Bakinton owed Ursell fil Hamo six soams of corn annually 'until the end of the world'. Nicholas de Dudewell of Weobley, on the other hand, owed 20 marks or twenty soams of oats due at the rate of 1/2 mark and 1/2 seam at every Michaelmas from 1238 until 1278.[59]

Another feature of the surviving evidence concerning the dealings of the House of Hamo lies in the number of bonds which are not repaid according to the terms originally agreed. Such a situation is revealed by the case of John of Monmouth who should perhaps have been classed as a 'bad debtor' and even boycotted by the Jewish community. This does not, however, seem to have been the

case. John, although having reneged on several debts in the 1230s, still got credit from other members of the Hamo family until the 1250s. By 1231 he had debts outstanding to Ursell fil Hamo. From 1223 he owed £3-6s-8d, from Easter 1231 he owed £30-0s-0d and from Michaelmas 1231 he owed £35-0s-0d to be repaid by Michaelmas 1231 and a further £60-0s-0d to be repaid by instalments at Easter and Michaelmas of the next year. He owed a total of £128-6s-8d.[60] By May 1232 he owed a further £9-0s-0d to Ursell fil Hamo and his partner Manasser l'Eveske.[61] By the time Ursell died, all of the debts should have been paid off. None of them had been and yet the Ursell family do not appear to have had him distrained. In 1245, the king pardoned him for a debt of £160-0s-0d which he owed Moses fil Hamo.[62] In 1253, Aaron fil Abraham, one of the affinity of the House of Hamo, pardoned him of all his debts which he owed up until 1253.[63] Such bad debts may have weakened the financial position of the House of Hamo.

In 1246, Moses fil Hamo suffered another financial blow. He was unable to collect the large debt owed to him by Walter de Lacy. The Christian debtor rather than give up his land to the Jews had given it as alms to the keeper of the Hospital of St Mary at Ludlow and the sheriff of Shropshire was now empowered to make sure that Moses fil Hamo of Hereford did not distrain this religious foundation.[64] Despite these difficulties Moses continued moneylending as a business and tried to recoup some of the bad debts. Despite the pressure of the heavy fine of the Crown imposed on Ursell's death it was now clear that he needed capital. In 1253, he summoned Ralph, the Abbot of Bordel, by a writ issued on the authority of the Justices of the Jews at Westminster. The Abbey of Bordel had received lands which had belonged to Alan de Blad. Moses claimed that the lands were his by gage. Alan de Blad owed him a debt of £5-0s-0d with interest which he had not paid -- thus he had

no right to alienate the lands which had been Moses's pledge to the abbey of Bordel. Moses now demanded 18s-0d with interest to liquidate the debt and tried to claim it from the abbey. The abbot's attorney demanded to know by what instrument Alan was bound to the Jew and how much interest he owed. Moses's attorney in London claimed that the obligation had been made by tally but he could not produce it and did not know the interest. The Justices of the Jews ruled that the abbot was without day and the Jew was in mercy.[65] In another case that Moses brought to the Scaccarium Judaeorum he was perhaps more successful. Moses claimed that Thomas de Rossall and Amice, his wife, owed him £20 with interest which was owed to him by William fitz Waren. Amice, as William's grand-daughter, had inherited his lands but the lands were the gages for a debt of 50 marks (£33-6s-8d) which William fitz Waren had owed Ursell fil Hamo (Moses's brother) by a chirograph. Moses claimed in truth that he had administration of the chirograph by livery of the king. The Rossalls, or their attorney, did not appear and it is not recorded whether or not Moses was successful in his claim.[66] In another claim, in 1253, he was certainly successful. At Easter 1253 he received 20 marks (£13-6s-8d) of a debt of 185 marks (£122-13s-4d) for a chirograph in the names of John Marshall of Northampton and Ursell fil Hamo which had been registered in the London chest. The payment was made by William, John's son, who had gone on borrowing from the House of Hamo.[67] Despite such success, when in 1253 Moses fil Hamo of Hereford died, it seems from the evidence that the family fortunes were clearly on the wane.[68] For in the 1250s the Hamo family disappears from its foremost position in Hereford. It disappears, in fact, with little apparent trace. It might be that the bad debts, the Crown's pardon to debtors and the Crown's extortions caused its financial collapse.

In a study which is primarily concerned with the Edwardian Jews of Hereford the investigation of the House of Hamo and its dealings might seem out of place. But, to study this particular era without considering the House of Hamo would be like studying nineteenth-century Jewry without considering the Rothschilds. It cannot be denied that the business dealings of the Hamo family laid the foundations on which the Hereford Jewish community consolidated their position in a busy outpost on the Welsh Marches. The influence of the House of Hamo not only reached many different Jewish communities throughout the land, but also set the scene for the business practices of the Edwardian Jewry of Hereford and is particularly pertinent when considered in relation to the rise later in the thirteenth century of a new family of Ha nadibs or nabobs: the family of Aaron Le Blund, of whom regrettably less is known.

Having examined the dealings of the Hamo family of Hereford, it is now time to return to a consideration of the Hereford Jewish community at large. The survival of specific records enables a picture of Jewish financial practices in Hereford between 1262 and 1290 to be formed. The first evidence of this moneylending industry is given by the list of bonds granted to Henry III by the Jews of Hereford to pay the tallage of 1262.[69] The second piece of evidence is from a scrutiny made by Walter de Helyun in December 1275.[70] The other two pieces of information are the lists of extant bonds in the Hereford archa in 1290, when the Exchequer scribes recorded the contents of the Vetus Cista which contained bonds ranging in date from 1259 to 1276 and the contents of the Nova Cista which contained bonds ranging in date from 1283 to 1290.[71] From these various samples it is hoped that it will be possible to gain a clear insight into Jewish moneylending in Edwardian Hereford.

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in Hereford in 1262.

Number of  
Bonds.

Jewish Creditors.

3	Blanch, a Jewess, Meyr of Stamford.
2	Meyr fil Solomon, Vives fil Abraham, Abraham fil Sampson, Manasser Le Eveske, Samson fil Leon.
1	Joya filia Durabile, Elias fil Abraham, Isaac fil Benedict, Peter de Kayly, Bonify fil Elias and Manasser fil Benedict, Abraham genus Manasser, Beytini, Aaron genus Abraham, Cuntessa filia Isaac fil Josce, Moses of York, Reyne sister of Isaac Le Franceys, Josce Ahill, Bonofil of Bristol, Belassez Le Blund, Aaron brother of Isaac of Ludlow, Sampson fil Aaron, Isaac fil Jacob, Aaron genus Bonamy, Isaac of Ludlow, Josce genus Bonamy, Aaron fil Elias, Belia filia Aaron, Leon Le Eveske, Jacob of Oxford, A Jew of St_ford, Jacob, Bonamy genus Aaron, Abraham genus Elias.

(44)

(36)

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/249/10

In 1253, the year Moses fil Hamo of Hereford died, the Jews of Hereford made a contribution to the tallage of £8-15s-0d.[72] Nine years later, in 1262, thirty-six Hereford Jews contributed £104-0s-4d in bonds towards tallage. This contribution was made up of forty-four debts.[73] It is immediately striking that most of these loans are single one-off transactions. Only seven Jews or 19 percent give more than one bond to the tallage contribution. Blanch, a Jewess, has three loans worth a total of £6-18s-4d. Her three tallies record debts for £1-9s-0d, 16s-0d, and £4-13s-4d respectively. Meyr of Stamford also has three bonds but they are worth less: his bonds are worth £1-0s-0d, £1-6s-8d, and £1-0s-0d respectively. Meyr fil Solomon has two bonds in the contribution: an extremely large bond for £20-0s-0d and a small one for 7s-0d. It is noted in the scribes' accounts that Meyr had a partner in one of his transactions: part of the large debt was owed to Master Samuel de Radenor who then held the Christian debtor's lands. Vives fil Abraham has two bonds worth £8-0s-0d: one for £2-13s-4d and the other for £5-6s-8d. Abraham fil Sampson has debts worth £2-11s-4d. One is a bond for £1-13s-4d and the other is a tally for 18s-0d and one quarter of corn. Manasser L'Eveske, the former partner of Ursell fil Hamo, gave two debts worth £2-0s-0d. Samson fil Leon contributed one debt for £1-0s-0d and another for 13s-4d. The rest of the debts are bonds which are owed to Jews who only granted one of their bonds towards the tallage. These bonds vary enormously in value from one worth £10-0s-0d to one worth as little as 6s-8d. One bond worth £3-6s-8d was owed to a partnership of Bonefy fil Elias and Manasser fil Benedict. Another bond was to be repaid to Abraham genus Elias in commodities. He expected to be repaid two loads of corn and three loads of oats. This evidence of the transactions of the Hereford Jewry in the 1260s, although selective in that it comes from a response to a tallage, is instructive.[74] There were still

The value of Jewish bonds in Hereford in 1262.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount.	
2	Meyr fil Solomon	£ 20 7s 0d	
1	Joya filia Durabile	£ 10 0s 0d	
1	Elias fil Abraham	£ 10 0s 0d	
2	Vives fil Abraham	£ 8 0s 0d	
3	Blanch	£ 6 18s 4d	
1	Isaac fil Benedict	£ 5 6s 8d	
1	Peter de Kayly	£ 5 0s 0d	
1	Abraham genus Manasser	£ 3 6s 8d	
3	Meyr of Stamford	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	Beytini	£ 3 0s 0d	
2	Abraham fil Sampson	£ 2 11s 4d	⊕
2	Manasser Le Eveske	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Aaron genus Abraham	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Cuntessa filia Isaac fil Josce	£ 1 16s 8d	
2	Samson fil Leon	£ 1 13s 4d	
s	Bonefy fil Elias	£ 1 13s 4d	
s	Manasser fil Benedict	£ 1 13s 4d	
1	Moses of York	£ 1 10s 0d	
1	Reyne sister of Isaac Le Franceys	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Josce Ahill	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Bonefil of Bristol	£ 1 4s 0d	
1	Belassez Le Blund	£ 1 2s 8d	
1	Aaron brother of Isaac of Ludlow	£ 1 0s 0d	
1	Samson fil Aaron	£ 1 0s 0d	
1	Isaac fil Jacob	£ 1 0s 0d	
1	Aaron genus Bonamy	17s 0d	
1	Isaac of Ludlow	13s 4d	

1	Josce genus Bonamy	13s 4d
1	Aaron fil Elias	13s 4d
1	Belia filia Aaron	12s 0d
1	Leon Le Eveske	12s 0d
1	Jacob of Oxford	10s 0d
1	A Jew os St??ford	10s 0d
1	Jacob	10s 0d
1	Bonamy genus Aaron	6s 8d
1	Abraham genus Elias	Two loads of corn, Three loads of oats.

(44)

(36)

£ 104 0s 4d

⊕ Abraham fil Sampson is also owed 1 quarter of cereal.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/249/10

business partnerships. There was some commodity bonding. There was, it would seem, from the number of individual small bonds in the sample, a possible place in the system for Jews whose financial resources allowed them only to make small bonds. The low number of large bonds and the lack of Jews with a large number of bonds in this sample may obviously be the result of the nature of the available evidence.

The period of thirteen years between 1262 and 1275 must have been one which saw important events in the lives and businesses of the Jews of Hereford. In 1262, Llewelyn raided the Herefordshire lowlands as far as Weobley and threatened Hereford.[75] In the same year the baronial wars came to the Welsh Marches. The Barons took Worcester early in the year as a chronicler records:

Dominus Robertus comes de Ferrarius, dominus Petrus de Montforti et alii magnates venerunt apud civitatem Wygorniae cum exercitu magno et obsederunt eum, et post plurimus insultus eam ceperunt ii Kal Martii et quiquid extra ecclesiam poterant invenire, depraedaverunt una cum toto Judaismo: quosdam autem Judaeos ceperunt et imprisonaverunt et quosdam occiderunt.[76]

Soon after, they captured Hereford and seized control of the town. No massacre or sacking of the Jewry has been recorded. But the 1260s must have been years during which the Hereford Jews felt insecure. There is some evidence that at least one Jew's property was confiscated, possibly as a result of the disturbances. In July 1265, at Hereford, the king granted Thomas, the son of William Thebaud of Hereford, all the land which was Mansell the Jew's 'situated in Bishopsgate in Hereford in recompense of the damage which had been done to Thomas's houses which stood outside Eign Gate'. The grant made by Henry was interestingly witnessed amongst others by Simon and Peter de Montfort and Hugh Le Despenser.[77] With the close proximity of the anti-semitic baronial rebels it

would seem possible that the Jewish community of Hereford could do little more than keep a low profile.

There was to be little respite from Christian oppression with the accession of Edward I. Suddenly, all the Jews of Hereford were imprisoned and it is clear that some were taken to London. In 1273, the Jews of Hereford were to be fined half a mark and it is significant that Aaron le Blund, who was made responsible for the greater part of this fine, was still in prison in London. The goods and chattels of the other Jews of Hereford were confiscated and the chirograph chest was sealed.[78] In 1274, the Hereford Jews contributed only £40-5s-4d to the tallage of that year compared with the £104-1s-0d they had contributed in 1262.[79] Perhaps, however, even this contribution won them some favour with the Crown. Certainly by 1275 they were registering bonds in an archa once again, and in the same year the Jewish community of Worcester together with their chirograph chest and all their goods was expelled from the Queen Mother's dower town and banished to live in Hereford.[80] It is interesting to note that three out of thirty Jews who held bonds recorded in the Vetus Cista in 1290 were styled as Jews of Worcester, although it is quite possible that they were members of the same family.[81] Also, in 1275, the Jews of Bristol were attacked and the Jewry there was burnt. Since they were later excommunicated it is possible that some Bristol Jews also moved to Hereford at about this time.[82] It was, however, in order to cope with the influx from Worcester that the Crown provided Hereford with a new chirographer:

Whereas the Jews of Worcester are to be transferred to Hereford where there is one Jewish chirographer and Aaron of Worcester who is fit for that office came before and made oath and found pledges Jacob Crespin and Sampson fil Isaac -- mandate to the sheriff that he admit the said Aaron to the said office.[83]

This influx of Jews into Hereford could account for the highest tallage payment for Hereford in Edward's reign occurring in 1276-1277 when the contribution was £63-6s-8d, although the existence in 1290 of an old chest of debts in Worcester suggests that some Jews may have returned to their former home during the 1280s.[84]

The second picture of Jewish financial activity in Hereford is provided by a scrutiny of the archa made in December 1275, just as a similar scrutiny for Colchester referred to above.[85] On 24 November 1275 the Crown appointed various officials to make a scrutiny of the charters and deeds found in archae throughout England. They were to enrol the debts on a register and then they were to send them to the king under seal. After this had been duly carried out the scrutineers were to seal the chest and leave it as they found it. Any charters found in the hands of the chirographers were to be enrolled separately. Walter de Helyun and some other person were appointed to inspect the archae at Hereford and Gloucester.[86] The enrolment of the contents of the Hereford archa has survived. It was made by Walter de Helyun and his associate on the feast of St John the Evangelist (27 December) 1275.[87] The view of Jewish financial activity provided by this random check is very different to the picture provided by the tallage contributions of 1262. There are only four Jews who have bonds in the archa: Aaron fil Elias, Bonenfaunt fil Aaron, Hagin fil Jacob, and Hagin fil Elias. These four have seventy-nine bonds owing to them worth a total of £459-9s-8d. In 1275, Aaron fil Elias had seventy-three debts due to him which were to be paid back in cash and commodities. He was owed bonds worth a total value of £401-12s-4d which included partial repayments of 23 1/2 quarters of corn, five geese and one robe. His son Bonenfaunt was owed four debts worth £50-10s-8d and three soams of cereal. Hagin fil Jacob was owed one debt for

Several observations can be made on this sample and a very important question is raised by it. Firstly, the bonds range in value from as much as £50-0s-0d to as little as 6s-8d, both of which sums were owed to Aaron. Secondly, there are, just as there had been earlier, commodity bonds being arranged in Hereford before the Statute of 1275. Thirdly, there is interesting evidence, just as there was in the case of the House of Hamo, of bonds remaining unpaid. Of Aaron fil Elias's seventy-three bonds, a total of sixty-two are enrolled as still being in the Vetus Cista in 1291.[89] Thus, Aaron seems to have managed to reclaim only eleven of the bonds registered in 1275 in the meantime. All of the bonds made by the other creditors recorded in the 1275 sample were still unpaid in 1291.[90] It is clear from some of the evidence that the Jews in 1275 expected repayment at times of local fairs. Thirty per cent of the bonds in the 1275 scrutiny were repayable at fairs such as the fair of St Ethelbert, the fair of Ledbury, and the fair of Leominster.[91] It seems unlikely from this evidence that they were actually securing their repayments, although it is possible that the non-use of the Vetus Cista after 1276 presents a perverted view of the extent of repayment. The most serious question raised by the 1275 sample from Hereford is why, in the context of the large number of Jewish creditors in Hereford revealed in the potentially less comprehensive 1262 sample and in the context of other larger lists provided from other towns as a result of the 1275 scrutiny, there are so few Jewish moneylenders recorded as being in business in Hereford in 1275? This is a particularly intriguing problem since the bonds in the Vetus Cista which are to be discussed below range in date from 1259 to 1276 and reveal a whole collection of Jews making bonds who are not represented in the 1275 list.[92] This is a timely warning that lists made up according to deposits which had

The value of Jewish bonds in the Hereford  
archa in December 1275.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount.
73	Aaron fil Elias Le Blund	£ 401 12s 4d ⊕ °
4	Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund	£ 50 10s 8d ⊕
1	Hagin fil Jacob	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Hagin fil Elias	£ 3 6s 8d
(79)	(4)	(£ 459 9s 8d)

⊕ In addition to their monetary debts on 19 of the bonds small commodity repayments are stipulated in favour of:

Aaron Le Blund (17 bonds) is also owed one robe with a hood, 23 1/2 soams of cereal, 3 truges of peas and 9 geese.

Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund is also owed 3 soams of cereal.

° There are two bonds worth £ 7 13s 4d which appear to be owed to Elias fil Aaron. This has been treated as a scribal error and the debts have been attributed to Aaron Le Blund.

Source:- P.R.E.J. 3 pp230-238

been made in archae are by no means necessarily comprehensive.

Turning to the Vetus Cista itself, it is clear that the bonds which were contained in it in 1290 cover Jewish moneylending activities in Hereford during the period 1259 to 1276. The list of moneylenders which it provides, as has just been observed, shows that more Jews were involved in moneylending than is suggested by the list or archa scrutiny made in December 1275.[93] These Jewish moneylenders held different numbers of bonds. Only nine Jews make single bonds: Cuntessa filia Benedict, Elye fil Jacob, Gente fil Hagin, Hak fil Hagin, Isaac, Jew of Worcester, Josce fil Aaron of Caerleon, Joya filia Isaac, Mirabile filia Isaac and Moses fil Isaac are all owed for single transactions which range in value from £1-0s-0d to Mirabile filia Isaac's bond for £18-0s-0d and one quarter of cereal. There are seven Jews who are owed for two debts -- Belia filia Aaron, Cok fil Mansel, Elye fil Benedict, Hagin fil Jacob, Jew of Gloucester, Henne filia Elye le Eveske, Josce fil Elias le Blund, Jew of London, and Moses fil Abraham. Two Jews are owed for three separate transactions -- Jacob fil Sadekyn and Maunsell fil Josce. Two are owed for four bonds -- Bona filia Elias and Elye fil Aaron. There are three Jews who are involved in five transactions -- Cuntessa filia Mosse, Josce fil Mansel and Aaron fil Isaac, Jew of Worcester. Elye fil Isaac and Sara filia Elias each have six bonds outstanding. Sampson, Jew of Winchester, is probably involved in eight bonds because he might well be the same man as Sampson fil Isaac, Jew of Worcester. Abrahams thought that this was the case but the Exchequer scribe clearly distinguishes between two Sampsons -- one being described as Jew of Worcester (Wygornia) the other as Jew of Winchester (Wynton).[94] He perhaps made a clerical error. Benedict fil Elye also has eight bonds still owing to him, Bonenfaunt fil Aaron le Blund has ten and Hagin fil Elye has twelve. At the top of the list of Jewish creditors in the Vetus

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in the Hereford  
Vetus Cista.

<u>Number of Bonds.</u>	<u>Jewish Creditors.</u>
103	Aaron fil Elias Le Blund.
12	Hagin fil Elias.
10	Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund.
8	Benedict fil Elye, Sampson fil Isaac Jew of Worcester.
6	Elye fil Isaac, Sara filia Elias.
5	Cuntassa filia Mosse, Josce fil Mansel, Aaron fil Isaac Jew of Worcester.
4	Bona filia Elias, Elye fil Aaron.
3	Jacob fil Sadekyn, Maunsell fil Josce.
2	Belia filia Aaron, Cok fil Mansel, Elye fil Benedict, Hagin fil Jacob Jew of Gloucester, Henna filia Elye Le Eveske, Josce fil Elias Le Blund Jew of London, Mosse fil Abraham.
1	Cuntessa filia Benedict, Elye fil Jacob, Gente fil Hagin, Hak fil Hagin, Isaac Jew of Worcester, Josce fil Aaron Jew of Caerleon, Joya filia Isaac, Mirabile filia Isaac, Moses fil Isaac.

(205)

(30)

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/5

Cista is Aaron fil Elias le Blund, Jew of Hereford, who is owed for 103 different transactions and whose business and family will be discussed below. There were therefore clearly in Hereford in the period between 1259 and 1276 not only men like Elye fil Jacob who might have involved himself in just a single bond worth £1-0s-0d but also men like Aaron Le Blund who had many bonds out which testify to his lending a very significant amount of capital.

In terms of the average amount involved in individual bonds there is interestingly a clear difference between this sample and the sample for 1262, in that, even if one considers only the 'one-off' transactions recorded in connection with the Vetus Cista, it is clear that an average bond to the value of something between £2-0s-0d and £2-13s-4d represents a higher average than that present in the 1262 sample in which thirteen Jews, as opposed to one in the Vetus Cista list, had debts worth no more than £1-0s-0d. This situation may of course have been the result of the connections between the 1262 list and a tallage.[95]

The bonds recorded as being in the Vetus Cista identify thirty different Jews involved in lending money and they are owed a total of £1120-13s-8d. It is worthwhile to consider the table and to try and break down the amounts contracted by each Jew. At the top of the list, Aaron le Blund, as always, appears -- he holds over 50 percent of the bonds and is owed a total of £744-8s-8d or two-thirds of the total value of the bonds. The next Jew to Aaron on the list of bonds in the Hereford archa is his son, Bonenfaunt, who has ten bonds worth £79-6s-8d or 4 percent of the bonds worth 7 percent of the total value. Aaron and his son are followed by Hagin fil Elye who holds twelve bonds worth £35-19s-4d or 5 percent of the bonds worth 3.3 percent of the total value of the bonds. All three of these men had bonds in the archa in 1275, and between them they hold

The value of the Jewish bonds in the Hereford Vetus Cista.

Number of Bonds.	Jew	Amount.
103	Aaron fil Elias Le Blund	£ 744 8s 8d ⊕
10	Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund	£ 79 6s 8d ⊕
12	Hagin fil Elias	£ 35 19s 4d ⊕
8	Sampson fil Isaac, Jew of Worcester	£ 25 16s 0d
6	Elias fil Isaac	£ 25 6s 8d
6	Sarra fil Elias	£ 20 6s 8d
5	Aaron fil Isaac, Jew of Worcester	£ 19 4s 8d
4	Elias fil Aaron	£ 18 10s 0d ⊕
8	Benedict fil Elias	£ 18 7s 4d
1	Mirabile filia Isaac	£ 18 0s 0d ⊕
3	Maunsell fil Josce	£ 16 13s 4d
4	Bona filia Elias	£ 13 15s 4d
5	Josce fil Maunsell	£ 13 0s 0d
2	Josce fil Elias Le Blund, Jew of London	£ 9 0s 0d
5	Cuntassa filia Mosse	£ 8 6s 8d ⊕
2	Belia filia Aaron	£ 6 14s 0d
3	Jacob fil Sadekyn	£ 6 0s 0d
1	Hak fil Hagin	£ 5 6s 8d
2	Hagin fil Jacob, Jew of Gloucester	£ 5 6s 8d
2	Henna filia Elias Le Evesk	£ 4 13s 4d
2	Elie fil Benedict	£ 4 6s 8d
1	Joya filia Isaac	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Cuntessa filia Benedict	£ 3 6s 8d

2	Moses fil Abraham	£ 3 5s 0d
1	Josce fil Aaron, Jew of Caerleon	£ 2 13s 4d
2	Cok fil Maunsell	£ 2 13s 4d
1	Isaac, Jew of Worcester	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Gente fil Hagin	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Moses fil Isaac	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Elye fil Jacob	£ 1 0s 0d
(205)	(30)	( £ 1120 13s 8d)

⊕ In addition to their monetary debts on thirty-two of the bonds small commodity repayments are stipulated.

Aaron Le Blund (24 bonds) is also owed a total of 30 1/2 qtrs of cereal, 14 geese, 6 truges of cereal, one robe with a hood and one cart load of hay.

Bonenfaunt Le Blund (2 bonds) is owed 2 1/2 qtrs of cereal and 2 geese.

Hagin fil Elias (4 bonds) is owed 1qtr and 7 truges of cereal.

Elias fil Aaron (1 bond) is owed 3 truges of cereal.

Mirabile filia Isaac (1 bond) is owed 1qtr of cereal.

Cuntessa filia Mosse (1 bond) is owed 1 truge of cereal.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/5

60 percent of the debts worth 77 percent of the total value in the Vetus Cista. [96] If these three are temporarily ignored, then it is possible to get a view of what might be regarded as the more 'ordinary' moneylenders and their transactions. Sampson fil Isaac now heads the list with eight bonds worth £25-16s-0d, and his bonds are worth just a fraction more than Benedict fil Elye's eight bonds which have a value of £18-7s-8d. The median average value of Sampson fil Isaac's bonds is £2-13s-4d, and that of Benedict fil Elye's is £2-6s-8d. Although a bond valued at between £2-0s-0d and £3-0s-0d is small by comparison with, for example, Mirabile filia Isaac's single bond for £18-0s-0d it is interesting to note that it is still a relatively large bond in comparison with those revealed by the 1262 list. In the Vetus Cista sample such evidence is also supported by the fact that only one Jew who has a single bond in the archa at this date is recorded as having lent less than £2-0s-0d. This kind of information makes it clear that the fact that there are many less small bonds in 1275 than in 1262 is quite probably not simply the result of the incomplete nature of the 1275 and 1262 samples. [97]

Perhaps, however, the most significant evidence to be yielded by the Vetus Cista sample is the extent to which commodity bonding was present in Hereford even before the Statute of 1275. This confirms a situation which has been evident in earlier samples. There are no pure commodity bonds in the Vetus Cista list, but there are no fewer than thirty-three out of a total of 205 bonds which state that debtors are owed both money and commodities. [98] One bond, also dating from this period (but not included in the Vetus Cista), which actually survives in the Hereford Record Office, similarly reflects this trend and stipulates a choice between money and commodities. It was made in 1275 between John de Hethe of the parish of Laysters and Josce fil Manasser of Hereford. John

promised to pay Josce sixty quarters of good corn, dry and winnowed, or half a mark of silver for each quarter as the creditor preferred. The corn or the money was to be delivered to Josce or his attorney at his house in Hereford. In case of default, John pledged his goods and his movables.[99] It would seem that this bond for £20-0s-0d was paid as it does not appear in any of the samples, but John did not pay a £2-0s-0d debt that he owed another Jew, Jacob fil Sadekyn, in 1276, because according to the list of bonds in the Vetus Cista, it is still unpaid in 1291.[100] The thirty-three bonds recorded in the Vetus Cista show that in most cases the commodity favoured is corn, but larger entrepreneurs like Aaron fil Elias le Blund and Bonefaunt his son are also owed fifteen geese, one robe with a hood and one cart load of hay and two geese respectively. Aaron le Blund had twenty-four of these 'mixed commodity repayment' bonds owing to him and if the bonds had been honoured he would have received thirty and a half quarters and six truges of corn worth approximately £10-4s-10d over and above his cash repayments. His son, Bonenfaunt, seemed to like the arrangement of mixed repayments and two of his ten bonds would have provided him with 2 1/2 quarters of corn and two geese. Hagin fil Elye made provision in four of his repayments for a total of one quarter and seven truges of corn. It was not only the people who appear to have dealt in lots of bonds who made these stipulations -- Mirabile filia Isaac, in her single loan of £18-0s-0d in cash, had made arrangements for the payment of one quarter of corn. The other two moneylenders who required a commodity repayment added to their cash repayment were Cuntessa filia Mosse and Elye fil Aaron: they required one truge and three truges respectively worth 3d and 9d. In the case of the smaller entrepreneurs and even Bonenfaunt Le Blund and Hagin fil Elye it seems possible that their commodities were for personal consumption rather than for re-sale.[101] Thus, the only Jew who might be seen

as not making commodity bonds which might be used for personal consumption in the Vetus Cista sample is Aaron fil Elias le Blund. The commodity bonds in the Vetus Cista, in this respect, do reveal a continuing trend for, according to the 1275 scrutiny, Aaron was already owed one robe with a hood, twenty-three soams of cereal, three truges of cereal and five geese and was therefore from the evidence in the Vetus Cista, only owed a further nine geese, a little more cereal and one cart-load of hay. Thus, commodity bonding on a scale larger than that necessary for personal consumption was, in the case of Aaron, already a significant practice before the Statute of 1275.[102] It would also seem that Josce fil Manser of Hereford according to his 1275 bond which survives in the Hereford Record Office was also bonding for commodities.[103] In this, Aaron and Josce were in fact only pursuing what was in Hereford a traditional practice for the richer Jew. For, in the first half of the century, Hamo was owed thirteen quarters of assorted cereal and Ursell, his son, was owed seventy quarters of oats, twenty-seven quarters of mixed grain, thirty-three and a half quarters of corn and seven quarters of pease.[104] These examples in addition to the evidence of the 1262 sample which shows commodity bonding on a smaller, perhaps more personal scale, by men like Abraham fil Sampson and Abraham genus Elias demonstrate that commodity bonds for both consumption and commerce had a long history in Hereford before the Vetus Cista list was compiled.[105]

The bonds which remained in the Vetus Cista did not include bonds made after 1276. There is a large gap of seven years between the bond made in 1276 and the first bond recorded in the final piece of evidence concerning Jewish moneylending activities in Hereford: the Nova Cista. [106] It is not known whether the Vetus Cista was officially closed in 1276. It is, however, clear that it was still in Hereford in 1290.[107] Where are the bonds made between 1276 and

1283? With so large a failure rate of repayment, as has been observed in Hereford, generally, it does not make sense that all debtors paid up on bonds contracted between 1276 and 1283. It is difficult to explain why no unredeemed bonds have survived for this period. It can only be assumed that if any bonds were made they were not registered and that the Jews carried out their business in a rather less official way than they had done hitherto. This would be perfectly understandable within the context of the Statute of 1275.

Evidence of Jewish activity in the period between 1276 and 1283 is scarce. It is known that the Jewish community of Hereford was able to contribute £63-6s-8d to the royal tallage of £1000 in 1276-7.[108] A little later, in 1279, when many Jews all over England were arrested for coin-clipping, it does not seem that Hereford Jews suffered as much as their brethren in other towns. The officials appointed to collect the confiscated chattels of Jews who had been hanged for coin-clipping offences do not seem to have visited Hereford. This could either be interpreted as evidence of the Jews of Hereford being little affected or as evidence of their not being worth bothering with. Whatever is the case, in 1280, the tallage contribution by the Hereford community was poor. It was paid by fourteen Christian townspeople and two Jews: Moses fil Abraham and Isaac de Campeden. Amongst the Christian contributors, Walter de la Mare paid £1-6s-8d for debts to Isaac fil Abraham and the tenants of the land of John, son of Randolph of Kings Caple, paid 13s-4d for debts to Jacob fil Jacob.[109] In the 1280s it is interesting to note that the practice of tallage payments being made by Christians, who presumably owed Jews, rather than by the Jews themselves, continues. In 1282, the Jewish tallage payment from Hereford was £3-19s-0d and was paid by thirty-four Christians and three Jews, Elias de Ardre who paid 3s-6d, Moses of Gloucester and

Leon of Worcester who paid 3s-6d between them.[110] In 1284, the sheriff, Roger de Burghill, was in charge of collecting the Jewish tallage payments. Some evidence of how he collected the payments survives and it is clearly Christians again who contributed the most. In 1286 and 1287, Roger de Burghill paid a lump sum to the Treasury in London of £13-6s-8d.[111] He had collected this sum in 1285 from forty-eight Christians and several Jews.[112] Benedict le Eveske contributed 6s-8d, Hagin of Weobley, 9s, Cecilia de Lanton, for a debt to Elias le Eveske, 10s-0d, Walter de la Walle, for a debt to Abraham fil Aaron, £1-6s-8d, John Aubyn, for a debt to Benedict fil Sampson, £1-6s-8d and Stephen de Homme for a debt to Bonamy, Jew of Worcester, £1-0s-0d. The payment of £13-6s-8d was further augmented by a contribution from Wenthelina of Kingscuple, the holder of the land of Randolph de Kingscuple, of 11s-4d for debts to Jacob fil Jacob. Miles Pichard, who owed debts registered in the Nova Cista, also paid another £3-6s-8d for debts to Isaac fil Aaron, Jew of Bristol.[113]

Perhaps the absence of a bond recording the above debt of John, son of Randolph of Kingscuple, to Jacob fil Jacob from the Vetus Cista sample is evidence that, in the intervening period between 1276 and 1283, Jews continued their business without registering it in the archa. The fact that, in 1283, Hagin the Jew was fined 12d by the bailiffs of Hereford for a transgression against the laws of the market may even be further evidence that the Jews in this period were modifying their previous moneylending activities by combining them with a greater interest in trade for its own sake.[114] However evidence of Jewish financial practice between 1276 and 1283 is, as has been observed, sparse. What is certain is that, at the end of this period, the Jews continued to have a noticeable presence in the town of Hereford. In 1285, according to the Bailiffs Rolls, the Jews of Hereford were fined 12d.[115] At the same time a certain

Christian tradesman, John Bibol, was fined for selling carnes Judaeorum and the two sons of Cok the Jew paid 2s to be allowed to enter the town.[116] In 1287, when another general arrest was made of the Jews of England it seems that certain officials of the Scaccarium Judaeorum had an interest in the Hereford Jews. In one entry on the account roll of John le Gaunter a payment is made in vino misso domino Maccolines in adventu suo ad faciendam deliberationem de catallis Judeorum xvid and Ade de Wynton, clerico Judaismo pro breve recreando de contemptu ballivorum iis. [117] It also seems that at this time there were good relations between Jew and Christian in Hereford. In 1286, a Jewish wedding took place in Hereford that caused a stir in ecclesiastical circles. In a letter dated 7 September 1286, Richard Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, wrote to the Chancellor of Hereford and claimed that it had come to his ears that certain Jews were preparing themselves in 'accordance with their detestable ritual for a wedding to which they are inviting some of the Christian flock not only secretly but publicly'. The bishop demanded that the Chancellor of Hereford was to forbid publicly all Christians from attending the convivialities of the Jews in a proclamation to be made in all the churches in Hereford.[118] In another letter, it seems that many Christian townsmen had ignored the prohibition as Bishop Swinfield, in a more caustic mood, claimed that certain numbers of his flock had attended the 'displays of silk and cloth of gold, horsemanship, equestrian processions, stage-playing and sports and minstrelsy' that had accompanied the Jewish wedding feast. Furthermore, he claimed that his congregation had eaten, drank, played and jested with the Jews. He warned that all members of the Christian faith who had attended this bun-fight should take absolution within eight days or be excommunicated, although no further castigation of the faithful seems to have followed.[119] By the time of the wedding, Jews had

once more begun to deposit their bonds in an archa at Hereford. This Nova Cista covers Jewish business practice from 1283 to the Expulsion.[120] There can be little doubt that this return to a more official form of business was probably connected with the Chapitres Tuchaunz le Gewerie which Abrahams dated to the period just before 1283.[121]

The Nova Cista reveals seventeen Jews who hold a total of seventy-seven bonds, worth a face value of £1065-7s-8d. Many of the more active Jews who appear in this sample have already appeared in earlier samples. At the top of the creditors is Aaron le Blund with almost 30 percent of the total bonds in the chest. However, his son Bonenfaunt, with twelve bonds, is this time put into third place by the eighteen bonds of Josce fil Manser of Hereford. This Josce is presumably the Josce fil Manasser who lent to John de la Hethe in 1275 and that Josce fil Maunsell who according to the evidence of the Vetus Cista is owed fourteen bonds repayable in money worth £73-6s-8d.[122] As well as these established operators there are, however, in the list from the Nova Cista new Jewish creditors appearing. Hagin of Weobley, who also contributed to the Sheriff's payment for Herefordshire in 1285, has seven bonds in the archa of which the earliest is dated 1285 and he also has three made in 1290.[123] Ursellus of Gloucester has four bonds. Isaac fil Hagin de Weobley has two bonds in his name whilst Abraham capellanus (possibly Rabbi) of the Jews of Hereford, Hagin fil Belia de Blanc, Isaac le Eveske of London, Sarra filia Elias of Gloucester and Ursellus fil Hak all have single bonds owing to them for the first time. The Nova Cista shows conclusively that during the period 1283 to 1290 Jews who do not seem to have had bonds registered in the archa before are now able to make loans.[124]

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in the Hereford  
Nova Cista.

<u>Number of Bonds.</u>	<u>Jewish Creditors.</u>
22	Aaron fil Elias Le Blund.
18s	Josce fil Manser of Hereford.
12	Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund, Jew of London.
7	Hagin of Weobley, Jew of Hereford.
4	Ursellus of Gloucester.
2s	Benedict Le Eveske.
2	Isaac fil Hagin of Weobley.
1	Abraham, Chaplain of the Jews of Hereford, Bonamy fil Aaron, David fil Assel, Hagin fil Belia le Blanc, Hagin fil Hagin, Isaac Le Eveske of London, Sarra filia Elye of Gloucester, Jewess of Hereford, Ursellus fil Hak.
s	Bonenfaunt fil Elye, Isaac fil Josce.
(77)	(17)

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/5

In a comparison of the Nova Cista and the Vetus Cista, there is, however, not only a change in personnel but also in the actual number of Jewish creditors evidenced for while the Vetus Cista reveals the names of thirty Jews who had bonds owing to them the Nova Cista only reveals seventeen. There is also a difference in the number of bonds remaining in the archa - the Vetus Cista had two hundred and five bonds in it: the Nova Cista only has seventy-seven. In the light of these circumstances it is not surprising that a comparison of the two different samples also shows a large difference in the mean average Jewish outlay. In the Vetus Cista it was £37-11s-1d and in the Nova Cista it is £62-13s-4d. Similarly, there is a difference in the mean average value of a bond between the two samples. In the Vetus Cista it was worth £5-9s-11d and in the Nova Cista it is worth £13-16s-8d. This is matched by a noticeable difference in the face value of the smallest bonds. In the Vetus Cista there were eleven bonds with a face value of under £5-0s-0d and in the Nova Cista there is only one.[125]

All of these differences are matched and probably explained by another difference between the two samples which is reflected in a shift to commodity repayments in the Nova Cista. Whilst the Nova Cista reveals that there were thirty-eight bonds made in the period between 1283 and 1290 which stipulated repayment to be made in money, there were also thirty-five bonds which stipulated repayments to be made in commodities - mainly cereal and four bonds for wool and six of the bonds in the Nova Cista which stipulated repayment to be made in money also involved what was usually a very small commodity repayment, although in individual cases Aaron le Blund was owed repayments such as 24 cheeses and four wagon-loads of hay while his son Bonenfaunt le Blund was owed such an unusual commodity as unam robam factum ad modum militis. [126]

The value of Jewish bonds in the Hereford Nova Cista.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Number of Money Bonds.	Number of Cereal Bonds.	Number of Wool Bonds.	Amount.
22	Aaron Le Blund	8	14	0	£ 401 8s 4d ⊕
12	Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund	5	5	2	£ 264 10s 8d ⊕
18s	Josce fil Manasser	14	4s	0	£ 105 13s 4d
1	Isaac Le Eveske Jew of London	0	0	1	£ 53 6s 8d
7	Hagin of Weobley	5	2	0	£ 50 12s 0d
4	Ursell of Gloucester	1	3	0	£ 34 16s 8d
s	Bonenfaunt fil Elye	s	0	0	£ 30 0s 0d
s	Isaac fil Josce	s	0	0	£ 30 0s 0d
2s	Benedict Le Eveske	0	2s	0	£ 25 0s 0d
2	Isaac fil Hagin of Weobley	1	1	0	£ 23 6s 8d
1	Hagin fil Hagin	1	0	0	£ 10 0s 0d
1	David fil Assel	0	1	0	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Ursell fil Hak	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Abraham, Chaplain of the Jews of Hereford	1	0	0	£ 5 6s 8d
1	Bonamy fil Aaron	1	0	0	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Hagin fil Belia le Blanc	0	1	0	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Sarra, Jewess of Hereford	0	1	0	£ 3 6s 8d

(77) (17) (38) (35) (4) ( £ 1065 7s 8d )

⊕ Aaron Le Blund is also owed 24 cheeses and 4 wagon loads of hay.

Bonenfaunt Le Blund is also owed unam robam facetam ad modum militis.

The bonds which stipulate repayment in money are owed to eleven Jews. Of these, Aaron le Blund, Bonenfaunt le Blund and Josce fil Manser, who have been identified as having previously registered bonds in the Hereford archa, head the money list with fairly large amounts owing to them. These bonds were made between 1283 and 1290 and show clearly that there was still some significant lending of money for monetary repayment during this period. There are five Jews with single bonds which are repayable in money. Their debts range in value from £10-0s-0d owed to Hagin fil Hagin to the £1-10s-0d owed to Ursellus of Gloucester.[127]

The bonds which stipulate repayment in cereal illustrate the effect of the Statutum de Judeismo in that more Jews are now making bonds for cereal repayments which do not seem to have been of the size which can be explained away by claiming that they were just for personal consumption.[128] Even the cereal bond with the smallest face value £3-6s-8d - the ten quarters owed to Sarra of Hereford - is unlikely to have been just for her personal use. Certainly the fact that sixty quarters were owed to Isaac fil Hagin of Weobley in a single transaction is not just an example of Isaac's obtaining cereal to feed his family. His father Hagin of Weobley is also owed a further seventy quarters in his own right. Similarly the nineteen separate bonds owing to Bonenfaunt and Aaron le Blund show that these two members of the le Blund family are owed nine hundred and ninety-three quarters between them - probably enough to have fed the entire Jewish community. The Nova Cista like the last of the Canterbury samples shows a massive shift of emphasis towards bonding for cereal.[129] From the surviving bonds in the Hereford archa for the period 1283-1290, ten members of the Hereford Jewish community are owed a total of one thousand four hundred and fifty quarters of cereal.[130]

Jews with money bonds registered in the Hereford  
Nova Cista.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount.
8	Aaron Le Blund	£ 96 13s 4d
14	Josce fil Manser	£ 73 6s 8d
5	Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund	£ 43 17s 4d
s	Bonenfaunt fil Elye	£ 30 0s 0d
s	Isaac fil Josce	£ 30 0s 0d
5	Hagin of Weobley	£ 27 5s 4d
1	Hagin fil Hagin	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Abraham, Chaplain of the Jews of Hereford	£ 5 6s 8d
1	Bonamy fil Aaron	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Isaac fil Hagin of Weobley	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Ursellus of Gloucester	£ 1 10s 0d
(38)	(11)	(£ 326 6s 0d)

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/5

Jews with cereal bonds registered in the Hereford  
Nova Cista.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount in Qtrs.	Value.
14	Aaron Le Blund	811qtrs	£ 304 15s 0d
5	Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund	182qtrs	£ 60 13s 4d
3	Ursellus of Gloucester	100qtrs	£ 33 6s 8d
4s	Josce fil Manser	97qtrs	£ 32 6s 8d
2s	Benedict Le Eveske	75qtrs	£ 25 0s 0d
2	Hagin of Weobley	70qtrs	£ 23 6s 8d
1	Isaac fil Hagin of Weobley	60qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
1	David fil Assel	30qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Hagin fil Belia	15qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Sarra, Jewess of Hereford	10qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
(35)	(10)	(1450qtrs)	(£ 517 15s 0d)

Jews with wool bonds registered in the Hereford  
Nova Cista.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount in sacks.	Value.
2	Bonenfaunt fil Aaron Le Blund	16 sacks	£ 160 0s 0d
1	Isaac Le Eveske of London	8 sacks	£ 53 6s 8d
1	Ursellus fil Hak	1 sack	£ 8 0s 0d
(4)	(3)	(25 sacks)	(£ 221 6s 8d)

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/5

Turning to the three Jews who are owed four bonds which are repayable in quantities of wool, it is again highly unlikely that these were just for personal consumption. It is, in this context, immediately striking that Bonenfaunt le Blund begins in this sample to be styled 'Jew of London'. Similarly, Isaac le Eveske is shown to have London connections. Jews who were dealing in wool would do well to have London contacts. The quantities of wool and their respective values are clear indications of the fact that these Jews were beginning to get involved in the wool trade in a large way.[131]

The Hereford Nova Cista indicates that during the period it covers there were less users of the archa who made less bonds which were worth more. This evidence in itself does not support the theory expressed by Elman and others that by 1290 the Jews had been deprived of their sole economic raison d'être and were expelled because they were no longer of any financial use to the Crown but in fact suggests that a transfer to commercial activity on a large scale had changed the nature of Jewish business practice in terms of not only the number of Jewish creditors who were involved but also in terms of the size of the loans they made and the debts they were owed.[132]

It is impossible to consider the Hereford Jewry without entering upon a slight excursus on Aaron le Blund of Hereford. Aaron was perhaps one of the richest Jews of late thirteenth-century England. In 1194, Aaron of Lincoln, the Midas of medieval Anglo-Jewry, had estates worth about £16,000.[133] In 1200, Benedict of York, a partner of Aaron of Lincoln, had an estate worth £1,300.[134] Hamo of Hereford's estate, as has been seen, was worth about £12,000 in 1232.[135] In 1244, Licoricia of Winchester, the widow of David of Oxford, was called upon to pay a fine of 5000

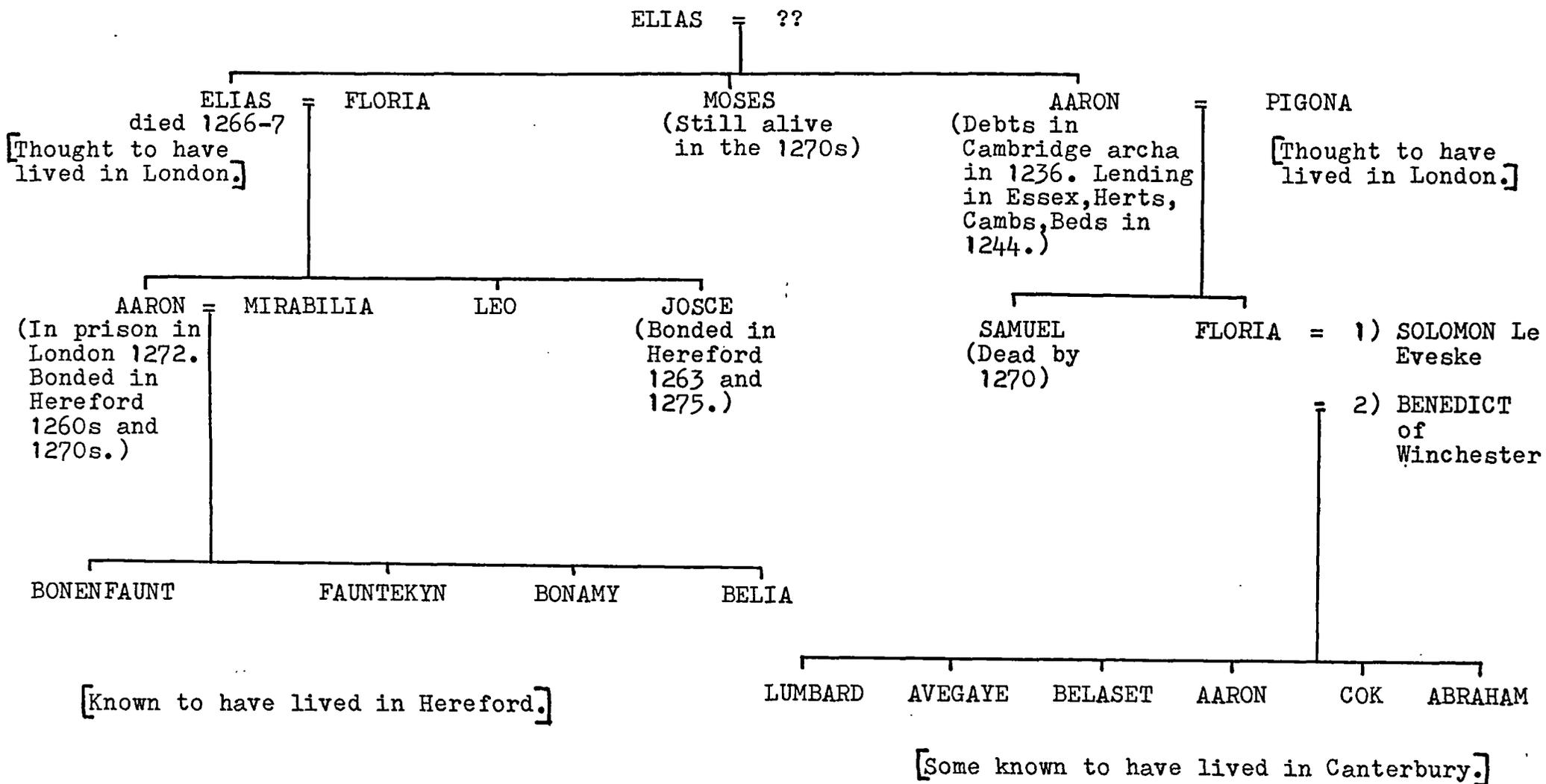
marks (£3333-6s-8d), thus his estate would probably have been worth about £10,000.[136] Rabbi Elijah Menahem of London had an estate of £1000 when he died.[137] Aaron le Blund of Hereford had £1100 worth of bonds repayable in money and other commodities still unpaid in the Vetus and Nova Cistae. Thus, his assets must have been worth at least this amount.[138]

The name of Aaron le Blund occurs regularly in the annals of medieval Anglo-Jewry.[139] There is an Aaron le Blund mentioned in the Northampton Donum of 1194, an Aaron le Blund appears as one of the maiores for the collection of the tallage in 1219 in London, and an Aaron le Blund died in London in 1266 after having lived mainly in London.[140] There was another Aaron le Blund who was living in Hereford who was imprisoned in the Tower in 1272.[141] It was presumably this Aaron whose bonds have survived in the Hereford archae. As has been observed, Jewish genealogies are difficult to compile, but one has been drawn up for the le Blund family which perhaps needs some revision.[142] It appears that two members of the le Blund family were involved in a syndicate of Jews who granted a mortgage to John de Monkesdon in 1248. The syndicate was comprised of four Jews: Aaron of York, Elias le Blund, Aaron le Blund and Aaron fil Abraham. It also seems that these four Jews were based in London.[143] The following year a different syndicate granted another mortgage. This time it consisted of Aaron of York, Aaron le Blund, Aaron fil Abraham, Elias of Bedford, Matthew of London and Jacob fil Floria.[144] In the first mortgage, Elias and Aaron le Blund had been involved. It is known that Aaron's father was called Elias le Blund. Thus, in the second mortgage, it seems that Aaron may have entered into the transaction without his father's support. In 1252, two female members of the le Blund family were in trouble with the authorities. The king pardoned Floria, the wife of Elias Blund and Pigona, the wife of Aaron le Blund, who had fled because

of the tallage demanded from their husbands.[145] A little later, in that year, in return for one gold mark, Aaron le Blund and Elias, his brother, and Samuel le Blund, Aaron's son, were allowed to pay off their tallage by handing over some of their more secure debts in its place.[146] There is no further mention of the le Blunds until 1266. In that year an Aaron le Blund, deceased, had one of his debts transferred by the Crown into the hands of Aaron fil Vives.[147] In 1266, Roger Tyrel received a pardon from the king at the instance of Prince Edward from all of his debts in which he was bound to Aaron le Blund, Jew of Hereford, son of Elias, Jew of London. Another of Aaron's debts was pardoned in 1267.[148] This would seem to be the last evidence of the Aaron le Blund who died in 1266 who would seem to have been a Jew based mainly in London who was, however, responsible for initiating his families connections with Hereford.

In 1272, there is a mention of an Aaron le Blund Judus noster of Hereford. This is clearly the Aaron of Hereford whose bonds are extant. The same man is also imprisoned in the Tower at this point.[149] Given the above evidence of the former Aaron le Blund's connections with Hereford it is of course impossible to determine to which Aaron belonged the bonds of which record has survived at Hereford for the period between 1260 and 1266.[150] It must, however, be assumed that it was the second Aaron - nephew of the first Aaron - who lends money in Hereford after 1266. The matter is of course further complicated by the fact that both Aarons may have been sired by an Elias le Blund. A plausible explanation of this complicated situation is that Aaron and Elias, the sons of Elias le Blund, were involved in a financial business which was centred in London. Elias died, as did his wife Floria, leaving Aaron, Leo, and Josce in the care of Aaron le Blund, their uncle. This uncle extended the family business to Hereford and set the scene for his

The Le Blund Family.



nephew Aaron's later business activities.

Aaron le Blund, the nephew, became a highly important figure within the Hereford Jewry. It is known that at the very least he contracted seventeen bonds in 1273, twenty-four in 1274, and twenty-seven in 1275. In 1275, he was responsible for 92 percent of the transactions recorded. He was owed £398-17s-2d and 23 1/2 quarters of corn, five geese and one robe.[151] Between 1275 and 1290 he managed to redeem eleven bonds worth £110-3s-4d and 4 1/2 quarters of corn and one goose. In the Vetus Cista he was personally responsible for just over half of the outstanding contracts and was owed a total of £716-16s-6d. In the Nova Cista he was responsible for 28.5 percent of the transactions worth a total of £401-8s-4d. These transactions included the repayment of fourteen bonds for 811 quarters of corn worth £304-15s-0d.[152]

It seems that the greatest financial entrepreneur of late thirteenth-century Hereford may have come to Hereford from London in or before 1263 when an Aaron le Blund, either uncle or nephew, contracted his earliest surviving bond.[153] With his brother, Josce fil Elias le Blund, he remained and settled in Hereford until the Expulsion in 1290. His bonds noticeably change to commodity bonds in the Nova Cista and he clearly becomes a wholesale merchant albeit one who seems to have had an interest in commodity bonding for commercial reasons in advance of the Statute of 1275. The bonds of his son, Bonenfaunt (styled by the scribes 'of London') begin in 1273 and continue to 1290 and clearly show a preference for commodities. Aaron seems to prefer corn whilst his son, who was probably in control of the London end of the business, preferred wool.[154] Aaron lived in the city of Hereford in what appears to have been a fairly modest abode, and seems to have pursued his quest for clients at the local fairs and in the surrounding

countryside.[155] He clearly dominated the Jewish financial market in Hereford for over twenty-five years. It is possible that his predominance was based on wealth inherited from either his father or his uncle. It is also, however, possible that he profited from his ability to perceive, before the majority of his co-religionists, the need to diversify his moneylending activities.

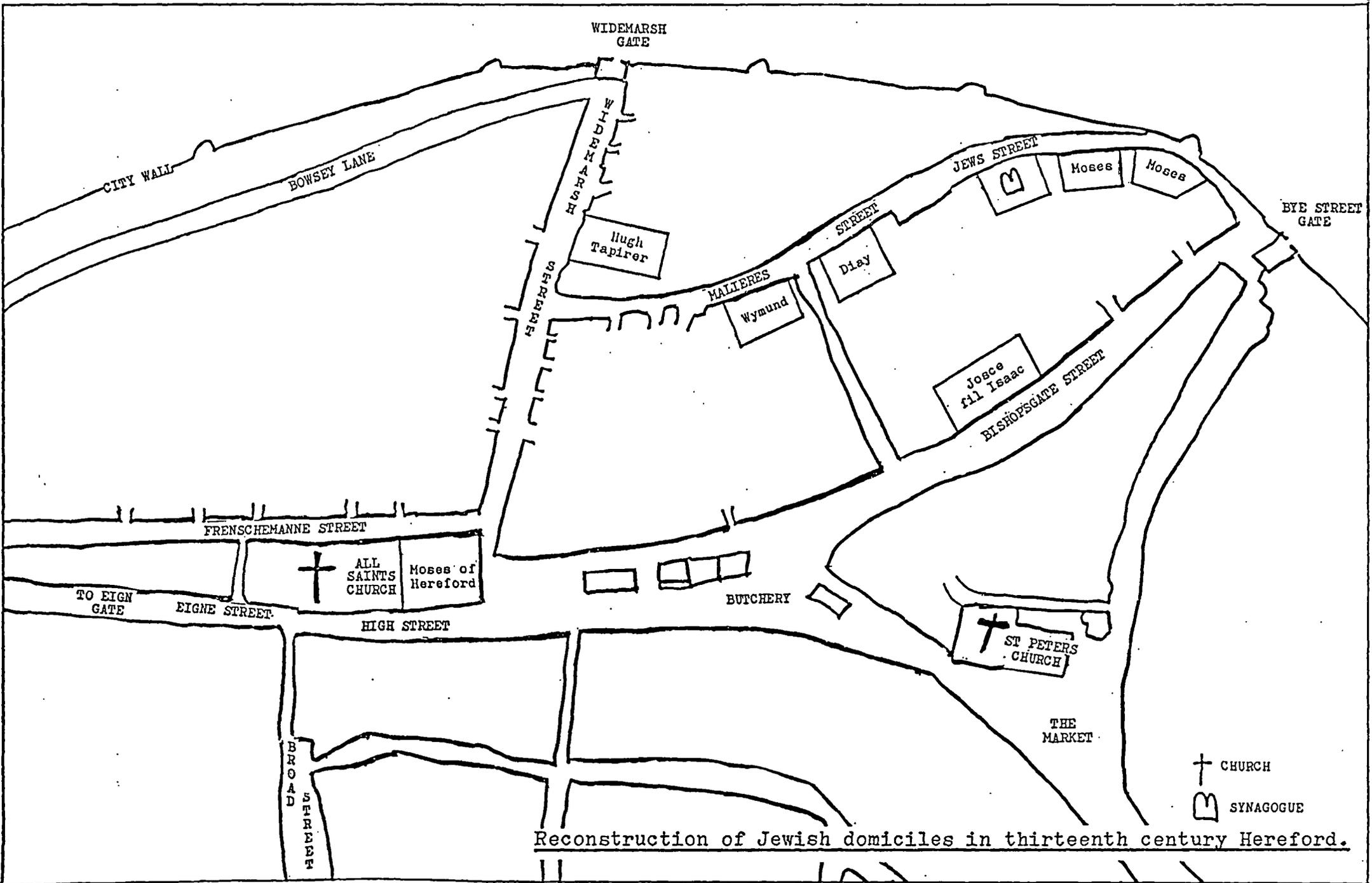
The le Blund family with their London connections are just one prominent example of Jews who deposit bonds in the Hereford archae but who have clear connections with towns other than Hereford. In 1262, Meyr de Stamford has bonds registered in Hereford as do Moses of York, Bonefil of Bristol, Aaron of Ludlow, Isaac of Ludlow, Jacob of Oxford and possibly a Jew of Stafford.[156] The list for the Vetus Cista also contains the names of Josce fil Aaron of Caerleon, Aaron fil Isaac, Jew of Worcester, Hagin fil Jacob, Jew of Gloucester and Isaac, Jew of Worcester. The Nova Cista also reveals the names of Hagin of Weobley, Ursellus of Gloucester, and Isaac le Eveske of London.[157] Thus, the Hereford archae were used as places in which Jews with connections with towns other than Hereford deposited their bonds. It is likely that these connections were different in the cases of different Jews. The le Blund family seems for example to have maintained London connections despite its interests in Hereford. The family of Isaac, Jew of Worcester, may, on the other hand, have been forced to sever its connections with its original base at Worcester and to have concentrated its activities wholly on Hereford. Other Jews like Hagin of Weobley, Aaron and Isaac of Ludlow may have been resident not in Hereford but in a nearby village or town and have used Hereford for business purposes. Other Jews may have lived on the Herefordshire manor of Much Markle whose Lord, John de Balun, was greatly indebted to the Jews of Hereford throughout the thirteenth century. In 1292, it is recorded that John Clobbe of Leigh in Worcestershire killed a

certain Jew in Markle and fled. The Jew's chattels were worth 19 1/2d.[158] Jews like Jacob of Oxford, Moses of York and Bonefil of Bristol may have had temporary contacts with Hereford.

This reasonably large proportion of the Jews who were transacting business in Hereford who seem to have other connections may explain why the evidence for Jewish domiciles in the city is so poor. The earliest reference to Jewish domiciles in Hereford is in 1253. It shows clearly that at least one Jew held a lot of property and lived in close communion with the Gentile townspeople. After the death of Moses of Hereford the Sheriff was to enquire as to the appurtenances over which he had control because the king had granted them to William de Sancta Ermina. The Inquisition provided the following report:

Thursday the Eve of the Assumption 1253. All the land stretching from the land of Nicholas Cays to the land of Hugh Judde on the front towards the great street and on the lower side all the land stretching from the land of William Marlotman to the bakery of William de la Store was the land of the said Mocke with the curtilages and thing belonging to the houses; also the land lying between the land of Walter de Pipa and the land of William Seyssel with the curtilage belonging to it, all the land late of Philip Round against All Saints Church belonged to the said Mocke but Cedemon the Scot held in fee part of that land and paid Mocke 6s; all the land late of Wymund de Maliarstreet except a house held by Wymund's wife and another house held by Henry Bonvillet and a curtilage belonging to it; all the land late of William Tirporet in Maliarstreet lying between the lands of Walter Adames and that of John the Clerk; the land late of Dieus the Jew in Maliarstreet with its curtilage; the land late of Herbrand in the Jewry with its curtilage, and the synagogue of the Jews. The said Mocke received yearly 6s from the land late of Hugh Tapirer in Vydemareys Street; the land late of Philip Round in the Jewry belonged to the said Mock with its curtilages; also the land late of Hamelyn the Cordwainer in the Jewry with its curtilage.[159]

Although William de Sancto Ermina officially received all these



lands, he never actually secured them all. In 1267, when he returned to England from abroad he found that certain people had taken away his capital messuage in Hereford. Sarah, the wife of Moses, had entreated the king through the Justices of the Jews to grant her the capital messuage by way of her dower portion. The king allowed her plea and Sarah held the chief messuage for the rest of her life and, when she died, it was granted to her son Jacob who gradually sold off the messuage and other houses to Walter of London who held it in 1267 by an official purchase and grant from Jacob fil Moses. It seems that William de Sancto Ermina also lost out on another piece of land.[160] At sometime probably after 1267, he renounced all claim to a house, stable, goods and curtilage to Josce fil Isaac, a Jew of Worcester. The land was situated in vico qui vocatur Bishopstret and Moses before his death had given it to Josce as a marriage portion with his daughter's hand. William's release was officially witnessed by the Justices of the Jews.[161] Thus, Moses fil Hamo of Hereford although heavily fined by the Crown, seems to have held a large amount of land in the Jewry which also seems, despite the grant to William de Sancto Ermina, to have remained primarily in Jewish hands.[162]

The writ for making the Valor Judaismus in Hereford was delivered to the mayor on 12 September 1290 by the Bishop of Bath and Wells.[163] This was followed by a letter from William de Marchia on 4 October and the inquisition taken by the Sheriff of Hereford and twelve bailiffs was dated 29 October.[164] Thus, the valuation of the Jews' property was done before the Jews were banished in November. This process of valuation only records eleven properties. As was usual there was a synagogue in Hereford but there appears to have been no burial ground -- the nearest one would have been Oxford or Bristol.[165] The synagogue which had with it a shop in bad repair was worth a yearly value of 4s. The most

expensive property in Hereford belonged to Aaron le Blund and was worth 20s per annum. The second most expensive property was a messuage with an adjacent shop worth 12s per annum which belonged to Cuntessa the Jewess possibly the rich heiress of the Hamo family. The remainder of the property was all worth under 10s per annum. There are no references to stone houses in Hereford at all. Hagin de Weobley seems to have had a house in Hereford worth 6s per annum and Cok of Hereford seems to have had a house worth 5s per annum. There is some degree of confusion over Cok's house: it seems that it was in fact an expensive property worth 15s-8d and consisted of a house and two shops, but Cok had been charged with a large annual payment of 10s-8d to the lords of the fee which when the valuers came to pass judgement only made its previous value to Cok worth 5s. Aaron le Blund had another tenement worth 3s per annum. His son, Fauntekyn, had two shops worth 4s per annum, another tenement in a lane which had two shops and a storey above worth 4s a year, and a house which had been pledged to him for a loan of 30s and which was recorded as having been worth 2s a year.[166] Clearly the other Jews of Hereford lived where they could. The Jewry was situated in the north-east of the town in Maliere Street or Jews Street. It was close to both the Widemarsh Gate and the Bye Street Gate and only about a hundred yards from the Town Hall and six hundred yards from the market place in front of St Peter's Church. It was a long way from the Castle which was on the other side of the town. Although the area must have been known as 'The Jewry' it is clear that it was fully integrated into the topography of the town and Christian lived next door to Jew in direct contravention of canon law.

In 1291, in seven letters patent issued by the king between 18 October and 2 November when he was actually in the city of Hereford the Jews' property was granted to local Christians.[167] It is clear that they paid for the grants and whilst the property had

been valued at £2-15s-6d by the Sheriff and bailiffs of Hereford, by 27 December 1291, Hugh of Kendal had received a payment of £26-13s-4d from the grantees.[168] The house of Cok of Hereford in Malierestretelane was granted to John de la Felde, a chaplain. Aaron le Blund's house with the synagogue and two of Fauntekyn's shops were granted to John Pedwardyn. The broken down house in Malierestrete which had been pledged to Elias le Andre was granted to Nicholas Wyat. Hugh Bade received Hagin of Weobley's house and another two of Fauntekyn's shops in Malierestrete. Cuntessa's house in Jew Street (the Bye Street Gate end of Malierstrete) was granted to Hugh de la Hale. A house which had been apparently shared by Elias le Andre and Aaron le Blund was granted to Reginald Moniword. Another house in the Vicus Judeorum that had not been recorded in the bailiff's returns was worth an annual sum of 12d, had belonged to Crespin a Jew of Hereford and had been forfeited to the Crown when Crespin had been hanged for felony before being granted to Roger Younghusband.[169]

Hereford does not therefore seem to have possessed the sort of standard Jewish property that was present in 1290 in a town like Canterbury. The Jewish community in Hereford does not seem even to have possessed a cemetery. This evidence, in addition to the evidence for Hereford's Jews having many connections elsewhere, might suggest that the Jewish community in Hereford was not as stable and as settled as in other archa towns. The community did, however, in its business practices follow trends which are apparent elsewhere. It is clear that early in the thirteenth century the Jews were making mortgages on land and also that the land was being bought cheaply by Christian entrepreneurs or clerical investors like the Abbey of Bordel. When mortgaging was forbidden the Jew continued as an ordinary moneylender. The Hereford Jews seem to have favoured mixed repayments in commodities and money even before

the Statute of 1275. After the Statute of 1275 the shift to commodities is again easily discernible with fewer Jews in business making larger individual bonds and larger individual outlays of capital.

It seems, therefore, likely that Hereford was to some extent a border town on the periphery of Jewish activity in England. This was probably the reason for the town's Jewish community suffering less than their brethren elsewhere from Christian persecution. This was also probably the reason why business in Hereford could on occasions be dominated by individual family firms. It was also probably the reason why the Expulsion in 1290 was not quite so clear cut in Hereford as it was elsewhere. Not all the Jews of Hereford left in 1290. A converted Jew, Absolon, who had been an officer of the city bailiff, received in 1291 a pair of shoes for his services.[170] Similarly, in a more unpleasant postscript to the Jews' sojourn in Hereford, William the son of William Younghusband, and Robert, a servant of Richard the Taylor, killed a certain Jewess, called Floria Smallpurse, and fled the town. Floria's worldly possessions were collected and confiscated by the Sheriff of Hereford: they amounted to 2s-0d, a poor reflection of the wealth that a Jewess might have once had in pre-Expulsion England.[171]

It is therefore all the more significant despite these peculiarities of the Hereford Jews' position, that the major business trends, which are evidenced in the other Jewish communities of England in the thirteenth century, are also apparent in Hereford. It would seem, as elsewhere, that for certain Jews of Hereford on the eve of the Expulsion, business was developing along commodity lines and was on the up. The Jewish community of Hereford was not large, but seems from its financial record to have been something great.[172]

- [1] R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, p17. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, p298
- [2] P.R.E.J.1, pp65-68. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. P.R.O. E/101/249/10 and P.R.O. E/101/250/5. B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, pp136-159.
- [3] R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, p1.
- [4] C.P. Burnham, 'The soils of Herefordshire' Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalist's Field Club, 38, pp27-35. R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, p1.
- [5] R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, pp1-6.
- [6] Ibid. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited G.W. Garmonsway, p186.
- [7] J.W. Tonkin, Herefordshire, p9.
- [8] R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, p15.
- [9] R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, pp1-17. R. Shoesmith, 'A short history of Castle Green and Hereford Castle' Hereford City Museums Archaeological publications, 1, pp14-17.
- [10] P.L.S. Barrett, Hereford Cathedral, p3. R. Shoesmith, 'A short history of Castle Green and Hereford Castle' Hereford City Museums Archaeological publications, 1, pp6-13.
- [11] R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, p17. A communication from P.Morgan of the Hereford Cathedral Archives Office. See below note [91]. M.D. Lobel, Historic Towns, (Hereford), vol.1.
- [12] R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, pp20-21. M. Falkus and J. Gillingham, Historical Atlas of Britain, pp70-73.
- [13] R. Shoesmith, 'A Short History of Castle Green and Hereford Castle' Hereford City Museums Archaeological Publication, 1, p19.
- [14] Ibid. J. Chancellor, The life and times of Edward 1st, pp62-63. M.C. Prestwich, The Three Edwards - War and State in England 1272-1377, pp10-12.
- [15] P.R.O. E/101/249/10, P.R.O. E/101/249/29, P.R.O. E/101/250/4, P.R.O. E/101/250/5. P.R.E.J.1, pp9, 150. P.R.E.J.3, p319. C.C.R. 1272-1279 pp49-50. Abbrevatio Rotulorum Originalium, 1, p243. Annales Sancti Petri de Gloucester ppxxxix-lii, 20-21. Episcopal Registers of Worcester - Register of Godfrey Giffard 1268-1301, Worcestershire Historical Society, 15, 1, pxvi and introduction. It preserves a story of a Jew who fell into a cess pit at Tewkesbury. Richard of Clare refused permission for the unfortunate Jew to be helped out of the cess pit as it was the Sabbath. The Jew, for religious reasons, refused help anyhow. Clare then refused him help on the Sunday as it was the Christian sabbath. By the Monday morning the Jew was dead. De Bloissiers Tovey, Anglia Judaica, p151.

"Tende manus Salomom, ut te de stercore  
tollam Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore  
surgere nolo En ruit altra dies, nunc me  
stercore tollis Sabbata nostra cola de  
stercore tollere nolo."

- [16] C.P.R. 1281-1292, p116. The pontage charge granted for five years was to be 1/2d for any Jew or Jewess to cross the bridge or 1d if they were on horseback. Montford is one mile north of Shrewsbury on the River Severn. For a similar grant of pontage cf. C.C.R. 1272-1281, p331.

- [17] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. P.R.O. Justices Itinerant 1/303/m.63 dorse. Kindly communicated to me by Mrs Z.E. Rokeah.
- [18] Annales Monastici, 4, p448.
- [19] C.C.R. 1274, p130.
- [20] D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, 1, pp591, 675. Victoria County History Gloucestershire, 2, p12
- [21] Richard of Devizes, Chronicon, Chronicle of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, edited Howlett, p435.
- [22] B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, p138.
- [23] Roth, pp12, 39.
- [24] Pipe Roll 1158-1159, p24. Annales Sancti Petri de Gloucester, 1, introduction, ppxxxix, 20-21.
- [25] Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Cambriae, 6, p146.
- [26] B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, p138. P.R.O. E/101/249/12.
- [27] I. Abrahams, 'The Northampton Donum of 1194' Misc.J.H.S.E., 1, pp lix-lxxiv. Lipman, pp5-6.
- [28] I. Abrahams, 'The Northampton Donum of 1194' Misc J.H.S.E., 1, pp lix-lxxiv.
- [29] Pipe Roll 1210, p41.
- [30] Ibid. p147.
- [31] C.P.R. 1216-1225, p157. B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, p139.
- [32] B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, p139.
- [33] C.P.R. 1216-1225, p157. C.C.R. 1218, p354.
- [34] M.D. Davis, 'A Jewish tragedy at Gloucester in 1226', Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, 5, pp423-425.
- [35] H.M. Chew, 'A Jewish Aid to Marry A.D.1221' T.J.H.S.E., 11, pp102-111.
- [36] Jacobs, pp154-155.
- [37] Annales Theukesberia, p137. B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, p139.
- [38] D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, 1, pp675-676.
- [39] D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, 1, p571.
- [40] H.C.A. Mss.No.335. Shelwick is approximately 2 1/2 miles north-north-east of Hereford.
- [41] H.C.A. Mss.No.334.
- [42] H.C.A. Mss.No.110. The only Jewish starrum remaining in Hereford.
- [43] H.C.A. Mss.No.1635.
- [44] P.R.E.J.1, p157.
- [45] P.R.E.J.1, pp65-68.
- [46] C.P.R. 1232-1247 p5.
- [47] H.M. Chew, 'A Jewish Aid to Marry A.D. 1221', T.J.H.S.E., 11, p101. C.P.R. 1232-1247, p5.
- [48] P.R.O. E/101/249/12. C.C.R. 1237-1242 pp354-355.
- [49] C.C.R. 1242-1247, p2.
- [50] P.R.E.J.1, pp65-68.
- [51] C.C.R. 1234-1237, p278.
- [52] C.C.R. 1237-1242, p6.
- [53] P.R.E.J.1, pp65-68.
- [54] Ibid.
- [55] P.R.E.J.1, p66.
- [56] P.R.E.J.1, p67.
- [57] P.R.E.J.1, p68.
- [58] P.R.E.J.1, pp67-68.
- [59] P.R.E.J.1, pp66, 68.
- [60] P.R.E.J.1, pp66-67.
- [61] P.R.E.J.1, p66.
- [62] C.C.R 1242-1247, p345.

- [63] P.R.E.J.1,p116.  
 [64] C.C.R. 1242-1247,p440.  
 [65] P.R.E.J.1,p117.  
 [66] P.R.E.J.1,p123.  
 [67] P.R.E.J.1,pp66-67,115.  
 [68] Calendar Inquisitiones Miscellanea,1,1219-1307 No.187.  
 [69] P.R.O. E/101/249/10. See above Chapter IV note [92].  
 [70] P.R.E.J.3,pp230-238.  
 [71] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [72] P.R.O. E/401/20.  
 [73] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.  
 [74] P.R.O. E/101/249/10. See above Chapter IV note [92].  
 [75] R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations', Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 46, p20.  
 [76] Annales Monastici, 4, p448.  
 [77] Historic Manuscripts Commission, 13, Various Collections, 4, p284.  
 [78] Rigg, p70.  
 [79] P.R.O. E/101/249/16.  
 [80] Rigg, p85.  
 [81] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [82] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Bristol in Pre-Expulsion days', T.J.H.S.E., 12, pp165-166.  
 [83] P.R.E.J.2, p40.  
 [84] P.R.O. E/401/1572. P.R.O. E/101/249/29.  
 [85] P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. See Chapter II notes [73],[74],[75].  
 [86] C.P.R. 1275, p126.  
 [87] P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.  
 [88] Ibid.  
 [89] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [90] Ibid.  
 [91] P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. A charter of Henry 1st granted a three day fair starting on St Ethelbert's Eve (20th May). This was later extended to nine days and became the Bishop's Fair. A charter of Henry III granted a city fair of three days starting on the Feast of St Denis (9th October). Ledbury Fair began on 21st September for three days. Information on local fairs kindly communicated by P. Morgan of the Hereford Cathedral Archives Office.  
 [92] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [93] P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [94] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290', T.J.H.S.E., 1, p155.  
 [95] The mean average Jewish outlay in 1262 was £2-17s-9d. The mean average value of a bond in 1262 was £2-7s-3d. The mean average Jewish outlay in the Vetus Cista is £37-11s-1d. The mean average value of a bond in the Vetus Cista is £5-9s-11d. See note [74] above.  
 [96] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.  
 [97] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. P.R.O. E/101/249/10. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.  
 [98] P.R.O. E/101/250/5  
 [99] H.R.O. Mss.AH 81/34. Acquired in 1981 by the H.R.O. from the collection of Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill. It still has a white wax seal which is damaged.  
 [100] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [101] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. Lipman, p164.  
 [102] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.  
 [103] H.R.O. Mss.AH 81/34.  
 [104] P.R.E.J.1, pp65-68.  
 [105] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.  
 [106] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [107] P.R.O. E/101/249/29.  
 [108] P.R.O. E/401/1572.

- [109] P.R.O. E/401/1578.  
 [110] P.R.O. E/401/1580.  
 [111] P.R.O. E/401/1582.  
 [112] P.R.O. E/101/249/26.  
 [113] P.R.O. E/101/249/26. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. See Chapter II note [127], Appendix Table VI.  
 [114] H.R.O. Bailiff's Accounts 1281-1282.  
 [115] H.R.O. Bailiff's Accounts 1285.  
 [116] H.R.O. Bailiff's Accounts 1285.  
 [117] Historic Manuscript Commission, 13, 4, Various Collections, p295.  
 [118] Roll of the Household Expenses of Bishop Swinfield Camden Society 62, pp100-101.  
 [119] Episcopal Registers of Richard de Swinfield Canterbury and York Society, 6, pp120-121.  
 [120] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [121] B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290', T.J.H.S.E., 1, p140.  
 [122] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. H.R.O. Mss.AH 81/34.  
 [123] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. P.R.O. E/101/249/26.  
 [124] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [125] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. See relevant tables.  
 [126] *Ibid.* Aaron Le Blund is owed five bonds which stipulate monetary and commodity repayments whilst Bonenfaunt is owed one bond to be repaid in money as well as the cloak.  
 [127] *Ibid.*  
 [128] See above note [101] and Chapter VIII notes [103],[104],[105] below.  
 [129] P.R.O. E/101/250/5. P.R.O. E/101/250/6.  
 [130] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [131] *Ibid.* Bonenfaunt Le Blund is styled as both 'Jew of Hereford' and 'Jew of London'.  
 [132] See above Chapter III note [6], and below Chapter VIII note [4]. P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290', Ec.H.R., 7, pp150, 152.  
 [133] J. Jacobs, 'Aaron of Lincoln', T.J.H.S.E., 3, pp168-169. Jacobs, pp142-143.  
 [134] M. Adler, 'Aaron of York', T.J.H.S.E., 13, p115. Jacobs, p145.  
 [135] C.P.R. 1232-1247, p5. C.C.R. 1237-1242, pp354-355.  
 [136] H.P. Stokes, 'A Jewish family in Oxford in the thirteenth century', T.J.H.S.E., 10, p202.  
 [137] P.R.O. E/9/44. C. Roth, 'Elijah of London', T.J.H.S.E., 15, p38.  
 [138] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [139] S.C.B.M.2, pp68-77.  
 [140] I. Abrahams, 'The Northampton Donum of 1194', Misc.J.H.S.E., 1, plxxi. P.R.O. E/101/249/12. C.P.R. 1266, p625.  
 [141] Rigg, p70.  
 [142] S.C.B.M.2, p68.  
 [143] C.C.R. 1247-1251, p69.  
 [144] C.C.R. 1247-1251, p167.  
 [145] C.C.R. 1251-1253, p49.  
 [146] C.C.R. 1251-1253, pp61, 100.  
 [147] C.P.R. 1266, p625.  
 [148] C.C.R. 1264-1268, pp201, 205.  
 [149] C.C.R. 1268-1272, p517. Rigg, p70.  
 [150] P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [151] P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.  
 [152] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [153] *Ibid.*  
 [154] *Ibid.*  
 [155] P.R.O. E/101/249/30. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.

- [156] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.  
 [157] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [158] P.R.O. Justices Itinerant 1/303 m.63 dorse. Kindly  
 communicated by Mrs Z.E. Rokeah. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.  
 [159] Calendar of Inquisitiones Miscellanea,1219-1307 No. 185.  
 C.C.R. 1255,pp12,51,67.  
 [160] Calendar of Inquisitiones Miscellanea,1219-1307 No. 328.  
 [161] A.T. Bannister, 'A Lost Cartulary of Hereford  
 Cathedral', Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalist's Field  
 Club, 23, p271.  
 [162] Calendar of Inquisitiones Miscellanea,1219-1307 No. 185.  
 [163] C.C.R. 1290, p145.  
 [164] P.R.O. E/101/249/27.  
 [165] M.B. Honeybourne, 'The pre-Expulsion cemetery of the Jews in  
 London', T.J.H.S.E., 20, pp155-157.  
 [166] P.R.O. E/101/249/27. P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L.  
 Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews in Hereford in  
 1290', T.J.H.S.E., 1, p159.  
 [167] B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fol.28-64. Abbrevatio Rotulorum  
 Originalium, 1, pp73-76.  
 [168] P.R.O. E/101/249/27. P.R.O. E/101/250/1.  
 [169] B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fol.28-64.  
 [170] Historic Manuscripts Commission, 13, 4, Various Collections, p295.  
 [171] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Crime and Jews in late thirteenth-century  
 England: some cases and comments', Hebrew Union College  
 Annual, 55, p130.  
 [172] See above note [1].

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## Chapter VI

### The Jews of Lincoln.

Having considered the Jews of Hereford and Canterbury, it is now the turn of Lincoln's Jewry to receive examination. During the thirteenth century, the Jews of Lincoln appear to have made up one of the most influential Jewries, in both the financial and religious spheres, outside London.[1] Although more documentary evidence exists for the Norwich community than for any other, at Lincoln more non-documentary material relating to medieval Anglo-Jewry has survived than anywhere else in Britain.[2] Lincoln preserves not only its Jews House at No.8 Steep Hill and Jews Court, the oldest synagogue in England, but also much tradition and folklore, often centred on the alleged ritual murder of Little St Hugh, originating from the period of the first Anglo-Jewish colony.[3] With regard to the documentary evidence, detailed examinations of the remaining bonds, archa scrutinies and plea rolls all indicate that Lincoln's importance as a Jewish colony should perhaps be stressed more than has been suggested by Lipman.[4] The size alone of the Lincoln community appears to have made it stand out above all the other provincial Jewish communities.[5]

These records of the Lincoln Jewry reveal some of the most famous Anglo-Jews: Aaron of Lincoln, Rabbi Peytevin the Great, Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole and Berechiah's brother, Hagin' fil Magister Moses, the Archpresbyter of English Jewry from 1257 until 1280. Apart from these worthies who all had national spiritual or financial influence, the records of the Lincolnshire Jewry reveal information about more 'ordinary' Jews ranging from the large scale traders like Jacob of Brancegate, Isaac Gabbay and his family, the Levi brothers and Manser of Bradeworth, to many small moneylending Jews and again to those Jews who either lived or traded in Lincoln

without apparently lending money.

Lincolnshire as a county was unusual in that it had two distinct Jewish colonies. Most English shires had a single archa town with resident Jews as well as Jews living in rural areas. In Lincolnshire, however, tallage payments and receipts were made by the sheriff of Lincolnshire for the Jewish communae of both Stamford and Lincoln. Indeed, for the majority of the thirteenth century, respective governments seem to have treated Lincoln and Stamford as two quite separate colonies, for, despite a mistake by Abrahams concerning the existence of an archa at Stamford, it is however clear that there was one there as well as at Lincoln.[6] In fact, the Stamford archa was brought to Westminster in 1290 with the Lincoln archa. [7] Its contents have been lost and with them the chance of knowing of the fate of the Stamford Jews between 1275 and 1290. It is clear, however, that there were Jews living in Stamford up to 1290 because the Valor Judaismus reveals that Bellassez, a Jewess, owned two messuages in the parishes of St Michael and St Johns, Reyne, the wife of David, owned one messuage in the parish of All Saints and Tony fil Meir also owned a messuage in All Saints.[8] It is also clear that there was a synagogue in Stamford and, according to Peck in his Annals of Stamford, a Jewish library, which was forfeited in 1290, passed into the hands of a neighbouring abbey.[9] The Stamford Jews also suffered during the coin-clipping allegations of 1279.[10] Stamford was clearly a Jewish colony of some importance in the south of the county. However, it was not only Stamford and Lincoln that were hosts to Jewish communities. There is plentiful evidence that there were Jews present in outlying towns including Tickhill, Doncaster, Hedon, Retford, Grantham and Holme as well as Brodworth.[11] The Jewish communities in Lincolnshire were also well connected with their brethren in other places. The Jews of Nottingham and York had contact and influence

with Lincolnshire Jewry, if only in the fact that they shared the burial ground called Le Jewbury at York for some years.[12] The Lincoln Jews also seem to have had certain connections with the Jews of Colchester and, as is usual, with the London Jewry.[13] The Lincolnshire Jewry clearly lived in a variety of places in the county and had a variety of contacts with other communities both within and outwith the county. Since, however, more evidence for the community at Lincoln exists than for the Jews who lived elsewhere in the county, this chapter will tend to concentrate on the Jews of Lincoln.

In the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury described Lincoln in the same way as Bede had portrayed London: 'One of the most populous cities of England and a market place of men who came by land and sea.'[14] The strategic position and importance of Lincoln as a centre had been recognised by Roman, Dane and Norman. The town itself, rising almost two hundred feet above the surrounding countryside, was a natural command post. It stood at the junction of roads and waterways and also divided upland and lowland. To the south-east of the city there was fenland, to the east a seaboard and to the west the Trent Valley. By road it was supplied and serviced by Ermine Street which came directly from London via Huntingdon, Stamford and Grantham. Ermine Street skirted the marshy fenlands, climbed the Lincoln Edge and reached the Witham Gap. It then passed through the city and along the ridge to the Humber Ferry. The city was also supplied by the other great Roman artery, Fosse Way, which crossed England from the West Country and formed a nodal point in Lincoln. By this route, Lincoln was connected with Newark, Leicester, Cirencester, Bath and eventually Exeter. When the two roads joined, they passed directly north through the city by way of Wigford, Briggate, Michaelgate, the Strait, Steep Hill, continued past the Bail (between the Castle and Cathedral) and passed through

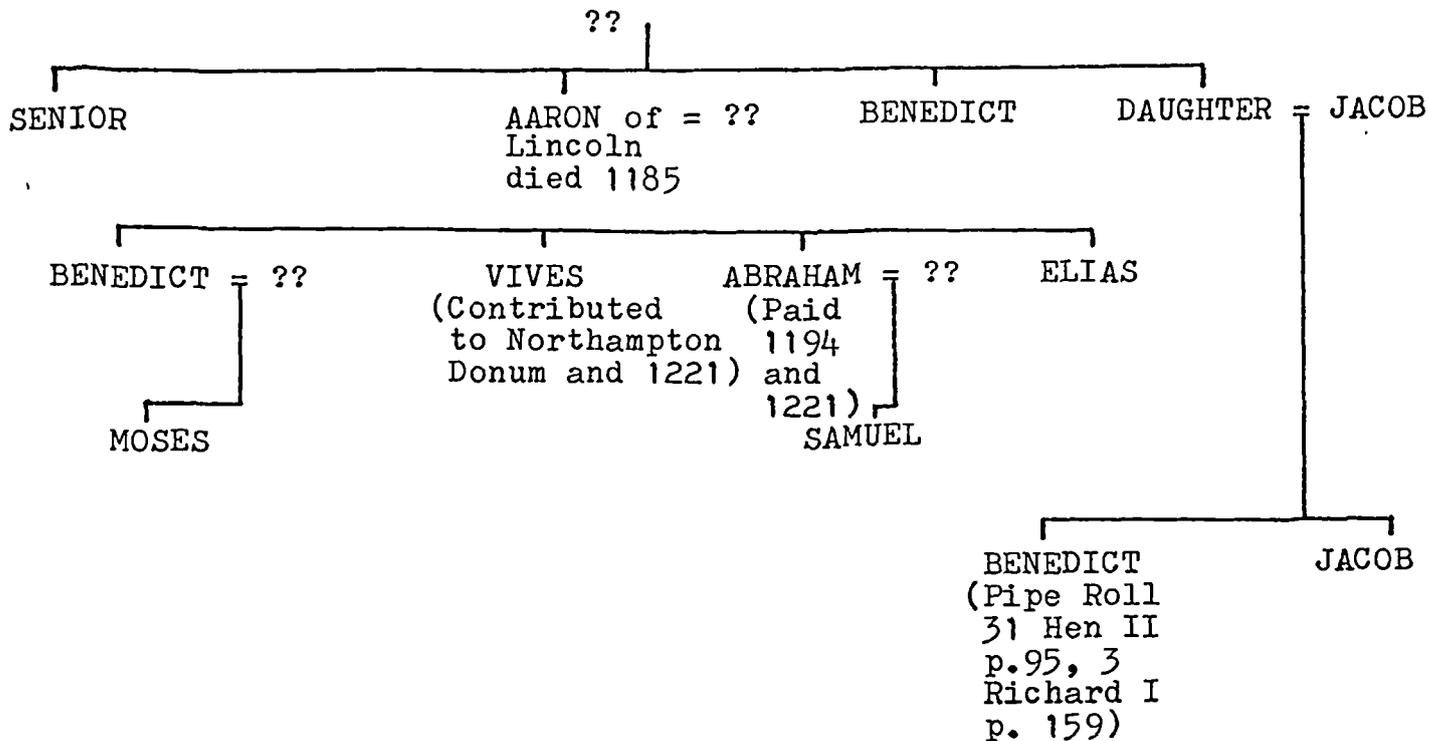
to the north by means of Newport Arch.[15] To the south the city was served by a waterway built by the Romans -- the Cardyke. This ran from the River Witham to the River Nene at Peterborough. The Roman roads which ran through the city from south to north were crossed from east to west by the River Witham which flowed into Brayford Pool to the south-west of the city.[16] A navigable waterway from Brayford Pool at Lincoln united the east coast with the River Trent at Torksey. This waterway, the Fosdyke, was re-opened in 1121 thus making Lincoln, although almost thirty miles inland, a port once again.[17]

Lincoln's fortunes during the sojourn of the Jews were almost always in the ascendancy. In the Conqueror's reign, Remigius moved his diocesan seat from Dorchester-on-Thames to the northern position it occupies today. By 1091, the monk of Fecamp had completed his work on the minster when he died just two days before its consecration.[18] That minster burnt down in 1141 to be rebuilt by Bishop Alexander. In 1185, an earth tremor destroyed most of his work and, when, in 1186, Hugh of Avalon was appointed to the see, work once again began on the great building. It was St Hugh who was responsible for bringing the Purbeck marble and the Tournai font to the minster which all came by water from afar and probably brought workmen, craftsmen, financiers and possibly Jews in their wake.[19] By 1220, the canonisation of St Hugh of Avalon had given the town impetus as a pilgrimage centre.[20] The town was also a fortress and as early as 1086 William had built a castle in the south-west corner of the decaying Roman walls. In the 1140s, the town and the castle were besieged in the struggle between Stephen and Matilda. By the late twelfth century, the Lucy Tower had been built to replace the simple motte and bailey.[21] Lincoln was also a mercantile centre. The wool trade upon which Lincoln's fortunes were built had begun to develop by the mid-twelfth century. The guild of weavers was formed

in 1130. By the end of the twelfth century, the wool of Lindsey enjoyed a high reputation as far afield as Italy.[22] It brought commerce and colonists to the city. In the thirteenth century, religious developments built upon the twelfth century expansion. The Franciscans reached Lincoln in 1231 to be followed by the anti-Jewish Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Augustinian Friars and the Friars of the Sack.[23] Thus, during the twelfth century, Lincoln was a bustling, industrious, well-connected city, only less prominent than London and York, and certainly deserving of Malmesbury's indirect comparison with London.

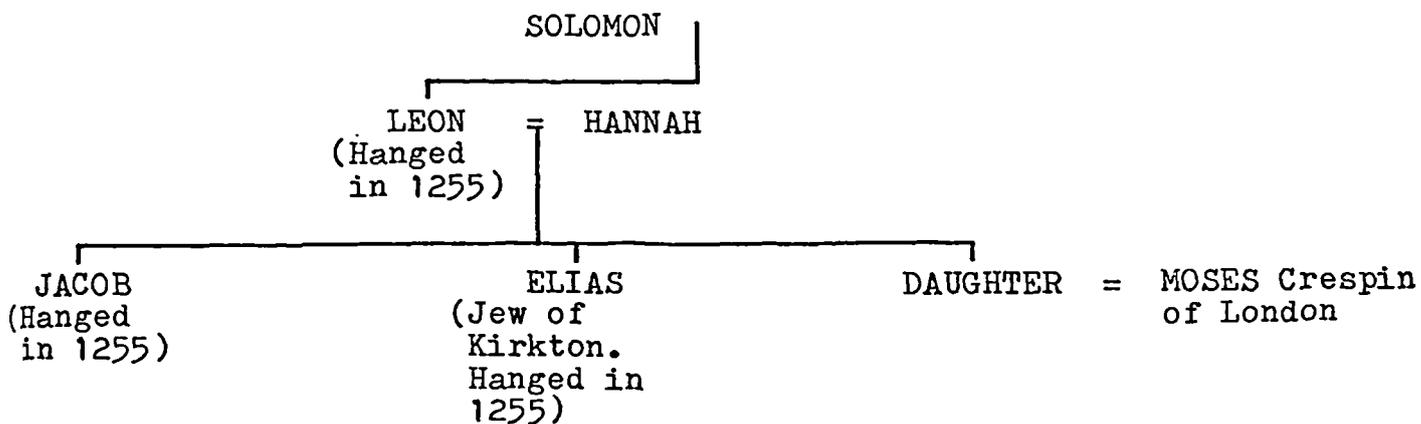
The Jews had also arrived and were established in Lincoln by the mid-twelfth century when Aaron of Lincoln made the town the headquarters of his financial empire.[24] Although he had a large house in London, Aaron considered the town to be of such importance that he obtained several houses worth £3-0s-0d in the Bail.[25] Between 1140 and 1152, he made loans totalling well over £4374-13s-4d to the Cistercian abbeys of Rievaulx, New Minster, Kirkstead, Louth Park, Revesby, Rufford, Kirkstall, Roche and Biddlesden.[26] He also accepted the Lincoln minster plate as a pledge for a loan to Bishop Chesney -- it was later redeemed in 1173 for £300-0s-0d by Geoffrey, the son of Henry II.[27] Aaron's brother, Senior, settled in the parish of St. Michael at Lincoln and many other Jews, who perhaps acted as Aaron's agents throughout the country, came to Lincoln to seek their fortune.[28] Aaron's business was carried out on a local as well as a national level. It included buying the debts of other Jews, lending both large and small sums, securing rent charges, pawnbroking and even speculating in corn. In 1186, when he died, his debts were worth over £15,000 and his debtors included the kings of England and Scotland, various earls, abbots, priors, towns, sheriffs and even the Archbishop of Canterbury.[29] To many who sought or owed loans, Lincoln must have

The Family of Aaron of Lincoln 1160-1240.



Vide Jacobs JAE p.85, Bischoff p.106.

The Family of Leon fil Solomon 1220-1255.



Vide Davis p. 191.

seemed the financial capital of twelfth-century Anglo-Jewry.

Aaron's financial empire must have attracted other Jews to Lincolnshire and it seems that some of these were able to achieve some degree of financial success. Before 1166, a certain Jew of Fitelkeim held three-quarters of a knight's fee in Lincolnshire whilst Aaron of Lincoln himself had half a knight's fee.[30] By 1185, the Jews of Stamford were also clearly well-established. In that year, Brun, the Jew of Stamford, rendered £10-0s-0d to have his pledges and his debts from Robert of Gant.[31] Similarly, Isaac fil Simon of Stamford, qui manet at Stamford, owed £3-6s-8d to have his debts and pledges.[32] However, the early Jewish colonization of Lincolnshire suffered dramatically when the massacre of Shabbat ha Gadol spread to the county in March 1190. Ralph of Diss records how, on 7 March at the time of Stamford Fair, many Jews were slain in the town.[33] William of Newburgh corroborates this and claims that a number of youths who had taken the cross arrived in Stamford and began to massacre the Jews. The majority of the Stamford Jewish community were able to shelter in the castle but their houses were pillaged and a great quantity of money was captured. In Lincoln, the men of the town rose against the Jews who took shelter with their money and movables in the Bail of Lincoln. Nevertheless, at least thirty of their number were killed.[34]

Despite this pogrom, only four years later, in 1194, the Jews of Lincolnshire were able to make fairly substantial contributions to the Northampton Donum. The payment recorded as being from the town of Lincoln was made by twenty-two Jews who gave a total of £50-13s-9d. Another payment recorded as being on behalf of the Jews of Lincolnshire, which was in fact made by several of the Jews involved in the town payment and also at least one Jew of Stamford and another of Lafford, amounted to a contribution of £246-16s-7d.

These collections were bolstered by a payment made by Hugh Bard and William de St Mary of £19-11s-4d for de bisanciis Judeorum Lincolnie and for placitis Judeorum. [35] Thus, the total contribution from the Lincolnshire Jewry came to £316-1s-8d. The Lincolnshire Jewry, despite the unhappy events of 1190, were able in 1194 to pay almost one-fifth of the total tallage raised nationally by the Northampton Donum.

The beginning of the thirteenth century was to witness the death of one of the Jews' protectors in Lincoln. Bishop Hugh died in November 1200. It has been recorded in the Vita Sancti Hugonis how the Jews joined in the funeral procession. [36] Froude in his essay on St Hugh refers to this:

A company of poor Jews, the offscouring of mankind, for whom rack and gridiron were considered generally too easy couches, came to mourn over one whose justice had sheltered even them. [37]

With their protector dead, there are signs of difficulty in Jewish-Gentile relationships. In the same year of 1200, Hugh Bard, who had been responsible for a payment for the Lincolnshire Jewry to the Northampton Donum, gave the king one palfrey and one blue sparrow-hawk to have an inquest of twelve lawful Jews of Lincoln and twelve free and lawful Christian men of the neighbourhood of Lincoln. The inquest was to determine whether the charters produced by Manser fil Leon and Solomon of Edon (possibly Hedon) and other Jews were in fact valid and whether Alexander de St West owed them £10-0s-0d. Alexander claimed that he had made fine thereon to Aaron of Lincoln to quit himself of the whole debt which he owed the Jews of Lincoln. The final outcome is unknown. [38]

Relations with Christians in the early thirteenth century do not seem to have been good. In 1202, the discovery of a child's body outside the walls of Lincoln aroused suspicion against the Jews.[39] In 1205, Elias le Blund, a Jew of Lincoln, gave the king £133-6s-8d of silver and two gold marks so that he could fight a duel against his debtor in Nottingham.[40] In 1220, the men of Walter de Evermeu slew Moses of Lincoln and the sheriff was ordered to bring them before the justices. The house of Moses in the Bail was then granted to Jordan de Esseby, the constable of Lincoln Castle. The sheriff was further ordered to bid the mayor of Lincoln to arrest the Christians who had murdered Deulecresse and his wife Sara.[41] It seems that at this period even Jews could fall out with Jews. In 1204, Vives fil Aaron's uncle, Benedict fil Jacob, accused Ursell of Lincoln of forgery and offered the king £13-6s-8d to substantiate his claim. Benedict fil Jacob was convicted of felony and his messuage in Lincoln was, of course, confiscated by King John before being granted to Geoffrey the Salter, the royal supplier of salt.[42]

From these early years of the thirteenth century no record of the Lincolnshire Jews' value as a community to the Crown has survived. Although it is clear that throughout the country Jews paid heavy tallages under John especially during the Bristol Tallage of 1210 and that they paid their first tallage to Henry III in 1219, no record of these payments is extant.[43] However some indication of the fortune of the Lincolnshire Jewry can be gained from the 1221 Auxilium. Fourteen Jews of Stamford were able to give £37-17s-11 1/2d whilst twenty-three contributors from Lincoln gave a total of £52-10s-3 1/2d. Thus, the total contribution from the Lincolnshire Jewry was £90-8s-3d or almost one-seventh of the total of the Auxilium. [44]

Perhaps the financial significance of the Lincolnshire Jewry in this period was primarily the result of the impact of Jewish credit in Lincolnshire particularly upon the ever increasing market in the sale of mortgaged property to monasteries and other speculators. One such mortgage is evidenced as early as 1204 when a lady of Lincoln, Matilda of Colchester, paid £13-6s-8d and gave one palfrey to the king to try to get royal judgement so that she could regain her land from Jacob Senex which he held from her in the parish of St Cuthbert.[45] In many cases the Jews seemed to have been quite happy to see the deeds in their possession transferred to third parties in return for the repayment of debts owed to them. Sometime in the 1220s, William of Barkwith, who had been indebted to Ursell fil Pucella, granted his lands, which comprised three bovates with three tofts in Great Sturton and another bovate which William the son of Gerard held from him, to the church of St Mary and the monks of Kirkstead. Kirkstead paid off William's debt to Ursell in return for this land grant and it duly received a quitclaim of the land written in Hebrew from Ursell.[46] At about the same time, Hugh Painel of Lincoln and his wife, Agnes, granted all the land and buildings in which they had dwelt in Lincoln in the parish of St Michael to the church of St Martial and the monks of Newhouse. Hugh had been convicted and fined for having taken part in the massacre of Shabbat ha Gadol and had subsequently or even before the massacre become indebted to Leon fil Solomon and Hannah his wife, both residents of Lincoln. Newhouse Abbey accepted the gift and Leon issued them a quitclaim.[47] In 1230, the abbey of Newhouse paid William de Silvedune £8-0s-0d for six and a half bovates of land and his fields in Keelby. The abbey then paid off the debts on the land, 'if there had been any', and received a quitclaim from Josce fil Elias of Lincoln.[48] Similarly, in 1232, William of Caistor granted his lands in Caistor to Newhouse in return for their

acquitting him of a debt of £10-0s-0d which he owed Josce fil Elias, Josce fil Moses and Judah le Fraunceys.[49] In 1236, in return for the abbey's paying off a debt of £13-6s-8d, which he owed to Garcia fil Judah L'Evesk, Josce fil Abraham of Bungay, Diay fil Elias, Vives and Benedict fil Moses, and Josce fil Samuel, Ivo, the son of Robert Wykeham, granted his land in Nettleton at Pinkenhoe to the abbey.[50] In 1240, Geoffrey Berner of Harborough granted three selions of land in Harborough as well as other bits of land to the abbey. The document was accompanied by two others. One is written in Hebrew by Jacob fil Leon who 'acknowledges that all which is written above in the Latin language is truth' and who signs this document on behalf of his father Leon who was in London at the time. The other document written in Latin was a formal quitclaim for the land signed by Leon fil Solomon himself.[51] In 1264, Abraham fil Jacob quitclaimed his rights on 'all the land in length and breadth in the parish of Holy Trinity Wigford which was formerly Alan Tixtor's' to the priory of Bullington. In return the priory had paid off Alan Tixtor's debts to Jacob. The deed was deposited in the archa at Lincoln on 26 November 1264.[52] The Lincolnshire Jews were acting as 'real estate agents' and as they gained so did the local abbeys.[53]

This particular partnership between the Jews and the local Lincolnshire monasteries was successful for both parties. The monasteries acquired land cheaply. The Jews were able to lend knowing that the capital was present to pay off the debts of a defaulting debtor. However the partnership was noted and a clause became more and more common in Lincolnshire land transactions. It seems to have evolved between 1240 and 1260. The clause written into various forms of land transactions forbade the recipient of the land to alienate the land to either Jew or religious institution. Examples are found in land transactions in the countryside and more

prominently in land transactions within the city of Lincoln.[54] It seems that, in Lincoln itself, the townspeople were afraid of a Jewish takeover especially in the area of St Martin's, the Strait, Brancegate and Michaelgate.

However, this partnership between Jews and monasteries went on unchecked until the Act passed by Walter of Merton in 1269 which forbade the Jews to take land on a mortgage.[55] It was through these land transactions that the Jews acquired a knowledge of the Lincolnshire countryside -- of the farms, manors, meadows and of potential customers. In about 1250, Jacob fil Sampson Levy of Lincoln, who had bonds deposited in the archa in 1290, issued a quitclaim to the convent of Greenfield of his claims on the wood of Greenfield, called Watwood, and the wood of the Lady of Saleby, called Eskholt, which had been granted to the convent by his debtor, Henry of Ashby, who lived in Strubby (manentis in Strulby). It is perhaps significant that another of Jacob Levy's debtors revealed by the 1290 list comes from Claythorp only three miles away from Strubby.[56] Isaac Gabbay of Lincoln, before his death in 1275, quitclaimed his right and claim on the land, tenements and rent that he had in the village of Hackthorn to the prior and convent of Bullington. The priory had been granted the land by Peter le Kendow of Helmswell presumably in return for having paid off his Jewish debts.[57] Again, it is perhaps significant that, in 1275, Isaac Gabbay's debtors appear to have come from places such as Holme, Langton, Donnington and Stenigot - an area just to the east of Hackthorn. In April 1268, John de la Launde paid off the debts of Hugh de Nevill (one of the Baronial rebels) of the manor of Lesseby as well as the debts of his ancestors in return for the demesnes, homages, services, villeinages, the advowsons of the church, the woods, the meadows, the pastures, the mills, the gardens and the fisheries as well as all other things belonging to the manor. John

de la Launde paid £10-16s-0d which de Neville owed the king and he further underwrote and paid a debt of £28-0s-0d which Hugh de Nevill owed Manasser de Bradeworth.[58] It is perhaps also significant that, by 1290, John de la Launde, another member of the same family with the same name, was himself indebted to another Lincoln Jew. It seems that, as time went by, the Jews were able to expand their capital, make useful partners in business and usury, and lay the foundations which would later be used for dealing in commodities. Certainly these contacts in Lincoln's hinterland show that the Jews had a good geographical knowledge of the area and a good knowledge of their likely clientele.

The first complete evidence of the Jews' success as moneylenders in Lincolnshire is a list of debts owing to Lincoln Jews which were deposited in the Lincoln archa in 1240.[59] It is very likely that this scrutiny of the Lincoln archa was drawn up as a result of the so-called Worcester Parliament of the Jews attended by Judah le Fraunceys and Josce fil Moses who represented the Lincoln Jews.[60] The Jews met in the summer of 1240 to determine a vote of taxation to the king for the coming years.[61] It is a great shame that similar rolls of the 1240 scrutinies have not survived. This particular roll has been examined by both Davis and Roth although it is still to be examined thoroughly.[62] Davis's observations seem to come from just a glance at the eleven membranes of the roll but his description is worth quoting:

An examination of a roll endorsed Debita Judaeorum inventa in archa Cyr. apud Lincoln die lune prox ante fest Sci Michaelis Anno R.R. Hen. vicesimo quarto. reveals the names of nearly all the Jews then residing in Lincoln together with the sums and nature of the debts appertaining to them. The Jews at this time must have been very numerous and the amounts owing to them would make a fabulous total. Frequent mention is made of their dealings in corn; bussels of frumentum crop up repeatedly; summa avenae, bussels of rye, ulnae de russets precium ulnae x

denarii, summa fabarum, summa albarum,  
pisarum etc appear on the record.[63]

It seems that in the 1240s, some Lincoln Jews were already dealing in commodities. Roth published the first membrane and, in doing so, pursued a different point of interest which the roll features. He claimed:

This is followed by a very interesting list, unique in my experience, of those who had nothing -- De hiis qui nichil habent, comprising of twenty-three names (or including two pairs of sisters twenty-five) of the total.[64]

The list is unique because of its length and vintage, but other lists of De hiis qui nichil habent do exist.[65] For the purposes of this particular study it is simply necessary to note that the roll identifies approximately 156 Jews of whom only 133 hold bonds which had been deposited in the Lincoln archa before October 1240. Such evidence makes it clear that there were Jews in Lincoln whose scale and type of business operation was vastly different from the business practice of, for instance, the Jew with the largest amount of bonds recorded in the 1240 list - Leon fil Soloman, who had nearly ninety-five bonds worth an approximate face value of £578-2s-10d. The roll is also interesting because it highlights the importance of Lincoln as a centre which attracted outside capital and investment. It specifically mentions two York Jews, Aaron fil Josce and Leon Le Evesk. It also mentions, Elias fil Leon, a Jew of Kirketon, and Jacob genus Samson, a Jew of Grimsby, who have bonds in the archa. There were twelve bonds deposited in the Lincoln archa which were owed to two London Jews, Moses Crespyn and Aaron le Blund. There were seven debts owing to Mansser fil Benjamin qui manet apud Cantebr -- who was staying at Cambridge. There were five debts owing to Bonefy de Oxon geni Ardre et manet apud Cantuar -- Bonefey of Oxford of the Ardre family who was staying in Canterbury.

Josce, parnass, also had five bonds in the archa. Mention is made of many other Jews whose origins or abodes appear to have been outside Lincoln -- Josce of Bungay, Abraham of Colchester, Moses of Grantham, Deulecresse and his daughter Avigaye of Grantham, Samuel of Grimsby, Pictavin of Hedon and Solomon of Stamford.[66] The list itself is probably the most complete record of the transactions of any Anglo-Jewish community of the thirteenth century. It is very good evidence that the Jews of Lincoln and their co-religionists who pursued their financial dealings in Lincolnshire were flourishing. The total amount of the debts probably exceeds the amount of the Jewish debts which were in the Lincoln archa in 1290. The 1240 roll, thus, shows Lincolnshire Jewry to be an affluent cosmopolitan society which was seeking to lend money in return for commodities or money, often perhaps on the security of land.

However, the apparent success of Jewish financiers in Lincolnshire and the gravitation of Jewish population to the shire which seems to have accompanied their prosperity during the first half of the thirteenth century was not to last. The summer of 1255 witnessed an event in Lincoln which has passed into the annals of history, hagiography, and folklore. The alleged murder of Little St Hugh of Lincoln by the Jews of Lincoln has been written about by many writers, both contemporary and modern.[67] However, the facts are relevant to the history of the Jews of Lincoln. In June or July, a boy named Hugh disappeared in Lincoln. In August, his body was found somewhere in Lincoln. The dean and chapter of Lincoln Cathedral quickly claimed his body and proclaimed him a saint. Indeed, the shrine of Little St Hugh, which followed this canonization can still be seen in the cathedral today. Governmental records show that on 4 October, Henry III accompanied by John of Lexington, the brother of the bishop of Lincoln and described by many sources as 'a wise and prudent man learned in both Canon and

Civil law', arrived in Lincoln.[68] Soon after their arrival, an enquiry into the affair was made which was headed by John of Lexington. As an immediate result of this investigation, Copin, a Jew, was charged with the murder, dragged through the streets tied to the back of a horse and hanged at Canwick outside the city.[69] Ninety-one other Lincoln Jews were arrested for complicity in the affair. Henry III immediately ordered the sheriffs of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Sussex and Hampshire as well as the wardens of the Cinque Ports to apprehend any Jew who tried to leave the country.[70] Clearly, at the time, the belief that the murder had been plotted by the Jews before it took place was a common one. On 14 October, the king ordered that the Jews who had been arrested in Lincoln should be taken to Westminster to stand trial.[71] By the 22nd, the ninety-one were imprisoned in the Tower of London.[72] On 22 November, eighteen Jews who had refused to accept the verdict of guilty which had been passed on them by a court of Christians were taken from the Tower before daybreak and drawn through the streets of London and then hanged on specially constructed gallows.[73] The remaining seventy-three prisoners were reduced to seventy-one when two were released, one because he converted to Christianity and the other, Rabbi Benedict fil Moses of London, because the mother of Little St Hugh, Beatrice, declared him guiltless.[74] A retrial was granted for the other prisoners which took place on 3 February 1256. The verdict was again that they were guilty and all seventy-one were condemned to death as well as all other Jews of England who had consented to the crime.[75] However, after the intercessions of the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and Richard of Cornwall, whose property the Jews all were at that time, the sentence was delayed. Finally, in May 1256, almost a year after Hugh had disappeared, the Jews were released from the Tower.[76]

The Crown was quick to confiscate the land of the Jews who had been arrested or had fled because of the crime. On 26 November 1255, John de Wincle and Simon Passelawe were to appraise the value and number of all the houses of the Jews of Lincoln 'who had fled or were hanged or detained in prison', to take possession of their chattels and to examine their pledges and debts in the archa. [77] In March 1256, another inquiry into the affair was made in Lincoln. Roger de Thurkeby and Nicholas de Turri were to identify those members of the synagogue of Peytevin Magnus who had fled Lincoln. In order to do this, all the Jews and Jewesses who had been attendant on any Jews in the city for the last two years were to be present at an inquest in Lincoln. [78] Finally, after the release of the Jews from the Tower of London in May 1256, Simon Passelawe and William de Lengton, the sheriff of Lincoln, were ordered in August to sell the houses of the condemned Jews in Lincoln. [79] At least fourteen houses were sold as a result of the 1256 confiscations. The land of Jacob fil Leo, Vives of Northampton, Vives of Norwich, Leo fil Solomon and Elye fil Jacob, who were all described as suspensi, and the land of Peytevin Magnus, who was described as utlagatus, was sold and granted to Hagin fil Magister Moses, Walter of Kivelingham, Richard of Cornwall, the king's valet, Herman de Budbergh, and Thomas de Bellofago and John Long, citizens of Lincoln. [80] The majority of the land was situated in the parishes of St Martin and St Michael and in Brancegate. Thomas de Bellofago and John Long paid £48-0s-0d for five houses and a rent of 6s-8d in the parish of St Edward Wigford. [81] Thus, as a result of the Little St Hugh affair, about a third of the Jewish population of Lincoln had been arrested, at least twenty-five Jews had been hanged and possibly more had fled.

Despite the disruption to business that the affair must have caused, the Jews of Lincoln were still expected to make a large contribution of £114-13s-4d towards the tallage of 1255; whilst the Jews of Stamford were expected to pay £35-11s-8d.[82] Clearly the 1255 pogrom does not seem to have greatly reduced the Crown's perception of the Lincolnshire Jewry's ability to pay tallage. It is noticeable that, in comparing the the Lincolnshire assessments for the tallage of 1255 with actual payments made in 1260, there is evidence that shows that only £46-13s-0d was paid by the Lincolnshire Jews in 1260.[83] Perhaps the witch-hunt that followed the St Hugh affair had some temporary effect on the Lincolnshire Jewry's ability to pay tallage or the Crown had exaggerated perceptions of the financial value of the Lincolnshire Jewry. It has, however, to be noted that the Lincolnshire contribution in 1260 was still the largest contribution of provincial Jewry.[84] Certainly, by 1262, the Jews were still contracting a lot of business in Lincoln. A list of bonds given by the Lincoln and Stamford Jews, as a tallage contribution, has survived for that year.[85] The Stamford bonds reveal that seventeen Jews had given twenty-six bonds from the archa and the total value of these debts amounted to £69-6s-10d and two quarters of corn. The Lincoln bonds reveal that ninety Lincoln Jews gave 151 bonds worth a face value of £405-14s-2d. They were also owed 10.5 quarters of corn, one goose, two quarters of oats, one bushel of peas, one cart-load of wood and an annuity of £2-0s-0d. The value of the Lincoln contribution is almost six times as much as the Stamford offering. Its total value is, however, less than the face value of Leon fil Soloman's bonds as recorded in the 1240 list. If the two lists are in any way comparable, then the Lincoln Jewry seems to have suffered some sort of set back in the middle years of the thirteenth century.[86]

An examination of the list of Jews who had bonds in the Lincoln archa in 1262 shows that London Jews were still conducting business in the city. The richest Jew in Lincoln at the time was Benedict Crespin of London who had fifteen bonds worth £54-1s-8d in the chest. He also shared a bond with his brother. Moses fil Isaac of Colchester, another London Jew, had six bonds worth £3-19s-10d. Abraham Crespin of London had two bonds worth £2-13s-4d. Samuel fil Ursell of London had one bond worth £1-10s-0d and Isaac of Southwark had two worth £1-6s-8d. The York Jews, Isaac fil Josce of Kent and Benedict Episcopus, had bonds worth £9-0s-0d owing to them. The Kentish Jews, Vives fil Isaac of Canterbury, Deubeneye of Rochester, Sampson, Benedict fil Hakelm, Magister Aaron of Canterbury, Deulecresse, the husband of Avigaye of Canterbury, Elias of Kent and Samuel fil Aaron of Canterbury, had debts of over £20-0s-0d owing to them. The Jews of Hereford, Belia, the daughter of Aaron, and Solomon of Hereford had contracted for repayments of over £4-0s-0d. Other Jews from Exeter, Grimsby, Northampton, Colchester, Norwich, Stamford, Winchester, Wilton, Worcester, Luton, Kingston and Warwick had bonds in the archa. [87]

Another interesting feature of the 1262 list of Lincoln Jews' bonds is that there was still a little trading in commodities going on. It was on a small scale and possibly only for personal consumption but it is clear that Jews during this period were receiving small amounts of commodities in return for cash loans. Benedict Crespin of London, Jacob fil Aaron, Isaac fil Ursell, Deulecresse fil Isaac, Moses fil Bonenfaunt and Samuel fil Abraham were all owed one quarter of cereal over and above the monetary debts which were owed to them. Isaac fil Benedict of Northampton and Josce fil Jacob were also owed a soam of cereal whilst Abraham fil Abraham was owed a half a soam and Josce fil Abraham of Bungay was owed two soams. Josce genus Deulecresse of Norwich was even

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in Lincoln in 1262.

Number of  
Bonds.

Jewish Creditors.

15s	Benedict Crespin of London.
9	Garsie fil Aaron.
6	Moses fil Isaac of Colchester, Jew of London.
5	Isaac fil Ursell, Sampson fil Aaron.
4	Isaac fil Abraham, Josce genus Deulecresse of Norwich.
3	Moses fil Belia, Melkana filia Sampson, Isaac fil Benedict of Northampton, Isaac fil Josce of Kent, Jew of York, Leon Le Blund.
2s	Salle fil Moses.
2	Samekin of Grimsby, Sampson fil Saulot, David fil Bonefey, Vives fil Isaac of Canterbury, Josce fil Abraham, Bonamy fil Jacob, Magister Aaron of Canterbury, Moses fil Bonenfaunt, Benedict Episcopus, Jew of York, Moses fil Saulot, Abraham Crespin, Jew of London, Abraham fil Elye, Isaac of Southwark, Josce fil Jacob.
1	Abraham Le Fraunceys, Josce Bulloc of Lincoln, Jacob fil Aaron, Bonenfaunt of Exeter, Jounmi fil Jacob, Jacob de Punis, Deubeneye of Rochester, Deulecresse fil Isaac, Ursell of Colchester, Benedict Le Eveske fil Vives, Benedict fil Posse, Isaac fil Josce Le Prestre, Samuel of Stamford, Pictavin of Winchester, David fil Jacob, Abraham fil Abraham, Deulecresse, Deubone, Jew of Stamford, David fil Josce, Belia filia Aaron of Hereford, Isaac fil Peytevin, Josce fil Abraham of Bungay, Solomon of Hereford, Samuel fil Abraham, Josce fil Solomon of Wilton, Isaac of Worcester, Aaron of Colchester, Ermane sister of Bona junior, Deulecresse fil Abraham, Samuel fil Ursell, Jew of London, Rosecote filia Belia, Samuel fil Jacob, Dyaye fil Solail, Salle fil Josce, Abraham of Berkhamstead junior, Deulesaunt of Luton, Elias fil Josce, Josce of Gloucester, Chevron filia Moses, Leon fil Moses, Aaron fil Bonamy, Bonenfaunt fil Deulecresse of Stamford, Anterra filia Bonne, Jacob fil Isaac, Salle fil Bonevie, Abraham fil Dyaye, Isaac genus Pictavin, Solomon of Kingston, Deulecresse husband of Avigaye of Canterbury, Abraham fil Sampson of Warwick, Benedict fil Isaac, Samuel fil Aaron of Canterbury.
s	Sampson, Jew of Canterbury, Benedict fil Hakelm of Canterbury, The brother of Benedict Crespin, Aaron fil Samuel, Ursell fil Garsia, Aaron fil Benedict, Benedict fil Benedict, Sampson fil Aaron, Isaac fil Samuel, Benedict Eveske, Elias of Kent.

(151)

(90)

The value of Jewish bonds in Lincoln in 1262.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount.	
15s	Benedict Crespin of London	£ 54 1s 8d	⊕
1	Abraham Le Fraunceys	£ 20 0s 0d	
1	Josce Bulloc of Lincoln	£ 20 0s 0d	
9	Garsie fil Aaron	£ 17 6s 6d	
1	Jacob fil Aaron	£ 16 0s 0d	⊕
3	Moses fil Belia	£ 16 0s 0d	
1	Bonenfaunt of Exeter	£ 16 0s 0d	
3	Melkana filia Sampson	£ 14 0s 0d	
2	Samekin of Grimsby	£ 13 0s 0d	
5	Isaac fil Ursell	£ 12 12s 0d	⊕
2	Sampson fil Saulot	£ 12 0s 0d	
1	Jounmi fil Jacob	£ 9 0s 0d	
2	David fil Bonefey	£ 8 9s 8d	
2	Vives fil Isaac of Canterbury	£ 7 0s 0d	
1	Jacob de Punis	£ 6 13s 4d	
1	Deubeneye of Rochester	£ 6 13s 4d	
5	Sampson fil Aaron	£ 6 11s 0d	
3	Isaac fil Benedict of Northampton	£ 6 6s 8d	⊕
4	Isaac fil Abraham	£ 6 1s 4d	⊕
1	Deulecresse fil Isaac	£ 6 0s 0d	⊕
3	Isaac fil Josce of Kent, Jew of York	£ 6 0s 0d	
1	Ursell of Colchester	£ 5 6s 8d	
1	Benedict Le Eveske fil Vives	£ 5 0s 0d	
1	Benedict fil Posse	£ 5 0s 0d	
1	Isaac fil Josce Le Prestre	£ 4 13s 4d	
2	Josce fil Abraham	£ 4 10s 0d	
s	Sampson, Jew of Canterbury	£ 4 3s 4d	

s	Benedict fil Hakelm of Canterbury	£ 4 3s 4d	
4	Josce genus Deulecresse of Norwich	£ 4 0s 6d	⊕
2	Bonamy fil Jacob	£ 4 0s 0d	
2	Magister Aaron of Canterbury	£ 4 0s 0d	
1	Samuel of Stamford	£ 4 0s 0d	
6	Moses fil Isaac of Colchester, Jew of London	£ 3 19s 10d	⊕
3	Leon Le Blund	£ 3 13s 4d	⊕
1	Pictavin of Winchester	£ 3 6s 8d	
2	Moses fil Bonenfaunt	£ 3 1s 4d	⊕
2	Benedict Episcopus, Jew of York	£ 3 0s 0d	
1	David fil Jacob	£ 3 0s 0d	
2	Moses fil Saulot	£ 3 0s 0d	⊕
1	Abraham fil Abraham	£ 2 13s 4d	⊕
1	Deulecresse	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Deubone, Jew of Stamford	£ 2 13s 4d	
2	Abraham Crespin, Jew of London	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	David fil Josce	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Belia filia Aaron of Hereford	£ 2 13s 4d	
2	Abraham fil Elye	£ 2 6s 8d	
2s	Salle fil Moses	£ 2 6s 8d	
s	The brother of Benedict Crespin	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Isaac fil Peytevin	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Josce fil Abraham of Bungay	£ 2 0s 0d	⊕
1	Solomon of Hereford	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Samuel fil Abraham	£ 2 0s 0d	⊕
1	Josce fil Solomon of Wilton	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Isaac of Worcester	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Aaron of Colchester	£ 2 0s 0d	

1	Ermane sister of Bona junior	£	1	16s	8d	
1	Deulecresse fil Abraham	£	1	10s	0d	
1	Samuel fil Ursell, Jew of London	£	1	10s	0d	
1	Rosecote filia Belia	£	1	10s	0d	
1	Samuel fil Jacob	£	1	10s	0d	
1	Dyaye fil Solail	£	1	6s	8d	
s	Aaron fil Samuel	£	1	6s	8d	
1	Salle fil Josce	£	1	6s	8d	
1	Abraham of Berkhamstead junior	£	1	6s	8d	
1	Deulesaunt of Luton	£	1	6s	8d	
1	Elias fil Josce	£	1	6s	8d	
1	Josce of Gloucester	£	1	6s	8d	
2	Isaac of Southwark	£	1	6s	8d	
1	Chevron filia Moses	£	1	0s	0d	
1	Leon fil Moses	£	1	0s	0d	
2	Josce fil Jacob	£	1	0s	0d	⊕
1	Aaron fil Bonamy	£	1	0s	0d	
1	Bonenfaunt fil Deulecresse of Stamford	£	1	0s	0d	
1	Anterra filia Bone			18s	0d	
1	Jacob fil Isaac			17s	0d	
s	Ursell fil Garsia			15s	0d	
s	Aaron fil Benedict			15s	0d	
1	Salle fil Bonevie			15s	0d	
s	Benedict fil Benedict			13s	4d	
s	Sampson fil Aaron			13s	4d	
1	Abraham fil Dyaye			13s	4d	
1	Isaac genus Pictavin			13s	4d	
1	Solomon of Kingston			10s	0d	
1	Deulecresse husband of Avigaye of Canterbury			10s	0d	

1	Abraham fil Sampson of Warwick	10s 0d
s	Isaac fil Samuel	8s 10 1/2d
s	Benedict Eveske	8s 10 1/2d
s	Elias of Kent	8s 10 1/2d
1	Benedict fil Isaac	8s 0d
1	Samuel fil Aaron of Canterbury	7s 0d

(151)

(90)

(£ 405 14s 2d)

⊕ In addition to their monetary debts the following Jews are owed small commodity repayments.

Benedict Crespin of London	1 qtr of cereal
Jacob fil Aaron	1 qtr of cereal
Isaac fil Ursell	1 qtr of cereal
Isaac fil Benedict of Northampton	1 soam of cereal
Isaac fil Abraham	1 goose
Deulecresse fil Isaac	1 qtr of cereal
Josce genus Deulecresse of Norwich	2 qtrs of oats
Moses fil Isaac of Colchester, Jew of London	1 cart load of wood at 2s 0d
Leon Le Blund	1 bushel of peas
Moses fil Bonenfaunt	1 qtr of cereal
Moses fil Saulot	An annual rent of 40s 0d
Abraham fil Abraham	1/2 soam of cereal
Josce fil Abraham of Bungay	2 soams of cereal
Samuel fil Abraham	1 qtr of cereal
Josce fil Jacob	1 soam of cereal

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/249/10

owed two quarters of oats. Leon le Blund was owed a bushel of pease and Moses fil Isaac of Colchester, a London Jew, was owed a cart load of wood worth 2s-0d.[88]

This sample also reveals a wide range of Jewish creditors. Whilst it reveals one large operator, Benedict Crespin of London, who gave fifteen bonds worth £54-1s-8d as payment towards the tallage, it is very noticeable that most Jewish creditors gave only very small bonds. The mean average value of a bond from this particular sample is £2-13s-8d and twenty two Jews contributed bonds worth less than £1-0s-0d. A tallage may of course have attracted the paying in of the smaller bonds held by Jews and this 1262 list may not therefore be representative of Jewish business practice. It may, however, also be the case that, although by 1262 a recovery in Jewish business had taken place in Lincoln, the value of Jewish loans was not particularly high and Lincoln was seemingly only attracting large investment from Jews with connections outside the city.

Worse was to follow. The Baronial Rebellion brought with it the normal anti-semitic fury that had shown itself in other towns. In 1265, John Dayville, the leader of a party of the 'Disinherited', the renegade rebel barons who had been sheltering in the Isle of Axholme to the north of Lincoln, raided the city. The rebels entered the city and besieged the castle. The king sent his son, the Lord Edward, to deal with them. Unfortunately, for the Jews of Lincoln it was too late. The band of rebels took the opportunity to march down from the Bail and to sack the Jewry.[89] According to Walter of Hemingburgh, they entered the synagogue, tore up the scrolls of the Law, killed many Jews and, as a final gesture, seized all the bonds and charters belonging to the Jews and set fire to them.[90] After the event, the king ordered twenty-four citizens of

Lincoln to protect the Jews and their goods.[91] However, the business records had been thoroughly destroyed. This clearly presented major problems for the Jewish creditors. When Moses of Clare sued Henry of Whaddon for a fee rent of £4-0s-0d which should have been paid annually from 1264, Henry claimed that it was unlawful because the bond had been outside the archa at the time it was burnt. An inquest by the chirographers claimed that the bond had been in the chest when it was burnt.[92] In July 1266, Henry granted Benedict fil Magister Moses and his brother Hagin a special dispensation which allowed for the bonds in their hands or their debtors' hands to be valid. These Jews with other Lincoln Jews such as Manser of Bradeworth, Isaac fil Benedict and Elias of Doncaster were thus allowed to claim their pledges as normal and to secure the payment of them in the normal fashion.[93] It seems that recovery from the sacking of the Jewry and the reclamation of debts which had in effect been annulled by fire was slow. By 1274, when the first tallage of Edward's reign was collected, the Lincoln Jews were only able to contribute £67-13s-3d and the contributions of the Jews of Canterbury, which had also been sacked, Winchester and Oxford were greater.[94]

Some idea of Jewish credit activity at the start of Edward's reign is given by the details of a scrutiny of the Lincoln archa taken in January 1275. It provides a register of ninety-three Jews who presumably had been in the habit of bonding in the Lincoln archa, however only fourteen had bonds in the archa at the time of the scrutiny. Although the clerk who recorded the scrutiny appears to have believed that forty-nine bonds were in the archa, he has in fact recorded fifty-two individual transactions although there is the possibility that this seeming lack of accuracy in his arithmetic was the result of a few Jews holding shared bonds. According to the clerk, Isaac fil Benedict had twenty, Jacob fil Isaac eight, Senior

fil Abraham four and Abraham of Oakham, Moses fil Moses of Clare, Hagin fil Moses and Abraham fil Dyay of Holme had three transactions registered. Benedict fil Manser had two bonds and Elias fil Benedict of London, Moses fil Moses, Sampson fil Benedict, Benedict fil Josce, Yvette filia Bonefy, the wife of Josce Bullak and Josce, son-in-law of Josce, had one transaction in which they were involved. This piece of evidence gives no clue as to the financial value of the bonds at this particular moment in the history of the Lincoln Jews.[95]

Fuller details, although not necessarily complete, from a similar scrutiny have survived concerning the bonds which were deposited in the Stamford archa in early 1275. Forty-five Jews are named of whom eighteen have bonds in the archa. The eighteen had a total of 126 bonds deposited.[96] Fifty-five of these 126 bonds in the Stamford archa that had been sent to Westminster were actually returned to Stamford. Details of these fifty-five bonds have been meticulously listed by an Exchequer scribe.[97] They provide a picture of the dealings of ten Stamford Jews who had bonds worth a face value of £380-5s-0d. The value, the date of agreement, the date of payment and the name of the debtor are given on these bonds which help to give a picture of financial activity not only in Stamford but also in Lower Lincolnshire, Rutland, Cambridge, Nottinghamshire, and Northamptonshire. The evidence of this scrutiny and its aftermath is most interesting in what it reveals about the question of tallage payment in this period. After the scrutiny, Tony fil Meir, who had property in Stamford in 1290, had all of his eleven bonds returned to him worth a face value of £43-13s-4d. Presumably, his bonds were returned because he had paid his tallage contribution. Other records show that Tony fil Meir paid £3-19s-11d towards the Great Tallage.[98] Thus, his contribution was much less than the third of all goods which has

been presumed to be the rate imposed upon the Jews at this time. The bonds of Diey of Holme, who as has been seen elsewhere was indicted for murder in 1276, also show an unusual discrepancy in that the officials of the Scaccarium Judaeorum, although only nineteen of Diey's bonds were evidently sent to Westminster, returned twenty-one bonds which were worth £181-16s-8d. Diey's contribution to the Great Tallage was paid in cash by some of his clients. His contribution was just under £10-0s-0d, again much less than the much quoted one third.[99] Information of the kind that comes from Stamford concerning Tony fil Meir and Diey of Holme occurs in connection with the 1275 scrutiny with respect to the dealings of one single Lincoln Jew. The Lincoln scrutiny reveals that Isaac fil Benedict Gabbay had twenty bonds deposited in the archa. It is also clear that Isaac had nineteen bonds returned to him after he had paid a massive tallage contribution of £46-15s-4d for the Great Tallage, which was, however, again nothing like a third of the value of the bonds which were returned to him, which was £248-13s-4d.[100] Isaac fil Benedict Gabbay died later in the same year and an inquisition into his chattels revealed at that stage assets worth a value of £136-17s-0d of which the king's part (a third) was £45-12s-4d which was duly paid by the removal of four bonds worth £50-0s-0d from the archa. [101] The rest of Isaac's bonds which were listed for the estate have many similarities with the list of bonds which had been returned to the chest after he had paid his tallage.[102] However, there were three bonds which appear to have been added during the period between the time that the bonds were returned and the time of Isaac's death.

A series of actual bonds which were made in Lincoln have survived in the muniments of Westminster Abbey.[103] These bonds were contracted during the period 1270-1276. This evidence enables a picture of Jewish business practice for the early years of

Edward's reign to be delineated. However, like the similar Canterbury bonds, it is not known if these were bonds which were granted to the Crown for tallage or if these bonds can be in any way considered as complete a sample as the list of extant bonds of 1290. It seems that, as was the case with the Canterbury bonds, the bonds in question might well be a partial survival. It is likely that the bonds came from a Lincoln archa which was examined sometime in early 1276 like the Colchester and Canterbury bonds which seem to have found their way to Westminster at this time.[104] Certainly a date of 1276 is likely because the sample contains one of the bonds which were returned to Isaac fil Benedict Gabbay after he had paid his tallage in early 1275.[105] This particular bond must also have been returned to Lincoln after the third due to the Crown from Isaac's estate had been paid in 1275.[106] A similar indication of the date at which these bonds reached Westminster is given by the fact that three of the Westminster bonds recording the transactions of Senior fil Abraham may very well be three of the four bonds which were recorded in his name in the scrutiny taken in early 1275.[107]

The series of bonds show that there were Jews in Lincoln at this period who maintained connections with places outside Lincoln. Benedict of London had four bonds worth in total £168-0s-0d.[108] His son, Hagin, also had one bond worth £10-0s-0d.[109] Another London Jew, Aaron fil Elias, had seven bonds worth £35-13s-4d.[110] The great York financier, Bonamy fil Josce, had a single bond worth £26-13s-4d.[111] However, there is also a significant presence of Lincoln Jews. Jacob fil Isaac of Brancegate whose business and enterprise must have been in the ascendancy at this period had five bonds in the archa. [112] Josce fil Benedict Gabbay had two bonds worth £14-13s-4d.[113] Thirteen other Lincoln Jews had made bonds and expected to be repaid to the tune of just under £60-0s-0d.[114] Thus, capital was still available in Lincoln both from Jews of

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in Lincoln  
from the Westminster Abbey Muniments.

<u>Number of Bonds.</u>	<u>Jewish Creditors.</u>
7	Aaron fil Elias of London.
5	Jacob fil Isaac of Brancegate.
4	Benedict of London.
3	Senior fil Abraham.
2	Josce fil Benedict Gabbay, Isaac Parnass, Benedict fil Pictavin.
1	Bonamy fil Josce of York, Hagin fil Benedict of London, Isaac fil Benedict, Sampson fil Jacob Levi, Manser fil Samuel, Jurnin fil Abraham, Juetta filia Ursell, Senior fil Floria, Abraham fil Abraham, Josce fil Deulesant, Samuel fil Abraham, Samuel fil Belia.
(37)	(19)

Source:- W.A.M. Nos. 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087,  
9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097,  
9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131,  
9132, 9135, 9137, 9140, 9142,  
9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147,  
9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162,  
9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168,  
9169, 9170.

The value of Jewish bonds in the Westminster  
Abbey Muniments - Lincoln bonds.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount.
4	Benedict of London	£ 168 0s 0d
7	Aaron fil Elias of London	£ 35 13s 4d
5	Jacob fil Isaac of Brancegate	£ 35 13s 4d   ⊕
1	Bonamy fil Josce of York	£ 26 13s 4d
2	Josce fil Benedict Gabbay	£ 14 13s 4d
1	Hagin fil Benedict of London	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Isaac fil Benedict	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Sampson fil Jacob Levi	£ 10 0s 0d
2	Isaac Parnass	£ 7 13s 4d
3	Senior fil Abraham	£ 7 8s 0d
1	Manser fil Samuel	£ 5 0s 0d
2	Benedict fil Pictavin	£ 3 16s 8d
1	Jurnin fil Abraham	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Juetta filia Ursell	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Senior fil Floria	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Abraham fil Abraham	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Josce fil Deulesant	£ 1 6s 8d
1	Samuel fil Abraham	£ 1 6s 8d
1	Samuel fil Belia	£ 1 6s 8d
(37)	(19)	(£ 350 11s 4d)

Source:- W.A.M. Nos. 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087,  
9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097,  
9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131,  
9132, 9135, 9137, 9140, 9142,  
9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147,  
9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162,  
9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168,  
9169, 9170.

⊕ Jacob fil Isaac of Brancegate is also owed 1 qtr of cereal

Lincoln and elsewhere.

The surviving bonds provide details of thirty-seven bonds worth a face value of £350-11s-4d. They reveal that at this period there were Jews in Lincoln who were perhaps able to make bigger individual loans and to commit themselves to a greater total outlay than those Jews who appear in the 1262 list. As has been observed above, Benedict of London had four bonds worth a total of £168-0s-0d, this individual total was worth over a quarter of the value of the whole of the 1262 bonds. He is followed by Aaron fil Elias of London and the local Jew, Jacob of Brancegate, who both in fact had bonds worth as much as £35-13s-4d.[115] Both of the total value of debts owing to these Jews are in themselves worth more than the value of the total outlay of all but one of the Jews in 1262. The mean average Jewish outlay from the 1262 sample was £4-10-1d whilst the corresponding figure from the Westminster sample is £18-9s-0d. Similarly the mean average value of a bond in 1262 was £2-13s-8d and from the Westminster sample it is £9-9s-5d. Even given the differences in the types of evidence used, these are possibly significant indications of a real change in the credit operations of the Lincoln Jews. Although the Westminster bonds do suggest that there were still Jews who made comparatively small bonds and that Jews like Josce fil Deulesant, Samuel fil Abraham and Samuel fil Belia, who were each owed £1-6s-8d, were still able to operate in the 1270s.[116] One final aspect of Jewish business practice which emerges from the examination of the Westminster bonds is that debts for commodities do not seem to be popular at this time. Only one bond mentions a commodity repayment. Jacob of Brancegate, the Lincoln Jew, is owed one quarter of cereal from a bond which was contracted in July 1275 and was payable on the 1st January 1276.[117] A sum of this size might well have been just for Jacob's personal consumption and therefore of the kind noted in earlier

Lincoln evidence. As such, it is the source of an interesting comparison with the situation in 1290. By that year, Jacob of Brancegate was owed five hundred and seventy and a half quarters of cereal.[118]

There is little evidence of good social relations between Jew and Christian in Lincolnshire during the 1270s and early 1280s. It is known that, during the period from 1273 to 1278, many Lincolnshire Jews were imprisoned in the Tower of London for various offences.[119] In 1276, Diey of Holme, as has been seen above, was accused of the murder of Brother Richard of Stamford Priory. He was outlawed for the crime and later imprisoned.[120] In 1278, the Bishop of Lincoln, Richard de Gravesend, took harsh action against Christians who worked for Jews in Lincoln. He arrested certain Christians who were in the employment of Jews and wrote to the king stating that he was going to excommunicate them. The arrests look as if they might have been a comprehensive purge of Christian servants working for Jews in the whole of the city because they affected four different areas of Lincoln. This purge would have been in compliance with canon law as laid down by the Fourth Lateran Council.[121] Those imprisoned, from the Bail, were Cecilia, the maid of Moses, and Eleanor, Josce's maid. Cecilia, nursemaid of Hakke, Emma, Hakke of Provincia's nursemaid, Alicia, maid of Josce Gubbay, Malcota, the servant of Flekote, and Emma, maid to a Jew called Marcote, were taken from the parish of St Michael on the Mount. Robert, the servant of Hagin, Matilda, Deulecresse's nursemaid, and Samuel the Chaplain's servant, Alice, were arrested in the area of the Skin Market (in the parish of St Cuthbert and St John Stanhaket). Becona, the servant of Abraham of Stamford, and Matilda Belger and Marjorie Scott, servants of Manser, were taken from the parish of St Martin.[122]

In the following year, 1279, the Crown also swooped on Jewish chattels. The coin-clipping investigations produced yet another excuse to accuse the Jews. Hugh of Kendal was in charge of the confiscations and the sale of condemned goods in the Lincolnshire area. These sales provided the royal coffers with over £950-0s-0d.[123] Many Jews were accused and taken to London where they were hanged. One of Lincoln's most famous Jewesses is supposed to have been hanged outside the house in Lincoln which, in legend, bears her name and can still be visited today.[124] A large amount of Jewish books and of assorted jewellery was sold. Also, at about this time, several changes occurred in the ownership of Jewish property perhaps indicating that former owners had been hanged or forced to sell property to meet fines.[125] The only Jew who is known to have been fined and thus to have escaped forfeiture was Manser fil Jacob of Brancegate who paid 6s-8d. Amongst the Christians fined were James de Scol, Philip de Stanburne, Hugh, vicar of Coureby, Peter the Neven of Grimsby, William de Norton and Hugh Vincting. Roger de Leke was fined £2-0s-0d for the pennies he had knowingly taken from a certain Jew in his change as were Thomas Le Proctor of Boston and John Goddard of Spalding.[126]

Possibly as a result of the pogrom, the Crown quickly disposed of several Jewish properties in Lincoln. By a writ dated at Westminster 12 May 1281, the king granted several houses worth an annual value of 8s-0d in Wigford which had belonged to Ursellus Levi to Alexander of London.[127] The houses which belonged to Belaset of Wallingford 'a Jewess who was recently hanged for clipping our money' were finally disposed of in 1291 by a writ made at Wellebek by which they eventually passed from the king's hand to Walter de Foletteby.[128] It is also possible that Hagin fil Magister Moses, who died in 1280, may have been a victim of the coin clipping allegations. His property was granted exclusively to Queen Eleanor

who, in the same year, attended the ceremony of the translation of Hugh of Avalon's bones in the cathedral. In 1286, Eleanor granted some of Hagin's lands to Stephen de Cheyndut. The land was situated in Hungate and subsequently changed hands a number of times.[129] However, in the midst of this anti-Jewish activity, the Jews were still able to conduct business and even to obtain leases from Christians. At about this period, Robert the Apothecary of the parish of St John the Poor granted some land to Isaac fil Samuel qui vocat Hak le Chantur. The land was in the parish of St Michael on the Mount bounded on the north by the land of Richard Futhelere and on the south by the land of Jacob the Jew and certain land held from the dean and chapter of the cathedral.[130]

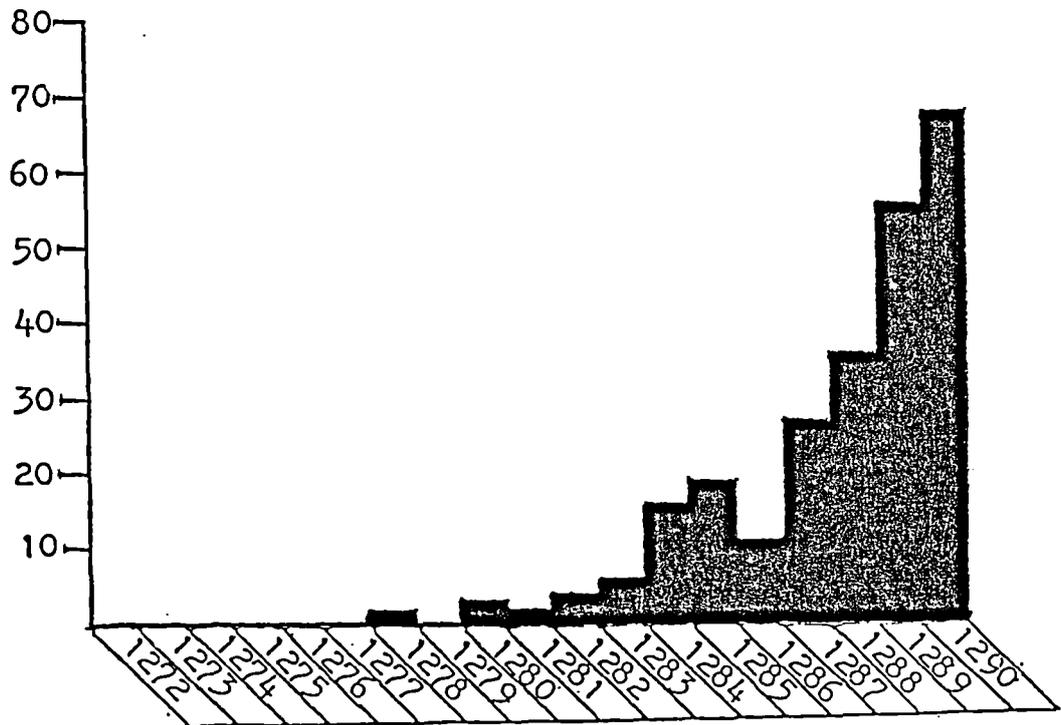
In the 1280s, there seems to have been a resurgence of Jewish business in the city. Perhaps this was a recovery stimulated by the Chapitres Tuchaunz le Gewerie. [131] A single glance at the distribution of the dates of bonds found in the Lincoln archa of 1290 shows that bonding may very well have been on the increase from 1280. By the early 1280s and even perhaps as early as 1278, despite the threat of confiscation, the hangings on trumped-up charges and the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275, the Jews were at least able to continue their lending and in some cases were able to amass fairly large fortunes from their business. It seems, from the evidence, that bonding went on well into 1290 and that the Jews had no idea of the forthcoming acts of banishment and confiscation.[132]

After November 1290, the bonds which had been in Jewish hands and deposited in the Lincoln archa were called into the Exchequer at Westminster and were duly delivered early in 1291.[133] The Lincoln archa contained 252 bonds which represent 23 percent of all known surviving Jewish-owned bonds in England.[134] According to the royal command, the sheriff of Lincoln and a procession of officials

delivered the archa to Westminster in person. John Byre, the sheriff, and John Cotty and Richard de Baud, the Christian chirographers of the Lincoln archa, brought with them a chest of nova debita, which had been sealed by Robert of Caddeworth (a former sheriff). They were accompanied by Alan of Trikenham and Richard of Bothelingthorp, miles, who brought with them a small sealed chest containing ten bonds which had perhaps been collected after the main archa had been sealed in October. The keys to both chests were deposited in the king's Treasury. The group from Lincolnshire also brought with them an archa which contained the bonds of the Jews of Stamford, details of which have been lost, and a list of all the Jewish domiciles in Lincoln which had been supplied by an inquiry carried out by the bailiffs of the city.[135]

The list of the bonds in the Lincoln archa records that there were 242 bonds in the Nova Cista and ten bonds de una pixide. The earliest bond in this collection had been, as can be seen from the graph which records the dates at which all the bonds were contracted, agreed in 1278. The ten bonds in the small chest, which also feature in the graph, were all made in 1290. From this information, a picture of Jewish financial dealings in Lincoln and its environs can be seen covering almost a decade of business. One quarter of the bonds was contracted in 1290 which perhaps gives an indication that business was on the increase in the years immediately before the Expulsion, although it is clearly the case that normally any archa would contain a greater proportion of bonds contracted in the recent as opposed to the distant past. The total face value of the Lincoln bonds is about £2500-0s-0d.[136] The sale of the twenty-three Jewish properties in Lincoln raised a further £173-0s-0d for the royal coffers.[137] It was the Lincoln Jewry which provided some of the richest pickings for the Crown in 1290.

The date of contract of bonds in the Lincoln archa  
and pyx in 1290.



Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

Before examining the bonds of the 1290 scrutiny, there are several points concerning them that must be clarified. Amongst the bonds there were four that were repayable to two creditors, Jews or Jewesses acting in partnership. This practice was in fact outlawed by the Chapitres which clearly state that partnership lending was forbidden 'so that no Jew may be able to demand or claim aught upon that contract, except that Jew with whom the contract is made and whose name is in the writing'.[138] The Crown could experience problems in claiming bonds owed to Jewish partnerships. It was difficult to assess them for tallage, it was difficult to claim them as 'death duty' and it was difficult to ascertain if the debts had been paid. However, these eight Lincoln Jews seem to have disregarded the law. In July 1288, Jacob fil Sampson Levi and Ursell, his son, were owed six sacks of wool priced at £6-13s-4d each. In October 1288, Sarra filia Bonne and Chera, the widow, were owed one sack of wool priced at £10-0s-0d. In November 1288, Meyre fil Bonne and Elye fil Manasser were owed one sack of wool priced at £10-0s-0d. In July 1289, Bonne, a Jewess of Lincoln, and her son, Miles, were owed two sacks of wool priced at £10-0s-0d each.[139]

A second peculiarity of this sample is found in a bond which is owed to Jacob of Brancegate. In this case, the stipulated repayment is expressed in two commodities. Mixed commodity bonds were not uncommon and have already been encountered in the transactions of the Herefordshire Jewry as well as in the scrutiny of the Lincoln archa of 1262.[140] In September 1278, Thomas, the son of Master Thomas Dominus of Bekering in Lincolnshire, owed Jacob of Brancegate 30s and half a quarter of corn (frumentum).[141]

A third peculiarity of the 1290 sample is that amongst the 252 bonds, which were recorded, were two which are different from any bonds encountered in any of the other archa. They are both undated

and are worth a brief examination. Both were owed by Richard Foliot, miles of Yorkshire, to Hagin fil Magister Benedict of London.[142] They have not been included in most of the numerical tables of Jewish debts:

Ricus Folyot Miles de Comitatus Eboracum debet Hagin filio Benedicti de London Judo Lincolniae unum spuar muer eidem Hagino in vita cuiusdem Rici soluend' et post decessum ipsius Rici in primo anno reddent heredes sui eidem Hagino Quinquaginta libra per unam obligationem.

Idem Ricus Folyot eidem Hagino filio Benedicti unam bestiam de crasso salt' Dannu ut Dania annuatim in tota sua predicto Hagino soluend' et post decessum ipsius Rici in primo anno reddent heredes sui eidem Hagino C marc per unam obligationem.[143]

At first sight, these bonds seem most odd. Hagin is owed one flying-hawk (perhaps annually) and, on Richard's death, £50-0s-0d. He is also owed a beast of the chase every year and £66-13s-4d on Richard's death. It seems that Richard must have borrowed a sum of money from the Jew and arranged for him to be repaid out of his estate. It is not known if these sums of money were intended to include interest or whether the interest is covered by the hawks and the beasts of the chase. There are many instances of gifts of hawks, falcons and other hunting birds involved in transactions made in Lincolnshire at this period.[144] Indeed, in the twelfth century, as Sir Francis Hill has observed, hawks and falcons seem to have been treated almost as a currency.[145] This livestock currency seems to have continued into the thirteenth century. The allowance of the 'beast of the chase' every year is perhaps an agreement for Hagin to hunt on Richard's estates just as the render of the hawk could relate to hunting. If this is the case, this is not the only example of a Jew showing a tendency to pursue the pleasures of the chase. Roth has drawn attention to Samuel the Jew who hunted and ritually (in accordance with kosher laws) killed a doe in Panfield

in Essex in February 1246.[146] The case of the unlawful killing of a doe in Wildenhay Woods near Colchester in 1277 has become well known because of the cartoon of the outlaw, Aaron fil Diable, which appears in the manuscript recording the incident.[147] Clearly the Jews, like their Christian contemporaries, were interested in the chase.[148] It is not unlikely that, like Samuel, they indulged in this sport in cordial relations with Gentiles. Certainly, it seems that Hagin and some of the other richer English Jews enjoyed the sport. In Hagin's case, it is in fact clear that his love of the chase persuaded him to enter into two unusually long-term financial contracts which would allow him to pursue his hobby. However abnormal the two bonds were, they were clearly regarded as important by the Exchequer scribes and were enrolled along with the other bonds.

The Lincoln bonds of 1290 were all contracted after the Statute of the Jewry. There were two bonds contracted in 1278, none in 1279, three in 1280, two in 1281, four in 1282, six in 1283, sixteen in 1284, nineteen in 1285, eleven in 1286, twenty-seven in 1287, thirty-six in 1288, fifty-six in 1289 and sixty-eight in 1290.[149] Thus, the Lincoln archa not only reveals Jewish business practice in Lincoln up to the very eve of the Expulsion but also reflects the result that the Chapitles might have had on Jewish business. In this light, the most exceptional quality of the 1290 sample from Lincoln is to be found in the amount of evidence which it provides of commodity as well as monetary repayments. Fifteen percent of the bonds, worth a face value of £306-10s-0d, are for repayments in money. Twenty-nine percent of the bonds are for repayment mainly in corn or frumentum. They represent 2122.5 quarters of corn worth a face value of £552-13s-10d. Almost 56 percent of the bonds stipulate repayment in wool. The Jews of Lincoln, on the eve of the Expulsion, were owed 208.5 sacks and 8 stone of wool worth a face

value of E1602-14s-8d. It is this considerable volume of evidence that the Lincoln bonds of 1290 provide about different sorts of commodity bonding, in the last years of the medieval Jewish presence in England, which renders them so exceptional and therefore of such interest to the historian of Jewish business practice. This feature of the 1290 bonds will necessitate a slightly different and more detailed analysis of the 1290 evidence as it affects Lincoln in comparison with the treatment which was appropriate to the corresponding information from Hereford and Canterbury.

The information drawn from the scrutiny identifies sixty-one Jews and Jewesses who had bonds in the archa. The sixty-two Jews identified by this evidence represent the largest number of provincial moneylenders identified by the information in the surviving archae of 1290.[150] Nevertheless, it is clear that this figure of sixty-two Jewish creditors is significantly less than the figure of one hundred and thirty-three and the figure of ninety Jews holding bonds in the 1240 and 1262 Lincoln samples.[151] This suggests that the number of Jews conducting some sort of credit business in Lincoln had declined in the fifty years before the Expulsion just as it had done in Canterbury and Hereford. It is of course impossible from the samples to suggest whether this decline in the number of Jews conducting business was matched by a similar decline in the total Jewish population of the city, although a parallel decline seems likely.[152]

When examining the Jews identified by the 1290 list, there is a difficulty in investigating whether they have primarily Lincoln or other connections because of the lack of toponymical surnames in this particular record. It is impossible to determine whether such a lack of toponymical surnames is the result of accident or a result of the fact that these Jews were now firmly identified with Lincoln.

Numerical distribution of bonds per Jew in Lincoln in 1290.

<u>Number of Bonds.</u>	<u>Jewish Creditors.</u>
32	Jacob fil Isaac of Brancegate.
20	Solomon fil Deulecresse of London.
18	Diay fil Diay.
16	Abraham fil Diay, Hagin fil Benedict of London, Jew of Lincoln. †
11s	Meyr fil Bonne.
9	Elias Gabbay, Josce fil Samuel.
8s	Ursell fil Sampson Levy.
7s	Jacob fil Sampson Levy.
7	Moses fil Isaac of London, Jew of Lincoln.
5	Aaron fil Elie, Josce fil Bonefy, Leo fil Benedict.
4	Isaac fil Manser, Benedict fil Sampson, Manser fil Samuel.
3	Hagin fil Deulecresse, Magister Benedict, Breton fil Josce, Benedict fil Josce, Jacob of Hedon, Mayr fil Elie, Milo fil Isaac, Floria filia Josce.
2s	Milo fil Bonne.
2	Manser of Bradeworth, Isaac fil Maunsell, Cresse fil Jacob Levy, Isaac fil Moses, Samuel fil Maunsell, Moses fil Gamaliel, Josce fil Pet, Sely filia Milca.
1	Jacob (vocatus) Cok Le Fiz Hagin, Elias fil Deulecresse, Milo Brunne, Abraham fil Elye, Deulecresse fil Jacob, Rose vidua, Manser fil Solomon, Giwe of Canterbury, Sampson fil Jacob Levy, Josce Gabbay, Trina filia Dulcia of York, Deulecresse fil Solomon, Milca, Belassez filia Solomon, Avigaye filia Bonne, Sampson fil Ursell, Avigaye uxor Diay, Peytevin fil Bateman, Moses Le Evesk, Benedict fil Jacob, Abraham Levy, Leo fil Josce, Bonne filia Manser, Bonamy fil Bonamy.
s	Chere vidua, Sarra filia Bonne, Bonne, Elie fil Manser.

(250)

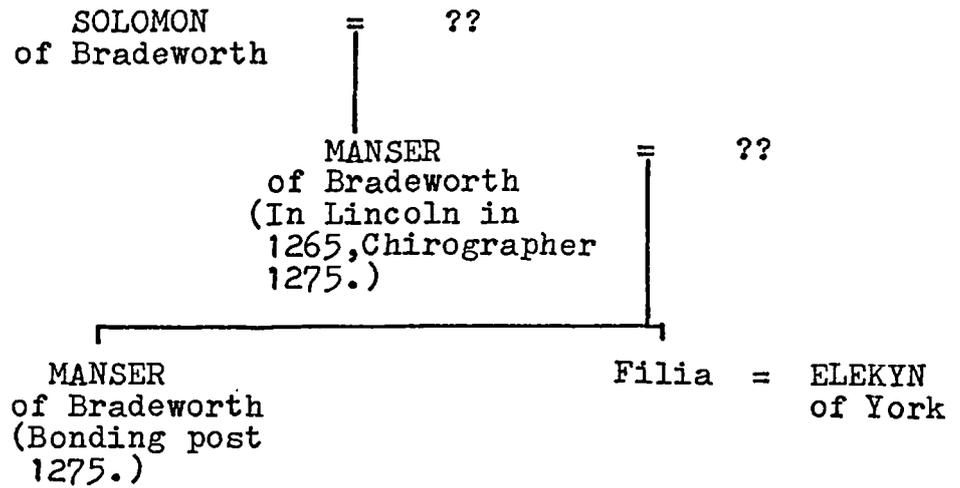
(62)

† Hagin is also owed two bonds by Richard Folliot.

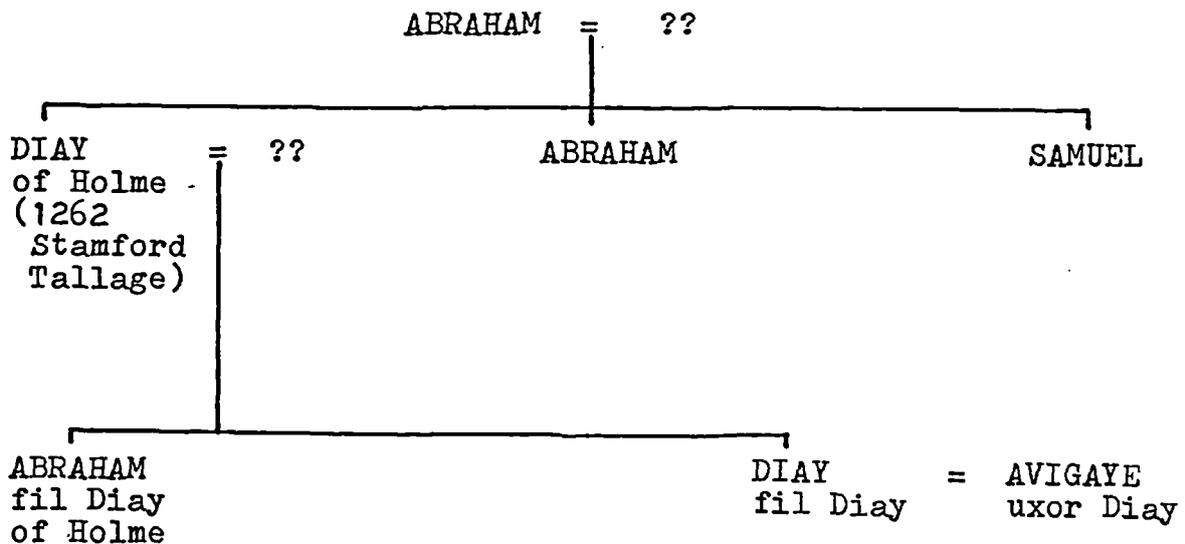
There are, however, indications that Jewish business in Lincoln was being conducted, in 1290, by Jews who were more obviously based in the city than had been their predecessors. For example, of the three Jews who are referred to as 'of London', two were clearly identifiable with Lincoln. Both Moses fil Isaac of London and Hagin fil Benedict of London are also significantly described in the sample as 'Jews of Lincoln'. In the case of both Magister Benedict and his son, Hagin, there is evidence that the family had come to Lincoln in the late 1240s and had become influential members of the community not only in terms of business but also in terms of learning.[153] Indeed as, Roth pointed out, Magister Benedict, in his guise as Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole, was a copyist, composer, student of the Talmud and one of the leading lights in a circle of Anglo-Jewish scholars that included another Lincoln Jew, Rabbi Joseph of Nicole.[154]

Other Jews with toponymical surnames which suggest connections outside Lincoln can also be linked with the city. Perhaps, Giwe of Canterbury and Trina filia Dulcia of York had married Lincoln Jews.[155] Jacob of Hedon (near Kingston across the Humber) might well have been a relative of Benedict of Heydon whose servant lived in St Cuthbert's parish.[156] At least one Manser of Bradeworth also seems to be a Lincoln Jew although his surname connects him with a village called Brodsworth five miles north-west of Doncaster.[157] The position is complicated by the fact that there are two Jews called Manser of Bradeworth at this period. The first Manser fil Solomon of Bradeworth was already in Lincoln when, after the sack of the city in 1265, the king granted him permission to claim his debts. He was also, possibly, the Manser who was the Lincoln Jewish chirographer in 1275.[158] The second Manser, Manser fil Manser, is perhaps one example of a Jew with significant bonds in the Lincoln archa in 1290 who maintained interests which were predominantly

The family of Manser of Bradeworth 1250-1280.



The family of Diay of Holme 1262-1290.



elsewhere as is evidenced by the fact that in 1273 a Yorkshireman brought a writ against him and by the fact that he had a relative married to Elekyn of York.[159] Thus, virtually all of the Lincoln Jews with probable outside connections seem to have become, by 1290, Lincoln-based. It is, however, also significant evidence of the amount of influence that home-based creditors now had in Lincoln in 1290 that these Jews, even with their external connections, had all been surpassed, in terms of financial influence, by the 'local boy', the son of Isaac of Brancegate, Jacob. Jacob is an example of a professional moneylender who seems to have had no other connection than that of Lincoln.[160] Roth claimed, wrongly, that Hagin fil Magister Benedict was the richest Jew in Lincoln. The dealings of Jacob of Brancegate reveal that his business in the city was worth almost double that of Hagin's.[161]

From the numerical distribution of the bonds in the 1290 sample it is evident that over two-thirds of the Jewish businessmen held three bonds or less. Twenty-seven either shared or held single bonds, nine held two bonds and nine held three bonds. The average Jewish creditor in 1290 held just over four bonds, although individuals like Jacob of Brancegate and Solomon fil Deulecresse of London could hold twenty or more. Because of the nature of the evidence to be derived from the 1262 and Westminster samples it is impossible to make any helpful comparison between the number of bonds held per Jew in 1290 and at the dates of these previous samples. It is also impossible to come to any firm conclusion about the value of the average bond being contracted at various dates, although the mean average value of a bond in the 1262 sample at £2-13s-8d is so different from the mean average value of a bond from the Westminster sample at £9-9s-5d and a bond from the 1290 sample at £9-16s-11d that it is difficult to suggest that all of the difference is a consequence of the 1262 sample's connections with

tallage payment. Thus, at Lincoln it would seem possible that the mean average value of a bond had increased to roughly 1290 levels by the dates at which the bonds in the Westminster sample were contracted. This is an interestingly different situation from that to be found at Hereford where there were respectively considerable increases in the mean average value of a bond between the dates of the bonds in the Vetus Cista and the Nova Cista samples. It is, nevertheless, the case at Lincoln that there are just as many Jews with single bonds recorded, of a value of under £4-0s-0d in the Westminster sample as in the much larger 1290 sample. This seems to suggest that by 1290 it was Jewish creditors who operated on a small scale who had been squeezed out of the market at Lincoln just as they had been at Hereford and Canterbury.

Having considered the Jews revealed by the 1290 bonds and the numerical distribution of the bonds, it is time to consider the diversification and specialization of the Lincoln Jewry which this sample reveals. The table shows the total number of money bonds, corn bonds and wool bonds owing to each Jew and the total face value of the bonds. From the table, it can be seen that Jacob of Brancegate preferred to have his bonds repaid in corn rather than wool and seems to show a dislike for money bonds. Solomon of London, on the other hand, prefers wool but, like Jacob, dabbles in all three commodities. Moses fil Isaac is only interested in wool bonds. It is possible that he was acting solely as a wool-broker. Cok le fiz Hagin has only one bond in the archa which stipulates a monetary repayment. Lower down the table, the single bond lenders who expect repayments of between £5-0s-0d and £10-0s-0d prefer to have them in wool. The Jews who have single bonds expecting repayments for a sum less than £3-0s-0d prefer to be paid in corn.

The value of Jewish bonds in Lincoln in 1290.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Number of Money Bonds.	Number of Cereal Bonds.	Number of Wool Bonds.	Amount.
32	Jacob of Brancegate	2	17	13	£ 325 16s 8d
20	Solomon of London	4	3	13	£ 232 0s 0d
16	Hagin fil Benedict	8	5	3	£ 153 0s 0d
7	Moses fil Isaac	0	0	7	£ 144 0s 0d
18	Diay fil Diay	3	2	13	£ 128 10s 0d
9	Elias Gabbay	0	4	5	£ 126 10s 0d
16	Abraham fil Diay	2	4	10	£ 113 10s 0d
3	Hagin fil Deulecresse	0	0	3	£ 106 13s 4d
2	Manser of Bradeworth	0	1	1	£ 88 0s 0d
1	Jacob (vocatus) Cok Le Fiz Hagin	1	0	0	£ 80 0s 0d
8s	Ursell Levy	1	3	4s	£ 76 1s 2d
11s	Meyre fil Bonne	6	0	5s	£ 69 0s 0d
7s	Jacob Levy	3	2	2s	£ 68 13s 4d
9	Josce fil Samuel	1	0	8	£ 54 6s 8d
3	Floria filia Josce	0	1	2	£ 43 6s 8d
4	Isaac fil Manser	1	1	2	£ 41 0s 0d
4	Benedict fil Sampson	0	1	3	£ 39 0s 0d
5	Aaron fil Elie	0	4	1	£ 35 16s 8d
3	Magister Benedict	0	3	0	£ 33 12s 0d
5	Josce fil Bonefy	0	4	1	£ 33 6s 8d
1	Elias fil Deulecresse	0	0	1	£ 32 0s 0d
3	Breton fil Josce	0	2	1	£ 25 6s 8d
3	Benedict fil Josce	1	0	2	£ 24 13s 4d
1	Milo Brunne	0	0	1	£ 24 0s 0d
4	Manser fil Samuel	1	1	2	£ 23 3s 4d
2	Isaac fil Maunsell	0	0	2	£ 21 6s 8d
1	Deulecresse fil Jacob	0	0	1	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Rose vidua	0	1	0	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Manser fil Solomon	0	0	1	£ 20 0s 0d

3	Jacob of Hedon	0	1	2	£	19	13s	4d
3	Mayr fil Elie	0	0	3	£	18	6s	8d
5	Leo fil Benedict	2	0	3	£	18	0s	0d
2	Cresse fil Jacob Levy	1	0	1	£	14	13s	4d
2	Isaac fil Moses	0	0	2	£	14	13s	4d
2	Samuel fil Maunsell	1	0	1	£	14	6s	8d
2	Moses fil Gamaliel	0	0	2	£	13	6s	8d
3	Milo fil Isaac	0	3	0	£	13	0s	0d
2s	Milo fil Bonne	1	1	s	£	11	5s	4d
1	Giwe of Canterbury	0	1	0	£	10	0s	0d
2	Josce fil Pet	0	1	1	£	9	10s	0d
1	Sampson fil Jacob Levy	0	0	1	£	8	0s	0d
1	Josce Gabbay	0	0	1	£	8	0s	0d
s	Chere vidua	0	0	s	£	7	10s	0d
s	Sarra filia Bonne	0	0	s	£	7	10s	0d
1	Trina filia Dulcia	0	0	1	£	6	13s	4d
1	Deulecresse fil Solomon	0	0	1	£	6	13s	4d
s	Bonne	0	0	s	£	6	13s	4d
1	Abraham fil Elie	0	0	1	£	6	13s	4d
2	Sely fil Milca	0	0	2	£	5	14s	8d
1	Milca	0	0	1	£	5	6s	8d
1	Belassez filia Solomon	1	0	0	£	5	6s	8d
s	Elye fil Manser	0	0	s	£	5	0s	0d
1	Avigaye filia Bonne	0	0	1	£	4	0s	0d
1	Sampson fil Ursell	0	1	0	£	4	0s	0d
1	Avigaye uxor Diay	0	0	1	£	3	6s	8d
1	Peytevin fil Bateman	0	1	0	£	3	0s	0d
1	Moses Le Evesk	1	0	0	£	3	0s	0d
1	Benedict fil Jacob	0	1	0	£	2	10s	0d
1	Abraham Levy	0	1	0	£	1	5s	0d
1	Leo fil Josce	0	1	0	£	1	0s	0d
1	Bonne filia Manser	0	1	0			15s	0d
1	Bonamy fil Bonamy	0	1	0			12s	0d

By looking at the relevant table, it is possible to isolate the Jews who bonded for money. It can be seen that Cok le fiz Hagin, Belassez filia Solomon and Moses Le Evesk are the sole Jews who only have bonds repayable in cash, whilst the other sixteen Jews involved with money bonds have other interests. Cok le Fiz Hagin's loan, made in 1289 to be repaid at £80-0s-0d by Walter Furneaus and his son John from Nottinghamshire is an extremely large transaction. With the exception of this bond, the top of the moneylending table is dominated by Jews who offer large-scale credit facilities not only in money but also in commodities. Generally, the average money bond of 1290 was worth less than the average bond of that date. Most bonds stipulating repayment in money were therefore for comparatively small sums. In fact, the total of just over £300-0s-0d worth of bonds is a clear indicator that the majority of Lincoln lenders did not favour cash repayments. Thus, it is quite likely that, in Lincoln, the Statute of 1275 did have the effect of turning Jewish interests to commodities other than hard cash. However, as both the Lincoln and the Nottingham archae amply illustrate, it was still possible in the 1280s to make legally binding bonds for cash.[162] The earliest money bond was dated 1278 and was the mixed commodity bond belonging to Jacob of Brancegate. There was also one dated in 1280, one in 1285 and four in 1287. Thirty-four of the money bonds were contracted in the last three years of Jewish presence in Lincoln. Thus, the return to bonding for money, that might to some extent have been stimulated by the Chapitles, is evidenced throughout the 1280s. It is interesting to note that the last bond expecting a monetary repayment was made in June 1290, the same month that the king's secret writs concerning the Expulsion were sent out to the provinces.[163] Thus, there was bonding in money going on in Lincoln throughout the 1280s. It has been suggested by some that bonding for commodities was in fact just

Jews with money bonds registered in the Lincoln  
archa in 1290.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount.
1	Jacob (vocatus) Cok Le Fiz Hagin	£ 80 0s 0d
8	Hagin fil Benedict	£ 80 0s 0d
4	Solomon of London	£ 26 6s 8d
6	Meyre fil Bonne	£ 21 0s 0d
3	Jacob Levy	£ 10 13s 4d
1	Ursell Levy	£ 10 0s 0d
3	Diay fil Diay	£ 9 6s 8d
1	Samuel fil Maunsell	£ 9 6s 8d
2	Abraham fil Diay	£ 8 13s 4d
2	Jacob of Brancegate	£ 8 3s 4d ⊕
1	Cresse fil Jacob Levy	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Isaac fil Manser	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Belassez filia Solomon	£ 5 6s 8d
1	Josce fil Samuel	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Manser fil Samuel	£ 5 0s 0d
2	Leo fil Benedict	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Milo fil Bonne	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Moses Le Evesk	£ 3 0s 0d
1	Benedict fil Josce	£ 2 0s 0d
(41)	(19)	(£ 306 10s 0d)

⊕ Jacob of Brancegate is also owed 1/2 qtr of cereal.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

disguised bonding for money.[164] However, it is difficult to see the need for the Lincoln Jews to disguise money transactions when on occasions they seem happy to deal in them openly.

A more detailed examination of the cereal bonds themselves will further prove the reality of these commodity bonds and finally indicate that the Lincoln Jews had shifted their financial interests and had become brokers for commodities which included cereal. Bonds which stipulated repayment in cereal are no novelty in the dealings of the Lincolnshire Jewry. It has been seen that Aaron of Lincoln was making bonds for corn repayments in the Rutland area in the twelfth century.[165] Davis's comments on the 1240 Lincoln scrutiny have also revealed that the Jews required small commodity repayments including some in cereal.[166] However, before 1275, these repayments are nearly always found as small 'perks' added on to a much larger cash repayment. From the 1262 Lincoln roll of bonds, it is possible to see that, amongst their other debts, Benedict Crespin of London, Jacob fil Aaron, Isaac fil Ursell, Deulecresse fil Isaac, Moses fil Bonenfaunt, Samuel fil Abraham, and Josce fil Jacob were all owed one quarter of corn, whilst Josce fil Deulecresse of Norwich was owed 2 quarters of oats.[167] In a bond made on 15 July 1275, Richard Rudde of Barton promised to pay Jacob fil Isaac of Brancegate £3-6s-8d and one quarter of wheat on 1 January 1276.[168] In comparison with these meagre amounts, the Jews of Lincoln, according to the evidence of the bonds, were owed in 1290 over 2000 quarters of assorted cereal (mainly corn). To accumulate this debt, they had contracted seventy-three bonds which ranged in date from 1278 to 1290. In the archa there were an unbroken run of bonds from 1280 to 1290, clearly indicating that this new interest was fairly long-standing. The amounts contracted for in each bond vary in size from as much as 240 quarters of assorted cereal to two quarters. The modal average size of a corn bond would have been one for twenty

Jews with cereal bonds registered in the Lincoln  
archa in 1290.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount in Qtrs.	Value.
17	Jacob of Brancegate	570qtrs	£ 147 6s 8d
1	Manser of Bradeworth @	240qtrs	£ 54 13s 4d
4	Abraham fil Diay	162qtrs	£ 41 10s 0d
3	Magister Benedict	132qtrs	£ 33 12s 0d
4	Josce fil Bonefy	88qtrs	£ 29 6s 8d
4	Aaron fil Elie	90qtrs	£ 27 16s 8d
4	Elias fil Benedict Gabbay	106qtrs	£ 26 10s 0d
5	Hagin fil Benedict	82qtrs	£ 26 6s 8d
3	Solomon of London	100qtrs	£ 25 0s 0d
2	Jacob fil Sampson Levy @	100qtrs	£ 22 0s 0d
3	Ursell fil Sampson Levy @	88qtrs	£ 21 7s 10d
1	Rose vidua	80qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
3	Milo fil Isaac	52qtrs	£ 13 0s 0d
1	Giwe of Canterbury	30qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
2	Breton fil Josce	28qtrs	£ 9 6s 8d
1	Manser fil Samuel	30qtrs	£ 7 10s 0d
2	Diay fil Diay	20qtrs	£ 5 16s 8d
1	Benedict fil Sampson	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Isaac fil Manser	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Sampson fil Ursell	16qtrs	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Floria filia Josce	10qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Peytevin fil Bateman	12qtrs	£ 3 0s 0d
1	Jacob of Hedon	10qtrs	£ 3 0s 0d
1	Benedict fil Jacob	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
1	Josce fil Pet	6qtrs	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Abraham Levy	5qtrs	£ 1 5s 0d
1	Leo fil Josce	4qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Bonne filia Manser	3qtrs	15s 0d
1	Bonamy fil Bonamy	6qtrs	12s 0d

1	Milo fil Bonne	2qtrs	£	12s	0d
(73)	(30)	(2122qtrs)	(£ 552	13s	10d)

⊕ Manser of Bradeworth was owed 80qtrs of frumenti priced at 6s 8d a qtr, 80qtrs of ordei priced at 5s 0d a qtr, 80qtrs of avenae priced at 2s 0d a qtr by a bond dated September 1279.

Jacob fil Sampson Levy was owed 60qtrs of ordei by a bond dated September 1281. The price was not specified but has been taken as 4s a qtr.

Ursell fil Sampson Levy was owed 24qtrs of bladi, 12 qtrs of frumenti, 6qtrs of ordei and 6qtrs of avenae by a bond dated June 1280. The price of each qtr was not specified but has been taken as follows: wheat 5s 1d a qtr, corn 5s 0d a qtr, barley 3s 4 1/2d a qtr and oats 2s 0 1/2d a qtr.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

quarters; there are fourteen of these in the archa. These are fairly large corn bonds and, if real, must represent something more than just personal consumption, although there is, within the 1290 sample, clear evidence of small cereal bonds which may still reflect the meeting of individual requirements.[169] Twenty quarters of corn would weigh just over 4 tons 4 cwt (Avoirdupois).[170] It would clearly need to be stored somewhere. If these bonds are evidence that the Lincoln Jews followed the letter of the 1275 Statute, became legales mercatores, and changed from usurious moneylenders to advance credit agents and commodity brokers then the bonds themselves must be examined in a different light.

In fact, there are several features of these cereal bonds which suggest that they are transactions concerned with actual repayment in cereals rather than disguised money transactions. The first of these features rests in the degree of detail into which some of the bonds go. In September 1279, Jordan Foliot, miles of Norfolk, and Adam de Novo Mercato, miles of Lincolnshire, made a contract to pay Manser of Bradeworth 80 quarters of frumenti at 6s-8d a quarter, 80 quarters of ordei at 5s-0d a quarter, and 80 quarters of avenae at 2s-0d a quarter. In June 1280, Andrew fil Benedict and Henry fil William of Rolleston in Nottinghamshire made a contract with Ursell fil Sampson Levy. The details of the repayment are, once again, quite clear. They were to pay 24 quarters of bladi (wheat), 12 quarters of frumenti (corn), 6 quarters of ordei (barley) and 6 quarters of avenae (oats). The price for each quarter of cereal was not stipulated. In September 1281, Geoffrey of Fountains, a Lincolnshire knight was to pay Jacob fil Sampson Levi 60 quarters of ordei at another unspecified price per quarter.[171] Farmer's prices for that year show that, per quarter, wheat was worth 4s-8.25d, barley was worth 3s-5.75d and oats were worth 2s-2.75d.[172] If these sorts of bonds were merely covers for totally monetary

transactions then it is inconceivable why such detailed descriptions of the different types of cereals involved were necessary.

The different price levels for cereal which are referred to in the transactions are a second detailed feature of the 1290 cereal bonds which suggests that they are more than disguised money bonds. For, if they had indeed been intended as disguised money bonds, there was no reason for the persons contracting them to create more than artificial price levels to disguise their clandestine moneylending.[173] And, yet, price variation is clearly evident from the table. There is a large difference between Bonamy fil Bonamy's bond for 6 quarters at 2s-0d a quarter made with Richard fil Gerlon of Humberstone in late June 1288 and Milo fil Bonne's bond made with Thomas Spede of Harmston in February 1287, which was priced at 6s-0d a quarter. There is again a difference between Benedict fil Sampson's and Isaac fil Manser's bonds for 20 quarters worth a face value of £5-0s-0d and Diay fil Diay's bonds for the same amount of corn worth £5-16s-8d. Another immediate difference in price can be seen in the single corn transactions of Jacob of Hedon and Benedict fil Jacob.[174]

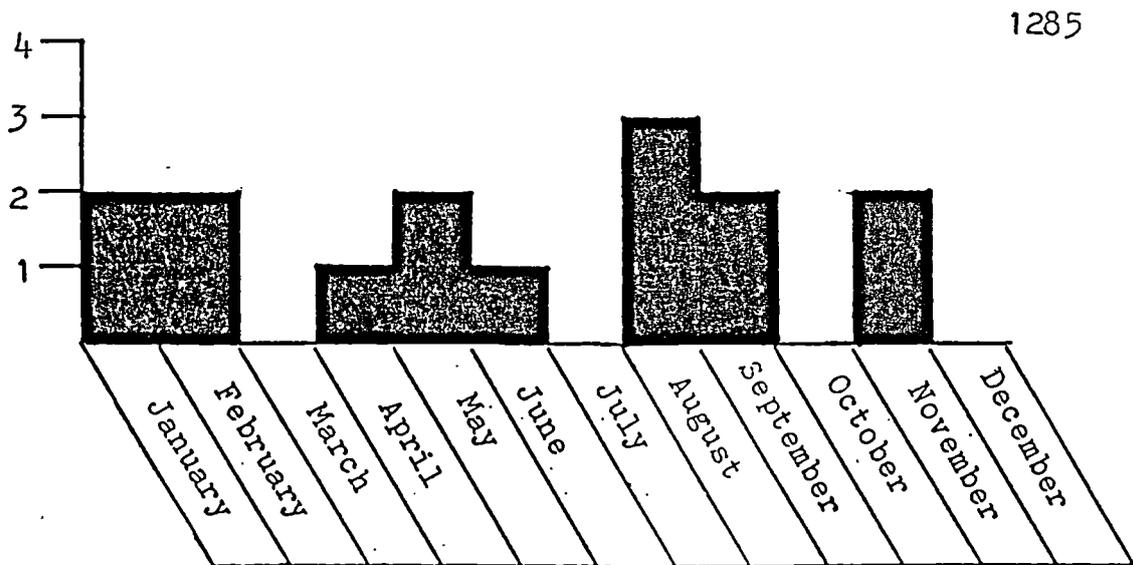
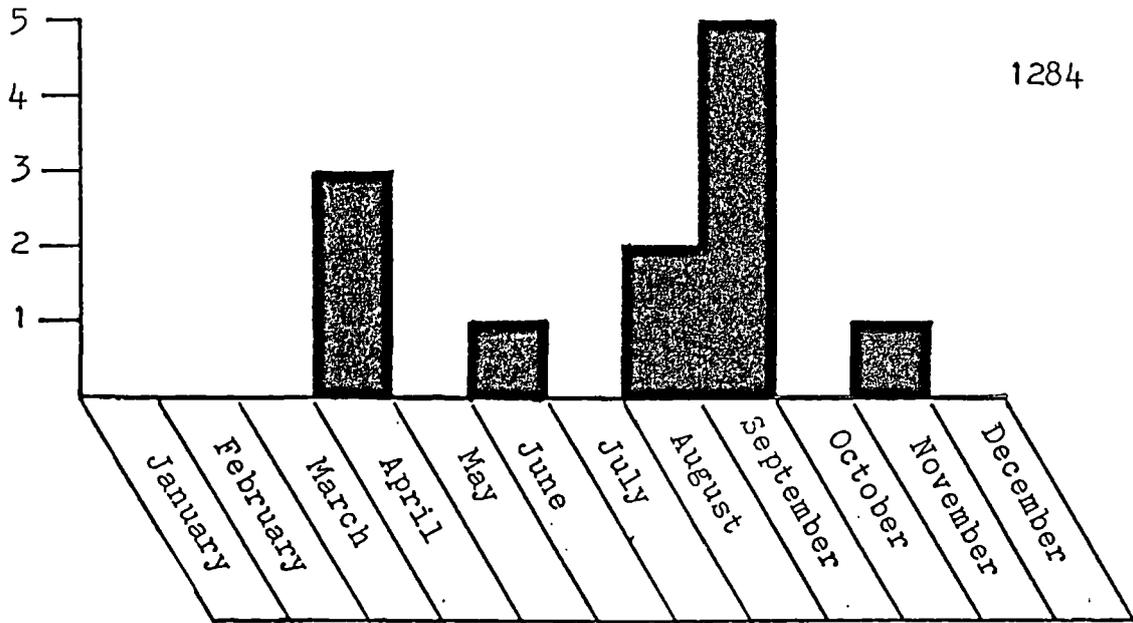
A third feature which suggests that the bonds which mention corn actually refer to real cereal transactions lies in the dates at which bonds expecting cereal repayments were contracted. The bonds recorded in the 1290 sample from the years 1284, 1285, 1286, and 1287 do appear to have a seasonal characteristic in that bonding seems to have been most active in the immediately pre-harvest period, August and September being particularly busy months. This sort of evidence, which suggests credit facilities being offered on the expectation of the harvest, becomes even more significant when it is compared with the lack of seasonal variation in the dates of the bonds contracted expecting monetary repayment as is made clear

in the graphs covering 1288 and 1289 in which August and September do not appear to be exceptional months.[175]

Thus, the distribution of both large and small debts which stipulate cereal repayments, the difference in the values of the bonds, the variation in price level and the seasonal quality of the bonds are very strong evidence that the Jews were becoming increasingly involved in the cereal trade. Perhaps they acted as middle-men and sold the corn to Christian brokers. They could have done this either at their creditor's manors when the bonds were due for repayment or from their own homes. There can, in any case, be little doubt that a man like Jacob of Brancegate who had nineteen cereal bonds in the archa in 1290 worth over £145-0s-0d was a significant figure in the Lincoln cereal trade. He had quite clearly done as the 1275 Statute wished him to do and had become one of the legales mercatores of pre-Expulsion England.[176]

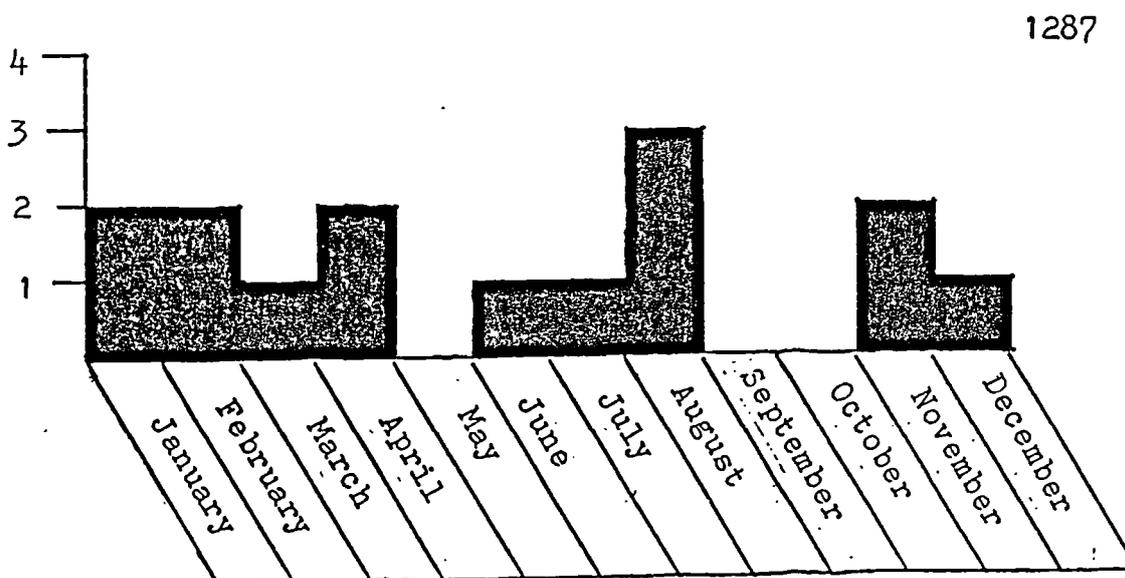
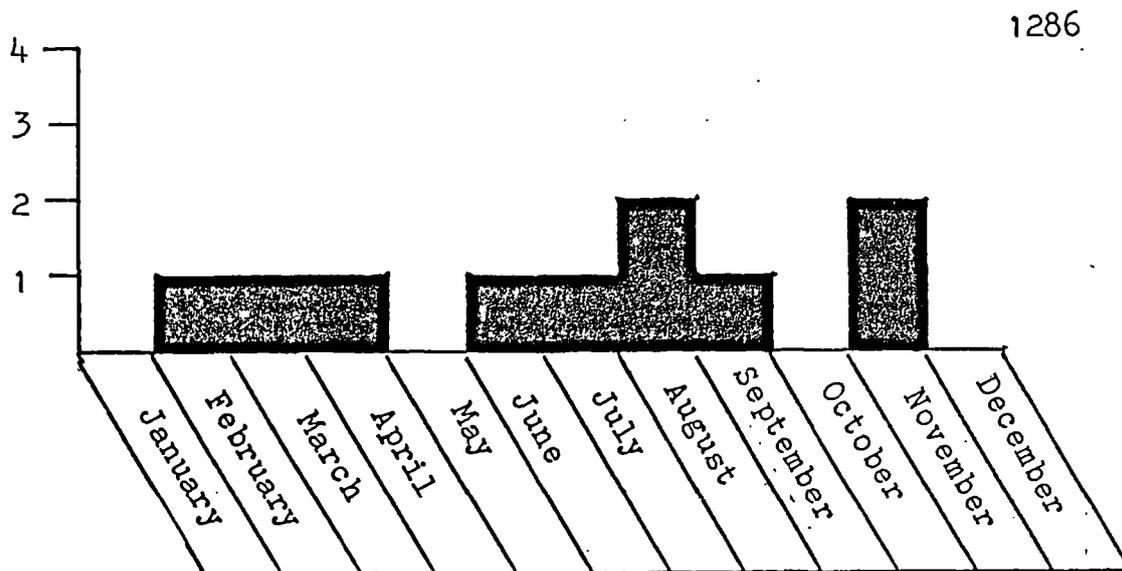
It is now time to consider the forty-eight Lincoln Jews who had unredeemed bonds in 1290 which were repayable in wool. The 136 bonds which stipulated such a commodity repayment ranged in date from 1278 to 1290. There was one bond contracted in 1278, two in 1282, one in 1283, three in 1284, five in 1285, one in 1286, seven in 1287, nineteen in 1288, forty-two in 1289, and fifty-five in 1290. The amounts that the bonds were payable in vary from as much as 8 stone of wool to 12 sacks. There was a single bond for 8 stone of wool, thirty-six bonds were for half a sack, fifty-five were for one sack, one bond was for one and a half sacks, twenty-two were for two sacks, ten were for three sacks, three were for four sacks, four were for five sacks, three were for six sacks and one was for twelve sacks. The total amount of wool owed to the Lincoln Jewry in 1290 was therefore 208.5 sacks and 8 stone of wool. The majority of the bonds involved had been contracted in 1288 and 1290.[177] Thus, at

Bonds, expecting cereal repayment, contracted  
in the Lincoln archa in 1284 and 1285.



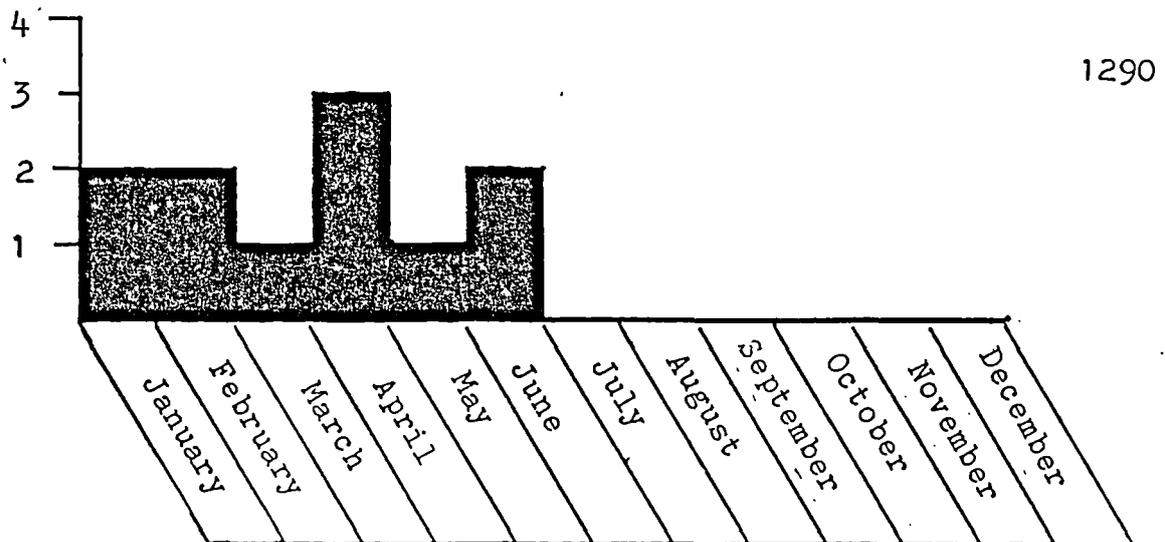
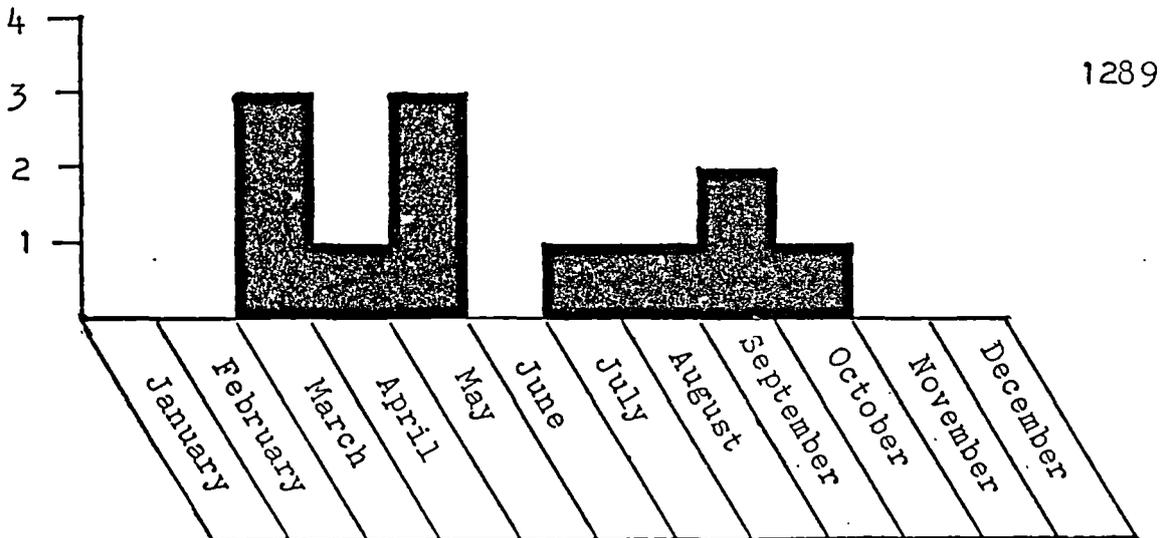
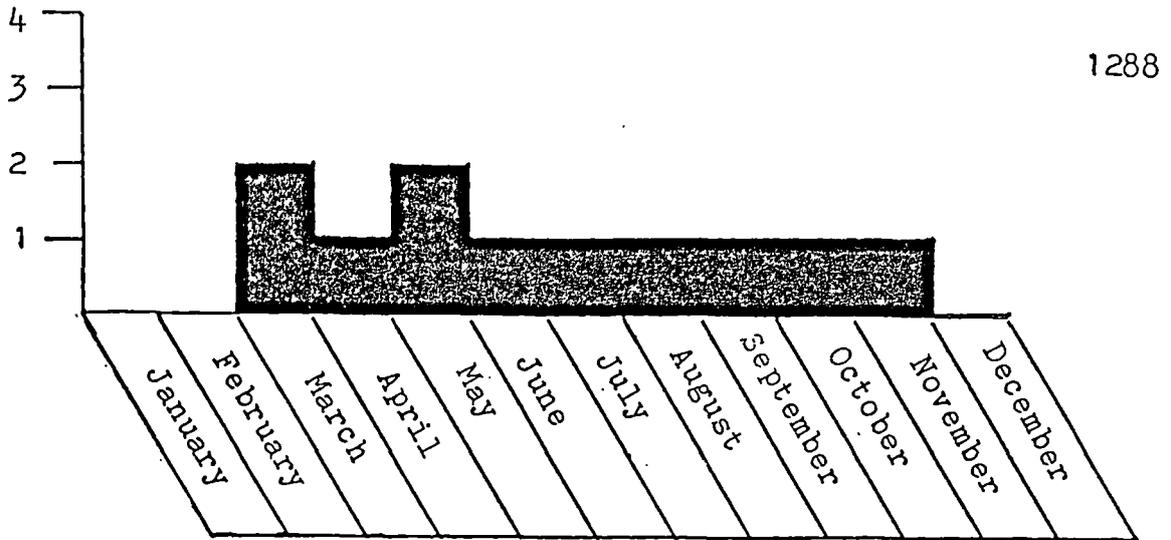
Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

Bonds, expecting cereal repayment, contracted  
in the Lincoln archa in 1286 and 1287.



Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

Bonds, expecting monetary repayment, contracted  
in the Lincoln archa in 1288, 1289 and 1290.



the very least, the Jews of Lincoln were contracting for about sixty-five sacks of wool per annum in the years immediately before the Expulsion. This was a higher annual figure than the Bishop of Winchester could produce on his estates in the south of England at the same period.[178] It is more than Isabella de Forz could produce on her Holderness estates at this time.[179] It would probably be more than any of the monasteries of Lincolnshire could produce per annum at the end of the thirteenth century.[180] This type of comparison indicates the possibility of a new type of business on the part of some Lincoln Jews who in accordance with the Statute tried to become legales mercatores. The modal average bond contracted by the Jews of Lincoln in the late 1280s would have been for one sack of wool. A sack of wool would weigh normally about 26 stone or 3 cwt 1 quarter (Avoirdupois). It took roughly two hundred and fifty to three hundred fells to produce it.[181] A flock of this size would need a considerable grazing area. Wool broking was a business that needed storage, capital, and business acumen. If these bonds are actual commodity bonds then the Jews had developed a new and significant interest.

In fact, the evidence that the Lincoln wool bonds did reflect an active wool business on the part of some Jews is similar to that which was found in connection with the cereal bonds. Firstly there is again a degree of price variation in the bonds. A rapid glance at the table will indicate that those Jews who had a single bond out for a single sack of wool were pricing it at levels ranging from £8-0s-0d and £5-6s-8d. Such price variations would not have been necessary if such bonds had been nothing other than disguised money transactions. It is much more likely that such variations reflect either the ups and downs of the wool market or differences in the quality of the wool that the Jews expected to receive upon repayment. Similarly, just as in the case of the cereal bonds,

Jews with wool bonds registered in the Lincoln  
archa in 1290.

Number of Bonds.	Jew.	Amount in sacks.	Value.
13	Solomon of London	24	£ 180 13s 4d
13	Jacob of Brancegate	22	£ 170 6s 8d
7	Moses fil Isaac	19	£ 144 0s 0d
13	Diay fil Diay	13.5	£ 113 6s 8d
3	Hagin fil Deulecresse	13	£ 106 13s 4d
5	Elias Gabbay	14.5	£ 100 0s 0d
10	Abraham fil Diay	7.5	£ 63 6s 8d
8	Josce fil Samuel, Jew of London manens in Lincoln	6.5	£ 49 6s 8d
5s	Meyr fil Bonne	5.5	£ 48 0s 0d
3	Hagin fil Benedict	6	£ 46 13s 4d
4s	Ursell Levy	6	£ 44 13s 4d
2	Floria filia Josce	5	£ 40 0s 0d
2s	Jacob Levy	5	£ 36 0s 0d
3	Benedict fil Sampson	3.5	£ 34 0s 0d
1	Manser of Bradeworth	5	£ 33 6s 8d
1	Elias fil Deulecresse, Jew of London manens in Lincoln	4	£ 32 0s 0d
2	Isaac fil Manser	4	£ 29 6s 8d
1	Milo Brunne	3	£ 24 0s 0d
2	Benedict fil Josce	3	£ 22 13s 4d
2	Isaac fil Maunsell	3	£ 21 6s 8d
1	Deulecresse fil Jacob of London	3	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Manser fil Solomon	3	£ 20 0s 0d
3	Mayr fil Elie	2	£ 18 6s 8d
2	Jacob of Hedon	2	£ 16 13s 4d
1	Breton fil Josce	2	£ 16 0s 0d
2	Isaac fil Moses	2	£ 14 13s 4d

3	Leo fil Benedict	2	£	14	0s	0d
2	Moses fil Gamaliel	2	£	13	6s	8d
2	Manser fil Samuel	2	£	10	13s	4d
1	Aaron fil Elie	1	£	8	0s	0d
1	Sampson fil Jacob Levy	1	£	8	0s	0d
1	Josce Gabbay	1	£	8	0s	0d
1	Josce fil Pet	1	£	8	0s	0d
s	Sarra filia Bonne	0.75	£	7	10s	0d
s	Chere vidua	0.75	£	7	10s	0d
s	Bonne	1	£	6	13s	4d
s	Milo fil Bonne	1	£	6	13s	4d
1	Deulecresse fil Solomon of Norwich	1	£	6	13s	4d
1	Abraham fil Elye	1	£	6	13s	4d
1	Trina filia Dulcia of York manens in Lincoln	1	£	6	13s	4d
1	Cresse fil Jacob Levy	1	£	6	13s	4d
2	Sely fil Milca	0.5 + 8 stone	£	5	14s	8d
1	Milca filia Benedict de Ganneki	1	£	5	6s	8d
1	Samuel fil Maunsell	0.5	£	5	0s	0d
s	Elias fil Manser	0.5	£	5	0s	0d
1	Avigaye filia Bonne	0.5	£	4	0s	0d
1	Josce fil Bonefy	0.5	£	4	0s	0d
1	Avigaye uxor Diay fil Diay	0.5	£	3	6s	8d
(136)	(48)	(208.5 + 8 stone)	(£1602	14s	8d)	

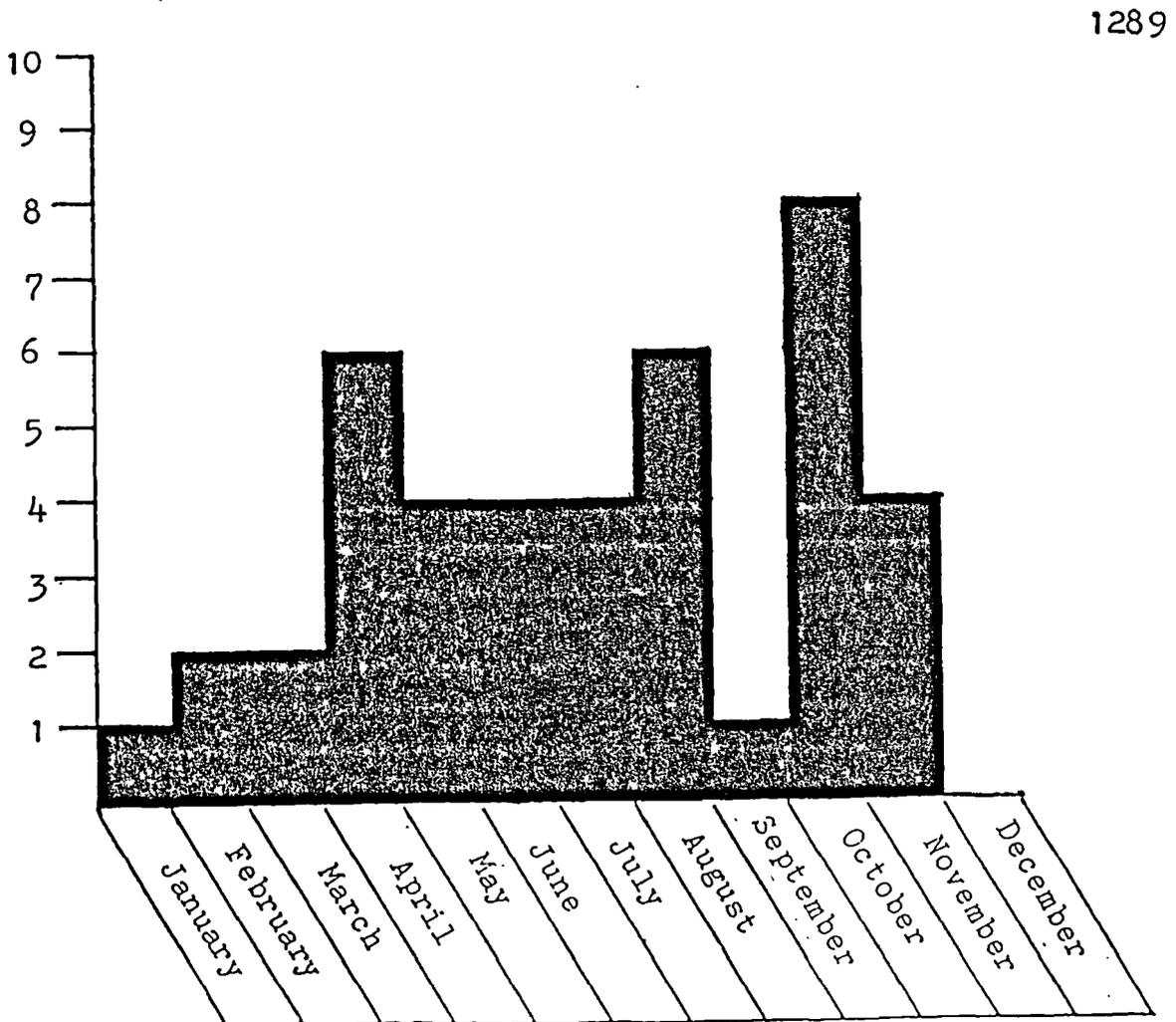
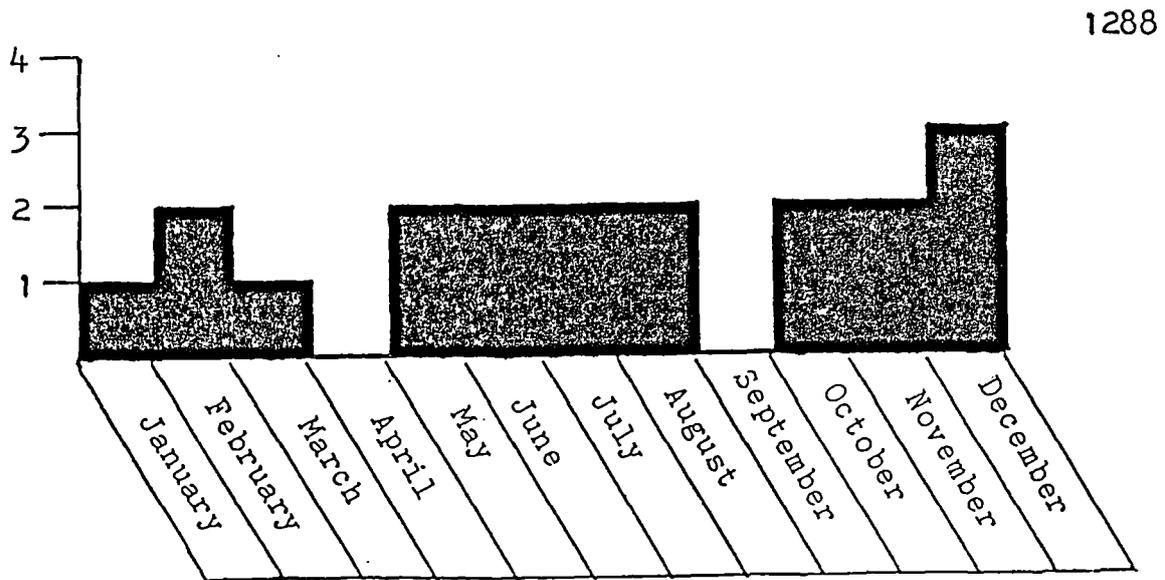
Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

there does seem to be some sort of pattern in the dates during the year at which wool bonds were contracted. While there was a constant trickle throughout the year of money bonds, wool bonds do show some seasonal variation in that bonding seems to have been most frequent, from the evidence of the 1288-1290 bonds, in the period between April and June. This is interestingly the period prior to the clip.[182] Hence, just as the Jews were prepared to speculate on the harvest by making cereal bonds in August, so they were prepared to speculate on the clip by making wool bonds in Spring.

There is further proof of the reality of the wool bonds to be gained through an investigation of the amounts of wool owed to each Jew according to the 1290 sample. At the top of the table there are six Jews, Solomon of London, Jacob of Brancegate, Moses fil Isaac of London, Elias Gubbay, Diay fil Diay and Hagin fil Deulecresse. It is noteworthy that these larger entrepreneurs include three Jews with known connections with London. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that either their capital came from there or that their wool might well have eventually been bound for the London market and export from the south instead of nearby Boston. This category of creditors all have bonds repayable in wool that are worth over £100-0s-0d. Between them they are owed 104.5 sacks of wool with a face value of £800-6s-8d on the open market. They have control over half the wool which was apparently owed to the Lincoln Jewry.[183]

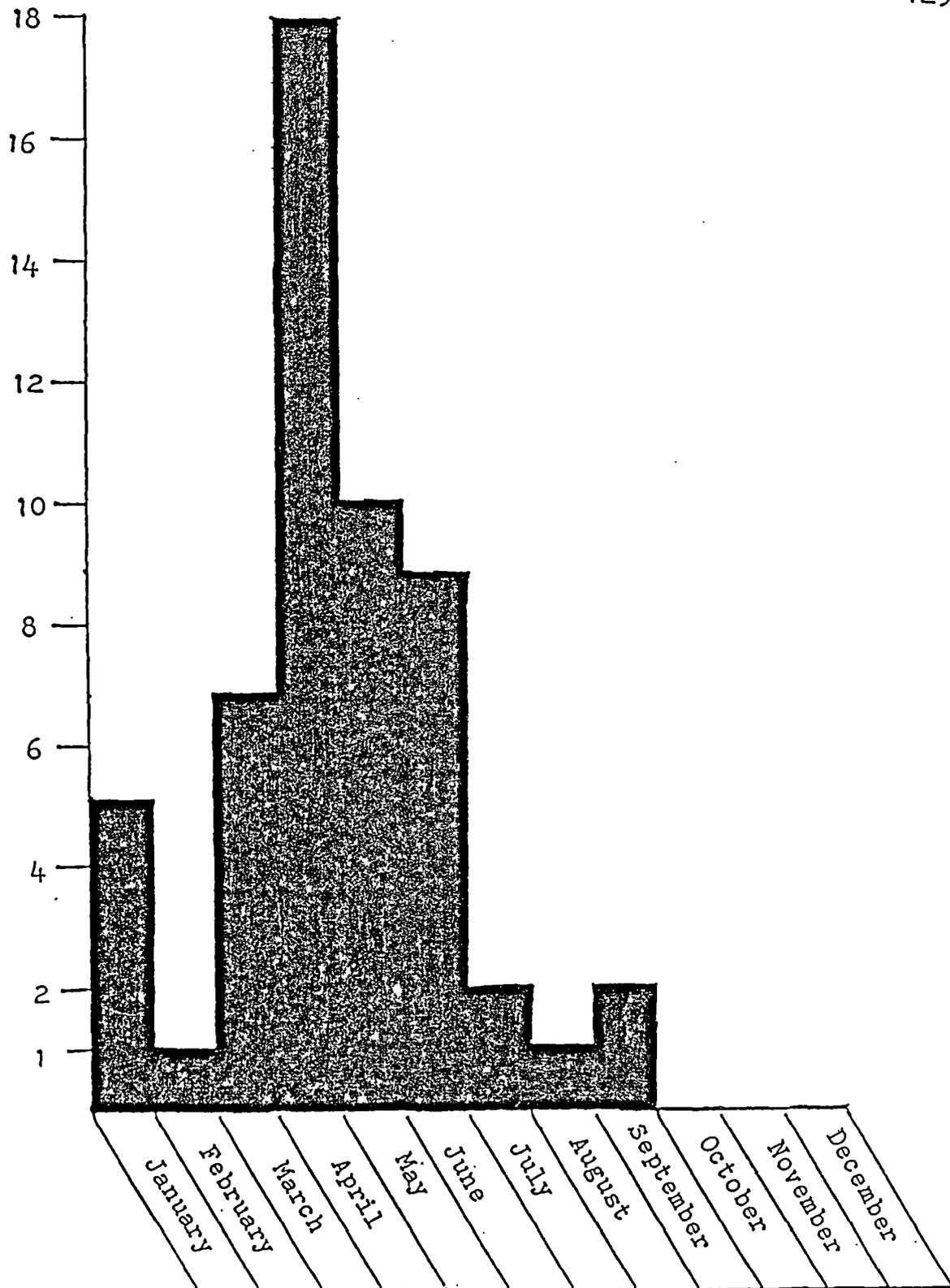
The table also reveals a section of Jews who could be regarded as creditors who may have been wool merchants of more ordinary proportions. This group could be compared to Christian wool merchants operating in Lincoln like Stephen of Stanham who even owned his own boat at Boston and William of Hephham whose surviving bonds for 1284 will be considered in greater detail below.[184] Fourteen of these Jews have bonds worth over £20-0s-0d and they, as

Bonds, expecting wool repayment, contracted in  
the Lincoln archa in 1288 and 1289.



Bonds, expecting wool repayment, contracted  
in the Lincoln archa in 1290.

1290

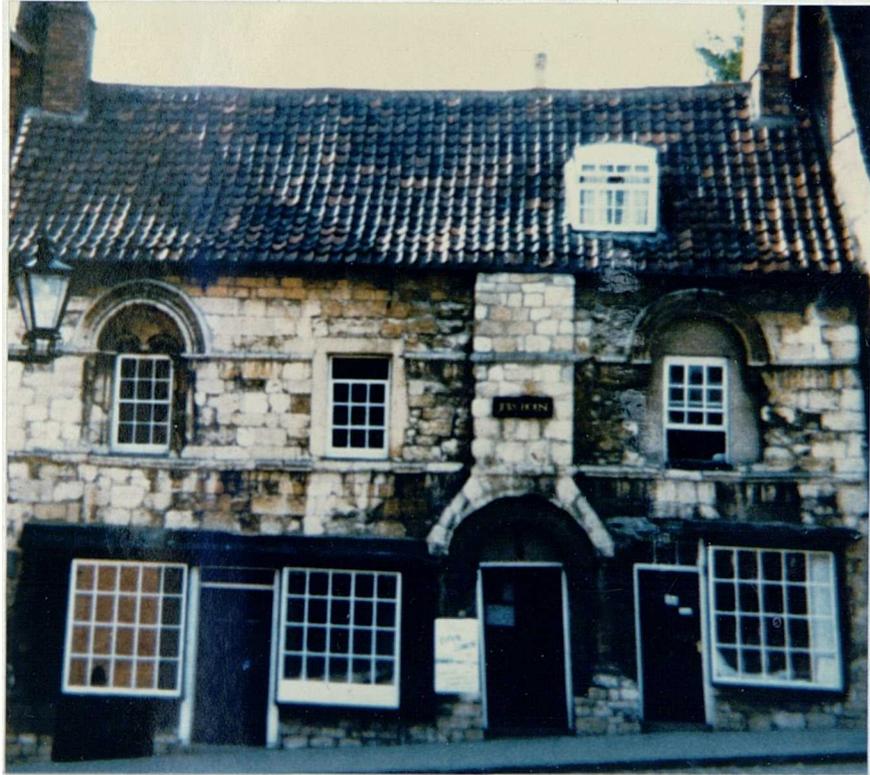


Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

a section of dealers, account for 67 sacks worth a total of £571-6s-8d at the market value. Ten of these Jews have wool bonds worth over £10-0s-0d but less than £20-0s-0d and account for 21.5 sacks worth a total market value of £154-0s-0d. These twenty-four Jews seem to have normally made smaller contracts for one sack or half a sack at a time from each client. There was, perhaps, an easy market, in Lincoln, for the odd sack of wool. It could either be sold to the larger wool merchants who inhabited the town or to the merchants who normally came in by river and tied up at Thorngate or to those who had barges in Brayford Pool which were bound for Boston or some other fair.

There are eighteen Jews who are owed bonds worth a value of under £10-0s-0d. They are each owed one sack of wool or less. In total this group is owed just 14.5 sacks and 8 stone of wool, worth a total market value of approximately £112-14s-8d. There were probably many ways of disposing of raw wool in Lincoln. The Newport fair which normally took place between 17 and 29 June, only four hundred yards from the Bail, was a possible outlet for any quantity of wool. It always took place at about the time of the wool clip.[185] The wool market in Lincoln was in the south-east corner of the town. Bischoff estimates that, in the years 1292-1293, 1033 sacks of wool passed through the Lincoln wool markets alone.[186] It would seem that between the years 1288-1290 the Jews had begun to have some influence on the wool market as, from their bonds, they had cornered at least 6 percent of that market. Thus, the wool bonds recorded in the 1290 sample reveal Jews, the volume of whose credit activities would have given them recognizable places within what is known of the wool trade of Lincoln. This is further circumstantial evidence to suggest that such Jews were indeed part of that trade.

If the Jews were therefore acting as wool merchants, they would have had to have had places to store the wool. It is known from the practices of Lincoln wool merchants and others that wool was always stored in the house of the vendor until after the sale. It is also known that, once a sale had been concluded, it was customarily signified as closed by the acceptance by the purchaser of a key to the house where the wool was stored.[187] If the larger Jewish wool merchants were being paid in wool or making genuine contracts for wool they would have to have houses and storage within easy distance of the markets in Lincoln or the river. Several of the Lincoln Jews were in possession of houses which could be used to store commodities. Lipman has pointed out that many of the references to Jewish houses seem to indicate substantial buildings which were in keeping with Thrupp's description of merchants' houses in London.[188] Two of the houses at Lincoln which have been associated with the Jews are both substantial buildings of this type. The house associated with Aaron of Lincoln (now called the Norman house) and No.8 Steep Hill and even Jews Court all fit Thrupp's detailed description of a merchant's house. They all could have had a shop at street level with warehouse space beneath it. They all have the main room or hall on the first floor and all could have had sleeping accommodation on the next floor.[189] There are also mentions in the records of Jewish property in Lincoln of shoppae. [190] The geographical position of Jewish property in Lincoln would actually have lent itself to trade. Indeed, three of the six Jews who have been seen as professional wool brokers -- Jacob of Brancegate, Elias Gubbay and Solomon of London -- had property in the busy mercantile centre of Brancegate.



Belasset's House now No.8 Steep Hill Lincoln.



Aaron's House now The Norman House Lincoln.

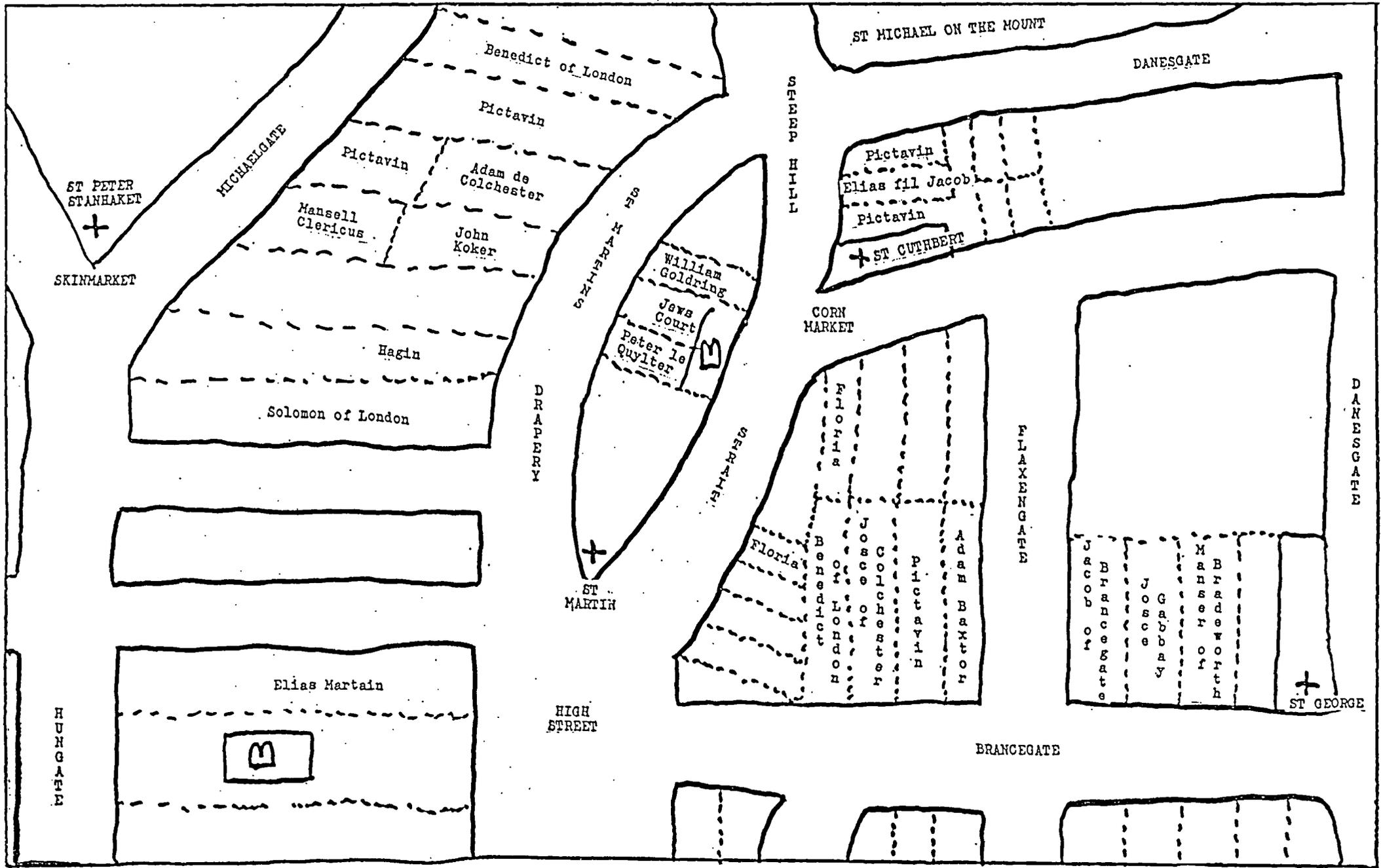
The above evidence linking Jewish property holding in Lincoln in 1290 with possible commercial activity in wool is available because there is an exceptionally large and detailed amount of information surviving about Jewish property in the city in this period.[191] From this information it is possible to see that, despite the theories of nineteenth-century historians, the Jews of Lincoln did not live in a closed 'ghetto' but in an open Jewry amongst Christians.[192] From the evidence, it is also possible to discern that some Jews may have indeed used property as another commodity amongst their financial investments. Finally, from the material available, it is possible, on occasions, to obtain detailed descriptions of particular properties. For instance, as Lipman has observed, the return made in the summer of 1290 by twelve Lincoln probi homines describes one house as optima domus cum duabus shoppis et pulchro exitu which was worth 30s.[193] This type of dwelling would probably be the better type of house and possibly built in stone.

From the available evidence, it is possible to distinguish between the values attached to the various Jewish properties in Lincoln at the time of the Expulsion. There were seven houses worth more than 20s. Floria of London was the owner of the house with the beautiful passage. It was worth 30s and was situated in the parish of St Martin. In 1290, it was occupied by William Le Welley, a Christian.[194] It is possible that Floria, rather than lending money, chose to invest in property and had rented this house out as a source of income. She seems to have lived in a property which was worth 6s in the neighbouring parish of St Cuthbert.[195] Magister Benedict of London had a house which reflected not only his wealth but also his status. It was situated in the parish of St Benedict and was worth 40s. For this property he had to pay 3d in land rent to the king per annum and 21s-4d to the cathedral at Lincoln. It is

worth noting that he also had property in Brancegate.[196] The other properties worth more than or about 20s belonged to Manser of Bradeworth and Belasset.[197] However, another Jew, Benedict de la Gannok who does not seem to have taken part in any moneylending had a rather valuable property called 'Le Gannok'. It was worth 20s and was described as 'two high houses, well-built with tiles'. It appears that Benedict Le Gannok's property was not re-sold after the Expulsion.[198]

There were ten houses in the price range between 16s-8d and 10s. Manser of Bradeworth held a messuage in Brancegate worth 13s-4d for which he paid a land rent to the king of 1d per annum and in which, in 1290, Peter le Conreyur stayed. Josce of Colchester also held a messuage, possibly with a shop, which was worth 12s and for which he paid a land rent to the king of 1d and a payment of 3s-6d per annum to Alison, the wife of Nicholas of Chester. It was described as 'a good house, well-built with two chambers'. Jude the Jew, who was not mentioned in the bonds remaining in the archa in 1290, but who had appeared in the Lincoln scrutiny of 1275, held a messuage 'somewhere in the bailwick', or the Bail, which was described as 'a house with one shop with two well-built chambers in the middle of the passage'. Hagin fil Benedict of London had a house worth 13s-4d for which he paid 1d a year to the king and which Geppy the Jew inhabited. Jacob of Brancegate had a property in the parish of St George Brancegate which was worth 15s. Benedict le Civitate had a property worth 11s in the parish of St John the Poor to the north-east of the Jewish quarter.[199]

There are six properties in the price range from 10s to 6s. The Scola or synagogue was worth 10s and the community of the Jews of Lincoln paid a land rent of 1d per annum to the king.[200] It seems that the community of the Jews of Lincoln also owned a house



+ CHURCH

M SYNAGOGUE

Reconstruction of Jewish domiciles in thirteenth century Lincoln.

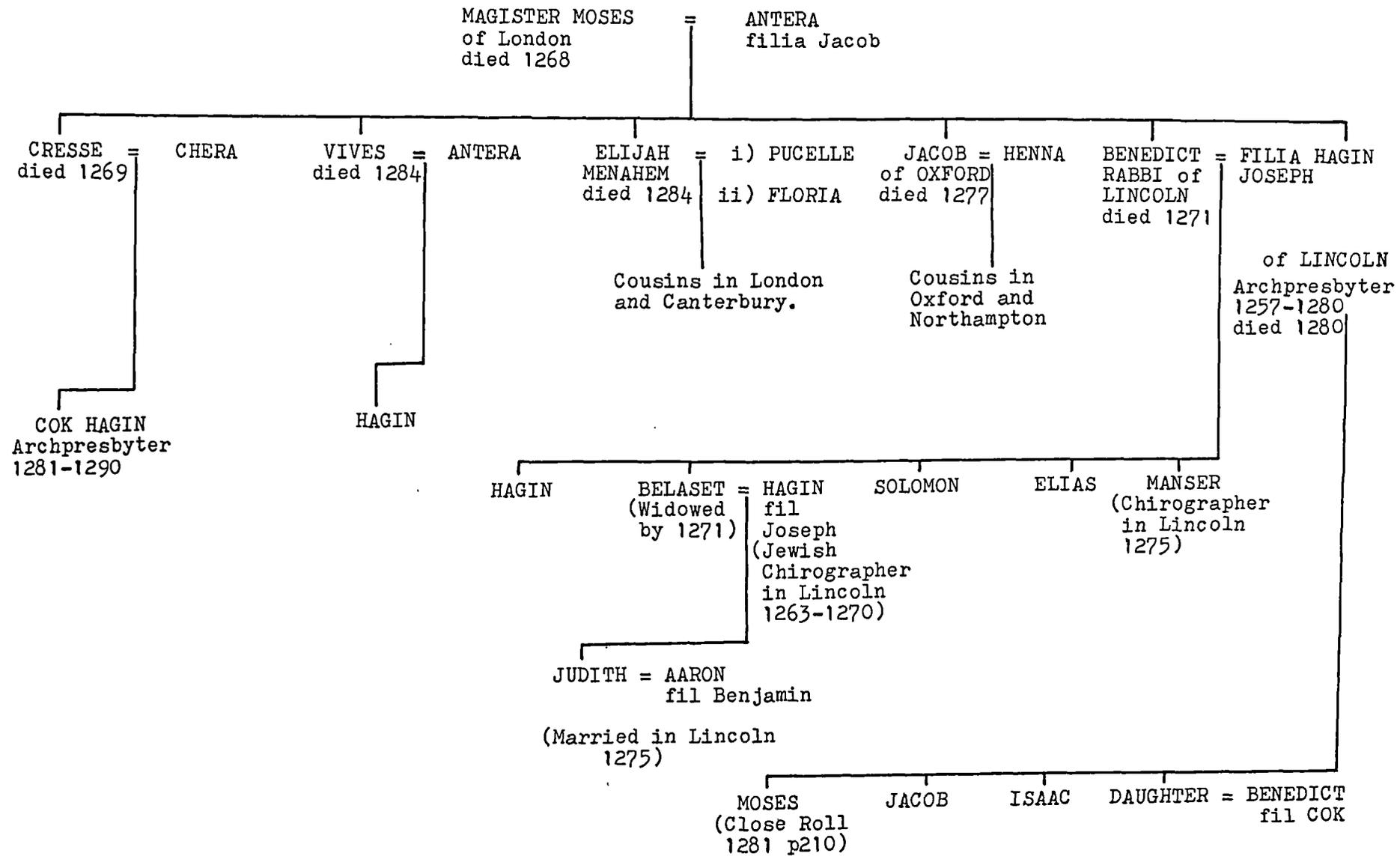
adjoining the synagogue in the 'Street of the Synagogue' as well as two houses over the entrance to that house.[201] Presumably, this is a reference to Jew's Court because it is situated in the parish of St Cuthbert. Hagin fil Benedict owned a house in St Martin's parish which was worth 6s which he rented from Adam Ack for 9s per annum and paid the king 1d a year. He also paid a yearly land rent to the Priory of St Katherine for a plot of land on which his kitchen was built.[202] Manser of Bradeworth owned a further house in Brancegate worth 10s for which he paid land rent to the king of 1d and a rent of one pound of cummin to the Prioress of Heyming. However, at that time, Manser did not live in it. It was let to John of Norwich and Matilda, his wife, who were granted the house after Manser's exile.[203] Floria of London had a messuage worth 6s in the parish of St Cuthbert.[204] Solomon of London had two small cottages in Brancegate which were both worth 6s.[205] Ursellus Levi had property in the parish of St Mark in Wigford which was worth 8s for which he paid 1d to the king and 1d to Osbert le Lung every year.[206]

In the lower price range of property worth between 5s and 1s-6d, Elias Gabbay had a small messuage worth 2s, which he held in fee, and for which he paid 1d per annum to the king and 4s to John Stoyl. It was described as being comprised of small cottages and was granted to Walter of Carlisle, in 1291, along with the site and appurtenances in the same city which was the burial place of the Jews and which was worth 3s-6d.[207] Master Benedict of London had property worth 5s for which he paid 1d to the king and a further 15s to the Hospital of St Lazarus. This property was situated in Brancegate and was described as having been 'two shops and two tenements -- well-built'.[208] Manser of Tickhill lived in Lincoln in a small cottage in bad repair worth 3s for which he paid the royal land rent of 1d per annum. [209]

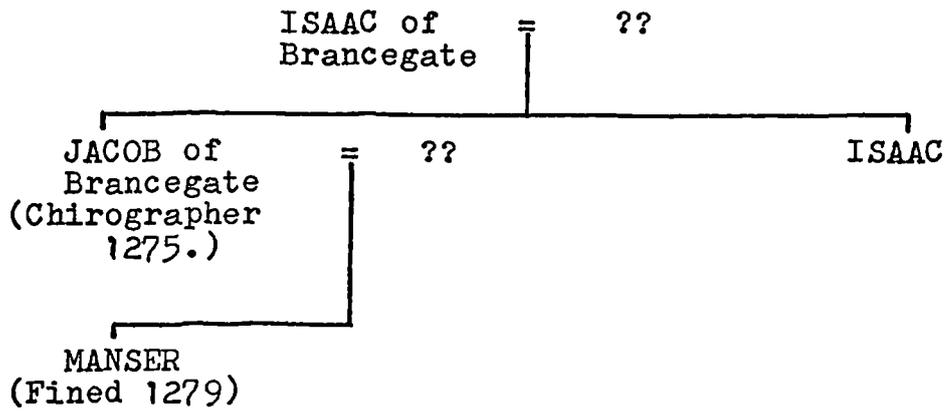
Thus, the property evidence from Lincoln in 1290 supports the other evidence for the existence of a large Jewish community with certain individuals maintaining highly successful businesses which may have seen them acting not only as moneylenders but also as merchants and even landlords right up until 1290. The main thrust of this evidence is, to suggest that in Lincoln, for certain Jews, the Edwardian Experiment had been 'successful' in persuading them to diversify their financial activities. Some of these Jews had clearly profited from greater diversification. Thus, despite the rigours of Edward's reign, it is just possible that some of Lincoln's Christian businessmen saw the Expulsion not as the removal of an irrelevant minority but as the banishment of competitors who were beginning to have a significant influence upon the development of established commercial activities.

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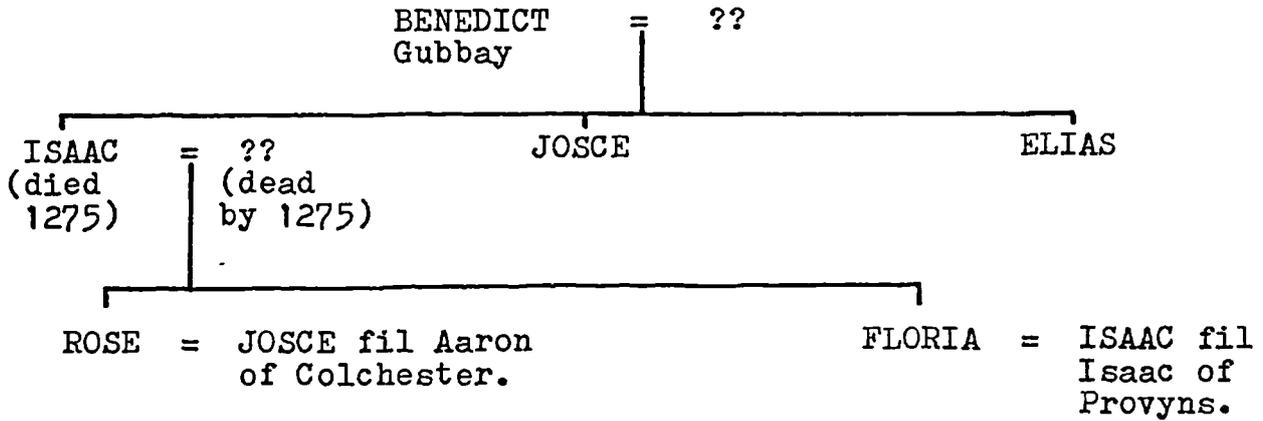
The Family of Magister Moses of London 1240-1290.



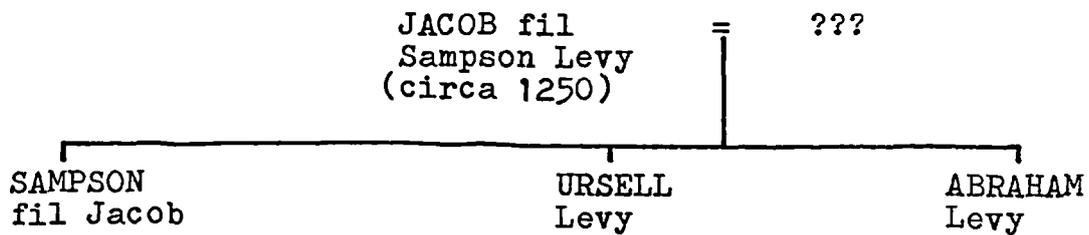
The family of Isaac of Brancegate of Lincoln 1270-1279.



The family of Benedict Gubbay of Lincoln 1270-1280.



The family of Jacob Levy of Lincoln 1250-1270.



- [1] Lipman pp4-7. Lipman places Lincoln as the third largest community in England. The absence of information on the York community makes this difficult to dispute. V.D. Lipman, 'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, pp66-67. C. Roth, 'Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole' J.J.S., 1, pp70-72. C. Roth, Medieval Lincoln and its Jewry, p19.
- [2] Lipman, pvii. Apart from Number 8 Steep Hill and Jews Court there is a possibility that the Norman House might have been connected with Aaron of Lincoln and that part of the Cardinal's Hat Public House also dates from the period. R.H. Jones, 'Medieval Houses at Flaxengate Lincoln' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 11, 1, p4. A. Newman, 'Jewish Life in Norman England' Jewish Chronicle, June 10th 1966, p7. C. Roth, Medieval Lincoln and its Jewry, p21. H. Rosenau, 'Note on the relationship of Jews Court and the Lincoln Synagogue' Archaeological Journal, 53, p51. C.P.C. Johnson, 'A second Jewish Scola in Lincoln' Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 13, pp15-16. F. Haes, 'Lincoln 1898' T.J.H.S.E., 3, pp180-186.
- [3] J. Jacobs, 'Little St Hugh of Lincoln, researches in History, Archaeology and Legend' T.J.H.S.E., 1, pp89-135. G.I. Langmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln' Speculum, 47, pp459-482. Lincoln Public Library, The Banks Collection. S. Lethieullier, 'A Letter from Mr Smart Lethieullier to Mr Gale, Relating to the Shrine of St Hugh, the Crucified Child at Lincoln' Archaeologia, 1, pp26-29. G. Tuck, Foreward and introduction to C. Roth Medieval Lincoln and its Jewry, ppvii-14.
- [4] V.D. Lipman, 'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, p67. J.P. Bischoff, Economic Change in Lincoln in the Thirteenth Century, p98.
- [5] P.R.O. E/101/249/4, P.R.O. E/101/249/10, P.R.O. E/101/249/16, P.R.O. E/101/250/12. These sources give rough ideas of the numbers of Lincoln Jews who are mentioned in the records. In 1240, there were 156 Jews named who it seems all held bonds which were in the archa. In 1262, there were 90 Jews named who contributed some of their bonds for a tallage payment. In 1275, there were 93 Jews who it seems held bonds or had been in the habit of depositing bonds in the archa. In 1290, there were 61 Jews named who had bonds which were still in the Lincoln archa after the Expulsion.
- [6] B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, p103.
- [7] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39 and P.R.O. E/101/249/29.
- [8] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39.
- [9] P.R.O. SC/11/46. Royal Commission of Historic Monuments - Stamford, pxli. F. Peck, Annals of Stamford, 9, p19.
- [10] J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, pp219-229. Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some Accounts of Condemned Jew's Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies, 1, p37.
- [11] Tickhill Rigg, p53, J. Hunter, South Yorkshire, 1, pp225, 237. Doncaster P.R.O. E/101/249/16 and P.R.O. E/401/1582. Hedon W.A.M.6831, W.A.M.9145. Retford C.C.R. 1277 p389. Grantham P.R.O. E/101/249/4. Holme Rigg, p68. Brodworth J. Hunter, South Yorkshire, 1, p314, P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [12] M.B. Honeybourne, 'The pre-Expulsion cemetery of the Jews in London' T.J.H.S.E., 20, p157. M. Adler, 'Aaron of York' T.J.H.S.E., 13, p149. R. Davies, 'The Mediaeval Jews of York' Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal, 2, p186. N.R.O. M/24/182-188 The Lassman Papers.
- [13] M.D. Davis, 'The Bodleian Ewer' Jewish Chronicle, August 12th 1887, p10. P.R.O. E/101/249/10 - reveals the names of three Jews 'of Colchester'.
- [14] Gesta Pontificorum Anglorum, p312. Cited by F. Hill Medieval Lincoln, p173.

- [15] Ordnance Survey Map Sheet 121 1974. F.M. Stenton, 'The road system of medieval England' Ec.H.R., 7, pp1-21. F. Hill Medieval Lincoln. F.Hill A Short History of Lincoln, p37. M. Lloyd Portrait of Lincolnshire. F. Hill The City of Lincoln.
- [16] There is still a Harbour Master at Brayford pool to this day. Lincoln was a port in the thirteenth century. Seemingly this would slightly contradict V.D. Lipman, 'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, p66. and P.R. Hyams, 'The Jewish minority in Medieval England 1066-1290' J.J.S., 25/26, p271.
- [17] F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p173.
- [18] The Book of John de Schalby - Canon of Lincoln 1299-1333, Concerning the Bishops of Lincoln and their Acts, edited by J.H. Srawley, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, 2, p5.
- [19] Ibid pp7-9. D.H. Duke Lincoln Cathedral, p2. J.H. Srawley The story of Lincoln Minster, pp11, 12, 15-22.
- [20] F.Hill, A Short History of Lincoln, p28.
- [21] F.Hill, A Short History of Lincoln, pp22-24.
- [22] F.Hill, A Short History of Lincoln, p33. E. Power, The Wool Trade, pp22-23.
- [23] F.Hill, A Short History of Lincoln, p40.
- [24] Richardson, p9. The Lincoln Jewish community contributed £40-0s-0d to a donum levied by Henry II in 1159.
- [25] F. Hill, A Short History of Lincoln, p33. F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, pp220-221.
- [26] J.Jacobs, 'Aaron of Lincoln' T.J.H.S.E., 3, p162. J. Hunter History of South Yorkshire, 1, p269. Cartularium Rievallense Surtees Society, 83, pp200, 203, 204. Memorials of Fountains Abbey Surtees Society, 2, p18.
- [27] Jacobs, p264. F.Hill, A Short History of Lincoln, p25. The Book of John de Schalby Canon of Lincoln 1299-1303 Concerning the Bishops of Lincoln and their Acts, edited J.R. Srawley, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, 2, p8.
- [28] M.D. Davis, 'The Mediaeval Jews of Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, p187.
- [29] F.Hill, Medieval Lincoln, pp218-220. J.Jacobs, 'Aaron of Lincoln' T.J.H.S.E., 3, pp157-179.
- [30] Jacobs, pp260-261.
- [31] Pipe Roll 31 Henry II 1184-1185, p94.
- [32] Pipe Roll 31 Henry II 1184-1185, p94. Many other members of Aaron of Lincoln's family also made payments at this time for various reasons.
- [33] Jacobs, pp112-113.
- [34] Ibid. pp115-117.
- [35] I. Abrahams, 'The Northampton Donum of 1194' Misc.J.H.S.E., 1, pplxvii-lxviii, lxix-lxx. These totals do not agree with Lipman's figures for the Northampton Donum. It is difficult to distinguish from the evidence between tallage assessed and tallage collected. cf. Lipman p5.
- [36] Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis Episcopi Lincolnensis, edited J.F. Dimmock, p373.
- [37] J.A. Froude, 'A Bishop of the Twelfth Century' in St Hugh of Lincoln, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, 1, p32.
- [38] M.D. Davis, 'The Jews of Mediaeval Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, p185. Jacobs, p201.
- [39] D.M. Stenton Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls Lincolnshire Record Society, 22, No.996. Cited by F.Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p223.
- [40] Jacobs, p233. N.R.O. M/24/182-188, The Lassman Papers.
- [41] M.D.Davis. 'The Mediaeval Jews of Lincoln.' Archaeological Journal, 38, p188.
- [42] M.D. Davis, 'The Mediaeval Jews of Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, p186.
- [43] De Bloissiers Tovey, Anglia Judaica, p70. See Chapter II above

note [2].

[44] H.M. Chew, 'A Jewish Aid to Marry A.D. 1221' T.J.H.S.E., 11, pp92-111.

[45] M.D. Davis 'The Mediaeval Jews of Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, p186.

[46] S.C.B.M. 1, p34. Great Sturton is 5 1/2 miles North north west of Horncastle.

[47] S.C.B.M. 1, pp36-40.

[48] S.C.B.M. 1, pp47-53.

[49] S.C.B.M. 1, pp41-43.

[50] S.C.B.M. 1, pp41-47.

[51] S.C.B.M. 1, pp56-60. Harborough is 8 miles North north west of Grimsby.

[52] S.C.B.M. 1, pp70-71. This is a good example of an archa being used as an archive. See Chapter I note [210].

[53] G.I. Langmuir, 'Jews and Archives of medieval England - reflections on anti-semitism' Traditio, 19, pp210-221. See Chapter IV note [210].

[54] Registrum Antiquissimum, Lincoln Record Society, vol4, pp41, 68, 99, 130, 135, 173, 244-6, vol5 pp50, 102, 139, 140, vol6 pp25, 27, 60-62, 74, 116-117, vol7 pp33, 81, 91, 98, 155, 157, 173-174. L.A.O. Dean and Chapter Mss. (ii) 75/2/36, (ii) 75/2/37, (ii) 75/2/15. This particular clause can be found elsewhere across the country. The problem was partially corrected by the Statute of Mortmain in 1279.

[55] Rigg, pxlviii-li.

[56] S.C.B.M. 1, pp79-80.

[57] S.C.B.M. 1, pp30-34. See Chapter II above note [142].

[58] Final Concords, Lincoln Records Society, 17, p225 No.6.

P.R.E.J. 1, p210. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 3, Harleian Society, 82, pp249-250.

[59] P.R.O. E/101/249/4. B.L.Mss. Additional Mss. Hunterian 24453 folio 72. Is a manuscript copy of the first membrane of the roll.

[60] M.D. Davis, 'The Jews of Mediaeval Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, p190.

[61] Roth, p45.

[62] M.D. Davis, 'The Jews of Mediaeval Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, pp178-200. C. Roth, 'The Ordinary Jew in the Middle Ages: a contribution to his history' Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman, pp21-33.

[63] M.D. Davis, 'The Jews of Mediaeval Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, p192.

[64] C. Roth, 'The Ordinary Jew in the Middle Ages: a contribution to his history' Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman, p21.

[65] P.R.E.J. 4, pp14, 15, 16, 17, 24, 25, 26, 27.

[66] P.R.O. E/101/249/4.

[67] F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln. J. Jacobs, 'Little St Hugh of Lincoln, researches in History, Archaeology and Legend'

T.J.H.S.E., 1, pp89-135. G.I. Langmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln' Speculum, 47, pp459-482. R.L. Saitz, 'Hugh of Lincoln and the Jews' The Chicago Jewish Forum, 18, pp308-311. De Bloissiers Tovey, Anglia Judaica, pp136-143. Lincoln Public Library - The Banks Collection folios 80, 81, 154.

[68] G.I. Langmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln' Speculum, 47, pp459-482.

[69] Ibid. p461. J. Jacobs, 'Little St Hugh of Lincoln, researches in History, Archaeology and Legend' T.J.H.S.E., 1, pp113-114.

[70] C.C.R. 1255, p227.

[71] C.C.R. 1255, pp142, 143, 145.

[72] C.C.R. 1255, pp142, 143, 145, 241, 451, 493, 510.

[73] De Antiquis Legibus Liber: Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum, edited T. Stapleton, Camden Society, 34, p23.

- [74] C.P.R. 1247-1258, pp453, 457. C.Roth, 'Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole' J.J.S., 1, pp68-69.
- [75] Royal and other historical letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III, edited by W.W.Shirley, 2, p110.
- [76] Rigg, pp56-57. G.I. Langmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln' Speculum, 47, p479.
- [77] C.P.R. 1255, p451.
- [78] C.P.R. 1256, p510.
- [79] C.P.R. 1256, p493.
- [80] R.H. Jones, 'Medieval Houses at Flaxengate Lincoln' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 11, 1, p4. L.A.O. Mss. D (ii) A1 10. fol.11.
- [81] C.C.R. 1256, pp236-237. L.A.O. Dean and Chapter Mss. D (ii) A1 10. fol.11.
- [82] C.P.R. 1255, p439-444.
- [83] P.R.O. E/401/43.
- [84] P.R.O. E/401/43. See Chapter I above Graph 'Tallage payments made by the Jewish Communities of England in 1253 and 1260'.
- [85] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [86] P.R.O. E/101/249/10. See Chapter IV note [92].
- [87] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [88] Ibid.
- [89] Victoria County History Lincolnshire, 2, p262. F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p209.
- [90] Walter of Hemingburgh, De Gestis Regum Angliae, p327.
- [91] C.P.R. 1258-1266, pp421-422.
- [92] Rigg, p41.
- [93] C.P.R. 1258-1266, p617. C.P.R. 1266-1272, p95. F.Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p209. C. Roth, 'Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole' J.J.S., 1, p69.
- [94] P.R.O. E/101/249/16. See Chapter II Table 'Receipts of a Tallage on the Jews paid at the New Temple, London in 1274'.
- [95] P.R.E.J.4, pp25-26.
- [96] P.R.E.J.4, p14.
- [97] P.R.E.J.4, pp62, 63, 64, 65.
- [98] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. P.R.O. E/401/1568. P.R.E.J.4, pp64-65.
- [99] P.R.E.J.4, pp63-64. P.R.O. E/401/1568. See above Chapter II notes [163], [164], [165].
- [100] P.R.E.J.4, pp66-67. P.R.O. E/401/1568.
- [101] P.R.E.J.2, pp266-268. J.P. Bischoff, Economic Change in Lincoln in the thirteenth century, the decline of an urban cloth industry, pp114-115.
- [102] Compare P.R.E.J.4, pp66-67 with P.R.E.J.2, pp266-267. See above Chapter II notes [142] and [143].
- [103] W.A.M. Numbers:- 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087, 9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097, 9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131, 9132, 9135, 9137, 9140, 9142, 9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147, 9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162, 9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168, 9169, 9170.
- [104] For the Canterbury Westminster bonds see above Chapter IV note [90]. For the Colchester bonds see W.A.M.Nos.9017, 9031, 9052, 9056 and 9059. All of the Colchester bonds match up to bonds listed on P.R.O. C/47/9/48. See above Chapter II note [75]. P.R.O. C/47/9/48 was compiled in late 1275.
- [105] W.A.M. 9027 which acknowledges that Richard Bret of Wrangle owes Isaac fil Benedict £10-0s-0d payable on 24th June 1272 and which was made on 11th November 1271 could be the actual bond of the debt recorded in P.R.E.J.4, p67.
- [106] W.A.M. 9027. P.R.E.J.2, p268. (It is also of interest that a Solomon, son of Roger of Stenigot, together with Walter, son of Solomon of Donnington, owes Isaac fil Benedict Gabbay the sum of £5-0s-0d.) W.A.M. 9132 records another debt of Solomon, son of

- Roger of Stenigot, to Josce fil Benedict Gabbay of Lincoln for E2-13s-4d made in 1275.
- [107] W.A.M. Nos.9130,9161,9165. P.R.E.J.4,p25.
- [108] W.A.M. Nos.9032,9100,9140,9150.
- [109] W.A.M. 9095.
- [110] W.A.M. Nos.9087,9098,9137,9142,9143,9168,9169.
- [111] W.A.M. 9014.
- [112] W.A.M. Nos.9117,9144,9160,9164,9170.
- [113] W.A.M. Nos.9132,9148.
- [114] W.A.M. Nos.9027,9054,9092,9093,9094,9097,9130,9131,9135,9145,9146,9147,9161,9162,9163,9165,9167.
- [115] W.A.M. Nos. 9087,9098,9137,9142,9143,9168,9169 and 9117,9144,9160,9164,9170.
- [116] W.A.M. Nos.9146,9162,9167.
- [117] W.A.M. 9170.
- [118] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [119] P.R.E.J.4,pp148-171.
- [120] C.P.R. 1276,p137. See Chapter II above notes
- [163],[164],[165]. Z.E. Rokeah,'Crime and Jews in late thirteenth-century England: some cases and comments' Hebrew Union College Annual,55,p104.
- [121] See above Chapter I notes [216],[219],[221],[222].
- [122] L.A.O. MCD.501. (A copy of P.R.O. C/85/99).
- [123] Z.E. Rokeah,'Some Accounts of Condemned Jews' Property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institutes of Jewish Studies,1,pp21-22 and 37-41.
- [124] C. Roth,Medieval Lincoln and its Synagogue,pp19,27. F. Haes,'Lincoln 1898' T.J.H.S.E.,3, pp185-186. The Banks Collection Lincoln Public Library.
- [125] J. Ross,Annales Lincolniae,3,p219. C.P.R. 1281,p452 indicates that Stephen of Thorn, a canon of Lincoln, was also amerced for the chattels of Moses fil Moses of Clare.
- [126] J. Ross,Annales Lincolniae,3,p219.
- [127] Ibid.
- [128] J. Ross,Annales Lincolniae,3,pp252-253. L.A.O. Dean and Chapter A/1/8/ Liber de Ordinationibus Cantiorum fol.107 Number 290. B.L.Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64. W. de G. Birch Royal Charters of Lincoln,pp136-137.
- [129] Calendar of Inquisitiones Miscellanea 1219-1307 number 1197. The houses were in Thornegate Street by the water. J. Ross,Annales Lincolniae,3, Holograph note between pp252-253.
- [130] L.A.O. Dean and Chapter (ii) 76/2/43.
- [131] See Chapter III notes [157],[158],[159],[160],[161].
- [132] P.R.O. E/101/250/12 shows that Jews were still registering bonds in the archa in August and September 1290.
- [133] P.R.O. E/101/249/29.
- [134] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [135] P.R.O. E/101/249/29. The details of the properties are on P.R.O. E/101/249/27 and P.R.O. E/101/249/30.
- [136] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [137] P.R.O. E/101/250/1 and B.L.Mss. Additional 25411.
- [138] Rigg,pplviii-lix.
- [139] P.R.O. E/101/250/12. In the tables that follow, the shared bonds are represented by the letter 's' and, for ease, the amount owed to each Jew has been equally divided.
- [140] P.R.O. E/101/250/12 and P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [141] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [142] C. Roth,'Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole' J.J.S.,1,p70. C. Moor,Knights of Edward 1st,2,(Harleian Society 81),pp77-78. It appears that a Richard Foliot was given two live bucks and ten live does to stock his park at Grimston on 22nd September 1277. This was followed by another royal gift of four bucks on 11th July 1278.

- [143] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [144] Final Concords Lincoln Record Society, 17, p120. L.A.O. Canon Foster's transcripts of Lincolnshire Feet of Fines: A 182, A 145, B 193, A 222, A 133, A 320, A 361, A 402, A 10, A 21, A 412. Hamo Hauteyn was to be paid one goshawk by some Lincoln defendants who were involved in a case brought before the Scaccarium Judaeorum in 1275, P.R.E.J.2, p287.
- [145] F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, pp174-175.
- [146] C. Roth, 'Oxford Starrs' Oxoniensa, 22, pp66-67.
- [147] C. Roth, 'Portraits and Caricatures of Medieval English Jews' Jewish Monthly, 4, (Supplement pp11, v, vii). Z.E. Rokeah, 'Drawings of Jewish Interest in some Thirteenth-century English Public Records' Scriptorium, 26, p56. Lipman, figure 1.
- [148] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Crime and Jews in Late Thirteenth-century England' Hebrew Union College Annual, 55, p110 note 38.
- [149] The two bonds which have been discussed above are excluded from this list as they are undated. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [150] B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, pp85-105.
- [151] P.R.O. E/101/249/4 and P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [152] V.D. Lipman, 'The anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, p65. P.R. Hyams, 'The Jewish Minority in Medieval England 1066-1290' J.J.S., 25/26, p271.
- [153] P.R.O. E/101/250/12. C. Roth, 'Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole' J.J.S., 1, p68. M.D. Davis, 'The Mediaeval Jews of Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, pp194-195.
- [154] C. Roth, 'Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole' J.J.S., 1, pp70-73.
- [155] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [156] P.R.O. E/101/250/12. See above note [122].
- [157] J. Hunter, South Yorkshire, 1, p314.
- [158] S.C.B.M.2, pp206-208. C.P.R. 1266, p581. W.A.M. 9085.
- [159] P.R.E.J.2, pp8, 87, 190, 299-300.
- [160] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [161] C. Roth, 'Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole' J.J.S., 1, p70.
- [162] P.R.O. E/101/250/12 and P.R.O. E/101/250/8.
- [163] See Chapter I notes [12] and [15].
- [164] Lipman, pp94, 164-168. V.D. Lipman, 'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, pp72-73. P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth-century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp96, 97, 104. P. Elman, 'The Economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews' Ec.H.R., 7, p148. P. Elman, 'Jewish finance in thirteenth-century England' T.J.H.S.E., 16, p89. See also Chapter VIII below.
- [165] J. Jacobs, 'Aaron of Lincoln' T.J.H.S.E., 3, p164. Richardson, pp68, 247-253.
- [166] M.D. Davis, 'The Mediaeval Jews of Lincoln' Archaeological Journal, 38, p192.
- [167] P.R.O. E/101/249/10.
- [168] W.A.M. 9170.
- [169] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [170] 1 bushel of wheat = 60 lbs > 1 quarter of wheat = 480 lbs (4.2 cwt). 1 bushel of barley = 56 lbs > 1 quarter of barley = 448 lbs (4 cwt). 1 bushel of oats = 42 lbs > 1 quarter of oats = 336lbs (3 cwt). 20 quarters wheat = 84 cwt = 4 tons and 4cwt.
- [171] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [172] D.L. Farmer, 'Some grain price movements in thirteenth century England' Ec.H.R., 10, p212.
- [173] Lipman, pp164-166.
- [174] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [175] Lipman, p166. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. See relevant graphs.
- [176] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [177] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [178] T.H. Lloyd, 'The movement of wool prices in medieval England'

Ec.H.R. Supplement,6,p15. The Bishop of Winchester's estates produced 93 1/2 sacks in 1273, 79 in 1278, 33 in 1283 and 28 in 1289.

[179] M. Mate, 'Profit and Productivity on the Estates of Isabella de Forz 1260-1292' Ec.H.R., 33, pp327-328. In 1271 Isabella de Forz produced 38 sacks, in 1277 she produced 37 1/2 sacks.

[180] T.H. Lloyd, 'The movement of wool prices in medieval England' Ec.H.R. Supplement,6,pp52-62. In 1294 the following sold wool to the Italians: Kirkstead - 60 sacks, Bullington - 10 sacks and St Katherine's, Lincoln - 10 3/4 sacks.

[181] A.R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death' Ec.H.R., 30, p398. Bridbury claims that a sack weighed 364 lbs and that a fleece weighed 1-1.5 lbs and therefore it would require 260 sheep to produce a sack. M.L. Ryder, 'British Medieval Sheep and their wool types' in Council for British Archaeology, Report 40, p22 reckons that medieval sheep yielded 2.3 lbs per fleece.

[182] T.H. Lloyd, 'The movement of wool prices in medieval England' Ec.H.R. Supplement,6,pp2-3. The wool market like the cereal harvest was seasonal and ran from approximately 24th June to 3rd August.

[183] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.

[184] See below Chapter VIII note [132]. J.P. Bischoff, Economic change in thirteenth century Lincoln: the decline of an urban cloth industry, pp244-248.

William of Hepham's debts in 1284.

John and Stephen Duket	£9- 6s-8d	1 sack
Suspiro of Bayou	£9- 6s-8d	1 sack
Richard of Thoresby	£5- 0s-0d	1/2 sack
Richard Rudde of Barton	£18-13s 4d	2 sacks

P.R.O. C/241/8/31, P.R.O. C/241/8/34, P.R.O. C/241/8/101, P.R.O. C/241/8/195.

(William of Hepham was clearly a prominent Lincoln citizen and merchant. In about 1250 he granted a messuage to Yves the son of Robert Bataylle in St Peter's parish in the Main Street. It shows that William's next door neighbour from this messuage had been Deulecresse the Jew. L.A.O. dean and Chapter D (ii) 80/3/25. He was also owed a rent by one of the other Jews in 1290 cf B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, p96).

[185] F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p170.

[186] J.P. Bischoff, Economic change in Lincoln in the thirteenth century: decline of an urban cloth industry, p263.

[187] Ibid.

[188] Lipman, pp25-26.

[189] S. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, pp131-132.

[190] Lipman, p23. For other references to shoppae in the possession of Jews, see below Chapter VIII note [76]. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, p96.

[191] C.P.R. 1285, p192. L.A.O. Dean and Chapter D (ii) 75/2/27 (Which is one of the grants recorded in B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64), L.A.O. D (ii) 75/2/15, L.A.O. D (ii) 75/2/34, L.A.O. D (ii) 75/2/35, L.A.O. D (ii) 75/2/36, L.A.O. D (ii) 75/2/37, L.A.O. D (ii) 75/2/39, L.A.O. D (ii) 75/2/40, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/21, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/36, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/37, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/42, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/43, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/44, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/45, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/46, L.A.O. D (ii) 76/2/53, L.A.O. Liber de Ordinationibus Cantariorum Dean and Chapter A/1/8, A/1/8/10, L.A.O. Lincoln Burwarmohte Book Mss 169/8, L.A.O. Microfilm Bardney Cartulary. P.R.O. E/101/249/27 and P.R.O.

E/101/249/30. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, pp95-96. B.L. Abrahams, 'Jews' houses in Lincoln in 1484' J.O.R., 8, pp361-362. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, pp252-254 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, pp136-145

[192] F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p233.

[193] Lipman, p23.

[194] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39 values it at 30s per annum. P.R.O. E/101/249/30 values it at 30s per annum. B.L.Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 values it at 28s and shows that it was granted to William le Came le Cordewaner. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p252 Lincoln Public Library. Ross claims that it was granted to William de Canne. He then corrects himself and calls the recipient William de Tame. In a holograph note he claims that the property was conveyed to another Lincoln citizen in 1299 and by 1310 it had ended up in the hands of the Dean and Chapter. The property 'extended in length from the Strait on the west to Flaxengate on the east and all in the Parish of St Martin'. The house was knocked down in 1324. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p140. Birch claims that it was granted to William Game. L.A.O. D (ii) 75/2/27 is the actual grant of the land.

[195] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 shows that it was subsequently granted to Simon Le Ffeure. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p252 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p140.

[196] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p254 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p141. P.R.O. E/401/115 Shows that Robert le Venour made a payment of £26-13s-4d for Benedict's house in Lincoln.

[197] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39 also lists Manser as having two properties in Brancegate. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 shows that Manser's property in St George's parish was granted to Walter of Gloucester. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p254 Lincoln Public Library. W. De G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p141.

#### Belasset's House.

Is not listed in P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39 or P.R.O. E/101/249/30. However, it was granted to Walter le Ffeure of Foleteby in 1291 and valued at 19s-6d (B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64). L.A.O. Dean and Chapter A/1/8 Liber de Ordinationibus Cantariorum fo.107 no.290. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p252 Lincoln Public Library. Ross notes that as "Belasset is reported to have been implicated in the crime of clipping the coin and to have suffered death for the same, this property had been previously escheated, but it is not stated when". He describes the premises as "being situated in the parish of St Cuthbert, extending from the King's Street on the East where the Corn Market was held to the Street on the West called the Drapery, and is identified with the house still standing". W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p137. C. Roth, Medieval Lincoln Jewry and its Synagogue, pp19-20.

[198] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39 and P.R.O. E/101/249/30.

[199] Manser of Bradeworth's property, Josce of Colchester's property, Hagin fil Benedict's property (valued at 13s-4d), Jacob of Brancegate's property and Benedict Le Civitate's property (for which he paid a rent to William of Hephham) are all identified by P.R.O. E/101/27 No.39. Josce of Colchester's property, Hagin fil Benedict's property, Benedict Le Civitate's property and that of Jude the Jew's are all identified by P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L.

Mss Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 shows that Jude the Jew's property was granted to Walter Bek, Benedict Le Civitate's property was granted to Robert Le Venour, Jacob of Brancegate's property was granted to Peter of Coleby, Manser of Bradeworth's property in St Georges with an empty plot was granted to John of Norwich and Matilda his wife and Josce of Colchester's property in Brancegate was granted to Walter of Gloucester. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, pp252-253 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, pp136-143. L.A.O. Dean and Chapter A/1/10.

[200]

#### The Scola.

There were at least two scola in Lincoln. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, pp255-256 Lincoln Public Library identifies one in St Martin's near Hungate and one in St Cuthbert's and C.P.C. Johnson, 'A second Jewish scola in Lincoln' Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 13, pp35-37. One of the scola is identified by P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. According to Ross the scola in the parish of St Cuthbert "was granted by a charter, dated the 27th March 1291 to Robert de Leverton, along with other property belonging to Benedict the son of Arabella, exiles from Lincoln, for the rent of 2d per annum, though the roll (Rot.pip:11 E2) says it was worth 20 shilling per annum.....That in the neighbouring parish of St Cuthbert stood in or near a Street named Scole Gate, that ran into the neighbouring parish of St George and gave name to the gate or outlet in which it was situated but this School gate is no longer to be identified with any street now existing in that part of the town....". L.A.O. Mss. 169 8 fol.168 Lincoln Burwarmote Book preserves a later grant of the St Cuthbert's scola in 1316. For the scola in St Martin's see J. Ross Annales Lincolniae, 3, pp255-256 and C.P.C. Johnson, 'A second Jewish scola in Lincoln' in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 13, pp35-37.

[201] P.R.O. E/101/249/30.

[202] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 shows it was granted to Robert Le Venour in 1291. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p253 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, pp139-141.

[203] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p253 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p141.

[204] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 shows that it was granted to Simon Le Ffeure. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p254 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p140.

[205] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 shows that these were granted to Alexander the son of John the son of Martin of Lincoln. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p254 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p141. Birch has him as Alexander the son of Joan daughter of Martin of Lincoln.

[206] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 shows that these were granted to Adam Cokerel of Lincoln who was one of the Bailiffs in 1291. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p254 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p136.

[207] P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 values the burial ground at 3s-6d. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 3, p254 Lincoln Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of Lincoln, p142. M. Honeybourne, 'The Pre-Expulsion Cemetery of the Jews in London' T.J.H.S.E., 20, p156.

[208] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. P.R.O. E/101/249/30. B.L. Mss. Lansdowne 826 4 fos.28-64 shows that this property was granted to

Walter of Gloucester. J. Ross, Annales Lincolniae, 2, p254 Lincoln  
Public Library. W. de G. Birch, The Royal Charters of  
Lincoln, p141.

[209] P.R.O. E/101/249/27 No.39. P.R.O. E/101/249/30 describes it  
as a small cottage in a ruined condition.

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Introduction

In the previous chapters, the Anglo-Jewish communities of Canterbury, Hereford and Lincoln have been considered at length. The three studies have encompassed a consideration of the geography and evolution of each colony, the financial dealings of the Jewish communities and the social position of the Jew within each provincial town. In each case, the evidence of extant bonds has been the subject of a thorough scrutiny. It is now time to reverse the roles and to consider the debit side of the evidence -- a vast catalogue of Christians who were the clients of the Jews. The investigation of this other facet of the bonds -- the Christian debtors -- should underline the hypothesis that, after 1275, the Jewish moneylender began to prefer repayment in commodities rather than cash. If the debtors seem as if they were in a position to give commodities then there can be even less doubt that the commodity bonds are real, that the Jews had not lost their 'sole economic raison d'être' and that they were still courted by potential clients until the eve of the Expulsion.[1] The investigation will also highlight the fact that, although the Edwardian Jew was primarily an urban dweller, the majority of his clients, significantly in the context of his new role, were not.[2] In order to achieve all this, the geographical and social distribution of some 650 Christian debtors will be examined below.[3] However, before embarking on such a study, it is worth pausing to examine the results of similar work on Jewish debtors and the methodologies that have been used.

Historians have always tended to have only a secondary interest in the Jews' clients and the study of Christian debtors has to some degree been neglected. In 1893, Jacobs made the sweeping statement that, in the twelfth century, it was mainly the 'smaller barons' and the monasteries that needed Jewish capital.[4] In 1894, Abrahams published the list of the surviving Jewish bonds in the two Hereford archae of 1290 and, for the first time, not only transcribed the name of the Jewish creditor but also that of the Christian debtor. His observations, based on this exercise, were that certain well-known Herefordshire families were to be found amongst the debtors.[5] These initial probings were followed in 1932 by a slightly more methodical study.[6] Cohen utilized the law suits recorded in the Plea Rolls of the Scaccarium Judaeorum to analyse what type of person was indebted to the Jews and to ascertain whom the Jews were prosecuting for default of debt. Cohen's conclusions based on Jewish activity in Oxfordshire were that:

Their clients fall broadly into two groups. One group is formed by those who belonged to ecclesiastical houses and important Oxfordshire families -- the Stockwells, Feteplaces and Kepeharms; the other is made up of great landowners, tenants-in-chief or sub-tenants of the King in Oxfordshire and of knights holding direct from the manors or houses which lay within the county boundary. The latter group had territorial connections elsewhere and in some instances political influence of primary importance (i.e. the Earl of Gloucester). This does not imply that men of obscure reputation and of no local or national standing are never plaintiffs or defendants against a Jew. Men of this type do figure on the rolls but often, because of their overlord, they themselves were too poor to offer the necessary security for a loan, nor could they manage to secure the king's influence to cancel their debts.[7]

Cohen's study, although based on law suits and not actual bonds, paved the way for future research.

Elman was the first to consider systematically the debit side of the bond. In 1936, he utilised the lists of bonds in the Cambridgeshire archae in 1240, 1262 and 1290, which Stokes had published, and the list of debts to Abraham de Berkhamsted in 1255 to carry out a more thorough investigation of the Jews' Christian clients.[8] His results are still impressive. From his study he was able to emphasise that, although the Jew was an urban phenomenon during the thirteenth century, his clientele was primarily rural:

An examination of the debtors whose names appear on the Cambridge rolls and those that appear on the rolls of debts compiled in 1255 belonging to Abraham de Berkhamstead (who had carried out his business all over the country) shows clearly that well over seventy per cent of Jewish debtors belonged to the agricultural classes, and particularly to the smaller tenants who formed an important element of the opposition to the policy of the Crown.[9]

Elman's methodology is worth noting. He divided the sample of 396 debtors into six different categories of which he found 42 percent to be 'agricultural', 13 percent 'urban', 1.75 percent 'clerical', 0.25 percent 'noble', 0.25 percent 'abbatial' and 42 percent 'unidentifiable'. [10] These results were based upon a method which involved attempting to track down the name of each debtor in other records and paying particular attention to the way debtors were described in those other records and his sample. The task was obviously simplified when he encountered information in the entries such as a name plus a description such as miles, clericus, abbatus, pistor, mercator, piscator, orfeure, cordewaner, and vineter. He also used topographical descriptions where the name was qualified by the postscript in to denote a landholder at a particular place. He did not use names which were followed by de. The conclusions of his work are acceptable and it is possible to assert that at least 42 percent of the debtors were what he termed 'agrarian'. [11] His methodology also makes a useful cornerstone for further discussion

of the Jews' clientele in the late thirteenth century.

Although it is clear that no direct comparison between moneylending in England and southern France in the thirteenth century can be made, the method used by Emery in 1958 to identify the clients of the Jews of Perpignan and Montpellier is also worth considering.[12] From seventeen contemporary notarial registers of Jewish financial dealings, Emery was able to provide a more comprehensive breakdown of the Christian debtors. From a total of 1,321 'new loans' made by the Jews of Perpignan between 1261 and 1286, he concluded that 65 percent were owed by 'villagers', 30 percent by 'townsmen', 2 percent by 'knights and nobles', 1 percent by 'clergy', 1 percent by 'royal officers', and 1 percent were unidentifiable.[13] His high success rate clearly owes much to the fact that the Perpignan registers were far more informative and descriptive than the rolls of extant debts compiled by the English Scaccarium Judaeorum. The success rate also owes much to Emery's methodology according to which he rightly or wrongly used toponyms in a more liberal way than Elman to indicate provenance or connections with a particular place.

Returning to the clients of the Anglo-Jew, the most recent attempt to define the type of person who borrowed Jewish money was made by Lipman in 1967. His analysis of debtors was confined to the information supplied by the Norwich Day Book which represents some 300 debtors.[14] His conclusions were that only a very small percentage of the debtors were 'great noblemen' or 'religious houses' and that most of them appeared to be 'members of the rural gentry'. Having stated this, he went on to say that 'the Jews' financial role in medieval England was to provide loans for the "ordinary" Englishman'. He also flirted with the possibility that the Jews could subsist in small numbers in relatively small places

and survive by lending money.[15]

When writing in connection with more general issues, historians of the thirteenth century have been reticent in considering the many Christian clients of the Jews. In 1970, P.R.Hyams, in a discussion of moneylending at village level, hinted that part of the answer to his problems might lie in the dealings of the provincial Jewish communities:

Too little attention may have been paid to the existence of village moneylenders. Jewish finance must have affected at least some rural areas.[16]

This suspicion was echoed in 1972 by Postan who posed a question which still has to be answered:

The Jews before their Expulsion and the Italians both before and after that date do not appear to have operated in villages or to have found many peasant customers... but why should they not have been lending money to the peasant freeholders?[17]

Unfortunately, attention has been more readily paid to Jewish dealings with the aristocracy than with the peasantry. In 1974, for instance, Hyams drew attention to the involvement of Jewish financiers in what he termed 'one of the most significant economic movements of thirteenth-century England -- a large scale shift of landed wealth from all kinds of declining families towards the newly rich'. [18] Such evidence for the influence of Jewish finance in the thirteenth century, particularly in the area of mortgaging land, is abundant and has been examined briefly in the preceding chapters. In addition, Mate has shown that, early in the century, Christ Church Canterbury was indebted to the Jews, [19] King has asserted that the knights of Peterborough were also in debt and, more recently, Coss has used the example of Sir Geoffrey de Langley's dealings with the Jews to re-examine the mid-thirteenth 'crisis of the knightly class'. [20] Further study of the Jews' debtors would undoubtedly clarify the 'crisis'. However, the mid-thirteenth

century knights have already received much more attention than the clients of the Edwardian provincial Jews who were for the most part not knights and who were the recipients of loans no longer on mortgage but on a purely commercial basis. Such people have remained merely names on documents awaiting examination. If provincial Jews were involved in the early part of the century in rural land mortgages it is perhaps not surprising that it was in the same areas that the Edwardian Jew found his clients. The studies of debtors by Elman and Cohen indicate that the Edwardian Jew's client was 'rural' rather than 'urban'. But what sort of rural clients were the Jews dealing with? That is the question which Postan posed and which has remained unanswered.

#### The samples of Jews' debtors

The samples of Christian debtors which are to be investigated are drawn from seven different sources which record Christian indebtedness to the Jews for a period which ranges in date from 1259 to 1290. All these samples have been discussed from a creditor's point of view in the preceding chapters and are now set out in tabular form below. The lists of the debtors who are named in them can be found in the appendix below. The majority of the lists are compiled from the rolls of extant Jewish bonds in the various archae in 1290.[21] However, there are three exceptions. The first Canterbury sample of debtors is compiled from surviving bonds which range in date from 1261 to 1276. The first Hereford sample of debtors is taken from a scrutiny of the Hereford archa made in 1275 which records transactions made between 1268 and 1275. The first Lincoln sample is again compiled from a series of actual bonds ranging in date from 1270 to 1276.[22]

Samples of bonds used in the identification of  
the Christian debtors of the provincial Jews  
1261 - 1290.

County and Date Range.	Number of Bonds.	Number of Debtors.	Source.
Kent 1261-1276	45	42	W.A.M.
Kent 1280-1290	95	106	P.R.O. E/101/250/6
Herefordshire 1268-1275	79	76	P.R.E.J. 3 pp.230-238
Herefordshire 1264-1275 Aaron Le Blund	103	96	P.R.O. E/101/250/5
Herefordshire 1259-1275	102	99	P.R.O. E/101/250/5
Herefordshire 1283-1290	77	82	P.R.O. E/101/250/5
Lincolnshire 1270-1276	37	38	W.A.M.
Lincolnshire 1278-1290	252	189	P.R.O. E/101/250/12

See Appendix for lists of debtors  
and their debts.

### Problems of identification

Before discussing these samples, it is crucial to consider the three basic sources of evidence about the debtors' provenance and status which are available in the samples and the methodology that is to be used in dealing with them. Firstly, it can be asserted that whoever made a bond with a Jew had a personal seal or had access to someone who possessed one and would lend it. Secondly, it is likely that whoever entered into a loan would have some security to offer the creditor. Thus, any debtor is likely to own something that is worth at least a considerable proportion of the sum lent by the creditor. Thirdly, the actual name of the debtor which was entered on the bond has a special significance. It is likely that the name is equivalent to a name and address on the back of a modern cheque. In the case of someone known to the creditor, details could be omitted, but it remains likely that, in general, reasonable identification of the debtor became a part of the bond. These three basic sources of evidence now require more detailed consideration.

### Seals and sillography

The fact that the bonds bore seals might mean that sillography (the traditional domain of archivist rather than historian) could have helped in tracing the status of the borrower.[23] Unfortunately, only two of the samples -- the first for Canterbury and the first for Lincoln -- are series of actual bonds, some of which still bear seals. Seals do not survive as well as vellum. Amongst the forty-five Canterbury bonds, thirty-two still bear the seals of their debtors.[24] A better survival rate can be found among the Lincoln bonds: of thirty-seven bonds, thirty-two still bear their seals.[25] Although seals in the late thirteenth century were already widely used throughout society, a brief study of these debtors' seals is of interest. In Canterbury, for example, it is

perhaps significant that ostensibly small debtors such as Susan, the widow of Tonge, William the Carpenter of Selbire and Letitia, the daughter of William Kemme of Graveney, all had seals.[26] Generally, however, there are no striking indications of social status from a survey of these Kentish seals. The simplistic standard devices -- the petal, the star, the foliate cross, the fleur de lys or foliage device -- predominate. All the seals bear the name of the owner inscribed in a border legend. In the Lincoln sample, there are greater internal differences. Small debtors such as Geoffrey, the son of Lawrence of Eresby, Thomas, the son of Belaward of Scopwick, and Alan, the son of Richard de Venella of Hackthorn, tend to have fairly ordinary seals.[27] However, Salmann fil Roger of Stenigot has a bird as his device, Richard Rudde of Barton has a rampant lion, Hawis Daubeny of Hiptoft has the head of a lady, John Garnel of St Botulph's parish in Lincoln has a dragon and Richard Bret of Wrangle has an equestrian device.[28] In the absence of other evidence, it is possible that these more intricate devices might reflect a higher social status. Certainly, in a more heraldic vein, Sir Adam de Newmarket has 'five fusils in fess for Newmarch, a shield suspended from a dragon and dragon supporters', Hugh Duket, a knight, has 'a bend quarterly' and Jordan Foliot, a knight of Yorkshire, who also had lands in Norfolk, has 'a bend over all a label of eight points'.[29] These last three devices are clearly representative of the social status of the men to which they belong. Thus, sillography might have been useful if the actual bonds had survived in greater numbers. As it is, except in individual cases, it can only be firmly established that to be able to borrow money from the Jews, the debtors needed to possess or have access to a seal.

## Collateral

It seems reasonable to believe that in order to secure a loan any potential client of the Jews must have had some security or collateral. It has been observed above that contemporary Christian recognizances were always secured on the debtor's land and chattels.[30] In the light of this, it seems likely that, even after the Statutum de Judeismo limited the security for a debt to anything in the possession of the debtor except 'the moiety of his land and chattels for his maintenance as aforesaid and the chief mansion', the creditor would still require evidence of collateral before making a loan.[31] Thus, the Christian debtor can be considered to be a man or woman of means at least equal or nearly equal to the amount of his or her loan and must have had some material belongings or lands. It is therefore unlikely that a prospective client would be of servile status. In a case brought in February 1275 in the Scaccarium Judaeorum, a jury was summoned at Derby to establish whether Ralph of Ripley was a villein. If Ralph was found to be a villeinus natiuus of servilis condicionis of the Abbot of Darley, then the land that he held could not have been used as a security. The findings of the jury are unknown because they never appeared.[32] It can, however, be normally assumed that the majority of the Jews' clients were above servile status and held more than 'a moiety for maintenance and their chief mansion' to be able to persuade a creditor to make them a loan.

The significance of the name on the bond

The actual name of the debtor inscribed on a bond is the most important key to the identification of the Christian who made the contract with the Jew. The chirographers who drew up the bond received money from both parties for their troubles and there is no reason to believe that they were not diligent in their work.[33] It was very important for the creditor and officials of the Scaccarium Judaeorum to know exactly who owed each Jew. It is clear from the Plea Rolls of the Scaccarium Judaeorum that mistaken identities could cause problems.[34] It is therefore likely that the full name and 'address' of each client should normally be recorded. The naming patterns used by the scribes on the 790 bonds in the samples fall roughly into the seventeen broad categories in the table below. These rough categories are the usual ones to be found either on the actual bonds or in the rolls of bonds. The categories can be subdivided into three different sections, which for ease of reference will be called: onomastics, descriptions and locatives.

Clearly, pure onomastics, which have been taken to be those names lacking the descriptive and locative qualities delineated on the table, yield very little help for positive identification unless, by chance, the person can be found in other contemporary records or unless a genealogy can be constructed. The naming patterns which include descriptive information concerning status or occupation are of more use. In the first Canterbury sample, descriptions such as civis Cantuariae, clericus, faber and carpentarius all hint at status. In the second Canterbury sample, descriptions such as miles, clericus, capellanus, bedellus, piscator and civis Cantuariae occur. In the first Hereford sample, dominus, civis Herefordiae, capellanus, faber and marescall indicate social position. In the second Herefordshire sample, miles and dominus are

Naming patterns used in the bonds.

a.) Onomastics.

Forename	Patronymic (fil)
Roger	Son of Harry

Forename	Patronymic (fil)	Cognomen
Roger	Son of Harry	Strugnell

Forename	Cognomen
Roger	Strugnell

=====

b.) Locatives.

Forename	Locative (de)
Roger	of Liss

Forename	Locative (de)	Patronymic (fil)
Roger	of Liss	Son of Harry

Forename	Locative (de)	Patronymic (fil)	Paternal Locative
Roger	of Liss	Son of Harry	of London

Forename	Locative (de)	Description/Occupation
Roger	of Liss	the Old / Forester

Forename	Locative (de)	Present Locative (manens in)
Roger	of Liss	Staying in Waltham

Forename	Patronymic (fil)	Locative (de)
Roger	Son of Harry	of Liss

Forename	Description/Occupation	Locative (de)
Roger	the Old / Forester	of Liss

Forename	Description	Patronymic	Locative	County
Roger	the Old	Son of Harry	of Liss	of Kent

Forename	Patronymic (fil)	Cognomen	Locative (de)
Roger	son of Harry	Strugnell	of Liss

Forename	Cognomen	Locative(de)
Roger	Strugnell	of Liss

Forename	Cognomen	Local Description	Locative (de)
Roger	Strugnell	of parish of St Faith	of Liss

Forename	Cognomen	Local Description	Locative (de)
Roger	Strugnell	of the Byre	of Liss

=====

c. Description.

Forename	Cognomen	Description/Occupation
Roger	Strugnell	the Old / Forester

Forename	Cognomen	Patronymic (fil)
Roger	Strugnell	Son of Harry

=====

Many other combinations of names can and are used but these examples serve to represent the majority of naming patterns used on the bonds.

See Appendix Tables I - XI.

the only descriptions to occur. In the third sample, marescall, clericus, vitarius, miles, and cissor are encountered. In the fourth sample, miles, clericus, marescall, dominus, cissor appear again. Only three descriptions are found in the first Lincolnshire sample -- miles, cissor and aurifaber. In the second Lincolnshire sample, the term miles abounds and three clergymen have long descriptions: Thomas rector ecclesiae de Berton de Comitatu Lincoln, Philippus de Staunton rector ecclesiae de Thorefreye de Comitatu Notyngham, Johannes filius Radulfi Basset militis de comitatu Leycester persona ecclesiae de Chedde. Apart from these descriptions, only one other appears -- Le Alblaster. [35] This might indicate a crossbow-man, but is also possibly a cognomen. Thus, the description of occupation or social position can offer possible help in identifying the debtors. However, as can be seen from the table below, only a very small percentage can be identified by this method.

The most frequent category in the naming patterns of Christian debtors to be found on the lists is the locative. The full names which include the locative can be divided into two types: names which include highly localized locatives and names with less localized locatives referring, for example, to a village or manor. Examples of the former can be found in the appendices. They are represented in the two Kentish samples by de la Dane, de la Forge, de la Le, at Mede, de la funtayne, atte Broke, atte Wode, atte Water, de la Hill, qui est ad parcum and de la parc. Amongst the Herefordshire samples, similar examples can be found in de la foresta (in this case the Forest of Dean), de la more, de la hull, del park, de la feld, atte Wodegate, de la birches, de la pole, de la hethe, de la nope, de la legh, de furrio, de Crownhill (in the parish of Sutton), de Hatsend, de Wormhull (in the parish of Madley), de la forde, de frene and de la lome (again in the parish

Descriptions and occupations of debtors  
of provincial Jewry 1261 - 1290.

County and date range.	Number of debtors.	Classifications.
Kent 1261-1276	42	1 Carpenter, 1 Smith, 1 <u>clericus</u> , 2 women.
Kent 1280-1290	106	2 <u>miles</u> , 3 <u>clerici</u> , 1 Palmer, 1 Fisherman, 2 Smiths, 2 Beadles, 1 Chaplain, 6 women.
Herefordshire 1268-1275	76	1 <u>dominus</u> , 1 Chaplain, 1 Farrier, 1 Forester, 1 Mercer.
Herefordshire 1264-1275 Aaron Le Blund	96	2 <u>domini</u> , 2 <u>miles</u> , 1 Mercer, 2 Farriers, 1 Chaplain, 1 Smith, 1 Forester.
Herefordshire 1259-1275	99	1 <u>miles</u> , 1 Farrier, 1 Miller (of Pencumbe Mill), 2 <u>Clerici</u> , 1 Vicar, 1 Tailor, 2 women.
Herefordshire 1283-1290	82	3 <u>miles</u> , 1 <u>dominus</u> , 6 members of <u>domini</u> and <u>milites</u> families, 4 <u>clerici</u> , 1 Farrier, 1 Bailiff, 1 Tailor, 1 woman.
Lincolnshire 1270-1276	38	3 <u>miles</u> , 1 Goldsmith, 1 Tailor.
Lincolnshire 1278-1290	189	12 <u>miles</u> , 12 members of <u>domini</u> and <u>milites</u> families, 3 <u>clerici</u> , 2 Rectors, 1 Parson, 1 Crossbowman, 1 Miller, 1 Quylter, 6 women.

See Appendix for lists of debtors.

of Sutton). The Lincolnshire samples do not have so many examples: de montibus (which, when used in the context of a citizen of Lincoln, more than likely refers to the Steep Hill area of the town), de Cracknol (again, another area of Lincoln), de venella (in Hackthorn) and, finally, de la launde. The names of the second group incorporating less localized locatives such as the name of a village or manor abound in the samples.[36]

These two types of toponym are by far the most commonly used forms to be found amongst the names of the Christian debtors. The samples show that in the majority of cases the locative description is the normal way of describing a debtor. Ninety percent of the names in both Canterbury samples are locatives. The first Hereford sample shows 93 percent locatives, the second sample 88 percent, the third, 88 percent and the fourth 79 percent. The Lincoln samples have 84 percent and 94 percent locative entries respectively. The abundance of locative descriptions in the records of bonding seems to indicate that both the scribe and the creditor had a desire to know where the debtor lived. If another similar list of names is considered like the Rolls of the Freemen of Canterbury compiled by Reginald Hurell (himself one of the Kentish debtors), a significantly different picture emerges. Of forty-one men admitted between 1299 and 1300, only fifty-one percent have locative names. In 1303, of 117, only thirty-three percent have locative names.[37]

This frequent use of toponyms is only one indication of the fact that the samples may provide evidence that an individual is resident in or has connections with a particular place. Occasionally, the assumption that the locative is of significance can be backed with hard evidence. A few of the Herefordshire debtors can be seen acting as witnesses to land grants in the Herefordshire valley.[38] But, it is the Lincolnshire samples which

provide the most evidence for actually linking names with places. One such example is that of Richard Rudde of Barton who appears in the first Lincolnshire sample.[39] In a case, in which Richard was sued by a Jew for the debts of his landlord, of which the outcome is not known, Richard Rudde is styled 'of Barton'. In a final concord made in September 1281, Richard and Beatrice Rudde are on this occasion again styled as 'of Barton' when one Henry de Gaskeryk gave one sore sparrow hawk in return for a quarter part of the manor of Farlesthorne and six acres of land in Huttoft. Even more significantly, in another final concord made in 1282, Richard Rudde 'of Barton' gave Robert of Wolingham and Elena, his wife, one sore sparrow hawk and the promise of a penny rent at Christmas for one toft and one and a half bovates of land actually in 'Barton' on Humber.[40] These chance survivals of other records, therefore, indicate that Richard Rudde of Barton did in fact own land in Barton and either came from or had a connection with the village.

In connection with debtors in the second Lincolnshire sample similar links between places of abode and toponyms which appear in records can be made. Adam fil Randolph of Hemswell can be seen to have some local connections near the village of that name. Adam owed Elias Gubbay a total of six sacks of wool worth £60-0s-0d by two bonds made in July 1287 and April 1289. In February 1286, Adam had been the querent in a final concord in favour of the Abbot of Newhouse in which the abbot gave Adam one sore sparrow hawk and received in return the advowson of the church of Glentworth some two miles to the south-east of Hemswell.[41] Another debtor, Geoffrey fil Alexander of Hackthorn, can be identified in 1282 as acting as the attorney for the prioress of the house of Stainfield which was situated just eight miles south-east of Hackthorn. It, therefore, seems very likely that Geoffrey had some connection with the village which he used in his name.[42] John le Aumonier of Stow St Mary was

indebted to several Jews between 1285 and 1288. He can be identified with the same John le Aumonier and Alice, his wife, who, in 1301, sold the rights they had to two messuages and one bovate of land in Stow St Mary and Stretton by Stow to John and Isabella Henry for the sum of £6-13s-4d.[43] Robert of Legbourne ~~miles~~ can also be seen to have links with Legbourne. In June 1290, on his behalf, Thomas of Lough negotiated an annual rent to be paid to him by Robert de Somercotes. In return for £15-0s-0d per annum, de Somercotes was to receive rents of £4-0s-3d, two pounds of pepper, three pounds of cummin and two and a half quarters of salt. De Somercotes was also to have Robert of Legbourne's rights to lands which were situated in Somercote, Skidbrooke, and Saltfleetby, the last of which was just six miles to the north-east of Legbourne.[44] John Malet of Orby, who owed £9-6s-8d in July 1289, can be identified as the same John Malet who held a tenement consisting of one messuage in Irebby (presumably the same as Orby) for a rent of £2-10s-0d a year.[45] Similarly, Robert Benet of Heneby as he was identified by the bonds he made in February 1289, is very probably the same Robert Benet, who, in April 1291, with his wife Theophania, granted one toft, eight and a half acres of meadow and three bovates of land (with the exception of three acres and three roods which he retained) situated in Ouneby iuxta Navenby to Walter Bek of Laucebby in return for one sore sparrow hawk.[46] Thus, a link between John Benet and Ouneby or Heneby can be established in much the same way as a link can be established between John Malet and Orby or Irebby.

There is, therefore, a significant amount of external evidence to suggest that it is possible to take these particular toponyms seriously. Further indications of the same sort can be obtained from the analysis of another sort of evidence, that of the shared bonds. Throughout the samples, debtors who have a share in a debt have been revealed. If it can be shown that these partners often

came from either the same place or from villages which were close to each other, then it would seem that their toponyms are genuinely indicative of the places with which they have important connections. The first Kentish sample did not reveal any examples of shared bonds. The second sample showed thirty-six debtors who owed eighteen shared bonds. Most of the bonds revealed little information that can be used to test the proposed methodology. But, partners such as Richard the son of Robert 'de la Hille' and his mother Matilda would have had obvious connections with the same place, as would Nicholas fil Gervase and John fil Robert who are both described as 'of Ospringe' and Daniel Sprot and William fil Messor who are both described as 'of Wivelsbere'. Similarly, a bond shared between William fil William of Faversham of Sandwich and John Oseword of Thanet is of interest since Thanet is only a few miles to the north of Sandwich and easily within a morning's walk.[47]

The Herefordshire samples also have shared bonds. In the first sample, twenty-four debtors owe twelve shared bonds.[48] Clearly a partnership such as that of Arnald de Grimescote of Markle, John le Careter of Markle, and William Geraud of Markle proves that these partners came from the same place and that the toponym is significant.[49] There are, however, other partnerships which give less obvious evidence of the same point. In that of Roger de la Ffelde of Baysham and Ralph de Hasel, it would seem that Roger came from Baysham (nine miles south-south-east of Hereford) and Ralph came from Hazle (twelve miles east-south-east of Hereford) -- two villages which were eleven miles apart.[50] The partnership of Roger le Vyngnur of Leden and William de la Pole of Pykesl seems to suggest that the partners came from Upleadon and Pixley (both to the west of Hereford), two villages which were only three miles apart.[51] William de Sholla is involved in two partnerships. The first is with John le Amblur, chaplain of Hanley, and the second is

with Philip de la Hull and Roger de la More of Frome Castle. William de Sholle has been identified with Sollers Hope.[52] In relation to the first partnership, Hanley is only eight miles away to the north-north-east and, in relation to the second, Frome Castle is only six and a half miles away in the same direction.

The second Herefordshire sample records thirteen debtors involved in six shared bonds. John Rugge and Henry of Sutton are both described as if they came from Sutton. Three debtors share one bond -- Ralph of Munsley, William de Solle and Roger Senewell of Solle. Solle has again also been identified as Sollers Hope. It is interesting that Munsley is situated five and a half miles to the north-east of Sollers Hope. Thus, once again, men whose toponyms relate to neighbouring villages seem to be borrowing jointly from the Jews, suggesting that their toponyms are accurate reflections of their geographical connections.[53] The third sample identifies several debtors who share bonds whose toponyms refer to the same place -- Adam Phelipp and Robert of Hereford, both of Much Cowarne, Henry Cappe and Robert Fraunceys, both of Eaton, John le Tighel and Margery, both of Wormelow, and John le Macun and Margery the daughter of Stephen, both of Dewsall. David of Ockle and Ralph fil Ralph of Norton share two bonds. Ockle can be identified with Ocle Pychard and Norton can be identified with an area to the north of Bromyard. Both these places are situated to the north-east of Hereford and are about eight miles apart. Three debtors share one bond -- William Morel de Dersent, William fil Hugh de Dersent and John of Crasswall. Two of them are obviously from Dorstone while the other is from Crasswall which is only five miles south-west of Dorstone at the foot of the Black Mountains.[54]

The fourth Hereford sample has forty-six debtors who owe twenty-one shared bonds. Most of them are connected with the same villages. John, son of Lord Walter, shares with Stephen Cocus and both are described as 'of Markle'. Isabel and Richard, the son and wife of Simon de Hemmo, are both said to be of Clehonger. In a less obvious example, Roger de Caple of Upton shares a bond with Walter Kanne, a clerk of Fahlilee. The former could be connected with Upton Bishop and the latter must be connected with Fawley about six miles from Upton (where there is still a cross, a chapel and a Fawley Court to this day).[55]

The first Lincolnshire sample identifies ten debtors who owe six shared bonds. William fil Thomas and his son, Thomas, are both described as coming from Hackthorn. Nigel son of Richard and Master Robert son of Elias are both described as 'of Straton in the county of Nottinghamshire'. Two debtors both described as having connections with the same village share two bonds. John son of John described as de Rauceby shares with William de Wilgeby who is described as manens in Rauceby. In another bond, Ralph, son of Americ de Bussay, who shares with Richard Normand are described as being of Magna Paunton and Kelleby respectively. These two villages can be identified as Great Ponton and Kelby, both near Grantham and only eight miles apart.[56]

The second Lincolnshire sample identifies forty-nine debtors who owe twenty-four shared bonds. There are six debtors who owe three shared bonds that are repayable in money. Walter de Furneaus miles and his son, John, who are both described as of Nottinghamshire, make up one partnership. Thomas Spede and John de la Barr who are described as of Harmston and Coleby respectively, make up another. These two villages lie to the south of Lincoln, within one and a half miles of each other. William and Jordanus

Chamund, the other partners, are described as of Blankeney and of Asgarby. These two villages are to the south of Lincoln, about eleven miles apart. There are two consortia, each of three debtors, who owe cereal bonds. The members of the first group all come from Serlby in Nottinghamshire and the members of the second all from Hackthorn. In both cases one member of each group is described as manens in and the others are described as de. Most of the debtors who share cereal bonds come from the same places. Andrew fil Benedict and Henry fil William are both described as of Rolleston in Nottinghamshire, Thomas and Peter, the sons of Simon, are both from Stoteney, Peter son of Geoffrey Puterell and John are both described as of Tathwell. There is one interesting partnership between Thomas de Braunte staying in (manens in) 'Bolum' and Hugh of Burton. These two villages can be identified as Bole and West Burton which are only two miles apart situated in Nottinghamshire just over the Trent to the north-west of Lincoln. The debtors who share bonds repayable in wool also have toponyms referring to places close to each other. Richard Parlebyen and his partner, Auncia, the daughter of Henry Orger, come from Boston and Frieston, two places only three miles apart. John fil Adam and William son of William would appear to come from two Nottinghamshire villages, Muskham and Holme, which are in the Trent valley about one and a half miles apart. William Brissebak of Grimsby is in partnership with Richard fil Garlo from Humberstone just four miles to the south of Grimsby.[57]

Thus, although the study of toponyms has always been regarded as an historical 'hot potato', it is possible, in this context, to put considerable trust in them for a variety of reasons. In fact, because, in relation to these particular samples, of the exceptional frequency of the use of toponyms, the indications from other evidence of the genuineness of the toponyms and the proximity of the particular villages referred to in the toponyms in the cases of

those who share bonds, there is, in this instance, more reason to base an argument upon them than there was in Ekwall's study of London, Hoskins's study of Market Harborough, Carus Wilson's study of Stratford upon Avon, Cam's study of Cambridge and Hilton's study of Worcester.[58] Even Susan Reynolds, who, despite her general view that toponyms are never to be trusted, had to concede that they might be of some use: 'The use of surnames and descriptions at this period is too inconsistent and the occurrence of names in the sources is too haphazard for them to be used statistically -- but they can give useful impressions' [my underlining].[59] In the case of the toponyms found in the lists of debtors of the Jews, she may have been prepared to go further.

So, in connection with the Jews' clients, the locative part of a name seems to take on a greater meaning. Clearly not much can be gained from a very local locative such as those discussed above -- 'at the Park', 'at the Hill' or 'at the Mede'. However, wherever the name of a village or town is indicated by the full Christian debtor's descriptive name, there has been an effort to identify it. Modern spellings of towns and villages that have been identified in this way have been used in the appendix. Both De and In have been used to indicate that there is a connection between the person named and the place given in the manuscript. Where the naming pattern is followed by the formula, de parochia de X, this has been noted in the appendix and can be accepted as even greater proof of abode. Manens in has been translated as 'staying in' and has been taken to represent the place where the debtor lived at the time the bond was contracted. In the case of a double locative (Roger of Liss of Waltham), the latter (Waltham) has been taken as the place where the debtor could be found by the creditor.[60]

Having looked at the methods involved, it is now time to turn to the samples which will be investigated firstly in terms of the indications of the social status of the Jews' clients which are available.

The Kent samples.

In the first sample, which includes bonds made between 1261 and 1276, there are four debtors who owe the richer Jews of Canterbury debts over £10-0s-0d.[61] In November 1270, Adam Daniel of Newchurch owed £33-6s-8d, in 1271, William Ordiner of Romney owed £15-0s-0d, in July 1273, John de Mortun owed £20-0s-0d and in August 1275, Magister John de Wayhope owed £10-0s-0d and one bushel of cereal. These four debtors who all owe debts for single transactions must have had good securities and must be considered to be of fairly high status.[62]

The two debtors who owe more than one debt are also worth considering. Richard fil Hamo de la Dane borrowed twice during the period from Aaron fil Cresse. In February 1274, he owed £1-0s-0d which was not repaid on time in August of that year. In February 1275, he managed to secure another loan and owed a further £4-0s-0d to be repaid in November of the same year.[63] Ralph fil Robert Renyr of St John's parish in the Isle of Thanet owed Hagin fil Leon le Eveske for three loans during the same period. In April 1273, he owed 13s-4d which he did not repay on 24 June as contracted. In the same year, he managed to negotiate a further loan on 9 June for which he was to pay 14s-0d and one bushel of wheat in late September. In October, having failed to pay in September, he had another advance and owed a further £2-13s-4d which brought his total debts for 1273 to a total of £4-0s-8d and one bushel of wheat.[64] The activities of these debtors prove that, to the Jewish creditor, it made business sense to offer to some clients a series of loans

even when debts were not repaid in time. They also demonstrate that some Christians had frequent recourse to Jewish creditors.

As well as revealing Christians who went to Jews for loans more than once, the sample demonstrates that, on some occasions, more than one member of the same family made use of the credit facilities provided by the Jews. Two brothers, both the sons of William Cokin, who is described as 'a citizen of Canterbury lately deceased', owe two fairly sizeable debts. In March 1272, Stephen Cokin owed Vives of Winchester £4-0s-0d which was to have been repaid in the following November. In July 1275, John Cokin owed Floria filia Elias £6-13s-4d to be repaid in February 1276.[65] Another pair of brothers, the sons of Thomas de Mortun, were also both in debt. In February 1272, Alan de Mortun owed Moses fil Vives of Winchester £8-0s-0d. In July, his brother John de Mortun owed Cohke Hagin fil Cresse £20-0s-0d. It is clear that Alan went on borrowing from the Jews and sank further into debt. In 1278, he was in dispute with Hagin fil Deulecresse in the Scaccarium Judaeorum on a plea of account.[66]

Of the other debtors in this sample, little is known. There are two female debtors --Susan, the widow of Tonge, who owes £1-10s-0d and Lece, the daughter of William Keme of Graveney, who owes 7s-0d.[67] There is a clericus, Simon Luvel, who owes a single debt for £3-6s-8d, a carpenter, Walter of Selbire, who owes £2-0s-0d, and a smith, John of Newnham iuxta Ospringe, who owes £1-10s-0d.[68] There are also three debtors who are interesting because they appear to come from Canterbury although, as will be shown below, the majority of the Jews' clients were rural.

It is also clear that some Christian debtors had access to commodities with which they were able to repay some of their debts. In this light, the small amounts of commodities owed to the Jews at this time are worthy of comment. These particular payments are generally found on the dorse of the actual bond and might have been added as additional payments or interest or even gratuitous favours. In August 1273, Alexander of Barton promised to pay Mynne filia Benedict £1-6s-8d and a bushel of wheat (value between 3d and 4.25d). In April 1273, Hamo fil William of Hoath owed Leon fil Jacob 10s-0d and, in addition, 'one cart load of wood'. [69] These must be seen as extra payments favoured by the creditor for reasons of personal consumption and very little else can be concluded from them except that the commodities involved were readily available to the debtor.

The second Kentish sample, which covers bonds made between 1280 and 1290, can be considered in a different light. [70] All the debts are for amounts of cereal. Thus, it is possible to consider the debtors either as purveyors or as producers of types of cereal. This possibility will be discussed at length elsewhere. [71] However, the larger debtors such as Robert fil William of Herthanger, Waresius of Valoyns miles, John of Northwood, John fil Solomon of Elsteuene of the Parish of Selling, and Richard le Jovene of Chilham, who all owed forty quarters or more, might be considered to be large cereal producers. [72] If they were to repay their debts from one harvest they would have to have access to at least fifty or sixty acres of fertile ground. [73]

Among the other debtors there are three who are described as being clerici, Robert of Lenham, who owed sixty quarters worth £18-6s-8d in two transactions, and Angotus of Sheldwich and Henry of Elvington, who both owed four quarters worth £1-6s-8d. There is

again a female debtor, Matilda, the widow of Thomas de la Dane of the parish of Petham, who owed thirty quarters worth £10-0s-0d. The debtors also include a beadle of Eastbridge, Hamo, who with his partner, Thomas Fraunceys, owed forty quarters, a palmer of Harbledown, Henry fil William, who owed six quarters, and a fisherman, Stephen, who owed four quarters worth £1-0s-0d. Again, members of the same family are borrowing. Two brothers from Chislet share a debt of ten quarters worth £2-10s-0d. Amongst the debtors who owed cereal are again several citizens of Canterbury. Ivo fil Richard of Wyngate, who is possibly an inhabitant of the suburb called Wincheap, John fil Richard Le Man, Daniel fil Hubert, Mathew fil John Le Beaus Chapelen, Robert of Grimesham, and Thomas fil Richard at Heye of the parish of St Mary of the Castle are all described as citizens of Canterbury. Presumably they either had access to land outside Canterbury or were able to meet their cereal repayments in other ways. Another inhabitant of Canterbury had contracted to repay his debts in wool. Reginald Hurell, the son of Richard Hurell of Canterbury of the parish of St Mildred, owed Josce fil Ursell of York two sacks of wool worth £10-13s-4d by a bond made in November 1286.[74] Hurell was a prominent Canterbury citizen who became the administrator of the Committee for the Admittance of Freemen between 1299 and 1303.[75]

#### The Herefordshire samples.

There is a distinct lack of corroborating evidence for the Herefordshire samples, although it is possible to find names such as Pauncefoot, de Eardisley, de Trumpington, de Marden, de Penbridge, Danyell, de Mael, de Solle, de Clehonger, de Balun, and de Weston, which are found in the appendix, in other contemporary documents and charters in the capacity of witnesses.[76] The first Herefordshire sample, which covers bonds made between 1264 and 1275, identifies

seventy-six debtors of whom seventy-three are indebted to Aaron Le Blund.[77] Most of them owe debts which are valued at well under £10-0s-0d and, indeed, three-quarters of them owe debts which are under £5-0s-0d in value, but there are clearly some men of significance among the debtors. One such man, who is easily identifiable, is John de Balun. In August 1275, John de Balun, the lord of the manor of Much Markle, owed Aaron £50-0s-0d and una roba cum caput'. It is known that John de Balun, who had previously been indebted for over £70-0s-0d to Moses fil Hamo of Hereford in 1244, died in 1275. His family was then again indebted to Aaron in 1286.[78] Richard of Eardisley is just one example of a Jewish client identified by this sample whose name suggests that he too belonged to a family of significant land-holding status. In his examination of the later Herefordshire samples, Abrahams pointed out that the names of Richard of Kinnersley (whose father, Hugh, had been sheriff of Herefordshire in 1240), de Eardisley (Hurtesle), de la More (de la Mare), Deveraux, Mucegros, and de Burghill reflect the possibility that their owners were of significant land-holding status. This sample also contains many of these names.[79] Eleven other debtors in the sample owe debts for amounts over £10-0s-0d and therefore must have also possessed substantial collateral.[80]

Most of these larger debtors also owe small commodity repayments such as one or a half soam of wheat or several geese. This again suggests that they have access to such commodities. The largest extra commodity repayment is the responsibility of William de Solle who owes Aaron and Bonenfaunt, his son, a total of £34-8s-10 1/2d, three truges (trugas) of peas, three soams (summas) of wheat and two geese (anceres). The largest quantity of cereal owed to Aaron is six soams which is owed by Richard of Eardisley who also owes £6-13s-4d in cash.[81]

As regards the debtors who cannot be directly connected to land-holding families, the entries give only a few clues. Reginald Russell, Richard Tokolf and John Haffe are described as de Herefordiae and can be taken to be inhabitants of the town like William Mael, who is also actually described as civis Herefordiae. John le Amblur of Hanley (to the east of Hereford) is described as a chaplain. There are two debtors who are described as marescall -- Bartholomew del Park and Alexander of Lynecastre. It is possible that they might have been farriers. Other debtors, such as William le Ffulur of Lom, William, the son of Roger le Mercer, John le Careter, Richard le Forester of Munsley and Stephen Faber at Wodegate may have names derived from their occupations. Nicholas Wace of Vern is identified as a tailor in a later sample. A few people establishing a family practice of being in debt can be identified from the sample. William de Solle and his son, Henry, Robert of Weston and his son, John, Nicholas fil Nicholas of St Deveraux and his son, Hugh, are all indebted to the Jews.[82]

The information regarding the social status of the debtors in the second Herefordshire sample, which covers the bonds of Aaron le Blund deposited in the Vetus Cista, is scarce. Many of Aaron's clients are the same as those identified in the previous sample. Henry de Pembridge owes the largest single debt in this sample by a bond contracted in August 1273 for £60-0s-0d. The other larger debtors include John fil Richard Rumel, Richard Pauncefoot (possibly a relative of Adam Botiller Pauncefoot in the previous sample), William de Solle, John Daniel, Robert fil Robert of Weston and his brother or son John fil Robert of Weston, and John of Marden. There are three debtors who are identified by descriptive titles and who owe fairly large debts. William de Bliss miles owes £20-0s-0d and Richard of Eardisley (Hurtesle) miles owes two bonds contracted in 1274 and 1275 worth £9-0s-0d and one soam of cereal. William Mandut

is described as dominus de Bulley, a Gloucestershire manor, and was indebted for £11-6s-8d. The rest of Aaron's debtors remain just named borrowers with locative descriptions.[83]

The third Herefordshire sample, compiled from the records of the Vetus Cista in 1290, is made up of those debtors who owe Hereford Jews other than Aaron. It, however, reveals several debtors who have already been identified as being clients of Aaron and now owe other Jews.[84] Robert de Mucegros of Bishop's Frome is now a debtor of Hagin fil Jacob of Gloucester. Robert of Weston is now in debt to Hagin fil Elias for £10-0s-0d. Adam Botyller Pauncefoot now owes Josce fil Manser £5-10s-0d. Richard, the son of Richard of Eardisley, is now a debtor of Bona filia Elias. Ralph fil Hugh of Kinnersley is now indebted to Hagin fil Hagin for £5-6s-8d. Alexander le Marescall de Linecaster is now indebted to Aaron fil Isaac of Worcester for £5-6s-8d. Henry Hickel of Clehonger is now in debt to Sampson fil Isaac of Worcester for 13s-4d. John de Wyk de Garway is now in debt to Benedict fil Aaron for £3-6s-8d. William fil John le Brun of Tarrington is now a client of Cuntessa filia Moses. William de Rokerley now owes Sara of Hereford. Richard de la More cissor is now a partner in a shared bond owing to Elias fil Benedict. Similarly, John Rugge of Sutton, who was involved in a shared debt owed to Aaron is now a partner in two other shared debts owing to Hagin fil Elias. Finally, in a parallel if slightly different case, Hugh fil William of Bliss, whose father had been a client of Aaron in 1265 and who himself was identified as a debtor of Hagin fil Aaron in 1267 by the first Herefordshire sample, is now in debt to Henna filia Elias in October 1267. All of the above clients were, therefore, on more than one occasion, approaching Jews for credit.

Again the suggestion that some of the debtors had access to commodities is clear from the debts. A few debtors owed small amounts of cereal and, in one case, two geese. A few debtors can be identified by information supplied on the bonds. Alexander le Marescall of Linecaster has already been discussed above. William, who is described as de molendino de Pencumbe, is perhaps a miller or owner of a mill. Walter of Stretton Grandison and William of Leominster are both described as clericus. Peter of Aylton is described as vitarius. Richard Blundel is identified as a miles of Shropshire. Richard of Frome Castle is described as cissor. The sample also identifies two female debtors who both owe shared bonds -- Margaret of Deweshall and Margery of Wormelow. The sample reveals little more information about its debtors.[85]

Of the debtors revealed by the fourth Hereford sample, which is provided by the records of the Nova Cista, there are three who can be clearly identified as significant individuals. John fil Walter Balun, the lord of Much Markle, is a relative of John de Balun who was a client of Aaron le Blund. It seems that Much Markle passed to Walter de Balun in 1275 and his kin and heir, John, then became indebted to the Jews.[86] Hugh fil Reginald Moniword is very probably a prominent Hereford citizen as his father can be identified as the bailiff of Hereford between 1276 and 1277.[87] Peter de Grenham, miles of Devonshire, and his single bond preserved in the Hereford archa are of great interest. It is clear that Peter held land in Oburnford in the parish of Halberton in Devon in 1282. He had dealings with Jacob Copyn, a Jew of Exeter, which involved the manor as security at some time before 1284. He seems to have borrowed money from a Christian moneylender in 1285 and in December of the same year granted the manor of Oburnford to Sir Adam de Cretting.[88] The information derived from this sample suggests that his dealings with Isaac le Eveske of London resulted, on 15 July

1283, in a bond made with Isaac at Shrewsbury by which he owed eight sacks of wool priced at half a mark per sack --an exceptionally low price.[89] At the time at which the bond was made, the Scaccarium Judaeorum was temporarily situated at Shrewsbury and it is only as a result of the work of a scribe who made a recognizance in late July 1283 that the false record of the bond can be corrected. The official recognizance on the Plea Roll of the Scaccarium Judaeorum records that Peter owed eight sacks of wool at ten marks per sack, rather than half a mark per sack, half to be repaid on 13 January 1284 and half on 9 April. The debt had Peter's lands in Devonshire as security. The recognizance also recorded that a third of the debt was owed to Josce fil Manser of Hereford, which possibly indicates why the bond was placed in the Hereford archa. [90]

The sample also identifies several debtors who were probably of similarly high status. There are five debtors who are described as filius et heres of lords -- Nicholas le Archer of Tarrington, son and heir of Lord Nicholas; John, son and heir of Lord Walter of How Caple; Richard, son of Lord Adam of Elmerugg; John de Balun, son of Lord Walter of Much Markle; and Walter Hakelutel, son and heir of Lord Walter Hakelutel.[91] The latter's father, Lord Walter, had received a pardon from the king for the £57-0s-0d which he owed Aaron le Blund 'in consideration of his grateful service to the king and of his costs and expenses in newly erecting a house in the Welsh marches and afterwards crenellating it'. [92] Presumably the Hakelutels were a prominent family on the Marches. Other members of prominent families might well have been Roger of Hereford who was the son of Richard a clerk of the King's Exchequer and the four debtors described as miles: Peter of Grenham, Henry of Hereford, Henry de Solers, the Lord of Dorstone, and Roger of Butterley, who had lands at Butterley from 1280.[93] The sample also identifies several clerici: William of Baysham, Walter Kanne of Fawley,

William fil John of Sutton and Stephen of Bodenham. Walter fil Philip appears to be a marescall of Leominster and William le Bailiff of Patlynton may well have held the position suggested by his name. Nicholas cissor of Vern has already been identified in other samples. There is only one female client evidenced by the sample -- Isabella, who is described as 'formerly the wife of Simon of Hemmo' and who shares a bond with her son, Richard.[94]

Most of the Hereford clients owe debts which are repayable in commodities -- mainly in cereal. It is significant, however, that some clients seem to have access to different commodities. Nicholas le Archer of Tarrington in four bonds owes a total of £234-13s-4d to be repaid not only by 200 quarters of cereal but also by seventeen sacks of wool. John of Marden owes one bond worth approximately £37-0s-0d and is to repay with not only twenty-eight quarters of cereal but also twenty-four cheeses and four cart loads of hay. At the lower end of the scale, Brian son of Brontun owes £1-4s-0d and one military over-tunic.[95]

#### The Lincolnshire samples.

The first sample of Lincolnshire debtors, which covers bonds made between 1270 and 1276, only identifies three milites, Hugh Duket, Jordanus Foliot and Adam de Novo mercato, one tailor (Richard cissor of Crackpol in Lincoln), one goldsmith (Gilbert Flori aurifaber of Lincoln) and two other citizens of Lincoln.[96] This sample includes a shared bond owed by two brothers. In February 1275, Hugh Flori of Lessington and Gilbert, his brother, goldsmith of Lincoln, owed Jacob of Brancegate £3-6s-8d.[97] It seems that Hugh might well be identified with a Hugh Flory of Lessington who, in 1280, with the permission of his wife, Alice, granted Andrew son of Alan a toft and a bovate of land in Thoresway, a village some nine miles north-east of Lessington.[98] In this sample, there are

eleven debtors who owe debts worth over £10-0s-0d while the majority owe debts of less than £5-0s-0d. The bonds, with the exception of one small commodity payment, are all repayable in cash.[99]

Some of the debtors revealed in the sample are frequently involved in obtaining credit and can be identified from other sources. Stephen Malevolel of Rampton in Nottinghamshire, who owes Benedict of London the sum of £94-13s-4d by a bond made on 1 November 1274, can also be seen to have debts to other Jews.[100] In Hilary 1275, his debts caught up with him and the sheriff of Nottingham was ordered to distrain him for £13-6s-8d which was owing to the king on account of a confiscated bond contracted in February 1275 with Bonamy, the son-in-law of Josce of York. The sheriff responded that Stephen had a writ under the Great Seal and, later in the year, the bond, still unpaid, was returned to the York archa. Benedict of London had to wait for the repayment of his debt.[101] Richard Rudde of Barton, whose debt for £3-6s-8d is revealed by this sample, clearly has dealings with other Lincolnshire Jews. In 1278, in a case which involved one of the debtors identified by this sample, Solomon Bunting sued Richard Rudde, the tenant of the lands formerly belonging to William le Bretun, and claimed £10-0s-0d. Solomon claimed that William le Bretun owed him two debts contracted in 1276 which were in the London archa and that he was trying to obtain the money from the new tenant of William's lands, Richard Rudde. Richard Rudde appeared and said that he did not hold the land at the time the charters were made and therefore was not liable.[102]

The three milites identified by the sample can also be proved to be Lincolnshire land-holders who incur several debts to various creditors. In 1274 and 1275, Hugh Duket miles owed Hagin fil Benedict £50-0s-0d.[103] It is clear that Hagin had difficulty in

reclaiming his debt as, in 1278, he tried suing Hugh Duket's tenants for the sum.[104] It also seems that Hugh had to recourse to borrowing from Christian moneylenders, as, in May 1275, he owed John de Ubbeston, the usher of the king's chamber, £3-6s-8d 'to be levied in default on his lands and chattels in Lincolnshire'.[105] It seems that most of Hugh Duket's lands were to the south of Lincoln. In 1275, he had gifted over seventeen acres in Wellingore to the Knights Templar at Temple Bruer. In 1306, it is clear that he also held lands in Navenby.[106]

A history of debt can also be established for Adam de Novo Mercato, who, in 1274, owed Bonamy fil Josce, a York Jew, £26-13s-4d by a bond which is part of this sample.[107] It is clear that his father, Adam, held lands in Wheateley and Harwell beyond the Trent in Nottingham and had been in the company of John Dayville, John de Vescy, and Baldwin Wake -- some of the baronial rebels responsible for the sack of the Lincoln Jewry in 1260.[108] Perhaps it was because the Novo Mercatos were on the losing side in the war that they got into the sort of debt which, in May 1273, caused Adam, junior, to send his serjeant, Henry Masy, to Lawrence de Brok, the king's servant, with £2-0s-0d in order that two of his retinue who were prisoners in Newgate (for robbing merchants between Stamford and Walmesford) might be set free so that they might fulfil their mission and acquit Adam of £100-0s-0d which he owed a certain Jew of London.[109] In November 1274, Adam made a recognizance with Deconicus Guylelmy (a merchant of the Queen Mother) and Guyettus Bonaventure for £112-0s-0d and offered as security his land and chattels in Yorkshire.[110] It is known that he was also in debt to Aaron of York and it is clear that he inherited his father's debts. In 1275, Adam de Novo Mercato, junior, was to be distrained by the sheriff of York for £50-0s-0d which was owed to Hagin by his father.[111] In 1278, it is evident that Adam's Jewish debts had

been acquired by the king. The Barons of the Exchequer and the Justices of the Jews were commanded to pay Robert Tibbetot in Jewish debts and to 'take of the clearer debts of Hagin in the king's hand either of the debts of Adam de Novo Mercato or of another to the value of 100 marks'.[112] However, the debts of the family did not reduce them to poverty and it is clear that, in November 1285, Adam de Novo Mercato still had one messuage, thirty-seven acres of land, twelve acres of meadow, twelve acres of wood and one water mill in Asbern and Mosley in Lincolnshire which he had rented out to John le Barber.[113]

The third miles, Jordan Foliot, is also a man who seems to be more in debt than out of it. He is described as the son of Lord Richard Foliot who is known to have held lands in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and to have had dealings with Hagin fil Benedict of Lincoln.[114] This sample shows that Jordan was indebted to Benedict of London.[115] Other sources reveal that, in 1275, he was in debt to Roger de Evesham and that he used his lands in Norfolk as security. He also had further dealings with Benedict of London and with a Christian clerk.[116] In 1277, he made a recognizance with Manser fil Aaron and promised to deliver four sacks of wool bone munde de pondere antiquo to the Jew's house in London. It is clear that he had some Lincolnshire connections, as in September 1279, a bond was made between him and Adam de Novo Mercato which promised delivery of 120 quarters of assorted cereals.[117]

Evidence that some of the other debtors identified by this sample took out other loans can also be found. Richard le Bret of Wrangle, for instance, who owes Isaac fil Benedict Gabbay £10-0s-0d by a bond made on 24 June 1272 can be seen to continue his borrowings from the same Jew. From a list of bonds returned to the Lincoln archa in 1275, it is clear that Richard owed Isaac a further

£24-0s-0d payable in July 1273 and a further £6-13s-4d to be paid in March 1273.[118]

The second Lincolnshire sample of debtors, which is compiled from the bonds made between 1278 and 1290 which were still in the archa in 1290, reveals the names of 185 debtors.[119] It has already been noted that the sample is very different from the previous one in that the debts are to be repaid in three different media of exchange: money, cereal and wool. Approximately 10 percent of the debtors owe debts repayable in combinations of these three commodities, either money and cereal, cereal and wool, or money and wool or all three. Sixteen percent of the debtors owe debts repayable in money, the majority of which were contracted in the last three years before the Expulsion. Twenty-six percent of the debtors owe amounts of cereal which vary from as much as 100 quarters to half a quarter in single transactions. Forty-six percent of the debtors owe debts repayable in wool which vary from as much as twelve sacks to just eight stone of wool owed in single transactions.

The amount owed to any one Jew in this sample ranges from the debts owed by Randolph Selweyn of Thorpe, a miles from Yorkshire, who owes £113-6s-8d to the debt of Randolph Stag of Hackthorn who owes only 10s-0d. A third of the debtors owe debts which are over £10-0s-0d and the sample identifies a good cross-section of debtors. The sample reveals twelve milites, twelve debtors who were the sons, daughters and wives of milites or domini, three clerici, three other members of the clergy, one abblaster or crossbowman, one possible miller and four female debtors.[120] Amongst the debtors revealed by this sample, it is possible to identify several members of the same family who are indebted to the Jews such as William fil William de Cressy and Matilda de Cressy [121]. It is also possible to identify

three members of the de la Launde family involved with the Jews. In April 1290, William de la Launde of Ewerby and Richard de la Launde of Blankney owed a shared bond for half a sack of wool to Diay fil Diay, a Jew of Lincoln.[122] It is possible to identify Richard with Blankney because he was the same man who, with his wife Nichola, was given one sore sparrow hawk in September 1291 for some land in that village.[123] The relationship between Richard and William de la Launde is not known. A third member of the family, John de la Launde of Ewerby was also clearly indebted to Diay fil Diay by a bond dated January 1290. He also owed wool. It seems likely that John, like William, came from Ewardeby which is only about six miles from Blankney.[124]

The Foliot family also stands out as debtors to the Jews of Lincoln. Jordan miles has already been identified by the previous sample as a man who had connections in Lincolnshire and Norfolk. It seems that he was also a rebel sympathiser. His relative, Richard, who is described as being of Yorkshire, was involved in the two commodity debts owed to Hagin fil Benedict of London which promised annual payment of a beast of the chase and a sparrow hawk and which are not included in this sample.[125] Another Foliot, Edmund, who is described as a miles of Lincolnshire, owes a London Jew a sack of wool by a bond made in October 1289.[126] It seems that Edmund held six acres of land, one acre of pasture, the moiety of an acre of meadow and a quarter of a messuage in Ratheby which he disposed of in 1302 for £20-0s-0d.[127] Although the relationships between these three members of the Foliot cannot be properly established, it seems that they were all clients of the Jews of Lincoln and elsewhere for a period which spans at last fifteen years.

Thus, in an examination of the evidence for the social status of Jews' clients, it is difficult to gain significant information from either the chance survival of other records or from the bonds themselves which give just occasional and incidental references to the debtors' status. The information that can be gleaned from such records reveals that a variety of people dealt with the Jews and that often individuals and, even, particular families made a habit of obtaining credit. Such individuals and families were often of fairly high social status for several local land-holders such as milites and domini were clearly in debt to the Jews. In fact, in the last Lincoln sample, the milites as a group, owe debts which amount to just over £400-0s-0d in value and are worth approximately 17 percent of the total value of the debts registered in the archa in 1290. When the debts of the families of milites and domini are added to this total, it is possible to conclude that, at least, a quarter of the value of the Lincolnshire debts in 1290 were owed by men and women of fairly high social status.[128] The information from all the samples shows that as well as important land-holders there were, however, clerici, artisans such as smiths, tailors, carpenters, farriers and glass-makers, estate officials such as bailiffs and beadles and local clergymen who had recourse to borrow from the Jews. Such a list does not, of course, refer to the vast majority of particularly small debtors whose social status is in no sense identified by the available evidence. It is, however, possible to indicate that a large proportion of this silent majority were very probably members of the free peasantry. Such a conclusion is suggested both by what is known of the social status of men such as the beadles, smiths and farriers who are identified in these samples and by the evidence of the predominantly rural character of the Jews' clientele which will be gained from the study of toponyms which is to follow.

The geographical distribution of Christian debtors

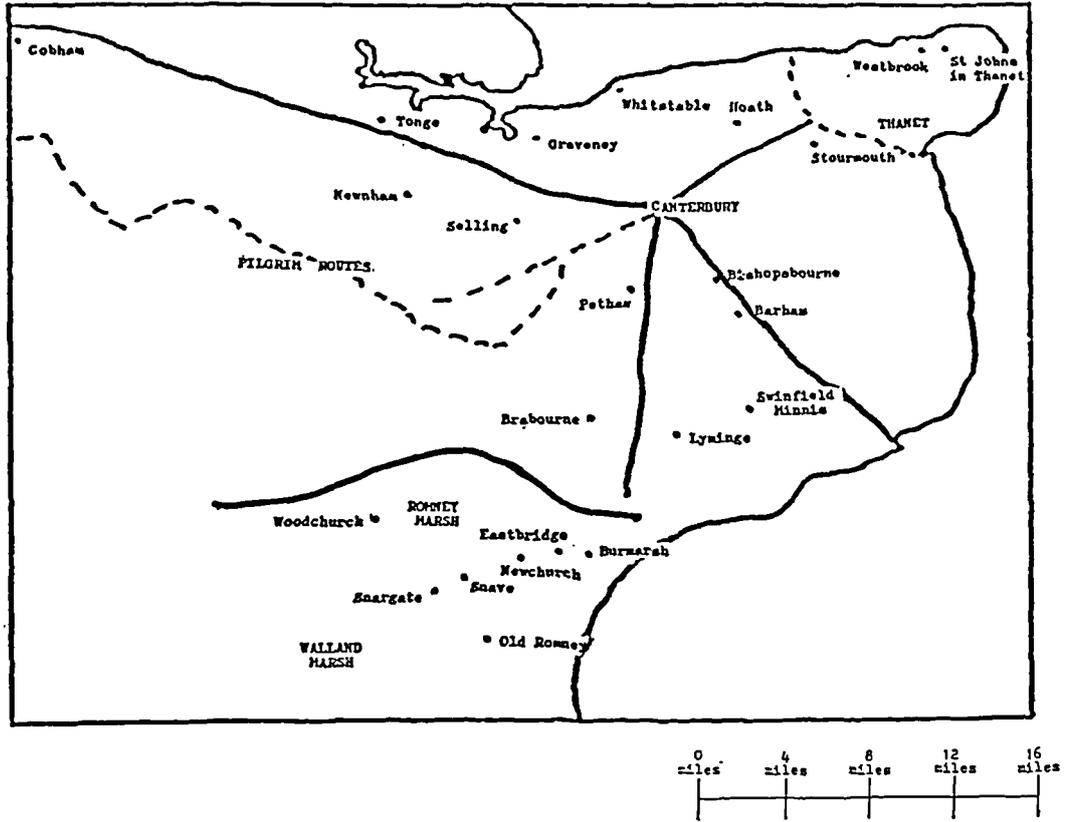
Having discussed the social status of the debtors revealed in the samples, it is now time to look at their geographical distribution. Most of the information upon which the analysis of that distribution will be based will come from the evidence of toponyms which have been used extensively because of the reasons given above.[129] There are, however, cases in which even clients who are not described by the use of the locative in the description on the bond can be given a local provenance by the use of other evidence.

Such a case is that of a Lincolnshire debtor, William le Engleys, who is just described by his Christian name and cognomen.[130] It can, however, in this instance, be established through other evidence that he had connections with lands to the east of Grantham. In 1282, William le Engleys and Mariota, his wife, both described as of 'Skrevington', granted five acres and three roods of land in 'Wylgebby' to Alexander and Hawis of 'Trikyngham' in return for one sore sparrow hawk and one grain of pepper payable at Christmas. The places can be identified as Screddington, Scott Willoughby (now disappeared) and Threekingham -- all within two and a half miles of each other and to the east of Grantham. In the same year, William le Engleys and Mariota, his wife, of 'Scretington' granted Ralph fil John of 'Old Lafford' one acre, one rood, and five shillings of rent in 'Kyrkeby, Old Lafford and Leilthorp' in return for £2-0s-0d and a half a penny payable at Easter. The places can be identified as Screddington, Kirkby la Thorp, Old Sleaford and Laythorpe (now disappeared) -- all situated within five miles of Screddington. It is fairly safe to assume, from this other evidence, that, when William made his bond with Hagin fil Benedict in 1285, he still had some connection with

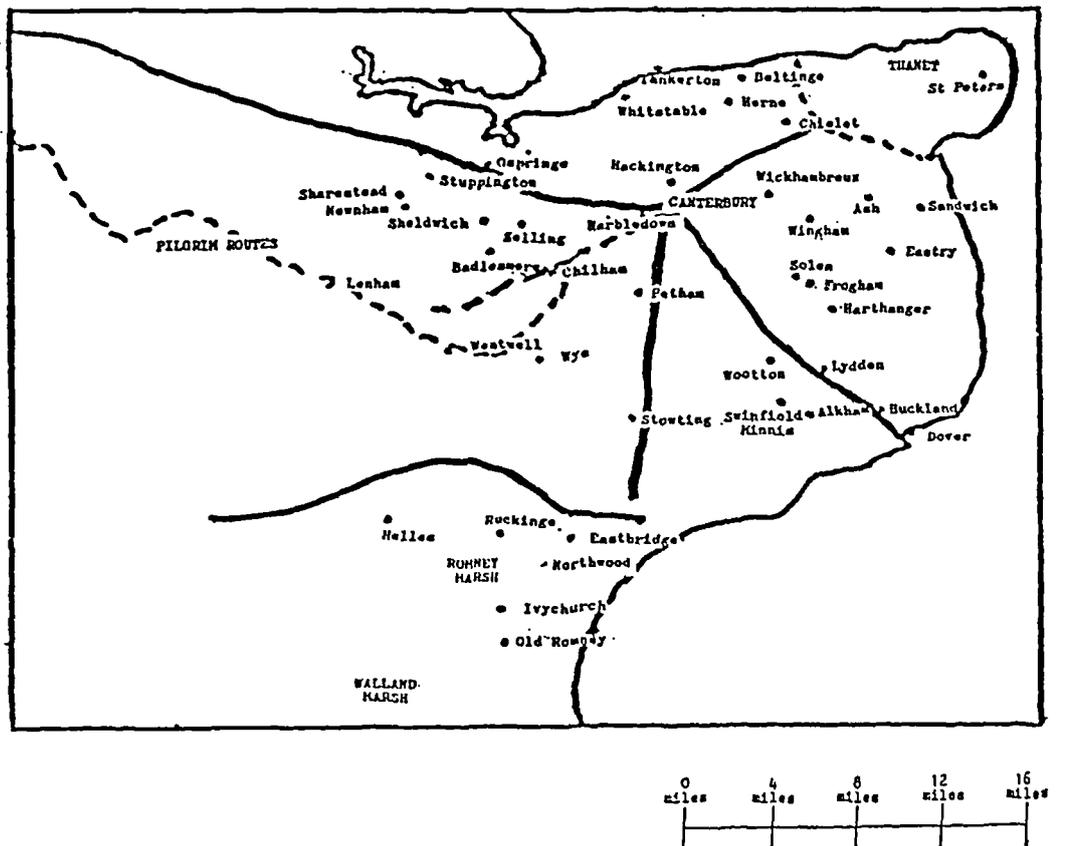
Two other debtors in the samples, who can be shown to have Lincolnshire connections, despite the failure of the name recorded on the bond to provide a locative description, are Agnes, the widow of Philip de Caltoft, and William de Cressy.[132] Agnes seems to have had lands in Toynton after her husband died. In November 1291, John, her son, granted the lands which his mother held as her dower (situated in an area thirteen miles north-north-east of Boston) to John Bek in return for one sore sparrow hawk. The actual deed was made at Westminster in Agnes's presence. The lands were to pass to John Bek on Agnes's death.[133] William de Cressy, whose wife Matilda de Cressy of Great Markham in Nottinghamshire was also indebted to the Jews, can also be seen to have some Lincolnshire connections. In 1274, he put in a claim against two final concords which involved lands in Grantham, Gonerby, Manthorpe and Claypole. Thus, it can be proved that William de Cressy did in fact have at least a landed interest in Lincolnshire.[134] Such useful ancillary information is, however, rare and, for a more general picture, it is necessary to turn to toponyms.

The scribes who recorded the debts to the Jews provided locative descriptions and it is possible to utilise these, as the creditor might have done, to identify from where the debtor came. By using such evidence, the first Kentish sample shows that the majority of those identified come from the villages and manors that are situated just off the great arterial roads that the Romans left as their legacy in Kent. To the east, there are very few debtors at this period with the exception of those resident in the Isle of Thanet in the north-east.[135] To the west, three debtors can be traced: one from Selling, and two from Newnham iuxta Ospringe.[136] To the north, there are three debtors who appear to live near the

The geographical distribution of debtors with identifiable locative names in Kent 1261 - 1276.



The geographical distribution of debtors with identifiable locative names in Kent 1280 - 1290.



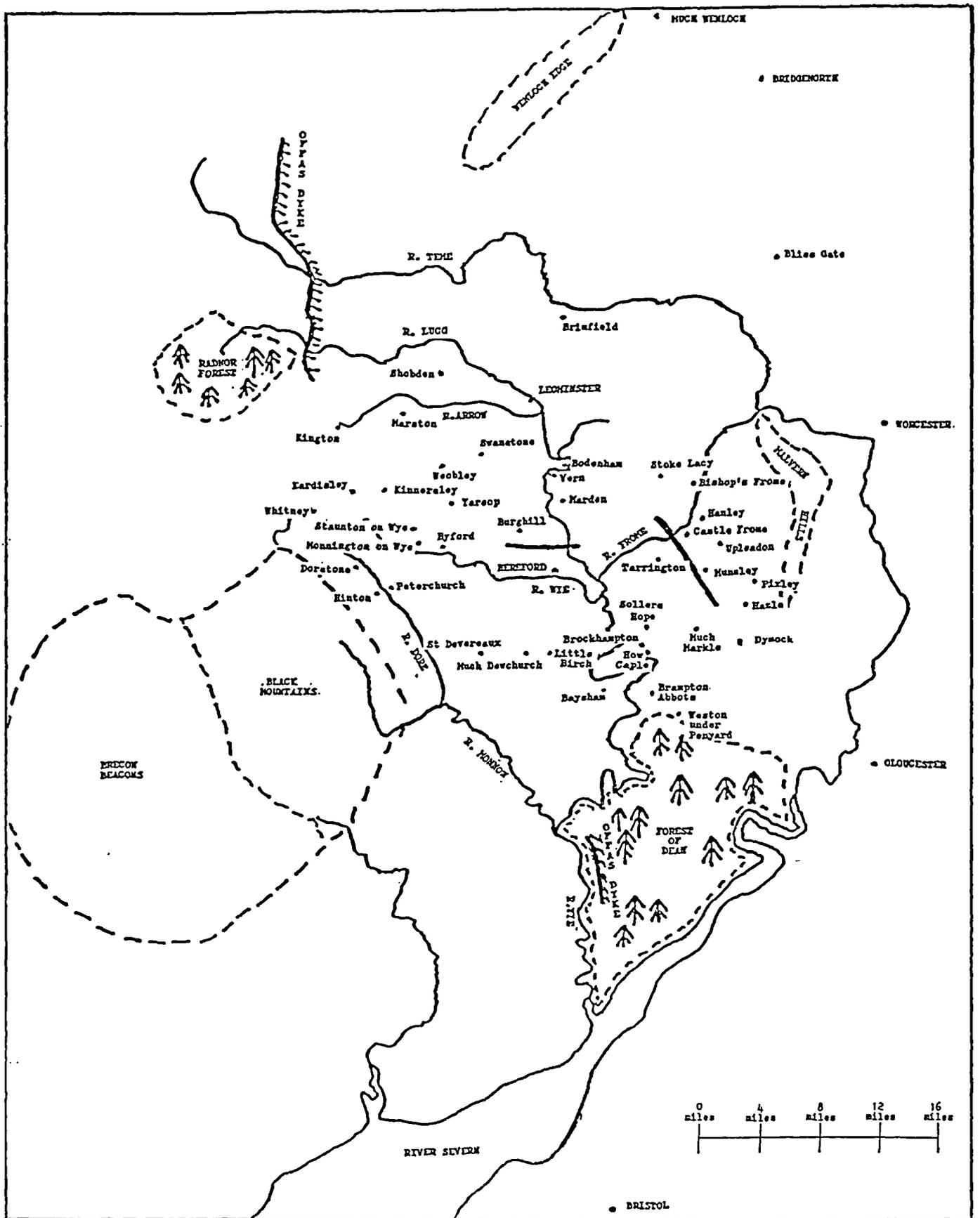
Thames estuary and come from Tonge, Graveney and Whitstable.[137] To the south and south-east, there are debtors who come from the rich agricultural lands around the villages of Bishopsbourne, Petham, Barham, Brabourne and Swingfield.[138] To the south-west, there are a group of debtors who come from small villages on the Romney Marsh. It is interesting to note that, between 1270 and 1275, debtors who came from this area owed the Jews of Canterbury almost £60-0s-0d in cash terms or almost a quarter of the value of the bonds revealed by this sample.[139] It is also interesting that it seems that Abba, the Jew of Canterbury, dealt particularly with Marsh debtors. His clients came from Woodchurch and Newchurch.[140] Only one debtor in the entire sample seems to be from more than twenty-four miles from Canterbury: Geoffrey le Chip of Cobham near Rochester.[141]

Due to the fact that, with one exception (the single wool bond owed by a Canterbury citizen), all the other debts revealed by the second Kentish sample were repayable in cereal, it is of no surprise that the geographical distribution of the debtors shows that once again they were predominantly rural.[142] The majority appear to come from the hinterland of Canterbury in eastern Kent. From the south and west of Canterbury, there are debtors from the villages of Wye, Chilham, Ospringe, Stuppington, Newnham, Sheldwich and Stowting. To the east and the south, there is another group of debtors from the villages of Wingham, Wickhambreaux, Ash, Sandwich and Eastry and from the villages and manors of Frogham, Soles and Harthanger. In the same area, there are also clients from the settlements which straddle the old Roman road from Canterbury to Dover: from Lydden, Alkham, Swingfield, Wootton, Buckland to Dover itself. To the north of Canterbury, there are debtors who come from Hackington, Herne, Beltinge and Chislet as well as coastal dwellers from Tankerton and Whitstable. In the north-east, there are a few debtors who seem to have links with the Isle of Thanet which was an

extremely fertile region in the medieval period.[143] The Romney Marsh, another fertile region, again reveals another group of debtors. There are seven clients from the Marsh who between 1282 and 1290 owed the Jews of Canterbury a total of 170 quarters worth a face value of £44-10s-0d.[144] It is striking that, while most of the places where the debtors of this sample lived are easily accessible by either the old Roman roads or tributaries of the Stour, another group of debtors lived quite close to a lower road in Kent: the Pilgrim's Way. This road, which had been well-trodden by pilgrims for over a century, ran from west to east from Maidstone through Charing to Canterbury and the royal procession passed this way for Edward's marriage in 1254. It almost intersects Lenham, Westwell and Chilham, the villages where some of the Jews' clients lived.[145]

The debtors of the first Herefordshire sample seem to come overwhelmingly from a catchment area which is defined by a nineteen mile radius from Hereford into the Herefordshire basin.[146] This catchment area is neatly bounded in the north by the River Teme, in the west by the Forest of Radnor and the Black Mountains, in the south and south-east by the Forest of Dean, and in the east by the Malvern Hills and the Worcestershire and Gloucestershire boundaries. The sample can be divided into four groups of debtors. The first group comes from the villages and manors to the west of Hereford whose communications with the town must have been by the old Roman roads or by the River Frome. The second group comes from an area that is neatly bounded by the River Wye and the rivers Monnow and Dore to the south-west of the town. A third group comes from the north-west and is situated around the northern banks of the River Wye and further north towards the River Arrow. The last group comes from the villages to the north of Hereford, between the town and Leominster along the River Lugg.

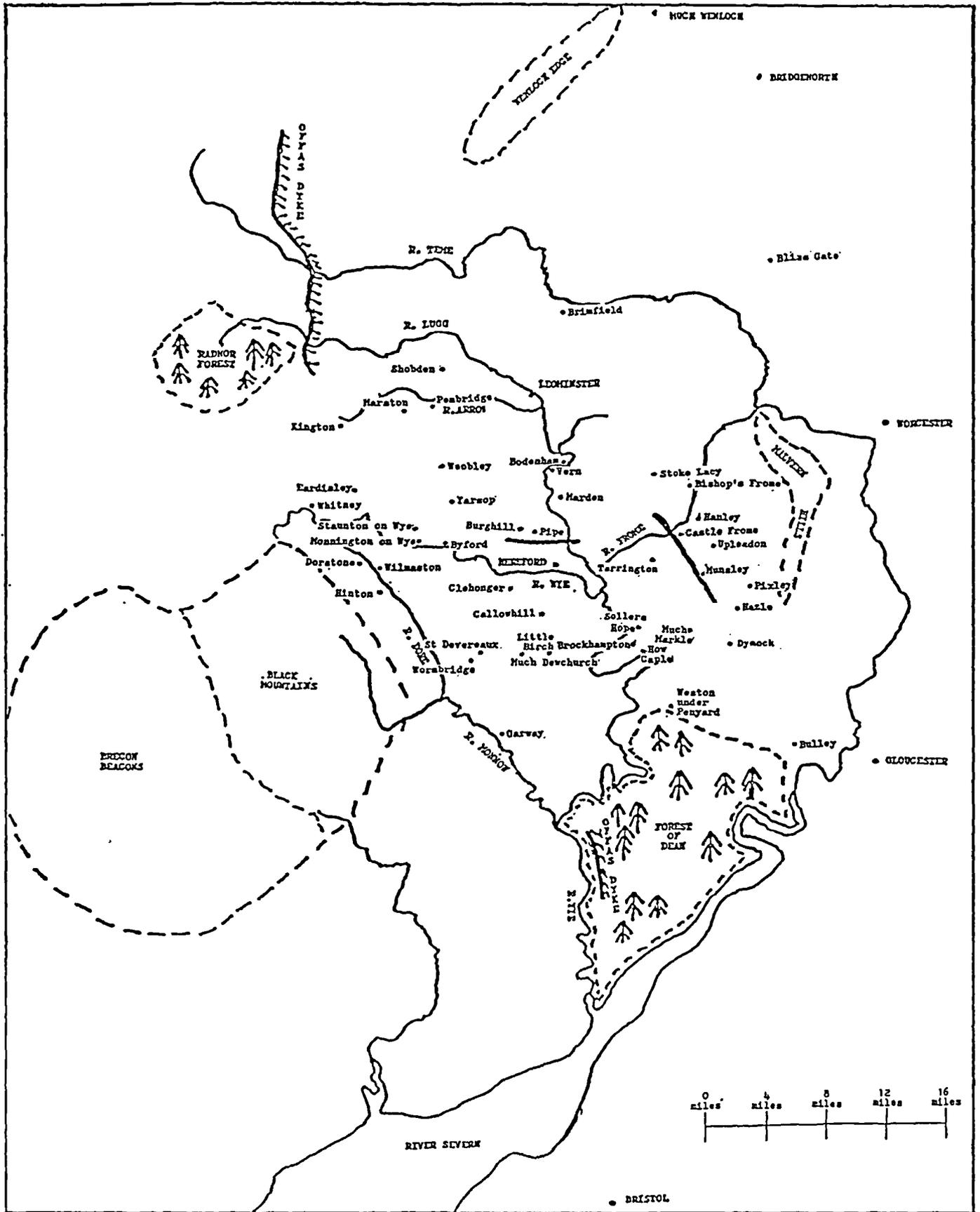
The geographical distribution of debtors with identifiable locative names Herefordshire 1268 - 1275.



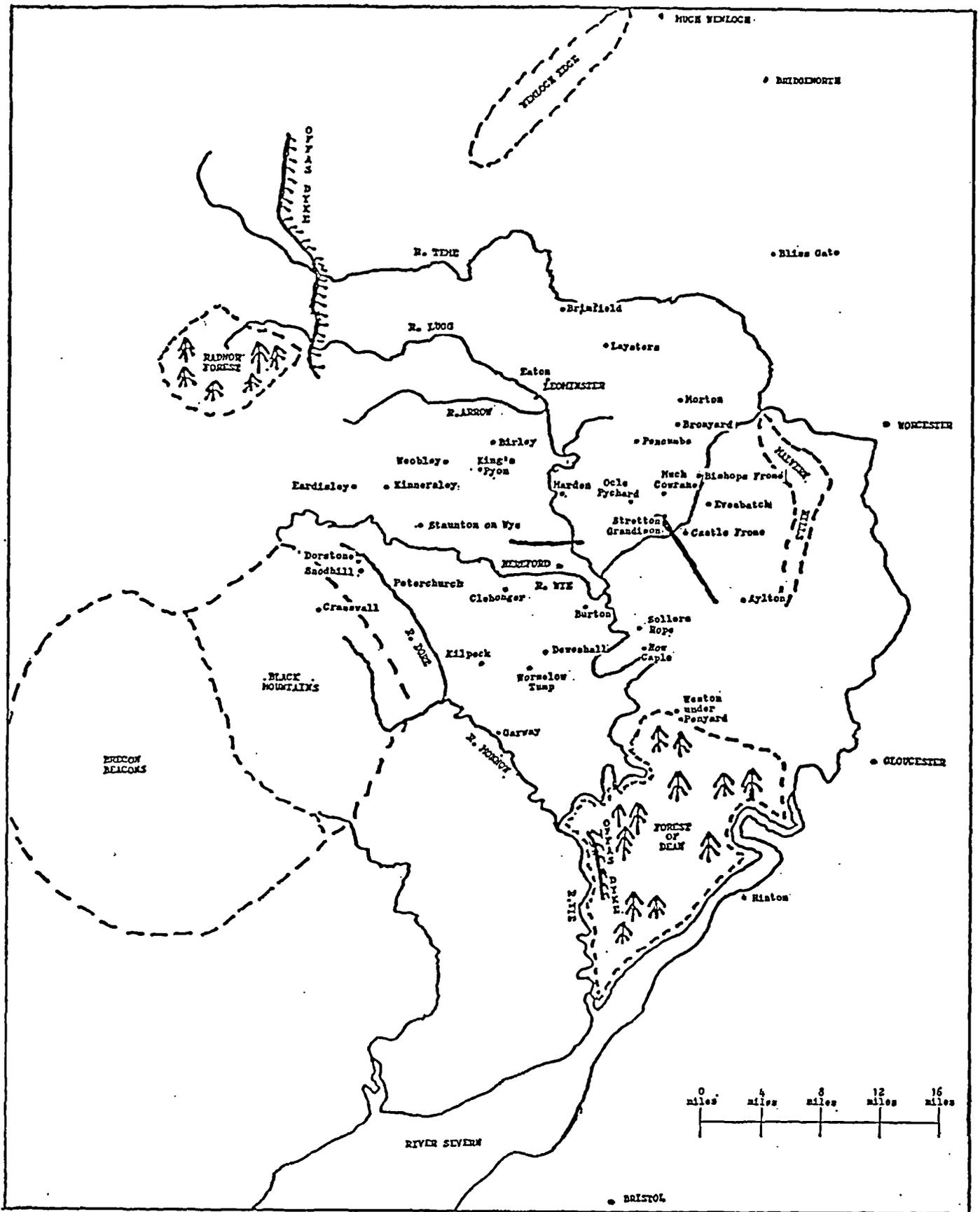
The second Herefordshire sample gives a similar distribution pattern which is to some degree the result of the overlap of the evidence used for the samples.[147] The distribution of the clients of Aaron le Blund shows only marginal differences from that of the clients of the 1275 scrutiny. There are new places such as Bulley which is as far away as the Gloucestershire border but, in general, the differences are not significant enough to suggest that they are anything more than the result of random survival. The third sample of debtors also provides a similar pattern, although the villages to the east of the Roman road seem to be displaced by villages to the north-west of the River Frome and to the north-east of Hereford -- Much Cowarne, Stretton Grandison, Ocle Pychard, Pencumbe, Bromyard and Norton. To the north of Leominster, there are now two debtors from Laysters and Eaton. To the north-west of Hereford, Kinnersley, Kings Pyon and Birley seem to have provided clients for the Jews of the city. To the south-west, Snodhill on the River Dore and Crasswall in the foothills of the Black Mountains are evidenced and, to the south, Kilpeck, Wormelow Tump and Burton are identifiable.[148]

The last Herefordshire sample makes it possible to consider geographical distribution in a slightly different way. The debtors can be considered in the light of the commodities that they owe. One of the two debtors for wool, as has been discussed above, came from Devonshire.[149] The other, Nicholas le Archer, seems to have come from Tarrington where he was the son of the lord of the manor. Between March and September 1286, he made bonds with two Jews and owed a total of seventeen sacks of wool worth £168-0s-0d. It seems likely that his flocks grazed on the manor of Tarrington, seven miles east of Hereford. He was also indebted for 200 quarters of cereal: it seems that Tarrington was a productive manor.[150] Those who owe cereal appear to come from areas which surround Hereford on

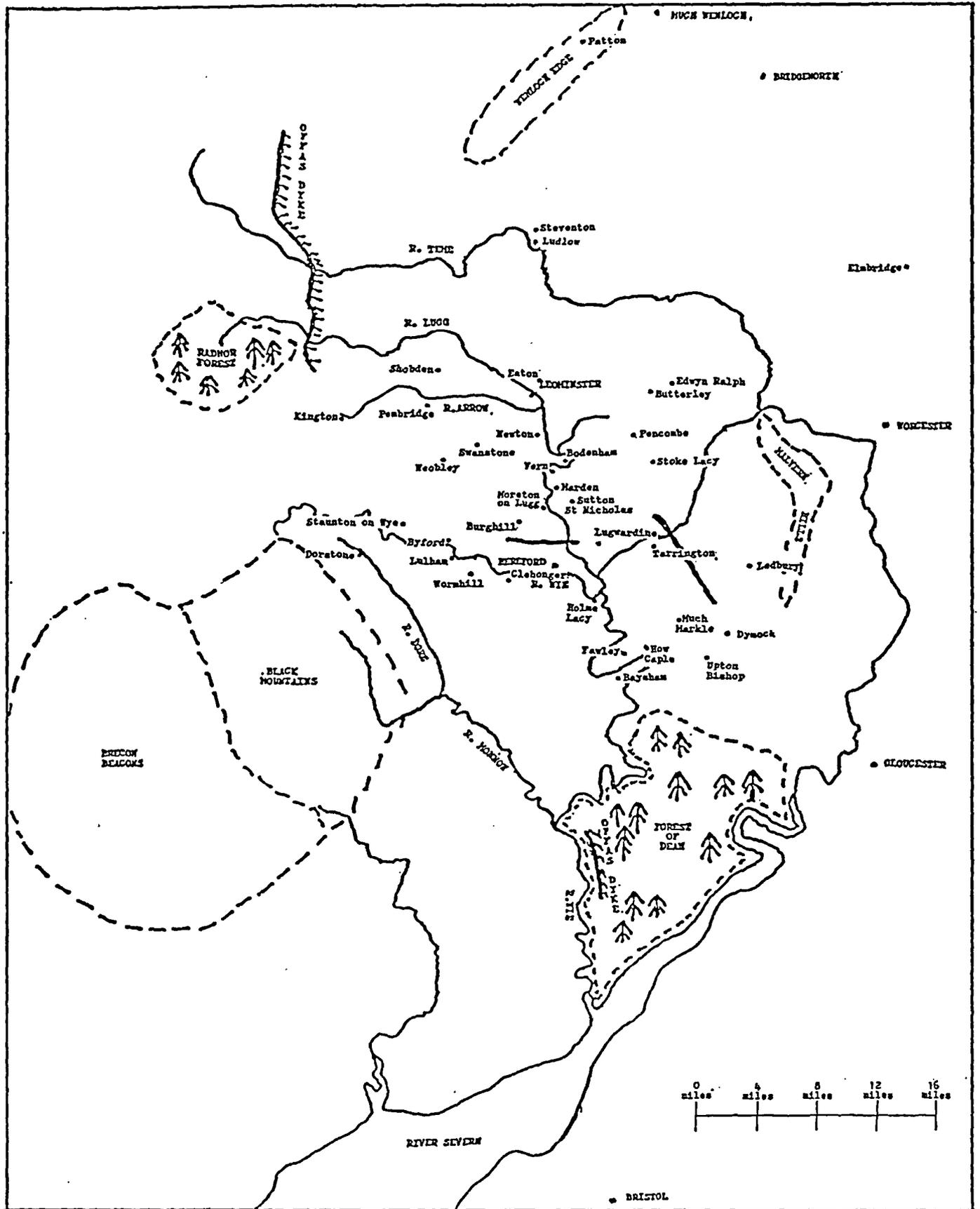
The geographical distribution of debtors with identifiable locative names - the clients of Aaron Le Blund 1264 - 1275.



The geographical distribution of debtors with identifiable locative names - the clients of other Hereford Jews 1259-1276.



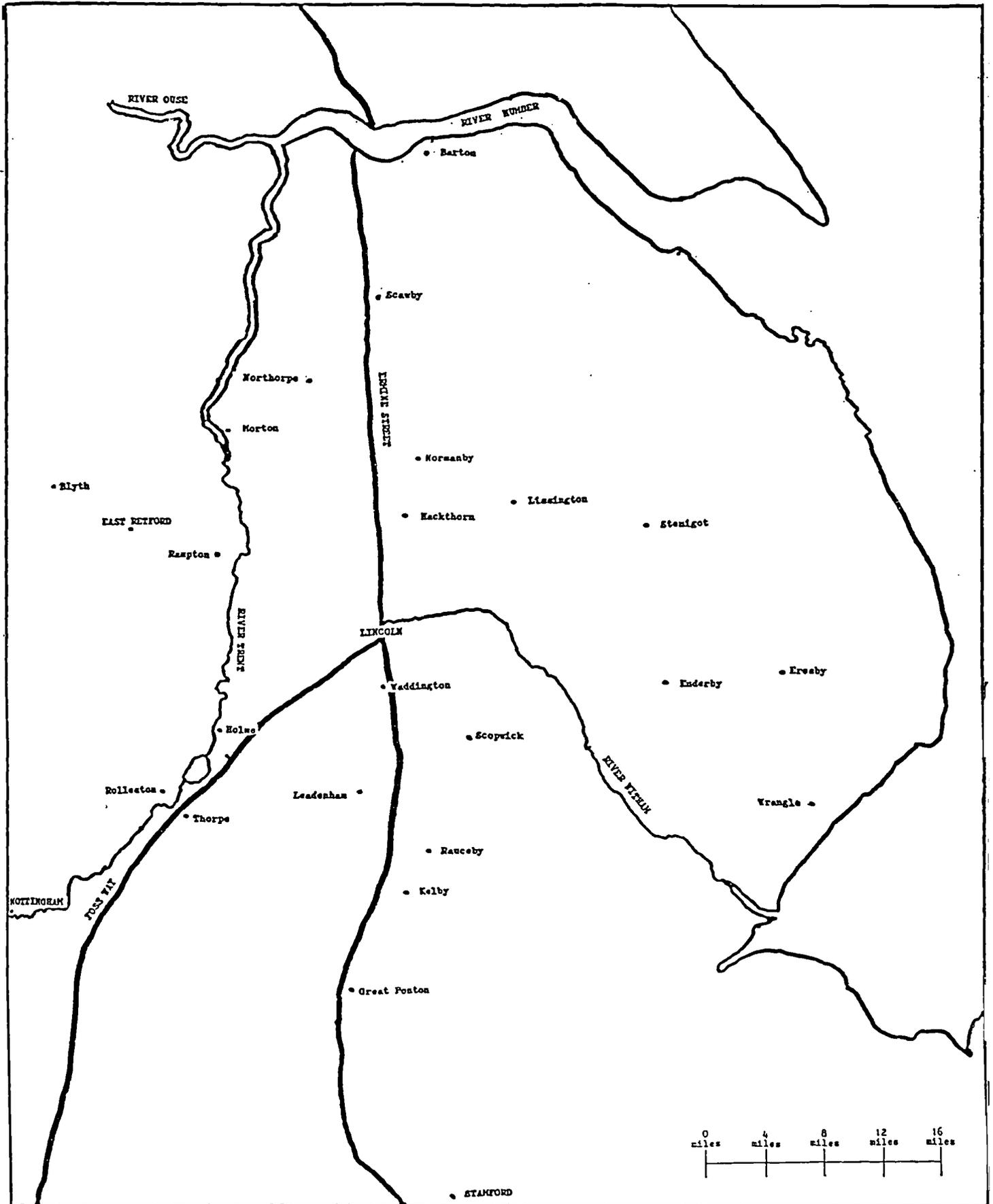
The geographical distribution of debtors with identifiable locative names - Herefordshire 1283 - 1290.



all sides. There are three large cereal debtors who come from the west of Hereford -- Henry de Solers, the lord of the manor of Dorstone, William de la More of Staunton on Wye and Philip of Wormhill in the parish of Madley.[151] A partnership between William Kanne of Fawley and Roger de Caple of Upton, both to the south-east of Hereford, owed forty quarters of cereal. Another partnership which owed fifteen quarters of cereal -- that of Stephen of Bodenham, a clerk, and Nicholas cissor of Vern -- seems to have been based to the north of Hereford. One specific area which produces both cereal and cash bonds stands out. Sutton, situated some four miles to the north-east of Hereford, provides several shared bonds which reveal that sixteen inhabitants owed 130 quarters of cereal and £13-0s-0d by bonds made between February 1285 and May 1286. The overall distribution of debtors who owe money is similar to the general pattern established in the samples above. There are, however, two cash debtors who seem to come from outside the highly localised catchment area discussed above. One of them appears to come from Patton in Shropshire on Wenlock Edge and the other seems to come from Elmbridge in Worcestershire.[152]

The distribution of debtors from the first Lincolnshire sample reveals that the catchment area they come from is roughly bounded in the north by the Humber, in the west by the Trent, in the south by the county boundary and in the east by the seaboard.[153] The majority of the debtors come from a large area within a thirty mile radius of Lincoln itself. Most of them come from villages and manors which were reasonably accessible by either road or river. To the south of Lincoln, the villages situated either side of Ermine Street provide clients for the Lincoln Jews. To the east, some clients seem to have come from the marshy fenlands of Stenigot, Enderby, Eresby and Wrangle on the coast.[154] To the west, at least six debtors are seen to have connections with the Nottinghamshire

The geographical distribution of debtors with identifiable locative names in Lincolnshire 1270 - 1276.



villages of Rampton, Rolleston, Ravenscalf, Blyth and Stratton.[155]  
One debtor can be identified as coming from across the Humber in Yorkshire. Some places can be shown to have been the homes of several clients of the Jews. There are three debtors from Hackthorn, eight miles to the north of Lincoln; two from Leadenham, twelve miles to the south; two from Rauceby, seventeen miles to the south; and two from Kelby, some nineteen and a half miles to the south.[156]

The diverse repayments found in the second Lincolnshire sample make it possible to discuss the geographical distribution of the debtors in the light of the commodities they owe.[157] Of the debtors who owe the Jews sums of money, three come from beyond Lincolnshire. Adam fil Randolph of Normannyl is described as a miles of Yorkshire and is also known to have been the King's escheator beyond the Trent;[158] another cash debtor comes from Lowestoft in Suffolk and a third from Staunton in Huntingdonshire. Only three of the debtors for money appear to come from more local 'towns' -- two citizens of Newark and Peter of the Mill from Boston. In the north and east, there are cash debtors from Driby, Beckering, Orby and Ingoldmells on the coast. In the north-east, there are cash debtors from Hackthorn, Market Rasen, Otby and Swallow. To the north-west of Lincoln, there are two cash debtors from Upton, one from Willingham, one from Stow St Mary and four from beyond the Nottinghamshire border from Wheateley, East Markham, Skegby, and Weston. To the south-west, in the triangle between the Roman roads, there are two cash debtors from Welbourne and one each from Boothby Graffoe, Coleby, and Harmston. To the south-east, there are two cash debtors from Navenby and one each from Blankney, Asgarby, Ropsley and Greatford near Stamford.[159]



Geographically, it is significant that the majority of the debtors who owe cereal come from the northern part of Kesteven and the south-western part of Lindsey, bounded by Ermine Way in the west, the River Witham in the south and the Lincoln wolds in the east. North Kesteven, in medieval times, was studded with small villages built on a good sandy loam which was excellent for growing crops or for pasture.[160] Villages which provide cereal debtors to the south of Lincoln such as Coleby, Harmston and Waddington were all situated in the 'Low Fields', a rather good productive area.[161] To the north of Lincoln, the majority of the cereal debtors come from villages which lay near the foot of the Lincoln wolds and are still to this day good crop producing areas -- Hackthorn, Faldingworth and Market Rasen.[162] One cereal debtor comes from the marshy coastal strip around Theddlethorpe. To the west of Lincoln, and just over the Nottinghamshire boundary, there are cereal debtors from Claworth, Weston, Sutton on Trent, Barnby in the Willows and other villages of the fertile Trent basin. It is, therefore, noticeable in the Lincolnshire samples, more than any of the others, that the actual geographical areas which those who were to repay in cereal inhabited were also the most likely areas to be able to produce cereal in the Lincoln area in the late thirteenth-century.[163]

The debtors who owe payments in wool seem to come from rather different areas. To the extreme south of Kesteven, in the flat lands near the Northamptonshire border just to the west of the fens, there are wool debtors who come from Baston and Greatford. In the south, and slightly nearer Lincoln, there are a group of wool debtors from the villages along Ermine Street and from the Grantham area of central Kesteven. To the east of Grantham, there are wool debtors from Braceby, Aunsby, Kelby and Ganthorpe, situated in the slightly higher 'clay country' and from Horbling on the fen margin.

There are a few wool debtors from Grantham itself and from villages such as Stoke Rochford to the south and from the flat lands around Allington and Hougham. There are wool debtors from the north-west of Kesteven from the triangle made by the intersection of the Roman roads which includes the gentle undulating areas of Thorpe on the Hill and the gravel slopes around Norton Disney -- an excellent pasture for sheep. There are also wool debtors from the rich marlstone villages of Waddington and Navenby and a group from Newark itself and Wyntorp.[164] The majority of the debtors who are to repay in wool, come, however, from an area to the north of Lincoln in Lindsey. Barton, situated on the Lincoln edge, Riseholm, Ingleby, Stow St Mary, Upton, Ingham, Fillingham, and Hemswell are in western Lindsey. Hackthorn, Faldingworth, Newton by Toft and Middle Rasen are situated in the very central vale of Lindsey at the foot of the wolds. There are another group of villages from which wool is owed in an area around Louth on the Lincoln wolds themselves -- Newton iuxta Swinhope and Binbrook to the north-west of Louth, Louth itself (the very point where the central wolds join the marsh) and, to the south-west of Louth, Stenigot in the Bain valley and Sotby. To the east of Lincoln, there are another group of wool debtors from the fenland around Horncastle from Winceby, Wood Enderby and Driby on the very edges of the fen, an area suited to grazing sheep. Thus, the Jews' clients who were to repay in wool clearly came from areas which were likely to produce that commodity. It is highly significant that the majority of them come from Lindsey, an area which Pegalotti, in the fourteenth century, claimed to be the area which produced the finest wool in all England.[165]

As in the other samples, the Lincoln sample demonstrates that the Jews had a predominantly local clientele. There were, however, a few debtors who came from beyond the Nottinghamshire border -- from Nottingham itself, Tollerton far to the south-west of Lincoln,

Holbeck, Kirton, Egmanton, East Markham to the west of Lincoln beyond the Trent and Styrrup and Clayworth to the north-west of Lincoln. To the far north of Lincoln, there are a few debtors from Hedon across the Humber and Grimsby and Immingham on the coast as well as Barton on Humber on the north-east coast. In the far south-east near the Wash, there are debtors from Frieston and Boston and more centrally from Billingham near the Witham and Kirkby Le Thorpe in Kesteven.[166]

Thus, from this investigation of the geographical distribution of the debtors of provincial Jewry, it is possible to assert that the majority were not from the archa towns but from manors and villages in their hinterland. The investigation has revealed that each town tended to extract its clientele from a surrounding area whose size was dictated both by the size of the town itself and by the proximity of similar towns. When the samples have been big enough to provide a reasonable statistical basis for the analysis of the distribution of the Jews' clients, it has been possible, as was particularly the case with the final Lincoln sample, to demonstrate that the debtors who were to repay in different commodities were resident in areas which were particularly suited to the production of those commodities. It is therefore clear that this is further evidence not only of the reality of the commodity bonds, but also of the fact that Jews were able to modify their financial dealings so that they could successfully match the ambitions and capabilities of a clientele which was revealed by the previous analysis of social status to be a highly varied one.

The Jews of Canterbury, Hereford and Lincoln can be seen as village moneylenders because most of their clients were rural rather than urban.[167] It seems that they were not concerned with high finance, but with lending to local men and women who were either in

need of financial aid to expand their operations or to cope with financial hardship. The Jews must have been well acquainted with the debtors and the places they came from. It is clear that, even on the eve of the Expulsion, they were still finding new clients near to the archa towns with whom they could do business.

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- [1] See Chapter III note [16] and Chapter VIII note [14] below. P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp150-152. M. Arkin, 'When the Jewish goose stopped laying golden eggs' Jewish Affairs, 5, p19.
- [2] P.R. Hyams, 'The Jewish minority in medieval England 1066-1290' J.J.S., 25/26, p271. V.D. Lipman, 'The anatomy of medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, pp66-67.
- [3] The samples of Christian debtors are drawn from: P.R.O. E/101/250/5, P.R.O. E/101/250/6, P.R.O. E/101/250/12. W.A.M. Nos: 9015, 9019, 9020, 9021, 9022, 9025, 9026, 9028, 9034, 9036, 9039, 9042, 9043, 9046, 9047, 9057, 9058, 9086, 9088, 9089, 9090, 9091, 9103, 9104, 9105, 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120, 9121, 9123, 9124, 9125, 9126, 9127, 9139, 9156, 9157, 9158, 9159, 9172, 9173, 9174, 9175, 9176. (Canterbury bonds) 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087, 9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097, 9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131, 9132, 9135, 9137, 9140, 9142, 9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147, 9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162, 9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168, 9169, 9170. (Lincoln bonds). P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.
- [4] Jacobs, pxiv.
- [5] B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, pp136-159.
- [6] S. Cohen, 'The Oxford Jewry in the thirteenth century' T.J.H.S.E., 13, pp293-322.
- [7] S. Cohen, 'The Oxford Jewry in the thirteenth century' T.J.H.S.E., 13, pp306-307.
- [8] P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp145-154. H.P. Stokes, Studies in Anglo Jewish History Appendices 4, 5, 6. C.C.R. 1254-1256 pp170-172. P. Elman, Jewish finance in thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation, pp113, 140-147.
- [9] P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' E.H.R., 7, p148.
- [10] P. Elman, Jewish finance in thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation, pp112-113.
- [11] Elman's research into Christian debtors reveals that 42 percent of them are what he termed 'agrarian'. In a later article, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, p148 he emphatically claims that well over 70 percent of Jewish debtors belonged to the agricultural classes.
- [12] R.W. Emery, The Jews of Perpignan in the thirteenth century, pp39-67. Lipman, pp93-94.
- [13] R.W. Emery, The Jews of Perpignan in the thirteenth century, p39.
- [14] Lipman, pp93-94. S. Levy, 'The Norwich Day-Book' T.J.H.S.E., 5, pp243-275.
- [15] Lipman, p94.
- [16] P.R. Hyams, 'The origins of a peasant land market in England' Ec.H.R., 23, p30.
- [17] M.M. Postan, The medieval economy and society, pp152-153.
- [18] P.R. Hyams, 'The Jewish minority in medieval England 1066-1290' J.J.S., 25/26, p291.
- [19] M. Mate, 'The indebtedness of Canterbury Cathedral Priory 1215-1295' Ec.H.R., 26, pp183-197.
- [20] E. King, Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310 - a study in the land market, pp39-40, 44-45. P.R. Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the crisis of the knightly class in thirteenth century England' Past and Present, 68, pp3-37. D.M. Sutherland, 'Peytevin v. la Lynde - a case in medieval land law', The Law Quarterly Review, 83, pp527-546.
- [21] P.R.O. E/101/250/5, P.R.O. E/101/250/6, P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [22] W.A.M. Nos: 9015, 9019, 9020, 9021, 9022, 9025, 9026, 9028, 9034, 9036, 9042, 9043, 9046, 9047, 9057, 9058, 9086, 9088, 9089, 9090, 9091, 9104, 9105, 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120, 9121, 9123, 9124,

9125, 9126, 9139, 9156, 9157, 9158, 9159, 9172, 9173, 9174, 9175, 9176. (Canterbury bonds). 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087, 9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097, 9098, 9100, 9130, 9131, 9132, 9135, 9137, 9140, 9142, 9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162, 9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168, 9169, (Lincoln bonds). P.R.E.J.3,pp230-238.

[23] Most of the actual surviving bonds in the Westminster Abbey Muniments bore seals at one time. The actual bonds which survive at the Public Record Office - P.R.O. E/101/24/5 and P.R.O.

E/101/249/7 bore seals at one time. The surviving bond from Hereford - H.R.O. MS AH 81/34 still bears a seal.

S.C.B.M.2,ppcxxxiii-cxxx. Z.E. Rokeah, 'Shtar fragment in a sealing strip' Tarbiz,40,pp513-517. H. Jenkinson, A guide to seals in the Public Record Office. H.S. Kingsford, Seals. M.T. Clanchy, From memory to written record - England 1066-1307,pp244-257.

[24] W.A.M. Nos: 9020, 9021, 9025, 9026, 9028, 9034, 9039, 9042, 9046, 9047, 9057, 9058, 9088, 9090, 9091, 9104, 9105, 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120, 9121, 9123, 9124, 9125, 9127, 9139, 9156, 9157, 9172, 9175, 9176.

[25] W.A.M. Nos: 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087, 9092, 9093, 9094, 9097, 9098, 9117, 9130, 9131, 9132, 9137, 9140, 9142, 9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147, 9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162, 9165, 9167, 9168, 9169, 9170.

[26] W.A.M.9028 (still with a seal), W.A.M.9036, W.A.M.9043.

[27] W.A.M.9162, W.A.M.9169, W.A.M.9092.

[28] W.A.M.9027, W.A.M.9087, W.A.M.9094, W.A.M.9132, W.A.M.9170.

[29] W.A.M. 9014, W.A.M. 9140, W.A.M. 9150.

[30] See Chapter III note [94]. M. Postan, 'Private financial instruments in medieval England' Vierteljahrschrift fur Sozial und wirtschaftsgeschichte,23,p36.

[31] Statutes of the Realm,1,pp220-221. See Chapter III notes [152] and [153].

[32] P.R.E.J.4,p19. In another case a freeman who through ineptness became a villein tries to avoid paying a Jew, C.C.R. 1276,p297.

[33] K. Scott, 'The Jewish arcae' Cambridge Law Journal,10,p446.

[34] C.C.R. 1272-1279,pp161-163,284-285.

[35] See Appendix Tables I - XI. W.A.M.9173, W.A.M.9119, W.A.M.9103, W.A.M.9043. W.A.M.9014, W.A.M.9095, W.A.M.9140, W.A.M.9150, W.A.M.9131, W.A.M.9160. P.R.O. E/101/250/5, P.R.O. E/101/250/6, P.R.O. E/101/250/12. P.R.E.J.3,pp230-238.

[36] See Appendix Tables I - XI. W.A.M.9039, W.A.M.9057, W.A.M.9088. W.A.M.9032, W.A.M.9131, W.A.M.9162. P.R.O. E/101/250/5, P.R.O. E/101/250/6, P.R.O. E/101/250/12.

P.R.E.J.3,pp230-238.

[37] For Hurell's debt see P.R.O. E/101/250/6 and Appendix Table II. S.Thrupp and H.B. Johnson, 'Earliest Canterbury Freeman's Rolls 1298-1363' Medieval Kentish Society,18,pp173-214.

[38] H.C.A. Dr. Morgan's Name Index. Pauncefoot, 353, 444.

Hurtesle, 139, 240, 851. Maudin 966, 994, 1034, 336, 660.

Penebrug 581, 867. Danyell 1235. Mael 298, 359, 400, 403, 416, 417, 418. Solle 18, 19, 317, 343, 346, 424, 111, 118, 119, 307, 318, 331, 382, 383, 384, 399. Balun 166. Clehonger 92, 115, 188, 199, 288, 289, 290, 384, 404, 443, 527, 529, 584, 590, 591, 593, 595, 655, 680, 690.

[39] See Appendix Table VII. W.A.M.9170.

[40] S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 - Hilary 1279,pp149-150. L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A120, A144.

[41] See Appendix Table XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A320.

[42] See Appendix Table XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. L.A.O Foster

- Library Transcripts A198.
- [43] See Appendix Table XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A593.
- [44] See Appendix Table XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A393, A394.
- [45] See Appendix Table XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A667.
- [46] See Appendix Table XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A402.
- [47] See Appendix Table II. P.R.O. E/101/250/6.
- [48] See Appendix Table III. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.
- [49] See Appendix Table III. P.R.E.J.3, pp235-236.
- [50] See Appendix Table III. P.R.E.J.3, p233
- [51] See Appendix Table III. P.R.E.J.3, p237
- [52] See Appendix Table III. P.R.E.J.3, pp235, 236.
- [53] See Appendix Table IV. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.
- [54] See Appendix Table IV. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.
- [55] See Appendix Table IV. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.
- [56] See Appendix Table VIII. W.A.M.9130, W.A.M.9142, W.A.M.9145, W.A.M.9147, W.A.M. 9160, W.A.M.9165.
- [57] See Appendix Tables VIII - XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [58] E. Ekwall, Early London Personal Names. E. Ekwall, Two early London Subsidy Rolls pp43-71. E. Ekwall, Studies on the population of medieval London. G. Fransson, Middle English Surnames of Occupation. M. Lofvenberg, Middle English Surnames. C. Bardsley, Dictionary of English and Welsh surnames particularly pxi. P.H. Reaney, Dictionary of British Surnames introduction. W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England. E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The first half century of the borough of Stratford upon Avon' Ec.H.R., 18, pp46-63. H.M. Cam, Liberties and communities in medieval England p22. R., H. Hilton, A medieval Society: the west Midlands at the end of the thirteenth century. K. Wrightson, 'Medieval villagers in perspective' Peasant Studies, 7, pp203-217. J.A. Raftis, Pathways to medieval peasants. A similar use of toponyms for identifying Jews has been used by Chazan. R. Chazan, 'Jewish Settlement in northern France 1096-1200' R.E.J., 128, pp59-60. In connection with this method see also Richardson pp13-14 and R.B. Dobson, 'The decline and Expulsion of the Medieval Jews of York' T.J.H.S.E., 26, p37.
- [59] S. Reynolds, An introduction to the History of English medieval Towns, p70.
- [60] See Table above, 'Naming Patterns used in the bonds'. See Appendix Tables I - XI.
- [61] See Appendix Table I. W.A.M. Nos: 9015, 9019, 9020, 9021, 9022, 9025, 9026, 9028, 9034, 9036, 9039, 9042, 9043, 9046, 9047, 9057, 9058, 9086, 9088, 9089, 9090, 9091, 9103, 9104, 9105, 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120, 9121, 9123, 9124, 9125, 9126, 9127, 9139, 9156, 9157, 9158, 9159, 9172, 9173, 9174, 9175, 9176.
- [62] W.A.M.9058, W.A.M.9022, W.A.M.9126, W.A.M.9158.
- [63] W.A.M.9098, W.A.M.9172.
- [64] W.A.M.9104, W.A.M.9124, W.A.M.9116.
- [65] W.A.M.9019, W.A.M.9173.
- [66] W.A.M.9047, W.A.M.9126 (Interestingly witnessed by Alan de Mortun, 'the said John's brother'). S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 - Hilary 1279, p365.
- [67] W.A.M.9028, W.A.M.9036.
- [68] W.A.M.9119, W.A.M.9043, W.A.M.9103.
- [69] W.A.M.9127, W.A.M.9123. W.A.M.9124 and W.A.M.9158 have small commodity repayments as well.
- [70] See Appendix Table II. P.R.O. E/101/250/6.
- [71] See Chapter VIII below.
- [72] P.R.O. E/101/250/6. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 5, p95.
- [73] This estimate is reached by allowing 1.5 acres to grow 1

quarter of wheat. In 1987 1.5 acres would grow 480 quarters of wheat. M.M. Postan The medieval economy and society, p25. J. Hatcher and E. Miller, Medieval England - rural society and economic change 1086 - 1348, pp147-148.

[74] See Appendix Table II. P.R.O. E/101/250/6.

[75] S. Thrupp and H. B. Johnson, 'Earliest Canterbury Freeman's Rolls 1298-1362' Medieval Kentish Society, 18, p178.

[76] See Appendix Tables III - VI. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, pp147-148. See note [38] above.

[77] See Appendix Tables III - VI. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.

[78] P.R.E.J.3 pp230-238. See above Chapter V note [57]. C. Humphery-Smith, Anglo-Norman Armory, p119. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 1, p38. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. Calendar of Inquisitiones Post Mortem, 2, p79.

[79] P.R.E.J.3, pp230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236. B.L. Abrahams, 'The debts and houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 1, p141.

[80] P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.

[81] See Appendix Table III. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.

[82] See Appendix Tables III, IV, V. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.

[83] See Appendix Table IV. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.

[84] Compare Appendix Table V with Table III and particularly Table IV. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.

[85] See Appendix Table V. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.

[86] See above note [78]. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 1, p38.

[87] H.R.O. Bailiffs' Rolls 1276-1277 - the roll of Reginald Moniword.

[88] C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 2, p143. C.C.R. 1282 pp181-182. C.C.R. 1284 p351.

[89] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.

[90] P.R.O. E/9/43. P.R.O. E/9/40 is a roll which was made at Shrewsbury.

[91] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 1, pp16, 181, 304.

[92] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 2, p171.

[93] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 1, p171. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 2, pp143, 220. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 4, p257. Henry of Hereford miles held land in Mordiford. Henry de Solers miles fought in Wales in 1287 and had lands in Dorstone. He was also made sheriff of Herefordshire on 2nd November 1290. Roger de Butterley held lands in Butterley.

[94] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.

[95] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.

[96] W.A.M. Nos: 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087, 9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097, 9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131, 9132, 9135, 9137, 9140, 9142, 9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147, 9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162, 9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168, 9169, 9170. Duket's bonds are W.A.M. 9095, W.A.M. 9140. Foliot's bond is W.A.M. 9150. de Novo mercato's W.A.M. 9014. Richard cissor's W.A.M. 9131. Flori's W.A.M. 9160. The other Lincoln citizen's bonds are W.A.M. 9032 and W.A.M. 9087.

[97] W.A.M. 9160.

[98] L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A201.

[99] See Appendix Table VII. W.A.M. Nos: 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087, 9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097, 9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131, 9132, 9135, 9137, 9140, 9142, 9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147, 9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162, 9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168, 9169, 9170. Richard Rudde of Barton also owes Jacob fil Isaac of Brancegate 1 quarter of wheat (W.A.M. 9170).

- [100] W.A.M.9100. The bond is in fact probably a debt for £96-13s-4d because it is endorsed 'I Benedict will allow the said Stephen 40s at next Christmas term'.
- [101] P.R.E.J.2, pp221, 224, 260, 261, 262, 292. P.R.E.J.3, p55. C.C.R. 1272-1279, pp97, 103.
- [102] See above notes [39] and [40]. W.A.M.9170. S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 - Hilary 1279, pp149, 150.
- [103] W.A.M.9095, W.A.M.9140.
- [104] S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 - Hilary 1279, pp1, 2, 87, 299, 440, 459. P.R.O. E/9/44 shows that Hagin fil Benedict and Benedict are still trying to claim against Hugh Duket. Interestingly, in 1284, Benedict and Hagin eventually sell a debt of £100-0s-0d and are granted a licence to do so. The debt was owed to them by Hugh Duket and was sold to Master Henry de Bray C.P.R. 1284, p116.
- [105] C.C.R. 1275, p236.
- [106] L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A24 and A787.
- [107] W.A.M.9014.
- [108] C.C.R. 1275, pp151, 190. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 3, p263. P.R.O. E/9/44 - Certainly it seems that both father and son were indebted to London Jews. In 1259, an Adam de Novo Mercato owed Vives fil Magister Moses two bonds for £66-13s-4d and £13-6s-8d. In 1271, an Adam de Novo Mercato owed Magister Elias of London £10-0s-0d.
- [109] P.R. Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the crisis of the Knightly class in thirteenth century England' Past and Present, 68, p31 note 136. C.C.R. 1273, p46.
- [110] C.C.R. 1274 p222.
- [111] P.R.E.J.4, p55.
- [112] S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 - Hilary 1279, pp391-392, 446, 467. C.C.R. 1278, p458.
- [113] L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A836 and A850.
- [114] C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 2, pp77-78. Richard held the manor of Grimeston in Nottinghamshire and in 1284 was granted life custody of Horston Castle in Derbyshire. That he held royal favour is clear (C.C.R. 1272-1279, p402). In September 1277 he was granted 2 live bucks and 2 does to stock his park at Grimeston. In July 1278 he was granted a further 4 bucks from Sherwood Forest. See above Chapter VI notes [142] and [143]. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. P.R.O. E/9/44 also records that in 1271 he owed Benedict of London £40-0s-0d.
- [115] W.A.M.9150. P.R.O. E/9/44 makes it clear that Jordan Foliot also owed Benedict of London a bond for £10-0s-0d made in 1271.
- [116] C.C.R. 1275, p248. C.P.R. 1281-1292, p324 seems to make it clear that Jordan also had Norfolk connections. In 1289 he rented a house in Norwich for one year. P.R.E.J.3, pp65, 294. S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 - Hilary 1279, p397.
- [117] P.R.E.J.4, p120. S. Cohen, Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 - Hilary 1279, pp63, 308, 397 reveals that Jordan was also involved in other transactions between 1277 and 1278. In 1277, in partnership with Richard and William Foliot, he acknowledged that he owed the London Jew Aaron fil Vives 20 sacks of wool. In 1278, he owed Aaron Crespin 5 sacks of wool. In 1278, he also owed Benedict of London £20-0s-0d. His shared debt with Adam de Novo Mercato is on P.R.O. E/101/250/12 (see Appendix Tables IX, X, XI). In 1284, Benedict of London pardoned the Foliot family of all their debts P.R.O. E/9/44. Similarly, Aaron fil Vives also acquitted the family and issued a starrum in Norman French and signed in Hebrew P.R.O. E/9/44 and Rigg, pp132-133.
- [118] W.A.M.9027. P.R.E.J.4, pp66, 67.

- See above Chapter VI note [105]. L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts E22. J.P. Bischoff, Economic change in thirteenth century Lincoln - the decline of an urban cloth industry, p115.
- [119] See Appendix Tables VII - XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [120] See Appendix Tables VII - XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [121] P.R.O. E/101/250/12. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 1, p248. See below note [134].
- [122] See Appendix Table X. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [123] L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A145.
- [124] See Appendix Table X. See Chapter VI note [58]. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 3, p25. D.W. Sutherland, 'Peytevin v. la Lynde - a case in medieval land law' The Law Quarterly Review, 83, pp527-546.
- [125] See above notes [114], [115], [116], [117]. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 2, p77.
- [126] See Appendix Table X. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [127] L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts a627.
- [128] See Appendix Table XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [129] H.C. Darby and G.R. Versey Domesday Gazetteer. The Hamlyn Road Atlas of Great Britain. The Ordnance Survey NMap of Great Britain. Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Sheets 178, 179, 189, 121, 122, 130, 131, 149, 138. Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain. F.M. Stenton, 'The road system of medieval England' E.H.R. 7 pp1-21. R. Chevallier, Roman Roads. J.W. Tonkin, Hereford. M.Lloyd, Portrait of Lincoln. A. Mee, The Kings England - Kent. Relevant Victoria County Histories and other local history sources have been useful in compiling the maps which are in the text.
- [130] See Appendix Tables VIII and XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [131] L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A145 and A154.
- [132] See Appendix Table XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [133] L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A408.
- [134] L.A.O. Foster Library Transcripts A10 and A21. See above note [121].
- [135] W.A.M.9104, W.A.M.9116, W.A.M.9124, W.A.M.9121.
- [136] W.A.M.9015, W.A.M.9103, W.A.M.9105.
- [137] W.A.M.9028, W.A.M.9036, W.A.M.9042.
- [138] W.A.M.9046, W.A.M.9089, W.A.M.9125, W.A.M.9156, W.A.M.9157.
- [139] W.A.M.9020, W.A.M.9022, W.A.M.9039, W.A.M.9058, W.A.M.9086, W.A.M.9090, W.A.M.9118.
- [140] W.A.M.9039, W.A.M.9058.
- [141] W.A.M.9091.
- [142] See Appendix Table II. P.R.O. E/101/250/6.
- [143] F.R.H. de Boulay, The Lordship of Canterbury, p245.
- [144] See Appendix Table II. P.R.O. E/101/250/6. M. Postan, The medieval economy and society, p21. H.E. Hallam, Rural England 1066-1348, pp77-78, 80, 83. A. Butcher, 'The origins of Romney Freemen 1433-1523' Ec.H.R., 27, p18.
- [145] A. Way, 'The Pilgrims Road' Historical Memorials of Canterbury pp261-263.
- [146] See Appendix Table III. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238.
- [147] Compare Appendix Table III with Table IV. P.R.E.J.3, pp230-238. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.
- [148] See Appendix Table V. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.
- [149] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. See above notes [88], [89], [90].
- [150] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 1, p16.
- [151] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 4, p257.
- [152] See Appendix Table VI. P.R.O. E/101/250/5.
- [153] W.A.M. Nos: 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087, 9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097, 9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131, 9132, 9135, 9137, 9140,

- 9142, 9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147, 9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162, 9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168, 9169, 9170.
- [154] W.A.M.9132, W.A.M.9097, W.A.M.9092, W.A.M.9027.
- [155] W.A.M.9100, W.A.M.9168, W.A.M.9117, W.A.M.9163, W.A.M.9145.
- [156] W.A.M.9130, W.A.M.9162, W.A.M.9146, W.A.M.9143, W.A.M.9147, W.A.M.9165, W.A.M.9098, W.A.M.9137.
- [157] See Appendix Tables VIII, IX, X, XI. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [158] See Appendix Table VIII. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. C. Moor, Knights of Edward 1st, 3, p269.
- [159] See Appendix Table VIII. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [160] H.E. Hallam, Rural England 1066-1348, pp40-42, 53. M. Lloyd, Portrait of Lincolnshire, pp39-43.
- [161] M. Lloyd, Portrait of Lincolnshire, pp63-65.
- [162] M. Lloyd, Portrait of Lincolnshire, pp191-193.
- [163] See Appendix Table IX. P.R.O. E/101/250/12. H.E. Hallam, Rural England 1066-1348, pp40-42.
- [164] See Appendix Table X. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [165] E. Power, The wool trade in English medieval history, pp22-23. M.L. Ryder, 'British medieval sheep and their wool types' Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 40, pp16-29.
- [166] See Appendix Table X. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [167] N.R.O. M24/182-188. In which Lassman made the following observation when he considered the clients of the Nottingham Jews:

From the way in which the debtors are found grouped together in districts it is very clear that the country districts had been regularly travelled over in search of clients.

See above note [17].

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## Chapter VIII

### The Edwardian Experiment.

The Statutum de Judeismo of 1275 has been central to discussions of the major changes in the lives of the Anglo-Jewish communities in Edward I's reign. Apart from its curbing usury, the major change which the Statutum brought about is best exemplified by the words of the statute itself:

E le rey lor grante kil vivent de  
marchaundise leaus emplor labour et kil  
comunient ove les Crestiens por leument  
marchaunder en vendaunt e en echataunt. [1]

The emphasis is clearly on the fact that in economic terms the crown wished the Jews to become legales mercatores and to live by trading. In conjunction with this, it is clear from other evidence that in religious and social terms the crown wanted assimilation and nothing less than a wholesale conversion of the Jews to Christianity. [2] Roth summed up this aspect of the Edwardian Experiment and, in doing so, seems to have had some sympathy with Edward:

Yet to do him justice Edward I seems to have felt blunderingly and gropingly towards a less drastic attempt to solve the Jewish problem by economic re-direction which unfortunately was not accompanied by social re-adjustment. [3]

Roth's views are typical of those of Jewish historians who, dogged by the urge to explain the Expulsion, have habitually denied the success of the Edwardian Experiment. However, it is one of the main contentions of this thesis that the Experiment partially succeeded and that for a short time some of the Jews entered fully into the world of commerce and commodity broking. In order to establish this point, it is necessary to begin by posing one simple question -- after 1275 did the Jews remain primarily moneylenders, secretly and perfidiously camouflaging their usurious transactions, or did they begin to take part in commerce on a larger scale?

The consensus of opinion is, as has been stated, that, after 1275, the Jew, unable to make a living by moneylending, became impoverished and irrelevant and was thus finally expelled.[4] It is accepted that a few Jews actually followed the letter of the Statutum de Judeismo and leased land for farming.[5] Roth suggested that other Jews turned to highway robbery or even Christianity.[6] Elman indicated that others began to exchange false coinage or to clip the coin on a large scale.[7] Jews undoubtedly engaged in all of these activities. What, however, is most at issue is whether they were able to take a significant role in commerce. Lipman clearly felt that they could not:

In view of the guild restrictions of the time it seems to the present writer most unlikely that the Ordinary Jew engaged in commerce, retail trade, or crafts except as a by-product of pawn-broking or in special circumstances such as providing for other Jews.[8]

It is true that Lipman's view is supported by the particular evidence of one contemporary Jewish complaint but there is, on the other hand, the singular example of a Jew who was actually made a guildsman.[9] What is clear is that a more comprehensive review of the evidence is needed in order to establish whether a significant number of Jews carried out the sort of commercial activities envisaged for them not only in the Statutum de Judeismo but also in the Chapitres.

Before examining the vexed question of the amount of commercial activity entered into by the Jews in Edward's reign, it is necessary to recognise that Jews were not merely moneylenders but had other occupations, some of which may have involved trade, in both the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even before the encouragement offered to the Jews to trade, in John's charter of 1201, there is some evidence of Jewish involvement in commerce in the twelfth century.[10] On this subject, Richardson came to the following

conclusions:

We know a little of the sources that supplied the city markets and a little of the commerce that thrived there; but of the career of a single merchant or craftsman we could say hardly anything worth the telling. Since, Jews were rarely given occupational names we lack, for the most part, this index to their callings. A few we know from their descriptions or incidental references to have been physicians, goldsmiths, soldiers and vintners, even fishmongers and cheesemongers. It is clear that Aaron of Lincoln dealt extensively in corn and he was certainly not singular in this. Pawnbroking, probably the most extensively practised of Jewish trades, necessarily implies skill in the repair and re-furbishing of jewellery and plate, clothing and armour, to make them readily saleable. But when we have run through this short list of occupations, we are at a loss to suggest additions.[11]

In the thirteenth century, there are many references both to the non-moneylending occupations for Jews and to their probable involvement in trade. In terms of activities which were clearly not involved with the provision of credit, Roth has traced and identified nearly twenty Jewish physicians who were actively practising medicine.[12] In 1280, the Count of Flanders sent for Magister Elias Menahem in the capacity of physician.[13] Indeed, it has been claimed that the first private herb garden in the Middle Ages belonged to Solomon, a physician of Norwich, who, in 1266, lived in Saddlegate Street.[14] There is also patchy evidence that Jews were recruited as soldiers and that the cognomen Alblaster or Balistarius, when found with a Jewish forename, could represent a Jewish crossbowman. Technically, the crossbow was forbidden to Christians.[15] There are other examples of surnames of occupation which might be of significance. The cognomen Potager or Potator, for instance, seems not to indicate that the owner was always inebriated but that he was the steward of a household.[16] A story, preserved by Tovey, presents the possibility of yet another Jewish occupation. He claimed that King John employed Jews to act as

hangmen for the Scots that he had captured.[18] It also seems possible that some Jews were employed as painters. Meir Le Brun is reputed to have been commissioned by Edward, in 1270, to paint a picture of the Virgin Mary in the chapel of Our Lady in All Hallows Church, London. It is similarly possible that provincial Jewish painters were responsible for the fresco of the 'Gathering of the Manna' at All Saints Church at Friskney, Lincolnshire.[19] All these suggested Jewish occupations do not necessarily prove that Jews were traders, but they do demonstrate that the whole of the Jewish population of thirteenth-century England was not exclusively involved in moneylending.

There are similar indications of more obviously commercial occupations. Jewish goldsmiths and jewellers are not so easily identifiable, but much gold and jewellery was confiscated in 1279 and 1280 and references to Jews possessing valuables abound.[20] It is clear that Elias Le Eveske dealt in gold, that Benedict of Winchester and other Jews traded in jewellery.[21] Occupational names such as Abraham le Peysoner and Isaac and Deulecresse Furmager might designate a Jewish fisherman and cheesemonger. The cognomen Le Ronmangur might similarly indicate an ironmonger.[22] An odd fable, from the twelfth century, preserved in the library of Salisbury Cathedral, tells of how a Jewish glass-blower threw his son into a furnace after having discovered that the boy had mistakenly taken Holy Communion.[23]

Hebrew sources give some indication of Jewish involvement in what Roth calls, the traditional Jewish occupation of cloth-peddling. The responsa of Magister Elijah Menahem identify the pious Jew who, in order to avoid even the possibility of shaatnez when handling cloth, would drape linen cloth over other cloth and hold it away from himself so that he could avoid it being

in contact with the wool he was wearing. The same responsa also mention the case of one of two partners who was held to ransom whilst returning from market with merchandise and another case of an agent who is employed to dispose of an object on commission.[25] There were, of course, Jews who were employed as servants of the Jewish community or who specialized in selling specifically Jewish items for the community. Some of these communal posts have been discussed in Chapter I.[26]

It also seems that the Jews were involved in the wine trade, but, once again, the evidence is fragmentary. In 1203, when a raid was made in Oxford upon persons who sold wine against the assize, several Jews were apprehended -- Benedict the Less, Hakelin, the brother of Isaac, Melinus and Joppin, the sons of Isaac, and Bonechose, the alleged ring-leader.[27] In 1275, Benedict of Winchester agreed to liquidate (literally) a debt owed to him by Petronilla, the widow of Nicholas of Gloucester, in return for a tun of wine 'Jewish measure' or £3-0s-0d in default.[28] Roth has demonstrated that Master Elias was licensed to engage in trade of any kind. In May 1280, in partnership with Aaron fil Vives, he imported seven tuns of good wine from Gascony which were made 'according to Jewish rite'. Roth claimed that this was a matter of piety rather than business.[29] Wine was certainly important for the practice of the Jewish religion and there is no reason to doubt that there were Jews involved with its purveyance and distribution. A Colchester Jew, Isaac fil Benedict, even rented out his vineyards in 1269 to Ralph Le Mazun.[30] Clearly 'kosher' wine and food must have provided an opportunity for Jew to trade with Jew.

There is also a little evidence that Jews were involved with the manufacture and trading of books. The Jewish population obviously needed Hebrew literature. There is, however, ample

evidence that Jews also dealt in Christian books. In 1275, Josce de Alemany of Wallingford was forced by the Justices of the Jews in Oxford to return some books and a saddle to Master John de Burgelyon who had pledged them with the Jew. Amongst the books were a psalter worth £1-6s-8d and a book on medicine worth £1-0s-0d.[31] Another Oxford Jew, Belages, who converted to Christianity and thus sued for a moiety of his goods had 'one book of notable constitutions - 12d, one graecism - 6d, one legend - 10d, one large doctrinal 1d, a certain book of constitutions - 4s-0d, a certain codex - 6s-0d and a certain unknown book 16s-0d'.[32] It seems that, during the thirteenth century, the Jews of Oxford had a steady flow of books in pawn or as securities for loans to students.[33] The Jews must also have been involved in both the production and distribution of Hebrew literature. The Lincoln ketubbah, of 1271, shows that the bride and groom were to receive £13-6s-8d and a magnificent tome from the mother of the bride. The volume which was written on calf skin contained the whole of the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible, all of which were provided with the vowel points. It also contained the Masorah, each leaf of which contained six columns, and had a separate section with the Targum of the Pentateuch and the Haftaroth. [34] It is known that on the Expulsion at least two Jewish libraries were broken up, one at Stamford which passed into the hands of a neighbouring abbey and the other at Oxford which was acquired by Roger Bacon.[35] That some Jews were poets, commentators, and authors has been alluded to above in Chapter I.[36]

From such examples it is obviously impossible to quantify the degree to which Jews traded but it does seem that Jewish involvement in commerce has been 'underplayed'. Another Jewish occupation that has been relatively unexplored is that of pawnbroking and this quite clearly had commercial implications. Pawnbroking has been ignored

primarily because of the lack of recorded evidence for it, but the tendency to consider moneylending as the main Jewish occupation has also obscured what must have been an allied occupation. Hyams drew attention to the close links between the two:

Of course moneylending shades off into trade via commodity dealing and the sale of pawns. The moneylenders were often part time traders and some will have concentrated on this side of the business.[37]

Both Lipman and Elman admitted that the Jews were involved in pawnbroking. Elman, however, claimed that they only received 'luxury goods' in return for credit and remained convinced that, if these 'pawns' were traded after they came into the possession of the creditor, they were only traded with other Jews.[38] There are two main sources apart, from incidental references, which allow such assertions to be examined. The first consists of four inventories and accounts which lists the items confiscated from condemned Jews during the coin clipping allegations of 1278-1279.[39] The second is a similar document, the Braybouef Roll of 1285, which Elman used in his examination of Jewish trade.[40]

Hugh of Kendal's sale of confiscated goods, arising from the allegations of 1278-1279, reveals that Jacob of Bedford owed £2-13s-4d for buying back some Jewish books. The Lincoln community also paid £9-0s-0d for buying Jewish books - possibly Talmuds. Peter, clericus of Stamford, owed £6-13s-4d for buying the pluma of condemned Jews - possibly their feathered bedding. All of the above items may have been the personal possessions of the Jews from where they were confiscated, but the most frequently mentioned items on Kendal's roll, money, gold and silver rings and brooches, silver spoons and cups as well as clothing and kitchenware are recorded in such abundance that they are certainly not personal possessions and must have clearly been goods collected in relation to some sort of commerce.[41] John Le Falconer's accounts reveal silver salt

cellars, towels and table napkins, two horses, a cow and various amounts of grain, wool, salt and cloth. It includes a payment for vestibus Judeicis, which, as Rokeah observed, are more than likely Jewish prayer shawls. It also features a large amount of jewellery.[42] Philip of Willoughby's account mentions the sale of similar items and includes the sale of Jewish houses and shops.[43] William Gerberd's account is not so explicit but its references to various pledges taken from Christians, as well as cash found in the houses of the Jews of Exeter, Jewish chattels and the normal collection of brooches, silver spoons, salt-cellars and girdles barred with silver make it perhaps the best evidence for such goods being in the hands of Jews as a result of the practice of pawn-broking.[44]

The later source - the Brayboeuf roll of 1285, which is a continuation of the confiscations made by John Le Falconer - contains lists of Jewish chattels taken in the West Country and is also very detailed. The accounts which are recorded on the Pipe Roll are in three parts. They include a report on the property of the condemned Jews which was made after Brayboeuf's death by his widow, the expenses incurred by the officials who managed the confiscations, and the financial report of the sale of the property of the condemned Jews.[45] It is from this single roll that Elman reached his conclusions about Jewish pawnbroking activities:

the value of the goods of the individual Jews appearing in the list of 1285 is rather high. Twenty-six Jews are named and the total value of their moveable possessions is £926-0s-0d. But an examination of the list shows most of the articles must have been used personally by the Jews themselves.[46]

It is important to reconsider the list and to decide whether the goods mentioned are for personal use or whether they in fact reveal what a typical Jewish pawnbroker might have had in his stock at any one time.

Benedict of Winchester had some 99 gold rings, 165 silver spoons, 13 silver rings, 23 silk girdles, 24 stones 'called 'peridot' and 105 garnet stones, as well as one silver cup which is actually described as being in pledge to him. Henna de Perine had amongst her possessions 66 silver spoons, 73 silver brooches, 19 silver rings and 8 silk girdles. A certain Abraham had one ounce of pearls. Solomon of Chippenham had 48 brooches and 54 books written in Latin. Mendaunt of Bristol had 68 spoons and 94 silver brooches as well as one book of old decretals, four coats of mail, two corselets of iron, four pairs of iron chain-mail leggings, one neck piece, two iron helmets, one gorget, one suit of iron armour, two silk cushions and one Rheims carpet which had evidently been pledged to him. Moses of Winchester had cloths, carpets and bronze pots worth £2-11s-3d. Hak Le Prestre had a crimson robe, a blue robe, a robe of threefold camlet with a mantle, five hoods, five napkins, 30 girdles of silk, one cup called cavele, one knife, one book described as 'the little volume' and a Bible. Amongst the possessions of other Jews many wooden bowls and mazers are also listed.[47]

There can be little doubt, from the silver rings, brooches and buckles and from the gold and silks which these different sources reveal, that they are luxury goods. Naturally, a pawnbroker will only offer money on the security of some valuable item. Whilst Elman maintained that these were luxury items for personal use, Adler observed that they indicated trade in some form.[48] Adler was clearly right. These goods were not all for personal use and some, given the pledges mentioned, would appear to be the 'stock' that a pawnbroker naturally accumulates with time. It seems unlikely that Benedict of Winchester would need 99 gold rings. Hak Le Prestre would not have required to wear 30 silken girdles. Mendaunt of Bristol would, in fact, have been breaking the law if he had

appeared wearing any item from the four coats of mail, two corselets of iron and the four pairs of iron chain-mail leggings and the other military equipment that were in his possession.[49] Once again, fragmentary evidence for Jewish involvement in trade has, it seems, been overlooked. Lipman acknowledged that this pawnbroking-linked trade occurred:

My own picture of the proletarian Anglo-Jew of the Middle Ages is of one scraping a living by occasionally negotiating a loan, taking articles on pledge, and the furbishing them up and hawking a miscellaneous collection of unredeemed pledges.[50]

He may, however, have underestimated it.

It seems, therefore, that there is ample, if fragmentary, evidence for Jewish involvement in trade before 1275. Some writers like Allin have, in fact, suggested that the evidence of Jewish commerce which is extant is no more than the tip of an iceberg. While discussing trade in Southampton, even after the Jews had been officially expelled in 1233, she said:

Because of the importance of Southampton as a centre for overseas trade, the question obviously arises whether Jews resident there participated in this trade. Did medieval Jews trade on their own account? Dr Lipman says there is no evidence that they did. I feel that in Southampton they could well have traded.[51]

She went on to explain:

It is possible despite all known restrictions on Jewish trading that Jewish goods were shipped under the cover of the local burgesses' names. It is known that this method was used in Southampton by alien Christian merchants with the connivance of the burgesses.[52]

Whether or not Allin's suspicions are correct, there is evidence that Edward I wished to bring about a change of economic direction so that his Jews could become even more obviously legales mercatores than their predecessors. His constant warnings, exhortations, and threats of banishment meant that, in order to remain in England, the

prudent Jewish homme d'affaires should turn to trade and commerce for a profit and a living. The crown attempted to encourage and stimulate Jewish trade.

The major question is, of course, whether such trade was indeed stimulated by the crown. Certainly, after the Statutum de Judeismo was passed, the crown issued a flurry of special licences to Jews. On 11th December 1275, the king commanded Adam de Wynton, the Keeper of the Town of Southampton:

Order to permit Deudone a Jew of Winchester to dwell with his own household in that town and ply merchandise and to take his goods to other places where other Jews of the realm dwell, as the King has granted to Deudone and to his household that they may dwell in the said town and ply their trade there until the Quinzaine of Michaelmas next according to the King's grant and the statute lately issued concerning the Jewry.[53]

Other contemporary licences for Jews to inhabit and ply their trade exist for Strapeston and Caversham. Later individual licences, which do not have a time limit on them, exist for Rochester, Casterton, Ipswich, Dorchester, Royston and Retford and a licence for all the Jews of York exists which was issued after the coin-clipping pogroms.[54]

But did such encouragement have any practical effect? The major evidence which can assist in the answering of this question lies in the extant records of the bonds remaining in 1290. Of the 730 debts in 1290, almost 8 percent were recorded on tallies and were repayable in money and 21.5 percent were recorded on bonds and were repayable in money. On the other hand, almost 24 percent were recorded on bonds and were to be repaid in amounts of wool and 45 percent were recorded on bonds which stipulated that they should be repaid in amounts of cereal. The quantities of commodities owed in each archa are reproduced below.[55] It was this commodity evidence which led Abrahams to conclude that:

The amount of wool owing to provincial Jews in 1290.

Town.	Number of Jews who are owed wool.	Number of bonds repayable in wool.	Amount of wool owed in each town.
Lincoln	48	136	208.5 sacks + 8 stone
Norwich	6	17	46 sacks
Hereford	3	4	25 sacks
Oxford	5	8	19 sacks
Cambridge	2	3	11 sacks
Winchester	1	1	6 sacks
Nottingham	2	3	5 sacks
Canterbury	1	1	2 sacks

=====  
The amount of cereal owing to provincial Jews in 1290.

Town.	Number of Jews who are owed cereal.	Number of bonds repayable in cereal.	Amount of cereal owed in each town.
Lincoln	30	73	2122 quarters
Canterbury	16	94	1825 quarters
Hereford	10	35	1450 quarters
Norwich	10	40	1069 quarters
Oxford	13	30	889 quarters
Exeter	10	21	532 quarters
Winchester	5	8	377 quarters
Devizes	5	15	275 quarters
Bristol	7	9	134.25 quarters
Nottingham	6	5	90 quarters
Cambridge	2	1	30.5 quarters

Sources:- P.R.O. E/101/250/2, E/101/250/3, E/101/250/4, E/101/250/5, E/101/250/6, E/101/250/7, E/101/250/8, E/101/250/9, E/101/250/10, E/101/250/11, E/101/250/12.

The Jews had, apparently, long taken some slight part in the wholesale trade, but the amount of capital that it required, and the power of the rivals who held the field, made it impossible for many of them to take to it immediately as a substitute for moneylending. Still it was the only form of enterprise in which they would not be at a hopeless disadvantage, and some Jews, those probably who had a large capital and were able to recall it from the borrowers, followed the example of the Italians, and made to landholders advances of money to be repaid in corn and wool.[56]

But, Elman and Lipman came to a different conclusion.

In his consideration of the extant bonds of 1290, Elman stated:

There is some doubtful evidence that as a result of the prohibition of usury in 1275 the Jews began to grant sale credits on corn and wool. But the paucity of the evidence and the frequent vagueness of its import must forbid arguing from it that the English Jews were important traders.[57]

Lipman, who has examined the Norwich Jewish community in great detail, partly through the bonds which remained in the Norwich archa in 1290, similarly concluded:

After 1275 when moneylending was virtually forbidden the contracts concerning Jewish trading in corn and wool are camouflaged moneylending contracts.[58]

Elman and Lipman, therefore, do not believe that the 1290 bonds reveal a genuine trade in commodities. Their thesis is that the Jews were primarily moneylenders and that the Statutum de Judeismo, having failed to encourage them to make a living by trade and agriculture, forced them to become clandestine creditors who cunningly camouflaged their bonds in the guise of sale credits. It was their failure to succeed under these new circumstances coupled with the heavy burden of tallage that led, according to Elman and Lipman, to impoverishment and eventually to expulsion.[59] Elman's argument against Jewish involvement in trade is five fold. Firstly, he argues that there is little evidence that there were any Jews

involved in external trade. Secondly, and similarly, he asserts that there are no Jews mentioned in the wool export licences. Thirdly, he claims that the evidence of the proximity of Jewish domiciles to areas of mercantile importance does not necessarily indicate trading interests. Fourthly, he states that, if there was any Jewish trade worthy of mention, then it was confined to articles of luxury and was specifically inter-Jewish. Finally, he points out that all of the prices of cereal and wool recorded in bonds are in round figures and most of the bonds recorded are two years old, facts which, he asserts, are indicative of the artificiality of the commodity agreements in the bonds.[60] To these arguments, Lipman adds his own worries about the 'suspiciously regular prices' quoted in the bonds and voices new concerns about the way in which the bonds specify that deliveries or repayments of commodities should be made at times of the year such as Easter and Christmas and about the lack of detail in the wool bonds when they are compared with their Christian counterparts.[61]

These different arguments must now be considered in turn. Elman's first argument is a statement of fact and little debate of it is necessary. He claims that there is no evidence that the Jews were involved in external trade.[62] This has in part been considered above, in particular in relation to the views of Allin, but has little relevance to Jews turning from moneylending to trade in general.[63] Elman goes on to claim in his second argument that no Jew is mentioned in the wool export licences which were granted by the Crown to merchants who wished to export wool.[64] This is, in effect, the same point as his first and subject to the same comment. It is, in any event, unlikely that the Jews, who were always regarded as the king's men, would have been granted 'gentile' licences through the normal channels.

Elman's third argument that the proximity of Jewish domiciles to areas of mercantile importance cannot be used as evidence for involvement in trading is again not only perhaps superficially correct, but also, obviously, irrelevant.[65] The topographical evidence which shows Jews inhabiting the main mercantile areas of towns is overwhelming. The London Jewry was situated near the Cheap and the Cambridge Jewry, as Elman points out, was near the market centre of the town. The Bristol Jewry was situated near the top of Broad Street close to both the Quay and the Guildhall.[66] In Colchester, Jews had property in Stockwellstreet, Colverlane and even in the the market.[67] Two of the four Jewish domiciles in Exeter which appear in contemporary records were in the High Street.[68] The Norwich Jewry was close to the Haymarket, the sheep market and the wheat market.[69] The Nottingham Jewry appears to have been situated in St Nicholas Street, St Peter's Lane, and the parish of St Mary on the Wall in the south west corner of the town. It was well within 250 yards of the Great Saturday Market and even closer to the weekday market.[70] The Oxford Jewry was situated on Fish Street near La Boucherie and the Carfax.[71] In Southampton, Jewish residences seem to have been near the Quay.[72] The Winchester Jewry appears to have been in Scowrtenestreet or Shoemaker's Street - the present day Jewry Street, situated just off the High Street.[73] The York Jewry was in Coney Street, one of the city's principal streets, and in nearby Micklegate.[74] As has been shown, the Jewry in Canterbury was close to the High Street and not far from the Guildhall and Mercery Lane. In Hereford, the Jews again lived near the High Street in Widemarsh and Maliere Streets, within easy distance of the High Cross, the Town Hall and the Market. In Lincoln, the Jewry dominated the parish of St Michael on the Hill and was close to the Corn and Skin Markets. It was situated in a fork at the top of the High Street.[75] Throughout

England, the Jews settled in or near the main mercantile centres of towns.

Such a situation clearly does not prove that Jews were involved in trade. It does not, however, exclude the possibility. In fact, in the Valor Judaismus of 1290, there is evidence, ignored by Elman, which creates closer links between Jewish property and commercial activity. There are references to shoppae mentioned in this valuation and in other records.[76] In 1290, Sancte, a Jew, had a tenement in Colchester with three shops adjoining it. In the same town, at the same time, another Jew, Elias, had a shop actually in the market worth an annual value of 6s-0d which he had just rented to a Christian in 1289. Dulrie, a Jewess, and her son, Pigge, even had a stall in Colchester worth an annual value of 7s-0d in 1290.[77] In Norwich, in 1269, Roger son of Eustace the Baker granted Abraham fil Deulecresse a stall in the Draper's Quarter in the Market Place.[78] In Oxford, in 1290, Bonefey of Cricklade, Vives Le Petit, Sarah Le Eveske, Pya and Moses of London all owned shoppae. [79] Some shoppae possessed by Jews were rented out to Christians but some Jews clearly used shops for their own trading activities. There is evidence for both these situations. On the one hand, Robert de Elmham, a Colchester merchant, rented a shop from Elias of Colchester, but, on the other hand, Abraham fil Deulecresse rented a stall in the Draper's Quarter of Norwich. Overwhelmingly, the evidence from most of the major towns indicates that the Jews were in a good position to become legales mercatores. Elman's arguments that 'no significant evidence for trade can be derived from the proximity of Jewish houses and shops to mercantile areas' can at least be nullified, if not unequivocally reversed.[80]

In analysing Elman's arguments against Jewish involvement in trade, and, in particular, his last two arguments, it is necessary to return to the extant bonds of 1290. It must be remembered that Elman claimed that the bonds of this period which stated that repayments should be made in commodities were in fact fictitious bonds used to cloak moneylending and usury. He was adamant that 'these transactions were abnormal and a direct result of the cessation forced or otherwise of the "normal" Jewish moneylending.' [81] When Elman had completed his analysis of the extant bonds of 1290, he concluded that:

These figures would seem to point to a very considerable trade in the goods mentioned were it not that a closer analysis of the rolls raises a number of serious complications all of which cannot be satisfactorily unravelled. [82]

It can easily be agreed that the Edwardian Experiment had a noticeable effect on Jewish bonds. Lipman observes correctly that 'the contracts entered into after the Statute of the Jewry of 1275 are very different'. [83] The changes that the Experiment brought about can be easily illustrated by reference to the bonds in the surviving archae of Canterbury, Hereford and Lincoln. If the surviving pre-1275 bonds in these local archae are examined, it is clear that they almost all stipulate repayments to be made in cash. After the Statutum, the bonds in the local archae show a clear swing towards payments in terms of commodities. This change can also be seen, for example, in the old and new archae at Exeter and Devizes. [84] It is, therefore, clear that between 1275 and the mid-1280s repayments to be made in money disappear while bonds requiring commodity repayments become the vogue. Elman, however, was unconvinced that the bonds which specified commodity repayments really represent a change in Jewish business practice. He interpreted the commodity bonds as fictitious sales:

For evidence of fictitious sales there is no need to seek far. The lists of 1290 are obviously full of these, bearing in mind the fact that all have the prices of corn and wool in round figures.[85]

Lipman supported Elman's interpretation of the commodity bonds and was again basically worried about the suspiciously regular prices which were cited in them. He illustrated this point by examining in detail the bonds of Isaac fil Deulecresse of Norwich. Isaac made fifteen bonds between 1278 and 1288 which recorded that he was owed fifty quarters of cereal (just over five and a half tons). All of these fifteen bonds were priced at half a mark per quarter. The remaining Norwich evidence reveals a further 38 bonds with only ten of these varying in price from half a mark per quarter.[86]

Lipman was correct to look for price variation. It is well known that the price of medieval cereal fluctuated from year to year and from month to month. There is no need to look far for evidence of these types of fluctuation. In the Norfolk manor of Caistor, barley was sold at varying prices during 1299; at 4s-0d, 6s-0d and 8s-0d a quarter. At one point during the year, it dropped as low as 2s-8d per quarter - et non plus quia de bona moneta. [87] Variations in the standard of the coinage, the quality and quantity of the harvest, wage-rates and the level of demand are just some of the many factors which would have led to price fluctuations. It is therefore necessary to investigate seriously Elman and Lipman's claims that prices in Jewish cereal, and for that matter wool, bonds are suspiciously regular.

In order to evaluate those regular prices which do exist in the bonds examined by Elman and Lipman, it is necessary to understand something of the mechanics of Jewish business practice. When a Jew was lending money, he would have had only the most general

indication of what was to be the market price of the commodity he wanted to secure when his debtor was to repay him at the expiry of the loan. It was, therefore, logical for him to use a round figure rather than a radically high or low figure in order to make the contract work. When a Jew had it recorded in a bond that he required repayment of 'x' amount of cereal or wool at 'y' price, he was doing two things. He was creating a situation in which all parties to the contract were aware of the value of what the Jew expected to be repaid, information which would be particularly valuable if there was ever the possibility of the debt being liquidated through a cash repayment, and he was creating a situation in which, if there were any serious variations in market price from the round figure recorded, such variations could be taken into account when a final commodity payment was made. In some cases, the stipulated price was also probably an indication of the quality of produce which the Jew wished to receive as repayment. Therefore, the existence of a large number of round figures in bonds is a lot less suspect than Elman and Lipman claimed, when it is considered that, at the point of repayment, adjustments could be made in quantity and quality to ensure an appropriate repayment.

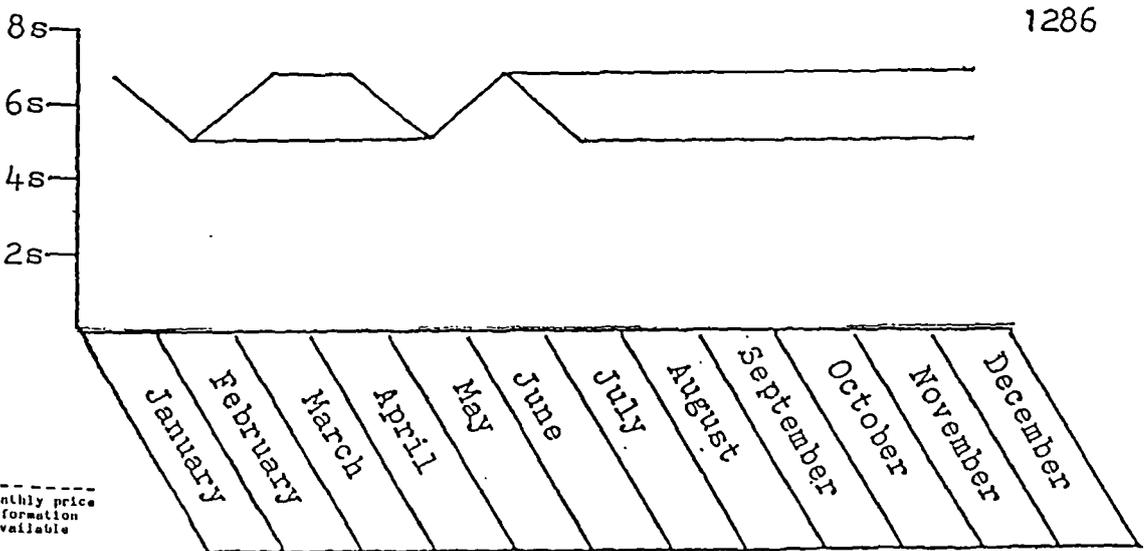
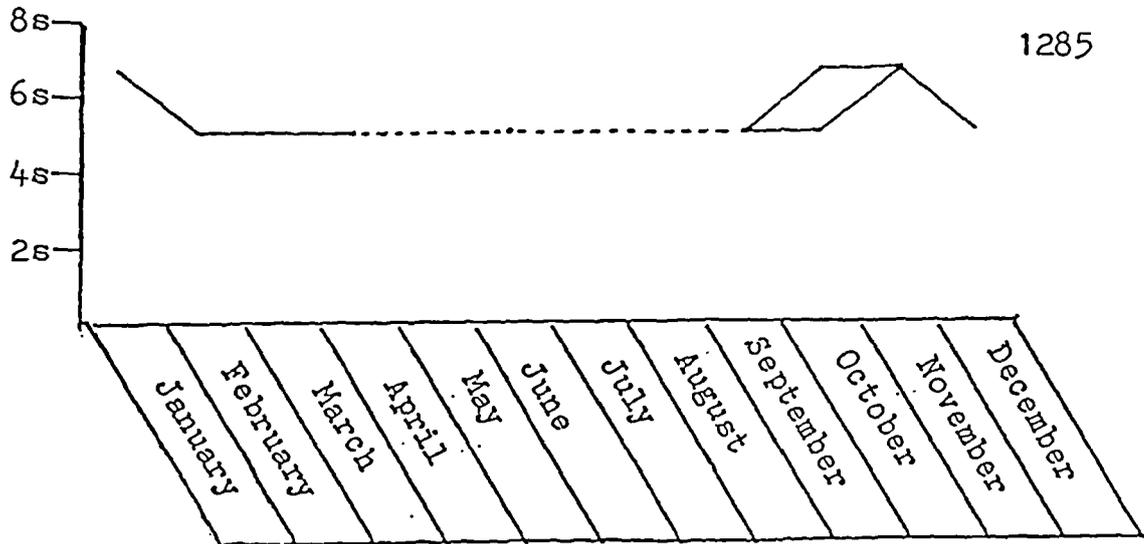
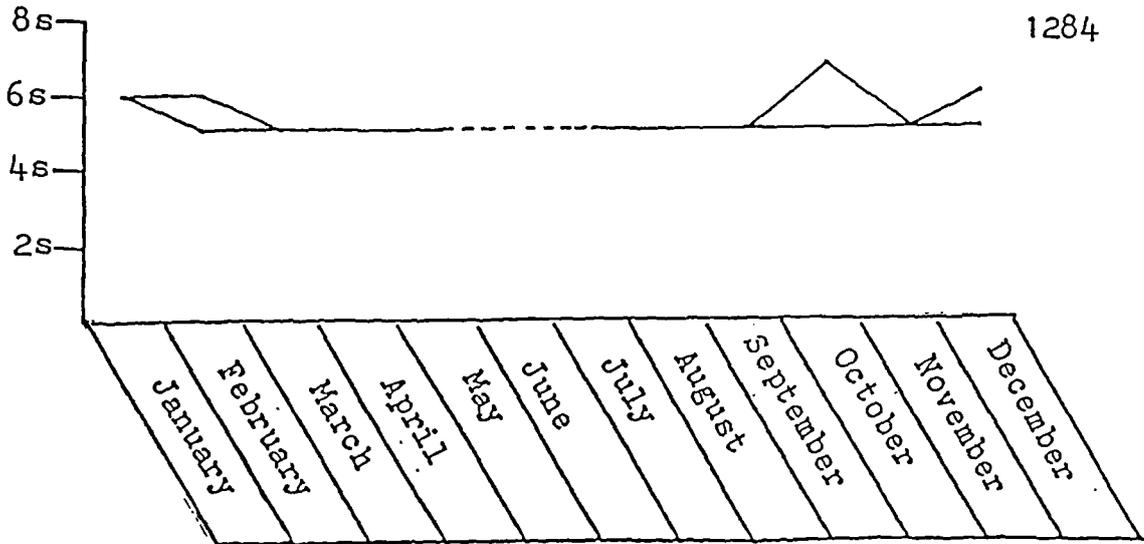
As well as these arguments which help to explain the existence of a large number of round figures being quoted in the bonds, there is also another point which has to be raised in connection with this particular aspect of the Elman/Lipman hypothesis. This is that, despite Lipman and Elman's assertions, there is, in fact, a considerable variation in the price levels quoted in the bonds. Even in the Norwich archa, which Lipman studied so carefully, there are creditors like Cresse fil Sampson of York, who, in 1289, made two cereal bonds valued not at 6s-8d per quarter but at 3s-4d and 1s-3d per quarter. Another Norwich Jew, Solomon fil Deulecresse, also bonded for 3s-4d per quarter.[88] It is similarly clear that

other Jews in other towns also quoted varied prices. In Lincoln, the bonds of the large cereal broker, Jacob of Brancegate, reveal that his price per quarter of frumentum fluctuated. In 1284, he was making contracts for 6s-8d per quarter. In 1285, he bonds for between 5s-0d and 6s-0d per quarter. In 1286, the price seems to return to 6s-8d per quarter. By 1287, it varies between 6s-8d and 4s-0d and even goes as low as 3s-6d. In 1289, he made one contract which stipulated that the price per quarter was to be 3s-0d.[89]

Other provincial archae show even greater fluctuation in price levels both within particular years and between particular years. In 1286, the price per quarter quoted in bonds in the Bristol archa rises as high as 8s-0d a quarter in April and drops to 4s-0d a quarter in May.[90] Again, in 1286, in Nottingham, the price was 5s-0d in August but 4s-0d in September.[91] Price fluctuation can be seen on a more general scale if, in those archae with enough surviving material, the mean average price per quarter of frumentum for each year is considered. The table below shows the mean average price per quarter recorded in different provincial archae for the years 1284-1287. It does not give the impression that the prices quoted were as uniform as Elman and Lipman suggested.

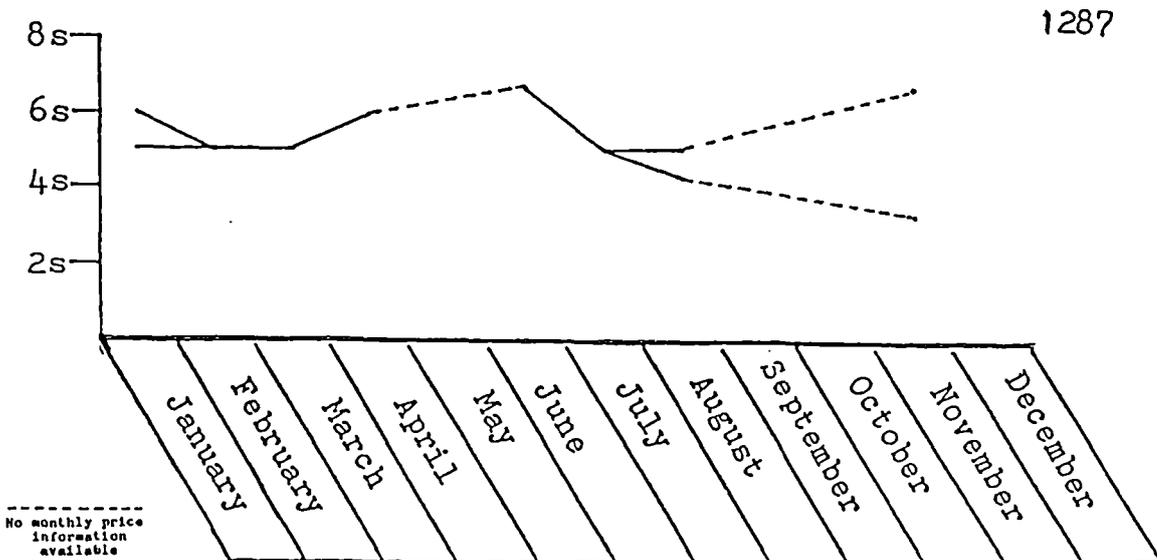
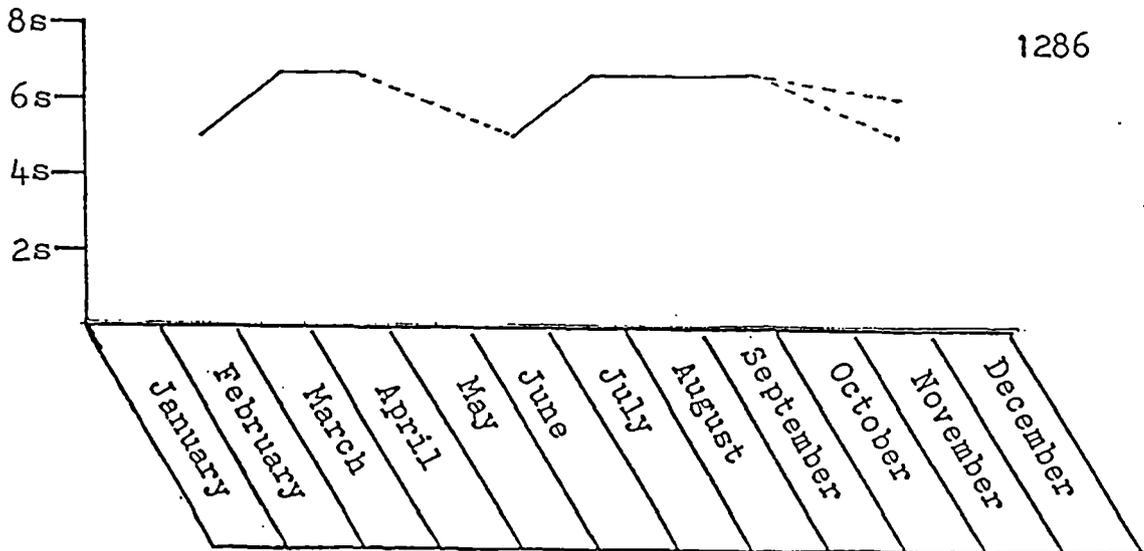
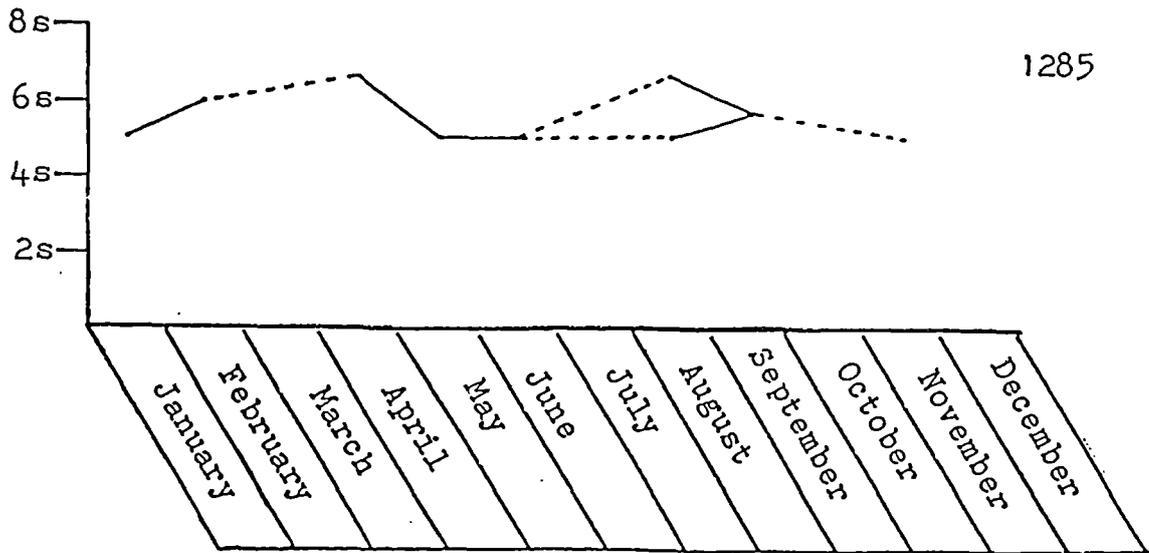
The three local studies undertaken in this thesis have revealed even more precise evidence of price fluctuation in the cereal bonds. The graphs below set out that degree of price variation and also show (where information is available) the highest and the lowest price each month at which the cereal bonds were to be repaid. For instance, in Canterbury, different prices per quarter were quoted in the same month in February, October and December of 1284. In 1285, the price per quarter in October varied between 6s-8d and 5s-0d. In 1286, there is a clear difference in price per quarter quoted in different bonds contracted in the same month in March and April and in every month between July and December.[92] The Lincoln bonds

Variation in price of cereal bonds contracted  
in the Canterbury archa 1284 - 1286.



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No monthly price  
information  
available

Variation in price of cereal bonds contracted  
in the Lincoln archa 1285 - 1287.



--- No monthly price information available

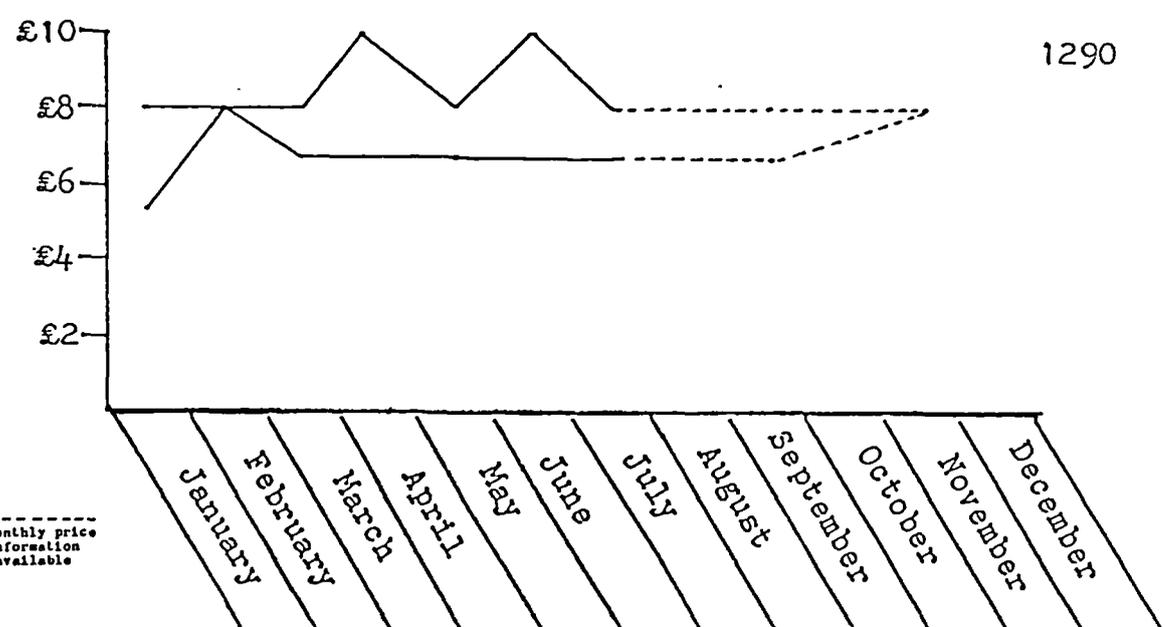
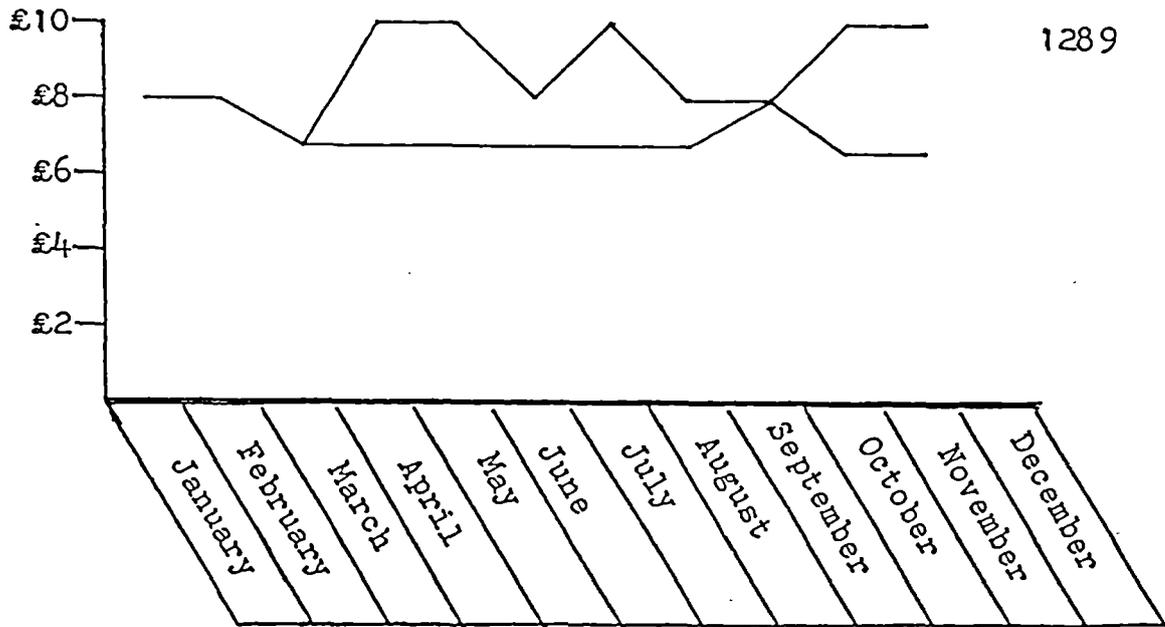
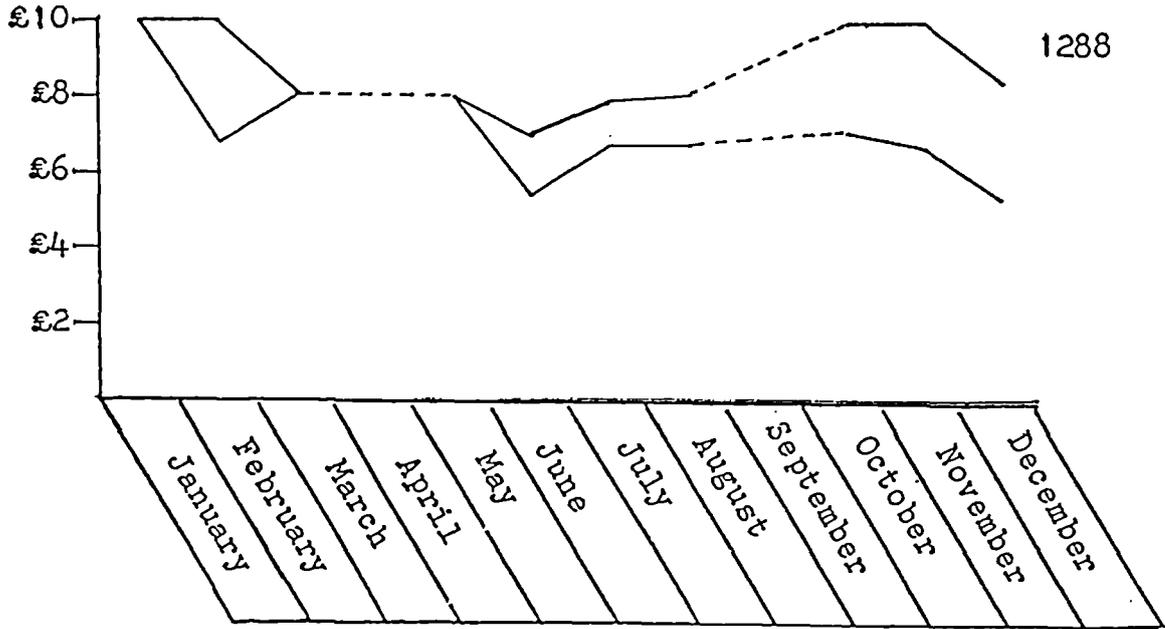
demonstrate differences in price levels in bonds contracted in the same month in August 1285, December 1286 and in January, August and November 1287.[93] The same graphs from which the above figures are taken indicate price differences not only within months but also between one month and the next such as is the case in June and July 1287 in Lincoln.

Thus far it has been possible to detect price fluctuation in cereal bonds. It is also possible to detect such variation in wool bonds, although Elman and Lipman once more failed to pay great attention to this phenomenon. A cursory glance at the graphs compiled from the information available from the Lincoln archa will reveal the same variations both within and between months in wool bonds as have been observed in the case of the cereal bonds. Sometimes such variations are, in fact, quite dramatic as, for instance, is the case in April, May, October and November of 1289.[94]

It has, therefore, been possible to show that Elman and Lipman's suspicions about the regular prices quoted in commodity bonds which led to their view that such commodity bonds were, in fact, concealed moneylending contracts can be countered. The mechanics of Jewish business practice in relation to commodity bonds, which were, in essence, advance sale credits, explain why prices tended to be more regular than they would have been in simple contracts of sale and there is, in any case, clear evidence of more short term and long term price variation than Elman and Lipman recognized. Having produced the kind of full and detailed response which Elman and Lipman's worries about regular prices demand, it is now possible to deal with their other concerns about the nature of the commodity bonds in a more concise fashion. Elman seems to have been troubled by the fact that some of the commodity bonds were two

Variation in price of wool bonds contracted  
in the Lincoln archa 1288 - 1290.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12



--- No monthly price information available

years old.[95] It is difficult to understand why he was concerned about this point since all that such evidence indicates is that some contracts had not been honoured by debtors. Given the nature of the 1290 evidence, it is, of course, the case that neither Elman or anyone else has any idea of what proportion of the commodity bonds contracted is represented by these bad debts. In a slightly more significant attempt to disprove the reality of the commodity bonds, Lipman queried the time at which the commodities were to be delivered in repayment of the loans recorded in the bonds. He claimed that several of the commodity bonds enrolled on the Plea Roll of the Scaccarium Judaeorum envisage deliveries to be made at Christmas and Easter. He regarded the use of these two festivals as settlement dates as suspicious and claimed that they were times of the year which were inappropriate to the cereal and wool trades.[96] His doubts, however, appear to be groundless. The grain and wool trades were active throughout the year and these two festivals were, in fact, normal dates of delivery and account for many medieval transactions including those involving cereal and wool. The use of such delivery dates in the Plea Roll evidence also has to be considered in the context of the other evidence of commodity bonding on the Plea Roll. One such piece of evidence is an exceptionally detailed bond witnessed by the Justices of the Jews in 1277. In late March of that year, Master Adam de Filby, canon of St Martin Le Grand, bound himself to Cresse fil Magister Elias of London for 12 sacks of wool. The contract clearly stipulates that the wool was to be 'good wool, clean and well washed, without cot or any cheap fleece'. It is also clearly stipulated that two sacks were to come from Maldon in Essex, two from Denham in Buckinghamshire, four from Hertfordshire and four from Staffordshire. The sacks were to be delivered to Cresse or his attorney at his house in London, 'in full tale', before Lammas (1st August) 1277. The contract was guaranteed

by Ralph Burell of Norfolk and witnessed by both Hamo Hauteyn and Robert de Ludham.[97] There can be little doubt about the genuineness of this particular transaction. It is full of detail, contracted in March, well before the annual clip, and was to have been finally settled by August, after the clip. Such evidence clearly runs contrary to Lipman's general view of the information on the Plea Roll for this bond not only has a delivery date other than Christmas or Easter but also has the kind of detail in terms of the quality and provenance of the commodity which makes it impossible for there to be any doubt as to whether it is a genuine contract for the sale of wool. Indeed, both Elman and Lipman would accept that this is the sort of Plea Roll bond which does evidence a real exchange of commodities.

It is, at last, possible to deal with the final argument which Lipman has raised to argue for the artificiality of the commodity bonds. His view was that the Jewish wool contracts were, suspiciously, not as detailed as the arras of the larger Gentile merchants.[98] Such a difference can be easily explained by the fact that the vast majority of the evidence for Jewish wool contracts comes, not from actual bonds, but from the scribal extracts from bonds made up for governmental purposes. This point is perhaps best demonstrated by reference to one particular case. In the list of bonds in the Hereford archa in 1290, one scribal extract records that Peter de Grenham, miles of, Devonshire owed Isaac Le Eveske of London 8 sacks of wool priced at 6s-8d a sack. The bond was dated 15th July 1283 and was made at Shrewsbury despite the fact that it was registered in the Hereford archa. [99] The same contract is, however, also recorded on the Plea Roll of the Scaccarium Judaeorum which was then sitting at Shrewsbury. [100] The Plea Roll entry is, in essence, a recognizance. Because of this double check and because of the very fact that the recognizance was made in front of

the officials of the Scaccarium Judaeorum, there can be no reason to doubt the record of the bond's validity. The information on the Plea Roll is much more detailed than that in the scribal extract and helps to clarify the transaction. Peter de Grenham owed 8 sacks of wool priced at £6-13s-4d per sack. This corrects what can only have been a scribal error over the price of the wool on the list of bonds made in 1290. The wool was indeed owed to Isaac Le Eveske of London. Half the amount was to be repaid on the 13th January 1284 and the other half was to be repaid on the 9th April of that year. As security, Peter's lands in Devonshire were to be at risk. The recognizance also records that a third part of the debt was owed to Josce fil Manser, a fairly prominent Hereford Jew.[101] This probably explains why the bond was deposited in the Hereford archa. Thus, this single example provides not only a link between a bond registered in an archa and an official recognizance but it also demonstrates that the scribal extracts from bonds, which are the main body of evidence for Jewish involvement in trade, do not record all of the details of each transaction. When, as is the case with Peter de Grenham's recognizance, the details of the actual transaction can be found elsewhere, these details clearly indicate that such transactions did genuinely involve commodities.

Having dealt with all of the various points of the Elman/Lipman argument which have led to the accepted view that Jewish commodity bonds were generally concealed money transactions, it is now time to produce the sort of evidence which can be used to indicate that there was indeed a trade in commodities of which these bonds are evidence and which represents a shift in Jewish business practice after the Statutum de Judeismo of 1275. The first point which must be made on this more positive side of the argument is that all of the bonds which make up the evidence were made in front of archa officials. Such officers kept a list of the bonds and, at times,

debtors were distrained by local sheriffs or officials of the Scaccarium Judaeorum upon the evidence of the bonds made before these same officials. It is difficult to understand why all of these different sorts of officials would have co-operated with the Jews if they considered the bonds to be a circumvention of Edward's statute. It is even more difficult to believe that such officials would have been so ill-informed as to have been fooled by the sort of camouflaging which Elman and Lipman envisage. After all, Edward did not destroy the archa system. By 1283, he had even set up a similar system for Christian merchants in which they were to register their debts and recognizances. If Edward had doubted the honesty or the acumen of his various officials, he could have closed the archae down. He did not. If Edward and his officials had been prepared to turn a blind eye to 'camouflaged money transactions', then it is very strange that in different archae different kinds of connivance with supposed money transactions were taking place in the mid- and late 1280s. In archae like those at Lincoln and Nottingham there were straightforward money bonds being deposited alongside commodity bonds.[102] If such commodity bonds were indeed camouflaged money bonds, then it is difficult to imagine why, in a situation in which officials were prepared to oversee straightforward money bonds, they felt the need to maintain the pretence of concealing certain transactions by creating artificial commodity bonds. The Elman/Lipman view is therefore dependent upon an interpretation of the actions of royal officials which is difficult to accept. If the Elman/Lipman view is to be sustained, such officials have to be seen as not only either incredibly stupid or incredibly dishonest but also as inexplicably inconsistent.

The second point that can be raised in support of a large measure of real commodity bonding taking place after the Statutum de Judeismo lies in the evidence for known commodity exchanges between the Jews and their clients in the thirteenth century. Both Elman and Lipman admit that there were small commodity payments which were made before the Statutum de Judeismo. Lipman cites some fifty cases from the 'Norwich Day Book' of the 1220s which stipulate small cereal repayments.[103] There are many other examples of debtors who owe small amounts of commodities and many of these have been examined in the preceding local studies. It is clear that bonds of this kind must be taken as genuine in the light of evidence such as the agreement reached in the Scaccarium Judaeorum, in 1274, between Deulecres fil Solomon of Stamford and William Le Moyne in order to liquidate a debt. William was to give Deulecres £2-0s-0d immediately and was still expected to give him the quarter of corn and quarter of barley at the assigned terms which the original contract had stipulated.[104] The Plea Roll of the Scaccarium Judaeorum also reveals a few examples of Jews before 1275 receiving small amounts of goods, nearly always in cereal, in return for what can only have been a cash advance. In all of these cases in which small amounts of produce are to be repaid, it is always expressed as an addition to a main cash payment. Lipman accepts such trifling commodity repayments as real and concludes that:

It was thus presumably arranged as a matter of convenience between creditor and debtor since the latter living in an agricultural community would find it convenient to meet part of his obligation in produce. Nor would there be any reason at this period to camouflage a usurious transaction.[105]

Small commodity repayments paid to a Jewish creditor were, therefore, acceptable to both Lipman and Elman, presumably because they could be dismissed as being primarily for personal consumption. But, they also accepted the fact that large genuine commodity

transactions were recorded on the Plea Roll and, thus, that trade in commodities did exist between Jewish conusee and Christian conusor. There are several examples of what Lipman and Elman accept as genuine significant cereal transactions. These examples generally involve London Jews but they do also refer to the smaller provincial operator dealing in cereal.[106] In 1276, Jacob of Oxford released Lucas de Vyene from a debt for £16-0s-0d and twenty quarters of corn.[107] In the same year, Robert de Preston of Erle in Buckinghamshire promised to repay Manser fil Aaron twenty-five quarters of wheat on March 28th 1277.[108] Again in the same year, Simon, the son of Richard of Dunmow in Essex, a miles, issued a letter patent promising to repay the same Manser fil Aaron of London forty quarters of 'good, dry, pure, clean and better wheat and without evil moisture'. Simon also promised to deliver the wheat to London at his own expense and cost.[109] It is not likely that any creditor contemplating a concealed monetary repayment would have bothered to include this stipulation and Lipman and Elman recognize this fact. In 1277, Robert son of Otho acknowledged that he owed Abraham fil Isaac of Gloucester twenty quarters of 'good, clean, wheat' which were to be delivered in two instalments one at Christmas 1278 and the other at the following Easter.[110] It is also evident that, in 1277, a London Jew, Master Elias, was contracting for wheat. Robert Springhald and Bartholomew Le Cryur, his son, were in debt to Master Elias for seventy quarters of 'good, dry and pure wheat' which were payable to any merchant according to the measurement of the Queen's bushel - secundum mensuram ripe reginae. The delivery or consignment of grain was to be made to Elias or his attorney at his house in London. Master Elias was owed a further hundred and twenty quarters of 'good, dry, clean and pure' wheat by Lady Alice de Bellocampo of Schipeton.[111] Payments to Jews in wheat were acknowledged by debtors from further afield.

John de Crek of Norfolk acknowledged that he owed Aaron fil Vives one hundred and forty-four quarters of wheat in late September 1277.[112] Robert de Mortheyng of Nottinghamshire also owed Aaron one hundred quarters of wheat in November 1277.[113] In the same month, Aaron was to receive two hundred summae of wheat from Robert de Acorne of Derbyshire or else Robert was to pay the cash value of the wheat. It is known that this debt was paid off as William de Hamelton paid it on Robert's behalf and it was clearly recorded on the Plea Roll as 'paid', because as the entry states William de Hamelton had 'satisfied him (Aaron) for the two hundred quarters of wheat', although it is not known whether it was paid in cash or commodity.[114] Master Elias and Aaron fil Vives were also owed jointly two hundred quarters of cereal by John de Meriette and John de Wacton of Somerset.[115]

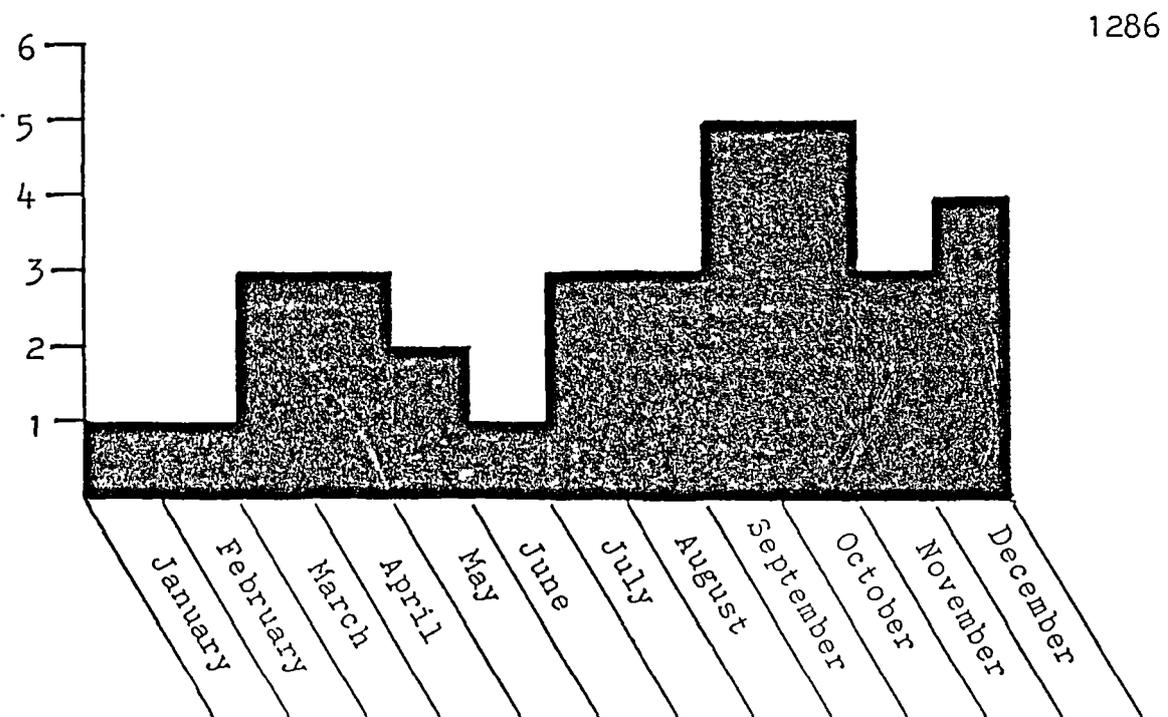
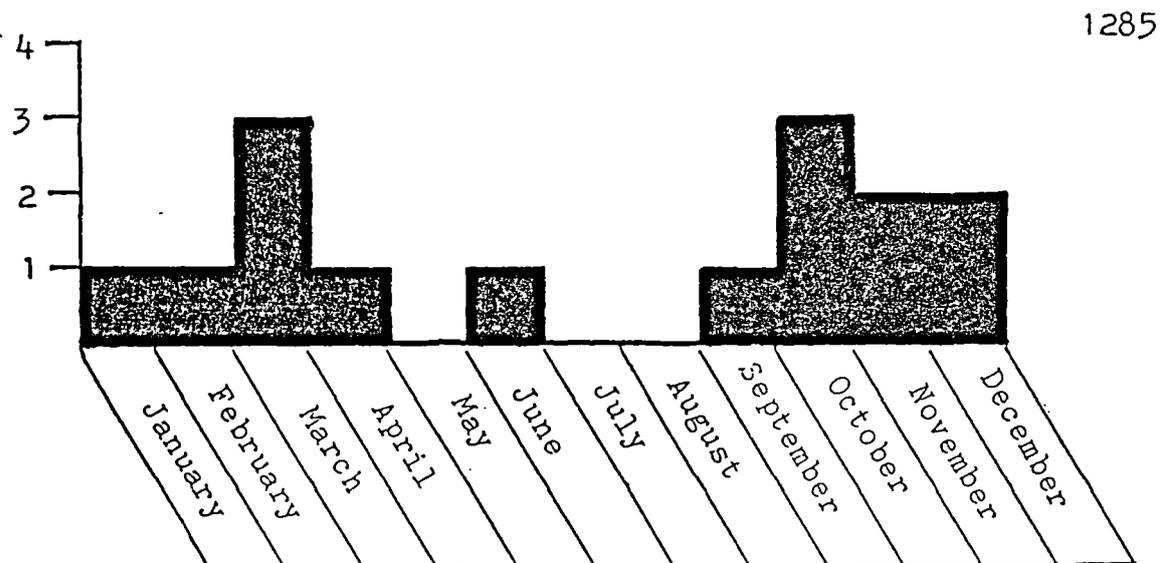
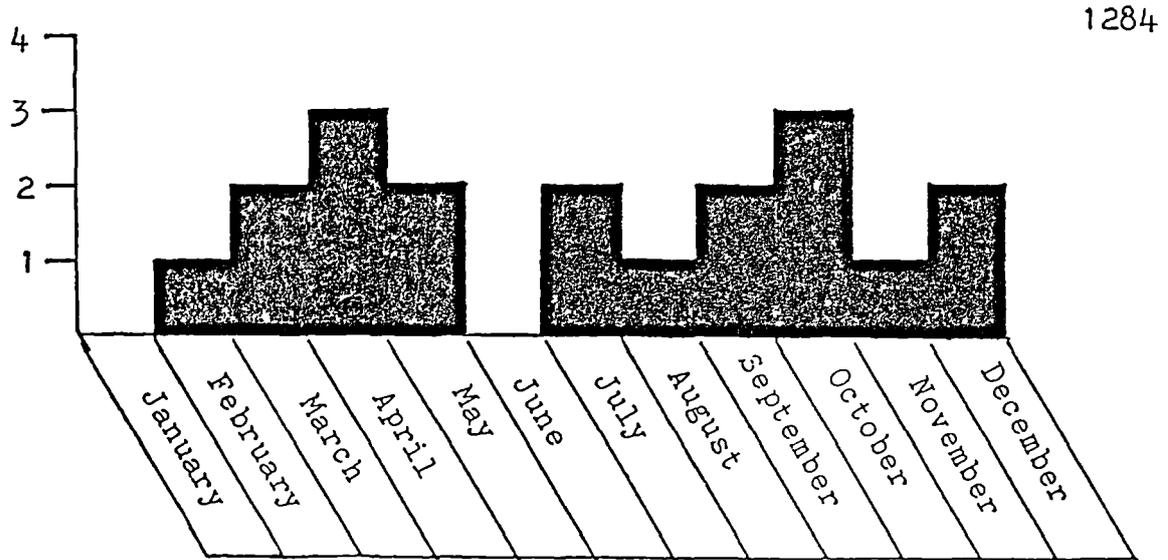
Both Lipman and Elman also concede that examples of Jews making genuine contracts for wool exist on the Jewish Plea Rolls.[116] The case already referred to involving Master Adam de Filby and Cresse fil Magister Elias of London is a typical example of such a contract. It was transactions like this one which led Roth to observe that, 'a number of wealthier financiers were able to turn to the wholesale trade in corn and wool'.[117] But, if the post-1275 commodity bonds for wool and cereal which were enrolled on the Plea Roll of the Scaccarium Judaeorum are accepted as real, then it is difficult to understand why the commodity bonds in the provincial archae cannot also be accepted as real. If Elman and Lipman accept that the London Jewry was able to make genuine cereal and wool contracts and become involved in the cereal and wool trade, why should their provincial brethren not have been able to do the same? It is surely more than coincidental that one of the small handful of extant actual bonds is to be repaid in cereal. In it, John de la Hethe of the parish of Laysters promises to pay Josce fil Manasser,

a Jew of Hereford, 60 soams of 'good, dry and winnowed corn' or half a mark of silver for each soam. The cereal was to be delivered to the Jew or his attorney at his house in Hereford at Michaelmas 1275. The debtor, as with a recognizance, pledged his goods and moveables and also made provision for allowing himself to be distrained in case he defaulted. The document was sealed and was witnessed officially by the sheriff of Herefordshire and the bailiffs of Hereford.[118] Such a bond demonstrates clearly that extant bonds may very well have had the sort of detail which Lipman found lacking in the normal scribal extracts which survive and also indicates, in its detail, that, along with other evidence, there is a reasonably substantial mass of material which indicates a Jewish trade in commodities of the kind referred to in the main body of the commodity bonds detailed in the scribal extracts.

Another indication of the genuine nature of the commodity bonds can be derived from an analysis of the dates at which cereal and wool bonds were contracted, according to the evidence of the 1290 archa. It is of significance that such dates tend to take up specific periods in the wool and cereal calendar. In Canterbury, in 1284, the months in which the most cereal bonds were contracted were April and October. In 1285, the months in which the most bonds were contracted were March and October. In 1286, the months in which the most bonds were contracted were September and October.[119] The Lincoln cereal bonds show that, in 1284, the month in which the most bonds were contracted was September. In 1285, the month in which the most bonds were contracted was August. In 1286, the months in which the most bonds were contracted were August and November. In 1287, the month in which the most bonds were contracted was August.[120] From the evidence of the cereal bonds in these archae, it can be established that generally the months in which most of the cereal bonds were contracted were August, September and October.

Bonds, expecting cereal repayment, contracted in the Canterbury archa in 1284, 1285 and 1286.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/6



Evidence from the Lincoln archa demonstrates that the busiest period for the contracting of wool bonds was between April and June.[121] In the analysis of such a pattern, the first thing to be remembered is that the information used is confined to unpaid debts. This fact makes it difficult to interpret the pattern itself. It is, however, clear that the commodity bonds of which information is available tended to be made in the period immediately of or after the harvest or of or after the clip. Such a situation may be the result of Jews bonding with individuals when they had some idea of the resources of those individuals from which they hoped to be repaid. It may also be explained by the fact that the debts which were most likely to remain unpaid were those debts contracted by individuals at the furthest point in time away from the next harvest or clip. There may be other reasons which explain this pattern. However, it is sufficient to indicate that, for whatever reason, the chronology of wool and cereal bonding closely follows the chronology of the agricultural year as it relates to those specific commodities.[122]

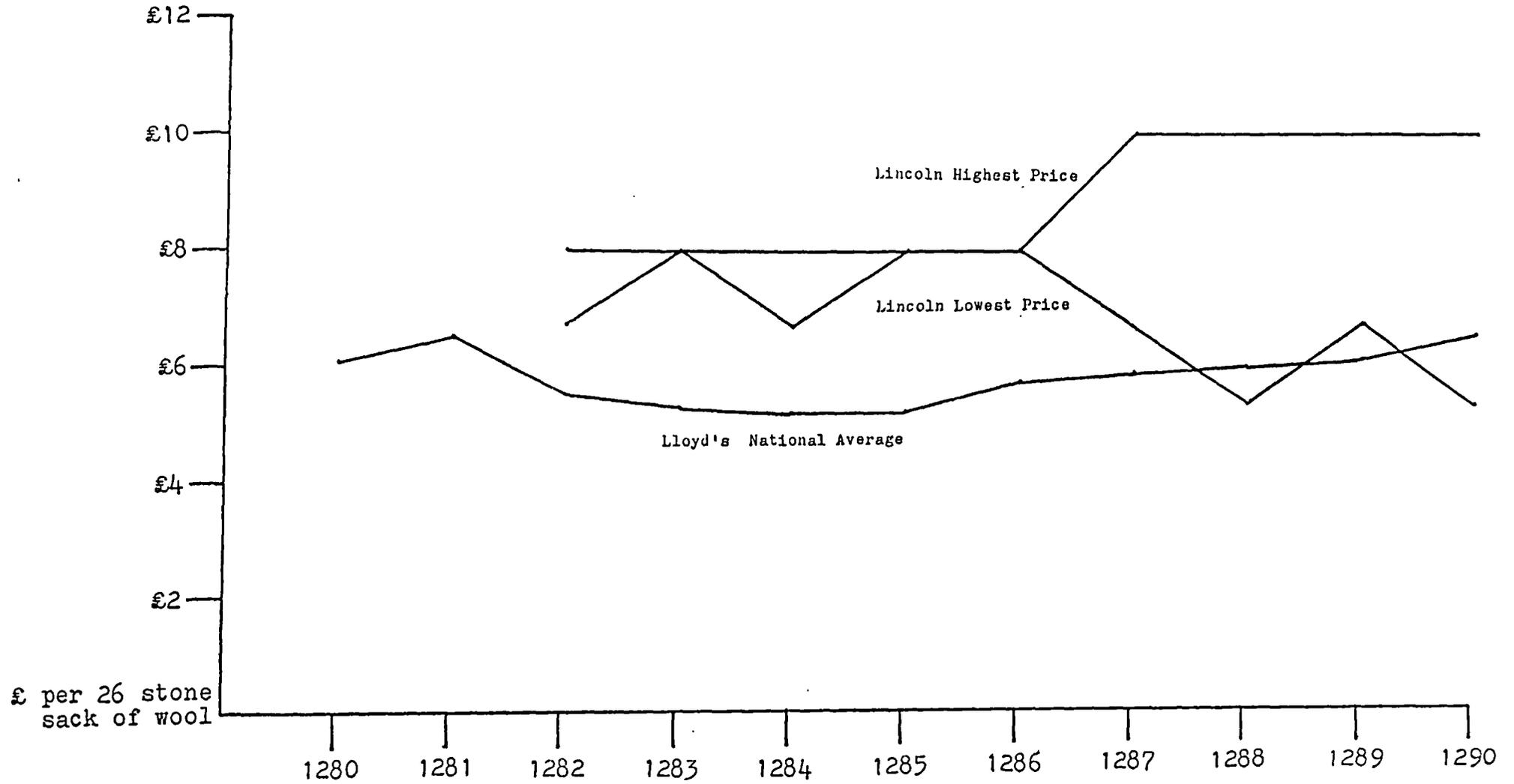
Another indication of the reality of the commodity bonds comes from analysis of the geographical distribution of the clients who chose to bond with the Jews in specific commodities. This is, for obvious reasons, most apparent in terms of the wool bonds. The Lincoln wool bonds and the clients involved in them have been considered in detail in Chapter VII and it has already been demonstrated that there is a clear correlation between the provenance of those who bond for wool in the Lincoln archa and the geographical areas, particularly Lindsey, which were noted for wool production in the thirteenth century. A similar pattern can be established in relation to the wool bonds which were placed in the Oxford archa between 1283 and 1290. They are all contracted with clients from the surrounding area of the Cotswolds. By this period, the area of the Cotswolds, like Lindsey, was one of the major

It is not, however, only the types of clients involved in commodity bonds which indicate the general nature of such bonds, for similar patterns can be detected in the ways in which individual Jewish creditors developed a specific interest in a particular commodity. This can be seen first of all in general terms by looking at the interests of Jewish communities. Thus, the Canterbury archa concentrates on cereal bonds whilst the Lincoln archa has an understandable predominance of wool bonds. As well as these general interests of particular communities, individual Jewish preferences can also be seen at a local level. Hence, despite Lincoln's general preference for wool, Jacob of Brancegate was a merchant who, from the evidence of his bonds, quite clearly chose to concentrate his activities upon the corn market which would obviously have been as active in Lincoln as in any other town. Lincoln Jews like Diay fil Diay and Abraham fil Diay, his brother, on the other hand, were clearly intent on securing an interest in the particularly expansive Lincoln wool market.[124] One specific example of the sort of connections which individual Jews developed in the trades in which they chose to concentrate their activities comes from a bond in the Norwich archa which shows that a certain unnamed Norwich Jew was owed, in 1286, 20 quarters of wheat priced at 8s-0d per quarter by Thomas Galewynde, Thomas capellanus of Forhoe Carleton and a certain Geoffrey of Ely who is interestingly described as bladi mercator manens in Forhoe Carleton.[125]

Earlier, it has been necessary to look closely at the price levels quoted in commodity bonds in order to respond to the worries of Elman and Lipman concerning their regularity. There are, however, other elements in the pricing policy of Jews which give further indications of the reality of the commodity bonds.

Although, in the wool trade, the price per sack of wool could fluctuate within any given year, it is likely that it fluctuated much less than cereal prices. In the wool trade, there was clearly a much more predictable level of supply. In this context, it is, therefore, even more impressive that Lincoln wool bonds do show price fluctuation although, it is of course possible that such variation was the result of demand for different quality wools. In this light, it is interesting to compare the prices in the Lincoln wool bonds with Lloyd's 'national average' figures for wool prices.[126] As can be seen from the graph below, both the higher and the lower prices quoted in the Lincoln bonds are both generally above that which can be taken to be the rough national average. This is an interesting statistic which may in fact demonstrate that Jewish wool brokers were operating with an idea of a high price level which may have been intended either to secure good quality wool or to cope with short term fluctuations in wool prices or to make a profit which might be described as usurious.[127] A similar situation may be detectable in just one Canterbury cereal bond made in 1281. According to that bond, Bartholomew of Pymedene owed Popelina, a Jewess, fourteen quarters of wheat pro vi marcis premanibus receptis. This is the only example from all the surviving records of the bonds which gives details of the money paid out to the debtor as an advance. Unfortunately, in this case, the price per quarter of the cereal that Bartholomew is to return to Popelina is not stipulated. By using Farmer's figures, however, the price per quarter would have been something like 6s-3 1/4d and therefore the wheat owed would probably have had a face value somewhere in the region of £4-7s-9 1/2d on the open market.[128] Popelina had paid £4-0s-0d in advance for the wheat and may well have been looking for her profit just like the Jewish wool merchants of Lincoln. Thus, the price levels quoted in the commodity bonds do

Wool prices recorded in the Lincoln archa 1280 - 1290.



have elements which suggest that they represent realistic appreciations by Jews of what they had to achieve in order to be successful in the wool and cereal markets. They are, therefore, not reasons for suspecting the genuineness of the commodity bonds but are reasons for accepting them as records of prospective commodity transfers.

All of these above indications of the genuine nature of the commodity bonds suggest that the Jews, as a result of the Statutum de Judeismo, responded to its economic sanctions by attempting to find a place within the wool and cereal trades. Different Jews found different places within the commercial hierarchy. Some may, indeed, have become important merchants in a specific field or in a variety of commercial activities. Most Jews, however, found a role as reasonably small operators. In the wool trade such a role probably involved buying and selling lana collecta. The collection of lana collecta was open to anyone who had capital to invest and somewhere to store the wool. Such wool would then be sold off to larger contractors who might, for a variety of reasons, have had difficulties from time to time in fulfilling their pre-arranged arras. [129] It is very noticeable that the provincial Jewish wool contracts are nearly always made for small amounts of wool and are contracted with men and women who might be expected to keep small flocks of up to three hundred sheep, the sort of flock which was required to provide one sack of raw wool. It seems reasonable, from this evidence, to argue that some Jews, and, in particular, the Jews of Lincoln, could have begun to act as brokers and legales mercatores and to have advanced money in return for wool which they expected to be able to pass on to the larger operators.

Less is known of the cereal trade than the wool trade in the thirteenth century. It is, however, easy to see how Jews might have acquired cereal from the sort of producers who lived in rural areas who had always been their clients. After the lord's harvest had been completed, many smaller producers reaped their own harvests or helped others to bring in smaller harvests from their land. Cereal in some quantity could therefore find its way into the hands of both bond and freeman. It could be acquired as a small crop reaped from a small strip of land or even as a reward for taking in someone else's harvest. By the thirteenth century, the custom of rewarding harvest labour with sheaves of corn was both old and widespread. Sheaves were given for each half acre reaped or for a complete day's work. Cereal was also acquired as a reward for binding, carting, stacking, threshing and, even, milling.[130] In the light of such evidence, there seems no reason why debtors should not have been repaying their creditors in cereal. Such producers might have wanted cash from the Jews either to extend or to improve their holdings in the economic conditions of the late thirteenth century or even just to maintain them. The Jews who received cereal in return for such transactions might have passed such cereal on at a profit to larger operators within the cereal trade. Thus, there was clearly a place in the cereal and wool trade for Jewish involvement at the levels evidenced by the commodity bonds. The evidence produced above clearly indicates that certain Jews had, by 1290, begun to play a role in these trades.

In this respect, it is particularly striking that the transactions recorded in the archae were not so very different from those made in accordance with the Statute of Merchants of 1283 in London, York and Bristol and later, after its re-enactment, in Newcastle, Lincoln, Nottingham, Northampton, Shrewsbury, Exeter, Southampton, Norwich and Canterbury. It has been shown above how

the Jewish bond was in fact a 'relative' of the Christian recognizance and indeed it was a very similar transaction.[131] A comparison of the bonds of William of Hephham, a Lincolnshire merchant, with the bonds of a Lincolnshire Jew, Ursellus Levi, is revealing. In 1284, William registered four loans in Lincoln which were to be repaid in wool. These loans show that John and Stephen Ducket owed him one sack of wool priced at £9-6s-8d, Suspiro of Bayou owed him one sack at the same price, Richard of Thoresby owed him half a sack priced at £5-0s-0d and Richard Rudde of Barton (who is also known to have had dealings with Lincolnshire Jews) owed him two sacks of wool priced at £9-6s-8d. In February 1287, John, the parson of the church at Chedde, owed Ursellus one sack of wool priced at £6-13s-4d. In July 1288, Geoffrey of Funtaynes owed Ursellus and his brother Jacob six sacks of wool priced at £6-13s-4d per sack. In May 1290, Thomas of Poynton owed Ursellus half a sack priced at £4-0s-0d. In June 1290, Thomas fil Peter of Lincoln owed Ursellus one sack priced at £10-0s-0d and, in July 1290, William de Brettevill of Houton owed Ursellus half a sack priced at £4-0s-d.[132] Thus, it is clear that a Christian merchant is operating at the same level in the market and contracting in the same manner as a Jew - both are behaving as legales mercatores.

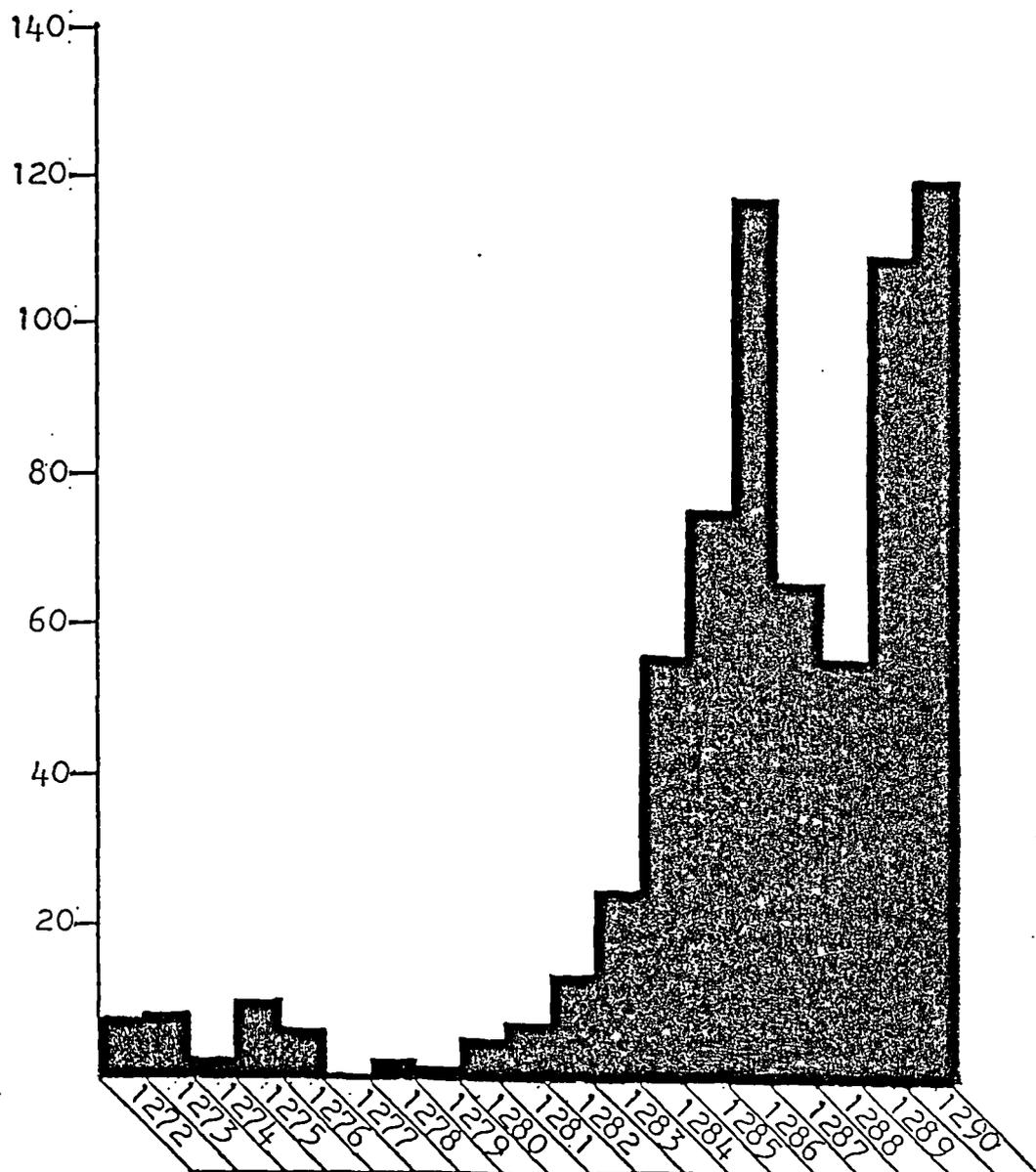
It, therefore, seems highly likely that Elman and Lipman were wrong in their assumption that the commodity bonds in the archae in 1290 represent concealed moneylending. It seems more probable that they, in fact, represent advance sale credits in wool and cereal which would have involved the Jews in a significant amount of trading activity. Certain Jews, it seems, had obeyed the Statutum de Judeismo and tempered their moneylending concerns with increased trading interests. It is now necessary to ask to what degree the Jews were successful in maintaining their social and economic standards through this change in their activities. Because of its

nature, the evidence of the surviving details of pre- and post-1275 bonds is very difficult to use in this context.[133] The survival of a large number of bonds in an archa may, after all, be either an indication of a large amount of unpaid debt or of a remnant of a large amount of bonding activity or of both. The situation is further complicated by the fact that an archa sealed at a specific point in time is always likely to contain a proportionately higher ratio of unpaid debts from the recent as opposed to the distant past. Nevertheless, there are perhaps some indications in the surviving evidence which will make it possible to gauge the economic impact on the Jews of the transfer to trading activities which the Statutum inspired.

Firstly, despite the fact that bonds remaining in the archae in 1290 would, all things being equal, have inevitably become more numerous in the years approaching 1290, the graph below, depicting the date range of bonds and tallies in the novae archae, shows that there is a significant rise in the number of bonds made per annum during the period which commences in 1284 in comparison with the period before this date. This seems to be evidence that the Statutum de Judeismo initially had had a depressing effect upon Jewish business until what was probably the issue of the Chapitles caused some sort of revival in the early 1280s. It also, incidentally, seems to be evidence, in this instance, given the co-incidence of the date of the revival with the date of the Chapitles, that the pattern of surviving bonds has more to do with the level of Jewish activity than with the level of Christian default on debts.

Secondly, from the evidence of the tables below, which compare the evidence for Jewish financial practice in Canterbury, Hereford and Lincoln, it is possible to establish that there appear to have

The date range of Bonds and Tallies in the  
novae archae.



The graph represents the vast majority of bonds deposited in the novae archae. There are 28 bonds and tallies deposited in novae archae which are undated. There are also 4 bonds contracted in 1261, 1267 and 2 in 1271 which were deposited in the Cambridge archa which have been omitted.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/2, E/101/250/3,  
E/101/250/4, E/101/250/5, E/101/250/6,  
E/101/250/7, E/101/250/8, E/101/250/9,  
E/101/250/10, E/101/250/11, E/101/250/12.

Jewish financial practice in Canterbury 1262-1290.

Sample.	Number of Jews who hold bonds.	Number of bonds	Number of Jews who hold single bonds.	Total value of bonds.	Mean average number of bonds per Jew.	Mean average Jewish outlay.	Mean average value of a bond.
1262	52	102	33	£ 210 2s 11d	2	£ 4 9s 0d	£ 2 1s 2d
W.A.M.	32	45	25	£ 183 6s 8d	1.4	£ 5 14s 6d	£ 4 1s 4d
1290	16	95	4	£ 523 3s 8d	5.9	£ 32 8s 11d	£ 5 9s 3d

Jewish financial practice in Hereford 1244-1290.

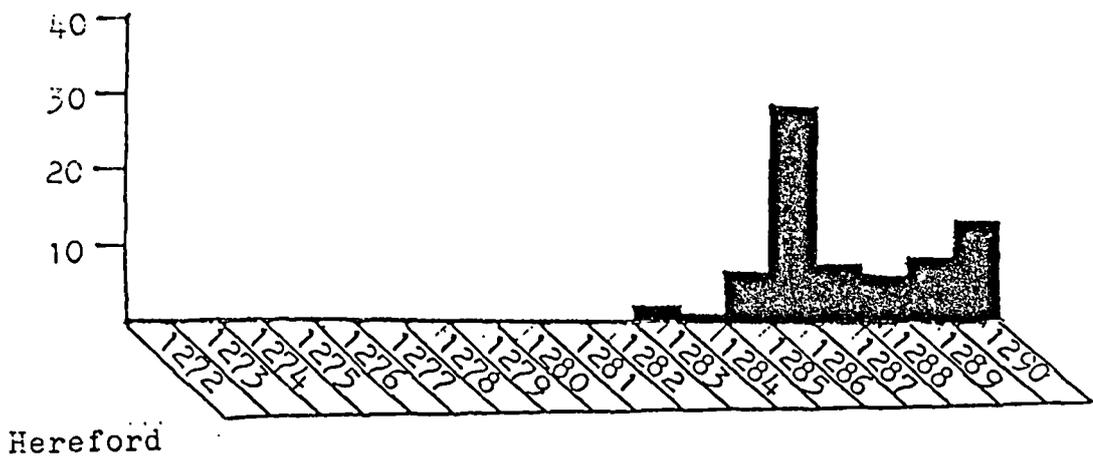
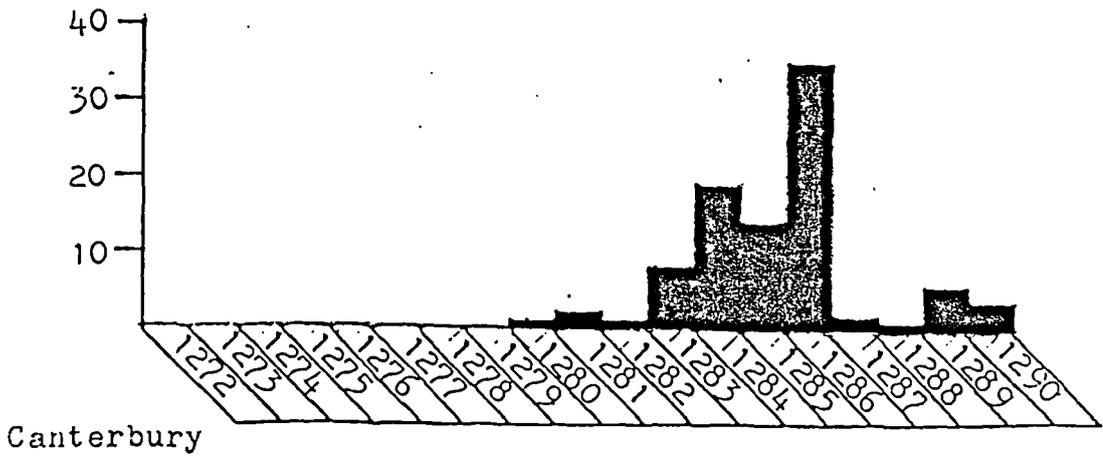
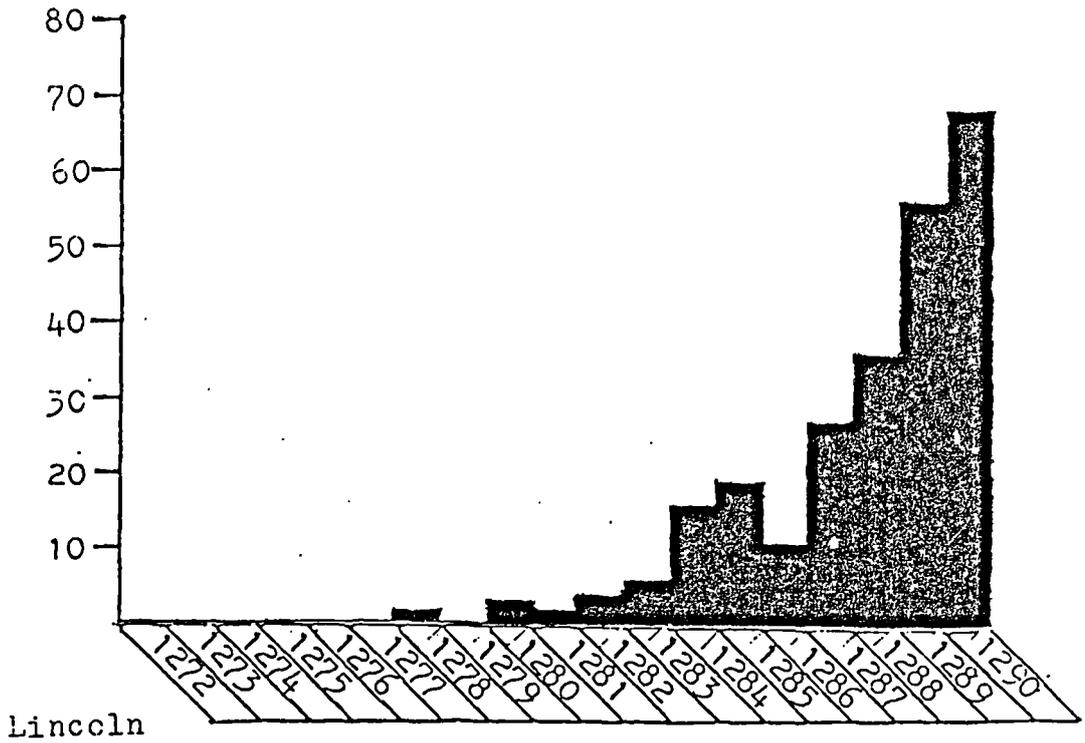
Sample.	Number of Jews who hold bonds.	Number of bonds.	Number of Jews who hold single bonds.	Total value of bonds.	Mean average number of bonds per Jew.	Mean average Jewish outlay.	Mean average value of a bond.
1244 scrutiny	12	45	2	£ 2531 14s 4d	3.75	£ 210 19s 6d	£ 56 5s 2d
1262	36	44	27	£ 104 0s 4d	1.2	£ 2 17s 9d	£ 2 7s 3d
1275 archa scrutiny	4	79	2	£ 459 9s 8d	19.75	£ 114 17s 5d	£ 5 16s 4d
Vetus Cista	30	205	9	£ 1120 13s 8d	6.8	£ 37 11s 1d	£ 5 9s 11d
Nova Cista	17	77	8	£ 1065 7s 8d	4.5	£ 62 13s 4d	£ 13 16s 8d

Jewish financial practice in Lincoln 1262-1290.

Sample	Number of Jews who hold bonds.	Number of bonds.	Number of Jews who hold single bonds.	Total value of bonds.	Mean average number of bonds per Jew.	Mean average Jewish outlay.	Mean average value of a bond.
1262	90	151	52	£ 405 14s 2d	1.6	£ 4 10s 1d	£ 2 13s 8d
W.A.M.	19	37	12	£ 350 11s 4d	1.9	£ 18 9s 0d	£ 9 9s 5d
1290	62	250	24	£ 2461 18s 6d	4	£ 39 14s 2d	£ 9 16s 11d

been less Jews contracting bonds in 1290 than in previous periods. Thus, in Lincoln, there are 62 Jews with bonds in the archa in 1290, whilst 90 Jews had contributed bonds towards the tallage of 1262. Similarly, in Hereford, there are only 17 Jews who have bonds in the Nova Cista, whilst there had been 36 involved in giving bonds towards the tallage of 1262. In Canterbury, there is an even more significant drop in the number of Jews holding bonds in that in 1290 there are 16 and in 1262 there were 52 Jews who contributed bonds as tallage payment. It, therefore, seems likely, from this evidence, that between 1262 and 1290 there was a decrease in the number of Jews who were participating in the sort of business with which the evidence is concerned. Was this the result of the Statutum? From the figures already given, it is impossible to say, for it is impossible to isolate any decline in the numbers of Jewish businessmen in the period between 1275 and 1290 from any possible general decline which took place between 1262 and 1290. It is, however, possible, by reference to the Hereford evidence, to get just a little further by comparing the Hereford Vetus Cista, which contains bonds transacted before 1276, with the Hereford Nova Cista, which was sealed in 1290. The Vetus Cista evidence refers to 30 Jews who hold bonds. The Nova Cista evidence refers to only 17. Thus, this particular evidence does suggest that in Hereford, at least, the Statutum had played some part in reducing the number of Jews who were financially active. Such an impression is strengthened by the fact that the graphs depicting bonds contracted annually in the Canterbury, Hereford and Lincoln archae of 1290 demonstrate what looks like a conspicuously lean period of business between 1275 and 1284 which may have reduced the number of Jews who survived as brokers.

Bonds contracted each year in the Lincoln,  
Canterbury and Hereford archæ.



Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12, E/101/250/6, E/101/250/5.

This evidence from Hereford of a decrease in the numbers of Jews who were financially active after 1275 is, however, not matched, in the evidence, by a parallel decrease in the total outlay of the Hereford community on business transactions in the period after 1275. The Vetus Cista evidence refers to bonds worth £1120-13s-8d and the Nova Cista refers to an only slightly smaller amount of £1065-7s-8d. The Hereford figures, therefore indicate that, although there may have been less individual Jews transacting the sort of business which found its way into the archa, there was, perhaps, in volume terms, no less business. Unfortunately, the Canterbury and Lincoln evidence does not permit any such comparisons of the pre- and post-Statute periods to be made and therefore it is impossible to come to any conclusions as to whether this was the case in those towns. How had the same rate of business been maintained by fewer Jewish operators in Hereford? It is clear that two things had happened. Firstly, smaller operators had been squeezed out of the market. Secondly, individual Jews had increased their personal outlay by making contracts of which the mean average value had greatly increased. Again the evidence from Canterbury and Lincoln will not permit any detailed comparison with the Hereford evidence to be made, although a comparison of the 1290 bonds in both towns with surviving bonds, from the period before the Statute, in the Westminster Abbey Muniments, does indicate a small increase in the mean average value of an individual bond.

Hereford has, therefore, provided an example of a town in which Jewish financial activity in the period after the Statute does not necessarily appear to have gone into a continuous and almost inevitable state of decline. In Lincoln, there is enough evidence, from the very large total value of the bonds in the 1290 archa, to suggest, that even if there was a decline in business, there was still impressive activity. In Canterbury, on the other hand, the

overall value of the bonds in the 1290 archa together with the comparatively low mean average value of the individual bonds in that archa does suggest that a community which had been a massive contributor to the tallages of 1274 and 1276-1277 had, by 1290, got itself into considerable difficulties. Explanations as to why Hereford and Lincoln appear to have done better than Canterbury in the last fifteen years of the Jewish presence in England are difficult to come by. Perhaps the answer lies in Canterbury's having been particularly heavily tallaged. Perhaps the general imprisonment and tallage of 1286-1287 had had a greater impact in Canterbury than in the other towns, for the evidence of the Canterbury archa does suggest a significant lack of activity in the period between 1286 and 1290. Perhaps it was the activities of incoming Jews, in towns like Lincoln and Hereford which enabled them to do rather better than Canterbury where there are less obvious outsiders referred to in the evidence.

To what extent the different fortunes of these Jewish communities were the result of a shift to commodity dealings is inevitably the most difficult question. It can, however, be indicated that the Canterbury community's interest in cereal was not enough to counteract other pressures. On the other hand, it does appear likely that a shift to an interest in trading did allow the Hereford community to maintain its level of financial activity and the Lincoln community, at least, to remain impressively busy. In Hereford, at least, it can also be argued that the switch to commodity bonding was compatible with certain changes in the structure of the Jewish business community which helped certain individuals to prominence often at the expense of smaller operators.

Thus, although the evidence is difficult to evaluate, it is possible to argue that, after a period of depression immediately after the Statutum de Judeismo in 1275, Jews, in certain communities, found ways indicated to them by the Statute to maintain their economic and social standing. Such an achievement is all the more impressive when viewed against the background of the other sorts of pressures which were placed upon the Jews in Edward's reign. Under that king, the Jewish community underwent allegations of ritual murder, host-desecration and coin-clipping, it was subject to the pogroms and hangings of 1278-1279 which yielded in excess of £10,000, it was prey to amercements and to tallages which culminated in the largest tallage for fifty years in 1287-1288 which yielded in excess of £3,000. Against such a background, it is to their credit that certain Jews did not become an economic irrelevance and remained important brokers right up until the year of the Expulsion.

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- [1] Statutes of the Realm,1,p221.
- [2] See Chapter II note [156]. F.D. Logan,'Thirteen London Jews and conversion to Christianity:problems of apostasy in the 1280s' Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,45,pp220-221.
- [3] C. Roth,England in Jewish History,p4.
- [4] Roth,pp84-85. Lipman,p184. P. Elman,'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R.,7,p152. P. Elman,'Jewish finance in thirteenth century England' T.J.H.S.E.,16,pp95-96. S.A. Singer,'Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290' J.Q.R.,55/56,pp134-135.
- [5] P.R.E.J.3,pp297-299. In 1277, James fil Gilbert, miles, granted Abraham fil Deulecresse of Norwich, a Jew, the manor of Kelling (23 miles north-north-west of Norwich) for a period of ten years. Statutes of the Realm,1,p221.
- [6] Roth,p79.
- [7] P. Elman,'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica,1,p95.
- [8] Lipman,p94.
- [9] P.R.O. SC/8/54/2655. Printed in Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I,3,pcxiv. M. Adler,'Benedict the Gildsman of Winchester' Misc.J.H.S.E.,4,pp1-8.
- [10] Rigg,p1-2. The Chapitres re-iterate this:

E nos pur amur de Deu amenes, e les traces se  
 Seinte Esglise plus devotement aerdaunz,eyums  
 fetz defendre a tuy e chescuns Gys de nostre  
 reaume ki par teus maners aprests visiosement  
 eient vesquy, ke nul de eus de cel hure  
 usures ou prest usurer en aukune manere  
 mespreyngnent haunter mes par autres  
bosoyngnes e marchaundises congees vivre a  
eus quereent e lur sustenances

Rigg,plv-lxi.

- [11] Richardson,p26. Lipman,pp79-81.
- [12] C. Roth.'Jewish physicians in Medieval England' Medical Leaves,5,pp42-45. A. Weiner,'Jewish doctors in England in the reign of Henry IV' J.Q.R.,18,pp141-145.
- [13] J. Jacobs,'Une lettre francaise d'un juif anglais au XIII siecle' R.E.J.,18,pp256-261.
- [14] Lipman.p117
- [15] C. Roth,Gleanings,p27.
- [16] M.D. Davis,'A batch of Curiosities' The Jewish Chronicle,8th February,1889,p18.
- [17] De Bloissers Tovey,Anglia Judaica,pp75-76. Chronicon de Mailros A.D.1216,pp122-123.
- [18] M.D. Davis,'An Anglo-Jewish painter A.D.1270' The Jewish Chronicle,31st May,1901,p18. Roth,p115.
- [19] H.J. Cheales,'Mural paintings in All Saints Church, Friskney, Lincolnshire' Archaeologia,48,pp270-280 and 50,pp281-286.
- [20] Z.E. Rokeah,'Some accounts of condemned Jew' property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies,1,pp19-42,2pp59-82,3,pp41-66. M. Adler,'Inventory of the property of condemned Jews 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E.,2,pp56-71.
- [21] Ibid. Roth,pp51,99 and note. C.C.R. 1245,p329. See note [47] below.
- [22] Richardson,p26. V.D. Lipman,'The anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S./E.,21,p72.
- [23] Cathedral Library Salisbury Sarum Mss. 165 fol.177a. A copy written in the Old Sarum scriptorium in the early twelfth century. De puero judeo quem proprius pater pro susceptione corporis et sanguinis Christi in fornacem ardentem projecit.

- [24] C. Roth, Gleanings, p26.
- [25] C. Roth, 'Elijah of London' T.J.H.S.E., 15, pp49-50. I. Epstein, 'Pre-Expulsion England in the responsa' T.J.H.S.E., 14, pp196-197. C.C.R. 1272-1279, p197.
- [26] V.D. Lipman, 'The anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, p72. See Chapter I notes [182],[186],[187].
- [27] C. Roth, The Jews of Medieval Oxford, p12.
- [28] P.R.E.J.2, pp291-292.
- [29] C.C.R. 1280, p60. See note [25] above. C. Roth, 'Elijah of London' T.J.H.S.E., 15, p44.
- [30] W.A.M.6723.
- [31] P.R.E.J.3, p42.
- [32] De Bloissiers Tovey, Anglia Judaica, p219.
- [33] H.P. Stokes, 'Records of Manuscripts and Documents possessed by the Jews in England before the Expulsion' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp92-93.
- [34] W.A.M.6797.
- [35] H.P. Stokes, 'Records of Manuscripts and Documents possessed by the Jews in England before the Expulsion' T.J.H.S.E., 8, pp93-94. F. Peck, Annals of Stamford, p19.
- [36] Chapter I notes [182],[186],[187].
- [37] P.R. Hyams, 'The Jewish minority in medieval England 1066-1290' J.J.S., 25/26, p273.
- [38] V,D, Lipman, 'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, p73. P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p94.
- [39] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some accounts of condemned Jews' property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies, 1, pp19-42, 2, pp59-82, 3, pp41-66.
- [40] M. Adler, 'Inventory of the property of the condemned Jews 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E., 2, pp56-71. P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p94.
- [41] Z.E. Rokeah, 'Some accounts of condemned Jews' property in the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls' Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies, 1, pp19-42, 2, pp59-82, 3, pp41-66.
- [42] Ibid. 1, pp22-23, 2, pp65-80.
- [43] Ibid. 1, pp23-25, 2, pp80-82, 3, pp41-64.
- [44] Ibid. 1, pp21, 25, 3, pp64-66.
- [45] M. Adler, 'Inventory of the property of condemned Jews in 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E., 2, pp56-71.
- [46] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p94.
- [47] M. Adler, 'Inventory of the property of condemned Jews in 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E., 2, pp56-71.
- [48] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p94. M. Adler, 'Inventory of the property of condemned Jews in 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E., 2, p58.
- [49] M. Adler, 'Inventory of the property of condemned Jews in 1285' Misc.J.H.S.E., 2, pp56-71. Jacobs, p75. P.R.E.J.2, p48.
- [50] Certainly Jews were able to meet the very common 'pepper-corn' rents that prevailed in the thirteenth century. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, p89, note 21, is a rent of 6 hens and 1 cock, p96, note 50, is a rent of 1 lb of cummin which would have been worth between 1d and 5d, p102, note 3, is a rent of a pair of white gloves worth about 1d, p105, note 1, is a rent of 1 lb of pepper worth about 7d. W.A.M.9076 and W.A.M.9082 is again a rent of a pair of white gloves, W.A.M.9075 is a rent of a clove of garlic, W.A.M.6702 is a rent of one root of ginger, W.A.M.6800 is a rent of 9s-0d and eight horse shoes, W.A.M.6714 is a rent of 10s-0d and eight hens and two cocks. Other payments in pepper can be found in P.R.E.J.3, p151 and a payment in wood can be found in P.R.E.J.2, p128. Benedict of Winchester was owed 200 qtrs of frumenti and 20 qtrs of

- salt, C.C.R. 1276,p417. Jews receiving small commodity repayments, geese, hens, stags and flying hawks have already been encountered above.
- [51] P.F.D. Allin, 'Medieval Southampton and its Jews' T.J.H.S.E., 23, p94.
- [52] Ibid.
- [53] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p259.
- [54] C.C.R. 1272-1279, p259, 260, 362, 370, 382, 385, 389, 577. C.P.R. 1272-1281, p212, 215, 253.
- [55] P.R.O. E/101/250/2, E/101/250/3, E/101/250/4, E/101/250/5, E/101/250/6, E/101/250/7, E/101/250/8, E/101/250/9, E/101/250/10, E/101/250/11, E/101/250/12.
- [56] B.L. Abrahams, 'The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290' J.Q.R., 7, p250.
- [57] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p104. P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, p148.
- [58] V.D. Lipman, 'The anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry' T.J.H.S.E., 21, pp72-73
- [59] P. Elman, Jewish finance in thirteenth century England with specific reference to royal taxation. P. Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R., 7, pp145-154. P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp91-104. P. Elman, 'Jewish finance in thirteenth century England' T.J.H.S.E., 16, pp72-73. Lipman, p176.
- [60] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp92-104.
- [61] Lipman, pp164-168.
- [62] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p92.
- [63] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, pp92. P.F.D. Allin, 'Medieval Southampton and its Jews' T.J.H.S.E., 23, p94.
- [64] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p92.
- [65] P. Elman, 'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica, 1, p92.
- [66] M. Adler, 'The Jews of Bristol in pre-Expulsion days' T.J.H.S.E., 12, pp119-124, 172-173.
- [67] W.A.M.9074, W.A.M.9076. B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, p90.
- [68] M. Adler, 'The medieval Jews of Exeter' Transactions of the Devonshire Association of Science, Literature and Art, 63, p222.
- [69] Lipman, pp113-137.
- [70] N.R.O. M24 182, The Lassman Papers. V.W. Walker, 'Medieval Nottingham: a topographical study' Transactions of the Thoroton Society, 67, pp28-45.
- [71] C. Roth, The Jews of Medieval Oxford, map, p195.
- [72] P.F.D. Allin, 'Medieval Southampton and its Jews' T.J.H.S.E., 23, pp92-93.
- [73] B.C. Turner, 'The Winchester Jewry' Hampshire Review, 21, pp17-21.
- [74] R.B. Dobson, 'The decline and expulsion of the medieval Jews of York' T.J.H.S.E., 26, p47. E. Brunskill, 'The Jews in medieval York' T.J.H.S.E., 20, pp239-245.
- [75] See maps in Chapters IV, V, VI above.
- [76] P.R.O. E/9/39 mentions shoppae in London and Oxford. W.A.M.6796 mentions shoppae in Norwich.
- [77] B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E., 2, p90. W.A.M.6709.
- [78] W.A.M.6709.
- [79] B.L. Abrahams, 'Condition of the Jews of England at the time of

- their Expulsion in 1290' T.J.H.S.E.,2,p101.
- [80] P. Elman,'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica,1,pp92,93,104. P. Elman,'The economic causes of the expulsion of the Jews in 1290' Ec.H.R.,7,p148.
- [81] P. Elman.,'Jewish finance in thirteenth century England' T.J.H.S.E.,16,p89.
- [82] P. Elman.'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica,1,p97.
- [83] Lipman,p164.
- [84] P.R.O. E/101/250/2 and P.R.O. E/101/250/11.
- [85] P. Elman.'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica,1,p97.
- [86] Lipman,pp164-168.
- [87] D.L. Farmer,'Some grain price movements in thirteenth-century England',Ec.H.R.,10,p210.
- [88] Lipman,p165. P.R.O. E/101/250/7.
- [89] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [90] P.R.O. E/101/250/4.
- [91] P.R.O. E/101/250/8.
- [92] P.R.O. E/101/250/6.
- [93] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [94] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.
- [95] P. Elman.'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica,1,p97.
- [96] Lipman,pp166-168.
- [97] Rigg,p94.
- [98] Lipman,p167.
- [99] P.R.O. E/101/250/5.
- [100] P.R.O. E/9/43.
- [101] P.R.O. E/9/43. See Chapters V and VII particularly note [90] above.
- [102] P.R.O. E/101/250/12 and P.R.O. E/101/250/8. In Nottingham 83 percent of the bonds are for repayment in money.
- [103] P. Elman.'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica,1,p99-100. Lipman,p64. S. Levy,'The Norwich Day Book' T.J.H.S.E.,5,pp243-275.
- [104] P.R.E.J.2,p126.
- [105] P.R.E.J.2,p22,126,198,199,265. Lipman,p164.
- [106] The examples quoted below are all from the period 1276-1278. S. Cohen,Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277-Hilary 1279,pplxxii-xxiv provides an analysis of commodity bonds on the Plea Rolls. She points out that the larger operators, Aaron fil Vives and Master Elias fil Magister Moses had a special royal licence,(pxcvi). Commodity bonds recorded on the Plea Rolls continue during the period 1282-1287. P.R.O. E/9/44 reveals Aaron fil Vives being owed large amounts of cereal from debtors in Essex, Lincolnshire, Surrey, Norfolk and Suffolk, Hertford, London and at least 30 sacks of wool from Lincolnshire. It reveals commodity debts to other Jews such as Elias fil Cresse, Aaron fil Isaac of Exeter,both described as Jews of London,Leon fil Moses of Clare, Jewxof Stamford, Benedict Bateman fil Cresse and Cresse fil Cresse, Isaac le Evesk, Leon fil Jacob and Gamaliel of Oxford. P.R.O. E/9/39 and P.R.O. E/9/40 also reveal further debts to Aaron fil Vives. P.R.O. E/9/39 reveals a wool bond to Josce fil Saulot and cereal bonds which are owed to Cok Hagin and Manser fil Aaron. Presumably Elman and Lipman would accept these transactions as genuine.
- [107] P.R.E.J.3,p223.
- [108] P.R.E.J.3,p203
- [109] P.R.E.J.3,p200.
- [110] P.R.E.J.3,p292.
- [111] P.R.E.J.3,pp309-310.

- [112] P.R.E.J.3 p278.  
 [113] P.R.E.J.3 p278.  
 [114] Ibid.  
 [115] Ibid.  
 [116] Lipman,p166. P. Elman.'Jewish trade in thirteenth century England' Historia Judaica,1,pp99-100.  
 [117] See note [56] above. Roth,p73.  
 [118] Few actual bonds have survived outside the Westminster Abbey Muniments and the Public Record Office. This particular bond H.R.O. Mss. AH81/34 must have been made just before the Statutum de Judeismo which S. Cohen dates to October 1275, (Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277- Hilary 1279,pl1). The seal still survives. It is a soft white wax seal, damaged, has a cross device and the lettering round the edges has now disappeared. John de la Hethe is also indebted to another Hereford Jew, Jacob fil Sadekyn, for £2-0s-0d by a bond made in 1276(P.R.O. E/101/250/5). See Chapter V note [99].  
 [119] P.R.O. E/101/250/6.  
 [120] P.R.O. E/101/250/12. See Chapter VI and relevant graphs above.  
 [121] Ibid.  
 [122] See Chapter VI note [182].  
 [123] See Chapter VII above note [165]. P.R.O. E/101/250/9.  
 [124] See Chapter VI above and Table 'The value of Jewish bonds in Lincoln in 1290'.  
 [125] P.R.O. E/101/250/7  
 [126] T.H. Lloyd,'The movement of wool prices in medieval England' Ec.H.R. supplement,6,p38.  
 [127] P.R.O. E/101/250/12.  
 [128] P.R.O. E/101/250/6. D.L. Farmer,'Some grain price movements in thirteenth-century England' Ec.H.R.,10,p212. See Chapter IV note [104].  
 [129] E. Power,The Wool Trade,pp44-45.  
 [130] A. Jones,'Harvest customs and labourers perquisites in southern England 1150-1350 - the corn harvest' The Agricultural History Review,25,pp2-14 and 98-107.  
 [131] See Chapter III above notes [154],[155],[156].  
 [132] J.P. Bischoff,Economic change in thirteenth century Lincoln: decline of an urban cloth industry,pp244-248. P.R.O. E/101/250/12.  
 [133] S. Cohen,Plea Roll of the Exchequer of the Jews Michaelmas 1277 = Hilary 1279,pxcix - 'The lists by themselves do not reveal the necessary details of Jewish trading activities'.

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The Christian debtors of the Jews of Canterbury, Hereford and Lincoln.

As is the norm when using random samples, there are qualifying factors concerning each sample which must be borne in mind. The first Kentish sample of actual bonds generally pre-dates the Statutum de Judeismo and reveals forty-two Christian debtors who owe their Jewish creditors debts which are mainly repayable in money. However, the sample also reveals several debtors who owe cash together with small amounts of commodities. The second Kentish sample records the names of 106 debtors who owe their creditors ninety-three bonds made between 1280 and 1290.

The Herefordshire samples present several difficulties, mainly due to the fact that the information which they reveal about Jews' clients overlaps. The first Herefordshire sample, the scrutiny of the archa in 1275, identifies seventy-six debtors who owe four Jews seventy-nine bonds. Most of these debtors are clients of Aaron Le Blund of Hereford. The debts evidenced by the scrutiny of 1275 are largely duplicated by the details revealed by the Hereford Vetus Cista.

The samples are further complicated by the economic hegemony of Aaron Le Blund. For example, in the first Herefordshire sample, he is owed seventy-three or 89 percent of all the debts. Of the seventy-three bonds owed to Aaron in the first sample, the 1275 scrutiny, only eleven do not re-appear in the Vetus Cista.

The second, third and fourth Herefordshire samples are all from the same source (P.R.O.E/101/250/5), the list of bonds in the Hereford Vetus Cista and Nova Cista in 1290. The roll records 282 bonds which were made and deposited in the archae between 1259 and 1290. For sake of convenience, it was seen fit to split this sample into three, the debtors of Aaron Le Blund who appear in the the Vetus Cista, but who had not appeared in the 1275 scrutiny, the debtors of the other Jews of Hereford from the Vetus Cista and the debtors of Aaron and the other Jews of Hereford as revealed by the bonds deposited in the Nova Cista, debtors who had not appeared in the previous records.

The second Herefordshire sample, the debtors of Aaron Le Blund from the Vetus Cista, who had not appeared in the 1275 scrutiny, was compiled from the 103 bonds owing to Aaron in the Vetus Cista. As has been explained above, these bonds largely overlapped with the 1275 scrutiny. Only forty-three debtors who, according to the 1275 scrutiny, did not owe Aaron debts, are therefore identified by the second Herefordshire sample. The third Herefordshire sample, the debtors of the other Hereford Jews as revealed by the Vetus Cista, was similarly compiled, by the exclusion of those debtors who had already appeared in the 1275 scrutiny, from the 102 debts owing to Hereford Jews which were made between 1259 and 1276 and deposited in the Vetus Cista. The last Herefordshire sample was compiled from the bonds deposited in the Nova Cista which ranged in date from 1283 to 1290 and were owed to Aaron Le Blund and other Hereford Jews. The sample revealed information about seventy-seven debts of eighty-two of the Jews' clients. Thirty-eight of the bonds clearly stipulate repayment in money, thirty-five in cereal and four in wool.

The first Lincolnshire sample is drawn from thirty-seven actual bonds and reveals information about thirty-eight debtors who entered into these contracts between 1270 and 1276. The majority of the debts were repayable in money although there was one exception. In 1275, Richard Rudde of Barton agreed to repay Jacob fil Isaac of Brancegate £3-6s-8d and one quarter of wheat.

The second Lincolnshire sample, the list of bonds in the Lincoln archa in 1290, reveals the bonding practices of Jewish creditor and Christian debtor for the years from 1278 to 1290. It reveals 194 debtors who owe 252 bonds. There are two bonds which are very different from any other bonds encountered in this thesis. These two exceptions, the contracts of Richard Foliot, miles of Yorkshire, and Hagin fil Magister Benedict, have been excluded from the lists but are discussed at length in Chapter VI above. With these two exceptions, the debts remaining in the Lincoln archa in 1290 are repayable in cereal, money and wool.

In most of the tables, it will be noticed that the number of debtors is greater than the number of bonds. This is due to some of the debts being shared between several debtors. For convenience, the amount of debt has been divided equally amongst these different partners. In the lists these shared debts have been denoted by the symbol 's'. Where prices of commodities have not been stipulated in the scribal extracts of the bonds, the price per quarter has been taken as being 5s-0d and the price of a sack of wool has been taken to be £10-0s-0d.

Common sense and the Ordnance and Domesday Surveys have made it possible to recreate the distribution of Jewish clients in the three counties of Kent, Herefordshire and Lincolnshire. The tables have been utilized to provide the maps in Chapter VII. Modern forms of most of the places that have been identified appear on both the

tables and the maps. On the tables, the thirteenth-century toponyms recorded on each bond, which have not been identified with local places, have remained in their original form.

On occasions it has been necessary, where there is more than one place of the same name, to identify the one which is nearest to the archa town. For instance, there are four different places called Normanby and several villages called Toft in Lincolnshire and so the nearest Normanby and nearest Toft to Lincoln have been identified on the map. Many of the places identified in the maps have long since disappeared. Some of those which have now disappeared have been tracked down through chance survival of a feature on the modern day Ordnance Survey Sheet. In Herefordshire, Hasel can be associated with the modern day Hazel Farm, Swanstone must have been close to Swanstone Court, Butterley can be identified with a Butterley Court and Eaton with an Eaton Hall. De la Birches has been identified with the present day village of Little Birch, Fferne with Vern on the River Lugg where there is a farm called The Vern and Fahlilee with Fawley where there is still a cross, a chapel and a Fawley Court today.

It has, therefore been necessary, in a few specific cases, to make intelligent guesses when attempting to identify some locations and when attempting to estimate how a particular bond was shared between two or more individuals. It is, however, important to indicate that such occasions have in no way been numerous enough for such guesses to have anything but the most marginal significance for the general interpretation of evidence which has usually been decisive enough to eliminate the need for such guesswork.

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TABLES

- I Kentish debtors and their debts 1261-1276.
- II Kentish debtors and their debts 1280-1290.
- III Herefordshire debtors and their debts 1268-1275, from the archa scrutiny in December 1275.
- IV Herefordshire debtors and their debts to Aaron Le Blund of Hereford in the Vetus Cista 1264-1275.
- V Herefordshire debtors and their debts to other Hereford Jews in the Vetus Cista 1259-1276.
- VI Herefordshire debtors and their debts to the Jews of Hereford in the Nova Cista 1283-1290.
- VII Lincolnshire debtors and their debts 1270-1276.
- VIII Lincolnshire debtors with money bonds in the archa in 1290.
- IX Lincolnshire debtors with cereal bonds in the archa in 1290.
- X Lincolnshire debtors with wool bonds in the archa in 1290.
- XI Lincolnshire debtors and their total debts in the Lincoln archa 1278-1290.
- XII Debtors of provincial Jewry 1261-1290 with locative names identified in this study.
- XIII The geographical distribution of the debtors of provincial Jewry 1261-1290.

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I. Kentish debtors and their debts 1261 - 1276.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Value of debts.
1	Adam fil William Daniel of Newchurch	£ 33 6s 8d
1	John fil Thomas de Mortun	£ 20 0s 0d
1	William Ordiner of Romney	£ 15 0s 0d
1	Magister John de Wayhope fil Thomas	£ 10 0s 0d ⊕
1	Guy de Brussels fil Walter	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Alan fil Thomas de Mortun	£ 8 0s 0d
1	John fil William Cokin, civis of Canterbury lately deceased	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John fil Peter de Oakham	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Thomas fil Geoffrey de Basinge	£ 6 0s 0d
1	Walter of Stourmouth fil Luke	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Bartholomew fil Thomas de Pymesdene	£ 4 13s 4d
2	Richard fil Hamo de la Dane	£ 4 13s 4d
3	Robert Renyr of St John's parish Thanet fil Ralph	£ 4 0s 0d ⊕
1	Nicholas de Lodinton fil Henry of Maidstone	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Stephen fil William Cokin	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Walter fil Philip de la Forge of Woodchurch	£ 3 6s 8d
1	William le Chip fil Geoffrey of Cobham	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Simon Luvel clericus	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Nicholas de Pirne fil Andrew	£ 2 17s 0d
1	John fil John of Kundeskneble of Newnham iuxta Ospringe	£ 2 13s 4d
1	Ralph Sandbruk of Whitstable	£ 2 13s 4d
1	Peter fil Andrew of Snaves	£ 2 6s 8d
1	William Crips de Skevinton	£ 2 0s 0d
1	William Carpentarius de Selbire	£ 2 0s 0d

1	Stephen de la Le fil Thomas de Everinge	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Richard fil Alexander of Westbrook	£ 1 14s 0d
1	Lawrence of Swinfield fil Thomas	£ 1 13s 4d
1	Alexander fil Martin Eustace of Eastbridge	£ 1 10s 0d
1	John Faber of Newnham fil William de Eastling	£ 1 10s 0d
1	John fil Nicholas Jordan of Burmarsh	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Susan vidua of Tonge	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Alexander fil Randolph de Barton	£ 1 6s 8d ⊕
1	William fil Osbert de la Dane of Lyminge	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Daniel fil Andrew of Snargate	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Roger Saulin of Brabourne	13s 4d
1	Edward of Petham fil Thomas de Saltwood	13s 4d
1	Hamo fil William of Hoath	10s 0d ⊕
1	John le Shef of Barham fil William de Parne	10s 0d
1	Thomas le Ston de Crawley	10s 0d
1	Hamo Luci of Selling	9s 0d
1	Hamo fil Norman of Bishopsbourne	9s 0d
1	Letitia filia William Kemme of Graveney	7s 0d
(45)	(42)	(£ 183 6s 8d)

⊕ In addition to their monetary debts the following owe small amounts of commodities:

Robert Renyr owes one bushel of wheat.

Hamo fil William of Hoath owes one cart load of wood.

Alexander fil Randolph de Barton owes one bushel of wheat

Magister John de Wayhope owes 1/2 a bushel of corn.

Source:- W.A.M. Nos. 9015, 9019, 9020, 9021, 9022,  
9025, 9026, 9028, 9031, 9036, 9039, 9042, 9043,  
9046, 9047, 9057, 9058, 9086, 9088, 9089, 9090,  
9091, 9103, 9104, 9105, 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120,  
9121, 9123, 9124, 9125, 9126, 9127, 9139, 9156,  
9157, 9158, 9159, 9172, 9173, 9174, 9175, 9176.

II Kentish debtors and their debts 1280 -1290.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Quarters of Cereal.	Value.
1	Robert fil William de Herthanger Senior of the County of Kent	120qtrs	£ 40 0s 0d
2	William fil Henry Talbot	80qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Waresius de Valoyns miles	60qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
2	Robert clericus of Lenham	60qtrs	£ 18 6s 8d
1	Randolph fil Roger de Moswell de Edicroner	40qtrs	£ 13 6s 8d
1	Reginald Hurel of Canterbury in the parish of St Mildred	2 sacks of wool	£ 10 13s 4d
1	John fil John of Northwood	40qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	John fil Solomon de Elsteune of the parish of Selling	40qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Richard le Jouene fil William le Jouene miles of Chilham	40qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Hamo at Mede	40qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
s	Daniel Sprot de Wivelsbere	30qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
s	William fil Messor de Wivelsbere	30qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Matilda de la Dane vidua Thomas of the parish of Petham	30qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Thomas fil Alulf of Ruckinge	36qtrs	£ 9 0s 0d
1	John fil William of Stuppington	30qtrs	£ 9 0s 0d
ss	Nicholas fil Gervase of Ospringe	27.5qtrs	£ 8 2s 6d
ss	John fil Robert Le Peyntur of Ospringe	27.5qtrs	£ 8 2s 6d
2	John fil William Boys of Romney	28qtrs	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Richard fil Richard of the fountain of the parish of Wingham (Wingham Well)	24qtrs	£ 8 0s 0d

s	Daniel fil Hubert of Canterbury	30qtrs	£ 7 10s 0d
s	Mathew fil John Le Beaus capellanus	30qtrs	£ 7 10s 0d
1	Robert fil John le Viel de Beneford	30qtrs	£ 7 10s 0d
1	John fil Richard of Sharestead	30qtrs	£ 7 10s 0d
1	Henry fil Randolph de la Woodgate	30qtrs	£ 7 10s 0d
1	John fil Richard le Man of Canterbury	30qtrs	£ 7 10s 0d
s	Hugh fil Hamo le Pyn of Wye	20qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
s	William atte Brook fil Robert	20qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Alexander le Hunte of Badlesmere fil William Hunte	20qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Gilbert fil Robert le Chin of Wye	20qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John de la Bruer fil Henry de la Bruer	20qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Peter fil Godfrey de Frene of the parish of Westwell	20qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
2	Roger fil Thomas atte wood of Buckland	22qtrs	£ 5 10s 0d
2	William fil Adam of Lydden	21qtrs	£ 5 5s 0d
s	William fil Hamo bedellus of the parish of Eastbridge in Romney	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
s	Thomas fil Martin Fraunceys of the parish of Eastbridge in Romney	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
s	John fil Thomas de la Childe	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
s	John fil Stephen de Trindham	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
s	Robert de Grimesham civis of Canterbury	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
s	Arnald of Eastry fil Richard	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d

1	John fil Roger of Helles	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Roger de Heselden	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	John fil Gilbert of Wickhambreaux	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	William Prik fil Henry of Thanet	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Peter at Water of Dover	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	John Jordan of Eastbridge	16qtrs	£ 4 0s 0d
s	John fil Robert Gregory de Larere	15qtrs	£ 3 15s 0d
s	Thomas fil Jordan of Ash	15qtrs	£ 3 15s 0d
1	Thomas fil Robert of Alkham	15qtrs	£ 3 15s 0d
1	Bartholomew fil Thomas de Pymmesdene	14qtrs	£ 3 10s 0d <sup>⊕</sup>
s	Richard fil Robert de le Hill	10qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
s	Matilda the mother of Richard de le Hill	10qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Thomas fil Richard atte Heye of the parish of St Mary of the Castle (Canterbury)	10qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1	John fil Henry of the parish of Eastry	10qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Augustine who is at the Park fil Jacob	10qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1	John fil Robert de Galsonstrete de Botton	10qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1	John fil Stephen de Trineham	12qtrs	£ 3 0s 0d
1	Amisius fil Alexander of Hackington	12qtrs	£ 3 0s 0d
1	John fil Thomas de la Sale of Herne	12qtrs	£ 3 0s 0d
1	Mathew le Fer of the parish of St Peter (Thanet)	12qtrs	£ 3 0s 0d
s	Richard fil William Buckhorn de Penecestre	8qtrs	£ 2 13s 4d

s	Godfrey fil Godfrey le Boxene	8qtrs	£ 2 13s 4d
s	William fil William of Faversham of Sandwich	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
s	John Oseword of Thanet	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
s	William fil Henry Malemayns	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
s	John de Chakkeworth	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
s	Godman fil Richard de Freneshop	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
s	Alan Austin of the parish of Ivychurch	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
1	John fil Alexander of Dover	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
1	Salomon Mowyn of Dover	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
1	Geoffrey Cosin de Wyvelsbere	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
1	Henry fil Richard le Fer	10qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
1	Hugh of St Clare fil John of St Clare of Sheldwich	8qtrs	£ 2 8s 0d
1	John fil Randolph of Swinfield	8qtrs	£ 2 8s 0d
1	John fil Nicholas of Wootton	8qtrs	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Gilbert fil William of Stuppington	8qtrs	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Richard de le Ewe fil Clement de Leye	8qtrs	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Robert fil Roger of Beltinge of the parish of Beltinge	8qtrs	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Mathew fil Richard of the Park	8qtrs	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Stephen of Frogham fil Richard	6qtrs	£ 2 0s 0d
1	Hamo fil Gilbert of Frene	6qtrs	£ 1 16s 0d
s	Alice filia Philip le Prestre vidua of Robert Attebrok	5qtrs	£ 1 13s 4d

s	Alice filia John Vosun of Chilham	5qtrs	£ 1 13s 4d
1	John Patriark fil William Patriark	5qtrs	£ 1 13s 4d
1	Hamo Eylvord fil Ade Pise	6qtrs	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Henry fil William le Paumer of Harbledown	6qtrs	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Henry Godeholte of Newnham	6qtrs	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Gervase Dun of Herne	6qtrs	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Richard fil Richard of Tankerton	6qtrs	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Angotus clericus of Sheldwich	4qtrs	£ 1 6s 8d
1	Henry clericus fil Reginald de East Elvington de Elvington	4qtrs	£ 1 6s 8d
s	Nicholas fil Eustace of Chislet	5qtrs	£ 1 5s 0d
s	Richard brother of Nicholas fil Eustace of Chislet	5qtrs	£ 1 5s 0d
1	Gilbert de Brethe	5qtrs	£ 1 5s 0d
s	Thomas fil Roger bedellus	4qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
s	Juliana vidua of William Geynvelde	4qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
s	John fil William de Eywegge	4qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
s	William de Creft fil Robert	4qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Humphrey le Fraunceys fil Adam of the parish of Wye	4qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Stephen fil Mathew piscator	4qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Ivo fil Richard de Wyngate	4qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Richard fil Augustine Atteheune of Herne	3qtrs	£ 1 0s 0d
s	William le Pyn fil Hamo	3qtrs	15s 0d
s	E. Austin Seleke of the parish of Wye	3qtrs	15s 0d
1	Joanna filia John de Soles of the parish of Nonington	3qtrs	15s 0d

1	Thomas Langhod fil John of Whitstable	2qtrs	10s 0d
1	John fil John of Stowting	2qtrs	10s 0d

(93)	(106)	(1825qtrs, 2 sacks of wool)	(£ 523 3s 8d)
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There are only 93 bonds in this sample whereas the Exchequer scribe recorded 95. 2 are duplicates.

⊕ Bartholomew fil Thomas de Pymmesdene owes Popelina 14qtrs which have been priced at 5s 0d per qtr in return for an advance of £4 0s 0d.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/6

III Herefordshire debtors and their debts 1268 - 1275  
from the archa scrutiny in December 1275.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Value.
1	John de Balun dominus of Much Markle	£ 50 0s 0d ⊕
3	Adam fil John of Wilton of Dymock	£ 36 6s 0d
3ss	William of Sollers Hope	£ 34 8s 11d ⊕
2	Walter Ouerse	£ 32 10s 8d ⊕
1	Richard fil Hugh of Kinnersley	£ 25 6s 8d ⊕
1	John fil Walter of Marden	£ 20 0s 0d ⊕
1	John of Swanstone	£ 20 0s 0d ⊕
2	John fil Richard Daniel	£ 18 6s 8d
1	Henry fil William of Sollers Hope	£ 14 13s 4d ⊕
3	Robert of Weston	£ 10 6s 8d ⊕
1	Reginald Russel fil Henry Russel of Hereford	£ 10 0s 0d
1	John fil Robert of Weston of the Forest	£ 8 0s 0d
1s	John Le Amblur capellanus of Hanley	£ 7 14s 8d ⊕
2	William Mael civis of Hereford	£ 7 13s 4d
1	Richard fil Richard of Eardisley	£ 6 13s 4d ⊕
1	Roger of Callowhill of Dorstone	£ 6 13s 4d
1	William fil Roger Le Mercer	£ 6 13s 4d
1s	Roger de la More of Frome Castle	£ 6 2s 3d ⊕
1	William le Ffulur de Lom	£ 5 0s 0d
ss	Roger Peyteveyne of Marston	£ 4 13s 4d
s	Philip de la Hull	£ 4 8s 11d ⊕
1	Bartholomew del Park marescallus	£ 4 0s 0d ⊕
1	William Torel de Bruneshop	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Roger de Eggleton	£ 4 0s 0d ⊕
1	Hugh fil Nicholas of Devereaux of Kington	£ 4 0s 0d

s	Richard Dunkers of Kington	£ 4	0s	0d	⊕
s	John of Whitney	£ 4	0s	0d	⊕
2	Robert of Mucegros of Bishop's Frome	£ 3	15s	0d	
1	William fil John le Brun of Tarrington	£ 3	6s	8d	⊕
1	Hugh fil William of Bliss Gate	£ 3	6s	8d	
1	David of Burghill	£ 3	6s	8d	⊕
1	Richard Fraunceys of Brockhampton	£ 3	6s	8d	
1	Hugh Baudewyn of Byford	£ 3	6s	8d	
1	Simon fil Henry of Bridgenorth	£ 3	6s	8d	
1	Richard Chaundos de Strangeford	£ 3	0s	0d	
1	Roger de Orleton of Bodenham	£ 3	0s	0d	
s	John fil Roger Peteveyn of Marston	£ 3	0s	0d	
1	William de Trumpenton	£ 2	13s	4d	
1	Henry Ythel of Clehonger	£ 2	13s	4d	
2	David Morewright of Much Dewchurch	£ 2	13s	4d	
1	John Haffe of Hereford	£ 2	13s	4d	
1	William de Rokerley of Staunton	£ 2	13s	4d	
s	Ralph of Hazle	£ 2	13s	4d	
s	Richard de la Feld of Baysham	£ 2	13s	4d	
1	John de Overton of Brampton	£ 2	10s	0d	
1	Walter Kanne of How Caple	£ 2	10s	0d	
1	Richard Tokolf of Hereford	£ 2	10s	0d	
1s	Walter le Blake of Monnington	£ 2	10s	0d	
1	John de Orlowe	£ 2	0s	0d	
1	Nicholas fil Nicholas of Devereaux	£ 2	0s	0d	
1	William a Dames	£ 2	0s	0d	
1	Nicholas fil Adam of Shobden	£ 2	0s	0d	
1	William Freeman of Marden	£ 2	0s	0d	

1	John de Horsnede	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Alexander le Marescall de Lynecastre	£ 1 13s 4d	
ss	Walter fil Reyner de Straddle	£ 1 13s 4d	⊕
s	William fil Hugh of Marston	£ 1 13s 4d	
s	John Catche of Hinton	£ 1 13s 4d	
1	Walter of Yarsop	£ 1 10s 0d	⊕
s	William Geraud of Much Markle	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	John le Careter of Much Markle	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	Arnald de Grimescote of Much Markle	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Thomas Paris of Pipe	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Geoffrey of Brimfield	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Roger le Waleys of Dorstone	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Nicholas Wace of Vern	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Walter of Brockhampton	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	John Freeman of Stoke Lacy	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	Richard le Forester of Munsley	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Stephen Faber at Wodegate	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Richard of Peterschurch	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Robert de la Birches (Little Birch)	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Roger fil John de Wirgeberg	13s 4d	
1.	Adam Botyller Pauncefoot	13s 4d	
s	Roger le Vyngur of Upleadon	10s 0d	
s	William de la Pole of Pixley	10s 0d	
(79)	(76)	(459 9s 9d)	

It has been necessary to round up the shared debt owed by Philip de la Hull, Roger de la More of Frome Castle and William of Sollers Hope from £ 13 6s 8d to £ 13 6s 9d so that it could be divided equally.

⊕ There are several debtors who also owe small amounts of commodities. These are listed on the next page.

⊕ John de Balun owes one robe with a hood.

William of Sollers Hope owes 3 truges of peas, 3 soams of cereal and 2 geese.

Walter Ouerse owes 4 soams of cereal.

Richard fil Hugh of Kinnersley owes 1 1/2 soams of cereal.

John fil Walter of Marden owes 1/2 soam of cereal.

John of Swanstone owes 1 soam of cereal.

Henry fil William of Sollers Hope owes 2 soams of cereal.

Robert of Weston owes 1 soam of cereal.

John Le Amblur capellanus of Hanley owes 2 geese.

Richard fil Richard of Eardisley owes 6 soams of cereal.

Roger de la More of Frome Castle owes 2 soams of cereal.

Philip de la Hull owes 2 soams of cereal.

Bartholomew del Park marescallus owes 1/2 soam of cereal  
and 4 geese.

Roger de Eggleton owes 1/2 soam of cereal.

Richard Dunkers of Kington owes 1/4 soam of cereal.

John of Whitney owes 1/4 soam of cereal.

William fil John le Brun of Tarrington owes 1/2 soam of cereal.

David of Burghill owes 1 soam of cereal.

Walter fil Reyner of Straddle owes 1 goose.

Walter de Yarsop owes 1/2 soam of cereal.

Source:- P.R.E.J. 3 pp230-238

IV Herefordshire debtors and their debts to Aaron  
Le Blund of Hereford in the Vetus Cista  
1264 - 1275.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Value.
5sss	William of Sollers Hope	£ 85 2s 3d ⊕
1	Henry fil Henry of Pembridge	£ 60 0s 0d
1	John de Balun dominus of Much Markle	£ 50 0s 0d ⊕
1	John fil Richard Rumel	£ 45 0s 0d ⊕
3	John fil Richard Daniel	£ 38 6s 8d
3	Adam fil John of Wilton of Dymock	£ 36 6s 0d
2	John fil Walter of Marden	£ 32 0s 0d ⊕
1	Richard Pauncefoot	£ 30 0s 0d
4	Robert of Weston of the Forest	£ 23 0s 0d ⊕
1	William of Bliss Gate miles	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Roger Yre of Clehonger	£ 18 13s 4d
2	John fil Robert of Weston of the Forest	£ 17 6s 8d
1	Walter Ouerse	£ 15 4s 0d ⊕
3	William Mael of Hereford	£ 15 13s 4d
1	Henry fil William of Sollers Hope	£ 14 13s 4d ⊕
1	William Sandut dominus of Bulley (Gloucestershire)	£ 11 6s 8d
1	Hugh Pontif de Staunford	£ 11 0s 0d ⊕
2	William of Pembridge	£ 10 6s 8d
1	Reginald Russel fil Henry Russel of Hereford	£ 10 0s 0d
2	Richard of Eardisley miles	£ 9 0s 0d ⊕
1s	Hugh Baudewyn of Byford	£ 7 0s 0d ⊕
1	William fil Roger le Mercer	£ 6 13s 4d

1	Richard fil Richard of Eardisley	£ 6 13s 4d	⊕
1s	Philip de la Hull of Weston	£ 6 8s 11d	⊕
1s	Roger de la More of Frome Castle	£ 6 2s 3d	⊕
1	John Wyk of Garway	£ 5 6s 8d	
2	Robert of Mucegros of Bishop's Frome	£ 5 0s 0d	
2	William de Trumpenton	£ 4 13s 4d	
1	John le Auriblor Gayell	£ 4 8s 0d	
2s	Roger Peytevyen of Marston	£ 4 6s 8d	
2s	John Catche of Hinton	£ 4 6s 8d	
s	Nicholas fil Nicholas de Secular Bast	£ 4 6s 8d	⊕
s	John of Whitney	£ 4 0s 0d	⊕
s	Richard Dunkers of Kington	£ 4 0s 0d	⊕
1	Bartholomew del Park marescallus	£ 4 0s 0d	⊕
1	Hugh fil Nicholas of Devereaux of Kington	£ 4 0s 0d	
s	John le Amblur capellanus of Hanley	£ 3 6s 8d	⊕
1	William fil John le Brun of Tarrington	£ 3 6s 8d	⊕
1	David of Burghill	£ 3 6s 8d	⊕
1	Roger de Orleton of Bodenham	£ 3 0s 0d	
1	Robert de Chaundres de Strongford	£ 3 0s 0d	
s	John fil Roger Peytevin of Marston	£ 3 0s 0d	
s	Roger son of the above	£ 3 0s 0d	
2	David Morewright of Much Dewchurch	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Simon fil William de Soleys de Dorent	£ 2 13s 4d	

1	William de la More	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Peter fil Hugh le Newe of How Caple	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Aubrey del Park	£ 2 13s 4d	⊕
1	William de Rokerley of Staunton	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Henry Hickell de Clebridge	£ 2 13s 4d	
s	Randolph of Munsley	£ 2 13s 4d	
s	Roger de Senewell of Sollers Hope	£ 2 13s 4d	
s	Randolph of Hazle	£ 2 13s 4d	
s	Roger de la Felde of Baysham	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Walter le Fleyr de Mainstr	£ 2 10s 0d	
1	Roger of Callowhill	£ 2 10s 0d	
1	Walter Kanne of How Caple	£ 2 10s 0d	
1	Richard fil Roger of Clelonger	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Nicholas fil Adam of Shobden	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Nicholas fil Nicholas of St Devereaux	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	David fil Richard de Burseptre	£ 2 0s 0d	⊕
1	John de Orlowe	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	William a Dames	£ 2 0s 0d	
s	William fil Hugh of Marston	£ 1 13s 4d	
1	Alexander le Marescall de Lynecastre	£ 1 13s 4d	
1	Roger de Vinelegh	£ 1 13s 4d	

ss	Walter fil Reyner de Straddle	£ 1 13s 4d	⊕
1	Richard de Chaundres of Wilmaston	£ 1 10s 0d	
1	Walter of Yarsop	£ 1 10s 0d	⊕
s	William de la Burtote	£ 1 7s 0d	⊕
s	John le Verreor	£ 1 7s 0d	⊕
1	Nicholas Wace of Vern	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Hugh fil Roger of Hinton in Peterschurch	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Geoffrey of Brimfield	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Walter of Brockhampton	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	John Freeman of Stoke Lacy	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Roger le Waleys of Dorstone	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	John Rugge of Sutton	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	Henry de Strontun	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	John fil Miles of Wormbridge	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	Arnald de Grimescote of Much Markle	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	John le Careter of Much Markle	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	William Geraud of Much Markle	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Thomas Paris of Pipe	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	William Monelagh de Straddle	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Walter of Monnington	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Robert de la Birche(LittleBirch)	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Stephen Faber at Wodegate	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Richard Forestarius of Munsley	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Richard of Peterschurch	£ 1 0s 0d	⊕
1	Adam Botyller Pauncefoot	13s 4d	
s	Roger fil John de Wygat	13s 4d	
s	Walter le Plain de Morraunt	13s 4d	

s	Giles Herdeshope	13s 4d
s	Robert le Venour of Upleadon	10s 0d
s	William de la Pole of Pixley	10s 0d

(103)

(96)

(£744 8s 5d)

It has been necessary to round up the shared debt owed by Philip de la Hull, Roger de la More of Frome Castle and William of Sollers Hope from £ 13 6s 8d to £ 13 6s 9d so that it could be divided equally.

⊕ The following debtors owe small amounts of commodities:

John de Balun owes one robe with a hood.

William of Sollers Hope owes 7qtrs of cereal and 2 geese.

Hugh Pontif de Staunford owes 1qtr of cereal and 2 geese.

Bartholomew del Park owes 1/2 qtr and 4 geese.

John Le Amblur capellanus owes 2 geese.

William de la Burtote owes two geese.

John le Verreor and Walter fil Reyner of Straddle both owe 1 goose.

Richard of Peterschurch owes 1 goose.

Robert of Weston owes 1qtr and a cart load of hay.

David fil Richard de Burseptre owes 4 truges of cereal.

Aubrey del Park owes 2 truges of cereal.

Richard fil Richard of Eardisley owes 6qtrs of cereal.

Walter Ouerse, Henry fil William of Sollers Hope, Roger de la More of Frome Castle, Philip de la Hull and John fil Richard Rumel owe 2qtrs of cereal each.

Richard of Eardisley miles, David of Burghill and Walter of Yarsop owe 1qtr each.

William fil John le Brun of Tarrington and John of Marden each owe 1/2 qtr.

Hugh Baudewyn of Byford, Nicholas fil Nicholas de Secular Bast, John of Whitney and Richard Dunkers of Kington each owe 1/4 qtr.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/5

V Herefordshire debtors and their debts to other  
Hereford Jews in the Vetus Cista 1259 - 1276.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Value.
2	Roger of Callowhill of Dorstone	£ 24 13s 4d    Ⓟ
1	John Swemast	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Walter Ouerse	£ 17 6s 8d    Ⓟ
2	Robert of Weston	£ 14 0s 0d
1	William of Sollers Hope	£ 13 6s 8d
1	Mael of How Caple	£ 11 0s 0d
3	Adam of Brimfield	£ 10 0s 0d
2	John la Marc de Sutinton	£ 9 13s 4d
1	John de Northbridge	£ 8 6s 8d
1	William fil John de la Mere of Staunton	£ 8 0s 0d    Ⓟ
1	Roger Pichard of Staunton	£ 8 0s 0d
1	John de Mewes	£ 8 0s 0d
1	John de Sully de Newenham	£ 8 0s 0d
3	Richard fil Philip of Brimfield	£ 7 0s 0d
2	Adam Botyller Pauncefoot	£ 7 0s 0d
1	Robert fil Robert of Weston	£ 6 13s 4d
2	Hugh fil William of Bliss Gate	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Richard of Eardisley iuvenis	£ 6 8s 8d
2	Thomas fil William of Bothlyngthorp manens in Kilpeck	£ 6 0s 0d
1	Richard fil Hugh of Kinnersley	£ 5 6s 8d
1	Thomas de Paris of Kings Pyon	£ 5 6s 8d
1	Alexander le Marescall de Linecestr	£ 5 6s 8d
2	William de Molendino of Pencumbe	£ 5 6s 8d
1	Robert de Stortunne	£ 5 0s 0d

1	Robert fil Thomas of Hinton (Gloucestershire)	£ 5 0s 0d	
1	William de Huntres	£ 5 0s 0d	
1	Roger of Burton	£ 5 0s 0d	
3s	Robert Fraunceys of Eaton	£ 4 1s 0d	⊕
1	William fil Geoffrey de Hatsend	£ 4 0s 0d	
1	Alveridius del Brook of Bromyard	£ 4 0s 0d	
1	Robert fil Randolph de Hortunne	£ 3 6s 8d	⊕
1	Henry fil Ythel of Clehonger	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	John de Wyk of Garway	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	Walter of Stretton Grandison clericus	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	William fil John le Brun de Gatentune	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	Richard of Birley	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	William fil Philip de Wodebyr	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	David of How Caple	£ 2 19s 4d	
1	Roger fil Gilbert Freeman	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	William Dade of Huretune in Peterschurch	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Randolph of Frene of Much Cowarne	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Peter vicarius of Aylton	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	William de Rokerleye	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Hugh fil Alan of Staunton	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	William de Aventure of the parish of Staunton	£ 2 13s 4d	
s	William de Cancell	£ 2 10s 0d	
s	William Paulyn	£ 2 10s 0d	
1	William fil William de Waseburne	£ 2 8s 0d	
s	William Morel of Dorstone	£ 2 4s 6d	
s	William fil Hugh of Dorstone	£ 2 4s 6d	
s	John of Crasswall	£ 2 4s 6d	

1	John Bytel of Hereford	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Walter de Henbur of Brimfield	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Roger le Lawmyon of Kingston	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Aub'm de Hulwainton	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	William Frenton of Marden	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Nicholas fil Pachi Venerous	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Walter de la Pirne of Sutton	£ 2 0s 0d	⊕
1	John de la Hethe of the parish of Laysters	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	John de la Nope of the parish de Bastn	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	John Patuk de Petsh	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	William Saubage de Siddel	£ 2 0s 0d	⊕
1	Richard Blundel miles (Shropshire)	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Richard Gerun de Yotominne	£ 2 0s 0d	⊕
ss	David of Ocle Pychard	£ 2 0s 0d	⊕
ss	Richard Gerne of Sutton	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Walter le Blake de Marnest	£ 1 10s 0d	
1	Adam fil William Denne de la Woodgate	£ 1 10s 0d	
1	William clericus of Leominster	£ 1 10s 0d	
s	Adam Phelipp of Much Cowarne	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	Robert of Hereford of Much Cowarne	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	William fil Olivis	£ 1 6s 8d	
s	Richard de la Mare cissor of Frome Castle	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Robert of Mucegros of Bishop's Frome	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Robert le Soler of Bishop's Forest	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Robert of Wilssemede	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Nicholas de Twer	£ 1 6s 8d	
1	Roger Ken de Mundresend	£ 1 6s 8d	

1	Robert Pedayn of Snodhill	£ 1 6s 8d
1	Simon Godeluk de Wolumehop	£ 1 5s 0d
1	David de Ekeleah	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Henry le Maur de Ese Borobe	£ 1 0s 0d
1	Henry le Rous of Kilpeck	£ 1 0s 0d
s	Robert fil Randolph de Hoertrun	£ 1 0s 0d
s	John Gern of Sutton	£ 1 0s 0d
s	Robert of Norton	£ 1 0s 0d
s	John Rugge of Sutton	£ 1 0s 0d
s	Henry Coffe of Eaton	15s 0d
1	Robert fil Nicholas de Ffurches	14s 0d
1	Philip de Ottele	13s 4d
1	John de la Legh of the parish of Birley	13s 4d
s	Walter Chapel	13s 4d
s	Robert Seman	13s 4d
s	John de Matern of Deweshall	13s 4d
s	Margaret filia Stephen de Dewest	13s 4d
s	Reginald de Furrio of Evesbatch	12s 0d
s	Adam Denne	12s 0d
s	John le Tighel of Wormelow Tump	10s 0d
s	Margia of Wormelow Tump	10s 0d
(102)	(99)	( £376 5s 2d)

It has been necessary to round up the shared debt owed by William Morel de Dersent, William fil Hugh and John of Crasswall from £6 13s 4d to £6 13s 6d so that it could be divided equally.

⊕ The following are owed small amounts of commodities: William fil John de la Mere of Staunton owes 1/2 qtr and 2 geese. Walter Ouerse owes 2qtrs. Roger of Callowhill of Dorstone and Robert fil Randolph de Hortunne owe 1qtr each. William Saubage de Siddel and Walter de la Pirne of Sutton owe 3 truges each. David of Ocle Pychard and Richard Gerun de Yotominne owe 2 truges each. Richard Fraunceys de Eaton owes 1 truge.

VI Herefordshire debtors and their debts to the  
Jews of Hereford in the Nova Cista  
1283 - 1290.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Quarters of Cereal.	Value.
4	Nicholas Le Archer of Tarrington filius et heres domini Nicholas	200 qtrs	£ 234 13s 4d Ⓣ
1	Thomas fil John of Upton		£ 60 0s 0d
1	Peter de Grenham miles (Devonshire)		£ 53 6s 8d Ⓣ
1	John filius et heres domini Walter of How Caple		£ 45 0s 0d
7	Robert Boter filius et heres William Boter		£ 39 6s 8d
1	John of Marden	28 qtrs	£ 37 0s 0d Ⓣ
1s	Henry of Hereford miles	13.3qtrs	£ 31 2s 3d
sss	John of Swanstone	58.3qtrs	£ 26 7s 10d
sss	Robert Bensure	58.3qtrs	£ 26 7s 10d
s	Isabella formerly the wife of Simon of Hemmo of Clelonger	64 qtrs	£ 21 6s 8d
s	Richard filius et heres Simon of Hemmo of Clelonger	64 qtrs	£ 21 6s 8d
1	Hugh fil Reginald Moniword	60 qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Thomas de Strongeford de terra Pembridge	60 qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
2	Roger fil Adam Tocey of Lulham	60 qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
1s	William clericus of Baysham	13.3qtrs	£ 17 15s 7d
ss	Robert Ouerse	25 qtrs	£ 15 5s 7d
ssss	Richard de Crowenhill of Sutton	40.3qtrs	£ 15 1s 5d
2	William of Hatsend of the parish of Ledbury	42 qtrs	£ 14 0s 0d

sss	Stephen le Paum of Sutton	40.3qtrs	£ 13 8s 11d
2	Richard fil John of Morton		£ 12 13s 4d
1s	Philip fil John Storel	30 qtrs	£ 11 12s 0d
s	Walter Ouerse	33.3qtrs	£ 11 2s 3d
1	Roger de Butterley miles		£ 10 13s 4d
1	John fil David of Burghill		£ 10 13s 4d
1s	Walter Kanne clericus of Fawley	30 qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Walter fil Philip Le Marescall of Leominster		£ 10 0s 0d
1	William le Waleys fil John le Waleys of Great Brompton manens in St Keynes		£ 10 0s 0d
1	Henry de Solers miles dominus of Dorstone	30 qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	William de la More of Staunton	30 qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Philip of Wormhill fil Henry of Wormhill in the parish of Madley	30 qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
s	Richard fil Adam David of Steventon (Shropshire)	30 qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1ss	Hugh Godard	21 qtrs	£ 9 3s 4d
s	Andrew de Chaundos	25 qtrs	£ 8 6s 8d
s	Walter de Monem fil Roger de Monem	25 qtrs	£ 8 6s 8d
1	Walter Hakelutel filius et heres domini Walter of Hakelutel		£ 8 0s 0d
ss	John fil Walter Balun domini of Much Markle	23.3qtrs	£ 7 15s 7d
2	Miles Pychard filius et heres Roger Pychard of Staunton	10 qtrs	£ 7 6s 8d

2	Hugh of Patton (Shropshire)		£ 7 0s 0d
1	John Wyberd filius et heres William Wyberd	20 qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
1	William de la Forde de Hetherley	20 qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Nicholas de Sarweton of the parish of Pencumbe	20 qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
1s	Stephen Cot of Much Markle	20 qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
s	Ralph de Capel of Upton	20 qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
ss	Walter de Frene of Sutton	13.3qtrs	£ 6 1s 5d
ss	William fil John clericus of Sutton	12 qtrs	£ 5 12s 6d
1	William Oweyn of Ludlow		£ 5 6s 8d
s	Hugh Hakelutel of Eaton	15 qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Henry of Gloucester manens in How Caple		£ 5 0s 0d
s	John Ouerse	15 qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Roger le Waleys of Dorstone	2 qtrs	£ 4 10s 0d
s	William de Westmanton	13.3qtrs	£ 4 8s 11d
s	William le Bailiff of Patton	13.3qtrs	£ 4 8s 11d
s	John de Botlande	13.3qtrs	£ 4 8s 11d
1	Roger of Hereford filius et heres of Richard (who was a clerk at the King's Exchequer)		£ 4 0s 0d
s	Stephen Trewelowe	12 qtrs	£ 4 0s 0d
s	William de Garden	12 qtrs	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Adam fil John of Wilton of the parish of Dymock	10 qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1	William Pele de Codeleye		£ 3 6s 8d

s	Roger Freeman fil William Freeman de Frermanton	10 qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
s	Nicholas of Shobden	10 qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
s	Andrew fil Yvo of Marden	10 qtrs	£ 3 6s 8d
1	John Caldecock of Holme Lacy		£ 3 0s 0d
s	Richard filius domini Adam of Elmbridge (Worcestershire)		£ 2 10s 0d
s	John Warde		£ 2 10s 0d
s	Stephen of Bodenham clericus	7.5qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
s	Nicholas cissor of Vern	7.5qtrs	£ 2 10s 0d
s	Lawrence de Honaldewode	6.6qtrs	£ 2 4s 4.5d
s	Wrenac de Hagley	6.6qtrs	£ 2 4s 4.5d
s	Nicholas de Sparewoton	6.6qtrs	£ 2 4s 4.5d
s	Stephen of Newton	6 qtrs	£ 2 0s 0d
s	Hugh Baudewyn of Byford	.5qtrs	£ 1 15s 10d
s	Nicholas fil Nicholas le Secular	.5qtrs	£ 1 15s 10d
s	John de la Lome of Sutton		£ 1 12s 6d
s	Robert Jurdan of Sutton		£ 1 12s 6d
s	William Balle of Sutton		£ 1 12s 6d
s	John Hereberd of Sutton		£ 1 12s 6d
s	Walter fil Hugh of Sutton		£ 1 12s 6d
1	Philip fil Simon de Madesdon		£ 1 10s 0d
1	John Freeman of Stoke Lacy	2 qtrs	£ 1 10s 0d
1	Roger fil Roger of Lugwardine		£ 1 6s 8d
1	Brian fil Brontun		£ 1 4s 0d Ⓟ
1	Unknown		10s 0d
(77)	(82)	(1450 qtrs)	(£ 1065 7s 10.5d)

It has been necessary to round up the shared debts owed by the following:

William de Westmanton, William le Bailiff of Patton and John de Botlande from £ 13 6s 8d to £ 13 6s 9d

John fil Walter de Balun, Henry of Hereford miles and William of Baysham clericus from £ 13 6s 8d to £ 13 6s 9d

John of Swanstone, Robert Bensure and Walter Ouerse from £ 33 6s 8d to £ 33 6s 9d

John of Swanstone, Robert Bensure and Robert Ouerse from £ 28 6s 8d to £ 28 6s 9d

Richard de Crowenhill of Sutton, Walter de Frene and Stephen le Paum of Sutton from £ 13 6s 8d to £ 13 6s 9d

Lawrence de Honaldewode, Wrenac of Hagley and Nicholas de Sparewoton from £ 6 13s 4d down to £ 6 13s 1.5d

⊕ There are several debtors who owe amounts of commodities which have not been included in the table.

Nicholas Le Archer owes 17 sacks of wool.

Peter de Grenham miles owes 8 sacks of wool.

John of Marden owes 24 cheeses and 4 cart loads of hay.

Brian fil Brontun owes one military over-tunic.

source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/5

VII Lincolnshire debtors and their debts 1270 - 1276.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Value of debts.
1	Stephen Malevolel of Rampton (Nottinghamshire)	£ 94 13s 4d
2	Hugh Duket miles	£ 50 0s 0d
1	Adam de Novo mercato miles	£ 26 13s 4d
1	Geoffrey fil William de montibus of Lincoln	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Richard fil Robert Wacelin of Scawby	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Jordan Foliot miles	£ 13 6s 8d
1	William de la Planche fil Ralph of Normanby	£ 12 0s 0d
2	Andrew fil Benedict of Rolleston (Nottinghamshire)	£ 11 13s 4d
1	Adam fil Adam of Kelby	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Anthony fil William of Enderby	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Richard Bret of Wrangle	£ 10 0s 0d
1	John fil William Garnel of the parish of St Botulph Lincoln	£ 6 13s 4d
1s	Richard le Norman of Kelby	£ 5 3s 4d
1	Walter fil John Whilethueit (Yorkshire)	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Thomas fil Hugh de Scamblesby manens in Morton	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Hugh fil Adam de Ravenscalf (Nottinghamshire)	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Hawis Daubeny de Hiptoft	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Richard cissor de Crackpol in Lincoln	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Robert fil Robert of Thorp manens in Leadenham	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Richard Rudde of Barton	£ 3 6s 8d
1	Jacob fil Robert de Kaketona manens in Thorpe	£ 2 13s 4d
1	Simon fil Henry of Waddington	£ 2 13s 4d
1	Saloman fil Roger of Stenigot	£ 2 13s 4d

s	Ralph fil Americ de Bussay of Greater Ponton	£ 2 10s 0d
ss	John fil John of Rauceby	£ 2 7s 4d
ss	William of Wilksby manens in Rauceby	£ 2 7s 4d
1	Roger fil Thomas de Egmonton manens in Blyth (Nottinghamshire)	£ 2 0s 0d
s	William fil Thomas of Hackthorn	£ 1 13s 4d
s	Thomas (son of the above)	£ 1 13s 4d
s	Nigel fil Robert de Straton (Nottinghamshire)	£ 1 13s 4d
s	Magister Robert fil Elias de Straton (Nottinghamshire)	£ 1 13s 4d
s	Hugh Flori of Lissington	£ 1 13s 4d
s	Gilbert brother of the above aurifaber of Lincoln	£ 1 13s 4d
1	Robert fil Jordan of Leadenham	£ 1 6s 8d
1	Alan fil Richard de venella of Hackthorn	£ 1 6s 8d
1	Ralph fil Alexander of Northorpe	£ 1 6s 8d
1	Thomas fil Belaward of Scopwick	£ 1 6s 8d
1	Geoffrey fil Lawrence of Esseby manens in Eresby	10s 0d

(37)

(38)

( £350 11s 4d)

⊕ Richard Rudde of Barton also owes 1qtr of cereal.

Source:- W.A.M. Nos. 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087,  
9092, 9093, 9094, 9095, 9097,  
9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131,  
9132, 9135, 9137, 9140, 9142,  
9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147,  
9148, 9150, 9160, 9161, 9162,  
9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168,  
9169, 9170.

VIII Lincolnshire debtors with money bonds in the  
archa in 1290.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Amount.
2	Adam of Normanton	£ 40 0s 0d
s	Walter de Furneaus miles	£ 40 0s 0d
s	John de Furneaus filius et heres of Walter	£ 40 0s 0d
1	Thomas fil Peter of Lincoln manens in Barkeby	£ 20 0s 0d
1	William de Wyttales manens in Navenby	£ 10 0s 0d
1	John Malet of Orby	£ 9 6s 8d
1	Adam fil Hugo of Wheateley (Nottinghamshire)	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Thomas fil Henry fil William of Ingoldmells	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Geoffrey of Hackthorn	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Matilda de Cressy	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John fil Andrew of Skegby (Nottinghamshire)	£ 6 13s 4d
1	William of Clayworth miles (Nottinghamshire)	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Nicholas fil John of Lowestoft (Suffolk)	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John de Conyngton of Newark (Nottinghamshire)	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Robert de Kirkton of Ropsley	£ 5 6s 8d
1	Simon fil Simon of Dalderby	£ 5 6s 8d
1	Roger Durdent of Newark (Nottinghamshire)	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Peter Milli of Boston	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Nicholas fil Robert le Merveilleus of Welbourne	£ 5 0s 0d
1	John fil Gilbert de Heawes (Yorkshire)	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Robert le Wyllars of Weston (Nottinghamshire)	£ 5 0s 0d
1	William Whitehewed of Botheby iuxta Navenby (Boothby Graffoe)	5 0s 0d

1	Richard Damysel of Navenby	£ 5 0s 0d	
1	John Le Aumoner of Stowe (Stow St Mary)	£ 4 0s 0d	
1	Thomas fil Simon de Scoteney	£ 4 0s 0d	
1	Agnes formerly the wife of Philip de Caltoft miles	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	William de Caltoft	£ 3 6s 8d	
1	Geofrey fil Walter Late of Upton	£ 3 0s 0d	
1	Robert fil John of Greatford	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	William le Engleys	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	Robert le Merveilleus of Welbourne	£ 2 13s 4d	
1	John fil Stephen of Rasen (Market Rasen)	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Robert of Swallow	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Robert de Staunton (Huntingdonshire)	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Randolph Vacelyn of Upton	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	William Rate of Otby	£ 2 0s 0d	
1	Robert Rate of Lincolnshire	£ 2 0s 0d	
s	Thomas Spede of Harmston	£ 1 13s 4d	
s	John fil Robert de la Barr of Coleby	£ 1 13s 4d	
1	Thomas filius et heres domini of Beckering	£ 1 10s 0d	⊕
s	William Chamund of Blankeney	£ 1 0s 0d	
s	Jordan Chamund of Asgarby	£ 1 0s 0d	
1	Robert le Alblaster of Willingham iuxta Stow	£ 1 0s 0d	
(41)	(43)	(£ 306 10s 0d)	

⊕ Thomas the son of the lord of Beckering  
also owes 1/2 qtr of cereal.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

IX Lincolnshire debtors with cereal bonds in the  
archa in 1290.

Number of debts.	Debtor.	Quarters of Cereal.	Value.
3	Geoffrey de Funtaynes miles (Yorkshire)	200qtrs	£ 50 6s 8d ⊕
3s	Geoffrey fil Alexander of Hackthorn	125qtrs	£ 28 0s 0d
s	Jordan Foliot miles	120qtrs	£ 27 6s 8d ⊕
s	Adam de Novo mercato miles	120qtrs	£ 27 6s 8d ⊕
1	Randolph filius domini of Pokebrok	100qtrs	£ 25 0s 0d
2	Stephen de Charons of Sutton on Trent (Nottinghamshire)	70qtrs	£ 23 6s 8d
2ss	Osbert fil William Soteban	77qtrs	£ 21 0s 0d
2	Robert of Martin	62qtrs	£ 20 13s 4d
2	Alexander fil Henry le Noreys of Clayworth (Nottinghamshire)	80qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Alan fil Robert Russel de Esterhale	80qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
2	Robert fil John de Keleseye in Hackthorn	80qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
1	Randolph Selwyn of Thorpe miles (Yorkshire)	60qtrs	£ 20 0s 0d
3	John Lurrel of Owersby	50qtrs	£ 16 13s 4d
1s	Hugh fil Alexander of Hackthorn	70qtrs	£ 15 10s 0d
2	Simon de Mondegome of Saleby	45qtrs	£ 14 11s 8d
2	John fil Reginald of Carlton (Nottinghamshire)	50qtrs	£ 12 10s 0d
3	Peter Saylberd of Theddlethorp	36qtrs	£ 11 12s 0d
1	Thomas de Bereford manens in Pinchbeck	40qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Robert fil Walter of Legbourne	30qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d
2	Randolph Fures of Faldingworth	40qtrs	£ 10 0s 0d

2	John Le Aumoner of Stow St Mary	34qtrs	£ 8 10s 0d
1s	Robert of Hothum of Dunnesby	26qtrs	£ 8 6s 8d
1s	Susanna filia Norman of Styrrup manens in Serlby	40qtrs	£ 8 6s 8d
1	John of Normanton manens in Faldingworth	20qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John fil Baldewyn of Sempringham	20qtrs	£ 6 13s 4d
s	Andrew fil Benedict of Rolleston (Nottinghamshire)	24qtrs	£ 5 7s 3d Ⓢ
s	Henry fil William of Rolleston (Nottinghamshire)	24qtrs	£ 5 7s 3d Ⓢ
2	Roger fil Peter of Toft	16qtrs	£ 5 6s 8d
s	William fil Godfrey of Serlby (Nottinghamshire)	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
s	Robert fil William of Serlby (Nottinghamshire)	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Robert de Vylers of Weston (Nottinghamshire)	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Walter fil Roger Deudam de Trotton	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Alan fil Hugh de Bewerton (Nottinghamshire)	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	John fil Richard de Demethorp manens in Barneby (Nottinghamshire)	20qtrs	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Roger de Kylingholm of Branston	20qtrs	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Richard de Bussei fil Gernas of Multon	16qtrs	£ 4 0s 0d
s	Thomas of Toft manens in Ingoldmells	15qtrs	£ 3 15s 0d
s	Alan of Toft manens in Owmbly	15qtrs	£ 3 15s 0d
2	Thomas fil John Spede of Waddington	14qtrs	£ 3 12s 0d
s	Richard clericus of Hackthorn	20qtrs	£ 3 0s 0d
1	Robert Stakel of Butterwick	12qtrs	£ 3 0s 0d

1	Gilbert of St Ivorre manens in Beltram	10qtrs	£ 3	0s	0d
s	Thomas fil Simon de Scotney	10qtrs	£ 2	10s	0d
s	Peter fil Simon de Scotney	10qtrs	£ 2	10s	0d
s	Thomas de Braunte manens in Bolum (Nottinghamshire)	10qtrs	£ 2	10s	0d
s	Hugh of Burton (Nottinghamshire)	10qtrs	£ 2	10s	0d
1	John of Wragby manens in Harmston	10qtrs	£ 2	10s	0d
1	Henry de Cama of Manthorpe	10qtrs	£ 2	10s	0d
1	John fil Robert of Martin	10qtrs	£ 2	10s	0d
1	Thomas fil Hugh de Nevyll of Hale (Great Hale)	10qtrs	£ 2	0s	0d
s	Thomas de Cotes manens in Upton	6qtrs	£ 2	0s	0d
s	Walter filius domini of Upton	6qtrs	£ 2	0s	0d
1	Alan Stelgad of Beelsby	6qtrs	£ 2	0s	0d
s	Alan fil Richard of Brampton	5qtrs	£ 1	13s	4d
s	Robert fil Richard clericus of Brampton	5qtrs	£ 1	13s	4d
s	Peter fil Geoffrey Puterell of Tathwell	6qtrs	£ 1	10s	0d
s	John of Tathwell	6qtrs	£ 1	10s	0d
1	Alan of Smerkelm fil Henry of Kirkby (Kirkby la Thorpe)	6qtrs	£ 1	10s	0d
1	John de la Barr of Coleby	3qtrs		15s	0d
1	Richard fil Gerlon of Humberstone	6qtrs		12s	0d

s	Randolph Stag of Hackthorn	2qtrs	10s	Od
s	Thomas fil William of Hackthorn	2qtrs	10s	Od
s	Robert fil John of Beleshay manens in Hackthorn	2qtrs	10s	Od
(73)	(63)	(2122qtrs)	(£552	13s 10d)

⊕ Geoffrey de Funtaynes miles owes one bond to be repaid with 60qtrs of ordei. The price per qtr was not specified but has been taken at 4s a qtr.

Jordan Foliot miles and Adam de Novo mercato miles both share a single bond which is to be repaid with 80qtrs of frumenti priced at 6s 8d a qtr, 80qtrs of ordei priced at 5s 0d a qtr and 80qtrs of avenae priced at 2s 0d a qtr.

Andrew fil Benedict of Rolleston and Henry fil William of Rolleston share a bond which is to be repaid with 24qtrs of bladi, 12qtrs of frumenti, 6qtrs of ordei, and 6qtrs of avenae. The price of each qtr was not specified on the bond but has been taken as follows: wheat 5s 1d a qtr, corn 5s 0d a qtr, barley 3s 4 1/2d a qtr and oats 2s 0 1/2d a qtr.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

X Lincolnshire debtors with wool bonds in the  
archa in 1290.

Number of debts.	Debtor	Amount in sacks of wool.	Value.
1	Richard fil John Barri of Tollerton (Nottinghamshire)	12 sacks	£ 96 0s 0d
3	Randolph Selwyn of Thorpe miles	12 sacks	£ 93 6s 8d
3s	Simon fil Simon of Dalderby	11.5 sacks	£ 84 0s 0d
2	Adam fil Randolph of Hemswell	9 sacks	£ 60 0s 0d
1	Adam de Gredling (Nottinghamshire)	6 sacks	£ 60 0s 0d
2s	Robert de Pereres	7.5 sacks	£ 50 13s 4d
4	William fil William Sotaban of Newton	5.5 sacks	£ 48 0s 0d
4s	Robert fil Alan de Clay manens in Winthorp (Nottinghamshire)	5.5 sacks	£ 41 6s 8d
1	Geoffrey de Funtaynes	6 sacks	£ 40 0s 0d
2	Robert le Curson of Greatford	5 sacks	£ 40 0s 0d
2	John fil Simon de Alunigham manens in Louth	5 sacks	£ 40 0s 0d
2	Randolph Fures of Faldingworth	5 sacks	£ 36 0s 0d
1	Jordan Foliot miles	5 sacks	£ 33 6s 8d
2	Thomas fil Peter of Lincoln manens in Barkby (Leicestershire)	3 sacks	£ 30 0s 0d
2	Robert fil Simon of Boston	4 sacks	£ 28 0s 0d
3	John de la Launde of Ewerby	3.5 sacks	£ 27 6s 8d
2	John fil John civis of Grantham	4 sacks	£ 26 13s 4d
3	Philip fil Philip de Emreby iuxta Lafford	3 sacks	£ 26 0s 0d

2	William de Cnapton manens in Louton (Nottinghamshire)	2.5	sacks	£ 25	0s	0d
2	John de la Cressoner (Nottinghamshire)	3	sacks	£ 20	0s	0d
1	Thomas rector of the Church at Burton	3	sacks	£ 20	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Thomas fil Simon de Barneby (Yorkshire)	3	sacks	£ 20	0s	0d
1	Robert Maundenill of Immingham	2	sacks	£ 20	0s	0d
1	William filius domini Roger de Bessages miles	2	sacks	£ 20	0s	0d
2	John fil William of Timberland manens in Thorpe	2	sacks	£ 16	13s	4d
2	Robert de Cormaylles	2	sacks	£ 16	0s	0d
2	William fil Robert Raz of Thorp iuxta Helpyngham (Kirkby la Thorpe)	2	sacks	£ 16	0s	0d
1	Richard le Rous of Barton	2	sacks	£ 16	0s	0d
1	Michael fil Gilbert of Norton	2	sacks	£ 16	0s	0d
1	John fil Hugh of Middle Rasen	2	sacks	£ 16	0s	0d
1	John Lurrel of Owersby	2	sacks	£ 16	0s	0d
1	Nicholas fil Geoffrey of Hotham	2	sacks	£ 16	0s	0d
1s	Roger fil Peter Parlebyen of Boston	1.5	sacks	£ 15	0s	0d
2	Salomon fil Roger of Stenigot	2	sacks	£ 14	13s	4d
2	Hugh fil Alexander of Hackthorn	2	sacks	£ 13	13s	4d
s	John le Vavassur filius domini William le Vavassur (Yorkshire)	2	sacks	£ 13	6s	8d
s	Robert fil Roger de Colwyll	2	sacks	£ 13	6s	8d
1	Gilbert fil Geoffrey of Billinghay	2	sacks	£ 13	6s	8d

1	Gilbert fil Robert of Horbling	2	sacks	£ 13	6s	8d
2	Robert Benet de Henneby (Ounneby)	1.5	sacks	£ 12	0s	0d
2	Bartholomew de Stanwac	2	sacks	£ 10	13s	4d
1	Alexander le Noreys of Clayworth (Nottinghamshire)	1	sack	£ 10	0s	0d
1	Richard de Sef miles	1	sack	£ 10	0s	0d
1	Peter fil Walter of Newton iuxta Swinthorpe	1	sack	£ 10	0s	0d
1	Edmund Foliot miles (Lincolnshire)	1	sack	£ 10	0s	0d
1	Adam fil William fil Peter of Kelby	1	sack	£ 10	0s	0d
2	Hawys fil Alexander de Nibbetoft miles	1	sack	£ 8	6s	8d
2	William le Paumer of Winthorp (Nottinghamshire)	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
s	William de Castre miles (Norfolk)	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
s	William of Clayworth miles (Nottinghamshire)	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
1	Thomas of Ingoldsby clericus	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
1	Henry le Quylter of Kirkby	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
1	John fil Alan of Upton	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
1	Philip de Staunton rector of the Church at Thorefreye	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
1	John Stel de Hanham	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
1	Philip filius domini Philip of Claythorp miles	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
1	William fil Michael Burdet of Allington	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
1	Hugh fil William de Helebebi (Nottinghamshire)	1	sack	£ 8	0s	0d
2	Roger de Bernetam	1	sack	£ 7	6s	8d
1	Hawys fil Alan Baly of Kirton	1	sack	£ 6	13s	4d

1	Randolph fil Thomas of Fillingham	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Henry fil Robert of Enderby	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	William fil John Carbonell of Ganthorpe	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Thomas fil Richard de Stretton (Nottinghamshire)	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John Henyle of Stoke Rochford	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Alan fil John of Sotby	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Walter fil Alan of Winceby	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	William fil Letitia of Norton	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John fil Edmund de Fal of Great Grimsby	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Eudo Brithe of Kelby	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John filius Randolph Basset miles (Leicestershire) parson of the Church at Chedde	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Matilda who was the wife of William Cressy of Great Markham (Nottinghamshire)	1	sack	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John le Aumonier of Stow St Mary	1	sack	£ 5 6s 8d
s	Auncia fil Henry Orger of Frieston	0.5	sack	£ 5 0s 0d
1	Thomas fil Thomas of Waddington	0.5	sack	£ 5 0s 0d
1	John fil William Rennyll	0.5	sack	£ 5 0s 0d
s	Richard de Cotes fil William of Coates	0.5	sack	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Thomas fil Alexander of Poynton manens in Frieston	0.5	sack	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Robert of Legbourne	0.5	sack	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Geoffrey fil Alexander of Hackthorn	0.5	sack	£ 4 0s 0d
1	Roger Durdent of Newark (Nottinghamshire)	0.5	sack	£ 4 0s 0d

1	John de Ffurmery manens in Egmonton (Nottinghamshire)	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
s	John fil Adam of Holme (Nottinghamshire)	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
s	William fil William of Muskham (Nottinghamshire)	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William of Fenton of Dunsthorp	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Robert of Hotham	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert de Langeton manens in Hougham	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert fil Bartholomew of Hedon	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William fil William de Cressy	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William Warner de Hakeham	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Randolph fil Walter Smerman of Binbrook	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Norman of Styrrup (Nottinghamshire)	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert of South Reston	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Richard fil Robert of Lincoln	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William de Brettevill of Hawton (Nottinghamshire)	0.5 sack	£ 4	0s	0d
s	William fil Richard Brissebak of Grimsby	0.5 sack	£ 3	6s	8d
s	Richard fil Gerlon of Humberstone	0.5 sack	£ 3	6s	8d
1	John fil William of Riseholme	0.5 sack	£ 3	6s	8d
1	William Russel of Fillingham	0.5 sack	£ 3	6s	8d
1	Hugh de Somby manens in Navenby	0.5 sack	£ 3	6s	8d
1	William de Wylton manens in Ingham	0.5 sack	£ 3	6s	8d

1	Richard fil Hawis de Kelleseye	0.5 sack	£ 3 6s 8d
1	William de Arae	0.5 sack	£ 3 6s 8d
1	John of Derby manens in Nottingham	8 stone of wool at 6s 0d each	£ 2 8s 0d
s	William de la Launde of Ewerby	0.25sack	£ 1 13s 4d
s	Richard de la Launde of Blankeney	0.25sack	£ 1 13s 4d
(136)	(106)	208.5 sacks and 8 stone of wool.	(£ 1602 14s 8d)

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/250/12

XI Lincolnshire debtors and their total debts in  
the Lincoln archa 1278 - 1290.

Number of Bonds.	Debtor.	Number of Money Bonds.	Number of Cereal Bonds.	Number of Wool Bonds.	Amount.
4	Randolph Selwyn of Thorpe miles (Yorkshire)	0	1	3	£ 113 6s 8d
1	Richard fil John Barri of Tollerton (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 96 0s 0d
4	Geoffrey de Funtaynes miles (Yorkshire)	0	3	1	£ 90 6s 8d
4s	Simon fil Simon of Dalderby	1	0	3s	£ 89 6s 8d
1s	Jordan Foliot miles	0	s	1	£ 60 13s 4d
2	Adam fil Randolph of Hemswell	0	0	2	£ 60 0s 0d
1	Adam de Gredling (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 60 0s 0d
2s	Robert de Pereres	0	0	2s	£ 50 13s 4d
3	Thomas fil Peter of Lincoln manens in Barkby (Leicestershire)	1	0	2	£ 50 0s 0d
4	William fil William Soteban of Newton	0	0	4	£ 48 0s 0d
4	Randolph Fures of Faldingworth	0	2	2	£ 46 0s 0d
3	Robert fil John le Curson of Greatford	1	0	2	£ 42 13s 4d
4s	Robert fil Alan of Clay manens in Winthorp (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	4s	£ 41 6s 8d
s	Walter de Furneaus miles (Nottinghamshire)	s	0	0	£ 40 0s 0d
s	John de Furneaus filius et heres of Walter	s	0	0	£ 40 0s 0d
2	Adam of Normanton miles	2	0	0	£ 40 0s 0d

2	John fil Simon de Aluningham manens in Louth	0	0	2	£ 40	0s	0d
5s	Geoffrey fil Alexander of Hackthorn	1	3s	1	£ 38	13s	4d
4	John Lurrel of Owersby	0	3	1	£ 32	13s	4d
3	Alexander fil Henry le Noreys of Clayworth (Nottinghamshire)	0	2	1	£ 30	0s	0d
3s	Hugh fil Alexander of Hackthorn	0	1s	2	£ 29	3s	4d
2	Robert fil Simon of Boston	0	0	2	£ 28	0s	0d
s	Adam de Novo mercato miles (Lincolnshire)	0	s	0	£ 27	6s	8d
3	John de la Launde of Ewerby	0	0	3	£ 27	6s	8d
2	John fil John civis of Grantham	0	0	2	£ 26	13s	4d
3	Philip fil Philip de Emreby iuxta Lafford	0	0	3	£ 26	0s	0d
2	William de Cnapton manens in Louton (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	2	£ 25	0s	0d
1	Randolph filius et heres domini William de Pokebrok	0	1	0	£ 25	0s	0d
2	Stephen de Charons manens in Sutton iuxta Trent (Nottinghamshire)	0	2	0	£ 23	6s	8d
2ss	Osbert fil William Soteban manens in Rasen	0	2ss	0	£ 21	0s	0d
2	Robert of Martin miles	0	2	0	£ 20	13s	4d
2s	Robert fil John de Keleseye manens in Hackthorn	0	2s	0	£ 20	10s	0d
1	Alan fil Robert Russel of Great Hale	0	1	0	£ 20	0s	0d

1	Thomas fil Thomas fil Simon de Barneby (Yorkshire)	0	0	1	£ 20	0s	0d
1	Thomas rector of the church at Burton	0	0	1	£ 20	0s	0d
1	William filius domini Roger de Bessages miles	0	0	1	£ 20	0s	0d
2	John de la Cressoner (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	2	£ 20	0s	0d
1	Robert Maundenill of Immingham	0	0	1	£ 20	0s	0d
4	John fil John le Aumoner of Stow St Mary	1	2	1	£ 17	16s	8d
2	John fil William of Timberland manens in Thorpe	0	0	2	£ 16	13s	4d
2	Robert de Cormaylles	0	0	2	£ 16	0s	0d
2	William fil Robert Raz of Thorp iuxta Helpyngham	0	0	2	£ 16	0s	0d
1	Richard le Rous of Barton	0	0	1	£ 16	0s	0d
1	John fil Hugh of Middle Rasen	0	0	1	£ 16	0s	0d
1	Nicholas fil Geoffrey of Hotham (Yorkshire)	0	0	1	£ 16	0s	0d
1	Michael fil Gilbert of Norton	0	0	1	£ 16	0s	0d
1s	Roger fil Peter Parlebyen of Boston	0	0	1s	£ 15	0s	0d
2	Salomon fil Roger of Stenigot	0	0	2	£ 14	13s	4d
1s	William of Clayworth miles (Nottinghamshire)	1	0	s	£ 14	13s	4d
2	Simon de Mondegome of Saleby	0	2	0	£ 14	11s	8d
2	Robert fil Walter of Legbourn	0	1	1	£ 14	0s	0d
2	Matilda formerly the wife of William de Cressy of Great Markham (Nottinghamshire)	1	0	1	£ 13	6s	8d

1	Gilbert fil Robert of Horbling	0	0	1	£ 13 6s 8d
1	Gilbert fil Geoffrey of Billingham	0	0	1	£ 13 6s 8d
s	Robert fil Roger Colwyll	0	0	s	£ 13 6s 8d
s	John le Vavassur filius domini William miles (Yorkshire)	0	0	s	£ 13 6s 8d
2	John fil Reginald of Carlton (Nottinghamshire)	0	2	0	£ 12 10s 0d
2	Robert Benet of Owmy	0	0	2	£ 12 0s 0d
3	Peter Saylberd of Theddlethorpe	0	3	0	£ 11 12s 0d
2	Bartholomew de Stanwac	0	0	2	£ 10 13s 4d
2	Robert le Wyllars of Weston (Nottinghamshire)	1	1	0	£ 10 0s 0d
1	William de Wyttale manens in Navenby	1	0	0	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Thomas de Bereford manens in Pinchbeck	0	1	0	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Peter fil Walter of Newton iuxta Swinthorpe	0	0	1	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Adam fil William fil Peter of Kelby	0	0	1	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Edmund Foliot miles	0	0	1	£ 10 0s 0d
1	Richard de Sef miles	0	0	1	£ 10 0s 0d
1	John Malet of Orby	1	0	0	£ 9 6s 8d
2	Roger Durdent of Newark (Nottinghamshire)	1	0	1	£ 9 0s 0d
2	Hawys filius domini Alexander de Nibbetoft miles	0	0	2	£ 8 6s 8d
1s	Susanna filia Norman of Styrrup manens in Serlby (Nottinghamshire)	0	1s	0	£ 8 6s 8d

1s	Robert of Hothum of Dunnesby	0	1s	0	£ 8 6s 8d
s	William de Castre miles (Norfolk)	0	0	s	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Philip de Staunton rector of the church at Thorefreye (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Thomas of Ingoldsby clericus	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Philip fil domini Philip of Claythorp miles	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Hugh fil William de Helebebi (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
1	William fil Michael Burdet of Allington	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
1	John Stel de Hanham	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Henry le Quylter of Kirkby	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
1	John fil Alan of Upton	0	0	1	£ 8 0s 0d
2	William le Paumer of Winthorp (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	2	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Adam fil Hugo of Wheateley (Nottinghamshire)	1	0	0	£ 8 0s 0d
1	Thomas fil Henry fil William of Ingoldmells	1	0	0	£ 8 0s 0d
2	Roger de Bernetam	0	0	2	£ 7 6s 8d
1	John fil Randolph Basset miles (Leicestershire) Parson of the church at Chedde	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Hawys fil Alan Baly of Kirton	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d

1	Thomas fil Richard de Stretton (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Randolph fil Thomas of Fillingham	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Henry fil Robert of Enderby	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Alan fil John of Sotby	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	William fil Letitia of Norton	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John de Henyle of Stoke Rochford	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Walter fil Alan of Winceby	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John fil Edmund de Fal of Great Grimsby	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	William fil John Carbonell of Ganthorpe	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Eudo Brithe of Kelby	0	0	1	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John fil Baldewyn of Sempringham	0	1	0	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John of Normanton manens in Faldingworth	0	1	0	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John de Conyngton of Newark (Nottinghamshire)	1	0	0	£ 6 13s 4d
1	John fil Andrew of Skegby (Nottinghamshire)	1	0	0	£ 6 13s 4d
1	Nicholas fil John of Lowestoft (Suffolk)	1	0	0	£ 6 13s 4d
1s	Thomas fil Simon de Scoteney	1	s	0	£ 6 10s 0d
s	Henry fil William of Rolleston (Nottinghamshire)	0	s	0	£ 5 7s 3d
s	Andrew fil Benedict of Rolleston (Nottinghamshire)	0	s	0	£ 5 7s 3d

1	Robert de Kirkton of Ropsley	1	0	0	£ 5	6s	8d
2	Roger fil Peter of Toft	0	2	0	£ 5	6s	8d
2s	Thomas fil John Spede of Waddington and Harmston	s	2	0	£ 5	5s	4d
1	Thomas fil Thomas of Waddington	0	0	1	£ 5	0s	0d
s	Auncia filia Henry Orger of Frieston	0	0	s	£ 5	0s	0d
1	John fil William Rennyll	0	0	1	£ 5	0s	0d
1	Nicholas fil Robert le Merveilleus of Welbourne	1	0	0	£ 5	0s	0d
1	Robert Damysel of Navenby	1	0	0	£ 5	0s	0d
1	William Whitehewed of Botheby iuxta Navenby (Boothby Graffoe)	1	0	0	£ 5	0s	0d
1	John fil Gilbert de Heawes (Yorkshire)	1	0	0	£ 5	0s	0d
1	Peter Milli of Boston	1	0	0	£ 5	0s	0d
s	Robert fil William manens in Serlby (Nottinghamshire)	0	s	0	£ 5	0s	0d
s	William fil Geoffrey manens in Serlby (Nottinghamshire)	0	s	0	£ 5	0s	0d
1	Alan fil Hugh de Bewerton (Nottinghamshire)	0	1	0	£ 5	0s	0d
1	Walter fil Roger Deudam de Trotton	0	1	0	£ 5	0s	0d

1	John fil Richard de Demethorp manens in Barnby (Nottinghamshire)	0	1	0	£ 5	0s	0d
1	Randolph fil Walter Smerman of Binbrook	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William Warner de Hakeham	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert fil Bartholomew of Hedon	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Richard fil Robert of Lincoln	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William de Brettevill of Hawton (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert of South Reston	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Norman of Styrrup (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	John de Ffurmery manens in Egmonton (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert de Langeton manens in Hougham	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Robert of Hotham	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William de Fenton of Dunsthorpe	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William fil William de Cressy (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Alexander de Poynton manens in Frieston	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
s	John fil Adam of Holme (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	s	£ 4	0s	0d
s	William fil William of Muskham (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	s	£ 4	0s	0d
s	Richard de Cotes fil William of Coates	0	0	s	£ 4	0s	0d

1	John fil Richard de Demethorp manens in Barnby (Nottinghamshire)	0	1	0	£ 5	0s	0d
1	Randolph fil Walter Smerman of Binbrook	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William Warner de Hakeham	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert fil Bartholomew of Hedon	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Richard fil Robert of Lincoln	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William de Brettevill of Hawton (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert of South Reston	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Norman of Styrrup (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	John de Ffurmery manens in Egmanton (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Robert de Langeton manens in Hougham	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Robert of Hotham	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William de Fenton of Dunsthorpe	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	William fil William de Cressy (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Alexander de Poynton manens in Frieston	0	0	1	£ 4	0s	0d
s	John fil Adam of Holme (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	s	£ 4	0s	0d
s	William fil William of Muskham (Nottinghamshire)	0	0	s	£ 4	0s	0d
s	Richard de Cotes fil William of Coates	0	0	s	£ 4	0s	0d

1	Roger de Kylingholm of Branston	0	1	0	£ 4	0s	0d
1	Richard de Bussei fil Gernas of Moulton	0	1	0	£ 4	0s	0d
1s	Richard fil Gerlon of Humberstone	0	1	s	£ 3	18s	8d
s	Alan of Toft manens in Owmbly	0	s	0	£ 3	15s	0d
s	Thomas of Toft manens in Ingoldmells	0	s	0	£ 3	15s	0d
s	William fil Richard Brisebak of Grimsby	0	0	s	£ 3	6s	8d
1	John fil William of Riseholme	0	0	1	£ 3	6s	8d
1	Richard fil Hawis de Kelleseye	0	0	1	£ 3	6s	8d
1	Hugh de Somby manens in Navenby	0	0	1	£ 3	6s	8d
1	William de Arae	0	0	1	£ 3	6s	8d
1	William de Wilton manens in Ingham	0	0	1	£ 3	6s	8d
1	William Russel of Fillingham	0	0	1	£ 3	6s	8d
1	Agnes formerly the wife of Philip of Caltoft miles	1	0	0	£ 3	6s	8d
1	William of Caltoft	1	0	0	£ 3	6s	8d
1	Geoffrey fil Walter Late of Upton	1	0	0	£ 3	0s	0d
s	Richard of Hackthorn clericus	0	s	0	£ 3	0s	0d
1	Robert Stakel of Butterwick	0	1	0	£ 3	0s	0d
1	Gilbert de St Ivorre manens in Beltram	0	1	0	£ 3	0s	0d
1	Robert le Merveilleus of Welbourne	1	0	0	£ 2	13s	4d
1	William le Engleys	1	0	0	£ 2	13s	4d

1	John fil Robert of Martin	0	1	0	£ 2 10s	0d
1	Henry de Cama of Manthorpe	0	1	0	£ 2 10s	0d
1	John de Wragby manens in Harmston	0	1	0	£ 2 10s	0d
s	Hugh of Burton (Nottinghamshire)	0	s	0	£ 2 10s	0d
s	Thomas de Braunte manens in Bolum (Nottinghamshire)	0	s	0	£ 2 10s	0d
s	Peter fil Simon de Scoteny	0	s	0	£ 2 10s	0d
1s	John fil Robert de la Barr of Coleby	s	1	0	£ 2 8s	4d
1	John of Derby manens in Nottingham	0	0	1	£ 2 8s	0d
1	Alan Stelgad of Beelsby	0	1	0	£ 2 0s	0d
s	Walter filius domini of Upton	0	s	0	£ 2 0s	0d
s	Thomas de Cotes manens in Upton	0	s	0	£ 2 0s	0d
1	Thomas fil Hugh de Nevyll of Hale (Great Hale)	0	1	0	£ 2 0s	0d
1	Robert de Staunton (Huntingdonshire)	1	0	0	£ 2 0s	0d
1	Robert of Swallow	1	0	0	£ 2 0s	0d
1	Randolph Vacelyn of Upton	1	0	0	£ 2 0s	0d
1	John fil Stephen of Rasen (Market Rasen)	1	0	0	£ 2 0s	0d
1	William Rate of Otby	1	0	0	£ 2 0s	0d
1	Robert Rate	1	0	0	£ 2 0s	0d
s	Richard de la Launde of Blankney	0	0	s	£ 1 13s	4d
s	William de la Launde of Ewerby	0	0	s	£ 1 13s	4d

s	Robert fil Richard of Brampton clericus	0	s	0	£ 1 13s 4d
s	Alan fil Richard of Brampton	0	s	0	£ 1 13s 4d
l	Thomas filius domini of Beckering	1	0	0	£ 1 10s 0d ⊕
l	Alan de Smerkelm fil Henry of Kirkby (Kirkby le Thorpe)	0	1	0	£ 1 10s 0d
s	Peter fil Geoffrey Puterell of Tathwell	0	s	0	£ 1 10s 0d
s	John of Tathwell	0	s	0	£ 1 10s 0d
l	Robert le Alblaster of Willingham iuxta Stow	1	0	0	£ 1 0s 0d
s	Jordan Chamund of Asgarby	s	0	0	£ 1 0s 0d
s	William Chamund of Blankney	s	0	0	£ 1 0s 0d
s	Randolph Stag of Hackthorn	0	s	0	10s 0d
s	Thomas fil William of Hackthorn	0	s	0	10s 0d
(250)	(188)	(41)	(73)	(136)	( £ 2461 18s 6d)

⊕ Thomas filius domini of Beckering also  
owes 1/2qtr of cereal.

Source:- P.R.O. E/101/12

XII Debtors of provincial Jewry 1261-1290 with locative names identified in this study.

Table.	Number of Debtors in each table.	Number of Debtors with locative names in each table.	Number of Debtors with identifiable locative name. (of)	Number of Debtors with Unidentifiable locative name (de)	Number of Debtors with locative name identified and identified from other sources.	Number of Debtors Unidentified.	Percentage Identified.
Table I	42	38	27	11	28	14	67 %
Table II	106	95	66	29	71	35	70 %
Table III	76	71	58	13	59	17	78 %
Table IV	96	84	65	19	67	29	70 %
Table V	99	87	56	31	57	42	58 %
Table VI	82	62	49	13	57	25	70 %
Table VII	38	34	30	4	33	5	87 %
Table XI	188	173	145	28	155	33	82 %
	727	644	496	148	527	200	72 %

I, Robin R.Mundill M.A.Dip.Ed., hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 109,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Lammas 1987

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XIII The geographical distribution of the debtors of provincial Jewry 1261-1290.

County.	Date Range.	Debtors from within 4 miles.	Debtors from within 8 miles.	Debtors from within 12 miles.	Debtors from within 16 miles.	Debtors from within 20 miles.	Debtors from within 24 miles.
Kent	1261-1276	4	7	5	3	5	2
Kent	1280-1290	10	17	29	6	3	1
Herefordshire	1268-1275	5	13	21	12	5	0
Herefordshire (Aaron Le Blund)	1264-1275	6	10	23	10	2	1
Herefordshire	1259-1275	3	9	16	13	3	0
Herefordshire	1283-1290	5	18	11	12	0	2
Lincolnshire	1270-1276	4	4	2	1	11	2
Lincolnshire	1278-1290	4	19	20	22	15	13
		41	97	127	79	44	21

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1) Public Record Office

Chancery

C/47 (Miscellanea)

C/241 (Certificates of Statute Merchant)

Exchequer

E/101 (King's Remembrancer, Accounts Various)

Exchequer of Receipt

E/401 (Receipt Rolls)

Exchequer of Pleas

E/9 (Plea Rolls of the Jews)

Justices Itinerant

Just.Itin./1 (Assize Rolls)

Special Collections

SC.1 (Ancient Correspondence)

-SC.8 (Ancient Petitions)

ii) British Library

Additional Manuscripts 5873

Additional Manuscripts 15,667

Additional Manuscripts 24,453

Additional Manuscripts 24,509

Additional Manuscripts 24,511

Additional Manuscripts 32,085

Additional Manuscripts 38,821

Additional Charters 1250

Additional Charters 1251

Additional Charters 71,355

Cotton Manuscripts Nero D.2

Lansdowne Manuscripts Volume 826 4 part 5

iii) Westminster Abbey Muniments

Material pertaining to Canterbury Jewry:

Nos. 6700, 6703, 6704, 6710, 6711, 6718, 6721, 6726, 6751,  
6759, 6764, 6771, 6788, 6801, 6806, 6808, 6812, 6819, 6829,  
6835, 6841, 6893, 6907, 6912, 6925, 6987, 6989, 6991, 6995,  
6999, 9049, 9072, 9080, 9081, 9083, 9084

Material pertaining to Colchester Jewry:

Nos. 6698, 6701, 6702, 6706, 6723, 6733, 6881, 6885, 6904,  
9001, 9017, 9031, 9052, 9056, 9059, 9074, 9075, 9076, 9077,  
9078, 9082

Material pertaining to Lincoln Jewry:

Nos. 6729, 6825, 9060, 9075, 9085, 9110, 9128

Material pertaining to Nottingham Jewry:

Nos. 6719, 6724, 6775, 6781, 6783, 6784, 6786, 6714, 6717,  
6734, 6744, 6799, 6800, 6813, 6814, 6815, 6817, 6821, 6824,  
6831, 6889, 6920, 6968, 9002, 9114

Ketubboth: Nos. 6797, 6847

Bonds owing to Canterbury Jews:

Nos. 9015, 9019, 9020, 9021, 9022, 9025, 9026, 9028, 9034,  
9036, 9039, 9042, 9043, 9046, 9047, 9057, 9058, 9086, 9088,  
9089, 9090, 9091, 9103, 9104, 9105, 9116, 9118, 9119, 9120,  
9121, 9123, 9124, 9125, 9126, 9127, 9139, 9156, 9157, 9158,  
9159, 9172, 9173, 9174, 9175, 9176

Bonds owing to Lincoln Jews:

Nos. 9014, 9027, 9032, 9054, 9087, 9092, 9093, 9094, 9095,  
9097, 9098, 9100, 9117, 9130, 9131, 9132, 9135, 9137, 9140,  
9142, 9143, 9144, 9145, 9146, 9147, 9148, 9150, 9160, 9161,

9162, 9163, 9164, 9165, 9167, 9168, 9169, 9170

Other bonds owing to Jews:

Nos. 6880, 9016, 9018, 9024, 9029, 9030, 9033, 9035, 9037,  
9044, 9045, 9048, 9051, 9053, 9055, 9096, 9099, 9101, 9102,  
9133, 9171

Bonds in which Jew owes Jew:

Nos. 6795, 6838, 6839, 6842, 6844, 6846, 6849, 6852, 6859,  
6860, 6863, 6866, 6869, 6870

iv) Cathedral Library and City Record Office Canterbury

Charta Antiqua Manuscripts

A68, A90, A93, C80, C760, C762, C763, C764, C770a, C770b,  
C779, C1115, C1160, C1211, C1213

Letter Book II, Number 4

Eastry Correspondence Number IV, 13.

v) Cathedral Library and Muniment Room Hereford

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Indexes of personal names and places in the above compiled by

P.E.Morgan, 2 vols (typescript).

Cathedral Muniments Manuscript Number 110

vi) Hereford Country Record Office

Manuscript AH81/34

Bailiffs Accounts 1272-1291

Murage Rolls 1263-1264, 1269-1270

vii) Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Muniments

D ii 73/3

D ii 74/3

D ii 75/2

D ii 76/2

D ii 77/3

D ii 80/3

D ii 82/2

Liber de Ordinationibus Cantariorum A/1/10, A/1/8

Lincoln Burwarmote Book 169/8

MCD 501

Foster Library Transcripts

viii) Lincoln Public Library

The Banks Collection

The Ross Collection

ix) Nottinghamshire County Record Office

Manuscript DDSR 102/22

Manuscript M 11,260 (a nineteenth-century note on the Jews by  
A. Stapleton)

Manuscript M 24/182-188 (The Lassman Papers)

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