ACCOUNTS
OF THE
CONSTABLES
OF
BRISTOL CASTLE
VOL. XXXIV

ACCOUNTS
OF THE
CONSTABLES
OF
BRISTOL CASTLE
IN THE THIRTEENTH
AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES
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AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

EDITED BY
MARGARET SHARP

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1982
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### ABBREVIATIONS

| BGAS | Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions (Author’s name and the volume number quoted. Full details in bibliography). |
| BIHR | Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research. |
| BM | British Museum – Now British Library. |
| BR.S | Bristol Record Society (Author’s name and volume number quoted. Full details in bibliography). |
| CCR | Calendar of Close Rolls (HMSO 1902–). Calendar of Charter Rolls (HMSO 1903–). |
| C.Ch.R. | Calendar of Fine Rolls (HMSO 1911–). Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) (HMSO 1916–). |
| CFR | Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem (HMSO 1904–). |
| C.I.Misc. | Calendar of Liberate Rolls (HMSO 1916–). |
| CIPM | Calendar of Patent Rolls (HMSO 1901–). Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>CRR</td>
<td>Curia Regis Rolls (HMSO 1923–).</td>
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<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Camden Society publications (Royal Historical Soc.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comp. peer</td>
<td>GEC, Complete Peerage.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DNB</td>
<td>Dictionary of National Biography.</td>
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<td>DWB</td>
<td>Dictionary of Welsh Biography.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Econ. HR</td>
<td>Economic History Review.</td>
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<td>EHD</td>
<td>English Historical Documents.</td>
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<td>EHR</td>
<td>English Historical Review.</td>
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<td>EPNS</td>
<td>English Place Name Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>King’s Works</td>
<td>See bibliography under Brown, R.A., Colvin, H.M. and Taylor, A.J.</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<td>PRO L and I</td>
<td>Public Record Office Lists and indexes.</td>
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<td>PRS</td>
<td>Pipe Roll Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regesta</td>
<td>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum Ed. H.W.C. Davis, continued by R.H.C. Davis, H.A. Cronne etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rigg</td>
<td>Rigg, J.M., Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews London 1905-10.</td>
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<td>RS</td>
<td>Rolls Series.</td>
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<td>SS</td>
<td>Selden Society.</td>
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<td>SRS</td>
<td>Somerset Record Society.</td>
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<td>Suss. RS</td>
<td>Sussex Record Society.</td>
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<td>TRHS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.</td>
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**Abbreviations**

<table>
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<tr>
<td>WHR</td>
<td><em>Welsh History Review.</em></td>
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<td>WRS</td>
<td>Wiltshire Record Society (The Records Branch of the Wilts. Archaeological &amp; Natural History Society).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wo. RS</td>
<td>Worcestershire Record Society.</td>
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PREFACE

It was about 30 years ago that I began my work on the constables of Bristol castle in the thirteenth century. Since that time there have been a number of changes of plan which I need not set out here. The result has been that I have done a good deal of work towards a more comprehensive publication of accounts and a more comprehensive introduction than is now possible. In the event, I am publishing here a selection of the constables' accounts studied and some of the material collected with a view to a full introduction. The edited version of the other accounts has, however, been made available to the general editor (and is available for reference at the Bristol Record Office) and should form the basis of a later volume in this series. As a result, there is some inevitable lack of balance between the parts of the introduction on the castle and the barton which I have discussed fairly fully and the earlier more summary sections.

I have these debts to acknowledge: the Colston Research Committee, whose grant in 1950 enabled me to embark on the work; the general editor, Professor McGrath, who has been unstinting in encouragement and help over the years; Marjorie Kennedy, latterly my research assistant, a real collaborator in the work; my son Tom, also a collaborator in it; Antonia Parker-Jones for typing; and numerous other colleagues, fellow scholars, friends and family, who by encouraging me, and being forbearing, have helped keep me at it. Needless to say, while I happily give credit to all of these, the responsibility is mine.

Margaret Sharp
March 1981
INTRODUCTION

A. The Texts Studied and Published

The accounts studied cover a short period, 1221–1225, during Henry III’s minority, and the whole of the period 1275–1307; accounts for the intermediate period do not appear to survive.

In choosing the texts to be published I have had in mind the desirability of providing some comparative evidence both within the two main periods for which accounts have been studied and between them. I have therefore taken two of the three early accounts (together with an account, complementary to one of these, submitted by the burgesses of Bristol), and two well separated accounts from each of the constables in Edward I’s reign who held the office for a long period of years, namely Peter de la Mare and Nicholas Ferm baud. These accounts, with the material in the footnotes, give a fair indication as to what the accounts taken as a whole contain.

The first three of the accounts are published in the original Latin; the others in calendared form. For each account there is a brief description, a heading (in the original, or translated), and then the text.

I also publish as appendices detailed lists on the succession of the lords of the castle, and of the constables, together with a short note on the methods of dating used by the constables’ clerks in their accounts.

B. The Accounts

The accounts published here are taken from the Pipe Rolls or Great Rolls of the Exchequer.1 Note is taken of any variant reading in the counter roll made at the same time by the Chancellor’s clerk2 as a check, and later used by the Chancery to issue the twice yearly summons of the pipe.

1 PRO E372.
2 PRO E352.
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

The constables' accounts published are these:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Constable</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pandulf</td>
<td>1221-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ralph de Wilton</td>
<td>1224-25</td>
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<td>Peter de la Mare</td>
<td>1282-84</td>
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<td>Nicholas Fermbaud</td>
<td>1300-03</td>
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Immediately after the account of Ralph de Wilton there is published a complementary account of the burgesses of Bristol. In March 1224 the burgesses had made the first of a series of fines with Henry III (then still a minor) to have the farm of their town for one year, rendering a payment of £245 in two instalments, and at the end of that year, in March 1225, they rendered their account of sums paid by them out of the farm in response to orders delivered to them by royal writ.

The accounts for receipts and expenditure in the early part of the reign of Henry III invite comparison with the household rolls of members of the royal family and of magnates, whether lay or ecclesiastical, which survive from the thirteenth century onwards:

3 The sum of £245 as the amount of the farm, was first set in this fine made in 1224 (C60/20 m.7.), cf. Cronne Charters p. 47. As a small footnote to the section on the Firma Burgi in Cronne, pp. 41–46, the fines made with the King to have the grant of the farm, can be traced through to 1254, when the town was delivered to the Lord Edward. Sometimes the grant was for a year at a time, sometimes for a period of eight or ten years. In each case the burgesses applied for an extension in good time, several years before the term of the current grant. The amount of the fine is not always stated, but on Jan. 10, 1227 they offered to give the King £100 to have the extension of the grant for eight years (and apparently had some difficulty in finding the money immediately, since they were granted a respite for payment from mid Lent to the close of Easter (18th April)). In the agreement made in 1234 they made a less ambitious offer of 100 marks (£66.13.4.) for 10 years extension. In the bargain made in 1247 the amount of the farm was raised to 400 marks (£266.13.4.) cf. Cronne p. 47. (Details of the fines are: C60/20 m.7 (1224) for 1 year; C60/23 m.5 (1225); C60/24 m.8 (1226) each for one year (term March 1227); C60/25 m.11 (1227) for 8 years (term March 1235); C60/31 m.4 (1232) for another two years (term March 1237); C60/33 m.7 (1234) for ten years (term March 1247); in 1242 it was extended for one year more (term 1248)). There are three fine rolls for this year, C60/38 fines by the king before his departure to Gascony in May, C60/39 by the Regent after his departure and C60/39B by the King in Gascony – but the fine by the burgesses does not seem to be entered on any. In 1247 they made another fine for an extension from the term of 1248 for 5 years (C60/44 m.4) to March 1253, subsequently to Michaelmas of that year, and then for another year to Mich. 1254 – and by then the town had already been delivered to the Lord Edward.

4 As a result of the payments, totalling £243.0.1. and a sum of £2.15.11. already paid into the Exchequer, the burgesses ended the year with a credit of 16/-.
these Bristol accounts are early examples in rather primitive form, throwing a fitful light on the housekeeping for a small garrison. By the time of Edward I they have become more elaborate. The receipts fall into two main sections: those from the town on the one hand and from the castle and barton on the other – very much following the pattern of Henry III’s accounts but in more detail and with the permanent addition of divisionary headings. Expenditure of a regular recurrent nature is included after the receipts, but more informative are the allowances towards the end of the account which show what additional expenditure has been authorised by writ. There is nothing exceptional about this type of account. As in most medieval accounts the entries tend to become stereotyped, particularly in respect of receipts.

Behind the enrolled accounts, for most years from 1284 to 1303, there is a series of Ministers’ Accounts, the original accounts rendered by the constable or his deputy (or in one case by the heir of a constable who had died in office), from which the Exchequer clerks produced their abridged and rearranged version in the Pipe Rolls. Where these original accounts exist, they give valuable details as to how the totals given in the enrolled accounts were arrived at. The rolls for 1294–95, 1296–1300, and 1301–03 are particularly valuable, giving details inter alia of the weekly payments of the tine of the castle (a prise of ale), the names of people who had paid various dues in the town and the barton, a roll of assized rents in Bristol, rolls of rents and services due in Stapleton Mangotsfield and Easton, and for the first time, details of the Issues of the Grange (a normal feature of manorial accounts). A detailed list of the dates and contents of

5 Cf. e.g. the original and enrolled accounts for West Wales printed in Myvanwy Rhys, Ministers’ Accounts for West Wales 1277–1306 (1936), which includes some constables’ accounts for Dryslyn castle: as far as I know these are the only such accounts which have been printed, though numbers survive especially for Windsor, the Tower, and for Dover Castle. Those for Windsor have been used over a long period of time by Shelagh Bond in ‘The Medieval Constables of Windsor Castle’, EHR lxxii (1967).

6 There is still ample scope however for a zealous constable such as Nicholas Fermbaud to increase receipts by making rigorous enquiries as to what payments were due, and insisting on payments of arrears on any that had been allowed to lapse.

7 SC6/851.

8 Infra p. 22 (1289–91).

9 SC6/851/5 (1294–95); SC6/851/6 (1296–1300); SC6/851/8, mm. 1–4 and 5d (1300–03).

10 SC6/851/5 m5, printed by Veale.

11 SC6/851/5 mm6, 7 and 8.
these rolls is to be found in the bibliography of MSS sources, and frequent references are made to them in the footnotes.

Two original accounts of the constable Peter de la Mare, for 1287–88 and 1288–89 were somehow included amongst later accounts of Hugh le Despenser, in the class of Accounts Various and these again are made use of in footnotes.

Some other documents subsidiary to the enrolled accounts are also to be found in this Class of Accounts Various. They consist of writs, including writs of allocate, receipts and letters of acquittance which tie in with the enrolled accounts.

Other accounts in this class, which are of value for an understanding of Bristol in this period also survive. There is, for instance, a misae roll of John de Florentino, acting as the agent of the legate Pandulf showing the daily expenses of the household of the castle from 5 February to 14 September (but with 7 weeks missing from late May to early July) which is probably to be dated to 1221 and another similar one possibly continuing John’s account. Another household account running from 7 June to 6 March following, more developed in form, and with weekly totals clearly set out, possibly in the hand of the auditor, is probably to be dated 1225–26 especially since such phrases as ‘the expenses of the domina’ must surely refer to Eleanor of Brittany, who was certainly in the castle at that time. Perhaps it will be possible to publish these and some of the original accounts at some future date.

Even as published now the accounts throw light on the early history of Bristol, the relationship of town, castle and Barton, and of earls of Gloucester and kings of England; on political, military and administrative history; and to some degree on the social and economic history of the country as a whole and Bristol in particular.
C. The Castle

i. THE CASTLE IN HISTORY

Today the names of Castle St, Castle Mill St, Castle Green, of Castle Ditch and Castle Precincts, together with some fragments of ruined wall and arches, and a subterranean stairway, are all that remain to remind us that Bristol was once dominated by a feudal castle. This castle was sometimes in baronial hands and sometimes directly in the control of the king. For some two hundred years it was not merely a military stronghold of considerable size and strength, but was also, like all such castles, the centre of government within its neighbourhood. It then eclipsed in influence and power the growing mercantile community of the town; some co-operation and some antagonism were the inevitable consequences. But the castle, probably built in the late eleventh century, was not as old as the town, with its respectable Anglo-Saxon antecedents. The castle’s influence began to wane during the fourteenth century, when castles in general were to some extent declining in military significance and this at a time when the town of Bristol was continuing to develop, to become for a time a leading borough of the kingdom. Thus the influence of the castle was short-lived in comparison with the influence of the town. The hey-day of Bristol castle was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; not much is known about it in the earlier period, but surviving record sources tell us more about the thirteenth century castle. It seems that from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, tenure of the castle, both in its use and in its abuse, was a powerful and formative influence in Bristol history. This volume makes available some of the accounts submitted by the custodians of the castle in the thirteenth century, and especially in the reign of Edward I; the accounts illustrate Bristol history from a point of view insufficiently appreciated till recent times.

Like so many Norman castles, Bristol castle was apparently

19 See e.g. H.G. Richardson in EHR, lxxx (1965) p. 555, in a review of King’s Works, and references there.
21 The quality of the evidence for the organisation and building of castles in general is suggested in King’s Works, i. (e.g. pp. 53–4, 57, 64 etc.) and is relevant to Bristol whenever it was in the king’s hands.
22 No existing histories of Bristol give much weight to the influence of the castle but its military and governmental importance is strongly emphasised in King’s Works, ii, where the material from the castle accounts has been utilized.
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

originally baronial, and not under the direct and continuous control of the king. It was probably first built by Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, sometime before 1088, and was later re-built by Robert, earl of Gloucester. Both shortly before, but more especially after, the death of Robert’s son William, earl of Gloucester (1183), Henry II, following his well-known ‘anti-castle’ policy, was able to secure some direct control, and this power was later to be wielded by his sons, King Richard I and King John. In consequence, successive tenants of the earldom of Gloucester felt themselves to have rights in Bristol of which they had been deprived, and echoes of their claims were still heard in the late thirteenth century. The castle thus changed by slow stages from being the probable administrative centre of the earldom of Gloucester where the earls’ exchequer was very

more especially in illustration of the building activities there of Henry III and Edward I. Castles in general receive a new and persuasive importance in that work (ibid. i.), which supplements the well-known discussions of early castles by Ella S. Armitage in Early Norman Castles of the British Isles (1912), by Sir Frank Stenton in English Feudalism (1932 and 1961), by J.H. Round in Geoffrey de Mandeville (1892) and elsewhere, as well as the archaeological treatment of A. Hamilton Thompson, Military Architecture in England in the Middle Ages (1912). It summarizes the more detailed treatment of the medieval period by R.A. Brown in EHR, lxx (1955) 353 and his popular work on castles English Medieval Castles, Batsford (1954, re-issued 1962 as English Castles, Batsford paperbacks). The importance of the castle has been recognised in D.F. Renn, Norman Castles in Britain (1968), in R.H. Hilton, A Medieval Society (1966) and in W.L. Warren, Henry II (1973). Other general works on English castles rarely mention Bristol as they are primarily concerned with existing remains. A full account of the findings of excavations at the castle over the years since 1968, and the light these throw on Bristol’s history, is contained in a two volume thesis, as yet unpublished, by M.W. Ponsford, Field Archaeologist of the Bristol City Museum. This is available for consultation at the Bristol University Library. (There are brief reports based on this work in Medieval Archaeology xiii onwards, and in a pamphlet on the castle published by the museum in 1973 and in footnotes to the issue on Bristol by M.D. Lobel and E.M. Carus-Wilson in the Historic Towns of England series.)

23 Cf. King’s Works, i. 33.

24 See App. 1 below, which details the lords of Bristol castle, with some reference to the activities of the early lords and to the problems raised by the list.

25 Hollister, Military Organisation of Norman England (1965), p. 165. Henry II was a great castle-builder himself (cf. King’s Works, i. 64), but was intolerant of military power in the hands of others.

26 See App. 1 below, p. 73, n. 11.


28 Cf. Cronne, BRS, xi. 24; Seyer Memoirs... of Bristol 2v (1821–23) i. 343. I know of no complete proof that Bristol was the caput honoris, though it seems probable; cf. Altschul A Baronial Family (1965) pp. 26, 224–5, and Dr. Jennifer Clare Ward’s unpublished thesis, p. 75. Earl Robert’s castle has been described as ‘the principal head-quarters’ of his half-sister, the Empress Matilda, in her struggle with Stephen for the throne (BRS, xi. 24); cf. DNB under Robert, earl of
possibly located, to being a centre of royal power, sometimes of considerable military or political significance. The lord John’s association with Bristol before he became king represents an intermediate stage.

An Anglo-Norman castle was not designed solely for defence, as a precaution against town-unrest, or as a seat of government, but was sometimes actively used as a military centre, from which, for example, a campaign might be conducted or from which the neighbourhood was kept in subjection; no doubt its very existence had the latter effect. On the whole, Bristol castle was not often used in this active way. However, it appears in a positive military role very soon after its erection, for it was one of the centres of the rebellions against William Rufus in 1088, under the redoubtable Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, when it was described as ‘a very strong castle’, raids were then made from it as far afield as Bath, as Ilchester and as Berkeley. Similar raids by the garrison, perhaps helped by the townsfolk, on behalf of the absent Robert, earl of Gloucester, were less successful in the summer of 1138, when King Stephen ‘reconnoitred Bristol’, though he subsequently withdrew. On Robert’s return to Gloucester; cf. infra n. 35). Bristol was Robert’s chief residence from 1142-46; moreover he founded St. James’ Priory there; he died there and was buried there (Comp. Peer. under Gloucester). William his son, similarly, lived there sometimes, though he was, perhaps more frequently at Cardiff (ibid.): he issued letters there (e.g. Book of Seals, nos. 171 and 213), and he founded the neighbouring priory of Keynsham where he was buried. Bristol was certainly some sort of financial centre in Earl William’s day and later (infra, p. xxiv). Knowledge of the history, the organisation, and especially of the scribes, diplomatic, and seals of the earls of Gloucester has been greatly advanced by Professor Patterson’s Earldom of Gloucester Charters (to 1217), 1973.

This exchequer is mentioned in a charter of William, earl of Gloucester, which was accepted by Stenton in English Feudalism (1932), pp. 68–9, 266; in the second edition however (1961), where the charter is again printed (p. 267), doubt is expressed as to whether ‘exchequer’ here in fact means a ‘financial bureau’, but perhaps merely a ‘reckoning Board’ (p. 70); Denholm-Young accepted Stenton’s first interpretation (Seignorial Administration (1937) p. 146). The location of the exchequer within the castle is not perhaps certain, for Earl William had also a domum monete near St. Ewen’s church (Patterson, no. 185). See also Crump C.G., and Hughes A. The English Currency under Edward I, Economic Journal, v (1895) for the mint.

This use was a continental innovation of doubtful value. Douglas, William the Conqueror (1964), p. 216.

The chief danger, however, was from the rebellion in the south-east (A.L. Poole, From Domesday to Magna Carta, p. 101).


Poole, ibid; Hunt, p. 16.

Potter, in the introduction to Historia Novella (1355), p. xxi; this visit is
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

England his castle of Bristol became the headquarters of the party which was supporting his half-sister, the Empress Matilda, in her struggles with Stephen for the throne. Matilda herself was in Bristol and presumably in the castle in the autumn of 1139 and of 1141, and Stephen was imprisoned there perhaps with some severity, from the spring to the autumn of 1141. Moreover, Matilda’s son Henry of Anjou, the future King Henry II, then aged nine years, stayed in Bristol for some fourteen months from about October 1142, perhaps with some severity, from the spring to the autumn of 1141. 1

Matilda and Robert arrived in England in Sept. 1139; Robert then went to Bristol where he soon secured the support of Miles of Gloucester for Matilda’s claims (BGAS, lxxvii (1958), 72, in an article by D. Walker on ‘Miles of Gloucester, earl of Hereford’); cf. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, App. E, ‘The arrival of the Empress’; *Gesta Stephani* p. 58n; *Regesta*, ii. no. 391. It is, I think, arguable that Gloucester became as important as Bristol to Matilda’s party.

Whenever Henry II or Richard I feared rebellion from restless feudatories or aspiring relatives, they took care to control Bristol castle themselves and to see that it was garrisoned and provis-

35 *Regesta*, iii. xlvii.
36 Seyer, i. 436; cf. Davis, p. 54.
38 Not for four years, as used to be thought. This was conclusively shown in a note by A.L. Poole on ‘Henry Plantagenet’s early visits to England’ (EHR, xlvi (1932) 447–51; cf. *ibid.* lxi (1946), 81, where Z.N. and C.N.L. Brooke agreed with Poole’s conclusions as to Henry’s first visit. (cf. *Regesta*, iii.xlvi).
39 Seyer, i. 442; cf. A.L. Poole’s *loc. cit.* pp. 449–50, where the identity of Henry’s tutor, Master Matthew, is discussed.
40 *Regesta*, iii.xlvi, also nos. 126 and 996. The date of the foundation of St. Augustine’s is variously given. See discussion by A. Sabin (BGAS, lxxv (1956)), who decided in favour of 1140; contrast VCH, *Glos.* ii 75 and J.C. Dickinson, *TRHS*, 5th ser. i. (1951) 76–7, which prefer 1142, and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (1971) which gives 1140–42 (p. 138 and discussion p. 150). The official beginning of the abbey may have been in 1148 (Patterson, no. 11); cf. Sabin, *loc. cit.* p. 41.
41 *Regesta*, iii.xlvi, xlvii.
Moreover they – and John also – used Bristol as a base from which troops or supplies might be sent to Ireland as for example, in 1171,\(^4\) or to Wales, as in 1192,\(^5\) or in defence against Wales as in 1193.\(^6\) An obscure, but well-authenticated siege of the castle of Bristol, c. 1194–95,\(^7\) might repay investigation: it was perhaps connected with the government’s recovery of the castle at the time of John’s rebellion when his constable, Robert de Berkeley, may have continued to hold the castle for John.\(^8\) The castle was used to store treasure and munitions throughout the Angevin period and was one of the well-known castle-treasuries so pertinently used by the Angevin kings to relieve their financial emergencies.\(^9\)

This resumé of the history of the castle and its lords before the thirteenth century reveals some of the features which characterize its history during that century. Royal control became permanent under King John who combined the monarchical interests of his father and brother with his own personal interest as the one-time husband of the heiress to the Gloucester lands. True, he had divorced Isabella of Gloucester, but he yet managed to maintain a tight control of her Bristol castle and its appurtenances, the barton of Bristol and the forest of Kingswood and to achieve a perhaps less positive influence in the town itself. The permanence of royal control of the castle intensified the rivalry of castle and town and kept alive the hostility of successive earls of Gloucester towards their suppliants. The custody of the castle became a matter of royal patronage, and this John used to considerable effect and to the benefit of no less than three Poitevin warriors,

\(^{43}\) App. 1.

\(^{44}\) Sherborne, *Port of Bristol in the middle ages* (1965), p. 3.

\(^{45}\) Bristol was used in the vigorous attempts to relieve the castle of Swansea PRS, n.s. iii. 113–4.

\(^{46}\) At least 10 knights and 50 foot-serjeants were paid for seven weeks service at Bristol in defence of England against Rhys ap Gruffyd – the lord Rhys (PRS, n.s. iii.xvii, 148. For his family see Roderick, A.J., *W. Hist. Rev.* iv (1968–9) 8–10.


\(^{48}\) PRS, n.s. v.xxiii.

\(^{49}\) The importance of these treasuries was first emphasised in J.E.A. Jolliffe’s seminal article on ‘The chamber and castle treasuries under King John’ in *Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke* (1948) and was further developed in his articles on ‘The Camera Regis under Henry II’ in *EHR* lxviii (1953), pp. 1, 337; his views are summarised in his *Angevin Kingship* (1955). His conclusions on the chamber have not won universal acceptance, cf. H.G. Richardson, ‘The chamber under Henry II in *EHR*, lxix (1954), p. 596, Richardson and Sayles, *Governance of Medieval England* (repr. 1974), but the existence of the castle-treasuries is generally recognised.
who were specifically named and removed from all office by Magna Carta. Under Henry III, the holders of the office of castellan continue to reflect the political interests of whoever was in control of the government. The castle retained some importance as a castle-treasury under John and Henry III, and again under the lord Edward who controlled it after 1254. It continued to house important visitors and prisoners throughout the century and to be used as a spring-board for Ireland. Under Henry III, it was apparently little used as a distributing centre for military expeditions to Wales, but under Edward I the town was increasingly subordinated to royal interests, with the result that its mercantile and maritime resources, no less than the castle’s military power, were of continuing value to the king during his wars and settlement in Wales.

The relations of Henry III and Edward I as lords of Bristol with successive earls of Gloucester tended to be uneasy. The earls do not seem to have established any one centre of administration for their Gloucester inheritance in the thirteenth century. Perhaps they still hoped to recover the castle and barton of Bristol for this purpose. For a time the government of Henry III’s minority apparently acquiesced in their claim to the barton, though this acquiescence was not maintained; the earls seemed satisfied however, with the settlement of an annual allowance at the national exchequer instead. The castle was another matter and the rival claims to it of the lord Edward and the earls of Gloucester intensified the other causes of disagreement between them in the period of baronial reform and rebellion and later. After the settlement of the national

50 Magna Carta, cl. 50. Viz. Gerard d’Athee and his kinsmen Engelard de Cigogne and Peter de Chanceaux (McKechnie, Magna Carta (1914), pp. 44–45). Cf. App. 2 p. 71 and nn. 51, 53. Savari de Mauleon was another of these Poitevin followers who was held in Bristol castle; he however escaped baronial censure App. 2, p. 80 and nn. 58, 59.
51 App. 2 p. 89, n. 92; also p. xxv.
52 Infra pp. 6, 17.
53 Infra, pp. xxvi–xxxiv.
54 Infra, p. 3.
56 E372/122/m28.
57 Infra, p. 42–46, and passim.
58 Ward, op. cit., p. 75; Altschul, p. 224.
59 Infra, p. liv.
60 The Clare claims in Bristol were perhaps already a cause of dissension with the lord Edward in 1254 (Powicke, Thirteenth Century, p. 519, n. 2; Altschul, p. 77; Ward, p. 77). For the relations of the lord Edward and Richard, earl of Gloucester in 1259–60 see Powicke, ibid. pp. 152, 173, n., Henry III and lord Edward, i. 397–8; Treherne, Baronial Plan, pp. 164, 193; Treherne and Sanders,
constitutional issues, this private struggle continued in the law-courts. Late in 1268 the earl formally claimed the castle and town from the lord Edward; it was agreed, however, that should the case go in his favour the earl would accept a 'reasonable exchange' elsewhere. It was first expected that the case would be heard before the justices in eyre but it finally came before the king and his council in October 1276, when the claim was dismissed on the grounds that seisin had been held by Henry II, by Richard, by John and by Henry III. It is ironical that, some twenty years later, houses in the castle, 'except in the tower', were assigned for the use of Earl Gilbert's children, the king's grand-children, and that Ralph de Monthermer, the next earl of Gloucester (*jure uxoris*), was imprisoned there for twelve days in July 1297. In the next reign Hugh Despenser the younger, husband of a Clare co-heiress, combined the castellanship of Bristol castle with aspirations in the marches. The connection between Bristol and the earldom was apparently not forgotten. However, Hugh Despenser the younger was never recognised as earl of Gloucester; a recent interesting article suggests his ambitions at Tewkesbury, though it is more persuasive perhaps architecturally than historically.

pp. 19, 177; also Altschul, *op. cit.* and Ward, *op. cit.* In 1263 Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, refused to do homage to Edward as heir according to one chronicler (Powicke, *Henry III and the lord Edward*, ii. 437, n.2). The two quarrelled openly in 1269–70, ostensibly about going on crusade (*ibid.*, 579–80). The story has been retold by Altschul (*op. cit.* chapters iii and iv). Gilbert of Clare may earlier have disputed Simon de Montfort's claims to Bristol castle (Giffard's Register, i. xvii; cf. *infra*, App. 1 p. 71, n. 2).


63 The case came before the justices in eyre at Bristol in April 1269 but the attorneys of the lord Edward did not appear and were given other chances (e.g. J. Itin. 1/275 m. 33, Apr.; m.46, late May, and again after Michaelmas, *ibid.* m.46).

64 *Pari Wris*, i. 6; cf. *Abbrev. Plac.* p. 191. The case is briefly reviewed in Altschul, p. 127. A formidable array of magnates, both lay and ecclesiastical were present on this occasion.

65 *CCR*, 1288–96, p. 471 (19 Jan. 1296). The four children of Joan of Acre and Gilbert de Clare were born between 1290 and 1296. Cf. the similar use of Windsor castle as a nursery (H. Johnstone in *Bull. J.R.L.* vii (1922–3), p. 387, but there the constable was also 'keeper' of the lord Henry (son of Edward I) and his companions.)


67 App. 2 p. 83.


In the legal tussle of 1268 onwards concerning the lordship of the castle and town of Bristol there is no mention of any court of the honour of Gloucester held there. 70 Some persistently recurring references suggest that at one time this must have existed and was later thought to continue to exist. 71 For example an unlocated 'court of knights and free tenants of the honour of Gloucester with those of Somerset who owe suit' appears in the extent of Earl Richard's lands in 1263, 72 as this court was concerned also with those owing suit from Somerset it might sometimes have been held in Bristol. In 1284 suit was due from a Wiltshire manor held from the earl of Gloucester by knight service to his court 'at Bristol, Tewkesbury or Fairford' at the will of the earl. 73 The 'foreign court of Bristol', worth £10, appears in 1376, 74 while there are several references in the late fifteenth century to the 'great court of the honour of Gloucester in Bristol' 75 called 'le erlescourt'; this was held monthly in the precinct of St. James. 76 There would seem however, to be no evidence of a court of honour in Bristol in the late thirteenth century.

The use of castles as storehouses for treasure continued during the reign of Henry III and selected castles became collection-centres for taxation. 77 Bristol was used as a collection-centre for the fortieth on moveables of 1233 from the south-western counties. 78 Again, in 1237 it was one of three centres in the country

70 Cf. Ward, op. cit. p. 77. A Bristol court is not discussed by Altschul, who is inclined to think, with great plausibility, that the latter court was held at Tewkesbury (op. cit., p. 224). It is suggested in Treharne and Sanders (p. 19, n. 2) that the court of the honour of Gloucester still met in Bristol in the mid-thirteenth century; cf. Sanders, p. 6, n. 4.

71 Cal Inquis, iii. 289 (1403); ibid. iv 391 (1478). See also infra, n. 75.

72 CCR, 1261–64, p. 284; CIPM, i. p. 156. Both this court and the barton of Bristol appear under the heading of Tewkesbury.

73 Wilts. inq. post mortem, 1242–1326 (Index Library xxxvii), p. 149. The suit was due every three weeks.


75 Two feudatories of this court appear in PRO, L. and J. v (E101/850/11 17–21 Edward IV) and ibid. xxxiv, part ii. 45 (7–8 Henry VII). It is mentioned in the inquisition post mortem of Henry Beauchamp, duke of Warwick, in 1446 (Cal. Inquisitio, iv. 228).

76 ibid., 391 (Inquisition post mortem of George, duke of Clarence 1478).

77 The machinery for the collection of Henry III's taxes is sketched in S.K. Mitchell's Taxation in Medieval England (1951), which illustrates the use of Bristol in connection with taxes on moveables. The character of tallage, on the other hand, made the use of a collection-centre inappropriate (cf. e.g. ibid. p. 323, and chapter 7 passim). For Bristol tallage see infra, p. 00.

78 CCR, 1231–34, p. 300 (Feb); cf. p. 420 (1234). In Nov. 1233 the constable
for the collection of the thirtieth.\textsuperscript{79} As large a sum as £1,638 was to be delivered by the ‘keeper of the king’s treasure at Bristol’ to the sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1242.\textsuperscript{80} Treasure on its way from Ireland was also on occasion housed in the castle;\textsuperscript{81} it may indeed have been convenience that dictated that, once at least, the same man was constable of Bristol castle and justiciar of Ireland.\textsuperscript{82} It is hardly surprising then, that on becoming both lord of Bristol castle and lord of Ireland in 1254, the lord Edward continued to use Bristol as a financial centre.

In 1254 and 1255 the lord Edward had an exchequer in Bristol castle and also two officials usually known as receivers of the exchequer, whom he authorised to make specific disbursements and to whom payments were made: he then had a supreme steward in England and Wales who acted in collaboration with these receivers;\textsuperscript{83} there was also at times a ‘treasurer at Bristol’,\textsuperscript{84} before whom audits took place in the exchequer there.\textsuperscript{85} Bristol remained a place of safe-custody for valuables,\textsuperscript{86} and the

was authorised, under direction, to use moneys from the fortieth on repairs to the castle and of ships and boats (\textit{ibid.} p. 331).

\textsuperscript{79} \textit{CCR, 1237–42}, p. 15 (from the south-western counties), pp. 116–17 (from Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Hampshire and Herefordshire). Cf. Mitchell, p. 43. In March 1238 the constable of Bristol was told what to do with the money (\textit{ibid.} p. 52). The expenses of the two collectors and the cost of carts etc. to carry the money to the New Temple in London are recorded under Gloucestershire in the pipe roll (E372/82).


\textsuperscript{81} In 1232 William Putot had in his custody at Bristol 1200 marks from Ireland, which he was to take safely to Gloucester (\textit{CCR, 1231–34}, p. 82; cf. \textit{ibid.} p. 42). £551 from Ireland was kept in the castle in 1236 (\textit{CCR, 1234–37}, pp. 287, 365).

\textsuperscript{82} John, son of Geoffrey, held both offices between 1245 and 1254 (App. 2 p. 81).

\textsuperscript{83} Information about these officials is largely derived from the rolls of letters patent of the lord Edward: that for 1254 is discussed by Jean-Paul Cussac in Brunel . . . \textit{Recueil ii}. 599 (1955): that for 1255 is printed in the supplement (ed. C. Bemont, 1896) to \textit{Roles Gascons} i. (ed. F. Michel and C. Bemont, 1885). These were all letters sent from Gascony in 1254–55. The lord Edward had, of course, other financial departments, in Cheshire, in Ireland, and in Gascony; moreover his wardrobe had a financial side. What is known of his administrative arrangements is surveyed in Denholm-Young’s \textit{Seignorial Administration}. There is also an unpublished Leeds Ph.D. thesis by J.R. Studd ‘A Catalogue of the Acts of the lord Edward, 1254–72’ (1971).

\textsuperscript{84} E.g. 19 Feb. 1255 (\textit{CCR, 1254–56}, p. 43).

\textsuperscript{85} Accounts of the lordships of Abergavenny, Grosmont, Skenfrith and Whitecastle, so audited, in 1256–57, have been printed and translated by the South Wales and Monmouth Record Society (ed. A.J. Roderick and W. Rees) Nos. 2 (1950), 3 (1954), and 4 (1957).

\textsuperscript{86} Amongst the valuables housed in Bristol for the lord Edward during the
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

The exchequer continued to function, but its financial importance may well have fluctuated during the absence or presence of the lord Edward in England.\(^{87}\)

**ii THE CASTLE AS A PRISON**

Castles were often used as prisons, for where else could custody be so secure? Some castles housed the county-gaol, but in other royal castles state-prisoners were kept, in the main, rather than common suspects.\(^{88}\) Prisoners varied of course in social standing and their treatment varied in proportion. It was one of the west country castles where Robert Duke of Normandy was confined, and King Stephen was imprisoned there in 1141.\(^{89}\) Henry III’s kinswoman, Eleanor of Brittany – sister of the deceased Arthur – and a potential claimant to Brittany and even to the English throne, whose freedom and whose marriage might have threatened the king, was a political prisoner of consequence who was housed in honourable captivity in Bristol castle for some dozen years.\(^{90}\) Her safe-custody resulted in additional responsibility and wages for the keeper of the castle\(^{91}\) in the employment of additional staff and in some supervision of the keeper’s activities.\(^{92}\) Some of her expenses were met by the constable,

Baronial wars were some charters belonging to the Jews of Worcester (CCR, I264–68, p. 83 1264).

\(^{87}\) Officials of the exchequer 1271–72, after the lord Edward’s departure on Crusades, included receivers of the exchequer and a keeper of the rolls of the exchequer, who also acted as an itinerant auditor.

\(^{88}\) Cf. R.B. Pugh, ‘The king’s prisons before 1250’ (TRHS, 5th ser. v (1955)) and his Imprisonment in Medieval England (1968), especially ch. 4.

\(^{89}\) A.L. Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta p. 121 n.1. See also supra p. xx.

\(^{90}\) Perhaps Eleanor’s rooms were in the keep (King’s Works, ii, 578). For her history see infra p. xxvii–xxix. For the party in Brittany who supported her claim to the duchy, see S. Painter, Scourge of the Clergy pp. 6 & 12.

\(^{91}\) App. 2 p. 81 under William Putot. The relative and overlapping responsibilities of Williton as constable of the castle and Putot as keeper of the castle and of the county need to be disentangled. Putot was granted prise of beer in Bristol, estimated at 100s. a year, as a reward for Eleanor’s custody (1229–32) (E372/76 m14).

\(^{92}\) Certain persons would seem to have been assigned to Eleanor as keepers and to have remained with her wherever she was; these worked under the supervision of a castellan or of the sheriff. After Eleanor came to Bristol six named persons were to be intendant to Williton (Oct. 1224, App. 2 p.88,n. 77): of these three had been with her at Gloucester and one at Marlborough. Further names...
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others by the sheriff of the county or by the burgesses of Bristol. Expenditure on spices and wine; medicine; furred coverlets, a mattress, a silken quilt; fine linen cloth, a red tunic, a supertunic, cloak and cape, also furred, in celebration of Whitsuntide, and gifts for her larder from the copes of Keynsham and the forest of Dean - such things denote her status. Regular payments were made for her alms, the 20 marks of 1227–28 became 25 marks by 1229 and later. Apart from specific payments authorised by the king's writ, receipts towards the expenses of Eleanor and her household in the castle amounted in 1224–25, and in 1227–28 to £130. At first, her household in the castle included one damsel, a chaplain and two clerks: later there were two damsels and two knights, who assisted in guarding her. Issues might be made of green cloth trimmed with rabbit for the damsels and of red cloth for the knights. Thus a modest degree of state was maintained; though security was important some amelioration was permissible.

Eleanor's history is obscure. She is said to have been imprisoned at Corfe by about 1204, when she must have been imprisoned at Corfe by about 1204, when she must have been

occur in May 1227, when one keeper, two horses, two squires and one groom are assigned to her custody and again in November. Supervision of Wilton is shown in 1224 when the bailiffs of Bristol and four responsible citizens were ordered to visit the castle once or twice weekly to assure themselves as to Eleanor's safety and to hear Wilton's account at the end of each week. Wilton was to have one copy (rotulam) of the accounts and the four citizens one copy. (Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 649 6 (9 Oct) and again in 1225 when the bishop of Bath (Jocelin of Wells), Roger Allard, and four or six other citizens were told to audit such accounts (Rot. Lit. Cl. ii. 71, March); cf. the weekly visits of townsmen to consider the deterioration of castle wines (ibid. 9b, (1244)). Robert, clerk of the castle, was to keep a key of Eleanor's chamber, pending the arrival of a chaplain or his substitute (ibid. 199, (1227)). The supervision of 1224–5 was presumably connected with the national re-distribution of castles in the spring of 1224 (Powicke, Henry III, i. 60).


95 E372/72 m13d.; cf. 1225 (Rot. Lit. Cl. ii. 71).

96 For 1229 C.Lib.R. i. 136; for 1231–32, E372/76 m14d; for 1233 C.Lib.R.i.

213 etc.

97 The sum paid to Wilton by the burgesses, infra, p. 6.

98 From 25 Sept. 1227 to 30 Sept. 1228 (E372/72 m13d).

99 In Gloucester her expenses were higher, at the rate of 10s. a day (Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 538).


101 Eleanor does not appear in the DNB except indirectly under Arthur; for her position see Powicke, Henry III, i. 177 n.1, and Loss of Normandy (2nd edn.), p. 256.

102 Powicke, Loss of Normandy (2nd ed.), p. 258.
about twenty years old; she is also said to have been in Bristol castle for about forty years after c. 1202. However, she was with the queen and the hostage-daughters of the king of Scotland sometime in 1204–5 and went to Aquitaine and Poitou with King John before the battle of Bouvines (1214). Under Henry III increasing documentation gives us a clearer picture: she was at Corfe on 4 June 1221, and had probably been there since 1216. She was in Gloucester from 31 July 1222 till 20 July 1223, and in Marlborough on 20 Aug., 9 Oct. and on 13 Jan. 1224. She appears in Bristol by June 1224 if not earlier and apparently remained there continuously till 1234 when she was moved back to Gloucester, in the custody of the sheriff of Gloucestershire. Sometime in the financial year 1238–39 she returned to Bristol, though she remained in the custody of the sheriff. Thus in Henry III’s reign she stayed longest at Bristol, and it was there that she died in Aug. 1241. At the king’s order, her funeral was marked by fitting state. She was buried at the priory church of St. James, Bristol, in the presence of a distin-

103 A.L. Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, p. 382.
106 Together with Isabella, the Scottish princess (*CPR*, 1216–25, p. 321).
107 The implication of this reference in 1221, (cf. *Rot. Lit. Cl.*, i. 466b) seems to be that both Eleanor and Isabella had been at Corfe since Louis of France’s invasion under King John. By the summer of 1216 Eleanor’s custodian was Peter de Maulay (*ibid.*) a favourite of John’s who was made constable of Corfe castle in Nov. 1215 (Painter, p. 359) and was sheriff of Dorset and Somerset from 1216–21 (*PRO L and I.*, ix). In July and Aug. 1216 the king sought refuge at Corfe (A.L. Poole, p. 484). Maulay was also custodian of the king’s six-year-old son Richard (N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 3).
108 *Rot. Lit. Cl.*, i. 538, 556.
112 *Ibid.* 604. John Little (Parvus, Petit) was told to hand over Marlborough castle, of which he was keeper, on 2 Mar. 1224 and was delivered the joint custody of Bristol castle on 13 March. It seems likely that Eleanor’s habitation was changed at the same time. Some of her expenses (undated) are included in an account dated 13 March. 1224 to March 1225 (*infra*, p. 5; also cf. *infra*, p. 8).
113 She was still at Bristol on May 6 1234 (*CCR*, 1231–34, p. 418); possibly on 31 July, though the reference is inconclusive (*ibid.*, p. 488). On May 15 a lady was given leave to visit Eleanor at Gloucester (*CCR*, 1234–37, p. 91). There seem to have been quarrels with the constable, William Talbot, and his wife (*CCR*, 1231–34, p. 418, *ibid* 1234–37, p. 342).
114 E372/83 (Gloucestershire Account).
115 App. 2 p. 89, nn. 87, 88.
guished company, including the abbots of St. Augustine's and of Keysnesham, the priors of Bath and of St. James', Bristol, of William Putot, of the mayor of Bristol and other good men of the town.\textsuperscript{116} Brother Richard, the king's almoner, was responsible for the arrangements and he got the town bailiffs to provide tapers, lights and alms which cost the town over £20.\textsuperscript{117} The obsequies were to be observed 'with all possible solemnity and honour'.\textsuperscript{118} Subsequently her body was moved to Amesbury.\textsuperscript{119} In 1250 the king started to pay a chaplain 'to celebrate divine service all the days of his life' in the chapel of the king's tower of Bristol, for the soul of Eleanor the king's kinswoman.\textsuperscript{120} Thus was her memory kept alive in her one-time prison.

Few prisoners of the thirteenth century stayed in the castle for as long as Eleanor of Brittany, but others came and went. William Marsh (de Marisco), the pirate of Lundy Island, with some of his more important associates, was kept in the castle for a few days in 1241 en route for the Tower and his execution. The merchants of Bristol had suffered from the pirates and were implicated in their detention.\textsuperscript{121} Similarly, late in 1275, four Bristol ships captured Amauri (Almeric) de Montfort, fourth son of Simon, late earl of Leicester, with his sister Eleanor, in the Bristol Channel, and Bristol sailors were rewarded for the capture. Amauri and Eleanor, with the knights, a chaplain, a clerk and some others were imprisoned in the castle.\textsuperscript{122} After

\textsuperscript{116} CPR, 1232–47, p. 556. The story that Eleanor was a nun of St. James' seems to be groundless (VCH, Wilts, iii. 245).

\textsuperscript{117} C. Lib. R. ii. 68, 69.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid. 68.

\textsuperscript{119} In conformity with the terms of Eleanor's will (CPR, 1232–47, p. 261).

\textsuperscript{120} C. Lib. R. iii. 300–301. Cf. E372/101m 19d, payment in 1256–57 for 3 years to this chaplain. The evidence as to whether this chaplain was the anchorite within the castle is not conclusive (R.M. Clay, Hermits and Anchorites of England (1914), p. 78). An anchorite had been established in the castle since 1224–25, if not earlier.

\textsuperscript{121} The whole story is told in Powicke, Henry III, ii in an appendix on 'The murder of Henry Clement and its consequences'; cf his account in History, xxv (1941), 285–310, of 'The murder of Henry Clement and the pirates in Lundy Island'. Marsh and his accomplices were, with the help of the burgesses, to be kept in 'the safest and strongest place in the keep' CCR, 1237–42 p. 445.

\textsuperscript{122} The best account of the capture is still to be found in Kate Norgate's notice of Eleanor in DNB. The story has recently been retold in Labarge, Simon de Montfort, p. 272; the account E372/121/m21 adds some details. Amauri and Eleanor were in Bristol castle from 21 to 28 Jan. 1276; two knights captured with them were there from 25 Jan. to 26 Feb. and were guarded by two serjeants-at-arms and others. A William Spissi, at a wage of 12d. a day, and a Garcio de la Marche, at a wage of 7½d. a day, were paid for guarding prisoners in the castle from 1 Jan. to 1 July 1276. At the time of her capture Eleanor had already been married by proxy to Llewelyn ap Gruffydd (Littere Wallie, pp. lvii.lxi).
eight days Eleanor was taken to Windsor, and the chaplain and clerk to Beaulieu;123 Amauri himself went to Corfe.124 Fetters and gyves were bought for these prisoners in Bristol castle.125 A William Dulay (or del lay) was amongst Amauri's captured followers and he remained in Bristol castle for some three years.126

Little seems to be known of John of Windsor, kept in the castle sometime about 1284–85, before being escorted to Corfe.127 But later no less a person than Ralph de Monthermer, second husband of Edward I's daughter Joan, was kept in the castle for twelve days before being escorted, at his own expense, to the king at Eltham, where he was pardoned.128 More long lasting and more tragic was the fate of the young Welsh princes, Llewelyn and Owen, sons of David ap Gruffydd, who were brought to Bristol under heavy guard some two months before their father's execution;129 at the time both must have been less than five years old, and they remained there for life. Llewelyn died on 12 March 1287,130 and was buried, at small expense, in the Dominican church in Bristol.131 Plans for Owen's escape were thought to exist about 1305, when a wooden cage, bound with iron, was provided to keep him in safety at night.132 He was still alive in the castle in 1325.133 Sixpence a day was allowed for the maintenance of the two Welsh princes, together with an annual grant for robes, linen-cloth, shoes and other necessities.134 At first five grooms were paid to guard them,135 and later three squires;136 when Owen was alone two squires were enough.137

There were also other notable Welsh prisoners in Bristol, as

123 E372/121/m21.
124 DNB.
125 E372/121/m21
126 Dulay's expenses, at the rate of 1½d. a day were paid from 6 May to Mich. 1277 (E372/121/m21), from Mich. 1277 to Mich. 1278 (E372/122/m28) and from Mich. 1278 to 20 July 1279 (E372/124/m24).
127 E372/133/m28.
128 Supra, p. xxiii, infra, p. 64.
129 Infra, p. 17.
130 E372/134/m1.
131 In contrast to the expenditure on the funeral of Eleanor of Brittany (supra, p. xxviii). The constable's accounts add a little to the description of the Welsh princes given in the Dictionary of Welsh Biography under Dafydd ap Gruffydd.
132 E372/152B/m20; cf. King's Works, ii. 580.
133 CCR, 1323–27, p. 400, an order to Hugh le Despenser the younger, constable of Bristol castle, to pay to Owen the arrears of wages and stipends due to him and his keepers, from the farm of the castle (20 Aug. 1325).
134 E.g. infra, p. 17.
135 Ibid.
136 E372/134/m1.
137 E.g. infra, p. 26.
for example Rhys and Gruffydd, brothers of Maelgwyn, the rebel leader of 1294, and Rhys ap Rhys ap Maredudd, son of the rebel of 1287. These three were in Bristol for two months from Jan. 1297, before being sent on to longer imprisonment in Norwich.\textsuperscript{138} Besides state-prisoners and prisoners of war, many English castles temporarily housed Welsh hostages after the disturbances of 1295–96.\textsuperscript{139} Bristol had its share of hostages, some of whom were merely in transit to other west-country castles; some came from Anglesey and were received from the constable of Gloucester castle,\textsuperscript{140} and some eighty came from South Wales on 1 Oct. 1295; of these, thirty were sent on on 18 Oct. to the sheriff of Dorset and fifty on 24 Oct. to the sheriff of Wiltshire.\textsuperscript{141} These temporary hostages may not have been treated with particular formality, but the arrangements for their safe-custody by guards of crossbowmen and archers and for their escorts of horsemen and footmen must have meant much work for officials in all the castles.\textsuperscript{142}

No doubt geographical position made Bristol castle a convenient prison for victims of the Welsh wars. But Edward I’s military activities in Scotland had similar repercussions; after the battle of Dunbar (1296) Scots prisoners were widely distributed throughout the castles of the midlands and of southern England.\textsuperscript{143} Bristol castle housed two knights, Richard Siward junior and Alexander Comyn, for whom bars and locks had to be provided, and also four squires in humbler accommodation ‘under the great gate of the castle’;\textsuperscript{144} they were paid ‘wages’ of 4d. and 3d. a day respectively for 120 days in the summer of 1296,\textsuperscript{145} and two squires were paid to guard them.\textsuperscript{146} In Aug. 1297 Comyn was freed and next month one of the squires,\textsuperscript{147} but Siward remained till Apr. 1299, when he was escorted to Banstead.\textsuperscript{148} Two of the squires died in prison\textsuperscript{149} and the last was handed over for ransom

\textsuperscript{138} Infra, p. 63 and especially n. 153.
\textsuperscript{139} See Introduction to N. Fryde, \textit{List of Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls}, 1282–1343, pp. xvi and xvii.
\textsuperscript{140} Infra, p. 43 and n. 154 for six named hostages from Anglesey who were in Bristol castle from 5 May 1295 till 28 Aug. 1297; twelve others (unnamed) stayed one day, en route for Devizes (Infra p. 43).
\textsuperscript{141} p. 44.
\textsuperscript{142} E.g. p. 44.
\textsuperscript{144} Infra, p. 44 where the squires are named.
\textsuperscript{145} p. 45. n. 167.
\textsuperscript{146} p. 45.
\textsuperscript{147} p. 62.
\textsuperscript{148} p. 63.
\textsuperscript{149} On 14 Sept. 1299 and 29 June 1301, \textit{infra}, pp. 62, 66.
 to one of the king’s followers in 1302. Thomas Lillok of Peebleshire, captured at Stirling castle in 1304, was also imprisoned at Bristol; and stayed there over four years.

Bristol castle, then, played a prominent, but not unusual, part in the housing of state prisoners of war, and of hostages. It is comparable with those other west-country castle-prisons with which it was sometimes associated—places like Gloucester, Devizes, Marlborough and especially Corfe. The military victims of Edward I’s Welsh and Scottish wars, including the hostages, were often given allowances or ‘wages’ (vadia) which are duly recorded in the constables’ accounts. From these sums they presumably paid for their food by private arrangement with the constable or his deputy, and of such bargains there would naturally be no record in the accounts, for they did not concern the king. It is likely that officials drove a hard bargain and abuses seem inevitable. Earlier in the reign of Edward I ‘expenses’ of prisoners were paid and these were probably intended to cover their food. Sometimes an allowance was specifically made for a prisoner’s support (pro sustentatione) and this became regular practice in the case of the little Welsh princes, where a distinction was always drawn between the allowance for sustenance (pro potura) and the allowance for clothes. Similarly an allowance was made for Ralph de Monthermer. Prisoners everywhere were liable to die in prison and the deaths in Bristol do not necessarily suggest exceptionally severe treatment, according to the standards of the age. The

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150 p. 66.
151 E372/152B/m20.
152 Ibid.
153 E.g. Infra, pp. 43, 62.
154 The constables of Edward I’s reign that the constable spent money on feeding them. But cf. CCR 1272–79, p. 277.
155 E372/121/m21; E372/122/m28; E372/124/m24. Cf. Speculum xviii (1943), p. 246 (an article by Margery Bassett on Newgate prison in the middle ages). There is no evidence in thirteenth century Bristol of the mid-fourteenth century arrangements at both Gloucester and Bristol by which a French prisoner of war might have enone of his own men in the town to bring his food at his own cost to the castle-gate (CCR, 1360–65, p. 15).
156 As in the case of Thomas Lillok (E372/152B/20).
157 Infra, p. 17. Towards the end of his captivity, Owen, too, was paid ‘wages’ of 2d. a day; e.g. from 1 Oct. 1320 to 6 June 1321, and from 23 May 1322 to 15 Apr. 1324 (E372/167, under Resid’Gloc.).
158 Infra, p. 64.
159 Few deaths of castle prisoners are recorded, or must be presumed; those of
Bristol evidence, such as it is, supports the view that prisoners were kept alive in a variety of ways, differing according to their status, their circumstances, and the period.\textsuperscript{160}

Apart from payments for maintenance, or the actual cost of maintenance, the constables were, of course, responsible for the security of their prisoners, and, in the case of prisoners of moment, this involved the preparation of special rooms or houses,\textsuperscript{161} the purchase of locks, bars and irons,\textsuperscript{162} and the provision of special guards beyond the normal castle staff,\textsuperscript{163} and of special escorts.\textsuperscript{164} A prisoner’s status can be determined not only by the size of the allowance made for him but also by the type of accommodation allotted to him – of which we get only an occasional glimpse.\textsuperscript{165} There is an ominous silence about the provision of accommodation and food for prisoners of less social consequence. As elsewhere, suspect felons and other lesser victims of the law no doubt had to provide their own food\textsuperscript{166} and thus their detention would leave little trace on the constables’ accounts. Yet we know that such persons might be detained there. For example, the accused in a case of novel disseisin was kept in the castle-prison,\textsuperscript{167} several were there for forest offences in Kingswood,\textsuperscript{168} also for debts arising from the statute of Acton Burnell.\textsuperscript{169} One prisoner escaped but was caught and beheaded;\textsuperscript{170} another succeeded in eluding the constable and abjured the

Eleanor of Brittany and of Owen of Wales were after long periods of imprisonment and Llewelyn of Wales was a young child; the circumstances of Andrew Moray’s death are not known. There were no doubt deaths of other men of lesser standing. Geoffrey of Norwich in the early thirteenth century died either at Bristol or at Nottingham after ‘a long and severe confinement’ (S. Painter, \textit{Feudalism and Liberty}, ed. F. Cazel, 1961, p. 187) and severity is also alleged towards King Stephen (\textit{supra}, p. xx) But there is little convincing evidence of any exceptional brutality.

\textsuperscript{160} Cf. Pugh, p. 315.
\textsuperscript{161} Cf. Pugh, pp. 347–48 for rooms and houses. At Bristol, Owen of Wales was confined ‘in a certain house in the castle’ but this was regarded as ‘in the prison of the castle’ (E372/152B/20).
\textsuperscript{162} See Index.
\textsuperscript{163} Cf. Pugh, p. 162; \textit{supra}, p. xxvi. n. 92.
\textsuperscript{164} There seems to be no equivalent in Bristol to the custom of Corfe, whose men were required to assist the constable of Corfe by the provision of escorts for prisoners (1381; Pugh, p. 163). Gaolers, escorts and irons are all discussed in Professor Pugh’s book.
\textsuperscript{165} E.g. \textit{supra}, p. xxxi.
\textsuperscript{166} Cf. Pugh, pp. 316–19.
\textsuperscript{167} Chadwick-Healey, SRS, xi. 82 (1225).
\textsuperscript{169} PRO Just. Itin 1/276 m14d.
\textsuperscript{170} William de Lacy: Fuller, BGAS, xxii. No. 43.
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realm,\textsuperscript{171} while others also escaped;\textsuperscript{172} another was taken from the castle to Newgate in London on the king’s order.\textsuperscript{173} Sometimes there is ambiguity about prisoners known to have been in ‘the king’s prison in Bristol’,\textsuperscript{174} or sometimes in ‘Bristol prison’; these may refer to the town prison.\textsuperscript{175} Sometimes the constable of the castle and the town bailiffs were jointly involved in cases of felony in the town.\textsuperscript{176} On the whole, however, the constables’ accounts are not informative about common subjects in the castle.

The state prisoners of the thirteenth century in the castle of Bristol are reminiscent of the Norman and Angevin period but they also point forward to the fourteenth century, when Hugh Despenser the elder was captured there, tried, and promptly put to death, while his son, Hugh Despenser the younger, and first life-custodian of the castle, was yet powerless to save him.\textsuperscript{177} Moreover, according to one possible, if improbable, story, Edward II himself may have come to Bristol during a brief escape from Berkeley castle,\textsuperscript{178} but the last months of Edward’s life are still shrouded in mystery.\textsuperscript{179} However that may be, Bristol castle also certainly played a dramatic part in the overthrow and death of Richard II’s three favourites, Wiltshire, Bussy and Green, at the end of the century.\textsuperscript{180}

\textbf{iii \ THE GARRISON OF THE CASTLE}

Little is known of the size of the garrison at Bristol, whether in peace-time or at war, or of how it was recruited. Any feudal obligations for castle-guard to the early lords of the castle have left little direct trace; though it is clear that William, earl of Gloucester, did have arrangements in some places for garrison

\textsuperscript{171} Watson, no. 26.
\textsuperscript{172} CPR, 1354–58, pp. 364, 465.
\textsuperscript{173} Thomas Pope, concerned in a trespass against some Jews appears in 1291–92 (E372/136/m25).
\textsuperscript{174} CCR, 1242–47, p. 483; \textit{ibid.} 1247–51, pp. 70, 247, 290. Cf. Giffard’s Register, p. 278; Roles Gascons, iii, Index. The varying meanings of the term ‘king’s prison’ are discussed in Pugh, pp. 87–88.
\textsuperscript{175} Fuller, \textit{BGAS}, xxii. No. 26.
\textsuperscript{176} \textit{ibid.}, Nos. 26, 43, 46. Cf. infringements of the Statute of Acton Burnell. J. Itin. 1/276 m14d.
\textsuperscript{177} App. 2 p. 92, n. 141.
\textsuperscript{178} Sharp, \textit{BGAS}, xciii, 10 and 13.
\textsuperscript{179} Cf. McKisack, pp. 86–87, 94–95.
\textsuperscript{180} \textit{ibid.}, p. 492.
duty, and might grant exemptions from such services. Vestiges of an obligation to help the lords of Bristol castle by money payments towards provisioning and repairs survive in accounts for Earl William’s day and rather later from Dorset and Somerset, from Hampshire and from Gloucestershire. A contribution to the wages of knights and serjeants was received once. By the time of Henry III however, ‘the household of the castle’ was a substantial entity; the surviving accounts of its domestic expenditure show how it was fed but reveal little of its military aspect, though an ambiguous reference mentions ten serjeants and a clerk. Soon there were four knights, three serjeants, and thirteen squires (armigeri); also the castle clerk, seven watchmen, four door-keepers (portarii) together with domestic staff of store-keeper or steward (dispensarius), two bakers, one gardener, one cook, two serjeant-carters, one laundress, one recluse, two ale-bearers, one purveyor of fodder (prebendarius), seventeen grooms (garciones) and twenty-five horses. But this staff had surely been strengthened and increased to provide fitting state and security for Eleanor of Brittany. Normal garrison numbers were usually small, and at Bristol only the constable himself, the janitor, two watchmen, who apparently might work both night and day, and the keeper of Lawford’s gate received regular wages duly recorded in the constable’s accounts of Edward I’s reign. A steward appears once and crossbowmen intermittently. Obviously other men

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181 Patterson, no. 19 and n. The garrison duty here was probably due at Cardiff. Ibid. no. 97 shows that the castle-guard was computed by Earl William on the basis of 40 days service for each 100 acres held; such service to be ‘in one of my castles’. The article on castle-guard by Sidney Painter, reprinted in Feudalism and Liberty, does not mention Bristol as amongst the forty-two English castles where there is clear evidence of castle-guard.

182 Patterson, no. 30. This also perhaps refers to services at Cardiff. Cf. the exemptions granted in Glamorgan by the countess Isabel, c. 1216–17 (ibid. nos. 142–146) which, however, excepted payments of ward-penny.

183 Cf. App. 1 infra, p. 73, n. 9.

184 PRS, 108, 139, also PRS, n.s. ii, 93, 285 (1191–92), during the temporary administration of King Richard’s officials (App. 1 infra, p. 70).

185 PRS, n.s. ii, 98 (1191).

186 E101/349/4.

187 Infra, p. 6.

188 Supra, p. xxvi, n. 92 and p. xxvii.


190 E.g. E372/121/m21 and infra p. 18 (and most accounts thereafter).

191 Not appearing till 1293. (Cf. infra, p. 67).

192 Infra, p. 41, steward’s room Did he perhaps perform the same duties as the earlier dispensarius?

193 A good deal of information about military aspects of the castle in the
must have also been used in the normal way, and also on occasion to meet special circumstances, but we do not know how they were recruited and little as to whether or how they were paid.  

D. The Barton

i. THE HAMLETS OF THE BARTON

The area which was beginning to be known by the thirteenth century as the king's barton included the three neighbouring hamlets, vills or townships of Mangotsfield, Stapleton, and Easton. The first of these had pertained to the barton, which was king's land in 1086, and it has been assumed, perhaps from knowledge of later centuries, that the other two were also included at that time in the 'royal manor'. In the thirteenth century these vills were perhaps just small clusters of houses on land cleared amongst the scrub, wastes, pastures and woods of the forest of Kingswood. Little is known of their early history, and their long-lasting connection with the barton and with the castle is not always recognised. There were various important local exceptional circumstances of Hugh Despenser's castellanship survives; e.g. the weekly wages paid 2 squires, 4 cross-bowmen, 38 foot-soldiers (named), 15 Welshmen (unnamed), with their 3_grooms, in the spring of 1321 (E101/15/35).

In the spring of 1276 a king's crossbowman was paid for 80 days at the high rate of 1s. a day (E372/121/m21). Contrast the 2d. a day paid an itinerant crossbowman in W. Wales in 1303–4 (Rhys, p. 323), where a master crossbowman in 1287–89 had 6d. a day (ibid. p. 456). The crossbowmen of Hugh Despenser later had 4d. a day (n. 177). Crossbowmen and their captains in transit to Wales might also be housed in Bristol castle and were paid 4d. and 6d. a day respectively (E372/133/m28). For the position of crossbowmen as skilled workmen, see Morris, Welsh Wars, p. 88–90.

Various historians, such as W.G. Hoskins, H.P.R. Finberg and R.H. Hilton have discussed the meaning of the word 'Barton'. The references are to be found in the bibliography.

Variously called _hameletti_, _villate_, or _vill_ in the enrolled accounts: the rolls of particulars usually refer to vills.

Then four miles to the north east of Bristol.

Then two miles to the north of Bristol.

Then three miles to the east of Bristol. It was to be known as St. George in the seventeenth century. For these three vills see also Atkyns, pp. 219, 286, and 361; also A.H. Smith, Gloucs. _Place Names_ iii. 100.

_Domesday Book_ i. 163. The wording hardly warrants this assumption. The earliest of the accounts (from which these now published are drawn) which confirms that at that time all three hamlets pertained to the barton is that for 1275.

In the thirteenth century these vills were not yet parishes, though there was a chapel at Mangotsfield by about 1231. William Putot, who held at least a part of Mangotsfield by gift of the Blounts, was given a licence to found a chantry
interests, such as the Blounts in Mangotsfield, and the Priory of St. James’ Bristol in Stapleton – these must not be forgotten, but to disregard the king’s demesnes in these vills, as the existing histories of Mangotsfield and Stapleton tend to do, is to leave their story out of focus. Despite their importance however, the king’s demesnes in the barton do not seem to have been very large. Detailed figures only survive for seven years at the turn of the thirteenth century, but at that time the arable varied from some eighty-odd acres sown in 1297 and 1299, to a maximum of one hundred and twenty seven and a half acres in 1300–01. To this must be added an unspecified acreage of fallow, and sixty eight and a half acres of meadow, mentioned in within the chapel there; it was under the aegis of St. Peter’s Bristol, as the Tewkesbury annalist makes clear (Ann. Mon. i. 81). A.E. Jones, Our Parish, pp. 30–33 dates the licence 1222–28, which is rather too early; the Tewkesbury annalist dates it 6 Dec. 1231 (op. & loc. cit.). Master Stephen de Torneburie (Thornbury) and David, then dean of Bristol are associated with Peter abbot of Tewkesbury (1216–1232) in the notification of the grant (Dugdale, Monasticon, ii. 79). For these three men see Emden, Register, iii; Barrett, p. 518; and V.C.H. Glos. ii. 65). Putot’s lands in Mangotsfield were confirmed, but not clearly defined, in 1230 (C. Ch. R. i. 117). In 1231 he paid 20s. yearly to the constable of Bristol from his land in Mangotsfield as ‘jaresive’ (ibid. 130) (Cf. CCR, 1227–31, p. 482); he held a fishpond there (ibid. 480). David Blount held 42 a. of pasture, 147 a. of underwood, and a half a fishpond in Mangotsfield in 1293 (Gl. Inq. iv. 163). His inquisition post mortem in 1323 describes his then possessions as being held ‘at Manegodesfilde within the barton of the castle of Bristol of the honour of Gloucester of the pourparty of the lady of Audeleye’, although held for a time by Hugh Despenser the younger (Gl. Inq. v. 184): however much the husbands of the co-heiresses of the Earl Gilbert of Gloucester who died in 1314 may have disputed in detail, the connection of Mangotsfield with Bristol castle is here clearly recognised. David Blount appears amongst the free tenants of Mangotsfield in the custumal of 1296–97 (SC6/851/5 m7), but there is no reference to the Prior of St. James’ amongst the tenants of Stapleton (ibid. m6).

The relations of St. James’ Priory with both Stapleton and Redland require elucidation.

For example, the elaborate and valuable MS. history of Stapleton, by L.H. Dahl (in Bristol Public Library) says nothing of its royal connections after the Norman period, but assumes that it was in the possession of the Prior and monks of St. James, till the dissolution. Atkyns, however, was well aware that Easton was a considerable part of the demeane (sic) lands reserved for the use of the castle”. But he regarded the name Easton as quite recent: “This place has now obtained the name of Easton, which heretofore was generally called Barton” (op. cit. p. 220).

Seven years, from 1296–1303. (1296–1300: SC6/851/6 m9d; ibid. m7d; ibid. m4d; ibid. m1d.; 1300–1301: SC6/851/7; 1301–02: SC6/851/9; and 1302–03: SC6/851/8m5d.

E372/145/m. 25, (years 25 and 27).

This largest area is much smaller than the four fields, each containing 50 acres, reported in 1402 (Gl. Inq. vi. 230).
1296–97 and regularly mown thereafter, producing enough hay to 'sustain (the king's) oxen'. At this time, there were also eight free tenancies in Stapleton, six in Mangotsfield, and eight in Easton, which owed rents and services to the king: there were rather more actual tenants, for some holdings were shared. Most of these free tenants did suit to the hundred court of the barton. None of them held more than one carucate of land; there were three such holdings in Stapleton, and one in Mangotsfield: the area of the more important holdings in Easton is not recorded. Free-tenants' holdings in Stapleton might be as small as a quarter virgate, as a messuage and six acres, or as a mill and two acres of meadow; in Mangotsfield as a quarter virgate or as a single tenement; in Easton as a 'certain close'. Fifteen of the twenty-two free tenancies paid assessed rents; of these two rents were paid in kind; also, fewer rents were paid in Stapleton than in Mangotsfield and Easton. Moreover, three free-tenants in Stapleton but only one each in Mangotsfield and in Easton are described as having tenants of their own: these sub-tenants were 'at lot and scot', and were contributors to the 'new gift', which appears by 1275–76. There is one example of tenure by serjeancy: John of Oldbury, tenant in Stapleton, had the duty in 1296–97 of carrying the king's letters from the castle of Bristol when need should arise, at his own costs for one day and at the king's costs if the journey took longer. There may have been

208 E372/145/m7 (year 25). Contrast the 61 acres, 3 roods, 4 perches of demesne meadow in 1402 (Gl. Inq vi. 230).
209 The custumal, or "roll of rents and services" of 1296–97, not published here, provide these details (SC6/851/5 mm6–8).
210 There were five mills at Stapleton in 1296–97; and 5 mills similarly are shown in the map of 1610 (Braine, History of Kingswood Forest, facing p. 1). No doubt in the thirteenth century there were varying numbers of mills; the two mills tentatively identified with those associated with the barton in the Domesday survey, the later Castle Mill and Baldwin's Cross Mill (Cronne, BRS, xi. 2; cf. Taylor Analysis, p. 133), are in the thirteenth century often, though not always, associated with the town rather than with the barton.
211 E372/121/m21.
212 SC6/851/5 m6. The serjeanty is earlier described as that of "carrying the king's writs, summonses, and the letters of the constable of Bristol within the county of Gloucester at his own costs" (E372/139/m7). John was still a minor in 1296–97; his land in Stapleton (one carucate) was in the king's hands after the death of his father Elias in 1292–93 (ibid.) and was let at farm for 30s. a year until 1300–01 when John came of age (infra p. 52). No inquisition post mortem of Elias seems to have survived. A similar tenure in serjeancy appears in 1221, when John de Alleber held a yardland in Stapleton by the service of carrying the king's writs from the castle of Gloucester (sic; Dahl, op. cit. p. 95). Cf. Book of Fees, ii, 1408, where a virgate was held by this service in 1247–48; cf. also J. Itin. 1/274 m12d. (1248). Compare the serjeanty which Richard of Pirie held from the abbot and
other serjeants earlier. It is evident, then, that though none of the free tenants was outstanding in wealth or status, there were yet marked variations between them. Indeed the more humble free tenants often had smaller holdings than the more prosperous of the customary tenants of the barton.

Some of the latter are occasionally described as peasants (rustici), but not as villeins (villani). It is probable, though not perhaps entirely certain, that they were all unfree. Some of them were obliged to do agricultural work on the demesne as part of the ‘rent’ for their holdings. The ‘works’ (opera) due from each holding are specified in detail in the custumal, or ‘roll of rents and services’, and as usual, there were great variations between one and another. For the purposes of fixing these works, the farming year had been divided into two periods, Michaelmas (29 Sept) to Midsummer (24 June) and from then to Michaelmas, or sometimes into three, where the summer period was divided into two sections, one from Midsummer to St Peter ad Vincula (1 Aug) and the second from then until Michaelmas. The summer period was, of course, the busiest time of the farming year, and more ‘works’ were therefore required of them; the period from June to August would cover hay making and possibly sheep shearing (though there does not seem to be any mention of the king’s sheep in the accounts); the second period from August to Michaelmas would cover the harvesting of all the types of grain.

canons of Cirencester, by the service of “escorting the king’s treasure in Gloucestershire at his own expense and without the county at the king’s expense” (C.D. Ross, Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, i. 44n); compare also the elaborately-defined Herefordshire service of going one day’s journey – suitably armed – within the county at the tenant’s cost and “no more unless at the king’s cost” (C.I. Misc. i. no. 2128), (1266).

Reginald de Gosington in 1247-48 held a virgate in Stapleton by the service of being forester of Gallowsworth (Book of Fees, ii. 1408; cf. J. Itin. 1/274 12d.).

Kosminsky, Studies, p. 199. In Stapleton there were 4 free tenancies which were smaller than the holdings of the unfree virgaters and half-virgaters there (SC6/85/5m6.); in Mangotsfield there were 5 such free-tenancies (ibid. m7) and in Easton all the tenancies for which there are specific details (7) are of the same type (ibid. m8); two of the Easton tenants, however, were ecclesiastics. Thus some 14 holdings at least from the total of 22 free-tenancies may be regarded as of the peasant type.

Eg. in connection with their aid (infra, p. 34, n. 52 and p. 51, n. 37 and their remitted works (infra, p. 59, n. 103). The word rustici is not used in the enrolled accounts. There is no evidence of the payment of merchet or of heriots – usually characteristic of unfree tenure – in the barton.

In Stapleton, for example, Robert Serston worked throughout the whole year for a day every third week and held 1/3 of 2 virgates (SC6/85/5 m.6); 3 virgaters worked for a day weekly throughout the year (ibid.) and 3 tenancies, also of a virgate each, owed a more exacting service of a day weekly from
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In 1294–95 some 3521 works were due in all, though those would not necessarily be used every year. Besides the fixed and regular week works of the custumal, there were also the bon works (precaria) occasional extra works exacted when necessary at certain busy times of the farming year, or involving a large number of tenants. Only two ploughs maintained by the king are mentioned in the accounts, from 1284–85 and after, each plough operated by two men: the tenens and the fugator. It seems that the necessary ploughing to maintain the demesne arable could only be carried out by relying heavily on boon works. This Michaelmas to 24 June, 3 days a week from then until 1 Aug. and 5 days a week from 1 Aug. till Michaelmas (ibid). In Mangotsfield, holdings were more fragmented and 10 half-virgaters owed a day a week in winter and 3 days a week in summer (SC6/851/5 m7). Other tenants held 1/6 of a virgate and owed one day's work weekly throughout the year (ibid.). Other tenancies of ¼ or ½ virgates owed one day a fortnight in winter and three days a fortnight in summer (ibid.). In Easton some 15 holdings of a virgate owed work for one day weekly in winter, for three days weekly from 24 June–1 Aug., and for five days from 1 Aug.–29 Sept. (SC6/851/5 m8). The heaviest of these services compares very favourably with those found, for example some 30 years earlier on the lands of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester (Bennett, Life on the English Manor, p. 105); for other Gloucestershire works, cf. Seebohm, English Village Community (1926) pp. 58–60.

The poor condition of parts of the rolls of rents and services makes it impossible to be more definite. It seems that week-work was due from some 7 tenancies in Stapleton out of 36 customary holdings, from 20 in Mangotsfield out of 24 and from some 15 in Easton out of some 49 tenancies (SC6/851/5 mn6, 7 and 8): holdings might sometimes be shared between two, three or four customary tenants (ibid.). These calculations of holdings exclude the new arrentations, always for rent, made by Peter de la Mare and by Nicholas Fermbaud (ibid.). The winter works were valued at ¾d. each, and the summer works at 1d. There were some 1716 winter works and some 1805 summer works divided between the villages as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vill.</th>
<th>Winter</th>
<th>Summer</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stapleton</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangotsfield</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>1668</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easton</td>
<td>c.570</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>c.1395</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SC6/851/1 and passim. Exceptionally, the account for 1299–1300 mentions 4 holders and 2 drivers (SC6/851/6; E372/145/m25 ‘four ploughmen’).

In common practice the tenens conducted the plough, the fugator drove the oxen (Postan, The Famulus, pp. 16–17). The fugator on the estates of Tavistock Abbey has been described as an assistant lad ‘who applied the ox-goad and encouraged the plough team with a peculiar kind of chant’, viz. a plough-boy (Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, p. 51). There was a greater difference between the rates paid respectively to holders and to drivers on the Crowland estates in the mid-fourteenth century, namely 7s. and 5s. a year, than the slight difference in
boon ploughing seems to have been exacted for one or two days in the autumn for the winter sowing, and one or two days in spring for the lenten sowing. Drink money was generally given to each boon ploughman.\footnote{220}

There are details of these \textit{precaria} in 1294–96, and 1300–03.\footnote{221} In 1294–95 there were two \textit{precaria} at each of the sowings, performed at the winter sowing by 22 ploughs and at the lenten sowing by 33 ploughs. In 1300–01 there was one \textit{precarium} at each sowing, with 18 ploughs at the winter one and 15 at the lenten. The accountants were more interested in the works performed than in the people actually doing them and in the enrolled accounts, for instance in 1295–96, the two sowings are lumped together to give 49 ploughmen,\footnote{222} which seems an improbably high number, as many of the tenants would probably perform the \textit{precaria} at both sowings.\footnote{223} The king apparently maintained no harrows of his own in the barton,\footnote{224} and there was the occasional boon work for harrows to follow the boon plough teams (27 harrows are mentioned in 1294–95, and 26 in 1300–01 – again a grand total of \textit{precaria} for the two sowings). There are frequent references to harrows being hired (\textit{locatis or conductis})\footnote{225} not only to follow the boon ploughs, but also the king’s own ploughs, and possibly some of the harrowing was also the barton of Bristol (Page, \textit{Estates of Crowland Abbey}, p. 315). On one manor of the honour of Berkhamsted in 1296–97, the holders received 6s. as opposed to the 4s.6d. of the drivers; on another the holder had 6s., and the driver 5s.6d. (Midgley, \textit{Earldom of Cornwall Accounts} i. 9, 29). On both the Crowland and the earldom of Cornwall manors the sums are payments of wages (\textit{stipendia}), not acquittances of rent, as in the barton, but the barton allowances, which were shared between two men, seem very low in comparison.

\footnote{220} Normally 3d. was paid as drink-money, but exceptionally, in 1296–97 only 2½d. (SC6/851/6 m9). It is nowhere made clear whether the drink-money was shared between holders and drivers. See \textit{infra}, p. 36. n.68 for the difficulty in distinguishing in the accounts between ploughs, ploughmen, and plough-teams, all of which are often abbreviated as \textit{caruc’} in MSS.; I have assumed that when drink-money is mentioned it was given to ploughmen. But the wording is sometimes obscure: in 1300–01, for example, ploughs (\textit{carucis}, fully extended) are clearly mentioned for the autumn ploughing and 3d. was paid for each plough; these sums might be taken to be wages paid to hired labourers. At the spring ploughing in the same year however, drink-money of 3d. was paid for each \textit{carucar} (‘plough-team), so it seems likely that the autumn payment was also for drink money rather than wages (SC6/851/7 m2).

\footnote{221} \textit{Infra}, p. 55, n. 71; p. 60, n. 116; and Aii of bibliography pp. 97–99.

\footnote{222} \textit{Infra}, p. 41.

\footnote{223} There only seems to be one instance of boon ploughs used for fallowing, in 1297–99 (E372/145/m25).

\footnote{224} No repairs to harrows are recorded in the accounts.

\footnote{225} References to boon and hired harrows: \textit{infra}, p. 36, 41, 52, 60 and \textit{supra}, n. 221.
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle
done as part of the regular week work.
All the other agricultural services must have been provided from the week works due from some forty two tenancies, or by paid labour. Apart from harrowing, the accounts also record a number of payments made for hoeing, mowing, spreading and lifting hay, reaping, carrying, threshing, winnowing, stacking, etc., and for carrying and spreading dung collected from the barton and from the castle, but, as in the case of ploughing, it is nowhere made at all clear whether the payments – small in themselves – are merely for drink-money or other means of sustenance, or whether they are wages: neither potura nor wages are normally mentioned. From 1300–1301, and probably before, threshing and winnowing were paid as piecework (ad tascam). Services throughout the barton had been remitted to some extent by 1275–76, when for the first time we hear of payments for relaxation of service. A steady income of £13 12s. was obtained from such payments from 1282–83 until the end of the reign. The customary dues which were regularly exacted also suggest the commutation of some services. Amongst the earliest recorded were the dues of the church. Church seed was received in 1224–25, and Peter’s penny appears for the Michaelmas term of 1275 when Mangotsfield paid the largest amount. In the next year

226 The rates paid for threshing and winnowing are in the main lower than those paid in 1295 on the Tavistock estates (Finberg, op.cit. Table xxviii, p. 253). They are somewhat similar to those paid on the Taunton estates in the middle of the century, except in respect of threshing oats, which was more highly paid in the barton; in the Taunton documents, however, threshing and winnowing seem to have been included in one payment (Hunt, SRS, lxi, p. xxx). At Mere in Wiltshire in 1296–97, threshing and winnowing are separately recorded and the rates are very similar to those of the barton, apart from the rate for threshing oats, which is lower, while pay for winnowing was at a uniform rate of 1d. per qr. for all grains (Midgley, CS. 3rd ser. lxvi. 61). The quarter at Mere contained 10 bushels but we have no clue as to the content of the customary quarter in the barton, which has been assumed in this book to have consisted of 8 bushels. The men of Swinehead hundred in general had been warned early in Edward I’s reign to add an extra bushel, when selling corn to Bristol, because of the large size of the bushel in that town (Rot.Hund. i. 175). So measures in the barton and in Bristol may in fact have differed.

227 E372/121/m21. £10 10s. 3½d. was received that year from remission of services (de operibus relaxatis).

228 Infra, p. 15, n. 31. £12 16s. 4d. was received in 1277–78 (E372/122/m28), £13 2s. 0½d. in 1278–79 (E372/124/m24) and as much as £13 15s. in 1280–81 (E372/126/m6). After that the sum remained stationary. There are no figures for 1298–99, for 1301–1302, or for 1304–1306.

229 Infra, p. 14 and E372/121 m21. Customs such as Peter’s penny may be covered in the earlier accounts and in some all embracing general phrase like ‘aids and perquisites’ (infra, p. 2).
church seed was paid by men of all the hamlets. The totals of
the dues paid became fixed: the totals for Peter’s penny
amounted to 7s. 1d. and church seed to 5s. 5d., as is clear from
the account for 1284–85. These dues, the frequent Peter’s
penny and the somewhat rare church seed, were regularly
exacted but there is nothing to show that they found their way in
due course to the proper ecclesiastical authority. Peter’s pence
would seem to have been due on the Feast of St Peter ad Vincula
(1 Aug.) as was normal. Whatever its origin, by the late
thirteenth century church seed is no longer paid in grain, and is
in fact indistinguishable from the more comprehensive and
universal payment of Church scot.

As regards the secular dues, woodpenny was also received for
the Michaelmas term of 1275, when Easton paid the largest
amount, and in the next year boon seed was paid as well by men
of all the hamlets; this last represented the value of 17 bushels
and a third part of two bushels of wheat. Like the church dues,
these dues also became fixed, at 7s. 7d. for wood pence, and 8s.
10d. for boon seed. With the 12s. 6d. total for church dues, the
whole amounted to £1 8s. 11d.

In 1293–94 a number of other fixed ‘customs’ were also
received; these were bede-reap, carriage, grass-earth, boon,
drove, boon-seed, and ‘a new gift for the constable’; they
amounted in all to £5 17s. 3¾d., which was also charged for the
preceding year. These customs were regularly exacted from the

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230 E372/121/m21.
231 SC6/851/1.
232 Church seed was paid from 2 holdings in Stapleton, from none in Easton,
but from 23 in Mangotsfield.
234 The word appears in many forms often as churchsceat or churchset cf. Index
and Neilson p. 196.
235 SC6/851/1. This fraction of boon seed was later normally represented as 17
bushels and 3 parts of a bushel. Cf. also 1294–95 (SC6/851/5 m1d.).
236 SC6/851/1.
237 These were not included in the main part of the constable’s original account
or in his first total of receipts, but appear in a new rather faded memorandum at
the end of the account (SC6/851/5 last membrane). The “new gift” had appeared
since 1275 (E372/121/m21), although it is named with bede-reap and the rest in
1293–94.
238 E372/139/m7. Subsequently, arrears for the last three years (Mich.
1291–Mich. 1294) were paid in respect of bede-reap and carriage, but not of the
other customs recently exacted (infra, p. 34).
239 SC6/851/5 m6. (Stapleton).
customary tenants after this, and they appear in the rolls of rents and services in 1296–97.²⁴⁰

These customary payments do not display any unusual features. Some probably originally sprang from commutations of labour services, sometimes of week-work, as in wood-penny,²⁴¹ sometimes of boon-services as in bede-reap or in boon (or bene). Bede-reap was the most common obligation and was owed by all the customary tenants; it was charged at 4½d. from a full holding and was originally in commutation of reaping services.²⁴² Boon or boon-seed originally was seed to be sown on the demesne;²⁴³ it was still sometimes paid in kind in the barton but sometimes in money.²⁴⁴ Seed-silver seems likely to have been similar to boon-seed;²⁴⁵ it was heavier than the other rents at 12d. normally from a virgate.

Some payments were connected with pasture, like grass-earth (graserthe), which was originally the ploughing done 'in return for pasture privileges';²⁴⁷ it was a very usual obligation, and was always commuted by the late thirteenth century, normally at 3d. Equally common was ‘carriage’, originally represented by carting services, at the usual full charge of 7½d.: there is no indication as to what particular form of carting had been involved.²⁴⁸ Drove was an infrequent obligation, charged at 6d.²⁴⁹ There is no information as to how any of these dues were assessed and levied. A number of the tenants who paid them did not perform any works; in Stapleton and Easton a majority, in Mangotsfield a minority: one tenant only (in Mangotsfield) is

²⁴⁰ SC6/851/5 mm6–8. Since the writing of the customals is sometimes torn away and sometimes is illegible, it is hazardous to try to check systematically the totals there recorded against the totals actually received, as shown in the accounts.

²⁴¹ Neilson, p. 51. The barton payments of wood-penny ranged from 3d. to 1½d. but were normally 1d. from a virgate; these are rather lower than the payments cited by Miss Neilson.

²⁴² Discussed by Miss Neilson in the form of bedripsilver (op. cit. p. 59). Cf. the bedrip on the Wiltshire lands of Adam de Stratton, which was boon work in reaping at harvest time (Farr, WRS xiv. Glossary).

²⁴³ Neilson, pp. 25, 60.

²⁴⁴ The occasional payments in the Bristol barton of the thirteenth century are much earlier than the payments cited by Miss Neilson (op. cit. p. 60). These, and other references to King's Barton, Gloucestershire, in Miss Neilson's book, in fact refer to an account for Barton by Bristol, in 13 Henry V.

²⁴⁵ It was not discussed by Miss Neilson.

²⁴⁶ SC6/851/5 mm6–8.

²⁴⁷ Neilson, pp. 69–70

²⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 60–61.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Neilson, p. 79, 'probably the commutation of a service of driving the cattle of a village into pasture'.
Introduction

recorded as paying a custom (bede-reap) for holding ‘inland’. Some further contributions were also made by the customary tenants of the Barton. They, or some of them, gave £4 13s. 4d. between them to ‘a peasants’ aid from an ancient fine’ from at least 1284–85: they probably gave something towards the so-called ‘new gift at Christmas’, which first appears in 1275, and from which the constable himself later (by 1294–95) received 14s. 9d. The sub-tenants of the free tenants, also contributed to this gift. Many of the customary tenants also paid the forest dues of pannage and wood-silver, and might become implicated in pleas of wood-hire. The ten tithing-men paid a regular shilling apiece at the view of frank-pledge. The customary tenants also contributed the main part of the rents of assise, that is the assessed or fixed rents, which were collected term by term from each hamlet, at St. Andrew’s Tide, Easter, St. John’s Tide and Michaelmas: they paid most at the last of these feasts. These rents increased by slow stages: on their first appearance in 1199 £9 12s. 9d. was the annual total received; in 1275 it was £21 5s. 7½d., and it rose to £24 4s. 1½d. by 1300–1301, and normally thereafter. The increase under Edward I was no doubt a consequence of the activities of Peter de la Mare and of Nicholas Fermbaud as constables; the arrengements for ‘new rents’ are attributed to these constables in the customals of 1296–97. Peter began the practice in 1280–81 when he let two empty plots in Mangotsfield for 2s. a year; in 1282–83 five such plots in Mangotsfield and Stapleton brought in 7s. 6d. a year, and by 1284–85 a plot in Easton was also arrented.

250 SC6/851/5 m7.
251 de auxilio Rusticorum de Fine antiquo; SC6/851/1. Later it appears that this sum was paid on 1 Nov. (infra, p. 34).
252 E372/121/m21. The first reference describes the ‘gift’ as 100s. given to Bartholomew Joevene ‘ad nostrum donum suam de Curialitate hominum eiusdem Bertone’ (ibid.), the second as 100s, received from the men of the Barton ‘et debitis balliui loci pro nouo dono suo de certa consuetudine sicui idem Petrus (e la Mare, constable) dicit’ (E372/122/m28); the two succeeding references suggest it was a gift to the bailiff (E372/124/m24, E372/126/m6). Subsequently the reference to the bailiff is omitted (infra, p. 15), and the earliest surviving roll of particulars makes it clear that the gift was at Christmas (SC6/851/1), as do the subsequent references. For Christmas gifts to the lord see Neilson, p. 30. It is curious that in the early fifteenth century such a gift (104s. 9d) was made from the Barton on the feast of the Circumcision, viz. 1 Jan. (ibid., p. 31).
253 Infra, p. 34. £5 14s. 9d. was collected to allow for the further gift.
254 Supra, p. xxxviii.
255 Infra, p. lii.
256 First mentioned in 1275–76 (E372/121/m21).
257 Infra, passim; cf. Index.
The plots newly let-out under Edward I would seem always to have been granted in return for rent alone, and there were no extensions of those trifling but exasperating customary payments which continued to be exacted from the longer-established customary tenants.

Some of the land rented in Mangotsfield and, less extensively, in Easton, is described as 'inland' in the customs, but not in the accounts. There is no clue as to whether this means demesne land, or land lying near one of the settlements and intensively cultivated, or merely land newly cleared. The amount of inland held is never specified; it is merely described as 'inland' or 'certain inland'. Five of the tenancies of inland in Mangotsfield, twice jointly, by half or quarter-virgaters, and two tenants of inland in addition held 1/6 of a virgate: these all owed works and dues, as well as rents, for their main holdings, but also paid rents varying from 2s. 3d. to 4d. for their inland. There were some sixty-three tenancies of inland which were not associated with other holdings, and from these tenancies two tenants alone paid dues for their inland as well as rent; the rents varied from 2s. 10d. to 2d. In Mangotsfield many of the tenancies of inland were granted in the time of Peter de la Mare or of Nicholas Fermbald; all the new arrentations made by these constables there, indeed, were of inland. In Easton, on the other hand, there are fewer references to these constables' activities, and new arrentations there are of 'certain meadow', or of 'certain waste', as well as ones of inland.

259 SC6/851/5 mm7 & 8. There is no reference to inland in Stapleton.
261 Like the infield or inground of Devon and Cornwall, which has this implication (Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, pp. 32-33; cf. Hoskins and Finberg, Devonshire Studies p. 285). I have been much helped in considering inland by Dr. I.J. Keil's knowledge of agricultural practices especially on the Glastonbury manors; there is no evidence however that the inland of the Mangotsfield and Easton customs in fact resembled the infield of certain Glastonbury manors, where cultivation was more or less continuous.
262 There is a resemblance between the late thirteenth century 'inland' of Mangotsfield and Easton and the later 'overland' of the Taunton manors, which developed from 'newly enclosed land, attached to villein tenements but not subjected to the demands of customary service' (Hunt, SRS, lxvi, p. xxxviii).
263 quoddam inland.
264 SC6/851/5m7.
265 Ibid; in both cases bede-reap and grass-earth were due, and in one case Peter's penny in addition.
266 Ibid.
267 SC6/851/5m8.
268 On rare occasions the names of the pastures 'sold' within the barton give
The area of the barton in the late thirteenth century was by no means limited to the area of East Bristol known today as Barton Hill, or even to the medieval areas of Stapleton, Mangotsfield and Easton, but also merged into the area which became known as the forest of Kingswood, and the two are hardly distinguishable.

Some indication of their location: these were presumably demesne pastures, though evidently not necessarily outlying demesnes. Pasture on "Coddoun" was perhaps in the modern Cotham. "Coddoun" first appears in 1299–1300 and is variously spelt, cf. EPNS xl, 97, where however it is not given a location. "Cotham" as a form is not there recorded until 1830 (ibid. p. 96). "Cotham" appears in Isaac Taylor's map of 1777 (Glouc. Atlas p. 14). I am able to suggest these tentative identifications through the kindly help and deep linguistic and topographical knowledge of Dr. A.B. Cottle, to whom I am most grateful. "Le Dunge" also variously spelt in the accounts may be the modern Dings and it means manured land (ibid.). Since the Dings are near the Wain Brook and 'the field called Wainbroke' lay 'towards the king's barton' (Ross, BRS, xxi, no. 413) a possible boundary of the barton is suggested. The 'meadow called Wainbroke without Lawford's gate' lay between 'the ditch of Wainbrokeshulle and the ditch called 'le Dynuge' (ibid. no. 415). It looks, therefore, as if this ditch may have been part of the boundary of the barton, and as if the meadow of Wain Brook was outside the barton; on the other hand suit to the hundred of Barton may have been due for this meadow in the periods c. 1240–54 and 1248–57 (ibid. nos. 416 and 425; cf. nos. 428 and 430 however): it is far from certain how far the hundred had in fact developed by this period (infra, p. lix). The meadow belonged to St. Mark's Hospital, and the brethren were making and deepening ditches in this area early in 1275 (BRS, xxi, 427): the meadow stretched in the mid-thirteenth century as far as the enclosure of the lepers of St. Lawrence (BRS, xxi no. 415), which is later (1374) regarded as within the barton (ibid. no. 429; cf. Braine, op. cit. p. 102); cf. a deed of c. 1260 concerning land in the hundred of Barton on the road from Lawford's Gate to the hospital of St. Lawrence (Hicks, BGAS, lviii. 231). The hospital certainly held three acres within the barton in 1224, when it was to be quit of the 'suit of hundreds and courts', which had been exacted from it for these acres (CPR, 1216–25, p. 428). 'Berehule' lay to the north of Wainbrook Mead (Ross, BRS, xxi, no. 427), and was also perhaps outside the barton. An account of the modern topography of the Wain Brook is given in the pamphlet by W.T. Sanigar on St. George's in the East (1931). It is less easy to identify the 'Mersdunge', a name which appears in 1298–99 (SC6/851/6 m6d; cf. EPNS xlii. 97), as a separate entity. Ashley (SC6/851/6 m.9d., 1296–97) and 'under Redcliffe' (ibid.) explain themselves; 'Le Erdelond' (1299–1300), Le Erdlond (1298–99, SC6/851/6 m6d.) and Erdlond (ibid. m10d. 1296–97), also 'gravelmede' (which first occurs in the accounts in 1298–99 (ibid. m.6d.) (when 5s. 10d. was received for it from William le Wilde)), though well documented, cannot be given a precise geographical location. It is tempting, though hazardous, to identify the former with Redland (cf. EPNS, xli. 142–3; xlii, 53, 76). The hundred rolls mention the king's desmesne of the barton in rubea terra (Rot. Hund. i. 75; cf. Ann Mon. i.); the rendering of rubea terra as 'Redeland' is, however thought to be wrong (EPNS xl. 143). Of these, the 'Erdelond' was the most productive. The king's men of the barton were protected from damage to footpaths affecting them at Overford (Rot. Hund. i. 175) and Rudgeway (ibid.).
The early history of Kingswood Forest, as indeed of all the wooded areas of South Gloucestershire, demands detailed investigation. The origins of the forest, its extent, even its very name, are wrapped in obscurity.  

When the full early history of the woodland area comes to be written, suggestions of Anglo-Saxon origin may well have to be discarded, though perhaps some grains of historic truth in the traditional story may emerge; it is not incredible that kings who visited Pucklechurch hunted in the surrounding districts and that the area thus acquired the contemporary characteristics of a forest.

Under John, and in the first forty years or so of Henry III's reign, we read sometimes of the forest of Bristol, sometimes of the chase or the coppices of Keynsham, and sometimes of sundry variations of these descriptions. Most often, however, we read

269 The early seventeenth century map of the forest which was reproduced by Braine and Ellacombe, illustrates the interpenetration of the two areas (A. Braine, History of Kingswood Forest (1891); H.T. Ellacombe, History of the Parish of Bitton (1881)).

270 It has been suggested that the forest was in being at the time of King Edmund's violent death at Pucklechurch in 946 (Ellacombe, op. cit. and Braine, op. cit.): likewise that it may have been founded by William I (Fullbrook-Leggatt, BGAS, lvii (1935). 111): likewise that it existed at the time of Domesday Book (Ellis, BGAS, iv. 146 n. 2, but the survey does not mention 'the forests of Kingswood and Horwood in the vale to the north of Bristol' as is made clear in Darby, Domes. Geog. p. 30): likewise that the area was not afforested till some time after 1154 (Bazeley, BGAS, xxxiii. 247, in an article primarily on the forest of Dean). The greatest extent of the forest has been given as from the Bristol Avon to Gloucester (Grundy, Saxon Charters, p. 187) though this estimate is excessive. However, Fillwood, south of the Avon in the neighbourhood of Brislington, should certainly be included (App. 2 p. 93, n. 154 (1361)). For the name Kingswood, see infra, n. 277. G.B. Grundy wrote of 'the mysterious forest of Kingswood of which much is heard though little is known' (BGAS, lviii. 74, 82); he also thought that its existence had affected the boundaries of S.W. Gloucestershire and had added to our difficulties in determining them (Saxon Charters (1935–36) pp. 118, 187, 210, 218 etc. Cf. Taylor, Analysis, p. 65).

271 As implied by Braine (op. cit.) and Ellacombe (op. cit.).

272 E.g. 'the chase of the coppices of Bristol' (Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 601 (1224)) 'the chase of Keynsham' (CPR, 1216–25, p. 429 (1244)). Cf. infra p. 8. The word 'brull' or 'broll', often in the ablative plural, is consistently translated as 'coppices' in the PRO calendars, and I have followed this precedent. On the other hand, if a coppice is a thicket of 'underwood and small trees grown for the purpose of periodical cutting' (New Eng. Dict.), it is arguable that 'coverts' might be a better translation; cf. Revised med. Latin Wordlist under brullus, where both covert and thicket are given. A covert was a place giving shelter to wild animals or game (New Eng. Dict.). Ducange, op. cit. gives brogilium as a word for the hunting of beasts of the chase (ferarium) surrounded by a hedge: Niermeyer, op. cit., under brogilus, gives brullius and brullium as a covert or 'shrubby space fenced in with hedges for game'. There is evidence that 'Kingswood' was fenced by 1236, and that the area was used as a source of wood and of game (infra, p. liv).
of the wood of Furches, that is Gallows Wood;\textsuperscript{273} the forest or
chase is not normally called Kingswood in the record sources
of this period. Both before John’s death\textsuperscript{274} and after,\textsuperscript{275} the tenure
of the woods was in dispute,\textsuperscript{276} and it seems very possible that
it was not till Henry III’s reign that continued association with
the crown increasingly gave the name of Kingswood\textsuperscript{277} to the
forest area near Bristol, even as the barton was gradually
becoming King’s Barton. But in fact, whatever its name or
precise boundaries, it is clear that much of the area came into the
charge of the constables of Bristol early in the reign of Henry
III,\textsuperscript{278} and under Edward I the constables’ accounts always
include forest receipts.

\textsuperscript{273} E.g. Book of Fees, ii. 1332 (1221); CCR, \textit{1231–34}, p. 107 (1232); \textit{ibid.} 1234–
37, p. 4 (1234), p. 403 (1236), etc. Sometimes Gallows Wood and the coppices of
Keysnham are associated, e.g. \textit{Rot. Lit. Cl.} i. 405 (1219); \textit{C.Lib.R.} i. 225 (1233).
We also read of ‘the chase of the coppices of Keysnham and of Gallows-Wood’
(\textit{CPR, 1216–25}, p. 419, 1223).

\textsuperscript{274} On 22 June 1215, that is just after the sealing of Magna
Carta, a perambulation was ordered to be made by men in the
neighbourhood of Keysnham and Brilston to discover which chases
there belonged to the king and which to
Geoffrey de Mandeville in right of his wife (\textit{Rot. Lit. Cl.} i. 216) (cf. App. 1 p. 75
n. 19). This perambulation was probably carried out by Hugh de Nevill as later
references suggest e.g. \textit{Rot. Lit. Cl.} i. 360 (1218), 387 (1219). Cf. the later order
to Hugh, then chief justice of the forest (Turner, SS. xiii. p. xcvi, \textit{CPR, 1216–25},
423, 436) to go in person to “the chase which was of the earl of Gloucester
in the parts of Keysnham and Bristol” and to make enquiries as to its boundaries in
the time of King John (\textit{Rot. Lit. Cl.} ii. 54b, 1225).

\textsuperscript{275} In 1217 it was ordered that Gallows Wood and the forest of Keysnham with
the coppices and other appurtenances of the honour of Gloucester should be
handed over to Gilbert, earl of Gloucester (\textit{Rot. Lit. Cl.} i. 344b). The stand taken
by Hugh de Vivonne as constable delayed the execution of this and later orders
(e.g. \textit{ibid.} 360b (1218), 387 (1219). Cf. \textit{infra} p. liv).

\textsuperscript{276} \textit{Infra}, p. liv. A transitional stage is suggested when Peter de Rivaux was
told to produce hurdles etc. from ‘the issues of the lands of the earl of Gloucester
... in his custody, in the king’s wood of Furches and in the coppices of Keysnham
and other of the earl’s woods in those parts of his custody’ (\textit{C.Lib. R.} i. 225, July
1233).

\textsuperscript{277} ‘Kingswood’ appears in 1252 etc. (EPNS, xl. 80). EPNS also gives a reference
dated 1231— but this is apparently to the \textit{Abbey} of Kingswood; Kingswood
Forest not till 1283 (\textit{ibid.}). The earliest reference I have found to Kingswood in
record sources is in 1236 (\textit{CCR, 1234–37}, p. 242), when a wood at Bitton is
described as ‘\textit{in haya regis de Gingeswud}’, and to the forest of Kingswood in 1251
(\textit{ibid.} 1247–41, p. 498). Kingswood, Glos., does not appear in the indices to the
liberate rolls before 1252 (\textit{C.Lib. R.} iv. 67).

\textsuperscript{278} Certainly from the time of Hugh de Vivonne, who became constable in 1217
(App. 2 p. 8; cf. \textit{infra}, p. liv). Pandulf, in charge of the castle and its
appurtenances from 1221, was ordered in 1224 to deliver them to his successors
‘with the barton and forest and the chase of Keysnham’ (App. 2 p. 88, n. 71).
Moreover the men living there were told to be intendent to the newcomer (\textit{ibid.}
n. 73). The chase is included in Wiliton’s account of 1224 (\textit{infra}, p. 50).
Parts of the wooded areas in South Gloucestershire, as in many other parts of the country, were disafforested in 1228, presumably in consequence of the forest reorganisation after the issue of Henry III's charters of the forest in 1217 and 1225.\textsuperscript{279} It is doubtful whether the 'wood of Furches'\textsuperscript{280} mentioned in the charter of disafforestation (6 May 1228)\textsuperscript{281} and in the order to the sheriff to proclaim the disafforestation in full county court (20 June 1228)\textsuperscript{282} was supposed to be included in the disafforested area;\textsuperscript{283} though it is generally assumed that it was.\textsuperscript{284} 'The Forest of Horwood' is the name apparently applied to the whole area in the charter.\textsuperscript{285} There is no doubt, whatever the intention, that the wood of Furches, viz. Gallows Wood, soon to be known as Kingswood Forest, remained a royal chase or forest; the two descriptions are used alternatively and inconsistently in the reign of Edward I and no distinction should be drawn between them.\textsuperscript{287} The boundaries of this forest, and the rights of the neighbouring lords within it, caused some difficulties both before and after the partial disafforestation;\textsuperscript{289} afterwards, however, a local man of

\textsuperscript{279} The disafforestations in general are discussed in the introduction to Turner, SS. xiii. pp. xciii–cii (1901); cf. Petit-Dutaillis, Studies . . . ii. 213–5.

\textsuperscript{280} Record sources do not reveal clearly whether 'the wood of Furches' which was administered by the constable was the part of the forest near Bristol as alleged by Ellacombe (op. cit., p. 166) or the forest as a whole; no wonder that historians are vague or contradictory in their assertions.

\textsuperscript{281} C. Ch. R., 1226–57, p. 75 (6 May 1228); cf. ibid. p. 84 (25 Nov.).


\textsuperscript{283} The wording is ambiguous: ' . . . omnes bosci; ville et terre que sunt inter boscum de Furtis prope Bristol' et Huntingford . . . '. Huntingford is in Tortworth and near to Wotton-under-Edge. Both documents are printed in Braine, op. cit. pp. 28–29; cf. Smyth, Lives of the Berkeley's, i. 114. Smyth showed understanding in his reference to 'the wood of Furzes (nowe called Kings wood)'.

\textsuperscript{284} E.g. Braine, op. cit. p. 30.

\textsuperscript{285} C. Ch. R. 1226–57, p. 75 (6 May 1228). The history of Horwood forest also needs to be investigated.

\textsuperscript{286} Cf. Petit-Dutaillis, op. cit. ii. 151; in n. 2 the 'Kingswood' assigned to Essex should more probably read Glos.

\textsuperscript{287} For example, an enquiry as to the rights of Robert de Amenvill' in his wood of Bitton and in the king's wood of Furches in 1223 concerning the agistment of swine, and as to the reciprocal rights of the men of the barton in Bitton (Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 543b; cf. Ellacombe, p. 79); subsequently (1235) also an enquiry as to the rights of tenants of Bitton to take estovers there (CCR, 1234–37, pp. 54, 242). The bishop of Bath's manor of Pucklechurch was included in the disafforestation of 1228 (ibid., 1227–31, p. 58). The abbot of Keynsham's dogs in the king's chase outside Bristol caused an inquiry in 1249 (ibid. 1247–51, p. 142). A constable was accused of extortion in connection with heritage in John le Warr's wood of Brislington (ibid., 1242–47, p. 444); cf. Ellacombe, p. 166. Robert Walerand, who then held Syston, was to be allowed to take foxes in the king's chase of Bristol in 1252 (CCR, 1251–53, p. 194).
importance might be allowed to enclose a park within the previous forest area. 288

The unity of control by the constable of the castle over the barton and over the chase, which became usual under Henry III and later, no doubt helped the men of the barton to maintain the rights they had acquired within the forest and helped the constable to see that they fulfilled their obligations there. The men of the barton could turn out their pigs in the chase in the autumn, provided they paid the accepted charge for pannage, that is 1d. for each pig over one year old 289 and ½d. for each hog of less than six months. 290 Pannage was due at Martinmas and the total sum received annually is recorded in the constables' accounts amongst the receipts of the castle and barton; 291 after 1296–97 it appears amongst the ‘particulars of the hundred’. 292 Some £1–£2 was normally received each year from this source 293 and the names of some seventy forgotten men and women of the barton live on in the seven surviving pannage lists. 294 Two pigs and twenty hogs are the largest number belonging to one man, 295 but the minimum holdings of one hog only are not unusual. 296 As many as 268 pigs and 309 hogs might benefit from pannage in one year. 297 Pannage seems to have been due from both sides of the

288 For example, Syston was said to be outside the king's chase in 1252, and Robert Walerand was permitted to make a park there (C.Ch.R. i. 415; cf. Rot. Hund. i. 175). Simon Kayly had enclosed Inwood to the loss of the men of the barton (ibid. i. 175).

289 pro porco superannato (SC6/851/6 m3d.).

290 pro hogg' dimidii anni et infra (ibid.).

291 E.g. infra, p. 00; also from E372/121/m.21 passim.

292 SC6/851/6 m8d. (1297–98); ibid m9d. ‘Issues of the hundred’ (1296–97). Cf. infra, p. lviii.

293 A maximum of £2 1s. 3d. in 1291–92 (E372/136/m25), a minimum of 13s. 9½d. in 1296–97 (E372/145/m25). Receipts were low in the period 1293–98 and in 1306–1307.

294 The lists are for 1296–97 to 1302–03 (SC6/851/6 mm 9d, 8d, 6d, 3d and SC6/851/8 mm 3d, 4d, 2d). They included each year 66, 74, 51, 74, 50, 63, and 59 names respectively, of which 9, 6, 6, 10, 7, 10 and 8 were women.

295 Held by Robert Gamel in 1301–2 SC6/851/8 m4d. Three pigs and nineteen hogs were held by ‘John at the lepers-gate’ in 1302–3, and 8 pigs and 11 hogs by Robert of Hartcliffe in the same year (ibid. m2d).

296 They are found three times in 1296–97, once in each of the next two years, and twice in 1299–1300 (ibid.). Holdings of one pig only are more common and occur in most years and notably in 1299–1300 when 14 people, including 6 women, paid for one pig each.

297 This is the largest number of tenants' swine recorded in the surviving pannage lists. No list survives for the most productive year (1291–92). There is no record of how many pigs may have been agisted on behalf of the king himself, nor indeed do we know whether swine were still kept on his behalf.
River Avon. There were other customary obligations: a fixed payment of 32s. annually as 'woodsilver', due 'in the king's forest this side of Avon', was received by the king from 1275–76 onwards, but we do not know who paid it. A varying sum was also received from those who dug sea-coal within the forest, from those who quarried stone there, whether for walls or for roofs, and also from potters digging earth for pottery. Pleas

E372/121/m2l(1275–76), which is explicit. More often, however, the wording would seem to imply that pannage was only due from 'this side' (citra), that is on the north (E372/122/m28 1277–78).

De quadam certa consuetudine in foresta Regis sitra Auene quod vocatur Wodeselitier (E372/121/m21). The use of citra and altra in relation to the Avon is usually ambiguous. Occasionally the constable's original account gives citra but the enrolled account gives altra (infra); alteration may reflect the different views of a writer in Bristol and a writer in London, and may be compared with the references to the River Trent in relation to the escheatorships and foresterships.

E372/121/m21 and passim. Braine wrongly interpreted 'wood-silver' as including the payments for mining, quarrying etc. which follow the reference to wood-silver in the accounts, and he seems to have antedated the first reference to it. No account for 1223 which mentions wood-silver, mining, quarrying etc. as he alleges seems to survive today (op. cit. p. 25); Pandulf's account for 1221–24 (infra p. 1) and Wiliton's for 1224–25 (infra p. 5) do not mention these things. Braine was of course right to stress the connection between the constable of the castle and these various by-products of the forest, but the evidence comes from later, from the reign of Edward I.

In 1299–1300 ten men paid 24s. between them (SC6/851/6 m3d.); twelve men paid 24s. between them (SC6/851/8 m2d, 3d, 4d) in 1300–1303. The payment was presumably in return for the right to extract coal (cf. VCH, Glos. ii. 236). The same names recur each year, though in varying spellings. The two new miners in 1300 (SC6/851/6 m3d) were probably sons or relatives of the established miners; the hereditary tendency in mining is not necessarily modern. The names have already been printed (VCH, loc. cit.). The coal was dug 'within the limits of the said forest' (infra, p. 15); it is nowhere made clear whether the Bristol coalfield was then worked on both sides of the Avon, as of course it was to be later. Sometimes, however, there would seem to be an implication that coal was only dug north of the Avon at this time. The term sea-coal is variously rendered as 'carbone maris', 'carbone marina' and 'pro carbonibus maritimus' (pp. 35, 60 and 15). For the use of the phrase see J.U. Nef, Rise of the British Coal Industry (1932) ii, App P.

Infra. p. 15, n. 34. Each man working paid 4d., and the total was sometimes described as payment for 'stone sold' (ibid.). Eight men worked on roof stone and four others on wall-stone in the period 1296–1300; for their names references as in n. 301. After 1300 there was increasing though fluctuating activity. For roof-stone one additional worker appears in 1300–1, and 5 or 6 in 1301–2 (14 or 15 in all); in 1302–3 there were 11 workers. For wall-stone there were seven workers in 1300–1 and 6 in 1301–3. SC6/851/8 mm3d., 4d., 2d. No especial building works at the castle account for the expansion (King's Works ii. 580).

The distinction between workers on roof-stone and workers on wall-stone is apparent in some of the rolls of particulars but not in the enrolled accounts. The sums paid the lord are only a few shillings, so the industry was still on a small scale. It is not mentioned in the industrial section dealing with building materials in VCH, Glos. ii.
of 'woodhire' within the forest might be brought against the tenants but these are the only hint of the operation of a special forest law and nothing is heard of forest-courts. Perambulations of the forest were however certainly held upon occasion.

iii CONNECTIONS WITH THE CASTLE

By the mid thirteenth century the barton was regarded as the demesne farm of the castle, but there is no mention of any castle in the Domesday Survey and it is not known when this association of castle and barton began. It can be reasonably inferred that by the twelfth century both castle and barton were held by the earls of Gloucester. The Gloucestershire accounts on the pipe rolls suggest that the barton was part of the honour of Gloucester by 1187–88; at that time the men of the barton and the men of Bristol were separately assessed for tallage. Later references in the pipe rolls, similarly, merely mention the barton

The potters first appear in 1277–78 (E372/122/m28). The manufacture of ordinary clay pottery from local clay under Edward I has long been known (VCH, Glos. ii. 214); apparently only three men were employed. The references to the potters in the constables' accounts are in two varying forms. It is possible that potters were found on both sides of the Avon, in view of the later development of potteries at Bristol. Edward le Crokare had a tenement in Redcliffe in 1303, and his wife was buried in the churchyard of St. Mary's (Bickley nos. 43 & 44).

Again the enrolled and the original accounts differ in their use of ci tra and ultra in relation to the Avon and woodhire (cf. supra, n. 299; also p. 51, n. 43).

The money arising in consequence was paid 'in the quindene of St. John the Baptist'.

A doubt as to whether forest law was 'constantly operative' in the chase of Keynsham is suggested by Dr C.E. Hart in his unpublished M.A. thesis (1956) on 'The Dean Forest Eyre of 1282' p. vi (in the possession of the library of the University of Bristol). Pleas of the barton and pleas of the chase are, however, clearly distinguished in 1224–25 (infra, p. 5).

The men were fined 300 marks in the last forest eyre of Gloucestershire held before 1249 (C. Lib. R. iii. 220); this probably meant the eyre of 1246–47 (List of Gloucestershire Forest Eyres, Bazeley, BGAS, xxxiii, 214–5). These trespasses seem likely to have been near Bristol, rather than in the Forest of Dean. Yet stolen venison from Dean certainly sometimes found its way to Bristol (Hart, op. cit. p. lvii and passim). In the eyre of 1262 the constable of Bristol was summoned to appear before the justices, and subsequently the burgesses cited a charter of Henry III exempting them from charges connected with 'venison found within the walls of Bristol'. The details are expounded in Hart, op. cit. pp. xci–xcv, and the charter is in Harding BRS, i.24–28; cf. ibid. Cronne xi.59.

App. 1 pp. 70–71.

PRS xxxviii. 111; cf. 1191 (ibid. n.s. ii. 95): in both cases the men of the
or Barton, and in association with the honour of Gloucester rather than with the town of Bristol, which had been separately farmed from 1187 onwards. In 1207 (and later) a farm was also received for the barton (de la Barton’), at the rate of £32 a year.

Increasingly during the thirteenth century, however, the barton became associated with the castle rather than with the town, or with the honour of Gloucester, which fell to the Clares as earls of Gloucester after 1217.

According to a well-known story, recently retold, Hugh de Vivonne, a constable of Henry III’s minority, defying the central authority for three years, refused to hand over the barton to the earl of Gloucester, as he had been instructed. He clearly regarded the barton, together with the chase or coppices of Keynsham and Gallows Wood, as it is variously described, as essential for the proper maintenance of the castle and its garrison; he needed their corn and their timber. These conflicting claims of the earls of Gloucester and the king in Bristol arose partly from John’s ambiguous treatment of his divorced wife’s lands, partly from a certain vagueness as to Gilbert de Clare’s inheritance in 1217, but clearly the earl’s claim to the barton as part of the honour of Gloucester was recognised to have some validity, for from 1230, and probably earlier, an allowance of £40 19s. 5½d. for the barton would seem to have been made to the earl at the royal exchequer against his debts there; the barton was later valued at the same sum. In barton paid 15s. de dono, and the men of Bristol twice as much. By 1199, £12 and 500 marks are to be paid respectively (ibid, n.s. x. 31); by 1213–14, 10 marks and £500: the barton of Gloucester at £4 was then assessed at slightly less than the Bristol barton (ibid. n.s. xxv. 59).

Shirley, Royal Letters, i. 90 (RS xxvii); cf. Watson, pp. 15, 38, 39, and H.P.R. Finberg ‘A disobedient Loyalist’ Gloucestershire Studies p. 116. The phrase ‘the barton pertaining to the castle’ appears in 1298–99 (E372/145/m25), if not earlier.

For relations with the earl of Gloucester, supra p. xviii; cf. p. 75, n. 19 for Isabel’s inheritance; cf. Comp. Peer, sub Gloucester for Gilbert de Clare, and Patterson, pp. 3–9.

Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, claimed on 20 Aug. 1230 that ‘in recent years’ allowance had been made him in the debt he owed the king, of £40 19s. 5½d. for the barton without Bristol. The barons of the exchequer were to enquire into this claim (CCR, I227–31, p. 427). The first of a series of allocates for this sum in favour of Richard de Clare was issued in 1224 (C. Lib. R. ii, p. 267); the series may be traced fairly continuously throughout the rest of Henry III’s reign,
the same period the custody of the barton usually fell to whoever was keeper of the castle; at times the keeper held it at farm,\textsuperscript{316} and so gradually through the century the barton became increasingly known as the king’s barton.\textsuperscript{317}

\textit{iv} \ THE OFFICIALS OF THE BARTON

The barton was apparently unaffected by the various administrative innovations of Henry III’s reign in the government of his demesnes, which in the main aimed at restricting the power of the sheriffs. When the constable of Bristol was responsible for the barton as its keeper there was no need to limit the activities of the sheriff of Gloucestershire there: when the sheriff was keeper of the barton this arrangement was probably something quite separate and apart from his official position as sheriff.\textsuperscript{318}
There is no evidence that special ad hoc keepers or the escheators south of Trent were ever called in to administer the barton.\textsuperscript{319}

Not much is known of the officials who looked after the farming arrangements of the barton on the king’s behalf. Stewards do not appear till late, not perhaps until the late fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{320} Nor can the existence even of a bailiff be certainly proved, although normally bailiffs were ubiquitous and their indeterminate duties covered a wide range of functions.\textsuperscript{321} A certain William Brown (Brun), however, would seem to have been doing the work of a bailiff, or perhaps of a reeve, in 1221.\textsuperscript{322} Much later a man of the same name was described as having once been bailiff of the earl of Gloucester; he and his two sub-bailiffs had been fined for preventing the king’s bailiffs from collecting money due to the king, but their fine would seem to have been regarded as a ‘desperate debt’ by 1284.\textsuperscript{323}

In the late thirteenth century, there seems to have been no official intermediary between the constable of the castle, who certainly had final responsibility for the barton accounts, which are all in his name, and the reeve upon whose farming expertise some constables are likely to have relied rather heavily.\textsuperscript{324} The constable’s clerk must have been directly responsible for the form of the barton accounts which reached the exchequer,\textsuperscript{325} but he too must have depended for his information upon data supplied by the reeve.

The king’s permanent staff in the lower ranges, the famuli, was not extensive. An annual acquittance of rent on behalf of the reeve and four ploughmen was regularly recorded after 1275–77;\textsuperscript{326} in 1284–85 it becomes evident that 4s. 4d. of the whole acquittance of 11s. 8d. was on behalf of the reeve.\textsuperscript{327} Otherwise

\textsuperscript{319} For the royal demesne in general in this period see Hoyt, \textit{op. cit.}; also Powicke, \textit{Thirteenth Century}, pp. 63, 529–34, \textit{Henry III and the Lord Edward}, ii. 503; also M.H. Mills, in \textit{TRHS}, 4th ser. x. 122–3.

\textsuperscript{320} A steward of ‘Berton Brist’ was paid a fee of 100s. in a reeve’s account of 1373–75 (SC6/850/8 cf. E364/20). See ref. to the ‘stewards room’ \textit{infra}, p. 42 (n. 142).

\textsuperscript{321} The overlapping functions of bailiff and reeve have been emphasised in a number of modern works; all this information, both from primary and secondary sources, is summarised and discussed in the Creighton lecture for 1953, which also adds much that is new to our knowledge of the bailiff’s work (T.F.T. Plucknett, \textit{The Medieval Bailiff}, Athlone Press).

\textsuperscript{322} E101/349/4.

\textsuperscript{323} Exannual roll, E362/2 m50d.

\textsuperscript{324} Cf. Hilton, \textit{Medieval Society} p. 226.

\textsuperscript{325} Cf. \textit{infra}, p. 34, n. 56.

\textsuperscript{326} E372/121/m21.

\textsuperscript{327} SC6/851/1.
little is known about the reeves and they are rarely named. By 1372 they were certainly elected, and no doubt much earlier also. The main burden of administration and of supervision must have been borne by the reeve. In 1300–1301, and subsequently, two messors (messores), or reapers, appear for Stapleton and Easton; they jointly paid the king 13s. 4d. at Michelmas. Does this perhaps mean that they paid for the privilege of supervising the agricultural work of those two townships? It is indeed likely that the reeve was by then in need of additional help. But the duties of these messors are nowhere clarified, and they cannot, as was usual elsewhere, be considered as members of the famuli, as the ploughmen undoubtedly were. Throughout the forest areas the constable of the castle was assisted by a keeper of the forest, who received 7½d. a day and once, at any rate, by three foot-serjeants, who shared a similar payment between them. Once, also, a forester of Gallowswood appears, who held a serjeanty. Under Henry III, while both town and barton were let at farm, the constable retained responsibility for Kingswood and received many royal orders to provide timber and fuel for the castle, the mills, the town, the Dominicans and so on, or as gifts to individuals: similarly, to give venison as a gift, and to safeguard the king’s rights and interests. Such gifts continued under Edward I. But Kingswood forest evidently did not produce enough, and supplies of timber for building and for ships’ masts and venison were sent to Bristol from the forest of

328 See the heading of the account of John Toller, lately reeve (SC6/850/8).
329 Infra, p. 51.
331 It is very possible that these messors fulfilled offices of a general nature like the chief reapers or repe-reeves, sometimes called haywards, of Petworth, ‘who supervised ploughing, sowing, reaping and storing of the crops and the mowing of the meadows’ (Salzman, Suss. Rec. Soc. iv. p. xxvi). Messor is sometimes translated as hayward (e.g. C. Lib. R. ii. 51). The messor of the barton of Bristol and one of the tithing men were taken prisoner at Easton without judgement by the mayor of Bristol during the political disturbances of July 1323; they were detained for 10 and for 15 days respectively, and the king sought a remedy for the loss of their services (J. Itin 1/291/mld.).
332 The 7½d. a day in 1275–76 was given for the keeper’s sustinence (ad sustentationem suam, E372/121/m21); in 1277–78 as his wages (pro stipendiis suis, E372/122/m28): this phrase and this sum persist throughout the later accounts.
333 The three foot-serjeants were paid from July – Nov. 1275–76 (E372/121/m21) but do not appear again; cf. CCR, 1272–79, pp. 29, 202.
334 Cf. supra, p. xxxix, n. 213.
335 The printed close-rolls and liberate rolls for Henry III’s reign supply many examples.
336 Ibid., Edward I.
Dean both lawfully and unlawfully.\textsuperscript{337} In Edward II's reign the game requisitioned from Kingswood and Fillwood together, according to later evidence, was twelve bucks – much less than from Dartmoor, Exmoor or Mendip, but the same as Selwood.\textsuperscript{338}

\textit{v THE BARTON AS A MANOR}

The manorial character of the organisation of the barton becomes clearer, as the accounts become more detailed. Particularized accounts for the barton, apart from references in the constables' enrolled accounts, first survive for 1284–85 and intermittently thereafter.\textsuperscript{339} These rolls do not normally include expenses, which must be extracted from the enrolled accounts. During the energetic and financially rewarding constableship of Nicholas Ferm baud, the rolls of particulars become much more elaborate, however, and certain expenses authorised by the king's writ begin to be recorded in them.\textsuperscript{340} Soon a heading 'Expenses of the Barton' makes an appearance, and there necessary expenses on the barton made without warrant by writ are noted.\textsuperscript{341} From 1296–97 onwards further light is thrown by another new and detailed section of the accounts headed for the first time 'Particulars of the Hundred'.\textsuperscript{342} This includes receipts from the rents of assise of the three hamlets, from all customary dues, from new arrentations, from the forest, from all issues of courts, and so on; thus the contents of the section are not new though the heading is. Its appearance in 1296–97 would seem to be fortuitous, and it may, or may not, be coincidence that this is the year of the 'rolls of rents and services'.\textsuperscript{343} The hundred of Barton was certainly not a new creation of that year. The history of the hundreds of Gloucestershire has not yet been written in modern times, and it presents some problems:\textsuperscript{344} amongst these is the emergence during the thirteenth century of the hundreds of


\textsuperscript{339} SC6/851/1.

\textsuperscript{340} Infra, p. 62 and nn. 138, 144 and p. 67, n. 192; also SC6/851/5 m4.

\textsuperscript{341} E.g. in 1296–97 (E372/145/m25). Cf. SC6/851/6 m2 (1300), and SC6/851/6 m5 (1299).

\textsuperscript{342} The earliest such reference is for 1296–97 (SC6/851/6 m9d.) \textit{De Exitibus Hundredi} ibid m8d. 'particule Castri et Hundredi' (1297–98).

\textsuperscript{343} Supra, p. xxxviii., n. 209.

\textsuperscript{344} Cf. Darby, \textit{op. cit.} p. 4 'the history of the Gloucestershire hundreds seems to be obscure'.

Introduction

Barton by Bristol and of Barton by Gloucester; both were to become known as King’s Barton, so there is some danger of confusing the one with the other. 345

The barton of Bristol was in Edderstone hundred at the time of Domesday Book, but was part of the hundred of Grumbold’s Ash when the carucage of 1220 was assessed. 346 In 1221, Stapleton, later in the hundred of Barton, was in the hundred of Swinehead. 347 There is no hundred of Barton in the eyre rolls of 1221348 or of 1248;349 in the latter year Stapleton and Mangotsfield were both in the hundred of Swinehead and the barton without Bristol had not obeyed the summons of the hundred. 350 The hundred rolls of 1274–75 give the manor of Barton (Berton’) as still within the hundred of Swinehead, 351 but by 1278 the hundred of Barton seems to be established, 352 and possibly earlier. 353 Professor Cam’s suggestive discussion of the seven hundreds of Grumbold’s Ash – an area which included the geographical area of the later hundred of King’s Barton (by Bristol) – and her tentative hypothesis that these hundreds may represent a regional pre-hundredal administrative district,

345 Cf. EPNS, xxxix. 114, 136; xl. 83; also ibid. xli. 3–4 where other manors within the county which became hundredal are enumerated. Cf. O.S. Anderson, The English Hundred Names. The South Western Counties (Lunds Universitets Arsskrift Bd. 35 no. 5 1939). The Kings Barton in Gloucester and Barton Regis in Bristol have been described as ‘granges belonging to the royal demesnes of these cities’ (EPNS xli 50 –51). ‘Of the castles there’ might be more accurate as is made clear in Anderson (op. cit.).

346 For Grumbold’s Ash, Book of Fees, i. 310: the editors indexed this reference, however, under the hundred of Barton Regis. The assessment was of 34 plough-teams; cf. S.K. Mitchell, Studies in Taxation, pp. 129–136.

347 Book of Fees, ii. 1408. This name is often given as Swinehead, but cf. EPNS, xl. 74–5.


349 Ex. inf. Mr. C.R. Elrington, on the basis of notes supplied by Mr. C.F. Meekings of the Public Record Office.

350 J.Itin 1/m12 and 12d.

351 Rot. Hund. i. 175; cf. EPNS, xl. 83. The jurors of the hundred of Henbury recorded that the barton with the castle of Bristol and the chase of Kingswood were in the king’s hand; they said nothing of a hundred of Barton (Rot. Hund. i. 67). Prof. Cam, however, on the authority of the hundred rolls, lists the hundred of Barton Regis as existing in 1274 (Cam, Hundred and Hundred Rolls, p. 267); cf. however supra, n. 345. This evidence is hardly conclusive.

352 CIPM. ii. no. 334.

353 There are some references to the hundred of Barton in the period 1240–60; cf. Hicks, BGAS, lviii. 231; these deeds are themselves undated, but the outside dates suggested by their editors seem convincing. It is curious however that the last-cited deed, attributed by the Rev. F.W. Potto Hicks to c. 1260, has the same witnesses as a deed attributed by Dr. Ross to c. 1274 (Ross, BRS, xxi, no. 170).
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

perhaps based on Bristol, invites a further hypothetical conjecture that the later hundred of Barton (or King's Barton) was the last fragment of this region to retain an administrative connection with Bristol. Taxation may well be the key to these problems, but until further evidence is collected and sifted in detail, it will remain impossible to be confident on when the hundred of Barton began. Whatever the historical antecedents, evidently prolonged association with the crown under Henry III emphasised the unity of the area outside Bristol, and the activities of Edward I in local government seem finally to have crystallized this separate status.

Besides the 'Particulars of the Hundred' another new heading appears in the accounts, called variously 'The Barton' or 'Issues of the Grange' — this last a normal section of most manorial accounts: there are only a few of these accounts for the Bristol Barton, however, before the death of Edward I, covering the years 1296–1303 and 1306–07.

Beans were no longer recorded as being grown on the demesnes in King Edward's day, as they had been in 1221–24 and the staple crops were wheat, rye, barley and oats; the seed of all grain being normally provided by the estate. Oats were grown in greatest quantity and came from a minimum of some thirty-one acres, recorded for 1300, and from a maximum of forty-nine acres, one rood, two years later. Wheat followed fairly closely; thirty-one acres were sown for the harvest of 1307 and forty-five and a half for 1296–97. Rye varied, covering from twenty-five and a half acres and half a rood as a minimum to thirty-two acres three roods as a maximum, while barley

355 SC6/851/6 m4d (1298–99); this is not printed. The 'grange' first appears in the enrolments in 1297–98 (E372/145/m25) and in the Ministers' accounts the year earlier (SC6/851/6 m9d).
356 There are some accounts of the reeve of the Barton for the period 1372–75, and also for later still. By this date the castle may well have become less dependent economically on the Barton, which was farmed independently by Richard Pembroke after 1375. Queen Philippa had also thought of farming out the Barton separately from the town in 1332, and her deputy had finally done so.
357 But the purchase of seed is recorded in 1221–24 (infra, p. 4).
358 SC6/851/6 m/d.
359 Infra, p. 56, n. 73. Figures only survive for seven years: 1296–1303 and 1306–07.
360 E372/152B/m20.
361 SC6/851/6 m9d.
363 SC6/851/6 mld (account of 1299–1300). Rye was not grown on the estates.
covered the smallest and least variable area, from eleven and a half acres and one rood in 1301, to fifteen acres, one rood in the following year. A few bushels of ‘brotcorn’ (brotcornie) of rye and of ‘brotcorn’ of oats appear once, and sums varying from 2s. to 13s. 6d. were received annually for unspecified quantities of straw or fodder. Data for estimating the yield of corn are available for only seven consecutive years (1296–1303), but this photographic glimpse suggests that the demesne was not especially productive.

Towards the turn of the thirteenth century none of the king’s grain grown in the Barton seems to have been used within the castle or within the Barton, apart from what was kept for seed; the rest was sold at a fair price. In normal times, and under a strong king, the castle evidently no longer depended on Barton grain. Sales of Barton produce then brought in rather more money than was received from rents. Attempts to improve the profits from the demesne would seem to have been made: in 1296–97 bulk-sales of corn were abandoned in favour of selling the threshed corn, at varying prices, probably to a number of different persons. Moreover the more meticulous accounting characteristic of this period led to the inclusion of the name of each buyer of hay after 1296–97, and of each buyer of each kind of corn after 1300–1301. Such changes must have safeguarded the lord’s profit, though no doubt primarily designed to prevent official slackness.

Little is known about the judicial organization of the Barton as a whole apart from the indeterminate forest pleas, and in the absence of court rolls little more can be discovered until the judicial records of Gloucestershire are more thoroughly studied of the Abbey of Glastonbury (I.J.E. Keil, ‘The estates of the Abbey of Glastonbury in the later middle ages’ Ph.D. thesis, University of Bristol, 1964), though after the period dealt with in these accounts.

365 Infra, p. 51, n. 42 (account of 1300–1301).
366 Infra, p. 56, n. 73 (account of 1301–1302).
367 The price per quarter received from sales of wheat from the Barton was often a middle price; compare such prices with those received from selling the produce of the king’s mills in the town. The figures for sales by Ramsey Abbey are comparable with those from the Bristol Barton; there were ‘signs of a considerable surplus in demesne production’ on the abbey estates by the mid-thirteenth century (Raftis, Ramsey Estates, p. 115; cf. Hilton, Leicestershire Estates, pp. 5, 21).
368 E372/145/m25.
369 On the analogy of 1301 (infra, p. 51, n. 42).
370 SC6/851/6 m8d.
371 Infra, p. 51, n. 42.
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or made accessible.\textsuperscript{372} The issues arising from the pleas and perquisites of courts appear in all the barton accounts after 1224–25,\textsuperscript{373} and perhaps earlier.\textsuperscript{374} In the enrolled accounts of the early years of Edward I’s reign these courts are called ‘courts of the barton’;\textsuperscript{375} if they were not manorial in name they yet seem likely to have been manorial in character. In the rolls of particulars, however, which survive intermittently from 1284–85,\textsuperscript{376} they are described as hundred courts.\textsuperscript{377} After 1296 the issues from these pleas are regularly recorded under the heading ‘Pleas and perquisites of the hundred’.\textsuperscript{378} We do not know who heard the pleas\textsuperscript{379} nor who held the view of frank pledge – a function which normally fell to the sheriff.

A number of questions are left open in this attempt to interpret the scanty evidence as to the characteristics of the area associated with the barton. The sources tell us little that is definite as to relations with the neighbouring forest, or as to the nature and extent of peasant holdings, of common fields, or of common pasture. They are more informative about the demesne and the services of the peasants there but they do not show conclusively how many fields were cultivated, nor make clear what were the cropping arrangements, or the amount and periodicity of the fallow. Nor can we tell whether the demesne was diminishing in size or how it was distributed between the hamlets. The appear-

\textsuperscript{372} At present Maitland’s classic volume on Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester, 1221 (1884), E.J. Watson’s Pleas of the Crown for the Hundred of Swineshead and the Township of Bristol, 1221 (1902), and Lady Stenton’s Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Gloucestershire . . . etc. 1221–22 (SS. lix, 1940) are the only printed judicial records touching south Gloucestershire, apart from the specific Bristol materials. These volumes make it clear that itinerant justices visiting Bristol might hear cases which arose within the barton; these were presumably pleas outside the competence of the local court, whether it was manorial or hundredal. Though the pleas of Swinehead hundred were heard in Bristol in 1221 by special request of the jurors and of the constable of the castle, it was clearly laid down that they ought to be heard in Gloucester (Maitland, op. cit. p. 110; Watson, op. cit. no. 1).

\textsuperscript{373} The earlier accounts in the printed pipe-rolls do not refer to barton pleas (PRS. passim).

\textsuperscript{374} An elliptical reference to receipts de miscerdiis et auxiliis from the barton in 1221 (Feb.–Sept.) may cover such pleas (infra, p. 2); the item appears in 1221–2 as ‘pleas, aids and perquisites’ and in 1222–24 as merely ‘aids and perquisites’ (ibid.).

\textsuperscript{375} E.g. E372/126/m6 (1280–81). The enrolled accounts first mention pleas and perquisites of the hundred in 1293–94 (E372/139/m7).

\textsuperscript{376} Infra, p. 97. Bibliography MS sources.

\textsuperscript{377} SC6/851/2.

\textsuperscript{378} The later rolls of particulars, though not the enrolments mention ‘finis, pleas and perquisites’ (1300–1303, infra, p. 52, n. 48).

\textsuperscript{379} Whether the constable as keeper, or some ad hoc official.
Intr oduction

 ance of hamlets, the fragmentation of holdings, and perhaps the existence of ‘inland’, if it can be identified with ‘infield’, these together might perhaps be taken as indications of Celtic influence, though we do not know how widely the holdings of the peasants were dispersed. Further evidence must be found if these problems are to be finally solved. The barton was never of any very great importance in itself, whether from the administrative, the military, the financial or the economic points of view, yet its close and unequivocal association in the thirteenth century with the castle of Bristol in its heyday and with the kings of England who were then its lords, gives it an especial interest. Only recently with the formation of the County of Avon has the administrative unit containing Bristol extended over an area larger than that of the medieval barton.

381 Cf. the hope expressed in Finberg, Gloucestershire Studies, p. 290. A most important and largely untapped source for the subject is to be found in the many manorial accounts amongst the Berkeley muniments (Smyth, Lives, i. 154–6, 161–6; iii. 150–1 etc.). The barton by Bristol is not included in Gray, English Field Systems, which lists the known three-field townships of Gloucestershire, including such townships in the south of the county as Oldland (ibid., Appendix ii, pp. 465–66) and also the two-field townships, including Badminton and Cold Ashton (ibid., p. 464). It also includes an analysis from later evidence of the ‘irregular fields’ found at Horton and at Yate (ibid., Appendix iii. pp. 519–20). Cf. the description of Horton, Yate and Frampton Cotterell (ibid., pp. 90–91).
THE ACCOUNTS

Pandulf, 1221–24

Enrolled account, town and barton: expenses on the castle are included. E372/57/m3d; no chancellor’s roll. 2 Feb. 1221–22 Jan. 1224. (There is a household account of John de Florentino1 in E101/349/4 complementary to the first part of this account, but not printed here). The present account was submitted by Master Rolland on Pandulf’s behalf; Pandulf himself left England in late Sept. 1221.2

Compotus de Bristol’ a festo purificationis beate Marie Anno regis v2 usque ad diem Sancti Vincencii anni (sic) viij eiusdem.3 Pand(ulfus)4 Norewic’ episcopus ut custos. Magister Rollandus5 pro eo reedit c(ompotum) de ix.l.et ix.s.et iiiij.d. et ob.de reeditu assiso non mutabili6 a predicto festo purificationis usque ad festum Sancti Micheli proximo sequens. Et de c...lxx. et vj.li.et xij.s. et xj.d. et ob. de Teloneo et stallagio, carnificum et textorum et sutorum et obul’ molendinorum (sic) per idem tempus. Et de liiiij.li et vj.s. et vj.d. et ob. de placitis et perquisitis per

1 Infra, App. 2, p. 80.
2 2 Feb. 1221.
3 22 Jan. 1224.
4 Initial capital in margin. Pandulf was bishop-elect from 1215 but was not consecrated till 29 May 1222; thus he is correctly described as bishop for the latter part of this account, though not for the beginning.
5 Little seems to be known of Master Rolland, who is described as Pandulf’s clerk in 1224 when he stayed in Bristol castle from 14–19 March (infra, p. 6). He is mentioned on the dorse of the account for Sept. 1221–Feb. 1222 (E.101/350/10 m1, cf. p. xvi), which is probably one of the accounts he drew up. A Master Rollandus, primocerius of Siena, was given a papal dispensation to hold certain benefits in plurality on Pandulf’s petition in 1226 (Cal. Pap. Reg. Let.i.111), and a Master Rolland later became vice-chancellor of the Roman Church and was acting in Nov. 1256 (ibid. 340). It is uncertain whether ‘Master R’, official of Pandulf as bishop-elect of Norwich in Feb. 1218, before Pandulf became legate (ibid.) should be identified with Master Rolland, for Pandulf had another clerk, Master Ranulf, who had been given a brief joint custody of Bristol before Pandulf’s own appointment (infra, App. 2 p. 80), who may be this ‘Master R’.
6 The rents of assise were not so described in later accounts.
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idem tempus. Et de ix.li.et ix.s. et iij.d. et ob. de redditu assiso non mutabili a predicto festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens, scilicet per annum integrum. Et de cc. et xxxvij.li et viij.s. et x.d. de predictis teloneo et stallagio et aliis per idem tempus. Et de c.li et lxxj.s. et x.d.et ob. de placitis et perquisitis per idem tempus. Et de ix.li.et ix.s. et iij.d. et ob. de predicto redditu assiso a predicto festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens, scilicet per annum integrum. Et de cc. et xij.li.et viij.s.et viij.d. de teloneo et stallagio et aliis superascriptis per idem tempus. Et de lxxvji.li. et xij.s. de placitis et perquisitis per idem tempus. Et de lxviij.li. et viij.d. de omnibus et perquisitis (sic) ville a predicto festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad festum Sancti Vincencii proximo sequens.

Summa. . . dcccc.et lx:xiiij.li. et xvij.s.et x.d.


Summa. . . c.et xxxix.li. et iij.s. et vj.d.


In thesauro xl.li.

Et in elem(osinis) constitutis Militibus de Templ(o) iij. m (arcas) per predictum tempus. Et eisdem xij.li. per idem tempus. Et Monachis de Teokebir' xliij.li. et x.s. per idem

10 Initial capital in margin.
tempus. Et eisdem ix. li. de redditu molendinorum de Bristol per idem tempor. Et in empicione xl. balistarum linearam emptarum et positarum in predicto castro c.s. per breue Regis.  

12 Et in operatione unius Barbecane facte ante portam castri Bristol' xxx. li. per breue Regis.  

13 Et in sustentatione fratrum Hospit(alis) Jerosol' . . . et aliorum custodientium castrum de Merleberg' xvij. li. per breue eiusdem. Et Alex(andro) de Bassingeburn ad reparationem domorum castri de Merleberg' x. lii. per idem breue.  

14 Et in Carriagio  xl. doliorum vini quorum xx. Carriata fuerunt a Bristol' usque Monemue et alia xx. a Bristol' usque Hereford' xli. s. per breue eiusdem.  

15 Et in conductu Henrici Latronis probatoris missi a Bristol' usque Lond' viij. s. et vij. d. per breue eiusdem.  

16 Et in reparatione domorum in Castro Bristol' per impulsionem venti deteriorar(um) xvij. li. et viij. s. et viij. d. per breue eiusdem  

17 et per visum Walteri de Ponte et Stephani de La Berton. Et in j. naue conducenda ad opus Ricardi de Burgo transfretantis in Hiberniam in servicium Regis ij. m(arcas) et dim(idiam) per breue Regis.  

18 Et in j. naue conducenda ad opus Jehannis maresc' transfretantis in Hiberniam in servicium Regis lxix. s. et viij. d. per breue eiusdem. Et item in alia naue conducenda ad opus Johannis euntis in Hiberniam in servicium Regis lx. s. per breue eiusdem. Et item in j. nau(sic) conducenda ad opus Roberti de Vallibus transfretantis in Walliam in servicium Regis cum equis sui et hermasio suo xx. s. per breue eiusdem.  

21 Et in j. naue conducenda ad opus
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Galfridi de Cerland transfretantis in Hiberniam v.marcas per breue eiusdem.22 Et in emptione trium loricarum et unius halbergonis ad garnisturam Castri de Bristoll' xxxvj.s. et viij.d. per breue eiusdem.23 Et pro xxvj. bobus emptis ad Carrucas Regis de La Berton' instaurandas ix.li.et xiiij.s. et j.d. per idem breue. Et pro xxv. quarteris frumenti et xx.quarteris siliginis et li.quarteriis auene et tribus quarteriis fabarum emptis ad dominicia (sic) regis apud Bertonam seminanda per totum predictum tempus cum ferramento Carrucarum xj.li. et xvij.s. et ob.per idem breue. Et in necessariis expensis Constabularii et milit(um) et seruientum moram facientium in Castro Bristoll' a festo purificationis beate Mariei anni quinti usque ad festum Sancti Micheli proximo sequens cc.et viij.li. et x.s. et viij.d. et ob. per idem breue.24 Et in stipendiis viij.vigilum et aliorum seruientum in castro predicto existencium per predictum tempus viij.li. et xiiij.d. per idem breue. Et item in necessariis expensis predictorum Constabularii et aliorum a predicto festo Sancti Micheli usque ad festum Sancti Micheli proximo sequens scilicet per annum integrum cc.et xxxix.li. et vij.s. et ij.d. per idem breue. Et in stipendiis viij. vigilum et aliorum seruientum in eodem castro per idem tempus vij.li. et vj.s. per idem breue. Et in necessariis expensis predictorum Constabularii et aliorum a predicto festo Sancti Micheli usque ad festum Sancti Micheli proximo sequens scilicet per alium annum integrum cc. et xxxj.li. et v.s. et viij.d. et ob. per idem breue. Et in stipendiis vigilum et aliorum seruientum in eodem castro per idem tempus vij.li. et ij.s. per idem breue. Et item in necessariis expensis Constabularii et aliorum predictorum a predicto festo Sancti Micheli usque ad festum Sancti Vincencii25 proximo sequens lxj.li. et xvij.d. et ob. per idem breue. Et deb(et) xxix.li. et xj.s. et iij.d. Idem reddit compotum de eodem debitum. In thesauro lib' per Magistrum Duregerie. Et quietus est.

22 Cf.n.18.
23 A computate in favour of the bishop of Norwich was issued on 15 Feb. 1224 and covered this and all the following items (Rot.Lit.Cl.i. 585a). The three hauberks (lorice), perhaps small shields, were distinguished from the one habergeon (halbergo) the precise meaning of which is not clear here.
24 Cf. Rot.Lit.Cl.i.585a.
25 Cf. supra n. 3.
Ralph de Wiliton, 1224–25

Enrolled account, barton and chase; expenses on the castle are included £372/68/m9d. No chancellor’s roll. 13 March 1224–14 March 1225. Enrolled after two accounts following the account for Gloucestershire. Details for the town are not included within the account as it was farmed in this period by the burgesses; the burgesses’ own account is published immediately behind this one (p. 8).

Compotus Rad(ulfi) de Wiliton’ de Bertona Bristol’ et de Cascia et de aliis receptis suis a (festo\(^d\)) crastino\(^i\) sancti Gregor(ii) anno viij.\(^3\) Regis\(^i\) usque diem Veneris post festum predictum anno ix\(^o\) eiusdem.\(^4\)

Rad(ulfus)\(^5\) de Wiliton’ Constabularius Bristol’ reddit compotum de iiiij. li. et xiiij.s. et iij.d. de redditu assiso de Bertona de termino pasche\(^6\) anni (sic) viij. Et de iiiij.li. et xiiij.s. et v.d. de redditu assiso eiusdem de termino Sancti Johannis\(^7\) anno eodem. Et de c.et x.s.\(^1\) et v.j.d. et ob.\(^1\) de redditu assiso eiusdem de termino Sancti Michelis anno (sic) eodem. Et de c.et v.s.\(^1\) et iij.d.\(^1\) de redditu assiso eiusdem de termino Sancti Andreæ\(^8\) eodem anno. Et de xxxvij.s.et vij.d. et ob. de redditu mobili de termino Sancti Michaelis anni (sic) Regis viij. qu(i) singulis annis solvitur ad eundem terminum. Et de xxx. li. et vij.s. et x.d. et ob.de placitis et perquisitis de Bertona per totum predictum tempus. Et de lxxvij.s. et iij.d. de placitis et perquisitis de Cascia per totum predictum tempus. Et de liij.s. de mis(eri)c(or)diis iudeorum Bristol’ per totum predictum tempus. Et de c. et xxx.li

\(^1\) Apparently a form of chacea, chascia etc., a chase.
\(^2\) d = deleted; i = interlined.
\(^3\) 13 Mar. 1224.
\(^4\) 14 Mar. 1225.
\(^5\) The initial capital is in the margin.
\(^6\) Easter 14 Apr. in 1224.
\(^7\) 24 June.
\(^8\) A thin dash over each 'e'. St. Andrew’s day 30 Nov.
quas recepit de firma ville Bristol' sicut continetur ex alia parte
Rotuli In compoto Burgensium Bristol'. 9 Et de xiiij.li. et (...).

dimidia marca quas recepit de J. episcopo Bathon'11 de
ijb2praestitis. Et de x.li. quas recepit de tallag' Bristol'. Et de
xiiij.lii. et j. marca quas recepit de firma ville Bristol' in duabus
particulis per ijb0 brevia Regis sicut continetur ex alia parte
Rotuli.9 Et de xiiij.s. et v.j.d. et ob. quos recepit de padnagio
anni ixni. Et de iij.s. et x.d. de quadam consuetudine que vocatur
Chirchset' de toto predicto tempore. Et de x.s. et v.d. et ob. de
ij quarteriis et dim(idio) siliginis venditis.


Et in expensis Cognate Regis12 commorantis in Castro Bristol'
cum j. puella sua,13 et j. capellano et ijb2bus clericis, et
Constatularii14 cum iijor militibus et iijb2bus servientibus et xiiij.
armigeris eorum, et cum clerico de castello, et ejv. vigilibus et
iiijor portariis et e. dispensorio et ijbus pistoribus et j. ortolan(o)15
et j. coco et ijb2bis1 servientibus1 caretariis et j. loitric16 (sic) et ejs
inclusi (sic) et ijb2us portitoribus ceruisie et ejs prebendarii (sci) et
xvij. garchionibus et xxv. equis per toto predictum tempus,17 c.
et lxviiij.li et v. s. et vij.d. Et in expensis Rolland' clerci P'
episcopi Norwec18 in eodem castro commorantis per v. dies post
recessum Regis19 i.s. Et in operatione ejs parue cameram iuxta
magnam cameram vij.li. et xiiij.s. et vij.d. sicut continetur ex alia
parte R(rotuli)10 in summam xij. m(arcarum). Et in 1minutis et
necessariis expensis Bertone et Castri per toto predictum
tempus, x.li iij.s. et iij.d. Et pro x. vaccis et j.tauro emptis qui

9 See infra, p. 8.
10 Something imperfectly erased.
11 Jocelyn of Wells. For the order to send to Wells to collect a loan of £20
from the Bishop's clerk see Rot.Lit.Cl. i. 617b.
12 Eleanor of Brittany, the king's kinswoman; see supra, pp. xxvi–xxix.
13 Two damselis in 1222; see infra, p. 9, n. 8.
14 The succeeding items refer to expenses of the constable, and not to those of
Eleanor, the king's kinswoman.
15 Gardener.
16 Laundress.
17 Reversed semi-colon.
18 Pandulf, sometimes called Mascia, bishop-elect of Norwich 1215–22, conse-
crated 1222, also papal legate after 1218. Though he left England in the autumn
of 1221, his connection with Bristol continued till 13 Mar. 1224 (App.2 p. 80 &
nn. 67–69).
19 The king was at Bristol from 5–13 Mar. 1224 (Itinerary of Henry III, PRO
loc.cit.). Rolland's visit is confirmed in Rot.Lit.PP.i.589; cf supra p. xxii, n. 52.
20 Infra, p. 9.
Ralph de Wilton — 1224-25

remanent apud Bertonam in stauro, lxv.s. Et pro iijipsis equis caretarii(m) emptis quorum unus mortuos est et iij remanent in castro, iij.li. et iij.s. et iij.d. Et in i. careta ferrata empta cum harnasio q(ue) est in castro xxij.s. et v.d. et ob. Et Radulfo de Hurle eunti ad curiam ad castrum reddend' ad expensas suas x.s. Et in expensis Constabularii per plures uices euntis ad Curiam xx.s. Et in stipendiis iijorum servientium xxix.s. et iij.d. Et pro tunica et pallio de viridi cum penula de Cunicul' ad opus Lotricis xxix.s. Et debet xxvij.li. et xij.s. et ix.d.


Summa precii predicti instauri predicti. lviiij.li. et iij.d.

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21 The e has a thin dash above it.
22 Initial capital in margin.
23 Some of the corn in the castle became deteriorato per mures, R. Lit. Cl. 1. 590.b.
Burgesses of Bristol, 1224–25

Account of the Burgesses of Bristol, 12 March 1224–12 March 1225. Enrolled account, farm of Bristol. E372 no. 68 m9. This is the 'other part of the roll' referred to in Wilton's account, supra pp. 5–7; it is found amidst the account of Ralph Musard, sheriff of Gloucestershire. Though not of course a constable's account, it is printed both for its intrinsic interest and because it is complementary to Wilton's account as constable.

Comptus Bristoll' a festo Sancti Gregorii anni octaui Regis1 usque ad festum Sancti Gregorii anni ix.

Burgenses Bristoll' reddunt compotum de CC et xlv. li. de predicte termino de firma ville sue quam villam R(ex) eis dimisit per tales firmam ita quod respondeant de i3 partibus firme illius ad festum Sancti Michelis et de residuo ad festum Sancti Hillarii salua R(egi) et ad opus Constabularii et gentis sue nominatis in Castro Bristoll' prisa ceruicie quantum opus habuerint ita quod Burgenses habeant residuum et salua R(egi) Ballia de Berton' Bristoll' et de chascia Brull' de Keinesham et de Bosco de Furches quam Rex retinuit in manu sua.2 In thesauro lv. s. et xj. d. Et in elem(osinis) constitutis Militibus de Templo j m(arcam). Et eisdem iiiij. li. Et Monachis de Theokebir' ix. s. de redditu molendinorum Bristoll'. Et eisdem xiiij. li. et x. s. Et in redditu cuiusdam in Villa Bristoll' quam Rex dedit Templariis ij m(arcas) et dimidiam. Et1 Rad(ulf) de Wiliton' Constabulario Brist(oll')i ad expensas consanguinee Regis et gentis sue quam morari preceptit in castro Bristoll' per predictum tempus3 c et xxx li. per breue Regis! de quibus resp(ondet) ex alia parte Rotuli in compoto suo4.

1 12 March 1224; cf. p. 5 supra.
2 There is a translation of the account to this point in Seyer, ii.10 who got it from Madox, Exchequer i. 333 n.5.
3 Cf supra pp. xxvi–xxix and p. 6.
4 Viz supra pp. 5–6.
Et pro xxx dolis vini captis ad opus Regis de Ernald ( ) Willelmi (sic) mercatore de Burdegal\textsuperscript{3} liiiij. li. et xvij. s. per breue eiusdem. Et in custo posito in carrag(io) xx doliorum vini missorum a Bristol' usque Wigorniam per Gillev' Cake iiiij.li. et ij. d. per breue eiusdem. Et Radulfo de Wiliton' et Roberto Lupo et Johanni paruo et Rad(ulfo) de Hurle x. marcas ad expensas cognate Regis adquietandas per breue eiusdem.\textsuperscript{6} Et \'predicto Radulfo i ad operationem cuiusdam camere facte in castro Bristol' xij. marcas per breue eiusdem \textsuperscript{i} de quibus resp(ondet) ex alia parte Rotuli\textsuperscript{7} in compoto suo\textsuperscript{i}. Et pro tunica, supertunica, pallio et capa de nigra burneta cum penula et furruris de Bissis et xl. ulnis linee tele delicate ad opus Alienore cognate Regis. Et pro tunica supertunica et pallio cum penula de Cunicul(is) et furrura de agnis ad opus Camerarie sue et pro ij. robis ad opus capellani et\textsuperscript{2} clerici\textsuperscript{ii} castri Bristol'. Et pro tunica et pallio cum grossa penula de agnis ad opus reclusi in eodem castro et pro ij. robis ad opus\textsuperscript{i} cociet\textsuperscript{iii} magistri\textsuperscript{iv} Janitoris eiusdem castri cum ij. furruris de agnis et pro iij.\textsuperscript{b} alii robis ad op(us) iij. aliorum Janitorum sine furruris, et pro robis sine furruris ad opus duorum caretariorum et vij. vigilum in eodem castro moranciun\textsuperscript{8} xv. li. et xiiij. s. et xj. d. per breue eiusdem. Et habent de superplus(agio) xvij. s.

Require compotum de Bertona Bristol' et de cascia et de miscerdiis (sic) judeorurn in dorso huius rotuli.\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{3} An Arnold William, merchant of Bordeaux, was concerned with wine in 1216 (\textit{Rot. Lit. Cl.} i. 266); there are also several references in the close rolls to a William Arnold, merchant of Bordeaux: cf also Bemont \textit{Roles Gascons}, index. There seems to be no certainty as to the identity of the particular Arnold William mentioned here.

\textsuperscript{6} Cf the order to the bailiffs of Bristol of 3 August 1224 (\textit{Rot. Lit. Cl.} i. 614b).

\textsuperscript{7} Cf supra p. 6.

\textsuperscript{8} The writ to the bailiffs of Bristol authorising expenditure on all these liveries, with certain limitations as to price in the case of each official except the chamberlain, was issued on 9 October 1224 (\textit{Rot. Lit. Cl.} i. 624 and 649b). A slightly higher price had been allowed for the cook’s gown of russet and blue in 1223 at Gloucester (\textit{ibid.} p. 538), while in 1222 clothes were also authorised for Eleanor’s two damsels (\textit{puellis}; \textit{ibid.} p. 510; cf. \textit{C. Lib. R.} i 113).

\textsuperscript{9} supra, p. 5.
Peter de la Mare, 1282–84

Enrolled account. Castle, town and barton. E372/128/m26. (I have not been able to find this account on the two surviving chancellor’s rolls: E352/76 & 77.) Mich.1282–Mich.1284.

Compotus Petri de la Mare de exitibus Castri, ville et Berthone Bristoll a festo sancti Micheli Anno x⁰ finiente¹ usque ad idem festum Anno xj⁰² finiente scilicet de Annis undecimo et duodecimo integr(is)³.

Idem reddit compotum de ix.li. vj.d. de redditu assiso in eadem villa de Anno xj⁰. Et de iiij.s. de firma Joelis clerici de eodem tempore de qua firma idem Joel oneratur in magno Rotulo in Glouc’. Et de v.s. de firma terre Petri Miparti⁴ de redditu domorum que fuerunt Joseph⁵ iudei de eodem tempore de qua firma idem Petrus oneratur ibidem. Et de xij.d. de ij. paribus Calcarium deauratorum de redditu Johanni filii et heredis Paulini de La Corderie et Roberti de La Warr⁶ vend(itis)

² Viz. Mich. 1283. This would mean that the account only covered one year, whereas it covers two; presumably the end of the twelfth year was meant here.
³ Viz. Mich. 1282–Mich. 1284, which is in fact what the account covers.
⁴ Joel the clerk and Mipary appear in the accounts as early as 1252–53 (E372/97/m20). These payments are amongst the receipts answered for by the first sheriff of Bristol, 1373–74 (E372/219). In E372/121/m21 the nominative is Johelus.
⁵ This Joseph cannot certainly be identified amongst the names of Jews in Bristol given in Adler, Jews of Medieval England, pp. 249–51, but a Joseph the Jew had held houses in Winch Street before 1251, (ibid. p. 181) and a Jospinus since July 1241 (cf. supra n.4), and are then alleged to have been payable since 11th July 1241. Houses seem to have been acquired by Miparty from Jospinus the Jew in Winch Street and to have stretched towards the Frome.
⁶ A Paul de Corderia (Ropery) was acknowledged in 39 Hen. III. as holding ‘the third part, nearest the Corderye’ of a messuage with appurtenances in Bristol (Veale, BRS, ii. 186 No. 23); he was associated with Margery his daughter, in an undated 13th C. deed concerning this, or other, property in the ropery (ibid. p. 276). It was perhaps this daughter Margery who married William the draper (E372/122/m28). Some much later proceedings by writ of error (1391), concerning an assize of fresh force in Bristol refers to a grant of premises made earlier by a Paul de Corderia (Veale, op. cit. p. 90).
per idem tempus. Et de iiiij.d. de iij.caponibus de redditu Petri de Keye⁷ venditis per idem tempus. Et de j.d. de j. libra Cymini de redditu cuiusdam tenementi iuxta Gurgitem vend(ita) per idem tempus. Et de x.s. de certo reddito pro Tronagio Lane per idem tempus. Et de v.s. de reddito cuiusdam domus q(ue) fuit Meiroth Judei conversi defuncti⁸ per idem tempus. Et de xij.s. de certa consuetudine octo Laneorum Tixtorum⁹ de terminis sancti Martini et sancti Petri ad vincula scilicet de quolibet eorum per annum xvij.d. de eodem tempore. Et de xij.s. de certa consuetudine xij. pistorum¹⁰ de predicto termino sancti Martini que quidem consuetudo vocatur Cupag' scilicet de quolibet eorum per annum xij.d. siue sint plures siue pauciores. Et de x.d. de certa consuetudine x. pistorum de pane vend(ito) in cophinis¹¹ de eadem tempore scilicet de quolibet eorum j.d. per idem tempus. Et de iiij.s. iiiij.d. de certa consuetudine xx.sutorum¹² scilicet de quolibet eorum ii.d. de predicto termino Sancti Martini. Et de viij.d. de certa consuetudine xiiiij. regrat iarum¹³ vendencium fabas et pis(a) poma et alia huiusmodi minuta ad median quadragesime scilicet de qualibet earum ob. per idem tempus. Et de x.l.s. de firma vici in quo mercatum fuit antiquitus per idem tempus.¹⁴ Et de x.l.s. de firma prisone pro consuetudine allearum Ceparum Cardonium seminis poric(ti) et huiusmodi minutarum rerum vend(itarum) per idem tempus.¹⁵ Et de xxxij.li. de consue-

⁷ Here the name is clearly written de Keye, but elsewhere it is given as de la Leye (E372/121/m21; E372/122/m28; E372/124/m24 &c.). The rent was due at Michaelmas and the tenement was sublet in 1285 (Veale, BRS, iv. 76; ibid. ii. 161).
⁸ Or, Meir, (Adler, p. 229). He does not appear in the lists of Bristol Jews in Adler, though his sons do (ibid. pp. 229 & 250). He is described as deceased in 1278–79 (E372/124/m24), and later is said to have been a convert (E372/126/m6) (1280–81); (SC6/851/1) (1284–85).
⁹ The names of eight weavers paying the custom in 1299–1300 are given in SC.6/851/6m3 and in 1300–03 in SC6/851/8mm 2, 3, 4, names are also given. The names of nineteen bakers are similarly given.
¹⁰ Cf. the tolls from breadbaskets (corbells) in Lincoln (Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p. 215).
¹¹ The names of 33 cobblers paying these dues in 1299–1300, are to be found in SC6/851/6m3. See also infra p. 23 and 29 n. 11. Also Bibliography MS Sources.
¹² There is little doubt that these were ‘regratesses’, i.e. women. They have been conveniently described as greengrocers (Hilton, Medieval Society, pp. 206, 226). A list of 22 of them in 1299–1300 given as above. The forms regratariarum; regratarium; regratararum; also occur. See also infra, p. 23, n. 13.
¹³ A lower farm than before. £3 in previous years.
¹⁴ Customary payments on garlic, onions, teasels, leek seed. Cheese is also mentioned in some accounts. For leek, the forms peri, porri, porecti, porrecti and porreti are found.
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tudine nauium applicantium ibidem cum M\(^{16}\)M\(^{l}\).D.xl.doleis vini scilicet de quolibet doleo iij.d. per idem tempus preter naues de libertatibus diversis \(^{17}\) applicatas cum vinis de quibus consuetudine non debetur sicut continetur in Rotulo de particulis. Et de l(?)xxij.li.v.j.s.iiij.d. de consuetudine Lane coreorum ferri butiri panni cepi vincti et aliarum rerum venalium veniencium ad eandem villam per idem tempus excepto tempore Nundinarum de quo respondet infra. Et de ix.li.vij.s.v.d. de (exitibus) \(^{18}\) Nundinarum in eadem villa per idem tempus. Et de x.s. de quodam tenemento quod fuit Matild' La Salere combuste propter falsam monetam quod nunc est exchaeta Regis\(^{19}\) sic positum ad firmam per idem tempus. Et de viij.li. xij.s.ix.d. de xxix.quarteriis iij.bussellis frumenti et j.quarterio et dimidio mixtilioniis de exitu molend (ini) \(^{20}\) Regis sub castro Regis venditis per idem tempus. Et de xxvj.li.xij.s.iiij.d. de placitis et perquisitis Cur(iarium) per idem tempus. Idem non respondet de consuetudine stallorum (sic) eo quod Rex commisit stalla cum exitibus earundem (sic) Bartholomeo Peiteuin donec Rex ei assignaret triginta libratas terre sicut continetur in Rotulo de particulis.\(^{21}\)

Summa huius anni C.lxvj.li. iiiij.s. v.d.

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\(^{16}\) In accounts for 1275–77 (E372/121/m21) under expenses ‘doliorum’ occurs when used as containers for flour. Could casks for wine have been spelt with an e, and those for other commodities with an i? The words doleum and dolium are not often extended from dol', and it would be rash to generalise from a couple of instances. There is no very clear indication of a change of scribe to account for the inconsistent spelling of the latter part of the account.

\(^{17}\) Libertatibus de Cardegana Kermerdny Kerdyf Kaernervan Coneway Bristol et aliis diversis libertatibus Wallie Anglie et Hibernie (SC6/851/1) (1284–85).

\(^{18}\) The right-hand edge of the document is badly blurred in places.

\(^{19}\) This property is first mentioned as an escheat let to farm in 1280–81 (E372/126/m6).

\(^{20}\) molend' here, but in the accounts for 1287–88, 1288–89, 1289–90 (E101/15/35m14 and m13; E372/136/m25) de exitu molendini Regis sub castro occurs. In 1301–02 a note of expenditure on the king’s mills below the castle mentions a second mill (infra p. 56) and in the following year a third and fourth mill are mentioned, but not specified as the king’s.

\(^{21}\) This item first occurs in the accounts of Bartholomew le Joevene covering the period from July 1275–October 1277 (E372/121/m21), and referring to a royal writ as his warrant. It is not repeated in the three accounts of Peter de la Mare covering the years 1277–78 (E372/122/m28); 1278–80 (E372/124/m24), or 1280–82 (E372/126/m6), but occurs again in this account. In the meantime, on 26 December 1279, Bartholomew le Poitevin was licensed to let the king’s stalls at Bristol, which he had been granted for life, at farm to ‘whomsoever he will’ for one year (CPR, 1278–81, p. 355).
Idem reddit compotum de C. liii. li. i.j.s. vij.d. ob. de consimilibus exitibus eiusdem ville de anno xij⁰ sicut continetur in Rotulo de particulis quem predictus Petrus liberavit in thesauro.

Summa huius anni C. liii. li. i.j.s. vij.d. ob.

Summa viariusque anni CCC. xix. li. vij. s. ob.


Castrum Bristoll et Berthona de anno xij⁰

Idem reddit compotum de xxij.li. x.v.s. x.d. de quadam prisae ceruisie in villa Bristoll que vocatur tina pertinente ad Castrum²⁴ predictum de predicto anno xij⁰. Et de xij.s. vij.d. de herbaggio et fructibus gardinorum Regis ibidem venditis per idem tempus. Et de vij.d. de redditu unius mesuagii Johannis de Wodestok²⁵ per idem tempus. Et de xiiij.s. iij.d. de herbaggio et fructibus gardini quod fuit Petri aurifabri²⁶ nunc exchaet Regis sic positum ad firmam (per)¹⁸ idem tempus. Et de x.s. de herbaggio et fructibus gardini quod fuit Cristine Le Clerc²⁷ nunc exchaet(a) Regis sic

²² This distinction between the payment in pence (or money), and the fixed payment of a mark persists throughout the accounts. Cf. the similar recurring payment to the monks of Tewkesbury.

²³ Tewkesbury.

²⁴ In SC6/851/6 m3d (1299–1300), 6 (1298–99) and 8 (1297–98); also in SC6/851/8 mm 1, 2, 4 (1300–03), weekly totals for the time of the castle are given.

²⁵ This item first appears in the account for the 7th year, 1278–79 (E372/124/24). According to the account for 1284–85 (SC6/851/1) the mesuage was formerly of Cresse ludei suspensi. A Jew called Cresse had been 'lately' hanged in Bristol in June 1261 (CR, 1259–61 pp. 396—97).

²⁶ This also first appears in the 7th year under expenses. Cf. SC1 xxiii No. 168 (Ancient Correspondence of Chancery and Exchequer) where it appears that Peter's houses had been given to John le Forester by the queen.

²⁷ Christine, late the wife of Peter le Clerk, quit-claimed to the king 'all her lands and tenements, as well of her dower as of marriage and purchase' before 29
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positum ad firmam per idem tempus. Et de xxij.s. iiiij.d. de placitis et perquisitis Judeorum in Castro per idem tempus. Et de xxij.li. xiiij.s. vij.d. de redditu asiso hamelettis de Stapleton Manegodefeld et Eston pertincibu ad predictam Berthonam de terminis Sancti Andree Pasce Sancti Johannis et Sancti Michaelis una cum quinque vacuis placeis in Manegodesfeld et Stapleton arentatis per annum pro viij.s.vij.d.29 per idem tempus sicut continetur in Rotulo de particulis. Et de xxviii.s. xj.d. de certis consuetudinibus Churech ch(ct) Petrespeni Wodepeni et Benesed in eisdem Hamelettis sic(uc) continetur ibidem per idem tempus. Et de iiij.li . xiij.s. iiij .d . de annuo auxilio custumariorum ibidem per idem tempus . Et de x.s. de certo fine decennariorum ad visum franci plegii per idem tempus.

March 1278 (CPR, 1272–81, p. 288). Her possessions included lands, tenements, burgages and rents, and these, together with the similar holdings of Isolda, Peter’s daughter and heir, already deceased, had come into the hands of Queen Eleanor the king’s wife. Isolda’s holdings in the suburbs and within Lawford’s gate were valued at £10.9s. at the time of her death, about 1266 or earlier, but by July 1277 were only worth £6.5s.2½d. (C.I.Misc. i, no. 1080). The aggregate holdings were granted by the king, apart from the garden below Brandon Hill which she kept ‘to her own use’, to her marshal the king’s serjeant Master Thomas de Bardeneye (CPR, 1272–81, p. 278). The date of the king’s ratification of this grant is 28 Sept. 1278 (ibid.). The escheated lands of Christine in Barton hundred were given by the king to Master Thomas before 22 April 1278 (C.I. ii, no. 334. Cf. GI Inq. iv, 110–11). Christine, at the queen’s request, had been granted maintenance for life from St. Augustine’s abbey, Bristol, before 29 Dec. 1277 (CPR, 1272–81, p. 249). It is not quite clear whether Christine was the widow of that Peter the clerk who died before Feb. 16. 1248 (Ross, BRS xxi, 107, no. 153.n.); if so, she had been a widow for over 30 years. This Peter witnessed a number of deeds in the fifteen years or so before his death (ibid.). His widow Christine was involved in a dispute with Peter his son as to her reasonable dower (Veale, BRS ii, 184. Cf. J Itin. 1/273/m24d., 26d.). Amongst the possessions of one or the other Peter was a tenement in Wine St. (Veale. BRS iv 105, cf. 81) and the messuages in Small St. and Corn St. (J Itin.1/273/m26d.). Christine had also held a garden on St. Michael’s Hill (super moncem) which had come to the king’s hands and was rented at 18s. a year (Veale.BRS iv, 74). Bardeneye’s not inconsiderable possessions in Bristol by the time of his death in 1296 are detailed in C.I. iii, no. 351. 28 See the introduction pp. xxxvi–xlvi for these hamlets.

29 The total of money paid in rents was being slowly increased year by year: in 1280–81 (E372/126/m6) the total of rents paid in the hamlets was £21.5.7½. At sometime during that year two empty plots in Mangotsfield wer let at 7/- per annum. For 1281–82 only the total receipt for castle and barton is given (ibid.) but the total for the hamlets was now probably £21.7.7½. At some time during that year five empty plots in Stapleton and Mangotsfield were let at 7/- per annum (ibid.).

30 According to an account for 1285–86 (SC6/851/2) the totals for each of these payments were: Churceschete 5/5d.; Petrispen’ 7/1.; Wodepen’ 7/7d.; Boonseed 8/19d. See also E372/121/21 (1275–77) for amounts paid by each hamlet at Michaelmas.
Et de xiiij.li. xij.s. de operibus Custumariorum relaxatis per idem tempus. Et de xij.li. xij.s. v.d. de blado in grosso vendito ibidem per idem tempus. Et de lviij.s. iij.d. de herbagio et pastura venditis per idem tempus. Et de xxxij.s. de certa consuetudine que vocatur Wodeseluer in foresta Regis citra Auen'. Et de xxij.s. x.d. ob. de pannagio in eadem foresta per idem tempus. Et de xxx.s. vij.d. pro carbonibus mar(itimis) fodiendis infra limites forestae predicte per idem tempus. Et de x.s. de praebendis que vocatur Wodeseluer in foresta Regis citra Auen'. Et de xxij.s. x.d. pro de praebendis ade quasdam domos in Winchester que fuit Benedicti in munere dicturnante regis et de m4d. ad muros faciendos.

31 From 1276–77 the amount of these annual payments had varied: 1275–76 £10.10.3³⁄₄ (E372/121/21); 1277–78 £12.16.4 (E372/122/28); 1278–79 £13.2.0³⁄₄ (E372/124/24); 1279–80, separate total not given; 1280–81 £13.15.0 (E372/126/6); but from now on seem to have remained fixed, at least for a number of years: cf. pp. 51, 59.

32 A phrase often used in the accounts, but the meaning is nowhere clarified. It could mean that the crop was sold wholesale (cf. Niermeyer sub grossum) or more probably, that it was sold in bulk, that is as a whole, perhaps as standing corn. ‘As one lot’ is an accepted translation (cf. Salzman, Suss. RS lv, p. 2 and passim).

33 Details of individual payments of pannage are given for 1299–1300 in SC6/851/6 m3d, ibid. 6d (1298–99), 8d (1297–98); also in SC6/851/8 m2d (1302–03), m3d (1300–01) and m4 (1301–02).

34 In the roll of particulars for 1284–85 (SC6/851/1), 14d. de quarera lapidea ad tegendum, 3/8d. ad muros faciendos.

35 The ‘ordinary clay pottery made at Bristol from local clay” (VCH Gloucs. ii, 214).

36 See infra p. 34 (n.55).

37 Cur’ here, but curiarum in full is found in E352/75/11 (1280–82).

38 Benedict was a very wealthy man, the best known of the five sons of the famous money-lender Licoricia, who included Simon de Montfort amongst her clients. Benedict was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1278 with some 680 other Jews on suspicion of coin-clipping, and was then hanged. For Benedict and his family, see Adler, Jews of Medieval England. In 1290 this tenement in Winch St. was valued at 13s.4d. annually, if the house was repaired, and at 10s. before such repairs (ibid. p. 246).

39 Little seems to be known of Moses (or Mosse) of Kent’s connections with Bristol. He was a man of some standing in Jewry (Jenkinson, Cal. Jewish Pl., iii.
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posita ad firmam hoc anno. Et non respondet de exitibus domus predicte de annis precedentibus propter causam prenotatam.

Summa huius anni C.xviij.li. xj.s.ob (rectius £117.11.1)

Idem reddit compotum de C.xix.li.xj.s. v.d.ob de consimilibus exitibus Castri et Berthone Bristol de toto anno xij0 sicut continetur in particulis, computatis in eadem summa xi.s. receptis de ij placeis que fuerunt Hake le Prest(re) Judei suspens[40] prius vacuis nunc edicatis per breve Regis[41] sic positis ad firmam hoc anno

Summa huius anni C.xix.li. xj.s. v.d. ob.

Summa utriusque anni CC.xxxvij.li. ijs. vj.d.


Summa utriusque debiti D.x.li. xix.s. vj.d. ob.

Et xxx[42] li. ijs. ijd.ob. de remanentia compoti sui qui require super eundem in Rotulo x. in Rotulis compotorum[43]

Et in cordis et fillo(sic) empoto et liberato Roger(de) stringhoese[44] vicecomiti Salop' ad cariendo usque Castrum de

54) who received permission in 1276 to live at Wilton (ibid. p. 127); he was accused of trespass and forgery by the Prior of Barnwell in 1277, and acquitted (ibid. p. 244), and was executed some time later outside Bristol castle, for some reason which remains obscure (Adler, p. 230). A Moses the Jew of Bristol was involved indirectly in a plea of 1247–48 (J.Itin. 1/27/274 ml 2d).

40 Hak (or Isaac) le Prestre was more closely associated with Bristol than were the other Jews named here, who merely owned property there. He became one of the chirographers in Bristol; he was possibly dismissed from this office in 1274 on suspicion of forgery, and was certainly fined. In 1278 he was arrested and sentenced to death by hanging. He was a wealthy man, as is proved by his jewels, clothing and books, in an inventory of 1285 (Adler, p. 246 and passim). The Jewish names of le Prestre and l’Eveque are discussed in H.P. Stokes, Studies in Anglo-Jewish History.

41 Infra, p 18 for the cost of the rebuilding. By 1290 these plots were worth 25s, and owed 3½d to the king as “langable rent” (Adler, pp. 246). They were situated in Winch Street (SC6/851/1) and were now escaela Regis.

42 An erasure here, probably jd.

43 In the account for 1280–82 (E372/126/m6).

44 The right hand side of the membrane again faded and illegible, and “de” is supplied. Stringhoese, more often called Springhoese, Springhouse, etc., had been sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire since Oct. 1278 (PRO, L & I ix); his
Caernaruan anno xj0 ix.li. xij.d.ob. per breve Regis. Et pro iiij.doleis vini ad opus Alianor' Regine Anglie emptis et per ipsum Petrum a villa Bristol usque Wok(yn) et in celariss eiusdem Regine ibidem liberatis anno x0 viij.li. iij.s. v.d. per breve Regis. Et in diversis et minutis necessariis in castro predicto factis ratione more Edwardi filii Regis et filie Regis viij.li. xvij.s. vj.d.ob. per breve Regis. (Et) in expensis Lewelini filii Dauid filii Griffini et Oweni fratris eiusdem Lewelini et deceem et septem equitum et xxv. hominum peditum ipsos Leweliniun et Owenum salvo conducencium de acton Burnel usque Castrum Bristol per . . . dies ante festum sancti Jacobi anno xj047 ixij.s. iij.d. per breve Regis. Et pro potura ipsorum Lewelini et Oweni a festo sancti Jacobi anno predicto usque ad idem festum proximo sequens videlicet vj.d. per diem ix.li. iij.s. per idem tempus. Et pro robis lineis telis calcamentii et alii necessariis ad opus ipsorum Lewelini et Oweni emptis48 anno predicto iiiij.li. iij.s. v.d. ob. per idem breve. Et quinque garcionibus ipsos Leweliniun et Owenum in castro predicto custodientibus (pro vadiis) et stipendiis suis anno predicto quolibet capit per diem iij.d. et xijij.s. iiij.d. pro stipendiis suis per annum xvij.li. x.s. per idem breve. Et pro iiiij.doleis vini emptis per preceptum Regis et liberatis Hugoni Turbeuill' (ex) dono Regis anno xj0 ix.li. vj.s.viiiij.d. per breve Regis.49 Et pro j.doleo vini empto et pro cariagio eiusdem a villa Bristol usque Ludelawe50 et ibidem Laur(encio) de Ludelawe liberato in name certainly begins with “st” here. He was called Springhouse by J.E. Morris (op.cit., index), and Springhouse by Sir Goronwy Edwards (Cal.Anc.Corr. concerning Wales, index).

Edward the king’s son was born at Carnarvon on 25 April 1284; he remained there for some four months and then, with his sisters Eleanor and Joan, journeyed by Chester and Acton Burnell to Bristol (H. Johnstone, Edward of Carnarvon p. 10 n. 2). Eustace of Hatch, keeper of the king’s children, was responsible for this expenditure at Bristol (C.62/61.m7). Hatch was “a prominent banneret of the Welsh and Scottish wars” (Morris, p. 51). It is curious that only one daughter of the king is mentioned in this account. Their parents joined the children at Bristol on 21 Dec. 1284 (Itinerary, loc.cit. PRO).

For Llewellyn and Owen, see Introduction p. xxx. The reference here to the number of days taken on this journey is illegible, but it took three days at £1.is.5d. a day, as the constable’s request for allowance of his expenses makes clear (SC1/xxv. no. 127a).

25 July 1283.

The purchases included a striped cloth (pro uno panno stragulato integro) bought for the use of the boys at a cost of £3 (SC1/xxv/127a).

CCR 1279–88, p. 224, 20 Oct. 1283, an order to Peter to let Hugh have four tuns from the right prise in his custody.

The wine had not of course necessarily been taken at Ludlow originally; the king does not seem to have been at Ludlow himself after 22 Aug. 1278. (Itinerary, loc.cit. PRO).
recompensacionem j. dolei vini quod (Rex ab) eo capi fecit anno predicto liij.s. viij.d. per idem breve. Et pro j.doleo vini et pro cariagio eiusdem a villa Bristol usque Hereford et ibidem Rogero de Burghull vicecomiti Hereford\(^{51}\) liberato in recompensacionem j. dolei vini quod (Rex ab) eo capi fecit ad opus suum anno predicto liij.s. per idem breve. Et pro iij.doleis vini emptis et pro cariagio earundem(sic) a villa Bristol usque Wygorn\(^{52}\) et ibidem Priori Wygorn' liberatis in recompensacionem iij. doleorum vini quod Rex (ab eo capi) fecit ad opus suum anno xij\(^9\) viij.li. v.s. ix.d. per idem breve. Et pro j. doleo vini empto et Priori de Leministre\(^{52a}\) liberato in recompensacionem j. dolei vini quod Rex ab eo capi fecit ad opus suum\(^{53}\) anno predicto xlvj.s. viij.d. per idem breve. Et pro doleo vini et pro cariagio eiusdem a villa Bristol usque Prioratum de\(^{54}\) Lanton' extra Glouc\(^{54}\) et ibidem Priori illius loci liberato in recompensacionem j. dolei vini quod Rex ab eo capi fecit anno predicto xlviiij.s. iij.d. per idem breve. Et in cons(tractione) ij domorum super duas vacuas plac' in vico Judaismi\(^{55}\) Bristol que sunt eschaeta Regis ad opus Regis arrentata pro anno eodem de quarum arreentacione respondet supra\(^{56}\) xix.li. xj.s. ij.d. qua’ per idem breve. Et in quadam boueria de nouo construenda in manerio de La Berton' anno eodem xiiij.li. xvij.s. j.d.ob. per idem breve. Et eidem Petro pro annuo feodo suo xl. marcarum quod Rex ei concessit percipto pro custodia Ballie sue anno x(iij?') xl. marcas per idem breve. Et Johanni Luue\(^{57}\) custodi foreste Regis de Kingswode qui capit per diem viij.d. ob. pro vadiis suis per tempus predictum xj.li. viij.s. vj.d. per idem breve. Et Ianitori\(^{58}\)

\(^{51}\) He seems to have been sheriff of Herefordshire from 25 Oct. 1278 to 15 May 1291 (PRO L&J ix).

\(^{52}\) Perhaps the visit of 24–30 Nov. 1283 is referred to, but Edward had also been at Worcester in May 1282, and Dec. 1281 for Christmas (Itin. loc. cit. PRO).

\(^{52a}\) Bannister, A.T. *The Place Names of Herefordshire*, 1916, p. 114 notes the form “Leministria” from a charter of 1227.

\(^{53}\) *ad opus suum* interlined.

\(^{54}\) *Prioratum de* interlined.

\(^{55}\) For the Jewry, see Adler, pp. 178–79. This expenditure must refer to a new Jewry: *ibid.* pp. 181–82 and 245–7. Can Winch Street have been described as a *Nous Judaismus*? The tenants of the two new houses paid “langable” rent of 43/4d. and were worth 25/- a year to the king *ibid.* pp. 246–7.

\(^{56}\) Cf. the account for castle and barton for the 12th year (1283–84) *supra* p. 16.

\(^{57}\) John Love’s appointment to the bailiwick of Kingswood forest, as successor to John the Clerk (and at the same rate of pay), dates from 29 March 1278 (*CPR*, I272–81, p. 261). Last payment to John le Clerk in E372/122/m28; the first to John Love in E372/124/m24.

\(^{58}\) In the accounts for 1276–79, the janitor is named as Robert le Ster (E372/121/m21; E372/122/m28; E372/124/m24).
Castri predicti qui capitis per d(iem) ij.d. pro vadiis suis per idem
temps lx.s.vij.d. per idem breve. Et ij.vigilibus Castri predicti
quorum uterque capitis per diem j.d. ob. pro vadiis suis per idem
temps iiiij.li. xj.s. per idem breve. Et eisdem vigilibus quorum
quilibet capitis per noctem quadranten pro stipendiis suis per idem
temps xv.s. ij.d. per idem breve. Et Willelmo Durep59 de anno
predicto pro xl.s. quos singulis annis percepit ex concessione
Regis xl.s. per idem breve. Et Ricardo Cissori Regine consortis
Regis cu(stodi) maritime Bri(stoll)60 pro robis suis de anno
predicto xxvj.s. viij.d. per idem breve. Et in capella sancti
Martini in eodem Castro de nouo construenda anno xij61
CC.xvij.li. vij.s. iiiij.d. per idem breve Regis. Et in quibusdam
Cameris kernelatis iuxta dictam capellam de nouo construendis
ac in emendatione et reparatione domorum et murorum eiusdem
Castri anno predicto xlix. li. iij.s. j.d. per idem breve et per
sacramentum magistri Thome de M(onte) Sorelli (sic) visoris
Regis operacionis castri predicti62 coram Rege præstium. Et

59 To William Durep, or Durpe quondam servienti Regis 40/-, which the king
granted to him to be received from the constable (E372/124/m24) (1278–80).
It was evidently paid from the farm of the town, at Easter and Michaelmas (E372/
121/m21 (1275–77). The allowances to William and the other officials were
authorized by a letter which survives in the Collection of Ancient Correspondence
SC1/xxxiii/160.

60 The first reference to this office in these accounts is in E372/124/m24 (1280).
A Robert of the Wardrobe had been given the custody of the seashore “after the
battle of Evesham”, presumably by the lord Edward (Sayles, SS, lv.133–34). On
28 July 1275 a Richard de la Garderobe, also a servant of the queen, in considera-
tion of his long services to her, had been granted a moiety of this same office,
viz. “the serjeanty of the seashore of Bristol” which Robert de la Garderobe
deceased had held by the king’s grant (CPR,1272–81, p. 101). On 11 Feb. 1280
Richard the tailor called “keeper of the maritime serjeancy, of Bristol” was to be
allowed two robes yearly, or a mark, for each of his serjeants, as Robert de la
Garderobe late keeper and others had received (CCR, 1279–88), p. 6). (The
index describes Robert as “keeper of the serjeancy of Bristol castle” but this is
not apparent in the text as printed). Payments to Richard de la Garderobe do not
appear in earlier constables’ accounts: it seems probable that Richard of the
Wardrobe and Richard the tailor were one and the same. These keepers later

61 An allocate to Peter de la Mare for these building expenses is recorded in C
62/61 m8 (1 Jan. 1284).

62 Thomas Mountsorrel was appointed to survey the works of the castle and to
be paid the wages which Master William de Mountsorrel, deceased, had been
allowed from the issues of the murage of the town, 17 Dec. 1276 (CPR, 1272–81,
p. 186). Cf. King’s Works, ii. 580, where Master Thomas is said to have
succeeded Master William in 1276, but where these repairs are attributed to 1282–
83 (though the supporting reference is to the Pipe Roll 12 Ed. 1). The supervisors
took their work seriously: on one occasion, in 1288–89, £5 was taken from the
goods of Alan the carpenter, lately deceased, “for defects in the carpentry of the
queen’s chamber” (E372/134/m1; E101/15/35m13).
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

eidem Petro de annuo feodo suo xl.marcarum quod Rex concessit percipien
d' pro custodia Ballie predicte de anno xi\(^0\) xl.marc' per breve Regis. Et Johanni (Luue) custodi foreste de Kingswode pro vadiis suis predictis de eodem anno xj.li. vij.s. vj.d. per idem breve. Et Janitorii Castri predicti pro vadiis suis predictis per idem tempus lx.s. viij.d. per idem breve. Et predictis jibus (vigilibus) (pro) vadiis suis predictis tam per diem quam per noctem per idem tempus C.vj.s. ijd. per idem breve. Et eidem Willelmo Durep de anno predicto pro xl.s. quos singulis annis percipit ex concessione Regis xl.s. per idem breve. Et predicto Ricardo Cissori ( )\(^18\) de anno eodem ijd.marc' per idem breve. Et pro cartagio cariagio et discartagio C. doleorum vini missorum apud Cruky anno xi\(^0\) ix.li. viij.s. x.d. per breve Regis. Et pro cariagio cartagio et discartagio et recto C. Dooleorum vini missorum apud Lampadernau anno eodem xxxvij.li. xij.s. j.d. per idem breve. (Et pro cariagio) cartagio et discartagio et recto iij\(^3\)et xj. doliorum vini missorum apud Acton Burnel anno eodem xxvij.li. viij.s. viij.d. per idem breve. Et eidem Petro pro expensis suis quas fecit in eundo Londinium per tres ( )\(^18\) preceptum Regis et redeundo vsque Bristoll per xxij.dies percipienti per diem ijs. anno predicto xlviij.s. per idem breve. Et circa constructionem cuiusdam grangie in Berton' extra Bristoll Anno x\(^0\).xvi.li. ix.s.v ( )\(^65\) per breve Regis. Et septem arcubus per ipsum Petrum emptis ad Regem missis vsque Rothelan ad opus vij. sagittariorum Regis anno xi\(^o\).xvij.s. vj.d. per idem breve. Et Maiori et Ballivis Bristoll pro diversis misis et ex(pensis?) (que) idem maior et Ballivi fecerunt in cariagio vinorum et aliorum victualium Regis de Bristol vsque Cestr' et in reparatione Nauium et Bargiarum vina et victualia illa ducencium et in vadiis Balistariorum in eisdem Naubus existencium pro vinis et victualibus predictis custodiendis propter Walenses inimicos Regis. Et in factura quarellorum ad opus Regis anno predicto C.ix.li. xvij.s. iij.d. ob. qua. per idem breve. Et Johanni de Weston clericio pro (C.x.s.)ijd. in quibus Rex tenebatur Johanni de Weston de Bristoll\(^64\) defuncto pro pannis ab ipsos tempore Regis Henrici patris Regis per Adam de Wynton tunc Constabularium Castri Bristoll\(^65\) ad opus Regis captis et quos

\(^{63}\) The number of pence is illegible. Possibly 7d.

\(^{64}\) A John de Weston was reeve of the town at some time during the period 1269–72 (Ross, BRS, xxi pp. 99, 284) (ibid. p. 109).

\(^{65}\) See infra p. 82. The precise dates of Adam’s tenure of the constableship are not known.
Peter de la Mare — 1282-84

idem (defunctus) in vltimis diebus suis legauit Cristine que fuit vxor eius que pecuniam illam concessit prefato clerico de dono Regis C.x.s.j.d. per breve Regis. Et pro vj. doleis vini per ipsum Petrum emptis ad opus (Regis) usque Glouc' et liberatis ibidem Matheo de Columbaris pincerne Regis anno xij°. xiiiij.li. xvj.s. vijj.d. per breve Regis superius allocat' pro cordis et filo liberatis ‘Rogero Springhoese vicecomiti Salop’. Et pro cariagio predictorum.vj. doleorum vini et aliorum. ix. doleorum vini de Bristoll usque Glouc’ anno predicto. xxvij.s. v.d. per idem breve.

Summa misarum per brevia DCC.xxiiij.li. iiiij.s. xj.d.

Et habet de superplusagio C.iiiijxxj.li. iiij.s. ij.d. qui allocantur in compoto suo de eisdem exitibus in Rotulo xv in rotulis compotorum.

66 A writ of privy seal dated 15 Jan. 1280 to Peter de la Mare, informed him that the king had appointed Matthew de Columbaris his chamberlain, to make the king’s prises of wine throughout the kingdom, and ordered Peter to answer to Matthew for prises made or to be made at Bristol for which Matthew was ultimately to be responsible. Matthew was called king’s butler as early as 1275 (CCR, 1272-79, p. 204); cf. A.L. Simon, History of the Wine Trade in England i, 145; CCR, 1272-79, p. 474 (21 Aug. 1278); and CPR, 1273-81, p. 326 (21 Sept. 1279) and ibid. p. 463 (11 Nov. 1281), concerning the taking of right prise at Southampton, Bristol, etc. In the Bristol accounts for 1285-86 (SC6/851/2), prisage is said to be in the hands of Matthew le Botiler.

67 Supra p. 16, n. 44.

68 1286-87, E372/133/m28.
Peter de la Mare, 1289–91

Enrolled account. Castle, town, and barton. E372/136/m25 (P); E352/86/m1 (C) Mich. 1289 to 3 Nov. 1291. Calendar; detail as in that for Peter de la Mare 1282–84. Account submitted on Peter’s behalf by John, his son and heir, till 17 Oct. 1291 when Peter died, and from then till 3 Nov. when Ralph de Middleton received the bailiwick from John.

Account on behalf of Peter de la Mare, of John his son and heir,1 of the issues of the castle and town of Bristol with the barton, from Mich. at the beginning of the 18th year2 till Mich. at the end of the 19th,3 viz. for 2 whole years. And from then till Wed. the Vigil of St Luke the Evangelist next,4 before the death of Peter.5 And from that Wed. to Sat. the morrow of All Souls next,6 before John delivered the castle, town and barton, with appurtenances to Ralph de Middleton,7 by the king’s writ (Mich. 1289–3 Nov. 1291).

Receipts, Town. Eighteenth year (1289–90)

£9.6d. assessed rents; 4s. from Joel the clerk; 5s. from Peter Miparty8; 12d. from the sale of two pairs of gilded spurs; 4d. from two capons;9 1½d. from the sale of 1lb. of cumin (paid by

1 Compotus Petri de la Mare Joh(annis) fil(ii) et her(edis) pro eo de exitibus . . .
2 Mich. 1289.
3 Mich. 1291.
4 17 Oct. 1291.
5 antequam idem Petrus moreretur.
6 3 Nov. 1291.
7 Rad’ de Midligton’; C.Middelton’. Ralph de Mercato (sic) was appointed 26 Oct. 1291 (CPR, 1281–92, p.448).
8 Miparti in both P. and C.
9 The tenants paying rent of spurs: John filius et heres Paulini de Cordaria et Roberti de la Ware or, Roberti le Warre; capons de redditu de Legh, or, Petri de Legh’.
Peter de la Mare — 1289-91

Roger doding; 10s. from tronage of wool; 5s. from the rent of Meir’s former house; 12s. from 8 wool-weavers, 11s. from 11 bakers for cuppage, 3s.6d. from 21 cobblers, 10d. from 10 bakers selling bread in baskets, and 7d. from 14 regraters; £2s from the farm of the street where the market was formerly held, and £2s from the farm of the prison. Also £22.3s.3d. from ships with 1773 tuns of wine; £95.14s.5d. from wool, hides, etc.; £7.18s.6d. from the fairs; 10s. from the escheated tenement of Matilda la Salere; £10.14s.4d. from 49 qrs. 3 bus. maslin; £27.6s. from pleas, etc. Nothing for stallage or sale of wines, as before.

Sum of town receipt £180.4½d.

Nineteenth year (1290–91)

He received similarly £183.4s.½d. from similar issues, as is contained in the roll of particulars which John delivered to the treasury.

Sum of town receipt for this year £183.4s.½d.

Twentieth year (1291–92)

£15.2s.10d. assessed rent from Mich. to 3 Nov.; 4s. from Joel; 5s. from the farm of Meir’s former house, 12d. from gilded spurs, 1d. from 1lb. of cumin; £1811s. from 1 ship with 124 tuns of wine;

10 Cimini, P. and C.; rendered here clearly by Roger doding’. In E101/15/35 m14 (1287–88) the name is written in full as Reginald Dodding. The price of his 1 lb. of cumin seems to have varied: 1d. in 1282/83, supra p. 11; 5d. in 1284–5 (SC6/851/1); though the item is heavily scored through, the total would seem to bear it out; 3d. in 1285–6 and 1287–8 (SC6/851/2, E372/134/m1) and 1½d. in 1288–9 (E101/15/35 m13). This account was for a full year. Cf. infra p. 29, 38, 47 and passim.

11 Miroti Judei conversi.

12 Coppage.

13 regratariorum; C. regratinorum. See supra p. 11 n.13.

14 preternaves in diversis libertatibus applicantes cum vinis. For the liberties see supra p. 12, n.17, also infra, p. 30, n.15, p. 48, n.12 and p. 57, n.81.

15 Issues from the fairs included stallage, dues on cloth etc., merchants’ licences, profits of the courts, and a levy on “open windows” (de fenestris apertis in villa tempore Nundinarum) (SC6/851/1). Can this last item be compared perhaps with the window-toll of Lincoln (Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p. 215)?

16 Mixtelenon’; C.mixtill’. In C. the total sum received from the mill is given as £40.14s.4d.; the figure in P. is more plausible. Here also de exitu molendini is written in full. Cf. supra p. 12, and n.10, and infra p. 56.

17 See supra p. 12 and n. 21; also supra p. 21 and n. 66.

18 The roll of particulars does not seem to have survived.
10s. from tronage; £6. from fairs; £24s. for 7 qrs. of wheat and 4 bus. of maslin; £315s. from pleas etc.

Sum of town receipt for this period £15.12s.11d.

Sum for the whole period £378.17s.4d.

Nothing in the treasury. Paid in fixed alms to the Templars for the 18th year\(^{19}\) 1 mark, and also £4. in pence; to the monks of Tewkesbury\(^{20}\) £3\(^{5}\) from rents and £14.10s. in pence. Also similar allowances for the 19th year £22.3s.4d. He owes £334.10s.8d. and answers below.

Receipts. Castle and barton. Eighteenth year (1289–90)

£24.6s.4d. from prize of beer; 12s.6d. from herbage and fruit of the king’s garden; 6d. rent from John of Woodstock’s messuage;\(^{21}\) 10s. from a house outside the castle;\(^{22}\) 29s. from 2 vacant plots of rebuilt houses in Winch St.;\(^{23}\) 13s.4d. from produce of the garden which belonged to Peter Goldsmith and 10s. from that of Christine the clerk;\(^{24}\) 16s. from the house which belonged to Benedict of Winchester;\(^{25}\) 15s.2d. from pleas and perquisites of the courts of the Jews in the castle. Also £22.17s.7\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. from assessed rents in the hamlets of Stapleton, Mangotsfield and Easton, at the usual terms, together with various plots arrenged in Mangotsfield and Stapleton. And 1s.\(^{d}\) 3d. (sic) for 4 empty

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\(^{19}\) Supra p. 13 and n.22.
\(^{20}\) Teukesbiry; C. Teukesbur’.
\(^{21}\) quod fuit quondam Gressi iudei suspensi. Cf. supra p. 13 n.25, but see also Adler, Jews of Medieval England, pp. 246, 248 (1290).
\(^{22}\) quae fuit Mossi de Kent iudei suspensi.
\(^{23}\) Formerly the house of Hak le prestre, subsequently rebuilt and let to farm, at £2 per annum; see supra p. 16 and n.40 (1283–84). In 1286–87 only half the farm was collected, for the terms of St. Andrew and Easter, ratione prenotata (i.e.): quia Judei inhabitantes dictam domum post captionem Judeorum hucusque steterunt in prisa domini Regis et eorum bona in manibus Regis (SC6/851/3). In the following year only £1.\(^{12}\)s. were collected quia Judei inhabitantes fuerunt in prisa pro tallaggio (E372/134/1.); while in 1288–89 Peter accounted for £1.\(^{12}\)s. from this property (E101/15/35 m13). See also infra p. 32, n. 36.
\(^{24}\) que fuit Mossi de Kent iudei suspensi.
\(^{25}\) P. la Clergesse; C. la Clergesse.
plots in Stapleton, and 4 plots of waste in Mangotsfield newly
arrenged for the terms of St. John and Michaelmas (at 5s. (sic) a
year\(^26\)); £1.8s.11d. from church-seed, Peter's penny, woodpenny
and boon-seed;\(^27\) £4.13s.4d. from an aid of the customers; 10s.
from the tithing men; £13.12s. from remitted works of the
customers; £5.\(^8\) from the men of the barton at Christmas;
£12.18s.8d. from corn sold in one lot; £10.16s.8d. similarly from
hay, and £2518s.4d. from herbage and pasture; £15.12s. from
wood-silver, £1.4s.9d. from pannage, £15.2s.9d. from sea-coal;
4s.10d. from stone sold,\(^28\) 12d. from digging earth for pottery;
also £15.17s.10d. from pleas etc.

Sum of receipt for both castle and barton \ldots £124.12s.9\(^1/2\)d.\(^29\)

\(^{26}\) In the account for 1284–85 (SC6/851/1), the assessed rents for the three
hamlets amount to £21.7s.1\(^1/2\)d. Subsequent accounts show steady progress:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Stapleton</th>
<th>Mangotsfield</th>
<th>Easton</th>
<th>Total (new rents)</th>
<th>Total of new &amp; assessed rents (ie incl. £21.7.1(^1/2))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1284–85</td>
<td>1 @ 1s. (p.a.)</td>
<td>7 waste @ 6s.6d.</td>
<td>1 vacanct @ 4s.10d.</td>
<td>[21.10d.]</td>
<td>£21.19.11(^1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ass.rent of £21.7.1(^1/2)</td>
<td>(SC6/851/1)</td>
<td>@ 6d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1285–86</td>
<td>6 vacant @ 3s.10d.</td>
<td>(SC6/851/2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[16s.8d.]</td>
<td>£22.3.9(^1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1286–87</td>
<td>1 @ Is.p.a. (starting at Midsummer, therefore only 6d. this year)</td>
<td>(SC6/851/3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[17s.2d.]</td>
<td>£22.4.3(^1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1287–88</td>
<td>1 @ 1s.8d. p.a. (starting Midsummer only 10d. this year)</td>
<td>An extra 6d. for full years rent of above.</td>
<td>3 vacant @ 3s.p.a. (starting Mids. therefore 1s.6d. this year)</td>
<td>[£1.2s.6d.]</td>
<td>£22.9.7(^1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(E372/136/15)</td>
<td>(E101/15/35 m14)</td>
<td>A 1/2 virgate @ 5s.p.a.* (2s.6d. this year)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1288–89</td>
<td>10d. extra for full year. 2 waste @ 10d. p.a. (only 2½d. this year)</td>
<td>Extra 4s. for full year. 1 waste £ 1s.6d. p.a. (only 4½d. at Mich this year)</td>
<td>(E101/15/35 m13)</td>
<td>[£1.7s.11d.]</td>
<td>£22.15.0(^1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1289–90</td>
<td>7½d. extra for full year. Is.1½d. extra for full year.</td>
<td>(Particulars not given)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[£1.9s.8d.]</td>
<td>£22.17.7(^1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(? + 10d.)</td>
<td>(E372/136/25)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Probably including the 1/3d]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^*\) This half virgate in Mangotsfield had been held for life by Matilda atte Halle,
et nunc est Escaeta regis (E101/15/35 m14).

\(^{27}\) P. Beneschet; C. Beneset. See also supra p. 14 n.30 and infra p. 00 n.50 and
p. 34 and n. 50.

\(^{28}\) See supra p. 00, n.34.

\(^{29}\) Sum in C. £124.12s.11\(^1/2\)d.
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle


He accounts similarly for the same issues for the 19th year, including 1s.3½d. from 4 empty plots in Mangotsfield for the terms of St. John and St. Michael, rented at an annual rent of 5s.2d.; 30 and 2s. from the sale of herbage from a certain cemetery of the Jews during this period. 31

Sum . . . £122.11s.10d.

Part of the twentieth year

Pris of beer from Mich. to 3 Nov. 1291, £1.13s.3d.; 8s.10d. from boonseed 32 in Stapleton (etc.), and 7s.8d. from pleas (etc.).

Sum . . . £25.10s.2d.

Sum of receipt for 2 years and part of the 20th year, for the castle and barton . . . £249.14s.9½d. Nothing in the treasury. And in acquittances for 1 reeve and 4 ploughmen in the 18th year, 11s.8d. and similarly for the 19th year. He owes £248.11s. 5½d. And £334.10s.8d. remaining from his account of the town.

Joint sum . . . £538.2s.1½d. In the treasury £346.13s.4d. by 6 tallies.

Expenditure

40 marks to Peter for his annual fee, for the 18th year by the king’s writ; £11.7s.6d. similarly to John Love, 33 keeper of the Kingswood forest; £2510s.8d. similarly to the janitor of the castle; £4.11s. and 15s.2d. similarly to 2 watchmen there. Similarly 20s. to William Durpe from Mich. 1289–8 Sept. 1290, on which day he died. Similarly £16s.8d. to Richard, lately tailor to Eleanor, once queen of England, 34 and keeper of the Bristol sea-coast, and £4.11s. for the maintenance of Owen, son of David ap Gruffydd from Mich. 1289 to Mich. 1290. £1.1s.8d. for his robes etc. and £6.1s.4d. 35 and £1.6s.8d. to the two squires guarding him. Also 40 marks to Peter as his annual fee for the 19th year, £11.18s.9d. to John Love from Mich. 1290 to 17 Oct 1291; likewise £33s.8d. to the janitor similarly; £4.15s.6d. and 15s.11d. to the 2 watch-

30 Unusually, the second minim is short.
31 New item. The first reference, if an oblique one, to the expulsion of the Jews in July 1290. The Jewish cemetery was on Brandon Hill, where Queen Elizabeth’s Hospital later stood.
32 Benesed’. See supra. p. 25, n. 27.
33 P. lue; C. luee.
34 Eleanor died on 28th November 1290.
35 Sum uncertain; margin decayed in both P. and C.
36 P. “on which day the said Peter died”. C. gives the sum as £40.18s.9d.
men for the same period and £156s.8d. to Richard, lately tailor etc.; also £4.15s.6d. similarly for Owen’s maintenance from Mich. 1289, £151s.8d. for robes etc. and £6.7s.4d. and £156s.8d. for the two squires guarding him. And 11s.6d. by the king’s writ in the purchase of 8 bows37 for the use of the queen’s foresters of Feckenham.

Sum of mises and what was in the treasury38 . . . £471.4s.10d. And he owes £111.17s.3½d. And £9. arrears of his accounts for the 16th and 17th years.39

Joint sum40 . . . £120.17s.3½d. He answers for the same debt. Nothing in the treasury. In wax, oblations, and other necessities for the burial of Llewelyn, son of David, deceased,41 and his interment in the Dominican church of Bristol,42 £3.19s.4d. And in allowance for 1 approver43 for 68 days, of 1 for 366 days, of 1 for 120 days, of 1 for 600 days, of 1 for 200 days, of 1 for 40 days, and 1 for 30 days, £5s18s.8d. And he owes £110.19s.3½d. but John son and heir of Peter answers in roll 26 (Bucks and Beds.).44

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37 arcuum.
38 cum thesauro.
39 "as is contained in roll 17 amongst the roll of accounts" (E372/134/1) (E352/82/20).
40 summa coniuncta.
41 Et pro potura Lewelini . . . a die sancti Michaelis anno xv° usque ad diem sancti Gregorii Pape proximo sequentem quo die idem Lewelinus obiit (E372/134/1) (12 March 1288).
42 in cera, oblationibus et alis necessariis circa sepulturam Lewelini filii David defuncti et humati in ecclesia fratrum predicatorium Bristol'.
43 in liberatione unius probatoris per . . . etc.
44 Another hand for the last sentence.
Nicholas Fermbaud, 1294–96


An original account, SC6/851/5 for Mich. 1294 – Mich. 1295 (not published here) gives particulars of the issues of the pyx, and of the mills; of the expenses of works on the castle; and of rents and services in each of the three hamlets of Stapleton, Mangotsfield and Easton. No roll of particulars for 1295–96 seems to have survived.

Account of Nicholas Fermbaud, constable of Bristol, for the issues of the castle, town and barton, from Mich. at the end of the 22nd year to Mich. at the end of the 23rd year; viz., for the whole of the 23rd year (Mich. 1294 – Mich. 1295).

Receipts. Town. Twenty-third year (1294–95)

£10.9s.7¾d. assessed rent,¹ also £1.89s.1¾d. for the 20th. year, over and above the sum of £9.6d. for which John, son and heir of Peter de la Mare, Ralph Middleton, and the aforesaid Nicholas answered in the 20th.year² and £2.18s.3½d.³ similarly not

¹ in villa in P.; vill’ in C.; de eadem villata in Parties.
² Cf. supra p. 00. Peter de la Mare died on 17th Oct. 1291; his son John accounted from Mich. 1291 until 3rd of November., when he delivered castle town and barton to Middleton (appointed 26th Oct. 1291). John accounted for £1.2s.10d. of the rent (E372/139/m7); Ralph de Middleton accounted from 27th October.–26th Feb. 1292 (E372/136/m25) for 5s.3d. of rents. On 26th Feb. he delivered the castle with its appurtenances (sic) to Fermbaud who accounted for the rest of the year until Mich. 1292, and answered for £7.12s.5d. of rents (E372/139/m7) thus totalling £9.6d. New-broom-like he had now increased the total received from these rents by £1.9s.1¾d. This present account continues: pro eo quod summa predicti Reddiatus est x.li.ix.s. vii.d. ob.a. per annum sicut (con)teur
² in Rotulo de particularis predicti Reddi(tius) quem idem Nicholas liberavit in thesauro super istum compotum et non responsum fuit Regi nisi de ix.li.vj.d. de eodem
recorded in the sum of these rents in the 21st. and 22nd. years; he should not be fined for concealment, for he had personally made enquiry for the first time in this year about the details of these rents and had delivered the particulars to the exchequer with his account. The sheriff of Essex and Hertford was ordered to send the heirs of Peter de la Mare or the tenants of his lands to the exchequer to answer for the concealment for the whole time Peter had the keeping of the town until the end of the 19th year, after which he was fully charged with the whole rent, as appears above. Also 4s. from the farm of Joel the clerk; 5s. from the farm of Peter Miparty; 12d. from the sale of 2 pairs of gilded spurs received from John, son and heir of Paulinus de Cordar' and from Robert le Ware; 18s. from 2 shops newly built by the present constable under the tolsey in the town of Bristol where the pleas of the town are held, and now let at farm; 4d. from the sale of 2 capons from the rent of Peter de Legh, and 3d. from a pound of cumin from Roger Doddyng; 10s. from tronage; 5s. from Meir's tenement; 12s. from 8 wool-weavers, 11s. from 11 bakers as cuppage, 3s.6d. from 21 cobblers, 10d. from 10

Redditiu in predicto anno xx. This must be a reference to the rental now printed in Veale, BRS, ii. 296–311 (from SC6/851/5m5) where however the totals are omitted. They cannot be deciphered with any certainty. According to MS. SC6/851/5 m5, £1.2s.6½d. came from the quarter of Holy Trinity; £1.12s.8½d. from St. Mary’s quarter and £4.6s.7½d. from outside the walls. Final total The totals cannot be checked arithmetically by adding the details, as many of the latter are illegible.

3 de eo (corrected by dot below the o and is interlined, to eis) xxix.s.j.d.ob.q. non cartatis in summa predicti Redditiu anno xxj; & xxii.

4 In E372/139/m7, and for the 22nd. year (1293–94); also in SC6/851/4.

5 Et non tenetur pro concealamento pro eo quod idem Nicholas in propria persona sua primo inquisuit hoc anno particularis predicti Redditiu et eas liberavit ad scaccarium super istum compotum. Cf. n.2 supra.

6 Et mandatum est vicecomiti Essex’ et Herford’ (C. Herford’) quod venire fac(ere) scaccarium heredes Petri de la Mare seu tenentes terrarum que fuerunt eiusdem Petri ad respondendum de concealamento predicti Redditiu de toto tempore quo idem Petrus habuit custodiam predict’ ville, usque ad finem anni xix. post quem annum Redditius totaliter operatur ut patet supra.

7 de la Corderie . . . le Warr’ in Parties.

8 de duabus shoppis de nouo edificatis per Constabularium nunc sub la Tolselde in villa Bristol’ ubi placita ville tenentur. Partics. per Nicho’ Fermbaud nunc constabularium dicte ville reedificat’ nunc primo ad firmam positis hoc anno, and give spelling Thoseld.

9 Cf. supra p. 23 and n. 10.

10 P. and C. Copage; Partics. Cupag’.

11 de quorum nominibus Ballius debet respond(ere) super proximum compotum; omitted in Partics. These and the following names can be found in SC6/851/16 m3. (for 1295–97) and ibid. m8 (1297–98), m6 (1298–99), and SC6/851/8 m2,3 (1300–01, 1302–03).
bakers selling bread in baskets, and 7d. from 14 regratessors; 20s. from the farm of the street where the market was held of old; £28. from the farm of the prison (etc.); 6s.6d. from 1 ship with 26 tuns of wine, apart from the 116 tuns in the same ship from the liberties; £40.9s.9½d. from woollen cloth from Ireland (etc.) collected in a box; 5s.4d. from fair-stallage and £298s.11d. from woollen cloth (etc.) at the fairs; 12s.3d. from fines, pleas and perquisites at the fair-courts; 10s. from the escheated tenement of Matilda la Salere; £15.9½d. from 31 quarters 2 bushels of wheat and 17 quarters 1 bushel of maslin, from the issues of the mills below the castle; £8.5s.4d. from

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bakers selling bread in baskets</td>
<td>7d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the farm of the street where the market was held of old</td>
<td>20s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the farm of the prison (etc.)</td>
<td>£28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 1 ship with 26 tuns of wine, apart from the 116 tuns in the same ship from</td>
<td>20s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the liberties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From woollen cloth from Ireland (etc.) collected in a box</td>
<td>5s.4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From fair-stallage</td>
<td>£298s.11d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From woollen cloth (etc.) at the fairs</td>
<td>12s.3d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From fines, pleas and perquisites at the fair-courts</td>
<td>10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the escheated tenement of Matilda la Salere</td>
<td>£15.9½d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 31 quarters 2 bushels of wheat and 17 quarters 1 bushel of maslin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the issues of the mills below the castle</td>
<td>£8.5s.4d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 de quorum nominibus Constabularius habet respond(ere) super (etc.).
13 Again "for whose names the constable should answer (debet respondere) in his next account (also in SC6/851/6 m3)."
14 A decline from 40s. (supra pp. 11, 23); cf. also infra p. 48.
15 From Jan. to Mich. 1292 (E372/139/m7) Fermbaud accounted for £18.4s.3d. from ships with 1457 tuns plus 945 tuns from the liberties (including the Cinq ports, London, Southampton, etc. Cf. infra. From Mich. 1292–Mich. 1293 (ibid.) he accounted for £31.8s.6d. from ships with 2514 tuns, plus 1348 from liberties. In 1293–94 it had dropped to £17.10s.6d. from ships with 1402 tuns plus 783 tuns from various liberties (ibid). The liberties specified in this present account are Carnarvon, Haverford, Bristol, Sandwich, and "Wall et Angl."
16 de consuetudine lane pannì de Hibernia; in C. there is a comma between lane and panni. The other items as before (cf. supra, pp. 12, 23). In Fermbaud’s two previous accounts this custom had amounted to £75.14s.2d. (1292–93) and £67.2s.7d. (1293–94).
17 An illuminating new phrase follows: que colligitur in una pixide per certum hominem ad hoc assign(atum) et jur(atum) per predictum constabularium sicut continetur in rotulo particularum de vicibus apercionis predicte pixidis, excepto tempore Nundinarum. The weekly receipts from the pyx for the 23rd year (1294–95) are given in SC6/851/5 m2 and for subsequent years in SC6/851/6 mm, 3, and SC6/851/8. mm 3, 4, 2.
18 de stallag’ Nund’, in Partics. de stallag’ in feria tempore Nundinarum.
19 P. and C. de cons(uetudine) pannorum lane, coreorum et aliarum rerum venalium in eisdem Nundinis: Parties. add after venalium “portatarum per idem tempus”.
20 The quantities received fortnightly are given in SC6/851/5 m3. The sales can be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wheat Quantity (qt.)</th>
<th>Rate (s.)</th>
<th>Total (s.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>93.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total receipt, £9.3s.2d. for wheat and £3.17s.7½d. for maslin.
pleas and perquisites of the courts of the town of Bristol, except at fair-time; 21 (he does not answer for the sale of wines of prise nor for stallage). 22 19s. 10½d. from murage of the town from 14 April to 7 June 1295, when the town was in the king's hands because the men of the town had chosen mayors and bailiffs there without authority; 23 18s. from the gild of the town. 24

Sum of the receipt . . . £90. 8s. 10½d.

Expenditure
1 mark to the Knights Templar in fixed alms, 25 and £4. in pence; £25 10s. to the monks of Tewkesbury, 26 and £14. 10s. in pence; £18s. 4d. for 3 wheels 27 newly made for the mills and £1812s. for 4 mill-stones, 28 also 19s. 3½d. for sundry purchases for repairing the mills; 29 8s. 2d. for roofing tiles and timber bought for covering in places the house formerly belonging to Matilda la Salere, and for remaking the gutters. 30 Nothing was allowed Nicholas for the allowance he sought for decay of rent from certain plots in the town which were for waste and for which he was charged above, because it was agreed 31 by the barons of the exchequer that

21 de placitis et perquisitis Curiarum ville Bristol per tempus Nundinarum et debet respondere de extractis predictarum Curiarum super istum compotum.
22 As before.
23 quia homines eiusdem ville elegerunt sibi Maiores et Balliusos in eadem villa sine War(ranto) antequam Rex repleg' predictis hominibus donec Rex alius inde duxerit ordinandum). Omitted in Particles. An enquiry as to their rights to elect a mayor and bailiffs is recorded in the Memoranda rolls of the king's Remembrancer (E159/68.mm41,43). Their claim seems to have been based mainly on ancient custom assitatem a tempore quem non extat memoria (which in practice seems to have meant at least since the time of Richard 1), though later they produced a charter granted them by Henry III in July 1256. See Harding, Bristol Charters BRS.1. pp. 36–38. Also ibid. pp. 44–6.
24 de Gilda predicte ville per idem tempus. A new item, omitted in the Particles. The writing is faint but comes out unmistakably under the ultra-violet lamp.
25 sicut continetur in compoto eiusdem . . . in rotulo xxij in rotulis compotorum (i.e. for the year Mich, 1293–94) (E372/139/m7) and passim.
26 Cf. supra pp. 13, 24. Up to the 21st year (1292–93) the rent of the mills was £3; in 1293–94 it became £2.10s. (E372/139/m7, and m7d).
27 Roits.
28 molis.
29 Et in ore bill(e) et ferro empto ad eadem (sic) cum factura et emend(atione) ferr' molend'.
30 in tegul(is) et meremio emp(tis) ad domum que fuit Matill' la (C.La) Salere co operiend(am) per loca et guttura de nouo faciend(a).
31 De allocatione quam predictus Nicholas petit pro decasu Redd(iti') quarundam placearum in villa Bristol(ill') (C. Bristolie) de quorum Redd(iti') superius oneratur de toto tempore suo et que iacent veste per quod nichil leuari potuit
Nicholas could collect arrears of such rents from other tenements held by the tenants elsewhere within his bailiwick, or from the chattels of such tenants if they had no other tenements there. The constable was told that he should make diligent enquiry in the case of those who held part of such plots and had no other tenements or chattels and should collect arrears from all those who had anything from which he could take them. He should tell the treasurer and barons in his next account the names of those who possessed nothing, and should have their plots arrenged and approved for the king's profit.

Sum of expenditure . . . £26.7s.1½d. He owes £64.1s4d 8¾d. and answers below.

Receipts. Castle and barton.

£16.19s.10d. from prise of beer;32 6d. rent from John of Woodstock; 20s. from the produce of Peter Goldsmith's former garden,33 12s.6d. from Christine the clerk's,34 and 13s.4d. from the king's garden without the castle; 3s.4d. and not more, from the house which belonged to Moses of Kent;35 2s.11d. from 2 empty plots in Wine St. which belonged to Hak' le Prest and from the rented schools of the Jews;36 6s. from the farm of the

hucusque nichil ei allocatur eo quod concordatum est per Barones quod . . . " etc. The total was £10.9.7¾d. The particulars for the 25th year (1296–97) SC6/851/6 m9 give £10.9.7½d, corrected from £10.4.1½d. and explain that the constable does not answer for 5/6¾d. from empty and waste plots where nothing could be levied. The same phrase is used in ibid. m7 (for 1297–98) but is partially deleted.

32 The usual phraseology is here followed by a new addition et habet respondere de particularis. The surviving particulars (SC6/851/5) do not now include the details of this tine of the castle, however. In SC6/851/6m3d the amounts received for a number of weekly periods in 1299–1300 are shown. The amounts did not vary greatly; the lowest 3/10d. being in early Feb. and the highest 9/10d. in late June. Similarly the total receipts from the tine did not vary greatly being in the earliest years between £21 and £25, and later in the range of £15–£20, though in 1292–3 (E372/139/m7) it reached £24.6.8d.

33 From 1280–81 and 1292–93 the income from this escheated garden was 13s.4d. It was first increased to 20s. in 1293–94 (E372/126/m6 (1280–82) to E372/139/m7 (1293–94)).

34 P. and Parties. Cristine la Clerk'. Raised for the first time this year from 10s.

35 Cf. supra p. 15 n.39.

36 una cum scolis Judeorum affirmat(is) per vices hoc anno. Parties. adds Et non plus pro defectu tenentium. 9d. from a house which had been the school of the Jews and 6s.3d. from Hak's tenement occur first in Middleton's account for Oct. 1291 to Feb.1292 (E372/136/m25). He is described there as Hake capellan(us). Cf. supra p. 16, n.40.
house in Wine St. formerly of Cresse,\(^{37}\) son of Isaac the Jew; 6d. from the farm of an empty plot which belonged to Cresse\(^{38}\) le Prest; 3s.4d. from the farm of the house which belonged to Jose of Caerleor\(^{39}\) and 3s.4d. from the former Jewish cemetery; he does not answer for the rent of Benedict of Winchester's house\(^{40}\) in Wine St.;\(^{41}\) £23.9s.10½d. from assessed rents in the hamlets of Stapleton, Mangotsfield and Easton pertaining to the barton, at the four usual terms; with 2s.5d. from plots rented by Nicholas in the preceding year.\(^{42}\) Nicholas was ordered to include in his next account all the particulars of rents, customs and all other fixed rights appurtenant to his bailiwick, because the particulars given before do not amount to the sum for which he answers.\(^{43}\) (He answers also) for 12d. increase in rent this year from Roger Attemilne for a waste plot of land in Stapleton\(^{44}\) at the usual terms, and 2d. similarly from William Attemilne and Edith Attemilne for a waste plot in Mangotsfield and 4d. similarly from Edith and Agnes Attemilne; also 5d. increase from Nicholas le Thech(\emph{er})\(^{45}\) similarly, and 12d. increase of rent from Adam yn ye grene\(^{46}\) similarly; also 12d. increase from Reginald Beaugrant for half an acre of meadow in Easton; £181d. from church-seat, Peter's penny, and wood-penny in those hamlets;\(^{47}\) £1810s.11½d.

\(^{37}\) Here called \emph{Crassus}. He sold (or according to SC6/851/4, gave) his tenement to William Maledeu (\emph{Maylledieu} in SC6/851/4); cf. Adler, pp. 227, 246.

\(^{38}\) \emph{Crassel}

\(^{39}\) P. and C. \emph{Carlioun}; Partics. \emph{Karlyoun}. These last three items are first mentioned in E372/136/m25 (Ralph de Middleton's account 1291-Feb. 1292).

\(^{40}\) In Middleton's account \emph{(ibid)} there was nothing to answer for for Benedict's house \emph{quia nemo ualt inhabitare propter debilitatem domus}. Cf. supra p. 15, n.38 and p. 24 n.25.

\(^{41}\) No pleas of the Jews \emph{quia nulla sunt iibi post exilium Judeorum} (in 1290). See \emph{supra} p. 24 (E372/139/m7).

\(^{42}\) \emph{sicut continetur in compoto eiusdem rotulo xxii}. In 1293–94 Fermbaud accounted for 5d. from the new arrentation in Stapleton; 10d. from Mangotsfield; and 1s.2d. in Easton (E372/139/m7). In that account the names of the tenants are given for the first time.

\(^{43}\) \emph{non attingunt summam redditus de qua respondet}. Presumably the lists of rents and services paid by individual tenants in SC6/851/5 m6 (Stapleton); m7 (Mangotsfield) and m.8 (Easton) was Fermbaud's response to this order: it is dated the 25th year (1296–97); the data possibly took some time to collect.

\(^{44}\) P. \emph{Stapleton}; C. \emph{Stapleton}. Partics. give the increases term by term but do not include the names of the tenants. The totals for these rents in Partics. do not seem to tally with those given in P. and C., but the Partics. are sometimes illegible so that pursuit of the variations is impracticable.

\(^{45}\) C. \emph{Le Thecher}. His holding is described as \emph{inlond} (SC6/851/5m7).

\(^{46}\) Or possibly \emph{yn ye groue}. Details of his rents and services are given in SC6/851/5 m7 (1296–97).

\(^{47}\) "... as is contained in the roll of particulars", where the details are: church-seat 5s.5d., Peter's pence 7s.1d., wood-penny 7s.7d. The rest of this part
from bede-reap and 2s.3d. from the 9d. due annually from that custom in the autumn and omitted in the 20th, 21st and 22nd years; £1.8s.1½d. from a custom called carriage and 8s.9d. arrears for these same 3 years of the 2s.1½d. for that custom due annually; 48 £18s. from grass-earth, 49 7s.7½d. from boon, 6s. from drove. 8s.10d. from the sale of 17½ bushels of wheat from the rent of the customary tenants called boon-seed and 9s.6d. from them for a rent reckoned in pence 50 also called boon seed; 51 £4.13s.4d. from an annual aid from these customers on All Saints’ Day; 52 10s. from 10 tithing men at the view of frankpledge at Martinmas; 53 £13.12s. from remitted works of the customers; 54 £5.8s.14s.9d. as a gift at Christmas from the men of the hamlets, of which 14s.9d. was wont to be given the constable at that feast; 55 £1.19s.8d. from the sale of herbage and pasture, and he is charged with 8s.5d. beyond his usual charge through the fault of the clerk who did not answer for the details of the sale; 56 £7.10s. from hay sold, and £12.3s.4d. from the corn of the of the roll of particulars is almost impossible to read (SC6/851/5 mld). Cf supra p. p.14, n. 30.

48 Fermbaud in his account for 1293–94 (E372/139/m7) answered for £1.10s.2½d. de certa consuetudine que dicitur Bederipe de qua consuetudine idem Nicholas prius se non onerauerat in compoto suo prius reddito nec etiam alii Constabular(ii) temporibus suis, sicut cont(inetur) in Comp(otis) eorundem et quam certam consuetudinem annuam hoc anno prius per inquisitionem inde factam idem Nicholas inuenit ibidem Regi deberi ut dicit. Also £18s.2½d. de certa consuetudine que dicitur Cariagium ibidem eodem modo quesitum hoc anno. The differences in the amounts for these two items in the present account would seem to be arrived at by adding one year’s arrears to the total (9d and 2½d respectively).

49 Also £1.1s. de consimili certa consuetudine questia similiter hoc anno que dicitur Greserthe per idem tempus. In the present account it is noted after grass-earth: sicut continetur in rotulo de particulis compoti et tamen particule reddi' non extendunt se ad dictam summan.

50 Bene (boon) Dr oue and Bens et (boon-seed) similarly quest(is) in 1293–94, though he seems to have omitted the 8s.10d. from the sale of the wheat.

51 de quodam redditu eorundem custumariorum in denariis numerato qui similiter nominatur Bensed.

52 1 Nov. This would seem to be the first mention of the date on which the aid was due, though it was apparent from Middleton’s account for 1291–92 (E372/136/m25) that it fell between October and February. P. and C. de annuo auxilio custumariorum ibidem; Partics. auxilio rusticorum

53 11 Nov.

54 de operibus Custum(ariorum) relaxatis.

55 unde . . . dari solebant constabul(ario) (C. adds Castri) ad dictum festum. In Peter de la Mare’s account for 1277–78 (E372/122/m28) Cs. receptis de hominibus eiusdem Bertone et debitis balliuo loci pro nouo dono suo de certa consuetudine sicut idem Petrus dicit. Cf. supra p. 15. In SC6/851/2 the £5 is described as a “new gift” (1285–86). Up until this present account the sum has always been £5.

56 et oneratur . . . ultra onerationem suam per defectum clerici qui non respond(it) de particulis vendicionis. C. omits clerici.
Nicholas Fermbaud — 1294-96

Demesnes sold as one lot: £1512s. from wood-silver from the king’s forest which is called Abbona; 16s.1d. from pannage there, and £152s. from the sale of sea-coal. 5s.3d. of stone, and 1s4d. of earth for pottery; £1510s. from the lands and tenements of the late Elias de Oldebur’ in the king’s hands during the minority of his son and heir. £12.8s.6d. from pleas and perquisites of the hundred of Barton.

Sum of the receipt . . . £115.3s.8¾d.

Foreign Receipt(s) 62

£58 from the sale of 2 mares and 2 foals 63 from the chattels of John Meyoun of Breyghennok, 64 captured and detained in the king’s prison of the baron for theft, who escaped and plunged into the Frome within the liberty of Bristol, as they were valued before the coroner of the town. 65

Sum of foreign receipt . . . £58
Sum of total receipt . . . £120.3s.8¾d.

(Allowances) 66

In the treasury, nothing. 11s.8d. in acquittance for one reeve

57 de blada (sic; C. blado) dominicorum vendita in grosso. The mention of the demesnes is new; it is not included in Partics.
58 que vocatur Abbon’; C. Abon’; Partics. de foresta citra Auen’ — the usual description.
59 de Carbone maris vendito
60 de terra ad vasa lutea inde faciend(a) vendita (etc.). The names of miners, quarriers, potters, etc (in 1299–1300) are given in SC6/851/6 m3d and in ibid m8d and m6d and SC6/851/8 m3d, m4d, and m2d for subsequent years.
61 Oldebury held a carucate of land in Stapleton in chief of the king, rendering 12d. rent, suit of the hundred, and per seriancia breuiis breuiis sumoniciones et litteras Constabularii Bristol’ infra Com(itatum) Glouc’ ad proprios sumptus (E372/139/m7). He was to carry them de Castro Bristol’per unam dietam. Et si exced(et) unam dietam habebit expensas suas de Regis quousque veniat ad certum locum quo . . . littere mittantur (SC6/851/5 m6). In 1293–94 £3.10 was paid for the marriage of John, the heir (E372/139/m7).
62 An unusual marginal heading in these accounts. It means of course items outside the normal classification, and might be translated ‘miscellaneous’. Cf. Salzman Suss. RS lv p. xxv.
63 de ij. Jumenitis et ij. pullanis.
64 Presumably Brecon.
65 a qua prisoa eausit et submersit se in aqua de (de repeated) Frome infra libertatem ville Bristol’ sic appreciat(is) coram Coronatore predicte ville et venditis per predictum Nicholaum.
66 No heading in P. where the allowances run on from the sum. Clearly paragraphed in C. and headed Expense.
and 4 ploughmen, for this year; (8s.10d.) for the purchase of iron and steel, of 4 iron plough-shares for the ploughs, of 3 new ploughs and for the repair of others; 15s.5½d. for two boon works of 22 ploughmen ploughing the king's land for winter seed for 2 days and of 33 ploughmen for Lenten seed for 2 days with 27 harrowers harrowing at both sowings; 5s.10½d. for a harrow hired to harrow after the king's plough for 94 days at both sowings; 4s.9½d. for timber, for clout-nails, for grease, and for 3 axles bought for a cart; 6s.4d. for making and repairing hedges and ditches around the barton and the garden; 4s.6d. for hoeing the corn, £1.6d. for mowing... 72 acres of meadow, and for spreading and lifting the hay; 6s.3d. for 7 carts hired to carry the hay for 2 days and for making one rick from hay and fodder; £1.10s.9d. for reaping corn in one lot; 6s.8d. for carts hired to carry the corn for 13 days. Also 3s. for roofing in places and repairing the house which used to belong to Moses the Jew; £5.53d. for timber and boards bought for 2 doors in the castle, namely one at the entrance to the keep and the other at the wall in the middle of the castle, and for carpenters to cut the wood for making the doors and for iron bought for hooks and hinges.  

67 Pedalibus.
68 In ij. precarii (iiis) de xxij. Caruc' arant(ibus) terram Regis ad semen ymale per duos dies et de xxxij. Caruc' arantibus ad semen x per duos dies cum xxvij. Herc' herciantibus ad utrumque semen. The constantly recurring abbreviation caruc' in such contexts could mean either plough, ploughmen or plough teams (similarly, herc' could mean harrows or harrowers). In some places ploughs (and harrows) are clearly indicated, e.g. infra p. 60. In other places however, it must be men, not implements, that are paid drink money, e.g. infra p. 52, n. 53. On later analogy the payment for boon works was for drink money (potura) for ploughmen, and in fact in SC6/851/6 m2, m4 and m5 Fermiab accounts for potura at each of the sowings – see also Introduction n.219. The documents themselves are sufficiently unclear to make extensions and translations hazardous. I have consistently risked the human interpretations, except where there is some firm indication that implements are intended.
69 in herciatura locata ad herciandum post carucas Regis.
70 iiiij. axibus emptis ad plustrum (sic).
71 in blad(a) sarcland(a).
72 Blank in both P. and C; later given as 68½ acres (in the account for 1296–97, which is also in E372/145/m25).
73 feno spergendo et leuando.
74 plautr; C. plaus tris
75 forag.
76 in blad(a) metend(a) in grosso.
77 cooperienda per loca.
78 in domo ad duas portas.
79 ad ingressum turris unam et aliam ad murum in medio Castri.
80 ferro ad gumphos, verteuell(as) empio; C. adds an et between gumphos and verteuell(as).
Nicholas Fermbaud — 1294-96

and for making these, and for the purchase of four locks with keys, as in the roll of particulars. 81

Sum of expenditure . . . £11.4s.10½d.

Expenditure on the castle wall

£7.5s.5d. for 200 free-stones, 82 51 boatloads 83 of other stone, 209 quarters of lime and 19 boatloads of sand, bought for one piece of the wall of the castle (90 ft. long, 14 ft. high and 8 ft. thick) by the long stable on the north; 84 and for another (64 ft. long, 18 ft. deep and 6 ft. thick) at the top of the ditch by the gate toward St. Phillip's Church, and for crenellating that piece of wall to the level of the other wall, 85 as is contained in the roll of particulars by view and testimony of Thomas de la Grave and William Randolf, bailiffs of the town, 86 which they delivered to the treasury, and by the king's writ. 87 And £13.11s.11d. as pay 88 for the masons building these pieces of wall, and £8.5s.2d. for labourers 89 carrying mortar, stone, and so on for these works; also 12s.5d. for repairing the long stable, broken by the fall of wall.

Sum . . . £29.14s.11d.

Sum of expenses . . . £40.19s.9½d. He owes £79.3s.11½d. 90

81 These items are not identifiable in the roll, parts of which are illegible.
82 In C. C. petris de libera petra.
83 batell(atis).
84 iuxta longum stabulum in Castro ex parte Aquilion(is) (sic).
85 et ad aliun portam muri ad Crestam fossati eiusdem fossati (castri, C.) iuxta portam versus ecclesiam sancti Philippi continent(em) in long(itudine) lxiiij.pedes. Et in profund(o xvij. pedes et in spissitudine profund(i) vj. pedes de nouo et predictam pecia(m) muri Castri kerrnella(m) ad sectam alterius muri . . . The reference to crenellation is omitted in C. King's Works ii. p. 580 and n. 6.
86 Given as bailiffs in 1293–94 in BRS xxi p. 285. But this work seems to have been carried out in Feb–March 1295. SC6/851/5 m4 gives the details. In the enquiry mentioned above n.23 William and Thomas denied being bailiffs of the town (Easter Term 1295) in presence Baronum (Scaccarii) . . . dixerunt quod non fuerunt ballivi ville predicte nec in aliquo intendentes maiori sue hominibus eiusdem ville, set dixerunt quod electi fuerunt per communitatem eiusdem ville quod essent intendentes Nichola Fermbaud constabulario Castri Bristoll' ad colligendum custumam & redditum debitos Castro predicto et ad supervendendum operaciones Regis in eodem Castro per ipsum faciend(as) (E159/68 m41).
87 The writ attached to SC6/851/5 m4 is dated 9 Feb. 1295 (anno 23) and is endorsed: Custus istius brevis xxix.li. xiiij.s. xi.d.
88 in stipen'.
89 operariorum.
90 C. £79.3s.10½d.; other totals as in P.
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

And £64.1s.8¼d. from his account for the town. Joint sum ... £143.5s.8¼d. for which he answers at the end of his account for the 24th year.

Twenty-fourth year (1295–96)

Account of Fermbaud, similarly, from Mich. 1295 to Mich. 1296, that is for the whole of the 24th year.

Receipts. Town

£10.9s.7½d. assessed rent; 4s. from the farm of Joel the clerk; 5s. from the farm of Peter Miparty; 12d. from the sale of 2 pairs of gilded spurs; 18d. from 2 shops under the tolsey; 4d. from the sale of 2 capons from the rent of Peter de Leygh; 3d. from a pound of cumin from Roger Dodyng; 10s. from tronage; 5s. from Meyr’s tenement; 12s. from 8 wool-weavers; 11s. from 11 bakers as cuppage; 3s.6d. from 21 cobblers; 10d. from 10 bakers selling bread in baskets and 7d. from 14 regratresses; 20s. from the farm of the prison; he does not answer for the custom on ships laden with wine because no ships put in this year. £39.12s.7½d. from a custom on wool, cloth from Ireland, hides (etc.); 5s.3d. from stallage at the time of the fairs; £2.9s.2d. from woollen cloth (etc.) in the fairs; 13s.2d. from pleas and perquisites of the courts at these fairs; 10s. from the escheated tenement of Matilda la Salerere; £16.15s.10d. from 29 quarters 6 bushels of wheat and 19 quarters one bushel of maslin, from the king’s mills below the castle; £9.2s.6d. from...
pleas and perquisites of courts of the town except at fair-time; he does not answer for the sale of wines nor for stallage.

Sum of the receipt . . . £86.11s.8¼d.

(Allowances)

1 mark to the Knights Templar in fixed alms, and £4 in pence; £3. and £14.10s. similarly to the monks of Tewkesbury; and £2½10s.4½d. for 24 beams, for boards and for small timber, for 8000 tiles, for large iron nails and for small wooden nails and for lime bought for restoring the house of the king’s mills below the castle – the heavy timber to be cut from the castle stock; and £3.16s.1¼d. for the hire of carpenters for the repair and re-roofing of this house, and for plaster and for various other costs relating to it. Sum of expenditure . . . £28.9s.9¼d. He owes £2.19s. 10¾d. and answers below.

Receipts. Castle and banton

£17.1s⁴8d. from prise of beer; 6d. from John of Woodstock; 20s. from the produce of Peter Goldsmith’s former garden; 13s. similarly from Christine the clerk’s; and 13s.4d. similarly from the king’s garden outside the castle; 3s.4d. and not more, from the house which belonged to Moses of Kent; 2s.7d. and not more, from 2 plots once of Hak le Prest and from the schools of the Jews; 6s. from the farm of the house in Wine Street formerly of Cresse, son of Isaac the Jew; 6d. from the farm of an empty plot which belonged to Cresse le Prest; 3s.4d. from

105 preter tempus Nundinarum, et deb( et) respondere de extractis predictarum Curiarum super compotum.
106 Theukesbur’, C. Tewkesbury. For the amount cf supra p. 31.
107 Et in xxiij cheueron(ibus), bordis et minuto meremio, viij Mill(ibus) tegulis, grossis clausis ferri et paruis clausis ligneis et calce emptis ad domum molendinorum Regis sub Castro reficiend(um) grosso meremio de Instauro castri secund(o) ad eandem . . . C. puts emptis between paruis and clausis instead of after calce, and gives sub castro reficiendo.
108 In Carpentari(iis) locatis ad predictam domum reficiend(um) et candem de nouo cooperiend(um) pariet(em) eisdem plastrand(um) et aliis diversis custagis appositis circa eandem. It could mean more than one wall.
109 Lviij. xxijd. ob. q. Rectius £58.1.10¾d. as in C. Cf infra p. 42.
110 La Clerk’ in P. and C. For amount cf supra p. 32.
111 Una cum scolis Iudeorum affirmat(is) per vices hoc anno.
112 Crassei.
113 Crassey C. Crassei.
the farm of the house which belonged to Jose of Caerleon\textsuperscript{114} and 3s.4d. from the farm of the former Jewish cemetery; he does not answer for the rent of Benedict of Winchester’s former house in Wine St. as it is completely derelict;\textsuperscript{115} £23.13s.9\textfrac{1}{2}d.\textsuperscript{116} from assessed rents in the hamlets of Stapleton, Mangotsfield\textsuperscript{117} and Easton, pertaining to the borton, at the four usual terms, together with 3s.11d. from plots\textsuperscript{118} arrented by Nicholas in the preceding year;\textsuperscript{119} 2d. increase in rent from William Atte Walle for a plot of waste land in Stapleton at the usual terms this year;\textsuperscript{120} 1d. similar increase from Robert de Goshalm junior for a waste plot there at the same terms; 2d. increase from Adam Morecta\textsuperscript{121} for a waste plot in Mangotsfield\textsuperscript{122} similarly; 1d. increase from Walter le Whelwith\textsuperscript{123} for a waste plot there and 6d. similarly from Robert Attehull’; 12d. from John in ye Nore; 4d. from Robert Irreis;\textsuperscript{124} 1d. from William Atteclive; 1d. from John Underhull’; 4d. from Thomas Dassel; 4d. from Adam Wyring; 4d. from Roger Attemilne; 3d. from John Benet\textsuperscript{125} and Edith Irreis; 6d. from John Dassel; 6d. from Robert Gamel\textsuperscript{126} and Richard Gamel for a plot in Easton and 6d. from Henry Beaugraunt and John Beaugraunt for a plot there; £1\textl{}d. from church-seat. Peter’s penny and wood-penny\textsuperscript{127} and £10s.11\textfrac{1}{2}d. from bede-reap; £1\textl{}s.1\textfrac{1}{4}d. from carriage; £1.1s. from grass-earth, 7s.7\textfrac{1}{2}d. from boon; 6s. from drove; 8s.10d. from the sale of 17 1\textfrac{1}{3} bushels of wheat from the rent of the customers called boon-seed, and 9s.6d. from a rent of the same customers in pence also called boon-seed;\textsuperscript{128} £4.13s.4d. from an annual aid from these customers on All Saints Day; 10s. from 10 tithing men at the view of frankpledge at Martinmas; £13.12s. from remitted works of the customers; £5s.14s.9d. as a new gift at Christmas.

\textsuperscript{114} Carlitoun.

\textsuperscript{115} Cf. supra p. 33, n.40.

\textsuperscript{116} Cf. £23.9s.10\textfrac{1}{2}d. the preceding year (supra p. 33); there are 3s.11d. of new rents.

\textsuperscript{117} P. Stapleton’ et Mangoldefeld; C. Malgoldefeld.

\textsuperscript{118} P. gives placitis here; but C. placeis correctly.

\textsuperscript{119} Cf. supra p. 33.

\textsuperscript{120} de incremento Redd(itus) Willemi AtteWalle de quadam placea vaste terre in etc.

\textsuperscript{121} Perhaps Moretta.

\textsuperscript{122} P. Mangoldesfeld’; C. Mangoldesfelde.

\textsuperscript{123} C. Whelwright.

\textsuperscript{124} C. Irreys.

\textsuperscript{125} C. Beneyt.

\textsuperscript{126} For Robert Gamel cf infra p. 50, n. 28.

\textsuperscript{127} Chirchesete, Petrespeny et Wodepeny; C. Petrespenei.

\textsuperscript{128} For all these customs see Introduction, pp. xlii–xliv.
from the men of these hamlets of which 14s.9d. were wont to be 
given the constable; £1s12s.4d. from the sale of herbage,129 
£7.1s.8d. from hay similarly, £13.2s.4d. from the corn of 
the demesnes sold in one lot;30 £1s-12s. from wood-silver,131 
19s.3d. from pannage, £1s1s. from the sale of sea-coal, 5s.3d. similarly of 
stone and 3s.4d. similarly of earth for pottery; £1s10s. from the 
lands and tenements of the late Elias of Oldbury, now let at 
farm;132 £11.9s.10d. from pleas and perquisites of the hundred of 
Barton.

Sum of the receipt of the barton . . . £114.9s.73/4d.

Expenditure

11s.8d. in acquittance of 1 reeve and 4 ploughmen; 7s.1d. in 
the purchase of iron and steel and of 2 iron plough-shares for 
making 2 new ploughs and for repairing four;133 13s.93/4d. for 2 
boon-works of 49 ploughmen and 25 harrowers ploughing and 
harrowing . . . 134 acres at the two sowings;135 6s. for a harrow 
hired to harrow the land ploughed by the king's own ploughs.136 
And 11s.61/2d. in the purchase of one pair of wheels for the body 
of the carts, of clout-nails and grease with the cost of mending 
and improving the cart;137 2s.43/4d. for the purchase of tiles for 
repairing the roof of the barn in places;138 1s5d. in filling up the 
hedges;139 3s.3d. for hoeing corn;140 6s.4d. for mowing, spreading, 
lifting and carrying hay to the barton;141 13s.5d. for making a 
new door in the room below the steward's room in Bristol castle
for the safe-keeping of 2 knights of Scotland, prisoners, for repairing another door there and for making hinged bars to the windows, and for repairing the wall in places with lime and for the purchase of fetters with keys;\(^{142}\) 2s.8\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. for the purchase of 2 locks, with keys, hooks and hinges for both doors of the room under the great gate of the castle, for the safe-keeping of 4 squires of Scotland, prisoners, and for repairing the doors and windows.\(^{143}\)

Sum of expenditure . . . £6.15s.8d. He owes £107.13s.11\(\frac{3}{4}\)d. and £58.1s.10\(\frac{3}{4}\)d. arrears from his account for issues of the town of Bristol for this the 24th year and £143.5s.8\(\frac{1}{4}\)d. arrears of town and castle for the 23rd year as above.

Joint sum . . . £309.1s.6\(\frac{3}{4}\)d. In the treasury £30.13s.4d. And he owes £278.8s.2\(\frac{3}{4}\)d. He renders account for this debt. Nothing in the treasury.

(Allowances)

14s.9d. for 1 cask\(^{144}\) in which to place £1000 sent to William of Valence, captain of the king’s army in West Wales, by the treasurer and chamberlains, and for 1 freight ship to carry this money by sea from Bristol to the castle of Carmarthen, there to be delivered to Osbert of Spaldington and Nicholas of Okham,\(^{145}\) assigned by the king to make payments for the king’s army there, and for the porterage of this money on several occasions, by the king’s writ and by letters patent of Osbert and Nicholas.\(^{146}\) Also £3.8s. for the wages of 6 cross-bowmen taking the money in that

\(^{142}\) et in uno nouo hostio ad Cameram sub Camera Sen(escalli) in Castro Bristoli’ faciendi(o) de novo pro custodia duorum Militum Scotie prisonum alio hostio emendando in eadem Camera barr(is) vertueull(is) ad fenestras eiusdem Camere de nouo faciendi(as) et muro emendando per loca cum calce et ferruris cum clauibus emptis . . .

\(^{143}\) Et in duabus seruris cum clauibus, gumphis et vertuellel(les) ad duo hostia Camere sub magna porta Castrì pro custodia iij, Vallet(orum) Scotie prisonum emp(itis) eiusdem hostis emendand(is) et fenestr(is) reparand(is) . . .

\(^{144}\) pipa.


\(^{146}\) . . . et una Naui fretta (C. frettata) ad cariand’ eosdem denarios per mare . . . usque Castrum de Kermerdyn (C. Kermerdin) et liberand(os) ibidem Osbero de Spaldyngton’ (C. Spaldington) et Nicholao de Okeham (C. Oke-ton) assign(atis) ibidem per Regem ad expen(sas) exercitus Regis predicti faciendi(as) cum portag(io) denario(rum) predictiorum per vices . . . per breue Regis et litteras patentes ipsorum . . .
ship to Carmarthen for 21 days;\textsuperscript{147} 1s\textsuperscript{4}d. for 100 bolts for one-foot cross-bows bought for the safe transit of that money;\textsuperscript{148} £1\textsuperscript{9}2s.11d. for similar expenses in sending £500 similarly from the king’s castle of Bristol to the castle of Dryswyn\textsuperscript{149} and delivering them to the said Robert\textsuperscript{150} and Nicholas, together with the wages of 3 cross-bowmen for 11 days;\textsuperscript{151} £48.2s.\textsuperscript{152} for the wages\textsuperscript{153} of certain Welshmen taken as hostages from Anglesey, whom the constable of the king’s castle of Gloucester delivered to Nicholas (Fermbaud), from 5 May 1295 to 28 August 1296 before they were delivered out of his keeping, namely for 481 days, counting both days, each taking 4d. a day;\textsuperscript{154} £4.2d. for the wages of one squire\textsuperscript{155} keeping these hostages throughout that time and taking 2d. a day;\textsuperscript{153} 4s. similarly for the wages of other Welsh hostages received from the constable of Gloucester and staying in Bristol castle for one day on their way to the king’s castle of Devizes,\textsuperscript{156}

\textsuperscript{147} Et in vadiis vj. balist(ario rum) conduc(entium) predictos denarios in eadem Nauie per mare ab eodem Castro Regis Bristoli’ usque predictum Castrum de Kermerdyne per xxj. dies . . . per idem breue.

\textsuperscript{148} Et (in C.) Quarellis ad Balist(as) de uno pede emp(tis) et expen’ (C. expendit’) in conductu et defens(ione) denarium predictorum . . . There is a rough cross in ink above predictorum, which is repeated in the margin. C. begins \textit{Et pro Cent’ quarell’}, and ends similarly but without the cross.

\textsuperscript{149} Drosselan; C. Droslan. The king was at Dryswyn on 6 June 1295 and William de Valence, titular Earl of Pembroke, on 31 May (\textit{Book of Preests} p. xliii).

\textsuperscript{150} Sic. C. Osberto, correctly.

\textsuperscript{151} per idem breue (omitted in C. till end of sentence) et literas patentes eodem (sic. C. eorumden) Osberti et Nicholai, recept(onem) dictarum quingentarwn librarum testificant(es). . .

\textsuperscript{152} ‘by the same writ’.

\textsuperscript{153} vadiis.

\textsuperscript{154} For the stated period at the given rate of wages there must have been 6 hostages. The punctuation of the rolls obscures their exact names and seems faulty by modern standards. Dots in the Mss. are here interpreted as commas. \textit{Et in vadiis Lewelyni Voil’ jon, HoWelinn (sic) ab Blewyn, YereWordini, Waghah, ab Yereward, ab Howel, Dauid Michel, Yerewanum voil le Ryngild’, et Dauid Voil, Walen(sium) quos Rex capi fecit in obsides de Insula Angles’ et quos Constabularius Castr Regis Glou’ liberavit eadem Nicholao, a quinto die Maii anno xxiiij.\textsuperscript{0} usque xxviiij. diem Augusti anno xxiv, antequam deliberarentur a custodia predicti Constabularii cum hernasiis suis videlicet per cecciiij\textsuperscript{2} j., dies utroque die computato . . . (etc.). C. names Le Welini, Voil rou HoWelini ab Blewinn yeTreWordini Waghani ab Yereword ab Howel, Dauid Michel, Yerewanum Voil le Ringild’ et Dauid et Dauid (sic) voil Wallens’ (etc). These names should be interpreted Lewelyn ‘Voil’ ‘jor’, Howel ap Blewinn, Yerewerd Waghinn ap Yereward ap Howel, Dauid Michel, Yerewanun voil le Ryngild and Dauid Voil. I am grateful to Mr. Conway Davies for helping me with these names but I alone am responsible for any errors which may have subsequently crept in.

\textsuperscript{155} vadleti.

\textsuperscript{156} de Deuisis.
taking 4d. a day; similarly 12s. for the wages of 4 horse-men and 12 foot-men 157 taking those Welshmen to Devizes from Bristol, and returning, for 2 days; £24. similarly for the wages at 4d. a day each of 80 Welshmen 158 (received from John Wogan and Walter Petherton) 159 whom the king recently caused to be taken as hostages in various parts of South Wales and who remained in the constable’s keeping from 1 to 18 October 1295 160 before he delivered 30 of them to the sheriff of Dorset, and similarly £56 for the wages of 50 of these Welshmen from 19 to 24 October before they were delivered to the sheriff of Wiltshire; 161 £2815s. for the wages of 6 cross-bowmen and 12 archers 162 guarding the 80 Welshmen for 18 days, and of 4 cross-bowmen and 8 archers guarding the 50 for 6 days, the cross-bowmen taking 3d. and the archers 1d. a day; £10. similarly for the wages of Richard Siward 153 junior, and Alexander Comyn knights, of John, son of Alexander Moray, 164 John de la Mare, John de Clegham 165 and Robert le Graunt, enemy prisoners of the king taken at the battle of Dunbar, received from Robert de Sandeb, 166 attorney of

157 *hominum equitum . . . hominum peditem.*
158 *Here Valen’; usually Wallen’ or Walen’.*
159 *de Iohanne Wogan, et Waltero de Pederton*. Wogan was a member of the Picton branch of the Wogan family of Pembrokeshire (Dict. of Welsh Biog. p. 1089). He became justiciar of Ireland on 18 Oct. 1295 (CPR, 1292–1301, where he was a successful money-raiser. (Powicke. Thirteenth Century p. 535). Walter de Pederton was constable of the castle of Carmarthen by October 1294, (CPR, 1292–1301 p. 96) and subsequently justice of West Wales; his account as justice for 1298–1300 is printed in Rhys op. cit.
160 *anno xxiiij. finiente.*
161 The order to Wogan and Pederton to deliver the hostages was dated 28 Aug. 1295 (CCR, 1288–96 p. 426) as was the order to the Bristol constable to receive them (ibid. p. 430). The 30 hostages already destined for Dorset were to be kept at the castles of Sherborne (10) and Corfe (20); the 50 for Wiltshire at the castles of Salisbury (10), Marlborough (10), and Winchester (30) (ibid.).
162 *Balist(ariorum) . . . archerorum.*
163 *SyWard.*
164 *de Moravia.*
165 *John de la More and John de Clogham* are variant readings (CCR, 1288–96, p. 483). Cf. infra pp. 62 and 66 for other variants of the latter.
166 *prisonum inimicorum Regis nuper contra Regem in Castro de Dunbar in Scotia et in conflictu ibidem inter Regem et ipsos habitio, captoriorum . . .* The Bristol constable was ordered on 16 May 1296 to receive them from Sandeb by indenture (CCR, 1288–96 p. 483). Sundry warrants to Fernbaud concerning the Scots prisoners survive in E101/6/4. According to the *Chronicle of Lanercost* (trs. Maxwell, p. 138), the Scots who seized Dunbar Castle before the battle were led by Sir Richard Siward “a man renowned in war and expert in arms”, but this is presumably the Richard Siward who was father of Richard Siward junior, and who was imprisoned in the Tower of London after Dunbar when 131 prisoners were distributed amongst various castles in England and Wales (CCR, 1288–96, pp. 480–484). Alexander Comyn was perhaps a younger son of the John Comyn,
Nicholas Burdet. from 2 June - 29 Sept. 1296;\(^{167}\) £3\(^\dagger\), similarly for the wages of 2 squires\(^{168}\) keeping these prisoners during that period, at 3d. a day; £16.18s.4d. for the purchase of 1 cask of honey and 70 cheeses delivered to Hugh Leominster, chamberlain of Wales, for provisioning the king's castles of North Wales;\(^{169}\) £112s.2\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. for banding and carrying the cask from Nottleynton to Bristol, for buying 2 empty casks for making barrels for the honey and for buying 2 casks for the cheese, and for the carriage from the castle of Bristol to the harbour of the honey and cheese and of 50,000 bolts received from the constable of the king's castle of St. Briavels, namely 18,000 for two-foot cross-bows and 32,000 for one-foot cross-bows;\(^{170}\) £5\(^\dagger\) similarly for the loading of a ship to carry the honey cheeses and bolts from Bristol to Carnarvon for delivery to Hugh;\(^{171}\) 17s. similarly for the pay of a pilot to take the ship by sea;\(^{172}\) 16s.3d. similarly for the expenses of a squire in addition to have charge of the honey, cheese and bolts in the ship for 66 days,\(^{173}\) taking 3d. a day; 14s.8d. similarly for the purchase of timber, laths, nails and hangings to make a store-house in a ship called The Cog of All Saints of Winchelsea, for 214 quarters of wheat and 149 quarters of oats collected by the sheriff of Gloucestershire for the use of

justiciary of Galloway, who died in 1274 (DNB), and younger brother of the John Comyn the elder of Badenoch ("the black Comyn"), who had been a claimant to the Scottish throne (ibid).

\(^{167}\) Payment was made for 120 days, counting each date mentioned, at the rate of 4d. per day per knight and 3d. per squire (quolibet armigere).

\(^{168}\) vallett(orum).

\(^{169}\) in uno dolio Mell(is) et lxx. cas(eis) emptis et liberatis Hugoni de Leominist' Catherino Regis Wallie ad Castra Regis in partibus NorWall( ) (sic) inde munienda . . . . C. reads in j. doleo Mellis et sexaginta' et decem pecii cas(ei) . . . etc. Hugh Leominster is usually regarded as chamberlain of North Wales (Waters, Edwardian Settlement p. 21; Tout, Chapters VI. 61). In all Fernbaud delivered 192 cheeses to North Wales in the year 1295–96 (Griffiths, Bull. Board Celtic Studies xv).

\(^{170}\) . . . in eodem dolio ligando et cariendo de [Nottleynton] usque Brustoll' duobus vacuis dol(iis) pro iij. barell(is) faciend(is) ad dictum mel' et iij. dol(iis) ad dictum castium (sic) (C. caseum) inponend(um) emp(iis) cum caria giov(is) [eorundem melis et] cas(ei) et L. mill(ium) [quinquaquinta millium] quarrellorum recep( torum) de Constabulario Castri Regis de Sancto Briaello, videlicet xviiij. mill(ium) pro balistis ad duo pedes et xxij. mill(ium) pro balistis ad unum pedem, [a][Castro Brustoll'] usque Nauem in [portu] . . . Words in square brackets supplied from C.

\(^{171}\) in fretto ciusdam Nauis cariante(is) mel, caseum et quarellos predictos . . . usque Castrum de Karnaruan.

\(^{172}\) in stipendiis ciusdam Lodemanni duc(entis) eandem Nauem per mare in eadem Naui . . .

\(^{173}\) . . . in expensis ciusdam vall( eti) exist(entis) ultra custodiam predictorum mellis cas(eorum) et quarell( orum) in eadem Naui.
Edmund the king’s brother and others staying on the king’s service in Gascony,\(^ {174}\) £9. similarly for the loading\(^ {175}\) of a ship to carry the corn from the town of Bristol to the port of Weymouth.\(^ {176}\)

**Sum** . . . £137.5s.7½d. He owes £141.2s.7¼d. and answers for this debt. Nothing in the treasury.

*(Allowances)*

80 marks to Nicholas for his annual fee of 40 marks, for the 23rd and 24th years;\(^ {177}\) £22.15s. similarly to John Louue, for his wages as keeper of the forest of Kingswood in the same period; £6.1s.4d. similarly to the janitor of the castle; £9.2s. as daily wages\(^ {178}\) and £1s10s.4d. as payment\(^ {179}\) for nights to the 2 watchmen there similarly; £2s13s.4d. similarly to Richard Tailor, keeper of the king’s sea-coast of Bristol, for robes; £9.2s. similarly for the maintenance of Owen son of David ap Gruffydd, and £2s3s.4d. similarly for the purchase of robes, linen, shoes\(^ {180}\) and other necessities for him; £12.2s.8d. and £2.13s.4d. similarly to the 2 squires guarding him.

**Sum** . . . £121.10s. And he owes £19.12s.7¼d.

He answers for that debt. In the treasury £10.5s. He owes £9.7s.7¼d., but answers in the roll for the 34th year under Beds. and Bucks.\(^ {181}\)

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\(^{174}\) *in meremio, lath(is), clausis et curtinis emptis ad granarium faciend(um) in Nau vocata Cogga Omnium Sanctorum de Wyncelse, pro CCxiiiij. quarteris frumenti et Cxl. quarteris aeneae, captis per vicecomitem Glouc’ ad opus Edmundi . . . et aliorum in obsequio Regis in Vasconia conmorant(um).* This payment was authorised by the same writ and by view and testimony of John de Staff(ord) king’s clerk “assigned to this supervision”.

\(^{175}\) *in fretto. Weymouth.*

\(^{176}\) *By the king’s writ.*

\(^{177}\) *vadiis.*

\(^{178}\) *stipendiiis.*

\(^{179}\) *teleis*’ is omitted in P. though included in C. which is on the whole here clearer and more accurate than P. All these items of expenditure were authorised “by the same writ”.

\(^{180}\) E372/152B/m20 Fernbaud also answers here for arrears of his custody of the bishopric of Bath and Wells.
Nicholas Fermbaud, 1300–1303

Enrolled accounts. Castle, town and barton. E372/150/m37; E352/97/m10. Calendar; accounts for the twenty-ninth, thirtieth and thirty-first years, each year separately. Two original accounts survive, for 1300–1301 and 1301–2 (SC6/851/7 and ibid./9); these have not been printed as they are repetitive and unremarkable and do not include any details as to tine, pyx, mills, hundred, etc.; these details can be found, however, in ibid./8 for all three years 1300–1303, a roll which also includes in a different hand a well-finished original account for 1302–3 (m5), likewise unprinted here. Where of interest, details from these three original accounts have been incorporated in the footnotes; the original accounts (SC6/851/7, 9, and 8m5) are cited in this case, to distinguish them from the detailed particulars of ibid.8 (apart from m.5) cited as Parties.

Account of Nicholas Fermbaud, constable of Bristol, for the issues of the castle, town and barton, from Michaelmas at the end of the 28th year till Michaelmas at the end of the 31st year (Mich. 1300–1303).

The Twenty-ninth year (1300–1301)

Town. Receipts

£10.9s.7¾d. from assessed rent;¹ 4s. from the farm of Joel the clerk, and 5s. from that of Peter Miparty;² 12d. from 2 pairs of gilded spurs,³ 4d. from 2 capons,⁴ 1½d. from a pound of cumin;⁵

¹ "as in the roll of particulars delivered to the treasury in the 23rd year" (for total see supra p. 38; for details Veale BRS, ii, 296–311, col. 1).
² Miparti; Miparty in Orig.
³ From the rent of John, son and heir of Paul etc. as before; but in the account for 1297–98 (E372/145/m25) the rent is said to be of Richard, brother and heir of John son of Paulinus and of Robert le Ware.
⁴ As before; P. Leie; C. Leye; Orig. Legh' (SC6/851/7 m1).
⁵ cimini in both P. and C.; cyminí in Orig; P. Dudding'; C. Duddying'; Orig. Dunnyng'. Up till 1298, the price continued at 3d; in 1299–1300 it dropped to 1½d. (E372/145/m25).
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

18s. from 2 shops under the tolsey; 6 10s. from tronage; 5s. from Meir’s tenement; 7 9s. from 6 weavers, 5s. from 5 bakers as cuppage; 8 5s.6d. from 38 cobblers, 8s.6d. from 17 bakers selling bread in baskets, 10½d. from 21 regratresses; 18s.6d. from the farm of the street where the market was held of old; 9 40s. from the farm of the prison; £10.16s.3d. from 16 ships with 824 tuns and 66 pipes of wine, 10 of which 6 tuns were from the liberty of Southampton which only pays half custom, 11 and excepting 982 tuns and 56 pipes of wine of various liberties, namely Weymouth, Winchelsey, Haverford, Carnarvon, 12 and other liberties, both English and Welsh, from which custom is not due: £66.14s.11½d. from the sale of 59 quarters 2 bushels of wheat, and 12 quarters of maslin from the king’s mills below the castle: 15 £117s.10d. from pleas and perquisites of the courts of the town, except at fair-time; 12s.

6 Tolselde in both P. and C. See supra p. 29, n.8. In the accounts for 1296–97, and 1297–98 the rent for these shops was 20s. each year, but in 1299–1300 it was again 18s. (ibid.).

7 Meiroci; Orig. Meyrock’.

8 cupage; Orig. cupag’.

9 The rent had varied over the preceding years: 10s.6d. in 1296–97; 11s.6d. in 1297–98; 15s.3d. in 1299–1300 (E372/145/m25).

10 Cf. supra pp. 3, 38. In 1296–97 there were again no ships, and no custom paid. In 1297–98 Fernbaud accounted for custom on 11 ships with 628 tuns (+ 778 tuns from various liberties) (£7.17s.); in 1299–1300, for 12 ships, 709 tuns (+ 532 tuns from liberties) (£8.17s.3d.). In the present account, exceptionally, the cargo is mentioned before the number of ships.

11 The custom was at 3d. a tun or 2d. a pipe. Southampton qui non soluunt ibidem nisi mediatatem custome videlicet pro doleo jd.ob.; Orig. dimid(iam) cons(uetudinem). Cf. Veale, iv. 90–91 for the agreement between Bristol and Southampton concerning tolls and customs and The Local Port Book of Southampton for 1439, ed. H.S. Cobb. (Southampton Record Society, 1961) pp. xxvii–xxviii.


13 excepto tempore Nundinarum. The phrasing of 1294–95 (supra p. 30, n. 16) is retained in P. and C. but not in Orig.

14 The profits this year from the last three items is £7.8s.1½d. The years 1294–98 seem to have been poor ones as far as the fairs were concerned. Totals for these same three items varied from £3.7s.7d. in 1295–96, to £3.5s.8d. in 1297–98. In the account for 1299–1300 however the total was up to £7.12s.7d. (E372/145/m25).

15 Sales as follows (SC6/851/7 m1):-
from the tenement which was once Matilda la Salerere’s;\(^{16}\) 1d. from an annual rent from Nicholas Cantock;\(^{17}\) he does not answer for the sale of wines of prise nor for stallage.\(^{18}\)

Sum of the receipt . . . £131.1½d.

**Castle and barton. Receipts**

£17.3s.10d. from prise of beer; 6d. rent from John of Woodstock; 20s. from the produce of Peter Goldsmith’s former garden, 15s. from Christine the clerk’s,\(^{19}\) and 13s.4d. from the garden outside the castle;\(^{20}\) 5s. from a shop lately built on the tenement which belonged to Benedict the Jew;\(^{21}\) he does not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Maslin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 qrs. at 4s.</td>
<td>3 qrs. 2 bus. at 3s. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½ qrs. at 4s.4d.</td>
<td>3 qrs. 2 bus. at 3s.4d. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 qrs. at 4s.6d.</td>
<td>3½ qrs. at 3s.6d. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 qrs. 2 bus. at 4s.7d.</td>
<td>2 qrs. at 3s.10d. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 qrs. at 4s.8d.</td>
<td>12 qrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 qrs. at 5s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 qrs. at 4s.10d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 qrs. 2 bus. at 5s.2d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 qrs. at 5s.8d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 qrs. 6 bus. at 6s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½ qrs. at 5s.7d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59 qrs. 2 bus.

Total receipt: wheat £14.19.11d. maslin £2.6d. £17.6d.

\(^{16}\) *Salarere; Salerer* in Orig. Repairs to the roof of Matilda’s house (and those of Hak le Pretre and Moses of Kent) had been done in 1299–1300 (E372/145/m25), and the rent for Matilda’s house was 12s. that year.

\(^{17}\) In 1299–1300 Nicholas paid 8d.: the arrears of an increased rent of 1d. a year from the 20th year (1291–92).

\(^{18}\) Adam de Rokesle was appointed king’s butler, taker of wines of the right prise and buyer of wines on 15th Apr. 1299 (CPR 1292–1301 p. 408). Stallage was still in the custody of Bartholomew the Poitevin in 1299–1300.

\(^{19}\) An increase in rent: in 1296–97 the rent was 13s.; in 1297–98 14s.; and 1299–1300 15s.

\(^{20}\) Usually described as the king’s garden, but not here; Orig. continues the usual description.

\(^{21}\) In the account for 1297–98 the house formerly belonging to Benedict of Winchester was *sic dimissa magistro Thome MounSorel quia de nouo reedificauit eam*. Partics. say “5s. from a certain shop lately built from that house once belonging to Benedict”, but do not here mention Thomas Mountsorel (SC6/851/6 m7).
answer for the tenement outside the castle which was Moses of Kent's because it had no tenant this year; 7s. from 2 empty plots in Wine St. and the schools of the Jews let out this year; 6s. from the house in Wine St. which belonged to Cresse the son of Isaac, and 6d. from the empty plot which belonged to Cresse le Prestre; nothing from the house formerly of Jose of Caerleon; 3s.4d. from the former Jewish cemetery; 15s. from a custom called chevage, that is, from 30 boys at 6d. each; £2.54s. from the chevage of boys concealed by William Bruning, deceased reeve, namely, 14s. for both the 20th and for the 21st year, and 16s for the 22nd year; also £28s. similarly concealed by Richard Beaagraunt, reeve, namely 16s. for the 23rd year. 16s.6d. for the 24th year, and 15s.6d. for the 25th year; £2.8s.6d. for the chevage of boys concealed by Robert Gamel, reeve, namely 15s. for the 26th year, 14s.6d. for the 27th year, 15s. for the 28th year; £1.8s.8d. from the last two reeves for concealment of this chevage; £24.4s.1½d. from

22 Mossi; Orig. Mossy. For repairs to this house cf. supra n.16. The rent was increased from 3s.4d. to 8s. in 1299–1300.

23 There were some variations in the rent here, over the intervening years: 6s.8d. in 1296–97; 6s. in 1297–98; in 1299–1300 it was increased to 13s. (perhaps as a result of repairs – see supra n.16).

24 Josei de Carlion; Orig. Josey de Karlyon. In the account for 1296–97: de domo que fuit Josei Carlium (C. Carlion) Judei nichil hoc anno quia tota diruta est iia quod nullus inhabitare potest (E372/145/m25).

25 de quadam consuetudine que vocatur Cheuage videlicet de xxx garcioniibus de quolibet per annum vj.d. hoc anno.

26 cheuaggio garcioniun.

27 C. Bruyning; Orig. Brownynge'.

28 prepositus. A Richard Beaagraunt and a Robert Gamel appear in a list (dated 1296–97) of customary tenants of Easton. According to the list Richard held a virgate of land in Easton and paid various rents and services. Robert Gamel's was a new arretation dating from 1295–96, for a plot of waste ground also in Easton held jointly with Richard Gamel (SC6/851/5 m8). Cf supra p. 40. A Robert Gamel also paid pannage of 7d. for 7 pigs in 1299–1300 (SC6/851/6 m3d). Richard Beaagraunt paid 8½d. in pannage for 5 pigs and 7 hogs (ibid.).

29 The first appearance of chevage in these accounts. It seems only to have been taken from boys, unlike the usual chevage or headpeny (Neilson, loc. cit. pp. 166–8); moreover the rate of 6d. a boy is high, and may be contrasted for example with the 3d. chevage paid by a bondman in the manor of Leeds some twenty years later "for licence to live outside the king's lordship" (Le Patourel, loc. cit. p. 19, etc.).

30 A further increase in the assessed rents of the three hamlets, of 10s.4d. over five years. The account for 1299–1300 also mentions 11s.6d. from arrears of rent of 1 pound of pepper not charged in the totals for the 20th–28th years inclusive.
assessed rents in the hamlets of Stapleton, Mangotsfield,31 and Easton; 20s. 1d. from church-seat, Peter’s-penny and wood-penny32 in these hamlets; £15s.10s.11½d. similarly from bede-reap,33 £1.11s.1¼d. from carriage, £15s.1s. from grass-earth,34 7s.7½d. from boon,35 and 6s. from drove; 8s.10d. from (the sale of) 17 1/3 bushels of wheat from the rent of the customers called boon-seed and 9s.6d. from a similar rent also called boon-seed;36 £4.13s.4d. from an annual aid of the customers;37 10s. from 10 tithing-men38 for the view of frankpledge;39 £13.12s. from remitted works of the customers; £5s.14s.9d. as a new gift at Christmas; 13s.4d. from 2 messors40 in Stapleton and Easton; £259s. from the sale of herbage and pasture and £13.11s.10d. from the sale of hay; £9.3s.8½d. from the sale of 7 quarters 5 bushels of wheat, 28 quarters 7 bushels of rye, 3 quarters 1 bushel of barley, and 14 quarters 2 bushels of oats from the produce41 of the barton this year,42 together with 7s.6d. from fodder sold there: £15s.12s. from wood-silver in the king’s forest beyond Avon,43 £150s.8d. from pannage of pigs there,44 £15s.12s. from the

(Mich. 1291–1300) non carcati in summa in annis . . . nec leuati propter paupertatem tenentium.

31 Mangodesfeld; Manegodesfeld’ Orig.
32 Churchset Petrespeny Wodepeni P.; Wodepeny . . . (C. and Orig.).
33 Bedripe (P. and C.); Bedryp’ (Orig.).
34 Graserde (P. and C.); Grasherth’ (Orig.).
35 Bene.
36 Bensed; the second mention has no capital, and is omitted in C.; Bensed’ in Orig.
37 Orig.: de annuo auxilio custumariorum ibidem. SC6/851/7 has auxilio Rusticorum de Fine antiquo.
38 Disenariorum; decenariorum in Orig.
39 pro visu franci pleg(iii); Orig. de visu Francipleg’ de fine antiquo. See also supra pp. 14 and 34.
40 de ii. Messoribus, a new item. Cf. supra p. lvii, n. 331.
41 exitibus.
42 Totals received, quantities of seed sown and amount sown per acre (SC6/851/7 m2).
Wheat 18 qrs. 3 bus. from which 10 qrs. 6 bus. on 43 a. viz 2 bus per a.
Rye 36 qrs. 7 bus. from which 8 qrs. on 25½ a. ½ rood viz 2½ bu. p.a.
Barley 9 qrs. from which 5 qrs. 7 bus. on 11¼a. 1 rood viz 4 bu.p.a.
Oats 37 qrs. 6 bus. from which 23½ qrs. on 47 a. viz 4 bu p.a.
The details of the sales of the residue are presented in a new form which names the purchaser and the price he paid (SC6/851/8 m3d). The wheat sold at 6s. the qr., rye at 3s., barley at 4s., and oats at 2s., apart from 2 sales at 2s.8d. the qr.; the uniform price for wheat this year contrasts with the fluctuations of, for example, the preceding year. The names of those who paid for pasture and hay are likewise mentioned.
43 ultra Abonam. Orig. de forestar’ citra Abonam.
44 The names of those who paid pannage, and the amounts paid are given in SC6/851/6m6d.
sale of sea-coals, 45 5s.8d. of stone 46 and 6s.8d. of earth for pottery: 47 £13.14s.7d. from the pleas and perquisites of the hundred of Barton: 48 11s. from a moiety of the mill of Johanna Lideard in Stapleton for this year, and 5s. for this moiety from 22 Feb. 1297, 49 on which day it came into the king's hands on the death of Joanna, by reason of the minority 50 of Edward, son and heir of Philip Burnell, in the king's ward, till the Michaelmas following; 33s. from the issues of this moiety for the 26th, 27th, and 28th years: 51 he does not answer for the issues of the lands of John, son and heir of Elias of Oldbury, for John is now of age and has possession of his land.

Sum of the receipt . . . £132.1½d.

Total receipt of town and castle . . . £263.2¾d.

In the treasury nothing.

Expenditure. Barton

11s.8d. acquittance for 1 reeve and 4 ploughmen; 3s. for the cost of making 2 new ploughs and repairing others and for 6 yokes 52 and other necessities; 16s.5d. for 2 boon-works of 33 ploughs and 26 harrows ploughing and harrowing at both sowings, 53 together with 6s.7½d. for harrowers hired for the land.

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45 The names of the diggers of coal are given in SC6/851/8 m3d.
46 3s. from stone for roofs; 2s.4d. for walls (Parties.) SC6/851/8mm 1–4d. The names of diggers of stone are given in ibid.
47 Similarly the names of those who dug earth for pottery.
48 Orig. refers to fines, pleas and perquisites of courts with pleas and perquisites de La Wodescheyre ultra abonam.
49 de med(ietate) Molend(ini) quod fuit Johanne de Lideyerd' in villa de Stapeltone hoc anno. Et de vs. de mediate dicti Molend(ini) . . . anno xxv. (P.): C. Lydeyerd; Orig. Lydyard'. In SC6/851/5 m6. it is said that Adam de Romene and Johanna de Lydeyerd hold a mill and two acres of meadow (in Stapleton) for a rent of 18s. a year.
50 per mortem dicte Johanne ratione minoris etatis Edwardi in custod(iac) Regis existent(is). Philip Burnell was the nephew and heir of Robert Burnell, the bishop of Bath and Wells, who died 25 Oct. 1292; Philip died in 1294 and was succeeded by Edward his son and heir then aged about 7 (Glouc. Inq. p. 165; DNB, HBC, etc.). The connection of the Burnells with Johanna Lideard remains unexplained.
51 Orig. adds: "not charged for" (in these years).
52 iugis; cost 12d. (Orig.).
53 Et in ij precariis xxxiiij caruc(arum) et xxvj herc(iarum) arrant(um) et hercian(tum) ad utrumque semen. Details as follows in Orig. (SC6/851/7) Cf. supra p. 36. Et in xviij. carucis precat(is) ad arr(andum) terr(um) Regis ad sem(en) yemal(e) per j. diem iij.s. v.dj. pro caruc(a) iij.d. Et in xiiiij. herc(iis) ad herciand(um) post dictas carucas x.d.o. pro hercia ob.q. Et in ij. herc(iis) conduct(is) ad herciand(um) terr(um) arrat(um) de propriis caruc(is) Regis ad idem
ploughed with the king’s own ploughs;\(^{54}\) 6s.7d. for buying axles,\(^{55}\)
and for clout-nails,\(^{56}\) rope, oil and other things for the repair of
carts;\(^{57}\) with 3s.8d. for hoeing the corn;\(^{58}\) and £18s.7d. for
mowing 68\(\frac{1}{2}\) acres of meadow, for tossing, lifting, and carrying
the hay to the king’s barton, and for making one stack of hay
there, together with the fodder of the manor;\(^{59}\) £1\(\frac{1}{2}\)s.3d. for
repairing, gathering and binding 127\(\frac{1}{2}\) acres of all kinds of corn,\(^{60}\)
5s. for carrying it to the barton and 2s.1d. for stacking the corn;\(^{61}\)
18s.10\(\frac{1}{4}\)d. for threshing and winnowing 18 quarters 3 bushels of
wheat, 36 quarters 7 bushels of rye, 9 quarters of barley and 37
quarters 6 bushels of oats;\(^{62}\) 4s.7\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. for carrying and spreading
dung there;\(^{63}\) 14s. for 1 mill-stone, for timber, boards, nails, iron
and steel, cog-wheels and rungs bought for repairing the mill
once belonging to Johanna Lideard, and now in the king’s

\[\text{Et in potu ra xv. carucar(orum) precar(orum) ad arrand(am) terr(am) Regis ad semen Quadragemine per j. diem iij.s. ix.d. pro caruca iij.d. Et in xij. herci(is) conduct(is) ad herciand post dictus caruc(as) per j. diem ix.d. (pro expunged) culibet per diem ob.q. Et in ij. herciatoribus conductis ad herciand(um) terr(um) Regis arr(atom) de propriis carucis Regis ad idem semen per xxvij. dies iij.s.vj.d. culibet per diem ob.q.}\]

\[\text{auxibus (P.); axibus (C.); axis (Orig.) with cost 8d.}\]

\[\text{commas between clutis and clauibus in P. and C. suggest that different kinds of nails were bought: Orig., however, merely records 16 clout-nails bought for 16d.; also oil ad car(ectas) ungend(as) for 9d.: the total expenditure on carts there recorded amounts to 6s.7d., as in the enrolled accounts.}\]

\[\text{Et in xxv. dies iij.s.j.d. ad terram arrat(um) de propriis carucis Regis (C.) Cf. supra p. 36. C., which here extends more than P. Orig., however, referring to the Lenten sowing, gives in ij. herciatoribus etc.; cf. supra n.53 last sentence.}\]

\[\text{auxibus (P.); axis (Orig.) with cost 8d.}\]

\[\text{commas between clutis and clauibus in P. and C. suggest that different kinds of nails were bought: Orig., however, merely records 16 clout-nails bought for 16d.; also oil ad car(ectas) ungend(as) for 9d.: the total expenditure on carts there recorded amounts to 6s.7d., as in the enrolled accounts.}\]

\[\text{ad plaustra emendand(a) et reparand(a) (P. and C.). Orig. itemises in j. carpenter(i)io) conducto fac(er) corpus cuiusdam plaustr(i) de nouo per iij. dies xij. d. per diem iij.d. Et in meremio empto ad idem xx.d. Et in j. corda plaustr(i) xiiiij.d.}\]

\[\text{in blad(is) sarcland(is); in sarclatone blad’ per totum campum (Orig.).}\]

\[\text{Mowing at 2d. an acre 11s.5d.; tossing and lifting similarly 11s.5d.; carrying to the barton in 4 carts for 3 days, 4s.; making a stack, 12 men for 1 day, 12d.; hire of 1 man to roof the stack for 2 days 6d. and of 1 man helping him 3d. Sum 28s.7d. Proved. (Orig.) The word manor does not appear in Orig.}\]

\[\text{omnimodi bladl. Itemised as reaping at 2d. an acre, and the cost of 6 carts boon(ed) (precatis) for 2½ days at 4d. a day a cart (Orig.).}\]

\[\text{1 man hired for stacking corn in the grange for 25 days (Orig.).}\]

\[\text{Threshing ad tas(cam) of wheat and rye, at 2½d. a qr., cost 11s.6d. and winnowing similarly at 1d. for 3 qrs., 1s.6\(\frac{1}{2}\)d.; barley similarly at 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. a qr., cost 1s.1\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. for threshing and, at 1d. for 4 qrs., 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. for winnowing; oats similarly, at 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)d. a qr., cost 3s.11d. for threshing and, at 1d. for 5 qrs., 7\(\frac{1}{4}\)d. for winnowing (Orig.). The rates were lower in 1297–8 (SC6/851/6 m7).}\]

\[\text{14 men took manure to the king’s land from the castle for 1. day and from the barton for 3 days, at ¾d. each day, for 3s.6d., and 6 men spread it for 3 days, at the same rate, for 1s.1\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. (Orig.).}\]
hands, and for the wages of carpenters and masons there.

Sum . . . £6.15.8¾d.

Expenditure. Town.

1 mark in fixed alms to the Knights Templar and £4.; £38 to the monks of Tewkesbury, and £14.10s.; £18s.9d. for 2 mill-stones, timber, boards, iron and steel, nails and other things bought for the mills, with the wages of the workers.

Sum . . . £23.12s.1d.

Sum total of expenses . . . £30.7s.9¾d.; he owes £232.12s.5d. and answers below.

The grange. For the issues of the grange he is acquitted in the roll of particulars and is examined there.

The Thirtieth year (1301–1302)

Receipts. Town

From the assessed rents and other issues of the town, as is contained in the roll of particulars which he delivered in the treasury, £132.10s.8d. From assessed rents and other issues of

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64 As above p. 52 and n. 50.
65 . . . in cogg' et runges (sic) empt(is) ad molendinum quod fuit Johanne de Lydyerd . . . cum stipend(iis) carpentar(iorum) et cementariorum pro eodem molendino reficiendo. Itemised as 2 carpenters hired (conductis) for 3 days remaking the water-wheel, at 4d. a day, 2s., and timber for this 2s.4d.; boards 6d.; nails 3d.; remaking the spindle (fusillo) and 2 bills 9d.; iron and steel 9d.; purchase of 1 mill-stone 4s.; 2 carpenters hired for 1 day mending the inner mill-wheel (emendant(ibus) Rot(um) interior(em) molend(ini) 8d. and timber for this 9d.; cogs (goug') and rungs 6d.; 2 masons hired for 2 days to repair the weir, at 3d. a day, 1s.; stones 4d.; moss (musco) 2d. (Orig.).
66 stipend(iis).
67 De exitibus Grang(ie) eque(t) respond(et) in roto de particulis et examinatur ibidem, as in the account for the 26th year SC6/851/6 m7. The details of these accounts for 1300–1301 are in Orig.; cf. supra p. 47.
68 Details in SC6/851/9. Variations from 1300–1 (ibid. /7. cf. supra pp. 47–49) as follows: 14s.6d. from old market street; 30 cobbler, 18 bakers selling from baskets, 24 regrettresses; £68.10s.4½d. from cloth etc.; £12.13s.9d. from 15 ships with 979 tuns 54 pipes of wine; no custom on 794 tuns 38 pipes in those ships for the liberties, amongst which Dublin and Cork newly appear; 7s.6d. from stallage at fair-time, also £4.14s.6d. from dues on cloth etc. and £1.14s.4d. from pleas and perquisites during the fair: other pleas and perquisites £13.18s.8d. Sales of wheat
the castle and the barton pertaining to it, similarly, £126.14s.7¾d.  

Sum of the receipt . . . £259.5s.3¾d. Nothing in the treasury.

**Expenditure**

For various expenses in the town, together with the usual fixed alms, £23.11s.2d. and for various expenses in the barton pertaining to the castle, similarly, with an acquittance for 1 reeve from mills £11.19s.2d. for 52 qrs. 5 bus., sales of maslin £1.3s.8d. for 9 qrs. 7 bus.

Details of sales:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Maslin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 qrs. 6 bus. sold at 4s. a qr.</td>
<td>1 qr. 1 bu. at 2s. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4½ qrs.</td>
<td>1½ qrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7½ qrs.</td>
<td>2½ qrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9½ qrs.</td>
<td>2 qrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 qrs. 3 bus. sold at 4s.8d. a qr.</td>
<td>2 qrs. 6 bus. at 2s.8d. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5½ qrs.</td>
<td>2 qrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8½ qrs.</td>
<td>2 qrs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total £13.2s.10d. Proved.

- Wheat: 100 qr. 1 bus. 20 qr. 2 bus. 14½ qr. 1 qrs. 11qr. 30 qrs.
- Rye: 1 qrs. 4 bus. sold at 5s.8d. a qr.
- Barley: 1 qrs. 2 bus. 14½ qr. sold at 4s. a qr.
- Oats: 1 qrs. 3 bus. 11 qr. sold at 3s.4d. a qr.
- Brotcorn (brot-comnie): 1 qrs. 4 bus. sold at 6d. a bu.
- Brotcorn of oats: 1 qrs. 7 bus. sold at 3d. a bu.
- Straw 8s.8d.

Also pleas fines and perquisites £11.8s.9d.

**Details of necessary expenditure without writ, from SC6/851/9:**

- Repair of carts 1s.64d.; 1 pr. of wheels 5s.; 2 carts fitted with 2 new axles (in ij plausiris axandis una cum ij. axis emptis ad idem) 8d.; 16 cloutnails and other nails (clutis cum clausis) 1s.64d.; oil 8d.; 1 rope 1s.61d.; sum 10s.3d.
- 5 men carrying manure from the castle for 4 days and from the barton for 5 days, at 2½d. a man daily, 2s.9½d.; 4 men scattering the manure for 3 days 9d.; sum 3s.6¾d.
- Hoeing the whole field (per tot(um) camp(um)) 3s.3d.
- Threshing ad tas(cam) 28 qrs. wheat and 22 qrs. 7 bus. rye, at 2½d. a qr., 10s.7d. and winnowing this, at 3 qrs. for 1d., 1s.5d.; similarly threshing 18 qrs. 5
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

and 4 ploughmen,\(^72\) £6.18s.2½d. He owes £228.15s.1ld. and answers below.

The grange. For the issues of the grange of the barton he is acquitted in the roll of particulars and is examined there.\(^73\)

The Thirty-first year (1302–1303)

Receipts. Town

Assessed rent, £10.9s.7¾d.; 4s. from the farm of Joel the clerk, and 5s. from that of Peter Miparty;\(^74\) 12d. from 2 pairs of gilded spurs;\(^75\) 4d. from 2 capons, 1½d. from a pound of cumin;\(^76\)

bus. barley, at 2d. a qr., 3s.1¼d. and winnowing at 3 qrs. for 1d., 6d.; similarly threshing ad tas(cam)\(^77\) 60 qrs. 6 bus. oats, at 1½d. a qr., 5s.3¾d. and innowing at 5 qrs. for 1d., 1s.;\(^78\) threshing, ad tas(cam) similarly, 4 bus. of rye brotorn and 7 bus. of oats brotorn 2d., and winnowing this ½d.; sum £1.3s.1½d. (a sum of 24s.4½d. deleted by underlining). Proved.

Mowing 68½ acres meadow 11s.5d. at 2d. an acre, tossing the herbage\(^79\) and lifting the hay 11s.5d. similarly; carriage of this to the barton for the oxen in 6 carts for 2½ days, at 4d. a cart, 5s.; stacking it with 11 men for 2 days, at 1d. each a day 1s.10d.; roofing the stack 3d.; sum £1.9s.11d.

Reaping 121½ acres of corn £1.3d.; carriage to the barton with 4 carts for 4 days, at 4d. a cart, 5s.4d.; 2 men stacking the corn in the king's grange for 13 days, at 1d. each a day, 2s.2d.; sum £1.7s.9d.

Expenditure on the king's mills below the castle. 2 carpenters hired for 3 days to make one inner wheel at the second mill (secundum molendinum), at 4d. a day each, 2s.; timber 2s.4d.; 2 mill-stones 18s; 2 carpenters hired for 2 days to repair 3 water-wheels, at 4d. a day each, 1s.4d.; iron and steel for sharpening bills and repairing the weakened spindle (fusillum debill(emi)) 1s.d.6d. and for work on this 1s.6d.; cog wheels (in gouges) and rungs 1s.4d.; sum £1.7s.10d.

Costs of the mills of Stapleton. 1 man hired for 2 days roofing the mill, at 3½d. a day, 7d. and another to help him 4d.; 2 carpenters hired for 2 days to repair the flood gate (le Flotgat)\(^80\) at 4d. a day, 1s.4d.; timber 1s.4d.; for a half-quarter of boards to place on either side of the flood-gate (dicti Flodgate) and below the water-course 1s.9d.; 2 masons hired for 2 days working on this 1s.4d.; moss 3d.; purchase of 1 "enteria molend", and repair of bills 4d.; iron and steel 4d.; sum 8s.1d. Cf. S. Challenger in Collectanea (WRS, xii) pp. 1 sqq. for work on royal mills at Marlborough.

\(^72\) As before 2 ploughmen keeping (ten(entiutum)) 2 king's ploughs 4s; 2 ploughmen driving (fug(antium)) 2 king's ploughs 3s.4d. (SC6/851/9).

\(^73\) Issues of the grange (ibid.).

(Totals received and quantities sown, also rate per acre.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Rate per Acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>28 qrs.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2s. per a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rye</td>
<td>22 qrs.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3s.4d. per a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>18 qrs.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5s. per a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td>60 qrs.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>6s. per a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^74\) Miparti.

\(^75\) ... "as in the roll of particulars" (that is SC6/851/8 m5 here cited as Orig.); tenants as supra p. 29 and 47 n. 3.

\(^76\) Spelling in P. and C. and Orig. as in the 29th year (supra p. 47 n.5).
18s. from 2 shops under the tolsey; 77 10s. from tronage; 5s. from Meyr’s tenement; 78 9s. from 6 weavers, 5s. from 5 bakers as cuppage; 4s.10d. from 29 cobbler, 7s.6d. from 15 bakers selling bread in baskets, and 9d. from 18 regrettess; 79 11s.6d. from the farm of the street where the market was held of old; 40s. from the farm of the prison; 80 £16.15s.6d. from 16 ships with 1304 tuns and 63 pipes of wine, excepting 517 tuns 31 pipes of wine in those ships from various liberties of England, Wales, and Ireland, from which no custom is due; 81 £67.15s.0¼d. from cloth and other commodities apart from fairtime; 82 8s.2d. from stallage at fair-time, 83 £5.811s.2d. from cloth and other commodities similarly, £1.519s. from fines, pleas and perquisites of courts at the fairs; 84 £11.10s.11d. from the sale of 45 quarters 2 bushels of wheat, and 9 quarters 4 bushels of maslin from the king’s mills below the castle; 75 £16.8s. 8d. from pleas and perquisites of the

77 Shopp’ (P.); schopp’ (C.) schoppys (Orig.). sub la Tolselde (P. and C.); sub Thols’ (Orig.)
78 Meroti; Orig. Meyrock’.
80 de firma prisone (P. and C.); de firma prisonum (Orig.).
81 Specific ports not mentioned but Orig. gives Southampton, Weymouth, Winchelsea, Haverford, Carnarvon, Bristol, Romney, Waterford “and other liberties of England, Wales and Ireland”; it adds that the constable does not answer for the right prise of wines, as the king had given its custody to William Treinte, his butler, nor for stallage which was in the keeping of Bartholomew the Poitevin. Trent was appointed butler and taker of wines of the right prise, and also as buyer of wines for the king, on 14 Nov. 1302 (CPR, 1301–7, p. 74). Cf. supra p. 21, n.66 and 49 n.18.
82 Wording as in the account for the 25th year (E372/145/m25, not printed; cf. p. 38, n. 102). No mention of cloth ’of Ireland’ in Orig.
83 in fera tempore mundinarum (Orig.).
84 ‘Fines’ omitted in Orig.
85 Weekly receipts are given in SC6/851/8 m5:- Sales were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Maslin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3½ qrs. 2 bus. at 4s. a qr.</td>
<td>1½ qrs. 2 bus. at 2s. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6½ qrs. 2 bus. at 4s.4d. a qr.</td>
<td>1½ qrs. at 2s.4d. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½ qrs. at 4s.3d. a qr.</td>
<td>2 qrs. at 2s.8d. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8½ qrs. at 4s.6d. a qr.</td>
<td>2½ qrs. 2s.10d. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7½ qrs. 2 bus. at 4s.8d. a qr.</td>
<td>1½ qrs. 2 bus. at 3s. a qr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6½ qrs. at 5s. a qr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 qrs. at 4s.10d. a qr.</td>
<td>9 qrs. 4 bus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½ qrs. at 4s.7d. a qr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 qrs 2 bus.</td>
<td>Total receipt, wheat £10.6s.3d. maslin £1.4s.8d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£11.10s.11d.
86 Orig. 7s. (smudged).
courts of the town except at fair-time; 12s. from the farm of the
tenement which once was Matilda la Salerere's; 87 1d. from an
annual rent from Nicholas de Cantock.

Sum of the receipt ... £137.12s.2½d. Nothing in the treasury.

Expenditure88

1 mark in fixed alms to the Knights Templar and £4.; £38 to the
monks of Tewkesbury, and £14.10s.; £184s. for 2 mill-stones,
iron, steel, boards, nails, cog-wheels, rungs and other necessaries
bought for the mills, together with the wages of the workmen;89
£1817s.5½d. for 500 floor-nails, 60 spikings, sand, 16lbs. of tin,
10 loads of stone-tiles, for laths, moss and other necessaries for
the great chamber beyond the gate towards St. Philip's, for the
long stable, for the granary, and for repairing in places the long
chamber, together with the wages of carpenters, masons, and
other workmen there.90

He owes £112.7s.5d.91 He answers below.

87 La Salerere P. and C. (where extended); le Salerer Orig.
88 In P. the allowances follow in the same line as the preceding sum etc.
89 Particularized as: two carpenters, hired for 3 days to mend one water-wheel
at the third mill (tercium molendinum) and one inner wheel (rotam interiorem)
at the fourth (quartum) mill, cost 2s., at 4d. a day; other expenses were for timber
1s.6d., 6 boards 9d., 100 nails (clavis) 3d., 2 mill-stones 16s., at 8s. each; iron and
steel for sharpening and repairing the bearings, and remaking the spindles (pro
billis acuendis et fusilis molendinorum) Reficiendis) 1s.4d., and for making
the spindles 1s.4d.; for gangs and rungs (in gouges et Ronges) 10d. (Orig.): Cogges
and Runces in P.; cogge et Runge in C.
90 ... in D. flornayl, lx. spiking' sabulone xvi libris stagni. (Tile was used for
soldering; also, ironwork was whitened by dripping it in tin: Salzman Building in
England pp. 277, 294) x. oneribus petre tegularum, lathis, keullis, D. lathenail,
calce at musco (moss sometimes used to bed tiles ibid p. 71) et alis necessariis
emptis ad magnum Camerae ultra portam versus sanctum Philipum, longum
stabulum, granarium, et longam Camerae per loca emendenda cum stipendis
Carpentariorum, Cementariorum, et aliorum operantium ibibum. In C. flornayl
and lathenayl. Particularized as floor-nails 1s.3d., spikings 3d., 8 loads of sand
4d., 16 lbs. of tin 2s., at 1½d. a lb; 10 loads of stone-tiles 10d., laths 3d., kevels
3d., lathnails (lathenayl) 7½d., lime 8d., moss 1s. Also 4 trestles (traseles) at 2d.;
wages of 2 carpenters, working for 12½ days on the great chamber in filling the
joists and making the boards (ad implend (as) Gystas et sculpand (as) tabul (as)), at
4½d. a day each, 8s.4d., 2 sawyers cutting timber for this room, at 3½d. a day
each, 3s.6d.; 1 mason, for 4 days at 3½d. a day similarly (ad implend (um) inter
Gystas) 1s.2d.; 1 plumber hired on piece-work (ad tascham) 8s.; 1 tiler roofing
the long stable, the granary and the long chamber for 19 days at 4d. a day 6s.4d., and
a boy helping him, at 1½d. a day 2s.4½d. (Orig.).
91 Total in C. £111.7s.5d.; P. is correct.
The castle and barton. Receipts

£18.12s.10d.\(^92\) from prize of beer; 6d. rent from John of Woodstock; £1.\(^8\) from the produce of Peter Goldsmith's former garden, 15s. from Christine the clerk's,\(^93\) and 13s.4d. from the king's garden outside the castle; 13s. from 2 empty plots in Wine St. and the rented schools of the Jews;\(^94\) 6d. from an empty plot which belonged to Cresse le Prestre; nothing from the house formerly of Jose of Caerleon; 6s. from the house in Wine St. which belonged to Cresse the son of Isaac; nothing from the house which belonged to Moses\(^95\) of Kent; 3s.4d. from the farm of the former Jewish cemetery; 5s. from the house which belonged to Benedict of Winchester;\(^96\) 18s. from chevage\(^97\) from 36 boys; £24.3s.9½d. from assessed rents in the hamlets of Stapleton, Mangotsfield and Easton; £1.0s.1d. from church-seat, Peter's penny and wood-penny\(^98\) there; £1.\(^{10}\)10s.11½d. from bede-reap,\(^99\) £1.1ls.1½d. from carriage, £1.5ls. from grass-earth,\(^100\) 7s.7½d. from boon, 6s. from drove; 8s.10d. from 71 1/3 bushels of wheat called boon-seed, and 9s.6d. similarly in money from boon-seed; £4.13s.4d. from an annual\(^101\) aid of the customers; 10s. from 10 tithe-men for the view of frank pledge;\(^102\) £13.12s. from remitted works of the customers,\(^103\) £5.14s.9d. as a new gift at Christmas; £2.51s.2d. from the sale of herbage and pasture,\(^104\) and £12.7s.6d. similarly from hay;\(^105\) £11.11s.2½d. from the sale of 4½ quarters of wheat, 20 quarters 1 bushel of rye, 17 quarters 7½ bushels of barley, and 46 quarters 1 bushel of oats,\(^106\) with

\(^92\) C. £18.12s.6d., but P. confirmed by Orig. and Parties. m2.
\(^93\) le Clerk' (P. and C.); le clerck' (Orig.).
\(^94\) affirmat(is) (P. and C.); coadiunct(is) (Orig.).
\(^95\) Mossi (P.); Mossey (C.); mossy (Orig.).
\(^96\) "from a certain shop lately built" from Benedict's former house (Orig.).
\(^97\) Chefage (C.).
\(^98\) chircheset, Petrespeni et Wodepeni (P.); ... Petrespeny et Wodespeny (C.); churyschet, Petrispeny, Wodepeny (Orig.).
\(^99\) Bedripe (P. and C.); Bedrypp' (Orig.).
\(^100\) Graserde (P. and C.); Grasert' (Orig.).
\(^101\) per annum not in Orig., which reads de auxilio Rusticorum de fine antiquo.
\(^102\) desenar(iorum) (P.); desenar(iorum) (C.); decennariorum (Orig.); pro visu franc' pleg' (P. and C.); de visu franc' pleg' (Orig.).
\(^103\) operibus custumar(iorum) relaxatorum (sic); de operibus rusticorum (Orig.).
\(^104\) From Thomas Lucas for the pasture le Erdlond £1.10s.; from Robert Gamel similarly super le Dung' 1s.48d.; from the prior of St. James' similarly super Coaddon' 4s.; from Robert Gamel similarly in Gauelmed' 5s.6d. (SC6/851/8 m2d). Cf. p. 50, n. 28.
\(^105\) See supra, p. xli, n. 370.
\(^106\) The wheat, sold at 5s. a qr. fetched £1.5 2s. 6d.
The rye sold at 3s.6d. a qr. fetched £3.510s. 5½d.
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

13s.7d. from fodder and stubble; \(107 £1.5\)s.12s. from wood-silver in the king’s forest beyond Avon; \(108 £1.84\)s.5½d. from pannage; \(109 £1.12\)s. from sea-coals; \(110 7\)s.6d. from stone, 6s.8d. from earth for pottery; \(108 11\)s. from the moity of Joanna Lidyard’s mill at Stapleton; £23.5s.4d. from pleas and perquisites of the hundred of Barton together with the pleas of wood-shire beyond the Avon this year; \(111 13\)s.4d. from 2 reapers in Stapleton and Easton, this year.

Sum of the receipt . . . £134.8s.7½d. Nothing in the treasury.

(Allowances)

11s.8d. for 1 reeve and 4 ploughmen; \(114 3\)s.3d. for iron and steel for 2 ploughs, for yokes and various necessities for repairing other ploughs, together with the wages of the workmen; \(115 17\)s.7½d. for 2 boonworks of 30 ploughmen and 19 harrows ploughing and harrowing at both sowings, \(116 4s.1\)½d. for

The barley sold at 2s.8d. a qr. fetched £2.8s.10d.
The oats sold at 1s.8d. a qr. fetched £3.16s.10½d. 
£10. 17s. 7½d.

13s.7d. from fodder and stubble is included in the total of £11.11s.2¾d. in the text. For names of purchasers see SC6/851/8 m2d. Cf. also infra p. 68 for quantities of seed and acreage sown.

\(107 \text{ de foragio et stubula (P.): . . . stipula. (C.)} \); Orig. gives 3s.6d. from straw (stramine) and 10s.1d. from stubble (stubb’).

\(108 \text{ Again (cf. supra p. 51 n.43) P. and C. ultra; Orig. citra.} \)

\(109 \text{ padn’ (C.) Names of payers in SC6/851/8 m2d.} \)

\(110 \text{ de carbone marina (sic).} \)

\(111 \text{ de Lydeyerd; Orig. Lydyard. Cf. supra p. 52 and nn.49, 50.} \)

\(112 \text{ Fines added in Orig.} \)

\(113 \text{ de la Wodeshire ultra Abonam (P. and C.); de la Wodeschyre citra Abonam (Orig.).} \)

\(114 \text{ Cf. supra pp. 55–56 and n. 72.} \)

\(115 \text{ 2 new ploughs 1s.6d5d. wages of 1 carpenter repairing ploughs for 2 days 8d., 6 yokes 1} \)s.3d, 8 ox-bows 2d. (Orig.).

\(116 \text{ Et in ij. precar(iis) xxx. caruc(arum) et xix. herciarum arrantium et herciarum(um) utrumque semen (sic (P.)); Carucarum is fully extended in C. Particularised as in x. caruc(is) precatis ad arrand(am) terr(am) regis ad semen ymatal(e) per ij. dies v.s. pro caruca per diem iiij.d. Et in viij. herci(iis) conductis ad herciarum(um) terr(am) regis per eosdem dies post dictas carucae x.d.ob. pro hercia ob.q. Et in ij hercis conduct(is) ad herciarum(um) terr(am) arrat(am) de propriis carucis (sic the usual regis omitted) per xxij. dies ad semen iij.s. ix.d. pro hercia per diem ob.q. Et in xx caruc(is) precatis ad arr(andam) terram regis ad semen Quadragisime per j. diem v.s. pro caruca iiij.d. Et in xij. hercis conductis ad herciarum(um) terr(am) regis post dictas carucae per j. diem ix.d. pro hercia per diem ob.q. Et in ij. hercis conduct(is) ad herciarum(um) terr(am) Regis arratam de propriis carucis regis per xxvj. dies iij.s. iiiij.d. pro hercia per diem ob.q. (Orig.).} \)
harrow hired to harrow the land ploughed with the king's own ploughs;\textsuperscript{117} 2s.1d. for 1 axle,\textsuperscript{118} for clout-nails, oil and other necessaries for the carts;\textsuperscript{119} 2s. for carrying and spreading manure;\textsuperscript{120} 2s. for roofing stones, ridge-tiles, and lime for the grange and byre of the king's barton, together with the wages of the workmen;\textsuperscript{121} £1.2s.9\textfrac{3}{4}d. for threshing and winnowing 13 quarters 6 bushels of wheat, 28\textfrac{1}{2} quarters of rye, 25 quarters 3\textfrac{1}{2} bushels of barley, and 73 quarters of oats;\textsuperscript{122} 2s.4d. for hoeing the corn,\textsuperscript{123} £1.88s.8d. for mowing 68 acres of meadow,\textsuperscript{124} for tossing, lifting, and carrying the hay to the barton, and making 1 hay-stack there together with the fodder of the manor;\textsuperscript{125} £1.8d. for reaping, binding and collecting all kinds of corn from 122 acres; 2s. for carrying the corn to the barton. and 2s. for stacking it \textsuperscript{126}

Sum of expenditure £5\textfrac{5}{16}s.9\textfrac{1}{2}d. He owes £128.11s.10\textfrac{1}{4}d. And £232.12s.5d. of arrears of his account for town and castle in the 29th year;\textsuperscript{127} and £228.15s.11d. similarly for the 30th year;\textsuperscript{128} and £112.7s.5d. from the issues of the town for the 31st year.\textsuperscript{129}

Sum of sums\textsuperscript{130} . . . £702.7s.7\textfrac{1}{4}d.

\textsuperscript{117} Cf. supra p. xli.
\textsuperscript{118} in j. axa.
\textsuperscript{119} The axle cost 3d., repairing the carts contra autunnnum (the harvest 9d., 8 clout-nails with nails \textit{(clouitis cum clauis)} 9d., oil 4d. (Orig.).
\textsuperscript{120} For 4 men taking manure from the castle for 3 days and from the barton for 4 days 1s.\textfrac{4}{5}d., at \frac{3}{4}d. a man a day; for 2 men spreading the manure for 2 days, 3d. (ibid.).
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Et in petris tegularum, crestes(sic) calce pro grangia et boueria Bertone Regis, cum stipendi(is) operan(cium).} Particularised as '2 tilers roofing the grange and byre of the king's barton (no capitals) for 2 days 1s.\textfrac{2}{3}d., at 7d. a day; stone tiles 6d., 3 trestles in \textit{iiij} cras the(sic) 1\frac{1}{2}d., 4 bus. of lime 2\frac{1}{2}d. (Orig.).
\textsuperscript{122} Wheat and rye threshed as piece-work \textit{(ad tasc(am))} at 2\frac{1}{2}d. a qrt. and winnowed at 1d. for 3 qrs.; barley similarly threshed at 1\frac{1}{2}d. a qrt.; oats threshed at 1\frac{1}{4}d. a qrt. similarly and winnowed at 1\frac{1}{2}d. for 4 qrs. (ibid.). The sales from this corn and the quantities taken for seed appear later (infra p. 67-68).
\textsuperscript{123} \textit{sercland}; \textit{serclatione blad(i) per tot(um) camp(um)} (Orig.).
\textsuperscript{124} 68\frac{1}{2} acres, mown for 11s.5d., at 2d. an acre, (Orig.).
\textsuperscript{125} 11s.5d. for spreading the grass and lifting the hay, 4s. for carrying the hay to the king's barton for his oxen \textit{(pro bobus suis)} in 6 carts for 2 days, at 4d. a cart a day; 1s.6d. for making a stack of hay and fodder with 9 men for 2 days (at 1d. a day each) and 4d. for roofing the stack (ibid.).
\textsuperscript{126} Carriage with 2 carts for 3 days, at 4d. a cart a day 2s.; 2 men stacking \textit{(tassanibus)} in the grange for 12 days, at 1d. a day each, 2s. (ibid.).
\textsuperscript{127} Supra p. 54.
\textsuperscript{128} Supra p. 56.
\textsuperscript{129} Supra p. 58.
\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Summa summarum} (P.); \textit{Summa debitorum Coniuncta} (C.).
He accounts for the same debt. In the treasury £359.18s.4d. in 6 tallies. He owes £342.9s.3¼d.131 and £375.13s.4½d. of arrears for the 23rd – 28th years inclusive, as is shown in his account in the rolls of accounts in the 28th roll.132.

Sum . . . £718.2s.7¾d. He accounts for this debt. In the treasury nothing.

(Allowances)

£57.15s.10d. by the king's writ to Richard Siward knight, junior, to John de la More, John de Clogher, and John, son of Alexander of Moray133 esquires,134 prisoners from Scotland taken in the fight at Dunbar,135 and staying in the castle,136 also to their 2 keepers, for wages137 from 30 Sept. 1296 to 29 Sept. 1298 by the king's writ;138 also £5.54s.8d. to Alexander Comyn, knight, similarly captured and confined, as wages from 30 Sept. 1296 to 10 Aug. 1297,139 when he was freed.140 Also £4.5s.142 to Robert le Graunt esquire, a prisoner from Scotland taken in the same fight, as his wages staying in the castle from 30 Sept. 1296 to 5 Sept. 1297,143 when he was freed; £27.7s.6d. to John de la More and John de Cloghere, the said esquires, and to 1 keeper for them, for wages from 30 Sept. 1298 to 29 Sept. 1300;144 £4.7s.3d. similarly to John de Moreue from 30 Sept. 1298 to 14 Sept. 1299, when he died in prison;145 £3.59s.4d. for Richard

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131 C. ends here, apart from some details about the grange.
132 in compoto suo de eisdem exitibus in Rotulo xxvii. in Rotulis compotorum. E372/145/m.25.
133 de Moreueia. Cf. supra p. 44 for these Scottish prisoners. There is no separate paragraph for allowances in the MS.
134 armigeris.
135 in confludio (sic) de Dunbar Cf. supra p. xxxi.
136 in dicio Castro nostro commorantibus.
137 pro vadiis suis. Vadia is used to describe all such payments to these captives.
138 For 2 years at 4d. a day for the knight, 3d. for each squire, and 3d. for either keeper, by the king's writ. Siward's lot was to be improved from 29 May 1298, when he was to be relieved of the hardship of prison and to be assigned “a chamber with a private chamber” in consideration of his father's services in Flanders (CCR, 1296–1300 p. 165).
139 Counting the 1st day, for 314 days at 4d. a day, by the same writ.
140 quo die idem Alex(ander) deliberatus fuit.
141 Account here continued on dorse (E372 No. 150 m.37d.).
142 By the same writ.
143 Viz. for 340 days taking 3d. a day.
144 For 2 years, at 3d. a day each; cf. supra p. 44 and n. 165 and infra p. 66.
145 For 349 days counting the first, at 3d. a day.
Siward junior, knight, from 30 Sept. 1298 to 26 April 1299, similarly on which day he was freed at Banstead; £1.57s. for 1 horse hired to take him from Bristol to Banstead and for the wages of 2 grooms escorting him there, for 11 days going and returning; £2.510s.3d. to 1 keeper of the Scottish prisoners for wages from 30 Sept. 1298 to 19 April 1299, on which day he was relieved of their custody because they were freed.

For 208 days counting the first, at 4d. a day.

deliberatus, as in the other cases, though here the word may well have merely meant handed over. Fermbaud received a privy seal mandate to send Siward away, dated 15 Apr. 1299 (E101/6/4).

Benstede in each case. The king was at Banstead, Surrey, from 27 to 30 April 1299 according to the typescript itinerary in the search room of the Public Record Office. He had acquired the manor early in his reign and gave it in dower to both his queens; the house there is described in Kings Works ii. Margaret of France received it in the September after this April visit of the king's.

For 201 days, counting the first.

Viz. for 58 days, counting the first, at 3d. a day for 51 days and 4d. a day for 7 days while journeying (iterando) towards Norwich. The payment was authorised 'by the same writ'.

idem pueri Wallensis(es).

in linea tela et tribus paribus societatis emptis.
of shoes for them;\(^{156}\) also £3.10s. for the hire of 3 horses going from Bristol to Norwich, of 3 horsemen and 4 foot-men taking the Welshmen, both going and returning,\(^{157}\) for 12 days; £1.8s.13s. for the wages and expenses of 4 grooms going from Bristol to Gloucester to question and escort Ralph Monthermer, imprisoned there,\(^{158}\) for 2 days and for the expenses of Ralph for 12 days while staying in Bristol Castle,\(^{159}\) viz. from 10 to 22 July 1297, and for the wages of 1 keeper during this period;\(^{160}\) also for the costs of 2 grooms, who escorted Ralph from Bristol to Eltham at his expense, returning from Eltham to Bristol;\(^{161}\) 8s. for his own (the constable’s) costs for 4 days going from Bristol to St. Briavels\(^{162}\) to choose miners there to send to London to the king’s treasurer,\(^{163}\) and £4.6s.9d. for the wages for 5 days of the 50 miners chosen in the county of Gloucester going from there to London, in the hire of 1 horse to carry their tools,\(^{164}\) and in the

\(^{157}\) in conductione iii. equorum de Bristol lusque NorWicum trium hominum equitum et iiij. hominum pedium conducentium eosdem, eundo et redeundo \\

\(^{158}\) in vadiis et expensis quatuor valletorium euntium ad quercend(um) et conducend(um) Rad(ulf)um de Monte hermeri ibidem detenent in prisiola \\

\(^{159}\) Nothing is definitely known of the antecedents of Ralph de Monthermer: he was a member of the household of that Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, sometimes known as “the Red”, who died in Dec. 1295, and he married the widowed countess of Gloucester (Joan of Acre) to the displeasure of her father the king, sometime late in 1296 (Ramsay, Dawn of the Tradition p. 460 n.1) or in the first half of 1297 (Comp. Peer V under Gloucester). His confinement in Gloucester before 9 July 1297 does not seem to have been previously noted: this evidence dates the Bristol detention to which Rishanger drew attention (RS 1865 p. 173), and suggests it was not very rigorous. Joan’s children by her first marriage had been associated with Bristol castle in Jan. 1296, soon after their father’s death, when the constable was ordered (19 Jan.) to deliver some of the king’s houses there to any deputy whom Joan appointed to look after these grandchildren of the king, “except in the tower of the castle and a suitable house where the wife of John de la Mare, who has gone to Gascony in the king’s service, may dwell with her household” (CCR 1288–96, p. 471).

\(^{159}\) At 12d. a day.

\(^{160}\) At 3d. a day.

\(^{161}\) in expensis ij. valletorium qui fecerunt conductum dicit Radulfo itinerando inter Bristol(iam) et Eltham et redeundo de Eltham usque Bristol(iam) eo quod in eundo versus Eltham fuerunt ad custus dicit Radulfi . . . Monthermer did homage to the king at Eltham on 2 Aug. 1297 (Complete Peerage, loc. cit.) and was then pardoned; the king was at Eltham on 2 Aug. for 1 day only according to PRO. Itinerary. The manor of Eltham belonged to Antony Bek, bishop of Durham after 1295 (King’s Works ii. 930) who was there himself on 2nd Aug. 1297. (C.M. Fraser, A History of Antony Bek (1957) p. 243).

\(^{162}\) usque sanctum Breuellum.

\(^{163}\) ad eligendos minerarios ibidem ad eos mittend(os) usque London ad thesaurarium Regis . . .

\(^{164}\) in conductione unius equi portantis utens(ilia) eorumdem.
making of hammers and of wedges of iron for them, \(165\) also for the expenses of 1 boy of theirs, for their passage at Newnham, \(166\) and for the wages of 1 mounted groom \(167\) taking them from Gloucester to London, and there delivering them to the king's treasurer: £16.10s.3d. for the purchase of 1 tun of honey, and for its mensuration, \(168\) and for the carrying of 100,000 bolts in chests to Bristol from various places \(169\) and the carriage of the bolts and honey \(170\) from Bristol to Carnarvon by water, with the wages of 1 keeper, going and returning by ship, \(171\) to deliver them to Hugh of Leominster, king's chamberlain there, as supplies \(172\) for the king's castles, and for which Hugh answers below.

£6.15s.3\(\frac{3}{4}\)d. for the purchase of timber, planks, nails, lime, stone, \(173\) and other necessaries, together with the wages of masons, carpenters, sawyers \(174\) and other workmen, working in places on the chamber called fremandle and on the cellar there, and in re-making a portcullis; \(175\) £75 for 300 quarters of wheat in the 27th year (1298–99) for the town of St Quentin in Gascony, delivered to Arnold de Barcie, procurator to the community of that town; \(176\) £36 for 200 quarters of wheat delivered similarly to Gaillard de Ponte, procurator of that community in the 28th year; \(177\) £9.15s.3\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. for the purchase of various kinds of timber,

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\(165\) in factura martellorum et cuneorum ferri.
\(166\) in passaggio eorundem apud Newenham.
\(167\) unius valletti equitis.
\(168\) in emptione unius dolei mellis, barilli empt(is) pro eodem melle, mensurag(io) eiusdem.
\(169\) pro portagio C. miliurn quarellorum in Coffris apud Brissoll' per loca. These are bolts for crossbows; Cf. supra p. 45.
\(170\) in cariag(io) eorundem quarellorum et dici mellis.
\(171\) cum vadiis unius custodis in nau eundo et redeundo.
\(172\) pro mortua garnistura.
\(173\) lapidibus. No separate paragraph in MS.
\(174\) cum stipendis . . . serratorum . . . operantium in eodem Castro per loca in Camera que vocatur Fremantel et in celario ibidem, cum quadam porta Coliz, de nouo facto . . .
\(176\) In CCC. quarteriis frumenti prouisii anno xxvij. pro villa sancti Quiterii . . . procuratorii communitati eiusdem ville. This shipment was during the truce with France, when only parts of Gascony were under Edward I's control (Powiec, Thirteenth Century p. 650). The king had promised wheat (\(?\) froment) to St Quentin (Sainte Quitere, near Aire on the river Adour) amongst other towns on 15 Apr. 1299 (Bemont, Roles Gascons iii nos. 4510 and 4511); this town lay in the more southern of the two areas under Edward's control (Powiec, loc. cit.) An Arnau de Barsac, clerk, petitioned the king to be made recognitor of debts in the Bordelais, and on 3 March 1305 King Edward instructed the steward of Gascony to deliver him this office if he proved to be suitable (Roles Gascons, iii no. 4747). Similarly this Arnold asked to be made "notary public and general" for the duchy of Guienne, with a similar royal answer on 6 Apr. 1305 (ibid. no. 4863).
\(177\) Arnold and Gaillard answered for this wheat at the end of the roll (infra p.
and of planks, nails, tiles, moss and other things for making a
stable ready for the arrival of the king's horses, together with the
wages of carpenters, sawyers, tilers and others, in the 27th
year, by the same writ and by view and testimony of Adam
de Rishton.

Also 120 marks for Fermbaud's annual fee for three years
from Mich. 1300; £34.2s.6d. to John Luue, keeper of the king's
forest of Kingswood; £9.2s. to the janitor of the castle; £13.13s.
to the 2 watchmen there for days and £2.5s.6d. for nights; £4 for
the robes of Richard the tailor, keeper of the sea-coast; £13.13s.
for the maintenance of Owen, son of David ap Gruffydd, £3.8s.
for his linen etc., and £18.4s. as wages and £4. as a payment to 2
squires guarding him; £3.8s.3d. for John de Clougham
esquire, a prisoner from Scotland staying in the castle, as wages
from 30 Sept. 1300 till 29 June, 1301, on which day he died in
prison; £9.15s.3d. similarly to John de la More another Scot
detained there, for wages from 30 Sept. 1300 till 19 Nov. 1302
on which day he was delivered to Peter de Brumpton by the
king's gift; similarly £6.6s.3d. to Robert de Keth', a knight from
Scotland also detained there, for wages from 11 Oct. 1300
187 till 28 Feb. 1302, when he was delivered to the sheriff of

68). Gaillard de Ponte was owed arrears of wages for service in Gascony on 1
Dec. 1299 (Roles Gascons, iii no. 4537).

178 . . . tegul(is) mosso et alis emps pro stabul(a) faciend(a) cum stipendiis
Carpentariorum, sarratorum, tegulatortum et aliorum anno xxvj. contra adventum
equorum Regis ibidem, anno eodem.

179 Each item in this list of allowances has been warranted by this same writ.

180 Rischton'. A small roughly drawn star has been added to the text by this
name.

181 No paragraph in MS.

182 By the king's writ.

183 By the same writ. The succeeding items are all authorised by this writ.

184 The payment for the 28th year (1299-1300) suggest that Owen's
imprisonment at Bristol was continuous. The Owen son of David ab Griffyn
imprisoned at Carmarthen castle from 4 July 1300 to 12 Jan. 1301 (Rhys, pp. 220
and 224) must have been someone else. It is however curious that this is the only
reference to a prisoner's wages in the printed volume of ministers accounts for
West Wales; Owen at Bristol received twice as much daily for maintenance
however as this Owen at Carmarthen did in wages.

185 ad vigiliam sancti Edmundi regis anno xxx. finiente Cf. supra pp. 44, 62.

186 By the king's writ; wages paid at the rate of 3d. a day.

187 On 26 Sept. 1300 Fermbaud was ordered to receive Keith from the sheriff of
Gloucestershire who, on the same day, was charged to receive both Keith and
Robert de Barde, a yeoman, "Scots, the king's enemies and rebels lately captured
against him in Scotland", from the sheriff of Yorkshire (CCR. 1296-1302, p. 367).
This is the Sir Robert Keith who later led the Scottish horse against the English at
the battle of Bannockburn (DNB). He made his peace with Edward I in 1302 and
then returned to Scotland (ibid.).
Nicholas Fermbaud — 1300-1303

Gloucestershire; £9.15s.3d. as wages for 1 keeper of these esquires\(^{188}\) from 30 Sept. 1300 to 19 Nov. 1302, and 20s. for the expenses of 6 horsemen escorting Thomas de Soules\(^{189}\) and Robert de Keth’ knights, prisoners from Scotland, from the town of Bristol to the town of Gloucester in Feb. 1302, to be delivered to the sheriff there;\(^{190}\) also 19s. for John de Kemesyn, keeper of Lawford’s gate in Bristol, taking 2d. a day, from 5 June 1303 to 29 Sept. next.\(^{191}\)

**Sum of expenditure**\(^{192}\) . . . £476.11s.1½d. He owes £241.11s.7d. He renders account for this debt. In the treasury nothing; in the surplus of his account for these same issues in the 22nd roll of the roll of accounts £9.4s.7½d.\(^{193}\) He owes £232.6s.11½d. He renders account for this debt;\(^{194}\) in the treasury £134.13s.3½d. He owes £97.13s.8d.\(^{195}\) He renders account for this debt. In the treasury £101.9s.8½d.; he has a surplus of £3.16s.0½d. which is allowed him below.

The grange of the barton in the 31st year\(^{196}\) (Mich. 1302–3).

**Wheat.** He renders account for 13 quarters 6 bushels of wheat of the issues of the grange. The sum appears.\(^{197}\) From which

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\(^{188}\) *armigerorum;* Keith of course was a knight.

\(^{189}\) Thomas de Soules was an adherent of Balliol in 1296 (Bain, *Cal. ii* 175) and was to be imprisoned at Exeter (Sept. and Oct. 1300, *ibid.* nos. 1155 and 1159); this is the first reference in the constable’s account to his detention in Bristol. He was presumably a member of the family of the Nicholas de Soules who was one of the claimants to the Scottish throne in 1291. (Rishanger, *loc. cit.* p. 126; Guisborough, *CS lxxxix* p. 236) and of John de Souls diplomat, who became a guardian of Scotland for John Balliol (*DNB.* Cf. Powicke *Thirteenth Century* pp. 696 and 697, nn. 1 and 3).

\(^{190}\) *computata infra eandem summam conductione equorum portantium dictos milites per loca predicta . . . Warranted by the same writ.*

\(^{191}\) *Johanni de Kemesyn Custodi porte Regis de Lafford in Bristol.* He was paid for 116 days, counting either end; warrant by the same writ. Kemesinge (sic) held this post during pleasure for services to the late Queen Eleanor (of Castile) before 25 Nov. 1293, when it was made a life-grant (*CPR 1292–1301* p. 52). Fermbaud was ordered on 9 June 1303 to pay arrears from 25 Nov. 1293 to John Kemesing (sic) (*CCR 1302–7* p. 35). Kemesyn was still being paid in Apr. 1324 (*E372/167, under Resid’ Glouc.*).

\(^{192}\) *Summa misarum per dicta tria breuia.* The first writ seems to have covered all the allowances detailed *supra* pp. 62 to 66; the second, those starting with Fermbaud’s fee (p. 66); and the third, those from Sir Robert Keith’s wages onwards (p. 66 at bottom).

\(^{193}\) *E372/139/m7.*

\(^{194}\) No punctuation in MS.

\(^{195}\) Space and notes in MS between *viij* and *den*.

\(^{196}\) Included also in C.

\(^{197}\) *summa patet* (*supra* p. 61).
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

(there was taken) for seed 9 quarters 2 bushels upon 37 acres; sale as below. These are equal.

Rye. Similarly for 28½ quarters of rye; for seed, 8 quarters 3 bushels upon 27 acres; sale as below, 20 quarters 1 bushel. These too are equal.

Barley. Similarly for 25 quarters 3½ bushels of barley; for seed, 7½ quarters upon 15 acres; sale 17½ quarters 3 bushels (etc. as for wheat and rye).

Oats. Similarly for 73 quarters of oats; for seed 26½ quarters 3 bushels on 43 acres; sale 46 quarters 1 bushel (etc. as for wheat and rye).

Hugh of Leominster, king's chamberlain of Carnarvon, answers for 1 tun of honey bought in barrel and 100,000 bolts received from Nicholas Ferm baud, constable of the castle of Bristol, as above.

Arnold de Barcois, procurator of the community of the town of St Quentin, 300 quarters of wheat, at 5s. a quarter, received as above.

Gaillard de Ponte, procurator of the community of that town, 200 quarters of wheat, received as above.

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198 super.
199 in viditione here, but in the following items more accurately in vendicione.
200 Followed by a space. All these sales are recorded earlier, not later in the account (supra p. 59). Cf. n. 106 for the prices from Orig. (m.5): the seed of wheat was sown at 2 bus. the acre; of rye at 2½ bus. less a half bushel on the whole (minus in toto); of barley at 4 bus. the acre and of oats at 5 bus. (ibid. m5d).
201 Et eque.
202 Hugo de Lemystre.
203 j. dol mell(is) barril(*) empt(*).
204 Supra p. 65.
205 Arnaldus de Barcios Procurator ... sancti Quieterii ... Cf. supra p. 65, n. 175
206 Supra p. 65 n. 177.
APPENDIX I

LORDS OF BRISTOL CASTLE, 1086–1373

The facts in this list are in the main well-established and do not need to be proved from primary sources; they chiefly come from Professor Cronne’s introduction to BRS xi (1946), the Complete Peerage, v, (1926) under Gloucester or from the Handbook of British Chronology, 2nd ed. 1961. They are included merely for convenience of reference and as an invitation to further elucidation, for, indeed, in the early period there remain more gaps in our knowledge than precise dates; for example, the connections with Bristol of Henry II in his later years, and of Kings Richard and John, are obscure. Nor is it always clear when a man was lord on his own account and when castellan on behalf of another. Thus, in the early Norman period, it is often difficult to say how far a castle is baronial and how far royal, and indeed, in the last resort this is a distinction without a difference (cf. King’s Works, i. 33–4). Yet the evidence suggests that Bristol was then rather baronial than royal and such statements as ‘it was no doubt originally a royal castle’ present only a partial truth (e.g. Armitage p. 111).

The footnotes have been placed at the end of the Appendix.

William I

Bristol with the barton, included in Edderstone (Edredstane) hundred in the Domesday Survey, as terra regis.¹ No mention of castle, though it had probably been begun.

Cronne, BRS, xi. 20, 23

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances²

possibly received the third penny of the borough, 1086

Cronne, BRS, xi. 21

probably built the original motte of the castle.³

Cronne, BRS, xi. 23

present in castle in 1088

died 2 Feb. 1093

EHD, ii. 166

EHR, lix. 147 n.4
Robert fitz Hamon  
held lands in Gloucestershire including Bristol, by gift of William II.  
Comp. Peer.  
died Mar. 1107  
DNB

Robert  
illegitimate son of Henry I,  
made fitz Hamon's daughter Mabel.  
Comp. Peer.  
earl of Gloucester, sometime after Mar. 1121  
Regesta, ii, no. 1372a  
built stone keep  
BRS, xi. 257  
died 31 Oct. 1147  
Comp. Peer.

William, earl of Gloucester  
succeeded his father, 1147  
BRS, xi. 24  
remained loyal to king, 1173  
Comp. Peer.  
castle garrisoned by king before 1174, when royal garrison expelled  
Patterson, p. 4  
king resumed control of castle 1175  
Patterson, p. 4  
arrested spring 1183  
Patterson, p. 3  
died, in king's custody, 23 Nov. 1183  
Patterson, p. 5

(Isabel  
youngest co-heiress of Earl William, countess of Gloucester perhaps in her own right;  
Comp. Peer.  
plans for her betrothal to the lord John, youngest son of Henry II, discussed in 1176,  
Patterson, p. 15  
Cf. n. 10 below  
remained in king's custody (see also under Richard and John).  
n. 10 below)

Henry II  
in control 1183–6 July 1189  
n. 10

Richard I  
succeeds as king, 6 July 1189 soon gave his honour of Gloucester to his brother John  
n. 11  
his administration perhaps controlling Bristol castle, with other lands, 1191  
Appleby, England  
without Richard, p. 64  
and again in 1193  
n. 12
Appendix 1 — Lists of Lords of Castle

and again on 10 Feb. 1194 Jones, Acta, i. 29
lands restored to John, May 1195 Jones, Acta, i. 4
his administration perhaps in partial control of castle and town, 1195–99 n. 14
died 6. Apr. 1199 HBC

The lord John
youngest son of Henry II, held honour of Gloucester certainly after and possibly before his marriage with Isabel of Gloucester, 29 Aug. 1189
granted charter to Bristol after 20 July 1189, and before 1 Nov. 1191. Patterson, no. 10
Patterson, no. 10
his lands controlled intermittently by Richard's administration, viz. 1191, 1193, 1194, 1195. See above, Richard I.

King John
crowned 27 May 1199 HBC
‘divorced’ Isabel but retained castle, town, barton and forest of Kingswood BRs, xi. 24
died 18–19 Oct. 1216. HBC

Henry III
succeeded to throne and lordship 28 Oct. 1216. HBC
In 1224 and later the town farmed by the burgesses, but the castle and barton retained by the king. Supra pp. 5–9

The lord Edward
elest son of Henry III, to be given seisin of ‘the town with the castle’ 14 Feb. 1254 CPR. 1247–58 p. 270 & 272

Simon de Montfort
earl of Leicester
castle and town committed to him by the lord Edward before 18. Dec. 1264 CPR. 1258–66, p. 395
still holding, 9 June 1265 CPR. 1258–66, p. 431

The lord Edward
apparently resumed control on Leicester’s death 4 Aug. without formal regent.

Edward I
retained control on accession 20 Nov. 1272; died 7 July 1307 Accounts supra, passim.
Edward II succeeded to throne and lordship 8 July 1307
leased out castle at farm from 2 Nov. 1309
leased out town at farm from 2 Nov. 1309
deposed 20 Jan. 1327

Edward III succeeded to throne and lordship, 25 Jan. 1327

Queen Isabella granted castle, town and barton, in augmentation of dower, Feb 1327
devised town to mayor bailiffs, and commonalty for a term of years, 1327
held till Dec. 1330

Queen Philippa held from Dec. 1330
died, 15 Aug. 1369

Edward III retained control of castle, 1330
resumed complete control on Philippa's death 1369
made Bristol a county 8 Aug. 1373

1 Burgesses are mentioned, though not the borough. The barton is twice referred to as a manor. Little credence can be given to the tale recounted by Seyer (Memoirs, i. 258-60, 317) that Queen Matilda was given Bristol (cf. Comp. Peer.), though it is probable that Matilda held some of the lands later to be associated with 'the honour of Gloucester'. The continuing connection of the queens of England with Bristol starts with Eleanor of Castile in the thirteenth century.

2 Geoffry is sometimes regarded as castellan (BRS, xi. 21 n.2; cf. Armitage, p. 111). The uncertainty as to Geoffrey's status in Bristol in 1088 is noted by J.H. Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Montbray, Bishop of Coutances, 1049-1093' in EHR, lxx (1944), 154.

3 See Introduction p. xvi n. 22 and especially the reference there to recent work by M.W. Ponsford, Field Archaeologist of the Bristol City Museum.

4 Perhaps in 1093 (Walker, p. 4); or perhaps earlier, Lobel and Carus Wilson, Historic Towns vol. 2. Bristol.

5 The date of the marriage is apparently unrecorded. In Sept. 1114 Tewkesbury abbey evidently held an exemption 'from all pleas and other burdens as complete as was that enjoyed by the lordship of Robert fitz Hamon and now of
Robert, the king's son ('Regesta', ii. no. 1069). So presumably Robert the king's son was already married to the heiress and in control of the estates and liberties of his deceased father-in-law. I am grateful to Dr. R.A. Griffiths for drawing my attention to this reference. Cf. Patterson, p. 152. We do not know when Robert the king's son acquired seisin of his father-in-law's lands, but it seems to have been before he was formally recognised as earl of Gloucester. He presumably followed fitz Hamon in becoming lord of Bristol as well as holding the other estates of the 'honour of Gloucester'. Cf. Stenton, English Feudalism, p. 234, n.2.

* J.H. Round discussed the date when Robert became earl of Gloucester in an excursus to Geoffrey de Mandeville (1892), but the editors of Regesta ii. (1956) accept the authenticity of some charters which Round thought spurious; for example no. 1301, which is dated after 5 Aug. 1121, and includes Robert, earl of Gloucester among the witnesses. Comp. Peer., ostensibly following Round, gives the date of Robert's becoming earl as between June and Sept. 1122, and this date has been very generally accepted. However an earlier date is very possible; cf. Patterson, p. 152, which suggests 1121/22. The index to Regesta, ii. dates Robert as earl from 1121, but that to Regesta, iii. gives 1122.

7 Cf. King's Works, ii. 578; Armitage, pp. 110–111. Robert's keep is frequently referred to as a tower (turris); cf. the Tower of London or of Rouen (Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, p. 336 and n.4) and the tower of Gloucester (PRS, n.s.xxxxvi.142).

8 'Exactly when Henry garrisoned the castle is difficult to determine.' (Patterson, p. 4).

9 It is generally assumed that the castle remained thereafter in royal custody (e.g. King's Works, ii. 578; Patterson, p. 4). The pipe rolls show that the sheriff of Gloucestershire had some responsibility for the keep (turris) for some part of 1174–75 (PRS, xxii.159), but succeeding pipe rolls for Gloucestershire give little indication that the castle remained continuously in the king's hand, although in the account for Hampshire in 1181–82 (ibid. xxxi.139) and for Dorset and Somerset (ibid. 108) the munition of Bristol keep is mentioned. In 1182–83 William Bendeng' was allowed a fee for keeping the castle (castellum) of Bristol in his account for Dorset and Somerset (ibid. xxxii.27). Apart from Bendeng', no names of castellans survive for the period after 1175, in contrast with periods when royal control was certain (See App. 2.).

10 Cf. HBC, p. 429. However, the evidence of the pipe rolls, passim, makes it clear that Henry II kept Earl William's lands 'in custody' until his own death; the lands were usually accounted for under the heading Honor Comitis Glocestrie (e.g. 1187–88, PRS, xxxviii.13–15); the revenues included the third penny of the county (comitatus de Glocestrescira), and the farm of Bristol; the keepers responsible are detailed below in App. 2. Certainly in 1186–87 the keeper of the honour, Hugh Bardulf, was also responsible for the custody of the heiress (PRS, xxxvii, 15), and in 1187–88 she was in the custody of Eustace fitz Stephen (ibid. xxxviii, 14). As early as 1176 there is chronicle evidence of a possible betrothal between Isabel and John, King Henry's youngest son, and also that John should become William's heir: because of their relationship a papal dispensation would have been necessary for the marriage. These views are often accepted (e.g. Cronne, xi. 24; cf. J.C. Ward's unpublished thesis on the estates of the Clare family, London 1962; Patterson, p. 5; Appleby, Henry II, p. 249; Warren, King John, p. 30). But the evidence is obscure; the circumstances of the plan are discussed by H.G. Richardson in EHR, Lxi (1946), especially pp. 89–290, 311–12 (in an article on the marriage and coronation of Isabella of Angouleme).

11 The pipe roll for 1188–89 specifically states that the keeper of the honour was to account for three quarters of the year antequam Rex daret eundem
Honorem Johanni fratri suo (Hunter, 7–8). Henry II died 6 July 1189 and John married Isabel of Gloucester on 29 Aug. following: if Richard's gift to John was made before the marriage this would dispose of the suggestion that Isabel succeeded as countess in her own right. Mrs Jones, Acta, i. 29 thinks that Richard gave John the Gloucester lands at the time of his marriage; 'The Itinerary of John' (PRS, n.s.xiii) 3 suggests that the lands were given John and Isabel jointly at that time; while Patterson p. 5 thinks that John never recovered the castle.

The castle of Bristol was garrisoned by the government in 1193 when both Richard and John were out of the country (Introduction to PRS n.s.iii.pp.xvi–xvii, where the administration's activities on behalf of the absent King Richard, and especially at Bristol and Gloucester are emphasised). Cf. Stenton English Feudalism, p. 205 n.3.

In consequence of John's rebellion against the imprisoned Richard.

It is uncertain how far John's lands were fully restored; the castles of the earldom of Gloucester were excluded from the general restoration on Richard's return (Norgate, John Lackland, p. 54; Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p. 368), and there is not much evidence as to their final return. The pipe roll references suggest continued royal control (App. 2). The life of St Hugh of Lincoln says that Richard deprived John of all his lands "a short time before his death" (Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, ii. 137, ed. Douie and Farmer).

John's nominal association with Ireland may have started in 1177 (e.g. Warren, King John, 35); he was formally lord of Ireland after 1185 (Jones, Acta, i.28 and probably not earlier, as is sometimes stated e.g. J.F. Lydon, Lordship of Ireland p. 50). He attained his legal majority perhaps on 31 March in that year (Jones, Acta, i. 28). He was count of Mortain after 20 July 1189 (Jones, Acta i.1, 15). It was rare for him to be called earl of Gloucester in his acta, but see Patterson, nos. 3 and 163 (1189–99).

There is a little, but not much, evidence of John's connection with Bristol before his marriage with Isabel. The most interesting is his grant confirming to 'his men of Bristol' the previous grant of Henry II of privileges in Dublin, given at Kildare 1185 (J.T. Gilbert, Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland (RS 53) p. 49, and dated by Mrs Jones as between May and Dec. 1185 (Acta, ii no. 10): Henry II's grant 1171 is printed in BRS, i. 6: John's grant in fact repeats much of the phrasing of Henry's. 'Treasure' was sent John by his father to Bristol in 1184–85, (PRS, xxxiv. 217–8), no doubt in connection with John's Irish visit in the spring of 1185; John himself sailed from Milford Haven although Bristol was selected as the base for the expedition (ibid. p. xxiv). In 1185–86 a debt of John's to the burgesses of Bristol was repaid (ibid. xxxvi. pp. xix, 200–201).

The latest printed transcript, q.v. This charter is undated and has often been ascribed to 1188, but must be later. Mrs Jones has shown that John described himself as count of Mortain, as in this document, after 20 July 1189 (Acta, i. 15). Her outside dates for his charter to Bristol are 1189 to 1191.

The 'divorce' was arranged before Jan. 1199, perhaps after earlier separation (Patterson p. 6): John was married to Isabel of Angouleme 24 Aug. 1200 (HBC). The Tudor antiquary Leland thought that John kept Isabel 'but a yere' (Itinerary, 1909, iv. 139). Mr Richardson argues that arrangements for a separation from Isabel may have been started by John 'within six or seven years from his putative marriage' (loc.cit. p. 291). It seems clear from Mr Richardson's article that John's marriage with Isabel of Gloucester was voidable, as a dispensation had not been received. His views as to John's second betrothal and marriage have been questioned (EHR, lxv 1950 360–371). Cf. Richardson and Sayles, Governance, pp. 322–23 (1963).
19 Isabel of Gloucester remained in the king’s custody after the divorce and apparently retained the title of Countess of Gloucester (Patterson pp. 6–7; Richardson EHR, ix. 294). Amaury de Montfort, the son of Isabel’s older sister and her husband the count of Evreux, was recognised as earl of Gloucester by the king by June 1200 (HBC; Comp.Peer.). Amaury had difficulty in securing much of the Gloucester inheritance, even at those intermittent times when he remained loyal to John: he died in 1213 (Comp.Peer.). Isabel was in the custody of Peter de Chanceaux, keeper of Bristol castle (see App. 2), immediately before her second marriage (Rot.Lit.Pat., i.108b, 109) to Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, in Jan. 1214 (Patterson, p. 7): all her lands of the honour of Gloucester except the castle and forest of Bristol were to go with her (Rot.Lit.Cl. i. 162b, cf. Richardson, EHR, xi. 294n): the town of Camden was later excepted also (Rot.Lit.Cl. 209b, 9 Aug. 1214). The king extorted a vast sum from him for the privilege (Patterson, p. 7; cf. A.L. Poole, Obligations of Society, p. 97). Geoffrey died in Feb. 1216, and Isabel’s third brief marriage to Hubert de Burgh in the autumn of 1217 ended with her death on 14. Oct. (Patterson, p.8). The earldom of Gloucester then came into the possession of the Clares, who long sought to regain the lost Bristol possessions (Introduction, pp. xxii–xxiv).

20 The mayor, bailiffs and good men were to be intendant to Edward ‘touching the town of Bristol with the castle, which the king granted to him and the heirs of his body on condition that the town and castle be never separated from the crown of England’; also the constable was ordered to deliver up the castle: both orders were given on 12 Mar. 1254 (CPR, 1247–58, p. 365).

21 Agreement as to the surrender seems to have been reached by 12th Dec. 1264 (Treharne and Sanders, Documents p. 19).

22 Yet it was stated on 9 June 1265 that it was the king himself who had earlier given the castle with the town to Earl Simon, with “the assent and will” of the lord Edward (CPR, 1258–66, p. 431). As late as 13 Dec. 1264 letters were still being issued to the lord Edward’s officials in Bristol (CCR, 1264–68, p. 83). For these transactions see Powicke, Henry III and the lord Edward, ii. 489. Cf. the treatment of Lord Edward’s earldom of Chester (Ellis, Earldoms in Fee, p. 112, n.7).

23 Edward’s first wife, Eleanor of Castile, was given the town and castle in augmentation of her dower in 1275, but royal control nevertheless continued (Cronne, xi. 49). In this reign the town was never farmed to the citizens as the accounts printed in this book bear ample testimony. An abortive grant of the castle, apart from its prison was made to Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk in Apr. 1302, but was vacated and surrendered (CPR, 1301–7, p. 30).

24 See Appendix 2 p. 82.

25 To the constable of the castle. However, on the outbreak of ‘the great insurrection’ in 1312, the town was taken into the king’s hands and its liberties were not restored until the end of 1316 (Hunt, W., p. 68).

26 Edward had been made keeper of the realm in the preceding October but on his succession he was still under age. In Feb. 1327 Queen Isabella was given the castle, town and barton in augmentation of her dower. She had already in March 1318, been given £200 a year from their revenues (Cronne, BRS, xi. 51) and this grant was re-iterated on 1 May 1320, with the provision that these and other revenues should be used for the expenses of the king’s younger children, John and Eleanor (CPR, 1317–21, p. 453). They too had earlier (31 Oct. 1318) been granted £200 from Bristol’s revenues (ibid. 222). The complicated changes in Isabella’s dower lands are detailed by H. Johnstone in Tout, Chapters, v. 246–7 and in The English Government at Work, i. 253 et sqq. The administration of her lands is also discussed in both these places. Isabella did not die till Aug. 1358.
Philippa's lands and administration are described in the two articles by H. Johnstone mentioned in n.26. After 1363 Philippa's independent household organisation ended and the king took over her responsibilities (Tout, Chapters, v. 251). Philippa continued Isabella's practice of letting the town at farm for short terms of years and let the barton similarly (Cronne, BRS, xi. 52).

The boundaries of the county and borough of Bristol, as defined in the documents of 1373, excluded portions of the barton which had previously been associated with the castle, for example Mangotsfield. Moreover the powers of the constable of the castle were then permanently limited in their relation to the town. Later kings retained the castle and later queens, Queen Anne under Richard II and Queen Joan under Henry IV, had grants from the issues of the county borough. For the history of the farm of the borough and the grants to the queens down to the time of Henry VII, see Cronne, BRS, xi. pp. 52–56.
APPENDIX 2

CONSTABLES, WARDENS AND OTHERS RESPONSIBLE FOR BRISTOL CASTLE, TO 1373

The following tentative list is based in the main on printed materials and makes no claim to completeness. It includes those who held a chief responsibility for the castle on behalf of its lord, and begins with the death without a male heir of William earl of Gloucester, ending when the town became a county in the reign of Edward III. In the early years of this period the future of Earl William's lands was still uncertain and special ad hoc keepers, or sometimes the sheriff of Gloucestershire, had the ultimate responsibility for the earldom's revenues; Bristol, including the castle, was within the mandate of these keepers, though at times they acted there through a deputy; it is doubtful whether either the keepers or the deputies should properly be regarded as constables, although an unnamed constable of the castle makes an occasional appearance. References either to warden or constable are rare in this early period; later there is sometimes a doubt which of the titles is more correct; the neutral word castellan can perhaps be used to include both categories. On occasion the warden — as in the case of Pandulf, sometime papal legate — was clearly in ultimate control, but the work in Bristol was done by a constable on the spot. Since the nomenclature is ambiguous, it has seemed best to include in this list all those who bore the main responsibility for the castle, and to show when possible the description by which each was known and the type of work which each is found doing. The names of deputies are indented. As appointments to the tenure of the castle rarely survive in early times, the earliest and latest dates when any particular individual has been found acting are given in the list, though earlier or later dates may well turn up. The list could no doubt be extended from the Gloucestershire accounts in the unpublished pipe rolls, more especially for the reign of Henry
III. After the castle was given to the lord Edward in 1254, as sometimes later when Bristol was given in dower to a queen, little can be gleaned from the records of chancery and exchequer. Though far from final, the list can be rather fuller than any made earlier, since more printed sources are now available. The relations of the constables or wardens with the town varied from time to time; under Edward I the constable of the castle regularly accounted also for the town, but earlier, and again under Edward III, the town was often farmed by the burgesses and the constable’s relations with it were less direct. Eleanor of Castile, Isabella of France, and Philippa of Hainault all held Bristol in dower but the first had little direct influence, though the two later queens appointed castellans, and the king sometimes confirmed their choice.

The footnotes have been placed at the end of the Appendix.

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<td>Robert de Witfeld</td>
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<td>1183–418</td>
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<td>Elias de Cluelay</td>
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<td>1194–5</td>
<td>PRS. n.s. vi. 183</td>
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## Appendix 2 — Lists of Constables

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<td>6 Mar. 1208³⁸</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 105</td>
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<td>accounting on Ropsey's behalf</td>
<td>Mich. 1206-</td>
<td>PRS. n.s. xxii. 217</td>
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<td>Mich. 1207</td>
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<td>Henry de</td>
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<td>Amundeuill³⁹</td>
<td>custody of castle committed to him⁴⁰</td>
<td>6 Mar. 1208³⁸</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gerard d'Athee⁴¹</td>
<td>accounting for Bristol</td>
<td>Mich. 1207</td>
<td>PRS. n.s. xxiii. 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Burgeis</td>
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<td>Mich. 1208</td>
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<td>Gerard d'Athee</td>
<td>accounting for Bristol⁴²</td>
<td>Mich. 1208-</td>
<td>PRS. n.s. xxiv. 58</td>
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<td>Mich. 1209</td>
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<td>Engelard de Cignone⁴³</td>
<td>preceded Chanceaux</td>
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<td>Richard Burgeis</td>
<td>accounting on behalf of Engelard⁴⁴</td>
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<td>Watson, 36</td>
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<td>PRS. n.s. xxvi. 110-11</td>
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<td>Mich. 1209-</td>
<td>PRS. n.s. xxviii. 176</td>
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<td>PRS. n.s. xxx. 146</td>
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<td>Mich. 1212</td>
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<td>Peter de Chanceaux³⁵</td>
<td>acting as constable</td>
<td>25 July 1212</td>
<td>Cole, 236</td>
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<td>Philip de Albini</td>
<td>still acting**</td>
<td>20 May 1215</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Pat. 137b</td>
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<td>to be removed from office</td>
<td>June 1215</td>
<td>Magna Carta cl. 50</td>
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<td>ordered to deliver to successor</td>
<td>20 July 1215</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Pat. 149b-150</td>
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<td>notification of appointment to custody of castle**</td>
<td>20 July 1215</td>
<td>ibid. 150</td>
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<td>Savari de Mauleon</td>
<td>still acting</td>
<td>10 July 1216</td>
<td>ibid. 190b**</td>
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<td>Easter and Mich. terms</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Cl. i.454b**</td>
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<td>apparently acting</td>
<td>3 Sept. 1216</td>
<td>infra n. 57</td>
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<td>still holding bailiwick of town and keeping of castle</td>
<td>3 Dec. 1216</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 294</td>
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<td></td>
<td>perhaps in nominal control till</td>
<td>19 Sept. 1219</td>
<td>infra, n. 64</td>
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<td>Amfrid Brito</td>
<td>constable ‘during the war’ of</td>
<td>Sept. 1215-Sept. 1217**</td>
<td>Rigg. l. 49**</td>
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<td></td>
<td>acting</td>
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<td>Cole, p. 327**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh de Vivonne</td>
<td>acting</td>
<td>7 Apr. 1217</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 305</td>
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<td>delivered castle to king</td>
<td>19 Sept. 1219</td>
<td>CPR, 1216-25, 203</td>
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<td>recommitted castle by king to</td>
<td>19 Sept. 1219-6 Jan. 1221</td>
<td>CPR, 1216-25, 203 and 277</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theodoric the German</td>
<td>committed keeping of castle and town</td>
<td>6 Jan. 1221</td>
<td>CPR, 1216-25, 281</td>
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<tr>
<td>Master Ranulf</td>
<td>committed keeping of castle*</td>
<td>28 Jan. 1221</td>
<td>CPR, 1216-25, 281</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pandulf, bishop-elect of Norwich</td>
<td>allowed expenses from</td>
<td>2 Feb. 1221</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 585a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pandulf, bishop-elect of Norwich</td>
<td>still acting, and to deliver castle to successor (bishop of Bath)</td>
<td>30 Dec. 1223</td>
<td>CPR, 1216-25, 419</td>
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<td>allowed expenses till</td>
<td>22 Jan. 1224</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 585a**</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Florentino</td>
<td>accounting from</td>
<td>13 Mar. 1224</td>
<td>CPR, 1216-25, 429</td>
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<td></td>
<td>still acting</td>
<td>5 Feb. 1221</td>
<td>E101/349/4</td>
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<td>Jocelin, bishop of Bath</td>
<td>to receive castle and appurtenances*</td>
<td>23 Jan. 1223</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 530</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reginald (sic) de Hurle</td>
<td>appointed to custody*</td>
<td>30 Dec. 1223</td>
<td>CPR, 1216-25, p. 419</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Parvus</td>
<td>still acting in the chase of Keynsham</td>
<td>13 Mar. 1224</td>
<td>ibid. 429</td>
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<td>still acting in the chase of Keynsham and in the Barton</td>
<td>5 June 1224</td>
<td>Rot. Lit. Cl. i. 604</td>
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<td>still acting in the chase of Keynsham and in the Barton</td>
<td>18 Oct. 1224</td>
<td>ibid. 626</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ralph de Wilton</td>
<td>accounting as constable for castle and Barton* from</td>
<td>13 Mar. 1224-14 Mar. 1225</td>
<td>n. 76</td>
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<td>notification of appointment to custody*</td>
<td>6 Oct. 1224</td>
<td>CPR, 1216-25, 474</td>
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<td>still called constable</td>
<td>16 Mar. 1229</td>
<td>C.Lib.R., i. 122</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hubert de Burgh</td>
<td>committed custody of castle&lt;sup&gt;18&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>30 Dec. 1228</td>
<td>PR, I225–32, 233</td>
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<td>William Putot</td>
<td>called constable</td>
<td>3 July 1229</td>
<td>C.Lib.R. i. 136</td>
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<td>keeper of the castle and of Eleanor, the king’s kinswoman staying there&lt;sup&gt;19&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1 Nov. 1229</td>
<td>CCR, I227–31, 257</td>
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<td>(David la Warre)</td>
<td>still called constable</td>
<td>12 May 130</td>
<td>C.Lib.R. i. 182</td>
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<td>Peter de Rivaux&lt;sup&gt;61&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>became constable</td>
<td>1230</td>
<td>Cronne, BRS. xi. 45&lt;sup&gt;69&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>acting as keeper of castle&lt;sup&gt;62&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>9 Jan. 1233</td>
<td>C.Lib.R. i. 194</td>
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<td></td>
<td>keeper of lands of the earl of Gloucester&lt;sup&gt;78&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>19 July 1233</td>
<td>ibid. 225</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roger Alys&lt;sup&gt;81&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>acting as constable</td>
<td>3 Nov. 1233</td>
<td>CCR, I231–34, 331</td>
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<td></td>
<td>acting in Bristol</td>
<td>23 Nov. 1233</td>
<td>ibid. 342</td>
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<td>controlling castle till</td>
<td>15 Apr. 1234</td>
<td>CPR, I232–47, 43</td>
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<td>Ralph Alys&lt;sup&gt;84&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>called constable</td>
<td>20 Nov. 1233</td>
<td>CCR. I231–34, 341</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Talbot&lt;sup&gt;83&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>to keep castle during the absence of Roger Alys&lt;sup&gt;86&lt;/sup&gt;, after</td>
<td>15 Apr. 1234</td>
<td>CPR, I232–47, 43</td>
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<td></td>
<td>appointed to custody of castle&lt;sup&gt;97&lt;/sup&gt; and called constable</td>
<td>6 May 1234</td>
<td>ibid. 44</td>
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<td></td>
<td>to deliver custody to his successor&lt;sup&gt;98&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>27 Aug. 1236</td>
<td>ibid. 157</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh de Vivonne</td>
<td>appointed to custody of castle</td>
<td>27 Aug. 1236</td>
<td>ibid. 157</td>
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<td>acting as keeper</td>
<td>c. Mich. 1236</td>
<td>Cronne, BRS, xi. 63</td>
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<td></td>
<td>apparently acting, though not called constable</td>
<td>8 Nov. 1236</td>
<td>C.Lib.R. i. 244</td>
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<td>appointed to custody of the king’s barton of Bristol etc.&lt;sup&gt;99&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>28 Dec. 1236&lt;sup&gt;96&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C.Lib.R. p. 172</td>
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<td>constable in financial year</td>
<td>Mich. 1237–1238</td>
<td>E372/82&lt;sup&gt;11&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>constable in financial year</td>
<td>Mich. 1238–1239</td>
<td>E372/83&lt;sup&gt;11&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>John, son of Geoffrey&lt;sup&gt;92&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>acting before</td>
<td>12 Aug. 1241&lt;sup&gt;100&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>CPR, I232–47, 256</td>
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<td>accounting for castle repairs in financial year</td>
<td>Mich. 1241–1242</td>
<td>Cannon, 123, 257</td>
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<td>20 Jan. 1252</td>
<td>CCR, I251–3, 40</td>
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<td>acting in barton in financial year</td>
<td>Mich. 1252–1253</td>
<td>E372/97 m20</td>
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<td>no demands on him to be made after</td>
<td>12 Apr. 1254</td>
<td>CPR, I247–58, 360</td>
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<td>Henry de</td>
<td>called constable in financial year</td>
<td>Mich. 1252–1253</td>
<td>E372/97 m20</td>
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<td>Geoffrey de Caux</td>
<td>called constable</td>
<td>16 July 1256</td>
<td>CPR, I247–58, 488</td>
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<td>called constable</td>
<td>16 July 1256</td>
<td>CCR, I254–56, 336</td>
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<td>Richard de la Rochelle&lt;sup&gt;93&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>acting as keepers of castle after</td>
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<td>CPR, I258–66, 32</td>
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<tr>
<td>John, son of John&lt;sup&gt;99&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>the death of John, son of Geoffrey</td>
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<td>Trebarne, Baronial Plan,</td>
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<td>that is after about</td>
<td>21 Nov. 1258</td>
<td>157</td>
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<td>Robert Walerand</td>
<td>castle delivered by them before</td>
<td>22 July 1259</td>
<td>CPR, 1258–66, 32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philip Basset</td>
<td>king's ratification of his appointment as keeper of the castle</td>
<td>8 July 1259</td>
<td>ibid. 29</td>
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<td>John la Ware</td>
<td>still acting</td>
<td>13 Nov. 1259</td>
<td>ibid. 63–4</td>
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<td>Adam de Wynton'</td>
<td>made keeper</td>
<td>15 May 1260</td>
<td>CCR, 1259–61, 42</td>
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<td>John de Muscegros</td>
<td>called constable</td>
<td>18 May 1265</td>
<td>CPR, 1258–66, 425</td>
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<td>Richard de Kingston</td>
<td>still constable</td>
<td>4 June 1265</td>
<td>CPR, 1258–66, 429</td>
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<td>William Stanhurst</td>
<td>sub-constable</td>
<td>27 Feb. 1274</td>
<td>CCR, 1272–79, 71</td>
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<td>Bogo de Chouill'</td>
<td>acting</td>
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<td>Peter de la Mare</td>
<td>committee to him of castle</td>
<td>16 Oct. 1277</td>
<td>CCR, i. 82</td>
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<td>Ralph de Mercato</td>
<td>commitment to him of castle and town</td>
<td>26 Oct. 1291</td>
<td>CCR, i. 297</td>
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<td>Ralph de Middleton</td>
<td>accounting from</td>
<td>27 Oct. 1291</td>
<td>E372/136/m25</td>
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<td>Nicholas Fermbaud</td>
<td>accounting from</td>
<td>25 Jan. 1292</td>
<td>E372/137/m7</td>
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<td>Bartholomew Badlesmere</td>
<td>accounting for issues of castle, town and barton from</td>
<td>27 Oct. 1291</td>
<td>E372/161/15</td>
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<td>appointed keeper of castle</td>
<td>21 Aug. 1307</td>
<td>CFR, ii. 2</td>
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<td>accounting for issues of castle, town and barton from</td>
<td>15 Feb. 1312</td>
<td>CFR, i. 122</td>
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<td>ordered to deliver to successor</td>
<td>15 Feb. 1312</td>
<td>CFR, 1307–13, 430</td>
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<td>further similar orders</td>
<td>5 Apr. 1312</td>
<td>ibid. 453</td>
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<td>Edmund de Mauley</td>
<td>commitment to him</td>
<td>20 Jan. 1312</td>
<td>CFR, ii. 122</td>
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<td>to be delivered custody</td>
<td>15 Feb. 1312</td>
<td>CPR, 1307–13, 430</td>
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<td>to be delivered custody</td>
<td>5 Apr. 1312</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bartholomew Badlesmere</td>
<td>writ in favour of acting</td>
<td>30 July 1312</td>
<td>ibid. 483</td>
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<td>committed custody of castle and town at farm</td>
<td>1 Oct. 1320</td>
<td>CFR, iii. 33</td>
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<td>ordered to deliver</td>
<td>10 May 1321</td>
<td>ibid. 56</td>
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<td>6 June 1321</td>
<td>E101/15/35/11</td>
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<td>committed custody of castle, town and Barton at farm</td>
<td>10 May 1321</td>
<td>CFR, iii. 56</td>
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<td>John de Annesle</td>
<td>sub-keeper of castle and town by</td>
<td>9 June 1318</td>
<td>E373/166 m21</td>
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<td>Hugh Despenser the younger</td>
<td>committed custody of castle and Barton at farm</td>
<td>1 Oct. 1320</td>
<td>CFR, iii. 33</td>
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<td>committed custody of castle, town and Barton at farm</td>
<td>10 May 1321</td>
<td>ibid. 56</td>
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<td>Matthew de Clevendon</td>
<td>committed custody of castle, town and Barton at farm</td>
<td>10 May 1321</td>
<td>CFR, iii. 56</td>
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<td>John de Clevendon</td>
<td>to deliver to successor</td>
<td>15 May 1321</td>
<td>ibid. 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitalis de Savinico</td>
<td>to deliver castle to Lovel</td>
<td>15 May 1321</td>
<td>ibid. 57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Lovel</td>
<td>committed castle, town, and Barton at farm on the usual terms</td>
<td>15 May 1321</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
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<td>accounting from until</td>
<td>1 June 1321</td>
<td>E.101/4/12/11</td>
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<td>still acting</td>
<td>18 Feb. 1322</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
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<td>to deliver to successor</td>
<td>18 Mar. 1322</td>
<td>CFR, iii. 126</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard atte Stone</td>
<td>acting for Despenser some time between and</td>
<td>3 May 1322</td>
<td>E101/15/32/15</td>
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<td>still acting</td>
<td>3 May 1322</td>
<td>E101/15/32/15</td>
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<td>7 July 1322</td>
<td>E101/15/32/15</td>
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<td>Richard de Rodeneye</td>
<td>called constable</td>
<td>16 Aug. 1322</td>
<td>CFR, 1318–23, 637</td>
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<td>lieutenant of constable</td>
<td>c. 1323</td>
<td>BRS, xvi. 13/16</td>
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<td>deceased before</td>
<td>5 Mar. 1323</td>
<td>CFR, iii. 198/35</td>
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<td>John Bek</td>
<td>acting</td>
<td>26 June 1323</td>
<td>E101/15/35 m10/19</td>
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<td>acting</td>
<td>24 Sept. 1323</td>
<td>ibid. m12</td>
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<td>possibly acting</td>
<td>25 Dec. 1323 m10/19</td>
<td>ibid. m12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh Despenser</td>
<td>granted custody at farm for life</td>
<td>1 June 1325</td>
<td>CFR, iii. 348/40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon de Montbreton</td>
<td>surrendered before</td>
<td>21 Oct. 1326</td>
<td>ibid. 421/41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keeping castle</td>
<td>June 1326</td>
<td>Smyth. i. 247 and 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert de Clenkerny</td>
<td>committed castle, to account at exchequer</td>
<td>21 Oct. 1326</td>
<td>CFR, iii. 421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Fleming</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Burgesius de Tyle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice de Berkeley</td>
<td>joint keepers of castle</td>
<td>early 1327</td>
<td>Smyth. i. 247 and 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Berkeley</td>
<td></td>
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### Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John de Berkeley</td>
<td>keeping castle</td>
<td>2 July 1327</td>
<td>CPR, 1327-30, 1384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas de Gournay</td>
<td>acting</td>
<td>15 Dec. 1328</td>
<td>CCR, 1327-30, 3524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger Mortimer,</td>
<td>granted keepership of castle</td>
<td>16 Aug. 1330</td>
<td>CFR, iv. 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earl of March</td>
<td>and town for life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice de Berkeley1</td>
<td>keeper of castle until</td>
<td>22 Jan. 1331</td>
<td>CPR, 1330-34, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>appointed to keep castle</td>
<td>22 Jan. 1331</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almaric la Zouche6</td>
<td>appointed to keep castle during</td>
<td>Sept 1331</td>
<td>Cronne, BRS, xi. 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pleasure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>appointed to keep castle for life</td>
<td>1335</td>
<td>BRS, xi. 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Heigham5</td>
<td>accounting from</td>
<td>2 Aug. 1338</td>
<td>E101/21/3410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accounting till</td>
<td>14 Feb. 1342</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice de Berkeley</td>
<td>acting till his death</td>
<td>22 Jan. 1331</td>
<td>CPR, 1345-48, 546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Flamhard12</td>
<td>appointment confirmed by king</td>
<td>6 July 1347</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>still acting</td>
<td>17 Mar. 1360</td>
<td>CCR, 1360-64, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>surrendered castle before</td>
<td>17 Mar. 1361</td>
<td>CPR, 1358-61, 570</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Fouleshurst</td>
<td>appointed for life</td>
<td>17 Mar. 1361</td>
<td>CPR, 1358-61, 570</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>surrendered his right before</td>
<td>2 Apr. 1369</td>
<td>CPR, 1367-70, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Thorpe</td>
<td>appointed for life</td>
<td>15 July 1373</td>
<td>CPR, 1370-74, 327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 For a sketch of the history of the castle, see Introduction pp. xvi-xxiv; cf. Appendix 1.
2 cf. G.J. Turner The Minority of Henry III (TRHS, n.s.xviii (1904), 279); “the word ‘constable’ is sometimes applied to a warden, at other times to his deputy”.
4 John de Florentino acted for Pandulf and was called constable, while at least one account was submitted by one of Pandulf’s clerk’s (Supra, p. 1).
5 Gloucestershire is not included in the published pipe roll for 1229–30 (PRS, n.s., iv) but is in that of 1241–2, when the sheriff was responsible for repairs to Bristol castle and the burgesses for the farm of the town. (H.L. Cannon, Great Roll of the Pipe 26 Henry III, Yale Historical Publications 1918). For the farm, see Cronne, BRS, xi.41-56. Cf. Introduction p. xiv, n. 3.
6 See for example J. Maclean, “Notes on some constables of Bristol castle and town” (BGAS, xv (1890-91) pp. 187-89, which improves on the list for this reign in Barrett pp. 214–9; more accurate details for the early part of the period appear in Watson, op. cit. pp. 24–41; cf. Cronne, BRS, xi. 43–46).
7 The one example from the accounts published here being the account for 1224–25, supra pp. 8–9.
8 Supra p. 93.
9 de exitu de Bristol, que est in custodia. The reference is under the general heading Honor Comitis Glocestr’ and the accountant was responsible for the farm of the whole honour, including Bristol.
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10 For half a year. William earl of Gloucester died on 23 Nov. 1183; this account is presumably the first after his death.

11 Bardulf is described in the preceding account as king’s steward.

12 For half a year in 30 Henry II, 1183–4. Presumably the second account after the death of Earl William. Amongst other miscellaneous expenses Hugh spent money on repairing the keep and houses of the castle (in reparatione turris de Bristow’ et domorum castell) and Bristol mill (in the singular).

13 Under the heading Terra Comitis Gloecestr’ Hugh received £119 7s. 5d. de exitu de Bristou et molendinorum et mundinarum. Expenses included the hire of a house at Bristol for the receipt of “the king’s rents” and the pay of a clerk to collect them; also the cost of repairs to the keep, houses and mills (loc.cit. p. 155). He is once called keeper of the lands of the earl of Gloucester (ibid. p. 143).

14 Under the heading Honor Comitis Gloceestr. The receipts (de exitu . . . ut custos) amounted to £134 4s. 9d. (loc.cit. p. 201) and again included repairs to castle and mills; there was also a livery to Richard the clerk of Bristol qui recipit consuetudinem ville de Bristow. A payment of 200 marks to the burgesses of Bristol for the debts of John the king’s son is perhaps suggestive, though it can hardly be taken to prove that John’s lordship of Bristol had already begun (supra Appendix I p. 74, n. 16).

15 As in n.14 Receipt, £142.3s. He answered for land within and without the Borough (in burgo et extra), but the sheriff of Gloucestershire accounted for tallage from Bristol.

16 As in n.14. Expenses included the repair of 2 long-ships “by view of the constable of Bristol” (unnamed). Bardulf is again called “keeper of the land of the earl of Gloucester” in this account.

17 As in n.14. The wages of knights in Bristol and the cost of repairs were included amongst the expenses; no separate receipt appears for Bristol but Bardulf answered for farms of the honour of the earl of Gloucester for three parts of the year antequam Rex daret eundem Honorem Johanni fratri suo. Cf. Appendix I p. 73, n. 11.

18 ed. J. Hunter, Rec. Comm (1844); though properly described as belonging to Richard I, since Mich. 1189 when the account was made up, fell in the first year of Richard’s reign, the account largely dealt with the 35th year of Henry II which ended with his death on 6 July 1189.

19 Willemus Marscallus; he was sheriff of Gloucestershire by Mich. 1189 and remained sheriff till Easter 1194 (PRO, L and I. ix. 49). He was again in this office by Mich. 1198 and was not superseded till 1207. Marshal was already married to the Pembroke heiress, but was not normally known as earl of Pembroke before May 1199.

20 Under the heading Gloucestershire; he accounted in the main for the shire revenues. There is no longer a heading referring to the honour of the earl of Gloucester, presumably through the marriage of the youngest Gloucester heiress to John, count of Mortain, Henry II’s youngest son shortly after the old king’s death in 1189 (see Appendix 1 n. 11). Some Brito items occur in the shire accounts, as indeed they had done on occasion earlier, but the regular items of the preceding accounts are no longer included, and it is doubtful how far Marshal’s subordinates had direct responsibility for the castle and town.

21 As in n.20. Supplies of food for the castle were bought by the King’s order.

22 As in n.20. An unnamed constable of Bristol was paid £10 for keeping the castle, by the king’s writ (PRS. n.s.iii.114). See Introduction p. xxi concerning Robert de Berkeley.

23 “from mid-Lent to fifteen days after Easter”. This account is for the town
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

and appears under a separate heading in the Gloucestershire account; the castle is not mentioned.

24 The account for “that part which William de Warenne holds in custody” appears under the heading *Honor Comitis Glocestrie* and deals with half a year. He received £72.10s. from “the farm of Bristol” and paid the accustomed alms; he also repaired the keep (*turris de Bristo*) and the mills. But he had in addition a wide competence throughout the county. The brief accounts of Marshal’s last deputy and of Warenne are similar in form and it may well be that both town and castle were in the care of each in turn though this is not certain. No doubt distrust of John’s loyalty to his brother is responsible for the changed formula of the accounts of 1193–4. There can be no doubt that in 1193, during John’s absence in France and King Richard’s captivity, Marshal garrisoned Bristol and Gloucester castles (Painter, *William Marshal*, p. 96); the central government was militarily alert in face of John’s disaffection (Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 2nd ed. p. 205 n.4). Cf. Appendix I pp. 70–71). Marshal was also responsible for seizing Bristol castle on Richard’s return from captivity (Painter, *op. cit.* p. 99).

25 This account again includes the farm of Bristol (£145. for a full year), payments of alms, and repairs to the castle (*castellum*) and its mill; in form it somewhat resembles the Bristol items of Warenne’s preceding account and that of William Marshal (*supra* n.24). This account is in future treated as something of a model and is referred back to, for example, in 1196–97 (PRS, n.s. vii. 128). In answering for arrears Warenne reveals expenditure of £4.10s., on making a toll-house (*domum ad teloneum*) in the town of Bristol (PRS, n.s. x. 28).

26 *Ut custos.*

27 The farm of Bristol is here £98.14s.2d. The fluctuations in the farm are discussed in Cronne, BRS, xi. 41–56. In 1196–7 the accountant’s name is spelt Pirrou. A fee of £40 was paid an unnamed “constable of Bristol” *ad custodium castelli de Bristou*. This is more than the later customary fee; in this instance it was paid by the sheriff (PRS, n.s. viii. 122).

28 “For three parts of the year, namely to the feast of St. Laurence”.

29 “For a quarter of a year”.

30 £145 from the farm of Bristol is included; a fee of 40 marks was paid to an unnamed constable of Bristol castle.

31 Marshal was paid 40 marks for the custody of the castle, though he is not called constable; he is now again sheriff of the county.

32 Or le Warre (Barrett p. 214); Barrett alleges that King John confirmed to le Warre, in the sixth year of his reign, a grant of Bristol made before his accession.

33 Berkelai.

34 Marshal was still responsible for Gloucestershire, through Thomas de Rochesford (PRS, n.s. xiv. 39) and still received a fee for the custody of Bristol castle for each half year (*ibid.* p. 54).

35 Berkelai. This is presumably Robert II, the lord of Berkeley who died in 1220 (Sanders, p. 13).

36 Marshal was still sheriff and was still being paid as before for keeping the castle; Thomas de Rochesford was still accounting on his behalf for the shire (PRS, n.s. xv.172).

37 As in *n*.36 (*ibid.* xvi. 38).

38 Still sheriff.

39 Still acting also in Gloucestershire.

40 Also found as Ropplelay (*Rot.Lit.Cl.* i. 161; cf. Watson, p. 29); Roppesleia (*Rot.Lit.Pat.* p. 66); Watson also gives the forms Ropel, Ropell, and Ropelle (p. 29). Cf. Ropesley (Norgate, *John Lacklánd*, p. 273); Roppesley (McKechnie,
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Magna Carta p. 186; Ropsley (Painter, Reign of King John, p. 135, Richardson and Sayles, p. 235).

Repairs in the castle (now for the first time castrum instead of castellum) are included in this account, as well as “the farm of Bristol”. But Ropsley is not described as constable in the account.


When he was removed from office.

De Aties. Also Athies, Atia etc. See Introduction p. xxii n. 50. Gerard and his kinsmen were all associated in turn with Bristol, were foreign favourites of King John and were banished in Magna Carta. Gerard was acting as sheriff of Gloucestershire from 5 Jan. 1208 (PRO, L. and I., ix.49); his account for the county (through Richard Burges) is in PRS, n.s. xxiii. 16–25.

“castrum de Bristol cum castellaria et Bertona”

The honour of Gloucester was committed to Gerard on 22 May 1208 (Rot.Lit.Pat. p. 83). Ropsley accounted for the Barton for the first quarter of the year Mich. 1207 to Mich. 1208, and Gerard d’Athee for the remaining three quarters (PRS, n.s. xxiii.20).

Also for the county in the same period (loc.cit. pp. 55–60).

There are many variations in the spelling of his name in Rot.Lit.Pat., Rot.Lit.CL., PRS, etc: it may be modernised as Cigoigny or Cigogne (Richardson and Sayles p. 73). The chancery enrolments at the time of his appointment are missing. He was a nephew of Gerard d’Athée; see Introduction p. xii–xxii.

For both Bristol and Gloucestershire; Engelard was sheriff from Mich. 1209 perhaps till 1215 (PRO, L. and I. ix.49); his account for Gloucestershire, by deputy, for Mich. 1209–Mich 1210, is in PRS, n.s.xxvo.140–145, and is quite separate from his Bristol account.

Also for Gloucestershire (ibid. xxvii 171–77).

Burges still accounted on Engelard’s behalf for the shire. This shire account includes some miscellaneous receipts for which an unnamed constable of Bristol answered; unusually, they include payments from the hills of Dundry, Charlton and Whitchurch (ibid. 145). Engelard himself does not seem to have been called constable. He was removed from the office of sheriff by July 1215 in consequence of Magna Carta’s attack on the Poitevins (Holt, Magna Carta p. 251).

There is no surviving pipe roll for 1212–13. In 1213–14 the Bristol account was submitted by Engelard though Burges still accounted on his behalf for the shire.

Or de Cancellis. Cf. Introduction p. xxii n. 50. Peter too was a follower of Gerard d’Athée and was proscribed in Magna Carta. It has been suggested that he acted as under castellan only, to Engelard de Cignone (G.J. Turner, TRHS, n.s.xvii.25.) He was described as constable in 1214 (CRR vii.98).

Not then called constable, but with Aymer de Sacy in charge of the castle. He was called constable however on 16 May (Rot.Lit.Pat. p. 137).

Or Albigny; (de Albiniaco).

The good men of Bristol were ordered to be intendant to him as constable (CPR, 1216–25, p. 108, dux milicie Christi; cf. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century: 1216–1307, p. 9).

Or de Albiniaco.

On 6 July (Rot.Lit.Pat. p. 190) and again on 10 July, Philip de Albini was ordered to receive Savari de Mauleon and his men in the castle; an order to Savari and “his bailiffs of Bristol” of 3 Sept. has been taken to mean that by then Savari had superseded Philip (H.J. Chaytor, Savaric de Mauleon p. 35).
88

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88 Or Sauaricus de Mal Leone; he was another of John's Poitevin followers and a mercenary captain of some distinction. Cf. Introduction p. xxii.

59 This is an inference from a letter of Apr. 1221 concerning Savari's exactions upon the bishop of Bath in the Easter term of 17 John and Mich. term of 18 John, when Savari was constable of Bristol.

60 The evidence that Amfrid held office as constable is not conclusive; possibly he had been acting on Savari de Mauleon's behalf, Savari was in the eastern counties with King John in Sept. and Oct. 1216 (Chaytor op. cit. pp. 35-37), but was back in Bristol by Nov. (ibid. p. 38; cf. Stubbs, Select Charters, p. 336). He went to Poitou shortly after (Chaytor, op. cit. p. 38). Amfrid Brito is called steward of Bristol on 7 Apr. 1217 (Rot. Lit. C/ i. 305); the steward was an officer of the merchant-gild (Gross, Gild Merchant, ii. 25).

61 That is, the civil war following Magna Carta.

62 A reference in a plea roll of the summer term of 1220 refers back to tempus guerre.

63 This is presumably the text of the plea roll cited by Rigg. It is also referred to by Watson p. 38.

64 Or de Vioona. Cf. Introduction p. liv. Hugh was probably the nominee and deputy of Savari de Mauleon (Finberg, Gloucestershire Studies, p. 116; Chaytor, op.cit., p. 37); it was certainly on Savari's instructions that they surrendered the castle to the king on 19 Sept. 1219 (CPR, 1216-25, p. 203).

65 Hugh had been made seneschal of Poitou and Gascony on 4 Jan. (CPR, 1216-25 p. 275).

66 Teutonicus.

67 "clerk of the lord legate", viz. of Pandulf.

68 Pandulf was not consecrated as bishop till 29 May 1222; he had been papal legate since Sept. 1218. Cf. supra p. 1 n. 4 and p. 6 n. 18.

69 An order to Hugh de Vivonne notifying him of Pandulf's appointment to the custody, "cum tota ballia et custodia et omnibus pertinencit sicut castrum illud in custodia habuisist"

70 Supra p. 1 n. 3.

71 "cum berton et foresta et chacie de Keinesham, et omnibus aliis ad castrum illud pertinentibus".

72 Or de Ferentin.

73 Letters of intendency to the men of Bristol and to those within the bailiwick of the chase of the Coppices of Keynsham and Gallow Wood.

74 Of the castle with the barton and the forest and chase of Keynsham. The bishop of Norwich, however, not the bishop of Bath, was ordered to deliver custody of the whole.

75 Or Wyliton, Wilinton, Wyliton, Wylton, etc.; cf. Index, C.Lib.R. i.

76 The town was then farmed by the burgesses: supra pp. xiv, n. 3 and 8.

77 Wiliton was given the custody of the castle, barton, chase of Keynsham, Gallow Wood and all other appurtenances of the castle. The notification was addressed to the tenants of the barton, of the chase and of Gallow Wood. A separate letter ordered six named persons, including Reginald de Hurle and John Petit(ic) to be intendant to him in matters pertaining to the castle. On the same day Wiliton was issued letters of protection, to last while he remained in the castle by the king's order; he was not described as constable (CPR, 1216-25, p. 474).

78 Also of Eleanor, the king's kinswoman.

79 Also of the castle of Gloucester and the county of Gloucester. Putot had been sheriff of Gloucestershire since Dec. 1225; he accounted as sheriff for the year Mich. 1231-32 (PRO, L. and L. ix. 49). His appointment to Bristol does not seem to have survived.
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80 Professor Cronne referred to Madox, *Formulae Anglicanae*, pp. 26, 57, as his authority. I cannot trace the first reference; the second mentions David though not as constable. However, the same charter (undated) on p. 57 gives Hugh de Hastings, then constable, amongst the witnesses. See also *ibid.* p. 181.

81 *de Rivalis* etc.

82 Including "the king's wood of Furches (Gallows Wood) and the coppices of Keinesham". Peter was at this time treasurer of England.

83 Also *Alice*, *Aliz*, *Aiy* etc.

84 'Ralph' may well have been a slip for 'Roger'.

85 *Thalebot*, *Talebot*, etc.

86 Roger to admit Talbot and his men, who are to keep the castle with Roger's knights and servants during Roger's absence. Roger is not here described as constable.

87 Also to the custody of Eleanor, the king's kinswoman. Talbot was sheriff of Gloucestershire from 28 May 1234 till Mich. 1236. (PRO, *L. and I.* ix. 49).

88 Talbot evidently retained the custody of Eleanor. An acknowledgement of 3 Nov. 1237 shows that he surrendered the castle of Gloucester and the person of Eleanor on that day (*CPR*, 1232–47, p. 204). She probably remained for the time being in the keeping of the constable of Gloucester Castle (*CCR*, 1237–42, p. 67).

89 Also of the prize of ale in the town. This had previously been allocated to Eleanor of Brittany's use.

90 Yet Hugh was licensed to cross the seas in Mar. 1237 (*Index, CCR*, 1234–37; cf. *ibid.* p. 420).

91 In the Gloucestershire account. Similarly in 1236–37 (E372/81).

92 Sheriff of Gloucestershire from 25 Dec. 1238 until Mich. 1241; a successor is not recorded till Easter 1246 (PRO, *L. and I.* ix. 49). He was justice of Ireland from 4 Nov. 1245 till the spring of 1254 (*HBC*, p. 148); an order of 23 May 1253 to an unnamed justiciar of Ireland "to safely keep the castle of Bristol while the king is in Gascony" must have been meant for this John (*CCR*, 1251–53, p. 474). In Nov. 1254, he was issued a quitclaim of his receipts etc. in relation to Ireland and Bristol until Easter 1254 (*CPR*, 1247–58, p. 360). In modern works he is sometimes indexed as 'Fitz Geoffrey, John', e.g. Moor, but contrast 'Geoffrey, John son of' in the chancery-roll calendars *passim*.

93 John son of Geoffrey held the custody of Eleanor of Brittany before her death, and was to organise her funeral by royal order of 12 Aug. 1241.

94 That is, for the lord Edward, overlord of Bristol after 14 Feb. 1254. Perhaps he was a deputy of John, son of Geoffrey, in view of the following appointment q.v. If so, the lord Edward's control of his officials was more nominal than real.

95 *De Rokele, de la Rokele, de Rupelle* etc. He was to hold Bristol in the first instance till the Feb. parliament of 1259 (*CCR*, 1256–59, p. 350; cf. Treharne, *Baronial Plan*, p. 193).

96 This John was the son of John son of Geoffrey, previously keeper (*CPR*, 1258–66, p. 32).

97 Richard of La Rochelle (alone) had been ordered to deliver the keeping of the castle to his successor on 8 July 1259 (*ibid.* p. 29).

98 By the lord Edward. A further ratification was issued on 22 July 1259 (*CPR*, 1258–66, p. 32).

99 By the provision of the king, his son and the council. The lord Edward was ordered to cause the castle to be delivered to Basset.


101 Bailiffs and good men to be intendant. Cf. *supra* p. 75 n. 20.

102 His appointment by the lord Edward does not seem to have survived.

103 This pipe roll for 9 Edward I contains the account of Robert Burnell for
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receipts and expenses of the lord Edward for the 2 years before his accession and subsequently. Cf. Denholm Young, Seignorial Administration, pp. 8–12.

104 Described in 1287 as having been earlier a “farmer of the borough”, Fuller, BGAS, xxii (1899), 161–2.

105 It is not possible to tell for how much of this period Muscegros was acting, nor whether in fact it was this John, and not a Robert de Muscegros, who was told to give up the office in 1275.

106 Also Jouane, Jeouene, Joejne etc.

107 Of castle, town and barton.

108 Account submitted by Richard, Bartholomew’s son. The father had died by 16 Oct. (Moor, Knights of Edward I).

109 Peter is described as “late under constable” at the time of his appointment to the custody of the castle.

110 Also writ of intendancy in his favour (CPR, 1272–81, p. 232).

111 When Peter died (supra p. 22) John his son and heir, submitted the account from Mich. 1289–17 Oct. on his father’s behalf, and accounted from then till 3 Nov. 1291, when Middleton received the custody from him.

112 Also appointment to the custody on the same terms as it had been held by the late keeper. Peter de la Mare’s wife was ordered to deliver up the castle “with its armour, books, victuals, and other goods” and the town “with its rolls, writs, and other things” by indenture (CPR, 1281–92, p. 448).

113 Middleton.

114 Also Fembald, Frenbaud, Fermebaud etc. His actual appointment does not seem to have survived.

115 Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, had been granted the castle for life on 13 Apr. 1302, with the proviso that the prison of the castle was to remain in Frenbaud’s custody. This grant was vacated and surrendered at once CPR, 1301–7, p. 30). A statement in Moor, op. cit. that Frenbaud ceded the office on 1 Sept. 1312 is based on a misunderstanding of CPR, 1307–13, p. 491.

116 Commitment of the castle “with the appurtenances and all other things which Nicholas Frenbaud had in his custody”. Badlesmere was to answer for the issues at the exchequer as had been done previously. Subsequently it appears that he was also responsible for the town and barton (CFR, ii. 51; cf. his account in E372/161): the inference must have been that these two were covered by the vague “appurtenances etc.”

117 Pipe roll for 9 Edward II, in the residue of Gloucestershire.

118 Viz. to deliver the castle, town and barton. On 20 Apr. he was further ordered to deliver the person of Owen of Wales (CPR, 1307–13, p. 452),

119 de Malo Lacu. The attempted substitution of Maulay for Badlesmere was perhaps a move in the king’s political game after the baronial victory of the previous year. The proposed change hardly seems to implement clause 15 of the ordinance of 1311, which demanded that “chief wardens of ports and castles on the coast” should be appointed with the assent of the barons. Badlesmere was a follower of the earl of Gloucester (J. Conway Davies Baronial Opposition, pp. 427–8), and thus a supporter of the ordinances; he became an active member of the middle party. Maulay, on the other hand, was steward of the king’s household (Tout, Edward II, p. 315) but he seems to have been for a time less objectionable to the barons than other members of the household (Ann. Lond. pp. 198–9).

120 Of the castle, town and barton. The mayor and bailiffs of Bristol were ordered to be intendant to Maulay “as constable and keeper”. The intention was that he should answer at the exchequer (CPR, 1307–13, p. 430).

121 Badlesmere had not complied with the first order to deliver up the castle, etc.
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122 Badlesmere had still not made the delivery "to the king's great amazement". He is to do so forthwith "notwithstanding his oath to deliver the castle to no other person than the king from which (oath) the king absolves him ..." There is every likelihood that Mauley never secured possession.

123 As constable of the castle and keeper of the town and Barton there. After the death of Gaveston in June 1312 the king's attempt to get Mauley recognised seems to have been abandoned, while Badlesmere's moderate position perhaps made him less objectionable to the king than he had been earlier.

124 The terms are similar to those of Nov. 1309, though 'foresters' of Kingswood, instead of one forester, are here mentioned.

125 A description which becomes normal in this reign.

126 Also a commitment to Badlesmere of "the liberty of the town", taken into the king's hand "for certain causes". This forfeiture was a consequence of the so-called "great insurrection" of Bristol.

127 Viz. Hugh le Despenser. On 21 Oct., Badlesmere was further ordered to deliver Owen (ap David) to Despenser (CCR, 1318–23, p. 267).

128 Le Despenser.

129 On the same terms as Badlesmere.

130 That is shortly after the outbreak of 'the Despenser war in Glamorgan' (J. Conway Davies, TRHS, 3rd ser. ix. (1915), 53).

131 A bundle of 'particulars' for which Despenser was responsible; it includes indentures cancelled by a vertical line, followed by fair copies described as "part of the view" or the viewers' part (pars visorum (sic)): the latter are more legible. There is an indeniture of expenses on the munition of the castle, by view of Roger atte Mulle and Edward Carpenter, for the period 13 Apr.–6 June 1321, and another of the wages of the garrison, similarly, from 24 Apr.–6 June. This munitioning of the castle in the spring of 1321 illustrates again the military preparedness of the Despensers and not only in Glamorgan, and their attempts to control the Bristol channel at the time of their aggression in Gower (Conway Davis, loc.cit.; cf. W. H. Stevenson, EHR, xii. (1897) 755–61 and Tout, Edward II, p. 126).

132 Clyuede; John was Matthew's brother.

133 Vitalis was a king's serjeant-at-arms and a member of the garrison between 24 Apr. and 6 June, when he received 12d. a day (E101/15/35 m2b).

134 This bundle contains a letter from Edward II to Lovel (22 June 1321) authorising expenditure on wages for works in the castle by view of Master Robert the Engineer, and another charging Lovel to keep such safe watch that he would not be taken by surprise (8 Oct. 1321); both are under the privy seal. There is also an account for wages paid to 2 knights, 18 men-at-arms (armigeri) and 40 footmen, between 1 June 1321 and 18 Feb. 1322, apart from the period 28 Aug.–10 Oct. 1321, when the garrison was disbanded by the king's orders; the wages amounted to £312.9s.4d. This garrison differs in composition from that of Despenser earlier (supra n.131), which fluctuated in size but at its largest included 6 men-at-arms, 22 crossbowmen, 38 footmen and 15 Welshmen and 3 boys stayed outside the castle. An indenture is also included in the bundles showing the weekly payment (on Sundays) for repairs and construction of ordnance buildings etc. (ad ingeni os (sic) castr et ad Brutasch(ias)) from 27 June to 6 Sept. 1321. The financial documents are in very poor condition. Lovel's responsibility for the summer of 1321 is also confirmed in the Gloucestershire accounts on the pipe roll (E372/166 m21).

135 An original account of Hugh Despenser, as keeper of the castle and town, concerning wine received 22 Apr. 1321 and wheat and beans received 17 May 1321 as stores for the castle, and sold between 16 May and 1 Aug. 1323. (Cf. supra n.131).
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

136 Extract from an assize roll for 1324 cited by Dr. Veale in a discussion of the law merchant.
137 Rodeney had also been escheator south of Trent, 22 Feb. 1320–14 Nov. 1321 (Tout, Edward II, p. 323).
138 Cf. n. 131. Indented rolls of weekly costs in repairing the houses etc. of castle and town between 24 July and 13 Nov. 1322 appear in m3 and m4, and as part of the view in m9 and 10. The entries for 13 Nov. (m4 and m10) are followed by a heading, not far from the foot of the membrane, “Likewise in the time of John de Bek constable”, succeeded by an entry for 25 June 1323; on the dorse weekly entries continue till 24 Sept.; two further entries for 16 and 24 Dec. also appear (m6a and m12): it is not certain that Bek was constable for the whole of this period, though there is nothing to suggest that he was not. Bek belonged to the junior line of the Lincolnshire family to which Antony Bek, bishop of Durham, belonged in the senior line (C.M. Fraser, History of Antony Bek, p. 7).
139 Cf. latter part of n.138 supra.
140 On the same day Despenser was ordered to get extensive repairs done without delay and to re-munition the castle; the repairs were to be viewed by Roger atte Mille (sic) and Edward the carpenter (CCR, 1323–27, p. 300).
141 The king and the Despencers had left London on 6th October for the west country in consequence of the successful landing of Queen Isabella and her supporters. Hugh Despenser the elder, earl of Winchester, was then sent to hold Bristol on the king’s behalf, but the queen made a triumphal entry: the earl’s execution there followed almost at once (27 October).
142 These two were brothers, and were younger sons of the Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1326. A later reference, without precise date, shows that Maurice also acted alone, sometime before 22 Jan. 1331, perhaps by a later separate grant (CCR, 1330–34, p. 47).
143 On that date John Berkeley’s knight service, due in the Scottish expedition, was remitted since he was ‘in the king’s service guarding the castle of Bristol’. Two months earlier Thomas and Maurice Berkeley, together with John Maltravers, had been sent to Bristol castle by the king to collect armour for use in ‘the northern parts’ (CCR, 1227–30, p. 95).
144 Ironically enough, the eldest son (and namesake) of Hugh Despenser the younger was delivered to Gournay to be kept in prison at Bristol. This was the same Thomas Gournay (or Gurney) who was involved in the murder of Edward II (Tout, Coll. Pap. iii, ‘The captivity and death of Edward of Carnarvon’). As constable of Bristol he had sent a chest etc. for safe custody to the abbey of Keynsham (Hunter, Archaeologia, xxvii (1838), 275; the fortunes of this Somerset knight are discussed in this article). Gurney may have been appointed constable by Queen Isabella who was given Bristol in her increased dower of 1 Feb. 1327 (CCR, 1327–30, p. 69; cf. H. Johnstone in Tout, Charters, v, 247); her appointments are only fortuitously revealed in the national records and would have to be sought in the surviving records of her administration. She voluntarily surrendered all her lands to the king in Dec. 1330 (Johnstone, loc.cit. p. 276).
145 Paying the usual farm to Queen Isabella. Mortimer forfeited his honours after his attainment some three months later, and was executed on 29 Nov. following (Comp. Peer. sub March). Edward III began his personal rule in the preceding October and on 14 Dec. 1330 committed the keeping of the town and barton to the burgesses at farm, together with the appurtenances of the town, barton and castle, but he reserved the custody of the castle itself (CCR, iv. 207–8). However on 1 Jan. 1331, he granted the castle, town and barton without reservation to Queen Philippa in her re-assessment of dower (CCR, 1330–34, p. 55; cf. Johnstone, loc.cit. p. 279). Philippa let the town and barton at farm to the
Appendix 2 — Lists of Constables

burgesses for ten years (ibid. 252; cf. Chanc. Misc. 9/58); subsequent grants and appointments do not necessarily appear in the national records (cf. supra n.144).

146 Cf. supra n.142 last sentence.
147 Sousch. His appointment was made by the king.
148 Queen Philippa’s steward.
149 Spelt so in his original accounts; usually Ryvere in chancery enrolments.
150 An account for wheat and salt collected on the king’s orders (cf. CPR, 1338–40, p. 118). Another less legible account concerning these same supplies, and cancelled by a vertical line, also survives, together with another for wine between 1 Sept. 1338 and 14 Feb. 1342 (E101/21/20). There are also three indented receipts for wheat before Mich. 1338 under John de la Rivers’ seal (E101/22/2).
152 By grant of Queen Philippa. Described as her yeoman.
153 A Robert Flamard appears as constable on 12 Sept. 1347; this is perhaps a mistake for Edmund Flamard, named as constable 25 Aug. 1347 (CCR, 1346–49, pp. 319, 390). Robert Flamard is described as the King’s Yeoman ibid. 319.
154 Also as keeper of the forest of Kingswood and of Fillwood by Bristol for the period of the queen’s life.
155 The date of the king’s confirmation of Philippa’s grant, for which no date is given.
156 On Fouleshurst’s surrender Hugh de Segraye had been appointed by the queen on 2 Apr. 1369, but the appointment was vacated because surrendered (ibid.).
157 Also as keeper of Kingswood forest.
There are twenty-three lists of dates of Saturdays amongst the rolls of particulars of the constables' accounts, all for the period 1294–1303; these show the weekly receipts from the issues of the pyx and from the tine of the castle, and the fortnightly receipts from the mills. The year of account runs from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, and, as in some other exchequer records, is dated by the regnal year in which the closing date of the account occurs. Only twice amongst some 960 entries is the day identified by its position in the month; the rest are dated by the festivals of the ecclesiastical calendar, that is with reference to a saint's day or to some other feast of the Church, e.g. the Saturday after the feast of St. Luke, or the Purification, and so on. These entries tell us something, then, about what feasts were established and well-known at any rate to the constable's clerk in the archdeaconry of Gloucester in this period. The similarity in dating from year to year, and in the different types of list, suggests the possibility that there was an office calendar or almanack.

It cannot perhaps be assumed that the dates represent the customary ecclesiastical practice of the diocese of Worcester, though they may do so. As might be expected, the normal great feasts of the Church appear most frequently: the Purification and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and Easter. Almost equally numerous are references to the feasts of St. Gregory the Pope and of St. Peter and St. Paul. The following feasts and saints' days occur nineteen times or more: St. Michael, St. Luke, St. Simon and St. Jude, St. Martin, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Lucy, St. Thomas the Apostle, the Epiphany, St. Hilary, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, St. Valentine, St. Mathias the Apostle, St. Gregory the Pope, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, Easter, St. Dunstan, the Ascension, Whit Sunday, Trinity Sunday, St. Barnabas, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St.
Appendix 3 — Dating

Paul, the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Margaret the Virgin, St. James, St. Peter ad Vincula, St. Laurence, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, St. Bartholomew, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and St. Matthew. Feasts which occur three times or less are the days of St. Cecilia, Holy Innocents, St. Stephen, the Circumcision, St. Thomas the Martyr (29 Dec.), St. Agnes, St. Oswald, St. Perpetua and St. Felicity, St. Edward the King (18 Mar.), St. Tiburcius and St. Valerian, Hoketide, St. Petronilla, St. Botolph, St. Kenelm and St. Mary Magdalen. Of all these, the feasts of St. Dunstan and St. Oswald may have a local significance; so perhaps, may St. Edmund the King (appearing four times), St. David in March (four times), St. Wulfstan (six times).

Despite the efforts of the Church to reform the observance of Sundays and of feast-days in the early years of Henry III's reign, there was no very strict observance in Bristol of festa ferianda — days when laymen should rest from their labour according to the regulations of the Church. Out of approximately 384 market-days recorded, some 56 were held on feast-days when these happened to fall on Saturday; but not all. Most of these feast-days are included amongst the festa ferianda to be observed in the diocese of Worcester earlier in the century. The Saturdays for receiving tine and the issues of the mills also went on regularly irrespective of the occasional feast-day. Thus it would seem that the spirit of an earlier revision of Walter de Cantilupe's synodal statutes lived on at the end of the century, 'we do not wish the work of the faithful laity to be hindered'.

1 I am most grateful to Professor Cheney for his helpful comments on the first draft of this note.
2 Sat. 14 March 1299 (SC/851/6 m6): Sat. 7 April 1301 (sic, actually Sat. was 8 Apr. in that year); the same clerk also correctly explained 'Saturday, Easter Eve' by 'videlicet prime die Aprilis' (ibid. 8 m3).
3 On the feasts of St. Lucy, St. Margaret and St. Agnes abstention ab operibus mulierum tantum was expected — but these feasts were only used for dates, and not festa ferienda.
4 Cf. J.L. Cate in 'The Church and market-reform in England during the reign of Henry III' in Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson.
5 C.R. Cheney, in 'Rules for the observance of feast-days in medieval England', BIHR, xxxiv (1961), 117.
6 This gives concrete evidence for the general statement "there is nothing to indicate that week-day markets were ever recessed when the customary day fell on one of the great feasts" (J.L. Cate, loc.cit., p. 47). There is one exception in the Bristol lists when a market day was held on Friday instead of Saturday viz. on Michaelmas Eve 1302 (SC6/851/8 m4).
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### ii. Ministers’ Accounts (SC6).


(Mich. 1287–Mich. 1289)*
Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle

m1–1d account for 1294–95
m2 account for issues of the pyx (a tax on goods sold)
m3–3d for issues of the mills
m4 for necessary expenses by King’s writ
m5 Roll of assized rents in Bristol (n.d.)
m6–6d Roll of rents and services for Stapleton
m7–7d Roll of rents and services for Mangotsfield
m8 Roll of rents and services for Easton
9 mms.

m1 Account of town, castle and barton for 1299–1300
m1d Account of various dues paid in the barton, grains sold and issues of the grange
m2 Expenses on mills etc. without brief
m2d Blank
m3 Issues of pyx etc., names of cobblers weavers regatresses etc. paying dues (for 1299–1300)
m3d Particulars of the hundred, tine, pannage, quarries, etc.
m4 Account for 1298–99
m4d Issues of the hundred and of the grange
m5 Necessary expenses in barton without brief
m6 Issues of pyx etc., names of weavers etc. for 1298–99
m6d Particulars of the hundred 1298–99
m7 Account for 1297–98
m7d Issues of the hundred
m8 Issues of the pyx, names
m8d Particulars of the hundred
m9 Account for 1296–97
m9d Issues of the hundred
2 mms

m1 Time of the castle 1300–01
m2 Issues of the pyx, mills, dues of cobblers etc. 1302–03
m2d Particulars of hundred (names of those buying grain)
m3 Issues of pyx etc. 1300–01
iii. Accounts various (E101) (used in footnotes)

E101/15/35m14  Original accounts for 1287–88
E101/15/35m13  Original accounts for 1288–89
E101/13/41    Precepts, writs of allocate, letters of acquittance
E101/5/19     Documents (writs etc.) subsidiary to E372/145/m25 (for 1294–95)
E101/6/4      Documents subsidiary to E372/145/m25 (for 1296–97, 1297–98, 1298–99)
E101/349/4    is an account by John de Florentino for the daily expenses of "the household of the Castle of Bristol" – probably for 1221, from February to September (one of John’s accounts is printed infra p. 00)
E101/350/10 m1 also household accounts, Sept. 1221–Feb. 1222
E101/350/11

1 Apparently not enrolled on E352/76 and E352/77.
2 Summarized from particulars in SC6/851/1–3 see infra. No details in these enrolled accounts.
3 Particulars and subsidiary documents in E101 see infra.
4 Apparently no particulars survive.
5 Apparently no particulars survive for Jan. 1292–Mich. 1293; the particulars for 1293–94 are in SC6 see infra.
6 For subsidiary documents to these accounts see infra E101.
7 See E372/133/m28 supra.
8 For original accounts for these years, see infra E101.
9 E372/139/m7 supra.
10 Dated the 25th year (i.e. 1296–97); see p. 33 n. 43.
11 No roll of particulars for 1295–96 seems to have survived.
12 Issues of the hundred include assized rents, Peter’s penny and other dues from the Barton and issues of the grange.
13 Particulars of the hundred, tine, pannage (names), quarries (names) and pasture and hay sold.
14 See E372/150/m37 supra.
15 See supra E372/134/m1.
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