WHEN the president and fellows of St. John Baptist College began their corporate existence in 1557, they were fortunate not to be involved in expensive building operations. For their founder, Sir Thomas White, had acquired for their occupation the buildings of St. Bernard’s College, the former place of residence for Cistercian monks studying in Oxford, and the substantial stone-built quadrangle vacated by the white monks was easily adapted to its new purpose. It consisted, as a contemporary survey tells us, of a ‘Quadrauntt’ some 117 feet square standing in the surburbs of Oxford without the northe gate. On the west side there was a ‘fayre yate’ with four chambers in the range on either side, two above and two below. The south side of the quadrangle contained ten more chambers, ‘fyve above and fyve bynethe’. On the north side there was ‘an entree oute of the quadrauntt northeward, and on the west side of the same a fayre haul!, in lenght xxx fote in bredeth xxvij fote, and under the same a seller, or a buttrey, of the same lenght and bredeth. Item over the haul! and entree a fayre chamber in lenght eest and west xlj fote, in bredethe xxvij fote, and on the northe side of the same chamber a jakes. Item on the eest side of the same entree a fayre kechyn in lenght xlij fote in bredethe xxvij fote northe and southe ... Item eest from the same kechyn eestward a fayre chapele, in lenght iiiij fote, in bredethe xxvij fote within the wallis, withe iiij aulters and vij wyndowes, and every windowe six lighttes well glased, and a grete windowe on the eest ende behyne the high aultour, withe xiiij fayre lighttes ... well glased’. The east side of the quadrangle was still incomplete, consisting as yet only of walls ‘buylded rough high, purposing a library and chambers’. With the aid of the plan made by the Historical Monuments Commission in 1939 it is possible to reconstruct the layout of the college as it existed in 1546, the date of the survey (FIG. 17). In general, it corresponded closely to the regular Oxford collegiate plan, with the hall and chapel on the north side of a quadrangle entered through a gatehouse symmetrically placed in the middle of the street-front. The ten chambers on the south side were intended to accommodate at least twice that number of students, for the survey records that each of them contained two ‘studies’. As at All Souls these were timber-framed cubicles in the corners of the rooms, and the remains of one of them can still be seen in

2 See the diagram in V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii, p. 189.
Room No. 29. The eight chambers on the west side of the quadrangle each contained only one study, and were presumably reserved for senior members of the college.

The subsequent adaptation of the buildings to the needs of Sir Thomas White's new foundation is not difficult to follow, and has been described more than once. Of their original construction, however, little has hitherto been known owing to the general destruction of English Cistercian archives after the dissolution of the monasteries. In 1939 such facts as could then be established were set out by the late W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter in their Early History of St. John's College, which contained a valuable appendix on 'The Buildings of St. Bernard's College' by Mr. A. J. Taylor. Unfortunately the authors of the Early History were unaware of the existence in the Archives Départementales of the Côte d'Or at Dijon of a mass of documents relating to the history of the Cistercian Order in England during the second half of the fifteenth century.³

³ Stevenson and Salter, pp. 98-9, 117; V.C.H. Oxfordshire, iii, p. 259.

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The documents consist for the most part of letters to the abbot of Citeaux from the abbots deputed to act as his representatives in England, and among them there are several which refer to the fortunes of St. Bernard’s College. What is more, they are accompanied by two financial statements containing details of the expenditure on building for the years 1478, 1491, 1492, 1493 and 1494. The discovery of this new documentary evidence makes it necessary to consider the architectural history of St. Bernard’s College afresh.

It was in 1437 that Archbishop Chichele obtained permission to erect a college for Cistercian students on land which he had purchased on the east side of Northgate Street (now St. Giles). By February of the following year the mansum collegiale built by the archbishop was ready for occupation, and the first prior or provisor of the college had been appointed. Where did this mansum stand, and what accommodation did it afford? In 1939 Mr. Taylor suggested that it was the block at the north-west corner of the existing quadrangle, consisting of two stories and a vaulted cellar, with a low-pitched gable facing onto St. Giles. This hypothesis is, however, difficult to reconcile with the building account for 1494, which shows that in that year work was still in progress on the cellar vault. As the upper storeys could hardly have been built before the cellar, it follows that the whole block must be dated to the end of the century instead of to its third decade. In view of the short time which elapsed between the granting of the royal licence and the installation of the monks, it is not unlikely that Chichele’s building was a temporary timber-framed structure of which nothing now remains. At all events, it is clear that there is no part of the existing quadrangle with which it can satisfactorily be identified: nor does it appear likely that Chichele did any building at his own expense after he had handed over the college to its new owners, for a building fund had already been started by the Cistercian houses of both provinces. The intention was to collect not less than £80 a year towards the cost of the new buildings. Two abbots in each province were charged with the duty of collecting the money and of accounting for it at the annual ‘congregation’ held at Northampton on 24 June every year. Building was certainly in progress in 1438, when the accounts of University College record a payment of 4 shillings ‘from the white monks for a garden in which the chambers on the south side of the yard (sporti) are being built’. This probably means that the south side of the quadrangle was then under construction. After this there is silence for eighteen years, during which, as we learn from a letter addressed by the abbots of the southern province to the abbot of Citeaux in

5 Stevenson and Salter, pp. 15-16.
6 Stevenson and Salter, Appendix XVI, p. 94.
7 Stevenson and Salter, pp. 19-20.
8 Stevenson and Salter, p. 17.
1456, much money was spent, but 'to no avail, since it was by no means applied to the purposes intended'. There was in fact cause for anxiety in the moral as well as the material state of the college, and two abbots, one from each province, were appointed to act as special visitors or reformatores. At the same time the three abbots deputed by the General Chapter to visit the Cistercian houses in the British Isles were authorized to collect money to build the college. The work nevertheless proceeded very slowly. It was only with difficulty that the abbeys could be induced to pay their share of the cost, and part of the fund had always to be devoted to the maintenance of the provisor, the payment of a ground-rent to the adjoining Durham College, and other unavoidable expenses. Out of £673 3s. 4d. collected in 1478 only about £30 was available for building, and by the 1490's the annual receipts had fallen to an average of about £22 a year. It is small wonder, therefore, that in 1479 the abbot of Woburn reported that 'so far as the buildings are concerned the college is not yet half-finished'. In 1482 a new attempt was made to raise money and save the order from the reproach of neglecting its college. The abbot of Stratford was given complete control of the college for ten years, and the king was induced to exhort the English abbeys to contribute generously to a work so 'expedient and meritorious'. These efforts appear to have borne some fruit, for in a letter to all Cistercian abbots dated 2 December 1483, Richard III writes that when he was last in Oxford he learned that the college 'proceeded right well in building'. This gratifying progress was not, however, long maintained, for by 1489 the abbot of Fountains was once more bewailing the unwillingness of his colleagues to contribute to the college. After all these years, he wrote, the inside was still hardly begun. Who was responsible for this sad state of affairs he preferred not to discuss. 'But one thing I do know, and that is that if the annual contributions duly collected over so long a period had been well and faithfully applied to the aforesaid building, they would have sufficed to build not a college but a great castle'. In another letter he complains of the disgrace which the unfinished building was bringing on the order, and tells how passers-by—great men among them—
THE BUILDING OF ST. BERNARD'S COLLEGE

would ask how it was that whereas the Mendicants were putting up large buildings everywhere, the well-endowed Cistercians could not finish even one.⁶

At last in the early years of the sixteenth century a real effort seems to have been made to complete the college. The chief mover in this was Marmaduke Huby, the energetic abbot of Fountains, who was then acting as one of the visitors of the English abbeys. In 1502 he entered into an agreement with Master William Orchard, a leading Oxford mason and quarry-owner, for a supply of Headington stone, and about the same time he and his colleagues the abbots of Stratford and St. Mary Graces reported to the abbot of Citeaux that the college buildings were now rising and increasing from day to day to the no small credit of the order. By April 1517 the abbot of Rievaulx was able to tell his superior that the abbot of Fountains had built the hall and chapel very splendidly with glass in the windows, and raised the walls of the fourth and last part of the college up to roof level. In addition he had provided chalices, books, vestments, copes and other ornaments for the chapel, which must therefore have been structurally complete over ten years before its consecration in 1530. The fourth and last part of the college was evidently the eastern side of the quadrangle, now for the most part incorporated in the President's lodgings, but originally intended for other purposes. In a letter to the abbot of Citeaux written in 1517, Huby states that he intended to roof this part of the college at his own expense within the next two years. But further financial difficulties must have arisen, for it will be remembered that in 1546 the walls of the east side of the Quadraunt were still only rough high, purposing a library and chambers. The library would no doubt have been on the upper floor, with the chambers below. In 1546 there were 25 windows on the west side of this range and 12 on the east. There are still 25 windows on the Quadraunt side west, but the fenestration of this

⁶ 'Et quoad collegii edificia non absque gravissimo ordinis scandalo tamdiu fermata sunt, multis etiam de nobilibus dicentibus et per publicum stratum incendentibus ad ordinem ludi trium solemniter Ordo Cisterciensis... incepit edificare quod non potuit consummare. Mendicantium fratres plura et grandia in diversis locis erigunt edificia et hui omnes Cistercienses multis ditati facultatibus sequentes tardì et adopus ociosi non potuerunt unum edificium consummare ymmo vix ultra medietatem perficerent' (undated letter).

⁷ Stevenson and Salter, Appendix IX.

⁸ 'Et ut verum fateamur predictus reverendus pater de Fontibus in causis ordinis multas penas et labores pertulit atque in coligio Sancti Bernardi Oxnio ut expertus loquamur Aulam capellam cum vitro ad fenestras multum sumptuose edificavit et quarte partis et ultime dicti collegii muros usque ad tegumenta erexit. Preterea calices libros vestmenta capas ac alia ornamenta pro honore dei ad eisdem collegii capellam destinavit' (letter dated 17 April 1517). From a memorandum submitted by Huby to the general chapter it appears that his gifts to the college included a pair of vestments worth 20 marks, a cope worth £12, a chalice, and '20 books of holy scripture'.

⁹ 'In lapidea structura, fenestratura, et tectura finaliter in omnibus preterquam in uno quadro qui ad huc permanet absque tectura, complementum fecimus, quam tecturam cum cooperimento infra biennium, nostris sumptibus perficiemus.'
part of the college has been so much altered that it is now impossible to reconstruct the original arrangement of doorways and windows with any degree of confidence. The twelve windows on the east side were all blocked up when the Canterbury Quadrangle was erected in the reign of Charles I, but in 1925 the remains of two Tudor doorways and two windows were discovered beneath the cement rendering in the western arcade of the cloisters.

Building operations so protracted as those of St. Bernard's College might be expected to have left structural traces in the form of straight joints and minor architectural discrepancies. Of such tell-tale irregularities few can, however, be detected today. Once the simple design of the quadrangle was determined upon it was persisted in, and it is only at the north-west angle that any major change of plan can be detected. For at some time the gable of the north range facing St. Giles has been raised to a higher pitch, leaving the original parapet visible as a A-shaped string-course. In order to explain this alteration it is necessary to refer once more to the survey of 1546. As there described, the northern range had one peculiarity which it is difficult to account for, namely the disproportionate size of the kitchen in relation to the hall—a disparity which becomes even more marked when it is remembered that the kitchen rose to the full height of its arch-braced roof, whereas the upper part of the hall was occupied by a 'fayre chamber' lighted by two windows facing onto St. Giles. It is difficult to believe that the builders of St. Bernard's College envisaged so small and insignificant a hall from the start, and it is possible that the intention was ultimately to build a larger hall projecting from the north side of the quadrangle, as at All Souls. Founded by Archbishop Chichele in 1438, All Souls was, as Anthony Wood long ago pointed out, built 'after the same mode and fashion for matters of workmanship' as St. Bernard's, and such a position for the hall in relation to the central quadrangle was, moreover, a well-known feature of Cistercian monastic planning. If this hypothesis can be accepted it follows that the building described as a 'hall' in 1546 was designed to be what it now is, namely a buttery placed in the angle between the kitchen and the projected hall. Beneath it was the vaulted cellar in which to keep beer for consumption by the provisor and his brethren, and above it was the 'fayre chamber' already mentioned, with its low-pitched roof and windows overlooking St. Giles. If, as Oxford practice would suggest, the tower room was reserved for the provisor, then the room over the buttery

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20 Photographs of them are preserved in the college muniment-room, and the two principal doorways have been marked on the plan accompanying this paper. Their function is discussed by Mr. Taylor in Stevenson and Salter, pp. 107-8.


22 There was sufficient room for the erection of such a hall, for the site extended some 40 feet to the north of the quadrangle (Stevenson and Salter, p. 18 and plan facing p. 501).
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may well have been intended for the monk who acted as cellarer. As for the buttery itself, it would have served well enough as a makeshift hall until such time as the college was complete and ready to accommodate the full number of students contemplated by its founders. For reasons which the documents at Dijon make clear, that time never came, and when, in the reign of Mary, Sir Thomas White adapted the buildings to the purposes of his new foundation, the absence of an adequate hall was the chief problem which faced him. He solved it, not by erecting a new hall, but by making one out of the spacious medieval kitchen and building a new kitchen on the north side of the buttery. It was probably at the same time that the gable of the upper chamber was altered to bring it into line with the roof of the new hall. It only remained for Laud to remove the medieval 'entry' and throw the space thus gained into the hall to achieve the arrangement which lasted until 1936, when a further enlargement was brought about by setting back the screen and converting the room over the buttery into an open gallery.

It remains to consider such details of the college's architectural history as are afforded by the accounts preserved at Dijon. In 1478 the total expenditure on building was £30 6s. 1d. Of this £16 9s. 4d. was spent on the purchase of stone, timber and slates, and £11 12s. 4d. on the wages of the masons, carpenters and labourers, including £3 3s. 4d. for 'bevers'. The timber came from Wychwood Forest, but the site of the quarry from which the stone was obtained is not stated. It is probable, however, that it was at Headington. The reference to the 'new building' (nova domus) is unfortunately too imprecise to be instructive, but the 'new gates of the college' upon which £2 9s. 7d. were spent may well be those which still hang beneath the tower. If so, this would indicate that the lower part of the tower was built in about 1475, which is consistent with its architectural character. The building of the upper part of the tower probably followed in the course of the next few years. It bears a close resemblance to the destroyed gate-tower at Balliol, which was being built in the 1490's, and on the south face there is a mason's mark which is known to have been in use at this period.33

By the last decade of the century expenditure on the new building was running at a very low level—£7 in 1491, £10 19s. 4d. in 1492, £10 in 1493, and £25 in 1494. The only specifically architectural references are to the vaulting of the cellar and to the roofing of the 'great chamber at the end of the east part'. In view of its location this 'great chamber' cannot be identified with the 'fayre chamber' referred to in 1546, and its position must be a matter for conjecture. In 1492 the master-mason received 6s. 8d. for his fee for super-

vising the building of the college', and in the account for the previous year his name is given as Master Henry. Henry is, unfortunately, too common a Christian name to justify an attempt to identify the mason employed at St. Bernard's with any known member of his trade: in any case his share in the building of the college may not have been a very prominent one, for by the time he came on the scene the main lines of the design had presumably long been settled, and it was not until ten years after the appearance of his name in the accounts that the abbot of Fountains began his drive to get the building finished. The designer of St. Bernard's College therefore remains unknown, and is likely to remain so unless further building accounts should come to light in some hitherto unsuspected quarter.

APPENDIX

I

Compotus domini Johannis Staynbury Provisoris Collegii Sancti Bernardi Oxon' et duorum fratrum ordinis nostri Cisterciensis ibidem residencium supervisorum edificacionum dicti Collegii de expensis contribucionum de contribucionibus receptis de domino Grenne dictarum collectore generali pro Anno domini M\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{o}. CCC\textsuperscript{m}o septuagesimo octavo.

\textit{Recept}\textsuperscript{t}

In primis prefatus provisor cum dictis duobus fratribus receptit a festo Annunciacionis dominice usque ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste

Item a festo sancti Johannis Baptiste usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis

Item a festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad festum Natalis domini

Item a festo Natalis domini usque ad dictum festum Annunciationis dominice

Summa totalis contribucionum per Regnum Anglie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xxj li.</td>
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<td>lxvij li. iij s. iii d.</td>
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\textit{Expense eiusmod Recept}\textsuperscript{t}

In primis in plenam solucionem omnium areragiorum firma-rum forincicarum hoc anno solut' Gardiano Collegii Dures-nelmis et ballivis hundredre

Item in solucione pensionis domini provisoris

Item in empcionibus lapidum apud qwarreram hoc anno

Item in empcionibus lignorum in foresta Qwichewod cum expensis forestariorum

Item in empcionibus tegularum apud qwarreram

Item in empcionibus flavorum et clavium pro hostijs et fenestris collegii

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>vj li. viij d.</td>
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<td>lii s. xj d.</td>
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<td>iiij li. iij s. vij d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>xv s. iiij d.</td>
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THE BUILDING OF ST. BERNARD'S COLLEGE

Item in vectationibus lapidum de quarrera hoc anno
Item in vectationibus lignorum de foresta Qwichewod
Item in vectationibus tegularum de quarrera
Item latomis pro mercede per vices
Item carpentaris pro factura novarum portarum Collegii
Item sarratoribus pro sarracione lignorum et tabularum pro nova domo
Item laboratoribus servientibus latomis et carpentarijs
Item pro biberibus latomorum carpentariorum et aliorum operariorum
Item in variis rebus et expensis circa edificationem collegii necessaribus
Item clerico rotularum domini Regis pro equo pro rotulis portandis post curiam domini Regis ex antiqua consuetudine petita ab ordine unicuique clerico
Item pro expensis domini doctoris Archebald anno regencie sue Oxon' de contribucionibus predicti anni ut patet per billas officiaris universitatis solutas et pro cibarijs et aliis expensis infra collegium in grosso
Summa totalis expensarum
Et sic expense excedunt contribuciones
Item dictus doctor Archebald recepit de diversis patribus regni Anglie de donis gratuitis preter contribuciones ad placenciam domini Cisterciensis et pro scriptis pro eodem missis patribus per commissarios domini Cistercij anno prenotato

vij li. iij s. viij d.
xxij x d.
iiij s.
iiij li. xiij s. ij d.
xlix s. viij d.
xxxij s. viij d.
xxij s. viij d.
iiij li. iij s. iij d.
xlij s. v d. ob.
vj li. xiij d. iij d.
xxv li. x s. iij d.
lxiiij li. ix s. v d.
vj li. vj s. j d.

xij li. et plus

II

Compotus Reverendi in Christo patris et domini Abbatis de Stratfordia commissarii Reverendissimi patris in Christo et domini Abbatis Cistercij super recepcionibus contribucionum ab anno domini millesimo CCCVo nonagesimo primo usque ad annum M' CCCV nonagesimum septimum

Anno M° CCCV° LXXXVII° Recepciones

de abbate de Tilteya
de abbate de Coggishall
de abbate de Sibiton
de abbate de Sawtrey
de abbate de Wardona
de abbate Bittlesden
de abbate de Haylis
de abbate de Brueca
de abbate de Thama
de abbate de Wulburnia

xij s. iij d.
xx s.
xx s.
xiij s. iij d.
xx s.
xx s.
xx s.
xx s.
xx s.
H. M. COLVIN

de abbate de Gracijs
de Waverleya
de abbate de Cumba
de abbate de Letley
de abbate de Bello Loco
de abbate de Quarrera
de abbate de Byndon
de abbate de Forda
de abbate de Newham
de abbate de Dunkiswell
de abbate de Buckfeste
de abbate de Bucklond
de abbate de Cliva
de abbate de Stanley
de abbate de Kyngiswod
de abbate de Flaxley
de abbate de Tynterna

Summa Recept' 

Expense facta eodem anno 
In primis Scolari de Furnes pro collegij edificio vi li.
Item domino provisori pro stipendio xl s.
Item Johanni Pereson mancipio dicti collegii pro debitis iij li.
quondam provisoris iam abbatis de Strataflorida xvij s. x d.
Item Johanni Mariott pro libera firma terrarum eiusdem collegii a retro existente per tres annos ut patet per accountancias super hoc factas xli.
Item soluit eodem anno Reverendissimo domino Cisterciij pro porzione sua x li.
Item pro excambio eiusdem monete ad mercatorem xvi s. viij d.
Item Nuncio nostro pro expensis versus Cisterciium iiij li. vj s. viij d.
Item Magistro Henrico Lathamo pro feodo suo vi s. viij d.
Item fratri Roberto Grene pro expensis in equitando ob certas causas ordine concernentes xj s.
Item pro una littera licenciatoria transmeandi mare et alia xiiij s. iiiij d.
defensatoria pro reformacione congrua facienda xiiij s. iiiij d.
Item Carpentario pro dolacione lignorum collegij antediti xxvij li. v s. vj. d.
Summa

Anno M° CCCCLXXXVII° Reciprociones ut supra 
In primis circa ordinis negotia et visitacionem collegij cum xxiij li. patre de Fontibus diversis vicibus iij li. x s.
Item Expense facte equitando ad Thamam ubi abbas optinuit xxx s.
episcopatum et voluit habere abbaciain in commendam xl s.
Item pro defensione privilegiiorum contra eundem abbatem in London'
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Item domino provisori per manus fratris Marmaduci de Fontibus
Item domino abbati de Gracijs pro equo magistro Rotularum more consueto exhibendo
Item magistro Masoni pro feodo suo causa supervisionis edificij collegij prefati
Item Carpentario in parte solucionis maioris summe
Item pro ere et ferro prefato edificio oportunis
Item domino provisori ad solvendum lathamis stipendia sua
Item eodem anno propriis manibus pro veccione et cariagio lapidum domino provisori
Summa

Anno M° CCCCLXXXXII

Receptiones

In primis de abbate de Waverleya
   de Letleya
   de Bello Loco
   de Quarrella
   de Byndon
   de Forda
   de Newnham
   de Dunkiswell
   de Bucklond
   de Cliva
   de Stanley
   de Kyngiswode
   de abbate de Flaxley
   de Tynterna
   de Tylteya
   de Sibton
   de Coggishall
   de Haylis
   de Brueara
   de Regali Loco

Summa

Expense eodem anno

In primis prefatus commissarius deliberavit Alderbrando mercatori pro contribucionibus domino Cistercii pro porzione sua persolvendis
Item pro excambio eiusdem monete
Item ad edificationem novum et reparacionem collegij deliberavit domino Roberto Grene
Item pro stipendio antedicti provisoris collegij diversis vicibus
Summa
Anno M° CCCCLXXXIII°  
Receptiones ut a superiori

Expense eodem anno
In primis ad usum collegij et edificium eiusdem
Item pro stipendio provisoris diversis vicibus
Item in expensis in equitando Oxon' ad supervidendum arti-

ices et ad conveniendo cum eis

Item eidem provisori per manus magistri Bernyngham pro
solucione lathamorum circa edificium volte sellarij

Item per manus magistri Yng pro eodem edificio

Item per manus abbatis de Regali Loco

Item provisori pro solucione artificum cooperientium mag-
nam cameram in fine orientalis partis

Summa

Anno M° CCCCLXXXV°  
Receptiones ut anno predicto

In primis solvit domino Reverendissimo Cistercij sicut con-
ventum erat in Laycestria inter Reformatores pro Rata sua

Item pro excambio eiusdem monete

Item in expensis apud Laycestriam ad conferendum super
negocia ordinis

Item petit allocari de expensis facte super materia priorisse de
Cokehill diversis vicibus

Item petit allocari pro equo magistro Rotularum soluto pro
toto ordine in Regno Anglie

Summa

Summa totalis receptionum predictorum annorum

Summa omnium solucionum et expensarum

Et sic idem commissarius habet superplusagium ultra Recep-


ciones

Anno M° CCCCLXXXV°

Tamen idem commissarius onerat se cum receptionibus anni
millessimi CCCCLXXXV° que fuit ut superiori anno

Et sic omnibus computatis at allocatis pro annis predictis
debetur computanti

xix li. xvj s. viij d.
v li. xiiiij d.