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**Comptus Rolls of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, for the years
1503-4 and 1506-7**

by A. Sabin
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COMPOTUS ROLLS OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY,
BRISTOL

For the Years 1503-4 and 1506-7

by ARTHUR SABIN

THE 1938 volume of the Bristol Record Society's publications comprised the text, and a study, of what were then thought to be the only surviving accounts of the Abbey of St. Augustine.¹ In 1952, however, Colonel W. Chester-Master deposited with the Gloucestershire Records Office a number of documents from his family muniments; amongst them two more such Rolls, in excellent preservation, for intervening years. By the courtesy of Colonel Chester-Master and the authorities at Gloucester I have been enabled to examine these at leisure; it seems fitting that with their permission a record of the points that emerge should be placed before the members of the Society whose long encouragement of such studies laid the foundations for the Bristol Record Society.

The two Rolls are precisely similar in form to those for 1491-2 and 1511-12² except that both retain a feature long lost from the rather more battered ones we edited: a cover of extra stout parchment sewn on to the foot of the Cellarer's account (one of the longer membranes), inscribed with the description of the Roll in such a way that the whole inscription was visible without moving the silk or ribbon which encircled it; the tie has gone, but the holes by which it was threaded through the cover remain. Thus (expanded):

Monasterium Sancti	Computa omnium Officiariorum	Intrinsecorum ibidem
Augustini iuxta	ad festum Sancti Michaelis	O incipientia archangeli anno
Bristoliam	Henrici septimi	O regni Regis post conquestum

¹ Beachcroft & Sabin: *Two Compotus Rolls of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, for 1491-2 and 1511-12, hereinafter referred to as 'B. & S.'

² For a description *v. B. & S.*, p. 87.

'Decimo nono' has a column to itself at the extreme right, and the holes are only slightly to the right of the centre.

This is but one of many small points which go to make it quite clear that this system of bringing together the complete set of obedientiaries' accounts each year (not to be found in any other English monastery as far as we know) was by no means ephemeral: it had been in operation at least as far back as the abbacy of William Hunt (1473-81), probably as that of Walter Newbery (1428-73); there is nothing to say that it may not have been much older.

It should perhaps be said that the survival of three Rolls from the reign of Henry VII and only one from that of Henry VIII is not as odd as it might seem at first sight: there can be little doubt but that the officials of the Court of Augmentations would find recent accounts of such a type a great help in carrying on the affairs of the abbey—which we know that they did with equally detailed efficiency¹; it may safely be presumed that most of the Rolls for the Suppressor's reign would be annexed for such purposes.

One odd point about these parchment covers I cannot explain. All four Rolls consist of parchment membranes of various lengths arranged in approximately alphabetical order of obedientiaries and fastened together in that order by parchment thongs pushed through holes at the top of the sheets and knotted: thus in each case the Anniversarer's account is on top and the Treasurer's at the bottom, and the natural way to roll up the Computa would be with the former inside and the latter as the outermost. In 1491-2 and 1511-12 this was done, but in the other years, although the Rolls were assembled in the same way, the extra cover was affixed to the third membrane, the Cellarer's, and this became the outer sheet of the rolled-up Roll; the Treasurer's (or the Anniversarer's) would have been equally suitable in length, so how should one explain this oddity? If the idea was to preserve the Treasurer's, as being particularly important, from wear and tear, it was not successful, for all

¹ B. & S. sub. tit. Richard Poulet.

except a tiny corner of his second folio for 1503-4 has been torn clean away.¹

The chief points of detail which emerge from comparison of the new and the old Rolls make up the rest of these notes; the one general conclusion that may safely be drawn is forced upon anyone closely studying the four Rolls, though it would be next to impossible to put down a concise proof in black and white. This is that the method of accounting, though traditional and conservative, was not merely mechanical: the little variations and improvements that are introduced here and there are such as would be made, not by dull scribes following a formula by rote, but by intelligent users of a traditional method whose function and technique they well comprehended.

Liberi Tenentes

Probably the most serious error in our 1938 studies² was in failing to realise that there might be a distinction between a 'free tenant' and a 'free tenement,' and that either or both terms might include the numerous 'quit-rents' payable to the Abbey. I have now come to the conclusion that all the 'free tenements' in our Rolls represent 'quit-rents,' *i.e.* fixed sums payable out of a property, not true rents paid to the landlord; possibly some of the 'free tenants' may come into this category, but I have not yet found an actual case; lacking, unfortunately, a complete rental of the Abbey's Bristol property, it is difficult to draw precise conclusions. It is possible, however, to identify fairly confidently several of the properties named in a list of quit-rents (headed "Redditus Liberi") inserted in the Cathedral Accounts for 1660, and these are found to be labelled "Liberi Redditus" in the Abbey Computa also; unfortunately, most of the entries of this type in the Abbey Accounts were made because the rents were already as good as lost, and consequently they do not appear at all in the Cathedral Accounts a century and a half later.

¹ "Exhibucio vnus Canonici/apud Oxoniam.//Sed computat in denariis solutis Ricardo . . ./Cvi . . ." The survival of 'Ricardo' enables us to identify the student as Richard Norton.

² B. & S., pp. 32-3.

It is interesting to note, by the way, that the Treasurer of 1660, trying to re-establish his claims after the restoration of Deans and Chapters, was able to collect £3 13s 8d in quit-rents out of a total due, as far as he could ascertain, of £5 2s 4d; one is apt to forget how persistent such charges could be in spite of the comparative impermanence of the property to which they were tied.

The Grammar School and the Boys of the Chapel¹

The obscurity which surrounds the entries about the singing boys is perhaps a little less opaque as a result of the new evidence. We now have the following :

1491-2. Wm. Thorne, Cantor of the Chapel of Blessed Mary and Master of the Boys thereof 40s; Ric. Haukyns Succentor 40s; John Peryn Servant of the Elemosinar 20s. (These three and three 'boys of the B.V.M.' also receive food at the Elemosinar's table). John Griffith, Vicar of St. Augustine the Less, *companagium* for half the year "pro informacione Canoniorum Iuvenum et aliorum puerorum in scola gramaticali infra abbatiam." 13s 4d. Total: £5-13-4.

1503-4. John Rawlyns, Master of the Boys for three terms 40s; Wm. Thorne, Succentor 40s; Wm. Muldar, Master of the Boys for one term 13s 4d; Henry Blakeburn', E.'s servant 20s. (All except Wm. Muldar receive food, also six boys). The last folio of the Treasurer's account has been torn away just above where the entry for 'Stipendium Magistri Gramatici' comes in later years. Total: £5-13-4.

1506-7. Wm. Lentall, Master of the Boys; Hen. Blackeburn', Succentor. (These two, one servant of the Elem., and six boys receive food, but under salaries we have simply "necnon diversis aliis Cantoribus servientibus eiusdem Elemosinarii prout allocatum est in Computis precedentibus".)

"Stip. Mag. Gram. Et in denariis solutis magistro Gramatic"

"Informanti Iuvenes Canonicos hoc anno xxviiiid."

Total: £6-5-8.

1511-12. Ric. Brampeston Master of the Boys, 66s 8d; Walter Philipps Succentor 53s 4d; John Turner Cantor 26s 8d. (The first two, one servant—presumably J. Turner—and four boys receive food.)

Stip. Mag. Gram. Nullum

Total, £7-6-8.

The unravelling of these figures is further complicated by the presence of a Janitor called William Thorne in the first, third

¹ B. & S., p. 71.

and fourth Rolls; in the second quite another person holds that post. If this is the same W. Thorne on any of these occasions his salary as Janitor might account for a difference in the expenses of the Chapel, though in all probability this possibility may be discounted.

My conclusion is that the normal bill should read :

Master of the Boys, 4 terms at 13s 4d	..	..	£2-13-4
Grammar Master per annum	..	..	1- 6-8
Succentor	..	..	2- 0-0
Elemosinar's Servant (who is a Cantor)	..	..	1- 0-0
			<hr/>
Total	..	..	£7- 0-0
			<hr/>

We were of opinion before that the office of Grammar Master came to be combined with that of Master of the Boys; I think perhaps it would be better to say that it was divided between him and the Succentor; the extra 6s 8d paid to the Cantor or Servant in 1511-12 may or may not be connected with this supposititious arrangement. Were the last membrane of the 1503-4 Roll not missing, or had the Treasurer's clerk in 1506-7 only given us the name of the Grammar Master, we might have been able to speak with more certainty. The whole question of the Abbey Grammar Schools in this period needs investigation.

Clearly the office of Cantor and Master of the Boys changed occupants frequently, and we may fairly deduce that this post, at least as far as our Abbey was concerned, was but a step to higher things. There must have been a small floating population of such choirmasters, and it would be an interesting piece of research to try to trace the careers of some of them. It is interesting to find that the Elemosinar's servant is really a Cantor; when in 1491-2 John Savage was paid 20d "pro conduccione ij. equorum ad querendum Iohannem . . . Cantorem a Wyndesore" he can only have been fetching John Peryn', the Elemosinar's servant of the account, while Henry Blackeburn is promoted from 'servant' in 1503-4 to 'Succentor' in 1506-7. In the latter year also the Elemosinar pays 3s 4d "cuidam

homini equitanti versus Glouc' ad ij. vices"¹—no doubt trying to get a fresh Cantor; the preceding entry in that year is of a present of 3s 4d to the men and boys of the Gaunts at Christmas, suggesting (since there is no similar entry in other accounts) that they had helped out with the services when the Eleemosinar was short-handed.

General Chapters of the Order of St. Victor

Our suggestion that the heading in the 1511-12 Account "Expense in Generali Capitulo"² might indicate that a General Chapter of the English Houses of the Order of St. Victor of Paris had been held in the interval since 1491-2 is now confirmed. The Treasurer's Account for 1506-7, under this heading, records "Sed computat in denariis solutis in generali Capitulo hoc anno vnacum regardis datis diuersis famulis apud Keynesham hoc anno . . . xlijs. viijd.". This does not tell us all we should like to know, but it is important as the only evidence that has so far come to light of such General Chapters having been held by the small group of houses which comprised the English branch of the Order. The expense involved for the Abbey was moderate; presumably Keynsham provided hospitality, but one might have expected that the Abbot of the largest house of the group would have gone 'in style'; the figure may be compared with the cost to St. Augustine's of the Bishop of Worcester's Visitation "per suum Cancellarium ceterosque officarios" in the same year—x li. xijs. xjd.

Building

One or two more scraps have to be added to the very small stock of information in our possession about the building going on under Abbot Newland. In 1491-2 the Refectorar told us that he did not get the usual 2s "de exitu pasture inter duas metas ibidem," which appears to be near 'the great garden between the old dovecot and the bridge over the ditch,' "quia occupatur cum carpentar' domini abbatis circa meremium ibidem iacens propter dormitorium Monasterij reparandum hoc

¹ B. & S., vii d. 7.

² B. & S., p. 8.

anno"; in 1503-4 it is still occupied by the Abbot's timber, but we are given no details; in 1506-7 the same; but by 1511-12 the grass "*depascitur cum equis domini abbatis.*" Similarly in 1491-2 the Camerarius accounted for 26s 8d from the aftermath of Canonmershe, but in 1503-4 he lost this "*pro eo quod herbagium eiusdem occupatur cum bobus et equis occupatis circa edificacionem monasterii et cum equis extrinsecorum*"; in 1506-7 and 1511-12 he gets his usual income from this source, so that particular piece of building was presumably finished.

The Master of New Work, who provides the building stone for all normal operations, had in 1491-2 leased the quarry at Dundry (held of the Bishop of Bath and Wells by suit to his Hundred Court of Chew and a rent of 20s since 1465-66) to three quarrymen for forty loads of freestone delivered at Redcliffe Hill; he bought from them another 80 loads of freestone and 20 of ragstone. In 1503-4 the Dundry quarries are having difficulties, and from now on the quarrymen are behind with their (freestone) rent, although it is reduced to 30 loads; the Abbey makes up its requirements by buying stone from Felton (presumably inferior, since it costs 1s 6d a load as compared with 2s 6d for the Dundry freestone; "*lez Ragges*" are 1s): this year 72 loads of Dundry freestone, 42 of Felton, and 2 of rag are bought—116 loads as against 140 in the earlier year. In 1506-7 the total rises to 159 loads, all described as freestone, but only 69 of them from Dundry; nevertheless the lease of Dundry is renewed, and the 'second part' of the fine agreed with the Bishop's officials is paid this year—33s 4d. In 1511-12 still more, 182 loads, is brought in, 82 from Dundry and 100 from Felton.

The somewhat scathing note I wrote at p. 213 of B. & S. still stands, but the text on which it was based can now be correctly emended. It transpires that Britton either could not read or guessed the name of the Magister Noui Operis of 1472-3: the entries in our new Rolls show it to have been, not Ashfeld', but Mershefeld'. Britton's capital 'A' is an 'M' with an angular curve over it representing the 'er' that follows. This is clearly the same Fr. John Mershefeld' who was mentioned in 1491-2

as having been Collector of Bristol Rent some fifteen years before.¹

Canons, Novices and Conversi

In our 1938 studies we gave but little space to the personnel of our monastery beyond the table of such details as came to hand about individuals which constitutes Appendix A². The newly-available MSS. raise several questions of interest, of which perhaps the most important is that of the precise status of the 'conversi.' The fully-fledged Augustinian canon had to be a priest; until he attained that rank he was, however old, a junior, entitled only to a lower scale of rations and allowances and unable to hold any obedience; the designation 'novice' in a house of canons is not therefore to be taken as an indication of recent entry. 'Conversus' in most monasteries is a 'lay-brother,' but we must not prejudge its precise meaning as a result of the glowing descriptions, such as we have all read in history books, of the early Cistercian community with its large number of earnest, if rather dumb, lay labourers. Consideration of those labelled 'conversi' in the table below will suggest rather that, at least in our Abbey (and probably in any house of Canons which kept to the rule), they were novices in the ordinary sense of that word—'probationers' might be a more exact modern equivalent. And it looks rather as though it was occasionally convenient to classify as conversi some visitors, to 'put them on the strength' during a more or less protracted stay. Observe particularly Dom. John Honybrige, who is fed for eleven weeks in 1506-7; (conversi do not get anything from the Vestiar, *i.e.* they wear 'mufti').

¹ B. & S., vi, 69.

² B. & S., pp. 271-2.

	1491-2	1498	1503-4	1506-7	1511-12
1. John Nulande A,c,p.		1. A.	1. A,k,p.	1. A,k,p.	1. A,k,p.
2. John Martyn P,e,k,o.		3. ?	(ob. 1502-3, o.)		
3. Thomas Grene SP, b.		2. SP	(ob. 1503-4, b,f,g.)		
4. Henry Griffith	(ob. 1491-2, apparently past holding office).				
5. Henry Brugges	a,f,g,n.				
6. John Dynham	4. ?				
7. Thomas Clerk	5. m.	4. d,h.			
8. William Hobbes i.	6. i.	5 ?	4. m. (for various preceding yrs.)		
9. Wm. Grekelade	7. a,g,k,n.	3. SP,a,f, g,k,n.	3. SP,g,o.	3. SP,o.	
10. Robert Elyot d,h.	8. o,b.	2. P,b,c, e,o.	2. P,b,c, d,e,h.	2. P,b,c, e.	
11. John Piers	Nov.				
12. John Howell Nov.	9. d,h.	6. a,n.	5. a,f,n.	4. a,n.	
13. John Gyles Nov. S/S	10. ?	7. g.	?	7. ? ¹	
14. Wm. Bradeford	Nov.				
15. Wm Osewald Nov.	11. ? (ob. 1503-4, canon).				
16. John Hall	Nov.				
17. Nicholas Chapell Nov.	12. ?	8. m.	6. ?	5. d,g,h.	
18. Wm. Wynter Nov. (Total 18-1)	13. ? 14 John	9. l.	7. l.	6. f,m.	
	Westcott	10. i.	8. i.		
15. John Whetnoll					
16. Ric. Norton	Student				
17. Hen. Pavve	11. Nov.				
18. John Smart	12. Nov.				
			10. Nov.	8. (canon)	
			Student	9. Canon & Student	
19. Wm. Burton	13. Nov.				
20. John Harman	11. Nov.				
				10. i.	

¹ Apparently now a canon, but only present for half the year, and in one place is treated 'vt nouicio'.

21. Wm. Pille	14. Nov.	12. do.	11. l.
	S/S		
(Total 21)	15. Ric.		
	Laurence		
	Conv.	13. Nov.	12. ¹
16. Thos. Scansby C.	14. Nov.		13. Nov.
17. Thos. Taillour C.	15. Thos. Page		14. Nov. ²
18. John Betyngale C.			
19. John Cary C.	16. Nov.		15. Nov.
(Total 22-2)	17. dom. John		
	Honybrigge C.		
18. Wm. Lucas C.	16. Nov. & Student		
19. Robert Rippington C.			
(Total 21 ?)	17. Wm. Wryngton C.		
	18. Morgan Llewellyn C.		
	(Total 18)		

KEY:—A—Abbot; P—Prior; SP—Sub-Prior; a—Anniversarer; b—Camerarius; c—Cellarer; d—Kitchener; e—Collector of Grace Money; f—Collector of Bristol Rent; g—Elemosinar; h—Hostillar; i—Infirmarer; k—Magister Novi Operis; l—Precentor; m—Refectorar; n—Vestiar; o—Sacrist; p—Treasurer; C—conversus.

In addition to Abbot, Prior, and Sub-Prior we thus have:

In 1491-2	7 Canons,	8 Novices	
„ 1498	6?	„ 12?	„ (distribution uncertain)
„ 1503-4	9	„ 5	„ 5 Conversi
„ 1506-7	?6	„ ?9	„ 3 „ (J. Gyles' status uncertain)
„ 1511-12	9	„ 4	„ 2 „

Of the newcomers a very fair percentage stay on:

Of 8 Novices in 1491-2	5 proceed,	3 disappear before	1498
„ 8 more „ 1498	6	„ 2	„ 1503
„ 5 Conversi in 1503-4	4	„ 1 disappears	„ 1506
„ 3 „ „ 1506-7	1 proceeds	2 disappear	„ 1511
„ 2 „ „ 1511-12	both remain until the Dissolution.		

It is now possible to say that the suggestion we made³ as to the arrangements for chantry work in the Abbey seems

¹ R. Laurence's place is taken by John Webbe, Canon, who does not, however, appear in the Vestiar's list at all.

² T. Taillour of 1503-4 is T. Page of 1506-7; cf. the lists in the Cellarer's, Collector of Bristol Rents, and Vestiar's 1511-12 accounts, where both names are used for the same individual.

³ B. & S., pp. 65-6.

probable: in each year (ignoring 1498, since the list of obedientiaries is incomplete) there is one apparently unemployed canon. Henry Griffith died in 1491-2, but there was no obedience for John Dynham; William Osewald died in 1503-4, but William Hobbes did not; John Gyles mysteriously disappears from the 1506-7 list, but Nicholas Chapell is still there; Henry Pavye is apparently jobless in 1511-12, though John Gyles only appears for part of the year. It is morally certain that these four were taking their turns to earn the £8 revenue from the manor of Gorewell allocated in the time of Abbot William Hunt "ad usum Canonici in Ecclesia eiusdem Monasterii indies per septimanam missas celebrantis per annum pro animabus omnium fundatorum Monasterii predicti imperpetuum prout in quadam Compositione facta anno xix Regis Edwardi iiiijti plenius potuit apparere."¹

The disappearance of John Gyles I would account for by suggesting that he had been sent, for educational or disciplinary reasons maybe, to another house of the order; John Webbe, who appears in the 1511-12 lists of recipients of bread and wine, but not in that for clothes, seems an obvious case of temporary transfer to St. Augustine's—it is improbable that he would have reached the status of priest-canon had he entered the order after 1506-7.

Our list also makes it clear that the three elected officers, Abbot, Prior and Sub-Prior, have established a definite system for the control of the Abbey's affairs: while Abbot Newland as Treasurer has a personal grip on the biggest of all the obediences (and holds that of Master of New Work because of his interest in building), the other two between them act as Chamberlain, Cellarer, Collector of Grace Money, and Sacrist, so that every important aspect of monastic life is under their personal management. The only other obedientiar who regularly has a considerable cash balance is the Anniversarer, who is always one of the most experienced Canons; the Collector of Bristol Rent, who sometimes has one, is more often a younger and no doubt physically stronger Canon.

¹ B. & S., pp. 148-9.

The Quarrel with the Town

That the great dispute which began in 1491¹ was not peacefully terminated in 1496 is clearly implied by these two Rolls. We lack the legal expenses for 1503-4, since they come on the second membrane of the Treasurer's account, but in that year no court was held in the Green (though the 'agreement' of 1496 was that it should be held by the Mayor's officers and the profits divided), nor did anyone take sanctuary. By 1506-7 things are better: one man took sanctuary, and 3s 6d from the perquisites of the court reached the Sacrist. (There were naturally no Seneschal's fees nor expenses of holding the court to be entered after 1496). Nevertheless the Treasurer writes under the heading "Placita": "Et in denariis solutis tam circa defensionem sanctuarii et Franchesie de Billeswyke versus Maiorem et Communitatem ville Bristollie quam pro diuersis breuibus etc.", though his total expenses are only £2 7s 2d, a twentieth of the £40 bill of 1491-2. It is to be noted that for once a payment is made to a Bristol official: "Et Subvicecomiti ville Bristollie et Thome Matson pro eorum consilio et fauore hoc anno xiijs. iiijd."

Cromhall

The most expensive piece of business in 1506-7 seems to have been in connection with the Abbey's manor at Cromhall. In addition to the usual fee of £1 to the Escheator (John Huntley) and Sub-Escheator of Gloucestershire the Treasurer paid £4 2s to the Escheator and his servants "pro inquisicione facta pro Cromehale," and also "Willelmo Biseley et Iohanni Huntley pro eorum fauore atque consilio hoc anno . . . Cxiijs. iiijd", a total nearly as great as that for the Episcopal Visitation.

*The Abbey Manors*²

The only fresh comment to be made on the management of these estates is to distinguish those manors whose cash product is invariable from those showing a steady rise or decline. In the six manors where the demesne was farmed out—at

¹ B. & S., p. 6.

² B. & S., pp. 40-42.

Fifehead, Horfield, Leigh, and Rowberrow to 'firmarii' and at Almondsbury and Ashleworth to 'appruatores'—the Collectors of Rent who gather the remaining proceeds for the Abbey hand in precisely the same amount each year of the four in three cases, while the other three, though almost constant, show an occasional slight variation, the greatest being £36-15-9 from Ashleworth in 1491-2 as against £36-18-8 in the other years. That is to say, not only are the rents fixed but they are collected without difficulty. The two 'appruatores' of demesne lands, on the other hand, never hand over the same amount: at Ashleworth the variation is slight, between the £14-11-5½ of 1503-4 and the £14-0-2 of 1506-7, and we can draw no certain conclusion from the figures, but it certainly seems that the 'appruator' of Almondsbury was making improvements: his returns are, in chronological order, £41-7-6½, £48-5-8½, £50-7-4, £51-8-10.

Of the estates wholly committed to 'Firmarii' or Collectors of Rent, Erlingham and Portbury have one bad year each (Erlingham 1506-7 £6-16-2 instead of from £8-1-6 to £8-17-0; Portbury 1491-2 £9-14-6½ instead of £13 odd); both these are probably to be accounted for by some extraordinary expense such as rebuilding a barn. Blacksworth, Cromhall, and Fifehead are practically constant, but the Firmar of Pawlett (William Williams in the three last accounts) is extremely erratic: his returns are £19-18-0, £13-9-4, £29-3-11, £18-2-2. Is it perhaps justifiable to guess that this may be explained by the situation of Pawlett in the part of Somerset most liable to damage by flooding?

Canonbury Manor in Berkeley is the only one managed by a Bailiff, not as successfully as most: £53-3-8½, £50-5-8½, £44-4-6, £45-3-11; the wheat and barley produced for the Abbey here are also declining in amount.

The difficulty of managing the Welsh estates seems to have been considerable: expenses for journeys to Wales are by no means infrequent, and the Treasurer's receipts vary tremendously—£32-0-3½, £10-16-8, £27-18-3¼, £45-16-5¾.

Offerings in the Abbey Church

Comparison of the Sacrist's entries under the heading of 'Oblaciones' perhaps proves nothing, but is interesting. They begin with the contents of the pyxes before certain images in the monastery church: first, St. Augustine by the high altar—*8d*, *11½d*, *1s 2½d*, *1s 3d*; then blessed Mary by the north door—*4d*, *1s 2½d*, *1s*, *2s 3d*; then Holy Cross—*7s 4d*, *11s 11d*, *£1-8-4*, *£1-2-9*. These are apparently the only popular offertory-boxes during the period; which of them were within the reach of the public of Bristol or of visitors staying in the hospice we do not know.

Other images with boxes are next listed: Appolonia, Antony, Erasmus, and (as an afterthought) S. Sitha V., who disappears from the list after 1503-4, as does Erasmus; the others remain with ever-empty boxes, so that it is quite a surprise when *5d* is found in Appolonia's in 1511-12.

Next in 1491-2 was St. Clement's box "infra Capellam sancti Iordani in viridi placea" (our only authority other than Leland for St. Jordan's Chapel); from 1503-4 we have instead the box of SS. Clement and Jordan, immediately after the image of Holy Cross. Now the Sacrist's account for 1511-12 (*x1d 16*) tells us that there was a chapel of Holy Cross, which presumably housed the 'image' and the box; it is just possible that the images of SS. Clement and Jordan now shared another chapel within the Abbey church in place of the one on the Green, which, like the 'old church' (*i.e.* the nave of the Abbey church), may well have become ruinous.¹ The joint box produced *8d*, *6½d*, and *1s 2d* in the three years, which was a considerable improvement on the *2½d* of 1491-2.

The account then goes on to the offerings made at Epiphany at the high altar; these were non-existent in 1491-2 and 1503-4 "eo quod nulla fuit oblacio," after which the entry disappears.

¹ The only other chapels named in our MSS. are the Lady Chapel in which the boys sing and St. Michael's—known only from the mention by the Collector of Bristol. Rent (Vd. 16, etc.); there are to-day four chapels only—the Eastern and the Elder Lady chapels, the Berkeley and the Newton chapels—though the defaced reredos in the North Choir Aisle reminds us that there were once other altars besides those in the chapels of the 14th century structure.

This, I imagine, had been on the occasion of a ceremonial visit by the 'Seneschal of the town of Bristol, the Swordbearer, the Mayor's servants, the Sheriff's servants, and the bailiffs' (as well as the Mayor and Sheriffs who were too dignified to be tipped and therefore not listed) "itinerantibus eiusdem ville" (*sic*) at Epiphany (vd. 4, etc.); a visit abrogated since the quarrel with the town.

In 1491-2 there was no offering at the feast of the Purification either, but in 1503-4 this produced 1s, in 1506-7s $7\frac{1}{2}d$, in 1511-12 $4\frac{1}{2}d$. That concludes the list for 1491-2, but by 1503-4 new sources of income have been devised: 14s $6d$ is credited to the account for 20 lbs. of wax "de tribus partibus cere in ecclesia sancti Nicholai in die Purificacionis beate Marie virginis" and for another 9lbs. "de oblationibus provenientibus coram Imagine sancti salvatoris infra monasterium"; both these entries continue to appear, though 'tribus' is corrected to 'duobus' in the later accounts. St. Nicholas' wax is worth 8s in each of the two years, St. Salvator's is kept as wax—26 lbs. in 1506-7, only 12 in 1511-12.

Translating this monastic wax into cash at the standard rate of $6d$ per lb., we thus have offerings totalling respectively 8s $6\frac{1}{2}d$, £1-10-3, £2-12- $8\frac{1}{2}$, and £2-2- $2\frac{1}{2}$ (7s of the decline in 1511-12 being accounted for by the canons themselves, if we are right in assuming that 'infra monasterium' means 'out of reach of the public'). It seems safe to conclude that the church was open to the people of the neighbourhood to some extent; the equivalent of £35 in 1939 money surely did not get into the box before the image of Holy Cross in a year from the pockets of twenty canons, or from those of their servants?

NOTANDA.

Collector of Grace Money, 1503-4: pro j vlna de le Flemmyshe panni linei vna cum factura eiusdem pro rasura Conuentus . . . xjd.

Elemosinar, 1503-4: in denariis solutis cuidam medico pro sanacione vnus pueri . . . xijd.; in denariis datis certis pauperibus advenientibus et lazaris . . . xijd.

Elemosinar, 1506-7: pro sanacione capitum duorum puerorum . . . viijd.

Precentor, 1503-4: vs. viijd. receptis de feodo vnus Communis Sigilli pro presentacione vicarij de Poulet hoc anno; vs. viijd. . . . pro presentacione vicarij de Tykenham hoc anno; vs. viijd. . . . pro tenementō Iohannis Nyweman in Macello carnificum hoc anno. (This last is the only indication in the four Rolls that the Convent—as distinct from the Abbot—got any share of the fees derived from the transfer of temporalities.)

Precentor, 1506-7: similar fees for presentations to the vicarages of St. Augustine the Less, Portebury, and Wappeley. Et pro scriptura diuersarum litterarum fraternitatis hoc anno . . . xijd. (Evidently there were different grades of these documents; the three given in 1491-2—to John Alcock, ex-Bishop of Worcester and then Bishop of Ely, Hugh Pavy, Bishop of St. David's, and one Robert Rocheford of London—had silk ribbons by which were hung 'lez agnes', and cost 2s each to produce).

Refectorar, 1506-7: pro ij. discis de stanno vocatis chargers emptis pro Iantaculo Conventus hoc anno . . . iijs. (stannum is properly an alloy of silver and lead; is this or tin intended here?)

Sacrist, 1503-4 and 1506-7: in both years the tenement near the Abbey called 'le Inne' is mentioned. This occurs also at XI.54 (1511-12), but in B. & S. we left it, after some debate, as 'le Iune' (which it could equally well have been), for reasons which honest transcribers will probably appreciate. However, in these texts it is quite clear, and we therefore record that in 1503-4 it was let for 16s as against its rental value of £1: quite a modest place.

Other important MSS. certainly still lie, beyond the ken of scholars, in private collections; it is to be hoped that Members of the Society are constantly on the alert for any opportunities that their owners may be willing to afford for them to be listed by, or loaned or given to, the Gloucestershire or other appropriate Records Office.