

The Date of John Rous's List of the Colleges and Academical Halls of Oxford*

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THE importance of the list of the colleges and academical halls of fifteenth-century Oxford compiled by John Rous (otherwise Rowse) has long been recognized.¹ Following a list of the ten secular colleges (numbered in one copy) and six monastic colleges, including London College, together with the house of the Trinitarians and the four orders of friars, comes a list of sixty-three or sixty-five halls carefully grouped according to their location plus a final entry for the 'Scholastici Eleemosinarii (de Osney) in castro'. Lastly are the lists of the six 'halls destroyed in my time in Cat Street for [All] Souls College' and the six halls 'destroyed before my time'. The various lists, especially of the halls, are themselves of great value, supplementing those in our main source of information for academical halls of the time, the sixteen caution lists 1436-69 (one hardly a list proper and at least two more or less incomplete) in the first extant Chancellor's Register for 1434-69.² They also add the names of a few of the halls destroyed in or before Rous's time which do not appear in any of the caution lists. Equally if not more important, Rous enters against all the secular colleges (but not against the monastic ones which were anyway predominantly Theological and thus perhaps in his estimation not worth so describing) and all but three or four of the halls in his main list the subject or subjects of study in the institution. He also gives subjects for seven of the halls destroyed in or before his time. And finally he occasionally notes that a particular hall was Irish or Welsh. It is true that something of the subject and national affiliation of many halls can be discerned from the biographical data,³ but Rous's information takes us much further than this data and must be the basis for our view of the academic and national constituencies of fifteenth-century halls. It also affords valuable confirmation of the subjects studied in the various secular colleges as shown in the biographical data.

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¹ For John Rous's life, see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (1957-9), iii, 1596-7; T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (1950), ch. II; also *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.n. Rous. For a summary discussion of Rous's list and some general observations on its significance for our knowledge of mid-fifteenth-century Oxford, see T. H. Aston, 'Oxford's Medieval Alumni', *Past and Present*, 74 (February 1977), *passim* and esp. 6-7 and 36-40.

² *Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis 1434-1469*, ed. H. E. Salter, 2 vols. (Oxford Hist. Soc., xciii and xciv, 1932). The Register is arranged chronologically and the various caution lists can readily be found in their appropriate places. The list for 1463 names only 8 halls (one of which was omitted from Salter's edition) and its form is atypical of the lists in general; for the incomplete lists, see the Table below (p. 232).

³ My observations concerning biographical data are based on the computerization of Emden's *Biographical Register* carried out in connection with the Project for a new History of the University of Oxford.

It is therefore extremely frustrating that the list as a whole is so very hard to date with confidence. In the past it has been assigned to about 1440-50.⁴ Recently, however, Dr. Emden has suggested much wider date limits of between 1438 (the foundation of All Souls College) and about 1476, this latter deriving from the mention that Trillock's Inn was 'now called New Inn because newly built (*nunc dicitur nouum Hospitium quia nouiter aedificatur*)', 'presumably', Emden observes, 'after its reconstruction c. 1476-9'.⁵

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The original version of Rous's list had almost certainly been lost by 1656 when Dugdale reported that all but two of his works 'are perish'd, or in such obscure hands, that it is not known to me where they can be seen'.⁶ What we have are five copies each headed 'Ex tabella Jo(h)annis Rowse', that is from some longer compilation. The earliest but most curiously neglected is that of John Leland, now British Library Add. MS. 38132 at folio 21^{r-v}, which may be tentatively dated to c. 1535-43. It was edited very carelessly by Lucy Toulmin Smith in *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-43, Parts IV and V* (London, 1908), Appendix, at pages 154-6. The second is that in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. CCLXXX(a) at folio 51^v, the second side of a bifolium written in a uniform hand but now split by an extraneous bifolium. This is a composite sixteenth- and seventeenth-century volume taken (according to a brief note by Brian Twyne on the first folio) from the collections of Mr. Miles Windsor, Mr. Brian Twyne and others. The copy of Rous's list is by Miles Windsor as the handwriting shows.⁷ Windsor was admitted to the College in 1557 and was a fellow from 1560 until his expulsion on religious grounds in 1568. He spent most of the rest of his life in Oxford as one of its earliest antiquarians until his death in 1624:⁸ 'a greate student of antiquities' according to William James, then Dean of Christ Church (1584-96), in a letter of 1 November 1591 to the Chancellor of the University, Lord Buckhurst.⁹ Windsor's copy was

⁴ Thus H. E. Salter, 'An Oxford Hall in 1424' in H. W. C. Davis (ed.), *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (1927), 432; H. E. Salter, *Medieval Oxford* (Oxford Hist. Soc., c. 1936), 103-4; A. B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times* (1927), 42; W. A. Pantin, 'The Halls and Schools of Medieval Oxford: An Attempt at Reconstruction' in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus* (Oxford Hist. Soc., new ser., xvi, 1964), 36.

⁵ A. B. Emden, 'Oxford Academical Halls in the Later Middle Ages' in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (1976), 354. For Trillock's Inn, see Pantin, 'The Halls and Schools of Medieval Oxford', 71-9, esp. 74 and note.

⁶ W. Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), 185. The surviving works were a 'Roll of the Earls of Warwick' and a 'Chronicle of the Kings of England'. See also Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, 19.

⁷ Windsor's hand may be seen in others of his collections: Corpus Christi College, Oxford (hereafter C.C.C., Oxon.), MSS. CCLXVI and CCLXVII; Oxford Univ. Archives, N.E.P., supra 27. For a facsimile from this latter, see *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood* . . . , ed. Andrew Clark, 4 vols., iv (Oxford Hist. Soc., xxx, 1895), Plate IX (where the reference is given as N.W.P. not N.E.P.).

⁸ On Miles Windsor, see Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. John Gutch, ii, part 1 (Oxford, 1796), 165-6: the relevant passage is given by Thomas Fowler, *The History of Corpus Christi College* (Oxford Hist. Soc., xxv, 1893), 126. See also C.C.C., Oxon., Archives, Admissions Register 1517-1648.

⁹ C.C.C., Oxon., MS. CCLXXX(a), fo. 36^v. Wood took a more jaundiced view of Windsor, whose collections of antiquities he thought 'savour too much of credulity and dotage': Wood, *loc. cit.* note 8, quoted in Fowler, *loc. cit.* Be that as it may, Windsor published his *Academiarum totius Europae Catalogus* in London in 1586 and would have published his book on the antiquities of the University of Oxford had not Twyne forestalled him with his *Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia* (Oxford, 1608): see Wood, *loc. cit.*, quoted in Fowler, *loc. cit.*

carefully edited by Andrew Clark in '*Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford*' composed in 1661-6 by Anthony Wood, volume i, *The City and Suburbs* (Oxford Historical Society, xv, 1889), Appendix K, at pages 638-41,¹⁰ and is the one that has generally been used. The third copy is in Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 594 (*Summary Catalogue*, 8562) at folios 185^v-186^r and was made by Anthony Wood explicitly from Windsor's. It is a substantially accurate version except for the omission of Lion Hall from the list of those halls destroyed for All Souls College and the attribution of Cat Hall to Artists in the list of halls 'destroyed before my time' - both errors, it may be noted, occur in the transcription of Windsor's cramped marginalia. The fourth copy is Bodleian Library MS. Eng. Hist. c.9 (*Summary Catalogue*, 29780, article b) at folio 39^{r-v}. This manuscript, which was written by Sir William Dugdale, includes extracts 'from certain collections of John Leland in the possession of Henry St. George knight . . . 1677' (folio 33^r). It has never been edited and seems to have passed unnoticed. The final copy is Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 353 (*Summary Catalogue*, 2495) at pages 30-1. This professes to be 'taken out of a manuscript copy of Leyland's own handwriting in the hands of Sir Henry St. George . . . procured by Robert Plot . . . 1682' (page vii), and was noticed by Clark in his edition of Windsor's copy. These last two copies can be confirmed as independent copies of Leland: the final copy correctly records St. Mary's College as for regular canons whereas Dugdale's mistakenly gives it as for regular monks; and similarly the 1682 copy follows Leland with the spelling 'Såler' in place of Dugdale's 'Seler' Hall.¹¹ But at all events both are copies of Leland, so that we are in effect left with only two versions to consider, the first by Leland and the second by Windsor.

The relation between these two copies is extremely difficult to determine. The differences between them are comparatively small but by no means negligible. Those of significance may be enumerated as follows. (i) Leland's altogether omits one Legist Hall, Broadgates Hall in St. Aldate's parish, recorded in the correct place in Windsor's list. (ii) Leland omits Windsor's attribution of Egle Hall in Penny-farthing Street to Legists. (iii) Leland adds that Elm Hall was in Cheyney Lane. (iv) Leland reads 'Apud uicariam S. Marie Magdalenae T. morale' rather than 'Apud uicariam S. Mariae A[ula] Magdalene T. Morale'. (v) Leland's final entry in the main list reads 'Scholastici Eleemosinarij de Osney in castro' where Windsor omits 'de Osney'. (vi) Leland most often (though not invariably) uses the English 'hawle' or suchlike after the name where this is appropriate rather than Windsor's normal usage of an initial capital 'A' (for the Latin 'Aula') before the name. (vii) Generally speaking the spelling of names is noticeably different in the two copies. Otherwise the discrepancies between Leland and Windsor are trivial and of no particular consequence.

It would be satisfying were one able to state definitely the relationship between these two copies on the basis of the differences just noted. But it seems impossible to reach any firm conclusion on this evidence alone. That Windsor's text is not

¹⁰ Two errors may be noted in Clark's edition, one of them of some consequence. This latter is the attribution of Lawrence Hall to Legists, whereas the manuscript reads Artists (as does Leland's). The other is his reading 'Berford Hawle' for the first entry under halls destroyed for All Souls College, whereas the manuscript reads 'Bedford Hawle' (as does Leland's), though it should be noted that the hall in question was almost certainly Berford not Bedford Hall.

¹¹ Windsor's copy also has 'Saeler'.

an exact copy of Leland's is clear enough. But was it a somewhat free copy of Leland? Or were both the versions copies, more or less free, of Rous's original? Or from a lost copy of the original? Or some variant or combination of these possibilities? The third and fifth differences could be simple omissions by Windsor, deliberate or not, whatever his source. The fourth is of little importance and hardly helps with our problem, though of course it affects the total number of halls in Rous's main list. The sixth and seventh differences are clearly very interesting, but again do not help us to determine the relationship between the two copies. If these five differences were all, we might still readily think that Windsor was merely copying Leland. The remaining two are more interesting. The omission of Broadgates Hall in St. Aldate's and its inclusion by Windsor (difference i) is obviously a matter of some consequence, and on first sight might seem clearly to point to Windsor having an independent source. On the other hand Windsor would have known of Broadgates Hall from direct personal knowledge since it still existed in his day as an important academic institution and was moreover Legist in character.¹² He could readily have thought it was an unintentional omission on the part of the original compiler and have deemed it altogether reasonable to add it in the copy he was making: indeed in the manuscript it does appear squeezed in by way of an addition after copying. Lastly there is his attribution of Egle Hall in Pennyfarthing Street to Legists. This Egle Hall (as opposed to the Eagle Hall *alias* Heron Hall in St. Edward's parish) does not appear under that name in the biographical data, the caution lists or anywhere else, but on the basis of the topographical placing of the hall it appears quite probable that it was the hall that otherwise appears as Little Bedell Hall or possibly Grove Hall. Both these halls were distinctly Legist in the period 1420-59 (for both halls the figures are four Legists out of a total of five recorded members). Even so one would hesitate to place much weight on this isolated entry, especially in view of the lack of certainty over the identification of Egle Hall.

On the basis of the points we have just been discussing we would, therefore, be obliged to reserve judgement on the relationship of the two texts. But fortunately these differences in the Oxford list are not the only evidence bearing on the question. We must also take into account the material that precedes and follows the Oxford list in the manuscripts. Immediately before Leland's Oxford list is a section entitled 'Ex collectionibus Joannis Rowse de Antiquitate Oxonii et Achademiae' with a sub-heading following the first entry 'Ex libro Universitatis Oxon.' applying to at least the two succeeding entries. It consists of a series of annalistic entries relating to the early history of Oxford and evidently selected, as it says, from Rous's own work. After the Oxford list is a similar list of the colleges and hostels of Cambridge which there is every reason to suppose is by Rous and subsumed under the title 'Ex tabella Joannis Rowse' which heads the Oxford list. Then come further excerpts from other of Rous's compilations on various subjects with some additional material and occasional notes by Leland himself. Windsor's Oxford list is similarly

¹² For Broadgates Hall in the later sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, see V.C.H., *Oxon.*, iii, *The University of Oxford* (1954), 292-3; Lawrence Stone, 'The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1910' in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *The University in Society*, 2 vols. (1975), i, 34.

preceded by an annalistic compilation with the same title as Leland's. Although it does not include all Leland's material—it omits some entries not directly relating to the University—it contains nothing that is not given by Leland and has some marked similarities to Leland's text in its arrangement, most particularly in the marginalia. After Windsor's Oxford list and a blank side come further entries more or less directly concerning Oxford and, alongside the Cambridge list and probably added as an afterthought, a little material bearing on St. Osmund and the church of Salisbury. Here again all Windsor's entries are found in Leland—the Salisbury information in less compressed form—in this case in the part already mentioned as following Leland's Cambridge list. Lastly comes Windsor's copy of Rous's Cambridge list which is in all particulars extremely close indeed to Leland's.

It seems from this altogether inescapable that Windsor copied from the Leland manuscript for all his material preceding and following the Oxford list. If so it must be virtually certain that Leland was likewise his source for this latter, in which furthermore he included the two additions noted below as found in Leland's copy. We may perhaps conclude that Windsor excerpted everything other than the Oxford list without significant modification (save for his abbreviation of the Salisbury material) but that when he came to the Oxford list, as an antiquarian who had done a good deal of research on Oxford's academical halls,¹³ he allowed himself to make the changes which account for the differences already noted between his copy and his source, Leland. At all events, it seems clear that Leland's is the better text for Rous's Oxford list.¹⁴

On this basis we can now give revised figures for the subject and national affiliations Rous accords to the various halls in his main list. Of the sixty-three halls, twenty-two are designated for Artists, one for Legists and Artists, thirty for Legists, one for Theologians and five for Grammarians, leaving four with no description. Four halls, all Legist, are designated for Irishmen and one, also Legist, for Welshmen. In addition the scholars 'Apud uicariam S. Marie Magdalenae', who are not accorded aularian status in Leland's copy of the list (but are in Windsor's), are assigned to 'T. morale'.¹⁵ He also gives subjects for two of the halls destroyed before his time (both for Artists) and for five of the halls destroyed in his time for All Souls College (four for Artists and one for Grammarians). It may be noted that the halls for Artists and those for Legists show a very clear tendency to topographical grouping. Thus all the seven halls in Schools Street were for Artists, while the five by St. Aldate's church, two of the three in Pennyfarthing Street and the single one

¹³ Interest in academical halls runs through Windsor's extant collections: e.g. in C.C.C., Oxon., MSS. CCLXVI, fos. 46^v–48^r, 100^r, CCLXVII, fo. 150^r (this last includes a copy of Caius's list of Cambridge hostels), CCLXXX (a), fo. 61^r (a copy of the caution list of 1503) and *passim*; and in Oxford Univ. Archives, N.E.P., supra 27, pp. 44–60, 64–72, 76–100 etc.

¹⁴ It is worth noting that elsewhere in his collections Windsor copied from this same manuscript of Leland and included some material relating to Oxford not found in C.C.C., Oxon., MS. CCLXXX(a). See C.C.C., Oxon., MS. CCLXVII, fo. 148^r–v.

¹⁵ The exact status of the vicarage of St. Mary Magdalen is uncertain. See H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford Hist. Soc., new ser., xiv, xx, 1960 and 1969), ii, ed. W. A. Pantin and W. T. Mitchell, 234 and map N II. Salter does not mention the will dated 1469 of the vicar of St. Mary Magdalen which refers to 'each priest boarding in my vicarage (*cuiuslibet sacerdoti commensali in vicaria mea*)': *Registrum Cancellarii*, ii, 307.

in Fish Street, representing all but one¹⁶ of Rous's halls west of the present St. Aldate's, were for Legists, as were all those a little to the east 'by St. Frideswide's'.

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The structure of the main list of sixty-three halls suggests that it was drawn up extremely carefully by Rous while he was actually in Oxford—it is more or less a perambulation—or just possibly very shortly afterwards, though that would have required detailed notes (and so would not really affect our dating of the original compilation) or a most remarkable memory. This impression is reinforced by the lists of halls destroyed 'in' or 'before my time' and by the note against London College, 'black monks in my time' (though none, incidentally, is so recorded in the biographical data). We do not know when Rous first came to Oxford, though it cannot have been much later than 1437, for he left with an M.A. in or about 1444.

An analysis of the numbers of the sixty-three halls in Rous's main list that also occur in the various caution lists for halls in the Chancellor's Register¹⁷ goes some long way towards indicating 1444 as at least the approximate date of the list. The details are given in the Table (p. 232).

If we exclude the list for 1450, which is probably incomplete, the correlation in the penultimate column is at its best between 1444 and 1446 and in the final two years. In these latter it arises from the small numbers in the caution lists so that no special significance attaches to it, as is shown by the low correlation for these years in the final column. The correlation in the final column is conspicuously good in 1444, though also high in 1445. Of the years in which the correlation is high in both columns, that is 1444 to 1446, it will be worthwhile to look in particular at 1444, quite possibly Rous's last in residence. The correlation will then appear even closer. In the first place, of the sixty-three halls in question Wilby Hall was almost certainly included in error, for it is also listed (as 'Wylougby' Hall) as a hall 'destroyed before my time' and in fact the tenement 'formerly called Wylluby Hall' had been sold to The Queen's College for its augmentation in 1442.¹⁸ Looking next to the halls in Rous's list that cannot be immediately identified in the 1444 caution list, there is the hall appearing in the latter as (Little) Black Hall in Schools Street, a property of Oseney Abbey. In 1422 Oseney leased this hall to Mr. Richard Chester for the term of his life—he was still alive in 1449 but dead by 1464. Although Chester, a busy bureaucrat mostly in royal service and often abroad, is listed in the rental of 1428, he did not at least regularly occupy the hall: he is not the lessee in a fragmentary rental of c. 1435 nor does he appear in the two caution lists of 1436 and 1438.¹⁹ Still it is likely enough that his association with the hall was both strong enough and long enough for his name to become for the time being attached to it. If so this hall could reasonably be identified as Rous's *Aula Castriae* which occurs in

¹⁶ The one hall in this group not assigned to Legists is Egle Hall in Pennyfarthing Street. As mentioned above, Leland gives no subject affiliation for this hall while Windsor, quite possibly correctly, adds that it was for Legists.

¹⁷ I omit the brief list of 1463 (see above, note 2).

¹⁸ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. H. E. Salter, 6 vols., i (Oxford Hist. Soc., LXXXIX, 1929), 300.

¹⁹ For the career of Richard Chester, see Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 407–8. For the lease of 1422 and the rental of c. 1435, see *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, i, 177–8, iii (Oxford Hist. Soc., xci, 1931), 237. Cf. the rental of 1428 in which the 'Ten[ementum] Belewé viz. Blakehall' was held by Mr. Richard Chester: *ibid.*, iii, 227.

TABLE
COMPARISON OF THE HALLS IN THE CAUTION LISTS AND IN ROUS'S LIST

Date	Total in caution list* (number of these with no cautions)	Number from Rous's list of 63 halls** in Total	Percentage of Total in Rous's list of 63 halls	Percentage of Rous's 63 halls in Total
1436	55 (2)	42	76%	67%
1438	66 (9)	48	73%	76%
1444	70 (2)	53/54†	76/77%	84/86%
1445	67 (4)	51	76%	81%
1446	62	48	77%	76%
1450 (?incomplete)‡	53	41	77%	65%
1451	65	48	74%	76%
1452	61	45	74%	71%
1453	58 (2)	44	76%	70%
1457 (incomplete)‡	34	24	71%	38%
1458	63	44/45†	70/71%	70/71%
1461	60/61†	42	70/69%	67%
1462	59/60†	41	69/68%	65%
1468‡	45	35	78%	56%
1469	50	38	76%	60%

* These totals are of named halls only; tenements which are described but not explicitly named are not included. These totals differ somewhat from those given by Emden, 'Oxford Academical Halls in the Later Middle Ages', 355.

** My figure of 63 is for Rous's main list as given in Leland's copy. The numbers in this column do not include halls for which Rous uses unfamiliar names and for which possible identifications are suggested in this article.

† It is not always possible to establish with certainty whether a reference in a caution list to Nun Hall relates to the Nun Hall later absorbed in Corpus Christi College, which was listed by Rous, or to the Nun Hall by Alban Hall which was nearby but was not listed by Rous. In 1444 Nun Hall is mentioned only once, but it is not clear which is meant; similarly in 1458. In 1461 and 1462 there may be one reference to each Nun Hall or alternatively two references to Rous's Nun Hall (such double entries are not uncommon) and no reference to Nun Hall by Alban Hall.

‡ The list for 1450 now ends at the foot of a page; Salter notes that a page which once followed it is wanting (*Registrum Cancellarii*, i, 216). Part of one page on which the list for 1457 is written has been torn away (*ibid.*, 405). The text of the list for 1468 seems to be complete; however, the fact that a number of halls absent from this list appear consistently in the lists up to 1462 and again in 1469 suggests that the low total in 1468 may reflect an unusual degree of under-registration. My total of 45 halls includes Mildred Hall, omitted from Salter's edition.

the place in his list appropriate to (Little) Black Hall in Schools Street. Again, bearing in mind Rous's carefully topographical arrangement, it may be that his Elm Hall in Cheyney Lane (which appears in no caution list under that name) is the Pery Hall of the caution lists, though there is no other evidence to this effect. Similarly his Chymney Hall (which likewise appears in no caution list under that name) may be the same as the Nightingale Hall of the caution lists since these two halls were adjacent to one another and had been held jointly since before the beginning of the fifteenth century.²⁰ Then there is Egle Hall in Pennyfarthing Street, already mentioned as probably either Little Bedell Hall or Grove Hall. If these various identifications are correct we are left with only four of the halls in Rous's list which do not figure in the caution list of 1444.

The four in question are Osney Hall, 'Portsmister' (that is Postmasters' or Portionists') Hall, Tenchwic Inn and Polton Hall. Osney Hall does not appear under that name in any caution list, and may therefore be included in that of 1444 under some other name. Tenchwic (or Tingewick's) Inn again does not appear in any caution list, and was absorbed about this time into All Souls College as shown below. Postmasters' Hall makes only one appearance in the caution lists (in 1450 as Portionists' Hall), doubtless because of its virtual annexation to Merton College.²¹ Finally there is Polton Hall. It appears, under the name St. John's Hall in St. Aldate's parish, for the first time in the caution list of 1457, its principal being Mr. Philip Poltone from whom it had presumably derived its alternative name.²² In other words, although at most only one of these four halls may appear in the caution list of 1444, there is no special reason to doubt that they were, as Rous said, academical halls at that date.

On the other hand there are ten halls in the caution list of 1444 that are not mentioned by Rous in his main list, and also two said by him to have been destroyed before his time with which I am about to deal. Some of this discrepancy may arise from the fact that what appear to be halls are not always so: they may, for instance, be gardens. Cat Hall, listed by Rous as 'destroyed before my time', is stated to have been a garden in the caution list of 1451;²³ and Penkrich Hall, similarly listed by Rous, may possibly already have been a garden as it certainly was somewhat over thirty years later.²⁴ Or again Rous may normally have omitted halls dependent

²⁰ For Pery Hall, see Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i, ed. W. A. Pantin, 40 and map NE I. For Chymney Hall and Nightingale Hall, see *ibid.*, 201, 243 and map SE V; also *A Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist*, ed. H. E. Salter, 3 vols. (Oxford Hist. Soc., LXVI, LXVIII, LXIX, 1914, 1915, 1916), i, 221-2, 223, and the rentals printed *ibid.*, iii.

²¹ For Postmasters' Hall, see V.C.H., *Oxon.*, iii, 99.

²² Polton Hall appears in Rous's list in the group 'by St. Aldate's church' before James and Michael Halls (and in Windsor's copy after Broadgates Hall), which corresponds precisely to the location of the hall usually known as St. John's Hall in St. Aldate's parish or as Mynot Hall. According to Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii, 85, in 1430-1 the Hospital of St. John leased Mynot Hall to Philip Polton for 12 years. For Philip Polton B.Cn.L., in whose name cautions were tendered for St. John's Hall in St. Aldate's parish in 1457, 1458 and 1461, see Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1493-4.

²³ *Registrum Cancellarii*, i, 249. The fact that it was not described as a garden in 1444 is not necessarily significant, for it was not so described in the lists after 1451, by which time it was definitely a garden: *ibid.*, i, 103, 404, ii, 1, 48, 87, 291, 322.

²⁴ Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i, 200 and map SE V; *Cart. Hosp. St. John*, iii, 268. However, in 1448 it was described as a 'tenement called Pencrychehalle... with a garden adjacent on its eastern side', which suggests that the hall itself had not then fallen into decay: *ibid.*, i, 249.

on other halls or colleges (though he included Postmasters' Hall despite its very close relation to Merton College). One example in particular may be mentioned, since it is the only 'hall' with which Rous himself is known to have been connected. This was the tenement which first came into academical use in 1443-4 as an annexe of Hampton Hall and which came to be called Sekyll Hall.²⁵ In 1444 a caution was tendered for it in the name of John Rous²⁶ and in 1446 for what was then known as Sekyll Hall by John Seymour, later described by Rous as 'm[eu]s olim Oxoniae conscolaris'.²⁷ Clearly, as it would seem, Rous made no mention in his list of this academical 'hall' because of its annexation to Hampton Hall.

So far we have been considering only the question of 'fit' between Rous's main list of halls and the caution lists. But the details of Rous's lists obviously also require examination and reveal some interesting facts. Among his main list of halls is Woodcock Hall which ceased to be an academical hall in 1454.²⁸ Then his Tench-wic Inn, which does not appear in any of the caution lists and for which he gives no subject affiliation, was situated immediately to the north of All Souls College to which it passed not at the College's foundation but shortly after and not later than 1449.²⁹ Again, Rous's error, already referred to, in including Wilby Hall both in his list of halls 'destroyed before my time' and in his main list, might be most readily explicable if its transfer from Oseney Abbey to The Queen's College was quite recent: the scribe of the 1445 caution list may have been making a similar error in including it, but without any caution attached to it.³⁰ Then there is the case of Bostar Hall. It appears regularly in the caution lists until 1446. It was, however, among the halls on the site of Magdalen Hall (founded 1448) and is not found in any caution list from then until after the Hall had been transformed into Magdalen College and moved to a new site in 1458. In the 1458 caution list we read of Magdalen Hall with appurtenances which presumably included Bostar Hall, and then in the next list, that for 1461, Bostar Hall (and other halls that had been occupied by Magdalen Hall) is once more separately listed.³¹ On this evidence,

²⁵ The history of this property, variously described as the tenement formerly held by John Cayme, Bedell, the tenement annexed to Hampton Hall and as Sekyll Hall, can be reconstructed from the annual bursar's accounts in the archives of University College, Oxford, and from the Chancellor's Register 1434-69 (see esp. the double entries in the caution list of 1452 with the additional note on fo. 111^r not printed by Salter). Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i, 51, incorrectly identifies Sekyll Hall with the tenement of Hugh Benett. For Hampton and Sekyll Halls after their acquisition by Lincoln College in 1463, see V.C.H., *Oxon.*, iii, 164, 170.

²⁶ 'Item pro quodam manso annexo [aule Hamptone], nomine magistri I. Rowse': *Registrum Cancellarii*, i, 102. Because unnamed, this is not included in my total for 1444.

²⁷ *Joannis Rossi . . . Historia Regum Angliae*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1716), 120. For John Seymour, see Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1675-6. He was a B.A. in 1446 and so would have been in the University from at least 1442.

²⁸ Woodcock Hall last appears in a caution list in 1446. According to the rentals of Oseney Abbey it was held by a *magister* in 1453, was vacant in 1454 and was divided between two other tenements in 1455 and subsequent years: *Cart. Oseney*, iii, 256.

²⁹ Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i, 89-91; E. F. Jacob, 'The Building of All Souls College, 1438-1443' in J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (eds.), *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (1933), 123-5.

³⁰ It was similarly listed with no caution in 1438, and it may be that this hall had gone out of regular academical use before its formal acquisition by The Queen's College.

³¹ For the foundation of Magdalen Hall and of Magdalen College, see Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, new edn. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (1936), iii, 228-9; V.C.H., *Oxon.*, iii, 193. For Bostar Hall and associated properties, see *Cart. Hosp. St. John*, i, 248-65.

then, Rous's list would be either before 1448 or after 1458. Several of Rous's other halls can also be shown to have probably ceased as academical halls in the 1450s and 1460s.³² Again, Rous correctly notes (in his list of 'halls destroyed before my time') Burnell's Inn as having been absorbed in London College—in 1416–21 in fact—and records that the latter, as already mentioned, was for Benedictines 'in my time'. Their occupancy was, however, terminated not later than 1452.³³ Finally, as indicative of the date of Rous's list, is his interesting statement (not least for the way in which a hall could and did change its subject affiliation) that the Legist hall Peckwater Inn was first for Grammar under Leylandus. Leylandus is John Leland who died in 1433.³⁴ Given his eminence as a Grammarian, this fact might have lingered in the memory for some time, but it may be thought not very likely it would have lingered for more than about a generation after his death.

Two final points remain to be considered in dating Rous's list. First is the occurrence of Magdalen College among his secular colleges. This would seem to place his work in 1458 (the date of the College's foundation) or later. On occasion, it is true, Magdalen Hall, founded ten years earlier, was called Magdalen College,³⁵ but the fact that Rous (as we have seen) listed Bostar Hall, one of Magdalen Hall's constituents, as a separate hall is a powerful and seemingly conclusive argument against interpreting his College as the Hall. We are then left with the possibility that the Magdalen College entry was added to the original compilation—quite likely by Rous himself for it would have been a simple enough addition to make, coming last (as in the predominantly chronological order it should have done) in the list of the secular colleges.

Lastly there is the important point to which Emden has drawn attention and which was the starting point for our inquiry. This is the entry under Trillock's Inn, already quoted, that it 'is now called New Inn because newly built'. If Emden's gloss that this refers to the rebuilding of c. 1476–9 is correct, then we are faced with a date which, on the other evidence we have been considering, is far too late. An alternative explanation might be that it refers to the earlier rebuilding of 1420–1,³⁶ but this seems clearly ruled out by the fact that Trillock's Inn is consistently so named in all the many caution lists of 1436–69 in which it appears. If then, as seems inescapable, the building in question is indeed that of c. 1476–9, we are again left with the likelihood of a later addition to the manuscript, in this case possibly by

³² For instance Paul Hall seems to have gone out of academical use immediately after its last appearance in a caution list in 1453: see *Cart. Oseney*, iii, 231, 242, 264. Yng Hall is not in any caution list after 1458 and although it is listed as a *domus clericorum* in a rental of 1426, it is not in those of c. 1452–4 or of later years: *Cart. Hosp. St. John*, iii, 260, 265–6 etc. Haberdasher Hall ceased to be academical between the caution list of 1468 and a rental of 1477: *Cart. Oseney*, iii, 250. Broadgates Hall in All Saints' parish appears in the caution list for 1469 but later that year was granted on a lease of 101 years to a brewer/alehouse keeper (*pandoxator*): *Cart. Hosp. St. John*, ii, 6–7.

³³ For London College, see Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, iii, 482–4; V.C.H., *Oxon.*, iii, 16. For the end of the Benedictine occupation, see *Registrum Cancellarii*, i, 267–71. The hall continued to be known as both Burnell's Inn and London College into the sixteenth century: e.g. in Oxford Univ. Archives, Chancellor's Registers, Reg. D, fo. 52^r (1503).

³⁴ For John Leland the Grammarian, see Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1129, and (on the date of his death) *ibid.*, iii, p. xxxii. See also R. W. Hunt, 'Oxford Grammar Masters in the Middle Ages' in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus*, 169–70 and 181 ff.

³⁵ *Registrum Cancellarii*, i, 248 (1451) and 286 (1452).

³⁶ Pantin, 'The Halls and Schools of Medieval Oxford', 74 n.

Leland himself.³⁷ Indeed it is something more than a likelihood. Trillock's Inn was still so called in 1491 and seems only to have become New Inn somewhat later.³⁸ If this evidence of nomenclature is to be trusted, then the entry with which we are dealing was made after Rous's death in 1491 and is thus irrelevant to the problem of dating his original list.

In brief the sum of the evidence points to two conclusions. First, Rous's list as such was compiled at a single date reflecting quite accurately the collegiate and aularian situation at a particular time, and not, as Emden's wide dating seems to imply, gradually assembled and finalized over quite a long period. Secondly the evidence supports clearly the traditional dating of c. 1440-50, though with two significant additions, with every possibility that the list describes the Oxford of 1444-5, about the date of Rous's departure from Oxford for the chaplaincy of the chantry of Guy's Cliffe, Warwick, where he remained, assiduous in various antiquarian pursuits, for the remainder of his life.

³⁷ Toulmin Smith critically misread the manuscript at this point (*op. cit.*, 156). She printed after the name of the Inn 'Ley.' (for Leylandus), which would prove Leland's authorship of the addition as similar entries elsewhere show. In fact the manuscript reads, in a marginal entry, 'Leg.' (for Legists), as does Windsor's copy.

³⁸ Wood cites a New College account for 1490-1 which refers to rent from the principal of the hall called 'Trillock's Inne': *Survey of . . . Oxford*, ed. Clark, i, 608. For the changing nomenclature regarding this hall, see Oxford Univ. Archives, Chancellor's Registers, *passim*.