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Christopher Michael Woolgar: "The development of accounts for private households in England to c.1500 A.D."

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Durham, 1986

#### Abstract

The first written accounts for private households in England date from the late twelfth century. They probably derive from a system of accounting based on an oral report, supported by a minimum of documentation, and they were closely associated with a broad change in the method of provisioning households from a dependence on food farms to a network of supply based on purchase. The earliest private household accounts are daily or "diet" accounts, recording purchases alone. From the earliest examples, there is evidence of a "common form", which is adapted during the thirteenth century in the largest households to record consumption as well as purchases. In the fourteenth century in the largest households, probably preceded by developments in the English royal household and the monasteries, the diet account became a sophisticated instrument of domestic management. There is considerable variation in the account between households, the largest households having separate departmental and wardrobe accounts. To use the diet account for planning and budgetting, it was necessary to have a summary of its contents. From the 1320s and particularly in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, emphasis was placed on an annual cash, corn and stock account, similar in form to the manorial account, to be set beside the accounts of receivers general and valors to give an overview of the finances of the administration. In the smallest households there is little development in form. The elaborate form of diet account disappears from about 1430 in all but a few large households, after which informal accounts in English become usual.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS  
IN ENGLAND TO c.1500 A.D.

BY

CHRISTOPHER MICHAEL WOOLGAR

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of History  
University of Durham

1986



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**DECLARATION**

I declare that no part of this thesis has been submitted previously for a degree in the University of Durham or at any other university. I declare this thesis is my own work.



C.M.Woolgar

15 July 1986

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Professor P.D.A.Harvey, for his advice throughout this study, and to my wife, for her encouragement and support.

C.M.W.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

- Annales ESC* *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*
- ANTS** Anglo-Norman Text Society
- AO** Archives office
- Arundell MA** Manuscripts of R.J.R.Arundell, Esq.: Ministers' Accounts  
(formerly at Wardour Castle)
- Berkeley SR** Berkeley Castle Muniments, Select Roll
- BIHR* *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
- BJRL* *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
- BL** British Library, Department of Western Manuscripts
- Bodl.** Bodleian Library, Oxford
- CCC** Corpus Christi College
- CUL** Cambridge University Library
- Durham D. and C.** Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, deposited  
in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of  
Durham, Prior's Kitchen, Durham
- EconHR* *Economic History Review*
- EDC** Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Ely Cathedral
- EDR** Ely Diocesan Records
- EETS** Early English Text Society
- EHR* *English Historical Review*
- BYC** *Early Yorkshire Charters* ed. W.Farrer and C.T.Clay (13 vols.,  
Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, Extra Series;  
1914-65)
- JBAA** *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
- JEH** *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- JSA** *Journal of the Society of Archivists*

*Manger et boire Manger et boire au moyen âge* ed. D.Menjot (Publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Nice, 1st series, 27-8; 1984)

*Manorial records of Cuxham Manorial records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, circa 1200-1359* ed. P.D.A.Harvey (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Joint Publications, 23; 1976)

MCO Magdalen College, Oxford

MR Merton College, Oxford, rolls

NCO New College, Oxford, muniments

OHS Oxford Historical Society

*P and P Past and Present*

Peterborough D. and C. Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral

PRO Public Record Office, London

PRS Pipe Roll Society

QCO Muniments of Queen's College, Oxford, deposited in the Bodleian Library

*RRS Regesta Regum Scottorum* ed. G.W.S.Barrow et al. (Edinburgh, 1960- ).

RO Record office

RS Rolls Series

SGC Muniments of St. George's Chapel, Windsor

SJC St. John's College, Cambridge, archives

*TBGAS Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*

*Tout Chapters T.F.Tout Chapters in the administrative history of medieval England: the wardrobe, the chamber and the small seals* (6 vols., Manchester, 1920-33)

*TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

UL University library

*VCH Victoria County History*



*Walter de Wenlok Documents illustrating the rule of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, 1283-1307* ed. B.F.Harvey (Camden Society, 4th series, 2; 1965)

*Walter of Henley Walter of Henley and other treatises on estate management and accounting* ed. D.Oschinsky (Oxford, 1971)

**WAM** Westminster Abbey Muniments

**WCM** Winchester College Muniments

**Worcester D. and C.** Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral

#### **EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS**

In transcriptions and quotations the use of i, j, u and v has been standardised. Pounds, shillings, pence, halfpence and farthings have been transcribed as li., s., d., ob., and qua. Ampersands have been extended silently. Contractions of uncertain expansion have been transcribed in italics, as have marginal entries; final suspensions of uncertain extension have been rendered by a superscript comma. Places where up to three letters are missing from the text have been indicated by three stops; where more than three letters are missing, five stops have been used. Deletions have been placed between asterisks and insertions between \ /. All punctuation and capitalisation are editorial.

References to counties are to those obtaining immediately prior to the changes made in 1974 under the Local Government Act 1972.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

This study has developed from an interest in household accounts which arose from discoveries made during the cataloguing of the archives of Magdalen College, Oxford.<sup>1</sup> The aim is to analyse the accounts and accounting methods used by private households in England up to c.1500 A.D. To widen the perspective of developments which occur in private households, the records of the royal household, monastic, collegiate and corporate institutions, together with continental evidence, are taken into consideration, particularly with reference to household management, planning and budgeting: there is much to be learned from the similarities of forms and procedures, the problems and their solutions. At the same time, the work is also conceived as a parallel to studies of manorial accounting and the financial operations of landed estates,<sup>2</sup> as a contribution to the study of medieval finance in general. The terminal date, c.1500, marks a point in a broad shift in the pattern of accounting, with a noticeable decline in the use of the medieval forms of account in all but a small number of households in favour of more informal accounting procedures.

The household is central to the study of medieval history: it was the principal social institution and its communal life provided the backdrop for everything from national politics to the development of literature. It attracted much attention from historians in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century,<sup>3</sup> and is now again, after a period of fallow, itself marked by the demise of the great aristocratic household in all but a handful of cases, the subject of much historical research. The account is the one of the principal classes of record to survive for the medieval household. It is essential to an appreciation of the later medieval nobility and monarchy.<sup>4</sup> Accounts have been used in the study of society, economy and diet,<sup>5</sup> architecture,<sup>6</sup> music and the arts,<sup>7</sup> and they

are a unique source for much else besides. To understand the household account and to interpret its contents, it is necessary to examine the general diplomatic development of the form, to be able to distinguish the unusual from the commonplace, and to assess with greater precision the purpose of each document. It is to this end that this study is directed.

Few household accounts have survived. There must once have been a great many. They were a feature of the administration of every household of any size certainly from the beginning of the fourteenth century and probably before then. In comparison with manorial accounts, the other principal form of account employed in private administration in England, the difference in the quantities preserved is very striking. While there are many thousands of manorial accounts still in existence, a preliminary list of private household accounts for the period to c.1500 (Appendix 4) numbers only some five hundred items: although this list is undoubtedly incomplete, it serves to emphasise the disparity. The reason for this is not hard to seek. Unlike manorial records, there was no legal impetus for the preservation of household documents: a manorial account was evidence of the title to land. Although there was some use of household accounts to plan consumption from year to year, they were not generally kept for very long. Some of the accounts of Elizabeth de Burgh must have been preserved within her household for nearly forty years;<sup>9</sup> but it is very unusual to find household accounts still preserved in family archives in company with estate documents. There is evidence, too, that less durable media - wax tablets and paper, as opposed to parchment - were used for household accounts. This has had its effects on the patterns of preservation.

The archives of the English royal Exchequer and Chancery are the most prolific source for the accounts of private households, documents that for some extraneous reason, the treason of a later member of the family or a law suit, have been brought into official custody. Elsewhere the accounts

are most often found in contexts associated with household use, for example, as pastedowns employed in the binding of books for the household,<sup>9</sup> or, in one instance, possibly as a mirror case;<sup>10</sup> or in other areas where parchment could be re-used, for other documents<sup>11</sup> or as seal tags.<sup>12</sup> Apart from the Exchequer enrolments and engrossments, the accounts of the English royal household were no less susceptible to this treatment.<sup>13</sup> The consequence is there are very few household accounts that can be described as complete: the overwhelming majority are fragments. This has posed considerable problems of identification and dating. Unless immediately relevant, detailed discussion of these aspects of individual accounts of private households is confined to Appendix 4. There remain many examples which cannot be ascribed to particular households and to which dates can only be attributed on the general grounds of palaeography.

The expression "household account" encompasses several forms of record which were regularly used for discrete parts of the accounting system. The form to survive most frequently, the diet account, was the one which would have been most familiar to members of the medieval household and which would have formed the most substantial category of household record. It contained the accounts of the household departments (pantry, buttery, kitchen, marshalsea, etc.), repeated day by day, *per dietas*, hence "diet" (from which, or some closely related usage, "diet" has come to mean "food"), or week by week. It was a form that was appropriate to the accounts of all private households, lay and clerical, including the households of bishops, abbots and priors; and, in a modified form, to corporate institutions, hospitals, abbeys, priories, chantries, colleges and schools. Departments could be added or omitted according to the structure of the household. The diet account was also referred to as an "itinerant" or "travelling" account, reflecting the peripatetic nature of the medieval household: there was in general no different form for a

household that remained at a single place and the contrast implied was probably with the manorial account. Daily accounts are sometimes described by contemporaries as journals (*jornale*).

The wardrobe appears in household accounts in at least five guises. In its original sense, it referred to a place where clothes were kept. Secondly, it could be a household department, termed "the great wardrobe" in the context of the English royal household, responsible for certain types of commodity of considerable value: cloth, wax, spices, jewellery. Thirdly, it was a financial office, also described as a treasury or chamber, to which the handling and oversight of large sums of cash were entrusted. It was the fulcrum of the medieval accounting system, receiving cash on the one side from the receiver general and manorial accountants, and disbursing it to the household for expenditure on the other. The exact role it assumed varied from household to household: in some smaller households there was no need for a financial reservoir of this sort in the conduit leading from receiver general to household officials. In these second and third senses, accounts survive for the wardrobe. In a fourth sense, the wardrobe represented the building in which the household office or financial department was housed; and in a fifth sense, the wardrobe or gardrobe was a latrine.

Other forms of household account include separate records of the transactions of individual departments of the household (much in the same way as obedientiary accounts recorded the expenses of each "obedience" or department of a monastery); cash, corn and stock accounts, in a form similar to the manorial account, usually referring to a static household maintained at a fixed locality; livery accounts, recording the issue of cloth to members of the household; and check or checker rolls, noting the presence or absence of members of the household, analogous to the lists of people present for commons in collegiate institutions.

Who constituted the household ? In short, the head of the establishment, his or her family, the people who lived with them, who served the lord or lady in a domestic or wider capacity, who were paid wages and were identified with the lord and lady, and who wore their livery. Membership could be numbered in single figures or in hundreds. The household of Munden's chantry, Bridport, in the 1450s, consisted of two priests, William Savernak and John Trewen, and usually one servant.<sup>14</sup> In 1430-1, the household of Sir John Fastolf numbered twenty nine (including two women who paid for their board and lodging);<sup>15</sup> the household of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, in 1295-8, numbered just over fifty;<sup>16</sup> and the livery roll of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1384-5, listed some one hundred and forty persons as members of the Earl's household.<sup>17</sup>

The medieval household contrasts with what is understood as a household today. Rather than a small group of immediate family, entertaining friends, a group of peers, the membership of the medieval household was extensive and hierarchical, offering hospitality (in theory, at least) to all comers. The medieval household was carefully stratified: the lord and his immediate family, their gentlemen or gentlewomen attendants or companions (*gentiles*), the officers of the household, responsible for the departments of the household (*officiarii*, *servientes de officio* or *gens de mestier*), and the staff of the household departments, clerks (*clerici*), and, in descending order of rank, valets (*valletti*) or yeomen, grooms (*garciones*), and pages (*pagetti*). Other members of the household, legal officials and retainers, were present less often, but are usually mentioned in household lists.

There are many examples of households within households. The King of England had his own household: so did the Queen and their children. There also exist regulations specifying the size of the households of those present at court, for example, at the beginning of the fourteenth

century, for the establishments of John de Warenne and Roger de Mortimer.<sup>18</sup> It was common for husbands and wives to have separate household establishments. The account of the household of Eleanor de Montfort, Countess of Leicester, 1265, does not record any expenses when her household resided with that of her husband, stating that the expense was recorded in the account of his household.<sup>19</sup> Hospitality would be given not just to a guest, but to his or her entire household. The account of the household of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, 1289-90, notes the days when there was no expense because the costs of his household were borne by others, as, for example, on 24 May 1290, when he visited Maud de Mortimer.<sup>20</sup>

The lord's household was also divided between those who remained at a fixed location and those who attended him wherever he went. The latter were sometimes described as the riding household,<sup>21</sup> the former variously and somewhat confusingly as the inner or intrinsic household (because it related to a fixed establishment),<sup>22</sup> or as the foreign or forinsec household (because it was away from the lord).<sup>23</sup> The Eresby household ordinances of 1319 or 1339 list those who follow the lord, as opposed to those who remain with the household: "Two cooks and larderers have two grooms, of which John Warde stays in the household and the other follows the lord."<sup>24</sup> In the early sixteenth century, the Earl of Northumberland also had a "secret household", a smaller group than the riding household for times when it behoved the Earl not to live or travel in state.<sup>25</sup>

The household account served as the basis for a statement of the financial liabilities of the accounting official to his master. It was clearly designed to impede, if not prevent, fraud and peculation within the household. In this it is similar in many ways to the manorial account; and like the manorial account, too, it is apparent from its form that it could be used for other functions, for example, planning and regulating household consumption. The purpose and aims of accounting

were stated clearly by medieval writers. In the household of Walter de Wenlok, 1295-8, the steward of the household, with the estate stewards, was to see that all expenditure was for the honour and profit of the lord.<sup>26</sup> In a fourteenth century treatise on the duties of household officials, the wardrober was to note carefully the goods and foodstuffs received by the pantry "in order that he can see that it is correctly expended and for the profit of the lord".<sup>27</sup> It is against this background that the development of household accounting, the circumstances that gave rise to its use, the elaboration of its form and its subsequent abandonment, must be examined.



Chapter 2 Household accounts: the evidence to the end of the twelfth century

Household organisation in early medieval Europe evolved to a common pattern. Duties were traditionally apportioned between domestic officers. The chamberlain (*camerarius*), later also known as the wardrober (*garderobarius*), had custody of the lord's chamber in which his bed, clothing and treasure were stored. The constable (*comes stabuli*) and his assistant, the marshal (*marescallus*), were responsible for guarding the household, for discipline, for the stables and the staff of grooms. The steward (*dapifer*, later *senescallus*) had general oversight of the household, including the provision of food: in Anglo-Saxon records he is styled *discthegn*, a "dish servant", ministering and serving the food. His staff might include a provisioner (*provisor*) to supply the food and a dispenser (*dispensator*) to control its issue. The dispenser was later more particularly concerned with the issue of bread. The steward might also have under his supervision a pantler (*panetarius*) to look after the pantry (*panetria* or *dispensa*) and its bread, a cook (*cocus*), a larderer (*lardinarius*) to prepare and maintain the meat and fish laid down in store for the household, door keepers or ushers (*ostiarii*) to control access to the household and its departments, and numerous servants and assistants. The butler (*pincerna* or *botellarius*) looked after drink and its supply. The chaplain (*capellanus*) performed spiritual services for his lord: he may also have carried out some administrative tasks.

Before the close of the tenth century, the four principal household officers of the traditional Germanic lord's household, the steward, marshal, chamberlain and butler, are noted but rarely in England. From the time of Athelstan (924-39), the king's household officials were considered of sufficient importance to witness his charters. Butlers and chamberlains appear in the will of King Edred (d.955). The steward is

known from the tenth century and the marshal first becomes an official of significance at the court of the Danish kings of England.<sup>1</sup> The titles of household offices and the names of their incumbents at this date, however, can be made to reveal little of the development of household administration.<sup>2</sup>

The principal feature of the plan of the medieval house was the hall, for public living, eating and sleeping. Areas for the pantry and buttery were typically screened from the hall and divided from it by a passage. A kitchen and bakehouse were sometimes constructed separately, away from the other domestic buildings. Private apartments were few at first but were always present in the houses of the great: during the later middle ages such chambers proliferated. Associated with the house were buildings for stables and storage. Many sites were surrounded by a moat or wall to control access to the household. The medieval household was peripatetic and moved from site to site with great frequency. While there was naturally variation in the detail of building plans, in practice the household offices were accommodated on a fairly regular pattern.<sup>3</sup>

The two main aspects of household administration which involved accounting were the supply of provisions to the household and their consumption within it. The period up to c.1200 has left few accounts of any sort other than those of the English royal Exchequer, but evidence from chronicles, charters, inquisitions and customals is sufficient to demonstrate the use of accounts elsewhere and to sketch the main developments in household administration and accounting.

Before the Norman conquest, the West Saxon royal household was provisioned by a system of food farms, obligations for an estate to supply a fixed amount of provisions annually. The pattern of the arrangements for the "farm of one night" (*firma unius noctis*) can be seen in the grouping of the royal estates in Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset. Domesday Book indicates the existence of organised food rents in eastern

England and elsewhere, but the system observed was changing, liable to commutation and decay.<sup>4</sup> The Carolingian royal demesne had also been organised into units capable of supporting the court for particular periods, especially during the winter.<sup>5</sup> Much of the evidence for food farms comes from the twelfth century. Part of the Mowbray family's provisions were received in the form of food rents from the Isle of Axholme.<sup>6</sup> The Bishops of Chichester, in the mid-twelfth century, held manors that were specifically designated to supply provisions for their table.<sup>7</sup> At the monasteries of Christ Church, Canterbury; Rochester; Ely; Ramsey; Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans, and for the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's, food farms were arranged to cover the whole year; at Abingdon Abbey, food farms supplied the needs of the convent for nine and a half months of the year.<sup>8</sup> One of the few administrative memoranda available to Abbot Samson of Bury at his election in 1182 was a list noting the order in which the abbey's food farms were received.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to food farms, other household needs were supplied in the form of renders, occasional provisions in respect of lordship. The Red Book of Worcester records that when the Bishop of Worcester was in residence at Hampton Lucy, he received twelve pence, the commuted payment for an obligation to provide lights for the hall, chamber, clerk's chamber, pantry, buttery, stable, brewhouse, steward's lodging and one other office.<sup>10</sup> In Scotland, the obligation of *conveth* - the provision of hospitality as a tribute in respect of lordship - may have been arranged by area, concentrating resources on selected estates. The arrangements must antedate the twelfth century, when payment in kind had probably been commuted.<sup>11</sup>

The pattern of both food farms and renders is one of partial commutation. Some were more useful or profitable than others: Domesday records the valuable and readily transportable honey renders preserved outside Wessex where other renders for the royal court had been

commuted.<sup>12</sup> As a system of supply, food farms were inflexible. The household of the Norman kings while residing in Normandy would have had little use for food farms from England. To a household on the move, food farms would have been inconvenient unless based on a very extensive network of estates. Even where the household was static, for example, in the monasteries, a dramatic fluctuation in numbers could impose strain on the system.<sup>13</sup> Food farms would always have been insufficient to provide for unexpectedly large numbers of guests. The *Historia foundationis* of Byland Abbey depicts pressure on the mechanism of supply to the household of Roger de Mowbray, c.1140. Roger had granted the monks of Byland a tithe of the food of his household, but the number of guests in the Mowbray household was such that the steward and provisioner had often to borrow back the tithe to ensure there was sufficient for the household. With food in short supply, the repayment of the borrowed tithe was a source of discomfort and contention for the provisioner. The issue was later resolved, at the instigation of the steward, by granting the monastery land equivalent to the value of the tithe.<sup>14</sup> The passage illustrates three features of importance. Firstly, it was considered necessary for Byland to include food obligations among its endowments: the original grant was made at the request of Archbishop Thurstan of York (1114-40). Other religious houses received analogous grants: the Abbey of Scone may have enjoyed similar rights or specific corrodies in the kitchen and pantry of the Scottish royal households, c.1187.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, inconvenience led to the commutation of the tithe: nor could the demand for supplies in the Mowbray household have been conducive to reliance solely on a system of food farms. Lastly, it provides a glimpse of the Mowbray provisioning department in operation, with the management of day to day arrangements in the hands of the steward and his subordinate, the provisioner.

The corollary to a fixed supply of food was regulated consumption. In the Mowbray household the issuing department is first noted about thirty years later with the appearance of a dispenser.<sup>16</sup> The apportionment of food within the household was a task that could have been performed by the provisioner, but the two functions did not necessarily overlap. The references to Ailred of Rievaulx as a dispenser or steward in the household of King David of Scotland in the early 1130s show Ailred distributing and dividing the food, not organising its supply.<sup>17</sup> In the same household and that of the two subsequent Kings of Scotland, it was a duty of the *rannaire* to ensure that each member of the household received his proper ration.<sup>18</sup> The household of William I of Scotland (1165-1214) had separate clerks of the provend and the liverance.<sup>19</sup>

Just as the supply of food to the household was based on customary farms, the members of the lord's household received customary allowances. Walter Map records the tradition that in the English royal household these allowances were defined by Henry I.<sup>20</sup> The *constitutio domus regis* (constitution of the king's household), an elaborate list of allowances due to the household, supports the view that an attempt at control or codification was made. Both G.H.White and C.Johnson viewed the *constitutio* as a product of the reign of Stephen, possibly even as a document drawn up for the instruction of Stephen on his accession; and the text has generally been dated to about 1136. The *constitutio* is not easy to interpret, but there are features which suggest the document was prepared during the reign of Henry I and subsequently revised after his death on one or more occasions. While G.H.White was inclined to the view that there was no reason to suppose there were interpolations in the text, Johnson believed some may have existed:<sup>21</sup> there is good reason to think the text contains interpolations and to suggest a different view of the *constitutio*, as a working administrative tool possibly connected with some form of household accounting.

The text of the *constitutio* survives in two versions, both dating from the early thirteenth century, one in the Little Black Book of the Exchequer, the other in the Red Book of the Exchequer.<sup>22</sup> The original version of the *constitutio* was a return to an inquisition into the allowances (*de procuracionibus*) of the staff of the royal household. It did not inquire into their duties or responsibilities. The form of an inquisition is suggested by, for example, the dispute over the amount allowed for the purchase of horses by the wolf hunters.<sup>23</sup> The inquisition is constructed in an orderly manner recording, for each office, the allowances - cash liveries, bread, wine, candles, entitlement to food, payments for extra men, and payments and liveries for horses. Allowances of food other than bread and wine were not defined: the entitlement was either "customary food" (*consuetudinarium cibum*) or to "eat in the household" (*in domo commedet*). The definitions of these phrases may have been recorded elsewhere or they may have been so well-known there was no need to set them down in writing. The *constitutio* was intended to define the additional allowances, both when members of the household were present within it and when they were absent. The text gives an impression of the departmental structure of the royal household and of its size, the key to the system being the size of the payments made.<sup>24</sup> Double rations of food refer to the employment of two people to perform a task and, indirectly, to status: the more people involved, the more important the function. This also indicates the manner in which customary allowances were augmented when the household increased in size.

There are a number of points where the *constitutio* diverges from its basic pattern. The points at which most difficulty or disruption occurs to the regular order of the text almost always coincide with the rare appearances of personal names, a coincidence that suggests the names and immediately associated text may be interpolations in or revisions to the original inquisition. The amendments are undifferentiated in the text as

it now survives, but initially they may have taken the form of marginal notes or interlineations. The first instance is for the master of the scriptorium, Robert de Sigillo. Two sets of allowances are recorded. One is dated and later than the other:

Magister scriptorii. [Primo] decem denarii in die et i simenellum salatum et dimidium sextarium de vino expensabili et unam grossam candelam et xii frustra candelarum. [Sed rex Henricus crevit Roberto de Sigillo in tantum quod die mortis regis habebat ii sol. et i sextarium vini expensabilis et i simenellum salatum et unum cereolum et xxiiii frustra candelarum.]<sup>25</sup>

It can only have been necessary to make an alteration reflecting a change in circumstances if the earlier arrangements were known and codified, and this was a revision of that codification. A revision early in the reign of Stephen is supported by the entry for Ralph de Marchia, "the cook who died before the death of King [Henry]" ("qui cocus mortuus est ante mortem regis").<sup>26</sup> The form suggests interpolation. But the interpretation of the passage is difficult. Was Ralph the "cocus privatorum regis et dispensatorum"? If he was, then his successor could have been Oinus Polchehart. There is no reason to suppose that the heading "De magna coquina" in Johnson's edition is in its correct place: at another stage in the text's history, it is possible that the headings, which do not appear in a uniform manner in either the Little Black Book or the Red Book, were added in an attempt to turn the inquisition into a treatise. Polchehart might have been the poulterer, with only his name to designate the office. Equally Ralph and Oinus could have been the two cooks of the kitchen mentioned in the next entry - the allowances they received were the same. There are other possible permutations.

Another example of the insertion of a personal name and the disruption of the text occurs with William Maudit. The rank he held is a matter of dispute.<sup>27</sup> White has suggested that the wine ration for Maudit is

missing.<sup>28</sup> William fitz Otes, Henry de la Pomerai and Roger d'Oilli are named, but their ranks are not stated. The rate of pay for William fitz Otes is omitted.<sup>29</sup> The passage about the master marshal may exhibit another interpolation. The text notes that he has the same allowances as Roger d'Oilli and Henry de la Pomerai. This followed by a note of his name - "scilicet Johannes" - and by a passage that is strikingly different to the rest of the *constitutio*: "Et preter hoc debet habere dicas de donis et liberationibus que fiunt de thesauro regis et de sua camera; et debet habere dicas contra omnes officiales regis ut testis per omnia."<sup>30</sup> The remainder of the *constitutio* is concerned with allowances, not with duties and obligations. The best explanation for this passage is that it is a later addition to the original, a casual note or memorandum of the master marshal's duties, which was incorporated into the text without distinction by a later copyist. It is somewhat less likely that the phrase "et preter hoc" originally introduced additional allowances that have been omitted.<sup>31</sup> There are two further examples of the use of personal names. Gilbert Bonus Homo and Ralph may have been ushers, but the passage is unclear. They may have been ushers but not knights and therefore needed distinction in the list as having men of their own.<sup>32</sup> The last entry of the text, for Bernard, Ralph the Rober and their fellows, does not state the positions they held.<sup>33</sup> One other section of the text may have been a marginal or interlineal interpolation. The entry for the four bakers includes the note: "Dominicus simenellus, iiii hominibus; salatus, duobus; panis, i homini".<sup>34</sup> This is a table of equivalences rather than of liveries: it could have been a casual addition to the text.

It is not at all surprising that the allowances required some amendment. Walter Map records an increase in the nightly wine allowance for King Henry and his chamberlain,<sup>35</sup> and there were doubtless many other alterations. In days when there would have been few administrative



records, it may have been more natural to amend an existing document than to compile a new one. The text of the *constitutio* seems to record these amendments as far as a date early in the reign of King Stephen. The scribes of both the Little Black Book and the Red Book copied an earlier text which had already incorporated these additions, but with an incomplete understanding of the text and its composition. Further, there is some evidence the exemplar they employed may have been difficult to read and was possibly illegible. The statement that the allowances of the laundress "are in doubt" (*in dubio est*), although plausible as an answer to an inquisition, is strange in such a precise document.<sup>36</sup> One explanation might just be that the words *in dubio est* refer to the illegibility of the text and that the entry for the allowances had been obscured. There are also some unusual mistakes, possibly misreadings, in the better version of the text, the Little Black Book.<sup>37</sup>

Several members of the household of the *constitutio* were connected with accounting. The master marshal was to have tallies for the gifts and liveries he received from the treasury, and with all other royal officials, presumably for goods received. The *clericus expense panis et vini* was probably responsible for recording liveries of bread and wine. The *vinum expensabile* mentioned throughout the text may have been in his charge: *expensabile* may reflect the departmental origin of the wine, not its quality. The *computator panis* may have kept a record of bread received from the bakers and of its issue within the household: it would have been typical of the many checks that were later commonplace in systems of household accounting, as would the statement of the expected return in loaves from each baking of a Rouen *muid* of corn.<sup>38</sup> The specification of household allowances in the *constitutio* itself could have formed the basis for a system of household accounting, serving as a standard for use during the issue of daily allowances or similarly at the audit of the accounts. No formal written record would have been required:

an oral report supported by the tallies and receipts of the master marshal, the *clericus expense panis et vini* and the *computator panis* would have sufficed, to be compared daily against the *constitutio* or for reckoning using counters and an Exchequer style abacus. The revision of the *constitutio*, as allowances changed, would be wholly consistent with its employment in this context. As a precursor to formal, written household accounts, oral accounting would parallel very closely the way in which manorial accounts are thought to have developed and accord with views of a general transition from a largely oral culture, relying on memory, to one based on writing.<sup>39</sup> The presence of this level of administrative organisation in the household of Henry I is not altogether surprising set against the sophistication of the contemporary royal Exchequer and the size of the royal Chancery, its business practices and the use of advanced cursive forms in its scripts, which confirm that a great volume of administrative work was conducted in a part of the household.<sup>40</sup>

Rights in the royal household were later granted by formal act: it was in this manner that, in 1194, Richard I defined the allowances to which King William I of Scotland would be entitled on a visit to the English court.<sup>41</sup>

In the twelfth century, large estates were administered with few or no written records: it might be unreasonable to expect detailed written records for households where none existed for the estates. Despite the example of Domesday Book, there survive but a dozen estate surveys from the twelfth century, all from ecclesiastical estates.<sup>42</sup> A number of general estate surveys seems to have been compiled for the first time towards the end of the century. The Red Book of Worcester may have been produced under Roger, Bishop of Worcester (1164-79). At Bury St. Edmunds, in 1182, Abbot Samson inherited virtually no administrative records for the abbey and its lands. During the first decade of his

abbacy, he organised the construction of proper estate surveys.<sup>43</sup> A list of the customary allowances of the servants of the Abbey of Abingdon, prepared c.1185, after the death of Abbot Roger, may have been the first attempt to record these arrangements: the consternation caused by the impending inquisition is an indication of its novelty.<sup>44</sup> As well as dealing with the estates, some aspects parallel the *constitutio*, codifying the allowances of servants. For each servant there were three types of provision. The first of these was a food allowance, either a fixed allowance or a *corrody*, varying according to rank, or rights to eat in hall, sometimes limited to days when work was performed at the abbey or delivered there (for example, the carpenter and the laundress), or payment in kind, often in corn but sometimes related to the services performed, as perquisites of office (the larderer, for example). The second allowance was either a stipend or a form of sergeanty tenure (land held in return for the performance of a task); the third, oblations, in cash or kind, were given to servants on certain feast days. Double rations of food mentioned in the text indicate the employment of two people.<sup>45</sup> The survey may have provided a standard against which accounts, rendered orally, could have been compared.

The proliferation of charters during the twelfth century makes it possible to examine developments in administration in the households of magnates and bishops through the names and titles of officials preserved in the witness lists. Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury (1138-61) had in his household a chancellor, scribes, clerks and chaplains, almoners, a cross bearer, a dispenser, a butler, a constable, seneschals, stewards (*dapiferi*), a marshal, an usher, a porter, a master cook, a forester and knights.<sup>46</sup> Few household officials witness the charters of the Bishops of Durham before the episcopate of Hugh du Puiset (1153-95). His usher and waggon master were land owners, possibly tenants in sergeanty; his chamberlain was a man of some consequence.<sup>47</sup> The household officials of

the Lacy family included a marshal, chamberlains, a dispenser and butlers. Ralph the cook of Robert de Lacy was probably a tenant in sergeanty.<sup>48</sup> Some household offices were hereditary. The office of steward of the Bishop of Lincoln was hereditary in the Amundeville family. The position of steward in most magnate honours was hereditary before the end of the twelfth century.<sup>49</sup> One development which reflects the increasing burdens of estate and household administration is the division of the office of steward between two officials, the estate steward and the household steward. It has been suggested that this occurred first in the thirteenth century,<sup>50</sup> but there is evidence for it during the last forty years of the twelfth century. The division had been made at Lincoln in Bishop Chesney's episcopate, c.1160x1166, and at Chichester it happened under Bishop Seffrid II (1180-1204). The episcopal estate stewards at Chichester consistently occupy a more prominent place in the witness lists of charters than the household stewards. The estate stewards were professional administrators of a much greater calibre: in 1201 Godfrey of Stoughton acted as the bishop's attorney in the royal court.<sup>51</sup> Links between household officials and the estates became fewer with the growth in professionalism in estate administration: tenancies in sergeanty are not common among members of household staffs in the thirteenth century.

Episcopal households, in particular, served as a focal point for gathering considerable administrative talent, well-educated men, rapidly harnessed to the tasks of diocesan administration, the workings of canon law and pastoral care.<sup>52</sup> Drafting documents was a part of the duties of the staff of the bishop's household. On the continent in the twelfth century chaplains were employed to write charters. In England, William Fitzstephen served as a draftsman in the household of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (1162-70), and a subdeacon in his chapel. The careers of John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois also show them to have been draftsmen.<sup>53</sup> With the growth in importance of clerks and

administrators, the mechanisms of bureaucracy developed. Outside the royal household rarely can anything so organised as a chancery be found. The word "chancery" was seldom used by contemporaries for the writing offices of English bishops,<sup>54</sup> but there is certainly evidence pointing to the existence of official clerical staffs before the late twelfth century. Hugh du Puiset may have inherited a staff when he was elected to the see of Durham in 1153: a number of clerks who witness his charters and who were probably members of his household had witnessed charters of Bishop Geoffrey Rufus (1133-41) and Bishop William of Ste. Barbe (1143-52).<sup>55</sup> Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury may have had an organised writing office, especially from c.1149, with the appearance, among the witnesses to his charters, of Peter *scriptor*, followed shortly by Philip the chancellor: from this date the archbishop's charters survive in greater numbers and exhibit a greater regularity of form.<sup>56</sup> There is no evidence that the Bishops of Lincoln had a chancellor or keeper of the episcopal seal at the head of writing department, but the appearance of a draftsman, Laurence *scriptor episcopi*, under Bishop Chesney (1148-66), is indicative of the development of a clerical staff.<sup>57</sup> The occurrence of charters written in a highly professional hand, c.1197-1204, towards the end of the episcopate of Bishop Seffrid II of Chichester, marks the employment of an accomplished scribe by the bishop.<sup>58</sup>

Magnate households also had organised writing departments. There are references to a chancellor for the earldom of Chester, c.1120-3; on the honour of Richmond, but probably for the duchy of Brittany, in the time of Conan (1155-71); and for Henry, Earl of Northumberland (1139-52): Henry, however, was son of the King of Scotland.<sup>59</sup> The Mowbrays had a professional secretariat in the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>60</sup> The clerical administration of Earl William of Gloucester (1153-83) employed resident household clerks with assistance from the scribes of beneficiaries. Richard of Ilchester, one of the earldom of Gloucester

clerks, was sufficiently distinguished to transfer to the household of King Henry II.<sup>61</sup> The Lacy family may have employed the clerks of St. Clement's chapel, Pontefract castle, as a writing office, and it is possible that the canons of Quatford, Shropshire, served the Norman earls of that county in a similar capacity.<sup>62</sup> There is little evidence for baronial financial departments or exchequers. Robert, Count of Meulan, had an exchequer before 1118. There is some dispute whether Earl William of Gloucester had an exchequer or financial bureau at Bristol, c.1173-83.<sup>63</sup>

There were also administrative developments in the households of the Kings of Scotland. Some twenty three clerks (administrative officials, not chaplains) have been traced in the household of King William I (1165-1214). There was a writing department and probably a keeper of the seal, but a number of the clerks must have been in the service of other departments of the household. The Scottish royal administration probably entered charters and brieves on rolls from c.1195, and there is evidence for sheriffs' accounts from the mid-twelfth century.<sup>64</sup>

Although the evidence for the development of bureaucracy within households in the twelfth century is suggestive, there is little positive evidence for household accounts. Apart from the English royal household, the best evidence for the development of accounting systems at this period comes from the monasteries.

In English monastic communities household responsibilities were divided between a number of departmental officials, or "obedientiaries", appointed by the abbot. The Rule of St. Benedict made provision for a prior, as deputy to the abbot, and a cellarer, who was to oversee the material needs of the house. In time the tasks became further divided and departmental boundaries more strictly drawn. The exact divisions varied between monasteries. Typically there would have been a chamberlain to look after clothing and its supply; a granator, subcellarer or kitchener, to manage the details of the supply and preparation of food; a sacrist,

to keep the bread and wine for services, wax and oil for the altar lights, and to attend to the other material needs associated with worship; an infirmarer, to care for the sick and old; a hostillar, to cater for guests; and a refectorer, to look after the utensils, tables, benches, etc., in the monks' refectory. Revenues were also allocated or endowed to the maintenance of specific parts of the convent and its offices: the lay equivalent to this was the provision of food farms from particular estates for the household in general, but never for its constituent parts.<sup>65</sup> Although the monastic constitutions of Lanfranc at the end of the eleventh century make no direct reference to accounting, the chamberlain and the cellarer numbered purchasing among their duties.<sup>66</sup> From c.1170 onwards there are references to the use of accounts in monasteries, but there is no evidence that formal written documents were envisaged rather than an oral procedure, supported by a minimum of documentation. At the cathedral priory of St. Swithun's, Winchester, c.1170, Bishop Henry of Blois, who had earlier been responsible for financial reforms at Cluny, ordered the account of the priory and of all the obedientiaries to be audited (or "heard") each year by twelve senior monks of the house: any surplus was to be held for the common use of the community.<sup>67</sup> As the monks held all property in common, it was not permissible for any monk to appropriate anything to himself or his office (*proprietas*); but the system of endowments dedicated to particular offices had resulted in the obedientiaries of many monasteries controlling their own revenues and their disbursement. In consequence there developed a patchwork of small administrative systems, with nobody possessing a coherent overview of the monastery's finances. Abbot Samson of Bury centralised business in his monastery to combat the tendency to fragmentation and appropriation. Under his predecessor, Abbot Hugh, the obedientiaries had transacted a good deal of business on their own, having their own seals, and had incurred large debts. Samson reduced the

separate seals from the remarkable number of thirty three to two, leaving those of the prior and sacrist. He also forbade the obedientiaries to borrow sums in excess of twenty shillings without the assent of the prior and convent.<sup>68</sup> In 1197 he re-organised the cellarer's revenues to prevent their dissipation, adding a monthly increment to the annual payments. He took responsibility for the office in the process, substituting members of his own household for the monks in charge.<sup>69</sup> Samson also paid particular attention to his own household. The weekly food farms that had not maintained his predecessor's household for more than five days, supplied his household for up to ten. He audited the accounts of his household in person every week: the implication is that accounts were also heard weekly in the household of his predecessor, but were audited by deputy.<sup>70</sup> At Waltham Abbey, by 1191, an account of all expenses was given at quarterly intervals by the obedientiaries before an auditing committee of senior monks.<sup>71</sup> The Holy See was anxious at this period to reform the financial organisation of the monasteries, encouraging attempts to centralise control of finance.<sup>72</sup> At the same time as organised accounting systems and centralised finance began to appear, another obedientiary, not mentioned by Lanfranc, came to the fore: the bursar or treasurer probably originated as an official with special financial responsibilities within the cellarer's department.<sup>73</sup>

From the mid-twelfth century there are two changes of importance for the spread of household accounting. Firstly, there was undoubtedly a shift in emphasis in the manner of provisioning households. Food farms and renders decreased in importance although the latter, in particular, remained present for many years on a limited scale in the form of obligations to provide hospitality.<sup>74</sup> Provisioning relied increasingly on a system of purchase: accounting was the mechanism of regulating purchase. The regulation of consumption was intimately connected with the use of some form of account. In a number of households dispensers



were present to control the disbursement of food and drink. Secondly, the late twelfth century was a crucial period for the development of administrative records in England. The monastic estate surveys at Bury and Abingdon were innovations. They should be set with other developments: the obedientiaries of Bury had their own seals in profusion, and it was at this period that writing offices began to appear outside the royal household. It seems likely that household accounting developed, possibly without formal written accounts, following the practice first employed in the English royal household, the systematic recording and regulation of customary allowances. Accounting was becoming widespread in the monasteries, at least, before the end of the twelfth century, probably largely conceived as an oral report with some supporting documentation. The first written household accounts to survive from medieval England date from exactly this period, the late twelfth century, and these must now be examined in detail.

### Chapter 3 The earliest household accounts

From the late twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century there are many more references to household accounting, both to the practice of accounting and to the existence of accounting records. It is from this period that the earliest household accounts survive for England. The oldest, PRO E 101/631/1, probably dates from the 1180s.<sup>1</sup>

PRO E 101/631/1 was written on two narrow membranes, sewn together Chancery fashion (the foot of the first membrane was sewn to the head of the second membrane, producing a long, continuous roll; as opposed to Exchequer fashion, with all the membranes fastened together at the head, like a book viewed from the side opposite the spine). It is possibly a fragment of a larger document: it lacks a heading and a grand total, but there is no trace of sewing to attach additional membranes. The manuscript has been damaged by damp. It contains a daily account, covering twenty two days, for Friday 4 October, the Saturday following, and from Sunday 13 October to Friday 1 November inclusive. The hiatus in the daily sequence may result from a slip of the pen. The first day of the account is given as Friday next after Michaelmas (29 September): if the second Friday after Michaelmas, 11 October, were intended, a continuous sequence of days would result. Palaeographically the roll, with its hasty cursive script and irregular Latin, dates from the late twelfth century. The days of the week and the feasts on the roll correspond for the years 1168, 1174, 1185, 1191, 1196 and 1202. The account has been attributed to the household of a nobleman in the king's suite, but this cannot be pressed too closely in the sense that the nobleman and his entourage were with the king at the date of the account. The roll follows the household from London and Westminster to Windsor. R.W.Eyton places Henry II elsewhere in the October and November of 1168, 1174 and 1185; Richard I was in the Holy Land in October and November

1191 and at Rouen at the same period in 1196; and King John was in Normandy, Maine and Anjou in October and November 1202.<sup>2</sup> It is unlikely that the household of PRO E 101/631/1 belonged to a dignitary of the first rank. Although as many as eighteen grooms were present on the first day of the roll, there is a marked contrast with the household of Hugh de Neville of Essex in March and April 1207: the average daily expenditure of Hugh de Neville's household at this period was approximately 17s. 3d.; on PRO E 101/631/1 it was just in excess of 2s. 6½d. While a small part of this difference may be accounted for by inflation, there must have been a big difference in the size of the households.<sup>3</sup> The personal names on the earlier roll do not assist in the identification of the household.

As the earliest account of its kind, the form of PRO E 101/631/1 is of particular interest. For each of the twenty two days the daily entry is laid out in a consolidated paragraph.<sup>4</sup> On *a priori* grounds, the consolidated paragraph is typologically, if not in general chronologically, a more developed form than the unconsolidated paragraph. Each daily paragraph starts by giving the place where the household resided, written in the left margin. The main body of the entry follows, stating the day of the week and, where appropriate, a feast day. The account then deals with items that are customarily associated with individual departments of the medieval household in the order pantry (for example, bread), buttery (ale), kitchen (herring), marshalsea (iron work for horses, hay), followed by candles, alms and miscellaneous items, but without any other indication of this departmental responsibility. This can be illustrated by a short extract from the account, for Tuesday 15 October:

*Item, London:* Tuesday next [Pantry] in bread, 8½d. [Buttery] in ale, 7d. [Kitchen] in eggs, 1d. [Marshalsea] in bran, 1½d; in iron work

and nails at Westminster, 2s. Delivered to Russell, 1d.

Total 3s. 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.

The correspondence of the account to this pattern throughout is not exact, but it is a tolerably close match. At the end of each day's entry a total is given on a fresh line a little way from the right hand edge of the roll. No grand total is given.

The account is almost certainly a record of purchase rather than consumption. Meat appears once in the whole account, for the hawk on 28 October. As this was not a season of fasting beyond the three customary days of abstinence in the week (Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, when fish was generally eaten),<sup>5</sup> it is remarkable that meat does not appear more often. The account clearly encompasses the activities of the kitchen: meat must usually have been drawn from stocks already in hand, in the larder. There is no mention of items taken from stock, but these must have been present to supplement the commodities listed in the account. The conclusion that the account is restricted to purchases and to cash payments is irresistible.

The range of items included in the account is noteworthy. In addition to victuals, entries for cloth, shoe repairs, building works and a payment to a messenger are present. These entries are not placed regularly in the text, but are scattered (as, occasionally, are some of the more frequent constituents). Items of this nature, falling outside the departmental structure of the account, were often grouped together at a later period in separate accounts and were broadly classified as "wardrobe" expenditure, that is, falling within the purview of a separate financial department largely because of the value of the commodities or services and the way in which they were purchased. No such distinction is made in PRO E 101/631/1: the household probably had no special financial department equivalent to the later wardrobe.

The account encompasses the activities of the whole household only on particular occasions, for example, on the first Thursday, when ale is recorded "for all the household". The accountant's responsibilities varied as the household came and went. Sections elsewhere were presumably accounted for separately. On 4 October, ale was provided for eighteen grooms, three poor and for visitors. The identification and enumeration of these groups is typical of the medieval accountant's justification of his expenditure: it was important to demonstrate the presence of all those supernumerary to the regular household establishment. Later accounts have elaborate records of visitors. Here, perhaps, the system occurs in embryonic form. The accountant wished to document the reasons for the size of the charge on household funds.

In spite of its apparent departmental structure, PRO E 101/631/1 was probably the account of one man, the steward or clerk of the household. The account contains personal references, to expenditure "for my sickness", and references to "my lord", his master. The roll was written by a single hand on several occasions: the first four days were written in a single operation; a new pen was used for the succeeding three days, and likewise for the next seven, the next one and the final seven days. Although not written daily, the account suggests that a systematic check was made on daily purchases. On Thursday 17 October, bread is recorded as not having been purchased: "The Thursday following, in bread, nothing." The most plausible explanation for this entry is that it is the answer to one of a series of questions relative to the day's purchases that the accountant must have posed: the pantler or the person in charge of purchasing bread was asked what cash expenditure there had been on that day. The questions would have been asked of each department in turn to provide the information for the account of the clerk or steward of the household. In this household the process may not have taken place every day, but the pattern of engrossment of the roll indicates that no more

than seven days were allowed to elapse without the account being prepared. The account roll in its turn would usually have been scrutinised, although there is no evidence that PRO E 101/631/1 has been audited.

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A number of other accounts for private households survives from the first half of the thirteenth century. Like PRO E 101/631/1, the primary purpose of these accounts was to record cash expenditure, not the consumption of food.<sup>6</sup> An account for the household of Hugh de Neville, 1207, occasionally records the consumption of items from store (*de stauro*), but quantities are rarely given and values, never; the document remains essentially a record of purchase. The accounts for days of the week on which no purchase was made are sometimes combined with others; where there was no expenditure because the household was the guest of another, there is a note of who bore the day's costs.<sup>7</sup> An account probably for the household of Eleanor of Brittany, in 1225-6, is concerned wholly with purchases and cash expenses except that, after the cash total for the week, there is a list of items consumed during the week - bread, meat, cheese, oats, wax and spices - in addition to the purchases. This list was written by a separate sequence of hands to the main text of the account and it recurs most weeks. It suggests that it was the responsibility of at least four clerks to record the consumption of particular commodities: one regularly enters the amount of wax, another the spices, a third the number of cheeses consumed, and so on. The cash account was written by another clerk.<sup>8</sup> This account is the most complex to survive from this period. Another account, a fragment from a unidentified household, c.1240-70, indicates consumption from stock but does not specify the quantities consumed, for example, "ale from stock" (*servicia de stauro*). Other entries are for cash expenses.<sup>9</sup>

More than half the accounts surviving from this period are arranged in daily consolidated paragraphs.<sup>10</sup> The daily entries all give the day of

the week, sometimes referring to a feast day and a place, but never the date in the month. Three accounts enter expenses each day in the order pantry, buttery, kitchen, marshalsea,<sup>11</sup> and one, probably for the household of Eleanor of Brittany, 1225-6, enters them in the order buttery, pantry, kitchen, alms, marshalsea.<sup>12</sup> In two examples alone are departments named as headings in the account: the marshalsea is named in the accounts attributed to the household of Eleanor of Brittany,<sup>13</sup> and a cash amount only is entered for the kitchen in an account for an unidentified household, c.1240-70.<sup>14</sup> There are references to the kitchen in the accounts of Hugh de Neville, 1207, and elsewhere, but they are not in a form that indicates the responsibility of a household department at the account.<sup>15</sup> No departmental order, implicit or explicit, is discernible in some accounts, for example, the accounts of the household at Bristol castle in 1221-2.<sup>16</sup>

Besides the entries of daily expenses, several of the accounts have separate notes of bulk purchases. In the accounts for an unidentified London churchman, c.1200-30, there are separate paragraphs for large purchases of corn and prests (cash advances or loans).<sup>17</sup> The account for the household of Hugh de Neville, 1207, includes some subsidiary accounts of purchases and expenses, noting where costs had been incurred by a particular official.<sup>18</sup> The accounts for the household at Bristol castle, 1221-2, have separate paragraphs for bulk purchases of corn and wine, usually after each Friday's entry, at the end of the week, and also sometimes in separate paragraphs with separate cash totals within the week.<sup>19</sup>

It is difficult to generalise about the arrangements for totalling accounts when all are fragments. Besides the 1221-2 Bristol castle accounts, the only accounts to exhibit a weekly arrangement and totals are the account probably for the household of Eleanor of Brittany, in 1225-6, and an account for an unidentified household, c.1240-70.<sup>20</sup> On the

last mentioned account, the week starts on Sunday; on the two Bristol castle accounts and on that for Eleanor of Brittany, the week starts on Saturday. The account for an unidentified London ecclesiastic, c.1200-30, may have been totalled by membrane, with a grand total at the end.<sup>21</sup> The remaining accounts have daily totals alone.

Marginal notes appear on several of the accounts. The account for the household of Hugh de Neville, 1207, has some notes about financial responsibility in the margin.<sup>22</sup> Accounts for a household at Bristol castle, 1221, may contain notes in the left margin of guests and visitors in addition to notes about the movements of the keeper of the castle.<sup>23</sup> The arrival and departure of the lord of an unidentified household appear in the left margin of an account, c.1240-70.<sup>24</sup>

There are differences in the way the accounts were written up. Several are written in a single hand throughout: three are small fragments from which it would not be sensible to draw conclusions.<sup>25</sup> The daily entries of the account of Hugh de Neville, 1207, are probably all in a single hand, possibly written in a single operation, but another hand may have written the daily totals.<sup>26</sup> The text of the accounts for the household of an unidentified London churchman, c.1200-30, may have been written in one or two hands, possibly engrossed at intervals: the daily totals are in another hand.<sup>27</sup> The accounts for a household at Bristol castle, 1221-2, have the text of the daily entries in a single hand, with daily totals at the right hand side in a second hand. Weekly totals appear in the left margin in a third hand and grand totals were entered in a fourth hand.<sup>28</sup> The accounts attributed to the household of Eleanor of Brittany, 1225-6, have the daily text written up in blocks by one or two hands, with daily totals in the right margin in another hand, and weekly totals entered in a further hand. After the weekly cash totals, the series of totals for items consumed was entered, as has been noted, by another set of clerks.<sup>29</sup> In different households varying numbers of clerks were engaged in



compiling household accounts. The most elaborate arrangements were those of the household probably of Eleanor of Brittany; but in others there was also a check on daily expenditure, with daily totals entered by a second clerk, and subsequent checks on weekly or total expenditure.

Where the accounts have more than one membrane, they survive as Chancery fashion rolls.<sup>30</sup> It is difficult to decide whether the sewing of any of the rolls is the original, but the stitching holes on PRO E 101/631/1 and two of the other accounts indicate that the thread joining them followed a zig-zag pattern, /\ /\ /\ /\.<sup>31</sup>

PRO E 101/631/1 includes the purchase of items later associated with wardrobe accounts, expenses on buildings and miscellaneous cash liveries. The account for an unidentified London churchman, c.1200-30, also includes wardrobe type expenses - the purchase of furs, payments to messengers and cash payments.<sup>32</sup> In contrast these items are excluded from the account for the household of Hugh de Neville, 1207, apart from some acquittances for minor accounts and wages, and from the account attributed to the household of Eleanor of Brittany, 1225-6, apart from spices and alms.<sup>33</sup> The inference may be that in these two households there were already accounts or financial departments dealing with expenditure of this nature, payments outside the ambit of the principal domestic departments of the household. The largest households and those closest to the Crown may thus have already begun the evolution of wardrobe accounts. There was an obvious distinction, from a financial point of view, between daily household purchases of consumables and other less frequent purchases for the household, for example, cloth. The latter was usually purchased in bulk and required a considerable amount of money; the purchase usually took place away from the immediate vicinity of the household, at a market or fair. The value of such purchases, the distance at which they were made, and their comparative infrequency,

would have ensured that the lord's most trusted officials were involved, probably those already engaged in looking after his treasure.

It may seem a little precipitate to draw conclusions about accounting practice in private households from this small group of accounts, but they do have features in common and they are traits which can also be found in later household accounts. A daily record was important. There is broad agreement about the content of the account and, to some extent, about its order. The majority of the entries are concerned with purchase, not consumption. Where a mention is made of items consumed, the documents are not precise about either quantity or value. The most specific of the accounts in this respect is that attributed to the household of Eleanor of Brittany, 1225-6, with its regular weekly note of items from stock, recorded methodically by the same group of scribes. Some evolution of a separate wardrobe account may have begun.

Only a few accounts survive for the English royal household from the early thirteenth century. The first accounts date from the reign of John and relate almost exclusively to the chamber (*camera*), the financial department of the household.<sup>34</sup> The *mise* rolls record payments made by the chamber for expenditure on cloths, messengers' costs, leather, military works. The front of the *mise* roll contains a journal of these payments. Detailed accounts for purchases are not usually given but some, copies of the subsidiary accounts that were presented to the chamber for payment or re-imbusement, were transcribed on the dorse of the roll: these are the only detailed accounts of royal household expenditure that survive from the reign of John.<sup>35</sup> Cash advances made by the chamber, some for household expenditure, are recorded in the *prestita* rolls. Two types of roll survive, one recording issues from the chamber, the other, a record of persons to account at the Exchequer for advances.<sup>36</sup> The chamber also had receipt rolls.<sup>37</sup>

Closely connected with royal household finance were the provincial treasuries which developed under King John and which received revenue that in the normal course of events should have been paid directly into the Exchequer to be disbursed from there to the King. The decentralised treasuries provided cash at convenient points for the peripatetic royal household.<sup>39</sup> There survive a small number of inventories connected with the household and treasuries and there were clearly other types of financial document within the household: several mentions of an expense roll (*rotulus expense*) occur.<sup>39</sup>

The first accounts to survive which deal with the domestic departments of the royal household, as opposed to the specialised financial records of the royal chamber, date from 1225-6. There are three fragments of a diet account roll for this date.<sup>40</sup> All three are arranged in daily consolidated paragraphs. Each entry commences by stating the day of the week; sometimes the place of residence of the household is given. The day's account then follows in the order, indicated by departmental headings, pantry (*dispensa*), napery (*mapparia*), buttery (*butellaria*), kitchen (*coquina*), scullery (*scutelleria*), saucery (*salseria*), hunting larder (*venatio*), wax (*cera*), hall (*aula*), fuel for the hall (*busca aule*), chamber (*camera*), fuel for the chamber (*busca camere*), stable (*stabulum*), liveries for grooms (*liberacio garcionum*) and liveries for horses (*liberacio equorum*). The entry under each heading is almost invariably a money sum alone. On a few days the entries are more elaborate, for example the Wednesday and Thursday of Christmas.<sup>41</sup> The one regular exception to the entry of a cash amount is wax: the weight of wax used, probably for candles, is given, not its value. A total of each day's expenditure appears in a ruled area at the right hand side of the account. In addition to the daily accounts, there is a separate set of entries for wine. They always refer to wine from stock (*de stauro*): a monetary value is never given.

These fragments are particularly valuable for the information they supply about the size and organisation of the English royal household. The average expenditure during the first week of the first fragment is a little under £6 15s. a day.<sup>42</sup> This is about eight times the average daily expenditure of Hugh de Neville in 1207. The household departments appear in the same order as many of the other early household accounts. Although there are more departmental divisions within the royal household than in private establishments, they represent subdepartments performing tasks associated elsewhere with the principal departments. The care of napery, for example, was customarily the responsibility of the pantry. The scullery, saucery and the hunting larder are all offshoots of the kitchen. The expenses of the marshalsea have been separated into the cost of the stables and expenditure on grooms and horses. The main feature of the accounts - the entry of a cash sum for each department day by day - must have been derived from subsidiary records, either separate rolls for each department or perhaps a single, much more detailed roll of which these diet accounts are a breviate, possibly prepared for the chamber. The fragments are probably fair copies, each apparently written by a single hand, possibly in one operation: the variation in inks may be the result of the damp which has damaged the membranes. There is no substantial evidence on the rolls that they were audited: the *t* in the printed edition preceding many entries appears in the manuscripts to have little significance beyond that of a paragraph mark. Only daily cash totals are present: there are no weekly totals or reckonings after a longer period.

Even though the royal household accounts concentrate on cash expenditure, an impression is given of the way in which supplies were organised for consumption. There were certainly stocks of wax and wine deposited in castles around the country.<sup>43</sup> The supply of these items was not arranged on a short term basis. Other items of necessary

expenditure, cloth, leather, payments for troops and probably the account for cash expenditure on alms, would have been contained in the royal wardrobe account. A summary of a wardrobe account survives for 8-11 Henry III.<sup>44</sup>

Lack of surviving records inhibits the study of monastic accounting. Some monasteries had developed sophisticated administrative systems by the start of the thirteenth century and the legislative effort behind measures against the possession of worldly goods by monks (*proprietas*) and, by extension, withholding them from the whole community of the monastery to which they rightfully belonged, led to the appointment of financial officers, bursars or treasurers, in many Benedictine monasteries and to the establishment of arrangements for the demonstration of the financial state of the community before the conventual chapter or a select group of senior monks. The chapter examined a general statement of the finances presented in a document that was later commonly known as a *status*, effectively a balance sheet arranged under heads of income and expenditure. The statutes of Bury St. Edmunds in 1234 refer to the purpose of accounting explicitly as allowing the convent to ascertain the improved or worsening financial position of the abbey. The general statement of finances required more detailed accounts to substantiate it. In turn these would have needed auditing or verification. Emphasis was also laid on the frequency at which accounts were to be rendered. In many instances quarterly accounting was expected.<sup>45</sup> In 1206 John of Ferentino, the papal legate, ordered that accounts were to be given quarterly by the abbot and obedientiaries of St. Mary's, York. In the same year he confirmed the customs of the abbey of Evesham: the accounts of all the obedientiaries except the kitchener were to be audited four times a year; the kitchener was to account weekly.<sup>46</sup> The other monastic orders made similar provisions. A chapter of the Augustinian canons, perhaps at Bedford in 1220, ordered each house to appoint two receivers

who, together with the obedientiaries, were to account annually or twice a year.<sup>47</sup> An ordinance, probably dating from 1237 or 1242, for Cirencester Abbey, an Austin house, enjoined the obedientiaries to render an account each year. Receipts and expenses, other than the rents of the obedientiaries, were to be controlled by two treasurers. If the abbot or cellarer received anything from the manorial reeves, they were to inform the treasurers, to make a tally, and the amount was to be entered in the receipt and expense accounts of the treasurers.<sup>48</sup>

The treasurers' accounts for Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury, are the earliest monastic accounts to survive from medieval England. The account for 1198-9 lists receipts in summary form, followed by summaries of the expenses of the two cellarers, the two chamberlains, and the sacrist, together with other minor costs, totalling expenses and noting the amount remaining in the priory's chest. In many respects this account contains the information required for the *status*.<sup>49</sup> The earliest surviving accounts for individual obedientiaries, a cellarer's account roll, covering the period 1 August 1240 to 1 August 1241, and a bursar's roll for the following year, 1 August 1241 to 1 August 1242, belong to the Cistercian house of Kingswood, near Gloucester.<sup>50</sup> The cellarer's account is written on a long, narrow membrane, largely by a single clerk, who probably also wrote the bursars' account. The account is laid out in unconsolidated paragraphs, the front mainly in two columns, with a single column on the dorse. The account begins with the arrears and then gives a brief entry for receipts. The expenditure section follows, not in any discernible order except for a very brief section of expenses for servants on individual manors or granges. The account includes purchases of cloth, fish and spices, agricultural and miscellaneous small expenses. Where the outlay is associated with a particular manor, place or person, this is indicated. Some items of food are recorded on the account, but these are not the main kitchen accounts of the monastery. The principal

purchases of food were probably reserved for the account rendered by the subprior: the bursars' account shows more cash passing through his hands than the other officials of the monastery named, the cellarer, shepherd, baker, abbot and infirmarian. The bursars' account is divided between receipts and disbursements and is also laid out in two columns. The majority of income was derived from sales of wool and corn: there are notes in a second hand about the quantities of wool. The bursars at Kingswood may have acted as purchasing officials: fish, oats, salt, wine and cheese were all bought in significant quantities; but the account may record the transactions of other officials of the monastery, the cash passing through the bursars' account as a control, to give an overview of the abbey's finances. At the end of the account there is a note indicating that the subprior was responsible for the purchase of more than £24 worth of fish, exactly equal to the amounts noted elsewhere in the account. Both the Kingswood documents are cash accounts, a record of the receipt and disbursement of money, not stock.

A few other obedientiary accounts date from before 1250. A group, for 1248-77, survives for Cirencester Abbey,<sup>61</sup> and there is a fragment of an undated mid-thirteenth century account from Bury St. Edmunds. The latter contains part of the subcellarer's accounts and also an account for the corn of the abbey's estates. The accounts are now incomplete, having been re-used as the outer wrapper to one of the first parts of the *Liber albus* of the monastery: they have been trimmed on all sides during binding. The corn account is well laid out and is written neatly in a single hand. The text has been ruled faintly in ink to delineate both horizontal lines and columns. There are entries for each manor giving the quantities of wheat received, wheat baked, wheat sold, the value of wheat sold, the amount of wheat remaining on the manor, the value of that remaining and the price per seam. There is a similar account for malt. Totals are given at the foot of each column. The first of the wrapping

leaves has, to the right of the table of accounts, two quarterly accounts for the subcellarer. Both give details of expenses only. Neither account is restricted to corn, recording also the payment of stipends to the servants in the abbey bakehouse and brewhouse. The subcellarer at Bury, besides superintending the provision of bread and ale for the domestic needs of the monastery, was presumably responsible in addition for all corn on the manors, keeping an account of its movement and value.<sup>52</sup> The association of estate and domestic responsibilities within a single document is of very great interest given the existence of similar monastic accounts at a later date: they provide a glimpse of an administrative system that viewed the economy of the monastery as a single entity, recognising the interdependence of estate and household. The annual *status* encouraged this overview.<sup>53</sup>

As well as the accounts for obedientiaries, there survive records of the expenses of the abbot. Two sets of accounts of the Abbot of Ramsey have been preserved, one for 1242-3, and the other, c.1220-60.<sup>54</sup> Both are made up of four membranes, filed Exchequer fashion, like the early manorial accounts of the same house. Each membrane contains accounts for a single quarter. The membranes may originally have been separate: an endorsement at the foot of the second membrane of the 1242-3 account seems designed to appear as a label on the outside of the second membrane if it had been rolled up as a single membrane. The 1242-3 accounts are arranged in paragraphs for the payment of debts (*solucio debitorum*), various purchases (*diverse empciones*), various purchases and liveries to the chamber (*diverse empciones et liberaciones ad cameram*), expenses of journeys (*expense itinerancium*), the abbot's gifts (*dona domini abbatis*) and small charges (*minute expense*). On the other roll, each membrane starts with receipts from lands, followed by the abbot's expenses. The expense paragraphs include payments to messengers, stipends, small charges and the purchase of corn. The sections of the



1242-3 account were each written by several hands, possibly on more than one occasion. Neither roll has totals: the accounts may have been drafts.

The impression given by the records of the English royal household and by the English monasteries is one of much greater elaboration than the records of private households. The evidence of monastic statutes is that accounting, written or oral, was widespread. There was a much greater diversity of forms and layouts in monastic accounts than in those of private households. The emphasis, too, was on a cash account, not a stock account, although the latter is in evidence, principally in connection with the estates.

With so few examples, it is important not to view the development of household accounts in England in isolation: the European parallels are the more interesting because the other principal form of private account in medieval England, the manorial account, is not found on the continent. Demesne farming, the direct exploitation of an estate by its owner (for whom, therefore, the manorial account was an extremely important document), rather than by leasing ("farming") it out, was an English phenomenon at this date; the household was an institution which shared common characteristics throughout Europe.

As in England, household accounts of this period are not met with very frequently. They have failed to survive for much the same reasons as those in England. But from all parts of Europe there are examples from the early thirteenth century, and there are some of earlier date. From 1157-8 there are accounts of a Spanish bailiff at Sant Pere de Vilamajor for guests and their food; from 1183 for food for knights going to Aragon; and from 1189 there are detailed daily accounts for the household of Guillema de Montcada.<sup>55</sup> Guillema's accounts are largely for purchases, but there are occasional explicit references to consumption. The sequence of days in the account is not continuous. The account is for expenses at the castle of Sentmenat: it usually ceases with the departure of Guillema

and restarts on her return. The servants left behind in the castle are named and there are a few notes of their expenditure in Guillema's absence. Within each day's entry, items are usually presented in the order bread, mainly followed by meat, then wine, ending always with corn for the horses (*cibaria*). There are also notes of cash liveries, alms and the purchase of commodities such as linen. Despite the regular structure, there is no mention of individual household departments. The account is a fair copy, written by a single hand in one operation.

There survives a group of fragmentary accounts for the household of Bishop Wolfer of Passau on a journey to and from Italy in 1204.<sup>56</sup> A number of membranes contains wardrobe type expenditure, for example, purchase of cloth, horse harness, jewellery. Membranes one and two in Zingerle's edition are of this kind: they cover largely the same period and although they are not word for word the same, they evidently record the same transactions. The second membrane includes additional place names and dates. It is probable that one of the membranes is a draft or counter-roll. Membranes three and four also deal with wardrobe expenditure. Membrane five is a diet account: the entries within the account are made up in the departmental order kitchen, pantry, buttery and marshalsea. Membranes six and seven are also diet accounts. The diet accounts very rarely specify the items purchased. A cash sum is usually all that is given for the kitchen. Bread and wine may be employed in the account purely in the sense of the departments they represent, the pantry and the buttery. The eighth membrane is devoted to accounts for money changing on the journey. The ninth and tenth refer to a later period, probably also in 1204. The ninth membrane gives some information about quantities of foodstuffs consumed. The tenth notes tunics bought for the huntsmen, shoes and similar items, but it also contains a calculation of the average cash expenditure per week on ale, meat, cheese, fuel and other necessaries.

A regular pattern of household accounting had been established in the French royal household by the early thirteenth century. The earliest account, a fragment for the household of Prince Louis of France (later Louis VIII), covers the period October 1212 to February 1213.<sup>57</sup> The account consists of a single membrane. Originally additional membranes were attached to the head of this roll: at the top there is a blank area with two rows of sewing holes, nearly an inch apart. The account is laid out with two margins: the left is marked by a fold as is also the much narrower right margin. Two lateral folds have been made to guide the setting out of each of the two headings. The account is a fair copy, written by two fluent business hands, the first paragraph (apart from the heading, but including the total) being the work of one clerk, the remainder of the membrane, the work of the other. The totals are in the same hands as the text. There are no signs of auditing. Only two sections of the account survive. The quittances (*quittationes*) are re-imbursments of expenses incurred on behalf of the household or of loans. The second section is entitled gifts and equipment (*dona et hernessia*) and contains a miscellaneous collection of items, ranging from the pantler's expenses on napery to the most frequent entries, expenditure on military equipment. Any receipts section that existed has disappeared. It is not unlikely that this account included other expenses, for example, some form of daily household account, either a summary account for the term or the full daily accounts of the household departments, known as the *itineria*. There are two other French royal household accounts dating from before 1250, one covering the period from the Purification (2 February) to the Ascension 1233, the other running from the Ascension to All Saints (1 November) 1239. The documents are similar in form to the account for 1212-13, although they also include accounts for the *itineria*.<sup>58</sup> There are some scanty references to other early French household accounts, such as an account for the household of the Count of

Poitiers for Ascension 1245, 1249-50, but most are recorded only in the transcripts and notes of antiquaries.<sup>59</sup>

Some notes of household expenditure for a Scottish student illustrate the use of domestic financial records at a lesser social level. The notes are written in pencil in the lower margins of some of the leaves of a copy of the *Gesta regum* of William of Malmesbury;<sup>60</sup> they were probably written when the student, W. de Bernham, was at Paris, c.1250. The notes fall into two groups. The first contains payments to people, Richard, Thomas, Hugh, *dominus Valensi*, Peter the scriptor and others, the butcher, washerwoman, cobbler and baker, and purchases of cloth and clothing, spices, saddle bags and saddle cloths, and for the hire of rooms. In general these could be classed as wardrobe expenditure. The second group comprises diet expenses for thirteen days, starting on a Saturday and continuing to Thursday week. The entries probably contain a record of purchases, not consumption: bread is noted on the two Saturdays alone, with four *solidi* expended on each occasion. It seems improbable that bread was not eaten on the other days of the week and it is likely that the week's supply, or its supplement, was purchased on Saturday. Fish occurs each day and therefore the notes probably date from Lent.<sup>61</sup> Other items include nuts, almonds, fuel, wine (but not ale), candles, pottage and salt. There are no totals of expenditure. The notes doubtless served as a draft for a diet account and a wardrobe account: the level of expenditure is high and accounts may have been expected in this advanced form.

In the early thirteenth century, household accounts on the continent had much in common with English examples. Many exhibit the pattern of daily entries organised, at least tacitly, on a departmental basis; and wardrobe accounts were employed as well as diet accounts. The most important conclusion from the comparison, however, is that the continental accounts seem more developed. Although many examples are

principally records of purchase, there is more than a suggestion that other areas merited documentation. Consumption is explicitly noted on several occasions and the calculation of average weekly expenditure on Bishop Wolfer's account in 1204 is unprecedented. The evidence is not sufficient to define a point of origin for household accounts, but it may be that the more advanced pattern on the continent was the result of a longer history. The use of oral accounting, as suggested by the *constitutio domus regis*, makes any attempt to establish an overall pattern of development very difficult.

There are two important texts which date from before 1250 connected with household management in England - the first surviving formulary for a household account and the treatise known as the *Rules of St. Robert*. The manuscript of the formulary dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, but it was probably compiled at Oxford not later than the 1230s and possibly in the 1220s.<sup>62</sup> The existence of the formulary suggests the use of household accounts was beginning to become more widespread. The formulary gives specimen entries for two days, the first a day of abstinence, the second, a flesh day. The expenses are ordered by department: the pantry, kitchen, marshalsea and chamber appear by name. The order of departments is the same on both specimen days. Each day has a cash total, 58s. 0½d. on the first day, 29s. 8½d. on the second day, indicating that a large household is represented. The expenses of the first day record no items from stock and probably relate to purchases only. The account for the second day records the purchase of items in addition to stock (*super instaurum*), but does not give details of the stock consumed, although it is valued.

The *Rules of St. Robert* were probably compiled as statutes for the household of Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln and were later revised for the household of the Countess of Lincoln, c.1242.<sup>63</sup> The text of the treatise was in circulation shortly afterwards: the two earliest surviving

examples date from the mid-thirteenth century and from c.1260. Both copies are associated with Benedictine monasteries, the former with Bury St. Edmunds and the latter with Canterbury Cathedral Priory. The earliest formulary for a household account belonged to William Haseley, a monk of Westminster. These connections are hard to explain given that neither work really applied to the organisation of a Benedictine monastery, perhaps with the exception of the abbot's household.<sup>64</sup>

The *Rules* provide an insight into the theory of contemporary household management. There are some important implications for the study of household accounting. The *Rules* are of especial value in balancing the perspective of the household as viewed through the household account: they stress that the household was only one part of the seigneurial economy and that the management of the household and the estates was to be regarded as a unified enterprise. There are parallels in the philosophy of manorial and household accounting. The purpose of manorial accounts, extents and similar documents, was to ensure that the lord received what was rightfully his.<sup>65</sup> There were also careful checks on those responsible for the expenditure of the lord's income, to ensure the revenues were not wasted but directed instead to the profit and honour of the lord.<sup>66</sup>

The fourth rule of the treatise advocates balancing household expenditure against the produce of the manorial demesnes. The size of the corn crop was to be estimated, using trusted members of the household on the best manors. Allowance was to be made for seed corn and liveries to servants: the amount remaining was to be written down and the consumption of the household in bread and ale was to be based upon it. Once the weekly consumption of corn by the household in bread, ale and alms had been reckoned, the surplus produce was to be calculated and offered for sale on certain conditions. The money realised by the sale was also to be used to support the household.<sup>67</sup> At Michaelmas, the tenth

rule proposed that the estimates of corn, together with the natural endowment of lands in livestock or fish, should be used to plan the household's itinerary for the year: no place was to be overburdened as the surplus revenues were required to purchase household provisions.<sup>68</sup> Planning consumption and estimating provisions contrast with contemporary English household accounts, few of which mention the consumption of items from stock that would be necessary to calculate the average expenditure of, or quantities consumed by, the household. Estimates of corn production likewise do not survive until a later date, for example, from the estates of Merton College, Oxford, and Worcester Cathedral Priory.<sup>69</sup>

The twelfth rule discusses the purchase of commodities that were unobtainable at local markets or from the lord's manors. The reader is advised to buy these at the great fairs.<sup>70</sup> The commodities mentioned, including wine, are all typical of the expenditure usually associated with wardrobe accounts. They would not have been considered day to day domestic purchases. A considerable amount of cash was needed to procure these items. The practice of having a special official to make these purchases is partly reflected in contemporary household accounts.

Manners and etiquette are considered in a number of the rules. Some concern areas later regulated by the household account. The twenty fourth rule, describing the serving of meals, foreshadows later accounts which record the portions or *fercula* consumed;<sup>71</sup> the twenty fifth rule gives the standard returns expected from baking set quantities of corn, a check that was present in the *constitutio domus regis* and in later accounts.<sup>72</sup> On balance it seems the theory of the *Rules* and the formulary ran some way ahead of contemporary accounting practice.

Despite the paucity of the evidence, there are some features in the overall pattern of the development of household accounts at this period that can be discerned. Most striking is the very early appearance of a

"common form" in households differing greatly in size, regular daily accounts for the departments of the household, frequently in the same departmental order, pantry, buttery, kitchen and marshalsea. From 1250 onwards a great many more household accounts survive. Although they develop in different ways, the basic form of the diet account remains recognisable throughout the medieval period. The early accounts are predominantly for purchases, although some mention of "stock" does appear, a first suggestion that consumption was worth recording and that the accounts had a function beyond that of recording cash expenditure, as a tool for domestic management. In the development of this feature, English accounts seem to have lagged behind examples from the continent and the theory of household management in England.

The physical make up and layout of the documents display similarities. Many of the early documents were made up as Chancery fashion rolls; many display the same daily paragraph layout; and many exhibit the same general patterns of ruling and folding.

It is difficult to perceive any pattern in the survival of the earliest household accounts in medieval England, apart from their preservation in the records of the Exchequer and the Chancery, the principal archive to survive. All came from fairly large establishments. The heads of the households are diverse, ranging from barons to churchmen. Nor is it easy to discover any geographical pattern in the survival or adoption of the accounts because of the itinerant nature of the medieval household. The English royal household and the monasteries had an impressive grasp of financial administration. The part they played in the development of the form of the household account cannot be readily demonstrated, but there must surely have been some influence, especially on those establishments associated closely with the royal household.



Chapter 4 Household accounts from the mid-thirteenth century to c. 1430:

(i) the documents

The period from the mid-thirteenth century to c.1430 is distinguished by the greatly increased number of household accounts that has been preserved. Up to c.1250, about a dozen examples survive for private households; from then until c.1300, there may be a further twenty five documents. For the next fifty years, there remain at least one hundred and seventy five accounts, and perhaps one hundred and sixty for the period 1350-1430. Accounts had a place in every household. Very great quantities are extant for the English royal households,<sup>1</sup> for some of the larger English monasteries,<sup>2</sup> for some colleges<sup>3</sup> and there are some significant, if disjointed, runs for private households.<sup>4</sup> The surviving accounts represent only a fraction of what must have existed: household accounts were, very literally in the greater households, an important part of everyday life. There is now little or no evidence for the vast majority of households: for example, while there are many accounts for some monasteries, there are others, some of the first importance, such as St. Peter's, Gloucester, for which none survive.<sup>5</sup>

The pattern is similar on the continent. Few accounts remain from the households of the French kings:<sup>6</sup> much of the evidence for their existence comes from antiquaries' copies and notes made before the fire of October 1737 which destroyed the Greffe containing many of the older records of the *Chambre des comptes*.<sup>7</sup> No more than a handful of household items are noted in Robert Mignon's list of these records, the *inventarium compotorum ordinariorum et aliorum*, the majority having appeared in another list, the *inventarium compotorum particularium*, of which nothing beyond a table of contents remains.<sup>8</sup> The deficiency is off-set by the preservation of, in some instances, large groups of household records for other royal and aristocratic families, for example, the Dukes of Burgundy,

the Princes of Savoy, King Ferdinand I of Aragon and the Counts of Flanders, and for ecclesiastical households, the Popes at Avignon and the Bishops of Grenoble.<sup>9</sup>

*Diet accounts*

During the second half of the thirteenth century, the diet account became more complex. A new prominence was given to information besides purchases that would be of use in household management. Consumption was one of the first areas to attract attention. Items drawn from stock (*de stauro* or *destor*), that is, goods already in the household's possession, in the kitchen cupboard or freezer, so to speak, appear more frequently in the account, mingled with the entries of cash expenses, for the day's shopping.<sup>10</sup> The account for an Earl of Oxford, c.1245-75, is divided each day into two paragraphs, the first, listing purchases, the second, quantities of stock consumed; it does not, however, indicate when the purchases were consumed and it would not have been possible to calculate from the account the daily consumption of the household. Equal coverage is not given to all foodstuffs: although brewings are noted, no consumption of ale is recorded.<sup>11</sup>

The household accounts of Eleanor de Montfort, 1265, add a further dimension. As well as the day's purchases, the account includes items from stock (*de stauro*), from manors (*de maneria*) and accounted for previously (*precomputato*). The account is far from systematic, but it would seem that *de stauro* should refer to household stocks in hand which had probably been purchased some time before, perhaps in bulk, outside the diet account; *de maneria*, to articles drawn directly from manors; and *precomputato*, to the consumption of items which had recently been entered as purchases in the diet account.<sup>12</sup> The departmental entries record stock, then purchases. For example, on Monday 20 April, the account

notes the consumption of unspecified amounts of fresh meat, hens and eggs *precomputatis*, all purchased on the preceding day. Occasionally quantities are given: on 25 May, ten of the geese and hens, accounted purchased beforehand, were consumed.<sup>13</sup> Similar notes of consumption of items already purchased or allowed occur in the diet accounts of Roger Leyburn, while combatting rebels in 1266-7.<sup>14</sup> At best, however, the system of account was awkward and imprecise, perhaps indicating that the perception of its purpose was unclear and still evolving.

By 1290, with further elaboration, the account had taken a more coherent form. On the household roll of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, for 1289-90, the departmental accounts follow a strict order: recent purchases still in hand or stock that had been partly consumed, their consumption and remainder; purchases and gifts, with a note of what was consumed and what remained; followed by miscellaneous departmental expenses, for example, for non-comestibles, such as plates, or payments of the expenses of those fetching or purchasing food.<sup>15</sup> Accounts with this strict order, regular details of goods in hand and stock consumed and of the day's remainder, were the exception rather than the rule;<sup>16</sup> but it was essential to record the amount of each purchase consumed each day and the amount of stock if a record was to be kept of what remained for future consumption. A number of departmental sections in accounts, mainly for larger households, deal with stock before purchases.<sup>17</sup> In the household of Dame Katherine de Norwich, in 1336-7, the order was reversed.<sup>18</sup> Occasionally there were two separate paragraphs for each day's account, one for purchases, the other for consumption.<sup>19</sup> It was common for stock details to be imprecise: an account such as that for the household of Henry de Overton, Abbot of Peterborough, for 1370-1, which, apart from kitchen purchases, dealt exclusively and elaborately with the movement of stock, was very unusual.<sup>20</sup>

The terminology used for stock and its meaning vary between households. Besides *staurum*, *lestor* and *de precomputato*, a number of accounts use *de providencia* to refer to items drawn from large quantities of provisions laid down in store, for example, in the larder, which are not recorded as purchases in the diet account. The accounts for the household of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1, start with a series of sections for large purchases of foodstuffs, arranged by commodity. When these are noted as consumed in the diet account, they are drawn *de providencia*; items purchased in the diet account consumed other than on the day of purchase are described as *de remanentia*.<sup>21</sup> A number of diet accounts, however, do contain entries for bulk purchases, intermingled with the daily entries. Paragraphs for the purchase of fish appear in the account of Eleanor de Montfort, 1265;<sup>22</sup> and for the bulk purchases of meat, in November 1289, for the household of Bishop Swinfield of Hereford.<sup>23</sup> The first membrane of the accounts of Dame Katherine de Norwich, 1336-7, contains paragraphs for purchases of meat for the larder, for candles and wine, written piecemeal in a variety of hands and inks, throughout the period of the account;<sup>24</sup> stock for the larder and spices for the household of John de Multon, 1343-4, were recorded in a separate paragraph at the end of the account for his household;<sup>25</sup> and a paragraph for *instaurum* - oxen, cows and fish for the larder - concludes the account of the household of Joan, Lady Dinham, for 1367-8.<sup>26</sup> Similar paragraphs for "provisions" occur separately on the dorse of the rolls of Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, 1383;<sup>27</sup> and there are separate sections for bulk purchases for the larder in the accounts of Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7;<sup>28</sup> Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412-13;<sup>29</sup> and in a second account for Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, for 1431-2.<sup>30</sup> The distinction between bulk purchases for stock and the purchases and expenses of the diet account is most clear from another type of account, the annual cash, corn and stock account.<sup>31</sup>

These developments were not followed in every household. When the household was travelling, there is sometimes little or no mention of items from stock: the accounts represent cash purchases for immediate consumption, the household not wishing to carry stocks.<sup>32</sup> On occasion an itinerant household did draw on the stocks of manors along its route or carry purchases.<sup>33</sup> Some accounts of travelling expenses, on the other hand, do not give anything beyond a cash sum for the day's expenses, without indicating on what it was spent.<sup>34</sup>

In some households, most frequently small households, little attempt was made to record anything more than purchases.<sup>35</sup> Other accounts for small households made but a passing attempt to record items from stock or to note consumption from that source. The accounts of Thomas Bozoun of Woodford, Northamptonshire, for 1348,<sup>36</sup> and those of John de Multon of Frampton, 1347-8, record the consumption of stock but do not say what it was.<sup>37</sup> The accounts of Edmund de Stonor, for 1378, are little more informative. Bread and ale are distinguished, but no quantities or values are given: "Thursday, 12 August, bread, ale and everything else from stock."<sup>38</sup> A roll of accounts for the Mountford family of Coleshill, Warwickshire, contains diet entries for 1433-4, recording purchases and items from stock. The stock entries are grouped at the end of weekly paragraphs. Not all the days of the week are noted: on the missing days it must be assumed that consumption came from stock, although this is not specifically stated.<sup>39</sup>

Once details of stock expended were inserted in the account, there were attempts to record the day's total expenses not only in cash, but in consumption. As a first stage, quantities of stock consumed were listed at the end of the week.<sup>40</sup> Items from store in the daily accounts of the Countess of Hereford, in 1304, were repeated each day in the margin and total quantities were given at the end of the roll.<sup>41</sup> An account for William de Rupe, 1322, lists the total quantities consumed in three

household departments, the pantry, buttery and kitchen, over the period of the account.<sup>42</sup> Monthly totals of foodstuffs consumed appear in the accounts of Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412-13, and of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1.<sup>43</sup> These developments are associated very closely with the emergence of an annual stock account for the household.<sup>44</sup>

The second step in recording consumption was to establish a valuation of items consumed from stock to produce a daily cash total of all expenses. A very early example of this occurs in the mid-thirteenth century formulary of William Haseley. In a specimen account, items are noted from stock (*super instaurum*) and are sometimes given a cash valuation. At the end of the day's account, there is a single cash total combining the value of stock and the cash expenses.<sup>45</sup> In this respect, the formulary seems to have been some way in advance of contemporary accounting practice. The earliest example of a *valuation of stock on an account roll* occurs in an early fourteenth century account, probably for Roger de Mortimer. The diet entries record items *precomputatis* and *de instauro*, the former representing the consumption of items purchased recently and the latter, items from stock. Each day's account concludes with two totals, *summa in denariis* and *summa instauri*. The *instaurum* of the total, however, is not "stock" in the sense used in the diet entry, but a cash amount giving the total of items purchased that day combined with a valuation of items consumed from stock. The *summa in denariis* is a total of cash liveries, for example, for oblations.<sup>46</sup> The household accounts of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, for 1337-8, give the day's total in cash and divide it between purchases and expenses from the coffers (*de coffris*, i.e. cash liveries and payments) and a valuation of the stock consumed (*de instauro*); and the accounts of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, for 1347 and 1348, give daily cash totals, made up of purchases, a valuation of stock and a valuation of gifts received.<sup>47</sup> The accounts of Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of

Westminster, for 1371-5, have daily cash totals of purchases (*empciones*) and a valuation of stock (*staurum appreciatum*); a similar feature is found in the accounts of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, for 1393.<sup>48</sup>

The diet accounts for the period present a more rigorous use of departmental structure and a more elaborate departmental entry within the daily account than earlier examples. Firstly, from the very end of the thirteenth century, following the example of the royal household, the largest households use dating formulae giving the day of the week and the date in the month, rather than referring to the day of the week and occasionally to a feast day.<sup>49</sup> Then each day the departmental expenses appear most frequently in the order pantry, buttery, kitchen, marshalsea. Departments were not always named and this order cannot be said to imply that these divisions formed effective administrative entities in the households where the departmental titles do not appear. The case for the divisions is stronger when the titles are present, but not necessarily proved. The appearance of departmental titles has both a chronological evolution and one based on size of household. In the thirteenth century, outside the royal household, few household departments were named in accounts. The accounts of Eleanor de Montfort, 1265; Roger Leyburn, 1266-7; and Bogo de Clare, 1285, mention by name only the kitchen and the marshalsea and these not on every day.<sup>50</sup> But from the end of the thirteenth century there are many more examples and a wider range of departments. The accounts of Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7, have sections for the pantry, buttery, kitchen, saucery, ostlery, marshalsea, alms and wages;<sup>51</sup> the accounts of Humphrey de Bohun, 1304, are divided into pantry (*dispensa*), buttery, kitchen, poultry, scullery, chamber, stable and wages; those for the Countess of Hereford, for the same year, have the same divisions but replace the chamber with a saucery.<sup>52</sup> The accounts of Thomas of Lancaster, 1318-19,<sup>53</sup> and Hugh

Audley the younger, 1320,<sup>54</sup> include the hall (*aula*) as a department, as do the accounts of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1347 and 1348.<sup>55</sup> The hall and chamber (*aula et camera*) appear together as a departmental heading in the account for the household of John Sandale, Bishop of Winchester, after his death in 1319.<sup>56</sup> Other accounts name as departments the chandlery,<sup>57</sup> the cellar<sup>58</sup> and the wardrobe.<sup>59</sup> Two thirteenth century Abbots of Westminster, Richard de Ware and Walter de Wenlok, have separate paragraphs most days in their diet accounts for the chamber (*camera*), covering miscellaneous cash expenses, carriage expenses, workmen, alms and similar items;<sup>60</sup> and Henry de Overton, Abbot of Peterborough, in 1370-1, and Dame Alice de Bryene, in 1412-13, had separate daily sections for kitchen purchases.<sup>61</sup> A daily section for the larder occurs on an account for an unidentified household, c.1320-50.<sup>62</sup> An account, probably for the household of a Prior of Durham, c.1350-80, has daily sections for stock, alms, gifts and petty expenses.<sup>63</sup> The departmental headings are emphasised in the text by writing them in large letters,<sup>64</sup> by underlining them<sup>65</sup> or by drawing a complete<sup>66</sup> or partial box around them.<sup>67</sup>

The areas of activity encompassed by the departments varied between households. In the account of Dame Alice de Bryene of Acton Hall, 1412-13, the pantry section of the account embraced those functions usually associated with the buttery; the structure of the account of Bishop Swinfield of Hereford, 1289-90, suggests a similar practice.<sup>68</sup> Distinctions are sometimes blurred within the same household, perhaps suggesting some fiction in the departmental divisions, or the use of personal responsibility as the key to the division (i.e. each department accounting for what those associated with it purchased). On the first membrane of an account for the household of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, c.1328-9, cream, butter and cheese all appear in the kitchen section. The pantry section of the second membrane includes cream, milk and cheese.<sup>69</sup>



A clearer distinction between departments does seem to have led to a more detailed departmental account. In the accounts of the household of William de Rupe, 1322-4, the pantry account notes the numbers of loaves in hand at the start of the day, how many were consumed and how many left at the end of the day; the buttery deals with ale, wine and mead, noting items from stock (*de instauro*); the kitchen section records the number of portions (*fercula*) of each type of meat in hand at the start of the day, what was expended and what remained; and the marshalsea section noted the number of horses present.<sup>70</sup> De Rupe's household was not particularly large, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find a much more detailed analysis in, for example, the pantry and buttery accounts of larger households. In the pantry section each day of an account for an unidentified household, c.1320-60, loaves are allocated for trenchers, breakfast, the kitchen and the dogs.<sup>71</sup> An account probably for Lionel, Earl of Ulster, in the 1350s or 1360s, divides the bread into issues for meals, for breakfast, for rewards (extra rations), trenchers, the kitchen, predetermined issues, extraordinary issues, the stables, after lunch, and throughout the night.<sup>72</sup> A similar division is present in the bread sections of an account probably for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80; of Henry de Overton, Abbot of Peterborough, 1370-1; Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1371-5; and Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7.<sup>73</sup> The allocation of bread appears in the margins of the diet accounts of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1 and 1431-2, the first of which regularly includes provision of bread for the Countess of Warwick's greyhounds and her bear.<sup>74</sup> An account probably for the Earl of Ulster, dating from the 1350s or 1360s, divides the account for wine and for ale in a similar way.<sup>75</sup> No private household account seems to have employed the practice advocated by a fourteenth century treatise (including a conflation of the *Seneschaucy* and the *Husbandry*), although it was used in the English royal household:<sup>76</sup> the pantry account was to

give the number of loaves issued by the pantler and their value. The amount allowed to the pantler was to be proportional to the number of meals consumed. A similar equation was to be enforced for the butler's account of the amounts of wine and ale issued for consumption.<sup>77</sup> Kitchen sections dealt with food usually in order of size of commodity, in much the same order as stock accounts on the dorse of manorial account rolls. Portions are noted rarely in kitchen sections. Richard Beauchamp's account for 1420-1 contains an exceptional instance, recording *ronde* of beef.<sup>78</sup> The functions of the kitchen were sometimes further subdivided into departments, a poultry, scullery, saucery and larder. The poultry dealt not only with fowl, but with piglets and young animals of all sorts, their food, butter, milk and eggs.<sup>79</sup> Spices were sometimes the province of the kitchen;<sup>80</sup> sometimes, along with wax and candles, the concern of the wardrobe.<sup>81</sup> Marshalsea sections frequently give the numbers of horses present, sometimes noting also a separate number of hackneys;<sup>82</sup> and the numbers of grooms and pages, and, on occasion, lists of names of those present for household wages.<sup>83</sup> The departmental order was often followed even when no expense was incurred, *nichil* being entered in the appropriate section.<sup>84</sup>

The departmental framework had become the basis for a very elaborate set of checks on household management. It could be employed as a model even when the household contained no complex internal organisation. The accounts of the warden of Merton College, Oxford, on a journey in 1356, follow the order pantry, buttery, kitchen and marshalsea, without naming departments; but the regular diet accounts for his household when at Oxford, for example, for 1378 and 1383-4, are almost exclusively for kitchen expenses, with notes of the expenses of bread, ale, candles and cheese at the end of each week.<sup>85</sup> Other accounts have little or no departmental structure.<sup>86</sup> The account of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury exhibits a formal division into departments, but the order in which the

departmental accounts were presented varied from day to day.<sup>87</sup> There is also some variation in the order of departments in accounts with less formal divisions.<sup>88</sup> The day's account was sometimes divided into two, repeating the order of the departmental entries, if the household moved to a second location on the same day.<sup>89</sup> Some accounts, mainly for small parts of households on journeys, also made a distinction between purchases for, or consumption at, particular meals.<sup>90</sup>

An elaboration of other features of the account accompanied the developments in departmental structure. There are advances in schemes of totalling accounts. The great majority of diet accounts are totalled each day. Besides the daily totals, thirteenth century accounts were often totalled by membrane.<sup>91</sup> Later accounts are often totalled by week and by month. Weeks usually start on Sundays, but some weekly arrangements start on Saturdays.<sup>92</sup> The accounts of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, for 1347 and 1348, and the accounts of Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, for 1371-5, have weeks starting on Mondays;<sup>93</sup> those for a Prior of Durham, c.1350-80, start on Wednesdays;<sup>94</sup> and those probably for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80, start on Thursdays.<sup>95</sup> Months could be periods of four weeks<sup>96</sup> or calendar months.<sup>97</sup> Quarterly<sup>98</sup> and annual totals also occur.<sup>99</sup> Some accounts do not have totals.<sup>100</sup> Others, mainly for smaller households, have weekly totals but no daily ones.<sup>101</sup> The account of Sir William Waleys of Glynde, Sussex, 1382-3, has no cash totals, but weekly totals of animals killed.<sup>102</sup> Accounts for some of the larger households give totals of cash expenditure by department.<sup>103</sup> In the accounts for the household of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, c.1299, in the text of the daily entry there are cash totals for the pantry and buttery combined, the kitchen and the marshalsea,<sup>104</sup> a feature that is also present in the daily paragraphs of an account for the household of John Sandale, Bishop of Winchester, after his death in 1319.<sup>105</sup> On other accounts, the departmental totals occur in

the margin of each day's entry.<sup>106</sup> These were used to provide grand totals of departmental expenditure at the end of the accounting period. The totals thus provide a number of different ways of analysing expenditure.

A wide variety of marginalia appears on the accounts. It was customary to note, usually in the left margin of the account, the new place of residence on each occasion the household moved.<sup>107</sup> Brewings and bakings are also recorded in the margin.<sup>108</sup> These notes were made to draw the attention of the auditor to passages in the main text, where, in some accounts at least, are notes of the product of each baking or brewing.<sup>109</sup> The consumption of wine was also the subject of marginal notes. In the accounts for the household of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1347 and 1348, the left margin contains notes of wine from stock (*de instauro*): no wine appears in the buttery section of the account. There are also drawings of barrels to mark the start of each new hogshead or pipe.<sup>110</sup> Different shapes of barrel appear in the margins of an account for the household of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1, to mark the start of pipes of wine, cades of white or red herring, or salted salmon.<sup>111</sup> Some accounts have marginal notes for the start of carcasses;<sup>112</sup> others for animals slaughtered for the household;<sup>113</sup> for partridges from hunting;<sup>114</sup> for venison from the larder (*de lardario*) and from hunting (*de venatione*);<sup>115</sup> for liveries from manors, items from stock or stock started,<sup>116</sup> and possibly for wheat received.<sup>117</sup>

The principal members of the household present and visitors were sometimes listed in the main body of the account.<sup>118</sup> Some accounts confine their entries to notes of the arrival or departure of the lord or lady from the household establishment.<sup>119</sup> There is usually no change in the form of the account, although expenditure may decrease during the lord's absence, to be supplemented by purchases in preparation for his return.<sup>120</sup> Visitors, representing an additional charge on the household,

were often listed in margin beside the day's account. Some lists are long and detailed, for example, those for William of Wykeham's household in 1393, or for Bishop Mitford's establishment in 1406-7;<sup>121</sup> others, such as an account probably for the household of Roger de Mortimer, early fourteenth century, restrict themselves to the most important visitors.<sup>122</sup> The record of visitors could extend in elaboration to note the meals at which they were present,<sup>123</sup> broken down by name or rank, even as far as recording the visit of a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century Abbot of Rievaulx to a household, probably of Beatrice de Roos, for a drink.<sup>124</sup> Other accounts specifically note the number of poor present.<sup>125</sup>

Another development was the recording of the numbers of portions (*fercula*) consumed each day. A *ferculum* was a dish, course or portion of food. With the exception of the royal household<sup>126</sup> and one or two other examples,<sup>127</sup> it is employed in household accounts almost exclusively in relation to bread. In the household of Nicholas de Spina, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 1273-83, the cook for the hall and his valet were to answer each evening to the cellarer for the portions received.<sup>128</sup> Numbers of portions (*mes*) served were also to be recorded each night in the household of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, c.1295-8.<sup>129</sup> *Fleta*, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, notes that it is the duty of the cook each evening to give an account of every portion to the "common steward", responsible for both household and estate administration, a position probably encountered on small and medium sized estates;<sup>130</sup> portions were to be recorded in the English royal household from 1279<sup>131</sup> and in the Scottish royal household, c.1305-9.<sup>132</sup> The earliest appearance in a private household account of numbers of *fercula* for the day is in the accounts of Hugh Audley the younger, 1320.<sup>133</sup> A single daily figure for *fercula* appears on the accounts of larger households for the remainder of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century.<sup>134</sup> The figures for *fercula* include halves on an account

of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, for 1328-9.<sup>135</sup> A further refinement was to analyse how many *fercula* were consumed at each meal: accounts from the mid-fourteenth century onwards divide the number between two meals, luncheon (*prandium*) and dinner (*cena*),<sup>136</sup> or three meals, including breakfast (*jantaculum*).<sup>137</sup> Other accounts record the number consumed by visitors to the household.<sup>138</sup> Besides visitors, the status of those eating the meals was noted. Status is given on three occasions in the household account of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells.<sup>139</sup> An account for an unidentified household, c.1320-60, divides the daily number of *fercula* between gentlemen (*gentiles*), personnel of the household offices (*officiarii*), and grooms (*garçiones*).<sup>140</sup> Three divisions are made for each of the meals noted in the accounts of Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, in 1371-5, but without defining the ranks of those consuming them.<sup>141</sup> On the household account of William of Wykeham, 1393, the total number of *fercula* for each meal is divided between *gentiles* and *officiarii*.<sup>142</sup> The account of Henry de Overton, Abbot of Peterborough, 1370-1, has a marginal calculation of *fercula*, noting those served outside the hall and at the three main meals, bread issued from the bakehouse and the remainder. The pantry account also contains a note of the detailed allocation of bread, but it is incomplete, making it impossible to discover any correlation with the *fercula* noted in the margin.<sup>143</sup> A direct relationship between the *fercula* and the issue of loaves in the pantry account can be demonstrated in the diet accounts for the household of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, for 1420-1 and 1431-2. Each day there are two groups of marginal entries. The first records the numbers of *fercula* consumed at breakfast, lunch and dinner, and the second, quantities of bread used, for example, for trenchers, reward, for liveries, at drinkings, in the kitchen and for alms. The combined total of the two sections is equal to the quantity of loaves issued by the pantry.<sup>144</sup> The record of the consumption of *fercula* is not related to the household

account as a statement of purchases and cash expenditure: in its broader form the account acquires a new dimension as an instrument of household management.

Underlining occurs on a number of accounts: the purpose for its use varies. Besides highlighting departmental headings, it is frequently used to indicate price per unit - head of cattle, bushel of corn, ell of cloth - or any other cash amount that was not to be included in the total.<sup>145</sup> The pattern sometimes operated in reverse: in the accounts of Humphrey de Bohun, 1304, and Elizabeth de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, 1305, the total price per purchase is underlined, but not the price per unit.<sup>146</sup> Weights are underlined in the accounts of Henry, Lord de Grey of Codnor, 1304-5, and weights of cheese in an account for Thomas, Lord Berkeley, in 1328.<sup>147</sup> In the accounts of Dame Katherine de Norwich, 1336-7, the values of items drawn from manors were underlined: they were subsequently added together to form a separate part of the daily total.<sup>148</sup> The valuations of gifts in the daily totals of an account of William de Stowe, 1318 or 1329, are underlined, as are the values of items from stock in the accounts of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, for 1347 and 1348, and the accounts of Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1371-5, in the last example also being added together to form a separate daily total.<sup>149</sup> Numbers of horses at particular rates of livery are underlined in an account probably for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80.<sup>150</sup> In some accounts no pattern to the underlining can be discerned.<sup>151</sup>

Most diet accounts were made up as Chancery fashion rolls. In some cases there is evidence that additional membranes were sewn to the foot of the roll as more space was required. The household accounts of Eleanor de Montfort, for 1265, were probably made up in this manner: the membranes are of varying widths, lengths and quality.<sup>152</sup> In broad terms the pattern made by the sewing of those accounts written on Chancery fashion rolls changes during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth

centuries from  $\backslash\backslash\backslash\backslash\backslash$ <sup>153</sup> or  $/ / / /$  /<sup>154</sup> or - - - -<sup>155</sup> with a fairly wide overlap to a tight oversew with virtually no overlap.<sup>156</sup> There are exceptions to this pattern: accounts for John, Lord Dinham, 1383, are sewn  $\backslash\backslash\backslash\backslash\backslash$ ;<sup>157</sup> while an account for Edmund de Stonor, 1378, is sewn  $/ / / /$  /.<sup>158</sup> The development in the make up of the diet account is generally analogous to the pattern of change in other records of private administration.<sup>159</sup> The membranes were sewn with hemp or linen thread, most frequently a brownish-white, but occasionally blue<sup>160</sup> or green.<sup>161</sup> Some of the Chancery fashion rolls have the parchment shaped to a point at the head<sup>162</sup> or at the foot.<sup>163</sup>

There are some examples of household accounts made up as Exchequer fashion rolls, but there are markedly fewer than have survived as Chancery fashion rolls.<sup>164</sup> The account of Henry, Lord de Grey of Codnor, 1304-5, has a diamond shaped filing hole at the head, as if it once formed part of an Exchequer fashion roll; and there is a tear in the top centre of the parchment of an account for the household of Edmund Mortimer, 1378, suggesting that it, too, may once have formed part of an Exchequer fashion roll.<sup>165</sup> Two accounts for the household of the warden of Merton College, Oxford, for 1347-8 and 1355-6, are filed Exchequer fashion at the foot rather than the head of the roll.<sup>166</sup>

Parchment was frequently prepared for writing by folding it vertically to set out a left margin and the centre of the membrane. Additional folds were made for a right margin or for further subdivisions.<sup>167</sup> The accounts of Humphrey de Bohun, 1304, were laid out with five vertical folds.<sup>168</sup> On some accounts lateral folds were employed to divide off the daily entries.<sup>169</sup> Up to the mid-fourteenth century, ruling in lead point or ink was also used for setting out accounts. On some accounts, the ruling is confined to the vertical divisions of the left and right margins;<sup>170</sup> but on others a horizontal line was ruled for each line of text.<sup>171</sup> That these lines were all ruled before the account was written



is clear from the household roll of Bishop Swinfield of Hereford, 1289-90, on which large areas that have been ruled are devoid of text.<sup>172</sup> While ruling disappears as a method of laying out accounts, folding continues throughout the medieval period, but is less frequently employed after the late fourteenth century.

The text of diet accounts was usually arranged in daily consolidated paragraphs. Households of a smaller size sometimes had their accounts laid out in weekly consolidated paragraphs.<sup>173</sup> Accounts using entries in unconsolidated form are found only in the smaller households.<sup>174</sup>

Household ordinances and formularies lay stress on the regular hearing, in many cases nightly, and engrossment of accounts. The ordinances for the English royal household of 1279, 1318 and 1323, together with *Fleta*, set out the practice at court: each evening the treasurer of the household called together the steward, the controller and his clerk, the chamberlain, the cofferer and those responsible for the day's expenses, to give an account of them.<sup>175</sup> A proposed arrangement for the Scottish royal household, probably c.1305-9, included the nightly auditing of departmental accounts.<sup>176</sup> Under an ordinance of 1315, the accounts of the French royal household were to be brought to the king on the morning following the day to which they related.<sup>177</sup> In the household of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, c.1295-8, those employed in the household departments (*les gent de offices*) were to account each evening for the expenses, both of the abbot's household and of his chamber, in the presence of the steward of the household. Each night, after the account, the roll was to be closed up by a seal. If the steward of the household was absent for any reason, the expenses were to be entered on a subsidiary roll, pending engrossment on the main roll when the steward returned.<sup>178</sup> In 1304, nightly accounting was enjoined upon the household of John de Fresingfield, Prior of Ely: the accounts of the cook, pantler and the keeper of the provisions for the horses (*avenarius*) were to be

heard in the presence of the steward, *granator* and marshal of the household.<sup>179</sup> There were similar arrangements in the household of Nicholas de Spina, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 1273-83.<sup>180</sup> The accounts of the household of the lord and lady of Eresby, 1319 or 1339, were to be heard each night in the presence of the steward of the household, or his substitute, and the keeper of the wardrobe, if available. The accounts were not to be engrossed, however, until the steward and his deputy were present.<sup>181</sup> *Fleta*, describing the office of the common steward, instructs him to reckon the expenses of the household with the officers of the household each night, so that the total of the day's expenses is known.<sup>182</sup> The formularies of Thomas Sampson, mid to late fourteenth century, give a vivid picture of the nightly audit. The officers of the household were to be called together each evening and they were to swear their loyalty to their lord. Instructions were given for each department: a statement was required from each of the quantity of goods expended from stock (*lestor*), together with what had been purchased and what remained. This procedure covered in detail both cash expenditure, that is, purchases, and consumption. Indentures were to be prepared containing a note of stock or goods in the household departments.<sup>183</sup>

The nightly account must be imagined as the first hearing or "auditing" of the accounts, but it would be wrong to give the impression that all the surviving diet accounts, as daily accounts, were written up each day. The records are only a part of elaborate accounting systems and represent many methods of compilation from daily engrossment to fair copies written throughout in a single operation.

On some diet accounts where periodic engrossment took place, changes in hand and ink coincide with marginal notes indicating a change of accountant, as on the household roll of Eleanor de Montfort.<sup>184</sup> A similar feature is present on some of the diet accounts of Bogo de Clare, 1285:

on one there is a change of hand accompanying the heading "Raymond de Sulye accounted up to here and then W. de Regny began his disbursements."<sup>185</sup> Daily totals on this roll are in the same hand as the text, but there is some variation in ink and pens. On Thursday 10 May the new hand wrote its first day's account. A new pen was used on the following Saturday, different ink on Sunday, different again on Monday, and a new pen for the following Thursday. The change in each case occurs at the beginning of the daily entry, suggesting the account was written in short blocks - of two days, one day, one day, three days and two days - rather than variations within a single operation copying out the document. This pattern of entry can also be observed on Eleanor de Montfort's account: for example, between the entries for Thursday 26 February and Friday 27 February, both of which were written by the same hand, a paragraph relating to purchase of fish has been interposed by another hand. On this account not only is there variation in the hands writing the text of the daily entries, but the daily totals are also written in a separate sequence of hands.<sup>186</sup> The daily text of the accounts of an unidentified late thirteenth century household, residing near Boroughbridge; the accounts of Hugh Audley the younger, 1320; those of William de Rupe, 1323; and those of Dame Katherine de Norwich, 1336-7, were written several days at a time.<sup>187</sup> The intervals at which other accounts were written varied. The accounts of Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7, seem to have been written in periods of irregular length, perhaps ten or twenty days at a time, corresponding to notes that the cash expenses incurred for the period had been paid.<sup>188</sup> A diet account rendered by John Roges and Henry de Middleton', for part of the household of a great lord attending Parliament in 1300, was written by two hands. The first hand wrote the account for the first eleven days, concluding with the entry: "Item, for a clerk to write our accounts, 4 d.;" and the second hand, some additions and the remainder of the document.<sup>189</sup>

An account for some Genoans visiting England, early fourteenth century, was written in a single Italian hand, but on several occasions.<sup>190</sup> Another account, for an unidentified household, c.1320-50, may also have been engrossed in this fashion.<sup>191</sup> Some documents were written a membrane at a time.<sup>192</sup> The household accounts of Edmund de Stonor, 1378, including weekly totals, were written by different hands in irregular blocks of between two and three weeks' length.<sup>193</sup>

In contrast to these is a group of accounts which are elaborate fair copies, written by a single hand in one operation, such as an account for Richard de Ware, Abbot of Westminster, 1275.<sup>194</sup> Bishop Swinfield's roll for 1289-90 is another example: the diet account on the front was a fair copy, but was checked by an auditor; the wardrobe type entries on the dorse are arranged by subject, possibly abstracted from a journal or other chronological source, and written by several hands.<sup>195</sup> The account for the household of Thomas of Lancaster, 1318-19, was written by a single hand in one operation, with the exception of the weekly cash totals, which are consistently in a second hand and ink.<sup>196</sup> A fragment of the accounts of William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, from the mid-fourteenth century, is very elaborately written, a fair copy with commonly abbreviated words, like *pro*, written out in full without contraction or suspension.<sup>197</sup> All the text and the totals of a year's account for the household of Joan, Lady Dinham, for 1367-8, were written by a single hand in one operation.<sup>198</sup> The monthly household rolls of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, for 1347 and 1348, and of Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, 1380-4, are fair copies.<sup>199</sup> The household account of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, for 1393, is a fair copy.<sup>200</sup> Wykeham's roll contains a diet account on the front and a corn and stock account on the dorse. Both were written by a single hand in one operation (with some changes of ink and pens). The diet account contains no totals other than daily totals: there are no weekly, monthly or grand

totals. The layout suggests that a monthly arrangement was intended: each month starts on a new membrane, sometimes leaving a large space at the end of the preceding one, for example, about ten inches after the entry for 30 April. The entry of marginal totals each day for departments is only intelligible if overall departmental totals were to be compiled. The dorse of the roll has been audited in another hand and amounts have been surcharged as sales at the audit (*venditiones super comptum*).<sup>201</sup> The surcharges only make sense in relation to a cash account with both a charge and a discharge section, unlike a diet account, which is for disbursements alone. This account roll is an intermediate stage between a diet account, engrossed at daily or short intervals, and a six monthly or an annual cash account. In its incomplete state, Wykeham's roll is more an ornamental than a practical accounting document: it must originally have been designed for presentation with the six monthly or annual cash account. After this date there are very few examples in private households of fair copies of diet accounts on parchment rolls.<sup>202</sup>

Besides the daily audit of the departmental accounts of the household, the account of the clerk of the household was also subject to scrutiny. The totals, as well as the text, attracted the attention of auditors. Daily totals to accounts are sometimes in a different hand,<sup>203</sup> or sequence of hands,<sup>204</sup> or another ink to the text, suggesting that the clerk who wrote the account had a partner to check or supervise his work.<sup>205</sup> In some instances weekly and monthly totals were added after the text of the account had been written.<sup>206</sup> One of the most common indications of auditing is the use of the word *probatur* ("it is approved"), or one of its abbreviated forms, placed against totals or on each page of an account book, and written in a different hand to the account and the totals. It appears, for example, against the daily and weekly totals of an account for Humphrey de Bohun, 1304; against all the daily totals in an account

probably for the household of Lionel, Earl of Ulster, 1350s or 1360s, in the accounts of Edmund Mortimer, 1378, in the account for an unidentified household of the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century, and in the accounts of Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7; and against the daily and weekly totals in an account probably for the household of Beatrice de Roos, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, where it also occurs against the list, in the margin, of persons present each day.<sup>207</sup> It is also marked against monthly and annual totals.<sup>208</sup> The word *quit*' sometimes appears in the margins to indicate the auditor's approval.<sup>209</sup> Abacus dots, used in the process of totalling or checking, appear on several documents.<sup>210</sup> The audit of accounts in this context was an important preliminary in the preparation of supporting documentation for the annual cash, corn and stock account, or to provide a more general overview of household expenditure and those in control of it.

Accounts on parchment written up at short, if not daily, intervals either date from before about 1340 or belong to small households. One probable reason for this is the spread of paper (or wax tablets) as a medium for recording accounts at an earlier stage of compilation and the use of parchment for revised copies, sometimes engrossed after audit, doing away with the need to preserve drafts. The earliest diet account on paper to survive, itself a fair copy, is for the household of Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, for 1371-5, and there are a number of other examples by the early years of the fifteenth century.<sup>211</sup> A reference to diet accounts on paper appears in the annual cash, corn and stock account for Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, for 1385-6, and a draft account, from 1394-5, for the treasurer of her household, survives as a paper book.<sup>212</sup> An account for the treasurer or cofferer of Thomas, Earl of Stafford, for 1391-2, is also drafted in a paper book.<sup>213</sup> But the use of paper for accounts in general, not just diet accounts, is referred to much earlier, in an account for the wardrobe of Gilbert de

Clare, Earl of Gloucester, from 1307-8;<sup>214</sup> in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge from the 1330s;<sup>215</sup> in the monasteries at approximately the same period, for example at Aconbury Priory in 1336-7, St. Swithun's, Winchester, 1337-8, Ramsey Abbey, c.1340-1, and Maxstoke Priory, c.1345-6;<sup>216</sup> and paper found fairly widespread use as a medium for drafts,<sup>217</sup> minor accounts,<sup>218</sup> correspondence<sup>219</sup> and court records.<sup>220</sup>

A second reason for this pattern of survival may have been a shift in the emphasis of the procedure for auditing accounts, placing more weight on an annual record in the form of a cash, corn and stock account, supported by a fair copy of the diet account, parallel to the estate valors and enrolled manorial accounts of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to provide a general overview of income and expenditure.<sup>221</sup>

#### *Cash journals and departmental accounts*

In large households, where daily accounts for the whole household would have been extremely lengthy, separate departmental accounts were kept, together with cash journals, giving only the total cash expenditure of each department. Cash journals are most familiar in the context of the royal household,<sup>222</sup> but they also survive for the household of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, 1318-19, and for the household of John of Gaunt, 1383.<sup>223</sup> The cash journals of John of Gaunt consist of daily entries on membranes, the text of which had been partly prepared in advance: to the names of the departments which had already been written in, the accountant had to add the day of the week, place and date, the cash total for each department and the grand total for the day. The quantity of wheat is noted against the pantry entry, details of wine and ale from the buttery account and the numbers of *fercula* consumed at *prandium* and *cena*.

A cash journal for Henry, Prince of Wales (later King Henry V), for 1407-8, was prepared in exactly the same manner.<sup>224</sup>

The departmental accounts which should accompany cash journals in this form rarely survive except from the royal household, but there are separate stable or marshalsea accounts for Gilbert de Clare, 1301-2,<sup>225</sup> Elizabeth de Burgh,<sup>226</sup> and John of Gaunt, 1381 and 1390-4.<sup>227</sup> The accounts of John of Gaunt provide in tabular fashion, for members of the household, its staff and horses, an indication of presence or absence or of allowance received on each day of the week. For the household of Elizabeth de Burgh there were also separate rolls for malt and brewing, and for kitchen purchases.<sup>228</sup> Butlers' rolls are mentioned in a mid-fourteenth century treatise on household organisation.<sup>229</sup> Some household accounts are so restricted in their scope that it is just possible they were intended primarily as departmental accounts. The accounts of John de Multon, 1347-8, are almost exclusively concerned with the kitchen.<sup>230</sup> A few departmental accounts survive from the fifteenth century: there is a fragment of an account of the clerk of the kitchen of Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, 1466-7, and two accounts for officials of the household of Richard, Duke of York.<sup>231</sup>

#### *Wardrobe accounts*

One aspect of departmental accounting which did obtain a much wider currency and for which many more examples survive was the wardrobe account. There is some evidence that entries of the wardrobe type - purchases of wine, spices, cloth, jewellery, gifts, expenses of messengers, together with a host of miscellaneous items - were originally intermingled with the diet account.<sup>232</sup> Wax and spices continue to appear in some diet accounts. The accounts of Henry, Lord de Grey of Codnor, for 1304-5, enter spice purchases in the diet section on the front of the



roll, not with the wardrobe type entries on the dorse;<sup>233</sup> a diet account, probably for a Prior of Durham, c.1350-80, includes in the stock (*staurum*) section each day entries for a spice wardrobe;<sup>234</sup> and spices appear among the diet entries in the account of Sir William Waleys of Glynde, in 1382-3.<sup>235</sup> There are monthly totals in the diet accounts of Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7, for purchases of wax and of spices,<sup>236</sup> and wardrobe entries of all sorts are mixed with the daily purchases of foodstuffs in the accounts of John Catesby, 1392-3 and *temp.* Richard II.<sup>237</sup> Wardrobe type entries appear on the annual summary accounts. On the cash, corn and stock account for Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1384-5, the paragraph for the wardrobe in the cash discharge section deals solely with wax and spices.<sup>238</sup>

Outside the English royal household, the earliest separate wardrobe accounts are found entered on diet account rolls, frequently on the back. The household account of Eleanor de Montfort, 1265, has a wardrobe journal on the dorse, entered periodically in the same sequence of hands that wrote the diet account on the front.<sup>239</sup> Wardrobe type entries in chronological order appear on the dorse of the diet accounts of Bogo de Clare, 1284-5; John de Multon, 1343-4; and John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1347 and 1348.<sup>240</sup> Separate wardrobe or treasurer's journals, mingling the lord's major financial transactions with purchases of spices and similar wardrobe items, survive, for example, for the households of John de Mauduyt, 1312-14,<sup>241</sup> William de Montague, fifth Earl of Salisbury, 1367-8,<sup>242</sup> and Thomas de Stafford, Earl of Stafford, 1391-2.<sup>243</sup>

The information in the wardrobe journal, like the diet account, was the subject of later re-arrangement and consolidation. The diet accounts of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, for 1289-90, were a fair copy which was subsequently audited, but the text of the wardrobe account on the dorse was not written, unlike the front, in a single hand. The dorse is arranged in subject paragraphs for cloth, wax and spices, fees and

stipends and other items. There are some large blank spaces between entries, although ruled, and there is some variation in hands and inks. For example, the first paragraph of the expenses of Thomas de la Dan' in Kent was written in one ink, the second and third paragraphs in a second ink, and the fourth paragraph in a third, but all in a single hand. This pattern of engrossment, followed on other parts of the roll, would suggest re-arrangement from entries in journal form.<sup>244</sup> An account probably for Isobel, Countess of Atholl, c.1273-4, may also exhibit a sectional arrangement, for expenses, costs of pleas, etc.<sup>245</sup> Bogo de Clare's wardrobe accounts, re-arrangements of daily rolls, include receipts from property as well as sections for the expenses of cloths, furs, jewels, cash liveries, expenses of messengers, purchases of horses, spices, wine and gifts.<sup>246</sup> The accounts for the wardrobe of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, c.1319-20, were divided into sections for the expenses of messengers, purchase of horses, candles and lights, spices, wine, parchment, napery, fees, petty and foreign expenses, liveries, archers, journeys on business, carriage expenses and purchases of wheat and flour.<sup>247</sup> Some of these items, for example, the expenses of messengers and jewels, are reminiscent of the divisions in royal wardrobe accounts.<sup>248</sup> Whether the royal wardrobe and its accounts served as a model can only be a matter of conjecture: the key to the arrangement was probably the need for large sums of cash, restricting the personnel involved to those with access to the lord's coffers. The forms of the accounts themselves are very diverse. Private households of the largest size, however, mirrored the transition in the royal household from keeping wardrobe accounts on rolls to engrossing them in books, although in private households this does not appear to have happened before the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>249</sup>

The elaboration of wardrobe accounts led to the development of specialised accounts for particular parts of the wardrobe's business.

Cloth and the issue of livery are noted on most wardrobe accounts. As early as the accounts of Bogo de Clare, 1285-6, there is a form of stock account for cloth and livery. It lists the type of item, to whom it was given and for what purpose, the quantity, and the issue of fur and caps; followed by a grand total of quantities of all cloths purchased and issued. As a stock account it is deficient, making no entry for items remaining at the end of the account, nor, apart from a single entry on the front of the roll, of stock in hand at the opening of the account;<sup>250</sup> it is not as advanced as contemporary manorial corn and stock accounts or as some of the obedientiary accounts for priories, such as Durham, where, a few years later, inventories formed an important part of the accounting system.<sup>251</sup> Much more detailed accounts for the purchases and issue of livery occur in the household records of Elizabeth de Burgh: these include a livery roll, listing the names of all the members of the household and noting the livery issued to each.<sup>252</sup> Similar livery accounts survive for the households of Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, for 1384-5, and for that part of the household of Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, which crossed the Channel in the company of his wife in November 1419.<sup>253</sup> Both documents list the members of the household in groups, according to status, and record the livery due or issued.

Other households had accounts that dealt in detail with cloth and similar commodities. An account for Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, 1393-4, concerns almost exclusively cloth, goldwork, harness, embroidery and the making of clothes. The account is arranged by purchases made by particular individuals: two documents from the same household for the subsequent accounting year are subsidiary bills of purchases that would have been transcribed to form the annual roll.<sup>254</sup> Some of the late fourteenth century accounts for Henry, Earl of Derby (later King Henry IV), record cash expenditure and a stock account for items of a

similar nature.<sup>255</sup> As well as accounts for purchase and disbursement, constant checks were available on wardrobe items in the form of inventories, containing detailed descriptions. An inventory prepared for Sir John Fastolf in October 1448 noted the "stuffe of clothe and opere harneys" left at Caister. It was later annotated by a second hand, checking the contents and recording the fate of particular items. "A rede gowne of my lord Cromwells lyvere, lyned", had been given away, and a cloak of black satin lined with black silk had been despatched to London along with other garments.<sup>256</sup>

Like the diet accounts, the surviving wardrobe accounts are representative of different stages in the accounting process. Some are elaborately written fair copies.<sup>257</sup> Of these, some have been audited. The account of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, 1393-4, has marginal totals and *probatum* written against each paragraph in another hand and ink. The account for Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, 1418-21, was written in one hand, with totals at the foot of each page in a second hand and ink. Each page has been marked, in a bottom corner, "it is examined" (*examinatur*), by an auditor, who also made alterations to the text.<sup>258</sup> There are also examples of wardrobe accounts which were engrossed periodically, for instance, the account on the dorse of Eleanor de Montfort's household roll, 1265, the account book of Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1394-5, or the accounts of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, 1413-14.<sup>259</sup>

#### *Cash, corn and stock accounts*

The diet account was an immensely detailed record of the household's cash expenditure and consumption. To use the account for the type of financial planning envisaged by the *Rules of St. Robert* in the 1240s, the information had to be digested and presented in a summary form.<sup>260</sup>

Although summary wardrobe accounts, some using a form of stock account, had been in existence since the late thirteenth century, the first traces of summaries of accounts for the other departments in private households, however, do not survive from before at earliest the second decade of the fourteenth century with the summary cash journal for the household of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, 1318-19.<sup>261</sup> An account for William de Rupe, 1324, is the first to give a statement of the total quantities of commodities used by the pantry, buttery and kitchen in a private household.<sup>262</sup> Total cash expenditure by commodity is recorded in an account for the household of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, for 1346-7. On the dorse of Berkeley's account are notes of how much more or less of each commodity had been expended than in the preceding year: the figures give quantities, not a cash value, which would have been subject to fluctuations in the value of foodstuffs.<sup>263</sup>

A readily available model for the abridged account existed in the form of the manorial account. It gave a useful summary account of corn and stock and provided a statement of cash income, expenditure and a balance. The earliest examples in this form are from the household of Elizabeth de Burgh. A view of the accounts of the clerk of the wardrobe in 1325-7 gives a cash account, followed by a corn and stock account.<sup>264</sup> There are cash and corn accounts for 1327-30,<sup>265</sup> and cash, corn and stock accounts from 1331-2, 1336 and later.<sup>266</sup> The diet account was essentially an account of expenses, not of cash receipts: the annual cash account was a novelty because it required a cash charge section as well as discharge. This introduced an element of fiction into the versions employed in household accounts. For the account to balance, produce that was entered as purchased in the discharge section had to be offset in the cash charge. An account for the household of Richard Turberville, 1358-9, has a cash charge account with paragraphs for the sale of corn (*vendicio bladi*), sale of malt (*vendicio brasii*), sale of stock (*vendicio instauri*),

sale of cider and salt (*vendicio cisar' et sal'*) and cash receipts (*receptio denariorum*). The paragraph headings were probably taken over unaltered from a manorial account, but their purpose here is very different. The sale of corn does not produce cash for the accountant: it is a valuation of corn consumed in the household. Even the cash receipts section contains cash valuations of goods purchased for the household, balanced in the cash discharge by the same sum expended on them. The stock and corn account maintains the pretence that items consumed in the household were sold for the expenses of the lord's household (*venditis pro expensis hospicii domini*).<sup>267</sup> An account for the expenses of Robert Waterton of Methley, for 1416-17, has a cash charge account which starts with a series of sections headed *venditio bladorum*, *venditio stauri*, *venditio caponum* and *venditio piscium*. These paragraphs do not represent sales at all, but contain cash valuations of all items received from the previous year's stock, from manors, gifts and hunting, in fact, anything that was not purchased during the period of the account. The total of these sections is balanced exactly by a paragraph in the discharge account, *expense hospicii de stauro et alliis*.<sup>268</sup> Other accounts include not only a statement of the value of goods purchased, but valuations of goods received and gifts.<sup>269</sup>

All surviving examples of cash, stock and corn accounts used in households are Chancery fashion rolls, usually with a cash account on the front and a corn and stock account on the dorse, like most manorial account rolls. The rolls are usually laid out in consolidated paragraphs, although the accounts for the household of Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, for 1362-3 and 1367-8, list cash receipts in unconsolidated form.<sup>270</sup> There are also some unconsolidated entries in an account for the keeper of the household of William de Newynton, Abbot of Pershore, for 1430-1.<sup>271</sup> Most rolls were laid out with a fold for the left margin on the front and sometimes one for the left margin on the

dorse and for the centre. The accounts were rendered typically by the steward,<sup>272</sup> keeper<sup>273</sup> or clerk of the household.<sup>274</sup> As with manorial accounts, the accounting year generally ran from about Michaelmas to the same feast in the year following. This mirrors, insofar as it is possible to tell from the fragmentary nature of the evidence, the pattern of diet accounts. There were exceptions: the cash account for the household of Sir Edward Botiller ran from 1 April 1400 until 12 January 1401,<sup>275</sup> and one for Maud de Vere, Countess of Oxford, from 31 July 1389 to 30 September 1389.<sup>276</sup>

The charge section of cash accounts sometimes starts with arrears, or the discharge with *superplusagium*, *excessus* or *allocacio*. "Arrears" may be used to represent cash remaining in the hands of the accountant at the close of the previous account<sup>277</sup> or debts outstanding.<sup>278</sup> The *superplusagium* or similar paragraph could also represent the balance in the official's favour from the last account.<sup>279</sup> The annual cash, corn and stock account uses a paragraph for sales at the audit (*venditiones super comptum*) in exactly the same way as the manorial account, for liabilities incurred at the audit through deficiencies noted by the auditor in the corn and stock account on the dorse and surcharged in the cash charge section.<sup>280</sup>

The surviving cash, corn and stock accounts, like the diet accounts and wardrobe accounts, come from different stages of compilation. On some accounts, the sales at the audit were entered by an auditor in a hand which was markedly different from the remainder of the text of the cash account.<sup>281</sup> On other accounts, the dorse of the roll has been audited and the entries for sales at the audit have been made in a different hand to the text on the dorse, but the entry in the cash charge account was written at the same time and in the same hand as the rest of the charge section.<sup>282</sup> Some accounts are post-audit fair copies.<sup>283</sup> Auditors frequently used the marginal sign } , in combination with a cash amount,

to indicate the surcharge on the corn and stock account.<sup>284</sup> The marginal sign  $\gamma$ , for *respice* or "look" was used to indicate the need to cross-check a statement with another account.<sup>285</sup> The word *probat* also appears.<sup>286</sup> On the account of Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1385-6, there are dots against some of the entries, perhaps indicating that they had been checked off by an auditor.<sup>287</sup> The accounts of the keeper of the household of Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, for the 1360s, were written in three operations: the first hand wrote the text and the word *summa* under the paragraphs; the second, in a small hand, the pre-audit total in the margin; and the third, the total for the *summa*.<sup>288</sup>

Entries in the corn and stock accounts on the dorse of the annual rolls were arranged by commodity. Details were given of the stock in hand at the opening of the account, additions and a total, followed by a statement of its expenditure or transfer to another head, with a total and a note of the amount remaining at the end of the account. The exact divisions of stock into paragraphs varied between households, but in general the order was similar to that of manorial accounts. The numerous sections ranged from peacocks' feathers<sup>289</sup> to gannets,<sup>290</sup> from types of wine<sup>291</sup> and spices, sometimes all grouped together,<sup>292</sup> or in a separate series of paragraphs,<sup>293</sup> to empty vessels.<sup>294</sup> The product of baking is noted on the account of Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1384-5;<sup>295</sup> and the account for bread on the dorse of the roll of Gilbert, Lord Talbot, 1417-18, notes disbursements connected with the issue of bread as recorded in marginal notes of *fercula* in the diet accounts.<sup>296</sup>

A feature of some corn and stock accounts is the cash valuation given to quantities remaining at the end of the account.<sup>297</sup> The valuation was used in calculating net expenditure during the period of the account, and it may have served as a check against fraud, providing an inventory of items in hand together with their value: it would not have been possible



to substitute goods of lesser worth. In some accounts, even where no value is stated, a careful note is made of who is responsible for the remainder.<sup>298</sup> When, at the close of some accounts, very little food remains, especially of basic commodities, it may be the case that the remaining supplies have been concealed in the account, possibly issued or listed in a separate document as a means of carrying a balance forward.<sup>299</sup>

The cash discharge account was generally arranged in one of two ways. Paragraphs could be ordered by commodity, either in the elaborate layout found in the account for Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, 1405-6, and the account for Robert Waterton of Methley, 1416-17, with a separate paragraph for each commodity,<sup>300</sup> or with some grouping of commodities together, for example, purchases of meat, purchases of fish, as in the accounts of Richard Turberville, 1358-9, or the keeper of the household of the Abbot of Pershore, 1430-1.<sup>301</sup> Alternatively commodities were grouped together, sometimes in the same order as the diet account, in paragraphs for each household department.<sup>302</sup> The entries in these paragraphs refer to bulk purchases, separate from any purchases that occur in the diet account. On the annual account, the purchases made by the main household departments in the diet account were usually entered in a separate section.<sup>303</sup> There is a financial distinction between the daily paragraphs entered in the diet account and the bulk purchases entered on the annual account roll. For the purchase of expensive commodities, such as spices or cloth, or for the purchase of large quantities of provisions, officials were employed who were accustomed to handling large quantities of money. Part of the difference was also the method of supplying these goods: many were purchased at fairs and markets, possibly some distance away from the household and beyond the reach of officials whose primary functions required their near constant attendance in the household. As a result of this and the way such purchasing expeditions were financed, the accounts

were kept apart from the main diet account and were more closely connected with the annual cash, corn and stock accounts or accounts for a wardrobe or similar financial department.<sup>304</sup> Other paragraphs in the annual cash account dealt with gifts, cloth for livery, wages, fees and pensions, and miscellaneous expenses.<sup>305</sup>

At the end of the cash account there was usually a balance. Beyond this, or as part of it, were notes of debtors from whom sums were owing: this section is sometimes introduced by the phrase *unde super* ("upon whom the charge is laid). It frequently contained entries for items surcharged at the audit. These need not be the immediate liability of the accounting official: they could be the responsibility of his subordinates. On the account roll of Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1385-6, the cash balance notes a charge against the baker. The account for the steward of the household of Sir John Fastolf, 1430-1, contains items surcharged to Henry the cook and Margary Hoddisson.<sup>306</sup> Other balances note sums which were held over - *respectuantur*<sup>307</sup> - and there are also lists of creditors.<sup>308</sup> The balance also took into account the *remanentia*, the cash value of goods remaining in hand at the end of the account.<sup>309</sup> This was used by the auditor to establish a net figure (*de claro*) for the expenses of the household. The account of the household of Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, for 1405-6, after the cash balance has been struck, calculates the year's household expenses *de claro* by taking into consideration the value of the stock remaining from the preceding accounting year and the value of items in hand at the end of the account. From this new balance was derived an average of cash expenditure per day: "and the daily average is 28 s. 11 d., with 10% d. remaining in all."<sup>310</sup> A similar average calculation is entered by a new hand in the margin at the end of the account for Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1385-6: "each day's expenses average out this year at 52 s. 1 d."<sup>311</sup> The calculations at the end of the account for the household of

Gilbert, Lord Talbot, for 1417-18, give the total annual cost of the household, the average weekly cost, the total cost by department (presumably derived from daily departmental totals on a diet account) and the average cost of a *ferculum*.<sup>312</sup> Average calculations were not confined to the annual account. The diet account of Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1405-6, as well as purchases, includes a valuation of stock consumed and has a calculation of quarterly, weekly and daily averages, excluding foreign expenses, gifts and stipends.<sup>313</sup> Contemporary notes taken from a diet account of Thomas Peverel, Bishop of Worcester, c.1413, include a calculation of average daily expenses.<sup>314</sup>

The annual cash, corn and stock accounts are unlike earlier diet accounts in their relationship to particular locations. The diet accounts represent an itinerant household, although there is no variation in form when the household stays in one place. One reason for the late appearance of the annual accounts may have been that it was not until fairly late in the fourteenth century that substantial non-collegiate households began to have a principal place of residence: perhaps it was only then that the model of a manorial account was appropriate. The household of Richard Turberville, in 1358-9, was based at Sampford Peverell, Devon;<sup>315</sup> that of John, Lord Dinham, in 1372-3, at Hartland, Devon;<sup>316</sup> that of Edward de Courtenay, in 1382-3, 1383-4 and 1384-5, at Tiverton, Devon;<sup>317</sup> the household of the Countess of Norfolk, in 1385-6, at Framlingham, Suffolk;<sup>318</sup> the Luttrells, at Dunster and Carhampton, Somerset;<sup>319</sup> and the Talbots, at Blakemere, Shropshire.<sup>320</sup>

Most of the annual accounts refer to other records of the domestic accounting system. Diet accounts are noted frequently. Two black, paper books are mentioned in the account of Sir John Fastolf, 1430-1, and one, containing foreign and necessary expenses, was also used at the audit.<sup>321</sup> Foreign receipts in the household of Sir Edward Botiller, 1400-1, were recorded in the lord's red paper book.<sup>322</sup> The account for the household

of Robert Waterton of Methley, 1416-17, mentions the diet account book, the long paper, bills and warrants and, possibly, a cellar book.<sup>323</sup> The accounts for the household of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1435-6, refer to two journals - a journal of diet expenses, and a journal of provisions - although the two may have been recorded in one book.<sup>324</sup>

#### *Receiver's accounts*

Receiver's accounts, those listing total cash receipts from manors, lands, etc., collected by bailiffs and handed to a receiver to be transmitted to the centre of the financial system, were sometimes combined with those of the household and wardrobe. The household rolls of John de Multon, 1343-4, John de Catesby, 1392-3 and *temp.* Richard II, and for the Mountford family of Coleshill, Warwickshire, for 1433-4, all include a receiver's account as well as the more usual household accounts, giving a synopsis of the lord's economy in a single document.<sup>325</sup> Other receiver's accounts are the repository of some household expenses, for foodstuffs, as, for example, the account of the Lincolnshire receiver of John Gra in 1425-6; for cloth and payments to tradesmen, recorded in, for example, the receiver's account for John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, 1442-3; or for the expenses of journeys on business.<sup>326</sup> In the household of Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, purchases of cloth appear in the accounts of the receiver general, together with expenses on wine, in search of spices, fees and liveries to the steward of the household.<sup>327</sup>

#### *Household clerks and auditors*

One of the most striking features of household accounts is their diversity. To understand how this arose, it is necessary to look at the clerks who wrote them. Typically the medieval household was under the

overall charge of one man, the steward of the household, who usually had a clerk, frequently referred to as the clerk of the household, responsible for recording the household's financial transactions. Only in the largest households would clerks have been employed specifically to write accounts, clerks of the household, kitchen, pantry and buttery. Besides accounting, clerks would have been employed writing letters, registers and other administrative documents, as the lord's confidential clerks (although the name 'secretary' is unusual in a nobleman's household as early as 1421, when John Shirley is recorded in this post in the household of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick).<sup>328</sup> In the Eresby household ordinances, 1319 or 1339, Hugh de Byford, the chaplain and almoner, was to write letters and other documents as necessary, and in the absence of the wardrober he was to record the household expenses, also making an account of them when the lord went out of the household, accounting to the wardrober, in the presence of the steward, on his return.<sup>329</sup> To become clerk of a household was to reach, in the eyes of contemporaries, a milepost on the medieval *cursus honorum*. A treatise on letter writing, copied in the 1380s, contains a specimen letter written from one brother to another. The first records his good fortune at being made steward of a household, but he does not know how to write letters or how to account. He asks his brother to be diligent in his studies, to learn to write letters, to account and to audit "in order that you can help me to enter our expenses and to write our letters".<sup>330</sup>

Diet accounts appear in some of the formularies of the teachers of business methods at Oxford, and household accounting was one of a number of skills they taught to clerks, together with letter writing and the drawing of legal instruments and manorial accounts.<sup>331</sup> The influence of the Oxford teachers on the practices of household accounting cannot be determined precisely, but there is at least an indication that it was not extensive. Their works contain fewer specimen household accounts than,

for example, manorial accounts; and the treatment of household accounts is sometimes cursory, barely indicating the form with a specimen account, and not discussing its functions.<sup>332</sup> While formularies could have supplied some guidance in the layout of the account,<sup>333</sup> it would have been of limited utility: some households, for example, the royal household and that of Elizabeth de Burgh, evolved their own forms and layouts.<sup>334</sup> Perhaps significantly, a specimen account in a formulary, probably originating in the work of Thomas Sampson, purporting to be a copy of an account of Ralph, Earl of Stafford, in October 1355, is in a different form and language to the only diet account that can be attributed to the Staffords at this period.<sup>335</sup> This may indicate a lack of immediate working familiarity with household accounts.

There is a very small amount of didactic literature about the medieval household. The treatises fall into three categories. The most numerous, etiquette books, was in medieval England mainly the product of the fifteenth century.<sup>336</sup> While some information on household organisation and management is given, the primary purpose was to supply instruction on domestic manners. The second category, cookery books, is not very numerous: the principal concern, too, was not household organisation, the logistics of feeding a large household, but recipes.<sup>337</sup> Discussions of household organisation are not encountered frequently. The earliest, which has also a substantial non-household content, is the *Rules of St. Robert*, c.1240-2. The *Rules* were mainly popular in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>338</sup> On one occasion in the fourteenth century, they are found associated with the text of another treatise on household organisation, no other exemplar of which survives.<sup>339</sup> The other text is incomplete, containing only parts of chapters four and five of the treatise. The first section concerns the office of the marshal; the second describes the duties of the pantler, the baker and the butlers. Another treatise, described as *liber oeconomicus de modo serviendi et*

*gubernandi familiam domini* and associated with a specimen manorial account dated 1377, was lost before 1734.<sup>340</sup> It is also possible that the household ordinances of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, c.1295-8, contain elements conflated from a treatise on household organisation. A number of features in the text do not lie well in the ordinances; nor do they describe Wenlok's household precisely as it is known to have been organised.<sup>341</sup>

This deficiency of material on household management and accounts is in very sharp contrast to the works on estate management and manorial accounting. In the absence of any widely disseminated corpus of didactic material, the diversity of form of household accounts is less surprising. Outside the largest establishments, there was not necessarily any consistency in form in closely succeeding years.<sup>342</sup> Unlike the manorial account of the early fourteenth century, which was usually written by a single clerk throughout in one operation and audited by another,<sup>343</sup> the household account required more frequent attention. Even in the larger households it was sometimes necessary to hire clerks to write accounts. In 1285, a clerk from outside the household of Bogo de Clare was engaged to write W. de Regny's account rolls.<sup>344</sup> The obedientiaries of Abingdon Abbey, Battle Abbey, Peterborough Abbey and Winchester Cathedral Priory regularly paid clerks for writing their accounts.<sup>345</sup> The Prioress of Catesby, at the visitation of her priory by the Bishop of Lincoln, 17 July 1442, confessed that she had not rendered an account as she was obliged to do as she did not have a clerk who could write.<sup>346</sup> Professional scribes were a regular phenomenon in later medieval England.<sup>347</sup> Local clerks were used by bailiffs and reeves to write up manorial accounts from the late thirteenth century onwards.<sup>348</sup> Taught at Oxford, trained from formularies, but most probably learning as apprentices to existing clerks, they produced vast numbers of charters in the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth century. Although the field of expertise

would have varied between clerks, some undoubtedly wrote household accounts.

The audit of the annual cash, corn and stock account, with its subsidiary diet accounts, seems to have taken place in much the same way as the audit of a manorial account. The accountant produced the annual account, with its supporting vouchers and subsidiary records, and these were checked. Auditors seem to have belonged to the permanent staff of the organisation, especially in the largest households, frequently on the staff of the receiver general's office. In the account of the receiver general of the Bishop of Durham, in 1452-3, the auditors appear at Bishop Auckland to scrutinise the accounts of the steward of the household.<sup>349</sup> Soon after 1397, Alice, dowager Countess of Kent, wrote to her auditor to arrange the hearing of the accounts of H.Mory, steward of the household of her late husband. To help the auditor in his task, he was to have the assistance of her own household steward, formerly steward of the Earl's household.<sup>350</sup> There is less evidence for the presence of professional auditors in small households; but there is evidence for the personal involvement of the lord in the accounting, demanding improvements in the performance of the steward of the household. In 1384, at the close of the account, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, pardoned the disallowed expenses of his steward on condition that he conducted himself well in his office up to the following Easter and supervised the expenses of the household better.<sup>351</sup> The audit in this household clearly took place within six months of the close of the account (24 September 1384). The dates when the audit took place varied greatly. The immediately preceding account for the steward of Courtenay's household, for 8 November 1382 to 27 September 1383, was audited in January 1384.<sup>352</sup> The auditing of the accounts of the English royal household was notoriously in arrears. More typical, perhaps, would have been the auditing of the account of the household of Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, for



the year ending 30 September 1386. The accountant's acquittance was dated 1 May 1387.<sup>353</sup>

Until the fifteenth century, the majority of diet accounts were written in Latin. A few were written in French<sup>354</sup> and French was used much more frequently for wardrobe and chamber accounts, those closer to the lord.<sup>355</sup> Forms of French were more widely used in diet accounts as the vernacular language in France and Brittany, and it is noteworthy that the form of the account disappears in this context,<sup>356</sup> much in the same way as in England when English phrases begin to appear in Latin accounts in the early fifteenth century.<sup>357</sup> Formularies for household accounts are written in French or Latin: there does not seem to be any method in the distinction, unlike works on estate management and accounting, where works in French were written for the use of the lord, and works in Latin, for the use of his clerks.<sup>358</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The period from c.1250 to c.1430 saw a vast increase in the number of household accounts surviving. This almost certainly reflects wider usage, in common with the proliferation of other records in use from the 1270s.<sup>359</sup> The nature of the household account changes from a record of strict financial liability. Accounts in the larger households record a wider range of general management information, details of the consumption of food, courses served, visitors present. From the mid-fourteenth century the growth in the use of the annual cash, corn and stock account emphasises the place of the household as only one element in the lord's economy: manorial and receivers' accounts provided an overview of the receipts and estate disbursements, household records gave a conspectus of expenditure. The use of average calculations and comparisons of expenditure from year to year suggest that planning, both of finance and

consumption, was a purpose of at least some of these accounts. The household account was as much a tool of domestic management as a record of financial liability. In the fourteenth century it began to measure up to the theory of the *Rules of St. Robert*.

The diversity of form is very noteworthy and it needs examination in more detail. The suggestion is that different households developed different forms of accounts according to their needs. To provide a view of household accounting in operation, in the next chapter examples have been selected from various sizes of household to illustrate the use of the different forms.

Chapter 5 Household accounts from the mid-thirteenth century to c.1430:

(ii) the organisation of particular private households

*The household of Elizabeth de Burgh*

Outside the English royal household, the household for which most records survive is that of Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (c.1295-1360). She was the youngest daughter and co-heiress of Gilbert de Clare, the Earl of Gloucester, who died in 1295; through three marriages, not lasting a decade in all, she became one of the wealthiest women of the age, holding an estate which it has been estimated yielded more than £3000 a year in the 1320s.<sup>1</sup> Even though more than one hundred accounts are extant from her household, about one fifth of all the private household accounts that survive from medieval England, this is only a fraction of the documentation that once existed. The accounts provide, however, useful evidence for a survey of domestic administrative records.

Receipts from the estates passed to the clerk of the chamber and were recorded in an indenture.<sup>2</sup> The clerk of the chamber controlled the main financial office. In addition he was responsible for gifts, alms and offerings, purchases of large stocks of provisions, land, gold and silver work, and cloth. His accounts for these expenses were arranged in weekly paragraphs, with the entries grouped, in the left margin, into gifts (*douns*), purveyances (*purviances*), alms (*aumon'*) and offerings (*offerendes*). The accounts were written by a single hand in one operation, laid out with weekly, monthly (four weekly) and annual totals. Subsequently, the accounts were audited: an auditor has written *probatur* against the weekly, monthly and annual totals.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this account, an annual abstract was prepared of the weekly, monthly and annual totals. This, too, was audited: each total was marked *probatur*.<sup>4</sup>

The official responsible for the oversight of the day to day administration of the household was the clerk of the wardrobe. He received regular cash disbursements for household expenses from the clerk of the chamber: in 1341-2, these were made at weekly intervals.<sup>5</sup> They were recorded in indentures between the two officials. Also noted was the value of purchases made by the clerk of the chamber for the wardrober. The text of the indentures was written up periodically in blocks of irregular length. Quarterly totals were added in another hand and these totals were audited: they have been marked *probatum*.<sup>6</sup> There is also a single indenture of liveries from the wardrober to the clerk of the chamber, for money realised by the sale of items in his charge - horses and various items from the kitchen.<sup>7</sup> The form in which both the accounts of the chamber and the indentures of liveries survive - as fair copies - suggests that the chamber at least, if not also the wardrobe, must have kept a separate journal of receipts and disbursements.

Purchases of cloth were made by the clerk of the chamber for the clerk of the wardrobe and one of them, probably the latter, was responsible for the issue of cloth as livery to the members of the household. A livery roll, giving the names of the members of the household, grouped by rank, and the livery each was to receive, has survived for 1343-4.<sup>8</sup> For the year following there is a stock account for cloth purchased and disbursed as livery, again arranged by status of recipient.<sup>9</sup> A list of all the stock in the household and its departments was included in the indenture made when William le Blound was appointed clerk of the wardrobe on 1 October 1332.<sup>10</sup>

The clerk of the wardrobe prepared an annual cash, corn and stock account. These rolls are similar in layout to a manorial account, with the cash account on the front and the corn and stock accounts on the dorse. The account starts with receipts - a cash valuation of stock received from each manor - and cash receipts. On some rolls this is

followed by a paragraph for sales at the audit (*venditiones super comptum*). The discharge section proceeds through each type of commodity, noting cash disbursements on purchases. Various sources are cited as evidence for these expenses: "as contained in the book of particulars", "as contained in the roll of particulars",<sup>11</sup> and the diet account of the household.<sup>12</sup> Wardrobe items in the account for 1327-8 are recorded as entered in the rolls of two controllers and "in the particulars in a certain book, to which there is no counter-roll".<sup>13</sup> The cash account concludes with a balance. On many of the rolls the cash account was written in three operations. One hand wrote the text; a second, the totals, the *venditio super comptum* paragraph and the *receptio denariorum* paragraph in the cash charge account; a third hand marked each total *probatum*.<sup>14</sup> On some accounts, the pre-audit cash totals and total quantities of goods purchased were written in a small hand in the left margin. The totals under the paragraphs were then written in at the audit by another hand and were subsequently marked *probatum*.<sup>15</sup> The auditors used the sign 3 and a note of the cash surcharge to indicate *venditio super comptum* entries in the corn and stock account: these entries may be in the same hand as the text of the dorse. All the totals on the dorse were checked again, and *probatum* was written against them in another hand and ink. The sale at the audit may have been an entry that was decided prior to the drawing up of the account, perhaps at the audit of accounts lower down the system: the charge itself did not necessarily lie against the clerk of the wardrobe although it appeared on his account. A note of charges arising from subsidiary accounts of the household occurs on an account for 1330-1, which records the amounts the bakers, pantlers, butlers, larderer and the clerks of the marshalsea owed through deficiencies in their accounts.<sup>16</sup> In 1339-40, £43 16s. 9d. was remitted "in the presence of Andrew de Bures, the steward, and others of the lady's council, to the pantlers, butlers, bakers, brewers, larderers,

poulterers and chandlers for various items lacking in their offices and sold at the audit that year and in the four preceding years".<sup>17</sup> The accounts of the clerk of the wardrobe also survive in draft form<sup>18</sup> and in an abbreviated form, described as views of account, for parts of the year only.<sup>19</sup> Three of the views of account have the word *probatur* placed by the auditor against all totals in exactly the same way as the annual accounts.<sup>20</sup>

The principal of the subsidiary accounts which lay behind the annual cash, corn and stock account was the household diet account. This must have existed in a number of forms only some of which now survive. Of the differing forms, the most detailed and comprehensive was a daily account listing at length the expenses of all the departments of the household - pantry, buttery, kitchen, poultry, saucery, scullery, hall and chamber, marshalsea and chandlery. Not all the departments are present on every roll, but each has the common core of pantry, buttery, kitchen and marshalsea. The departmental entry generally starts with items drawn from stock, followed by purchases. In the left margin is a note of the total number of *fercula* for the day, and notes of the liveries of bread, wine and ale. There are also some notes of the presence of guests. In the right margin each day there is a total of the cash expenses of each department. For each day's entry there was a cash total, which was divided into cash expenses and a valuation of stock consumed. Weekly totals are concerned primarily with the cash expenses. These accounts were fair copies and some of them were most elaborately written.<sup>21</sup> On all these rolls the weekly totals have the word *probatur* written against them by an auditor.<sup>22</sup> There is one example of an account which has the same content, but which is laid out more expansively on a very much wider roll. Its exact status, whether as a duplicate or an accidental divergence of form, is uncertain.<sup>23</sup> There is a second sequence of diet accounts, identical in content except that they all omit the accounts of

the marshalsea. Apart from marginal totals of each day's departmental expenses, the only totals on the second series of accounts are weekly totals of kitchen expenses. The second set of diet accounts are fair copies and show no signs of auditing.<sup>24</sup> As if to complement these accounts, there is a separate series of rolls for the marshalsea. The detail on these marshalsea rolls is fuller than in the marshalsea entries on the diet accounts with all the household departments, giving in addition each week lists of horses present, the names of some of them, and chronicling their comings and goings. On some rolls there are weekly totals of quantities of fodder,<sup>25</sup> occasionally cash totals<sup>26</sup> or four weekly totals.<sup>27</sup> The accounts are fair copies, although some of the totals may be in a second hand and ink.<sup>28</sup> They have not been audited.

Two other departmental accounts survive from the household of Elizabeth de Burgh. A malt and brewing account, possibly an incomplete fair copy, exists for 1333-4;<sup>29</sup> and there is a roll of kitchen purchases for 1340-1.<sup>30</sup> The latter roll was engrossed periodically, in irregular sections; and it has weekly totals in another hand and ink. There must once have been many other subsidiary diet accounts from which the fair copies were engrossed. The annual cash, corn and stock accounts of the clerk of the wardrobe refer to *particule* - any supporting lists or vouchers presented at the account. In the Clare archive this included diet accounts for parts of the household away from the main part of Elizabeth de Burgh's household or for expenses on journeys. The form of the diet entry on these documents is very close to that of the main household roll. Some have been audited.<sup>31</sup> Others have been struck through, perhaps on audit or engrossment, or on the transfer of their totals to other accounts.<sup>32</sup>

Besides the diet accounts and their subsidiary records, the household of Elizabeth de Burgh employed another series of daily rolls, described as counter-rolls.<sup>33</sup> In this household, the purpose of the counter-roll

was probably to provide an independent check on the totals of cash expenses and of stock consumed. There were at least two levels of counter-roll. The more detailed records, day by day, the totals of cash spent on purchases and the cash valuation of stock expended, combined daily totals and a weekly total. These entries form a column down the left-hand side of the front of the roll. On the right-hand side are lists of stock expended each week, arranged by department. There are also monthly (four weekly) totals of the cash expenses and valuations and of the quantities of stock expended. The accounts are fair copies and against all the totals the auditor has written the word *probatur*. On the dorse of the rolls are lists of purchases, arranged by commodity in the same manner as those in the cash discharge section of the annual cash, corn and stock account of the clerk of the wardrobe. The auditor's *probatur* has been written against the cash totals on the dorse.<sup>34</sup> On two accounts, for 1337 and 1338, only total monthly quantities of stock are given.<sup>35</sup> One roll, for 1358-9, gives a grand total of quantities of stock consumed throughout the year.<sup>36</sup> The second form of counter-roll gives cash totals only for each day of the week, followed by a weekly note of the value of stock and wardrobe items, and a weekly total. Four accounts survive in this form, each written in a single hand throughout. One account is written in a book;<sup>37</sup> one is a Chancery fashion roll;<sup>38</sup> and it can no longer be ascertained what form the other two documents originally took.<sup>39</sup> There is also one roll that is a hybrid of the two types of counter-roll. It contains the cash accounts, effectively the left-hand side, of the more detailed roll; but it has not been audited and it does not seem to be an example of the detailed counter-roll cut vertically in half as it has no account on the dorse, although it could, however, be a draft or an incomplete account.<sup>40</sup>

This outline of the financial records of the household of Elizabeth de Burgh indicates the complexity which could arise within a single





household. Such an example is unique. The nuances of detail between the varying forms of account must be borne in mind when examining the workings of accounts for households where far fewer records survive. The forms employed in the household of Elizabeth de Burgh do not seem to alter greatly over forty years. It is interesting, too, to note the preservation of household accounts within the household for at least this period of time: the accounts must have been perceived as retaining some value for administrative purposes.

*The household of Richard, Lord Talbot, of Blakemere*

Six household accounts for the Talbot family of Blakemere have been preserved. The family was wealthy, having extensive estates in Shropshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, the Welsh Marches and in Yorkshire, but the landed endowment was not on the same scale as that of Elizabeth de Burgh. In 1393-4 a little over £277 was spent on the household of Richard, Lord Talbot, at Blakemere.<sup>41</sup> To set with the account for this year is one for part of the year immediately preceding, which makes it possible to examine the financial system of the household of Richard, Lord Talbot, in 1392-4 in more detail.<sup>42</sup> One important difference from the accounts of the household of Elizabeth de Burgh is that the Talbot accounts are not those of an itinerant household, but for one residing at a single place, Blakemere in Shropshire, throughout the year. The account for October 1392 to January 1393 was part of an annual roll. The front contains a weekly account for the departments of the household; the dorse has a monthly analysis of expenditure by department. The account on the front is arranged in weekly paragraphs within months. There are monthly headings placed in the centre of the roll. The weekly paragraphs are numbered, in the margin, and are divided not into daily accounts but into departmental sections. Headings,

underlined or in boxes, are given for the departments in the order pantry, buttery, wardrobe, kitchen, marshalsea. Within each departmental section (except the marshalsea, the accounts for which were recorded elsewhere), items were noted from three sources: purchases, with price; stock (*staurum*), with a valuation; and goods remaining unconsumed (*de remanentia*), with no valuation, but a note if the item was consumed. The entries are not recorded in a consistent order. The weekly paragraphs are totalled, giving the total cost of purchases, the total valuation of *staurum*, and a note of those items *de remanentia* consumed. *Staurum* appears to refer to items drawn from manors. On one occasion, the second week in November, the weekly total notes separately the value of a present given to the household. At the end of each month there are monthly totals. December's totals include a separate note of purchases for the larder. Other non-departmental expenditure appears in the weekly totals under the heading *preterea* (literally, "beyond this"), additional items for which there was no place elsewhere in the account, for example, expenses on business. Each week there is a marginal note of portions (*fercula*) consumed. The number consumed by visitors (*extranei*) is also indicated. Monthly totals of both quantities are given.

The dorse of the roll is divided into monthly sections, roughly level with the monthly divisions on the front. The whole roll was written by a single hand, but the variations in the shades of ink suggest that both the front and the dorse were engrossed at monthly intervals. The account on the dorse is a form of stock account, arranged by department. For each department, the total of each commodity consumed and its value are recorded, together with a cash total for each department's expenses.

The account for 1393-4 is an annual cash account, with a corn account on the dorse. Receipts include the transfer of cash from the receiver, skins sold from the larder, the value of purchases or transfers from the estates for the household, and a valuation of gifts. Each cash valuation

is counterbalanced in the discharge section. After the total of the charge section is a note of the cash in hand (*superplusagium*) at the end of the previous account. The discharge section proceeds by department: pantry, buttery, kitchen, wardrobe, marshalsea and other expenses (*preterea*). The buttery paragraph is divided into monthly sections: it could have been compiled from figures similar to those on the dorse of the 1392-3 account. The figures for the marshalsea section seem to have been taken from a separate account: they are omitted on the 1392-3 account. Both the 1392-3 and the 1393-4 account refer to a household book (*liber hospicii*), a diet account which would also have noted the numbers of portions (*fercula*) consumed each day. No household book has survived, however. From this the weekly and monthly account, engrossed monthly, was derived. The monthly account was the principal record of stock, as there was only a short section for wheat on the annual account. The annual cash account took an overview of the household finances, summarising information from the daily, weekly, monthly and marshalsea records. There is no note of the use to which the record of *fercula* was put at the annual account. In an account for Gilbert, Lord Talbot, the average cost per *ferculum* was calculated, suggesting the accounts were used to project the expenses of the household in other years.<sup>43</sup>

*The household of John de Multon of Frampton*

Another contrast is presented by the accounts of the household of John de Multon of Frampton, Lincolnshire. The Multons of Frampton were a cadet branch of the Multon family of Egremont and Gillesland. Most of their property was concentrated in three areas in Lincolnshire, around Frampton (near Boston); on the coast close to Saltfleetby and Somercotes; and in Heapham, Sturton by Stow, Stow and Ingleby, between Gainsborough and Lincoln; with some property at Hoby in Leicestershire. In 1343-4,

John de Multon's agent, Nicholas de Twycrosse, received about £40 from rents - possibly only for a half year - and from other sources. In the same period, household expenses on food came to about £24, and on wardrobe items, to about £36. Only two household accounts survive (both edited in Appendix 2),<sup>44</sup> and although it is difficult to generalise about the whole accounting system from such a small number of records, some useful observations can be made. The earlier account, for 1343-4, contains a diet account on the front. On the dorse is an account covering receipts from lands and what may broadly be termed wardrobe expenses. Both sides of the roll were written up periodically in a variety of hands. The diet account, which is laid out in weekly paragraphs, is concerned with purchases alone. There are entries only for days when purchases were made. The purchases are usually listed in the departmental order pantry, buttery, kitchen, marshalsea, although these departments are not named on the account. The account is imprecise about quantities purchased. All foodstuffs seem to have fallen within its ambit, but it is noteworthy that purchases of bread and ale are comparatively rare: the main source of supply must have been external to the account. The wardrobe account on the dorse notes the purchases of onions and garlic for the garden: the diet account does not record produce drawn from this source. The diet account also notes *lepes* for keeping fish in the water around the manor house at Frampton. It is unclear whether the household ate the fish so readily at hand and whether they were recorded in the account. On the diet account there are weekly totals in the margin in a different hand to those that wrote the text. Every three or four weeks these totals were checked by an auditor, who marked them *probatur*. The account on the dorse was written, totalled and audited in a similar fashion. It seems probable that the clerks who were hired to write the account copied up the outstanding entries on both the

front and dorse on the same occasion. The 1343-4 account is largely in French.

The second account, for 1347-8, is also a diet account, but it differs in a number of ways. It is in Latin throughout. It is laid out in weekly paragraphs with totals underneath instead of in the margin. The document was written by two hands, each writing the whole of one of the two membranes. The weekly totals were written in the same hand as the rest of the text at the same time as the text was written. There is no trace of auditing, although there are two notes about tallying with the lady of the house, each close to the date of the last entry on each membrane. Every day is noted in the diet account, whether a purchase was made or not. The phrase *de stauro* is employed on days when no purchase was made, recognising consumption within the household but not defining it. The purchases are almost exclusively of kitchen items, although spices, wine and candles appear. No departmental order is present and again much must have fallen outside the ambit of the account: corn and malt may have been drawn directly from the estates. There are no immediately contemporary manorial accounts from the estate, but in 1325-6 wheat was drawn from local manors for the household.<sup>45</sup> Spices, paid as rents, were delivered to the lord's wardrobe in 1330-1.<sup>46</sup>

It is possible to follow the work of the clerks that wrote the household accounts in other records in the family archive. The hand that wrote the first block of text on the front of the 1343-4 account also wrote the second membrane of the 1347-8 account. This clerk wrote a number of charters for the Multons of Frampton between 1344 and 1348,<sup>47</sup> as well as a collector's account as early as 1331.<sup>48</sup> The clerk who wrote the second block of text of the 1343-4 diet account was also responsible for a rental of the same date.<sup>49</sup> These clerks were either directly connected with the household or were available for hire to write the documents. The variation in the form of the household account over four

years is particularly marked in comparison with the regularity of the Clare household forms. It perhaps suggests that there was no permanent bureaucracy within the household of John de Multon: it would be more difficult to establish patterns and forms if clerks were hired from outside to write the accounts.

*The household of Thomas Bozoun of Woodford next Thrapston*

A single diet account survives for the household of Thomas Bozoun of Woodford next Thrapston, a Northamptonshire squire, whose household expenditure was not of such a great order as that of John de Multon. Bozoun's average weekly cash expenditure is a little in excess of 1s. 6½d.<sup>50</sup> The account is entirely for the consumables of the kitchen, pantry and buttery, but no household department is named or distinguished. It records purchases and their price; items from stock (*de stauro*) without value; and liveries by tally, possibly with the lady of the house. It appears to be the record of a fixed kitchen establishment: the implication of the record of the absences of both the lord and lady of the household may be that the account represents part of the household that was not peripatetic. There is no marshalsea section. Not all days are recorded in the account: there is no note even of consumption *de stauro* for the Thursday of the second week. The entries are written in unconsolidated paragraphs, a typologically early form of account that persisted only in the smallest households. The account is a fair copy, possibly written after the audit, as there is no sign of auditing.

To date the document, G.H.Fowler made the suggestion that it was engrossed from notes which had become disorganised prior to copying. This proposition, however, must be discounted. While it is the case that the account is dated 2 Edward III and the days of the week and the feast days noted in it do not intercalate correctly for 1328, it seems more

probable that the clerk drawing up the account intended to write *vicesimo secundo* for the regnal year, but accidentally omitted the word *vicesimo*. The sequence of days of the week and feasts is appropriate to 1348 and a Thomas Bozoun was tenant of the manor in that year.<sup>51</sup>

This account is particularly important for showing the lack of formality in the accounts of smallest households, and the almost complete absence of features present in the accounts of large households, developed for use in areas unconnected with an account representing a record of strict financial liability.

### *Conclusion*

From this brief examination of the records of four fourteenth century households of different sizes it can readily be seen that the formality of the account decreased with the diminishing size and complexity of the organisation. The household departments in the accounts of Elizabeth de Burgh and Richard, Lord Talbot, were genuine administrative entities; the case for their presence as anything other than an accounting form in preparing the 1343-4 account of John de Multon is uncertain. The first two households made considerable use of types of account that recorded and valued the consumption of stock, noted portions (*fercula*) served, and recorded the presence of guests. To John de Multon and Thomas Bozoun, these matters were of much less significance. In a small household it may have been easier to control expenditure from personal knowledge; the households of Elizabeth de Burgh and Richard, Lord Talbot, needed tighter controls because there was greater opportunity for peculation, and peculation on a much greater scale. Standard forms of account were employed in the largest households, containing the foundations for elaborate domestic financial planning and a regular check on expenditure and consumption. These are absent from the accounts of smaller

households, the form of which could vary from year to year. The lack of a permanent bureaucracy in the smaller households and reliance on hired clerks probably accentuated the differences in form. In the smallest households, the account was still little more than a record of cash expenditure.



Chapter 6 Household accounts from the mid-thirteenth century to c.1430:  
(iii) features of accounting in the English royal household, monasteries  
and collegiate institutions

The preceding chapters have demonstrated the diversity of accounts in private households and the development of features which are not strictly relevant to the account as a statement of financial liability, but which are of immediate importance to the development of household management. It has been suggested that in the period up to c.1250 royal and monastic accounts were of a more advanced form than those of private households. Domestic management was of no less importance to the royal household and the monasteries than it was to private households. It is therefore of interest to discover if these management features also appeared in the accounts of the royal household, monasteries and collegiate institutions and at what date, or whether separate patterns of development were followed.

#### *The English royal household*

A great many accounts survive for English royal households, together with a number of household ordinances. Research has concentrated on the royal chamber and wardrobe, and their relationship to national finance and the conduct of war, rather than on purely domestic provisioning, with the exception of purveyance, and that largely for its political implications. The domestic account has also been neglected when set beside analyses of the systems of account at the wardrobe and Exchequer, largely because most of the household accounts that survive are post-audit engrossments copied for submission, with the accounts of the wardrobe, to the Exchequer.'

Disregarding the non-domestic attributes of the king's household (finance for war, etc.), the pattern of accounting was broadly similar in the households of the king, the queen, the princes and the princesses. When they resided together, the accounts of the households of the king and queen were audited together each night.<sup>2</sup> The principal daily records to survive are in the form of cash journals, similar in many respects to those dating from the 1220s.<sup>3</sup> The journals are largely restricted to a statement of the total cash expenses for each household department each day. Behind the cash journals were detailed rolls of expenses for the departments. Like the records of private administration, the records of the royal household that survive come from different stages of compilation. The earliest of the departmental rolls exhibit periodic engrossment, for example the kitchen account for the household of King Edward I, c.1291-2, including the accounts for the poultry, scullery, saucery, hall and chamber. An analysis of the hands and inks on the roll suggests that it was written almost on a daily basis.<sup>4</sup> The daily roll for the pantry and buttery, c.1287, and the stable account for 1292-3, were written up in a similar fashion.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately the departmental rolls, even the massive kitchen roll of 1344-7,<sup>6</sup> and the host of smaller rolls containing re-arrangements of figures, soon become little more than post-audit engrossments, like the cash journals.<sup>7</sup> The departmental rolls do show, however, that the emphasis of accounts at this level, or at least the ones that have survived, is overwhelmingly concerned with cash expenditure, noting who is responsible for the purchases. There is little attempt to record stock in hand and its consumption, except for wax and wine. This can only be considered extraordinary in the context of developments in private households: stock in hand would have formed a much more valuable commodity in the royal household simply because of the quantity involved. Stock records may have been kept, but as they were not necessary for accounting financial liability at the Exchequer,

they were not preserved among its records. There is no trace of an annual cash, corn and stock account. A daily roll of the household of King Edward II for 1307-8 does, however, have totals of the gross cash expenditure on each commodity.<sup>8</sup> There is also a list of the total quantities received, used in the household and sold, on a daily roll for the household of King Edward III in 1328.<sup>9</sup> Other notes relating to consumption are absent. There is a list of portions (*fercula*) served in the chamber of Margaret of France, Edward I's queen, and at each of two sittings in the hall, from 2 November to 9 November in either 1299 or 1304,<sup>10</sup> and portions served are recorded on the daily household roll of King Edward II for 1309-10.<sup>11</sup> Calculations of averages are likewise almost entirely lacking: a rare exception is a note of the average expense each day, week and month, with wardrobe expenses, and without wine and wardrobe expenses, over twenty six months in the household of King Edward III, c.1330-60.<sup>12</sup>

A series of rolls (*rotuli de penis campoti*), listing fines imposed at the nightly account of the departments of the royal household before the treasurer and steward, are particularly important as they illustrate accounting processes that cannot be traced in the surviving accounts.<sup>13</sup> The rolls were written up periodically, sometimes nightly, at the audit of the departmental accounts, recording infractions of household or accounting discipline, penalties imposed, the administration of regular checks, and the oaths and pledges for the admission of household staff. The numbers of *fercula*, although largely absent from the daily household rolls, were rigorously checked. The household ordinance of 1279 stated that each night the number of portions (*les mes*) served in the hall was to be given by the door keeper, and that the accounts of the pantry, the buttery and the kitchen were to be examined in relation to this number. Similar provisions were made in the ordinance of 1318.<sup>14</sup> The door keeper recorded the number in tables: if he failed so to do, he was liable to

surcharge for all those he omitted.<sup>15</sup> Only one table possibly recording the *fercula* or numbers of the household present has survived.<sup>16</sup> The portions of food were to be correctly divided.<sup>17</sup> Checks were made on liveries, for example, on the weight of loaves.<sup>18</sup> Rates of issue per portion were carefully regulated:<sup>19</sup> where the issues were too great on a particular day, the officials responsible were surcharged.<sup>20</sup> There are a great many entries for items incorrectly issued (*male expensis*). In most instances the items thus surcharged represent expenditure over and above a predetermined allowance per portion of each commodity. In addition, the officials were responsible for all items in their accounts and were surcharged if they could not account for them all.<sup>21</sup> These detailed checks argue for the existence of a form of budgetary planning and control at a date which is as early as any example from a private household and one that was more sophisticated than that later used in private accounts, founded on the checking of issues against set cash amounts allowed for expenditure; but the details of its operation are obscure as they were *not immediately relevant to the records prepared for the Exchequer* that stressed the precise apportionment of financial responsibility. Planning is evident in other aspects of royal finance, from estimates of Exchequer revenues and expenses, including the share of the royal household, to estimating the quantities of victuals necessary for garrisons.<sup>22</sup>

The records of the royal household may have influenced the form of private accounts in other ways. Most royal household accounts which are in roll form are made up as Chancery fashion rolls. Very few survive as Exchequer fashion rolls,<sup>23</sup> just as there are few accounts for private households in this form. The dating formulae and departmental headings employed in the accounts of private households from the end of the thirteenth century can be found in the royal accounts of the 1220s.<sup>24</sup> The elaborate engrossments of the royal wardrobe would doubtless have been

known to many, and the manner in which accounts were laid out could well have had its influence on private administration.<sup>26</sup>

*Monastic and collegiate institutions*

The household of the monastery or college was established on similar lines to the private household. The abbot, prior or head of the college frequently had his own household with its own accounts, cast exactly in the form of accounts of private households. Within the institution, there may have been a number of households. At Norwich Cathedral Priory, the sacrist kept a separate table; and at Ely Cathedral Priory the hostilar also kept a table, maintaining a separate diet account.<sup>26</sup> It was the practice in English nunneries to divide the community into a number of households.<sup>27</sup> A very few monastic or collegiate institutions made use of the departmental structure common in private accounts. An account for the household of Maiden Bradley Priory, c.1278, has a diet account for kitchen expenses, followed by a series of paragraphs for departmental expenses, for the pantry and buttery, the chamber (largely concerned with spices), and for the marshalsea.<sup>28</sup> Diet accounts for God's House Hospital, Southampton, in 1328-9, 1370-1, 1372-3, 1375-6, 1381-2, 1382-3 and in either 1403 or 1408, are divided each day or week into sections for the pantry, the buttery and the kitchen; a similar division is present in the diet accounts for the household of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1352-4.<sup>29</sup> The household accounts of Maxstoke Priory, c.1345-6, follow the order pantry, buttery, kitchen, but without departmental headings.<sup>30</sup> These are rare exceptions. The departmental divisions in the accounts of the *ludi* (or "holidays" on a manor away from the priory) of the monks of Durham may be explained by the position of the records as subsidiary accounts of the prior's household.<sup>31</sup>

The division of the offices of the monastic household into obediences at once introduces an element that is different from the private household. In general the officials whose functions were most akin to those of the officers of private households were the cellarer, who had general superintendence of provisioning the house; and the subcellarer, sometimes called the kitchener, who was responsible for the supply of meat, fish, spices and items for the kitchen, or for the supply and expenditure of corn for bread and provender, and malt for brewing, performing the same function as the *granator*, *granetarius* or granger in other monasteries. Some communities had their own bakers, pantlers, butlers and brewers. The cellarer and granger were frequently entrusted with the disbursement of very considerable sums of money. The main financial officials of the monastery, the bursars, treasurers or receivers, also undertook purchasing. The accounts of these domestic offices have much in common with those of private households, but also differ in a number of interesting ways.

As in private households, records of expenditure were recorded in both annual and in diet accounts. The annual account is the one most commonly found for monastic offices, but a diet account was employed in many monastic communities. The monastic diet account was usually confined to the kitchen. There were also separate notes of bulk purchases and wardrobe items. The steward or receiver of the Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester, probably in 1260-2, entered in his account a separate total for fresh meat and fish purchased *per dietas*, as opposed to large purchases of meat and fish, presumably for stock.<sup>32</sup> The accounts of the Priors of Hoxne noted a single total for daily expenses from purchases in the market and goods drawn from the larder.<sup>33</sup> In some instances all that survives of the daily or weekly account is a total in a summary account or in the account of a superior official. In 1331-2, the cellarer of Creake Abbey accounted for "the expenses of the kitchen, by week, by the

hands of Peter the cook, as appears by the roll".<sup>34</sup> The expense section of a kitchener's account for Maxstoke Priory, for 1421-2, refers to weekly accounts: "in veal, by the weekly accounts, 6s. 10d." (*in carne vitulina per septimanas vi s. x d.*).<sup>35</sup> In other instances there are sections headed *cotidiana* (daily accounts), when totals or amounts to cover the diet payments are entered,<sup>36</sup> or specific references to weekly accounts.<sup>37</sup> A series of weekly totals appears in the accounts of the Master of Ospringe Hospital, 1293-4 and c.1370-1,<sup>38</sup> in the summary accounts of the kitchener of Worcester Cathedral Priory<sup>39</sup> and those of the cellarer of Ely Cathedral Priory.<sup>40</sup> The accounts of the abbot's cellarer at St. Benet of Hulme, in 1373, are slightly more informative, giving weekly totals for two categories, diverse purchases, and eggs and butter.<sup>41</sup> Where daily accounts survive, they are often, even in the largest monasteries, a record of purchase and not of consumption. In many cases, as at Durham Priory in the cellarer's accounts of the first forty years of the fourteenth century, there is no order apparent in the daily entry.<sup>42</sup> The daily entries were usually grouped into weeks, in consolidated<sup>43</sup> or unconsolidated paragraphs.<sup>44</sup> Weeks started on Saturdays<sup>45</sup> or Sundays.<sup>46</sup> Days of the week, with the exception of Saturdays and sometimes Sundays, were on occasion dated as *feria*: *feria secunda* as Monday, *feria tertia* as Tuesday, and in like manner for the other days of the week.<sup>47</sup> Some accounts have no daily divisions within the week.<sup>48</sup>

There are instances of diet accounts which provide more information than a record of purchases, much in the same way as the accounts of private households. An account for Aconbury Priory, c.1336-7, is primarily a record of purchase. On days when no purchase was made, the word *estor* (stock) was entered in the account.<sup>49</sup> The kitchener of Southwick Priory, in 1358-9, has notes of consumption from stock (*de instauro*), without indicating commodity or quantity, in some entries of his daily account.<sup>50</sup> The record is more elaborate on other accounts. The

account probably of a kitchener of a religious house in north east England, early to mid-fifteenth century, starts the daily entry with a list of items remaining or received, and purchases. A second section lists items consumed. The account deals solely with meat, fish, bread and spices. There are monthly totals of stock consumed.<sup>51</sup> Each week the accounts of the kitchener of Bicester Priory, 1399-1400, list purchases, and follow them with a list of items drawn from stock (*de staurō*);<sup>52</sup> the accounts of the household of Maxstoke Priory, c.1345-6, follow a similar pattern;<sup>53</sup> and the accounts of the subcellarer of Bordesley Abbey, 1338, list stock consumed, but without valuation.<sup>54</sup> The cellarer of Ely, in 1335-6, also noted some quantities of foodstuffs consumed from store (*de staurō*) without valuation.<sup>55</sup> Stock consumed is listed in the weekly and monthly totals of some of the accounts of God's House Hospital, Southampton.<sup>56</sup> It is listed in the weekly accounts of the cellaress of Wilton Abbey, 1299.<sup>57</sup> Stock is valued in an account probably for the cellarer of Tonbridge Priory, in 1327-8 or 1332-3,<sup>58</sup> and in the weekly household accounts of the treasurers of Grace Dieu, 1414-c.1418.<sup>59</sup> The accounts of the household of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1352-4, are unique in exhibiting not only the valuation of stock and the departmental structure of the private household account, but in giving numbers of *fercula* (including halves) in the margin, dividing them between the members of the household present and visitors, and in analysing the consumption of bread - for trenchers, the kitchen, liveries and *fercula* - and ale in a way that few contemporary private household accounts do, and those only for households of the largest size.<sup>60</sup> *Fercula* appear only in one other instance in obedientiary accounts, in an account for the cellarer of Durham Priory, 1339, when they refer to portions of meat in an average calculation;<sup>61</sup> but they may have been taken into consideration elsewhere. In the customs of Barnwell, 1295-6, the kitchener, besides keeping a daily account, was to keep a note of the number of *fercula*



delivered to the cook, and the cook was to note any remaining after meals and to account each day for those handed to him.<sup>62</sup> It is just possible recording consumption had a wider currency in the monasteries than appears from these examples. An account for the cellarer of Southwick Priory, in 1402-3, makes no mention of the consumption of stock, with the single exception of an entry for *porc' de rem'*. The pork is given a cash value: "silent appraisal" of stock may be present at other points in this account and elsewhere.<sup>63</sup>

As in private households, the purchase of foodstuffs was not confined to the diet account. Bulk purchases of foodstuffs, spices, cloth and wardrobe items were frequently recorded separately, for example, at Durham Priory, in the bursar's accounts, and in the cellarer's accounts, for the larder.<sup>64</sup> At Ely Cathedral Priory in 1335-6 the cellarer's account had a section for "stock purchased", for meat, fish and spices.<sup>65</sup> The kitchener at Worcester Cathedral Priory in 1326-7 and c.1330-1 gave totals for the purchase of stock separately from the diet totals,<sup>66</sup> the cellarer of Wymondham in 1379-80 likewise kept the two distinct, as did the kitchener of Bicester in 1399-1400.<sup>67</sup>

The consumption of stock was sometimes recorded in an account similar in form to a manorial corn and stock account, in conjunction with a diet account<sup>68</sup> or a summary cash account.<sup>69</sup> Lists of total quantities of goods consumed, with an appraised value, formed part of the accounts of God's House Hospital, Southampton.<sup>70</sup> The account of the granator in many monasteries was similar in form to a manorial corn account.<sup>71</sup>

These developments parallel the evolution of the form of accounts in private households and occur about the same date. But in one aspect, most interestingly, budgetting and the planning of consumption, the accounts of monasteries and collegiate institutions exhibit much greater advance and wider currency of technique. At Durham Priory, calculations of averages of expenditure and consumption are found in the earliest

accounts of the granator and cellarer. There are two forms of granator's account surviving for the period before 1341. The first notes receipts from manors - rents and tithes - and expenses of corn, together with purchases. The total quantities consumed in each of thirteen four week months are recorded, followed by a grand total and monthly average. This is repeated for each type of corn.<sup>72</sup> From 1316-17 the average weekly consumption was also calculated.<sup>73</sup> The second type of granator's account repeats the corn accounts in *summary fashion, giving only the totals*, together with the monthly, and later, weekly, averages of consumption. Summary accounts are also given for the monastic baker, pantler and brewer. The accounts compare the amounts of bread and ale produced by the baker and brewer with notional set yields (*numerus consuetus*). In 1303-4, the baker failed to meet the required level of production; in 1305-6, both he and the brewer exceeded the quota.<sup>74</sup> In 1308-9, the brewer again exceeded his target. At the audit, the refectorer and butler were removed from office: no tallies could be found stating the quantities delivered by the cellarer.<sup>75</sup> The cellarer's summary cash account listed arrears and receipts, followed by cash totals of weekly expenses and expenses of the larder, less allowances, for example, for stock in hand, giving a total of expenditure from which were calculated monthly and weekly averages of cash expenses.<sup>76</sup> The calculations of averages of expenditure reach their most elaborate in the 1339 account. This document gives a monthly and weekly cash average, and also the average weekly expenditure of each commodity in the larder for which the cellarer was responsible, together with a note of the number of portions (*fercula*) consumed, the total number given to strangers and an estimated average for each flesh day.<sup>77</sup> The averages disappear with the advent of monthly account rolls for the cellarer's office in 1340.

Durham was not alone in making these calculations: they occur on a number, certainly a minority, but still a significant quantity of

obedientary accounts. Estimates of consumption, presumably derived from account rolls, were available to the monks of Bury St. Edmunds in the late thirteenth century.<sup>78</sup> At Worcester Cathedral Priory a weekly cash average was computed in the kitchener's accounts in 1326-7.<sup>79</sup> The average weekly quantity of wheat and oats consumed appears in the subcellarer's account for the same priory in 1326, and similar calculations were made in accounts for this office throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and indeed, as late as 1521.<sup>80</sup> In the account of the household of Maxstoke Priory, c.1345-6, a weekly average is given of the quantities of wheat and malt consumed.<sup>81</sup> Weekly and daily averages of expenditure were calculated on an account from Ramsey Abbey, relating to expenses at London on business, c.1339-41.<sup>82</sup> In another Ramsey account, for the master of the bakehouse in 1402-3, there are computations of the average weekly quantities of wheat and oats expended.<sup>83</sup> A weekly average of cash expenses is calculated on the account of the kitchener of Southwick Priory in 1358-9.<sup>84</sup> At another Hampshire house of Austin canons, Selborne Priory, averages of the amounts of wheat baked and malt brewed were recorded in the account of the cellarer and treasurer in 1402-3.<sup>85</sup> An average of the weekly diet expenses was calculated in the accounts of the kitchener of Selby Abbey for 1413-14 and 1416-17.<sup>86</sup> In the treasurer's account for Abingdon Abbey, 1375-6, average weekly amounts were allowed to the cellarer for brewing at predetermined rates.<sup>87</sup> The average costs of a *ferculum* were calculated on the diet accounts of the household of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1352-4.<sup>88</sup> Calculations of average cash expenditure occur fairly frequently in the subcellarer's accounts for the Cistercian abbey of Boxley, Kent, from 1373 to 1379.<sup>89</sup> At Boxley, the only calculations to have survived before this date appear in a remarkable document which seems to have been designed to plan the annual budget of the whole monastery. It is dated Michaelmas 1360 and may have been based on the

accounts for the previous year. It lays out, manor by manor, the revenues that were anticipated, both in cash and kind, with a set calculation for each type of stock, giving precise dates for the liveries throughout the year. This is followed by a re-arrangement of the same information, by office. The granator's receipts of each type of corn throughout the year are stated both by type of corn and by date. The granator's expected disbursements throughout the year are given, with an average of the quantities required each week:

*Fanes* De quibus idem custos expendet de puro frumento in pane conventuali per annum cxliiii qr., per septimanam ii qr. vi bus. Item in pane bast lviii qr. iiii bus. frumenti et xix qr. iiii bus. siliginis, videlicet per septimanam i qr. i bus. frumenti et iiii bus. siliginis.

There is a note of the total quantities required and of the expected annual deficit of barley, valued at £4 13s. 9d. The next section gives a table of the subcellarer's annual receipts of stock and his cash receipts, from which it is calculated that he can spend 22s. per week, or 3s. per day and 4s. on Sundays, on victuals. The incomes of the bursar and the refectorer are also estimated.<sup>90</sup> A document similar to this probably lay behind the calculations of averages in other monastic establishments. The figures for receipts at Boxley were revised at Michaelmas 1371, but no calculation survives of the revised estimates for expenditure.<sup>91</sup>

The calculation of averages for consumption is closely related to another form of medieval financial planning, accounts which deal with commons and commons allowances, payments to cover the purchase of food and drink. These are found most frequently in collegiate institutions but were not unusual elsewhere. In the foundation deed, so much per day, week or year would be allowed for the commons of each individual of a particular rank. The disbursement of income was not tied, therefore, to an average weekly amount, but was directly related to the number of people present each day, for whom a daily rate was allowed. This method

of controlling the finances, founded directly on a record of attendance, was theoretically much more precise than that based on estimates derived from averages. This form of account can be seen in the early bursars' rolls for Merton College, Oxford, where the amount disbursed on commons each week was recorded against the name of the fellow in charge of the expenses that week.<sup>92</sup> Accounts in a similar form exist for most other Oxford colleges, for example, Canterbury College or New College.<sup>93</sup> In order that the amounts allowed for commons could be calculated, weekly lists were kept of those fellows and members of college present.<sup>94</sup> While the calculation of a set rate for commons must have, initially, at least, assisted the planning of expenditure, there was no guarantee that the amount provided would be enough to cover costs. William of Wykeham made especial provision at New College in 1381-2 for additional commons (an amount roughly equal to two thirds of one week's expenditure) to finance excess expenditure at the great feast days throughout the year and at Lent.<sup>95</sup> The debilitating effect of inflation on commons revenues was not resolved until an act of Parliament of 1576 introduced corn rents: at least one third of the rent in a lease of tithes, arable, pasture or meadow, was fixed as an amount of corn, to be paid in kind or in cash calculated at the current market rates.<sup>96</sup>

The amount allowed for commons was not, of course, the amount that was actually expended on foodstuffs each day. For the accounts to balance, the expenditure had to be recorded and compared with the amounts allowed for commons. At New College, only fragments of the daily expenses have survived,<sup>97</sup> as is also the case at Merton College, where very few accounts for the steward of the hall have been preserved.<sup>98</sup> These documents are cast in the form of diet accounts, and are similar in many respects to the diet accounts of other households. For some institutions there survive direct attempts to balance the diet accounts against the allowances for commons. The earliest diet accounts for God's House

Hospital, Southampton, contain accounts of daily expenditure alone.<sup>99</sup> From 1375-6, an indication is given of the allowances made to the house for commons and stipends, but no balance is drawn.<sup>100</sup> The figure is balanced against the cash expenses in 1382-3, although in a casual note, not in a formal statement.<sup>101</sup> This does not recur on later accounts,<sup>102</sup> but as the total of allowances in the 1384 account is only 4d. more than the expenses, it is likely that an attempt was made to keep the two figures close to each other.<sup>103</sup> On an account roll of the cellarer of Southwick Priory, Hampshire, 1402-3, the expenses were set each week against an allowance, noting remainder, deficit or an exact balance. The allowance seems to have fluctuated in relation to the number of people present, suggesting some form of commons provision, and in relation to subsidies from pittances for various feasts. At the end of the account the remainders and deficits are balanced.<sup>104</sup> In the kitchener's account for Worcester Cathedral Priory, probably for 1340-1, the weekly expenses are balanced against an allowance of 80s., excluding items drawn from the larder, piggery and weirs without appraisal. Where the excess of expenditure was very great, reasons, such as the number of visitors, were adduced to support the accountant.<sup>105</sup> A balance of expenditure against a commons allowance was also made at Ralph, Lord Cromwell's establishment at Tattershall in 1447-8.<sup>106</sup>

These features point to the use of the accounts as tools of financial planning. Many monasteries must have been in a position to calculate quite closely the cost of feeding or clothing a monk and thus the annual expenses of the house. These developments are less extraordinary when set in the context of manorial accounts: the monasteries were among the first to employ calculations of profit and loss, of yields of crops and livestock, all of which may have been taken into consideration in making decisions about the management of estates.<sup>107</sup> There are suggestions that there was a greater degree of numeracy in the monasteries and collegiate

institutions: calculations of this nature needed a more thorough mathematical knowledge than the ability to move counters on an exchequer cloth. Arabic numerals are associated with most of the average computations at Boxley Abbey;<sup>108</sup> they were used at Norwich Cathedral Priory in 1319,<sup>109</sup> on an account probably for the steward of the hall at Merton College, Oxford, in 1359,<sup>110</sup> and on the sacrist's account for Selborne Priory in 1399-1400.<sup>111</sup> The evidence, however, is not very substantial.

Other features of obedientiary accounts are directly comparable to the practices of private households. On some of the diet accounts visitors were noted to justify additional expenditure.<sup>112</sup> The presence at table of some of the burgesses of Southampton is recorded in an account of God's House Hospital, Southampton, in 1370-1.<sup>113</sup> Other accounts for the same hospital record the arrival and departure of the master or warden.<sup>114</sup> In his annual account for 1382-3, the cellarer of Battle Abbey supported the increased expenditure of his office with a note of the sojourn of the Bishop of St. Asaph and his twelve servants.<sup>115</sup> *Visitors are named in the margins of the diet accounts of the household of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1352-4, and in the account probably of the kitchener of an unidentified religious house in north east England, early to mid-fifteenth century.*<sup>116</sup> Other marginal notes employed on monastic diet accounts include the numbering of the weeks of the account,<sup>117</sup> feast days<sup>118</sup> and brewings and bakings.<sup>119</sup>

Most obedientiary accounts were written in Latin. There are occasional lapses into French in the diet account for God's House, Southampton, 1328-9.<sup>120</sup> An account for Aconbury Priory, c.1336-7,<sup>121</sup> and the accounts for the treasurers of St. Michael's, Stamford, are in French.<sup>122</sup>

The majority of obedientiary accounts survive as Chancery fashion rolls,<sup>123</sup> Their make up is similar to that of the accounts of private households: the pattern of sewing develops in the same way, although

there are some late fourteenth century examples of sewing in the pattern  $\wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge$  rather than a tight oversew.<sup>124</sup> There are a number of examples of Exchequer fashion filing in the accounts of Peterborough Abbey.<sup>125</sup> Most examples, or remains of such filing systems, seem to have been used to group together either accounts for the same office for consecutive years, or possibly for the whole monastery or a number of offices for the same year.<sup>126</sup> Many of the obedientiary accounts of Norwich Cathedral Priory have filing holes at the head,<sup>127</sup> as do the accounts of the kitchener and subcellarer of Worcester Cathedral Priory.<sup>128</sup> Many accounts of Boxley Abbey, although now filed at the head, were once filed Exchequer fashion at the foot.<sup>129</sup> Ruling of horizontal lines is present on many accounts up to the 1330s.<sup>130</sup> Some obedientiary accounts seem to have been engrossed in books.<sup>131</sup>

Accounting practices varied considerably between monasteries. General injunctions for regular presentation of accounts were issued throughout the period. Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) enjoined the preparation of a *status*, or balance sheet, giving the totals of income and expenditure for each office of the monastery.<sup>132</sup> Instructions about accounting commonly accompanied injunctions relating to the management of the house, the safe custody of the common seal, and the requirement to consult the whole house or the most senior and respected monks on important business.<sup>133</sup> In 1277 the general chapter of the southern province of the Benedictine order in England made injunctions for annual accounting; in 1363 the general chapter of the English Benedictines included a provision about annual accounting in articles to be sent prior to visitation; and in 1421 the final articles of the extraordinary meeting of the Benedictines at Westminster ordered that accounts should be rendered annually, at least, before five or six monks appointed by the chapter of the monastery.<sup>134</sup> To enquire about the regular presentation of accounts and anything relating to the temporal wealth of the house was within the ambit of



episcopal visitation.<sup>135</sup> A late thirteenth century Prior of Brecon replied to part of a long list of charges against him at a visitation with the claim that he could not render his account to the convent at the usual time because he had not received an account from the manorial sergeants (*servientibus*) and because the obedientiaries had not yet rendered an account to him.<sup>136</sup> Fifteenth century injunctions of Bishop Gray of Lincoln to Canons Ashby order an annual account, which was to be preserved among the muniments of the house for future reference and as a caution to posterity.<sup>137</sup> Annual accounts feature in other Lincoln episcopal injunctions of Richard Fleming and William Gray for Bardney Abbey, 1431-6; Delapre Abbey, Northampton, 1433; Dunstable Priory, 1432; Elstow Abbey, 1422 and 1432; Eynsham Abbey, 1432; Freiston Priory, 1434; Huntingdon Priory, 1422; Missenden Abbey, 1433; St. Frideswide's, Oxford, 1423; and St. Neot's Priory, after Michaelmas 1432.<sup>138</sup>

Where mechanisms for controlling the financial affairs of a monastery were well-established, injunctions sought to rationalise the complexity of the systems, minimising the opportunities for peculation. One procedure fairly frequently encountered in the late thirteenth century was to establish a central receiving office under the control of treasurers, receivers or bursars, to manage the income of many, if not all, the obedientiaries of a house.<sup>139</sup> The effects of a reform imposed from outside were various. At Canterbury Cathedral Priory the injunctions of Archbishop Pecham (1279-92) established the reform;<sup>140</sup> but at Rochester Cathedral Priory his ordinances were not implemented.<sup>141</sup>

Two volumes of accounts for the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu may represent an attempt within that order to regularise accounting practices, possibly to control an earlier system of oral accounting. The volumes are formularies, possibly compiled from an exemplar sent from France: there are references to accounts which have been omitted, for example the vineyard, because these offices did not exist at Beaulieu.<sup>142</sup> The accounts

cover the granges and domestic offices of the abbey for the year Michaelmas 1269 to Michaelmas 1270. There is also a series of tables appraising the value of goods transferred between offices. Associated with the account is a set of rules for accounting, from which it can be seen that one purpose of the system was to prevent money entering the hands of any member of the community who did not need to have dealings with the outside world. The rules for accounting state that it was the custom to account once a year, at Michaelmas, with writings and tallies. In addition, a number of checks were made at shorter intervals. The main financial official, the *monachus camere*, was to account to the abbot or his nominee four times a year, at Christmas, Easter, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June) and at Michaelmas. The keeper of the rolls was to hear on Monday each week, after mass, in winter, and on double mass days and in summer, immediately after chapter, the account of the secular infirmarer, the hospice, marshal, cellarer, the account of the work, and of the subcellarer, in the presence of the officials responsible for these offices.<sup>143</sup> One of the declared objects of the annual accounts was to show how each department had fared.<sup>144</sup> Besides the accounts, the books also set up a number of elementary checks against the most likely areas for fraud in domestic management: for example, the keeper of the granary was never to have the key to the bakehouse nor was he to act as keeper of the bakehouse.<sup>145</sup>

Accounting practices and domestic regulations were modified frequently by the chapter of the house. Evidence for this survives in some fourteenth century regulations from Norwich Cathedral Priory<sup>146</sup> and several sets of regulations, dating from the beginning of the same century, from Durham Priory. The first set of Durham ordinances indicates that the terrar, who was to oversee the lands of the monastery, was to have a clerk, two grooms and a page. He was a peripatetic official, visiting the estates. There was also to be a bursar who was to

remain in an office at the priory, accompanied by a groom. The terrar and the bursar were to hold duplicate rolls of each other's receipts and expenses. They were to account twice a year, at Whitsun and at the feast of St. Martin (11 November). Each month they were to receive a view of account of all the servants (*servientes*) within the priory, which was to be closed with the seal of the terrar or the bursar until the final account. Both officials were enjoined to remove all unnecessary servants from the priory and the estates. Both were also to see and audit a view of account of stock twice a year. A cellarer was to be appointed to look after the kitchen and a granator to look after bread and ale. The cellarer and granator were to have counter-rolls. They were to meet every Friday in the granator's office where they were to write up the expenses of the brewhouse, bakehouse and pantry, and they were to keep copies of the expenses until the final account. In the same fashion, the two officials were to meet in the cellarer's office every Saturday to write up the kitchen expenses.<sup>147</sup> The second set of regulations exhibits some differences. It orders the terrar to render an annual account like the other officials. The bursar was to account twice a year, in the first week before Whitsun and at the feast of St. Martin. The prior, great cellarer and other obedientiaries were to have witnesses to the business they transacted. In addition, six monks, on a rota of two per week, were to audit the daily expenses with the cellarer and granator, and were to report any deficiencies to the prior. Further consideration was to be given to a regulation for kitchen expenses.<sup>148</sup>

Each monastery established its own detailed accounting procedures, and there was considerable diversity, even within the same house, over time; but the overall impression in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is of a move towards more precision and closer control in the account. In some monasteries checks may have taken place at quarterly intervals. Accounts of the bursars of Kingswood Abbey, c.1260 and 1262-3, have

quarterly totals;<sup>149</sup> the cellarers of Ely, Norwich Cathedral Priory, Tonbridge Priory and Wymondham accounted in this way.<sup>150</sup> Duplicate accounts suggest the use of counter-rolls.<sup>151</sup> Some accounts were kept as indentures in duplicate<sup>152</sup> or triplicate.<sup>153</sup>

The accounts come from different stages of compilation. Most annual accounts are fair copies. Many of the diet accounts are also post-audit engrossments,<sup>154</sup> although some, like the diet account for God's House Hospital, Southampton, for 1328-9, were written periodically.<sup>155</sup> It is quite common to find the text of annual accounts in one hand, with totals in a second ink or hand, presumably filled in at the audit.<sup>156</sup> Pre-audit totals were sometimes entered in the margin.<sup>157</sup> Clerks were frequently hired to write obedientiary accounts.<sup>158</sup> There are some notable exceptions. The bursars of Merton College, Oxford, wrote their accounts themselves.<sup>159</sup> Auditing conventions were very similar to those employed in private administration. The use of *probatur* to mark the approval of accounts appears on documents from Merton College and New College, Oxford,<sup>160</sup> on an account of the granger of Westminster Abbey, c.1349-50,<sup>161</sup> and on the accounts of the household of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1352-4.<sup>162</sup> On a diet account of the cellarer of Ely, 1335-6, weekly totals have been marked *quit'* by a second hand in the left margin.<sup>163</sup> Abacus dots appear on the account for the treasurers of Grace Dieu, 1414-c.1418.<sup>164</sup>

A few accounts cannot be categorised as belonging to any particular form. Examples are mainly general accounts, such as the account of the Master of Brackley Hospital, 1295-7, noting receipts from lands and expenses on buildings, taxes and similar outgoings;<sup>165</sup> an account for the Prioress of Catesby Priory, 1433-5, devoted to cash expenses of all sorts, purchases of food, works, in a general chronological order;<sup>166</sup> and an account for the Prioress of St. Helen's, London, 1296-7, noting the distribution of pittances, payment of stipends, harvest costs and petty

expenses.<sup>167</sup> The accounts for the treasurers of St. Michael's, Stamford, also cover a wide variety of expenditure, including foodstuffs.<sup>168</sup>

### *Conclusion*

There is evidence from both the royal household and the monasteries that accounting systems took a wider view of household finance than an outlook based on direct financial responsibility. The earliest monastic accounting systems did not mark off the internal organisation of the monastery as distinct from the manorial economy: they aimed to encompass all aspects of conventual finance. This is most apparent where accounting records deal with both the internal and external finances in one document, as at Malton Priory, Beaulieu Abbey, Peterborough Abbey and Oseney Abbey.<sup>169</sup> The overview this presented, encouraged by the use of the *status*, would readily have led to the employment of accounts in the monastic economy as instruments of planning and management. The forms of accounts varied a good deal between the individual houses: each included features for planning according to its own needs. In some monasteries very precise information was used for preparing a budget for the whole house. In spite of the differences, there were many similarities between the forms, layouts and auditing conventions of monastic accounts and those in use in private households.

The position in the English royal household is not quite so clear as so many of the surviving records were prepared specifically for a financial account with the Exchequer. But some of those records that survive from the process of domestic accounting indicate the presence of planned domestic management. In general, there is an impression that the royal household and monasteries were thirty years or more ahead of private households in the use of accounts for management purposes. The forms of their accounts can be seen as part of a general pattern of development of

detailed domestic management and planning in medieval England on a wide scale in large households and institutions. These features are present in the royal household in the 1270s, and in the monasteries, closer to 1300; but they do not come to prominence in private households until the 1320s, and they do not develop there to their fullest extent until the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. It is interesting to note that this development in household management occurred at a time when the detailed management of estates was increasingly devolved on manorial bailiffs, professional local agents, controlled through the manorial account. The new sophistication of household financial records would have allowed the lord's financial officers to manage the household in a similar way, at arm's length, basing their decisions on the information presented to them rather than on detailed personal supervision. At the same time, the financial records closest to the lord's central administration of both the estates, for example, the accounts of receivers general, rentals and valors, and the household, for example, the annual cash, corn and stock account, increase in importance.<sup>170</sup>

Chapter 7 Subsidiary records of account, other household documents and household administration

Behind the household account lay a great many subsidiary records. In this, household administration differed in no way from manorial administration. Although largely conceived as separate administrations, they overlapped at some points,<sup>1</sup> and the subsidiary records of household administration are for the most part similar to those of manorial administration.<sup>2</sup>

The diet accounts, annual cash, corn and stock accounts, wardrobe accounts and the various views of account, represent a static view of household finances, cross sections at particular moments in time. Many of the subsidiary records furnish the dynamics of household administration: orders for the movement or purchase of goods, memoranda and intermediate checks and authorities, warrants, tallies, vouchers, receipts, particulars of account and inventories. The subsidiary records are, however, as scarce as household accounts. Collections such as the warrants for the business of the household (and estates) of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, for 1285-97, are exceptional survivals of what once must have been a prolific type of record.<sup>3</sup> The large quantities of warrants that survive for the English royal household are but a fraction of what must have originally been generated.<sup>4</sup> Far fewer survive for most establishments. A typical example is an order from John, Lord Lovell, c.1400, to his bailiff of Titchmarsh, Northamptonshire, to kill and pickle one good wild boar and to kill and salt three bacon pigs and to send them to London for the use of the household.<sup>5</sup> There are frequent references in household accounts to warrants of this nature and orders for the payment of money.<sup>6</sup> Receipts, on paper and parchment,<sup>7</sup> and tallies, receipts notched on two interlocking pieces of wood, also featured in household administration.<sup>8</sup> A roll of diet accounts for the

nuns of Aconbury Priory, Herefordshire, c.1336-7, has a tally fastened to the foot for cash received for kitchen purchases.<sup>9</sup> The process of tallying and giving receipts, building up a network of checks and supporting documentation, is discussed extensively in treatises on accounting, both manorial and household.<sup>10</sup>

Other, more specialised forms of receipt played an important role in medieval household administration. *Bands* were given in place of goods or money received for which payment or repayment was postponed. They bound the purchaser to repay more money than the goods were worth or than he had borrowed should he not pay the sums contained in the document at the agreed dates. They are sometimes endorsed with notes of the payments as they were made: a memorandum of the purchase of cloths by John Bourgchier from Robert Wangford, draper, of London, in 1392, is endorsed with a note of the payment of part of the sum.<sup>11</sup> The debenture, so called from the first word of the document, *debentur* or "there are owed", noted that goods to the value of a certain sum had been received from a particular person, and that he was to be paid for them on presentation of the document usually at a financial office. The debenture is perhaps best known from the English royal household, where large quantities of goods were obtained by purveyors who gave the seller wardrobe debentures in return,<sup>12</sup> but it was also the practice in other large households. From the mid-fifteenth century, debentures survive for the household of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.<sup>13</sup> The long lists of creditors in the Stafford household accounts suggest a similar practice.<sup>14</sup>

Many other documents could serve as *particule*, any list or voucher at the account. Accounts for expenses on journeys were frequently subsidiary to other household accounts. For the household of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, 1309, there is a group of *particule*, including a diet account for a journey to purchase cloth, with the wardrober's memoranda, probably gathered together by the wardrober as vouchers for



his account.<sup>15</sup> An account for Thomas de Chedworth, c.1328, has been struck through vertically down the middle, presumably when its details were entered on another account, following the standard royal Exchequer practice to show that an account had been enrolled or audited.<sup>16</sup>

Inventories, or indentures at the completion of the account, served as checks on the contents of household offices. They were frequently made on the transfer of responsibility for the office from one official to another. The practice was recommended in treatises on household accounting. The clerk was first to establish whether he alone was responsible to the lord or lady of the house for all expenses. He was then to make an indenture with his master or mistress listing the contents of the house. Following this he was to make indentures with all those holding office in the household, the marshal, pantler, butler, cook and so on.<sup>17</sup> The document by which Hugh de Burgh, formerly clerk of the wardrobe of Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, handed over the contents of the household to William le Blound in October 1332, is a typical example of an indenture made on a change of office within a household. The items are listed under fifteen departmental headings. The indenture was later updated and there are notes of items expended and horses that have died.<sup>18</sup> In the early years of the fourteenth century, a *status* or *exoneratio* or list of items remaining or not accounted for at the end of the account, formed a regular part of the cellarer's account at Durham Priory.<sup>19</sup> An indenture of *remanentia*, listing stock remaining unexpended in the hands of the bursars when they left office at the end of the year, was employed in the accounting system at Magdalen College, Oxford.<sup>20</sup> Indentures were also used as receipts for the livery of money or goods,<sup>21</sup> and sometimes to provide duplicates of complete accounts. The accounts for the cash liveries from Elizabeth de Burgh's chamber to the clerk of her household were constructed in this form.<sup>22</sup> Indentures were also used for complete accounts when more than one official was responsible for

them: the receipts of the bursars of New College, Oxford, in October 1390, were entered on three indented rolls, of which the middle and right hand rolls survive.<sup>23</sup>

There is some suggestion that wax tablets may have been used for accounting in general and for household accounts in particular. They were certainly used for notes and memoranda about accounts, although their use for accounts was discouraged. The thirteenth century author of the *Scriptum quoddam* specifically instructed that manorial accounts were to be written on rolls, that is, on parchment, and not on wax tablets: there were compelling legal reasons for the preservation of the manorial account in a form that could not be easily altered.<sup>24</sup> A formulary of the mid to late fourteenth century advocated the use of wax tablets within the household for keeping a rough record of purchases: "If you buy anything always write it at once in your tablets, lest by chance it is forgotten and is charged as arrears." These rough notes were to be brought together each evening at the account, when the details were to be entered in the household account roll.<sup>25</sup> A similar process was envisaged by the *Boke of curtayse*, c.1430-40:

At countyng stuarde schalle ben,  
Tylle alle be brevet of wax so grene  
Wrytten in-to bokes, w~~ith~~-out let,  
Þat be-fore in tabuls hase ben sett,  
Tyl countes also þer-on ben cast,  
And somet up holy at þo last.<sup>26</sup>

No medieval wax tablets from the British Isles containing accounting information have survived, although there are a number of examples bearing parts of religious texts, psalms and memoranda.<sup>27</sup> *Stylli*, for writing on wax tablets, are known from medieval sites in England.<sup>28</sup> Wax tablets, containing household accounts, do survive from the continent. Six series of tablets, recording accounts for the household of the King

of France, for 1256-7, 1283-6, 1301, 1303-4, 1307 and 1308, have been preserved. Other tablets, for 1282, 1288 and 1293-4, existed until the nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Another thirteenth century wax tablet, containing accounts for spices, survives for the Abbey of Cîteaux. The accounts were subsequently cancelled.<sup>30</sup> A great many more household accounts may once have been prepared in this ephemeral format. The transient nature of the records of household administration has led to the destruction of many other classes of document. A seating plan for a feast at Durham Priory in the fifteenth century is a rare example of another type of record.<sup>31</sup>

The medieval household conferred status on its lord; but a large household was only a credit if it was disciplined.<sup>32</sup> The household was a body, controlled and governed by the lord, in which its members had defined rights. Definitions of rights and responsibilities can be found partly in household regulations, and also in corrodies, agreements for residence in households, in indentures of retinue and arrangements for hiring servants.

Although strangers and pilgrims were welcomed as guests in the medieval household, to belong permanently to a household was a valuable privilege. Corrodies, usually rights to food and sometimes to residence within a religious household, were granted in return for long service or the gift of lands or money. The grants usually specified very precisely the rights to which the grantee would be entitled. These would normally include daily provisions and a clothing allowance, the quantities of both varying with the service rendered by the grantee or the extent of the lands donated.<sup>33</sup> An early formula, used by the monks of Worcester Cathedral Priory, c.1213-20, was to grant a corrody that was equal to the share of one monk;<sup>34</sup> but more precise definitions were later common. Some of the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century corrodies for the Carmelite Friary at King's Lynn detail exactly what food was to be provided, how much fuel was to be supplied, together with

specifications of the accommodation to be occupied.<sup>35</sup> In 1397 the Master of the Hospital of St. James and St. John at Brackley granted Helen Hardel a corrody consisting of a daily ration, for the term of her life, of fourteen of the best loaves, four black loaves, ten gallons of the best ale, a dish of the best pottage together with a course of fish or meat from the hospital's kitchen, equivalent to the ration of two brothers of the house, which would doubtless have fed Helen and at least one other person with her. Helen was to have a room with a stable underneath, and a ration of straw, hay and firewood of oak or ash.<sup>36</sup> A corrody granted by the monks of St. Swithun's, Winchester, c.1333, to Master Thomas de Schaftesbury, clerk, included a new robe each year of the livery of the prior's clerks, and an ample allowance of fur.<sup>37</sup> A grant, in 1398, by the same monastery to William Wyneford, allowed him to eat at the prior's table in the prior's hall unless many important people were present. His valet was allowed to eat at the same table as the prior's valets.<sup>38</sup> Grants of corrodies were frequent enough for specimen deeds to warrant a place in formularies.<sup>39</sup> The grants had implications for financial planning and the domestic management of the house and were usually a subject of enquiry at visitations.

Sometimes similar rights were granted in lay households. Maintenance agreements appear in some manorial court rolls: in return for the surrender of a holding, a new tenant engaged to support the former in his or her retirement.<sup>40</sup> They are present, too, in the households of the gentry and nobility. In 1327, in return for the conveyance of a messuage in Boston, Lincolnshire, Thomas de Multon of Frampton and Elizabeth his wife were to provide William the son of John Godesone "in their household for the whole of his life with an adequate allowance of food at table with the servants of the household offices and one robe a year of the same livery as the household servants or ten shillings, and likewise half a mark a year for footwear".<sup>41</sup> Grants of rights in the household of

Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in 1312, and in the household of Thomas of Lancaster, in 1314, were made in exchange for rights in properties.<sup>42</sup> There must also have been agreements for payments for residence in households ("hotels" in the most literal sense), some of which have left traces in the accounts.<sup>43</sup> More frequently, there are agreements mentioning the provision of *bouche of court* to temporary members of lay households. *Bouche of court* is scarcely ever defined in terms of provisions and must be interpreted as the standard allowances given to those on the household establishment, possibly in much the same way as the *consuetudinarium cibum* of the *constitutio domus regis*. It was often granted to military retainers.<sup>44</sup> Sir Henry de Hoghton was retained by John of Gaunt "in time of peace at a wage, with *bouche of court* in the Duke's household or as he orders in the same manner as other bachelors of his estate and condition".<sup>45</sup> On the day of his departure for Prussia with Anthony de Lucy, in November 1367, John de Multon wrote from London to his wife Mary that "Richard de Welby, my companion, and I will be at *bouche of court* with the said Anthony, and my groom and our horses will be at my expense until we arrive in Prussia and while we are there or elsewhere God gives us no business with our enemies".<sup>46</sup> In some agreements the responsibility for providing reasonable sustenance is clearly set out. In August 1326, John de Bures agreed to provide John Gacelyn, in return for his service with two esquires, four horses and four grooms, in time of peace, and two esquires, eight horses and eight grooms, in time of war, "for him and his esquires, horses and grooms aforesaid, reasonable sustenance in food, drink, hay, oats, grass, litter, fuel, iron, nails, wine, ale and candles as necessary".<sup>47</sup>

One of the features of the household account was the identification and isolation of strangers, listing numbers and names of visitors. The distinction would have been reinforced within the household by the wearing of livery, making it readily apparent who was a member of the

household. The corollary to this was the existence of detailed lists (or calendars) of household members. Largely through the accident of survival, these lists are usually associated with the royal household and its subsidiary households.<sup>48</sup> There are examples for private households, for example, for the household of an unidentified, but possibly Italian, churchman of the fourteenth century, and for the establishment of Roger Bigod, the Earl Marshal, c.1294-5.<sup>49</sup> Calendars of household members appeared in the accounts of Gilbert, Lord Talbot, of Blakemere, 1417-18; Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1420-1; Sir John Fastolf, 1430-1; and of John Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, c.1445-50.<sup>50</sup> Besides calendars, there were elaborate check or checker rolls,<sup>51</sup> some listing in detail presence or absence of members of the household or their horses, as in the household of John of Gaunt.<sup>52</sup> These documents, controlling the payment of household wages and the issue of livery, were of great importance in the contest against fraudulent expenditure.

Another expression of the corporate entity of the household seems to have been the right of the head of the household to exercise jurisdiction over offences committed in the household. On the one hand these were infractions of household ordinances and regulations,<sup>53</sup> but in some instances these embraced "law and order" offences. This jurisdiction is best known from the royal household, where the King's household court took cognisance of offences not only within the household and its immediate vicinity, the verge, but also provided a wider protection to the household, purveyors for the household and their goods through the checks on weights and measures in the neighbourhood of the household by its own coroner. That the basis for this jurisdiction was personal is suggested by its continued operation within the vicinity of the household when the King was in France.<sup>54</sup> The marshalsea rolls of the Prior of Durham record checks on weights and measures, conceivably for the same purpose.<sup>55</sup> Such checks also had a place in manorial jurisdiction. It is possible, too,

that manorial jurisdiction over the quality of bread and ale may, in origin, be connected with a lord's household jurisdiction. When households depended upon food farms or demesne produce, a form of quality control would have been essential. Seignorial household jurisdiction also dealt with "law and order" offences within the household, again paralleling aspects of manorial jurisdiction, but theoretically at odds with royal jurisdiction. A fifteenth century courtesy book indicates that in a private household, the marshal's general jurisdiction might encompass offences that would otherwise have fallen within the jurisdiction of the royal courts: fighting, drawing knives, theft and general affrays.<sup>56</sup> Private household jurisdiction in late medieval England is hard to illuminate: in many respects, it must have been a relic from an earlier period, of a personal jurisdiction not a territorial one. There are traces of it in the *Leges Henrici Primi*, probably 1113-18. Members of the household, servants and retainers were the responsibility of the lord and under his control;<sup>57</sup> as, indeed, they were even at village or villein level: *the head of the household had a similar responsibility, the mainpast. Infiht or insocna*, an offence committed by those who were living in a community in a household, was compensated by the payment of a *wite* to the head of the household if he had jurisdiction over both the accuser and the accused.<sup>58</sup> By the early thirteenth century a concept of territorial lordship had evolved in the land market;<sup>59</sup> the lord's personal jurisdiction may have become divided, part attaching itself to land, preserving in some form the older checks of importance for the household, such as jurisdiction over bread and ale, and part remaining as a personal, household jurisdiction. The earliest manorial court rolls are devoid of household cases;<sup>60</sup> nor do they occur in thirteenth century treatises on the keeping of manorial courts.<sup>61</sup> There is evidence that the lord continues to be responsible for the control of his household servants: as a well-ordered household bore directly on a

lord's status, it was in his best interests to maintain discipline. The jurisdiction exercised by the marshal or the steward of the household may have resulted in some form of disciplinary proceedings accompanying the nightly account. Misdemeanours by officials within the royal household were dealt with here, not at the court of the verge. The *rotuli de penis compoti* record the accounting offences, surcharges and decisions of the treasurer of the English royal household at the nightly account.<sup>62</sup> The ordinances of Abbot Wenlok lay down punishment at the nightly accounting sessions for peculation and fraud within his household. They may refer directly to deficiencies in the accounts, which were rendered on oath. In Wenlok's household, disciplinary infractions noted by the marshal and porter were to be heard at the same time, after the main household (the *meignee*) had left. Offenders were to be corrected twice for small infractions, but were to be dismissed on the third occasion. The penalty for a more serious offence was dismissal and the matter was to be brought to the attention of the lord for correction. Nobody who had been dismissed was to be re-engaged.<sup>63</sup> *There is more than a suggestion that the business of the nightly account in a private household concerned discipline in general within the household. Nor were the royal courts employed against household officials for the recovery of debts. The action of account, as exemplified by the early curia regis rolls, was confined in its use to manorial bailiffs.*<sup>64</sup>

A great deal is known about the importance of "custom" in the manorial context. Custom also played a part in the administration of the household. Household allowances, in the royal household and elsewhere, may have had a customary value. The precise denomination of bouche of court was probably one that varied between households. There are occasional references in accounts to perquisites belonging by custom to particular household offices. *Flotus*, the fat skimmed from the surface of pots of boiling meat, was not given a value or sold in the annual cash,



corn and stock account of Gilbert, Lord Talbot, in 1417-18, because it belonged, by custom, to the office of the master cook.<sup>65</sup> In the annual cash, corn and stock account of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, for 1506-7, no profits were recorded from the sale of broken pieces of bread (*chippyng' panum*) because, as was stated at the account, according to the use of the household half belonged to the office of the pantry and half was reserved for the poultry.<sup>66</sup> From the plethora of detail recorded in the household regulations of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, it must be imagined that every household of any size had a great many traditions and customs which must have impinged on the household account and general domestic administration at almost every occasion.<sup>67</sup>

Chapter 8 Household accounts, c.1430-c.1500

The household accounts of the period from c.1430 to c.1500 present a marked contrast to those of the preceding one hundred and eighty years. Proportionately not as many private household accounts have survived: there are about one hundred and thirty accounts for the period, compared with a little over one hundred and sixty for the preceding eighty years. But there are some important groups for particular households, for example, that of Henry Stafford.<sup>1</sup> There are examples from a wider range of households: the accounts for the two priests of Munden's Chantry, Bridport, 1453-60, illustrate perhaps the smallest size of household for which accounts were produced.<sup>2</sup> Changes in the form of the account show a turn away from the most elaborate schemes of accounting in all but the largest households.

The diet account had reached the apogee of its complexity in the early years of the fifteenth century, recording purchases and consumption, and perhaps serving as the basis for household *planning and management in* future years, with calculations of average costs per *ferculum* or per day, the careful recording of guests and many other features. In the period from 1430, these forms of accounting are largely abandoned, scarcely surviving in even the largest households where the more advanced forms had been firmly established. For example, numbers of *fercula* are recorded only in the accounts of Thomas Bourghier, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1459;<sup>3</sup> in two of the accounts of Henry Stafford, 1469-70 and 1470-1;<sup>4</sup> and in the account of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 1501.<sup>5</sup> The examples from the Stafford households suggest that there may have been a continuing tradition in the accounts of that family: certainly the accounts of Elizabeth de Burgh in the fourteenth century preserved a unity of form and this is present to a limited extent in the Stafford accounts. For no other family or individual are there sufficient numbers

of accounts present to determine whether there is a continuing tradition of accounting or whether the accounts are "stray rogues". In the Stafford accounts, the number of *fercula* is not the same as the number of the household present. In the household of Henry Stafford, half a *ferculum* was allowed per person; in that of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, the rate was a quarter *ferculum* per person.

The departmental order of the diet account has also, for the most part, disappeared. A few accounts, including those of Bourgchier and Henry Stafford, noted above, name departments.<sup>6</sup> Other accounts preserved the traditional departmental order of pantry, buttery, kitchen, but without naming the departments.<sup>7</sup> More typically, there is no order within the daily account,<sup>8</sup> although one or two accounts maintain a distinction between different parts of the day, noting expenses at night or at breakfast,<sup>9</sup> or at lunch (*prandium*) and dinner (*cena*).<sup>10</sup>

Other features of fine detail are absent from the accounts. Numbers of horses present are recorded only in the accounts of Archbishop Thomas Bourgchier, 1459, and Henry Stafford, 1469-70 and 1470-1; likewise the detailed distribution of bread, wine and ale.<sup>11</sup> Bourgchier's accounts for 1459 are without contemporary parallel in devoting themselves exclusively to a record of consumption. Few accountants at this period kept any note of consumption. There are some references to the consumption of stock in the accounts of Brackley Hospital, 1445-6.<sup>12</sup> The accounts of John Hales, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1461, value items *de providencia*.<sup>13</sup> In the account of the expenses of the great household at Tattershall immediately after the death of Ralph, Lord Cromwell in 1456, consumption is divided between "parcelles of ffressh accates" and "in store expendid".<sup>14</sup> The account of the funeral expenses of John Waynfilete, Dean of Chichester, c.1480, has some entries for foodstuffs "without store".<sup>15</sup> Consumption from "stoare" is noted in the accounts of Holy Trinity Priory, London, 1513-14, and more detailed lists are given in the daily

accounts of Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon, 1523-4.<sup>16</sup> The account for Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1465-6, values goods received.<sup>17</sup> Quantities brewed and baked each month, and notes of animals killed each month, are included in the accounts of the household of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, 1507.<sup>18</sup> The overwhelming majority of accounts for this period, however, records purchases and cash expenses only, not consumption. In the smaller households, the accounts effectively record shopping trips to market.<sup>19</sup> Frequently the range of cash expenses is wider than those associated directly with the provisioning of the household.<sup>20</sup>

The appearance of the accounts is much less formal than before. Many were written on paper, mainly in books.<sup>21</sup> The entries in many of the accounts were made in unconsolidated form<sup>22</sup> and many of them were written wholly or partly in English.<sup>23</sup> Some of the accounts have little or no form and are really no more than collections of memoranda.<sup>24</sup> But the memoranda in some of these records are grouped more coherently. Some accounts contain separate journals of expenses on different commodities. The accounts for Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1519, include separate journals for boat hire, for servants' food, stable expenses, alms and for ribbon; those for Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon, 1523-4, for wax, tallow and wicks; wood and coal; stable expenses; foreign expenses; necessary purchases for the Countess; and for wages.<sup>25</sup> Journals were also combined with the annual cash account, with detailed journal entries for some of the classes of expenditure.<sup>26</sup> An account for an unidentified religious house with lands in Hampshire and Wiltshire, c.1455-7, is divided into sections, for example, for individual servants or creditors, with payments posted into each section as they were made.<sup>27</sup>

Traces of the earlier forms of the diet account survive in a few examples. The accounts of Thomas Bourghier, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1459, and John Hales, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1461, have

marginal notes of baking.<sup>28</sup> An account for the cellaress of Syon, 1535, has marginal notes of the milling of corn and of brewing.<sup>29</sup> Places where an itinerant household resided are recorded in the margins of the accounts of Bourgchier; Hales; Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1465-6; Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 1501; and in the diet account of the prior of Holy Trinity Priory, London, 1513-14.<sup>30</sup> The arrival and departure of visitors are noted in all these accounts (with the exception of those of Anne Stafford) and also in the accounts of Brackley Hospital, 1445-6, and Munden's Chantry, Bridport, 1453-60.<sup>31</sup> Other marginalia include notes of animals slaughtered,<sup>32</sup> feast days,<sup>33</sup> and payments made by the accounting official for particular entries.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the accounts have a weekly arrangement. The man in charge of John Paston I's buttery at Caister in December 1459 declined to give a daily account, stating, to the consternation of Margaret Paston, that his usual custom was not to account for bread and ale until the end of the week.<sup>35</sup> In the accounts for Brackley Hospital, 1445-6, the daily entries are grouped into weeks starting on Sundays, as are the accounts probably for Bruton Priory, 1527-8, and for the cellaress of Syon, 1535.<sup>36</sup> The accounts for Munden's Chantry, Bridport, 1453-60; for Marham Abbey, *temp.* Henry VIII; and Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon, 1523-4, are arranged in weeks starting on Saturdays.<sup>37</sup> Archbishop Thomas Bourgchier's accounts, 1459, and those of Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1465-6, are arranged by calendar month.<sup>38</sup> The accounts of Sir Edward Don, 1510-51, are written on separate monthly papers.<sup>39</sup>

A notable proportion of the accounts was written up at very short intervals, possibly daily, or on each occasion expenditure was incurred.<sup>40</sup> The accounts of Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1465-6, were written up piecemeal, sometimes several times a day;<sup>41</sup> but other accounts were fair copies, written throughout in a single operation.<sup>42</sup> In some instances totals were added in a second hand and ink.<sup>43</sup> There are

also traces of auditing: most frequently totals are marked *probatur* or *allocatur*.<sup>44</sup> Some accounts preserve the system of daily totals, weekly, quarterly and annual totals.<sup>45</sup> The accounts of Thomas Bourghier, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1459, record total quantities consumed in the month.<sup>46</sup> The monthly totals in the accounts of Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1465-6, give the amount of cash expenses, the cash value of gifts received, and the cost of *providencia*, items purchased for store.<sup>47</sup> Another continuing feature is the totalling of account books at the foot of some or most pages.<sup>48</sup>

Two of the diet accounts are unusual in providing menus, as well as expenses. Both are for feasts, on a single occasion in each case. The account of the cellarer of Bardney Abbey, c.1527-32, contains the bill of fare for a feast of Corpus Christi at Boston; and the account of Holy Trinity Priory, London, for Trinity Sunday, 1514.<sup>49</sup>

Very few of the diet accounts for the period c.1430 to c.1500 are preserved on rolls: the accounts of Thomas Bourghier, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1459, are a rare example.<sup>50</sup> This pattern is further confirmed by the references to subsidiary documents on the annual cash, corn and stock accounts. None speak of rolls. Some refer specifically to books: on the annual cash, corn and stock account for Richard Bell, Bishop of Carlisle, c.1485, there are references to two books, one for bulk purchases (*liber grossarum empicionum*), the other for the diet account, small transfers of stock and small items of expenses (*liber diurnalis* or *liber dietarum*).<sup>51</sup> Others refer simply to papers<sup>52</sup> or to journals or diet papers.<sup>53</sup> In contrast to the diet account, the annual cash, corn and stock accounts remain almost exclusively as Chancery fashion rolls<sup>54</sup> and preserve much of their earlier form. Many of these accounts are also fair copies, some clearly engrossed after the audit: the *venditio super compotum* entries on the accounts of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1435-6; of Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, in 1462-3;

and on the accounts for an unidentified household at Little Cawthorpe, Lincolnshire, in 1467-8, are in the same hand and ink as the rest of the text.<sup>55</sup> Other accounts exhibit auditing as the second stage in their compilation. On the dorse of the accounts of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 1443-4 and 1454-5, the corn and stock account on the dorse has been surcharged and the marginal mark } appears in a second hand and ink.<sup>56</sup> These features are familiar. However one very striking omission from both the annual cash, corn and stock accounts and the diet accounts is evidence that the accounts could have been used for financial planning in the way that earlier accounts, with such features as the calculation of averages, could have been. There is some evidence, largely from Stafford household accounts, that one purpose of the account was a precise statement of the overall financial position of the household, an attempt to calculate the net expenses of the household for the year. This calculation was essential if the figure for the year's expenses was to be used to forecast the expenses of future years with any degree of verisimilitude. An important element was the valuation of stock in hand at the beginning and end of the accounting period. The account of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1435-6, values the remainders of the stock and corn account. The value of the remainder of the previous account is entered in the cash charge.<sup>57</sup> The total cash value of the remainder in hand of the stock of the household is given in the accounts of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, for 1443-4, 1452-3, and 1454-5.<sup>58</sup> In an account for Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1462-3, the remainders in the corn and stock account are not valued, but the value of the remainder of corn and stock of the previous year is entered in the cash charge and somewhat peculiarly and perhaps erroneously is counterbalanced by the same value in the cash discharge, not by the value of the remainder of the current year.<sup>59</sup> The remainders are valued in the corn and stock account of Edward Stafford, Duke of

Buckingham, 1503-4.<sup>60</sup> From another of his accounts, for the six months prior to 30 September 1517, comes the clearest attempt to provide a statement of the total household expenses for the period. The declaration of "clear expenses" (i.e. net expenses) is calculated by adding the cash value of the remainder at the start of the account to the cost of provisions for the period of the account, together with a valuation of all gifts received, less the cash value of the remainder at the end of the account.<sup>61</sup>

The cash accounts in some instances continue to enter valuations for goods received in the cash charge account: some examples extend to the valuation of gifts received.<sup>62</sup> The distinction between bulk purchases and the expenses of the diet account is maintained in the annual cash accounts for this period.<sup>63</sup> Careful attention was also paid to the preparation and maintenance of lists of creditors.<sup>64</sup> The allocation of sums owing after the balance had been struck is frequently entered in a paragraph headed "upon" (*super* or *unde super*),<sup>65</sup> sometimes followed by a paragraph for debts or charges put in respite, held over to another account.<sup>66</sup>

As with accounts from before c.1430, there are essentially two classes of wardrobe account, those dealing with overall financial concerns and those principally associated with cloth, gifts, precious metals and jewels, messengers and similar categories of expenditure. Neither form survives as frequently as cash, corn and stock accounts, or diet accounts. For the household of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, there is a series of cash accounts for the cofferer or treasurer of the chamber, 1498-1509, which include entries for the purchase of cloth and many other items.<sup>67</sup> A stock account for cloth, jewels, horse harness and arms for the household of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, c.1515, is the only one of his accounts to survive in this form.<sup>68</sup> Two other accounts record his personal and general financial transactions.<sup>69</sup>



Accounts of Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1525, cover a variety of outgoings: clothes for the lord, necessary purchases, repairs, rewards, money for gaming and expenses on journeys, including the purchase of food and drink.<sup>70</sup> A volume containing annual accounts of receipts and expenses of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, 1514-26, is the record of a financial office: the references to expenditure on the household are usually for cash liveries, without details of what was purchased or the cause for the disbursement.<sup>71</sup>

From the evidence of these accounts, it would be not unreasonable to suppose that the use of household accounts to plan household consumption and to manage the details of domestic life belonged to the period up to c.1430 alone. But this is not to say that household management in financial terms was disregarded: the contrary seems to have been the case. Household expenses could be known with sufficient precision for agreements to be prepared for financial compensation to the lord of a household for residence in it. John Rafman, the steward of the household of Sir John Fastolf in 1430-1, was granted an allowance for debts outstanding from Margaret Braunch and Alice Fastolf, who seem to have been charged for board and lodging and the entertainment of their friends and visitors, even though they appear in the calendar of members of the household in the same account.<sup>72</sup> A similar charge appears in the Luttrell household accounts.<sup>73</sup> In 1458, Agnes Paston had to make arrangements to pay Lady Pole for the board of Elizabeth Paston.<sup>74</sup> In 1463-4 Isabella, Lady Morley, was charged for staying in the household of John Hastings.<sup>75</sup> The cofferer of Lady Margaret Beaufort received two payments in February and March 1502 for the board and lodging of various women in her household. In one instance, a weekly rate had been calculated for a lady and her two servants.<sup>76</sup> To reside within another person's household could be a measure of economy: the expense of maintaining a household was recognised by contemporaries. Margaret Paston, writing to John Paston II

in September 1469, saw the break up of her household as a possible financial necessity: "And as fore myn owyn lyuelod, I am so symppely payed theræof þat I fere me I xale be fayn to borow fore my-sylfe ore ell to breke up howsold, ore bothe."<sup>77</sup> William Harleston wrote to Sir William Stonor in January 1480 after the death of Stonor's wife, advising him that this was the time to "breke your howshold with ... honour and worschep ... and stabill your household now saddeley and wisely with a convenient feleshepp so as ye may kepe yow withynne yowr lyvelode".<sup>78</sup> On the other hand, the careful checks on expenditure within the household of King Edward IV kept another Paston from living at royal expense.<sup>79</sup> Rigorous household management was as important as before.

At about the time household accounts become less informative on the question of financial planning, a number of other documents survives to demonstrate that the matter was under consideration in the largest households. Accompanying the household regulations of George, Duke of Clarence, 1468-9, is a set of estimates of the quantities of various commodities expected to be consumed in the household per day, week, month and year, together with a cash valuation.<sup>80</sup> The Black Book of the household of King Edward IV, c.1471-3, contains an estimate for a year's household expenses, calculated from a set rate of expenditure per day. The passage is associated with the need to show the magnificence of the King's household on the one hand, in contrast to those of lesser standing, and also to promote economy and regulation of the expenses of the royal establishment on the other. The book puts forward specimen estimates for the annual expenses of the households of a duke, marquis, an earl or bishop, viscount, baron, banneret, knight and a squire.<sup>81</sup> The estimate of the expenses of the royal household may have been based on an original document: a similar example survives from the reign of Henry VII.<sup>82</sup> Part of the purpose of these documents was to place the household expenses in the overall context of royal finance. Earlier royal household accounts,

too, show evidence of financial planning.<sup>83</sup> A royal household document of 1532-3 gives the expense of the establishment over the preceding nine months and estimates the expenses for the remaining quarter of the year, balancing these against the expected receipts, resulting in a debt outstanding to the King's subjects at the end of the period to the extent of more than £14,000. This paper, however, does not give any information about the way the estimate was calculated.<sup>84</sup> For the first time, from the period 1516-30, there survives a document for the royal household that illustrates the way in which an estimate was prepared. It contains a series of tables for computing the cost of diet expenses. Encompassing the different parts of the household, the tables set out the items consumed in a specimen week, listing the days across the top and commodities down the left hand side. A cash amount, not a quantity, is entered to indicate consumption. Daily totals are given, the totals for the week and a calculation of the expense for the whole year. The document is incomplete: totals were never entered for the estimates for breakfasts; *liveries of bread, ale and wine in the afternoon and evening*; for bread, ale and wine at the bar of the pantry; for feasts; for waste; and for visitors and ambassadors.<sup>85</sup> It is noteworthy that the estimates are of cash, not of quantities. Although a weekly average would even out the different expenditures on fish and meat, it would not take into account seasonal variations in prices unless the cash amounts entered were predetermined, that is, the cash expenditure or allowance per portion remained constant but the quantities purchased or allowed fluctuated, perhaps as it had done in the English royal household in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Some estimates of quantities would still have been desirable. To see the estimating system working at its most advanced, it is necessary to return to the records of a private household.

As well as household regulations, the Northumberland household book includes model accounting documents for the household of Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland.<sup>86</sup> The first section contains an "assignement" for the year 30 September 1511 to 29 September 1512, setting out in great detail the provisions required for the year, the quantities and dates when they were to be purchased, and an estimated cash amount for the year for each commodity.<sup>87</sup> The next section re-arranges the same information in chronological order, noting the dates when cash was required, to whom it was to be given and what was to be purchased with it.<sup>88</sup> The book also notes improvements to be made over the preceding year.<sup>89</sup> In many ways, these documents bear similarities to the statement prepared for Boxley Abbey in 1360. The information has become completely separate from the household account. In general, the household account no longer contained the information necessary to prepare such documents without a great deal of extra analysis. The detailed record of consumption was no longer compiled. Precise expenditure could be calculated from the cash account and quantities from the corn and stock account, but there is little evidence that it was.

It is perhaps necessary to look to external reasons for the change in the pattern of accounting. Throughout the fifteenth century there was a move away from public living. In far fewer cases were meals eaten in state in hall. Private meals were served in private rooms. Greater numbers of private apartments appear in the buildings of the period, and the great hall assumes a reduced prominence. In general, too, numbers of guests and entourage declined, although there were undoubtedly still occasions when the great households were swelled to large proportions and meals were held in great splendour and ceremonial. Once the household had become a smaller institution, less elaborate accounts were required. As in the fourteenth century, small households did not need complex forms of account. The noble households of the fifteenth and

early sixteenth centuries were small enough for their lords or ladies to exercise a personal interest in the details of the account, instead of leaving this to their stewards and treasurers.<sup>90</sup> A closer control over the accounts was required with greater privacy. The elaborate household accounts of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were no longer appropriate.

## Chapter 9 Conclusion

This examination of the accounts of private households has documented the evolution of a complex accounting system, its rise to prominence in most households of any size in England by the early fourteenth century, and its fairly sudden discontinuance or transformation towards the end of the middle ages. The development of a form of household account, the earliest examples of which are older than the first surviving manorial accounts (1208-9),<sup>1</sup> and which are also paralleled by similar accounts from the continent, is an important strand in the history of private administration in England.

The royal household, with its possible use of oral accounting from the 1130s, may have served as the model for the initial development of household accounting in England. Certainly royal accounts later employ features - dates giving the date in the month, departmental headings, etc. - that were subsequently copied elsewhere. There are two phases in the broadening of the pattern of use of diet accounts in private households. In the late twelfth century and early thirteenth century, written accounts were used for the first time, perhaps replacing a system of accounting largely based on an oral report, with a minimum of supporting documentation. There seems to have been some increase in use in the second half of the thirteenth century; then, between 1300 and 1350, household accounts were much more widely used and they were employed in households much further down the social scale.

The diet account appeared first in the late twelfth century as an instrument of financial control within the household, closely associated with a broad change in the method of provisioning households from a system of food farms to one based on purchase. From the very earliest examples there is evidence for the existence of a "common form", utilised in a wide range of households. In the largest households the account

developed from a record of purchase into a sophisticated instrument of domestic management, with a structure directed at recording consumption, perhaps towards planning consumption, and even towards the detailed management of the household without close personal intervention. Although as a form of account, the diet account was as widespread as the manorial account, it lacked the uniformity of pattern that was present in manorial accounts. Different households produced their own variants from a basic template, the form employed bearing a direct relationship to the size of household. The disappearance of the form of the diet account from about 1430 onwards in all but a few large households is very striking. Informal accounts in English became usual. The features that were of importance for domestic planning are no longer present: these areas did not cease to be important but were dealt with outside the ambit of the account.

To use the diet account for planning and budgetting, it was necessary to have a summary of its contents and of the other transactions of the household. From the 1320s and particularly in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries emphasis was placed on an annual cash, corn and stock account, similar in form to a manorial account, to be set beside the accounts of receivers general and valors to give an overview of the finances of the administration. In the largest households the annual cash, corn and stock account survived the disappearance of the diet account in the fifteenth century. It was still of value in providing overall financial information when there was no longer a need for an extremely detailed daily account to control the domestic management of the typically much smaller household.

Household management may have developed along different lines to estate management. The influence of the law on the preparation of estate documents and the appearance of treatises devoted to estate management are in marked contrast to domestic arrangements, where most treatises are

confined to etiquette and domestic manners. There does not seem to have been a common pattern for training clerks in the use of household accounts and there was no supporting body of didactic material. The evidence for the development of increasing sophistication in domestic management comes from the household accounts themselves. It occurs at approximately the same time as the detailed management of estates was devolved upon manorial bailiffs, whom the central financial officers controlled through the manorial account. The developments in the form of the household account would likewise have allowed central financial officials to obtain a detailed control over the household through a financial document.

Domestic planning and control were of central importance to the royal household, and there is at least a suggestion that the appropriate measures were taken there earlier than in private households. The monasteries may well have given a lead in the development of domestic planning: the aspects of budgetary planning in manorial accounts, the recording of crop yields, the employment of profit calculations and sales at the audit also appear first in monastic records. The forms of the accounts of the royal household, the monasteries and the largest private establishments, and the surviving household ordinances, all indicate a general movement towards detailed domestic planning and a closer, more informed control over household management in England in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.



Appendix 1 An edition of the earliest surviving household account from medieval England

The account is described in detail in Chapter 3. It was written in a single hand, but in more than one operation. Each superscript [P] denotes a change of pen.

PRO E 101/631/1

(Membrane 1)

*Lundonia* Die veneris proxima post festum scanti Micaelis in servisia ad opus xviii garcionum et iiii pauperum et superveniencium ix d., in allece iiii d. qua., in potagio ob., in portatoribus maioris sciste de parochia scante Marie de Sumersetia usque ad parochiam Trinitatis iiii d., in ferura i d.

Summa xvii d.

*Lundonia* Die sabati proxima in servisia ad opus xiii garcionum et iiii pauperum et superveniencium vi d. ob., in allece iiii d. qua.

Summa ix d. qua.

*Item Lundonia* Die dominica tertia post festum scanti Micaelis in pane iiii d., in servisia ad totam familiam viii d. qua., in i nuncio de Doresetia i d.

Summa xii d. qua.

*Item Lundonia* Die lune proxima in pane x d. ob., in servisia vi d. ad totam familiam, in sale i d.

Summa xvi d.

<sup>103</sup>Item *Lundonia* Die martis proxima in pane viii d. qua., in servisia vii d., in ovis i d., in brenna i d. ob., in ferris et clavis equorum apud Vestmonasterium ii sol., liberato Russello i d.

Summa iii sol. vi d. ob. qua.

*Item Lundonia* Die mercurii proxima in pane ad opus x garcionum et i operatoris fodientis in curia et iii pauperum et i carecaris de Seint Savur vii d. ob., in servisia iiii d. ob., in potagio qua., in sale i d., liberato Russello ix d., in ii brachis selle summarii x d. ob., in ii libris burle ad corrigendam illam sellam ii d., in reparacione selle palefridi v d., in i hanaperio ix d., in candella sipi i d. per iii dies, in reparacione bulgorum i d. qua., in passagio ponti Lunonie cum feno de Sutverc i d. ob., in allece iii d. ob.

Summa iiii sol. viii d.

*Item Lundonia* Die jovis proxima in pane nichil, in servisia ad opus xiiii hominum et iii pauperum et ad opus toscius familie viii d. qua., in brenna i d. ob., in i serrura v d., in *usthit* ferrandi equos ii d., in candela ob.

Summa xvii d. \* ob. \* qua.

<sup>103</sup>Item *Lundonia* Die veneris proxima in servisia tocius familie et superveniencium vi d. ob. qua., in pisce iii d., in allea ob., in ferris equorum ad carandum apud Rtinges xvi d., in clavis sotdularum ad carandum ibidem xvi d., in i libra piperis vii d. ob., in i libra scimini i d., in croco x d., in i corda unciatti iiii d.

Summa v sol. iiii d.

(*Membrane 2*)

*Item Lundonia* Die sabati proxima in servisia vi d. ob. ad opus xvi hominum et aliorum superveniencium, in pisce iiii d. ob., in v aulnas panni ad coperiendum equos domini mei xxxii d., \* in i corda unciati ... iiii d., \* liberato Russello ad emendum carvisium xii d., liberato Russello sotularibus emendis vi d., Johanni de Vincestria v d. ob., sotularibus emendis v d., eodham iiii d. ob., in i pesie ferri faciendi barras fenestre

ii d., in ferrura equi Jhoannis Bridel i d., in feno ad omnes equos apud Vestmonasterium ob., in stramine i d. ob.

Summa v sol. iiii d. \* ob. \*

*Item Lundonia* Die dominica quarta post festum predictum in servisia toscius familie et superveniencium viii d.

Summa viii d.

*Item Lundonia* Die lune proxima in pane ii sol., in servisia xii d., in vino v sol., in farrina i d., in pomis i d., in allea i d., in oinnuns ii d., in ovis iiii d. qua., in mustardo i d., in leporis x d., in pisis ii d. qua., in discis v d., in lacte ii d., in v.... ii d. ob., in carlacione feni xiii d. ob.

Summa xi sol. ix d. ob. qua.

*Item Lundonia* Die martis proxima in pane viii d. pro familia et pro v garcionibus circa fenum, in servisia ix d., liberato Grigore iii sol. iiii d. ad emendum sal.

Summa iiii sol. iiii d.

*Item Lundonia* Die mercurii in pane viii d., in servisia v d., in stupellis costrellorum ii d., in furca ferrea ad emundendam stabulam i d. qua., liberato Russello i d.

Summa xvii d. qua.

*Item Lundonia* Die jovis proxima in pane viii d. ob., in servisia vi d., in brenna ob. qua., in candela ob., in lotrice ii d.

Summa xvii d. ob. qua.

<sup>19</sup>*Item Lundonia* Die veneris proxima in liberacione ad opus meum pro infirmitate mea ob., in lacte ob., in servisia v d., in pisce iii d., in pistore i d., in candela ob.

<sup>19</sup>Summa x d. ob.

Item *Lundonia* Die sabati proxima in servisia v d. ob. qua., in allece ii d., in dimidia penula ii sol. apud Vestmonasterium, in sucre ad opus domini mei xii d.

Summa iii sol. vii d. ob. qua.

Item *Lundonia* Die dominica quinta post festum scanti Micaelis in servisia vi d. ob., in candela qua., in prebenda xii d.

Summa xviii d. ob. qua.

Item *Lundonia* Die lune proxima scilicet die festi Simonis et Jude in servisia vii d., in carne ad opus tercelli qua., in prebenda xii d.  
\* liberato Rusello dimidia marca \*

Summa xix d. qua.

*Vindlesares* Die martis proxima in servisia iiii d. ob., in candela ob.

Summa v d.

Item *Vindleshores* Die mercurii proxima in pane vi d. ad opus garcionum et vi pauperum, in servisia iii d. ob.

Summa ix d. ob.

*Vindlesar'* Die jovis proxima in pane vi d., in servisia iii d. qua., in allece iii d., in ferrura ob.

Summa xii d. ob. qua.

Item *Vindlesares* Die omnium scantorum in pane iiii d., in servisia iiii d., in allece ii d. ob., in oblsacione domini mei et sasciorum suorum iii d.

Summa xiii d. ob.

Appendix 2 The accounts of the household of John de Multon of Frampton

The accounts of the household of John de Multon of Frampton, discussed in Chapter 5, are edited here as examples of the diversity of form an account could assume in a fairly small household. Accounts of larger households have been published before, for example, the diet accounts for the households of Eleanor de Montfort, Dame Alice de Bryene, or extracts from those of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; there are examples of annual cash, corn and stock accounts in print, including those for Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, and Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; and there are also published editions of a number of wardrobe accounts, those for Bogo de Clare and Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, for instance. John de Multon's accounts are valuable illustrations of the way in which the household account was compiled. In this edition, the hands of the scribes have been numbered with a superscript figure in order that the work of each may be identified. The use of a new pen by a clerk who is already writing is marked by a superscript [P].

**Magdalen College, Oxford, Deeds: Multon Hall 160**

The account is a Chancery fashion roll, made up of three membranes sewn with white thread in a tight oversew, with one, much narrower membrane attached to the foot of the roll by a parchment tie. The parchment of the first three membranes has been folded to supply a guide for the left hand margin, front and dorse, and the heading on the front. The front of the roll contains a diet account; the dorse, the account of a receiver and wardrobe type expenses. The membrane attached to the foot of the roll contains a list of hen rents and continues the diet account from the front of the roll.

At least nine clerks worked on the roll at various stages in its compilation. Most of the text was written by hands 1, 3 and 5, with hand 2 supplying the totals, and hand 4, that of an auditor, marking them *probatur*. Hand 6 wrote the list of hen rents, and hands 7, 8 and 9 wrote very small sections, occasional receipts or totals. The approximate order of compilation of the main text is given below. Each clerk wrote a block of text in a single operation. The dates given are those of the start of the block, not the date the clerk wrote it, which would probably have been close to the first date of the next section of text.

#### Recto

- Hand 1      29 September 1343
- 3            26 October 1343, but makes additions to entries from 23  
October
- 3            New pen during the entry for 19 November (mid week and mid  
entry
- 3            New pen, 21 December (*a Sunday, the start of the week*)
- 3            New pen, 25 December, the start of a new paragraph
- 3            New pen, 25 January 1344 (*a Sunday, the start of the week*)
- 5            c.15 February 1344 (mid entry on a Sunday), up to 22 February
- 5            Paragraph for purchases of meat for the larder against the  
feast of St. Martin (11 November 1343)

#### Schedule

- Hand 6      Hen rents, presumably written to assist collection at Easter  
1344, and noted in the receiver's account about that date
- 3            The blank area of the schedule of hen rents filled up with  
diet and wardrobe type expenses for 19 February 1344 to 29  
March 1344, written in one operation about Easter 1344

**Dorse: receipts section**

Hand 1	29 September 1343
1	New pen, 30 November 1343
1	New pen, about Easter 1344
5	No date
8	No date
5	Receipts from sales of skins for the larder (from stock purchased about the feast of St. Martin)
7	No date

**Dorse: expenses section**

Hand 1	29 September 1343
3	After Monday 20 October 1343
3	New pen, after 19 January 1344
5	No date
3	No date

From this analysis it can be seen that the account was written up piecemeal on a number of occasions from mid October 1343 until Easter 1344. It seems likely that clerks were hired when a certain amount of material (diet expenses, receipts and wardrobe expenses) was in hand - the sequence of hands in both expense sections was the same - and that the account was subsequently totalled and audited about Easter 1344.

(Membrane 1, recto )

<sup>133</sup>Expense domus domini Johannis de Multon' a festo sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii octavo desimo incipiente usque ad annum revolutum<sup>133</sup>

<sup>111</sup>En primes le lundy en la fest seint Michel, en vin pur le seignur a Engleby ix d. En un quarter de char de boef xviii d. En un carcois de motoun xx d. En offrand pur le seignur ii d. En ii livers de chaundail ii d. ob. Le vendredy en pessoun achate a Fraunkton' xiii d. En pulcins, chaundail, chars et pessoun achatez pur la dame a Frampton' mesme la semaingne xxi d. Le samady achatez pur le seignur a Fraunkton', en sturion xiiii d. En pleices viii d. En anguilles viii d. En oistres iiii d. En wilkes iiii d. En vin xii d. En pikerels xii d. En blaunk pessoun vi d.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa istius septimane xii s. ix d. ob.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>111</sup>Item le dimeinge prochein apres la fest seint Michel, en char de boef xxiii d. En char de motoun xii d. En blaunk seym pur fruturs i d. En oefs i d. Le meskredy en oistres ii d. En harang iii d. En pleices vi d. En alowes i d. Le joefdy en motoun achate ix d. En iiii livers de chaundail v d. Le vendredy en harang vii d. En harang fresch i d. En melvel vii d.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa istius septimane vii s. vi d.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>111</sup>Le dimeinge prochein apres la fest seint Dionis, en char de boef ii s. vii d. En char de motoun xvi d. En ii livers de chaundail ii d. ob. Le meskredy en char de motoun iiii d. En dur pessoun viii d. En oefs i d. En pleices iiii d. En codeling ii d. En harang iiii d. Le samady en la fest seint Luke a Engleby, en pain xiii d. En cervoise xiiii d. En vin ii s. En dur pessoun x d. En harang vi d. En alemands et sucre v d. ob. En pikerels xvi d. En roches et perches v d. En anguilles viii d.



En laumperuns vi d. En oistres et wilkes vi d. En sausse i d. ob. En la portage de ditz vitailles ii d. En pain pur un chival portant les ditz vitailles de Nichole a Engleby i d. En iiii livers de chaundail v d. ob.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa istius xvi s. iiii d.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>113</sup>Le dimeinge apres la fest seint Luke a Engleby, en pain iiii d. En chars xiiii d. A Frampton', en char de boef ii s. iiii d. En char de motoun xvi d. En i liver de chaundail i d. qua. En oefs ii d. Le meskedy, en harang ii d. En codeling et altre pessoun iii d. En pleices ii d. Le joefdy, en char de motoun iiii d. En ii livers de chaundail ii d. ob. Le vendredy, en harang vi d. En pessoun salee ix d. En sturicoun ix d. En samoun iii d. En oistres iii d. En pleices iii d. En wilkes iii d. Le samady, en pessoun salee ii d. En oistres ii d. En pleices et codeling vi d. En harang stor et fresch v d.<sup>113</sup> <sup>133</sup>En harang frez le jeudi et le vendurdi ix d. En vin vi d. En dur pessoun viii d. pur stor.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa istius xii s. viii d. ob. qua.*

*Summa xlviii s. iiii d. qua.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>143</sup>*Probatu*<sup>143</sup>

<sup>133</sup>Le dimeinge devant le fest de les aposteles seynt Simon et Judee, en char de boef iiii s. En chars de motoun xvi d. En vin iii d. Le lundy apres en la veille de les aposteles, en harang frez iii d. En codeling iii d. En pessoun sale et en dure pessoun vi d. En oef ii d. En v C de rouge harang pur stor xl d. En iiii li. de chaundel iii d. ob. qua. Le mekerdi apres, en pessoun sale iiii d. En chars de motoun iiii d. En harang frez i d. En vin vi d. En ii li. de sucre xvi d. Le vendurdi apres en la veille de touz seynz, \ en harang iii d. En dure pessoun vii d. / En saferoun ix d. En vin iii d. Et le jour mesmes, en vin iii d. En codeling iii d. En plays v d. En harang blang iii d. En

anguill iii d. En oistres ii d. En oef iii d. En bure i d.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa xvi s. xi d. ob. qua.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>133</sup>Le dimeingne apres prochein apres, en volatil achate iii d. En iiii li. de chaundel v d. En char de beof iiii s. En chars de motoun viii d. Le lundy apres, en payn vi d. Le mekerdy, pur char de beof iii s. En volatil v d. Pur vin iii d. En char de motoun iiii d. En pessoun frez vii d. En ferur al chaivalx Nichol de Twicros ii d. Le jeudi, en volatil ii d. En iiii li. de chaundel v d. Le vendurdi, en pessoun sale viii d. En dure pessoun ii d. En plais ii d. En codeling ii d. Le samadi, en i pik v d. En codeling ii d.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa xii s. xi d.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>133</sup>Le dimeigne dewaunt le fest de seynt Martin, en chars de motoun iiii d. En volatil ii d. En oef i d. Le lundy apres, en pain achate pur default de vent vi d. En volatil i d. En iiii li. de chaundel v d. Le jour de seint Martin, en pain achate pur default de vent xii d. \* En iiii quarters de breoz achate a Nichol pur xii s. iiii d. \* Le mekerdi apres, en plais ii d. Le vendurdi, en dure pessoun et blanc pessoun xiii d. En harang blang ii d. En ii pikerell vii d. En anguill v d. En oisteres ii d. \* En codeling \* En i li. de almaunds ii d. En i li. de gynger xiii d.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa vi s. v d.*

*Summa xxxvi s. iii d. ob. qua.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>143</sup>*Probatu*<sup>143</sup>

<sup>133</sup>Le dimeigne apres la feste seynt Martyn, en oisel achate iii d. Le mardi apres, en oisel iiii d. Le mekerdi apres, en codeling et en plais iiii d. <sup>133</sup>En chaundel v d. En vin iiii d. ob. Le jeudi, en chaundel v d. En vin iii d. et pur oisel iii d. En pesoun frez viii d. En xl li. de almaunds vi s. viii d. En ceir achate v s. i d. pur xiii li. En vi li. de ginger vi s. vi d. En volatil iii d. En oef iii d. Et paie pur deversez coloures al koeu iiii s. En x li. de rys viii d. En di. i li. de safferoun xviii d. Le vendurdi apres, en plais et en codeling vii d. En

pessoun sale viii d. En dure pessoun iiii d. En vin iii d. Le samedi apres, iiii codeling e en plais vii d. En ii li. de chaundel ii d. ob. En oef iii d. Pur peirs a ma dame iiii d. et paie pur ii lepes pur demetter \ pessoun / en le ewe entour le maner iiii d.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa xxxi s. ix d.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Le dimeigne en le jour de saint Clement, en offerand i d. En volatil iii d. Le mekerdi apres, pur iiii li. de chaundel v d. Le vendurdi, \* en pessoun \* en codeling \ et / haddoc vii d. En plais ii d. En sprot ii d. En pessoun frez viii d. En pessoun sale xxi d. En vin pur les desspences moun seignur a le mesoun Johan Reignald pur divers parcels en la simeigne xvi d. Pur lez chivax moun seignur a meme le mesoun iiii d. Pur vin vi d. E paie pur i C de dure pessoun qe est appele winturfize xiii s. iiii d. En muskeles i d. Le samedi, en plais et codeling iiii d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa xx s.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Le dimeigne en la fest de saint Andreu, en volatil ii d. Le lundi, en plais et en codeling iiii d. En oef iii d. En iiii li. de chaundel v d. Le merkerdi, en plais ii d. En codeling ii d. En un rai ii d. Le vendurdi apres, en pessoun frez xiii d. et paie pur vii oves xxi d. En vin vi d. et pur iiii li. de chaundel v d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa v s. vi d.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Le dimeinge apres la feste de saint Nicholas, paie pur volatil iii d. Le lundi apres, en vin vi d. Et paie pur un diner a lez gens la dame le Ros viii d. par comaundement le seignur et pur lour chivalx en pain et en foïn iiii d. Le mardi, en vin xii d. En iiii li. de chaundel v d. Le vendurdi, en pessoun frez xii d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa iiii s. ii d.*

*Summa lvi s. v d.*<sup>121</sup>

(Membrane 2, recto)

<sup>141</sup>*Probatu*<sup>141</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Le dimeinge \ apres le jour de nostre dame, en offerand iiii d. / Paie pur volatil ii d. et pur oef ii d. Le mardi apres, pur pessoun a ma dame ii d. Le mekerdi, pur pessoun frez iiii d. Pur un demi liver de canel viii d. Et pur les chivalx moun seignur et pur lez chivalxs qe furent oveqe li vi d. Pur un botel de venegre iii d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa istius ii s. vii d.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>131</sup> <sup>131</sup>Le dimeingne en la feste seint Thomas le apostel, en offerand i d. Le lundi apres, en volatil achate en countre le Nowel ii s. Le mardi apres, paie pur volatil viii d. Et paie pur ii purcelles en countre le jour de Nowel x d. En v purcelles en echate en countre le maungeri le seignur ii s. i d. Et pur lendemeing apres le maungeri iii purcellees achate pur xiii d. Et iii velles echate en countre le Nowell et en countre le maungeri vii s. viii d. Et en fil achate pur torches et tortis et autre chaundel ii d. Et pur vessel achate pur le maungeri ii s. Et paie pur vi plovers la veille de nowel xii d. Et mesme ceo jour, en oisteres, plais, codeling ii s. vi d. Et paie pur stintes vi d. Et paie pur un peir de tenailles pur le sale vi d. En i quarter de bof ii s. En i quarter de pork ix d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa istius xxiii s. ix d.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>131</sup> <sup>131</sup>Le jour de Nowel, en offerend la dame et le meine ii s. vii d. Le vendurdi apres, paie pur pessoun frez xiiii d. En vin a Seint Botulf pur le seignur vi d. Et xi aves achate xiiii d. en countre le maungeri. Le samadi apres, en codeling, plais et anguilles xiiii d. En ii boltingclothes iiii d. En i li. de sucre de plate xvi d. Et paie pur ii butoures et i heroun viii s. x d. Et paie pur plovers le jour del maungeri et le jour apres viii s. vi d. Et mesme ceo jour paie pur cesselles iiii s. x d. Et pur ix poucines ix d. Et pur i couple de maulars vi d. Et pur stintes vi d. Et paie pur oef pur le maungeri x d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa istius xxxiii s. vi d.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>133</sup>Le dimeingne apres le Nowel, en offerend i d. Et paie pur pessoun le vendurdi et le samadi apres xvi d. Et paie pur i teist et demi un senguler vii s.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa viii s. v d.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>133</sup>Le dimeingne dewaunt lepufphanie, paie pur vi plovers xv d. et pur vi cesselles viii d. Le jour del epiphanie en offerend ii d. Le vendurdi apres, en bure ii d. En offerand par devers parcelez iiiii d. En i maulard i d. ob. Et paie pur ginger sauz et pur moustart et galentin al feste seint Michels deqe a le epyphanie iii s.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa istius v s. viii d. ob.*

*Summa iii li. xiii s. vi d. ob.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>143</sup>*Probatu*<sup>143</sup>

(*Membrane 3, recto*)

<sup>133</sup>Le mekerdi devaunt la feste seint Hillari, en oisteres ii d. Le vendurdi apres, en codeling iii d. En oisteres ii d. Le samadi, en oisteres ii d.

Le mekerdi apres la fest seint Hillari, en oisteres ii d. Le vendurdi apres, en oisteres [iii] d. Le samadi apres, en oisteres ii d. Item le lundi et le mardi devaunt, en oistres iii d. Et en plais, codeling et muskeles ii d. ob. En offerend pur ma dame a Framton' le jour de lez joustes de Windesouer iii d.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa xxiii d. ob.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>133</sup> <sup>133</sup>Le dimeingne en la feste le conversioun de seint Poule, en oisteres iii d. En bure pur la dame ii d. Le lundi et le mardi en oisteres vi d. Le mekerdi en bure i d. Le vendurdi apres, en pessoun frez x d.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa xxiii d.*<sup>123</sup>

<sup>133</sup>Le dimeingne apres, en char frez achate pur le schaundelour iii s. vi d. En volatil x d. Le lundi apres, en oisteres iii d. En batilag pur vi quarters de brez a Kirkebi deke a Frampton' ix d. Le mekerdi apres, en

oisters iii d. Le vendurdi apres, en pessoun frez vi d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa istius vi s. i d.*

<sup>131</sup>Le dimeigne apres, en oef v d. Le lundí, en gelines ii s. En oisteres  
vi d. Le vendurdi apres, en pessoun vi d. En oisteres. En gelines  
xxiii d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa istius v s. iiii d.*

*Summa xviii s. vi d. ob.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>141</sup>*Probatur*<sup>41</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Le dimeingne apres la feste de seinte Valantil, iii s. ii d.<sup>131</sup> <sup>151</sup>en vele,  
pork et boef. En offerend ii d.

Le jouedy apres, en pessoun iiii d. Mesme cest jour, en batilligage mon  
seyngnur devers Ingelby xx d. Item, en serveyse vi d. En fyges et  
rayzines iii d. Mesmes cest neut, pur les chyvaux mon seyngnur en  
provandre viii d. Et mesmes le jouedy a Seynt Botulp', pur les garsons et  
les chyvaux iii d. ob. Et mesmes le neut, en custage monseyngnur en  
payn, vyn et pessoun ix d. ob. et pur un diner a Johan de Lodlow al Seynt  
Botulp' iiii d.

Le meskerdy de cendrez, par enchesoun de hostes en pessoun iii s.

Dymeynge en la fest de seynt Pyer in chathedra, en offerand i d.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>121</sup>*Summa vii s. iii d.*<sup>121</sup>

<sup>151</sup>In iiii bobus emptis ad lardarium contra festum sancti Martini xlvi s.  
Item, in xl bidentibus lxxiii s. iiii d., precio cuiuslibet xxii d. Item,  
in xii porcís xxix s., precio cuiuslibet ii s. v d. Item, iiii<sup>xx</sup> xiii li.  
candlele paris' emptis ix s. ix d. ob., precio li. i d. qua. Preterea  
mactantur ad lardarium de stauro i bos et xii porci. Item, in iiii<sup>a</sup>  
allegis xxviii s. Item, in piscibus salsis xxiii s. Item, Johanni lez  
epicer in clavis ii s. In maces ii s. In flore de canel ii s. In  
quirbippes ii s. In i li. de suker de platz contra Natalem xvi d. In  
ii li. feniculi vi d. In ii bal' fructus ix s. vi d. In oleo olivero

iiii d. Item, in i lagena olei xviii d.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>121</sup>Summa xi li. xi. s. iii d. ob.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>141</sup>Probatur<sup>141</sup>

<sup>131</sup>\* Item, paie pur schandel de paris ix s. ix d., ceo est asavoir pur  
iiii<sup>xx</sup> li. xiii li. et di., precio de libro i d. qua. \*<sup>131</sup>

<sup>141</sup>Quia superius.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>121</sup>Summa totalis xxiiii li. ix s. v d. ob.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Summa totalis expensarum domus cum quadam billa enexa istius rotuli  
xxiiii li. xiiii s. v d. ob.<sup>131</sup>

*(parchment schedule tied to the foot of Multon Hall 160, recto)*

<sup>111</sup>Recepte de collectore<sup>111</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Exspence \ die jovis / per Stephanum cocum, in i parvo arco empto pro  
lardario ix d. Die veneris, in oisteres i d. ob. \ In plais iii d. In  
codeling v d. In sepo i d. /

Die sabbati, in oisteres i d. ob. Die dominica, in i cithara empto pro  
domina vi d. Die lune, in oisteres i d. ob. Die martis, in oisteres i d.  
ob.

Die mercurie in festo sancti Mattehee, in codeling et plais viii d. In  
laumprouns iiii d. In velkes iii d. Die veneris, in oisteres iii d. In  
plais iii d. Die sabbati, in plais et codeling vi d.

Die dominica postea, in oisteres iii d. Die lune in plais et codeling  
vi d. En wilkes ii d. Die martis, in plais iiii d. In oisters iii d.  
Die jovis, in oisteres ii d. Die veneris, in plays et haddog iiii d.  
Summa vi s. ix d.

Die dominica ante festum sancti Gregorii, in oisteres ii d. In plais  
ii d. Die lune, in plays iii d. Die veneris in festo sancti Gregorii, in  
plais iii d.

Item, liberavit Roberto del Park' pro eunte in negociis domini iiii d.  
Die dominica proxima post festum sancti Gregorii, in rai vi d. In turbot  
viii d. In codeling v d. In sturioun vii d. Item, dat' carpentario  
Rogeri Hert ii d. Die lune, in plais i d. Item, in i panier'  
\ empto / i d. Die lune, in codeling empto pro stauro xxi d. In porpeys  
vi d. In salmone iii d. Die veneris, in plais, codeling v d. In salmone  
iiii d. In welkes iii d. In oisteres i d. In i pik vi d. Summa vii s.  
ix d.

Die dominica in passione, in oisteres iii d. In plais et codeling iiii d.  
Die sabbati ante passionem in expensis Thome de Multon et Nicholai de  
Twicrosse apud Linc' xiiii d. Item, liberavit fratribus domini vi d. Die  
lune postea, in plais et codeling vii d. Item, Johanni le spiser ii s. in  
porsed. Item, in expensis Walteri Bavent apud Sanctum Botulf' ii d.<sup>131</sup>

(Dorse)

<sup>132</sup>Walter filius Willelmi portavit i gallum et i gallinam.

Robertus le Gardener portavit ii gallos et ii gallinas.

Willelmus del Grene i gallum et i gallinam.

Johannes del Grene ii gallos et ii gallinas.

Robertus de coquina i gallum et ii gallinas.

Agnes le Mulner i gallum et i gallinam. Non portavit.

Riche del Park' ii gallos et ii gallinas.

Alicia Eliot ii gallinas.

Eliot Cullul ii gallinas.

Reginald Loveles ii gallos et ii gallinas.

Ricardus Loveles ii gallos et ii gallinas. Non adhuc.

Margeria Bischof i gallinam.

Johannes ad pontem i gallum et i gallinam.

Walterus frater eius i gallum et i gallinam. \* Non pacavit. \*



Robertus Henr', Nicholas frater eius et Johannes frater eorum i gallum et i gallinam.

Heredes Thome Rondulf' i gallum et i gallinam.

Thomas Henr' et Nicholas frater eius i gallum et i gallinam.

Agtha uxor Johannis prepositi, Basilia Bischof i gallum et i gallinam.

Heredes Alani Cullul i gallum et i gallinam.

Robertus Rondulf i gallum et i gallinam.

Johannes filius Roberti Gardener ii gallinas.

Robertus le cok' et Thomas le koc et Alicia filia Alani le cok' iiii gallos et iiii gallinas.

Memorandum quod Robertus filius Alani de Culbuldik' deberet portare iiii<sup>o</sup> gallos et iiii<sup>o</sup> gallinas et nativi dicunt quod dominus Thomas de Multon, qui mortuus est, mutavit predictos gallos et gallinas in argento, scilicet x d.

Rogerus Thormound i gallum.

Alanus Thurmound unam gallinam.

Hugo filius Thome unum gallum et unam gallinam.

Nicholas filius Roberti Henr' unum gallum et unam gallinam.

Reginaldus Parker unam gallinam.

Adelard Benet unam gallinam.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>161</sup>Item, dat' camerario domini Hugonis Hastings ix d. Item, in oblatione apud Screvelesbi die annunciacionis Beate Marie iii d. Item, \ dat' / in hernes super i doleum vini xiiii d. Item, die annunciacionis Beate Marie, in grapeis vi d. In oisteres et plais iiii d. Die veneris postea, in rai iiii d. In codeling, plais vi d. Die dominica postea, in piscibus salsatis xviii d. Die lune in oisteres in oisteres ii d.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>162</sup>Summa x s. vi d.

Summa totalis istius rotuli xxv s.<sup>163</sup>

(Membrane 1, dorse)

<sup>113</sup>Comptus Nicholai de Twycrosse a festo sancti Michaelis archangeli  
anno regni regis Edwardi<sup>113</sup> <sup>133</sup>a conquestu septimodecimo finiente<sup>133</sup>

<sup>113</sup>\* De xxxiiii s. viii d. qua. de arreragiis ultimi anni. \*

*Resceyt* De xiii s. iiii d. resceu de Amabile de Cobeldyk'. Et de viii s.  
resceu del coillour de la rente de Engleby. Et de xx s. resceu de la  
rente de Bayard en Seint Botholf'. Et de x s. resceu de la rente Roger de  
Biry \ per Nicholaum de Salmonbi / de Seint Botholf'. Et de xvi s.  
viii d. resceu de William Asser de fynes. Et de iiii s. resceu de Nichol  
de Salmanby sauntz taille. Et de iiii li. resceu de moun seignur. <sup>113</sup>Et  
de xl s. resceu de les cofferes moun seignur le jour de seint Andreu. Et  
de xl s. resceu de moun seignur. Et resceu de William Hawleie xxv s. Et  
iiii li. resceu del rente de Ingulbi de la rente seint Andreu; ii s. de  
mesme ceo rente. Et de lv s. resceu de Nichol de Salmonbi. Et resceu  
del provot de Henningbi xxx s. Et resceu del warner de Ingulbi x s. Et  
resceu de seignur Alain Wrangul xi s. Et resceu del rente de Ingulbi  
vii li. <sup>113</sup>Et de lx s. resceu de William Attegrene cuilleur de Fraunkton'.  
Et resceu de Nichol de Salmonbi xxiii s. de la rente de \* Henningbi \*  
\ Enderby. / Et xxi d. de gelines. Et resceu de Jon del Meres de la  
rente de Pauske anno xviii<sup>o</sup> l s. Et resceu de Jon Bose carponter de  
Kirketon' v s. Et de xviii s. resceu de Reignald le greive Frampton'.<sup>113</sup>  
<sup>153</sup>Et de v s. resceu par la mayn Nichol de Salmanby de la rent de  
Enderby. Et de le coillyur de Frampton' iii s.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>123</sup>xxxvii li. x s. ix d.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>163</sup>Item, de lxvi s. viii d. resceu de Amaville de Cobeldik' pur tot lan pur  
Neuvand. Item, de vi s. resceu de mesme ceste Amaville pur pasture  
yemayle.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>123</sup>Summa xl li. vi s. vi d.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>163</sup>De xiiii s. de coriis v boum mactatorum ad lardarium venditis. Item, \ de / xxv s. de xl pellibus bidentum mactatarum ad lardarium precio cuiuslibet vii d. ob. Et de ix s. ix d. de ix petris sepi de exitibus dictorum boum et bidentum venditorum precio petre xiii d. Et de iiii s. vii d. ob. qua. de exitibus xxxv bidentum venditarum precio cuiuslibet ii d. qua.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>163</sup>Lii s. iiii d.ob. qua.

*Summa totalis xl li. xvii s. x d.*<sup>163</sup>

<sup>173</sup>Item, de lxx s. resceu de x livres les queux la parsone de Saltfletby avoit en garde pur labbe de Lagnet'.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>163</sup>*Summa totalis recepte xvi li. viii s. v d. ob. qua.*<sup>163</sup>

<sup>113</sup>*Despenses necessaries et foreins* Des queux il acompte livre a Steven le ku pur les despens William et Thomas les freres le seigneur vers Nichole a la escole ove la lower de une nef, ii s., ovesqe les despens le dit Steven en revenaunt. Et livre a Johan de Basingham par le comandement le seigneur pur ses despens a Hepham x d. Et en offrand le seigneur a Stowe le jour de saint Michel ii d. Et en parchemyn achate a Nichole iiii d. Et en la seell le seigneur amender a Nichol ii d. En offrand le seigneur a Nichol le marsdy apres la fest saint Michel ii d. En vyn achate pur le seigneur le meskredy vi d. Et mesme le jour, en payn achate pur les chivaux le seigneur a Kirkeby iiii d. ob. Et en vyn vi d. Et en cervoise mesme le jour vi d. Et livre a Robert le chaumberlayn a Frankton' par le comandement le seigneur vi s. viii d. le vendredy prochein apres la fest saint Michel. Et mesme le jour en vin achate pur le seingnur a Seint Botholf' vii d. ob. Et en lx bord achate v s. vi d. Et livre a Johan Oliver carpenter de Fraunkton' xiii d. Et livre a Roger Hert par le comandement le seigneur vi s. viii d. Et en les despens Nicholas de Twicrosse vers sire Roger Illary ovesqe un garson Johan de Twicrosse ii s. vi d. Et en pain, chars et chaundaile achatez a Engleby le meskredy devant la feste saint Luke xix d. qua. Et en vin et pessoun

achate pur le seignur a Engleby la veille de seint Luke ii s. vii d. Et en les despens Johan de Twicrosse et Nichole son frere ovesques un facouner et deux garcons vers Engleby le joefdy prochein devant la fest seint Luke ii s. vi d. Et en layners pur le seignur iii d. Et livre a Thomas marchaunt de Seint Botholf pur diverses choses de lui achatez par heos xvii s. ii d. Et a Roger de Farnham pur soulers al seignur et a la dame xii d. Et done a un mestre pur feare un chymene x s. Et en batellage de meryme a Nichole tantqe a Seint Botholf iiii d. En les despens le seignur a Nichole le marsdy apres la fest Seint Luke ii s. iii d. Et done al mestre des escoles pur les comuns les freres le seignur iiii s. viii d. En deux pairs de esporouns pur le seignur ii s. viii d. Et done a povers par le comandement le seignur ii d. En offrand le seignur ii d. Et mesme le jour en les despens le seignur a Kirkeby xvi d. Et en Swynesheved, en vin achate iiii d. Et livre a la dame v s. vi d. Et en soulers pur les enfauntz iii d. Et livre a Roger le drapur xl s. Et a sire Nichole le chapelein xii d. Le dimeinge apres la fest seint Luke, en offrand le seignur a Engleby i d. En le lundy ensuant, en les despens le se seignur illoques xvi d. Et done al serjant de Hepham ii d. Et done al garcoun Nichol de Salmanby a Alington' i d. Et done al bercher de Engleby pur despens ii d. En cervoise achate illoques pur le seignur et sire Gefrey de Cotes iiii s. iii d. En vin pur sire Gefrey de Cotes xviii d. En esquels destaung xi d. En drap al oeps le facouner ii s. En drap al oeps le seignur iii s. Et livre a Thomas de Multon' vi d. En une ciste pur la dame iiii s. vi d. En pain pur chivaux iii d. En argent dieu iii d. En sey pur la dame xii d. En vin iiii d. ob. Et livre a Johan le armourer x s. Done al hunt le seignur Daubeney par le comandement le seignur vi d. Et paie a la Seint Botholf' pur i ridel de carde al oeps le seignur ii s. vii d. Et livre a Johan le carpenter pur ses gages a Seint Botholf' par Steven le cu ix d.<sup>111</sup> <sup>133</sup>En canvas pur lez tables en la sale xvi d. En peutur vessel achate a Seint Botulf' vi s.

En sope et brumston iiii d. Et paie al orfevere pur le cevere moun seignur xii d. \* Delivere a lez freres moun seignur et lour companie a Seint Botulf' deqe a Nichol pur lour espences xvi d. \*<sup>131</sup> <sup>121</sup>*Vacatur quia N. de Salmanby dicit quod ipse soluit.*<sup>123</sup> <sup>133</sup>En \ i / peire de gauns pur moun seignur viii d. A Symme le garsoun moun seignur ii d. Et pur ii peire de gaunz a les enfaunz i d. ob. et i d. a lez povres. En xxv auns de canvas achatez pur le moleine iiii s. ii d. En vi tapit echatez pur garsons v s. En ii tapit pur gens de meister iii s. iiii d. En i pot de larein ix s.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>*Summa ix li. vii s. vii d. qua.*<sup>123</sup>

(Membrane 2, dorse)

<sup>141</sup>*Probatu*<sup>143</sup>

<sup>133</sup>En i basyn et i lavor ii s. vi d. En ii panns de bras iii s. vi d. En i petit panne iiii d. Et paie a Thomas de Molton' le frere moun seignur xii s. par comaundement de ly. En payn et en ferure pur vi chivalx moun seignur qant il fust a Seynt Botulf' pur de achatre soun livere vi d. En batelag a Nichol deqe a Frampton' pur vi quarters et demi de brez et iiii quarters de aveines xx d. et paie al armener de Linne v s. Baile a Anable de Cobbeldik' pur besoines ma dame v s. Et baile a Alain le filz Robert pur soun travail vere Somerkotes et Kirkeby iii d. Pur un petyt premer a moun seignur vii d. Et pur i spade al gardener viii d. Paie a petit Kitte qe fust oveqe ma dame pur sa travail xii d. Et paie xvi d. a cesti Kitte pur ces despences a Framton' deqe en Arderne oveqe un homme et un chivalx.

Le lundy dewaunt le fest \ seynt Martin / en offerend pur moun seignur i d. Et paie a Roger Herd par comaundement de seignur xiii s. iiii d. et a mounsire Henri Hillari xl s. Et paie a les masounes pur le chimene xl d. En i jaloun de tar pur les berbiz iiii d. En i peire de gauns a moun seignur ii d. En amendement les liveres del chapell iiii s. Et livere a moun seignur xx d. En canvas achate pur les tables en la sale

et pur liz g garsouns xlii auns pur vii s. ii d. En gurfus et en sursengles pur lez chivalx vii d. En i peire de botes a moun seigneur ii s. En i hache pur le gardener x d. et a petit Watte le mercer pur drap de lin et pur drap de sai et pur pepur v s. En kerchevez flemez vi s. vi d. En kellez xv d. En kerchivez boilez vii s. iii d. Et paie pur tourberie xviii s.<sup>133</sup> <sup>123</sup>Quire<sup>123</sup> <sup>133</sup>Et paie a la parsons de Frampton' iii li. pur dette de moun seigneur. Et paie pur ii peire de souleres a moun seigneur xii d. Et livere a Thomas Denbi par comaundement moun seigneur ii s. viii d.<sup>133</sup> <sup>123</sup>Quire<sup>123</sup> <sup>133</sup>Et a Johan le carpouster ii s. En iii auns de drap achate pur i cloche a ma dame v s. En drap pur i cote a Nichol le chapellein qil usse de covonaunt iii s. x d. Et pur i cotil al seigneur xviii d. Baile al orfevere de Seynt Botulf' pur le opvereigne le seigneur vii d. E paie al schermoun de Seint Botulf' pur deverse parceles xxii d. Le jour de seint Clement paie a lez masouns \ pur le chimene / xlii s. iii d. Paie pur xii qissins iii s. vi d. En iii auns de drap pur un ling a le cloche ma dame iii s. viii d.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>123</sup>Summa xii li. vi s. ix d.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>143</sup>Probatur<sup>143</sup>

<sup>133</sup>Paie pur (*Membrane 3, dorse*) iii peles de parchevin iii d. et done a le garsoun la parsons de Frampton' vi d. pur ceo qe il fust oveqe ma dame a Screvelesbi. Et xii d. qant moun seigneur iva illeke oveqe mounsire Henri Hillari. Et paie a Alain le filz Robert pur ses despencez a Frampton deqe a Hemingbi ii d. Delivere a ma dame vi d. Et paie pur i \ pipe / de vin xxvii s. Et al armener de Line vii s. pur i pisaine. Et paie pur vi auns drap echate pur Joni la damisel ma dame ix s. Et a Robert del Park vere Nichol pur soun travail iii d. Et paie pur un demi drap echate pur les freres moun seigneur et pur Alain Wrangul xviii s. i d. Et a Walter le cleric de Seint Botulf' pur les bosoins moun seigneur xl d. Et al orfevere de Seint Botulf' pur le seinture moun seigneur xxx d. Et a Jon de Basingham pur ses despencez vere Ingulbi vi d. et pur ii potes de

peutre xii d. Et pur iii bosongns al seignur iii d. Et paie al pelter Jon de Ewerewik' iii li. Et paie pur batilag a Ingulbi deqe a Frampton' et arere a Ingulbi pur Jon de Basingham et le coilour de Ingulbi et autres xii d. Et a Alain le filz Robert pur ses gaies vere Somercotes iii d. Baile al seignur pur les dimes iii d. Et pur iii gurzes achate al ceal le seignur iii d. Et pur i chine echate pur lez chens v d. Et baile a iii bercheres pur de achaser le berbis de Frampton' vers Ingulbi xiiii d. Et pur batilage a Kerkebi deke a Frampton' pur brese xiiii d. Et pur i pel de hermin al overe moun seignur vi d. Pur i korn al seignur xii d.

Et ii s. quant le seingnur iva al hasard. Et paie al pelter de Kirketon' iiii s. pur iii vermines. Et paie pur un diner a Seint Botolf pur le seignur et soun compainie xv d. Et paie en hernes pur drap al seignur iii s. Et pur batilage pur le freres moun seignur et lour compainie et pur lour despencez a Frampton' deke a Nichole xviii d. Et delivere a Thomas le frere le seignur q' est oveqe Roger de Cobbuldik' ii s. le lundi devaunt le Nowel et ii s. a mesme cesti Thomas le jour del Epiphaine apres. Et al armerer de Line xii d. Et ii s. a Jon le carponter, q' est oveqe le seignur, en parti de soun salare. Et paie pur le seinture le seingnur al orfevere de Seint Botulf' x s. Et paie pur un forure a Jon le carponter xvi d., le quel il usse de covenaut. En batilage pur iii seales le seingnur a Nichol deke a Frampton' iii d. Et a William Godeson ii s. Et a Alain le filz Robert ix d., lez quex le seignur ly dona pur travail qe il usse oveqe ly. Et paie a Jon Driffeld' de Seint Botulf' iii s. ii d. pur hermin. Et paie pur batilage de merime a Ingulbi deqe a Frampton' iii s. vi d. Et paie pur i cotil et i boidekin al oeps le seignur ii d.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>122</sup>Summa viii li. xvii s. iiii d.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>141</sup>Probat<sup>141</sup>

<sup>123</sup>Le samedi prochein apres la fest del Epyphaine, paie pur ii cotelles a le cuisine xl d. Et baile a Jon le carponter ii s. en partie de soun

salare. Et delivere a William le garsoun Nichol de Twicros iiii d. pur  
cez despencez vere Ingulbi et arere. Et baile v d. a v portours pur ceo  
qe ils aiderunt le charet le seingnur qe fust en perel vere la dame le  
Ros oveqe un present.

En i carkois de bof achate pur i present a la dame le Ros xii s. En ii  
veles achate pur mesme ceo present vi s. Et ii pors et ii singne de  
estor pur mesme ceo present. Et done a le garsoun le bailif le roi vi d  
pur de porter i bref a Nichol. En despences feste a Seint Botulf' le  
mekerdi apres la fest seint Hillari, pur les boscoines espleister par le  
bailif le roi xix d. En oincounes et aille echate pur de plaunter en le  
gardine iiii s. En xx et iii aunz de drap de lin echate pur la dame  
iii s. vi d. En les despencez Nichol le chappelein vere sire Seril de  
Recheford pur lez boscoignes le seingnur \ par iii jours / ix d. En lez  
despencez Nichol de Twicros a Wode Endurbi et a Ingulbi et arere a  
Frampton' ii s. Et paie a le pelter de Seint Botulf' par comaundement le  
seingnur viii d. Et paie al orfevere de Seint Botulf' en parti de xiiii s.  
vi d. pur le seintour le seingnur v s. <sup>'P'</sup>Et paie a la parsonne de  
Frampton' pur dette ma dame et Margarete qe fust oveqe ma dame xxxii s.  
ix d. Et paie pur ail a le gardeine de Ingulbi ii s. Et paie pur sope a  
ma dame iii d. Et baile a Robert del Park vere Windesouer xviii s. Et  
xii d. paie illekes pur le cote Wade. Et a mesme cesti Robert del Park  
iiii d. vere Nichol a Walter de Basigham. Et a Jon de Cobbuldik' iii s.  
pur destre le seingnur. Et done a Gige le harpour ii s. Et paie pur  
pinnes a ma dame v d. Et paie a Adam le baker par comaundement ma dame  
iiii d. ob. Et ii d. pur i seinture de quir a moun seingnur. Et pur i  
peire de gaunz a moun seingnur xii d. Et vi d. done a Adam le garsoun  
Walter de Basingham qe porta un robe al seingnur. E pur un tonaile  
achate pur le chappelle vi d. Et delivere a Jon del Meres \ pur / leet de  
berbiz vi s. viii d. Et paie Robert Maning' pur bordes de ly achate v s.  
vi d. Et paie a William Godessone iiii d. Et pur i pouche al seingnur



xv d. Et paie pur i harpe qe ma dame dona a William Hardi iiii d. Et paie pur i scheine a ma dame pur lez levereres v d. Et pur ii peire souleres pur moun seingnur et pur la dame xii d. Et delivere a William le garsoun Nichol de Twicrosse pur ses gages vere Twicrosse et arere viii d.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>Summa v li. iiii s. xi d. ob.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>141</sup>Probatur.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>121</sup>Summa xxxvi li. xv s. vii d. ob. qua.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>151</sup>Bayllye al mestre del Estowe a Karrem parvaunt pur les kokes de les enfaunz ii d. Al Warner de Skeldynghop' par comaundment monsire ii d. Al corveyser de Kyrcton' pur solers pur les enfauns xiiii d. Bayllye a Thomas de Denby a Seynt Botulf' par comandment monsire i d. ob. Baillie a Henr Courserman' vers Wyndesour xii d. Paye pur terre achate pur la fourne a Frampton' ix d.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>191</sup>Summa iiii s. iiii d. ob.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>141</sup>Probatur.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Item, luvore al propvot pur let as agnels par le main de bercher pur le issuez de xxxv berbiz a li vendus \ iiii s. vii d. ob. qua. / Item, livre a Amable de Cobbuldik' xxv s. dez xl pelles a li venduz.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup>Summa totalis xxxvi li. xix s. ii d.

xxviii s. vii d. ob.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>141</sup>Probatur.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>121</sup>ix li. viii s. ix d. qua.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>131</sup>Summa totalis xxxvii li. vii s. vii d. ob. qua.<sup>131</sup>

Magdalen College, Oxford, Estate Paper 85/2

The second roll, a diet account covering the period 30 September 1347 to 5 March 1348, consists of two membranes, sewn together Chancery fashion with white thread using a tight oversew. Each membrane was written by a single hand throughout in one operation, including all totals. The hand that wrote the first membrane does not appear on the 1343-4 account, but the clerk was engaged to write other documents for the family. The clerk who wrote the second membrane wrote part of the earlier account and other documents for the Multons. There are no folds or rulings to guide the layout of the account.

(*Membrane 1, recto*)

Expense domus domini Johannis de Multon' ab incrastino sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu xxi<sup>mo</sup>

Die dominica in crastino sancti Michaelis, in carne bovina, porcina et mutulina iiii s. vi d. Die lune, in ovis iii d. Die martis, in allece iii d. Die mercurie de stauro. Die jovis, in piscibus recentibus ii d. Die veneris, in piscibus salsis et recentibus xi d. Die sabbati, in cervisia empta pro defectu brasii v s. ix d.

Summa xi s. x d.

Die dominica sequenti, in carne bovina, porcina et mutulina iiii s. v d. In ovis i d. Die lune, in volatilis ii d. Die martis, in allece ii d. Die mercurie omnia de stauro. Die jovis, in ovis ii d. Die veneris, in piscibus duris et salsis viii d. In roches et pikes iiii d. In allece iii d. In allece recente et aliis piscibus recentibus iiii d. ob. In wylkes i d. Die sabbati, in allece iiii d. In salsamentes i d. Item, in

vino empto per diversas vices xi s. ix d. Item, in candelis emptis per vices ii s. i d.

Summa xx s. x d. ob.

Die dominica proxima ante festum Lucie ewangeliste, in carne porcina et mutulina xiiii d. In columbellis ii d. ob. Die lune de stauro. Die martis, in allece recente ii d. In piscibus duris i d. In ovis i d. Die mercurie de stauro. Die jovis de stauro. Die veneris, in piscibus duris et salsis vii d. In vii bussellis lond' salis emptis ii s. iiii d. In pleices i d. In allece et roches iiii d. Die sabbati, in allece iii d.

Summa v s. iiii d.

Die dominica post festum sancti Lucie, in carne bovina, porcina et mutulina xviii d. In ovis i d. Item, in i porcello iii d. Die lune de stauro. Die martis, in ovis i d. Item, liberatum domine per Stephanum cocum i d. Diebus mercurie et jovis de stauro. Die veneris, in piscibus salsis ix d. In allece v d. In pleices i d. Die sabbati, in piscibus recentibus i d.

Summa iiii s. iiii d.

Die dominica in festo apostolorum Simonis et Jude, in i porcello iii d. ob. In carne porcina et mutulina iiii d. ob. Die lune, in ovis i d. Die martis, in ovis i d. In cinapio ii d. In iiii li. candelarum v d. Die mercurie, in piscibus et allece vi d. Die jovis, in i porcello iii d. ob. Die veneris, in allece iii d. In piscibus salsis et duris vi d. In roches et plaices ii d. Die sabbati, in allece ii d. In piscibus duris ii d.

Summa iiii s. v d.

Die dominica proxima post festum omnium sanctorum, in i porcello iii d. ob. Die lune de stauro. Die martis, in ovis i d. Die mercurie, in iiii li. candelarum v d. Die jovis de stauro. Die veneris, in allece iiii d. In piscibus duris et salsis viii d. In i pike et roches iiii d.

In pleices ii d. Die sabbati, in i pike iii d. ob. In allece et pleices ii d.

Summa ii s. ix d.

Die dominica in festo sancti Martini, omnia de stauro. Die lune, in ovis ii d. Die martis, in cinapio ii d. In allece i d. In iiii li. candelarum v d. Die mercurie de stauro. Die jovis de stauro. Die veneris, in piscibus duris et salsis x d. In allece v d. In pleices ii d. In i pike iiii d. In lamprons i d. In salsamentis ix d. Die sabbati, in allece ii d. In lamprons i d. In ovis i d. In galentyn ob.

Summa iiii s. ix d. ob.

Die dominica in octabis sancti Martini et die lune de stauro. Die martis, in allece ii d. In melvel i d. In dimidia li. piperis xii d. In croco xii d. Die mercurie et die jovis omnia de stauro. Die veneris, in piscibus duris et salsis ix d. In allece ix d. In osters i d. In sprotte i d. In lamprons ii d. In pleices i d. In xxiii li. candelarum ii s. i d. Die sabbati, in sprotte i d. In lamprons i d.

Summa iiii s. iiii d.

Die dominica sequenti omnia de stauro. Die lune, in carne vitulina iii d. In ovis ii d. Die martis, in sprotte et mulvel ii d. Die mercurie de stauro. Die jovis in vigilia sancti Andree apostoli, in piscibus duris et salsis x d. In allece vi d. In sprotte ii d. In cinapio ii d. In lamprons i d. Die veneris, in piscibus duris et salsis ii d. In i pike iii d. In allece ii d. Die sabbati, in allece iiii d. In sprotte et lamprons ii d.

Summa iiii s. iiii d.

Die dominica, in i quarterio vituli iiii d. In ovis i d. Die lune de stauro. Die martis, in sprotte et mulvel i d. In cinapio ii d. Die mercurie de stauro. Die jovis et die veneris omnia de stauro. Die sabbati, in piscibus duris et salsis vi d. In allece iiii d. In sprotte

et pleices ii d. In i pike ii d. ob. In gingebr' ob.

Summa xxiii d.

Die dominica proxima ante festum sancti Luce, in carne vitulina et porcina viii d. In ovis ii d. Die lune de stauro. Die martis, in sprotte et milvel ii d. Die mercurie et die jovis omnia de stauro. Die veneris, in piscibus duris et salsis x d. In allece vi d. In sprotte ii d. In i pike et lamprons iii d. In osters ii d. Die sabbati, in allece ii d. In sprotte i d. In piscibus duris i d.

Summa iii s. iii d.

Die dominica proxima post festum sancti Luce, in carne porcina et vitulina viii d. In carne bovina ii d. In ovis i d. In gingebr' vi d. In galyngale iii d. In semels i d. In xx li. candelarum ii s. i d. Die lune, in ii mille allece xx s. In sexaginta stocfys' xii s. In xii murit' iiii s. Die martis, in osters et sprottes i d. ob. Die mercurie, in i murit' iii d. ob. In osters i d. ob. In sprotte ii d. qua. In cinapio ii d. In ovis i d. Die jovis, in osters ii d. In vino empto per vices v s. Die veneris, in piscibus recentibus vi d. Die sabbati de stauro.

Summa xlvi s. v d. ob. qua.

Die dominica proxima ante Natale Domini, in dimidia cargosia carnis vitulini x d. Die lune in vigilia Natalis, in codelyng vi d. In lamprons et anguillis x d. In sturion x d. In galentyn et vino acro vi d. In sprotte ii d. ob. In ii li. amigdolarum et i li. de rys vii d. In croco iii d. In vino vii d. Die Natale Domini, in vino vii d. In ovis vi d. In ii porcellis viii d. In i plover iii d. In carne bovina ii d. De [blank] Die mercurie de stauro. Die jovis, in volatilis i d. ob. Die veneris, in piscibus salsis iii d. ob. In sprotte iii d. In lamprons i d. In buturo i d. Die sabbati, in ix ciphis iii d. In iiii ciphis cum i curnekill i d. ob.

Summa viii s. vi d.

Die dominica sequenti, in carne vitulina v d. In carne porcina ii d. In i li. *candelarum* i d. qua. In vino v d. Die lune de stauro. Die martis, in *cinapio* ii d. In *piscibus salsis* i d. In x li. *candelarum* xii d. ob. Die mercurie et die jovis omnia de stauro. Die veneris, in *milvel* ii d. In *osters* ii d. In *lamprons* i d. In *sprotte* i d. Die sabbati omnia de stauro. In *buturo* ii d.

Summa iii s. \* x s. \* ob. qua.

Die dominica in festo Epiphanie, in carne vitulina xi d. In carne porcina ii d. In *ovis* i d. Die lune de stauro. Die martis de stauro. Die mercurie et die jovis omnia de stauro. Die veneris, in *mulvel* ii d. In *lamprons* ii d. In *salmone* ii d. Die sabbati omnia de stauro. In *iiii li. candelarum* v d. In i li. *candelarum* i d. qua.

Summa ii s. ii d.<sup>1103</sup>

(*Membrane 2*)

<sup>1103</sup>Die dominica in festo sancti Illari, in vino v d. In i *porcello* v d. In carne vitulina *iiii* d. In carne porcina i d. In *ovis* i d. Die lune omnia de stauro. Die martis, in *ovis* i d. In *xx libris candelarum* ii s. i d. Die mercurie, in carne vitulina v d. In carne porcina i d. In *butiro* i d. Die jovis omnia de stauro. Die veneris, in *sinapio* ii d. In *salmone* ii d. In *lamprons* i d. Die sabbati omnia de stauro.

Summa istius septimane *iiii* s. vi d.

Die dominica in festo sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani, in carne vitulina xi d. Die lune omnia de stauro. Die martis, in *butiro* et *ovis* ii d. In *piscibus recentibus* ii d. Die mercurie et jovis de stauro. Die veneris, in *piscibus recentibus* ii d. Die sabbati, in *piscibus recentibus* i d.

Summa istius septimane xviii d.

Die dominica proxima post festum conversionis sancti Pauli, in carne vitulina vii d. In *allaud* i d. Die lune, in *ovis* i d. Die martis, in *butiro* i d. Item, in *volatilis* i d. Die mercurie, in *ovis* i d. Diebus jovis et veneris de stauro. Die sabbati in festo *purificationis*, in

pleices et cungrē iiii d. In i lagena vini vi d. Item, in x li. candelarum xii d. ob.

Summa istius septimane ii s. x d. ob.

Die dominica in crastino purificationis, in carne mutilina xii d. In carne vitulina vi d. In carne porcina et capite i vituli vi d. In exitu i bidentis iiii d. Die lune, in ovis i d. Die martis, in butiro i d. Item, in vino v d. Die mercurie omnia de stauro. Die jovis, in i perna xviii d. In i cassa multonis xv d. Die veneris, in ostriis ii d. In salmone ii d. Item, in lamprons i d. In melvel i d.

Summa istius septimane vi s. i d.

Die dominica sequente, in dimidia carcosia carnis bovini iiii s. viii d. Item, in ii cassis multonum ii s. vi d. In carne vitulina vii d. In vino vi d. In ovis i d. Die lune et die martis omnia de stauro. Die mercurie, in butiro i d. Die jovis de stauro. Die veneris, in ostriis ii d. In salmone ii d. In pleices i d. Die sabbati de stauro.

Summa viii s. x d.

Die dominica proxima post festum sancti Valentini, in i perna xv d. In i hagiz ii d. In carne vitulina viii d. In i brusket ii d. Die lune, in ii cassis multonum ii s. In ovis iiii d. In butiro i d. In candelis xiii d. Diebus martis, mercurie et jovis omnia de stauro. Die veneris, in piscibus recentibus vi d. Die sabbati, in piscibus recentibus ii d. ob. Item, in i quarterio carnis bovini xx d.

Summa viii s. i d. ob.

Die dominica sequente, in carne bovina et mutilina v s. ii d. Diebus lune et martis omnia de stauro. Die mercurie, in carne mutilina ii s. vi d. In carne vitulina iiii d. Die jovis de stauro. Die veneris, in salmone, wilkes et pleices iiii d. Die sabbati omnia de stauro.

Summa viii s. iiii d.

Die dominica in carniprivo, in vino pro domino Furnivall' et aliis ad hastiludos vi s. ix d. In carne bovina xviii d. In carne vitulina iiii s.

iiii d. In xviii gallinis iii s. In iii gallis iiii d. ob. In i perna  
ii s. iiii d. In carne porcina recente iii d. In iiii curlues ii s.  
iiii d. In aliis volatilibus x d. In croco iiii d. In pipere vi d. In  
sinapio ii d. In zinzibere i d. In galantyn iii d. In vinegre iii d. In  
x li. candelarum xii d. ob. In ficibus et racemis iii d. In x li.  
amigdalarum xv d. In dimidia li. zucur' viii d. In ovis iii d. Die lune  
de stauro. Die martis, in butiro i d. In codeling i d. Die mercurie, in  
piscibus iiii d. In oleo iii d.

*Summa xxvi s.*

*Hic omnia talliantur cum domina preter xxxvi s.<sup>113</sup>*

*(Membrane 1 dorse)*

<sup>1103</sup>Iste die dominica \ in festo sancti Hillari / est ad talliandum cum  
domina lvi s. vii d. ob. qua.<sup>1103</sup>



Appendix 3 The *rotulus de penis compoti* for the household of King Edward I, 1298

This roll for 1298 has been selected as a relatively short example of a *rotulus de penis compoti* for the English royal household. It is interesting to note how few cases are recorded during the year, considering the complexity of the household and the opportunities for peculation and fraud. The penultimate case gives an instance of a set rate for bread per *ferculum* and surcharges the pantler and the under clerk of the pantry for the excess expended that day. Similar notions probably lay behind the other cases of goods *male expensis*. Planning of consumption in the royal household seems to have been based on a series of such equations.

The roll is made up of a single membrane. Each day's entry was written by a different hand or in a new ink. The dorse is blank.

*PRO E 101/354/30*

Rotulus de penis compoti xxvi<sup>to</sup>

*R. panetarius* Memorandum quod xxviii die Januarii in pleno compoto apud Gondavum magister Robertus panetarius regis ponebatur extra vados per unum mensem pro eo quod die veneris xxiiii die eiusdem mensis non habuit nec habere voluit panem competentem pro militibus in aula regis serviendo ob defectum cuius quidam militum panem in villa emi et per vallettos suos in aula regis coram eis asserui fecerunt ad contemptum regis manifestum. Et idem Robertus clamabat in audita sedente quod non potuit servire milites de pane competenti pro eo quod non potuit habere denarios de garderoba. Et memorandum quod ordinatum fuit eodem die in pleno compoto

per thesaurarium et senescallum quod si casus ille vel casus consimilis sibi in posterum contingerit, amittet servicium regis ex toto.

*Clericus coquine* Eodem die ponebantur super Ricardum clericum coquine et Laurencium puletarium xxii s. vii d. ob. *sterlingorum* pro puletria male expensa die dominica xxvi die Januarii.

*P. cocus* xxx die Januarii ibidem ponebatur super magistrum Petrum cocum regis xx d. *sterlingorum* pro cccxxvii allecis male expeditis in aula regis xxix die eiusdem mensis.

*Robertus hostiarius* Eodem die ponebantur super Robertum hostiarium coquine familie regis vii d. ob. *sterlingorum* pro cxxiiii allecis per ipsum receptis ad liberationes inde faciendas predicto die de quibus nescivit respondere.

*R. clericus et P. cocus* Eodem die ponebantur super Ricardum de Winton' clericum coquine regis et magistrum Petrum cocum v s. x d. *sterlingorum* pro lxx ferculis *stokfish* et *aberden'* male expeditis in aula regis die supradicto.

*R. panetarius* Memorandum quod vi die Februarii ponebantur super Robertum panetarium v s. *sterlingorum* pro tot denariis panis male expensis in aula die mercurii quinto die Februarii.

xix die F..... Marcii

*Wherewell* xxii die Marcii ponebantur super magistrum Willelmum de *Wherewell'* vi d. pro c allecis male expensis in camera regis die veneris xxi die Marcii.

*Clericus coquine et Skarlet* xxiiii die Marcii ponebantur super Ricardum de Wynton' clericum coquine et super magistrum Robertum Skarlet cocum iii s. x d. pro xlvi ferculis de *abreden'* et *morrucca* male expensis apud *Chetham'* xxi die Marcii.

Eodem die ponebantur super eosdem x...xii s. pro cccc allecis expensis die dominica xxiii die Marcii de quibus nesciebant respondere.

xxvii die Marcii ponebantur super eosdem v s. pro lx ferculis de stokfish, aberden' et murouca male expensis apud Thurrok' xxv die Marcii.

*Lardinarius regis* Tercio die Aprilis ponebantur super eosdem et Johannem de Pontefracto lardinarium viii s. vi d. pro cxxxiiii ferculis de abreden' et morruca male expensis apud Westmonasterium secundo die Aprilis.

*J. salsarius* viii die Aprilis ponebatur magister J. salsarius extra vados quousque per senescallum et thesaurarium fuerit readmissus quia non habuit pastellos ad serviendum in aula prout per dictum \* thesaurarium \* senescallum fuit ordinatum.

\* *Skarlet et Bavent* Eodem die .... fuerunt extra vados per [blank] pro eadem causa magister R.Skarlet et R.Bavent. \* Condonatur per senescallum.

.....*tarius* Sexto die Junii ponebantur super magistrum R. panetarium et Henricum subclericum panetrie iii s. xi d. pro pane male expensa apud Wartre in aula regis quinto die Junii quia quodlibet ferculum in aula computabatur ad ii d. et fuerunt ultra iii s. xi d.

.....*ston'* Eodem die ponebantur super Gilbertum Goldston' iii s. iiii d. pro x sexteriis cervisie male expensis in servicio aule.

Appendix 4 A preliminary list of surviving accounts and other documents for private households in England

This list provides a brief guide to the surviving accounts for private households. It includes accounts for all private households, lay and ecclesiastical, but excludes those of the royal households and corporate households. It also includes other household documents, such as ordinances. It is to be expected that other accounts will come to light: the way in which many have been preserved, as pastedowns, etc., makes it inevitable that further examination of, for example, medieval books will lead to the discovery of other examples. Accounts dating from after 1500 are only noted where they form part of a sequence with earlier material or have been used extensively in this study. Accounts for which it has not been possible to identify the household have been placed at the end of the list. No mention is made of receiver's accounts unless they contain a substantial household element.

**ARUNDEL, Thomas, Bishop of Ely**

Monthly diet accounts, discussed by M.Aston *Thomas Arundel: a study of church life in the reign of Richard II* (Oxford, 1967) pp. 165-284.

CUL EDR D5/3 1 Oct 1380 - 31 Oct 1380

CUL EDR D5/2 1 Sep 1381 - 30 Sep 1381

CUL EDR D5/4 1 Nov 1381 - 30 Nov 1381

CUL EDR D5/7a 2 Jul 1383 - 31 Jul 1383

CUL EDR D5/7 1 Aug 1383 - 31 Aug 1383

PRO E 101/510/27 1 Oct 1383 - 31 Oct 1383

PRO E 101/400/28 1 Nov 1383 - 31 Dec 1383 (two one monthly rolls sewn together at the foot)

CUL EDR D5/5 1 Aug 1384 - 31 Aug 1384

CUL EDR D5/6 1 Sep 1384 - 30 Sep 1384

**ATHOLL, Isobel, Countess of**

Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Archives, Miscellaneous Accounts 61: two fragments of a household account, c.1273-4, taken from a binding. One fragment contains portions of the text of the account; the other is a strip with nothing except a few marginal headings. The expenses contain payments for a variety of items, for fish, shoes, wages and alms, and legal expenses.

**AUDLEY, Hugh, the younger, later Earl of Gloucester**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/510/17 12 Jan 1320 - 16 Jan 1320

PRO E 101/372/4 17 Jan 1320 - 11 Apr 1320

PRO E 101/505/17 12 Apr 1320 - 6 Jul 1320

The identification of the account is given by J.R.S. Phillips *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 1307-24* (Oxford, 1972) p. 245, n. 1. The third fragment, E 101/505/17, is attributed in the PRO list and by N. Denholm Young *Seignorial administration in England* (Oxford, 1937) p. 8, n. 2, and by others to the Earl of Warenne, 13 or 15 Edward I; but the account is in exactly the same form as the other two fragments and is of the same date (the date of Whitsun is given, which fixes Easter to 30 March, and there is a reference to year 13, i.e. 13 Edward II).

**BEAUCHAMP, Margaret, Countess of Warwick**

Annual cash, corn and stock account

PRO E 101/513/2 1 Oct 1405 - 30 Sep 1406

**BEAUCHAMP, Richard, Earl of Warwick**

Longleat House MS Misc. IX 29 Sep 1420 - 29 Sep 1421, a volume of diet accounts described by C.D. Ross, "The household accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley, Countess of Warwick, 1420-1", *TBGAS* 70 (1951) pp. 81-105.

Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5 14 Mar 1431 - 14 Mar 1432, a volume of diet accounts, a short extract of which is printed by H.A.Cronne and R.H.Hilton, "The Beauchamp household book: account of a journey to Warwick in 1432", *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 2 (1949-50) pp. 208-18.

BL Egerton Roll 8775 1 Oct 1435 - 10 Oct 1436, an annual cash, corn and stock account for the household.

**BEAUCHAMP, Richard, Bishop of Salisbury**

PRO C 47/3/32/36 1 Dec 1466 - 16 Feb 1467, a fragmentary paper, originally part of a book of accounts of the clerk of the kitchen, containing the particulars of his account. Only two paragraphs remain, one for receipts, the other listing creditors.

**BEAUFORT, Margaret, Countess of Richmond**

Accounts of the cofferer or treasurer of the chamber, largely for wardrobe type items

SJC D91.17 24 Jun 1498 - 12 Jan 1499

SJC D102.2 20 May 1501 - 18 Dec 1501

SJC D91.20 1 Feb 1502 - 14 Jan 1505

SJC D91.21 14 Jan 1505 - 14 Jan 1507

SJC D91.19 14 Jan 1507 - 14 Jan 1509

SJC D102.1 20 Jan 1509 - 29 Jun 1509

Annual cash, corn and stock account

SJC D91.16 13 Jan 1506 - 13 Jan 1507

Cash account of receipts and payments, largely connected with landed administration, but noting liveries to the treasurer of the household

SJC D102.10 1 Jan 1499 - 3 Oct 1509

**BELL, Richard, Bishop of Carlisle**

Annual cash, corn and stock account, described by C.R.Davey, "Early diocesan accounts at Carlisle", *JSA* 3 (1965-9) pp. 424-5.

Cumbria RO DRC/2/29 c.1485-6

**BERKELEY, Thomas, Lord**

Accounts of the lord's chamberlain, John Averary, largely for expenses on journeys

Berkeley SR 62 n.d. c.1320-50

Berkeley SR 63 n.d. c.1330-60

Wardrobe accounts

Berkeley SR 39 1 Jan 1327 - 29 Sep 1327, an account for the steward of Berkeley, including expenses for the purchase of spices.

Berkeley SR 60 24 Apr 1328 - 4 Sep 1328, extracts transcribed in I.H.Jeayes *Descriptive catalogue of the charters and muniments in the possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge, at Berkeley Castle* (Bristol, 1892) pp. 283-5.

Diet accounts

Berkeley SR 58 5 Aug 1328 - 10 Sep 1328

Berkeley SR 61 1328-9 and possibly other years: an Exchequer fashion roll of six membranes of diet accounts, not all in the same form and not in a chronological sequence. Mem. 1, starts after 19 May, year not known; mem. 2, for May 1329; mem. 3, starts 7 Nov 1328; mem. 4, starts 30 Sep 1328; mem. 5, starts 30 Nov, year not known; and mem. 6 starts the Sunday before Hilary in an unknown year.

Annual cash and stock statement

Berkeley SR 64 1346-7

**BOHUN, Elizabeth de, Countess of Hereford**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/365/20 1304

PRO E 101/366/30 27 Sep 1305 - 12 Oct 1305, possibly subsidiary to a royal household or wardrobe account.

**BOHUN, Humphrey de, Earl of Hereford**

Diet account

PRO E 101/365/17 1304, noted in C.H.Hartshorne, "Illustrations of domestic manners during the reign of Edward I", *JBAA* 18 (1862) p. 327.

Agreement granting rights of sustenance and livery in the household of the Earl of Hereford, equivalent to that of an esquire

PRO DL 25/2026 7 Feb 1312

**BOLYNIOP, Gilbert de, Prior of the Holy Trinity, Dublin**

Diet account and an account for wardrobe expenses, 17 Nov 1337 - 25 Apr 1339, printed in *Account roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin 1337-1346* ed. J.Mills (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin, 1891) pp. 1-25.

**BOTILLER, Sir Edward**

A cash account of the clerk of the household

Shropshire RO 665/Box 33 (Eyton collection) 1 Apr 1400 - 12 Jan 1401

**BOURGCHIER, John**

Bond for payment of a loan

Longleat House MS 152 n.d. late 14th or early 15th century

Memorandum of the purchase of cloths, endorsed with a note of part payment

Longleat House MS 140 29 Nov 1392



**BOURGCHIER, Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, later Archbishop of Canterbury**

Receiver's account, noting totals of household expenses by department

Hereford and Worcester RO, Fish Street, Worcester, 009:1 BA 2636

Box 175 92475 26 Mar 1435 - 30 Sep 1436

Diet accounts

Lambeth Palace Library, Estate Document 1973 5 Oct 1459 - 31 Oct 1459

**BOZOUN, Thomas, of Woodford, Northants.**

Diet account

1 May 1348 - 28 Jun 1348, printed by G.H.Fowler, "A household expense roll, 1328", *EHR* 55 (1940) pp. 630-4, where the roll is incorrectly dated 1328. A discussion of the date of this document is given in Chapter 5. The document was deposited in the Bedfordshire RO between 1936 and 1940. Its present location is unknown.

**BRYENE, Dame Alice de, of Acton Hall, Suffolk**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/4/8A 29 Mar 1412 - 30 Apr 1412, printed in translation in *The household book of Dame Alice de Bryene, of Acton Hall, Suffolk, Sept. 1412 - Sept. 1413 with appendices* ed. M.K.Dale and V.B.Redstone (Ipswich, 1931) pp. 106-15.

PRO C 47/4/8B 28 Sep 1412 - 28 Sep 1413, printed in translation in *The household of book of Dame Alice de Bryene* pp. 1-105.

Annual cash, corn and stock account

PRO SC 6/1249/4 28 Sep 1418 - 28 Sep 1419, printed in translation in *The household book of Dame Alice de Bryene* pp. 116-39.

**BURGH, Elizabeth de, Lady of Clare**

More than one hundred accounts in PRO E 101/91-5 are noted in *List of Exchequer accounts various* (PRO Lists and Indexes, 35; 1912) pp. 82-4.

The accounts are discussed in Chapter 5 and in C.A.Musgrave, "Household administration in the fourteenth century with special reference to the household of Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1923. Further accounts for her household are PRO E 101/510/13, a daily counter-roll, and E 101/510/14, an abbreviated form of the daily counter-roll.

**CATESBY, John de**

PRO E 101/510/21        29 Sep 1379 - 13 May 1380 includes household expenses and purchases of cloth, together with agricultural expenses.

PRO E 101/511/15    30 Sep 1392 - 30 Sep 1393 covers both household and building expenses, and includes a receiver's account roll.

PRO E 101/512/5    *temp.* Richard II, records general household and building expenses.

PRO E 41/376, mem. 8    19 Jan 1397 - post 2 Feb 1397, a fragment of travelling expenses in the form of a diet account, reproduced and discussed in J.B.Post, "A privately drafted common petition of 1398-9", *JSA* 6 (1978-81) pp. 10-17.

**CELY, George**

Accounts of purchases

PRO C 47/37/11/6-17    1474-6

**CHEDWORTH, Thomas de**

Diet accounts for expenses on a journey

PRO E 101/507/8    c.1328, possibly connected with a Clare household

**CLARE household**

A list of debts incurred in Clare and Sudbury for the household of a lord and lady

PRO C 47/3/32/28 n.d. c.1290-1320: the attribution of the document is discussed by M.Altschul *A baronial family in medieval England: the Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965) p. 233, n. 114.

**CLARE, Bogo de**

The accounts of Bogo de Clare are discussed in M.S.Giuseppi, "The wardrobe and household accounts of Bogo de Clare, A.D.1284-6", *Archaeologia* 70 (1918-20) pp. 19-26; C.H.Hartshorne, "Illustrations of domestic manners during the reign of Edward I", *JBAA* 18 (1862) p. 66 *et seqq.*; and by M.Altschul *A baronial family in medieval England: the Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965).

**Diet accounts**

PRO E 101/506/5 c.1280, five days' expenses on a journey passing through Melton Mowbray

PRO E 101/91/5 12 Oct 1284 - 2 Nov 1284

PRO E 101/91/1 1285

PRO E 101/91/2 from 1 May 1285

**Wardrobe accounts**

PRO E 101/91/4 14 Jun 1284 - 2 Mar 1285, printed by Giuseppi, pp. 19-26.

PRO E 101/91/31 14 Jun 1284 - 2 Mar 1285, the final account of E 101/91/4.

PRO E 101/91/3 12 Mar 1285 - 29 Sep 1285, printed by Giuseppi, pp. 26-40.

PRO E 101/91/7, with E 101/91/6, its counter-roll 25 Dec 1285 - 2 Jun 1286, printed by Giuseppi, pp. 41-56.

**CLARE, Gilbert de, Earl of Gloucester**

List of members of the household

PRO E 101/91/10 n.d. early 14th century

Expenses of horses

PRO E 101/91/8 20 Oct 1301 - 8 Apr 1302, two rolls, duplicates, possibly a main roll and its counter-roll.

Wardrobe expenses

PRO E 101/91/9 3 Apr 1306 - 25 Dec 1306, possibly associated with the royal wardrobe.

Staffs. RO D 641/1/3/1 3 Dec 1307 - 19 Jul 1308, described as number 18 in "Catalogue of a loan exhibition of notable documents from private muniments arranged at Skinners' Hall, 15 November, 1937", *British Record Association Proceedings* 3 (1938) p. 40.

*Compota domestica familiarum de Bukingham et d'Angoulême 1443, 1452, 1462, quibus annexae expensae cujusdam comitis in itinere 1273* ed. W.B.D.D.Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1836, with addendum, 1841) pp. 95-104 is an edition of a group of accounts, probably vouchers for the wardrobe's account, including part of the expenses of the journey of the Earl of Gloucester from Berwick to Usk, 27 Jan 1309 - 8 Feb 1309. The present location of these documents is unknown.

**COURTENAY, Edward de, Earl of Devon**

Annual cash, corn and stock accounts for the household at Tiverton

Devon RO CR 535 8 Nov 1382 - 27 Sep 1383

Devon RO CR 491 27 Sep 1383 - 24 Sep 1384

BL Add. Roll 64803 24 Sep 1384 - 30 Jun 1385

Livery roll, recording the issue of cloth to the household

BL Add. Roll 64320 1384-5

Entries for the purchase of cloth for the household also occur on the accounts of the receiver general, for example, Devon RO CR 488 and CR 500, and BL Add. Ch. 13972.

**COURTENAY, Henry**

Annual cash accounts of the steward of the household

WAM 9215 29 Sep 1463 - 29 Sep 1464

WAM 3527 29 Sep 1464 - 29 Sep 1465

**COURTENAY, Henry, Earl of Devon**

Journal of household expenses, arranged by class of expense

PRO E 36/218 Jan 1519 - Mar 1519

Journal of payments, including expenses of journeys, cloth and horse harness

PRO E 36/225 1525

**COURTENAY, Hugh and Edward, sons of the Earl of Devon**

Account of the expenses of John Fouke on their behalf on various journeys and for the purchase of wardrobe items

Devon RO CR 1466 26 Jul 1395 - 23 Feb 1400 (the account may originally have been numbered CR 549, which has been missing since 1928).

**COURTENAY, Katherine, Countess of Devon**

Diet accounts

PRO E 36/223 26 Sep 1523 - 29 Sep 1524

**CROMWELL, Ralph, Lord**

Account of his Lincolnshire receiver, formerly keeper of his household, listing debts outstanding from his period of office

MCO Miscellaneous Deed 318 29 Sep 1433 - 29 Sep 1435

Accounts of the steward of the household or clerk of the kitchen

Kent AO U1475 A90 29 Sep 1444 - 31 May 1446

Kent AO U1475 A91 31 May 1450 - 31 Jul 1451

Account for the household at Tattershall

Kent AO U1475 A93 1447, discussed by E.M.Myatt-Price, "The twelve at Tattershall", *Accounting Review* 35 (1960) pp. 680-5.

Statement of the expenses of the great household at Tattershall Castle after the death of Cromwell

MCO Miscellaneous Deed 422 c.1456

The accounts of Ralph, Lord Cromwell are also discussed in E.Price, "Ralph, Lord Cromwell, and his household studied in relation to household accounts in the possession of Lord de l'Isle and Dudley", *BIHR* 22 (1949) pp. 168-70; and by E.M.Myatt-Price, "Cromwell household accounts, 1417-1476", in *Studies in the history of accounting* ed. A.C.Littleton and B.S.Yamey (London, 1956) pp. 99-113.

**CROMWELL, Sir William and Dame Margaret**

Accounts of the steward of the household

Kent AO U1475 A82 1417-18

Kent AO U1475 A83 1419-20

The accounts are discussed by E.M.Myatt-Price, "Cromwell household accounts, 1417-1476", in *Studies in the history of accounting* ed. A.C.Littleton and B.S.Yamey (London, 1956) pp. 99-113.

**DALEY, John**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/512/4 temp. Richard II

**DEEPING, John, Abbot of Peterborough**

Accounts of the abbot's receiver

BL Add. MS 25288, ff. 93-104 1414, printed in *Account rolls of the obedientiaries of Peterborough* ed. J.Greatrex (Northamptonshire Record Society, 33; 1984) pp. 134-59

Northants. RO Peterborough D. and C. account rolls II/11 1426-7, printed in *Account rolls ... Peterborough* pp. 160-2.

Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 243 1433-4, printed in *Account rolls ... Peterborough* pp. 162-72.

**DINHAM, Joan, Lady**

Diet accounts

Arundell MA 411 6 Oct 1367 - 29 Sep 1368

**DINHAM, John, Lord**

Annual cash, corn and stock account for the household at Hartland

Arundell MA 412 29 Sep 1372 - 29 Sep 1373

Expenses on journeys, business and wardrobe items, for John, Lord Dinham, d. 7 Jan 1382/3, and his son, John, d. 25 Dec 1428

Arundell MA 424a n.d. late 14th century

Arundell MA 431 n.d. late 14th century

Arundell MA 416a Hilary term 1381

Arundell MA 414 Easter 1381 and after

Arundell MA 415 29 Sep 1381 and after

Arundell MA 416 25 Dec 1381 and after

Arundell MA 418 1382-3

Arundell MA 415a 24 Jun 1382 and after

Arundell MA 417 18 Feb 1383 and after

Arundell MA 419 1383-4

Arundell MA 420 1384-5

Arundell MA 422 c.1385-6  
Arundell MA 421 Epiphany 1386 and after  
Arundell MA 420a after Easter 1386  
Arundell MA 423 4 May 1386 - 31 May 1386  
Arundell MA 424 Hilary term 1387  
Arundell MA 425 c.1387-8  
Arundell MA 426 Hilary term 1389  
Arundell MA 427 1393-4  
Arundell MA 429 Feb 1401 - Apr 1401

**DINHAM, John, Lord**

Indenture listing all the goods in the pantry and buttery of John, Lord  
Dinham, d. 25 Jan 1457/8  
Arundell MA 430 5 Jan 1435

**DOM, Sir Edward, of West Saunderton**

Monthly household accounts  
Warws. RO CR 895/106 Sep 1510 - Apr 1551  
Warws. RO CR 895/45 1513, 1518, 1533

**DURHAM, Prior of**

Diet accounts for an unidentified Prior of Durham  
Durham D. and C., Misc. Charter 214 c.1350-80  
Diet accounts for the *ludi* of the monks of Durham, subsidiary to the  
accounts of the prior's household  
Durham D. and C., Misc. Charter 213 c.1350-80  
Durham D. and C., Misc. Charter 210 c.Nov 1390  
Durham D. and C., Misc. Charter 211 c.2 Feb 1392  
Durham D. and C., Misc. Charter 211\* c.27 Apr 1392  
Durham D. and C., Misc. Charter 212 c.24 Jun 1392



**EDENDON, William, Bishop of Winchester**

Diet accounts

Hants. RO 148M71/3/1/2 22 Sep - 30 Sep in probably 1351, 1356 or 1362

**EDMUND OF WOODSTOCK**

Journal of household expenses

PRO E 101/374/9 30 Sep 1310 - 8 Jun 1311

**EDWARD OF WINDSOR**

Diet accounts

Bodl. MS Bodley 751, ff. ii-v 12 Aug 1325 - 11 Sep 1325, part printed in N.Denholm Young, "Edward of Windsor and Bermondsey Priory", *EHR* 48 (1933) pp. 431-43.

**ELEANOR OF BRITTANY**

Diet accounts, probably for the household of Eleanor of Brittany: *Accounts of the constables of Bristol castle in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries* ed. M.Sharp (Bristol Record Society, 34; 1982) p. xvi.

PRO E 101/350/11 7 Jun 1225 - 6 Mar 1226

**ERESBY**

Household ordinances, discussed in Tout *Chapters* ii, pp. 182-3, and part printed in J.C.Davis *The baronial opposition to Edward II* (Cambridge, 1918) p. 569.

PRO C 47/3/33 12 King Edward II or III

**EYE, Simon de, Abbot of Ramsey**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/507/17 1337-8

**EYRE family of Derbyshire**

Expense accounts for household and other purchases

Bodl. MS DD Weld c. 19/4/2 and 4 1472-5

**FASTOLF, Sir John**

Annual cash and stock account of the steward of the household

MCO Fastolf Paper 8 29 Sep 1430 - 29 Sep 1431

Other household expense accounts

MCO Estate Paper 176/9 29 Sep 1448 - 24 Jun 1451

Wardrobe accounts

MCO Fastolf Paper 43 1454-5

**FERRERS family**

Annual cash account, possibly a formulary or specimen account

PRO E 101/518/33 1 Jan 1522 - 1 Jan 1523

**GINGE, William, Abbot of Peterborough**

Account of the abbot's receiver

Northants. RO Peterborough D. and C. account rolls I/15 1404-5, printed  
in *Account rolls ... Peterborough* pp. 111-34.

**GRA, John**

Accounts of purchases for the household, annexed to the account of the  
Lincolnshire receiver

MCO Estate Paper 56/13 29 Sep 1425 - 29 Sep 1426

**GREY, Henry, Lord de, of Codnor, Derbyshire**

Diet accounts, with an account for miscellaneous purchases, of cups, saucers, plates, oblations, gifts to the poor, shoes, harness and expenses on business, on the dorse

Nottingham UL Middleton MS Mi A1 3 Dec 1304 - 3 Feb 1305, extracts printed in Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *Report on the manuscripts of Lord Middleton, preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire* (London, 1911) pp. 324-7.

**HALES, John, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield**

Diet accounts

Staffs. RO D(W)1734/3/3/264 24 May 1461 - 2 Oct 1461

**HENRY OF BOLINGBROKE, Earl of Derby, later King Henry IV**

Wardrobe accounts

PRO DL 28/1/1 29 Sep 1381 - 29 Sep 1382

PRO DL 28/1/2 30 Sep 1387 - 30 Sep 1388

PRO DL 28/1/3 13 May 1391 - 13 May 1392

PRO DL 28/1/4 30 Jun 1393 - 15 Feb 1394

PRO DL 28/1/5 1 Feb 1395 - 1 Feb 1396

PRO DL 28/1/6 1 Feb 1397 - 1 Nov 1398

Accounts of the treasurer of the household

PRO DL 28/1/7 6 May 1390 - 30 Apr 1391, printed in *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV) in 1390-1 and 1392-3, being the accounts kept by his treasurer* ed. L.T.Smith (Camden society, new series, 52; 1894)

PRO DL 28/1/8 16 Jul 1392 - 16 Jul 1393, printed in *Expeditions to Prussia...*

These accounts are also discussed by G.M.Stretton, "Some aspects of medieval travel etc., with special reference to the wardrobe accounts of

Henry, Earl of Derby, 1390-3", *TRHS* 4th series, 7 (1924) pp. 77-97; *idem*, "The travelling (noble) household in the Middle Ages", *JBAA* new series, 40 (1934) pp. 75-103; and *idem*, "An earl's voyages in the late fourteenth century from the evidence of household account books", *Mariners' Mirror* 11 (1925) pp. 307-15.

Cash journals of the treasurer of the household

PRO DL 28/1/9 1 Oct 1396 - 30 Sep 1397

PRO DL 28/1/10 1 Oct 1397 - 30 Sep 1398

**HOLLAND, Duchess of**

List of liveries from the treasurer of England to the Duchess of Holland for household expenses

PRO E 101/514/9 15 Oct 1422

**HOLM, Roger de**

Diet accounts

Norfolk RO Le Strange of Hunstanton MSS, NH1 1328, printed in translation by G.H.Holley, "The earliest roll of household accounts in the muniment room at Hunstanton for the second year of Edward III [1328] ", *Norfolk Archaeology* 21 (1920-2) pp. 77-96.

**HOWARD, John, Duke of Norfolk**

Diet accounts

Norfolk RO NNAS Safe 2/6 P188E c.1445-50, with a calendar of the household

BL Add. MS 46349 Nov 1462 - Jul 1469, printed in *Manners and household expenses in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries* ed. T.H.Turner (Roxburghe Club, 1841) pp. lxxxv-xcv, 149-458.

Society of Antiquaries MS, printed as *Household books of John, Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 1481-90* ed. J.P.Collier (Roxburghe Club, 1844).

A household book of the Duke of Norfolk was formerly in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

**JOAN OF VALENCE, Countess of Pembroke**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/505/25 29 Sep 1295 - 1296

PRO E 101/505/26-7 1296-7

The accounts are discussed by C.H.Hartshorne, "Illustrations of domestic manners during the reign of Edward I", *JBAA* 18 (1862) pp. 213-20.

**JOHN OF GAUNT**

Stable accounts and accounts of daily household attendance and livery

East Sussex RO MS GLY 3469 (1) - (17) 1381, 1391-4

Household cash journal

East Sussex RO MS GLY 3469 (18) - (20) 1383

R.F.Dell *Catalogue of the Glynde Place Archives* (Lewes, 1964) pp. 260-2, describes the accounts noted above and their separation from the Waleys cartulary to which they originally formed a backing.

Wardrobe accounts

Peterhouse, Cambridge MS 42, ff. 1-2 1383-4, transcribed in M.R.James *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Peterhouse, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1899) pp. 61-3, where the account is attributed to Henry Dispenser, Bishop of Norwich. The account was identified as belonging to John of Gaunt by M.Sharp, "A fragmentary household account of John of Gaunt", *BIHR* 13 (1935-6) pp. 154-60.

**JOHN OF LANCASTER, Duke of Bedford**

Two (?) household accounts of Bedford were formerly in the Bibliothèque du Louvre and were destroyed in the fire of May 1871. F.1286 (18ff) roll of the expenses and liberalities of the household of the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, made by Thomas Scarlet; roll of the household expenses of the Duke, upon the account of John Barton, knight, treasurer of the Duke, 1 Oct 1427 - 30 Sep 1428.

BL Add. Ch. 7963, letter from John, Duke of Bedford, to John Barton, recently treasurer of his household, ordering him to allow a sum at the foot of the account of the master butler of the household, 2 Jun 1430.

**KIRKTON, Robert, Abbot of Peterborough**

Account of the abbot's receiver

Northants. RO Peterborough D. and C. account rolls III/12 1505-6, printed in *Account rolls ... Peterborough* pp. 186-200.

**LACY, Henry de, Earl of Lincoln**

Account of purchases made at Corbridge fair

PRO DL 28/1/12 c.24 Jun 1298

Diet accounts

Notts. RO DDFJ 8/4/1 24 May [1299] - 7 Jun [1299]

The household is discussed in J.F.Baldwin, "The household administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster", *EHR* 42 (1927) pp. 180-200.

**LANGLEY, Henry**

Account of Simon the cook

PRO E 101/516/9 13 Mar 1473 and after

**LANGTON, Walter, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/3/27 c.1296-7, an account for a journey probably on royal business

Memorandum of expenses of two days' stay at "le Grave"

PRO E 101/631/7 14 Feb 1317 - 15 Feb 1317

**LE STRANGE FAMILY**

Diet accounts

Norfolk RO Le Strange family muniments NH 1-12 (NH 9 now missing)  
1328-54

NH 1 is printed in translation by G.H.Holley, "The earliest roll of household accounts in the muniment room at Hunstanton for the second year of Edward III [1328]", *Norfolk Archaeology* 21 (1920-2) pp. 77-96.

A translation of the Christmas period of the account for 1347-8 is given by H.Le Strange, "A roll of household accounts of Sir Hamon Le Strange of Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1347-8", *Archaeologia* 69 (1920) pp. 111-20.

**LEYBURN, Roger**

Diet accounts, part of a bundle of nine documents, seven of which are accounts submitted to the Exchequer by or on behalf of Roger Leyburn for expenses incurred in keeping the royal castles of Carlisle, Rochester and Nottingham and fighting rebels in Essex, the Weald and the Cinque Ports.

PRO E 101/3/9 c.1266-7. Membrane 4 is printed in A.Lewis, "Roger Leyburn and the pacification of England, 1265-7", *EHR* 54 (1939) pp. 193-214.

**LITLINGTON, Nicholas de, Abbot of Westminster**

Annual cash, corn and stock accounts of the keeper of the household

WAM 24510 28 Sep 1362 - 29 Sep 1363

WAM 24511 28 Sep 1364 - 29 Sep 1365

WAM 24512 28 Sep 1367 - 29 Sep 1368

Diet accounts

PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1 29 Sep 1371 - 28 Sep 1372; 29 Sep 1372 - 28 Sep 1373; late Sep and early Oct 1374; and Sep 1375: a series of books and parts of books of diet accounts for four consecutive years

**LOVELL, John, Lord**

Warrant for household supplies

MCO Deeds Brackley 84 c.1400

**LUDEGATE, Simon de, Prior of the Holy Trinity, Dublin**

Account for wardrobe expenses, 26 Dec 1344 - 3 Jul 1345, printed in *Account roll of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin 1337-1346* ed. J.Mills (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin, 1891) pp. 88-105.

**LUTTRELL, Sir Hugh**

Diet accounts

Somerset RO DD/L P37/7 27 Jun 1405 - 27 Jun 1406

Annual cash, corn and stock accounts of the provisioner or clerk of the household at Dunster

Somerset RO DD/L P37/9 24 Feb 1421 - 8 Dec 1421

Somerset RO DD/L P37/10A 1 Nov 1422 - 3 Oct 1423

Somerset RO DD/L P37/10B 3 Oct 1423 - 1 Oct 1424

Somerset RO DD/L P37/10C 29 Sep 1425 - 30 Sep 1426

Receipt for the expenses of Dame Elizabeth Haryngton for her expenses in the household of Sir Hugh Luttrell

Somerset RO DD/L P37/53 3 Jan 1425: listed in Prynne's catalogue of the Dunster muniments but no longer present.



Extracts from the accounts are given in H.C.Maxwell-Lyte *Dunster and its lords 1066-1881* (Exeter, 1882) pp. 114-20, 128-9.

**LUTTRELL, Sir John**

Annual cash, corn and stock account of the steward of the household at Dunster

Somerset RO DD/L P37/11 29 Sep 1429 - 30 Sep 1430

Extracts from the account are given in H.C.Maxwell-Lyte *Dunster and its lords 1066-1881* (Exeter, 1882) pp. 131-2.

**LUTTRELL, Margaret**

Cash, corn and stock account of the steward of the household at Carhampton

Somerset RO DD/L P37/12 30 Sep 1431 - 2 May 1432

**MAUDUYT, John**

Wardrobe expenses and liveries to cover household expenses

PRO E 101/506/19 1312-14

**MAULEY, Peter de**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/509/29 c.1320-50 (possible years: 1316, 1322, 1333, 1344, 1350)

**MITFORD, Richard, Bishop of Salisbury**

Diet accounts

BL MS Harley 3755 1 Oct 1406 - 10 Jun 1407

**MOLYNS, William**

Annual cash, corn and stock account of the steward of the household

PRO E 101/512/17 29 Sep 1401 - 30 Sep 1402

**MONTAGUE, William de, fifth Earl of Salisbury**

Account of the treasurer of the Earl, including expenses on wardrobe items

PRO E 101/509/11 17 Feb 1367 - 15 Mar 1368

**MONTFORT, Eleanor de, Countess of Leicester**

Diet accounts, with wardrobe expenses on the dorse

BL Add. MS 8877 19 Feb 1265 - 29 Aug 1265, printed in *Manners and household expenses of England in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries* ed. T.H.Turner (Roxburghe Club, 1841) pp. iv-lvi, 1-86. The roll forms the basis for M.W.Labarge *A baronial household of the thirteenth century* (Brighton, 1980) and is also discussed by her in "Eleanor de Montfort's household rolls", *History Today* 11 (1961) pp. 490-500, and by M.T.Clanchy *From memory to written record: England 1066-1307* (London, 1979) pp. 71-2 and plate XI.

**MORDAUNT, William**

Household and other expenses

Northants. RO Stopford Sackville MS 3689 1499-1516

**MORLEY, Isabella, Lady**

Cash account for household expenses

BL Add. MS 34122A 29 Sep 1463 - 29 Sep 1464

**MORTIMER, Edmund, Earl of March**

Diet and travelling expenses

BL Egerton Roll 8728 29 May [1378] - 15 Jun [1378]

**MORTIMER, Edmund, Earl of March**

Account of Mortimer's personal expenditure

BL Egerton Roll 8746 7 Sep 1413 - 10 Apr 1414

**MORTIMER, Roger de**

Diet accounts

BL MS Harley 2253, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>v</sup> early 14th century, possibly 1308-11

The accounts and their attribution are discussed in the *New palaeographical society* 1st series, ii, part 10 (1912) plate 241 and notes (account not illustrated); in *Anglo-Norman political songs* ed. I.S.T.Aspin (ANTS, 11; 1953) pp. 24-5, where it is suggested that the lord of the household was Thomas Charlton, Bishop of Hereford; and *Facsimile of British Museum MS Harley 2253* ed. N.R.Ker (EETS, 255; 1965) pp. ix, xxii-xxiii.

**MORTIMER, Roger, Earl of March**

Wardrobe accounts

BL Egerton Roll 8738 24 Apr 1393 - 23 Apr 1394, printed by W.P.Baildon, "A wardrobe account of 16-17 Richard II, 1393-4", *Archaeologia* 62 (1911) pp. 497-514, where it is incorrectly identified as a royal wardrobe account.

BL Egerton Charters 7350-1 Mar 1395, memoranda of wardrobe purchases, vouchers for an account similar to the preceding.

**MOUNTFORD FAMILY of Coleshill, Warws.**

Diet accounts, combined with accounts for the receiver, wardrobe and agricultural expenses

Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO, Archer collection, DR 37/Box 73 11 Dec 1433 - 11 Dec 1434

**MULTON, John de, of Frampton, Lincs.**

Diet accounts

MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160 29 Sep 1343 - 29 Mar 1344, with receiver's and wardrobe accounts on the dorse.

MCO Estate Paper 85/2 30 Sep 1347 - 5 Mar 1348

Both accounts are described in Chapter 5 and edited in Appendix 2.

**MULTON, Thomas de**

Agreement for residence in his household

MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 122 1327

**NEVILLE, Hugh de**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/3/1 1 Mar 1207 - 27 Apr 1207

**NEVILLE, Thomas de, Lord Furnivall**

Annual cash account for the foreign household included in what is predominantly a receiver's account

Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection 29 Sep 1401 - 30 Sep 1402, transcribed in B.Ross, "The accounts of the Talbot household at Blakemere in the county of Shropshire, 1394-1425", unpublished M.A. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 10-55.

**NEWYNTON, William de, Abbot of Pershore**

Annual cash account of the keeper of the abbot's household

PRO SC 6/1072/22 30 Sep 1430 - 30 Sep 1431

**NORWICH, Dame Katherine de**

Diet accounts

BL Add. Roll 63207 29 Sep 1336 - 30 Apr 1337

**OVERTON, Henry de, Abbot of Peterborough**

Diet accounts

Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 266 29 Dec 1370 - 5 Apr 1371, printed in *Account rolls ... Peterborough* pp. 56-83.

**PERCY, Henry Algernon, fifth Earl of Northumberland**

Household regulations

There are two volumes of regulations, model accounting documents and papers relating to domestic planning. The first, at Alnwick Castle, is printed in *The regulations and establishment of Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland, at this castles of Wresill and Leginfield in Yorkshire. Begun anno domini MDXII* ed. T.Percy (London, 1770). A companion volume is in the Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. b. 208, described by D.M.Barratt, "A second Northumberland household book", *Bodleian Library Record* 8 (1967-72) pp. 93-8.

Accounts of receipts and expenses, some for the household

PRO E 36/226 29 Sep 1514 - 29 Sep 1526

**PEVEREL, Thomas, Bishop of Worcester**

Notes from diet accounts, giving the overall costs of purchases and expenses borne by William Barbour; note of spices received and notes of foreign expenses, in an ecclesiastical formulary book.

CUL EDR F5/33 1413

**PLANTAGENET, Edward, Duke of York**

A journal of purchases for the household, described as a "counter-roll".

Northants. RO Westmorland (Apethorpe) 4. xx. 4. 1 Oct 1409 - 20 Jun 1410

**PLANTAGENET, Margaret, Countess of Norfolk**

Annual cash, corn and stock account for the keeper of the household at Framlingham

BL Add. Ch. 17208 1 Oct 1385 - 30 Sep 1386, printed in *Medieval Framlingham: select documents 1270-1524* ed. J.Ridgard (Suffolk Records Society, 27; 1985) pp. 86-128.

Account of the treasurer of the household

College of Arms, London, Arundel MS 49 1 Oct 1394 - 30 Sep 1395

**PLANTAGENET, Richard, Duke of York**

Account of the controller of household receipts and expenses

Hampshire RO 23M58/57b 1 Oct 1450 - 31 Jan 1451

Account of the clerk of the spicery

BL Egerton Roll 8786 1 Nov - 30 Sep mid 15th century (1 Richard Leyland, treasurer of the household)

Account of the clerk of the offices of the household

BL Egerton Roll 8787 1 Nov - 30 Sep mid 15th century (1 Richard Leyland, treasurer of the household)

Debentures for household purchases

BL Egerton Charters 7360-4 c.1446

Debentures for household wages

BL Egerton Charters 7365-6 mid 15th century (1 and 2 John Clay, treasurer)

The household finances of Richard, Duke of York, are discussed by J.T.Rosenthal, "The estates and finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411-1460)", *Studies in medieval and renaissance history* 2 (1965) pp. 115-204 and J.M.W.Bean, "The financial position of Richard, Duke of York", in *War and government in the Middle Ages: essays in honour of J.D.Prestwich* eds. J.Gillingham and J.C.Holt (Cambridge, 1984) pp. 182-98.

**RALPH OF SHREWSBURY, Bishop of Bath and Wells**

Diet accounts

Lambeth Palace Library, Estate Document 224A 2 Nov 1337 - 5 Dec 1337; 29 Dec 1337 - 10 Jan 1338; 13 Feb 1338 - 9 Mar 1338, printed by J.A.Robinson, "Household roll of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury 1337-8", in *Collectanea I* ed. T.F.Palmer (Somerset Record Society, 39; 1924) pp. 72-124.

**RANULPH, Abbot of Ramsey**

Accounts of the abbot's expenses

PRO SC 6/1258/12 n.d. c.1220-60

BL Add. Roll 34332 1242-3.

**ROOS, ?Beatrice, dowager Lady de**

Diet accounts

CCC, Oxford, MS 498, fragments 2 and 3 parts of February in 1390, 1396, 1401, 1407 or 1418

Wardrobe and household stock accounts

CCC, Oxford, MS 498, fragment 4 late 14th or early 15th century

Fragments 2 and 3 probably came from the same diet account and formed the pastedowns at the front of CCC, Oxford, MS 187; fragment 4 was the pastedown at the back of this manuscript.

The identification of the household rests on the place names mentioned: Ripon, Beverley, Brantingham, York, Helmsley and the manorial court at Roos. The Abbot of Rievaulx is mentioned as a visitor on the third fragment: the closest match for the household would be the Roos establishment at Helmsley. Fragment 4 confines its references to the lady of the house, not the lord, possibly a dowager rather than a wife.

**RUPE, William de**

Statement of quantities expended by the pantry, buttery and kitchen

Longleat House MS 4060, mem. 2 7 Oct 1322 and after

Diet accounts

Longleat House MS 10470 8 Oct [1322] - 28 Dec [1322]

Longleat House MS 4050 18 May 1323 and after

Longleat House MS 4060, mem. 1 20 Apr 1324 - 27 May 1324

**SANDALE, John, Bishop of Winchester**

Diet account for his household after his death

PRO E 101/506/24 2 Nov 1319 - 13 Nov 1319

**SMITH, William, archdeacon of Winchester, later Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield**

Diet accounts

WAM 5474, 31795 17 Dec 1491 - 10 Mar 1492



**SPINA, Nicholas de, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury**

Household regulations

*Customary of the Benedictine monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster* ed. E.M.Thompson (Henry Bradshaw Society, 23, 28; 1902-4) i, pp. 36-64.

**STAFFORD, Anne, dowager Duchess of Buckingham**

Annual cash, corn and stock account

BL Egerton MS 2822 30 Sep 1462 - 30 Sep 1463, printed in *Compta domestica familiarum de Bukingham et d'Angoulême 1443, 1452, 1462, quibus annexae expensae cujusdam comitis in itinere 1273* ed. W.B.D.D.Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1836, with addendum, 1841).

Journal of purchases and payments for the household

BL Add. MS 34213 1 Apr 1465 - 31 Mar 1466

Declared account of the treasurer of the household

BL Add. MS 29608 1 Oct 1472 - 31 Mar 1474

**STAFFORD, Edward, Duke of Buckingham**

Household ordinances

Longleat House MS 456 early 16th century

BL MS Cotton Titus B I, ff. 171-4 26 Nov 1520

Calendars of members of the household

Longleat House MS 456 early 16th century

Longleat House MS 457 early 16th century, probably after 1519

Journals of purchases and provisions

PRO E 101/546/18, part II 27 Apr 1501 - 1 Nov 1501

Longleat House MS Misc. XII 1 Apr 1506 - 31 Mar 1507

Staffs. RO D 1721/1/5 5 Nov 1508 - 22 Mar 1509

Correspondence about the provisioning of the household

PRO E 101/546/18, part I Jan 1502

Declared accounts of the expenses of the great household

PRO E 101/518/5 Apr 1517 - 29 Sep 1517

BL MS Royal 14 B XXXV B 1517-20

Annual cash, corn and stock accounts of the treasurer of the household

BL Add. MS 40859B 31 Mar 1503 - 31 Mar 1504

Staffs. RO D 641/1/3/8 31 Mar 1503 - 31 Mar 1504

Wardrobe stock account

PRO E 101/631/20 c.1515

Wardrobe purchases and expenses

Longleat House MS Misc. XIII 30 Sep 1517 - 29 Sep 1518

Declared accounts of the expenses of the great wardrobe

Staffs. RO D 641/1/3/9 1516-17

BL MS Royal 14 B XXXV C 1517-20

Accounts for miscellaneous private and wardrobe expenses

BL MS Royal 7 F XIV, ff. 1-19 1 Oct 1518 - 30 Sep 1519

BL MS Royal 14 B XXXV D 1519-21

PRO E 36/220 30 Sep 1520 - Apr 1521

Accounts of arrears of wardrobe expenses

BL MS Royal 14 B XXXV F 29 Sep 1520 and one other account

Lists of debts owing, fees and annuities; bonds for payments

BL MS Royal 14 B XXXV A 1-12; XXXV E c.1517-20

**STAFFORD, Eleanor, Lady**

Diet accounts

BL Add. Roll 74129, schedules 3 and 5 1446-7

**STAFFORD, Henry**

Miscellaneous expenses, mainly referring to his estates

WAM 5472 and 5472\* 1464

Journals of purchases and provisions

WAM 12181 6 Jan 1466 - 28 Mar 1467

WAM 12185 29 Mar [1467] - 30 Apr [1468]

WAM 12186 1 May [1468] - 13 Aug 1469

WAM 12182 18 Jul 1468 - 22 Mar 1469 (expenses on journeys)

WAM 12187 13 Aug 1469 - 7 Jun 1470

WAM 12184 23 Aug 1469 - 26 Feb 1470; 5 Mar 1470 - 21 Apr 1470

(expenses on journeys)

WAM 12189 7 Jun 1470 - 21 Jun 1471

WAM 12183 22 Jun 1470 - 24 Apr 1471 (expenses on journeys)

Diet accounts

WAM 12188 9 Jul 1469 - 7 Jun 1470

WAM 12190 7 Jun 1470 - 21 Jun 1471

**STAFFORD, Humphrey, Earl and later Duke of Buckingham**

Cash, corn and stock account of the clerk of the foreign household

BL Egerton Roll 2208 17 Oct 1438 - 5 Oct 1439

Annual cash, corn and stock accounts of the treasurer of the great household

BL Add. Roll 5962 [30] Sep 1443 - 30 Sep 1444, printed in *Compta domestica familiarum de Bukingham et d'Angoulême 1443, 1452, 1462, quibus annexae expensae cujusdam comitis in itinere 1273* ed. W.B.D.D.Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1836, with addendum, 1841) pp. 1-39.

Staffs. RO D 641/1/3/4 29 Sep 1452 - 29 Sep 1453, printed by M.Harris and J.M.Thurgood, "The account of the great household of Humphrey, first Duke of Buckingham, for the year 1452-3", *Camden Miscellany XXVIII* (Camden Society, 4th series, 29; 1984) pp. 1-57.

BL Egerton Roll 2209 29 Sep 1454 - 29 Sep 1455, discussed by S.E.Hernon, "The great household of the Duke of Buckingham in 1454-5", unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Southampton, 1970.

**[?] STAFFORD, Ralph, Earl of Stafford**

Diet accounts

Longleat House MS 3772 26 Jan - 11 Feb in 1344, 1349, 1355, 1366, 1372  
or 1377

Part of an account said to be for Ralph Stafford is used as a specimen  
account in BL MS Harley 4971, ff. 27-9.

**STAFFORD, Thomas de, Earl of Stafford**

Account of a cofferer or treasurer, noting cash transfers for household  
items

Longleat House MS Misc. VIII c.1391-2

**STANNORD, Richard de**

Indenture of account for cloth, furs and foodstuffs

Longleat House MS 3444 19 May 1325 and after

**STEWKLEY, Henry, Abbot of Ramsey**

Notes of receipts and purchases of provisions, for Henry Stewkley and his  
successor, John Wardeboys

PRO E 36/107 c.1505 - 29 Sep 1533

**STONOR FAMILY**

Extracts from household accounts, bills, memoranda and correspondence on  
household matters, mainly from PRO C 47/37, are given in *The Stonor  
letters and papers, 1290-1483* ed. C.L.Kingsford (Camden Society, 3rd  
series, 29-30; 1919) and in C.L.Kingsford, "Supplementary Stonor letters  
and papers (1314-1482)", *Camden Miscellany XIII* (Camden Society, 3rd  
series, 34; 1924) pp. i-viii, 1-26.

Account of expenses at Henley, for foodstuffs and shoes

PRO C 47/37/4/2 c.1470

**STONOR, Alice de**

Account of household purchases

PRO C 47/37/2 c.1432-3

**STONOR, Edmund de**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/37/1/27 21 Mar [1378] - 15 Apr [1378]

PRO C 47/37/1/25 20 Jun [1378] - 31 Aug [1378], extracts printed in *The Stonor letters and papers, 1290-1483* ed. C.L.Kingsford (Camden Society, 3rd series, 29-30; 1919) 1, pp. 13-14.

PRO C 47/37/1/26 12 Sep [1378] - 2 Dec [1378]

Wardrobe expenses

Bill for cloth supplied to Edmund de Stonor, c.1380, printed in *The Stonor letters* 1, p. 28

**STONOR, William**

Accounts of Richard Blakhall for household expenses

PRO C 47/37/4/35 c.1478

PRO C 47/37/4/33 c.1478-9

PRO C 47/37/4/34 c.1478-9

Wardrobe expenses

PRO C 47/37/4/30-1 post 1478

PRO C 47/37/9/37 c.1480

PRO C 47/37/9/31 1482

Miscellaneous expenses

PRO C 47/37/4/47-56 c.1480-1

**STOWE, William de**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/506/11, mem. 1 (filed back-to-front) 13 Feb - 8 Apr in 1318  
or 1329

PRO C 47/3/35 9 Apr - 31 May in 1318 or 1329

PRO E 101/506/11, mem. 2 1 Jun - 8 Jul in 1318 or 1329

**STRATFORD, John, Archbishop of Canterbury**

Diet accounts with wardrobe expenses on the dorse

WAM 9223 1 Dec [1347] - 15 Dec [1347]: mem. 1<sup>d</sup> refers to the executors  
of the Earl of Warenne (d. Jun 1347).

WAM 9222 1 Mar [1348] - 31 Mar [1348] The year must be either 1337 or  
1348, when Sunday 2 March fell before Lent (it is a flesh day in the  
account). The same visitors are present as on WAM 9223 and the hand is  
probably the same. 1348 is thus a more likely date than 1337.

**SWINFIELD, Richard de, Bishop of Hereford**

Diet accounts with wardrobe accounts on the dorse

Bodl. MS Lat. hist. d. 1 (R) 30 Sep 1289 - 23 Jul 1290, printed in *A roll  
of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford*  
ed. J.Webb (Camden Society, old series, 59, 62; 1853-4); discussed by  
P.Prattinton in *Archaeologia* 18 (1817) pp. 427-30.

**TALBOT, Ankaret, Lady**

Cash, corn and stock account of the steward of the household

Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection 1 Aug 1411 - 30 Sep 1412,  
transcribed in B.Ross, "The accounts of the Talbot household at Blakemere  
in the county of Shropshire, 1394-1425", unpublished M.A. thesis,  
Australian National University, Canberra, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 56-88. The  
Talbot household accounts in the Shropshire Record Office are discussed

by B.Ross, "The accounts of the stewards of the Talbot household at Blakemere: an example of medieval accounting practice", *Abacus* 4 (1968) pp. 51-72.

**TALBOT, Ankaret, Lady**

Cash, corn and stock account for the steward of the household at Blakemere. The cash account is largely a receiver's account, with some entries for household items after Lady Talbot's household had departed.

Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection 30 Sep 1419 - 30 May 1420, transcribed in B.Ross, "The accounts of the Talbot household at Blakemere in the county of Shropshire, 1394-1425", unpublished M.A. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 128-40.

**TALBOT, Gilbert, Lord**

Annual cash, corn and stock account of the steward of the household at Blakemere

Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection 29 Sep 1417 - 29 Sep 1418, transcribed in B.Ross, "The accounts of the Talbot household at Blakemere in the county of Shropshire, 1394-1425", unpublished M.A. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, vol. 2, pp. 89-128.

**TALBOT and Furnivall, John, Lord**

Annual cash, corn and stock account of the steward of the household at Blakemere

Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection 30 Sep 1424 - 12 Sep 1425, transcribed in B.Ross, "The accounts of the Talbot household at Blakemere in the country of Shropshire, 1394-1425", unpublished M.A. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 141-64.

**TALBOT, Richard, Lord**

Weekly household accounts with a monthly summary by departments

Bodl. MS Rolls Hereford 40 1 Oct 1392 - Jan 1393

Annual cash, corn and stock account

Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection 1 Oct 1393 - 1 Oct 1394,  
transcribed in B.Ross, "The accounts of the Talbot household at Blakemere  
in the county of Shropshire, 1394-1425", unpublished M.A. thesis,  
Australian National University, Canberra, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 1-9.

**THOMAS OF BROTHERTON**

Journal of household expenses

PRO E 101/374/9 30 Sep 1310 - 8 Jun 1311

**THOMAS OF LANCASTER, Earl of Lancaster**

Agreement for residence in his household with liveries equivalent to that  
of a valet

PRO DL 25/929 10 Sep 1314

Correspondence, views of account and receiver's accounts for the manors  
of the honour of Leicester, with some references to household items, for  
example, purchases of furs and cloth, and a letter regarding a payment  
for items for the household

Notts. RO DD 325/1 c.1316-17

Warrant to auditors to allow sums for items purchased for the household

Notts. RO DDFJ 8/4/2 8 Sep 1316

Diet accounts

PRO DL 28/1/14 (formerly Leeds Central Library, Archives Department  
GC/DL/1, subsequently transferred to the Duchy of Lancaster and deposited  
in the PRO in March 1968) 30 Sep 1318 - 29 Sep 1319, discussed by  
J.R.Maddicott *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-22: a study in the reign of  
Edward II* (Oxford, 1970) pp. 27-8.



Wardrobe accounts

PRO DL 28/1/13 (formerly Leeds Central Library, Archives Department GC/DL/2, subsequently transferred to the Duchy of Lancaster and deposited in the PRO in March 1968) c.1319-20

An extract from a "chief roll" (PRO SC 6/1/3), giving an abbreviated account for the household, is printed in J.F.Baldwin, "The household administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster", *EHR* 42 (1927) pp. 180-200.

**THOMAS OF LANCASTER, Duke of Clarence**

Wardrobe accounts, with a calendar of the household

WAM 12163 c.1418-21

**THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK, Duke of Gloucester**

Account of the treasurer for war, noting liveries for household expenses

BL Add. MS 40859A 21 Apr 1392 - 9 Sep 1392

**TURBERVILLE, Richard**

Annual cash, corn and stock account for the clerk of the household at

Sampford Peverell

Arundell MA 408 29 Sep 1358 - 29 Sep 1359

**ULSTER, Elizabeth, Countess of**

Wardrobe account

BL Add. MS 18632, ff. 2, 101 1356-9, printed in part in *Chaucer life records* ed. M.M.Crow and C.C.Olson (Oxford, 1966) pp. 13-18.

**ULSTER, Lionel, Earl of, later Duke of Clarence**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/94/9 1 Oct - 18 Oct in 1354 or 1365

PRO E 101/91/18 1350s or 1360s

PRO E 101/94/4 30 Mar 1361 - 2 Aug 1361

View of the account of the clerk of the wardrobe: cash account, with a statement of items consumed, arranged by department, on the dorse

PRO E 101/94/3 30 Mar 1361 - 26 Jun 1361

**UVEDALE, William, of Wickham, Hants.**

Account of necessary and foreign expenses for the household

Bodl. MS Lyell 35, ff. 35-8 1478-9, described in A. de la Mare *Catalogue of the collection of medieval manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by James P.R. Lyell* (Oxford, 1971) pp. 90-1.

**VERRE, Hugh or Robert de, Earl of Oxford**

Diet accounts

Essex RO D/DPr 136 2 Aug - 26 Sep in 1245, 1251, 1256, 1262 or 1273, discussed by J.L. Fisher, "The Probert documents", *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 23 (1942-5) pp. 263-72.

**VERRE, John de, twelfth Earl of Oxford**

Annual cash, corn and stock account of the steward of the household

Essex RO D/DPr 137 29 Sep 1431 - 29 Sep 1432

Receiver's account, including some foreign expenses, for the purchase of cloth for the household, etc.

Essex RO D/DPr 138 1442-3

**VERE, John de, thirteenth Earl of Oxford**

M.J.Tucker, "Household accounts 1490-1 of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford", *EHR* 75 (1960) pp. 468-74, argues that the account printed in *Household books of John, Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, temp. 1481-90, from the original manuscripts in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, London* ed. J.P.Collier (Roxburghe Club, London, 1844) pp. 504-20 (Society of Antiquaries MS 77, ff. 126<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>), attributed to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, should belong to the household of John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford. The account runs from Jan 1490 to Jan 1491.

Journal of purchases and provisions

Longleat House MS Misc. XI 1 Jan 1507 - 31 Dec 1507

**VERE, Maud de, Countess of Oxford**

Cash, corn and stock account for the steward of the household

Longleat House MS 442 31 Jul 1389 - 30 Sep 1389

**VALEYS, Sir William, of Glynde, Sussex**

Diet accounts

East Sussex RO MS GLY 4B (renumbered from 4A) 2 Nov 1382 - 17 Jan 1383

**WARDEBOYS, John, Abbot of Ramsey**

Notes of receipts and purchases of provisions, for John Wardeboys and his predecessor, Henry Stewkley

PRO E 36/107 c.1505 - 29 Sep 1533

**WARE, Richard de, Abbot of Westminster**

Diet accounts

WAM 24489 24 Nov 1275 - 24 Dec 1275

**WARENNE, John de, Earl of Warenne**

Household ordinances

PRO E 101/371/8/97 temp. Edward I

PRO E 101/370/19 temp. Edward I

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/505/17 attributed in the PRO list and by N.Denholm Young *Seignorial administration in England* (Oxford, 1937) p. 8, n. 2, and by others to the Earl of Warenne, is an account for Hugh Audley the younger, later Earl of Gloucester.

**WATERTON, Robert, of Methley**

Annual cash, corn and stock account

Leeds District Archives, Mexborough collection, Methley accounts 9  
29 Sep 1416 - 29 Sep 1417, discussed by M.Collinson, "Life in a medieval household or four thousand red herrings", *Sciart Presentes* (Autumn 1983).

Memoranda of household and wardrobe purchases

Leeds District Archives, Mexborough collection, Methley accounts 13  
c.1458-9

**WENLOK, Walter de, Abbot of Westminster**

The financial system of his household, with editions of a large number of warrants, accounts and household ordinances, is described in *Documents illustrating the rule of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, 1283-1307* ed. B.F.Harvey (Camden Society, 4th series, 2; 1965).

Diet accounts

WAM 24490 29 Sep 1286 and after

**WESTMINSTER, Abbots of**

Accounts of the steward or clerk of the abbot's household

WAM 22489-548 1275-1463

WAM 33320, 33324 1500-2, 1509-10

**WYKEHAM, William of, Bishop of Winchester**

Diet account, with a corn and stock account on the dorse

WCM 1 1 Apr 1393 - 30 Sep 1393

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/631/1 late 12th century, transcribed in Appendix 1 and discussed in Chapter 3.

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/3/46/16 n.d. 1196, 1202, 1213, 1219 1224 or 1230

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/3/46/17 8 Sep - 17 Sep in 1213, 1219, 1224 or 1230

PRO C 47/3/9 6 Oct - 16 Dec in the same years

The accounts seem to be for a prominent churchman based near London. There are mentions of other ecclesiastics, for example the Prior of Durham and the Prior of Westminster. Willesden, a prebend of St. Paul's, occurs frequently and must have been a home manor. London merchants are also noted, for example, Andrew Bukerel (mayor of London, 1231-7).

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/3/46/15 c.1220-50

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD at Bristol Castle**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/349/4 5 Feb 1221 - 14 Sep 1221 (missing seven weeks from late May to early July)

PRO E 101/350/10 Sep 1221 - Feb 1222

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/3/46/18 c.1240-70

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD in north Yorkshire, near Boroughbridge**

Diet accounts. A lord and lady are at the head of the household.

Northants. RO Finch Hatton MS 458 27 Jul - 2 Sep in 1273, 1279, 1284 or 1290

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts, possibly for the English royal household or a subsidiary household

PRO E 101/94/20 29 Sep - 15 Mar in 1281-2 or 1292-3

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet and other household accounts

PRO E 101/506/12 late 13th or early 14th century (the dating on the roll is inconsistent)

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Fragments of a diet account, on seal tags

PRO DL 25/854 late 13th or early 14th century

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

A list of members of a household of an unidentified churchman

Merton College, Oxford, MS 311, f. 100<sup>v</sup> 14th century, printed as an appendix to R.W.Hunt et al. *The survival of ancient literature. Catalogue of an exhibition of Greek and Latin classical manuscripts mainly from Oxford libraries displayed on the occasion of the triennial meeting of the Hellenic and Roman Societies 28 July - 2 August 1975* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1975).

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Purchases of spices and manorial expenses, possibly for a priory

PRO E 101/512/1 n.d. c.1300-30

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts and accounts for purveyance for the household of a great lord at London to attend Parliament

CCC, Oxford, Archives Ga 9/1 6 Mar 1300 - 18 Mar 1300

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet account for a group of Genoans visiting England

PRO E 101/510/5 8 Jun - 19 Jun in 1305, 1311, 1316, 1322 or 1333

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts for a small household

Warws. RO CR 2018/1 22 Apr - 24 Jun in 1318 or 1329

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

PRO E 101/95/6 12 Jun - 1 Jul in 1319, 1324, 1330, 1341, 1347, 1352 or  
1358

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts, possibly a subsidiary royal household (*List of documents relating to the wardrobe and household p. 32*).

PRO C 47/3/53/11 n.d. c.1320-50

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

A list of payments to people in Kingston, Carshalton, Southwark and Croydon for ale and bread; possibly not a household record.

PRO E 101/510/8 n.d. c.1320-50

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts for a large household. It has been suggested by R.M.Thompson *The archives of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (Suffolk Records Society, 21; 1980) p. 117, that the account belongs to the cellarer or kitchener of the abbey. The attribution is unlikely, however, as the account has the departmental structure of a private household account, which was employed very rarely in a corporate or institutional context.

BL MS Royal 6 B X, f. 1<sup>v</sup> 26 Jan - 5 Feb in 1321, 1327, 1332, 1338 or  
1349

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

A journal of travelling expenses, many at Deddington?, Oxon.

PRO DL 41/10/41 n.d. c.1325-55



**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Fragment from a draft wardrobe account, possibly for the English royal household

BL MS Royal 6 B X, f. 141 n.d. c.1335-65

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/3/53/36 n.d. mid 14th century

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

A very small fragment from a diet account

PRO C 47/3/53/10 n.d. c.1350-80

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts, possibly for an individual related to the English royal household

PRO E 101/398/4 c.1376-7

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

Longleat House MS 10896 4 Feb - 22 Feb, late 14th century (possibly 1388 or 1393)

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Summaries of domestic expenses, in six paragraphs, in the same order as a diet account, possibly for the household of an Abbot of Westminster: aspects of its layout and its watermark have similarities with PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1. The account is noted in *The Westminster Chronicle 1381-1394* ed. L.C.Hector and B.F.Harvey (Oxford, 1982) p. xv.

CCC, Cambridge, MS 197A, p. 109<sup>v</sup> (called p. 110 in *The Westminster Chronicle*, but the pagination and foliation are irregular) n.d. late 14th century

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts, possibly for a household in France or Brittany

BL MS Royal 8 E XI, f. i<sup>v</sup> n.d. late 14th or early 15th century, for a year when 10 Jul was a Sunday (1373, 1379, 1384, 1390, 1401, 1407, 1412 or 1418)

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Cash journal for a large household, similar in form to those of John of Gaunt, East Sussex RO MS GLY 3469 (18)-(20), and to the account of the treasurer of the household of Henry, Prince of Wales (later Henry V), PRO E 101/405/17.

CUL Add. MS 5963, part 67 late 14th or early 15th century

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

BL MS Royal 11 B X, ff. 185-8 late 14th or early 15th century (fragments from Apr in 1390, 1401, 1407, 1412, 1418 or 1429)

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

A list of items allowed on a wardrobe account as "pardoned" or quit: possibly for the English royal household

Berks. RO D/ED Z1 early 15th century

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Diet accounts

PRO C 47/3/53/15 24 Sep - 26 Sep in 1400, 1406, 1417, 1423, 1428 or  
1434

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Fragments, possibly of a receiver's account for Joan, Lady Bergavenny, in  
1421, noting household expenses

PRO C 47/3/32/34 c.1400-30

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Part of a cash account for the expenses of a household staying at  
"Carmynon"

Arundell MA 409 n.d. c.1430-60

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Miscellaneous notes of household expenses

BL MS Sloane 2128, f. 31 mid to late 15th century

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Brief notes of household expenses

BL MS Sloane 96, ff. 43-4 c.1436-7

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Bill for purchases, mainly of fish; and a note of miscellaneous household  
expenses in Kent

PRO E 101/517/17 16 Aug - 2 Oct, late 15th or early 16th century  
(possible years: 1465, 1471, 1476, 1482, 1493, 1499, 1504 and 1510)

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD at Little Cawthorpe, Lincs.**

Annual cash, corn and stock account of the steward of the household at  
Little Cawthorpe

Lincs. AO MM 1/3/26 13 Nov 1467 - 13 Nov 1468

**UNIDENTIFIED HOUSEHOLD**

Expenses on food

PRO C 47/3/53/27 n.d. late 15th or early 16th century

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35. *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis regnante Johanne* ed. T.D.Hardy (London, 1844) pp. 109-71; *Documents illustrative of English history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, selected from the records of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer* ed. H.Cole (London, 1844) pp. 231-69.
36. *Rotuli de liberate ac de misis et praestitis...* pp. 172-253; J.C.Holt, "Praestita roll 14-18 John", in *Pipe roll 17 John* ed. R.A.Brown (PRS, new series, 37; 1964) pp. 69-80, 85-100.
37. Jenkinson, "Financial records of the reign of King John", pp. 299-300; *Rotuli de oblatiis et finibus in turri Londoniensi asservati tempore regis Johannis* ed. T.D.Hardy (London, 1835).
38. J.E.A.Jolliffe, "The chamber and the castle treasuries under King John", in *Studies in medieval history presented to F.M.Powicke* ed. R.W.Hunt, W.A.Pantin and R.W.Southern (Oxford, 1948) pp. 117-42.
39. *The memoranda roll of the tenth year of King John (1207-8)* ed. R.A.Brown (PRS, new series, 31; 1955) pp. 119-25; e.g. *Documents illustrative of English history...* p. 232, "...unde particule sunt in dorso rotuli expense anni regni regis xiii ...": it is possible, however, that this entry refers to the *mise* roll for the preceding year.
40. PRO C 47/3/43/1-2, C 47/3/46/8, printed in *Roll of divers accounts for the early years of the reign of Henry III* ed. F.A.Cazel, Jr. (PRS, new series, 44; 1982) pp. 93-102.
41. *Roll of divers accounts* p. 95.
42. *Roll of divers accounts* p. 93.
43. *Roll of divers accounts* p. 92, wax at Porchester, Hants.; p. 95, wine in the castle cellar at Winchester, Hants.
44. *Tout Chapters* i, pp. 233-8; *Roll of divers accounts* pp. 50-4.
45. *Documents illustrating the activities of the general and provincial chapters of the English black monks 1215-1540* ed. W.A.Pantin (Camden Society, 3rd series, 45, 47, 54; 1931-7) i, pp. 36, 238; R.Graham, "A papal visitation of Bury St. Edmunds and Westminster in 1234", *EHR* 27 (1912) pp. 735, 739; *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi sancti Albani, chronica majora* ed. H.R.Luard (7 vols., RS, London, 1872-83) iii, p. 501; S.J.A.Evans, "Ely chapter ordinances and visitation records, 1241-1515", *Camden Miscellany XVII* (Camden Society, 3rd series, 64; 1940) p. 1.
46. C.R.Cheney, "The papal legate and the English monasteries in 1206", *EHR* 46 (1931) pp. 443-52; *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham ad annum 1418* ed. W.D.Macray (RS, London, 1863) p. 206.
47. *Chapters of the Augustinian canons* ed. H.E.Salter (Canterbury and York Society, 29; 1922) pp. 22-3.
48. *The cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire* ed. C.D.Ross and M.Devine (3 vols., London and Oxford, 1964-77) ii, pp. 365-6.

49. R.A.L.Smith, "The central financial system of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1186-1512", *EHR* 55 (1940) pp. 368-9.
50. Bristol UL MSS DM 104/12-13. Both accounts have been printed in translation by V.R.Perkins, "Documents relating to the monastery of St. Mary, Kingswood", *TBGAS* 22 (1899) pp. 193-201.
51. *The cartulary of Cirencester Abbey* i, p. xi, n. 2.
52. BL MS Harley 1005, ff. 2, 41.
53. Below, p. 130.
54. BL Add. Roll 34332; PRO SC 6/1258/12.
55. R.Conde, "Alimentación y sociedad: las cuentas de Guillema de Montcada (A.D.1189)", *Medievalia* 3 (1982) pp. 7-21.
56. *Reiserechnungen Wolfger's von Ellenbrechtskirchen, Bischofs von Passau, Patriarchen von Aquileja* ed. I.V.Zingerle (Heilbronn, 1877), with corrections by A.Höfer, "Die Reiserechnungen des Bischofs Wolfger von Passau", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur* 17 (1893) pp. 441-549.
57. BL Add. Ch. 70697, printed by R.Fawtier, "Un fragment du compte de l'hôtel du prince Louis de France pour le terme de la purification 1213", *Le Moyen Age* 3rd series, 4 (1933) pp. 225-46, where the document is incorrectly cited as Add. Ch. 70699.
58. L.L.Borrelli de Serres *Recherches sur divers services publics du xiii<sup>e</sup> au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (3 vols., Paris, 1895-1909) i, pp. 43-51.
59. *Ibid.* i, p. 52.
60. N.R.Ker and W.A.Pantin, "Letters of a Scottish student at Paris and Oxford, c.1250", *Formularies which bear on the history of Oxford c.1204-1420* ed. H.E.Salter, W.A.Pantin and H.G.Richardson (OHS, new series, 4-5; 1942) ii, pp. 471-91.
61. *Pisibus*: fish, not peas, *ibid.* p. 478: "we have the daily expenses for nearly a fortnight: a simple diet for a wealthy man, mainly peas, pottage, bread and wine." The confusion is surprising in view of the statement later on the same page that "the spelling is poor but interesting phoenetically (*desscime* for *decime* etc.)."
62. BL Add. MS 8167, ff. 131v-3r; H.G.Richardson, "An Oxford teacher of the fifteenth century", *BJRL* 23 (1939) pp. 447-9; *idem*, "The Oxford law school under John", *Law Quarterly Review* 77 (1941) pp. 319-38.
63. The *Rules* are edited, with an introduction, in *Walter of Henley* pp. 191-9, 387-415.
64. *Walter of Henley* p. 198; Richardson, "An Oxford teacher", p. 447.
65. *Manorial records of Cuxham* pp. 14-15.
66. *Walter of Henley* p. 390.
67. *Walter of Henley* p. 392.
68. *Walter of Henley* pp. 396-8.
69. *Manorial records of Cuxham* p. 136; Worcester D. and C., C500, C502-6; calculations of averages in household accounts are discussed below, pp. 87-8.
70. *Walter of Henley* p. 398.
71. Below, pp. 66-8.
72. *Walter of Henley* pp. 402-4.

#### Chapter 4 (pp. 54-95)

1. *List of documents relating to the household and wardrobe, John to Edward I* ed. P.M.Barnes (PRO Handbooks, 7; 1964); *List of Exchequer, accounts various* (PRO Lists and Indexes, 35; 1912).
2. For example, Durham Priory: *Extracts from the account rolls of the abbey of Durham* ed. J.T.Fowler (Surtees Society, 99, 100, 103; 1898-1901); Norwich Cathedral Priory: H.W.Saunders *An introduction to the obediatory and manor rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory* (Norwich, 1930); Westminster

- Abbey: B.F.Harvey *Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977) p. 10.
3. *The early rolls of Merton College, Oxford, with an appendix of thirteenth-century Oxford charters* ed. J.R.L.Highfield (OHS, new series, 18; 1964); *Canterbury College, Oxford* ed. W.A.Pantin (OHS, new series, 6-8, 30; 1947-85) ii; A.B.Cobban *The King's Hall within the University of Cambridge in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1969) pp. 112-47.
  4. For example, the Clares and Lady Elizabeth de Burgh: PRO E 101/91-5; Staffordshire RO D 641/1/3/1; *Compota domestica familiarum de Bukingham et d'Angoulême 1443, 1452, 1462, quibus annexae expensae cujusdam comitis in itinere 1273* ed. W.B.D.D.Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1836, with addendum, 1841) pp. 95-104; the Le Stranges of Hunstanton: Norfolk RO NH 1-12 (NH 9 is now missing); the Talbots of Blakemere: Shropshire RO Bridgewater collection (not catalogued in detail); B.Ross, "The accounts of the stewards of the Talbot household at Blakemere: an example of medieval accounting practice", *Abacus* 4 (1968) pp. 51-72; Bodl. MS Rolls Hereford 40; Luttrells of Dunster: Somerset RO DD/L P37/7, 9, 10A-C, 11-12.
  5. I.M.Kirby *Diocese of Gloucester: a catalogue of the records of the Dean and Chapter including the former St. Peter's Abbey* (Gloucester, 1967) p. vii.
  6. L.L.Borrelli de Serres *Recherches sur divers services publics du xiii<sup>e</sup> au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (3 vols., Paris, 1895-1909) i, pp. 43-54, 141-60.
  7. *Comptes royaux (1285-1314)*, vol. 2: *Comptes particuliers et comptes speciaux ou extraordinaires* ed. R.Fawtier (Recueil des historiens de la France, documents financiers, vol. 3, Paris, 1954) pp. 771-82.
  8. *Inventaire d'anciens comptes royaux dressé par Robert Mignon sous le règne de Philippe de Valois* ed. Ch.-V.Langlois (Recueil des historiens de la France, documents financiers, vol. 1, Paris, 1899) pp. i; iii; xxii; 13, n. 7; 18; 249.
  9. For example, the Dukes of Burgundy: R.Vaughan *John the Fearless: the growth of Burgundian power* (London, 1979 edition) p. 119; Princes of Savoy, the Popes at Avignon, the Bishops of Grenoble: *Les sources de l'histoire économique et sociale du moyen âge: Provence, Comtat Venaissin, Dauphiné, Etats de la Maison de Savoie* ed. R.H.Bautier and J.Sornay (2 vols., Paris, 1968-71) i, pp. 91-4, 317-27; ii, p. 795; Ferdinand I of Aragon: E.Sarasa, "La alimentación de un rey aragonés y su séquito a comienzos del siglo xv", in *Manger et boire* ii, pp. 223-31; the Counts of Flanders and Bar: J.Finot *Le train de maison d'une grande dame au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Etude sur les comptes de l'hôtel des sires de Cassel et particulièrement sur ceux d'Yolande de Flandre, comtesse de Bar* (Paris, 1889) and *idem*, *Les comptes et pièces comptables concernant l'administration de l'hôtel des comtes de Flandre, des sires et des dames de Cassel et de Bar, des comtes et des comtesses de Hainaut, des ducs et des duchesses de Bourgogne, conservés aux Archives du Nord* (Lille, 1892). There are many other examples, for instance, for John IV, Duke of Brittany: M.C.E.Jones *Ducal Brittany 1364-1399: relations with England and France during the reign of Duke John IV* (Oxford, 1970) p. 41, n. 3; Guillaume de Murol: *Guillaume de Murol: un petit seigneur auvergnat au début du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle* ed. P.Charbonnier (Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes du Massif Central, XI, Clermont-Ferrand, 1973); lord of Bioule: E.Forestié *La dépense journalière d'un château quercynois au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Montauban, 1896).
  10. PRO E 101/91/1, 2 and 5, Bogo de Clare, 1285; CCC, Oxford, Archives Ga 9/1, unidentified household, 1300.
  11. Essex RO D/DPr 136.
  12. BL Add. MS 8877, printed in *Manners and household expenses of England in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries* ed. T.H.Turner (Roxburghe Club, 1841) pp. iv-lvi, 1-86.
  13. *Manners and household expenses* pp. 22, 38.

14. PRO E 101/3/9, part printed in A.Lewis, "Roger Leyburn and the pacification of England 1265-7", *EHR* 54 (1939) pp. 211-14.
15. *A roll of the household expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford* ed. J.Webb (Camden Society, old series, 59, 62; 1853-4) i, *passim*, but especially the note on pp. 87-8.
16. Durham D. and C. Miscellaneous Charter 214, probably for a Prior of Durham, c.1350-80; BL MS Royal 11 B X, ff. 185-8, unidentified household, late 14th or early 15th century.
17. PRO E 101/365/17, Humphrey de Bohun, 1304; E 101/506/24, household of John Sandale, Bishop of Winchester, after his death, 1319; E 101/509/29, attributed to Peter de Mauley, c.1320-50; WCM 1, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1393; Longleat House MS 3772, possibly for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80; PRO E 101/94/9, possibly for Lionel, Earl of Ulster, 1350s or 1360s.
18. BL Add. Roll 63207.
19. BL MS Royal 6 B X, f. 1<sup>v</sup>, attributed by R.M.Thompson *The archives of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (Suffolk Records Society, 21; 1980) p. 117 to the office of cellarer or kitchener, but not, in fact, for a monastic institution, as the account is divided into departments, the form used for an account of a private individual (below, p. 114), c.1320-50; CCC, Oxford, MS 498, fragments 2 and 3, possibly for Beatrice de Roos, late 14th or early 15th century.
20. Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 266, printed in *Account rolls of the obedientiaries of Peterborough* ed. J.Greatrex (Northamptonshire Record Society, 33; 1984) pp. 56-83.
21. Longleat House MS Misc. IX, discussed by C.D.Ross, "The household accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley, Countess of Warwick", *TBGAS* 70 (1951) pp. 81-105.
22. BL Add. MS 8877, between 26 and 27 February.
23. *Swinfield* i, p. 21.
24. BL Add. Roll 63207.
25. MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160.
26. Arundell MA 411.
27. PRO E 101/510/27, E 101/400/28.
28. BL MS Harley 3755, ff. 68-80.
29. *The household book of Dame Alice de Bryene of Acton Hall, Suffolk, Sept. 1412 - Sept. 1413, with appendices* ed. M.K.Dale and V.B.Redstone (Ipswich, 1931) pp. 103-5.
30. Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5.
31. Below, pp. 86-7.
32. PRO C 47/3/27, Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1296-7; the second fragment of the household expenses of Gilbert de Clare, 1309, printed in *Compota domestica* pp. 98-101; *The early rolls of Merton College* pp. 176-7, 338-42, expenses of the warden on journeys, 1299-1300; MR 3535, mem. 3, expenses of the warden on a journey, 1356; Berkeley SR 62, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, c.1320-50; PRO E 101/506/12, unidentified household, c.1320-50; Devon RO CR 1466, Hugh and Edward Courtenay, 1395-1400.
33. PRO E 101/507/8, Thomas de Chedworth, 1328; E 101/507/17, Simon, Abbot of Ramsey, 1337; BL Egerton Roll 8728, Edmund Mortimer, 1378.
34. For example, PRO DL 41/10/41, unidentified household, c.1325-55; Arundell MA 414, 415, 416, 416a, John, Lord Dinham, 1381.
35. Warws. RO CR 2018/1, unidentified household, 1318 or 1329; PRO C 47/3/53/11, unidentified household, c.1320-50; MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, John de Multon, 1343-4; MR 3545, 3549, warden's household, 1378, 1383-4; PRO E 101/510/21, E 101/511/15, E 101/512/5, John de Catesby, 1379-80, 1392-3, *temp.* Richard II; C 47/37/2, Alice de Stonor, 1432-3.
36. G.H.Fowler, "A household expense roll, 1328", *EHR* 55 (1940) pp. 630-4: Sunday of the fifth week (25 May), "Item die dominica nichil nisi de staura" (p. 633). The dating of this account is discussed on pp. 107-8.

37. MCO Estate Paper 85/2, edited in Appendix 2.
38. PRO C 47/37/1/25: "Die jovis xii die Augusti, panis, cervisia et totum aliud de stauro."
39. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 37/Box 73.
40. Nottingham UL, Middleton MS Mi A1, Henry, Lord de Grey of Codnor, 1304-5; G.H.Holley, "The earliest roll of household accounts in the muniment room at Hunstanton for the second year of Edward III", *Norfolk Archaeology* 21 (1920-22) pp. 77-96. There are some earlier traces of the system in the household, probably of Eleanor of Brittany, at Bristol Castle, in 1225-6, PRO E 101/350/11.
41. PRO E 101/365/20.
42. Longleat House MS 4060, mem. 1.
43. *Bryene* pp. 11, 36, etc.; Longleat House MS Misc. IX.
44. Below, pp. 81-3.
45. BL Add. MS 8167, ff. 132-3.
46. BL MS Harley 2253, ff. i<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>v</sup>; *Facsimile of British Museum MS Harley 2253* ed. N.R.Ker (EETS, 255; 1965) pp. ix, xxii-xxiii; *Anglo-Norman political songs* ed. I.S.T.Aspin (ANTS, 11; 1953) pp. 24-5.
47. J.A.Robinson, "Household roll of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury" in *Collectanea I* ed. T.F.Palmer (Somerset Record Society, 39; 1924) pp. 72-174; WAM 9222-3.
48. PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1; WCM 1.
49. Notts. RO DDFJ 8/4/1, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, c.1299; PRO E 101/366/30, Elizabeth de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, 1305; E 101/506/24, household of John Sandale, Bishop of Winchester, after his death, 1319.
50. BL Add. MS 8877; PRO E 101/3/9; E 101/91/1, mem. 3<sup>r</sup>.
51. PRO E 101/505/25-7.
52. PRO E 101/365/17, 20.
53. PRO DL 28/1/14.
54. PRO E 101/372/4, E 101/505/17, E 101/510/17.
55. WAM 9222-3.
56. PRO E 101/506/24.
57. Hants. RO 148M71/3/1/2, William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, mid-14th century.
58. BL MS Harley 3755, Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7.
59. PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1, Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1371-5; Bodl. MS Rolls Hereford 40, Richard, Lord Talbot, 1392-3; Longleat House MS Misc. IX, Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1, 1431-2.
60. WAM 24489-90.
61. Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 266; *Bryene* pp. 1-115.
62. BL MS Royal 6 B X, f. 1<sup>v</sup>.
63. Durham D. and C. Misc. Charter 214.
64. PRO E 101/366/30, Elizabeth de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, 1305; WAM 9222-3, John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1347 and 1348; L.Lacour, "Traité d'économie rurale composé en Angleterre au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 4th series, 2 (1856) p. 380.
65. PRO E 101/509/29, attributed to Peter de Mauley, c.1320-50; E 101/95/6, unidentified household, c.1320-60; Hants. RO 148M71/3/1/2, William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, mid-14th century; Durham D. and C. Misc. Charter 214, probably for a Prior of Durham, c.1350-80; Bodl. MS Rolls Hereford 40, Richard, Lord Talbot, 1392-3; WCM 1, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1393; BL MS Harley 3755, Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7; Longleat House MS Misc. IX and Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1, 1431-2.
66. *Bryene*, plate between pp. 138-9; PRO C 47/3/53/15, unidentified household, early 15th century.

67. PRO E 101/94/9, probably for Lionel, Earl of Ulster, 1350s or 1360s; BL MS Royal 11 B X, ff. 185-8, unidentified household, late 14th or early 15th century.
68. *Bryene* pp. 1-105; *Household roll of Richard de Swinfield i, passim.*
69. Berkeley SR 61.
70. Longleat House MSS 4050, 4060, 10470.
71. PRO E 101/95/6.
72. PRO E 101/94/9: "Die mercurii primo die Octobris ibidem, Panetria Expenduntur cxxi panes de remanentia, viz. in ferculis lii jantaculo iii reward' xxi trencher' x coquina iiii liberacionibus certis iiii liberacionibus incertis iii ostr' vi post prandium iiii et tota nocte iiii."
73. Longleat House MS 3772; Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 266; PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1; BL MS Harley 3755.
74. Longleat House MS Misc. IX, Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5.
75. PRO E 101/94/9.
76. Below pp. 112-13.
77. Lacour, "Traité d'économie rurale", pp. 380-1.
78. Longleat House MS Misc. IX.
79. PRO E 101/506/24, household of John Sandale, Bishop of Winchester, after his death in 1319; Berkeley SR 58, 61, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, 1328-9; Hants. RO 148M71/3/1/2, William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, mid-14th century.
80. East Sussex RO MS GLY 4B, Sir William Waleys, 1382-3.
81. Longleat House MS Misc. IX, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1.
82. Longleat House MS 3772, possibly for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80.
83. WCM 1, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1393.
84. PRO DL 28/1/14, Thomas of Lancaster, 1318-19; PRO E 101/372/4, E 101/505/17, E 101/510/17, Hugh Audley the younger, 1320.
85. MR 3535, mem. 3; 3545; 3549.
86. BL Add. Roll 63207, Dame Katherine de Norwich, 1336-7; MCO Estate Paper 85/2, John de Multon, 1347-8.
87. "Ralph of Shrewsbury".
88. Devon RO CR 1466, Hugh and Edward Courtenay, 1395-1400.
89. PRO E 101/3/9, Roger Leyburn, 1266-7; E 101/509/29, attributed to Peter de Mauley, c.1320-50; SC 6/1261/6, part 1, Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1371-5; BL Egerton Roll 8728, Edmund Mortimer, 1378.
90. PRO C 47/3/35, E 101/506/11, William de Stowe, 1318 or 1329, distinction between *prandium* and *vesper*; E 101/506/12, unidentified household, c.1320-50; *Account roll of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin 1337-1346* ed. J.Mills (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin, 1891) pp. 1-15; MR 3545, 3549, warden's household, 1378 and 1383-4; Arundell MA 417, 427, 431, John, Lord Dinham, 1383, 1393-4 and late 14th century.
91. BL Add. MS 8877, Eleanor de Montfort, 1265; PRO E 101/3/9, Roger Leyburn, 1266-7; E 101/91/1, 2 and 5, Bogo de Clare, 1285; E 101/505/25-7, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7.
92. Fowler, "A household expense roll"; MR 3532, 3545, 3549, warden's household, 1347-8, 1378, 1383-4.
93. WAM 9222-3; PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1.
94. Durham D. and C. Misc. Charter 214.
95. Longleat House MS 3772.
96. *Household roll of Richard de Swinfield i.*
97. CUL EDR D5/2-7, 7a; PRO E 101/400/28, E 101/510/27, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, 1380-4.
98. PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1, Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1371-5; Somerset RO DD/L P37/7, Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1405-6.

99. Arundell MA 411, Joan, Lady Dinham, 1367-8; Longleat House MS Misc. IX, Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1 and 1431-2.
100. Northants. RO Finch Hatton MS 458, unidentified household staying near Boroughbridge, late 13th century; Longleat House MSS 4050, 4060 mem. 1, 10470, William de Rupe, 1322-4.
101. Nottingham UL, Middleton MS Mi A1, Henry, Lord de Grey of Codnor, 1304-5; MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, Estate Paper 85/2, John de Multon, 1343-4, 1347-8; Fowler, "A household expense roll"; Arundell MA 411, Joan, Lady Dinham, 1367-8; PRO C 47/37/1/25-7, Edmund de Stonor, 1378.
102. East Sussex RO MS GLY 4B (renumbered from 4A).
103. PRO E 101/505/25-7, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7.
104. Notts. RO DDFJ 8/4/1.
105. PRO E 101/506/24.
106. PRO E 101/372/4, E 101/505/17, E 101/510/17, Hugh Audley the younger, 1320; Hants. RO 148M71/3/1/2, William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, mid-14th century; WAM 9222-3, John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1347 and 1348; CUL EDR D5/2-7, 7a, PRO E 101/400/28, E 101/510/27, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, 1380-4; WCM 1, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1393.
107. BL Add. MS 8877, Eleanor de Montfort, 1265; PRO E 101/505/25-7, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7; C 47/3/27, Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1296-7; Hants. RO 148M71/3/1/2, William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, mid-14th century; Northants. RO Westmorland (Apethorpe) 4. xx. 4., Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, 1409-10.
108. Brewings: Essex RO D/DPr 136, Earl of Oxford, c.1245-75; BL MS Harley 2253, f. 142<sup>v</sup>, probably for Roger de Mortimer, early 14th century; Warws. RO CR 2018/1, unidentified household, 1318 or 1329; [bralc'. Bakings: Swinfield; Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 266, Henry de Overton, Abbot of Peterborough, 1370-1; CCC, Oxford, MS 498, fragment 2<sup>r</sup>, possibly Beatrice de Roos, late 14th or early 15th century. Both: Northants. RO Finch Hatton MS 458, unidentified household, late 13th century; PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 2, Abbot of Westminster, early 14th century; SC 6/1261/6, part 1, Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1371-5; BL MS Royal 11 B X, ff. 185-8, unidentified household, late 14th or early 15th century; *Bryene*.
109. BL MS Harley 2253, f. 142<sup>v</sup>, probably for Roger de Mortimer, early 14th century; Berkeley SR 58, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, 1328, noting the product of beans baked for horse bread in the marshalsea section; "Ralph of Shrewsbury"; WAM 9222-3, John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1347 and 1348; PRO E 101/94/9, probably for Lionel, Earl of Ulster, 1350s or 1360s; Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 266, Henry de Overton, Abbot of Peterborough, 1370-1; PRO E 101/510/27, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, 1383; East Sussex RO MS GLY 4B, Sir William Waleys, 1382-3; PRO C 47/3/53/15, unidentified household, early 15th century; BL MS Harley 3755, Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7; *Bryene*.
110. WAM 9222-3; BL Add. MS 8877, Eleanor de Montfort, 1265; MS Harley 2253, f. 1<sup>r</sup>, probably for Roger de Mortimer, early 14th century; PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1, Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1371-5; and *Bryene*, have marginal or supplementary notes about the consumption of wine.
111. Longleat House MS Misc. IX.
112. Northants. RO Finch Hatton MS 458, unidentified household, late 13th century.
113. East Sussex RO MS GLY 4B, Sir William Waleys, 1382-3; Somerset RO DD/L P37/7, Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1405-6; Longleat House MS Misc. IX and Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1, 1431-2.
114. *Swinfield* i.



115. WAM 9222-3, John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1347 and 1348.
116. PRO E 101/505/25-7, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7; BL Add. Roll 63207, Dame Katherine de Norwich, 1336-7.
117. Warws. RO CR 2018/1, unidentified household, 1318 or 1329: [flr'].
118. BL Add. MS 8877, Eleanor de Montfort, 1265; PRO E 101/505/25-7, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7; Notts. RO DDFJ 8/4/1, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, c.1299; Longleat House MS 3772, probably for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80; *Bryene*; Longleat House MS Misc. IX and Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1420-1, 1431-2.
119. Northants. RO Finch Hatton MS 458, unidentified household, late 13th century; Berkeley SR 58, 61, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, 1328-9; Fowler, "A household expense roll"; PRO C 47/3/53/15, unidentified household, early 15th century.
120. PRO E 101/506/12, unidentified household, c.1320-50.
121. WCM 1; BL MS Harley 3755.
122. BL MS Harley 2253, f. 1r: "Fuit cancellarius et thesaurarius Hibernie" occurs once as a headnote to the entry for the first Monday of the account.
123. PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1, Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1371-5; *Bryene*.
124. CCC, Oxford, MS 498, fragment 3v, late 14th or early 15th century.
125. PRO E 101/505/25-7, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7.
126. Below, pp. 112-13, 190-2.
127. Longleat House MSS 4050, 4060, 10470, William de Rupe, 1322-4, *fercula* of meat; PRO E 101/94/9, probably for Lionel, Earl of Ulster, 1350s or 1360s, bread, wine and ale, issued for *fercula*.
128. *Customary of the Benedictine monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster* ed. E.M.Thompson (Henry Bradshaw Society, 23, 28; 1902-4) i, p. 60.
129. *Walter de Wenlok* p. 243.
130. *Fleta* ed. H.G.Richardson and G.O.Sayles (Selden Society, 72; 1955) p. 248; N.Denholm Young *Seignorial administration in England* (Oxford, 1937) p. 67; *Walter of Henley* pp. 99, 103-6.
131. *Tout Chapters* ii, p. 160.
132. M.Bateson, "The Scottish king's household and other fragments from a fourteenth century manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge", in *Miscellany II* (Scottish History Society, 44; 1904) p. 36.
133. PRO E 101/372/4, E 101/505/17, E 101/510/17.
134. PRO E 101/509/29, attributed to Peter de Mauley, c.1320-50; E 101/94/10, E 101/95/10, E 101/95/13, Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare, c.1320-50; WAM 9222, John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1348; Durham D. and C. Misc. Charter 214, probably for a Prior of Durham, c.1350-8: one note only, Sunday of the third week; CUL EDR D5/2-7, 7a and PRO E 101/400/28, E 101/510/27, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, 1380-4; Northants. RO Westmorland (Apethorpe) 4. xx. 4., Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, 1409-10; CUL EDR F5/33, ff. 19v-20r, notes from a diet account of Thomas Peverel, Bishop of Worcester, 1413.
135. Berkeley SR 61.
136. PRO E 101/94/9, probably for Lionel, Earl of Ulster, 1350s or 1360s; CUL Add. MS 5963, part 67, unidentified household, late 14th or early 15th century; East Sussex RO MS GLY 3469 (18)-(20), John of Gaunt, 1383.
137. Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 266, Henry de Overton, Abbot of Peterborough, 1370-1; *Bryene*.
138. Bodl. MS Rolls Hereford 40, Richard, Lord Talbot, 1392-3.
139. "Ralph of Shrewsbury": 5 December 1337, 5 January 1338, 9 March 1338.
140. PRO E 101/95/6.
141. PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1.

142. WCM 1.
143. Northants. RO Fitzwilliam (Milton) account rolls 266.
144. Longleat House MS Misc. IX, Warws. RO CR 1618/W19/5.
145. PRO E 101/91/2, Bogo de Clare, 1285; E 101/372/4, E 101/505/17, E 101/510/17, Hugh Audley the younger, 1320; E 101/507/8, Thomas de Chedworth, 1328; Berkeley SR 58, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, 1328; MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, mem. 3<sup>r</sup>, John de Multon, 1343-4, panel for the purchases of stock and spices; BL Egerton Roll 8728, Edmund Mortimer, 1378; WCM 1, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1393; Arundell MA 429, John, Lord Dinham, 1401; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 37/Box 73, Mountford of Coleshill, 1433-4.
146. PRO E 101/365/17; E 101/366/30.
147. Nottingham UL, Middleton MS Mi A1; Berkeley SR 61, mem. 2.
148. BL Add. Roll 63207.
149. PRO C 47/3/35, E 101/506/11; WAM 9222-3; PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1.
150. Longleat House MS 3772.
151. PRO E 101/510/27, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, 1383.
152. BL Add. MS 8877.
153. PRO E 101/505/25-7, Joan of Valence, Countess of Pembroke, 1295-7; E 101/510/5, Genoans visiting England, early 14th century.
154. PRO E 101/91/5, Bogo de Clare, 1284.
155. Essex RO D/DPr 136, Earl of Oxford, c.1245-75; Northants. RO Finch Hatton MS 458, unidentified household, late 13th century; PRO E 101/365/17, Humphrey de Bohun, 1304.
156. Nottingham UL, Middleton MS Mi A1, Henry, Lord de Grey of Codnor, 1304-5; WAM 9222-3, John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1347 and 1348; PRO C 47/3/53/36, unidentified household, mid-14th century.
157. Arundell MA 417.
158. PRO C 47/37/1/26.
159. *Manorial records of Cuxham* p. 48.
160. Devon RO CR 1466, Hugh and Edward Courtenay, 1395-1400; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 37/Box 73, Mountford of Coleshill, Warws., 1433-4.
161. Longleat House MS 3772, probably for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80; Arundell MA 420, John, Lord Dinham, 1384-5.
162. PRO E 101/365/20, Elizabeth de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, 1304; MR 3545, 3549, household of the warden, 1378, 1383-4; PRO E 101/511/15, John de Catesby, 1392-3.
163. PRO C 47/3/53/15, unidentified household, early 15th century.
164. PRO DL 28/1/14, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, 1318-19, described as a "Liber hospicii"; C 47/3/35, E 101/506/11, William de Stowe, 1318 or 1329; Norfolk RO NH1, Roger de Holm, 1328; Berkeley SR 61, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, 1328-9; BL Add. Roll 63207, Dame Katherine de Norwich, 1336-7.
165. Nottingham UL, Middleton MS Mi A1; BL Egerton Roll 8728.
166. MR 3532, 3535.
167. PRO E 101/506/24, household of John Sandale, Bishop of Winchester, after his death, 1319; Longleat House MS 3772, probably for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80; WCM 1, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1393.
168. PRO E 101/365/17.
169. Notts. RO DDFJ 8/4/1, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, c.1299; CCC, Oxford, Archives Ga 9/1, unidentified household, 1300; WAM 9222-3, John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1347 and 1348.
170. PRO E 101/507/17, Simon de Eye, Abbot of Ramsey, 1337-8.
171. PRO E 101/365/20, E 101/366/30, Elizabeth de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, 1304 and 1305; DL 28/1/14, Thomas of Lancaster, 1318-19.
172. Bodl. MS Lat. hist. d. 1 (R).
173. Nottingham UL, Middleton MS Mi A1, Henry, Lord de Grey of Codnor, 1304-5; MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, Estate Paper 85/2, John de Multon, 1343-4, 1347-8; Arundell MA 411, Joan, Lady Dinham, 1367-8; East

Sussex RO MS GLY 4B, Sir William Waleys, 1382-3; Somerset RO DD/L P37/7, Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1405-6; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 37/Box 73, Mountford of Coleshill, Warws., 1433-4.

174. Warws. RO CR 2018/1, unidentified household, 1318 or 1329; Fowler, "A household expense roll"; PRO E 101/512/4, John Daley, temp. Richard II; C 47/37/2, Alice de Stonor, 1432-3.

175. Tout *Chapters* ii, pp. 160-1; T.F.Tout *The place of the reign of Edward II in history* (2nd edition, Manchester, 1936) pp. 241-84; *Fleta* pp. 126-7.

176. Bateson, "The Scottish king's household", pp. 1-43.

177. F.Lot and R.Fawtier *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge* (3 vols., Paris, 1957-62) ii, p. 66.

178. *Walter de Wenlok* p. 241. WAM 24489-90 illustrate the recording of the expenses of the household and the chamber, each in a separate daily paragraph.

179. S.J.A.Evans, "Ely chapter ordinances and visitation records: 1241-1515", in *Camden Miscellany XVII* (Camden Society, 3rd series, 64; 1940) pp. 24-6.

180. *Customary of the Benedictine monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster* i, p. 55.

181. PRO C 47/3/33, printed in part by J.C.Davies *The baronial opposition to Edward II* (Cambridge, 1918) p. 569. The ordinance was dated 1284 by Tout *Chapters* ii, p. 182, n. 1, but a later date would be preferable palaeographically.

182. *Fleta* p. 243.

183. BL MS Harley 4971, ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>.

184. BL Add. MS 8877, e.g. mem. 3<sup>r</sup>: "Incepit Eudo", entered in the left margin.

185. PRO E 101/91/1, mem. 3<sup>r</sup>: "Reymundus de Sulye precomputavit et dominus W. de Regny inceptit despendere."

186. BL Add. MS 8877.

187. Northants. RO Finch Hatton MS 458; PRO E 101/372/4, E 101/505/17, E 101/510/17; Longleat House MS 4050; BL Add. Roll 63207.

188. PRO E 101/505/25-7.

189. CCC, Oxford, Archives Ga 9/1: "Item en un clerk pur escrivere nos accountes iiii d."

190. PRO E 101/510/5.

191. BL MS Royal 6 B X, f. 1<sup>v</sup>.

192. PRO E 101/509/29, attributed to Peter de Mauley, c.1320-50; Berkeley SR 61, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, 1328-9; MCO Estate Paper 85/2, John de Multon, 1347-8.

193. PRO C 47/37/1/25-7.

194. WAM 24489.

195. Bodl. MS Lat. hist. d. 1 (R).

196. PRO DL 28/1/14.

197. Hants. RO 148M71/3/1/2.

198. Arundell MA 411.

199. WAM 9222-3; CUL EDR D5/2-7, 7a, and PRO E 101/400/28, E 101/510/27.

200. WCM 1.

201. J.S.Drew, "Manorial accounts of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester", *EHR* 62 (1947) pp. 20-41; below, pp. 84-5.

202. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 37/Box 73, Mountford of Coleshill, Warws., 1433-4.

203. Berkeley SR 63, [Thomas], Lord Berkeley, c.1330-60; BL Add. Roll 63207, Dame Katherine de Norwich, 1336-7; Arundell MA 429, John, Lord Dinham, 1401.

204. BL Add. MS 8877, Eleanor de Montfort, 1265.

205. BL MS Harley 2253, f. 142<sup>v</sup>, probably for Roger de Mortimer, early 14th century; PRO E 101/365/20, Countess of Hereford, 1304.

206. MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, John de Multon, 1343-4: weekly totals; PRO E 101/372/4, E 101/505/17, E 101/510/17, Hugh Audley the younger, 1320: monthly totals.
207. PRO E 101/365/17; E 101/94/9; BL Egerton Roll 8728; MS Royal 11 B X, ff. 185-8; MS Harley 3755; CCC, Oxford, MS 498, fragments 2 and 3.
208. PRO E 101/372/4, E 101/505/17, E 101/510/17, Hugh Audley the younger, 1320: monthly and annual; MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, John de Multon, 1343-4: monthly; Northants. RO Westmorland (Apethorpe) 4. xx. 4., Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, 1409-10.
209. Northants. RO Finch Hatton MS 458, unidentified household, late 13th century.
210. BL MS Harley 3755, Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7; Northants. RO Westmorland (Apethorpe) 4. xx. 4., Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, 1409-10.
211. PRO SC 6/1261/6, part 1; Arundell MA 427, John, Lord Dinham, 1393-4; BL MS Harley 3755, Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7; Northants. RO Westmorland (Apethorpe) 4. xx. 4., a journal of purchases for the household of Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, 1409-10; PRO C 47/4/8A, 8B, Dame Alice de Bryene, 1412, 1412-13.
212. BL Add. Ch. 17208, mem. 3; College of Arms, London, Arundel MS 49.
213. Longleat House MS Misc. VIII.
214. Staffs. RO D 641/1/3/1, Custus garderobe: "ut patet per particulas in paparo".
215. MR 3535, mem. 4, total of expenses on a visitation "quorum particule patent in papiro penes Norton"; Cobban *The King's Hall* pp. 112-21.
216. PRO SC 6/1261/9: "En diverses aschates com piert le paper la prioresse"; *Computus rolls of the obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, from the Winchester Cathedral archives* ed. G.W.Kitchin (Hampshire Record Society, 7; 1892) p. 246; PRO SC 6/1259/6, mem. 6, a draft account on paper for the chamberlain; SC 6/1258/7, paragraph for petty expenses, "ut patet per parcelas in quotorno de papiro".
217. PRO E 101/510/21, John de Catesby, 1379-80.
218. Arundell MA 420, John, Lord Dinham, 1384-5: paper schedule; PRO E 41/376, mem. 8, Catesby family, 1397; J.B.Post, "A privately drafted common petition of 1398-9", *JSA* 6 (1978-81) pp. 10-17.
219. MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 71a; C.M.Woolgar and B.O'Donoghue, "Two Middle English poems at Magdalen College, Oxford", *Medium Aevum* 52 (1983) p. 221.
220. M.T.Clanchy *From memory to written record* (London, 1979) p. 92; MCO Estate Paper 78/23, for the lands of Sele Priory, Sussex, 1359-69.
221. P.D.A.Harvey *Manorial records* (London, 1984) pp. 36-8.
222. *Records of the wardrobe and household, 1285-1286* ed. B.F.Byerly and C.R.Byerly (London, 1977) pp. 117-63; A.R.Myers, "The captivity of a royal witch: the household account of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21", *BJRL* 24 (1940) pp. 263-84; 26 (1941) pp. 82-100.
223. PRO DL 28/1/14; East Sussex RO MS GLY 3469 (18)-(20).
224. PRO E 101/405/17; and an account for an unidentified household, late 14th or early 15th century, CUL Add. MS 5963, part 67.
225. PRO E 101/91/8.
226. Below, pp. 99-100.
227. East Sussex RO MS GLY 3469 (1)-(17).
228. PRO E 101/92/1, 15.
229. Bodl. MS Fairfax 24, f. 62v.
230. MCO Estate Paper 85/2.
231. PRO C 47/3/32/26; BL Egerton Rolls 8786-7.
232. Above, pp. 33, 38-9.
233. Nottingham UL, Middleton MS Mi A1.
234. Durham D. and C. Misc. Ch. 214.
235. East Sussex RO MS GLY 4B.

236. BL MS Harley 3755.
237. PRO E 101/511/15, E 101/512/5.
238. BL Add. Roll 64803.
239. BL Add. MS 8877.
240. PRO E 101/91/1, 2, 5; MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160; WAM 9222-3.
241. PRO E 101/506/19.
242. PRO E 101/509/11.
243. Longleat House MS Misc. VIII.
244. Bodl. MS Lat. hist. d. 1 (R), mem. 2<sup>a</sup>.
245. Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Archives, Miscellaneous Accounts 61.
246. PRO E 101/91/3, 4, 6, 7, 31; M.S.Giuseppi, "The wardrobe and household accounts of Bogo de Clare, A.D.1284-6", *Archaeologia* 70 (1918-20) pp. 1-56.
247. PRO DL 28/1/13.
248. *Records of the wardrobe and household 1285-1286* pp. 1-116; *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris garderobae anno regni regis Edwardi primi vicesimo octavo...* ed. J.Nichols (London, 1787).
249. *Clanchy From memory to written record* pp. 111-12; *Records of the wardrobe and household 1285-1286* pp. ix-xv; BL Add. MS 18632, ff. 2, 101, Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster, 1356-9; M.R.James *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899) pp. 61-3; M.Sharp, "A fragmentary household account of John of Gaunt", *BIHR* 13 (1935-6) pp. 154-60; PRO DL 28/1/1-10, Henry, Earl of Derby (later King Henry IV), 1381-98; Longleat House MS Misc. VIII, Thomas de Stafford, Earl of Stafford, c.1391-2; College of Arms, London, Arundel MS 49, Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1394-5; WAM 12163, Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, 1418-21.
250. "The wardrobe and household accounts of Bogo de Clare", pp. 36-40, but note p. 56, cloth, etc. "de preempto"; the account includes a statement of items *de stauro* found in the wardrobe when the wardrober took office.
251. e.g. *Manorial records of Cuxham* pp. 169-81, reeve's account, 1288-9; *Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham, passim*.
252. PRO E 101/92/23.
253. BL Add. Roll 64320; WAM 12163, f. 16<sup>v</sup> (an inserted leaf); K.B.McFarlane *The nobility of later medieval England* (Oxford, 1973) pp. 110-13.
254. BL Egerton Roll 8738, printed by W.P.Baildon, "A wardrobe account of 16-17 Richard II, 1393-4", *Archaeologia* 62, part ii (1911) pp. 497-514, where it is incorrectly identified as a royal wardrobe account; Egerton Charters 7350-1.
255. PRO DL 28/1/1-6.
256. MCO Fastolf Paper 43, f. 1<sup>v</sup>.
257. PRO E 101/91/3, Bogo de Clare, 1285; Staffs. RO D 641/1/3/1, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, 1307-8; BL Add. MS 18632, ff. 2, 101, Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster, 1356-9.
258. BL Egerton Roll 8738; WAM 12163.
259. BL Add. MS 8877; College of Arms, London, Arundel MS 49; BL Egerton Roll 8746.
260. *Walter of Henley* pp. 396-8.
261. A form of stock account exists, for example, for Bogo de Clare: above, p. 80; PRO DL 28/1/14, summary cash journal of Thomas of Lancaster.
262. Longleat House MS 4060, mem. 2.
263. Berkeley SR 64.
264. PRO E 101/91/11.
265. PRO E 101/91/17.
266. PRO E 101/91/26-7, E 101/92/3.
267. Arundell MA 408.
268. Leeds District Archives, Mexborough collection, Methley accounts 9.

269. Devon RO CR 535, CR 491, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1382-3, 1383-4; PRO E 101/513/2, Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, 1405-6; Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, accounts for Richard, Lord Talbot, 1393-4, Ankaret, Lady Talbot, 1411-12, and John, Lord Talbot and Furnivall, 1424-5.
270. WAM 24510, 24512.
271. PRO SC 6/1072/22.
272. *Bryene* pp. 116-39; Somerset RO DD/L P37/11, Sir John Luttrell, 1429-30; Essex RO D/DPr 137, John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, 1431-2.
273. WAM 24510-2, Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1362-3, 1364-5, 1367-8; BL Add. Ch. 17208, Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1385-6; PRO E 101/513/2, Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, 1405-6; BL Egerton Roll 8775, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1435-6.
274. Arundell MA 408, Richard Turberville, 1358-9; Somerset RO DD/L P37/10A-C, Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1422-3, 1423-4, 1425-6.
275. Shropshire RO 665/Box 33 (Eyton collection).
276. Longleat House MS 442.
277. Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account for John, Lord Talbot and Furnivall, 1424-5.
278. Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account for Gilbert, Lord Talbot, 1417-18.
279. Arundell MA 412, John, Lord Dinham, 1372-3; Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account for Richard, Lord Talbot, 1393-4.
280. Drew, "Manorial accounts of St. Swithun's Priory", pp. 20-41; *Manorial records of Cuxham* pp. 53-4.
281. BL Add. Ch. 17208, Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1385-6; PRO E 101/513/2, Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, 1405-6.
282. BL Add. Roll 64803, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1384-5; MCO Fastolf Paper 8, Sir John Fastolf, 1430-1.
283. BL Egerton Roll 8775, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1435-6.
284. BL Add. Roll 64803, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1384-5; Add. Ch. 17208, Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1385-6; Longleat House MS 442, Maud de Vere, Countess of Oxford, 1389; WCM 1, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1393; PRO E 101/513/2, Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, 1405-6; Leeds District Archives, Mexborough collection, Methley accounts 9, Robert Waterton, 1416-17; MCO Fastolf Paper 8, Sir John Fastolf, 1430-1.
285. Bodl. MS Rolls Norfolk 71, an account for the abbot's cellarer at St. Benet at Hulme, 1373, has the marginal notes "re' lard" and "ƿ lard" as a direction to look at the larderer's account. PRO E 101/512/17, William Molyns, 1401-2; Leeds District Archives, Mexborough collection, Methley accounts 9, Robert Waterton, 1416-17; PRO SC 6/1257/7, Ely Cathedral Priory, treasurer, 1439-40; SJC D91.21, p. 161, Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, 1506-7.
286. BL Add. Roll 64803, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1384-5, Longleat House MS 442, Maud de Vere, Countess of Oxford, 1389; Shropshire RO 665/Box 33 (Eyton collection), Sir Edward Botiller, 1401-2; PRO E 101/512/17, William Molyns, 1401-2.
287. BL Add. Ch. 17208.
288. WAM 24510-12. For pre-audit totals, *Manorial records of Cuxham* p. 50.
289. MCO Fastolf Paper 8, Sir John Fastolf, 1430-1.
290. Arundell MA 412, John, Lord Dinham, 1372-3.
291. CCC, Oxford, MS 498, fragment 4, possibly for Beatrice de Roos, late 14th or early 15th century; Leeds District Archives, Mexborough collection, Methley accounts 9, Robert Waterton, 1416-17.
292. Somerset RO DD/L P37/12, Margaret Luttrell, 1431-2.
293. Somerset RO DD/L P37/10C, Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1425-6; Essex RO D/DPr 137, John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, 1431-2.

294. Devon RO CR 535, CR 491, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1382-3, 1383-4.
295. BL Add. Roll 64803.
296. Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account of Gilbert, Lord Talbot, 1417-18.
297. Devon RO CR 491 and BL Add. Roll 64803, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1383-4 and 1384-5; WCM 1, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1393; MCO Fastolf Paper 8, Sir John Fastolf, 1430-1; BL Egerton Roll 8775, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1435-6.
298. Somerset RO DD/L P37/10C, Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1425-6; DD/L P37/12, Margaret Luttrell, 1431-2.
299. PRO E 101/512/17, William Molyms, 1401-2; Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account for John, Lord Talbot and Furnivall, 1424-5; Somerset RO DD/L P37/11, Sir John Luttrell, 1429-30.
300. PRO E 101/513/2; Leeds District Archives, Mexborough collection, Methley accounts 9.
301. Arundell MA 408; PRO SC 6/1072/22.
302. Devon RO CR 535, CR 491 and BL Add. Roll 64803, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1382-3, 1383-4, 1384-5; Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account for Richard, Lord Talbot, 1393-4.
303. BL Add. Ch. 17208, Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1385-6: the section headed "expense hospicii" excludes major purchases, dealing with items "prout computatur per dietas in magno papiro dietarum"; PRO E 101/513/2, Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, 1405-6: there is a long list of paragraphs for the purchases of different commodities and one for "expense dietarum"; Somerset RO DD/L P37/10A, Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1422-3: there is a single large paragraph for "expense hospicii", which works through the purchases, commodity by commodity, but which includes a further set of purchases as the last sentence "ut patet per journalem in dicto papiro de expensis eiusdem hospicii".
304. PRO DL 28/1/12 is a record of a purchasing expedition of this nature to Corbridge fair, 1298, on behalf of the household of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.
305. WAM 24510, Nicholas de Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, 1362-3; Shropshire RO 665/Box 33 (Eyton collection), Sir Edward Botiller, 1400-1; PRO E 101/512/17, William Molyms, 1401-2; Somerset RO DD/L P37/10A-B, Sir Hugh Luttrell, 1422-3, 1423-4.
306. BL Add. Ch. 17208; MCO Fastolf Paper 8.
307. Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account for Gilbert, Lord Talbot, 1417-18.
308. Shropshire RO 665/Box 33 (Eyton collection), Sir Edward Botiller, 1400-1; Bridgewater collection, account for John, Lord Talbot and Furnivall, 1424-5.
309. BL Add. Roll 64803, Edward de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1384-5.
310. PRO E 101/513/2: "et sic stat dieta ad xxviii s. xi d. plus in toto x d. ob. di. qua."
311. BL Add. Ch. 17208: "quelibet dieta una cum alia stat hoc anno ad lii s. i d."
312. Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account for Gilbert, Lord Talbot, 1417-18.
313. Somerset RO DD/L P37/7.
314. CUL EDR F5/33, f. 19v.
315. Arundell MA 408.
316. Arundell MA 412.
317. Devon RO CR 535, CR 491 and BL Add. Roll 64803.
318. BL Add. Ch. 17208.
319. Dunster: Somerset RO DD/L P37/9, 10A-C, 11; Carhampton: DD/L P37/12.
320. Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, accounts for Gilbert, Lord Talbot, 1417-18, and John, Lord Talbot and Furnivall, 1424-5.
321. MCO Fastolf Paper 8.

322. Shropshire RO 665/Box 33 (Eyton collection): "ut patet in rubio papiro domini".
323. Leeds District Archives, Mexborough collection, Methley accounts 9: "ut patet per selarium".
324. BL Egerton Roll 8775.
325. MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, John de Multon, 1343-4; PRO E 101/511/15, E 101/512/5, John de Catesby, 1392-3 and *temp.* Richard II; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 37/Box 73, Mountford of Coleshill, Warws., 1433-4.
326. MCO Estate Paper 56/13; Essex RO D/DPr 138; PRO C 47/3/32/34, part of a receiver's account, possibly for Joan, Lady Bergavenney, 1421, referring to the payment of expenses on a journey "as in a certain journal".
327. Devon RO CR 488, CR 500 and BL Add. Ch. 13972, receiver general's accounts, late 14th century, 1388-9 and 1392-3.
328. R.A.Griffiths, "Public and private bureaucracies in England and Wales in the fifteenth century", *TRHS* 5th series, 30 (1980) pp. 109-30; E.Rickert, "A leaf from a fourteenth century letter book", *Modern Philology* 25 (1927-8) pp. 249-55; C.D.Ross *The estates and finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick* (Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, 12; 1956) p. 14 and n. 1.
329. PRO C 47/3/33.
330. H.G.Richardson, "A French treatise on letter writing by Thomas Sampson", in *Formularies which bear on the history of Oxford c.1204-1420* ed. H.E.Salter, W.A.Pantin and H.G.Richardson (OHS, new series, 4 and 5; 1942) ii, pp. 371-2.
331. H.G.Richardson, "Business training in medieval Oxford", *American Historical Review* 46 (1940-1) pp. 259-80.
332. BL Add. MS 8167, ff. 132-3; BL MS Harley 4971, ff. 7, 26<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>; CUL MS Ee IV 20, f. 144.
333. Lacour, "Traité d'économie", pp. 380-1; Bodl. MS Rawlinson C775, p. 126; BL MS Harley 4971, f. 7.
334. Below, pp. 96-102, 110-14.
335. BL MS Harley 4971, ff. 27<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>v</sup>; Longleat House MS 3772.
336. For example, *Manners and meals in olden time* ed. F.J.Furnivall (EETS original series, 32; 1868) *passim*; *Queane Elizabethes Achademy, a booke of precedence, etc.* ed. F.J.Furnivall (EETS extra series, 8; 1869) *passim*; *Caxton's book of curtesye* ed. F.J.Furnivall (EETS extra series, 3; 1868) *passim*; BL MS Harley 6815, ff. 22-53, a 16th century copy of a treatise of the second half of the 15th century.
337. *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household, made in divers reigns, from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary, also receipts in ancient cookery* ed. Anon. (London, 1790) pp. 423-76; *Two fifteenth century cookery-books* ed. T.Austin (EETS original series, 91; 1888); *Curye on inglysch* ed. C.B.Hieatt and S.Butler (EETS supplementary series, 8; 1985).
338. *Walter of Henley* pp. 191-9, 387-415.
339. Bodl. MS Fairfax 24, ff. 62-3.
340. *Catalogue of western manuscripts in the old royal and King's collections* ed. G.F.Warner and J.P.Gilson (4 vols., London, 1921) i, p. 343; MS Royal 11 A XVIII.
341. *Walter de Wenlok* pp. 5, 241-8.
342. John de Multon of Frampton: Appendix 2.
343. *Manorial records of Cuxham* pp. 35-57; *Harvey Manorial records* pp. 31-5.
344. Giuseppi, "The wardrobe and household accounts of Bogo de Clare", p. 33.
345. *Accounts of the obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey* ed. R.E.G.Kirk (Camden Society, new series, 51; 1892) pp. 73, 75, 88, etc.; *Accounts of the cellarers of Battle Abbey* ed. E.Searle and B.Ross (Sydney, 1967)



- pp. 92, 95, 102, 106, etc.; *Account rolls ... Peterborough* pp. 27, 32, 35, 38, 43, etc.; *Computus rolls of the obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester* pp. 292, 294, 301, 379, etc.
346. *Visitations of religious houses in the diocese of Lincoln* ed. A.H.Thompson (Lincolnshire Record Society, 7, 14, 21; 1914-29) ii, p. 49.
347. S.Bond, "The attestation of medieval private charters relating to New Windsor", *JSA* 4 (1970-3) pp. 276-84; J.H.Hodson, "Medieval charters: the last witness", *JSA* 5 (1974-7) pp. 71-89; A.E.B.Owen, "A scrivener's notebook from Bury St. Edmunds", *Archives* 14 (1979-80) pp. 16-22.
348. *Manorial records of Cuxham* pp. 37-42.
349. Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham: Durham Episcopal Estates, Church Commissioners 189812, mem. 5<sup>r</sup>.
350. *Anglo-Norman letters and petitions from All Souls MS 182* ed. M.D.Legge (ANTS, 3; 1941) p. 268.
351. Devon RO CR 491: "unde dominus gratiam de denariis predictis concesset sub condicione quod bene se gesserit in officio suo citra festum Pasche et expensas hospicii melius viderit, etc."
352. Devon RO CR 535, mem. 3<sup>r</sup>.
353. BL Add. Ch. 17208.
354. CCC, Oxford, Archives Ga 9/1, unidentified household, 1300; *Compta domestica* pp. 102-4; Berkeley SR 63, [Thomas], Lord Berkeley, c.1330-60; MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, recto, John de Multon, 1343-4; Longleat House MS 3772, probably for an Earl of Stafford, c.1350-80; Arundell MA 420, John Dinham, 1384-5; Devon RO CR 1466, Hugh and Edward Courtenay, 1395-1400; BL MS Harley 3755, Richard Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, 1406-7: in Latin with some phrases in French.
355. MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160, dorse, John de Multon, 1343-4; PRO E 101/509/11, William de Montague, fifth Earl of Salisbury, 1367-8; BL Add. Roll 64320, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, 1384-5; Longleat House MS Misc. VIII, Thomas de Stafford, Earl of Stafford, 1391-2; BL Egerton Roll 8738, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, 1393-4; College of Arms, London, Arundel MS 49, Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Norfolk, 1394-5; BL Egerton Roll 8746, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, 1413-14, an account which changes frequently between English, French and Latin; WAM 12163, f. 16<sup>v</sup>, Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, c.1418-21.
356. Forestié *La dépense journalière d'un château quercynois*; A.Higounet-Nadal, "Le journal des dépenses d'un notaire de Périgueux en mission à Paris (Janvier - Septembre 1337)", *Annales du Midi* 76 (1964) pp. 379-402; BL MS Royal 8 E XI, f. 1<sup>v</sup>, an unidentified French or Breton household, late 14th or early 15th century; *Guillaume de Mural* pp. 289-341, 343-413, 415-16.
357. *Bryene*; PRO C 47/37/2, Alice de Stonor, 1432-3, in Latin, but with many English words; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust RO DR 37/Box 73, Mountford of Coleshill, Warws., 1433-4; below, pp. 143-54.
358. *Walter of Henley, passim*; *Manorial records of Cuxham* p. 81, n. 52.
359. *Clanchy From memory to written record* pp. 29-59.

#### Chapter 5 (pp. 96-109)

1. M.Altschul *A baronial family in medieval England: the Clares 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965) pp. 166-74; R.E.Archer, "Rich old ladies: the problem of late medieval dowagers", in *Property and politics: essays in later medieval English history* ed. A.J.Pollard (Gloucester, 1984) pp. 23-4.
2. PRO E 101/93/5, mem. 5.
3. PRO E 101/93/12, 15; E 101/95/12.
4. PRO E 101/93/12, schedule fastened to the foot of the roll.
5. PRO E 101/92/19.
6. PRO E 101/91/23, 29; E 101/92/10, 29; E 101/93/1, 5, 7; E 101/94/12.

7. PRO E 101/93/7, schedule.
8. PRO E 101/92/23.
9. PRO E 101/92/26.
10. PRO E 101/91/28.
11. PRO E 101/91/27: "sicut continentur in libro de particulis"; "sicut continentur in rotulo de particulis".
12. PRO E 101/92/3: "sicut continentur in rotulo de particulis dietarum".
13. PRO E 101/91/17, mem. 2<sup>r</sup>: "sicut continentur in particulis in quodam libro contentis set non contrarotulatis".
14. PRO E 101/92/27; E 101/93/6 (including E 101/94/13 and 18); E 101/93/8, 19; E 101/94/2.
15. PRO E 101/92/4; *Manorial records of Cuxham* p. 50.
16. PRO E 101/91/24, mem. 2<sup>r</sup>.
17. PRO E 101/92/11, mem. 14<sup>r</sup>: "in presencia domini Andree de Bures senescalli et aliorum de consilio domine panetariis, botellariis, pistoribus, braciatoribus, lardinariis, pulletariis et candellariis de diversis rebus deficientibus in officiis suis et venditis super compota sua isto anno et quatuor annis precedentibus".
18. PRO E 101/91/22, E 101/94/16.
19. PRO E 101/92/16; for manorial views of account, *Manorial records of Cuxham* pp. 58-62.
20. PRO E 101/92/6, 20, 21.
21. For example, PRO E 101/93/20, E 101/94/19, E 101/95/9.
22. PRO E 101/91/25; E 101/92/2, 12; E 101/92/24 and E 101/94/11; E 101/93/2, 4, 9, 18; E 101/94/10; E 101/95/10, 13.
23. PRO E 101/95/2.
24. PRO E 101/91/14; E 101/92/22, 30; E 101/93/13, 17; E 101/95/7.
25. PRO E 101/94/7.
26. PRO E 101/95/8.
27. PRO E 101/93/16.
28. PRO E 101/94/6; E 101/95/4, 5.
29. PRO E 101/92/1.
30. PRO E 101/92/15.
31. PRO E 101/91/15, 16.
32. PRO E 101/91/19, 20; E 101/94/8.
33. For example, PRO E 101/92/5, an account for 1337, headed "Contrarotulus expensarum hospicii domine Elizabeth de Burgo...".
34. PRO E 101/510/13; E 101/91/13; E 101/92/14, 18, 28; E 101/93/3 and E 101/94/13; E 101/93/10, 11, 14; E 101/94/17; E 101/95/3.
35. PRO E 101/92/5, 8.
36. PRO E 101/94/1.
37. PRO E 101/91/21.
38. PRO E 101/95/1.
39. PRO E 101/92/25; E 101/510/14: the folds on the latter may indicate that it came from a roll.
40. PRO E 101/94/14.
41. Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account of Richard, Lord Talbot, 1393-4.
42. B.Ross, "The accounts of the stewards of the Talbot household at Blakemere: an example of medieval accounting practice", *Abacus* 4 (1968) pp. 51-72, discussing accounts in the Shropshire Record Office, Bridgewater collection, subsequently transcribed in B.Ross, "The accounts of the Talbot household at Blakemere in the county of Shropshire, 1394-1425", unpublished M.A. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1970. The account for 1392-3, Bodl. MS Rolls Hereford 40, was not used by B.Ross.
43. Shropshire RO, Bridgewater collection, account for Gilbert, Lord Talbot, 1417-18.
44. MCO Deeds: Multon Hall 160; Estate Paper 85/2.

45. MCO Additional Charter 12, dorse: "Frumentum: In expensis hospicii domini in perhendinacione xvi qr. ... Item liberavit Ricardo coco ad pastellos i bus. dimid."; "Braseum ... De quibus in expensis domini et familie in perhendinacione xlviii qr. di. per talliam."
46. MCO Add. Ch. 9.
47. MCO Deeds: Saltfleetby 10a, 13a, 25a, 30a; Multon Hall 15, 35.
48. MCO Add. Ch. 9.
49. MCO Add. Ch. 7.
50. G.H.Fowler, "A household expense roll, 1328", *EHR* 55 (1940) pp. 630-4.
51. *VCH Northants.* iii, p. 257.

Chapter 6 (pp. 110-31)

1. C.Johnson, "The system of account in the wardrobe of Edward I", *TRHS* 4th series, 6 (1923) pp. 50-72; J.H.Johnson, "The system of account in the wardrobe of Edward II", *TRHS* 4th series, 12 (1929) pp. 75-104; J.H.Johnson, "The King's wardrobe and household", in *The English government at work, 1327-1336* ed. J.F.Willard and W.A.Morris (3 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940-50) i, pp. 206-49; H.Johnstone, "The Queen's household", in *ibid.*, 1, pp. 250-99; *The court and household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290: an edition of British Library Additional Manuscript 35294 with introduction and notes* ed. J.C.Parsons (Toronto, 1977); *Book of prests of the king's wardrobe for 1294-5* ed. E.B.Fryde (Oxford, 1962); *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris garderobae anno regni regis Edwardi primi vicesimo octavo...* ed. J.Nichols, (London, 1787); *The household book of Queen Isabella of England for the fifth regnal year of Edward II, 8th July 1311 to 7th July 1312* ed. F.D.Blackley and G.Hermansen (Edmonton, Alberta, 1971); *Tout Chapters ii*, pp. 158-63; T.F.Tout *The place of the reign of Edward II in history* (second edition, Manchester, 1936) pp. 241-81; *The wardrobe book of William de Norwell 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340* ed. M.Lyon, B.Lyon and H.S.Lucas (Brussels, 1983); G.L.Harriss *King, Parliament and public finance in medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975) pp. 186-228; C.J.Given-Wilson, "Purveyance for the royal household, 1362-1413", *BIHR* 64 (1983) pp. 145-63.
2. *Tout Chapters ii*, p. 162; *idem*, *The place of the reign of Edward II in history* (2nd edition, Manchester, 1936) p. 276.
3. Above, pp. 40-1.
4. PRO E 101/353/2: mem. 5<sup>r</sup>, Thursday, hand 1; Friday, new ink; Saturday, possibly the same ink; mem. 6<sup>r</sup>, Sunday, new hand and ink; Monday, new pen; mem. 7<sup>r</sup>, Tuesday, new pen.
5. PRO E 101/353/17, E 101/97/13.
6. PRO E 101/390/11.
7. PRO E 101/349/16, daily roll for the Queen's household, 36-7 Henry III; E 101/349/22, daily roll for the Queen's household, 37 Henry III; E 101/349/27, daily roll for the King's household, 44 Henry III; *Records of the wardrobe and household 1285-1286* ed. B.F.Byerly and C.R.Byerly (London, 1977) pp. 117-63; PRO E 101/358/16, daily roll for the Queen's household, c.25 Edward I; E 101/373/5, daily roll for the King's household, c.1 Edward II; E 101/383/15, daily roll for the King's household, 2 Edward III.
8. PRO E 101/373/5, mem. 1<sup>d</sup>.
9. PRO E 101/383/20.
10. PRO E 101/371/8/17.
11. PRO E 101/373/27.
12. PRO E 101/399/16.
13. An example is edited in Appendix 3. *Book of prests* pp. xvii-xviii; *Tout Chapters ii*, p. 32, n. 1.
14. *Tout Chapters ii*, p. 160; *idem*, *Place of Edward II in history* pp. 253-5.

15. PRO E 101/355/14/1: "Memorandum quod in compoto facto de expensis hospicii xix die Aprilis [1302] ponebatur Rogerus ostiarius extra vadiis per unum mensem quia non habuit ad compotum tabulas de ferculis tam in camera quam in aula." E 101/353/28, mem. 2<sup>r</sup>: "Memorandum quod Robertus hostiarius magne coquine regis habet respondere de cxxiiii ferculis grossarum carniū de dieta jovis xviii diei Augusti [1295] eo quod non fuit presens ad respondendum de liberacione facta eodem die et eadem liberacio onerata fuit de tot ferculis eodem die. Inde respondit de lxiiii ferculis et ponuntur super ipsum lx fercula residua precii x s."
16. PRO E 101/366/3.
17. PRO E 101/353/28, mem. 1<sup>r</sup>: "Memorandum xix die Novembris [1297] ponebantur per preceptum regis super Ricardum de Winton' clericum coquine et magistrum Petrum cocum xxiiii s. iii d. pro grossis carniibus male cissis xviii die Novembris."
18. PRO E 101/353/28, recto; E 101/364/16, dorse.
19. For example, the issue of wine and ale: PRO E 101/365/11: "Primo die Decembris [1303] fuit quodlibet ferculum in camera regis ad ii picheros vini et cervisie et xl picheros ultra."
20. PRO E 101/353/28, mem. 3<sup>r</sup>: "Memorandum quod Johannes de Somerset' onerandus est de xi s. ii d. pro pane male expensa in aula xiii die Decembris [1295] ultra ferculum computatum ad ii d."; E 101/368/9: "Eodem die [18 September 1306] ponebantur super Gilbertum Goldston' pro xviii picheris vini male expensis in aula dicto die jovis ultra picherum et dimidium allocatos pro quolibet ferculo iii s. vi d."
21. PRO E 101/358/17: "Memorandum quod xxvii die Marcii [1299] computabantur omnibus allocandis allocatis dc allece in rotulo hospicii de quibus lardinarius nescivit respondere et ideo ponebantur super eum ii s. ix d. ob."
22. M.H.Mills, "Exchequer agenda and estimates of revenue, Easter term 1284", *EHR* 40 (1925) pp. 229-34; Harriss King, *Parliament and public finance* pp. 466-508; *Henry V: the practice of kingship* ed. G.L.Harriss (Oxford, 1985) pp. 162-3; *Proceedings and ordinances of the Privy Council of England* ed. N.H.Nicolas (7 vols., London, 1834-7) i, pp. 154, 342; ii, p. 14; M.Prestwich, "An estimate by the Commons of royal revenue in England under Richard II", *Parliamentary History* 3 (1984) pp. 147-55; *idem*, "Victualling estimates for English garrisons in Scotland during the early fourteenth century", *EHR* 82 (1967) pp. 536-43.
23. PRO E 101/390/11.
24. Above, pp. 40-1, 60-1.
25. PRO E 101/383/13, E 101/386/2.
26. H.W.Saunders *An introduction to the obedientiary and manor rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory* (Norwich, 1930) pp. 23-4.
27. E.Power *Medieval English nunneries c.1275 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1922) pp. 317-18.
28. PRO SC 6/1258/4.
29. QCO R257, R258, R260, R261, R263, R264, R262; SGC XV. 3. 1.
30. PRO SC 6/1258/7.
31. Durham D. and C., Misc. Ch. 213, c.1350-80; Misc. Ch. 210, c.1390; Misc. Chs. 211, 211\*, 212, for 1392.
32. PRO SC 6/981/23, schedule.
33. SGC I C 1-11, late 13th century to 1488.
34. G.A.Carthew, "A cellarer's account roll of Creak Abbey 5 and 6 Edward III", *Norfolk Archaeology* 6 (1864) p. 355.
35. PRO SC 6/1258/10.
36. SGC XV. 34. 1-2, 4-9, St. George's Chapel, treasurer's accounts, 1362-75; PRO SC 6/945/14, Wymondham, cellarer, 1379-80.
37. BL Add. Roll 34714, Ramsey Abbey, keeper of the granary, 1418-19: expenditure of corn "in lii septimanis ut patet in libro de septimanis".
38. SJC D2. 1. 3, D2. 1. 7A.
39. Worcester D. and C., C108-16, C118-19, for 1328-83.

40. CUL EDC 5/2/1, [Cellarer's] [Rolls] 15, 16, 20, for 33 Edward III to 2 Richard II give weekly totals for the *expense conventus* and for *expense camere*; CR26, for 8-9 Richard II, for the convent only.
41. Bodl. MS Rolls Norfolk 71.
42. Durham D. and C., cellarer's accounts, ?1305-6; 1307-8(B); 1309-10(B); 1311-12(B); 1340-1, months 1, 3 and 6.
43. CUL EDC 5/2/1, CR1, Ely Cathedral Priory, cellarer, 1315 or 1334; PRO SC 6/1259/1, 3, Ramsey Abbey, c.29 Edward I, c.14 Edward II; SC 6/1261/9, Aconbury Priory, c.1336-7.
44. Durham D. and C., cellarer's accounts; Worcester D. and C., C169, kitchener, ?1340-1.
45. Durham D. and C., cellarer's accounts, 1324-5(B); Saunders *Norwich* p. 96.
46. Bodl. MS Rolls Oseney 28, Tonbridge Priory, ?cellarer, 1327-8 or 1332-3; PRO SC 6/1253/2, Boxley Abbey, subcellarer, 1351-2, 1356, c.1350-80; SC 6/956/20, Bicester Priory, kitchener, 1399-1400.
47. CUL EDC 5/2/1, CR1-2, Ely Cathedral Priory, cellarer, 1315 or 1334, 1335-6; PRO SC 6/1261/18, unidentified religious house, 1396-9.
48. PRO SC 6/1065/4, Bordesley Abbey, subcellarer, 1338; SC 6/1252/6-7, Boxley Abbey, subcellarer, 1347-8 and 1348-9; SC 6/956/20, Bicester Priory, kitchener, 1399-1400.
49. PRO SC 6/1261/9.
50. Hants. RO 5M50/42.
51. Cumbria RO D/Lec/299A. The document is described in the catalogue as the "Cockermouth roll", but the account is for a religious house rather than the Percy family. The place names mentioned suggest a location in north east England.
52. PRO SC 6/956/20.
53. PRO SC 6/1258/7.
54. PRO SC 6/1065/4.
55. CUL EDC 5/2/1, CR2.
56. QCO R259, 1371-2.
57. E.Crittall, "Fragment of an account of the cellarer of Wilton Abbey, 1299", in *Collectanea* ed. N.J.Williams (Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Records Branch, 12; 1956) pp. 142-56.
58. Bodl. MS Rolls Oseney 28.
59. PRO SC 6/1257/10.
60. SGC XV. 3. 1, four one monthly rolls.
61. Durham D. and C., cellarer's accounts, 1339.
62. *The observances in use at the Augustinian priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* ed. J.W.Clark (Cambridge, 1897) pp. 186-9.
63. Hants. RO 5M50/69.
64. Durham D. and C., bursar's accounts, 1292-3, 1298-9, 1308-9(A), 1310-11; cellarer's accounts, ?1305-6, 1307-8, 1311-12(A), 1312-13.
65. CUL EDC 5/2/1, CR2.
66. Worcester D. and C., C107, C109.
67. PRO SC 6/945/14; SC 6/956/20.
68. PRO SC 6/1065/4, Bordesley Abbey, subcellarer, 1338; SC 6/1258/7, Maxstoke Priory, household, c.1345-6; SC 6/1252/6-7, Boxley Abbey, subcellarer, 1347-8, 1348-9; SC 6/1253/2, Boxley Abbey, subcellarer, 1351, 1356, c.1350-80; mems. 1 and 3, diet accounts are entered for each commodity; SC 6/956/20, Bicester Priory, kitchener, 1399-1400.
69. PRO SC 6/1253/7, SC 6/1254/2, 4, 6, SC 6/1261/15, SC 6/1254/8, 15, 17-18, SC 6/1255/6, 10, Boxley Abbey, subcellarer, 1357-8, 1372-3, c.1373-4, 1376-7, 1378, 1370s, 1378, 1378-9, 1379, 1384-5, 1387-8; SC 6/1071/5, Pershore Abbey, subcellarer, 1377-8; SC 6/945/14, Wymondham, cellarer, 1379-80; T.Wakeman, "On the kitchener's roll of Tewkesbury Abbey", *JBAA* 15 (1859) pp. 318-32; MCO Estate Papers 55/19, 55/21, Selborne Priory, cellarer and treasurer, 1402-3, 1410-11; PRO SC 6/1257/3,

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70. QCO R260, 1372-3; R261, 1375-6; R263, 1381-2; R264, 1382-3; R262, 1403 or 1408.
71. PRO SC 6/1251/6-7, SC 6/1252/1, 3-4, 11, SC 6/1253/5, 8, Boxley Abbey, granator, 1331-2, 1333-5, 1338-9, 1339-40, 1342-3, 1350-5, 1355-6, 1358-60; BL Add. Roll 34714, Ramsey Abbey, keeper of the granary, 1418-19; WAM 19155, Westminster Abbey, granger, c.1349-50; Worcester D. and C., C431, C441, subcellarer, 1326, 1357-8.
72. Durham D. and C., granator's accounts, ?1295-6, 1305-6, 1308-9, 1312-13, ?1313-14, 1315-16(A) and (B).
73. Durham D. and C., granator's accounts, 1316-17(A) and (B), 1328-9(A) and (B).
74. Durham D. and C., granator's accounts, 1303-4 (summary), 1305-6 (summary).
75. Durham D. and C., granator's accounts, 1308-9 (summary): "Et sic sufficienter respondet de numero consueto ad tantum brasium. Et est sciendum quod refectorarius et botelarius fuerunt amoti nec tallia inveniebantur. Ideo ignorat quod unicuique celerarius liberat."
76. The averages are present on Durham D. and C., cellarer's accounts, 1307-8(A); 1311-12(A); 1317-18; 1319-20, mem. 2; 1324, mem. 2; 1324-5(A); 1326(A); 1326-7(A); 1327-8; 1328-9(A); 1338; 1339.
77. Durham D. and C., cellarer's account, 1339.
78. BL MS Harley 645, ff. 199v-200r.
79. Worcester D. and C., C107.
80. Worcester D. and C., C431, 1326; C441, 1357-8; C448, 1451; *Accounts of the Priory of Worcester for the year 13-14 Henry VIII and a catalogue of the rolls of the obedientiaries* ed. J.M.Wilson, J.H.Bloom and S.C.Hamilton (Worcestershire Historical Society, 21; 1907) p. 7.
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82. PRO SC 6/1259/7.
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84. Hants. RO 5M50/42.
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87. *Accounts of the obedientiaries of Abingdon Abbey* ed. R.E.G.Kirk (Camden Society, 2nd series, 51; 1892) p. 23.
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89. PRO SC 6/1254/2, mems. 1r, 2r, 3r; SC 6/1254/4; SC 6/1254/6, mems. 1r, 2r (rot. 2); SC 6/1254/15, mems. 1r, 2r, 3r; SC 6/1254/18; SC 6/1261/15.
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94. New College, Oxford: NCO 9303 (part 1), 5527-9; Magdalen College, Oxford: MCO CP8/49-51; Winchester College: H.Chitty, "A college hall-book of 1401-2", *Notes and Queries* 128 (1915) pp. 393-4, 415-16, 426-7; *idem*, "A Winchester hall-book of 1406-7", *Notes and Queries* 129 (1915) pp. 293-5, 313-15; *idem*, "The Winchester hall-book of 1414-15 and other records", *Notes and Queries* 129 (1915) pp. 494-7.
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98. MR 4096, 4242, 4244.
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101. QCO R264.
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117. PRO SC 6/1258/4, Maiden Bradley Priory, household, c.1278; SC 6/1258/7, Maxstoke Priory, household, c.1345-6; CUL EDC 5/2/1, CR1-2, 1315 or 1334, 1335-6; Hants. RO 5M50/42, Southwick Priory, kitchener, 1358-9.
118. PRO SC 6/1259/1, 3, Ramsey Abbey, c.29 Edward I, c.14 Edward II.
119. QCO R257, God's House Hospital, Southampton, 1328-9; Bodl. MS Rolls Osenev 28, Tonbridge Priory, ?cellarer, 1327-8 or 1332-3.
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122. For example, PRO SC 6/1260/1-9, 15; E 101/505/30.
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153. NCO 7337-8, bursars, indentures of receipts, 1391.
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170. *Walter of Henley* p. 233; *Manorial records of Cuxham* pp. 33-4.

Chapter 7 (pp. 132-42)

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2. *Manorial records of Cuxham* pp. 58-71.
3. *Walter de Wenlok* pp. 1-3, 10-13, 49-154.
4. For example, *List of documents relating to the household and wardrobe, John - Edward I* ed. P.M.Barnes (PRO handbooks, 7, London, 1964) pp. 133-6.
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14. "Account of the great household of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham", pp. 46-55; BL Egerton Roll 2209, Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 1454-5.
15. *Compota domestica familiarum de Bukingham et d'Angoulême 1443, 1452, 1462, quibus annexae expensae cujusdam comitis in itinere 1273*

- ed. W.B.D.D.Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1836, with addendum, 1841) pp. 95-104.
16. PRO E 101/507/8.
17. BL MS Harley 4971, ff. 7<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>; MS Lansdowne 560, f. 35; CUL MS Ee IV 20, f. 144<sup>r</sup>.
18. PRO E 101/91/28. Arundell MA 430 is a similar inventory of goods in the pantry and buttery of John, Lord Dinham, c.1435.
19. Durham D. and C., cellarer's accounts, status c.1300; status, 1308; exoneratio, 1312; accounts, 1317-18, 1319-20; exoneratio, 1321; account, 1324; exonerationes, 1326, 1334.
20. MCO Estate Papers 77/1-2, 180/7; MS 946(a), pinned to p. 110.
21. PRO E 101/95/11.
22. For example, PRO E 101/91/23, 29; E 101/92/10, 29; E 101/93/1, 7; E 101/94/12.
23. NCO 7334-5.
24. *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* ed. W.H.Hart (3 vols., RS, London, 1863-7) iii, p. 216.
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8. BL Add. MS 34213, Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1465-6; WAM 5474, William Smith, archdeacon of Winchester, 1491-2; PRO E 101/546/18, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 1501; SC 6/Hen. VIII/2612, Marham Abbey, *temp.* Henry VIII; E 36/108, Holy Trinity Priory, London, 1513-14.

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26. PRO SC 6/Hen. VIII/2612, Marham Abbey, temp. Henry VIII; SC 6/Hen. VIII/3078, ?Bruton Priory, 1527-8.
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33. MCO Estate Paper 137/17, Brackley Hospital, 1445-6; PRO E 36/108, Holy Trinity Priory, London, 1513-14.
34. Staffs. RO D(W)1734/3/3/264, John Hales, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1461; BL Add. MS 34213, Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1465-6.
35. *Paston letters and papers of the fifteenth century* ed. N. Davis (2 vols., Oxford, 1971-6) i, p. 257: "I pray you that ye woll asay to gett

sume man at Castere to kepe your botry, for the mane that ye lefte wyth me woll not take up-on hym to breve dayly as ye commandyt. He seyth he hath not usyd to geve a rekenyng nothyre of bred nor alle tyll at the wekys end, and he seyth he wot well that he xuld not con don yth; and therfor I soppose he xhall not abyd."

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37. *Munden*; PRO SC 6/Hen. VIII/2612; E 36/223.
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49. PRO SC 6/Hen. VIII/1986, f. 67v; E 36/108, f. 94v.
50. Lambeth Palace Library, ED 1973.
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75. BL Add. MS 34122A.
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88. *Northumberland household book* pp. 30-3.
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90. BL Egerton Roll 2210, account signed by Anne Stafford, dowager Duchess of Buckingham, 1467; SJC D91.17, D91.21, D91.19, expense accounts signed on each page by Lady Margaret Beaufort, 1498-9, 1505-7, 1507-9; D102.1, signed on each page by the executors of Lady Margaret Beaufort, 1509; Longleat House MS Misc. XI, accounts signed each week by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, 1507-8; BL MS Royal 7 F XIV, ff. 1-19, holograph accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, 1518-19; C.Rawcliffe *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521* (Cambridge, 1978) p. 89. With the disappearance of the detailed diet account, there is also a marked lack of fifteenth century formularies for household accounts. East Sussex RO MS RYE 33/7, ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>v</sup>, and BL MS Harley 274, ff. 29<sup>r</sup>-49<sup>r</sup> are rare examples.

Chapter 9 (pp. 155-7)

1. *The pipe roll of the bishopric of Winchester, 1208-9* ed. H.Hall (London, 1903).

Appendix 3 (pp. 190-2)

1. "Die" repeated in MS.



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3759, 4086b, 4089-96, 4241-5, 4274h, 4327

**OXFORD: NEW COLLEGE**

Muniments nos. 5527-9, 7330-8, 7348, 7403, 7409, 7711, 7722,  
9303 (part 1)

**READING: BERKSHIRE RECORD OFFICE**

D/E Ah E17

D/E Ah Z1

D/ED Z1

D/EP7/140

W/ZH1

**SHREWSBURY: SHROPSHIRE RECORD OFFICE**

Bridgewater collection (not catalogued in detail): Talbot of Blakemere  
household accounts

Eyton collection 665/Box 33, account of Sir Edward Botiller

**STAFFORD: STAFFORDSHIRE RECORD OFFICE**

D 641/1/3/1, 4

D(W)1734/3/3/264

**STRATFORD ON AVON: SHAKESPEARE BIRTHPLACE TRUST RECORD OFFICE**

Archer collection, DR 37/Box 73, household account for the Mountford  
family of Coleshill, 1433-4

**TAUNTON: SOMERSET RECORD OFFICE**

DD/L P37/7, 9, 10A-C (lettered solely for the convenience of this thesis), 11, 12

DD/L P37/53, missing, described in Prynne's catalogue

**WARWICK: WARWICKSHIRE RECORD OFFICE**

CR 136/C150

CR 895/9, 45, 106

CR 1618/W19/5

CR 1886/BB 602 373

CR 2018/1

**WINCHESTER: WINCHESTER COLLEGE**

Muniments 1

**WINCHESTER: HAMPSHIRE RECORD OFFICE**

5M50/42, 66-9

23M58/57b

148M71/3/1/2

Eccles. Com. 2/159375

**WINDSOR: THE AERARY, ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL**

I. C. 1-11

XI. E. 1, 36

XV. 3. 1

XV. 24. 45-6

XV. 34. 1-9

XV. 37. 22

XV. 48. 1-8

XV. 56. 1



**WORCESTER CATHEDRAL**

Muniments of the Dean and Chapter

Kitcheners' accounts for the Cathedral Priory C107-9, C109a, C110-19,  
C169

Subcellarers' accounts for the Cathedral Priory C431, C434, C441, C448

Estimates of corn C500, C502-6

**WORCESTER: HEREFORD AND WORCESTER COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, FISH STREET**

009:1 BA 2636 Box 175 92475

009:1 BA 2636 Box 175 92480

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