## The Oseney Abbey flock

## By DAVID POSTLES

## SUMMARY

Sheepfarming was an important aspect of demesne agriculture in the middle ages, as wool was an important commodity. The flock policy of Oseney Abbey changed from a 'manorial' to an 'intermanorial' organisation of the sheep. Whereas the demesne arable contracted significantly during the later middle ages, flock husbandry was maintained at a significant level. These aspects are described as well as the difficult sources allow, and the main source, the account of the prepositus bidencium for 1476/7, is edited.

Flock management policies on seignorial estates altered radically during the late middle ages. On many estates, both lay and religious, a policy of centralisation gradually replaced the initial local management of the flock. Furthermore, at the same time as arable demesnes were being leased out to *firmarii*, some lords were investing on a greater scale in pastoral husbandry, particularly developing their flocks. Whilst seignorial arable production thus declined, interest in sheep and wool production was not abated. The more efficient exploitation of wool growing led to centralisation of flock management. The whole effort, of course, was probably directed towards the buoyant export market for English woollen cloth. The changes of management adopted by Oseney Abbey epitomise this general movement. A central flock account is also extant for 1476–7, and is edited below.

In the late 13th century, the flocks of Oseney Abbey were managed locally. Each property of the Abbey, where there was a flock, had its own shepherd responsible to the reeve or bailiff, depending on the type of property. The reeve accounted for the flock and the clip. An incomplete centrally-enrolled account of most of the properties of the Abbey c. 1280 discloses 2818 sheep, so the total complement of the manorial flocks in the late 13th century may have been more than 3000 animals (Table IV). Forest Hill and Waterperry are wanting from this central account, but manorial accounts for these two properties at the time reveal some two hundred sheep at each. The prominence of Water Eaton appears from the sheep statistics. In c. 1280, Water Eaton supported some 20 per cent of the total flocks:

<sup>2</sup> For a recent, very helpful synopsis of this trade, G.D. Ramsay, The English Woollen Industry, 1500-1750, (1982); E. Power, op. cit; T.H. Lloyd, The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England.

<sup>3</sup> The central account of c. 1280 is in H.E. Salter, (ed.), The Cartulary of Oseney Abbey, VI (Oxford Hist. Soc. ci, 1936), 184–207; manorial accounts used are Bodleian Library d.d. Christ Church Oseney Rolls and Bodleian Library MSS. Rolls Oxon. Oseney Rolls, as listed by N. Denholm-Young, The Medieval Archives of Christ Church (O.H.S. xcii 1929), 13ff.; the flock account of 1476–77 is Bodleian Library MS. Roll Oxon. Oseney 26.

<sup>4</sup> A reeve was normally a customary tenant, a bailiff a freeman. On the Oseney estate (which in this respect is somewhat different from others, for instance Merton College's) there would be a bailiff only on glebe-demesnes, where there were no customary tenants, and a reeve on 'manorial' properties where there were unfree tenants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Power, The Wool Trade in English Medieval History, (1969 edn.), 28; N. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration in England, (1937), 58–9; F.M. Page, 'Bidentes Hoylandie', Economic History i (1926–9), 603–13; D. Postles, 'Fleece Weights and the Wool Supply', Textile History xii (1981), 96–103, for further references.

633 sheep of a total exceeding 3000. Water Eaton probably also emerged as the central point for the collection of fleeces from all properties at this time. Although the proficuum calculation in the central account refers to fleeces despatched to Oseney, the extant manorial accounts reveal that the fleeces were actually sent to Water Eaton. The entries in the proficuum calculation are probably a fictitious arrangement in this respect. The fleeces may have been nominally counted as liveries to the house with an artificial value placed on them.

In the 14th century, Water Eaton definitely became the central collecting-point for fleeces. It may have been selected because of its convenient position. In the configuration of the Oseney estates it was as central as possible; wool could be conveniently carried overland to Watlington and then on to Henley for transport by water. Much of the clip may have been destined for Italian merchants. Pegolotti's list includes Oseney for 25 sacks for export; this figure may be an underestimate, as the list is concerned only with the Italian export trade. Oseney certainly came into frequent contact with Italian merchants through

acting as a sub-collector for Papal and royal taxation.6

In the early 14th century, the manorial flocks suffered some vicissitudes. The flock at Forest Hill declined seriously; the flock at Waterperry disappears from view altogether; the flock at Stone collapsed. For example, whereas Stone supported 391 sheep in c. 1280, only eleven sheep remained at Michaelmas 1325. At Forest Hill, the flock in 1302–4 comprised less than half the number in c. 1280, and seems to have disappeared completely in 1317–18. A critical decision seems then to have been taken to restock these properties: Forest Hill c. 1321–2; Stone in 1326–7; Waterperry in 1329–30. Hitherto, Watlington had not retained its lambs which were received from tithe. In 1342, however, the Abbey decided to maintain a flock there. The restocking of Waterperry anticipated the future road to specialisation, as the flock consisted mostly of wethers. After restocking, Stone supported between 213 and 317 sheep. Waterperry 125–230 and Watlington about 70 (figures at year-end).

The final transition to a fully centralised method of flock management must have occurred during the 15th century. Unfortunately, the fragmentary survival of the manorial accounts allows no more precision. During the 14th century, the management continued to be local: reeve and shepherd. Signs of central direction, which there must have been at all times, became more emphatic: Water Eaton firmly became the central collection point for fleeces; some manors specialised in wool production, carrying only wethers; decisions were made to reconstitute the flocks where they had become depleted. Suddenly, the flock account of 1476–7 confronts us.

This account presented by Robert Howse, prepositus bidencium, reflects the apogee of central direction of the Abbey's flocks. During the course of the late 14th and 15th centuries, the Abbey had embarked on the policy of leasing its arable demesnes to firmarii, apart from home farms at the properties nearest to the Abbey. Simultaneously, the Abbey decided to retain its flocks at selected properties and to concentrate its farming activities on sheep farming. The retreat from agriculture by the Abbey was therefore not comprehensive, but selective. The entire flock of the Abbey became entrusted to a head shepherd, Robert Howse, who controlled a team of (under-) shepherds. This alteration of policy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> E.g. MS. Roll Oxon. Oseney 19: provender for carrying wool by horse from Water Eaton to Henley; d.d. Christ Church Oseney Roll 63: *Item in expensis Thome Camerarii senescalli venientis cum xi hominibus et v carectis versus Lond' et pernoctantis cum lana*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> W. Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce, i (5th edn., 1910), 640; W.E. Lunt, Financial Relations of England with the Papacy to 1327 (1939), 651–2, 661.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> There are no Waterperry accounts extant for the period 1279–1328; the 1329–30 account mentions a shepherd and sheepcote, but suggests that the stock was negligible.

TABLE I:	STATISTICS	OF	SHEEP	AT	THE	YEAR-END,
	MICH	IAEI	LMAS 1	477.		

	Rams	Wethers	Ewes	Hoggs	Total
Arlington	2	24	160	11	197
Water Eaton	2	-	307	250	559
Weston-on-the-Green	2	-	208	-	210
Bibury	_	238	_	e	238
Black Bourton	-	183	_		183
Fulwell		253	_	-	253
Hook Norton	-	171	12		171
Hampton Gay	_	78	_	_	78
Walton	-	6	18	150	174
Cowley	-	-	108	5	113
	6	953	801	416	2176

accorded well with the precepts of contemporary treatises, such as the *Modo qualiter Clericus siue Expensor* with its specimen account of the *Instaurator bidencium*. This advice contrasts strongly with the 13th-century treatises, which allowed the local management of reeve and shepherd.<sup>8</sup> Parallel developments took place on other estates.<sup>9</sup> The account reflects not only a centralisation of control, but also a high degree of specialisation, with different objectives at the properties.

The breakdown of the statistics of sheep remaining at the end of the accounting year (Table I) confirms the specialisation which was part of the centralising policy. Four places were specifically breeding or reproduction centres, where there were only ewes with rams to service them. At Water Eaton the very high number of hoggs can be assumed to be for restocking the ewes. Cowley, Arlington, Water Eaton and Weston were all reproduction centres. By contrast, five other places (Bibury, Black Bourton, Fulwell, Hook Norton and Hampton Gay) had only wethers. These properties probably concentrated on wool

production. The precise status of Walton in this arrangement is confusing.

The arrangement is also reflected in the organisation of the shepherds. Howse was the head of the team. Under him, there were shepherds at Arlington, Weston, Cowley, Water Eaton, Bibury and Walton. The first four of these places (Arlington, Weston, Cowley and Water Eaton) were the reproduction centres. It was obviously felt to be important to have shepherds on the spot in the breeding places, for these accounted for five of the seven shepherds under Howse. Water Eaton had two shepherds, one for the ewes and one for the hoggs, which may further emphasise the central position of Water Eaton in the organisation of the flocks. It had developed as the central collecting point for fleeces of the Abbey's estates, and it now also acted as the main reproduction centre. The number of ewes and hoggs far exceeded the numbers at other places. Indeed, it supported twice as many sheep as any other property, and its flock comprised more than a quarter of the total flock of the

<sup>8</sup> John Rylands University Library Lat MS. 228, ff. 114r-v.; D. Oschinsky, (ed.), Walter of Henley (1971), 276-9, 422-3.

<sup>9</sup> Some references are collected at D. Postles op. cit., 98-100.

TABLE II: THE ORGANISATION OF SHEPHERDS. 1476-77.

	John Wrenne	Arlington	breeding
	Wm. Busshop	Bibury	wool
	Thos Redhed	Cowley	breeding
Robert Howse - centre	Robt Brice	Water Eaton	breeding (ewes)
	Thos Piper	Water Eaton	breeding
	John Hycok	Weston	breeding
	Thos Yvis	Walton	?

TABLE III: ISSUE OF LAMBS, 1476-77.

	Lambs issue	Lambs died in morina
Arlington	47	36
Cowley	167	98
Water Eaton	236	106
Weston	208	148
Tithes		
Bibury	79	
Cowley	9	
Water Eaton	27	
Watlington	4	
	119	
Purchase	20	

Abbey. The other two shepherds were attached to Walton and Bibury. The existence of a shepherd at Walton could suggest that this property was also a breeding centre; the ewes may have been depleted in the recent years, and the hoggs intended to restock the ewes. The shepherd at Bibury may have been despatched there because Bibury is an outlying property in Gloucestershire. Bibury is unusual in that it was the only wool property, supporting only wethers, to have a shepherd on the spot. The other properties with flocks exclusively of wethers (Black Bourton, Fulwell, Hook Norton and Hampton Gay), apparently did not have a resident shepherd. Howse himself was probably responsible for these properties. Obviously, the Abbey believed that a shepherd was necessary on the spot only where lambs would be dropped. However, someone must have been employed to care for the flocks elsewhere, even if not a specialist shepherd in the continuous employ of Howse.

A surprising feature of the breeding centres is the low number of rams to service the ewes. Trow Smith suggests that the usual ratio was one tup to thirty-five to fifty ewes, although he included examples of poor tupping rates. 10 At Water Eaton, if the account can

<sup>10</sup> R. Trow-Smith, A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700 (1957), 149-50.

TABLE IV: THE ABBEY FLOCKS IN ¢ 1280.

	Wethers	Rams	Ewes	Hoggs	Total
Claydon	48	1	63	38	150
Stone	124	3	156	108	391
Oving	_	-		1-1	-
Hampton	68	4	145	97	314
Weston	91	2	203	126	422
Bibury	41	2	116	157	450
Turkdean	46	2	86	- 1	430
Water Eaton	265	4	230	134	633
Handborough	included in	Water Ea	ton.		
Great Barton	120	-	100	81	301
Adderbury	_	_	_	_	_
Little Tew	-	_	_	_	-
Watlington	_	_	-	-	-
Black Bourton	28	1	85	43	157
Shenston	-	_	-	-	-
					2818

be believed, a ram was expected to service eighty ewes; a ram at Arlington would need to contend with 150 ewes, and a ram at Weston would have the slightly less arduous task of acting as sire to 100 ewes. Perhaps rams were hired additionally; otherwise, the ewes at Cowley might have become easily frustrated. The Abbey may have suffered the repercussions of this unenlightened policy, as the issue of lambs was only 658 although 878 ewes remained from the previous year, reinforced by 241 hoggs received during the course of the year (Table III).

The change to pastoral husbandry was achieved by the conversion of arable to pasture in selected properties. In 1517, Oseney was presented to enclosure commissioners for converting 107 acres in Water Eaton in 1508. Recently, Dyer has argued that this sort of activity was not the cause of depopulation, but was a response to structural changes in the agrarian economy. Where Oseney is known to have converted to pasture and engage in sheepfarming in deserted or contracted villages, the depopulation was not uniform. Fulwell had been converted into a grange very soon after its acquisition in 1205. Depopulation at Hampton Gay probably began before 1428, and conforms to Dyer's concept of structural change. At Water Eaton, although the Abbey converted from tillage to pasture, many tenants remained there throughout the 16th century until total depopulation by Mr. Frere in the late 16th century. The changes in the Abbey's exploitation of its property may have been a response rather than an initiative.

I am extremely grateful for the very helpful comments of Professor Paul Harvey, Dr. Christopher Dyer, Miss Bronac Holden and the Editor for the improvement of this paper, without committing them to any remaining shortcomings, which are entirely my own.

<sup>12</sup> C. Dyer, 'Deserted Medieval Villages in the West Midlands' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. xxxv (1982), 19–34. The extensive literature on DMVs is summarised or noted by Dr. Dyer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For this paragraph see K.J. Allison, M.W. Beresford & J.G. Hurst, *The Deserted Villages of Oxfordshire*, (Leicester University Dept. of English Local History, Occasional Paper 17, 1966), 38 (Fulwell), 39 (Hampton Gay), 45 (Water Eaton).

APPENDIX: THE FLOCK ACCOUNT OF 1476-7.

Notes on the document and editorial conventions.

The account roll of the prepositus bidencium is Bodleian Library MS. Oseney Roll 26. It comprises a single membrane, written on the face and dorse. On the face is the cash account, on the dorse the stock account. The account is written in a fair Bastard Secretary hand. At the head of the roll, on the face, the initials of the title are decorated with elaborate strapwork. There is also some strapwork on the word Summa as it recurs. There are no cancellations, interlineations or alterations. It is clear that this is an engrossed account. This suspicion is confirmed by the Stipendia paragraph, which refers to the wage of the clerk for writing the account and for engrossing the account. The exception to the above is the very end of the account on the dorse, where, almost as an afterthought, there is an account of the fells remaining. The hand of this part seems to be the same as the main account, but this part of the roll is written much more cursively and hurriedly. The hurried nature of this part is reflected in the omission of the figures in the paragraph for pelles multonum. The intention here was to give a breakdown of fells remaining on each property, but only the names of the places were entered, not the number of fells.

The account is printed in full below. All words have been extended, except where the extension could be doubtful. The clerk extended some words in some places, but not in others. Throughout, the clerk's extension has been followed, with a note where the clerk has extended the word. The paragraph headings are given in the upper case to differentiate them from the main body of the text. The headings are not, of course, in the upper case in the original MS. The short hundred (100) not the long hundred (120) was used by the

accounting official.

Osenye De Anno xvii<sup>mo</sup> Regis Edwardi iiii<sup>ti</sup>

Compotus Roberti Howse prepositi Bidencium domini ibidem a Festo sancti michaelis Archangeli Anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti Sextodecimo usque ad eundem festum Anno eiusdem Regis Septimodecimo videlicet per unum Annum integrum.

ARRERAGIA nulla quia quietus recessit a compoto suo anni precedentis prout ibi patet. RECEPTUM¹ DENARIORUM. Sed respondet de xiiis. iiiid. receptis de domino Abbate apud Watereton² pro xx¹i Agnellis emendis de vicario de Weston hoc anno emptis precium capitis viiid.

Summa xiiis, iiiid.

VENDICIO MATRICIUM Et respondet de iis. ixd. receptis de diversis tenentibus AGNELLORUM apud Watereton ut pro vii matricibus illis venditis hoc anno ut extra³ precii capitis vd. minus in toto iid. Et de xviiid. receptis de vicario de Watlington ut in precio iiiior agnellorum decimalium dicti domini abbatis ibidem sic sibi venditorum ut extra precium capitis iiiid. ob.

Summa iiiis. iiid.

<sup>2</sup> The central collecting point for fleeces in the fourteenth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MS. recept\*. It could be extended receptum or recepta, but as there is only one entry, I have extended it in the singular.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ut extra occurs on the face in the cash account, ut infra on the dorse in the stock account. They refer to the other side of the account. The use of ut infra to refer from the stock account to the cash account suggests that the stock account was audited first, as was the usual practice with manorial accounts. The reason was that any items to be charged against the accounting official from the stock account could be transferred by the auditors to the cash account.

VENDICIO PELLIUM HURTARDORUM<sup>4</sup> Et respondet de iiid. receptis ut in precio trium pellium lanutarum de hurtardis apud Weston<sup>5</sup> mortuis in morina hoc anno ut extra precium pellis id. sic venditarum in foro apud Wodestoke.

Summa { Denariorum iiid. Hurtardorum iii

VENDICIO PELLIUM MULTONUM Et respondet de vs. viiid. receptis ut in precio xvii pellium lanutarum de grege multonum apud Bybury<sup>6</sup> mortuis in morina hoc anno ut extra precium pellis iiiid. sic venditarum Henrico Stodam in foro apud Burford. Et de iid. ob.7 receptis ut in precio v pellium statim post tonsionem de eodem grege similiter in morina ut extra precium pellis ob. sic venditarum in dicto foro. Et de vs. receptis ut in precio xxii pellium lanutarum de grege apud Bourton<sup>8</sup> mort'<sup>9</sup> in morina ut extra precium pellis iiid. sic venditarum in foro apud Wodestoke. Et de ob. recepto ut in precio unius pellis vocati pellett' de eodem grege necat'10 ad tonsionem bidencium domini ibidem sic vendite in foro apud Witteney. Et de xviid. ob. receptis ut in precio vii pellium lanutarum de grege apud Fullewell mort'" in morina ut extra precium pellis iid. ob. sic venditarum Henrico Shover apud Brakley.12 Et de iiid. receptis ut in precio vi pellium vocatarum pellett' de eodem grege similiter in morina ut extra precium pellis ob. sic venditarum in dicto foro. Et de iis. viiid. receptis ut in precio xvi pellium lanutarum de grege apud Hokenorton mort'" in morina ut extra precium pellis iid. sic venditarum in foro apud Wodestoke. Et de id. recepto ut in ii pellibus vocatis pellett' de eodem grege unde i necat'is ad tonsionem bidencium domini Abbatis ibidem et alter mort'" in morina ut extra precium pellis ob. Et de iis. id. receptis ut in precio x pellium lanutarum de grege apud Hampton' mort'" in morina ut extra precium pellis iid. ob. sic venditarum Johanni Hawkyns de Hampton Poyle. Et de xxd. receptis ut pro x pellium<sup>14</sup> de multonibus apud Watereton mortuis in morina ut extra precium pellis iid. sic vendit'15 cuidam Cerotecari apud Wodestoke.

Summa { denariorum xixs. id. ob. multonum iiii<sup>xx</sup>xiiii.

VENDICIO PELLIUM MATRICIUM. Et respondet de iiis. iiiid. receptis ut in precio xi pellium lanutarum de grege matricium apud Alrington'i6 mortuarum in morina hoc anno ut extra precium pellis iiiid. minus in toto iiiid. sic venditarum in foro apud Cirencestr'. Et de iid. ob. receptis ut in precio vii pellium vocatarum pellett' de eadem grege similiter in morina et pokkis ut extra precium pellis q<sup>a</sup>. q. minus in toto q.<sup>17</sup> Et de vs. xd. receptis ut in precio xxiiii<sup>or</sup> pellium lanutarum de grege apud Watereton mort'<sup>11</sup> in morina ut extra precium pellis iiid. minus in toto iid. sic venditarum Johanni Hawkyns de Hampton Poyle.

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4 MS. hurtar'.
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<sup>5</sup> Weston-on-the Green, co. Oxon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bibury, co. Glos.

<sup>7</sup> ob. interlined.

<sup>8</sup> Black Bourton, co. Oxon.

<sup>&</sup>quot; mort' should agree with the type of sheep rather than the word fells.

<sup>10</sup> necal' must similarly agree with wethers, not fells.

<sup>11</sup> mort' should agree with the type of sheep.

<sup>12</sup> Brackley, co. Northants.

<sup>13</sup> necat' should agree with the type of sheep.

<sup>14</sup> MS. sic; it should be pellibus.

<sup>15</sup> This should agree with pellium, recte pellibus.

<sup>16</sup> Arlington, co. Glos.

<sup>17</sup> The arithmetic here is doubtful.

Et de xs. receptis ut in precio xl pellium lanutarum de grege apud Weston mort'<sup>18</sup> in morina ut extra precium pellis iiid. sic venditarum dicto Johanni Hawkyns. Et de id. ob. recepto ut in precio iii pellium vocatarum pellett' de eadem grege similiter in morina ut extra precium pellis ob. Et de xxiiid. receptis ut in precio xxiii pellium de grege apud Coveley<sup>19</sup> mort'<sup>20</sup> in morina ut extra precium pellis id. sic venditarum in foro Abindon.<sup>21</sup>

Summa denariorum xxis. vd. matricium Cviii.

VENDICIO PELLIUM HOGERELLORUM. Et respondet de iiis. id. receptis ut in precio xxxii pellium lanutarum de gregibus<sup>22</sup> hogerellorum unde apud Watereton ut extra xxii et apud Walton x precium pellis id. sic venditarum in foro apud Wodestoke.

Summa { denariorum iiis. id. hogerellorum xxxii.

VENDICIO PELLIUM AGNELLORUM. Et respondet de viiis. receptis ut in precio xxxii duodenarum iii pellium videlicet CCC iiii<sup>xx</sup> ix pellium provenientium de agnellis domini<sup>23</sup> in diversis locis mortuis in morina ut extra precium duodene iiid. sic venditarum in Oxon' diversis hominibus.<sup>24</sup>

Summa { denariorum viiis. agnellorum CCCiiii<sup>xx</sup>ix. } denariorum Lis. xd. ob. Bidencium CCxxxv. Agnellorum CCCiiii<sup>xx</sup>ix. Summa totalis recepti Lxixs. vd. ob. De quibus

EMPCIO AGNELLORUM. Idem computans computat in denariis solutis vicario de Weston pro xx<sup>ti</sup> agnellis ab eo emptis hoc anno precii capitis viiid. xiiis. iiiid.

Summa xiiis. iiiid.

CUSTUS BIDENCIUM. Et computat solut' pro tarpic' et reding emptis pro grege multonum et matricium apud Alrington hoc anno xiiiid. Et in tarpic' et reding' cum unctura emptis pro grege multonum apud Bybury xiiiid. Et in tarpic' et reding' emptis pro grege multonum apud Bourton xiiiid. Et in tarpic' et reding' emptis pro grege multonum apud Hokenorton xiiid. Et in tarpic' et reding' emptis pro grege multonum apud Hokenorton xiiid. Et in tarpic' et reding' emptis pro grege multonum apud Hampton ixd. Et in tarpic' et reding' cum unctura emptis pro grege matricium apud Coveley xiid. Et in tarpic' et reding' emptis pro gregibus matricium et hogerellorum apud Watereton xviid. Et in tarpic' et reding' emptis pro grege' matricium apud Weston xd. Et in tarpic' cum unctura emptis pro grege hogerellorum apud Walton iiiid. Et in tribus lagenis uncture emptis in diversis locis ad mixtiliandum cum tarpic' ut pro gregibus matricium et hogerellorum apud Coveley et Watereton iis. Et in expensis dicti computantis per totum annum ut in diversis villis mercatis et nundinis ac in fugando bidentes domini de loco ad locum et pellibus supra decimis vendendo ac eciam agnellos et lanas decimales colligendo in diversis locis xs.

<sup>18</sup> mort' should agree with the type of sheep.

<sup>19</sup> Cowley, co. Oxon.

<sup>20</sup> mort' should agree with the type of sheep.

<sup>21</sup> MS. sic. Possibly de omitted.

<sup>22</sup> Throughout, the word is fully extended, usually as de grege, but sometimes, as here, de gregibus.

MS. doi.

<sup>24</sup> The short hundred is being used, but the arithmetic is suspect.

<sup>25</sup> These two figures are written in above the line.

<sup>26</sup> Unextended here, so possibly either grege or gregibus.

CUSTUS FALDE. Et computat sol' pro xl cladibus emptis hoc anno de Johanne Wat' de Stunsfeld<sup>27</sup> pro falda domini apud Coveley precii cladis iid. vis. viiid.

Summa vis. viiid.

EXPENSE NECESSARIE.<sup>28</sup> Et computat sol' pro i li. de pakthred empta hoc anno pro pakkyng tempore tonsionis lanarum domini in diversis locis iiiid. Et sol' pro cariagio fenorum decimalium apud Hokenorton iiiis. sic conductorum Thome Halle firmario domini<sup>29</sup> ibidem. Et sol' Ricardo Bowell senescallo et Ricardo Perell de Weston pro cariagio pulceti decimalis eiusdem ville sic conducti in gross' ac pro tassacione eiusdem apud lez Shepehowse domini ibidem vis. viiid. Et sol' dicto Ricardo Bowell pro culminacione<sup>30</sup> et stipulacione eiusdem tasse<sup>31</sup> ixd.

Summa xis. ixd.

STIPENDIA FAMULORUM. Et computat in stipendio Johannis Wrenne bercarii domini apud Alrington hoc anno vs. 32 Et in stipendio Willelmi Busshop bercarii apud Bybury xviis. Et in stipendio Thome Redhed bercarii apud Coveley xvis. Et in stipendio Roberti Brice bercarii matricium apud Watereton xvis. Et in stipendio Thome Piper bercarii hogerellorum ibidem xiiis. iiiid. Et in stipendio Johannis Hycok bercarii apud Weston vis. viiid. Et in stipendio Thome Yvis bercarii domini apud Walton per dimidium annum vis. Et in stipendio dicti computantis hoc anno xxvis. viiid. Et in reward' clerici scribentis hunc compotum cum iiiid. pro papiro et pergamena eundem compotum faciendi et ingrossandi iiis. iiiid.

Summa Cxs. solutionum allocationum expensarum

viii li. iiiis. Et sic excedunt iiii li. xiiiis. vid. ob.

[Dorse.]

De anno xvii Regis Edwardi iiii<sup>ti</sup>

Oseneye.

Per Robertum Howse prepositum bidencium domini ibidem Anno regni regis Edwardi iiii<sup>ti</sup> xvii<sup>mo</sup>.

Compotus Stauri.

HURTARDI.<sup>33</sup> Infrascriptus computans respondet de ix receptis de remanenti compoti anni proxime precedentis.

Summa ix. De quibus

Idem computans computat mortuos in morina de gregibus hoc anno ut infra iii. Unde apud Coveley ii et apud Weston i.

Summa iii.
Et remanent vi. Unde apud { Alrington ii Watereton ii Weston ii } remanent vi.

<sup>27</sup> Stonesfield, Oxon.

<sup>28</sup> The reading is difficult; necessarie is presumed.

<sup>29</sup> MS. doi.

<sup>30</sup> MS. sic.

<sup>31</sup> MS. sic.

<sup>32</sup> This figure is barely legible, but the arithmetic confirms it.

<sup>33</sup> MS. Hurtar'.

MULTONES. Et respondet de DCCCC xli receptis de remanenti compoti anni proxime precedentis. Et de CCxxvi receptis de adiunctione ab hogerellis hoc anno ut inferius.

Summa M<sup>1</sup> Clxvii De quibus

Idem computans computat liberatos ad coquinam³⁴ monasterii Oseneye de gregibus ut testatur per i talliam contra Johannem Catour Cxx unde post festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimo³³ liberatos xx¹i. Et necati ad tonsionem bidencium domini³⁶ apud Bourton et Hokenorton quorum pelles venduntur ut infra ii. Et mortui in morina de gregibus ut infra iiiixxxii quorum pelles venduntur ut infra. Unde apud Bybury xxii Bourton xx Fullewell xiii Hokenorton xvii Hampton x et apud Eton. x.

Summa CCxiiii.

Et remanent DCCCCliii

Unde apud

Alrington xxii

Bybury Cxxxviii

Bourton Ciiii<sup>xx</sup>iii

Fullewell CCliii

Hokenorton Clxxi

Hampton lxxviii

Walton vi

MATRICES. Et respondet de DCCClxxviii receptis de remanenti compoti anni proxime precedentis. Et de CCxli receptis de adiunctione<sup>37</sup> ab hogerellis ut inferius.

Summa m<sup>1</sup> Cxix. De quibus

Idem computat liberatas ad coquinam monasterii Oseneye de gregibus ut testatur per i talliam contra Johannem Catour iiii<sup>xx</sup>xvi. Unde liberate post festum sancti Michaelis ultimo<sup>35</sup> xl. Et necata ad tonsionem bidencium domini<sup>36</sup> apud Weston i. Et mortue in morina de gregibus ut infra . . . <sup>38</sup> Unde apud Coveley Cxvii Eton xxiiii Weston xliii et apud Alrington . . . <sup>39</sup> Et necati de Canibus de greg<sup>340</sup> apud Coveley xii quorum pelles nullius valoris. Et in vendicione diversis tenentibus de Eton ut infra v.

Summa CCCxxvii Et remanent DCCiiii<sup>xx</sup>xii.

Et remanent DC	CIIII XII.
Alrington Cli Coveley Cviii Eton CCCviii Weston CCviii Walton xviii	remanent DCCiiii <sup>xx</sup> xii

HOGERELLI. Et respondet de CCCCl receptis de remanenti compoti anni proxime precedentis. Et de CCCiiii<sup>xx</sup>ix receptis de adiunctione ab agnellis ut inferius.

Summa DCCCxxxix. De quibus

<sup>34</sup> MS. coquin'; could be coquinam or coquinarium.

<sup>35</sup> MS. sic.

<sup>36</sup> MS. doi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Extended in full here and in all succeeding entries in the MS., but unextended in the MS. as adiunct' under the wethers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> MS. illegible; the arithmetic, although it cannot be followed precisely, suggests a very high figure. Reference to the face of the roll (*Vendicio pellium matricium*) may supply the figures. An early repair has made the end of this paragraph very difficult.

<sup>39</sup> Figure illegible.

<sup>40</sup> MS. greg' unextended; see n. 26.

Idem computat in adiunctione cum multonibus ut superius CCxxvi. Et in adiunctione cum matricibus ut superius CCxli. Et mortui in morina de gregibus quorum pelles venduntur ut infra xxxii. Unde apud Cou' xxii et apud Walton x.

Summa CCCCiiii<sup>xx</sup>xix. Et remanent CCCCxvi.

AGNELLI. Et respondet de DClviii receptis de toto exitu supradictarum matricium hoc anno. Unde apud Alrington xlvii Coveley Clxvii Eton CCxxxvi et apud Weston CCviii. Et de Cxix receptis de decimis in diversis locis ut inferius videlicet apud Bybury lxxix Coveley ix Eton xxvii et Watlington iiii. Et de empcione ut infra xx.

Summa DCCiiiixxxvii. De quibus

Idem computat liberatos ad coquinam monasterii Oseneye ut testatur per i talliam contra Johannem Catour v. In vendicione ut infra iiii. Et in adiunctione cum hogerellis ut superius CCCiiii<sup>xx</sup>ix. Et in reward' dicti computantis ut de greg' apud Eton et Veston<sup>41</sup> ii. Et in reward' Roberti Brise et Johannis Hycok' bercariorum domini apud Eton et Weston predict' videlicet cuilibet eorum i ii. Et mort' in morina hoc anno CCCiiii<sup>xx</sup>viii. Unde apud Alrington xxxvi Coveley iiii<sup>xx</sup>xviii Eton Cvi et Weston Cxlviii. Et necati cum vulpis iiii. Et in Casteling' iii.

Summa que supra. Et eque.

Summa omnium bidencium M1 M1 Clxxvi.

Alrington ii remanent vi hurtardi<sup>42</sup> Eton ii Weston ii Alrington xxiiii Bybury CCxxxviii Bourton Ciiiixxiii Fullewell CCliii remanent DCCCCliii multones Hokenorton Clxxi Hampton lxxviii Unde apud Walton vi Alrington Clx Coveley Cviii Eton CCCvii remanent DCCCi matrices Weston CCviii Walton xviii Alrington xi Coveley v remanent CCCCxvi hogerelli Eton CCI Walton Cl

Summa que supra. Et eque.

<sup>41</sup> MS. sic; Weston-on-the-Green.

<sup>42</sup> MS. hurtar'.

[The following is written in the same hand, but cursively.]

PELLES REMANENTES. De remanenti non dum vendito pelles matricium apud Coveley ut supra iiii<sup>xx</sup>xiiii.

Hurtardorum.<sup>43</sup> Et respondet de iii receptis hoc anno ut supra de morina. Que venduntur ut infra. Unde

apud { Coveley ii Weston i

Multonum. Et respondet de iiii<sup>xx</sup>xiiii receptis de morina et necat' ut superius. Que venduntur ut infra. Unde

Bybury
Bourton
Fullewell
Hokenort

Pelles

apud Hokenort Hampton Eton<sup>44</sup>

Matricium. Et respondet de CCiii receptis de morina et necat' ut superius. Unde venduntur ut infra Cviii.

Et remanent iiiixxxiiii apud Coveley.

Hogerellorum. Et respondet de xxxii receptis de morina ut superius . . . 45 pelles venduntur ut infra etc.

Agnellorum. Et respondet de CCCiiii<sup>xx</sup>viii receptis de morina ut supra. Quorum pelles venduntur ut infra.

The Society is grateful to the Pasold Research Fund for a grant towards the publication of this paper

<sup>13</sup> MS. hurtar'.

<sup>44</sup> Water Eaton.

<sup>45</sup> One word illegible.