THE LAST PATRON OF TINTERN ABBEY:

THE FAMILY AND PIETY OF ROGER BIGOD

A THESIS IN
History

Presented to the Faculty of the University
of Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of
The requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

by
TIMOTHY WALTON BERGEY

B.A., Mount Vernon Nazarene University, 2009

Kansas City, Missouri,
2016

THE LAST PATRON OF TINTERN ABBEY:
THE FAMILY AND PIETY OF ROGER BIGOD

Timothy Walton Bergey, Candidate for the Master of Arts Degree
University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2016

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to assess the life of Roger Bigod with particular attention given to his piety, demonstrated through patronage and family connection. His political life is first examined with regards to his allegiance to family, and as context for his religious activities. This is followed by the analysis of his various contributions to religious houses; the pattern of donation allocations and recipients that emerges here shows his loyalty to maternal ancestors among the several options available. Finally, it will be argued that Roger is the original owner of the Gorleston Psalter, on the basis that several coats of arms in it belong to his extended family; the arms found in the psalter provide evidence linking his religious piety to a sense of family commitment and loyalty. The study finds that Roger went beyond the expectations of family allegiance and religious piety understood by past familial records of donations, and that his attention to the burial place of his grandmother and great-grandmother at Tintern Abbey provided for a tangible synthesis of both religious and filial expressions of piety.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences have examined a thesis titled "The Last Patron of Tintern Abbey: The Family and Piety of Roger Bigod," presented by Timothy W. Bergey, candidate for the Master of Arts degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

Supervisory Committee

Linda E. Mitchell, Ph.D., Committee Chair
Department of History

David Freeman, Ph.D.
Department of History

William B. Ashworth, Jr., Ph.D.
Department of History

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE LAST PATRON OF TINTERN ABBEY

In early August 1301 CE, the iconic chapel of Tintern Abbey was dedicated.[1] In attendance was, among others, its patron and financier: Roger Bigod IV, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England. The earl had overseen and funded the construction of the chapel for his entire tenure up until that point as earl, and his uncle had started the project before Roger inherited his title. The building project lasted for the better part of Roger's life, and the earl passed away only a few years after its completion. Roger was the last noble patron of the abbey, and it was the last major building project the Cistercian foundation would undergo. As the most famous part of the abbey, it was called the "most picturesque remain[s] of a monastic edifice," and is the only portion of the structure to remain standing, although roofless.[2] The building project was only one of many Roger undertook in his lifetime, and his motivations for the project are not directly obvious. It can be considered the most significant outward expression of his religious piety, but this piety should not be understood as his alone. His connection with the abbey was a family one, dating back directly to his father Roger Bigod III, grandmother Maud Bigod Warenne, and great-grandmother Isabella Marshal. In fact, all of Roger's pious expressions, including his connection with Tintern, Thetford, and one of the religious texts he owned, are all intertwined with his family connections, and can be fully understood only through them. This essay therefore explores the religious piety of Roger Bigod by examining the family connections underlying his

[1] David Robinson, *Tintern Abbey* (Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historical Monuments, 1995), 32.
[2] Wiliam Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* vol. 5 (London: Sam Keble and Henry Rhodes, 1693), 6:266.

political life, his public expressions of piety, and his more private expressions of devotion. Not only was Roger's religious piety connected to his notions of family obligation, they were essentially the same thing. The older notion of filial piety, loyalty to family, was blended for Roger with an increasingly emerging religious piety. His public political life must be contextualized because it is the most reliable and consistent narrative, and informs the other two forms of his piety. In each area of his life, his family history and connections played a significant role, to the point that the Gorleston Psalter, argued in this essay as originally his, is littered with the crests of his connected family.

Uncovering what matters to a person in the thirteenth century is neither a simple nor a straightforward process. Most people left little to no paper trail, and when they occasionally did, it usually amounted to a legal record in a court case. Fortunately in the case of Roger, he left significantly more records than the occasional legal trial. Due to his position as Marshal of England and Earl of Norfolk, records survived surrounding a variety of activities, including charitable donations, affairs in Ireland, the wars in Scotland, his conflicts with King Edward I in the 1290s and their resolution, and finally (and probably most importantly for this study) the existence of a psalter with his crest located in it. While the goal of this essay is ultimately the study of Roger's religious life, it is an existence that is so intertwined with his political and familial history that his religious life therefore cannot be told without examining these other two areas. His piety, both religious and filial intertwined, should be thus understood as a facet of what was important to him.

The first section of this essay covers Roger's political life, including (very briefly for context) the actions of his father and uncle. It reviews the more traditionally studied aspects of his life, including his involvement in the Welsh conflict, the Scottish wars, the altercation

between him and King Edward I in 1297, and his final agreement with the King over his estates and the end of the Bigod control of Norfolk and the Marshalcy. In each of these political events, Roger displayed a conspicuous type of filial piety—a loyalty to his extended family — even above his loyalty to the crown. The second section details Roger's religious charters and public expressions of piety, particularly in reference to his family history; his public record of pious donations, and particularly his association with Tintern Abbey, can each be explained through his family history. The last section covers a more private expression of piety: the Gorleston psalter. Although initially (and tentatively) associated with Roger, the ownership of this book has been contested since its first modern appraisal in 1907.[3] However, by examining it in context with Roger's family history, it reveals both more definitive information regarding Gorleston's ownership, and also a new dimension to the intertwined nature of piety and family in Roger's life.

The models used are drawn from such works as Claire Donovan's *de Brailles Hours* and Stella Panayotova's *The Macclesfield Psalter*.[4] Donovan's work differs significantly in that she is not able to focus on the owner of the book, since its owner is not directly known, and the work is therefore referred to by Donovan only by its designer William de Brailles. While her study is obviously on a book of hours rather than a psalter, the contents are similar enough for there to be some crossover in terms of model. In addition, while some of her textually analytic style is utilized, a more marginalia-focused approach will be favored.

---

[3] S.C Cockerell, and C.W. Dyson Perrins, *The Gorleston Psalter, a Manuscript of the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (London: Chiswick Press, 1907).

[4] Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth Century Oxford* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).
Stella Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008).

While the contents of Gorleston are of some note, it is the marginalia that draws most of the focus of this study, even its inclusion altogether. In this area, the idea of understanding marginalia, as potentially more indicative (with regards to its owner) than the text itself in understanding the patron, draws from Eamon Duffy's *Marking the Hours*.[5] While Gorleston certainly does not bear the level of marginalia that Duffy's bulk study of hundreds of texts provides—and none that was added by Bigod or any other layperson—the notion that clues beside the text can be used in understanding the piety of the owner is the key idea. More than just insight into intention of the creator (as is popular in more art history-focused studies), the marginalia here, by use of a unique combination of crests, first reveals Bigod as the probable owner, and second reveals the intertwined nature of his notions of family and piety.

The second type of history utilized, owing to the crests in his psalter, is that of family history. The models drawn on here will reflect in some small part David Crouch's *William Marshal*, and Linda Mitchell's *Joan de Valence*.[6] However, because the essay is not organized strictly as a family narrative, Bigod's family history is blended into the political and religious narrative. That said, in Bigod's case, it is impossible to divorce his family from his piety. This becomes more obvious deeper into the relationship between his psalter and his family, and his charitable donations. His family connections are also explored in conjunction with his more public displays of piety, primarily his donations to Tintern Abbey. Being the last direct heir of William Marshal to inherit the Marshalcy, and the last patron in the line

---

[5] Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570* (New York: Yale University Press, 2011).

[6] David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219* (London: Pearson, 2002).
Linda E. Mitchell, *Joan de Valence: The Life and Influence of a Thirteenth-Century Noblewoman* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

beginning with Tintern's founder Walter de Clare, Roger's inheritance of the patronage of the abbey and the building project begun by his uncle both directly contributed to an intertwining of familial and pious impulses.

The last important model is possibly the least novel of the three: political history. Bigod's piety was essentially both filial and religious in nature. His family loyalties extended into his political life in much the same way that they were inseparable from his religious expressions, and therefore his political life, examined in the context of his family connections can provide valuable insight into the filial aspect of his piety. The style of primary influences here is drawn from Michael Preswich's *Edward I* and Marc Morris' *Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, among others.[7]

[7] Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).
Marc Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).

CHAPTER 2

THE POLITICAL LIFE OF ROGER BIGOD

Apart from his probable residence at the royal court (and this is drawn from inference), there is little evidence for Bigod's early activities.[1] This is probably not surprising, given the lack of available private records and the fact that he was not immediately heir to the Bigod estates and the titles he later assumed. Roger's father was Hugh Bigod, who was appointed Chief Justiciar of England for two years, from 1258 to 1260, following the Oxford Parliament of 1258. Although this office was not passed on to his son, it was far from his only distinction. Thanks to Hugh's marriage in 1243 to Joanna de Stuteville, Hugh became much more than just a younger brother and second son, but also became a major landowner in his own right.[2] Thus Roger was not raised from nothing, and when his uncle passed without successor, he became heir to both his father's extensive possessions and his uncle's titles and lands.

Both Roger's father and his uncle Roger III, Earl of Norfolk, participated heavily in the confrontation between the barons and the king in 1258; Roger III even presented himself as initial spokesperson to the King. Although both sided initially with the barons during the Second Barons war, their anti-royal stances were resolved at the end; neither brother lost their lands or titles following the revolt. De Montfort, in fact, was the only earl who had his

[1] Linda Mitchell, *Joan de Valence: The Life and Influence of a Thirteenth-Century Noblewoman,* 14.
[2] Marc Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* 54.

lands fully forfeited as a consequence.[3] Roger in particular was quick to return to the king when it seemed that Montfort's star was falling, and fought on the side of the king at de Montfort's defeat at Evesham.[4]

Roger Bigod became the fifth Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England in 1270 upon the death of his uncle, who died unmarried and childless. He remained earl until his death in 1306. He married twice, first to Aline Basset, the widow of Hugh le Despenser, sometime between 1265 and 1271.[5] They were married without children until her death in 1281, at which point, Morris remarks, he lost all access to his wife's estates; they passed to her son, Hugh le Despenser, by her first marriage, who was a ward of Roger's until that point.[6]

The income that Roger enjoyed throughout his tenure as earl and Marshal fluctuated over time. It was accounted by the crown, following the agreement made between the earl and the king in 1302, to be around £4000 annually, but this number is likely not reliable, and it is disputed by Andrew Spencer as closer to £2500.[7] Roger's income was calculated highest during his first marriage, and was possibly as high during this earlier period of his life as the King's later number suggested. When Roger married Aline Basset, he gained the use of her four manors, and upon her father's death a significant increase of fifteen more. Ultimately, prior to Aline's death in 1281, Roger controlled, in total, all the lands inherited from Maud Marshal's share of the Marshal land empire through his uncle, the late Earl Roger III; and the lands already held as the Bigod inheritance as Earl of Norfolk. In addition, he gained the

---

[3] K. B. McFarlane "Had Edward I a Policy towards his Earls," *History,* 50, no. 169 (1965), 147.
[4] Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century*, 95.
[5] Ibid, 105.
[6] Ibid, 125.
[7] Andrew M. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

lands accumulated during the career of his father Hugh, and those gained through his marriage to Aline. However, the vast majority of his lands were comprised of those inherited from his uncle.[8]

Upon the death of Aline, he lost control of the entirety of the income that had come from her, and his later marriage seems to have been one of politics more than income; there appears to be no significant increase to his income following the marriage in 1290. The earl enjoyed income throughout his tenure from significant estates in Ireland by virtue of his Marshal inheritance, particularly around Carlow, which he drew heavily on during the Welsh campaigns early in his career.[9] His other significant holding, inherited from his grandmother via his uncle Roger was the Welsh March of Chepstow, making Roger a Marcher lord. This was the march near Tintern Abbey, and Roger would donate heavily to the abbey both from this march and from his estates in Norfolk from the time he became Lord of Chepstow until his death. Roger's acquisition of lands following his agreement with the crown in 1302 can hardly be considered his; they came conditionally and would revert to the crown only four years later. In any event, the total for these lands are estimated between £1000 and £1500 by Morris and, if the larger number is the accurate one, resolves the discrepancy noted by Spencer of the crown's assessment of his lands at £4000 income—£2500 held previously, and £1500 added in 1302.[10] Although Roger held significant lands in Ireland, he did not often

[8] Andrew Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England,* 26.
[9] Prestwich, *Edward I,*199.
[10] Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century*, 172.

make an appearance there. During his entire tenure as earl, his presence was noted only twice at Carlow.[11]

As a hereditary Marcher lord due to his marshal inheritance, and as Marshal of England, Roger participated in the Welsh campaigns against Llywylyn ap Gruffud from 1277 to 1283, though the accounts of his involvement are sparse, limited to orders for supplies and the fact of his presence. He did not, by Preswich's account, lead any area of the campaign.[12] However, his presence during the campaign is undoubted; he witnessed several charters and in at least two instances, sent for provisions from his holding in Ireland.[13] He was, though, notably passed over for the command element of his hereditary office of Marshal, as Edward named another as Marshal during the war.[14] Bigod seems to have participated more heavily in the Scottish campaigns (although his direct service was brief) by the king's side against William Wallace in 1296.[15]

The Scottish campaigns revealed a significantly more involved Norfolk than in the Welsh wars, though this involvement declined sharply as the war dragged on. Bigod reported at the start of the campaign, but pled a worsening health condition as early as a year into the war, appointing a representative for his role as Marshal.[16] It is possible that the crown

---

[11] Beth Hartland, "English Lords in Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century Ireland: Roger Bigod and the de Clare lords of Thomond," *The English Historical Review.* 122, no. 496 (Apr 2007): 315320.
[12] Prestwich, *Edward I.,* 221.
[13] Ibid., 199.
[14] Thomas Tout mentions Roger as being passed over, but does not say who was named Marshal in his stead. T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the accession of Henry III. To the death of Edward III (1216-1377)* (London, New York, Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905).
[15] Prestwich, *Edward I,* 170-201.
[16] Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* 160. Tout, *The History of England from the accession of Henry III To the death of Edward III (1216-1377).*

perceived his protest of ill health to be a pretense, using the eventual order to fight in France in 1297 as an allowance for alternative service. In any event, in name at least, the earl participated in the wars in Scotland and appeared in person there several times, and was certainly there in council with the king at the start in 1296.[17] Of the charters the king issued during the first year of the war, Roger appears in ten of them, the most of any of the major earls except John de Warrene, including the Earls of Hereford, Warwick, and Arundel.[18] Apart from fulfilling his obligations as Marshal, Roger is not mentioned further, and although the Earls of Hereford, Pembroke (first cousins to Roger), and Surrey (who was Roger's half cousin John de Warenne by Maud Bigod's second marriage), played continuing important personal roles in the war, Bigod does not appear beyond the very early period. Those three, in particular, are mentioned here because they are all three related to Roger through his grandmother, and their arms all appear in the Gorleston Psalter. Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in particular, would stand with Roger at the dispute with the king in 1297.

To finish up Roger's political life, his marital status needs to be examined. Following the death of his first wife in 1280, who has been already mentioned, Roger remained unmarried for ten years. In 1290, he applied for permission to the King to journey to France with the intention of finding a bride.[19] It is likely not a coincidence that it was the very next year (1290 or 1291) that Edward I initially entered into negotiations for Blanche of France to be wedded to Edward Prince of Wales, though there is no explicit record of whether Roger's

[17] Prestwich, *Edward I,* 479.
[18] Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* 161.
[19] *Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office of Edward I, 1272-1307* (London, 1863), 325.

marriage was part of a greater plan for an alliance. Edward did, within two weeks of the Bigod marriage, marry his daughter Elizabeth to the Duke of Brabant.[20] Roger married Alice de Hainault in late 1290, and while her lands were not as significant as those owned by his first wife, she nevertheless gave Roger some small holdings in France, and more importantly, the outside chance at a direct heir. From 1291 until Edward I's eventual marriage to Margaret of France in 1299 (Blanche's younger sister), the relations between France and England were tenuous at best, and included a short war—one which Roger, though present at the council prior to, did not himself participate in.[21] Despite the effort of 1290-91 to build a lasting connection through marital alliance, it failed.

Roger remained married to Alice until his death in 1306, though still without children. Alice succeeded him in control of the Bigod estates until her death in 1317, but she spent most of the time after her husband's death out of England with her family in Hainault.[22] She enjoyed not only the third she was due, but also the additional portion of her husband's estates assigned to her as jointure due to Roger's agreement with the king in 1302. She did not collect his official titles, however; both the title of Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England reverted to the king and were then passed to Thomas of Brotherton, King Edward's eldest son by his second marriage to Margaret of France. It is of note that although she did not formally hold the office of Marshal, Alice was still called by the title of Countess Marshal until her death. Ultimately, Roger had been willing to disinherit his brother and nephews, but went out of his way to make special provisions for his wife.

---

[20] Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* 153-4.
[21] Alison Weir, *Britain's Royal Families: The Complete Geneology* (New York*:* Vintage Books, 1989).
[22] Marc Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* 184.

Roger's death at the age of sixty-one draws one last item of note, as recorded in William Rishanger's *Opus Chronicorum,* a continuation of Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*. Here it is observed that Roger died in December, but his corpse "lay about Thetford Priory until the following June, 1307" (July, according to *Chronicorum,* but this date is disputed by every other source) with no reason given for the six-month delay in interment.[23] However, his death is not noted in the Thetford Priory annals recorded in *Monasticon,* which are the official priory annals, despite their observation of more than a few later notable deaths in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In fact, Thetford Priory is remarkably silent on the subject of Roger Bigod; neither he nor his uncle are mentioned at all in the annals, even though the Bigod family founded, and were the continuing patrons of, the priory.[24] This will, as is yet to be discussed, count against the suggestion that the *Gorleston Psalter* was associated with the priory; they thought so little of their association that they did not record their primary patron's burials. The death of Roger Bigod marked the end of the Bigod family patronage of Thetford, as it did the Bigods as Earls of Norfolk. Likewise, it marked the end of the Marshal family patronage of Tintern Abbey, a large potential reason for the re-chartering in 1301.

[23] William Richanger, *Opus Chronicorum*, James Orchard Halliwell-Philipps, ed. (Harvard University), accessed July 7, 2016, https://archive.org/details/chronicleofwilli00rishiala
[24] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* 6:145.

CHAPTER III

THE PUBLIC DONATIONS AND FAMILY HISTORY OF ROGER BIGOD

Roger was born into an important family lineage, on multiple sides. His connections with them shaped his religious life even to the point of presenting his religious and filial piety as virtually identical and indecipherable from one another. Roger inherited the patronage of two different religious houses, Thetford Priory and Tintern Abbey. This section will examine his interaction with these two houses, and more importantly how this interaction compared with his great-grandparents, grandparents, uncle, and parents.

Between Roger's accession of his earldom and his death in 1306, he made ten donations by charter to religious houses, including several to Tintern Abbey, and at least one each to St. Mary of Bec and St. Neot's Priory, Thetford Priory, and Nicholas, abbot of St. Bennet Hulme. These represent ten of the thirty-three charters catalogued by Marc Morris, but do not include several other religious activities. In addition, he inherited the project of rebuilding the chapel at Tintern Abbey from his uncle, who oversaw its inception in 1269, and Roger was present for its completion in August of 1301.[1] Its completion also saw possibly the most significant of the religious charters issued by Roger: his confirmation of the previous charters of Tintern Abbey, long under the patronage of the Marshal family, and the de Clare family before that.[2] These then reveal the extent of his recorded religious life.

[1] Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk,* 182.
[2] Dugdale, *Monsaticon Anglicanum,* 6:142.

Called a "second founder" of Tintern Abbey, Roger seems to have had a special place in his heart for the monastery.[3] Indeed, it appears that a huge portion of his spiritual energy seems to have been directed there. Over the course of his life, he was not only involved in the building and dedication of the Abbey church, but also numerous charters and significant endowments. These endowments in no small part contributed to make Tintern one of the most financially stable monasteries over the next century, particularly given the lack, after 1306, of any official patron. He was, it seems, nearly as involved as its founder, Walter de Clare, and more invested than the giver of the only other foundational charter on record, William Marshal the younger, firstborn and heir to William le Marshal (there is no foundational charter on record from Walter de Clare; either he did not give an official one, or it has been lost). Roger thus seems a more dedicated patron to a house he inherited than any in the Marshal family (except perhaps William the Younger), even at the cost of the house the paternal side of his family claimed patronage at Thetford. Even William le Marshal, first Earl of Pembroke, was more interested in the foundation of the daughter house Tintern de Voto in county Wexford, Ireland, than he was in Tintern, which was founded by his wife's grandfather.[4] This is perhaps not overly surprising, since William did not inherit patronage of Tintern from his parents, but rather married into it by his marriage to Isabella de Clare. A landless knight prior to his marriage to Isabella de Clare, the lands surrounding the Abbey and the patronage of it came through her.[5]

---

[3] Robinson, *Tintern Abbey,* 14.
[4] There is a probable explanation for this favoring of Tintern over the other houses for both Roger III and Roger IV, which comes from the influence of Maud Marshal Bigod, discussed below.
[5] David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219* (London: Pearson, 2002), 72.

William le Marshal died in 1219. His immediate heir was William le Marshal the Younger, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, and it was this William who entered the first recorded charter at Tintern. This charter was the first official charter recorded in the Tintern Abbey annals, and with the Bigod charter, is one of the only two recorded by Dugdale. The charter for Tintern in Wales was given in 1223, and William dedicated it in memory of his father William and mother Isabella.[6]

The patronage of Tintern Abbey was passed from William to his brothers Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselm in order, who each made a small donation to the Abbey.[7] Following their deaths without direct heir, it passed through their eldest sister, Maud, who inherited in 1245, to her son Roger Bigod, fourth Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England. Although each male Marshal heir during the brief time they held the Marshalcy gave a donation to the Abbey, Walter Marshal in particular presented a remarkably extensive donation. The title of Marshal of England did not pass into the Bigod family, however, until 1248, at the death of Maud Marshal.

Maud Marshal was a pivotal figure in the life of her grandson Roger, although the lives of the two overlapped by only three years. Though he would not know until later, she set in motion not only the title of Marshal to be passed to the Bigod line, but also Roger's patronage of Tintern Abbey. She was married twice, first to Hugh Bigod, Roger's grandfather, and after his death in 1225 she married William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey. With four children by Hugh, and two more by William, she became a pivotal figure uniting

---

[6] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* 6:266.
[7] *Calendar of Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office of Edward I, Edward II, 1272-1326* Great Britian, Public Records Office. 103-106, accessed July 7, 2016, https://archive.org/details/calendarofcharte03grea.

both families. The significant moment in her life, at least as it pertains to her grandson Roger, came when her youngest brother Anselm passed away in 1245, leaving her the heiress to the Marshalcy, to say nothing of the lands she gained in addition.[8] In 1247/48 she took control of her sons' future and, in a proactive move on her part, passed her lands in Ireland to her son Roger III prior to her death, ensuring that these and the title of Marshal of England moved into the Bigod family line. There are two important items of note surrounding her death in 1248 with regards to her grandson: she was buried at Tintern Abbey, and made a donation to the Nuns of St. George, Thetford.[9] The Nuns of St. George were not connected to the Thetford Priory founded by Roger Bigod in 1103, where the Earls of Norfolk were buried. Roger Bigod IV, therefore, and his uncle, when choosing to support Tintern Abbey over Thetford Priory, were following Maud's example. Although neither earl was buried there, they devoted a huge amount of money and resources to the Abbey where Maud was laid.

In 1269 Roger Bigod IV made an additional change that linked him with his grandmother and the Marshal family: he changed his coat of arms from the Bigod arms the family had used since they were created Earls of Norfolk to those of the Marshals. The Bigod coat of arms was *a cross gules,* and were dropped, rather than quartered by the Marshal arms (the older Bigod arms do not appear at all in Gorleston). The Marshall arms adopted in 1269 were *per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules*.[10] This was a move his uncle Roger had not seen necessary to make, and instead maintained the hereditary Bigod arms inherited from his father Hugh. Whether out of loyalty to his grandmother or for another reason, the arms

[8] Linda E. Mitchell " Maud Marshall and Margaret Marshall: Two Viragos Extrordinaire." *The Ties that Bind.* Katherine French, Douglass Biggs, and Linda Mitchell, eds. (London and New York: Ashgate, 2013), 116.
[9] Ibid, 117.
[10] College-of-arms.gov.uk

change by Roger IV so close to his inheritance of his title and lands communicated what type of earl he had set out to be: one in the mold of Maud and the Marshal family rather than after the Bigod earls that preceded him. It is therefore little surprise that he favored Tintern over Thetford.

Roger was forced near the end of his life to surrender his estates and possessions to the king and receive them back as jointure with Alice his second wife, and with reversion to the crown upon the lack of a direct heir. From 1297, marking the parliamentary dispute over service in France and the wool seizure, until 1302, Roger and the King did not appear in the same place in any of the royal charters. It was not until 1302 when Roger and the King came to an agreement resolving his debts that the relationship normalized. Under pressure and at severe odds with the king for those five years prior to the eventual financial agreement between them, it was in 1301 that he gave the second charter to Tintern Abbey. This charter was the greatest crossover in terms of Roger's political life influencing the decisions he made as a function of his religious one. Whether he had an inkling of the eventual agreement he would sign the next year or not, the charter he issued remained the last official charter given by a Marshal of England to the abbey, and more or less fixed its physical limits. This charter, confirming all the previous charters, ensured that the abbey continued to be able to function normally regardless of what happened to Roger. Even considering that he might not have had any idea of the agreement the following year, Roger was still childless, in ill health, and nearing the end of his life. His donation was therefore in a different spirit than his great uncles, who donated in memory of their parents. Roger's donation came as he reflected on the abbey's needs and the uncertainty of the next few years.

The charter was not the only interaction between Roger Bigod and Tintern Abbey. His uncle, Roger III, had begun rebuilding the abbey church near the end of his life. This was a project that Bigod continued until its completion in 1301 or 1302. The chronicle associated with the abbey records it occurring in 30 Edward I.[11] The charter, therefore, could easily have been given at the same time the abbey church was dedicated, but this is not explicitly recorded to be so. With the death of Roger Bigod in 1306, Tintern Abbey continued without an active noble patron, and did not make any significant additions to its property, with the exception of the church of Lydd in Kent, which occurred sometime between 1306 and 1351.[12] The charters granted by Roger (and those other charters, major and minor, including the charter given by William Marshal the Younger) were confirmed in 1307 after Roger's death, by the dying King Edward I. This confirmation in 1307 is the reason most of the charters surrounding Tintern were preserved at all. The few charters preserved from the abbey's surviving records number less than one quarter of those confirmed by Edward in 1307 and therefore copied into the royal records. While there is certainly more to the events surrounding the abbey, as it continued as a monastic house right up until the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, this was end of its significant financial and territorial additions. The year 1306 marked the end of its association with the Bigod and Marshal families, and no other significant patron stepped forward following the end of the Bigod tenure.

[11] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* 6:267.
[12] Robinson, *Tintern Abbey,* 15. The date is tenuous because the Abbey official records were lost except for what was preserved in Dugdale. The Abbey had acquired the church for sure by the end of 1351, but the actual charter is not extant.

The charters preserved in the records from Tintern at the dissolution of the monasteries (as opposed to those in the *Calendar of Charter Rolls*), bear a closer look, however. By way of comparison, the charter given by William le Marshal, second Earl of Pembroke, is much longer and more detailed than the one given in 1301 by Roger Bigod. Perhaps because there is no older charter on record, it details all of the land given to the abbey, including that donated by Walter de Clare.[13] In addition to the land grants confirmed by William, he added a list of additional grants to them. These grants were not insignificant, and comprised nearly half of the document. The charter was given in memory of his father William and mother Isabella, whom he mentioned at least twice more before the end of the document. There is no other explanation given for why, in particular, William gives the charter. However it is of note that William's mother, Isabella de Clare had just died in 1220 and was buried at Tintern. This could easily explain both William's generous charter, and the successive charters by his younger siblings. It was unlike Roger Bigod's charter, which was likely in conjunction with the dedication of the new church at the abbey and possibly related to the eventuality of his dying childless. William's charter, by contrast, was given when he was only thirty-three, only a year before his second marriage to Eleanor Plantagenet, sister to King Henry III. In addition, given his large number of younger siblings, the house was in no danger of going without a landed, major patron for the foreseeable future. While the charter given by Roger Bigod is only a fraction of the length of William's, it was the last large endowment made to Tintern (by anyone, Marshal heir or not), and actually comprises a huge gift of land.[14] In an additional charter not listed in the Tintern archives, he donated his manor

[13] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* 6:267-9.
[14] Ibid, 6:269.

of Acle (in Norfolk) and all its lands to the abbey, their "single most profitable asset."[15] He thus provided for the future of Tintern, perhaps knowing he would be the last significant landed patron of the abbey, perhaps not.

Given as early as 1270 (for a pair of undated charters) or 1271 for the first dated charter, until the last one in 1302, Roger frequently donated land or money to the abbey, as they were needed. This constant attention, rather than a single gift, demonstrates that he was personally invested over the course of his lifetime, and saw his position of patron as a serious commitment and responsibility in addition to being an inherited familial association. While perhaps dry to examine each in turn, the variation between them, and the detail and scope of the lands ceded by Roger, give concrete evidence to the depth of his piety in a way that simply stating their number cannot.

The first charter on record is not dated, but could have been given as early as 1270. This was only the first year after he had succeeded his Uncle Roger as Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England. It is perhaps telling then that his first donation was to Tintern Abbey, the monastery patronized as his position as the Marshal heir, rather than Thetford Priory of which he was patron by his Bigod ancestry. In fact, there is no record of any charter given to Thetford by Roger, either in the Calendar of Charter rolls or in the Priory records themselves, by way of what was salvaged at the dissolution and recorded in Dugdale. This first charter is the gift of fifty-eight acres of land nearby the abbey "in perpetual alms."[16]

---

[15] Robinson, *Tintern Abbey,* 14.

[16] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIV 1, 219; BL, Arendel MS 19, ff. 20-21v; CChR, 1300-1326, pp. 99-100. The collection of charters surveyed here are drawn from a number of sources, but the majority have been compiled and translated by Marc Morris in an appendix to his book on the subject. Some of these are not available to the public in the Norfolk collection, while some have copies of varying

The earl's second involvement with the house is simply an inspection of a charter made by one of his knights, a Bartholomew de Mora, and confirmation of its contents. This charter is undated and likely says little about the earl's own piety; it is mostly just a rubber stamp similar to that made by King Edward I of all Roger's grants after his death in 1307.[17] The next record of a religious donation comes in the very next year, in 1271, when Roger ends his claim and donates the Cratfield church "and its advowson" to St. Mary of Bec and St. Neot's Priory.[18] A much older priory than Tintern, dating back to the tenth century, St. Neot's was, in the thirteenth century, a Benedictine priory somewhat outside of the Bigod sphere of influence. There is, in fact, no record of any Bigod prior to Roger having dealings with the priory, in the way of charters.

Again in 1271, Roger made another donation to Tintern, this time in the form of half an acre of land and the church of Halvergate.[19] It is not clear whether this was in any way involved with the building of the new abbey church, though this is a possibility, given it comes less than two years after the beginning of that project by his uncle. There are no further donations by Roger to any religious institution or individual from 1271 until 1283. In 1283 or perhaps a little later, since the actual charter is not dated, the earl made another donation to Tintern, this time with very specific parameters and for an obvious reason. The new church project apparently needed a new injection of materials, and the monks had turned

---

availability in other manuscript collections. When possible alternate manuscript locations will be indicated.

[17] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIV 2, 220; BL Arundel MS 19, ff. 19v-20v.

[18] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIV 3, 220; BL Cotton MS Faustina A iv, f. 141.

[19] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIV 4, 220; BL Arundel MS 19, f. 19-19v;CChR, 1300-1326, p. 99.

to the earl for help. Therefore, in this charter Roger changed the terms of the abbey's access to the forest of Wentwood. The abbey had already received some rights to the forest as outlined by Walter de Clare; to smooth things along, the earl altered their relationship with the land so that the abbey was given the forest outright: "in free alms all the wood and soil; to be held from the earl and his heirs by the monks in free alms, with the right to hunt in their woods and take venison, and to have all forfeitures, etc."[20] Specific mention is made of using the wood for building, and the abbey had been possibly overly de-foresting the area. Apparently the earl felt that if the abbey held long-term rights to the land, they would be more likely to take care of it properly.

Roger's next gift came in 1295, and it does not take the form of land this time. Instead, Roger gave the Abbot of St. Benet in Hulme the guardianship of the marriage of the heir of William de Stalham. This is, as far as Roger's involvement goes, a fairly straightforward exchange. There was a dispute between William de Stalham and the abbey, which Roger's gift went a long way towards resolving. William de Stalham had been embroiled in a land dispute with the Abbot and Roger had gained the guardianship of William's underage heirs. While not resolving the dispute, the assignment of the heirs to the abbey gave the revenues from the land until the heirs came of age. Since the land in question continued in the possession of the de Stalham family after their coming of age the resolution was not permanent, but had been dealt with as well as Roger could.[21]

---

[20] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIV 13, 223, p. 223; BL MS Arundel 19, ff. 26v-28v; CChR, 1300-1326, pp. 105-6.
[21] Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Volume 9* (London: W Miller, 1808), 341-345.

The next charters were given in 1301, and there are two of them, both given to Tintern Abbey. These are the big charters given in conjunction with the completion of the abbey church, a project that had finally ended after more than thirty years of construction. The earl was almost certainly present for the dedication, as evidenced by the *Itenerarium Willelmi de Worcestre* preserved in the Tintern account in Dugdale. The record here announces that in the thirtieth regnal year of Edward I, the earl gave the church to Tintern.[22] Since he is documented at Modesgate (both charters are placed there) within several days of the dedication, it is overwhelmingly likely that he was present. The first charter is the one preserved by the abbey itself and salvaged post-dissolution by Dugdale. It is mostly a confirmation charter, but does add the land of Modesgate and the chase of Tudenham. Presumably the gift of Modesgate included the grange there, the site where more than a few charters had been given by the earl to the abbey. The other charter is an oddly similar one, but not including the Modesgate donation, and essentially confirming all the abbey's possessions in the same way the other charter does. This one, however, is on record as an original physical document in the British Library and in the Calendar of Charter rolls.[23] Both charters were given the same day, with the same group of witnesses, at the same place, and confirm the same basic things. Though the lists are different at the end, they fulfill a bit of curiosity to an otherwise simple re-chartering. Why there are two charters is unknown, though it is worth noting that the one recorded by the abbey and in Dugdale is longer (and more detailed) than the one in the Calendar of Charter rolls and British Library. These charters were given seven months before the most significant charter of Roger's life, in

[22] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* 6:269.
[23] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIV 27, 228; BL Arundel MS 19; CChR, 1300-1326, p. 106.

which he ceded all land he held back to Edward I. Roger clearly had a plan, however; in the charter to the king on the 12th of April 1302, he specifically exempts several manors from those he cedes to king, and among these is the Manor of Acle.[24]

The second to last charter given to Tintern, then, is possibly the most significant. On the 18th of May 1302 (just a little more than a month after he ceded away all his lands to the king and had it conditionally returned to him), he gave the Manor of Acle to Tintern Abbey. Exempted from the land to revert back to the king, this land would instantly become the most significant possession and source of income for the abbey, all the way through into the sixteenth century and the dissolution of the monasteries. Acle was so lucrative, in fact, that it accounted for up to a quarter of the abbey's income—this, together with the other grants, allowed the abbey to survive without financial hardship through the Black Death and well into the fifteenth century. The grant of Acle was not anywhere near Tintern and was an estate in Norfolk, further expanding the abbey's influence, and did not make much sense in terms of proximity, but only financially.[25]

The last religious grant made by Roger came also in 1302, but in October. Here, he gave the manor of Alvington to Tintern in exchange for one in return. The motivation for this is somewhat unknown, mostly because the manor in return is "Platalanda," which is of dubious record under that name, but existed nearby the abbey (there is mentioned in several places in the Charter Rolls of the road between Platalanda and Tintern, though mostly only in the details of the charter).[26] Between this charter and his death near the end of 1306, Roger

[24] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIV 31, 229; BL Arundel MS 19, ff. 37v-38; CChR, 1300-1326, p. 31.
[25] Robinson, *Tintern Abbey,* 14.
[26] CChR 1300-1326, 106.

made one additional charter, and it was to his chamberlain. Therefore, the October 1302 grant is his last gift to a religious institution.

There are a couple things to be noted in reference to the charters. The first is the absolute absence of any gift to Thetford Priory in Norfolk in either the charters examined by Morris or in those referenced by the royal charter rolls. Since this is where Roger was buried in 1307, it is unusual that there is no recorded evidence of any material assistance to the priory. The other is a subject that has not been broached yet. Roger's uncle, Roger III, was the founder of a small house that had not yet obtained the status of a full abbey.[27] In fact, it is easy to see one possible source of Bigod's religious inclinations, as his uncle had several dealings with religious institutions (although not as numerously, nor as generously, as his nephew's dealings would be). In 1252, he endowed St. Giles Hospital in Norwich a grant of land in free alms, and earlier in 1242, mentioned that he had founded the House of St. Mary, Weybridge, though the actual foundational charter is absent. Roger did not concern himself in any way with St. Mary, Weybridge, or St. Giles Hospital, or with Thetford, even though all had been the concern of his uncle and grandfather.[28] His identity can therefore be understood as being personally intertwined with Tintern, possibly at the expense of the other religious houses in his patronage. He saw himself as patron of Tintern, the same way Tintern saw him as their patron. Indeed, as late as the sixteenth century the monks at Tintern recited prayers for his soul five times a day, faithfully honoring him two centuries after his death,

[27] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIII 8; KNY 28, p. 216.
[28] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century,* appendix, RBIII 6,7, 15; CCR, 1307-13, p. 129.

even though there is no record of any endowment made specifically for this purpose.[29] It is possible that such an endowment existed, but has been lost, perhaps among the abbey archives lost following the dissolution. Ultimately, Roger followed the inclination of his grandmother Maud (who was buried at Tintern) and her family and de Clare ancestors, in his choice of houses to support, rather than those of his uncle or paternal grandfather.

The continuing nature of Roger's donations, spaced out over the course of his life, serve to demonstrate the deeply-held nature of Roger's piety. It was not an end-of-life impulse, or one centered on the death of a relative. His piety, both religiously and filially intertwined, seems to have been deeply ingrained enough to be shown not only as public acts in fulfillment of his filial obligations, but also as sincere. Considering the extensive building projects that Roger undertook both at Pembroke Castle and at Framlingham, there were certainly other outlets for the resources he devoted to Tintern.

[29] Robinson, *Tintern Abbey,* 15.

CHAPTER IV

THE GORLESTON PSALTER AND THE PRIVATE PIETY OF ROGER BIGOD

From the official charters established by Roger, this essay will now turn to the last area of his pious expression, and the most controversial—his private piety as revealed by the Gorleston Psalter. The problem here is twofold: first, there is the question of how much personal information can be drawn from a Psalter without any element specific to that patron, and second is the debate about whether Gorleston was actually commissioned by Roger in the first place. [1] This section will attempt to answer both questions.

It is another task entirely to try and examine the religious piety of someone in the thirteenth century who did not leave any direct writings besides his charters. Without any direct, handwritten declaration of thoughts and feelings—and discounting those events and activities that were a mandated part of social inclusion—there seems to be little material left to judge an individual's personal private piety. However, with the fast proliferation of personally owned religious texts in the thirteenth century, a new, non-mandated form of religious expression can be used to lay the groundwork for an analysis of individual piety.

Determining ownership of a book, generally, is not enough to make confident assertions of personal piety; it carries no proof of use or feeling or even vague attachment. Although the financial outlay can be understood as a start to making this connection, it can be easily (though not entirely convincingly) argued that they were seen then, as now, as

[1] Referring here to Eamon Duffy's *Marking the Hours,* which has the luxury of patron added marginalia, an advantage absent in Gorleston.

primarily art pieces and collectables.[2] Why, in fact, if those who possessed them were not always able to read, should they be considered popular religious artifacts at all rather than cultural artifacts? However, if another source can be found corroborating religious inclination or intent, then the ownership of a religious book can be combined with this new information to create a composite construction of piety, incomplete as it inevitably is. The first step is to reevaluate the early manuscripts as specifically religious, rather than broad cultural or artistic, artifacts. There are, in fact, no small number of Psalters and Books of Hours personally owned (as opposed to those owned by a religious institution). The problem is one of ownership and intent.

Much of the writing surrounding this diverse collection of medieval religious manuscripts has focused on the art and pages of the manuscripts themselves, and rightfully so. But, considerably less space has been devoted to the manuscripts as a facet of their owner's religious life and piety. There are, in many cases, good reasons for this; often the original patron is unknown and only identified as owner of the manuscript. Considering the huge number of medieval manuscripts preserved, comparatively few have identified patrons, and even fewer of these have patrons that leave extensive records separate from their manuscript. The Gorleston Psalter is therefore unique in that, if Roger can be established as the patron with anything approaching confidence, then a manuscript can be evaluated in connection with a patron with a known political and religious background.

The Gorleston Psalter has been examined and published on before—nearly a dozen times—the first time in 1907. The reason for this relatively large amount of discussion over

[2] Manuscripts as art pieces seem to be the basis of the entire field of art history. It is the approach taken in Claire Donovan's *The de Brailes.* Although the religious content is covered, it takes a secondary role to the physical manuscript itself.

one text is that the debate focuses on who was its original owner. Four different potential owners have been identified, each immediately being disputed and challenged.[3] This data comes in the form of seventeen coats of arms positioned in varying degrees of prominence in the marginalia of the text, all but two of them occurring only once in the text. These arms, dismissed in 1908 as no more than fanciful decoration, provide what should be almost overwhelming evidence regarding the original owner of the text.[4] Examined in conjunction with Bigod's political and family life, the arms provide a vital connection between Roger, his family, and his piety. Seen in such a context, the Gorleston Psalter becomes a more complex text, since while the study of the coats of arms may shed light on the owner of the text, it significantly complicates the dating of it.

Sydney C. Cockerell first identified the original patron of Gorleston, in his 1907 work *The Gorleston Psalter,* as Roger Bigod, 5th Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England.[5] This designation was not without problems; within a year of Cockerell's publication, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, writing a page and a half article in *The Burlington Magazine*, shortly and dismissively rebutted the claim.[6] This ignited a century of scholarly debate over the original owner of the manuscript, a debate that is not yet entirely resolved.

The Gorleston Psalter is a richly illuminated manuscript, with some very curious details. It is one of several East Anglian texts that have a common style considered to have

---

[3] The goal here is to identify information in the illuminations that has not previously been considered when evaluating its original ownership.
[4] E.Maunde Thompson, "The Gorleston Psalter," *Burlington Magazine*, xiii, 1908, pp. 146–51.
[5] S.C Cockerell, and Dyson Perrins, C.W., *The Gorleston Psalter, a Manuscript of the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (London: Chiswick Press, 1907).
[6] Thompson, "The Gorleston Psalter," 51.

originated from the same scriptorium, and even share the same hand as the *Stowe Breviary* and the *Douai Psalter*.[7] Other texts closely associated with Gorleston in terms of style (but not necessarily an identical hand) are the *Castle Acre Psalter*[8] and the *Escorial Psalter*.[9]

The provenance for Gorleston is fairly clear and well documented, with the exception of the original owner. Following the disputed initial patron, the psalter was located at Norwich Cathedral Priory between 1320 and 1325. This is dated by the addition of a set of litanies used by the Priory at this time near the end of the manuscript. The psalter remained at Norwich Cathedral until 1518 or 1519, when Thomas Cornwallis acquired it. The Cornwallis family armorial bookplate, as well as ownership inscription, is on f.1r. The psalter remained in the Cornwallis family until 1823, when it passed to Richard Neville, and was held by the Neville family until 1904, when it was sold to C. W. Dyson Perrins, and bequeathed to the British Museum by Perrins in 1958.

The manuscript derives its name from a calendar marking on March 8th, with the inscription "dedicacio ecc[l]e[siam] de Gorlestone."[10] This inscription, relating the dedication of St. Andrews in Gorleston, Suffolk, has led several art historians to conclude that its origin is therefore connected to a parishioner of, or at least someone associated with, this church. The physical size of Gorleston is immense, larger even than the Escorial Psalter, which Lucy Freeman Sandler describes as a "large volume" at 305 x 185mm and 178 folios.[11] By contrast, the Gorleston Psalter is 325 x 235mm, with 228 folios.

---

[7] N.J. Morgan, *Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520: Catalogue of Exhibition at the Castle Museum, Norwich* (London: Jarold and Sons, 1973).
[8] Yale University Library MS. 417.
[9] Escorial MS Q II 6.
[10] BL Add MS 49622.
[11] Sandler, "An Early Fourteenth-Century English Psalter in the Escorial," 65.

The content of the Psalter begins with a calendar and prayers, virtually identical to the calendars of the Stowe Breviary and Douai Psalter, with one notable exception of Saint Thomas of Hereford, who does not appear in Gorleston.[12] The calendar is followed by first the Psalms, from ff 8r to 190v, and then by Canticles, Litanies, Collects, the Offices of the Dead, and prayers. There is, following these, a litany added by the Norwich Cathedral that is nearly identical to that in the Ormsby Psalter.[13] Throughout the text, there are large historiated initials with a full border. The patron is shown at least four times, and possibly as many as ten, as there are several portraits that bear a resemblance to the portrait of the established patron, but dissimilar enough to create doubt. The patron is depicted first on f70v as a pious, elderly, bearded man reading from a book. He is sitting, with a long, gray robe, indicating not necessarily poverty, but possibly simple pious living. In the three other confirmed instances of his portrait, he is shown with the same dress and beard; and in the other more questionable ones, in different dress. His portrait is situated next to the Marshal coat of arms.[14]

The text and margins are highly illuminated, with elaborate and fanciful depictions, causing Edward Thompson to write of the "grotesque and humourous scenes" where "we never cease from wondering why the margins of religious books were so frequently selected to receive the expression of very mundane humour and even the parody of sacred things."[15] This attitude, while common at the time, should be understood to apply primarily to

[12] BL Add MS 49622, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622
[13] Bodleian MS Douce 366, accessed July 7, 2016, http://bestiary.ca/manuscripts/manu5450.htm
[14] Roger III used both the hereditary Bigod arms along with the Marshall arms, Roger IV dropped the hereditary arms and used only the Marshall arms after 1269.
[15] E. Maunde Thompson, "The Gorleston Psalter," 151.

privately-owned religious books. While privately-owned books contained a variety of illustrations and subjects ranging from the profoundly sacred to the comical and mundane, the books commissioned for monastic houses displayed a much more serious piety in terms of marginalia subject matter.[16] Certainly the historiated initials and large illuminated plates in Gorleston display an appropriate sacred piety; it is only in the marginalia that the illuminator's imagination shines through and the topic wanders from the sacred to the secular. Among the marginalia thus described are some dozen coats of arms, ranging from the royal arms of England and France, to the Marshal of England, the Earl of Pembroke, and numerous others. It is around the inclusion and placement of these arms that most arguments concerning original ownership are based.

There are numerous items in the manuscript that serve to date it in the first quarter of the fourteenth century (or perhaps the last quarter of the thirteenth). The first significant piece of evidence comes on f.68v. On this folio, both the royal arms of the King of England and the arms of the Capetian King of France lie at the bottom two corners, with the arms of the Marshal of England posed above and between them. The colors of the royal English and French arms appear earlier in the text, but this is the first occasion that the full arms are included. This, along with the similar style compared to other East Anglian texts, posts the date firmly after 1291 at the earliest, with the betrothal first of Blanche of France and Edward Prince of Wales, and then later in 1293 the short betrothal of the same Blanche with Edward I himself. However, this dating is tenuous considering the failure of these early betrothals.

[16] This is no longer apparently a rule, there are multiple confirmed texts from religious houses – particularly *Stowe* and *Douai* (already mentioned), that display a wide variety of marginalia. There seems to be a trend towards marginalia surrounding more knightly and aggressive pursuits in privately owned texts, but not enough to make the kind of sweeping statements Thompson did.

While it is possible the text originated as early as 1290, conventional scholarship places the date as no earlier than 1299, the year of Edward's marriage with Margaret of France. With the death of Roger Bigod in 1306/07, this places the creation of the manuscript firmly between 1299 and 1306, if in fact the earl was the original owner, and if the colors of England and France were included at creation and not added soon afterwards. It is this juxtaposition of the arms of England, France, and the Marshal of England that led Cockerell to declare the original owner to be Roger Bigod. If the earl was not the original owner, the list of saint's days in the calendar fixes the date as no later than 1320, as St. Thomas of Hereford, canonized in that year and appearing in both Stowe and Douai (both commissioned soon after), is noticeably absent from the calendar's list of saints.[17]

However, f.68v is not the only occurrence of the Bigod or Marshal arms, nor are they the only armorials in the manuscript. The second and only other depiction of the Bigod arms appear on f.70v. Here, rather than gracing the two Royal arms, they appear beside an elderly bearded layman, who holds an open book aloft. This layman appears numerous times throughout the manuscript, in at least three other places, but perhaps as many as nine. The arms are unmistakably "per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules," the Marshal arms adopted by Roger when, in 1269, he gained his uncle's lands and title.[18]

There are a few problems with this seemingly obvious association with Roger however, and the first is the inclusion of other arms elsewhere in the manuscript, not belonging either to a royal family or to Roger. This is the argument put forth immediately in

[17] Stowe MS 12, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Stowe_MS_12, Douai MS 171, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/macclesfield/about
[18] college-of-arms.gov.uk

1908 by Thompson, and at first glance, it has merit.[19] There are unmistakably the Despenser arms on f.86r, de Valence on f.107v, and more than a few other armorials including Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, Humphery de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and those of the Warrenne earls of Surrey. Thompson's argument revolves around there being no special significance to the arms of Roger Bigod relative to the other arms displayed.[20] This is not true; the arms are displayed noticeably differently on f68v. and f70v. than all the others. The arms of the Marshal of England in the first instance are prominently centered, rather than buried in the marginalia and surrounded by fanciful illumination. In the second instance, they stand alone at the top of a column of illumination—but not surrounded by it—and situated next to the apparent portrait of the owner. Bearing in mind that the discussion between Cockerell and Thompson occurred well before the advantages of digital photography had come to bear (Thompson even mentions poor access to the text in his rebutting article), it yet remains that the illuminator of the text clearly treats the Bigod arms as separate from all the rest.

With the Bigod arms established as positionally special, there are other, more nuanced problems with Cockerell's suggestion that Roger is indeed the original owner. The first of these is the fact that Roger (if indeed his portraits do line the Psalter) is always depicted alone, despite his marriage in 1290 to Alice of Hainault. This suggests the possibility that the Psalter could have been created prior to his marriage to Alice, if not for the prominent displays of the French colors already alluded to. This oddity—the total lack of any female figure despite his married status—remains unexplained. Another possibility is

[19] E. Maunde Thompson, "The Gorleston Psalter," 146–51.
[20] Ibid 147.

that the text was created specifically for the Church of St. Andrews, in Gorleston, Suffolk, due to the mention of its dedication in the calendar. This suggestion is how the psalter acquired its name, and is associated with the psalter as far back as the ownership of the Cockerell family in the early nineteenth century. This theory entirely ignores the coats of arms in the text (none are associated with the church), and an identical inscription appears in two other manuscripts, the Douai Psalter and the Macclesfield Psalter.[21]

The last suggestion is the possibility that the Marshal arms refer not to the Bigod (or Marshal) families, but rather to Thetford Priory, which adopted the arms by virtue of being the patron house of the Bigod family. This is the theory put forward by Lucy Freeman Sandler, and it is the latest and most current explanation for the identity of the original patron: that the Psalter was created for the priory rather than a private patron.[22] There are many illuminations depicting several clerical-looking figures together that are used as further weight to this argument.

There are possible solutions to each of these problems. The first relates both to Thompson's observation of multiple family arms and Sandler's suggestion that the manuscript may have been commissioned for Thetford Priory. The solution lies in the fact that every single coat of arms thus far identified had a direct relationship to the Marshal family, and therefore Roger Bigod as heir to the Marshalcy. This kind of extended family collection of arms, scattered around the margins, with the Bigod and Marshal arms prominently displayed, is certainly not out of place in a privately-owned manuscript. To have so many different, related arms collected is quite unusual, but having a single family armorial

[21] Fitz Museum entry on the Macclesfeild Psalter, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/macclesfield/about.
[22] Sandler, "An Early Fourteenth-Century English Psalter in the Escorial," 65-80.

display is less unusual; lay- owned manuscripts often bore the arms of their owner, such as in the Luttrell Psalter and de Bohun Psalter and Hours.[23]

These manifold collected arms bear the weight of the argument for Roger Bigod as owner. As already stated, there are seventeen coats of arms in the marginalia of the psalter. Of these, two are the arms of the Marshal (and therefore, by the late thirteenth century, Bigod) family. Another two represent the royal houses of France and England. Of the remaining thirteen, all but one are directly related either to Roger Bigod or are descendants of William le Marshal. The de Valence arms on f.107v are one example of this. William de Valence came to the arms displayed in the psalter, and his lands and title of Earl of Pembroke by virtue of marrying Joan de Munchensi, the granddaughter of William le Marshal and daughter of Joan Marshal. These lands remained in her hands following his death in 1296, and passed to Aymer de Valence in 1307. Without the close family connection, the arms' appearance would be strange, considering that William sided with the king during the earlier war between the king and Simon de Montfort (with whom Roger's uncle Roger III, and father Hugh, were initially joined). The Warenne arms also appear on f.68v and these hold a similar connection to the Marshal family. John de Warenne held these arms in the late thirteenth century until 1304. Since John and Roger were half cousins by virtue of their common grandmother Maud, their inclusion also makes sense. The Despenser arms already mentioned are connected to Roger in that his first wife Aline was Hugh le Despenser's widow, and Roger gained the wardship of her eldest son, Hugh le Despenser (known as the Elder Despenser) until he inherited his estates. This type of close family association can be

[23] BL Add. MS 42130, BL Egerton MS 3277, Sandler, "An Early Fourteenth-Century English Breviary at Longleat," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), 1-20.

made with all but one of the coats of arms.[24] Thus, a clear relationship that transcended political affiliation can be made because some of the men represented were antagonistic to Roger's party in his several disputes with the crown. This evidence seems to indicate strongly that the psalter belonged to and was commissioned for Roger, rather than for Thetford priory.

It is additionally unusual in monastic psalters for arms to be displayed at all, and the family connection between the Bigod arms and all the others makes it virtually impossible for the text to have originally belonged to anyone other than Roger Bigod. The only question remaining is when, during Roger Bigod's life, the manuscript could have been commissioned. The conventional approach, as has been stated, is that it post-dates 1299, as evidenced by the arms of England and France. The lack of any female figure painted in the marginalia, given the death of his first wife in 1281 and his second marriage in 1290, seems to indicate that it was between these dates that it was created. While there cannot be any absolute conclusion to this question, it may be that the book was commissioned close enough around 1289 or 1290 to both contain a lack of any female figure, and to have added the arms of France pending the official engagement of the royal houses. If the psalter can be confidently connected to Roger, it is yet another link of evidence connecting his filial piety with his religious piety. The unique nature of the addition of arms associated with his extended family demonstrates the two pieties as deeply intertwined. His religion was practiced as an extension of his family connections.

[24] The only coat of arms not immediately associated with Roger's extended family is simply because it is unidentified; it does not match any of the arms that I have found in the College of Arms.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: BIGOD'S LIFE AS A PRODUCTION OF FAMILY

So then, in conclusion, where does this leave Roger Bigod? His religious activities included both the possession and commission of a beautifully decorated psalter, the construction of a chapel, and the issuing of no less than eleven charters to two different religious houses. He thus certainly seems the pious Earl, but his is a directed piety. He is not simply continuing on the traditions of patronage set down by his ancestors. He seems to have deliberately, of his own free will, chosen to be the patron of Tintern Abbey to an extent further than what was warranted by his Marshal ancestors. He went over and above what was expected, if we use the William Marshal the Younger charter and charters by Walter and Gilbert Marshal for comparison.[1] He additionally made the decision to abandon the patronage of three religious institutions (at least in terms of grants and charters) that his uncle and grandfather had patronized. What results, then, is deliberate. Faced with four houses that he has assumed patronage of, he chooses only one to help prosper, and what results is one of the most picturesque and beautiful monasteries in England. The monks at Tintern were grateful enough for his contributions that his arms were installed in one of the glass windows in the chapel.

Self-directed piety does not connote unique or creative piety. Roger's political career was not particularly exemplary when compared to his uncle or great-grandfather. While it does contain some interest on its own merit, it is much more useful as a lens through which to gain a more personalized view of the political drama of the thirteenth century. His religious

[1] *CChR*, 1300-1327, 98.

activities were also not particularly unique, at least in terms of his actions. Acting as a patron of a religious house was a common expression of piety among the English nobility. Certainly the building project he completed at Tintern sets him apart as a kind of founder, above and beyond many other members of his class, but in his actions he again does not stand out as particularly unique. However, this should not be assumed about his motivations. He does not appear to be motivated in his donations in a fear of death entirely, since his donations started at the beginning of his tenure and lasted all the way through to the end. He also does not appear to be entirely motivated in remembrance of a recently deceased ancestor, since his charters do not come on the death of either his uncle or his father, and if they were, would have been much more likely made at Thetford or St. Mary of Bec. Instead his motivations seem to stem from a deeply ingrained sense of family loyalty to Maud Bigod Warenne and the children of Isabella de Clare. He was the keeper of their burial site at Tintern, and maintained it in a way that went beyond familial obligation.

In the ownership of his psalter even, Roger is not alone. Many other of the wealthy and titled were in the same century commissioning their own texts, and while they did not adorn them with family coats of arms as thoroughly as *Gorleston* is decorated, the impulse to own a religious text is at least present, if not yet common. Although he was on the front edge of owning personal religious texts, this would not become common until nearly the end of the fourteenth century. However, this is likely to have been more to do with means and availability than with any particular ingenuity on his part. The most telling aspect of Roger Bigod, then, is the way his family life intertwined with his pious one. His family informed his decision on religious house patronage, though did not dictate it, and family was injected thoroughly into his psalter. The outlets Roger chose for his religious expression of piety was

seemingly based around a particular kind of filial piety. Perhaps this filial piety was not as strictly interpreted as the older Roman notion, but was blended seamlessly together with religious notions. For Roger, he demonstrated his religious piety by honoring his grandmother and great-grandmother's religious house and burial place, and his family loyalty was proven in the religious houses he made donations to, and in his private psalter. Whether or not this deep connection between filial and religious piety exemplifies a normative practice will be up to further study, certainly the practice of donations for prayers for deceased relatives suggest a similar, if not identical, impulse.

In Roger's case, he was uniquely positioned in that materials were available for all three areas for this essay, even if individually, none of them proved particularly unique when compared each by itself. It seems probable therefore that Roger's behaviors can be understood to at least not have stood out from other members of his class. If this is the case, then some parts of his life can be understood as a sort of case study that may be applied to others in the earl's century. The profound connection between family and religion, and the desire to remain connected to loved ones in this life and possibly the next, is not a particularly novel or daring suggestion. But it is one that, in at least the case of Roger Bigod, 5th Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, rings true.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Yale University Library, MS 417, accessed July 7, 2016, http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3435505

British Library, Egerton MS 3277, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton_MS_3277

British Library, MS 49622, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622.

British Library, MS 42130, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_42130.

British Library, Arundel MS 19, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7537.

British Library, Stowe MS 12, accessed July 7, 2016, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Stowe_MS_12

Fitzwilliam Museum, Douai MS 171, accessed July 6, 2016, http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/macclesfield/about/

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Great Britain. Public Records office, accessed July 7, 2016, https://archive.org/details/calendarinquisi00offigoog

Calendar of Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office of Edward I, Edward II, 1272-1326. Great Britain, Public Record Office, accessed July 6, 2016, https://archive.org/details/calendarofcharte03grea

Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office of Edward I, 1272-1307. London, 1863, accessed July 6, 2016, https://archive.org/details/calendarpatentr17offigoog

Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office of Edward I, Vol. IV, 1296-1302. Great Britain, Public Records Office, accessed July 6, 2016, https://archive.org/details/calendarofcloser01grea

Cokayne, George E. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or Dormant* Volume 9. London: The St. Catharine Press, 1910, accessed July 6, 2016, https://archive.org/details/completepeerageo02coka

Dugdale, William. *Monasticon Anglicanum,* Volume 6. London: Sam Keble and Henry Rhodes, 1693.

Paris, Matthew. *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora.* London: Kraus Reprint LTD, 1964, accessed July 6, 2016, https://archive.org/details/matthiparisien06pari

Richanger, William. *Opus Chronicorum*. James Orchard Halliwell-Philipps, ed.. Harvard University, accessed July 6, 2016, https://archive.org/details/chronicleofwilli00rishiala

Roger of Wendover, *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica ; sive, Flores historiarum.* Londini: Sumptibus Societatis, 1841-42, accessed July 6, 2016, https://archive.org/details/rogeridewendove03rogegoog

Secondary Sources:

Blomefield, Francis. *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Volume 9.* London: W Miller, 1808.

Burt, Caroline. *Edward I and the Governance of England, 1272-1307.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Cockerell, S.C. and Dyson Perrins, C.W., *The Gorleston Psalter, a Manuscript of the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*. London: Chiswick Press, 1907.

Costain, Thomas B. *The Magnificent Century.* Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1951.

Crouch, David. *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219.* London: Pearson, 2002.

Donovan, Claire. *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth Century Oxford.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Duffy, Eamon. *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570.* New York: Yale University Press, 2011.

French, Katherine L., Biggs, Douglas L., Mitchell, Linda E., eds. *The Ties that Bind: Essays in Medieval British History in Honor of Barbara Hanawalt.* London and New York: Taylor and Francis, 2016.

Green, R. *The History, Topography, and Antiquities of Framlingham and Saxstead, in the County of Suffolk: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time: With a Full Account*

of the Castle and Churches, Including Also, a Series of Memoirs of the Ancient Illustrious Possesors of the Domain: with Biographical Sketches of Other Eminent Persons who Have Resided Upon Or Been Connected with the Spot. Whittaker, Treacher, 1834.

Hanawalt, Barbara. *Growing up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History.* New York : Oxford University Press. 1993

Hartland, Beth. "English Lords in Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century Ireland: Roger Bigod and the de Clare lords of Thomond." *The English Historical Review.*Vol. 122, No. 496 (Apr., 2007), pp. 318-348.

Huscroft, R. *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward I (1272-1307).* List and Index Society: London, 2000.

McFarlane, K. B. "Had Edward I a 'Policy' Towards the Earls?" *History.* Vol. 50, No. 169 (1965) pp. 145-159

Mitchell, Linda E. *Family Life in the Middle Ages.* London: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Mitchell, Linda E. *Joan de Valence: The Life and Influence of a Thirteenth-Century Noblewoman.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Morgan, N.J., *Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520: catalogue of exhibition at the Castle Museum, Norwich,* London: Jarold and Sons,1973.

Morris, Marc. *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.

Ormund, Mark ed. *England in the Thirteenth Century.* Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991.

Panayotova, Stella, *The Macclesfield Psalter.* London: Thames and Hudson, 2008.

Paris, Matthew. *Flores Historiarum.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890.

Prestwich, Michael. *Edward I.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Prestwich, Michael, R. H. Britnell, Robin Frame, eds. *Thirteenth Century England IX: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2001.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003.

Robinson, David. *Tintern Abbey.* Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historical Monuments, 1995.

Sandler, Lucy Freeman. "An Early Fourteenth-Century English Breviary at Longleat", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 39 (1976), 1-20.

Sandler, Lucy Freeman. "An Early Fourteenth-Century English Psalter in the Escorial." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.* Vol. 42, (1979), 65-80.

Sayles, G. O. "The Seizure of Wool at Easter 1297." *The English Historical Review.* Vol. 67, No. 265 (1952), pp. 543-547.

Spencer, Andrew M. *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Stubbs, William. *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development.* New York: Barnes and Noble 1967.

Thompson, E. Maunde, "The Gorleston Psalter", *Burlington Magazine*, xiii, (1908), 146–51.

Tout, T. F. *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III. To the Death of Edward III. (1216-1377).* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905.

Weir, Alison. *Britain's Royal Families: The Complete Geneology.* New York: Vintage Books, 1989.

VITA

Timothy Bergey was born in Williamsport, PA on May 13, 1986. After attending Trevecca Nazarene University and Mount Vernon Nazarene University, he was awarded a Bachelor of Arts Degree in History (cum laude). And at the University of Missouri – Kansas City is working towards a Master of Arts Degree in History with a concentration on Medieval and Religious Studies. He is a member of Phi Kappa Phi.

For three years, he held the position of Graduate Teaching Assistant for the UMKC Faculty Center for Excellence in Teaching and was the History Departmental Teaching Assistant to Dr. F. Leroy Pepper in 2007. In 2014, Timothy presented his paper "Piety, Heraldry, and the Text: the Marshall Marginalia in the Gorleston Psalter" at the MidAmerican Medieval Association Conference and served as Session Chair for the UMKC History Department Graduate Student Conference in 2015. His research interests include Medieval and Early Modern religious and cultural history.