

THE OBEDIENTIARY ROLLS OF BATTLE ABBEY

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PART I. THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY COLLECTION

AN attempt has been made in the following pages to give the historian in England a general idea of the contents of the obedientiary rolls of Battle Abbey in the possession of the Huntington Library, California. The rolls for each office have been grouped together, and their general features noted, with, in addition, some examples of interesting or unusual details that appear in them. The description cannot pretend to be exhaustive or complete, but it was felt that these notes might be useful to those workers in this field who cannot travel to California. The rolls form part of a much bigger collection, containing manorial accounts, court rolls, and deeds of the same monastery, that has already been described by Sir William Beveridge (*Huntington Library Bull.* II. 67), and J. M. Vincent (*Amer. Hist. Rev.* XXXVI. 63). Part of the material has been listed in my article in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (vol. XII, no. 35, Nov. 1934).¹ The numbers used to refer to the rolls, e.g. B.A. 179, are taken from that list, as printed.

My thanks are due to the Library authorities for their generosity in allowing me to make full use of the manuscripts, and to publish the results.

Abbey Accounts

Only seven of the Abbey Accounts have survived, six of them before 1400, and one, the only account

¹ In this article I stated that only five examples of obedientiary rolls of Battle Abbey were known in this country—at the P.R.O. In 1936 a small collection of Battle Abbey accounts was offered for sale at Sotheby's, and bought by Mr. Hugh Whistler, of Battle. Included were twenty-eight obedientiary rolls. A list of them, with a description, is given in the second part of this article.

written on paper, for the year 1508. No title is given to the accountants, and it is possible that they were acting as deputies of the abbot, who was presumably ultimately responsible. It may be significant that four of these remaining accounts are rendered for years in which a new abbot was elected.¹

Income is derived from a great many manors and other land holdings² and is generally considerable: £1,567 1s. 11½*d.* in 1346, £1,244 3s. 6*d.* in 1382. In 1508 it has dropped to just over £400,³ but many of the items are omitted and the lands that remain are all at farm. These receipts show the development of the policy of farming the manors. In 1346 only Dunge-marsh and the Tannery of Marley are at farm; in 1382, twenty of the sums received are from farmed lands; all of the lands accounted for in 1508 are farmed. An additional source of income in 1508 is probate of wills in the 'Spiritual Court within the jurisdiction of Battle'.

Expenditure is generally in excess of the income. The heaviest items are the purchase of corn for the granary, and payments to the various obedientiaries, together about two-thirds of the total. Other items are small: payments to augment the stipends of various incumbents, wages to laundresses and tailors, gifts to the convent on feast-days, to students at Oxford, and to the *histriones*;⁴ extraordinary expenses due to the death of an abbot and the election of his successor;⁵ and finally, jurisdictional and legal payments to the seneschal, the bailiff of the liberty, the abbot's attorneys in the Exchequer, the courts of Common Bench and the

¹ 1351-2, B.A. 142; 1364-5, B.A. 140; 1382-3, B.A. 145; 1508-9, B.A. 141.

² Battle, Broomham, Marley Farm, Beech Farm, Barnhome, *Marchales*, Barehurst, Snape, Hawkhurst, Alciston, Lullington, Alfriston, Clapham, Broadham, Whiligh or Whyly, Appledram, Anstey, *Wyke*, Hailsham, Hempstead, Icklesham, Westfield, *Wachyngdenne*, *Kyngesnowe*, Dunge-marsh, Wye, Limpsfield, *Sepeford*, Brockley, Southwark, Hooton, Crowmarsh, Brightwalton, Ixning, Sampford, Bramford, *Haverall*, and payments from various rectories and priories.

³ This sum includes £122 5s. from the treasurer. Over £17 is paid back in allowances to various of the lands, so the total real income is very small.

⁴ 1382-3, B.A. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.* The expenses for the election of the new abbot are very similar to those contained in the treasurer's roll for 1350.

Arches, and to other persons connected with the prosecution of court cases or the safeguarding of the abbey's interests.

The Almoners' Accounts, 1359-1531

The Almoners' Accounts cover the period between 1359 and 1531, but only seventy-one of them have survived. The majority of these are single membranes, and there are never more than two. Three accounts are on paper, one of them being a duplicate of the roll for 1524. Many of these accounts are in poor condition or incomplete; for the latter half of the fifteenth century only two complete accounts survive: the rest are in skeleton form, i.e. they are in the state in which they would be presented at the audit. Receipts and expenses are itemized under their separate headings, but the total sum for each section is not inserted and no attempt has been made to balance the account.

The income of the office comes mainly from land. It administers the manor of Maxfield, which is farmed by 1368; and receives rents, and in some cases produce and tithe, from Battle, Chauntersdowne (*Mons Cantoris*), Alciston, Barnhorne, Snailham, and Westham by Pevensey. The amount of the receipts is fairly small: £17 13s. in 1359, £21 16s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in 1435, and £24 7s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in 1528, with fluctuations between these dates.

The possession of these lands entails some expenditure in upkeep; just as the existence of the office demands a personnel and their wages. These two items absorb the bulk of the profits, mainly in repairs¹ and additions² to buildings, in the purchase of agricultural implements³ and in wages and clothing to the *claviger* or *promus*, the brevier,⁴ the clerk who makes up the

¹ *Et in .CCC. et di' de lapidibus et bleusclatt' emptis ad cooperiendum domus .vj. s. viij. d.* B.A. 180. 1381-2.

² *Et in conuencione facta cum Willelmo Arche carpentario pro .ij. baywym-doves in camera elemosinarie et in parlor' ibidem . . . iiij. s. viij. d.* B.A. 218. 1443-4.

³ *Et in furca ferrea uocata a pychefork' empti . iiij. d.* B.A. 210. 1502-3.

⁴ The Latin word is retained in English since it appears in the *O.E.D.*, though the examples given there do not cover the functions of this officer: On the death of a monk a roll was prepared setting forth his name and other

account, and the priests who say Mass at the Almonry gate.¹

Although the main purpose of the office is, presumably, the distribution of alms to the needy, the sums allotted to this purpose on the account are small,² and sometimes non-existent. A careful scrutiny of the accounts does, however, bring to light various items, some of which occur regularly, which show that the poor are fed at the Almonry. Among the receipts of corn a certain amount is generally deducted for the scholars, the family, and the poor,³ but this does not appear on the expenditure side of the account. Herrings are bought regularly, garments and footwear occasionally. In one year a tankard is purchased to carry ale from the cellar for the poor,⁴ in another, bread is bought for the boys and the poor '*ob carentem panis officii*'.⁵ These details seem to point to the conclusion that the Almonry administered not only its own small payments to the indigent, but also the provision set aside by other offices for that purpose; and that the amounts of supplies and money thus distributed did not appear on his account, either because they were the residue of issues or expenditure in kind, or because allowance had already been made for them elsewhere.

A little light is thrown by one entry on the outfit of a boy in the fifteenth century, though who he was and why the Almoner was responsible are questions difficult to determine. The extract follows: *In expensis factis circa unum puerum in Eleemosinaria ut in .ij. togis emptis*

particulars and demanding prayers for his soul. This was given to the breviger to convey to other monasteries, at each of which additional matter was inscribed, giving the name of the place, the date, and promises of prayers, and sometimes reciting the qualities and virtues of the deceased. An example of this occurs in the account of the abbey for 1382 (B.A. 145) on the death of Abbot Hamo de Offynton.

¹ At the foot of the account the accountant '*tenetur soluere . vj. li. x. s. sacerdotibus celebrantibus ad portam*'. B.A. 185. 1393-4.

² In 1368, 6s. 8d.; in 1372, 16s. 11d.; in 1383, 45s. given to the brevigers and to the poor and travellers who are more numerous this year *propter flandrancie infortunum*; in the early fifteenth century the sum frequently drops to 20d., or less.

³ B.A. 166. 1359-60.

⁴ *Et in uno magno tankard' ferri ligato ad portandam seruisiam pauperum a selario*. iij. s. iij. d. B.A. 156. 1362-3.

⁵ B.A. 202. 1530-1.

*pro eodem .xj. s. viij. d. In pellis ouium emptis pro tunica facienda pro eodem .iij. d. In lineis uestimentis emptis pro eodem .xiiij. d. In caligis et sotularibus emptis per uices pro eodem .iij. s. ij. d.*¹

Beadles' Accounts

This set of accounts is by far the most complete among the obedientiary rolls of Battle Abbey: between 1327 and 1526 there are 102 accounts extant, and, what is equally important, each of them is completed. They are fairly concise, invariably written on parchment rolls consisting of one or two membranes, though paper slips, showing allowances claimed on his account by the beadle, are attached to some accounts. It will be seen that the beadle is invariably a layman, but a consideration of his duties, as shown by the receipts and expenses on his account, will explain why this must be so.

The beadle is not, strictly speaking, an obedientiary. He is, rather, a servant of the monastery appointed to perform certain definite tasks. His account shows this quite clearly, for whereas the obedientiaries administer the land and hold the courts from which they derive their income, the beadle is merely a collector of the rents, market and fair dues, court perquisites, and green wax ameracements, that appear on his account, and the balance of these sums, when certain administrative expenses have been deducted, is paid to the seneschal or cellarer. His work divides into three branches. He is first of all a rent collector for tenements in Battle itself and for other lands in Sussex.² These rents account for about half the total receipts throughout the period, though the amount fluctuates slightly and is explained on one occasion³ by the fact that the beadle does not know where certain lands and tenements are situated and therefore cannot distrain for the rents due.

In the second place he is responsible as the subordi-

¹ B.A. 169. 1413-14.

² Whatlington, *Tiltonesbach* Wickham, Breadsell, *Eggelond*, Bucksteep, Udimore, Fairlight, *Palerne*, Etchingham, Bodiam, Glasseye, Broomhill, *Sanffryd*.

³ B.A. 62. 1421-2.

nate of the seneschal for the collection, by distraint if necessary,¹ of fines and amercements imposed in the Battle courts, and for the upkeep of the place in which they were held.² The seneschal receives from the beadles' account part of the stipend due to him, and also the wages of his clerk who writes the court rolls.

In the third branch of his work he is acting as the deputy of the bailiff of the liberty. This official receives an annual fee on the beadle's account until 1373, and presumably does his own work, since there is no evidence that the beadle deputizes for him before 1395. In this case he has three definite functions. He attends assizes and sessions held locally, in order to safeguard the interests of the abbey,³ and produces prisoners there for whom he is responsible.⁴ He receives from the sheriff the estreats of green wax⁵ containing the names of those tenants of the abbey who have been fined or amerced in the royal courts. These sums he collects according to the liberties of the abbey whereby the monks have the right of collecting, and in some cases keeping, fines and amercements imposed on their tenants in the royal courts.⁶ This right makes it essential for him to go to the royal exchequer twice yearly to make his profer,⁷ and to assist at the auditing of the account of the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, in the same place, so that he can make any necessary claims upon it and thus safeguard the interests of the abbey.⁸ While he is in London, he

¹ *Allocantur eidem .iij. s. .iiij. d. de amerciamento posito super Iohannem Curteys in rotulis Curie pro eo quod cepit districtionem et eandem districtionem liberauit domino.* B.A. 64. 1425-6.

² *In emendacione circa le Courthous' .x.s. j.d.* B.A. 44. 1372-3.

³ *In expensis Bedelli existentis apud Grenested', Lewes et alibi propter nostras libertates calumpniandas coram iusticiis panis et assise et sessionis .x.s.* B.A. 14. 1403-4.

⁴ *Et soluti apud j. sessionem tentum apud Lewes . . . pro expensis Willelmi Monghton' et Iohannis Payne presonariorum a bello illuc ductorum et ibidem existentium per .ij. dies simul . . . viij. d.* B.A. 86. 1461-2.

⁵ *Et in rewardo subuicecomitis Sussex' pro uiride cera ab eo habenda. xj d.* B.A. 95. 1518-19.

⁶ Dugdale's *Monasticon* III. p. 251.

⁷ *In expensis bedelli equitantis uersus London' ad proferam suam faciendam ad scaccarium domini Regis in crastino clause Pascheiij. s.* Similar entry for Michaelmas. B.A. 62. 1421-2.

⁸ *Et in expensis dicti balliui existentis in scaccario domini Regis termino Sancti Hillarii tam super compositcionem uiccomitis Surrey' et Sussex' quam*

gives a feast to the barons of the exchequer or their deputies.¹ From an early date in the fifteenth century he is represented at the actual audit by one or more attorneys² though he himself is still present. All this work would normally be performed by the bailiff of the liberty of the abbey, and on one or two occasions the beadle is given the title of bailiff, but more often and more accurately he is described as his deputy.³ The abbey lands were widespread and there were liberties and franchises to safeguard in other counties than Sussex and Surrey. It seems reasonable to suppose that in each of these the bailiff appointed a deputy and himself acted as a general supervisor. This seems to be true of the manor of Wye, in Kent, to whose bailiff was transferred in 1477⁴ the duty of collecting green wax amercements in Sussex and Surrey. A gap in the accounts for both Wye and the bedellary, at this point, makes it impossible to say how long this arrangement lasted. It was finished by 1518.

The following extract⁵ will give some idea of the number of things for which the beadle was responsible as deputy of the bailiff of the liberty at the Exchequer and elsewhere, and of the expenses involved in making a claim at the Exchequer:

Et in rewaro facto Willelmo Saunder et Ricardo Aylard' attorney Bedelli computantibus in scaccario domini Regis ad proferam faciendam et ibidem existentibus super comptum uicecomitis .x.s.

Et soluti pro bulla attorney ad diem compositi ad terminum michaelis .iiij. d.

Et soluti pro factura eiusdem bulle .iiij. d.

Et pro factura tallie ad eundem terminum .iiij. d.

Et soluti ad proferam faciendam ad terminum sancti michaelis .vj. s. viij. d.

pro franchises et libertatibus domini ibidem clamandis ac pro finibus et amerciamenis tenencium domini clamandis et habendis . . . ix. s. iiij. d. B.A. 94. 1466-7. At this period the beadle is often called bailiff.

¹ *Et in. j. iantaculo dato baronibus . . . vij. s. iij. d. B.A. 15. 1406-7.*

² *Et soluti Willelmo Sander' attorney eiusdem bedelli in dicto scaccario domini Regis. p.a. xx. d. B.A. 57. 1451-2.*

³ *In expensis bedelli existentis ad scaccarium domini Regis per. vj. dies pro compoto ibidem de Officio balliui libertatis reddendo .iiij. s. ij. d. B.A. 16. 1408-9.*

⁴ *De uiridi cera tenencium nichil hic quia computur per balliuum de Wy'. B.A. 102. 1477-8.*

⁵ B.A. 75. 1441-2.

Et pro iantaculo baronum ad dictum terminum .iij. s. .iiij. d.

Et soluti ad proferam faciendam in dicto scaccario ad terminum Pasche .vj. s. viij. d.

Et pro tallia iungenda ad eundem terminum .iiij. d.

Et pro factura. j. bille attornati ad eundem terminum .iiij. d.

Et pro filacione predicte bille .iiij. d.

Et pro bulla attornati ad diem compoti ad eundem terminum .iiij. d.

Et pro factura eiusdem bulle .iiij. d.

Et in expensis Bedelli compotantis equitantis uersus Lewes ad .iiij. Sessiones tentas ibidem hoc anno .v.s. .iiij. d.

The Cellarers' Accounts

Among the Battle Abbey rolls are forty-four Cellarers' Accounts, one of them a duplicate. They range in date between 1275 and 1513; four are fragmentary and undated, but the date of one of these can be determined by a comparison of its surviving items with those of the roll for 1477-9.¹ The three others are sixteenth century. The majority of these accounts are written on parchment, the only exceptions being these four fragmentary accounts and that for 1371-2, which are on paper. The membranes are irregular in size, and when more than one is needed they are sewn together continuously.

The sources of income vary during the period. In the four earliest surviving rolls income is derived from sale of stock and is augmented by a subsidy from headquarters. There is a gap in the accounts for the next fifty years, and during that period the office has acquired lands to support it, in Wye, Alciston, Barnhorne, Dengemarsch, and Marley, the mill of Peppering, and various rectory lands. A substantial sum is received from the abbey every year until 1413. For the rest of the century no completed account has survived, but from the information given it would seem that both receipts and expenses are but a small fraction of what they were formerly.² A new but inconsiderable source of income appears in 1442: perquisites of the hallmoot.

¹ Cf. with the duplicate accounts among the Sacristy rolls.

² The receipts in 1400 were £262 5s. 4½d.; those in 1512, £45 0s. 5d.

The later rolls give in great detail the names of tenants and their holdings.

Expenditure varies in amount in the same way. In the four earliest rolls receipts equal expenses. Later there is an adverse balance, except in one case, but the whole scale of expenditure drops between 1413 and 1438. The amount spent on food—the most important item¹—decreases from over £220 in 1412 to just over £20 in 1512. Other expenditure—mainly on repairs to buildings, labour, and wages—remains fairly constant, somewhere between £30 and £50 a year. The evidence available at present is insufficient to explain this decline in the importance of the office. The answer may be that while the Cellarer provides food only for his own household, the duty of feeding the monastery is transferred to another official—possibly the seneschal of the household. An inventory of the goods of the office in 1477 gives some idea of its decreased importance: *Remanentes stauri mortui liberati Dompno Thome Aleyn nunc Cellerario cum Officio.*

In primis harnes for iij hors v yron tightis j Grete Cheyn' of yron
Item ij port weynes with whilez and lyncez Item j Corn' weyne
with Whilez Item j new dray Item ij neb yok and vj other yokys
Item j plow j Cultoure and j Share Item ij harowe Item j hamer
j Shovell and j spade Item j dongforke j matok j picchefork' j axe
and j bowe Wymbill' Item j Codde to sowe Item ij Tubbys j Tyne
Item xxxij lodys hey Item the Ote of xiiij acre londe Item iij
bussshell' White Salt j bz di' of mustard' Sede Item j bord' cloth
j Salte Saler j Grederyn' and j Andiron' Item j bz Oynons Item all
the Somer Talow.²

Chaplains' Accounts

The two chaplains' accounts in this collection deal with payments from the abbot's privy purse for his own expenses and those of his immediate household. The income in 1520 is derived from twenty-five pay-

¹ The expenditure on food in 1412-13 is as follows: wine, £37 8s. 8½d.; spices (honey, white salt, flax seed, almonds and raisins, pepper and saffron, oil and coarse salt), £6 18s. 3d.; flesh (capons, hens, pullets, ducks, geese, pork, beef, mutton, veal, lamb, doves, game, rabbits), £84 12s. 5d.; fish (bearded oysters, mussels, fresh fish, salt fish, salmon, eels, red and white herrings, stockfish), £74 15s. 8d.; eggs (eggs, vinegar, tallow), £17 2s. 5d.

² B.A. 301. 1477-9. Also occurs with additional information in B.A. 329.

ments from the abbot at irregular intervals throughout the year, altogether £28 1s. 4d.

The personal expenses of the abbot—his gloves, stockings, shirts, his barber, and dainties for his table—account for a large part of this sum; alms¹ and gifts and the wages of messengers and servants bring the total higher; there are expenses of men fishing at Barnhorne—their keep and tackle—and finally money paid to the players from various towns who perform before the abbot:

In rewardo hominibus de Cranebroke ludentibus coram domino .iiij. s. iiij. d.

In rewardo lusoribus de Tenterden' .iiij. s. iiij. d.

In rewardo lusoribus de Mallyng' .ij. s. iiij. d.

In dono domini lusoribus de Maydestone .iiij. s. iiij. d.

In dono domini lusoribus extraneis alia uice .ij. s.

In rewardo dato lusoribus domini comitis Arundell' .iiij. s.

The account is not completed, and the sum totals of the various sections of the expenses are not given. There is a slight balance in favour of the accountant, but with this type of account the supply of money should equal the demand, since a great many of the payments would be in cash as goods were delivered, messengers were to be rewarded, or wages became due.

The second account, which was only discovered as I was on the point of leaving Pasadena, gives details of the funeral expenses of Abbot William Westfeld', and of the expenses of his successor for creation, election, and confirmation.

The Sacristy Accounts

The Sacristy accounts consist of forty rolls, some of them duplicates, covering the period 1399–1531. Each roll contains particulars of income and disbursement, and in the fifteenth century a great many of them have a grain and stock account *in dorso*. In some cases expenditure of wax and oil in the church itself is

¹ The alms amounted to £5 11s., expended regularly throughout the year with increased payments on the greater feast days. The following item is included: *Willelmo Hollok' nuper janitori monasterii in senectute languenti .xviij. s. iiij. d.*

included. In 1410–11 these last two items are listed separately. The surviving accounts for the fifteenth century are, with one exception,¹ written on parchment. When there is more than one membrane the top of the second is sewn to the bottom of the first and so on. In the sixteenth century there are paper accounts as well, made up in the same way, and for certain years both parchment and paper accounts have survived. The handwriting of the paper accounts is a current hand; that of the parchment accounts a court hand, and it would seem from this differentiation and from the endorsement of many of the paper accounts—*Irrotulatur*—that the paper account is the original and the parchment account is made for purposes of record. The size of membranes and folios cannot be given exactly, since some of them were trimmed before they were mounted, and there is no great regularity about them.

The bulk of the income falls into four groups: Assized rents² which vary only slightly in total over the whole period; farms of lands and manors,³ whose value rises from £1 8s. 8d. in 1399 to £28 14s. in 1526; tithe,⁴ which decreases from £2 4s. 10d. in 1399 to 12s. 5d. in 1526; and pensions,⁵ which are paid fairly regularly except in two cases—Hooton and Warbleton. In the first case the pension disappears by 1410–11; and in the second the amount is often in arrears, but this is disguised in the

¹ The roll for Michaelmas to Christmas 1422. B.A. 248.

² [This and the following lists are not necessarily exhaustive since they are compiled from a selective study of the rolls.] From the following places: Battle with *Angmeresherst*, Udimore, *Swynham*, and Willingdon; Hawkhurst and Cranbrooke, Wye, Charlton, Pythingdean, a meadow at Wilting, Romney, *Angyngteley*, a meadow at Buckholt, *Bregesele* and Hemingfold, Sandhurst, Beech and Poppinghole in Sedlescombe and Whatlington, Glasseye, Highfields near Barnhorn, land called *Redewysh* in Petley Wood.

³ From the following places: Alciston, marsh called *Monkynlond* in Pevensey, meadow called *Snapiswissh* in Bodiam, mill of *Angyngtele*, *Morehous* in Hawkhurst, tithe barn of Wye, meadow near Buckholt, one acre at Beckley meadow called *Tannerswyshe* near Petley Wood, meadow near Wilting, Eastland, Sacristy with tithes, adjacent croft and land called *Lydcokke* and *Corlbek*.

⁴ From the following places: *Enham* in Udimore, Salehurst, Sedlescombe, Ore, Beckley, Oldcourt in Wartling, Lidham, Buckholt, Grange, Gillingham, Mundfeld, Ludley, Guestling, Battle, Whatlington, Hollington-Bexhill.

⁵ From the following places and people: The Rector of Warbleton, the Prior of Hastings, the churches of Manxey, Hawkhurst, and Lymenesfeld, the Dean of Battle, the church of *Hooton*.

later accounts by the fact that the total given on the roll includes this sum, though it is allowed to the accountant as an uncollected debt, at the foot of the account. Other income is from manorial issues and courts.

Expenditure on manorial matters—hoeing, reaping, mowing—is slight. What are more important are the entries concerning the church itself—furnishings such as statues,¹ crosses,² altar vessels,³ organs;⁴ the purchase of vestments⁵ and their repair;⁶ the upkeep of the fabric—mainly glass windows,⁷ bells⁸ and keys and locks; wages to the subsacristans, the clockkeeper, the precentor, and various customary payments including the provision of habits for the senior monks and priests of the monastery.⁹

The account finishes with a list of allowances to the accountant for uncollected debts. In the majority of cases there is a further balance in favour of the Sacristan, which is paid off in the next year as arrears.

Seneschals' Accounts

The set of seneschals' accounts among the Battle Abbey rolls is not very satisfactory. There are eight of

¹ B.A. 228. 1399–1400. *In .j. ymagine de trinitate empta . . . vj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.* B.A. 243. 1494–5. *In expensis Iohannis Frensshe pro meliori panno de Tysew magni altaris usque London' portando pro ymagine Willelmi conquestoris imponenda et deinde usque Bellum reportando. ij. s. ij. d.* B.A. 257. 1516–17. *Et in centena auri cum oleo pro pictore ad picturam ymaginis Sancti Stephani in ecclesia. vj. s.*

² B.A. 237. 1512–13. *Et in una noua cruce argentea partim deaurata empta London' pro processione diebus dominicis ponderante xxxviij unciis. viij. li. xix. s. viij. d.*

³ B.A. 246. 1434–5. *Et in .ij. nouis cruettis argenteis emptis . . . xxx. s.*

⁴ B.A. 265. 1522–3. *Et soluit ad empcionem noui paris organorum in medio chori ecclesie monasterium . . . xx. s.*

⁵ *Ibid.* *Et in paruris emptis ad .iiij. albas coloris albi de damasco cum ollis et liliis ac litteris. I. et H. xxviij. s.*

⁶ B.A. 237. 1512–13. *Et in .xij. peciis de filo uocato ryban' emptis ad [cappas et casulas reparandas]. viij. s.*

⁷ B.A. 246. 1434–5. *Et soluit uitrario pro defectu in fenestra uitrea Sancti Martini emendando. xx. d.*

⁸ B.A. 250. 1515–16. *Et in .ij. funibus emptis pro .ij. campanis nuncupatis Mary et Gabriel. iiij. s.*

⁹ In 1459–60 a list of the thirteen senior monks is given under this heading: the Prior John Walden, Thomas Cranebroke, John Draper, Richard Wilsham, John Colcell', Thomas Bound', Thomas Martyn', Richard Alen, Peter Sprot, Robert Pevense, Henry Leverton', Hugh Tamworth, and Henry Tavestok'. B.A. 244.

them, but all but two are incomplete and three are unfinished as well. None of them seems to be earlier than the latter half of the fifteenth century, but it is impossible to date them at all accurately though an attempt at approximate dating can be made, since they are written on paper, by means of the watermarks.¹ There is a surprising lack of internal evidence whereby the dates of the accounts could be ascertained—only one reference to an abbot by name.² few cases in which an official is called by his own name and not that of his office, and only one case, in an otherwise undated roll, in which mention is made of royal business.³ In these circumstances it seemed best to arrange these rolls arbitrarily by their watermark dating.

Receipts are not given on any roll except B.A. 277. In that case they consist of receipts from some of the lands, sale of stock, and perquisites of courts. In two rolls⁴ the amount of the receipts is given on the back of the last folio and balanced against the expenses. Possibly the income was received as a lump sum from a central fund, and not, as in the case of other obedientiaries, from land.

The income is expended in the general upkeep of the monastery and its inhabitants. In some respects the seneschal at this date seems to be doing some of the work of the cellarer of an earlier period, that is, he purchases food and drink in large quantities for the use of the monks, sees to the upkeep of the buildings, the clothing of the chapel boys and pages, pays pensions and wages, and agricultural expenses. He seems to be responsible for the payment of fees to attorneys, solicitors and serjeants-at-law engaged on the abbey business in the royal courts, as well as for payments to members

¹ Watermarks have been checked in: *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire Historique des marques du papier*, C. M. Briquet.

² This is in B.A. 276, where there is a reference to the late Abbot Richard, i.e. Richard Tovy who died in 1503.

³ The abbot goes to London to Parliament in Hilary term in the fifth year of the King. B.A. 275. Unfortunately, the roll does not say which king, and Dugdale's 'A perfect copy of all summons of the nobility' gives no summons to Parliament in the fifth year of Edward IV, Henry VII, or Henry VIII.

⁴ B.A. 273 and B.A. 276.

of the Abbot's Council at home.¹ On this account, too, appear the expenses of outfitting about twenty fighting men and the cost of the abbot's armour and a standard showing the cross of St. George, the image of St. Martin, and the arms of the abbey.²

Treasurers' Accounts

Very few of the Treasurers' Accounts have survived, and all but one are later than 1400. They are made up on parchment or paper, are generally short and not very informative about the administration of the treasurer's office, and they deal, almost invariably, with very small sums of money.

The exception to all this is the account for 1350. On this roll payments are received from a number of manors and rectories³ to a total of £237 15s. 5½*d.* The expenses are greatly in excess of this because of a deficit of over £300 from the previous year, due possibly to the death of the abbot, Alan de Ketlyng, which may have occurred then.⁴ The negotiations and expenditure incidental to the election of the new abbot, Robert de Bello, are included in this account.⁵ This is an item that would not occur ordinarily on the Treasurer's roll, and in the absence of other accounts of the same period it is impossible to say whether payments made by the Treasurer to the cellarer, chaplain, chamberlain, auditors, bailiff of the liberty, and minstrels are normal or not. Some other items, such as payments to the sheriff's following, the escheator, sub-sheriff, &c., are obviously dictated by the fact of the voidance, for though the monks of Battle had the right of retaining their temporalities during a vacancy, it was generally wise to con-

¹ There are two examples of members of the Lord's Council: *Et in feodo Iohannis Hale lege periti de consilio domini .xiiij. s. iiij. d.* B.A. 276. *Et in feodo Thome Fenys militis per annum de consilio domini .liij. s. iiij. d.* B.A. 275.

² *Et soluti pro uno uexillo de serico cum cruce sancti Georgii ymagine sancti martini et armis monasterii empto london' .xx. s.* B.A. 277.

³ Manors of Appledram, Crowmarsh, Bromham, Brightwalton, Hoton, Wye, Dungemarsch, and Wachyndenne and rectories of Samford, Exning, Aylesham, Icklesham.

⁴ *Dugdale's Monasticon* does not give the date of his death.

⁵ Transcribed as appendix. B.A. 111.

ciliate the sheriff and the escheator for the loss of their perquisites. Of the same order is a payment to the purveyors of the prince to prevent their seizing the abbey's oats.

The later accounts are altogether different. Income is obtained from the manor of Marley in assized rents and the profits from wood sold. Several accounts have a statement *in dorso* of the number of *Shippebordes*, *Dorebordes*, *Sindule*, *Tegellattes*, *Dachelattes*, *Sappelattes* and *Shotebordes* made there during the year. These two items produce only a very small income—as low as £8 11s. in 1456–7—though the expenditure is generally less, being mainly concerned with the upkeep of the manorial buildings at Marley, the maintenance of the furnishings of the laundry, dormitory, and refectory of the monastery, and wages to the shoemaker, tailor, and washerwoman who served the monks.

It is difficult to explain why this office, through which the revenues of the whole monastery might be expected to pass, has actually so little importance. There is a single reference to the auditors in the roll for 1350, but otherwise no indication is given that the treasurer was concerned with the audit or its officials. The explanation of this lack of function may lie in the independence of the obedientiaries within the scope of their offices. Each office was endowed with lands and administered its own revenues; the abbot's chaplain dealt with his income; at first the cellarer, and then the seneschal of the household organized the food supplies of the monastery. Thus the treasurer, to judge from his account, was left with no control over their source of revenue or their expenditure of it, and with no duties of his own apparently, save that of outfitting those monks not provided for otherwise; superintending the purchase of rushes for strewing,¹ repairs to beds and desks in the dormitory,² and the provision of buckets and other utensils for the laundry.³

¹ B.A. 132. 1456–7.

² B.A. 128. 1500–1.

³ B.A. 130. 1488–9; B.A. 120. 1530–1.

APPENDIX

Expense forinsece. Expense uacacionis et eleccionis.

In donis datis Escaetori Sussex' pro amicitia in uacacione habenda cum rewarda familie sue .xj. s. x. d.

In denariis datis domino Episcopo Nazaren' sepelienti dominum Alanum Abbatem .xl. s.

Item familie sue .xiiij. s. vj. d.

Item in aliis diuersis expensis factis circa sepultura eiusdem. . Abbatis .xxx. s.

Item in .viiij. breuibus ad diuersos comitatus London' inpetrandis pro libertatibus saluandis in uacacione Abbatis .iiij. s.

Soluti cuidam clerico de cancellaria ad scrutandos Rotulos in turri london' pro euidencia habenda de ultima uacacione .vj. s. viij. d.

Item in nunciis missis pro dictis breuibus ad diuersa loca deferendis .iiij. s. ij. d.

In expensis domini Iohannis de Brightwalton' commorantis London' circa dicta negocia et circa licencia electionis per .viiij. dies .xxxij. s.

In expensis dompni Nicholai de Sandwich' London' et de London' usque Caleys ad Regem et iterum redeundi London' pro licencia eleccionis habenda .xx. s.

Item clerico de priuato sigillo .iiij. s. iiij. d.

Item Rogero breuigero misso a bello London' .xij. d.

In expensis magistri Thome Rectoris de Hauekhurst' uersus London' et redeundi pro consilio habendo super eleccionem factam tractandum cum domino archiepiscopo .xxvj. s. viij. d.

In .j. nuncio deferenti litteras priori Exon' ad citandum eundem pro noua eleccione .xiiij. s. vj. d.

In dono magistro Iohanni Bolter pro instrumento prefixionis citationis cum sequela sua .xij. s.

In .j. nuncio misso London' magistro Iohanni Lecche ad essendum super eleccionem .xviiij. d.

Item in .j. puero misso apud Alsiston' .iiij. d. ad premuniendum aduentum magistri Iohannis Lecche.

In mundacione .j. cuppe date magistro Iohannis Lecche xii[. . .] d.

Item pro littera ordinacionis per archiepiscopum .xviiij. d.

Item magistro Iohanni de Lecche .x.li.

Item notario .lxvj. s. viij. d.

Item capellano et armigero eiusdem .xiiij. s. iiij. d.

Item .iiij. ualettis eiusdem .vj. s.

Item .ij. garcionibus .ij. s.

In expensis trium hominum uersus Cicestr' per .vij. dies eundem et redeundum .vj. s. viij. d.

Item in expensis domini Iohannis de Brightwalton' London' querentis supradictum magistrum Iohannem Lecche et ducentis eundem ad bellum ad essendum super electionem ut supra custibus domus .xxv. s. iiij. d.

In expensis domini Roberti de Bello electi de bello usque London' ad regem et de London' usque Apuldram et iterum de Apuldram' ad regem et redeundi ad bellum .viiij. li. vj. d. q.

In donis datis familie episcopi Cicestr' .liij. s. iiij. d.

Item magistro Iohanni Leche pro expensis suis de Cicestr' uersus London' .xx. s.

Item in dono cancellario .xl. s.

Item dati domino Dauit de Wollor' pro feodo cancellarii .xl. s.

In necessariis domini Abbatis. uidelicet in .j. panno de cerico empto London' .xl. s.

In factura sigillorum suorum London' .xxxvj. s. viij. d.

In .j. littera certificatoris de proclamancia facta super eleccionem uersus decanum de Dallynton' prosequenda et ordinanda per magistrum Iohannem Bolter' .ij. s.

Item in eadem ad episcopum deferenda .xviiij. d.

In donis datis magistro Iohanni Boltere die installacionis domini Abbatis de preceptis dicti Abbatis .vj. s. viij. d.

Item Rogero breuigero pro breuibus domini Alani abbatis deferentibus per Angliam .x. s.

PART II. THE COLLECTION OF MR. HUGH WHISTLER OF BATTLE

By the courtesy of Mr. Hugh Whistler, and the kind offices of Mr. L. F. Salzman, F.S.A., I have been permitted to examine a number of obedientiary rolls, manorial accounts, and court rolls, compiled at Battle Abbey in the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. They were bought by Mr. Whistler in June 1936, at Sotheby's, and were part of the Phillipps' collection of Battle Abbey manuscripts, most of which were bought by the late Mr. Henry Huntington in 1923, and by him given to his foundation, the Huntington Library, in California. In the first part of this article I have described the various groups of obedientiary rolls belonging to that library. This collection has no examples of chaplains' or seneschals' accounts, but it has two abbey rolls; ten almoners', two of which are earlier than those in the Huntington Library Collection; six beadles'; six cellarers'; two sacristans', and two treasurers' rolls. There are as well seven account rolls and a court roll for the manor of Barnhorne, and a court roll and a fragment for Battle itself. In general

the manuscripts are not in as good a state of preservation as those acquired by the library, but they have this advantage, that whereas the library manuscripts had been unstitched, had their edges trimmed in some cases, and been mounted in volumes which occasionally obscured their margins,¹ these rolls have remained in their original form, apart from stitches rotting occasionally. In those cases, it has been very simple to identify the parts of each account and re-attach them.

The range in date is considerable: the earliest, a cellarer's account, is dated, tentatively, as 1287; the latest is a court roll covering the years 1556-9, when the abbey was re-established in the reign of Philip and Mary, and the first year of Elizabeth. A list of these rolls is appended to this article. In order to facilitate reference to the accounts I have followed the same plan of numbering that I used for the manuscripts of the Huntington Library Collection, except that for these I have used the prefix W.B.A. (instead of B.A.) followed by the number, which is quite arbitrary, assigned to the roll.

The sort of detail given in each set of rolls varies according to period. The earlier accounts in each group give a much clearer picture of the internal organization of the monastery than the later and, apparently much fuller, accounts. There seems generally to be a tendency in the fifteenth century and later for the obedientiary to render his account more particularly of the lands attached to his office, and less of those functions that would seem to be inherent in its title. It is possible that he kept day-by-day accounts of the amount of bread he gave to the poor, or of the meals and clothing he provided for the monks, and either failed to include these totals in the roll for the year, or rendered a separate account which has not survived. There is a clue to this in the two accounts for the almoner's office in 1343:² one of them is for the office itself, the other for the grange of Battle with that of

¹ All this before they came into the possession of the Huntington Library.

² W.B.A. 19, 15.

Barnhorne, and the balance of the second is included in the receipts of the first. Similar receipts from other manors might indicate that still other accounts once existed. But it is easy to see that pressure of business would force the amalgamation of all such accounts into the obedientiary's main account, and might eventually swamp the record of his actual functions.

The cellarer is a case in point. In the earliest account in this collection, that for 1287,¹ the cellarer has an income of £245 19s. 11½*d.*, the bulk of which is spent on food for the monastery. The totals are interesting: oil and wine cost £26 15s. 9½*d.*; meat and eggs, £52 19s. 11*d.* fish, mainly herrings bought at Winchelsea, from Godwin Turk, or at the door, accounts for £106 19s. 4*d.*; dairy products, salt and pepper, apples, nuts and sundries amount to £19 17s. 11*d.* In 1351² the income of the office has risen to £316 0s. 11*d.*; by 1436³ it has dropped to £56 19s. 3½*d.*, out of which the cellarer provides food *pro hospicio*, but nothing for the monastery as a whole.

The treasurer, through whose account the revenues of the abbey might be expected to pass, is concerned with much smaller matters. From his roll it appears that he was responsible for the provision and laundering of the monks' clothing. His washerwoman was paid 20*s.* a year, his tailor 26*s.* 8*d.*, and his lawyer 20*s.* The roll for 1483⁴ gives the cost of mending the tubs in the wash-house; of making a new lock for his room at Marley, and palings for his garden there, *et in [sc]hopa Scissoris ac fenestris alibi in Sartoria emendis .vj. d.* Incidental building expenses scattered throughout the rolls throw some light on the activity of each office: in 1343⁵ the almoner allows 30*s.* *in quadam domo pro distribuzione pauperum*; and on the same account, two shillings for carving round the altar at Maxfield. Twenty years later⁶ a new building is put up at Maxfield and the cost of its construction is given in great detail. It seems to have been an extension to a house already

¹ W.B.A. 37.² W.B.A. 36.³ W.B.A. 35.⁴ W.B.A. 44.⁵ W.B.A. 19.⁶ W.B.A. 14.

there, because there are payments to men clearing out the floor space, and making a dirt floor. The carpenters, who did the greater part of the work, apparently consumed 29s. worth of ale,¹ as against 7s. worth of meat, 3s. worth of eggs, and a quantity of fish. The account gives prices of *teghelpryg's*, *daschprig's*, *plonchysnayl's*, *dorenayl's*, and *smalsharp's*,² terms which may be familiar to the carpenter of to-day. These Battle Abbey rolls are a good source for the English names of common objects. Quite frequently the scribe gives the English of a word with a Latin ending or abbreviation mark—probably because of his lack of Latin. He will write *In Lynnon et Cotoun emptis*; *In .ccc. Lednail*; *In .j. Seyl' empt' ad molendinum ventricatum*;³ or *In solucione facta coco conuentus pro magno cultello vocato dressyngknyfe*.⁴ An inventory has survived on the almoner's roll for 1426.⁵ A transcription of the more interesting parts follows, and this, too, bears out the freedom that the scribe takes with the Latin language:

Remanent ibidem in festo sancti michaelis anno infrascripto In Camera .i. magna cista In botellaria .j. mappa mensalis .j. tankardus grossus ferr[. . .] cum circulis ligni ligat' .ij. costelettes .j. botellus de corio pro ceruisia .ij. treys .iiij. lepys ligati et ij [. . .] .j. olla en' .ij. patelli en' .j. peluis debilis .j. plumbum quadratum .j. buntell' .j. tripos ferralis . . . [here follows a list of agricultural implements] . . . Item apud Mexfeld'. In aula .j. alta tabula mensalis cum trestallis et .j. formella ad idem .ij. sydetables dormantes humo affirmati cum .ij. formellis .j. [. . .] bord' In camera domini .j. lectus factus de bordis pro domino .j. plate ferralis cum .iiij. nosys ferralibus pro candelis .ij. lecti facti de bordis in camera capellani .v. lecti de bordis in camera subtus camera domini .xiiij. lecti de bordis in camera uocata sayneschambr' Item in capella .iiij. formella .j. altare factum de bordis .j. superaltare .ij. ymagines unde .j. de sancta maria et .j. de sancto Thoma martire .j. botellus .j. pipa cum .j. lyde affirmata et .j. staple .ij. uase ligni .j. magna tabula facta Paryngbord' .j. alstage .ij. bordi humo affirmati pro peluibus super ponendis .xj. Sheluys .j. perche pro mappa pendenda Item in coquina .ij. dressores .ij. tynes .j. mortarium

¹ The figures have been altered, and though it certainly reads xxix. s. it may be that xxix. d. is meant. The sum total is missing, so it is impossible to check the figures.

² In order. 1s. 6d. a thousand; 22s. for 12,000; 8d. a hundred; 6d. a hundred; and 3d. a hundred.

³ W.B.A. 37.

⁴ W.B.A. 35.

⁵ W.B.A. 16.

lapideum .j. stoppe .ij. bolla ligni In lardaria .j. chame [...] .j. shelue .ij. uase lignie In camera coci .ij. lecti de bordis. Item super diuersa ostia domorum infra motam .xvj. serrure cum clauibus cum serura super portam mote.

An entry such as this certainly gives a vivid picture of the sort of establishment that an obedientiary kept up on the main manor attached to his office.

The sacristan was responsible for the upkeep of the abbey church. He paid wages, among others to the *Precentor*, to *fratribus de clokkario*, and to a washer-woman washing the vestments.¹ The cost of mending or replacing vestments is a fairly constant and expensive item on his accounts.² In addition he pays for windows, replacing³ and repairs to the clappers of the bells.⁴

Much else can be gleaned from these rolls, some of it with no obvious explanation. Why, for example, did the monastery in 1365⁵ decide to keep the feast of St. Anne instead of that of St. Margaret? The scribe had originally written *pro festis Katherine et Margarete*; another hand, the same that inserts the final sum totals and balances the account, has inserted *sanctarum* before *Katherine*, has crossed out *Margarete* and written *anne*. The same hand in the next line has inserted *In speciebus pro O Enanuel*⁶ *ex ordinacione domini Abbatis hoc anno primo xiiij. s. iiij. d.* Both these feasts are kept as long as we have record, and both are innovations. In the following year⁷ is an entry giving the cost of weapons bought by the almoner. No reason is given, but it is perhaps worth noting that this is the second year of the abbacy of the warlike Hamo de Offynton, who defended Winchelsea against the French in 1377. The account is as follows: *Arma. In armatura empta. vj. li. xvj. s. v. d. In panno empto pro tunicis armatorum et in factura eorum. viij. s. vj. d. In sadel. xvij. d. In sagittis emptis .ij. s. In .j. sella .ix. s. In piccura .xviij. d.* It is obviously quite a small band.

¹ W.B.A. 42.

² *In panno de olicerico empto pro vestimentis faciendis* II[.]j. s. iiij. d. *In corde et filo diuersorum colorum emptis pro uestimentis . . . emend.* viij. s. W.B.A. 42.

³ W.B.A. 40.

⁴ W.B.A. 42.

⁵ Almoner's roll. W.B.A. 20.

⁶ Written thus.

⁷ W.B.A. 12.

As a source of information about the revenues of the monastery and the disposal of them, the abbey roll is without parallel. Unfortunately very few have survived, and none of them is for the fifteenth century.¹ The use of this roll may have been discontinued temporarily, but there is no obvious successor among the accounts extant. The bulk of the income is in the form of payments from the manors. It is not easy to be certain how far these payments were in cash, and how much in kind, because most of the manors supplied corn to the abbey, and this was entered on the expenses side of the account as money paid out, though it is unlikely that any actual money passed. If this item is subtracted, it reduces the apparent income of the abbey. Other income is from tithe and sale of wood. The account of expenditure gives generous detail of the business of the monastery. The more important obedientiaries—cellarer, chaplain, chamberlain, almoner—get their quota; pensions and wages are paid; the bailiff of the liberty and various attorneys have their fees for maintaining the rights of the abbey in the king's courts and elsewhere, and for particular business concerned with writs, pleas, privileges, and lawsuits. Gifts in money, robes, and furs are made to visiting magnates, and their following, to sheriffs, to officials of the king and his family, and in alms to the friars minor. The abbey was supporting a student² at Oxford in 1365, who was in that year taking his degree in Canon Law.³ Under various headings, provision is made for the monks for wine, corn, cloth for robes and furs, and payments at feasts and blood-letting times. Finally there are often, on these accounts, details of building work, either in repairs or in new erections. In the roll W.B.A. 3, under the heading *Necessaria et opera* there is merely a note of the purchase of .j. cella et .ij. coffere with locks and keys for them; in the same section in

¹ This collection has two, both fourteenth century; the H.L. has six for fourteenth and one sixteenth century; the P.R.O. has two for the sixteenth century.

² His name was Brother Laurence, but his surname is lost where the margin has been eaten away.

³ W.B.A. 1.

1365 are a number of items: a granary is built at Barnhorne; the dormitory (presumably of the abbey) is roofed with shingles; at Craphill', a windmill is erected; and a new road is made between the chamber of the abbot and that of the sub-prior at a cost of £26. This gives only a general idea of the wealth of material that exists in these abbey rolls, and of the type of detail given in those of the other obedientiaries. It does not pretend to be exhaustive and there is still a field for the labours of the student of local history.

*Abbey Accounts*¹

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Accountant</i>	<i>State of Account</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 1	1365-6 ²	not given	balance ³	2
W.B.A. 3	heading missing ⁴	..	debt	2

Almoners' Accounts

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Accountant</i>	<i>State of Account</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 19	1343-4	Frater Richard de Horwode	debt	1
W.B.A. 15	1343-4 ^{†5}	no accountant	balance	1
W.B.A. 14	Mich. 1363— Assump: 1364	Frater Nicholas Ancel	debt	1
W.B.A. 20	1365-6	Frater Thomas de Coumbe	balance	1
W.B.A. 12	1366-7	Frater Thomas Coumbe	debt	1

¹ All accounts are rendered from Michaelmas to Michaelmas unless stated otherwise; *balance* means an excess of receipts over expenses; *debt*, an excess of expenses over receipts, and *quit*, that expenditure equals receipts. *Incomplete* means that some part of the original document is missing; *unfinished*, that the account, though complete as regards details of receipt and expenditure, does not give totals for any section or for the whole account. A *dagger* † denotes that the account has a stock and grain account *in dorso*.

² Manuscript is in fairly good condition except for right-hand margin.

³ The balance of £9 6s. 9½d. is off set by £251 1s. 8d. of ancient debts.

⁴ Badly stained by damp. Evidence for dating: (1) mention of other officials, e.g. William Lomherst, cellarer, is cellarer in 1357 (B.A. 144); chaplain from 1364 to 1366 (B.A. 140; W.B.A. 1); keeper of Barnhorne 1369-74 (B.A. 338, 352, 354, 356; W.B.A. 47); Stephen Cranbrook, chaplain, is almoner from 1368 to 1373 (B.A. 153, 154, 170, 172); accountant for Barnhorne from 1383 to 1388 (B.A. 341, 349, 351, 353; W.B.A. 50); and sacristan in 1363-4 (W.B.A. 40); and William de Mundefeld, a co-chaplain with Stephen Cranbrook, accounts for the abbey in 1351-2 (B.A. 142). (2) Internal references to payments to various officers of the King and Prince, and to the queen for a fine; Philippa died in 1369 and Edward the Black Prince in 1376. (3) The policy of farming the manors, noticeable in W.B.A. 1, and almost fully developed by 1382-3, is less evident in W.B.A. 3. This affords presumptive, but not conclusive evidence that this roll is earlier than 1365.

⁵ Account of Grange of Almonry of Battle, and Grange of Barnhorne. The balance is paid to Almoner in W.B.A. 19. These two rolls are the earliest Almoner's account known for Battle—sixteen years earlier than H.L. almoners' accounts.

60 THE OBEDIENTIARY ROLLS OF BATTLE ABBEY

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Accountant</i>	<i>State of account</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 6	1387-8	Frater William Brunston	debt	2
W.B.A. 22	1424-5 [†] 1	John Draper	debt	1
W.B.A. 16	1426-7 [†]	Robert Canterbury	debt	1
W.B.A. 17	1439-40 [†]	Dominus Hugh Thamworth	incomplete and unfinished	1
W.B.A. 13	no date ²	fragment		1

Beadles' Accounts

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Accountant</i>	<i>State of account</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 25	Mich. 1385- St. John the Baptist, 1386	William Goldesmyth Beadle	balance	2
W.B.A. 29	St. John the Baptist 1386 -Mich. 1386	Stephen Dalington Beadle	debt	1
W.B.A. 28	1420-1 ³	Richard Curteys, Beadle	quit	1 memb. 1 schedule (paper)
W.B.A. 30	1439-40	" " "	debt	2
W.B.A. 26	[1453-4] ⁴	heading missing	balance	2
W.B.A. 31	1478-9 ⁵	William Longe, Beadle	balance	1

Cellarers' Accounts

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Accountant</i>	<i>State of account</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 37	[Mich. 1287- St. John the Baptist 1288] ⁶	Frater J. de Exon ⁷	balance	1
W.B.A. 36	1351-2	Frater Gilbert de Lyndeseye	debt	1
W.B.A. 32	1404-5 [†]	Fratres John Brygroue and William Chilham	quit	1
W.B.A. 33	1410-11 ^{†7}	Frater John [Underdowne]	incomplete and unfinished	1
W.B.A. 38	1420-1 [†]	Frater John Exetre	unfinished	1
W.B.A. 35	[1436-7] ^{†8}	Dominus John Martyn	balance	2

¹ Badly stained by damp; almost illegible.² Same handwriting as W.B.A. 17.³ A schedule is attached on paper, showing the sums the beadle petitions to be allowed on his account. There is a balance on the account which is wiped out by the allowances on the schedule.⁴ A payment made to the cellarer, Jacob Chart, on 15 Feb. 32 Hen. VI, fixes the date of this account.⁵ The heading is badly defaced, but there is confirmation of the date in a payment to the cellarer on 16 Jan. 19 Edw. IV.⁶ Dated 15th year of Edward; same accountant as B.A. 287, where a similar problem arose. The form of the account, which is simple and without marginal headings, and the handwriting support the dating as Edward I. Other obedienciaries mentioned by name are Geoffrey de Kenynton⁷, the next cellarer, A. de Retling, chaplain, J. de Thrulegh⁸, and H. de la Rye. At a later period, the back of this account has been used by various people practising writing. It is covered with alphabets, opening phrases of documents, &c.⁷ Some totals are given in left-hand margin.⁸ Year almost illegible. xv [. . . .]

Sacristans' Accounts

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Accountant</i>	<i>State of account</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 40	1363-4	Frater Stephen de Cranebrok'	incomplete	1
W.B.A. 42	11-12 [...] ^{†1}	Heading missing	balance	2

Treasurers' Accounts

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Accountant</i>	<i>State of account</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 44	Trans. St. [Richard] ² Bishop 1483-Mich. 1484	Dominus Thomas Tyuerton	unfinished	1
W.B.A. 43	no date ³	fragment	quit	1

APPENDIX

Court Rolls

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>No. of Courts</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 57	6 Oct. 1530- 9 March 1531	Battle	8 Courts	2
W.B.A. 56	—	Battle [Ukkeham]	fragment of hundred Court Roll	1
W.B.A. 55	26 Oct. 1556- 20 June 1559	Barnhorne and Ashmeres- hurst	7 Courts	2
Roll be- longing to Hastings Public Library	9 Oct. 1466- 30 July 1467	Battle [Sandlake, Iltonsbach', Middelborgh', Moneioye, Bukstepe, Ukkeham, Glasye, Barnhorne, Telham]	13 Courts 2 Hundred Courts	11

The Battle Court Roll belonging to Hastings Public Library

The Hastings Public Library bought, in 1935, a Battle Court Roll at a sale of some of the Phillipp's Collection of manuscripts. It consists of eleven membranes, fastened together at the top; some of them were badly tattered at the edges, but the damage has been most skilfully repaired since its acquisition. The roll, which is not quite complete, covers the greater part of the year 1466-7, and contains accounts of courts at three-weekly intervals, and of two Hundred courts at Michaelmas and Hocktide. These latter accounts are noteworthy for the number of people presented who have come to live within the Liberty without becoming tenants of the Abbey. In

¹ Badly stained by damp; both margins and top rotted away.

² The name of the saint is illegible, but the initial letter appears to be R. Rents and wages are paid for a year and a half; and the last court held within the period is on 23 April 1484.

³ This can be identified as a Treasurer's account by the wages account, most of which is visible.

every case, they are ordered to pay chevage. Another frequent entry is the presentment of regrators—mainly in meat, corn, and beer. From the accounts of the three-weekly courts will be seen the difficulty that the Abbey was experiencing in finding tenants for its land. In some cases no heir appears even at the third proclamation; and in others the heir takes seisin only to pass the holding on to another tenant—not as expensive a proceeding in Battle as elsewhere. since no heriot is due on lands '*in burga*', and entry fines are small.

Accounts of Barnhorne (in Bexhill)

<i>Acc. no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Accountant</i>	<i>State of Account</i>	<i>No. of membranes</i>
W.B.A. 46	1354-5†	William Mot, Serjeant	quit	2
W.B.A. 47	1371-2†	Frater William Lomherst, keeper	debt	1
W.B.A. 50	1385-6†	Frater Stephen Cranebroke	balance	2
W.B.A. 51	1467-8†	Heading defective	quit	2
W.B.A. 54	1494-5† ¹	William [. . .] bailiff	incomplete and un- finished	1
W.B.A. 49	Heading illegible†		incomplete	2
W.B.A. 48	Fragment†		quit	1
W.B.A. 53	Fragment†			1

¹ The heading is defective. *In recto*, the account is rendered from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, but the king and year are missing; *In dorso* are the words . . . festo Natalis Domini anno H. vij^a . xj.