

II.—OBEDIENTIARIES AND COUNSELLORS IN MONASTIC ADMINISTRATION AT DURHAM.

BY E. M. HALCROW.

The prior or abbot's council was a recognized feature of thirteenth-century monastic organization¹ and grew in importance as judicial and administrative work became increasingly technical and complicated. In the same way, from an early date, the household and estate administration of abbeys and priories was concentrated increasingly in the hands of a number of senior monks, the obedientiaries.² The centre of gravity in temporal administration shifted from the chapter to the obedientiaries and senior monks, who formed select committees to discuss the more difficult points of administration. Except at Canterbury, however, little attention has been paid to the relations between the counsellors and obedientiaries, and their respective spheres of activity in monastic administration have not been defined. The work of the council at Canterbury was consultative and judicial. Legislative and administrative work was strictly in the hands of monastic obedientiaries who acted in the chapter, exchequer and chancery, rather than in the council.³ The same tendency can be traced at other convents. The object of the present study is to trace this development at Durham and where possible to indicate comparisons with other places.

¹ For references see N. Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England* (Oxford, 1937), p. 27.

² D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 427-39.

³ R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 58-62, 77.

A study of the council of the priors of Durham Cathedral Priory indicates that the activities of the counsellors and their relations with the obedientiaries compare closely with conditions at Canterbury. On all questions relating to land purchase, or judicial proceedings concerning land, the advice of the counsellors was extremely important. For instance, in 1386, the terrar and bursar with the steward and two counsellors, Roger of Blaykeston and Thomas of Seton, were present with the prior and others of the council at Wardley, where an inquisition was held concerning the waste in the moor of Heworth. A dispute concerning this waste had arisen between the prior and bishop.⁴ In 1427-8 a gift of 13s. 4d. was given to John Aslakby, who had been a counsellor from 1418, for his advice about an exchange of land.⁵ The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were a period of small land acquisitions made by purchase or as a result of credit transactions in spite of the Statute of Mortmain. The procedure involved in making such acquisitions and in eventually transferring the land to the convent, led to the employment of a number of clerks and chaplains, highly trained men, who were retained as counsellors to act on behalf of the convent.⁶ Yet, if questions of the ownership of land and the law of property were subjects which came under discussion among counsellors, on the other hand estate administration was firmly controlled by the leading obedientiaries, notably the bursar and terrar.

Occasionally, when highly technical questions were involved, counsellors were present in chapter. Such men were distinguished clerks, trained in both secular and ecclesiastical law, sometimes with long experience in the service of the bishop or the king. For example counsellors

⁴ *Account Rolls*, S.S. 100 (1896), p. 533. Cf. a case at Canterbury, where, in 1333, a joint assembly of *seniores ad scaccarium* and counsellors came to an agreement regarding land purchase—R. A. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁵ Bursar's Roll—unpublished (Dean and Chapter Muniments).

⁶ Compare the employment of jurisperiti of the council at Ely Priory in the proceedings relating to the amortization of the manor of Mepal in 1361—Rev. Seiriol J. A. Evans, *The Purchase and Mortification of Mepal by the Prior and Convent of Ely 1361—E.H.R.* 51 (1936).

of this type were present in chapter when the Appeal concerning the cell of Coldingham was drawn up in 1422. This was a case of much importance, for the cell was rich and contributed towards the revenues of the mother house. Prior John Wessyngton had presented William Drax as Prior of Coldingham in 1417, but, even in 1422, Drax had not been instituted, as the Bishop of St. Andrew's, the diocesan of the prior of Coldingham, was attempting to obtrude a monk of Dunfermline as prior.⁷ Counsellors were again present in chapter in 1434 when proceedings relating to the purgation of Thomas Nesbit, a monk accused of immorality, took place. A number of the counsellors on this occasion held high ecclesiastical office. Thomas Percy was canon of the collegiate church of Southwell, William Chauncellor was the bishop's chancellor, William Doncastre his official and John Burgham was a bachelor of law and rector of St. Mary's. There was also a group of six chaplains.⁸ The others are described as *generosis et literatis*.⁹ Of these, William Rakett was probably the man entertained at Durham in 1446, who was steward of the household of the Earl of Westmorland.¹⁰ A distinction, however, is clearly drawn between these counsellors and the obedientiaries and senior monks who sat in chapter. Thomas Nesbit had denied his guilt *in presencia confratrorum nostrorum*. In chapter, his compurgators were heads of dependent cells and obedientiaries. The part played by the counsellors was limited to the act of testifying that these proceedings had taken place. They signed their names as witnesses to a record of the case, drawn up by Thomas Tang, Robert Beerhalgh, John Ronkehorne and John Beerhalgh, notaries public.¹¹

The amount of litigation at Durham was considerable

⁷ *Priory of Coldingham*, S.S. 12 (1842), pp. 94-5, 89-95.

⁸ *Hist. Dunelm Script. Tres.*, S.S. 9 (1839) pp. CCXL-CCXLI—Peter de Kirkeby, William Holilob, John Bynchestre, John Perterkye, John Elstob, Ralph Skipton, John Corbrig and Robert Heryngton.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. CCXLI.

¹⁰ *Account Rolls*, S.S. (1898), pp. 86, 87.

¹¹ See the description of proceedings—*Script. Tres.*, p. CCXXXIX:—witnesses, pp. CCXL-CCXLI.

and counsellors were regularly employed on every type of legal business. Many men were presumably employed in a particular court or for a particular function and appear in this capacity in the Bursar's Roll from year to year.¹² In some cases proctors were appointed for a definite matter in which the prior and convent were concerned. For instance, in 1361, Master John of Appleby and Brother John of Barnard Castle were appointed proctors at Rome in a case against Thomas of Morpath, vicar of Merrington. In 1383 M. John Moubray, Geoffrey of Scrope and Thomas Walkyngton, doctors of law, were appointed proctors at Rome.¹³ John of Stanton and M. John of Suthwell were special proctors at York in 1391, and William of Thurstanton, clerk, was appointed proctor at Rome in 1396.¹⁴ Some of the men who served in this capacity were persons whose services were in great demand. In the thirteenth century Reginald of Brandun, a well-known proctor, canon of Howden and St. Paul's, was employed. In 1403 Master Robert Appilton was retained as a counsellor, although already in the service of the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, York. His pension was 40s. a year, but this was to be raised to £5 a year during any period when he was in Rome on the convent's behalf. Moreover, it was to continue at that figure on his return.¹⁵

Sometimes counsellors were employed on business connected with episcopal visitations or elections of the bishop or prior. In 1408-9 Master Thomas Grenwode and John Staynton received 53s. 4d. for their expenses and labour during the bishop's visitation. In 1441-2 Master Robert Ormesheued and Master William Bispam were paid the same amount for their work.¹⁶ A transcript of a letter has survived, which was sent to York *pro consilio* in the case of

¹² See Appendix I.

¹³ Dean and Chapter Muniments, Register II, f. 145, 197.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, f. 197 (Suthwell was granted an annual pension of 38 marcs in 1936—f. 129). For the appointment of Thurstanton *ibid.*, f. 130b-131.

¹⁵ *Durham Annals and Docs. of the Cent. XIII*, S.S. 155 (1940), p. 88; *Script. Tres.*, pp. CLXXVI-VII. Cf. the activities of the counsellors in litigation at Canterbury—R. A. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.

¹⁶ Bursar's Rolls—unpublished.

a visitation by the bishop, though the name of the counsellor summoned is not copied into the Register.¹⁷ Again, in 1414-15, Master John Sclawe and Master John Staynton received 40s. each from the bursar at the time of the prior's election.¹⁸

In the same way counsellors were occasionally employed in connection with the manorial court. The bursar, terrar and steward usually presided at the Halmote, though occasionally the prior attended himself and the terrar did not appear. On a few occasions one of the most important and active of the counsellors of the priory was president of the Halmote Court. For example, John of Elvet acted in this capacity from 1371.¹⁹ Cases are rare in which a matter which came before the Halmote was referred to the prior's council.²⁰ The prior, bursar and terrar, however, were highly experienced administrators who had enjoyed the advantages of a university education. When assisted by the steward and possibly a counsellor such as John of Elvet, who had studied law, they could bring expert legal knowledge to bear on difficult cases without the delay and expense involved in seeking outside advice.

In spite of the extent to which counsellors were employed, however, one of the most striking features of the administra-

¹⁷ Dean and Chapter Muniments, Reg. Parva I, f. 7b.

¹⁸ Bursar's Rolls.

¹⁹ *Halmote Rolls*, S.S. 82 (1886), pp. 107, 118, 126, 130, 133, 136, 139, 141, 144, 167, 168, 173, 178. References in the Bursar's Rolls to John de Elvet's activities in legal business are extremely frequent and, in 1357, he paid £13 6s. 8d. to have the office of coroner for life. He was rector of Kimblesworth till his resignation in 1383, vicar of Aycliffe 1383-96, and had a grant of St. Peter's, Newcastle, in 1382—*Fasti Dunelmensis*, S.S. 139 (1926), p. 1. The office of president of the Halmote was filled in the same way on the manors of Norwich Cathedral Priory, where either the prior or the magister celarii would preside—for example, see Bodleian, Norfolk Rolls; 56, 44. At St. Alban's the cellarer used to preside—A. E. Levett, *Studies in Manorial History* (Oxford, 1938), p. 111.

²⁰ In 1296 the prior was consulted because the king's officers had seized a beast from the prior's bailiff when he was performing carrying service in place of a defaulting tenant. The bailiff attempted to make the tenant responsible for the loss. This was referred to the council—*Halmote Rolls*, p. 3. A case at Fery was referred to the council in 1380. A tenant in tail, after possibility of issue was extinct, conveyed in fee simple to avoid an escheat, the tenant in remainder having died without an heir—*ibid.*, p. 163.

tion at Durham is the manner in which obedientiaries or monks acted alone or occasionally in conjunction with counsellors in both secular and ecclesiastical business. An example has already been cited in which a monk, John of Barnard Castle, acted at Rome together with a counsellor, Master John of Appelby. Again, the terrar was extremely active in administrative business of every type. In addition to tasks strictly related to the administration of the conventual estates he paid visits to London to speak with the bishop. For example, in 1389-90 his expenses in this connection were £4 13s. 4d. according to the Bursar's Rolls. He also attended parliament that year at a cost of £11 10s. 8½d. In the same way, he sometimes incurred heavy expenses in connection with a law suit. The Bursar's Roll for 1364-5, for instance, mentions that he spent £21 12s. 11d. *circa placitum de Meldirstan*. Sometimes the prior's chaplain was employed on administrative business or to conduct a law suit. Thus, John of Barnard Castle visited the prior's churches in Northumberland in 1375 while Robert of Lanchester went to London on business in 1391. Occasionally the heads of dependent cells were employed in this way. Prior G. of Finchale and Master Alexander spent 100s. on a visit to Carlisle to transact legal business, while the Prior of Finchale accompanied John of Hayeby to Parliament at Northampton and London at a cost of £15.²¹ The prior had rights of jurisdiction over appropriated churches in Yorkshire and Howdenshire and he received pensions from certain churches in these counties. On several occasions this necessitated delicate negotiations with the Archbishop of York. Though counsellors gave advice on such matters they were not reserved for discussion in the council but rather the responsibility for decisions rested on the chief obedientiaries assisted and advised by counsellors. For instance, according to the Bursar's Roll for 1375-6, Master William of Farnham and Master Hugh of Fletham, bursar and others of the council of the prior at York, Howden and

²¹ All these references to expenses come from the unpublished Bursar's Rolls.

East Rainton paid 35s. to compound with the lord archbishop for the church pensions of the lord prior in the diocese of York. The bursar also went to York with two counsellors at a cost of 41s. 10d. and made a third visit there with Roger of Fulthorp, Thomas Surtays, Hugh of Westwyk and others of the council of the lord prior at a cost of 38s. for a stay lasting four days. Finally the bursar went to Alverton with William of Farnham to speak with the archbishop at a cost of 7s. 10d.

It was in manorial and estate administration, however, that the initiative was most clearly retained in the hands of the prior and obedientiaries. The steward, though an extremely important permanent adviser, had less responsibility than did the steward of a great lay magnate. On conventual estates he rarely acted alone. Instead he was associated with the most important of the obedientiaries who discussed and initiated major improvements and changes of policy and even supervised the details of husbandry and estate management. To illustrate this form of organization it is useful to study the system at Durham in detail and then to compare this with other places.

The importance of the obedientiaries in relation to the manorial courts has already been mentioned. The prior himself, or the presidents of the manorial court, pardoned debts or amercements and made allowances to be deducted from entry fines in cases of particular hardship. Allowances of this type can be traced in the Bursar's Rolls where they form a separate paragraph from 1334 onwards. For example, the Bursar's Roll c. 1310 records that at Norham debts amounting to £27 were pardoned "as appears by letter of the lord prior". In 1360-1 some rents and debts were pardoned by the prior, some by the terrar. In 1371 the steward, terrar and prior together made allowances of this type. Both the bursar and the terrar made visits of inspection and supervision to the Scottish property of the convent and there are frequent references to the activities of the bursar in collecting rents. The leasing of land, grants

of land, transactions relating to rents and similar business were all the responsibility of the tarrar. Thus an enquiry was held concerning the land held by John of Hedworth in 1345 without a lease from any tarrar.²² Tenants at will required a licence from him to alienate a part or the whole of their tenement for a term of years or life.²³

In manorial administration the responsibilities of the bursar and tarrar were of considerable importance. The financial organization of the manor was chiefly the concern of the bursar. Before 1325 the sergeant or reeve rarely handled an income greater than sufficed for the upkeep of the manor. Rents, which do not appear in the manorial accounts, were paid direct to the bursar or special collectors and produce was supplied without charge to the prior and convent. The bulk of the reeve's cash receipt therefore consisted of a sum paid to him by the bursar. This appears to have been approximately sufficient to cover necessary expenses but left the reeve or sergeant without any cash in hand at the end of the year. Indeed there was usually a slight deficit. After 1325 as, at different dates before the mid-fourteenth century, the practice of selling the grain produced on the manors locally was introduced and grazing rights on the demesne leased from year to year, the bursar received varying amounts from the reeve at intervals throughout the year, for whenever he visited a manor he took away any cash in hand.

In the same way, supervision of details of agrarian policy were included in the work of the bursar and tarrar. The most important event in the supervision of a manor was a full scale visitation. This sometimes took the form of a progress round the manors made by the prior himself. Such a progress cost 40s. c. 1336. In 1383 the cost was grouped with the expenses of holding the Halmote and amounted in all to 29s. 11d. At other times the bursar and tarrar carried out manorial visitations. Less formal visits to the manors

²² *Halmote Rolls*, p. 15; cf. a grant at Westoe, p. 28.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 119 (Shields), p. 51 (Billingham).

were regularly made by both the bursar and the terrar. Thus each bursar's account includes a paragraph headed *Expense Bursarii per Maneria*. This gives details of the manors visited until the fifteenth century, when the entry is reduced to a stereotyped statement that the bursar's expenses in the connection amounted to 40s. Sometimes the steward accompanied the bursar on such occasions but there is no evidence that he ever acted independently. Some indication of the number of visits carried out can be obtained from the unpublished bursar's account for 1300-1. The amounts spent were not large, but the amount of work involved by the journeys was considerable. In that year the bursar spent three days at Ketton, paid four short visits there later in the year, he went three times to Wardley, twice to Beaulieu, several times to Pitlington, Muggleswick and Bear Park, while he also paid a visit to Norham.

In considering the work of supervision carried out on these visits the most important event of the year was the audit of the manorial account. For example, in 1340 the prior made a progress after St. Michael's day in order to audit the accounts for, unless the official in charge of the manor left office during the year, the accounts ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.²⁴ It was not, however, the practice for the prior to attend personally at every audit. For instance, in 1357, according to the bursar's account, the bursar and others stayed on after the departure of the prior and heard the account of the sergeant of Beaulieu and then the account for the manor of Muggleswick. In a few other cases it is stated that the bursar presided at the audit.²⁵ On other occasions he paid auditors.²⁶ The extent to which the

²⁴ The progress in 1340 lasted 7 days. In 1364-5 the prior's progress took place about St. Luke's day (October 18th).

²⁵ In 1343 the Bursar's Roll mentions "In expensis Bursarii circeunto per tempus compoti" XLIs. cf. statement 1377-8 that the bursar was at Westoe "pro statu manerii recipiendo".

²⁶ 1333-4. John de Durham—a monk—received 40s. for acting as auditor—*Account Rolls*, p. 523. Henry de Hette was employed several times as auditor—for example, in the Bursar's Roll for 1356-7, he was described as auditor of the accounts of the prior's servientes.

prior and obedientiaris either themselves conducted the audit or controlled the auditors contrasts with the administrative tendency of lay estates where the steward was frequently appointed, or ecclesiastics might act on the lord's behalf.²⁷

One of the most important of the manorial operations supervised by the bursar and terrar was the washing and shearing of the sheep and the weighing of the wool before it was packed. Frequently the bursar or terrar paid the cost of such operations rather than the manorial sergeant. In the same way the cellarer paid for the shearing on his manor of Aldingrange.²⁸ Both the bursar and terrar supplied stock to the manors and went to the great markets to make such purchases. Details of weak and old beasts culled and sold each year also appear in the Bursar's Rolls under the heading *Recepte Varie*. Almost every manorial account contains records of the inter-manorial traffic in stock which was not simply a system of exchanges between manors but appears to have been a deliberate policy carried out under the direction of the central authority. Arable farming, in the same way, came under the control of the chief obedientiaris. In 1334, for example, the manorial account for Pitlington gave the amount of peas and grain produced and added a statement to the effect that these were the figures given in an indenture between the terrar and the sergeant. A similar entry occurs in the paragraph relating to wheat in the Billingham account for 1334 and the same account states that the terrar drew up a schedule of the names of men to whom peas had been lent. Occasionally the terrar gave orders that grain was to be sent from one manor to another for seed. For instance, according to the Pitlington manorial account for 1389 he ordered four bushels of white peas to be sent to Fery. Sometimes he gave orders about sales of grain, as the second Pitlington manorial account for 1379 illustrates very clearly. Large numbers of releases of small gifts of grain to named men, or to workers who had been

²⁷ N. Denholm-Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-41.

²⁸ *Account Rolls*, pp. 72, 102, 108.

employed at a manor, were made by the sergeants, who acted on instructions from the bursar or terrar, as the grange accounts of the sergeants indicate. The bursar's accounts mention that he sometimes bought grain for a manor. Again, in 1331, he drew up a schedule of the wheat and oats purchased at Bearpark, according to the account for that manor.

The terrar advised the sergeant as to leases of grazing rights.²⁹ Manuring and marling of the land came under the direction of the bursar and terrar. Though minor building repairs appear in the manorial accounts the majority of repairs, and certainly the construction of new buildings, were the responsibility of the bursar, as they appear in his expenditure, or, on a few occasions, in the account rolls of the terrar. It is clear that the bursar and terrar controlled not only major questions of economic policy but were familiar with and indeed directed even minor details of demesne farming: Laymen played a very minor part in estate management and the working out of manorial policy. In the fifteenth century manors were usually leased and after 1452 the convent abandoned demesne farming, except at Muggleswick, which remained a centre for stock farming. Like earlier farming operations, this was strictly under monastic supervision and control, for a monk supervisor was associated with the stock keepers.

The terrar and bursar of Durham played a part in manorial administration similar to that of the *senescallus forinsecus* of Ely Cathedral Priory, a monk specially appointed, whose duty it was to travel around the manors of the priory and to collect and pay over to the treasurers the profits of the manors. His work included the various types of direction, which have been discussed above.³⁰ At Norwich Cathedral Priory the *Magister Celarii*, who corresponds with the bursar of Durham, exercised similar

²⁹ For example, instructions on this point appear in the manorial accounts at Pittington for 1338 and 1340.

³⁰ Ely Chapter Ordinances and Visitation Records, *Cam. Misc. XVII*, p. 24.

supervision over manorial administration. He received the reeve's cash balance³¹ and sometimes pardoned part or the whole of the reeve's cash deficit.³² Occasionally a payment such as the farm of the mill or sheep fold was made direct to him instead of passing through the hands of the reeve.³³ He dealt with the details of farming operations on the manors.³⁴ He might order grain to be sent to a manor or instruct the reeve to make gifts of grain to named individuals.³⁵ At Canterbury Cathedral Priory the monk wardens controlled and supervised manorial and estate administration in this way, while major questions of policy were discussed and settled by the *seniores ad scaccarium*.³⁶ The system at Oseney Abbey can be compared with that at Canterbury. The scattered properties of the abbey were grouped into bailiwicks, and the man in charge at each bailiwick sent his account to Oseney. A roll has survived for the year 1280, which gives accounts for half the bailiwicks. "The most remarkable point is that in six of the

³¹ This can be illustrated from the account rolls of the manor of Eton (Bodleian)—Norfolk Rolls 37 (1394-5); 44 (1410-11), etc.

³² Norfolk Rolls 44 provides a good example of this; also roll 38 (1399-1400). The prior too might pardon a deficit, or allow part of the balance due—roll 20 (1283-4) and also roll 23 (1309). The concern of the Magister Celarii with manorial finances is also illustrated by an entry in roll 46 (1520-1)—Arreragia. Nulla quia arreragia ultimi anni lato sunt in papiro Magistro Celarii. The whole financial system of the Norwich manors compares very closely with that at Durham. In most cases the reeve had no cash in hand after the audit; in a small number of cases a cash surplus had been sent to Norwich; certain manors were sending almost all their produce to Norwich and could not defray the expenses of the manor out of their cash receipts. In these cases the prior or Magister Celarii remitted cash to cover the deficit—see H. W. Saunders, *The Account Rolls of Norwich*, p. 42.

³³ Roll 33 (1373-4) Firma Molendini. Nihil his quia in compoto M. Celarii—repeated in later rolls. Roll 37 (1394-5) De compoto falde nihil hic quia per Magistrum Celarii.

³⁴ For instance roll 38 (1399-1400) indicates that he might make small purchases on behalf of the manors; also, in the account of the Magister Celarii 1491-2—Norfolk Rolls 56 he spent £8 15s. 4½d. on building repairs at Eton.

³⁵ Note Norfolk Rolls 45 (1422-3), the paragraph of the grange account, which relates to oats, mentions "De reddito de Magistro Celarii IIII quarterii IIII buselli tam per manus balliui de Newton (II quarterii—interlined) quam per manus balliui de Plumsted (II quarterii IIII buselli—interlined)".

³⁶ R. A. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-9. This traces the development of the office of monk wardens and gives an analysis of their work. For the importance of the *seniores ad scaccarium* in economic policy see p. 59 onwards.

bailiwicks one of the canons of Oseney was the resident bailiff."³⁷ Moreover, in the fifteenth century, monks acted as collectors of rents. In the same way one of the monks of Boxley accounted for the abbey's manor of Chissendone in 1289-90.³⁸

This form of manorial administration and estate management was not confined to monastic estates. The custodian, or warden, and scholars of Merton College, Oxford, exercised similar control over the details of agrarian policy and estate management. The steward usually held the manorial account though the custodian was occasionally president.³⁹ The audit of manorial accounts was always strictly under the control of the custodian, bursars and other senior officials.⁴⁰ The custodian and other *magistri* were very frequent visitors at the manors, which enabled them to supervise demesne exploitation in detail.⁴¹ They took away cash in hand at intervals from the reeves and sergeants or this was sent to the central receiving office. Special operations such as the harvest were supervised by a visitor from Oxford, who often paid the cost of the harvesting.⁴²

At a number of convents the part played in estate administration by a lay steward was more important than in the cases discussed above. For example, on the manors of Ramsey Abbey the steward usually presided at the courts, conducted the audit and gave orders about the details of demesne farming. On the other hand the reeve sometimes

³⁷ *Cartulary of Oseney*, vol. VI, Oxford Hist. Soc. (1936), p. 184.

³⁸ *Surrey Manorial Accounts*, H. M. Briggs, Surrey Rec. Soc. 37, pp. 81-3.

³⁹ *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensi* 1483-1521, Oxford Hist. Soc. LXXVI, p. 48—Sept. 19th, 1484 "deputatus erat magister Ardem primus bursarius ad equitandum cum custode circa maneria colegii et ad curias eiusdem tenendas".

⁴⁰ The details of the audit of each manor were recorded in a cyrograph and one portion of this is commonly attached to the manorial account. A typical example comes from Ibestane 1284-5. "Memorandum quod die beate Marie Magdalene anno regni regis Edwardi XIII^o audito et recepto compoto Willelmi Canon propositi de Ibestane coram Magistro Ricardo de Wrplesdone custode scolarii domus de Mertone vice custode tribus depositariis et quinque aliis sociis." Merton Rolls 5050.

⁴¹ See Appendix II—translations from Merton Rolls.

⁴² For example such references occur in Merton Rolls 5092, 4833, 4836.

sent cash to the abbot's receiver.⁴³ The steward played a similar part in manorial administration on the manors of Maison Dieu, Southampton. He presided at the court and appointed auditors. He received the sergeant's cash in hand at regular intervals. He arranged for land to be dressed with marl.⁴⁴ Thus his position in estate administration compares with that of monastic officials of the convents mentioned above.

The general tendency, however, in the estate administration of convents, or great corporations such as Merton College, appears to have been to decrease the power and importance of the steward and secular agents and to concentrate responsibility and power in the hands of the obedientiaries of the house. Even in judicial and legal business such men might act in association with counsellors or even alone. The presence of such trained and experienced administrators within the monastic community made it possible for the abbot and prior to rely less on paid experts than did the secular magnate, so that the counsellors and stewards were rarely called upon to carry out administrative duties connected with estate management. Their work was mainly consultative and judicial.

APPENDIX I.

- 1418-19. M. John Selow, official of Howdenshire and "auocatus".
 1425-6. Thomas Appelby, clerk of Howden.
 M. William Driffeld, proctor of York.
 - . . . Thomas Tang, proctor of the consistory court of Durham.
 1426-7. M. Robert Sutton, proctor at Rome.
 M. Robert Ragenall, "auocatus" at York.
 John Dautr', attorney in episcopal pleas.
 Also William Driffeld and Thomas Tang as in 1425-6.
 1433-4. Robert Ormyshed, "auocatus" at York.

⁴³ N. Neilson, *Conditions on the Manors of Ramsey Abbey* (Philadelphia, 1898)—Account Rolls of Wistow printed as an appendix, pp. 76, 80, etc.

⁴⁴ Gussage Manorial Accounts—Archives of the Queen's deposited at the Bodleian.

- 1439-40. M. Andrew Ussh, proctor at Rome.
 Thomas Blithe, attorney of the prior and chapter in the Exchequer.
 M. William Newton, official of Elandshire and Norhamshire.
- 1440-1. John Glover, registrar in Howdenshire.

APPENDIX II.

For example Roll 5054 (1279). Expense Forinsece. In the expenses of Master P, of Abendone, E. of Kent, W. of Lee, E. of Wrplesdone, W. of Codintone, James of Merdeneston and Peter the clerk in autumn coming for the audit 10d. In the expenses of Master P at the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross 2s $\frac{1}{4}$ d. In his expenses at the feast of St. Faith 3d. In his expenses on Saturday next after the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 15d. In his expenses at the feast of St. Paul 14d. In his expenses at the feast of St. Augustine 3d. Item in the expenses of Walter of Abendone for 2 weeks at the threshing of the grain 12d. Paid to him for his stipend by order of Master P 18d. In the expenses of Thomas of Basinge and Master H. Lonor' before hokeday 3d. In shoeing 1 horse riding to Oxford for 10 days at the feast of easter 2d. In the expenses of Richard of Semtion for his arrivals 7s 6d.

Roll 5060 (1284-5) indicates the frequent visits made by the custodian—In the expenses of the custodian at the feast of St. Mathew the apostle 17d by 1 tally. And on Thursday before the feast of St. Martin 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d by 1 tally. And Monday after the feast of St. Mathew 4s 1d by 1 tally. And Wednesday before Palm Sunday 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ d by 1 tally. And Thursday in easter week at Haule 4s 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d by 1 tally. And the Friday following at Ibestane 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d by 1 tally. Item at the feast of St. Mark the evangelist 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d by 1 tally.